

## Jim Crow and Racialized Tourism Landscapes Under Apartheid

### Abstract

Racialized landscapes of tourism have garnered a growing scholarship. In the United States during the past decade the origins, dynamics, workings and impacts of the Jim Crow era of segregation upon tourism and hospitality have generated a rich literature. Arguably, certain parallels can be drawn with the record of apartheid South Africa and its racialized tourism economy. This paper contributes to the limited South African literature by highlighting aspects of the racialized landscape of apartheid tourism and especially the challenges that confronted ‘non-Whites’ as leisure travellers. Analysis and review is undertaken of one significant guidebook produced to assist these travellers by the South African Institute of Race Relations. This national guidebook opens a window into the racialized landscape of tourism that existed in the 1960s. Key themes that it documents are the minimal accommodation infrastructure for the leisure travel of ‘non-White’ South Africans, the impress of petty apartheid legislation on restaurant services, and restrictions imposed on visitors to certain tourism attractions.

**Keywords:** apartheid; Green Book Jim Crow; racial segregation; racialized tourism spaces

**How to cite this article:** Rogerson, C.M. & Rogerson, J.M. (2024). Jim Crow and Racialized Tourism Landscapes Under Apartheid African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure, 13(3):664-672. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.46222/ajhtl.19770720.551>

### Introduction

Research on racism in tourism and the making of racialized landscapes of tourism has identified certain parallels between the experience of Jim Crow USA and that of apartheid South Africa (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2020; Bottone, 2023). The nomenclature of Jim Crow refers to the period in American history when there operated a legally sanctioned ‘racial caste system’ which sought to prevent contact between whites and people of colour as equals (Alderman & Inwood, 2014; Kalous, 2021; Kenna, 2024; Slocum & Ingram, 2023). Correspondingly, the Jim Crow segregation measures were targeted to establish and reinforce the supremacy of whites above that of black (African American) people (Jackson, 2020). The era of Jim Crow legislation and segregation began in the 1870s and closed in the mid-1960s with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which outlawed racial discrimination. This was a period in American history that overlapped in part with the onset of the roll-out of apartheid legislation and planning for institutionalized racial segregation in South Africa, a notorious phase in the country’s history that ended with democratic transition in 1994. Across the organization and operation of tourism in the USA during Jim Crow and of South Africa during apartheid, racial segregation was imprinted upon the landscapes of both countries.

Over the past decade the origins, dynamics, workings and impacts of the Jim Crow era of segregation upon tourism and hospitality have generated a rich set of writings for the United States (Alderman, 2013; Alderman & Bottone, 2024; Alderman & Inwood, 2014; Alderman & Modlin Jr., 2014; Alderman et al., 2022; Bottone, 2020a, 2020b, 2023; Cook et al., 2020, 2023; Hall, 2014; Jackson, 2020; Kalous, 2021; Kenna, 2024; Slocum & Ingram, 2023; Thomas & Love, 2024). Much research interest concentrates upon analyzing the contents of one influential guidebook, the Green Book, which has become the subject of scholarly investigations across the fields of history, geography, mobility studies and African-American studies (Kalous, 2021). By contrast to the situation in the USA, research on tourism and apartheid segregation has attracted only a handful of detailed works in South Africa (C.M. Rogerson, 2020, 2022; J.M. Rogerson, 2017; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2021, 2022, 2024a). The aim in this paper is to contribute to this sparse literature by opening a window on the racialized landscape of apartheid and the challenges that confronted an emergent group of ‘non-White’ South African leisure travellers. The originality of this study can be appreciated in terms of the observation made by Kirkby (2022: 73) that as compared to the United States “where similar ‘Jim Crow’ measures have been subject to increased historical scrutiny for many years, analyses of their apartheid counterpart have lagged”. The paper unfolds through an overview of the chequered development history of racialized tourism in Jim Crow USA. This is followed by a brief discussion on methods before moving to present our results in which a picture is revealed of the racialised tourism landscape of apartheid South Africa. This detailed portrait is sketched through a reading and examination of one significant South African travel guide which has been likened to the Green Books in the USA (Dlamini, 2020) but as yet has received limited attention from local tourism scholars.

### Literature review

In 1896 a landmark Supreme Court decision in the United States gave legal sanction to racial segregation as national practice, including in public accommodation, a situation which lasted until 1964 (Foster, 1999; Jackson, 2020). The Jim Crow era, which spanned 1877-1964, was “a time when the racial status quo of white supremacy was particularly enforced in terms of mobility” (Bottone, 2020a: 2). Racial discrimination and segregation restricted the mobilities of African Americans. Armstead (2005) documents that during Jim Crow, racial proscriptions against African Americans proliferated by law and custom all over the United States. The origin of the term is traced back to the 1830s when the name was the character signature of a white stage actor, Thomas Dartmouth Rice, who performed as a minstrel with a dance and sang “turn about and wheel about and do just so. And every time I turn I Jump Jim Crow while costumed in a ragged suit, tattered hat, ripped shoes and black face” (Kennedy, 2013: 13).

Among others, Alderman (2013: 376) draws attention to the touristic marginalization of African Americans in the Jim Crow period and “the highly discriminatory history of mobility and hospitality in the United States”. Although automobilities



offered a degree of travel freedom to African-Americans “racism’s humiliating and violent reach was felt by African Americans even while driving, as they encountered hyper-policing, sundown towns that disallowed overnight stays by people of color, and the humiliation of separate but not really equal accommodation” (Alderman & Bottone, 2024: 27). Jim Crow era “segregation laws pervaded all aspects of travel, including transportation, lodging and dining” (Algeo, 2013: 380). African American “vacationers, regardless of status, increasingly found accommodation at mainstream travel destinations closed to them entirely, separated from those offered to whites by time (blacks were served on different days or at different hours) or offered to them in distinct locations” (Armstead, 2005: 139). In terms of geography, Dillette et al. (2024: 2) consider Southeastern USA as “the ground zero of Jim Crow brutality and disenfranchisement”. Likewise, Alderman (2013: 377) observes that “historically the South was the epicenter of a Jim Crow social geography” that severely constrained the mobilities of African-Americans.

