

THE HILL DISTRICT OF PITTSBURGH -- A STUDY IN SUCCESSION

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FOREWORD

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Mr. Calvin F. Schmid of the Sociology Department of the University of Pittsburgh for his friendly interest and many helpful suggestions in his advisory capacity. I also wish to express my appreciation to the following students of the University of Pittsburgh for their aid in gathering necessary data for the study: Miss Eleanor Cox, Miss Rose Karelitz, Miss Frances Goldberg, Miss Dorothy Rubenstein, Mr. Morris Kaufman, and Mr. Milton Lubetz. To Rev. A. V. B. Hightower of the Afro-American Brotherhood of the World and to Miss Anna B. Heldman of the Irene Kaufmann Settlement I am also indebted for much valuable information which they so kindly supplied. Acknowledgments to other sources are made in the footnotes.

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Definition and Explanation of Terms

This thesis is a study of the process of succession of an area in Pittsburgh known as the "Hill District." Succession is a term in human ecology (1) which has been borrowed from biology with some modifications to describe the processes of change which take place in human communities. It is characterized by "a complete change in population type between the first and last stages, or a complete change in use" of a particular area. (2)

In the process of community growth certain areas which were in their original states the quarters of fashionable residents change completely in population type by becoming the dwelling place of people of lower economic strata. Instead of a change in the type of occupant, the original area often becomes a business or an industrial district.

(1). Warming, E. and Vahl, M. Oecology of Plants. Oxford, England. Clarendon Press. 1909, p. 12. Warming and Vahl, biologists, give the following definition of ecology: "Certain species group themselves into natural associations, that is to say, into communities which we meet with more or less frequently, and which exhibit the same combination of growth forms and the same facies."

Schmid, Calvin F. Suicides in Seattle, 1914 to 1925. Seattle, Washington. University of Washington Press. 1928, p.4. Professor McKenzie defines human ecology as: "The science which deals with the changing spatial and temporary relationships of human beings and human institutions. In other words, human ecology is the study of the processes and factors relating to human distribution observed in the light of time sequence, or rate of change."

(2). McKenzie, R. D. The Scope of Human Ecology. Proceedings American Sociological Society. Vol. XXXIII. Part 2, p.153.

This group displacement in cycle fashion is best described in terms of invasions and evacuations. In the initial stage of invasions there is a resistance offered the invaders. Keen competition for the occupancy of the territory is quite in evidence. The occupants try to withhold further intrusion but do not succeed. The question of the impending change in population makes it inadvisable to continue normal property improvements and repairs. Obsolescence and physical deterioration, therefore, result. Soon the owners because of economic necessity are forced to reduce the rentals. Low rents attract people of lower economic and cultural levels. Dissatisfied with living among these people who bring with them their modes and manners of life and often produce socially disreputable conditions through carelessness and neglect, all the "select" residents are impelled to move from this neighborhood. In this way the whole district is transformed into a socially deteriorated area. These areas of deterioration are known in human ecology as marginal or transitional areas.

If the invasion is a change in use, that is, when business or industry invades a residential district, the value of the land increases. Since business and industry can afford to pay more for the land, they are able to survive in the process of competition. In this way the residential area is transformed into a commercial or industrial area.

The process of succession is dynamic in character. As each group becomes adapted to its environment, there is always an invading group which displaces the former occupants and which is later completely displaced by still another group. One inva-

sion thus follows another in cycle form, each displacing the preceding one and each preparing the way for another.

B. The Scope of the Study

The Hill District received its name from its topography. It is built on a hill which rises gradually from the flat downtown section and extends to Herron Hill where it reaches its highest point. The district is characteristically a "natural area" in that it was not specifically planned. It was rather the natural result of the city's growth. The distribution of the population in this area was determined without design by the topography, transportation lines, wages, rents, sentiments, and rivalries. In delimitating this area for study political boundaries were discarded except in so far as they have to do with the "natural area." The boundaries of this area according to streets are: north, Bigelow Boulevard; east, Herron Avenue to Center Avenue, to Morgan Street, to Allequippa Street, to Fifth Avenue; south, Fifth Avenue; and west, Tunnel Street. Bigelow Boulevard lies below a high cliff adjacent to the tracks of the Pennsylvania Railroad. It is one of the busiest highways for automobile traffic in the city. The eastern delimitation seems to mark the end of the "black belt" and is also contiguous in part to the campus of the University of Pittsburgh. Fifth Avenue marks a definite boundary line because it is the other low extremity of the Hill as well as being a business street only and a main artery of traffic beside. Tunnel Street, at the base of the Hill, lies just outside of the central business district. It is the first street on which are seen old remnants of houses spared by the expansion of business and industry. Several of the old dwelling houses have already become small stores and plumbing shops.

This area has all the characteristics of what the sociologist calls the "zone of transition." These zones or marginal areas are characterized by a high degree of social disorganization and maladjustment. In such areas are found excessive mobility of population, juvenile delinquency, crime, poverty, high mortality rates, the black belt, the ghetto, Little Italy, vice, and rescue missions.

Within the boundaries mentioned there are approximately 780 acres of land. The estimated population is 50,000 persons. (3) All of Ward III and part of Ward V are included in the area. The population density varies from 83,260 per square mile in Ward III, which is seventy percent greater than the nearest ward (Ward XXIII), to 27,769 per square mile in Ward V. A heterogeneous population consisting of Irish, Jews, Italians, Syrians, and Negroes live here. Thirty-six percent in Ward III^{and} nineteen percent in Ward V are foreign born. (4)

(3). The Department of Research of the Chamber of Commerce in 1926 reported a total population of 59,003 for Wards III and V. The area below Chatham Street, the western boundary of Ward III, and that above Herron Avenue, the eastern boundary of the section, are considered in making the estimate.

(4). Department of Research, Chamber of Commerce. Pittsburgh, Pa. June, 1927.

C. The Method and Plan of the Study

The investigation of original documentary information and direct personal interviews were the means of securing the necessary data for this study. Histories of the city, city directories, social registers, land and title offices, old newspapers, and related studies were consulted. Interviews were had with former and present residents of this section of the city.

The plan of the study is divided into four parts.

Part I deals with the origin of the Hill District; Part II with the area as a fine residential section; Part III with the process of succession in operation; and Part IV with the result of this process, a deteriorated area.

II. THE ORIGIN OF THE HILL DISTRICT

The origin of the Hill District is associated with the early history of Pittsburgh. The building of the town began in 1764 after peace and permanency were established by means of strengthening Fort Pitt and making peace with the Indians. Colonel John Campbell was then called to make a survey and to lay out a plan of lots and streets in the area formed by the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers. The boundaries of these lots correspond to what are now Market Street, Water Street, Ferry Street, and Second Avenue. (1) (See map on Page 18.) The homes built on these lots were merely for the accommodation of traders and their customers. They did not serve to form a nucleus for a permanent settlement. At this time, however, pioneers were forging their way westward to Kentucky. Since Pittsburgh was a point of embarkation, the emigrants from the east stopped here. Delays because of low water stage and the necessity of building boats for transportation increased the trade and activity of the town. (2) In 1772 it had the aspect of a town and was the only one west of the Allegheny Mountains. (3) The population numbered about three hundred. No school or church was as yet organized. (4)

(1). Killikelly, Sarah H. History of Pittsburgh. Albany, N. Y. J. B. Lyon Co. 1906, p. 74.

(2). Wilson, Erasmus. Standard History of Pittsburgh. Chicago. H. R. Cornell and Company. 1898, p. 61.

(3). Boucher, J. N. A Century and a Half of Pittsburgh and Her People. Pittsburgh. Lewis Publishing Co. 1908, p. 86.

(4). Wilson, Erasmus. Standard History of Pittsburgh. Chicago. H. R. Cornell and Company. 1898, p. 62.

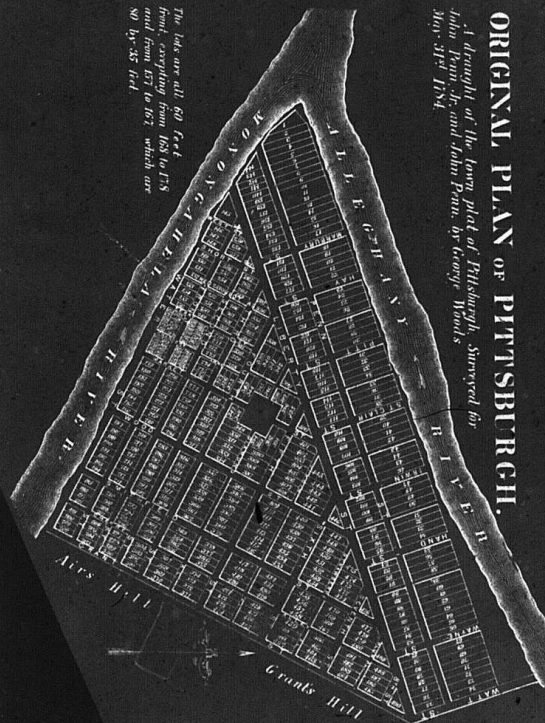
In 1783 the proprietaries, John Penn, Jr., and John Penn, decided to sell their land within the Manor of Pittsburgh. In order to facilitate the sale, they hired George Woods to survey and lay out regular lots in that part of the Manor which lay between the two rivers. (5) The survey known as the "Wood's Plan" was made in two parts. One was completed in May, 1784, consisted of 490 lots, and extended from the union of the two rivers to Grant Street on the Monongahela River across to the present Eleventh Street on the Allegheny River. (See map on Page 13.) The other part was completed in June, 1784, and consisted of four farms and forty outlots. It included the territory from Grant Street to about the present Frazier Street in Oakland along the Monongahela River; from the present Eleventh Street to about Thirty-third Street in Lawrenceville along the Allegheny River; and the area between both rivers about as far out as present Neville Street in Oakland. (See map on Page 14.)

