Introduction

My assignment was to fully survey Oakland and to begin exploring the Hill District. Initially seen as two neighborhoods, the evolution of this project quickly highlighted a much more complicated task.

The report on Oakland moves between two poles. The first is the fascinating and dynamic ethnic communities that sustain a presence in Oakland. The second is the voracious appetite of nonprofit institutions to consume land, resources and public space. Within Oakland are a number of notable nonprofit institutions and hospitals including the University of Pittsburgh. To be clear, Carnegie-Mellon University is not part of this study although many individuals mentioned the academic ties between the University of Pittsburgh and Carnegie-Mellon University. Carnegie-Mellon is however just over the border in Shadyside.

For the Hill District, the assignment was to characterize the current population of the Hill District with a nod toward the cultural legacy of the past. Thus the Hill District report is broken up into two major sections, in order to reflect the circumstances of this area. The first part emphasizes the rich multiethnic history that characterized the Hill District until the middle of the twentieth-century. It should be emphasized that this cultural life is still recalled by many. Any future research should consider recovering the Jewish-, Syrian- and Italian-American presence in the Hill District.

In the second part of the Hill District report, the African-American community is given extensive attention. This history is essential to understanding the current condition of the Hill District and hopefully highlights the dilemma of proceeding with a field survey of the area. The extraordinary vibrancy of cultural expression such as jazz traditions and entertainment venues often masks the much more serious matter that divides Caucasians and African-Americans in America -- discrimination and prejudice. The pain and wounds of this experience are still present.

Unlike Oakland, the Hill District has a rich and intertwined social and cultural history that is continuous and discontinuous at the same time. From the earliest period of recorded residential settlement to the present, the Hill District has reflected the various waves of ethnic migration that characterizes much of Pittsburgh and the United States. However, the Hill District has also suffered through a wrenching and destructive urban renewal that has really resulted in a physical as well as cultural leveling of much of the Lower Hill District and parts of the Middle Hill District. When the dust settled from the overly optimistic renewal plans of the 1950s, the Hill District lost its Caucasian population. Those in the African-American community that could leave the Lower Hill District and parts of the Middle Hill District also did. Those that remained in the Lower Hill District and the Middle Hill District are overwhelmingly African-American struggling in difficult economic conditions. The Lower Hill District and the Middle Hill District are dominated by the many housing projects built by the City of Pittsburgh.

Today, African-Americans represent 97% of the population in the Hill District. In addition, African-Americans have despite difficulties and prejudice sustained a continuous presence in the Hill District since the mid 1700s.

The difficult task of continuing to study the Hill District is rooted in understanding life in the Hill District as defined and understood by the residents themselves. All too often in the past, social reformers, urban planners, as well as cultural conservators such as museum curators have independently determined what is best for this area without recognizing the possibility of self-definition. The folklorists can best succeed in this area by recognizing that life is meaningful and culturally expressive for these residents.

More importantly, Hill District residents recognize the need for studying, understanding and preserving the cultural vitality found within the Hill District. One needs to proceed then by asking what residents feel is critical and central to their lives.

In addition, the Hill District has absorbed a number of smaller neighborhoods such as Minersville and is closely connected to others such as Soho and Oakland. Several organizational decisions were therefore made. For instance, Minersville was a vital and separate area in the nineteenth century. It is today unknown but contained within the boundaries of the Upper Hill District. Therefore the history of such areas as Minersville, which is now part of the Upper Hill District, are included in the Hill District report.

Minersville is particularly suggestive. This neighborhood includes the small Minersville Cemetery which contains a number of fascinating makers from the mid 1850s through 1964 (see photographic logs). The markers reflect a number of ethnic groups including German, Eastern European and Middle Eastern.

However, Soho, another nearby area is clearly distinguished by local residents as an existing and separate neighborhood. Therefore, Soho has its own short section. It should be mentioned that this area was not originally assigned to this fieldworker but clearly needed to be included because it contains a residential community as well as businesses and nonprofit organizations. This fieldworker would recommend that a future researcher be assigned to more fully fleshing out the import and cultural character of Soho. Although just an impression, driving through the area a rich industrial and business legacy of Soho appears to linger. It does not appear that Soho suffered the same cataclysmic devastation and destruction that characterizes much of the Lower Hill District.

Downtown: An unacknowledged center

As the Steel Industry Heritage Corporation continues to study the Pittsburgh region, one area should receive attention and that is the Downtown area. Although a landscape of skyscrapers and businesses, this should not obscure the current and historical residential patterns. Today there are a number of important apartment buildings as well as a number of prestigious churches that cater to an urban elite. This urban elite should be surveyed.

Although I was not actively searching for materials on the Downtown and time constraints did not allow for full study of this information, I frequently saw mention of the important historical connection between Downtown and all of Pittsburgh as well as the surrounding counties. A full examination of this history is recommended.

It is my impression that through at least the first half of the nineteenth century Downtown was an important first residential site for immigrants that disembarked at the Downtown wharfs. Only later would they move into surrounding neighborhoods such as the Hill District. In addition before the Civil War, successful business tycoons first lived Downtown. It was only with the gradual introduction of public transportation such as the omnibus and later trolley service that the wealthy and subsequently the middle class moved to such areas as Minersville, Oakland and other Pittsburgh neighborhoods.

Boundaries, Demographics and Ethnic Identities

The neighborhoods of Oakland, the Hill District and Soho are discussed below. These introductory sections discuss the populations of these neighborhoods as well as their boundaries. Although census statistics are used to some degree below, it must be emphasized that they present many problems when trying to determine ethnic and minority populations. The U.S. Census Bureau does not ask people what they consider their ethnic identity or background to be but rather asks what their parents' country of origin is.

Oakland

Oakland is located about two miles east of Downtown Pittsburgh. This neighborhood is on a rising bluff that can be clearly seen from the Monongahela River (see photographic logs). On its northern border, Oakland rises to meet the Hill District. In general terms the southeastern border is Schenley Park and the western dividing line is Neville Street (see maps).

Based on the April 1991, City of Pittsburgh, Department of City Planning statistics, the total Oakland population in 1990 was 21,073. Since 1960, Oakland has seen a steady population decline of at least 5.6% per decade with the most severe decrease of 16.7% in the 1960 census.

The census also shows additional changes in post World War II Oakland. The sharp population decline in Oakland includes a still larger decline in the number of families with children. Until 1970, approximately 20% of the population was under eighteen. By 1990 this figure had plummeted to just under 7%. This data suggests that Oakland was no longer seen as a place to raise a family. As noted in the enclosed report, these changes in overall population as well as the decline in individuals under eighteen should be considered as closely linked to the substantial growth of the University of Pittsburgh and its mushrooming student population living in Oakland (Please see table 1).

During this same period of time, the number of minorities substantially increased from a low of 763 in 1940 to a high of 7,309 in 1980. This represents an almost tenfold increase in forty years. Subsequently, the minority population dropped by 23.6% in 1990. Although the statistics on those below the age of eighteen are incomplete, they do suggest that Oakland was increasingly viewed by minorities as an inhospitable place to raise a family (Please see table 1).

Although the areas may not be identical to that used by the City of Pittsburgh, a review of US census tracts 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 409, 411, 507, and 810.98 suggests that Oakland is mostly white. There are 16,022 whites and 3,765 African-Americans in Oakland. The African-American population is approximately 23.5% of the white population. Just under half of the African-Americans (43%) are found in South Oakland tracts 409 and 411 where they number 1,624 (please see census file including the census maps).

In the 1990 census, people were asked to self-identify their ancestry. They were asked which ancestry group(s) they most closely identify. The Census Bureau defines ancestry as the ethnic origin or descent, "roots," or the place of birth of the person or the person's parents or ancestors before their arrival in the United States. It must be emphasized that the Census bureau did not intend to gauge the degree of attachment the respondent had to a particular ethnicity. For this reason an examination of ethnic identity should be used with due caution.

Single ancestry recorded by respondents was evaluated. However it should be noted that approximately 30% of the respondents replied with multiple ancestry. Because of the contradictory nature of multiple ancestry responses this material it is not examined in this report.

In Oakland there are three groups with sizeable numbers that maintain an identity and visibility in Oakland. For these reasons the Italians, Irish and Polish are separately discussed in this report.

Several groups appear to be sizable in number and yet did not appear in my survey of Oakland and therefore are not discussed in this report. Future studies of Oakland should explore the presence of Germans, English, Slovaks, and Russians in Oakland. Although a large number of individuals self-categorized as "Race or Hispanic origin groups" this researcher did not observe an Hispanic enclave in Oakland.

The Greeks and Muslims are small in number and yet they maintain important institutional bases in Oakland. For this reason they are also examined in separate sections (Please see chart 1 and table 2).

Chart 1: Important Ethnic Groups in Oakland

Race or Hispanic Origin Groups	3,110
Italian	1,749
German	1,538
Irish	1,161
Polish	725
Russian	418
Slovak	402
English	399
Arab	168
Greek	157

The Hill District

The Hill District is approximately 1.4 miles east of Downtown and is 990.7 acres in size. The Hill District is a large up-sloping neighborhood that incorporates a number of smaller areas including the Upper Hill District, Middle Hill District, Lower Hill District, Elmore Square, Robinson Court, Bedford Dwellings, Terrace Villages, and Schenley Heights. The Hill District rises sharply from west to east. Along Bigelow Boulevard in the Upper Hill District one has a tremendous panoramic view of not just Downtown Pittsburgh but also the Strip District and Polish Hill which are far below.

The Civic Arena to the west serves as the dividing line between Downtown and the Hill District. To the south Fifth Avenue separates the Hill District from Soho. The northern reaches of the University of Pittsburgh demarcates Oakland from the southeastern portions of the Hill District. More specifically Aliquippa Street isolates Hill District projects from the University dormitories, buildings and stadiums in Oakland. Towards the north and northwest, high atop Ridgeway Street, the Hill District is separated from Polish Hill, the Strip District and a small portion of Lawrenceville (see map).

This researcher could not locate the same degree of detail for Hill District population statistics. Since 1960 the Hill District has seen a substantial drop in population. In 1960 the Hill District had 43,446 souls and by 1970 the population had dropped by 31.2% to 29,907 (see Table 3). In 1970 the percent of African-Americans in the Hill District was 94%. In 1974 the Hill District population had declined by more than 25% to a total of 20,153. By 1990 the total population of the Hill District appears to have dropped again to 14,265 (see Table 4).

As with Oakland, the areas may not be identical to that used by the City of Pittsburgh, but a review of 1990 US census tracts 305, 501, 502, 506, 508, 509, 510, and 511 clearly indicates that the Hill District is overwhelmingly African-American. There are 13,611 African-Americans and only 540 whites in the Hill District. The white population is approximately 3.97% of the African-American population (please see census file including the census maps).

In analyzing the 1990 census records for single ancestry, the only category of significant is "Race or Hispanic Origin Groups" which numbers 11,323 people. This is another indication of the predominance of African-Americans in the Hill District (see Table 4).

Soho

Although referred in official reports as either "Uptown," "The Bluff Area" or the "Midtown Corridor," locals refer to this area between Downtown, the Hill District and Oakland as "Soho." Soho is a small neighborhood of approximately 94.4 acres just .9 miles east of Downtown. Bounded by Fifth Avenue and the

Monongahela River, Soho is a mixture of residential, commercial and institutional areas. As noted in the Soho report, Mercy Hospital and portions of Duquesne University are important institutions in this area (see map).

Like so much of Pittsburgh after World War II, Soho has also seen depopulation. The population of Soho dropped from 5,555 in 1960 to 4,082 in 1970. This is a decline of 26.5%. In 1970, African-Americans composed 15.2% of the population. By 1974 the population of Soho had declined another 20.3% percent to 3,253.

Oakland

Approximately three miles to the east of downtown Pittsburgh is Oakland. This neighborhood could be described as a wedge about one mile long and between a half and a quarter of a mile wide. It is sharply separated from the remainder of Pittsburgh by the steep gullies of Junction and Panther hollows to the east, the shores of the Monongahela River to the south, and the steep slopes of the Hill District to the north and west (Toker 1986 pp.79-80).

In 1980 the U.S. Census reports the Oakland population was 21,157. In 1990 the population saw a modest increase to 21,550 residents. Italians, African-Americans, Jews, Syrians and Poles have long been permanent residents of Oakland. More recently, Oakland has seen the addition of southeast Asian groups such as Vietnamese, Chinese, and Korean. By 1990, the population was primarily of college age. In the Central District of Oakland it is clear that students predominate. Earlier in this century, Central Oakland was the home of many ethnic groups that labored in the nearby steel mills. In the past there was an Italian grocery in the area of Craig Street between Forbes Avenue and Fifth Avenue. As students have come to reside in this area the transient nature of Central Oakland has increased (Capstone, Dolan). 1127 Individuals aged fifteen through twenty-four head households. All the remaining age categories only total 823 (Capstone, Dolan p. 20).

The economic prosperity of Oakland is in marked contrast to the Hill District. Unemployment rates highlight this point. In Oakland, the highest rate of 14% is reported for Central Oakland. In contrast, such Hill neighborhoods as Crawford-Roberts, Bedford Dwellings and Terrace Village all report unemployment rates above 30% (Capstone, Marlo, p. 4).

In the Pittsburgh press, Oakland contrasts markedly with the Hill District. If the later is portrayed as poverty-stricken and crime-ridden, then Oakland is described as a thriving metropolis. The newspaper articles highlight the installation of art, as well as development projects and construction programs. The Magee-Women’s Hospital announces a $50 million expansion on the Boulevard of the Allies (*Pittsburgh Tribune-Review* Wednesday June 6, 1993). The National Development Company purchases the Syria Mosque, razes the building and is developing the property in conjunction with Presbyterian University Health Systems (Presbyterian University Hospital). John R. Dehn, a sculptor donates a seven-foot sculpture to the VA Medical Center-Oakland in thanks for a liver transplant (*Pittsburgh Post Gazette*, Sunday June 27, 1993 C-2). In the political realm, City Councilman Jim Ferlo is accused of trying to ruin a city agreement to lease the botanical gardens of the Phipps Conservatory to a private group (*Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* Wednesday June 16, 1993 B-1). And as noted below, the University of Pittsburgh has scheduled a bewildering number of construction projects.

University of Pittsburgh

The University of Pittsburgh has been a looming force in Oakland for much of the twentieth century. As early as 1909, the University of Pittsburgh owned properties, grounds and buildings estimated at $15 million. This figure far

surpasses any other institution or organization. Beginning in 1914 the city of Pittsburgh actually filled in the Saint Pierre Ravine, burying a fine stone arch bridge. This created the Schenley Plaza which is now a crucial center for the University of Pittsburgh (Ralph Brem, "341-Foot Stone-Arch Bridge Buried Near Proposed Research Park." *Pittsburgh Press* Sunday, June 16, 1963).

The budget of the school beginning July 1, 1993 is $802.4 million. Tuition rises for in state, full-time undergraduates from $4,546 to $4,750 (*Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* Friday, June 25, 1993 B-6). The number of part-time and full-time students at the University of Pittsburgh has more than doubled since 1960 with most of the growth occurring between 1960 and 1970. The total number of students was 12,907 in 1960, 15,370 in 1965, 27,587 in 1970, 29,888 in 1975, 29,315 in 1980, 28,710 in 1985 and 28,120 in 1990 (Capstone, Dolan p.9). This increase has led to pressures on housing stock in Oakland and the transformation of this neighborhood. Currently, the University of Pittsburgh owns twenty-three percent of the property in Central Oakland (Capstone, Dolan p. 29). It is estimated that the University of Pittsburgh controls over 366,000 square feet in Central Oakland (Capstone Seminar, Dolan p. 25).

A constant point of conflict is parking. Residents complain that they cannot park in front of their homes. The need for University parking has led to lots being established in residential neighborhoods. The University of Pittsburgh has almost eighty people throughout its system working on parking issues. In 1990, the University ran five shuttle services. These shuttle buses primarily carry commuters from distant parking lots to the University. In 1993 they run over 3,500 trips per day (Gottlieb 1993 p.13). Currently, the University of Pittsburgh is considering a proposal that residents of the Avalon and Brackenridge areas in West Oakland be allowed to the use the system (*Oakland* Community Newspaper, June 1993 p.2).

The newspapers are full of reports in which the University announces new construction much of it encroaching on residential and commercial areas. The University of Pittsburgh Medical Center is constructing an underground parking facility on 234 Atwood Street. The University of Pittsburgh Medical Center has also torn down another building on Atwood Street which will serve as an addition to the Iroquois Building. Construction on the addition began in May 1993 and will be finished in eighteen months. The University of Pittsburgh has also agreed to buy the Masonic Temple (built 1914) for $8.5 million and planned renovations will cost another $8.5 million (*Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* Monday June 21, 1993 C-1). In addition, two campus buildings, Pennsylvania Hall and the Mineral Industries Building are slated for demolition and $17.5 million in renovations are announced for Alumni Hall. The Multi Purpose Academic Complex is scheduled to be built beginning in May 1995 at Forbes Avenue and Bouquet Streets (*Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* Wednesday, June 30, 1993).

A BRIEF HISTORY OF OAKLAND

The Hill District profits from a rich storehouse of reminiscences, dissertations and a tremendous number of historical studies. In contrast, Oakland have only short piecemeal reports. The history of Oakland below is based on fragmentary materials and emphasizes primarily the wealthy estates of the period prior to 1850 or the tremendous amount of construction and institutional expansion that characterizes Oakland in the twentieth century. I have not located any histories that chronicle the significant ethnic communities in Oakland or the working class culture that surrounded the J & L plant on Second Avenue.

I. Before 1880.

Before 1820, James Chadwick, an English immigrant, had acquired approximately one thousand acres in what would become Oakland. His homestead and gardens were located in western Oakland, on the hill where Carlow College now stands. As quoted by George Fleming, William G. Johnston describes the luxurious Chadwick mansion and the generations that inhabited the property.

> Well back from the road stood Chadwick's spacious mansion, with its wide porch in front, over which vines, clambered at will: while its gable, with a massive chimney abutting, faced the road. There it had stood from the beginning of the century where it was erected by the grandfather of the well-known dairyman, Mr. Samuel Chadwick.
>
> A later residence of the family -- occupied afterward by Mr. William Stewart, a merchant of Pittsburgh, and at the time I am more particularly speaking, Mr. George Breed -- stood on the site of what is now the mansion of Mr. Charles H. Zug. (Fleming 1916).

The above quote also indicates the gradual transformation of Chadwick's estate. What began as a large working farm, became first the residence of a gentlemen farmer, then the home of William Stewart a merchant, and finally the home of Charles Zug, an industrialist. According to Clifford Ham, Oakland contained a good many summer residences before 1845.

Oakland may have been named for James Chadwick's Oakland Farm which began in 1806. However, his farm extended into the Bellefield area and even onto what was the original campus of Carnegie-Mellon University. The next major landholder was Neville Craig, editor of the *Pittsburgh Gazette* from 1829 to 1841. "In the eastern part of Oakland were the cow pastures, later known as Schenley Farms, that were to become Pittsburgh's civic center. Beyond these was Bellefield, once the property of Neville Craig of the *Gazette* and named for his wife (Baldwin 1938 p.235)." Following the Great Fire of 1845 in downtown, people began to move to Oakland. In 1850 the glass manufacturer Dithridge, bought Neville Craig's "Bellefield" and developed housing there.

Before 1860, Oakland was primarily the domain of wealthy landowners and prominent citizens. In this early period, the settlers were primarily English, German and Irish with some Welsh working in the iron furnaces. The well-to-do people were presidents of railroads, prominent bankers, merchants and iron manufacturers. In 1836, James Chadwick sold nine acres to William Stewart. William Robinson, Jr., mayor of Allegheny, acquired these nine acres by sheriff's sale in 1840 and that same year sold it to William Eichbaum. In some accounts, Oakland takes it name from William Eichbaum's estate which he established on these nine acres, and the name is linked to a community of Scottish Presbyterian settlers known as the 'Third Church Colony.' This colony preceded the 1860 opening of the area to a larger residential population.

> The East Liberty Passenger Railway, opened in 1860, followed Braddock Road, known successively as Watson's Road, the Fourth Street Road, the Farmers' and Mechanics' Turnpike, Pennsylvania Avenue, and Fifth Avenue. With the convenient transportation offered by this line came the suburban developments of Oakland and East Liberty. Oakland takes its name from that of the estate of William Eichbaum, whose surname is the German for 'oak tree'. It was on the site of the present Montefiore Hospital. Before the

> Civil War Oakland was the home of a group of wealthy Pittsburghers, so many of whom were members of the Third Presbyterian Church that the section was often called the 'Third Church Colony.' The Eichbaum house was later enlarged and occupied by John Moorhead, one of the first Pittsburghers to invest in paintings that were not family portraits. The Bidwell (later Porter) home, Oak Manor, afterward the Faculty Club of the University, was on the site of the present new Presbyterian Hospital. (Baldwin 1938 pp.234-235).

These early landowners can still be traced in the Oakland landscape. Today one can find their legacy in such street names such as Craig, Dithridge, Neville and Bellefield.

Farms were first made into little farms. In this period of 1850, suburban villas appeared on Fifth Avenue (then known as Pennsylvania Avenue). The street names of contemporary Oakland reflect the prosperous landowners -- Craft, Fraser, Semple, Ward, Halket, Boquet, Darrah, Wilmot, McDevitt and McKee (Fleming 1916 -- this article includes a detailed chronicle of the Semple family in Oakland). For example, Meyran Avenue is named after a prominent German landowning family. Then with the addition of a horsecar line the smaller farms were broken into suburban lots. A cable line succeeded the horsecars in 1888 and electric streetcars replaced cable cars a decade later, making the ride increasing comfortable. The convenient public transportation became a selling point for the many suburban homes that were built in Oakland between 1885 and 1900.

After the Civil War, the area between Oakland Avenue and Neville Street became known as Bellefield (Fleming 1916). Although few structures survive today, in the 1860s and 1870s Philadelphia architects erected Italianate homes in the Bellefield area. Oakland was annexed by Pittsburgh in 1868 (Baldwin 1938 p. 202). Oakland then became the Fourteenth Ward. By 1916, Oakland was incorporated into the Fourth Ward (Fleming 1916).

II. 1860-1960: South Oakland

Through the various periods, there are two Oakland histories. The published histories of buildings, residencies, and the social register which is the story of central Oakland. However, there is little published material on the working class culture and ethnic enclaves of South Oakland. Both were oriented toward the mills along the Monongahela River.

Industrialization started in Oakland before the development of the Civic Center, the establishment of Carnegie-Mellon University or the relocation of the University of Pittsburgh. Noteworthy is Franklin Toker's assessment that the "focus of Oakland after the Civil War was initially on the J&L works that dominated the Monongahela riverbank below the Oakland cliff (1986 p.124)." The J&L mills inaugurated production in South Oakland in 1859 (Toker 1986 p.80). The author continues by noting that housing was erected to accommodate the working class that depended on the mills (Ibid, p.126). The information on South Oakland that follows is based on a telephone interview with Clifford Ham.

Transportation and life was oriented toward Second Avenue and the iron and steel plants. Until the Penn Lincoln Highway construction severed the connection in the 1950s, many of the streets in South Oakland including Frazier Street and Lawn Street went down to Second Avenue and the mills that lined this street. In addition to the bridges that went to the mill, an incline went from Oakland to Soho. This incline terminated roughly where the Birmingham Bridge is today.

The period of 1860 through 1900 was the Iron Age. By 1900, the Iron Age was on the wane, and steel plants were replacing them. There was a distinction in work between those that worked in the iron mills and those employed by the steel plants. The early workers were craftsmen and artisans skilled in iron making. When steel came in after 1892, unskilled workers were employed in the further mechanized production. These unskilled workers resided not just in South Oakland but also in Homestead and Braddock. The steel plants dominated the landscape from approximately 1900 through 1960. For instance, the Linden Steel plant (also known as Linden Grove) was very much the focus of workers in South Oakland. There was a gradual decline in production and work in the steel plants.

III: 1880-1920: Central Oakland

In the 1880s and 1890s, middle-class neighborhoods opened in Oakland. German, Irish and English residents left the Pittsburgh core for Oakland. They depended upon streetcar transportation (Bodnar 1982 p.23). Eugene O'Neill built Oakland Square between 1889 to 1891 (see photographic logs). Oakland Square consists of twenty-six houses surrounding a small urban park. Eugene O'Neill, who came to Pittsburgh as a young man from Ireland, first became a lawyer and then the publisher of the *Pittsburgh Dispatch*. He was the primary developer of Oakland Square and also North Oakland Square (3700 blocks of Parkview Avenue and Dawson Street) and South Oakland Square. O'Neill together with his builder, Charles H. Chance constructed about 250 houses in Oakland, many of them in this Linden Grove area.

Although most eastern European Jews moved from the Hill District to Oakland between World War I and World War II, this movement actually began in the 1880s. "[A] a number of Jews who had neither the money nor the inclination to settle on the North Side with the German Jews and still wished to retain their ties with the Hill moved into Oakland (Silverman, 1989 p. 32)." Those settling in Oakland could retain their links with Jewish stores and synagogues in the Hill District (Silverman, 1989 p. 32).

By 1890, the semi-rural, suburban days of the Bellefield area were definitely over. In 1889, the great wooded and farmland tract to the southeast became Schenley Park, thanks to Mary Croghan Schenley giving the city 300 acres, and officials also purchasing an additional 100 acres from her for the park. Schenley later gave another gift of land for the Schenley Plaza.

By the turn of the century, Pittsburgh was an important city with international impact. Some of the richest men in the world lived in Pittsburgh, having made their fortunes in steel, oil, railroads, glassmaking, and boat building. The great concentration of wealth supported the extraordinary buildings including the courthouse which was designed by H.H. Richardson. Simply put, Pittsburgh was a rich area. This wealth explains the flurry of construction in Oakland. As described in detail below, the Oakland Civic Center area included the Pittsburgh Athletic Association, Masonic Hall and Schenley Farms which extends up the Hill and behind the hospitals. This high society area also includes the Phipps Conservatory, a large greenhouse.

Andrew Carnegie decided to buildup Oakland as a second center to downtown Pittsburgh. He wanted a cultural center that was not terribly polluted and smoky. With Andrew Carnegie's financial contribution, the Carnegie Institute building was constructed at the Forbes Avenue entrance of the Schenley Park in 1892-1895. It contains a library, museum and music hall. The future of Oakland as Pittsburgh's "Civic Center" was assured. The concentration of university buildings, large churches, and exclusive social clubs was referred to as Pittsburgh's "Civic Center." This Civic Center includes the Cathedral of Learning, the Foster Memorial, the Heinz Chapel, the First Baptist Church, the Pittsburgh Athletic Association (built 1909-1911) and the Board of Education Buildings, the Carnegie Institute, the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial (built 1907-1911), Schenley High School, and the University of Pittsburgh Medical

Center. (Baldwin 1938 pp. 356-357). Nearby Carnegie-Mellon began construction of its campus in 1904. Just three years later, the University of Pittsburgh began its domination of the northern slope of Oakland. The Western University of Pennsylvania relocated from Allegheny to Oakland in 1907, becoming the University of Pittsburgh.

The Masonic Temple was built in 1914. This ten-story classic Greek-style structure now stands across Fifth Avenue from the Cathedral of Learning. The ceiling of the white marble lobby is 28 feet high, the outside doors 24 feet. On many of the floors are large lodge halls (see photographic logs). Numerous private clubs moved to Oakland from downtown.

The new institutional construction, particularly Magee Hospital in 1915 and Children's Hospital in 1926 replaced houses and mansions that had been on the hillsides for at least forty years.

With the future of the Civic Center assured, Franklin Nicola (1859-1938) built the Schenley Hotel on Forbes Street at the turn of the century. In the early part of the twentieth century this structure served as a prestigious residential address. He also bought in 1904 the last large tract of Oakland farmland -- the extensive Schenley Farms acreage to the west -- that is land around Bellefield between Fifth and Centre Avenues. Nicola went on to develop the exclusive Schenley Farms in 1905 including clubhouses, public buildings, apartments and streets of large houses north of O'Hara and Bigelow. He spent $1.5 million on streets, utilities, and landscaping.

In the early part of the twentieth century, exclusive apartment buildings were built in Oakland. In the center of Oakland, on Forbes stood the Iroquois Apartments, built between 1901 and 1903. The Iroquois included prestige shops on the ground floor. This was one of the first "palatial" apartment houses; it also marked the movement of another population wave moving from downtown to the suburbs. Another notable apartment building was the Bellefield Dwellings completed in 1904. It contained such luxurious appointments as mahogany woodwork and tapestry mosaics in the lobbies. The Iroquois as well as the Schenley Hotel, Schenley Farms, Bellefield Dwellings, and the Buckingham included residents who were members of the social register and could be found in the blue book. For instance, Oakland Square had eight families on the social register.

Although the elite ceased to reside in such dwellings by 1920, the elite remained in Oakland. The University of Pittsburgh was an attraction as well as the medical facilities. The elite could then be found in the area north of the Unversity of Pittsburgh from Bigelow Boulevard to Centre Avenue. Between 1905 and 1915 this area was built.

By the turn of the century there were a number recreational facilities. This would include the Duquesne Gardens which opened in 1897 and a casino in Schenley Park.

IV. 1920- the present

In the 1920s, the Schenley Hotel was a prestigious address. Mike Citriniti saw the singer Rudi Valley on the terrace enjoying a dinner. Celebrities such as Babe Ruth and opera stars could be seen on the terrace. Today the Schenley Hotel is the University of Pittsburgh Student Union (McHugh 1974).

Beginning in the 1920s and continuing for about 25 years, "there was almost total transfer of the Jewish population from the Hill (Shiloh 1972 p.157)." Several Hill District institutions serving the Jewish community moved to Oakland. For instance Montefiore Hospital was originally in the Hill District (Shiloh 1972 p.157). The United Jewish Federation moved to McKee Place in Oakland (Shiloh 1972 p. 160). By 1938, Oakland had concentrated populations of Jewish settlement (Silverman 1989 p.45). "Although the size of the Jewish population had not changed significantly between 1938 and 1963 (approximately 12,000 households), its composition and distribution was very different. The

immigrants and their children had moved to Squirrel Hill along with the relocation of their synagogue, the Tree of Life. A new group of Jews, older, more affluent, and urbane, moved into the luxury apartments that had been built near the university and in Shadyside (Silverman 1989 p. 45)."

Mike Citriniti, a 62-year-old shoe repairer in 1975, characterized the multiethnic character of early twentieth century Oakland.

> Years ago ... Oakland was a very residential place. People lived here for generation after generation. McKee Place was all Jewish -- all Jewish families. The Irish were mixed. They lived on the hill above St. Agnes Church and down in lower Oakland at the End of the Line.
> Semple Street, around Bates, was probably the busiest block in Oakland. We had two baker shops, one Jewish and one German. Then we had a kosher butcher shop, a gentile butcher shop, two groceries, a barber shop and a beauty parlor. (McHugh 1975)

After World War II, Oakland become a direct port of entry for immigrants and students studying at the University of Pittsburgh. This includes Lebanese and Syrians who had a sizeable community by the 1960s. Italians arrived in the 1950s. In the 1960s new groups from Asia including those from Thailand, Taiwan and India settled in Oakland.

With the arrival of chancellor Edward H. Litchfield in 1955, the University of Pittsburgh embarked on an ambitious expansion program. This program increased the number of buildings from 23 to 40, land area mushroomed from 64 to 110 acres and the value of its physical plant jumped from $32 million to $120 million. In this expansion apartment buildings became student dormitories and private homes and other buildings were purchased and adapted for university use. In 1966, the University of Pittsburgh became a state-related institution. In this same year another round of expansion began. This latest round called for a new dormitory at the top of the University of Pittsburgh's hillside property. This proposal would have consumed a playground adjacent to the Falk School and caused still greater congestion. The distress over these community problems led to the establishment of People's Oakland in 1970. People's Oakland defeated the dormitory proposal.

In the era when a substantial number of African-Americans were moving out of the Hill District as well as Homewood-Brushton, real estate organizations effectively restricted African-Americans from Oakland. The weapon in this discrimination was barring African-American brokers from membership in the Multilist. Without membership in Multilist, they could not sell properties in many parts of the city (Darden 1973 p.65). In the period 1955 to 1970 Oakland and Shadyside "accounted for 27.9 percent of the total complaints of racial discrimination from 1959 to 1970 (Darden 1973 p.65)."

The singular event that is indelibly imprinted in memory of long-term residents is the demolition of Forbes Field in 1971. Built in 1909, this was the home field of the Pittsburgh Pirates until they moved to Three Rivers Stadium. During its heyday, Forbes Field was surrounded by restaurants and bars that fans would frequent before and after the games. People would depend on streetcars for transportation, and after a game many would wait for the crowds to subside with a drink or meal at these places. Matt Trabert's restaurant catered to these fans. The German waiters in this establishment had nicknames such as "Biz," which was short for Bismark. They were an independent to the point of being autocratic. "'You ate what they brought you,' a customer recalls, adding, after a pause, 'Whether you ordered it or not (McHugh 1974).'" Frankie Gustine's Restaurant picked up the fans when Matt Trabert's closed. Frankie Gustine was a

Pittsburgh Pirate infielder in the 1940s. The walls of this restaurant were lined with the pictures of such well-known ballplayers as Pie Traynor, Paul Wagner and of course Frank Gustine himself (McHugh 1974). A mural of Frank Gustine continued to be displayed until 1977 in Pete Coyne's saloon. Steve Palsa painted Frank Gustine in 1948. Other famous figures from the 1940s such as local boxing champions adorned the walls of Pete Coyne's (McHugh 1977).

In addition, many of the ushers who first served in Forbes Field came from Oakland. When Three Rivers Stadium opened they continued in this role. "They started at Forbes Field when they were kids, reporting on the day of a ball game to Gus Miller ... (McHugh 1975)."

