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The history and development of social work among Negroes in The United States from 1800 to the present time

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THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL WORK AMONG NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1800 TO THE PRESENT TIME

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE ATLANTA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

BY
INEZ TUCKER

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
MAY 1944
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Social work is the sum of all the efforts made by society to take up its own slack, to provide for individuals when its established institutions fail them, to supplement those established institutions and to modify them at those points which they have proved to be badly adjusted to social needs. It includes everything which is done by society for the benefit of those who are not in position to compete on fair terms with their fellows from whatever motive it may be done, by whatever agency or whatever means and with whatever results.¹

Social work is primarily ameliorative. The Negro social worker is enlisted in this service; however, he has the added responsibility of bringing the Negro group up to the normal social status of the majority group as well as to provide for the needs of the individual Negro who is socially inadequate.

Every social problem affecting other racial groups in America affects the Negro. Every technique used in solving these problems among other groups is used in social work among Negroes. What then makes social work among Negroes distinctive? There is no essential difference in the religion, ideals, aspirations and capabilities of the Negro from those of any other American ethnic groups. There becomes a problem of social work among Negroes, therefore, only because other people treat them differently in practically every phase of life.

The Negro is the victim of an unfavorable social attitude on the part of the majority group which sets him apart from the general public. This isolation intensifies in the case of the Negro all of the social problems which confront the white population. It makes it doubly difficult for the social worker working among Negroes because he finds himself

continuously confronted not only with the usual problems of social work but also the complicated situation of solving them within a setting of special handicap.

There are many reasons for discussing the history of the Negro in social work. The time will come when specialized social work among Negroes will have to be defended. The justification of social work specifically for Negroes has been questioned by Negroes as well as white people. Even today, in Northern communities, there are groups of Negroes and white friends as well who will fight the establishment of Negro Young Men's Christian Associations, Urban Leagues and Settlement Houses on the grounds of segregation. The time will come when Negro social workers will have to justify their existence. People do not take for granted that they are more desirable than white social workers in carrying on social work among Negroes.

This thesis is an attempt to consolidate into one body all available material pertinent to the historical development of social work among Negroes from 1800 to the present time. It is not to be expected that the study will cover in detail every activity in social work among Negroes. The writer does hope, however, that the findings submitted will help to make clear the circumstances and reasoning behind the factors in the development of social work among Negroes and thus be a definite contribution since as far as the writer knows, such a study has never been made.

The purpose of this study is to trace the development of social work among Negroes in terms of geographical location and numbers reached; to ascertain the types of services that have been offered to Negroes during this period; to determine to some extent the degree of acceptance
of these services by Negroes.

The study covers social work among Negroes throughout this country in all the recognized fields from 1800 to the present time.

In writing on the development of social work among Negroes, the writer has divided the subject into chronological periods. It was felt that in this way, facts which would show whatever changes had taken place could be more clearly presented.

In conducting this study, a large amount of material on file in the office of Mr. Washington, the director of the Atlanta University School of Social Work was assembled, organized, and classified. A study was made of the same. Interviews were held with Mr. Washington, Mr. William Y. Bell of the United Service Organization, Mr. Cochrane of the Young Men's Christian Association, and Miss Quinn of the Family Welfare Society. All of these people work in Atlanta, Georgia. In addition to information gained from these sources, books, periodicals, and other documentary material on social work and Negro history were used.

The writer acknowledges her indebtedness to all those persons who have, through their cooperation and willingness to give information, contributed to this study. She is especially grateful to Mr. Forrester B. Washington, who in addition to supervising the study, placed at her disposal records and other documentary material which made it possible to complete the study.
CHAPTER II

BEFORE EMANCIPATION

Negro slaves, when first brought to this country, occupied about the same status as that of the white indentured servants. As Negroes sank definitely into chattel slavery, they came to be thought of, in the minds of their masters at least, as practically on the level with brutes. Most of the concepts formed of them during the major portion of the slavery period were formed from this level.¹

No generalization is safe touching the condition of Negro slaves in America. The plantations were self-sufficient oligarchies or monarchies, little interfered with by state or municipal law.² On some of them there was severe child labor and neglect of the sick and the aged; on others, the children were well cared for, the sick nursed and the aged protected. Relief of suffering depended on the character of the master. That there was a great deal of relief work done, there can be no doubt. Indeed, the habit of direct relief to Negroes which developed during the slavery period is now a hindrance to organized and scientific social work in the South. Among the slaves, charitable work was chiefly in the line of adopting children and caring for the sick.

The type of social work which was done during the period before emancipation was very limited. That which affected the largest number of Negroes was occupied with changing their status from that of slaves to freedmen.³ If the goal of social work is the unenfoldment of the human

³Washington, loc. cit.
soul; if social work means the recognition of each individual's personality, then any movement whose objective was the abolition of slavery was social work in nature. Slavery was a stifling, crushing force preventing the unenfolding of the human soul. Until Negroes were released from slavery, there was no form of social work in its truest sense possible because slavery basically denied the fact that the slave possessed a real personality.  

From a social work point of view, the period before emancipation was divided into three chronological stages. They were colonization, abolition, and self-freedom.

Colonization

The idea of the physical separation of the races as a solution to racial problems antedates the Revolutionary War. Thomas Jefferson strongly expressed himself in favor of the colonization of Negroes in some area on the coast of Africa. The first attempt, however, to put colonization into effect was made by Paul Cuffee, a free Negro and a shipowner of New Bedford, Massachusetts who in 1815 transported nine families to Africa at his own expense. The first effort on a large scale was made in 1820 with the American Colonization Society and the United States government behind it.

Membership in the American Colonization Society consisted, first, of people who sincerely desired to provide the Negro with a haven from oppression, second, of slaveholders who sought to enhance the value of their

\[\text{4} \text{ibid.}\]
\[\text{5} \text{James Weldon Johnson, Negro Americans, What Now (New York, 1934), p. 4.}\]
\[\text{6} \text{ibid.}\]
slaves by removing the free Negroes, and third, of those who wanted to be relieved of any responsibility whatever for free Negroes. 7

At first the colonization scheme was under white auspices. 8 Later on, the work was carried on by white people and Negroes working separately. The auspices finally became inter-racial with a preponderance of white people.

This scheme was of course segregation because the white proponents did not want to incorporate the ex-slaves into their society to live with white people on a plane of equality. 9 The Negroes had a sort of defeatist psychology and accepted as a foregone conclusion the most complete segregation possible, namely, segregation entirely away from white people. There was a hostile attitude on the part of the white colonizationists toward aggressive, impatient and intelligent Negroes.

Various places were considered as possible lands in which to carry out the colonization plans. After much deliberation, the American Colonization Society decided to promote colonization in Africa. 10 Upon the recommendation of President Monroe, the United States government purchased territory in Africa which was later designated as Liberia.

The problem then was to develop in this country a number of intelligent Negroes who might constitute a nucleus around which a government could be established in Liberia. Those Negroes to be sent out were trained in the manual arts, science, literature and various professions. 11 Better institutions of learning for Negroes were established for this purpose. This was an achievement of value to the Negro race as it gave impetus to

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8 Washington, loc. cit.
9 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
the movement for more thorough education of Negroes.

Although the movement had the cooperation of an unusually large number of influential people both in the South and in the North, it failed to carry out the desired object of taking the free Negroes to Africa.\textsuperscript{12} From 1820 to 1833 only 2,888 Negroes were sent out by the Society. More than 2,700 of this number came from the slaves states and about two thirds of these were slaves manumitted on the condition that they would migrate to Africa.

The abolitionists and the free people of color opposed the Society because of the acquiescent attitude of the colonizationists towards the persecution of free Negroes both in the North and in the South. Protest meetings against the Society were held throughout the North. Hence, the very people for whom Liberia was established arrayed themselves against it. It was in vain that the members of the Society attempted to break down this opposition.

Another colonization scheme was fostered by the Quakers in North Carolina in 1822.\textsuperscript{13} In that year, they appointed a committee of forty to examine the laws of free states with a view of determining what section would be most suitable for colonizing Negroes. This committee recommended that the Negroes be colonized in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Following the advice of the committee, the Quakers sent 133 Negroes to the West.\textsuperscript{14} They went in three companies with young Friends to whom were executed powers of attorney to set free, settle and bind them out. Thirteen wagons were bought for this purpose. Money was provided for traveling expenses and clothing. Other organizations fostered colonization in various areas.

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., p. 163.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., loc. cit.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
Abolition

Because of the increasing awareness of the injustices suffered by the Negro, the opposition was fanned into such a flame during the "thirties" that the movement could no longer properly be designated anti-slavery. It was abolition, an effort to effect the immediate emancipation of the slaves since to hold them in bondage was "contrary to the law of God." The most formidable leader of this radical reform was William Lloyd Garrison, who came forward with the argument that slavery was contrary to the natural rights of humanity, that it had bad effects upon Southern white people and also handicapped the whole country not only as an evil but as a sin.

Coming at a time when the world was stirred by the agitation for the rights of man in Europe, the movement secured much more attention than it would have otherwise received. Men were then concerned with the better treatment of paupers, criminals and the insane. They were directing their attentions to special education for dependents and delinquents. There was an increasing interest in temperance, the rights of the laboring man and woman suffrage. Appearing at this time, Garrison could more easily arouse people all over the country as to the inevitable doom of a slaveholding nation.