(6) As indicated on the map, the present Hill District area lies within Farm Number 3 which consisted of 274 acres and was owned by A. C. Reed. This was first subdivided for a pretentious homestead for General Tannehill after the close of the Revolutionary War. He owned 200 acres of the 274 acre farm.(7)

(5). Ibid.

(6). The boundaries for the second part, as seen on the map on page 14, correspond to the boundaries found on a map of 1862 found in the Bureau of Surveys in the City-County Building.

(7). Survey by A. Tannehill and Sam Jones, attorneys for A.O. Reed, 1797. Found in Record of Original Plan of City of Pittsburgh, Vol. 4. Bureau of Surveys. City-County Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.



business directory of Pittsburgh for 1837 lists 193 business establishments. The next general city directory for 1839 gives 413 persons living on Grant's Hill. Industry continued to increase. In 1854 there are listed 308 manufactories in Pittsburgh and vicinity. (10) In 1852 the residents on the Hill totalled 1289. (11) The increase in the population at this time was due in a great measure to the great fire of 1845. One-third of the extent and one-half of the value of the city was laid in ruins. Fifty-six acres of compact houses were burned and 6000 people were rendered homeless and dependent on charity. (12) In order to rebuild the town many workers were attracted to the city by newspaper advertisements. One notice read:

"Mechanics wanted--Laborers, bricklayers, carpenters, plasterers, etc. Can now find immediate employment in this city in large numbers." (13)

The steady demand for more living quarters in the Hill District caused many subdivisions of the original farms and outlets to be made. These began in 1797 and continued to 1869. (14) The maps of 1830 and 1860 on pages 13 and 14 respectively show the changes that took place in the subdividing process. More thoroughfares appeared and the subdivisions became smaller. The city also had to make arrangements to supply pure water for the

(10). Pittsburgh Business Directory 1854-55, pp. 64-88.

(11). Pittsburgh Directory, 1852.

(12). Pittsburgh Daily Gazette and Advertiser, April 22, 1845.

(13). Ibid. April 14, 1845.

(14). Some of the subdivisions according to date, owners, and boundaries are given in the Record of Original Plans of Pittsburgh, Vol. 4. Bureau of Surveys. City-County Building. Pittsburgh.

rapidly increasing population on the Hill. On August 8, 1838, the Watering Committee of the city was authorized to purchase O'Hara's tract at Elm and Prospect Streets for \$25,000.00 and the Adam's tract on Quarry Street for \$2500.00. (15)

The first available city directory listing the churches and schools in the Hill District is that of 1852. There were six churches and two schools listed:

CHURCHES

1. Second Welsh BaptistChatham Street
2. Asbury Chapel--Methodist Episcopal.Townsend Street
3. Presbyterian.....Townsend and Franklin Streets
4. Second Presbyterian.....Washington Street
5. African Bethel--Methodist Episcopal.Wylie Avenue and Elm Street
6. African Methodist Episcopal.....Arthur Street

SCHOOLS

1. Sixth Ward School.....Franklin Street
2. Seventh Ward School.....Duncan and Green Streets

The origin and the development of the Hill District is, therefore, due to the succession or displacement of the original downtown residents because of the expansion of business and industry.

(15). Wilson, Erasmus. Standard History of Pittsburgh. Chicago. H. R. Cornell and Company. 1898, p. 712.

III. THE HILL DISTRICT: A FINE RESIDENTIAL SECTION

We have seen how the growth of business and industry and the increasing population of the city in its early history caused people to move into the Hill section. The necessity of living near their work was paramount. The factors which entered into determining this proximity to business and industry were undoubtedly the time spent in going to and returning from work, the absence of other means of travel, except by horse, and the nearness to the shopping and commercial center. We can, therefore, understand why in 1839 there were 336 out of 413 persons who resided in the lower part of the "Hill" between Grant and Fullerton Streets. The remaining 67 persons lived farther out above Fullerton Street to Minersville. Many of these were coal miners. It is significant, however, that 61 merchants and 17 professional people, 51 of whom lived below Fullerton Street, established residences in this newly developing section. (1)

More of the same type of people moved into the district later. In 1852 there were 126 such persons, as follows:

Gentlemen.....29	Engineers.....6
Merchants.....28	Clergymen.....4
Attorneys.....15	Druggists.....2
Physicians.....14	Aldermen.....2
Manufacturers.....8	Banker.....1
Professors and	
Teachers.....8	Editor.....1
Engine builders...7	Coroner.....1

These people were not segregated in any particular place but were distributed over the entire area as it existed at that time. (See map on page 19.) Proportionately a greater number lived on Center and Wylie Avenues. The other thoroughfares on which they

(1). Pittsburgh and Allegheny Directory, 1839.



CITY OF PITTSBURGH
1850

CHART 5



CHART 4
CITY OF PITTSBURGH - 1860 - 61

resided were: Bedford, Chatham, Clark, Cliff, Colwell, Congress, Crawford, Decatur (Hazel), Elm, Enoch, Federal (Fernando), Franklin (Epiphany), Fulton (Fullerton), Fourth (upper Center Avenue), Gum (Manilla), Logan, Robert, Townsend, Tunnel, Washington, and Webster. (2)

By 1837 more of the same kind of "select" persons moved into the district. They took up their residence farther up on the "Hill." Much of the section, it must be remembered, was still country land and houses appeared at wide intervals. Former residents reported that the population was concentrated below the present Devilliers Street and that the part above this street was all farm land on which houses were located sporadically. (3)

The number of persons of the "upper" economic level who lived on 37 streets in the undeveloped "Hill" district in 1887 totaled 322. The distribution according to professional status was as follows:

1. Engineer.....	77	15. Bank President.....	3
2. Attorney.....	43	16. Company Official.....	3
3. Merchant.....	41	17. Chemist.....	3
4. Doctor.....	32	18. Artist.....	3
5. Teacher.....	29	19. Judge.....	2
6. Manufacturer.....	19	20. Dentist.....	2
7. Editor.....	14	21. School Principal.....	2
8. Clergyman.....	9	22. Architect.....	1
9. Pharmacist.....	9	23. Banker.....	1
10. Music Teacher.....	8	24. Congressman.....	1
11. Musician.....	7	25. Coal Operator.....	1
12. Bank Cashier.....	4	26. Gentleman.....	1
13. Contractor.....	3	27. Jeweler.....	1
14. Real Estate Operator.....	3	Total.....	322

The following several illustrations give an idea of the concen-

- (2). Directory of Pittsburgh, 1852.
- (3). Information obtained through interviews.

tration on certain streets:

1. CENTER AVENUE

Attorneys.....17	Pharmacists.....2
Doctors.....10	Architect.....1
Merchants.....8	Bank President.....1
Manufacturers.....5	Clergyman.....1
Engineers.....4	Real Estate
Editors.....3	Operator.....1
Judges.....2	Congressmen.....1
	Total..... 56

2. WYLIE AVENUE

Doctors.....15	Manufacturers.....3
Engineers.....14	Editor.....1
Attorneys.....5	Banker.....1
Merchants.....4	Dentists.....2
Druggists.....4	Chemist.....1
Teachers.....4	Artist.....1
	Total..... 56

3. WEBSTER AVENUE

Engineers.....10	Clergymen.....2
Teachers.....8	Artist.....1
Merchants.....5	Musician.....1
Doctors.....4	School Principal..1
Chemists.....2	Manufacturer.....1
Attorneys.....2	Contractor.....1
	Total..... 38

4. CLIFF STREET (A comparatively short street.)

Merchants.....4	Bank President.....1
Attorneys.....2	Bank Cashier.....1
Engineers.....2	Teacher.....1
Manufacturers.....2	
	Total..... 13

5. COLWELL STREET (A comparatively short street.)

Merchants.....4	Clergyman.....1
Engineers.....3	Cashier.....1
Editors.....3	Musician.....1
	Total..... 13

6. CONGRESS STREET (A very short street.)

Engineers.....4	Attorney.....1
Merchants.....3	Cashier.....1
Music Teacher...1	Editor.....1
	Total..... 12 (4)

(4). directory of Pittsburgh, 1887-88.

