

ANNIE MALONE AND PORO COLLEGE: BUILDING AN EMPIRE OF BEAUTY IN  
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI FROM 1915 TO 1930

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In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctorate of Philosophy

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By

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the  
dissertation entitled

ANNIE MALONE AND PORO COLLEGE: BUILDING AN EMPIRE OF BEAUTY IN  
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI FROM 1915 TO 1930

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A candidate for the degree of

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And hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

Professor Laurel E. Wilson

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## DEDICATION

I would first like to thank our God the Father, my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, and Holy Spirit the comforter. I dedicate this dissertation to my phenomenal parents who made it possible for me to earn this degree Mr. and Mrs. Aron and Mable E. Trawick. Thank you so much for the unconditional love and support. This is for my sister and niece Chauncey and Chloi V. Wright, my God-sisters and nieces Sherrie, Skye, Summer and Sunny Watson, Kim and Kimmie Mozee for the prayers, genuine love and reality checks.

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ANNIE MALONE AND PORO COLLEGE:  
BUILDING AN EMPIRE OF BEAUTY IN ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI FROM 1915 TO 1930

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ABSTRACT

Understanding the ideals of African American beauty culture promoted by entrepreneurs and businesses in the St. Louis *Argus* newspaper from 1915 to 1930 fills a void in American history. Presenting keywords in advertisement headlines communicates a company's specific message regarding their ideals of beauty culture to readers. The purpose of this research study was to examine advertisements promoting African American beauty culture in the St. Louis *Argus* from 1915 to 1930 to determine what was being promoted as "Ideals of Beauty Culture" to the African American community in St. Louis, Missouri. Annie Malone's Poro College, Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener, Madam C.J. Walker's Wonderful Hair Grower, and Herolin's Hair Pomade proved to be the most successful businesses from a total of 142 companies based on longevity and consistent records of advertisements and promotions. Over the sixteen year period six themes emerged from their advertisement headlines; Agents Wanted, Business Growth and Identity, Hair Care, Hair Straightening, Skin Care and Skin Whitening products and services. Results show that Annie Malone had the most consistent record of St. Louis *Argus* advertisements promoting ideals of African American hair and skin care and business growth as seen in the St. Louis *Argus* from 1915 to 1930.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### *Rationale*

Understanding the ideals of African American beauty culture promoted by entrepreneurs and businesses in the St. Louis Argus newspaper from 1915 to 1930 fills a void in American business history and the African American beauty industry. Analyzing keywords in advertisement headlines communicated a company's specific message regarding their ideals of beauty culture to readers. Therefore uncovering the ideals and messages as promoted by one of St. Louis' most important African American women entrepreneurs in time and space began the process to filling the void in the history of St. Louis African American beauty culture from 1915 to 1930.

Through the years, historians have studied African American entrepreneurs and business, missing however, was the study of Annie Malone and Poro College. Although Malone and Poro College have been noted by researchers as a successful African American woman entrepreneur of African American beauty culture, what Malone and Poro College promoted as ideals of African American beauty culture has not been evident.

To achieve greater knowledge of the ideals and principles used by Malone and Poro College to promote African American beauty culture from 1900-1930, this investigation researched advertisements in the St. Louis *Argus* newspaper created by entrepreneurs and businesses promoting African American beauty culture. This research not only uncovered the ideals of local and out of state entrepreneurs but also Malone's ideals of African American beauty culture and her importance in St. Louis, Missouri from 1915 to 1930. The importance of

Annie Malone and Poro College in history has been long overshadowed. Until now the ideals, business practices and marketing strategies used to become a success will be revealed.

### *Purpose of the study*

The purpose of this research study was to examine advertisements promoting African American beauty culture in the St. Louis *Argus* from 1915 to 1930 to determine what was being promoted as “Ideals of Beauty Culture” to the African American community in St. Louis, MO. Annie Malone’s Poro College, Dr. Fred Palmer’s Skin Whitener, Madam C.J. Walker’s Wonderful Hair Grower, and Herolin’s Hair Pomade proved to be the most successful businesses from a total of 142 entrepreneurs and companies based on longevity and consistent records of advertisements and promotions. Over the sixteen year period six themes emerged from their advertisement headlines Agents Wanted, Business Identity and Growth, Hair Care, Hair Straightening, and Skin Care and Skin Lightening products and services. Results show “Hair Care” to be the most significant message of these four companies’ advertised headlines in the St. Louis *Argus* promoting ideals of St. Louis African American beauty culture from 1915 to 1930.

### *Assumptions*

Before this study began assumptions made by myself and others regarding ideals of African American beauty culture promoted by entrepreneurs and businesses in the St. Louis *Argus*, often were not true. There were assumptions that most companies promoting African American beauty culture sold products and services to bleach dark skin and straighten kinky hair to ultimately provide a perception of “whiteness” as the ideal of beauty for African American women. Assumptions were also made regarding African American business men and women as villains preying on their race to capitalize on products and services that would physically

transform African Americans into white ideals of beauty. I also assumed Malone developed Poro College to uplift African American women and girls by promoting ideals of sanitation and beauty not to have them meet white ideals of American beauty.

#### Order of study

This study begins with an introduction of the research, in Chapter One outlining the rationale and purpose, assumptions about the outcome, and the order of the study. Chapter Two discusses the methods used to collect and analyze sources and data and interpret the findings and results. Chapter Three discusses literature reviewed for understanding the ideals of African American beauty culture promoted in the St. Louis *Argus* from 1915 to 1930 by entrepreneurs and businesses, and how Annie Malone and Poro College garnered importance in history. Chapter Four discusses the findings and results of entrepreneurs and businesses that advertised African American beauty culture in the St. Louis *Argus* from 1915 to 1930. It also addresses the changes in beauty culture, changed demographics in the African American population and employment of women in gainful occupations. Chapter Five focuses on the results that led to uncovering the ideals of African American beauty culture promoted by four leading companies' advertisements and promotions in the St. Louis *Argus*. Chapter Five also explores the history of Annie Malone, her competitors in the beauty industry, the Poro College facility, products and services and how Malone compared and contrasted with other beauty culturists. Chapter Six concludes the study with discussions regarding implications or what this study implies to others, the contributions of this study to educators, historians and business people interested in African Americans, women, and St. Louis African American beauty industry from 1915 to 1930. Limitations for this study are also discussed to clarify questions or concerns regarding the absence of information not retrieved or utilized in this study.

## CHAPTER 2

### METHODS

#### *Finding sources*

Locating sources and prior research on Annie Malone, an African American woman and St. Louis business owner in the early twentieth century, has been challenging. Delayed works by scholars to recognize historical African American business ventures, has caused their presence to remain relatively ambiguous (Weems, *Out of the Shadows: Business Enterprise and African American Historiography*, 1997, p. 200). Examining the history of Malone in time and space requires uncovering several dimensions her role as an African American, an African American woman, and a St. Louis business owner in the early twentieth century.

Not until recently have women-owned businesses been explored by historians of women's history (Linard, 2002). With limited sources revealing the history of African Americans and African American women's history, a greater challenge is searching for accounts of their businesses. Mary Yeager, a Harvard Business School professor, expressed concerns for placement of business historiography and lack of businessmen and women in history (Linard, 2002). It seems necessary therefore, to preserve the history of often overlooked African American businessmen and women to better equip future scholars seeking resources for exploration.

Juliet E.K. Walker (1998), an African American historian and author of the first noted comprehensive history of African American business, believes it is the duty of historians to specifically document the existence of African American enterprises (Walker J. E., 1998). In fulfilling this duty of documentation of African American businesses in general and recording African American women's business specifically, this study begins particularly with the history



of Annie Malone, an African American woman who built a St. Louis, Missouri, business of beauty culture during the first part of the twentieth century (Poro Hair and Beauty Culture, 1922).

#### *Sources available*

Unearthing available sources was daunting but not impossible. These sources included the *St. Louis Argus* 1915-1930, three popular African American magazines of the time; *Half-Century Magazine* (1916-1925), *The Voice of the Negro* 1904-1907, and *The Messenger* (1910-1920) (Sylvester, 2007). Sources such as The United States Patent Gazettes, U.S. Patent and Trademark Office (USPTO) and the Bureau of U.S. Census (1870-1930) were also used. Other sources included two Poro College in-house publications from 1922 and 1929, Poro business and educational documents, photographs, and related artifacts. Discussions with relatives of Malone, a relative of a former Poro College worker, a former president and employee of the namesake Annie Malone's Children and Family Service Center, and local historians were sources for exploration as well.

The *St. Louis Argus* newspaper and popular culture magazines provided context for understanding Malone's role in time and space. These sources supplied information for similar and contrasting ideals of beauty culture being advertised to St. Louis African American women from 1900-1930. The advertisements found in these sources provided insight to the entrepreneurs, their businesses and the products and services they were promoting.

Conversely, the editorials written about African American women's beauty culture in the newspaper and magazines offered a better understanding of what was important during this time in history within the African American community and its relationship to beauty culture. Keywords in the headers and images found in the advertisements supported business messages

and ideals of beauty culture. Frith, Shaw, & Cheng (2005) revealed how the uniqueness of advertising media makes it possible to study ideals of beauty across varying cultures (Frith, Shaw, & Cheng, 2005). The concepts observed from various entrepreneurs and their business advertisements were compared and contrasted to Malone's advertisements and ideals of beauty culture to distinguish her place in history.

The USPTO Patent Gazettes from 1921-1948 were used to verify registered trademarks and patents received for products and inventions manufactured by Malone and advertised in the *St. Louis Argus* Newspaper. Evidence regarding legal actions against and for her products and business were found in government sources such as Decisions of the Commissioner of Patents and the United States Courts in Patent and Trade-Mark and Copyright Cases 1921, 1926, 1930 and 1933, and the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the year 1923. These cases along with USPTO and Patent Gazettes verified evidence and concerns of legitimacy regarding Malone's advertised products, services and business practices.

Reports of United States women in gainful occupations from 1870 to 1920 collected from the Bureau of the Census supplied comparative data of African American women to European American women in various types of employment, age, marital status, and geographical location. Particularly useful was the comparison of women populations with gainful employment in selected occupations, for cities of 100,000 inhabitants or more in 1920 nationwide. For this study, several categorizes were considered when searching for a specific occupation that would identify Malone's status during this time in St. Louis, Missouri.

Occupational categories consisted of proprietors, officials and managers in trade, retailers for drugs and medicines including druggists and pharmacist, saleswomen and sales agents and wholesale dealers, importers and exporters. There were manufacturing and mechanical industries

listed in the category of trades as well as a cluster of professional service workers such as chemists, college presidents, inventors, teachers, and trained nurses. However, the domestic and personal service sector appeared to relate most to Malone's area of business. This section of gainfully employed women included barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists. Although, this group resembled Malone's profession most, prior areas such as proprietors and sales agents shared viable information for understanding the time and space in which Malone was involved.

Malone's Poro College in-house publications were used as sources for triangulation. When further information or explanations were not found or appeared questionable in the newspaper advertisements and editorials, or patent documents and court hearings, the two Poro College booklets helped to identify missing pieces. These in-house publications also provided greater depth into Malone, Poro College and the products and services provided. Details of her character and beliefs as an African American woman business owner in St. Louis, Missouri during the early twentieth century were noted throughout both publications. Architectural, aesthetic and economic aspects of the building, facilities and equipment were discussed in great detail, along with daily business practice and performance. Products and services were described with attention given to the purpose and use, quality and efficiency in each booklet. Poro College instructional manuals, order forms, graduation certificates, photographs and artifacts were also used to support findings. Overall, the two in-house Poro College booklets provided aspects to Malone's ideals of beauty culture as promoted to African American women and girls through advertisements in the *St. Louis Argus* from 1915-1930.

Discussions with Annie Malone's relatives, a relative of a former Poro worker, a former president and employee of the namesake Annie Malone's Children and Family Service Center and St. Louis historical research scholars offered both subjective and objective viewpoints of

Malone as a person and the meaning of Poro College to the St. Louis' segregated African American communities. Their subjective opinions from memory in addition to objective accounts in history from photographs, artifacts and other pieces of material culture, along with lived experiences from her philanthropic contributions helped to uncover the history of Malone and her business. Supplemental items such as current journal articles, books, newspapers and magazines were used to understand Malone's ideals of beauty culture as an African American woman entrepreneur in St. Louis, Missouri from 1902 to 1930.

#### *Primary sources*

The St. Louis *Argus* as the primary source for examination was determined by its importance in time and space. As noted by Green (2003) the black press is one of the oldest enterprises created by African Americans, which began with *Freedom's Journal*, in 1827 by John Russwurm and Samuel E. Cornish (Green, 2003, p. 7). However, presently only a few African American newspapers in St. Louis have been analyzed (Green, 2003, p. 7). Using the St. Louis *Argus* presents an opportunity for scholars to examine other African American Midwest newspapers, particularly in St. Louis, Missouri (Green, 2003, p. 8).

In many parts of the world, the newspaper dominates other forms of advertising, primarily because of its ability to reach mass markets of population at a low cost. Newspapers also have the flexibility to provide detailed information about companies and their products allowing editorials to show relevant consistency with the advertisements (Leonidou & Leonidou, 2009). Nevertheless, it has been noted, researchers often choose other forms of media advertisement despite the critical role of newspapers to reach a large number of consumers. Choosing to research advertisements over a fifteen year period, it was necessary to have a continuous record of data, extended over a long period of time. Also, newspapers are not bound

by state lines permitting media coverage from various parts of the nation and a wider variety of business advertisements (Schultz, 1992).

The St. Louis *Argus* provided a long term record of weekly prints from 1915 to 1930 and its popularity as an African American newspaper in St. Louis during this time was the most consistent I could find. It was first registered as second class mail in 1912 then by 1920 the St. Louis *Argus* was claimed as having the country's largest printing plant of its kind (Green, 2003, p. 25).

The African American press was a major vehicle in the 1920s to reach African American consumers and any business desiring black patronage viewed it as a vital resource. However, Weems (1998) observed that during this time many business advertisements in African American newspapers portrayed negative images of African Americans (Weems, *Desegregating the Dollar: African American Consumerism in the Twentieth Century*, 1998). He suggested that these advertisements reflected a willingness by African Americans to try any product that would improve their well-being and fortune or alter the color of their skin and texture of their hair, by promoting products to bleach the skin and straighten the hair.

#### *Newspaper Advertisements*

Placing Malone in time and space provided context for this discovery. This study examined her role as an African American woman entrepreneur of beauty culture in St. Louis, Missouri from 1902 to 1930 (Reed-Miller, 2006). By examining advertisements found in the St. Louis *Argus* from 1915 to 1930, identifying the messages being promoted to the public by Malone and other entrepreneurs was important. Studies have shown advertisements as effective tools for encouraging consumers to purchase products based on information or experiences (Leonidou & Leonidou, 2009). According to Reed-Miller (2006), the success of Malone's

business was due to a myriad of factors such as the use of modern day business practices, the use of media relations, advertising in African American newspapers and magazines, and acquiring an effective sales team” (Reed-Miller, 2006).

Specifically examining Malone’s advertisements in the St. Louis *Argus* newspaper indicated the most important message she was sending to her clients, agents and the public. Some researchers believe it is important to understand how advertisements relate to emotion and rational thinking for critical execution of the message to the consumer proficiently (Leonidou & Leonidou, 2009). Therefore, the status of Malone’s business may have been the result of emotional or rational appeal found in the messages of her advertisements that connected to the followers of beauty culture and its growing industry.

Weems & Gills wrote, “They [African American beauty culturist] made explicit connections in their advertisements between beauty culture and modern ideals of scientific innovation and efficiency” (Weems & Gills, Book Review, 2007). Determining how Malone’s business of beauty culture connected to markets of African American women involved identifying the messages and ideals advertised in the St. Louis *Argus* from 1915 to 1930. To date, little advertising research has attempted to look at how beauty is constructed in different cultures (Frith, Shaw, & Cheng, 2005). However, this study aimed to uncover St. Louis African American beauty culture in the early part of the twentieth century.

### Data Analysis Methods

#### Newspaper and Magazine Advertisements

A systematic search of the front-page and advertisement sections of each weekly St. Louis *Argus* published from 1915-1930 and the advertisement sections of three African American home, business, and beauty magazines of the time: *Half-Century Magazine* (1916-

1925), *The Voice of the Negro* 1900-1909, and *The Messenger* (1910-1920) was conducted. Identification of advertisements, promotions, and editorials written by and about Malone and similar entrepreneurs that promoted beauty culture in the magazines and the St. Louis *Argus* was completed next. Finally, the advertisements and editorials were reviewed for similarities and differences in size, content and overall layout appearance.

### *Purposeful Sampling*

In order to obtain a specific but wide variety of data I purposely chose to sample advertisements from the St. Louis *Argus* for Malone and similar entrepreneurs in the beauty industry who advertised in this newspaper from 1915 to 1930. The entrepreneur's name, gender and race and their company's name, geographic location were also relevant for the sampling of this data and interpretive results. The sample consisted of 142 various beauty culture businesses and advertisements. After the advertisements were located Excel charts were created using categories: source, date, page number, entrepreneur, company's name, location, advertisement title and images. Reoccurring entrepreneurs and businesses, their advertisements, and frequently appearing keywords, images and or ideals were counted and compared.

Next, the businesses that appeared fewer than ten times over the sixteen year period were dropped from the sample. However, specific advertisements from these dropped companies were used to provide supplemental interpretive data. Four beauty culture businesses remained from the original list of 142 because they provided the longest consistent record of advertisements over the sixteen year period. Advertisements used by the four remaining companies were analyzed and coded based on reappearing themes. Emergent themes were: hair care, hair straightening, skin care, skin whitening, business growth and agents wanted. This information was collated for

specific research questions and further classified into subgroups or types in order to discover the messages that Malone and other entrepreneurs targeting African American consumers were sending (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009).

To identify the messages and ideals using the text and image data found in the advertisements, Malone was analyzed individually and then compared and contrasted to the group of similar entrepreneurs promoting beauty culture to St. Louis African American women from 1915-1930. Then the data was coded based on keywords determined from emerging themes (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). Inferences were made using a narrative approach with detailed descriptions. Emergent themes from text and image data were categorized in a table using descriptive statistics. This information enhanced the written data descriptions and provided greater comprehension of the messages in Malone's beauty culture advertisements as well as other beauty related businesses in the St. Louis *Argus* from 1915 to 1930.

### Content Analysis

#### *Content Analysis of Texts: Written/Visual Documentation*

Using qualitative content analysis and inductive reasoning I interpreted the messages, meanings and ideals conveyed through text data and images found in Malone's advertisements promoted in the St. Louis *Argus* from 1915 to 1930 (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009, p. 2).

Qualitative content analysis is a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009, p. 1). Zhang (2009) wrote that this type of analysis consists of valid interpretations gleaned from categories of raw reduced data. The use of inductive reasoning allows themes and categories to appear from consistent comparison and observant



assessment of the data by the researcher (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009, p. 2). From the use of inductive reasoning for this study revealed that three themes emerged which were carefully examined and compared numerous times.

Two distinct approaches to content analysis are conventional and summative that is used to interpret text data (Hsieh, 15(9), 2005). The conventional approach involves coded categories derived from text data and the summative approach involves counting and comparing keywords and content then interpreting the principal context (Hsieh, 15(9), 2005, pp. 1227-1228). Content analysis as found by Jo B. Paolitti (1982) is particularly useful in situations where documentary evidence is the principal source, where sources are especially numerous, and where the researcher wishes to study the covert or (implicit) meaning of communication (Holsti, 1969, p. 14). In this research purposeful sampling was used to study raw data that was collected from Malone and similar entrepreneurs promoting beauty culture through advertisements in the St. Louis *Argus* from 1915 to 1930. Each advertisement was classified by source, date, page number, entrepreneur, company name, location, advertisement title, and image. The advertisements were then grouped by the number of times a new advertisement was displayed over the entire fifteen year period. For instance, if a particular company used the same five advertisements in 1915 only new advertisements were counted the remainder of times that company advertised within the fifteen years.

Stemler a Yale psychology scholar wrote that content analysis can be a useful technique that allows one to discover and describe the focus of individual, group, institutional, or social attention (Stemler, 2001). Content analysis is also useful for examining trends and patterns in documents (Weber, 1990). By examining the advertisements through content analysis this study produced information about Malone as an individual African American woman, in a group with

other entrepreneurs in the beauty industry, and her business Poro College as an institution within the St. Louis African American society.

Zhang (2009) describes the process of qualitative content analysis as occurring during the early stages of data collection which allows you to move back and forth between concept development and data collection, and may help to direct towards sources that are more useful for addressing research questions (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009, pp. 2-3). Using the process of qualitative content analysis for this study, the objective and three research questions were derived. 1) What kinds of products and services did proprietors of African American beauty culture advertise through the St. Louis *Argus* 2) Did Malone promote beliefs of beauty culture based on personal values for economic uplift and independence of African American women (Peiss, 1998) 3) Did she promote American ideals of beauty to assist African American women in assuming a more European look (Ofari, 1970, p. 40) for a better life or economic advancement (St. Louis *Argus*, 1915-1930)? Specifically for this study identifying proprietors of beauty culture and Malone's statuses in history based on their advertisements in the *St. Louis Argus* relies on uncovering the messages they promoted to African American women in St. Louis, Missouri from 1915 to 1930.

#### *Trustworthiness/Quality Standards*

Relying on interpretive research requires trustworthy and quality standards. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) interpretive research should be evaluated for trustworthiness and quality standards (Usal, Spring 2006). These quality standards of trustworthiness are *credibility* for truth value, *transferability* for applicability, *dependability* for consistency; and confirmability for neutrality. In order to provide authenticity to my research I used various forms of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln, 1985).

### *Credibility*

Weber (1990) wrote that the validity of reconstruction on social reality by researchers is evaluated by *credibility* (Lincoln, 1985). Consistency of textual evidence with the interpretation carefully designed and data controlled, collected and analyzed, along with prolonged engagement ensures the researchers credibility (Weber, 1990). As sole researcher for this study carefully designed and controlled data collection and the analysis process were achieved. By consistently working with the data for prolonged engagement allowed consistent interpretation of the textual evidence being used. Being fully immersed in the information ensured credibility and provided familiarity and greater understanding of the data and associated contexts (Lincoln, 1985).

Foster (2004) explained that the researcher facilitates the *transferability* judgment by a potential user through “thick description” and purposeful sampling. “Thick description”, a term coined by Geertz (1973), facilitates transferability judgment by the researcher. By purposely choosing data samples from advertisements in the St. Louis Argus newspaper from 1915-1930, and creating dense, rich, and detailed interpretive descriptions allowed transferability for this study (Foster, 2004). To ensure the *dependability* of this study detailed and comprehensive documentation of the research process, notes and methodological decisions made concerning data interpretation, the development of results and research findings were provided (Foster, 2004).

Techniques of *triangulation* and *practicing reflexivity* stated by Guba enhance *confirmability* (Guba, 1981). Triangulation, which is collecting data from a variety of perspectives, sources, and methods, were performed by analyzing the beauty culture

advertisements and editorials found in the St. Louis *Argus* from 1915-1930, USPTO, Patent Gazettes, the Bureau of U.S. Census, three popular magazines of the time and two in-house Poro College publications, as well as supplemental information, such as interviews with people who knew Malone personally or historically. Guba (1981) wrote *practicing reflexivity* is intentionally revealing the underlying epistemological assumptions in the formulation of research questions and research statements (Usal, Spring 2006). The interpretive descriptions discovered from the messages and ideals advertised by Malone in the St. Louis *Argus* from 1915-1930 were used to enhance confirmability. And taking the critical emancipatory position of epistemological assumptions was used to create the three research questions discussed earlier (Grbich, 2007).

Overall, the primary sources along with present supplemental information provided a greater understanding of what message and ideals of beauty culture Malone and other businesses promoted to African American women through St. Louis *Argus* advertisements from 1915 to 1930.

## CHAPTER 3

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

At this present time, little research has been conducted on Annie Malone and Poro College. This lack of research is due in part to the limited number of available resources and records involving the business history of African American women entrepreneurs in the beauty industry. Particularly missing are sources involving the ideals of African American beauty culture advertised in the “Negro Press” and African American periodicals and publications. How entrepreneurs and businesses developed their business and marketing strategies to promote ideals of African American beauty was linked to their business success.

Annie Malone was an African American woman entrepreneur and founder of Poro College, a vertical beauty enterprise established in St. Louis, Missouri at the turn of the twentieth century. Although she created a successful business of beauty culture during the early 1900s, Malone and Poro College have been overlooked by scholars and overshadowed by other African American entrepreneurs in the beauty industry (Bundles, 2001).

Many ideals of African American beauty arose during the early twentieth century along with changes in the African American population. As African Americans migrated north opportunities in entrepreneurship and business opened up (Reese, 2004). Particularly in the area of African American beauty culture, entrepreneurs and businesses advertised and promoted their ideals of African American beauty in newspapers and magazines (Rooks, 2004). As some early twentieth century entrepreneurs and businesses promoted perceptions of “white ideals of beauty” to African American populations, others chose to promote proper care and maintenance for hair and skin and economic independence. Consistent use of the “Negro Press” and in-house publications to promote varied ideals of beauty grounded in personal beliefs and business

structure proved Malone's importance and success in St. Louis, Missouri from 1915 to 1930 (Bundles, 2001).

### African American Entrepreneurs and Business

African Americans have a long history of business enterprise and entrepreneurship dating back to the 1600s. Born slaves, free men and women developed economic independence during American colonization. African Americans also created wealth before and after the Civil War in personal service areas such as barbering, tailoring and catering (Walker J. E., 1998). The history of African American entrepreneurship and business however, would not be complete without the underlying tradition of self-help and racial uplift (Butler, 1991-2005).

#### *Entrepreneurs and Business: 1900 to 1930*

Entrepreneurship and business were key factors in the "self help" tradition of African Americans. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century African American leaders focused on the growth and development of "Black Business. The 1898 "Negro in Business" conference organized by W.E.B Dubois and the National Negro Business League established by Booker T. Washington in 1900 both caused a significant increase in African American business activity (Weems, Business in Black and White: American Presidents and Black Entrepreneurs in the Twentieth Century, 2009, pp. 2-3).

John S. Butler, professor of sociology and management wrote, "Understanding the historical realities of racism, prejudice and discrimination and their affect on African American business enterprises has been overlooked by mainstream scholars." (Butler, 1991-2005). Although these factors of racism, discrimination and segregation may have contributed to the success or failure of African American business through history, sociology scholar Robert L.

Boyd found, members in destitute ethnic groups respond often to labor market exclusion by becoming “survivalist entrepreneurs.” Boyd defined “survivalist entrepreneur” as a person who develops small businesses and become self-employed out of necessity (Boyd, 2000). This necessity may have been caused by the influx of African Americans fleeing harsh conditions in the south for better opportunities in the north (Boyd, 2000).

The migration of African Americans from the south to the north increased the size of urban areas and the African American middle-class. As Rooks (2004) outlined in her book *Ladies Pages*, by the early decades of the twentieth century, the mobility of African Americans increased tremendously, and urbanization and migration followed. Rooks wrote that between 1900 and 1930 the African American population increased by more than three million (Rooks, 2004). This ultimately increased the need for employment.

As noted by Walker (1998), an African American business history scholar, “black inventors made significant contributions to the advancement of the nations industries along with a few manufacturing enterprises.” She continued “In the early twentieth century, blacks laid the foundation for the development of the largest and fastest growing industry in which they were involved-the hair care and beauty aids business.” From 1900-1930 termed “The Golden Age of Black Business by Walker, African Americans experienced an emergence of African Americans in a “black corporate America”, capitalism, millionaire success and the wealth of a black economy (Walker J. E., 1998, pp. 182-183).

African American economic wealth was achieved by four successful African American entrepreneurs in the beauty industry during the black golden age of business. Of these four, three resided in the Midwest region of the north. The beauty culture entrepreneurs were; Annie Malone and Poro College of St. Louis; Anthony Overton and “High Brown beauty products”

from Chicago; Madame C.J. Walker, a former client and agent of Annie Malone, and “Walker’s Wonderful Hair Grower,” of Indianapolis; and Sarah Spencer Washington’s, Apex products, based in New Jersey. Much of the success gained by these entrepreneurs and others was due in part to advertising and promoting their businesses, products, and services in the “black press” (Walker J. E., 1998, p. 202).

DeAnna J. Reese, professor of history, discussed how the Great Migration and war-related jobs brought thousands of African Americans to St. Louis in the early twentieth century. Some African Americans worked hard-labor and factory jobs, some worked as professional teachers, doctors and lawyers but a small number owned business. Among those migrating along the Mississippi River many black women chose to stay and create businesses in St. Louis because of its welcoming location. The 1904 World’s Fair also contributed to a large number of African Americans entering the city and establishing businesses. Much of the success African American women gained as personal service workers and entrepreneurs in the beauty industry during the World’s Fair sustained their communities for many decades (Reese, 2004).

#### *The “Negro Press and Colored Magazines”*

The St. Louis *Argus* founded by two brothers, Joseph E. and William Mitchell in 1912 focused on the advanced political Negroes in St. Louis, Missouri (Green, 2003). The *Argus* was a thriving instrument for communication in the St. Louis’ African American community. Many entrepreneurs and businesses local and out of state advertised their products and services from 1915 to 1930. With steady growth, the absorption of the *Central Afro America* newspaper Company and purchase of the Osborne Printing plant the *Argus* was able to better serve its readers and advertisers (Green, 2003). Between the years of 1915 and 1928 the *Argus* achieved



national success for its commitment to social and political issues affecting African Americans across the country (Green, 2003).

