AN EXAMINATION OF LATE 19TH CENTURY AFRICAN AMERICAN SOCIAL WELFARE PIONEERING DEVELOPMENTS IN PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA.

by

KAREEMA JAMILYA GRAY

(Under the Direction of June Gary Hopps)

ABSTRACT

The study of social welfare pioneers in social work education is important in forming a foundation of understanding the origins of the profession for future social work practitioners and educators. Understanding our past determines actively our ability to understand our present.

Social work as a profession directly impacts and influences the lives of people of all different racial, ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds; however, the social work pioneers that current social work education focuses on are predominantly White, Christian, and American. Research to date has started to focus on uncovering pioneering work that was conducted in some minority communities, but there are still large gaps in the literature that this study hopes to fill.

This study examined the work that late 19th century African American social welfare pioneers were doing in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The goal was to bring to light the fact that social work was in fact being done by more than just White, Christian men and women during the time period that social work was becoming a profession. The purpose of this study was to describe, critique, and discuss the roles assumed by African American social change agents during the Progressive Era in the late 19th century in the struggle for social rights, human rights,

social and humanitarian service delivery for freed slaves and Blacks in Philadelphia, PA. There were four research questions directing this study: (a) what roles did late 19th century African American social change agents play in the struggle for social rights, human rights, and service delivery for freed slave and Blacks in Philadelphia, PA.? (b) what were the social service delivery systems that were developed and used by the early African American social welfare pioneers in Philadelphia, PA? (c) did these initiatives have any correspondence or parallels with other movements during this period? and (d) what, if any, cross racial alliances were negotiated and what bridges if any were built between Black and White reformers?

This historical qualitative study utilized an approach from the social change theoretical base and included in-depth and extensive examination of documents and artifacts from social welfare change agents in Philadelphia, PA. The sample included documents and artifacts that had been previously categorized as being from African American men, women and organizations that were advocates for social change during the late 19th century.

Analysis led to the conclusion that the work that was done in the Black community was just as important and relevant to social work as a profession as the work that was being done in the White community. This work deserves to be discussed and examined just as much as the work that currently dominates social work education. Recommendations for refinements of the analysis, implications on social work education, future evaluation and research are discussed.

INDEX WORDS: Black pioneers in Philadelphia, Social welfare pioneers, Social change theory, Social change agents, Social work, Social change, Social conflict

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my ancestors and the many men and women who gave their lives in the fight for freedom and for social justice. It is on their shoulders that I stand today. I thank them for their determination, their resilience, their courage, their quest for social justice, and their unwillingness to back down or turn away from the struggles that people of color face in this nation. My hope is that this work can assist in this fight that continues today.

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CHAPTER I

A DRIVE FOR SOCIAL CHANGE: PROGRESSIVES, BLACKS AND SOCIAL WELFARE Introduction

The purpose of this study is to describe, critique, and discuss the roles of African American social change agents at the birth of the social work profession. During the late 19th century period known as the Progressive Era, African American pioneers struggled to establish social rights and human rights, and provide social and humanitarian services, for freed slaves and Blacks in Philadelphia. Philadelphia was selected for this study for its representativeness. It was considered one of the premier cities in America at the time, due in part to its prominent role in American history; being the birthplace of both the American Revolution and American Independence. It was also the social and geographical center of the original 13 colonies. In the late 19th century it was the most populous city in the U.S., and served as both the state capital of Pennsylvania and the nation's first capital. The social, political and economic environment of the city thus served as a barometer for the entire population of the city, both Black and White. Moreover, the city's emerging Black population during this period, along with societal forces that fostered a social welfare ideology and a social change culture, make it a key location to observe the burgeoning movement of African American social change agents.

Although the state government was moved from Philadelphia to Harrisburg in 1799 and the federal government soon after to Washington D.C. in 1800, Philadelphia remained the largest city in the United States until 1830, and a financial and cultural center throughout most of the 1800s. Construction of roads, <u>railroads</u>, and canals helped turn Philadelphia into the United

States' first major industrial city. Throughout the 19th century Philadelphia had a large variety of industries and businesses, the largest being <u>textiles</u> (Davis & Haller, 1973; Morgan & Wynn, 1993; Nash, 1988). Philadelphia was also considered by many historians to be a liberal and enlightened community because of its Quaker heritage (Modesto, 2004).

Philadelphia, along with many other northern cities like New York, Chicago and Boston, was directly impacted by the Great Migration--the second largest population shift in America, in which millions of freed Blacks move from the South to the North between 1890 and 1920 (Davis & Haller, 1973; Morgan & Wynn, 1993; Nash, 1988). As a result of this population shift about 30 percent of the Black population in the U.S., many of whom were formerly southern and rural, became northern and urban (Carlton-LaNey, 2001). These migrating Blacks moved into cities with established Black communities, and by the end of the 19th century Philadelphia's Black population numbered 40,374, making it the largest Black population in any northern city (Franklin, 1979; Du Bois, [1899], 1996). According to Du Bois ([1899], 1996), "Philadelphia was the natural gateway between the North and the South." It was also a premier American city facing incredible changes during this time. In response to these changes, and arriving hand-in-hand with the enormous population shift, came the Progressive movement, with its new approach to caring for the needs of the less fortunate in American society, including the Black community.

A Drive for Social Change

In the United States, the period of reform known as the Progressive Era lasted from the 1880s through approximately 1920. *Progressivism* has been defined as "the effective use of collective organization, energy, and resources directed toward a community's growth, advancement, or uplift" (Franklin, 2008, p.2). The <u>Progressive Movement</u> represented an effort to cure many of the ills of American society that developed during the great spurt of industrial

growth in the last quarter of the 19th century (Davis & Haller, 1973; Morgan & Wynn, 1993; Nash, 1988).

At the local level, many Progressives sought to suppress red-light districts, expand high schools, address sanitation issues, alleviate slum housing, construct playgrounds, and replace corrupt urban political machines with more efficient systems of municipal government (Franklin, 2008). At the state level, Progressives enacted minimum wage laws for women workers, instituted industrial accident insurance, restricted child labor, and improved factory regulation (Franklin; Foner, 2007). At the national level, Congress passed laws establishing federal regulation of the meat-packing, drug, and railroad industries, and strengthened anti-trust laws. It also lowered the tariffs, established federal control over the banking system, and enacted legislation to improve working conditions (Franklin, Foner). Four constitutional amendments were adopted during the Progressive Era, authorizing an income tax, providing for the direct election of senators, extending the vote to women, and prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages (Davis & Haller, 1973; Morgan & Wynn, 1993; Nash, 1988).

Progressivism was rooted in the belief, certainly not shared by all, that humans were capable of improving the lot of all within society (Franklin, 2008). Progressives pushed for social justice, general equality and public safety, but there were contradictions within the movement, especially where race was concerned. Austin (2000) made this point as he stated:

But another very important characteristic of the Progressive Movement was that it included very little attention to the conditions facing colored citizens throughout the United States, including segregation and discrimination, and murder by lynching in the South. W.E.B. Du Bois, a highly visible leader in the newly formed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, withdrew from the Progressive Party convention

in 1912 because the convention, including Jane Addams, who was a delegate, refused to support a resolution affirming the status of Negroes as citizens. (p. 20)

The overwhelming constraints resulting from the denial of basic human rights, the absence of civil protections, and the segregation, exclusion, and poverty that confronted Black Americans during the Progressive Era often meant that the only people they could turn to for help were one another.

The profession of social work emerged during the Progressive Movement, and because Blacks were excluded as recipients from mainstream services, the role of the Black social reformer emerged in a separate but parallel way. It was during this time that large numbers of Southern Blacks began migrating from rural communities below the Mason- Dixon Line to northern cities seeking a better life in such areas as employment, education, health care, and housing. The impetus for this migration was largely due to the fact that America was plagued by barriers to genuine diversity: Racial, ethnic, gender, and social class divisions were evidenced in the struggles of everyday life (Martin & Martin, 1995). In the South, Jim Crow sanctioned racial segregation with the blessing of the U.S. Supreme Court, as cases such as *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896 and *Cumming v. School Board of Richmond County, Georgia* in 1899 upheld systematic economic, social and educational discrimination against Blacks.

Although many Americans, both Black and White believed in and fought for equality, parity, and human rights for all, as many Blacks reviewed their social, economic, and political status the need for aggressive, ongoing self-help became paramount. Thus, as they were being excluded from mainstream assistance, Blacks became increasingly cognizant that if they wanted help, they would primarily have to help themselves. Such a strategy had its precedent during slavery, when leaders and activists such as the great Sojourner Truth (1797-1883), also known as

"Black Moses"; David Walker (1785-1830); and Frederick Douglass (1818-1895), among others, worked to abolish slavery and refute the widespread belief in Black inferiority (Richardson, 2001; Low, 1981). Lowe and Hopps (2007) argue that:

As the only group of Americans forced to immigrate for purposes of economic exploitation, the lives of African Americans historically and currently are filled with negative experiences (Karenga, 1993; Takaki, 1993). These experiences stem from a complex, hostile social environment that has required unique personal and group survival skills encompassing not only specific political actions, but also empowerment practices (Hill, 1998). Whether actions are peaceful and organized or violent and disorganized, such behaviors can be viewed as a contextual response of citizens to their environment. In fact, African American liberation, self-help, nationalism, advocacy for civil rights, protest, or other efforts that embody an empowerment spirit are well documented. (Schiele, 2001, p. 24)

Lowe and Hopps (2007) go on to identify the extensive racial violence that provided a backdrop for the Progressive Era; for example, 2,805 lynchings were committed in the ten Southern states in the period from 1882 to 1930. Yet the political groups opposing such brutality were neither strong enough nor experienced enough to pass a national anti-lynching law (Tolnay & Beck, 1992). Lacking the protections guaranteed to other Americans by the U.S. Constitution, Blacks were deprived of numerous fundamental political and human rights.

This, then, is the context in which Blacks' commitment to improving social welfare in their own communities emerged. Ross (1978) stated that "the foundation for the professional training of Blacks as social workers administering to the social welfare concerns of the urban Black community were laid in the . . . historical period, 1896-1915" (pp. 422-423). Black people

practicing social work during the Progressive Era using traditional methods—working through churches, benevolent societies, social clubs and extended families—found that they needed more tools to meet the needs of the thousands of Blacks coming into the cities "seeking refuge from acute poverty, powerlessness, and racial terrorism" (Martin & Martin, 1995, p. 4).

Historically, help was organized by Blacks on both macro and micro planes. The former included at least three different strategies: inclusion, Black Nationalism and transformation (Lowe & Hopps, 2007). *Inclusion* refers to the incorporation into society of those whose abilities were previously denied or ignored, and whose right to participate fully in society has not been honored or acknowledged in the past (Shankar, 2008). *Black Nationalism* seeks to establish a separate and sovereign nation for Black people; if this cannot be achieved in the U.S., some Black Nationalists advocate emigrating in order to achieve this goal abroad (Draper, 1970). Finally, *transformation* is the idea that changes in society can remedy the socio-political conditions and economic disparities that existed for Blacks. This analysis will reveal that transformation was the primary strategy employed in Philadelphia, with some undertones of inclusion.

To meet the needs of their communities and take care of their own families, Black Americans developed and engaged in a parallel social work/welfare delivery system to the emergence of the social work being done in the White communities, designed specifically to serve their communities (Carlton-LaNey & Alexander, 2001; Hopps & Lowe, 2007). As Carlton-LaNey (2001) observes:

The African American social welfare system developed parallel to the one that Whites established for themselves. Their self-help welfare system included building private institutions, like churches, hospitals, old folks' homes, orphanages, and schools as well as

establishing organizations like the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), the National Association of Colored People (NAACP), and the National Urban League (NUL). These individuals and organizations even raised private monies to hire African American workers for public agencies when White officials refused either to hire African Americans or to designate White workers to serve African American clients. (p.112)

This social work related activity was often manifested through self-help initiatives and settlements. This discussion examines the contributions of several African American individuals and organizations whose pioneering efforts aided in the development of early social welfare initiatives in Philadelphia. By recovering and recognizing these early contributions to the field of social work, it will add to the knowledge base of the profession and acknowledge the work that was being done that for too long has gone unnoticed in mainstream social work education.

Statement of the Problem

During the Progressive Era, Black Americans were faced with the overwhelming constraints resulting from the denial of their civil rights, the absence of civil protections, and segregation, discrimination and poverty. Black Americans were excluded from "full participation in the U. S. social system and at the same time receiving limited responses to individual and social problems from white social workers" (Carlton-LaNey, 1999, p. 312).

Social change involves the interaction of processes in social structure and culture (Hagen, 1963). During the late 1800s, as it sought to repair the rift caused by the Civil War, America was the embodiment of social change. The interaction and confluence of sociological, economic and political forces became the undergirding factors promoting social change. Black Americans in particular were fighting for their role in the United States as valued, respected citizens, entitled to

equal protection and fair treatment under the Constitution in accordance with the nation's founding principles.

Despite the active role of Black Americans in building the country's history, few accomplishments of Black Americans have found their way into the nation's official history and knowledge base. History texts devote very few pages to discussing what Black Americans have done for themselves and other Americans, and textbooks on the history of social work are no exception. The literature on social work history identifies famous change agents such as W.E. B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington and Frederick Douglass as making an impact sufficiently significant to be mentioned in the mainstream educational curriculum, but many other individuals also took up the banner of social change to fight for social justice for Black and other oppressed Americans (Anderson & Carter, 2003; Blockson, 2003; Davis & Haller, 1973; Zinn, 1995).

These people are certainly worthy of inclusion in the social work education curriculum, classrooms, and lecture halls. Thus, this research fills a gap in the profession's literature by bringing to light the names, and philosophies/ideologies and contributions of these amazing social welfare pioneers and the incredible contributions they made in the face of tremendous odds. Social work's history so far has been partial, inaccurate, and has failed to represent the full range of people involved. Social work needs "better history" to show the social work community where the profession has been, in order to understand where it is now and suggest where it should go in the future. As long as the profession of social work is operating on a half-true understanding of its own history, the profession's understanding of the present and future will also be flawed. There may be other important consequences as well, but this is one reason why this study is so important: it's not just about knowing what happened in the past or even simply

about honoring those who made contributions in the past. It's about gaining a clearer and truer understanding of the past as a way to more accurately pinpoint the situation of the social work profession today, for the purpose of creating a better future for the profession, its practitioners, and those it serves.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the role of African American social change agents during the Progressive Era in the late 19th century (1880–1920) in the U.S. The study explores the influence of these change agents on the struggle for social rights, human rights, and service delivery for freed slaves and other Blacks in Philadelphia. Within this purpose, the researcher identified the following research questions:

- 1. What role did Progressive Era African American social change agents play in the struggle for social rights, human rights, and social service delivery for freed slaves and Blacks in Philadelphia?
- 2. What social service delivery systems were developed and used by these early African American social welfare pioneers in Philadelphia?
- 3. Did these initiatives have any correspondence or parallels with other movements during this time period?
- 4. What, if any, cross-racial alliances were negotiated, and what bridges, if any, were built between White and Black reformers?

Methodology

Taking a historical approach to inquiry has a longstanding tradition in social science research and is a viable methodology to achieve the goals of this study. As Butterfield (1931) observes, "Real historical understanding is not achieved by the subordination of the past to the present, but

rather by making the past our present and attempting to see life with the eyes of another century than our own" (p.1). The knowledge gained from studying the past is valuable both in enhancing our understanding of history and in enabling us to better grasp and respond to the social conditions we currently face. Ragin (1998) notes, "...a fundamental goal of social science is to interpret significant features of the social world and thereby advance our collective understanding of how existing social arrangements came about and why we live the way we do" (p. 103).

Design of the Study

Merriam (2002) describes qualitative research as a powerful tool for learning more about our lives and the socio-historical context in which we live. Merriam goes on to state that the key to understanding qualitative research is to focus on the idea that meaning is socially constructed by individuals in interaction with their world. The goal of qualitative research is to understand situations as being unique, a part of a particular context in a socio-political-cultural environment. The qualitative researcher focuses on interactions, examining what is going on to get to the understanding from the perspective of those being studied (Thyer, 2001).

Creswell (1998) identified eight reasons for choosing a qualitative approach for study: (1) It allows the researcher to investigate how or what happens in a particular topic of interest; (2) it allows for an exploration into a topic for which variables regarding the phenomena are not clear; (3) it yields a detailed view of the problem being studied; (4) it provides an arena where individuals may be studied in their natural environment so that the problem is understood within its cultural context. This naturalistic approach means "the research takes place in real world settings and the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest" (Patton, 2002, p. 39). (5) It brings the researcher into the study through the use of a first-person literary

writing style; (6) it is appropriate for researchers who have sufficient time and resources to engage in the site to gain rich contextual data; (7) the appropriateness of qualitative research to a study requires that the audience of the research be accepting of this approach; and (8) the researcher becomes an active learner, telling the story of the participants from their perspective and experience. A qualitative approach is the best fit for the purpose of this study, as it will best aid in illuminating the role of early Black social welfare reformers and pioneers in combating the ills and social injustices the Black community faced in Philadelphia during the Progressive Era.

Also fitting for this study is the notion that qualitative research methods allow the researcher to recognize the views of the powerless and the excluded. This emphasis on understanding the perspectives of all participants challenges what has been called "the hierarchy of credibility" (Becker, 1970); that is, the idea that the opinions and views of people who possess power have greater value than those of people who do not (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). Qualitative research methods include the following characteristics across various designs:

- (1) Discovering theories by use of an inductive process (Padgett, 1998). The end product of qualitative research is the result of "exploring, then confirming . . . to discover important patterns, themes, and interrelationships" among the data (Patton, 2002, p. 41);
- (2) Using the researcher as the primary data collection instrument. As an instrument, the researcher must have the ability to use observation skills to collect data that depict what is going on in the lives of the participants. This "process of discovery" (Lofland, 1971, p. 4) allows the researcher to understand what is happening according to the perspectives of those being studied;

(3) Understanding the meaning people make of life experiences. The researcher seeks to understand "how different people make sense of their lives" (Bogden & Bicklen, 1992, p. 7).

Merriam (2002) identified three types of qualitative approaches to inquiry: interpretive, critical and postmodern. The *interpretive* approach seeks to understand a phenomenon. *Critical inquiry* investigates how reality is constructed among individuals. The *postmodern* approach deconstructs perceptions of reality to understand the way that reality has been constructed. This study falls into the category of a basic interpretive study, as it seeks to understand the role Black social welfare reformers and pioneers in Philadelphia played in combating the social ills and injustices the Black community faced during the Progressive Era. Owing to the time period under investigation, the design of the study could not include interviews as such studies ordinarily would; therefore, a historical approach to inquiry must of necessity be taken.

Crabtree and Miller (1992) describe four fundamental operations of historical inquiry: (1) research on the remnants of the past that are available in the present; (2) interpretation of the results of the research; (3) judgment on the correctness of the interpretation; (4) communication of the interpretation judged to be correct, usually in writing (Becker, 1959; Kragh, 1987). A historical approach to inquiry is suitable for this study because it seeks to understand a unique situation (social, economic, political, and civil injustice) as a part of a particular context (in the Black community in Philadelphia) and the interactions there (between Black social reformers and the Black community) (Thyer, 2001).

The phenomenon of interest here is Black social reformers' strategies for bringing about social change in Black communities. As with all social phenomena, such strategies can best be understood by investigating them in their own historical context (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000)

through the use of such written records as diaries, letters, newspapers, census tract data, novels, and other documents. The researcher's *interpretive point of view* (Denzin & Lincoln) will shape how the researcher gathers, reads and analyzes historical materials. A historian's account of the past is itself a social text that constructs and reconstructs the realities of the past (Denzin & Lincoln).

The qualitative approach used in this research is a historical case study analysis (Merriam, 2002; Thyer, 2001). Merriam (2002) describes the *case study approach* as a method in which the unit of analysis is a bounded, integrated system that includes "an intensive description and analysis of a phenomenon or social unit" (p. 8). Merriam goes on to say it is the unit of analysis, not the topic of the investigation that identifies a case study and distinguishes it from other types of qualitative research. A case study has boundaries based on unique times and places; case studies also have distinct integrated systems of specific events, which may include an individual, a family, a community, or a society.

The present case study examines events that occurred during a specific historical time period. Unique features of a case study include the rich contextual material used to convey the setting and the multiple, extensive data collection sources. The case study tradition of inquiry addresses the research questions of the proposed study by comparing bounded, integrated systems for the purpose of understanding a unique phenomenon (Crabtree & Miller, 1992; deMarrias & Lapan, 2004).

Unit of Analysis

Social workers can use any surviving document, artifact, or printed material in doing a historical research study. Many of these sources can be located in libraries where unpublished materials such as letters, reports, photographs and other memorabilia can be found in specialized

collections and archives (Grinnell & Unrau, 2005). Records from foundations that were important funders of social work projects and services may provide useful information as well. Newspapers can provide a significant record of social and political events, including the activities of early social service agencies and leaders. Biographies are also good sites for locating information from secondary sources. Yet another valuable resource is government documents, including reports from legislative committee hearings, investigations, census data, and studies commissioned by legislative commissions and executive agencies (Grinnell & Unrau).

Primary sources provide the words of witnesses or first recorders of an event; because of the firsthand nature of such reports, the best historical research is based on an examination of these sources (Patton, 2002; Grinell & Unrau, 2005). Sources of this nature may include diaries, letters, and other documents produced by the participants in an event, as well as laws, regulations, and other records produced by organizations that contain pertinent content (Grinell & Unrau).

It is the researcher's job to examine all available primary sources to assess which are of greatest value to the study. Primary sources may be assessed by asking several questions: Did the author of the document observe what was recorded? Was the author was an objective witness? and Was the author was honest and unbiased in recording what was observed? (Patton, 2002; Grinell & Unrau, 2005). The date on which the primary source was written is also important, as the researcher must consider whether the document was completed soon enough after the event took place so that problems of faulty memory need not be of concern (Grinell & Unrau).

Secondary sources are accounts based on primary sources which can include, but are not limited to, books and articles (Patton; Grinell & Unrau). Secondary sources are important for framing questions and identifying the context for an investigation. However, it is important not

to use secondary sources exclusively in a study, as doing so may perpetuate the mistakes made by earlier writers (Grinell & Unrau).

The Philadelphia area offers a number of collections that house primary and secondary sources of information. The main library on the campus of The University of Pennsylvania houses the *Samuel J. May Anti-Slavery Collection*, a collection of articles, newspapers, journals, and photographs from the abolitionist movement in Philadelphia. This library also has the *19th century Black Literature Index*, which contains writings from African Americans in Philadelphia from 1827–1940. There is also a photo archive from the Associated Press (AP) with photographs of life in the city of Philadelphia from 1826 to the present. Another excellent resource is Temple University, which contains the extensive *Charles L. Blockson Afro-American collection*. The collection includes over 30,000 items including books, journals, manuscripts, newspapers, music, pamphlets, photographs, posters and other rare items specific to Blacks in Philadelphia.

The African American Museum in Philadelphia, which was the first museum of its kind to be built in a major U.S. city, houses multiple collections detailing a variety of aspects of the life and work of African Americans. This library includes the *Dorothy Wright Collection*, which documents Philadelphia's African American history from slavery through the 20th century. Yet another resource is the Bethel AME church which has a collection of its own papers and historical documents from the Progressive Era that is accessible to researchers. These collections, with their original documentation, may help reveal nuances important to answering the research questions at hand.

All of these primary and secondary sources can be used to examine the 19th century environment in Philadelphia. Through interpretation of these documents, a picture of how this environment operated and functioned begins to emerge. It is important to keep in mind that every

source has to be examined critically and understood as a contributing part of the total picture. If the authors of primary sources were able to observe the events they described, they likely had a vested interest in them (Grinell & Unrau, 2005). Researchers must also keep in mind that observers may be limited in their ability to observe objectively because of their preconceptions about the events taking place or their lack of knowledge relative to larger city, state or even national events taking place at that same time. Researchers must therefore ask questions such as: Did the writer have a vested interest in the outcome of the events? What expectations or belief systems were involved in the writer's interpretation of the events? In what ways does a particular writer's account differ from those of others who observed the same events? (Grinell & Unrau)

In addition to identifying unconscious bias in a writer's report, researchers must also understand that some sources may be *systematically* selective in the information presented. For example, newspapers can slant the news in accordance with a particular political leaning or point of view. In such cases, a secondary source may be used to flesh out or fill in the gaps of fact and interpretation that a primary source's particular perspective may leave. Similarly laws passed by a legislature may provide useful information, but they do not tell us to what degree or how the laws were enforced (Grinell & Unrau, 2005).

Researchers must also evaluate a source's internal and external validity. *Internal validity* involves asking whether the document is internally consistent, i.e., does it measure what it purports to measure and answer the question it intends to answer? *External validity* measures the degree to which information in the document is consistent with what is already known about the time period or event in question (Grinell & Unrau, 2005; Patton, 2002; Yin, 2003). Any set of data is only as valid and reliable as the system used to collect it, so whenever possible the

researcher should examine the ways in which the data were collected to ensure maximum validity and reliability.

When using primary and secondary sources in a historical case study, there are bound to be gaps and omissions in the data being collected. Historical documents do get destroyed or lost over time; therefore, many historical research studies of necessity must fill in the gaps in the historical record (Grinell & Unrau, 2005). Grinell & Unrau (2005) explain:

The value of historical research for our profession [social work] depends on how well it is conducted. Some of the past historical writings are of limited value because secondary sources were used in exclusion of primary ones; questions and assumptions that underlay the research question were not stated explicitly; or the reports were written in too rigid a chronological format. Better history will tell us where we have been. These writings may also help us to understand where we are now and suggest hypotheses regarding the future of our profession. (p. 338)

Sample Selection

In qualitative studies, the most commonly used method of sampling is called *purposeful* or *purposive sampling*. This type of sampling involves specifically choosing subjects who, it is believed, will provide the best information to answer the research questions. Sampling in qualitative inquiry differs fundamentally from quantitative research sampling. In quantitative research, various probability sampling strategies are used in an effort to make inferences about larger populations based on data collected from representative samples (Berg, 2001). Since probability or random sampling in quantitative research is primarily concerned with "how much" or "how often" a phenomenon occurs, whereas qualitative research is primarily concerned with

the meaning or understanding of a phenomenon, random sampling makes little sense in qualitative research (Merriam, 2002).

In a historical case study, the data selected for examination must fall within the boundaries of time and place of the overarching case study. In this study, only cases that occurred during the Progressive Era will be studied. Since few people from this time frame are still living, and those who are would have been infants at the time under study, the research will take place where they left a record; that is, in public libraries and universities where documents, archival records and physical artifacts from this time period can be examined. Libraries, museums and universities in or near Philadelphia will be the primary sites for the research.

Selection within these criteria will be limited to documents and artifacts that specifically address social welfare issues of Black Philadelphians during the period between 1890 and 1910. Items for study may include newspapers, writings from social reformers and church leaders, speeches, lectures, and legal papers from government policy makers, all based on activities that took place during the targeted time frame. There are few ethical issues to address regarding the examination of documents and artifacts, as no one is placed in harm's way by these types of examinations. If interviews do take place, possibly with descendants of these pioneers, the researcher should be guided by the NASW Code of Ethics, which states:

Consent of the participants should be voluntary and informed with considered regard for the participants' privacy and dignity. Information obtained about the participants should be treated as confidential. The evaluation of data should be for professional purposes and only conducted by persons directly and professionally concerned with the data. (Code of Ethics, Part I, Section E, and p. 4. Silver Spring, MD: National Association of Social Workers, 1980).

Data Collection and Analysis

In qualitative research, there are three major methods for collecting data: interviews, observations, and examination of documents (Merriam, 2002; Padgett, 1998). According to Patton (2002), qualitative data "consist of quotations, observations, and excerpts from documents" that "capture and communicate someone else's experience" (p. 47) of the phenomenon under study. This study uses multiple data sources, including personal documents, official documents, archival records, physical artifacts and, where warranted, interviews with those knowledgeable about the reformers and the context in which they labored for social change.

Interviews will be conducted using an in-depth, unstructured or open-ended format, in which the researcher asks questions to gain deeper understanding and obtain greater detail from the interviewee about their ancestor's or colleague's work and, if appropriate, personal views (Merriam, 2002). This approach asks open-ended questions that allow the interviewee to answer from his or her own frame of reference; the goal is to get the interviewee to freely express his or her thoughts about the particular topic (Merriam, 2002; Yin, 2003; Stake, 1995). The questions will address topics such as the challenges confronting the Black community at that time, the interviewee's views on the role of Black social reformers and reform approaches, and the effectiveness of the various social work practices and techniques employed during the period in bringing about change.

The interviews will be videotaped and transcribed verbatim. Follow-up interviews will be done when possible. The interviews will last no longer than an hour, both to respect the interviewee's time and to keep the transcription within objective management procedures. The interview data will be collected over a period of approximately three months. The interviewees

will also be asked if they have any personal documents or artifacts that might be used to inform the study, thereby adding richness and the possibility of new perspectives and greater depth.

Most of the documents to be studied, including public records, newspapers, archival records and physical artifacts, will be gathered at public libraries, university libraries and museums. There may also be opportunities to review videos made about the Progressive Era.

Overall, the objective is to explore as many research avenues as possible to ensure that the most evidence related to this study as possible is examined.

Research Sites

The research was conducted at various locations in Philadelphia and Washington, D.C. Documents were collected at The African American Cultural and Historical Museum, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, The Library Company of Philadelphia, The University of Pennsylvania, Temple University, Mother Bethel A.M.E. Church, St. Thomas Episcopal Church, and the Library of Congress. Data analysis began at these various sites and concluded in Athens, Georgia.

Observations

Observations of the various locations visited were documented in a journal as well as by using digital photography whenever possible.

Documents

There were instances in which the documents were too old or delicate to be handled. Much of the documentation, due to its historical nature, was recorded on microfilm. Photocopies were made of the documents available for photocopying that were deemed most important or valuable. There were many documents that were too delicate to be photocopied and could only be handled on-site.

Data Analysis

The analysis of data in a historical case study involves a description of the data collected, analysis of the themes or issues that emerge, and interpretations or descriptions of the context (Creswell, 1998). In this study, the data collection process will incorporate three phases: (1) examination of documents, (2) initial interviews and transcription, and (3) follow-up interviews and transcription. As much as possible, the documents will be used in connection with or in support of the interviews (Merriam, 2002).

Trustworthiness

In qualitative research, findings can be considered trustworthy "to the extent that there has been some accounting for their validity and reliability" (Merriam, 1998, p. 198). As researchers, we strive for rigor in our methods both to create legitimate knowledge to share with the research community and to make responsible scholarly contributions to policy and practice (Myers & Thyer, 1997; Padgett, 1998). Rigor exists in the careful preparation and design of the study. Research must also be ethically conducted to be considered trustworthy (Merriam, 2002). The following sections will outline issues concerning reliability and validity.

Researcher Limitations: Methodology, Bias and Assumptions

I am taking the position that examining the roles of Black social reformers during a critical period in Black American history may contribute some ideas for resolving dilemmas and disparities faced by today's Black population. This orientation suggests that in my view, there is something amiss with the position and status of contemporary Black America. Data supports this view, as evidence from the U.S. Department of Health, the U.S. Census Bureau, and the National Center for Children in Poverty, among other organizations, show that Black America has continuously faced political, educational, socioeconomic, health, physical and mental disparities

since the first slave ship arrived from Africa, and that these disparities continue to exist today. I will need to be ever vigilant in guarding against personal biases that might lead to over- or under- interpretation of newly discovered material. Methods I will employ to aid objectivity include goal-free evaluation, cross-checking and cross-validation of sources during fieldwork (Patton, 2002).

Significance of the Study

Many of the issues Black Americans faced during the Progressive Era are similar to the issues Black Americans face in the 21st century: disparities in employment, poverty, health care, education, and political presence were then and remain today key concerns and challenges.

Racial discrimination, racial injustices and racial profiling also continue to affect Black Americans today. In 2007, the National Urban League reported:

African American men are more than twice as likely to be unemployed as white males and make only 75 percent as much a year. They're nearly seven times more likely to be incarcerated, and their average jail sentences are 10 months longer than those of white men. In addition, young Black males between the ages the ages of 15 and 34 years are nine times more likely to die of homicide than their white counterparts and nearly seven times as likely to suffer from AIDS. (NUL 2007 State of Black America Executive Summary, 2007, p. 2)

While some of the details may have changed, clearly the overriding problems facing Black Americans are not new. The disparities between Black and White Americans in economics, education, health, and social justice are issues American society has faced since the country was founded. Thus, it is possible that by looking to the past and identifying what did and did not work, we may find better solutions to many problems that have historical roots. The city

of Philadelphia played a significant role in the history of the United States; it was the seat of the new democracy, rich with intellectual and political movements and a progressive metropolis during the late 19th century. Perhaps, then, some of the solutions we seek to our present problems may be found there.

