African American photographers have been active since the advent of the daguerreotype in the early 1840s. Jules Lion, a freeman of color, introduced the daguerreotype to New Orleans in 1841.1 Between the early 1850s and the late 1880s, the studios of daguerrean James Presley Ball, located in Cincinnati, in Montana and later in Washington State, produced some portraits of the highest quality any photographer of the time could aspire to attain.

In Cleveland, which had a very small African American population between 1840 and 1880 and where occupational lines were sharply drawn, no references to African American photographers can be documented until the late 1880s.

Hattie Baker advertised as photograph enlarger, seamstress and fitter in various January 1887 issues of the Cleveland Gazette.2 Cornelius M. Battey – the founder and from 1916 to 1927 the head of the Tuskegee Institute’s Photography Department – entered the Ondeen Studio of Cleveland in 1888.3 After moving to New York, he supervised the Bradley Studio and later worked at the studios of Underwood and Underwood.4

The most successful African American photographers in late 19th century and early 20th century Cleveland were the Chesnutt Brothers, Andrew and Lewis. Beginning as social photographers, they opened their first studio in 1891 at 50 Euclid Avenue, right in the business district of downtown Cleveland,5 but rather removed from their primary clientele. Gradually overshadowed by the fame of their novelist brother Charles, they began to do commercial work as well6 and relocated their studio several times during their forty years in business, in step with the social demographics of Cleveland’s African American population. In the 1920s, they moved it into the hub of the African American community. In a 1902 Plain Dealer Magazine article by George Myers, the Chesnutt Brothers were the only “colored” photographers listed.7 They were recognized for over 15 years as the only professional African American photographers in town.

The Chesnutt Brothers’ portraiture was exquisite. One portrait, taken around 1902, shows Edwin Chesnutt (Fig. 4), the artists’ nephew, in a romanticized pose. Another one, dated in the late 1920s, of Edwin (with camera) and his father (Fig. 73), shows an elderly Charles Chesnutt a few years before his death. Sought after in their lifetime, the Chesnutt Brothers have remained a too-well-kept secret in the annals of African American photography.

In the years between 1930 and 1965, African Americans asserted themselves nationwide as an increasingly active element in American society. Their vitality was captured by African American photographers, as witnessed by James Van Der Zee’s monumental photographic documentation of Harlem, New York. Yet the accomplishments of Cleveland’s African American photographers during these years of growth have, until recently, remained a relatively hidden treasure.

In Cleveland, a number of African American “urban photographers” chronicled the mid-twentieth century. Their photographs are in some cases the only surviving visual record of African American community life, history and culture from that period.

By 1930, as the Chesnutt Brothers were approaching retirement, the African American population of Cleveland – a bare 2,989 in 1890 – had risen to 72,469.8 Despite the Depression, the African American metropolis, constantly swelled by new arrivals from the southern states, offered many opportunities for skilled African American photographers, even if they had to barter their services.

From 1922 on, various studios opened, most of them along Cedar Avenue, the pipeline of African American life. In the 1930s, Cleveland’s African American press began using the work of local photographers more regularly. The
Call & Post in particular established many photographers as competent professional artists.

The next decade ended the economic depression and brought World War II. Between 1941 and 1946, the number of the city’s African American photographers increased dramatically. Portraits of departing servicemen and their families were popular and often poignant, as there was no guarantee that the soldiers would return home from the war. Among these images are some of the most artistic and powerful portraits produced by local African Americans.

During the same decade, the opportunities for photographic training and hobbyism also increased. Notable members of the “Film Wasters Club” that had been organized in 1939 by the YMCA on Cedar Avenue for “Clevelanders who would like to indulge their photographic hobby ...” were Frederick Coleman (later a federal district attorney and judge), Leroy Leonard, R.F. Donato, Leland Harding, Fred Johnson, Karl Johnson, Eddie Coleman, Reace Jamieson and Raymond Harding. For more thorough training in photography, the Karamu Guild offered to African Americans one of the first programs in the country and helped develop the careers of several respected photo-artists of the time. The Guild, “composed of Karamu members interested in all phases of photography”, was primarily a photo-artist training studio, but also encouraged journalism and historic documentation. During the 1950s, as photo technology developed and the public became more keenly interested in the medium, the Guild at times counted over 20 members.

