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JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WELFARE
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SPECIAL ISSUE ON THE LEGACY OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN LEADERSHIP IN SOCIAL WELFARE

Edited by Iris Carlton-LaNey

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Tawana Ford Sabbath
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The legacy of African-American leadership in social welfare history is only recently finding space in social work literature. The small number of professional journals in social work that publish historical articles, along with institutionalized resistance to the acknowledgement of African-Americans contributions to the development of the profession, have contributed to this dearth of scholarship. The results have been that many professionals are disinclined to perceive of African-Americans as resourceful, skilled and powerful. Instead, the theme of pathology permeates social work literature, teaching, and ultimately social work practice. The social work profession emphasizes the importance of diversity, yet fails to acknowledge the National Urban League (NUL) as a major social welfare movement comparable in influence and impact to the Charity Organization Society and the settlement house movements. We embrace the importance of social justice and empowerment, while failing to acknowledge the pioneering social activism of individuals like Ida B. Well-Barnett as an integrated part of social work/welfare history.

A handful of scholars have made a commitment to lead the charge to correct social work history by presenting a more accurate, truthful and inclusive picture of social welfare history. It is out of such a commitment that this volume was born. For some historical researchers, this work is merely an intellectual curiosity, but for others, it is a personal and professional mandate. Whether mandate or intellectual exercise, the contributors to this issue have meticulously researched primary data to expand and enlarge the legacy of African-American leadership in social welfare history. With careful attention to detail and
historical accuracy, these authors have, in the research process, reinforced and supported each others' findings and conclusions.

The articles in this issue are bound together by a common research method, by the element of cross-fertilization, and by the scholarship that each writer brings to her/his work. Furthermore, these writers provide information, both analytical and descriptive, which is designed to inform both attitudes and practice. Several of these writers have used the edited topical life history method to explore the unshakable convictions of African-American social work pioneers in their quest to establish social work services and to train African-American social workers. This historical method lends itself to documenting the evolution of social work/welfare through the experiences and definitions held by one person, one group, or one organization as that person, group, or organization interprets those experiences (Denzin, 1970). The strength of these pioneers' convictions, gave them the tenacity to continue their work in spite of the institutionalized forces that militated against their success. Beginning with little more than intellectual will and veracity, the pioneers discussed in this volume found the resources and human capital needed to establish and provide social welfare services, to train social workers via institutes and formal schools, to travail as feminists, abolitionists, and/or orators, to struggle and strategize against social injustices and to implement programs for social change.

The first article by Laura B. Somerville examines Sojourner Truth's life as a abolitionist and feminist through a review of dictated narratives. The author suggests that Truth's life provides a model for advocacy which is yet unrivaled in social work. She laments the difficulty of reviewing the life history of someone who was illiterate and left little written documentation while cautioning us against excluding such a prominent players in U.S. history. Using the chattel slavery system and the legal status of women at that time as a backdrop, the writer reviews speeches and narratives to highlight Sojourner Truth's philosophy and her movement from itinerant preacher to political activist. She surmises that social work has many lessons to learn from a review of the life and works of Truth who epitomized the social change agent then and now.
Audreye E. Johnson writes about a pioneer African-American social worker and activist, William Still. Johnson’s article contains a critical, historical analysis of social work/welfare services and activities, and is one of only a handful of such analyses which focuses on antebellum social welfare work for and by African-Americans. According to this essay, Still devoted his life to improving the conditions of the African-American community as well as the wider society. Skilled in casework, group work and community organization, Still maintained meticulous records about fugitive slaves who passed through his office on their way to freedom. As secretary of the Anti-Slavery office in Philadelphia, Still engaged in case finding, policy development, case management, and political agitation in his quest to protect the rights of African-Americans both enslaved and freed. With the help of his oldest daughter, Dr. Caroline Still, William Still wrote of his social work activities in THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD which sold 10,000 copies. The author concludes that William Still’s human legacy of social work and social welfare services is unparalleled.

Iris Carlton-LaNey’s article discusses Dr. George Edmund Haynes’ role in training African-American social workers through the NUL Fellowship Program. This program provided opportunities for African-Americans to study at many of the pioneer schools of social work including the New York School of Philanthropy and the Atlanta School of Social Work. The author details the development and process of the fellowship program including mechanisms for selecting students and Haynes’ role in soliciting the cooperation of leading social work educators of the times. The rigorous testing procedure which potential fellows underwent included a trial and observation period in the field, either in New York or Nashville, which was used to ensure that applicants had the aptitude, stamina and determination needed to become effective social workers. As part of its mission, the fellowship program spread an appreciation for scholarship and training in the field of social work. The NUL fellows went on to make their mark in the developing field of social work and to raise the standards of both social work personnel and programs within the African-American community and the larger society.
N. Yolanda Burwell presents an edited topical life history of Lawrence A. Oxley concentrating on his role in training African-American social workers. Oxley established the North Carolina Public Welfare Institutes as a vehicle for staff development and training of African-American public welfare workers. The training institutes span a twenty-year period from 1926 through 1946. These institutes provided competency-based instruction on topics ranging from the role of community resources in preventing juvenile delinquency to record keeping in child welfare. The training institutes rotated sites among the African-American colleges throughout the state, finally settling at the Bishop Tuttle Memorial Training School of Social Work at St. Augustine College in Raleigh. While Jim Crow laws made traveling to the institutes and finding suitable housing a challenge at best, the number of participants continued to grow from 50 in 1926 to a total of over 700 by 1934. For Oxley, organizing the institutes was a major undertaking requiring careful planning, negotiation, and coordination. The author concludes that social work training via the North Carolina Public Welfare Institutes for Negroes filled an educational void for African-American social workers in the South.

Robenia Baker Gary and Lawrence E. Gary use a descriptive historical analysis to present information on the education and training of African American social workers between 1900 and 1930. Reviewing the societal forces that helped to create conditions of human suffering and that dictated tremendous levels of need, Gary and Gary document the training of the African-American social worker through four basic approaches including: (1) apprenticeship, (2) institutes and special courses, (3) undergraduate sociology and social science courses, and (4) schools of social work. The authors give primary attention to the establishment of two schools of social work for African-Americans in the South: the Atlanta School of Social Work and the Bishop Tuttle School in North Carolina. A comparative analysis revealed that the Atlanta School emphasized research while the Bishop Tuttle School concentrated on home management, club work and religious courses. Arguments around professional standards were prevalent as these two schools struggled to attract faculty and students and to develop a relevant
Introduction

course of study. While the authors' work offers preliminary insights into professional social work training in the South, they acknowledge the need for further research to determine the schools' theoretical emphases, to define their primary research agendas, and to identify their early graduates, their accomplishments and contributions.

_Tawana Ford Sabbath_ discusses two social service organizations in Philadelphia during the Progressive Era, the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia and the Women's Christian Alliance (WCA). The Armstrong Association engaged primarily in activities to place migrating African-American skilled laborers in suitable work settings. It also identified with the developing field of social work and served as a practicum setting for social work and sociology students in the area. Like the Armstrong Association, the WCA also started in response to the needs of newly urbanized African-Americans. Responding initially to the needs of African-American women who came North, the WCA soon became a major force in fostering care / child placement for Philadelphia. The author presents a clear picture of the WCA's works even with the limitations caused by a paucity of consistent primary data. Several pioneer social workers are discussed including Forrester B. Washington, a prominent NUL fellow and social work educator. Finally, the author argues for more research to firmly entrench these organizations in social work / welfare history.

_Susan Kerr Chandler_’s essay is a poignant analysis of the Young Men’s Christian Association’s (YMCA) early treatment of African-Americans and of its adherence to a strict color line. Chandler presents us with the paradox of an organization that based its existence on the tenets of Christian love and brotherhood, yet simultaneously used cajolery, manipulation, money, and even threats of bodily harm to establish and maintain strict segregation of the races. The Colored Men’s Department, established by the International YMCA by 1875, enabled the organization to avoid the issue of integrated services for many years. The author notes that two important forces compelled the YMCA to begin to deal with its segregationist policies. The two forces to which Chandler refers were the Great Migration which brought thousands of southern African-Americans
to northern urban centers and the "great benefaction", which brought funding to build Colored Ys through the philanthropy of Julius Rosenwald. The practice of segregated Ys, based solely on skin color, quickly became an institutionalized policy after 1910 and remained intact until 1946.

Aminifu R. Harvey presents a descriptive historical analysis of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League (UNIA & ACL) between 1917 and 1940. Discussing the UNIA & ACL as a model for Black community development, Harvey describes the services, programs, training and discipline which were inherent in the growth and germane to the development of this organization. He also discusses the tenets manifested in the philosophy and mission of the organization. The article cites and highlights some of the various sub-groups within the organization, e.g. the Universal African Black Cross Nurses which functioned as a social service/welfare arm of the organization providing an array of professional services. Under the charismatic leadership of Marcus Garvey, the UNIA & ACL boosted four million active members from its beginning in 1917 to 1921. Contrary to popular belief, the UNIA & ACL attracted membership from the African-American intelligentsia as well as from the unlettered Black community world-wide. Finally, caught in a web of alleged deceit, sabotage and chicanery, the UNIA & ACL began to decline after 1940. Harvey suggests that this organization, nonetheless, provides a model for community development and solidarity for all people of African ancestry.

Utilizing social movement theory, Linda S. Moore presents the argument that interorganizational linkages were necessary to support the social movement which eventually culminated in the establishment of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). These linkages, providing both human and monetary resources, brought awareness and organization to the movement. Settlement house workers along with journalists, clergy, and political leaders, both African-American and White, were identified as playing central roles in the movement. THE CALL, issued on Lincoln's birthday and signed by 53 people, initiated the coalition building which was a necessary ingredient for the success of the movement. The
author also discusses the difficulty inherent in coalition building and linkages when White racial superiority blocks effective communication and interaction. Essentially, Moore notes, the White liberals active in the social movement were disinclined to recognize that their African-American counterparts were their professional equals and had skills, knowledge, and networks critical to the success of the movement. The author concludes that similar issues of racial divisiveness impede successful social work practice today and must be overcome if effective and meaningful practice is to result.

In the concluding article, Wilma Peebles-Wilkins focuses on mechanisms for integrating content on African-Americans into the social work curriculum as well as on the broader issue of diversity which is prominent in discussions of social work education. A unified approach to integrating content on African-Americans onto course content is advocated as the most effective way to help students learn and "accept" the information as a significant part of social work/welfare historical development. The author provides examples of unifying concepts, teaching aids, and a brief selected reading list. The author further suggests that the direct involvement of the faculty person in historical research is invaluable. Such involvement strengthens the course by providing primary data which help to validate the teaching process.

Collectively, the authors in this special issue provide information that encourages social workers to understand, accept, and appreciate the legacy of African-American leadership in social welfare history. Furthermore, they ask that the reader use this content as a model for social change and as a springboard for further research.

Reference

Sojourner Truth provides a powerful model of advocacy for the social work profession. This paper offers an analysis of this important historical figure that centers around the implications of being a doubly oppressed minority. An analysis of the nineteenth century chattel slavery system sets the stage for understanding the social environment. A brief biography of her life and evolution from enslaved chattel to feminist activist will highlight her social, spiritual, and personal development. Her philosophy, which is compatible with the modern feminist movement, is outlined by an analysis of her speeches.

Sojourner Truth is listed in most every reference book highlighting notable African-Americans. Historians agree that she played an important role in nineteenth century American history; however, the majority of data available do not analyze the implications and motivations of her work. This lack of scholarly research combined with the illiteracy of the subject presents a special challenge in writing this intellectual biography. Due to the virtual absence of personal papers, the writer must depend upon the accuracy of dictated narratives to which writers have added their own interpretations. The most valuable insight into this important historical figure’s life comes from transcripts of her speeches. "Gentle student bend thine ear to my speech", the title of this essay, are Sojourner Truth’s words also chosen to title the 1853 version of her narrative.

Sojourner Truth demands the attention of social work researchers and historians because of her monumental accomplishments and her status as an enslaved African-American woman. Social work exists to serve oppressed groups and So-
journer represents two of the most brutally oppressed groups in our nation's history: African-Americans and Women. Both groups have been denied basic human rights by the United States Constitution. In spite of the legalized institutional discrimination she faced, Sojourner Truth had an impact upon her peers as well as those in power. It is the responsibility of the social work researcher to give serious attention to oppressed groups that have been virtually ignored in mainstream American history. To limit intellectual biographies only to those well educated scholars who left behind reams of papers would leave a huge gap in our knowledge of social history. Furthermore, social workers must understand the historical circumstances of oppressed groups in order to evaluate current conditions accurately. According to Painter (1990, p. 14), it would be unethical to "cede biography to subjects who had resources enough to secure . . . educations".

Sojourner Truth is a mainstream historical figure in the limited scope allowed to minorities. There are several juvenile biographies written about her and she makes regular appearances in school curriculums and in mainstream publications during Black history month. Fictionalized accounts of her life are "stylized and sanitized" (Painter, 1990, p. 13) and do not offer in depth analysis. The Women's Movement has seized the title of Truth's famous 1851 "Ain't I A Woman?" speech (Truth, 1851) and the phrase is seen throughout feminist writings; however, critical analysis of the speech is rare. This paper will attempt to capture the dichotomy of Sojourner Truth both as an African-American and as a Woman. Sojourner Truth, the abolitionist and the feminist, provided a model for advocacy which is yet unrivaled. If either perspective is omitted, the depth of understanding is compromised (Lerner, 1990).

This paper will analyze social conditions, document Sojourner's life, and examine her philosophy. An examination of the chattel slavery system and the legal status of women set the stage for understanding the social forces of nineteenth century America. A brief biography of her life and evolution from enslaved chattel to feminist activist will highlight her social, spiritual, and personal development.
Historical Context

Sojourner Truth was born with the name Isabella to her parents, James and Elizabeth, in Ulster County, New York around 1797. The chattel slavery system did not recognize marriage in the slave community; hence, few records were maintained about the social lives of slaves making it difficult to determine surnames and to establish birth and death dates. When Isabella was freed in 1826, she took the surname of her last owner, Van Wagenen.

The New York State slave system, in which Sojourner Truth lived, differed considerably from the better known southern plantation system. Yet, New York had the largest slave system of the northern United States. The unique role of the urban slave had a definite Roman-Dutch origin. Shortly after the Dutch settled in what was then called New Netherlands, the West India Trading Company began importing slave labor to build the colonial economic system. The first slaves were imported in 1626. The early slaves included white indentured servants, imported African slaves, and enslaved Native Americans. Slaves maintained the stability of the labor force and played an “important role in transforming a shaky Dutch trading post into a rich and powerful state” (McManus, 1966, p. ix). The Dutch slave system was, nonetheless, an ill-defined economic system. Not all Africans were slaves and those who were free had some legal rights. There was a system of “half freedom” in which the slave agreed to provide labor but had the rights of a free person. Whatever form the enslavement took, the primary goal of the system was to insure an adequate labor force. The system came under English control in 1664 and by 1679, white indentured servitude was limited, Indian slavery was prohibited, and slavery was exclusively limited to those of African descent (McManus 1966).

Even though Isabella lived in what was considered the more “humane” chattel slavery system, her life was threatened and her potential was severely limited. Isabella, the youngest of ten to twelve children, lived in the cellar of a hotel with her parents. They lived in one room and slept on the floor. By the time she
was nine years old, only Isabella and one brother remained with her parents. The other children had been sold. Her mother often recalled the sad story of her five and three year old children being sold on the same day. Children were considered an asset as long as they contributed labor. However, too many children limited the labor of the mother, Truth (1853) recalled.

After the death of her master, at age nine, Isabella was sold for one hundred dollars. Her elderly parents, too frail to go to market, were released to fend for themselves. This common practice relieved the master of obligations to the elderly slave. When her father died, his former master gave him a "good funeral" which consisted of a painted coffin and a jug of whiskey for the family. This was the slave's reward for a lifetime of faithful service in a "humane" slave system (Truth, 1853).

Isabella did not fully perceive the blatant injustice of her situation since the slave's intellect was systematically "crushed out" (Truth, 1853). Education was not allowed for slaves and their perceptions were limited to what could be seen and heard. Abstract thought was difficult if not impossible for Isabella. Throughout her life, Isabella believed that in order for God to hear her prayers, they must be audible. She had no conception of time. She thought that God was a man that looked like George Washington and that when she found Jesus he would visit her at her home. It was a great realization to her when she was able to conceptualize her spirituality. She held no animosity towards her oppressors since her mother taught her that being loyal to her master was being true to God (Truth, 1853), a belief that was reinforced by the slavery system. While the system of northern slavery has been historically documented as relatively humane, basic principles of brainwashing existed to reinforce the system and to create in the slave a "false consciousness" not unlike their southern counterparts.

The brutal realities of the chattel slavery system are virtually inconceivable to the modern reader. The vocabulary used in writings of the time illustrate this point. Women of child bearing age were called "breeders." Masters would "drive" the slaves to market. A slave that was maimed or injured was in debt to the master for lost labor. Essentially, there was no part of this system that treated slaves as human beings (Truth 1853).
In addition to the status of enslaved Blacks, the status of women was a hotly debated topic of the mid-nineteenth century (Hole & Levine, 1971, p. 452). The leaders of the Women’s Movement were well known, if not respected. Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton organized the first Women’s Convention in 1848. This was the first public declaration of the Women’s Suffrage Movement. Prior to this convention, the major focus of the movement was on broadening women’s severely limited educational opportunities and increasing their economic independence. Women were not allowed to vote or to own property. Wives were considered the property of their husbands. In the event of the death of a woman’s husband, his estate went to his closest surviving male relative. Constitutional rights did not extend to women, who were locked out of social and political systems. The leaders of the Women’s Movement realized that the key to power was through politics and focused their efforts on gaining the right to vote (Hole & Levine, p. 1971, Stanton, 1884).

Most female activists treated the Women’s Movement and the Abolitionist Movement as two separate issues. Often, Susan B. Anthony would speak on women’s rights in the morning and advocate for the abolitionist cause in the afternoon. The Women’s Movement consisted primarily of White, middle-class women. The abolitionist movement was dominated by Black men. Sojourner Truth, however, recognized that the two issues were inseparable and managed to combine them, breaking the racial and gender barriers of both social movements.

Truth has been described as the “nexus connecting the abolition and feminist movements” (Bernard, 1967, p. 7). She was a part of ardent women’s rights supporters who opposed the suspension of the Women’s Movement after the Civil War. Leaders in the movement felt that the abolitionist cause was the greater need and abandoned women’s suffrage. According to Truth, “If colored men get their rights and not colored women theirs, you see the colored men will be masters over the women and it will be just as bad as it was before” (Truth, 1867). Even though she was illiterate, Sojourner Truth had insight that is still the subject of sophisticated research linking sexism and racism (Truth, 1851a; Beauvoir 1952; Hooks, 1984).
The Life of Isabella

Between the ages of nine and eleven, Isabella experienced the most brutal side of slavery. Following her master's death, she was sold to the Neely family. Speaking Dutch as a primary language, she could not understand the instructions of her English speaking master. The Neelys, ignorant of the language barrier, thought Isabella was deliberately disobeying and she was beaten frequently. Using the informal communication network of freed slaves, Isabella's father arranged for her to be sold. She was purchased, along with a herd of sheep, by John Dumont for seventy-dollars. She was owned by the Dumonts until she gained her freedom in 1827 (Truth, 1853).

Eventually, Isabella married a slave named Thomas and had five children. Thomas was not a part of Isabella's life after she left the Dumonts and it is believed that he died shortly after she gained her freedom (Truth, 1853).

Isabella's spirituality evolved during her years with the Dumonts. In her narrative, she recalled the moment when she realized that God was omnipresent. She was scrubbing the sidewalk and looked up and said "Oh God! I did not know you was so big" (Truth, 1853, p. 66). This was an important event in her spiritual development that would eventually lead to her life as an itinerant preacher.

In 1817, New York state passed legislation that would grant freedom to all slaves ten years later. Isabella had an agreement with John Dumont that she would be freed one year early in 1826. However, she injured her hand and he refused to free her as he had agreed. He reasoned that, due to her injury, she had not contributed enough labor. After several months, Isabella left her owner of 17 years. She moved in with a Quaker family, the Van Wagenens, who had purchased her services for one year.

While she was with the Van Wagenens, Isabella learned that her son, Peter, had been sold to a plantation owner in Alabama. It was illegal to sell slaves across state lines and Isabella was determined to bring her son back to New York. The Van Wagenens helped her negotiate the court system and she successfully brought Peter home. Following her emancipation, Isabella stayed with the Van Wagenens until 1828 when she and Peter moved to New York City.
In New York, Isabella worked as household help for Elijah Pierson. Peter, who was constantly in trouble with the law, joined a merchant sailing vessel. During her time with Pierson, Isabella met Robert Matthews, whom she thought was Jesus Christ. Matthews, founder of the Matthias movement and a friend of Pierson, introduced Isabella to his religious sect. This massive religious movement lasted from the late eighteenth century until the late 1830’s (Painter, 1990). The specific beliefs of the group are not well documented but there were strict behavior guidelines that had Calvinistic roots (Painter, 1990; Vale, 1835).

Matthews and Pierson established a religious commune in Sing Sing. Isabella joined the group as a full member, though she was responsible for most of the domestic duties. Following the mysterious death of Pierson at the commune, the Mathias movement dissolved. Although Isabella was suspected in Pierson’s poisoning death, she had a powerful ally in Gilbert Vale, a journalist, who published a book about fanaticism that cleared her name (Vale, 1835). She then moved back to New York City and resumed her life as a household worker.

In 1843, Isabella had a religious vision that changed the direction of her life. In this vision, God told her to change her name to Sojourner and lecture people to “embrace Jesus and refrain from sin” (Truth, 1853, p. 98). Sojourner means temporary visitor, and she chose her last name because she would be a temporary visitor speaking the truth. Through her experience at Sing Sing, Sojourner gained understanding of the spiritual realm. She joined an established network of Quaker and Methodist women who traveled the country preaching the message of God. These women, denied positions within their traditional churches, formed their own itinerant movement (Painter, 1990; Smith, 1992).

Sojourner left New York and traveled the northeast. She stayed in taverns and various homes. She lectured at camp meetings and impromptu gatherings. She published her narrative in 1850 and sold copies at her lectures to support herself. While in Massachusetts, she became associated with yet another commune that would further change her life (Smith, 1992; Smythe 1976).
The Northampton Association was a commune of middle-class intellectual reformers who believed in racial and gender equality. It was at Northampton that Sojourner was introduced to the abolitionist and the women's movements. The commune was founded by George W. Benson who was a relative of William Lloyd Garrison. Garrison, a powerful and influential abolitionist, published an anti-slavery newspaper called the *Boston Liberator*. Frederick Douglass, another influential abolitionist and women's rights supporter, was a frequent visitor. Northampton exposed Sojourner to progressive, liberal political ideas. After her association with Northampton, her message became less religious and more political. Following the demise of the Northampton Association in 1846, Sojourner lived in the Bensons' household as she continued her lectures (Painter, 1990).

Sojourner Truth managed to break down the racial and gender barriers that existed in both the abolitionist and women's movements. The Abolitionist Movement, dominated by men, forbade women to attend the early meetings. One of Sojourner's famous lines, "Frederick, is God Dead?" was boldly spoken at an abolitionist meeting. Frederick Douglass was discussing the inevitable violence of Civil War when Sojourner interceded with her question (Truth, 1851d). The Women's Movement was made up of educated middle-class White women. Sojourner was the only Black woman present at the first Women's Convention in 1848. Her most famous speech, "Ain't I A Woman", was delivered at the Women's Convention of 1851. Sojourner Truth challenged the barriers and succeeded in being heard.

Having honed her oratorical skills as a preacher, Sojourner was a speaker who could "bear down a whole audience with a few simple words" (Stowe, 1863, p. 30). Her commanding figure and dignified manner challenged her listeners. Stowe described her as having a strong presence and an air of self confidence and ease. Her tall figure and Quaker style of dress added to her mystique.

Sojourner joined her fellow reformists after the Civil War and focused her attention on the newly freed slaves. She spent several years at the Freedman's Village in Washington, D.C. before returning to her home in Battle Creek, Michigan in 1875.
Sojourner Truth

Over thirty-five years had passed since the "temporary visitor" left New York to begin her life as an activist. Her health was failing and her lectures had come to an end. She would not live to see women get the right to vote. Her work was not finished when she died in 1883 and it is still not finished one hundred years later. Sojourner Truth's simple words still serve as an inspiration for modern activists.

Sojourner's Philosophy

Sojourner Truth's speeches are very brief yet her simple words carried powerful messages. Her speeches were mostly extemporaneous yet her insight and wisdom inspired her audiences.

Beginning with her "Ain't I A Woman Speech" in 1851, excerpts from her speeches will be examined for insight and modern implications. The reader will note that much of her philosophy is compatible with the modern feminist movement.

In 1851, Frances Gage, president of the Women's Convention, ignored protests from the audience and allowed Sojourner Truth to speak. The speakers preceding Sojourner were ministers of various faiths who claimed that men were superior to women and pointed to the fact that Jesus was a man to prove their point. The white middle-class women sat in stunned silence. No one dared challenge the ministers words. Unscathed by previous speakers, Sojourner Truth came to the podium and began her speech by posing the famous question, "Ain't I A Woman?" She proceeded to say that as a Black woman, "nobody ever helps me into carriages, or over mud-puddles, or gives me any best place! And ain't I a woman?" (Truth, 1851b). The fact that Black women were, and are still, excluded from the Women's Movement is an issue that is still debated within the modern feminist movement. Bell Hooks, along with other feminist writers, questions the White middle class domination of the feminist movement. Hooks asserts that "racism abounds in the writings of white feminists" and that feminist theory is based on the "plight of a select group of college-educated middle and upper class, married women" (Hooks, 1990, p. 33).
Sojourner also covered the topic of comparable worth with the following statement: “They talk about this thing in the head... intellect... What’s that got to do with women’s rights or negro’s rights? If my cup won’t hold but a pint, and yours holds a quart, wouldn’t you be mean not to let me have my little half-measure full?” (Truth, 1851b). Modern feminists are demanding that the wage gap be narrowed between men and women by applying the principles of comparable worth. Simply stated, comparable worth values the work of women and allows both men and women to work to their fullest potential.

Finally, Sojourner had an answer for the minister who felt that women were inferior because Jesus was a man. Her answer to him was in the form of a question: “Where did your Christ come from?... From God and a Woman. Man had nothing to do with Him” (Truth, 1851b). Thus, Sojourner Truth in one simple sentence challenges the sexism of traditional religion. Mary Daly (1990), a radical feminist philosopher, has a similar quote: “As long as God is a man, men will strut around like gods.”

