

An Economic History of Black Business in Asheville, North Carolina, 1921-1951

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Abstract: Scholars of black business history offer three theories about the first half of the twentieth century: the number of black businesses was greater in the 1920s, declined in the 1930s, and recovered in the 1940s, black businesses existed largely in the service sector, and they located primarily in historically black areas. I tested these theories for the city of Asheville, North Carolina from 1921 to 1951 by analyzing data from business directories. The results are consistent with the theories: the number of businesses declined during the 1930s and recovered during the 1940s, the proportion of businesses in the service sector was greater than 75% for each sample year, and the proportion of businesses located in black areas was also greater than 75% for each sample year.

Keywords: black business, Asheville, NC

Black business activity in America during the first half of the twentieth century is one of rise and fall and rise again. Black business reportedly boomed during the 1920s, declined during the 1930s, and boomed again during the following decades. It is suggested that black business developed and thrived in an era of segregation where it catered to almost exclusively black patrons. Subsequently, black businesses are thought to have located primarily in historically black urban areas. In addition, due to lack of access to financial capital, black businesses are thought to have participated mostly in the service sector where capital costs were low.¹

This paper examines the economic history of black business in the Southern Appalachian city of Asheville, North Carolina from 1921 to 1951. Data on the number, type, and location of black businesses is collected from business directories which are part of city directories. Until 1952, Asheville directories noted businesses that were run by black business people by placing either a “(c)” or an “*” next to their name (for colored). Section I provides a descriptive background and survey of previous research on the history of black business in America. It also provides background on Asheville.

¹ See for example Juliet E.K. Walker, *The History of Black Business in America: Capitalism, Race, Entrepreneurship* (New York: Macmillan, 1998).

Section II covers the research methods used. This includes a discussion of the source of data and specific methods used for collecting and analyzing the data. Section III presents and organizes the results. Section IV discusses the results, comparing them to previous research. Section V concludes by summarizing the results and proposing further research.

I: Background

Juliet E.K. Walker's *The History of Black Business in America: Capitalism, Race, Entrepreneurship* provides a thorough background on black business history. The author describes the overall trend of black business during the first half of the twentieth century. The supposed golden age of black business existed in roughly the first thirty years when black business grew and prospered. The 1930s' Great Depression caused a decline in black business. High black unemployment led to poor performance of black businesses due to their reliance on black patronage. Black business recovered during World War II to its pre-Depression level and did well throughout the 1940s.²

Walker also touches upon the role of geography. Black business districts developed on major streets in historically black areas and emerged from inflows of migration as well as segregation. Migration was an important factor during World War I when Southern blacks moved to Northern industrial cities. Rural Southern blacks also moved to nearby Southern cities. Black customers, often through the notion of "race loyalty," supported black businesses. Walker claims that although black business relied on black patronage, it was not a separate and distinct economy since other successful non-black businesses also catered to black customers. In fact, most of the black population's income went to white businesses. In retail, for example, black business was

² Walker, *The History of Black Business in America*, 182, 225-226, 244-247.

usually inferior to white business in terms of the variety, quantity, and quality of goods and services offered.³

Walker also provides a more detailed view on the nature of black business. Financial and insurance companies and black fraternal associations were keystone economic institutions that embodied the role of self-help in black communities. Due to racial discrimination, blacks established their own banks and insurance companies which in turn helped to establish other black businesses. Insurance companies usually initiated banks, although most banks established before 1930 would eventually fail. Additionally, black banks were predominantly found in the South.⁴

Black business pioneered in the hair care and beauty aids industry. This provided employment for black women, some of whom would eventually establish beauty parlors. Racial discrimination also led to black entrepreneurship in the transportation, leisure, and entertainment industries. Some blacks attempted to create transportation services such as streetcars, railways, and taxis and enter the then newly established automobile industry through dealerships, repair shops, and gas stations. Such things as parks, recreation centers, resorts, hotels, and theatres helped support civic and cultural happenings for blacks. In addition, black business in real estate and construction was crucial for expanding the black economy through erecting homes and offices.⁵

Walker notes that black businesses were largely in the service sector. One reason she cites for the lack of black manufacturing was the lack of entrepreneurship based on black inventions and subsequent patents. Another major reason was the persistent

³ Ibid., 213-215.

⁴ Ibid., 213-214, 187, 190-191, 224.

⁵ Ibid., 182, 211, 193-196.

undercapitalization of black manufacturers. These businesses were unable to obtain the capital needed for production at a level competitive with white business.⁶

Robert C. Kenzer's *Enterprising Southerners: Black Economic Success in North Carolina, 1865-1915* describes the factors leading to economic success of blacks specifically in the South. The author's analysis highlights the role of population:

In those counties with one or more black credit-rated firms the black population approached nearly half of the total population, compared with their statewide average of slightly more than one-third. By comparison, in those counties without black credit-rated firms blacks composed only about one-fourth of the total population. Even more indicative of the relation was the percentage of the population that was black in the villages, towns, and cities where black firms generally were located: slightly more than 50 percent.⁷

Although Kenzer was unable to obtain data on the clientele of black businesses, he notes that black entrepreneurs located in communities with significant black populations, leading him to speculate that most of their customers were black. This corresponds with Walker's analysis above. Kenzer remarks that racial discrimination played a significant role in the types of businesses blacks engaged in, such as funeral homes, where equivalent white businesses would not serve blacks. They also chose businesses that had low capital costs as a result of their financial constraints. These were mainly in the service and skilled trade sectors, which also corresponds with Walker's analysis. Kenzer emphasizes the role of collective efforts in black economic success as well, like Walker.⁸

John Sibley Butler's *Entrepreneurship and Self-Help Among Black Americans: A Reconsideration of Race and Economics* offers a similar background to Walker's book, albeit one with a sociological emphasis. Similarly to Walker and Kenzer, Butler stresses

⁶ Ibid., 201-208.

⁷ Robert C. Kenzer, *Enterprising Southerners: Black Economic Success in North Carolina, 1865-1915* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 38.

⁸ Ibid., 38, 63-64, 68-69.

the role of self-help within black communities in relation to entrepreneurship and economic stability. Butler cites black-run churches, insurance companies, and banks as the primary and most significant self-help institutions. Moreover, he observes that race relations essentially led blacks to run businesses in segregated markets.⁹

Brimmer (2002) and Ingham (2003) explore the role of residential segregation on the development of black business. Brimmer argues that black business emerged and grew within a segregated black community. In addition, he claims that blacks operated businesses providing goods and services they were unable to acquire in the mainstream economy, such as personal services. Ingham, whose work is on Southern cities, finds a larger number of black enterprises in cities with greater residential segregation.¹⁰

Boyd (2001) studies black-run retail businesses in America for over 60 cities in both the North and South for the year 1940. He finds that the greater residential segregation a city has the more black retail businesses exist there. Additionally, he notes that, unlike the South, large black populations supported black retailers in Northern cities. In Southern cities he finds that residential segregation was a more important variable than population.¹¹

Alexander (1951) examines the economic impact of black business in Atlanta, Georgia. He finds that black businesses were mostly small and service oriented and

⁹ John Sibley Butler, *Entrepreneurship and Self-Help Among Black Americans: A Reconsideration of Race and Economics* (New York: SUNY Press, 1991), 79, 143.

¹⁰ Andrew F. Brimmer, "Competition and Integration of Black Enterprises in the American Economy," *Review of Black Political Economy* 29.3 (2002): 9-50; John N. Ingham, "Building Businesses, Creating Communities: Residential Segregation and the Growth of African American Business in Southern Cities, 1880-1915." *Business History Review* 77 (2003): 639-665.

¹¹ Robert L. Boyd, "Black Enterprise in the Retail Trade during the Early Twentieth Century," *Sociological Focus* 34.3 (2001): 241-250.

located in segregated black areas. He also notes a strong sense of community that fostered black business.¹²

Asheville, North Carolina is located in the Southern Appalachian Mountains.

Before 1900 Asheville was largely a resort town, but:

in the first three decades of the twentieth century Asheville's economy broadened to include department stores, insurance agencies, law practices, banks and finance companies, engineering partnerships, accounting offices, automobile dealerships and service stations, and, most important, real estate firms.¹³

The city experienced a real estate boom in the 1920s that peaked in either late 1926 or early 1927. When nationwide bank panics began in late 1930, major Asheville banks already weakened from declines in real estate assets failed. Asheville entered the Great Depression. The economy eventually recovered during the 1940s. Black businesses in the city "operated within implicit geographical boundaries downtown," primarily around Eagle Street and located adjacent to Pack Square (also known as the Block or more broadly as the East End). In addition, the East Riverside area south of downtown (also known as Southside) was for the most part a black neighborhood (see Appendix A for maps). Black businesses in both areas catered to a black clientele and some also catered to whites.¹⁴

Based on previous research I can present three hypotheses concerning the history of black business for the first half of the twentieth century that will be tested for Asheville. First, I expect the number of black businesses from 1921 to 1951 to be greater in the 1920s, decline during the 1930s, and then recover in the 1940s. The decline in the number of black businesses is due to the effects of the Great Depression. Second, I expect

¹² Robert J. Alexander, "Negro Business in Atlanta," *Southern Economic Journal* 17.4 (1951): 451-464.

¹³ Nan K. Chase, *Asheville: A History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2007), 82.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 109, 142, 174.

the types of black businesses to be found primarily in the service sector with some black-run insurance companies and banks. This is due to capital costs and the self-help role of financial institutions. Third, I expect the location of black businesses to be spatially concentrated in historically black areas due to both segregation and reliance on black patronage.

II: Data and Methods

I will test each theory by analyzing data from business directories on the number, type, and location of black businesses through time.¹⁵ City directories are stored in the Special Collections department of D. Hiden Ramsey Library on the campus of the University of North Carolina at Asheville. Black businesses are denoted in the business directories with either a “(c)” or an “*” (for colored) placed beside the business name.¹⁶ This practice ended after 1951, hence the end point for the period of study. I chose the starting point of 1921 in order to have a sizeable timeframe in which to test the theories of black business history. I sampled five years in this period (1921, 1931, 1936, 1942, and 1951) with consideration to the gap between sample years for consistency and the effects of the Great Depression (see Appendix B for data).

The business directories themselves are organized alphabetically by category (i.e., type of business). Within each category, businesses are listed by name. Each business listing contains a name and street address. Listings occasionally have references to advertisements placed in the directory (see Fig. 1). I collected data on black businesses in each sample year’s directory and recorded all associated information for each listing (year, category, name, and street address). I did not include churches, clergymen,

¹⁵ Asheville City Directories (1921, 1931, 1936, 1942, and 1951)

¹⁶ Consistent with the literature, I assume that colored means black and does not include other races.