Of utmost importance in addressing these problems through the profession of social work is the need for social workers of every race to develop the necessary skills to competently serve Black Americans. The value of understanding the plight of Black Americans and the disparities this population faces cannot be underestimated. The core values of the profession of social work include service, social justice, the dignity and worth of the person, and the importance of human relationships, integrity and competence (National Association of Social Workers, 1999). The National Association of Social Workers [NASW] provides ethical principles in its *Code of Ethics* based on these values, including cultural competence and social diversity. The *Code* urges social workers to "obtain education about and seek to understand the nature of social diversity and oppression with respect to race, ethnicity, and national origin" (NASW, p. 6).

The U.S. was founded by people escaping various forms of persecution in Europe: economic, religious, cultural and other forms of oppression that made them seek greater freedom in their new homeland. The early colonists felt oppressed by the English monarchy and fought for the freedom to live in America the way they saw fit. Along the way, however, these revolutionaries lost sight of what they suffered under the English rule and began oppressing Blacks in an even worse manner than they themselves had experienced. Hundreds of years of racial oppression, discrimination, and social injustice suffered by Black Americans have cast a long shadow on American society, and even to this day, American society displays racist and oppressive beliefs towards Black Americans. The profession of social work is not immune to

these societal influences, even as social workers are called to understand the nature of social diversity with respect to race, ethnicity, national origin or sexual orientation.

The intent of this study is to shed light on the work of Black social welfare pioneers in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. By incorporating their work into mainstream social work education, the knowledge base for social work educators and practitioners will be expanded and the profession can grow and learn from the work of those who were marginalized during the period under review. This research adds to the existing body of literature focusing on the significance of the work of Black social welfare pioneers to the profession of social work. By recognizing the key contributions of these social work pioneers, the profession will have the opportunity to acknowledge that stands on their shoulders just as it stands on the shoulders of White pioneers such as Jane Addams, Mary Richmond, Samuel A. Barnett, and many others.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL CHANGE THEORY

This chapter will outline the major theory used in this study, social change theory, and the theories of functionalism, conflict theory, and interpretivism used to augment it. Black social change theory and liberation theology are also discussed as they relate to this study. A literature review found that most materials on social change focus on change that stems from conflict between groups, communities or countries; that is, social change that stems from social conflicts. This dissertation research will contribute to the social change literature relevant to the African American community by providing a theory based on the impact of individuals, as well as groups or organizations, on social change during the time period of the Progressive Era.

Social Change Theories

Social theories are theoretical perspectives that can be used to explain or make sense of change in society. They largely address social patterns and large-scale social structures (Noble, 2000). Social theories purport to answer the question "What is?" rather than "What should be?" Social change theory s used in this study responds to the questions of what generates change and what outcomes result from such change processes. There are a variety of causes of social change: the need to adapt to changing times; the need to meet people's changing (societal or individual) needs; and the need to adapt to changing technology, but it does not come easily or without resistance. (Johnson, 1981; Tew, 2002; Turner, 2003). Papa, Singhal, and Papa (2006) observe: Social change overturns the established habits of individuals. When people have grown

accustomed to long-standing ways of thinking and acting it is very difficult to internalize

and sustain change. So, at a very basic level, people must struggle against the very natural tendency to revert back to the familiar. (pp. 246-247)

Social change occurs at both individual and community levels. It can take place slowly or quickly, affect a broad or limited range of people, and be purposeful or revolutionary. It can occur at the macro level through changes in social structure and policy, and at the micro level through changes in individual ideas and perceptions. Burke (2005) explains:

[T]he term 'social change' is an ambiguous one. It is sometimes used in a narrow sense, referring to alterations in the social structure (the balance between different social classes, for example), but also in a considerably wider sense that includes political organization, the economy and culture. (p.141)

Social change usually results in a paradigm shift and a need for people to adapt to the new system at many levels (Noble, 2000). Recognition of the need for social change may lead to collective action which, if it gains enough momentum, becomes a social movement (McAdam, 1982). The changes in the structure and processes of American society as a result of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's exemplify the potential of such collective action. Usually social change leads to a greater degree of freedom versus social constriction. "Social change is a fact of life; people fear it, rebel against it and at the same time, embrace it" (Tischler, 1999). Social change often emerges from major periods of oppression, which was embedded in the country since its founding, established in the Constitution and co-defined with and enforced by laws. Gil (1998) states:

Oppression is not a static context but a dynamic process. Once integrated into a society's institutional order and culture . . . and into the individual consciousness of its people through socialization, oppressive tendencies come to permeate and affect almost all

relations. Oppression thus tends to evolve into hierarchal chains and vicious circles. (p.11)

Racial oppression is deeply rooted in the very foundation of the U.S. Although the founding fathers articulated principles of freedom, equality, and justice for all, the reality for women and people of color has often been far from this ideal. From the moment when the first African slave set foot on American soil, African Americans entered U.S. society at the bottom rung of the social ladder. Though the Civil War resulted in a so-called "emancipation" of Black Americans, this group has continued to feel the sting of racial inequality in every area of their lives. The political, socioeconomic, and educational disparities--along with discrimination and injustice in the legal arena, criminal justice, health care, and housing--that confront Black Americans are contemporary examples of the racial inequality that still exists in America. Oppression is a social problem that is woven deep into the moral fabric of America:

The American Negro problem is a problem in the heart of the American. It is there that the interracial tension has its focus. It is there that the decisive struggle goes on . . . at the bottom our problem is the moral dilemma of the American – the conflict between his moral valuations on various levels of consciousness and generality. The "American Dilemma," referred to in the title of this book, is the ever-raging conflict between, on the one hand, the valuations preserved on the general plane which we call the "American creed," where the American thinks, talks, and acts under the influence of high national and Christian precepts, and on the other hand, the valuations on specific planes of individual and group living, where personal and local interests; economic, social, and sexual jealousies; considerations of community prestige and conformity; group prejudice

against particular types of people; and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses, and habits dominate his outlook. (Myrdal, 1962, p.67)

Racial inequality manifests itself in a vast number of direct and indirect ways, including wasting enormous talent and potential and creating of feelings of bitter resentment and alienation that undermine the desire to participate in the political system (Boucher & Kelly, 1998). Several major social movements emerged from the desire to change the racial climate in America, including the Progressive Movement (1880-1900); the Civil Rights Movement (1954-1968); Marcus Garvey and the activism of the 1960s and 70s; Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm's candidacy for the Democratic Party's Presidential nomination in 1972; and Jesse Jackson's candidacy for Democratic Party's Presidential nomination in 1984 and 1988, both of which were precursors to Senator Barak Obama's successful run for the Presidency in 2008.

Nevertheless, the problem of racial inequality in the U.S. has not been sufficiently penetrable to change. Social change occurs from both internal sources and external sources. Tischler (1999) identifies important internal sources of social change as technological innovations, ideology, and institutionalized structural inequality:

When groups perceive themselves to be the victims of unjust and unequal societal patterns or laws, they are likely to demand social, economic, political, and cultural reforms . . . African Americans have often been the victims of institutional inequality. (Tischler, 1999, p. 616)

History shows us that social change takes place using two types of strategies: short-range or emergency measures and long-range social transformation (Gil, 1998). Short-range measures are employed "to reduce the intensity of injustice and oppression as fast as possible" (Gil, p. 33). Long-range measures seek to overcome the ills of social injustice at their roots. Social change

agents throughout history have been activists, committed to empowering the victims of oppressive and discriminatory practices by recruiting them and others to join their movements in "collective, change oriented efforts" (Gil, p. 34).

Social Change through a Conflict Perspective

Social change is very complex and cannot be explained by a single theory. Early evolutionary theorists like Charles Darwin (1809-1882) and Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), and later socio-evolutionary theorists like Émile Durkheim (1858-1917) and Ferdinand Tönnies (1855-1936) explain social change as a continuous change from a simpler condition to a more complex state (Burke, 2005; Johnson, 1981; Turner). A variety of approaches have been used to explain social change, including cyclical, conflict, evolutionary, functional, non-violent, and structural change theories. This study uses the lens of the conflict perspective to examine the data.

Conflict theory is a macro-sociological theory that focuses on conflict as an inevitable part of social life. According to conflict theory, societies are characterized by inequality; therefore, such theories emphasize the role of competition in producing conflict (Hudson, 2000). Conflict is not necessarily negative, however, because of its potential to produce social change. Conflict theory posits that society is comprised of dominant and subordinate groups--the "haves" and "have nots"--who compete for resources (Appelbaum, 1970; Johnson, 1981; Oberschall, 1992). Conflict theorists seek to answer the questions, Who benefits? and At whose expense? (Oberschall).

Conflict theorists such as Karl Marx, Ralf Dahrendorf, and Malcolm X argue that conflicts rooted in the class struggle lead to social change, which then creates new conflicts

(Burke, 2005; Johnson, 1981). Current views on conflict theory are largely based on the writings of Marx, although they have been expanded upon by contemporary thinking.

According to the social conflict theory of Karl Marx (1818-1883), the causal factor of racial inequality is class inequality, which stems from capitalism. Marx believed in the power of the revolution to effect change. Marx argued that the one factor that would bring about a permanent change in society was the conflicting interests of the economic classes (Noble, 2000). Belkhir (2001) argues that social conflict theory from a Marxist perspective lumps racism in with classism and sexism. She therefore identifies a need to "build a Marxist theory and practice that integrates racism, sexism and classism, and does not treat (any) two of these as subsidiary to the third" (Belkhir, 2001, p.163). Social conflict theory from the Marxist lens, according to Belkhir (2001), makes it clear that racial inequality will never be solved without first getting rid of class inequality through the dissolution of capitalism.

Historically, Marxist views have been the target of much criticism. Critics identify numerous causal factors that Marxist social conflict theory ignores, including interpersonal conflicts, role conflicts, micro-conflicts between small groups and macro conflicts between states or nations. In such interactions between antagonists--for example, White versus Black--there are many factors specific to the history and dynamics of the struggle that must be accounted for in order to understand the polarization and escalation of conflict over time, if there is to be hope for ultimately resolving the conflict (Oberschall, 1973).

The application of Marxist social conflict theory to the problem of racial inequality has specific implications for social welfare interventions. The focus would not be on empowering the race that is treated unfairly, but on changing the capitalist structure under which all racial groups operate and co-exist. Such change must place on the macro level first, through a policy-driven as

opposed to a direct practice intervention. After policy change facilitated societal conditions that diminished or eliminated racial inequalities on the structural level, direct practice would implement such change on the mezzo and micro levels. A Marxist approach does not seek to understand why racial inequalities exist; it looks instead for the point in the struggle at which change must occur. Marx's solution to racial inequality would thus be to start the revolution that would put an end to capitalism, which in his view is the sole cause of the problem.

Marx had a great influence on subsequent sociologists, among them Max Weber and C. Wright Mills. Max Weber's (1864-1920) understanding of social stratification went beyond the economic perspective of Marx; Weber included status and power as important aspects of stratification as well (Burke, 2005; Turner, 2003). Weber focused on the groups formed by individuals who were in competition with one another for power and privilege. Weber argued that "any account of society must be grounded in the intelligible activity of individuals" (Noble, 2000, p. 118).

Both Marx and Weber agreed that economic classes arise out of the unequal distribution of economic power. Weber, however, went on to explain that social status is based on prestige and esteem, and status groups are shaped by lifestyle, which is in turn affected by income, value system, and education (Burke, 2005). Weber used his version of social stratification theory to explain marginalization. He believed that people recognize others who are most like themselves and share a similar lifestyle, and in this way develop social bonds with one another (Burke). Those with a high social status usually also have great economic power. Weber's view of stratification captures the nature of the social conflict that exists between Blacks and Whites in America.

C. Wright Mills' (1916-1962) influential book *The Sociological Imagination* argues that apparently individual problems such as unemployment, poor health, poverty, and lack of education are generally rooted not in individual failure, but rather in the structure of society (Johnson, 1981). Mills believed that the social structure can have repressive and frustrating effects on individuals, leading people to fight to change the repressive social structure. Mills takes the position that, "The primary goal of those in the power structure is preserving their dominance and promoting their own interests, independently of active public input" (Johnson, 1981, p. 465). Mills goes on to explain that stability and the absence of overt conflict reflect the ability of those in power to impose their will and exploit and manipulate public opinion so as to avoid major dissent despite the potential resistance (Johnson). As with Weber, the implications of Mills' argument are evident in the social conflict between Blacks and Whites throughout American history.

Ralf Dahrendorf (1929-present), like Mills, did not see social conflict as confined to class struggle, but rather as applicable to any tensions that arise between groups (Turner, 2003). Groups that experience tension have both overlapping and competing interests; their shared needs keep them bound together within one society, while each group's need to pursue its own ends constantly push society to change in order to accommodate them (Turner; McMichale, 2000). Dahrendorf admits that his perspective and theoretical focus on conflict and social change is a one-sided perspective on social reality (Johnson, 1981). Throughout this study, the tension that existed between Blacks and Whites was obvious as Blacks fought to eliminate barriers to equal rights and Whites fought to maintain those same barriers. These barriers were the source of the social conflict between the two groups.

Lewis Coser (1913?-2003), in his book *The Functions of Social Conflict* (1956), argued that conflict is one of the basic forms of social interaction. Coser believed that the process of conflict is not necessarily disruptive or dysfunctional for the system in which it occurs, and that conflict may even have some positive or beneficial consequences for the system (Johnson, 1981). Suggesting that both internal (within-group) conflict and external (between-group) conflict could be positive, Coser explained that, "strains and tensions should be expected in all social relations simply because individuals differ from one another in their needs, personal goals, skills and abilities, and so on" (Johnson, 1981, p. 483).

Coser (1956) describes "realistic conflict" as a conflict in which the validity of opposing interests is explicitly acknowledged instead of denied, and where such opposition leads to negotiation instead of suppression of differences. Realistic conflict is a major stimulus for social change and can be a means to a specific end (Johnson, 1981). Coser identifies violence as an indicator of deprivation and an effective gauge of the seriousness of the participants' commitment to the struggle for social change. This study supports Coser's viewpoint that conflict can be positive, especially as a stimulus for social change. In particular, the successful resolution of the conflict between Blacks and Whites, on both the individual and societal level, will yield positive outcomes for the system in which it occurs: the American social structure.

Randall Collins (1941-present) published *Conflict Sociology* in 1975, presenting a conflict model applicable to institutions as varied as families, religious organizations, scientific-intellectual communities, and economic, political and military structures (Johnson, 1981).

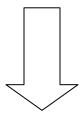
Collins used Marx and Weber's distinction between class, status, and power as the foundation for his model of stratification and his analysis of the dynamics of social conflict (Johnson). Collins argues that individuals constantly seek to improve their position in all three dimensions of

stratification, stressing that individual interests are primary and relatively independent of any moral code. Social change must therefore begin on the individual level: "The real motivation underlying individuals' shared values . . . is the desire to maintain or improve their economic position, status, or political power" (Johnson, p. 499).

The conflict faced by individuals and organizations in Philadelphia and nationally as they fight the deep-rooted problem of racial oppression leads to the adoption of conflict theories and Black liberation theories as the theoretical framework for this study. "Conflict theories incite toward prescriptions to attain change, leading to social justice" (Day, 2006, p. 39). In this study, these theories are the guiding threads used to understand the Black Progressive movement and the fight against oppression.

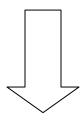
This study utilizes elements from all of the social change theorists in Figure 2.1, focusing on conflict change theory. Where there are social problems there will be social conflict, and the only resolution to that social conflict will be social change. Blacks in Philadelphia faced social problems such as discrimination and segregation that were deeply woven into the fabric of American society, and that impacted them educationally, socially, politically and economically. These inequities caused social conflict at all levels--federal, state, county and municipal--that could only be resolved through social change. The Black social change theorists who stepped forward during the Progressive Era and afterwards to initiate the necessary changes used many of the elements of social change theory described above, as well as the Black liberation theories described later in this chapter.

Social Change Theory



Social Conflict Theory

- Marx (1818-1883)
- Weber (1864-1920)
- Mills (1916-1962)
- Coser (1913-2003)
- Dahrendorf (1929-present)
- Collins (1941-present)



Liberation Theology

- Abolitionists
- Black Churches
- Dr. M. L. King Jr. (1929-1968)
- Dr. J. Cone (1939-present)

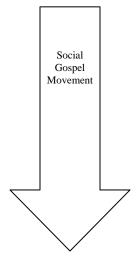


Figure 2.1. Social Change and Social Conflict Theory

Colored People (NAACP), Du Bois's work from 1915 to 1935 was unprecedented and unequalled. Speaking through his periodical *The Crisis*, he called for racial justice not just for Blacks in the United States but for colored people all over the world (Broderick, 1974). Du Bois's work made him a pioneer in sociology; *The Philadelphia Negro*, his study of rural Negroes in Farmville, Virginia, and his writings in the Atlanta University Publications provided the world with the first empirically-based sociological information about Blacks in America

(Broderick). Du Bois has been called "the most prominent propagandist of the Negro protest during the first half of the twentieth century" (Rudwick, 1974, p. 51). Du Bois believed that scientific social inquiry was an essential first step in eliminating racial discrimination, noting, "The sole aim of any society is to settle its problems in accordance with its highest ideals, and the only rational method of accomplishing this is to study these problems in the light of the best scientific research" (Smith & Killian, 1974, p.191).

Du Bois believed that social change for Blacks must start with the development of what he called "the Talented Tenth." The Talented Tenth referred to the top 10 percent of educated Black men, who, he argued, must lead and elevate the masses through methods such as continuing their education, writing books, and becoming directly involved in social change. Du Bois believed these men needed a classical liberal education to reach their true destiny to lead "all that are worth saving up to their vantage ground" (Du Bois, 1909). For Du Bois, social change for Black people began with higher education provided by Black people for Black people:

I insist that the object of all true education is not to make men carpenters, it is to make carpenters men; there are two means of making the carpenter a man, each equally important: the first is to give the group and community in which he works, liberally trained teachers and leaders to teach him and his family what life means; the second is to give him sufficient intelligence and technical skill to make him an efficient workman; the first object demands the Negro college and college-bred men – not a quantity of such colleges, but a few of excellent quality; not too many college-bred men, but enough to leaven the lump, to inspire the masses, to raise the Talented Tenth to leadership; the

second object demands a good system of common schools, well-taught, conveniently located and properly equipped. (Du Bois, 1909)

Following in Du Bois' footsteps were several Black sociologists whose work owed a debt to Du Bois: E. Franklin Frazier (1894-1962), St. Clair Drake (1911-1990), and Horace Cayton, Jr. (1903-1970). E. Franklin Frazier was a sociologist educated at the New York School of Social Work (1920-21), who taught at Morehouse College in Atlanta. While at Morehouse, Frazier helped to organize the Atlanta University School of Social Work in 1923. His research and writings focused on the Black family and race relations, and his approach "examined economic, political, and attitudinal factors that shape the systems of social relationships" (Frazier, 2008). Frazier's writings include *The Negro Family in the United States* (1939), *Negro Youth at the Crossways* (1940), and *Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World* (1957). Frazier was elected president of the American Sociological Society in 1948, marking the first time in U.S. history that a Black person was chosen to head a national professional organization (Edwards, 1974).

St. Clair Drake was an influential sociologist who graduated from the Hampton Institute (now Hampton University) in Hampton, Virginia. In 1946, Drake became a professor at Roosevelt University, one of the school's first Black faculty members. While at Roosevelt drake was a pioneer, creating one of the first African American Studies programs in the United States. After twenty-three years at Roosevelt, he took a position at Stanford University and created their first African American Studies Department as well. Drake wrote about race relations in the United States. His collaboration with Horace Cayton, Jr. in 1943 led to the publication of *Black Metropolis*, a landmark study of race and urban life (Janowitz & Blackwell, 1974). In this book,

Drake and Cayton argued that racism prevented African Americans from assimilating into the dominant culture and relegated them to a separate and subordinate status in society.

Horace Cayton, Jr. graduated from the University of Chicago in 1934. His mother, Susie Revels Cayton, was the daughter of Hiram Revels of Mississippi, who became the first Black U.S. Senator in the 1870s. Revels went on to become president of Alcorn State College, a historically black college in Alcorn, Mississippi. Cayton's father was Horace Cayton, Sr., the son of a slave and a white plantation owner's daughter. Both of Cayton's parents were accomplished; his mother was a college graduate and his father, after Emancipation, moved to Seattle and became the editor of the *Seattle Standard*, an African American-owned newspaper. In 1894, Cayton, Sr. published the first edition of the *Seattle Republican*, which for the next 21 years was a leading voice for civil rights and at the time was the city's largest newspaper. Cayton Jr. stated in his autobiography:

With such sterling examples to guide us, surrender to prejudice seemed cowardly and unnecessary. Our goals were dictated by our past; we were obligated by our family history to achievement in our fight for individual and racial equality. (Cayton, 1965, p.83)

Cayton, Jr. won a fellowship to study sociology at the University of Chicago, where his research focused on Chicago's Black community. He collaborated with W. Lloyd Warner to study the problem of juvenile delinquency among Black youth in Chicago. This work led Cayton, Jr. to the groundbreaking project of examining the social structure of Chicago's Black community and its relationship to the rest of Chicago, which led to his collaboration with Drake. Cayton, Jr. eventually took a position as the Director of the Chicago Parkway Community House, a large community center for Blacks (Cayton, 1965).

All of these Black social change agents advocated education as a stimulus or catalyst for social change. They understood that educational advancement could lead Black people to political and economic opportunities that could close the gap between Blacks and Whites in America.

Liberation Theology

Black change agents' approaches to social reform were often guided by biblical references much in the same way other approaches would be guided by theory. Proslavery apologists tried to cast slavery in the "soft light of paternalism" (Ripley, 1993, p. 5) by stating to abolitionists and others that slavery "civilized and Christianized Africans who were indeed contented, well cared for, kindly treated, and best left to southern control" (Ripley, p. 5). Becker (2008) explains:

[T]he notion that slavery was God's will gained momentum after the Nat Turner slave rebellion of 1831. In hundreds of pamphlets, written from 1836 to 1866, Southern slave holders were provided a host of religious reasons to justify the social caste system they had created. (p. 79)

As enslaved Africans were brought to the U.S. and forced to practice Christianity, the biblical principles they were taught ironically showed them that slavery, with the oppression and inhumane treatment it imposed, was not part of God's plan. The Bible teaches that slavery, as well as other forms of domination of one person over another, is wrong. For example, when Joseph was sold into slavery (Genesis 37, NIV), and when the Egyptians oppressed the Israelites (Exodus 1, NIV), these events as well as other descriptions of slavery in the Bible are presented in an unfavorable light. Moreover, slavery in America was different from biblical slavery. Slavery in the Bible was not racially based; it was a form of indentured servitude in which the

enslaved could work to pay off their debts. The Bible specifically condemns the slave trade in 1 Timothy 1:8-10:

We know that the law is good if one uses it properly. ⁹We also know that law is made not for the righteous but for lawbreakers and rebels, the ungodly and sinful, the unholy and irreligious; for those who kill their fathers or mothers, for murderers, ¹⁰for adulterers and perverts, for slave traders and liars and perjurers—and for whatever else is contrary to the sound doctrine. (The Bible, NIV)

An example of the Bible guiding social reform is found in the actions of Nat Turner (1800-1831), a Virginia slave and a preacher on the plantation of John Travis. Turner believed he was being guided by signs and divine voices to lead his fellow slaves from bondage during an eclipse in 1831. He planned an insurrection and, with the help of 75 other slaves, killed the entire Travis family and 51 other white people in Virginia. Turner was on the run for six weeks until he was caught and hung in Jerusalem, VA with 16 of his followers (Becker, 2008; The National Era, 1859).

Another example of the Bible guiding social reform is found in a prominent member of the Roman Catholic church named Cardinal Lavigerie (1825-1892) who, by an Encyclical in 1890, condemned the slave-traders and "the accursed pest of servitude" and ordered an annual collection to be taken up in all Catholic churches for the benefit of anti-slavery work (Allard, 2008, p. 4). Cardinal Lavigerie was a French cardinal who did a great deal of missionary work in Africa. During his later years he became active in the anti-slavery movement and traveled throughout Paris, London, and Brussels speaking about the evils of slavery. His Encyclical contradicted the stance of the Roman Catholic Church on slavery at this time. The Holy Office of the Vatican issued a statement in support of slavery in 1866 that read:

Slavery itself . . . is not at all contrary to the natural and divine law . . . the purchaser [of the slave] should carefully examine whether the slave who is put up for sale has been justly or unjustly deprived of his liberty, and that the vendor should do nothing to endanger the life, virtue, or Catholic faith of the slave. (Kennedy, 1998, p. 187)

It was not until 1917 that this position changed and the Roman Catholic Church's Canon Law was expanded to declare that "selling a human being into slavery or for any evil purpose" is a crime (Fiedler & Rabben, 1998, p. 81).

The message of social reform was preached from the pulpit of many Black churches, including Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church (Richard Allen, 1760-1831) and St. Thomas's African Episcopal Church (Absalom Jones, 1746-1818) both located in Philadelphia. Many African American leaders of the abolitionist movement, including David Walker (1785-1830), Henry H. Garnet (1815-1881), and Frederick Douglass (1818-1895) were Christians who worked to abolish slavery. Congregations in the northern states served as "assembly halls for antislavery and reform organizations, classrooms for Black students, shelters for fugitive slaves, and gathering places for public protest" (Ripley, 1993, p. 6). They were joined in this fight by White Christian abolitionists including Lyman Beecher (1775-1863), Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-1896), William Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879), and Charles Finney (1792-1875), as well as those participating in the Social Gospel movement, a Protestant Christian intellectual movement that applied Christian ethics to social problems in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The collaborative efforts of these abolitionists were evidence that the messages in the Bible united Blacks and Whites in the fight for social reform and social change.

In 1833, there was a meeting held in Philadelphia attended by 62 reformers from 11 northern states at the home of Black dental surgeon and activist James McCrummill for the

founding convention of the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS). This was an event that would transform the American antislavery movement. William Lloyd Garrison was chosen by the delegates to write the draft of the society's Declaration of Sentiments, which represented an interracial consensus on goals and methods of the anti-slavery movement (Ripley, 1993). It is unfortunate that this alliance did not last, as Blacks were kept from leadership positions in most abolitionist organizations. In the case of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, which found apprenticeships for freed slaves, opened schools and offered business loans to church leaders Absalom Jones and Richard Allen, Black leaders were never even invited to join the organization (Newman, 2008).

The message of social reform with a biblical base also characterized the Social Gospel movement that took place during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, paralleling the Progressive Movement. The Social Gospel movement was a Protestant Christian intellectual movement that applied Christian ethics to social problems (Luker, 1991). Proponents of the Social Gospel movement called for Christianity to be a socially aware religion. Social Gospel leaders believed that the second coming of Jesus Christ would not happen until mankind rid itself of evils like poverty, inequality, liquor, crime, racial tension, slums, child labor, war, poor schools, poor public health (Rauschenbusch, 1964; Luker, 1991). The Social Gospel movement provided a religious rationale to address these social problems. Some leaders of the Social Gospel movement were associated with the liberal wing of the Progressive Movement, including Richard Ely, Washington Gladden, and Walter Rauschenbusch. In addition, Social Gospel themes can be found in the work of social reformers such as Harry Hopkins (1890-1946), Mary McLeod Bethune (1875-1955), and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929-1968).

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., a clergyman and activist, is one of the most well-known social change agents in American history. His influence on the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s helped to end segregation in the United States. Dr. King was influenced by the writings of Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862) on nonviolent resistance; Mohandas Gandhi (1869-1948); his mentor Dr. Benjamin Mays (1895-1984); Howard Thurman (1899-1981), a classmate and friend of Dr. King's father; and Bayard Rustin (1912-1987), who counseled Dr. King on the techniques of nonviolent resistance and organized the 1963 March on Washington, D.C. Thurman and Rustin had also studied Gandhi's teachings, and Thurman actually visited South Asia in 1936, where he met Gandhi. Thurman stated that it was in this meeting that Gandhi expressed his wish that the message of non-violence be sent to the world by African Americans. Thurman continued thinking and writing about his meeting with Gandhi for the rest of his life. He passed on his thinking to James Farmer (1920-1999), founder of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), an organization that sought to bring an end to racial segregation in America through active nonviolence. Farmer served as the national chairman of CORE from 1942 to 1944.

In 1957 Dr. King co-founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), an American civil rights organization that formed as a result of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, which began after Rosa Parks was arrested for refusing to give her bus seat to a white man. The boycott, which lasted from December 5, 1955, to December 20, 1956, brought together Dr. King and Ralph David Abernathy (1926-1990), as well as other Montgomery civil rights activists and supporters from across the South. As campaigns to desegregate buses began to spread in the South, a group of 60 activists met in Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia, in January 1957 to discuss the use of nonviolent resistance as the guiding principle for such movements.

In addition to King and Abernathy, the conference attracted such civil rights activists as Ella Baker (1903-1986), T. J. Jemison (1918-present), Stanley Levison (1912-1979), Joseph Lowery (1921-present), Bayard Rustin (1912-1987), Fred Shuttlesworth (1922-present), C. K. Steele (1914-1980), and others. During the meeting at Ebenezer Baptist Church, the group established the Negro Leadership Conference on Transportation and Nonviolent Integration, which was soon renamed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. As its name suggested, the organization intended to draw its strength from leaders of the Black Church in the South. Dr. King led the March on Washington in 1963, where he gave his famous "I Have a Dream" speech calling for equal rights for Black people in the United States. In 1964, Dr. King became the youngest person ever to receive the Nobel Peace Prize for his work to end racial segregation and discrimination through civil disobedience and other non-violent means. The work of Dr. King is parallel to the development of Black Liberation Theology, using biblical principles to help the needful and poor in society.

Dr. James Cone (1939-present) is a Christian Protestant minister who is recognized as the primary architect of Black Liberation Theology. Dr. Cone argued that the White church and White theologians had failed to uphold biblical principles of helping the poor and marginalized in society. Black Liberation Theology views Christian theology as essentially liberating, correct, and reclaims Christianity as a tool for liberation instead of oppression of Black Americans, as it was often regarded by Blacks themselves. In both the Old and New Testaments, Dr. Cone identified the establishment of justice for all--rich and poor alike--as the key principle that God was trying to get mankind to understand (Cone, 1990).

Dr. Cone believed that for Blacks in America to genuinely throw off the yoke of oppression, they must know that their "Blackness" is the reason for their oppression, and be

willing to fight that oppression using any means necessary. This awareness or consciousness of being Black can be accomplished only by understanding the meaning of being Black in the context of White society. Social change can be accomplished only after this awareness is achieved. As Cone (1990) observes, "Black consciousness is recognizing that the social, economic, and political status of Black people in America is determined by White people's inability to deal with the presence of color" (p. 50).

Conflict and Black Liberation theories are central guiding threads to understanding the Black Progressive movement. Blacks in America during the Progressive Era were fighting not just for status in society, but also for resources. Blacks and Whites were in conflict not only because of incompatible goals--Whites had power and access to resources and did not want to give them up, and Blacks wanted equal access to power and resources--but also because of the long history of White oppression of and violence toward Blacks as they reinforced their own position of power. Such acts ranged from open violence and intimidation by groups such as the Ku Klux Klan to everyday discrimination in areas such as employment, housing, and health care. The goal of continuing White racial dominance is incompatible with to the goal of decreasing barriers to Black civic and civil participation, and conflict is the inevitable result.

Leading up to the Progressive Era, the abolitionist movement, slave rebellions, and the flight of slaves to freedom were all examples of resistance to racial oppression and injustice. During the Progressive Era, resistance came in the form of literature, speeches, sermons, and legal challenges by people like Frederick Douglass, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, and W.E.B. Du Bois, among others. Organizations like The National Urban League (NUL) and the NAACP fought to eliminate segregation and other barriers to fundamental freedoms through legal challenges in the

court system. During this period, Blacks gained greater access to education and other resources to create a social infrastructure in their community that would produce incremental change.

Despite the small gains made by Blacks during the Progressive Era, the lack of adequate resources to sustain this movement saw both working poor and middle-class Blacks continually denied the same opportunities as Whites and continue to fall behind other racial and ethnic groups in America economically, educationally, and politically.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL PROBLEMS, SOCIAL CONFLICT AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Overview

This chapter will outline the social problems that led to conflict and the push for social change during the Progressive Era. Gaining a better understanding of strategies and tactics used by Black social welfare pioneers and reformers in Philadelphia may provide resources for those working in Black communities today to better combat social ills and injustices and ultimately reduce political, socioeconomic and educational inequality.