A description of some of the houses shows the color

and type of persons who lived in them:

Jacob Ewart in 1840 erected his mansion on the old Seventh Street Road (Center Avenue). It was on a farm which consisted of 70 acres. This house later became the Montefiore Hospital. (5)

"Throughout the period of the Civil War and some twenty years after, the old house at 1835 Center Avenue, now the property of the Irene Kaufmann Settlement, was the scene of activity and wide and gracious hospitality. It was vine covered and set back from the street in a shady yard." (6) General Moorehead who lived here was active in politics, business, and philanthropy. He was President of the Monongehela Navigation Company, a Trustee of the Western University (now the University of Pittsburgh), President of the Chamber of Commerce, and a member of Congress for five terms. Among the distinguished visitors to his home were President James A. Garfield, President William McKinley, and probably Abraham Lincoln. Other reported visitors during 1870-80 were Horace Greeley, General Grant, General Meade, and the Vice-President of the United States, Colfax. One resident, Mr. Archibald Mackrell, in an interview, recalled the line of persons who formed along Center Avenue waiting to be received by these distinguished guests.

The home of James F. Tanner at 1620 Cliff Street, now the Rosalia Foundling Asylum, was spaciouly built. The writer on a visit there noted the large rooms with stained glass windows, the excellently carved woodwork, the special ventilating system, the large pieces of ivory imbedded in the wood of the balustrade. These, according to the person interviewed, appear as in their original state.

Further evidence of the fine residential character of the district was gained from the review of early social directories. The first edition of The Blue Book--Pittsburgh and Allegheny Social Directory, published in 1887, listed only the names of the socially prominent. In this volume there appeared the names of 114 persons who resided in this district. They were distributed as follows: Center Avenue 50, Wylie Avenue 18, Webster Avenue 14, Cliff Street 8, Bedford Avenue 4, Herron Avenue 3,

(5). Miller, Annie Clark. Chronicles of Families and Estates of Pittsburgh and Its Environs. Pittsburgh, Pa., 1927, p. 119.

(6). Vermorchen, E. M. The Hill District 70 Years Ago. Pittsburgh School Bulletin, December, 1928, 429.

Fulton Street 3, Vine, Washington, and Congress Streets 2 each, and Clark, Robert, Federal, Reed, Logan, Chatham, Colwell, and Granville Streets 1 each. (7)

In the first available Social Register of 1904, which contains a "record of the full names and addresses of members of prominent families," there appeared the following names: (8)

1. Mr. and Mrs. Andrew W. Herron, Center Avenue near Herron Avenue.
2. Dr. and Mrs. J. Guy McCandless, 1520 Center Avenue.
3. Miss Eleanor Metcalf, 1 Fulton Street.

The Social Mirror of 1888 enrolled the following prominent women of the city in "society:"

"The Misses Montooth of 97 Center Avenue...are...cultured and extremely popular among their friends. They entertain in a quiet way." (9)

"The widow of A. W. Rook, one of the proprietors of 'The Dispatch'...is noted for being as liberal in her charities as she is unostentatious in their bestowment....Mrs. Rook is worth a quarter of a million." (10)

Mrs. William Metcalf's "...handsome home is on Fulton Street." (11)

There was a paucity of society news in the newspapers of this period. The reports were often incomplete and contained omissions also. In spite of these inadequacies, however, there were found occasional news items which described the social activities of the people living in this neighborhood:

- (7). Haven, M. B. (Mrs.). Pittsburgh and Allegheny Blue Book. Cleveland, Ohio, 1887.
- (8). Social Register. Pittsburgh, Vol. XVIII, No. 8, 1904.
- (9). Nevin, Adelaide Mellier. The Social Mirror. T. W. Nevin, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1888, p. 148.
- (10). Ibid, p. 159.
- (11). Ibid, p. 166.

"A brilliant wedding came off at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Grant Street.

"After the ceremony at the church had been concluded, the newly married couple gave a reception at the residence of the bride's brother-in-law, Mr. William A. Gray, 294 Center Avenue. There a brilliant party assembled at 9 o'clock embracing the relatives of the wedded couple and a large number of friends. There was a fine display of address upon the occasion...The clock had struck the hour three on Thursday morning when the company dispersed." (12)

Grand Wedding Among Le Bon Ton. Full Description of Entertainment, Dress and Guests

"...For the two months le beau monde have been on the qui vive in anticipation of a brilliant wedding soon to occur in their exclusive coterie. Speculations rife became visionary reality some three weeks since when those bidden to the marriage received notification after the following manner:

Mr. and Mrs. Alex H. M.....r (13)

request your presence

at

The Marriage Reception of their Daughter

Virginia

to

Patrick H. W...., Jr.

Wednesday Evening, January Fifth

From 9 to 12 o'clock

...Center Avenue

1870

"...Responsive to this polite invitation, the wealth, talent, and beauty of the elite of the two cities gathered on Wednesday evening in the large, fine, old mansion of the parents of the bride, where after the marriage ceremony was consummated by Rev. W. P. Noble, of the Third Presbyterian Church, the bridal party and family received the happy congratulations of the 300 guests.

(12). The Pittsburgh Leader, January 2, 1870.

(13). Miller, Alex. H., 164 Center Avenue. Pittsburgh & Allegheny Directory, 1870-71.

"...Dancing was then inaugurated...by an orchestra of eight instruments." (14)

A Crystal Wedding

"A decade and a half of wedded bliss...falls to the lot of very few, and among the number we can class Mr. James Morgan of Center Avenue, who in the evening of Thursday last possessed a house full of friends who on invitation flocked thither to tender their congratulations to the gentleman and his inestimable wife... The ladies and gentlemen promenaded and danced thru the spacious rooms while others passed the time merrily in many ways of entertainment provided by the gentlemanly entertainer. The evening was bountiful of enjoyment and before it had passed, the parties were remarried in due and crystal form, and thus they and guests too, light of heart and gay, after unloading their burdens of gifts, all started down the long path whose lower windings are hidden in the shadows of the tomb..." (15)

"Last Wednesday evening, the 16th inst., a very pleasant party came off at the residence of Mr. J. M. Foster, No. 143 Wylie Avenue. The company was not very numerous, but quite select. The costumes of the ladies gave evidence of cultivated taste..." (16)

MARRIED

"Parkhill-Mulhiern...on Thursday evening, May 14, 1885, by Rev. G. W. Dunlap, at his residence, Clark Street, Alexander Parkhill and Mary A. Mulhiern, all of Pittsburgh." (17)

"Miss Ella Seiforth of Center Avenue has gone to St. Louis for a short visit. Miss Annie McKee of Dayton, Ohio, is visiting Miss Mary Blackmore of Center Avenue." (18)

"Mrs. W. H. House gave a select luncheon party this week at her residence on Center Avenue. Among those present were Mrs. Judge Swing and ..." (19)

(14). The Pittsburgh Leader, January 16, 1870.

(15). Ibid, March 6, 1870.

(16). Ibid, April 20, 1873.

(17). Ibid, May 18, 1885.

(18). Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette, October 16, 1886.

(19). Ibid, November 6, 1886.

Several editors occasionally expressed their respect for the good residential character of some of the streets of this neighborhood. Some of their recorded statements are:

"Old Federal Street now Fernando Street was esteemed one of the fine residential streets of old Pittsburgh...(20) On this side of Wylie Avenue beginning with #67 was a row of brick dwellings and of residents of this row five became majors-- D. M. Brush, #179, James Blackmore, #167, William McCollin, Henry I. Cowden, and William B. Hays, Jr. (21) ... Franklin Street was a residential street altogether. (22) ... Colwell Street was a pleasant residence street. (23) ...Beginning at Clark Street shortly above Elm, Colwell Street was the home of many notable Pittsburghers. (24) ...There were many nice residences on Elm Street and many prominent people had their homes there. (25) ... Once upon a time it (Seventh Ward) could boast of the best families of Pittsburgh." (26)

The conclusion that the Hill District was a residential section for the elite and socially prominent people for almost all of the nineteenth century is warranted. We may assume that there were such people residing on the "Hill" before they were mentioned in the first listing of the directory of 1839. It is also most likely that some of the same types of persons lived here after 1886, the latest record found. (See footnote (19), p. 26.) Every social directory at this time contained many names of the socially prominent. The several city directories consulted gave the names of persons of the highest economic level. The descriptions of the elaborate social activities and the expressions by contemporary newspapermen prove the excellence of the residential character of this section of the city.

(20). Fleming, George T. "The Old Sixth Ward." Gazette Times, August 31, 1924. Refers to period 1860-70.

(21). Ibid.

(22). Ibid.

(23). Ibid, September 7, 1924.

(24). Ibid.

(25). Ibid, October 19, 1924.

(26). Phelps, Hartley M. "The Seventh Ward." Gazette Times, November 19, 1906. (The wards in the Hill District were changed several times in the course of time.)