The decade of the 1950s saw freelance photographers diversify in style and clientele. While reliance on journalism as the sole means of livelihood and photographic expression began to diminish, artistic photography gained popularity. For the first time, more than one African American belonged to the Cleveland Photographic Society. The number of African American entries in photographic exhibitions increased as well. Members of the Karamu Camera Guild participated annually in The Cleveland Museum of Art’s May Show and the Photographic Society Interclub Competition, and also hosted an annual exhibition of their own. The photographers Harold Golden, James Brown, Calvin Ingram, James Joyce, John Goodwin, Matthew Dunlop, Mildred Elston, and Katherine Samuel Butler all were members of the Camera Guild.

Throughout the 1960s, the members of the Karamu Camera Guild continued to enter competitions while a new crop of African American freelancers began to vary the scope and production of photography. In 1963, Camera Guild member Matt Dunlop took first prize in the International Black and White Print Competition in Rochester, New York. His winning print, Loving, (Fig. 5) was a moving black and white image of a mother and infant daughter in embrace.

The socio-economic barriers of the previous decades also
started to yield in the 1960s, as the Caucasian news media more readily accepted the photojournalistic work of African Americans. The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* employed several freelance photographers, in particular James Gayle who later became the first African American on its staff. But the predominant media employer for African American photojournalists remained the African American press.

From 1930 to 1965, African American photographers established themselves as respected artists and skilled technicians, finding fresh opportunities for artistic expression both inside and outside their community. During this period, the growth of the Cedar-Central area as a residential, business and social district reached its zenith. Between 1922 and 1960, a number of studios opened on Cedar Avenue and adjoining streets and helped define African American photo-aesthetics. The body of work produced by Bob Williams - Pierpoint Studios, Benmar Studios and Artistic Studios, and by studio photographers such as Allen E. Cole, Herbert Mitchell, William Washington, Garnell McGhee, George Bryant, William Crawford, and James Doss defused any criticism of the African American photographer as being unestablished and unprofessional.

The studios were equipped for commercial production, primarily portraiture. Of course, some were technically more advanced than others. While the studios of Cole, Mitchell, McGhee, Crawford and Doss could explore a variety of artistic approaches, that of Washington was little more than a darkroom in his home, with limited means for producing sophisticated images.

The freelancers of the time – for instance Clement Perry, James Gayle, Jim Brown, Josephus Hicks, and Charles Pinkney – were expressionist and adventurous. Though they would do portraits and occasionally freelance for commercial studios or the news media, their true studio was the field. The result was a heightened genre of artistic and journalistic photography, refining the professionalism of African American photographic production.

The early studio photographers had built a sound reputation which inspired their successors, leading into the civil rights era of the 1950s and '60s. With each new decade, a new generation raised the level of professionalism and expanded the scope of expression. It is interesting to note that many of these dedicated African American photographers held other occupations as their primary source of income, or before making photography their main profession. Allen Cole worked as a waiter, Garnell McGhee was a plasterer, William Washington a clerk, George Bryant a shipping clerk.

The business and residential district around Cedar Avenue that had begun to take shape in the 1930s soon stretched north to south from Cedar Avenue to Woodland Avenue and west to east from East 22nd Street to East 105th Street. Commonly recognized as the Cedar-Central community, it remained the core of Cleveland's African American social life and culture into the mid-1960s.

The Cedar-Central community had been without a resident photographer until Allen E. Cole opened the first photo studio in 1922. From 1915 to 1922, Cole had been a waiter at the Cleveland Athletic Club as well as an apprentice photographer at the Frank Moore Studios of Cleveland.15 His decision to dedicate himself full-time to professional photography prompted the last of his many
career changes.