FIGURE 1
EXAMPLE OF AN AD FOR A BLACK BUSINESS



Source: Asheville City Directory (1951)

and fraternal associations as I do not consider these to be businesses. Furthermore, duplicate addresses and/or duplicate names would sometimes appear. I rechecked these listings to distinguish if the businesses were different. If the businesses had different names and were in distinct categories, then I counted them as separate businesses. If the businesses had the same name and were in similar categories, then I counted them as a single business.¹⁷ Also, for each sample year I estimated the total number of businesses (black and non-black) in the directory in order to find the proportion of black businesses.¹⁸

I tested the first theory regarding the number of black businesses through time by comparing the total number of black businesses found in each sample year controlled for population.¹⁹ I acquired population numbers for Asheville from historical census data.²⁰ I

¹⁷ For example, the business listed as Jesse Ray Funeral Home in the 1942 business directory appeared in multiple categories including Ambulance Service, Embalmer, Funeral Directors, Morticians, and Undertakers, all at 267 College St. I counted this as a single business.

¹⁸ I did this by sampling a single page for the total number of listings and then multiplying this number by the total number of pages in the directory (accounting for categories not included).

¹⁹ I did this by dividing the total number of black business listings for each sample year by data on the black population for Asheville from the closest census year. For the sample year 1936 I used the mean of the populations from 1930 and 1940.

tested the second theory concerning the types of black businesses by examining the sectors of the economy in which I found black businesses as determined by their category listings. I organized listings into general categories (i.e., services vs. manufacturing) and calculated the proportion of businesses contained in each.²¹ I tested the third theory concerning the locations of black businesses by calculating the proportion of black businesses found in historically black areas of Asheville. The major black areas identified are the East End and Southside. I used a map of Asheville circa 1921 and other sources to help define these areas (see appendix A).²²

III: Results

The number of black businesses declined during the 1930s and subsequently recovered as expected (see Fig. 2). The number of black businesses is greater in the 1940s compared to the 1920s. Additionally, black businesses comprised a very small

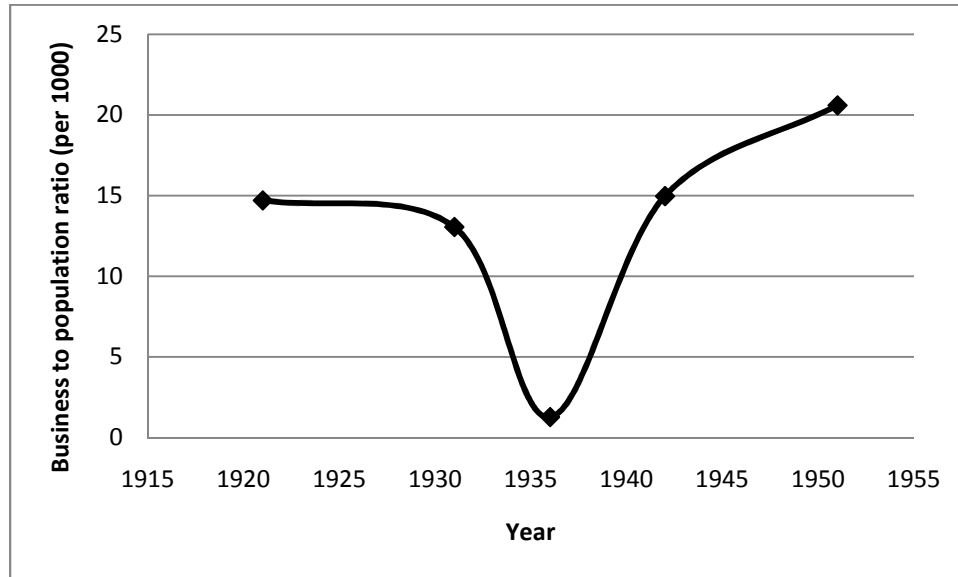
²⁰ Bureau of the Census. *Fourteenth Census of the United States: State Compendium: North Carolina*. Washington D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1921. p. 43, <http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/06229686v32-37ch1.pdf> (accessed October 26, 2010); Bureau of the Census. *Fifteenth Census of the United States – 1930 – Population: Vol. III, Pt. 2 Montana-Wyoming*. Washington D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1932. p. 367, <http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/10612982v3p2ch04.pdf> (accessed October 26, 2010); Bureau of the Census. *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940: Population: Vol. II, Pt. 5 New York-Oregon*. Washington D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1943. p. 392, <http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/33973538v2p5ch4.pdf> (accessed October 26, 2010); Bureau of the Census. *Census of Population: 1950 Vol. II, Pt. 33, North Carolina*. Washington D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1952. p. 62, <http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/06586136v2p33ch2.pdf> (accessed October 26, 2010).

²¹ I considered the following categories to be manufacturing: Bakeries, Blacksmiths, Horseshoes, and Wheelwrights, Cabinet Makers, Contractors, Dressmakers, Ice Cream Manufacturers, Jewelers and Watchmakers, Medicine Manufacturers, Shoemakers and Repairers, and Tailors

²² Henry Robinson, “An Historical Perspective on East End,” in *East End Asheville Photographs Circa 1968*, Andrea Clark (Asheville, NC: Buncombe County Public Libraries, 2009), 11; Housing Authority of the City of Asheville, *Inside East Riverside*, 1966, http://toto.lib.unca.edu/findingaids/mss/housing_authority_city_asheville/haca_publications/inside_east_riverside/default_inside_east_riverside.htm (accessed November 19th, 2010); North Carolina Maps, *City of Asheville, North Carolina*, circa 1921, http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/ncmaps&CISOPTR=7693 (accessed October 26th, 2010).

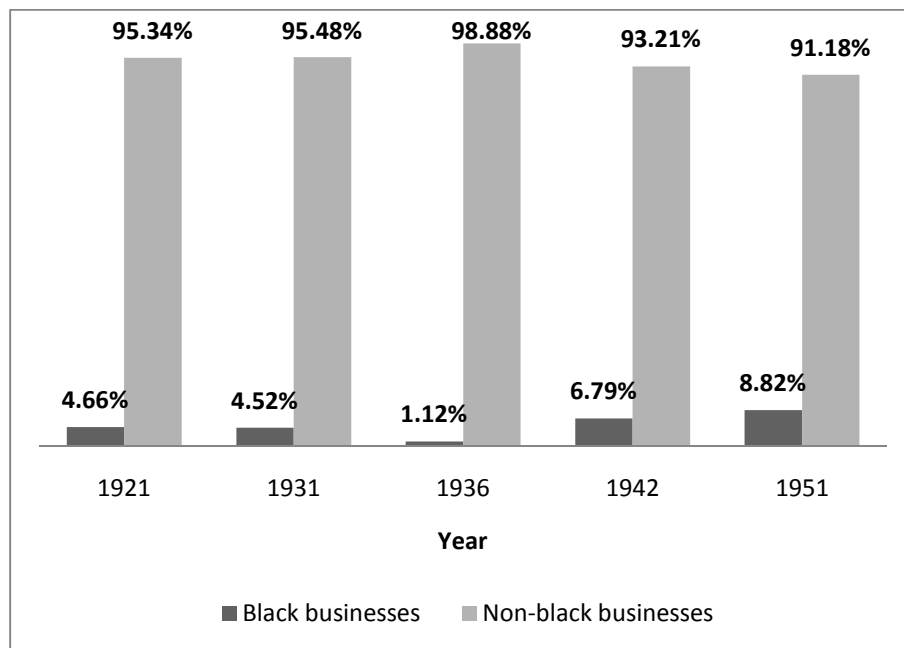
proportion of the overall number of businesses (less than 10% for each sample year) (see Fig. 3).

FIGURE 2
THE NUMBER OF BLACK BUSINESSES OVER TIME



Source: Asheville City Directories (1921, 1931, 1936, 1942, and 1951)

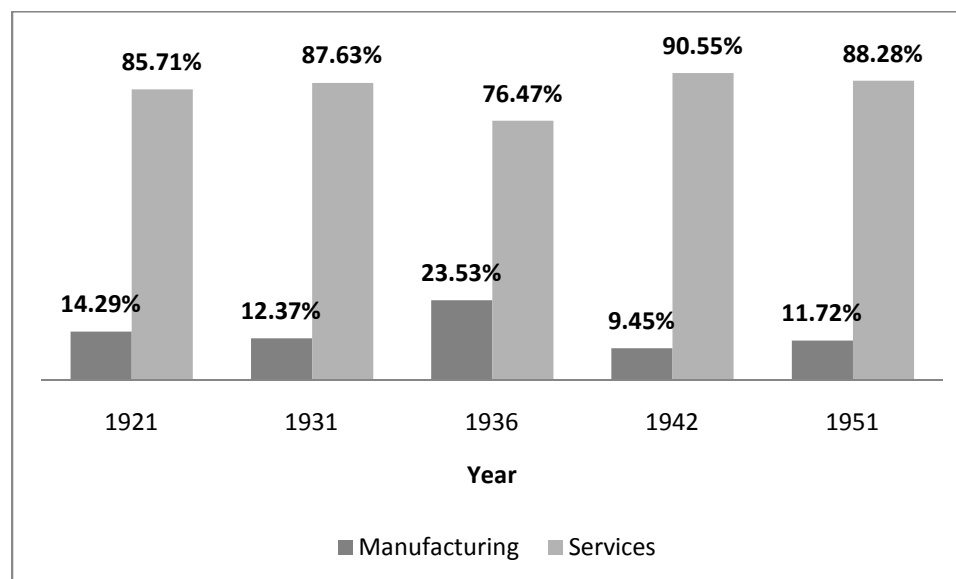
FIGURE 3
THE PROPORTION OF BLACK AND NON-BLACK BUSINESSES



Source: Asheville City Directories (1921, 1931, 1936, 1942, and 1951)

Black businesses were primarily found in the service sector (greater than 75% for each sample year) (see Fig. 4). Barber shops, beauty parlors, groceries, and restaurants, for example, were quite numerous. A few black businesses engaged in manufacturing including carpenters, shoemakers, and makers of medicine and ice cream. No black businesses were found in the primary sector (e.g., agriculture or forestry). Black businesses were primarily located in the historically black areas of Asheville known as the East End and Southside (greater than 75% for each sample year) (see Table 1).

**FIGURE 4
THE PROPORTION OF BLACK BUSINESSES BY SECTOR**



Source: Asheville City Directories (1921, 1931, 1936, 1942, and 1951)

**TABLE 1
THE PROPORTION OF BLACK BUSINESSES LOCATED IN HISTORICALLY BLACK AREAS**

Year	1921	1931	1936	1942	1951
Proportion	86.67%	80.11%	76.47%	82.10%	82.42%

Source: Asheville City Directories (1921, 1931, 1936, 1942, and 1951)

In addition, even those businesses located outside of these two major black areas were located in less major black areas such as the Hill Street community (just north of downtown) as well as the Burton Street and Shiloh Road communities (West and South Asheville, respectively).

IV: Discussion

The results are consistent with and lend support to all three hypotheses. The number of black businesses in Asheville was greater during the 1920s, declined during the Depression years, and then recovered during the 1940s, as described by Walker. Similarly to Walker, Kenzer, and Alexander (1951), black businesses existed largely in the service sector. Black businesses were also primarily located in historically black areas, as suggested by Brimmer (2002), Ingham (2003), Boyd (2001), and Alexander (1951).