IV. THE PROCESS OF SUCCESSION

We observed earlier that succession takes place through the displacement of one population type by another through the process of invasion and evacuation. This change it was pointed out continues to progress in cyclic fashion. One illustration of this was observed in the displacement of the early residents in the present downtown section by business and industry. (See page 15.) Forced to seek other quarters, some of the people moved into the area on the "Hill." As shown in the previous chapter, many "select" people made this district their residence quarters. True to the dynamic character of succession, this excellent residential district was in time gradually transformed to a transitional or marginal area. It is such an area at the present time. It is the object of this chapter to explain this transformation.

The regression of this area proceeded in a definite order of invasions and evacuations. The first inhabitants were the Irish who were displaced by the Jews. The latter group was displaced by another, the Italians, who in turn were forced to evacuate by the Negroes. A displacement is never absolute as there is always a residuum of each group left. People for one reason or another are compelled to remain in the evacuated district long after numbers of their own group have moved away. When the invading group has finally reached a stage of dominance and is able temporarily at least to withstand the influx of other groups, then a displacement is said to have taken place.

The early inhabitants of Pittsburgh were predominantly Scotch-Irish and Irish. (1) The first settlers on "Grant's Hill" appear to be Irish judging from their names. The first 13 residents of the Hill District were Rev. John Black, John Foulk, John Hicks, Andrew Higgins, Mrs. Humbert, Michael McFall, Andrew McMillen, Sarah Morrison, James Neyman, Peter Neyman, Richard Reed, Jacob Somers, and Jacob Stewart. (2) H. M. Phelps, an editor, in writing about the Fifth Ward (Now Ward 3) stated the following:

"...the Irish...seem to have been the original settlers back in 1820 or 1830..." (3)

Phelps reported in the same article that the Hebrews succeeded the Irish. About 1865 he stated that there were only nine of this group in this ward. (4) The real invasion of the Jews took place in the decade 1870-1880. They came mainly from Russia to escape persecution. (5) They settled near the railroad station and near to their places of work. The main settlement was within the territory bounded by Sixth Avenue, Webster Avenue, Tunnel Street, and Fifth Avenue. Gradually they moved up farther on the Hill and by 1885-1890 they were living on Chatham, Fernando, Washington, Logen, Clark, Colwell, Franklin Streets, and Center Avenue. (6)

(1). Statement found in a letter written by Solomon Steiner to a cousin in Frederickstown, Md., July 12, 1822. (Files Potter Title and Trust Company.)

(2). Pittsburgh Directory, 1815.

(3). Phelps, H. M. Story Fifth. The Pittsburgh Leader, November 5, 1905.

(4). Ibid.

(5). Although many Jews migrated earlier than this date, yet few if any settled in the Hill District. The early Jews came between 1833 and 1844 from Germany and settled in the present downtown area, especially on Penn Avenue near 13th Street, Liberty Avenue and Third Avenue.

(6). Obtained in interviews with two early immigrant Jews who came to Pittsburgh in 1877-1878.

The establishment of eleven separate synagogues in the Hill District by 1910 is very significant, for it signifies the definite establishment of a community since the synagogue has always played an important role in the community life of the Jews. Four of these synagogues, two on Townsend Street and two on Fullerton Street, were formerly churches and were purchased between 1887 and 1909. (7)

The encroachment of the Jews with their stange tongue and their lower standards of living caused this district to become progressively less desirable as a residential district. The Irish and the socially prominent, therefore, moved away. Then, too, their moving away was augmented by the establishment of rapid transit by cable car in 1887. The first line went out Fifth Avenue to Shady, Penn and Highland Avenues. (8) Many persons, therefore, moved to East Liberty and its vicinity. Phelps gave a picture of the change that took place:

"The Hebrews transformed Wylie Avenue into a sort of Bowery...old clothes hung in artistic confusion all over doorways and sidewalks...Groups of Hebrews...squatting around on trunks and bundles of clothing...(9) They formed a ghetto around Franklin, Logan, and Fulton Streets. It was the same as the East Side of New York City transplanted. Diverse shops and stores displayed goods on the sidewalks." (10)

(7). Data obtained from tracing the churches and synagogues for each year from the earliest available directories to the present time.

(8). Stevenson, W. H. Pittsburgh and the Pittsburgh Spirit. Chamber of Commerce, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1927-28, p. 23.

(9). Phelps, H. M. Stormy Fifth. The Pittsburgh Leader, November 5, 1905.

(10). Phelps, H. M. "Seventh Ward" The Gazette Times, November 19, 1905.

Mr. Prentergast, another newspaperman, added the following description of one of the streets, Logan Street:

"I just slightly recall a story I wrote...15 or 18 years ago...it was the most picturesque street in the city; the shops were in cellars...most of the merchandise was in push carts... loaded with silk and calico dresses...another cart chocked full of plumbing fittings and hardware..." (11)

The Italians began to arrive in the city in 1870, but they did not come in large numbers into the district until 1900. The following table shows the Italian populations by decades. (12)

TABLE II

NUMBER OF ITALIANS IN PITTSBURGH
1870 to 1920

YEAR	NUMBER
1870	74
1880	267
1890	1,899
1900	5,709
1910	14,120
1920	15,371

(12). Migliore, Rev. Salvatore. Half a Century of Italian Immigration into Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. Master's Thesis, University of Pittsburgh. 1928, p. 4.

The Italian colony in 1890 lived in the downtown section in the four blocks now bounded by Sixth Avenue, Smithfield Street, Fifth Avenue, and Grant Street. As more came later and as business expanded in the downtown section, some settled in the Hill District in and about Webster Avenue and Washington Street, while others moved to East Liberty. (13)

(11). Prentergast, E. Our Gay Village--Logan Street. The Pittsburgh Gazette Times, May 8, 1927.

(13). Migliore, Rev. Salvatore. Half A Century of Italian Immigration into Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. Master's Thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1928, p. 20.

The Italians who invaded the Hill District caused an exodus of the Jews who lived on the lower part of the Hill. The newly arrived immigrants from Italy with their low standards of living were eventually able to supplant large numbers of Jews. Phelps described the poor conditions in the Italian section as follows:

"On Webster Avenue and Washington Street throngs of greasy, unkempt Italians stand around in front of crazy little grocery stores, jabbering or smoking, while slovenly women with filthy youngsters sit on the steps or parade up and down the streets, strewn with old vegetables, filthy water and rubbish of all kinds." (14)

Of course, we should remember that many of the Jews by this time were American born. As they were able to raise their standard of living by increased means, they moved out of the district.

The invasion of the Negroes began above the Italian section and continued farther up on the Hill, gradually forcing the Jews to move farther out on Herron Hill or to other sections of the city. In 1890-1900 the Negroes came in numbers from the south and were hired as cheap labor in the steel mills. The following table shows the population of Negroes of Pittsburgh by decades: (15)

(14). Phelps, H. M. "Stormy Fifth" The Pittsburgh Leader. November 5, 1900.

(15). Obtained from U. S. Census Bureau reports.

TABLE III
NEGRO POPULATION IN PITTSBURGH
1850 to 1920

YEAR	NUMBER
1850	3,431
1860	2,725
1870	4,459
1880	7,376
1890	18,317
1900	17,040
1910	25,623
1920	37,725

Source: U. S. Census Bureau Reports.

The Negroes represent the lowest economic and cultural growth in the district. The personal dissatisfaction on the part of the white people as well as the low standards of living of the Negroes served to make the Hill District the home of most of the Negroes of Allegheny County. Phelps continued:

"The Hebrews are...now giving way, in some degree at least, to the colored people who set up a hash foundry...Streets present bizzarre spectacles at night...open lunch counters...where...bums and others sit in slouchy fashion, eating 'short orders' at 3 cents a plate..." (16)

With the development of electric car service the exodus of the supplanted groups was facilitated. (17) Some people therefore, moved to the boroughs and other residential districts of the city. One man, who was interviewed, reported that the railroads at this time made stops at the newly developing "hamlets"

(16). Phelps, H. M. "Stormy Fifth" The Pittsburgh Leader. November 5, 1905.

(17). The electric service was begun in 1890. Stevenson, W.H. Pittsburgh and the Pittsburgh Spirit. Chamber of Commerce, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1927-28, p. 195.

--Soho, Glenwood, Hazelwood, Shadyside, and Wilkinsburg.

Waves of migration northward of Negroes between 1900 and 1910 and especially immediately after the war rapidly transformed certain parts of the Hill into a "Black Belt." The Negro population in Ward 3 for 1900, 1910 and 1920 respectively was 211, 6,146, and 10,383. (18) We find that the Kingsley House which served a white population beginning with 1893 became in 1919 The Morgan Community House, a Settlement House for Negroes only. (19)

As further evidence of the transformation of the area the following is pointed out:

"A study made six years ago of the downtown areas extending as far as Herron Avenue and constituting the Pittsburgh of our grandfather's time, showed that in the preceeding 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." (20)

The churches in the Hill District today consist of the following social groups:

Negro.....	22
Jewish.....	15
Catholic.....	6
Italian.....	5
Presbytereen..	2
Greek.....	1

Each evacuation left behind it a more socially disorganized community. Evidences of this disorganization was seen after the successive evacuations of the Irish, Jews, Italians, and Negroes. A detailed description of the present social maladjustment resulting from the process of succession is given in the following chapter.