One of the few mentions of low-income housing can be found along Dawson Street, where the Oakland Planning and Development Corporation has in the last few years rehabilitated buildings or erected new structures for subsidized housing. This would include Holmes Place, a recent development of 64 single homes and garden apartments. 24 more units were completed on Holmes Court. The two bedroom condominiums in Holmes Court sell for between $28,700 to $59,500.

Community and Institutional Relations

The local Oakland communities are faced with a continual procession of proposed changes and they must respond to institutional development projects. Various groups have objected to the unimaginative new buildings, the construction of parking lots, as well as the continuing and creeping movement of nonprofit institutions into commercial areas as well as residential preserves (Gottlieb 1993 p.13). There is a palpable tension between neighborhood groups calling for a greater participatory role and institutional development. For instance Oakland Directions notes that the University of Pittsburgh's master plan has not fully integrated the community into the approval process (see "Oakland: Moving into the 1990s" by Courtney S. Walston, *University Times*, July 20, 1988 pp. 3-6). Oxford Development was in 1990 developing a building on the old St. Peter's Church site between Fifth Avenue and Forbes Avenue on Craft Avenue. Oxford was requesting a height variance for the site as well as zoning changes. After developing these plans, Oxford presented these thoughts at a public meeting. The presentation was not well received by local groups. Many have objected to the ongoing loss of historically significant structures such as the Syria Mosque or the church at Fifth and Bellefield. Community residents are also concerned about the architectural designs for the Syria Mosque site because it "abuts a residential neighborhood (Gottlieb 1993 p.13)."

Probably the most visible and controversial new project would be the University of Pittsburgh $35 million convocation center. Although proposed as a multipurpose hall for sporting events, concerts, lectures and academic events, the planned convocation center is seen by the community as primarily for the University of Pittsburgh basketball team. The impetus for this center is Governor Robert Casey's "Jump Start" program which is designed to improve infrastructure and education programs. The state has set aside $13 million and the University of Pittsburgh will raise the rest. Community groups are concerned about the siting of this project because of the impact it will have on them. Despite assurances to the contrary, groups representing such areas as Aliquippa and Robinson streets as well as Terrace Village are concerned that the center will be sited in their neighborhood. At a May 15th meeting, Helen Schlenke of the Bellefield Area Citizens Association expressed the view that the money set aside for the convocation center would be better spent improving student housing and the transportation problems in Oakland (Gottlieb 1993 p.1).

But there are also more serious threats to the permanent Oakland residents. Bully and Sugiharto note that the poor quality of Oakland housing is "in part due to the University of Pittsburgh's uncontrolled growth and property acquisition policies" (Capstone, Bully and Sugiharto 1993 p.4). The authors

continue by noting that speculators purchase properties and then resell them to the University. These speculators do not maintain properties that they are temporarily holding until they can realize a profit. In addition to the buildings held in anticipation of large profits are those off-campus buildings rented by slumlords to students. Clearly the University of Pittsburgh does not have a plan for dealing with the large stock of Oakland buildings that are poorly maintained (Gottlieb 1993 p.13). This lack of corporate responsibility is despite the fact that the University of Pittsburgh and other large Oakland institutions are generating the large development projects and creating the demand for more land. Bully and Sugiharto cite a Temple University study of housing which highlights the deleterious effect of the city of Pittsburgh not adequately embarking on city-wide and neighborhood planning for housing (Capstone, Bully and Sugiharto 1993).

This transformation of the local landscape extends to South Oakland. In a telling newspaper article, Michael Seate interviewed Tito Marino who moved to South Oakland in the 1970s. "'When I first came to this town it was a lot like home,' Tito says in a thick, Calabrese accent. 'South Oakland at the time, was practically little Italy, with lots of stores and restaurants catering to the (predominantly) Italian residents (Seate 1990 p.25).'" Today, Tito is one of the last Italians on Ward Street. Many have moved on to the suburbs and Tito also intends to move. The new residents are students (Seate 1990 p.25). A more recent resident and musician, Bob Porter complains that the transient population of Oakland means burglaries and soaring rents (Seate 1990 p.25). South Oakland continues to be a diverse community. With a 1980 US census total of 3,841 residents, 2,416 are white and 1,298 are African-American. There are Italians, Poles, Jews, and Irish in this area (Powell 1987 p.A8). According to Yvonne Richardson-Bey, "Blacks and whites get along. In the 1960s when there were riots going on, Oakland was fairly peaceful (Powell 1987 p.A8)."

But the far ranging effect of institutional expansion can be seen not just in the disappearance of housing. In South Oakland the Paul Younger Center, once the location for services and activities geared for African-Americans, closed. Owned by the Pittsburgh Presbyterian Church, the center has been sold to a private developer. Phil Carter notes that the African-American community in South Oakland is particularly vulnerable. This resident goes on to note that such ethnic groups as the Italians and the Polish have community centers, but African-Americans are left without one (Powell 1987 p.A8).

ETHNIC AND COMMUNITY RESOURCES IN OAKLAND

For an in-depth, street-by-street inventory of Oakland businesses and residences please see Dolan's Capstone Seminar report. Bully and Sugiharto provide thumbnail sketches of a number of Oakland organizations (Capstone, Bully and Sugiharto 1993). Marlo highlights Oakland groups such as the Job and Career Education Center; Job Links which is sponsored by the Oakland Planning and Development Corporation in association with Breachmenders, Inc.; and People's Oakland. These groups address unemployment problems (Capstone, Marlo 1993). The groups and stores listed below should be contacted in any in-depth survey of Oakland.

Ethnic Stores

Kim Do Oriental Grocery
3400 Fifth Avenue
681-8823

Opened in 1976, this store caters to Japanese, Chinese, Vietnamese and Filipino communities. Shoppers come from as far away as Wheeling, West Virginia, and Ohio, as well as Kittanning, Uniontown and Johnstown. This store carries such Japanese food items as hanabishi miso (soybean paste used in soups), wonton soup base, niku man no moto (a prepared flour for Oriental breads), somen (oriental noodles), and Japanese fish balls. For the Filipino palate the store stocks macapuno balls (a coconut dessert), sweet langka (a fruit), banana flower which is used in salads, papaya pickles, kang kong (a canned cabbage), and bangus (a national fish). Thai cuisine is represented by dried squid, dried galanga (a ginger-like spice), and dried balck fish. For the Vietnamese communities he has rice sticks, noodles cha que, cinnamon flavored meat patties, tuong cuda (a soy bean sauce), and rice papers.

Dae Han Oriental Food Store
326 Atwood
682-2111.

Bombay Emporium
294 Craft Avenue
682-4965
see photographic logs.)

A food store on the corner of Boulevard of the Allies and Craft Avenue.

Pan Asia Foods
251 Atwood Street
687-3236

ETHNIC GROUPS IN OAKLAND

Nationality Rooms Programs
University of Pittsburgh
1209 Cathedral of Learning
Pittsburgh, PA 15260.
E. Maxine Bruhns, director.
Eileen Kiley assistant director.
Susan Langer, event planning for committees.
624-6150.

Nationality Rooms Program Newsletter

The Nationality Rooms Program was founded in 1926 by Ruth Crawford Mitchell at Chancellor John G. Bowman's request (for archival material relating to the Nationality Rooms Program, Ruth Crawford Mitchell and the Nationality Rooms see Archives Service Center below). As part of this program immigrant communities were invited to develop rooms in the Cathedral of Learning. These rooms must be designed to exhibit heritages for a specific community prior to 1787. This year represents the year when the University of Pittsburgh was founded, and as the Nationality Rooms Program emphasizes, coincides with the year when the United States Constitution was completed.

Crawford retired in 1957, and at that time there were nineteen nationality rooms in the Cathedral of Learning. They are: Chinese, Czechoslovak, early American, English, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Lithuanian, Norwegian, Polish, Romanian, Russian, Scottish, Swedish, Syria-Lebanon and Yugoslav. Since then four other rooms have been added: Israel Heritage, 1987; Armenian, 1988; African Heritage, 1989; and Ukrainian, 1990. The Nationality Rooms are located in the corridor surrounding the Commons Room on the first and third floors of the Cathderal of Learning.

It should be emphasized that The Nationality Rooms Program is not strictly a university endeavor. The strength of each room depends on strong local connections. Ethnic communities are responsible for fundraising and planning for events.

There are three additional rooms being planned: Austrian, Eastern Indian and Japanese. Of the three active committees planning a new room, the Austrians are closest to starting construction. They have nearly completed their fundraising and they may begin construction next spring. The Japanese and Eastern Indians just started fundraising. The Japanese and eastern Indians have given the chancellor a deposit and rooms have been set-aside for them. It takes anywhere from five to ten years to raise the necessary funds. In all three cases the money is raised not just in Pittsburgh but from their native countries, as well as from the extended tri-state area of West Virginia, Ohio and Pennsylvania. Therefore the various nationalities have far-flung connections. The current Hungarian chairman is from New Orleans. The Lithuanians are very active with broad regional connections. The African Heritage room committee has strong ties to the Hill District.

The rooms exclude political symbols and committee events do not include political topics. Instead the rooms celebrate the architecture, history, languages, heritages, families, arts and traditions of specific nationalities. The Syria-Lebanon Room was brought intact from a Damascus library interior. The walls and ceiling of the Yugoslav Room are made of Slavonian oak and include "notch" carvings done with a penknife. The room is decorated with a bronze sculpture, a lace portrait of the Madonna of Brezje, and oil portraits of notables such as Michael Pupin an American physicist born in Banat. The German room is inspired by the architecture of two German universities: Heidelberg and Leipzig. Names of distinguished German scientists, philosophers, and musicians are carved in the walnut paneling. Quotations from Schiller and Goethe can be seen and the stained glass medallions portray Grimm fairy tales.

The rooms are served by committees that sponsor concerts, films, exhibits, workshops and lectures. In addition, the rooms are used to entertain visiting guests. The committees also raise funds for scholarships that send promising undergraduate or graduate students abroad for the summer. Lastly, the committees help the University of Pittsburgh acquire books about their cultures.

In addition to serving as meeting rooms, hospitality sites and lecture forums, these rooms also serve as operating classrooms with sufficient seating for approximately 36 students. Once completed, the University of Pittsburgh is the custodian for the room.

The Nationality Rooms Program sponsors a popular open house during the Christmas season. On the first Sunday of December, the rooms are decorated for the holiday season, individuals don ethnic dress and native cuisines are sold to help fund scholarships or support the construction of a room. Performers also present their ethnic traditions in the Commons Room. There is a wealth of additional information on the Nationality Rooms Program. For a full description of the various room decorations see Pettican 1989 and Thomas 1989. Recipes representing the various groups can be found in the Women's International Club *Nationality Rooms Recipe Book*. Detailed reports on the individual committees and their sponsored events can be found in the *Nationality Rooms Program Newsletter*. This newsletter also chronicles the close connection committee members have to

the region (see folder marked "Nationality Rooms Program, Cathedral of Learning, University of Pittsburgh.")

Greeks in Oakland

St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Cathedral
419 South Dittridge
682-3866

Today there are approximately 9,000 Greeks living in the greater Pittsburgh area. In 1922, St. Nicholas Cathedral was founded in Oakland. The St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Cathedral is the seat of the Pittsburgh Diocese and the bishop oversees 51 parishes in four states. The Cathedral conducts Greek Orthodox religious services. In contrast to Roman Catholicism, the Greek Orthodox believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father rather than from the Son. Icons among Greek-Americans acknowledge the incarnation of God -- that God became a man in Jesus. The honor, veneration and reverence is not for the painted wood that constitutes the icon, but to the person that is depicted because of the holiness and glorification he or she has received from God (see 1986 program for more on Greek Orthodox beliefs).

The Cathedral sponsors a children's dance ensemble. It also runs an ethnic school for children. The school emphasizes Greek history, customs and language.

This church sponsors a seven-day "Greek Food Festival" early in May. In 1986 this festival celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. It began in 1961 when the Philoptochos (Women's Auxiliary) of St. Nicholas Orthodox Cathedral shared Greek dishes to benefit their charity work and the church. They placed a few tables in a vest-pocket park on the Forbes Avenue side of the Cathedral across from the Carnegie Museum. In subsequent years the festival was moved indoors and in 1985 some 25,000 people enjoyed Greek foods and traditions. With aid of some 300 volunteers, the St. Nicholas Community Center is transformed into a Greek Taverna. Programs from 1985 and 1986 indicate that they prepare such dishes as beef stefatho which is cubes of beef braised with onions in a sauce; souvlakia, marinated meat skewered and broiled; souzoukakia, meatballs in a tomato wine sauce; and pastitsio, layers of macaroni, grated cheese, and beef topped with a cream sauce. The festival also includes a number of extraordinary desserts including baklava, chopped walnuts, cinnamon and thin layers of pastry dough drenched with honey syrup; galatoboureko, a custard baked in filo pastry with a honey syrup; karithopeta, a chopped walnut cake in honey syrup; and kouranbiethes, butter cookies topped with powdered sugar. The festival requires some 1,000 pounds of high grade meat, 1,500 pounds of cubed tender lamb for souvlakia, 1,500 half chickens, and 400 pounds of ocean fish and 700 pounds of rice. Food is supplemented by music and dance. One can hear the bouzouki. (This information taken from 1986 program book).

St. George Antiochian Orthodox Church
3400 Dawson Street
681-2988

The church was founded in 1917 in the Hill District and built the present church in 1954. While related to the Orthodox Greek Catholic Churches of America, St. George's is an Antiochian Orthodox Church.

Greek Orthodox Diocese of Pittsburgh
5201 Ellsworth Avenue
621-5529.
Bishop Maximos

5201 Ellsworth Avenue
621-5529

(Shadyside/Oakland)

Niko's Gyros
424 Semple Street
681-8608

Greek cooking. Contributes financially to the annual St. Nicholas Greek Food Festival.

Ritters Diner
5221 Baum Boulevard
682-4852

Velisaris Brothers
Greek cooking

Contributes financially to the annual St. Nicholas Greek Food Festival.

Demetra Xyftis
3708 Bates Street
683-0853.

Jews in Oakland

Adath Israel Congregation
3257 Ward Street
682-6020
(see photographic logs)

This Orthodox synagogue has been in existence since 1920. See Jewish Archives below.

Rodef Shalom Temple
4905 Fifth Avenue
621-6566

Maurice Levy, a retired math teacher, is conducting an oral history of the synagogue. He is attempting to reconstruct Temple life in the early part of the 20th century. He has looked at a cross-section of temple activities including the making of bandages during wartime, the choosing of a rabbi, the pulpit committee which is involved with prayer issues, those concerned with education, the Temple Boy Scout Troop, the Sisterhood, the Chautauqua Society Committee, and the committee charged with organizing the Sunday morning breakfasts.

He now has between thirty-five and forty-five tapes, which he intends to turn over to the Temple and the Rabbi when the project is over.

Rodef Shalom was originally downtown on Eighth and Penn streets. The Temple bought land next to Schenley Park and built its current building in 1905. To this day there is some dispute as to whether Rodef Shalom is in Oakland or in the more prestigious Shadyside. It is for many on the border between Oakland and Shadyside. In terms of geography it is in Oakland, but for many it is psychologically in Shadyside, because it is presumed that a Shadyside address confers more status and prestige on its members.

Jewish Federation of Pittsburgh
234 McKee Place
681-8000

United Jewish Federation of Pittsburgh (UJF)
234 McKee Place
681-8000

Jewish Archives
United Jewish Federation of Pittsburgh (UJF)
234 McKee Place
681-5533

For more information on Jewish history in Oakland one should consult the Jewish Archives. They would for instance have information on the Adath Israel Congregation. It should be noted that the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania also has a Jewish collection.

A Vernacular Shrine (see photograph logs)

South Oakland was at one time an important residential neighborhood for mill workers. Probably the most startling discovery in Oakland is the vernacular shrine and gardens devoted to the Virgin Mary, which were created over thirty years ago by a mother who lost a son in World War Two. The shrine is perched on the South Oakland cliff and the Virgin faces downtown Pittsburgh.

If one walks south on Ward Street, it dead-ends at Wakefield Street. Turn right on Wakefield Street and this cobblestone street appears to stop at a wooden fence and 10 Wakefield Street. Walking around the fence area, there is a walkway beside several houses. This leads to a tall metal fence with gate that is open. On a steep shelf that overlooks the Penn Lincoln Parkway (routes 376, 22 and 30), this site offers a spectacular view of the Parkway, the South Side, the Monongahela River and downtown Pittsburgh. Once through the metal fence one is clearly on Pennsylvania Department of Transportation land, and yet it is maintained by local residents. There is a small shed for supplies and tools for maintaining the shrine are also evident. With the onset of dusk, lights come on. In addition there are chairs and benches as well as a pulpit. Beside the statue is a small stream reported to have healing properties. On the neighboring hill one looks up to see small figures forming a crèche (see Todroff interview for discussion of the shrine).

Beginning beside the metal fence are fifteen crosses that lead to the Virgin Mary statue "Queen of Peace, Pray for Us." The fifteen cross stations are labeled: (1) Jesus condemned sorrowful mysteries, (2) Given cross, (3) First Fall, (4) Meets mother, (5) Simon helps, (6) Veronica's veil, (7) Second fall, (8) Jerusalem women, (9) Third fall, (10) Jesus stripped, (11) Nailing of Jesus, (12) Jesus crucified, (13) Mother's arms, (14) Sepulcher, and (15) Alleluia glorious mysteries.

Italians from Gamberale (including those that live in Panther Hollow)

In prehistoric times, Oakland was actually a lake seventy-five feet deep. This lake was created by the waters of the Old Monongahela which was forced back by a great glacier from the north. Where Bellefield now stands would have been

the point where the old river flowed back to the present river beds via the ravine of Four Mile Run (Panther Hollow).

Going down the steep cobblestone thoroughfare of Joncaire Street, one arrives in Panther Hollow. Not far from the University of Pittsburgh, and the student eateries, Joncaire Street is a steep descent from South Bouquet Street. Following Joncaire Street to Boundary Street, one arrives at the heart of Panther Hollow. This area is noted for its landscape of closely packed brick buildings, narrow alleys and greenery. Under the watchful eye of the Cathedral of Learning and the University of Pittsburgh, Panther Hollow is a deep ravine and this neighborhood has a strong sense of identity. Although a few students rent apartments in Panther Hollow, this area is unique because of the homogeneous residents. These residents are descendents from those who came from the Italian town of Gamberale. This coastal Adriatic town is in Abruzzi.

The first Panther Hollow resident from Gamberale was Gaetano DeIulis. Known as 'the King of the Hollow,' he arrived in 1890 and lived in a four-story triangular brick house on what is Diulus Way. The top floor of his home was even with Dawson Street (McHugh 1975). Once 'Uncle Guy' successfully established himself in a contracting business he sent for his four brothers. Soon others followed. This group of Italians were brought over through the *padrone* or labor agent system. These young men recruited through the padrone system became laborers with construction and utility crews. They settled in Panther Hollow. In this early period "as many as ten to fifteen men" would crowd into one room. This allowed them to save enough money to bring over their families (Miller 1984 quote p.17 see also p.9). When wives, children and extended family joined them, they established their homes in Panther Hollow. There were open ovens that women used to bake bread and they would prepare meals for the men that worked in construction or in the mills. "By 1914, there were 53 families from Gamberale in Panther Hollow, most of them very poor (McHugh 1974 p.6)." As new immigrants arrived from Gamberale they were integrated into the ethnic community (Miller 1984 p.17). By 1974 there were 107 Gamberale families in Panther Hollow (McHugh 1974 p.6). By 1984 there were approximately 340 families in Allegheny County that could in some way trace their roots to Gamberale (Miller 1984 p.18). Countywide, those with roots in Gamberale can be found with such last names as Diulus, Sciulli, Bellasario, DePasquale, Bucci and Dinardo. Those names are also found in Panther Hollow.

In 1914, Peter DePasquale organized a mutual aid society called St. Lorenzo to provide burial insurance (McHugh 1974 p.6). In addition to Peter DePasquale, Felix DeIuliis, Guy Sciulli, Ralph Bucci and Guy DeIuliis were individuals who helped to found the organization (Miller 1984 p.16). The Society was established to maintain a strong link between Pittsburgh and Gamberale as well as function as a mutual-aid society paying a $500 death benefit to the family of the deceased member (Miller 1984 p. 17). In 1938 the St. Lorenzo Gamberale Mutual Benefit Association built a social center and clubhouse on 379 South Bouquet Street. n the exterior of the hall are twin reliefs of dogs set in a brick facade. According to the DiNardos, these dogs are Roman symbols meant to represent fidelity. In 1984, the St. Lorenzo Gamberale Mutual Benefit Association celebrated its seventieth anniversary (Miller 1982 p.22). When the Association was founded, membership was restricted to males from Gamberale, however, today the society accepts any male of Italian origin (Miller 1984 p.17).

The Association is named for Saint Lorenzo, a martyred Catholic deacon. Saint Lorenzo is the patron saint of Gamberale (Miller 1984 p.18). Saint Lorenzo is also the protecting saint for Gamberale and by extension Oakland and Panther Hollow. His statue is found in Gamberale and a replica is stored in St. Regis Church in Oakland (see photograph logs). The emigrants from Gamberale and their descendents celebrate a *festa* on St. Lorenzo's feast day. On the weekend closest to the August week of festivities in Gamberale, those in Oakland and Panther

Hollow celebrate the saint's feast day, including a parade and procession through Oakland. Initially the parade was a modest procession "led by a banner bearing the likeness of the saint (Miller 1984 p.19)." In 1974, Roy McHugh describes the parade which begins at the St. Lorenzo Gamberale Mutual Benefit Association clubhouse and proceeds to the St. Regis Church.

> The flower girls, in white dresses and veils, led the way, each carrying one red rose. Then came the pompon girls in their green and gold outfits and the flag bearers right behind them and a 10-piece band playing Italian marches and, in double file, 150 or so club members, women and children first, men bringing up the rear (McHugh 1974 p.6).

As this 1974 parade threaded its way through the local streets, residents ran "into the street with greenbacks to pin on St. Lorenzo's banner ones and fives mostly, but also tens and twenties (McHugh 1974 p.6)."

In 1979, a replica of the Saint Lorenzo statue in Gamberale arrived in Oakland. Umberto DiNardo and Donato Pollice raised $2,200 in contributions from 135 families belonging to the Saint Lorenzo Gamberale Mutual Benefit Association and hired the Italian carver Cavalier Giacomo Mussner of Orteisi to produce the statue (Miller 1984 p.18). The statue has been incorporated into the *festa* and plays a key role in the parade through Oakland and Panther Hollow. Residents express their religious devotion to the *patrono* or patron saint through the pinning of money to the statue (see interview with the DiNardos as well as Miller 1984 p.18). By 1983 the parade attracted over 1,000 people. Cecilia Miller provides a detailed and extensive ethnographic description of the 1983 *festa*:

> In August of 1983, the procession was joined by Councilman DePasquale and Mayor Caliguiri from the City of Pittsburgh, Joseph D'Andrea, Honorary Vice Consul of Italy in Pittsburgh, and Senator Romanelli of Pennsylvania. Other participants, fifteen units in all, were religious organizations represented by the First Communion classes of the local Catholic churches, Our Lady of Grace Society, and the Knights of Columbus, Italian organizations such as the Sons of Columbus, I Campagnoli, an Italian folk group, and a marching band that played marches and songs from the Abruzzi. In keeping with the Italian tradition, a young girl was selected from the club to reign as Miss San Lorenzo. After being crowned, she marched in the procession wearing a banner and crown.
>
> The procession began at 11:00 a.m. at the San Lorenzo Club on South Bouquet Street and covered nearly fourteen blocks to its final destination of St. Regis Church. At various homes along the parade route, tables were set up with lace tablecloths to provide a resting place for the statue while the men carrying it were offered refreshments. During the parade, the custom of putting money on the statue by the spectators was observed. The money was used to cover the expenses of the festival. A separate collection was taken and sent back to the native church in Gamberale. At noon a mass was sung

> in Italian in St. Regis Church with three priests officiating. After the mass was celebrated, a different route was followed back to South Bouquet Street so that the procession could walk through the streets of the Panther Hollow area allowing many of the elderly residents a chance to become part of the *festa*.
> An afternoon celebration at the San Lorenzo Club followed the parade. Italian food and wine were served, and music was played. All attending enjoyed native folk dances from the Abruzzi: *la quadriglia*, which can be likened to the American square dance, and the national folk dance of Italy, *la tarantella* (Miller 1984 pp.19-20).

Panther Hollow has been threatened by various development projects. In the 1960s high-tech research laboratories were proposed. Currently, Panther Hollow is one possible site for a large University of Pittsburgh basketball and convocation center.

St. Lorenzo Gamberale Mutual Benefit Association
379 South Bouquet Street
682-9466

The clubhouse is open on the weekend for members. Friday evenings are reserved for men. It is open on Saturday and Sunday evenings for club members and their families. One hears Italian as the lingua franca in the clubhouse. In addition to the procession and festivities described above, the Association sponsors two other events the lamb feast and the June picnic.

The Association celebrates *La Festa d'Agnello*, a pre-Lenten feast featuring lamb stew. Gamberale, a village in the Apennine Mountains, is the home of shepherds who tend flocks of sheep. On the Saturday before Ash Wednesday, the men of the Association prepare and serve the lamb stew. The large crowds required in 1983 substantial quantities of food including 500 pounds of lamb as well as large amounts of red wine, green peppers, mushrooms and onions (Miller 1984 p.20-21).

In addition, the Association sponsors an annual June picnic for its members. On Sunday morning, Association members set up tables and prepare breakfast for their family. Around noon wives and family members arrive. After the meal the "men play noisy card games and *morra*, a game of strategy played with extended fingers. An accordionist and guitarist play folk songs of the Abruzzi, and many join the singing and dancing. A communal supper is served after a day spent with families... (Miller 1984 p.21)."

St. Regis Church
3235 Parkview
681-9365

This church is a central meeting point for many Roman Catholics but particularly for those from the Gamberale area. The saint statue is also stored here for much of the year. St. Regis Church was formerly St. Paul's Cathedral Chapel No. 2. The church became independent in 1953, and the new church building was dedicated in 1958. St. Regis parochial school was built in 1913, then enlarged in 1928 and 1929. The school closed in 1980 and was then converted into fifteen units of housing for seniors and handicapped people. The Oakland Planning and Development Corporation (OPDC) completed the conversion. St. Regis Church celebrated its fortieth anniversary on June 18, 1993 with a directory of

its members and a mass of thanksgiving on the feast of St. Anthony at 11 am, June 13, 1993.

Today there are approximately 450 families and 1,100 parishioners (DiRienzo 1993 p.5). Congressman Bill Coyne and the Dan Marino family are tied to this church.

Marie DiNardo has been the president for a long time of the Oakland Harmony Council #5, Sons of Columbus of America. Umberto represents one of the later emigrants from Italy and Gamberale. He arrived in the United States after the ravages of World War II.

Elvira DiPaolo is a playwright who has had her play "Bricklayers" performed at the City Theater. This play tells the story of an Italian family in south Oakland. Set in the present, it looks at the Gamberale immigrant experience. It is also about the simmering conflict between the University of Pittsburgh and local residents. The grandfather is concerned about people selling their property to the University of Pittsburgh. The title refers to a couple who run a landscaping business. It is a story of three generations. The older working generation run the landscaping business, and the teenage and younger generation are less interested in the concern. The middle generation have been trying to make a go of it in landscaping. The playwright wrote Bricklayer based on her own experience of growing up in South Oakland.

Merante Groceria
3454 Bates Street
683-3924

The Merante Groceria, which has long been a family business, is now run by the Merante sisters. According to Elvira, many South Oakland Italians shop at Merante Groceria. The sense of Italian-American identity is clear with the Italian colors on the exterior and the window display that features Italian foods (see photographic logs). There is also a poster in the window for Italian Day run under the auspices of the Italian Sons & Daughters of America, Tuesday July 20. at Kennywood Park. For information about Italian Day call (412) 261-3550.

PastAmore Restaurant
370 Atwood
621-6400

Ruggeri's Food Shoppe
196 North Craig
621-4544; 621-4731

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

Oakland Task Force

Oakland Planning and Development Corporation
231 Oakland Avenue
Pittsburgh, PA 15213

Oakland Plan adopted in 1981. Oakland Directions. Oakland Directions is an umbrella group that includes the following local groups:

Atwood Street Block Club
Bates/Bouquet Street Block Club,
Breachmenders,
Chesterfield Block Club
Halkett-Louisa Block Club
Beyran Avenue Block Club
Oakland Avenue Block Club
South Oakland Citizens Council
233 Oakland Avenue.

This agency began with the antipoverty programs of the 1960s, and it now responds to the needs of Oakland residents. This center is a social service center and family service unit. They do counseling and client advocacy for social security, food stamps, ssi, telephone bills, and gas bills. In the past they did do cultural programming.

Semple Street Block Club
Terrace Village
3400 Bates Block Club

Oakland Planning and Development Corporation

South Oakland Citizens Council
233 Oakland Avenue
683-4531

Bellefield Area Citizens Association

Oakcliffe Housing Club

Schenley Farms Civic Association
People's Oakland
233 Oakland Avenue
683-7570

Addresses the needs of the 800-1000 mentally ill living in Oakland.

There is in addition a community center in South Oakland on Lawn Street. This center contains a child daycare center and senior center. In addition to serving food for seniors and children they do conduct cultural programs and events. This site could be used for oral history or folklife programming. It might also be ideal for interviewing senior citizens.

Student Life in Oakland

With the substantial growth of the University of Pittsburgh, the student presence in Oakland markedly increased in the 1970s, and continues to this day. There are a number of establishments that cater to the student population. Probably the center of this life is the corner of Bouquet Street and Forbes Avenue. There one will find the Original O, a sandwich and pizza joint with an extraordinary neon display (see photograph logs). Across the street is another eatery, Miami Subs. Fast food joints line the streets of central Oakland along with photocopy shops, cafes and bookstores. A fast food heaven has been a fixture of Forbes Avenue between Atwood Street and Bouquet

Street since at least the early 1970s. Roy McHugh catalogues a long list of such establishments on this short stretch of the avenue -- "George Aiken's, Eat 'n' Park, McDonald's, The Wooden Keg Pizza and Sub Shop, Sweet William, Original Franks & Burgers (abbreviated in conversation to Original Hot Dog), Roy Rogers' Western Restaurant, Taco Hut, White Tower, [and] Winky's (McHugh 1974)."

Until its recent demolition, the Syria Mosque was an important venue. In addition to the Pittsburgh Symphony performing there, it was also an important hall for rock-and-roll performers, among them Lauri Anderson and in the more distant past, the Band.

There is a tension between residents and the student population. In the 1970s, this erupted in a clash over the student establishment on South Bouquet Street known as the 'Haunt'. At the time residents objected to the large crowds that would gather for concerts. Crowds would congregate in the streets resulting in fights, public drinking and drug use.

The Decade Bar
233 Atwood
682-1211
(see photographic logs).

Oakland used to have a rich nightlife, with clubs and after hours bars. What remains is for instance "The Decade" which is an Oakland bar that is on the corner of Attwood and Sennett. It is an old bar. According, to Rick Sebak, it is a "dive." It is and has been a major rock venue in Pittsburgh.

On the rough wood exterior are small signs indicated a worldview: "Rock & Roll is not a matter of life & death it's much more important than that..." Another sign announces, "If nudity offends you do not enter!" Inside and out are long lists of performers that have been featured at The Decade. At the beginning of his career, Bruce Springsteen played there. The Iron City House Rockers, an important local band in the 1970s, was based at The Decade. Inside The Decade the walls are also filled with signed photographs of musicians. Some who got their start here include Stevie Ray Vaughn and Cyndi Lauper.

According to the bartender, John, the lunchtime crowd of this establishment is professionals, University of Pittsburgh employees and students. At night the clientele changes with suburbanites driving in for the musical performances. Again according to the bartender, business in the last eighteen months has been down because of a concern for violence. Although the drive-by shootings have taken place in East Liberty, evening crowds have diminished at the Decade. In October 1993, The Decade had a weeklong celebration in honor of its twentieth anniversary. In John's eyes this is a bittersweet event because it is not clear that The Decade can remain economically viable.

African-Americans in Oakland

Many African-Americans living in Oakland can be found on Frazier Street and surrounding the Frazier Playground. There was a much larger population in this area before a highway was completed. There is a rich, vibrant community here that needs to be further explored.

Irish ethnicity in Oakland

The Irish came fairly early and came to control the wards politically. Oakland had small Irish bars such as the Oakland Cafe and Pete Coyne's. Pete Coyne's had a neon shamrock over the entrance. On one St. Patrick's Day in Pete Coyne's, Joey Diven broke up a fight. With his 270 pounds he "stepped in between two fierce brawlers, grabbed each one by the neck and denounced their behavior: 'This is Pete's big day -- he can make a buck and you're spoiling

it.' With that, he sent them crashing through the plate-glass front door (McHugh 1975)." At the Oakland Cafe amateur singers would crone "Galway Bay" (McHugh 1975).

St. Agnes Roman Catholic Church
3221 5th Avenue
621-9246
(see photographic logs.)

Originally downtown, this church was founded by the Irish. Early in 1994, the St. Agnes parish became part of the St. Paul's Cathedral on Craig Street. With the suppression of the parish, the future purpose of the building has not been determined. The house that was the rectory is now used as the diocesan chaplains' residence. These chaplains serve in nearby hospitals including those in Oakland as well as Shadyside Hospital.

Despite the suppression, the St. Agnes School still remains and the Sisters of Mercy have an active role in the school. The principle and vice principle are Sisters of Mercy. (See discussion of Sisters of Mercy below.)

Sisters of Mercy
3333 5th Avenue
578-6225

Just up from what was the St. Agnes Catholic Church, are the intertwined buildings of the Sisters of Mercy and Carlow College. Today they are two separate organizations with Carlow College more visible to the general public. The sisters joke amongst themselves that Carlow College is actually located on the grounds of the mother house of the Sisters of Mercy. Both organizations have strong links to the Irish-American community.