The literature on African American social welfare pioneers comes from a variety of disciplines, including social work, sociology, American history, and African American history, religion, and conflict studies. The databases that were searched included Social Work Abstracts, Sociological Abstracts, ERIC, JSTOR, Academic Search Complete, Religion and Philosophy Collection, American History Collection, African American History Collection, 19th Century African American Newspapers Database, and Dissertation Abstracts. Various combinations of the following descriptors were used for the search: African American, social welfare, social change, social conflict, social structure, pioneers, Negro, Black, social change theory, social conflict theory, Progressive Era, community change agents, social theory and social work.

Background of the Problem: Late 1800's

The Reconstruction period in America history began around 1870. The U.S. underwent a significant transition in the years from the end of the Civil War in 1865 through the subsequent failure of the plan of Reconstruction in 1880. The Progressive Era was a period of reform lasting

roughly from 1880 to 1920 that followed Reconstruction. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the United States was consumed by efforts to resolve problems within its own borders, as recovery from the Civil War became the primary focus of intellectual thought and political discourse of the time (Davis & Haller, 1973; Morgan & Wynn, 1993; Nash, 1988). Additionally, attention was focused on western and southwestern expansion, and on developing new, more diverse growth industries. As Reconstruction was left behind, Americans' focus began to shift away from the social and emotional remnants of the Civil War which had so deeply divided the country, and towards the potential of capitalism and its expansion of business and prosperity (Shah, 2003).

Successful capitalists such as Andrew Carnegie, Jay Cooke, Andrew Mellon, J.P.

Morgan, J.D. Rockefeller and Cornelius Vanderbilt became the most talked-about men of the late 1800s and early 1900s (Zinn, 1995). Initially known for their decadence and lavish spending on mansions, parties, jewelry, the opera and the theater, over time both Carnegie and Rockefeller gave away much of their wealth through large scale philanthropy. Carnegie developed a philosophy he called "The Gospel of Wealth" to resolve apparent contradictions between the creation of wealth, which he saw as proceeding from immutable social laws, and social provision (Zinn). Carnegie's (1889) "Gospel of Wealth" stated:

There remains, then, only one mode of using great fortunes: but in this way we have the true antidote for the temporary unequal distribution of wealth, the reconciliation of the rich and the poor--a reign of harmony--another ideal . . . we shall have an ideal state, in which the surplus wealth of the few will become, in the best sense, the property of the many, because administered for the common good, and this wealth, passing

through the hands of the few, can be made a much more potent force for the elevation of our race than if it had been distributed in small sums to the people themselves. (p.93)

Carnegie created the Carnegie Institute of Technology (now part of Carnegie Mellon University) to upgrade craftsmen into trained engineers and scientists. He also built hundreds of public libraries and several major research centers and foundations. By the time of his death in 1919, Carnegie had given away \$4.3 billion (Nasaw, 2006).

J.D. Rockefeller retired from the oil business in 1897 and, like Carnegie, devoted the next 40 years of his life to giving away most of his money using systematic philanthropy, especially in the areas of education, medicine and race relations. The Rockefeller Archive Center lists the family as being worth \$10 billion in 2005. Cornelius Vanderbilt, through his sharp wit and lethal business policies, built an enormous fortune in steamships and railroading, becoming the wealthiest man in the world in his day. His heirs became famous for their ability to both increase and spend their wealth, building gigantic and lavish mansions and dominating high society (Morgan & Wynn, 1993). Forbes magazine listed the Vanderbilt fortune at \$167 billion in 2008.

While the industrialization of this period proved to be economically beneficial for the few wealthy capitalist men, it tended to limit general working men and women to factory jobs and offer them little opportunity to advance their careers or their wealth. Within these constraints, Madame C. J. Walker (1867-1919) stood out as she created her own mass-marketing empire. Walker was not only one of America's most successful African American businesswomen of the 19th century, but also one of the most successful businesswomen in U.S. history. She created the Madame C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company, located in Indianapolis, Indiana, a business which employed some 3,000 African American women and men to manufacture and sell hair products and cosmetics (Bundles, 2008). The Walker Building, which was planned by Walker

herself but constructed after her death, was designed to serve not only as the headquarters for her business, but as a social and cultural center for African Americans in Indianapolis (Bundles), a function it serves to this day.

Business during the Progressive Era was on the rise; for example, Rockefeller's net worth peaked at \$900 million in 1913 (Chernow, 2004). An overflow of money poured into the American economy, ultimately leading to the fall of the equity markets and setting off the Depression around 1893. The Depression, which was signaled by the financial panic in 1893, was caused in part by deflation dating back to the Civil War, the gold standard and monetary policy, and under-consumption (Chernow). In short, the economy was producing goods and services at a higher rate than society was consuming them; the resulting accumulation of inventory led businesses to cut back on production, thereby reducing employment.

In addition, the period preceding the Depression was characterized by a general economic unsoundness (a reference less to tangible economic difficulties and more to a feeling that the economy was not running properly), and by government extravagance in the form of lavish parties, expensive houses for government employees and excessive spending (Whitten, 2001). Economic indicators signaling an 1893 business recession in the U.S. were largely obscured because the economy had improved during the previous year (Steeples & Whitten, 1998). Business failures had declined, and the average liabilities of failed firms had fallen by 40 percent. The country's position in international commerce had improved and was now competitive with other European countries (Chernow; Whitten; Steeples & Whitten).

Yet, during the late nineteenth century, the U. S. had a negative net balance of payments (Whitten, 2001). Passenger and cargo fares paid to foreign ships that carried most American overseas commerce, insurance charges, tourists' expenditures abroad, and returns to foreign

investors ordinarily more than offset the effect of a positive merchandise balance. In 1892, however, improved agricultural exports had reduced the previous year's net negative balance from \$89 million to \$20 million (Steeples & Whitten, 1998). Moreover, output of non-agricultural consumer goods had risen by more than 5 percent, and business firms were believed to have an ample backlog of unfilled orders as 1893 opened. The number of checks cleared between banks in the nation at large and outside New York, factory employment, wholesale prices, and railroad freight ton mileage advanced through the early months of the New Year (Steeples & Whitten).

Historians and economists suggest that building construction had peaked in April 1892, later moving irregularly downward, probably in reaction to over building (Whitten, 2001). The decline continued until the turn of the century, when construction volume finally turned up again. Weakness in building was transmitted to the rest of the economy, through a decrease in investment opportunities and less demand for construction materials (Whitten & Steeples, 1998). Meanwhile, a similar uneven downward shift in business activity after spring 1892 was evident from a composite index of cotton takings (cotton turned into yarn, cloth, etc.) and raw silk consumption, rubber imports, tin and tin plate imports, pig iron manufactures, bituminous and anthracite coal production, crude oil output, railroad freight ton mileage, and foreign trade volume (Whitten & Steeples). These were the factors that contributed to the depression of 1893 which are often overlooked in discussions relative to the Great Depression of 1929.

Individualism characterized the U. S. in the late 1800s. Unlike the South, which continued to embrace agriculture as its main industry, the North was aggressively seeking new technology. Transportation was revolutionized during this period, which was known as the "Golden Age" (Shah, 2003; Hounshell, 1984; Sanders, 1999). The Northern Economy boomed

during the late 1800s with the "Steel not steam" ideology (Shah). The heavy machinery used to mass-produce goods, the rails for trains, bridges that spanned rivers, and the tall buildings that spread throughout the cities all required steel. Steel was not new, but until around 1850 it was too costly to produce for the consumption of most industries. In 1855 Henry Bessemer invented a way to remove impurities in molten iron with a blast of hot air. This form of producing steel was called the Bessemer process and the outcome was that it could yield more steel in a day than the older techniques could produce in a week. As a result, America's normal steel production grew from 15 thousand tons in 1865 to over 28 million tons by 1910 (Shah).

After steel became the main product of the North, transportation advanced considerably. Railroads began to expand because steel rails were more efficient then iron rails, which splintered frequently. The price of steel also dropped significantly. For example, in 1873, steel sold for about \$100 a ton but in the late 1890's, it sold for about \$12. Economizing railroad companies laid thousands of miles of new track. The new transportation revolution connected many cities; mail traveled faster and people traveled across the continent in a matter of weeks not months. In addition to expanding the railroads, locomotives were also upgraded so they could pull heavy loads for longer periods of time. Eventually, trains traveled side by side with rails running right next to each other. With the expansion of railroads, people moved west, started new cities and towns and both the new western and the older eastern towns became more prosperous (Shah, 2003).

With this industrial revolution in the northern United States, many new job opportunities opened up, and partly as a result of this economic expansion immigration skyrocketed during the late 1800s. More than 25 million immigrants entered the country between 1870 and 1916. Most of the immigrants were from Europe; approximately 1.5 million Germans alone immigrated to

the "land of opportunity" (Lampard, 2001). This increase in immigration, however, led to more competition for Black Americans. With the influx of European immigrants, Blacks were pushed to even lower ranks on the socioeconomic and political ladder (Richardson, 2001; Chambers, 2000).

Blacks in America

Despite all the changes occurring in America in the late 1800s, Blacks--referred to as "coloreds"--were being shut out politically, economically, socially and educationally. In the mid 1860s, legislatures in former Confederate states enacted what were called "black codes" (Carson, 2003). Freed Black men were not permitted to rent land, serve on juries, bear arms, assemble except for religious purposes, drink alcohol, travel or learn to read (Carson; Low, 1981; Foner, 2002). These laws were enacted despite the ratification of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution in 1868 and 1870. The 14th Amendment was intended to secure rights for former slaves, including due process, and mandated that states were to provide any person born in that state equal protection under the law. The 15th Amendment was intended to secure voting rights for Blacks in the United States by putting an end to race-based voting qualifications.

In 1877, the last federal troops left the South, ending the Reconstruction Era (1865-1877) and putting southern Black citizens at the mercy of local and state governments and law enforcement (Foner, 2002; Richardson, 2001). Blacks who could find employment at all were hired only for the lowest paying, most menial jobs. Although during the Reconstruction Era the Freedmen's Bureau and northern philanthropists established a system of public education for both Blacks and Whites (Hopps & Lowe, 2007), in December of 1899, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Cumming vs. School Board of Richmond County, Georgia* that a city could provide a high school for white students even if it does not provide one for Black students (Richardson).

Although the Progressive Era was supposed to be a period of reform in America, and several federal laws were passed to help right the wrongs that challenged Black Americans, overall change seemed very limited and fleeting for them. It is encouraging to see that in 2008, over one hundred years later; this overall change was manifesting itself in a more tangible way when African American Senator Barack Obama was elected to the office of the President of the United States. Senator Obama stated in a speech in Philadelphia, PA on March 18, 2008:

We do not need to recite here the history of racial injustice in this country. But we do need to remind ourselves that so many of the disparities that exist in the African-American community today can be directly traced to inequalities passed on from an earlier generation that suffered under the brutal legacy of slavery and Jim Crow . . . That history helps explain the wealth and income gap between black and white, and the concentrated pockets of poverty that persists in so many of today's urban and rural communities . . . A lack of economic opportunity among black men, and the shame and frustration that came from not being able to provide for one's family, contributed to the erosion of black families - a problem that welfare policies for many years may have worsened. And the lack of basic services in so many urban black neighborhoods . . . helped create a cycle of violence, blight and neglect that continue to haunt us.

Philadelphia in the 1800s

Throughout American history, Philadelphia has been one of the largest cities in the nation (Davis & Haller, 1973; Morgan & Wynn, 1993). During the Progressive Era, Philadelphia was the third largest city in the nation, behind New York and Chicago (Davis & Haller). Due to the large population and industrialization opportunities, Philadelphia attracted a large number of immigrants comparable to cities like New York, Detroit or Chicago (Davis & Haller, 1973). The

industrialization of the city allowed for more manufacturing jobs for immigrants which led to the development of an extensive network of blue collar neighborhoods throughout Philadelphia (Davis & Haller).

Philadelphia was also an important city because of its location as both a port city and rail center (Davis & Haller, 1973; Morgan & Wynn, 1993; Nash, 1988). It's location allowed it to be accessible from various points south of the city as well as various points north and west (Davis & Heller; Morgan & Wynn). Philadelphia was thus positioned to play a major role in the history of America generally, as well as the history of Black people in America specifically. Historians have noted that for two generations after the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776, Philadelphia had a large Black population and therefore was an important center of Black life in the nation (Countryman, 2006; Morgan & Wynn, 1993; Nash, 1988). The first abolitionist organization in the United Sates, The Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery, was founded in Philadelphia (Carson, 2003) by those who sought to end slavery in the U.S. as well as in Europe, South America and Central America.

Since the 1790's, Philadelphia has been identified by some as the world's leading city in the struggle to improve the human condition (Kraus, 1949). This makes Philadelphia an ideal setting in which to examine of the roles of Black social reformers and social welfare pioneers during such critical periods in American and Black American history as Reconstruction (1870s-1880s), the Progressive Era (1880–1900s) and the Depression (1929–early 1940s).

The Black Community in Philadelphia

Black people have been a significant part of the life of Philadelphia since the city was founded in the early seventeenth century, first as slaves and then as freedmen (Ershkowitz & Zikmund, 1973). From the beginning, free Black Philadelphians understood that to establish a

secure foundation and sense of self, they would have to rely on their own resources and not the charity of the dominant White population. (Countryman, 1993; Nash, 1988). If Blacks wanted to be educated, they would have to educate themselves; if Blacks wanted to be employed, they would have to employ one another. Ershkowitz and Zikmund (1973) showed that Blacks not only have been a presence in Philadelphia since its founding over 300 years ago, but have been a political presence in one way or another for nearly 200 years. Thus, Blacks were never the political "non-persons" here that they were in the South or in other Northern cities such as Detroit, Chicago and New York (Ershkowitz & Zikmund). Since the end of the Civil War in 1865, Blacks held elected political offices, educated their children, served actively in the mainstream community, and had thriving businesses that served both Blacks and Whites.

Estimates vary regarding the number of Africans that were enslaved during the European/American Slave Trade, from a high of 100 million to a low of 11 million (Richardson & Dickson, 2008; Tindall, 1999; Ayers, Gould, Oshinsky & Soderlund, 2006). Following the lead of the state of Massachusetts in 1641, whose laws recognized the enslavement of Africans as legal and moral, all of the other colonies including Pennsylvania passed the same types of laws. It was not until the period between 1777 and 1804 that Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New Jersey, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, in this order, adopted plans for the emancipation of slaves (Richardson & Dickson). Due in part to moral and ethical objections to slavery from the strong Quaker community embedded in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in the late 1700's decreased its importation of slaves into the Quaker colony and saw a gradual increase in the number of free Blacks.

The city of Philadelphia had created a reputation of a strong writing tradition, and many African American writers called the city home (Davis, 2002). A combination of factors accounts

for this reputation, including the strong literacy programs provided by the African American church; the strength of the abolitionist movement; the area's many colleges and universities; the presence of the nation's oldest African American press; and a very literate population overall, dating back to the colonial era (Davis). Philadelphia historian Charles Blockson stated that the first published writing by African Americans came from Philadelphia:

Richard Allen wrote a defense pamphlet for blacks who had been accused of robbing corpses during Philadelphia's yellow fever epidemic of 1793. That started a tradition of pamphlet writing, which later expanded into writing full books. (Davis, 2002, p. 75)

The main source of early writing in Philadelphia came from the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church. Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, and James Forten were among this church's original founders, supporters, and leaders. These early church men created a newspaper called *The Christian Recorder* which was and still is the official voice of the AME churches. The paper carried stories that had religious themes but also detailed, moving stories about the Underground Railroad and the significance of the abolition of slavery (Davis, 2003). There were other important African American newspapers: *The Christian Banner* (1890s); *The Defender*, last published on January 27, 1900; *The Philadelphia Tribune*, founded in 1884 by Christopher James Perry, Sr.; and the *Odd Fellows Journal*, last published on January 11, 1900. *The Philadelphia Tribune*, for example, has the distinction of being the nation's oldest continuously published African American newspaper and has published material by nearly every major African American writer in the past 100 years, including Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. Du Bois, and Booker T. Washington (http://www.unitycommunity.com/philadelphia_tribune.htm). Farrar (2004) explained the importance of Black newspapers:

Black newspapers in Chicago, Pittsburgh, New York, Baltimore, Washington, and elsewhere in the North vigorously crusaded against racism north and south. Not only did they protest racial oppression through news stories, columns, and editorials but they also provided financial aid, office space, and employment to civil rights organizations and leaders. Black newspapers also provided these leaders with media platforms. W. E. B. Du Bois, James Weldon Johnson, Ida B. Wells, Kelly Miller, Walter White, and Marcus Garvey all had columns in Black newspapers or, in the case of Wells and Garvey, published their own newspapers. Black newspapers were among the most successful businesses in the Black community, with many of the newspapers lasting fifty to a hundred years and with some of them still in existence. This was quite unlike the nineteenth century Black press and was a testament both to the critical mass of Black journalists and publishers who could establish a newspaper and also to the critical mass of a black readership that now could sustain a newspaper in black communities north and south. Along with the black church, the black press provided media coverage, outlets, and material sustenance for black protest and advancement organizations. (Farrar, 2004, p.175)

Periodicals established by Blacks included the *AME Church Review*, *The Philadelphia Times*, *The Philadelphia Echo* and *The Independent*. These periodicals offer a glimpse into the lives of Black Philadelphians of this time, providing rich commentary on the challenges they faced and the struggles they endured. This perspective was especially important because the larger, predominantly white papers paid little if any attention to the concerns of slaves or freed Blacks (Farrar, 2004).

W.E.B. Du Bois's book *The Philadelphia Negro* is regarded as an undisputed classic, a brilliant work and extremely useful source of information, rich with detail and commentary on the conditions of African Americans in Philadelphia (Blackman, 1900 & Jefferson, 1999).

Another influential writer to come out of Philadelphia was William Still, whose 1872 work titled *The Underground Railroad* provided an important contribution to antislavery literature (Davis, 2002). Still also wrote *A Brief Narrative of the Struggle for the Rights of the Colored People of Philadelphia in the City Railway Cars* in 1867, which led to a campaign to end discrimination on Philadelphia's railway cars. Charlotte Forten Grimké published *A Free Black Girl before the Civil War*, a five volume diary she had kept for over 35 years from 1854-1892. These writings featured her experiences as a nurse to newly freed slaves during and after the Civil War and give a vivid presentation of their survival struggles and their grace under pressure (Davis, 2002). Grimké was the daughter of Charles Forten, who, along with his brother-in-law Robert Purvis, was an abolitionist and a member of the Philadelphia Vigilant Committee, an anti-slavery network that provided assistance to escaped slaves.

Other African American women writers from Philadelphia included Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, whose novel written in 1892 *Iola Leroy* is still in circulation today. One of the first novels published by a Black woman in the United States, *Iola Leroy* was a very important work which featured Iola Leroy, a free-born mulatta, as its heroine. The book tells of her struggles after being separated from her mother, her search for work, and her experience with racist boundaries in nineteenth-century society. Critics have observed that the book, like the rest of Harper's career, intertwined the issues of racism, classism, and sexism that otherwise may not have been recognized as related and intersecting. Critics and scholars both generally recognize the tremendous historical importance of Harper's work, along with its intelligent writing style.

Harper's house, located on 10th and Bainbridge Streets, served as an important stop for slaves seeking freedom via the Underground Railroad.

Another Philadelphian, Frances Jackson Coppin, became the first college educated African American woman to write an autobiography, *Reminiscences of School Life and Hints on Teaching*. In 1863, while still a student, she founded a night school for newly freed slaves who were migrating to Ohio during the Civil War. Her reputation as an educator spread, and when she graduated from Oberlin College in 1865, she was hired as president of the girls' division of the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia (later Cheney State College); four years later, Coppin became principal of the school. Coppin also reached out to the larger community through her writing; she wrote a regular column on women's issues for the *Christian Recorder* and served as vice president of the National Association of Colored Women. In 1881, she married the Rev. Levi Jackson, and accompanied him to his post as bishop of the AME church in Cape Town, South Africa. The Jacksons returned to the United States in 1904 and settled back in Philadelphia. Coppin had almost completed her autobiography when she died at her Philadelphia home in 1913; the book was published posthumously in the same year (Davis, 2002).

The leadership of the black church, the most powerful social institution within the African-American community, took on greater life and activity during this era. The prevailing view of the black church as theologically orthodox obscured some of the changes that took place during this period. It helped to shape, and was shaped by, contemporary currents of Social Christianity that characterized the Progressive Era. In reality, the black church, even many rural southern ones, had demonstrated a broader

social consciousness before the turn of the twentieth century than some historians realize. (Franklin, 2008, p.76)

The Black church served as the center of the Black community, not just in Philadelphia but in cities throughout America (Barnes, 2005). Historians report that by 1838 there were sixteen Black churches in Philadelphia of varying denominations – Episcopal, Methodist, African Methodist Episcopal (AME), Lutheran, Presbyterian, and Baptist (Nash, 1988; Winch, 2000). During the Progressive Era, this number increased to over 30 Black churches in Philadelphia (Nash), of which the AME Church was the only independent Black denomination (Winch). Many of the churches were clustered in the South Street corridor. The two oldest were St. Thomas's African Episcopal Church on Fifth and Adelphi Streets, and "Mother" Bethel AME on South Sixth Street between Lombard and Pine Streets; both were founded in the 1790s (Winch).

The Bethel AME church is the oldest piece of real estate owned by any Black organization in America (Wright, 1916). The history of the AME church dates back to 1787 when Richard Allen, a Black local preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church, withdrew from St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia because the white Christians had segregated the Blacks into the gallery of the church (Wright). The mission of the new church was to establish a place where any person, regardless of color, could worship free from restriction or segregation; to spiritually guide Black people better; and to aid the less fortunate (Wright). The AME churches in Philadelphia became the most powerful agencies for creating and preserving the morale of Blacks in the city and for organizing this group (Wright).

Richard Allen (1760 - 1831) was the founder of Bethel AME Church in Philadelphia. Allen was born as a slave to Benjamin Chew, an attorney in the Germantown section of Philadelphia. At the age of seven Allen and his entire family were sold to a farmer in Delaware named Stokeley Sturgis. While living on the Sturgis farm, Allen taught himself to read and to write. Allen and other Blacks were permitted by Sturgis to attend meetings of the Methodist Society; they would meet in the forest to hear a circuit preacher named John Gray. It was here that Allen was convicted of the message of hope, freedom, discipline, individual responsibility and eternal salvation and he joined the Methodist Society at the age of seventeen. His mother and three siblings were sold again when he was seventeen and he never saw them again. Allen worked to buy his freedom and the freedom of his brothers, and at the age of twenty he succeeded. Allen worked various jobs from Delaware to Valley Forge to Radnor as a bricklayer and hauling salt. During this time after the war Allen also started preaching.

In 1786, Allen was invited to preach at St. George's which was the first Methodist church in the nation. His messages were so inspiring that the membership of the congregation increased exponentially, especially the Black membership. As the number of Black parishioners increased, the White members grew wary and forced the Black members to sit in the back of the church or even at times stand in the back. Allen, upset by this turn of events asked the eldership at St. George's for permission to establish a Black church. He was denied. After a physical altercation occurred at St. George's one Sunday when a White trustee tried to forcibly remove Absalom Jones from the front of the church to the gallery set up for Blacks, Allen decided to break from St. George's. He and many other Blacks from St. George's turned to the Free African Society to worship.

Allen along with Absalom Jones, William Gray and William Wilcher discovered a lot on Sixth Street near Lombard Street, in Philadelphia. Allen negotiated a price and purchased this lot with his own money where the Free African Society could build a church. This lot, purchased in

1787, is the oldest parcel of real estate owned continuously by Black people in the U. S. Allen and Jones could not agree on which denomination the church would be, Allen liked the style and discipline of the Methodists, Jones wanted to follow the Episcopal tradition. Allen established the Bethel Church in 1794 and Jones established St. Thomas African Episcopal Church in that same year. Allen was ordained in 1799 and Jones was ordained in 1804, they parted ways but remained friends and colleagues. When the Yellow Fever broke out in Philadelphia in 1793 they rallied Blacks throughout the city to work together to care for the sick and help to bury the dead (Wright, 1916).

The congregation at Bethel grew quickly. In the first two years the membership went from 20 to 121 men and women. Allen preached a message of abolition and freedom for all men from the Bethel pulpit. He encouraged the members of his congregation to help enslaved Blacks through direct assistance of food, clothing, and shelter as well as being examples of Christian men and women in their daily lives. The basement of the church was used to hide escaped slaves and eventually became a stop on the Underground Railroad (Wright, 1916).

On April 9, 1816, Bethel Church became Mother Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church and Allen was elected the first Bishop. Allen encouraged unity among other Black Methodist Episcopal churches and held many conferences at Bethel as well as throughout Philadelphia and the Baltimore, Maryland areas to accomplish this. Allen remained a powerful force in the Black community throughout his life. He believed in helping the needful and the poor in the Black neighborhoods and he worked tirelessly with his wife Sarah to do so. Even after his death in 1831, Bethel AME continued to carry on his work and make an impact on the Black communities throughout the city (Wright, 1916; Barnes, 2005).

In the late 1800s the ministers of the AME churches in Philadelphia were the leaders in spiritual, moral, social and civic affairs. The church recognized the need for education, and schools were established in church buildings wherever possible. The AME church in Philadelphia also pioneered in journalism; in 1847 the *Christian Recorder* began publication.

The AME Review began publication in 1884 and is the oldest Black magazine in the world; The AME Book Concern was the oldest weekly publishing business in the world owned by Blacks, and by 1947 had been incorporated for 92 years (Wright, 1916). Unfortunately it is no longer in existence today. The Discipline of the AME church and the AME hymnal, according to Reverend Wright, historian for the AME church in Philadelphia (see Appendices B and C), were initially printed in 1817 (Wright, 1916; Barnes, 2005).

The AME church had expanded into Ohio, New York, Massachusetts and the island of Haiti by 1836 with 7,544 members. In 1856, it had spread to Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana and Canada and had about 20,000 members. The first missionaries from the AME church were sent into South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee and Alabama and developed a membership exceeding 73, 000 (Wright, 1916). The congregation in South Carolina, which was made up of the largest slave population of all the congregations in the south, was shut down by state law enforcement after liberation initiatives sprung up and fear of Black resistance to slavery became widespread (Lowe, 2004).

Absalom Jones, like Richard Allen, was born into slavery in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. During his time as a slave he was taught to read. He married his wife Mary, a fellow slave, at the age of 23 and by working for many years as his master's grocery store in downtown Philadelphia they were able to save enough money to buy her freedom at the age of 31 and his freedom at the age of 38. Jones later founded St. Thomas's African Episcopal Church, the oldest Black

Episcopal Church in the United States and the first Black church in Philadelphia. Absalom Jones was the first Black man to become ordained as a priest in the Episcopal Church and the first rector of St. Thomas (Blockson, 2001).

Philadelphia's first Baptist church was the First African Baptist Church, founded in 1809 at 10th and Vine Streets in Philadelphia. The initial congregation was comprised of fifteen Black members who were set apart by the White members of the Old First Baptist Church. In 1896 Dr. William Creditt became pastor and it was under his guidance that the First African Baptist Church became one of the most outstanding religious institutions in the country (Blockson, 2001). Dr. Creditt helped to organize the Mutual Aid Insurance Society, the first insurance company to serve Black Philadelphians. As it grew, the society was moved out of the church to 10th and Cherry Streets, where Dr. Creditt founded the Cherry Building and Loan Association. He also founded the Downingtown Industrial and Agricultural School, which focuses on educating Blacks and providing them with the skills to learn a trade and provide for their families.

John Gloucester was an enslaved African of Dr. Gideon Blackburn in Philadelphia. He was tutored by Blackburn in religious thought and eventually was granted his freedom so he could serve as a missionary. Both Gloucester and Blackburn bought land at 7th and Bainbridge Streets, where they established the First African Presbyterian Church in 1807 (Blockson, 2001). Gloucester is credited with making Presbyterianism appealing to Blacks. Several members of the First African Presbyterian church formed the Afro-American Presbyterian Council in 1894 to encourage integration of the church's membership and end discriminatory practices (Mjagkij, 2001).

St. Peter Claver's Roman Catholic Church is Philadelphia's first Roman Catholic Church for Blacks. The church was founded in the 1880s when Saint Katharine Drexel provided funds and helped to find priests in the Holy Ghost Order who would be exclusively devoted to Black Catholics. At this time, Blacks were not welcome in most White Catholic churches; many Catholic churches not even have a section for Blacks in the rear of their sanctuary like several other denominations did (Blockson, 2001). The new church was named in honor of a humanitarian, Peter Claver (1580-1654), whose efforts on behalf of African emancipation in the 1600s won him the title "Apostle of the Slave Trade" (Blockson, 2001, p. 60). Claver was canonized by Pope Leo XIII in 1888 and was made patron of missions to people of African descent. The church was closed in the summer of 2000 due to decreasing membership.

The influence of the Black church on the Black community led James Cone (1938-present), a Protestant minister, to call for a more radical stance against societal disparities based on race; this stance became known as Black liberation theology. Cone grew up in Arkansas under segregation, and questioned why Sunday, the day when most Christians went to worship God, was the most segregated day of the week. After obtaining a theological degree from Garrett Theological Seminary in 1963 and a Ph.D. in Systematic Theology from Northwestern University in 1965, Dr. Cone began searching for "a Christian theology out of the black experience of slavery, segregation, and the struggle for a just society" (Cone, 1970).

Dr. Cone argued that White Christians, White theologians and the White church had all failed in their duty to uphold biblical principles of helping the poor and marginalized (Cline, 2008) serving instead as a willing part of the system that had oppressed Blacks for hundreds of years. Dr. Cone believed that all Blacks must take responsibility for their own religion and their own relationship with God. His formulation of liberation theology is derived from the context of

the Black experience of oppression, using the Gospels of Jesus as central to identifying with the poor and oppressed:

The black theologian must reject any conception of God which stifles black self-determination by picturing God as a God of all peoples. Either God is identified with the oppressed to the point that their experience becomes God's experience, or God is a God of racism...The blackness of God means that God has made the oppressed condition God's own condition. This is the essence of the biblical revelation. By electing Israelite slaves as the people of God and by becoming the Oppressed One in Jesus Christ, the human race is made to understand that God is known where human beings experience humiliation and suffering . . . Liberation is not an afterthought, but the very essence of divine activity. (Cone, 1990, pp. 63-64)

The Black church sought to meet the spiritual needs of the Blacks in Philadelphia while at the same time working tirelessly to meet people's physical needs by providing food, clothing and shelter; economic needs through job training, apprenticeships and teaching about savings and investments; and educational needs by providing reading, writing and arithmetic classes for poor Blacks. The church also played a role in political advocacy for Blacks. Many churches invited speakers to come and talk to their congregations about the plight of Blacks, not just in Philadelphia but throughout the nation. The church served as the central hub of activity in the Black community in Philadelphia.

Philadelphia: Social Aspects of the City for Black Americans

According to Walther (1925), by 1830, Philadelphia had 14,460 Blacks, of which only thirteen were still slaves. The Black community in Philadelphia was diverse – some families had lived in and around the city for several generations, while others relocated from the southern

states (Winch, 2000). During the Progressive Era, the Black population in Philadelphia continued to grow in number (Trotter, 1997).

