

Taking Care of Business:

The Black Entrepreneurial Elite in Turn-of-the-Century Pittsburgh

by Laurence Glasco, Guest Editor

Cumberland Posey, the son of a slave, became one of the best steamboat builders in the country. This boat was owned by Posey's business, the Diamond Coke and Coal Company, which eventually employed 1,000 men. Posey is on the lower deck, third from right.



IN 1901, a national publication described a men's club in Pittsburgh as "one of the most prosperous organizations of its kind in the country." The club boasted a clubhouse furnished with "rich carpets, fine tapestries, beautiful pictures," a rosewood piano, and a painting by Paris-based (and Pittsburgh-born) artist Henry O. Tanner. Its dining room was overseen by a resident steward. And its card room and billiard room allowed "no game of chance."¹ This was not the Duquesne Club — the pride of Pittsburgh's white elite — but the Loendi Club, its counterpart among blacks. Founded on August 13, 1897, and named for a river in Africa, it remained a center of activities for the city's black male elite until well into the twentieth century. Located at 93 Fulton (now Fullerton) Street, in the heart of the Hill District, the club provides evidence that the black community at the turn of the century contained an upper class of elegance and refinement.²

The Loendi Club is simply one piece of evidence that, at the opening of the twentieth century, members of Pittsburgh's black elite were "taking care of business." Indeed, businessmen and self-employed professionals were leaders of both the club and the community. As we approach the end of the twentieth century, in an era of pessimism and calls for entrepreneurship, it is instructive to look back at the opening years of the century when, despite prejudice and discrimination, blacks exuded self-confidence and busily established businesses.

Legacy of the Pre-Civil War Entrepreneurial Tradition

Entrepreneurship among Pittsburgh blacks dates to the pre-Civil War era. In one respect, this is quite remarkable, since during that period Pittsburgh's black community was typical of those found in most northern cities — small, impoverished, and victimized by racial discrimination. Although blacks arrived with the very earliest colonial settlers — they were trappers, pioneers, soldiers, and slaves — their numbers grew slowly. In 1850 they comprised only 2,000 people (less than 5 percent of the city's population) and were centered in "Little Hayti," an area just off Wylie Avenue in the Lower Hill, where housing was close to downtown jobs and businesses. The black community was poor because racial discrimination excluded its men from the industrial and commercial mainstream of the city's economy. Barbering was the most prestigious occupation open to blacks, who operated most of the downtown barbershops that catered to the city's elite. (To cut the hair of other blacks would have cost them their white customers.) Most men, however, found work only as day laborers, whitewashers, janitors, porters, coachmen, waiters, and stewards. The men's low earnings forced the women to work outside the home, typically in low-paying jobs as servants, domestics, and washerwomen.³

Businessmen like Lewis Woodson were the leaders of that early community. A free-born black educated by Quakers, Woodson came from Chillicothe, Ohio, in the 1830s. As was true of most of the city's black elite, Woodson was a barber. He excelled at his trade and operated a chain of shops in the city's leading hotels — the Anderson, the St. Charles and the Monongahela House. Woodson also was a minister (another high-status occupation for blacks) and a pastor at "Mother Bethel" A.M.E. (African Methodist Episcopal) Church, the oldest and most prestigious of the community's churches, on Wylie Avenue in the Hill.

Other businessmen and community leaders whose downtown barbershops catered to an elite clientele were John Vashon, John Peck, and Lemuel Googins. Vashon and Peck are important local community leaders, while Googins, according to historian and journalist Frank Bolden, was "one of the... most prominent men of the race in this part of the state" and barbered almost into the next century at his downtown barber shop.⁴

One of the few prominent businessmen who was not a barber was John Turfley. Turfley arrived from Culpeper, Va., in 1849. After working as a waiter at the Monongahela House, he became a successful contractor and builder.⁵ Another businessman, Martin Delany, founder and publisher of the community's first black newspaper, *The Mystery*,⁶ was in some ways black Pittsburgh's most famous leader of the period because of his early advocacy of black nationalism.