Sojourner Truth defined her role in the Women’s Movement as the catalyst, or the “one who stirs things up”. She describes black women as being “thrown down so low that nobody thought we’d ever get up again; but we have been long enough trodden now; we will come up again and now I am here” (Truth, 1853b). She always stressed her role as a doubly oppressed minority and she spoke out when the movement lost its focus. She said, “I am sittin’ among you to watch; and every once and awhile I will come out and tell you what time of night it is” (Truth, 1853).

Throughout her speaking career, Sojourner recounted her slave experience. Her powerful words captured the attention of her audience. As reported in the National Anti-Slavery Standard, “surely if there were any present whose hearts failed to beat in sympathy with her remarks, they must be a good distance from the kingdom of heaven” (July 11, 1863). She stated that “the evils of slavery could not be spoken, they could only be felt” (National Anti-Slavery Standard December 17, 1864). She had a unique perspective on the impact of change on the powerful group. She understood that “it is hard for one who has
Sojourner Truth held the reins for so long to give up; it cuts like a knife" (Truth, 1867). She had a perspective on the dynamics of oppression that many modern theorists lack.

Conclusion

Sojourner Truth’s contribution to modern social work practice is two fold. First, she highlights the characteristics and implications of being a member of an oppressed group. Social workers must understand the history and culture of the oppressed groups with whom they work. Appreciating the struggles of African-Americans and understanding the oppression of women are critical elements of the social work value system. Secondly, Sojourner Truth provides a model of advocacy. Many times she was the only voice speaking on behalf of women but that did not stop her from speaking. Social workers, too, must make their voices heard when others are afraid to speak.

Sojourner Truth was a woman of few words but when she spoke her words were powerful. Her words were simple and her speeches brief but her insight was exceptional. Harriet Beecher Stowe, like most others, recognized Truth’s greatness and wrote, “I do not recollect ever to have been conversant with any one who had more of that silent and subtle power which we call personal presence” (1863, 23). That personal presence transcends time and continues to enlighten all who read her words.

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This article focuses upon William Still as an early modern day social worker who engaged in providing social work services to individuals/families, groups, and the community. The contributions of other African American pioneers are noted to demonstrate the legacy of service in the African American community. Still's life long dedication to social welfare and social work are highlighted. Covered is more than half a century of service to African Americans by this devoted man. African American contributions to social work is underscored through the life and time of William Still.

Introduction

African Americans in the Colonial Period engaged in service for themselves and others. Their consistent efforts were directed toward improvement and enhancement of the quality of life of Blacks in America. They developed avenues for the delivery of social work and social welfare services to the African American community. Many Black people who engaged in this type of endeavor have not been recognized as early social workers. Their contributions are often viewed from a descriptive historical point of view, rather than from a social welfare perspective (Aptheker, 1971 & 1972, Bennett 1988; Bennett 1975; Blassingame, 1972; Du Bois, 1969; Fishel and Quarles, 1967; Franklin and Moss, 1988; Herskovits, 1941; Quarles, 1968; Toppin, 1969; Woodson, 1922). Until recently, little had been written on African American contributions to social welfare. Hence, this social welfare, has been omitted from the wealth of material on the early social workers.

The history of services provided by African Americans to individuals, groups, and communities can be documented since
the Colonial Period. The paucity of acknowledgment has never deterred the propensity of Blacks to toil unceasingly toward community and self-help; the necessity was there and the need was met. Slavery was instituted by statute in Massachusetts in 1641. The initial informal/formal self help was by eleven Blacks in 1644 in New Netherlands, now New York, who were held beyond their time as indentured servants. They won their freedom, and parcels of land (Bennett, 1975, p. 28).

Early Self Help By African Americans

Denied access to the goods and services of America caused Blacks to develop their own methods and systems of care. Survival forced Blacks, free and enslaved, to engage in efforts of self-help. There were legal petitioners like Paul Cuffe who sought the vote as a citizen in Massachusetts in 1780, citing taxation without representation was tyranny, and won the case in 1783 (Aptheker, 1971). Cuffe later paid passage for 38 African Americans to settle in Sierra Leone.

Welfare development in America, was based upon the Elizabethan Poor Laws of England, and not designed for the inclusion of Blacks, but rather their exclusion. Similarly, the Constitution of the United States of America in 1787 recognized chattel slavery, counted slaves as three-fifths of a person for taxation and representation, and prevented for 20 years congressional interference with the slave trade (McKissick, 1969, Toppin, 1969, p. 16).

This official relegating of African Americans to second class citizenship was reflected in their exclusion from welfare services. Denial led Blacks to create alternative ways of meeting their related social, civil, and liberation concerns. They incorporated the ways and means of the enemy into their lives, and avoided detection of their freedom intentions.

African Americans, regardless of their status, were not full citizens. The slave had no rights under law, was forbidden the right to marry and rear a family, prohibited from the right to education, bred for profit, and treated as a subhuman. Free African Americans were restricted by law in their functioning, and could readily be kidnapped and sold as slaves. A communal
adjustment to life was initiated, with a concern for and taking care of one's own. A communal code of conduct based upon humanitarian principles transferred from Africa took root. Children were cared for by the respected older slaves who passed on knowledge of the slave system, and how to survive and/or escape (Jackson, et al. 1973, pp. 7-9).

Free Blacks were engaged, as their time, money and knowledge allowed, in the development of organizations, i.e. churches, lodges, schools, conventions, mutual aid societies, etc. The first formal organization was the Free African Society of Philadelphia, April 12, 1787 founded by Richard Allen and Absalom Jones. These organizational activities were directed toward improving the bio-psycho-social quality of life for African Americans. They encouraged their people to be thrifty, loyal, conscious of each other's needs, to become educated, and to live by the golden rule.

African American Welfare After the Civil War

The two part Emancipation Proclamation, and the end of the Civil War (1865) did not see a distinct change in the status of African Americans. Prejudice and discrimination continued, with the addition of negative social attitudes and laws directed toward Blacks. Between 1865-1866, states enacted Black Codes which emasculated Black freedom. These Codes nullified the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the Unites States which abolished slavery, called for due process under the law, and the Black man's right to vote, respectively. These amendments were not enforced as were the Black Codes, which had behind them the reign of terror of the Ku Klux Klan, organized in 1865. Additionally, in 1883, the Supreme Court declared the Civil Rights Bill of 1875 unconstitutional. The tone of race relations for more than half a century was set in 1896; Jim Crow was established officially by the Supreme Court ruling in Plessy v. Ferguson, which dealt with state's rights and separate but equal treatment for Blacks (Woodward, 1969, Rabinowitz, 1974).

The first official recognition by the federal government of the plight of Blacks was demonstrated by the establishment of The
Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, known as the Freedmen's Bureau, established by Congress, March 3, 1865 and folded in 1872 due to lack of funding (Lindsey, 1952). The Freedmen's Bureau was headed by General O. O. Howard, and administered from the War Department. This was the initial Department of Health, Education, and Welfare or what is now known as the Department of Health and Human Services. The Bureau established hospitals, schools, and fed hungry Blacks and Whites as well as protected four million freed Blacks from the hostility of Whites (Bennett, 1988).

William Still—October 7, 1821 to July 14, 1902

The predecessors of modern day social work have usually been identified by social welfare historians as Caucasian with scant attention to African Americans as service recipients or providers. This has been further explicated in text books used in social work education. Rarely have 17th and 18th century African Americans been depicted as providers and organizers of social work and social welfare services (Johnson, 1991). A few have begun to assess this gap, and attempt to be more inclusive and/or explore African American contributions with focus mostly after the Civil War. African American social workers who have led the way in chronicling ante-bellum African American social work and social welfare services have been Class, et al. (1974), Cromwell (1976), Jackson, et al (1973), Johnson (1975 & 1977), and Ross (1978). Some others have recently begun to identify African Americans and their social welfare service in the latter part of the 19th and into the 20th century.

Pioneers in social work and social welfare have been Blacks and non-Blacks, the terms were not in use during their life times. However, because they provided services in the field of social welfare, they can be considered the predecessors of social workers. African American pioneers worked with and for their people; all contributed to a better way of life for Blacks. Jackson et al. (1973) cited such persons as Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, David Walker, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, and Frederick Douglass as having provided social services to Blacks. They also listed a number of persons whom they considered to be
pioneers and stated the primary endeavors of each. These persons include James Forten, Gabriel Pronner, Denmark Vessey, William Shipper, David Ruggles, Charles L. Redmon, Martin Delaney, Frances Watkins, and William Wells Brown. This list provides a different and needed perspective on the contributions of African Americans to the field of social welfare; they were the forerunners of African American social workers. One person not included in the list is William Still, who has all of the qualifications for inclusion, and was a contemporary of many of those listed.

Still is known for his book on the Underground Railroad, which provides first hand accounts given by fugitive slaves, which are often cited by historians. Still’s work in social welfare is not well known though it covered over a half-century from 1847 to 1900. He was a man of many interests and talents, in addition to being concerned with the delivery of social welfare services. Still devoted his life to improving the conditions of the Black community as well as the wider society (Kahn, 1972 and Norwood, 1931). He can be described as “a social worker’s social worker”, skilled in casework, group work, and community organization. Though periled by danger as a worker in the Underground Railroad, Still did not waiver in serving his people. Perhaps, it was memory of his slave parentage, and their first hand accounts that inspired his dedication. “No black man could be free, in his estimation, if all were not” (Kahn, 1972, p. 9).

Still was born on October 7, 1821, on a farm in New Jersey, a free Black of ex-slave parents whose first four children were born in slavery. In their quest for freedom, the parents, Levin and Sidney (Charity) Still were forced to leave two sons in slavery, but brought out two daughters. Knowing that he had two slave brothers was a burning issue for Still. He and his free born siblings worked on the farm while they educated themselves and took advantage of any opportunity available. For example, the family subscribed to an anti-slavery newspaper, The Colored American which was edited by African Americans, and a brother, James Still, became a doctor (James Still, 1970).

At the age of 26, in 1847, Still began his contribution as a social worker in Philadelphia. He was employed by the Anti-
Slavery Society as a clerk and handy-man. On his own initiative, he began to record information about the fugitive slaves who passed through the office on their way to freedom. His first case record was that of William and Ellen Craft, widely referred to in the literature, and cited in Still's book, *The Underground Railroad* (Still, 1970). His eagerness, interest, and intelligence led to increased job duties to aid runaway slaves. Philadelphia was a main passage route for fugitive slaves and slave-catchers, and avoiding the slave-catchers was important for the fugitives' freedom.

Still's record keeping on fugitive slaves who passed his way, was his effort to assist relatives to contact them. Thus, Still was engaged in case finding, problem-solving, and social action. Still's attention to details of the many fugitives who came seeking help became known, and ensured that people in need could be brought to him. On August 1, 1850, a man in need of help was brought to Still. This man in the routine exploratory interview was identified as Peter, one of Still's brothers who had been left in slavery. Peter had purchased his own freedom for $500, but his wife and three children were still in slavery. Peter's parallel story to his parents' escape received attention and rescue efforts to assist his family to freedom (Packard, 1856).

Still moved from clerk to administrator of the Anti-Slavery office. He became secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, and in 1852 became chairman of the special Vigilance Committee, a group of four persons charged to see to the needs of the fugitives, raise funds, and keep records of expenditures.

Fund raising and community organizing as well as administration became an official part of Still's duties in the Anti-Slavery office. Indirectly, sanction was given to his record keeping of the fugitive slaves. Still did these duties, and continued to maintain case records of "clients" who passed through his office on their way to freedom. Other duties included acting as a nineteenth century Traveler's Aid Society for runaway slaves who passed through Philadelphia. Frequently, Still provided food and shelter in his own home when these were not available elsewhere in the community.

By reading the ads on runaways, Still was able to keep abreast of developments with his potential clients. This was
a method of case finding, which facilitated the policies of the Acting committee. Correspondence, in addition to case records, were kept on slaves with whom Still had contact. He received coded letters from others referring to fugitives. Moreover, slaves wrote to him about their new life of freedom and sought information about loved ones who were to follow them. The accounts of these narratives read very much like the present day intake exploratory interviews (Still, 1970).

Still’s work brought him in contact with many others of that period who were concerned with slavery. Harriet Tubman (code name “Moses”) brought slaves to Still. Several other of the pioneer social workers such as Watkins, Douglass, William Wells Brown, and other Black and non-Black abolitionists of the day were friends or acquaintances.

Still’s work eventually caused him to be arrested for assisting in the escape of three slaves (mother and children) in 1855. The case received widespread attention, and Still’s account of the incident was published in the *New York Tribune* on July 30, 1855. Still was acquitted for lack of evidence in the case; the slave, Jane Johnson, testified for him.

Still concerned himself with follow up of his “clients” because he was interested in how they were progressing, and in quieting the doubts raised by his fellow workers. Visits were made to settlements in Canada and other Northern cities of the United States, speaking to the landlords and employers of the migrants, to verify his observations of the fugitives.

The fugitive slaves were found worthy or “eligible” for the help which they received. Through case management in securing needed resources for “client use”, and follow up after termination, Still was able to measure the success of his work with “clients”. As the number of fugitives coming to the office increased, Still had to curtail his record keeping, but managed to record needed information which could be passed on to friends or relatives making inquiries at a later date. From December 1852, when Still began to chair the Acting Committee, until February 1857, more than eight hundred people, of which sixty were children, passed through his office (Kahn, 1972, p. 171).

Services initiated by Still include case finding, fund raising, social action, community organization, case management, and
follow up. Moreover, he engaged in policy making and program development to meet perceived needs. They were in his care for only a brief time, but Still instituted a training program for the fugitives. He instructed them in cleanliness and life styles to which they were unaccustomed.

Still was interested in the community in which he lived. He focused on the City of Brotherly Love, Philadelphia’s discrimination against Blacks. On the city railroad cars Blacks were forced to ride outside with the conductors though they paid full fare. This practice was first assailed by Still in 1859. His eloquent letter denouncing this unsavory condition was published in the *North American and United States Gazette* and entitled, “Colored People and the Cars”.

John Brown’s attack on Harper’s Ferry, October 16, 1859, and subsequent arrest put Still in jeopardy. Frederick Douglass, Still, and other abolitionists had met secretly six months prior to the ill-fated raid. Douglass went to Canada from Rochester when Brown was arrested, but Still remained in Philadelphia. His records were hid in the Lebanon Cemetery.

No connection was made between Brown and Still even though Mrs. Brown and her daughter, Annie, accepted the offer to stay in Still’s home while awaiting Brown’s execution. Still continued his work; he conducted a clothing drive and organized a boycott of slave-produced products. With the advent of the Civil War, and the expectation that the slaves would be immediately freed, Still focused more on African American conditions in Philadelphia. He continued his attack on the railroad cars of the city through petitions, and helped to organize the Social Civil and Statistical Association to dispel the belief of racial inferiority of Blacks (Norwood, p. 67). A lecture series was conducted by the Association with many of the abolitionists, but was only partly successful due to bad weather and other circumstances. The financial loss of this project was assumed by Still.

Still continued his fight against discrimination on the railroad cars. On December 15, 1863 he wrote a letter to the Philadelphia Press deploring the state of affairs and made reference to Judge Taney’s Dred Scott decision. This letter was reprinted in the *London Times*. To care for his family, Still had begun
a business in coal. Nevertheless at the end of the Civil War, he took time off to take a job in a Black Camp as Post Sutler which involved supplying food to the commissary. Still maintained concern about the railroad cars and formed a coalition with others. He wrote to political candidates and those who responded positively received the coalition's vote and were elected with a large majority. These efforts resulted in an anti-discrimination bill passed by the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, March 18, 1867, which brought Still to political and social activism.

Still's success was affected by the criticism of fellow Blacks who became envious of his political and financial success. They feared his power, and attempted to boycott purchase of his coal. Still's wrote a pamphlet in response, *A Brief Narrative of the Struggle for the Rights of the Colored People of Philadelphia in the City Railway Cars and a Defense of William Still, Relating to His Agency Touching the Passage of the Late Bill*.

Still continued to devote time, energy and money to the cause of African Americans. He was undaunted by criticism against him. In cooperation with the Anti-Slavery Society, he undertook several welfare projects and continued his work against discrimination. Through his efforts, the Home for the Aged and Infirm Colored Persons was given money; news was disseminated about the 15th Amendment; and voter education and registration were conducted.

In May, 1871, the Anti-Slavery Society of Pennsylvania unanimously passed a resolution recognizing Still's service to the Society, fugitive slaves, and record keeping. He was requested to publish his experiences about the Underground Rail Road (Kahn, 1972, p. 213). Still wrote his experiences with the help of his oldest daughter Dr. Caroline Still, a physician. The first edition of the *Underground Rail Road* sold 10,000 copies, and subsequent editions were published.

Still devoted the last twenty years of his life to the conditions facing Blacks. He headed the Constitutional amendments committee for Pennsylvania on anti-discrimination clauses relating to public facilities. He served on the Boards of civic and philanthropic organizations; the Home for Destitute Colored Children; The Shelter (home for children); Storer College in Harper's
Ferry, West Virginia; and the Pennsylvania Board of Trade. With his own money, he backed the publication of William Lloyd Garrison’s newspaper, The Nation, and explored the possibility of the establishment of a Black bank. He took an active interest in encouraging Black authors in their work. Politically, Still argued that Blacks should support candidates who would be responsive to their needs, and not automatically vote Republican as was the trend at that time. This again brought him in conflict with existing attitudes of African Americans. His foresight was rewarded when the candidate backed by him and his coalition, acceded to the demand that Blacks be permitted to join the police force. Still encouraged Blacks to exercise independence rather than gratitude to any one political party. He lauded self-reliance, hard work, honesty, and communal elevation of the race (Kahn, 1972, pp. 221-222).

With Still’s help, a democratic mayor of Philadelphia was elected, and he appointed three Black men to the police force. Still was instrumental in securing Liberty Hall to hold a reception for the three Black policemen. He assumed the financial responsibility for Liberty Hall when others were unable to follow through with their commitments.

Still was very active in seeing that the 30,000 Blacks of Philadelphia were represented at the 1876 Centennial exhibition. His book, The Underground Rail Road was displayed. As a member of the Central Presbyterian Church, he helped to start the Gloucester Presbyterian Mission which thrived and grew independent. He also helped to form a YMCA for Blacks. To help Blacks purchase homes at low rates, he supported the establishment of the Berean Building and Loan Association.

On July 14, 1902, Still died at his home. His death was reported in the New York Times as the Father of the Underground Railroad. He left an estate valued between $750,000 and $1,000,000, and a human legacy of social work and social welfare services of major importance.

Summary

This has been a brief account of African Americans who were pioneer forerunners of social workers. Focus was on
William Still who can be called the first African American social worker who used modern techniques of service delivery. His more than half century of service spanned the careers of others who cannot be denied their place as early social workers. The need for African Americans to seek means of coping within a racist society by providing service to and for their own, was a challenge eagerly met by many, as was exemplified in the career of William Still. He and others made a commitment to improve the quality life for their people, and translated their beliefs into hard work. The exclusion of Blacks from social services in the wider society spurred Still and others to provide those services which were needed. They were dedicated to “doing the right thing”. It is deplorable that these pioneers have been overlooked in their contributions to social work; especially since some, like Still, managed to establish a Department of Health and Human Services of their own. The pioneers directed their energies toward providing service in areas where acute need existed.

The contributions of Still and others of the pioneer era are the foundations of African American social welfare and of African American social workers. Still was engaged in thirty-four social work or social welfare service activities during his life. The pioneers recognized the need for active involvement and participation, individually and collectively. As an oppressed people, their agendas were broadly based as they were aware of the interface of civil, legal, and social rights. They sought liberation and justice to positively impact their bio-psycho-social needs.

THE SOCIAL WORK AND SOCIAL WELFARE ACTIVITIES OF WILLIAM STILL, 1847–1900

1. A caseworker, group worker, and community organizer in the Anti-Slavery Society office of Philadelphia. As an administrator did policy and program development.
2. Developed a 19th century Traveler’s Aid Society and other community resources to aid the fugitive slaves in their flight to freedom.
3. Follow up field visits (to migration sites) after service to assess eligibility (worthiness) and use the fugitive slaves had made of service rendered.
4. Maintained case records on fugitives passing through which could be used by their relatives in locating them.
5. Provided the only account of the Underground Railroad from the participant viewpoint.
6. Provided information on the 15th amendment of the Constitution along with voter education and registration.
7. Initiated case finding, problem-solving, and social action activities within the Anti-Slavery Society Office.
8. Secretary and Chaired the Vigilance Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society whose responsibility was to provide service to fugitive slaves; served as a case manager.
9. Funds raised on behalf of fugitive slaves as well as to improve the life conditions of African Americans in Philadelphia and elsewhere.
10. Advocated against discrimination in the Philadelphia railroad cars.
12. Supported reform and repeal of discriminatory laws.
14. Wrote a book, letters to newspapers, and a pamphlet relating to African American concerns.
15. Helped to organize a boycott of slave produced products.
17. Chaired the Social, Civil, and Statistical Association which was founded to combat racial prejudice.
18. Became a Post Sutler to supply food to the commissary in an African American camp.
19. Formed coalitions to fight discrimination and elect political candidates.
20. Sought better education for African Americans.
21. Served on the Boards of The Home for Destitute Children, The Shelter (home for children), Pennsylvania Board of Trade, Storer College at Harpers Ferry, West VA.
22. Instrumental in hiring the first African American policemen in Philadelphia.
23. Participated in the 1876 Centennial Exhibition by putting his book on display representing African American progress.
24. Secured a building, Liberty Hall where African Americans could hold meetings.
25. Started the Gloucester Presbyterian Mission, a mutual aid society.
26. Established a YMCA.
27. Formed the Berean Building and Loan Association to help African Americans purchase homes at a low rate.
28. Provided his home as a meeting place for the Anti-Slavery Society free of charge.
29. Advocated that African Americans should support political candidates who were responsive to their needs.
30. Contributed funds to care for African American soldiers, the testimonial for William Lloyd Garrison, the Mercantile Library Company of Philadelphia, and Nation, a newspaper associated with Garrison.
31. Supported aspiring African Americans in their literary efforts.
32. Helped to organize the Berean Presbyterian Church and School.
33. Organized the Colored Soldiers and Sailors Orphan Home.
34. Established a small Department of Health and Human Services in the City of Philadelphia, and utilized these resources around the country as time and money allowed.

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Still, James (1970). *Early Recollections and Life of Dr. James Still*. Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press. Originally published in 1877 by J. B. Lippincott & Co. Dr. Still was an older brother of William Still who was an apprenticed trained doctor who practiced medicine.


The National Urban League (NUL), under Dr. George Edmund Haynes' leadership made the training and education of African American social workers one of its major functions during the early 1900s. This article provides detailed information about the unique and timely fellowship program which provided funding and opportunities for many African American to study social work at leading schools of social work in the country. The Social Science Department of Fisk University also played a significant role in pioneering African American social work education, and is also briefly discussed.

George Edmund Haynes's pioneering role in social work education for African Americans is unparalleled. When Haynes, co-founder and first executive director of the National Urban League (NUL), joined the faculty at Fisk University in 1910, he began the tasks of developing and implementing a comprehensive social work training program (Carlton-LaNey 1983). The training program consisted of both a social work certificate program and a fellowship training program. Haynes believed that securing and training African American social workers for service in urban communities was the "most pressing need" (Haynes, 1910, PPCU) of the newly established National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes (renamed the NUL in 1920). Furthermore, he projected that a well-conceived social work training program would give Fisk University "a most marked prestige" and place the school "before the world as a champion of the most up-to-date movement for the uplift of the Negro" (Waterman, 4/19/10, SFFU). Haynes' focus, personal and political power, and clarity of purpose, so impressed the
Fisk administrators they eagerly embraced the idea of establishing the Social Science Department. The department marked the beginning of social work training for African American students, and according to Haynes, was designed to serve as a "powerful stimulus to other institutions and other centers to emulate and draw experience from" (PPCU Box 32; Carlton-LaNey, 1983).

During Haynes' years at Fisk, five courses were offered which including: (1) Elementary Economics: Principles and Organization; (2) Advanced Economics: Economics and Labor Problems; (3) Sociology and Social Problems; (4) History of the Negro in America, and (5) The Negro Problem. In order to facilitate the comprehension of material and information, Haynes, within five years, had replaced the Sociology and Social Problems course with four separate courses: (1) Principles of Sociology, (2) Playground and Recreation, (3) Practical Sociology, and (4) Statistics and Methods of Social Research (Fisk Bulletin, 1916:58).

Convinced that social workers needed a historical perspective from which to understand the African American condition, Haynes developed and taught both courses in African American history. He carefully crafted the two courses to cover content ranging from labor force participation to music, culture, and military strength. These were the first courses in African American history to be taught in American colleges. Haynes' beliefs about the value of history to social workers was shared by several leaders in social work education. For example, Edward Devine of the New York School of Philanthropy, in a presentation before the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1915, stated that it was desirable that social workers should have definite knowledge of the historical relations of social classes to one another, of the privileged and the exploited, of the distressed and their benefactors, of the employers and wage earners (1915:609).

George Mangold, director of the St. Louis School, speaking at the same conference, concurred with Devine and added that social work leaders who lacked a historical perspective, "will lack the sound and permanent elements which are necessary for the
definite improvement of social conditions" (Mangold, 1915:613). Haynes' interest, expertise, and commitment to African American history, provided the impetus for him to join Carter G. Woodson in 1915 as a founding member of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (Jones, 1974:143).

In addition to the courses cited above, a field work component was also an integral part of the Fisk social work program. The field experience required seniors to work in the field four hours per week for a thirty week period. Six additional hours were to be spent in the study of methods of statistics and social investigation, totaling ten hours per week for field involvement (Haynes, 1911:385). The field instruction program, was similar in content and length to other pioneering schools of social work in New York, Chicago, and Boston (Meier, 1954; Abbott, 1915; Smith, 1915).

Although Haynes was pleased with the success of the social work program, he was not content. He realized that the training of qualified leaders through the social work training program had had an excellent start. Yet he recognized that "more workers could be trained if there were more facilities." Haynes concluded that "the demand exceeds the supply" (PPCU Box 32). In an effort to reach a larger number of young scholars with a propensity toward social work Haynes established the National Urban League Fellowship Program.