Born in 1884 in Kearneysville, West Virginia, as eleventh of the thirteen children of Allen Cole, Sr. and his wife Sarah, the junior Allen Cole graduated in 1905 from Storer College in Harper’s Ferry, West Virginia, waited tables in Atlantic City for a short while, then migrated to Cincinnati, Ohio, where he found employment as a railroad dining car cook. When an accident ended his railroad job, he entered the real estate business – a venture that proved unprofitable\textsuperscript{16} – and applied unsuccessfully for admission to the Miami and Ohio State University Law Schools. He subsequently studied law through correspondence courses.\textsuperscript{17}

In 1915, Cole moved to Cleveland and, through fraternal connections, secured employment at the Cleveland Athletic Club. He had always been an art enthusiast who painted oils and produced graphite drawings. During his years at the Club, he also became interested in photography. Though none of his oils and drawings has survived, a wealth of his photographs has.

Cole took advantage of the lack of a resident photographer in the Cedar-Central community where he established himself in 1919 and, in 1922, opened the first studio in his home on East 103rd Street. In 1924 he moved to 9904 Cedar Avenue and equipped his studio for greater commercial production.\textsuperscript{18} From the late 1920s to the early 1930s, much of his work was contracted by Caucasian-owned studios.\textsuperscript{19} Cole describes his role in this relationship:

\begin{quote}
\textit{... They would send me out to make them (photographs). I would make the negatives, print the picture, put their names on it. They would sell and deliver, and we worked on a percentage basis.}\textsuperscript{20}
\end{quote}

Most sources characterize Cole as a documentary photographer comparable to Van Der Zee, celebrating the life and culture of Cleveland’s African American population. As a photo-journalist, he freelanced with the \textit{Call & Post} from 1929 well into the 1950s. But Cole’s most exemplary subjects during 40 years of practice were church groups, sociopolitical organizations, businesses, weddings, funerals, clubs, entertainers, athletes, politicians and public officials. Clearly, his greatest impact was in portraiture.

Cole’s portraits were much in demand – and he knew how to create a market. If his colleagues habitually advertised their services in newspapers and magazines, he went a step further and advertised portraits as Christmas gifts. Seizing upon the possibilities inherent in Cedar-Central’s tradition as a “walking community” where people would spend entire Sunday afternoons in the streets ambling from one social attraction to the other, he attracted walk-in clients by displaying portraits on a billboard in front of his studio, inscribed with his slogan “Somebody, Somewhere, Wants Your Photograph.”

Cole created memorable portraits. One of them, very dynamic, captures the dignity and austere prominence of Judge Perry Brooks Jackson (Fig. 7), Ohio’s first African American Municipal Court Judge, appointed in 1942,\textsuperscript{21} around the time the portrait was taken. It shows the jurist posing tall in a traditional black robe, subtly framed by a


wisely chosen, unobtrusive background scene.

The portrait of Sorilla and L. Pearl Brooks (Fig. 8, c.1944) illustrates how much Cole’s portrait style had evolved since the time of his early work in the 1920s. The stylish sisters, similarly dressed, strike a pose of high-spirited elegance, echoing the jazz age.

Another classic Cole portrait is that of Mrs. Woods (Fig. 10), taken around 1935. The subject poses in evening gown among modest surroundings. The focus is on Mrs. Wood’s face, enhanced by the bareness of her back and the exquisite elegance of the gown draped on her body.

However, Cole’s sensitive artistry is best revealed in what may be his oldest portrait still in existence: the hand-tinted portrait of Mr. Silas Johnson (Fig. 3) seated in a wicker chair, which dates from around 1921. It is not known how extensively Cole used this technique, but he certainly used it with consummate skill.

Cole’s photographic achievements were recognized in 1948 when he took first prize in a regional competition held at the Allen Theatre.22 His winning entry was a portrait of his great-niece, 8-year-old Phyllis Lyles.

Allen E. Cole had savored the prestige of being the Cedar-Central community’s first career photographer. Eventually, he had established himself beyond the boundaries of Cedar-Central and become a distinguished member of the Cleveland Society of Professional Photographers, the Photographers Association of America, and the International Photographers Association.25 But in the late 1940s a new crop of photographers began to emerge, and by the mid-1960s, Cole had sharply reduced his activities. He died in his home on February 6, 1970.