Interestingly, I found no black banks listed in the directories, although I did find a few insurance companies. This is at odds with the assertions of Walker and Butler that black banks were both crucial for funding black businesses and predominantly found in the South. This could reflect on either the nature of race relations in Asheville or its size compared to other Southern cities. Research into the financing of black businesses in Asheville would be informative. It is likely that black businesses in Asheville had a largely black clientele since they were primarily located in black areas. However, the proportions of black businesses relative to non-black businesses are significantly different than the proportions of the black population compared to the non-black population (around 25% for each census year). This suggests that blacks also patronized non-black businesses, which is consistent with Walker's analysis. Additionally, if black businesses

continued to locate in black areas after 1951, this could have implications for the claim that urban renewal programs negatively affected black communities.²³ However, Brimmer (2002) argues that black business declined prior to urban renewal programs due to black business' inability to compete with white business after desegregation. Further research in this area would also be informative.

V: Conclusion

Black business history for the first half of the twentieth century has three major theories associated with it. First, black business boomed during the 1920s, declined during the 1930s, and boomed again during the 1940s. Second, it existed predominantly in the service sector. Third, it was located primarily in historically black areas. The results for Asheville from 1921 to 1951 support these theories. The pattern of the number of black businesses through time is consistent with the first theory. The proportion of black businesses in the service sector was greater than 75% for each sample year and the proportion of black businesses located in historically black areas was also greater than 75% for each sample year. Apart from the proposed research mentioned in the previous section concerning the financing of black businesses and urban renewal in Asheville, other research should be pursued into the specific self-help institutions in Asheville (such as the Young Men's Institute) and their effects on black business development. Furthermore, research into the roles of capital costs and gender in regards to the types of businesses blacks engaged in would also be informative. These subjects would add to the research carried out here and provide a more in depth history of black business activities in Asheville.

²³ Chase, *Asheville*, 159-160.

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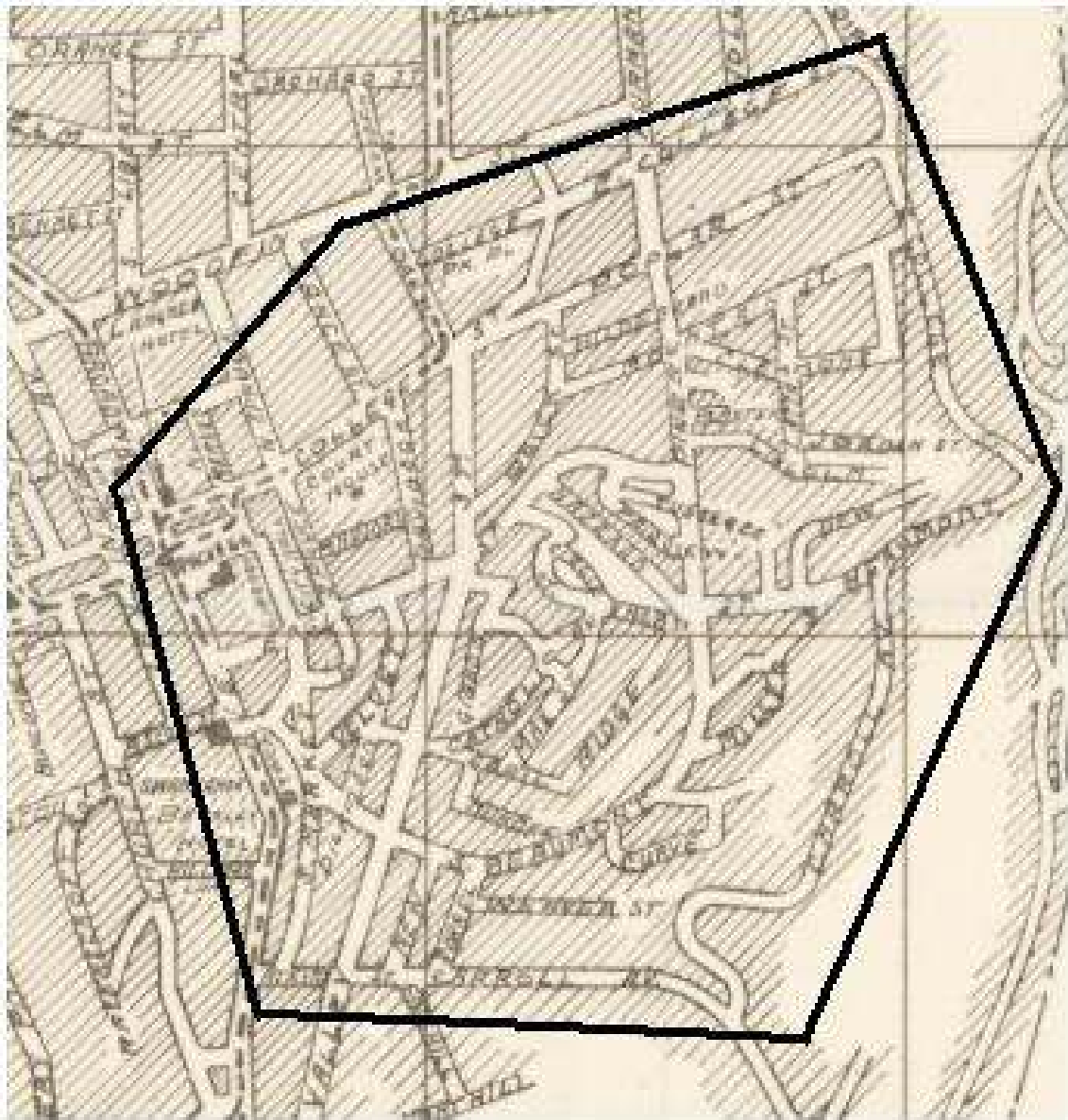
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Appendix A: Maps

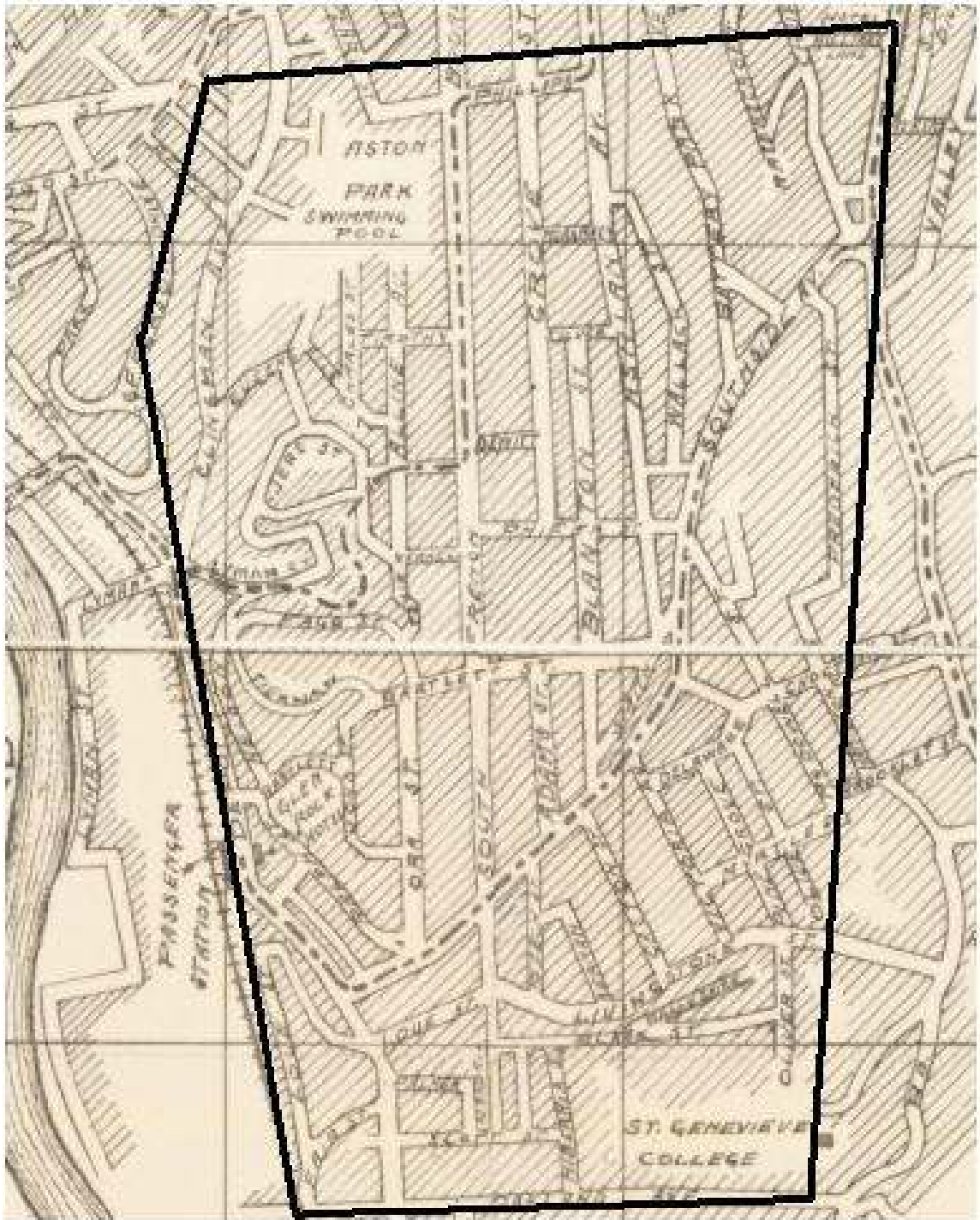
I defined the East End as the area contained by Woodfin St. and College St. to the north, Broadway St. and Biltmore Ave. to the west, E. College St. to the east, and Carroll Ave. to the south. I defined Southside as the area contained by Phillips St. and Hilliard Lane to the north, Clingman Ave. and Depot St. to the west, Biltmore Ave. to the east, and Oakland Ave. to the south.

**FIGURE 1
EAST END DISTRICT**



Source: North Carolina Maps, *City of Asheville, North Carolina*, circa 1921

FIGURE 2
SOUTHSIDE DISTRICT



Source: North Carolina Maps, *City of Asheville, North Carolina*, circa 1921

Appendix B: Data

The tables below are available digitally as spreadsheets from Special Collections in Ramsey Library.