In 1843, the first bishop of Pittsburgh traveled to Ireland to invite the Sisters of Mercy to his city. The bishop was impressed with this order which was known as the "walking nuns of Dublin" because they attended to the needs of the poor and disenfranchised found in the streets. The first seven Sisters of Mercy came directly to Pittsburgh from Carlow, Ireland. They arrived in downtown Pittsburgh on December 21, 1843. Late last year the Sisters of Mercy and the city of Pittsburgh celebrated their 150 years of service.

The Sisters of Mercy moved to Oakland early in the twentieth century, and their present mother house in Oakland was built in 1919. Prior to their move, they lived on Webster Avenue in downtown Pittsburgh. With their arrival in Oakland, the Sisters of Mercy saw the need for a Catholic women’s college, and began to hold classes in the mother house. Soon they were building to accommodate the students and classes. This is the origin of Carlow College (see below for Carlow College entry).

The operation of Carlow College is now in the hands of an independent board, but the Sisters of Mercy do have representation on this board. The Sisters of Mercy refer to this relationship with Carlow College as sponsorship. According to Sister Sally Witt, sponsorship of Carlow College means imbuing the institution with the Mercy spirit. This spirit can be found in the fourth vow that the sisters take when joining the order -- service to the sick, the poor and the uneducated. The spirit of this vow is to be of service to those that need aid, and these people come first. This commitment to service can be found in the social work programs at Carlow College.

There has been a continuous link with Ireland. In its early days, sisters from the Sisters of Mercy would return to Ireland to bring over additional recruits. The Irish connection to the Sisters of Mercy continues to this day with an affection for Ireland. During the month of March, an Irish flag can

seen atop the flagpole. In addition, Irish literature is taught at Carlow College. Irish-Americans still play an important role in the Sisters of Mercy and in Carlow College. Those of Irish-American ethnicity still join the Sisters of Mercy.

The Sisters also sponsor The Mercy Hospital of Pittsburgh (see Soho for fuller description).

Carlow College
3333 5th Avenue
578-6000

Originally known as Mount Mercy College, it was founded to serve Catholic women in 1929 and is still sponsored by the Sisters of Mercy, an Irish-American order (see above for a description of the Sisters of Mercy).

The Sisters of Mercy fanned out from Pittsburgh to many other urban areas including Chicago and Omaha. These sisters also established educational institutions and hospitals. Because most contained "Mercy" in the name, confusion quickly arose. To distinguish the Pittsburgh college, in 1969, Mount Mercy College became Carlow College. The school was renamed after County Carlow in Ireland where the Sisters of Mercy originated. Another educational institution founded by the Sisters of Mercy in Oakland was Mercy Academy. This school was primarily for high school students. Mercy Academy subsequently moved to Monroeville and then closed.

A notable outreach program of Carlow College is the Carlow Hill College Program. Classes are held in the Hill District and are primarily designed for those women who would not otherwise be able to attend college (see The Hill District report for a description).

Sister Anna Mary Gibson is an archivists at Carlow College. She can provide additional information on the history of the Sisters of Mercy and Carlow College.

Muslims in Oakland

Islamic Center of Pittsburgh
4100 Bigelow Boulevard
Pittsburgh, PA 15213
Daressalam -- weekly newsletter.
Services held on Friday afternoons at 1 pm.

According to Massaud Salem there are 3,000 Muslims in Pittsburgh with approximately 1,000 residing in Oakland. It is Salem's impression that most are students with an additional Muslim population of Black Muslims living in Homewood. When thinking of practicing Muslims in Oakland or the greater Pittsburgh area, one must distinguish between religious belief and practice on the one hand and country of origin on the other. The weekly newsletter of the Islamic Center as well as the service I attended reflect a community that share a religion but not necessarily an ethnic background. Stated succinctly, not all Muslims are Arab. Instead practicing Muslims can be found from the western portions of Saharan Africa to the Indonesian archipelago. Muslims can be found in such disparate nations as China, Bosnia, Azerbaijan, Egypt, and India. The Islamic Center welcomes members from many of these countries. As such, the Islamic Center has consciously decided not to celebrate individual Muslim cultures, but rather to emphasize the practice of Islam as overarching these cultural differences.

The Islamic Center held Islamic Day on June 11, 1993. This event included lectures. Note activities at the Islamic Center are often sex segregated. There is for instance a women's social room. In addition there are food restrictions. The Islamic Center sponsors a summer camp.

Salem's Halal Meats
340 South Bouquet Street
621-4354

On the surface this small corner store appears to cater to local students who come in for sodas, chips and other fast foods. Most of the buildings surrounding the store are two and three story wood or brick apartment buildings. Wafting from these apartments one hears rock and roll, and students are visible on the porches that overlook Bouquet Street. In the store one is first struck by the long row of refrigerator cases that line the visible back wall. These cases are filled with cooled sodas. Immediately to the right is a smaller freezer case with ice cream and other items. Next is metal shelving with bags of potato chips, nachos and popcorn.

But on closer inspection, I quickly realized that this store caters to a wider variety of communities. The initial tip to these possibilities stems from the very signs that adorns the front and side of the store. The store is known as Salem's Halel Meats. Halel refers to Islamic dietary requirements. Islam requires that the meats be slaughtered by cutting of the veins and specific prayers must be recited.

Salem regularly travels to Detroit to purchase specialty groceries. His shelves are filled with such items as pickled cucumber, halvah, dried apricots, mango juice, cardamom seeds, a variety of spices including mint, parsley, crushed dry lime, saffron, coriander, sumac, cloves, tamarind seed, and lemon salt (see photographic logs for additional foods).

For the Halal meats he drives to a slaughterhouse near Donora. The journey takes approximately an hour from his store. There he will buy the complete carcass such as a lamb. With the cutting equipment, Salem cuts the lamb to meet the requirements of his customers. He also has veal and goat. His customers from the Persian Gulf region cook the lamb whole in an oven. He does some catering and would welcome the opportunity to participate in a festival, particularly a food festival.

Masjid Daressalaam
3339 Forbes Avenue
682-5555
Mosque. "House of Peace."

Polish in Oakland

St. Hyacinth Roman Catholic Church
3201 Craft Place
621-2897

St. Hyacinth Roman Catholic Church is at Boulevard of the Allies & Craft Place. This Polish congregation draws parishioners from well beyond Oakland. It is therefore more of a regional than a neighborhood church.

Laseks
45 Bates Street
681-0134
Ray Lasek

Limited number of Polish dishes on the menu including pieroghis and occasional specials. Laseks used to serve workers at the J & L plant and other plants that were along the river. Meetings have also been held at Lasek's to

discuss recent construction plans by the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation.

In the window is a poster for the 62nd Annual Polish Day sponsored under the auspices of the Central Council of Polish Organizations. It is scheduled for Tuesday August 3, at Kennywood Park. This event includes Polish foods, a "Polish Folk Mass," and music by the "Merrymakers."

Lasek's Lounge has a sign that notes that it also serves as a gathering place for veterans: "The Fifteenth Ward - Memorial Association, Veterans of Foreign Wars Post 274." The sign goes on to note that it welcomes veterans from World War I, World War II, the Korean War, Viet Nam War, Grenada, Lebanon and Panama assignments, and Desert Storm (the conflict in the Persian Gulf).

Syrian-Christians

St. George Antiochian Orthodox Church
3400 Dawson Street
681-2988
(see photographic log)

This Syrian Christian church opened in 1955.

Khalil's
"The Finest in Middle Eastern Cuisine"
House of Shish-Kabob
4757 Baum Blvd
683-4757
run by the Khalil family
(see photographic logs)

Ethnic Heritage Studies Center
University of Pittsburgh
405 Bellefield Hall

Kunst First Class Bakery
3610 Forbes
622-0577; 621-4394

The Kunst First Class Bakery is the last business in the Iroquois Building that was in operation when the building was a prestigious address. The Kunst Bakery is about 70 years old. Ruth Lavalle owns the Kunst Bakery and would be a good person to interview. She is of German background and has lived through the various transitions of Oakland. One should explore the presence of Germans in Oakland with Ruth Lavalle because clearly there was such a presence in Oakland at one time judging by the existence of the Oakland Turnverein building which was built in 1912 on O'Hara and Thackeray streets (Kidney 1985 p.74, 78, 226). The Oakland turnverein was a German-American gymnastic association (Ibid p.226). She can describe the various waves of the ethnic groups that have come to Oakland. Ruth Lavelle can describe her memories of Oakland as was it was in an earlier time. She can also identify the remaining old-time shop owners along Forbes and Fifth. Rick Sebak of WQED mentioned that there are however few remaining old-time shop owners. Again, according to Rick Sebak, "She's a Pittsburgher."

Pittsburgh Filmmakers

Administrative Office: 3712 Forbes Avenue
681-5449

Pittsburgh Filmmakers sponsors classes in videography, filmmaking and photography for college credit and for non-credit courses. Pittsburgh Filmmakers is an important information clearinghouse for those making films and should be contacted periodically for updates on those people making documentaries or ethnographic films that would be of interest to the Steel Industry Heritage Corporation. According to Steffi Domike, Pittsburgh Filmmakers published a directory of independent films that has some connection to Pittsburgh. Calls to Pittsburgh Filmmakers did not confirm this.

Carnegie Magazine
The Carnegie
4400 Forbes Avenue.

Music and Art Department
Carnegie Library
The Carnegie
4400 Forbes Avenue.
622-3105

As a volunteer, Maurice Levy has interviewed close to eighty people that have been involved in the Pittsburgh music scene. Known as the "The Oral History of Music in Pittsburgh," this project has taken Levy all over the city. He has interviewed jazz musicians, barbershop quartet singers, church organists, choir directors and classical musicians. He has conducted taped interviews with people residing in Oakland and the Hill District. Levy has located and interview those jazz performers that remember such Hill District nightspots as the Crawford Grill and The Hurricane. Levy has also interviewed African-American church organists in the Hill District including the Macedonia Baptist Church. He investigated the National Negro Opera Company which performed at Syria Mosque in Oakland. He has interviewed the organist of the First Baptist Church of Pittsburgh on Belfield and Baird Streets in Oakland. He has talked to those affiliated with the Music School at Carnegie-Mellon. Levy has also included interviews with musical instrument repairmen.

In addition, Levy has interviewed those that have participated in local folk festivals. For instance he interviewed clogging groups involved in the Smokey City Folk Festival, an annual May event on Flagstaff Hill, in Schenley Park, Oakland. In this regard he has also contacted groups from Bloomfield and South Side.

Levy has indexed all the taped interviews according to major topics. He intends to enter index into a computer so it will be catalogued.

Archives
Music Hall
The Carnegie
4400 Forbes Avenue

The Archives includes materials and programs relating to concerts and performances at the Carnegie Music Hall.

The Pennsylvania Room
2nd floor
Carnegie Library

The Carnegie
4400 Forbes Avenue.
622-3154.

The Pennsylvania Room includes a substantial postcard file, photography files, as well as newspaper clipping files on buildings, people, and cultural activities. There is for example a file on the Syria Mosque. The many photographs used by Stefan Laurent in his book *Pittsburgh: The Story of an American City* are from this collection. The photographic collection is organized by topic or group.

Museum Film Programs
Museum of Art
The Carnegie
4400 Forbes Avenue
622-3212

Central Catholic High School
4720 Fifth Avenue
business office 683-4106
(see photographic logs).

Central Catholic High School an important Oakland landmark. It is an extraordinary building. The noted African-American playwright, August Wilson, went to Central Catholic High School.

Stephen Foster Memorial
University of Pittsburgh
624-4100

The library contains materials relating to Stephen Foster (a Pittsburgh native) and his music.

Friends Meeting
4836 Ellsworth Avenue
includes the Pittsburgh American Indian Center

Holy Spirit Byzantine Catholic Church
4815 Fifth Avenue
682-8584
(see photographic logs).

This large church is next to Rodef Shalom. Information about this congregation is also available through the diocese office downtown 281-1000.

Pittsburgh Council for International Visitors
351 South Bellefield
624-7800

St. Paul Roman Catholic Cathedral
108 Dithridge
621-4951

Archives Service Center
Hillman Library

University of Pittsburgh

Important note: When using materials in the Archives Service Center one should call ahead for an appointment at least two days ahead of a planned visit. This allows curators and archivists to pull relevant materials and schedule time for the researcher. For additional information about the Archives Service Center and its large holdings please consult the file for this resource.

The Archives Service Center contains three large collections that are of importance to the folklife researcher. They are: (1) the Archives of Industrial Society (AIS), (2) the University of Pittsburgh Archives and (3) the Archives of United Electrical Workers of America and Labor Collection (abbreviated UE/Labor). These collections are briefly described below.(1) the Archives of Industrial Society (AIS)

Established in 1963, the Archives of Industrial Society (AIS) collects and preserves records concerning the development of urban industrial society with an emphasis on Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania. This collection highlights the social, political, labor and ethnic history of the nineteenth and twentieth century urban industrial society. For instance, this enormous collection includes local Pittsburgh records on perhaps 500 groups including church, fraternal, business, and political organizations. The AIS has the papers for the local chapters of the NAACP and the Urban League. The AIS has personal papers as well as oral histories collected by various ethnic and fraternal organizations.

The AIS also has the Works Project Administration, Pennsylvania Ethnic Survey reel number two which is entitled "The Negro in Pittsburgh." This material was collected between 1938 and 1941. This reel includes not only the final field report but also field notes, photographs, newspaper articles, drawings, and typescripts of interviews. "The Negro in Pittsburgh," chronicles the presence of the African-American in Pittsburgh from 1759. This report examines the local African-American community in terms of occupations, education, religious affiliation, sports and recreation, music, theater, housing, clubs, customs, celebrations, street cries, superstitions and sayings.

In addition, it should be noted that the AIS contains a substantial number of photographs. Only a portion of which is described below.

Below are brief descriptions of four important subcollections held within the AIS: (a) American Service Institute, (b) Pittsburgh City Photographer's Collection and (c) Oral History Collection and (d) the Oliver M. Kaufmann Collection.

(a) American Service Institute

The American Service Institute (ASI) worked with ethnic groups from 1920 through 1960. The voluminous materials take up approximately fifty cubic feet and much of it is significant because it is raw data. The ASI maintained files on such groups as Poles, Yugoslavs, and Italians. The ASI documented where ethnic groups resided as well as such ethnic resources as newspapers, churches, organizations and societies. They compiled neighborhood and community profiles. Using U.S. Census materials, the ASI produced maps during the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s that show the distribution of ethnic groups by census tract or by neighborhood. These maps can be used to identify for instance Polish-American neighborhoods as well as what ethnic groups were nearby. The maps can also be consulted for local neighborhood or community names. This research was included in ASI publications that are also part of this collection.

(b) Pittsburgh City Photographer's Collection

Most notable is the Pittsburgh City Photographer's Collection. This collection contains some 50,000 glass and film negatives taken between 1903 and 1958. These photographs were taken for legal and administrative reasons by city photographers. This invaluable historical resource documents neighborhoods, housing and streets. A significant number of the visual images are of

construction views, ranging from the erection of buildings to the laying of sewer lines and to street paving. Ostensibly taken to document city work projects, a small fraction of the images illustrate such activities as men in ditches, the laying of pipes, and fire lieutenants opening up fire hydrants. But the scope of the collection is far more inclusive. The photographs portray quotidian city life in all of its aspects. There are views of busses, carriages, trucks, storefronts, theaters, parks, bridges, riverfronts, barges, and places that do not exist today. People are selling produce in the markets. One can find images of the Lower Hill storefronts and buildings. There is one Lower Hill photograph of a Polish language advertisement for a Polish dentist. Before a visit to view photographs in the Pittsburgh City Photographer's Collection, one must call ahead and make an appointment. With advance notice, the archivist can make use of a cross-referenced database for some 15,000 images. This database allows one to search for images that document particular streets or neighborhoods.

(c) Oral History Collection

The Archives of Industrial Society includes the National Council of Jewish Women "Oral History Projects Numbers 1 and 2." It should be noted that AIS also includes a number of other oral history efforts including interviews conducted by Rob Ruck and Peter Gottlieb on the African-American experience in the Pittsburgh area.

(d) the Oliver M. Kaufmann Collection

The Oliver M. Kaufmann Collection of approximately 3,000 black-and-white photographs depicts activities of the Irene Kaufmann Settlement in the Hill District from 1912 to 1944. Activities include plays, athletic events, exhibits and dinners held at the settlement house. There are also photographs of activities at the Emma Kaufmann Farm Camp located in Beaver County.

(2) University of Pittsburgh Archives

The University of Pittsburgh Archives are another substantial collection. They contain materials relating to the Nationality Rooms Program and the plans for the various rooms. The University of Pittsburgh Archives also include the papers of Ruth Crawford Mitchell. (For more information on Ruth Crawford Mitchell and the various nationality rooms please consult the section on the Nationality Rooms Program above.) In addition, nationality studies were done in the 1930s that included an examination of the ethnic background of University of Pittsburgh students and alumni.

(3) Archives of United Electrical Workers of America and Labor (UE/Labor)

The Archives of United Electrical Workers of America and Labor (UE/Labor) includes employment and personnel records of AM Byers, a manufacturer of wrought iron between 1900 and 1950. AM Byers was located in Southside and Ambridge. These records indicate where an individual was born and what foreign languages the employee spoke. This collection also includes USX Corporation employee records. Appointments should be made in advance.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Overarching concerns:

Foremost, Steel Industry Heritage Corporation (SIHC) must confront the continuing change that can be seen to affect residential communities and their folklife traditions. These changes can come from many directions including: institutional expansion, construction projects, the closing of ethnic churches or the loss of community centers. SIHC must have a stated policy regarding hearings that would consider any proposed changes that would affect these traditional communities. This would suggest the establishment of a community

relations officer in addition to the preparation of anticipatory documents so the officer can provide expert testimony regarding these matters.

This anticipatory planning would allow a community relations officer to go before planning commissions, zoning boards or public hearings to clarify the effect that any construction, demolition or condemnation might have on communities. The field surveys and interviews completed by SIHC could be used to evaluate the effect of proposed developments from the point of view of the neighborhoods and ethnic communities. Currently, in Oakland there is an immediate need for such input regarding the development of a master plan for the University of Pittsburgh as well as envisioned highway construction projects.

Secondly, what is the role of the Steel Industry in supporting and maintaining these traditional communities? The sponsorship of festivals, concerts and apprenticeships would be helpful, but ultimately do not address the obvious problem of sustaining deteriorating local conditions. If traditions are to thrive then people need to be able to gather locally to sustain their languages, food traditions, and parades. I would strongly suggest considering a decentralized approach where the needs of neighborhoods are addressed locally. The need for local centers is rooted in the many interviews where residents emphasized that they need to be able to get together regularly and continually for a sense of community to thrive. An annual event far removed from the local neighborhoods will not do the trick.

Pastimes and Recreation

The storied era of sports in Oakland has long passed. However, there should be a survey of eating establishments for murals and other sports memorabilia that chronicles the human interconnections between Forbes Field, the baseball team, the ushers and other employees and of course the fans.

Occupational folklife may also be an important component in fully evaluating pastimes and recreation in Oakland. Many Oakland residents were ushers at Forbes Field and later at Three Rivers Stadium. Interviews with these employees should be conducted and a survey of sports memorabilia that relates to Oakland should be considered.

Programming and the Nationality Rooms Program

The Nationality Rooms Program should be considered an important beginning nodal point for any research on ethnic groups. The standing committees can provide important support for survey projects, leads in beginning research, and the names of useful informants. At the very least, the SIHC should make arrangements to regularly receive the *Nationality Rooms Program Newsletter*. This publication is a goldmine of useful information.

Greek community

A crew should be assigned to documenting the Greek Food Festival. This should include careful study of the music and dance. There is also a "Greek Food Festival Cookbook" that should be obtained and studied. Lastly, there may be icon painters or other artisans related to the Nicholas Greek Orthodox Cathedral. With permission, the icons in the Cathedral should be surveyed.

Italians/Gamberiale in Oakland

If there was one ethnic group that would make an ideal subject for a short film, this would be it. From the statuary that adorn the front yards of many homes, to the European character of Panther Hollow, the built environment would serve as an excellent backdrop for investigating the festive celebrations at the St. Lorenzo Gamberale Mutual Benefit Association as well as the dramatic parade that winds its way through Oakland streets.

The Steel Industry in Oakland

As noted in the extensive interviews with the Todroffs, steel played an important in the working life of many Oakland residents. There could easily be a full examination of the ethnic and working class cultures of South Oakland that were oriented to Second Avenue and the plants. There should be an in-depth examination of the J & L Steel plant on Second Avenue. In addition, the Vesuvius Crucible Steel Company was located at the southwestern corner of Dawson Street and the Boulevard of the Allies. This large and attractive building was in 1990 a blood bank. This company and building needs to be documented and fully researched.

Hill District

[authors note: Regarding terminology, this report reflects three important decisions. Firstly, "African-American" is the term used to describe both a racial and ethnic group. The development of African-American culture and identity is a complex brew of slavery and racism, African heritage and the development of new traditions and communication patterns in the United States. The term African-American is meant to reflect this heritage and indicate a certain appreciation of the African continent in the shaping of this identity. Some consider the appellation African-American controversial and unacceptable, but the term does seem to reflect the choice of influential African-American authors. There is indeed an additional problem with the term "Black." Ralph Ellison in *Invisible Man* suggests that this term equates a people with such natural resources as "coal tar, ink, shoe polish, or graphite." The term then transforms a people into a raw material ready for industrial consumption. In contrast then to "Black," African-American is meant to suggest the humanity and the immigration experience they share with many others. Such terms as "Afro-American," "black," "Black," and "Negro" as well as the offensive "nigger" are however retained in direct quotes.

Secondly, for the sake of consistency, this author will use the terms "Hill District," "Lower Hill District," "Middle Hill District," and "Upper Hill District." Variations in these terms will only be reflected in direct quotes.

Lastly, regarding the middle-class Upper Hill District area, the chosen spelling for this area will be "Sugartop." Direct quotes will reflect authors' variations in spelling.]

History of the Hill District

Early 1700s to 1865

Until 1865, the history of the Hill District must be pieced together from fragmentary discussions. To further complicate matters, local place names vary from contemporary usage. Herron Hill corresponds with what is now known as the Hill District. Minersville is today the Upper Hill District. Older terms such the Battery and Hayti refer to the Lower Hill District and at times include the eastern portion of Downtown Pittsburgh (for two useful maps showing older place names see Baldwin 1938 pp.386-387).

The eastern edge of the Hill District is now known as Herron Hill. As discussed below, the term Herron Hill is for Leland DeWitt Baldwin the same as today's Hill District area. The Hill District area was an important early landmark. During the mid-eighteenth century Seven Years War, Herron Hill was the site of a battle between British, American, Native American and French combatants. "Herron Hill were full of British and Americans tripping over grapevines and discarded rifles and knapsacks or running into trees as they looked behind them for the descending tomahawk.... About 270 were killed or captured by the French and Indians before the slaughter was over, and Major

Lewis was among the captured (Baldwin 1938 p.50)." As part of this conflict, in August 1759, Fort Duquesne was rebuilt with stones quarried from Herron Hill and the brick was made with clay from the current Duquesne University site (Baldwin 1938 p.57).

The Hill was the first district of Pittsburgh to develop outside the walls of Fort Pitt. On current maps, Herron Hill refers to a small circumscribed area included within the Upper Hill District. But Leland DeWitt Baldwin's maps show that Herron Hill was a much more general designation that corresponds to the current term of the Hill District. In this sense, Herron Hill as the Hill District was sparsely settled before the Civil War:

> Before Grant's Hill was cut down it was separated by a narrow ravine at Seventh Street from what was then called Quarry Hill, but is now known as Herron Hill or simply the Hill. It is about two mile long, runs parallel to the Allegheny River, and is back about a third of a mile from the river. Though it is now quite thickly settled, before the Civil War Herron Hill boasted only a few settlements, most of which were crowded upon the western end, close to the city. (Baldwin 1938 p.236)

In the early nineteenth century, The Lower Hill District was a fashionable address.

> "Up to 1812 the neighborhood of the present junction of Wylie Avenue with Fifth had been occupied by pleasant country homes surrounded by orchards and gardens. Living on the outskirts of the smokey, industrial town, they entertained in grand style, enjoying pleasures of the good life. With eastward advance of the city, however, bucolic retreats gave way to city progress (Baldwin 1938 p.236)."

British and German settlers built farms and estates in the Hill District. In this early period, the Hill District was known as "Coal Hill." Rising behind the village of Pittsburgh, Coal Hill marked the eastern boundary of the Hill District until the late 1840s. (It is not clear whether this local place name is connected to the coal mining farther to the east in Minersville. (Minersville is discussed below). At this time, a young banker named Thomas Mellon bought a tract of farmland on the slopes nearest the city. He subdivided the tract into smaller, city-sized plots, selling them at a tidy profit. This began the Hill District's development as an expanding community directly responding to the mushrooming population and businesses of Downtown Pittsburgh.

By 1850, this area saw the influx of Irish laborers. Known during the Civil War as the Battery, the area became heavily Democratic with Duffey's Hotel located at Webster Avenue and Grant Avenues serving as the center for political activities (Baldwin 1938 p.236). Before the Civil War, much of the Hill District remained uninhabited and was a retreat for military musters and various sporting recreations.

The uninhabited part of the Hill, particularly at the points that overlooked Fourteenth and Seventeenth Streets, was a favorite resort for bear-baiting, a sport that was indulged in chiefly at Christmas. Here also, before the Civil War, when the law still called for a general muster of all able-bodied men, were held the military parades that were the joy of every small boy and that, because of the opportunities for conviviality, were enjoyed even more by the men (Baldwin 1938 pp.236-237)."

Another area contained within the Lower Hill District was known in the nineteenth century as Lacyville. Situated in the vicinity of Webster Avenue

and Roberts Street, Lacyville was named for a women's seminary established by Dr. Lacy in about 1840. "Like the region closer to the city, Lacyville fell before the advancing slums, and at the time of the Civil War the name became a byword for wickedness. It was sometimes known as Fort Maloney, probably from another of the Civil War forts (Baldwin 1938 p.237)."

Towards the eastern reaches of the current boundaries of the Hill District, some two miles from Downtown, was a nineteenth-century village named Minersville. John Herron an early nineteenth century business magnate, bought land adjoining his estate because it contained abundant supplies of coal needed for his lumber, brick, gristmill saw mill, construction and building businesses (Hall 1981 p.319). "Realizing that he needed a reliable work force in close proximity to the laboring site, Herron constructed at his own expense rows of tenement houses to accommodate his workers" (Hall 1981 pp.319-320).

In 1833 Herron moved to his country estate in Minersville and soon an elite community developed in Minersville (Hall 1981 p.320). Two additional notable citizens of Minersville were Jacob Ewart and Alexander Brackenridge (for a full accounting of the elite population in Minersville see Baldwin 1938 and Hall 1981). In the period between 1850 and 1870 this established group elite was joined by the nouveau riche (Hall 1981 p.323). During this time, large plots of land were subdivided to also accommodate an influx of the growing Pittsburgh middle class (Hall 1981 p.325).

The attractiveness of Minersville to an elite population was increased with the introduction of public transportation. By 1853, Minersville was the terminus of an omnibus service provided by the Excelsior Line. It ran through the Hill District to Minersville and provided transportation for the elite like Herron who had business interests in Downtown Pittsburgh (Baldwin 1938 p.240 see also Hall 1981 p.320).

This local mining operation at the end of Wylie Avenue sent daily two hundred wagonloads of coal Downtown where the coal was sold to homes and businesses. Initially the portrait of the laboring class responsible for extracting the coal is one of lawlessness, violence and drinking. "[T]he reputation of most of the workers who lived in Minerville for violent and decadent living far exceeded other areas of the city.... [T]he taverns located in Minersville were noted for their frequent brawls and outbursts of violence" (Hall 1981 p.321).

Taking social matters into his own paternalistic hands, Herron funded the construction of the Seventh Presbyterian Church, which was completed in 1833 (Hall 1981 p.322). Herron's attempt to ameliorate local behavior met with some success. In 1837 the inhabitants of Minersville were characterized as industrious and religious: "After the labors, toils, and cares of the week, dressed in clean, genteel apparel, attending church, their children the Sabbath school and at night the prayer meeting (Baldwin 1938 p.237)."

This rich social history of Minersville has faded from the memory of most current residents. However there may be a trace of this social and ethnic heritage in the Minersville Cemetery. Located off Herron Avenue, it can be found by driving down Vancroft Street. The Cemetery is in the Upper Hill District just south of the Herron Hill Reservoir Park. As noted in the introduction this small cemetery is full of markers of various ethnic heritages (please see photographic logs). The names and various languages on the markers indicate German, Eastern European and Middle Eastern backgrounds. Although just a guess on the part of this investigator, it may be that these markers reflect the ethnic backgrounds of those employed in the nearby coal mine. The history of the cemetery and the markers deserves additional investigation.

From 1846 to 1868 the Hill District was known as the Sixth Ward. In 1868 this Sixth Ward was divided into the Seventh and Eighth Wards. After 1868, Wylie Street became Wylie Avenue and became the main thoroughfare through the

Hill District. Five Pittsburgh mayors have lived on Wylie Avenue -- Blackmore, Brush, McCalin, Gourley and Hays (Hill 1973 p.57). Another mayor, James Lowry, Jr., lived nearby on Colwell Street, and David Lawrence, future mayor of Pittsburgh and governor of Pennsylvania, grew up on Manilla Street (Goldman 1968 p.290, see also Hill 1973 p.57). Minersville, the Thirteenth Ward, was incorporated into the city in 1868 (Hill 1973 pp.57-58).

During this period of redistricting, the Lower Hill up to Devilliers Street became the Third Ward. The area between Devilliers Street and Neville Street in Oakland became the Fifth Ward (Hill 1973 p.58).

Between 1850 and 1870 railroads were constructed connecting the Point with outlying areas; mills and other industry grew rapidly, attracting immigrant labor from eastern and southern Europe. Wave after wave of immigrants moved into the Hill area, to be near their new jobs. The owners of the large estates moved away to the rural suburbs.

To the numerous new workers and their families, the Hill was often their first American home. Instead of the English, Scotch-Irish and German Protestants of the mid-1800s, there were now Irish, German, and southeast European Catholics.

1865-1900

Beginning after the Civil War, diverse ethnic populations including Irish, Germans, German-Jewish, Poles, Syrians, Greeks, and Lebanese settled in the Hill District. In the 1870s, Jews from Eastern Europe fleeing religious persecution began to arrive in Pittsburgh, and many settled on the Hill. Goldman chronicles the various waves of settlement and where these groups lived in the Hill District.

After the Civil War, the lower Hill was inhabited by the Irish moving up from the Point, some Scotch-Irish, a few Germans and a scattering number of German-Jewish families. With mass emigration of the 1880's from Eastern and Southern Europe, the Hill quickly became populated with Italians, Jews from Russia, Poland and Roumaina (sic); Russians and Slovaks, Armenians, Syrians and Lebanese. The Hill took on an international color. A sprinkling of Chinese laundries added color to an international spectrum. The Irish, Scotch-Irish mostly resided between Tunnel and Congress Streets, Webster and Fifth Avenues; the Italians mostly on Webster and Bedford Avenues, Wylie Avenue, Elm and Congress Streets; the Jews mostly south on Wylie Avenue extending to and including Fifth Avenue. The Syrians, Armenians and Lebanese concentrated on Webster and Bedford Avenues close to Grant Boulevard. Intermingled with these groups were comparatively few Negroes who concentrated on Fulton, Congress, Clark and Colwell Streets. Mention should be made of a small colony of Greeks who settled on lower Webster and Bedford Avenues. Thus the Hill became truly a human cauldron, or an American melting pot -- a mixture of Irish, Germans, Scotch, Jews, Italians, Greeks, Negroes, Armenians, Syrians, Lebanese and a few Chinese. (Goldman 1968 pp.279-280 partially quoted and discussed in Hill 1973 pp.58-59, see also Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.89).

With such residential concentrations of ethnic groups, areas within the Hill District came to be known as "Little Italy," "Little Rumania," or "Little Poland" (Silverman 1989 p.31).

In the 1880s, the Hill District was predominantly Slav, Italian or Jewish. In fact, Jews comprised a majority of this immigrant population. The largest national group was the Poles, followed by the Italians, Russians, Ukrainians, Rumanians, Lithuanians, Hungarians, and Germans. Of these new immigrants, 71.1 percent were Jews; the second largest religious group was Roman Catholic. The change in the nature of the Hill District settlement is striking: in the years

before 1880, only 3 percent of the population was foreign-born; in the years after 1880, 97 percent was foreign-born (Silverman 1989 p.30).

In the 1880s the Hill District began to develop as a blue-collar neighborhood and by 1900 it was a major blue-collar residential neighborhood (Bodnar Simon and Weber 1982 p.23). Near the turn-of-the-century, still other groups came, including African-Americans from the U.S. south, attracted by job opportunities and the relative freedom from segregation.

1900-1914

According to Goldman, the Hill District "in the 1900s was bounded on the west by Tunnel Street and Old Avenue; on the south by Fifth Avenue; on the north by Grant Boulevard (now Bigelow), on the east by Dinwiddie and Devilliers Streets. The east and south limits were quite fluid..." (Goldman 1968 p.279).

By the turn of the century, the Hill District was no longer suburb-like. It had become a densely populated center city neighborhood whose residents worked long and arduous hours in Pittsburgh's industries. They received few benefits for their labor. Municipal services were inadequate. Living conditions declined steadily as numbers grew. Families lived in overcrowded tenements with unhealthful sanitary facilities. As soon as they were able, residents moved into other areas of town.