(18). Obtained from U.S. Census Bureau reports for 1900-1920.
 (19). The Kingsley Record, Vol. XXI, No. 1, September, 1919,
 (20). Church Survey of Allegheny County, Pa. The Comity Commission, Pittsburgh Council of Churches. May, 1929.

V. THE HILL DISTRICT TODAY

The Hill District at present stands out in distinct contrast to the period when it was a very good residential section. Where once people of wealth, education, and social standing lived, there are now found people of the lowest economic cultural strata and standards. It is considered to be one of the most deteriorated areas in the city. The present Hill District represents the cumulative results of all the previous invasions and the consequent changes that have taken place.

This district typifies, as pointed out before, what the sociologists call a "marginal" or a "transitional" area. Here are found an excessive amount of overcrowding, poverty, poor housing, much mobility, a high infant mortality and morbidity incidence, a high frequency of juvenile delinquency and crime, vice in the form of houses of prostitution, speakeasies, bootlegging, and gambling and dope dens, many pool rooms, and pawn shops. Besides these various indices of social disorganization we find the characteristic segregations of social and cultural groups; the Ghetto, "Little Italy," the "Black Belt," "Little Syria," and "Athens." Let us consider each index separately.

A. Overcrowding

The most overcrowded part of the city is in the Hill District. Ward 3 which comprises a great part of this district had the highest mean density in the city in 1927 with 83,261 persons per square mile. This was 70 per cent greater than the next most dense district (Ward 23). (1) In portions of Ward 3 the average density was 46 families or 230 persons per net acre. (2)

The houses and stores are compactly built. Front yards are rare and back yards are small. A good many of the homes which were formerly one family residences now have three and even four families in them. Professor Elmer in referring to Wards 3 and 5 pointed out: (3)

"With very little rebuilding the old tenements have become older and the population has increased."

The overcrowding resulting from no additional buildings can be realized from the following figures:

TABLE IV

Population of Ward 3 and Ward 5: 1910 - 1926

Year	Population
1910	50,955
1920	56,146
1926	59,003

Source: Elmer, M.C. What We Know of the Need for Improving Housing Conditions. March, 1928, p. 4.

(1). Department of Research, Chamber of Commerce, Pittsburgh, Pa., June, 1927. (Although the average density for a particular region is sometimes fictitious, yet this Ward is consistently more densely populated than any other ward in the city.)

(2). Ibid., June, 1927.

(3). Elmer, M.C., loc. cit.

In a study of two city blocks in the Hill District (Overhill Street to Robert Street between Center Avenue and Clark Streets, and Robert Street to Miller Street between Center Avenue and Clark Street) in 1914, it was found that a total of 1080 persons and 286 families lived therein. There were included 217 Jews, 263 non-Jews; 300 of both groups were children of school age or younger. (4)

There is much overcrowding which is below the minimum statutory requirements. (5)

In Wright's study 186 families or 1050 individuals were included. The average number of persons per family was 5.6 and occupied an average of 4 rooms. The overcrowding was greater in the Negro families which averaged 2.67 rooms for an average of 4.03 members. The Jewish families with an average of 6.28 members lived in an average of 4.52 rooms. (6)

In some instances overcrowding was much greater than the above averages indicate. At 74 Crawford Street seven people lived in two rooms. (7) At 45 Arthur Street 13 persons lived in a four room frame house. (8) At 40 Robert Street a three room frame building was occupied by a family of 7. (9)

(4). Reed, Anna, "Jewish Immigrants of Two City Blocks," Wege Earning Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh Survey, 1914, p. 420.

(5). The law states, "No room in any tenement house or other dwelling house shall be used for living purposes unless it contains at least 400 cubic feet of air for every person more than twelve years old and 200 cubic feet of air for every person of twelve years and under. (Section 13c). Example: Room-8 feet from floor to ceiling x 7 x 7 1/8 = 400 cubic feet." (Pittsburgh Housing Association Pamphlet, What the Law Requires, January 2, 1928, p. 12.)

(6). Wright, V.C., Social Aspects of Housing. M. A. Thesis, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1927, p. 74.

(7). Ibid., p. 119.

(8). Yarbrough, D.S., Educational Status of Negro Public School Children as Reflecting Economic and Social Problems.

Master's Thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1928, p. 6.

(9). Ibid.

B. Poverty

An effort to get the poverty distribution for the district proved futile. Several family agencies offered their information but since others could not give it, this index of social disorganization as it exists today could not be obtained. It is generally known that a great number of the cases of the social agencies live here. The latest figures for dependency and poverty in the Hill District for 1925 are, as follows:

TABLE V

Dependency and Poverty of the Hill District: 1925

Agency	Number of Families Aided
Salvation Army	315
Associated Charities	201
United Hebrew Relief Assn.	156
Catholic Charities	130
Improvement of the Poor	121
Mother's Assistance Fund	53
Total	976

Source: Teller, S. A., Resident Director, Irene Kaufmann Settlement.

As a further index of poverty there were compiled with much effort the homes and their ownership in relation to occupancy by families for the Hill District and for the City of Pittsburgh. (10) All the homes in the Hill District were considered, but a 20 per cent sample was taken for the city. It was found that 6,438 or 74.2 per cent rent their homes and

(10). Folk, R.L. City of Pittsburgh Directory, 1929.

1,661 or 25.8% own the homes they occupy in the Hill District while 56,890 or 67.1 per cent and 119,945 or 32.9 per cent own the homes in which they live in the city as a whole. This comparison was made on the basis of the sample.

C. Bad Housing

Closely related to overcrowding are bad housing conditions. Housing in the Hill District has been studied by many investigators for a number of years. Practically all of the same conditions have been found to exist. A recheck of bad housing conditions found by W. H. Mathews in 1907 was made by V. C. Wright in 1927. Even a score of years later the same conditions prevailed. Illustrations are as follows:

"The house (on Basin Alley) is disreputable...In the summer of 1926, eight people lived in this four room house. The colored lady who rented it said that the owner refused to repair...the bulging floors and walls. The family got its water from a spigot a few yards from a horse barn and manure pile. The only place for human wastes was a broken down fire-place in which a fire was burning in December, 1926." (11)

"In the Hill District between Robert and Arthur Streets... rear yards and rear closets will be found to be in revolting conditions. An investigation of this neighborhood will reveal much sickness, yet will also cause one to wonder why the whole district is not swept by an epidemic (1907)." (12)

"The Hill District still contains hundreds of closets. Some of the "privies" still exist in the row along "Cocaine Alley" between Fullerton and Crawford Street." (13)

An illustration of this condition is given in the following table:

(11). Wright, V. C., loc. cit., p. 74.

(12). *Ibid.*, p. 80.

(13). *Ibid.*, p. 95.

TABLE VI

Closets in Relation to Their Use in the Hill District: 1927

Number of Closets	Number of Persons Using Them
12	67
10	60
8	36
3	27
3	26
3	22
1	25

Source: Wright, V. C. *Social Aspects of Housing, M.A. Thesis, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1927, p.125.*

An investigation by the Urban League of Pittsburgh of 44 houses occupied by Negroes showed the following statistics. (14)

1. Total number of people.....	256
2. Total number of sleeping rooms per house excluding kitchen.....	3
3. Average number of persons per house.....	6
4. Average rent per month.....	\$26.00
5. Without Electricity.....	15%
6. With gas.....	51%
7. With bath.....	15%
8. With no water inside.....	36%
9. With water closets outside.....	49%
10. Privy vaults.....	43%
11. With furnaces.....	0

The Pittsburgh Housing Association which was organized in 1928 investigates housing conditions and seeks to abate the legal violations. An investigation of 248 single, double, and multiple family dwellings in 1929 showed 496 violations of the housing and sanitation codes. Some illustrations of the

(14). Yarbrough, D.S. *Educational Status of Negro Public School Children as Reflecting Economic and Social Problems.* Master's Thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1926, p. 8.

violations are: (15)

-- Arthur Street - mules kept in building next door.

-- Crawford Street - cellar steps unsafe; damp basement used for living; rubbish accumulation.

-- Covington Street - defective water closet (house); only one water closet to three family house; basement apartment used for living; 6 1/2 foot ceiling.

-- Arthur Street - leaky roof; toilet house floor dangerous; no door to toilet house; defective water closet (no water supply); no seat to water closet; rain pipe defective and no sewer connected; no water supply at one sink; trap disconnected at two sinks; mixture rubbish and filth in house.

-- Our Way - vacant and open; fecal matter in house; steps at side of house broken.

-- Webster Avenue - front steps broken; rain leaders missing; roof leaks; plaster falling; floors unsafe; foundation wall unsafe; defective plumbing.

(15). From Reports of Investigations, Pittsburgh Housing Association for 1929.