To promote the cause effectively, national organization soon seemed to be necessary. The American Anti-Slavery Society was formed in 1833. The purpose of this society was to ameliorate the Negro's condition by emancipation without reservations. The work was carried on under inter-

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15 Woodson, op. cit., p. 169.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid., p. 172.
19 Ibid., p. 173.
racial suspicions. Among white people fostering the movement, there was no obvious objection to incorporating freed slaves into their society. However they merely urged that the right to physical existence, uninhibited by the bonds of slavery, should be granted to the Negro. Some of the sponsors of the movement had an impatient attitude toward the aggressive Negro. Negroes for the most part wanted the abolition of slavery.

Despite the fact that the abolitionists stirred the antagonism of many of the slaveowners, they stimulated anti-slavery sentiments in many people both in the North and in the South.

Self-freedom

Free Negroes in the North took an active part in promoting efforts on behalf of the slaves. During the pre-civil war agitation period, Isabella, a Negro woman better known as "Sojourner Truth" urged immediate emancipation. In 1861, she was found working among the wounded soldiers in Washington.

Throughout the course of the "Agitation Movement", free Negroes held several conventions known as Conventions of "People of Color". The first annual Convention of "People of Color" was held in Philadelphia from June sixth to the eleventh in 1830. Representatives from New York, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania and Virginia attended the conference.

The first concern of the convention was the condition of that class of people which it directly represented, the free "people of color". A committee was appointed to make a report on the condition of the free persons of color in the United States. Many cases of injustice suffered by

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20 Ibid.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
this group were reported. The constitution of the United States was read and discussed at the convention. A general fund was created to bear the expenses of future meetings. This convention attracted public attention because of the intelligence, order and good judgment which prevailed. The delegates included the ablest colored men of the country who were wide awake to the needs and desires of their people. They planned their programs accordingly.

Encouraged by the good results which followed the first convention, another was held in Philadelphia on June 4, 1832. Rhode Island, New Jersey and Massachusetts were added to the list of states represented. After 1833, Negro organizations slowly perished; however, their members took their places in white societies. Such men as David Ruggles, Phillip Bell and Frederick Douglas were kept busy denouncing slavery through their public speeches. These men wrought many changes in public sentiment regarding slavery.

Social Work in the South Specifically

While most of the efforts toward colonization, abolition and self-freedom in the period before emancipation were launched in the North, the Negroes affected were for the most part in the South. Hence, social work among Negroes in the South during this period may be said to have consisted mainly of efforts toward removing the bonds of slavery. However, the consequences of the various movements aimed at bettering the condition of the enslaved were so important and gripped the attention of the whole country to such an extent that they should not be considered as localized. These efforts should be looked upon as social work for Negroes throughout

23 Ibid.
the country.

Social Work in the North Specifically

As has been pointed out, the most fundamental social work which was done during the period before emancipation was national in scope. However, there was a certain amount of social work done for a small number of Negroes in the North. This work consisted of efforts on the part of Negroes to care for their poor, sick and aged through fraternal and beneficial societies as well as of the establishment of orphan asylums and old folks homes by white people and inter-racial groups. 24

During this period, Negro life was chiefly organized in the North by the Evangelical Christian Church and the fraternal orders. 25 Down through the years, Negro lodges have collected and disbursed millions of dollars. A large part of this money has been used to pay sick and death benefits and provide entertainment for the members. These lodges had a valuable social work function in the period before emancipation. They prevented much family disorganization through their sick and death benefits. They also provided wholesome recreation for the members and their families, filling a gap in their social activities. The church also provided recreation and cared for the material wants of the needy.

As early as 1795, Catherine (Katy) Ferguson, a Negro woman started the first Sunday school in America in New York City. 26 She reared or placed 48 children, 20 of whom were white, in private homes. Possibly "Katy" had no institution to which she could send these children but at least she

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24 Washington, loc. cit.
25 ibid.
saw the advantages of foster home placements.

The Colored Orphan Home in New York now known as the Riverdale Colored Orphan Asylum and Association for the Benefit of Colored Children was established in 1838. The Old Folks' Home attached to Lincoln Hospital in New York City had its beginning in 1839.

Anthony Bowen, who was employed in the office of Colonel Chauncey Langdon, founder of the National Convention of the Young Men's Christian Association, first presented the idea of a Young Men's Christian Association for colored people. The initial colored branch was organized in Washington in 1853. W.E. Hunton, a young colored Canadian was the first secretary of the branch.

In 1861, the American Missionary Association began work for Negroes at Fortress Monroe. Despite the fact that its function was largely educational, it provided the aid most needed for the refugees who came into the lines of the union army.

Summary

During the period before emancipation, there was a limited amount of social work carried on among Negroes. That which affected the largest number of colored people had to do with changing the status of the slaves to that of freedmen. If the goal of social work is the unenfolding of the human personality, any movement aimed at freeing the slaves can be considered social work. Individual efforts toward social work among free Negroes consisted mainly of the establishment of orphan asylums and old folks homes mainly in the North.

28 Washington, loc. cit.
Emancipation was a crisis in the life of the Negro that tended to change all of his traditional ways of thinking and acting. To some slaves who saw the old order collapse, the announcement that they were free brought great joy. Other slaves were bewildered when they received the news. The success which attended the Negro's first efforts to get established as a free man depended to a large extent upon his character, intelligence and efficiency which in turn reflected his education throughout the period of slavery. During the period of adjustment to the state of freedom, some slaves made the transition without great difficulty; however, a great many of them did not adjust easily to their new status.

The development of new social work from emancipation to 1910 took place largely in the South. The point had been reached that something had to be done. Each year since emancipation, more prescriptive laws had been introduced in the Southern states. The "poor white" was getting into power and the Negro was becoming more and more hopeless about there being any chance for improvement.

From a social work point of view, the period from emancipation to 1910 was divided into three stages. These included the adjustment of slaves to freedom, migration and citizenship.

Adjustment of Slaves to Freedom

At the outbreak of the Civil War, the result of the contact of the

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2Washington, loc.cit., Section II-A, 1865-1890.
slaves with Northern and Southern armies could not be accurately fore-
told. Some saw, however, that in the confusion and social disorder
consequent to military invasion, the Negro must inevitably become a
serious problem.  

At first cautiously and in small numbers and later by the hundreds,
slaves came to the federal camps for protection, subsistence or mere
gratification of curiosity. These slaves frequently found themselves
among men more hostile to them than their masters had been.

The Negro question then pressed itself upon the Northern mind with
greater vividness and urgency than ever before. No general policy had
been formulated regarding this matter. Those most active in early efforts
to solve the problem included military commanders, members of Northern
benevolent and religious societies, and officers of the treasury depart-
ment. The activities of these groups varied. They aimed mainly to pro-
vide for the material wants of the Negroes, to promote justice, to or-
ganize labor and to afford adequate education for them.

Some of the slaves coming into the federal camps were given transpor-
tation to Northern communities to find employment. Free labor experimenta-
tion was attempted at camp communities, the first of which was at Port
Royal in South Carolina. It was not easy to find soldiers who wanted to
aid the ex-slaves since those thus engaged suffered social ostracism. This
added to the difficulties involved in helping the Negroes.

A better system of rehabilitating the fugitives was finally worked
out. A general superintendent was placed at the head of each department

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\(^4\)Ibid.

\(^5\)Ibid., p. 2.

\(^6\)Washington, *loc. cit.*

\(^7\)Ibid.
with a number of competent assistants. The Negroes were organized into working parties to save abandoned crops of cotton. Clothing sent by philanthropic persons to these camps was received and distributed by the superintendent. It is interesting to note that some standards of case work were observed. Family solidarity was encouraged. Families were established by themselves. Every man had the responsibility of providing for his household.

Toward the close of the war experience, it became increasingly apparent that a central organization for the care of freedmen was necessary. Various freedmen's aid societies had been established in the North. Unfortunately, they had no organic connection and did not work in harmony. In 1865, the Freedmen's Bureau was established by the federal government as a division of the war department, for the duration of the war and one year thereafter.8

The organization of the bureau embraced four general divisions: (1) land, including that abandoned, confiscated or otherwise acquired by the United States; (2) supply, with special emphasis on the execution of official acts relating to labor, schools, quartermaster's and commissary materials; (3) financial affairs; (4) medical and hospital services.9 To each of these divisions was assigned a chief officer and a requisite number of assistants and clerks secured by appointment or detailed from the army. All of these divisions were grouped under a central office in Washington.

The President was authorized to appropriate confiscated and abandoned lands within the Southern states for the use of the freedmen. In

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8Peirce, op.cit., p. 44.
9ibid., p. 46
most states, the bureau came into possession of large amounts of abandoned property from which sufficient revenue was derived to pay current expenses. In some states, government farms were numerous and successful; in others, they were insignificant and rare. Land was assigned to the freedmen in various quantities according to the amount available and the certainty of the tenure. In matters of justice, the same variation was evident. Freedmen's cases were sometimes tried in state courts, at other times in provost courts, and still other times in bureau courts. The number and character of schools depended upon previous efforts for Negro education, the attitudes of white people toward such efforts, the educational work of benevolent societies in a particular locality and the interest taken by local officers in the maintenance and support of the schools.

In all matters of detail, the bureau presented a diversity of local regulation, method and result. However, throughout all this was a uniformity of aim, of general regulation and a system of supervision which was far superior to anything that had previously been attempted on behalf of Negroes.