Black entrepreneurship continued after the Civil War. Lewis Woodson's daughter, Virginia Proctor, was the most outstanding example of the era, and one of the most prominent and respected members of the black business elite.⁷ After studying millinery at Avery Institute (an all-black trade school on the North Side), Virginia married Jacob Proctor, a barber whose customers included members of the Westinghouse and Carnegie families.

Her wig-making shop, located above her husband's barber shop, was fabulously successful among the wives of the city's white elite. "Mrs. Virginia Proctor's Hair Shop" later moved to Fifth Avenue, facing the courthouse, and subsequently to other downtown locations. At the time of her death in 1924, the shop was located at 616 Fifth Avenue, and, according to Frank Bolden, was "one of the largest and most thriving businesses of its kind in the city." Like her father, Virginia was a community leader. Active in Bethel A.M.E. Church and in various charitable and community organizations, she also was one of the founders of the Aurora Reading Club, black Pittsburgh's most prestigious women's organization.⁸

Virginia Woodson Proctor established something of a family business dynasty. She had two daughters, Virginia (often called Jennie) and Caroline, who learned the hairdressing trade. Jennie never married, and managed her hair shop on Fifth Avenue (across from Fifth Avenue High School) until her death in 1935. Caroline owned and operated a hair shop in Wilksburg. Three granddaughters also learned the hair trade and opened shops in Pittsburgh. One son, Jacob II, carried on the father's barbering trade, while another, Louis, established a transfer and storage business in Chicago.⁹

The son of John Turfley (the pre-Civil War waiter/builder/contractor) continued his father's entrepreneurial spirit. Born in 1855, George Turfley attended Central High School before obtaining a medical degree from Western Reserve Medical School in Cleveland. In 1879 he returned to Pittsburgh, opened a medical practice and, in 1894, married Mary Bryan, whose father was a prominent barber and contractor who helped lay out Homestead Park. During 55 years of medical practice, George Turfley, according to Frank Bolden, was the community's most prominent physician.¹⁰

Lemuel Googins extended the pre-Civil War entrepreneurial tradition into the next century through longevity. The prominent barber of the pre-Civil War years kept his barber shop until he retired in about 1900.¹¹ In addition, Googins achieved a singular distinction in 1880 when he became the first black to serve on city council, and was the only black to hold such a position until Robert Jackson was elected alderman in 1919.¹² Always active in his church, Googins also was a member of several freemasonry lodges, reaching the 33rd degree level, and of Eureka Lodge Odd Fellows.

Like Googins, Edward Bailey extended black entrepreneurship into many decades through longevity. Upon his death in 1910 at the age of 74, it was reported that he had been "one of the most prominent Afro-American business men of the city" and "the wealthiest colored man in this part of the state," but that he "lost everything by business reverses." A resident of Bedford Avenue in the Hill District, Bailey was a native of Crittenden County, Ky. In 1847, at age 12, he was brought to Pittsburgh by his white father/owner. Given his free papers, Bailey was placed as an apprentice at a foundry and lived in the East End with the family of a Dr. Perchment, who looked after his education. At age 19 Bailey married Elizabeth Jackson of the South Side, and entered business as a coal dealer and general contractor. Later he owned a stone

quarry and operated a steam ferry across the Monongahela River, near the current Birmingham Bridge. An elder in Grace Memorial Presbyterian Church, he spent the last 15 years of his life working as the sexton and custodian at Lincoln Cemetery, the city's black-owned burial ground.¹³

Post-Civil War Migration and the New Entrepreneurs

In the second half of the nineteenth century, there emerged a new class of black entrepreneurs. Unlike the Woodsons, Proctors, and Googinses (all barbers), this new group engaged in a wide range of businesses not connected with personal service. This new type of black entrepreneur was not due to any significant moderation in white racial attitudes. In fact, the period in which they migrated has been characterized as the "nadir" of American race history, a time of lynchings and disfranchisement in the South and of retreat from liberalism in the North.¹³ Blacks in Pittsburgh, as elsewhere in the North, continued to be largely shut out of industrial employment. The best jobs open to them were still in personal service, as waiters, barbers, railroad porters, butlers, maids, coachmen, and gardeners.¹⁴ However, Pittsburgh's booming economy, combined with racial violence in the South, attracted many blacks. Between 1870 and 1900 their numbers increased from 1,162 to 20,355, making the Pittsburgh black community the sixth largest in the nation.¹⁵ An expanding economy, plus the belief that the market would reward ability whatever its color, also attracted blacks with entrepreneurial ambitions and fired them with confidence and optimism.