D. Mobility of Population

There is much inter-community and intra-community moving in the Hill District. This fact is well substantiated by data compiled from the change of address cards in the Uptown Post Office for the period January to July, 1929. These cards are filled out for every change of address, so that the mail carriers can forward or distribute mail properly. Each card indicated the immediate change and the previous change of address. The latter were not filled out in many cases.

For the period January to July, 1929, out of a total of 2021 changes of address, 1194 were intra-community movements and 827 were inter-community changes. Of the latter 99 moved into the district and 798 moved out of it. The small number moving into this area and the large number moving out is apparently indicative of the undesirability of this district as a residential quarter. In fact, there has been a gradual exodus of the people to better sections of the city. The Jewish people particularly have been leaving the district for Squirrel Hill in large numbers. The biennial census of Jewish School children made in 1928 by Professor Abrams of the Hebrew Institute showed that the Jewish people were leaving at the rate of 350 families per year. (16) This movement is due to the large influx of negroes as shown by their enrollment in the schools of the Hill District:

(16). Reported by Prof. Israel Abrams, Principal, Hebrew Institute, Pittsburgh, Pa.

TABLE VII

Increase of Negro Enrollment in Hill District Schools: 1917-1927

School	Negro Enrollment January, 1917	Negro Enrollment January, 1917	Per Cent Increase
Franklin	69	471	582.6
Miller	36	253	602.7
Moorehead	178	370	107.8
Minersville	181	273	50.8
Letsche	91	330	202.6
McKelvy	88	489	455.6
Somers	201	277	32.8
Wett	422	1031	144.3
Rose	129	424	228.6

Source: Abrams, Israel, Principal, Hebrew Institute.

The shifting of the population in this area probably will continue from all indications. The enrollment of the Hill Division schools has dropped from 11,000 pupils in 1917 to 2,423 in 1929. The Enrollment Study of the Public Schools in 1929 indicates that the exodus of families from this division is progressing steadily. There are many vacant rooms in most of the buildings. The discontinuance of two schools, the Hancock and the Moorehead, were recommended. After an investigation concerning the proposed building of a new school of 2,000 capacity in the Board of Education Survey of 1927, it recommended that this step is inadvisable.

(17). Wooldridge, C. L., Enrollment Study, Pittsburgh Public Schools, Pittsburgh, 1929, p. 17.

E. Mortality and Morbidity

In comparing infant mortality rates for the city as a whole with those of the Hill District it is found that infants have less chance of living through their first year of life in the latter area. The infant mortality rates for 1928 and 1929 demonstrate the excessive rate for the Hill District:(18)

TABLE VIII

Infant Mortality Rates for Pittsburgh and Hill District: 1928-1929

Place	Rate Per Thousand	
	1928	1929
City of Pittsburgh	78.7	75.2
Ward 3	84.0	110.3
Ward 5	86.6	70.8

Source: Division of Vital Statistics, Department of Health, Pittsburgh, Pa.

The cases of morbidity are also very high in the Hill District, and seem to be a very important factor in accounting for the differences in the number of cases. A comparison with the Squirrel Hill District where there is sufficient space and little poverty is especially significant in this connection.

(18). For the sake of comparison Wards 3 and 5 are used.

TABLE IX

Cases of Infectious Diseases for the Hill and Squirrel Hill Districts: 1929

Disease	Hill District				Squirrel Hill	
	Ward 3		Ward 5		Ward 14	
	Cases	Deaths	Cases	Deaths	Cases	Deaths
Measles	103	1	26	0	59	0
Diphtheria	25	4	23	3	13	0
Diphtheria Carriers	27	-	58	-	16	-

Source: Division of Vital Statistics, Department of Health, Pittsburgh, Pa.

The number of cases for the above three wards for deaths due to pulmonary tuberculosis for 1928 and 1929 showed that the Hill District ranked much higher:

TABLE X

Cases of Pulmonary Tuberculosis; 1928 - 1929

Place	YEAR			
	1928		1929	
	Cases	Deaths	Cases	Deaths
Ward 3 - Hill	35	16	56	25
Ward 5 - Hill	53	24	50	26
Ward 14- Squirrel Hill	19	10	12	6

Source: Division of Vital Statistics, Department of Health, Pittsburgh, Pa.

F. High Frequency of Juvenile Delinquency and Crime

1. Juvenile Delinquency

Dr. Ettinger in his study of juvenile delinquency in Pittsburgh for 1910 found a high concentration in the Hill District. This is especially significant in that the rates for the whole city were determined on the basis of tracts which had practically the same number of people. (19) On the following page the spot map of 947 juvenile delinquents who had official hearings before the judge of the Juvenile Court in 1928, shows a large concentration in the Hill District, especially in Ward 3. (20) It appears that the largest concentration is in this section. Other concentrations are found on the south side in Wards 16 and 17, the Strip in Ward 2, and the North Side in Wards 22 and 23. All of these areas are located in transitional zones just outside the business and commercial areas. Constellations appear in East Liberty, Homewood, and Woods Run.

2. Crime

One-third of the homicides committed in the City of Pittsburgh take place in the Hill District. Nineteen out of 53 in 1928 and 12 out of 38 in 1929 occurred here. (21)

Taken at random further illustrations of the part crime plays in this district are newspaper reports. Some are:

(19). Ettinger, C. J., Racial Patterns in an Urban Community --A Study in Human Ecology. Ph. D. Thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1938, p. 86.

(20). Since population statistics were not available according to tracts for the later period, we cannot draw very many definite conclusions from this map. However, the tendencies that existed seem to persist almost two decades later.

(21). Obtained from Homicide Division, Police Department, City of Pittsburgh.

"\$23,000 Robbery Laid to Negroes, Found Inside Job, 9 Whites Held." Pittsburgh Courier, May 5, 1930.

"Expectant Mother Confesses - Common-Law Wife - Kills Mate." Pittsburgh Courier, March 3, 1930.

"Two Holdups Are Reported." Post-Gazette, January 1, 1930.

"Negro Attacked, Slashed by 5 Men." Sun-Telegraph, July 11, 1929.

"Negro Gunman Kills Druggist in Hill Holdup." Post-Gazette, June 22, 1929.

"Police Fuzzled in Killing of Hill District Gangster." Clipping, August 30, 1927.

"Insult to Girl Causes Riot." Pittsburgh Courier, June 12, 1926.

"Peacemaker Brutally Shot Down by Gunmen" Pittsburgh Courier, March 8, 1926.

"Children See Mother Killed--Destitute After Tragedy" January 2, 1926.

"Hill District Woman Beaten and Robbed by Thugs in Home" Clipping, November 20, 1925.

"Dry Agent Walking with Wife Attacked" November 21, 1925.

CHLERT 5



G. Vice

1. Prostitution

Prostitution operates openly in this district. In many parts of this section prostitutes solicit on the streets without restraint. The writer has often been hailed and stopped by the prostitutes while passing through parts of the district. There are brothels of every grade and description from the cheapest to the expensive. There are Negro houses where only white men are admitted and white houses for Negro men only. Assignment or "call" houses wherein prostitution goes on by appointment exist in large numbers. The chart on the following page shows the approximate locations of 169 brothels and 44 assignment houses which were reported. There are many more than these, of course.

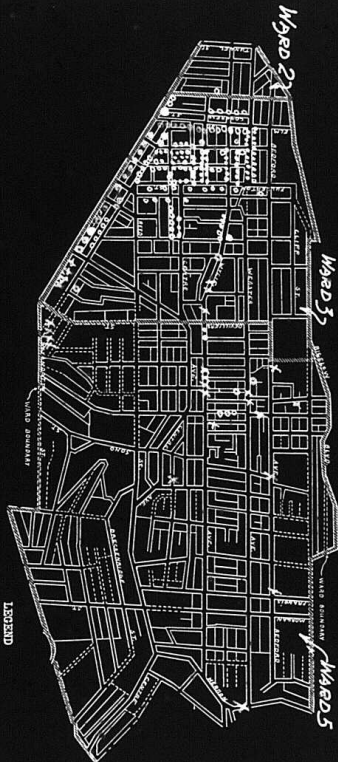
2. Speakeasies

Speakeasies referred to as "moonshine joints" are quite numerous in this district. Information about the location of 178 speakeasies were obtained from confidential sources. The approximate locations appear on Chart 7.