**TABLE 1
BLACK BUSINESS LISTINGS FOR 1921**

<u>Type</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Altering/Cleaning and Pressing/Dyers/Pressing Clubs/Tailors	Royal Pressing Club	2 Eagle	
Altering/Cleaning and Pressing/Harness and Saddlery/Pressing Clubs/Tailors	Ross Guy A, The Hatter	24 s Market	
Barbers	Acme Barber Shop	Oates Bldg (basement)	at 20-22 n Pack sq, duplicate address, different name, different business
Barbers	Bowman J W	12 w College	
Barbers	Broadway Shaving Parlor	17 Biltmore av (basement)	
Barbers	Brooks & Sims	8 Eagle	
Barbers	Brown & Walker	1 Eagle	
Barbers	Copening & Fuller	11 w College	
Barbers	Harrison W E	382 Depot	
Barbers	Justice G C	46 s Market	duplicate address, different name, different business
Barbers	Martin K R	17 Broadway	duplicate name, different business
Barbers	Quick B R	397 Southside av	
Barbers	St Paul Barber Shop	414 Southside av	duplicate address, slightly different name, different business
Barbers	Wilson's Barber Shop	39 Biltmore av	duplicate address, slightly different name, different business
Blacksmiths, Horseshoes, and Wheelwrights	Hopkins J W	32 s Lexington av	
Blacksmiths, Horseshoes, and Wheelwrights	Sutton Claude	261 Depot	
Boarding Houses	Glasgow Mary	194 Biltmore av	
Boarding Houses	Mills Lucinda	462 s French	

		Broad av	
Boarding Houses	Turner Annie	51 Herman av	
Buildings and Halls	Asbury Hall	99 Valley	
Buildings and Halls	Masonic Temple	44 s Market	
Buildings and Halls	Odd Fellow Hall	24.5 Eagle	
Buildings and Halls	YMI of the YMCA	37 s Market	
Buildings and Halls	YWCA Bldg	24.5 s Market	
Cabinet Makers/Furniture (Moving)/Upholsterers	Cathey Jno	40.5 Biltmore av	
Card Writing	Jones R P	414 Southside av	duplicate address, different name, different business
Chiropodists	Bailey T H	76 Clingman av	
Chiropodists	Langston Mary	36 Haywood	
Cleaning and Pressing	Bull City Pressing Club	384 Depot	
Cleaning and Pressing	Harmon & Reid	9 w College	
Cleaning and Pressing	Lenoir & Broadnax	36 Biltmore av	
Cleaning and Pressing	Martin F P	35.5 e College	
Cleaning and Pressing	Moore S E	395 Southside av	
Cleaning and Pressing	Sisney J H	24 Eagle	
Cleaning and Pressing	Swepson E W	Oates Bldg (basement)	at 20-22 n Pack sq, duplicate address, different name, different business
Cleaning and Pressing	Vaughn Lee	39 Biltmore av	duplicate address, different name, different business
Cleaning and Pressing	West James	427 Depot	
Cleaning and Pressing	YMI Pressing Club	41 s Market	
Confectioners	Propes Fitzhugh	41 Pine	
Confectioners	Vance Montie	317.5 w Haywood	
Dentists	Evans F A	4 YMI Bldg	at 37 s Market
Dressmakers	Arnold Georgianna	58.5 Mountain	
Dressmakers	Hairston Mary	57 Short	
Dressmakers	Norman Lucy	11 Lincoln av	
Druggists	YMI Drug Store	29 Eagle	
Eating Houses	Alexander R D	10 Eagle	
Eating Houses	Brown B F	99 Valley	
Eating Houses	Bull City Café	380 Depot	
Eating Houses	Charter Chas	160 Southside av	
Eating Houses	Hamilton G F	26 Eagle	
Eating Houses	Johnson Saml	382 Southside av	
Eating Houses	Jones C H	16 Eagle	duplicate address,

			same name, but different business
Eating Houses	Morris Clara	89 Eagle	
Eating Houses	Owens W H	78 Eagle	
Eating Houses	Payne Bud	415 Ralph	
Eating Houses	Pearson H P	6 Eagle	
Eating Houses	Rex Café	448 Depot	
Eating Houses	Williams A W	386 Depot	
Eating Houses/Restaurants	Giles Hattie	8 Buttrick	duplicate address, different name, different business
Employment Agencies	Wilson J A	39 Biltmore av	duplicate address, slightly different name, different business
Furnished Rooms	Cowan J H	394 Southside av	
Furnished Rooms	Johnson Robt	382.5 Depot	
Furnished Rooms	Jones C H	16 Eagle	duplicate address, same name, but different business
Furniture (Dealers)	Simonton Amos	103 Valley	subcategories include Dealers, Manufacturers, and Moving
General Merchandise/Grocers (Retail)	Campbell F S	91 Eagle	subcategories include Retail and Wholesale
Grocers (Retail)	Caston Eugene	67 Hill	
Grocers (Retail)	Chavis Jno	200 Fayetteville, W Ashev	
Grocers (Retail)	Green Theodore	22 Hildebrand	
Grocers (Retail)	Jones Wm C	143 s Beaumont	
Grocers (Retail)	Nesbitt Jno	194 Southside av	
Grocers (Retail)	Payton Edwd	488 s French Broad av	
Grocers (Retail)	Pearson J F	2 Ridge	
Grocers (Retail)	Runner J M	47 Mountain	
Grocers (Retail)	Vance Mark	317 w Haywood	
Hotels	St Paul Hotel	414 Southside av	duplicate address, slightly different name, different business
Ice Cream Parlors	Revel (The)	28 Eagle	
Insurance Agents and Agencies/Notaries/Real Estate/Rental Agents	Oglesby Thos	44 s Market	duplicate address, different name, different business
Insurance Companies (Industrial)/Insurance	North Carolina Life Ins Co/NC Life Ins Co	44 s Market	duplicate address, different name,

Companies (Life)			different business
Music Teachers	Simpson Edmonia	h 70 Hill	
Nurses - Trained	Robinson Carrie B	35 Clingman av	
Painters (Auto and Carriage)	King W A	67 Biltmore av	subcategories include Auto and Carriage, House, Letter, and Sign
Physicians	Bryant R H	18.5 Eagle	
Physicians	Holt J W	22.5 s Market (YWCA Bldg)	
Physicians	Miller L O	24.5 s Market (YWCA Bldg)	
Physicians	Thompson E B	1 YMI Bldg	at 37 s Market
Physicians	Walker J W	3 YMI Bldg	at 37 s Market
Printers (Book and Job)	Harris Printing	24.5 Eagle	duplicate address, different name, different business
Real Estate	Howell & McCoy	2 YMI Bldg	at 37 s Market
Real Estate	Murrough Noah	31 Eagle	duplicate address, slightly different name, different business
Real Estate	Pearson E W	24.5 Eagle	duplicate address, different name, different business
Restaurants	YMI Café	39 s Market	
Shoe Stores	Martin K R	17 Biltmore av	duplicate name, different business
Shoemakers and Repairers	Henry W D	46 s Market	duplicate address, different name, different business
Shoemakers and Repairers	Jamison A J	14 Eagle	
Shoemakers and Repairers	Jusice J C	153 Patton av	
Shoemakers and Repairers	Weston Jos	39 Biltmore av	duplicate address, different name, different business
Shoemakers and Repairers	White Herbert	306 Charlotte	
Soft Drinks	Henson & Frederick	50 Clingman av	
Stables	Tomlin Alvin	40 n Lexington av	
Tailors	Dixon B F	413 Depot	
Tailors	Fields Geo	8 Buttrick	duplicate address, different name, different business
Theatres and Places of Amusement	Star Theatre	20-22 Eagle	

Undertakers and Embalmers	Murrough Undertaking Co	31 Eagle	duplicate address, slightly different name, different business
Undertakers and Embalmers	Wilson Undertaking Co	18 Eagle	
Upholsterers	Sansbury G E	3 Ingle	

Source: Asheville City Directory (1921)

**TABLE 2
BLACK BUSINESS LISTINGS FOR 1931**

<u>Type</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Ambulance Service/Embalmer s/Funeral Directors and Embalmers/Undertakers	Asheville Funeral Home (Inc)	350 Southside av	duplicate address, same name, same business
Apartments	Blanton Street Apts	38 Blanton	
Apartments	Carson Patrick	123 Southside av	duplicate address, different name, different business
Apartments	Circle St Apts	44 Circle	
Apartments	Clingman av Apts	127 Clingman av	
Apartments	Morrow Apts	1 Morrow	
Apartments	St James Apts	42 Hildebrand	
Automobiles (For Hire)	Blue Bird Taxi Cab	169 Southside av	subcategories include Accessories and Supplies, Ambulance Service, Armature Rewinding, Batteries, Body Mnfrs and Repairs, Brake Drum Grinding, Clubs, Dealers and Repairers, Electrical Parts and Supplies, Electrical Work, Fender and Body Work, Filling Stations, Financing, For Hire, Garages, Glass, Glass installed, Insurance, Machinists, Painting, Parking, Parts, Radiator Work, Repairing, Speedometer Service, Storage, Tires and Tubes, Top and Body Makers, Trucks, Upholsterers, Used Cars, Vulcanizing, Washing, Welding, Windshields, Wood Work, and Wrecking Service

Automobiles (For Hire)	Breeland Taxi Co	42.5 s Market	
Automobiles (For Hire)	Weaver Taxi Co	28 Eagle	
Bakeries	McMichael Bros Bakery	118 s Grove	
Barber Shops	Bijou Barber Shop	2 Broadway	
Barber Shops	Bowman's Barber Shop	12 w College	
Barber Shops	Butler J F	45 Mountain	
Barber Shops	Conley W T	123 Southside av	duplicate address, different name, different business
Barber Shops	DeLuxe Barber Shop	14 Eagle	
Barber Shops	Harrison W E	89 Eagle	
Barber Shops	Legal Building Barber Shop	17 Eagle	duplicate address, different name, different business
Barber Shops	Lewis Homer	65 n Lexington av	duplicate name, different address, different business
Barber Shops	McDowell V S	184 Southside av	
Barber Shops	Moore Wm	397 Southside av	
Barber Shops	Quick B R	35 e College	
Barber Shops	Service Barber Shop	6 Louie	
Barber Shops	Wolverine Barber Shop	24 Eagle	
Barber Shops	Wright's Barber Shop	206 Living	
Barber Shops	YMI Barber Shop	41 s Market	duplicate address, different name, different business
Beauty Parlors	Burnette & Hill Beauty Parlor	Campbell Bldg (2nd fl)	at 38-40 s Market
Beauty Parlors	Lawrence School of Beauty Culture	15-17 Wilson Bldg	at 13.5 Eagle
Beauty Parlors	Poro Beauty Shop	73 Eagle	
Beauty Parlors	Washington Nancy	10-12 Wilson Bldg	at 13.5 Eagle
Billiards and Pool	Asheville Social Club	20-22 Eagle	
Billiards and Pool	Citizens Club	8-10 Eagle	
Billiards and Pool	Littlejohn J B	78 Eagle	
Billiards and Pool	McNulty Benj	19 Eagle	
Billiards and Pool	Social Club	121 Southside av	duplicate address, different name, different business
Billiards and Pool	Williams Leo	121 Southside av	duplicate address, different name, different business