Certain definite achievement of value to the Negro were made by the Bureau. It established a system of free labor. It instigated a beginning of peasant proprietorship. It secured recognition in the courts and founded common schools in the South. The greatest success of the Bureau is generally considered to be the initiation of free schools among Negroes.

The activities of the Freedmen's Bureau should be considered social.

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10 Ibid., p. 53.
11 Ibid., p. 54.
12 Washington, loc. cit.
work among Negroes. The whole program is suggestive of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration of the "thirties" - the care of a tremendous mass of people without income whose destitute condition was created by an emergency beyond their control. It was undoubtedly the first and nearest thing to social work on a large scale that was undertaken among Negroes in America.

Migration

There have been several mass migrations of Negroes in this country, all of which have had a bearing on their social condition.

The first migration of Negroes, called the "Negro exodus", occurred immediately after the Civil War. When the war was over, legislatures of the slave states granted the Negro nominal freedom but enacted measures of vagrancy and labor so as to reduce the Negro again almost to the status of the slave. Certain Negro leaders, men of means and ability, who were opposed to the manner in which Negroes were being treated in the South, marshaled members of their race for this migration. They planned conventions in the South to build up interest among Negro masses. The movement was under Negro auspices. There was a full recognition of the Negro's personality on the part of the sponsors. Encouragement was given to the aggressive Negro. The attitude of Negroes in general was divided. Not all of them wished to go.

There is a great deal of justification for calling the activities of these leaders "social work". They planned and led movements for improving the well-being of their people. They had to be real community organizers to accomplish this end.

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13 Ibid.
Another migration on a much larger scale occurred in 1879, an emigration of Negroes from Louisiana and Mississippi to Kansas.\textsuperscript{14} For some time, there was a "stampede" from River Parishes in Louisiana and counties just opposite them in Mississippi. It is estimated that from five to ten thousand left their homes before the movement could be checked. Many persons of influence attempted to show the Negroes the necessity for remaining in the South. By obtaining writs preferring false charges against the Negroes and inducing the steamboat lines to refuse transportation to Negroes, some white people checked the exodus to a certain extent. However, this lull was temporary. Negroes only made more extensive preparations for leaving the following spring.

The movement was accelerated by the work of two Negro leaders. Moses Singleton, of Tennessee, self-styled Moses of the Exodus and Henry Adams of Louisiana, credited themselves with organizing 32,000 Negroes for this purpose.\textsuperscript{15}

There was some difference of opinion on the part of Negro leaders regarding the migration. Frederick Douglas believed Negroes should have remained in the South.\textsuperscript{16} He saw abandonment of the principle of protection to persons and property in every state in the Union. He argued that certain Negroes were then able to elect members of Congress in the South but they could not hope to exercise such power in other parts of the country. Another argument was that Negroes had a monopoly of labor in the South that they could not hope for in the North.

Richard T. Greener heartily endorsed the exodus of the Negro.\textsuperscript{17} He did

\textsuperscript{14}Woodson, A Century of Negro Migration (Washington, 1918), p. 134.
\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., p. 136.
\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., p. 139.
\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., p. 139.
not consider migration the best remedy for the lawlessness of the South but he felt that it was a salutary one. He did not expect the United States government to give the Negroes the protection they needed as there was no abstract limit to the right of a state to do anything. He thought little of the advice of Negroes to stay and "fight it out." Feeling that the return of the unreaconstructed confederates to power in the South would for generations doom the Negroes to political oppression, he endorsed the exodus.

Much suffering attended the Negro's arrival in Kansas but relief came from various sources. Among these was the Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association. This agency had the support of the governor of the state. It used $40,000 and 500,000 pounds of clothing, bedding, and the like in 1879. The refugees 3,000 acres of land under cultivation. The Relief Association at first furnished them with supplies, tools, seed, and cabins. In 1879, 60,000 Negroes came to Kansas. The people of Kansas did not encourage the Freedmen to come but when they did arrive, the Kansans welcomed them and assisted them as fellow human beings. Upon finding employment, the Negroes generally did well. Five or six important colonies were established by the migrants.

During the 1880's and 1890's, there were many evidences that economic as well as political conditions in the South would become worse. The general attitude of Southern white people was that Negroes were pariahs of society to be used for exploitation. They felt that Negroes should not expect that their status could ever be changed so as to destroy the barriers between the races. Negroes who objected to this situation were persecuted.

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18 Ibid., p. 141.
19 Ibid., p. 152.
Only a few intelligent Negroes had reached the position of being contented in the South. Eliminated from politics, they could not easily reconcile themselves to remain there in a state of recognized inferiority. A large percentage of these Negroes, the so-called "talented tenth" migrated to the North during the eighties and nineties.

The migration of the talented tenth, however, was attended with several handicaps to the race. The Southern Negroes were robbed of their due part of the talented tenth. Those educated Negroes had no constituency in the North. The enlightened Negroes had to live with "their lights under a bushel" in their new home. Those left behind often despaired of a brighter day and "yielded to the yoke". In the places of the leaders who were anxious to speak on behalf of their people, some Negroes came into power, through the influence of white people, on the condition that they would not signify any interest in the progress of their race.

Citizenship

The Negro began farthest down the scale and has had the farthest to go to reach a common goal. The chattel must become a person, the slave a freedman, the freedman a citizen, the citizen an elector, while the elector must fight his way to full fellowship.

After the Civil War, the Negro was suddenly transformed from a chattel into the fullness of the stature of American citizenship. However, shortly after that, public sentiment began to ebb and the question of the Negro in the political and social scheme was raised throughout the country particularly in the South. By means of misinterpretation of the United

20 Ibid.
22 Brewley, op. cit., p. 272.
States constitution, terrorists organizations and various other methods, the Negro was denied full citizenship rights.

During the latter part of the period from emancipation to 1910, Negroes attempted to secure full use of the ballot and fought back against discrimination which they encountered in the North as well as in the South. Some of the largest Negro newspapers were established at that time. They used their columns to campaign for the rights of the Negro.

Out of this "hurly-burly" developed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It evolved spontaneously because groups of Negroes found that unless they organized for collective action, using as their weapons the laws of the United States, they would rapidly be put back to the status of slaves. The Association stressed the statutory rights of the Negro. It was organized under inter-racial auspices. White people fostering the movement theoretically claimed that there should be one hundred percent equality of the Negro with white people; however, they appeared willing to compromise for certain ends. They endorsed the aggressive Negro. The Association filled a gap in the program for the Negro's well-being that was not cared for by any other agency. It was the only organization among Negroes which had traditions of militancy; however, it sometimes belied this by a program of conciliation in the South.

Social Work in the South Specifically

As has been pointed out in previous sections of this chapter, the development of new social work during this period took place largely in the South. These social work efforts were aimed mainly at the adjustment

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23 Washington, loc. cit.
of the ex-slaves to freedom. One of the most important personalities in the development of social work among Negroes, Janie Porter Barrett established the Lucas Place Settlement at Hampton, Virginia in 1890.

"Poor Janie Barrett", as she was sometimes called, felt that the Negro problem had to be viewed from a community point of view — that it was necessary to live among the masses of the people to have any real affect upon them. She did not have a national organization to back her. Instead, she had to obtain funds by personal solicitation. Her institution under these circumstances did not persist. It lasted a few years.

Social Work in the North Specifically

Up until 1910, social work among Negroes in the North consisted mainly of the establishment of orphan asylums and old folks homes. There were only a few social agencies set up to take care of the welfare problems of Negroes. A beginning was made toward the establishment of associations to aid migrants during this period; however, this movement assumed no real importance until the following period. There was some social work carried on by organizations not known today as social work agencies.

The Negro branch of the Young Men's Christian Association which had been established prior to the emancipation of the slaves continued to expand. At that time, there was no call for the "Y" type of organization as far as the needs of the Negro were concerned. There were thousands of Negroes pouring into cities and something needed to be done; however, the Young Men's Christian Association was not equipped to meet the needs.

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24 Washington, loc. cit.
25 ibid.
26 ibid.
of the Negro masses.

The Slater Fund was established in 1882 with an educational objective; however, the workers appointed under the fund did more actual social work among the Negroes that they were teaching than the Young Men's Christian Association which only touched the higher element of the Negro population.27

In 1900, the White Rose Home for Colored Working Girls was established in New York City by Mrs. Victoria Matthews.28 This home was a low priced institution in which colored women could live. It grew out of a need for suitable homes for Negro working girls who came into the city. Prior to the opening of the home, Mrs. Matthews conducted traveler's aid activities in conjunction with colored women's club work.

In 1902, Miss Jessie Sleet, a trained nurse was employed as a caseworker by the New York Charity Organization Society.29 She was the first colored woman to be employed as a professional family caseworker. Thus it seems that Dr. Devine was the first white social work executive to realize the value of using Negro social workers for work among their own people, whose problems they could understand and whose needs they could interpret.

In 1906, the National League for the Protection of Colored Women received its stimulus from the fact that a number of unattached colored women, who could not find employment in Southern cities were wandering into Northern cities and getting into trouble.30 There were situations involving the colored migrant women which were similar to the most lurid tales of white slavery among immigrant white women. The Negro women were

27Ibid.
28Eugene Jones, op.cit., p. 287.
29Ibid.
30Ibid.
preyed upon by unscrupulous males and females of their own race who diverted
them into houses of prostitution and otherwise exploited them. Agencies
were established for the protection of the colored migrant women first in
New York and in the same year in Philadelphia, Baltimore and Norfolk.

