“Mapping Where Once Ignored”: Narratives of Black Spaces in Traditional Guidebooks vs. The *Green Book*

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INTRODUCTION

When I approached this project, I was most interested in the relationship between white audiences and Black communities in slum tourism at the turn of the twentieth century. As I embarked on this research, I discovered a book by Catherine Cocks that claimed contemporary guidebooks for New York, Chicago, and San Francisco listed companies specializing in slum tours.[1] I immediately became curious about what guidebooks had to say about "slums"—as guidebooks labeled them—and specifically how they described Black communities. I did not expect official guidebooks, lauded as accurate descriptions of space, to feature pejorative descriptions of Black communities. I then discovered Rand McNally & Company, a prominent map and guidebook printer and publisher at the turn of the twentieth century that described possible slumming routes through communities in both Chicago and New York City (N.Y.C.).

As I delved deeper into Rand McNally books, I discovered that the company not only promoted the pejorative notion of slumming but also misrepresented Black historical figures and demographic information. I began to wonder if Black communities opposed these portrayals of Black spaces. Could they reclaim negative representations by rearticulating their own spaces? I thought about *The Negro Motorist's Green Book*, first published in 1936 in New York City for Black travelers seeking to safely move through space. The title's inclusion of the term "Negro" holds meaning. "Negro" began to refer to Black people of African ancestry in the United States in the 1890s when Black leaders conceptualized the term's unifying nature in Black communities.[2] Black communities eschewed the term "colored" because it represented old racial patterns, particularly Southern racial traditions.[3] Like the term "Negro," which reflected racial

[1] Catherine Cocks, *Doing the Town : the Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850-1915* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 192.
[2] Tom W. Smith, "Changing Racial Labels: From 'Colored' to Negro' to Black to African American,'" *Public opinion quarterly* 56, no. 4 (1992): 496–514.
[3] Smith, "Changing Racial Labels."

pride and community by the 1930s, the *Green Book* was liberating. It served as a guide for Black travelers navigating Jim Crow laws, which imposed de jure racial segregation and discrimination and de facto racial intimidation and violence throughout the United States. These books recommended safe businesses for Black people and importantly sought public input for yearly updates. The Schomburg Center's exhibition from March to December 2022, entitled "Traveling While Black: A Century of Pleasure & Pain & Pilgrimage," traced Black travel from the Great Migration to Jim Crow.[4] Kevin Young, the Director of the Schomburg, stated that the *Green Book* addressed Jim Crow laws and surveillance that forced Black travelers to obey unspoken rules to stay alive.[5] This exhibition showcased the liberative power of the *Green Book* and Black mobility.

Around the same time, I discovered the idea of counter-mapping, a way for communities to vocalize marginalized narratives and reclaim space through inclusive mapping practices. Counter-mapping contests traditional mapping systems that have specifically excluded Indigenous populations in the U.S.[6] It amplifies themes of belonging and collectivity by incorporating and validating underrepresented narratives. Did the *Green Book* serve the same function to the Rand McNally guidebooks? My project thus focuses on these two literary descriptions of space, which I articulate as mapping—one for white tourists seeking Black spaces in Chicago and New York City, the other for Black people to move through white spaces by seeking refuge in local Black communities.

I argue that while the Rand McNally books excluded and immobilized Black communities through their depictions of race, specifically descriptions of Black "slums," the

[4] *Traveling While Black Gallery, The New York Public Library,* https://www.nypl.org/events/exhibitions/galleries/traveling-while-black-gallery.
[5] *Traveling While Black Gallery,* https://www.nypl.org/events/exhibitions/galleries/traveling-while-black-gallery.
[6] Throughout this paper, the descriptor "Indigenous" refers to the original inhabitants of North America whose lives, land, and resources were stolen by European settlers and colonists.

Green Book served as a counter-map. It gave voice to marginalized Black communities and centrally granted them mobility through white spaces to counter confinement and isolation. I position these two sets of texts in conversation with each other (or rather, present the *Green Book* as a response to prominent nineteenth- and twentieth-century "slumming" guidebooks) to reveal the *Green Book*'s subversive role: it created and maintained Black community and mobility in the face of de jure segregation and resultant erasure and immobility.

Project Trajectory

Overall, this thesis tackles the following questions: How did guidebooks have the power to include or exclude? How did guidebooks and their narratives represent Black spaces? Finally, how did guidebooks, explicitly designed to present and advertise space, either restrict or liberate Black communities? My research methods in this thesis are close readings and analyses of Rand McNally guidebooks and *The Negro Motorist's Green Book* to evaluate how both guidebooks mapped Black spaces. To understand these documents in context, I juxtapose these readings with historical research and theoretical practices that help assign liberative or restrictive value to texts.

In Chapter 1, I first interrogate how slum tourism in the United States served as a stage for representations of Black spaces in guidebooks. The relationship between white tourists and the Black communities that they visited presented a narrative of the "self" versus the "other," distancing the two groups in public narratives of metropolitan spaces. I also discuss the concept of "Black travel" and the importance of Black mobility. I then explore the power of literature to include or exclude by looking at the terms "paper genocide" and "counter-mapping." Both terms help us think about how guidebooks can either serve as a form of capture or can enable freedom and liberation.

In Chapter 2, I explore Rand McNally's representations of Black spaces and respond to two questions. How did Rand McNally guidebooks dictate prominent public narratives of Black spaces and its residents? By analyzing guidebooks from 1880 to 1930 in both Chicago and New York City, I present three ways that they served to immobilize and erase Black communities. These guidebooks (1) reduced the significance of Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, a Black founder of Chicago, (2) understated Chicago's demographics regarding Black populations, and (3) pejoratively presented walking slum routes in Chicago and New York City. In this chapter, I also discuss the impact of these representations by examining Rand McNally's readership and advertisements.

In Chapter 3, I consider how the *Green Book* enabled and promoted Black mobility from 1937 to 1940. I argue that the *Green Book* served as a liberating narrative that worked against Rand McNally guidebooks' spatial narratives about Blackness—it served as a counter-map. The *Green Book* centered marginalized Black voices, built and connected Black communities across time and space, provided mobility to Black people, and counteracted established racialized geographies of exclusion and segregation.

Existing Scholarship

Vast scholarship engages slum tourism in U.S. cities at the turn of the twentieth century. The scholarship primarily discusses how it delineated racial and ethnic "others," with little mention of slum tourism in Black communities specifically or guidebooks' involvement in reproducing "slumming" narratives. Catherine Cocks' *Doing the Town: The Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850–1915* (2001) presented a comprehensive history of historical walking tours and ethnic slumming in U.S. cities.[7] Turn-of-the-century guidebooks presented

[7] Cocks, *Doing the Town.*

Chinese, Italian, and European Jewish immigrants and African Americans as "urban peasants"—artifacts of their culture instead of part of a national identity.[8] Cocks analyzed guidebooks, travel accounts, magazines, and contemporary journalism to explore slum tourism's role in creating a sense of national identity. This book served as a critical historical overview of slumming practices and relationships.

Malte Steinbrink's "'We Did the Slum!'" (2012) discussed the rise of urban tourism and "slumming" at the turn of the twentieth century, elaborating on racial dynamics.[9] Slumming presented segregated "ethnic" enclaves as "aesthetically complementary" to other, white parts of the city.[10] In *Urban Underworlds: A Geography of Twentieth-Century American Literature and Culture* (2010), Thomas Heise considered the Black underclass in Harlem and Chicago and their association with immorality and violence.[11] The neglect and isolation of these communities promoted privilege in the white middle class.[12] Heise posited that the maintenance of segregated spaces sustains immobility, a concept that frames my focus on how guidebooks presented segregation and immobility. Lewis Erenberg's *Steppin' Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture, 1890-1930* (1981) addressed the role of slumming in Harlem nightlife in the early twentieth century. He described Harlem with an "aura of exotic release" to white visitors who perceived Black entertainers as naturally uncivilized and uninhibited.[13] He noted that Harlem created white fantasies of Black stereotypes, an integral theme to this thesis.[14] Lastly, Chad Heap discussed exploitation and voyeurism in slum tourism

[8] Ibid.
[9] Malte Steinbrink, "'We Did the Slum!' - Urban Poverty Tourism in Historical Perspective," *Tourism geographies* 14, no. 2 (2012): 213–234.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Thomas Heise, *Urban Underworlds: a Geography of Twentieth-Century American Literature and Culture* (New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 2011).
[12] Ibid.
[13] Lewis A. Erenberg, *Steppin' Out : New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture, 1890-1930* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1981), 255.
[14] Ibid.

in New York City and Chicago nightlife from 1885 to 1940. In *Slumming: Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife, 1885–1940* (2009), Heap ultimately argued that slum tourism upheld a white/black and hetero/homosexual binary, but generally helped me to consider the sexualization of Black spaces and people in these decades.[15] I return to this scholarship in more depth in the following section.

Counter-mapping research and practices have largely involved Indigenous communities, with few instances of counter-mapping in Black communities or in guidebooks. I return to existing counter-mapping theories and their importance to my thesis throughout, but prominent scholars include Dallas Hunt and Shaun Stevenson (2017), who study Indigenous counter-mapping practices, and Ulrich Oslender (2021), Reagan Yessler and Derek Hilton Alderman (2021), Joshua Inwood (2021), Megan Carney (2022), and Ethan Bottone (2020), who discuss Black counter-mapping. Bottone importantly used geographic information systems (GIS) technology to argue that the *Green Book* was a counter-map to existing census data. While his argument was geospatial in nature, my thesis focuses on the guidebooks' narrative and literary functions in comparison to previous, more traditional guidebooks' descriptions of Black spaces.

[15] Chad C. Heap, *Slumming Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife, 1885-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

CHAPTER ONE | Conceptual Definitions

Four conceptual definitions help frame this thesis. "Slum tourism" introduces the practice more broadly in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century to contextualize the guidebooks' descriptions of routes within "ethnic" enclaves in Chicago and New York City. These descriptions of slumming are the central way that guidebooks erased and immobilized Black communities in popular public narratives. In the next section, Black travel, I discuss the liberative role of Black mobility that the *Green Book* fought to promote. The last two conceptual terms, paper genocide and counter-mapping, reveal how literature and public narratives either serve as restricting or liberating forces, specifically to Black communities. I argue that counter-mapping in particular serves as a form of resistance and liberation. Using these concepts, I propose that the Rand McNally guidebooks restricted perceptions of Black communities while the *Green Book* served as a liberative counter-map.

Slum Tourism

Slum tourism originated in Victorian London as early as 1850 with the intention of social reform and charity. Police officers, journalists, and clergy guided tours for wealthy, white benefactors to morally and socially reform East End communities living in poverty.[16] As the century progressed, the moral impetus of slumming began to dissipate as tourists—leisure instead of altruistic slummers—visited the areas for voyeuristic purposes, driven by curiosity of the unknown.[17] Although this practice originated in London, slumming emerged in the United States in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, middle-class white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASPs) ventured into Chinatown and

[16] Steinbrink, "'We Did the Slum!' - Urban Poverty Tourism in Historical Perspective," 213–234.
[17] Ibid.

other non-WASP areas.[18] Much like in London, slumming in the U.S. began as a source of altruism, then entertainment and voyeurism rather than sexual engagement for middle-class and wealthy white Americans; it did not begin as a foray into the immoral, illicit, secretive, or sexual.[19] The relationship between those who slummed and those who lived in the "slums" also upheld a class-based power dynamic that positioned those who lived in the "slums" as "others" to a more cohesive and white American whole. Cocks, who wrote about the rise of urban slum tourism in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century, wrote that slumming in the United States featured an "aestheticization of poverty." [20] She described how "the cultivation of a national history in the urban landscape encouraged well-to-do Americans to feel a kind of vicarious ownership of a city" even without owning property there.[21] Cocks added that tourists sought commercial, transient experiences that grew to represent authentic and permanent cultural differences.[22] These slumming sites served as fixed exhibits for white visitors to peruse. Slumming, therefore, enforced supposed permanent differences between the poor and the wealthy, immigrants and those born in the U.S., and Black and white people.

Even though slumming in the U.S. served as a source of entertainment based on curiosity and the desire to view the unfamiliar, it gradually transitioned into sexual tourism. Engagement, not only voyeurism, emerged: visitors entered bars and other nighttime sites of entertainment to interact with locals. The turn-of-the-century Rand McNally guidebooks do not specifically advertise engagement, but it is difficult to tell if this is because they predate this shift or because of the taboo that would prohibit any advertisement in guidebooks. In Chicago's red-light district (Levee district) and downtown neighborhoods in N.Y.C. (such as the Bowery), this primarily

[18] Heise, *Urban Underworlds*, 33.
[19] Cocks, *Doing the Town,* 176.
[20] Ibid., 195.
[21] Ibid., 176.
[22] Ibid., 187.

sexual engagement occurred in dance halls, opium dens, and black-and-tan resorts (places where Black and white people could mingle).[23] This "commercialized public leisure" broadened wealthy, white perceptions of leisure and sexual behavior.[24] New York City's predominantly Black Tenderloin neighborhood was a popular site of racial and sexual tourism in the 1910s because of its concert halls and brothels associated with more "refined" women.[25] However, white violence against Black people and police harassment prompted Black businesses to move north into Harlem.[26] In part due to the Great Migration, Harlem expanded tremendously throughout the next few decades and became another sexual tourism site.[27] From 1885 to 1940, slum tourism in Harlem nightlife involved themes of sexuality, race, and "deviance." [28] Slum tourism in U.S. cities accentuated dynamics of race, sexuality, and poverty and importantly isolated "others" along spatial and purportedly permanent racial and economic differences.