Blacksmiths, Horseshoers, and Wheelwrights	Churchwell Thos	131 Southside av	
Blacksmiths, Horseshoers, and Wheelwrights	Owens T B	154 Southside av	
Buildings and Halls	Campbell Bldg	38-40 s Market	
Buildings and Halls	Masonic Temple	44 s Market	
Buildings and Halls	Odd Fellows Hall	24.5 Eagle	duplicate address, different name, different business
Buildings and Halls	Wilson Bldg	13.5 Eagle	
Buildings and Halls	YMI Bldg	37 s Market	
Chiropodists	Thompson Eva A	9 Flat Iron Bldg	at Battery Park Pl cor Wall
Cleaning, Dyeing and Pressing	Gordon's Place	464 s French Broad av	
Cleaning, Dyeing and Pressing	Lewis Homer	17 Eagle	duplicate address, different name, different business + duplicate name, different address, different business
Cleaning, Dyeing and Pressing	Moore S E	395 Southside av	
Cleaning, Dyeing and Pressing	Sims Boyce	31 e College	
Cleaning, Dyeing and Pressing	Swepson E W	229 Patton av	
Coal and Fuel	Burgess Frank	45 Buttrick	
Coal and Fuel	J & W Coal Co	ofc 16.5 Eagle yd Riverside Drive	
Coal and Fuel	Morris Echo	79 Eagle	
Coal and Fuel	Ponder Columbus	271 Patton av	
Coal and Fuel	Wall Bros	314 Riverside Drive	
Coal and Fuel	Woodruff Hosea	63 Valley	
Concrete Products	Erwin Wm	1 Wilson	
Confectioners	Idlewise Confectionery	337 Southside av	
Contractors (Brick)	Miller Jno D	69 Madison av	subcategories include Brick, Bridge Builders, Builders, Concrete and Cement, Electrical, Excavating, General, Grading, Hauling, Heating, Painters and Paperhangers, Paving, Plastering, Plumbing,

			Road, Roofing, Sewer and Water, Sheet Metal Work, Tile, and Water
Contractors (Builders)	Williams L W	8 Masonic Temple	at 44 s Market
Dentists	Evans F A	1-2 Wilson Bldg	at 13.5 Eagle
Dentists	Hendrick R M	14-16 Wilson Bldg	at 13.5 Eagle
Dentists	Martin J F	219 Southside av	
Dentists	McGill W O	4 YMI Bldg	at 37 s Market
Dentists	Smith C F	Campbell Bldg (2nd fl)	at 38-40 s Market
Draymen	Bell Lester	202 Fayetteville	
Draymen	Stepp Burgin	178 S Grove	
Dressmakers	Bell Magnolia	101 Broad	
Dressmakers	Dusenberry Ruth	64 Hill	
Dressmakers	Emerson Minnie	63 Clemmons	
Dressmakers	Greenleaf Lola	57 Short	
Dressmakers	McNeil Frances	54 Madison av	
Dressmakers	Pass Etta	29 Adams	
Dressmakers	Pope Elizabeth	135 Poplar	
Dressmakers	Savoid Tressie	246 S Grove	
Druggists (Retail)	Southside Drug Store	217 Southside av	subcategories include Retail and Wholesale
Druggists (Retail)	YMI Drug Store	29 Eagle	duplicate address, different name, different business
Florists	Clement G L	Brooklyn av, S Bilt	
Fruits and Produce (Retail)	Rogers R P	21 Eagle	duplicate address, same name, different business, subcategories include Retail and Wholesale
Furnished Rooms	Council Aileen	4 Velvet	
Furnished Rooms	Cureton Fannie	343 Southside av	
Furnished Rooms	Flack Ida	41 Velvet	
Furnished Rooms	Forney Mary	28 Davidson	
Furnished Rooms	Irby Lillie	60 s Spruce	
Furnished Rooms	Johnson Marie	72 s Spruce	
Furnished Rooms	Morris Celia	123 Valley	
Furnished Rooms	Morris Clora	85 Valley	duplicate address, different name, different business
Furnished Rooms	Rice Lizzie	16 Davidson	
Furnished Rooms	Street Chas	231 Valley	
Furnished Rooms	Sullivan Mary	85 Valley	duplicate address, different name, different business
Furnished Rooms	Young Laura	103 Valley	

General Merchandise	Campbell F S	93 Valley	
Grocers (Retail)	Long T A	73 Gay	
Grocers (Retail)	Alexander G W	23 Crescent	subcategories include Retail and Wholesale
Grocers (Retail)	Alexander Wm	34 Max	
Grocers (Retail)	Tatum Hattie	125 Poplar	
Grocers (Retail)	Bell R J	57 Eagle	
Grocers (Retail)	Chisolm C H	24 Grail	
Grocers (Retail)	Dalton W M	Dalton, S Ashev	
Grocers (Retail)	Garner Geo	8 Morrow	
Grocers (Retail)	Green Theo	22 Hildebrand	
Grocers (Retail)	Gwinn L B	285 Southside av	
Grocers (Retail)	Honest Weight Grocery	130 Livingston	
Grocers (Retail)	Moses J W	24.5 Clingman av	
Grocers (Retail)	Owens J H	122 Clingman av	
Grocers (Retail)	Pearson E W	135 Buffalo, W Ashev	
Grocers (Retail)	Pearson J F	4 Ridge	
Grocers (Retail)	Pety Forrest	2 Hazzard	
Grocers (Retail)	Porter A C	1 Clemmons	
Grocers (Retail)	Quarles Robt	100 Black	
Grocers (Retail)	Richards C F	135 Hill	
Grocers (Retail)	Thompson Wm	149 s Grove	
Grocers (Retail)	Vance M M	14 Buttrick	
Hairdressers	Davis Irene	25 Crescent	
Hairdressers	Howell Lottie	74 Hill	
Hairdressers	Markham Victoria	41 Crescent	
Hairdressers	Strickland Fannie M	15 Blanton	
Hairdressers	Williams Bernice	21 Gudger	
Hairdressers	Wood Lililan	6 Blanton	
Hotels	Washington Booker T Hotel	409.5 Southside av	
Insurance (Life)	National Benefit Life	31 Eagle	duplicate address, different name, different business, subcategories include Accident, Automobile, Auto Theft, Baggage, Bonding, Burglary, Casualty, Check Forgery, Collision, Contract Bond, Elevator, Fire, Hail, Health, Indemnity, Industrial, Inland Marine, Liability, Life, Parcel

			Post and Registered Mail, Plate Glass, Property Damage, Rain, Rent, Riot and Civil Commotion, Sports, Steam Boiler, Tornado, Tourist Baggage, Trip Transit, Use and Occupancy, and Workmen's Compensation
Insurance (Life)	North Carolina Mutual Life	4 Wilson Bldg	at 13.5 Eagle, duplicate address, different name, different business
Insurance (Life)	Winston Mutual	6-8 Wilson Bldg	at 13.5 Eagle
Insurance Agents/Notaries/Real Estate	Harris F H	24.5 Eagle	duplicate address, slightly different name, different business
Insurance Agents/Real Estate	Lipscombe C C	29 Eagle	duplicate address, same name, same business + different name, different business
Jewelers and Watchmakers	Rogers R P	21 Eagle	duplicate address, same name, different business
Lunch Rooms	Albert's Place	81 Eagle	
Lunch Rooms	Banks Robt	173 s Grove	
Lunch Rooms	Black Geo	386 Depot	
Lunch Rooms	Boston Café	393 Southside av	
Lunch Rooms	Butts J W	221 Southside av	
Lunch Rooms	Darty Josephine	118 Valley	
Lunch Rooms	Eagle Lunch	127-9 Eagle	
Lunch Rooms	Elk's Café	29 s Market	
Lunch Rooms	Hamilton's Café	26 Eagle	
Lunch Rooms	Harris Mattie	157 s College	
Lunch Rooms	Hill J A	6 Eagle	
Lunch Rooms	Johnson Lillie	462 s French Broad av	
Lunch Rooms	Lincoln Café	26 s Market	
Lunch Rooms	Mango Pearl	10 Morrow	
Lunch Rooms	McGowan Edith	Riverside Drive	
Lunch Rooms	McMillan Carie	106 Eagle	
Lunch Rooms	Moore Haines	209 Southside av	
Lunch Rooms	Neuble C N	406 Southside av	
Lunch Rooms	Quality Café	43 Buttrick av	
Lunch Rooms	S & J Tea Room	3 Wilson	
Lunch Rooms	Samuel Millie	144 Poplar	

Lunch Rooms	Shelton Nora	190 Blanton	
Lunch Rooms	Toggerly Grill (The)	31 s Market	
Lunch Rooms	Washington Booker T Hotel	Tea Room, 411 Southside av	
Lunch Rooms	Wayside Inn	46 s Market	
Lunch Rooms	Williams Beulah	189 Southside av	duplicate address, different name, different business
Lunch Rooms	Worthy Café	189 Southside av	duplicate address, different name, different business
Music Teachers	Spurgeon Carrie M	180 Hill	
Music Teachers	Swepson Beulah M	70 Hill	
Notaries	Pinckney L R	4 Wilson Bldg	at 13.5 Eagle, duplicate address, different name, different business
Nurses (Practical)	Freeman Florence	47 Vermont av, W Ashev	subcategories include Trained, Practical, and T B
Nurses (Practical)	Wills Katherine	87 Short Dorchester, W Ashev	
Physicians and Surgeons	Gallego L N	11-13 Wilson Bldg	at 13.5 Eagle
Physicians and Surgeons	Holt J W	16.5 Eagle	
Physicians and Surgeons	Keaton J M	1-2 YMI Bldg	at 37 s Market
Physicians and Surgeons	Miller L O	Campbell Bldg (2nd fl)	at 38-40 s Market
Physicians and Surgeons	Thompson E B	2-5 Wilson Bldg	at 13.5 Eagle
Physicians and Surgeons	Walker J W	7-9 Wilson Bldg	at 13.5 Eagle
Physicians and Surgeons	White H N	24.5 s Market	
Printers - Books and Jobs	Harris Printing Co	24.5 Eagle	duplicate address, slightly different name, different business
Printers - Books and Jobs	Thomas A A	38 s Market	
Real Estate	McCoy & Co	31 Eagle	duplicate address, same name, different business
Shoe Shine Parlors	James Jesse	4 Eagle	
Shoe Shine Parlors	Whitson Reuben	4.5 Eagle	
Shoe Shine Parlors	Woodruff Virgil	53 e College	
Shoemakers and	American Shoe	67 Eagle	

Repairers	Shop		
Shoemakers and Repairers	Atlanta Shoe Shop	14-B Eagle	
Shoemakers and Repairers	Bates J W	116 Hill	
Shoemakers and Repairers	Higgins Jas	370 Southside av	
Shoemakers and Repairers	Hill C D	69 Pine	
Shoemakers and Repairers	Julian's Shoe Shop	48 Hill	
Shoemakers and Repairers	Morris A H	87 Eagle	
Shoemakers and Repairers	YMI Shoe Shop	41 s Market	duplicate address, different name, different business
Soft Drink Dealers	Anthony Ella	559 w Chapel rd, S Bilt	
Tailors	McGinness J H	44 s Market	at Masonic Temple
Theatres and Places of Amusement	Eagle Theatre	51 Eagle	
Theatres and Places of Amusement	Washington Booker T Theatre	409 Southside av	
Undertakers	McCoy & Co	31 Eagle	duplicate address, same name, different business
Undertakers	Wilson Undertaking Co	18 Eagle	
Wood Dealers	Bailey C D	99 Valley	
Wood Dealers	Chapman E	54 Gudger	

Source: Asheville City Directory (1931)