The Fellowship Program

The NUL Fellowship Program, a vital part of the plan for training African American social workers, developed parallel to the training program itself. It may even be said that the fellowship program provided a component so basic—that of selecting and financing social work students—that its failure may have meant the failure of the entire training program. The NUL annual report covering the fiscal year 1910–11 demonstrated the interrelatedness of the fellowship program and the training program, noting that, "Last, but no means least, is the securing and training of Negro social work scientifically and efficiently" (Jones, 9/12/49 PPCU). The term "securing" refers, in part, to the fellowship program as a prerequisite to the "training"
itself. "Securing" meant not only finding "promising [college] students... who wish[ed] to make social work a life calling," but providing funds in the way of fellowships that would give opportunities for study at specific schools of social work. The fellowships were "open to candidates who had completed a college course or its equivalent in an institution of good standing" (WPCU Box 2). The NUL used several means to advertise its fellowship program including addresses at conferences, newspaper articles, word of mouth, and personal letters to friends and colleagues (WPCU Box 2; Haynes, 12/9/11 HPFU). The first NUL fellows had opportunities to pursue graduate studies at the New York School of Philanthropy or at Fisk University under Haynes' supervision.

The Fellowship Committee consisting exclusively of the NUL Executive Board members, was established to serve the fellowship program. Distinguishing itself as a committee with tremendous longevity, this committee "sifted the fellowship applications and selected the successful candidates on the basis of preparation, interest, fitness, and to a degree, need" (Jones, 9/12/49 PPCU). As a member of the Fellowship Committee, Haynes was responsible for (1) distributing applications, (2) providing test questions for examination and (3) supervising the candidate's trial field experience in Nashville. Haynes' assessment of candidates was, therefore, vital since he was often the only Fellowship Committee member to have face-to-face contact with candidates who did their trial field work in Nashville. Once the Fellowship Committee made their selections, Haynes sent the necessary application information to the New York School of Philanthropy recommending students for admission (Haynes, 9/5/13 PPCU). Perhaps a similar process took place for students at Fisk, however, no data were found describing that process.

Students who applied for the NUL fellowships were required to pass a preliminary examination which was designed to test the applicant's general education and knowledge. It was based upon an entrance test which had been given, in past years, by the New York School of Philanthropy (NUL Bulletin, 1916). The examination, consisting of approximately ten questions, tested an applicant's general awareness of social work and her/his familiarity with current societal issues (PPCU Box 32).
NUL Fellowships

It also attempted to assess the applicant's "sympathy for and protection of the weak" along with her/his unselfishness and fellowship. These were qualities deemed imperative for the selfless endeavors of social work (WPCU Box 2).

The written examination not only tested the knowledge and awareness of applicants, but via a written book review in sociology or economics, also provided an assessment of candidates' language skills and aptitude for "scholastic achievements." Eligible candidates were required to be United States citizens, over twenty-one years of age, and in good health. The Fellowship Committee's final decision also took into account the candidate's previous school work, general personality and "ability in, knowledge of, and fondness for outdoor sports and recreation" (PPCU Box 32). The increasing trend toward organized play and fresh-air work in part accounted for the latter criteria. As Haynes saw it, "wholesome amusement" was imperative and "the provisions which people had for the play life of their children and themselves was nearly as important as the conditions of labor" (1913:116).

The entrance examination tested a student's knowledge of social work and "the business of social workers." The NUL's mandate defined the business of social workers as the:

coordination and cooperation among existing agencies and organizations for improving the industrial, economic, social, and spiritual conditions of Negroes...and in general to promote, encourage, assist and engage in any and all kinds of work for improving the industrial, economic, social, and spiritual conditions among Negroes (LC NUL Series).

The examination, in keeping with this mandate, asked students to define such terms as heredity, juvenile court, and death rate. In addition, terms which dealt largely with economics, such as capital, unearned increment, and standard of living were included. In an effort to determine the applicant's awareness of social conditions, s/he was required to describe the industrial revolution, outlining subsequent social and economic problems. One examination question presented a hypothetical situation in which a steel plant, employing ten thousand men, was erected in open country near a village. Applicants were asked to describe the divergent social problems which could result from
such an industry. Other questions asked applicants to discuss the most important functions of the family as a social institution, citing social and economic conditions which interfere with its healthy functioning.

As noted above, the rigorous testing procedure also required that prospective candidates go to New York or Nashville for a few weeks of observation and trial in the field. If the students then showed promise in scholarship and capacity for social work as assessed by the Fellowship Committee, letters of recommendation were written and final awards made. In the case of the New York School of Philanthropy, Haynes wrote letters of recommendation to Edward Devine, the Director, requesting scholarship loans for the fellows (Haynes, 6/26/16; 8/21/13; PPCU Boxes 31 and 32).

These scholarship loans were in the form of tuition waivers. Once students were employed, they were expected to repay the loans. Eventually, as the fellowship program became more established, the schools that accepted fellows paid the tuition as part of the fellowship award. The early fellowships were provided in several forms. One consisted of a grant of $50 per month for approximately eight months to cover living expenses. The New York School of Philanthropy gave an additional $100 in the form of tuition. The other was an award of $150, which was the approximate amount necessary for living expenses in Nashville and tuition at Fisk University for one year (PPCU Box 32).

The fellowships were expected to cover most of the student's expenses. Haynes, responding to one fellow's query about expenses in 1915, indicated that reference books furnished by the library would be used for much for her work and that "probably eight to ten dollars would cover what [she] would be expected to pay for books" (8/26/15 HPMV).

As the number of fellows increased and the expenses for fellows grew, the NUL was able to secure funding for the program from various sources. For example, two fellows, attending the New York School of Philanthropy in 1929, were financed by the Julius Rosenwald Fund and granted free tuition. In Pittsburgh, the Pittsburgh Urban League along with the NUL office financed one student for the same year. Similarly, individual
philanthropists such as Mrs. Samuel Sachs, and organizations such as the Department of Education of the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World (I.B.P.O.E. of W.) provided fellowships.

To ensure that fellows received executive training, each fellow was assigned regular duties both in the NUL office and in the field. The fellows in New York studied at the New York School of Philanthropy with the privileges of some courses at Columbia University. Under the auspices of the NUL, these fellows also did practical field work in connection with several other agencies in the city including Victoria Earle Matthews' White Rose Home, and the New York Charity Organization Society (HCPMV 1914–15). Their field work was supervised by the NUL's Field Secretary, Eugene K. Jones. Haynes supervised the work of students in Nashville and was instrumental in organizing and developing the needed “laboratory” or agency facilities such as Bethlehem House. Students in Nashville also did practical work with agencies and/or organizations such as the Women's Missionary Council, the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and the Public Welfare League of Nashville.

The NUL had minimal obligatory requirements for its fellows. They were required to devote only one year to social work after completing their training. The fellowship and training program was designed to spread an appreciation for scholarship and training in the social work field. Furthermore, it was expected to raise the standards both of personnel and programs within the African American community (Jones, 9/12/49 PPCU Box 55). Although the NUL was one of the most important agencies pursuing social work activities during this time period, fellows were not bound to work for the League. Nonetheless, perhaps a third of the fellows at one time or another were involved either with the national office or in various positions with NUL affiliates (OPPORTUNITY, 1935:334). Forrest B. Washington, the tenth NUL fellow, went on to organize and direct the Detroit League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes and, in 1927, became director of the Atlanta School of Social Work. Washington's work was so impressive that he was described as “one of the foremost social workers during his time period” (Parris, 12/12/80). He maintained a prominent position
among social work leaders in the United States by holding successive positions as local league Executive in Detroit, Area Director of Negro Economics in the United States Department of Labor during World War I, and Director of Research of the Detroit Council of Social Agencies (Jones, 9/12/49 PPCU).

Inabel Lindsay, another noted fellow, so engaged herself in social work education at Howard University that her name was nearly synonymous with the organization and development of Howard’s School of Social Work, where she became the school’s first Dean in 1937 (Matthews, 1976:1). William Colson and Maurice Moss pursued careers as Executive Secretaries of the Virginia and Pittsburgh Urban League, respectively. Other fellows engaged in a wide range of social work roles (PPCU Box 55). Eugene Jones, the Executive Director who superseded Haynes, identified the following as positions held by some of their seventy-seven fellows by 1935:

- Case workers with family or children’s agencies ......... 13
- Aides, supervisors, etc., with emergency relief organizations ....................................... 10
- Professors of sociology ............................................. 4
- Professors of economics ........................................... 1
- Teacher in college .................................................... 1
- Public school teachers (including teacher of mental defects) ........................................... 4
- Director of a children’s home ................................. 1
- Settlement house heads ............................................ 2
- Big Brother and Big Sister Organization Director ...... 1
- Field of recreation .................................................. 2
- Field of health ....................................................... 2
- Field of religion ..................................................... 2
- One each in the field of girl’s work with the YWCA, parole officer, and research (Jones, 1935, p. 334).

Haynes evaluated the subsequent careers of NUL fellows as “concrete approval of our system of scholarships and fellowships and our training center methods” (12/14/16 JWJC Box 1). Not all fellows, however, brought such laudable praise to the League Fellowship Program. Chandler Owens, a 1913 fellow and one of the most prominent African American sociologists
of his time, lambasted Haynes and the NUL through his editorials in the *Messenger*. Through the *Messenger*, "the only Radical Negro Magazine" during the early 1900’s, Owens and A. Philip Randolph attacked Haynes for his "compromises [in] the case of the Negro." This attack stemmed from one of Haynes’ releases from the office of the Director of the Department of Negro Economics, which praised African Americans for their patriotism and "usefulness in industry" during the war. The *Messenger* expressed a lack of concern with such "loose and meaningless praise of the Negroes' part in the war" and advocated a need to force "hand-in-hand, Old School Negro leaders" from public life (1919:7). In another article entitled "The Invisible Government of Social Work," Owens and Randolph further attacked the NUL, labeling it "an organization of, for, and by capital" (1920:177). To substantiate this charge, they listed the 1919 contributors to the NUL referring to them as "capitalists or capitalist representatives." Haynes was embarrassed by Owens' outspoken rejection of the League and wrote to his friends in New York that the agency was tightening its screening of fellows (Parris and Brooks, 1971:154). According to available data, Haynes made no attempt to respond to the substance of the attack. Perhaps his firm belief in his mission and his noncontroversial style dissuaded the need for a counterattack.

Although both Haynes and the NUL were subjected to criticism, such as those presented by the *Messenger*, both were praised for their substantive contributions to social work practice and education. Perhaps the overall success of the fellowship and training program, more than any other phase of the NUL work, illustrated the organization’s accomplishments and widespread acceptance. The success of the fellowship program is demonstrated not only by the large number of qualified social work fellows it produced, including Drs. Inabel Lindsay, Abram Harris, and Ira de. A. Reid, but also by the prestigious schools of social work from which these fellows graduated. By 1920, this list of schools included the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, the Social Work School of Simmons College and the Philadelphia Training School for Social Work. During the following two academic years, the fellowship program spread to the Carnegie Institute of Technology and the University of
Pittsburgh. By 1935, the list included the Atlanta School of Social Work, Ohio State University, and Bryn Mawr College (PPCU Box 55; Jones, 1935).

These schools' decision to accept NUL fellows also demonstrated their commitment to Haynes' idea that African Americans should have opportunities for professional training in social work. Students overwhelmingly took advantage of these opportunities. Furthermore, George Haynes' goal to train African American social workers came to fruition as young scholars, social work educators, organizers, and practitioners who benefitted from his work make their impact on the development of American social work and social welfare. Although Haynes left the NUL before 1920, the organization continued to develop and refine programs that he initiated. The George Edmund Haynes Fellowship Program which was established by the NUL in 1979 is a testament to Haynes' vision and commitment to the education and training of African Americans interested in human services and planned change.

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Fisk University Bulletin, 1912.


"George Edmund Haynes Compromises the Case of the Negro Again." 1919. Messenger, 2 (July) 7.


Parris, Guichard. Interview in his home in New York City, December 12, 1980.


HPFU George E. Haynes Papers/Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

HPVM George E. Haynes Papers, Mount Vernon, New York

JWJC George E. Haynes Papers in the James Weldon Johnson Memorial Collection of Negro Arts and Letters, Yale Collection of American Literature in Beinecke Library at Yale University.


PPCU Guichard Parris Papers — Columbia University Rare Books and Manuscripts—Butler Library

SFFU Haynes’ Student File/Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

WPCU L. Hollingsworth Woods Papers at Columbia University Rare Books and Manuscript Library
Black welfare workers in the South had limited opportunities for professional social work education and development. In 1926, annual public welfare institutes for Blacks were sponsored by the North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare through its Division of Work Among Negroes. They filled a critical educational and professional void. For twenty years, these annual institutes bolstered the knowledge and skills of a growing corp of Black welfare workers and the maturation of the profession in North Carolina.

The paucity of professionally trained workers was troubling to social welfare leaders of both races in the early decades of the twentieth century. Finding trained Black welfare workers was especially difficult as agencies and organizations tried to deal with the many social problems Black city dwellers and rural residents faced (Juvenile Protection Association, 1913). Jessie O. Thomas, field secretary of the Atlanta Urban League, called for the establishment of a southern training center for Blacks at the 1920 National Conference of Social Work to remedy this problem. As a result, Atlanta University School of Social Work was founded that year (Ross, 1978; Platt and Chandler, 1988; Rouse, 1983). Atlanta University faculty member, Helen Pendleton (1925) saw the need for trained Negro social workers in southern rural districts. She encouraged social work education be extended to Blacks so they could render more effective service to their own people and increase understanding between the races in the south.

Another Black social worker was vexed by the absence of Black welfare workers as he began to implement a new statewide public welfare program for Blacks. In 1924, Lt. Lawrence
A. Oxley was named to direct the Bureau of Work Among Negroes, a new unit of the North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare. Oxley believed Blacks helping each other was the most effective method of ameliorating desperate social conditions in the racially segregated state. Competent workers skilled in social work methods were needed to carry out his ambitious state-wide program of welfare work. Mrs. Hattie Russell of Charlotte, North Carolina was the only Black worker employed in a county department of public welfare when Oxley began his position (North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, 1926, p. 108; Sanders, 1933).

One of the most difficult problems facing the Bureau has been that of securing trained Negro social workers. There is a growing demand for educated social workers in the South. This is part of the larger demand for the best leadership among Negroes in other fields (North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, 1926, p. 110).

In 1926, Oxley began annual public welfare institutes to supplement training and staff development needs of Black workers. Oxley’s initiative was pioneering, especially in reference to the development of Black social work professionals. The North Carolina Public Welfare Institutes for Negroes introduced evolving social work methods, knowledge and skills, national and state leaders and social welfare developments to Black welfare personnel until 1946. During this twenty year span, the institutes professionalized social work among southern Blacks who were cut off from most traditional avenues.

Using descriptive historical research approach, primary and secondary records were examined to ascertain the organization, delivery and impacts of the institutes during the Great Depression and years of World War II. Early leaders in social work education efforts are identified.

History of Social Work Education Among Blacks

Gary and Gary (1993) found little on the history of social work education and training for Blacks in the literature. (Editor’s note: see next article) Blacks had limited opportunities for
social work training and education as compared to Caucasians in the 1920s. Southern schools of social work, like University of North Carolina, did not admit people of color. Northern schools accepted Blacks, but in limited numbers. Carlton-LaNey (1982, 1991) and Platt (1991) describe the matriculation of two Black men and one woman at the New York School of Social Work and Chicago School of Social Work during the Progressive Era. However, more social histories on the educational experiences of early social work pioneers are needed.

Lack of opportunity meant several alternatives materialized to insure professional training of Black welfare workers. Schools of social work were started to offset this problem. In addition to Atlanta University School of Social Work, the Bishop Tuttle Memorial Training School of Social Work was established by the Women's Auxiliary of Episcopal Church in 1925 at St. Augustine's College in Raleigh, North Carolina. Black women received two years of formal courses in social services and religious studies (Halliburton, 1937, p. 52-53). Unfortunately, the demand for trained social workers was greater than the two southern professional schools could accommodate.

A second alternative was training through agency auspices and investigative conferences (Pollard, 1983). Atlanta University, Hampton Institute and Tuskegee Institute held annual investigative conferences. Begun in the late 1890s, these popular education-based conferences promoted self-help, self-reliance, cooperative economics and race solidarity. Many social welfare initiatives and activities grew out of these national research conferences. Day care centers, insurance and mutual aid ventures and health and sanitation campaigns were started by Blacks after attendance to these forums. Participants gained knowledge in community education, research and social betterment attitudes, but not professional social work methods and skills.

Public welfare institutes became a third means for professional social work development. Working welfare workers were instructed in specific social work content and methodologies. Gary and Gary (1993) note public welfare institutes were a widely used, though controversial method for educating an emerging corp of social workers for both races. Excluded from
dominant state social work conferences and summer institutes, Blacks attended separate educational programs led by leading social work experts of both races. Special topics and short-term courses were offered. National service organizations held institutes for Black staff which ran two or three days or an entire summer term. For example, the Boy Scouts of America, local community chests, the American Association of Hospital Social Workers and the YWCA sponsored public welfare institutes for their Black staff.

One of the first welfare institutes for Black workers was held in Atlanta, Georgia in 1919. Lugenia Burns Hope, dynamic wife of the president of Atlanta University, organized a Social Services Institute at Morehouse College. Mrs. Hope presided over the board of the Neighborhood Union, a successful community welfare organization/center operated by Blacks and for Blacks in Atlanta. The Social Service Institute sought to enlighten neighborhood workers about health and sanitation and to encourage improvements in their respective neighborhoods. Its theme was “make the world safe for babies and children” (Rouse, 1983).

Ninety seven people attended a week of classes in home nursing, prevention and cure of tuberculosis, oral hygiene for mothers and infants, and proper detection and care of feeblemindedness in children. Child nutrition and proper eye treatment were covered. Social work methods were presented on how to organize, how to approach people and how to strengthen the home and boys and girls clubs (Rouse, 1983; Neverdon-Morton, 1982).

That same year, the University of North Carolina in cooperation with the North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare and the American Red Cross held its first social service institute. This summer institute lasted five or six weeks and covered topics in rural sociology, family casework, rural economics, social problems, public health and juvenile delinquency (Public Welfare Courses, 1920; Sanders, 1941). These state institutes continued into the early 1950s with an average duration of two or three days. Segregation laws curtailed attendance by Blacks until the 1940s (North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, 1940).
The concept of public welfare institutes had its distractors. E. Franklin Frazier, the first Director of Atlanta University's School of Social Work did not want welfare institutes to substitute for formal social work education (Gary and Gary, 1993).

Despite controversy, the public welfare institutes allowed Oxley and others to offer training and professional development to staff who were often the only Black worker in an agency or county. The institutes trained an emerging corp of welfare workers who had few opportunities for such training. They provided a measure of competency-based instruction as the south tried to meet its desperate demand for trained social workers. Popular among welfare workers from Virginia and the Carolinas, the North Carolina Public Welfare Institutes for Negroes enhanced the professionalization of social work among Black workers when schools of social work and research conferences could not.

The North Carolina Public Welfare Institute for Negroes

The North Carolina Public Welfare Institutes for Negroes attracted people from rural areas and a variety of welfare settings, including Black staff in the eight state agencies serving Black children and adults. Oxley sought to insure a continuous network of trained and competent Black social workers through the institutes.

The chief purpose of the institute was to give further training to those workers employed by county and city governments and to offer special lectures for officers and workers from any volunteer and private school agencies throughout the state (North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, 1926, p. 110).

The Public Welfare Institutes for Negroes rotated among the state's Black colleges during its early years. After 1930 Bishop Tuttle Memorial Training School of Social Work became the main site. The state's capital city of Raleigh was centrally located and the state agencies were accessible. St. Augustine's College facilities could accommodate the large attendance. Institutes ran for three days in January, February or March, with an average attendance of 90.

State Department directors, local and national social work leaders of both races constituted the institute faculty. E. Franklin
Frazier spoke on the Black family at the first institute. Dr. Franklin O. Nichols of the American Social Hygiene Association discussed sex education at several institutes. T. Arnold Hill of the Urban League and Eugene Kinkle Jones of the U. S. Department of Commerce led sessions as well. Influential leaders like Charles Rose, President of the North Carolina Bar Association participated. Commissioners of the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare presided and Governors made a point to attend or send remarks (Says South Best Place for Negroes, 1926, p. 4). Such distinguished faculty signifies the level of importance the institutes held in the state as well as the expertise Black workers were exposed to.

Black welfare practitioners in county departments delivered papers and participated as faculty as well. For example, at the 17th annual institute Mrs. Jeannette Sills of Franklin County read a paper on the effects of receiving public assistance on family life and Annie D. Singfield of Anson County presented on the effects of receiving assistance on children (Sills, 1943; Singfield, 1943).

The institutes are composed of classes of problems of social welfare and methods of meeting them, and mass meetings at which special speakers present topics of interest (Fifth Annual Public Welfare Institute, 1934).

By design, nonconcurrent sessions ran 50 minutes. The Negro family, child welfare and delinquency, mental health, social casework and record-keeping were covered. The principles, methods and scope of social work was emphasized. Miss Lilly Mitchell, state director of the Division of Child Welfare spoke on social casework with individuals and/or families at each institute. Oxley taught principles and methods of community organizing as well as ways to finance county and city welfare programs for Black constituents (North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, 1928, p. 107). During the New Deal Era, participants learned about national recovery, emergency relief, employment matters and farm credit as North Carolina grappled with limited resources and high social needs.

Specific content on Black social conditions, child welfare matters, work with rural families, improving accountability and
Each afternoon workers could consult with state division heads or national leaders about a local problem and received suggestions one-on-one or in small groups. These consultations were considered a helpful feature.

Participants overcame several barriers to attend. Travel accommodations were not the best. Jim Crow laws made travel by train uncomfortable. Depending upon the location, sometimes lodging was provided on campus; at other times, participants stayed in private homes. Southern hotels did not welcome Blacks; the few existing Black hotels could only accommodate a few. Meals were on site. Registration fees were $1 in 1930 and $.75 in 1934 (Ninth Annual Public Welfare Institute, 1934; Fifth Annual Public Welfare Institute, 1930).

Despite these impediments, attendance and the variety of welfare workers seeking professional training grew. At the first institute at Winston-Salem’s Teacher’s College in 1926, fifty people attended, 38 Blacks, two whites and 10 visitors. County and city welfare workers and YMCA and YWCA secretaries were represented. Jeanes supervisors, farm demonstration agents and church service workers came. Black staff with state institutions for Black defectives, delinquents and dependents also attended (Much Interest in Workers’ School, 1926, p.8).

In a memo to Miss Lay dated February 28, 1928 and entitled “Notes on Negro Institutes,” Oxley noted 83 people had registered for the first institute, 110 had registered for the second institute and 46 were preregistered for the institute next month.

The Jeanes Supervisor in Johnston County has sent a letter stating she is coming to the Institute, bringing with her the Chairman of the local Welfare Unit, the President of the Johnston County Parent-Teachers Association and the Principals of the Clayton, Piney Grove and Princeton public schools. (Oxley to Lay, 1928)


One hundred twenty-five people were present at the ninth institute, including staff with the local Civil Works Administration, Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the National
Reemployment Administration. By 1934 over 700 workers had benefitted from these institutes when Lt. Oxley left North Carolina to work with the Department of Labor.


The final institute included topics on community resources in preventing juvenile delinquency, keeping records in child welfare cases and case work recordings (20th Annual Public Welfare Institute for Negro Workers Held in February, 1946, p. 14).

The North Carolina Public Welfare Institutes for Negroes survived changes in state administrations, world war, economic depressions and new initiatives within the Bureau. As social work evolved as a profession, so did the institutes evolve. What began as general content matured into more specialized approaches to practice.

Conclusion

The Institute serves as a valuable agency in bringing the state's public welfare program to those whose interest is keenest; and in awakening widespread interest among an ever-growing group. Negro social workers find valuable help at the Institute for the faculty and speakers always include individuals prepared to make real contributions (Sixth Annual Public Welfare Institute, 1931).

The Public Welfare Institutes for Negroes trained a broad cross-section of working welfare workers about the scope, history and object of social work and the social conditions of Black life in the state. The desire for training was high among participants. Each year, ideas and methodologies were shared by some of the leading national professionals. Participants were privy to the latest developments as the profession matured. The institutes legitimized social work as a professional activity.
Welfare Institutes

The public welfare institutes were a major undertaking for Oxley and an important component of the Bureau. They required advanced planning and coordination with leaders in the professional Black community and state administration. Interracial in nature, they were executed within the boundaries of the southern color line.

Participants benefitted in other ways from these institutes. Individually, Black workers were scattered across the state, sometimes the only professional Black in their county or agency. Once a year, they gathered to share experiences with each other. These state-wide meetings provided a means to temper the isolation and build collegial relationships. The special consultations with institute faculty gave workers specific help on problems from key decision-makers or experts in a field.

The institutes increased the credibility of hard working staff in diverse agencies engaged in welfare work. The institutes afforded Black workers an avenue to present professional papers and serve as faculty. Over time, Black workers gained increased presence in professional circles around the state. This was a high honor.

The public welfare institutes did not substitute for formal education in social work. In fact, Oxley and his successors, William R. Johnson and Dr. John Larkin supported pursuit of formal study at the New York School of Work, Atlanta University and the Bishop Tuttle Memorial Training School of Social Work for workers. Exposure to the institutes spurred many Black workers to pursue professional social work degrees.

Oxley was instrumental in identifying and steering many Black workers to positions within county departments of public welfare. If county superintendents were skeptical of their training or expertise, Oxley tied their employment to attendance to the institutes. This proviso was enough to encourage employment. Highly regarded, the institutes were designed to assist working persons who needed information and skills to perform their duties.

The history of social work education for Blacks is more than the establishment of schools for social work or participation in social work conferences. Public welfare institutes were significant to social work training and development because they
validated social work practice among workers excluded from the traditional avenues of professional affiliation and training. The Public Welfare Institutes for Negroes filled an educational void for Black social workers in North Carolina.

References


Welfare Institutes


The nature and extent of the contributions of Black people to social work education during the early twentieth century is the focus of this paper. The scope of this investigation includes: the identification of prominent Black social work educators; analysis of the curricula and the Atlanta School of Social Work and the Bishop Turtle School; and a description of the four basic approaches to social work training for Black people during this development phase of the social work profession.

During the early twentieth century, social workers participated in many activities designed to promote professional status for social work (Axinn and Levin, 1975; Chambers, 1963; Cohen, 1958; Lubove, 1965; and Trattner, 1974). Social workers gave priority to the following activities during this period: 1) demonstration to the public that everybody "with love in his heart" could not do social work in a professional manner; 2) identification of knowledge and skills necessary for the practice of social work; 3) the establishment of schools for the training of social workers; 4) the development of professional organizations; 5) the publication of major books dealing with social work theory and practice; 6) the development of professional journals; and 7) an identification of values shared by social workers.