The Hill District is notorious for this type of vice. At any time of the day drunks will be seen in a hopeless condition. As one walks through some of the streets of the Hill District, one sees moonshine joints, the proprietors of which do not make an attempt to try to cover up the fact. They operate under police protection. One policeman visited the place and even became drunk. The following newspaper report illustrates this:

BROTHELS AND
ASSIGNMENT HOUSES
1929

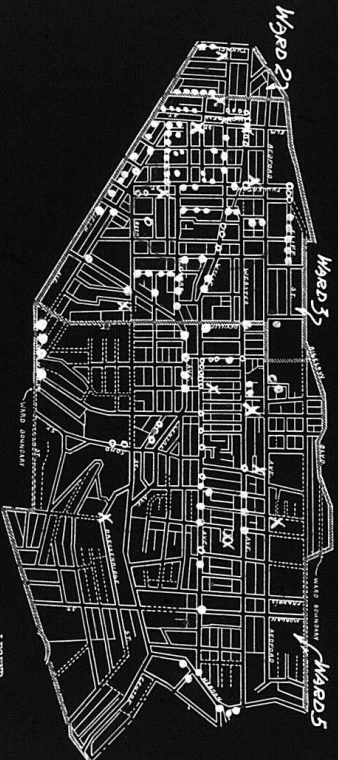
THE HILL DISTRICT
OF
PITTSBURGH, PA.



○ Negro Brothel ○ White Brothel
 × Negro Assignment × White Assignment

SPRINKLERS
DOPE DEN'S AND
STILLS - 1929.

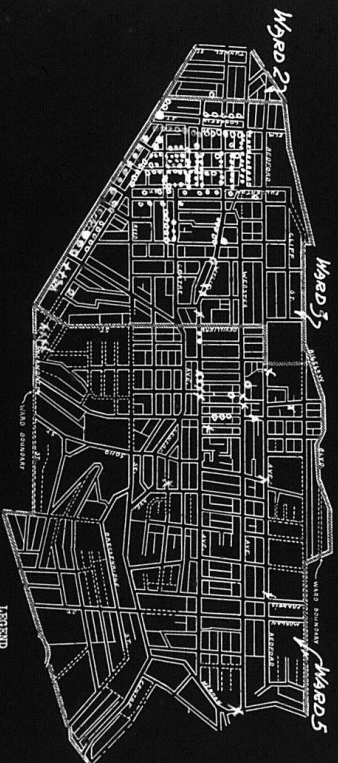
THE HILL DISTRICT OF PITTSBURGH, PA.



- Legend
- Negro Speakeasy
 - White Speakeasy
 - × Negro Dope Den
 - × Stills

BROTHERS AND
ASSOCIATION HOUSES
1929.

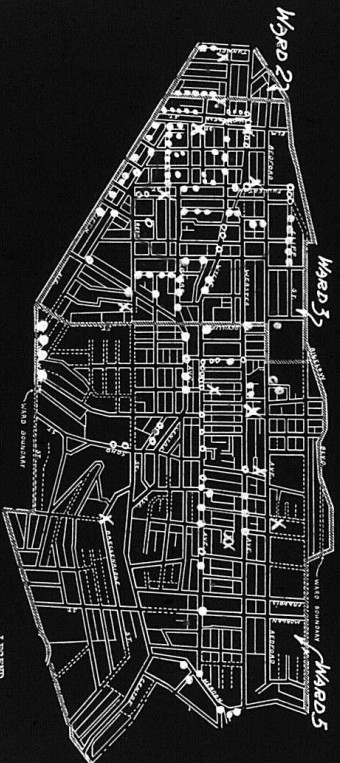
THE HILL DISTRICT OF PITTSBURGH, PA.



- Legend
- Negro Brother
 - White Brother
 - × Negro Association
 - × White Association

SPEAKEASIES
DOPE DENIS AND
STILLS - 1929.

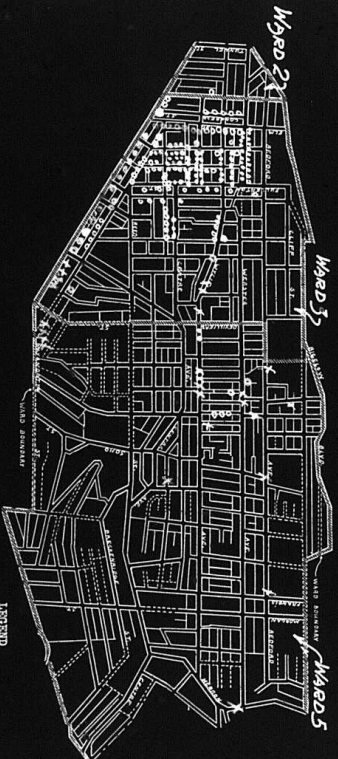
THE HILL DISTRICT OF PITTSBURGH, PA.



- LEGEND
- Negro Speakeasy
 - White Speakeasy
 - X Negro Dope Den
 - Still

BOHEMIA AND
RESTAURANT HOUSES
1929.

THE HILL DISTRICT OF PITTSBURGH, PA.



- LEGEND
- Negro Bohemia
 - White Bohemia
 - X Negro Restaurant
 - X White Restaurant

"Superintendent of Police, Peter Paul Walsh, and his six inspectors sitting as the police trial board had a bombshell tossed into the melting when Patrolman James Cryster...admitted in an answer to a question of Walsh that he was drunk and that he had obtained the moonshine...in the Hill District..." (23)

3. Bootlegging

In 1925 there were 124 raids for violating the Snyder Prohibition Act. The fines and forfeits netted \$4,535.00. (24) Later figures are not available and could not be obtained from the Police Department.

The Hill District has a number of persons engaged in bootlegging and liquor manufacturing. Children and old women transport the "moony". Twelve stills located approximately on Chart 7 manufactured liquor in large quantities. The capacities of the stills ranged from 25 to 300 gallons according to Reverend Hightower, of the Afro-American Negro *Brotherhood*. Newspaper items give a good picture of the situation. The following were obtained from clippings in a scrap book in the office of Miss A. B. Heldman of the Irene Kaufmann Settlement :

"Hill Cleanup Begun by U. S. with 23 Raids" March 27, 1928

"Hill Merchant Held on Charge of Conspiracy in Liquor Case" July 22, 1927

"Making Drunkards of School Boys. Bootleggers Flying Trade Among School Boys" January 23, 1925

"Hill District Raid Uncovers Liquor Plant" August 16, 1924

"Hill Garage Raid Nets Much Liquor." August 16, 1924

"Four Alleged Still Retailers Seized in Hill District Raid" July 11, 1923.

(23). Clipping, July 22, 1927, Files of Miss A. B. Heldman.

(24). Obtained from Mr. S. A. Toller, Resident Director, Irene Kaufmann Settlement.

"Hill Grocery and Dwelling Yield Liquor Worth \$20,000.00. 200 Cases of Whiskey Seized in Stove and Hams." January 20, 1923.

"Police Capture Modern Distillery in Hill District Garage Building. Capacity 250 Gallons Daily" July 25, 1922.

"Joe Engelsberg, Hill Figure, Indicted Under Volstead Act."

4. Gambling

Forty gambling places were reported in confidence for 1929 by separate individuals. Practically all of these are located in the lower part of the Hill on Wylie, Center and Fifth Avenues. Many of these places operate as restaurants, small stores and pool rooms. It is generally known that they are protected by the police. (See Chart 8.)

Lotteries are common. "Numbers" a lottery based on clearing house figures, are played by thousands of persons every day, yet no effort is made to stop them. Even school children play them. The Children's Service Bureau received many complaints from people regarding this matter in reference to the children of the Rose and Franklin Schools. (25)

5. Dope Use

This type of vice occurs with the others described. Because of the great secrecy surrounding its sale and use, it was difficult to get complete information. However, five were reported in confidence by several individuals. These appear on Chart 7.

Attention is called occasionally to the use of dope by the newspapers. The following were found in the files of

(25). Files, Irene Kaufmann Settlement.

the Irene Kaufmann Settlement:

"Hill District Reveals List of Dope Users. Two Women, 11 Men Taken. \$10,000 in Drugs Seized."

"Arrest Here May Break Up International Dope Ring"

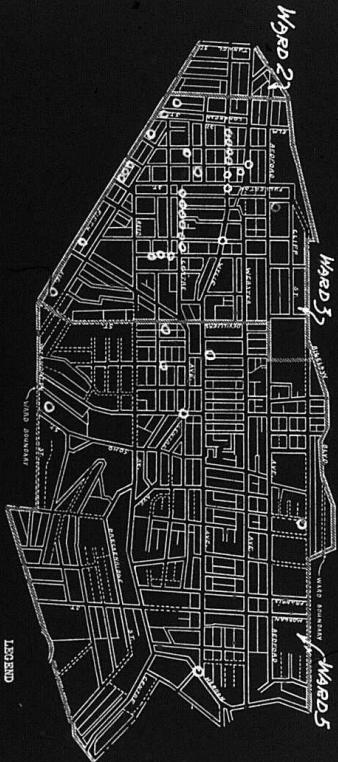
"With Arrest of James De Mann and Harry Collins, proprietor of the 'Black and Tan' Cabaret, 1213 Wylie Avenue---members of the narcotic division declared Pittsburgh's dope ring has been broken up."

CHART 8

THE HILL DISTRICT OF PITTSBURGH, PA.

GAMBLING DENIS
1929.

LEGEND
○ Negro
○ White



the Irene Kaufmann Settlement:

"Hill District Reveals List of Dope Users. Two Women,
11 Men Taken. \$10,000 in Drugs Seized."