**TABLE 3
BLACK BUSINESS LISTINGS FOR 1936**

<u>Type</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Barbers	Butler J Fletcher	38 Mountain	
Barbers	Victoria Barber Shop	4 Louie	
Billiard and Pocket Billiard Rooms	Carson Geo	Buffalo cor Texas	
Boarding Houses	Carolina Inn	265 (173) College	
Buildings - Office and Public	Masonic Temple	44 s Market	
Buildings - Office and Public	Wilson Bldg	13.5 Eagle	
Buildings - Office	YMI Bldg	Eagle se cor s	

and Public		Market
Clubs	Elks Club	24.5 Eagle
Confectionery and Ice Cream - Retail	Porter Ira	27.5 Crescent
Dressmakers	Brownlee Ida	160 Livingston
Dressmakers	Burgin Elsie	82.5 Madison av
Dressmakers	Emerson Minnie	63 Clemmons
Dressmakers	Long Charlotte	69 Argyle la
Embalmers/Funeral Directors	Allen Funeral Home	73 Choctaw
Funeral Directors	Asheville Funeral Home Inc	350 Southside av
Funeral Directors	Wilson Undertaking Co	18 Eagle
Music Teachers	Luck Corinne	3 Clemmons

Source: Asheville City Directory (1936)

**TABLE 4
BLACK BUSINESS LISTINGS FOR 1942**

<u>Type</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Ambulance Service/Embalmer/Funeral Directors/Morticians/Undertakers	Ray Jesse Funeral Home	267 College	
Apartment Buildings	Asheland Apartments	327 Asheland av	
Apartment Buildings	Blanton Street Apartments	38 Blanton	
Apartment Buildings	Coburn Apartments	127 Clingman av	
Apartment Buildings	Conley Apartments The	123 Southside av	
Apartment Buildings	Grail Street Apartments	37 Grail	
Apartment Buildings	Latta Apartments	47 Mountain	
Apartment Buildings	Smith Apartments	46 Mountain	
Apartment Buildings	St James Apartments	42 Hildebrand	
Automobile Laundries	Jackson Lawrence	8 Rankin av	
Automobile Parking	Collins Eug	50 S Livingston av	
Barbers	Bowman's Barber Shop	20 N Lexington av	
Barbers	Connely Wm T	187 Southside av	duplicate address, different name, different business
Barbers	East End Barber Shop	48 Mountain	
Barbers	Fowler's Barber Shop	21 Eagle	

Barbers	Harrison's Barber Shop	89 Eagle	
Barbers	Martin's Barber Shop	125 College	
Barbers	McDowell V Stanley	63.5 N Lexington av	
Barbers	Quick B R Barber Shop	389 Southside av	
Barbers	Service Barber Shop	24 Eagle	duplicate address, different name, different business
Barbers	Warren Benj W	4 Louie	
Barbers	Wilson's Barber Shop	13 Eagle	
Beauty Shops	Abel's Beauty Salon	39 Livingston	
Beauty Shops	Butler Madam Beauty Salon The	31 S Market	
Beauty Shops	Grace's Beauty Shop	16 Adams	
Beauty Shops	Hennesee Willie F	41 Congress	
Beauty Shops	Hollywood Beauty Shop	41 Phifer	
Beauty Shops	Irma's Beauty Shoppe	60 Pine	
Beauty Shops	Johnson Beauty Parlor	38 S Market	duplicate address, different name, different business
Beauty Shops	Madden's Beauty Shop	6 Congress	duplicate address, slightly different name, different business
Beauty Shops	Modernistic Beauty Shoppe	13.5 Eagle R7	
Beauty Shops	Ossie's Beauty Parlor	1 Wilson	
Beauty Shops	Pearl's Beauty Shop	190 Blanton	
Beauty Shops	Stroud Cath	265 College	
Beauty Shops	Washington Nancy Beauty Shop	13.5 Eagle R10	
Beauty Shops	Williams Beauty Shop	21 Gudger	
Beauty Shops	Wilson & Hill Beauty Parlor	38 S Market	duplicate address, different name, different business
Beer - Retail	Kanuga Beer Garden	11 Dalton	
Billiard and Pocket Billiard Rooms	Asheville Social Club	15 Eagle	
Billiard and Pocket Billiard Rooms	Blue Moon Billiard Parlor	22 Eagle	
Billiard and Pocket Billiard Rooms	Citizens' Club	8-10 Eagle	
Billiard and Pocket Billiard Rooms	Leo's Billiards	332 Southside av	
Boarding Houses	Love Eula	12 Else al	
Boarding Houses	Mitchell Helen	114 Burton av	

Buildings - Office and Public	Campbell Building	38 S Market	
Buildings - Office and Public	Wilson Building	13.5 Eagle	
Burial Associations/Funeral Directors/Undertakers	McCoy-Wilkins Mutual Burial Assn/McCoy-Wilkins Funeral Home	31 Eagle	
Burial Associations/Undertakers	Henry's Mutual Burial Assn/Henry's Mortuary Inc	18 Eagle	
Chiropractors/Foot Specialists	Thompson Eva A Dr	57 Haywood	
Clothes Pressers and Cleaners	Greer Theo	28 Eagle	duplicate address, same name, different business
Clothes Pressers and Cleaners	Ritz Cleaners	23 Eagle	
Clothes Pressers and Cleaners	Southside Pressing Club	240 Southside av	
Clothes Pressers and Cleaners	Your Valet Shop	26 S Market	
Clubs	Asheville Black Tourist Social Club	24.5 Eagle	
Clubs	Young Men's Pastime Club	1.5 Wilson	
Coal Dealers - Retail Yards	Bexter Walter	73.5 Gay	subcategories include Retail Yards, Vendors, and Wholesale
Coal Dealers - Retail Yards	Booker Roy	36 Silver	
Coal Dealers - Retail Yards	Glenn Wm	97 Eagle	
Coal Dealers - Retail Yards	Ponder's Coal Co	8 Buttrick	
Coal Dealers - Retail Yards	Poston Hosea	100 Black	
Coal Dealers - Vendors	Collins Saml	75 Eagle	
Confectionary and Ice Cream - Retail	Francis Ice Cream Parlor	335 Southside av	
Confectionary and Ice Cream - Retail	Howard Wm	73 Gay	
Confectionary and Ice Cream - Retail	Marion's Ice Cream Parlor	187 Southside av	duplicate address, different name, different business
Confectionary and Ice Cream - Retail	Rumbe The	67 Eagle	
Confectionary and Ice Cream - Retail	Vance Monteith	42 Buttrick	
Confectionary and Ice Cream - Retail	West Side Social Club	24.5 Clingman av	

Cream - Retail			
Dance Halls and Pavillions	Washington Booker T Ball Room	409.5 Southside av	
Dentists	Butler Manuel W	38 S Market	duplicate address, different name, different business
Dentists	Evans Frank A	13.5 Eagle R1	
Dentists	Hendrick Robt M	13.5 Eagle R16	
Dentists	McGill Wm O	37 S Market 2d fl	duplicate address, different name, different business
Dentists	Smith Chas F	24.5 S Market	duplicate address, different name, different business
Dressmakers	Allen Ruth B	202 Biltmore av	
Dressmakers	Askew Luvenia	35 Clingman av	
Dressmakers	Dodd Josephine	55 Wallack	
Dressmakers	Dusenbury Ruth	64 Hill	
Dressmakers	Glenn Regina	99 Hill	
Dressmakers	Greenleaf Lola A	57 Short	
Dressmakers	Hill Lyda	45 Frederick	
Dressmakers	Horne Mamie	20 Atlanta av	
Dressmakers	Irby Eloise I	34 Silver	
Dressmakers	Jones Maggie M	7 Knob	
Dressmakers	Rogers Mattie	63 Livingston	
Dressmakers	Spell Josephine	28 Gudger apt 1	
Dressmakers	Strickland Mary	170 Blanton	
Dressmakers	Swindall Linnie R	114 Blanton	
Dressmakers	Williams Ossie L	38 Hamilton	
Druggists - Retail	YMI Drug Store	29 Eagle	subcategories include Retail and Wholesale
Expressing and Moving	Bell Laske C	37 S Spruce	
Expressing and Moving	Miller Jack	37 Spruce	
Furnished Rooms	Gibson Florie	137 Broad	
Furnished Rooms	Hentz Carrie	74 Eagle	
Furnished Rooms	Jamison Guest House	211 Asheland av	
Furnished Rooms	Lattimer Texie	30 Ridge	
Furnished Rooms	Lattimore Martha H	93 Pine	
Furnished Rooms	Miller Eliz	42 Brick	
Furnished Rooms	Simpson Lillie B	32 Brick	
Furnished Rooms	Stoney Front Tourist Home	18 Clingman av	
Furnished Rooms	Young Laura	103 Valley	
Gasoline and Oil Service	Dusenbury John A	McDowell sw cor	

Stations		Choctaw	
Grocers - Retail	Alexander Wm	34 Max	subcategories include Retail and Wholesale
Grocers - Retail	B & M Grocery Store	212 Fayetteville	
Grocers - Retail	Bailey Jerry B	17 Brooklyn av	
Grocers - Retail	Black Geo	88 Black	
Grocers - Retail	Chisolm Chas H	24 Grail	
Grocers - Retail	Elam Chas	57 Buffalo	
Grocers - Retail	Ferguson Isaac	65 Hazzard	
Grocers - Retail	Foster Jas E	125 Poplar	
Grocers - Retail	Grove Street Cash Grocery	189 S Grove	
Grocers - Retail	Hammonds Wm	58 Max	
Grocers - Retail	Jones Grocery Store	130 Livingston	
Grocers - Retail	Lockman John W	102 Livingston	
Grocers - Retail	Marin Bascom	15 Lincoln av	
Grocers - Retail	Owens Grocery	122 Clingman av	
Grocers - Retail	Owens' Grocery	78 Black	
Grocers - Retail	Pearson Edw W	3 Buffalo	
Grocers - Retail	Petty Forest	2 Hazzard	
Grocers - Retail	Pharr R R	25 Mountain	
Grocers - Retail	Porter Florence C	1 Clemmons	
Grocers - Retail	Richardson Theo R	185 Beaumont	
Grocers - Retail	Watt Bryant	rear 7 Short Ivy	
Grocers - Retail	Withers Sherman	86 Wyoming rd	
Hairdressers	Alston Pauline	44 Crescent	
Hairdressers	Hudgens Frances	3 Wilson	
Halls	Masonic Temple	44 S Market	
Hotels	Savoy Hotel	33-35 S Market	
Hotels	Washington Booker T Hotel	409 Southside av	
Ice Cream Manufacturers	Mitchell's DeLuxe Ice Cream Co	14 Eagle	
Insurance Agents/Real Estate	McCracken Lola B	13.5 Eagle R3	fire
Insurance Agents/Real Estate	Saxon Wm R	51 Walton	
Insurance Companies	North Carolina Life Insurance Co/North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co	13.5 Eagle R15	
Insurance Companies	Winston Mutual Life Insurance Co	13.5 Eagle R4	
Medicine Manufacturers - Patent	Curry Jack C	189 Southside av	