Philadelphia was a popular city for educated Blacks from the South to migrate to in their quest for a better life. Joseph Wilson, the son of a White Georgia banker and a freed Black woman, was just such a person. He came to Philadelphia looking for opportunities that he and his family could not find in Georgia. Wilson wrote *Sketches of the Higher Classes*, based on the lives of the Black upper-class in Philadelphia. Wilson argued for respect for this segment of the Black community from the White community:

Wilson insisted, men and women in every way qualified for the rights and privileges of citizenship. His plea was not for universal equality, since he did not believe all people equally deserved, but for a level of respect that cut across the racial divide. A person's moral worth, he contended was not related to ancestry, to the texture of the hair or the shade of the skin, but to their capacity for intellectual improvement, their industry, their integrity, and their willingness to work for the betterment of society as a whole . . . in no sense was Wilson calling for a diminished sense of pride in oneself, one's heritage, and one's community . . . What Wilson envisaged assumed the cooperation of white people. He advocated the creation of a society in which sterling moral worth and nothing else determined the degree of respect to which an individual was entitled. (Winch, 2000, pp. 4-5)

The living conditions of most of the city's Blacks were poor; they resided in the slums of Philadelphia, concentrated in the area known as the Seventh Ward (Du Bois, 1899). This area can be seen in Appendix B on Pine Streets and South Streets between Broad Street and 7th Street. The Blacks who were well off lived in neighborhoods on the main thoroughfare, while Blacks

who were poor lived yards away in alleys and courts (Winch, 2000). W. E. B. Du Bois described these conditions:

Here although the signs of idleness, shiftlessness, dissoluteness and crime are more conspicuous than those of poverty. The alleys near, as Ratcliffe street, Middle alley, Brown's court, Barclay street, etc., are haunts of noted criminals, male and female, of gamblers and prostitutes, and at the same time of many poverty stricken people, decent but not energetic . . . on its face this slum is noisy and dissipated, but not brutal, although now and then highway robberies and murderous assaults in other parts of the city are traced to its denizens. (p. 60)

The National Negro Convention was held in Philadelphia in September of 1830. The members of this organization defined its purpose as improving employment and educational opportunities and resisting oppression (Carson, 2003). The group gathered for the express purpose of abolishing slavery and improving the status of African Americans. It started with a question asked by a 16-year-old free Black youth named Hezekiel Grice. Grice, troubled by "the hopelessness of contending against oppression in the U. S.," wondered if Blacks should be encouraged to move to Canada (Altman, 1997). Such a question, he thought, should be carefully considered, so he proposed that a convention be held where the matter could be discussed. He wrote to several Black leaders, who approved of the proposal, and on September 20, 1830, the ten-day National Negro Convention began (Altman). Grice grew up to become one of the most successful businessmen in Baltimore, MD.

Forty Blacks from nine states attended the meeting, including Bishop Richard Allen of Mother Bethel AME church. From this meeting emerged a new organization, the "American Society of Free People of Color for improving their condition in the United States; for

purchasing lands; and for the establishment of a settlement in the Province of Canada," of which Allen was named president (Altman, 1997). As the society's descriptive title makes clear, the answer to Grice's original question was not a simple one. Moving to Canada was encouraged, especially for Blacks with children, but the Society also acknowledged the need to improve the lives of those who remained in the United States (Altman).

This first meeting of the National Negro Convention would initiate a trend that continued for the next three decades. The formation of another organization had been recommended which would be called the "American Society of Free Persons of Labor." This group branched out to several states and held their own conventions. These organizations, in turn, led to the founding of other organizations seeking to improve the lives of Blacks in the U.S. The number of conventions held at the local, state and national levels blossomed to such a level that in 1859, one paper reported that "colored conventions are almost as frequent as church meetings" (Altman, 1997).

Socially, Philadelphia had gradually become a "southern city" over several decades; that is, Blacks were being treated just as badly there as they were in the Southern states and cities (Altman, 1997). Jim Crow policies were just as prevalent in Philadelphia as they were in the Southern cities and counties (Richardson, 2001; Low, 1981). An example of this can be seen in the following:

In the course of conversation, the Governor spoke of the prejudice against colour prevailing here as much stronger than in the slave States. I may add from my own observation, and much concurring testimony, that Philadelphia appears to be the metropolis of this odious prejudice, and that there is probably no city in the known world,

where dislike, amounting to hatred of the coloured population, prevails more than in the city of brotherly love. (Stevick, 1996, p. 160)

The conditions would only get worse, especially after the anti-Negro riots of 1834. The riots that took place in Philadelphia in the 1830s and 1840s were not solely race related; they reflected the competition among all Philadelphians at that time for employment and for food. In these riots, European immigrants fought native Philadelphians, American Republicans fought the Whigs and Democrats, and Catholics fought Protestants (Wolfinger, 2007; Feldberg, 1975). During this time the population of Philadelphia increased from 250,000 to about 360,000; the new residents included European immigrants, runaway slaves, freed Blacks and rural migrants from the country areas of Pennsylvania and other mid-Atlantic states (Feldberg). This influx of different cultures and values clashed with the dominant values of Philadelphia, which were distinctively white, Protestant and male-dominated (Feldberg). As Feldberg (1975) observes:

The combination of rapid growth, incompatible populations, and overburdened social and economic institutions proved extremely volatile when combined with the violent traditions of the city and the nation. (p. 6)

The riots lasted for five years and ceased, then started up again in 1842-1843 as Philadelphia's predominantly white population met the dramatic population growth of Blacks with marked, hostile and organized resistance which was enforced with frequent violence (Altman). Du Bois describes the riots in *The Philadelphia Negro*:

By 1830 the black population of the city and districts had increased to 15,694, an increase of 27 per cent for the decade 1820 to 1830, and of 48 per cent since 1810. Nevertheless, the growth of the city had far outstripped this; by 1830 the county had nearly 175,000 whites, among who was a rapidly increasing contingent of 5000 foreigners. So intense

was the race antipathy among the lower classes, and so much countenance did it receive from the middle and upper class, that there began, in 1829, a series of riots directed chiefly against Negroes, which recurred frequently until about 1840, and did not wholly cease until after the war. These riots were occasioned by various incidents, but the underlying cause was the same: the simultaneous influx of freedmen, fugitives and foreigners into a large city, and the resulting prejudice, lawlessness, crime and poverty. (pp. 26-27)

Although the years preceding the Civil War in Philadelphia were years of growth in the Black community, they were also years of personal frustration and sudden communal disturbance, frequent race riots and violent attacks on Black establishments. Even churches were not spared this ongoing antagonistic and hostile environment (Preservation Alliance, 2007). White residents of Philadelphia, especially those from poorer communities that included large groups of recent immigrants, resented the social and economic success of some Blacks, perceiving their economic progress and population growth as a threat to their own political and social power structure. As the Black population increased in size relative to the white population in any area of the city, Blacks were treated with more persistent disdain and targeted violence, often in the form of race riots. Each of the five racially motivated riots between 1834 and 1949 resulted in the destruction of at least one building that served as a symbol of African American success:

Historian John Runcie argues that successful blacks became "aggression objects" on which working class Irish immigrants could "vent their frustrations and blame their failure to make the American Dream come true," since the two groups "were competitors for the most menial, unskilled and low paid types of employment available." He argues

further that, "They were involved in a struggle for survival at the lowest level of American society where many of them were confined by their rural backgrounds, lack of training and skills, and by the prejudices of the groups above them." Thus, when successful blacks were perceived to be flaunting their success, they became victims of jealous rage from less successful whites. (Preservation Alliance, p. 1)

Economic Growth and Political Setbacks

The tide changed for Blacks in Philadelphia in the 1850s and 1860s due to a confluence of events: the outbreak of the Civil War; the rise of the abolitionist movement, and a revived economy in which the gross national product grew from the expansion of the railroad industry and the businesses that sprung up as a result. This period was also marked by relative prosperity and more political influence for Blacks in Philadelphia (Du Bois, 1899). The spirit of unity and community that propelled Philadelphia's growing Black population to its position prior to the race riots in 1830 and 1850 persisted with increased strength, determination and some political clout, and the church continued its critical position of leadership as a vital social organization and agent of change. W. E. B. Du Bois (1899) observed in *The Philadelphia Negro* that this time period was one of great optimism:

After the war and emancipation great hopes were entertained by the Negroes for rapid advancement, and nowhere did they seem better founded than in Philadelphia. The generation then in its prime had lived down a most intense and bitter race feud and had gained the respect of the better class of whites. They started with renewed zeal, therefore, to hasten their social development. (p. 39)

Contrary to these high expectations in the political and economic arenas, however, the 1870s had a troubling symbolic significance for Philadelphia Negroes. Two political events

stood out in particular. One was the murder of a local Black leader named Octavius V. Catto on October 10, 1871 by Frank Kelly, a White man. The second was the collapse of the Freedman's Bank (Ershkowitz & Zikmund, 1973). Blacks met to discuss these tragic events under the direction of Frederick Douglass, the great orator who went on to national prominence as an abolitionist. Blacks tried to exercise their political muscle by shifting their political power from the Democratic Party to the Grand Old Party (GOP), as the Democratic Party was viewed as increasingly complacent and failing to assist Blacks with their social, political and economic struggles.

Catto was killed by Frank Kelly, a Democratic Party operative who opposed Catto's efforts to rally Blacks to vote for the Republican Party. Mr. Catto was a young Black teacher with a considerable city-wide reputation as a promising, dynamic future leader (Ershkowitz & Zikmund, 1973). After the attack on Catto, there was a meeting held at National Hall which was located on 12th and Market Streets by friends and supporters of Catto both Black and White. They were outraged by the attack and denounced the murder of such a respectable man. His funeral – a full military one due to the fact that Catto was a Major and Inspector of the Pennsylvania National Guard, was the largest the city had ever seen since the death of President Lincoln. The White speakers at the funeral included members of the Union League, as well as District Attorney-elect Col. William B. Mann and several leaders of the Republican Party in Philadelphia (Ershkowitz & Zikmund). Passions were so high from this event that resolutions were made to adopt the principles for which Catto stood for, and died for.

Catto's death sparked a movement of sympathy and acceptance for Blacks to have the right to vote. Many Black people threw their support behind the up and coming Republican Party. With this shift in support, the Democratic Party's resistance to equal civil rights for Blacks

was lessened in Philadelphia. The Republicans started to slowly show their appreciation for the support of Black people by giving Blacks more city positions and other jobs. There was even a public school named in honor of Catto as well as several civic and fraternal organizations (Ershkowitz & Zikmund, 1973).

The second pivotal event focused on the economic front, with the fall of the Freedman's Bank in 1874. The American Freedmen's Aid Commission was initially set up in March of 1863 to investigate "the measures which may best contribute to the protection and improvement of the recently emancipated freedmen of the United States, and to their self-defense and self-support" (Alston & Lee, 1993, p. 852). From this inquiry came a final report given to Congress in 1864 that laid out the basic philosophy that would guide the actions of the Freedmen's Bureau:

The sum of our recommendations is this: Offer the freedmen temporary aid and counsel until they become a little accustomed to their new sphere of life; secure to them, by law, their just rights of person and property; relieve them, by fair and equal administration of justice, from the depressing influence of disgraceful prejudice; above all, guard them against the virtual restoration of slavery in any form, and let them take care of themselves. If we do this, the future of the African race in this country will be conducive to its prosperity and associated with its well-being. There will be nothing connected with it to excite regret to inspire apprehension (38th UNITED STATES Congress, Senate Executive Document 53, 1864).

When the Congress wrote the bill to aid the transition of the freedmen they tried to integrate many of the American Freedman's Aid Commission's recommendations. The agency that was set up to aid in this transition was to be named the Bureau of Emancipation, however, when the bill came up for a vote on March 1, 1864 the name was changed to the Bureau of Refugees,

Freedmen and Abandoned Lands. This name change was due in large part to objections that the bill was exclusionary and aimed solely towards the aid of Blacks. The name change was to garner more support for the bill (Cimbala & Miller, 1999).

The Freedman's Bank had a meeting in New York on January 27, 1865, and was established under the umbrella of the Freedman's Bureau; which was set up to supervise all relief and educational activities relating to refugees and freedmen, including issuing rations, clothing and medicine. The goal of this meeting headed by John W. Alvord; an abolitionist and minister, was to establish a savings bank for Black soldiers. Also at this meeting were leading members of the business and philanthropic community, they agreed that this bank would provide a way for Black people to learn how to manage their money and establish security for their families (Osthaus, 1976; Richardson, 2001).

The Freedman's Bank opened thirty-seven branch offices between 1865 and 1871 in seventeen states including the District of Columbia. By 1874 due to mismanagement, abuse and fraud, the bank was in trouble so bank officials elected Frederick Douglass as president to restore the confidence of the depositors (Flemming, 1927). Douglass even deposited ten thousand dollars of his own money to show his support of the bank. Despite this move, Douglass was forced to recommend to Congress shortly thereafter that the bank close (Gilbert, 1972). The failure of the first venture into Black capitalism provided those advocating the theory of "Negro inferiority" with an important and useful example to augment their position. It was therefore, a small step from racial inferiority in the 1880's and 1890's to racial prejudice in the 20th century (Ershkowitz & Zikmund, 1973). The closure of the Freedman's Bank struck a devastating and crushing blow to the Black community. It fostered a deep mistrust in Black people of the federal government; the depositors were told that their money would be protected by the government

and it was not. Thousands of Black people lost everything, their life savings, and more than that they lost their dreams and hopes for a brighter future (Gilbert; Foner, 2002; Osthaus, 1976).

The Philadelphia Negro, Du Bois's study of Philadelphia in the 1890s, reported that the city had 40,000 Negroes, which comprised 3.8% of the city's population. Approximately 12% were classified as totally illiterate and virtually all were employed in common laboring or servant jobs. In the early 1900s Philadelphia Negroes continued to support the Republican Party, and their socioeconomic condition did not change substantially from that of the late 1800s (Du Bois, 1899). However, these conditions worsened in the 1920s and 1930s (Nash, 1988). From time to time, there were minor outbreaks of racial violence against Blacks, although not as severe as the race riots in the 1800's. The city became even more segregated as different ethnicities became bound to and identified with the particular makeup of their neighborhoods (Nash, 1988).

Unfortunately, this increased residential segregation and the tremendous migration of Blacks out of the South to the North led to the creation of the Black ghettos of that time (Ershkowitz & Zikmund, 1973). Allen Spear (1967) described the migration that occurred by rail, by horse and carriage, even by foot:

The largest influx of Negroes between 1916 and 1919 occurred in the key northern industrial states – Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, New York and Michigan, in that order – while southern Black belt states – Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana – experienced the greatest Negro emancipation. Although Negroes continued to move from the Lower South to the Upper South and from the Upper South to the North, a large portion of the World War I migrants went directly from the Gulf and South Atlantic states to the North. Generally they followed the meridians of longitude: Negroes from the Carolinas and Georgia moved to New York and Pennsylvania; Negroes from

Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana followed the Illinois Central and Gulf, Mobile, and Ohio railroads to Chicago, Detroit and Cleveland. (pp. 138-140)

During the Progressive Era, the Negro population increased 59%; Philadelphia's Black population was the largest of any urban city in the north between 1876 and 1896, though Blacks still made up only 11% of the city's population (Davis & Haller, 1973). Frederick Douglass (1848), in the National Anti-Slavery Standard, stated that: "Philadelphia more than any other [city] in our land, holds the destiny of our people." The literature shows that the history of the United States and the history of Black people in the United States played out in a major way in the city of Philadelphia.

Education for Blacks in Philadelphia

Compared to the rest of the country, Philadelphia had a very literate Black population (Davis & Haller, 1973). Most attended segregated public schools and were responsible for sustaining the quality of the education that their children were provided (Franklin, 2008). Higher education played a large role in the educational landscape in Philadelphia. Universities like The University of Pennsylvania (1740), Temple University (1884), LaSalle University (1863), St. Joseph's University (1851), and Drexel University (1891) were all founded in Philadelphia. The University of Pennsylvania is the fourth oldest university in the United States and its Wharton School of Business was established during the Progressive Era in 1881.

Four Black students were admitted to The University of Pennsylvania--its first "students of color"--in 1879. Of these four, James Brister, who was originally from Philadelphia became the school's first Black degree recipient in 1881, receiving his D.D.S. (Lyon, 1990). The graduate programs at Penn slowly began to graduate their first Black students: Medical (1882), College (1883), Engineering (1887), Wharton (1887), Law (1888), Music (1890), Nursing

(1890), Graduate Arts & Sciences (1896), Veterinary (1897), Architecture (1902), and Social Work (1921) (Lyon). The undergraduate school graduated its first Black student, William Adger (1856-1885), in 1883. From 1900 to 1920, only seven Blacks, all males, appeared in Penn yearbooks as senior undergraduates; within this time frame, from 1907-195 there were no Black graduating senior's pictured (Lyon).

Drexel University was founded in 1891 as the Drexel Institute of Art, Science and Industry by Philadelphia financier and philanthropist Anthony J. Drexel to provide educational opportunities in the "practical arts and sciences" for women and men of all backgrounds (retrieved from school website). Drexel's first president, James MacAlister, met Booker T. Washington at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia in 1895. They struck up a friendship through letters and exchange of information about their respective institutions.

In 1902 MacAlister wrote a letter responding to a recommendation from Washington who was looking to hire a Black man for a vacant teaching position at Tuskegee. In is response, MacAlister wrote back that in the North, "colored men are excluded" from colleges and universities that would provide such training (www.archives@drexel.edu). MacAlister also wrote in this letter that "I think I have already suggested to you that we should be glad to give a free scholarship in the Drexel Institute to anyone you might send here"

(www.archives@drexel.edu). Washington sent several students from Tuskegee Institute to Drexel University. The first, William S. Pittman, received a scholarship to study in the architecture department; he enrolled in 1897 and graduated in 1900. Pittman went on to become a renowned architect in the Washington D.C. area, and to marry Booker T. Washington's daughter Portia in a ceremony at Tuskegee. In the fall of 1906, Pittman entered and won the

competition to design the Negro Building at the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition, making him the first Black architect to be awarded a federal contract (www.archives@drexel.edu).

Though Blacks were admitted to these universities it was only in very limited numbers, and they faced the same types of segregation and discrimination on campus as they did off campus. Black students gained admission to these universities usually through academic or athletic scholarships or through influential connections. Very often, White students would not speak to them in class or on campus; surrounding restaurants refused to serve them; and they found themselves the only Black person in their classes, having no one to discuss assignments with or study with.

Historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) such as Cheyney University of Pennsylvania (1837) and Lincoln University (1854) also figure prominently in the Philadelphia area. Cheyney University was initially founded as the Institute for Colored Youth; it is the oldest HBCU in America, but not the first degree-granting HBCU. That distinction belongs to Lincoln University which is located less than twenty-five miles away. Cheney University had matrons who performed the duties of teachers, and principals who supervised the matrons from 1837 to 1913. Prominent Black alumni from the Progressive Era include Octavius Catto, who was the class valedictorian in 1858, and Rebecca J. Cole, who graduated in 1863, was the first Black woman to graduate from the Women's Medical College (now the Medical College of Pennsylvania) in 1867, and was the second Black woman physician in the U.S. (www.cheyney.edu).

With the founding of Lincoln University in 1854, Horace Mann Bond (1976) noted in his book *Education for Freedom: A History of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania*, "This was the first institution founded anywhere in the world to provide a higher education in the arts and sciences

for youth of African descent." Prominent alumni to graduate from Lincoln University during the Progressive Era included Nathan Mossell in 1879, a physician who went on to become the first Black American to graduate from the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine, and his younger brother Albert Mossell in 1885, an attorney who was first Black American to graduate from the University of Pennsylvania School of Law (www.lincoln.edu).

Early Mutual Aid and Benevolent Societies

Philadelphia was the home of the all male Free African Society which was established in 1787. This is the earliest record of any Black benevolent society in the city. There are other records of The African Friendly Society of St. Thomas in 1795 and the Female Benevolent Society of St. Thomas in 1796. Most of the Black churches in Philadelphia had benevolent societies that were divided along gender lines. There were also societies that were divided along occupational lines like the coachmen and porters relief society. Winch (2000) describes that there were eighty beneficial societies in Philadelphia by 1838. Their practice initiatives occurred on both the micro and mezzo levels.

There was a women's group that made an impact on the poor and needful in Philadelphia called the Dorcas Society (Winch, 2000). Their goal was to supply clothing to those in the community that needed it. Elizabeth Butler and Amanda Bogle played important roles in the Dorcas Society and in assisting in the work on the Association for Moral and Mental Improvement – an organization created to provide poor Black children with clothing and shoes so they could attend school. Elizabeth Butler was the wife of Thomas Butler, a prominent Black barber in Philadelphia. Amelia Bogle was the daughter of well-to-do caterer Robert Bogle, who had been born into slavery. Amelia Bogle was able to support herself, having inherited a trust from her father which came from his substantial real estate holdings, and also as a dressmaker.

She had a home of her own on Pine Street. In 1841 she opened a private school for Black children on Twelfth Street, below Spruce Street. She was also a member of the Union Benevolent Daughters of Elijah and the Female Rush Assistant Society. These groups offered a way for affluent Black women to give back to those of their race who were less fortunate, often impoverished and in need of basic necessities for life.

Aaron Burr, the colonial leader, Revolutionary War soldier, politician, and third Vice President of the U. S. (1801-1805), who participated in the fatal duel with Alexander Hamilton on July 11, 1804, was reported to have a son, John P. Burr (b. 1792) by his Haitian-born governess. The younger Burr was a hairdresser by trade and was very involved in the Philadelphia community. He promoted emigration to Haiti, sheltered runaway slaves, and aided those charged with treason in the Christiana Riot of 1851. John Burr helped to publish a journal called *The National Reformer* put out by the American Moral Reform Society. His impact took place on the community level: He was involved in the national convention movement of the early 1830s and in the organization of the Anti-Slavery Society. Burr was also an officer of the Mechanics' Enterprise Hall and the Moral Reform Retreat, both of which served as a refuge for Black alcoholics, and the Demosthenian Institute, which was a literary association that debated the social and political issues of the day (Winch, 2000). Burr used funds from his father to help support these groups, thus sharing his family wealth with other Blacks.

These groundbreaking organizations led to the creation of the mutual aid and self-help groups of the Progressive Era, including the Afro-American Republican League, founded in 1895; the American Negro Historical Society of Philadelphia, founded in 1897; and Sigma Pi Phi, founded in 1904. The Afro-American Republican League provided an official voice for Black Pennsylvanians and represented the highest level of organized Black political activity in

Association for the Advancement of Colored People – the NAACP – in Pennsylvania (Mjagkij). The Philadelphia branch of the NAACP first met at the Friends Meeting House on Race Street on February 22, 1911, less than a year after the establishment of the national organization. The Philadelphia NAACP focused its early efforts on the passage of antilynching legislation and new state civil rights legislation. The civil rights legislation was introduced into the State Legislature but was defeated in 1913, 1915, and 1917; the antilynching legislation, too, was never passed.

Sigma Pi Phi, a Greek letter organization for Black professionals, was founded in 1904 by a Philadelphia dentist named Dr. Henry M. Minton. Black professionals of this era were not welcome to participate in the professional and cultural associations organized by the white community, so Sigma Pi Phi's purpose was to enable professionals and college graduates to network with other Black professionals, while also uplifting the Black community and fighting racial injustice. Similar to such established Black secret societies such as the Freemasons, Eastern Stars, etc., the goal of the organization was to encourage and emphasize social activism and an elegant lifestyle (Mjagkij, 2001). Dr. Minton formed the initial group with five of his colleagues: Dr. Algernon B. Jackson, Dr. Edwin C. Howard, Dr. Richard J. Warrick, Dr. Eugene T. Hinson, and Dr. Robert J. Abele. Although all were very successful professional men, they were excluded from mainstream cultural life in the United States and deemed it necessary to create a place that accepted them socially and recognized their professional accomplishments (Mjagkij). It appeared as though initially, they were more concerned about being tagged as poor than with helping the poor.

The Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored People was founded by a Catholic nun named Katherine Mary Drexel in Philadelphia in 1899. This group was a part of a

Catholic order of nuns called The Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament (SBS) that Sister Drexel formed in 1881. Sister Drexel, despite being born into an affluent family and being well educated, had a sense of social justice and became very outspoken on behalf of Blacks and Native Americans in Philadelphia. She believed that education was the best way to serve mankind and she built, staffed, and supported a national network of schools for Blacks and Native Americans. Sister Drexel and her order of nuns provided health care, education, pastoral and spiritual care to anyone who demonstrated a need (Mjagkij, 2001).

Racism, sexism, poverty and social injustice affected every facet of the African American community. The early social service delivery systems developed by the African American pioneers made a significant impact in meeting the various needs of that community during the period between 1880 and 1920. The practice interventions that they used to engage individuals, families and communities should be re-examined to see how they could be applied to the work that is being done with certain populations today, namely the poor, unemployed, underemployed, and those on the margins of society. These early leaders were promoting social justice. On the micro level, social welfare advocates such as Stephen Smith, Dr. Nathan Mosell, and Fannie Jackson Coppin worked with individuals and families, helping them to affect positive change and improve social functioning. On the macro level, groups like the Armstrong Association and the NAACP focused on cultural and structural factors, looking to change social policy to bring about change on a larger scale.

The Settlement House movement took place during the time of both the Progressive Era and the abolitionist movement. The basic settlement house ideal was to have financially well off, well educated and/or highly positioned women and men move into poor neighborhoods and live among the residents to serve as examples for day-to-day life. At the same the time, the

Progressives could learn more about the poor and discover more ways they could be helpful (Day, 2006). The first settlement house, known as Toynbee Hall, was established in London, England in 1884. Its founder, Pastor Samuel Barnett, based the concept on the social gospel movement and attracted middle-class people to emulate Jesus by living among the poor (Day). The goal of the original settlement group was to provide social services and education to the poor.

In 1886, the first American settlement house, called the Neighborhood Guild, was established by Dr. Stanton Coit (1857-1944) and Charles B. Stover on the lower east side of New York City (Day). The goal of this American settlement house was to help assimilate and ease the transition of immigrants into the labor force by teaching them middle-class American values. In 1889, Jane Addams (1860-1935), after a visit to Toynbee Hall in London, founded Hull House with Ellen Starr (1859-1940). Hull House provided social services to help reduce the effects of poverty, including daycare, homeless shelter, public kitchen, and public baths (www.hullhouse.org). Jane Addams stated that the purpose of Hull House was to "Aid in the solutions of life in a great city, to help our neighbors build responsible, self-sufficient lives for themselves and their families" (www.hullhouse.org).

The Settlement House Movement and Philadelphia

By 1897, there were 74 settlement houses in the United States. By 1900 the number was more than 100, by 1905 there were 204, and by 1911 there were more than 400 (Woods & Kennedy 1911; Lasch-Quinn, 1993). Forty percent of settlement houses were in Boston, New York and Chicago--all leading industrial centers (Lasch-Quinn). A number of settlements that served Black people were established later in the Progressive Era (early 1900s) showing that there was a noticeable lack of resources for Blacks. Services for the Black community were

slower and smaller in scale than services provided to Whites, as evidenced by the date of establishment of settlements for Whites (1880s) compared with the date of establishment of settlements for Blacks (late 1890s and early 1900s) (Woods & Kennedy, 1911).

In Philadelphia, Black and White Progressives founded the Eighth Ward Settlement
House in 1895, the Whittier Center in 1897, and the Spring Street Settlement in 1909. By 1910
there were four settlement houses and thirteen missions that provided services to the poor Black
population in Philadelphia (Woods & Kennedy, 1911; Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

While it was rare to have a settlement house dedicated primarily to serving Blacks, those that did
exist were a valuable resource and source of civic pride. These settlement houses also reflected,
in a milder form, a stereotyped view of Blacks as either "good" or "bad," "likely to succeed" or
"unlikely to succeed" (Lasch-Quinn, 1993, p. 26). The *Handbook of Settlements* (1911)
describes the activities of the Eighth Ward Settlement House, noting, "In sharing its life with the
colored people, our settlement has its unique problem, for it deals not with a race that is
intellectually hungry, but a race at the sensation age of its evolution, and the treatment demanded
is different" (p. 268).

The mainstream settlement house movement was nondenominational and abstained from proselytizing. However, several religious organizations also established settlements to serve poor Blacks, including the Roman Catholic Church, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), and the Methodist Church (Day, 2006). Black churches also founded settlement houses in response to Black migration from the South to the North. In Chicago, Reverdy C. Ransom (1861-1959) in 1900 formed the Institutional Church and Social Settlement (ICSS), a kind of Hull House for Chicago's black community and the first settlement house in the country owned and operated by African Americans (Morris, 1990). The focus of the ICSS was to have a

church that existed for the people; it offered programs and services including daycare, gymnasium, music classes, men's clubs, women's clubs, Bible study groups and an employment center.

Importantly, these churches also stepped up to form settlement houses because the established White settlement houses would not work with the growing population of poor, urban Blacks. White settlement reformers viewed European immigrants as capable of entering into middle-class American society, but they did not hold the same view with regard to Blacks (Lasch-Quinn, 1993). This is another example of self-help; Black churches had no choice but to take care of their own people because assistance from predominantly white churches was, at best, limited. Moreover, what little help was offered would be from a segregated platform.

The Urban League of Philadelphia – the Armstrong Association, while focused on helping Black migrants adjust to urban life, also displayed a "self-interested middle class desire to crush stereotypes of blacks that intensified discrimination and segregation" (Lasch-Quinn, 1993, p. 40). While not affiliated with the National Federation of Settlements (NFS), the Urban League had local affiliates across the nation that established community centers in impoverished Black neighborhoods, including in Philadelphia via the Armstrong Association. These community centers were the equivalent of settlement houses, teaching housekeeping, diet, health, and hygiene. Historian Nancy Weiss stated that Urban League members had a different ideology from other progressives; their focus was on changing the individual behaviors of Blacks rather than laws or public opinions.

The National Federation of Settlements (NFS) was founded in 1911 by New York settlement house leaders, including White Progressives like Graham Taylor, Mary McDowell, Robert A. Woods and Cornelia Bradford. The NFS is now known as the United Neighborhood

Centers of America (UNCA) and has a membership of 150 neighborhood centers in 57 cities and 22 states. In Philadelphia in 1906, the Federation of Neighborhood Centers (Federation) was organized by settlement house leaders to help build strong neighborhoods by strengthening families and civic life. The Federation had a network of 15 settlement houses and neighborhood centers that served more than 100,000 low-income families of many different races and ethnicities. The Federation served as a precursor to the Philadelphia Housing Authority (PHA), an organization that uses federal funding to acquire, develop, lease and operate affordable housing for city residents with limited incomes (www.pha.gov).

The Relationship between Blacks and Quakers

The Quaker value system includes the belief that there exists an element of God's spirit in every human soul (Tolles, 1940; Benezet, 2007). In this system, all persons have inherent worth, independent of their gender, race, age, nationality, religion, or sexual orientation. The Quakers' opposition to sexism, racism, religious intolerance, warfare and the death penalty comes from this belief (Tolles). On a per capita basis, the Quakers have probably contributed more to the promotion of tolerance, peace and justice than any other Christian denomination, and more than the Progressives (Tolles). They have been influential beyond their numbers in such areas as promoting world peace, abolishing slavery, advocating the fair treatment of Native Americans, and advocating universal suffrage, prison reform, improvement in mental hospitals, etc. (Tolles; Benezet). Influential Quaker Philadelphians like Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Rush and Anthony Benezet openly worked for the abolition of the slave system (Franklin, 1967).

Quakers held meetings, gave lectures to appeal to the public conscience and wrote antislavery tracts and pamphlets. They received their funding through philanthropists, church congregations both Christian and Quaker, and donations of people coming to hear their lectures or buying their pamphlets. Anthony Benezet was a Quaker who was born in France and grew up in London, England. His family moved to the U. S. in 1731 when he was seventeen and he then joined the Quakers. Benezet was a teacher at the Friends' English School of Philadelphia when, in 1750, he started teaching slave children in his home in the evenings. He then set up the first public girls' school in America in 1754, while he continued teaching slave children in the evenings.

In 1770, with the help of some friends, Benezet set up The Negro School at Philadelphia. Benezet also wrote *Some Historical Account of Guinea*, an anti-slavery tract, in 1772; it was by far the most influential writing on anti-slavery on both sides of the Atlantic. The pamphlet was read and, to a certain extent, imitated by both Granville Sharp and John Wesley, both of whom corresponded with Benezet and distributed his works in England. Several years later, Benezet's works were instrumental in persuading Thomas Clarkson to embark on his abolitionist career, and Benezet's *Some Historical Account of Guinea* was reprinted several times during the height of the abolition campaign (Ives, Smith, & Wiggins, 1986).

Despite the abolitionist work of the Philadelphia Quakers, many Quakers who believed in abolishing slavery still maintained and exhibited their own prejudices about Blacks and most of their abolitionist groups were not inclusive of Blacks. In fact, there were Black Quakers who still had to fight racism and prejudice within Quaker society. The first to protest discrimination within the Friends Society publicly was Sarah Mapps Douglass (1806-1882). She was raised as a Quaker by her mother, Grace Bustill Douglass, and learned of the abolitionist movement from her father, Robert Douglass, Sr., a renowned abolitionist (Ives, 1995; Seller, 1994; Sterling, 1984). Sarah Mapps Douglass was a teacher, lecturer, abolitionist, reformer and tireless advocate of women's education (Ives). She served as the supervisor at the Institute for Colored Youth, a

Quaker-sponsored establishment. Through her work, Douglass developed a friendship with White Quaker abolitionists Sarah and Angelina Grimké. At their insistence, she attended the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, held in New York City in 1837. It was the first national convention of American anti-slavery women to integrate Black and White members (Ives, Sterling).