The Rand McNally guidebooks indicate the idea of slum tourism in a variety of ways. The books did not explicitly use the term "slum tourism," except when mentioning the history of "slumming" in London. As the books lacked explicit verbiage, it is important to define the parameters of the guidebooks' descriptions. The guidebooks presented slum tourism as routes for tourists to explore poor immigrant or Black communities. These descriptions centered Irish, Italian, and Chinese immigrants, as well as Jewish people and African Americans who migrated to northern cities during the Great Migration. The guidebooks often titled these descriptions "A Ramble at Night," placing these communities temporally within nighttime—away from the

[23] Heap, *Slumming Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife,* 101.
[24] Ibid.*,* 101.
[25] Ibid.*,* 35.
[26] Erenberg, *Steppin' Out*, 255.
[27] The Great Migration (approximately 1910-1970) describes the movement of Black people from southern U.S. states to the North, the Midwest, and the West. Chicago and New York City were two of the most important destinations in the Great Migration. By 1940, Harlem's population was 71.2% Black with 275,000 Black residents. Source: John R. Logan, Weiwei Zhang, and Miao David Chunyu, "Emergent Ghettos: Black Neighborhoods in New York and Chicago, 1880-1940," *The American journal of sociology* 120, no. 4 (2015): 1055–1094.
[28] Heap, *Slumming Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife.*

regular, the known, and the familiar. These tours began at one location—typically adjacent to a majority-immigrant neighborhood—and described the streets leading into the neighborhood. Detailed subsections about each ethnic enclave noted residents and establishments, and the return to the outside of the neighborhood often closed with "Let us go home." [29]

Black Travel

As introduced by the "Traveling While Black" exhibit mentioned above, Black travel is an expression of liberation, freedom, and mobility in the face of racial violence and oppression. This theme is critical to my thesis, as I argue that the *Green Book* was a liberating force for Black communities in the face of guidebook mapping practices that immobilized and erased. In *Traveling Black: A Story of Race and Resistance* (2021), Mia Bay chronicles the origins of racial restrictions in travel and individual testimonies of traveling while Black in the twentieth century—experiences that were both demeaning and detested by Black individuals. She explains that even Black travelers seeking northern opportunities during the Great Migration faced racial discrimination through segregated railroad routes and buses.[30] Although automobile travel in the second half of the century might have served as a temporary reprieve from public humiliation and racial discrimination, stopping for gas or food imposed the same racial barriers on motorists.[31] Bay ultimately argues that the fight for Black mobility and unrestricted travel was imperative to civil rights and equity, and continues today through racialized traffic stops and inequities in cities' public transportation systems. She posits that unrestricted and unimpeded travel is important to equity and inclusion despite the traditional focus on racial discrimination in

[29] Rand McNally and Company, *Rand McNally and Co.'s Handy Guide to New York City* (New York: Rand McNally & Co., 1891), 217.
[30] Bay describes that Black travelers were forced to sit in the back of buses even in northern cities like Chicago and New York. This was supposedly meant to convenience Black travelers, as they would not have to change cars in border cities such as Washington, D.C. Source: Mia Bay, *Traveling Black : A Story of Race and Resistance* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2021), 5.
[31] Ibid., 2.

and around one's home. My thesis draws from the heightened importance of Black communities' ability to move through, articulate, and map space freely.

Allyson Hobbs, the director of African and African American Studies at Stanford University, discussed the subversive role of Black travel. In addition to describing the *Green Book* as a method for Black travelers to safely traverse segregated geographies, she identified smaller ways that Black travelers subverted discriminatory practices on the road. While police officers frequently stopped Black motorists, they did not pay as much attention to Black chauffeurs serving white travelers.[32] To take advantage of narratives that normalized Black service workers over Black travel itself, Black motorists would often keep a chauffeur's driving hat in the front seat in case a police officer questioned the purpose of their trip.[33] Although this type of subversion is smaller in scale than the *Green Book*, Black individuals and communities created ways to subvert discriminatory, violent, and racist practices that restricted Black movement.

Paper Genocide

Paper genocide refers to the erasure and exclusion of Indigenous people in U.S. public and official documents including the census. Rand McNally guidebooks had a comparable function, contextualized by considering previously studied ways that literature and text have excluded and diminished marginalized groups. Paper genocide centrally manifests as undercounting, misidentifying, or otherwise excluding Indigenous people. In *Native Providence,* Patricia Rubertone, an anthropologist studying colonial encounters between Indigenous people and Europeans in the seventeenth century, discussed paper genocide in terms of the official

[32] Stanford Alumni, "African Americans and the "Open Road" with Allyson Hobbs," YouTube Video, 11:03, 17 November 2017. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VVADPJDWyJY. Minute 2:54.
[33] Ibid., minute 2:54.

documentation of Narragansett and Wampanoag communities in Providence, Rhode Island. Historic records of these communities in the first half of the nineteenth century are sparse, which Rubertone addressed by relying on their oral storytelling practices, also important to the *Green Book*.[34] More generally, local Providence history did not significantly note Narragansett and Wampanoag communities: the city ignored them in city records, did not consider them in public policy decisions, and deemed their neighborhoods expendable by destroying and transforming Indigenous spaces into highways and urban renewal projects.[35] The Rand McNally guidebooks committed similar paper genocide; although they did not completely erase Black histories, they created narratives around Black communities in Chicago and N.Y.C. that ignored and constrained them to certain areas. Erasure through written texts has significant consequences that impact public perception and understanding of spaces.[36]

Counter-Mapping: A Form of Resistance and Liberation

The term "counter-mapping"—rewriting conceptions of space to decenter those in power—is the most salient concept to this thesis. I propose that the *Green Book* served as a counter-map to more traditional Rand McNally guidebooks. To present this argument, it is first necessary to define counter-mapping and, as a corollary, its role in Black communities as a liberative form of resistance. I catalog how previous scholars have studied the role of counter-mapping in Black communities to extrapolate common practices and their impacts, all of which are features of the *Green Book.* Important themes include notions of community, uplifting and centering marginalized voices, and subverting dominant systems of knowledge.

[34] Patricia E. Rubertone, *Native Providence : Memory, Community, and Survivance in the Northeast* (Lincoln, Massachusetts: University of Nebraska Press, 2020), xvi.
[35] Ibid., xv.
[36] Ibid., xvi.

Indigenous studies use the term counter-mapping as a form of resistance to traditional and exclusive notions of mapping. It questions traditional uses of mapping technologies that often center ownership without nuance and considers alternative forms of mapping (like drawings, paintings, and texts) valid and important. It also posits that traditional cadastral mapping—mapping that shows boundaries and the ownership of space—represents geographies of power, exclusion, and colonialism.[37] Dallas Hunt and Shaun A. Stevenson, two scholars of settler colonialism and Indigenous studies, focused on Indigenous counter-mapping in Canada. They described how Indigenous people re-articulated and re-represented their own experiences of land and territory in response to exclusion.[38] One project placed stickers over street signs to reestablish Indigenous street names, exerting their presence.[39] Here, articulating experiences of space through naming practices worked against the marginalization of Indigenous communities in the face of settler colonialism. Counter-mapping was thus both liberative—incorporating marginalized Indigenous voices and ideas of space—and a form of resistance.

Although Indigenous studies typically use the term, I refer to five instances where Black communities drew on counter-mapping practices to address racial inequity. First, Ulrich Oslender, a scholar of political and cultural geography, wrote about Black communities in the Colombian Pacific Lowlands. In 1991, the new Colombian constitution redefined relations between the state and the Afro-descendant, Black population.[40] It recognized Black communities and enacted measures to preserve their culture. Between 1995 and 1999, Colombia's Geographical Institute sponsored a participatory mapping exercise that asked locals to produce

[37] Dallas Hunt and Shaun A. Stevenson, "Decolonizing Geographies of Power: Indigenous Digital Counter-Mapping Practices on Turtle Island," *Settler colonial studies* 7, no. 3 (2017): 372–392.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ulrich Oslender, "Decolonizing Cartography and Ontological Conflict: Counter-Mapping in Colombia and 'cartographies Otherwise,'" *Political geography* 89 (2021): 102444–.

mental maps of their spaces (including the locations of the river, settlements, and crops).[41] This ultimately served as a tool in collective land titling and gave voice to and honored the knowledge of Black communities. This study stands out, as it not only allowed Black articulations of space, but also did so in official public records and documents. The government itself incorporated these counter-maps—Law 70 in 1993 solidified Afro-Colombian communities' territorial imaginaries—pointing to more sustained inclusion and working against the possibility of paper genocide discussed earlier.

Second, Reagan Yessler, who studies how space intersects with gender and sexuality, and Derek Hilton Alderman, who studies race, civil rights, and belonging, both discussed Louise Jefferson, a Black painter in the Harlem Renaissance. Jefferson's paintings explored themes of power; she articulated the experience of Black women as doubly experiencing exclusion along the lines of race and gender.[42] Louise Jefferson's paintings serve as critical counter-maps because of their similar functions as the *Green Book:* they emerged in the same city and decades and both map Black mobility. She painted many of her maps in the 1930s and the 1940s, which Friendship Press, Inc. published in N.Y.C., while Victor H. Green first published the *Green Book* in 1936 in N.Y.C. It would also seem that Jefferson's publishers disseminated the maps to the public like the *Green Book*—the bottom of each map clearly states the publishing company and the year of copyright.[43]

Two of Jefferson's maps in particular represented liberation and resistance through portraying Black figures and modes of travel (see Figures 1 and 2). Jefferson published figure 1, entitled "Uprooted people of the U.S.A.," in 1945. A text at the bottom of the map acknowledges

[41] Ibid.
[42] Reagan Yessler and Derek Hilton Alderman, "Art as 'Talking Back': Louise Jefferson's Life and Legacy of Counter-Mapping," *Cartographica* 56, no. 2 (2021): 145.
[43] Julie Stoner, "Louise E. Jefferson – A Hidden African American Cartographer," *Library of Congress,* 7 February 2022. https://blogs.loc.gov/maps/2022/02/louise-e-jefferson-a-hidden-african-american-cartographer/.

the population displacements and movements that occurred during World War II.[44] A text block explicitly notes refugees and war victims of all races, nationalities, and classes, and the map acknowledges communities against whom U.S policies often discriminate by including Japanese relocation centers and Mexican migration.[45] "Crowded trains," airplanes, and housing developments represent mobility. This map is not as positive as the next—it depicts the forced movement of people in the midst of war, but reveals how counter-mapping articulates mobility. Figure 2, entitled "Americans of Negro Lineage," painted in 1946, portrays prominent people in politics, entertainment, music, literature, and athletics.[46] This recognition of Black figures on a map asserts their presence in U.S. history despite their usual exclusion. The map presents mobility by including World War II ships named after Black soldiers and sailors, an illustration of a Black porter with Pullman train cars circling him (the text reads that Black people represented more than 10 percent of the total railroad industry labor force), an 1839 Cuba-bound ship of enslaved people who rebelled and gained freedom, and a text placed in Columbus, Ohio, that cites that more than 40,000 people gained access to freedom in the Underground Railroad. Both maps portray liberation, uncovering and overlaying Black stories of movement and travel.

Yessler and Alderman write that "artistic counter-maps doubly empower those who are traditionally powerless by mapping them where they once were ignored, and by mapping their humanity" instead of presenting them as mere statistics.[47] Both "Americans of Negro Lineage" and "Uprooted people of the U.S.A." represent this sentiment of humanity, visibility, and space-claiming. Maps are static, and sometimes seen as even permanent or restrictive, but Black people moved fluidly within Jefferson's. Her maps are thus pertinent to my discussion of the

[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Yessler and Alderman, "Art as 'Talking Back,'" 140.

Green Book. They exemplify how counter-maps allow for mobility and empowerment in the face of restrictions and immobility.