In 1928, Mitchell Studios Incorporated, located at 9101 Cedar Avenue, became the second photography business to establish itself in the community. Herbert Mitchell, its proprietor, was a trained industrial photographer and, like Cole, a migrant to the city of Cleveland. He was born in Huntsville, Alabama in 1905. In 1918 he moved with his parents to Cleveland, an industrial city which Lee and Belle Mitchell saw as offering greater opportunities than Jim Crow Alabama. Herbert Mitchell began as chauffeur to the president of Standard Oil in the 1920s. During this period, he was sent to the Rochester Institute of Technology for photographic training; thereafter he worked at Standard Oil with Alonzo Wright. Over the years, his assignments would take him into the hearts of the steel and refining complexes in Cleveland’s Flats.24 Mitchell, like Cole, freelanced with the Call & Post newspaper. By 1939 he had equipped his studio for commercial production. He specialized in single and group portraits, covered community events, and did photo restoration as well as retouching. An advertisement in the Cleveland Business Directory lists Mitchell’s photo services as “architectural/landscape; machinery/accident; insurance/legal; candid/speed flash; portraits/photo finishing; groups/weddings & banquets; babies, children, pets.”25 Ever enterprising, he also imposed photographic images on cigarette lighters and door plates.

Mitchell, a Mason and member of various business organizations, participated frequently in the social and civic activities of the Cedar-Central community. He also served as professional mentor to attorneys Fred Coleman and Clarence McLeod whose first law office occupied the front room of Mitchell’s studio on Cedar. Coleman, who belonged to the Film Wasters Club, was at the same time a photography apprentice to Mitchell.

Herbert Mitchell remained on Cedar Avenue until his property was purchased by the Cleveland Clinic in the late 1970s. He sold the bulk of his photography to various parties and in 1981 moved with his wife to Silver Springs Shores, Florida, where he died in 1991.

William F. Washington was primarily a Call & Post photographer and photo-engraver. He followed Allen E. Cole as the weekly’s second local photographer. Before securing his position at the newspaper in 1938, he had worked as a clerk.26 He operated a studio out of his home at 2349 East 88th Street.27

Washington’s photo-journalistic style was the collage. Often covering banquets, parties and conventions, he composed the images of the numerous individuals and groups he portrayed into a collage format. A good example of this style is his depiction of a Mt. Haven Baptist Church program commemorating the births of Frederick Douglas and Abraham Lincoln. It appeared in the 15 February 1940 issue of the Call & Post and shows three separate photographs super-imposed into one finished print. The resulting three-level image eloquently documents an event attended by one hundred people.
11. HAROLD LOUIS GOLDEN.  
*Morning Gossip* (1950s). Photograph.  
Courtesy of Ruby Golden.
One of the most gifted Cedar-Central photographers was **Garnell McGhee** whose studio opened in 1954 at 10513 Cedar Avenue. McGhee was a 1941 graduate of Central High School and had received photographic training with the Karamu Guild. He was renowned for his good photo-portraiture technique and skilled lighting.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, recent high school graduates would flock to McGhee's studio to have their senior portraits taken – formerly one of Cole's trade specialties. Garnell McGhee also did portraits for various organizations and church groups. He is recognized in particular as one of Cleveland's first African American professionals to make extensive use of color photography.

**George Bryant** operated a small darkroom in his house before opening a photographic studio at 5217 Woodland Avenue in 1947. He produced portraits and habitually photographed special events and the night club scene in Cleveland's African American community.

George Bryant was born in 1896 in Pelham, Cuthbert County, Georgia, and received photographic training at Atlanta's Morris Brown College. His photographic skills were already developed when he moved to Cleveland in 1923. But times were hard and, forced to rely on steady employment in other fields, he remained essentially a part-time photographer. He worked for Schumann Jones, a pharmaceutical company, for 19 years. He also served for 38 years as Sunday School Superintendent of the Greater Avery AME Church.