Black social workers played significant roles in the development of the social work profession, in the delivery of social services, and the establishment of programs to educate social workers (Cromwell, 1977; Franklin, 1974; Gary and Gary, 1977; Jones, 1928). For example, the third edition of Who's Who in
Colored America (Yenser, 1933) listed several Black social work educators who distinguished themselves during the period under study. Some of the individuals listed in this volume were: Eva D. Bowles, E. Franklin Frazier, Eugene Kinckle Jones, George E. Haynes, and Forrester B. Washington. However, the legacies of Black social work educators and leaders are missing in most histories of social welfare and social work (Platt and Chandler, 1988). In this paper, the authors will utilize primary and secondary information for the purpose of documenting the education of Black people for social work between 1900–1930. As in the past, social work is a diverse profession, reflecting the society of which it is a part. Today’s social work students and faculty members need to be knowledgeable regarding the contributions that different ethnic groups in our society have made to the development of the profession.

In this exploratory effort, the authors reviewed the catalogues of the Atlanta School of Social Work and Bishop Tuttle School; conducted a selective review of the literature focusing on journals such as Opportunity, Crisis, Southern Workman and Social Forces, and examined historical documents such as The Negro Yearbook (Work, 1925); Who’s Who in Colored America (Yenser, 1933) and The Social Work Yearbook (Haynes, 1935; Robinson, 1929; Washington, 1933. It is not the intent of this paper to focus on white social work educators for these pioneers in the field have been discussed in various histories of social work and social welfare (Abott, 1937; Bruno, 1948; Compton, 1980; Leiby, 1978; Zastrow, 1978). However, white social work educators did play important roles in the development of social work programs at historically Black colleges where most Blacks received their education for social work during the period under study.

**Historical Context**

In order to better understand the contributions of Blacks to social work education, it is helpful to examine briefly the social forces of this period which is very important from the perspective of social work education and American social welfare history. According to Smith and Zietz (1970), there was a significant growth of government responsibilities for the needy and the establishment of several national private welfare associations. Two of the most important and predominantly Black
Social welfare agencies (the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League) were founded during this period (Kellog, 1967; Parris, 1971; and Weiss, 1974). There was a significant shift in the Black population in the United States (Allen, 1974; Farley, 1970). In her book, *Black Migration: Movement North 1900–1920*, Henri (1975) referred to this period as “the great migration” especially between 1916–1920. She documented the basic factors such as low wages, bad treatment by whites, violence and injustice, and segregation and discrimination that influenced the movement of Black people from rural areas in the south to urban areas in the south, but especially in the north. Also, she discussed the roles played by labor agents, state and local laws designed to discourage migration, the press, and World War I in this migration process. An important question is: What kinds of problems did these Black migrants experienced as they relocated in the urban cities of America between 1900 and 1920? Studies on the development of Black areas in these cities indicate that these migrants were exposed to the following undesirable social conditions or social problems: prejudice and discrimination; lynching; violence and race riots; the concentration of vice in Black areas; slum housing; inferior education; lack of police protection; inadequate sanitation; unequal employment opportunities; inadequate health care; lack of wholesome recreation; crime and delinquency; and poor protective services for women and children (Drake and Clayton, 1945; Meier and Rudwick, 1969; Haynes, 1928; Spear, 1967; and Woofter, 1928). Black scholars and professionals were also subjected to scientific racism. According to Platt and Chandler (1988, p. 294), “...leading intellectuals enthusiastically constructed elaborate theories of racial differentiation to legitimize social inequality and to justify new policies of racial discrimination.”

Gradually a number of white leaders became aware of these undesirable conditions affecting the Black community and helped to develop social policies and programs designed to respond to the welfare needs of Black migrants and Black people in general (Henri, 1975; Lide, 1973; Parris, 1971). However, it is significant to note that Black people themselves worked for their own welfare. The Black church, Black women’s clubs, mutual aid and fraternal organizations, and other voluntary
associations developed strategies and programs for dealing with many of the social problems confronting Black communities (Allen, 1974; Parris, 1971; and Weiss, 1974). As a result of these social forces, an increasing number of Blacks were employed in social work. According to the U.S. Bureau of Census (1933), 1,038 Black persons were employed in the professional field of social welfare work in 1930. The figures for 1920 were 1,231, but the classification includes religious workers (the U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1923). Compared to other occupational areas, social work was considered a very desirable profession. According to Frazier (1957; pp. 550–552):

> Since the mass migrations of Negroes to northern cities, there has emerged a relatively large and influential group of leaders who are primarily concerned with the social welfare of Negroes. In fact, the field of social welfare has provided one of the chief fields of employment for the educated Negro.

Because of social and economic problems and shifting social policies, there was a demand for social workers during this period, and they were employed in a variety of settings (Frazier, 1928; Jones, 1928; Oxley, 1927). A logical and pertinent question is: who educated these professionals. Social work training for Black people was somewhat similar to that of whites. Four basic approaches were used: 1) apprenticeship; 2) institutes and special courses; 3) sociology and social science courses in undergraduate colleges; and 4) schools of social work (Conrad, 1929). Even though each approach will be described, primary attention will be given to the two professional schools of social work (Atlanta School of Social Work and the Bishop Tuttle School), and the focus of this paper will be on the education of Black social workers at historically Black colleges.

**Apprenticeship**

This approach, the earliest method of education for social work, was not readily available for Blacks, especially in the South (Sanders, 1971). Many agencies did not hire Black social workers, nor accept them for training, although they might provide services to the Black community. The apprenticeship method involved directed and planned experiences on the part
of a potential social worker in a social agency for a given period of time with a small salary. While this approach had some merits, Black social work educators viewed it as inadequate for increasing the number of Black social workers, and improving the quality of social services to the Black community (Frazier, 1927).

Institutes or Special Courses

This method was one of the most widely used approaches to educating Black social workers, especially in the South (Frazier, 1927; Oxley, 1927). Basically, this method involved a variety of short term courses sponsored by social welfare agencies and, in some cases, cosponsored by universities. While these institutes covered a variety of social welfare topics and were taught by leading social work experts, they were not seen as substitutes for professional training (Conrad, 1929). Black social workers in the North attended many of these institutes. However, in the South, they were not able to attend institutes designated for white social workers, but several institutes were developed specifically for Black social workers. For example, in North Carolina, beginning in 1926, the Division of Negro Social Work of the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare sponsored an annual institute for Black social workers (Oxley, 1927). These institutes usually lasted for three days and were held at one of the state colleges for Black students. It should be noted that Hampton Institute in Virginia and Tuskegee Institute in Alabama also sponsored annual conferences where social welfare issues were examined (Franklin, 1974; Frazier, 1957; Ross, 1978; Work, 1925). Many Black social workers who worked in small urban and rural communities attended these conferences.

Another annual short institute for Black social workers was sponsored by the Playground and Recreation Association of America. This agency employed a Black field worker who developed this institute, and it maintained a summer school for training of its workers (Jones, 1928). The content of this institute focused on leadership in play and recreation (Washington, 1933). Black social workers, and the executive secretaries of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), attended an annual summer school sponsored by this agency in Bordentown,
Moreover, the Atlanta School of Social Work under the auspices of The Diocese of the Methodist Episcopal Church, conducted social service institutes for Black ministers in this denomination (Haynes, 1928; Sanders, 1971). There were other special training institutes sponsored by organizations such as the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), Boy Scouts of America, local Community Chest, and American Association of Hospital Social Workers, which Black social workers attended for improving their skills and knowledge of social work practice.

In discussing the institute method, Oxley (1927, p. 11), the State Director of the Negro Division observed:

> While the general field of public welfare was covered in the many conference groups, community organizations, and the history, scope and objectives of social work were stressed as outstanding topics of the Institute. The chief purpose of the Institute was to give further training to those workers employed by county and city governments, and to offer special lectures for officers and workers from the many volunteer and private social agencies throughout the state.

Black social work educators were very critical of this approach to professional social work education in the Black community. Specifically, Frazier, the Director of the Atlanta School of Social Work from 1922 to 1926, believed that institutes were “a menace to any real welfare work among Negroes” (Frazier, 1927). He suggested that it was impossible to learn social work practice and theory in two or three days once or twice during the year. He was very conscious of the trend in social work education at that time. He stated: “After this method was abandoned in the south for white people, it was revived for the social work training of Negroes.” The leading Black social work educators discouraged this method of training for Black social workers (Frazier, 1927; Lide, 1973).

**Undergraduate Courses**

The third social work training approach for Blacks, as well as others during this period, was a series of courses in sociology, social work, or social science at both the graduate
and undergraduate levels (Conrad, 1929). In these programs, students, after taking appropriate courses, could receive either a degree or a certificate. Black social workers attended some of these schools, especially in the North. In the South by law, Black students were not allowed to enroll in white colleges and universities. Therefore, many Black students in the South who were interested in social work careers attended Black colleges. The beginning of serious social work training for Blacks at the undergraduate level started in 1911 at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee when George E. Haynes established several courses in social work (Haynes, 1911; Parris, 1971; and Weiss, 1974).

Because this was the first social work training project designed for Black students, it warrants elaboration. At Fisk University, a department of social science and social work was established (Haynes, 1911). In order to give students a thorough preparation for social work, a core social science curriculum was designed. This curriculum for social work training included courses in sociology, economics, statistics and social investigations, field work, social problems, and methods of social work. Lecturers with expertise in areas such as delinquency and probation, Black women and children in cities, and principles of relief gave presentations and they attempted to provide a historical perspective regarding the conditions of Black people. Upon completion of this undergraduate program, selected students were sent to New York and other cities for graduate training in social work at such institutions as: The New York School of Philanthropy, now the School of Social Work at Columbia University and the University of Chicago.

During this period, students interested in social work could take relevant sociology and social science courses at several Black colleges such as Lincoln (PA), Wilberforce (OH), and Talladega (AL). Questions were raised relative to the need for or justifications for social work training at these institutions. Frazer (1927) argued that Black colleges with their limited financial resources, unexperienced teachers, and poor opportunities for field training, should not develop social work training programs. Instead, they should send their graduates to professional schools wherever they could gain admission.
Schools of Social Work

The final method of training Black people for social work is the professional school of social work. It has been argued that the first schools for the training of social workers grew out of the need of philanthropic agencies and they had been largely under the guidance and control of these agencies and persons engaged in social work. Schools of social work did not originate with educational authorities which had seen a need and were moved to meet it (Tufts, 1923). After Fisk University started its social work program in 1911, there was an attempt to establish a school of social work at Howard University located in Washington, D.C. in 1914; however, the idea was not supported by the faculty or the administration (Logan, 1969). During the 1920’s, Black students interested in social work were accepted in all schools of social work in the North (Jones, 1928). But, there was still a need for professional training opportunities for Black social workers in the South. In this regard, during the 20’s two schools of social work were established for and operated by Black people: Atlanta School of Social Work and the Bishop Tuttle School.

After the 1920 National Conference on Social Work in New Orleans, a group of Atlanta social workers, led by Jesse O. Thomas, the southern field executive secretary of the National Urban League, called a meeting to discuss the possibility of establishing a school of social work in their native city (Yenser, 1933; Ross, 1978, and Thomas, 1967). After a series of meetings between local social agencies and Black colleges in the area, on October 4, 1920, the Atlanta School of Social Work started to train Black social workers (Thomas, 1967). From 1920–1921, the Atlanta social work program was directed by Gary W. Moore, Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Economics at Morehouse College in Atlanta. E. Franklin Frazier, a prominent Black sociologist and the first Black to serve as President of American Sociological Association was the director of the school between 1922–1926. Forrester B. Washington was the director from 1927, and he continued to serve in this capacity until 1954 (Ross, 1978). Before the end of the 1920’s, the Atlanta School had become a member of the Association of Professional Schools
of Social Work (Ross, 1978; Sanders, 1971). It was the only Black school of social work with such membership until 1940 when Howard University's School of Social Work program was accredited by this association (Sanders, 1971).

During the 1925–1926 school year, the Atlanta School offered the following social work courses: 1) social casework; 2) human behavior; 3) field work with social agencies; 4) community organization; and 5) social research (Sanders, 1971). By 1929, under the leadership of Forrester B. Washington, the Atlanta School recognized the importance of having Black oriented courses (Ross, 1978; Thomas, 1967; Washington, 1935). The following courses which focused on the Black experience were taught at the Atlanta School: 1) the techniques of community work among Black people; 2) industrial problems of Black people; 3) the conduct of social surveys in Black communities; 4) housing problems of Black people, and 5) recreational problems of Black people. It was believed that courses of this nature were not offered elsewhere in the United States. Apparently, the Atlanta School believed that for their graduates to be able to function as effective social workers in the Black community, in addition to traditional social work courses, they needed to be exposed to courses specifically dealing with the Black experience in America.

The qualifications of persons who wanted to become trained social workers and how to finance their educations were major issues during this period. Most Black students who entered social work training during the 20's were not college graduates. Students were admitted to the Atlanta School with only high school preparation, but some were high school graduates with teaching experience as well as college graduates (Frazier, 1927). However, the Atlanta School had as its goal to eventually admit only students with a college education, but this was unrealistic because of the economic position of Black students (Frazier, 1927). Because of limited financial resources, Black college students after graduating from college had to seek immediate employment rather than to continue on for professional training. Consequently, this economic factor limited the availability of Black college-educated students for schools of social work, especially the Atlanta School.
This exploratory examination documents that the Atlanta School of Social Work has made important contributions to the social work profession. The School admitted males and females; it provided professional education for Black students who were denied this opportunity by both private and public colleges in the South; it had an interracial faculty and field placements; it emphasized the importance of research and community organization in its curriculum; it had special courses on the Black experience in America; its faculty published in a variety of professional journals; and its curriculum was responsive to the social conditions of this period (Ross, 1978; Sanders, 1971; Thomas, 1967).

During the 1920's, in addition to the Atlanta School of Social Work, the Bishop Tuttle School, a national training center for the education of Negro women for social service and church work was established at St. Augustine College in Raleigh, North Carolina. The Bishop Tuttle School of Social Work was closely linked with religious studies (Goold, 1923; Goold, 1933; Haliburton, 1937). This School had a two-year curriculum that dedicated itself exclusively to professional training in an effort to produce qualified individuals to participate in the alleviation of poverty, disease, and despair. The School began its first session in the Fall of 1925, with Miss Bertha Richards as Dean. Miss Richards was not new to the College having served on the staff as librarian and teacher from 1915 to 1923. She was the eminent leader of the school during its pioneer days and promulgated the idea that social work and religious education were sister services. She initiated and kept alive the spirit of searching into new realms of training, new meanings of skill in the art of helping people who are destitute while concurrently attempting to improve the environment (Richards, 1932; Richards, 1939; Goold, 1935; Goold, 1939). The Bishop Tuttle School had high admission standards for the period under investigation. Entering students were required to have completed at least two years of junior college or its equivalent, and many had bachelor degrees.

The Bishop Tuttle School provided a two-year course of study in theory and field work (St. Augustine Bulletin 1925–1930). In 1925–1926, the following courses were required for
their students: a) Bible (New and Old Testaments—and history of Christianity); b) Religious education (teacher training, church school administration, and educational psychology); c) social work (casework, community organization, recreation, club work, hygiene, child welfare, and sociology—with emphasis on the Negro’s contribution to the life of this country); d) homemaking (dietetics and hygiene and practical problems); and e) field work.

The Bishop Tuttle School emphasized that its curriculum was organized around integrating classroom instruction with practical work in the community. In this connection, the school had a community center which served as a laboratory for community organization and group work students, in addition to serving as a recreational and educational facility for neighborhood residents. Students were also assigned field work placements in other social services agencies for 12 weeks in their second year. Some of the placements included; Wake County (NC) Department of Public Welfare; Family Service Societies of Raleigh (NC), Richmond (VA), Durham (NC), and Winston-Salem (NC); St. Agnes Hospital (Raleigh, NC); and North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare (Raleigh, NC).

Although the Dean at Bishop Tuttle (Bertha Richards) did not have an undergraduate degree, the other faculty members had Bachelor and Master’s degrees. Students also received instructions from special lecturers at the School of Public Welfare, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. The following professors from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill gave lectures at the Bishop Tuttle School: H.D. Meyer; T.J. Wootter; W.B. Sanders; J.F. Steiner; and H.W. Odum. Also, Dr. Franklin O. Nicholas from the American Association for Social Hygiene gave several lectures during this period (Oxley, 1927; Oxley, 1927; Halliburton, 1937).

This investigation suggests that the Bishop Tuttle School played an important role in helping to professionalize social work training for Black people between 1900–1930. The school designed a curriculum which was responsive to the social conditions of Black people; it offered a course on the Black experience; it had a unique course on club work which was a major approach to community development in the Black community;
it tended to place great emphasis on the role of religion and home management in social work; it was successful in providing scholarships for its students; it had an interracial faculty; it was able to recruit female students with college level training; and it was under the leadership of a woman.

Concluding Comments

In this paper, the authors utilized an exploratory historical method for gathering information on the development of social work education for Black people at historically Black colleges during the first three decades of the twentieth century. After discussing the social forces affecting the Black community and Black social workers, the authors described four basic approaches to social work training for Black people. Although each approach was examined, most of the discussion centered on two schools of social work—the Atlanta School of Social Work and the Bishop Tuttle School. Analyzing the catalogues of both school and the writings of Black social work educators, it was discovered that the Atlanta School placed great emphasis on the commitment to teaching about the Black community and the importance of social research and community work in its curriculum. In regards to Bishop Tuttle, the curriculum tended to give priority to home management, club work, and religion. To a large extent, the Bishop Tuttle School’s emphasis on family life and religion was reflective of the concerns of a college sponsored by the Episcopal Church and an all female student body. Although all four approaches to social work training were utilized between 1900–1930, Black social work educators discouraged apprenticeship and institute and special courses methods. They believed that the most appropriate approach for the training of Black social workers was at Schools of social work with some consideration given to such training at undergraduate colleges.

Further research is needed to fully explore the development of and type of training for Black social workers during the early part of the twentieth century. For example, we need to know whether or not Black educators debated the pros and cons of graduate verses undergraduate training like white educators did during the 1920’s. More information would be useful
regarding the achievements of graduates of the Bishop Tuttle School and the Atlanta School especially when compared with students including Black students in other schools of social work. Exploring the impact Black social work educators had on social work as whole and the barriers which they might have faced would further clarify the contribution of Black social work scholars to the profession in its developmental phase. Providing more information on the curriculum pertaining to the Black experience would be helpful to educators who are currently struggling with ways to integrate such information in social work curriculum. Answering these inquires could serve as a parameter for developing a more in-depth analysis of social work education for Black people during the first three decades of this century.

References


Social Work History


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The longstanding presence of African Americans in Philadelphia explains the establishment of social welfare institutions and agencies by more affluent African Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Armstrong Association of Philadelphia and Women's Christian Alliance are two of the more prominent and enduring efforts initiated by African Americans to serve their own. Both also provided a vehicle for training for African Americans who desired to join the new profession of social work.


Although slavery was not part of the legal code established in the colony, the practice of slaveholding became an integral part of the social and economic fabric, according to Leon Higginbotham (1978). During slavery and the time of gradual emancipation, many of the freemen (those who had never been in bondage) and freedmen (those who had previously been enslaved) made great progress and established themselves as contributing citizens. The names of Absalom Jones, Richard Allen and James Forten stand out as advocates for the betterment of the conditions for African Americans in the Philadelphia area (DuBois, 1967; Blockson, 1975; Green, 1975).

Such a long history of African American presence in Philadelphia explains the existence of social welfare services among
them as early as the 1850s. The earliest efforts were initiated by Euroamericans who were interested in the social betterment of African Americans (History of a Street, 1901; Hillman, 1960). Later, in the 1860s, as was the case with most other groups, African Americans of means set about providing needed services for their own. Social settlements, medical facilities, schools and child welfare agencies were established for and by African Americans. (The Philadelphia Colored Directory, 1910; DuBois, 1967; Billingsley and Giovannoni, 1972) The different service organizations and institutions allowed for the training of some African Americans in the field of social work.

The particular time period, 1900-1930, was chosen because it includes two very significant developments which are also connected. Between 1900 and 1930 America experienced the most massive and continuous movement ever of people within its boundaries, the Great Migration. The period also marks the inception of professional social welfare services during the Progressive Era. Those two historical facts had serious implications for services to African Americans in the Philadelphia area at the turn of the century.

This article explores the establishment and work of two social service organizations in Philadelphia at the turn of the century. Both efforts, the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia and Women's Christian Alliance, were initiated by African Americans in part or in whole. Both had a social welfare orientation and were started in direct response to problems generated by the sudden influx of African Americans from the South into the urban North. The inception and work of the two organizations will be described, with some emphasis on the opportunities for training in social work through both.

Philanthropic Organization

The organization of prominence in Philadelphia during the Progressive Era which kept the needs of African Americans to the fore was the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia. It was an interracial effort that was initiated in 1907 (Emlen, 1945) by members of the Armstrong Association and prominent African Americans. According to Richard R. Wright, Jr.(1965), an African American who was pursuing his doctorate at the University
of Pennsylvania, he met with John T. Emlen who had been described as a "young colored man from Hampton Institute" by Wright's advisor at the University of Pennsylvania. In his autobiography, Wright describes his surprise when he discovered that Mr. Emlen was a wealthy white Quaker who was dark in complexion. Emlen was an architect and a banker who had taught at Hampton Institute and was committed to the cause of training African American tradesmen. As they talked about Wright's dissertation, Emlen was interested in the preliminary findings that many skilled African American tradesmen among the southern migrants had been unable to secure jobs in their fields. In fact, most had been forced because of discrimination to take domestic service jobs.

Emlen informed Wright of the existence of a philanthropic effort, the Armstrong Association, which was named for Samuel C. Armstrong. Wright described the Armstrong Association as "organized in memory of General S.T. (sic) Armstrong, founder of Hampton Institute, for the purpose of raising funds for Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes, a loose association of white Philadelphia philanthropists" (Wright, 1965, p. 158). Wright appealed to Emlen to ask his association to expand their interests to include improving conditions for skilled laborers among African Americans in Philadelphia. The members accepted the challenge and began a separate arm of the organization to include African American members. Although the official name of the organization was the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia, it was regularly referred to as the Armstrong Association. Both names will used in this article.

In his autobiography, Wright describes the start up of the organization. Positions were mandated along racial lines to insure African American leadership. The president was a prominent Euroamerican minister, Rev. Carl E. Grammer. There were four vice presidents, two African Americans and two Euroamericans, Rev. W. A. Creditt, Rev. Charles A. Tindley, Dr. Talcott Williams and W. W. Frazier, respectively. The other officers were Emlen, Secretary, Frazier, Treasurer, and Wright, Field Secretary. Many more people were involved in the launching of the organization, including two women (Armstrong Association, 1957).
Although Wright is credited, in the fiftieth anniversary historical account (1957), with establishing the organization's approach to expanding economic opportunity for African Americans, there are not records available from that early time to verify Wright's position and work. In correspondence with the Philadelphia Urban League, Dr. Wright was informed that there was no correspondence, reports or other documentation of his contributions to the Armstrong Association (Wright, 1959; Carter, 1959). According to Emlen, he was the Executive Secretary for the first fourteen years of the life of the organization and gave no credit to Wright (Emlen Papers, Vol. I, p.6). Emlen stated in a letter, "I was in charge of the work, and afterwards, President of the Board of Managers for many years. At the present time the Executive Secretary and the President of the Board are both Negroes, which I think is the best plan" (1945).

Wright states that the founding group determined that the offices of Field or Executive Secretary and industrial Secretary would be filled by African Americans. The Executive Secretary was the official representative of the organization and worked with the board to develop and monitor relevant programs. The Industrial Secretary's role was to establish work placements for African American skilled laborers (1965).

The stated purpose of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia appears on the cover of the Sixth Annual Report of the organization. The organization was "working in a practical way for the Colored people of Philadelphia, and endeavoring from year to year to supplement some of the community needs which (were) not being met by other organizations" (1914). In the annual report for 1915, work of the Association is further described as helping "the colored people to self help in meeting the community needs in this their newly found problem of city life" (p. 1). Then, in the history section of an undated brochure, the role of the original organization was defined as "developing greater opportunities for the satisfactory advancement of colored people along the economic and social lines" (Armstrong Association, undated 1). So the objectives of the Association were broad enough and yet specific enough to allow
it to serve many purposes. During its first eight years of existence it provided services which ranged from athletic leagues to neighborhood gardening in New Jersey and Swarthmore and Media, Pennsylvania to investment counseling.

With Richard R. Wright as the first Field Secretary, the group appointed Alex L. Manly as the first Industrial Secretary. Together they were able to gain jobs for the migrants in areas that had not been open to African Americans previously (Wright, 1965). Manly also devised an effective strategy for replacing African Americans with their own kind instead of letting positions revert to white workers (Armstrong Association, 1914).

In the souvenir booklet for the fiftieth anniversary of the Association (1957), a summary of the 1911 Third Annual report is included. Through the Armstrong Association job opportunities for African Americans were expanded. The Association evaluated the quality of the work done by the laborers whom they placed, in order to inform the broader community about their abilities and dependability (Armstrong Association, 1914).

Although the Association was primarily engaged in work to place migrating skilled laborers, it also identified professionally with the developing field of social work. It served as a training ground for sociology students from Lincoln University, a historically black university in Pennsylvania. Students from the University of Pennsylvania School for Social and Health Work used the Association as a practicum setting. Students from Temple University who were interested in the work of the Association were also trained there. Later, the Association served as a worksite for the volunteers with the Works Progress Administration and the National Youth Administration (Armstrong Association, undated 2). The Armstrong Association of Philadelphia provided scholarships over a period of five years to eleven Lincoln University graduates to attend the University of Pennsylvania School of Social and Health Work (Armstrong Association, undated and untitled). Finally, the 1914 Annual report cites the placement of three social workers in jobs.

Another important and innovative service provided by the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia was the placement of a home and school visitor at the Durham School which had a
totally African American student body. Miss Abigail L. Richardson, according to the account in the fiftieth anniversary souvenir booklet (Emlen Papers, Vol.1), made the job a profession. Beginning in 1912 she worked at the Durham School and by 1915 was visiting the Reynolds, Logan and Stanton Schools. She would follow up on truants and children with discipline problems. She would visit homes to determine the whereabouts of the children and their living conditions. Since the children were excluded from neighborhood recreation centers because of racial discrimination, Miss Richardson conducted a recreation center from the Durham School. She also supervised showers for the children at the school. Miss Richardson sponsored the Second Annual Working Women's Conference where the Girls' High School principal discussed occupations for women (Armstrong Association, 1914).

As an outreach effort to parents, Miss Richardson established a Social Club for Women where sewing and needlework were done. She organized a Little Mother's League at the Durham School which was designed to teach the little girls proper behavior. Her primary effort was to keep children in school and to have home support for proper behavior and good scholarship.