Noliwe Rooks, author of *Ladies' Pages*, said she asserted that much of the popular history of African American women is shrouded in a mystery (Rooks, 2004). In Rooks search for magazines published by and for African American women, she discovered *Woman's Voice* (Rooks, 2004). *Woman's Voice* was a magazine created by African American hairdressers in Philadelphia, paid for by Madam Walker's company, and published for fifteen years (1912-1927). Rooks also listed a number of African American magazines created by or for African American women beginning as early as 1888. A sample of these periodicals include: *Our Women and Children* (1888-1891), *Ringwood's African American Journal of Fashion* (1891-1894), *Women's Era* (1894-1897), and *Half-Century Magazine for the Colored Businessman and Homemaker* which later became the *Colored Home and Homemaker* (1916-1925) (Rooks, 2004). From this list only *Half-Century Magazine*, was retrieved for this study.

The *Half-Century Magazine*, was a prominent African American periodical published by Anthony Overton in Chicago Illinois from 1916-1925. It included many advertisements for beauty and hair care along with editorials and articles to improve the "Negro race of people". Additional periodicals capturing the life experiences of the African American were listed in the cover of *Half-Century Magazine*. They included; *The Voice of the Negro* 1900-1909 published in Atlanta, Georgia and Chicago, Illinois, with notable contributors such as W.E.B. DuBois, George Washington Carver, Mary Church Terrell, John H. Adams Jr. and Booker T. Washington which targeted the growing population of intellectual and professional "Colored" people (Bowen & Barber, 1904-1907). *The Messenger* (1910-1920) known as the World's Greatest Negro Monthly printed in New York by A. Phillip Randolph provided its audiences with a radical

approach to “Negro” culture and experiences (Sylvester, 2007, p. 1). These periodicals provided documentation of entrepreneurs and businesses advertising their products and services and promoting ideals of African American beauty culture in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Sylvester, 2007)

### *Promoting Beauty Culture in Black and White*

With increasing numbers of African Americans living in urban areas, entrepreneurs became aware of specific needs and opportunities to fill them. Weems (1998) discussed in *Desegregating the Dollar*, that as African Americans began to congregate in U.S. cities, spurred by the World War I ‘Great Migration’ and its aftermath, businesses big and small, black and white, began to take to the idea of a ‘Negro market.’ Although these black and white businesses were now targeting the new “Negro Market” through advertisement of their products and services, not all promotional materials were accepted by the black consumer (Weems, *Desegregating the Dollar: African American Consumerism in the Twentieth Century*, 1998, p. 8).

Because blacks’ were apparently politically and economically powerless at the turn of the twentieth century, Weems reported, white American businesses, believed they could denigrate African Americans without consequence in their advertisements. Providing an example of one particular soap company Weems (1998, p.8) wrote “The marketing of soap during this period was one manifestation of white businesses’ condescending attitudes towards blacks. Soap companies believing that blacks, if given a choice, would prefer to be white, used ads that implied that regular use of their products could indeed turn the skin of African Americans white. Similarly white-owned companies that marketed hair and skin care products to African American women operated from a belief that they were beneficently marketing ‘whiteness’ (skin lighteners

and hair straighteners) to black female consumers" (Weems, *Desegregating the Dollar: African American Consumerism in the Twentieth Century*, 1998, p. 8).

In opposition to businesses promoting "hair straighteners" Fred Moore, editor of the *Colored American Magazine* sent a message in 1905 to the Continental Chemical Company which stated "I am determined that no such advertisement shall appear in this magazine that promises to make kinky hair straight; for it is one of those things I have little confidence in and I do not believe that such can be brought about through artificial means" (Bundles, 2001, p. 67).

Just as Weems (1998), Bundles discussed unfavorable advertisements by white-owned companies promoting African American beauty culture. She wrote some "white-owned businesses openly exploited the insecurity many African Americans had developed about their distinctive hair texture" and continued that these companies knowingly advertised hair straighteners as "hair growers" because "tightly curled hair" would appear much longer after straightened (Bundles, 2001). She also found Crane and Company's white-owned business advertisement in the St. Louis *Palladium* that promoted "Wonderful Face Bleach" which promised to turn to "turn the skin of a black or brown person four five shades lighter and a mulatto perfectly white" (Bundles, 2001).

In efforts to protect "the market niche" African American beauty culturists created, Walker held the "first trade association meeting of the country's black hair care and products manufactures" in New York. This "necessary and urgent" call to organize against a few competing "well-funded white-owned companies" was based on Walker's words. "[I]t has been so often the case that the white man who is not interested in Colored Women's Beauty only looks to further his own gains and puts on the market preparations that are absolutely of no aid

whatsoever to the Skin, Scalp, or Hair,” read the minutes from the first session of the National Negro Cosmetics Manufacturers Association” (Bundles, 2001, p. 213). Bundles also mentioned a letter exposed in the Chicago Defender that was sent to a white drugstore retailer by a distributor of Palmolive Soap products with signed correspondence: “Yours for Nigger Business” (Bundles, 2001, p. 213). This letter among other issues possibly ignited Walker’s urgent concern to take back “black beauty culture” from opposing white-owned companies.

As African American newspapers and periodicals focused on advancing the “Negro race” economically, politically, and socially their support for African American entrepreneurs in the beauty industry was often seen through advertisements and promotions. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century many entrepreneurs and businesses black and white viewed the “Negro Press” as vital to their business success (Weems, *Desegregating the Dollar: African American Consumerism in the Twentieth Century*, 1998). Advertising products and services to promote ideals of African American beauty in the *Argus* often improved businesses in the beauty industry. The newspaper nonetheless, was a critical avenue for entrepreneurs and business to promote their ideals of African American beauty culture from 1915 to 1930 (Weems, *Desegregating the Dollar: African American Consumerism in the Twentieth Century*, 1998).

Nonetheless, many African American entrepreneurs such as Annie Malone were able to use advertisements and the “black press” to their advantage. In the book *Threads of Time, The Fabric of History* by Rosemary Reed-Miller, Mrs. Miller wrote “Poro’s sales were driven by Malone’s understanding of modern business practices, such as press conferences, advertisements in African American newspapers and magazines, and the hiring of a good sales staff for the products.” Not only did Annie Malone manufacture her products, she also promoted and sold them through agents who had special training at Poro College (Reed-Miller, 2006). Other forms

of media such as magazines were created and used by African Americans entrepreneurs promoting and advertising their products and services.

### American Ideals of Beauty

In 1890 Charles Dana Gibson a magazine illustrator, created images of “waspy-waist” young white women” known as the Gibson Girls (Bundles, 2001). Bundles described this “ideal American Girl” as having a “chic haughty and graceful pose, distinguished in part by long, silky tresses artfully arranged beneath the brim of her beribboned hat (Bundles, 2001). The “faultless” Gibson Girls became model images of American standards of beauty. For approximately two decades women of all races and ages attempted this look created by Charles Gibson’s pen. Bundles continued, this new standard of beauty was attempted by women of all race and class however it was not easily attained by most black women who found it difficult to twist their full lips into “Cupids bow or found it physically impossible to exhale with the “tightly nipped waist” (Bundles, 2001, p. 63).

Joan Jacobs Brumberg, teaching in the areas of history, human development and women’s studies as a Stephen H. Weiss Professor at Cornell University wrote, “In the Victorian era beauty was thought to derive from internal qualities such as moral character, spirituality, and health. However, in the first two decades of the twentieth century, women began to think about beauty and the self in ways that were more external than internal.” With new cosmetic inventions of beauty and constant comparative images of the “Ideal American Beauty” in motion pictures, popular photographs, advertisements in mass-media magazines, department store counters, and dressing rooms, women and girls no longer worked to improve their inside beauty, but began to scrutinize their outside beauty (Brumberg, 1997, p. 70).

The book *Plum Bun: A Novel Without a Moral*, written in 1929 by African American woman author Jessie Redmond Fauset, described American beauty ideals from an African American perspective. Fauset's fictional character Angela Murray, the fair-skinned daughter of a middle-class African American family, realizes as she matures that everything she wants in life—riches, glamour, pleasure, and freedom—is associated with whiteness (Fauset, 1929, 1990). Brumberg referenced this novel in *The Body Project* and wrote, “Historically, light-skin was a key to middle-class status in the African American community; it was also perceived as a determinant of beauty. As a result, light skin was something many African American women worked hard to achieve (Brumberg, 1997, p. 77). With American industries growing, along with middle-class consumerism, ideas of “white” American beauty became linked to African American middle-class status in the early twentieth century (Fauset, 1929, 1990).

Phillip Perrot, author of *Fashioning the Bourgeoisie: A History of Clothing in the Nineteenth Century* discussed the 19<sup>th</sup> century cosmetics industry in relation African Americans or “inferior dark races.” Perrot wrote “To counter the dark pigmentation characteristics of the inferior dark races and the sunburned skins of the lower classes (who worked outdoors), an entire cosmetology of ‘electrifying baths’ and ‘freckle-removing milk’ was developed during the nineteenth century” (Perrot, 1994, p. 24).

Author Earl Ofari wrote about early decades of black capitalism, and added a “sad note” regarding Madam C.J. Walker and the growth of the cosmetics industry. As he noted “Madam Walker admitted that while walking down the street one day it suddenly occurred to her that black people wanted very much to look like white people.” He also said “she therefore proceeded to devise a vast array of skin creams and whiteners, hair pomades and various concocted chemicals, for straightening and processing hair” (Ofari, 1970). Ofari continued to discuss that

beauty businesses like Walker's were "sad" because "what other term could depict accurately the spectacle in which beautiful Africoid features of natural bushy hair and smooth dark skin were, through the use of chemicals turned into grotesque caricatures" (Ofari, 1970, p. 44). Ofari believed black beauty culture was somehow created to "obliterate remnants of an honorable and great African past shared by all black people in the United States". He continued "Even more tragic was the widespread feeling among black people, that they could somehow transcend their color, and thereby their oppressive conditions and become—white. It was supposed that this would mean acceptance". Furthermore Ofari wrote "black people were made to feel both psychological and physical hate for their very persons (Ofari, 1970)

According to Ofari the ideals of black beauty culture related to psychological forms of self-hatred. This idea of denouncing your race and physical characteristics to look or become white was also viewed by notable African Americans in the early twentieth century (Bundles, 2001). Bundles discussed the "controversy around whether African Americans should straighten their hair—and what the decision meant psychologically and politically—was not new." She then described the accounts of convention in 1859 where a "Mr. Hodgson, 'The Great African Hair Unkinker' straightened one side of a wooly head" which caused the crowd to erupt in protest and a woman to yell "she wouldn't desert her race to get straight hair" (Bundles, 2001).

Although many African American beauty culturist in the early twentieth century were criticized for selling "white ideals of beauty" as "black beauty culture" Bundles wrote Malone and Walker considered themselves separate from the white-owned businesses selling "hair straighteners." "What distinguished them and their motivations was their race" (Bundles, 2001). Bundles also mentioned other African American companies who insisted they were not selling "hair straighteners" such as the husband and wife owners of The Johnson Manufacturing

Company's Hair and Scalp Preparations and Mrs. J.W. Thomas, owner of Magic Hair Grower (Bundles, 2001). In fact, this study will examine what Malone, Walker and other beauty culturists were selling as ideals of African American beauty culture.

### *A Woman's Work*

Because of racial prejudice, discrimination and segregation African American women in St. Louis were not allowed to work in the department stores, offices or factories, but could obtain domestic work. Teaching, a highly respected profession, was also available to African American women in St. Louis. The African American beauty industry however, would garner the greatest skill development and earnings potential (Reese, 2004, p. 10) Bundles described the beauty profession as “a long tradition in the African American community”. Since at least the eighteenth century, black women—both slave and freeborn—had found work as hairdressers for white women” (Bundles, 2001).

Many African American middle-class women may have found it necessary to improve their economic stability by improving their outside appearance. In his study of African American women entrepreneurs in the urban north during the Great Depression Boyd (2000), a Mississippi State University professor, found was “the demand for beauticians and hairdressers in the Black communities of northern cities was high, even during the Great Depression. Despite the hard times, beauty parlors and barber shops remained the most numerous and viable Black-owned enterprises in these communities (e.g., Drake and Cayton, 1945/1962:450–451). He suggested that “the demand was robust because many Black women who were seeking jobs believed that one's appearance was a crucial factor in the ability to gain much-needed employment” (Boyd, 2000). Indeed, Black self-help organizations in northern cities, such as the Urban League and the National Council of Negro Women, stressed the importance of good grooming to the newly



arrived Black women from the South, advising them to have neat hair and clean nails when searching for work. Above all, the women were told to avoid wearing “head rags” and “dust caps” in public (Drake and Cayton, 1945/1962:247, 301; Grossman, 1989:150–151).

Boyd also looked at the racial divides among African American women in regards to skin color just as Brumberg (1998) mentioned in *The Body Project*. Boyd wrote “These admonitions were directed to all Black women, but they were particularly relevant to those who were looking for secretarial or white-collar jobs, for Black women needed straight hair and light skin to have any chance of obtaining such positions (Drake and Cayton, 1945/ 1962:162–163). He continued “Beauty culture and hairdressing not only provided Black women with opportunities for survivalist entrepreneurship, these occupations also helped some Black women economically advance (Boyd, 2000). Many Black hairdressers and beauticians had close business ties with beauty schools or the manufacturers of cosmetics and hair preparations, and these ties sometimes enabled Black women “to move up from home shops or salons to the ownership of several salons or a beauty school, or even to larger and highly profitable enterprises that made and sold cosmetics” (Boyd, 1996b:42, citing Drake and Cayton, 1945/1962).

Boyd concluded by noting Annie Malone and Madame C.J. Walker as successful African American women entrepreneurs who provided opportunities for urban African American women. He wrote “it is not fortuitous that the most successful and visible Black female entrepreneurs of the early 20th century were in beauty culture and hairdressing, most notably, Madame C. J. Walker and Annie M. Turnbo-Malone (Boyd, 1996b:42, citing Harmon, 1929). Hence, many Black women in the urban North no doubt entered beauty culture and hairdressing because they saw these occupations as potential ladders of upward socioeconomic mobility” (Boyd, 2000).

In accordance, Susannah Walker's 2008 article "*Independent Livings*" or "*No Bed Of Roses*"? *How Race and Class Shaped Beauty Culture as an Occupation for African American Women from the 1920s to the 1960s*, studied and compared the socioeconomics and upward mobility of African American working-class women to middle-class African American women in the beauty industry (Walker S. , 2008). She began by stating that because of race and gender discrimination that limited employment options in the middle decades of the twentieth century, beauty culture attracted African American women across class lines. Middle-class, salon-owning beauticians sought professional status for beauty culture, while working-class beauticians sought the economic security and occupational autonomy beauty culture seemed to offer compared with domestic service work. Similar to Boyd's study (2000), Walker referenced Annie Malone, as a beauty culturist who offered African American women the opportunity for self-help, education, and economic progress. She also cited Annie Malone and Poro College advertisements and promotional materials to provide examples for her discussion.

## CHAPTER 4

### ENTREPRENEURS AND BUSINESSES: ADVERTISING AFRICAN AMERICAN BEAUTY CULTURE IN THE ST. LOUIS *ARGUS*, 1915 TO 1930

While few studies have been conducted on the history of St. Louis' African American beauty culture from 1915 to 1930 information acquired from a number of sources contributes to our knowledge to this subject. The *Argus* provides long consistent records of entrepreneurs who promoted African American beauty culture through advertisements and editorials in St. Louis, Missouri. Popular African American magazines of the time provided contextual information for understanding the culture of African Americans during the early twentieth century. And the United States census of women in gainful occupations: 1870 to 1920 displayed patterns of women's work in various occupational categories divided by state and race. The St. Louis *Argus*, used as the primary source for this study, laid the foundation for identifying company messages and ideals promoting African American beauty culture in St. Louis, Missouri through advertisements from 1915 to 1930.

#### Entrepreneurs and Businesses *Argus* Results

The *Argus* was explored from 1915 to 1930 in search of entrepreneurs and business advertisements promoting ideals of African American beauty culture in St. Louis, Missouri. The results of this exploration yielded many such entrepreneurs, businesses and advertisements. Examining the front page and at least two consistent advertisement pages during every week the paper was published, provided a wealth of information. For this study 803 weeks and 2,409 pages produced a purposeful sampling of 142 entrepreneurs and businesses over the sixteen year period. The tables show the entrepreneurs and businesses listed in the St. Louis *Argus* from 1915 to 1930. For visual purposes the years were broken down into three tables. The first table shows

businesses from 1915 to 1920, the second has those from 1921 to 1925, and the third table displays entrepreneurs and businesses from 1926 to 1930. The tables were created to count the number of entrepreneurs and businesses that appeared in the St. Louis *Argus*, each of the sixteen years. These tables also showed which companies appeared consistently over the sixteen year period (see Appendix A tables 1-3).

### Entrepreneurs and Businesses 1915 to 1920

#### Appendix A table 1

In 1915 there were twenty-four companies advertising beauty culture in the *Argus*. In 1916 the number dropped to eleven, rose to twenty in 1917 and again to twenty-one in 1918. The numbers then dropped to twelve in 1919 and increased by two in 1920. There may be several reasons for the fluctuating number of beauty culture businesses advertising in the *Argus* from 1915 to 1920. For these five years the largest number of twenty-four businesses appeared in 1915. Although the *Argus* began publication in 1912, the newspaper took over the *Central Afro America* newspaper in 1915, and promised its readers and advertisers it would carry out all subscriptions and advertising contracts made before the buyout. The *Argus* continued to grow by also adding a pictorial section and new staff in 1915 (Green, 2003). In the January 1, 1915 issue of the *Argus* on the front page, the headline read, “Circulation Merger Benefits Advertisers.” The introduction continued, “Argus Takes Over the Central Afro American, Increasing Already Large Circulation, Offers Greater Trade Advantages at Same Rates” (St. Louis Argus , 1915).

Conversely, in 1916 the advertisers dropped more than half. Green (2003) noted the *Argus* subscription rate increased in 1916 from \$1.00 to \$1.50 due to an increase of paper stock caused by paper mills being on the government’s essentials resource list during World War I.

This price increase possibly affected advertisers as well causing thirteen of the previous twenty-four to disappear from the paper. At the time of increased advertisers in 1917 and 1918, the *Argus* expanded its columns from six to seven, doubled their physical plant's ground floor space, improved their job-printing facilities and purchased the Osborne Printing plant. However, new ownership, staff changes, the absorption of advertiser's contracts, reader's subscriptions and the increase in price may have contributed to the inconsistency of businesses promoting African American beauty culture from 1915 to 1920 (Green, 2003).

### Changes in beauty culture

During this period many changes occurred consisting of not only how often entrepreneurs and businesses advertised but what they were advertising. As more women began to work outside the home, an increasing number of African American women began adapting new ideals of beauty culture for less domesticated work opportunities (Randolph P. A., 1917).

Author Kathy Peiss, discussed how the 1890s to 1920s marked the early stages of the cosmetic industry. A woman's appearance was emphasized during this time and beauty culture was created for and by women. This focus on women's appearance provided an opportunity for women and men to capitalize on this new or evolved interest in beauty. Through entrepreneurship these women were able to become successful in all aspects of the beauty industry. Beauty schools, beauty salons and "direct-sales marketing strategies" were used by women to promote their businesses of beauty culture, unlike mainstream beauty traders who focused primarily on advertisements (Peiss, 1998).

From 1917 to 1927 *The Messenger* known as "The Only Radical Negro Magazine in America," printed several articles about African American women's beauty culture and business

development. In the January 1918 issue A. Phillip Randolph, president, business manager and editor along with Chandler Owens, secretary, treasurer and editor, published articles titled the “Negro Businessman” and “Woman Suffrage and The Messenger.” (Randolph A. P., 1918). Both articles depicted an increase of African American men and women’s business ownership along with an enhancement of their rights, independence and changes in their physical appearance from 1915 to 1920.

### Entrepreneurs and Businesses 1921 to 1925

#### Appendix A table 2

The second table identifies businesses from 1921 to 1925 and again the numbers fluctuated from year to year (see Appendix A. table 2). Thirty-two companies advertised in 1921, in 1922 advertisers dropped substantially to seven. In 1923 the number rose to twenty, dropped to fifteen in 1924, and rose again in 1925 to eighteen entrepreneurs and businesses advertising African American beauty culture. According to Green (2003) The *Argus* became very focused on varying aspects of African American life: politics, incarceration, lynching and economic disparities (Green, 2003). Taking a more active role in uplifting the lives of African Americans in 1921 through public outcry in the newspaper, likely increased the *Argus* popularity and circulation. This may have caused the greatest number of entrepreneurs and businesses to promote their beauty culture in this particular newspaper at this time. That following year in 1922, the St. Louis *Argus* newspaper expanded its publishing company and purchased a new building adjacent from the newspaper location at 2341 Market Street. Although the company grew in 1922 the advertisements dropped to a significant low. The cause for this is unclear however Green (2003) discussed the paper sending its readers a message concerning a “raw deal” by an endorsed Republican politician. Because the St. Louis *Argus* was a stout Republican

supporter this may have divided advertisers and subscribers causing the dramatic decrease from 1921 to 1922 (Green, 2003).

Societal and cultural changes likely caused *The Messenger* to drop their previous moniker and became known as “The Greatest Negro Monthly” beginning with the November 1923<sup>rd</sup> issue. The headline for this issue read “Negro Business Achievement Number,” and included a three page article titled “Manufacturing Toilet Articles: A Big Negro Business” By F.B. Ransom. In this article, the author discussed the success of African American women entrepreneurs who manufactured and sold beauty products to African American women who were entering new realms of white collar businesses and leaving behind the hard labor of field hands and house servants, where their appearance rarely mattered (Ransom, 1923).

The June 1924 issue of *The Messenger* included an article entitled “Bobbed Hair” where the author began by asking questions regarding the change from women wanting long hair to desiring a new short bobbed hair style. He asked “Why do women bob their hair? Does it make them more beautiful? Is it more convenient? More hygienic and sanitary? Less expensive? More attractive to men? Or what?” This inquiry and the new change in hair style may have impacted entrepreneurs and businesses advertising African American beauty culture to rethink their promotional strategies and products, therefore causing the drop in beauty culture advertisers in 1924 (Owen, 1924).

By 1925 the *Argus* showed a slight rise in advertising numbers probably after promotional materials and products were re-vamped to better serve the St. Louis African American beauty culture. During this period from 1923 to 1925 the numbers of entrepreneurs and businesses advertising in the *Argus* varies only slightly (see table 2).

## Entrepreneurs and Businesses 1926 to 1930

### Appendix A Table 3

The final table displaying companies promoting African American beauty culture in the *Argus* shows data from 1926 to 1930. As seen in the other tables the numbers rise and fall each year (see Appendix A table 3). Twenty companies advertised in 1926 then fell to thirteen in 1927. The number rose to fourteen in 1928, dropped to eight in 1929 and rose again to eighteen in 1930. The up and down pattern had been consistent over the sixteen year period however the reason behind it lead to a few conjectures.

In 1920 the *Argus* advertised the purchase of a new \$10,000 dollar Duplex press although it went unused because of a newsprint shortage. The *Argus* also contracted a foreign advertising representative and advertised an *Argus* job printing service which brought in additional revenue. However, between 1915 and 1929 a total of seven newspaper companies opened in St. Louis, Missouri competing with the *Argus* newspaper, and Green (2003) described friction among the newspaper owners and possibly business advertisers who now had to choose between eight newspapers to promote their beauty trade (Green, 2003). These businesses may have also vied for lower rates affecting the number of companies advertising in a given year.

Changes in the *Argus*, as well as competition and political views could each be responsible for the inconsistent numbers of advertisers from 1925 to 1930. Although it is not clear what caused the up and down pattern of businesses advertising in the St. Louis *Argus* newspaper or the significant increase and fall of thirty-two advertisers in 1921 to seven the next year in 1922 it is assumed any of the above scenarios may have impacted the *Argus* supporters.



However, changes in the African American population and employment from 1915 to 1930 brought additional circumstances.

### Changing Demographics in the African American Population

The African American physical and economic presence in St. Louis and other cities increased due to the World War I and Great Migration. As Robert Weems has noted this increase of African Americans living in urban areas with more money to spend helped to create a new discernable “Negro Market” by the 1920s (Weems, *Desegregating the Dollar: African American Consumerism in the Twentieth Century*, 1998). During this same time the St. Louis *Argus* promoted Black business development, job opportunities within the African American communities and youth inspired entrepreneurship (Green, 2003). Peiss also mentioned that many successful women entrepreneurs in beauty culture were “black, immigrants, or from the working-class” (Peiss, 1998). Acknowledging this new generation of African American women workers and consumers and the need to promote African American beauty culture in St. Louis, Missouri it is assumed many of these businesses and entrepreneurs used varying messages to advertise their ideals of African American beauty in the *Argus* newspaper from 1915 to 1930. This study examines what messages were being advertised. Overall there were 142 businesses and entrepreneurs, male, female, black, white, local and distant who chose to promote their ideals of African American beauty in the *Argus* newspaper from 1915 to 1930.

### Changing Women’s Work, Status and Appearance

The 1920s proved to be prosperous years for American women. On August 18, 1920, the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution prohibited any U.S. citizen from being denied the right to vote based on sex (Gibson & Jung, 2005). This gave women a new freedom in American

culture. As women earned the right to vote opportunities in the work force also increased.

Looking specifically at women in the area of beauty culture government statistics provide details of the phenomenon.

Statistical data from the United States census of women in gainful occupations from 1870 to 1920 provided women's employment information. However, only "Native White" women with "native white parentage" and "Negro" women in the years 1900, 1910 and 1920 were compared and contrasted. Information regarding "foreign or mixed parentage native white" women and "foreign born white" women was not used because these categories were not provided for "Negro" women with foreign or mixed parentage, or foreign born "Negro" women. Comparing and contrasting the numbers only for "Native White" and "Negro" women gainfully employed in the United States, Missouri and St. Louis in the years 1900, 1910, and 1920 provided a better understanding of nationally employed women within these two groups.

According to the United States census of women in gainful occupations: 1870 to 1920, women employed in the "Domestic Personal Service" field as barbers, hairdressers and manicurists throughout the nation totaled 22,011 in 1910 and 33,091 in 1920. The combined number of "Negro" women in this field consisted of 12,361 compared to 10,579 "Native White" women gainfully employed as barbers, hairdressers and manicurists from 1910 to 1920. These numbers were not surprising in relation to the history of African American business. According to Juliet K. Walker, the barber and beauty shop industry was one of the most successful business ventures performed by African Americans in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Walker J. E., 1998). The numbers of white women with foreign parents or foreign born white women working in the United States was not used because this information was not available to compare and contrast, African

American women with foreign parents or foreign born African American women working in the United States (Gibson & Jung, 2005).

The “Proprietor and Saleswoman” categories for all women in the United States were also explored because many women in the beauty industry during this time were also sales agents and entrepreneurs (Peiss, 1998). The total number of women employed as “Sales Agents” under the “Saleswomen” category were 4,089 in 1910 but it dropped to 1,634 in 1920. This decrease in number could be due to sales agents switching careers to become beauticians and manicurists.

In the United States there were a total of 1,073 “Native White” women sales agents and 37 “Negro” or African American women sales agents between the years of 1910 and 1920. The category of sales consisted of door-to-door and in-store selling, but because of racism and Jim Crow laws, white women were provided more opportunities in sales than their African American counterparts therefore the numbers for whites were much higher. In the category of “Other Proprietors, officials and managers” a total of 252 women were employed in the United States in 1910 and it rose to 327 women in 1920. Regarding race and nativity, the census reported a total of 203 “Native White” women, 48 foreign born white women and those of foreign or mixed parentage, and one “Negro” woman proprietor from 1910 to 1920, although there may have been more African American women proprietors, only one was reported. Again looking at African American history during this time period, African American men or women were either prevented from selling, managing or owning a business because of racial barriers or they were not counted with the numbers in the census due to unofficial business practices or were considered not gainfully employed (Walker J. E., 1998).

Looking at the women gainfully employed in Missouri and St. Louis during the 1920s the numbers appear different. The total number of Saleswomen in the West North Central Division which included seven states was 42,581. In Missouri there were 12,122 which was the highest number recorded from the list of seven. Women proprietors however, were not included in this section. The total number of women gainfully employed as barbers, hairdressers and manicurist in the West North Central Division were 2,849 and again Missouri had the largest number 1,200 women. For women employed in certain selected occupations, for cities with 100,000 inhabitants or more in 1920, nineteen cities in the North Central Division totaled 6,046 barbers, hairdressers and manicurists. From this overall total St. Louis employed 641 hairdressers ranking in the middle of the scale. In comparison Chicago, Illinois had the highest number of 2,145 barbers, hairdressers and manicurists and Kansas City, Kansas had the least number with 51. The other four cities fell between Chicago and Kansas City, and on both sides of St. Louis. Saleswomen were not used because the terms “in stores” were added and “agents” were removed. Based on advertisements identifying women owners of their businesses or products rather than store fronts or druggists, the women discovered in this study were more often entrepreneurs and sales agents and not in store sales women.

For “Race and Nativity” of all class women gainfully employed in Missouri, the number is 203,235 in 1910 and 238,921 in 1920. Divided by race “Native White” women equaled 146,185, foreign born white women and white women with foreign or mixed parentage equaled 6,3460 and “Negro” or African American women totaled 29,276 in 1920. This information does not include the numbers of St. Louis women by “Race and Nativity” in specific occupations. Instead it showed overall percentages for women in all occupations and nonagricultural pursuits.