The epitome of these new entrepreneurs, and by far the most successful, was Cumberland Posey. A self-made businessman, Posey was born in 1858 in Charles County, Md. His father had been a slave who became a preacher after the Civil War. In 1867 Rev. Posey moved his family to Virginia, where the son worked on a farm. Longing for more opportunities, the father then moved the family to Belfry, Ohio, where young Posey worked for a family named Payton which owned a large riverboat, the *Magnolia*. While working on this boat, Posey thought of becoming an engineer. The Paytons encouraged him, and taught him the necessary skills. Soon Posey was made assistant engineer on the steamer *Striker*. He learned fast, and in one year was made Chief Engineer for Stewart Hayes, the first black American to receive this title. He held this position for 14 years, earning \$1,200 per year. In 1882 the dark-skinned Cumberland married the light-skinned Anna Stevens, teacher in an otherwise all-white school in Ohio, and "a highly cultured young woman." In 1892 "Captain" Posey, as he was affectionately known, moved to Homestead. There he bought several coal boats, organized first the "Delta Coal Company," and a few years later the "Posey Coal Dealers and Steam Boat Builders," with all boats built under his supervision. This company ultimately was sold and replaced by the "Marine Coal Company," which in 1900 was capitalized at \$500,000 and managed by Posey for a salary of \$3,000.¹⁶ In 1900 Posey, acting as agent for the Independent Sand Company, was granted permission by the U.S. secretary of war to dredge for sand and gravel in nearby rivers.¹⁷ In addition to maintaining a large stock in the company, Posey

owned considerable real estate in Homestead, and was director of one of the city's leading banks.

As a successful, self-made businessman, Posey was idolized by blacks in Pittsburgh and elsewhere. In 1902 the Boston-based *Colored American Magazine* opined:

If a man, born in luxury and reared among opulent surroundings become conspicuous on account of skillful management, and the wise distribution of his wealth, he is truly a benefactor, and deserves the praise of all lovers of human progress. But the man who comes into the world with no other heritage than a sound body, and a sound mind, and who learns to grasp opportunities as they come, thus building the ladder upon which he climbs, is truly the greatest exponent of human development.¹⁸

To turn-of-the-century black business elites, Posey's success confirmed their belief that talent was rewarded in the new capitalistic order, regardless of race or color. The Boston magazine noted, with perhaps as much hope as fact, that the "question of color never enters his business; he is a boat builder and master of his profession. Pittsburg needs boats; Posey supplies them; hence his success."¹⁹

Finally, Posey was a pillar because of his involvement, as well as that by his wife and children, in community affairs. Posey was a member of Knights of Pythias, Knights Templar, Odd Fellows and, as one might assume, the Loendi Social Club.²⁰

The New Entrepreneurs: Biographical Profiles

Posey, in fact, was simply the most successful among a number of blacks born in Maryland and Virginia who, with entrepreneurial ambitions, migrated to Pittsburgh in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Like Posey, they were advocates of the self-made man, and had great confidence in black abilities and their own entrepreneurial futures.

These newcomers created an impressive number of businesses. In 1909 Helen Tucker, a black social worker and investigator for the magazine *Charities and the Commons*, counted 85 black-run businesses in Pittsburgh, including pool rooms, print shops, plastering, cement finishing, paper-hanging, hauling firms, pharmacies, and even a savings and loan. Some, she reported, were quite large, such as Posey's Diamond Coke and Coal Company of Homestead, with 1,000 employees, and two contractors with more than 100 employees. In addition, a caterer (Spriggs and Writt) and a wigmaker (Proctor) served a predominantly white clientele, as did several grocers, restaurant owners, and barbers.²¹ This was indeed an impressive achievement for a community of only 20,000 members.