By 1910 nearly all of Pittsburgh's 40,000 Jews lived in the Hill District (Silverman 1989 p.30). Jewish sweatshops, stores, Yiddish theaters and schools, cigar factories, mutual aid societies, and synagogues were important centers for social, cultural and religious life. Silverman captures the intimacy and vitality of this ethnic neighborhoodl:

> The jammed row houses were carved into tenement rooms and apartments, and first floor flats along Center and Wylie Avenue were scooped out for storerooms. The Lower Hill's architecture seemed to sweat humanity at every window and door. Kosher butcher shops, fish stores with barrels of herring and carp, kosher bakeries with challah, the traditional twister bread; dingy second hand clothing stores; pawn shops; poultry stores; and delicatessen lined Center Avenue, Logan Street, Lower Wylie, and Fifth Avenue between Congress and Pride Streets. On the sidewalks and on the streets, the pushcart peddlers jostled for space, shouting and wheedling, their pushcarts piled high with soiled ties, odd sizes of shoes long out of style and battered pots and pans. The ghetto had its ritual bath houses, its Yiddish theaters, and its cigar and pants factories. It had its basement sweatshops and home-contract work. And it had its congregations and synagogues. (Silverman 1989 p.30 quoted from Kuntz 1970 pp.41-42)

According to Shiloh, the various waves of Jewish immigrants amalgamated despite the many countries of origin and their various customs and cultures. In the Hill District, immigrant Jews did not divide as sharply along 'ethnic' lines as they did in New York. The Lithuanian Jews, who started coming in the mid-nineteenth century and matched the older German Jewish residents in number by 1880, welcomed the succeeding Hungarian, Russian, Roumanian and

Galician Jews into their neighborhoods. Although the men tended to form synagogues from their “landsleit”, the women and children socialized quite freely. After all, no matter how they pronounced it, they all shared Yiddish as their mother tongue. (Shiloh 1972 p.101, for a discussion of the many synagogues in the Hill District particularly on Miller Street see pp.111-113)

This forming of Jewish-American identity can be seen in the cuisine. The ingredients and dishes were shared amongst the women. This mixing made for a varied diet. Russian women who had regarded tomatoes as poison learned how to make salads from their Roumanian neighbors. Hungarian goulash, Roumanian “karnatzlach”, and Galician “holupshkas” were shared and recipes were exchanged. A good 'American' Jewish “balaboosta” became adept at many more ways of food preparation than her mother in the Old Country. (Shiloh 1972 p.101)

Because of the size of the cigar industry, it deserves special mention. Of the 235 cigar-rolling factories in Pittsburgh, 133 were located in the Hill District (Shiloh 1972 p.56). Jewish-Americans dominated this industry and therefore factories were closed for the Sabbath as well as Jewish holidays (Shiloh 1972 p.57). These shops were congested, hired children that were hidden from government inspectors, and were filled with dangerous tobacco dust (Shiloh 1972 pp.56-59).

The difficult conditions of the Hill District were not limited to African-American residents (for a discussion of living conditions in the early twentieth century, see this report's section on African-Americans in the Hill District). Jewish-Americans also lived in squalid and difficult conditions. "We lived at 57 Crawford Street in three rooms on the third floor. There was no toilet and no running water. We used gas mantles for light...." (Shiloh 1972 p.41).

Within this close-knit neighborhood, Jewish families lived near one another, and relied on one another. This social interdependence can be seen in the case of the family surnamed Israel that settled in the Hill District at the turn of the century. The multi-generational Israel family included two grandparents, three of their children and spouses as well as grandchildren and their spouses (Silverman 1989 p.128). "They all lived in the same house at first, stayed later in the same neighborhood, became members of the same synagogue, and had similar religious, educational, and economic goals" (Silverman 1989 p.128 see also Shiloh 1972 p.41).

The life history of Gita, a member of the Israel family, illustrates the inner dynamics of propinquity and the nature of mutual family aid in the Hill District. Gita, first came to Pittsburgh in the early 1900s from a little town near Kiev, she came 'as a group' with her mother, her four brothers, and other kin on both her mother's and her father's side, including two aunts and their young children. Gita's father and his brother-in-law had come nine months earlier and, by saving money, were able to make provisions for their arrival. At first they all lived together in one household in Pittsburgh's Hill District, but in time her aunts moved into their own households. Gita went to work while her mother cared for Gita's children along with her own. Gita's father was a metal sorter and was one of the fortunate ones to find work and help provide for his large family. (Silverman 1989 p.54)

In the Jewish community there were frequent social visits as well as mutual aid. One child recalls having lunch on a daily basis at an aunt's home "because it was closer to school than was his own house (Silverman 1989 p.101)." When Gita married, she moved just a few blocks from her parents. Her father took ill and she and her husband returned to live with her parents in order that Gita might help care for her father (Silverman 1989 p.54).

Ultimately, Gita and the Israel family followed a route taken by many Jewish families living in the Hill District. Beginning in the early 1900s, Jewish people started to leave and many moved to Oakland (for a discussion of Jews in Oakland see the Oakland section of this report.) Gita's father did

indeed recover from his illness and in the 1920s the Israels moved out of the Hill District (Silverman 1989 p.54).

It should be emphasized that such glowing retrospective reports of vibrant local ethnic neighborhoods, depended on a certain insularity and group self-support. Such a response was also rooted in conflicts and discrimination. During this period Goldman remembers inter-ethnic conflicts as well as discriminatory behaviors including anti-Semitism.

> Anti-semitism existed in a moderate degree ... The Irish and the Italians had their feuds, but their common bond of Catholicism made for temporary truces. The Syrians, the Greeks and Lebanese maintained a cloistered existence in their own territory. The other ethnic groups, the Scotch-Irish, English and Welsh, tolerated the newcomers as necessary in the fusion process of the new America. (Goldman 1968 p.290)

Goldman probably understates the dimensions of anti-Semitism. Shiloh reports that Jews were excluded from certain industries as well as unions (Shiloh 1972 pp.57, 63-64). Joseph Kahn taught boys boxing in the Hill District at the Irene Kaufmann Settlement so the boys could defend themselves against Irish accusations of blood libels during the Passover holiday (Shiloh 1972 p.94).

1914-1945

In the mid-1920s, Jews began to move to the Upper Hill. According to Silverman, Jews moved to escape the continued overcrowding of the Lower Hill. In this period Italian immigrants arriving from Europe and African-Americans migrating from south settled in the Lower Hill District (Silverman 1989 p.31). By 1929 there were sections of the Hill called "Little Italy," "Little Syria," "Black Belt" and "Athens." The area throbbed with life: street markets with transactions carried on in a dozen languages, churches and clubs of many nationalities.

The Depression of the 1930s hit the Hill District and the housing stock continued to deteriorate. These conditions helped to hasten the flight of whites from the Hill District and marked the arrival of more poor people (Hill 1973 p.112).

1945-1993

By 1963 the Jewish population in the Hill District was almost completely gone. The few who remained were largely "confined to families living in the luxury apartments that had been built as a result of urban development." (Silverman 1989 p. 45) Jews were now living almost exclusively in Squirrel Hill, Oakland, or the East End (Silverman 1989 p. 45).

Hill District

August Wilson's play “Two Trains Running” is set during 1969 in the Hill District. Sterling, newly released from jail, is a petty criminal. He critically describes the "stable" and "decent" African-American household of the Johnson family with derision and frustration. Sterling's sharply drawn description in part helps to explain his own lifestyle on the margins of the criminal world.

> Sterling: When I was living with Mrs. Johnson before she died I used to watch her husband. He get up every morning at six o'clock. Sunday too. Six-thirty he out the door. Now ... he ain't coming back till ten o'clock at night. He going down to J & L and lift hundred-pound slabs of steel till three o'clock. Then he going over after they close the fish market and clean up over there. Now what he got? He got six kids of his own, not to mention me. He got a raggedy house with some beat-up furniture. Can't buy no house cause he can't get a loan. Now that sound like a hard-working man. Good. Clean. Honest. Upright. He work thirty years at the mill and ain't even got a union card. You got to work six months straight. They lay him off for two weeks every five and a half months. He got to call the police after he clean up the fish market so they can let him out of the building. Make sure he don't steal anything. What they got? Two pound of catfish? There got to be something else. I ain't sure I want to do that. (Wilson 1992 p.100-101).

Although a piece of fiction, this soliloquy is a touchstone for the African-American experience in the Hill District and Pittsburgh. It is a history of discrimination and racism in which African-Americans were restricted in where they could live, limited to specific professions, denied membership in unions, and not able to obtain mortgages. Although informants of other ethnic backgrounds speak well of the working experience in steel mills such as J & L Steel, Pittsburgh's industrial might has different meaning for African-Americans such as Sterling and the Johnson family. Sterling is illuminating many American tragedies for African-Americans, but foremost is that hard work and conscientious effort do not lead to material comfort and access to the middle-class. (For additional discussions concerning Wilson and folklife see the concluding recommendations for the Hill District as well as the August Wilson entry in the bibliography.)

History of African-Americans in the Hill District

mid-1700s to 1865

The presence of African-Americans begins before the American Revolution. African-Americans families resided in the District when George Washington and his scout passed through the area in 1754. African-Americans accompanied General Forbes in his expedition to capture Fort Duquesne in November 1758 (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.85).

The African-American community in the Hill District is more easily chronicled in the early nineteenth century. Starting in 1816 and 1817 southern African-Americans first began to arrive in Pittsburgh and the Hill District (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.85). Established in 1818, the Bethel African Methodist Church was founded in Downtown Pittsburgh and then moved to the corner of Wylie Street and Elm Street in the Hill District (Hill 1973 p.63; Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.85).

William Arthurs (1784-1857) was a Pittsburgh wagon maker, coal magnate and land developer. In 1809 Arthurs began purchasing land in the Lower Hill

District. The Arthurs family would continue to own land in this neighborhood until the 1870s. It was as landowner and speculator that Arthurs sold land lots to African-Americans. And it is for Arthurs that the neighborhood of Arthursville was named (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.86-87).

In the 1820s and 1830s, the neighborhood of Arthurville contained a small, concentrated population of African-Americans (for a brief discussion of archaeological sites from the Arthursville period including the Arthursville AME Church see Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.86). It was most likely bounded by Centre Avenue, Roberts Street, Vine Street (later Protectory Place) and Bedford Avenue (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.86). "In 1837, "Prospect Hill" or "Arthursville," the heart of the African American community in the Hill District, had 110 African American families, 36 of whom owned property" (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.85). Because of the many African-American churches and schools on the west side of Arthurs Street, this area represented the center of Arthursville during the antebellum period (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.91).

In the 1830s, lower Wylie Avenue was known as "Little Hayti" because of the substantial number of African-Americans. Little Hayti is mentioned in reports of riots in 1834 and 1839 (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.85).

In the 1830s and 1840s the African-American population continued to grow and the Hill District population found employment in a variety of occupations including "carpenters, blacksmiths, bricklayers, stone masons, boot and shoemakers, plasterers, painters, tanners and curriers, coppersmiths, boatwrights, and farmers" (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.85). During this period, Arthursville also included Scotch-Irish and Irish laborers and artisans. It appears that they lived side-by-side with African-Americans (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.85).

In 1850 there were approximately 2,000 African-Americans in what is today the Lower Hill District (Glasco 1989 p. 70). This population was composed of runaway slaves and free African-Americans. During this antebellum period African-Americans did not have voting rights and they were excluded from or had restricted access to Pittsburgh hotels, restaurants and theaters (Glasco 1989 p.72 see also Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.88).

Through much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, African-Americans in the Hill District have been employed in menial work or domestic employ. African-American women were "servants, domestics, and washerwomen (Glasco 1989 p. 71)." One profession open to African-American men was barbering (Glasco 1989 p. 70). A leading figure in the African-American community of Little Hayti was J.B. Vashon, a barber (Baldwin 1938 pp.237, 305; see also Glasco 1989 p. 70).

Despite efforts to evict African-Americans because of fears of declining property values, they have nonetheless lived continuously in the Hill District (Baldwin 1938 p.237). African-American residents of Little Hayti lived precariously and the population of this neighborhood fluctuated because of riots and legislation. Racial tensions did run high in Hayti. "As early as 1835 there were sporadic race riots, and on one occasion a white mob went so far as to pull down several tenements (Baldwin 1938 p.305)."

The passage of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law resulted in runaway slaves in Little Hayti fleeing the city. The Fugitive Slave Law made anyone white or African-American lawbreakers if they aided runaway slaves. "[D]uring the 1850s the city's black population dropped from 1,974 to 1,149 (Glasco 1989 p.72)." This represents a 40% drop in the African-American population (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.88). In the Arthursville section of the Hill District, there were several safe houses and stops along the Underground Railroad (for a discussion of possible Underground Railroad sites in

the Hill District see Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.88). Nearby, Dr. John Ball's red brick hospital (now the site of Duquesne University -- see the Soho report) served as a station on the underground railroad (Baldwin 1938 p.305).

Despite the riots and the Fugitive Slave Law, the African-American community was able to sustain churches. The 1852 Pittsburgh City Directory lists the African Bethel Methodist Church on the corner of Wylie and Elm Street and the African Methodist Episcopal Church was on Arthur Street (Hill 1973 p.100).

1865-1900

It was only with the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment after the Civil War that Pennsylvania granted voting rights to African-American males (Glasco 1989 p. 78). Despite the new rights and the optimism following the war, segregation and exclusions continued. African-Americans "could not be admitted to the orchestra, dress or family circle of the opera house, could not purchase a sleeping berth on any of the railroads that leave the city, could not take dinner at the Monongahela House, Hare's Hotel, or any A No. 1 restaurant... (Glasco 1989 p. 78)." In addition, employment in the factories was often restricted to temporary work as strikebreakers. This particular legacy would continue through to the 1920s and would engender animosity between African-Americans and the labor unions (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.89).

Available employment was still restricted to a limited number of demeaning, menial, low-paying, and low-status jobs. "[M]ost blacks still worked as teamsters, refuse collectors, janitors, and laundresses, while the 'lucky' worked as waiters, barbers, railroad porters, butlers, maids, coachmen, and gardeners" (Glasco 1989 p. 74). There were a few mill jobs to be found Downtown, in Sharpsburg and in Homestead. The limited number of independent African-American businesses were typically hair dressing salons and barbershops (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.89).

After the Civil War, the vitality of the African-American community can be gauged by its cemetery and churches. The Grace Memorial Presbyterian Church (Colored) was started in 1868 on Miller Street, and Catholic institutions ministering to African-American needs also began in this period (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.88-89). The Lincoln (Colored) Cemetery was formed in 1870. The burials for this cemetery were relocated in 1938 to the Woodlawn Cemetery in Wilkinsburg when the Bedford Dwellings were erected (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.87).

The growth in Pittsburgh's industry after the Civil War was aided by African-Americans. According to Hill, African-Americans "built the mills and factories that in turn enslaved them with long hours, menial positions and devious dispensation" (Hill 1973 p.63). During the late nineteenth century, the Third Ward of the Hill District became home to a small but concentrated African-American population (Gottlieb 1987 p.67).

Between 1875 and 1900 a new influx of African-Americans moved to Pittsburgh and the Hill District. This led to the development of social and cultural differences within the African-American community.

> By the end of the nineteenth century ... social lines hardened after the Civil War as longer-term residents and property owners held themselves aloof from Southern migrants, cultivated genteel manners, and accepted into their "social set" only those who could point to parents and grandparents and say they were

'old families' with 'character' (Glasco 1989 p. 74).

By 1900 these class divisions in part help to explain why more established African-Americans began leaving the Hill District and moving east to such neighborhoods as East Liberty, Beltzhoover and Homewood-Brushton (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.89).

At the turn of the century, African-Americans were confronted with discrimination and segregated facilities. White perception of the African-American dilemma minimizes the problem as Goldman shows "but they were so comparatively few in number that no organized protests were made, and so they presented no real major problems. Restaurants, saloons and theaters practiced segregation" (Goldman 1968 p.289-290).

Goldman continues perhaps more truthfully by noting that segregation extended to educational facilities for various groups. African-Americans attended the Franklin School, most Italian-Americans went to the Hancock School and Jewish-Americans attended either the Grant or Second Ward schools. The Moorhead School was mostly Irish-Americans or Scotch-Irish (Goldman 1968 pp.289-290).

1900-1914

The African-American population in the Hill District continued to grow with the arrival of more migrants from the South. By 1910 the African-American population in the Hill District was 10,754 (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.89).

In the early part of the twentieth century, African-Americans were restricted in their movements. The resident African-American population appears to be limited to the Lower Hill and the Middle Hill but they could go not even journey into the Upper Hill. "African Americans lived below Roberts Street. African-Americans could not walk on either side of Herron Avenue (Hill 1973 p.36)."

As noted in subsequent eras, African-Americans lived in poor economic conditions and had the lowest standard of living.

Such restrictions extended to careers and professions. One student graduated from college as a pharmacist. In order to find employment this individual filled prescriptions but was hired as janitor and was paid the wages of a janitor (Hill 1973 p.37).

1914-1940

During the period 1910 through 1925, the Hill District saw the arrival of the largest number of African-Americans (Hill 1973 p.44 see also Gottlieb 1987 pp.66-67). The possibility of jobs and escape from the restrictive life in the South made Pittsburgh an attractive destination.

> Lured by the prospect of higher wages and opportunity for social betterment, black migrants from the South crowded into Pittsburgh early in this century to such an extent that between 1910 and 1930, their numbers increased 93 percent. Most of these migrants came from the states of West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama - the latter in some cases because Birmingham was thought of as 'the Pittsburgh of the South'. (Darden 1973 p.6)

The first African-Americans arriving from the South in this great migration were men (Ruck 1987 p.10). They settled in buildings that also contained other ethnic groups such as Poles or Jews (Gottlieb 1987 p.67). This early pattern of inter-ethnic and interracial populations gradually changed. Segregated neighborhoods developed, and later African-Americans lived in communities largely composed of African-Americans (Gottlieb 1987 p.67).

This new migration from the deep South brought with it class divisions within the African-American community. Most of the earlier African-Americans in the Hill District were from the upper South, especially from such states as Virginia or Maryland. They tended to be economically better off (Ruck 1987 p.11). This established, long-term population included Old Pittsburghers or "OP" who were distinguished in terms of social class and skin color. They tended to be lighter in skin tone and placed greater emphasis on status, prestige and membership in exclusive clubs (Glasco 1989 p.80).

Maintenance of these class divisions can be seen in the separation of churches as well as the physical seating of worshippers. New arrivals from the South would avoid the elite African-American churches of various denominations including Episcopal, Congregational, Baptist and Methodist. In 1919 one newly arrived husband and wife discovered that an African Methodist Church in the Lower Hill District went so far as to seat light-skinned parishioners separately from darker members. This couple found more hospitable surroundings in the John Wesley African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church on Arthurs Street (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.90).

Foremost in sustaining these class divisions were the exclusive clubs. The Old Pittsburghers' most notable club was the Loendi Club. This elite African-American club was organized in 1897. In the 1920s, the elite club had a $75 membership fee and their clubhouse was constructed for the substantial sum of $15,000 (Gottlieb 1987 p.185). The Loendi Club had a three-story building near the corner of Wylie and Fullerton. Count Basie and Duke Ellington were regulars at the club when they came to Pittsburgh. Gottlieb notes that such clubs were separate from the larger African-American community.

> Here the members could dine, play billiards, and discuss current topics. There were also many social organizations supported by Pittsburgh's black elite, among them Greek letter societies, women's clubs, and men's groups like the Frogs, a 'good time' organization whose membership was restricted to socially prominent young men, generally the sons of black social leaders. (Gottlieb 1987 p.185)

The most exclusive African-American club was the Frogs (Friendly Rivalry Often Generates Success). Its hall was an important site for African-American social events when Blacks were barred from using Downtown establishments. They sponsored dinners, parties, dances, concerts, and games. Organized in 1910, the Frogs' membership was middle-class and heavily dominated by the Old Pittsburghers. Limited to just twenty-five members, it was an exclusive subset of the Loendi Club. Although exclusionary, the Loendi Club and the Frogs were economically constrained by the limited number of more skilled occupations available to African-Americans (Ruck 1987 pp.11, 13).

With few exceptions, the Frogs were OPs, or Old Pittsburghers, residents proud of having been in the city before the Great Migration. The occupations of these club members -- postal worker, railroad clerk, chauffeur, lawyer, funeral director, laundry owner -- indicate how constricted was the range of jobs then open to blacks (Glasco 1989 p.81).

The social life of this middle class in the Hill District was closely followed and reported in the "Local News" section of the African-American weekly newspaper, the “Pittsburgh Courier” (Glasco 1989 p. 82).

The result of the Great Migration was the development of a segregated Hill District. Before World War I, African-Americans were represented in all the Pittsburgh wards (Gottlieb 1987 p.67). "The city's Fifth Ward was only 25 percent black in 1910, while the Third Ward was 17.4 black. Blacks formed no more than 10 percent of the population in any other city ward." While the African-American population in the Hill District steadily climbed in the 1920s, other groups left. The Jewish-American population is one such group and their departure can be chronicled in student enrollments. Enumerations of Jewish schoolchildren in Pittsburgh during the 1920s indicated a drop of one-third in the Hill District compared to a citywide decrease of Jewish pupils of only 2.6 percent. The more prosperous European immigrants and their children moved out of the Hill. (Gottlieb 1987 p.67)

Contributing to the growing poverty of the Lower Hill District was the development of separate housing for the African-American middle class. They, like their white counterparts, tended to move out of the Lower Hill District and into such areas as Beltzhoover, East Liberty and, most notably for this survey, the Upper Hill District (Glasco 1989 p. 80). Leaving the poorer in the Lower Hill District, an influential African-American community resided in the Upper Hill District -- known to this day as "Sugar Top" (Glasco 1989 p. 80). Many of the leaders and administrators of the local chapter of the Urban League lived in Sugartop. In the 1930s the League's executive director R. Maurice Moss and industrial secretary Harold Lett lived on the same block of Anaheim Street (Edmunds 1983 p.74). They joined an influential group and "quickly became a part of the 'extended family' that was the Hill District's 'Sugartop'... (Edmunds 1983 p.77)." The mass migration to Pittsburgh did not mean all African-Americans moved to the Hill District (Gottlieb 1987 p.67). "[E]ven after the rapid black population growth of the World War I period and the 1920s and the convergence of blacks on the Hill District, Pittsburgh still had a relatively dispersed black population (Gottlieb 1987 p.67)." Although the Hill District contained the largest number of African-Americans in Pittsburgh, in actuality fewer than half of the African-American population lived in the Hill District by 1930 (Glasco 1989 p. 79, Gottlieb 1987 p.67).

Although African-Americans settled in a number of Pittsburgh wards, the percentages in the Hill District showed a marked increase. By 1930 they were approaching a majority. "The percentage of Fifth Ward inhabitants who were black increased from 25 to 54 percent between 1910 and 1920. The proportion of blacks in the Third Ward grew from 17 to 40 percent in the same period (Gottlieb 1987 p.67)." In 1930, African-Americans constituted 53 percent of the Hill District population (Glasco 1989 p.80). During this period, the narrow majority meant that African-Americans were not able to assert "political and economic dominance (Glasco 1989 p. 80)." In the 1920s and 1930s they were poorly represented by elected African-American officials even though they supported the "openly corrupt and prejudiced Magee-Flinn machine because it provided them with a few patronage jobs and because its opponents, the reform forces, were even more prejudiced (Glasco 1989 p.85)." During this period African-American candidates routinely lost in local elections (Glasco 1989 p. 85). As late as 1945 there were only three African-American elected officials Glasco 1989 p.86).

Because of the conditions in the local steel industry, the mass migration of African-Americans to the Hill District did not translate into economic prosperity. In part because of labor shortages and the economic boom during World War I, African-Americans did see improved employment conditions. But this was short-lived (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.90). Following World War I, the Pittburgh steel industry began its slow but unstoppable spiral of decline and stagnation. The net result was that African-

Americans "entered the industrial work force at the bottom and had almost no success in moving up (Glasco 1989 p. 76)." For instance, African-Americans found low-skilled, low-paying positions at Jones & Laughlin Steel (Glasco 1989 p. 75). In one survey of African-Americans employed in Pittsburgh plants, "Ninety-five per cent of the new workers, however, were employed in unskilled capacities, working 10 to 12 hours a day and earning 25 to 30 cents an hour (Edmunds 1983 p. 23)."

African-Americans worked as laborers, janitors and porters for the local mines, railroads and steel mills (Ruck 1987 p.13). Between the wars, African-Americans continued to be excluded from over half the trades, and unemployment was over one-third for the African-American adult population. The opportunities for African-Americans were also limited because of the contraction of the industry. Unskilled jobs that they were allowed to take, "declined from 32 to 22 percent of the work force between 1900 and 1930 (Glasco 1989 p.77)."

Such fragile working conditions meant high turnover rates. This was exacerbated by southern attitudes to work. Rural employment was seen as temporary, to be completed as part of the agricultural cycle -- that is, one worked at other jobs between the seasons of planting and harvesting (Glasco 1989 p.78). Many African-American migrants in Pittsburgh would seasonally return to the south to work on the farm, visit family and celebrate holidays (Ruck 1987 p.12).

Between 1900 and 1930 the African-American middle class also suffered from racism and discrimination. African-Americans found it difficult to follow such middle-class professions as lawyering or doctoring. In this period, opportunity seems to have declined. "In 1900 blacks operated most of the city's prestigious Downtown barbershops; by 1930 they operated almost none. In 1900 they had driven most of the city's taxis, hacks, buses, and trucks; by 1930 they drove mainly garbage trucks (Glasco 1989 p. 83)."

In the 1920s and 1930s, Pittsburgh African-Americans were still restricted in where they could go, what jobs were open to them and what businesses they could frequent. In a 1930s survey of African-Americans employed in industry:

> [M]ore than half (56%) were employed in manufacturing, 18 per cent in mining, and 12 per cent in hotel and school janitorial services. Virtually all -- 9,898 out of 10,821 -- were classified as "common laborers," and the average income was $5 to $6 weekly (Edmunds 1983 p.87).

During this same period, retail employment opportunities for African-Americans were not much better. Mostly they were employed as porters and there were only two elevator operators (Edmunds 1983 p. 88). Through this period instances of discrimination could not be successfully challenged in court nor were there federal commissions that would enforce civil rights or equal employment (Edmunds 1983 p.64).

African-Americans could not frequent businesses Downtown such as hotels or restaurants. "In some clothing stores, if you tried on a hat, that was your hat (Hill 1973 p.81)." Women had to buy a dress without trying it on first. African-Americans could not sit down and enjoy an ice cream at Isaly's. African-American males were not even allowed in some stores.

In addition, African-American businessmen were not welcome Downtown. They could not rent storefronts. In some instances African-Americans conducted business Downtown from a distance. For example, orders for fur coats were filled in the Hill District, but the fur items were sold Downtown to whites by white-owned businesses. The stores Downtown would sew their own label onto the garment made by African-Americans in the Hill District.

African-Americans could not enter the front door of the William Penn Hotel. In 1937, delegates from New York City filed a lawsuit against the hotel for denying them lodging (Hill 1973 p.81). Such notable citizens as W.E.B. DuBois and A. Philip Randolph were excluded from Downtown hotels (Glasco 1989 p.84). A world-renowned African-American tenor, Roland Hayes, "was refused tickets to sit on the first floor of the Loew's Aldine Theatre on Liberty Avenue (Hill 1973 p.79)." When the Pittsburgh Pirates baseball team was playing at Forbes Field, African-Americans were only seated in specific sections (Glasco 1989 p. 84). African-Americans were discriminated against when traveling by train, taxi or bus. The Yellow Cab Company would not provide service to the Hill District (Edmunds 1983 p.58).

Despite legislative findings of discrimination, the Pittsburgh Board of Education would not accredit nor hire African-American public school teachers (Glasco 1989 p.88, Edmunds 1983 p.61). In 1933, with continued pressure from the Urban League, the Board of Education hired the only African-American educator, Lawrence Peeler, who taught music part-time (Glasco 1989 p. 88 and Edmunds 1983 p.91). In 1938 there were only three such teachers, and greater numbers were not admitted until the Civil Rights movement of the late 1950s and 1960s (Hill 1973 p.103, Edmunds 1983 p.62). In the 1930s African-Americans were also minimally employed by the Board of Education as administrators and clerical workers (Edmunds 1983 p. 128). By 1970 more than 400 African-American teachers worked for the Pittsburgh public school system (Glasco 1989 p. 91).

African-Americans could not join the American Automobile Association. They could not purchase Packard or Cadillac cars (Hill 1973 p.24 and Glasco 1989 p.84). They were excluded from "portions of Herron Avenue nor did they feel particularly welcome in Washington Park or Schenley Park (Hill 1973 pp.18-19)." In addition, African-Americans were barred from local Hill District establishments such as a bowling alley and Sandy's Steak House located on Arthurs Street. This was despite African-American employees busing the tables at the restaurant (Hill 1973 pp.18-19). Jewish-Americans and Italian-Americans did not serve African-Americans (Hill 1973 p.22). In addition, African-Americans were excluded from public swimming pools, including some of those in the Hill District (Edmunds 1983 p.57). The summer picnics emptied the Hill District, as African-Americans congregated in a South Park pool known as Sully's Grove, the only pool that would admit African-Americans.

Restricted in employment, the elite of the African-Americans in the Hill District were primarily middle-class professionals such as dentists, doctors, and politicians (Hill 1973 pp.22-23). "The few who did pursue a professional degree in law, medicine, dentistry, or pharmacy found themselves limited chiefly to black, and often poor, clients or patients, and most were forced to 'moonlight' at manual jobs to make a living (Edmunds 1983 p.59)." Hospitals would not train African-Americans nurses nor would they hire them.

Access to work was also restricted by labor unions and company owners. Between the wars, relations between African-American workers and labor unions were strained because of racism (Edmunds 1983 p.66). They were not allowed to join unions. In addition unions did not think highly of African-Americans because they served as strikebreakers in coalmines and steel mills (Ruck 1987 p.11). In the late 1920s, coalmine owners would send a bus to the Hill District and transport African-Americans to and from the mines (Gottlieb 1987 171, 172, 174 and Edmunds 1983 p.51). Once the strikes were over, African-Americans would be out of work (Gottlieb 1987 p.171, 172, 174; for an alternate view of union and African-American relations see Edmunds 1983 p.24). It was only in the late 1930s that African-Americans gained some acceptance. They were allowed to join the labor unions and the construction crews. In 1938 the unions and the Urban League provided leadership training (Edmunds 1983 p.90).

Even before the Depression hit, the African-American community in the Hill District suffered from high unemployment. Already in 1928, jobs were beginning

to disappear and thousands of African-Americans were laid off. "[W]hites were taking jobs that once were regarded as fit only for Negroes -- delivering ice, working as waiters and bellhops" (Edmunds 1983 p.73). By 1929 "over one-third of the men and women ... interviewed had been idle for periods varying from one week to three months in the preceding year" (Gottlieb 1987 p.104). In the 1930s African-Americans composed approximately 8% of Pittsburgh population and yet they were 40% of those unemployed (Edmunds 1983 p.87). By 1934 matters had worsened still further, with approximately 69% of African-Americans in Allegheny County unemployed (Ruck 1987 p.13). Opportunities for employment in iron and steel had all but vanished.

In the period from the 1930s until the Pittsburgh Renaissance of the 1950s, the Hill District and particularly Wylie Avenue supported a wide range of expressive arts including music, literature and the arts. Under the conditions of segregation, discrimination, and exclusion, the Hill District supported a large number of thriving businesses including lawyers' offices, printing shops, dry cleaners, doctors' offices, summer camps, butcher shops, drugstores, beauty salons, furniture stores, various theaters including movie houses and jewelry stores, pawn shops, fur shops and hotels.

Under these conditions of discrimination and limited employment opportunities, it is not surprising that in addition to thriving legitimate African-American businesses in the Hill District (see Wylie Avenue Days video), an underground economy included illegal clubs (speakeasies), dope dens, houses of prostitution, illegitimate gambling, and the sale of moonshine. (See Reid 1930 p.28 and Selavan 1900-1925. For a fascinating chart showing the location in 1929 of speakeasies lining Wylie Avenue, as well as a scattering of dope dens and stills in the Hill District see Hill 1973 p.123 who adapted Chart 7 from Pittler 1930 p.51.) Lincoln Steffens in “Shame of the Cities” reported that syndicates ran houses of prostitution in Pittsburgh. They provided a rented property, the furnishings, as well as all the clothing, shoes, hats, jewelry and other items needed by the women. All these services were provided at inflated prices (Hill 1973 p.134). Segregation even extended to houses of prostitution. Some African-American houses in the Hill District were only open to whites. The police and city officials were paid to ignore these illegitimate activities (Hill 1973 p.24).

Two notable figures in this underground economy were William "Woogie" Harris and William "Gus" Greenlee (for a brief biography of Greenlee see Maria 1991 pp.20-24). They started the rackets in Pittsburgh and by 1930 it was a large numbers business (Hill 1973 pp.24, 124 see also Ruck 1987 pp.140-152). The daily number was tied to the closing number of stocks of the New York Stock Exchange and payoff odds were taken from win, place and show horses at a race track (Hill 1973 p.125).

Thanks in part to his success in the numbers racket, Gus Greenlee parlayed his earnings into a substantial empire. He was a social, economic and political force to be reckoned with. In recognition of his success, reputation and influence among all African-American social classes, in 1948, at a banquet at the Loendi Club, the Business and Professional Association of Pittsburgh honored him as the outstanding local businessman of the year, citing his role in promoting better race relations and advancing the civic and economic status of blacks in Pittsburgh. (Ruck 1987 p.182)

Greenlee owned the important nightspot the Crawford Grill #2, had a stake in the Pittsburgh Crawfords Negro National League baseball team and built a ballpark for the team. Greenlee also managed light-heavyweight boxing champion John Henry Lewis. He played key roles in the Negro National League and the United States League and reached formal League agreements with Branch Rickey, chief executive of the Brooklyn Dodgers (Ruck 1987 pp.176-179). Rickey helped to integrate baseball and brought Jackie Robinson to the major leagues.