The “Percentage of Women Engaged in All Occupations and in Nonagricultural pursuits, for Divisions and States: 1920, 1910 and 1900 reveals; in Missouri 20.7 percent in 1920, 19.0 percent in 1910 and 15.4 percent in 1900. Those engaged in nonagricultural pursuits equaled 19.5 in 1920, 17.6 in 1910 and 13.8 in 1900. The Percentage of Native White Women of Native White Parentage engaged in all Occupations and in Nonagricultural Pursuits, for Division and States: 1920, 1910, and 1900 were; 18.2 percent in 1920, 15.6 in 1910 and 12.0 in 1900. Nonagricultural yielded; 17.0 in 1920, 14.1 in 1910 and 10.1 in 1900 (see table 1). Tables were not used to compare information regarding foreign born white women or those with foreign or mixed parentage, because numbers were not provided for foreign born African American women or African American women with foreign or mixed parentage.

Table 1 "Native White" Women Gainfully Employed in Missouri in 1900, 1910, 1920

“Native White” Women Gainfully Employed in Missouri	1900	1910	1920
All Occupations	13.8	17.6	19.5
Nonagricultural Pursuits	10.1	14.1	17.0

The Percentage of Negro Women engaged in all Occupations and in Nonagricultural Pursuits, for Division and States: 1920, 1910, and 1900 included 44.6 in 1920, 50.3 in 1910 and 38.0 in 1900 and for nonagricultural pursuits there were; 43.6 in 1920, 49.7 in 1910 and 37.3 in 1900 (see table 2).

Table 2 "Negro" Women Gainfully Employed in Missouri in 1900, 1910, and 1920

“Negro” Women Gainfully Employed in Missouri	1900	1910	1920
All Occupations	38.0	50.3	44.6
Nonagricultural Pursuits	37.3	49.7	43.6

The number of “Negro” women gainfully employed in all occupations and nonagricultural pursuits in Missouri double and nearly triple the number of “Native White” women in 1920, 1910 and 1900. This is perhaps because African American women had to work alongside African American men to survive and live not only during slavery but after they were emancipated. This way of life remained constant but the types of jobs performed changed. The numbers for women gainfully employed in St. Louis reflected those in Missouri. Foreign born white women and white women with foreign or mixed parentage were not included in the statistical data, because this information could not equally be compared with foreign born “Negro” or African American women or African American women with foreign or mixed parentage.

The Percentage of Women Engaged in Gainful Occupations for Cities of 100,000 Inhabitants or More and for Areas Outside of Such Cities, By Divisions and States: 1920, 1910 and 1900 include; 32.6 in 1920, 29.9 in 1910 and 26.3 in 1900. For “Native White” women in St. Louis, Missouri the percentages were; 34.5 percent in 1920, 29.8 percent in 1910 and 25.1 percent in 1900, in comparison to “Negro” women gainfully employed in St. Louis, Missouri at 49.8 percent in 1920, 57.0 percent in 1910 and 40.1 percent in 1900 (see table 3).

Table 3 Women in Gainful Occupations in St. Louis, Missouri in 1900, 1910 and 1920

Women Gainfully Employed in St. Louis, Missouri	1900	1910	1920
All Women Gainfully Employed in St. Louis	26.3	29.9	32.26
”Native White” Women Gainfully Employed in St. Louis	25.1	29.8	34.5
“Negro” Women Gainfully Employed in St. Louis	40.1	57.0	49.8

Also observed from these charts is that the total number of “Native White” women gainfully employed in Missouri and St. Louis increased from 1900 to 1920, but decreased from

57.0 percent in 1910 to 49.8 percent in 1920 for “Negro” or African American women. This disparity could possibly be linked to African American women changing employment status, starting up a business or not being considered as gainfully employed. The numbers for foreign born white women and those with foreign or mixed parents were again not included because comparison information was not provided for African American women. In this section only census data for “Native” white women and “Negro” or African American women was used. In this context “Native” means, women born in America with American born parents.

#### St. Louis *Argus* entrepreneurs and businesses advertisement results

##### Appendix B Tables (7-22)

To better understand the messages and ideals of African American beauty culture being promoted by companies in the *Argus* newspaper from 1915 to 1930, more information was necessary on each individual business. Determining the owner’s race and gender proved difficult at times because of initials, partial names used and questionable images of the owners or managers of the business. Unless an image with the owner’s name as the caption was provided it was nearly impossible to determine the gender of the entrepreneur within the advertisement headline. Further investigation of the advertisement’s copy or editorial occasionally provided insight to the entrepreneur or owner’s race with the use of key words like “our or we.” What was clear nonetheless was the race and gender of the target market, which were specifically African American women and men, to whom the entrepreneurs and businesses were promoting ideals of beauty culture. This study then focuses on what was being promoted as ideals of African American beauty culture in the advertised headlines for each of the sixteen years rather than specifically who promoted it. Identifying the race and gender of a company’s owner was often impossible without photographs or full gender specific names. Although, this information was

important and it has been argued that “black and white” companies in this industry often conveyed different messages to African American consumers, due to limited availability, race and gender was used only in context for gaining an understanding of the entrepreneur’s messages and ideals of African American beauty culture as promoted in their advertised headlines.

Beginning with the first businesses observed in 1915 to the last in 1930, the company’s name, owner and location were listed along with advertisement headlines, image(s) and the year or number of years a company advertised over the sixteen year period. However, only the companies advertising for the first time each year is documented to prevent duplication of information. For example, if a business advertised in 1915 and 1916 its information is only listed in 1915 because that was the first observed year for this study. Continued years of advertisements for each company are listed in the total number of year’s column.

#### Comparison of businesses and advertisements first appearing in 1915 to 1920

Compared to succeeding years, 1915 provided the second greatest number of companies and entrepreneurs advertising in the St. Louis *Argus* newspaper. This is perhaps because the St. Louis *Argus* newspaper had newly opened and had absorbed clients from a previously closed newspaper company. Advertisers from across Missouri, as well as from New York City to Atlanta Georgia, were promoting African American beauty culture in the St. Louis *Argus* newspaper. Advertisement headlines focused on hair care and straightening, skin care and whitening, business growth and agents wanted. Images most often displayed women, some being the owners or managers, while others showcased before and after shots, products, buildings and trademarks. Comparing the number of years companies advertised in 1915, the numbers ranged from fifteen to fourteen years and five years to one year (see Appendix B table 7). The number



of years a business advertised in the newspaper helped to determine the longevity and consistency of the business's advertisements and overall stability, growth or success of the company.

As stated before, the gender and race of business owners was difficult to determine especially for this year because images with owner's names were not used. Based solely on prefixes and recognizable gendered names, from the complete list of twenty-three entrepreneurs and businesses thirteen were women, one was male and the other nine were unidentifiable. Concealing a woman's identity in business by using initials or the husband's name occurred often during the early twentieth century due to gender discrimination and a male-dominated society (Peiss, 1998). However, in the St. Louis *Argus* newspaper in 1915, the majority of businesses were owned by women that advertised African American beauty culture.

Of the individual companies whose advertisements first appeared in 1915, six companies advertised more than once. Poro College advertised the greatest number of times with fifteen of the sixteen years with Palmer close behind with fourteen years of advertising African American beauty culture in the St. Louis *Argus* newspaper. All other companies trailed behind with Horton coming in closest with five years of advertising over the entire sixteen year period as seen first in 1915.

The most frequently used words in the company advertised headlines in 1915 were hair and skin. However, eighteen advertisements focused on hair straighteners and growth, only two focused on skin whitening and bleaching, two focused on both hair and skin and one promoted its owner. This was quite interesting based on sources reviewed for this study. Centered on the idea that African American women wanted to look or become white by not only straightening

their hair but also bleaching their skin was discussed in later years by *The Myth of Black Capitalism* author Earl Ofari (1970). Ofari, identified the “black beauty industry” as “sad” based on the tragedy associated with African Americans believing they could change their color, oppressive conditions and ultimately become white through the use of certain beauty products (Ofari, 1970).

In 1915 twenty advertisements promoted hair straightening while only four promoted skin bleaching. Because these two forms of beauty culture were often grouped together, it seems both would have been advertised equally or more closely in numbers by entrepreneurs and businesses. It is possible methods of skin bleaching and whitening were not yet discovered or pursued as intensely as hair straighteners and growth methods in 1915. Scholars such as Robert Boyd noted many African American women coming from the south were told to keep their hair neat, nails clean, and avoid wearing “hair rags or dust caps” when looking for employment in the north (Boyd, 2000). It is not mentioned however, to bleach the skin, stay out of the sun, or simply to cleanse the face. Again hair care seemed to have precedence over skin care during 1915.

In 1916 three of the five entrepreneurs and businesses were identified as women, one male and the other was unidentified. Headlines in the advertisements again focused on hair and skin with four out of the five companies promoting hair growth and culture and one promoting skin whitening cream and soap. Images included three companies displayed what appeared to be African American women, one pictured the company’s trademark and one business used no image at all. The Exelento Company advertised for the greatest number of years from this group during five out of the total sixteen year period (see table 5). Again we see in 1916 “hair

straightening and hair care” was advertised a substantial amount of times over skin whitening or bleaching.

Also, advertisements earlier in the 1900s were discovered for straightening the hair but not for bleaching the skin. In 1904 Dr. Geo Scott advertised “an electric hairbrush” which “Makes Long, Rich, Glossy Hair” and the Van-Vleet Mansfield Drug Company promoted “Le Creole Hair Restorer...Makes Hair Lie Straight” both advertised in *Voice of the Negro* (Bowen & Barber, 1904-1907). Notwithstanding, only the two advertisements for “hair care” and none for skin whiteners or bleachers were discovered in the November 1904 issue of *Voice of the Negro*. Conversely, two images were used of a man and woman who both could pass for white or black. According to Earl Ofari, these “grotesque caricatures” of African Americans appearing white with straight hair and white skin through the use of chemicals, destroyed the natural beauty of African American’s bushy hair and dark skin (Ofari, 1970, p. 44).

In relation to “self help and economic improvement” in the labor market scholar Robert Boyd mentioned that straight hair and light skin were essential for African American women desiring secretarial or “white collar” jobs (Boyd, 2000). In 1917 there was a rise of new companies advertising African American beauty culture in the St. Louis Argus newspaper from diverse locations and number of years, but consistent headline and image focus was observed for the sixteen businesses (see Appendix B table 9). Of the fifteen businesses first observed in 1917 ten company headlines promoted hair straighteners and growers, one advertised skin brighteners, two advertised “Agents Wanted” and the amount of money earned, and two advertised their beauty parlor. Types of images included six company’s owners’ images, five pictured women and four omitted images. To determine greatest growth or stability in business through consistent advertisements, the total years were calculated. For new businesses and entrepreneurs advertising

for the first time in 1917 Madam Walker revealed the largest consistent record of thirteen years over the sixteen year period. Herolin followed with nine years, five years for Plough, four for Elosa, two for East Indian and one for the remaining companies advertising African American beauty culture in 1917.

In 1918 the first observed companies increased to sixteen while company locations, headlines, images and years resemble those of previous years (see Appendix B. table 10). The sixteen companies advertising Africa American beauty culture for the first time in 1918 fourteen listed the owner and two did not. Advertised headlines focused on hair and skin with few deviations. Thirteen promoted growing and straightening the hair, while two promoted products that “Brightens Dark Skin,” and “Makes the Skin like Velvet,” and one company promoted the owner’s name in the headline. Advertised images consisted of seven companies without images, five used women three pictured the owner, and one displayed a woman and their products. The total number of advertising years began to drop, the maximum being Lilly White with three years, followed by Fair-Plex with two. The remaining fourteen companies advertised only in 1918.

In 1919 there were seven new companies advertised in the *Argus* and in this year no outside states advertised African American beauty culture in the *Argus*. The headlines again focused primarily on hair and skin treatments. Six companies promoted hair growth and straightening and one company advertised “Better than the Best” products for hair and skin. Three companies used images of women, two pictured the owner, one used a man, and one illustrated a woman and the company’s trademark. The total number of advertising years over the sixteen year period included; Kinky-no-Kink with seven, Kashmir three, and remaining five advertised one (see Appendix B table 11).

In 1920 there were four companies promoting African American beauty culture in the St. Louis *Argus* newspaper. From these four businesses one owner or entrepreneur was listed and three were not. Two companies from Memphis, Tennessee advertised, one local St. Louis, Missouri Company and Danderine did not provide a business location. Three companies promoted “Growing Beautiful Hair” and one advertised “Beauty Skin Bleach and Beautifier”. Golden Brown advertised six of the sixteen years included in this study, Danderine two, and the others advertised only in 1920. After the total number of entrepreneurs and businesses promoting African American beauty culture in the *Argus* were identified, each year entrepreneurs and businesses appeared collectively in the paper, over the sixteen year period, was totaled.

In 1915 there were twenty-one businesses, in 1916 and 1927 ten, 1917 and 1923 fifteen, 1919 nine, 1920 and 1925 twelve, 1921 thirty-five, 1922 and 1929 seven, 1924 and 1928 thirteen, 1918 and 1926 twenty and in 1930 eleven. Considering the number of entrepreneurs and businesses who advertised throughout the sixteen years, 1921 revealed the greatest number of thirty-five advertisers, whereas 1922 and 1929 revealed the least number of seven entrepreneurs and businesses promoting beauty culture in the *Argus*.

#### Comparison of businesses and advertisements first appearing in 1921 to 1925

Fifteen companies appeared for the first time in the *Argus* in 1921. They were from various locations but as years before the reoccurring advertised headlines dealt with hair and skin treatments and images promoting the like. Most of these companies advertised only in this year. Also in 1921 three of the fifteen businesses did not provide owner names and four were not local St. Louis businesses. Based on gender specific titles eleven were women and four unidentifiable. Twelve advertisements did not use images, four illustrated women, one used a woman and a man

and the last a company trademark. All but one company advertised outside of 1921 and that was The Creole System which promoted African American beauty culture in 1923, 1927 and 1929 (see Appendix B table 13). Focusing on the advertised messages twelve headlines promoted hair care, one promoted a new beauty parlor, another “Makes You White Over Night” for the skin and the last mentioned the company’s name in the headline. Undoubtedly with a 12:3 ratio hair care was the message being promoted in the St. Louis *Argus* newspaper by entrepreneurs and businesses to African American women in 1921. Just as in 1920 women were experiencing liberty and freedom and this came through their hairstyles. Bobbing the hair was often seen as a form of rebellion. An article titled “Bobbed Hair” In the June 1924 Issue of *The Messenger* editor Chandler Own, described women bobbing their hair as “a reviving gyneocracy-the period of women rule and power.” As the years past this form of empowered women continued to increase causing more attention to be given to their appearance, and especially to the hair.

In 1922 five businesses and one owner were observed in the *Argus*. Three local St. Louis, MO companies and two businesses from Memphis, TN, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania were the locations. Three of the five companies used images ranging from; a single woman, a man and a woman, and a product name. These companies only advertised in 1922 (see Appendix B table 14). Of the five companies promoting beauty culture three advertised headlines promoted hair products, one a “Sure Fine” face preparations and one beauty parlor. Again we see the majority of the advertisements promoted hair care and maintenance.

Seven companies promoted African American beauty culture in 1923: Five of these companies displayed their owner’s name and four did not. Locations varied from four St. Louis, Missouri businesses to Atlanta, Georgia, Terry Haute, Indianapolis, and Muscatine, Iowa. Four of the seven companies used images, three displayed a woman and one pictured the owner. Hi-Ja

Chemical Company was the only business to advertise four years in 1923, 24, 27 and 1928, while the others only advertised in 1923 (see Appendix B. table 15). All seven companies advertised hair care in their headlines. 1923 was the first year to exhibit one unanimous message by entrepreneurs and businesses promoting African American beauty culture in the St. Louis Argus newspaper. This message or ideal of beauty could be viewed as taking care of the hair was more important or popular than any other beauty regiment or businesses goal. Neither Skin care business growth nor agents wanted were advertised in the seven company headlines in 1923. Before women's liberty the bobbed hair cut may have been seen by advertisers as a fad of beauty culture and especially those who were men. But as time progressed and more women began bobbing their hair and working independently from their husbands, entrepreneurs and businesses apparently caught on and began promoting the ideals of beauty culture that were the most popular of the time. And this again was hair care and growth which African American women needed a "healthy head of hair" even if they were going to cut it into a bobbed hair style (Owen, 1924).

There were nine companies in the St. Louis Argus newspaper promoting African American beauty culture in 1924: Six companies listed owners and three did not. From that list of six owners five were identified as women based on gender specific prefixes such as Madame, Mrs. and Mademoiselle. Three of the nine businesses displayed images of African Americans "well dressed with neat hair". St. Louis provided six local entrepreneurs and businesses for this year and three were located in different states. Headlines varied from four hair care titles, two for lightening the skin and three promoted "Women Be Beautiful," a beauty college and a beauty shop (see Appendix B. table 16).

In 1925 there were twelve businesses and entrepreneurs promoting African American beauty culture in St. Louis, MO. Locations varied by state and all twelve businesses were observed only in 1925 over the sixteen year period. Seven of the 1925 companies displayed an owner and five did not. There were three companies in Missouri two in St. Louis and one in Kirkwood. Four companies used images of women, for the first time two businesses advertised images of men alone, and six businesses used no image. Two of the twelve entrepreneurs or owners could be identified as women and although the last name was used for some, Anthony Overton was the only male entrepreneur or owner's name used and identified in 1925 (see Appendix B table 17). Seven companies promoted hair care, three advertised skin care, one was for toiletries and the last highlighted a beauty shop. The years from 1921 to 1925 had similar results as the previous years of 1915 to 1920. Hair care and growth were the main focus of advertised headlines used by entrepreneurs and businesses promoting African American beauty culture in the *Argus*. Perhaps because caring for the hair, growing and styling it was the new focus for African American women entering a new realm of the labor market, one which valued her appearance as well as her performance.

#### Comparison of businesses and advertisements first appearing in 1926 to 1930

Comparing the advertised headlines of companies first appearing in 1926 to 1930 the results appear similar to the previous groups. In 1926 there were twelve entrepreneurs and businesses first appearing in the *Argus*. Six companies listed owners, nine did not and four were located in St. Louis, Missouri. Two of the six owners were identified as women while four were questionable. Ten of the companies highlighted hair care in their headlines, one promoted a skin cleanser and the other a barber shop. Using what appeared to be African Americans in the images, two advertisements used a single woman, one used a woman and products, two used



women and men, one used all men, another displayed a pressing comb, and the final four did not display images (see Appendix B table 18). Significance in 1926 confirms ten of the twelve companies promoted hair care which shows consistency since 1915.

There were five companies observed in 1927 and two businesses were in St. Louis, Missouri. Three headlines advertised hair care and two promoted beauty shops. Three companies omitted images, one used features of an African American man and woman and the other used an African American woman alone. These businesses were only observed in 1927 (see Appendix B table 19). Although the number of companies in St. Louis compared to those around the country differ by year the promotion hair care products and use of well-groomed men and women who could pass for African American or white has been consistent.

There were five new companies promoting beauty culture in the *Argus* in 1928 and Ho-Ro was the only one local to St. Louis. Two companies used images of a product, and the other three used what appeared to be an African American woman alone, a man and a woman and the other used a boy and girl. Each of the five companies first appeared in 1928 and no additional years (see Appendix B table 20). Four headlines promoted hair care and straighteners and one advertised a “New Lotion Face Bleach.” This year as those past proved hair care was the message of African American beauty culture being promoted by entrepreneurs and businesses.

During the year of 1929 three new companies appeared in the newspaper: Fan-Tan and Spanola both from Chicago, Illinois and Allen’s Beauty Shoppe in St. Louis, Missouri. Of the three companies Allen of Allen’s Beauty Shoppe was the only one that identified the gender of the owner, however there was no way to determine if Allen was the first or last name of the owner, therefore the gender was still unidentifiable. Headlines for the first time differed from

previous years. Fan-Tan advertised headline read “Frenchman Discovers New Way to Whiten Skin” and Spanola’s read “Have Soft White Skin By Tonight.” Allen however, promoted a new beauty shop. This was the first change in advertised headlines where skin lightening products appeared more and without any hair care advertisements. As for race identifying images Fan-Tan used a man and woman, Spanola used only a woman and Allen did not use an image. Each of the three companies only appeared in 1929 (see Appendix B. table 21).

In 1930 there were seven companies observed for the first time and two provided an owner’s name; Sam assumed to be male and Ruth a woman. Neither name represented a St. Louis business which included three from the total seven. Four of the seven headlines advertised hair treatments with two promoting straighteners and two for hair dyes. One of the three remaining companies advertised a “Perfect Complexion” with “Lighter and Lighter Skin.” The next company advertised the product name but no descriptive words were used to identify if the product was for hair or skin, and the last promoted a beauty salon. Five companies used proposed images of well-groomed African American men and women and each of the seven companies appeared only in 1930 over the sixteen year period (see Appendix B table 22). 1930 completed the sixteen year period but just as the other fourteen years with the exclusion of 1929, 1930 displayed more advertised headlines promoting hair care and straightening systems and products.

In conclusion over the sixteen year period the number of advertising companies and entrepreneurs fluctuated by year and gender and racial identities often were ambiguous. However, the ideals of African American beauty culture in St. Louis, Missouri from 1915 to 1930 emerged from the advertised headlines in the St. Louis *Argus* newspaper. The study of advertisements developed by entrepreneurs and businesses proved hair care was the most important message related to African American beauty culture from 1915 to 1930. It was also

discovered four companies; Poro, Palmer, Walker and Herolin, provided the longest record of consistent advertisements promoting African American beauty over the sixteen year period. How these companies compared and contrasted to one another in terms of promoting ideals of African American beauty culture from 1915 to 1930 will be examined in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 5

### ANNIE MALONE AND PORO COLLEGE IN TIME AND SPACE

From a list of 142 entrepreneurs and businesses promoting African American beauty culture in the St. Louis *Argus* from 1915 to 1930 four businesses consistently advertised during this period. Poro College and Palmer's Skin Whitener both advertised fifteen of the sixteen years, Madam C.J. Walker's Wonderful Hair Grower advertised thirteen years and Herolin advertised eleven of the sixteen years. Yet, Annie Malone and Poro College provides the most significant record of advertisements promoting ideals of African American beauty in the St. Louis *Argus* from 1915 to 1930. The purpose of this study was to uncover how African American beauty culture was promoted in St. Louis with a special focus on the efforts of Annie Malone and Poro College in this regard.

#### History of Annie Malone and Poro College

Annie Turnbo was born August 9, 1865 to former slaves in Metropolis, Illinois. She was one of eleven children and often sick as a child. Still young when her parents died she moved to Peoria, Illinois to live with an older sister. Malone began experimenting with her sister and friend's hair around 1899 (Wilkerson, 2003). Through knowledge of chemistry, Malone began researching and creating preparations to treat scalp disease and hair loss. In 1900 she and her sister moved to the "all black town" of Lovejoy, Illinois. By 1902 the reputation of Malone's "Wonderful Hair Grower" had spread across the river into St. Louis, Missouri. With plans of a 1904 World's Fair, Malone packed up and moved to 2223 Market Street (Wright, 2001). Although, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition did not take place until 1904, Malone enjoyed success from a new and larger African American population and the influx of Fair goers. In 1906

Malone received a copyright for the trade-name “PORO” to protect the public from imitation products. The imitation products she referred to could have possibly been created by Walker (Bundles, 2001). Also to protect her products from “imitations” Malone received the patent for an “Ornamental Design for a Sealing Tape” on May 16, 1922. This green sealing tape was used to secure the closure of the box lid on Poro products (Congress, 1923).

According to Bundles (2001), Pope-Turnbo taught women to shampoo their hair more regularly, and proclaimed a clean scalp meant a clean body and that a well-groomed appearance would enhance business opportunities, social class and evoke cleaner living and beautiful homes (Bundles, 2001). Poro College was built on Malone’s personal beliefs of “Cleanliness and Godliness” as stated in the 1929 Poro in Pictures booklet (Poro in Pictures: With a Short History of its Development by Poro College, 1929). In chapter eight “Deviations from the Norm” of *Fashioning the Bourgeoisie*, Perrot discussed clothing, body and cleanliness. Just as Malone believed the entire body, which included the hair, skin, and spirit should be clean to represent clean living, Perrot found similar issues related to society. He wrote “Clothing and body cleanliness are independent and endowed with meanings and aspects that unfailingly illuminate an entire society through successive representations, rituals and practices concerned with odors or their masking, filth and its eradication and the history of laundering and cosmetics” (Perrot, 1994, p. 125).

In 1910 Malone moved her business again to 3100 Pine Street due to the growth of her products and services. At this time Malone began plans to construct a beauty empire that would not only serve her clients and agents but also her race and community. As Malone focused on business expansion Walker would become known as “The Wealthiest Negro Woman” with assets worth approximately one million dollars (Bundles, 2001).

Although Walker first learned about black beauty culture from Malone in the early 1900s, more than a century later it was Madam C.J. Walker who frequently receives the title of “first African American woman millionaire” (Ofari, 1970). According to Bundles, Walker was given the title on November 4, 1917 in the *New York Times Magazine* with a headline that featured “Wealthiest Negro Woman’s Suburban Mansion” with assets at “a cool million or nearly that.” Bundles wrote, Walker tried to correct the claim with reporters stating “I am not a millionaire, but I hope to be some day, not because of the money, but because I could do so much more to help my race” (Bundles, 2001, p. 216). The “millionaire” claim however, stuck and reappeared in A. Phillip Randolph’s magazine *The Messenger*. Many years later, Walker is still identified by some as “the first African American woman millionaire.

The claim to being the first African American woman millionaire is still debatable but according to Reed-Miller, in 1920 Malone’s personal wealth was estimated at \$14 million (Reed-Miller, 2006, p. 96). As featured in the 1922 *Poro Hair and Beauty Culture* booklet ground was broken in 1917 for the development of Poro College in St. Louis, Missouri at the corners of Pendleton and St. Ferdinand. November 1918 Poro College was built and according to Robert French, Malone’s nephew it was “paid in cash” at a cost of \$550,000. In 1920 the Poro Annex was added for \$168,000 and the Poro Garage for \$32,000. The booklet cited the total Plant investment of \$750,000 (1929, p. 7).

It was also noted in the 1929 *Poro in Pictures* booklet that Malone had “Poro Agencies all over the United States and in Alaska, Canada, Nova Scotia, Hayti [Haiti], Cuba, The Bahamas, Central and South American, Africa, and the Philippines. And Poro College Branches or Poro Supply Stations in Hartford, New York City, Newark, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Washington, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Kansas City, Omaha, Miami,

Berkeley, and Los Angeles (Poro in Pictures: With a Short History of its Development by Poro College, 1929).

At home in St. Louis the Poro Building served many of the African American residents in the segregated Ville Neighborhood in the early twentieth century (Wright, 2001). In the 1929 Poro in Pictures booklet it declared “Much of the property in the neighborhood of the institution has been acquired to provide homes for the [employees] and to insure sites for the future expansion of the business.” And that “Poro College is the result of years of unyielding determination, earnest endeavor, and unfaltering faith (1929, p. 6). Beginning on page seven and ending on forty-three, details of the Poro building, interior design, rooms, equipment, utilities and services are also provided in the 1929 Poro in Pictures booklet. From the rooftop garden to heating and refrigeration in the basement each specific feature is written with full page illustrations (1929, pp. 7-43).

Written as a tour guide booklet for visitors the booklet starts with the main entrance, and continues on the first floor with the lobby, corridor, Poro Auditorium and stage, general office, cafeteria, file department, record department, the receiving room and the shipping, department and truck loading dock for Poro Mail. On the “Mezzanine” floor there was the cashier’s department, instruction and beauty department, an instruction department at the “Balustrade,” a classroom, a treatment booth and a third instruction department. Also on the Mezzanine were the bath department, chiropody department, switchboard, and the ladies lobby.

On the third floor was Malone’s office, the executive room, press committee room, emergency room, agents and student’s rooms, agent’s reception room and the filling and labeling department. On the fourth floor was the kitchen, dining room, bake shop, guest room, reception

room and the gentlemen's smoking and recreation parlor. In the Basement was the laundry room, sewing department, heating and refrigeration. South to the main building was the six car Poro garage and at the top of the main building was the rooftop garden (1929, pp. 7-43). More information can be found in pages from the 1929 *Poro in Pictures* booklet (Appendix E table 39).

Besides the size, function and success of Poro College, Malone was also a philanthropist. It was reported in Reed-Miller's book, Malone supported at least two students at every African American land-grant college in the country. She donated \$5,000 to an unnamed orphanage, \$50,000 to the Young Women's Christian Association, a generous donation to Tuskegee Institute and \$25,000 to Howard University which at that time was the largest gift ever donated by an African American to an African American college or university (Reed-Miller, 2006). The St. Louis *Argus* newspaper regularly discussed how Malone gave diamond rings to Poro agents after five years of service and proof of home mortgages, thrift, and giving back to others. Other articles discussed tuition payments for students who attended historically black universities, home purchases for family members, and other charitable donations (St. Louis *Argus*, 1915-1930).

By the end of the 1920s, Malone experienced personal and financial battles in St. Louis, Missouri. In 1927 her husband Aaron, filed for a divorce and half ownership of the business (*Argus* , 1927). This same year she was sued by a news reporter and former Poro worker (French, 2007). Reed-Miller wrote "the confusion and distraction of legal fights and court costs put the company in difficult straits." Miller continued, "Trying to start over, in 1930, Malone sold her St. Louis property and opened a similar facility in Chicago, at 44<sup>th</sup> and 45<sup>th</sup> Parkway, which became known as the Poro Block." Miller also noted "In 1951 the government seized



control of the St. Louis business for state and federal government cases involving delays and failure to pay excise taxes and real estate taxes.” She also said “Malone had no children and her nieces and nephews were unable to save the company.” In closing Reed-Miller wrote “On May 10, 1957, at the age of 87, Mrs. Malone died of a stroke at Provident Hospital in Chicago” (Reed-Miller, 2006).