Like Virginia Proctor, a few of these entrepreneurs established service-oriented businesses.²² Born at Mt. Jackson, Va., in 1862, Thomas Spriggs came to Pittsburgh in 1885, "seeking greater opportunities." Upon his arrival, he worked in various hotels, becoming head waiter at the Monongahela House, one of the city's finest hotels. He entered Western Theological Seminary in Allegheny, Pa. (now Pittsburgh's North Side), not to become a preacher "but to be more useful in Christian work." He later became head waiter for W.R. Kuhn & Co, "where he formed a lasting acquaintance with the leading people" of the city. Later he

became head waiter for Kennedy & Suther and, when that firm was sold to James B. Youngson, Spriggs remained in his position, where he was still employed at the turn of the century. Youngson was one of the city's leading caterers, and Spriggs managed the catering department. In the fall of 1900 he supervised the most elaborate banquet ever served in Pittsburgh, employing nearly 400 men and serving nearly 1,600 guests. "In the catering business," said the *Colored American Magazine*, "he has no superiors, which fact makes him welcome in the homes of the wealthiest families." Spriggs was a trustee of Wylie Avenue A.M.E. Church and later of Euclid Avenue A.M.E. Church. He also owned real estate in Virginia and Pittsburgh.²³

Contractors also were represented among the new entrepreneurs. Blacks in Pittsburgh had at least one building contractor, named Jordan, and one construction company, the Pittsburgh Home Building Company. In 1905 the latter erected what a local newspaper termed "one of the largest buildings thus far erected in this city under colored auspices." It was a three-story, 35-room apartment house, completed at the modest cost of \$6,500, and intended "to be rented to colored tenants only."²⁴

Some entrepreneurs, like Robert Jackson, had a long string of businesses. Born near Winchester, Va., in 1846, Jackson was brought to Pittsburgh by his father, who had bought himself and his family out of slavery for \$2,000. The son established a grocery store on Wylie Avenue, attended Avery Institute, and in 1875 married Cornelia A. Mole. He then went into the contracting business, in which he was successful, winning the contract for grading and paving Smithfield and Carson streets for traction cars, as well as for hauling for the traction companies. Jackson relocated to the East End, helping to pave streets there, until politics gave the monopoly to the company of Booth & Flinn, owned by Pittsburgh political bosses of the same names. Always flexible, Jackson entered the garbage business until politics again gave the monopoly of that lucrative business to Booth & Flinn. Always one to land on his feet, in 1896 Jackson opened a bicycle store in the East End, and became a member of the East End Board of Trade. Jackson came to public attention when, at a Common Council meeting, he suggested putting water filters in the city schools. In addition to his bicycle shop, he owned several other businesses, served on the board of directors of Avery Institute, was treasurer of the Avery fund (\$200,000) and trustee of Wylie Avenue A.M.E. Church. He was active in politics in the 20th ward, although he lived in Shadyside.²⁵

Jackson's entrepreneurial values were transferred to at least one of his children — eldest daughter Hadesa, who had a manicuring and hair dressing business among "the wealthy white ladies of the East End." Jackson's sons also were oriented toward self-employment. William, the eldest, was a medical student at Western University of Pennsylvania (now the University of Pittsburgh), while Ralph, a champion bicycle rider while still a high-school student, prepared to study dentistry. (His younger daughter Mary Villa was a member of the Narcissus Musical and Literary Club.)²⁶