At the time of the first national census in 1790, the number of freedmen outnumbered the number of slaves in Philadelphia by almost eight to one (Du Bois, 1899). This influx of freedmen increased the Black vote in the approaching political elections and allowed for an up-and-coming political party called the Grand Old Party--the GOP--to threaten to oust the incumbent, corrupt political party known as the Democratic Party (Du Bois, 1899). This influx of freedmen also increased the number of Black people who were holding good jobs, who were educated and able to educate their children and who served as productive, positive influences in the Black community (Du Bois, 1899).

With regard to the influx of freedmen into Philadelphia, W. E. B. Du Bois stated in *The Philadelphia Negro*:

The first result was widespread poverty and idleness. This was followed, as the number of freedmen increased, by a rush to the city. Between 1790 and 1800 the Negro population of Philadelphia County increased from 2,489 to 6,880, or 176 percent, against an increase of 43 percent among whites. The first result of this contact with city life was to stimulate the talented and aspiring freedman; and this was easier because the freedman had in Philadelphia at that time a secure economic foothold; he performed all kinds of domestic service, all common labor and much of the skilled labor. The group being thus

secure in its daily bread needed only leadership to make some advance in general culture and social effectiveness..." (pp. 17-18)

Du Bois's undertook his study of Blacks in Philadelphia during the Progressive Era and found that most Blacks were living in the center of the city, with the heaviest concentration being in the Seventh Ward – an area that spanned from Spruce Street to South Street and from Seventh Street to the Schuylkill River (see Appendix B). Du Bois commented that this area was heavily populated with Blacks because many of them were domestic servants and lived close to the White families they served. Du Bois also found that the more prosperous Blacks lived on the outer edges of the city limits.

Chapter Summary

All of these theorists and social change agents emphasize a common theoretical position – any type of social change stems from some form of social conflict. This conflict can start at the individual or the community level or beyond. African American liberation and social change is thus rooted in social conflict, and specifically in one of the most prevailing and long-lasting conflicts in American society – the struggle between African Americans and Caucasian Americans. The sources of conflict in the U.S. in general and Philadelphia in particular stemmed from African Americans being excluded from full and equal participation in society's institutions; they were disadvantaged politically, economically, and even in terms of their health because of this exclusion.

African American leaders such as Sojourner Truth (1797?-1883), Harriet Ross Tubman (1819-1913), W.E.B. Du Bois (1868-1963), Ida B. Wells-Barnett (1862-1931), and Booker T. Washington (1856-1915), among others, spoke out and motivated the community to rise up and fight for their rights to equal political, economic, social, educational and health care

opportunities (Byrd & Clayton, 2000). These determined and resilient pioneers took the fight for social change to the people, using their talents and resources to educate and meet the needs of the people that they were assisting--*their* people. The fight for civil rights, social rights and human rights continues for Black Americans, not just in Philadelphia but across the United States.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL CHANGE FOR "SOCIAL BETTERMENT"

Overview

This historical qualitative study included analysis of hundreds of documents that were created during a specific time period from 1880 to 1920 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and were found at several locations in that city: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, The Library Company of Philadelphia, The University of Pennsylvania, Temple University, and The African American Historical Museum of Philadelphia. In addition, the Library of Congress in Washington D.C. was a rich resource for documents.

I spent seven weeks in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in June, 2008 through July, 2008 and three days in Washington D. C. in July, 2008 examining as many documents as I could get access to that were specific to the research questions of this study. After examination of the documents the following questions were addressed:

- 1. What roles did the late 19th century Progressive Era African American social change agents play in the struggle for social rights, human rights, and social service delivery for freed slaves and Blacks in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania?
- 2. What were the social service delivery systems that were developed and used by these early African American social welfare pioneers in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania?
- 3. Did these initiatives have any correspondence or parallels with other movements during this time period?

4. What, if any, cross racial alliances were negotiated, and what bridges if any, were built between White and Black reformers?

I begin this chapter with a description of the racial and social stratification in Philadelphia, followed by a description of the social service systems that were in place and the practice interventions that were used in work with and on behalf of Blacks. Discussion of early practice modalities, Black social reformers, and the alliance between Black and White Progressives will follow. The chapter ends with a discussion of the themes found in the findings, a summary, and a section devoted to describing the material that was collected.

Stratification in Philadelphia

There was an obvious racial stratification in Philadelphia, PA during the Progressive Era, both within the mainstream society and within the Black community. When the Republican National Convention was held in Philadelphia in 1900, Black delegates were barred from the city's hotels (Davis & Haller, 1973). The same existed in residential housing where many Whites refused to rent to Blacks. Similarly, there was prejudice and discrimination in the employment of Blacks; even well qualified Blacks had difficulty finding work because Whites often refused to work with Blacks (Davis & Haller; Lane, 1991). Neighborhoods were divided along racial and ethnic lines, for example, Italian immigrants lived on the west side of the city near Overbrook, Manayunk and Germantown; Polish immigrants lived in south Philadelphia and the Northern Liberties section of the city; and Russian Jewish immigrants lived in an area of the city called the Fifth Ward (Davis & Haller; Lane). Du Bois (1898) found in his study *The Philadelphia Negro* that most Blacks lived in center city and the southeastern part of the city in an area called the Seventh Ward (Appendix B). Within this area of the city there were very wealthy Blacks as well as the city's first Black ghetto with the worst Black slum at Seventh and Lombard Streets (Davis

& Haller). This was the attitude that existed in Philadelphia about Blacks which stemmed from the results of the Dred Scott Supreme Court decision handed down on March 6, 1857; Attorney General Toney stated that Negroes were:

...beings of an inferior order and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect. (Johnson & Smith, 1998, p. 418)

This ruling set the tone for the attitudes of the times, where skin color became the determining factor for discrimination and oppression, not the status of free man or slave.

Blacks in Philadelphia were very concerned about their status not just in relation to Whites but among themselves. Wealth, occupation, family, skin color, nativity, education and gender largely determined the position that a Black person had in the social order (Litwack, 1961). Philadelphia had a Black elite that descended from the freedmen of the past century who had "an aristocracy of wealth and education that was not recognized by or even known to the whites" (Davis & Haller, 1973, p. 491). The old family names associated with this aristocracy were Alexander, Purvis, Adger, Pickens, Forten, McKee, Mosell and Minton (Graham, 1999). Philadelphia had no Black universities so the distinctions within the Black elite were drawn around certain professions – mostly made up of doctors, lawyers, and entrepreneurs (Graham). Wealth and education were not the only determining factors in status among Blacks – skin color also played a role.

Skin color has always played an important role in determining one's popularity, prestige, and mobility within the Black elite...they have seen the benefits accorded to lighter-skinned Blacks with 'whiter features' – who are hired more often, given better jobs and perceived as less threatening. (Graham, 1999, p. 377)

The Intersection of Gender, Race and Class in Service Systems

Black Americans have been developing ways to care for themselves on an individual, group and community level since slaves were first brought over on the slave ships in the 1600's. The early Black American pioneers used a multi-systems approach in developing early social service delivery systems. The Progressive Era is ideal for examination of these social service delivery systems because a variety of conditions and events converged then to create a climate for a period of intense community building activities (O'Donnell, 1996). The Progressive Era was also a time period of recognition of a social net for those who were less fortunate.

During the Progressive Era there was a shift of Blacks moving from rural settings being directed to low cost living in urban areas that created ghettos (i.e., over-crowded, concentrated poverty); increased social stratification within the Black American community; increased segregation in American society; declining living conditions for many Black Americans; and an ideological debate between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois that fueled local reform efforts throughout the Black American community (Hofstadter, 1975; Mann, 1975; O'Donnell, 1996). The Washington Du Bois debate at its core centered on the future of Blacks or specifically, Washington urged Blacks to discontinue attempts at integration. Washington instead wanted to focus upon building up the Black community by emphasizing the importance of vocational training for Blacks. Du Bois on the other hand urged that Blacks should fight to receive equal treatment under the law and emphasized the importance of a classical education over vocational as advocated by Washington (Hofstadter; O'Donnell).

The majority of the social service delivery systems during the Progressive period that are documented made an impact on both the mezzo and macro level by focusing on specific groups of people; children, the poor, the unemployed, the uneducated, and the homeless among others

(Barnes, 2005; Carlton-LaNey, 1999, O'Donnell, 1996). This held true for the work that was being done in Philadelphia as well (Source Information pages 151-207). During this period, Black Americans focused on building up their neighborhoods and improving the quality of life for all members, functional community organizing, community social and economic development, program development, political and social action, and social movements (Weil & Gamble, 1995).

William Pollard, while studying at The University of Chicago in 1976, conducted a study of African American participation in social welfare in the south from 1890-1915 and found that through churches and educational institutions, people were encouraged to support or sponsor schools, orphanages, and homes for the elderly. They were also encouraged to donate time and money to reformatories, shut-ins and kindergartens (Pollard, 1978). Most of the Black Americans who led the way in providing services to their respective communities were educated and of a high social status from prominent families, for example Ida B. Wells-Barnett in Chicago, Illinois and Lugenia Burns Hope in Atlanta, Georgia (O'Donnell, 1996).

Many Blacks living in urban centers during the Progressive Era focused on activities that would improve their own communities through social betterment and social protest (O'Donnell, 1996). These people built their own grocery stores, hospitals, clinics, schools, orphanages, insurance companies, and senior citizen homes (O'Donell). Most of these institutions were founded by Black businessmen and women's clubs, although some institutions were supported financially by White philanthropists. Activities such as guest speakers and lecturers, found in the evidence gathered, were given at various churches and lecture halls with the idea and hope of raising funds for these various institutions, and for improving the position of Black Americans politically and socially. Major James H. Teagle was a Black Civil War veteran and an activist

who campaigned in Philadelphia to encourage Black men to vote for the Republican Party candidates. In an address to achieve this he stated:

Remember the past, remember your rights, and have the courage and independence to assert these rights, with all the power of freemen. And if you are but true to yourselves, steadfast to the party who gave you political existence, and determined and unflinching in the lawful exercise of all your rights as voters... (excerpt from *Address to Colored Voters*, 1881, Appendix H-1).

In many American cities like Philadelphia, boycotts initiated by Blacks took place targeting city street cars, and Black legislators across the country fought to stop segregation of public facilities and public education all across the nation (Meier, 1970). Several women's groups organized campaigns to advocate for public rehabilitation programs for juvenile offenders all over the nation (Du Bois, 1909).

The early social service delivery systems focused on self-help, using the strengths of the Black American community to assist those who were more vulnerable and needful. A strong sense of duty, a respect of elders, and the support of the extended family were all evident.

Likewise, the evidence shows instances of individuals who were educated, who had some money and influence, how they reached out to those in the community who had less and gave back to the less fortunate.

Gender

There was evidence that social service interventions were organized along gender roles. Patriarchal roles and matriarchal roles were evident in the work that was done in Philadelphia's Black community. For example, men usually worked with the men and women with the women and children as evidenced by the groups that were identified and by their stated purpose (See

Table 4.3). Austin (2000) stated that "maternalistic" approaches focused on dealing with social problems through individual, case-by-case services, primarily with women and children; and "paternalistic" approaches focused on addressing social problems through public policy initiatives; and these two approaches often created a tension as social welfare institutions and organizations developed during the late 19th and early 20th centuries (p. 22-23).

In this study, the men headed up groups and organizations that were focused on changing social policies and developing trade skills for other men; for example, the Armstrong Center, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Men also were in charge of most of the financial organizations such as the Berean Savings Association and The Benezet House Association, and philanthropic organizations like the Philadelphia Starr Center and the Brotherly Union Society of the County of Philadelphia. The following picture shows the Berean Building and Loan Officers from the Berean Savings Association in 1912 (taken by F. Gutenkunst, from the Berean Institute Scrapbook):



Figure 4.1. Photo of Berean Building and Loan Officers in 1912

Men also dominated the boards of groups and organizations that benefited men, women and children including the Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital and Training School, the National Urban League (NUL), and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) (Weiss, 1974).

Cooper (2003) suggested that the concept of "social motherhood" represents the ideology that women are helpers and will take care of society (p. 80). The women in this study more often than not served on parallel boards of the same organizations where their husbands served. Sarah Bass Allen (1784 – 1849) the wife of Richard Allen, founder of Mother Bethel A.M.E. church, and Charlotte Forten Grimke (1837 – 1914) who aided her husband Frances J. Grimke (1852 – 1937) in his ministry and organized a women's missionary group at his church are examples of such women leaders. Sarah Bass Allen worked tirelessly by her husband's side to assist Black people in their community; from feeding, clothing, and sheltering escaped slaves, to clothing and feeding the poor both within and outside of the Bethel congregation. She is known for establishing the first recognized charity organization for female parishioners – the Women's Missionary Society, and she is honored as the African Methodist Episcopal Church's first female missionary. The Women's Missionary Society initially started out preparing meals, and repairing garments for the clergy. They later expanded to helping the needy outside of the clergy, forming a daycare school during the daytime hours and organizing adult classes at night to help educate church members. They also cooked meals, mended garments, and gathered clothes for the needy.

Other women worked independent of their spouses including Fannie Jackson Coppin (1835 – 1912) and Frances Watkins Harper (1825 – 1911), and women's groups and organizations; The Daughters of African Society and the Dorcas Society, all demonstrated a maternalistic approach and focus that is, addressing the needs of Black women and children.

Martin and Martin (1995) contend that gender played a vital role in how social work was developed in the Black community which was summarized by Carlton-LaNey (2001):

Gender was critical to the way that social work was developed in the African American community. They assert that African American male social workers did not build on the African American helping tradition of which the elements of self-help, race pride, and social debt were a part. Instead, they pursued an assimilationist course and sought interracial alliances as a mechanism for successful social work practice. African American female social workers, on the other hand, used extended family concepts to work with African American people of all ages to fulfill social service needs...African American female social workers 'brought extended family values into larger context of social obligation'. (p. 113)

Based on this theoretical perspective from Martin and Martin (1995), the evidence in this study showed that male social welfare reformers in the Progressive Era generally operated from an assimilationist perspective while at the same time female social welfare reformers approached meeting needs from an African helping tradition.

Race

During the Progressive Era, a call to arms was given by social reformers to fight for the civil rights of disadvantaged Americans across the country. Philadelphia, PA, was no exception. During this period, there was also extensive community building activity taking place in the Black neighborhoods and, much of it could be considered "social work". The evidence showed that this work was initially carried out by Blacks, not the White Progressives. Some settlement houses that served only Whites recognized the problems of Blacks as they began to migrate from the agricultural south to the urban industrial north. A few developed programs and even engaged

in active recruitment of Blacks, but found that Whites being served by these programs resisted and even refused to participate in the settlement activities (Lowell, 1879; Woods & Kennedy, 1911; Day, 2006). An example of this is found in the following:

...a settlement confronted by the appearance of blacks in its environs responded by either closing down, by following its white immigrants and moving out of the neighborhood, by excluding blacks, by conducting segregated activities, by establishing or urging the establishment of a separate branch for blacks, or by attempting integration. (Lasch-Quinn, 1993, p.24)

Due to the reluctance of the mainstream settlement house movement to extend its programs to newly arriving Blacks and their neighborhoods, the hard social change oriented work was therefore left largely to the members of the Black community (Lasch-Quinn, 1993). They ventured out on their own by trial and error, without the expertise and wisdom of others who had developed earlier settlements. There were a few moderately successful Black settlement houses that focused on the needs of Blacks in their respective communities that developed in large cities like Chicago, Illinois with the work of Ida B. Wells-Barnett (1862 – 1931); and in Atlanta, Georgia and Lugenia Burns Hope (1871-1947). Generally, Blacks were subject to either rigid segregation or were blocked entirely even from the meager social services that were being provided to other poor people who were of European descent. Blacks were excluded from unions and employment; more Black men were increasingly left unemployed and more Black women found their only recourse for employment was to work as domestics.

Many organizations within the Black community in Philadelphia, PA such as the Brotherly Union Society of the County of Philadelphia and the Cultural, Social and Statistical Association of the Colored People of Philadelphia, expended resources fighting to relieve the

Black community from the weight of oppression and discrimination inflicted upon its members by the larger society. The overarching goal was to grant Blacks their civil rights, to allow these Americans to experience the freedoms that were always granted to other American citizens under the Constitution of the United States of America. Within these groups and organizations there were a number of individuals who took up this cause personally, and fought for freedom and social justice for all Blacks in Philadelphia, PA. Some 51 individuals (37 men, and 14 women) and 48 groups and organizations (39 for men, and 9 for women) were noted in the evidence gathered. Of these groups and organizations, there were 20 that had a philanthropic or activist focus, 4 that were politically or educationally affiliated, 9 that focused on economics and asset development, 3 that had a religious focus, 8 had social activities for a focus, and 4 that were health related.

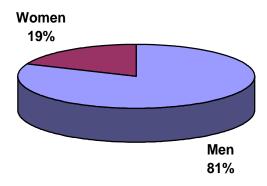


Figure 4.2. Breakdown of groups/organizations by gender

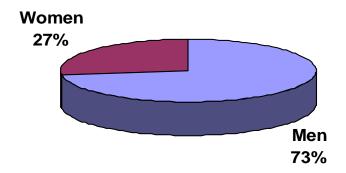


Figure 4.3. Breakdown of individuals by gender

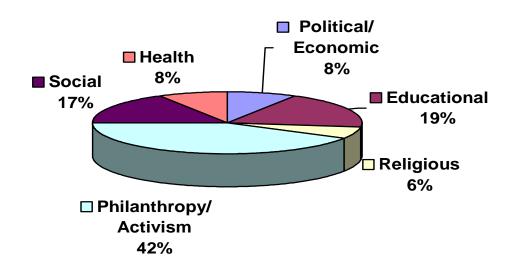


Figure 4.4. Breakdown of groups/organizations by category

Table 4.1

Black Male Social Reformers Serving the Black Community in Philadelphia

	Roles
Robert M. Adger Jr. (1837 – 1910)	Bibliophile, Activist
Rev. Dr. Matthew Anderson (???)	Pastor, Businessman, Banker, founder Berean
Richard Allen (1760 – 1831)	Institute, Savings & Loan Preacher, Educator, Advocate
William Boliver (???)	Educator, Historian
Morris Brown (1770 – 1849)	Shoe maker, Preacher
Octavius V. Catto (1839 – 1871)	Educator, Activist
William M. Dorsey (???)	Writer, Activist
Frederick Douglass (1818 – 1895)	Abolitionist, Author, Reformer
Leon Gardiner (???)	Printer, Businessman
Or. Eugene Hinson (???)	Physician, co-founder Mercy Douglass
Or. E. C. Howard (???)	Physician, co-founder Mercy Douglass
Dr. Nathan Mossell (1856 – 1946)	Physician, co-founder Mercy Douglass
Reverend John M. Palmer (???)	Preacher
Edward T. Parker (1821 – 1887)	Businessman, co-founder elderly home
Richard R. Wright (1878 – 1967)	Sociologist, Social Worker, Preacher
Stephen Smith (1795 – 1873)	Businessman, co-founder elderly home
William Still (1821 – 1902)	Abolitionist, Activist, Coal Merchant
James S. Stemons (1870 – 1959)	Author, Journalist, Activist
William Monroe Trotter (1872 – 1934)	Journalist, Activist
William Whipper (1804 – 1876)	Businessman, Abolitionist, Activist
Jacob C. White Jr. (1837 – 1902)	Businessman, Activist

Table 4.2

Black Female Social Reformers serving the Black Community in Philadelphia

Individuals	Roles
Sarah Allen (1764 – 1849)	Missionary, Activist
Fannie Jackson Coppin (1837 – 1913)	Teacher, Activist, Writer, Missionary
Frances Watkins Harper (1825 – 1911)	Educator
Jarena Lee (1783 – 185?)	Preacher, Activist
Dr. Caroline V. Anderson (???)	Educator
Dr. Rebecca Cole	Physician, Educator

Table 4.3

Social Reform Organizations Serving the Black Community in Progressive Era Philadelphia

Organization	Purpose	Targeted Population
American Freedman's Aid and Union Commission (est. 1865)	Advocacy for civil rights	All
American Negro Historical Society (est. 1897)	Preserve the history of Blacks in Philadelphia	All
Armstrong Association/Urban League of Philadelphia (1908 – present)	Equity in employment and vocational training	Men and Women
Association for the Protection of Colored Women (APCW) (1890's)	Protect and educate female migrants	Female migrants from the south
Banneker Institute (est. 1854)	Education, literary society	Men
The Benezet House Association (est. 1917)	Housing assistance, education	Men and Women migrants
Benezet Joint Stock Association of Philadelphia (1890's)	Insurance, mutual beneficial society	Men and Women
Benjamin Lindy Philanthropic Society (1890's)	Benevolence, philanthropy	All
Berean Institute (1899)	Vocational training	Men and Women
Berean Savings Association (1888 – present)	Banking, financial planning	Men and Women
Brotherly Union Society of the County of Philadelphia	Benevolence, outreach	Male migrants from the south
Cultural, Social and Statistical Association of the Colored People of Philadelphia (1890's)	Cultural, social and business activities	Men and Women

Table 4.3 continued

Organization	Purpose	Targeted Population
Daughters of Africa (est. 1820's)	Beneficial Society	Women and Children
Daughters of African Society (est. 1820's)	Benevolence, outreach	Female migrants from the south
Dorcas Society (est. 1830's)	Women's Auxiliary Group	Women, children
Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital and Training School (1895 – 1973)	Medical assistance and education	All
Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons (1899)	Home for the elderly	Elderly and Infirmed
Home for Moral Reform and Destitute Colored Children (1899)	Orphanage, education	Children
Home for the Homeless (1886)	Homeless shelter	All
The Industrial Exposition by the Colored People (1899)	Business networking	Men and Women
Institute for Colored Youth (1889)	School	Children
Moore Street Industrial School for Colored People (1890's)	Vocational training	Men and Women
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People – NAACP (1909 – present)	Civil rights advocacy	All
Negro Historical Society (1890's)	Heritage preservation, activism	All
Order of the Eastern Star (1895 – present)	Freemasonry, social club	Men

Table 4.3 continued

Organization	Purpose	Targeted Population
The Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage and for Improving the Condition of the African Race (1889)	Activism, benevolence	All
Philadelphia Starr Center (1887 – 1943)	Philanthropy	All
Prince Hall Masonic Lodge (1787 – present)	Freemasonry, Social Club	Men
Progressive Working Colored Men's Club (1878 – 1893)	Networking, social, recreation	Men
Sigma Pi Phi (1904 – present)	Fraternal, networking	Men
Sub-Primary School Society (1881)	Education	Children
The Women's Union Missionary Society (1895)	Benevolence	Women and Children
Young Men's Christian Association – YMCA (1854 – present)	Vocational training, recreation, shelter	Men

The names for Tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 were found in the evidence gathered at various sites as described in the Sources section located after the chapter summary.

Most of the male and female social reformers were linked to one or more of the organizations listed in Table 4.3

These tables are not a comprehensive list of all of the individuals and groups/organizations affiliated with social reform in the Black community of Philadelphia. The tables represent the individuals, groups and organizations that this researcher documented in the course of the study.

Class

Philadelphia was driven by class stratification which was reflected in the social reform methods of the Progressive Era. People who were poor were blamed for their lack of success; they were considered to be lazy, unmotivated, immoral, promiscuous, and incompetent. As a result, they were considered to be a social liability rather than a social obligation and the underlying motives for assisting such people were to teach them Puritan morality and an improved work ethic (Lowell, 1879, Woods & Kennedy, 1911; Day, 2009). For example, Octavia Hill (1838-1912), an English social reformer combined "sympathy for her tenants with a severe application of middle-class values, enforcing rigid rules of behavior" (Sutherland, 1975, p. 24). Helen Parrish, a White Progressive, who worked with Octavia Hill, was known to have:

...broke into their [tenants] homes to impose her own middle-class values of thrift, sobriety, and cleanliness...She also evicted a black man who married a white woman, and she thought nothing of invading an apartment to remove liquor bottles. (Sutherland, p. 28)

In Philadelphia at this time there were about 3,000 prosperous Blacks (business owners, skilled trade persons, clerical workers, and higher grades of laborers) who lived on Lombard Street, west of Eighth, and on Rodman and Addison Streets (Du Bois, 1899). Du Bois noted that these middle class individuals tended to be alienated from their own people and that they provided little leadership for their poorer and less fortunate brethren – working class and poor people. Most of the individuals, and leaders, of various groups and organizations found in this study showed that they too were from well off families and/or self made successes and, well educated (Tables 4.1 – 4.3). There were some familiar names from Philadelphia's Black elite like

Adger, Forten, and Mosell; but there were also many other names that are not associated with the elite names including Coppin, Howard, Parker, and Still.

Development of Social Service Delivery in Philadelphia

Social service and reform organizations during this period did not look to replace the family or just to assist in their needs; they were responding to social situations (Dolgoff & Feldstein, 2009). While service delivery included personal services; services to individuals based on relationships, and institutional service; macro level services such as income programs, employment programs, housing programs, and the like were the dominant means of delivery (Dolgoff & Feldstein). The Progressive Era was the period of time when the convergence of two different social welfare movements: Charity Organization Societies (COS) and the Settlement House Movement occurred and that also triggered the growth of the social work profession.

The purpose of the Charity Organization Societies (COS) was to organize all of the charities that were located in a specific area so that needful people living in that area could be served; but at the same time, they would not be able to receive assistance from more than one agency (Day, 2006). The COS movement was based on the conviction that "it provided the means to save cities from the evils of pauperism, reduce the cost of charity, and deal with antagonism created by social class differences (Brieland, NASW, 1987, p. 740). The COS developed employment services, legal aid and counseling services that were later to be offered by family agencies as they developed (Brieland, NASW, 1987).

There was also an element of control with COS, they organized all charities in an area so that needy people could get served but at the same time, they could control who gets what from what charity. An example of this can be seen in Helen Parrish, a "friendly visitor" who was an upper class white woman from the well known Philadelphia family with a long record of social

reform; Parrish-Wharton. Helen Parrish taught in Theodore Starr's kindergarten on St. Mary's Street. She joined with Hannah Fox to work with the Octavia Hill Association. Helen Parrish was also instrumental in persuading Mary Richmond to come to Philadelphia and serve as executive secretary of Philadelphia's Society for Organizing Charity (S.O.C.) from 1900-1910 (Sutherland, 1975). This friendship influenced Helen Parrish's social views:

Middle-class respectability represented both the goal and the limitations of the Octavia Hill Association (O. H. A.). Neighborhood rehabilitation implied a measure of social control which resulted in eviction for gambling, drunkenness, or illicit sexual affairs...there existed a portion of the lower class, suffering from social and emotional problems, which was not adequately housed, even by groups like the O.H.A. (Sutherland, 1975, p.34).

These views were not unique to Helen Parrish but dominated the views of White Progressives throughout Philadelphia and nationwide. Despite their efforts to reach out to and help as well as control certain behaviors of the poor and disadvantaged, there were many who fell through the cracks and never received services.

The philosophy of the Settlement House Movement was not to provide charity, unlike the COS, but to help immigrants with all of the problems they faced in their respective geographic area. The idea was to have educated, middle to upper class people move into the areas where the poor and disadvantaged reside and live there so that both groups could learn from one another. Settlement houses emphasized social reform rather than relief or assistance. They utilized group work, community organization and advocacy to address the needs of the people they were assisting (NASW, 1987). As mentioned before, these movements initially ignored the plight of most Blacks in America which forced this population group to develop their own social service

and reform organizations. Other groups such as the Lutherans, Catholics and Protestants were not as inclusive of Blacks as they could have been; some like the Protestants demanded church attendance as the price of assistance (Day, 2009). The church led the way in the Black community of meeting these needs with ministers who were influenced by the social gospel movement, the "social betterment" movement, the settlement house movement, and sociology (Bennett, 1966; Day, 2006; Martin & Martin, 2002; Wright, 1922).

Influence of the Church

The Black church – churches that have a staff and congregation consisting exclusively or almost exclusively of Black people – has played a vital and important role in the lives of Black people, not just spiritually but socially, politically, and educationally. "The church served as the most effective vehicle by which men and women alike, pushed down by racism and poverty, regrouped and rallied against emotional and physical defeat" (Higginbotham, 1993, p.1). The Black church had an autonomy and financial strength that was found in no other place in the Black community, therefore, it made sense that it served as the epicenter of racial self-help, as an agency of social control, a place where discussion and debate could take place openly and freely, and a place where Black leaders could grow and thrive.

The physical church building was one of the only safe places where large numbers of Blacks could meet without hindrance or harassment. The evidence examined (examples in Appendices I-1 through I-5) showed that the church would host guest lecturers and speakers, concerts, exhibits, meetings, conferences and political rallies. It was also a place where classes were held for general education and vocational training. Most churches had a publication that they sponsored – like the Christian Recorder which was sponsored by the A. M. E. church. "The

church sponsored press played an instrumental role in the dissemination of a black oppositional discourse and in the creation of a black collective will" (Higginbotham, 1993, p. 11).

Although it was the men who led the church and did the preaching who ended up being the face and personality of each church, it was the women who usually served on the various committees devoted to social services, education, and health care in the community and they became "the heartbeat" of the church. Women in many instances led the way in raising funds to build and sustain churches, schools, and social welfare services. Examples surfaced in the study and were noted relative to the Dorcas Society operating out of Bethel A. M. E.; the Daughters of Africa Society, and The Women's Union Missionary Society.

...the formation of black women's clubs represent a notable historical movement of this time. Along with fighting for equality for blacks and providing companionship, black reform societies helped black women find employment, set up day nurseries and kindergartens, and established homes to protect young black women from sexual abuse. Like most middle-class white women of the era, black club women were middle class and educated but unlike many of their white counterparts the vast majority worked outside the home. (Day, 2009, p. 254-255)

Usually Black women worked outside of the home as domestics for middle and upper class whites. Du Bois (1899) reported in his study *The Philadelphia Negro*, that over 91 percent of Black women in Pennsylvania were employed in domestic service; "The colored perform about three times as much domestic service in proportion to their numbers as the whites do" (Du Bois, 1899, p. 433).

Leading Black Progressive Organizations

There was evidence of two leading Black Progressive organizations that operated both in Philadelphia and on a national level – The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League (NUL). The NAACP was created in 1909 to fight discrimination and inequality. As stated earlier in this chapter, the NAACP was the outgrowth of an idea formed by W. E. B. Du Bois and William Monroe Trotter (1872-1934) while at the Niagara Movement in 1905. The Niagara Movement grew out of a meeting of Black leaders called by Du Bois and Trotter. It was named for the "mighty current" of change the group wanted to effect and Niagara Falls, which was near the location of the first meeting that July (African American Registry, 2005). The Niagara Movement was a call for opposition to racial segregation and disenfranchisement as well as policies of accommodation and conciliation (Weiss, 1974). On February 12, 1909, another call was issued for a meeting to discuss racial justice. A group of 53 White liberals (Jane Addams, George Henry White, John Dewey and Lillian Walk among others) and 7 African Americans responded to this call and the NAACP was created (www.naacp.org).

The NUL (discussed in greater detail later in this chapter) was formed to address employment issues in the Black community and to advance economic opportunities for this group. "It is the nation's oldest and largest community-based movement devoted to empowering African Americans to enter the economic and social mainstream" (www.urbanleaguephila.org). This organization was established nationally in 1910 and in Philadelphia in 1917. The goal of the NUL was to help Blacks adjust to living in the city through vocational training, education, finding decent housing, as well as working to improve health and sanitation conditions in Black neighborhoods (Weiss, 1974).

Practice Interventions for Blacks in Early Philadelphia

During the late 1800's as the population of Philadelphia grew, the wealth of the city also grew. The number or people in poverty grew as well (Davis & Haller, 1973). The increase in poverty could have been due to the outbreaks of yellow fever that began appearing each fall after the large epidemic of that dreaded, devastating disease that broke out initially in 1793 (Nash, 1988). A victim of the fever would be out of work for long periods of time. If the head of the household suffered from the fever and died, the remaining family members would have no way to sustain themselves. Those who had wealth, lived in fear of losing their holdings (Davis & Haller). "When even the most prosperous of Philadelphia's citizens looked around them, they saw much to fear, and a special focus of their fear and anger were the poor" (Davis & Haller, p.15).

The prosperous citizens of Philadelphia who had means, were able to flee the city when the outbreak occurred, likely believed that the poor were responsible for spreading the yellow fever. The hardest hit of all Philadelphians were the urban poor and working class immigrants, who could barely afford to see a doctor if at all. With a dramatic shortage in doctors and medical assistants the city turned to its long-ignored African American community for their expertise and assistance. Absalom Jones and Richard Allen were among the most effective leaders involved in organizing aid for the needy poor. At the peak of the epidemic more than twenty Philadelphians died each day, many of them African Americans (Hopper, Preservation Alliance).