Armstead (2005: 140) records that “the momentum toward Jim Crow hardened into a racialized caste system during the late nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century”. Throughout the period of legalized discrimination and segregation “African Americans confronted considerable humiliation and harassment when traveling and were restricted to a limited number of segregated parks, beaches, hotels, restaurants, restrooms and other accommodations” (Alderman, 2013: 376). It was observed that “many roadside establishments, including tourist accommodations, restaurants, gas and service stations, rejected Black customers, which could turn family or business trips into difficult endeavours” (Kalous, 2021: 11). Thomas and Love (2024: 86-87) aver that “it was nearly impossible for Black travelers to take a road trip with any kind of spontaneity, as they could not leave it up to chance that they would find safe accommodations and the comforts of hospitality when traversing the Jim Crow-era landscape”.

Jackson (2020: 12) points out that during the Jim Crow years “signs reading ‘coloured’, ‘whites only’ and ‘no Jews allowed permeated the U.S. social landscape and dictated movement within this landscape”. Jim Crow segregation impacted all travellers who were required by law to travel in racially segregated spaces in the United States. Chio et al. (2020:10) elaborate that any form of contact between whites and African Americans was seen as inimical such that travellers “waited in rooms marked ‘White’ and ‘Colored’, toileted in ‘White’ and ‘Colored’ bathrooms, and drank from ‘White’ and ‘Colored’ water fountains. Furthermore, at petrol stations African Americans were not permitted to use clean restrooms and instead “sent to primitive privies around back or forced to stop by the side of the road” (Chio et al., 2020: 10). In restaurants African Americans had to order food through side windows as they were not permitted to sit with white patrons in the same dining room.

For the early decades of the 20th century African American travellers perforce had to rely on word of mouth for information on the whereabouts of hospitable businesses “until Victor Hugo Green, a postal worker from Harlem, began to collect and publish such data” (Kalous, 2021: 12). In 1936 Victor H. Green’s *Negro Motorist Green Book* was launched as a dedicated travel guide for African Americans (Hall, 2014). The appearance of the Green Book was a listing of establishments where African American customers were welcome. Inspiration for its development was a similar earlier guide for assisting Jewish travellers (Taylor, 2020). The guidebook contained listings, organized by state and city, of hotels, restaurants, service stations, pharmacies, barber shops, and other businesses that served African Americans and might be of use to them during their travels. The Green Book could be ordered by travellers directly from the publishers, bought in selected bookstores or most commonly, purchased at Esso gas stations (Kalous, 2021). The guidebook generated immense popularity with 15 000 copies of later editions printed, albeit it remained “largely invisible to white America” (Algeo, 2013: 387).

The guidebook was published between 1936 and 1967 and offered African American travellers a list of welcoming accommodations that they might patronise whilst on their road journeys. The Green Book accorded African American travellers “the opportunity to navigate through potentially hostile territories and enact movements across the United States” (Bottone, 2020a: 113). The “idea behind the Green Books was borne from Green’s own experience with racial discrimination while traveling with his wife Alma” (Cook et al., 2020: 5). In collecting data Green initially relied on the network of information provided by fellow postal workers with his vision to facilitate travel for African American motorists and enable them to circumvent discrimination on the road (Alderman & Inwood, 2014; Thomas & Love, 2024). As a guidebook the Green Book “both lessened embarrassing situations in travel as well as protected travellers from physical harm by listing locations and accommodation that served African-American travellers without discrimination. The latter was especially significant in relation to travel in the US South where African-American travellers regularly experienced the harsher aspects of Jim Crow discrimination” (Hall, 2014: 307). Kalous (2021) stresses that the guide encouraged African Americans to travel and claim public spaces and, as a means of resistance, it challenged the existing conditions that curtailed Black mobility and thereby mobilized Black Americans. Equally, for Bottone (2020a: 3-4) in “providing the location of businesses, such as hotels, restaurants, and gas stations, that were accepting of black travelers, Green and his contributors “performed antiracism mobility work, a form of resistance, that contributed to safe travel of black Americans, especially through the hostile Jim Crow South” (Bottone, 2020a: 4).

Arguably, “the very need to have such a guide speaks loudly to the hostile social landscape that African Americans had to traverse” (Alderman & Inwood, 2014: 71). For tourism researchers the Green Book “provides a comprehensive look at the daily injustices confronted by African-Americans in navigating American roads in the Jim Crow era” (Pearcy, 2016: 5). The inhospitable landscape of Jim Crow continued until the rise of protests linked to the Civil Rights Movement in the USA (Kalous, 2021). This culminated in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which outlawed discrimination in public places such as petrol service stations, restaurants, hotels and at various public recreation and amusement sites, therefore removing most of the constraints to African American leisure travel. (Carter, 2008; Jackson, 2020). With the passage of the Civil Rights in 1964 Davison (2019: 1) points out that desegregation “dismantled the utilization of the guide”. Indeed, as documented by Bottone

(2020a: 4) “with the end of formal segregation and discrimination in 1964, the *Green Book* quickly became moot and stopped publishing two years later”.