Another leading entrepreneur of this post-Civil War era was

John M. Clark. Born in New York state in 1849, Clark moved with his family a year later to Canada, where he was apprenticed to a blacksmith and wheelwright. At age 17, hearing of opportunities, Clark walked to Pittsburgh, where he secured work as a blacksmith's helper. Holding a job during the day, Clark attended school at night, which was presided over by Samuel A. Neale, principal of the colored schools of Allegheny City. By 1870 Clark had his own blacksmith and wagon-making shop, had accumulated several thousand dollars, and had begun to do general hauling. By 1900, according to the *Colored American*, he had "accomplished more than any other Negro in Western Pennsylvania." In addition to his contracting business (which had between 30 and 50 men on the payroll), Clark owned a stock farm for horses, and was described by the magazine as "no doubt the only colored man in the country controlling a half-mile race track." Politically, Clark was "quite a power," with a large following among blacks and, according to a magazine article, "many of the concessions made to the Negro voters, notably the fire company, were brought about through his efforts."²⁷

Other black entrepreneurs, such as Lee Trent, opened retail stores. Born in 1868 on a farm in Amelia County, near Richmond, Va., Trent remained there until he was 17, and studied only six months in the county school there and one year in public schools in Richmond. He was employed one year with Richmond Dairy Company and one year at a Brooklyn dairy. He returned to Richmond, where he worked as steamer in the tobacco factory of W.T. Hannock & Sons for 18 months. In 1890 he came to Pittsburgh, working as coachman for Dr. W.F. Pollock and porter for Kauffman Brothers. In 1898 he opened a grocery store on Wylie Avenue, and made a success of it. In 1898 he married Mary Burkes of Lynchburg, Va., who died one year later.²⁸

William H. Jones was another retail merchant. Born in 1858 in Frederick, Md., Jones came to Pittsburgh in 1885, working at the Anderson Hotel for several years. With skills acquired in the hotel, he became manager of Banker's Cafe, one of the city's leading cafes. He then established his own business, Jones & Taylor, a cigar and tobacco shop on Wylie Avenue. Jones soon bought out his partner's interest, and with business growing in the late 1890s, he moved to larger quarters with a large stock and a barber shop in the rear. The *Colored American Magazine* described Jones' tobacco shop as "one of the finest" cigar stores in the city.²⁹

Some blacks also were moving into banking and finance. In 1900 the Afro-American Building and Loan Association celebrated its third anniversary,³⁰ in 1905 the "Colored American Bank" was about to open on Wylie Avenue,³¹ and in 1910 the Douglass Loan and Investment Company gave a banquet at Writt Catering parlors that showed "the affairs of the company were never held in a more promising condition."³²

Others were moving into coal mining. In 1910 "a group of colored men" bought an operating coal mine in Washington, Pa. Also in that year H.S. Sterling, president of the Red Oak Coal Company, promoted the project "and many local and well-known Afro-Americans are among the investors, and will share in the management duties."³³

The New Professionals

These businesses were supplemented by a number of self-employed professionals. Prominent among these were lawyers, such as William Maurice Randolph, the Loendi Club's first president, who was born in Richmond.³⁴ In 1888 Randolph was admitted to the New York Bar after graduating from City University of New York, and in 1891 he came to Pittsburgh, where he was admitted to the Allegheny County Bar.³⁵ Randolph also had a moderately successful political career. In 1895 he was one of the delegates who appeared before the National Republican Committee to argue for Pittsburgh as the site for the 1896 National Republican Convention. In November 1896 he was voted presidential elector from the 22nd Congressional District of Pennsylvania. In 1898 he was chosen by the chairman of the Republican City Committee to address the Legislative Committee on municipal corporations in opposition to a bill then pending to make Pittsburgh a city of the first class. He also was appointed to the commission to divide Pittsburgh into election districts. In addition to his success as a lawyer and politician, Randolph married successfully; around 1898 he wed Mary Durham, sister to Mr. John Durham, ex-minister to Haiti.³⁶