Starting in 1914, the Association advised agencies and institutions on a case-by-case basis about the appropriate handling of African Americans through the newly formed Bureau of Information. The Bureau conducted investigations and fed its findings to organizations which requested or which demonstrated the need for such information. Studies were conducted to determine the relationship of African Americans with trade unions. Another study documented the conditions of African Americans in the Philadelphia suburbs and in New Jersey. Still another study reported the number of children in Philadelphia who were poor and neglected but who were not part of the social welfare services network and who were in need of vocational education.

Yet another area in which the Association ventured was housing. In 1914 it joined with other groups to start the Remedial Loan Company. The loans were designed to assist poor people in purchasing homes.
The Armstrong Association of Philadelphia affiliated with the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes in 1914. Along with the Association for the Protection of Colored Women, another racially integrated effort, it formed the Philadelphia wing of the national organization.

After fifty years of existence, the overarching theme of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia continued to be “wherever possible to prevent duplication of work and the creation of new social agencies by having existing agencies take care of the problems arising from the increase in the Negro population. Where this is impossible, the Armstrong Association demonstrates the value of the work needed by actually carrying it on until an agency equipped for the purpose takes over, or a new agency is created” (Armstrong Association, 1957).

The Armstrong Association operated on limited funds provided by Emlen and his associates until 1921 when it received an allocation from the newly formed Welfare Federation of Philadelphia. In 1923 the Armstrong Association named a new Executive Director, Forrester B. Washington. Washington was an African American who was a graduate of Tufts College. He had also been a National Urban League fellow at the Columbia University-affiliated New York School of Philanthropy from which he was graduated in 1916. Washington had been director of the Detroit Urban League where he had developed programs to address the settlement issue of African American migrants. The League engaged in job finding, locating of housing, work habit training, crime prevention through collaboration with the police and the provision of recreational activities for the migrants (Burwell and Carlton-LaNey, 1985).

When Forrester Washington arrived in Philadelphia, he changed some of the activities of the Association. He negotiated with the Philadelphia Public School Board to have that system adopt the home and school function. Targets of activities became the settling of the African American migrants and the ever increasing delinquency rate. Through the Community Organization Secretary, Marcella Beckett, neighborhood clubs were reinstituted to ease the tension between the old established residents and the newcomers (Emlen, 1945). Such clubs had been included in the work of the Association as reported in the
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1913 Annual Report, but it had not been continuous (Armstrong Association, 1957).

According to an excerpt from the 17th Annual Report of 1925, the Association opened community houses, similar to the social settlements, since none had been established with African Americans as the heads in Philadelphia. The houses served as demonstration projects since the Association did not have funds or staff to run them. Volunteers were used to show the city how effective such services could be, trusting that the city would develop such programs (Armstrong Association, 1957). In fact, in 1931, the first African American settlement house with an African American director, Wharton Centre, was finally opened in North Philadelphia. A graduate of Howard University, Claudia Grant, was the appointed director (Hillman, 1960; Grant, Personal Interview, 1988).

Washington brought with him a commitment to professional education and training. He was active in the professional social work arena, making presentations at conferences and meetings. In 1924 at the 3rd All-Philadelphia Conference on Social Work, he presented "What Professional Training Means to the Social Worker." He discussed the need for training so services would be systematic and scientific.

Important to note is the fact that after four years of leading the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia, Forrester Washington became the second director of the School of Social Work at Atlanta University, succeeding E. Franklin Frazier (Platt and Chandler, 1988). The school which was started in 1920 was steered quite successfully by Washington until 1954 (Yabura, 1970).

The Armstrong Association continued to make a significant contribution to the life of Philadelphia under the able leadership of African Americans Wayne L. Hopkins for twenty-three years and Lewis Carter for fifteen years (Bunkley, 1949). The Armstrong Association of Philadelphia changed its name to the Philadelphia Urban League in 1956. (Armstrong Association, undated 3)
Now standing as the oldest child welfare agency of its kind, started by African Americans specifically to serve African Americans, Women’s Christian Alliance (WCA) has a rich history. Unfortunately preservation of documents has not been as consistent for WCA as is the case for the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia. Recent agency brochures, some archival materials and personal interviews were used to fashion what follows.

WCA grew out of an initial effort by women of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, meeting at Allen A.M.E. They wanted to provide a safe dwelling place for African American females who were entering the city of Philadelphia from the South. After WWI the influx of African American girls and women was so great that Dr. Melissa E. Thompson Coppin saw the need to “aid young Black women migrating from the South who were in dire need of wholesome living quarters . . . and to offer charity to Black families in need of temporary care” (WCA brochure, 1988). The group of A.M.E. women met in 1919 and before the end of the same year had opened a shelter for African American women.

Its founder, Dr. Melissa E. Thompson Coppin, was a graduate of Women’s Medical College, now Medical College of Pennsylvania, and the tenth African American woman to earn a medical degree in America. She was the wife of Bishop Levi J. Coppin, one of the most prominent ministers in the Philadelphia area.

The shelter was opened in a house in South Philadelphia. According to the most recent agency brochure (1988), the property was ready for occupancy on December 26, 1919. Over a two-year period the shelter housed over 100 young women. Housing for homeless mothers and children was provided as well as daycare for the children of working mothers. Staff gave assistance to those who were seeking employment. Finally, the shelter provided care for convalescents.

After only two years of operation, a judge of the Juvenile Division of the Municipal Court appealed to Dr. Coppin to consider expanding the services of WCA. There was an
increasing need for placements for dependent and neglected African American children (WCA brochure, *Urban League Papers*, undated). The group agreed to enter the foster placement arena and placed the first four children, a family group, in May 1921. Within eighteen months WCA had provided foster home placement for 120 children. In early 1926, WCA was chartered by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a child-placing agency. The group added a nursery and a small shelter for temporary care. Service was provided out of the same building for thirty-four years, when the volume of the agency's work necessitated a move to its present location in North Philadelphia (WCA brochure, 1988).

Dr. Coppin's sister, Dr. Syrene Elizabeth Thompson Benjamin, was involved in the early life of the agency, however, there is some disagreement about how long and in what capacity Dr. Benjamin served. Dr. Benjamin's presence in Philadelphia has been verified through a self-published family history account by Minnie Simons Williams (1990). According to Mrs. Ada B. Carter Harris, Dr. Benjamin was the first person to carry out the social work function at WCA (1988, 1989, 1990). In that capacity, one of her tasks was to represent the agency in court. Further evidence as to the nature of her involvement is needed.

By 1927 the sisters confronted a major disagreement about the direction of the agency, according to Harris. The result was a split, with Miss Benjamin forming her own agency, the Bureau for Colored Children (The Bureau). Williams sets the start up year for the Bureau as 1921 (1990). Just as WCA had done, The Bureau also placed African American children, solely. Miss Ada B. Carter became Dr. Benjamin's assistant and later, after her death, Executive Secretary and Director of the agency. The Bureau operated from 1927 to 1967.

Dr. Coppin hired Miss Sarah Sinclair Collins to direct the social work department. Collins became the official representative for the agency, appearing at gatherings and participating in conferences. She developed a staff of social workers who served hundreds of children and their families. Miss Collins became Executive Director of WCA in 1940 after the death of Dr. Coppin (WCA brochure, 1988).
Although Miss Collins did not have a social work degree, she was keenly aware of what was needed for good and effective casework. WCA became a virtual training ground for African American social workers. Miss Collins was known as a tough supervisor, according to former worker, Ms. Daisy Gordon. Ms. Gordon worked at WCA prior to earning her M.S.W. at University of Pennsylvania. Like many others she did not return to the agency because of the lack of competitive salaries; however, she credits Miss Collins with encouraging her to pursue professional education (Personal Interview, 1988). A contemporary of Miss Collins, Miss Claudia Grant of Wharton Centre fame, stated that Miss Collins paid portions of workers' expenses, sometimes using her personal funds, to insure their ability to enroll in school (Personal Interview, 1988).

WCA and the Bureau for Colored Children became the primary agencies to provide child welfare services for African American children. According to Billingsley and Giovannoni (1975), the Bureau became the largest child-placing agency for African American children in Philadelphia, followed by WCA. The Bureau is no longer in existence, but has left a legacy in terms of the names of African American social workers who staffed it (Coleman, 1988; Meek, 1988; Carter, undated). WCA continues to grow and is comprised of a dedicated professional staff of African American social workers.

Conclusion

The existence of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia, Women's Christian Alliance and the Bureau for Colored Children guaranteed services for African Americans by African Americans. They were a fertile ground at the turn of the century for producing participants in the new profession called social work. Older Philadelphians in the social work field attest to the impact had by all three organizations. The Armstrong Association of Philadelphia, started in 1907, stands forth as a major social welfare organization and a prototype of the National Urban League which began in 1911.

Much more information is needed about services and training at WCA and the Bureau for Colored Children. Many African American social workers began their careers at those settings,
but how and when must be determined. The nature of those services must be adequately documented. Effort must be made to establish the two agencies in their rightful place in social welfare history.

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African Americans in Philadelphia


"Almost a Partnership": African-Americans, Segregation, and the Young Men's Christian Association

SUSAN KERR CHANDLER
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Nothing has contributed so much to the welfare of the colored race in the last fifteen years as the work of the Y.M.C.A.

Report of the Y.M.C.A.
Commission on Colored Work
March 3, 1920

However much we may be glad of the colored Y.M.C.A. movement on the one hand, on the other hand we must never for a single moment fail to recognize the injustice which has made it an unfortunate necessity.

W. E. B. Du Bois
December 1914

On January 1, 1913, the Colored Men's Department of the Young Men's Christian Association gathered in Washington, D.C., at the Twelfth Street "Y". The six African American International Secretaries made a practice of coming together on this holiday, finding in the New Year a quiet time to talk among themselves. Dr. Jesse E. Moorland, the Department's senior secretary, was scheduled to give "Remarks," as usual, and the secretaries looked forward to them—particularly this year, which, they knew, held great opportunity for their work. The Twelfth Street Y.M.C.A.—the "Colored Branch"—itself bore witness to the measured sense of hope abroad in African American communities during the second decade of the twentieth century. The $120,000 building had been dedicated before a large assembly on Thanksgiving Day in 1908 by no less personage than President Theodore Roosevelt himself.
Jesse Moorland, whose remarks the secretaries awaited, had joined the staff of the Young Men's Christian Association in 1898 and held the Senior Secretary position in the Colored Men's Department until his retirement in 1924. His life during those years, as his friend J. E. McGrew wrote at Moorland's passing in 1940, "was the history of Y.M.C.A. work with black men and boys." "Comparatively few men have been endowed and blessed with more power and privilege to inspire and lift other men's visions to such heights... than Friend Moorland," McGrew wrote—Moorland's "contagious life" "fired" the men around him (McGrew, 1940).

Moorland shepherded the African American International Secretaries with great care and knew most of them intimately. Speaking sometimes openly and sometimes in the code which the black secretaries used for white ears, Moorland articulated what every man there knew: that the demands on them as black men were very different than those shouldered by white colleagues.

African America Y.M.C.A. secretaries had an opportunity—"one which the Angels would be glad to have"—Moorland (1913) began, to influence two million men and boys "of a great aspiring race... to enable them to live long in the land which the Lord hath given them, to live sweetly, peacefully, happily and to be useful not only to themselves, but also to the nation and the world...." In the mix of race consciousness, anger, uplift, and sense of historical moment which characterized race men of his generation, Moorland exhorted the secretaries to "change prevailing conditions which tend to degrade and destroy this group of men... to see to it that the day shall come when [they] shall have a chance to be clean, to be honest, to be effective in every phase of their lives, to be able to protect themselves against the many wrongs which are now heaped upon them...."

Their small group, he continued, must work with "great responsibility," for "after years of toil and waiting we have come into a position where men of great wealth are willing to join hands with us and trust us to the extent of forming almost a partnership with us" (emphasis added). Elaborating the tremendous pressures under which black men worked in
this almost-partnership, he cautioned, "A mistake made in the selecting of a leader for a field, a mistake made in an address... may cause disastrous results. An unguarded word at this time may do untold injury." But, Moorland continued, comparing the secretaries' task to that of mariners on stormy seas, the reward would come:

[We shall]. . . . steer our ship into ports, reef our sails, . . . unload our valuable cargo and distribute it among the sojourners, enter upon the log of the ship the record of deeds done . . . and thus discharge our duty to present and future generations.

The story of "Colored Men's Work" in the Y.M.C.A. provides a close look at how one, relatively large, social service institution worked along the color line. It celebrates a legacy and vision long hidden from social welfare history, a legacy alive with accounts of persistent, innovative, heroic, tragic, mundane, even humorous efforts to construct social service programs in the face of nearly implacable resistance to any breach in the color line. It unfolds, too, a seldom-discussed theme of social service work in the decades between 1910 and 1930—the institutionalization of segregation and racial inequality by northern social service programs. African American professionals, reflecting the race consciousness of their generation, invariably resisted this, and in so doing challenged the historic denial of public services to people of color. Their resistance was based on varying, and sometimes sharply competing, strategies for both surviving within and challenging Jim Crowed social service institutions.

The Young Men's Christian Association of 1915 was a major social movement and represented a vision of interdenominational service to Christian men in Europe, the United States, and the world. The spirit of the social gospel—"inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me"—suffused the organization, linking its religious and social missions.

The "Y" flourished in the context of the dramatic expansion of industry. This aspect of the Young Men's Christian Association is often hidden behind the social, recreational, and religious activities of its members. But no reading of Y.M.C.A.
history can avoid its intimate connection with the emerging industrial giants. "Railroad Y's" were routinely subsidized by railroad magnates, who like other industrialists welcomed the Y.M.C.A.'s "uplifting" influence in time of great worker unrest. Chicago's "Colored" Y.M.C.A. depended on contributions from the packing companies; African American employees of Swift and Armour were awarded free memberships in it after a year on the job. For the Y.M.C.A., as for many social service agencies, doing unto the "least of these my brethren" was somehow intimately intertwined with the interests of those brethren who were millionaires.

The history of African American work within the Y.M.C.A. dates from 1853 and the organization of an Association among black men in Washington, D.C. By 1875 work was sufficiently wide-ranging that a Colored Men's Department under the aegis of the International Y.M.C.A. was organized. Sponsorship by the international branch of the organization, which oversaw all the "mission fields," enabled the Y.M.C.A. to avoid integrating African American work into the established local and state apparatus and thus sidestep the divisive subject of black and white organizational unity. In 1888 William Hunton was hired as the first black International Secretary. A deeply religious man and beloved leader, Hunton stood for years as Y.M.C.A.'s lone black representative, traveling north and south at great sacrifice to himself and his family. By 1905 Hunton reported that there were 116 "Colored Associations" boasting 8,000 members, and that 50% of the young men at black colleges where Y.M.C.A.'s existed were members of it (Hunton, 1905).

In 1919, Jesse Moorland, looking back on 21 years with the Y.M.C.A., picked 1910 as the watershed year in black Y.M.C.A. history (Moorland, 1919). Before 1910, Moorland felt, Y.M.C.A. work was significant, but haphazard. Most black Y.M.C.A. programs were poorly financed and housed in crumbling clapboard structures.

But in 1910 two important forces converged which dramatically changed Y.M.C.A. work along the color line. The first was the initial surge of the Great Migration, the movement of a million and a half black southerners who came north between 1910 and 1930 "to reassess," in the words of Amiri Baraka (1930),
"the worth of the black man within the society as a whole... [and] to make the American dream work, if it were going to."

The Great Migration provided the context for the second transforming event in Y.M.C.A. work with African Americans—Julius Rosenwald’s "great benefaction." In 1910, Julius Rosenwald, president of Sears & Roebuck, pledged to contribute $25,000 to any city that raised $75,000 for a new, high-quality Y.M.C.A. building for black men (Washington, 1914). As a result, "every phase of our work seemed to take on new life," Moorland remembered. During the next 20 years, 25 Rosenwald buildings opened in 24 cities, "splendid buildings... which [stood] as beacon lights... where [young men could] pray, think, rest, and be safe" (Moorland, 1919:2–3).

North and south, black Y.M.C.A. programs burgeoned. Moorland and Hunton were joined by five new International Secretaries, and, in cities, black secretaries and members worked fervently to take advantage of the Rosenwald offer. For the international secretaries there was always a fundraising campaign to initiate or charge. For month after month, from 1910 to 1930, the secretaries filed reports detailing their journeys: "Atlanta—$25,000 Campaign;" "Chicago—$50,000 in ten days;" "Detroit—launched drive for $35,000." Working with energy and passion, the African American secretaries felt best when a "whole city" was enlivened. In a typical drive, black Y.M.C.A. members in Chicago organized twenty ten-man teams to raise $50,000 in ten days ("Secretaries Reports," 1910–30).

Optimism permeated the Rosenwald campaigns which promised to bridge, however tenuously, the racial divide. Secretary C. W. Watson reported, "I think I have not done any work since I have been in the service of the International Committee from which I have received more benefit personally." Departing from the usual dry tone of monthly reports, Watson added an observation about his work with Wood White, a prominent white Atlanta businessman who was chairman of the Atlanta drive. In the midst of the 1913 campaign, White invited Watson to his office, and "as usual," Watson wrote, "Mr. White... began to pour out upon me his multitude of platitudes...." After "writhing and squirming for nearly an hour," Watson decided to take issue with White. They argued and disputed until finally
the conference concluded with White observing, "Well, Watson, I do not believe you know what you are talking about but I believe you are sincere and that you and I can be mutually helpful in our efforts to erect this building for the Negroes of Atlanta." Thereafter, according to Watson, the two men "worked like brothers to accomplish the desired end" ("Secretaries Reports," 1913).

Watson's conviction that he and a white businessman could work together "like brothers" epitomized the secretaries' hopeful outlook. Although insults, humiliation, and segregation were regular experiences of black secretaries, the hope for a better day exuded in the Rosenwald building campaigns was clear.

Thousands of black citizens supported the Y.M.C.A. building drives with contributions ranging from twenty-five cents to $1,000. Newspapers featured stories of those "colored people who have made large individual gifts to the Young Men's Christian Association Buildings." James Tilgham of Chicago was one such man, a messenger, who remembered how as a young man he could find no place where a black "wanderer" could feel homelike and happy. "Seeing the door of hope closed to me and to my people, and my hands tied to give millions, I vowed to give largely of my hard-earned means... to the first call that came... which would help to fully develop the boy and man," he said in bestowing $1,000 to the Chicago drive (Washington, 1914).

The dedication of a Rosenwald building was an occasion of great celebration, attended by pomp and circumstance and the participation of thousands of citizens. In 1919 in St. Louis, for example, more than 2000 people packed into the new, $193,000 "Negro Young Men's Christian Association" and heard Missouri Senator Selden Spencer proclaim it "the best building for men and boys of the colored race in the world" ("Negro Y.M.C.A.," 1914).

The programs that grew up in the Rosenwald Y.M.C.A.'s were multifaceted. In cities where it was difficult to find housing, the Y.M.C.A. was proud to provide refuge for young black men, safe from the influences of the saloon and dancehall. "Colored Branch Y.M.C.A.'s" were the "busiest places in town," black newspapers reported. It was not unusual for a large crowd to gather in the Y.M.C.A. lobby each evening to use the much
needed meeting and recreational resources ("Y.M.C.A. Busiest," 1914). Job training was available, and athletic competition was popular; photos show men in Buxton, Iowa, posing on gymnastic horses at the "Miners' Y" there (Washington, 1914).

Thus Y.M.C.A. work occupied a leading role in social service work among African Americans in the first three decades of the twentieth century. Growing out of years of lonely work by men like Hunton and Moorland, African Americans in the Y.M.C.A. moved to take advantage of the opportunity that the Great Migration and Julius Rosenwald's great benefaction presented.

The Rosenwald gift, however, was distinctly two-sided—for all the Rosenwald buildings were segregated. Since 1875 separation of the races had been an unspoken rule in the Y.M.C.A., and black men and boys, in general, were not allowed to join white Y.M.C.A.'s nor use their facilities.

An 1890 letter to the Nation detailed the experience of two Topeka men, one black and one white. The men, curious about the rigidity of the color bar in their city, proposed to enter different eating establishments and "see how [the black man] would be received." To their surprise they were politely served in three of Topeka's best restaurants. "We then made a move on the city Young Men's Christian Association," they reported, where the young black man produced references and made application for membership. He was refused admission "on the ground of color, and that only," the two men wrote, commenting with irony on the Y.M.C.A.'s "Christianity" (J.H.H., 1890).

But while Y.M.C.A. practices were racial, before 1910 the organization had not fully institutionalized segregation in the north. Policies excluding blacks were understood, not written; no generalized system channeled blacks into separate buildings, and occasionally a black man might be admitted to a white branch. Most important, black communities maintained hope that, with changing conditions, they could pressure Y.M.C.A.'s to integrate (Davis, 1972:262-63). In the next twenty years, however, communities' and professionals' hopes were systematically thwarted and a massive system of segregation was put into place. The migrants called it "Jim Crow, northern-style."

The institutionalization of segregation in the Y.M.C.A. was reflective of growing segregation throughout the north. In 1914, Woodrow Wilson segregated federal offices, an act widely
protested in the black community ("Afro-Americans," 1914). Jobs were increasingly segregated. By 1930, black workers in steel mills, for example, were rigidly funneled into "nigger jobs," where the work was dirtiest, hottest, and most dangerous (Greer, 1979:85). Ghetto boundaries hardened for blacks; real estate agents, bankers, and police unwilling to protect blacks who moved into white neighborhoods all became part of a system of boundary control (Philpott, 1978).

In social services, too, the institutionalization of segregation proceeded relentlessly. Settlement houses became strictly segregated; black city dwellers were served by black settlements or not at all (Philpott, 1978:314-42). White social service agencies unwilling to open their doors to black citizens referred "negro cases" to agencies like the Urban League. African American professionals worked with imagination and considerable skill to build up social services for blacks, but were rarely included in social services' policy-making bodies. City social work establishments were generally lily-white. The Chicago Council of Social Agencies, for example, typically included no blacks on its executive committee (Grossman, 1989:173). Reform movements which sprang up in the wake of post World War I riots had their limits, as well, the most essential one being that the system of segregation would remain intact. "Better services," thus, meant better segregated services. "Better neighborhoods" meant not the opening of ghetto boundaries, but funds for a black settlement house—funds which, predictably, dried up as memories of racial unrest waned. Together, these practices in time created a dual service system. In black ghettos an officially sanctioned, inadequately funded, and continually neglected system of segregated public and private services functioned to provide minimal assistance and, at the same time, to veil the larger neglect.

In the Young Men's Christian Association segregation was fully institutionalized after 1910 and remained intact until 1946. Separate "colored" buildings in all the major cities announced to black and white alike that this Christian social service organization deemed it right to protect white members from association with blacks. At the same time, the existence of "Colored Y's" also suggested, albeit in a quieter voice, that in this segregated
organization, African American men were working for the advancement of the race. Within the balance of these two realities, African American work in the Y.M.C.A. proceeded.

The tying of Julius Rosenwald's gift to segregated facilities was quickly noted. In Boston, prominent blacks made no effort to meet the terms of the Rosenwald offer, seeing in a separate branch a step toward their exclusion from the central Association (Whiteside, 1951:34-37). W. E. B. Du Bois (1914) also challenged segregation within the Y.M.C.A. He praised both Rosenwald and the "Colored Secretaries," but added:

The Y.M.C.A. movement in America is not acting in a Christian manner toward colored folk. In most cities colored people are... excluded from all the well-equipped branches of the Y.M.C.A. and herded in a poorly equipped "colored" branch... [The splendid new accommodations are a fine thing... but it is an unchristian and unjust and dangerous procedure which segregates colored people in the Y.M.C.A. movement (p. 77).

Du Bois' reservations were soundly rejected by the philanthropic establishment. White philanthropists and the handful of African Americans in their confidence were a small and exclusive circle. Booker T. Washington, who by 1910 exercised nearly complete control of philanthropic money directed to African American causes, led the opposition to critics like Du Bois. In keeping with his general philosophy as articulated in the 1895 speech at the Atlanta Exposition, Washington had approved the construction of separate Y.M.C.A.'s at least since 1907, accepting the reality of segregation, or, more precisely, the reality of white philanthropists' tie to it.

The tying of philanthropy to segregationist policy in social service agencies had hundreds of daily manifestations for African American Y.M.C.A. members and employees. Young black men were refused at central, or white, branches and directed to "Colored Branches" instead. The use of certain facilities was especially highly charged. Swimming pools, of course, were problematic, and dining rooms, dormitories, and summer camps all required strict attention to the rules of racial etiquette. For black employees segregation meant, among other things, a lower salary schedule. In 1922, the average black secretarial
salary was $2,537 a year, 64% that of white secretaries ("Average Salaries," 1927).

Segregation was rarely accepted in principle. Most secretaries were strongly race conscious and entered Y.M.C.A. service determined to fight for the welfare of the race by building strong black programs, albeit in segregated facilities. Rufus Meroney, the secretary of the Brooklyn Y.M.C.A. for eleven years, chose this path. In 1922 Meroney died at age 40 and was eulogized in the Crisis by Du Bois. "He never played, never attended conventions, he simply worked," Du Bois (1922) wrote.

Night and day, summer and winter, he cultivated with fierce intensity his one field... the welfare of a group of colored boys and young men. He molded, trained, and encouraged them. He gave them his advice, his money, his guidance. He dug and delved until there rose a Temple—a light and beautiful... sanctuary with everything to delight the heart of a virile boy.... And into the glittering brick and soul of this vaster Temple, Meroney poured his life, for eleven years.... He pooh-poohed the pain in his side, he worked to the last drop of heart's blood and died half-conscious beneath the surgeon's knife that searched too late.

"He was just a Negro," Du Bois went on. "He was not good enough to remain within the portals of the Central Y.M.C.A.... And yet he was a gentleman. A son of Tillotson and Yale, an upstanding handsome, hearty fellow... fit for the presence of Kings and the kisses of women. And yet he dropped dead at forty."

Meroney, like dozens of other Y.M.C.A. secretaries, quietly committed himself to the young men of the race, and in that, resisted and subverted a system bound to deny them. He conveyed his expectations for young people through praise, admonition, and a model of community responsibility which drove him to excellence in a world of narrow possibilities. In that way Meroney and race men and women like him lived out a powerful river of African American tradition; guardians of the coming generation, they tapped the talented and fiercely protected them and their dreams.

In a few cities, segregation was successfully challenged. In a lively editorial in the Crisis, Du Bois referred to the Y.M.C.A. at Emporia, Kansas:
YMCA and Segregation

Why make reference to the Y.M.C.A. in Emporia? Because, in its membership, you will find boys of all the race and national groups that live in the city. Yes, Negro boys! . . . In the game room, lobby, on the gym floor and in the pool! Yes, in the pool, you will find Negro boys (Du Bois, 1927).