and Proprietary			
Motion Picture Theatres	Eagle Theatre	51 Eagle	
Music Teachers	Johnson Joanna E	121 S Grove	
Music Teachers	Luck Corinne	3 Clemmons	
Music Teachers	Ragsdale Benj J	5 Dalton	
Music Teachers	Simpson Beulah	70 Hill	
Music Teachers	Whiteside Eugenia	r66 Bartlett	
Newspapers	Southern News The	279 Southside av	
Nurses - Practical	Jarrett Eugenia	83 Argyle la	subcategories include Graduate and Practical
Nurses - Practical	Wilson Edna G	241 Beaumont	
Nurses - Practical	Wright Mae	34 Crescent	
Painters and Decorators	Bonds J Henry	48 Pine	
Painters and Decorators	McCullough Mack	64 (29) Brick	
Physicians and Surgeons	Gallego Louis N	13.5 Eagle R11	
Physicians and Surgeons	Hairston Roy C	38 S Market	duplicate address, different name, different business
Physicians and Surgeons	Holt John W	37 S Market 2d fl	duplicate address, different name, different business
Physicians and Surgeons	Miller Lee O	38 S Market	duplicate address, different name, different business
Physicians and Surgeons	Thompson Edw B	13.5 Eagle	
Physicians and Surgeons	White Herbert N	24.5 S Market	duplicate address, different name, different business
Radio Repairers	Abbott John W	40 N Lexington av	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Albert's Place	81 Eagle	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Blanton Street Grill	83 Blanton	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Blue Ridge Barbecue	221 Southside av	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Casaloma Beer & Lunches	101 Choctaw	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Darling Tea Room	147 Poplar	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Delretta Sandwich Shop	26 Eagle	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Downtown Café	24.5 S Market	duplicate address, different name, different business

Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	East End Tavern	44 Mountain	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	El Parvo Cave	37 Mountain	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Elite Café	57 Eagle	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Ever-Ready Café	107 Eagle	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Glamorest Tea Room	178 Blanton	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Harlem Sandwich Shop	34 Eagle	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Hentz Effie	88 Eagle	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Hudson Sanford H	23.5 Crescent	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Jake's Chicken Shack	22 Palmer	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Leo's Place	334 Southside av	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	M & W Café	393 Southside av	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Madden's Tea Room	6 Congress	duplicate address, slightly different name, different business
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Midget Café	209 Southside av	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Minnie's Place	69 Eagle	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Mother's Kitchen	28 Beaumont	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Palace Grill	19 Eagle	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Robinson Alice M	12 Eagle	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Silver Moon Sovoria	103 Southside av	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Silver Star Café	25 Eagle	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Taylor Sallie	42 S Market	
Restaurants and Lunch Rooms	Williams Restaurant	46 S Market	
Schools, Colleges and Academics	Stewart's School of Beauty Culture	55 Bartlett	
Shoe Repairers	Atlanta Shoe Shop	28 S Market	
Shoe Repairers	Candler's Shoe Repairers	24 Eagle	duplicate address, different name, different business

Shoe Repairers	Higgins Shoe Shop	85 Eagle	
Shoe Shiners	Bennett Jos	391 Southside av	
Shoe Shiners	Conway Mack	6 Eagle	
Shoe Shiners	Twilight Shine Parlor	17 Eagle	
Shoe Shiners	Williams Jacob	2 Eagle	
Shoe Shiners	Young Muray	4.5 Eagle	
Soft Drinks - Retail	Washburn Goldie	ns Shiloh rd 21 e Hendersonville rd	
Tailors	Foster David J	10.5 Biltmore av	
Tailors	McGinness J Henry	44 S Market	at Masonic Temple
Taxicab Service	Dawkins Taxi Co	16 Eagle	duplicate address, different name, different business
Taxicab Service	Greer Theo	28 Eagle	duplicate address, same name, different business
Taxicab Service	Lipscombe's Taxi Co	16 Eagle	duplicate address, different name, different business
Undertakers	Allen Funeral Home	350 Southside av	
Watch and Jewelry Repairers	Roland Wm	29 S Market	
Wood Dealers	Elam Wm	25 Buffalo	
Wood Dealers	Jennings Major	141 Valley	
Wood Dealers	Sweet John B	19 Mountain	

Source: Asheville City Directory (1942)

**TABLE 5
BLACK BUSINESS LISTINGS FOR 1951**

<u>Type</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Accountants - Public	Kearney Wm E	9 Latta	
Ambulance Service/Funeral Directors	Wilson Funeral Home	133 Valley	
Apartment Buildings	Asheland	327 Asheland av	
Apartment Buildings	Clingman	127 Clingman av	
Apartment Buildings	Latta	47 Mountain	
Apartment Buildings	Park's	25 Grail	
Apartment Buildings	Silver Street	25 Silver	
Apartment Buildings	Smith	223 Southside av	

Apartment Buildings	Southside	219 Southside av	
Apartment Buildings	StJames	42 Hilderbrand	
Baby Sitters	Boozie Hansom Mrs	19 Short	
Baby Sitters	Davis Annie Y Mrs	75 Ridge	duplicate name, different address, different business
Baby Sitters	Holmes Hattie	24 Phifer	
Baby Sitters	Lewis Minnie Mrs	126 Cherry	
Baby Sitters	Marshall Jessie	12 Mountain apt 5	
Baby Sitters	Smith Georgia	38 Pine	
Baby Sitters	Whipple Naomi	85 Poplar	
Barber Shops	Bowman's	20 N Lexington av	
Barber Shops	Cleveland Allen	187 Southside av	duplicate address, different name, different business
Barber Shops	Conley's	187 Southside av	duplicate address, different name, different business
Barber Shops	Esquire	17 Eagle	
Barber Shops	Harrison's	89 Eagle	
Barber Shops	Kilgo Herbert B	35 Clingman av	
Barber Shops	Knuckles Alton B	47 Mountain	
Barber Shops	McDowell V Stanley	63.5 N Lexington av	
Barber Shops	Miller Vernon	4 Eagle	duplicate name, different address, different business
Barber Shops	Palace	293.5 Southside av	
Barber Shops	Quick Boyd R	389 Southside av	
Barber Shops	Service	24 Eagle	duplicate address, different name, different business
Barber Shops	Victoria	4 Louie	
Barber Shops	Wilson's	13 Eagle	address listed as 13 Sagle, but based on entries for same name in previous years I think this is a typo
Beauty Schools	Stewart's School of Beauty Culture	55 Bartlett	
Beauty Shops	Adams Edith Mrs	157 Hill	
Beauty Shops	Addie's	5 Congress	duplicate address, different name, different business
Beauty Shops	Beauty Nook	41 Congress	

Beauty Shops	Belin Louise Mrs	19 Baxter al	
Beauty Shops	Davis Annie Y Mrs	38 S Market 1st fl	duplicate name, different address, different business
Beauty Shops	Emmadell's	212 Fayetteville	
Beauty Shops	Fritts	38 S Market 2nd fl	
Beauty Shops	Herman Avenue	56 Herman av	
Beauty Shops	Hollywood	41 Phifer	
Beauty Shops	Irma's	48 Mountain	
Beauty Shops	Julia's	69 Livingston	
Beauty Shops	Lattimore Sallie Mrs	91 Clingman av	
Beauty Shops	Logan Minnie W Mrs	165 S Grove	
Beauty Shops	Long Ida W	19 Ocala	
Beauty Shops	Madam Butler	43 Clemmons	
Beauty Shops	Madden's	5 Congress	duplicate address, different name, different business
Beauty Shops	Markham	312 Southside av	
Beauty Shops	Means	38 S Market 3rd fl	
Beauty Shops	Mitchell Emmie Mrs	22 Latta	
Beauty Shops	Modernistic	3.5 Eagle	
Beauty Shops	Pearl's	13 Congress	
Beauty Shops	Rumley Ruth M	36 Ocala	
Beauty Shops	Sherrill Ruby	153 Hill	
Beauty Shops	Turner Anna M Mrs	32 Gibbons	
Beauty Shops	Virginia and Griers	225 Southside av	
Beauty Shops	Washington Nancy	13.5 Eagle R10	duplicate name, different address, different business
Beauty Shops	Williams	21 Gudger	
Beauty Shops	Wilson's	87 Madison av	
Beauty Shops	Woodruff Alberta Mrs	32 Congress	
Beauty Shops	Young's	322.5 Southside av	
Beer - Retail Stores	Ace Tavern	23 Eagle	
Beer - Retail Stores	Bowl Tea Room	955 West Chapel Rd	
Beer - Retail Stores	Miller's Beer Tavern	6 Eagle	
Beer - Retail Stores	Pearson Edw W	3 Buffalo	
Beverages - Retail	Georges Drink Stand	88 Black	
Beverages - Retail	Miller Vernon	2 Eagle	duplicate name, different address, different business
Billiards and Pool	Ace Billiard's	22 Eagle	
Billiards and Pool	Asheville Social Club	15 Eagle	

Billiards and Pool	Citizens Club	8 Eagle	
Boarding Houses	Porters Rest	12 Else al	
Boarding Houses	Suter Emma	68 S Spruce	
Buildings - Office and Public	Campbell	38 S Market	
Buildings - Office and Public	Masonic Temple	S Market	
Buildings - Office and Public	Wilson	13.5 Eagle	
Buildings - Office and Public	YMI	37 S Market	
Burial Associations	Asheville Mutual Burial Assn	31 Eagle	duplicate address, different name, different business
Burial Associations/Funeral Directors	Henry's Mutual Burial Assn/Henry Funeral Home	18 Eagle	
Carpenters - Job	Babbs John	60 Gudger	"See also Cabinet Makers"
Carpenters - Job	Henry Robt	56 Mountain/74 Pine	
Carpenters - Job	Machen Henry	122 S Grove	duplicate address, different name, different business
Carpenters - Job	Rowe John W	34 Blanton	
Carpenters - Job	Scott Andrew J	67 Clingman av	
Carpenters - Job	Sullivan Pascal	43 Velvet	
Cemeteries	Sunset	Sweeten rd ofc 300 Southside av	
Chiropodists	Thompson Eva A Dr	57 Haywood	
Cigars and Tobacco - Retail	Darden Clyde	28 S Market	subcategories include Retail and Wholesale
Cleaners and Dyer	Your Valet Shop	26 S Market	
Clubs - Social	Elks	44 S Market	
Clubs - Social	Robin Hood	103 Southside av	
Coal Dealers - Retail	Booker Roy	33 Silver	subcategories include Retail and Wholesale and Dealers
Coal Dealers - Retail	Holloway Georgia Mrs	372 Southside av	
Coal Dealers - Retail	McCullough Fletcher	231 Valley	
Coal Dealers - Retail	Miller Isaac	35 Mcdowell/101 Valley	
Coal Dealers - Retail	Mills Bernie W	32 Brick	
Coal Dealers - Retail	Owens John	31 Mountain	
Coal Dealers - Retail	Pioneer Wood & Coal Co	81 Valley	
Coal Dealers - Retail	Ponder Columbus	6 Buttrick	
Coal Dealers - Retail	Quarles Robt	439 S French	duplicate address,