Malone also gave \$10,000 to the St. Louis Colored Orphans’ Home built in 1888. With her donation the orphanage moved in 1922 from its Natural Bridge location to its current location of 2612 Annie Malone Drive, formally known as Goode Avenue. Malone also served on the Children’s Home board from 1919 to 1943. In 1946 it was renamed the Annie Malone Children’s Home. (Wright, 2001). Although the name changed and it is presently known as the Annie Malone Children’s Family Service Center, the organization has continued the tradition of raising money through the annual Annie Malone May Day Parade started in 1909 (Wright, 2001). This parade is one of the most anticipated events in St. Louis’ African American community (Annie Malone Children and Family Service Center, 2008).

### Malone’s Competitors

Content analysis of the *Argus* from 1915 to 1930 revealed that 142 companies advertised their products, some for a very short period and others more consistently. Four entrepreneurs and businesses rose to the surface; Annie Malone’s Poro College, Dr. Fred Palmer’s Skin Whitening Company, Madam C.J. Walker’s Wonderful Hair Grower and Herolin’s Medicine Company. When these companies’ advertisements are compared and contrasted six themes emerged; hair care, hair straightening, skin care, skin whitening, agents wanted and business growth and identity. Malone’s advertisements proved to have the longest consistent record of promotions in

three of the six areas. Unlike the other companies Malone's advertisements promoted hair care, skin care and business growth while inserting personal beliefs and moral standards developed by her company. Palmer, Walker and Herolin on the other hand steered closely to promoting one or occasionally two aspects of beauty culture. The Poro College booklets provided greater insight to better understand the purpose behind Malone's marketing strategy; however no such sources were found for the other three companies. Conversely, a large amount of readings were available for Madam C.J. Walker, who was perceived to be the "the first African American woman millionaire" (Bundles, 2001) although new findings regarding Annie Malone now challenge that perception.

#### Brief History of Madam C.J. Walker

Madam C.J. Walker was born Sarah Breedlove, to once enslaved parents Owen and Minerva on December 23, 1867 in Delta, Louisiana. Sarah like Malone was orphaned at an early age and in 1878 moved to Vicksburg, Mississippi with an older sister. At the age of fourteen Sarah married Moses McWilliams to have her own home. Six years later she was widowed with a small daughter named Leila. In 1889 Sarah and her daughter moved to 1615 Linden Avenue in St. Louis, Missouri where she remained fourteen years, working as a washerwoman for \$1.50 a day (Wright, 2002). On August 11, 1894 Sarah McWilliams married John Davis but they later divorced in 1903 (Women in History, 2007). In 1906, Sarah would marry a third and final time to a newspaperman named Charles Walker (Wright, 2003).

*"On Her Own Ground"* written by A'Leila Bundles, Madam CJ Walker's great-great granddaughter, provided written accounts of Madam C.J. Walker's business and unyielding conflicts with Annie Turnbo-Pope Malone which she referred to as Pope-Turnbo. Walker who

personally endured hair loss and balding claimed “a big black man” appeared to her in a dream and told her to use ingredients from Africa. “Pope-Turnbo” however, denounced that claim and declared she was responsible for Walker’s hair restoration and that she had also taught Walker her hair growing methods. Bundles also wrote Walker was undoubtedly one of Pope-Turnbo’s sales agents possibly as early as 1903. Although hair straighteners and skin bleaches were popular at the time, Walker and Pope-Turnbo separated themselves from divisive advertisements “often used by white-owned businesses who openly exploited African American’s features” (Bundles, 2001, p. 66). Bundles also wrote that, although many race leaders spoke against hair straightening and skin bleaching “her [Walker’s] main concern was better employment and financial opportunity, and Pope-Turnbo was looking for agents” (Bundles, 2001, p. 68). After working as a Poro agent and increasing her skills and finances Walker was inspired by the 1904 St. Louis World’s Fair and decided to move to Denver Colorado with family. Bundles recounted “On Wednesday, July 19, 1905 Walker and Leila boarded a westbound train with her bag filled with Pope-Turnbo’s Wonderful Hair Grower” (Bundles, 2001, p. 78).

Shortly after arriving in Denver Walker began to distance herself from Pope-Turnbo and began selling “Madam C.J. Walker’s Wonderful Hair Grower. On September 15, 1906 Madam Walker began canvassing door-to-door, developed a mail order business and traveled to southern and eastern states. However, by this time Pope-Turnbo had grown increasingly angrier and denounced Walker publicly. As Bundles quoted Pope-Turnbo, “The proof of the value of our work is that we are being imitated and largely by persons whose own hair we have actually grown,” Pope-Turnbo continued “They have very frequently mentioned us when trying to sell their goods (saying that ‘theirs is the same’ or just as good’)...Beware of Imitations” (Bundles, 2001, p. 89).

Although, Walker clients refuted Pope-Turnbo's letter, Pope-Turnbo sent a Poro agent two streets from Walkers daughter's office to advertise and treat clients with "the originator's" Poro preparations. Leila however, was uncomfortable with the controversy and limited financial growth and decided to move "Walker's Wonderful Hair Grower" from Denver (Bundles, 2001, pp. 90-91). In 1908 Walker opened Leila College to train Walker "hair culturists" in Pittsburgh. In 1910 Walker and Charles divorced and she again moved her business, this time to Indianapolis, Indiana where she built a factory for hair care products and a second training school. In 1916 Walker moved to Harlem New York with her daughter Leila, leaving the Indianapolis headquarters in the hands of her forelady. During her life she was tremendously concerned about the black community and she was involved in politics, the anti-lynching campaign and contributed generously to black charitable and educational organizations such as the YMCA, Tuskegee Institute, the NAACP and many others. In 1919 Madame C.J. Walker died from complications of hypertension at her estate, Villa Lewaro, in Irvington-on-Hudson, New York (Bundles, 2001).

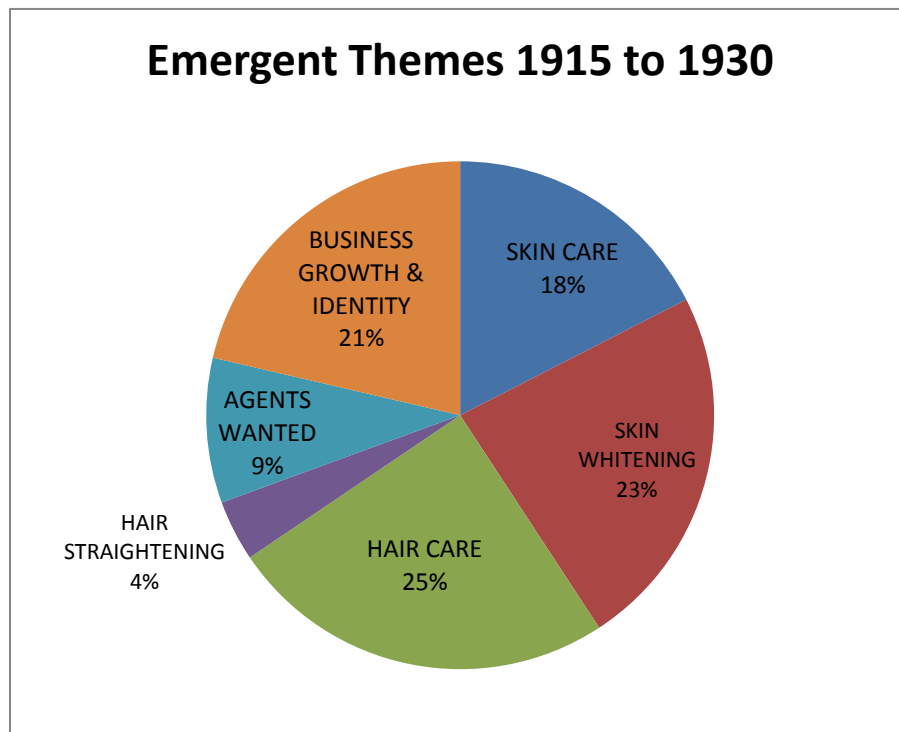
Like Malone, Walker created financial independence and opportunities for African American women all over the world through beauty culture. The difference however, is Walker's story of success has been written and told far more extensively than Malone's. Yet, as this study and others are now proclaiming, Madam CJ Walker's story as we know it would have never existed without Annie Minerva Turnbo Pope-Malone's Wonderful Hair Grower.

No information regarding Dr. Fred Palmer and Herolin Medicine Company were discovered other than their Atlanta, Georgia locations and product advertisements. While, their stories would contribute to better understanding the nuances of African American beauty culture,

further investigations regarding their histories are not part of this study because of time and financial considerations.

### Company advertisement data and analysis

Annie Malone and Poro College provided a more consistent advertising approach than the other three entrepreneurs and businesses during the sixteen years of advertisement headlines. As stated previously, six themes emerged as ideals of African American beauty culture for those businesses including: Hair Care, Hair Straightening, Skin Care, Skin Whitening, Agents Wanted and Business Growth and Identity. Further investigation of advertisements for these four entrepreneurs and businesses show that Hair Care, emerged as the most prominent ideal of African American beauty culture promoted in the *Argus* from 1915 to 1930 (see graph 1).



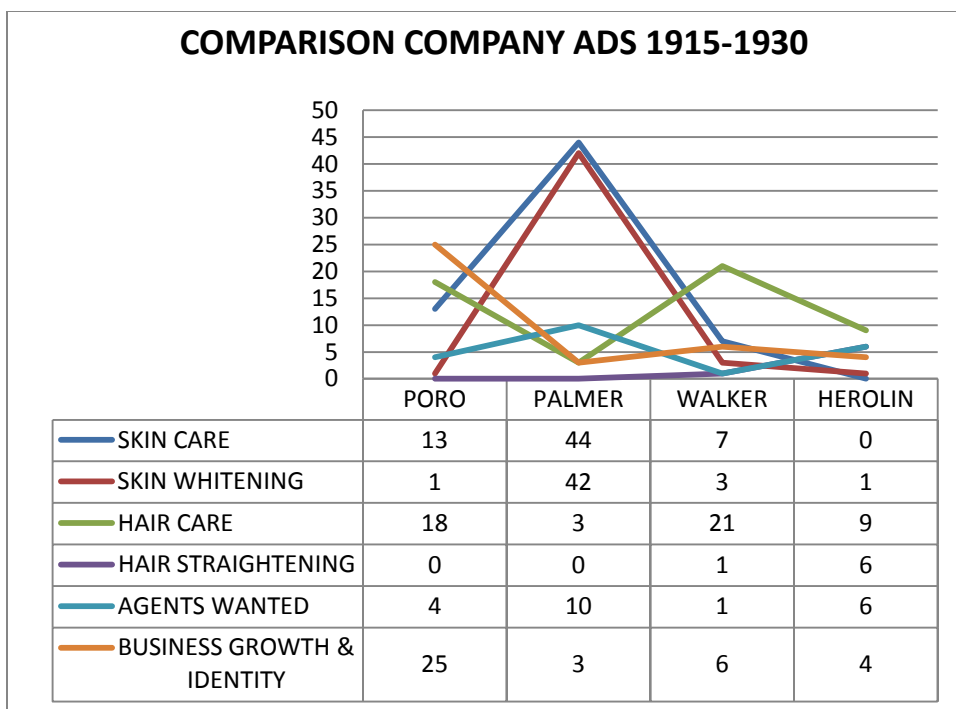
Graph 1 EMERGENT THEMES OF BEAUTY CULTURE 1915 TO 1930

Although six themes emerged from frequency of words used in the advertised headlines, each presented varying ideals of African American beauty culture, which Malone tapped into on a consistent basis. When the other three businesses focused on one or two areas of beauty culture, Malone intertwined three or four into her advertised headlines. In addition, these three or four ideals usually proved to be the most significant themes which emerged from the sample of 142 entrepreneurs and businesses promoting St. Louis African American beauty culture in the *Argus* from 1915 to 1930. For greater clarification the six themes in Figure 1 are grouped in pairs to further identify which had the greater importance. For example, Hair Care and Hair Straightening are grouped because they both focused on the hair, and in this case Hair Care proved to be the most important ideal based on the number of times it was used in advertised headlines promoting African American beauty over the sixteen year period. Also when Skin Care and Skin Whitening are paired, Skin Whitening was used more often in advertised headlines than Skin Care. Finally, pairing Agents Wanted and Business Growth and Identity, the latter proved more noteworthy.

Text from advertisements shows how businesses tried to differentiate their products from their competitors but also illuminates attitudes concerning ideals of beauty in the African American community. A Poro advertisement that stated; “If You Want Your Scalp Properly Treated And A Good Growth of Hair Let Us Send You A Poro Agent” (1916, p. 2) whereas, “Hair Straightening” advertisements promoted changing the texture of hair as noted by one Herolin advertisement; “Kinky hair made Straight-Long-Silky” (1917, p. 6). Advertisements for skin care promoted treatments for the skin like the advertisement that read, “BRRR March Winds Wreck Complexion...Madam CJ Walker’s Cold Weather Treatment for the skin” (1918, p. 6) and skin whiteners promoted advertisements suggesting “Dark or Brown Skin Can Be

Made Whiter, by Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener" (1918, p. 6). For "Agents Wanted" and "Business Growth and Identity" advertisements were more closely related or combined both ideas such as Poro's advertisement promoting their new building and the need for 25,000 more agents or Walker's advertisement promoting a future money, property and success. Advertisements within these two themes also promoted growth and independence like; "Just Think Of It! Madam CJ Walker's Wonderful Hair Grower, Increased Business Demands Larger Factory, Independent Living Made (1925, p. 7), and advertisements to clarify a business's identity such as "Poro Trademark, The Best for Fifteen Years Beware of Imitations" (1915, p. 3).

Although the four businesses were sometimes similar in their advertisement focus over the sixteen year period, it was found that Poro College most evenly distributed her ideals of African American beauty culture across all six themes, whereas the other three companies saturated one area of the market of beauty culture. Dr. Fred Palmer predominately focused on skin whitening and skin care Herolin focused on hair care and hair straightening and Walker focused almost entirely on hair care. Poro on the other hand, advertised hair care, skin care, and business identity and growth nearly to the same degree over the sixteen year period. It was also noted that hair straightening and skin whitening were almost never used within Malone's or Walker's advertised headlines. A line graph comparing the four companies and their advertising habits in the *Argus* over the sixteen year period is below (see graph 2).



Graph 2 ADVERTISED THEMES AND IDEALS OF BEAUTY CULTURE 1915 TO 1930

### Malone's Compared and Contrasted Advertisements in the St. Louis *Argus*, 1915 to 1930

#### Appendix C tables 23-38

To develop a more concrete knowledge of Malone's ideals of African American beauty culture and her impact as an entrepreneur and owner of Poro College an in-depth examination of her advertisements was conducted. She was compared to the other three entrepreneurs who extensively promoted African American beauty culture in the St. Louis *Argus* newspaper from 1915 to 1930. The purpose of this part of the study is to identify how Malone's advertisements were alike or different from the others. More specifically the goal is to determine if Annie Malone and Poro College would prove to be more important, less important or fairly equal to Madam C.J. Walker's Wonderful Hair Grower, Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener or Herolin's



Hair Pomade based on the advertised headlines promoting ideals of African American beauty in the *Argus* from 1915 to 1930.

Content analysis of Malone's advertisements produced concise and consistent messages of caring for the hair and scalp, cleansing and caring for the skin and business identification and growth. Advertising "Agents Wanted" was often seen in Poro advertisements but not to the extent as the other messages.

In 1915 Poro and Palmer were the only two entrepreneurs that advertised in the *Argus* from the group of four companies with the longest continuous record. During this year Poro used ten different advertisements promoting business identity and growth, hair care and "The Ideal of Sanitation and Beauty." Palmer on the other hand promoted only one advertisement for "skin whitener and agents wanted". Although both companies advertised fifteen of the sixteen years this study found Poro produced the greatest number of advertisements promoting ideals of African American beauty culture (see Appendix C table 23).

In 1916 Poro and Palmer have the same number of years in advertisements but again the ratio is 5:1 with Poro using five advertisements and Palmers using only one. The messages promoted remained consistent with Poro focusing on "Treating the Scalp for A Good Growth of Hair and Quality Products" while Palmer again focused on "Whitening and Clearing the skin." It is evident that during this time both companies were creating an advertising presence promoting African American ideals of beauty (St. Louis Argus, 1916).

In 1917 Madam C.J. Walker's Wonderful Hair Grower and Herolin Hair pomade advertisements appeared in the *Argus* for the first time. Although Poro still led in the number of advertisements and varied messages to the public, there was, greater competition with two new

companies advertising similar ideals of beauty culture. While Palmer continued to promote “Skin Whitener and Success Ointment” with two advertisements, Poro advertised business growth with claims of “40,000 Patrons Last Year and 10,000 Agents Wanted” This same year Madam Walker advertised owner identity and sent the message “Madam C.J. Walker... Always a Customer,” Herolin, like Palmer adhered to one specific area of beauty culture and promoted “Kinky Hair Made Straight-Long-Silky” (St. Louis Argus, 1917).

In 1918 Poro presented four new advertisements, two for business growth and two in support of the 1918 war and democracy; “Uncle Sam Needs Our Men... and Fighting For Democracy” (St. Louis Argus, 1918). Prevalent in these four advertisements is Poro’s consciousness concerning political awareness and appearance. As they promoted their company and beauty culture they also made the public aware of their social and political beliefs that were not seen in the other company’s advertisements. Palmer used three new advertisements in 1918 and each ad promoted lightening dark skin and the need for more agents with headlines that read “Dark or Brown Skin Can Be Made Whiter” and “No Need Now To Have Dark Skin” (1918, p. 3). Walker did not advertise in 1918, but Herolin Hair Pomade provided one new advertisement that promoted “No Need To Have Kinky Hair” with Herolin Hair Pomade (1918, p. 3).

Although Palmer and Herolin consistently promoted their version of African American beauty, whether it was skin whitening or hair straightening, Poro continued to reach a larger market with advertisements focusing on more than one area of beauty culture and the business of marketing a brand name (St. Louis Argus, 1918).

In 1919, for the first time, Poro College did not have the greatest number of advertisements in the *Argus*. Although the reason is unknown it is possible the new building

required that marketing finances used for newspaper advertising be used for new types of promotional materials such as the 1922 in-house publication. Nonetheless, Poro's used two advertisements Palmers used four, and both Walker and Herolin presented two new advertisements in 1919. In the two advertisements Poro promoted their new home, a need for 25,000 more agents and holiday greetings to readers. Palmer's advertised headlines in 1919 again focused on 'beautiful skin' and Walker's Wonderful Hair Grower advertised "Madam CJ Walker's World Renown Toilet Preparations," and a new "Witch Hazel Jelly" for the skin. By not only promoting hair care but also skin care and business growth, the Walker advertisements closely resembled those of Malone. The difference however, was the frequency with which it was done. Poro promoted each of the three themes (hair and skin care and business identity and growth) fairly close to the same number of times throughout the sixteen years of advertising whereas Walker promoted hair care twenty-one times, skin care seven times and business identity and growth six times (see Appendix F figure 2). Herolin like Palmers remained consistent in efforts to promote hair care, but new in 1919 advertised "Brite Skin Face Powder." It is possible Herolin became aware of Poro and Walker's success from advertising varying aspects of African American beauty culture and decided to venture into the area of skin care. This new focus however, would be short lived and Herolin would revert back to their recognized hair care and straightening advertisements ( Argus, 1919).

In 1920 Palmers dominated with nine of the total eleven advertisements. Poro, Walker and Herolin each used one advertisement to promote African American beauty during the entire year. Poro again promoted its new facility and the need for more agents, Walker promoted its new line of facial products and Herolin reverted back to promoting hair care and straightening. It was not found however, why these companies dropped their number of advertisements. But it

can be assumed other means or sources of advertising were used at this time or finances were put into other parts of their companies (Argus , 1920).

In 1921 Palmers once more led the group with four advertisements while Poro and Walker used one advertisement and Herolin used two new advertisements to promote African American beauty culture in the *Argus*. For the first time in 1921 Palmers advertised hair care with a headline stating “Beautiful Luxuriant Hair, How You May Have It, This is Worth Trying...Dr. Fred Palmer’s Hair Dresser.” Switching from exclusive skin whitening advertisements to hair care seemed to be a major change for Palmer’s Skin Whitener. However, like Herolin, Palmer would soon revert to familiar advertisements promoting white and light skin preparations and treatments. Palmers other three advertisements continued promoting “Beauty Aids for Dark Complexions”, Poro used the same “Our New Home” advertisement with an image of their new Poro Annex and Walker advertisements promoted business growth and success and once more Herolin promoted “Kinky Hair” hair becoming soft, long and silky (Argus, 1921).

In 1922 neither Poro nor Palmer advertised in the *Argus*. The reason is unknown although in 1922 *Poro Hair and Beauty Culture* was published by Annie Malone and Poro College. This in-house publication provided in-depth information about the company. Color enhanced photographs of the facilities, equipment, products and services were included in the forty-three page booklet. Also in 1922 Malone received the patent for an “Ornamental Design for a Sealing Tape” on May 16, 1922 (Congress, 1923). Conversely, information regarding Palmer’s disappearance from the newspaper in 1922 was not located. Nevertheless, Walker continued promoting hair care and advertised “Constant Care-Not Luck, Use Madam CJ Walker’s Vegetable Shampoo, Glossine, Wonderful Hair Grower and Tetter Salve,” and introduced [“Tan-

Off –A Safe Scientific Skin Bleach from The Madam CJ Walker Mfg. Co.” (1922, p. 9).]

Although Walker previously promoted skin care products her advertised headlines never mentioned bleaching or the idea of removing a tan. Herolin on the other hand, continued to promote hair care and pretty women with two advertisements in 1922. One advertisement promoted a special offer, pretty hair for pretty women who use Herolin hair gloss and temple oil and agents wanted. The number of advertisers dropped significantly in 1922, the reason although unknown, may have prevented Poro and Palmer from advertising as well (St. Louis Argus, 1922).

In *The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Patents*, Annie M. Malone was listed as a registrant of trade-marks for liquid and ointment preparations for promoting the growth of the hair and shampoo published March 27, 1923 (Commissioner of Patents, 1924). This same year, Poro displayed one new advertisement in the *Argus* promoting its “Beauty Culture Department at Poro College—Open Nights.” We see again Poro advertising all aspects of the business not just their products. It can also be assumed the reason behind not advertising the year before caused a hesitation for more advertisements to be used in 1923. Palmer on the other hand, presented four new advertisements promoting skin care and lightening products and agents wanted. One advertisement read “Make Your Skin Healthy & Beautiful, To Lighten the Skin, To Smooth the Complexion, Agents Wanted, Dr. Fred Palmer’s Skin Whitener Preparations.” Although this advertisement incorporated business growth “Agents Wanted” and business identity, it is clear Palmer’s focus or ideals of beauty were centered on caring and lightening the skin as it had been previous years. Herolin, as before promoted straightening the hair and agents wanted and Walker, for unknown reasons did not advertise in the *Argus* in 1923 (Argus, 1923).

In 1924 Poro displayed six advertisements that focused on new products and the company's beliefs regarding service, quality, business growth and holiday greetings. The advertised headlines read "Another Great Poro Achievement and The Keynote of this Great Business Institution." These advertisements, unlike Palmer and Herolin's advertisements in 1924 seemed to promote more than hair and skin care. Words such as "Achievement, Quality, Public Approval, Service, Big Opportunities and Pleasant Relations" presented to the reader the company's ideal of achievement in addition to beauty products and services. Palmer was close behind with five new advertisements that promoted "Now You Can Have A Soft, Clear, Lighter Skin!" Palmer remained consistent and his message was clear "A Wonderful Light Complexion For Every Woman" was his ideal of African American beauty ( Argus , 1924).

In 1925 Poro presented only one new advertisement that stated "PORO, It's Enough to know it's Poro...The New Poro Toilet Creations Now Ready," while Palmer presented two and Walker presented five new advertisements. As before Palmer advertised "Clears and Lightens Dark Complexions" and Walker advertised "World Renown, Supreme in Reproduction, Madam CJ Walker's Wonderful Hair Grower and a new one for "Beautiful Bobbed Hair." Walker's advertisements in 1925 included a significant amount of information about business identity and growth and several ways to obtain the company's product. (St. Louis Argus, 1925).

To protect the company's identity Malone entered court in 1926 for the case HO-RO-CO Mfg. CO v. Malone regarding similar trademarks. The case was decided in Malone's favor on January 4, 1926 (Commissioner of Patents and of the United States Courts, 1926). Concerns with this court case and trademarks may have affected Malone's decisions regarding advertising because again in 1926 Poro displayed only one new advertisement sending "Season Greetings" to

its patrons. This advertisement was seen as a way to promote business growth or stability by appreciating clients and employees. Palmer however, used four new advertisements to promote the familiar skin care and skin whitening preparations, Walker displayed two advertisements, for both hair and skin but one seemed to use less positive undertones; “My Dear-There’s No Reason to Have Bad Hair & Ugly Skin These Days, Use Madam CJ Walker.” Herolin like Poro used one advertisement again for hair care but instead of promoting hair straighteners it advertised their products for “Curly, Long and Wavy” hair. ( Argus , 1926).

1927 was a year marred with lawsuits and a divorce for Annie Malone but in spite of her personal problems the company presented two new advertisements. Both displayed gratitude and appreciation for Poro’s clients and employees; “Between the Lighting of the Yuletide Candles of 1926 and 1927 we have been deeply appreciative of the loyalty and support of our many friends...” Although, Malone and Poro College faced several public court battles in 1927, the greeting she advertised displayed the consistency to promote the business’s identity and reputation in a positive and productive manner that not only reflected the company but also their products and services. Nonetheless, Palmer displayed two new advertisements and as before they promoted skin whiteners. Walker led 1927 with four new advertisements, and she also remained consistent but, unlike Malone, she focused only on promoting hair care products. Herolin presented one new advertisement and used a celebrity to promote their hair care; Famous Star Reveals Beauty Secret...Miss Margaret Beckett... Herolin Medicine Co.” (Argus , 1927).

In 1928 Poro would again send greetings at the end of the year but did not advertise any new promotions for the company. However, there were several advertisements for Poro College’s “Dining Room,” concerts, and the Orphan’s Home for which Malone was the

president. Promotions and advertisements for monetary gifts and donations, world travel and political appointments appeared throughout the sixteen years regarding Malone and Poro as did an unfavorable detailed account of Malone's divorce and lawsuits in 1925 and 1926. However, in 1928 it was announced Poro had won both lawsuits and welcomed the St. Louis readers to the opening of a new Chicago Branch ( Argus , 1928).

Also in 1928 Palmer presented four new advertisements that once more promoted lightening the skin but this year an emphasis was placed on a quicker way to achieve it; "Remarkable Beauty Treatment, Gives Amazingly Quick Results in Lightening Dark Skins." Walker like Palmer also presented four new advertisements but one promoted a face cream to protect your complexion in cold weather and the other three addressed hair care and ways to clean and enrich the scalp. Herolin for unknown reasons did not advertise in 1928 ( Argus , 1928).

In 1929 Poro presented five new advertisements that introduced two new products never promoted by any other company in this study, and one that promoted a "Vanishing Cream." The first advertisement read "For That Delicate Touch of Fragrance, Poro Toilet Water" and "Keep the Sweetness of the Bath, Poro Deodorant in the new art jars." Palmer presented four new advertisements for continued use of skin lightening and smooth complexions and Walker displayed five advertisements with three promoting hair care and a new advertisement for a previous product that read "Bleach Out The Blemishes in Your Skin, 35cents a box at Dealers, 25 Years the Standard, MME. CJ Walker's Tan-Off." These two advertisements both promoted business identity and growth. Herolin again did not advertise in 1929 (Argus , 1929).



In 1930 Malone and Poro College would again find themselves in court with a case against Horowitz for 1. Trade Marks--Goods of the Same descriptive Properties—Throat Gargles and Cosmetics and 2. Same—Similarity—“Molo” and “Poro” decided on June 4, 1930 (Commissioner of Patents and of the United States Courts, 1931). Nonetheless, 1930 similar to 1915 for Poro College marked the year of the greatest number of advertisements (see table 2). Eleven new advertisements were presented by Poro and nine which promoted “Beautiful and Flattering” hair and skin, and three new products: “Poro Face Powder in 7 Shades, Poro Skin and Scalp Soap and Poro Talcum.” These new products along with previous items were also promoted in the 1922 *Poro Hair and Beauty Culture* booklet. Palmer on the other hand, advertised two promotions for soft light skin, Walker presented one advertisement which promoted a new product that mentioned straightening the hair; “I Too Find Mme. C.J. Walker’s Wonder Pomade Best For The Hair, To Sleek, Soften, Straighten, Grow and Beautify the Hair” (1930, p. 15) Herolin reappeared in 1930 and presented two new advertisements for “Pretty Hair.”

It is evident that Palmer, Walker and Herolin utilized advertising headlines that consistently focused on either hair care or straightening or skin care or lightening as their ideals of African American beauty culture. Walker promoted hair care the majority of the time and occasionally skin care, and Herolin predominantly promoted hair care with hair straightening close behind, while Palmers advertisements showed a preference of skin whitening over skin care. Each of these three companies used “Agents Wanted and Business Growth and Identity” part of the time. Malone however, consistently advertised hair and skin care and business growth and identity fairly equally over the sixteen year period (see figure 2). In addition Poro used

advertisement space to thank, greet and appreciate patrons, which was not found in any of the other business advertisements.

Malone also used a more diverse marketing approach promoting varying entities of the company that supported or promoted the community. This however, may be due in part to the fact that Poro was a St. Louis based enterprise and the others were not meaning that Malone's philanthropic endeavors were more publicized in the St. Louis *Argus* because she was a local entrepreneur. Nevertheless, her significance cannot be denied when compared to the total 142 entrepreneurs and businesses who advertised African American beauty culture in the St. Louis *Argus* from 1915 to 1930. Malone proved to have the greatest number of advertisements promoting African American beauty culture in the *Argus* from 1915 to 1930 (see tables 1). She also had the longest record of advertised years promoting "Hair Care" 18 times, "Skin Care" 13 times and Business Identity and Growth" 25 times (see graph 2) which meant her advertisements incorporated all three areas of beauty culture more frequently than others. Palmer, Walker and Herolin's advertisements most often focused on one or two areas of beauty. See Appendix C for all four company's advertisement headlines in the St. Louis *Argus* from 1915 to 1930.