William H. Stanton (brother to Joseph, the Loendi Club's former secretary) was the city's other leading black attorney. Born in Pittsburgh in 1873, Stanton graduated from Pittsburgh Central High School, where he was the school's first honor graduate "of color." In 1892 Stanton began to study law, and in 1893 began to work with white attorney Charles F. McKenna as stenographer and law student. Finishing in 1895, Stanton took first honors on the admissions examination and joined the Pittsburgh Bar Association. Stanton opened an office on Fifth Avenue, where he was still located at the turn of the century. He tried several cases before the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, and was the attorney for most black businesses in Allegheny County. He married a prominent Pittsburgher, Mary Elizabeth Brown, daughter of Methodist Episcopal Rev. A. W. Brown. Stanton was a member of several lodges, notably the Odd Fellows, the Masons, and U.B.F.³⁷

In addition to lawyers, black Pittsburgh had a range of other self-employed professionals, especially in the health field. J.B. Shepard shared honors with George Turfley as the community's leading physician. The community's pharmacist, I.A. Jennings, had been born in Virginia's "back-woods." Jennings saved money to pay his way for three years of instruction at Shaw University, then in 1890 entered Lincoln University, graduating in 1893. In 1897 he graduated from the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, and worked with "some of the leading firms" in that city before coming to Pittsburgh, where, with Edward C. Brown, he opened a drugstore on Wylie Avenue.³⁸

Another health professional in this era was Dr. Robert Brady. Born at Clayban, Gloucester County, Va., Brady's parents had been slaves. As a personal valet, Brady traveled extensively with his master, accompanying him to the Civil War. After his master's death in 1862, Brady became the servant of a member of the Pennsylvania Cavalry, and was released in Pittsburgh that same year. Here he began work with Dr. Spencer, then the city's leading

dentist. Prejudice among his coworkers meant he was not allowed to work at the same bench with them, so he learned the trade by staying after they left and taking their work apart. After a labor dispute, Dr. Spencer had the foreman instruct Brady. During a five-year apprenticeship, Brady mastered dentistry and anesthetics; later he manufactured Pittsburgh's first laughing gas. Ultimately Brady became the foreman for Dr. Spencer's laboratory and, after the doctor's death, was kept on by his widow to do office and laboratory work. In 1884 he opened his own office, attracting both white and black clients, as well as treating hospital cases. Brady was a member of the Wylie Avenue A.M.E. Church, the Odd Fellows, the Masons, and the Knights Templar.³⁹

Blacks were also beginning to move into the scientific and technical professions, notably engineering. James Wiley was born in Allegheny City in 1881. At the age of 14 he entered Pittsburgh Central High School, graduating in 1899 and then studying civil engineering at the Western University of Pennsylvania (now the University of Pittsburgh), graduating in 1902.⁴⁰ Howard Dilworth Woodson, probably a descendant of Lewis Woodson, is another example of a young black entering the field of engineering. Born in Pittsburgh in 1876, Woodson graduated from Central High School in 1897, and then studied civil engineering at the Western University of Pennsylvania. Woodson was the only black student in his class. After completing the program, he traveled for several months in the West and South, then returned to Pittsburgh in 1900 and started working at Pittsburgh Plate and Glass Co. Woodson later became an assistant engineer with Pittsburgh Coal Co.⁴¹

A Last Word

These, then, represent most of the elite in Pittsburgh's black business community at the turn of the twentieth century. Pittsburgh was not the only urban area with a growing black business class. John Ingham has described such developments nationally, and W.E.B. Du Bois has described them for Philadelphia.⁴² Du Bois counted about 267 black businesses, in a city with over 40,000 black residents, compared to Tucker's count of 85 businesses in a city with only about 20,000 blacks.⁴³ Given those population figures, black Pittsburghers at the turn of the century lagged behind their Philadelphia counterparts, but nonetheless were "taking care of business."

Because of space limitations, we have not described the community's many smaller businesses and self-employed tradesmen — the plasterers, painters, haulers, and peddlers — nor have we discussed the many blacks who worked as postal clerks, waiters and butlers, and as messengers and personal assistants for the city's white elite. Nor, other than Virginia Proctor, have we included women, who had their own organizations and who played such an important role in charitable and community activities. The materials are there to tell all these stories. Fortunately, many materials needed to do so — photographs, letters, Bibles, personal documents and artifacts — are in the possession of the families of their descendants. Unfortunately, many such items are not yet in the public domain, either as originals or as copies.