In an interview with Charles "Teenie" Harris, brother of "Woogie" Harris, Ralph Lemuel Hill reports that Dick Gafney brought numbers to Pittsburgh from New York. It was initially strictly African-American. Dick Gafney gave the business to Gus Greenlee and he in turn gave it to Bill Snyder (Hill 1973 p.126). In this same interview Teenie reports that the Italians took the lucrative business away. Teenie served as a numbers runner. Initially he started by picking up approximately $1.75 a day in numbers from McKees Rocks. Within six months the daily amount had jumped to as much as $400 a day. During the Depression the importance of the numbers cannot be underestimated. Numbers was important for the unemployed, one penny could win $7. Winnings were used to pay for rent, groceries and other necessities. But families were devastated when they lost food or rent money to numbers.

Woogie Harris and Gus Greenlee headquartered the numbers game in their businesses. The operations were run from either "Harris's Crystal Barbershop on Wylie Avenue, the nearby Crawford Grill, or the numbers bank, complete with cashiers' windows and a lounge for the runners, that Greenlee ran in downtown Pittsburgh across from the courthouse" (Ruck 1987 p.145).

Those that wrote the numbers became the Hill District's financial tycoons and folk heroes. These numbers writers were seen as trustworthy, respected, and honest. Hill District writers were not organized crime outsiders or criminals, but rather people you knew and possibly were related to (Ruck 1987 pp.149-150). Gus Greenlee and Woogie Harris were known for their largesse and there are stories that they paid people's rent or gave them money for food. They also provided "uniforms, Christmas baskets and toys" (Hill 1973 p.127 see also Ruck 1987 p.150).

Because banks would not loan money to African-Americans, Gus and Woogie loaned money so lawyers and doctors could open up offices. The numbers writers also supported political campaigns, civic events, African-American boxers and sports teams (Ruck 1987 p.150-151).

Particularly notable was Gus Greenlee's association with the world-renowned Pittsburgh Crawfords (for a detailed history of the club see Ruck 1987 pp.46-62, 152-165). This team had its origin in the Hill District McKelvey School in 1925 (Ruck 1987 p.47). It quickly grew to a competitive sandlot team playing in Washington Park (Ruck 1987 p.47). This park was the home for several African-American and white sandlot teams, including Sell Hall's American Giants, the P.J. Sullivans, and the Reineckers (Vondas 1973 p.26).

In 1926 the members from the McKelvey School team successfully competed in a City of Pittsburgh recreational league. They represented the Crawford Bath House in this league. It is this affiliation with the Bath House that led to the team becoming known as the Crawfords (Ruck 1987 p.48). In this early period of the Pittsburgh Crawfords, Gus Greenlee was an important financial supporter of the team (Ruck 1987 p. 49). In 1927 and 1928 they continued to win games and championships. They began to absorb the better players of other African-American teams in the Hill District and the surrounding Pittsburgh area (Ruck 1987 p. 50-51).

In the 1930s Gus Greenlee purchased the team and put the baseball players on salary (Ruck 1987 p.152). He also constructed Greenlee Field for their games. The $100,000 facility opened in the spring of 1933 (Maria 1991 p.24). Greenlee sent for players from Atlantic City and Cleveland (Ruck 1987 p. 153). At this point the sandlot team had a roster of some of the best African-American players in the United States. Because Greenlee wanted his barnstorming team to compete in an organized league, he revived the Negro National League in 1933. In 1936 they would win the championship of the Negro National League and five of those players -- Oscar Charleston, Judy Johnson, Cool Papa Bell, Satchel Paige and Josh Gibson can now be found enshrined in the Hall of Fame at Cooperstown, New York (Ruck 1987 pp.155-156).

The demise of the Pittsburgh Crawfords was precipitated by the City of Pittsburgh Housing Authority selecting Greenlee Field as the site for the future Bedford Dwellings. In 1938 the Crawfords played their last season there. They soon went out of existence (Ruck 1987 pp. 164-165). Greenlee was able to briefly resuscitate the Pittsburgh Crawfords in 1945 and 1946 as part of his short-lived United States League (Ruck 1987 p. 175).

Teenie Harris's earnings in the numbers helped support him while he had a poorly paid, part-time position as photographer for the *Pittsburgh Courier*. Teenie reports that after thirty-five years he was earning $100 a week net and that was just after a recent raise. "When I first went to the Courier, I was on a percentage basis. I was doing too good so they put me on a salary of 35 dollars a week. I had a big Cadillac (picking up numbers). It was 1936. Mr. Howard said to me 'Son, as long as you have that car out there, you will never get on our payroll'" (Hill 1973 p.131, see also Byrd 1987).

As a photographer, Harris traveled throughout the area, particularly in the Hill District, recording daily African-American life. His photographs of musicians in the Hill District are particularly notable. With the assistance of his brother Woogie, Teenie Harris also opened up a photographic studio on 2124 Centre Avenue. He amassed a large collection of negatives and images. Before his death a sizeable collection was sold to Dennis Morgan, a sculptor. In 1987 Morgan loaned the collection to the Black Studies Department at the University of Pittsburgh so Clarence Rollo Turner could restore and catalog the collection (Byrd 1987). I was told that the collection was no longer there. In addition, I learned late in my research that Turner may also be deceased. This would suggest that a future researcher continue the search by locating Dennis Morgan (Byrd 1987). Due diligence should be given to locating and evaluating the quality of this collection which is reported to be in private hands. Perhaps this collection could now serve as the basis for an exhibition of historical folklife in the Hill District.

The social and economic forces constrained what African-Americans could do outside the Hill District, but these exclusionary forces helped this community concentrate its vitality and energy within the Hill District. Wylie Avenue, Centre Avenue as well as many side streets attracted whites and African-Americans to thriving entertainment establishments including "The Collins Inn, the Humming Bird, the Leader House, upstairs over the Crawford Grill, as well as Derby Dan's, Harlem Bar, Musician's Club, Sawdust Trial, Ritz, the Fullerton Inn, Paradise Inn, and the Bailey Hotel..." (Glasco 1989 p. 76). African-Americans owned and operated many of these businesses that featured jazz musicians.

Friday and Saturday nights were date nights, when couples would dress their best and go out to bars. One could go out dancing at the Harlem Casino Danceland on Centre Avenue. A popular dance step of this era was "trucking" which included putting your hand on your hip. Another nightspot was the Hurricane, also on Centre Avenue. Many notable musicians played at the Crawford Grill. Many of the nightclubs were patronized mostly by whites.

Clubs would feature Sarah Vaughn, Billy Eckstein, and Dizzy Gillespie. Billy Eckstein's big band included such notable musicians as Art Blakey, Dexter Gordon, and John Coltrane. Cab Calloway would come in for musical engagements. The big bands of Artie Shaw, Duke Ellington and Count Basie would play Downtown and then go to an after-hours club in the Hill District. The Crawford Grill Number Two was a jazz mecca in the 1950s. Another spot was the Musician's Club. The Celebrity Cafe, run by George and Sarah Harley on Centre Avenue, was another important nightspot. Drummer Art Blakey played the Celebrity Cafe during the early part of his musical career. Tap dancers performed at the Celebrity Cafe floorshows.

Jazz and swing drew crowds from all over Pittsburgh to the Pythian Temple and then the Savoy Ballroom. After World War II the Hurricane Lounge and

Crawford Grill became focal points for musicians like Ramsey Lewis, Oscar Peterson, and Cannonball Adderly. Many African-American musicians remember the Bailey Hotel in the Lower Hill.

Clarence Smith recalls that the Hill District supports a plethora of local big bands - including Leroy Bradley and his Club Miradors performing at the Labor Temple on Bedford Avenue and Washington Streets. Other groups included Gerty Long and Her Night Hawks, the Harlem Troubadours, Harry Tanner, Ollie Walker, Sherdina Walker and her Orchestra, and Walt Rainey's High Schoolers. Smith played for Walter Felix Bradford. Smith's wife had her own band, the Rhythm Queens. Clarence Smith recalls the Broadway Syncopators with baritone singer Louis Depp singing through a megaphone (Vondas 1973 p.26).

The Hill District has also produced a number of world-renowned performers that have traveled the world. The Hill nurtured musical talents such as Billy Eckstein, Lena Horne, Erroll Garner, Earl Hines, Mary Lou Williams, Roy Eldrige, George Benson, Billy Strayhorn, and Ahmad Jamal. They all lived in the Hill District at one time or another.

The changing population in the Hill District can be chronicled in the churches. According to the 1929 Church Survey of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, in the last twenty-five years, "two-thirds of the White Protestant churches had disappeared, 33 having gone, 16 remaining...In this area is the Hill District.... Today there is not one white Protestant Church in it" (Hill 1973 p.101). In addition there were fifteen Jewish houses of worship. By 1929 there were twenty-two African-American churches in the Hill District (Hill 1973 p.100).

Many of these churches were storefronts for the new African-American population. The more established African-American -- Old Pittsburgher -- population in the Hill District had their own churches. “These new churches isolated migrants from older residents and divided the community along lines of class and even color. Such divisions, moreover, could exist even within a given church: dark-skinned worshipers in one of the community's most prestigious churches reportedly sat or were seated toward the back.” (Glasco 1989 p. 81)

In approximately 1905, the Second Baptist Church began in a Hill District storefront. It was not until the 1940s that this congregation owned its own building. Like many storefront churches that served the poorer populations, it offered few support services to the community. "It had few clubs and auxiliaries, no community recreation center, a membership drawn primarily from the deep South, and pastors who stuck closely to orthodox religious worship" (Glasco 1989 p.81).

In this period, the cultural life of the African-American churches made them vital gathering places for the devout. In the late 1920s through the 1950s, the Morningside Church of God in Christ (Holiness) had a huge sanctuary on Miller Street that had once been a Jewish synagogue. This church held to a strict doctrine. One must repent before receiving the baptism of the Holy Ghost. Children could not shoot marbles or play baseball. Smoking and drinking were prohibited. Members were restricted in what movies they would watch and at first televisions were not allowed in the home. Ralph Hill recalls that as a boy he arrived at the Holiness Church at 9 am for Sunday School and did not leave until the close of evening services between 11:00 pm and midnight (Hill 1973 pp.106-110).

With a promise of higher wages and better living conditions, migrants "arrived daily in boxcars at Union Station, Pittsburgh" to find nightmare conditions and inadequate housing" (Edmunds 1983 p. 20). “Newcomers were forced into previously abandoned dwellings, into attics, cellars, storerooms and basements. Churches and warehouses were converted into shelters, and those families with a spare bed or room converted it to a sleeping place... rooms would be converted into dormitories with scarcely space to walk between the

beds; often two, or possibly three, men working separate shifts would occupy a singe bed.” (Edmunds 1983 p. 20)

In the 1920s African-Americans lived in crowded conditions with few jobs, not enough food, and in need of clothing. The only people helping were the preachers (Hill 1973 p.109). It is estimated that there were "an average of four people per room in Pittsburgh's black residences" (Gottlieb 1987 p.70). The crowded conditions meant two couples sharing one room and men sharing one bed in shifts (Hill 1973 pp.118-119). One such description is representative of the many reports detailing the squalid and deteriorating conditions:

> ... six in a room in tumble down hovels, sharing common faucets, cups, toilets and beds. One tenement had a single water hydrant for 24 families. One tuberculous Negro was found in a hole in a hillside. An aged couple covered [sic] in a tin garage without water or toilet. A mother, father, eight children, and the illegitimate offspring of the 16 year old daughter, were herded into squalid rooms. Oozing through the backyard of another tenement was a scummy spring chocked with offal, used as an open sewage drain. (Hill 1973 p.122; for additional descriptions of the horrid conditions see Lowman 1924 pp. 19-21, Wright 1927 pp.74,95, Glasco 1989 p.79, Edmunds 1983 pp.25, 55)

The housing stock in the Hill District, owned mostly by absentee slum landlords, was notoriously bad for the working-class. One-third of dwellings in the Hill District were "classified as either in need of major repairs or unfit for human habitation (Gottlieb 1987 p.70)." Only approximately 23% of dwellings were considered in good condition (Gottlieb 1987 p.70). Only one percent of the Hill population owned their own homes (Glasco 1989 p. 79).

A disproportionate number of African-Americans resided in these substandard domiciles. “In the mid-1920s only 20 percent of black houses had bathtubs and only 50 percent had inside toilets, while 30 percent had nothing better than outside water closets and 20 percent no more than privies. This situation represented little, if any, improvement over conditions in the migrants' living quarters during the World War I influx.” (Gottlieb 1987 p.69)

As noted earlier, flight of the more well to do African-Americans from the Lower Hill District was well underway by the 1930s. With the concomitant departure of whites starting at the turn of the century, those remaining African-Americans in the Hill District in the 1930s were among the poorest. This group was left to inhabit "rapidly disintegrating housing" (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.90).

The poor conditions affected the African-American community disproportionately. According to Pittler these conditions bred high rates of infant mortality and high rates of adult morbidity (Pittler 1930 pp.63-64). The crowded, cramped, unsanitary conditions led to a higher incidence of disease. "By 1934, tuberculosis was killing Pittsburgh Negroes at a rate six times higher than it did whites" (Hill 1973 p.121). In an African-American population of 55,000, approximately 8% had tuberculosis (Hill 1973 p.122). Among the children the prevalence of the fatal form of pulmonary tuberculosis was three times the general rate (Hill 1973 p.121). There were widespread reports of whooping cough, gonorrhea and syphilis (Glasco 1989 p.79). Despite these serious health problems the Hill District was also poorly served by medical services.

There were only three field nurses serving the entire district (Hill 1973 p.122).

In 1930, the Hill District contained a substantial number of churches serving the African-American community. These churches emphasized evangelism. Few provided support services for individuals, families or the community. Probably the most active was Ebenezer Baptist Church, which aided blacks migrating from the South and later assisted those searching for a home (Bodnar 1982 p.199). "Of the nine largest Hill District churches, two sponsored youth athletic teams, two maintained orchestras, and four sponsored youth clubs. Two churches provided the services of a community social worker, but lack of financial support forced one church to discontinue this service" (Bodnar 1982 p.199; see also Reid 1930).

Despite the difficult economic, political and social circumstances, such as the Hill District being excluded from the Associated Charities (Edmunds 1983 p. 13), one organization did try to address the welfare of African-Americans in the Hill District. The Pittsburgh chapter of the Urban League focused on the social welfare of African Americans. On February 12, 1918, John T. Clark opened the first office of the Urban League of Pittsburgh (Edmunds 1983 p.28). In 1929 the Urban League moved to larger quarters at 806 Wylie Avenue (Edmunds 1983 72). Still later the Urban League moved to Fifth Avenue.

Once established, "the officers and employees of the league were drawn from the elite of the black community" (Glasco 1989 p. 86-87). But many of the Old Pittsburghers never recognized the community need for such an organization and actually considered the establishment of the Urban League an insult (Edmunds 1983 p.51).

To aid the recent arrivals, the Urban League focused on the working-class African-Americans by providing such services as travelers' aid, counseling on nutrition and home economics, and insuring that social workers were assigned to some of the bigger mills (Glasco 1989 p. 87. For a detailed history of the Urban League, see Edmunds 1983). Under the leadership of John Clark, the Urban League also called for the hiring of African-American journalists to combat demeaning and racist language in newspapers (Edmunds 1983 p.66). In the 1930s the Urban League worked to increase the very small male enrollment in Pittsburgh's six vocational schools (Edmunds 1983 p.79). The Urban League encouraged African-Americans to aspire for jobs regardless of discrimination or restrictions (Edmunds 1983 p.96). The mission of the Urban League is "removing the artificial barrier of racial discrimination which bars them from equal access to good jobs, decent housing, educational opportunities and quality health and welfare services" (Edmunds 1983 p. 159). The Urban League limited their aid to the middle class in the hiring of social workers, secretarial help, providing college scholarships, and urging the Pittsburgh School Board to hire African-American teachers (Glasco 1989 p. 87). Although the Urban League's work was noble in intent, critics have noted that the conservative nature of the League meant that its philosophical direction was more accommodating toward employers and managers rather than establishing strong links with employees and unions (see *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, p.19). Nonetheless the Urban League spearheaded a number of controversial positions that brought the organization to the brink of dissolution.

> Back in the 1920s, John T. Clark's efforts to involve the Negro steelworkers in the union movement so angered the mill owners that he was forced to leave Pittsburgh. Two decades later, the fury of downtown merchants over the League's picketing of department stores cost Leroy Irvis his job. In the 1950s, advocacy of fair housing and school desegregation caused a

> number of affiliates to lose their Community Chest funding and very nearly put us out of business in Pittsburgh. Even today a strong stand on a controversial issue -- like supporting the judge's desegregation order in the Woodland Hills School District, for example -- brings a barrage of angry letters to the United Way. (Edmunds 1983 p. 158)

Newspaper reports frequently stereotyped the Hill District and did not present a flattering image of everyday life for African-Americans. In his column "Pittsburghesque," Charles Danver reports on activities in "Little Harlem" for the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. He portrayed Hill District residents as wasting money on having their kinks removed. In this same column wealthy gamblers were described as dressing well and over-tipping singers and dancers (Hill 1973 p.80). In contrast, Abraham Epstein's 1918 portrait of African-Americans in Pittsburgh was not one of wanton drunkenness, shiftless street corner denizens and immoral prostitutes, but rather showed the wave of migrants as seeking improved economic conditions and an improved social life. It reported that African-Americans were mostly teetotalers and faithful church attendees, who, from their small earnings would send as "much as $5 to $10 a week home to family and relatives in the South" (Edmunds 1983 p.27).

1940-1956

When the United States entered World War II, the African-American community in the Hill District was a vibrant social and cultural center but economically stagnant and with little political clout (Glasco 1989 p. 88). Yet despite these adverse conditions, this period is a second era in which the African-American population further increased in the Hill District.

> After the Great Depression, another major wave of migration of Afro-Americans began. The demand for industrial labor contributed to an increase of 38,675 Afro-Americans from 1940 to 1960. Migration and natural increase combined raised the total black population from 54,983 in 1930 to 100,692 in 1960, the largest three-decade [sic] in the history of Pittsburgh. (Darden 1973 pp.6-7).

The isolation of African-Americans in Pittsburgh continued. "Pittsburgh remained from 70.5 to 75.7 percent segregated" from 1930 through 1970 (Darden 1973 p.2). The shape of this segregation meant that African-Americans were located in just three Pittsburgh neighborhoods -- the Hill District, Homewood-Brushton and East Liberty (Darden 1973 p.7). With the growing segregated residential pattern came a segregated school system. A student in these schools saw substandard facilities and academic achievement was also lower Glasco 1989 p. 90).

The reason for this segregation was due to racial discrimination and to the efforts of real-estate agents who directed prospective homeowners to particular neighborhoods (Darden 1973 p.7, 53, 55, 65). Before 1967, African-American real-estate brokers did not have access to multi-lists and therefore were restricted in where they could direct people (Darden 1973 p. 30). "For example, Oakland-Shadyside, which is located very close to two of the largest black communities in Pittsburgh (the Hill District and Homewood-Brushton) accounted for 27.9 percent of the total complaints of racial discrimination from 1959 to 1970" (Darden 1973 p.65).

From 1930 through 1960 the Hill District had the most segregated census tracts in all of Pittsburgh (Darden 1973 p.13, 18, 19, 22). It is only in 1970 that Homewood-Brushton became the most segregated area (Darden 1973 p.22).

Segregation and discrimination continued in the 1940s. Although the entrance of the United States into World War II represented greater job opportunities for African-Americans in Pittsburgh, local companies still found ways to exclude African-Americans from the skilled positions (Edmunds 1983 p. 101). Although headquartered in the Hill District, the Urban League worked to counter discrimination found in industrial towns of the Mon Valley. For instance they combated the National Tube Company which still maintained segregated toilets and the Dravo Company which would not hire African-Americans (Edmunds 1983 p.103). Despite presidential orders barring discrimination, the Pennsylvania employment offices directed African-Americans to 'acceptable' jobs (Edmunds 1983 p.104). The Urban League interceded and employment conditions did improve for African-Americans (Edmunds 1983 p. 104, 105). These were tense times and during World War II racial riots exploded in Pittsburgh (Edmunds 1983 p.106).

In 1942 the only meal available to African-Americans Downtown was in a basement counter at Rosenbaum's. In 1945 Mary McLeod Bethune spoke at the Smithfield Street Presbyterian Church. There were few accommodations available. She could not stay Downtown. Her hotel room consisted of a bed infested with bedbugs. These bugs kept her up all night (Hill 1973 p.104).

During this period the Urban League continued its effort to enlarge employment opportunities for African-Americans. In the 1940s and 1950s they worked to place African-Americans in non-menial jobs such as "clerical, managerial, and professional positions" (Glasco 1989 p. 93 see also Edmunds 1983 p. 132). In the 1940s, K. Leroy Irvis spearheaded a cadre of protesters and picketers that ultimately led to the hiring of African-Americans as salesclerks in such Downtown department stores as Gimbels (Glasco 1989 p. 93, 114). This picketing took some courage because the financial support for the Urban League depended upon corporate officers from some of these same stores (Edmunds 1983 p.115). Protests in the 1960s against hiring discrimination led to demonstrations before local utility companies as well as picket lines around the U.S. Steel Building (Edmunds 1983 p. 132).

The Urban League, along with a great many other groups, worked to eliminate segregated facilities. Returning from World War II, African-Americans and their allies succeeded over the next two decades through concerted protests in opening up formerly segregated public facilities such as theaters, restaurants, municipal pools, hotels, and parks (Glasco 1989 p. 93). For instance, the pools were still segregated in the early 1950s, and a coalition including the Urban League faced threats when visiting pools. It required legal action to open up these pools (Edmunds 1983 p.121, 122). During this same period, the Urban League also fought to integrate public housing (Edmunds 1983 126). There was

> a disproportionate need for housing by Negro families.... the white waiting list could be exhausted in six months while it would take ten years to meet the needs of all the blacks currently on a waiting list for a smaller total number of units. City and County Housing Authorities were convinced, on the basis of the Leauge's evidence, to adopt a policy of non-discrimination in tenant selection and allocation of units .... public housing became predominantly black and, in a sense, resegregated (Edmunds 1983 p. 126).

Although less successful in private housing, volunteers working with the Urban League, visited real estate agents. They highlighted that agents steered prospective homeowners to specific neighborhoods. The Urban League fought to open up the availability of mortgages for African-Americans (Edmunds 126, 127). The final restrictions in Pittsburgh segregation were the opening of the exclusive clubs such as the Duquesne Club, Pittsburgh Athletic Association and the University Club (Glasco 1989 p. 93).

1956-1993

The many reports and studies of the Hill District dating back to before World War I characterized parts of the Hill District as a ghetto and slum. The Great Depression exacerbated the already poor physical conditions, and the perception of poverty intensified in the 1940s. The stereotype of the Hill District was one of poor housing stock, immoral behavior, and an eyesore. Calls were made to simply tear down the perceived slum. One 1947 *Fortune* article called for civic authorities to "tear out the notorious Hill District, a noisome slum of ancient shacks, beer taverns, and bawdy houses that straggles up a bluff directly behind the Golden Triangle and Pennsylvania Depot" (Lubove 1976 p.195).

These calls were heeded in the mid-1950s when the Hill District was partially demolished as part of an urban revitalization program. In September 1955, the federal government approved 105-acre Lower Hill Redevelopment Project, making available $17.4 million in loans and grants (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.90). Large areas were leveled in anticipation of public buildings and proposed new housing. Known as the Pittsburgh Renaissance, this building program included the erection of the Civic Arena in the Lower Hill District. To this day the promise of new low-income housing has not been fully realized and large areas of the Lower Hill District remain vacant.

The Pittsburgh Renaissance proposal was crafted by David Lawrence and Richard King Mellon with substantial support from the Pittsburgh business community. The damaging social and economic consequences of these plans are blamed on the business and civic authorities that pushed through these plans. However it should also be remembered that the African-American state legislator, Bomer S. Brown, worked with Mellon, Lawrence and business interests to pass the enabling legislation for condemnation of the land for the Pittsburgh Renaissance (Glasco 1989 p. 87, 89). In a further irony, the first African-American judge in the Allegheny county court system upheld the demolition at the beginning of the 1950s (Glasco 1989 p. 89).

The Pittsburgh Renaissance meant that an important African-American community was dismantled. The transformation of the Lower Hill District is still staggering to consider. Not only were large numbers of housing units pulled down but the effect on the remaining housing for African-Americans was not suitably considered.

> The Lower Hill project removed 1,000 units which were occupied by black people. And, there was not in the city of Pittsburgh any additional new units earmarked for those people. So it caused a tightening of segregation in black neighborhoods and to that extent the renewal program contributed to segregation. (Lubove 1976 p.261 see also Glasco 1989 p. 89)

Acquisition of these 1,000 parcels of land began in 1956. In May of 1956 the first building on 1206 Epiphany Street was demolished as part of what would

be a cleared 95-acre tract. In 956 and 1957 "redevelopment" would displace over 8,000 residents: 1,239 African-American families and 312 white families. Of these, 35% went to public housing communities, 31% to private rentals and only 8% were able to buy new homes. About 90 families refused to move and ended up in substandard housing. Those that relocated received little in the way of relocation compensation, with minimal assistance coming from the federal government (for descriptions of the Lower Hill District destruction and the social repercussions that followed see photocopies of newspaper articles in the Hill District file).

The intention was to replace substandard housing with apartment buildings. It would be some thirty years before the promise of these plans would be partially fulfilled. This wholesale destruction of the Lower Hill continued into 1957 with the knocking down of buildings for the construction of the Civic Arena. (Anonymous 1959 pp.13-14). Below Crawford Street, housing, buildings and even streets were demolished so that the Civic Arena and its parking lots could be built (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.90). Many Hill District residents still feel the loss of the Crawford-Roberts neighborhood as well as landmarks such as the Bailey Hotel and streets such as Our Way and Yuba Way. These names reflect the rich history of the area. For example, Sharon Watson-Mauro explained that her father grew up on Fullerton Street. This area is now a parking lot that is part of the Civic Arena (see ES93-HF3-C logs).

The restrictions placed on African-American real estate agents meant the uprooted were limited in where they could resettle. Homes in Homewood were made available to African-Americans but at inflated prices, and rents in this same area skyrocketed (Lubove 1976 p.261). Many of the displaced families moved further up the Hill, creating additional population pressure there; other families were relocated to Hazelwood.

The ripple effect of this unplanned exodus from the Hill District, can be seen in the northeast section of Homewood known as Belmar. In the 1950s displaced lower class Hill District residents moved to Belmar (Williams 1981 p.3 see also Glasco 1989 p.90). "In ten years, a residential area which had contained low- and middle-income Blacks and Whites was transformed into a Black neighborhood" (Williams 1981 p. 28). Those whites that could, quickly fled to the suburbs. This influx was possible because Belmar was one of the few areas where African-Americans could purchase homes, albeit at inflated prices (Williams 1981 p. 28).

The social consequences of this transformation were long lasting, with the viability of Belmar as a thriving community seriously damaged. In 1981, over twenty years after the influx, "Belmar is a hodgepodge of strangers to the neighborhood -- transient people, the poor, and the Black upwardly mobile residents who are trapped here (they cannot sell their homes)" (Williams 1981 p. 30).

Hill District buildings in large areas were leveled and this was preceded by the removal of a large population, many of them African-Americans. The newspaper reports of the time emphasize a kind of boosterism and civic pride rooted in a trust that progress and change will solve the dilemma of a deteriorating housing stock. The human predicament is routinely ignored and almost as a proof that those residing in this area deserve to be removed one newspaper article reports that "Workmen demolishing another slum house in the Lower Hill ma[d]e a horrible discovery in the basement -- an armless and legless alcoholic lying in his own excrement" (Lubove 1976 p.258). To add to the misery, the uprooted businesses and residents were not compensated adequately.

The inhospitable living conditions almost make those residing in this area invisible. The various discoveries made during demolition hid the human condition and obscured the underlying social conditions of discrimination and prejudice that supported such situations. Another article reports "[a] slum house is being torn down in the Lower Hill District. Among the occupants were

three unmarried mothers having a total of 21 children" (Lubove 1976 p.258). This forced removal was unplanned in the sense that efforts were not made to systematically find new homes for people and families. Communities were not reconstituted elsewhere. Thriving neighborhoods were disbanded as people were scattered.

Social services took a back seat to governmental zeal for a devastating form of urban renewal. The priorities began with "business, industrial and institutional interests [that] were served first with the lion's share of resources while, trailing far behind, were housing, job training, work for the so-called hard-core unemployed, education, health and problems associated with poverty and race" (Lubove 1976 p.258).

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, African-American politicians still had limited civic reach. At best they could get a constituent a job working on a garbage truck (Hill 1973 p. 27). They were unable to direct Pittsburgh Renaissance construction jobs to the African-Americans. Instead workers were brought into the Lower Hill District (Lubove 1976 p. 262).

The effects of the Pittsburgh Renaissance were devastating to Wylie Avenue businesses. Disk jockey Mary Dee on WHOD called the corner of Wylie and Fullerton the "crossroads of the world." It was central to popular African-American culture and music. Today this crossroads is a parking lot for the Civic Arena. In the late 1950s, this area was doomed when the Housing Authority of Pittsburgh opened an Urban Redevelopment Field Office in the Lower Hill District. The theaters, businesses and housing were torn down. An entire way of life came apart. The heyday of Wylie Avenue and the Hill District was coming to a close. Urban renewal meant the removal of the African-American population. All of Wylie Avenue below Crawford Street was destroyed. The redevelopment knocked out the important economic base that fueled the success of the Hill District. As they were forced out of their homes they left the Hill District, economic conditions for those who remained started to deteriorate.

The Pittsburgh Renaissance continued unabated through much of the Lower Hill District. In the mid-1950s, this process of demolition and "urban renewal" was only stopped when planners and developers set their sights on the more middle-class areas of the Middle and Upper Hill District. Then an African-American protest halted the spread of the Pittsburgh Renaissance (Glasco 1989 p. 89).

The community fought back and held off future demolition at Crawford and Wylie Avenue. This intersection became known as "Freedom Corner." The community demanded that the city no longer demolish residential housing in order to erect commercial development. The community wanted housing to be provided for those already displaced. Protests and parades would begin at Freedom Corner at the steps of St. Benedict the Moor.

During the disruptive era of the Pittsburgh Renaissance, employment opportunities in general improved for African-Americans. By the late 1950s, "employment barriers lowered in the Fire Department, on the H.J. Heinz and Nabisco production lines, and in hospital laboratories; Negroes were admitted for the first time to Local 458 of the AFL Painters and Paperhangers union, and the Post-Gazette hired it first black reporter..."(Edmunds 1983 p. 130). During this period the Urban League worked to place African-Americans in corporations (Edmunds 1983 p.134).

In the 1960s, the War on Poverty program developed by the federal government to address conditions such as those found in the Hill District failed due to inadequate funding, politics and poor management. The Urban League was responsible for administering a number of job programs in the Hill District. Glasco believes that the failure of the War on Poverty led to the 1968 riots in Pittsburgh (Glasco 1989 p.89).

The stark decline of the Hill District that began in the 1950s with the demolition of many homes and businesses in the Lower and Middle Hill District

was further exacerbated by the riots that occurred in 1968. People were bitter about unemployment and local mistreatment.

> Like the racial disturbances in 113 American cities, the disorders in Pittsburgh were triggered by the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King on April 4. The first incident, according to police records, took place at 11:30 p.m., four hours after the news of the King murder was broadcast. It consisted of the fire-bombing of property in the 2400 block of Bedford Avenue in the Hill and was quickly followed by window smashing incidents on Watt Street and Centre Avenue in the Hill. (Lubove 1976 p.237)

During these riots some 505 fires were reported and most were located in the Hill District (Lubove 1976 p.238, see also photocopies of newspaper articles in the Hill District file). In addition to fires and riots, looters broke into stores thus ending many businesses in the Hill District. By the time the fires were extinguished, the heyday of Wylie Avenue was just a memory.

The poverty, chaos, and disruption that shaped the post-1968 ghetto can be seen in Melvin Williams' ethnography of the pseudonymous Zion Holiness Church in the Lower Hill District. "[P]oor blacks attempt to create a community of morality and order amidst a society characterized by immortality and disorder" (Glasco 1989 p. 91).

In a long description of street life, Williams is unstinting in his description of the Lower Hill District in the early 1970s. The Zion Holiness Church struggles to maintain respectability in an environment of abandoned or ill-kept buildings, drug pushers on the corner, and prostitutes publicly soliciting.

> The lower Hill is a maze of narrow streets and alleys saturated with churches, bars, tenements, burned-out stores, and abandoned houses. It is a typical Black ghetto, lacking major or effective city services, the pride of ownership, and neighborhood cohesion. It is a panorama of street-corner life, where men congregate daily to discuss the vicissitudes of their lives. It is primarily a residential area, but its inhabitants are the transient poor and the captive Blacks whose movement around the city is restricted. The lower Hill, like most Black ghettos, has numerous drug users and pushers whose activities are widespread and obvious. It has a police station, a fire station, a movie house, and several brothels. Evenings in the lower Hill still find the prostitutes soliciting their white customers boldly, even in this era of Black militancy. There is even a concentrated network of male homosexual prostitutes who congregate in a specific neighborhood of the lower Hill (Williams 1974 p.17).

As Williams description indicates, the Lower Hill District was continuing on a downward trajectory well into the 1970s. Although government sponsored

demolition and destruction abated in the 1960s, the cycle of wholesale abandonment continued. The decline was precipitated further by the property damage during the 1968 riots. A pattern was now established for the area. Buildings would first be abandoned and boarded up. Later they were torn down leaving litter-strewn vacant lots in the Hill District. By 1979 several buildings of the K. Leroy Irvis Towers Apartments were torn down. Most of the buildings between Webster Avenue and Centre Avenue were lost. The Catholic Orphan Asylum and the St. Joseph's Protectory were also vacant by 1979. The area between Centre Avenue and Reed Street had once been one of the most tightly populated sections of Pittsburgh. By 1979 it was a vast area of vacant land (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1979 p.90).