Like most photographers, Bryant was always carrying a camera, and he did so for so many years that it earned him the nickname "the picture man." On March 13, 1931, he won an award in a Cleveland Photographic Society competition for a portrait of his infant daughter Gwendolyn sitting atop a cabinet with a joyful smile (Fig. 12).

George Bryant died in 1965 from a heart attack suffered on a CTS bus while returning home from his studio.

**William Crawford** joined Washington in the photo-engraving department of the *Call & Post* in 1949 and is remembered as "an accomplished craftsman who seemed to wear his camera the way most men wear a watch". Crawford was born in Williamsburg, West Virginia, in 1907. He served as a combat photographer in Europe during World War II and, his military service behind him, worked at the *Columbus Advocate* and the *Ohio State News*, then moved to Cleveland. From 1951 to 1966, in addition to his job at the *Call & Post*, Crawford also operated a studio in his home at 8221 Cedar Avenue. He photographed community events, group meetings and church programs, and excelled in producing candid portraits. Among his surviving work for the *Call & Post* is a 1948
article entitled “The People Speak Out”, written by “Doc” Young and illustrated with Crawford’s pictures, including photographs of the interviewees.34

In the 1960s, Crawford joined forces with journalist Rey Gillespie as chief photographer of Gillespie’s Urban League-sponsored Focus magazine, an annual publication offering a pictorial retrospective of the year’s events in the African American community. Crawford died on May 23, 1966, in Cleveland.

One of Garnell McGhee’s classmates at Central High School was Jim Doss, a Cleveland native born in 1920 whose artistic interest manifested itself at an early age. While in the military from 1942 to 1945, he continued to sharpen his portrait skill by making graphite drawings of fellow soldiers, who then would send them home to their families. After the war, he took courses at the Cleveland Institute of Art and, in the late 1950s, joined the Karamu Camera Guild to satisfy his growing interest in photography. The Guild trained him and encouraged him to participate in national and international competitions. In 1968 Doss enrolled in the American Training Institute for Professional Photographers in Winona, Indiana at the recommendation of photographer George Berosky.

Also in 1968, he won acclaim for a multiple-exposure image exhibited in Dayton, Ohio, that piqued the interest of the area’s professional photographers. In 1969, he opened his first studio on Kinsman Road.

Although he is adept at illustration and commercial photography, Jim Doss considers himself strictly a portrait photographer. Unlike many of his predecessors, he was never attracted to photojournalism and has never freelanced for the news media. His photographic influences have been Allen Cole and William Washington. Doss reflects that Cole was a master “photo-artist who produced superb images”35

Jim Doss’ present studio is near East 140th Street and Kinsman Road.

If Allen Cole is sometimes called the James Van Der Zee of Cleveland, then James “Jimmy” Gayle is most assuredly Cleveland’s Gordon Parks. Gayle was born in Tuskegee, Alabama, in 1920; his parents were teachers at the Tuskegee Institute. In 1923 the Gayles moved to Cleveland. In time, Jimmy graduated from East High School where he played the saxophone and developed a lifelong love of jazz music. In the U.S. Navy during World War II, he played in the band; after the war he travelled with the Ernie Freeman Band, comprised of former Navy Band personnel.

In the early 1950s, Gayle became interested in photography. He secured employment at Hastings-Willinger and Associates, a commercial photography firm. In 1956 he joined Allen Cole as the second African American member of the Photographic Society of Cleveland. The Society’s membership list of that year recognized his freelance work with the Pittsburgh Courier, with Cleveland’s Call & Post, and with Ebony and Jet magazines. Gayle recalled his experience at the two African American weeklies:

“... at the Courier you were forced to do ‘about almost anything’ ... at the Call & Post, O.W. Walker expected you not only to take pictures, you also had to develop and paste up”.36

Gayle’s freelance work took him to many parts of the country and all over Greater Cleveland. He was one of the first African American photographers to gain wide acceptance outside the African American community. In the late 1960s, he left Hastings-Willinger and, in partnership with

14. JAMES "JIM" BROWN.  
*Karamu Dancer* (1950s).  
Photograph. Western Reserve Historical Society.
Louis Childress, opened studios at 1150 Prospect Avenue. He always considered himself a freelancer who enjoyed the field. Before long, he dissolved the partnership and decided to sell pictures as a freelance and to concentrate on field work. His favorite subjects were Malcolm X, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Garrett Morgan (Fig. 6).