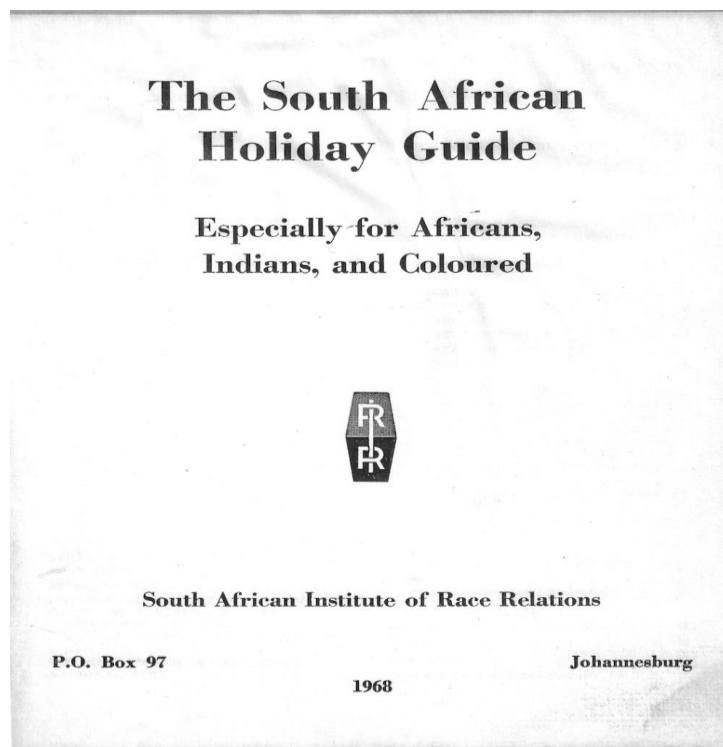
### Methods

This study was informed by first a bibliographical review of the findings of existing scholarship on racialized landscapes of tourism in Jim Crow USA. As is evident from the above overview it confirms that the United States experience under Jim Crow exhibits parallels with South Africa in several ways. Most importantly, various restrictions were imposed on the mobility of subordinated populations, a network of racially separate accommodations emerged, and there is evidence of state-sanctioned separate but unequal provision of infrastructure for tourism. All these parallels with the USA have been documented in existing South African tourism studies (Rogerson, 2020; Rogerson, 2017; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2024a).

The research on apartheid South Africa uses the methods of historical geographers, including primary sources and material drawn from archives. Specifically, it is based upon a reading and detailed analysis of one national guidebook that was issued in 1968 by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR). A copy of this guidebook can be accessed through the Cape Town depot of the National Library of South Africa. It is acknowledged that the conceptualization of guidebooks is “a daunting exercise, as the term is used in academia for different forms of tourism text” (Meulenduks, 2017: 10). The tourism scholars Peel & Sørensen (2016) explore the possibilities of establishing a ‘conceptual groundwork’ for guidebooks. Arguably, the guidebook under scrutiny in this investigation evidences several of the constituent factors that they identify, namely substance, assistance, and authority. In its substance, the SAIRR guide contains selective representations of destinations and focuses on giving practical and place information. In addition, it offers support in relation to providing information on facilities, selection of routes and sites enabling tourists to plan their travels. Finally, the authority of these guidebooks stems from the stature and reputation of the SAIRR which during the 1960s decade was viewed as a pillar of the ‘liberal’ South African establishment because of its pioneer research work and investigations around socio-economic issues around race relations (Hellmann, 1979). Before a presentation of findings, a brief comment is in order on the language used in the text. Of necessity the study applies the language and race classifications of the apartheid period. The derogatory term ‘non-White’ refers collectively to South Africa’s designated African, Indian and Coloured populations under the Population Registration Act of 1950 which required that the entire population be classified in terms of race. It is acknowledged here that this terminology signifies exclusion and negates those who are not ‘White’.

### Results

The appearance in 1968 by the South African Institute of Race Relations (1968) of the guide book *The South African Holiday Guide Especially for Africans, Indians and Coloured* was a response to the need for information that could assist the increasing numbers of ‘non-White’ travellers who during the 1960s were engaging in leisure travel (Figure 1). A reading of this guidebook highlights several critical challenges that faced ‘non-White’ travellers in seeking to participate in the tourism economy during the apartheid period. This section reviews critical findings from the guidebook.



**Figure 1: The national guidebook produced in 1968 by the South African Institute of Race Relations** (Source: National Library of South Africa, Cape Town depot)

Although the guide was clearly targeted at tourist travelling by car, its opening pages include a small section on ‘Notes on Travelling by Train or Air’. It was stated that first and second-class accommodation was provided on all main line passenger trains for ‘non-white’ passengers but that “on all trains to which dining cars are attached, meals and other catering requirements are usually served to non-white passengers in their compartments” (SAIRR, 1968: 3). In terms of air transport “the facilities offered are exactly the same as for whites” and that the “non-white traveller can travel on any of the services offered, both internally and abroad” (SAIRR, 1968: 3). This said, the apartheid caveat was added that “Separate restaurants and restrooms are provided in the terminal buildings for non-white passengers and visitors” (SAIRR, 1968: 3). Importantly, the guide also highlighted legislative constraints on both African and Indian travellers. A ‘reminder note’ was given for African and Indian travellers. It was stated that “Africans are reminded that if they wish to visit a prescribed area (i.e. a town) for more than 72 hours they should apply beforehand for a permit, application being made through the Bantu Affairs Commissioner in the area where they live to the Labour Officer in the town they wish to visit” (SAIRR, 1968: 7). For Indian travellers the warning was given that “Indians require permits if they wish to move from one province to another for a visit. Applications should be made to the nearest office of the Department of Indian Affairs” (SAIRR, 1968:7).

In its review of attractions the guidebook provides evidence of the limited options available to ‘non-Whites’ for organized tours as well as of the ramifications of petty apartheid segregation. In Cape Town it was made clear that city tours were not offered on an organised basis for non-white travellers. It was advised that “groups of people who do not possess cars may arrange bus tours by getting in touch with the Golden Arrow Bus Company” but that “Groups must be of one race only” (SAIRR, 1968: 11). At certain key places of interest petty apartheid restrictions were enforced such that whilst cable car access was allowed at the top of Table Mountain “non-whites are not admitted to the restaurant for meals, but may buy cool drinks, ice-creams, hot dogs and hamburgers” (SAIRR, 1968: 12). The guidebook therefore advised visitors to take a picnic basket if they wished to spend a few hours at the top of Table Mountain.