Third, Joshua Inwood, a geographer interested in race, Alderman, and Bottone conceptualized counter-mapping in the Black Freedom Struggle through examining visualizations of systemic injustices that Black people experienced.[48] They described the collection and dissemination of social data for activist and community-building purposes to challenge public narratives.[49] They depict images from W.E.B. Du Bois' *The Georgia Negro*, released at the 1900 Paris Exposition, which presented racial and economic data including socioeconomic status, homeownership, and routes of the transatlantic slave trade. They also cited the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's (SNCC) map that connects private and financial organizations to the Alabama State Police, and the NAACP and the Tuskegee Institute's data on sites of lynching. These visual representations of racial injustices served as counter-maps to public narratives that rejected the reality of racial inequality and violence and worked towards liberation through acknowledgement. Fourth, Megan Carney, a medical anthropologist, discussed care and giving cartographies during COVID-19, where participants drew maps of their daily lives and surroundings and reflected on feelings of community.[50] Although counter-mapping typically involves drawn maps or other, non-textual representations of space, the *Green Book*, a written text with mapping functions, also subverts geographies of power and builds community, which will be discussed in length later.

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[48] Inwood, Alderman, and Bottone defined the Black Freedom Struggle as the fight for civil rights and racial equality, and specifically discussed counter-maps in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Source: Derek H. Alderman, Joshua F.J. Inwood, and Ethan Bottone, "The mapping behind the movement: On recovering the critical cartographies of the African American Freedom Struggle," *Geoforum*, Volume 120 (2021): 67-78.
[49] Ibid., 67.
[50] Megan A. Carney, Debi Chess, and Michelle Rascon‐Canales, "'There Would Be More Black Spaces': Care/giving Cartographies During COVID‐19," *Medical anthropology quarterly* 36, no. 4 (2022): 442–462.

Last, Ethan Bottone, a scholar of tourism, mobility, and race, conceptualized the *Green Book* as a form of counter-mapping.[51] In his work, Bottone examined Black travel and mobility throughout the Jim Crow era and argued that the *Green Book* subversively mapped cities for travelers unfamiliar with local Jim Crow practices, or wary of transgressing boundaries.[52] He argued that the geo-spatial work that the guidebooks' contributors performed—collecting businesses and addresses—was a form of spatial counter-mapping.[53] To analyze the spatial data provided by the guidebooks, Bottone applied a critical GIS lens and methodology—which incorporates qualitative data or data that challenges dominant discourses. His case study of New Orleans, Louisiana, overlaid *Green Book* recommendations with 1940 and 1960 census data mapping where people of color lived in the city.[54] Superimposing the recommendations and census data revealed a strong Black travel industry that existed alongside white tourism in the city. As such, Bottone's work used geo-spatial data to frame the *Green Book* as a counter-map. In contrast, this thesis employs textual data, using Rand McNally guidebooks' conceptions of Black spaces as existing forms of maps. By closely examining the employed language of guidebooks, I reveal the subversive literary role of the *Green Book* and how counter-mapping informs public perceptions of space. How did the *Green Books* create spaces that countered the white definitions of spaces in the Rand McNally guidebooks?

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[51] Ethan Bottone, "'Please Mention the Green Book:' The Negro Motorist Green Book as critical GIS," *Historical Geography, GIScience and Textual Analysis: Landscapes of Time and Place* (2020): 51-64.
[52] Bottone specifies the Jim Crow era as 1876-1964, ending with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which ended de jure discrimination on the basis of race, national origin, sex, color, or religion. Source: Ibid.
[53] Ibid., 57.
[54] Bottone chose New Orleans as the case study because it is a tourism destination that was racialized before and during the Jim Crow era. He described it as a city that supports white supremacy and maintains the immobility and subjugation of Black people. Source: Ibid.

CHAPTER TWO | Rand McNally Guidebooks

In this chapter, I discuss in depth how Rand, McNally & Company guidebooks described race and space—specifically through descriptions of slum tourism—to simultaneously erase and immobilize Black communities in Chicago and New York City. I first delineate the history of Rand McNally and its guidebooks in the subsection entitled "History and Framing." Second, I present three ways that the guidebooks both erased and immobilized in the subsections "Depictions of Race" and "Slum Tourism and Black Spaces." The books reduced the significance of Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, understated Chicago's Black population demographics, and pejoratively presented walking slum routes in Chicago and New York City. I argue that these books painted Black spaces and histories as static, unable to join with other parts of the city and able to contain Black individuals. In the last subsection "Readership and Impact," I discuss how the guidebooks' advertisements reveal that white readers may have internalized these narratives as objective racial knowledge.

History and Framing

Rand, McNally & Company originally began in 1856 as a Chicago printing shop run by William H. Rand, and rose alongside the *Chicago Tribune*.[55] In approximately 1956, according to the Newberry Library archives, Bruce Grant, a writer for the company, attempted to document a complete book-length history of the publishing company. The Chicago's Newberry Library houses Grant's unpublished book and notes, allowing us to piece together his research. The Rand McNally website also features a summary of the company's history. In his work, Grant noted that the print shop consolidated with the *Chicago Tribune* in 1860, with Rand as the superintendent.[56]

[55] "Early Chicago Ties Link Three Big Publishers," Folder 158, Box 6, Series 1, Rand McNally and Company Records, The Newberry Library, Chicago.
[56] "Rand McNally & Company," Folder 168, Box 7, Series 1, Rand McNally and Company Records, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

In 1864, Andrew McNally became Rand's partner and the two bought the printing shop from the *Tribune*. Rand McNally & Company soon after became incorporated in 1873.[57]

Five years prior, in 1868, the company had begun to print tickets and timetables for Chicago's railroads, with maps published in 1872.[58] At this point, Rand McNally had a variety of departments with distinct functions and outputs. During this period, the company contracted famous writers for railroad promotional literature to advertise railroad travel.[59] In 1875, the company published its first pocket maps, which were more accessible to the everyday traveler.[60] In the midst of the increased production of wall maps, pocket maps, and atlases, the company published the first copy of *The Business Atlas* in 1876.[61] In 1880, Rand McNally expanded to education publishing, which included maps, textbooks, and guidebooks.[62] Grant credited the first Rand McNally guidebook to 1880, entitled a *Historical Description and Guide Map of Chicago*. This book listed and mapped the locations of schools, banks, business districts, churches, hotels, public buildings, and railroad stations.[63] The scope of this project begins after Rand McNally published its first guidebook in 1880. For both Chicago and New York City, the company published yearly editions of these guidebooks, which were largely the same save minor edits to language, addresses, and facts as needed. They largely presented descriptions that were useful to city visitors, and their readership was predominantly railroad passengers and tourists.[64] They featured countless maps, descriptions of sites of entertainment—museums, shopping centers,

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[57] Ibid.
[58] "Our History," *Rand McNally and Company,* https://www.randmcnally.com/about/history.
[59] "Big Name Writers," Folder 162, Box 6, Series 1, Rand McNally and Company Records, The Newberry Library, Chicago.
[60] Folder 167, Box 7, Series 1, Rand McNally and Company Records, The Newberry Library, Chicago.
[61] "Rand McNally & Company," Folder 168, Box 7, Series 1, Rand McNally and Company Records, The Newberry Library, Chicago.
[62] "Our History," *Rand McNally and Company.*
[63] "Guide Books," Folder 170, Box 7, Series 1, Rand McNally and Company Records, The Newberry Library, Chicago.
[64] Email Correspondence with Patrick Morris [Newberry Library, Map Cataloguer and Reference Librarian], 19 November 2022.

restaurants, theaters—schools and universities, and notable streets, buildings, and monuments. The books combined the past with the present, noting historical events and people alongside contemporary descriptions of the cities' streets. They also listed neighborhoods to visit and advertised local businesses who paid to be featured.

This section discusses depictions of slum tourism and race pulled from a variety of guidebooks to both Chicago and N.Y.C., so it is first necessary to introduce them. Rand McNally published the Chicago guidebooks analyzed in this research in 1886, 1892, 1912, and 1924. Rand McNally often did not credit the writers and editors of their books, so they are unknown.[65] These guidebooks have distinct titles but consistently reveal themes related to race and the formulation of Blackness for white readers. The first is entitled *Rand McNally & Co.'s Pictorial Guide to Chicago: What to See And How to See It* (1886). As evidenced by the title, this book contained pictures and maps for readers to explore Chicago. Rand McNally published the second guidebook, *Rand, McNally & Co.'s Handy Guide to Chicago, and World's Columbian Exposition ... What to see and how to see it* (1892), in preparation for the Columbian Exposition in 1893. The World's Columbian Exposition marked the 400th anniversary of Italian navigator Christopher Columbus's arrival to "the New World" in 1492. This guidebook targeted a large audience and serves as an interesting lens through which to view Black communities, as the Exposition relied on "exotic" imagery to depict foreign communities and villages to paying viewers. Both Rand McNally and the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry published the third book, *Rand McNally & Company's Souvenir Guide to Chicago* (1912). Its presentation of the city in the context of industry consolidates the values of local businesses and the government. The fourth book, *Rand McNally Guide to Chicago and Environs, With Maps and Illustrations* (1924), did not advertise a big event and thus presented a more prosaic depiction of

[65] Phone call with Patrick Morris [Newberry Library, Map Cataloguer and Reference Librarian], 17 November 2022.

the city. The Rand McNally guidebooks to New York City analyzed here were published in 1891, 1895, 1900, 1907, 1908, and 1932. Like the Chicago guidebooks, they often did not credit authors or contributors, although the title page for a few listed Ernest Ingersoll, a known writer, explorer, naturalist, and zoologist.[66] The names of these books address the same subjects and do not greatly change by year.

Depictions of Race

Rand McNally guidebooks to Chicago and New York City aimed to present a complete portrait of each city, which necessarily included racialized individuals and spaces. This section focuses on the Chicago guidebooks because they present race more frequently than the New York City guidebooks. Although they racialized most spaces in Chicago as white—most descriptions of spaces did not reference Blackness or any racial "other," thus normalizing whiteness—there are two ways that the guidebooks diminished the histories and current roles of Black people in Chicago. First, the guidebooks delved into the "founding" of Chicago and presented Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, a man of African descent known as the first non-Indigenous settler of the city. Despite his importance to Chicago's history, the books understated his arrival to the city and his role in trade. Second, the guidebooks presented the racial demographics of the city's population, which generally erased Black people's movement into Chicago and excluded them from the title of "American." Thus, I argue that the way the guidebooks presented race and Black spaces served to erase their importance within the metropolitan space and its history.

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[66] Ernest Ingersoll (1852-1846) studied at Oberlin College and Harvard University. In 1874, he entered the U.S. Geological Survey of the Far West as a naturalist. He then worked at the *New York Tribune* as a reporter and wrote books, centrally about animals and nature. He resided in New York City for a large part of his life. Source: "ERNEST INGERSOLL, NRTURALIST, DEAD; Author Explorer and Lecturer, Friend of John Burroughs, Louis Agassiz, Was 94," *The New York Times*, 14 November 1946, https://www.nytimes.com/1946/11/14/archives/ernest-ingersoll-nrturalist-dead-author-explorer-and-lecturer.html.

Jean Baptiste Point du Sable's appearance stands as the first depiction of race featured in many of these guidebooks. In the 1892 book, the writer overshadowed Point du Sable by emphasizing the contributions of his successors. The 1892 Chicago guidebook read: "The first non-autochthonal [non-native] settler was one Baptiste Point de Saible [*sic*], a handsome and well-educated negro, wealthy, and a fur trader. His successor was a Frenchman named Le Mai, who, in the early part of 1804, transferred and sold his log cabin to John Kinzie, to whom belongs the title, 'Father of Chicago.'"[67] Here, the author noted Point du Sable's physical appearance and occupation, emphasizing his transactions with other people as opposed to any facts about his life itself—he was born in Haiti to a French man and an enslaved mother of African descent and educated in France before traveling to New Orleans and Illinois.[68] Instead, Le Mai, the original benefactor of Point du Sable's home, and John Kinzie displaced Point du Sable in the text.[69] The author thus de-centered him, even though his presence anchored the city. Moreover, the author misspelled his name here and in subsequent editions of the text. Even though this may only have been a typo or potentially how writers knew him at the time, the failure to correctly spell his name amplifies the disregard for his "founding" role.

The 1912 guidebook's description provided more details: the exact year that Point du Sable owned a cabin as well as its location in relation to modern intersecting streets:

> In 1777 there lived in a cabin on the site now occupied by the Kirk Soap Factory, near the corner of Kinzie and Pine Sts. (North Side) a San Domingo negro trader named Jean Baptiste Pointe de Saible [*sic*]. This negro occupied the cabin for 17 years, finally selling it to Le Mai, a French trader who in turn sold it to Jean Kinzie (for whom Kinzie St. is named) in 1804.[70]

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[67] Rand McNally and Company, *Rand, McNally & co.'s Handy Guide to Chicago, and World's Columbian exposition ... What to see and how to see it,* (Chicago and New York: Rand McNally & Co., 1892), 15.
[68] "Early Chicago: Jean Baptiste DuSable," *WTTW Chicago*, 5 July 2018, https://interactive.wttw.com/dusable-to-obama/jean-baptiste-dusable.
[69] Edward Baumann, "Du Sable Last Home," *Chicago Tribune,* 28 October 1990, https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-1990-10-28-9003300138-story.html.
[70] Rand McNally and Company, and Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, *Rand McNally & Company's Souvenir Guide to Chicago* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1912), 7.