After the death of William Crawford in 1966, Gayle took over as director of photography for Focus magazine. In 1967 he was hired by the Cleveland Plain Dealer and remained for 22 years on the daily's staff as a photographer. In addition, he worked for WEWS TV throughout the 1970s, developing publicity photos for the Mike Douglas and Dorothy Fulischeim shows, among others.

Though chiefly a photojournalist, Gayle also produced wedding photos, copy photography and advertising art, and took pictures at community events. He never lost his love for jazz, and throughout the 1950s and '60s continued to haunt the jazz club scene in search of interesting photo opportunities.

Gayle had already received many awards in the course of his 38-year-long career when, in 1990, he was recognized by the National Association of Black Journalists. In 1991 the Black Media Workers bestowed upon him an award honoring his contribution to their profession.

James Gayle was in many ways a barrier-breaker and path-maker who transformed the African American photographers' career outlook by clarifying their professionalism and expanding their role in the growing mainstream media, so they would no longer be limited to the African American news industry alone. After a long and respected career, James Gayle died in Cleveland in 1991.

James T. (Jim) Brown, a graduate of the Cleveland Institute of Art, was a prize-winning photographer, an advertising artist for Sales Promotion Products Incorporated and a treasurer of the Karamu Camera Guild. He began his photographic tenure at Karamu House in the early 1950s and helped the Camera Guild set high standards of professionalism. Matt Dunlop hails him as having been one of the leading photo-artists of the Guild. During Karamu Theatre's heyday of the 1950s, Brown—who also was a recognized freelancer and often sold pictures to various news media—served as general photographer for the theater and its many groups.

James Brown won a number of ribbons and awards for his creative work, including an honorable mention in the International Club Printing Competition of the Photographic Society of America. He died in Cleveland in 1971.

Joseph F. Hicks was born in Newberry, South Carolina on May 4, 1908. His interest in photography began during his prep school days where he used an old box camera to take pictures of family and friends. In 1932, he graduated from South Carolina State University where he had been a student of Johnson C.贻nut Whitaker, the famous West Point cadet. In 1936, he moved to Cleveland and resumed his photography hobby. By 1940, he had earned a master's degree from Case Western Reserve University.

In 1941, he began to use 16mm motion picture film because of "the movement of the subjects." His first significant film recorded a service at St. John AME Church; films of services at Antioch Baptist Church, Mt. Pleasant Methodist Church and St. James AME Church followed. He also filmed the initial service of Cory Methodist Church in its East 105th edifice. For the next 39 years he recorded community events, school programs, church services and weddings. But his greatest contribution has been the motion picture documentation of the installation of Jean Capers as the first African American Councilwoman in 1949, and of Civil Rights demonstrations in Cleveland, including the NAACP picketing of Cleveland Trust Company in 1961.

Hicks' still photography documented Cleveland Public School desegregation demonstrations and the ribbon-cutting of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Branch of the Cleveland Public Library. A social worker by profession, Hicks also used his photography hobby in his efforts to communicate with young people. He considers his greatest work the photographic documentation of the Cleveland Pride program (Fig. 87), a social work group project of the Cleveland Public Schools. He has authored several books and, although he has abandoned the film format, continues to take still pictures of community events.
Josephus Hicks maintains a small lab in his home where his photograph work of over 50 years is preserved.