**Figure 2: Location map** (Source: Authors).

Across South Africa a recurrent theme demonstrated in the guidebook is of the minimal infrastructure of accommodation and hospitality services on offer to ‘non-White’ travellers during the apartheid period (Figure 2). The city of Cape Town and surrounds contained a cluster of public accommodations for ‘non-White’ travellers of any destination in South Africa. The 1968 guide listed seven licensed hotels, albeit not all these establishments would accept African visitors. Outside of Cape Town the accommodation and hospitality options for all ‘non-Whites’ were reduced in most small towns. For example, at Paarl whilst the Drakenstein Hotel catered for all non-white travellers it was a requirement that “Africans require permission from the Department of Bantu Administration to stay there” (SAIRR, 1968: 19). At Wellington the guide stated that the town



“offers no especial facilities for non-whites” but added that “between Paarl and Wellington, near Mbekweni Township railway station, is a picnic site on the river which can be reached by a poor road from Wellington along the edge of the golf course”. Although it was noted that there “is a clean sand, but it is not advisable to bathe in the river except at the beginning of summer” (SAIRR, 1968: 20). In nearby Franschoek the advice was that at the town’s Huguenot memorial visits by parties of travellers “should not exceed 50 in number and be under supervision”. (SAIRR, 1968: 21). Nevertheless, the guide alerted potential visitors to “an interesting chinchilla farm owned by Mrs S. van Heerden of Windsor House” who was “willing to show the farm to organised parties, preferably between 3.30 and 4p.m. during the week provided that prior arrangements have been made” (SAIRR, 1968: 20). Close to Stellenbosch the advice was provided that “Coloured visitors may care to request permission from the Department of Coloured Affairs to visit the agricultural school at Khromme Rhee (‘crooked stream’), about eight miles out of Stellenbosch. Permission may be requested, too, from the appropriate authorities to see the trout hatcheries and forest reserve at Jonkershoek (the latter is open to the public in winter only), and the K.W.V. and Stellenbosch Farmers’ Winery” (SAIRR, 1968: 21).

The Little Karoo town of Oudtshoorn listed no hotel facilities available for non-white visitors in 1968 but noted that “Coloured businessmen are building a hotel” in the local Bridgton township. At this township there was a municipal tourist camp with camping and caravan sites available. At the geotourism attraction of Cango Caves tours were “conducted daily for non-whites at 9.30 a.m., 11.30 a.m. and 2.30 p.m.” The existing hotel at Cango Caves was for whites only. Further, in terms of places of visit, the guidebook informed that two ostrich farms near Oudtshoorn offered tours and welcomed “non-white tourists” (SAIRR, 1968: 24). Beyond Wellington on the national road going north to Johannesburg it was stated bleakly there “are no special facilities for non-white visitors” (SAIRR, 1968: 41). At the coastal centre of Port Elizabeth visitors were told the city was “famed for its Oceanarium, Snake Park and Museum, grouped together at Humewood and easily accessible by bus” (SAIRR, 1968: 25). For coastal drives around the city environs and to visit Addo Elephant Park it was stated that “parties of 20 or more” could charter buses. In addition, “arrangements can be made to visit any of the big motor assembly plants in Port Elizabeth by telephoning the Public Relations Officer of the firm concerned” (SAIRR, 1968: 26).

Beyond coastal centres, accommodation and hospitality services for non-white travellers became increasingly sparse. At Queenstown “there are no hotels or camping sites available to non-whites” (SAIRR, 1968: 34). Likewise, at Addo it was made clear that “there are no hotels for non-whites in the town” but that “those able to obtain private accommodation may bathe in the Sundays River” (SAIRR, 1968: 28). The significance of accessing so-termed “private accommodation” is a message that is repeated for several other destinations. Visitors intending to go to Cradock and Mountain Zebra National Park in the Eastern Cape were told that “there appears to be little over-night accommodation available for those motoring between Port Elizabeth and the North. If tourists are able to obtain private hospitality in Cradock, however, they may care to pay a day visit to the Mountain Zebra National Park” (SAIRR, 1968: 28). Further striking evidence of the existence of an (informal) private hospitality sector comes from the town of Kroonstad in the Orange Free State on the national road from Johannesburg to Bloemfontein. Here the SAIRR guidebook records whilst “there is no hotel for visiting non-whites” that “Africans often stay at lodging houses run by private residents” and that in the African area of the town there are “ten privately-run restaurants” (SAIRR, 1968: 48).

Travel through the Transkei was particularly challenging despite the grant of partial self-government to the territory in 1963. In this part of South Africa “Asians are reminded that they require permits to enter the Transkei” and that “all non-Africans require permits from a Bantu Affairs Commissioner to leave the main road or towns” (SAIRR, 1968: 35). Across Transkei it was observed that “there are very few hotels for non-Whites in the territory” (SAIRR, 1968: 35). Two exceptions were the recent purchase of hotels by African businessmen at Cala and Willowmore. The existing hotels along the Wild Coast and including those at Umtata, the capital, were for Whites-only. But, it was recorded that there were “numbers of boarding houses exist which admit African and Coloured (but by long-standing law, not Asian) visitors for overnight stay, although Asians, too, might be served meals” (SAIRR, 1968: 35). A distinctive feature of hospitality services in the Transkei was that several (Whites-only) hotels offered a so-termed “backdoor service, that is meals in kitchens, or on back verandahs, to African, Coloured, and Asian visitors” (SAIRR, 1968: 35). Examples were given of the Bizana Hotel in the town’s main street which “provides ‘backdoor’ service for all non-whites, charging 35 cents for dinner” (SAIRR, 1968: 35). In the seaside resorts of the Wild Coast the SAIRR guidebook reported that “there are hotels catering only for whites (except for ‘backdoor’ meals) at certain resorts” (SAIRR, 1968: 39). The town of Port St Johns was exclusively reserved for whites so hospitality facilities were minimal for non-whites; the only option was to “obtain counter-service at a motel, and dinner at an African owned boarding house” (SAIRR, 1968: 39).