The conditions of employment for African-Americans continued to be problematic in the 1970s. In a 1978 report hospital employees were either pink- or blue-collar employees or few were professionals or doctors (Edmunds 1983 p. 156). In general, African-Americans still had difficulties finding and holding jobs (Edmunds 1983 p. 153).

In the 1960s and 1970s the Urban League enlarged enormously as it provided a spectrum of social services. Armed with federal contracts the staff grew from nine to sixty in the 1960s and numbered over 200 in the 1970s (Edmunds 1983 pp. 144, 146). The Urban League ran maternal and infant care, youth programming including day care, job training, apprenticeship training, housing counseling, and housing rehabilitation (Edmunds 1983 pp. 140, 142, 147, 148, 149). In the Hill District the Urban League rehabilitated housing on Wylie Avenue and managed family housing units (Edmunds 1983 p. 147). The Urban League continued to service the Hill District and other areas with these programs through the early 1980s. The federal government under President Ronald Reagan's administration then cancelled many of these programs (Edmunds 1983 p. 141).

In the 1990s, conditions have not improved and instead continue to deteriorate. Although African-American business leaders are looking for a means to return a thriving African-American commercial area to the Hill District, newspaper reports describe the worst areas as "a virtual no man's land (Allen 1991)." The Hill District also lacks a grocery store. Many residents travel to Oakland for food (Rodgers-Melnick 1991). The remaining businesses are in precarious financial condition. They are marginal at best with owners frequently going into bankruptcy and debt. One gas-station owner noted that if intervention is not taken soon, there would not be any commercial operations left (Allen 1991). Despite repeated efforts, the Lower Hill District's Phoenix Hills Shopping Center has not been a successful venture (Rodgers-Melnick 1991). During my tour of the Hill District with Sharon Watson-Mauro, the Phoenix Hills Shopping Center was clearly closed with boarded up windows (see ES93-HF3-C logs).

Of foremost concern for the successful reintroduction of businesses into the Hill District is safety. Crime and the drug trade dominate the streets and scare away customers (Allen 1991, Missouri 1990). Carl Redwood of the Hill House Association mentions crack cocaine as particularly destructive of the familial and economic fabric of the Hill District (Missouri 1990). Local leaders and residents portray city government as distant from and disinterested in the problems of the Lower Hill District (Allen 1991).

Crawford Square is one current development project that indicates the current tensions in the Lower Hill District and may also point to future trends in the area. Located just north of the Civic Arena and its parking lots, Crawford Square is to occupy a 3-acre tract between Roberts and Crawford Streets and Centre and Webster Avenues in the Lower Hill District (Anonymous 1992). At the direction of several local community development groups, this project is scheduled to be completed in two phases and is intended to attract 550 new residents to the Lower Hill District. A St. Louis real estate company, McCormack, Baron and Associates is constructing the townhouses and apartments.

When both phases are completed, Crawford Square will contain 130 townhouses and 420 rental units (Rause 1992).

The first phase of the Crawford Square development is underway with 203 apartments and 37 single-family homes and townhouses planned (Anonymous 1992). As of January 1993, a total of 55 apartments have been completed and 8 of the single-family units are under construction. This researcher visited the area in June 1993 and a number of the townhouses and apartments appeared finished. The porches of these buildings face away from the Hill District and instead look beyond the Civic Arena. From these porches the occupants have a dramatic panorama of Downtown. The townhouses are priced from $89,5000 to $127,500 and rentals will be between $450 and $695 a month. The developers are promoting this project as having a "suburban feel right in the city (DeParma 1993)."

The purchase and rental prices as well as the promotional language surrounding this project clearly indicate an effort to attract middle and upper-middle income residents to the area. The plan is attract to the urban Lower Hill District those interested in a suburban experience.

Within the Lower Hill District community, the purchase prices and rental fees have raised the concerns that gentrification will set in the Lower Hill District leading to the departure of long-term, low-income residents (DeParma 1993). Even with the promise of some subsidized properties, Reverend Gregory Greene, pastor of the Powerhouse Church of God in Christ, notes that the housing is not within the reach of most Lower Hill District residents. Instead, Greene believes the Crawford Square project will attract well to do to the area and drive the poor from their homes. "Poor people are being excluded, many of them are going to be relocated, pushed up into the projects. I believe in the long haul that that's the plan. These people who live here for years, suffered trying to survive, are going to be left out in the cold (Rause 1992)."

What has not been considered are the repercussions of a successful completion of Crawford Square. The articles concerning Crawford Square clearly indicate that there are no plans afoot to keep the current low-income population base in the Lower Hill District through the building of low-income housing. Instead the assumption is that stability will come with the influx of the middle class and affluent. Such "stability" has a cost however because an influx of spending on land and rent brings an increase in local land and property values. Like so many neighborhoods that see such increases, gentrification means that long-term homeowners and residents leave because they can no longer afford the soaring taxes and rents.

Like the deficiencies in the plans of some thirty years earlier, the current Crawford Square project appears to treat the low-income African-American community in the Lower Hill District as if it were invisible. There appears to be little concern for conserving this area either economically or culturally.

The porches and overall orientation of these structures are symptomatic of this attitude of not acknowledging the presence of African-Americans. The architectural fronts face away from the Lower Hill District.

On June 26, 1993, Sharon Watson-Mauro took me on a driving tour of the Hill District. We journeyed up Centre Avenue, the spine of the Hill District. In the Lower Hill District, Ellmore Street and Centre Avenue is infested with drug dealing. Although considered one of the worst areas in Pittsburgh for drugs, one can see a lot of people out in the street. Presumably the crowds are there for the drug trade. Otherwise the area is an state of advanced decay and in the area of Mahon Street and Centre Avenue one can see a number of crumbling buildings. The Diamond's Five and Dime is one of the few remaining and longstanding businesses. In the Lower Hill District, the attempts to reconstruct this devastated area have been led by local churches and such organizations as the Hill House Association and the Hill Community Development Corporation.

Continuing further on Centre Avenue, one enters into the Middle Hill District. There is some evidence of economic and social vitality. There is a new

church. The evidence of new construction indicates some improvement in the landscape. In this area is the YMCA -- the Centre Avenue Program Center on 2621 Centre Avenue. Also in this area is the AME Zion Church a large church that runs lots of projects. Traveling right through the middle of the Hill District.

Traveling back up The Hill District

Traveling up Centre Avenue the effects of the 1968 riots in the Lower Hill District and the Middle Hill District are still evident. The Upper Hill District continues to be an important enclave of African-American working-class, middle-class and upper class life. With beautiful and well-maintained homes, and a pride in such areas as Sugartop and Herron Hill, the Upper Hill District is in the experience and eyes of Sharon Watson-Maura worlds apart from the Lower Hill District and the Middle Hill District.

According to Sharon Watson-Maura, Herron Hill is the area of Aliquippa Street, Iowa Street, Milwaukee Street, Centre Avenue and the Herron Hill Reservoir. It is a stable, working class and middle class neighborhood. She grew up on Aliquippa Street. Sharon and her parents moved into her grandparents' house about five or six years after their arrival in 1954 or 1955.

> My grandparents, my grandmother and my grandfather on my father's side lived on Fullerton Street, which is where the Civic Arena is.... In 1954 or 1955 they bought the house on Allequippa Street and they moved into that house. That's not true, I didn't move there when I was four or five. I moved there more like when I was ten. Cause we lived in the projects until I was about ten, when my sister was born. Then we moved into their home.... Probably ... about ... 1958 or 1959 we moved onto Allequippa Street with my grandparents.... My grandparents had been there since 1954 (ES93-HF3-C).

Watson-Mauro's father was Hispanic and her mother was African-American. She grew up with a Spanish-speaking grandfather who also had some facility with other foreign languages. He would communicate with his Italian, German and Polish neighbors in their native tongues.

Watson-Mauro's connection to Herron Hill includes not just her maternal grandparents but also her mother's family. Her mother grew up on Milwaukee Street and her parents ultimately settled on Milwaukee Street.

In Herron Hill one passes solid brick homes that are similar to ones that were in the Middle Hill District before they were torn down. They are a little bit larger than the houses formerly found in the Lower Hill District. According to Watson-Mauro, the residents of Herron Hill are decent, hard-working, and two-income households where both the wife and husband work. They are a responsible population endeavoring to pay their mortgages.

The richer more affluent African-Americans live in the nearby Sugartop area. Sugartop is primarily African-American with a sprinkling of whites and most of the inhabitants are professionals including doctors and lawyers. The most notably landmark in Sugartop is the cobblestone Bryn Mawr Road. According to Watson-Maura, Sugartop contains some of the most expensive property in the city, and is right next to the exclusive Oakland area of Schenley Heights. In Sugartop, the houses are larger, manicured and perhaps designed by architects. Despite the devastation in the Lower Hill District and Middle Hill District, property values in Sugartop have not declined.

Herron Hill and Sugartop are very different from the stereotyped portraits of ghetto life that so often describes the Hill District. This short journey ultimately emphasizes the heterogeneity of the Hill District.

Concluding Remarks Regarding the Hill District

With the many streams of immigrant and migrant populations that have lived in the Hill District, this area has a long history of heterogeneity. This characterization holds true for the African-American population as well. The professional population of the Upper Hill is far different from those in the poverty prone areas of the Middle Hill District and what is left of the Lower Hill District.

In the past Old Pittsburghers lived in a world removed from the more recent arrivals. The Loendi Club and the Frogs sustained a general distance between themselves and those less economically fortunate. As Ruck notes:

> The two groups lived apart, worked apart, and played apart. OPs [Old Pittsburghers] formed their own fraternal and literary societies in reaction to the migration, while many of the migrants in turn brought their native community organizations with them. The migrants ... kept to themselves, while the older families remained aloof, believing themselves to be socially superior because of long residence in a northern city with its advantages of higher literacy rates, a broader culture, greater economic security, and a higher standard of living (1987 pp. 11-12).

Nonetheless, the "The Hill" is clearly thought of by both residents and Pittsburghers in general as a unity, a neighborhood. For folklorists investigating the character of identity and community cohesion, arriving at an understanding of "The Hill" requires that special attention be paid to those nodal points where social and economic divisions are overcome. Throughout its history, the Hill District has had congregating points. Some are the streets with annual carnivals, informal concerts by street performers and larger festive celebrations such as those found in Terrace Village. The Terrace Village Fourth of July festivities included musical performances, fireworks, fundraising and a baseball game between Terrace Village and 18th Ward teams. These festive events brought residents "together in celebration of their athletic prowess and community solidarity (Ruck 1987 p. 207 see also pp. 15, 89-90, 208)." Clearly crowds and audiences brought together various constituent African-American groups in the Hill District.

An equally important locus for such gatherings was found in organized competitive sports at the amateur, semi-professional level. Basketball courts, sandlot football, and baseball fields were important gathering places for African-Americans of all economic and social stripes. They would root for local teams such as the Pittsburgh Crawfords and the Loendi Club. Although exclusive, the Loendi Club sponsored a successful basketball team that attracted not just club members but also the general Hill District populace (Ruck 1987 p.181).

Additional nodal points were in the clubs throughout the Hill District. Most cited was Gus Greenlee's Crawford Grill that included patrons from all walks of life. Part of the attraction was that one could find Pittsburgh Crawfords players in the bar at night. But the draw extended much beyond this. "Visiting Negro League ballplayers, members of black Pittsburgh's elite, and

workingmen unwinding after a shift could be found at adjoining tables, if not actually drinking together (Ruck 1987 p.139)."

I Recommendations -- personnel and advisory committee

In my discussions with those involved with the study of the Pittsburgh African-American community, I found that local researchers clearly recognized a need for studying the social history and contemporary folklife of the Hill District. But this need must be met through careful strategizing. Past studies and projects have not met with success and this recommends careful planning on how the African-American community will be documented.

However if handled judiciously and diplomatically this situation does represent an opportunity for the Steel Industry Heritage Corporation. Because past efforts have failed there is currently a void in institutional leadership for cultural conservation. The SIHC could fill this vacuum. However there are pitfalls. Earlier attempts have failed in part because of a lack of institutional sensitivity to the African-American community. The African-American community in the Hill District is heterogeneous and any study of this neighborhood must insure that an attempt is made to include the spectrum of social and economic groups.

In addition, earlier groups charged with examining African-American life in the Hill District have been unable to agree on direction and purposes. Therefore in addition to being able to maintain a neutral stance, any study of the Hill District requires a clear vision of what should be studied. As noted in this report, there is a rich spectrum of cultural expression both historical and in the present in the Hill District to choose from. This includes community festivals and celebrations, religious life, musical entertainments, professional sporting events, and sandlot competitions.

I must emphasize that success in the Hill District depends on cultural and political sensitivity as well as the maintenance of a neutral stance by SIHC and the hired professional folklorist. The opportunities are great but the pitfalls and snakepits are just as easily entered. Once in such a snare a study of folklife in the Hill District might fail. To preclude such failure, what is crucial is identifying a suitable researcher who can serve as a centralizing force for drawing people, institutions and resources together.

Because of the substantial history of discrimination inflicted on residents of the Hill District, I would strongly recommend that an African-American serve to direct further folklife research on the African-American presence in the Hill District. Such an individual should be able to firmly chart a course for conducting such research. This individual should be managerially experienced, because I would also suggest the formation of an advisory committee composed of African-Americans listed above. Such a committee would provide access to the community and legitimate the effort in the face of earlier failures. This advisory committee would provide personal introductions to the people and institutions within the Hill District. With help of the advisory committee the folklorist should establish working relationships with local church groups, civic and business organizations, and women's associations. It cannot be emphasized enough that the advisory committee can identify pitfalls and problems in conducting work in the African-American Hill District.

The advisory committee and the local groups should be presented with a crucial question. Given the vast array of topics that can be studied, what do they feel should be given priority? What traditions, community events need immediate study?

In addition, the researcher charged with implementing this effort must clearly communicate to the advisory committee and the residents of the Hill District the difference between a folklife study and what has previously been completed. When I asked for help in researching the Hill District, I was

frequently confronted with the response, "Well, hasn't this already been done? Why should I go over this again with you?" In my brief sojourn into the Hill District, it was clear that academics and local community members could not clearly distinguish between historical studies, regional planning efforts, architectural surveys, college research papers and the concerted effort to document folklife.

Since the turn of the twentieth century, the Hill District has been the site of innumerable studies. Most recently, The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission completed interviews in the Hill District for the *African-American Historic Sites Survey of Allegheny County* (please see bibliography). Such substantial studies create the perception that the area has been completely examined. The response to this perception that it has all been studied before is a public education program. Such a program can include press releases, interviews on radio, television, and cable programs, and brief newspaper columns. A planned program of public education needs to be initiated so residents understand that The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission survey inquired about specific architectural sites, but did not address folklife questions concerning African-American expressive culture and traditions.

II Institutions and resources to be investigated in the Hill District

African-American Heritage Quilters
members in the Hill District, meet in East Liberty.

Churches in the Hill District

Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church
2720 Webster Avenue (formerly At Wylie & Elm Street)
Upper Hill District
683-2160

> The first AME church west of the Allegheny Mountains, Bethel AME was organized in 1818 in a Downtown home by three freedmen, James Coleman, George Coleman and Abraham Lewis, in an alley near the "Way House" between Third and Fourth Avenues near Smithfield Street. It housed the first school for African-Americans in Pittsburgh. The congregation moved to Wylie and Elm after the second church Downtown was burned in the fire of 1845. A new structure was built in the Hill District in 1906. The church also sponsored the Arnett Libterary Society, a African-American literary club, and owned Lincoln Memorial Cemetery, now occupied by the Bedford Dwellings.

Bethesda Presbyterian

Bidwell Street Presbyterian Church

Central Baptist Church
2200 Wylie Avenue at Kirkpatrick (formerly 2200-2208 Wylie Avenue)

> Organized in 1891, this church became a center for spiritual and moral leadership in the Hill District. It is now home to the largest Baptist congregation in Pittsburgh. The first location, from at least 1900 to 1910, was at 55 Lawson Street.

Central Church

Ebenezer Baptist Church
(now the Eleventh United Presbyterian Church)
2001 Wylie Avenue (at Devilliers Street)
281-6583

One of the older churches in the Hill District. Organized on August 10, 1875, its current name was adopted in 1882. It was the first church edifice in western Pennsylvania owned by African-American Baptists, who built their first church in 1882. The first pastor was Rev. R. Henry Marshall. The Ebenezer Baptist Church dedicated a building on Cowell and Miller Streets on May 15, 1895. By 1896, there were 600 members. In 1914 the church was moved from its first site at Cowell and Miller Streets to its present location, and the current church was built in 1930-1931. Rev. John Pryor led a group away from the Ebenezer Baptist Church and formed the Central Baptist Church. Rev. King who assumed the pastorate August 1926 worked throughout the Great Depression to aid those affected by economic problems. He also rebuilt and refinished the church. Rev. King died February 1949. Rev. James B. Cayce became the minister on February 3, 1950. In the 1960s the church worked with the Hill House Association and Mayor's Committee to open the Hill Rehabilitation Center in the Educational Center Building. They also run an Adult Care Program that provides hot meals of nutritious food in the middle of the day. They also provide a clinic to assist adults with health problems as well as treatment programs for alcohol and drug addiction.

Ethan Temple

Grace Memorial Presbyterian Church
in 1931 located on Arthur Street
1000 Bryn Mawr Road
681-0229

Holy Trinity Church
Centre Avenue and Crawford Street.

John Wesley A.M.E. Zion Church
594 Herron Avenue

This is one of the first African-American congregations organized in Allegheny County (1836). It was one of the first sites in the ill District that united and strengthened the African-American community.

Macedonia Church
2225 Bedford Avenue (NE corner of Bedford Avenue and Shafer Street).
281-8437 or 566-7602

Monumental Baptist Church

2240 Wylie Avenue
281-3384
Home Mission Institute
2228 Wylie Avenue
281-9303

Mother Bethel

Mt. Ararat Baptist Church

New Light Temple Baptist Church
2546 Centre Avenue
(formerly at 2954 Webster Avenue, 1930-1970; that church is now St. Luke's Baptist Church)
This is the second location of the New Light Temple. It is a small church which served African-Americans in the Upper Hill District during the heyday of the neighborhood. Established during a time of growing African-American organizational and community strength in the Hill District, this church provided spiritual, moral, and social leadership in a very cohesive and extensive African-Americn neighborhood during the 1930s through the 1960s.

Olivet Baptist Church.

People's Gospel Tabernacle

The St. Benedict the Moor Church (Catholic Church)
91 Crawford
281-3141
This church sits on the dividing line between Downtown Pittsburgh and the Hill District. The St. Benedict the Moor Church recently celebrated its centennial. In the 1930s, the bishop excluded whites from the St. Benedict congregation. One should speak to the priest. The elders of the church are friendly and accessible. They have a gospel choir that sings traditional spirituals. They also sponsor the St. Benedict the Moor School Band.

They were forced to move with the 1957 construction of the Civic Arena. up to Crawford to Freedom Corner to the Hill. Civic Arena nestled on the edge of the Hill. Civic Arena whole part of the Hill.

This church is a landmark with a tall expressive sculpture of a black Saint Benedict atop the church spire.

St. Brigid's

St. James A.M.E.

St. Luke's Baptist Church
2954 Webster Avenue

Sanctified Church

Warren United Methodist
2604 Centre Avenue
621-2253

Wesley Center AME Zion Church
Francis Street and Centre Avenue
This is one of two surviving AME Zion churches in the Hill District.

Institutions and businesses on the Hill District

Archie's Place Barber Shop
1616 Fifth Avenue
Archie, who runs this shop, worked in Woogie Harris' Crystal Barbershop during the heyday of the Hill District. Current haircuts may have different names but basically they are the same as those given in the 1940s. For example, the "High English" is now known as "The Box." During this period African-Americans would use home remedies to try and straighten hair, but it would result in people becoming temporarily bald.

Bayless Chop House
Wm. J. Bayless, Mgr.
1207 Wylie Ave.

Crawford Grill
2141 Wylie Avenue
471-1565
This important institution has had various locations and owners in the Hill District. It is "[o]ne of the last thriving vestiges there of black culture, it continues as the meeting place of black politicians, judges, doctors and businessmen..." (Meyer 1988). In addition to documenting the Crawford Grill as an important social nodal point, it also contains an interesting material culture collection on it walls. The interior is filled with African traditional arts and African-American folk arts. The current owner is also trying to bring back weekend jazz performances (Meyer 1988).

Daisy Lampkin Home
Webster Avenue
Pennsylvania Historical Landmark
(Edmunds 1983 p. 105)

Dwelling House Savings and Loan Association
Black owned and operated bank
current address -- 501 Herron Avenue

Englesberg's Drug Store
Centre Avenue and Arthur Street.

Frank's Bakery

Clark Street and Crawford Street.

Goode's Pharmacy
Fullerton and Wylie.
This centrally located store was open 24 hours a day. It was across the street was Stanley's Tavern, nearby was Crawford Grill Number 1.

Walter W. Hendrickson, Tailor
2815 Wylie Ave, corner of Hollace Street

Hill District Federal Credit Union
2021 Centre Avenue
281-0822

H.G. Jeffress
formerly of Tisem & Jeffress, 70 Fulton Street
now localted at 64 Fulton Street. corner of Wylie Ave.

Johnson Studio
This studio is run by Luther Johnson, Senior, a commercial photographer with the help of his son Albert Johnson.

Dr. Dudley G. King, surgeon dentist
2703 Wylie Avenue.

C. McEvoy, Jeweler

Nesbit's Pie Shop & Restaurant
2441 Wylie Avenue, between Janella and Duff Streets
(second location)
This well-known restaurant was owned by Harris Nesbit in the 1920s through the 1940s. Pies, burgers, barbecue and breakfasts were served. It was an important social and leisure institution for African-Americans in the Hill District and Nesbit's was part of the extensive network of African-American businesses which thrived in the neighborood during the 1920s through the 1950s. Nesbit's was renowed for its fried chicken and roast beef. It was also known for their strawberry, coconut, custard and sweet potato pies.

Owl Cab Company (1947-1949).
16 Perry Street [whole street is now gone.]
Silas Knox, African-American founder
In the 1930s, the cab companies would not hire African-Americans nor would they pick and deliver African-Americans. Silas Knox began efforts in the 1930s to establish an African-American cab company. After the war it began service and quickly made money. A strike by the drivers bankrupt the company (See Hill 1973 p.85-99). The African-American drivers were only allowed to pick up passengers in African-American neighborhoods. If drivers violated this rule and picked someone up Downtown they were arrested and the company was fined.

Pernell's Printing Shop
2405 Wylie Avenue (first site 2321 Wylie in 1930)
This was the only African-American owned printing shop in the Hill District and printed many materials for African-Americans who could not get service anywere else in the city. It represents an importnat segment of the African-American business community which thrived during the 1920s through the early 1950s.

Rhumba Theatre

African-American owners
-- Rev. M.S. Hunter and Rev. Junius C. Alston and Fields.
801 Wylie Avenue and 6309 Broad Street which opened
Monday, June 18, 1923.
The Steel City Banking Company was started by the clergymen of Ebenezer Baptist Church on Wylie Avenue. During its short period of operation from 1919 to 1926, it was one of few sources African-Americans had for mortgages for the purchase of homes. At the pinnacle of its success, the Steel City Banking Company had $1.1 million and 8,295 depositors. Both branches closed on January 12, 1926 because of charges that deposits were invested in real estate that was overvalued. It was operated by members of this church (for further information see Hill 1973 and Henderson 1975).

E.K. Thumm
Newsdealer and Stationer
Pool and Billiard Parlor
Laundry Office
1400-1402 Wylie Avnue

Ward's Billiard Academy
corner of Wylie and Logan

Social Service Institutions and Cultural Organizations in the Hill District

Hill District Community Council
519 Smithfield Street
Organization in existence in the 1940s.

Hill House -- a community center.
Hill House Association/ Hill House Center
1835 Centre Ave.
392-4400
The current Hill House building was designed by the African-American architect Walter Roberts and was completed in the summer of 1973 at a cost of $2.6 million. Located near Linton Street on Centre Avenue in an area of decaying buildings, the Hill House provides social services such as legal help, assistance with consumer complaints, medical aid and family planning (see Sharpe 1974).

Ozanam Cultural Center
1833 Wylie Avenue
281-4046

The Ozanam Cultural Center sponsored an oral history project directed by Carl Kohlman. This effort focused on the period from 1920 through 1970. This study was conducted in conjuction with Dr. Ronald Bowes of Carnegie-Mellon University. This project emphasized leading local leaders and business executives including those affiliated with the Dwelling House Savings and Loan (see photocopy of a newspaper article in Hill District file).

Educational Institutions in the Hill District

Carlow Hill College
Carlow College
3333 5th Avenue

A notable outreach program of Carlow College is the Carlow Hill College Program. Funded by the Sisters of Mercy as well as Alcoa and a trust, this program is designed to aid monority students. Classes are held in the Hill District and are primarily designed for those women who would not otherwise be able to attend college (for a fuller description of Carlow College see the Oakland report). Classes are held at nontraditional sites, but there is no academic compromise in the college content.

The Carlow Hill College Program recently celebrated its tenth anniversary. The Program emphasizes service and some of the graduates have returned to the Hill District to work and serve the community.

The Carlow Hill College Program with its close ties to the community would be an excellent entray to the Hill District. Veronica Morgan-Lee would be a valuable resource for future research in the Hill District. She has longstanding connections in this area. She was also former director of the Black Catholic Ministries in Pittsburgh. In addition, one should not forget the students or graduates who could aid in contacts in the

Connelly Technical Institute & Adult Education
1501 Bedford
338-3700

This center which was a public H.S. is now a trade school providing G.E.D. classes, a health training program and technical training. The school has a dramatic view of the Allegheny River.

Vann Elementary School
631 Watt

622-8455

Housing Authority of the City of Pittsburgh

Addison Terrace
2025 Bentley Drive
456-5156

Allequippa Terrace,
280 Burrows
687-8617

Bedford Dwellings
2305 Bedford Avenue
687-8608

Terrace Village

This Hill District housing project of 1,800 units sponsored a sandlot baseball team for more than a decade beginning in 1949. The men who operated the club were Terrace Village residents were working class and employed as laborers, janitors, and porters. This team and its managers required political support to thrive and were integral to local celebrations. For instance Fourth of July celebrations in the Hill District included music, speeches, fireworks, a street dance, and a competitive baseball game between the Terrace Village team and the 18th Ward team. Since separation, Terrace Village has been divided into Allequippa Terrace, Addison Terrace, and Bedford Dwellings (For a full discussion of Terrace Village, its sports team and Hill District festive celebrations see Ruck 1987 pp.79-91, 108-109, 111-112, 201, 204, 207-208.)

Literary and Social Organizations

The Hill District supported a great many African-American social clubs and literary societies. Most notable among them would be the: "Honey Boys," "Frogs," "Big Eight Social Club," "Goldenrod Social Club," "400's,'" "F.E.W. Harper League," "Alpha Phi Alpha's," "The "White Rose Club," "The Silver Leaf Club," "The Mellix Athletic Club," and "The Aurora Reading Club." The Hill District also included such fraternal lodges as the Elks, Masons, and Mooses (Hill 1973 p.116).

Various mens groups grew out of professional or business relationships such as the Black Professional Association (PBA). The PBA sponsored a beauty pageant. It also held the PBA Annual Parade which was filmed by the Johnson Studio. Many businesses sponsored floats in

the parade.

the Wylie Avenue Literary Society -- another elite club.

The Loendi Club
83 Fullerton Avenue [torn down for the Civic Arena]
Lower Hill District

An exclusive club for middle- and upper-class African-American professionals, the Loendi hosted primarily light-skinned African-Americans. Both the Frgos (an African-American men's social order, organized in 1910) and the Ducks (women's social order) went to the Loendi. This was an example of African-American cohesiveness in the late nineteenth century reflected as a vital cultural and social institution; at its height in the 1940s, however, the club represented a split bewteeen older African-American Pittsburgh residents and newer migrants.

General Recommendations

Probably the most important follow-up project in detailing the social history and folklife of the Hill District would be to locate and analyze a full run of the *Pittsburgh Courier*. This African-American newspaper details the full spectrum of social life and custom not just in the Hill District but throughout the surrounding area. As noted earlier, Teenie "One Shot" Harris worked for this newspaper as a photographer. In this capacity he took some 50,000 photographs in Pittsburgh. His visual images accompanied newspaper articles covering religion, sports, cooking and the home, as well as the society scene. His images of the Hill District might serve as the basis for an exhibition. This collection remained elusive despite my best efforts to locate this purported treasure trove. This mysterious collection may still be in the possession of Dennis Morgan (see Byrd 1987). Due diligence should be given to locating and evaluating the quality of this collection.

There are additional historical materials worth investigating. The Archives Service Center, Hillman Library, University of Pittsburgh contain important collections on the Hill District (see Oakland report for a description of this important resource). Completed by the Works Progress Administration, "The Negro in Pittsburgh" is notable for the interviews and fieldwork documenting the African-American experience. The Archives Service Center also includes a number of more recent interview materials on the African-American experience by Peter Gottlieb and Rob Ruck.

Another useful point of entry would be with the Ozanam Cultural Center. They are clearly sensitive to culture and history. At the very least the folklorist should review the oral history project that they conducted some years ago.

The current Crawford Grill also represents an important social meeting place in the Hill District that needs to be documented. It is "[o]ne of the last thriving vestiges there of black culture, it continues as the meeting place of black politicians, judges, doctors and businessmen..." (Meyer 1988). In addition to documenting the Crawford Grill as an important social nodal point, it also contains an interesting material culture collection on its walls. The interior is filled with African traditional arts and African-American folk arts. As mentioned many times in this report, the Crawford Grill also has a long and vibrant connection to the Hill District history of jazz, sports, recreation and Gus Greenlee (Meyer 1988).

August Wilson's plays represent an accessible and immediate starting point for public programming. Wilson's connection to the Hill District is

twofold. He was born and raised in the Hill District, and his plays are based on this experience. He grew up in the area near Bedford Avenue and Devilliers Street (see ES93-HF3-C logs). Wilson grounds his plays' locales and characters in the Hill District he knew. Wilson has written about his goal in playwriting: "[W]hat I hope to do is to place the tradition of black American culture, to demonstrate its ability to sustain us." Folklorists would be the appropriate specialists to present this linkage. In a variety of public presentations, audiences would understand the vital connection between Wilson's plays and African-American culture. Folkorists would start with the same belief as Wilson that contemporary African-American folklife is vibrant and meaningful. Such a cooperative effort would affirm African-American culture while not erasing the extraordinary history of racism and discrimination that have been a crucial part of this group's identity. As noted at the beginning of this review of the Hill District, Wilson does not turn away from these painful issues.

A festival presenting Wilson's plays could be combined with the public presentation of folklife traditions including those traditions incorporated in Wilson's scripts. I am suggesting that a folk festival be combined with a play festival. A secondary benefit of such an alliance would be to bring the Steel Industry Heritage Corporation to the attention of the arts community in the Pittsburgh area. This sort of an alliance would establish the Steel Industry Heritage Corporation on an important professional footing with other groups and would perhaps pave the way for future partnerships.

Another collaboration would be a conference that would be to bring together critics and folklorists to discuss the folklife content of Wilson's efforts. For such a conference, the National Endowment for the Humanties and the Pennsylvania Council on the Arts would be possible funders. (For a more detailed discussion of Wilson's connection to folklife see his entry in the bibliography.)

Although the Hill District is today predominantly African-American, the earlier ethnic experiences of Jews, Syrians and others should be examined. There are fascinating life histories to be recorded.

There is an unexamined rich history of occupational folklife. For instance, some effort should be directed toward interviews and research on the substantial cigar industry in the Hill District. In addition, many African-Americans from the Hill District worked at the African-American owned Diamond Coke and Coal Company mill located on Smallman Street in the Strip District (Hill 1973 p.37; Ruck 1987 p.125. One source lists Diamond Coke and Coal Company as located in Homestead see Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.89). African-Americans should be approached regarding the history of this business, which was the largest African-American owned company in Pittsburgh.

As noted by Ruck, the African-American community had a rich recreational heritage, particularly when it comes to the Negro Baseball League and the Pittsburgh Crawfords headquartered in the Hill District. Oral histories and interviews with former players, managers and players would reveal an important center of Hill District life.

Cemeteries

I will close with a plea that due attention be accorded the Minersville Cemetery. As discussed in this report, the history of the Cemetery and the markers deserves additional investigation. This should not just be a documentation and research project but also should address apparent cultural conservation and preservation problems. Although the grass was cut when I visited, preservation issues are an immediate concern. The cemetery is not protected by any gates or fences. Secondly, a number of damaged and disturbed

markers are no longer in there proper location but rather have been gathered in several piles (see photographic logs).

A site survey would be in order. Who were the individuals buried here? What connection did they have to the mines? Based on the various languages carved on the markers one needs to investigate whether Minersville was a bilingual community for much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The survey should be charged with the task of documenting the folklife and social history embedded in these markers as well as proposing a plan for conserving the markers and ethnic heritage of the site.

In addition, Woodlawn Cemetery and Allegheny Cemetery deserve attention because they contain clues about the African-American citizens of the Hill District. The remains from the Lincoln (Colored) Cemetery were relocated to the Woodlawn Cemetery in Wilkinsburg. A number of illustrious Hill District residents including W. Gus Greenlee and Josh Gibson are buried in section 50 of the Allegheny Cemetery (Pennyslvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994 p.87-88).