Emporia had a Klavern of the Ku Klux Klan, Du Bois went on, but it also had L. A. Duffy, City Boys’ Work Secretary, De Witt Lee, General Secretary, William Allen White and the Emporia Gazette. “And would you believe it, there has been neither an earthquake nor a falling of the stars in Emporia!”

Local challenges to segregation, however, were unequal to the organization’s determination to continue it. In the Y.M.C.A., the policy ground on through the ‘teens, ‘twenties, and ‘thirties, distorting African American work and black communities’ relationship with the organization.

In 1930, the issue of Y.M.C.A support of segregation came to a head, cast in sharp relief by a highly publicized cross-burning at the home of a black Y.M.C.A. leader in White Plains, New York. Two members of the Committee of Management of Colored Branch of the White Plains Y.M.C.A., Dr. Errold Collymore and Dr. Arthur Williams, after a long, frustrating search for good housing, had purchased homes in a white neighborhood in White Plains. Enraged, white homeowner associations threatened the doctors, and ultimately a cross was burned on Dr. Collymore’s front lawn. The city ministers’ association and a leading white newspaper in White Plains protested the violence vigorously. The Young Men’s Christian Association, in contrast, sought to pressure the doctors to give up their homes and urged Mr. Samuel Morsell, the secretary of the Colored Branch, to “do what he could” to influence the doctors to sell. Mr. Morsell, a deeply committed young man, refused, and for that, was fired (“Whiteplains,” 1930).

The dismissal of Mr. Morsell was widely reported in both the white and black press. For Channing Tobias, who had succeeded Jesse Moorland as Senior Secretary of the Colored Men’s Department, and the other black secretaries, the White Plains incident was humiliating and deeply discouraging. Tobias felt that the “very foundation of Negro confidence in the Young Men’s Christian Association has been shaken” (Tobias, 1930).
Several months later the national Y.M.C.A. issued a statement opposing "threats of force" and encouraging the Association to "prevent . . . outbreaks of race conflict by meeting concrete needs constructively . . . [through] improvement of housing . . . and economic well-being" ("Resolution," 1930). The statement was welcome, but notably did not challenge segregation itself. While horrified at the violence and the publicity the incident engendered, top Y.M.C.A. leadership was unable to bring itself to address the question of segregation; it went as far as "harmony" and stopped. Black members, of course, were keenly aware that much more existed, and, for many, the incident represented the end of one era and the beginning of another.

In late 1930 William West, Dean of Men at Howard University, wrote Tobias about the incident and congratulated him on his "straightforwardness": "I think the time has about come for a showdown in all interracial groups pretending Christianity. It seems that when it comes to a Christian test, they are not willing to face the issue" (emphasis added) (West, 1930).

A showdown. It was not the fruit Jesse Moorland hoped would come of African Americans' labor in the Y.M.C.A. Moorland's 1913 vision of "almost a partnership" between the "best colored men and the best white men" had born much—twenty five $100,000 Rosenwald building as well as programs in scores of black communities. But in the end, step-by-step interracial efforts in the context of Jim-Crowed institutions had neither broken down segregation nor enabled young black men and boys to "live sweetly . . . in the land which the Lord hath given them." In two decades, the black secretaries had pushed work in segregated institutions to the limit. The Rosenwald buildings, the organizational structure of the Colored Men's Department, the fund raising campaigns, the resources won were all testimony to this generation of African American men and their commitment to creating a world where passions and violence did not foreshorten the lives and dreams of black young men and boys. But the greatest dream, that black men and white men could work together "as brothers" did not come to pass. The segregated Rosenwald buildings in the end were temples to segregation, not racial equality.
The existence of "Colored Branches" was an embarrassment and an affront to the new generation of black Y.M.C.A. members, and, beginning in the mid-1930's they began to vigorously push the issue of segregation in the organization. In 1946, the Y.M.C.A. finally desegregated.

The question arises, is it fair to criticize the Y.M.C.A. for segregationist policies? That it had a Colored Men's Department at all, the argument goes, attests to a progressive spirit in the Y.M.C.A. often lacking in other organizations. I believe the criticism is just and warranted. While the Y.M.C.A.'s program offered opportunities for combatting race hatred, at the same time its institutionalization of segregation was an appalling development and served to give the blessing of social welfare to a system "morally wrong and reprehensible. . . . a sin against God and man" (King, 1965).

In recent years, moralism, upon which early colleagues with all their frailties so relied, has been in disfavor in the profession. Drawing on the best of that strong, spiritual tradition, these words from James Russell Lowell may provide a glass through which to judge the lost opportunities of this era of change in social services:

Part the sheep upon the left hand  
and the goats upon the right,  
And the choice goes by forever  
between that darkness and that light.

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A Black Community Development Model: The Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League 1917–1940

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A discussion of The Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League (UNIA & ACL) founded by Marcus Garvey in 1915 is presented. The organization provided social services for people of African ancestry in both the U.S. and other countries as well. An analysis of this organization occurs, citing the functions of subgroups like the Universal African Legions and the Universal African Motor Corps. This organization serves as a historic model for contemporary community development.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League was founded in 1915 in Jamaica, West Indies by Marcus Garvey. Garvey immigrated to Harlem, New York a year later, locating the UNIA and ACL headquarters in Liberty Hall. From the first branch in Harlem, over 1,000 branches of the UNIA were established throughout the U.S.A., Central and South America and the West Indies and Africa (Harris, 1978; Martin, 1976).

Many people are familiar with the Honorable Marcus Garvey, Garveyism, and the Garvey movement, yet few know of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and the African Communities League (ACL). Discussions of this organization have generally been presented only as a means of explaining Garvey's philosophies and/or opinions (Crono, 1955; Garvey 1970; Nembhard, 1978). From the years of 1917 until 1940 the world, nonetheless, resounded with the ring of the name of this organization which Marcus Garvey hoped would be the instrument for people of African descent throughout the diaspora to gain their cultural, economic, political and social freedom (Garvey, 1923; Harris, 1978).
The purpose of this article is to analyze the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League as a Black organization existing in the Black community for the expressed benefit of the Black Community. In the instance of the UNIA, the Black community is defined as wherever people of African ancestry exist. A Black organization is defined as an organization established by, directed by, funded by, and staffed by Black people for the economic, psychological and social benefit of Black people. Emphasis is placed on the UNIA and ACL in the United States from the year of 1917 to 1940; because as Martin (1976) notes the organization was most successful in the United States during this time period.

The undergirding thesis is that the UNIA and ACL can be used as a model for social and economic development for people of African ancestry. Many of the methods, tactics and strategies advocated by such Black scholars as Haywood (1948), Carmichael and Hamilton (1967), Allen (1970) and Harris (1977) have their roots in the organizational structure, philosophy and ideology of the UNIA and ACL. An analysis of the UNIA and ACL and its programs would assist in building an organization and/or programs effective in meeting the social, psychological, economic, and spiritual needs of the Black Community in the last part of this century and into the 21st century.

Philosophy

Garveyism provided the philosophical underpinning for all the programs developed and implemented by the UNIA. Harris (1978) defined Garveyism as a philosophy and program for the emancipation of the Black Race and the redemption of Africa for the Africans, those on the continent and those displaced throughout the diaspora.

Garveyism as originally stated, contended that the Black people of the world had only progressed from chattel slavery to economic slavery; because they had no economic basis of power. Explicit in the philosophy was that Black people were not to blame God, but man's inhumanity to man for their oppressed plight. According to Crawford (1979) Garveyism stressed the need for Blacks, those of Negro blood and race (Garvey, 1923), to organize and work together as a group and not to depend
on any other group but "Negroes". The UNIA and the ACL emphasized unity, work, religion and especially Black property and business ownership. Furthermore, the UNIA and the ACL was the instrument through which Garvey visualized Black people throughout the world working toward the liberation of Africa and forming a Black worldwide nation. The essence of Garvey’s philosophy was the creation of a nation.

Garveyism stressed the positive aspects of Blackness. It was concerned with fostering racial pride and awareness and advocated a belief in God with UNIA members living up to the highest moral standards. As the founder of Garveyism, Marcus Garvey was prophetic in teaching and propagandizing the interrelationship between the liberation of Africa and the liberation of oppressed Blacks throughout the world.

Two slogans of the UNIA summarize Garveyism, “Africa for Africans” and the UNIA motto, “One aim, One God, One Destiny.” UNIA philosophy emphasized the fact that no matter where a Black might live, they were still African.

Aims and Objectives

Information presented in this section on organizational structure has been abstracted from the Constitution and Book of Laws Made for the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League Incorporated of the World, effective July 1918 and amended August of 1920 and 1921.

The preamble of the UNIA describes the organization as

\[\ldots\] a social, friendly, humanitarian, charitable, educational, institutional, constructive and expansive society founded by persons describing to the utmost to work for the general uplift of the Negro peoples of the world (p. 1).

The official organ of the UNIA, entitled Garvey’s Voice prominently displays the organization’s motto, “One God, One Aim, One Destiny.” (Garvey’s Voice, Jan., 1979). The newspaper has carried several names since its inception including Negro World changed in 1933 to, World Peace Echo and later changed to Garvey’s Voice.

Article I (p. 4) of the Constitution lists the objectives and aims of the UNIA and ACL.
There are ten objectives and aims of the UNIA and ACL:

1. Establish a Universal Confraternity among the race.
2. Promote the spirit of pride and love.
3. Reclaim the fallen.
4. To administer to and assist the needy.
5. To assist in civilizing the backward tribes of Africa.
6. To assist in the development of Independent Negro Nations and Communities.
7. To establish Commissionaries or Agencies in the principal countries and cities of the world for the representation and protection of all Negroes, irrespective of nationality.
8. To promote a conscientious spiritual worship among the native tribes of Africa; to establish universities, colleges, academies and schools for the racial education and culture of the people.
9. To conduct a world-wide commercial and industrial intercourse for the good of the people.
10. To work the better conditions in all Negro communities.

Membership and Dues

According to Article IX of the Constitution, all persons of Negro blood and African ancestry are regarded as ordinary members and entitled to consideration of the UNIA. Active members are defined as those who pay dues and they have first claim to considerations of the UNIA. Considerations included assistance in illness and financial depression.

Each active member was assessed twenty-five cents per month, one dollar each January, a ten cent death tax per month, a five cent tax to help pay a $75.00 death benefit to the deceased person’s family; in addition each active member was required to pay five dollars annually into the African Redemption Fund. All high officials, members of the parent body and local officials were required to subscribe to the Black Star Line Stock. No specific number of stocks were required to be purchased by the above named positions.

In addition to these dues and taxes, members of various organizations within the UNIA were required to pay minimal dues.
Draper (1969) contends that the UNIA appealed mainly to recently uprooted Negro migrants from Southern states and these recently arrived from the West Indies who were emotionally stirred by nationalism and emigration incantations. Closer analysis suggests that many Black, "well to do" and/or community leaders supported the UNIA. A number of Harlem Renaissance era figures supported, were connected with or were members of the UNIA.

Reformer and activist, A. Phillip Randolph, who later became an opponent of the UNIA, and anti-lynching crusader Ida Wells-Barnett were nominated to lobby on behalf of the UNIA at the Paris Peace Conference (Martin, 1976). Madame C.J. Walter, the wealthy cosmetic manufacturer, was also a known supporter of the UNIA (Martin, 1976). J.A. Rodgers, noted Afro-American historian, and Harlem Renaissance poet, Claude McKay wrote for Negro World. T. Thomas Fortune, veteran civil rights fighter and dean of Afro-American journalist, edited Negro World in his last years of life. William H. Ferris, M.A., Harvard and Yale universities also edited Negro World. (Negro World, September 12, 1921). Additionally, editions of Negro World are replete with the organization's association with various prominent Black Churches and church leadership, (Negro World, February 12, 1921) of the time.

Organizations within the UNIA

There were at least three organizations within the UNIA itself, (1) the Universal African Legions, (2) Universal African Black Cross Nurses and (3) the Universal African Motor Corps. Membership in the Universal African Legions was open to active members between the ages of 18–55 years of age in good health. The purpose was to teach these men military skills and discipline. The Legion was under the direct supervision of the Minister of the Legions. The sphinx was the symbol of the Legion. The Legion was an uniformed army with a military chain of command and stratification. The purpose of the Legion was to provide protection for the UNIA and the Black community against racist and unjust physical aggression. The Universal African Motor Corps was open to active members ages 15–45 and was to assist the Legion in the performance of their duties.
The Universal African Black Cross Nurses were to carry on a system of relief and to assist in mitigating the suffering caused by pestilence, famine, fire, floods and other great calamities. They were to care for the sick and engage in preventative medicine. The Universal African Black Cross Nurses issued pamphlets on safety and accident prevention. They instructed the public in sanitation and first aid. The organization was open to active female members ages 16-45. A central committee composed of the President General of the UNIA, a universal African Black Cross Nurse Directress and the Surgeon General, directed the function of this corps of nurses.

In order to provide a high level of training and direction to members of the nursing corps, the Surgeon General was required to be a bacteriologist and the Directress, a graduated nurse with three years of experience. A Black Latin Cross encircled by a red background in the center of a green field was the nurses corps emblem. Girls were prepared from the age of fourteen to join the nurses corps.

Educating and nurturing children was a core component of the UNIA. The constitution outlined specific programs, targeting children: teaching prayer, discipline, African history, as well as the UNIA and ACL’s history and philosophy.

**Funding**

The UNIA and ACL was a self supporting organization; with the African Communities League being the arm under which the financial corporations operated. The League was designed to establish economic solvency and independence in the African Communities of the world (Harris, 1976).

A major funding aim was to build an economic base for the nation which the UNIA was attempting to establish (Garvey, 1966). Under the direction of the African Communities League, incorporated on July 31, 1918, as a business corporation, the Negro Factories Corporation was founded. The Negro Factories Corporation managed the UNIA’s laundries, restaurants, a doll factory, tailoring and millinery establishments and a printing press (New World, February 12, 1921).

The African Communities League’s greatest financial endeavor evolved around the Black Star Line Steamship
Corporation. Based on Martin (1976) and Nembhard (1978) the Black Star Line Steamship Corporation was incorporated in Delaware on June 27, 1919 with a capital stock of $500,000. Shares had a par value of $5.00 each and individuals could purchase a maximum of two hundred shares. The multiple purposes of the Line were to eliminate the racial discrimination suffered by Black passengers on white lines, and to provide jobs for Black seamen. The two most important needs which the UNIA leadership envisioned the Black Star Line fulfilling were to provide transportation for Negroes to return to Africa, and to act as a means of linking together the Black peoples of the world. African and West Indian merchants saw in it the hope of independence from racist white companies.

Within less than three months of incorporation the line had amassed enough money to purchase the Yarmouth, on September 17, 1919, at a cost of $165,000. The Yarmouth, unofficially named the Frederick Douglass, sailed three voyages between New York, Cuba, Panama, the West Indies and Costa Rica, transporting hundreds of passengers and shiploads of cargo. A total of three more ships were purchased by the Black Star Line. But, due to poor management, lack of fiscal planning, graft, and sabotage at the hands of white crew members, this venture fell into bankruptcy.

Ironically, this venture was the largest and initially most successful. It had the potential to be a key mechanism in a worldwide Black nation. It was the key in the demise of the UNIA. By convicting Marcus Garvey of selling the Line's stock through the mail, the U.S. Government was able to incarcerate then deport Garvey back to Jamaica.

Leadership

Without a doubt Marcus Garvey was the unavowed head of the UNIA and ACL. He formulated its philosophy, directed its operations and was credited with operationalizing concepts of a world nation of Black People. Essentially, Garvey implemented a program for the self determination of Black people throughout the world. Crono (1955) describes Garvey as the "Black Moses," a short, chubby Black man who was charismatic in his leadership. Through that charisma, he organized four
millon active UNIA members by 1921 (Negro World, February 26, 1921), providing leadership to the largest mass movement of Blacks in the world (Draper 1969).

Marcus Garvey, through the UNIA, garnered the voluntary support of Black people on a worldwide basis. Garvey’s leadership can also be described as supportive, as defined by Hall (1972), utilizing socio-emotional appeals to his subordinates. An article addressing the post war (WWI) economic plight of the Negro people (Negro World, February 26, 1921) and his speech concerning the East St. Louis Riots delivered at Lafayette Hall in New York are excellent examples of his socio-emotional style in appealing to the UNIA membership.

Decline of UNIA and ACL

Martin (1976) discusses what he believes to be the key factors in the decline of the UNIA and ACL. The first is the economic depression of the thirties which diminished the financial support from organization’s membership. Secondly, Garvey being deported, left the organization without its charismatic leadership. Yet, even in Garvey’s absence, there was sufficient economic support and membership participation to hold the Eighth International Convention in Toronto, Canada in August of 1938.

Increasingly, financial troubles plagued the UNIA after the Black Star Line Steamship Corporation was forced to close its business doors. Membership eroded due to increasing fragmentation of UNIA members into splinter organizations such as the Peace Movement of Ethiopia. In-roads into the membership by Father Divine, the Black Muslims, and the Moorish Americans also contributed to its declining membership and influence in the Black Community.

Yet, the U.S. government might have been the single most significant factor in the decline of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League. Martin (1976) links J. Edgar Hoover with the conspiracy to spy on the UNIA and to jail Marcus Garvey for mail fraud. Martin (1976) connects Tyler, Garvey’s attempted assassin with the U.S. government and James E. Amos, an ex-bodyguard of former
President Theodore Roosevelt and at the time a black agent of the F.B.I. with spying on the UNIA.

Martin (1976) says the U.S. government's harassing of Garvey included trying to prevent him from entering the U.S. after a trip abroad. On two separate occasions while in Oakland and Los Angeles, California the police tried to prevent Garvey from addressing UNIA membership. The tactic was to destroy the UNIA by destroying its leadership. As if the U.S. government was not enough for the UNIA to struggle against, intellectual integrationists such as W.E.B. DuBois (Crisis, January 1921) and the NAACP were ardent opponents of the UNIA (Crisis, February, 1928). The UNIA was also assaulted by the Communists in its struggle to influence the development of a Black nation (Draper 1969; Harris, 1978; Brath; 1979).

**Contributions to Black Community Development and Black Social Welfare**

Harris (1977) defines community development as the following:

> Community development seeks to create a more unified community, a deeper spirit of civic pride and citizen initiative for the achievement of specific programs that are determined to be essential in order to effect needed improvements in the community. It seeks to help all citizens to gain a better understanding of each other to develop improved habits of sharing community responsibility and of working together for community wide goals. (p.15)

Without a doubt the UNIA and ACL fulfilled this definition, the philosophy, constitution and programs were all directed to this end. In fact, the UNIA and ACL present a model for community development in the Black Community. The organization addresses philosophically and programmatically the issues of consciousness raising and the need to instill a sense of racial pride through knowledge of one's heritage. The economic programs provided jobs, which provided an economic independence for the Black Community.

From a social welfare perspective the UNIA and ACL provided a social milieu conducive to the individual and familial development of Black people through establishing a system
of health and welfare services in an era in which the local and national systems neglected to provide these services for Black people.

Ironically, even though the UNIA and ACL declined rapidly after 1940, its legacy lived and provided a model both philosophically and pragmatically for the Black world community. The UNIA stressed the importance of liberation from oppression and in agreement with Allen (1970) developed a planned communal social system on a national scale with strong international connections. The influence of the UNIA and ACL can be observed today. The UNIA had a branch in South Africa and was associated with the African National Congress (Martin, 1976), the major indigenous freedom party in South Africa. African countries such as Kenya and Tanzania have gained their freedom since the inception of the UNIA and have adapted the colors of the UNIA’s flag; red, black and green, and were probably influenced by the slogan of the UNIA; Africa for Africans (Martin, 1976).

Crawford (1979) contends that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, the founder of the Black Muslim’s Nation of Islam, was once a member of the UNIA’s Detroit chapter and obtained the fundamental philosophy, structure, programs and organizing strategies from this association. The Nation of Islam like the UNIA is based upon the development of high moral character and family unity, with an emphasis on economic control of the Black Community and like the UNIA, its leadership emerging from the indigenous people (Allen, 1990). Most notably the Nation of Islam developed programs to rehabilitate drug dealers, drug abusers, prostitutes and criminals through instilling racial and cultural pride and providing employment, almost identical to the UNIA’s programs.

The UNIA offers a model for adolescent development. Male adolescents became members of the Universal African Legion where they were taught moral development and self discipline by the older men in the organization who acted as role models and mentors. They were apprenticed to the various businesses owned and operated by the UNIA, to learn a skill for self-sufficiency. Additionally, the young men were taught African history in order to instill racial pride and dignity. The same
process holds true for young women who participate in the Black Cross Nurses.

Implications for Social Work

Social work educators need to present the UNIA and ACL as an effective model of intervention for psycho-social and economic problems facing the Black community, such as crime, violence, teenage pregnancy and unemployment, as the United States moves into the 21st century. Practitioners should offer to work with the UNIA which is reemerging in Black communities throughout the United States. (S. Baye personal communication, April 20, 1993). Social work practitioners can offer technical knowledge and skills in group work, casework, community development and cultural competency.

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Social Workers and the Development of the NAACP

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This article addresses the relationship between African-American leaders and settlement house workers in the development of the NAACP. Using social movement theory and Hasenfeld and Tropman's conceptual framework for interorganizational relations, it analyzes the linkages developed between voluntary associations and how they benefitted all involved. This linkage provides lessons for today's struggle for social justice.

Introduction

This paper discusses the origins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) including the role played by settlement house workers in the development and ongoing leadership of that organization. Using social movement theory and Hasenfeld and Tropman's (1977) conceptual framework for interorganizational relations, it analyzes the way voluntary associations come together to create and maintain linkages which benefit all parties.

Theoretical Framework

Social movements are often reflections of shifts in norms and values during social and cultural transitions (Killian, 1964) and in many cases, are responsible for those shifts. The main "vehicles of social movements" (Morris, 1984, p. 56) are social movement organizations (SMO), the movement centers which reflect the ideology and values of a social movement (Freeman, 1983).

According to classical collective behavior theory, SMOs emerge from social movements (Smelser, 1963). However, many theorists (Morris, 1981; Freeman, 1983; Aveni, 1978) argue that
SMOs often emerge prior to a social movement. Thus the social networks and resources necessary for the success of the social movement are preexisting.

Studies of several social movements related to civil rights reflect that there has been a consistent organizational network among African-Americans providing a framework for social action (Morris, 1984; Killian, 1984). This network originated during slavery and not during Reconstruction as generally assumed (Bennett, 1982).

Several histories of the NAACP have been written. The role of the NAACP in the Civil Rights Movement has been studied extensively as has the NAACP's antilynching campaign. However, the emergence of the NAACP has not been studied as a reflection of a social movement yet it demonstrates how a "preexisting organization of a dominated group" (Taylor, 1983, p. 289) and a "preexisting communications network" (Freeman, 1983, p. 9) can provide the basis for developing an SMO. It also demonstrates the importance of linkage in mobilizing an SMO.

The emergence of the NAACP in 1910 is an interesting study of the convergence of social forces over three decades, including the legislating of racism, several failed SMOs, and the growth of a social welfare system which challenged the prevailing norms, leading to the development of "one of the most powerful and successful social movement organizations in the country" (Aveni, p. 190). The NAACP has been called "the largest, most influential, and most successful of the organizations devoted to the task of winning full American citizenship for the Negro" (Jack, 1943, p. x). It was developed by people committed to social change and experienced in mobilizing people and resources.

The Progressive Era

The period following Reconstruction laid the groundwork for much of the activity among African-Americans in the early 1900s. From the post-Reconstruction years to 1909, African-Americans were exploited and provided very little support from the federal government. The 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson decision
sanctioned segregation and in the South, Jim Crow laws kept African-Americans out of the economic mainstream and socially separate from white society. Lack of education, a legacy of slavery, left many African-Americans unable to acquire the kind of jobs necessary for success as did the deliberate exclusion from economic opportunities. Mob behavior and lynching were common especially in the South and were used to “intimidate, degrade, and control” African-Americans (Zangrando, 1980, p. 3) as well as emphasize white superiority.

However, the Progressive Era was a productive time for African-Americans and reflects many activities which laid the groundwork for the emergence of the NAACP. From 1880 to 1910, many social forces were converging to develop the linkages which would support the founding of the NAACP. Total segregation forced the development of a African-American capitalist system. Political leadership within the African-American community emerged and the political commentary of a powerful African-American press began to be heard (Marable, 1983). African-Americans developed a specific ideology and set up an effective communication network with linkage to powerful white organizations. Although given little attention, there was a subtle yet very strong social movement of African-Americans during the post Reconstruction years fueled by anger and frustration but the social movement lacked focus and direction. There were conflicting ideologies and leadership struggles among African-Americans during the Progressive Era.

Settlement House Movement

While racism continued to dominate the social arena, a group of idealistic and optimistic settlement house workers, “became initiators and organizers of reform in the progressive era” (Davis, 1967, p. xi). They attempted to combat the segregation, violence, and discrimination against African Americans. While in many ways African-Americans were not direct recipients of the reform movement, the emphasis on equality and removal of oppressive societal conditions allowed African-Americans to organize and to garner white support (Jansson,
The settlement houses with their political linkage were also in place when crisis occurred.

The Settlement House movement was based on the strengths philosophy. While the already existing Charity Organization Society sought to reform poor or needy individuals, the settlement house workers focused on social change. Rather than passing moral judgment and mandating specific behavior, settlement house workers asked community residents to assess their own needs. They also respected cultural differences. The main focus of the settlements was to provide neighborhood support for immigrants who were segregated in the inner cities with few skills and few economic opportunities and where often language was a barrier.

Many settlements began as community-based but recognized the need for local, state, and even national legislation to change community conditions. Settlement house leaders were forced to enter the realm of politics and as a result, began to emerge as prominent reformers (Davis, 1967). They had a major impact on social legislation in the late 1800s and early 1900s becoming politically powerful and able to command financial and political support for a variety of causes. This power was to be an important component of the emergence of the NAACP.

The settlement house movement grew rapidly but settlement houses rarely were in African-American communities unless run by African-American workers. However, despite opposition from the general public “at least some settlement house workers helped foster African-American pride and Afro-American culture” (Trattner, 1979, p. 146). Settlement house workers were more involved than most Progressives in working for equality (Davis, 1967). Several settlement house workers including “Jane Addams, Lillian Wald, Francis Kellor, Florence Kelley, Mary White Ovington, William E. Walling, Henry Moscovitz, and many others... were among the few outstanding white pioneers in the fight against racial discrimination” (Trattner, 1974, p. 147). They recognized the impact racism and segregation had on African-Americans and were able to use their research and legislative efforts to eliminate prejudice and dismantle Jim Crow (Addams, 1902). As Jane Addams (1910) wrote, Americans disliked hearing that it was "divided into two nations"
but some few people had to be concerned about the inequality that existed in this country. The settlement house workers initiated the study of conditions for African-Americans particularly W.E.B. DuBois' *The Philadelphia Negro* and Mary White Ovington's *Half a Man* using the information to urge reform and equality (Davis, 1967).