"Arrest Here May Break Up International Dope Ring"

"With Arrest of James De Mann and Harry Collins, proprietor
of the 'Black and Tan' Cabaret, 1213 Wylie Avenue---members of
the narcotic division declared Pittsburgh's dope ring has been
broken up."

H. Fool Rooms

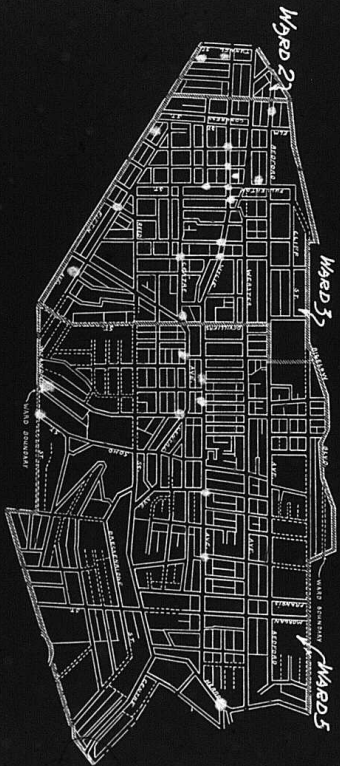
The Hill District has 26 pool rooms within its
boundaries. This is 12 per cent of the total number in the
city which is 219. (26)

In the pool rooms are found many youths under 18
which is the legal age limit for visiting such places. They
are the meeting places for gangs. Many crimes are "hatched"
in them. It is not an uncommon occurrence for raids to be
made in the pool rooms in this district. There were 60 such raids
in this area in 1925, the time of the last count. (27) These
were for violating city ordinances,--gambling and admitting
youths under the legal age. (See Chart 9.)

(26). Obtained from Bureau of Licensure, Pittsburgh, Pa.

(27). Obtained from Mr. S. A. Teller, Resident Director,
Irene Kaufmann Settlement.

LOCATION OF
FOOL ROOMS
1929.



THE HILL DISTRICT
OF
PITTSBURGH, PA.

CHART 9

I. Pawn Shops

Thirteen of the 24 pawn shops in the city in 1929 were located in this area. These are seen on Chart 10. (28) On Wylie Avenue between Sixth Avenue and Fullerton Street alone there are 20 such places at the present time. In the Hill District these shops, termed "loan offices," are located in the area of furnished rooms, vice, gambling houses, and prostitution. They are frequented by homeless men and women and persons who desire to keep their identity anonymous. One proprietor who has been in this business for many years stated that few ever visit his shop for the purpose of getting necessary money for food or rent; by far the greatest number come to obtain money for gambling and vice purposes.

(28). Chart obtained from Calvin F. Schmid from Ph. D. Thesis manuscript on "Suicides in Seattle, Wash., and Pittsburgh, Pa., A Comparative Study."

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LOCATION OF
POOR HOUSES
1929



THE HILL DISTRICT
OF
PITTSBURGH, PA.

CHART 9

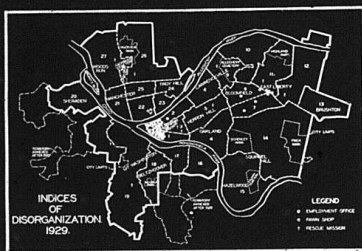
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CHART 10

PAWN SHOPS



J. Racial Group Segregations

The major racial group segregations are six in number. These were obtained by families in personal interviews with the mail carriers of the Uptown Station who serve this district twice daily. Every mailman has been delivering mail on his particular route for one or more years. They reported 17 different groups. The number of families in the six major racial groups were: (29)

TABLE XI

Distribution of Six Major Racial Groups by Families in the Hill District: April, 1930

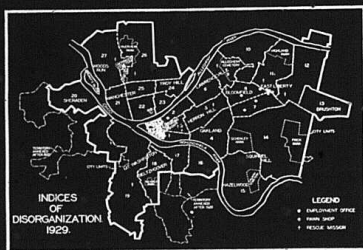
Racial Group	Number of Families
Negro	4,352
Jewish	1,707
Polish	886
Italian	714
Syrian	346
Greek	127

The quarters of these different groups are shown on Chart 11. The "Black Belt" is predominant throughout the district. Almost the entire upper part and the central part of the lower area is populated by the Negroes. The "Ghetto" lies in the immediate vicinity of the Irene Kaurmann Settlement between Fullerton and Kirkpatrick Streets and mainly on Webster, Wylie, and Center Avenues and on the side streets near to. We find "Little Italy" in the lower part of Ward 3 between Turnell and Fullerton Streets, and "Little Poland" along the lower part of

(29). Obtained as of April, 1930.

CHART 10

PAWN SHOPS



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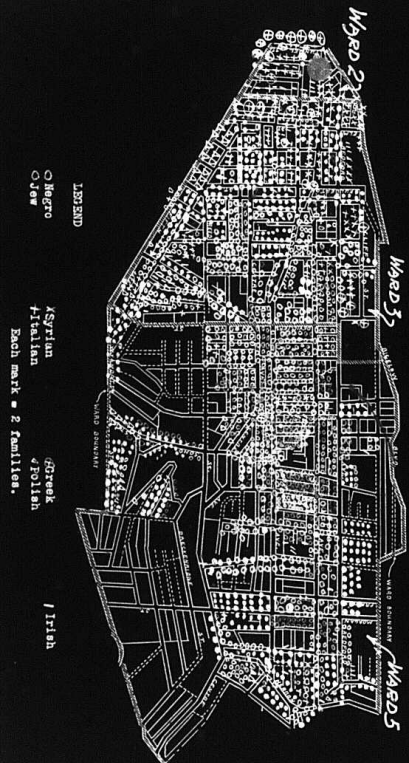
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Fifth Avenue. "Little Syria" mixes itself with "Little Italy" in the same boundaries. We find "Athens" located in the area between Tunnel and Washington Streets. None of these racial groups occupy these areas exclusively but they do predominate in these cited according to numbers.

CHART 11

THE HILL DISTRICT OF PITTSBURGH, PA.

RACIAL GROUP
SEGREGATIONS
BY FAMILIES
1929.



RACIAL GROUP
SEGREGATIONS
BY PARISHES
1929.

THE HILL DISTRICT OF PITTSBURGH, PA.



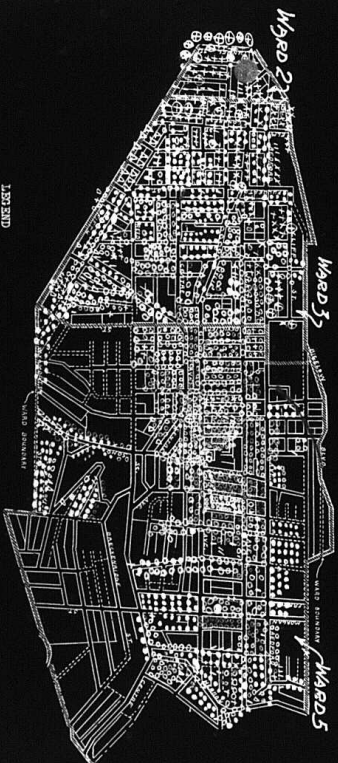
CHART II

Fifth Avenue. "Little Syria" mixes itself with "Little Italy" in the same boundaries. We find "Athens" located in the area between Tunnel and Washington Streets. None of these racial groups occupy these areas exclusively but they do predominate in these cited according to numbers.

RACIAL GROUP
SEPARATIONS
BY FAMILIES
1929.

THE HILL DISTRICT OF PITTSBURGH, PA.

CHART 11



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VI. CONCLUSION

In this study the process of succession which took place in the Hill District was explained and illustrated. Succession was defined as a term in human ecology which is characterized by a complete change in population type or use. The delimitation of the natural boundaries of the Hill District as well as the scope, method and plan of the study were stated.

Beginning with the origin of the Hill District when it was only farm land, there was traced the development of the district into a residential quarter which was occupied by people of prominence, and culture. The coming of rapid transportation and the invasion of the Jews in 1870-1890 with their lower cultural and economic standards marked the beginning of the deterioration of this area. The successive invasions of the Italians in 1890-1900 and the Negroes from 1880-1900, each with their still lower standards of living and culture, added cumulatively to the deterioration. Therefore, it is at present one of the most socially disorganized sections in the city.

The Hill District of today is a "marginal" or "transitional" area. The characteristic indices of social disorganization which mark such areas were described and the conclusions reached were:

- (A) It is the most overcrowded section of the city.
- (B) There is a high degree of poverty.
- (C) Some of the worst housing conditions are found here.
- (D) There is a high rate of mobility.
- (E) The infant mortality and cases of morbidity are excessive.

(F) Vice exists unmolested and protected. Brothels, speakeasies, bootlegging, gambling and dance dens are numerous.

(G) Twelve per cent of the pool rooms are in this area.

(H) More than half of the pawn shops in the city are located here.

(I) There are a number of racial groups of the lower economic and cultural strata.

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