This edition described him as a "negro trader" and omitted other descriptors from the 1892 version—the fact that he was handsome, well-educated, wealthy, and a fur trader. This edition erased his social and economic standing that would signal status and made his presence circumstantial, where he merely occupied his cabin's specific street corner.

Twelve years later, the 1924 version again used different language and imagery to describe Point du Sable, even quoting another description of him:

> Baptiste Point de Saible [*sic*] settled at [*sic*] Chicago in 1779. Colonel De Peyster, the British Commander at Michilimackinac made record on July 4, 1779 as follows: 'Baptiste Point de Saible [*sic*], a handsome negro, well educated, and settled at Eschikagou…. A river and fort at the head of Lake Michigan.' De Saible's cabin was on a sand point at a bend in the river, where the stream turned south to the lowlands at what is now Monroe St. Here he lived for 17 years.[71]

The more poetic imagery includes some of the 1892 description and adds more geographic detail. Today, the former site of Point du Sable's cabin is on the Chicago River, directly between the Loop and Michigan Avenue on River North, two prominent shopping and business districts. The city renamed one of the eighteen bridges spanning the river the DuSable Bridge in 2010, originally opened as the Michigan Avenue Bridge in 1920.[72] The renaming ceremony acknowledged that Point du Sable strategically built his home at the north end of the bridge to serve as a trading post in the late 1770s, an intention unacknowledged by the guidebooks.[73] This renaming followed Alderman Brendan Reilly's help in passing the "Friends of DuSable's" 2009

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[71] Rand McNally and Company, *Rand McNally Guide to Chicago And Environs, With Maps And Illustrations* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1924), 5.
[72] Blair Kamin, "Column: Chicago's DuSable Bridge, originally the Michigan Avenue Bridge, turns 100 Thursday. Here's why the centennial matters," *Chicago Tribune,* 13 May 2020, https://www.chicagotribune.com/columns/blair-kamin/ct-biz-dusable-bridge-turns-100-kamin-20200513-7bw5i5btzzfdtn5mkkvhmtxu3u-story.html.
[73] Stefano Esposito, "Bridge renamed for city's first resident DuSable," *Chicago Sun-Times*, 16 October 2010, https://infoweb-newsbank-com.revproxy.brown.edu/apps/news/document-view?p=WORLDNEWS&docref=news/132E63F0C9618510.

ordinance.[74] Today, the city promotes his role in Chicago's history and the former site of his cabin, while Rand McNally guidebooks neutrally presented his role and importance.

The Chicago guidebooks' second mention of race was through the city's demographics, which minimized data on the Black population and did not label African Americans as "American." First, the 1892 guidebook vaguely presented the number of Black people in Chicago. The Black population had increased more than twofold from 1886 to 1892, as "the negroes are said to number 13,000" in 1892.[75] The guidebook placed this statistic as a note under the data table rather than including them within it. The phrasing—"said to number 13,000"—suggests an estimate compared to the other, "official" data. To compare, the guidebook listed with certainty and specificity the demographics of Americans, Germans, Irish, Polish and Swedish people in Chicago.[76] The 1912 book did not include any Black demographic data, even though census information had begun to evolve in the 1890s to include questions about race, likely as a result of Reconstruction and Black citizenship.[77] In fact, the 1910 census listed data points (broken down by race) such as age, sex, marital condition, males of voting age, and school attendance for cities of 25,000 people or more, which included Chicago.[78] Writers of the 1912 edition would have had access to this data, but the guidebook only noted the general size of the population and the city's "cosmopolitan" nature.[79]

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[74] Ibid.
[75] Rand McNally and Company, *Rand, McNally & co.'s Handy Guide to Chicago, and World's Columbian exposition* (1892), 22.
[76] Ibid., 22.
[77] U.S. Bureau of the Census, "1890 Overview," https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/overview/1890.html.
[78] Rand McNally and Company, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910: Statistics for Illinois* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 611.
[79] Rand McNally and Company, and Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, *Rand McNally & Company's Souvenir Guide to Chicago* (1912), 26.

Further, at the beginning of the twentieth century, migration involved Black participation in northern manufacturing industries.[80] However, besides a paragraph about school children's diversity (discussed later), the 1912 guidebook—published by both Rand McNally and the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry—did not discuss race in this context. It seems as if Rand McNally erased the experiences of Black communities in manufacturing industries. The book may have intended to advertise a white "Americanness," based in development and manufacturing. White people looking for work during the Great Migration felt threatened by Black workers coming from the South because northern employers bound them to exploitative and more profitable low-wage contracts.[81] Although white people still occupied a large portion of Chicago's manufacturing jobs, visitors interested in Chicago manufacturing might have been discouraged if they felt threatened by Black workers. More broadly, increasing tensions between African American migrants and white northerners, as well as the murder of Eugene Williams, a Black teenager who swam near a white-only beach, caused the Chicago Race Riots of 1919.[82] These race riots occurred during the national Red Summer of 1919, a period of racial violence in response to Black migration, contextualizing why Chicago guidebooks omitted Black people and contemporary racial pressures.

The 1924 guidebook's labeling of comprehensive 1920 census data for the Black population again reveals erasure. The guidebook stated that the 1920 census counted 642,871 "Americans" and 109,458 "Negros," labels which are critical to examine.[83] Did "American"

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[80] *Hostility to Black Migrants Leads to Days of Racial Violence*, Equal Justice Initiative, https://calendar.eji.org/racial-injustice/aug/03.
[81] Carole Marks, "Black Workers and the Great Migration North," *Phylon* 46, no. 2 (1985): 159-160.
[82] The Chicago Race Riots of 1919 began on July 27th and ended with the arrival of the National Guard. The riots lasted approximately one week, 38 people were killed, and 537 were injured. Source: *Carl Sandburg and the Chicago Race Riots 1919, U.S. National Park Service,* last updated 4 January, 2023, https://www.nps.gov/carl/learn/historyculture/chicago-race-riots.htm.
[83] Rand McNally and Company, *Rand McNally Guide to Chicago And Environs, With Maps And Illustrations* (1924), 14.

include Black people, or did it only represent Chicago's white populations? The original 1920 census featured the same numbers—642,871 and 109,458 respectively—but specified "Native white-Native parentage" and "Negro." [84] The guidebook thus replaced a more specific term—"native white-native parentage," meaning white people born in the United States to parents born in the United States—with simply "American," thus redefining "American" to exclude Black people and only claim white populations.[85] This stands as an important example of the guidebook's exclusion of Black communities from citizenship; its manipulation of census data effectively "othered" them from a common identity. This demographic "othering" served as a mechanism to separate Black and white in the public imagination. Leading up to the Chicago Race Riots of 1919, as aforementioned, Chicago's Black population experienced segregation, housing inequities, police brutality, and racial violence in the 1910s.[86] The 1912 guidebooks' demographic othering may have served to justify these residential and economic inequities to white readers. How these three editions—1892, 1912, and 1924—engaged with demographics signal the guidebooks' inconsistent inclusion of racial data and point to effective erasure. Not including accurate demographic data speaks to the idea of paper genocide—the exclusion of populations in documentation. The guidebooks left out important demographic details that misinformed its readers of the extent of Chicago's Black population.

In summary, although most of Chicago's guidebooks racialized spaces as white, the few mentions of Black people also, ironically, served as moments of exclusion. These guidebooks understated the "founding" role and life story of Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, diminished the

[84] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States: State Compendium Illinois* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1924).
[85] By presenting the racialization of immigrants in the U.S., Matthew Frye Jacobson similarly argues that racial categorizations are fluid, not based in nature but instead in cultural and social contexts. Source: Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color : European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1998).
[86] *Carl Sandburg and the Chicago Race Riots 1919, U.S. National Park Service,* https://www.nps.gov/carl/learn/historyculture/chicago-race-riots.htm.

role of Black migration into Chicago, and changed the wording of census data to exclude Black populations from a common "American" identity. Whether this erasure was intentional—in part due to the effort to censor increasing pressures culminating in the Red Summer of 1919—or represents mere laziness, the guidebooks did not adequately present Black histories and contemporary markers of Black growth.

Slum Tourism and Black Spaces

Chicago and New York City Rand McNally guidebooks' descriptions of walking slum tourism also contributed to negative public narratives. I argue that the portrayals of Black communities in walking tours had two consequences: one of erasure and one of immobility. These walking tours presented stereotyped and pejorative images of Chinatown, Eastern European immigrant communities, Jewish communities, and Black communities in the Levee district and the Bowery. First, Rand McNally's written slumming routes—especially those in N.Y.C. guidebooks—erased Black communities by failing to holistically describe them. Second, they triply immobilized Black communities by (1) placing them within a constant state of immorality and vice, (2) describing people as a function of their space, and (3) not significantly changing their descriptions in subsequent yearly editions.

Erasure

The New York City guidebooks' general exclusion of Black communities in descriptions of slumming—even as slumming and voyeurism of Black communities were prominent in New York City at the time—serves as a pertinent example of erasure. Only one of the New York City guidebooks published between 1891 and 1918 described possible slumming routes, only briefly noting the Black communities living in these areas. The guidebooks centrally focused on other

communities, including Eastern European and Chinese immigrants. For example, the New York City guidebooks excluded any mention of Five Points' African American residents. According to the 1920 census, Irish immigrants and African Americans were the neighborhood's two largest groups.[87] Yet, besides alluding to a character called "Irish Mike," the section on Five Points focused on the physical details of the neighborhood and vague descriptions of its occupants, excluding African American residents from public perceptions of this space.[88]

Throughout the text, the 1891 New York City guidebook left out Black people and described Jewish, Chinese, Italian, and Russian communities. Each of these parts included detailed paragraphs on where they lived, the number of people in each community, popular areas of business, and levels of education. The tone of this section was certainly more factual and informative than Chicago, but still left out Black communities. After a section on "Socialists and Anarchists," the book finally took the reader back north: "We climb the narrow stairs and start up Sixth av. again. It is almost one o'clock, but the streets seem full of people, among whom we notice more colored faces than heretofore. Step down 25th, 26th, or 27th sts. Westward and you will find little else than colored tradespeople and lodgers—some good, some bad."[89] The 1891 text thus only noted Black people within these spaces at the beginning and the end of the text—at the time of entrance and the time of exit. This mention of Black people passively described them while questioning their morality and visitors' safety by noting them as "some good, some bad." The text never describes their actions or their individuality, they were instead passive occupants of slumming spaces. Like in Chicago guidebooks, the last line of the text suggested to the reader "Let us go home," demarcating this space as foreign and the rest of the City as home.[90] The 1895

[87] Lisa Merrill, "Amalgamation, Moral Geography, and 'Slum Tourism': Irish and African Americans Sharing Space on the Streets and Stages of Antebellum New York," *Slavery & abolition* 37, no. 3 (2016): 638–660.
[88] Rand McNally and Company, *Rand McNally and Co.'s Handy Guide to New York City* (1891), 204.
[89] Ibid., 217.
[90] Ibid., 217.

guidebook also failed to sufficiently mention Black people: the book only featured the idea of "colored faces" and "Negros" twice, again erasing individuals.

The guidebooks attest to the intentionality of literary erasure. What was included—and what was excluded—from these chapters served a purpose. The 1900 guidebook to New York City included text that referenced the idea of inclusion and exclusion:

> This new series of American Guide Books gives, in volumes of 'handy' size, the information generally desired by travelers seeking pleasure, health, or business. The books are uniform in size and general arrangement. Places or objects of particular importance or interest are noted in black-faced type, and those of less importance in italics. Care has been taken to present everything in the most candid and helpful light, saying little or nothing about that which is deemed worth little attention.[91]

The book explicitly stated that what was not included was of little importance. The writer effectively exerted the power to hide certain narratives and people from the readers.

Immobility

The guidebooks' descriptions of slumming morally, spatially, and temporally immobilized Black communities. I view the way the books pejoratively described Black people as moral immobility, the way that qualities of "slums" replaced individual and human characteristics as spatial immobility, and the way that the guidebooks did not significantly revise their descriptions of Black communities and spaces as temporal immobility. First, I present the 1891 New York City guidebook's immobilizing functions, as subsequent editions mirrored its exclusive language. Next, I discuss the 1892 Chicago guidebook, which persistently displayed Black communities as immoral and attached to their set "slum" geography. I then discuss the 1895 New York guidebook before returning to the 1898 Chicago guidebook. Last, 1900, 1907,

[91] Rand McNally and Company, and Ernest Ingersoll, *Handy Guide to New York City: Brooklyn, Staten Island And Other Districts Included In the Enlarged City* 9th ed., (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1900), v.

and 1908 New York City guidebooks continued to reflect temporal immobility, as they featured the same descriptions of the city and its inhabitants throughout the years.