In 1906, the Committee on the Improvement of Industrial Conditions
of Negroes in New York City was organized under the leadership of William
H. Baldwin. The Committee came as a result of a recognition that Negroes
coming into the city needed help in finding employment. It grew out of the
actual needs of the Negro group. A young Negro man, then studying on his
doctorate, George E. Haynes was employed by this organization to make
a study for them of the problems of employment and placement of Negroes.
The result of his study was the establishment of the National Urban League -
a development which will be elaborated upon in the next chapter.

The Lincoln Settlement House established in Brooklyn, New York in
1909 grew up naturally out of the Negro community. By 1909, there were
many crude and unadjusted Negroes in Brooklyn. Lincoln Settlement House
was organized to aid these people. It still exists today as an adjunct
of the National Urban League.

There were several fraternal organizations which carried on programs
of social work although they were set up primarily for insurance purposes.
Local offices promoted a sort of private outdoor relief to poor people.
Long before Negro Health Week was established, some of these orders in-
terested themselves in health promotion. For a number of years, the
Woodmen of the Union which was organized in 1909 carried on such a

31 Ibid.
32 Washington, loc. cit.
33 Ibid.
program. There are some communities in the United States today in which there are community houses which were set up by the Woodmen of the Union. These centers carry on much of the club work, group work, and handi-craft instruction which is involved in a social settlement program.

Summary

The period from emancipation to 1910 was one in which most of the new social work done for Negroes was elementary in nature. It consisted mainly of extending to Negroes certain absolutely necessary forms of social work such as material relief. The main trend of the period was the adjustment of the ex-slaves to freedom. The establishment of organizations to aid Negro migrants during this period simply pointed the way to important and sweeping movements which were to begin in the period from 1910 to 1916.
CHAPTER IV
1910-1916
(ADJUSTMENT OF NEGROES TO CITY LIFE - FLEEING FROM PERSECUTION)

The decade 1910 to 1920 in the history of the Negro race in America may be regarded as the period of a great spiritual uprising against the proscription, the defamation, and the violence of the preceding twenty years. As never before, the Negro began to realize that the ultimate burden of his salvation rested upon him and he learned to respect and to depend upon himself accordingly.

The decade naturally divided into two parts, that before and after the beginning of the World War. Even in the period of 1910 to 1916, however, the tendencies that later were dominant were beginning to be manifest.

During this period, Negroes fled from their homes to escape persecution in the South only to find that they were not desired in Northern and border cities. Social workers became concerned with these migrants' problems. The first region wide action in regard to adjusting Negroes to city life was deemed necessary because the people grappling with the new problems found need for comparing notes. The problems were entirely different and much more complex than those of caring for dependent children and old people through orphanages and old folks homes to which social work among Negroes had been primarily confined in the past. The problems were not quite like anything among the white people. They were a little like emigrant aid work. The region wide action took place at first in only a few cities. It later spread to others.

1Brewley, op.cit., p. 341.
2Ibid.
It is significant to note that this recognition of special problems due to the influx of Negroes primarily to the border cities spread as far as Boston. In 1913, John Daniels wrote a book entitled "In Freedoms Birthplace - A Study of the Boston Negro" in which he discussed some of these problems. At that time, in Boston, one of the leaders of the settlement movement, Robert A. Wood of the South End House stated that he thought that segregation in Boston was the only way in which the Negro could be helped. What he undoubtedly meant was that Negroes began to appear in Boston in appreciable numbers, white industrialists built up barriers against them and a rather subtle form of housing restrictions was imposed upon them. Hence, if any intelligent social work was to be done among Negroes, it would have to be realized that the Negro was either being segregated or segregating himself and was not being reached by existing agencies.

Social work among Negroes during this period may be divided thusly: emigrant aid type; recruiting Negro social workers; sociological type; health work; and citizenship.

Emigrant Aid Type.

Any social service program for Negroes, whether in cities or in rural districts, which will be effective, must be under the supervision of a well-organized committee or league which will have foremost in mind the development of co-operation between agencies that already exist or may in the future exist in a community, so that the greatest efficiency may be acquired and the largest results secured with the funds that are invested in such undertakings.

4Ibid.
The first Negro to set forth in a comprehensive manner an organized social work plan was George E. Haynes. In 1910, he appeared before the Committee on the Improvement of Industrial Conditions Among Negroes in New York to present, at its request, a program for investigating social conditions as a basis for practical social service in New York. From this plan, the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes was organized in the home of Mrs. William H. Baldwin. The name of the Committee was later changed to National Urban League. The purpose of this organization was and is as follows:

To bring about cooperation among existing agencies and organizations for improving the industrial, economic and social conditions of Negroes and to develop other agencies and organizations where necessary. To secure and train Negro social workers. To make studies of the industrial, economic and social conditions among Negroes. To promote, encourage, assist and engage in any and all kinds of work for improving the industrial, economic and social conditions among Negroes.

The League was and still is under inter-racial auspices. It accepted many of the social adjustments or accommodations that had already been worked out regarding segregation. By accepting segregation, it felt it was able to advance its health, housing and employment programs.

White people fostering the movement expressed no objection to the aggressive Negro. The attitude of Negroes towards the organization was divided.

Personalities are as important in social work as they are in the economic development of society. As has already been indicated, George Haynes conceived the idea of the Urban League. He planned the first programs of the League and was its first secretary. Haynes later accepted a position as head of the sociology department at Fisk University.

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7 Ibid.
and Eugene K. Jones, his assistant, became executive secretary of the League. Much of the credit for the spread of the National Urban League has been given to Jones. Prior to accepting a position with the League, he was a school teacher not long out of college; however, he possessed executive ability. He raised the budget of the League from $6000 to $10,000. The Negro question was the popular subject of the day and it was easy to raise money to carry on work among Negroes.

The Committee for Social Service Among Negroes of Saint Louis was established in 1910. This organization grew out of a cooperative movement between the Social Service Conference, an organization of several hundred social workers, the Forum Club of colored men and several colored women's groups. It is interesting to note that this movement was started the same year that the National Urban League and other organizations of that type were established. These separate efforts in the various communities indicate that the Urban League type of movement grew out of a definite aid like genesis of emigrant aid societies.

The Joint Money Raising Campaign of eight Negro charities of Kansas City, Missouri, which had its beginning in 1914 also reflected the tendency towards co-ordination of social work activities for Negroes. The agencies which participated in the campaign were the eight Negro organizations which had been endorsed by the Kansas City Board of Public Welfare.

The Negro Organization Society of Virginia was established in response to a popular demand for closer attention to the needs of the Negro.

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8 Washington, loc. cit.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid., Section III-B, 1913-1916.
race particularly in the matter of health and education.\textsuperscript{11} It was also a means of carrying out the aims of the Hampton Negro Conference. The scope of the Society involved the welding into one unit for the improvement of morals, health and education, all of the organizations of the race represented in any given community.

The first meeting of the Negro Organization Society was held in Richmond, Virginia. Major Moton, Commandant of Hampton Institute was elected president. A series of meetings were conducted by the president to stimulate public interest in the work of the Society.

The slogan of the organization was and still is "better health, better schools, better homes and better farms."\textsuperscript{12} The members attempted to inculcate in the Negro habits of thrift, reliability and steady work. They also included in their program care in feeding children, the reduction of venereal diseases and active participation in social welfare work of all kinds.

Creating Negro Social Workers

Negro social workers were first developed on a reasonably large scale during this period.\textsuperscript{13} Prior to 1910, the majority of agencies working among Negroes were administered by white social workers. This was especially true of orphanages, old folks homes, social settlements and agencies set up for the care of the handicapped. Down to the present time, many of these organizations have continued under white leadership.

In the South, the trained and competent Negro social worker was

\textsuperscript{11}ibid.
\textsuperscript{12}ibid.
\textsuperscript{13}ibid.
not really desired. Where occasionally there appeared a Negro social worker in the South, that person was an individual like Janie Porter Barrett, who carried on her work with little encouragement from the white people in the community. However, she lived in a community which was on the border line between the North and the South. It was near Hampton Institute, whose staff was composed mainly of members of wealthy New England white families. It was probably because of her location that she did not encounter as much opposition as she might have found in a community farther South.

In the rest of the South, there were instances of Negro pioneers often unbettered, who not only tried to carry on something like social work but to finance it themselves. Sam Davie, a Negro of Alabama gave his services and those of his family in addition to 125 acres of land to the youth of the state. During his life, he received 500 boys from the juvenile court and aside from providing for their material wants, trained them so that they could make a living for themselves. The result was that ninety-five percent of the boys grew up to be useful citizens. The state did not pay Mr. Davie anything for his services.

The development of new organizations to work among Negroes which had no pattern in the past, such as the National League for the Protection of Negro Women and the National Urban League, gave rise to a need for a large number of Negro social workers. Despite the fact that they were desired by the new agencies, the number of trained Negro social workers was small. Due to the lack of colored professional social

14 Ibid.
workers, social agencies who wanted to obtain Negro social workers were forced to employ social minded college graduates, teachers and ex-ministers. Many of the first Urban League secretaries were men without training for social work. Each community, therefore, had an interpretation of community work based upon the background and experience of the secretary.

A curriculum in social work was started at Fisk University in 1910. George Haynes, to whom reference has been made previously in connection with the establishment of the National Urban League, founded it. He tried to set up a curriculum at Fisk similar to that of the New York School of Philanthropy which is now the New York School of Social Work. Haynes taught most of the courses himself. The remaining courses were offered by persons who had had little if any social work training and experience. They were social scientists. The curriculum continued at Fisk for many years.