The list of major places of interest which were recommended in the SAIRR guides for ‘non-White’ visitors usually were little different to most suggestions for white domestic tourists or international visitors. In Kimberley, for example, the lead recommendation was for a visit to The Big Hole, the largest man-made hole in the world, to glimpse the city’s colourful history as a diamond mining centre. Further north in the Cape Province at Mafeking the town’s colonial history was given prominence as visitors were pointed to statues which commemorated the siege of Mafeking during the Boer War, the role of Colonel Baden-Powell, founder of the Boy Scout Movement, and “the graves of Afrikaner women and children who died in concentration camps during the South African War of 1899 to 1902” (SAIRR, 1968: 45). Also recommended was the local geotourism natural attraction of “Wondergat, an enormously deep hole varying from 60 to 80 feet in diameter, caused by the subsidence of the roof of an underground cavern” (SAIRR, 1968: 45). A small acknowledgement of the town’s significance in African heritage, however, was given with the recommendation of the interesting church built in 1870 “by the ancestors of the late Dr. S.M. Molema, the first treasurer of the African National Congress, for some time a leading figure in the (then)



Bechuanaland Government, and a well-known medical man in the Northern Cape”. In addition, potential visitors were instructed that Mafeking was “the headquarters of the Tswana Territorial Authority” and location of the Batswana Training and Trade School which trained African trade instructors. The entry given for Bloemfontein, capital of the Orange Free State, concentrated on the town’s historical significance for Boer trekkers and on its historical buildings, most notably the Old Fort and the Raadzaal. In addition, under places of interest was listed the National Museum, where “Non-Whites are admitted on Thursdays free of charge” and the Zoo to which “Non-Whites are admitted on Tuesdays and Fridays at a charge of ten cents for adults” (SAIRR, 1968: 48). Again, visitors were alerted to commemorations for Afrikaner women and children who died during the South African War of 1889-1902 as well as to the burial site of the ashes of Emily Hobhouse, the English woman who campaigned against the concentration camps.

In South Africa’s busiest seaport and third largest city, Durban in Natal, the recommended attractions included the local art gallery and several museums, visits to the harbour and boat trips and botanic gardens. The core attraction of Durban for most visitors – White or non-White – was its beaches. By the late 1960s, however, the imposition of beach apartheid was well-advanced (J.M. Rogerson, 2017). The dangers of the beaches which were set aside for ‘non-whites’ were raised in the warning given that visitors should “not use the beaches described in the following paragraphs unless life-savers are in attendance and the area is protected with shark nets” (SAIRR, 1968: 57). Of note was the setting aside of picnic spots for non-whites in Durban where it was observed “the beaches here are unsafe for bathing, and there are no life-savers or shark protection nets” (SAIRR, 1968: 57). In addition, sea-angling – a popular activity in Durban – was segregated with separate spaces for white and non-white anglers in the harbour area along various piers, wharves and jetties (see also Rogerson & Rogerson, 2024b). Racial separation was also evident in the tours available to Durban’s Sugar Terminal where “conducted tours for non-whites take place on Tuesdays and Thursdays” (SAIRR, 1968: 54). Factory visits were available to organised groups variously at the Mount Edgecombe Sugar Centre, Clover Dairies, a local brickworks, and the bottling plants of both Coca Cola and Pepsi Cola. Places of interest targeted especially for African visitors to Durban included the Africana library, African Art Centre and group visits to the workshops of the different (racial) branches of the Natal Blind Society.

Arguably, Durban and its immediate environs, including the resorts and towns (especially Verulam, Isipingo and Tongaat) both on the Natal North and South Coasts offered the most established infrastructure and hospitality services for ‘non-white’ leisure visitors and most especially for Indian and Coloured guests (C.M. Rogerson, 2020). The facilities and hospitality options for Africans were more constrained, however. Nevertheless, there were advanced plans for a separate dedicated beach resort development for Africans at uMgababa, a site with a stretch of beach described as “offering excellent bathing” (SAIRR, 1968: 61). An existing holiday camp for African children already was established offering dormitory cottages each capable of hosting 40 children. Plans were indicated for a further development at Turton, 58 miles south of Durban, for a property conversion to be a holiday resort for Africans. The second city of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, also could offer an infrastructure and hospitality services for Coloured and Indian guests. Less welcoming again was the arrival infrastructure for Africans who were advised to contact the municipal hostel where temporary accommodation might be available and where meals might be secured at nearby restaurants. Beyond Pietermaritzburg on the national road to Johannesburg and the Witwatersrand facilities and infrastructure for non-Whites was markedly reduced.

In Northern Natal close to Greytown plans had been mooted for developing an African holiday resort at Lilani hot springs. At Ladysmith lodgings were available for Coloured and Asian guests at two small hotels and for Africans at Hlongwane’s Boarding House. Hospitality services for Africans were available in terms of meals at Hlongwane’s and at one ‘Bantu restaurant’ in the old township area. At the Royal Natal National Park in the Drakensberg mountain region, resort accommodation was exclusively for whites. Only sites for overnight camping were available “for organized groups of non-whites with cooking and ablution facilities” (SAIRR, 1968: 70). From Ladysmith in a north-east direction at the coalfield town of Dundee there was “no hotel for non-Whites” and visitors encouraged to seek “to obtain accommodation with friends” if they wished to patronise the local entertainment centres such as the Savoy Theatre where non-whites were admitted to the upstairs gallery. Likewise, for the town of Newcastle the advice was “those who are able to obtain private accommodation may be able to visit the Incandu Falls and the Chelsea Dam” (SAIRR, 1968: 72). In the battlefields areas of the Natal Midlands places of interest were highlighted around battle sites, churches, and local arts and crafts centres, albeit with no suggestions for accommodation or hospitality services. In the inland area of Southern Natal the small town of Donnybrook near the foothills of the Drakensberg hosted “a very small hotel that caters for non-white people” (SAIRR, 1968: 72). At Umzimkulu the hospitality offerings included the Umzimkulu Hotel which “offers ‘backdoor’ dinners to all non-whites” and two eating and boarding house establishments catering for Africans and Coloured patrons only.