For the edification and inspiration of future generations, the story of the historic strivings and achievements of blacks in Western Pennsylvania should be told. Ultimately, it will be told. ❁

Notes

¹ Oliver G. Waters, "The Smoky City, Part II: Glimpses of Social Life," *Colored American Magazine* IV: 1 (Nov. 1901), 11-12. The *Colored American* ran a four-part series on blacks in Pittsburgh. The 1901 articles appeared in October (Part I, 402-424), November (Part II: "Glimpses of Social Life," 11-22), and December (Part III: "Social and Business Life," 133-148), and January 1902 (Part IV: "Public Schools: Business and Professional Life," 171-183). The articles contain a wealth of information on the turn-of-the-century Pittsburgh black elite. Each issue also contains useful photographs. The Tanner painting had been acquired by Thomas H. Johnson during a trip to Europe. The steward in charge of the dining room was Stirling Austin.

² The origin of the club's name is uncertain; I am unaware of a river in Africa named Loendi. One authority, Frank Bolden of Pittsburgh, reports that the club lost its elite status during and after World War II. In the 1950s, it was forced to move, and soon thereafter closed. Personal communication, 1/5/95.

³ Laurence Glasco, "Double Burden: The Black Experience in Pittsburgh," in S.P. Hays, ed., *City at the Point: Essays on the Social History of Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh, 1989), 70-71.

⁴ Catherine M. Hanchett, "George Boyer Vashon, 1824-1878," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 68 (1985): 3, 205-219, 333-349; Bolden, "The First Hundred Years," *Pittsburgh Courier* (May 13, 1950).

⁵ Turfley was honored by the black-organized Medico-Pharmaco-Odonto Association. His son Richard also became a physician in Pittsburgh.

⁶ On Delany, see Cyril E. Griffith, *The African Dream: Martin R. Delany and the Emergence of Pan-African Thought* (University Park, Pa., 1975), and Patricia Mitchell, *Beyond Adversity* (Pittsburgh, 1994).

⁷ Also, Lewis Woodson's son is described by the *Colored American Magazine* as a "businessman" and as one of the early officers of the Loendi Club.

⁸ The Aurora Reading Club celebrated its centennial in November 1994.

⁹ Bolden, "The First Hundred Years."

¹⁰ A member of the Allegheny County Medical Society, George Turfley died in 1934.

¹¹ The year 1900 is based on "Afro-American Notes" in *Pittsburgh Press* (April 3, 1910), which says Googins retired "some ten years ago."

¹² Bolden, "The First Hundred Years"; Glasco, "Double Burden," 85.

¹³ "Afro-American Notes," *Pittsburgh Press* (April 3, 1910)

¹⁴ Rayford W. Logan, *The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901* (New York, 1954).

¹⁵ However, the few who were employed in steel apparently were promoted and reasonably well treated. See R. R. Wright's survey of "One Hundred Negro Steel Workers," in Paul U. Kellogg, ed., *Wage-Earning Pittsburgh*, in *The Pittsburgh Survey*, vol. 6 (New York, 1914), 97-110. Also see Ernest J. Wright, "The Negro in Pittsburgh," ch. 12. This unpublished typescript, produced c. 1940, came out of studies sponsored in the 1930s by the U.S. Works Progress Administration, which assembled a rich body of material on the social life, politics, and even folklore of the city's blacks. But the projected general history was never completed, and its unedited pages until recently lay forgotten in the state archives.

¹⁶ This simply reflected overall growth of the city's population, which by 1900 was the seventh largest city in the nation. Not until 1920 did blacks make up more than 5 percent of the city's population.

¹⁷ *Colored American Magazine*, Dec. 1901, 138. According to Bolden, Posey built some 42 boats, and hauled iron ore from Duluth to Pittsburgh as one of Andrew Carnegie's friends and business associates.

¹⁸ "Afro-American Notes," *Pittsburgh Press*, (June 10, 1900).