Sociological Type

In 1912, a type of attention toward the Negro which might be described as sociological had its beginning. In that year, the Southern Sociological Congress was organized. Attention was beginning to be directed toward the social problems of the Negro through groups composed mainly of sociologists and ministers. These movements were significant because they showed an awakening of social consciousness among thoughtful educated Southerners. It is interesting to note that the Committee on Race

\[\text{ibid.}\]
\[17\text{ibid.}\]
Relations of the Southern Sociological Congress consisted of seventeen white persons.

The weakness of these movements lay in the fact that while they recognized the sad plight of the Negro from the point of view of health, employment, lack of recreational opportunities and inadequate educational facilities, they merely discussed conditions and took no definite action to alleviate them.

In these conferences, there was an abnormal concentration on the rural Negro. This was not to be deplored because there were at that time a much larger number of Negroes in the rural sections than in urban areas. However, this concern for the rural Negro was not based primarily on the number of Negroes in the country districts. It was due to a large extent to the influence of Booker T. Washington, the first great racial diplomat. Accepting the Southern caste system, Washington struck out for economic independence, obtainable, he thought, within the social structure. By improved skill, industry, thrift and the good will of the upper class white people, he hoped to establish a sound economic base for his people. His failure was in believing that economic independence could be achieved without attacking a racial pattern whose end objective was the Negro's economic subordination. A large number of white people turned their attention to anything in which Washington was interested and supported his efforts.

Booker T. Washington had another retarding affect on social work among Negroes. He led many interested white people to believe that all the Negro needed to solve the problems of health, unemployment,

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delinquency and the like was industrial training. This enabled white people to rationalize their disinclination to consider the Negro's right to vote, to a share in recreational facilities, to fair treatment in the courts and to the alleviation of other social injustices. The influence of his philosophy is to some extent evident at the present time.

Health Work

Probably the most outstanding development in health work during this period was the founding of the Phipps Institute of Philadelphia in 1914. This tuberculosis clinic was probably the first effort toward tuberculosis control among Negroes in America. Other health organizations were established during this period to carry on tuberculosis control work. Among them was the Whittier Center established in Philadelphia.

Citizenship

The most significant development in the fight for citizenship during this period, aside from the continued expansion of the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was the founding of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. The auspices of this organization were ninety-nine percent Negro. The Association gave encouragement to the aggressive Negro. The purpose is given in the name of the organization. The Association represented an achievement of value to the Negro because it gave to those

20 Ibid. 21 Ibid.
Negroes who had access to its literature, particularly Negro children, a sense of belonging as well as a knowledge of the importance of the Negro race in the development of civilization.

Summary

The period of 1910 to 1915 is significant in the development of social work among Negroes. It was during that period that the first regional action in regard to adjusting Negroes to city life was started. Not only was there an expansion of the work begun in other periods. There was also the emergence of a new type of social work among Negroes. From old folks homes, orphanages and other organizations of that type, the emphasis was shifted to associations to aid the migrant. These agencies were in many instances, clearing houses for social work among Negroes. The most outstanding organization of this type which had it beginning during this period was the National Urban League. In it and other emigrant aid organizations, one sees a shift from individual efforts to collective action - a trend which was a milestone in the development of social work among Negroes.
CHAPTER V

1916-1929
(ADJUSTMENT OF NEGROES TO CITY LIFE * ANSWERING THE CALL OF NORTHERN INDUSTRY)

The period of 1916 to 1929 marked the greatest expansion to that date of social work among Negroes throughout the country and especially in the North. This expansion grew out of the war borne migration and the recognition of the problems of adjustment which it entailed.

Soon after the beginning of the World War, there started what was probably the most remarkable migratory movement in the history of the Negro race in America. Migration had at no time ceased since the great movement of 1879 but for the most part, it had merely been personal and not in response to any great emergency. The sudden stoppage of the accustomed stream of immigration from Europe occasioned by the war, created an unprecedented demand for labor in the large industrial centers of the North. As a last resort, the various industrial enterprises turned to the South and began to solicit Negro labor in order to meet their demands. Special agents influenced the movement in some measure but the outstanding feature of the migration was that it was primarily a mass movement and not one organized or encouraged by any special groups or leaders. Transportation was furnished by Northern industries for many of the laborers.

Those who left their homes in the South to find new ones in the North thus worked first in response to a new economic demand. Prominent in their thoughts to urge them on, however, were the generally unsatisfactory conditions in the South from which they had long suffered.

\[2\] Ewton, op. cit., p. 345.
when all too often, it seemed futile to hope to escape.

The whole racial scene in America was greatly changed by this war borne migration because of the numbers involved, the fact that it was principally northward and the fact that the migrants concentrated in a few of the large industrial centers of the North.⁵

Such a great shift of population did not take place without some inconvenience and hardship. The relationship between this migration and the social work expansion came from the fact that thousands of Negroes entirely unaccustomed to the habits, customs and even the climate of urban life were suddenly plunged into the complex environment of Northern cities. Among the thousands who changed their place of residence were many ignorant and improvident persons; however, many skilled artisans and substantial homeowners also migrated to the Northern industrial centers.⁶ In the North, the migrants met congestion in housing facilities and other inconveniences. In more than one place, there were outbreaks in which lives were lost.

Meanwhile, welfare organizations labored to adjust the Negroes to their new environments.⁷ Existing social work machinery was not adequate to help such a large number of strangers. Fortunately, financial means were available to provide the social machinery necessary to aid in the adjustment of the migrants. They had come to a section where theoretically there was no unfavorable attitude toward the extension of social work treatment to Negroes. This did not necessarily mean in the same institutions but referred chiefly to the extension of financial support to social work among Negroes.

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⁵Donald, op.cit., pp.19-27.
⁶Brawley, op.cit., p.347.
⁷Ibid., p.545.
Aggressive Negroes took advantage of the interest in social work among Negroes at that time. To a large extent, the progress which has been made in social work among Negroes has been the result of pressure on the part of Negroes who were not satisfied and argued for more. If aggressive Negroes had not advocated new Urban League branches, settlements and the like and persuaded manufacturers to establish welfare departments for their employees, the expansion of social work among Negroes during the period of 1916 to 1929 would not have been as great as it was.

Adjustment of Negroes to City Life

Some of the social work machinery which had been established during the period of 1910 to 1916 was useful during the period of 1916 to 1929. However, it was incapable of assuming the load of the cataclysmic influx of 1916.

In Chicago, the different civic clubs helped nobly. Greater than any other agency, however, was the National Urban League, whose work then witnessed an unprecedented expansion. Representative was the work of the Detroit branch, which not only found vacant positions but campaigned for new job openings for Negroes by distributing literature among manufacturers. Within a year, a thousand Negroes had been placed in skilled and semi-skilled occupations by the Detroit branch. It also established a bureau of investigation and information regarding housing conditions.

In January, 1919, a Conference of Migration was called in New

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8Washington, loc. cit.
9Brawley, op. cit., p. 348.
York under the auspices of the National Urban League. As a result of that conference, a resolution was sent to the American Federation of Labor asking that Negro labor be considered on the same basis as white labor for membership in the union. In 1919, the Federation voted to take steps to recognize and admit Negroes into the Union. Just how effective the new decision was to be in actual practice remained to be seen especially as the whole labor movement was thrown on the defensive by the end of 1920.

The whole problem of the Negro was of such commanding importance after the United States entered the war as to lead to the creation of a special Division of Negro Economics in 1917, in the United States Department of Labor. One of the functions of this bureau was to locate essential Negro labor ineligible for the draft - mainly those above draft age.

Several new efforts were made to supplement already existing machinery to aid the migrants. Among these was the Negro Civic Welfare Committee of the Council of Social Agencies of Cincinnati, established in 1918. This was an organization of representatives of the various Negro agencies in the Cincinnati Council of Social Agencies, a financial federation. The Committee was the first of the co-ordinating type of organization set up by some overhead body which controlled the finance. Its purpose was to act as a clearing house for social work among Negroes. The body was supposed to agree upon the field of work for each member agency. It was designed to fill in the gaps in a complete program of social work among Negroes - a federation of the

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10 ibid.
11 ibid., p. 349.
12 "Washington, loc. cit."
forces at work in the field of social work, proposed to unify purpose, 
harmonize spirit and promote efficiency. The Committee was invested 
with executive powers. The work as proposed came under two headings; 
co-ordination and promotion; and administration. The achievements of 
the group are questionable. Probably the reason why the movement did 
not succeed was because member organization looked upon this planning 
group as another agency on a par with their organizations. They there-
upon resented being told how they should function by the Committee. 
The roots of this movement were not in the Negro community. They were 
superimposed by the Council of Social Agencies. There were other Negro 
civic welfare committees in various localities. The one in Cincinnati 
was given as an example of the movement.