Examining the 1891 New York City guidebook serves as important framing that will later reveal temporal immobility through repetition, as the guidebooks preserved the same image of Black communities throughout decades. The 1891 "Guide to New York City" was the first N.Y.C. guidebook available that detailed slumming, located in a section entitled "A Nocturnal Ramble." The first paragraph reflects the next year's 1892 Columbian Exposition guidebook to Chicago, which described how slumming in New York City was incomparable to its origins in London. It warned:

> As for danger—pooh! Leave at home your silk hat, diamond studs, and kid gloves, and your watch too, if it is a valuable one; don't exhibit a roll of bills when you pay for your occasional glass of beer or cigar; don't be *too* inquisitive; and don't allow yourself to be enticed into any back yards, or dark doorways, nor up or down any stairways, by man or woman. Above all, keep quite sober—so clear-headed that you not only can take care of yourself, but that you could closely observe and subsequently identify any person who tried to do you harm.[92]

Notwithstanding a few grammatical and punctuation changes, and "New York" instead of "Chicago," this is the same text as the 1892 Columbian Exposition guidebook. The publisher copied texts from entirely different cities, painting all slums as the same.

Another similarity between the two texts—N.Y.C. 1891 and Chicago 1892—is in the advice given to readers looking to slum: "If you are in search of evil, in order to take part in it,—don't look here for guidance. This book merely proposes to give some hints as how the dark, crowded, hard-working and sometimes criminal portions of the city look at night." [93] The focus on how the "portions of the city look at night" presents the residents as a function of their space. It emphasizes the "portions of the city" rather than those who live there, thus attributing any of

[92] Ibid., v.
[93] Rand McNally and Company, *Rand McNally and Co.'s Handy Guide to New York City* (1891), 202.

the space's qualities—darkness, crowdedness, violence, and immorality—to the people as well. The guidebook used the space to define the behaviors and "goodness" of its residents, rendering them immobile within it. The 1892 Chicago guidebook replicated verbatim the immobilizing language of this caveat, which allowed for a larger audience to consume this framing.

These above excerpts are the two central instances in which one city's text copied another's. Although reprinting the same texts could have facilitated production with a potential limited number of printing offices, the effect is evident. The guidebooks and Rand McNally advertisements stressed the originality and authenticity of their materials while those regarding Black communities and slumming routes were replicas. The text instead invoked certain feelings in the reader—fear, curiosity, and moral and physical separation—rather than accurately informing them of Black spaces. This repetition between years and between cities reflects temporal immobility: the Black spaces described in these guidebooks were constant, not even with changing descriptors.

After this introduction, the "Nocturnal Ramble" begins. The book's route began at an uptown hotel at 9pm, and recommended taking the Sixth Av. El. Ry. downtown to Bleecker Street:

> This is a shady corner, in more senses than one. The junction of Bleecker and South Fifth Av. is quite roofed over by the elevated station and tracks, and the latter street is one of the most poorly lighted in town; moreover the locality is largely inhabited by negroes, mainly of a very low class, becoming still more low and vicious as you go down Sullivan and Thompson Sts., below Bleecker; and a large proportion of the white residents, American, Italian, French and Irish, are fond of shady places and shady ways.[94]

This description of Black people was not only surface-level, but also did not mention any individuals. "Negroes" were not afforded individuality and passively inhabited the *space.* The book also objectified them—any potential of interaction was seen as impossible. It simply

[94] Ibid., 202-203.

described them as "mainly of a very low class, becoming still more low and vicious" as one continued on the route. This sense of moral and spatial immobility—being stuck in a seemingly "immoral" space that defines the individual—is central to this description.

Mentioned earlier as contributing to a sense of erasure, the 1891 N.Y.C. guidebook's mention of Five Points, a Black and Irish neighborhood, also serves as a prominent example of immobility. The book described that "On each of these points, years ago, stood grogshops of the lowest character, and the whole neighborhood was filled with infamous houses and tumble-down tenements, inhabited by the poorest and most abandoned persons,—the human drainage of the city.[95] The 1907 guidebook repeated this same text, revealing a literary lack of movement throughout this period of 16 years. When walking around the neighborhood, "there is no danger… if a person keeps his eyes open and does not allow himself to be enticed off the street."[96] This section further alluded to the immobility of Five Points' residents, as one could enter but not exit the space. The contemporary licentiousness of racial mixing caused a strong police presence in the neighborhood during various riots in the nineteenth century, pointing to the real surveillance and immobility of residents.[97] This section on Five Points, also in the 1908 guidebook, thus immobilized the community by repeating descriptions and implying that its residents were unable to leave of their own volition.

The 1892 Chicago guidebook on the Columbian Exposition contained a considerable guide to Vaudeville entertainment and Chicago's red-light district and spatially immobilized Black communities as a consequence. It separated white, wealthy, daytime Chicago from a Black, poor, vice-infested, and nighttime Chicago. More broadly, all contents of the book relied on "othering" because it described the Columbian Exposition, which presented different regions

[95] Rand McNally and Company, *Rand McNally and Co.'s Handy Guide to New York City* (1891), 204.
[96] Ibid., 204.
[97] Merrill, "Amalgamation, Moral Geography, and 'Slum Tourism,'" 652.

and cultures for visitors and described people of color as invariably different. The guide did not mention an exhibit for African Americans, it rather mentioned them within the "Algerian and Tunisian Village" description.[98] The section stated: "The Arabs, Kabyles, and negroes are seen about their daily labors and amusements…" [99] As "negro" commonly referred to Black people in the U.S., the book positioned Black Americans in the "Algerian and Tunisian village," where Black people were homogenous—and foreign. It reinforced segregation and the idea of Black bodies as a source of amusement, which preceded the book's explicit descriptions of slum tourism.

The 1892 book first listed Vaudeville Entertainment within the section "Theaters, The Opera, and Other Amusements":

> Vaudeville Entertainments of any especial merit in Chicago are, like 'Black swans,' rare, the Eden Musee, with Haverly's Minstrels (excellent in its way), being about the sole representative of performances suited for ladies or children. To those of cosmopolitan taste, who desire beer and tobacco, and do not draw the line at abbreviated dress…[100]

Cited as appropriate for children, J.H. Haverly created Haverly's United Mastodon Minstrels in 1877.[101] The group performed in blackface and had more than 100 members.[102] Haverly also acquired a Black performance group which he renamed Haverly's Colored Minstrels. While it is unclear to which group the guidebook was referring, both reveal audiences' desires to experience stereotypical performances of Blackness. Minstrel shows were vehicles for voyeurism with the consequences of the social immobility of Black communities.

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[98] Rand McNally and Company, *Rand, McNally & co.'s Handy Guide to Chicago, and World's Columbian exposition* (1892), 233.
[99] Ibid., 234.
[100] Ibid., 60.
[101] *Haverly's United Mastadon Minstrels,* National Museum of American History, Behring Center, Harry T. Peters "America on Stone" Lithography Collection, ca. 1880, Accession Number 228146, https://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah_376177.
[102] Ibid.

Like many N.Y.C. guidebooks, the 1892 Chicago guidebook's section "A Ramble at Night" introduced the reader to nighttime Chicago. The section's introductory paragraph described how a European philanthropist once said that "the prevalent dirt and flagrant vice there [in Chicago] visible exceeded everything in London, but that he had been scarce [*sic*] any evidence of actual want."[103] The book immediately described the streets as unclean, but implied that residents were complacent in their environments, uninterested in leaving. The introduction then separated nighttime from daytime Chicago by describing the reputation and motives of the residents:

> The business and family portion of the community being mainly housed in comparative comfort or superlative splendor in the outskirts, it is to the pleasure-seekers, and, alas! in certain less reputable quarters, to their parasites, that our streets are given over of an evening.[104]

This description presented two sides of Chicago's population: wealthy business-people and families on one side, and adult "pleasure-seekers" and "parasites" on the other. It framed residents of "slums" as "parasites" who lived off the rest of Chicago, either the city's spaces or resources. This description also signaled the sense of "othering" evident in the following subsection, "A Nocturnal Ramble," which separated white people and readers from Black "others."

"A Nocturnal Ramble" began with the English origins of slum tourism in London. According to the guidebook, slum tourism involved hiring either a private tour guide or police officer to visit London's East End, including the lower Thames and Whitepool. As Chicago's structure differed from London's—Chicago did not have narrow streets, hidden courtyards, and other covered and difficult to locate areas—the book claimed that Chicago slumming was not as

[103] Rand McNally and Company, *Rand, McNally & co.'s Handy Guide to Chicago, and World's Columbian exposition* (1892), 104.
[104] Ibid., 104.

authentic but still possible. The guidebook intended for self-guided slumming routes, as it claimed that a tour guide was not necessary to slum in Chicago if one only intended to watch rather than partake in illegal acts.[105] The author then launched into the same discussion of danger while slumming as the 1891 N.Y.C. guidebook:

> As for danger—pooh! …don't be too inquisitive, and don't allow yourself to be enticed into any back-yards or dark doorways, nor up or down any stairways, by man or woman… [one] can go anywhere on the streets of Chicago (save, perhaps, certain remote parts of the water-front of railroad yards which nobody has a call to visit), at any hour of the night, without worrying himself a particle as to his safety.[106]

The cautions—not being inquisitive, keeping to oneself, and refusing an invite off of the street—intended to protect tourists from the "dangerous" residents of these neighborhoods.

The guidebook included one last caveat before recommending a route: "If you are in search of evil in order to take part in it, don't look here for guidance. This book merely proposes to give some hints as to how the dark, crowded, hard-working, and sometimes criminal portions of the city look at night." [107] Like in the 1891 New York guidebook, noting the "portions of the city" centered the space rather than its residents and signified spatial immobility. The phrasing also prevented the reader from formulating their own opinions about the space; they were predisposed to view it as "dark, crowded, hard-working, and sometimes criminal." The guidebook then made additional recommendations to the reader—offering concern and help while also enticing visitors to spend their money.

Starting at City Hall at 8pm, the book led the reader down South Clark Street and past Chinese immigrants. It then described Black communities in this area: "Huge 'buck niggers' adorn the respective gin-mill doors, 'oiled and curled (like) Assyrian bulls,' and absolutely guiltless of any higher mission in life than 'playing de races' or 'shooting craps.'"[108] First, the

[105] Ibid., 104-105.
[106] Ibid., 104-105.
[107] Ibid., 105.
[108] Ibid., 106.

term “buck niggers” signals physically dominant and sexually charged Black men, echoing the language widely used in the Columbian Exposition. The Exposition’s paid content mirrored these slum descriptions—which white visitors could access for free. The focus on physical appearance in the phrase “oiled and curled (like) Assyrian bulls” is reminiscent of the focus on Black physicality, strength, and virility evident in the antebellum South. This phrase originated in Tennyson’s poem “Maud: A Monodrama,” published in 1855, and originally described someone attempting to feign kindness to seduce a woman.[109] The phrase continues: “That oiled and curled Assyrian Bull / Smelling of musk and insolence.”[110] The guidebook also evoked the dangerous stereotypical associations of Black men with insolence, sex, and seduction.

This line in “Maud: A Monodrama” referenced Assyrian bull sculptures built in the seventh century B.C. in Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II’s palace.[111] These bulls adorned doorways in the palace to make it look imposing and powerful: “the horned cap attests to its divinity, and the belt signifies its power.”[112] In the Rand McNally guidebook, these “bulls”—Black men—guard “gin-mill doors” (illegal saloons) rather than royal spaces. In the Rand McNally guidebook, this negative presentation of Black people distorted the meaning of this poetry. Lastly, the phrase assumed behaviors such as gambling, or “playing de races” and “shooting craps.” These pejorative and violent descriptions relied on historical stereotypes rather than factual descriptions of real Black people, denying them any individuality, humanity, or mobility. It ascribed to them sameness, where Black individuals were either an “Assyrian bull,” someone who “plays de races,” or “shoots craps.”

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[109] Alfred, Lord Tennyson (1908-1892) was a poet laureate under Queen Victoria. Source: “Alfred, Lord Tennyson,” *The Poetry Foundation,* https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poets/alfred-tennyson.
[110] *Maud; A Monodrama - Maud, and Other Poems - Alfred Tennyson, Book, Etext*, https://www.telelib.com/authors/T/TennysonAlfred/verse/maud/maud.html, part I, section vi, stanza 6, lines 233-234.
[111] *Human-headed winged bull (lamassu),* The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ancient Near Eastern Art, ca. 883-859 BCE, Accession Number 32.143.1, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/322608.
[112] Ibid.