The poor were classified into two categories – the "industrious or deserving" poor and the "indigent" poor (Davis & Haller, 1973). The industrious poor were people who worked when they were able and lived close to the subsistence level. If they were unemployed for weeks at a time, they would need to enter the city's Almshouse (Davis & Haller). These were the poor for

whom charities were set up for in the winter when work was scarcer. The indigent poor were seen as having a "lack of industry often caused by intemperance or vicious upbringing" (Davis & Haller, p.16). Prosperous Philadelphians were constantly reminded of their duty to help the industrious poor while not giving aid to the indigent poor. They were less inclined to give aid to Blacks regardless of whether they were industrious or not (Davis & Haller).

Casework

Individual services. There were also organizations that specialized in attempting to meet the needs of the individual, for example, The Berean Savings Association served men and women who were looking to secure their future financially through a savings or investment program or through starting a business (Table 4.3). Organizations like the Banneker Institute, the Benjamin Lindy Philanthropic Society, and the Dorcas Society focused on the individual needs of each person or family that they were serving (Table 4.3). These needs could be monetary, housing, clothing, or food among others, and these organizations worked to address the presenting needs of the person or family seeking assistance.

Individual services were also provided by emerging Black leaders and helpers using their personal skills, resources, and talents; caring for the sick, caring for children, getting out to the homes of those who were shut in or unable to get to an agency or organization. Examples of people doing this type of work and outreach are found on Tables 4.1 and 4.2, including people like; Dr. Nathan Mossell, providing medical care through house calls; Theodore Starr; tailoring social service and education programs to meet individual needs through his center; William Still, using personal resources to provide food, and clothing to needful Blacks; and Charlotte Forten Grimke who taught children how to read and write at the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church where she served.

Group services. There were various organizations that served the Black community in Progressive Era Philadelphia that focused on attempting to meet the needs of a particular group. The Association for the Protection of Colored Women (APCW) and the Daughters of African Society focused on serving female migrants that came to the city from the south. The Brotherly Union Society of the County of Philadelphia is an organization that focused on meeting the needs of Black male migrants from the south. The Berean Institute focused on vocational training for both men and women, to help the unemployed and the underemployed secure a better job (Table 4.3).

Neighborhood Organizations

Different organizations (Table 4.3) were established in the various Black neighborhoods to attempt to meet the needs of the poor and disenfranchised living there; self-help was the only real option for Blacks during this period. The goal of these organizations like the Armstrong Association and the National Urban League was to advocate and create employment opportunities for Blacks as well as to encourage and create educational opportunities for this group of people. Manning (2006) states:

Blacks acquired and came to believe deeply in the democratic discourse to which Whites claimed an allegiance. They bitterly learned, however, that the constitutional guarantees and the administration of laws protecting individual rights were not extended to them. In response, they established organizations and institutions that both preserved their unique cultural gifts, families, and heritage and also asserted their rights to be treated as equals. (p. 20-21).

Examples of these organizations found in the evidence and described in the sources section include the Moore Street Industrial School for Colored People, The Pennsylvania State Equal

Rights League, The Progressive Working Men's Club, and The YMCA (Table 4.3). The YMCA being referred to here is the Christian Street YMCA which was established in 1914 and was the second Black YMCA in the nation. It was also the first Black YMCA to have its own building. The material reviewed does not show just how effective these neighborhood organizations were, or what their strengths and weaknesses were.

Settlement houses. The goal of the settlement house was to meet the needs of the poor and disenfranchised people, where the people were located. The settlement house movement was unique in that it combined social service with social reform which marked a shift away from traditional Charity Organization Society's (COS) methods. Settlement houses looked to strengthen and preserve families in the communities in which they lived. The services were designed to be family centered, community-oriented, and were often culturally appropriate although there was a question of whether the push towards assimilation minimized culturally specific programs. Theoretically, services were delivered in the best interest of the family and community in which the family lived. Settlement houses and the programs they provided will be discussed in detail later in this chapter, include: the Philadelphia College Settlement for Blacks on Lombard Street; the Eighth Ward Settlement House; the Neighborhood House on Addison Street; and the Spring Street Settlement, among others.

Social clubs. The various social clubs gave Blacks in Philadelphia a sense of place or belonging, much in the way that the church gave them a sense of community and history. There was an agenda with mutually exclusive goals when Blacks got together once a month or once a week for fun and fellowship; a positive cultural message was presented to them: Black is not just ghetto. Black is not socially or aesthetically inferior. Black has an important contribution to make to American culture. Examples of Black social clubs that were identified in this study

include the Cultural, Social and Statistical Association of the Colored People of Philadelphia, Prince Hall Masonic Lodge, and Sigma Pi Phi (Table 4.3).

Leading African American Social Reformers and Advocates

Blacks had been exposed to the thought, orientation, values or programs of Progressivism prior to their migration from the south - the notions of self-help, and self sufficiency were not exclusively northern ideas. Du Bois extensively documented the history of Black self-help and social betterment in the south in his 1898 study at Atlanta University. The roles that Black individuals, groups and organizations played in Philadelphia during this time period were those of advocates, educators, ministers, organizers, non-violent resistors, benefactors, and strategizers. They operated from a theoretical orientation of empowerment as opposed to deficits at the microlevel. Some drew upon their individual and collective strengths to empower those that they were assisting, for example, Richard R. Wright (1878-1967), Dr. Eugene Hinson and Fannie Jackson Coppin (1835-1912). There were others like Stephen Smith (1795-1873) and William Whipper (1804-1876) who had financial resources and gave freely to those who did not. Some who had a skill for a trade or business shared that skill with those who did not and those who could not afford to pay them for their services, for example Dr. Matthew Anderson and Dr. Nathan Mossell (1856-1946). There were some men and women who came forward who could read and write, and taught those who could not. Many like William Still (1821-1902) opened their homes, and churches, for example, like St. Thomas Episcopal Church, opened their doors to those who were homeless.

If there was a child who had a gift for literature or public speaking, then attempts were made for that child to receive an education that would nurture and grow this talent; likely at the Banneker Institute. For example, evidence showed that Jacob C. White Jr. (1837-1902) and

Robert Mara Adger Jr. (1837-1910), were charter members at the age of seventeen because they showed exceptional talent and promise in classical literature and public speaking. Robert Adger Jr. went on to become president of the Institute in 1863. He eventually became one of 19th century America's major bibliophiles and first president in 1897 of a historical society called the American Negro Historical Society.

Black Progressives: A Call to Arms

Black Progressives wanted to achieve a greater sense of community and order, the preservation of moral values, and the perfection of social institutions (Franklin, 2008). Through collective use of their energy, organization and resources, they attempted to advance, uplift and grow their community. The work of these determined pioneers should be brought to the forefront of social work. William S. Whipper (1804-1876) was an early advocate of nonviolent resistance who petitioned for the freedom of Blacks in Philadelphia, used his businesses to help and assist those in need. He was also a co-founder of the Reading Room Society, edited a magazine and served as treasurer of the Philadelphia Building and Loan association. Jacob C. White Jr. (1837-1902) was Philadelphia's only Black principal and teacher when he was appointed principal of the Robert Vaux Elementary School in 1864. He served as an agent for Haitian emigration and was chairman of the board of Frederick Douglass Hospital. Stephen Smith (1795 - 1873) was one of the wealthiest Blacks in America during his lifetime; he owned \$9,000 worth of stock in the Columbia Bridge Company and \$18,000 worth of stock in the Columbia Bank. He also owned several homes in Columbia, PA; Lancaster, PA; and Philadelphia, PA. Taking advantage of a little known Pennsylvania statute that held a municipality liable for damage to his property (Pennsylvania Hall was used for abolitionist meetings) sustained by mob action, Smith sued the city of Philadelphia and recovered \$75,000 in damages, which exceeded the building's value at

the time of its destruction. He donated property and money to establish the nation's first home for Blacks who were aged and infirm and is still operating today.

All of these men served on various abolitionist committees, mutual aid groups and selfhelp committees that fought to end slavery, helped escaped slaves find freedom, and helped the poor Black population gain access to education, health care, and job skills. The evidence suggests that these men were providing leadership for change without the cooperation and active support of White Progressives.

There were also Black women who were Progressives and played a role in the movement as well. Examples are Fannie Jackson Coppin (1835-1912) who was a teacher, a principal for 37 years at the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia, an activist, a missionary and a writer. She was one of the first Black women to earn a bachelor's degree from a major college or university - Oberlin College – in the U. S. Dr. Caroline V. Anderson helped her husband Rev. Dr. Matthew Anderson found the Berean Institute, the Berean Presbyterian Church, and the Berean Savings Fund Society. Rebecca Cole was born and raised in Philadelphia in the mid 1800's; she was the second Black woman to earn an M.D. degree in the United States. She completed her secondary education at the first co-educational high school for Blacks in the city – The Institute for Colored Youth - and enrolled at the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania near the end of the Civil War. She trained with Dr. Ann Preston, the first woman dean of the school, and in 1867, was the first African American to graduate. Dr. Rebecca Cole practiced in South Carolina for a number of years before returning to Philadelphia. In 1873, she opened a Women's Directory Center to provide medical and legal services to women and children in need.

Families. Philadelphia had many prominent Black families such as the Bustills, the Douglass's, the Fortens, and the Mapps who were very involved in improving the condition of

others through their work with various groups and organizations that began even before the Progressive Era. The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society (1835) was an integrated group of White and Black middle class women, led by Lucretia Mott, Harriett Forten Purvis, and Grace Bustill Douglass who came together to fight against slavery (Lane, 1991). The women met in each other's homes which was extremely rare at this time (Lane). Bustill, Mapps, and Douglass are the names of prominent Black Quaker families in Philadelphia who were active in fighting racial discrimination that affected their brethren during this time period (Countrymen, 2006). Most of these families started out as abolitionists in the early 18th century and passed this tradition down to their children. Members of these families were well educated and connected with one another through their work and through marriages. These names appear throughout the findings on various committees, letters and other documents suggesting that they were dedicated to fighting for social justice and equality on many fronts (Appendices G-1 and G-4).

Couples. Aside from Richard and Sarah Allen, the evidence in this study did not identify work of a prominent couple in Philadelphia. In a city like Philadelphia, this researcher would expect to easily find several couples dedicated and devoted to helping Blacks like Dr. George Edmund Haynes (1880 – 1960) and his wife Elizabeth Ross Haynes (1883 – 1953) in New York City. Dr. Haynes was co-founder of the National Urban League (NUL), a sociologist, and a social worker. Mrs. Haynes was a feminist, politician, and labor expert. Both graduated from Fisk University in 1903 and worked towards addressing the problems facing the Black community from an empowerment tradition. They identified teaching, education and skill development as critical to the survival and empowerment of the Black community, family, and individual. Francis J. Grimke (1852 – 1937) and Charlotte Forten Grimke (1837 – 1914) both born into abolitionist families, was a prominent couple in the fight to end discrimination against

Blacks. He was actively involved in the Niagara Movement and was a co-founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and even though Charlotte Forten Grimke was from Philadelphia, their work as a couple was done in Washington D.C. at his church, the 15th Street Presbyterian Church.

The manner in which many individuals, groups and organizations attempted to fight injustices that were facing Blacks in Philadelphia, shows that they believed that the problems did not lie solely with the individuals that they were assisting but also with the social structures of society. The problems were the result of attempts of the elite group – Whites – to maintain the privileges that they accumulated through the exploitation of Blacks for hundreds of years (Day, 2006; Feagin, 2001). Evidence in this study showed that this is what the Black community was fighting against in Philadelphia, and nationally. Evidence suggests that these people were brave; because lives were being lost in this fight due to lynching and murders, and determined individuals, groups and organizations realized that these social injustices would continue until the social structures themselves were changed.

Human capital & asset development. Black social reformers in Philadelphia understood that having an equal footing with Whites in the United States would include an economic component that could not be ignored. Mutual aid, beneficial societies, fraternal organizations and self-help groups were cornerstones of social welfare in America until the early 20th century (Beito, 2000). They were an enormous social and economic force within the Black community (Beito). Many of the members were made up of people from the community in which they served working class and middle class people who would pool their resources to supply one another with essentials they would otherwise not have – such as life insurance, pensions, and

medical care. These services were funded by membership dues and donations from local businesses.

These groups played a large role in the development of human capital, social capital and asset development in the Black community. Examples that can be found in the study (Table 4.3) are The Berean Institute, Berean Savings Association, Benezet Joint Stock Association of Philadelphia, and the Prince Hall Masonic Lodge. Mutual aid societies, beneficial societies, self-help groups and fraternal organizations all advocated self-reliance within the Black community, understanding that Blacks could not solely rely on Whites to eliminate the barriers to their rights or hold to the promise of their freedom. Many of these groups and organizations actually established their own business, for example, the Berean Savings Association. Du Bois encouraged the work of these mutual aid societies, beneficial societies, and self-help groups in his summary at the Third Atlanta Conference in Atlanta, Georgia in 1898:

Secret societies among Negroes should be careful not to give undue prominence to ritual, regalia and parade. The increasing disposition in these societies to invest in real estate is commendable, and they should be especially encouraged in their present tendency toward building asylums and retreats for the aged and orphaned. The relief and insurance features of these organizations need careful management but have done and may do much good...Savings banks are the safest and best means of providing for the future, and their establishment near the centers of the Negro population is highly desirable. The work of beneficial societies with a small and mutually well known membership is commended...they should use the best business methods, and invest their money in real estate and in savings banks...

Education. Many Black social reformers in Philadelphia understood that education was the best way to attain or achieve group empowerment. The public schools in Philadelphia were segregated and even when the first laws prohibiting the exclusion of Blacks from White public schools was passed in 1881, it was widely evaded, ignored, and not enforced (Weigley, 1982). The Black community was forced to build many of their own segregated schools to educate their children because of this lack of enforcement. Organizations like the Philadelphia Starr Center added schools as extensions to the three or four existing settlement houses which were already located in Black neighborhoods. Many churches for example, Bethel A. M. E. and St. Thomas Episcopal Church, established educational programs and schools; elementary through high school, for the children in neighborhoods in which they were located.

In 1905, the Public School Reorganization Act was passed in Philadelphia which took control of the public schools away from the ward bosses and gave it to the central school board who had been established in 1883 to counteract the corruption of the ward politicians (Weigley, 1982). Part of this battle for school reform included mandatory attendance for children and enforcement of desegregation of the schools. Despite this new legislation, Blacks were still forced to turn to their own communities to educate their children, an example of racial stratification. Black schools such as the Berean Institute and the Moore Street Industrial School for Colored People were established. There were also several Quaker sponsored schools for Blacks such as the Institute for Colored Youth where the community could turn to for a quality education. Or was this an attempt by the Quakers to keep White and Black children separated? *Black Progressives & White Progressives: A Racial Alliance*

In the fight against racial oppression in Progressive Era Philadelphia, many cross-racial alliances were formed, similar to those seen in the abolitionist movement, with the settlement

house movement, and within the charity organization society (COS). Blacks and Whites, prominent and obscure, joined together to fight against the racial oppression and segregation that was often at the root of the societal ills that plagued the Black community in Philadelphia during this time period. Prominent Blacks families like the Whipper family, the Still family and the Forten family joined forces with prominent White families like the Whartons, the Starrs and the Biddles to fight against racial inequalities. There were numerous Quaker families such as the Parrishes, with roots that stretched back to the beginning of the abolitionist movement. Members of these alliances not only served individuals in the community; but they served on the boards of various organizations together.

These cross racial alliances were important because they brought to the attention of the larger society problems that the Black community faced. By having outspoken White people fighting to right the wrongs that were taking place, it awakened awareness in areas of mainstream American society that otherwise might have remained dormant. These alliances were also important because the attention that they brought to the Black community also helped to generate increases in resource – not just monetary, but through publications, and through speakers coming to the city to educate and boost the morale of the Black community.

Conflict and Liberation Case Analysis of Black Social Betterment in Philadelphia

Conflict and Liberation perspectives as discussed in previous chapters, are evident in the following case analyses. As Black people in Philadelphia and throughout the nation were fighting for equality, many White people were fighting to maintain their dominance

William Still - An Individual Case Study

William Still was one of the two or three most important figures in the history of the Underground Railroad. During the 1850s, he served as the principal field organizer and record-

keeper of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee, a group that helped about 100 slaves escape to freedom each year (Still, 1883). The documents that he preserved now represent the best single source of information on the Underground Railroad activities available anywhere in the country.

William Still was born on October 7th, 1821 to Levin and Cidney Still in Medford, New Jersey, the youngest of their eighteen children. As soon as William was old enough, he was put to work with his siblings on the family farm. The Still boys worked for various Quaker families who lived in the area, harvesting crops, chopping and hauling wood. Still recalls that these Quaker families were always very kind and pleasant to him and his brothers, and many of these families were in favor of abolishing slavery. William, at approximately fifteen years old, was thrust into a role that would serve as a preview of what was to come later with his work on the Underground Railroad as a boy working on the farms of these various Quaker families. A Black man who had run away from a slave owner in the south was employed on one of these farms – the Wilkins farm. His master's gang tracked him to the Wilkins farm and used another Black man as a decoy to lure him out of the house. Then the gang they beat him up, almost to the point of death. Thomas Wilkins, the owner of the farm, threw hot coals on the attackers and the Black man was able to run away. Somehow William Still and his brother-in-law, Gabriel Thompson were enlisted to find another place for this man to hide, so they took him to another home about twenty miles away (Still, 1883). William Still was able, through this incident, to experience firsthand the conflict and liberation struggles that Blacks were going through in this nation.

Educational opportunities were limited for William Still as a boy growing up in rural New Jersey. Up until he turned seventeen years old, William only attended the local school on rainy days. Up to this point, William was just an adequate reader. The teachers at this school were prejudiced as were the White children in attendance. There was an incident where the

teacher ridiculed Still in front of the other students and his father became so indignant that he refused to allow any of the Still children to attend the school until this particular teacher was replaced with another who was more impartial (Still, 1883). William attended school after the replacement was made for an entire quarter and it was during this time that he developed a passion for learning.

He was at school by sunrise, and engaged in study long before the other pupils came. The hours of noon were similarly spent. After school and as long as the teacher stayed he would bend his energies to books. At spelling and definitions he became much the expert; so much so that it was nothing unusual for him to repeat a whole column of words with their meanings, without requiring the teacher to give them out; and when a hard word passed the length of the spelling class, it was the custom of the teacher to turn it over to him for a final and correct orthography. (Still, 1883, p. ix)

William started reading any historical or geographical book that he could get his hands on. He subscribed for Colored American, which was edited by Charles B. Ray and Philip Bell of New York, the first anti-slavery newspaper in the nation owned and published by Black men. William stayed in New Jersey until the fall of 1841 when he decided it was time to strike out on his own (Still, 1883). William found work on a farm and was such a hard worker that more responsibilities were given to him and he eventually was managing the entire farm (Still, 1883). After a year, his contract for working there expired and William moved back home, his father had just died and having been a devout Christian as long as William could remember, he felt that he owed it to his father to seriously consider his own relationship with God – or lack thereof. Still poured himself into reading the Bible and anything else he could get his hands on regarding the Second Coming of Christ.

William Still told his biographer that he arrived in Philadelphia in 1844 with no more than three dollars and little else but the clothes he was wearing (Still, 1883). He took a variety of jobs in the city's brickyards and along the wharves. It was a very challenging time for William, work was hard to find and he wanted to do more than physical, manual labor. He wanted a job that would stimulate his mind and in 1847 finally obtained a position as a clerk in the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society office (PAS). His duties were janitorial and clerical, but he soon became involved with aiding fugitives from slavery (Still, 1883).

He was in a unique position to provide board and room for many of the fugitives who rested in Philadelphia before resuming their journey to Canada. One of those former slaves turned out to be his own brother, Peter Still, left in bondage by his mother when she had escaped forty years earlier (Still). William Still later reported that finding his brother led him to preserve the careful records concerning former slaves which provided valuable source material for his book *The Underground Railroad* (1872). After the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 was passed, Philadelphia abolitionists organized a Vigilance Committee to assist the large numbers of fugitives passing through the city, they decided to name William Still as chairman. John Brown's wife sought refuge with the Still family soon after the Harpers Ferry raid, as she was trying to decide whether to stay or flee to Canada. Several of Brown's accomplices received assistance from Still in escaping to Canada as well (Still).

Still concluded his work in the antislavery office in 1861 yet continued his association with the society. In 1867, Still was elected to membership in the PAS, along with other prominent Black Philadelphians: Octavius Catto, Ebenezer Bassett, Jacob White, Stephen Smith, and William Whipper (Bacon, 2005). They were the first Black members of the PAS, after Frederick Douglass and Robert Purvis. Still eventually moved up in leadership within the PAS,

serving for eight years as vice-president and president from 1896 to 1901 (Still, 1883). Within a few years, he became the day-to-day leader of the city's Underground Railroad network.

William Still's book on the Underground Railroad was an important addition to the literature of the antislavery movement, what set it apart was that it focused on the fugitive's story rather than the abolitionists. One of the small numbers of postwar accounts written or compiled by Negro authors, it provided a detailed description of not only the actions of fugitive slaves, but captured their emotions, their determination, and their strength, how they played an active role in their freedom, not simply relying on the sympathies and activities of abolitionists. Stills' journals were the only record of the daily activities of the Vigilance Committee that extended over a significant period of time. To supplement the accounts that he recorded of the fugitives, Still created biographical sketches of the fugitives, legal documents and announcements, excerpts from newspapers, and letters from abolitionists and former slaves (Still).

Although he stopped working as the Society's clerk in 1861, William Still remained active as a member and an elected officer. He continued to fight for civil rights for the remainder of his life, helped to lead the successful campaign to integrate local railway cars, and became a philanthropic leader by establishing a black YMCA and orphanage, and serving on the Freedmen's Aid Commission (Still).

These letters in the William Still collection and their discussion of pamphlets and circulars show how important the written word was to Blacks during this time. It was the most effective and efficient way to get information to the people. Within these letters, circulars, and pamphlets it is believed that there were codes for Blacks who were looking for "safe houses" along the route of the Underground Railroad. The codes embedded in these pamphlets, letters, and circulars would tell folks where to go, who to ask for and what time to arrive or depart.

William Still kept a personal journal where he detailed how the Vigilance Committee assisted approximately 485 escaped slaves between 1852 and 1857 (Still, 1881, 1883). The records that William Still kept show that he helped almost 800 former slaves escape to freedom via the Underground Railroad (Still).

Also in these letters was correspondence to Ida B Wells-Barnett (1862-1931) inviting her to Philadelphia in 1890 to discuss the Memphis lynching of three Black businessmen that took place on March 9, 1892. Still and Wells-Barnett were in correspondence via letters for the remainder of her life. It was through her friendship with Still that Wells-Barnett met the British woman who invited her to bring her anti-lynching campaign to England in 1893 (Duster, 1970).



Figure 4.5. Portrait of William Still with signature

Eighth Ward and Spring Street Settlements - An Organizational Case Study

The Eighth Ward Settlement House was established in 1895 on 9th and Locust Streets (922 Locust Street) by private citizens, led by a man named Reverend J. E. Johnson and Grace Mallory Tingley as the head resident. The settlement was maintained by private contributions and it opened with four residents and fifteen non-resident members (Woods & Kennedy, 1911). The services that this settlement house wanted to provide the Black population in that part of the city were sanitary (underground drainage), industrial (electric lights and asphalt pavements), educational (a kindergarten) and social work (Woods & Kennedy; Bartholomew, 1903; Davies, 1901). As the settlement house became a fixture in the community, it expanded its programming to include a public bath, a laundry, basket weaving, hammock making, a women's club, dance class and creation of a playground (Woods & Kennedy).

There was an article published in *Southern Workman* in 1906 that described the Eight Ward Settlement House: "a Northern settlement for Negroes...a settlement that bends its efforts to the helping of a degraded Negro community...it is only the weaker element in the Negro race that comes drifting into the Northern cities" (Lasch-Quinn, p. 27). This reflected the view that migrant Blacks from the south were lacking in basic social restraints which led to much of the work emphasizing hygiene. A worker at the Eighth Ward Settlement House described the goal of the house as "a disinfecting agency to the community – a sort of moral Platt's Chlorides – striving by the radiation of such spiritual power as lies within its command to make a purer, sweeter atmosphere for the mere growth of all who respond to its influence" (Lasch-Quinn, p. 27). The idea was to have members of the settlement house project an appearance that would counteract the negative stereotypes of Blacks as uncivilized and unclean.

The Spring Street Settlement House was established in September of 1906 under the name Spring Street Mission by members of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery (Woods & Kennedy, 1911). The stated mission of the settlement house was to "carry on a neighborhood work for colored boys and girls and a civic center of good influence for their people" (Woods & Kennedy, p. 271). Upon its opening the settlement house had two female residents and twenty volunteers – 10 men and 10 women. The executive officer of the board of directors was a woman named Ellen Heacock and the head resident was a woman named Anna M. Titus (woods & Kennedy). Once it was chartered in 1909 as "Spring Street Settlement" the objective of the settlement was stated as:

to maintain a charitable undertaking having for its object the improvement of the moral, social, industrial, and domestic conditions of the people of the Negro race in the city of Philadelphia and vicinity, by means of instruction in the useful arts; by providing lectures on improving and enlightening subjects; by the maintenance of gymnasia and reading rooms wherein they may be provided with entertainment and means of recreation; by visitation among them; by furnishing those who may be in need with food, clothing, lodging and other material assistance; and by such other lawful means as are likely to further the object named. (Woods & Kennedy, p. 271)

In this statement of purpose, the motive of service for the White Progressives is evident – imposing their conservative elite values onto the poor.

The Spring Street Settlement played a vital role in establishing a kindergarten class at the Vaux Public School, an all Black elementary school in the neighborhood. Other activities that the settlement house were involved in were maintaining a library, establishing a savings and coal

fund, creating classes in domestic science and sewing for girls, social evenings for children, mothers' meetings, and Sunday school (Woods & Kennedy).

The Eighth Ward and Spring Street Settlement Houses are good examples of a settlement house established to provide services to the Black poor and needful in Philadelphia. These settlement houses opened at a later date than other settlements in the city that provided services to Whites. The programs, the activities and the literature developed from the Eighth Ward and Spring Street Settlement Houses are smaller in scale when compared to White settlements (Woods & Kennedy, 1911; Bartholomew, 1903). Along with other settlements established in Black neighborhoods, the Eighth Ward and Spring Street Settlement Houses are an example of White Progressive paternalism – Whites did not see Black people as equals, they can advocate for them but did not socialize with them. There was a settlement established to focus on providing services to Blacks that was comparable to White settlements and that was the Starr Center described in greater detail later in this chapter.

Blacks & Quakers - A Collaborative Case Study

The Quaker influence on social service delivery systems for Blacks in Philadelphia can be seen most prominently in the work done by John T. Emlen when he helped to form the Armstrong Association which went on to become a part of The National Urban League (NUL). The Armstrong Association (later became known as The Urban League of Philadelphia in 1955) founded in 1907 brought together a racially mixed group which fought for employment equality, and provided educational programs aimed at assisting Black Philadelphians survive the urban workplace. Initially founded by John T. Emlen, a White Quaker business man, and a group of wealthy Philadelphia philanthropists to raise funds for the Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes, the Armstrong Association, arguably became the most important racial uplift organization in the city

within ten years. The group was named for Emlen's friend, General Samuel C. Armstrong (1839-1893), a commissioned officer in the Union Army and founder of Hampton Institute.

There was other work that was done with Black Philadelphians that had ties to Emlen and the Armstrong Association which began in 1908 when Reverend Richard R. Wright, Jr. (1878-1967), a Black graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania, who had come to Philadelphia in 1906 to update the work of W.E.B. Du Bois. Reverend Wright convinced John T. Emlen to commit the Armstrong Association to the improvement of the industrial condition of Blacks in the city. Emlen set up the new association in May of 1908 with a White director and an interracial Board of Directors which included two of Philadelphia's most prominent and highly respected Black ministers, William A. Creditt and Charles A. Tindley as vice-presidents. The ministers believed that the only way to convince White clients and employers to hire Blacks was to make sure that only those who demonstrated excellent skills in their craft or trade were employed. The first group of individuals to receive assistance with skills preparation was mechanics.

The Armstrong Association organized several Black trade guilds or departments composed of only competent, skilled workers. The guilds enabled Black mechanics to guarantee the quality of work, to improve their efficiency, and to assist one another in finding employment. They also acted as information bureaus, contacting White and Black employers, businessmen and institutions who were encouraged to also employ Black builders and thereby develop a more inclusive group of builders and mechanics. In 1910, the Armstrong Association won contracts totaling \$20,000, providing employment opportunities for 1,500 men on at least one hundred separate jobs (Toll & Gillam, 1995).

At the turn of the century, Philadelphia's Black poor were impacted greatly by the Progressive's expansion of and restructuring of social services; and the creation of settlements in Black communities that took place at the time that segregation became a dominant pattern. This led to growth in the network of agencies that were devoted specifically to Black civil rights, economic advancement, education, and essential health and social services. The Progressive's influence on social service delivery systems for Blacks in Philadelphia can be seen in the settlement houses that were established throughout the city and, also in the work of the Philadelphia Starr Center. Theodore Starr established Philadelphia's first Progressive Working Colored Men's Club with the Coal Club from 1878-1893. This act began a series of philanthropic establishments that would develop later into a fully fledged cooperative community service association. Soon afterward Mr. Starr founded the Starr Bank in 1879, the first Penny Bank in Philadelphia. The Penny Bank was established to provide local South Philadelphia residents both Black and White with a place to set aside and save a certain amount of their wages and money (Woods & Kennedy, 1911).

With a combination of all these and other efforts, the Philadelphia Starr Centre

Association was organized in 1897. Mr. Starr had begun the building operation for The Starr

Centre at 700 Lombard Street in 1880, but due to his death in 1884, it was not resumed until

1887 by Miss Hannah Fox. The Octavia Hill Association, based on a London philanthropic

organization established in the 19th century by Miss Octavia Hill (1838-1912), an English social
reformer, to improve conditions of the working class, resumed this building operation for the

Philadelphia Starr Centre in 1896. The completed building consisted of a bakery in the cellar, an

office and kitchen on the ground floor, the relocated free Library on the second floor, and tenants
on the third and fourth floors. The free Library, renamed Starr Library, (was the original Saint

Mary Street Library). The Octavia Hill Association also influenced the Saint Mary Street Library to begin a "Stamp Saving" system; where for every set amount saved, the person would receive a stamp on their savings booklet. The goal was to collect as many stamps as possible for recognition of their savings. Philadelphia was the fourth American city to do so. The "Stamp Saving" system was incorporated as a Starr Centre committee and encouraged the local neighborhood children and adults to save their money.

Incorporated within the library was a settlement house that Starr had begun working on before his death with the help of a Quaker woman who was also a social worker. Her name was Susan Wharton, a founder of the Philadelphia settlement house movement, and a model housing program (that is discussed in more detail on the following page). She was a relative of Joseph Wharton, the Philadelphia industrialist and philanthropist who several years earlier (in 1881), had established the now world-famous University of Pennsylvania School of Finance and Commerce that bears his name. The settlement house was renamed the Starr Center in 1900 and was one of the most active and innovative social welfare agencies in Philadelphia. It served as the institutional base for W.E.B. Du Bois during his study on and about the poor Black population living in the Seventh Ward in 1904.

The success of the Starr Center inspired other Black and White Progressives to join together to expand a program of Black missions and also to organize settlement houses in other Black districts of the city mentioned earlier in this chapter (page 121). In 1896 a group of workers from St. Mary's Hospital and Quaker philanthropists instituted Theodore Starr's personal model housing program for Blacks by organizing the Octavia Hill Association to promote housing reform in Philadelphia. The goal of this association was to convince landlords of the wisdom and profitability of providing safe, sanitary, low-cost housing to all of the poor.

They accomplished this by purchasing properties that were in poor condition, rehabilitating them, and then renting them to low-income families. By 1906, 130 of the 350 families that were served by this association were Black, a significantly higher percentage than Whites who were serviced.