Commissions on inter-racial co-operation were begun in some cities 
during the period of 1916 to 1929.13 Among these was the Chicago Com-
mission on Race Relations, established in 1919. While this was a 
part of the general movement to solve some of the racial problems by 
removing some of the unsatisfactory racial attitudes, the immediate 
reason for the creation of the Chicago Commission was the Chicago riots 
of the previous year. The Commission probably accomplished some good 
from a social work point of view by directing attention of the controll-
ing powers in Chicago to such things as the bad housing to which Negroes 
were relegated, to the limitations of the recreational opportunities, 
to the growing antipathy on the part of white labor toward Negro labor 
and to the family instability growing out of the crowding together of 
families in certain sections. A significant achievement of the commission

13 Ibid.
was the bringing to the forefront of a Negro sociologist, Charles S. Johnson, who practically directed the survey. Probably one of the reasons why the movement died was because it had no executive functions. It came as an aftermath of the bitterness and conflict of the riots and within a year or two after that affair, the Chicago commission stopped functioning.

The Cincinnati Model Homes Corporation established by J. G. Schmidlapp, a banker, was another significant social work development of this period. This corporation was established in 1916 and was the first low cost housing experiment for Negroes in this country. Its achievements were notable.

Health work continued along the general pattern of the preceding period. The Harlem Tuberculosis Association, with a mixed board of white and colored people serving both races was set up in 1922.

About the middle of the period of 1916 to 1929, there began to be set up, within state departments of welfare, divisions dealing with the social welfare problems of Negroes. These departments were usually known as Bureaus of Negro Work or Divisions of Negro Work. The motivation for creating these departments was undoubtedly the recognition of the problems involved in the adjustment of Negro migrants. The first organization of this type to be set up was the Bureau of Negro Work of the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare of North Carolina. The State Board had long desired to provide a comprehensive statewide social work program for Negroes but lack of funds prevented this until a grant was made in 1925 by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial

14 ibid.
15 ibid.
16 ibid., Section IV-B, 1922-1929.
Association.

Efforts on the part of non-social work organizations to help the migrants were notable. Among these was the work of the church. Many of the migrants attempting to transfer their membership to some local religious body were received warmly at church services. Some of the churches set up employment and housing bureaus to meet the needs of the migrants. This function of the church was generally not maintained because the church did not do anything that the social agencies, once they were organized, could not do more effectively. The majority of the churches did not have the finances to carry on extensive welfare programs. They did help in the early days of the migration when existing agencies were overloaded and new ones had not been created. However, they diverted money away from agencies which were trying to expand. Ministers solicited funds for social programs from the same industrialists who were approached by representatives of the social agencies. The ministers were frequently better salesmen.

Recreation

The first formal plan for recreation among Negroes had its beginning during the World War. It has been estimated that 500,000 colored men were drafted for military service or other war purposes. One of the basic needs of the soldiers was found to be some activity to develop morale which could not be completely provided for through the usual routine of drill and military training. The Playground and Recreation Association officials were called upon to assist the government in

developing the activities needed for the soldiers. War Camp Community Service was the agency developed for this purpose and recreation was its basic work.

In the communities outside of the camps, recreational facilities for colored soldiers were almost non-existent. In 1917, the War Camp Community Service took over the work of organizing the recreational life of the communities near the training camps and naval stations for the benefit of soldiers in their free time.\(^{19}\) This work was done in cooperation with churches, fraternal orders, women's clubs and other community groups.

In general, the Negro population was denied recreational opportunities in large sections of the South.\(^{20}\) Exclusion or segregation in connection with recreational facilities increased in the North during this period. However, there were certain influences which tended to stimulate the development of wholesome recreation among Negroes. The Playground and Recreation Association, through its bureau of Negro work, under the direction of Ernest T. Atwell, not only took an active part in stimulating the development of public and private recreational facilities but also organized recreational institutes, offering colored people a chance to develop their own play leaders.

Another important factor in developing recreational facilities for Negroes during this period was the activities of many inter-racial committees as that of Orlando, Florida which persuaded the city to provide a playground, club house and bathing beach for Negroes.\(^{21}\)

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\(^{19}\) Ibid.


\(^{21}\) Ibid.
Employment of Negro Social Workers

The use of Negro social workers in work among their own people received a great impetus during this period. Leaders in social work both in the North and in the South came to the conclusion soon after the migration began that the most effective social work in the Negro community could be done by Negro rather than white social workers. In general, it might be said that social agency executives became convinced that social work among Negroes required an intimate knowledge of the history, traditions and ideals of the Negro which could only be possessed by Negroes themselves. The field of social work employment expanded from less than ten different occupations to almost fifty in which Negro men and women were engaged.

In the field of case work, they were engaged in travelers aid work, vocational advisory work, medical social work, psychiatric social work, visiting teaching, probation work, family case work, and case work with children.

In the field of group work, they were engaged as neighborhood secretaries, industrial secretaries of Urban Leagues and Christian Associations, welfare workers in industrial plants, superintendents of playgrounds, class leaders in settlements, boy scout executives, boys' club executives and workers in schools for delinquents.

In the field of community organization, employment expanded to include rural social workers, county social workers, Urban League secretaries for local and national branches, public welfare workers, field

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23Ibid., p.3.
secretaries for national organizations and field secretaries for na-
tional recreation associations. 24

In the field of social research, investigators for national and lo-
cal problems were employed.

Training Negroes for Social Work

During the period of 1916 to 1929, thinking people became concerned
with the problem of training Negroes for social work. They realized
that in addition to their training on the job, Negro social workers
needed the background that only professional education could give them.
Up to the time of the National Conference of Social Work in 1920 at New
Orleans, no expression had been voiced regarding the establishment of
such a school. 25 Mr. Jesse O. Thomas, former field representative of
the Urban League and now special Assistant to the Director of Domestic
Operations of the American Red Cross in Washington, D.C. delivered
an address which was followed by a round table discussion during the
conference relative to the establishment of a school of social work
for Negroes in Atlanta, Georgia. After gaining the backing of the
Family Welfare Society, the Atlanta Tuberculosis Association, the
Neighborhood Union and Mr. John Hope, then president of Morehouse
College, a meeting was called for May 21, 1920 to which outstanding
leaders of both races were invited to consider the establishment of a
training school for Negro social workers. 26 As a result of that meeting,
the Atlanta University School of Social Work, originally known as the

24 ibid.
25 Edna Heyliger, "A Study of the Development of the Atlanta University
School of Social Work." Unpublished Master's thesis, School of Social Work,
Atlanta University, 1945, pp. 7-9.
26 ibid.
Atlanta School of Social Service was organized for the purpose of conducting a school of social and health work for colored students.

The school was incorporated in April, 1924 under the name of Atlanta School of Social Work. In 1925, the school originally housed at Morehouse College rented rooms in an office building at 193 Auburn Avenue. On December 29, 1928, the school became a member of the American Association of Schools of Social Work. In the next period, its development was even greater. It was in September, 1938 that the school became affiliated with Atlanta University.

Social Work in the South Specifically

Up until 1901, there was a general opinion among white people in the South that Negroes were hopeless as an investment from a social work point of view. Some advances were made in social work in the South during this period; however, the South lacked the finance to carry on an extensive program of social work among Negroes because of the belief that everything had to be done bi-racially. The South progressed very slowly in anything approaching the idea of social work among Negroes.

Social Work in the North Specifically

There was a favorable attitude in the North, with some exceptions, toward the extension of the necessary social services to Negroes because of the absence of a fixed bi-racial system. Negro migrants were "welcome guests" to the most powerful elements in the Northern communities. The industrialists needed them as workers. The white social workers took a special interest in them partly because the industrialists, who were their chief supporters, were interested in Negro laborers. The Negro had become a "pet" in many things in the North and social work among
Negroes received its share of "petting". The Negro was needed at that time to help win the war and help the war profiteers make money. This probably accounted to some extent for the "petting". Under this impetus, coupled with the efforts of interested people of both races, social work among Negroes in the North expanded greatly.

Summary

The period of 1916 to 1929 was a milestone in the development of social work among Negroes. It marked the greatest expansion of social work among Negroes to that date throughout the country and especially in the North. Impetus for this expansion came from the fact that existing agencies found themselves inadequately equipped to meet the needs of the tremendous mass of Negroes who came to the cities in the war borne migration. Social workers found the need of "comparing notes" to deal with these problems. The result was an expansion of many of the existing agencies and the creation of new agencies to meet the problems of the migrants. A significant development during this period was the establishment of the Atlanta University School of Social Work to offer training to Negro social workers.
CHAPTER VI

1929-1939 (THE DEPRESSION PERIOD)

Before the problems of the war born migration were solved, the depression began. Thus at the beginning of the period of 1929 to 1939, the recently developed interest in social work among Negroes was checked by the depression. Before social workers arrived anywhere on the complicated problems of assimilation, that is, on a real social program for Negroes, their efforts were curtailed.

The result of the depression on social work among Negroes was marked.\(^1\)

The North no longer needed or wanted the Negro. Moreover, the North was not willing to extend social work among Negroes.

Conferences of social work no longer featured Negro sections or speeches on the Negro. Publications on social work contained only a few articles concerning Negroes.

General Type of Work

The depression caused a decline in agencies carrying on community organization work among Negroes.\(^2\) A number of industrial secretaries were let go by the Urban League both nationally and locally. Some League branches went out of existence altogether. The Detroit Urban League, located in one of the largest industrial communities in America had at one time employed an executive, a visiting housekeeper, two neighborhood secretaries, an industrial secretary and an office staff.

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\(^2\)Ibid.
During this period, only the executive, a part time assistant and a stenographer were retained. Some of the Leagues had smaller staffs than the Detroit branch.

The decline of social work in industry was marked. There was a decline in welfare work among Negroes as well as welfare work in the factories. This was probably a reflection of the fact that Negroes were the greatest sufferers in the industrial upheaval through the operation of the old law "last hired and first fired". Industrial secretaries of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association were for the most part dropped.