SOHO

There is an area that lies between downtown and the Hill District which does have a separate identity. The area known as Soho appears to date back to 1788. A warrant dated April 17, 1788 and refers to the land "adjoining the [Penn's] manor on the east and in a general way bounded by Fifth Avenue on the north, Boundary Street and Frazier Street on the south is a tract containing about 150 acres." This tract included "much of the Oakland district and a portion of smoky Soho, and maybe better known by the appellation bestowed in the 90's, the "Red Dust district" (Fleming 1916). Cable car service ran through Soho. Today Soho is a transitional neighborhood between downtown, the Hill District and Oakland. It is a transitional space beginning with what were the ports on the Monongahela Wharf, on the lower mile of the Monongahela River and includes Fifth Avenue and what is now Duquesne University). There is still a sizeable stock of inhabited homes in this area. Architecturally they are attached twins (please see survey photographs of this area).

Following the Great Fire of 1845 in which 56 acres and 1,000 buildings in the heart of the city were ravaged, Pittsburgh renewed its expansion east. Soho then a part of Pitt Township, was annexed in 1846.

In the 19th century, Soho was known as Pipeville, and the population of Welsh artisans and craftsmen were connected first with pipe mills and then the iron mills along the Monongahela River. The old iron mills went from downtown to Oakland. The first pipemaker was a man named Pustin who came from Soho, England. At least since the turn of the twentieth century Soho has had an African-American population.

The steel mills replaced the old iron mills and pipe mills. These steel mills started where the Birmingham Bridge is today.

There is a club that once was an ethnic club that is now an African-American club in the Soho area. I tried following Rick Sebak's directions with little success but here they are: coming down Fifth towards to downtown, one passes the Birmingham Bridge, a welcome to Soho sign and a glass company. Then turn right just after that onto a small street. Andy Warhol was born on this street (Sebak could not remember the name of this street). At the end of this same street is a large building that houses the former ethnic club/current African-American club. The street is up against the Hill and is a short little street.

Warhol's parents were very poor. He was born in Soho but lived in Oakland. Andy Warhol lived in South Oakland and then moved into Oakland. He lived on Dawson Street. He grew up there. He hung out at the Carnegie and took art classes there.

The Faleder Monument Works on Fifth Avenue is between the Hill District and Oakland. It is actually in the Soho area. This traditional monument works concentrates on Jewish markers but also does Catholic and even Chinese markers. This business was started by Abraham C. Faleder and Faleder Monuments Works is now at least 65 years old. This is still a family run business and the second-generation member and elder representative is Stanley Faleder. Third generation Faleders are also involved in the business.

This researcher tried repeatedly by telephone to arrange an interview. Stanley Faleder is a busy man and not easy to reach by telephone. I tried just stopping by, but was only able to briefly talk with an employee.

Future surveys of Soho should try again to arrange an interview with Stanley Faleder and documentation of stonecutting and monument carving. This business closes early on Friday afternoons, and is closed on Saturdays in observance of the Jewish Sabbath.

Note: Although the address for Faleder Monuments is Fifth Avenue, to visit the showroom and office as well as speak with the employees one must use the entrance on the Boulevard of the Allies. This entrance is on the right side of the Boulevard when heading towards downtown Pittsburgh from Oakland.

In addition to the Faleder Monument Works, there are organizations that address the social and economic needs of the surrounding neighborhood including the Jubilee Kitchens which provides meals to the local population and the Whitney Young Center which is the Pittsburgh headquarters of the Urban League.

There is also a Heinz women's shelter for battered women and a new county program for drug addicts. The Public Baths building now serves as halfway house for drug offenders. Between 1900 and 1940 this building operated as a public baths.

In the 20th century large institutions such as Duquesne University and Mercy Hospital began encroaching on the area. The first seven Sisters of Mercy came directly to Pittsburgh from Carlow, Ireland. They arrived in downtown Pittsburgh on December 21, 1843 (for a fuller discussion of the Sisters of Mercy and their Irish as well as Irish-American connections see the Oakland report). The Sisters sponsor The Mercy Hospital of Pittsburgh which opened in 1847 as the first Mercy Hospital in the world. It started downtown but moved to its current location on Stevenson Street in May 1848. The first report of the Board of Visitors of the hospital, filed November 14, 1848, indicated that two thirds of the 504 admitted during its first year of operation were free patients. The report additionally stated that applicants to the hospital would be admitted to the extent of the means of support supplied and without reference to color, creed or national origin. Clergymen of any faith were granted patient visitation rights. In 1882, Mercy Hospital was incorporated under the laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. By 1914 bed capacity had increased for 30 at its outset to 670.

The Jenkins Industrial Home for Colored Girls was located on 2013 Fifth Avenue, near Senaca Street. Mrs. L.W. Jenkins was the manager and this institution provided training in "domestic science" (Hill 1973 p.70). The Soho area continues to reflect community growth and changes. The former Fifth Avenue High School is now a commercial building.

In September 1976, Brashear High School opened in Beechview. This led to the closing of Fifth Avenue High School, one of the city's oldest. Built in 1894 on a property which had been the site of a market house, the school owed its name to its location on that thoroughfare.

Founded in 1937, the Tamburitzans of Duquesne University were the first university-based performing folk ensemble in the United States. Named for the *tamburitza*, a family of stringed instruments indigenous to the folk cultures of southeastern Europe, the Tamburitzans seek to preserve and perpetuate Eastern European culture in the United States. The Tamburitzans also offer scholarships to students. As a private, nonprofit group, the Tamburitzans of Duquesne

University have been headquartered in the Tamburitzan Cultural Center on the Boulevard of the Allies since 1965. During their fifty year history, the Tamburitzans have traveled throughout the continental United States and Canada, and made seven tours abroad, visiting Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the former Soviet Union, Greece, Italy, France and Latin America. In 1956 the Tamburitzans founded the nationally known Pittsburgh Folk Festival.

Soho business and contacts

Dr. John Ball's Hospital
Exact location undetermined
Former hospital site, now occupied by Duquesne University. Identified as one of the many Underground Railroad stations in the Pittsburgh area, this site reputedly housed escaped slaves from the South en route to freedom in the North, often to Canada. This was part of the extensive network of anti-slavery holdings in the Pittsburgh area which made the Underground Railroad a success.

Faleder Monument Works
2414 Fifth Avenue
682-5500

Eldora James
Forbes
Eldora James runs a cleaning business in SOHO.

Jubilee Kitchens.
2005 Wyandte
261-5417
Soup kitchen.

The Mercy Hospital of Pittsburgh
1400 Locust Street
232-8111

Soho Community House
objective -- members free of prejudice.

Tamburitzans of Duquesne University
Tamburitzan Cultural Center
1801 Boulevard of the Allies
434-5185

Whitney Young Center
2358 Fifth Avenue
Urban League.
687-0140

Appendix: Bibliography

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Byrd, Jerry *From Slaves to Statesmen...A History of Blacks in Pittsburgh*. The Pittsburgh Press Sunday Roto Magazine . October 17, 1982.

Darden, Joe T. *Afro-Americans in Pittsburgh: The Residential Segregation of a People*. (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1973). Discusses the effect of segregation on the Hill District, Homewood Brushton, and East Liberty. Statistically examines the formation of 'black ghettos' in Pittsburgh. Real estate agents steered African Americans to specific neighborhoods. Some discussion of Oakland.

Edmunds, Arthur J. *Daybreakers: The Story of the Urban League of Pittsburgh, The First Sixty-five Years*. (Pittsburgh: Urban League of Pittsburgh, 1983). This institutional history covers the period 1918-1983. This history is most useful in covering the changing face of discrimination and prejudice in the Pittsburgh area. The Urban League responded with various training and educational programs as well as forming liaisons with department stores and factories. The Urban League began in the Hill District and is now located in Oakland. This volume is also helpful in understanding conditions in the Hill District.

Epstein, Abraham. *The Negro Migrant in Pittsburgh*. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1918). [reprint New York: Arno Press, 1969]. Beginning in 1917, Epstein surveyed 500 African-American residents in the Hill District, Lawrenceville, North Side, East Liberty and downtown. He examined employment conditions, delinquency, crime, crowded housing, high rents and inadequate hygiene that recent African-Americans migrants faced. For a useful biography of Abraham Epstein and a review of his study see Edmunds *Daybreakers* (pp.18-29) as well as Ralph Lemuel Hill's dissertation.

Fitch, John A. *The Steel Workers*. University of Pittsburgh Press.

Fleming, George Thornton, collected by. *Fleming's Views of Old Pittsburgh; a portfolio of the past*. (Pittsburgh, PA: The Crescent Press, 1932).

-----. *"Flem's" Views of Old Pittsburgh; a portfolio of the past, precious with memories*. (Pittsburgh, PA: G.T. Fleming, 1905)

-----. *History of Pittsburgh and Environs, from Prehistoric Days to the Beginning of the American Revolution*. 5 vols. (New York: The American Historical Society, 1922).

-----, arranger and editor. *Pittsburgh; How to See It; a Complete Reliable Guide book with Illustrations, the Latest Map and Complete Index*. (Pittsburgh, PA: William G. Johnston Company, 1916).

Harpster, John W. ed. *Crosssroads: Descriptions of Western Pennsylvania 1720-1829*.

Hays, Samuel P., editor. *City at the Point: Essays on the Social History of Pittsburgh*. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989). Collection of useful essays, including those by Nora Faires, Roy Lubove,

Linda Pritchard, and Michael P. Weber. See separate entry for Laurence Glasco's essential article on the history of the Hill District.

Kuntz, L. "Localization of Jewish Population in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania." Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1970. Discussion of Jewish populations in the Hill District and Oakland.

Laurent, Stefan. *Pittsburgh: The Story of an American City*. updated and enlarged Bicentennial edition. (Lenox, Massachusetts: Authors Edition, 1975). Pittsburgh book emphasizing the late 1960s and early 1970s. It is primarily a collection of photographs. Those images are in the Pennsylvania Room, The Carnegie. They are catalogued by topic or group. This book is not indexed, but it is filled with evocative photographs of Oakland and the Hill District as well as other neighborhoods. The text is primarily historical and includes chapters by such notable authors as Henry Steele Commager, Oscar Handlin and David Lawrence. It contains over 1000 illustrations.

Lubove, Roy, editor. *Pittsburgh*. New York: New Viewpoints, A Division of Franklin Watts, 1976. Characterizes the ethnic makeup of the Hill District circa 1896. Discusses the African-American population in the Hill District and the riots of 1968. Effect of the Pittsburgh Renaissance on the Lower Hill District. Some mention of Oakland.

----- *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh: Government, Business, and Environmental Change*. New York: John Wiley, 1969.

Krause, Corinne Azen. *Grandmothers, Mothers and Daughters: Oral Histories of Three Generations of Ethnic Women.* Boston: Twayne Publishers. 1991.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. *African-American Historic Sites Survey of Allegheny County*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission 1994). This volume was a collaborative effort in the truest sense of the word. It was prepared by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Landmarks Design Associates Architects, the Pittsburgh History & Landmarks Foundation, academics, community residents, historians, and archivists. The individual chapters on aspects of the African-American experience in Allegheny County have been written by notable authorities including Laurence Glasco. It is an extraordinary resource. It provides an excellent survey of Allegheny County. There is a substantial historical survey of the county. The archaeological appraisal of important African-American sites is particularly noteworthy for its examination of the Hill District. Almost half of this volume is devoted to an inventory of significant historical sites in Allegheny County. Each town or neighborhood is given its own listing and this includes Soho, Oakland, and the detailed one for the Hill District. This inventory should be consulted when compiling future lists of significant folklife sites. This volume is particularly sensitive to the religious heritage of the African-American community and details the force the churches had in establishing a sense of local identity. This book also covers such topics as settlement and housing, politics, sports, recreation, education, social groups, cultural organizations, slavery and the underground railroad. There are also useful bibliographic citations at the end of each chapter.

Pittsburgh History: A Magazine of the City and Its Region.

Shiloh, Ailon. *By Myself I'm a Book! An Oral History of the Immigrant Jewish Experience in Pittsburgh*. Pittsburgh Section, National Council of Jewish Women. Waltham, Ma.: American Jewish Historical Society, 1972. A large number of oral histories that are transcribed and edited, but they are not attributed to specific individuals. Does not have an index. Much of the oral history relates to the Hill District and to a lesser degree Oakland.

Silverman, Myrna. *Strategies for Social Mobility: Family, Kinship and Ethnicity within Jewish Families in Pittsburgh*. Immigrant Communities & Ethnic Minorities in the United States & Canada: No. 57. New York: AMS Press, 1989. Describes the settlement of the Hill District by German and Russian Jews. By 1910 it had a concentrated Jewish population. In the 1880s the first Jews started to move to Oakland. By 1924 Jews started to move up to Herron Hill -- the Upper Hill District. By 1963 there were few Jews in the Hill District. Examines the Israel and Gita families that initially resided in the Hill District.

Stryker, Roy and Mel Seidenberg. compiled, written and edited by. *A Pittsburgh Album: Post-Gazette Bicentennial Edition*. (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. 1986). Although emphasizing progress and new construction, this popular volume is filled with photographs that chronicles the social life of many neighborhoods including the Hill District and Oakland.

Toker, Franklin. *Pittsburgh: An Urban Portrait*. (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986). This architectural history contains a substantial section on Oakland's buildings with less attention paid to the Hill District. There is a lengthy examination of the Cathedral of Learning and the various nationality rooms in this building. This volume also looks at Schenley Farms, Schenley Park, The Carnegie, various churches, and the apartment houses of Central Oakland.

(II) Oakland

An Atlas of the Oakland Neighborhood of Pittsburgh 1977. Pittsburgh Neighborhood Atlas. Capstone Seminar, "Oakland: Pittsburgh's Hope for the Twenty First Century," Spring 1993. Instructor -- Professor James DeAngelis, at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, Urban and Regional Planning Program, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. This graduate course examined ideas that would "improve" the quality of life in Oakland and the campus of the University of Pittsburgh. This seminar topic was stimulated by the announcement of Governor Casey's "Jump Start" program and the University's proposals for more student housing. The Capstone Seminar produced six self-published student papers of which three are useful for a survey of folklife traditions and ethnic communities in Oakland.

-----. "Central Oakland: Winning the Battles but Losing the War," by Anthony J. Dolan. Dated April 23, 1993. This richly documented study includes detailed charts, maps and property inventories as well as a history of Central Oakland. This area still includes ethnic grocery stores and restaurants, as well as student housing and University of Pittsburgh buildings. Earlier in this century Central Oakland was the home of many ethnic groups that labored in the nearby steel mills. As students have come to reside in this area the transient nature of Central Oakland has increased. Probably the most useful sections of this study are the street by inventory of businesses and residences. This study is seriously flawed

from a community perspective because it does not recognize the non-student communities in this area and it also recommends that the University consider further expansion through the purchase of parcels of land.

-----. "Expanding Economic Opportunities in the Oakland Area: A Challenge to the Institutions and Community," by Amy Marlo. Dated April 20, 1993. This research charts the problem of unemployment in Oakland and the Hill District. This study includes descriptions of organizations that try to address the local problem of unemployment -- the Job and Career Education Center; Job Links which is sponsored by the Oakland Planning and Development Corporation in association with Breachmenders, Inc.; The Hill House; Jubilee Kitchen Career Development Program; and Peoples Oakland.

-----. "Strategies for the Provision of Safe, Decent and Quality Hosing in Oakland," by Isabelle Marie Bully and Slamet Sugiharto. Dated April 20, 1993. Notes that the poor quality of Oakland housing is "in part due to the University of Pittsburgh's uncontrolled growth and property acquisition policies" (p.4). The author notes the problem of speculators purchasing properties and then reselling to the University. These speculators do not maintain properties. Bully and Sugiharto cite a Temple University study of housing which highlights the deleterious effect of the city of Pittsburgh not adequately embarking on citywide and neighborhood planning for housing. Thumbnail sketches of a number of Oakland organizations including: Oakland Task Force, Oakland Directions, Oakland Planning and Development Corporation, South Oakland Citizens Council, Bellefield Area Citizens Association, Breachmenders, Oakcliffe Housing Club, and the Schenley Farms Civic Association. Oakland Directions is an umbrella group that includes the following local groups: Atwood Street Block Club, Bates/Bouquet Street Block Club, Breachmenders, Chesterfield Block Club, Halkett-Louisa Block Club, Beyran Avenue Block Club, Oakland Avenue Block Club, South Oakland Citiziens Council, Semple Street Block Club, Terrace Village, and 3400 Bates Block Club. There are also sketches of various University of Pittsburgh student associations and services. This study primarily examines such matters as tenant-landlord relations, housing code violations, and substandard buildings.

Chabon, Michael. *Mysteries of Pittsburgh*. (New York: W.W. Morrow, 1988) Novel that focuses on Oakland. It is primarily a story about college life and sexual confusion. However, the novel contains information on Panther Hollow. In this novel, a building behind the University is an industrial/steam generating plant that is described as "The Cloud Factory" and the area is called "Junction Hollow". Obviously "Junction Hollow" is Panther Hollow and in this area is a steam generating plant. Panther Hollow is an Italian neighborhood that the author calls "The Lost Neighborhood". In *Mysteries of Pittsburgh*, Central Catholic High School is described as looking like Santa's Castle.

DiRienzo, Dayna. "St. Regis Church Marks its 40th Anniversary." *Oakland* Community Newspaper. volume 8, issue 6 (June 1993) p.5. portrait of St. Regis Church and its parishioners.

Fraser, John. "Oakland Once Beautiful Suburb." *Gazette Times*. January 16, 1916. History of Oakland.

Gottlieb, Sue. "Oakland Community Seeks Greater Involvement in Pitt Planning Process." *Oakland* Community Newspaper. volume 8, number 6 (June 1993) pp.

1, 13. Report of May 15, 1993 meeting in which community residents and The Oakland Community Coalition (TOCC) met with University of Pittsburgh officials to discuss the university's twenty year Master Plan and Jump Start capital projects. The Jump Start project is state monies and private funding being used to build what is called the convocation center but the center will actually function as a basketball arena. The community bitterly complained that they were not involved in the list of possible sites for the convocation center.

Ham, Clifford. "Walking Tour of South Oakland: Linden Grove Area." 4 pages - typescript. 1990.

Kidney, Walter. *Landmark Architecture: Pittsburgh and Allegheny County*. (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh History & Landmarks Foundation, 1985). A more recent architectural survey of Oakland buildings as part of general stylistic movements. Less useful than either Framklin Toker or Van Trump. Brief mention of the Hill District.

-----. "Oakland: Some History, Some Hopes." incomplete citation. One of the few useful overviews of Oakland History, emphasizes the history of the University of Pittsburgh expansion beginning in 1955.

McHugh, Roy. "Feast Day Celebration Marks pather Hollow's Ties to Italy." *The Pittsburgh Press*, Monday, August 12, 1974 p.6. Discusses the Italian-Americans in Panther Hollow -- particularly those from Gamberiale who celebrate a feast day.

-----. "Oakland...Yesterday, Today and Tonight." *The Pitssburgh Press*. May 4, 1975. One of the few histories of Oakland that discusses the ethnic composition of Oakland including the Irish, Jews and Italians from Gamberiale. Article based on the reminiscences of long term residents. Also discusses the importance of Forbes Field to Oakland in terms of restaurant business and fans frequenting bars.

-----. "Oakland El Greco Paints Today Over Yesterday." *Pittsburgh Press*. July 24, 1977. George Katsos of Atwood Street paints sports mural honoring the 1976 national champions -- the Univesrity of Pittsburgh football team. This mural hangs in Pete Coyne's saloon -- an Irish bar. This mural covers a mural devoted to Bing Crosby and Frankie Gustine.

Miller, Cecila. "*Focolare, Famiglia, Festa*: The Cultural Contributions of Italians in Pittsburgh." Typscript student paper completed as a part of a "Tutorial in Music." Dated May 7, 1984. Chatham College, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Discussion of immigrant experience and the Gamberiale community in Oakland. Detailed history of the San Lorenzo Society. Also a discussions of Italian-Americans in East Liberty and the mutual-aid society "Societa di Beneficenza Ateleta" on Cedarville Street in Bloomfield. Examination of dance troupe "I Campagnoli" that performs only "authentic" Italian dances with appropriate costumes and music. Two college professors traveled to Italy to research the music and dance to be performed by "I Campagnoli." This troupe of 60 members first performed in 1965 at the Carnegie Music Hall in Oakland. In 1966 they again performed in Carnegie Music Hall and in 1967 they presented a program at the Syria Mosque. This troupe was still in existence in 1984. Reviews a radio program that highlights Italian culture and popular music on WPIT-FM on Saturdays from noon to 1 pm. Discussion of Italian organizations such as

the Italian Cultural Heritage Society and Italian Sons & Daughters of America (ISDA).

Nationality Rooms Program Newsletter. Cathedral of Learning, University of Pittsburgh. See for description of activities and programs of various rooms.

Oakland Community Newspaper. Founded as Oakland News in 1935. The *Oakland Community Newspaper* is published monthly by the Oakland Planning and Development Corporation. Material should be mailed to: Sue Gottlieb, Editor, *Oakland Community Newspaper*, 231 Oakland Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA 15213. Telephone: (412) 621-7863. This publication includes neighborhoods profiles and the local historian Clifford Ham has written a column entitled, "Historic Oakland."

Oakland Planning and Development Corporation. "Living in Oakland." pamphlet describing Oakland amenities including: universities, health care, the Carnegie, Schenley Park, Phipps Conservatory, schools, churches, ethnic variety, shopping, community organizations, and housing opportunities.

-----. "Ten Year Report: 1980-1990." (Pittsburgh: Oakland Planning and Development Corporation, May 1990). Highlights the many constituent activities of Oakland Planning including: community development, publications, employment services, parking, community advocacy, and youth recreation.

Oaklander. 1911-1928. local newspaper.

Pettican, Cecelia C. "Rooms Don Christmas Attire." *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review*. Sunday, December 10, 1989. pp.G1, G3. Describes the holiday decorations for the various nationality rooms in the Cathedral of Learning, University of Pittsburgh. Interesting folklife.

Powell, Diane R. "Diversity A Plus in South Oakland." *Pittsburgh Courier* January 21, 1987 p.A8. Characterizes the ethnic mix of South Oakland.

Seate, Mike. "The Heart of the Beast." *In Pittsburgh* (August 22-28, 1990) pp.25, 26, 28. With the influx of students, this article discusses the recent flight of ethnic residents from South Oakland.

Thomas, Mary Ann. "Legendary Customs: Pitt's Nationality Rooms Celebrate Christmas Around the World." *Pitt Magazine* (December 1989) pp.5-6. Describes the holiday decorations for the various nationality rooms in the Cathedral of Learning, University of Pittsburgh. Interesting folklife.

Van Trump, James D. *Life and Architecture in Pittsburgh*. (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh History & Landmarks Foundation, 1983). This is an anecdotal architectural history. It includes material on Oakland.

-----. "An Angelic Eye: Bellefield from the Air." *Carnegie Magazine*. September 1975. pp.313-320. One of the few histories of Oakland. Focuses on the Bellefield area of Oakland.

----- and Arthur P. Ziegler, Jr. *Landmark Architecture of Allegheny County Pennsylvania*. (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh History & Landmarks Foundation,

1967). Reviews the various architectural surveys that have been completed in Allegheny County. Provides an overview of architectural styles found in this county as well as highlighting the important architects and the buildings they designed. Examines important Oakland buildings and such areas as Oakland Square.

Windell, Phillip. *Resident Satisfaction with Selected Aspects of Life in Oakland, Telephone Survey*. (Pittsburgh: University Center for Urban Research, December 1975).

Women's International Club. *The Nationality Rooms Recipe Book*. (Pittsburgh). Recipes by heritages represented in the Nationality Rooms Program, Cathedral of Learning, University of Pittsburgh.

Wong, Henry. *Quality of Life in Oakland: Perspectives of College Students*. Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, University Center for Urban Research, December 1975. see summary 162-170.

(III) The Hill District

Allen, Bob. "URA Looks for Money for Hill District Businesses." *New Pittsburgh Courier* February 23, 1991. Description of poor economic conditions in the Hill District and the difficulty of businesses to keep open in the face of crime and drugs.

Anonymous. "Progress Demands These Lower Hill Landmarks." *The Pittsburgh Courier*. August 27, 1955. p.15. Pictorial highlighting buildings and a playground destined to be lost in the face of urban renewal. The sites include the Bethel AME Church, the Central YWCA on Chatham Street, Improvement of the Poor Institute, Church of St. Peter the Fathers, Pittsburgh Bible Institute, Amerita Club, Washington Park, and the Washington Park Natatorium.

Anonymous. "Lower Hill: An Impressive Timetable." *Greater Pittsburgh* (September 1959) pp. 13-14. This article describes the initial demolition of the Lower Hill District in 1956 and 1957.

Anonymous. "Some Homes in Hill's Crawford Square to be Ready by November." *Allegheny Bulletin*. Wednesday, September 23, 1992. p.A8. This article predicts the completion of the first phase of the Crawford Square development with the opening of 203 apartments and 37 single-family homes and townhouses. Located just north of the Civic Arena and its parking lots, the 23-acre tract is between Roberts and Crawford Streets and Centre and Webster Avenues in the Lower Hill District.

An Atlas of the Hill Neighborhood of Pittsburgh 1977. Pittsburgh Neighborhood Atlas.

Bodnar, John; Roger Simon and Michael P. Weber. *Lives of Their Own: Blacks, Italians, and Poles in Pittsburgh 1900-1960*. rbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982. Discusses the ethnic and African-American populations in the Hill District beginning in the 19th century. Importance of the church for the African-American community. Churches in the 1930s sponsored social, cultural and youth services.

Byrd (?), Jerry. "Heyday on the Hill." *The Pittsburgh Press Sunday Magazine*. March 1, 1987. This article profiles Charles "Teenie" Harris and his

50,000 photographs taken mostly in the Hill District. Evidently Harris also made fifteen films featuring local street scenes, performers and sporting events. This article also discusses the numbers running in the Hill District that helped support Teenie's photographic interests. When this article was published, Harris was still alive, and Dennis Morgan, a sculptor, had already purchased the collection for $3,000 from him. Morgan loaned the collection to the Black Studies Department at the University of Pittsburgh. Clarence Rollo Turner was charged with restoring and cataloguing the collection.

Church Survey of Allegheny County, Pa. The Community Commission, Pittsburgh Council of Churches. May 1929. Includes a study of churches in the downtown areas as well as the Hill District.

DaParma, Ron. "Slice of Suburbs Built in Heart of City." *Pittsburgh Tribune Review*. Sunday, January 17, 1993. This updates the 1992 anonymous article on the first phase of the Crawford Square development. A total of 55 apartments have been completed and 8 of the single-family units are under construction. The townhouses are priced from $89,5000 to $127,500 and rentals will be between $450 and $695 a month. The developers promoting this project as having a "suburban feel right in the city." The purchase prices and rental fees has raised the concerns that gentrification will set in the Lower Hill District leading to the departure of long-term, low-income residents.

Fleming, George Thornton 1855-1928. *My High School Days, Including a Brief History of the Pittsburgh Central High School from 1855 to 1871*. (Pittsburgh, PA: Press of W.G. Johnston & Co., 1904).

-----, editor. *Program of the Exercises Attending and Addresses Delivered at Fifth Avenue High School, March 1st, 1907, on the Occasion of the Unveiling of the Bronze Tablet Memorial of the High School Boys who Served in the Armies of the United States in the Civil War, 1861-1865*. (Pittsburgh, PA: The Central Board of Education, 1907).

Freedman, Samuel G. "A Voice from the Streets." *The New York Times Magazine*. (March 15, 1987) pp. 36, 40, 49, 70. This article examines various folklife influences on August Wilson.

Glasco, Laurence, "Double Burden: The Black Experience in Pittsburgh." in *City at the Point: Essays on the Social History of Pittsburgh*. edited by Samuel P. Hays. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989). pp.69-109. Essential history of the African-American experience in Pittsburgh with useful emphasis on the Hill District.

Goldman, M. R., "Hill District of Pittsburgh, As I Knew It." *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 51, no. 3 (July 1968) pp.279-295. Goldman grew up in the Hill District in the first decades of the twentieth century. Goldman recalls this experience. This informative article is a personal experience narrative and an oral history of the Hill District with particular attention paid to the Jewish population that lived in the Hill District. Somewhat dismissive of segregation that faced African-Americans, this article does address issues of local anti-Semiticism.

Gottlieb, Peter. *Making Their Own Way: Southern Blacks'Migration to Pittsburgh, 1916-1930*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987. Describes housing conditions, unemployment, miners and Loendi Club in the Hill District.

Henderson, Marcia. "Woman, 86, Gives Look at Life in Hill District." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. March 27, 1975. Although a profile of Lillian Pettigrew, this article also contains a brief history of the African-American owned Steel City Banking Company.

Hill, Ralph Lemuel. *A View of the Hill - A Study of Experiences and Attitudes in the Hill District of Pittsburgh from 1900 to 1973*. Ph.D. diss. University of Pittsburgh. 1973. Invaluable history of the Hill District with particular attention to the African-American experience. Examines trades and businesses of African-Americans as well as the importance of the underground economy for the Hill District -- especially numbers. There is an extraordinary interview with an 81-year-old former prostitute. She provides a vivid picture of the underworld life of the Hill with pimps, prostitutes and confidence men. And yet interlaced with this experience is a strong spiritual strength (pages 137-148).

Lowman, Ruth M. "Negro Delinquency in Pittsburgh." M.A. Thesis, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, PA. 1924. In depth description of the Hill District. Describes close, crowded quarters with unsanitary conditions. Hill District filled with litter. Description of prostitutes, saloons, and illicit stills.

Maria, Michael Santa. "King of the Hill: Looking Back at Gus Greenlee's Pittsburgh." *American Visions* (June 1991) pp. 20-24. This short magazine article, is a useful biography of William A. "Gus" Greenlee (1897-1952), a colorful and pivotal figure in the Hill District from the late 1920s through to his death. He owned a popular nightclub, built a stadium for his Negro National League team the Pittsburgh Crawfords, managed a boxing champion, and was a central figure in local numbers running.

Meyer, M.E. "Crawford Grill Takes Jazz Back Where It Started". *Pittsburgh*. May 11-17,1988. This interesting article chronicles the continuous history of the Crawford Grill and recent attempts by the owner to bring back live jazz. The interior is filled with African traditional arts and African-American folk arts.

Missouri, Gwendolyn R. "Hill District Residents Zero in On Area Problems in 'Town Talk' Meeting." *New Pittsburgh Courier* Saturday, November 24, 1990.

Phelps, H.M. "Stormy Fifth." *The Pittsburgh Leader*, November 5, 1905. Article characterizing the poor economic conditions of African-Americans in the Hill District. They lived in the lowest standard of living. Stereotypes African-Americans in Hill District as concerned with removing kinks in their hair, and the high life of gamblers.

Pine, Kurt, "The Jews in the Hill District of Pittsburgh, 1910-1940: A Study of Trends." MA thesis, Social Administration, University of Pittsburgh, 1943.

Pittler, Alexander Z. "The Hill District in Pittsburgh: A Study in Succession." M.A. Thesis. University of Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh, PA. 1930. This a study of the successive groups that have moved into and then those that have moved out of Hill District. It includes a look at Italians, Poles, Blacks, Jews and other groups. Pittler reaches eight conclusions regarding The Hill -- overcrowded, poverty, high rate of mobility, high rates of infant mortality and adult morbidity. Prevalence of

brothels, speakeasies, bootlegging, gambling rooms, dope dens, pool rooms and pawn shops.

Pittsburgh Courier. established 1910. Weekly African-American newspaper. became *Pittsburgh New Courier* in 1973. Rich reporting of African-American life in the Hill District. By the 1920s, the *Pittsburgh Cour*ier "was the nation's largest and most influential black paper.... [I]t [was] a voice of protest, crusading on the issues of housing, education, job opportunities, political awareness, crime, and Jim Crow.... By 1938 its circulation reached two hundred fifty thousand, making it the largest of all black weeklies in the United States (Glasco 1989 p.85)." After World War II, white newspapers included more African-American news and the circulation of the *Pittsburgh Courier* declined. The *Pittsburgh Courier* remained locally owned until the middle of the 1960s when it was purchased by Chicago interests (Glasco 1989 p.93-94). Ralph Lemuel Hill reports copies for 1910, 1911, 1912 but not for 1912-1923.

Rause, Vince. "Welcome Back to the Hill." *Pittsburgh*. March 1992. pp.30-35. This article features the Crawford Square project and the 550 new residents it is designed to attract the Lower Hill District. A St. Louis real estate company, McCormack, Baron and Associates is constructing the project. When both phases are completed, Crawford Square will contain 130 townhouses and 420 rental units. Unlike the other the more promotional real estate articles, this piece also discusses community concerns that this project will result in gentrification. Even with some subsidized properties, Reverend Gregory Greene, pastor of the Powerhouse Church of God in Christ the housing is not within the reach of most Lower Hill District residents. Instead, Greene believes the Crawford Square project will attract more well-to-do to the area and drive the poor from their homes. "Poor people are being excluded, many of them are going to be relocated, pushed up into the projects. I believe in the long haul that that's the plan. These people who live here for years, suffered trying to survive, are going to be left out in the cold."

Reid, Ira. *Social Conditions of the Negroes of Pittsburgh*. Urban League Study. 1930. Mentions the bootlegging and brothels on Wylie Avenue from Washington to Fullerton Streets as well as Clark Street above Fullerton.

Richman, Hyman. "Life on Pittsburgh's 'Hill': Some Views and Values of Jews Who Lived There Before the 1940s." *Pittsburgh History* 74, no. 1 (1991) pp.10-19. Like Goldman's article above, this piece is a personal reminiscence of growing up Jewish in the Hill District. Richman discusses the Hill District from the turn of the century through the 1940s. This article is notable for its examination of Jewish piecework laborers in Hill District cigar making firms. There is also discussion of the heated political debates between socialists and communists. The synagogues, bath houses and Jewish labor organizations were important centers for socializing and political debate. Some mention of anti-Semiticism in the Hill District.