By and large though, white settlement house workers included African-Americans among the many immigrant groups they served and rarely focused on them separately. Most did not advocate integration or work with African-American communities; rather they advocated segregated settlements in African-American communities most of which were underfunded and thus not always successful. However there were other social institutions that were quite successful.

**Social Institutions**

There were four social institutions that emerged during the Jim Crow era—African-American churches, African-American lodges, African-American women's groups, and African-American colleges—which subtly taught power, tactics, and pride (Bennett, 1982). These institutions were key factors in the development of an African-American consciousness which strengthened the social movement and led to the growth of several different SMOs. African-Americans in the early 1900s shared an oppressed existence but the experiences of slavery and segregation provided a sense of community. Blackwell (1991) argues that the African-American community was actually developed as a means to deal with the racist and oppressive social structure.

Because of the leadership opportunities in the churches, lodges, and women's organizations, and the educational opportunities provided by African-American colleges, an African-American middle-class with economic power and an African-American intelligentsia with ideas and demands were able to impact the direction of the social movement (Bennett, 1982). Several organizations were created to fight for the elimination of Jim Crow laws, to seek recognition for the contributions and abilities of African-Americans, to demand rights to education and jobs, and to address the problem of lynching.
In 1890, the National Afro-American League was founded as a militant protest organization (Meier & Rudwick, 1966). It was replaced by the National Afro-American Council in 1898 which in its early years advocated militant protest (Bennett, 1982). The Equal Rights Council was founded in 1893 to fight against lynching (Zangrando, p. 12) and the National Council of Colored Women emerged to focus on equality.

Leadership

The strongest African-American voice in the late 1800s was that of Booker T. Washington; his leadership set the tone for many years. He advocated accommodation and social segregation and argued that individual change through the development of vocational and social skills rather than social change would make African-Americans more acceptable to whites. His acceptance of segregation caused him to be praised as the "national spokesman of black America" (Alvarez, p. 72) by white economic and political leaders.

A competing African-American voice during this era was W.E.B. DuBois. His philosophy of racial pride, societal change, and radical protest was in direct conflict with Washington's. His message was more threatening to whites and he generated less white support than Washington but by the early 1900s, Washington's message of accommodation was coming under attack. DuBois and other radical African-Americans began to fight openly and vocally against Washington's philosophy, the most specific attack occurring in DuBois' book *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903).

The Niagara Movement

Opposition to Washington, while strong, was not well organized until the Niagara Movement was begun. In 1905, DuBois invited several African-American intellectuals to meet in Niagara Falls, Ontario (segregated American hotels were unavailable to African-Americans) to discuss strategies for achieving equality. The group was adamant that accommodation was unworkable and dangerous. This Niagara Movement was the "first national organization of Negroes which aggressively and
unconditionally demanded the same civil rights for their people which other Americans enjoyed" (Alvarez p. 78) including the vote, an end to segregation in public facilities, adequate education, and equal protection under the law.

The radical nature of these demands made it difficult for the Niagra Movement to gain white support and DuBois' elitist emphasis on the Talented Tenth ignored the masses of African-Americans. Meier & Rudwick (1966) argue that fear of Washington's power may have dissuaded many other African-Americans from joining the organization. Without white support or African-American mass support, the failure of the Niagra Movement was inevitable.

However, the Niagra Movement may have laid the groundwork for an organization with a similar message and focus but with greater resources to emerge. Failed social movements may "leave behind the seeds of another specific movement" (Killian, 1964, p. 48). This also may be true of SMOs. Although the Niagra Movement failed, it provided the philosophy, the leadership, and the sense of mission which helped the NAACP to be successful. Its radicalism, threatening to many whites, also may have made a less radical organization such as the NAACP look more acceptable.

The NAACP

The key event which sparked the development of the NAACP was the first major race riot in the North. Although many incidents had occurred in the North, this riot in 1908 occurred in Springfield, Illinois near the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln. For a week, a white mob killed and injured African-Americans and drove hundreds of them out of the city (Bennett, 1982). As Cavin (1983) notes, "Extremism and heightened outside pressures sometimes paradoxically serve to mobilize new resources" (p. 329). The mob violence provided a central issue around which a social movement was born. The riot provided the emotionalism which other issues had not generated in the white community.

An appeal for aid to the Negro written by journalist William E. Walling led to a response from Mary White Ovington, a
settlement house worker and activist for the African-American community. A leadership meeting which included William E. Walling, Henry Moskowitz, and Ms. Ovington was held to develop strategy. It is "...significant that all three were settlement workers" (Davis, 1967, p. 101). The meeting resulted in Oswald Villard writing *The Call*, a statement informing the public of the suffering and injustice experienced by African-Americans. It was released on Lincoln's birthday and was signed by 53 people both African-American and white including educators, settlement house workers, writers, and other leaders (Ovington, 1947). After *The Call*, coalition building began between settlement house workers and African-Americans from the Niagra Movement. In 1909, a group of African-Americans and whites held an organizational meeting and reception at the New York Henry Street Settlement which led to the development of the National Negro Committee. A major issue was whether or not to include Booker T. Washington who was quite powerful especially in fundraising for African-American causes. After much debate, the organizers included DuBois rather Washington despite their need for money (Ovington, 1947).

Although initially organized by white liberals who were settlement house workers, the National Negro Committee soon included several members of the Niagra Movement, the most notable being DuBois. In 1910, the NAACP emerged from the National Negro Committee (Jack, 1943, Ovington, 1947). The main focus of the NAACP was to "change public attitudes as well as public law and transform race relations." (Zangrando, 1980, p. 20).

While African-Americans actively organized the NAACP and only African-Americans could hold full membership, with the exception of DuBois, the original leadership of the NAACP was made up of white community leaders, many of whom were settlement house workers. DuBois remained the only African-American leader for several years serving as publicity officer and writing *The Crisis*, the official publication of the NAACP. According to Ovington (1947), it was often hard to forget that Negroes were men with strong ideas rather than poor people to be aided. This attitude led to conflicts between DuBois and the white leadership (Alvarez, 1971). Attempts by African-
Americans, especially DuBois, to assert leadership and control over the NAACP were met with sanction and confusion over appropriate norms.

"...interorganizational relations are the main vehicle by which various organizations attempt to influence and control each other" (Hasenfeld and Tropman 1977, p. 263). Ovington (1947) said it was a "confession to the world that we cannot work with colored people unless they are our subordinates" (p. 80). Marable (1983) argues that dependency is a key factor in the underdevelopment of African-Americans in the U.S. "Blacks are pressured to become dependent on white liberals and moderates in order to articulate their agendas, in order to acquire majoritarian support" (p. 8). Morris (1984) states that "bureaucratic protest movements of poor and dominated groups are not likely to initiate or direct a mass movement...because their internal and external dynamics force them to march down a limiting institutional path" (p. 35). The emergence of the NAACP depended on white support and thus, at first, the organization was not allowed to be self-sufficient. The issues discussed by Ovington demonstrate the difficulty faced by African-Americans and the value system so hard to change which permeated the thinking of whites. However, while leadership struggles were taking place, the organization was able to obtain the legal expertise to use in the courts to fight lynching and to make African-Americans "legal entities" (Alvarez, 1971, p. 84).

Conclusion

Freeman (1983) points out that while crises may be the catalysts for developing SMOs, they are only effective if an organized "communications network" exists prior to the crisis. Morris (1984) also argues that spontaneous emergence of an SMO is a myth and that linkages are often in place well before the catalyst which brings awareness and organization to the movement. He states that many researchers underestimate the abilities of dominated groups such as African-Americans in the early 1900s thus missing the "important roles that organization-building and skilled activists play in producing collective action (p. 76). Certainly this was true of the emergence of
the NAACP. Essentially, the social movement which had been
developing over several decades and which had attempted to
develop SMOs to further the values of the movement became in-
stitutionalized through the formation of the NAACP. It became
an established SMO that quickly was integrated into the society.
Its leadership was made up of people who had status and power
in other areas of the society, providing further legitimacy and
stability for the organization.

McCarthy and Zald (1977) argue that while grievances and
emotional issues may begin a social movement, the resources
available to that movement will determine its success or failure.
In this sense, the success of the NAACP was very dependent
on outside resources. Many of the previous attempts at de-
veloping SMOs around the African-American movement were
unsuccessful even though riots, lynchings, and other emotion-
ally volatile events occurred regularly. Until African-Americans
who were organizing were able to garner the support from
settlement house workers, newspaper editors, and other society
leaders thus establishing the linkage necessary for success, the
social movement did not mobilize. This was especially true
because for African-Americans in the early 1900s every door
to economic, political, and social power was closed. The or-
ganizational resources they had developed were not powerful
enough to allow the emergence of an effective SMO without
white support. While existing networks of African-American
organizations were critical to the success of the NAACP, the
larger network of interorganizational linkages which included
whites was the key to its emergence.

Settlement house workers, journalists, clergy, and a hand-
ful of political leaders both African-American and white, all
brought resources to the development of the organization which
allowed it to become successful and the political climate enabled
the movement to begin and continue. There appear to be many
reasons for the support of the white individuals and organiza-
tions. Most writings of the time point to humanitarian concerns
for African-Americans although there is some indication of po-
itical power struggles at work as well. Whatever their motives,
the importance and status of the original organizers lessened
the vocal opposition to the organization. The support of whites
Social Workers and the NAACP

for the NAACP may have been perceived as what Aveni (1978) calls the “restraining effect” (p. 199) of linkages between SMOs. The support of whites, particularly influential whites, not only provided legitimacy for the NAACP, but according to Meier and Rudwick (1966), provided interaction between white and African-American attorneys allowing the NAACP to become very successful in its later court battles. Aveni (1978) points out that the linkages SMOs develop are important to their ability to mobilize resources and to their growth. Without the experience and effort that went into the development of the NAACP, and the linkages it developed and maintained, the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s may have had fewer organizations and resources available to it.

Hasenfeld and Tropman (1977) argue that “the survival and effectiveness of the organization is predicated on its ability to articulate with its environment and occupy a vital niche in it” (p. 269). This assumes the ability to adjust to the environment and to develop within the organization a communication system and a work system to carry out needed tasks. African-Americans’ ability to articulate linkage with the social workers of the settlement houses enhanced the survival of the NAACP and demonstrates the shared value system of the two groups. This value system remains a part of the social work profession today and includes justice, empowerment, equality, peace, and the provision of mechanisms for developing a sense of community among disenfranchised and oppressed groups.

The value struggles and conflicts settlement house workers encountered as they became involved in the leadership of the organization reflect both the segregated and racially divisive times of the early 1900s and the conflicts social workers face today in working with oppressed populations to develop a sense of community. While respect for cultural differences remains a crucial component to effective community work, it also remains difficult for social workers to shake off the legacy of racism. Changing a value system perpetuated by the larger society is a challenging task and one which demands self-examination and self-awareness. Marable’s (1983) concept of dependency also remains an issue. Social workers today must clearly recognize the tendency to want African-Americans to remain dependent
or to conform to the norms of the larger society. We often delude ourselves that we are culturally sensitive when we 'know' the differences rather than when we respect them and use them in the social work process.

There is very little in the social work literature about the contributions of the settlement house workers to the beginnings of the NAACP. Settlement House workers were able to locate and use resources effectively as well as serve as resources to the larger African-American community. The major contributions of the settlement house workers were organizational skills, political power, and legitimacy. This legacy is a rich one and one which needs attention as we struggle together to achieve social justice.

References


This paper was initially presented at the 39th Annual Program Meeting of the Council on Social Work Education.
Effectively Teaching African American Social Welfare Historical Developments

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A select group of African American and other educators continue to develop literature on African American social welfare. As this literature increases and is subjected to scholarly exchange and debate, educators are beginning to raise questions about effective teaching strategies for integrating the content into the curriculum and effectively delivering the content through classroom lectures and discussions. In addition to concerns about the content being "heard", black educators are concerned that African Americans not always be depicted historically as helpless individuals who were the "white man's burden" and are also concerned about the broad characterization of African American Social Welfare as mutual aid. This article attempts to address some of these issues and recognizes that the African American integration issue is part of a broader educational concern about diversity. Teaching about diversity is both a content and process concern. However, the emphasis here is on process as related to an academic mechanism for acknowledging diversity through curriculum choices as opposed to other classroom related process concerns such as managing tensions and disagreements among students over issues of diversity. While this content integration focus addresses the African American population, the framework can be adapted as appropriate to other racial and ethnic groups and the integrating concepts and principles should be viewed as transferable knowledge.

The framework I’m presenting for delivering and integrating content on African American contributions was developed and effectively delivered with a class of forty-one (29 white students and 12 African American students at the end of the drop/add period) at North Carolina State University in Raleigh, North Carolina. The class was part of a project developed from a
Ford Curriculum Development Award sponsored by the Duke-UNC Center for Research on Women to revise the existing course on Social Welfare History to include more African American content. (See "Model Course Content Outline" used with the project class.) Other inclusions such as application of teaching aids have been incorporated as a result of expressed needs and feedback from faculty participants in the Council on Social Work Education Social Welfare History Group Symposium. One of the most valuable insights gained from exchanges in this area with social work colleagues and interdisciplinary faculty at the Duke-UNC Center was that white students often perceive a "little" content on diversity as a "lot" and may become emotionally saturated. Some white students express doubts about the extent of early self-help developments in African American communities because they have learned history from the perspective of oppression and the oppressor. In this victim oriented perspective, scholars gave little attention to what was happening within the black and/or slave communities. The early perspective of African American scholar, E. Franklin Frazier (1956) which was promulgated by white politicians and scholars such Glaser and Moynihan (1963) expressed the view that "The Negro is only an American and nothing else. He has no values and cultures to guard and protect" (p. 63; also see Kochman, 1983, pp. 8-10) have also thwarted both the academic and the popular understanding of independent historical developments in African American communities. For these reasons, it is critical that social workers involved in historical research be as meticulously accurate as other historians.

Balancing Afrocentric perspectives in a manner which affirms and builds on social work students' ideals about human equality and other American values tends to be a more effective teaching approach. Students' ability to "really hear" content which appears to be new knowledge or content which appears to be at odds with what they are learning or learned in other courses or from other professors is another important consideration for effective content delivery and integration. A unifying approach, then, is an effective and useful technique for helping students "hear" the content on African American social welfare origins and leadership in Western society. The
MODEL COURSE CONTENT OUTLINE*

I. Social Welfare Arrangements: Introductory Concepts
II. Influences on the American Response
   Judeo-Christian and Western Influence
   African Mutual Aid Tradition
   Elizabethan Poor Laws
III. Colonial America
   Patterns of Aid
   Ideas about Social Welfare and Political Order
   Slaves and Free Blacks
IV. The Revolutionary War Years
   Age of Humanitarianism
   Great Awakening
   Enlightenment
   Ideas from the American Revolution
   Separation of Church and State (South)
   Black Benevolent Societies/Churches
V. The Rise of Institutional Care
   Early 19th Century American Development
   Anti-Pauperism in the 1840's
   The Institutionalization Movement
   Black Women and Racial Uplift
VI. The Civil War and After
   Industrialization, Immigration, Urbanization
   Social Darwinism
   Scientific Social Welfare
   Community Caregiving Among Black Women
VII. Mid-Nineteenth to Early Twentieth Century Social Reform
   Child Welfare
   Public Health
   Settlement House Movement
   Mental Health Movement
VIII. The New Deal, Reform and Reorganization
   Progressivism
   Alternatives for the Black Community
   Development of Welfare State Ideal

*Topical outline developed from Axinn and Levine (1992), Berlin (1974),
teaching approach described in this article developed out of an attempt to effectively deal with the previously described student reactions which social work faculty as well as other liberal arts faculty have encountered. The historical time line in the framework incorporates the time periods covered in the articles in this addition which include the preslave emancipation era and extend to the pre-New Deal Era. The framework uses several integrating concepts which are prevalent in social welfare and other liberal arts literature. The unifying concepts are applied using historical research principles. The unifying integrating concepts and principles which are significant components of the framework appear below:

Integrating Concepts and Principles

*Mutual Aid As A Social Welfare Arrangement.* Mutual aid is a form of primary group support which has existed and persisted since ancient times throughout history. In this form of support, sometimes viewed as a mechanism of adaptation, individuals with a shared heritage, culture, sense of community, common concern or common need bond together for purposes of helping. This shared sense of community and common bond is sometimes referred to as a “consciousness of kind” (see Handel, 1982). As an umbrella term, the concept of mutual aid originates with informal, loosely structured forms of helping in natural networks and extends to more formally organized voluntary associations or structured community caregiving activities which provide support and services outside of the traditional governmental sponsored programs from the time of the Elizabethan Poor Laws in Colonial America to the emergence of institutional social welfare programs during the New Deal era. Mutual aid then is but one of six means of meeting human needs. Johnson and Schwartz (1978) describe these alternative ways of meeting human needs as “arrangements for the delivery of social welfare services” and describes these arrangements as mutual aid, charity-philanthropy, public welfare, social insurance, social services, and universal provisions. The more structured community oriented service activities which emerged at the end of the
nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries are examples of the evolution of self-help efforts in the African American community from earlier mutual aid activities to African American social services through voluntary associations.

**Chronological Developments.** Popular texts on Western society social welfare historical developments tend to focus on the development of charity/philanthropy, and public welfare (public assistance) programs. While mutual aid is sometimes noted as a community caring alternative throughout history, little attention is given to this form of social welfare development. Handel (1982) outlined a useful chronology of western historical developments from biblical antiquity through the 1970's which includes mutual aid developments as well as charity and public assistance. However, the Handel chronology provides only limited details on mutual aid as a western development and virtually no detail in relation to the African American community where mutual aid persisted as a dominant form of care in the early history of this country because of exclusion and the focus of charity and public assistance on “white citizens” as noted by Trattner (1989). Handel (1982) further characterizes mutual aid into three useful categories for purposes of unifying content integration in the approach being presented: mutual insurance which includes medieval fraternities and guilds, friendly societies, and immigrant societies; community action which developed primarily during the sixties; and self-help groups such as Alcoholics Anonymous which are now widespread in American culture. In the early historical developments, mutual aid existed in the form of fraternal organizations and friendly societies. For purposes of the historical time line here, primary focus is on the mutual insurance category of mutual aid. However, at the turn of the twentieth century, mutual aid activities took on the character of “community action” type activities and began to evolve into social service type voluntary associations or what is sometimes referred to as African American Social Welfare.

**Using Historical Source Material.** As indicated earlier, more resources are now available on African American contributions
to social welfare and related historical social service developments in the African American community. However, while the widely used social welfare history texts are beginning to acknowledge more that alternative arrangements persisted in the black community from the colonial period through the progressive period, there is still a dearth of mainstream social welfare literature acknowledging the legacy of African American leadership in social welfare. There is a need to include self-reliant efforts which took place in the African American community as well as provide content beyond periodic references to early abolitionists such as Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth, the Freedman's Bureau, and the origins of groups developed through interracial cooperation such as the NAACP and the National Urban League. (see Johnson, 1991). Effective delivery and integration, then, requires that faculty use secondary social history sources and whenever possible, primary source material to give greater validation to course content. For example, the attached chart on the "Growth of Mutual Aid in the Black Community, 1775-1865" (Peebles-Wilkins, 1991) was developed from secondary social welfare and social history resources.

Direct involvement by the faculty member in historical research helps strengthen course content with primary source data. During the teaching project period described earlier, primary source data collected in a funded project on mutual aid in the African American community helped validate content infusion with "hands-on" resource material. The discussion on teaching aids below represent examples of how selected resource material which facilitate African American content delivery and integration can be infused in the model course content outline described.

**Using Teaching Aids.** Teaching aids for class handouts and for student assignments are particularly useful for content integration purposes. The charted chronology attached is an example of content which can be used to fill in the gaps. As one reads the articles in this journal, other examples become apparent which can be used to complete the chart as desired. (see chart on "Chronology of the Development of Mutual Aid in the Black Community.") The chart is exemplar of the development of African American self-help efforts from informal mutual aid
networks in early America to membership oriented societies in the Revolutionary War era to African American social welfare or social services in the New Deal era and beyond.

Other examples corresponding to the previous content outline can also be included. For example, using the mainstreaming approach, illustrate what happened in the white community during the period of widespread poorhouse care in the mid-nineteenth century by using statistics on the Blockley Almhouse in Philadelphia. (see chart on “Classification of Persons”). The question of what happened to the African American indigent population can be addressed, for example, using the Perkins (1981) discussion of “Black Women and Racial Uplift Prior to Emancipation” to provide insight into the African American community. Perkins notes that self-reliance and independence was stressed in the African American community and members of the African American community were cared for in varied mutual aid networks. At an 1848 National Black Convention in Philadelphia, it was stated that “to be dependent, was to be degraded” (p. 319).
Table 1

*Chronology of the Development of Mutual Aid in the Black Community*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historical Periods, Social Developments, Landmark Events</th>
<th>Charity/Philanthropy</th>
<th>Mutual Aid</th>
<th>Social Service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American Colonial Period 1607–1789</td>
<td>Informal support in slave networks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Period 1733, Industrial Revolution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1776, Adam Smith Publishes ideas of laissez-faire capitalism</td>
<td>Financial assistance to non-members of fraternal societies</td>
<td>Membership oriented friendly societies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865+, Industrialization of U.S. intensifies after Civil War</td>
<td></td>
<td>Social settlements, services to elderly, child welfare and day care services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GREAT DEPRESSION 1929–1939, U.S. economy crippled</td>
<td></td>
<td>National Federation of Women’s clubs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2

Classification of Persons—Blockley Almshouse, Philadelphia, 1884

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital and lunatic</td>
<td>718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old men’s infirmary and incurable section</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male working wards</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanics’ wards</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old women’s asylum and incurable</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s working ward</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursery with women</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursery with children</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total White Persons: 1,509

Source: Benjamin J. Klebaner. "Public Poor Relief in America 1790-1860," p. 211. There were also 79 Negroes in the almshouse, including three women and ten children. The statistics do not show how many Negro adults were capable of working. Cited in Blanche Coll, 1973.

By the time of the Progressive Era, the African American community through women’s clubs and other activities had begun to develop social service programs. It is during this period that identifiable voluntary associations providing selective African American social service programs began to emerge. African Americans for the most part did not reap the benefits of progressive social welfare reform. The ideology emerging from African American child welfare reform of charismatic leaders such as Janie Porter Barrett who, along with the Virginia Federation of Colored Women’s Clubs, founded in 1915 and operated the Virginia Industrial School, is a good illustration of child welfare services in the African American community. An example of this ideology is reflected in the attached chart (see "A Comparison of Barrett’s Philosophy with Professional Social Work") developed from primary source data such as "The Virginia Industrial School" written by Barrett in 1926. This ideology also reflects both the emergence of "professional social work" like principles in an identifiable social service program.

Other creative applications of African American content can be modified and infused at the discretion of the individual faculty member. However, in addition to the resources previously
Table 3

A Comparison of Barrett’s Philosophy with Professional Social Work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expressed Philosophy</th>
<th>Social Work Value/Principle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational Theory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kindness rather than severity.</td>
<td>Non-judgmental/non-punitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give her every chance to make</td>
<td>Acceptance, basic worth and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good, leaving mistakes behind.</td>
<td>dignity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have an <em>open forum</em> as</td>
<td>Purposeful expression of feelings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>often as the girls want it,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where a girl can say</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anything she has on her mind.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The white people and black</td>
<td>Improving quality of life,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people are working together</td>
<td>realization of goals and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to liberate the lowliest girls in our Common-</td>
<td>aspirations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wealthiest girls in our</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commonwealth from ignorance,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prejudice, hatred, vice...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...teaching them the lessons</td>
<td>Democratic/caring social order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of love of race, love of fellow-man,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>love of country.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We are trying hard to live by</td>
<td>Justice and fairness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Golden Rule.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accomplishment through faith,</td>
<td>Harmony, group cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good will, cooperation.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

©Copyrighted material from the project: *Mutual Aid in the Black Community: The Organizing Activities of Black Women, 1895–1930,* by Wilma Peebles-Wilkins.

mentioned and the articles included in this journal issue, the selected readings listed below are also recommended for use with the previously proposed Model Course Content Outline:


The recommended selected readings represent just a few of the previously written and currently developing articles from the literature on African American social welfare and social work which can be used to provide greater content diversity in social welfare history. A heavy emphasis was placed on gender in these recommendations because the Ford Curriculum Development Award project thrust was oriented toward providing a framework for gender, race, and class content integration.
SUMMARY

The prior descriptions on the legacy of African American leadership and contributions to social welfare historical developments represent a means of fostering human diversity in social work education. As noted earlier, integration of content on people of color is part of a larger educational concern about diversity on college campuses. The CSWE Revised Curriculum Policy Statement calls attention to the need to treat diversity as a normal part of American life. As suggested by the Faculty Teaching Excellence Program (1993) at the University of Colorado, fostering diversity in teaching requires that we

"establish respect for the values of diverse peoples by using specific examples, from [our] fields of study, to show how culturally varied people have contributed to Western history and civilization. In particular, we need to use examples that illustrate the value and beauty of the ethnic/racial/gender group under discussion" (p. 12).

African-American social work educators have been vigilant in their attempts to encourage infusion of minority content into the social work curriculum and to provide frameworks and models for content integration in the different content areas. (see Chestang, 1993, pp. 1-14). The focus here reflects the vigilance of those educators who advocate for consistent inclusion of the African American legacy in the development of social welfare in Western society. The content included here emphasized the collective expression in the African American community which evolved out of a common heritage of slavery, segregation, and oppression. Survival strategies within the African American community are emphasized as opposed to focusing on African Americans as dependent victims of an unjust society who acquiesed and succumbed to oppression. Altering customary ways of thinking and infusing African American historical content in the spirit of the African American self-help tradition is still a challenge to mainstream social work education.

References


Book Reviews


This brief, well written book summarizes the development and many critiques of the current American welfare system, which is what the authors mean by the term 'American Welfare State.' They demonstrate that few Americans, even many who are potential beneficiaries, feel positively about the nation's social welfare.

Stoesz and Karger, who also collaborated on *American Social Welfare Policy*, propose some revisions they believe will both improve American welfare for its beneficiaries and build support among the non-poor. They describe their proposals after five analytic chapters, each written by only one of the two authors, and an informative foreword by James Midgley on the evolution of government involvement in welfare.

Five principles, according to Stoesz, ought to be the bases on which social welfare programs should be reconstructed. These are productivity, the family, social cohesion, the community and social choice. These principles comprise a 'radical pragmatism' which can make the American welfare state "more congruent with domestic demands as well as international events (p. 108)."