As a form of social work, housing is one field in which, theoretically there was an increase rather than a decline. This development was the result of attention given to slum clearance programs for Negroes chiefly in Atlanta and Detroit and the Resettlement Administration program in several rural sections of the South. However, this attention given to housing grew out of the poor economic conditions in which Negroes as well as white people found themselves. The housing program was designed to give employment to these groups.

Medical social work seemed to have come to a standstill during this period.

Agencies for the social treatment of crime among Negroes greatly decreased as a result of the depression. Wherever it was necessary to economize, one of the first public employees let go was the Negro
probation officer. However, the National Probation Association favored the appointment of qualified Negro probation officers and observed that a good many of the Negroes who had been employed in such positions were very competent people.

Educational social work also came to a standstill. Few, if any visiting teachers (Negro) were employed during the depression period.

At a time when family solidarity was just beginning to become a fact among Negroes, the depression began and the Negro family was subjected to every possible disintegrating influence. If there ever was a time when the work of the family society among Negroes was needed and desired, it was during this period. Unfortunately, the family society and the rest of the private agencies had to curtail their staffs because of the lack of adequate financial support. They let Negro workers go first on the theory that white workers could handle both Negro and white cases whereas Negro workers could only handle Negro cases.

Unemployment Relief

It was in the field of unemployment relief that social work among Negroes expanded most during the depression period. Numerically, there were more Negroes employed as social workers from 1929 to 1939 than in any previous period. Much of this addition was ephemeral.

Practically all of the Negro social workers employed during this period were hired by the Federal Emergency Relief Association. The F.E.R.A. was set up to supply direct relief to the tremendously large

\[7\text{ibid.}\]
\[\*\text{Hereafter, in this study, the Federal Emergency Relief Association will be referred to as the F.E.R.A.}\]
number of unemployed people during the depression period. Negroes constituted thirty percent of the relief rolls at that time. The fact that they were the first group to be discharged from employment was one of the reasons why so many Negroes were on relief. The various employment agencies did not function among Negroes with the same efficacy that they functioned among white people.

The majority of the executive of the F.E.R.A. were white. Negro executive and supervisors were employed in a few places. This was true in New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. Mr. Washington, the director of the Atlanta University School of Social Work was appointed Director of Negro Work in the national office of the F.E.R.A. 8

A large number of Negroes were employed by the F.E.R.A. in many communities which had not employed any Negro social workers prior to that time. This made it possible for executives who had not hitherto hired Negro social workers to do so.

While there were many differentials in the amount of relief care given Negroes as compared to that given white people, some Negroes attained a higher standard of living under this program than they had ever had. 9 Another advantage of the F.E.R.A. was the fact that it set up certain projects such as nursery schools, adult education projects and the like for Negroes which some of them had never known before.

Work Relief

The F.E.R.A. was discontinued on November 1, 1935 and in its place the Works Progress Administration was established. 10 This was a

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8 ibid.
9 ibid., Section V-B, 1935-1939.
10 ibid.
substitution of work relief for direct relief. It was stated in the authorization of the Works Progress Administration that there should be no discrimination in the administration of its benefits because of race or other reasons. Negroes received work under this plan; however, it was not in proportion to their numbers on relief rolls.

The Works Progress Administration was a set-back to the Negro. Politicians controlled it as contrasted with the trained social workers who were in charge of the F.E.R.A. It meant the dropping of the thousands of Negro case workers of the F.E.R.A. because the work of the Works Progress Administration called for engineers and persons trained in business and industry rather than social workers.

The National Youth Administration took over the college student aid program of the F.E.R.A. and added aid for high school students and graduate students. A special director of Negro work was employed at the national office. Many Negro students, including students of the Atlanta University School of Social Work have benefited under this plan.

Social Security Program

The most important development in social work in the period of 1929 to 1939 was the shift in the auspices under which social work was conducted. The change was from private to public administration of social work. Whereas previous to 1932, the great bulk of people who needed welfare services were cared for by agencies which received all or a major portion of their funds from donations by lay citizens, they are now cared for by agencies wholly supported from tax funds and operated by government employees on the federal, state and municipal levels.

18ibid.
The assumption under this plan is that people need assistance, not because they are inefficient but because society in which they live is inefficient. The few social welfare functions which were left to private agencies concerned the treatment of a limited number of persons who needed aid because of personal inefficiency.

In 1935, President Roosevelt sent a message to Congress stating that security for the individual and the family depend upon three factors: 1) decent homes to live in, 2) development of the country's natural resources to afford the fullest opportunity to engage in productive work and 3) safe-guards against the major misfortunes. As a result, the Social Security Act, which covers old age assistance, aid to dependent children, aid to the blind, unemployment compensation and old age and survivors insurance was passed. The act established a system of cooperative action between the state and federal governments in administering aid to special groups.

The effect on the Negro of the change of auspices from private to public administration of social work was profound. Federal, state and local relief programs and the social security set up enabled many Negroes to raise their standards of living to a level which they had never before attained. Many Negro social workers were hired to administer "public assistance". In some communities, these were the first Negro social workers to be employed. The result is that today there are Negro social workers administering public assistance in the majority of the cities in this country.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{12}}\text{ibid.}\]
Summary

The result of the depression of 1929 to 1939 on social work among Negroes was marked. Social work efforts aimed at the adjustment of migrants in the preceding period were sharply curtailed because of a lack of adequate funds. The most significant development in social work during this period was the shift in the auspices under which social work was administered from private to tax supported social work. This resulted in the expansion in social work among Negroes in terms of the numbers of Negro social workers employed, the number of clients reached and the types of services which were rendered to them. It was during the depression period that social work is said to have "come of age". For the first time, the government, working under the principle that people need assistance, not because they are inefficient, but because society in which they live is inefficient, established a comprehensive system of "social security".
An analysis of social work among Negroes in the period of 1939 to 1944 reflects some intensification of the social work efforts started in the whole period of 1929 to 1939.\(^1\) However, one notes a shift of emphasis from concentration on work relief in the depression to the attempt to solve the housing problems, recreational problems, health education problems, child care problems and special problems of servicemen occurring during the present period.\(^2\)

The Negro is struggling in all areas to advance his position in democracy.\(^3\) The Negro's realization that a consolidated leadership is basic to any advance that he will make is important. Colored people are becoming increasingly aware of their responsibility for effecting changes in their social and economic status.

The outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939 and the subsequent entrance of the United States into the war has affected all elements of the population. The employment restrictions suffered by the Negro were highlighted by the industrial boom which began to take American workers off the relief rolls.\(^4\) The re-employment movement did not at first include the Negro workers. In fact, the number of Negroes on relief increased at the beginning of this period.

Rise of a New Militancy Among Negroes

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\(^1\)Statement by Miss Guinn of the Family Welfare Society, Atlanta, Georgia, personal interview, April 18, 1944.
\(^2\)Statement by Mr. F. B. Washington, Director of Atlanta University School of Social Work, personal interview, April 15, 1944.
\(^3\)Statement by Miss Guinn, Atlanta, Georgia, personal interview, April 18.
Realization of racial discrimination in the national defense program produced a mood of bitterness within the Negro race which had its affect on every phase of its living. There was violent reaction among Negroes all over the country.

The years 1941 and 1942 were marked by the rise of a new militancy among Negroes and an aggressive spokesmanship. A Negro population which formerly had accepted social welfare services with a rather patient resignation began to demand action by the federal government to remove the causes of their problems. Social work organizations dealing with Negroes were forced to re-study the communities they served and to take into account the new mood of Negro leaders.

The National Urban League prepared a special memorandum for the attention of the president of the United States in 1941 indicating the danger spots then evident in the national defense program.

Racial discrimination reached its height in the spring of 1941 when mass organizations began to form throughout the country to press demands to end all racial discrimination in the defense programs. Leaders of the "March off Washington Movement" proposed a protest march scheduled for July 1, 1941. The march was postponed by the timely issuance in June 25, 1941 of the Executive Order Number 8802 by President Roosevelt. The order stated that there should be no discrimination in industry because of race or color. The Fair Employment Practices Committee was created to enforce the order. The "March on Washington Movement" is essentially a movement of the people. It is pro-Negro and all Negro.

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4 Ibid., p.346.
5 Ibid.
Its major weapon is the non-violent demonstration of Negro mass power. The plan of a protest march has not been abandoned. Its purpose would be to demonstrate that American Negroes are really in earnest and all out for their full rights. This movement represents a planned attempt toward self betterment. Its leaders had to be real community organizers to marshall so many followers.

**Migration**

Soon after the beginning of World War I, there began what was probably the most remarkable migratory movement in the history of the American Negro. Up to the present time, there has been no mass migration comparable to that of the last war. The wider spread of war industries and the awareness among Negroes that racial discrimination exists in the North probably discouraged the migration of many families. Nevertheless, there has been an appreciable shift of the Negro population between sections of the country and between industrial centers within those sections.

Social work leadership is concerned over the intensification and spread of social problems in the growing Negro urban populations. The advent of large numbers of Negroes into industrial communities has increased the case loads of many social work agencies so that in the past year or two, many Negro social workers have been hired as the first persons of color on the staffs of children's organizations, family welfare associations, tuberculosis associations and the like.