Arguably, the Transvaal, as indexed by its minimal arrival infrastructure in and around Johannesburg for Black visitors, was the most inhospitable region for non-White tourists. In the entire region of the Witwatersrand, South Africa’s largest urban agglomeration and commercial heartland, there were listed only two licensed hotels and two unlicensed establishments that offered accommodation for ‘non-whites’. In the gold mining centres and fast industrializing towns of Germiston, Boksburg, Alberton and Benoni, commercial hospitality services were non-existent. Plans were noted for a motel to be established at Germiston’s Katlehong township; in the interim potential African visitors were directed to seek out options in the several municipal hostels. The attractions of the local municipal beer halls were flagged along with their beer gardens, restaurants and bar lounges. The arrival infrastructure in the West Rand for non-White visitors was equally unwelcoming. It was recorded that in the towns of Krugersdorp and Roodepoort “no special amenities have been provided for non-white visitors” (SAIRR, 1968: 80). Hospitality services and places of interest were limited to a scatter of African-owned restaurants in local townships and a small municipal established game reserve reserved for whites on weekends and public holidays but which



permitted visits by organized non-white groups “if prior arrangements are made through the office of the Town Engineer” (SAIRR, 1968: 81).

In Pretoria, South Africa’s ‘Jacaranda city’ and administrative capital, no accommodation or hospitality service facilities were on offer to non-whites. In relation to accommodation the guide book stated bluntly: “No hotels have, as yet, been established for Africans, Coloured people or Indians. It is thus necessary for visitors to find private hospitality” (SAIRR, 1968: 82). Regarding food options “there are no modern restaurants either” but it was noted that “various cafes exist in non-white areas”. Notwithstanding this accommodation and hospitality desert the guidebook devoted considerable space and detail to describing the capital city’s major places of interest for visitors. These included Church Square, historic buildings such as the Raadsaal, the Union Buildings, Voortrekker Monument, Paul Kruger’s House and National Zoological Gardens. Special mention was given to the Fountain Valley Nature Reserve, situated two and a half miles from the city centre, where “non-whites are welcome to ramble around this wooded picnic spot, although most of the amenities there are reserved for whites” (SAIRR, 1968: 85). Another place of attraction given special note was Doornkloof, the restored home of Field-Marshal Smuts; here “non-whites are welcome to see the homestead and to picnic in the grounds on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays from 9 a.m. to 12 noon and 2 to 4.30 pm” (SAIRR, 1968: 96).

Beyond Pretoria in the region of the Northern Transvaal at Warmbaths, a popular location for white domestic tourists because of its hot mineral springs, it was advised that accommodation was available only for Coloureds and Asians at the Habibye Resthouse which provided 20 rooms with bed and bedding supplied. This said, no restaurant facilities were available and visitors recommended to bring their own food and kitchen utensils. For African travellers the only minor good news was that certain of the baths and private bathrooms at Warmbaths were accessible to all non-whites. Farther north towards the border with colonial Rhodesia the situation was once again of an accommodation and hospitality desert. In the largest centre of Pietersburg no accommodation facilities were available for non-whites and hospitality services were just at one local café (serving all non-whites) and at one eating house serving only Africans. Despite the existence of a minimal tourism infrastructure several places of interest were noted, including Chuniespoort “where there is an interesting cave open to African visitors”, the Zebedelia citrus estates, and Echo Cave open to African visitors “provided permission is obtained from the Bantu Affairs Commissioner” (SAIRR, 1968: 88). In the surrounds of these attractions were available hospitality services for Africans at a café close to Duiwelskloof and the Bokgaga Eating House 15 miles from Tzaneen. In completing the overview of attractions and places of interest near to Pietersburg the guidebook mentioned potential opportunities to visit the University College of the North at Turfloop and Moria City, a pilgrimage tourism location as the headquarters of the Zionist African community.

Another region of South Africa denoted by a remarkable deficit of infrastructure for non-white visitors was the along the main road routes eastward from Pretoria and the Witwatersrand and towards both Kruger National Park and beyond Nelspruit to Lourenço Marques. This corridor to the Eastern Transvaal lowveld was a rapidly expanding tourism destination during the 1960s and Lourenço Marques as a destination was popular as it offered complete escape and freedom from the racial restrictions under apartheid South Africa (C.M. Rogerson, 2023). Despite its significance this part of the Transvaal offered no commercial accommodation facilities for non-whites. The guidebook entry for Middelburg – en route from Johannesburg or Pretoria to Kruger Park or Lourenço Marques – stated simply “there is no accommodation for non-Whites” (SAIRR, 1968: 90). Further east the guidebook celebrated the wonderful scenery beyond Machadodorp into the Lowveld and towards Nelspruit, described as “centre of a rich agricultural district producing citrus, sub-tropical fruits, tobacco and vegetables” (SAIRR, 1968: 90). Nelspruit was the last major South African town before the border with Mozambique and travel to the port and beach attractions of Lourenço Marques (C.M. Rogerson, 2023). In addition, Nelspruit was a jumping-off point for White River which was recommended as the easiest point for visitors to access the southern-most portion of Kruger National Park. Once more, no accommodation options were listed for ‘non-White’ travellers.