Table 4 Total number of advertisements used by each company over sixteen year period

Businesses					
Year	Poro College	Palmer's Skin Whitener	Walker's Wonderful Hair Grower	Herolin Pomade	Total
1915	10	1	0	0	11
1916	5	1	0	0	6
1917	4	2	1	1	8
1918	4	3	0	1	8
1919	2	3	3	2	10
1920	1	8	1	1	11
1921	1	4	1	2	8
1922	0	0	1	2	3
1923	1	5	0	2	8

1924	6	5	3	2	16
1925	4	2	5	1	12
1926	2	3	2	0	7
1927	3	1	5	1	10
1928	3	4	1	0	8
1929	5	5	3	0	13
1930	11	3	1	2	17
Total	62	50	27	17	<b>156</b>

### Poro College Products and Services

#### Advertisements Appendix D Illustrations

Poro advertisements found in the St. Louis Argus newspaper from 1915 to 1930 displayed several types of products and services. The products just as the company, were first named “Wonderful Hair Grower” in 1900. Shortly afterwards the name changed and became the copyrighted trademark “Poro.” In the *Argus* on December 24, 1915 a round canister labeled “Poro” Hair Grower Made by Mrs. Ann [Annie] Pope Turnbo-Malone, St. Louis, Missouri, For Dandruff, Falling Hair, Itching Scalp, Giving Life, Beauty, Color And Abundant Growth” was pictured. Right above the photo was a picture of the box and a caption that read; “This new style of box adopted on June 1, 1915” and this box would continue until new toilet and skin preparations were created in 1922 (Argus , 1915).

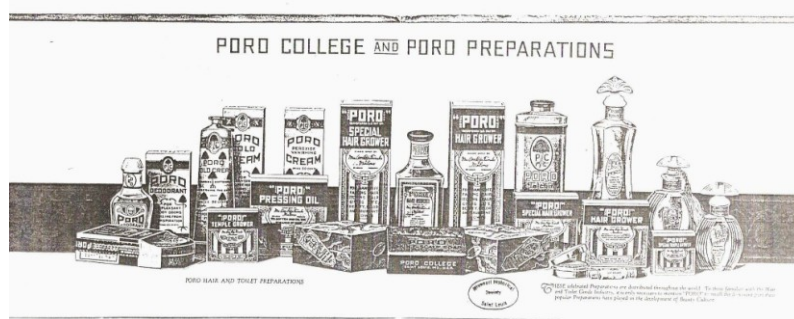


Figure 1 PORO COLLEGE PREPARATIONS 1922 Booklet

In the illustration above products consisted of “Poro Hair Grower,” “Poro Special Hair Grower,” “Poro Temple Grower,” “Poro Liquid Shampoo,” “Poro Pressing Oil,” “Poro Tetter Relief,” “Poro Talcum Powder,” “Poro Deodorant,” “Poro Cold Cream,” Poro Peroxide Vanishing Cream,” “Poro Skin and Scalp Soap,” and “Poro Toilet.”

In the 1922 Poro booklet each of the products were pictured with detailed descriptions of ingredients and use. Being able to see and read the actual information from the booklet without researcher interpretation provides individual perceptions to be formalized regarding Malone and Poro College. Extracting the exact words used from the Poro booklet also aids further investigations of this topic when primary sources are limited. Actual photographs of the following Poro product advertisements can be found in appendix E. There are a total of eight excerpts describing in detail Poro Products and services presented in this chapter beginning with page eighteen from the 1922 Poro booklet.

The Poro Agent Renders a Distinct Service It Pays to Patronize Her—The first essential to a healthy, abundant growth of the hair is the proper care of the scalp. To promote a luxurious growth of hair and to maintain its life and beauty, Poro Hair Grower should be applied two or three times a week, and the hair and scalp thoroughly cleansed at least once every two weeks. For shampoo purposes the new Poro Skin and Scalp Soap should be used to secure best results. Poro Pressing Oil used in connection with Poro Hair Grower softens the strands and imparts a natural gloss to the hair. It does not leave the hair gummy. Poro

Pressing Oil is supplied Poro Agents for their exclusive use in giving Poro Treatments. Poro Agents do not sell Pressing Oil to the public (1922, p. 18).

This excerpt from the company's booklet provides information about the Poro Company's business practices and beliefs regarding its agents. It also provides great detailed instruction for the use of the products for full benefit to the client. By looking at this advertisement it is clear the ideals and messages Malone was promoting as African American beauty culture; "A Healthy Growth of Hair." When comparing the advertisements found in the Poro in-house publications to advertisements found in popular African American magazines the two appeared similar. One magazine in particular was *Half-Century Magazine* published by Anthony Overton. Although the length, depth and frequency of publications for *Half-Century Magazine* and its contents nearly doubled that of the Poro Hair and Beauty Culture booklet the two were both produced by African American owners of beauty enterprises. Also, like Malone, Anthony Overton's High-Brown Hair and Skin products were manufactured and sold from his Overton Hygienic Manufacturing Company in Chicago, Illinois (Overton, 1916-1925).

The advertisements in the 1922 booklet provided examples of Malone's business ideals and beliefs. She not only promoted healthy and clean scalps, hair and skin but also uplifted African American women through economic independence as Poro sales agents. To guarantee their product just as earlier years Malone promoted buying Poro Products from Poro Agents Only. This was also a financial benefit to the company and agents because the profits stayed within the enterprise.

Poro Hair and Toilet Preparations Are Sold By Poro Agents Only. Poro Special Hair Grower is specific for the treatment of irritated or diseased scalps for which it is invaluable. Only in cases of irritated or diseased scalps should Special Hair Grower be used, one box often being sufficient as a corrective. After the use of one box of Poro Special Hair Grower, plain Poro Hair Grower is usually recommended. Poro Liquid Hair Grower is an excellent tonic for hair of a texture which does not require pressing. Applied

two or three times a week it promotes a luxuriant growth and maintains and increases the beauty of the hair (1922, p. 19).

Advertising that the Poro Toilet Preparations are scientifically manufactured promotes again the product and its use, but also ideals regarding quality of the product and reputation of the business. Protection of Poro clients as well as Poro agents were also ideals represented in this advertisement. Malone also inserts ingenuity by creating and patenting “Poro Green Strip Seals” to assure customers and agents that the Poro product they receive is not a “substitution of poor imitation (1922, p. 20)

Poro Hair and Toilet Preparations are Scientifically Manufactured. Poro Tetter Relief is a splendid remedy for tetter, scalp irritation, dandruff, and falling hair. Poro Temple Grower and Poro Special Temple Grower are most excellent for restoring the hair on the temples and remedying other baldness. These two preparations are supplied Poro Agents for their exclusive use in giving Poro Treatments and are not sold to the public. Because of the universal demand for Poro Hair Preparations there have been attempts to impose on the public through the use of substitutions of poor imitations. In order to protect Poro customers against such practices, cartons in which Poro Hair Preparations are packed are now sealed with the Poro Green Strip Seals which completely encircle the cartons. Poro Agents are instructed not to sell and Poro customers are cautioned not to accept any preparation represented as Poro if the seal has been broken (1922, p. 20).

Important to this study were two Poro College in-house publications used to provide supporting evidence about the business and Annie Malone. Pages twenty-one and twenty-two do not show the Poro products but does provide information regarding the “Logical Choice” of Poro products and services and Poro’s commitment to “Race Women” and a “Covenant” to their patrons since 1906 when the name changed to “Poro” (1922, pp. 21-22).

The next advertisement discusses Poro Skin and Scalp Soap at great lengths. As with previous Poro advertisements found in the *Argus* Malone’s advertisements used words indicative to her beliefs and morals as a business owner. Again she not only promotes hair care found to be

the most influential factor to African American beauty culture but she includes skin care and personal beliefs that further enhance her business growth.

Poros Products on Your Dressing-Table Assure Complete Harmony of Fragrance and Quality—Cleanliness is the basis of health, and the right soap is first on our list of toilet accessories. Poro Skin and Scalp Soap contain only the purest ingredients compounded through scientific formulae for especial use with other Poro Products. Used for cleaning the skin, it helps to keep the complexion clear and fresh. Mild in its action, It is thoroughly cleansing. Used for shampooing, it softens and gives life to the hair. The lather is amazingly abundant; it rinses out quickly and thoroughly. Delightfully soothing in its effects, Poro Skin and Scalp Soap is equally gratifying when used for skin and shampoo (1922, p. 23).

As Malone promotes “Giving the Greatest Value and Rendering the Biggest Service” as seen in the next Poro advertisement for Poro Cold Cream it is clear her message is two-fold. Promote the product and the business. In other advertisements such as Palmer’s Skin Whitening and Walker’s Wonderful Hair Grower, focus was given either to the products or the business but rarely both on a consistent basis. Also, their advertisements usually did not mix personal beliefs or moral standings into their business advertisements as Malone did. The advertisements found in the *Argus* were snapshots of what is contained in the Poro in-house publications.

Our Determination Is to Give the Greatest Value—to Render the Biggest Service. Poro Cold Cream cleanses, invigorates, nourishes, softens, and beautifies the skin. It builds up the tissue, and is unexcelled for messaging. Poro Cold Cream contains just the right amount of oil to penetrate the pores and remove every trace of dirt. Serves to help protect the delicate texture of the skin against cold and wind. Poro Cold Cream is highly recommended for wrinkles and extended pores and to keep the skin from becoming coarse and brittle.—Poros Creams will not cause growth of hair (1922, p. 24).

In only one advertisement Malone advertised a product for lightening the skin. The advertisement discussed the various uses of the product to hold on face powder and smooth damaged skin. After reading “Poro Peroxide Vanishing Cream lightens the skin,” after several advertisements in the *Argus* promoted “Skin Whiteners and Lighteners,” this advertisement and product required further investigation. Although no additional information was found, assumptions were made about the product from the advertisement. Based on previous knowledge

of advertisements by other entrepreneurs promoting African American beauty culture, who advertised turning “dark skin light overnight” or removing one’s “Tan,” along with Malone’s consistency to promote “cleanliness and health” within her hair and skin products, it is assumed the “Poro Peroxide Vanishing Cream” was also developed as a “remedy” for unclean or unhealthy skin or skin that needed improving because of one of these factors. If Malone’s “Peroxide Vanishing Cream” indeed was purposed to “whiten dark skin” in terms of promoting “White” ideals of beauty for African American women it was not evident in other Poro promotions.

Poro College Is Justly Proud of Its Products Standard for Twenty-Three Years—The skin requires two creams, one to cleanse, and a very different one to protect and hold the powder. A cool touch of Poro Peroxide Vanishing Cream gives smoothness to the skin and makes the powder adhere longer, prevents roughness and coarseness of the skin, and is an excellent remedy for sunburn, chaps, eczema, pimples, and blackheads. The pure medicinal hydrogen peroxide entering into this cream is an efficient bleaching agent which will not harm the most delicate skin. Poro Peroxide Vanishing Cream lightens the skin. This is a cream of exceptionally fine quality (1922, p. 25).

“Poroda” is the name on the bottle of liquid Poro Deodorant. This type of “toilet” or skin care product had not been advertised by any of the 142 entrepreneurs or businesses in the *Argus* during the entire sixteen year period. The scalp and hair cleansers, face and skin cleansers were common among the entrepreneur’s advertising beauty culture, but none advertised or promoted deodorant. Based on the advertised headlines of 142 entrepreneurs and businesses promoting African American beauty culture in the *Argus* from 1915 to 1930 it might be that Poro College was the first to advertise deodorant to the African American consumer as seen in the November 1929 issue of the *Argus* and 1922 Poro booklet. To determine if this is indeed a fact further investigation would be needed. Nonetheless, this advertisement followed the same protocol as



the others, advertising hair and skin products while promoting Malone's "moral" ideals of African American beauty culture.

Poro Products Meet the Particular Toilet Needs—Poro Deodorant is a clean, antiseptic liquid. It's mild, effective action checks profuse perspiration and destroys objectionable body odor without affecting the natural, healthy perspiration of the body. The personal cleanliness which the bath imparts remains when Poro Deodorant is used. Applied as directed a body freshness, which cannot be had with soap and water alone, is assured. An effective, economical, and necessary toilet article (1922, p. 26).

Like Poro's deodorant the Poro Face Powder advertised in the 1922 Poro booklet was not promoted in the *Argus* until 1930. Also in 1930 Poro advertised "Poro Bouquet the Delightful Perfume" in the March 7, 1930 issue of the *Argus*. However it was not advertised in the 1922 Poro booklet, possibly because it had not been developed yet. Continuing the same aim and purpose Malone blends business with personal beliefs while promoting products for African American beauty. The face powder would be the last product promoted and advertised by Malone and Poro College discussed within this study.

Poro Hair and Toilet Preparations are Superior Products—Poro Face Powder is a very carefully prepared cosmetic combining a fragrance, a fineness, and that clinging quality so much desired in a face powder. Supplied in three shades, brunette, flesh, and white. It spreads evenly a wonderfully smooth, velvety film which blends naturally with the skin. Beautifying, comforting, refreshing. Poro Face Powder gives to the skin a subtle softness, a delicate, creamy smoothness, You will like it (1922, p. 27).

As the advertisements were analyzed the booklets were examined to identify cohesive or contrary messages. What was found more often than not were the same or very similar ideals of African American beauty culture promoted in the St. Louis *Argus* from 1915 to 1930 and the two Poro booklets "Poro Hair and Beauty Culture" from 1922 and "Poro in Pictures" from 1929. Just as the advertised headlines in 1915 promoted "The best for Fifteen Years" in the *Argus*, similar messages were seen in the 1922 Poro Hair and Beauty Culture booklet. "We prize the

endorsement, co-operation, and support of friends and co-workers through which has been created an institution that stands out as [an] heroic achievement in the economic life of Our Group” (1922, p. 1). That statement of greetings and appreciation for Poro clients and agents also provided a synopsis of the company’s achievements, growth and desire to improve the well-being of African Americans through its business of beauty culture. In the 1922 Poro Booklet on page nine the aims and purpose of Poro College were written in detail as well.

Our Aims and Purposes—To contribute to the economic betterment of Race Women. To train to useful lives. To develop proficiency. To encourage thrift and industry. To awaken latent forces. To inspire to higher things through the inculcation of ideals of personal neatness and pride, self-respect, physical and mental cleanliness. PORO COLLEGE is consecrated to the uplift of humanity—Race women in particular (Poro Hair and Beauty Culture, 1922).

Malone and Poro College unlike the other three companies promoting African American beauty culture in the *Argus* from 1915 to 1930 used advertisements that were linked to her company’s goals of uplifting African American women as a whole and not just their outside appearance. This study found that Malone promoted and advertised more than hair and skin products and business growth. Poro College as a business encompassed a vertical enterprise founded on hair care but consecrated in morals and ethics to not only sell but, define ideals of African American beauty. On this premise Malone proved to be one of the most successful African American women entrepreneurs in St. Louis promoting beauty culture in the St. Louis *Argus* from 1915 to 1930.

Annie Malone and Poro College should rightfully occupy an important chapter in the history of African American women entrepreneurs and American beauty culture. Data from Poro College’s in-house publications, newspaper articles, readings, patents, court rulings and interviews show that Malone’s beauty enterprise was built on the ability to see a need and fill it.

Annie Malone clearly states the mission of her empire in her own words in the forward of the 1929 Poro in Pictures booklet:

“Dignity, grace, beauty, industry, thrift, efficiency, godliness-that these ideals be held aloft for the glorification of the women and girls of my Race, Poro College is constructed. To those who have made possible our growth and development, we express our sincerest appreciation.” Annie M. Turnbo-Malone.

At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Malone was among the first African American woman entrepreneurs to become a multimillionaire in beauty culture. Other successful African American entrepreneurs who developed hair and skin preparations during this time included: Anthony Overton of Overton Hygienic Company and his “High Brown beauty products” from Chicago, Illinois; Madame C.J. Walker, a former client and agent of Annie Malone, and her “Walker’s Wonderful Hair Grower,” of Indianapolis, Indiana; and Sarah Spencer Washington’s, Apex products, based in Atlantic City, New Jersey (Walker, 1998).

Malone’s business - to define and enhance the natural beauty of African American women, while “empowering her race” - began in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. As a “Kitchen Chemist,” a phrase coined by Kathy Peiss in her book *Hope in a Jar*, Annie Malone created solutions to prevent hair loss (Peiss, 1998). Although her business started small, she achieved great success in St. Louis, Missouri from 1902 to 1930. The words chosen in the foreword of the 1922 booklet by Annie Malone not only described the mission of her business but also her personal characteristics. These combined ingredients produced a successful woman entrepreneur with astute business acumen who started in St. Louis but whose empire spread around the world (Wright Sr., 2001). As stated by Robert French, “Annie Malone was a quiet woman with angel like qualities” (French, 2007). Contrary to this statement, Mrs. Mildred Boyd, the granddaughter of a former Poro agent, remembered Malone as being a “strong woman with great power,

dignity, and somewhat frightening” (Boyd, 2008). Nevertheless, her once thriving Poro College Beauty Culture has long been forgotten, but is an important chapter in the history of African American women entrepreneurs and American beauty culture.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

Advertisement headlines from 142 entrepreneurs and businesses were studied to determine the ideals of African American beauty culture promoted in the St. Louis *Argus* newspaper from 1915 to 1930. Research indicated that hair care was the primary ideal or message of African American beauty culture promoted by entrepreneurs and businesses in the *Argus* from 1915 to 1930. The hair care messages however, changed over the years from hair and scalp cleansing and treatments to hair growth and bobbed hair styles. Conversely, messages involving hair straightening rarely appeared. Skin whitening on the other hand, appeared more often than skin care advertisements and business growth appeared more than the need for sale agents. The perception that African Americans wanted to appear white by straightening kinky hair and bleaching dark skin was not proven in this study, but advertisements promoting such products were discovered.

Entrepreneurs and businesses such as Annie Malone and Poro College and Madam C.J. Walker and Walker's Wonderful Hair Grower provided the longest consistent record of advertisements promoting hair and scalp care, growth, treatments and products. Although their business' success was judged on the total number of years their advertisements appeared in the *Argus* over the sixteen year period, the words "Hair Straightening" were viewed less often in their advertised headlines.

#### *Implications*

Based on its results, this study implies African American beauty culture as advertised by entrepreneurs and businesses in the St. Louis *Argus* from 1915 to 1930 promoted "Hair Care" or clean, healthy scalps and hair as the ideal of beauty. Caring for the hair in regards to scalp

preparations, treatments and toiletries for cleansing the hair correctly to stimulate growth and cure certain scalp disease for a “healthy head of hair” was the message promoted most often by three of the four beauty businesses.

Susannah Walker wrote “a 1924 advertisement for Poro, a beauty company founded by African American entrepreneur Annie Malone, read: ‘How can I, a woman without training and experience earn the money so necessary to the welfare and happiness of myself and those I love?’ It was a question that likely resonated with many female readers of the black newspapers in which the advertisement appeared, and Poro offered a clear answer. African American women could earn a fine living selling Poro products, providing beauty services, and recruiting others to represent the company (Walker S. , 2008).” Walker continued her point with additional quotes from Annie Malone, “You can have a profitable occupation right in your own home and build for yourself a permanent income by serving your neighbors, friends, acquaintances, and others,” the advertisement promised, adding that the company had solved the economic woes of “thousands of Race Women, who make nice profits through Poro.” Poro thus presented beauty culture as a respectable business that contributed to the racial uplift and social betterment of African American women (Walker S. , 2008).

Consequently, the new twentieth century society would see many African American entrepreneurs in beauty culture, some becoming well-known millionaires while others became lost in time and space (Rooks, 2004). Malone and Poro College were among the pioneering forces in African American beauty culture and business history who managed to leave behind traces of their legacy.

### *Contributions*

This study contributes to research related to African American women, business history and the area of beauty culture. Educators, historians and businesses interested in marketing through newspaper media in St. Louis, Missouri will find this study helpful in understanding the place of African Americans who were involved in the African American beauty industry. The general listings of entrepreneurs and businesses advertising African American beauty culture in the *Argus* from 1915 to 1930 provides the groundwork for further investigation. Any of the 142 entrepreneurs and businesses, their advertisements or marketing approach can be studied to better understand the ideals of entrepreneurs, businesses and consumers, African Americans, women, the St. Louis region, newspaper media, or the history of American beauty culture from 1915 to 1930.

### *Limitations*

The lack of basic demographic information and business records limited the depth of investigations of individual entrepreneurs, their business histories and documentation of their company's products and services. Because of a lack of primary sources available, this study only examined what was being promoted as African American beauty culture in the *Argus* by purposeful sampled companies over a sixteen year period. Without archived or electronic listings of the St. Louis *Argus*, undocumented data, missing publications and illegible pages due to inadequate scanning of microfilm further limited precise and detailed accounts of the entrepreneurs, businesses and their advertisements. The length of this study also limited details of what each individual company provided each year. Documenting the years in which they advertised over a sixteen year period provided more information as to when businesses advertised than who was doing the advertising and why. This study was also limited to the

headlines of the companies' advertisements and not advertised editorials because of poor visible quality of resources and time constraints.

### *Future Research*

Further examination of each individual entrepreneur and business in relation to their personal background, business development and practices would offer holistic views behind their marketing strategies. Grouping the businesses by geographic location, gender or race may also yield different results. Comparing entrepreneurs in the Midwest to those on the East Coast or in the South may provide similar or different results due to varying population size of African Americans. Using a different media tool such as magazines or newspapers, targeting different racial groups could also relay a different message of beauty culture. To understand why hair care was most important would require greater examination into the St. Louis African American culture and entrepreneurs and businesses promoting hair care from 1915 to 1930.



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## APPENDIX A

### COUNTED ENTREPRENEURS AND BUSINESS ADVERTISING BEAUTY CULTURE IN THE ST. LOUIS ARGUS 1915-1930 ARRANGED IN THE ORDER AS THEY FIRST APPEARED IN THE NEWSPAPER (TABLES 1-3)

Table 5 Number of businesses promoting African American beauty culture in the *Argus* from 1915 to 1920

	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
1.	Slaughter	Poro	Poro	Poro	Poro	Poro
2.	Presto	Slaughter	Walker	Walker	Walker	Walker
3.	Reliable	Oxford	E. Indian	Plough	Kinky No Kink	Palmer
4.	Oxford	Exelento	Quinade	E. Barnett	Palmers	Elosa
5.	Poro	Presto	Plough	Palmer	Quinade	Danderine
6.	M.B. Hair Grower	Horton	Elosa	Lilly White	Herolin	Golden Brown
7.	Quinade	Palmers	Horton	Herolin	Lyra	Plough
8.	Beckers	Barhalin	Crete	Cubanola	Kashmir	Kinky No Kink
9.	Palmer	Scott	Herolin	Ernest	Arbuts	Herolin
10.	Horton	Tressa	Palmer	Calhoun	Octavia	Kashmir
11.	C. Dooley	Swisco	Summerset	Frisby	Sophia	Lotus Leaf
12.	ME. Jackson		Zynol	Fair-Plex	Eugenia	Lily White
13.	TM. Jordan		Bedford	Horton		Lowe
14.	Mrs. P.W. Dunavant		Mm. Jess	Seay		Dobbs
15.	PM. Dabney		Slaughter	Swisco		
16.	Vira		Neslon	PL. Long		
17.	L. Almond		Bailey	Scott		
18.	Douglass		PL. Long	Kaloss		
19.	M. Daisy		Haley	Noah		
20.	Model		Halo	Astrapp		
21.	Star			Peterson		
22.	Shieber					
23.	Bleach-Ola					
24.	Hopfinger & Roth Co					
<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>14</b>

Table 6 Number of businesses promoting African American beauty culture in the *Argus* from 1921 to 1925

	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
1.	Poro	Walker	Goss	Poro	Ox Morrow
2.	Walker	Llyra	Kinky No Kink	Walker	Overton
3.	Palmer	Angel Face	Poro	Elosa	Poro
4.	Slaughter	Plough	Walker	Broener/fry	Walker
5.	Taylor	Pluko	Palmer	Everettes	Palmer
6.	Lily White	Fair-Plex	Hi-Ja	Hy Be Scientific	Golden Brown
7.	Anderson	Straightex	Page	Corrynes	Kinky No Kink
8.	Kinky No Kink		Herolin	Slaughter	Moon Glow
9.	E. Indian		Exelento	Palmer	Fletcher
10.	Kashmir		Consumers	Astrapp	Nadinola
11.	Jordan		Sophia	Herolin	Webbs
12.	Frisby		Shelton	Hi-Ja	Tyson
13.	Lula		Broener/Fry	Horton	National
14.	Horton		Perliwhite	Shelton	Herolin
15.	Seay		Creole	F&G Hair Tint Co.	Layback
16.	Creole		Sulpherine		Claribel
17.	Elosa		Three Weeks		Laqualite
18.	Herolin		Bedfordine		Watkins
19.	Lotus Leaf		Guy Age & Co.		
20.	Plough				
21.	Victor				
22.	Llyra				
23.	Dovie				
24.	Bedford				
25.	Gray				
26.	Garden				
27.	Robinson				
28.	Washington/ Dickerson				
29.	Ronzorille				
30.	Stone White				
31.	Exellento				
32.	Major Oxford				
Total	32	7	19	15	18

Table 7 Number of businesses promoting African American beauty culture in the St. Louis *Argus* from 1926 to 1930

	<b>1926</b>	<b>1927</b>	<b>1928</b>	<b>1929</b>	<b>1930</b>
1.	Poro	Poro	Poro	Poro	Poro
2.	Walker	Walker	Walker	Walker	Walker
3.	Herolin	Hi-Ja	La-Em Straight	Palmer	Palmer
4.	Palmer	Murray	Ho-Ro	Frenchmen	Strait-o-Lean
5.	Straightex	Golden Brown	Exelento	Fan-Tan	Exelento
6.	Exelento	Pelo	Hi-Ja	Spanola	Nadinola
7.	Kinky No Kink	Wavo	Nadinola	Creole	McKays
8.	Moonglow	Palmer	Nutrine	Allen	Danderine
9.	Nadinola	Nelson	Gervaise		Mum
10.	Nelson	Newbro	Palmer		Herolin
11.	Golden Brown	Peoples	Nelson		Fan-Tan
12.	Murray	Osborne	Golden Brown		Hair Service Lab.
13.	Newbro	Herolin	Pyramid		Godefroy Mfg. Co.
14.	Frank & Co		Carpenter & Co.		Sam Willer Human Hair Goods Co.
15.	Overton				Elsner's Pearl Cream Co.
16.	Bessemer				Hawaiian Beauty Products Co.
17.	O.K.				Mum m FG. Co.
18.	Wavo				Ruth
19.	Kurl-Lai				
20.	Marva-Nova				
Total	20	13	14	8	18



**APPENDIX B**  
**BUSINESSES' ADVERTISEMENT INFORMATION 1915 TO 1930 ARRANGED IN THE**  
**ORDER AS THEY FIRST APPEARED IN THE NEWSPAPER (TABLES 7-22)**

Table 8 Businesses advertising in the St. Louis Argus newspaper in 1915

#	1915 Company	Owner	Location	Headline	Image	Yr(s).	T
1.	The Slaughter System	Mrs. E. Slaughter-Gamble	3001 Lawton Avenue, Phone, Bell: Bomont 1958, Saint Louis, Missouri	Money For Ambitious Women , The Slaughter System, "Lyda's Hair Beautifier"	Woman	1915-1917, 1921	4
2.	Presto, The Lafayette Mfg. Co.	N/A	Edenton, N.C.	Straighten Your Hair, Presto Straightens the Most Obstinate, Stubborn, Kinky Hair	Woman Before & After	1915	1
3.	The Old Reliable Mme. Baum Hair Emporium	Madame Baum	486 8 <sup>th</sup> Ave., 11-16-2-6, Between 35 <sup>th</sup> and 36 <sup>th</sup> Sts., New York City	Have You Beautiful Hair?	Woman	1915	1
4.	Major's Oxford College of Hair Culture	W.L. Major	4246 West Belle Place, Saint Louis, Missouri	We are interested in beauty everywhere, Major's Oxford College of Hair Culture	Building	1915, 1916, 1921	3
5.	Poro College	Annie M. Turnbo-Pope Malone	3100 Pine Street, St. Louis, MO	Poro Hair & Skin Treatments/Training	Woman	1915-1921, 1923-1930	15
6.	M.B. Hair Grower	M.B. Berry, Manager	2927 Lucas Ave., St. Louis, MO	M.B. Hair Grower	N/A	1915	1
7.	Quinade, Seeby Drug Company	N/A	New York City, N.Y.	Quinade-Grows Hair Removes Dandruff, Quinasoap-The Ideal Shampoo Soap, Quinacomb-Hair Straightener Shampoo Dryer	Man & Woman	1915, 1917, 1921	3
8.	Beckers Hair Pomade	Chas. K. Cohn	316 N. Channing Ave., St. Louis, MO.	Becker's Hair Pomade, The Perfect Hair Straightener	N/A	1915	1
9.	Palmer's Skin Whitener	Dr. Fred E Palmer	Atlanta, Georgia	Palmer's Skin Whitener... Agent Wanted	Product	1915-1916, 1918-1921, 1923-1930	14
10.	The Evelyn Horton System of Hair Culture	Madam Evelyn Horton	2806 Lucas Ave., St. Louis, Mo.	The Evelyn Horton System of Hair Culture is Unsurpassed in Merit, HOR-TON-A Trademark	Trademark	1915-1918, 1924	5
11.	Camora Dooley's Superba Hair Grower	Camora Dooley	2606 Morgan Street, Phone, Bomont 865-R St. Louis, Missouri	Try Ms. Camora Dooley's Superba Hair Grower	Woman	1915	1
12.	Madam M.E. Jackson	Madam M.E. Jackson	Residence of Mrs. Hale: 1261/2 North 9 <sup>th</sup> St., East St. Louis, Illinois	N/A	N/A	1915	1
13.	Madam T.M. Jordan Wonderful Hair Grower	Madam T.M. Jordan	21 N. 10 <sup>th</sup> St., Phone, Bridge 213, East St. Louis, Ill.	Have Beautiful Hair, Madam T.M. Jordan Wonderful Hair Grower	N/A	1915	1