The description continued to address attire and potential interactions between residents and white tourists:

> Beware of any altercation with these elegant samples of the education, emancipation, and civilization of the negro, as the gentlemen in question, whose purple and fine linen are frequently provided for by the moral obliquity of an ebony Venus, are bullies pure and simple, and carry concealed, if not a revolver, certainly a razor. They are apt to exhibit a supreme contempt for 'low white trash,' and to demonstrate their distaste in a rather forcible method.[113]

This excerpt begged the reader to not be fooled by elegant clothes— "purple and fine linen"—which mistakenly represented Black "education, emancipation, and civilization." The guidebook ensured the reader that despite a false image, they were still untrustworthy, violent, armed, ready to fight, and with a hatred of lower-class white people. The guidebook also claimed that Black women only purchased these nice clothes by engaging in prostitution. The text simultaneously sexualized Black women and demonized Black men as violent. Further racist descriptions of this area, specifically on South Clark Street, Custom House Place, and between Van Buren and 12th streets, again sexualized Black women:

> Here and in similar localities, particularly Dearborn Street farther south, near Twentieth, and on the West Side, the Cyprian Venus is the only recognized deity, and the local Lais her bedraggled or bejeweled priestess. The only difference noticeable in the personality of the priestess is in the vestments; as Pope's pregnant lines so well express it: 'One flaunts in rags, one flutters in brocade.'[114]

The "Cyprian Venus" is the Greek God of beauty and love, Aphrodite. Thus, the book postulated that beauty and love were singularly worshiped in this space. "Lais" references Lais of Hyccra or of Corinth, who were both "hetairas"—entertainers, conversationalists, and prostitutes. The worshippers and mediators were thus prostitutes; the space valued them. The 1892 guidebook assigned sex and immorality to this entire space, and thus to each Black person within it, while advertising it to readers.

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[113] Rand McNally and Company, *Rand, McNally & co.'s Handy Guide to Chicago, and World's Columbian exposition* (1892), 106.
[114] Ibid., 106.

The subsection "Life on the Levee" further described Chicago's Black community. In the 1890s, the South Side Levee was a half a square mile space now bounded by State, Van Buren, and Roosevelt streets along the eastern bank of the Chicago River.[115] The Levee was within walking distance of the Loop, Chicago's main shopping and business district.[116] The guidebook took the reader down the Twelfth Street viaduct and described "the denizens of a quarter never for a moment at rest," upon "whom society perpetually frowns." [117] In these two statements alone, the book characterized the constant movement within the Levee and the way the white, wealthy world externally degraded it. It immobilized Black people by painting them as unable to leave the neighborhood even though others could enter it.

The book stated various nicknames of the Levee district—"'Bad Lands,' 'Niggertown,' 'Biler Avenue,' or 'Little Hell,'" which allowed the reader to incorporate derogatory, stereotypical names and associated imagery into their perception of the community.[118] The text then labeled the district as "a wallowing ground" for gambling, drinking, and promiscuity, which attracted "the notice of passengers by open, flaunting, and patent sign."[119] These phrases signaled how the space inherently and intentionally tempted tourists. Further, the text stated that it may have been difficult for those drawn into the space to leave it: "A narrow way divides the fronts of the houses from the wall of the viaduct, and along this pavement, with open doors of brothels and liquor stores on the one hand and an impassable barrier on the other, the straggler has small chance of escape."[120] The "impassable barrier" reveals the risk of entering this space because of the difficulty of leaving.

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[115] Heap, *Slumming Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife,* 39.
[116] Ibid.*,* 39.
[117] Rand McNally and Company, *Rand, McNally & co.'s Handy Guide to Chicago, and World's Columbian exposition* (1892), 106.
[118] Ibid., 106.
[119] Ibid., 106.
[120] Ibid., 106.

Another phrase in the 1892 guidebook also presented the inability of Black communities to leave the Levee district:

> It is a jungle which the wise man with a regard for his 'roll' keeps away from; but it must be added that it is also a jungle in the sense that it never goes out after its man. If you fall among thieves in that locality, it is because you have sought them. They are 'at home' twenty-four hours of the day, but they never go off on raids and bring victims home from afar.[121]

Although Black communities lived and moved within the district, the guidebook presented them as immobile. It reassured white readers that Black people stayed in their place and only existed as sites of interaction for white tourists. Those on the outside—these tourists, readers of the guidebook—could look in and engage if they so chose, but Black individuals within could not leave.

"A Ramble at Night" continued to discuss Chinatown, exploring "An Opium Joint," the lodging-house section, Little Italy, and "Judea." At the end of the chapter, the text closed: "We have been in darkest Chicago, and have seen how 'the other half' lives ('very much as it pleases,' the cynic will say). A bath and a breakfast will now be in order, followed by a quiet rest in bed."[122] For one last time, the guidebook separated the lives of "othered" communities from white readers. The book divided the population of Chicago in half, one half experiencing darkness and immobility, and the other with the ability to return home in the morning after their pleasures.

Returning to the New York City guidebooks again reveals unchanging descriptions. A few years later, the 1895 N.Y.C. guidebook's "A Nocturnal Ramble" opened with the same paragraph as featured in the 1891 N.Y.C. book:

> Some suggestions as to a good route for a nocturnal ramble, and the sort of thing a person may expect to see, may be useful. If you are in search of evil, in order to take part in

[121] Ibid., 106.
[122] Ibid., 111.

> it—don't look here for guidance. This book merely proposes to give some hints as how the dark, crowded, hard-working, and sometimes criminal portions of the city look at night.[123]

The book's route itself was also the same; it began at an uptown hotel at 9pm, and recommended taking the Sixth Av. El. Ry. downtown to Bleecker Street. The corner was again "shady," the street was "poorly lighted," and "the locality [was] largely inhabited by negroes, mainly of a very low class, becoming still more low and vicious as you go down Sullivan and Thompson Sts."[124] The 1895 guidebook also ended the chapter with the same phrasing as the 1891 guidebook: "we notice more colored faces than heretofore," and "you will find little else than colored tradespeople and lodgers—some good, some bad."[125]

Although the 1898 "Rand, McNally & Co.'s Bird's-Eye Views and Guide to Chicago" did not include a section entitled "A Ramble at Night," a section entitled "Various Nationalities" presented similar information. This section did not explicitly mention African Americans, but titled its sub-sections "Darkest Chicago," "The Chinese quarter," "The Italian quarter," "Poles and Russians," and "Bohemians." Of these sub-sections, "Darkest Chicago" encapsulated Black communities, as South Clark Street was described as a Black neighborhood in the 1892 guidebook. "Darkest Chicago" read:

> If you wish to make a tour of South Clark Street, commonly known as the 'slums,' or 'Whitechapel,' of Chicago, it will be best to make your appearance as unattractive as possible, intrusting your valuables with the clerk of your hotel… As you move southward many cheap shops are passed; the gilded sign of the pawnbroker, advertising bargains in unredeemed diamonds, watches, etc… you are now almost in the heart of the 'slums' of Chicago… Tough looking crowds are congregated before gaunt buildings… [126]

This description was certainly not as explicit as the 1892 Chicago guidebook. However, given the first sentence, which suggested to the reader a route and how to act, the chapter still served as

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[123] Rand McNally and Company, *Rand McNally & Co.'s Handy Guide to New York City, Brooklyn, Staten Island And Other Suburbs Included In the Greater New York* (Chicago, Ill.: Rand McNally & Co, 1895), 140.
[124] Ibid., 140.
[125] Ibid., 150.
[126] Rand McNally and Company, *Rand, McNally & Co.s Birds eye views and guide to Chicago* (1898), 111.

a guide to exploring these neighborhoods. Notably, this description focused more on the physical space—describing storefronts and general crowds—rather than the people living there. This guidebook thus similarly dehumanized Black people and the spaces that confined them.

In the majority of the New York City guidebooks published between 1891 to 1932, the same two sentences mentioned Black people, hosting a continued narrative over a period of 41 years. The 1900, 1907, and 1908 New York City guidebooks had similar structures as the other New York City guidebooks and included the same two phrases about African Americans as the 1895 version. The first phrase read that the intersection of Bleecker St. and South Fifth Av. "is largely inhabited by negroes, mainly of a very low class, becoming still more low and vicious as you go down Sullivan and Thompson Sts…"[127] The second phrase read that after going up Sixth Av., "we notice more colored faces than heretofore. Step down 25th, 26th, or 27th Sts. westward and you will find little else than colored tradespeople and lodgers—some good, some bad."[128] In these guidebooks, Black people and communities were temporally immobile despite the large increase and general mobility of the Black community in New York during this time. Although the segregation and ghettoization of Black communities in N.Y.C. constrained Black residential mobility, changes in neighborhood demographics from 1880 to 1940—encompassing these guidebooks' range of publishing dates—reveal real movement.[129] The percentage of Black residents in Bedford-Stuyvesant and Harlem, for example, increased dramatically while the percentage of Black residents in the Tenderloin decreased.[130] In summary, both Chicago and New

[127] Rand McNally and Company, and Ernest Ingersoll, *Handy Guide to New York City: Brooklyn, Staten Island And Other Districts Included In the Enlarged City* 9th ed., (1900), 148; and Rand McNally and Company, *Rand McNally & Co.'s Handy Guide to New York City, Brooklyn, Staten Island And Other Districts Included in the Enlarged City* (Chicago, Ill.: Rand McNally & Co, 1908), 110.
[128] Rand McNally and Company, and Ernest Ingersoll, *Handy Guide to New York City: Brooklyn, Staten Island And Other Districts Included In the Enlarged City* 9th ed., (1900), 158.
[129] Logan, Zhang, and Chunyu, "Emergent Ghettos," Table 1.
[130] Ibid., Table 1.

York City guidebooks erased Black communities from public narratives and immobilized them within presented spaces.

Readership and Impact

In the previous subsection I presented how Rand McNally guidebooks in both Chicago and New York City erased and immobilized Black populations. In this section, I explore how Rand McNally advertised their guidebooks and argue the wide-reaching impacts of their discourse on Black communities. To argue this, I pose two questions: what does it mean when Rand McNally advertised their materials' accuracy when descriptions of Black communities did not change, and what happens when the guidebooks' information was not challenged or verified by the reader? Rand McNally advertised the accuracy of their books through yearly revisions and verification of information. I argue that because of the guidebooks' repeated language in yearly editions, the guidebooks promulgated the immobility and erasure of Black communities in the public. Furthermore, because Rand McNally advertised its guidebooks to people who would not necessarily visit the city, they could disseminate information without verification from readers.

First, what does it mean that Rand McNally advertised yearly revisions of their materials when descriptions of Black communities remained unchanged throughout numerous editions? Three advertisements in particular attest to how Rand McNally advertised accuracy. First, the *American Literary Digest* published an advertisement entitled "The Little Dot that Stands for New Dongola" on September 11, 1920.[131] Rand McNally sought to increase sales of international atlases and described: "Of all the things purchased, there is hardly one that you buy as much on faith as a map or atlas. You cannot possibly visit all the countries shown—you cannot possibly check up all the figures." It specifically promoted the trustworthiness of the maps, aware of the

[131] "Catalogue of Historical Collection of Journal Ads," Number 26, Folder 150, Box 1, Series 4, Rand McNally and Company Records, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

fact that its readers may not have been able to verify their accuracy by visiting. The next year, in February 1921, an advertisement entitled "It takes weeks–and months–and years–to make a map" described how Rand McNally upheld such a degree of accuracy by constantly revising their maps.[132] This advertisement represented change and movement in Rand McNally products, reflecting a standard of updated maps, descriptions, and guides.

An August 1924 article entitled "The World of Hearsay" is the third in the collection that advertised accuracy. [133] Outside of Rand McNally books, "the world is just a world of dreams, a world of hearsay… vague impressions gleaned from history, fiction, poetry…" Rand McNally Atlases can contrarily "turn this world of hearsay into a world of facts. Open it at any page. Perhaps California, perhaps the tropical mysteries of Indo-China will lie before you on the flat paper. Then as you study it, from the chart will rise the works, the movements, the very shadows cast by men and things." Here, a Rand McNally map becomes three-dimensional rather than simply a piece of paper, and written representations morph into reality for its readers. These advertisements show that the company presented every piece of information in these books as factual, updated, and dynamic, as well as a source of knowledge for everyday readers. Given these advertisements, readers would have construed the yearly lack of change and movement in the guidebooks' descriptions of Black communities as a lack of change in the communities themselves.