The history of South Africa’s most iconic tourist destination, the Kruger National Park, recently has been rewritten from a new perspective by Dlamini (2020) who debunks the myth of popular and scholarly imagination that Kruger National Park was an exclusive white playground by tracing the growth in the numbers of black visitors to the park in the first two decades of apartheid. The SAIRR guide in 1968 makes clear that the park welcomed anyone as day visitors. But, it made clear that only limited accommodation was available to ‘non-whites’ throughout the year at the major camps at Skukuza and Pretorius Kop. At Skukuza four three-bedded huts and (in winter, only) four tents and camping sites for one car load and at Pretorius Kop camping sites were made available for two car loads. In the peak winter season further accommodation facilities were open in terms of huts and camping sites at Lower Sabie and Balule. The guidebook also references the development of the Manyeleti Game Reserve on the western side of Kruger National Park as a designated space for Africans with three types of available accommodation for visitors, namely luxury bungalows, less luxurious huts and dormitory accommodation. From Manyeleti it was stated that “Africans are still able to visit the Kruger National Park crossing over during the day” (SAIRR, 1968: 92).

## Conclusion

In extant international scholarship racialized landscapes of tourism have been scrutinized and elaborated in detail for the Jim Crow era of segregation in the United States. Although apartheid South Africa was marked by racialized spaces of tourism only limited research on tourism under apartheid so far has been conducted. This paper contributes to the sparse literature by revealing aspects of the racialized landscape of apartheid tourism and particularly of the challenges that confronted ‘non-Whites’ as leisure travellers. During the apartheid period the South African Institute of Race Relations produced a series of guidebooks to assist ‘non-Whites’ in touristic navigation and wayfinding through the unwelcoming spaces created by segregationist legislation. The national guidebook which SAIRR produced in 1968 provides a wealth of insights into the



racialized landscape that existed at that time. Key themes that it documents are the minimal accommodation infrastructure for the leisure travel of non-White South Africans, the impress of petty apartheid legislation on restaurant services, and the restrictions imposed on visitors to certain tourism attractions. This documentary record of the racialized landscape of tourism under apartheid can be strengthened by the collection of travel histories to document the lived experiences of 'non-Whites' in travelling during the inhospitable years of apartheid.

## Acknowledgements

Arno Booyzen prepared the map. Helpful inputs were made by Lulu White, Robbie Norfolk and Betty White in the development of this paper.

## References

- Alderman, D.H. (2013). Introduction to the Special Issue: African Americans and Tourism. *Tourism Geographies*, 15 (3), 375-379. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2012.762544>
- Alderman, D.H. & Bottone, E. (2024). On Doing Justice to Black Mobility and Movement in the Classroom. *The Geography Teacher*, 21 (1), 25-32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19338341.2024.2315528>
- Alderman, D.H. & Inwood, J. (2014). *Toward a Pedagogy of Jim Crow: A Geographic Reading of the Green Book*. In L. E. Estaville, E.J. Montalvo, & F.A. Akiwumi (Eds.), *Teaching Ethnic Geography in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, pp. 68-87. Silver Spring, MD, USA: National Council for Geographic Education.
- Alderman, D.H. & Modlin Jr. E.A. (2014). *The Historical Geography of Racialized Landscapes*. In G.L. Buckley & C.E. Cohen (Eds.), *North American Odyssey: Historical Geographers for the Twenty-first Century*, pp. 273-290. Lanham, Maryland, USA: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Alderman, D.H., Williams, K. & Bottone, E. (2022). Jim Crow Journey Stories: African American Driving as Emotional Labor. *Tourism Geographies*, 24 (2-3), 198-222. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2019.1630671>
- Algeo, K. (2013). Underground Tourists/Tourists Underground: African American Tourism to Mammoth Cave. *Tourism Geographies*, 15 (3), 380-404. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2012.675514>
- Armstead, M.B.Y. (2005). Revisiting Hotels and Other Lodgings: American Tourist Spaces Through the Lens of Black Pleasure-Travellers, 1880-1950. *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, 25, 136-151. <https://doi.org/10.2307/40007722>
- Bottone, E.M. (2020a). *The 'Green Book' and a Black Sense of Movement: Black Mobilities and Mobilities During the Jim Crow Era*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Tennessee.
- Bottone, E.M. (2020b). "Please Mention the Green Book": *The Negro Motorist Green Book as Critical GIS*. In C. Travis, F. Ludlow, & F. Gyuris (Eds.). *Historical Geography, GIScience and Textual Analysis: Landscapes of Time and Place*, pp. 51-64. Cham, Switzerland: Springer.
- Bottone, E.M. (2023). 'Your Home – Away From Home': Tourist Homes and Hospitality as Resistance. *Tourism Geographies*, 25 (4), 1004-1025. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2022.2032311>
- Carter, P.L. (2008). Coloured Places and Pigmented Holidays: Racialized Leisure Travel. *Tourism Geographies*, 10 (3), 265-284. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461668802236287>
- Chio, J., Gill, T., Gonzalez, V.V., Harp, S.L., McDonald, K., Rosenbaum, A.T., Rugh, S.S., & Thomas, L.L. (2020). Discussion: Tourism and Race. *Journal of Tourism History*, 2 (2), 173-197. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1755182X.2020.1756465>
- Cook, L.D., Jones, M.E.C., Logan, T.D. & Rosé, D. (2023). The Evolution of Access to Public Accommodations in the United States. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 138 (1), 37-102. <https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjac035>
- Cook, L.D., Jones, M.E.C., Rosé, D., & Logan, T.D. (2020). *The Green Books and the Geography of Segregation in Public Accommodations*. Cambridge, Mass. USA: NBER Working Paper, w 26819.
- Davison, B. (2019). *A Case for Expanding Heritage Tourism in Atlanta, Georgia by Exploring Sites from the Negro Motorist Green Book*. Unpublished MA Dissertation (School of City and Regional Planning), Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, USA.
- Dillette, A., Benjamin, S. & Alderman, D. (2024). Traveling to Escape, Resist and Belong: Centering Black Experiences Within Tourism Scholarship. *Tourism Geographies*, 26 (1), 1-12. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2024.2305869>
- Dlamini, J.S.T. (2020). *Safari Nation: A Social History of the Kruger National Park*. Athens OH. Ohio University Press, USA.
- Foster, M.S. (1999). In the Face of "Jim Crow": Prosperous Blacks and Vacations, Travel and Outdoor Leisure, 1890-1945. *Journal of Negro History*, 84 (2), 130-149. *Tourism Geographies*, 10 (3), 265-284. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2649403>
- Hall, M.R.-S. (2014). The Negro Traveller's Guide to a Jim Crow South: Negotiating Racialized Landscapes During a Dark Period in United States Cultural History, 1936-1967. *Postcolonial Studies*, 17 (3), 307-319. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13688790.2014.987898>
- Hellmann, E. (1979). *Fifty Years of the South African Institute of Race Relations*. In E. Hellmann & H. Lever (Eds.), *Race Relations in South Africa, 1929-1979*, pp. 1-27. New York, USA: St Martin's Press.
- Jackson, A.T. (2020). *Heritage, Tourism and Race: The Other Side of Leisure*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Kalous, I.D. (2021). Navigating Hostile Terrain with the Green Book: How a Travel Guide Mobilized African Americans During Segregation. *JAAAS: Journal of the Austrian Association for American Studies*, 3 (1), 11-31. <https://doi.org/10.47060/jaaas.v3i1.53>
- Kenna, J.L. (2024). Green Book vs. Blue Book: A Comparative Lesson on Mobility. *The Geography Teacher*, 21 (1), 33-41. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19338341.2024.2315532>
- Kennedy, R.A. (2013). *Automobility, Hospitality, African American Tourism, and Mapping Victor H. Green's Negro Motorist Green Book*. Unpublished MA Thesis (Geography), Greenville, North Carolina: East Carolina University.
- Kirkby, J. (2022). *Sentiments of Segregation: The Emotional Politics of Apartheid, c. 1948-1990*. Unpublished PhD Monograph (Joint Faculties of Humanities and Theology), Lund University, Sweden.
- Meulenduks, H. (2017). *Tourism and Imperialism in the Dutch East Indies: Guidebooks of the Vereeniging toeristenverkeer in the Late Colonial Period (1908-1939)*. Unpublished MA Thesis (Cultural History of Modern Europe), Utrecht University, The Netherlands.
- Ndeke, A.K. (2022). *Racism and Tourism*. In D. Buhalis (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Tourism Management and Marketing*, pp. 621-624. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- Pearcy, M. (2016). The Green Book: Race, Geography and Critical Understanding. *The Councilor: A Journal of the Social Studies*, 77 (2), Article 4.
- Peel, V. & Sørensen, A. (2016). *Exploring the Use and Impact of Travel Guidebooks*. Bristol, UK: Channel View.
- Rogerson, C.M. (2020). *Apartheid Hotels: The Rise and Fall of the 'Non-White' Hotel in South Africa*. In J. M. Rogerson & G. Visser (Eds.). *New Directions in South African Tourism Geographies*, pp. 33-54. Cham, Switzerland: Springer.
- Rogerson, C.M. (2022). *Applying an Historical Approach to Innovation and Tourism: The 'International Hotel' in Apartheid South Africa*. In I. Booyens, & P. Brouder (Eds.), *Handbook of Innovation for Sustainable Tourism*, pp. 274-291. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- Rogerson, C.M. (2023). Historical Urban Tourism: The Evolution of Tourism in Colonial Lourenço Marques. *Revista Turismo & Desenvolvimento*, 42, 9-25. <https://doi.org/10.34624/rtid.v42i0.32655>
- Rogerson, C. M. & Rogerson, J.M. (2020). Racialized Landscapes of Tourism: From Jim Crow USA to Apartheid South Africa. *Bulletin of Geography: Socio-*