14.	Mrs. P.W. Dunavant	Mrs. P.W. Dunavant	2749 Walnut St., St. Louis, MO.	Ladies Want Beautiful Hair	N/A	1915	1
15.	Madam P.M. Dabney 20 <sup>th</sup> Century Hair Preparation	Madam P.M. Dabney	1403 Market St., St. Louis, MO, Headquarters	Madam P.M. Dabney 20 <sup>th</sup> Century Hair Preparation	N/A	1915	1
16.	Vira College, Vira System of Hair and Beauty Culture	Mme. R.C. Douglass	225 Walnut St., Helena Arkansas, Home Office: 2728 Mills St. St. Louis, MO	Vira Hair Grower	Woman	1915	1
17.	The Wonderful Guaranteed Treatment by Mrs. Lillian Almond	Mrs. Lillian Almond	3536-a Papin, (St. Louis, MO)	For Diseased Scalp, Short and Stubby Hair	N/A	1915	1
18.	M. Daisy	Missy Daisy English	1822 N. Pendleton, (St. Louis, MO)	Modern Hair Dressing Parlor	N/A	1915	1
19.	The Model Hair Store	M. Martin	1012 N. Sarah St., St. Louis, MO	The Model Hair Store, Hair Manufacturers and Scalp Specialists	N/A	1915	1
20.	The Star Hair Grower Mfg. Co.	N/A	1113 Clark St. Evanston, Ind.	The Star Hair Grower, A Wonderful Hair Dresser and Grower	Woman	1915	1
21.	Ira H. Shieber	Ira H. Shieber	219 Audubon Ave., New York	Cut Your Hair Bills in Half	Woman	1915	1
22.	Bleach-Ola	W.L. Waddell	W.L. Waddell, Box 276, Helena Arkansas	“Bleach-Ola”	Trademark	1915	
23.	Hopfinger and Roth Co., Manufacturers of Perfumes, Soaps, and Toilet Articles	Hopfinger and Roth	217 N. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street, St. Louis, MO	Agents Wanted, Straightens Kinky Hair with or Without Hot Irons, Highly Perfumed, Roth’s La-Em Straight Hair Dressing, Brown’s Tantalize. Brown Skin Face Powder...	Product Can	1915	1

Table 9 Individual companies advertising in the St. Louis Argus newspaper in 1916

#	1916 Company	Owner	Location	Headline(s)	Image	Year(s)	T#
1.	Exelento Medicine Co.	N/A	Atlanta, Ga.	The Greatest Hair Grower	2 Women	1916, 1921, 1923, 1926, 1930	5
2.	Barhalin	Mrs. Mamie Banks, President	4953 McPherson, St. Louis, MO.	Bar-Ha-Lin Courses in Hair Culture	Trademark	1916	1
3.	Scott	James S. Robinson	Memphis Tennessee	Scotts Skin Whitener Cream and Scotts Skin Whitener Soap	2 Women Before/After	1916	1
4.	Tressa Hair Treatment	Mme. E.W. May	Phone 1407 Bomont, 3215 Lawton Ave., St. Louis, MO	Tressa Hair Parlor	Woman	1916	1
5.	The Swissco Hair Culture	Mme. F.A. Gregory	Phone 2063 Bomont, 2729 Lucas Ave., St. Louis, MO	The Swissco Hair Culture	N/A	1916, 1918	2

Table 10 Individual companies advertising beauty culture in the St. Louis *Argus* newspaper in 1917

#	1917 Companies	Owner	Location	Headline/Title	Image	Year(s)	T#
1.	Madam C.J. Walker Manufacturing Co.	Madam C.J. Walker	640 North West St., Indianapolis, Ind.	Madam C.J. Walker's Wonderful Hair Grower	Mme. C.J. Walker	1919-1930	13
2.	The East India Hair Grower	S.D. Lyons, General Agent	314 E. 2 <sup>nd</sup> St. Oklahoma City, Okla.	The East India Hair Grower	Woman	1917, 1921	2
3.	Plough Chemical Co.	N/A	Dept. W. Memphis, Tennessee	Brighten Your Skin Using Black and White Ointment...Improve Your Looks—Rush In Your Order	Woman, Before/After	1917-1918, 1920-1922	5
4.	Barnett System	Miss Emma Barnett	2339-a, Chestnut St., St. Louis, MO., Phone: Bomont 2649-w	Barnett Hair Grower Will Grow Your Hair	Woman (Mme. Barnett)	1917	1
5.	Elosa Hair Grower, Elosa College	Mme. J. Nelson	21 S. Compton Ave., (St. Louis, MO.)	Women, Girls, Earn Money...Learn to Grow Hair	Mme. J. Nelson	1917, 1920-1921, 1924	4
6.	Herolin Medicine Co.	N/A	Atlanta, Ga.	Kinky Hair Made Straight, Long, Silky	Woman	1917-1921, 1923-1924, 1926, 1930	9
7.	Madam Pauline's Beauty Parlor	Madame Pauline	4145 West Belle Place	Madam Pauline's Beauty Parlor...	N/A	1917	
8.	The Summerset Company	N/A	Box 343-2, Montclair, N.J., U.S.A.	You Can Make \$6.00 A Day...The Summerset Company	Woman	1917	1
9.	Zynol Toilet Products Co.	N/A	6 <sup>th</sup> South Ewing Ave., St. Louis, MO.	Vital Importance to the Ladies...Zynol Hair Grower and Straightener	N/A	1917	1
10.	Mme. S. Bedford's Bedfordine Hair Grower	Mme. S. Bedford	4241 Finney Ave., St. Louis, MO.	Mme. S. Bedford Agents Wanted	Mme. Bedford	1917	1
11.	Hairpidermis Cosmetic Manufacturing Co.	Madam Jess	3402a Lawton Ave (St. Louis, MO.)	Popular Hair Dresser...Madam Jess	Madam Jess	1917	1
12.	Wonderful Crete Hair Culture	Mrs. WM.L Liggins	2722a Walnut Street, Phone, Bomont 1336-R, St. Louis Mo.	Wonderful Crete Hair Culture	N/A	1917	1
13.	Madam Bailey's Hairdressing Parlor	Madam Bailey (Mme Calhoun)	2927 Lawton, Phone, Bomont 1693-R	N/A-If your hair is thin, short, falling out, you should not delay but go and be convinced at Madam Bailey's Hairdressing	N/A	1917	1

				Parlor			
14.	A Scientific hair Grower, Haley	Mrs. Victoria Clay-Haley	209 N. Jefferson, Ave. St. Louis	A Scientific hair Grower, Ten Years on the Market, Agents Wanted Everywhere	Mrs. Victoria Clay-Haley	1917	1
15.	Halo Hair Company	N/A	647 Steinway Avenue, Long Island City, New York	Free, Free, Free, We Sell Hair Goods..., Agents Wanted	Woman	1917	1

Table 11 Individual companies promoting African American beauty culture in the St. Louis in 1918

#	1918	Owner	Location	Headline(s)	Image	Year(s)	T#
1.	Lilly White Hair Preparations	Madam A.D. Graves	Phone, Bomont 1555, 2912 Lucas Ave, Saint Louis, Missouri	Lilly White Hair Preparations	N/A	1918, 1920-1921	3
2.	Cubanola Medicine Co.	N/A	Atlanta, Ga.	Cubanola Will Bring A Wealth of Hair to Your Head	Woman	1918	1
3.	Lehman Hair Dressing	Edward Lehman, Chemist	Dept. A, 180 Union Ave., Memphis, Tenn.	Lehman Hair Dressing..., Beware of Imitations Get the Genuine...	Before & After Woman	1918	1
4.	Noah's Hair Dressing from Noah's Products Corporation	N/A	Richmond Virginia	What Did She Do? Mary Johnson's Hair was Short and Kinky, Now its Long and Fluffy She Used Noah's Hair Dressing	Woman	1918	1
5.	Madam Ernest Hair Dressing Parlor	Madam Bettie Ernest	3526 Lawton, Ave.	Announcement, Madam Ernest, A Hair Dressing Parlor	Mme. Ernest	1918	1
6.	The Frisby Mfg. Co., Frisby's College	Madam P.E. Frisby	4262 W. Finney Ave., St. Louis, MO	Frisby's Superior System of Hair & Beauty Culture	Mme. P.E. Frisby or Woman	1918	1
7.	Madam Mattie Mapp Calhoun	Madam Mattie Mapp Calhoun	272 Lawton, Ave., Bomont 1693R	Madam Mattie Mapp Calhoun, Beautifie Your Hair, Slaughter Systems	Woman	1918	1
8.	Fair-Plex	Edw. Lehman	Ph. G. Dept. A, 180 Union Ave., Memphis, Tenn.	Fair-Plex Ointment, Brightens Dark Skin, Removes Liver Spots, This is the Original and Only Genuine "Fair-Plex"...	Woman Before & After	1918, 1922	2
9.	Mme. Seay's Syrian Preparations for the Hair	Mme. Seay	Bomont 1112, 19 S. 22 <sup>nd</sup> Street, St. Louis, MO	Mme. Seay's Syrian Preparations for the Hair, A Magic Wand...	N/A	1918	1
10.	Madam Point L. Long The Wonderful Hair Culturist	Madam Point L. Long	2938 Lawton Ave., St. Louis, MO	Madam Point L. Long The Wonderful Hair Culturist	N/A	1918	1

11.	Crème Elcaya	James C. Crane	104 Fulton St., New York	Are You Satisfied with Your Complexion, “Makes the Skin like velvet”	N/A	1918	1
12.	The Kaloss Vivereen System of Hair and Beauty Culture	Madam Katherine C. Eastman	2806 Laclede Ave., St. Louis, MO.	The Kaloss Vivereen System of Hair and Beauty Culture	N/A	1918	1
13.	Madam Point L. Long	Madam Point L. Long	12S. Ewing, Ave.	Results of Good Treatments of the Hair Mme. P.L. Long’s French Hair System	N/A	1918	1
14.	Scientific Hair Treatments Astrapp	Mme. J.E. Astrapp	3444 Nine St., Phone-Lindell-5078-W	See Madam J.E. Astrapp	Mme. Astrapp	1918	1
15.	M. Peterson Hair Co. (established 1866)	M. Peterson	810 Pine Street, St. Louis, MO	M. Peterson Hair Co., Established 1866, 810 Pine Street St. Louis, MO	Woman & Products	1918	1
16.	Brownie Drug Co.	William Earl Brazelton	S.E. Cor. Compton and Laclede Aves.	La-Dott Hair Producer and Straightenine..., Brownie Drug Co.	N/A	1918	1

Table 12 Individual business promoting African American beauty culture in the St. Louis *Argus* in 1919

#	1919 Company	Owner	Location	Advertised Product(s)	Image	Year(s)	T#
1.	Kinky No Kink Co.	N/A	2303 Market St., St. Louis, Mo.	Kinky-No-Kink	Man	1919, 1920-1921, 1923, 1925-1926	7
2.	Llyra Hair Beautifier	N/A	3001 Lawton Avenues, St. Louis, Mo	No Matter What System You Use Let Llyra Hair Beautifier Be Your Scalp Food	Woman	1919	1
3.	Octavia System	Mme. Octavia Nelson-Dobbs	Phone, 1648-R, 2950 Lawton, Ave., St. Louis, Mo.	Ladies Read This Ad! Octavia’s Victory Won Hair Grower..., Manufactured by, Mme. Octavia Nelson-Dobbs	Woman, Mme. Octavia Nelson-Dobbs	1919	1
4.	Kashmir Chemical Co.	N/A	312 South Clark, Dept..., Chicago, Ill. (For sale by several St. Louis locations)	Nile Queen for “Hair and Skin”, Better than the Best..., Kashmir Chemical Co.	Woman & Trademark	1919-1921	3
5.	Arbuts Hair Parlor/Preparations	Madam Eva Adams	Phone, Lindell 2569-W, St. Louis, 1025 Whittier Street	Madam Eva Adams Arbutus Hair Preparations, Hair Grower, Pressing Oil, Beautiful Hair is A Reflection of Refinement...	Woman, Mme. Eva Adams	1919	1
6.	G.T. Young Inc., Sophia’s System	Sophia	G.T. Young Inc., 1606 South St., Philadelphia,	Sophia’s Crème Brown Pomade, The	Woman	1919	1

	of Hair & Beauty Culture and Climax King and Hair Straightener for men		Pa. (For sale in several St. Louis locations)	Hair Dressing with a Blessing.... And Climax King and Hair Straightener for Men			
7.	Eugenia Hair Grower	Madam LaVina White	3960 Finney Ave., St. Louis, MO., Phone, Lindell 6051-J	Eugenia Hair Grower Will Absolutely Grow Your Hair...	Woman	1919	1

Table 13 Individual businesses promoting African American beauty culture in the St. Louis *Argus* in 1920

#	1920 Companies	Owner	Location	Advertised Product(s)	Image	Year(s)	T#
1.	Danderine	N/A	N/A	Grow Long and Beautiful Hair	Woman	1920, 1930	2
2.	Golden Brown Chemical Co.	N/A	Memphis, Tenn.	Beauty Skin Bleach and Beautifier, Golden Brown Ointment..., Be Proud of Your Race Look Your Best... Golden Brown Chemical Co.	Woman	1920, 1924-1928	6
.	Dobbs Drug Company	N/A	Memphis, Tenn.	Dobbs Quality Hair Dressing	N/A	1920	1
4.	The Lowe System	Madam L.W. Lowe	2321-a Walnut Street, Phone Bomont 1160 (St. Louis, MO)	Try Lotus Leaf for Beautiful Hair	Woman, Mme. L.W. Lowe	1920	1

Table 14 Individual businesses promoting African American beauty culture in the St. Louis *Argus* in 1921

#	1921 Companies	Owner	Location	Headline(s)	Image	Year(s)	T#
1.	Louise T. Anderson System of Hair Culture	Louise T. Anderson	Phone, Bomont 1114-w, Lawton Ave, St. Louis, MO	Louise T. Anderson System of Hair Culture	N/A	1921	1
2.	Lula System	Madam Lula Mullen	--30 <sup>th</sup> St. Cairo, Illinois	Try Lula System for Good Results (hair)	Woman	1921	1
3.	Alex Harks	Alex Harks	6623 8 <sup>th</sup> Ave., New York	Wigs of Natural Human Hair	Woman	1921	1
4.	Victor Spiritual Church Beauty Parlor	Mme --, Green, Manager	3871 Pine Street	Victor Spiritual Church Beauty Parlor	N/A	1921	1
5.	Dovie Wright Jordan Hair Culturist	Dovie Wright Jordan	Bomont 1098-W, No. 7 N. Garrison Ave.	Dovie Wright Jordan Hair Culturist	N/A	1921	1
6.	Hair Culturist Mrs. Cora Gray	Mrs. Cora Gray	4133-a Finney Ave. (St. Louis, MO)	Hair Culturist Mrs. Cora Gray	N/A	1921	1
7.	Mme. Birdell S. Garland	Mme. Birdell S. Garland	2308 Wash Street, St. Louis, MO	Mme. Birdell S. Garland Scalp & Hair Specialist, Guaranteed to grow hair in three	N/A	1921	1

				weeks			
8.	Mmes. Washington/ Dickerson System of Hair Dressing	Mmes. Washington/ Dickerson	--Lucas Ave., (St. Louis, MO)	Mmes. Washington/ Dickerson System of Hair Dressing	2 Women	1921	1
9.	Madam Ronzorille System	Madam Ronzorille	4252 Finney Ave., (St. Louis, MO)	Madam Ronzorille System, R.O.V. Hair Grower	N/A	1921	1
10.	The Fort System of Hair Culture	N/A	Verlon Fort, 3968 West Belle Pl., Lindell 2936, St. Louis, MO.	Verlona Trademark... The Fort System of Hair Culture	Trademark	1921	1
11.	Stone White Mfg. Co.	N/A	1618 Jefferson Rd. Nashville, Tenn.	Use Stone-White Makes You White Over Night, 100 Agents Wanted	N/A	1921	1
12.	Gibson's Double Strength Growing Oil	Mrs. Sarah Gibson	4101 Finney Ave. St. Louis, MO.	How Often Have You Asked, Will My Hair Ever Grow? The Answer is Yes if You Use Gibson's Double Strength Growing Oil...Agents Wanted Everywhere	N/A	1921	1
13.	Enterprise Drug Co.	N/A	St. Louis, MO.	A New Discovery, Brilliant Hair Straightener, The Product of Chemical Science..., Enterprise Drug Co. St. Louis, MO	N/A	1921	1
14.	Calvacura	Mrs. Lina Belpezio	10 Calva Street, ...N.Y.	Hair Trouble, Let Calvacura Stop Your Hair from Falling...Successfully Treated The Calvacura Method Invariably Produces Gratifying Results	Woman & 3 Men	1921	1
15.	The Creole System	Mme. Evelyn Scott, President	42--St. Ferdinand, Phone Lindell 4014 (St. Louis, MO)	The Creole System	Woman	1921, 1923, 1927, 1929	3

Table 15 Individual businesses promoting African American beauty culture in the St. Louis *Argus* in 1922

#	1922 Company	Owner	Location	Headline(s)	Image	Year(s)	T#
1.	N. Krupin Hair Co.	N/A	Phone, Central 5281, 2020 Franklin Ave. St. Louis, MO	Human Hair Goods of All Kinds..., N. Krupin Hair Co...	N/A	1922	1
2.	Hamilton Beauty Parlor	Miss Ivey Williams, Manager & Mrs. J.D. Duke, Proprietor	3014 Pine Street, St. Louis, MO	Hamilton Beauty Parlor...	Man & Woman	1922	1
3.	Angel Face Products	N/A	Factory, 319 Clark Ave...5732 Cote	Angel Face Products and Sure Fine	N/A	1922	1

			Brilliant, St. Louis, MO	Preparations... Agents Wanted			
4.	The Pluko Co.	N/A	Memphis, Tenn.	You Can Have Beautiful Hair like this Woman, Pluko Hairdressing The Wonderful Hair Grower	Woman	1922	1
5.	The Strait-Tex Chemical Company	N/A	600 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Penn.	Strait-Tex Hair Tonic...	Name	1922	1

Table 16 Individual businesses promoting African American beauty culture in the St. Louis *Argus* in 1923

#	1923 Companies	Owner	Location	Advertised Product(s)	Image	Year(s)	T#
1.	Sulpherine Hair Tonic and Hair Grower	Mme. Emma Goss, Manufacturer	Phone, Bomont. 1587, 3120 Washington Ave. St. Louis, MO.	Sulpherine Hair Tonic and Hair Grower...	Mme. Goss	1923	1
2.	Hi-Ja Chemical Co.	N/A	Atlanta, Georgia	Beautiful Hair Makes Beautiful Women...	Woman	1923-1924, 1927-1928	4
3.	"Three Weeks" Hair Grower	Mme. Ben Ella Oliver	3838 Cook Avenue, St. Louis, MO.	Grows Hair in Three Weeks Guaranteed...	Woman	1923	1
4.	Bedfordine System	Mrs. Mable Page, Hair Dresser	Phone, Lin. 6738 M, 4230 West Finney Ave., St. Louis, MO.	Mrs. Mable Page, Hair Dresser	N/A	1923	1
5.	Consumers Hair Grower	W.H. Cohn	1139 South 13.5 St. Terry Haute, Ind.	Consumers Hair Grower	N/A	1923	1
6.	Guy Age & Co.	N/A	Muscataine, Iowa	Look A Twentieth Century Miracle A Scalp Tonic and Hair Grower...	N/A	1923	1
7.	Sophia's Wonderful Preparation	Sophia	1518 Goode Ave. St. Louis, MO	Results, Sophia's Wonderful Preparation	Woman	1923	1

Table 17 Individual businesses promoting African American beauty culture in the St. Louis *Argus* in 1924

#	1924 Companies	Owner	Location	Advertised Product(s)	Image	Year(s)	T#
1.	Broener/Fry	Broener & Fry	Box 62 Iowa City, Iowa	Lighten Your Skin Amazing New Way...KoVerra...	Yes/Woman	1924	1
2.	Mme C.A. Greene Scientific Scalp Specialist	Mme. C.A. Greene	21 <sup>st</sup> & Eugenia Sts. Phone, Bomont 885, St. Louis, MO	Mme C.A. Greene Scientific Scalp Specialist	N/A	1924	1
3.	Perliwhite Co.	N/A	St. Louis, USA	Perliwhite Will Make You Light	Yes/Woman	1924	1
4.	Everettes Two-In-One Hair Grower	Mrs. Beatrice Everett	2916 Washington Blvd. Phone, Bomont 1661-W, St. Louis, MO.	Everettes Two-In-One Hair Grower	N/A	1924	1



5.	Hy Be Scientific Laboratories	N/A	Dept. A-Lock Box 237, Springfield, Illinois.	Beautiful Hair The Crowning Glory of Womanhood...	Yes/Woman	1924	1
6.	Mlle. Corynne's Beauty Products Co.	Mlle. Corynne	4543 Kennerly Ave., St. Louis, MO. (3-7-4) Adv.	Women Be Beautiful...	N/A	1924	1
7.	Hamilton Beauty College	Mrs. J.D. Duke	N/A	Hamilton Beauty College	N/A	1924	1
8.	Mme. J.E. Astrapp Beauty Shop	Mme. J.E. Astrapp	Reliable College 3134 Belle Ave., Bomont 1647-J. St. Louis, MO. -Adv.	Mme. J.E. Astrapp Beauty Shop	N/A	1924	1
9.	F&G Hair Tint Co.	N/A	4225 W. Finney, St. Louis, MO	F&G Hair Tint	N/A	1924	1

Table 18 Individual businesses promoting African American beauty culture in the St. Louis Argus in 1925

#	1925 Companies	Owner	Location	Headline(s)	Image	Year(s)	T#
1.	The Ozonized Ox Morrow Co.	N/A	Warsaw, Illinois	Have Better Hair, Everybody Likes to Look Their Best...	Woman	1925	1
2.	Overton Hygienic Mfg. Co.	Anthony Overton	Chicago, Illinois	High Brown Hair Grower Without Equal...	Woman	1925	1
3.	Fletcher Laboratories	Fletcher	136 F.W. Lake St. Chicago, Ill.	Light Skin Charms, Fletcher's Bleach it Vanishes ...	2Women Before & After	1925	1
4.	National Toilet Company	N/A	Department D. Paris, Tennessee	A More Powerful Skin Bleach...Nadinola Bleaching Crème	Woman	1925	1
5.	The Hatton Mfg. Co.	N/A	Dept. B., 9 W. 37 <sup>th</sup> St. Chicago, Ill.	Use Wavo Solid	Man	1925	1
6.	Webb Chemical Co.	N/A	4--- Vincennes Ave., Chicago, Illinois	Layback, The World's Finest Hair Dressing	Man	1925	1
7.	Claribel	N/A	Murphysboro, Ill. P.O. Box 616	Wanted Agents Everywhere...Claribel Beauty Clay	N/A	1925	1
8.	Laqualite Beauty Shoppe	Sarah Polk Brook and Blanche Valentine, proprietors	Lindell 7005, 937 N. Vandeventer (St. Louis, MO)	Laqualite Beauty Shoppe, Poro System, Marcelling our Specialty...	N/A	1925	1
9.	Watkins Toilet Preparations	Watkins	2128.5 Market St. (St. Louis, MO)	Notice, Are You Using Watkins Toilet Preparations...15 Hygrade Articles	N/A	1925	1
10.	The Crescent Products Co.	N/A	Topeka, Kansas	Smooth Hair in Five Minutes	N/A	1925	1
11.	Madam Boyer	Madam Boyer	212 Boyer Lane, Kirkwood, Mom Phone, Kirkwood, 808-J	Madam Boyer, Experienced Hairdresser...	N/A	1925	1
12.	Tyson & Co.	N/A	Box O, Paris, Tenn.	Free Samples and Case Free, Biggest	N/A	1925	1

				Race Line in America, Hair Preparations, Bleaches...Tyson & Co. Box O, Paris, Tenn.			
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Table 19 Individual businesses promoting African American beauty culture in the St. Louis Argus in 1926

#	1926 Companies	Owner	Location	Headline(s)	Image	Year(s)	T#
1.	Mme. JC May System Hair Grower and Pressing Oils	Mme. JC May	Phone Bomont 3361, 3320 Laclede Ave. (St. Louis, MO)	Mme. JC May System Hair Grower and Pressing Oils	N/A	1926	1
2.	Greenup's Barber Shop	N/A	17 N. Jefferson, First Floor (St. Louis, MO)	Greenup's Barber Shop	Yes/Men	1926	1
3.	Weele Laboratory	Weele	Dept. 6 Manhattan Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.	Straightens Hair in 3 to 6 Days...	N/A	1926	1
4.	Nelson's Manufacturing Company	Nelson	Richmond, Va.	What Makes Her Pretty...Nelson's Hair Dressing	Yes/Woman & Products	1926	1
5.	Murray's Superior Products Co.	Murray	3610 Cottage Grove Ave., Chicago, Ill.	The Question is Settled...Murray's Superior Hair Dressing Pomade	Man & Woman	1926	1
6.	E. Frank & Co	E. Frank	614 Gratiot Ave., Detroit Mich.	Ladies and Gentlemen of St. Louis, Overnight Hair Fix	N/A	1926	1
7.	Mme. B.E. Ware	Mme. B.E. Ware	3912 Enright Ave., St. Louis, MO., Phone, Lindell 3027- J	Guaranteed Treatment "Three Weeks" Hair Grower Cures All Scalp Diseases	Woman	1926	1
8.	Bessemer Chemical Co.	N/A	101 Beekman St., New York	Light Brown Complexion... Odoform..., System Cleanser...	N/A	1926	1
9.	O.K. Chemical Co.	N/A	1301 E. 18 <sup>th</sup> St., Kansas City, MO. Phone Grand 1591	O.K. Hair Pomade it Pays to Look Well...	Man & Woman	1926	1
10.	Kurl-Lai Laboratories	N/A	Dept. G, Manistee, Michigan	An Amazing New Hair Straightener Acts Instantly!	N/A	1926	1
11.	Marva-Nova Sales Co.	N/A	Main 1692, Buder Bldg., St. Louis, MO	The Automatic Marva-Nova Hair Presser Has Arrived... Works Like Magic	Pressing Comb	1926	1
12.	Mount Vernon Laboratories Inc.	N/A	209 Washington St. Mt. Vernon, N.Y.	And All I Use is Kinko for my hair and Glossoff for my skin!..	Woman	1926	1

Table 20 Individual businesses promoting African American beauty culture in the St. Louis Argus in 1927

#	1927 Companies	Owner	Location	Headlines(s)	Image	Year(s)	T#
1.	Pelo Laboratories	N/A	2310 E. 55 <sup>th</sup> St., Cleveland OH.	Pelo Hair Dressing New Discovery for Unruly Hair...Read This!,..., Be the Envy of Your Circle...	Man & Woman	1927	1
2.	Newbro Mfg. Co.	N/A	D-61, Newbro Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.	Men Love Wavy Hair...	Woman	1927	1
3.	Peoples Beauty Shoppe	Vera Johnson, Proprietor	301 Peoples Bldg., Jefferson at Market, Phone, Lindell 8191 (St. Louis, MO)	A Beauty Aid for Every Need Peoples Beauty Shoppe, Complete Service for Beauty Culture, In All Branches	N/A	1927	1
4.	Mme P. Erlyne Osborne	Mme P. Erlyne Osborne	3900 West Belle (St. Louis, MO)	Mme. Erlyn Osborne Mme. CJ Walker Beauty Parlor...	N/A	1927	1
5.	E. Fields Mfg. Co.	N/A	Detroit, Michigan	Use My Dream Hair Dressing	N/A	1927	1

Table 21 Individual businesses promoting African American beauty culture in the St. Louis Argus in 1928

#	1928 Companies	Owner	Location	Advertised Product(s)	Image	Year(s)	T#
1.	Ho-Ro Mfg. Co.	N/A (R.A. Glassey, orders taken)	4547 Cadet Ave., St. Louis, MO, Phone, Grand 1451-W	Free! La-Em Strait Hair Soap free ...Hair Dressing Absolutely Free...	Product	1928	1
2.	Nutrine	Mme. Eva Ball White	1611 Tulane Ave., New Orleans, La.	Mme. Whites Hair Nutrine...	Product	1928	1
3.	Gervaise Graham Co.	N/A	25 W. Graham St. Illinois, Chicago Ill.	New Lotion Face Bleach, Lightens Skin in 3 Days, or Your Money Back...Gervaise Graham Lotion Face Bleach	Woman	1928	1
4.	Pyramid Products Co.	N/A	Box 37 Uptown Station Pittsburgh, Pa.	Do Women Admire You? Use Pyramid Hair Beautifier...	Woman & Man	1928	1
5.	Carpenter & Co.	N/A	Dept. SR-1, Louisville, Kentucky	You Owe it to Your Children Straighten Their Hair While They Are Young	Boy & Girl	1928	1