Second, what happens when Rand McNally published information that could not be verified or challenged by the reader? Likely to increase sales, advertisements asserted that Rand McNally atlases were essential reading even for those without plans to visit the region. Rand

[132] "Catalogue of Historical Collection of Journal Ads," Number 33, Folder 150, Box 1, Series 4, Rand McNally and Company Records, The Newberry Library, Chicago.
[133] "Catalogue of Historical Collection of Journal Ads," Number 62, Folder 150, Box 1, Series 4, Rand McNally and Company Records, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

McNally materials were likely not only used by travelers, but also as sources of information for non-visitors. From these advertisements, it seems that individuals lived vicariously through the publication, which promoted a travel experience that may not have been accessible to all. There are two advertisements from the archives that serve as examples. First, an advertisement from January 1922 entitled "Take an After-dinner Tour of the World" read: "You need only a Rand McNally Atlas of the World and you may sail to where you will… and be back by bedtime. Here is an education for the whole family that turns study into a game…" [134] Second, an advertisement from the same magazine from March 1922 entitled "That Clubby Old Place Called the World" read: "With [a Rand McNally map or atlas] you can learn about far-away lands and peoples, strange customs and queer pursuits. / Your family can travel by map and gain much in knowledge and entertainment." [135] These two pieces asserted that readers did not necessarily travel to the countries about which they read. Instead, they used the materials as a form of travel themselves. Because readers often reviewed these guidebooks without visiting the subject cities, they presented a one-sided and unchallenged narrative of Black communities which lived within the public consciousness for decades. In summary, the purported accuracy of Rand McNally materials, combined with the fact that readers did not verify narratives themselves, resulted in the materials' profound impact on an erroneous public perception of Black spaces and people as immobile in space, time, and condition.

[134] "Catalogue of Historical Collection of Journal Ads," Number 43, Folder 150, Box 1, Series 4, Rand McNally and Company Records, The Newberry Library, Chicago.
[135] "Catalogue of Historical Collection of Journal Ads," Number 45, Folder 150, Box 1, Series 4, Rand McNally and Company Records, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

CHAPTER THREE | *The Negro Motorist's Green Book* (1937-1940)

While the Rand McNally guidebooks presented dominant, racist narratives that subjugated Black communities in writing—with both erasing and immobilizing functions—*The Negro Motorist Green Book* contrarily operates as a counter-map. As a reminder, counter-mapping is a form of resistance to traditional, exclusive notions of mapping that value white spaces and perspectives over marginalized ones. The *Green Book* served as a liberating narrative that worked against Rand McNally's previous spatial narratives about Blackness. There are four ways that the *Green Book* served as a counter-map to the Rand McNally guidebooks: it (1) highlighted marginalized voices and public input rather than traditional narratives, (2) temporally and geographically built Black community, (3) mobilized Black people, and (4) worked against established racialized geographies. Within each of these four points below, I review research that expands on each theme, and present how the *Green Book* served the same purpose in contrast to previously discussed Rand McNally guidebooks.

A common thread between all four of these points is the idea of inclusion versus exclusion. Returning to the 1900 New York City guidebook's statement that "care has been taken to present everything in the most candid and helpful light, saying little or nothing about that which is deemed worth little attention," Rand McNally guidebooks intentionally excluded Black spaces from their mapping narratives.[136] As Yessler stated to describe the unwieldy power of traditional maps, Rand McNally guidebooks reinforced "social hierarchies through their omissions; those who are disadvantaged frequently see themselves written off the map, and are thus unable to locate themselves or to belong fully."[137] In the midst of exclusive mapping

[136] Rand McNally and Company, and Ernest Ingersoll, *Handy Guide to New York City: Brooklyn, Staten Island And Other Districts Included In the Enlarged City* 9th ed., (1900), v.
[137] Yessler and Alderman, "Art as 'Talking Back,'" 139.

practices and narratives that enforced social hierarchies, the *Green Book* fought for mapping practices' inclusion of Black spaces.

Victor H. Green and Alma Green first wrote the *Green Book* in 1936 to safely guide Black motorists through segregated landscapes, and then revised and republished it yearly until 1966.[138] From the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, Black travelers experienced racial intimidation and violence in the Jim Crow South and other segregated geographies in the North. The Greens intended to facilitate Black mobility free from threat of this racialized violence. The book declared: "The idea of 'The Green Book' is to compile facts and information connected with motoring, which the Negro Motorist can use and depend upon."[139] It listed businesses—including hotels, restaurants, beauty salons, barber shops, gas stations, and nightclubs—that were safe for Black travelers to patronize. The first few pages of the books also contained rules and best practices for Black motorists to avoid car trouble and encounters with the police. Interestingly, eleven out of the fifteen rules listed in the 1937 *Green Book* warn against other drivers' actions, revealing how the book may have attempted to alert Black travelers of external, racially motivated threats.[140] Green's office was in New York City, so the 1937 edition only focused on local businesses. The 1938 version, however, expanded to include a multitude of states and cities in the Northeast, Midwest, and South, including Alabama, Connecticut, Washington, D.C., Florida, Georgia, and Ohio.

Marginalized Voices vs. Traditional Narratives

[138] The *Green Book* only ceased publication from 1942-1946 due to World War II. Source: *Green Book Properties Listed in the National Register of Historic Places, U.S. National Park Service*, https://www.nps.gov/articles/green-book-properties-listed-in-the-national-register-of-historic-places.htm.
[139] Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, "The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1937," 1.
[140] Ibid.

Descriptions of Black communities in Rand McNally guidebooks upheld traditional narratives of Black "slums" that originated in Victorian London. Slumming in London relied on the wealthy, white desire to experience accepted narratives of poverty that separated the rich and the poor. London's East End slums represented an "abyss" of the unknown "other" to visitors, predating the same language of darkness and desolation in the Rand McNally guidebooks.[141] The London public often referred to the East End as the "dark continent," while the 1898 Chicago guidebook referred to Black communities in a section entitled "Darkest Chicago."[142] Rand McNally guidebooks did not offer new narratives or interpretations regarding the morality, cleanliness, or humanity of the residents. They only repeated and made concrete racist, pejorative, and traditional descriptions of communities living in poverty. The mapping techniques in Rand McNally guidebooks—leading the reader down a dark alley past sites of drinking, gambling, and prostitution—were deeply rooted in and relied on these traditional slumming narratives.

Instead of adopting repeated, traditional language, the *Green Book* incorporated marginalized voices and magnified them through public dissemination. The books strongly relied on input from readers, who mailed in their recommendations for safe places for Black people to visit. The book asked a favor of its readers: "There are thousands of places that the public doesn't know about and aren't listed. Perhaps you might know of some? If so send in their names and addresses and the kind of business, so that we might pass it along to the rest of your fellow Motorists."[143] The readers thus served as sources for the businesses listed in the *Green Book*, allowing for Black people to come together to create safe spaces for their own communities.

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[141] Steinbrink, "'We Did the Slum!' - Urban Poverty Tourism in Historical Perspective," 213–234.
[142] Rand McNally and Company, *Rand, McNally & Co.s Birds eye views and guide to Chicago* (Chicago, Ill.: Rand McNally & Co., 1898), 111.
[143] Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, "The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1939," 1.

Prior to this guide, "the only way we knew where and how to reach our pleasure resorts was in a way of speaking, by word of mouth."[144] There were no written, publicly available texts or sources to facilitate Black travel. The *Green Book* codified safe spaces when traveling in written text to decrease the reliance on verbal knowledge sharing. The publication and written dissemination of information made this knowledge-sharing concrete. Ulrich Oslender, who studied Black communities in Colombia, South America, discussed the importance of marginalized voices in social cartography. He wrote that the Black Indigenous participants in the state-sponsored mapping workshops exercised existing knowledge of their territory and made it known to others. He called this "an internal process of conscious territorialization" and "an external process of communicating their territories."[145] This knowledge-production aspect of counter-mapping, where marginalized individuals advocate for their perception of spaces not only on the individual level but also to inform broader public narratives, was also a function of the *Green Book*.

Reagan Yessler and Derek Hilton Alderman similarly discussed how marginalized voices work against erasure: "Counter-maps are often created by people in groups that have been erased by traditional mapping. They map against unjust social structures and make visible and socially real what is omitted by traditional maps."[146] Counter-maps take the "unreal"—unvalued, individualized notions of space and knowledge—and attempt to validate them for broader communities. The *Green Book* also validated the excluded and marginalized perspectives of Black people to enhance safe travel with diminished threat of violence. It let them advocate for their own space, made the previously verbal exchange of information "real" and accessible to a

[144] Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, "The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1940," 2.
[145] Oslender, "Decolonizing Cartography and Ontological Conflict: Counter-Mapping in Colombia and 'cartographies Otherwise.'"
[146] Yessler and Alderman, "Art as 'Talking Back,'" 140.

greater number of people, and challenged traditional narratives that enacted violence on Black people. The *Green Book* functionally uplifted marginalized voices instead of erasing them like the Rand McNally guidebooks.

Black Community Across Time and Space

Rand McNally guidebooks immobilized Black communities within set spaces: depictions of them as immoral and illicit endured throughout the years and afforded no sense of community within described neighborhoods. The *Green Book,* however, relied on and promoted community-building across time and various geographies, both on the publishing level and between its readers. First, Victor H. Green and Alma Green's intentions and research methods reveal a sense of community and connection between Black people across space. Victor H. Green was a New Jersey postal worker living in Harlem who would have fielded questions regarding where Black visitors should stay in New York City.[147] As a postal worker, people expected him to know the Black hotels, boarding-houses, and other businesses on his postal route.[148] He also collected information from his network of other postal workers for more varied recommendations.[149] Born in Richmond, Virginia, Alma Green relied on her extensive knowledge of southern geographies to contribute to editions of the guide.[150] Through the Greens' family ties, personal relationships, and friendships, the *Green Book* was rooted in connections between Black individuals and communities.

The *Green Book*'s reliance on public input further connected Black communities over time and space. Yessler discussed how counter-mapping temporally connects marginalized voices. She wrote that "the connection through time legitimizes a people and a movement; rather

[147] Bay, *Traveling Black,* 142.
[148] Ibid., 142.
[149] Ibid., 142.
[150] Ibid., 142.

than feeling they have come from nothing and nowhere, they have a connection and legitimacy through the building of resistance through time as well as space. They continue and build upon a legacy, rather than starting from scratch."[151] Yessler envisioned counter-maps as continuous, as changing throughout time rather than serving as permanent spatial markers. The *Green Book* and its lists of businesses were compiled every year, with editors and publishers consistently ensuring its accuracy to not endanger Black travelers. Each edition built upon the last and strengthened its role of resistance. One can see the differences between each year's edition when examining the books published between 1937 and 1941. All parts of the book changed in the subsequent year's edition: from the introductory text to the business descriptions to the advertisements featured within. The fact that Green edited the guidebook and incorporated new voices each year represents a map reformulated and strengthened throughout time. This stands in stark contrast to the Rand McNally books, which did not change their language throughout the years and effectively temporally immobilized Black communities.

To connect people across space, Green ensured that the book's contributors, even those residing in different regions, existed in community with each other. The book allowed for Black travelers to meet each other and Black business owners on their journeys. It urged conversation between those who knew about the guide: "When you are traveling mention 'The Green Book' so as to let these people know just how you found out about their place of business. If they haven't heard about This Guide, tell them to get in touch with us."[152] Additionally, the top of every page of the 1937 edition read: "For extra service… mention "the Green Book."[153] In this way, the book's title served as a subversive language, facilitating connection between those who

[151] Yessler and Alderman, "Art as 'Talking Back,'" 140.
[152] Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, "The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1938," 1.
[153] Schomburg Center, "The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1937."

knew about the guide. The introduction of the 1937 book confirms this wish of community, as it states: "Let's all get together and make Motoring better."[154] The *Green Book* thus builds on previous editions and legacies to connect Black people throughout time as well as space.

Mobility vs. Confinement

Rand McNally guidebooks confined Black communities to "slums" by presenting their inability to leave specific geographies—the Levee district in Chicago and downtown neighborhoods in New York City. Mentioned earlier, statements about the lack of danger if a visitor did not leave the street to enter buildings, the enticing practices of locals, and the "impassable barriers" of brothels and liquor stores posited that Black individuals could not leave these spaces of their own accord.[155] In opposition to this confinement, the *Green Book* served as a counter-map by offering Black people mobility through racist, segregated spaces as well as safe businesses to patronize.

The *Green Book* addressed mobility in two ways: through granting safety to Black travelers moving through white spaces and giving them freedom to choose their own routes. First, the *Green Book* fundamentally advocated for Black travel. Green conceptualized the guide amid rampant racial discrimination, segregation, and violence in all parts of the United States. He verified the accuracy of the recommended businesses to ensure the guide's effectiveness. Each edition specifically asked its readers to share feedback on the businesses listed if they did not welcome Black people or were otherwise unsafe. The introduction of the 1937 book attests to efforts to sufficiently compile information: "Every medium and resource is being used to contact Reliable Business Places and Resorts that will serve your motoring needs. All advertisements

[154] Ibid., 1.
[155] Rand McNally and Company, *Rand, McNally & co.'s Handy Guide to Chicago, and World's Columbian exposition* (1892), 106; and Rand McNally and Company, *Rand McNally and Co.'s Handy Guide to New York City* (1891), 204.

contained in this book have been carefully selected…"[156] Through recommending businesses and verifying their reliability, the *Green Book* granted Black mobility.