Rodgers-Melnick, Ann. "Baptists Gather, Donate for Resurrection of Hill." *Pittsburgh Press*. September 29, 1991. Attempt by the Allegheny Union Baptist Association to resurrect the boarded up Phoenix Hills Shopping Center in the Lower Hill District.

Rosenwett, Alvin. "Pittsburgh's Negro After 200 Years." *Post-Gazette Magazine* 1959. This piece chronicles the enormous political change within the

African-American community in 1933. "Pittsburgh's Negroes, in revolt against the Democratic South, voted Republican until the New Deal came to power in 1933. Then Robert L. Vann, as editor and publisher of the Courier, swung his support to the Democratic Party. With him went a major segment of the Negro vote in the Third and Fifth Wards. The Hill has remained Democratic since then."

Ruck, Robert. *Sandlot Seasons: Sport in Black Pittsburgh*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987). This volume covers the rich history of sport in the Hill District including playgrounds, semi-professional basketball, sandlot baseball, and the Pittsburgh Crawfords professional baseball team of the Negro National League. Ruck's volume is also surprisingly useful in characterizing the early 20th century history of the Hill District, class divisions within the African-American community, career histories of African-American baseball and basketball players with a connection to the Hill District, and biographical sketches of such local notables as Gus Greenlee and William A. ("Woogie") Harris.

Selavan, Ida. "The Social Evil in an Industrial Society: Prostitution in Pittsburgh, 1900-1925." University of Pittsburgh Library Papers. Discusses prostitution in the Hill District.

Sharpe, Jerry. "A Supermarket for Human Services." *The Pittsburgh Press Roto*. February 24, 1974, p. 18. This magazine article describes the services provided by Hill House.

Staples, Brent. "August Wilson." E*ssence*. vol. 18, no. 4 (August 1987): pp. 51, 11, 113. This article examines blues music and oral tradition in Wilson's plays.

Vondas, Jerry. "Happy days on the Hill" *The Pittsburgh Press Roto*. June 3, 1973, p.26. Clarence Smith recalls the Hill District. He remembers sandlot baseball teams in the Hill District's Washington Park. He remembers local boxing matches. As a local musicians he played for a number of big bands and remembers many other local big bands. He enumerates many of the churches in the Hill District as well as their religious leaders.

Williams, Melvin D. *The Human Dilemna: A Decade Later in Belmar*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1992. See below.

-----. *On the Street Where I Live: A Study of the Life Styles of Poor Urban Blacks*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981. Although an ethnography of Belmar, the residents of this neighborhood originated in the Lower Hill District. Because of the Pittsburgh Renaissance in the 1950s, they resettled in Belmar. Williams examines the history behind the arrival of African-Americans in Belmar. With the arrival of the displaced Hill District residents, middle class residents, both white and African-Americans left Belmar.

-----. *Community in a Black Pentecostal Church: An Anthropological Study*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1974. [reprint Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, 1984]. originally published as "A Pentecostal Congregation in Pittsburgh: A Religious Community in a Black Ghetto." Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1973. An ethnography of a storefront Pentecostal church known as the Zion Holiness Church (not the real name) located in the lower Hill District. The poor African-American congregants attempt to create a community of morality and

order amidst a society characterized by immortality and disorder. For a discussion of the Hill District see pages 17-18.

Wilson, August. *Two Trains Running*. (New York: Penguin, 1992). Playwright August Wilson (1945-2005), who grew up in the Hill District and went to Central Catholic in Oakland, has written a cycle of plays that focuses on the African-American experience in the twentieth century. Each of his plays accentuates the African-American reality of racism and discrimination in a specific decade. Many of the plays have a Pittsburgh or Hill District locale. For instance, *Fences* takes place in the Hill District of the 1950s. *Two Trains Running* examines Memphis Lee's restaurant in 1969. Memphis, the owner of the Hill District restaurant, is faced with the condemnation of his establishment for proposed urban renewal. This play is full of African-American customs, traditions, and beliefs that would be of interest to folklorists. Folk beliefs, funeral practices and folk healing systems are highlighted in *Two Trains Running*. This play also mentions various Hill District locations. Wilson's plays should be reviewed for possible interview questions and Hill District sites to be investigated. Critics have noted that his plays includes vernacular speech, traditional dance, blues and jazz, as well as storytelling, and voodoo conjuring. See bibliographic entries for Brent Staples and Samuel G. Freedman. There is a wealth of biographical information and critical reviews of August Wilson in *Black Literary Criticism*, *Contemporary Literary Criticism* and *Contemporary Authors*. Much of this material evaluates folklife influences on Wilson.

Wilson, Robert E. and Frank A. Zabrosky, compilers. *Resources on the Ethnic and the Immigrant in the Pittsburgh Area*. First edition. (Pittsburgh: Prepared for the Pittsburgh Council on Higher Education, Ethnic Studies Committee, 1979). Includes a list of dissertations and published materials on the Hill District.

Wright, V.C. "Social Aspects of Housing." M.A. Thesis. University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA. 1927. Describes exterior water sources for homes unsanitary conditions including privies, and drug use including cocaine.

Manuscripts

Hill District
Irene Kaufmann Settlement Papers
1916-1938
3 boxes
A. Subject Files, 1922-1936.
B. Photographs 1916-1936.
Arranged by subject; chronological arrangement.

The official mission of the Irene Kaufmann Settlement is to develop interracial harmony. Located in the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, this collections includes reports, newsletters, programs, leaflets, handbills, brochures, tickets, post cards, posters, building plans, clippings and photographs. "When the Irene Kaufmann Settlement was built in 1909, it continued the work of the Columbian Council School created in 1895 by the Council of Jewish Women. (Hill

1973 p.154)" Wealthy Jewish-Americans, chiefly German supported the Irene Kaufmann Settlement (Hill 1973 p.157). "Although visiting nurse service and baby clinics were offered in the Negro community, many years passed before Negroes were granted use of facilities inside the settlement (Hill 1973 p.61)."

(IV) Minersville

Hall, Bradley W. "Elites and Spatial Change in Pittsburgh: Minersville as a Case Study." *Pennsylvania History* 48 (October 1981) pp. 311-334.

Annotated Videography

General

"Flying off the Bridge to Nowhere and Other Tales of Pittsburgh Bridges" (1990). Includes a bridge buried under the Frick Art Museum.

"George Romero and the City of the Living Dead." Producer/Writer/Editor Rick Sebak. 1991. approximately 30 minutes. Documentary of George A. Romero, noted horror filmmaker who uses local Pittsburgh sites as part of his films. Originally from New York City, Romero came to Pittsburgh in 1957. Romero is best remembered for his 1968 cult classic "Night of the Living Dead." His Pittsburgh crew has continuously helped Romero for years. Local sites mentioned in the documentary are: Hunt Armory in Shadeyside, Edgewood, Washington, Braddock, Monroeville Mall, Evans City, and Wampam.

"Kennywood Memories." Producer/Writer/Narrator -- Rick Sebak. 1988. approximately 60 minutes. In 1987 the U.S. Department of the Interior recognized Kennywood Park as a National Historic Landmark. Beginning in 1899, residents from the Pittsburgh area have journeyed ten miles up the Monongahela River from downtown Pittsburgh to this amusement park with a vast array of old wooden roller coaster rides, boats in the lake, the Noah's Ark ride, Laff in the Dark ride, riding ponies, merry-go-rounds, antique rides, bumper cars and rides specifically for small children. Originally owned by the Kenny family, it started as a popular picnic site known as "Kenny's Grove" around the Civil War. Leased from the Kenny family in the late nineteenth century, Kennywood Park was started by a trolley company. Today Kennywood Park is run as a family business with historical links to public transportation. Probably most notable is the world-renowned roller coaster known as "The Thunderbolt." People also went to enjoy picnics, food, skill games, video and penny arcades, music and shows. More importantly Kennywood Park sponsors various ethnic days such as Italian Day which began in 1935. As part of Italian Day, less fortunate children from all over the city are brought to the park. For over 75 years the Scottish have celebrated their ethnicity at Kennywood Park. This film also details the occupational folklife of the workers who run and maintain the various rides and food concessions as well as the staff responsible for the garden displays and the grounds. Kennywood Park is known for its hand-sliced french fries served in the "The Potato Patch." Another culinary specialty of the park is the "Kennywood corn dog" which is a hot dog on a wooden stick which is then dipped in batter and then fried. For a written history of the park see Charles J. Jacques, Jr.'s *Kennywood: Roller Coaster Capitol of the World*. Jacques also wrote: *West View Park: Goodbye*, a park which closed in 1977.

Street Songs: Pittsburgh Street Singer Bill Dorsey. Director: Craig McTurk. This documentary film is an ethnographic study of the life of Bill Dorsey, a street singer and a fixture on Oakland streets. *Street Songs* profiles Dorsey's sense of identity as both an African-American and a blind man. It is clear that Dorsey continually struggles with problems of discrimination against the handicapped as well as racism. This may illuminate why he has been in jail seven times. For unexplained reasons, others consider him dangerous. He currently plays gospel and blues. Dorsey accompanies his singing by playing the electric organ. He has met with some success in his twenty-eight years as a singer and musician. He has opened for Koko Taylor. He performed in Carnegie Music Hall with Robert Cray, John Hamilton, Jr. and John Lee Hooker. He eats at the McCrory's restaurant counter because unlike other restaurants McCrory's does not refuse to serve him. Dorsey grew up in the Hill District and now lives in Terrace Village, a low-income housing project. Despite his blindness, Dorsey is able to repair large appliances such as washing machines. The film details his meager income -- SSI checks and money he collects when performing. This film was shown on June 7, June 12 and June 11 at the 1993 Three Rivers Art Festival. This film has been included in two May 1993 venues: the National Educational Film and Video Festival and the 1993 National Educational Media Market. Director McTurk is a former student at Pittsburgh Filmmakers in Oakland and now lives in California. 35 minutes. Information about renting or purchasing this video is available through the National Educational Media Market. Telephone (510) 465-6885.

Oakland

"Transplant Town." Producer/Writer Rick Sebak. 1987. WQED. Approximately 30 minutes. Medical research developments and health care breakthroughs have led to Oakland becoming a center for transplants particularly of hearts, lungs and livers. The hospital complex in Oakland includes Children's Hospital of Pittsburgh and Presbyterian-University Hospital. Doctors do more transplants at Presbyterian than at any other hospital in the world. The Pittsburgh Transplant Foundation in Shadyside is responsible for the recovery, storage and distributing of donated organs and tissues. Family House in Oakland provides support services for transplant patients and their families. Those Who Wait is a volunteer organization that helps families and transplant patients. This network of people throughout the area started at the Sharon Community Presbyterian Church in Moon Township near the airport. This group provides drivers as well as hosting out-of-towners in their homes. Transplant Recipients International Organization (TRIO) headquartered in Pittsburgh provides support groups for transplant patients. Allegheny General Hospital specializes in living donor transplant surgeries. Brief discussion of transplant folklore. (This film includes graphic scenes of human organs and transplant surgery.)

"University of Pittsburgh -- The Story of High Places." History and story of the University of Pittsburgh. Footage depicts graduations and laboratory scenes.

The Hill District

"Holy Pittsburgh!" 1989. Producer/Writer/Narrator Rick Sebak. WQED. Approximately 60 minutes. Part of the Pittsburgh History Series. Examines Pittsburgh's houses of worship including those in the Hill District and in Oakland. "Holy Pittsburgh" examines five congregations that were founded downtown. Some of the churches featured include the Hill District's Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church which is thought to be the oldest African-

American church in the city and was a center for civil rights efforts in the 1960s. Known as Mother Bethel, it started as Sunday School in 1808. St. Peter's which moved from Pittsburgh to Oakland circa 1909. Includes discussion of Rodef Shalom Congregation on Fifth Avenue. This Jewish congregation has changed location. The oldest Jewish congregation in Pittsburgh, it is now in Oakland, but it was downtown. From 1880 to 1900 a huge influx of immigrants swelled the Jewish population. Rodef Shalom has been in Oakland since 1907. Architect Henry Hornbostel designed Rodef Shalom with a large open masonry vault interior. Originally downtown, St. Peter's Episcopal Church stood at Grant and Diamond, where the Frick is now. The pre-Civil War church was moved stone by stone to Oakland on Forbes and Craft. With the growth in the surrounding commercial development, the congregation has diminished in size. The Heinz Memorial Chapel on the University of Pittsburgh campus is the work of the Philadelphia architect Charles Kleider. Kleider also designed the Cathedral of Learning. The nondenominational Chapel was built of hand carved Indiana limestone, the Chapel is now the site of many weddings. As many as six weddings are scheduled two hours apart and the ceremonies have been civil, Jewish or of various Christian denominations. The stained glass is surprising secular with a mixture of religious and historic figures such as Grover Cleveland, Abigail Adams, Abraham Lincoln, and Leonardo DaVinci. Any one who has graduated from the University of Pittsburgh or has a relative who went there, can have a wedding at the Chapel. Congregations in such areas as South Side, Strip District, North Side, East Liberty, Troy Hill, Polish Hill, Carnegie, Monongahela, Ambridge, Monroeville, Penn Hill and Millvale are also detailed. Religious practice is intertwined with the ethnic identity and traditions of such groups as German, Ukranian, Croatian, Irish, Sikh and Hindu. St. Michael's on the South Side puts on a passion play known as "Veronica's Veil." St. Anthony's of Troy Hill contains 5,000 relics! Because of financial difficulties and various building projects many churches are threatened or have been torn down.

"In Black and White: Conversations with African-American Writers -- August Wilson." CNEWS. 1992. 22 minutes. Playwright August Wilson traces his work back to a troubled childhood in the Hill District and discusses his ongoing project to write a play about African-American life in each decade of the 20th century. He describes his award-winning plays *Fences*, *Joe Turner's Come and Gone*, and *Ma Rainey's Black Bottom* as passing down the wisdom of the African-American community. Wilson is clearly sensitive to the importance of cultural tradition which for the playwright is visceral: "It's almost as if I'm connecting with something larger than myself.... It's part of what I call the blood's memory."

"Things that Aren't There Anymore." Approximately 60 minutes. 1990. producer/Writer/Narrator Rick Sebak. Part of the Pittsburgh History Series. Nostalgic look at buildings, institutions, and groups that are no longer in existence. Portrays the Isaly's ice cream stores. Brought to Pittsburgh from Ohio in 1931, Henry Isaly manufactured ice cream and ran a chain of ice cream shops. Islay's central office and manufacturing plant was located on the Boulevard of the Allies in Oakland. Crowds would first go to the free movies in Schenley Park and then run to the Isaly's store on the Boulevard of the Allies for nickel ice cream cones. Twenty people behind the counter would scoop the ice cream. They sold tall pointed ice cream cones known as skyscrapers that were made with special scopes. They sold unexpected flavors with unexpected names. They sold ice cream, milk shakes and "Klondikes" -- squares of ice cream dipped in chocolate. Isaly's sold more than ice cream and dairy products, the stores also had dairy cases with salads and sandwich meats including chipped ham. While owned by the Isaly's it was considered a family operation in which everyone chipped in to help. Occupational lore states that "ISALY" stands for "I

Shall Always Love You." The Isaly family sold the business in 1972. The Boulevard of the Allies Store closed in 1984.

This videotape also takes a look at Forbes Fields in Oakland. Luna Park opened in Oakland in 1905 and was at the end of Grant Boulevard which was later renamed Bigelow Boulevard. It lasted for only five years and closed in 1909. After a serious fire in 1909 they did not rebuild the park. Other lost institutions include the agricultural fair known as the Allegheny County Fair at South Park which was first held in 1933 ended in 1973, South Park Drive-In, West View Park an amusement park that opened in 1906 and closed in 1977. West View Park featured rides such as the roller coasters and music at danceland. Another amusement park was Aliquippa Park. Pittsburgh was in earlier times rich in streetcar service.

In addition, Pittsburgh has lost a rich heritage of movie houses including the South Hills Theater in Dormant, the downtown Nickelodeon on Smithfield Street, the Warner Theater on Fifth Avenue, the Loew's Penn Theater, and the Stanley Theatre which had a stage show.

A number of department stores downtown have long since disappeared -- Rosenbaum, Frank & Seder, Kaufman's, as well as the downtown restaurant Donahoe's. Jenkins Arcade was located at Fifth and Liberty Avenues. In 1980 there was the Controlled demolition of The Carlton House, a hotel and apartment house on Grant Street on Bigelow Boulevard. The Casino Theater was on Forbes Avenue.

Frank Boulden worked for the Pittsburgh Courier and covered the nightclub and music scene. At the Musician's Club on Wylie Avenue out-of-town musicians would jam with local musicians. The Harlem Club & Bar was located on 1400 Wylie Avenue. At the corner of Wylie and Fullerton was Goode's Drug Store. Many celebrities would come into the drugstore. Most of the establishments were separate and segregated. Around the end of World War II the nightclub scene blossomed in the Pittsburgh area. The Copa was on Liberty Avenue. Crawford Grill Number Two in the Hill District was a hot place for jazz. Walt Harper's Attic downtown in the 1960s and 1970s.

Hockey teams played at the Duquesne Gardens. Originally a streetcar barn at Fifth and Craig in Oakland, Duquesne Gardens had a large ice surface. The Ice Capades and the Ice Follies skated there. This videotape examines the ball fields used by the Homestead Grays and the Pittsburgh Crawfords. Both teams were owned by African-Americans. The local residents supported these two teams. Even as a sandlot team mostly made up of seventeen year olds, 3,000 to 5,000 people would come out to watch. Satchel Page played for the Crawfords. Until 1970, Forbes Field was the home of the Pittsburgh Pirates and the Homestead Grays. Forbes Field was built in the spring of 1909 in just four months. In 1935 and 1936 the Grays and the Crawfords fielded hall of fame teams.

Ruth Lavalle of Kunst Bakery was part of the old Oakland community. She describes the pleasure in going to the ballpark. Forbes Field was surrounded by small counter establishments that sold beer and hot dogs. Forbes Field was also the site for circuses, concerts, football games and wrestling matches. Forbes Field was the site of the 1960 world series. The last game was played on June 28, 1970.

"Wylie Avenue Days." 1991. Produced by Doug Bolin and Chris Moore. WQED. Approximately 60 minutes. Part of the Pittsburgh History Series. Wylie Avenue Days examines the Hill District from the 1930s through the 1950s. During this period music clubs and private clubs attracted both African-Americans and whites. The Hill District during this period was to Pittsburgh what Harlem was to New York. At this time it was a center for music, literature and art. The heart and soul of this area was Wylie Avenue which still runs the length of the Hill District and into downtown. There was something happening on the Avenue 24 hours a day. This video also examines the Negro League baseball teams as well as

church picnics and family business. The summer picnics emptied the Hill District as they congregated in a South Park pool known as Sully's Grove, the only pool that would admit African-Americans. In this segregated era, the Hill District was a self-contained areas with a full range of African-American commercial establishments including lawyers' offices, printing shops, dry cleaners, doctors' offices, summer camps, butcher shops, drugstores, beauty salons, furniture stores, various theaters including movie emporiums such as the Rhumba Theatre, C. McEvoy Jeweler, pawn shops, Pernell Printing Shop, fur shops and hotels.

Friday and Saturday nights were date nights, when couples would dress their best and go out to bars. One could go out dancing at the Harlem Casino Danceland on Centre Avenue. A popular dance step of this era was trucking which included putting your hand on your hip.

Another night spot was the Hurricane also on Centre Avenue. Many notable musicians played at the Crawford Grill. Many of the nightclubs were patronized mostly by whites, as one interviewee notes the clubs were, "99% white." Clubs would feature Sarah Vaughn, Billy Eckstein, and Dizzy Gillespie. Billy Eckstein's big band would include such notable musicians as Art Blakey, Dexter Gordon, and John Coltrane. Cab Calloway would come in for musical engagements. The big bands of Artie Shaw, Duke Ellington and Count Basie would play downtown and then to an after-hours club in the Hill District. The Crawford Grill Number Two was a jazz mecca in the 1950s. Another spot was the Musician's Club. The Celebrity Cafe run by George and Sarah Harley on Centre Avenue was another important nightspot. Drummer Art Blakey would play at the Celebrity Cafe during the early part of his musical career. Tap dancers would perform at the Celebrity Cafe floorshows.

Every fifteen minutes radio station WHOD would devote a program to one of Pittsburgh's many ethnic groups. Mary Dee obtained the sponsors to pay her salary. In 1948 everyone tuned their radios to the disc jockey Mary Dee on WHOD. Eventually she hosted a variety of shows on WHOD. She popularized African-American music to a larger audience. She called the corner of Wylie and Fullerton the "crossroads of the world."

Today this crossroads is a parking lot for the Civic Arena. In the late 1950s, this area was doomed when the Housing Authority of Pittsburgh opened an Urban Redevelopment Field Office in the Lower Hill District. The theaters, businesses and housing were torn down. An entire way of life came apart. The heyday of Wylie Avenue and the Hill District was coming to a close. Urban renewal meant the removal of the African-American population. The Jewish and Italian populations dispersed. The African-American population did not have many places to go. The redevelopment knocked down the important economic base that fueled the success of the Hill District. The uprooted businesses and residents were not compensated adequately. As they were forced out of their homes they left the Hill District, living conditions for those who remained started to deteriorate. The subsequent development helped the city but ultimately destroyed a thriving community.

The community fought back and held back future demolition at Crawford and Wylie Avenue. This intersection became known as "freedom corner." The community stated that the city would no longer demolish residential housing in order to erect commercial development. The community wanted housing to be provided. Protests and parades would begin at freedom corner at the steps of St. Benedict the Moor.

After the death of Martin Luther King in 1968, the Hill District was ravaged by riots. People were bitter about unemployment and local mistreatment. Looters broke into stores. By the time the fires were extinguished, Wylie Avenue days were just a memory. The riots and fires marked the end of many businesses in the Hill District.

The success of these businesses were in part a result of the sorry fact that African-Americans were not welcome outside of the Hill District. Because African-Americans were not welcome they did not go downtown. Women had to buy a dress without trying them on first. African-Americans males were not even allowed in some stores. African-Americans could not sit down and enjoy an ice cream at Isaly's. African-American businessmen were not welcome downtown. They could not rent storefronts. Jobs were not easy to find. At other times they were quoted very high prices for items. Orders for fur coats were filled in the Hill District but the fur items were sold downtown to whites by white-owned businesses. The stores downtown would sew their own label onto the garment made by African-Americans in the Hill District.

Because of discrimination, the Hill District had its own police. Officer Oliver Mason was known for carrying weapons and repairing children's bicycles from parts he kept in his car trunk. Violent crime and burglary were relatively rare in the Hill District.

People were not afraid of coming to the Hill District. There were illegal activities on Wylie Avenue such as after hours clubs, prostitution, and the numbers. Those that wrote the numbers became the Hill District's financial tycoons and folk heroes. The numbers writers were trustworthy, respected, and honest. These Hill District writers were not organized crime or criminals but rather people you knew and possibly relatives. The police rarely arrested people engaged in numbers. The police prosecuted shoplifters, street fighting and crap games on the street. Numbers was important for the unemployed; one penny would win $7. Two notable numbers writers was Woogie Harris and Gus Greenlee who owned the Crawford Grill. Gus and Woogie were seen as compassionate people. Gus and Woogie loaned money so that lawyers and doctors could open up offices. Banks would not loan African-Americans money. The numbers writers supported political campaigns, civic events and helped neighbors in hard times. Numbers writers also helped to foster a Negro Baseball Team in Pittsburgh. Greenlee built his own ballpark and owned the Pittsburgh Crawfords. One could find the players in Crawfords Grill at night.

There were also boxing matches on the Hill that often featuring local talent. One notable heavyweight fight was the 1951 Ezra Charles-Jersey Joe Walcott fight at Forbes Field.

Portrait of Archie's Place Barber Shop on 1616 Fifth Avenue which is run by Archie who worked in Woogie Harris' Crystal Barbershop during the heyday of the Hill District. Current haircuts may have different names but basically they are the same as those given in the 1940s. For example the "High English" is now known as "The Box." During this period would use home remedies to try and straighten hair, but it would result in people becoming temporarily bald.

The video uses interviews to highlight Goode's Pharmacy on Fullerton and Wylie which was open 24 hours a day. This pharmacy was across the street from Stanley's Tavern, and nearby was Crawford Grill Number 1.

Additional businesses were portrayed. Luther Johnson, Senior, a commercial photographer, ran the Johnson Studio with the help of his son Albert Johnson. The Owl Cab Company, an African-American owned business was only allowed to pick up passengers in African-American neighborhoods. If drivers violated this rule and picked someone up downtown they were arrested and the company fined. Nesbit's was a well-known restaurant on Wylie Avenue. Run by George Nesbit, it was known for its fried chicken and roast beef. They were also known for their strawberry, coconut, custard and sweet potato pies.

The *Pittsburgh Courier* reported on national and local news. Robert L. Vann, the publisher, developed the *Pittsburgh Courier* into the largest Black weekly in America. It reported social news and Black society functions. In the 1930s and 1940s it was distributed nationally with some fourteen regional editions. The Pullman porters delivered the papers throughout the South. An important photographer for the newspaper was Teenie "One Shot" Harris who took

some 80,000 photographs in Pittsburgh. The newspaper covered religion, sports, cooking and the home, as well as a society scene.

There were some 50 different organizations for women including the Aurora Reading Club. Various mens groups grew out of professional or business relationships such as the Black Professional Association. The PBA sponsored a beauty pageant. It also held the PBA Annual Parade which was filmed by the Johnson Studio. Many businesses sponsored floats in the parade. The Frogs (Friendly Rivalry Often Generates Success) organized in 1910, was an important site for African-American social events when Blacks were barred from using downtown establishments. They sponsored dinners, parties, dances, concerts, and games. A larger men's club, the Loendi Club had a three story building also near the corner of Wylie and Fullerton. Count Basie and Duke Ellington were regulars at the club when they were in Pittsburgh.

The Hill nurtured musical talents such as Billy Eckstein, Lena Horne, Erroll Garner, Earl Hines, Mary Lou Williams, Roy Eldrige, George Benson, Billy Strayhorn, and Ahmad Jamal. They all lived in the Hill District at one time or another. August Wilson grew up on Bedford Avenue. Wilson describes the Hill District as a "mixed neighborhood" containing Syrians and Italians. Discussion of the nicknames of the more notable Hill District characters such as "church" the one legged man with the many keys.

The Hill District has had many distinguished churches. Includes Ebenezer Baptist Church, John Wesley AME Zion Church, Mother Bethel, Warren United Methodist, Central Church, and Monumental Baptist Church. The St. Benedict the Moor Church which recently celebrated its centennial. In the 1930s, the bishop excluded whites from the St. Benedict congregation.

When Pittsburgh was still a smoky city, the Hill District was a jumping off point for immigrants. African-Americans fleeing persecution in the south and seeking jobs in the industrial north came to the Hill District. The peak of African-American migration to Pittsburgh was during the Depression. In 1917 one woman recalls conditions were hard. People would sleep on dirt floors. According to Rollo Turner some men lived in boxcars on the railroad. The railroad company would charge 5 cents a night to sleep in them. At this time, the area had high tuberculosis rates. The various groups lived and interacted with each other.

"A World of Ideas with Bill Moyers 1: August Wilson." 1988. 29 minutes. PBS. African-American playwright August Wilson shares his insights on the influence blues music on literature and how it has shaped his philosophy of life and drama. He also talks about finding African-American cultural identity and the portrayal of African-Americans on television.

Table 1:
Oakland - Composite Population and Housing Statistics

Year	Total	Change	Percent Change	Total Under 18 Years	Percent Under 18 Years
1940	27,451	---	---	6,305	22.96819788
1950	32,294	4,843	17.64234454	7,313	22.64507339
1960	26,912	(5,382)	-16.66563448	6,018	22.3617717
1970	24,874	(2,038)	-7.572829964	5,149	20.70032966
1980	23,493	(1,381)	-5.551981989	2,648	11.27144256
1990	21,073	(2,420)	-10.30094071	1,472	6.985241779

Year	Minority Population Total	Percent of Total	Change	Percent Change	Minority Under 18 Years	Percent Under 18 Years
1940	763	2.78	---	---	244	31.97903014
1950	2,365	7.32	1,602	209.9606815	na	na
1960	3,571	13.27	1,206	50.99365751	na	na
1970	5,058	20.33	1,487	41.64099692	na	na
1980	7,309	31.11	2,251	44.50375643	na	na
1990	5,584	26.50	(1,725)	-23.60103981	959	17.17406877

Housing

Units (HUs)

Year	Total HUs	Change in HUs	Percent Change in HUs
1940	8,014	---	---
1950	9,521	1,507	18.80459196
1960	10,144	623	6.543430312
1970	9,829	(315)	-3.105283912
1980	9,795	(34)	-0.345915149
1990	8,777	(1,018)	-10.39305768

This information was compiled from separate studies of Central Oakland, South Oakland, West Oakland and North Oakland. The studies were completed by the City of Pittsburgh, Department of City Planning, April 1991.

separate studies of

Table 2: Oakland - Composite Population and Single Ancestry Statistics

Single Ancestry	Tract 402	403	404	405	406	407	409	411	507	8
Arab	0	34	0	88	10	22	6	0	0	
Austrian	0	0	0	19	8	0	0	0	0	
Belgian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Canadian	0	13	0	0	18	0	0	0	0	
Czech	0	19	5	6	0	16	0	0	5	
Danish	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Dutch	0	19	0	0	27	0	0	0	0	
English	18	107	25	84	47	19	0	8	91	
Finnish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
French	0	18	0	14	10	6	0	0	4	
French Canadian	0	0	0	0	10	7	0	0	0	
German	49	787	50	214	230	39	39	0	97	
Greek	0	57	10	10	72	0	0	0	0	
Hungarian	0	67	25	4	5	0	10	0	0	
Irish	113	431	31	150	202	75	34	0	109	
Italian	34	475	9	442	378	214	87	0	41	
Lithuanian	0	57	8	7	7	0	16	0	9	
Norwegian	0	34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Polish	13	222	37	64	59	92	173	0	40	
Portuguese	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Romanian	0	40	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	
Russian	0	257	56	41	45	9	10	0	0	
Scotch-Irish	0	97	0	15	24	15	6	0	13	
Scottish	0	100	0	9	17	0	0	0	10	
Slovak	12	163	0	64	56	36	61	0	10	
Subsaharan African	0	16	10	0	0	5	32	0	0	
Swedish	0	13	15	9	0	7	0	0	0	
Swiss	6	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Ukrainian	0	68	0	0	0	10	14	0	0	
U.S.A.	0	205	15	22	46	16	13	0	55	
Welsh	0	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
West Indian	5	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Yugoslavian	0	9	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	
Race or Hispanic	421	505	25	199	174	427	420	668	150	
Other Groups	51	587	170	457	285	49	115	0	141	
Multiple ancestry	201	3369	159	888	589	392	432	38	276	
Unclassified	86	447	40	197	137	51	408	181	99	
Total	1009	8312	690	3018	2456	1507	1876	895	1150	

Table 3: Hill District - Composite Population and Housing Statistics

Year	Total	Change	Percent Change	Total Under 18 Years	Percent Under 18 Years
1940	27,451			6,305	22.96819788
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1980	7,309	26.63	2,251	44.50375643	na	na
1990	5,584	20.34	(1,725)	-23.60103981	959	17.17406877

Housing Units (HUs)

Year	Total HUs	Change in HUs	Percent Change in HUs
1940	8,014	---	---
1950	9,521	1,507	18.80459196
1960	10,144	623	6.543430312
1970	9,829	(315)	-3.105283912
1980	9,795	(34)	-0.345915149
1990	8,777	(1,018)	-10.39305768

This information was compiled from separate studies of Central Oakland, South Oakland, West Oakland and North Oakland. The studies were completed by the City of Pittsburgh, Department of City separate studies of

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Table 3: The Hill District Composite Population Statistics

Area	Year 1960	Year 1970	Change	Percent Change
Terrace Village	10,446	8,135	(2,311)	-22.12
Bedford Dwellings	4,600	3,635	(965)	-20.98
Lower Hill	9,897	5,634	(4,263)	-43.07
Middle Hill	13,287	8,316	(4,971)	-37.41
Upper Hill	5,216	4,187	(1,029)	-19.73
Total	43,446	29,907	(13,539)	-31.16

This information was compiled from separate studies of Terrace Village, Bedford Dwellings, Lower Hill, Middle Hill, and the Upper Hill. The community profiles were completed by the City of Pittsburgh Department of City Planning, August 1974.

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Table 4: Hill District - Composite Population and Single Ancestry Statistics

Single Ancestry	Tract 305	501	502	506	508	509	510	511	Total
Arab	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Austrian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Belgian	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Canadian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Czech	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Danish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dutch	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
English	7	0	0	10	0	8	0	0	25
Finnish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
French	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	8
French Canadian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
German	0	0	0	30	0	0	0	7	37
Greek	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	7
Hungarian	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	4
Irish	14	0	0	19	0	31	7	0	71
Italian	0	0	0	35	0	0	0	7	42
Lithuanian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Norwegian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Polish	16	0	0	32	0	0	0	0	48
Portuguese	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Romanian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Russian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Scotch-Irish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Scottish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Slovak	0	0	0	8	0	8	0	0	16
Subsaharan African	0	33	11	36	0	17	19	0	116
Swedish	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	5
Swiss	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ukrainian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
U.S.A.	0	12	0	24	26	70	61	26	219
Welsh	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
West Indian	0	6	0	11	0	11	12	0	40
Yugoslavian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Race or Hispanic	1211	918	891	1961	561	1737	2844	1200	11,323
Other Groups	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Multiple ancestry	63	41	8	236	0	53	88	9	498
Unclassified	145	79	135	197	77	362	545	260	1,800
Total	1462	1089	1045	2615	664	2297	3584	1509	14,265