Table 22 Individual businesses promoting African American beauty culture in the St. Louis *Argus* in 1929

#	1929 Companies	Owner	Location	Advertised Product(s)	Image	Year(s)	T#
1.	Fan-Tan Laboratories	N/A	2110 B. Michigan Ave., B-600 Chicago	Frenchman Discovers New Way to Whiten Skin	Woman & man	1929	1
2.	Spanola Co.	N/A	Dept. 41 PO Box 1209 Chicago, Ill	Have Soft White Skin By Tonight	Woman	1929	1
3.	Allen's Beauty Shoppe and School	Allen	No.1 Central 5649, 2343 Market St., No.2 Lindell 5365, 6 S. Compton Ave.	Announcement Allen's Beauty Shoppe and School, New Home 2343 Market Street	N/A	1929	1

Table 23 Individual businesses promoting African American beauty culture in the St. Louis *Argus* in 1930

#	1930 Companies	Owner	Location	Headline(s)	Image	Year(s)	T#
1.	Hair Service Laboratories	N/A	937 N. Vandeventer, St. Louis, MO.	Have Beautiful Hair use Strait-O-Lean...	Man & Woman	1930	1
2.	Godefroy Mfg. Co.	N/A	3546 Olive St., St. Louis, MO	Make Your Hair Lustrous, Banish the Grays...Larieuse French Hair Coloring	Woman	1930	1
3.	Sam Willer Human Hair Goods Co.	Sam Willer	Box 298 Key 298-D, Shreveport La.	Hair Dye with Perfume Free	Woman	1930	1
4.	Elsner's Pearl Cream Co.	N/A	1416 Milwaukee Ave., Dept. 146, Chicago, Ill	Most Perfect Complexion..., Lure of a Skin, Lighter and Lighter...	Woman & Man	1930	1
5.	Hawaiian Beauty Products Co.	N/A	Lock Box, 339 (Overland Station) St. Louis, MO	Your Hair Can Be Like This Use McKay's Hair Straightener and Tonic	Woman	1930	1
6.	Mum m FG. Co.	N/A	New York	Time to Go but Still Time to Use Mum	Woman	1930	1
7.	Ruth's Beauty Salon	Ruth	4206 Finney Ave. (St. Louis, MO)	Ruth's Beauty Salon	Woman	1930	1

## APPENDIX C

### COMPANY COMPARED AND CONTRASTED ADVERTISEMENTS 1915 TO 1930

#### (TABLES 23-38)

Table 24 COMPANY ADVERTISEMENTS 1915

Date	Pg.#	Co.	Headline	Image
3/15/1915	8	PORO	Elleardsville Branch of Poro College	Trademark
6/11/1915	4	PORO	The One Thing You Need to Complete Your Toilet, Poro Trademark, The Ideal of Sanitation and Beauty	Trademark
7/30/1915	2	PORO	Poro Trademark The Best for Fifteen Years	Trademark
8/6/1915	3	PORO	Poro Trademark, The Best for Fifteen Years Beware of Imitations	Trademark
8/27/1915	3	PORO	P-O-R-O, See My Hair Grow You Know, I Know It Is Poro, Made Only By Annie Pope Turnbo Malone, Beware of Imitations	Trademark
9/3/1915	3	PORO	P-O-R-O, See My Hair Grow You Know, I Know It Is Poro	Trademark
9/24/1915	3	PORO	Would You Like A Remedy With A Guarantee for Your Scalp and Hair If So You Have it Now, Poro Trademark, Beware of Imitations	Trademark
10/29/1915	3	PORO	When A Hair Preparation Has Been On the Market for Fifteen Years...Poro Trademark	Trademark
12/17/1915	7	PORO	Never Too Late To Do Good, Poro Trademark...Beware of Imitations	Trademark
12/24/1915	2	PORO	Merry Christmas & Happy New Year Greetings From Poro College, 3100 Pine Street	Trademark & People
11/26/1915	6	PALMER	Palmer's Skin Whitener, Jacobs Pharmacy, Agents Wanted (Jacobs Pharmacy, Atlanta, Ga.)	Product

Table 25 COMPANT ADVERTISEMENTS 1916

Date	Pg.#	Co.	Headline	Image
1/14/1916	2	PORO	New Poro Trademark, Beware of Persons:...Poro College	Trademark
1/28/1916	2	PORO	If You Want Your Scalp Properly Treated And A Good Growth of Hair Let Us Send You A Poro Agent	Trademark
3/31/1916	6	PORO	A Box of Poro Trademark is What Patrons Call For Who Want the Best Quality..., Poro College	Product
5/19/1916	2	PORO	Lend Us Your Head Poro Trademark Will Do The Rest	Trademark
8/4/1916	2	PORO	Poro Trademark, Have a Box of Poro Sent By Parcel Post	Trademark
10/27/1916	6	PALMERS	Dr. Palmer's Skin Whitener, Whitens and Clears (Jacobs Pharmacy, Atlanta Ga.)	Product & Co. Name

Table 26 COMPANY ADVERTISEMENTS 1917

Date	Pg.#	Co.	Headline	Image
1/26/1917	2	PORO	As It Grows Older It Grows Better, Poro Trademark, A Hair Grower That Won For t se Over 40,000 Patrons Last Year	Trademark
6/22/1917	2	PORO	We Made It Good It Made Itself Famous, Poro College Company	Product
11/16/1917	10	PORO	10,000 Poro Agents..., Poro College Company	Product
12/21/1917	3	PORO	Tis' Christmas Time...Poro College Per Lula M. Claiborne	Co. Name
1/5/1917	6	PALMERS	Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener (2434 North 17 <sup>th</sup> Street, Terre Haute, Ind.)	Product
6/22/1917	3	PALMERS	Do You Believe in Signs? Remember This One, Palmer's Skin Success	Co. Name

			Ointment, (The Morgan Drug Co. 1512 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, New York)	
8/17/1917	6	HEROLIN	Kinky Hair Made Straight-Long-Silky...Herolin (Herolin Medicine Co., Atlanta, Ga.)	Woman
8/17/1917	PT 2 9-12	WALKER	Madam C.J. Walker, Always A Customer, (The Madam C.J. Walker Manufacturing Co., 640 North West St., Indianapolis, Indiana)	Madam Walker

Table 27 COMPANY ADVERTISEMENTS 1918

Date	Pg.#	Co.	Headline	Image
1/4/1918	2	PORO	Poro is to the Scalp as Food is to the Body, Poro College Company (3100 Pine St., Dept. Y, St. Louis, Mo)	Product
2/8/1918	3	PORO	Don't Be A Slacker Poro is in 10,000 Homes is it in Your, Poro College Company (3100 Pine St., Dept. Y, St. Louis, MO)	Product
3/29/1918	2	PORO	Uncle Sam Needs Our Men. Let the Poro System Take care of You, Poro College Company (3100 Pine St., Saint Louis, MO Dept. Y)	Product
8/9/1918	3	PORO	Fighting For Democracy, Poro System, Poro College Company, (Saint Louis, MO, Dept Q)	Product
3/8/1918	3	PALMERS	Her Skin Was Once As Dark As Yours	Woman
3/15/1918	6	PALMERS	Dark or Brown Skin Can Be Made Whiter	Woman
4/19/1918	3	PALMERS	No Need Now To Have A Dark Skin... 5,000 Agents Wanted (Jacobs Pharmacy, Atlanta, Ga.)	Products
4/19/1918	3	HEROLIN	No Need To Have Kinky Hair...Herolin Pomade Hair Dressing (Herolin Medicine Co., Atlanta Ga.)	Woman

Table 28 COMPANY ADVERTISEMENTS 1919

Date	Pg.#	Co.	Headline	Image
12/26/1919	3	PORO	Merry Christmas, Greetings,...Poro College	Trademark
1/20/1919	2	PORO	Our New Home, 25,000 More Agents Wanted,...Poro System of Hair & Scalp,...Poro College (Poro Corner, St. Louis, MO)	Building
3/21/1919	3	PALMERS	Beauty is Only Skin Deep, Dr. Fred Palmer Skin Whitener	Woman
5/2/1919	7	WALKER	Madam C.J. Walker's Very Best Hair & Beauty Preparations, 10, Worth More Than They Cost, Sold Everywhere	Trademark
6/13/1919	6	HEROLIN	Brite Skin Face Powder, Herolin Medicine Co., Atlanta Georgia	Product
7/4/1919	7	PALMERS	Dr. Fred Palmer Toilet Requisites, A Beautiful Fair Complexion, Dr. Fred Palmers Skin Whitener (Jacobs Pharmacy, Atlanta, Ga.)	Woman & Products
7/18/1919	2	PALMERS	Dr. Fred Palmers Skin Whitener, Beautiful Women, (Jacobs Pharmacy, Atlanta, Ga.)	Woman & Product
10/24/1919	8	WALKER	Madam CJ Walker Preparations, If You Want Beauty of Complexion, And Loveliness of Hair, try Madam CJ Walker's World Renown Toilet Preparations, Madam CJ Walker Mfg. Co.	Products
11/14/1919	7	WALKER	Did You Know Your Complexion Changes with the Season? Madam CJ Walker's Witch Hazel Jelly... The Madam CJ Walker Manufacturing Co., Dept 9, Indianapolis, Indiana	Product
11/21/1919	12	PALMER	Beautiful Skin, Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener (Jacobs Pharmacy, Atlanta, Ga.)	Woman & Trademark
12/12/1919	6	HEROLIN	Herolin Pomade Hair Dressing, Grows Your Hair Long, Soft, Straight, Herolin Pomade Hair Dressing, Herolin Medicine Co., Atlanta Georgia	Woman & Product

Table 29 COMPANY ADVERTISEMENTS 1920

Date	Pg.#	Co.	Headline	Image
1/23/1920	12	PALMERS	Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Preparations, Are Making Millions of Women Beautiful (Jacobs Pharmacy Co., Atlanta, Ga.)	Woman & Products
2/9/1920	9	PALMERS	Dr. Fred Palmer Skin Whitener, Charm & Beauty Can Be Yours, Agents Wanted, Jacobs Pharmacy Co.	Woman & Product
2/16/1920	3	PALMERS	Dr. Fred Palmer's Toilet Preparation, Have the Charm of Your Fair Sisters-, Jacobs Pharmacy Co.	Woman & Products
4/23/1920	6	PALMERS	Dr. Fred Palmer's Toilet Preparation, Jacobs Pharmacy Co., Atlanta, Georgia	Man, Woman & Products
5/7/1920	3	PALMERS	Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Preparation, The Charm of Beauty, (Jacobs Pharmacy Co., Atlanta, Ga.)	Woman & Products
6/4/1920	7	HEROLIN	Apply Herolin Pomade Hair Dressing, Beautify Your Hair, Make it Glistening, Silky, Long, Soft-With Hair Flowing All Over Your Shoulders, Herolin Pomade Hair Dressing, Does this for You Quicker & Better Than Any Other Preparation, Herolin Medicine Co., Atlanta Georgia	Woman
8/27/1920	7	PALMERS	Her Secret, Dr. Fred Palmers Hair Dresser, Dr. Fred Palmers Skin Whitener 25C, Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Soap 25C, Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Powder 25C, Jacobs Pharmacy Company, Atlanta, Ga.	Woman & Product
10/22/1920	6	WALKER	As for Beautiful Hair and a Lovely Complexion, Try Them, Madam CJ Walker's... The Madam CJ Walker Manufacturing Co. (640 North West Street, Indianapolis, Indiana)	Trademark
11/26/1920	8	PALMERS	Wonderful Hair, Dr. Fred Palmer's Hair Dresser, Dr. Fred Palmers Skin Whitener 25C, Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Soap 25C, Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Powder 25C, Jacobs Pharmacy Company, Atlanta, Ga.	Woman & Product
12/10/1920	2	PORO	Our New Home, 25,000 More Agents Wanted,... Poro System of Hair & Scalp,... Poro College (Poro Corner, St. Louis, MO)	Building w/Annex
12/17/1920	8	PALMERS	Make Your Skin Bright Healthy & Beautiful, Dr. Fred Palmers Skin Whitener, Preparation (Jacobs Pharmacy, Atlanta, Ga.)	Woman

Table 30 COMPANY ADVERTISEMENTS 1921

Date	Pg.#	Co.	Headline	Image
1/7/1921	6	HERLOIN	Kinky Hair (Becomes like Picture) Fluffy, Soft, Silky, Long by Using Herolin, 25c.	Woman
2/4/1921	7	PORO	Our New Home, 25,000 More Agents Wanted,... Poro System of Hair & Scalp,... Poro College (Poro Corner, St. Louis, MO)	Building w/Annex
4/21/1921	9	PALMERS	Beauty Aids For Dark Complexions, Dr. Fred Palmer's Laboratories, Dept. D1, Atlanta, Ga., Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Preparations	Woman & Products
7/21/1921	9	HEROLIN	Lots of Long Straight Beautiful Hair, Herolin Pomade Hair Dressing	Woman & Products
7/21/1921	9	WALKER	Your Future Holds, Money, Property, Success... Mme CJ Walker Mfg., Co.	Mme Walker
8/5/1921	11	PALMER	Beautiful Luxuriant Hair, How You May Have It, This is Worth Trying... Dr. Fred Palmer's Hair Dresser Dr. Fred Palmer's Laboratories, Atlanta, Ga., Dr. Fred Palmer's Hair Dresser	Woman & Product
8/19/1921	10	PALMER	The Most Exquisite of All Skin Whitener Preparations, Dr. Fred Palmer Laboratories, Atlanta, Ga., Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Preparations	Woman & Products

**Table 31 COMPANY ADVERTISEMENTS 1922**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Pg.#</b>	<b>Co.</b>	<b>Headline</b>	<b>Image</b>
4/22/1922	10	HEROLIN	Herolin, Herolin...Special Trial Offer...Herolin Med Co.	Woman
4/28/1922	9	WALKER	Constant Care-Not Luck, Use Madam CJ Walker's Vegetable Shampoo, Glossine, Wonderful Hair Grower, Tetter Salve, The Madam CJ Walker Mfg. Co. Inc, 640 N. West St. Indianapolis, Ind.	Madam Walker
9/8/1922	9	WALKER	When...But...Now...Madam CJ Walker's Wonderful Hair Grower, Tan-Off-A Safe Scientific Skin Bleach, The Madam CJ Walker Mfg. Co. Inc, 640 N. West St. Indianapolis, Ind.	Woman & Products
10/29/1922	9	HEROLIN	Pretty Women Have Pretty Hair, Herolin Hair Gloss and Temple Oil, 25c Stamp or Coin By Mail, Agents Wanted, Herolin Med., Co. Atlanta, Ga.	Woman

**Table 32 COMPANY ADVERTISEMENTS 1923**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Pg.#</b>	<b>Co.</b>	<b>Headline</b>	<b>Image</b>
1/19/1923	6	PORO	Beauty Culture Department At Poro College Open Nights	N/A
1/19/1923	9	PALMER	Make Your Skin Healthy & Beautiful, To Lighten the Skin, To Smooth the Complexion, Agents Wanted, Dr. Fred Palmer Laboratories, Atlanta, Ga., Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Preparations	Woman & Products
1/26/1923	9	PALMER	True Beauty, It's All In the Way You Care for Your Skin, A Few Simple Directions, Agents Wanted, Dr. Fred Palmer Laboratories, Atlanta, Ga., Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Preparations	Woman & Product
2/2/1923	9	PALMER	Beauty is Yours A Marvelous Transformation, Agents Wanted, Dr. Fred Palmer Laboratories, Atlanta, Ga., Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Preparations	Woman & Product
2/9/1923	9	PALMER	Are You Satisfied With Your Looks? To Lighten the Skin, for the Complexion, Care of the Hair, Agents Wanted, Dr. Fred Palmer Laboratories, Atlanta, Ga., Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Preparations	Woman & Product
4/27/1923	11	HEROLIN	Kinky Hair Grows Long, Soft & Silky, Herolin Pomade Hair Dressing, Agents Wanted Write for Details, Herolin Medicine Co. Atlanta, Ga., Be A Beauty Specialist, MDM. Marcelle, Herolin Med Co. Atlanta Ga.	Woman
7/6/1923	11	HEROLIN	Soft Glossy Hair, Herolin Pomade Hair Dressing, Herolin Med Co. Atlanta Ga.	Woman

**Table 33 COMPANY ADVERTISEMENTS 1924**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Pg.#</b>	<b>Co.</b>	<b>Headline</b>	<b>Image</b>
2/22/1924	9	PALMER	Now You Can Have A Soft, Clear, Lighter Skin! Ask for and Get Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Preparations	Woman & Product
2/29/1924	9	PALMER	How to Make Your Skin Soft, Clear & Lighter Ask for and Get Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Preparations	Woman & Product
3/7/1924	9	PALMER	Warning Don't Take the Wrong Package! Ask for and Get Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Preparations	Product



3/14/1924	9	PALMER	Do You Want Your Skin to be Soft, Clear, & Lighter? Ask for and Get Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Preparations	Woman & Product
3/21/1924	11	WALKER	Judge for Yourself, The Madam CJ Walker's Superfine Preparations for Hair & Skin, And Scientific Walker Treatments... Walker Agents... Try Them... Use Only Madam CJ Walker's Wonderful Hair Grower	Products
5/23/1924	12	HEROLIN	Use the Proven Hair Grower, Herolin Pomade Hair Dresser, Free Dresser Book, Agents... Herolin Med Co. Atlanta Ga.	Woman
6/13/1924	6	PORO	Another Great Poro Achievement, The New Poro Toilet Creations are now ready, Ask any Poro Agent for Them, Poro College, 4300 St. Ferdinand Avenue, St. Louis, MO, USA, Dept.	Woman & Products
6/13/1924	14	PALMER	A Wonderful Light Complexion For Every Woman, Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Preparations	Woman & Products
6/20/1924	7	PORO	The Name PORO Trademark, A Symbol of Quality... You Will Be Highly Pleased... Poro College, 4300 St. Ferdinand Avenue, St. Louis, MO, USA, Dept.	Woman
8/8/1924	PT PG9	WALKER	You Too May Bob Your Hair, Madam CJ Walker's Wonderful Hair Preparations, Glossine to Keep Bobbed Hair Fluffy and in Place, To Quickly Thicken Bobbed Hair, Wonderful Hair Grower, Madam CJ Walker Mfg. Co. Inc, 640 N. West St. Indianapolis, Ind.	Woman & Products
8/15/1924	2	PORO	Public Approval, Poro College Stands Squarely Before the Public on its Merits As An Institution of Service, 4300 St. Ferdinand Avenue, St. Louis, MO, USA	Building
9/5/1924	14	WALKER	Make Your Hair Look its Best, Madam CJ Walker Wonderful Hair Grower, Madam CJ Walker Mfg. Co. Inc, 640 N. West St. Indianapolis, Ind.	Woman & Product
9/12/1924	2	PORO	Service, The Keynote of this Great Business Institution, Poro College, 4300 St. Ferdinand Avenue, St. Louis, MO, USA	Building
10/24/1924	2	PORO	Your Big Opportunity... If So Become a Poro Agent... So Can You! Poro College 4300 St. Ferdinand Avenue, St. Louis, MO, USA	Woman
10/24/1924	12	HEROLIN	Are You Proud of Your Hair... Herolin Pomade Hair Dresser, Agents Make Big Money Write for Terms, Herolin Medicine Co. Atlanta Ga.	Woman
12/19/1924	2	PORO	Most Cherished among the gifts bestowed by the Passing Year is the memory of the pleasant relations with those whom we have been privileged to serve. So it is most sincerely that we wish you A Merry Christmas and Happy New Year, Poro College, Poro Hair and Toilet Products	Building

**Table 34 COMPANY ADVERTISEMENTS 1925**

Date	Pg.#	Co.	Headline	Image
1/16/1925	2	PORO	PORO, It's Enough to know it's Poro, Poro Trademark, The New Poro Toilet Creations Now Ready..., Poro College, 4300 St. Ferdinand Ave., St. Louis, Mo.	Woman & Products
1/23/1925	11	PALMER	Clears and Lightens Dark Complexions..., Delightful Home Beauty Treatments, Dr. Fred Palmer Laboratories	Woman
1/30/1925	12	PALMER	Exquisite Beauty Treatments, Lightens Dark Complexions, Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Preparations	Woman
2/6/1925	7	WALKER	Look Closely, Look Closely..., World Renown, Supreme in Reproduction, Madam CJ Walker's Wonderful Hair Grower, A Safe, Certain Way to Improve Your Hair	Woman

4/17/1925	7	WALKER	Glorifying Our Womanhood..., For Sale by Walker Agents, Drug Stores, & Mail, The Madam CJ Walker's Mfg. Co.	Woman & Products
7/31/1925	9	WALKER	Beautiful Bobbed Hair..., Madam CJ Walker's Glossine & Wonderful Hair Grower, For Sale by Walker Agents, Drug Stores & Mail, Made & Guaranteed by The Madam CJ Walker's Mfg Co. Indianapolis, Ind.	Woman & Product
10/16/1925	7	WALKER	What A Change A Few Years Make..., Madam CJ Walker's Wonderful Hair Preparations, Made & Positively Guaranteed by The Madam CJ Walker Mfg. Co. Inc, 640 N. West St. Indianapolis, Ind.	Madam Walker & Products
12/18/1925	7	WALKER	Just Think Of It! Madam CJ Walker's Wonderful Hair Grower..., Increased Business Demands Larger Factory..., Independent Living Made..., The Madam CJ Walker Mfg. Co. Inc, 640 N. West St. Indianapolis, Ind. 50c Per Large Tin at Agents, Drug Stores or by Mail, Free of Charge To You...	Madam Walker & Product

**Table 35 COMOANY ADVERTISEMENTS 1926**

Date	Pg.#	Co.	Headline	Image
1/1/1926	2	PORO	Most Cherished among the gifts bestowed by the Passing Year is the memory of the pleasant relations with those whom we have been privileged to serve. So it is most sincerely that we wish you A Merry Christmas and Happy New Year, Poro College, Poro Hair and Toilet Products	Building
1/8/1926	2	PORO	PORO, It's Enough to know it's Poro, Poro Trademark, The New Poro Toilet Creations Now Ready..., Poro College, 4300 St. Ferdinand Ave., St. Louis, Mo.	Woman & Products
1/15/1926	11	HEROLIN	Curly Hair, Soft, Silky, Long, Wavy By Using Herolin Pomade Hair Dressing..., By Mail..., Agents Wanted write for Terms, Herolin Med. Co. Atlanta, Ga.	Woman
2/26/1926	9	WALKER	My Dear-There's No Reason to Have Bad Hair & Ugly Skin These Days..., Use Madam CJ Walker's..., 18 Articles The Madam CJ Walker Mfg. Co. Inc, 640 N. West St. Indianapolis, Ind.	2 Women & Many Products
4/23/1926	9	WALKER	Home Treatments That Actually Improve Your Looks..., For The Hair, For The Skin..., Madame CJ Walker's Home Beauty Treatments...Begin Those Treatments Now! The Madam CJ Walker Mfg. Co. Inc, 640 N. West St. Indianapolis, Ind.	Women & Products
6/25/1926	12	PALMER	A Famous Beauty Specialist Says...	Woman
7/2/1926	12	PALMER	Amaze Your Friends With Your Lovely Complexion...	Woman
7/16/1926	11	PALMER	Removes Pimples, Clears & Lightens the Complexion...My Skin Was Like Yours Before I Used Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener	2 women
10/1/1926	14	PALMER	Girls Keep Your Skin Light & Free From Pimples With Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Preparations...,	Woman

**Table 36 COMPANY ADVERTISEMENTS 1927**

Date	Pg.#	Co.	Headline	Image
1/14/1927	11	HEROLIN	Famous Star Reveals Beauty Secret...Miss Margaret Beckett..., Agents Wanted..., Herolin Medicine Co. Atlanta Georgia.	Woman
1/21/1927	PT PG 9	WALKER	Good Looks An Easy Road to Fame And Here's How to Have	Woman &

			Them...,Madam CJ Walker's Hair Preparation A Standard for 25 Years	Products
4/22/1927	PT PG9	WALKER	The Best Dressed men & Women Prefer Madam CJ Walker's Glossine...Try it Today... The Madam CJ Walker Mfg. Co. Inc, 640 N. West St. Indianapolis, Ind.	Man, Women & Products
4/22/1927	11	PALMER	Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Made My Complexion Beautiful....	Woman & Product
4/29/1927	11	PALMER	Make Your Skin Lighter & Softer With Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener...	Woman
7/1/1927	9	WALKER	Look Into Your Mirror, Use Them Regularly...Madam CJ Walker's... The Madam CJ Walker Mfg. Co. Inc, 640 N. West St. Indianapolis, Ind.	Woman
8/27/1927	8	PORO	I Am Grateful, Friends...,Poro College, Approved and Registered School of Beauty Culture, Manufacturer of Poro Hair and Toilet Preparations	Malone & Building
9/130/1927	9	WALKER	Shampooing is the Most Important Part of Caring for the Hair...Just Try A Madam CJ Walker Shampoo, Your Scalp Will Feel the Difference..., A 3oz. Box will last for Months, 50c. At Walker Agent's Shoppes, Good Drug Stores, Direct by Mail, The Madam CJ Walker Mfg. Co. Inc, 640 N. West St. Indianapolis, Ind.	Women & Products
12/23/1927	2	PORO	Between the Lighting of the Yuletide Candles of 1926 and 1927 we have been deeply appreciative of the loyalty and support of our many friends and right heartily we wish for them an Old Tyme Merrie Christmas and a Very Happy New Year—Annie M. Turnbo-Malone, Poro College Saint Louis	Star, Letter & 3 Men on Donkeys

**Table 37 COMPANY ADVERTISEMENTS 1928**

Date	Pg.#	Co.	Headline	Image
3/16/1928	6	WALKER	BRRR March Winds Wreck Complexion...Madam CJ Walker's Cold Weather Treatment for the Skin...These Four Preparations...\$1.55 Value, sent once at special introductory price of \$1.25, Use the Coupon Today	Woman & Products
3/23/1928	11	PALMER	Acclaimed By Millions as the Quickest and Best to Lighten Dark Complexions...FREE...Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener	Woman & Product
4/6/1928	11	PALMER	Marvelous Beauty Treatment Quickly Lightens Dark Muddy Complexions...FRE...Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener	Woman & Product
4/13/1928	6	WALKER	The Wrong Way to Dress Your Hair...50 Cents Per Large Tin Everywhere...Madam CJ Walker's Wonderful Hair Grower, "25 Years the Standard"	Woman & Product
5/18/1928	11	PALMER	Remarkable Beauty Treatment, Gives Amazingly Quick Results in Lightening Dark Skins...FREE...Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener	Woman & Product
6/1/1928	6	PALMER	To Quickly Clear & Lighten Dark Complexions...No Dressing Table is Complete Without These Famous Beauty Preparations...How to Get A Full Size 25c Jar of HID FREE!...This Coupon is Worth Money to You...Dr. Fred Palmers Beauty Preparations are Sold By All Leading Drug Stores & Toilet Goods Counters Erving Race People	Products
6/1/1928	9	WALKER	To Men! And Others Whose Hair is Cut, Your Good Appearance Depends Upon Your Hair...MME. CJ Walker's Glossine, The MM. CJ Walker's Mfg. Co. Indiana Ave. and West St. Indianapolis, Ind.	Man, Woman & Product

10/19/1928	9	WALKER	What You Are, Or Hope To Be Depends Upon Your Hair...To Cleanse the Scalp...To Enrich the Scalp...MME. CJ Walker's Vegetable Shampoo & Wonderful Hair Grower, The Unanimous Choice of Millions, 50 Cents	Man, Woman & Product
12/21/1928	2	PORO	Between the Lighting of the Yuletide Candles of 1926 and 1927 we have been deeply appreciative of the loyalty and support of our many friends and right heartily we wish for them an Old Tyme Merrie Christmas and a Very Happy New Year—Annie M. Turnbo-Malone, Poro College Saint Louis	Star, Letter & 3 Men on Donkeys

Table 38 COMPANY ADVERTISEMENTS 1929

Date	Pg.#	Co.	Headline	Image
1/18/1929	11	PALMER	Bewitching Beauty For Any Complexion in 10 Days...Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Preparations, "Keeps Your Complexion Youthful"	Woman & Product
2/1/1929	11	PALMER	Three Minutes A Day with this beauty aid works miracles to any complexion... Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Preparations, "Keeps Your Complexion Youthful"	Woman & Product
4/19/1929	9	WALKER	Don't Expect Your Hair to Grow On A Scalp Sick With Ringworm, Tetter, Eczema, Excess Dandruff Etc...A Home Treatment...Special 10 Day Trial Treatment...Agents Wanted Earn \$5.00 to \$10.00 A Day. MME. CJ Walker's Wonderful Hair grower, 25 Years The Standard	Woman & Products
6/14/1929	8	WALKER	Hair Dressed With MME. CJ Walker's Glossine, Looks Good Feels Good Dares A Compliment! MME. CJ Walker's Glossine, 35c, 25 Years The Standard	Women & Product
8/2/1929	11	PALMER	Smooth, Light Skin has the most fascinating appeal...Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Preparation	Woman & Product
8/16/1929	11	PALMER	Give Your Skin A clearness-smoothness-freshness, and a youthful color it never had before... Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener Preparation	Woman & Product
11/1/1929	2	PORO	For That Delicate Touch of Fragrance, Poro Toilet Water..., Poro College, 4300 St. Ferdinand St. St. Louis, Mo. 4415 So. Parkway, Chicago	Woman & Product
11/1/1929	3	PORO	Poro Hair and Skin, The Pathway to Beauty..., Poro College Leading School of Beauty College 4300 St. Ferdinand St. St. Louis, Mo. 4415 So. Parkway, Chicago	Woman & Products
11/1/1929	4	WALKER	Positively Nothing's Like It, Madam CJ Walker's Wonderful Pomade for Men & Bobbed Hair Ladies...Made Only By The MME CJ Walker's Co. Inc. Indianapolis-Sold Everywhere	Man & Products
11/8/1929	11	WALKER	Bleach Out The Blemishes in Your Skin...35cents a box at Dealers, 25 Years the Standard, MME. CJ Walker's Tan-Off	Women & Product
11/15/1929	9	WALKER	Theirs Is The Magic Touch...1,2,3,4...MME. CJ Walker Beauty Shoppes...Walker's Beauty Shop-Grand Central Hotel Cor. Jefferson Ave. and Pine St. Phone Central 8855	Woman
11/29/1929	2	PORO	Keep the Sweetness of the Bath, Poro Deodorant in the new art jars..., Poro College 4300 St. Ferdinand St. St. Louis, Mo. 4415 So. Parkway, Chicago, Poro For Hair and Skin	Woman & Product
12/13/1929	13	PORO	How to Make Powder Stay On, Use Power Vanishing Cream..., Poro College 4300 St. Ferdinand St. St. Louis, Mo. 4415 So. Parkway, Chicago, Poro For Hair and Skin	Woman & Product
12/27/1929	2	PORO	Only A Clean Skin Can Be Beautiful... Poro College 4300 St. Ferdinand St. St. Louis, Mo. 4415 So. Parkway, Chicago, Poro	Woman & Product