Progressive Era Organizations Serving the Black Community

The evidence revealed numerous organizations that served the Black community during the Progressive Era in Philadelphia (Table 4.3). Based on the committee rolls and listings of members and duties found in the evidence, there was a division among the organizations across gender lines, some focused on meeting the needs of men; Progressive Working Men's Club; some focused on meeting the needs of women, Association for the Protection of colored Women (APCW); others focused on the needs of the children, Home for Colored Children; and still others served all; the Home for the Homeless and The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Many of these organizations were established by Black business men; American Anti-Slavery Society, Banneker Institute, and the Benezet Joint Stock Association of Philadelphia; and the Black church; Daughters of Africa, Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), and Dorcas Society. In 1896, there were about 300 Black-owned businesses (mostly small) in Philadelphia; fifteen physicians, three dentists, ten lawyers, forty teachers, sixty policemen and over sixty ministers (Davis & Haller, 1973). It was this Black middle class that played a pivotal role in the fight for social change in the city; of the almost 40,000 Blacks in Philadelphia in 1890, approximately 25,000 were middle class (US Census data, 1890). Du Bois (1899) described this group as:

...the mass of the servant class, the porters and waiters, and the best of the laborers. They are hard-working people; proverbially good natured...They are honest and faithful, of fair and improving moral, and beginning to accumulate property. As a class these persons are ambitious; the majority can read and write, many have common school training, and all are anxious to rise in the world. Their wags are low compared with corresponding classes of white workmen, their rents are high, and the field of advancement open to them is very limited. (Du Bois, 1899, p. 315-316)

They used their talents, resources, and skills to take a stand against the oppression and discrimination that all Blacks in Philadelphia faced.

Case Interpretation: Emerging Themes and Lessons

Several themes emerged from the study. One is that there is evidence of considerable activity to ease the plight of the suffering and disenfranchised in the Black community in Philadelphia, PA. This corresponds to what Du Bois refers to as "social betterment" in the Atlanta University Publications (1898). The second is that despite all of this activity, there is a question of vision – was it sufficiently robust for Blacks in Philadelphia? The fact that there was extensive local activity that never became unified or developed into a larger statewide, regional, or national movement, raises the question: Why? There was very little evidence of cohesion among the different groups; and, in fact there was considerable evidence of duplication of efforts. Many individuals, both men and women, were at the same period of time involved in several different organizations with similar goals (see Tables 4.1 – 4.3). The final theme is that within much of the social activism there is a connection to social welfare. There seems to be an early social welfare mission that links many individuals, organizations, and social action programs together for the purpose of fighting poverty and ignorance while collectively providing

first-level hierarchy of need services (food, water, shelter, and clothing) for needful and disenfranchised Blacks.

Vision

Although these individuals, groups and organizations all had similar goals, there seems to have been very little communication among them. It forces the researcher to question why they did not consolidate energy and focus jointly on common goals? What prevented them from unifying into a singular movement, not just across the city but with others statewide or even nationwide? Why were there not more major Black settlement houses like in other cities of similar size? By 1897, there were a total of 74 Black and White settlements in the United States, and by 1900 this number grew to over 400 – 40 percent of these were in Boston, New York and Chicago (Woods& Kennedy, 1911; Lasch-Quinn, 1993; Reed, 2008).

With Philadelphia having such a high percentage of Blacks comparable to the cities above, what blocked or prevented the development of a unified settlement movement? We can see from the findings that in 1892 the College Settlement Association joined with the Quakers to form the Philadelphia College Settlement for Blacks on Lombard Street. The Eighth Ward Settlement House was established in 1895 by Black and White Progressives. By 1898 Philadelphia had two other settlement homes for Blacks in Black neighborhoods; the Neighborhood House on Addison Street and the 8th Ward Settlement House on Locust Street. The College Settlement Association withdrew from the center on Lombard Street which was reorganized as the Starr Center, and the Spring Street Settlement opened in 1909. By 1910 there were four settlement houses and thirteen missions that provided services to the poor, needful Black population in Philadelphia (Historical Society of Pennsylvania). These are all examples of

cross racial alliances to improve the conditions of Blacks, not a movement springing from within the Black community.

Although there does not appear to be conflict among the Black groups pushing reform and change because the goals were the same, there does appear to be tension and competition along the line of ideas, strategies, and tactics; as though they got in one another's space, therefore, preventing needed unification. Maybe they lacked the vision to see a bigger picture beyond the community or neighborhood level. This does not suggest that these individuals, groups and organizations did not do great work or make a difference in the lives of Blacks in Philadelphia because they did accomplish many positive changes. There were many amazing individuals like William Still (1821-1902), and Charlotte Forten Grimke (1837-1914) and groups like the Armstrong Association and the National Urban League that made a difference in the lives of oppressed Blacks in Philadelphia. This researcher found no recording of how incomes improved, or how many and what types of jobs outside of those found by The Armstrong Association were opened. Their focus was on the micro-perspective as the needs of individual Blacks in the city were so great; they could not see through to the bigger picture and a macroperspective that might have brought systems wide change. This might have been a function of the stress of daily living, lack of transportation or other related factors.

Social Betterment

"Social betterment" is a term used by W.E.B. Du Bois in a report entitled *Some Efforts of American Negroes for Their Own Social Betterment*, in 1898 presented at The Atlanta University in Atlanta, Georgia, at the proceedings of the Third Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems. This report identified 236 organizations dedicated to the "betterment" of Blacks and pointed out that social change depends on the efforts of the Black community (Du Bois, 1898).

First, the findings in this study shows that there was a significant amount of "social betterment" activity that was taking place in the Black community in Philadelphia directed towards ending the injustices that stemmed in large measure from denying Blacks their basic civil rights such as voting (Appendix H-1), equal access to health care, education, employment and housing in American society.

There were numerous individuals and groups that were fighting to ease the suffering of Blacks in that city. Records of meetings, forums, church sermons and lectures, were all directed at "social betterment" improving the conditions of Blacks in Philadelphia. Many individuals used their own personal resources – money, time, talent, and houses - to reach out to more needful Blacks. Likewise, groups and organizations met regularly to identify the needs of Blacks they were serving and to determine the most efficient and effective way to provide assistance following the Charity Organization Society (COS) model.

Findings suggests that in every Black neighborhood, there were several individuals, groups and organizations that disenfranchised and economically disadvantaged Blacks were able to turn to for assistance (Tables 4.1 - 4.3). This theme highlights social change theory that was used to guide this study. The social problem of discrimination, and efforts to address same, led to social conflict (for example, race riots) between Blacks and Whites forcing the latter to make an effort to create positive change via working towards the "betterment" of Blacks specifically, but also for the city as a whole.

Parallel Movements

There were parallel movements taking place in Philadelphia against racial oppression and segregation; one led mostly by Whites and the other by Blacks. These were movements to fight racial oppression and to provide social services to needful Blacks. The abolitionist movement

was one of these movements and was a constant presence in Philadelphia. From the 1830s until 1870, the abolitionist movement attempted to achieve immediate emancipation of all slaves, and the end of racial segregation and discrimination. In higher education, abolitionists founded Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio in 1833; the nation's first experiment in racially integrated coeducation (www.oberlin.edu). After the passage of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law, White abolitionists also protected Blacks who were threatened with capture as escapees from bondage; although, Blacks themselves largely managed the Underground Railroad (1780 – 1862) – a secretive network of people who helped fugitive slaves escape to the North and to Canada.

Abolitionists insisted that only the achievement of complete political equality for all Black males could guarantee the freedom of former slaves. They continued until the 1870's to demand ownership of land, the right to vote, and the opportunity for education for the freedman. Only when the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution was ratified on February 3, 1870, extending male suffrage to Blacks was passed did the abolitionist society declare its mission completed. Traditions of racial egalitarianism begun by abolitionists lived on, however, to inspire the subsequent founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909 (Stewart, 1997). This transition is described on the NAACP website:

The NAACP was formed partly in response to the continuing horrific practice of lynching and the 1908 race riot in Springfield, the capital of Illinois and birthplace of President Abraham Lincoln. Appalled at the violence that was committed against blacks, a group of white liberals that included Mary White Ovington and Oswald Garrison Villard, both the descendants of abolitionists, William English Walling and Dr. Henry Moscowitz issued a call for a meeting to discuss racial justice. Some 60 people, seven of whom were African American (including W. E. B. Du Bois, Ida B. Wells-Barnett and

Mary Church Terrell), signed the call, which was released on the centennial of Lincoln's birth... Echoing the focus of Du Bois' Niagara Movement began in 1905, the NAACP's stated goal was to secure for all people the rights guaranteed in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the United States Constitution, which promised an end to slavery, the equal protection of the law, and universal adult male suffrage, respectively. (www.naacp.org/history).

Another movement taking place in Philadelphia during this time period was the Charity Organization Society (COS) movement. Mary Ellen Richmond (1861-1928) formulated the first comprehensive statement of principles of direct social work practice in 1899 called *Friendly Visiting Among the Poor* (Reynolds, 1896). In 1900, Ms. Richmond became the general secretary of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity (SOC) which was originally founded by Reverend D. O. Kellogg in 1879 (Agnew, 2004). The SOC, prior to Richmond's arrival was focused mainly on assisting European immigrants in the city – not unlike the settlement houses. There was a shift in the Board of Directors in the SOC which after being reorganized was composed of mostly Quaker businessmen. These businessmen and some women lobbied to bring Mary Richmond to Philadelphia (Agnew). One board member, Helen Parrish, was committed to following Octavia Hill's example of restoring and building homes to rent to poor Blacks in the city.

Richmond and Parrish worked together to recruit volunteers to this cause, the most prominent being from the Wharton and Biddle families – two of Philadelphia's most elite White families (Agnew). During her tenure, Richmond emphasized the need for volunteer effort from all socio-economic classes. She also fought to obtain legislation for deserted wives and founded the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee, the Public Charities Association, the juvenile court,

and the Housing Association none of which were initially inclusive of Blacks (www.naswfoundation.org). These are just examples of the separate nature of services; and these were not available to Blacks.

Social Welfare

Lastly, within all of the directed "social betterment" activity, there is a connection to social welfare. The goals of social welfare are to help those in need, to care for those who are unable to care for themselves, to attempt to address the reduction of poverty, to ensure that all needful people have access to housing, employment, education, child welfare services, and health care. This was the mission of the various individuals, groups and organizations in Philadelphia working to meet these needs in the Black community. The Urban League of Philadelphia, which became a part of the National Urban League in 1917 states in their current mission statement: "The mission of the Urban League is to empower African Americans to secure economic self reliance, parity, power and civil rights" (www.urbanleaguephila.org).

The National Urban League (NUL) grew out of the Great Migration of Blacks from the South to the North in the later 1800's. The NUL helped Black migrants adapt to life in the city and helped them through the racial discrimination that they would face on all fronts. Their focus was on counseling Black migrants from the South, helping to train Black social workers, and "worked in various other ways to bring educational and employment opportunities to Blacks" (www.nul.org). The Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes was established on September 29, 1910 in New York City (Weiss, 1974). One year later in 1911, it merged with the Committee for the Improvement of Industrial Conditions Among Negroes in New York (est. 1906), and the National League for the Protection of Colored Women (est. 1905) to form the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes. In 1920, the name was later shortened to

the National Urban League (<u>www.nul.org</u>). Like the other themes listed above, the social change theory is highlighted in the social welfare activity that was evident.

The social problem of discrimination also affected "social betterment" or social welfare efforts which in turn led to social conflict between Blacks and Whites forcing the former to make an effort to create positive social change in their community and the larger society. These "social betterment" changes were implemented by the work of these individuals, groups and organizations doing "social works", the forerunner of social work. The leading individuals had an education and income level that was higher than the Black masses (although not as high as the White Progressives) and in that sense, their activity corresponded with that of White Progressives.

Answers to the Research Questions

There were four conclusions reached based on the findings of this study: (a) there was a specific role that African American social change agents played in the delivery of social services to the Black community in Philadelphia; (b) there were identifiable social service delivery systems in place in the Black community in Philadelphia; (c) there were parallel movements taking place in the United States; and (d) there were cross-racial alliances that were made in order to fight the injustices that the Black community in Philadelphia faced. I will provide details about each conclusion below, while weaving in the findings of the study.

The Roles of African American Reformers

The findings brought to light a group of people entering the vanguard, a new middle class, who were educated, committed to the Black community in Philadelphia, and who led the fight in this city for social change for the poor, needful Blacks. This fight was led by Black men in the community; men like William Still (1821-1902), William Whipper (1804-1876), Edward

T. Parker (1821-1887) and Jacob C. White Jr. (1821-1887). They took up the fight against oppression themselves, using their own resources, skills, and talents to attempt to make a difference in and for the Black community. These men worked not only on the individual level through the provision of direct services but also formed social and educational focused groups like the American Negro Historical Society of Philadelphia, The Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and for the Relief of Free Negroes, and the Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League.

As the men were taking the lead in many areas, there were women who played equally as important roles as well, women like Charlotte Forten Grimke (1837-1914), Fannie Jackson Coppin (1835-1912), and Frances Watkins Harper (1825-1911). These women and others like them did not just support the men in the fight against oppression, but they also took initiatives of their own in helping the Black community. Women's groups like the Dorcas Society, the Women's Union Missionary Society and the Association for the Protection of Colored Women (APCW) were started to assist and meet the needs of Black women in Philadelphia. While these women did important work and met many needs, none of them rose to the level of prominence or to have the type of impact that women like Lugenia Burns Hope (1871-1947), a social reformer in Atlanta, Georgia who created the Neighborhood Union and other community service organizations; or Mary Church Terrell (1863-1954) who led several associations that worked for civil rights and suffrage in Washington D.C.

There was evidence of middle and upper class Blacks investing in the "social betterment" of the poor in their community. Many of the groups and organizations were funded solely by the Black community. Successful Black businessmen and women went into their own pockets to create these groups and organizations, raise money and supply the basic necessities that many

Blacks in Philadelphia were lacking. Groups like the Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League charged their members monthly dues of \$1 and had a savings account of less than \$500, where other groups like the Stephen Smith Home for the Aged and Infirm Colored Persons had over \$54,000 in their account from various investments and other income.

The Black church had a vital role in helping the Black community in Philadelphia. Black churches like Bethel AME, Zoar UMC, and St. Thomas African Episcopal Church among others, looked to meet the spiritual needs of Blacks in Philadelphia but at the same time worked tirelessly to meet people's physical needs through providing food, clothing, and shelter; economic needs through job training, apprenticeships, teaching about savings and investments; and educational needs by providing reading, writing and arithmetic classes for poor educationally and economically disadvantaged Blacks. Many of the churches that were located in Black neighborhoods also played a role in politics and advocacy for Blacks. Many churches would invite speakers to come and talk to their congregations about the plight of Blacks, not just in Philadelphia but throughout the nation. Prominent speakers like W.E.B. Du Bois, Frederick Douglass, Jarena Lee, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, and Booker T. Washington were among the many abolitionists who spoke at various Black churches in Philadelphia.

Social Service Delivery Systems

The early social service delivery systems focused on self-help, using the strengths of the Black community to assist the more vulnerable people of that community. Many individuals who were educated, who had some money and influence, reached out to those in the community who had less and gave back to that more needful group. The social service delivery systems that were in place in the Black community during this time period were the precursors to the social service

delivery systems in place today. Individuals, groups and organizations would figure out what needs the Black community had or what needs the individual had.

Once a needs assessment was completed, the needs were defined and a decision was made with the person seeking help what their role in helping themselves would be and what role the individual or group/organization helping them would be – contracting; for example, the person may attend a class to learn a skill and the individual or group assisting them would pay for the class. This was empowering for the person needing assistance because it allowed them to take the lead in defining the needed assistance. The intervention would then take place – getting the person in need education or employment or health care all the while utilizing both familial and community resources. Once the intervention was complete, the person who was initially in need of assistance hopefully was then in a position to go out and help someone else, a pattern of giving back to the Black community that gave to them.

Parallel Movements

In this study it is evident that within the movement in the Black community to meet the needs of the Black people and fight the social injustices the Black community faced; it paralleled the movements that were taking place in mainstream society. The Settlement house movement, Charity Organizational Societies (COS) and the abolitionist movements were all running parallel to the work that was being done within the Black community. Eventually, these movements crossed over the racial divide and worked together in some instances in Philadelphia, for example, the Starr Center, and various settlement houses mentioned in the previous chapter.

Many of these social service delivery systems were based on similar systems that provided services to Whites including European immigrants who also flooded the northern cities during the Progressive Era. Initially, many of the mainstream social service organizations in

Philadelphia would not assist the Black population. Members of the Black community therefore had to develop self and communal helping strategies using less resources and on a smaller scale. Eventually Black and White Progressives joined together to expand a program of Black missions and also to organize settlement houses in other selected Black districts of the City. Black and White Progressives founded the Eighth Ward Settlement House in 1895, the Spring Street Settlement in 1909 and the Whittier Center in 1897; all where modeled after the success of the settlement houses in White and European immigrant communities that were established in the 1880's. By 1910 there were four settlement houses and thirteen missions that provided services to the poor, needful Black population in Philadelphia (Kennedy & Woods, 1911; Historical Society of Pennsylvania). In 1896, a group of workers from St. Mary's Hospital and Quaker philanthropists instituted Theodore Starr's personal model housing program for Blacks by organizing the Octavia Hill Association to promote housing reform in Philadelphia. These two instances are great examples of how social service delivery systems were modeled after similar systems that provided services to White Philadelphians.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) were another example of a system modeled after a similar system that provided services to Whites, those at Traditionally White Institutions (TWI); colleges and universities across the country that denied admission to people of color. Historically Black colleges and universities (HBCU) are institutions of higher education in the United States that were established before 1964 with the intention of serving the black community. Historically Black colleges and universities are educational institutions of higher learning where Black students also gain a sense of identity and heritage, and have the opportunity to associate with others who are connected to the concerns of the Black community.

HBCU are also a place where Black students can experience a nurturing atmosphere within the stress and rigor of receiving a higher education.

The early social welfare mission of these HBCU was to step in the gap and attempt to meet the needs of Blacks who were denied access to TWI. Many in the Black community, not just in Philadelphia but throughout the nation understood that education was the key to rising above the oppression that Blacks faced in America. When Blacks were being denied access to TWI funds from foundations like the Rockefeller Foundation, the Rosenwald Foundation, and others, White philanthropists helped to create Black institutions of higher learning. Many of the individuals and members of the various groups and organizations who were difference makers in the Black community in Philadelphia had received a higher education. They understood that it was the opportunity to have an advanced education that separated them from many of the poor and disenfranchised in Philadelphia. Unfortunately, this funding did not impact the public schools in Philadelphia and other urban centers across the north.

Along with the development of HBCU came the emergence of Black fraternities and sororities. These organizations fulfilled the needs for social and civic minded activities as well as networking among Blacks at HBCU and eventually expanded to the campuses of TWI as they became more inclusive of Black students. The National Pan-Hellenic Council (NPHC) is a collaborative organization of nine historically Black, international Greek lettered fraternities and sororities. The nine NPHC organizations are sometimes collectively referred to as the "Divine Nine." The founding members of the NPHC were Alpha Kappa Alpha (1908), Omega Psi Phi (1911), Kappa Alpha Psi (1911), Delta Sigma Theta (1913), and Zeta Phi Beta (1920). The council's membership expanded as Alpha Phi Alpha (1906), Phi Beta Sigma (1914), and Sigma Gamma Rho (1922) joined this coalition of Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLO).

In his book on BGLO, Lawrence Ross (2001) coined the phrase "The Divine Nine" when referring to the coalition. The National Pan-Hellenic Council was established in the 1930's when racial segregation and disenfranchisement continued to plague Blacks on college campuses across the nation. The rise of each of the Black fraternities and sororities that make up the NPHC are evidence that despite the hardships that Blacks faced as they attempted to better themselves through education, this group of people refused to accept a status of inferiority. The organization's stated purpose and mission in 1930:

Unanimity of thought and action as far as possible in the conduct of Greek letter collegiate fraternities and sororities, and to consider problems of mutual interest to its member organizations. (About the National Pan-Hellenic Council"

(http://www.nphchq.org/about.htm. Retrieved on March 16, 2009).)

Social service delivery systems for Blacks that ran parallel to and were patterned after similar systems that provided services to Whites including European immigrants, also had the attitude and social control element modeled after them as well. As Progressivism began as an incremental movement for change and to alleviate poverty, an element of social control of the poor and needful began to emerge. Black Progressives, as they modeled their social service delivery systems after those of the White Progressives, they also adopted their ideas of social control and assimilation. It appears that in this modeling, a conservative stance was developed by Black Progressives similar to that of White Progressives.

Cross Racial Alliances

In the fight against racial oppression in Progressive Era Philadelphia, many cross-racial alliances were formed, similar to those seen in the abolitionist movement, with the settlement house movement and within the Charity Organization Society (COS), as discussed in the

previous chapter. These alliances were important because they brought attention of the plight of Black people into the consciousness of mainstream society. Prior to these alliances being formed, Blacks were only marginal participants in the Progressive Movement's struggle for social change. Meier (1964) stated that Black people were ignored in the Progressive Era's program of reform. It was several years into the Progressive Movement before northern reformers like Jane Addams and Mary Ellen Richmond assisted in tackling the problems related to the Black community. This fact is an example of how the conflict between Blacks and Whites, even within the Progressive Movement, are glossed over in favor of only discussing the cooperation between the two groups. Marable (2006) states:

Consensus and intragroup cooperation, rather than conflict, are deliberately emphasized, with the objective of assimilating opposing interests and factions into a pluralistic, harmonious whole -e pluribus unum. However, in a society historically organized around structural racism, this task is at best, difficult because it demands the selective suppression of historical evidence itself. (p.2-3)

Chapter Summary

The purpose of this study was to describe, critique, and discuss the roles assumed by African American social change agents during the Progressive Era in the 19th century in the struggle for social rights, human rights, social and humanitarian service delivery, and to reduce poverty for freed slaves and Blacks in Philadelphia, PA. In order to understand the role of African American social change agents during this time period, I first needed to examine documents and artifacts that described the activities in which they participated. Analysis of documents revealed that all of these social change agents, both individuals and groups, have one point in common that reflected the basics principles of social change theory; any type of social

change stems from some form of tension and social conflict (Johnson, 1981; Tew, 2002; Turner, 2003). Social conflict can start at the individual level or on the community level or beyond.

African American liberation and social change are rooted in social conflict. Some may even consider that it is one of the most prevailing and long lasting conflicts that exist in American society – the struggle between African Americans and Caucasian Americans over the elimination of the barriers to rights and the promise of freedom.

The response to social conflict took place in various arenas for Blacks in Philadelphia; political, economic, business, educational, religious and social. Politically, Black social change agents like William Still, Stephen Smith, Dr. Nathan Mosell and Fannie Jackson Coppin among others, tried to change the laws that governed society to make them inclusive of Blacks such as desegregation of schools, public transportation, and businesses. These change agents tried to support those candidates running for various city, state and federal offices who were sympathetic to their plight in Philadelphia and others, nationally. For example, they attempted to get sufficient political clout, authority and influence in the city to enforce the 14th amendment which granted citizenship to Blacks. This would have enabled Blacks to be treated equally with Whites instead of as second-class citizens; forced to be separate and unequal. Black social change agents utilized the resources of Black owned businesses to enhance the educational capacities of Blacks through teaching skills and trades. There was an explicit understanding that for Black businesses to be successful, they had to be supported by the Black community. In turn, as the Black community supported Black businesses, they in turn would support people of the community through development of apprenticeships for residents and donations of funds and goods to the poor (Appendices H-3, H-5, J-3, K-1, and K-4).

Black social change agents attempted to educate Blacks in Philadelphia, teaching them to read, write and develop a marketable trade. They understood that education was a necessary first step to equality and for obtaining parity with Whites. Often educational activities took place in Black churches in Philadelphia. The churches were a place where Blacks could go to find spiritual renewal in the face of the personal and societal challenges that they were confronted with everyday. The deep faith held by many Black people was a source of strength; a force to carry them through the challenging, demanding, and unrelenting times in their fight for their rights to freedoms as American citizens. The churches were also used as meeting places for Black social change agents. Speakers, activists, writers, and educators such as Frederick Douglass, Francis Newton Thorpe, General Samuel C. Armstrong and Fannie Jackson Coppin were invited to Black churches to educate the people about the struggles that Blacks were facing; not just in Philadelphia, but throughout America (Appendices G-2 and G-4). The churches were used as networking sites, places where information flowed freely about the fight against tyranny, oppression and suppression of Black people's basic human rights; many churches are the same today.

Social activities were also used to uplift the spirits of Blacks in Philadelphia; musical concerts, art exhibits, poetry readings, piano recitals and outings to parks were examples. These activities, while benign in nature, served as reminders to Blacks and to the dominant culture that they were people too – American people - who had the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States of America.

In summary, this study resulted in an acknowledgement of the names of individuals and organizations and a deeper understanding of the roles and positions they assumed as social change agents in Philadelphia during the Progressive Era as they struggled to fight for social

rights, human rights, social and humanitarian service delivery for freed slaves and Blacks in Philadelphia, PA. Social change theory as applied to this study purports that change can start at the individual level or on the community level or beyond. African American liberation and social change are rooted in social conflict, and while many may consider that it is the one of the most prevailing and long lasting conflicts that exists in American society – the struggle between African Americans and Caucasian Americans, it is a conflict that at this point in American history had not yet reached a resolution. Blacks in Philadelphia and throughout America were forced to rely on self-help measures, their personal abilities, strength and resiliency to move through the social change process for renewal.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Overview

This historical qualitative study consisted of examination of documents and artifacts related to social services and social welfare in the Black community in Philadelphia during the Progressive Era. These documents and artifacts were examined over a seven week period in Philadelphia, PA and Washington D.C. Also included were interviews with Dr. Charles Blockson, curator of the Blockson Collection, of Temple University, and Mr. Crawford Wilson, National Park Service Historian, of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This chapter includes answers to the research questions, discussion, conclusions, and implications for practice, recommendations for future research and a brief summary.

Response to Social Problems

The United States is a society that is stratified according to education, employment, and income as indicators of social position (Day, 2009; Du Bois, 1898; Dogoff & Feldstein, 2009). The United States is also a society that constructs barriers to achievement of social position for some people based on race, class, religion, and sex and that social stratification can be too often repressive and limiting (Tumin, 1953). Black people fall into categories of those who are marginalized and stigmatized by mainstream society. These concepts posit that government and the economic elite maintain the status quo through legislative and administrative agreements relative to important functions including unemployment levels, minimum wages, public

assistance levels, training and education grants and opportunities, restricted housing, and school systems (Day; Dogoff & Feldstein).

Blacks in the United States have been victims of oppression, racism, marginalization and stigmatization for over four hundred years. The unrelenting racism in America has served as a barrier, keeping Blacks from attaining education, jobs with good incomes, decent housing, and the many benefits available to many other citizens. Since the first slave ships arrived from Africa, slaves have been trying to escape from under the yoke of oppression. During the Civil War, Blacks fought for the right to fight for their freedom. During Reconstruction and throughout the Progressive Era, Blacks continued to fight the racial discrimination and prejudice that prevented them from moving into mainstream society. It was a widely held belief by Whites that Blacks having equal rights would damage the American society. Black people according to White people were inferior morally, lazy, unmotivated and incompetent and would only take away from the greatness of America (Woods & Kennedy, 1911; Reynolds, 1896). But Black people believed the truth to be different. Frederick Douglass stated in his speech entitled "The Present and Future of the Colored Race in America given in June of 1863:

Putting aside all the hay, wood, and stubble of expediency, I shall advocate for the Negro, his most full and complete adoption into the great national family of America. I shall demand for him the most perfect civil and political equality, and that he shall enjoy all the rights, privileges and immunities enjoyed by any other members of the body politic. I weigh my words and I mean all I say, when I contend to do as I do contend that this is the only solid and final solution of the problem before us. It is demanded not less by the terrible exigencies of the nation, than by the Negro himself for the Negro and the nation, are to rise or fall, be killed or cured, saved or lost together. Save the Negro and you save

the nation, destroy the Negro and you destroy the nation, and to save both you must have but one great law of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity for all Americans without respect to color. (Douglass, 1863; Brotz, 1995, p.268)

Social Change

The literature shows that social change is a response to social problems and occurs at all levels of life; individual and community, it can be slow or fast, wide or limited in the scope of people affected, it can be purposeful or revolutionary, and it can occur both on the surface with changes in social structure and policy, and it can occur beneath the surface with changes in individual ideas and perceptions simultaneously.

...the term 'social change' is an ambiguous one. It is sometimes used in a narrow sense, referring to alterations in the social structure (the balance between different social classes, for example), but also in a considerably wider sense that includes political organization, the economy and culture. (Burke, 2005, p.141)

The consequences of social change are that there are usually paradigm shifts and a need for people to adapt to the various changes which can be on many levels (Noble, 2000). Social change usually leads to collective action which is followed by a social movement (McAdam, 1982). What Blacks in Philadelphia and America as a whole have been fighting for years to have is a collective action that leads to a social movement which initiates and sustains social change at the structural level of American society.

The literature shows that social change occurs from both internal sources and external sources. Tischler (1999) describes important internal sources of social change as technological innovations, ideology and institutionalized structural inequality. The latter two tend to be captured in Professor Tischer's quote:

When groups perceive themselves to be the victims of unjust and unequal societal patterns or laws, they are likely to demand social, economic, political, and cultural reforms...African Americans have often been the victims of institutional inequality. (Tischler, 1999, p.616)

What was evidenced by this study is that Blacks in Philadelphia were able to generate internal sources of change; the development of coping and sharing skills and the sharing of knowledge. Through the work of many individuals, groups and organizations, initiatives were taken to attempt to meet some of the basic needs - those that Maslow called physiological and safety need - of the Black community on the micro-level. Where the change agents fell short was in getting external sources in mainstream society to change. These change agents were unable to affect change on a level that would tear down the walls that structural racism, oppression, and discrimination had built up over so many years. This researcher believes that the cause of this could be that there was not the emergence of a fiery orator or personality to spark a movement citywide, statewide or nationwide. It could be that the Black people of Philadelphia were concerned solely with individual rights and survival, the day-to-day needs being met, they could not see past these to the bigger picture, the macro-perspective.

Social Change to Achieve Social Justice

Using their personal resources, philanthropy, talents, and strengths to affect social change in Philadelphia for Black people; individuals, groups and organizations in the Black community did what they could in the fight for social justice. They believed that education was a key component to reaching their goals. An education that went beyond the basic reading, writing and arithmetic but a higher education, where Blacks were classically educated (Du Bois, 1898). An education that included understanding politics and governmental issues, how to navigate the

social structures that were designed to keep Black people at a disadvantage (Weiss, 1974). Speakers were brought into lecture halls and churches to convey the most recent political information to the "common man". Martin R. Delany gave a speech that was printed in Philadelphia (1852) entitled "Politically Considered" where he stated:

In presenting this work, we have but a single object in view, and that is, to inform the minds of the colored people at large, upon many things pertaining to their elevation, that few among us are acquainted with...Let our young men and women prepare themselves for usefulness and business; that men may enter into merchandise, trading, and other things of importance; the young women may become teachers of various kinds, and otherwise fill places of usefulness. Parents must turn their attention more to the education of their children. We mean to educate them for useful practical business purposes. Educate them for the Store and the Counting House – to do everyday practical business... (Brotz, 1995, pp.88-89)

Blacks in Philadelphia were trying to affect social change on the micro level – individuals and families, helping them to affect change in their lives; and on the macro level – community, society; with a focus on cultural and structural factors, and changing social policy to affect change on a larger scale. What they realized is that they couldn't sacrifice one for the other, they needed both to be most effective. Change on the macro level – the municipal, county, state and federal government presented the greatest challenge to Blacks. Social policies are formed and passed by the government, communities are directly affected by these policies, and individuals and families are directly affected by their communities. Without social change on this level, there would be no social justice for Blacks in Philadelphia or the United States as a whole. Rawls explains that "the primary subject of justice is the basic structure of society, or more exactly, the

way in which the major social institutions distribute the fundamental rights and duties and determine the division of advantages from social cooperation" (Rawls, 2004, p.49-84). Blacks in Philadelphia understood full well that without changes in the structure of society, there would be no social justice for them, ever. The NASW webpage explains that:

Social justice is the view that everyone deserves equal economic, political and social rights and opportunities. Social workers aim to open the doors of access and opportunity for everyone, particularly those in greatest need...Social workers also apply social justice principles to structural problems in the social service agencies in which they work...Often, social workers bring social justice concepts into the wider social and political arena. (www.nasw.org).

This study shows that although the term "social work" had yet to be coined, there was social work being done in the Black community in Philadelphia. The "social betterment" activity of individuals, groups, and organizations outlined in this study falls in line with a popular definition of social work:

The professional activity of helping individuals, groups, or communities enhance or restore their capacity for social functioning and creating social conditions favorable to this goal...helping communities or groups provide or improve social health services; and participating in relevant legislative processes. (Dogoff & Feldstein, 2009, p.285)

Personal Reflection

The neighborhood that I grew up in was located in West Philadelphia named Wynnefield. It was originally a neighborhood made up of Welsh and Protestant settlers (1690-1920), then of White Jewish Americans (1920-1950), and then of Blacks from 1960's to the present (WRA, 2007). Growing up I recall hearing from many that the Jewish people left because of the number

of Blacks that were moving into the neighborhood. Across the street from the house that I grew up in, on 54th and Berks Streets is an elementary school named the Mann School that was formerly the Home for Destitute Colored Children which was founded by the Quakers in 1887. The church that I attended as a child, Pinn Memorial Baptist Church was formerly the Har Zion Temple – which for many years was the largest synagogue serving Jewish families in the Delaware Valley. The school that I attended for kindergarten was called the Wynnefield Academy, which was formerly known as the Beth David School.