¹⁹ *Colored American Magazine*, Dec. 1901, 136.

²⁰ *Colored American Magazine*, Dec. 1901, 138.

²¹ In 1902, Posey had three children: Beatrix (age 17) Stewart Hayes (13), and C.W.W. James (10).

²² These businesses were not confined to the Hill District, but were dispersed in several sections of the city — the Strip, Hill District, North Side, and Lawrenceville. Helen A. Tucker, "The Negroes of Pittsburgh," *Charities and the Commons*, Jan. 2, 1909, reprinted in Kellogg, *Wage-Earning Pittsburgh*, 424-36.

²³ Although the dominant thrust of the new elite was entrepreneurship, they also were interested in cultural refinement, as witnessed in the furnishings of the Loendi Club. Thomas Johnson, the club's treasurer, termed "one of our most substantial business men," acquired Henry O. Tanner's "Nicodemus Coming to Christ" while traveling in Europe. The painting had been on exhibition in the Salon in Paris, the Chicago Art Institute, and the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. *Colored American Magazine*, Nov. 1901, 17.

²⁴ *Colored American Magazine*, Jan. 1902, 180.

²⁵ There were seven apartments, of five rooms each, including bath. The building was located on Renfrew Street just off Lincoln Avenue. "Afro-American Notes," *Pittsburgh Press*, (June 11, 1905).

²⁶ *Colored American Magazine*, Jan. 1902, 176-78.

²⁷ *Colored American Magazine*, Nov. 1901, 21.

²⁸ "Afro-American Notes," *Pittsburgh Press*, (Dec. 31, 1899).

²⁹ *Colored American Magazine*, Jan. 1902, 178-79.

³⁰ This was at Imperial Hall on Penn Avenue and 34th Street. "Afro-American Notes," *Pittsburgh Press*, (April 1, 1900).

³¹ The paper says its chief promoter was Giles Jackson of Richmond, Va.

³² "Afro-American Notes," *Pittsburgh Press*, (May 29, 1910).

³³ "Afro-American Notes," *Pittsburgh Press*, (May 22, 1910).

³⁴ In 1867 or 8, George Vashon, a prominent attorney and the son of community leader and barber John Vashon, was denied admittance to the Allegheny County Bar Association.

³⁵ In 1891 J. Welford Holmes and William M. Randolph became the first blacks admitted to the Allegheny County Bar. Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, "Blacks in Pittsburgh: A Chronology" pamphlet, c. 1980.

³⁶ *Colored American Magazine*, Nov. 1901, 14-15. The year 1898 is calculated from the article, published in late 1901, which reported he married Mary Durham "about four years ago."

³⁷ *Colored American Magazine*, Nov. 1901, 18-19.

³⁸ *Colored American Magazine*, Jan. 1902, 180. By 1925, and probably earlier, black health professionals were organized into something called the Medico-Pharmaco-Odonto Association of Pennsylvania. We read in 1925 that "local race members of the medical, dental, and pharmaceutical professions" were preparing for "quite an invasion of people" from throughout the state and other states for the annual meeting of the black health organization, the Medico-Pharmaco-Odonto Association of Pennsylvania. "Afro-American Notes," *Pittsburgh Press*, (May 31, 1925).

³⁹ *Colored American Magazine*, Nov. 1901, 21-22.

⁴⁰ *Colored American Magazine*, Jan. 1902, 179-80.

⁴¹ *Colored American Magazine*, Nov. 1901, 19-20.

⁴² See John N. Ingham and Lynne B. Feldman, *African-American Business Leaders: A Biographical Dictionary* (Westport, Conn., 1994); W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (1899; New York, 1967 [reprint]), 111-126.

⁴³ The population figures are based on the 1900 census. The number of businesses in Philadelphia are my computation from Du Bois' estimates for 1897, tables on 122 (Ward 7) and 124-125 (other wards). Tucker's report first appeared in *Charities and the Commons* on Jan. 3, 1909, and was reprinted as Appendix V in Kellogg, *Wage-Earning Pittsburgh*, 424-436.