			For Hair and Skin	
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**Table 39 COMPANY ADVERTISEMENTS 1930**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Pg.#</b>	<b>Co.</b>	<b>Headline</b>	<b>Image</b>
2/21/1930	2	PORO	Beautiful Hair That Everyone Admires..., Poro College 4300 St. Ferdinand St. St. Louis, Mo. 4415 So. Parkway, Chicago, Poro For Hair and Skin	Woman & Product
2/21/1930	13	PALMER	If You Want to be Charming keep your skin soft and light..., Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener	Woman
3/7/1930	2	PORO	Your Hair Your Skin Do They Flatter You..., Poro Bouquet the Delightful Perfume..., Poro College 4300 St. Ferdinand St. St. Louis, Mo. 4415 So. Parkway, Chicago, Poro For Hair and Skin	Woman & Product
3/7/1930	3	PORO	The Finishing Touch, Poro Face Powder..., 7 Shades in Poro Face Powder..., Poro College 4300 St. Ferdinand St. St. Louis, Mo. 4415 So. Parkway, Chicago, Poro For Hair and Skin	Woman & Product
3/14/1930	15	WALKER	I Too Find Mme. C.J. Walker's Wonder Pomade Best For The Hair, To Sleek, Soften, Straighten, Grow and Beautify the Hair...,	Woman & Product
3/21/1930	10	HEROLIN	Do You Want Hair Like Hers..., Agents Wanted..., Herolin Company, Inc., Atlanta, Ga., Herolin Pomade Hair Dressing	Woman
4/11/1930	2	PORO	You Get Double Benefit from Poro Skin and Scalp Soap..., Poro College 4300 St. Ferdinand St. St. Louis, Mo. 4415 So. Parkway, Chicago, Poro For Hair and Skin	2 Women and Product
5/9/1930	2	PORO	Poro Special Hair Grower Corrects Unhealthy Scalp Conditions..., Poro College 4300 St. Ferdinand St. St. Louis, Mo. 4415 So. Parkway, Chicago, Poro For Hair and Skin	Woman & Product
8/1/1930	4	PORO	For Summer Comfort Use Poro Talcum..., Poro College 4300 St. Ferdinand St. St. Louis, Mo. 4415 So. Parkway, Chicago, Poro For Hair and Skin	Woman & Product
8/29/1930	11	HEROLIN	Have Pretty Hair, Long, Soft, Glossy..., Herolin Pomade Hair Dressing..., Herolin Co. Atlanta, Ga....	Woman
10/3/1930	4	PORO	Beautiful Hair..., Try Poro..., A Poro Toilet Article for Every Need..., Poro College, Poro Block Station, Chicago, Illinois, Poro For Hair and Skin	Woman
11/7/1930	4	PORO	Do You Worry About Your Hair..., Poro College, 4415 South Parkway, Poro Block, 44 <sup>th</sup> to 45 <sup>th</sup> St. Chicago, Illinois, Poro For Hair and Skin	Woman & Product
11/7/1930	15	PALMER	A light, soft skin makes you Attractive!...Dr Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener "Keeps Your Complexion Youthful"	Woman
11/21/1930	2	PORO	No Woman Can Be Attractive Without A Beautiful Complexion..., Poro For Hair and Skin..., Sold by Poro Agents Everywhere or Order Direct from Poro College, 4415 South Parkway, Poro Block, 44 <sup>th</sup> - 45 <sup>th</sup> St. Chicago, Ill	Woman & Product
12/5/1930	2	PORO	The Glory of Woman Lies in Her Hair...Long Soft & Fluffy with Silken Sheen..., Poro For Hair and Skin, Beautiful Luxuriant Silken Hair, Poro Brilliantine..., Sold by Poro Agents Everywhere or Order Direct from Poro College, 4415 South Parkway, Poro Block, 44 <sup>th</sup> - 45 <sup>th</sup> St. Chicago, Ill	Woman & Product
12/12/1930	2	PORO	Such Beautiful Hair..., Soft, Glossy, and Beautiful Poro Does it, Poro For Hair and Skin Sold by Poro Agents Everywhere or Order Direct from Poro College, 4415 South Parkway, Poro Block, 44 <sup>th</sup> - 45 <sup>th</sup> St. Chicago, Ill	Woman & Product

## APPENDIX D ILLUSTRATIONS

### PORO PRODUCT ADVERTISEMENTS IN 1922 PORO HAIR AND BEAUTY CULTURE

#### BOOKLET

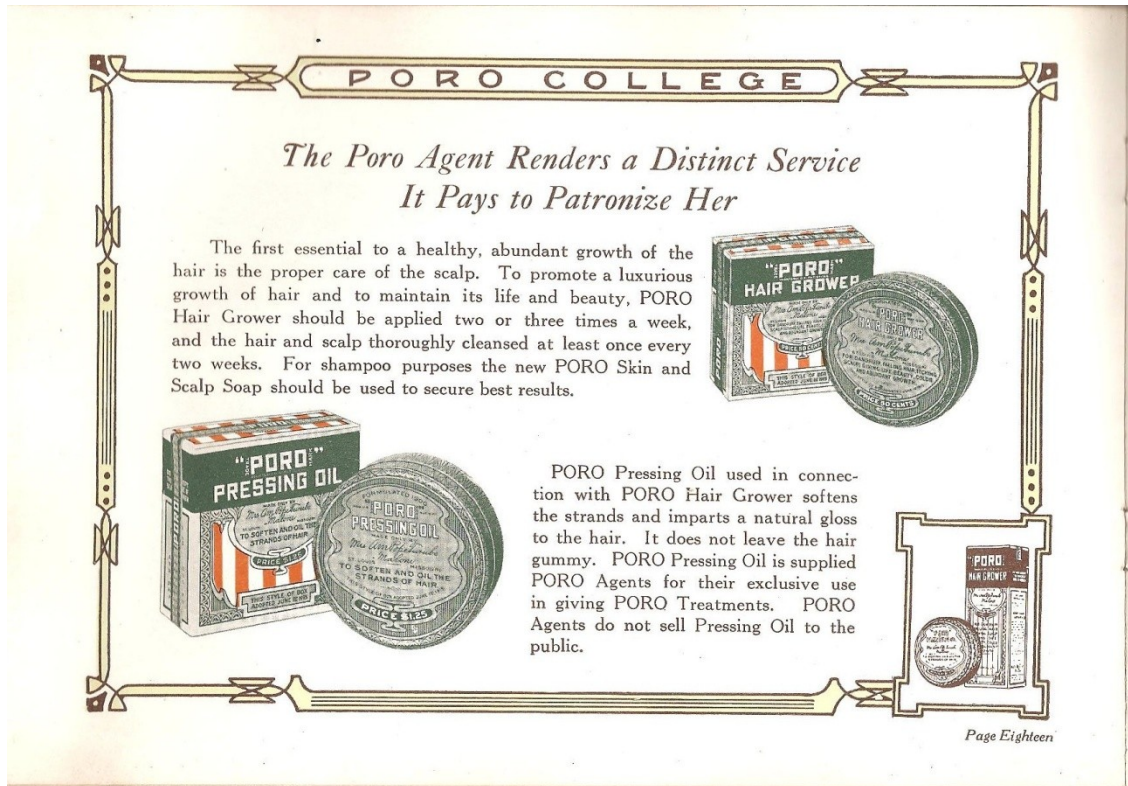


Figure 2The Poro Agent Renders a Distinct Service It Pays to Patronize Her. Image from PORO HAIR AND BEAUTY CULTURE booklet, page eighteen. Copyright 1922.  
(Courtesy of Dr. John A. Wright Sr. and Mrs. Linda F. Stewart)

**PORO COLLEGE**

*Poro Hair and Toilet Preparations Are Sold  
By Poro Agents Only*



box of PORO Special Hair Grower, plain PORO Hair Grower is usually recommended.

PORO Special Hair Grower is a specific for the treatment of irritated or diseased scalps for which it is invaluable. Only in cases of irritated or diseased scalps should Special Hair Grower be used, one box often being sufficient as a corrective. After the use of one





PORO Liquid Hair Grower is an excellent tonic for hair of a texture which does not require pressing. Applied two or three times a week it promotes a luxuriant growth and maintains and increases the beauty of the hair.

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Figure 3 Poro Hair and Toilet Preparations Are Sold By Poro Agents Only. Image from PORO HAIR AND BEAUTY CULTURE booklet, page nineteen. Copyright 1922  
(Courtesy of Dr. John A. Wright Sr. and Mrs. Linda F. Stewart)



**PORO COLLEGE**

*Poro Hair and Toilet Preparations Are Scientifically Manufactured*

PORO Tetter Relief is a splendid remedy for tetter, scalp irritation, dandruff, and falling hair.

PORO Temple Grower and PORO Special Temple Grower are most excellent for restoring the hair on the temples and remedying other baldness. These two preparations are supplied PORO Agents for their exclusive use in giving PORO Treatments and are not sold to the public.

Because of the universal demand for PORO Hair Preparations there have been attempts to impose on the public through the substitution of poor imitations. In order to protect PORO customers against such practices, cartons in which PORO Hair Preparations are packed are now sealed with the PORO Green Strip Seals which completely encircle the cartons.

*PORO Agents are instructed not to sell and PORO customers are cautioned not to accept any preparation represented as PORO if the seal has been broken.*



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Figure 4 Poro Hair and Toilet Preparations Are Scientifically Manufactured. Image from PORO HAIR AND BEAUTY CULTURE booklet page twenty. Copyright 1922  
(Courtesy of Dr. John Wright Sr. and Linda F. Stewart)



**PORO COLLEGE**

*Poro Products on Your Dressing-Table Assure Complete  
Harmony of Fragrance and Quality*

Cleanliness is the basis of health, and the right soap is first on our list of toilet accessories. PORO SKIN AND SCALP SOAP contains only the purest ingredients compounded through scientific formulae for especial use with other PORO Products. Used for cleansing the skin, it helps to keep the complexion clear and fresh. Mild in its action, it is thoroughly cleansing. Used for shampooing, it softens and gives life to the hair. The lather is amazingly abundant; it rinses out quickly and thoroughly. Delightfully soothing in its after effects, PORO SKIN AND SCALP SOAP is equally gratifying when used for skin and shampoo.





Page Twenty-three

Figure 5 Poro Products on Your Dressing-Table Assure Complete Harmony of Fragrance and Quality. Image from *PORO HAIR AND BEAUTY CULTURE* booklet, page twenty-three. Copyright 1922. (Courtesy of Dr. John A. Wright Sr. and Mrs. Linda F. Stewart)

**PORO COLLEGE**


*Our Determination Is to Give the Greatest Value—to Render the Biggest Service*



Poro Creams will not cause growth of hair.

PORO COLD CREAM cleanses, invigorates, nourishes, softens and beautifies the skin. It builds up the tissue, and is unexcelled for massaging. PORO COLD CREAM contains just the right amount of oil to penetrate the pores and remove every trace of dirt. Serves to help protect the delicate texture of the skin against cold and wind.

PORO COLD CREAM is highly recommended for wrinkles and extended pores and to keep the skin from becoming coarse and brittle.



Page Twenty-four


Figure 6. Our Determination Is to Give the Greatest Value—to Render the Biggest Service.  
 Image from PORO HAIR AND BEAUTY CULTURE booklet, page twenty-four.  
 Copyright 1922. (Courtesy of Courtesy of Dr. John A. Wright Sr. and Mrs. Linda F. Stewart)

**PORO COLLEGE**


*Poro College Is Justly Proud of Its Products  
Standard for Twenty-Three Years*

*The skin requires two creams, one to cleanse, and a very different one to protect and hold the powder.*

A cool touch of PORO PEROXIDE VANISHING CREAM gives smoothness to the skin and makes the powder adhere longer, prevents roughness and coarseness of the skin, and is an excellent remedy for sunburn, chaps, eczema, pimples, and blackheads. The pure medicinal hydrogen peroxide entering into this cream is an efficient bleaching agent which will not harm the most delicate skin. **PORO PEROXIDE VANISHING CREAM** lightens the skin.



*This is a Cream of exceptionally fine quality.*



*Page Twenty-five*

Figure 7. Poro College Is Justly of Its Products Standards for Twenty-Three Years. Image from PORO HAIR AND BEAUTY CULTURE booklet, page twenty-five. Copyright 1922. (Courtesy of Dr. John A. Wright Sr. and Mrs. Linda F. Stewart)

**PORO COLLEGE**

*Poro Products Meet the Most Particular Toilet Needs*



Poro Deodorant is carefully prepared from a special formula—  
dependable and absolutely safe

PORO DEODORANT is a clean, antiseptic liquid. Its mild, effective action checks profuse perspiration and destroys objectionable body odor without affecting the natural, healthy perspiration of the body. The personal cleanliness which the bath imparts remains when PORO DEODORANT is used. Applied as directed a body freshness, which cannot be had with soap and water alone, is assured. An effective, economical, and necessary toilet article.




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Figure 8. Poro Products Meet the Most Particular Toilet Needs. Image from PORO HAIR AND BEAUTY CULTURE booklet, page twenty-six. Copyright 1922.  
(Courtesy of Dr. John A. Wright Sr. and Mrs. Linda F. Stewart)

**PORO COLLEGE**

*Poro Hair and Toilet Preparations are Superior Products*

PORO FACE POWDER is a very carefully prepared cosmetic combining a fragrance, a fineness, and that clinging quality so much desired in a face powder. Supplied in three shades, brunette, flesh, and white. It spreads evenly a wonderfully smooth, velvety film which blends naturally with the skin. Beautifying, comforting, refreshing.



*Poro Face Powder gives to the skin a subtle softness, a delicate, creamy smoothness.  
You will like it.*



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Figure 9. Poro Hair and Toilet Preparations are Superior Products. Image from *PORO HAIR AND BEAUTY CULTURE* booklet, page twenty-seven. Copyright 1922.  
(Courtesy of Dr. John A. Wright Sr. and Mrs. Linda F. Stewart)



## APPENDIX E

### PORO COLLEGE FACILITY DESCRIPTIONS

Table 40 Poro Facility Descriptions in 1929 Poro in Pictures Booklet

Page 7 (ENTRANCE MAIN BUILDING)	This entrance leads to the lobby where visitors are cordially received by courteous clerks of the information Bureau. Guides are provided to escort our guests through the buildings. An atmosphere of friendliness prevails throughout the institution.
Page 8 (LOBBY, FIRST FLOOR, MAIN BUILDING)	The magnificent and spacious lobby with allegorical paintings on the walls, draperies of tan rep, artistic tile flooring, roomy mohair covered overstuffed chairs, and mahogany waiting desks, impress one with the stability of the institution. The decorations throughout the buildings are the works of a decorator of the national reputation.
Page 9 (CORRIDOR, FIRST FLOOR, MAIN BUILDING)	The beautiful corridor with the tile flooring, marble wainscoting, and hand decorated walls, leads from the Pendleton Avenue entrance to the Auditorium at the extreme left. The lobby, ticket booth and check room are at the right, and the cafeteria, at the immediate left. The stairway at the left leads to the ladies' lobby and restroom.
Page 10 (AUDITORIUM, FIRST FLOOR, MAIN BUILDING)	The auditorium has a seating capacity of eight hundred. It is used daily for Devotional Exercises which are conducted by [employees]. The exercises immediately precede the beginning of the day's work. Graduating Exercises are held on Thursdays. Religious, fraternal, civic, and social organizations use the Auditorium for entertainments, lectures, conventions, and meetings.
Page 11 (THE STAGE, PORO AUDITORIUM)	Old rose velvet curtains frame a beautiful Shakespearian cyclorama stage setting of gray duvetyne, adjustable for a large cast or an individual recital. Elaborate stage illumination brings out the splendor of this setting in all its fullness. There are facilities for moving pictures. Powerful radio receiving equipment is also provided. PORO Auditorium is available for only the higher type of entertainment.
Page 12 (MRS. MALONE'S OFFICE, THIRD FLOOR, MAIN BUILDING)	MRS. MALONE personally supervises the business of which she is the founder and sole owner. She is interested in religious and Race progress and in those institutions and movements which make for human uplift and community betterment. To work of this character she devotes much time and energy.
Page 13 (GENERAL OFFICE FIRST FLOOR, MAIN BUILDING)	The appointments and the equipment of the General Office are most modern and complete. Some of the office personnel are products of leading colleges and commercial schools, and some have received their training in their present positions. Earnest effort is made to render PORO patrons prompt, accurate, and courteous service.
Page 14 (FILE DEPARTMENT, FIRST FLOOR, MAIN BUILDING)	The files contain hundreds of thousands of letters, invoices, and canceled orders, any one of which these expert file-clerks supply at a moment's notice. Agents must report promptly changes in names and addresses to insure proper identification.
Page 15 (RECORD DEPARTMENT, FILE ROOM)	A visible card system accommodates the records of the many thousands of PORO patrons. As

only PORO Agents are supplied with PORO preparations for re-sale, all orders and communications are referred to this department for verification.
Page 16 (RECEIVING STATION, FIRST FLOOR, MAIN BUILDING)
All deliveries are made through this office. Here the mail is given its first assorting, after which it is transmitted to the Cashier's Dept. Local PORO Agents purchase their PORO Goods and general supplies for all departments are issued by this office.
Page 17 (CASHIER'S DEPARMTENT, MEZZANINE FLOOR, MAIN BUILDING)
The cashiers give the mail its first reading, withdraw remittances and notate orders and letters with proper credits. The mail is then transmitted through pneumatic tubes to the Record Department for verification, after which it is passed to the General Office for action.
Page 18 (INSTRUCTION AND BEAUTY DEPARTMENT, MEZZANINE FLOOR, MAIN BUILDING)
The PORO Beauty Culture School and Beauty Parlor are approved and registered by the Missouri Hair-Dresser's & Cosmeticians' Board of Examination and Registration. These departments meet the most rigid requirements of those states having special laws for the conduct of Beauty establishments.
Page 19 (BALUSTRADE, INSTRUCTION DEPARTMENT)
Hair and Scalp Culture, Manicuring, and Facial Massaging comprise the Course. Special Courses are offered in Marcelling, Hair Weaving, Fancy Hair-Dressing, Beauty Culture subjects.
(A CORNER OF THE INSTRUCTION DEPARTMENT)
Through this office appointments for services in the Beauty Department are made: students and review agents register and are assigned to classes. Uniforms are issued, and supplies for class work provided.
Page 20 (A CLASS ROOM, MEZZANINE FLOOR)
HERE lectures on the theory of beauty culture practices are given and classes instructed in facial massaging. Expert instructors insure to the student through training in all branches of beauty culture.
Page 21 (A TREATMENT BOOTH, INSTRUCTION DEPARTMENT)
THERE are twenty-four booths in which students are instructed in Poro [PORO] methods and patrons severed with beauty treatments. Skilled instructors and operators see that PORO patrons receive satisfactory service.
Page 22 PORO COLLEGE AND PORO PREPARATIONS
(AN INSTITUTION OF LOFTY IDEALS AND WELL DEFINED PURPOSES)
PORO COLLEGE and PORO Annex Buildings are three-story, fire-proof, structures of brick, reinforced concrete, and steel. There are four floors, including the mezzanine floor between the first and second stories, which a total of one hundred thousand square feet of floor space. Both buildings are equipped with electrical elevators. An automatic passenger elevator in the PORO COLLEGE Building ascends to the Roof Gardens. PORO COLLEGE, PORO Annex, and PORO Garage Buildings with furnishings and equipment represent an investment of over ONE MILLION DOLLARS.
Page 23 (PORO COLLEGE AND PORO PREPARATIONS) Photograph (PORO HAIR AND TOILET PREPARATIONS)
These celebrated Preparations are distributed throughout the world. To those familiar with the Hair and Toilet Goods Industry, it is only necessary to mention "PORO" to recall the dominant part these popular Preparations have played in the development of Beauty Culture.
Page 24 (BATH DEPARTMENT, MEZZANINE FLOOR)

This department is replete with electric cabinets and facilities for tub, shower and vapor baths. A special course in Body Massaging is given.
(CHIROPODY DEPARTMENT, MEZZANINE FLOOR)
Experts in Pedicure scientifically treat ailments of the feet. The furnishings are complete. Instruments and equipment are modern in every detail.
Page 25 (SWITCHBOARD, MEZZANINE FLOOR)
Throughout the buildings there are fifty telephones, served by four trunk lines. Outside connection is had through the PORO COLLEGE central switchboard.
(LAIDIES' LOBBY, MEZZANINE FLOOR)
Provisions for the comfort of patrons are complete. In this cozy and inviting lobby, ladies may wait their turn for service in the Beauty Parlor.
Page 26 (AGENTS' AND STUDENTS' ROOM, THIRD FLOOR, MAIN BUILDING)
There are one hundred rooms—cheerful, comfortable and scrupulously clean. Every PORO Agent has the privacy of coming to PORO COLLEGE once every twelve months for the ten days' Review Course. There are no charges for room and board while taking the Review Course, nor is there a tuition fee. Thus PORO Agents are encouraged to maintain the highest proficiency in their work.
Page 27 (AGENTS' RECEPTION ROOM, THIRD FLOOR, MAIN BUILDING)
Located in a wing of the building reserved for the accommodation of Agents and students is a reception room for their diversion. Here also they receive and entertain their company. The room is provided with a piano, victrola, reading table and bridge lamps. The furnishings consist of a luxurious velour overstuffed living-room suite and artistic draperies of brocade damask.
Page 28 (SHIPPING DEPARTMENT, FIRST FLOOR, PORO ANNEX)
Thousands of shipments of PORO Goods are sent to point throughout the world. Huge freight shipments of PORO Preparations are forwarded [to] PORO College Branches and Supply Stations. Expert shipping clerks exercise extreme care in checking and packing Goods into the shipping cases to insure accuracy and safe transmission.
Page 29 (TRUCK LOAD OF PORO MAIL)
PORO COLLEGE trucks transport the shipments to the post office. Orders received in the first morning's mail are placed in the mails at 10:30 that same morning, and orders received later but prior to 4p.m. are forwarded at 4:30p.m. Orders for PORO Goods are filled and shipped the very same day received.
Page 30 (FILLING AND LABELING DEPARTMENT, THIRD FLOOR ANNEX BUILDING)
In this department, which adjoins the Manufacturing Laboratories, the Preparations are placed in containers and labeled. All PORO Hair Preparations are sealed with the PORO Green Seal Strip to insure genuineness of contents.
Page 31 (LAUNDRY, BASEMENT, ANNEX BUILDING)
A Modernly and completely equipped, electrically operated laundry does the house linens and [employees'] uniforms. [Employees] may have their laundry work done here at prices considerably under the regular laundry rates.
Page 32 (KITCHEN, FOURTH FLOOR, MAIN BUILDING)
Excellent dining facilities are an outstanding feature. Supervised by food experts, a well order service and excellent cuisine complete a most careful provision for the accommodation of guest.
Page 33 (DINING ROOM, FOURTH FLOOR, MAIN BUILDING)
The dining accommodates comfortably two hundred persons. [Employees] are served food below costs. Prices to the public are moderate. Dinner Parties and banquets are a specialty.



Page 34 (BAKE SHOP, FOURTH FLOOR, ANNEX BUILDING)
The snow-white sanitary PORO Bake Shop supplies bakery products for the Dining Department. The Bakery Goods, unsurpassed in quality and excellence, are also sold to the public through the Cafeteria. Fancy Bakery Products are a specialty.
Page 35 (Cafeteria, First Floor, Main Building)
From a beautiful and modern marble fountain, products of the highest quality are dispensed, and from a steam-table, light appetizing lunches and hot liquids are served. These delicacies are served in generous portions at moderate prices.
Page 36 (A GUEST ROOM, FOURTH FLOOR, MAIN BUILDING)
The guest rooms, no two of which have similar furnishings, have telephones and hot and cold running water; all are artistically decorated and comfortably furnished. These rooms are available, at moderate prices, to visitors who desire an atmosphere of quiet refreshment.
Page 37 (RECEPTION ROOM, FOURTH FLOOR, MAIN BUILDING)
Guests receive their callers in this room where suggestions of comfort delightfully combine with artistry of appointments. Here are facilities of a modern hotel with added features of dignity.
Page 38 (EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, THIRD FLOOR, MAIN BUILDING)
Two conference rooms are provided for business conferences, committee meetings, and small group meetings with [employees].
(PRESS COMMITTEE ROOM, THIRD FLOOR, MAIN BUILDING)
These conference rooms are available, without charges to religious, fraternal, civic, and social organizations for common meetings.
Page 39 (SEWING DEPARTMENT, MEZZANINE FLOOR, MAIN BUILDING)
[Employees'] and Students' uniforms are made and kept in repair by the sewing department.
(AN EMERGENCY ROOM, THIRD FLOOR, MAIN BUILDING)
Two emergency rooms, equipped for first aid treatment, serve in case of accident or sudden illness.
Page 40 (GENTLEMEN'S SMOKING AND RECREATION PARLOR, FOURTH FLOOR, MAIN BUILDING)
Gentlemen find particularly attractive the smoking and recreation parlor conveniently located near the guest rooms. The parlor is equipped with a massive combination billiard table, large comfortable chairs and game tables. The decorations are artistic and the appointments convenient.
Page 41 (ROOF GARDEN, TOP OF MAIN BUILDING)
The Roof Garden, with its profusion of flowering plants and vines, is a beautiful and delightful place during the summer season, at which time it is available for meetings, entertainment, and receptions. The Pergola, at the north end of the Garden, presents a fascinating picture.
Page 42 (PORO GARAGE, SOUTH OF MAIN BUILDING)
Garage facilities are provided for the motor equipment of the business, and there is ample space for the accommodation of the cars of guest who wish to avail themselves of this convenience. PORO COLLEGE automobiles convey students and visiting agents to and from the station and about the city.
Page 43 (HEATING)
Giant low-pressure boilers afford steam heat for both buildings, and one high-pressure boiler provides steam for the Laundry, Bath, and Dining Departments. A hot-water heater supplies hot water for the buildings.
(REFRIGERATING)

Refrigerating equipment chills the eight storage vaults, provides the ice used in the Institution and cools the drinking water which is distributed through fountains conveniently located throughout the buildings.
Page 44 (PORO COLLEGE—A CONSTRUCTIVE FORCE)
PORO COLLEGE is more than a mere business enterprise. Fostering ideas of personal beauty and tidiness, self-respect, thrift, industry, and touching the lives of millions, the institution is a constructive force in the development of the Race.
Thousands of women and girls, serving as PORO Agents, are working out their lives in a manner to them acceptable, agreeable, and profitable. Thus does the institution make a definite economic contribution to Negro life. [?]
To develop and maintain the very highest degree of proficiency, the personnel at Poro College [PORO COLLEGE] is organized into a welfare association which makes for good fellowship and promotes intellectual and spiritual growth. Every [employee] is a member of this organization, “The Poro Family”, the officers of which are elected annually by the membership. There are nine committees: program, music, dramatic, literary, social, house, athletic, sick, and deputation, which embrace organization activities. Each [employee] is assigned to one of these committees. The committee chairmen together with the elected corps of officers constitute the “Cabinet”. The organization pays a sick benefit.
There is an orchestra of twenty young ladies supervised by an experienced instructor and director, the instruments being provided by Mrs. Malone. A group of lady [employees] have, within the organization, the Porette Club, the members of which do fancy needle and other art work for charitable purposes. Tennis courts are maintained for [employees].
On Christmas Eve, Mrs. Malone presents beautiful diamond rings to those whose fifth anniversary of service with the Institution has transpired during the year; to encourage thrift, she makes cash awards to those who have purchased homes or whose bank accounts show substantial savings. Trips are given for meritorious service.
Generously sharing with the public its many facilities, Poro College—vitalizing and humanizing—a center of community activity, waves aloft the standard of honest endeavor for the public good (Poro in Pictures: With a Short History of its Development by Poro College, 1929).

## VITA

Chajuana V. Trawick was born and raised in St. Louis, Missouri, where she earned a Bachelor of Science degree in Fashion Merchandising and Design, a Masters of Business Administration and 52 hours towards a second Masters in Family and Consumer Science, Secondary Education from Fontbonne University. Fall 2011 she completed a Doctor of Philosophy degree from the Department of Textile and Apparel Management in the school of Human Environmental Science with an emphasis in 20<sup>th</sup> Century African American Business History at the University of Missouri in Columbia. Chajuana enjoys teaching, learning, and researching entrepreneurs in the fashion and beauty industry past, present and future.