Charles Pinkney, a Cleveland native, studied art at the Cooper School of Art and at Kent State University after graduating from Glenville High School. He learned photography in the military, and in the late 1950s further developed his skills at the Karamu Camera Guild.44

As an artist primarily interested in portraiture, Pinkney explored and enjoyed the flexibility of the camera used as a brush. He still considers himself “a painter using a camera” and cites James Van Der Zee, Gordon Parks and Henri Cartier Bresson, the photographer of the “decisive moment,” as his major influences.45 After winning a Leika M-3 in 1954, he completed his first photo-journalism story and later worked for the Pittsburgh Press.

In the early 1970s, Pinkney decided to venture into journalism not as a freelance, but as a publisher. He launched The Record, a community-based newspaper with feature stories and insightful exposés on Cleveland’s African Americans. Before long, he was acclaimed as a documentary photographer.

At present, Charles Pinkney maintains a studio in Cleveland as well as one in San Diego, California.

IN CONCLUSION, African American photographers active in Cleveland between 1887 and 1970 contributed progressively to the achievements of the local – and in some cases national – photographic community. The period between 1930 and 1965 constituted the highpoint of this collective development. In the span of those 35 years, the city’s African American photographers developed their own artistic identity. There is a distinct evolution from the nostalgic portraiture of Allen E. Cole to the empowering journalistic independence of James Gayle and Charles Pinkney; but the basic aesthetics remain firmly rooted. Clearly, the Cedar-Central neighborhood, its people and its culture, nurtured these dedicated lensmen. Building upon the foundation laid by Allen E. Cole, each new generation found fresh and expressive ways to expand the scope of their art, leaving an eloquent body of work which mirrors the community’s civic growth, its growing religious life, its club scene, jazz exuberance and sports enthusiasm, its post-war family boom, its civil rights activism, and the continued migration of African Americans from the rural south to urban industrial Cleveland. Together, these consummate photographers have left us an impressive and eloquent legacy in pictures of the lives, history and culture of generations of African Americans in Cleveland.

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NOTES:

2. Cleveland Gazette, issues of January 1, 8, 15 and 29, 1887
3. Crisis, May 1917, p. 32
4. ibid., May 1927, p. 91.
5. Cleveland City Directory, 1891. Listed under photographers, this is the earliest date for the Chesnutt Brothers.
10. ibid.
12. Karamuse, volume 1, number 2, September 1951, pg. 2
13. The reference to The Cleveland Museum of Art May Show is Karamuse, volume 6, number 3, July 1961, page 4; the reference for the citation of the Cleveland Photographic Society Interclub Competition is Karamuse, volume 5, number 9, April-May 1959, page 8; the citation for the Camera Guild annual show is from Karamuse publications, volume 1, number 2, September 1951; volume 1, number 5, April 1952; volume 5, number 6, April-May 1958; volume 5, number 8, February-March 1959; volume 2, number 5, December 1953; and April-May 1965.
14. ibid., February-March 1964, p. 2
16. ibid.
17. Correspondence in the Allen E. Cole papers, African American Archives of the Western Reserve Historical Society
18. ibid.
20. Allen E. Cole papers
21. Davis, p. 314
22. Interview of Agnus Lyles and Phyllis Lyles, February 21, 1995
24. Interview of Dorothy Stewart of Cleveland, April 14, 1995
25. Cleveland Directory, 1939, p. 9
26. ibid., 1938
27. ibid., 1935
28. Call & Post, February 15, 1940, p. 9
29. ibid., May 15, 1965
30. ibid.
31. ibid.
32. ibid., June 4, 1966
33. The Plain Dealer, May 28, 1966, p. 28
34. ibid., January 17, 1848, p. 5B
35. Interview of Jim Doss, June 8, 1995
36. Call & Post, June 28, 1990, p. 2B
38. The Plain Dealer, obituary, July 3, 1991, p. 6B
39. ibid.
40. Cleveland Press, obituary, February 1, 1971
41. ibid.
42. Call & Post, February 6, 1971, p. 1A
43. Interview of Josephus Hicks
44. Interview of Charles Pinkney
45. ibid.
17. FRED CARLO. The Flats (1930). Linocut, 9 x 6". Cleveland State University; The Russell & Rowena Jelliffe Collection.