The key to the new structure, the authors propose, includes a family conservation program designed to "preserve, stabilize, and strengthen the American family (p. 120)." It would consist of a series of income maintenance improvements such as setting an annually and regionally adjusted minimum wage, establishing national standards for unemployment insurance, creating a minimum package of benefits, providing a national health insurance program such as Canada's, operating a universal maternal and child health program, providing day care, enhancing Individual Retirement Accounts, and establishing Individual Development Accounts along the lines suggested by Michael Sherraden.
Minimum benefits would be mandated for all employees and would be transferable from one employment site to another. Employers would pay for benefits for part and full-time employment as well as short term employees.

Social security would be expanded by lifting the current $51,300 ceiling on taxable earnings. Those with economic difficulties would be served through a 'stable incomes program' which would combine the assistance and funding of Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Supplemental Security Income, the Earned Income Tax Credit, Food Stamps, Low Income Energy Heating Assistance, the Women's, Infants and Children's Program, and Section 8 Housing. The participants capable of working would have mandatory work requirements. Social service vouchers would be available to those who need such help.

They also propose a community revitalization initiative which would combine elements, it would appear, of the Community Enterprise Zone effort and New Deal style programs such as paid employment in community work like those provided by the Works Progress Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps.

In fact, they propose establishing much of what has been suggested by advocates on all sides of recent social welfare policy debates as well as rationalizing and reforming existing programs in ways that are comparable to those proposed by Presidents Richard Nixon and Jimmy Carter in the failed Family Assistance and Better Jobs and Income Programs.

The book is an excellent summary of many of the elements of the current system and a thoughtful analysis of how the parts and their sum might be improved. However, the authors say less about why the American political system is such that it always seems more acceptable to add a program here and there than it is to integrate and improve existing systems or why similar proposals for reform have either failed or been severely diluted. Their proposed increase taxes for social security and unemployment insurance alone may be enough to prevent positive Congressional consideration.

As a proposal for rationalizing and streamlining American welfare, the book succeeds and is well worth reading. It neither promises nor delivers a blueprint for bringing about the
adoption of the suggestions it makes, which may be the next requirement for any restructuring of American welfare.

Leon Ginsberg
University of South Carolina


For most, the concept of a public entrepreneur is an oxymoron much like military music. But for a new generation of thinkers, such as those at the Progressive Policy Institute, government can be held accountable to its constituency by combining democratic representation with lessons learned in the marketplace. Therein lies the essence of a series of publications of which the present volume is among the better recent examples. Beginning with Peter Drucker’s *Age of Discontinuity* in 1968 and culminating in the 1991 publication of Susan Rose-Ackerman’s *Rethinking the Progressive Agenda*, non-conservatives have been considering the importance of market forces and consumer accountability to the management of the public sector. Lessons from the private sector are being incorporated into the building of a new model of democratic capitalism that the authors contend is being practiced from the schoolhouse to the Pentagon.

It was inevitable that principles similar to those advocated by Thomas Peters and Robert Waterman in their 1982 best seller *In Search of Excellence* eventually be applied to government. Peters and Waterman advocated several simple guidelines for making business more competitive and responsive to the consumer. A similar approach has been taken by Osborne and Gaebler who have defined ten axioms that describe a revolution that is taking place in public management. The authors contend that in the face of severe budget constraints, public managers, particularly at the local level, have been forced to reconceptualize their traditional bureaucratic way of doing business. By slashing red tape, decentralizing decision making, empowering constituents through social choices, and making public
providers compete with each other for consumers, governments have been able not only to contain costs, but drastically improve the quality and efficiency of their services.

While many of the books in this genre are prescriptive, *Reinventing Government* approaches the topic by looking for public achievements and then deriving and publicizing the concepts underlying their success. This contrasts with conventional policy analysis which looks for problems and tries to solve them. A new set of spectacles is required to read this book and in this sense, it is probably more accessible to those outside the policy sciences who are far more skeptical of "responsible government" acting in the public interest.

The authors begin by identifying their assumptions, among which is the belief that "neither traditional liberalism nor traditional conservatism has much relevance to the problems our governments face today." Simple formulae such as spending more (or less) are replaced by discussion of the most effective mix of private and public responsibility. The authors' freedom from ideological convention allows them to develop an approach that simultaneously embraces concepts such as privatization and decentralization while retaining a deep commitment to equality of opportunity and social choice. For them, it is not a contradiction to believe profoundly in government and yet advocate for privatizing much of it. Their emancipation from ideological tradition enables the authors to juggle key concepts such as downsizing, competition, choice, ownership, incentives, and empowerment—concepts not widely utilized by public policy scientists.

A central theme of the text is how to organize government around incentives rather than rules. Several implications follow. For example, most government budgets stimulate managers to waste funds. A budget that is not spent is reduced. This can be reversed by allowing bureaucracies to keep their savings for unanticipated needs, thereby making them more responsive and accountable to real world conditions that cannot be predicted by a central planner. Another example is to increase the flexibility of civil service rules so that managers can reward outstanding effort. A common complaint among bureaucrats is that they have considerable responsibility, but little authority. Few public
managers have the prerogative to reduce or increase salaries based on results. This distortion of incentives destroys morale and productivity.

Similarly, incentives can be used to reward success among public welfare recipients. The authors observe that "if a welfare recipient saves enough to buy a car so she can work, her grant is reduced. If she finds a job, she not only loses her welfare check, she loses her Medicaid coverage, her food stamps are reduced and, if she lives in public housing, her rent often triples." Such a distortion of incentives rewards failure. Michael Sherraden’s concept of Individual Development Accounts comes to mind as an alternative to such perverse incentives.

In sum, this is a highly important and timely book that advocates a fundamental change in the way governments are working. In light of the reforms that are sweeping many other governments, its relevance extends well beyond the American situation and should be required reading for anyone on the public payroll.

Mark W. Lusk
University of Wyoming


In a series of lectures in 1949, the British sociologist T. H. Marshall, used the concept of citizenship to formulate an engaging conceptual representation of the emergence of the Western welfare state. The welfare state, he suggested, personified the attainment of full citizenship rights. Civil (or human) rights which were first secured through political struggle in the 18th century, were augmented by the granting of political rights in the 19th. In the 20th century, the institutionalization of social rights in the welfare state guaranteed that basic human needs would be met.
Although Marshall’s work has been cited frequently over the years, it has become particularly popular in recent times. It is rare to find a social policy text that does not make reference to the concept of social citizenship today, and the current emphasis which some writers place on the obligations rather than rights of citizens, has heightened the concept’s topicality.

Maurice Roche’s timely book *Rethinking Citizenship* offers a comprehensive overview of the concept of citizenship in social policy. Its sympathetic treatment of Marshall’s original work and its extension by Titmuss and others is accompanied by an incisive analysis of its more problematic aspects. Demonstrating a dexterous grasp of the theory of citizenship and its ramifications in the practical field of American and British social policy, Roche shows that a once beguilingly straightforward organizing principle for the analysis of social welfare now raises very difficult questions indeed.

Some of these difficulties have emerged as a result of the radical right’s critique of the welfare state in the 1980s. For example, right wing exponents of welfare reform such as Lawrence Mead have attempted to rephrase Marshall’s ideas to legitimize coercion as an acceptable means of insuring that citizen work and be productive. In his account, the notion of citizenship is more closely associated with the notion of obligation than rights. Other difficulties are related to the non-ideological structural and economic changes taking place in western societies. For example, Roche shows how de-industrialization has generated high rates of chronic unemployment which appear to be impervious to the meliorative effects of Keynesian demand management. Those who have lost their jobs and have no prospects of ever finding renumerative employment are condemned to the status of non-citizens. Other equally problematic aspects of the social citizenship concept are explored in this detailed, informative and highly recommended book.

Jocelyn Pixley’s book uses the concept of social citizenship to examine the issue of structural unemployment in post-industrial societies. She is not entirely sympathetic to Marshall’s conceptual schema, but she recognizes its significance as an organizing concept when writing about chronic unemployment. Pixley
challenges the view that the separation of income from work offers a solution to chronic unemployment and that the destruction of the work/cash nexus offers a liberating alternative to the drudgery of daily work. She is emphatic in her claim that citizenship can only be meaningful in capitalist societies when people have access to secure and renumerative jobs.

Pixley shows that numerous experts now believe that structural changes in Western post-industrial societies have irreversibly eradicated regular employment. These writers have argued that this development requires major social and economic adjustments involving changes in leisure time, the emergence of job sharing, and the evolution of alternative mechanisms for the generation of income. While many regard the demise of employment as problematic, others celebrate the changes which are taking place. They believe that the alienating consequences of daily work will be obviated and that the demise of employment offers rich prospects for individuals to create congenial alternatives and meaningful opportunities for self-actualization.

The author vigorously criticizes this attitude as unfounded and naive. While routinized employment may be alienating it offers a steady income, a basis for social life, access to social rights and, for women, liberation from the grind of housework and dependency. In addition, she demonstrates that programs designed to foster alternative sources of income have not succeeded. Examining three alternative approaches (guaranteed income schemes, communes and worker cooperatives) she effectively demolishes the post-industrialist's optimistic belief that the need for regular employment can be circumvented. As Pixley argues in this provocative and important book, there is no alternative to full-employment in modern societies. This fact, she argues, should be recognized and the resources of the state should be harnessed to promote employment and citizenship for all.

James Midgley
Louisiana State University

The central purpose of this book is to compare the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights with the U.S. Constitution and those of the fifty states. The book is an elaboration of the author's doctoral dissertation at the Heller Graduate School at Brandies University. The book is logically divided into six sections.

In the first section the author discusses the motivations that lead to completion of the research. They include both scholarly and personal ones. The second section traces the history of thought about human rights with an analysis of the relations between human needs and human rights. Distinctions are made between human rights as ideals, as enactments and rights as exercised. The main focus of this section is on a scholarly discussion of human rights at different stages of history from antiquity up to the creation of the United Nations in 1945. This historical analysis is not solely linear and only organized around the "tyranny of dates," but discusses overlapping themes and foci. The third section is a lengthy account of the debates that occurred within the United Nations as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was crafted and refined following World War II. Sections four and five of the book sequentially compares the Universal Declaration with the Constitution of the United States and then with the constitutions of the fifty States. Based on the analysis and comparisons the sixth section concludes with a discussion of the author's findings in terms of implications for social policy.

The author's presentation and integration of major lines of thought about human rights from antiquity to the present time is comprehensive and scholarly. The nature of human rights at different historical periods; as they were developed by several major social philosophers; and, as articulated within several religious traditions was well done. This section in particular would be of interest to social work educators who teach in the social policy area, as well as to social welfare administrators who have the responsibility for protecting the human rights
of persons who use social services. The author advocates that state constitutions should be brought in line with the Universal Declaration where variations occur in relation to economic social and cultural rights. However, a specific set of recommendations on steps as to how to bring this about are not included in the book. This reader did not find the section on the debates within the United Nations as the Universal Declaration was under development to be helpful in understanding the nature of human rights or how their condition could be advanced in the United States. This section did not shed light on the central purpose of the book. In addition, the section wherein the Universal Declaration was compared to each of the fifty states (147 pages) was tedious to read. Such elaborate coverage may have been appropriate for a dissertation but not in a book presented for public consumption. The author’s conclusions about commonalities and differences between the Universal Declaration and constitutions of the fifty states should have been compressed into a shorter version. It is the reviewer's opinion that the very excellent coverage of the nature of human rights’ their historical development; and comparison with U.S and state constitutions could have been accomplished in about half the 259 pages of the book.

Roland G. Meinert
Southwest Missouri State University


Over the last twenty years, sociological research into the emergence of the modern welfare state has increased rapidly. This research has generated competing theoretical accounts of the dynamics of social welfare. For example, while some studies attribute the emergence of national social policies to the social and economic changes brought about by industrialization, others stress the role of trade unions in successfully negotiating with reluctant governments for the introduction of social programs. Yet others contend that social programs are purposely
introduced by the ruling class in an attempt to stifle the revolutionary potential of the proletariat. These explanations are usually based on detailed comparative research involving several country case studies. Occasionally, scholars will trace developments in only one country but references to the accumulated comparative body of knowledge will be made. Theda Skocpol's study falls within this latter category.

Skocpol is particularly interested in two questions which have previously been explored in comparative social policy research. First, why was the United States a 'welfare laggard' when compared with the majority of European countries which introduced comprehensive social programs long before the New Deal? Second, can a detailed historiography of social policy in the United States discover the underlying social, political and economic factors responsible for the emergence of the American welfare state? Skocpol's meticulous research provides surprising answers to these questions.

In the preface of her book, Skocpol reveals how she discovered that far from being a welfare laggard, social provisions in the United States at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries were quite extensive. The federal government had established a large pension program for Civil War veterans which was subsequently replaced by a comprehensive system of state funded mother's pensions. As the Civil War Pensions were phased out, highly activist groups of middle class women were able to influence the legislative process to foster the creation of mother's pensions by state governments. Unlike Europe, where social insurance was introduced primarily to protect the male working class, the efforts of these women resulted in the creation of what Skocpol describes as an embryonic 'maternal' welfare state which might have evolved into a unique formation had events during the 1920s and the New Deal itself not inhibited its further development.

Skocpol demonstrates that established explanatory theories of the development of social policy in the United States are seriously deficient. Her finding that extensive social provisions were in existence at the end of the 19th century challenges the view that America's rugged individualism precluded the development of social policy. It also challenges conspiracy theories
that claim that the interests of capitalists dictate the evolution of social welfare. Similarly it casts doubt on theories that accord primary explanatory importance to economic factors such as industrialization in the dynamics of welfare. Instead, Skocpol develops her previously articulated 'state centered' approach into a 'policy centered' approach in which underlying social conditions, political pressure and the autonomous actions of the state combine in a complex way to facilitate the introduction of social programs.

Theda Skocpol is already recognized as a distinguished academic. This book will further enhance her reputation and her account of the development of social policy in the United States will inevitably stimulate further debate. Her book is essential reading not only for those who wish to follow the debate, but for anyone studying comparative social policy today.

James Midgley
Louisiana State University


Anthropology, arguably the most American of the social sciences, is also the most poignant. In Declining Fortunes, Katherine Newman adeptly applies her anthropological skills to a most American topic: the prospects of the baby boom generation. Drawing on interviews with residents of "Pleasanton," a prosperous suburban community in the Northeast, Newman traces the generational identity of what could be the most influential cohort in the nation's history. But fortune has eluded the baby boomers. In her exploration of the context, the consequences, and the rationalization of generational failure, Newman integrates demographic and economic evidence with her interviews producing an account that is as satisfying as it is troubling.

Baby boomers, contends Newman, are products of a generation imprinted with the despair of the Great Depression. Having survived the Depression, the parents of the baby boom were able to assure their children a life style that was unimaginable given their up-bringing during the 1930s. The boomers of
American suburbia grew up amid unprecedented beneficence: expanding industry provided jobs for their fathers; increasing salaries battened the disposable income of their mothers; new housing tracts meant new schools, and these, in turn led to new childhood friends. Optimism prevailed and, as parents of the boomers recalled all too well, this stood in sharp contrast to the Depression. Parents of the baby boomers looked back in satisfaction at what they had wrought, and they looked forward to what their children would accomplish.

But Newman is not convinced that the post-War generation should be so smug. The parents of Pleasanton's baby boomers took ample advantage of a range of government benefits, such as the GI Bill, low-interest home mortgages, and construction of projects like the WPA, the TVA, and the interstate highway system. In forgetting the source of the prosperity and preferring an individualistic interpretation that accords them the credit, Newman observes that parents of the baby boom indulge in selective amnesia. "Most especially the hand of government—the country's national investment in the middle class—is subtracted from the moral tales they tell about how they became the prosperous citizens they are" (p. 89).

For boomers, the experience of diminishing opportunities has been more ambiguous than that of their parents. To advance her analysis, Newman divides the baby boomers into two cohorts: those reaching maturity during the 1960s and those who grew up a decade later. Because the 60's boomers rejected much of their parents' conformity in favor of idealism, their response to the decline in economic opportunity after 1980 has been muted. The more pragmatically minded boomers of the 70s, however, have found the decline baffling. After all, in search of security, the 70's boomers deliberately distanced themselves from the radical romanticism of the 60's cohort, to the extent that many became ideologically conservative. The younger boomers were playing by the rules, but they too were losing ground.

By the 1990s a convergence of circumstances began drawing both cohorts together. Boomers of both cohorts found it impossible on one income to replicate the success of their parents by measures that they had experienced as children—supporting a family, buying a home, taking summer vacations—and some...
reported two incomes insufficient. Career advancement had been blocked by too many well-credentialed boomers in the labor market competing for fewer well-paying jobs. Boomer mothers were strung out, trying to meet dual obligations at home and at work.

Consistent with their tendency to personalize success, parents of boomers wondered what was wrong with their children, suspecting their kids were too materialistic and impatient. Unwilling to consider the broader context of the “declining fortunes” of the baby boom—the increase in temporary, lower paying jobs in the service sector; the federal deficit; international competition—the good people of Pleasanton found it easier to scapegoat affluent Japanese families who were moving into town and/or the welfare underclass living in a nearby city.

To her credit, Newman suppresses what must be an acute sense of frustration about the inability of baby boomers and their parents to deal with their plight. Apparently helpless in the face of conspiring social and economic forces, the boomers seem to have reconciled themselves to “the end of affluence” (p. 163). The absence of generational solidarity leaves boomers adrift in a sea of diminishing expectations. Political fragmentation leaves what could be the most powerful generation in the nation’s history rudderless. As water rises higher in the boat, boomers grasp desperately for purchase. “This experience of downward mobility is terrifying,” notes Newman. “The economic experience of the late 1980s and early 1990s is a recipe for frustration, envy, fury, and a growing sense of helplessness. No amount of deferred gratification, no amount of hard work is going to make it possible for these young boomers to lay claim to their birthright” (p. 199). Eventually the social contract, the unspoken agreement that bonds civil society, abrades.

In all this Newman is certainly correct. But one suspects that she, like the residents of Pleasanton, minimizes the magnitude of the problem. This may be, in part, a methodological artifact, a consequence of anchoring her analysis with the perceptions of Pleasantonians. Newman suggests the issue of generational equity is of some urgency, but she leaves the issue annoyingly unresolved. In fact, the circumstance has all the serenity of a powder room during an electrical storm.
The baby boom has yet to recognize that their parents left them with some of the most intractable problems in the nation's history: a suffocating deficit, mountains of nuclear and other noxious waste, inner-city neighborhoods that rival the Third World, utterly irresponsible deregulation of commercial financial institutions resulting in an enormous public bail-out, schools and other social institutions that fail to deliver essential services, among others. Paradoxically, while baby boomers must contend with deteriorating social and physical infrastructure, they are paying for benefits their parents consume. Boomers have yet to realize the most grotesque of inequities between the generations: while millions of boomers go without health insurance and worry about their pensions, they are paying for Social Security and Medicare for their parents.

Their patience exhausted, boomers have begun to act politically. The sanctuary movement, Earth First!, and Act-Up suggest that boomers are finding their voice. In each of these, boomers have rejected a premise of their parents' generation: fighting the cold war, expanding industrialism, and stamping out homosexuality. These events conspicuously reflect the more banal public policy issues with which the Clinton administration now struggles. In many respects, the test of his presidency will be the retrieval of the nation from the errors of the parents.

Thus, Declining Fortunes taps into a profound transformation in American culture, one few have so thoughtfully explored. The issue of generational equity will infuse our future discourse; in offering this incisive analysis, Katherine Newman has helped us as a nation continue this very important conversation.

David Stoesz
San Diego State University
BOOK NOTES


The damaging impact of the Reagan era and its policies on the human services has been well documented. Numerous studies have shown how budget cuts, the increased privatization and commercialization of programs, and the greater use of purchase of services contracting have limited the ability of public agencies to serve those in need. Introduced ostensibly to promote greater efficiency and to enhance "value for money", there is little evidence that these changes have met their intended objectives. Today, the problems of poverty are greater than ever before, and few social policy analysts believe that the retrenched welfare state has responded effectively to social need.

While research into the impact of the radical right's policies on the poor and deprived abound, the affects of these changes on the providers of the social services has been neglected. By focusing on this issue, Fabricant and Burghardt have made a major and novel contribution to the literature. They show, often in poignant detail, how dedicated professionals, civil servants, voluntary workers and managers in both the public and not-for-profit sectors have struggled to protect their clients in the face of severe budgetary reductions and other resource constraints. Their findings contrast sharply with the currently fashionable belief that those in public service are motivated exclusively by self-interest. Not only do they provide an alternative to Public Choice's ungenerous view of human nature, but shed important light on the way the social services have attempted to cope with unimaginable fiscal and managerial difficulties. This is an important book which addresses a neglected topic of significance for the study of social policy.


The term 'macro-practice' has been bandied about in social work circles for some years but it has not been satisfactorily
defined. It is still used loosely as a synonym for community organization, administration or social policy, and sometimes it is employed to denote any form of social work intervention other than clinical practice.

In this book, Netting, Kettner and McMurtry attempt to define macro-practice in more precise terms as a social work intervention that seeks to bring about change in communities or organizations (in other words as community organization and administration). The bulk of the book is subsequently devoted to a study of the dynamics of communities and organizations and to defining strategies for social change. The notion of social change is largely conceptualized in social problem terms, and the strategies for problem solving will be familiar. These strategies include planning, lobbying, negotiating, capacity building and use of the media. While the use of the term macro-practice may be a novel and effective technique for capturing a share of the textbook market, the book largely recapitulates the existing literature. Nevertheless, this is a well written and thoroughly illustrated book which social work students will find useful.


Jencks is best know for his pioneering study of the affects of education on the life chances of individuals but he has also gained a reputation as a astute commentator on diverse social questions. His articles in magazines such as the New York Review of Books, The New Republic and American Prospect have been widely read.

Rethinking Social Policy is an updated collection of previously published articles in these and similar magazines. Covering a wide range of issues, they reveal Jenck's ability to articulate complex arguments that challenge the simple minded rhetoric to which those on both the political right and left frequently have recourse. Jencks does not mind being criticized by liberals for challenging their uncritical assumptions about the inevitable goodness of human nature, and he certainly invites attack from those on the right for demolishing the myths on which the Reagan administration built its popularity.
The chapters in the collection cover social concerns as diverse as affirmative action, the genetic causes of crime, the 'underclass' phenomenon and the incomes of welfare mothers. Each chapter is thoroughly researched and meticulously argued. The chapter on 'welfare' (which is written with Kathryn Edin) is a good example of Jenck's incisive analytical style. It demolishes popular beliefs about welfare mothers, and exposes the policy and administrative mess into which social assistance policy in the United States has degenerated. Its powerful condemnation of a system gone wrong should stimulate immediate meliorative action. This extremely readable and interesting book confirms Jenck's status as a leading commentator on critical social issues.


During the 1980s, the rhetoric of crisis permeated academic debates about social policy. The welfare state was said to be struggling with a major fiscal crisis and, at the same time, to be facing a crisis of legitimacy. The legitimacy of the social services was being undermined as programs were becoming increasingly costly, inefficient and unable to meet expectations. Reagan's electoral victories appeared to confirm the view that popular support for the welfare state was rapidly evaporating. Indeed, the Reaganites frequently claimed that the American public had rejected the welfare state and wished it to be replaced with increased individual responsibility, commercial social services and charitable provisions.

Apart from opinion polls about popular attitudes towards welfare programs published by Gallup and similar organizations, the accuracy of these claims were not seriously tested until Cook and Barrett undertook the study reported in this book in the mid-1980s. The study consisted of telephone interviews with a national sample of 1,209 respondents as well as in-depth interviews with 58 members of Congress, and it concluded that there is overwhelming support for existing social programs among both the public and Congressional representatives.

Cook and Barrett vigorously refute the belief that the public is opposed to the welfare state and that citizens are unwilling
to pay increased taxes to support expand the social services. Surprisingly, their study revealed that support for the welfare state extends to both universal and means tested programs. While the food-stamp program was the least popular, programs such as AFDC enjoyed considerable public and congressional support.

This is an important book which offers valuable insights into public opinion towards American social policy. It not only offers a lively discussion of the issues, but unlike many studies reporting survey results, it makes extensive use of the literature and specifically tests established theoretical conventions. Although the survey findings may be somewhat dated, its message remains pertinent.


This textbook, which has been written primarily for students of social work in Canada, offers a profoundly different perspective on social work practice than is commonly found in introductory American texts. Indeed, its emphasis on ideology, structural factors and macro-intervention may lead some to conclude that it should be prescribed for students of social policy rather than social work. But this would be a mistake, for the book’s innovative attempt to introduce social work students to a political economy approach should be recognized and included in the social work curriculum. Transcending earlier publications on radical social work, Mullaly manages to provide a balanced exposition of different normative and ideological positions. This permits students to comprehend the world of ideology in a reasoned way, and to identify and understand diverse ideological positions.


During the 1980s, with the retrenchment of the welfare state, social programs have become increasingly decentralized, fragmented and uncoordinated. This trend characterizes both public
and private programs. As the editors of this book reveal, the United States Federal government administers no less than seventy five programs that provide assistance to poor people. These programs include both monetary and non-cash benefits such as food stamps, housing and medical care and account for more than $200 billion in annual expenditures. While these programs may be intelligible to those in legislative and administrative authority, the editors contend that they are wasteful, duplicative and friendly to their users.

Jennings and Zank argue that the current vogue for welfare reform, should be accompanied by a major reform of the system itself. Coordination is a cardinal problem that needs to be urgently addressed. Exploring various aspects of this issue, the contributors to this book examine coordination at the federal, state and local levels and discuss issues as diverse as the role of the presidency and Congress in coordination, strategies for local level service coordination, planning human service delivery systems in the states and efforts on the part of the states to facilitate better coordination of federal programs. The book makes a significant contribution to enhancing service coordination and increasing the efficiency of the human services in a increasingly fragmented welfare state.


Although enrollments in schools of social work and human services programs declined significantly during the early 1980s, there has been a significant resurgence of interest in these fields. Today, enrollments at schools of social work are buoyant, and many more undergraduates who do not intend to pursue a career in social work are taking elective courses in the human services.

There is an obvious need for good textbooks which not only orient students towards the field but which inform and engender a better understanding of the subject. Scmolling, Youkeles and Burger have succeeded in writing a good introductory text which covers a very wide subject matter and manages to summarize the salient topics of the field. Some instructors will view the brevity of some of the chapters as an disadvantage but
others will welcome the authors' ability to condense a huge subject within a limited space. In addition, the book contains some useful chapters that deal with neglected issues. The chapter on prevention is particularly innovative and helpful. The book is recommended as an introductory first year text particularly for students who are majoring in subjects other than social work.
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