- Economic Series*, 48, 7-21. <https://doi.org/10.2478/bog-2020-0010>
- Rogerson, C.M. & Rogerson, J.M. (2021). *Urban Tourism Under Apartheid: The Johannesburg Chapter*. In C. M. Rogerson & J. M. Rogerson (Eds.). *Urban Tourism in the Global South: South African Perspectives*, pp. 149-172. Cham, Switzerland: Springer.
- Rogerson, C.M. & Rogerson, J.M. (2022). Hotel Histories of Apartheid South Africa: The Emergence and Expansion of the Southern Sun Hotel Group c.1960-1983. *Studia Periegetica*, 39 (3), 27-46. <https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0016.0763>
- Rogerson, C.M. & Rogerson, J.M. (2024a). Black Travel (Im-)mobilities in South Africa: A Case of Historical Urban Restraint. *Revistă Română de Geografie Politică*, 26 (2), 61-77. <https://doi.org/10.30892/rrgp.261101-378>
- Rogerson, C.M. & Rogerson, J.M. (2024b). Incipient Special Interest Tourism: Sea Angling as Recreational Sport in South Africa. *GeoSport for Society*, 20 (1), 11-24. <https://doi.org/10.30892/gss.2002-105>
- Rogerson, J.M. (2017). 'Kicking Sand in the Face of Apartheid': Segregated Beaches in South Africa. *Bulletin of Geography: Socio-Economic Series*, 35, 93-109. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/bog-2017-0007>
- Slocum, S. & Ingram, L.J. (2023). *From Jim Crow to Black Lives Matter: A History of Racism and Tourism in the United States*. In S. Slocum (Ed.). *Inclusion in Tourism: Understanding Institutionalized Discrimination and Bias*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- South African Institute of Race Relations (1968). *The South African Holiday Guide Especially for Africans, Indians and Coloured*. Johannesburg: SAIRR.
- Taylor, C. (2020). *The Green Book and the Roots of Black Travel in America*. New York, USA: Abrams.
- Thomas, C. & Love, M. (2024). *Intervening in Jim Crow: The Green Book and Southern Hospitality*. In C.D. Johnson (Ed.). *Carolina Currents: Studies in South Carolina Culture*, pp. 86-113. Columbia, South Carolina, USA: University of South Carolina Press.