Yessler discussed how granting mobility to those previously confined is a function of counter-mapping: a counter-map "still enacts the primary function of a map – locating an individual in physical and social space to allow the reader to plan for movement – as well as operating outside of the dominant social class's purview to map those who are often overlooked or erased by the state."[157] The *Green Book* similarly allowed for escaping dominant narratives that immobilized Black communities. Carney argued that it "represents a critique and intervention to the violence of mapping and its concomitant processes of enclosure that have relied on 'Black and Indigenous death' for White 'life and self-actualization'."[158] In these terms, Rand McNally books enclosed the Black community in specific spaces to form a wealthy, white national identity while the *Green Book* allowed Black people freedom to travel.

Second, the *Green Book*'s lack of concrete route recommendations granted mobility to its readers. While the Rand McNally guidebooks restricted readers to a set slumming route—presenting only specific streets and one image of a space—the *Green Book* allowed its readers to choose their own itinerary. The 1937 guide simply lists "Points of Interest in New York City," providing brief descriptions for each locale.[159] Interestingly, the 1937 description of Chinatown did not use pejorative language meant to entice and intrigue readers, it only mentioned that sightseeing buses could take visitors to the neighborhood from Times Square. The 1940 book explicitly urged readers to choose their own routes: "We have given you a selection of listings that you might chose [sic] from, under no circumstances do these listings

[156] Schomburg Center, "The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1937," 1.
[157] Yessler and Alderman, "Art as 'Talking Back,'" 141.
[158] Carney, Chess, and Rascon‐Canales, "'There Would Be More Black Spaces.'"
[159] Schomburg Center, "The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1937," 6.

imply that the place is recommended."[160] Thus, two ways that the *Green Book* fought for mobility subvert Rand McNally's more restrictive spatial narratives.

Against Established Racialized Geographies

The last way that the *Green Book* served as a counter-map was by working against established racialized geographies that the Rand McNally guidebooks promoted in their slumming narratives. These narratives presented a concrete dichotomy between the regular, safe, white, wealthy, and American and the unfamiliar, unsafe, Black, poor, and foreign. The guidebooks' repetition of "Let us go home" at the end of slumming routes served as a barrier between these two poles: the wealthy, white mainstream and the immoral, illicit "other."[161] More broadly, George Lipsitz argued that exclusive policies regarding the intersection of place, race, and power stemmed from "cultural ideals and moral geographies based on a romance with pure spaces."[162] He specified that wealthy communities hoard amenities and resources and exclude "undesirable populations."[163] He implicitly argued that perception and sense of ownership of space, not only the policies that come as a result, are important. The guidebooks' descriptions of slum tourism and segregated landscapes reified and further entangled racialized narratives into how contemporary readers perceived space.

The *Green Book,* on the other hand, broke these spatial, racial boundaries. Alderman, Inwood, and Bottone, who researched the role of counter-mapping in the Black Freedom Struggle, wrote that:

> At the same time that cartographic practices have been used for controlling, dispossessing, and even stigmatizing Black people and places, mapping also constitutes a "subaltern and subversive cartographic practice" exercised by oppressed people of color

[160] Schomburg Center, "The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1940," 4.
[161] Rand McNally and Company, *Rand McNally and Co.'s Handy Guide to New York City* (1891), 217.
[162] George Lipsitz, "The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race: Theorizing the Hidden Architecture of Landscape," *Landscape journal* 26, no. 1 (2007): 12.
[163] Ibid., 12.

> to resist racism and assert their right to claim, move through, and belong within society and space.[164]

This function—resisting racism and asserting the right to claim, move through, and belong within certain spaces—was unequivocally seen in the *Green Book.* It allowed not only Black travelers to navigate white spaces and avoid racial violence, but also a sense of belonging to many geographies through recommending Black businesses who wanted to host them. The 1940 *Green Book* stated: "We earnestly believe 'The Negro Motorist Green Book' will mean as much if not more to us as the A.A.A. [American Automobile Association] means to the white race."[165] This claim, as well as the *Green Book* as a whole, directly shifted the focus from the comfort of white travelers to that of Black travelers, working against racialized geographies and serving as a counter-map.

[164] Alderman, Inwood, and Bottone, "The mapping behind the movement."
[165] Schomburg Center, "The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1940," 2.

CONCLUSION

Rand McNally guidebooks—whose descriptions effectively immobilized and erased Black communities—bolstered and propagated pejorative public narratives about Blackness and Black spaces. The *Green Book* partially emerged in reaction to this landscape of anti-Black discourse and mapping, and subverted white depictions of travel by articulating Black spaces for Black audiences. As such, the *Green Book* served as a counter-map, facilitating safe Black mobility over white, exclusive, restrictive travel narratives. More broadly, I engage with how guidebooks inclusively or exclusively present space.

Descriptions of space are not objective. Rand McNally guidebooks' descriptions intended to entice audiences by "othering" Black spaces as criminal, dark, and mysterious. The descriptions served as advertisements for curious tourists to explore new places. Authors did not incorporate the perspectives of those who occupied Black spaces. Further, these literary representations of space survive beyond their publication. Not only did the guidebooks remain within archives, the messages they promoted—Black people as immoral and dirty, as permanently and deservedly residing in the slums—also lived within public discourses. Challenging these narratives becomes crucial, then and now. The *Green Book* existed not only as a guide for Black travelers, but also a reclamation of space in the face of exclusion and immobility. The relationship between Rand McNally guidebooks and The *Green Book* reveals the importance of rearticulating space to work against narratives of immobility and exclusion and to claim power. These two sets of guidebooks also reveal the importance of layering narratives for fuller representations of space. While Rand McNally texts repeated the same language throughout multiple decades, The *Green Book* instead asked for public contributions to map Black spaces as dynamic and alive. Readers contributed recommendations and gave feedback if

existing recommendations fell short. This thesis thus urges the subversion of existing conceptions and narratives of space for more inclusive ones.

Harmful narratives of appropriated space today include "hood tourism"—the controversial Los Angeles (L.A.) Gang Tours offers bus tours of L.A.'s gang culture for those unfamiliar with the space and its residents—and narratives that describe gentrified spaces.[166] Alfred Lomas, a former gang member and current gang intervention worker in South L.A. founded L.A. Gang Tours and directs the profits back into the community.[167] The tours seem voyeuristic and cater to white understandings of space that wealthy, white guests would associate with "gang culture," rather than that of the average community dweller. Can they also subvert tourist desire to see Black spaces through directing profits back into the community? Another example is Fox Point, located next to Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, a predominantly Cape Verdean community before urban renewal displaced its residents in the second half of the twentieth century.[168] The 2006 documentary, *Some Kind of Funny Porto Rican,* details histories of the community leading up to and during removal. One former resident described South Main Street, now the site of coffee and antique shops, as Providence's "Black Broadway." Another man described how his landlord had doubled his rent, causing him to move out of his Wickenden Street home, thereafter replaced by the coffee shop "Coffee Exchange." Many Brown University students conceptualize Fox Point as "trendy," as a break from the busyness of Brown's campus, which erases the Cape Verdean community's mapping of this space as home. *A Kind of Funny Porto Rican* is a counter-mapping practice because it bolstered marginalized voices and neglected experiences of space.

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[166] Scott Gold, "The 'hood as a Tourist Attraction," *Los Angeles Times*, 5 December 2009, https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2009-dec-05-la-me-southla-tours5-2009dec05-story.html.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Claire Andrade-Watkins, dir. *Some Kind of Funny Porto Rican* (Providence, RI: SPIA Media Productions, 2006).

Layering narratives of space allows for the inclusion of marginalized perspectives and has tangible impacts on geographic and residential equity. Katherine Levine Einstein and other researchers analyzed local political meeting attendance and participation to reveal whose perspectives government decisions represented.[169] The researchers found that meeting participants were older, male, longtime residents, voters in local elections, and homeowners, who were less likely to support affordable housing developments. These commenters articulated space exclusively, as reasons for opposing new housing echoed individual contexts—many of those opposed to new housing developments cited traffic or flooding and articulated specific examples of their own experiences as evidence.[170] These meeting discussions thus did not represent broader communities and valued certain conceptions of space over others. Further, the researchers found that participatory inequalities here had important policy implications and may have contributed to rising housing costs in the Boston area.[171] Although the researchers did not find a tangible way to work against this biased representation, they noted that incorporating various understandings of space would allow for more inclusive housing practices. This thesis evaluates guidebooks' racial landscapes and argues how marginalized communities worked against pejorative spatial narratives. Counter-mapping permitted the underrepresented to write themselves into their own spaces and compile knowledge for community-building against hegemonic structures. Even today, the value of this practice should not be understated—we have historical sources that describe rich, colorful, and vibrant Black spaces.

Future Work

[169] The researchers examined statewide voting patterns alongside local meeting minutes from 2015-2017 in metropolitan Boston. Source: Katherine Levine Einstein, Maxwell Palmer, and David M. Glick, "Who Participates in Local Government? Evidence from Meeting Minutes," *Perspectives on politics* 17, no. 1 (2019): 28–46.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid.

This project focused on Rand, McNally & Company's descriptions of Black communities. I used Rand McNally to represent broader guidebook literature because of the accessibility and comprehensiveness of the company's archives. Between the years 1880 and 1930, however, the company was certainly not alone in publishing guidebooks with walking slum route recommendations or spaces that otherwise presented race. Publishing companies such as Finn & Sheppard, Anabogue Publishing Company, and Db John Anderson Publishing Company published guides to the 1891 Chicago World's Fair alone.[172]

Generally, I did not find research regarding sources addressing representations of race in guidebooks at the turn of the twentieth century. This absence of research is likely due to the lack of access to a sufficient range of archival material and the inability of accessible guidebooks to advertise visiting Black spaces because of segregation. Because my findings for Rand McNally suggest that other companies also published guidebooks with narratives of Black people and communities, future work should expand the scope of this project. Including more publishing companies and cities to more fully catalog guidebooks' mentions of race would extend our knowledge about how guidebooks presented Black spaces, and thus how contemporary readers conceptualized Blackness.

[172] A search of 1890-1900 Chicago guidebooks on Worldcat reveals the large quantity of guidebooks published during this time. Source: *Su:Chicago AND Su:Guidebooks - Search Results*. https://www.worldcat.org/search?q=su%3Achicago+AND+su%3Aguidebooks&datePublished=1890-1920&itemType=book&limit=10&offset=1&orderBy=publicationDateAsc. Accessed 23 March 2023.

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Images

Figure 1. “Uprooted people of the U.S.A.,” 1945, a map by Louise Jefferson. (Image from *Library of Congress,* 7 February 2022.)

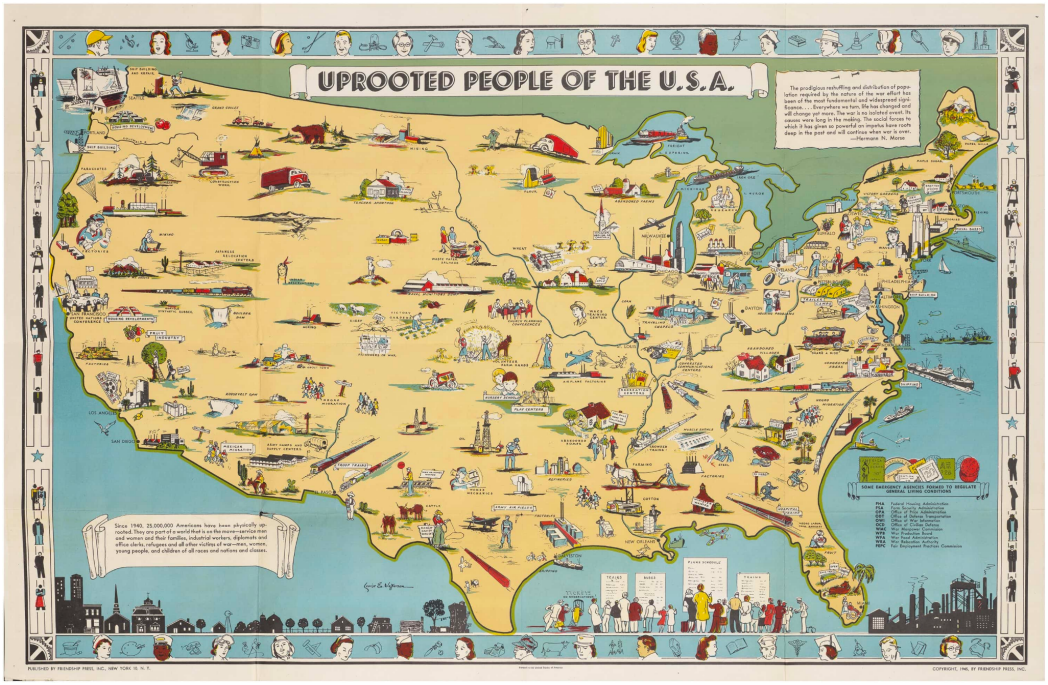

Figure 2. “Americans of Negro Lineage,” 1946, a map by Louise Jefferson. (Image from *Library of Congress,* 7 February 2022.)