		Broad av	different name, different business
Coal Dealers - Retail	Roddy Lynn D	41 Hill	
Coal Dealers - Retail	Williams Robt	459 S French Broad av	
Confectioneries - Retail	Adams Essie M	42 Buttrick	subcategories include Retail, Wholesale, and Manufacturing
Confectioneries - Retail	Evans Sweet Shop	3 Eagle	
Confectioneries - Retail	Lewis Homer W	60 Clingman av	
Confectioneries - Retail	Martin Bascom	15 Lincoln av	
Confectioneries - Retail	Porter's Confectionery	58 Pine	
Confectioneries - Retail/Restaurants	Wood Bros Sandwich Shop	77 Eagle	
Contractors	Boyd Gilbert	55 Valley	mason
Contractors	Conley Geo	29 Mardell cir	brick
Contractors	Craig Jesse	93 Pine	plstr
Contractors	Dalton Holly	11 Ivy	brick
Contractors	Garner Will	67 Gudger	plstr
Contractors	Knox Geo	70 Hill	plstr
Contractors	Lewis Saml L	68 McDuffie	plsr
Contractors	Logan Marshall	3 Grove pl	plstr
Contractors	McClain Eug	1 Wyoming rd	
Contractors	Thomas Frank	439 S French Broad av	duplicate address, different name, different business, plstr
Contractors	Wilson, Chas	26 Bay	plstr
Day Nurseries	Metropolitan Nursery	48 Gray	
Dentists	Butler Manuel W	223 Southside av apt 5	
Dentists	Evans Frank A	13.5 Eagle R1	
Dentists	Hendrick Robt M	13.5 Eagle R14	
Dentists	Smith Chas M	24.5 S Market	duplicate address, different name, different business
Dressmakers	Allen Ruth B	202 Bilt av	
Dressmakers	Battle Eloise Mrs	3 Walton	
Dressmakers	Hill Lottie	54 Frederick	
Dressmakers	Hollingsworth Bernice Mrs	136 Valley	
Dressmakers	Horne Mamie Mrs	20 Atlanta av	
Dressmakers	Hunter Alberta Mrs	55 Clemmons	

Dressmakers	Jackson Christina	40 Gudger	
Dressmakers	Moses Mamie B Mrs	72 Clingman av	
Dressmakers	Patterson Ann C Mrs	51 Madison av	
Dressmakers	Rogers Mattie Mrs	63 Livingston	duplicate address, slightly different name, different business
Dressmakers	Rogers Minnie	63 Livingston	duplicate address, slightly different name, different business
Dressmakers	Swindall Linnie R Ms	114 Blanton	
Dressmakers	Williams Ossie B Mrs	38 Hamilton	
Druggists - Retail	Steele Drug Store	31 S Market	subcategories include Retail and Wholesale
Druggists - Retail	YMI Drug Store	29 Eagle	
Dry Cleaners	Ray's Cleaners	67 Eagle	
Florists - Retail	Leonard's Florists	26 Eagle	
Funeral Directors	Allen-Birchette Funeral Home	350 Southside av	
Funeral Directors	McCoy-Wilkins Funeral Home Inc	31 Eagle	duplicate address, different name, different business
Funeral Directors	Ray Jesse Funeral Home	267 College	
Funeral Directors	Thompson John H	56 Blanton	
Furnished Rooms	Avery Harren W	74 S Spruce	
Furnished Rooms	Bennett Beatrice	4 Velvet	
Furnished Rooms	Bush Sallie M Mrs	449 Depot	duplicate address, different name, different business
Furnished Rooms	Garner Pearl Mrs	76 Eagle	
Furnished Rooms	Garris Lillian L	434 Depot	
Furnished Rooms	Hince Carrie	109 Poplar	
Furnished Rooms	Lesley Hatie Mrs	68 Clingman av	
Furnished Rooms	Miller Eliz Mrs	42 Brick	
Furnished Rooms	Miller Eula M	30 Gibbons	
Furnished Rooms	Moore Addie Mrs	60 S Spruce	
Furnished Rooms	Smith Martha Mrs	46 Ralph	
Furnished Rooms	Stoney Front Tourist Home	18 Clingman av	
Furnished Rooms	Washington Nancy	30 Ridge	duplicate name, different address, different business
Furnished Rooms	Young Laura Mrs	103 Valley	
Gasoline Stations	Campbell's Amoco Service	71 McDowell	

Gasoline Stations	Jones Gulf Service	100 S Market	
Groceries and Meats - Retail	Alexander Wm	34 Max	
Groceries and Meats - Retail	Castion Eug M jr	67 Hill	
Groceries and Meats - Retail	Chisholm Chas H	24 Grail	
Groceries and Meats - Retail	Congress Street Grocery	64 Congress	
Groceries and Meats - Retail	Elam's Grocery	57 Buffalo	
Groceries and Meats - Retail	Fair Grocery	452 S French Broad av	duplicate address, different name, different business
Groceries and Meats - Retail	Goldsmith John T	167 Hill	
Groceries and Meats - Retail	Groce Oliver C	12 Barfield av	
Groceries and Meats - Retail	Grove Street Cash Grocery	189 S Grove	
Groceries and Meats - Retail	Lockman John K	102 Livingston	
Groceries and Meats - Retail	Morrison's Grocery	78 Black	
Groceries and Meats - Retail	Owens John H	122 Clingman av	
Groceries and Meats - Retail	Pharr's Food Store	29 Mountain	
Groceries and Meats - Retail	Porter's Self Service Grocery	1 Clemmons	
Groceries and Meats - Retail	Thompkins Eug	395 Southside av	
Groceries and Meats - Retail	Vance Monteith M	23 Turner	
Groceries and Meats - Retail	Withers Grocery	86 Wyoming rd	
Homes and Asylums	Good Will Nursing Home	122 S Grove	duplicate address, different name, different business
Homes and Asylums	Silent Rest Home	514 Depot	
Hotels	James-Keyes	409 Southside av	
Hotels	Savoy	35 S Market	
Hucksters	Hagan Roland	44 Clingman av	
Insurance - Fire/Insurance Agents/Real Estate/Rental Agents	McCracken Lola B	13.5 Eagle	duplicate address, different name, different business, fire
Insurance Agents/Notaries	Saxon Wm R	51 Walton	gnrl

Public			
Insurance Companies	National Accident & Health Insurance Co	5 Congress	duplicate address, different name, different business
Insurance Companies	North Carolina Mutual Health Insurance Co	37 S Market	
Insurance Companies	Winston Mutual Life Insurance Co	13.5 Eagle	duplicate address, different name, different business
Jewelers - Retail	Roland W E Jewelry Co	24 S Market	duplicate address, different name, different business, subcategories include Retail and Wholesale and Importing
Kindergartens	Tiny Tots Play School	44 Circle	
Laundries - Self Serve	LaBerry's Wet Wash	126 Higgins al	
Laundries - Self Serve	Palmer's Laundrette	23.5 Crescent	
Laundries - Self Serve	Thrifty Wash The	205 Livingston	
Manufactures Agents	Conley Cora B	211 Bilt av	cosmetics
Medicines	Curry Jack	189 Southside av	
Midwives	Burgin Matilda Mrs	144 Clingman av	
Music Teachers	Jones Isabelle	340 College	piano
Music Teachers	Porter Chas E Mrs	239 S Grove	piano
Newspapers	Southern News The	121 Southside av	weekly
Notaries Public	Angel Ira I	452 S French Broad av	duplicate address, different name, different business
Nurses	Branch Leathia	4 Pine Grove av	
Nurses	Burgin Mary Mrs	26 Morgan av	
Nurses	Glenn Laura M Mrs	15 Crescent apt 3	
Nurses	Greer Etta B Mrs	38 Magnolia av	
Nurses	Howell Florence	16 Hazzard	
Nurses	James Clara Mrs	43 Livingston	
Nurses	Jones Eula Mrs	33 Mountain	
Nurses	Robinson Lucy Mrs	187 Fayetteville	
Nurses	Wilson Edna G Mrs	241 Beaumont	
Painters and Decorators	Anderson John	127 Clingman av apt 9	
Painters and Decorators	Kennedy Eddie	5 Short Ivy	
Photographers	Young's Studio	24.5 S Market	duplicate address, different name, different business

Physicians and Surgeons	Gallego Louis N	13.5 Eagle	duplicate address, different name, different business
Physicians and Surgeons	Harrison Howard K	13.5 Eagle R6	
Physicians and Surgeons	Miller Lee O	38 S Market 2nd fl	
Physicians and Surgeons	Thompson Edw B	13.5 Eagle R2	
Physicians and Surgeons	White Herbert N	24.5 S Market	duplicate address, different name, different business
Radio Repairing	Poore's Radio Electric Service	41 S Market	
Real Estate	Mutual Real Estate Agency	5 Congress	duplicate address, different name, different business
Restaurants	Janett's Luncheonette	3 Wilson al	
Restaurants	Best Café	34 Eagle	
Restaurants	Breeland's Sandwich Shop	16 Eagle	
Restaurants	DeLuxe Diner	25 Eagle	
Restaurants	Dixie Lunch	24 S Market	duplicate address, different name, different business
Restaurants	Down Town Trailer Café	6 Louie	
Restaurants	Dunbar Grill	449 Depot	duplicate address, different name, different business
Restaurants	East End Tavern	44 Mountain	
Restaurants	Ever-Ready Café	107 Eagle	
Restaurants	Friendly Café	64.5 Ralph	
Restaurants	Gay Street Lunch Room	86 Gay	
Restaurants	Grant Minnie Mrs	69 Eagle	
Restaurants	Groves Mazie	181 Southside av	
Restaurants	Hidden Paradise	332 Beaumont	
Restaurants	Midget Café	99.5 Choctaw	
Restaurants	Palace Grill	19 Eagle	
Restaurants	Ritz Restaurant	27 Eagle	
Restaurants	Royal Garden Café	rear 13 Eagle	
Restaurants	Savoy Hotel Grill	35 S Market	
Restaurants	Southside Café	393 Southside av	
Restaurants	Stella's Tea Room	14.5 Eagle	
Restaurants	Teds Snack Bar	9 Congress	
Restaurants	White's Café	209 Southside av	
Sanitariums	Friendship Nursing	575 Depot	

	Home		
Schools and Colleges	South-Eastern Commercial College	93 Valley	
Sewing Shops	Spells Josephine Mrs	28 Gudger apt 1	
Shoe Repairers	Morris Geo W	24 Eagle	duplicate address, different name, different business
Shoe Shiners	Hall Sam	73.5 College	
Shoe Shiners	Johnson Simpson	391 Southside av	
Shoe Shiners	Sligh's Shoe Shine Parlor	426 S French Broad av	
Shoe Shiners	Williams Chas	28 Eagle	
Taxicab Service	Darity Cabs	12 Eagle	
Taxicab Service	Jones Cab Co	21 Eagle	
Taxicab Service	Your Cab Co	7 Eagle	
Theatres	Eagle	51 Eagle	
Trucking	Foster Riley	498 S French Broad av	
Wood Dealers	Bernard James	9 Wallack	

Source: Asheville City Directory (1951)