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8 Statement by Mr. Washington, Director of Atlanta University School of Social Work, personal interview, April 15, 1944.
Another result of the migration has been the creation of a new type of Negro social worker employed by social planning agencies. These Negro staff members carry on a type of work which was formerly done by the Urban League - that of coordinating the work of existing Negro agencies and providing for gaps in the program of social work among Negroes.

The migration has been attended by increased racial strife in many areas. Because of the increasing attention to democratic forces occasioned by the war, people are more anxious to help with this problem. The Negro's second class citizenship has been highlighted. The result has been the development in many communities of publicly appointed inter-racial committees many of which have a paid secretary. These committees have been going more into the field of social work than of relieving racial tension directly. In fact, social work services having as their objective helping people to make more adequate adjustments in their personal and community relations appear to have many overlapping functions with the legal and civil liberties movement. Social vision of the period appears to realize the importance of continued efforts to stimulate awareness of mutual problems and the need to formulate working philosophies on economic, social and political situations. In this task, social work leaders and non-social work leaders have the cooperation of the 200 Negro newspapers, 3,500 Negroes in unions, the powerful voice of churchmen, the 50,000 young Negroes in colleges and the voice offered through the Negro representation in

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9 Statement by Miss Guim of the Family Welfare Society, Atlanta, Georgia, personal interview, April 12, 1944.
10 Statement by Mr. Cochran of the Young Men's Christian Association, Atlanta, Georgia, personal interview, 18, 1944.
11 Statement by Mr. Washington, Director of Atlanta University School of Social Work, personal interview, April 15, 1944.
the legislatures of twelve states along with other avenues of their day to day contacts.

Negro Social Workers and the War

The entrance of this country into the war and the problems occasioned by it have opened up many new avenues of employment for Negro social workers.

Under the stress of the war emergency, the federal and many state governments have committed themselves to special action to relieve economic discrimination against Negroes and other minority groups. The result is seen in the steadily increasing interest of government departments in special problems of the Negro. Many federal agencies have adopted the technique of appointing racial consultants and advisors. The National Housing Authority has a staff of Negro economists and housing experts. The Works Progress Administration and the National Youth Administration employed Negro administrators in their national and regional offices. The United States Health Service has employed a Negro health education director. On the staff of the Office of Defense Health Education are three Negroes to plan for recreation, social protection and nutrition services. The Federal Security Agency has employed Negro social workers in its national and regional offices.

Employment opportunities for Negro social workers with the American Red Cross are numerous. In 1941, the first Negro Red Cross field director was assigned to the Tuskegee Army Air Base to render social

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13 Lister Granger, op. cit., p.343.
14 Statement by Mr. William Bell of the United Service Organization, regional office, Atlanta, Georgia, April 17, 1944.
15 ibid.
work services to the Negro servicemen stationed there. Other Negroes have been employed in this capacity to work in this country and overseas. The appointment of Mr. Jesse O. Thomas to the post of Assistant to the Administrator of General Services in the national office of the Red Cross was an innovation in the Red Cross set-up.

The Red Cross has devoted more attention to the Negro in its domestic services since the war began. This has resulted in the employment of many Negro social workers. Canteen services have been extended to colored people in some communities. Red Cross first aid classes have been opened to Negroes. The home-service departments in collaboration with the field directors at the military camps have assumed an important role in helping the individual soldier and his family with their problems on the "home front". Another important aspect of their services is the assistance given by them to discharged servicemen to facilitate their re-adjustment to civilian life.

Special scholarships have been made available by the Red Cross to Negro as well as white students who have completed one year of academic training in social work and wish to specialize in medical or psychiatric social work. In view of the increasing importance of medical and psychiatric social work occasioned by the war, this opportunity assumes a great significance.

The army has adopted a uniform policy of employing Negro hostesses in service clubs on army posts for Negro soldiers. Many colored social workers have been utilized to fill these jobs.

The United Service Organization has employed a staff of 5000 people.
Approximately 200 of these people are professionally trained Negroes who have been employed to render social work services in the various units of the organization. One of the significant appointments of Negro social workers in the United Service Organization set-up is that of Mr. William Bell who is on the staff of the southern regional office. When analyzed in terms of what present expansion in the United Service Organization among Negroes may mean in the future, the movement assumes even greater importance. Professionally trained Negro directors of this organization are going into communities where there have never been any Negro social workers before. This may serve to "break the ice" for social work expansion among Negroes in those areas in the future. Mixed boards of directors, interested in the problems of servicemen as a lay group, are for the first time being recognized as a legitimate group in solving social welfare problems by city officials. These groups may serve as nuclei for social planning after the war. Federal buildings erected for United Service Organization work offer possible places for community centers for Negroes after the war.

The employment of Negro personal workers, sometimes referred to as Negro counsellors has facilitated the adjustment of Negroes in war industries.

In terms of numbers, male social workers have decreased while female social workers have increased. This has been due to the fact that many of the male social workers have gone into the armed forces.

18 Ibid.

19 Statement by Mr. Washington, Director of Atlanta University School of Social Work, personal interview, April 15, 1944.
In some instances, pressure of work has made it necessary to lower standards in social work.

The United War Fund drive has resulted in increased financial support for the participating agencies. Financial benefits accrued by agencies carrying on social work among Negroes have been appreciable.

**Summary**

The emphasis on "democratic forces" occasioned by the war, coupled with the many problems arising out of this country's participation in the war have given an impetus to the expansion of social work among Negroes. Although there has been some intensification of social work efforts started during the depression, the emphasis has shifted from the concentration on work relief to the attempt to solve the housing problems, recreational problems, health education problems, child care problems and special problems of servicemen.

Many avenues of employment have been opened for colored social workers during the present conflict. These include jobs with the federal and state governments as well as private organizations.

Social work efforts during this period seem in some areas to be closely allied with the legal and civil liberties movement. Social vision of the period appears to realize the necessity for working together on common problems.
CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY

Social work is the sum of all the efforts made by society for the benefit of those who are not in a position to compete on fair terms with their fellows. The Negro social worker is enlisted in this service but he has the added responsibility of bringing the Negro group up to the normal status of the majority group as well as to provide for the needs of the individual who is socially inadequate.

The Negro in American life is the victim of an unfavorable social attitude on the part of the majority group which sets him apart from the general public. This racial isolation intensifies for him all of the social problems peculiar to the whole population. It makes the task of the social worker working among Negroes doubly difficult because he finds himself confronted not only with the usual problems of social work but with the difficulty of solving them within a setting of special handicaps.

Social work among Negroes may be divided into six periods: the period Before Emancipation, when the great majority of the Negroes were slaves; Emancipation to 1910, when the Negro was chiefly occupied with making an adjustment to freedom; 1910 to 1916, when the Negro was attempting to adapt himself to city life; 1916 to 1929, when the Negro, answering the call of Northern industry was attempting to adjust to city life; 1929 to 1939, when the Negro was making an effort to cope with the hardships of the depression period; and 1939 to 1944, when the Negro was endeavoring to become accustomed to changes occasioned by the second world war.

Prior to the Civil War, social work carried on among Negroes was
very limited. That which affected the largest number of Negroes had
to do with changing their status from slaves to freedmen. If the goal
of social work is the unenfoldment of the human personality, any move-
ment aimed at freeing the slaves was social work in nature. Individual
social work efforts for Negroes during this period consisted of the es-
tablishment of orphan asylums and old folks homes mainly in the North.

In the period from Emancipation to 1910, the emphasis in social
work among Negroes was on efforts aimed at helping colored people adjust
to freedom. It was during this period that the Freedmen's Bureau was
created as a division of the war department to provide assistance to eman-
cipated Negroes.

The period of 1910 to 1916 is significant in the development of so-
cial work among Negroes because it was during that time that the first
region wide action in regard to adjusting Negroes to city life was started.
The emphasis was shifted from orphan homes and old folks homes which had
characterized preceding periods to associations to aid the migrants. These
new agencies were in many instances clearing houses for social work among
Negroes. In them, one notes a shift from individual efforts to collec-
tive action, a trend which was a milestone in the development of social
work among Negroes.

The following period, 1916 to 1929 marked the greatest expansion
to that time of social work among Negroes. Social work agencies found
themselves inadequate to meet the needs of the tremendous mass of Negroes
who came to the cities in the war borne migration. Social workers found
the need for "comparing notes" to deal with these problems. The result
was the expansion of many of the existing agencies and the creation of
new agencies. A significant development of this period was the estab-
lishment of the Atlanta University School of Social Work to offer training
to Negro social workers.

The gains made in the period of 1916 to 1929 were somewhat checked by the depression of the period of 1929 to 1939; however, the inauguration of the recovery program and the passage of the social security act gave a new impetus to the expansion of social work among Negroes. Here one notes a shift in social work administration from private to public auspices on the assumption that people need assistance not because they are inadequate but because society is inadequate.

An analysis of social work among Negroes in the period of 1939 to 1944 reflects some intensification of social work efforts started in the whole period of 1929 to 1939; however, one notes a shift of emphasis from concentration on relief in the preceding period to the attempt to solve the housing problems, recreational problems, health education problems, child care problems and the special problems of servicemen during the present period.

Social work efforts during the present period seem in some areas to be closely allied with the legal and civil liberties movement. Social vision of the period appears to realize the necessity for working together on common problems.

Many new avenues of employment for Negro social workers have been opened during the present conflict. These include jobs with the federal and state governments as well as private organizations. Competent authorities agree that social work among Negroes can go forward on the gains made during the present period.
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