As Blacks were moving into this area of West Philadelphia, the Jewish civic leaders, led by an attorney named Stanton W. Kratzok, sought to prevent the panic selling of houses that was occurring in surrounding neighborhoods and in 1957 formed the Wynnefield Residents

Association (WRA), to provide for the orderly transition to an integrated community as well as to oppose the scare tactics of some unethical realtors. The first Black Episcopal Church in the United States is St. Thomas's African Episcopal Church. I would drive by this church now located on Overbrook and Lancaster Avenues, almost every day on my way to and from school; and it was only after my school age years that I understood the significance of this church.

Growing up around all of this history has played a large role in my interest in this research topic.

Philadelphia is a historic city, as described earlier in this dissertation, it is known as the birthplace of the ideas that sparked the American Revolution and American Independence, and for much of America's early history it was the financial and cultural center of this young country (Goode & Schneider, 1994). By the height of the Progressive Era, around 1900, the city had a total population of 1,293,000, 5% of which were Black, roughly about 62,000 (United States Census, 1900). The racism and oppression that permeated through America also made its mark on Philadelphia. The city was not immune to segregation and inequalities, especially towards the

Black community. Many in mainstream society did nothing to change or even address the systems – economic, educational, health care, employment, and housing among others, that were in place to disenfranchise and devalue Black people.

It was these social problems that challenged the Black community in Philadelphia and across the country and eventually created social conflict which generated several change strategies. Only through self-help would ongoing sustained change occur. Help would be initiated within the Black community, first. Determined and resilient pioneers, mostly individuals from within the Black community took a stand against oppression and injustices. Individuals took ownership of their communities, groups and organizations were formed to alleviate the sufferings of so many Black people across the city.

According to Larson (2003), "strengths are personal qualities, traits, and virtues...that are often forged by trauma and loss" (p.12) the Black experience not just in Philadelphia but in the United States as a whole is nothing if not one that has been forged by trauma and loss on all levels as evidenced by this study. The loss of life through race riots, murder and lynching, the loss of property through fires, the loss of the right to vote through segregation and Jim Crow laws, the loss of dignity through the denial of employment and the rape and abuse of women (Du Bois, 1899; Day, 2006, Dogoff & Feldstein, 2009; Marable, 2006). Practitioners and laypersons alike would be well advised to heed the words of the famous German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche: "That which does not destroy me only makes me stronger." Although Nietzsche is not well known in the Black community, this idea has been the mantra of Blacks throughout America.

Bonanno (2005) found that resilience, rather than trauma symptoms, "is typically the most common response following exposure to a potentially traumatic event" (p.136). This study

was no different; Blacks relied on strength and resiliency to cope with the social conflict between Blacks and Whites in all aspects of society. What, if not resilient were Blacks in Philadelphia and all across America?

Anger, using the standard definition of the word, was another factor that aided Blacks as they dealt with this conflict; it was evident in the tone of many letters, speeches and sermons found in this study. Anger fueled the fire of action and motivation. Anger deepened the resolve of some and spurred others who would usually be dormant on to action and involvement. Blacks in Philadelphia expressed anger at the government on all levels, federal, state, county and municipal. Anger was expressed at other Blacks who did not participate in the fight against the oppression, and at Whites who turned a blind eye to the injustices that were taking place right in front of them. Blacks were angry and disappointed in the government that was supposed to protect them and their civil rights but did neither.

It was anger at the injustices that the Black community was facing that encouraged many Whites to become involved in the fight. Many White Progressives, once they were made aware of the plight of Blacks in Philadelphia, got on board to assist them. People like Mary Ellen Richmond, Theodore Starr and Octavia Hill eventually used their talents, influence and resources to help Blacks in Philadelphia fight against the injustices that were plaguing them as well as bring their cause to the attention of mainstream society. This anger trumped the racial stratification in these cases and allowed alliances to be formed and bridges to be crossed between Blacks and Whites. Individuals, both Black and White used anger to make positive changes and advocate for social justice in society at large. In this situation, anger serves the purpose of empowering, energizing, and mobilizing individuals.

Analysis revealed that along with personal factors that were developed over the hundreds of years of oppression and discrimination like strength, resiliency and anger, there were contextual factors of family, community resources and the church that affected the process of social change within the community studied in Philadelphia. The Black family in America has been under siege since the first slave ships arrived here from Africa (Marable, 2006). Slave owners understood that to best control and oppress the African slaves was to take away the strength and support of the family unit. Husbands and wives were separated on the trading block, mothers had children torn from their arms and sent away to other plantations often several states away (Franklin, 1967; Blockson, 1994; Ellis, 2001). E. Franklin Frazier made this very argument in his book The Negro Family in the United States in 1939 and whether you agree with Franklin or not, there is no doubt that the Black family suffered under White power and dominance. Eugene Genovese's Roll Jordan Roll, which was published in 1974 stated: "Blacks were struggling, with considerable, if not fully defined success to establish a pattern of family life for themselves." To put it simply, Blacks avoided being degraded and dehumanized by accepting what their masters offered and making it their own. Thus a "paternalistic" compromise between master and slave enabled Blacks to develop a distinctive culture and community of their own (Genovese, 1974).

The second contextual factor was the resources that were available to Black people by other Black people, who often had to step in to fill the gap left by fragmentation and splitting of families. As traditional families were broken apart by slavery, others filled in and a network of fictive kin titles like "aunts", "uncles" and "cousins" were formed to become the family network that was not there before. These "relatives" took on the communal care for the children who were orphaned and kept their names and family traditions alive (Gutman, 1976). During the Civil

War and Reconstruction eras when many Black men went off to fight and did not return and if they did they were injured, it was the Black community that stepped in to offer help and make sure that some of the needs of their families were being met (Du Bois, 1935; Taylor, 1938). We see in the findings of this study that there were many community groups and organizations that were formed to attempt to meet the needs of Black families who could not manage their functioning and often survival if left to their own resources. There was an extensive community network throughout the Black community in Philadelphia that was solely focused on helping to meet material needs of the poor and disenfranchised.

The third contextual factor that affected the process of social change in the Black community was the church. The church served as the epicenter of activity in most Black communities during this time period as I discussed in Chapter III. The church provided support, strength and stability to the Black community in Philadelphia. It was a place to congregate, receive spiritual nurturance and instruction as well as a place to solidify and rally people to action and advocacy for positive social change. The church played a vital role in not only addressing social problems but also in rallying people to take action, which more often than not led to social tension and in some cases, conflict. Congregations served as resources for Blacks escaping via the Underground Railroad, to publish literature speaking out against oppression and injustice, and to care for families who had lost a father or mother to a sickness, disease or hunger. The church was a place where Blacks in Philadelphia could have a voice, where this voice could be heard, it was a place, one of the only places in the city where Blacks could feel empowered and in control.

Theoretical Implications

Social theories purport to answer the question "what is" rather than "what should be?" Social theory and social change are related in that the theory is a response to the question of what generates change and attempts to answer or at least shed thought on what the outcomes are of such change processes. There are several causes of social change: 1.) the need to adapt to changing times, 2.) the need to advocate for meeting people's needs (societal or individual), and 3.) the need to adapt to changing technology (Johnson, 1981; Tew, 2002; Turner, 2003). The findings presented in this study are evidence of attempts at social change in Progressive Era Philadelphia.

The impetus and causes of social change in this study reflected a need to adapt to changing times, i.e. from an agricultural to an industrial society, and the need to advocate for meeting people's needs. Blacks in Philadelphia and throughout the nation were fighting for their civil rights to be acknowledged and awarded or granted. Segregation, discrimination, social stratification, and denial of civil rights were the dominant social problems that greatly impacted Blacks during this time period. Fighting against these social problems that were inherent to American societal structure caused conflict with the dominant group (Whites) in Philadelphia and across the nation. Whites were afraid of losing some of their privileges, which came at the expense of Blacks. Blacks and their allies tried to change the oppressive systems that were woven into the fabric of American society through customs, laws (Jim Crow and others), and other ways of social stratification. If they were able to do this, then we would see social justice in society as a result of this change.

This study guided by social change theory contributes to the literature first and foremost by providing examples of social change being attempted through social conflict. This research

has multidisciplinary implications in that it adds to the literature on social change, social conflict, social justice and social work education. As mentioned in Chapter II, the intent was to use a theoretical framework based on social change through social conflict literature. I found that most of the literature focused on conflicts between individuals, groups and countries. With the focus of the study being specific to the Black community in Philadelphia, this study hopes to contribute to the social change through social conflict literature specific to the Black population.

This study examined evidence of a social conflict that has been going on in this country for hundreds of years and despite the actions taken against the social problems causing the conflict, no clear resolution has yet been determined. My hope is that researchers and scholars will build upon this study by offering theories of social change through social conflict that can find some resolution to this specific social problem affecting Blacks in America as well as focus on other social problems that other vulnerable populations in America are facing.

Social change theory was used to guide this study which resulted in a deeper understanding of the roles that African American social welfare reformers and social change agents played in the delivery of social services to the Black community in Philadelphia during the Progressive Era (see Figure 5.1). Social change is grounded in the distribution of power in society, Blackwell (1991) states that power relationships are difficult to change in a society when the contending groups are unequal with respect to economic, political, and educational resources (see also, Hopps, 2000). This study shows evidence of this through the analysis of the "social betterment" activities that were taking place among Black people in Philadelphia.

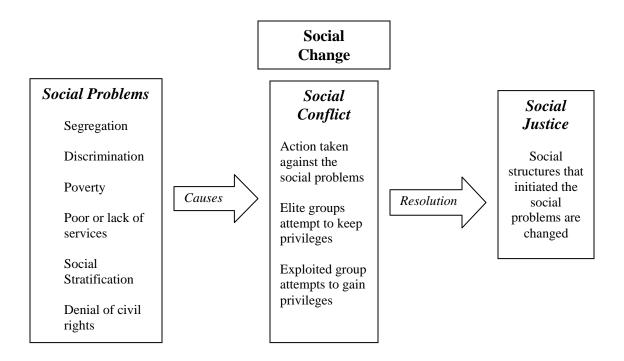


Figure 5.1. Model of Social Change Resolution

The theory of social change purports that the change process includes an awareness of the social problems from which conflicts arise; a response to address the problems which leads to social conflict; and ultimately a resolution of the conflict which can lead to improvements and promotion of social justice. The entire process of social change in this study was affected by two forces: individuals and groups/organizations. Individuals used their personal strengths, philanthropic activities, resources, and skills to attempt to address social problems in the city under discussion. Groups and organizations used community resources and spiritual resources to attempt to address social problems. Unfortunately, the major structural problems were and remain so embedded into the social fabric of America that no resolution was achieved during the time period examined for this study and, resolution has not been achieved since.

Influences on Social Work Practice Today

There is much more desegregation now in the 21st century than during the Progressive Era. Social workers of all races and ethnic backgrounds often have the opportunity to work with clients of all diverse heritages. Social workers practicing now strive to achieve what the profession is calling "culturally competent social work practice". This involves applying the knowledge base obtained to specific clients in a culturally sensitive manner (Rothman & Sager, 2001; Anderson & Middleton, 2005; Anderson & Carter, 2003). Culturally competent social work practice also involves engagement, trust and relationship building, assessment, need definition, intervention, evaluation and utilization of cultural resources (Rothman). Social workers practicing today must pay attention to culture as a factor in problem formation, problem resolution and the helping process (Pinderhughes, 1994; Schlesinger & DeVore, 1995).

Social work has, in fact, provided leadership among the helping professions in the demand for cultural competence in training and in the development and implementation of curricula that ensure the development of skill for working effectively with ethnic minorities and people of color. (Pinderhughes, 1994, p.284)

African American social welfare pioneers practicing during the Progressive Era had no need to call their work "culturally competent". Until racial alliances were formed, most of them worked exclusively with people of their own race and ethnic background. Through self-help methods and practices, they designed programs and services to attempt to meet the needs of the Black individual, family and community. Organizations like the Dorcas Society and the Free African Society not only made efforts to meet the immediate needs of some African Americans through provisions: food, clothing and shelter, but worked to empower their clients through job preparation and education. Blacks were encouraged to learn a trade or skill through

apprenticeships. Those who were unable to read or write were taught by the volunteers of these societies who did. The importance of learning a skill and education were emphasized to Blacks of all economic backgrounds as a means to bettering themselves and becoming more productive members of society in keeping with the "social betterment" mantra as encouraged by Du Bois.

Social workers practicing today are also encouraged to approach interventions with their clients from a perspective first introduced by Biestek. Biestek (1957) developed the legendary seven principles of relationship; articulated as individualization, purposeful expression of feelings, controlled emotional involvement, acceptance, nonjudgmental attitude, self-determination, and confidentiality. This was expanded on by Hopps, Kilpatrick and Gray (2008), to incorporate awareness of the environment and the principle of cultural competence. The systems in which social workers work to advocate and assist the needful and the disenfranchised consist of all the people who can influence the change process; school systems, government agencies, health care systems and the like. The client system consists of all the human systems that are or may be involved in the maintenance or resolution of the presenting problem. The practitioner system consists of all the people involved in treating the client system. Social workers practicing today look to empower the individual and the community in which they live; just as the early African American and White social welfare pioneers of the Progressive Era did.

Implications for Practice

This study has several practice implications for social work and social work education.

First and foremost, it contributes to social work practice with Black and other vulnerable populations by providing a substantive theory by which these individuals attempt to resolve the social conflict they are experiencing with mainstream society. Understanding the process of resolving social conflict will help practitioners provide services to individuals who are going

through this type of struggle. Further, if they are able to identify where their clients are in the resolution process, practitioners can introduce clients to pertinent resources and information. Finally, future research, as described in the next section, will provide additional practice implications, such as specific evidence-based interventions for each stage of the process.

Along with social work practice implications, this study has implications for the social work education community. Social work education places importance on understanding the origins of the social work profession. A large part of the development of social work as a profession is rooted in responding to social conflict in mainstream society. There is much literature discussing White pioneers in social work like Jane Addams, Ellen Starr and Mary Ellen Richmond, but these leaders did not initially work with needful Blacks many who moved to their cities after slavery. When these White Progressives did start to work with Blacks, they did so from a paternalistic perspective where Black people were only there to be saved from themselves, not to socialize with or to be thought of as equal to Whites. As this study has shown for years the Black community had to develop most of their own resources through self-help. They attempted to meet the needs of their community before White Progressives and Reformers showed sustained interest in and attention to their challenges.

Finally, Black churches played an important and vital role in the fight for Blacks against the social ills that they faced in society during this time. Churches not only helped to meet some spiritual and religious needs of the Black community, but made attempts to meet the educational, economic, and social needs as well. The church provided support, strength and stability to the Black community in Philadelphia. It was a place to rally Black people to advocate for positive social change. The church played a vital role in not only addressing the social problems that Blacks faced in Philadelphia but also in organizing and rallying the people to take action.

Recommendations for Future Research

The purpose of this study was to understand the role in which Black social reformers and social welfare pioneers played in fighting the social ills and injustices that faced the Black community in Philadelphia, PA during the late 19th century, an era known as the Progressive Era. Based on the findings of this qualitative study, I have three recommendations for future research related to this topic.

First this study was limited in that the data was gathered from archived documents and artifacts. There were no people to interview to gather the information first-hand. This study should be repeated with the focus geared towards other vulnerable populations in order to reveal whether or not the theory of social change through social conflict is evidenced in the work of their social reformers and pioneers as well. It will be important to compare the findings of the roles that individuals and groups played in initiating social change in this study to those of other racial, ethnic and religious groups that faced similar persecution in America.

My second recommendation is that this study should be duplicated in order to comprehensively understand if any other individual along the lines of a William Still emerged as a central reformer in Philadelphia. The findings suggest that many individuals, groups and organizations came forward to help meet the needs of Blacks in crisis in Philadelphia. It will be important to discover if among all of this activity, there was one or more person who stepped up and played a central role in the fight against the oppression and injustices.

Third, this research should be replicated with a deeper focus on the role of the Black church in social change. In order to form a comprehensive theory of the process of resolving social conflict between members of a society that purport to worship the same God, to have the

same Christian values and beliefs. This will reveal aspects of the process that are unique to individuals with a deeply rooted Christian belief and were not present in this study.

Finally, because this study was exploratory in nature, I only provided an initial understanding of the role that Black social reformers and social welfare pioneers played in fighting the social ills and injustices that faced the Black community during this time period. It is my hope that this information will be built upon and added to the mainstream social work education curriculum across the country, as well as helping social work professionals learn about effective interventions for individuals involved in this particular social conflict.

Chapter Summary

In summary, there were four conclusions reached based on the findings of this study: (a) there were specific roles that African American social change agents played in the delivery of social services to the Black community in Philadelphia; (b) there were identifiable social service delivery systems in place in the Black community in Philadelphia; (c) there were parallel movements taking place in the United States; and (d) there were cross-racial alliances that were made in order to fight the injustices that the Black community in Philadelphia faced.

First, there were specific roles that Blacks played in the delivery of social services to the Black community in Philadelphia. Men and women acted individually, using their personal resources, talents, and skills to attempt to meet the needs. There was evidence of middle and upper class Blacks investing personal resources through philanthropic activities in order to attempt to help the poor in their community. Many of the groups and organizations were funded solely by the Black community. Successful Black businessmen and women and other emerging leaders created these groups and organizations, and raised money in an attempt to supply the basic necessities that many Blacks in Philadelphia were lacking.

The church also played an important role as it looked to meet the spiritual needs of the Blacks in Philadelphia but at the same time worked to meet people's physical needs through providing food, clothing, and shelter; economic needs through job training, apprenticeships, teaching about savings and investments; and educational needs by providing reading, writing and arithmetic classes for poor Blacks. The church also played a role in politics and advocacy for Blacks.

Next, the social service delivery systems that were in place in the Black community during this time period were structured in a way that is a precursor to the social service delivery systems in place today. Individuals, groups and organizations, left to their own self-help methods and devices, attempted to decipher what needs the Black community had or the individual that needed assistance had and made an effort to meet those needs.

Thirdly, there were parallel movements taking place during the fight by Blacks in Philadelphia against racial oppression and segregation. The abolitionist movement was a constant presence in Philadelphia. As the Progressive Era evolved, the Settlement house movement and the Charity Organization Societies (COS) also paralleled the movements taking place within the Black community.

Finally, in the fight against racial oppression in Progressive Era Philadelphia, many cross-racial alliances were formed, similar to those seen in the abolitionist movement, with the settlement house movement and within the charity organization society (COS). Blacks and Whites, prominent and obscure, joined together to fight against the racial oppression and segregation that was at the root of the societal ills that plagued the Black community in Philadelphia during this time period.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SOURCES FOR DOCUMENTS AND ARTIFACTS

Churches

Bethel A.M.E. Church houses a museum within its structure that stands on a property which has been held longer continuously by African Americans, since 1791, than any other parcel of land in the United States. The artifacts in the museum date back to the earliest days of the church's inception. The church is located on 6th Street near Lombard which has been named Richard Allen Avenue in honor of its founder Reverend Richard Allen (1760 – 1831). Many of the original papers from Richard Allen have been preserved at the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The museum in Bethel A.M.E. Church contains many artifacts like medallions given to honor Richard Allen, plaques, original pews and handmade benches. Richard Allen, his wife Sarah Allen (1764 – 1849), and Morris Brown (1770 – 1849), the second consecrated bishop of the A.M.E. Church are entombed on the lower level of the church near the museum.

Museums

The African American Museum in Philadelphia was founded in 1976, in celebration of the bicentennial; the museum is dedicated to telling the story of African Americans. Located on 7th and Arch Streets, it is the first American institution to be funded and built by a major municipality to preserve, interpret, and exhibit the heritage of African Americans (www.aampmuseum.org). The goal of the museum is to tell the story of African Americans in all its permutations: political, religion, economic, entrepreneurial, military, academic, scientific, education, family life, the Civil Rights movement, arts and entertainment, sports, architecture, medicine, law and technology.

The museum has a collection of more than 750,000 objects and illustrations that chronicle and display the story of the Black Diaspora. The collections that held material directly related to this research are *The Frank McGlinn Collection* which contains broadsides, photographs, newspaper clippings, programs and posters related to African American performing arts, primarily theater from 1850 – 1992; and *The Dorothy Wright Collection* which contains letters, newspaper clippings, posters, pamphlets, and photographs documenting African American history in Philadelphia.

Public/Government Institutions

Another important resource was The Library of Congress which was established by an act of Congress in 1800 when President John Adams, the second United States President, signed a bill providing for the transfer of the seat of government from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to the new capital city of Washington, D. C. In 1814, the British troops invaded Washington and set fire to the Capitol Building, burning and pillaging the contents of the small library. Retired United States President Thomas Jefferson offered his personal library collection as a replacement which served as the foundation of a great national library. According to the website of the Library of Congress:

The Jeffersonian concept of universality, the belief that all subjects are important to the library of the American legislature, is the philosophy and rationale behind the comprehensive collecting policies of today's Library of Congress.

(www.loc.gov/about/history.html)

In 2008, The Library of Congress had a collection of more than 130 million items including more than 29 million catalogued books and other printed materials in 460 languages; more than 58 million manuscripts; the largest rare book collection in North America; and the world's

largest collection of legal materials, films, maps, sheet music and sound recordings. There are seventeen collections in The Library of Congress that are specific to African Americans and five of these had materials directly related to this study; African Americans – *The Daniel A. P. Murray Pamphlets*; *From Slavery to Freedom* – *The African American Pamphlet Collection* 1824 – 1907; *The African American Odyssey*; *The Frederick Douglass Papers* 1841 – 1964; and *Nineteenth Century Books* 1850 – 1877.

Daniel Alexander Payne Murray (1852 – 1925) the son of a freed slave, was an employee of the Library of Congress during the Progressive Era – from 1871 – 1923. His job was to gather books and pamphlets for the Exhibit of Negro Authors at the 1900 Paris Exposition. The volumes and materials that he collected formed the nucleus of The Library of Congress's Collection of Books by Colored Authors. The Daniel A. P. Murray Pamphlet Collection has 22 volumes of bound pamphlets - 386 original pieces, 351 of which have been digitized. The collection is comprised of titles which include sermons on racial pride and political activism, annual reports of charitable, educational, and political organizations; and Historically Black Colleges and Universities' college catalogs and graduation orations from Hampton Institute, Morgan College, and Wilberforce University. Also included are biographies, slave narratives, speeches by members of Congress, legal documents, poetry, playbills, dramas, and librettos. There are pamphlets that focus on segregation, voting rights, violence against Blacks, and the colonization of Africa by freed slaves – those slaves that returned to Africa for the purpose of colonization.

The African American Pamphlet Collection, 1822 – 1909 titled from Slavery to Freedom is comprised of 397 pamphlets from the rare Book and Special Collections Division of The Library of Congress. These pamphlets were published from 1822 through 1909 by Black authors

and others who wrote about slavery, African colonization, Emancipation, Reconstruction, Emancipation, Reconstruction, and related topics. Among the authors represented are Frederick Douglass (1818 – 1895), Kelly Miller (1863 – 1939), Charles Sumner (1811 – 1874), Mary Church Terrell (1863 – 1954), and Booker T. Washington (1856 – 1915). The materials in the collection consist of personal accounts, public orations, organizational reports, and legislative speeches. *From Slavery to Freedom* was made possible by a major gift from the Citigroup Foundation (date of donation unknown) and complements the collection called *African American Perspectives: Pamphlets from the Daniel A. P. Murray Collection*, 1818 – 1907.

The African American Odyssey: A Quest for Full Citizenship is an exhibition that showcases the Library's African American collections. It highlights what is on view in this major Black History exhibition and gives the viewer a glimpse into the Library's large collection of important rare books, government documents, manuscripts, maps, musical scores, plays, art, drawings, films, and recordings that reflect African American culture. This exhibition draws from all of the African American collections at The Library of Congress.

The Frederick Douglass Papers at the Library of Congress is a collection of papers from Frederick Douglass (1818 – 1895) who was an outspoken antislavery lecturer, writer, and publisher. The collection contains approximately 7,800 items that relate to Douglass' life as an escaped slave, abolitionist, editor, orator, and public servant. Included are correspondence, speeches, a draft of his autobiography, financial and legal papers, scrapbooks, and articles by Douglass and his contemporaries including Booker T. Washington (1856-1915), Martin R. Delaney (1812-1885), and Henry H. Garnet (1815-1882). The papers range from the years 1841 – 1964 with the majority of the papers coming from 1862 – 1895.

Societies

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania is one of the oldest historical societies in the United States, founded in 1824. The building, which is on the City of Philadelphia's register of Historical Places, is located on 13th and Arch Streets and houses approximately 600,000 printed items and over 19 million manuscript and graphic items. The Society is one of the largest family history libraries in the nation, has preeminent printed collections on Pennsylvania and regional history, and offers superb manuscript collections renowned for their strength in 17th, 18th, and 19th century history (www.hsp.org). Recently, with the addition of the holdings of The Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies in 2002, and of The Geneological Society in 2006, it has become a chief center for the documentation and study of the various ethnic communities and immigrant experiences shared by people whose American history began more recently – between the late 19th century and our own times.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania contains unique and valuable resources on the lives of Black Americans. Political, economic, social, philanthropic, and leisure activities among many regional Black communities are well documented among the diverse business, institutional and personal collections held by the Society. Collections of particular interest to this study are *The Leon Gardiner Collection – American Negro Historical Society Papers* (1790 – 1905), *James Samuel Stemons Papers* (1894 – 1922) and the *Bernice D. Shelton Papers* (1920's). The collections of The Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies contain a number of abolitionist newspapers and periodicals on microfilm such as, *The Liberator* (1831 – 1866), *The Colonization Herald* (1835 – 1865), and *The Pennsylvania Freeman* (1836 – 1854).

The Library Company of Philadelphia, located on 13th and Locust Streets, was founded by Benjamin Franklin (1706 – 1790) in 1731. It is the nation's first cultural institution providing

thorough collections of rare books, manuscripts and prints. It is also America's first successful lending library and oldest cultural institution. The Library Company has one of the most comprehensive collections by and about African Americans which predates the Civil War. It is an independent research library concentrating on American society and culture from the 17th through 19th centuries. From the Revolutionary War to 1800, when the national government was in Philadelphia, the Library Company also served as the Library of Congress and until 1850 it was the largest public library in America. In 1950, the Library Company of Philadelphia was transformed into a research library (www.librarycompany.org).

The collections at The Library Company of Philadelphia include holdings that total over half a million rare books, pamphlets, manuscripts and graphics that document every aspect of American history and culture, with one of the strengths of the collection being African American history. *The Afro-Americana Collection* has over 13,000 titles and almost 1,000 graphics which includes books, pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers, broadsides, and graphics that document the western discovery and exploitation of Africa, the rise of slavery in the Americas, the rise of movements against slavery, the development of racial thought and racism, descriptions of African American life and the printed works of African American individuals and organizations. The collection ranges in date from the mid 16th century to the early years of the 20th century. In 1969, the Library Company joined with The Historical Society of Pennsylvania and put together an exhibition entitled "Negro History 1553 – 1906", and in 1973 published a printed catalog of this collection, *Afro-Americana: 1553 – 1906*. For the past 35 years, *The Afro-Americana Collection* has been a priority and the collection has been growing, with additional purchases each year (taken from the information sheet handed to visitors about the Library Company).

Universities

The University of Pennsylvania is a prestigious Ivy League school founded by Benjamin Franklin (1706 – 1790), located in West Philadelphia, with an enrollment of about 20,000 students. It is America's first university and fourth oldest institution of higher education in the United States. The campus has a library system made up of 15 libraries and 5.7 million book and serial volumes. The University of Pennsylvania has a rare book and manuscript library called the Van-Pelt Dietrich Library Center located on Locust Walk between 34th and 36th Streets. This library has an extensive online catalogue of African American history; but unfortunately I could not access it because I was not a student at the school. However, the head librarian Walter Davis assured me when I visited there on June 22, 2008, that there were no documents there that The Library Company of Philadelphia or the Historical Society of Pennsylvania did not already have.

Temple University is a comprehensive public research university founded in 1884 by Dr. Russell Conwell, with more than 36,000 students on its eight campuses with the largest campus located in North Philadelphia. It has a library system which houses collections that include over 3 million volumes, 6 million photographs, and 35,000 linear feet of manuscripts. The collection that was specific to this research was *The Charles L. Blockson Afro-American Collection* which is one of the nation's leading research facilities for the study of the history and culture of people of African descent. The collection holds materials with a special emphasis on the experiences of African Americans in Philadelphia and the Delaware Valley region. *The Charles L. Blockson Collection* is located in Sullivan Hall on the Main Campus of Temple University near Broad and Diamond Streets. The collection holds over 500,000 items in all formats; rare books, prints, photographs, slave narratives, manuscripts, letters, sheet music and ephemera.

Findings

Bethel A.M.E. Church

Bethel A.M.E. Church, also known as "Mother Bethel", has a three room museum on its lower level that is dedicated to the history of this institution and its impact on the Black community in Philadelphia. While visiting this church I met Mr. Crawford Wilson, a historian for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Mr. Crawford is a volunteer who explains to guests of this church its history and the life of its founder Richard Allen (1760-1831). Mr. Crawford was kind enough to take me on a special tour of the building and talk with me about the work that was done by the members of the church in the Black community.

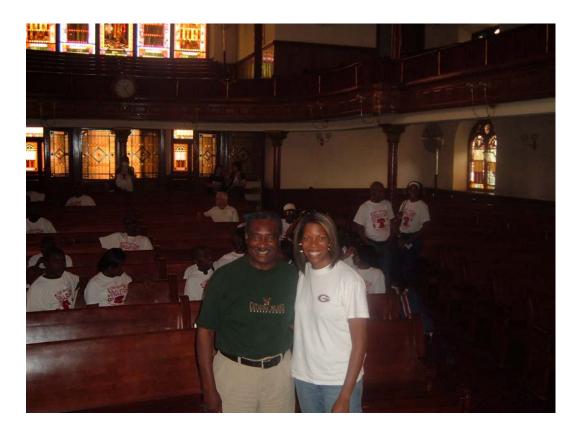


Figure A.1. Mr. Crawford Wilson and Kareema Gray in the sanctuary of Mother Bethel A.M.E.

Mr. Crawford gave me the oral history of Mother Bethel A.M.E. church which corresponded with the historical accounts of the church that I found in various documents at the Philadelphia Library Company and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. While we were walking through the church, I could feel this history of the place, meaning; it felt different than any other church that I had ever been in. The floorboards, the woodwork and the pews were all kept after the church moved to the Lombard Street location in 1889 – restored and refinished.

Mr. Crawford explained that the goal of Richard and Sarah Allen was to create a church that met the needs of the "total person, where an individual could walk into church, learn about God, the importance of education, learn a skill and get whatever physical needs they had met be it food, clothing, medicine, or shelter."

Mr. Crawford explained that the church's basement was used as a stop in the Underground Railroad and that there were some current members of the church who are descendants of those who were escaped slaves assisted by the congregation of Mother Bethel. Mr. Crawford told me that famous Quaker abolitionist Lucretia Mott (1793-1880), Frederick Douglass, and William Still were some of the notable figures in history that spoke from the rostrum at Mother Bethel. A female Mother Bethel preacher, Jarena Lee was one of the first Black women to speak out publicly against slavery. It was also explained that Ben Franklin, the noted Quaker and leader in local and national affairs contributed money to Mother Bethel. According to Mr. Crawford, and confirmed by documentation, Mother Bethel is the oldest parcel of real estate owned by Blacks in the United States. The second Prince Hall Masonic Lodge was founded at Mother Bethel. Prince Hall (1735-1807) is considered to be the founder of Black Freemasonry in the United States also known as Prince Hall Freemasonry.

Museum

The first room of the museum contains sketches and photographs of all of the A.M.E. bishops. There are also items from the residence of the Allens; platters, china and a tea set. What these latter collections suggest is that the Allens were clearly middle class (or upper middle class) in their lifestyle orientation and cultured people. They used their position of influence and relative prosperity to help the disadvantaged Blacks in their community as well as set an example for other Blacks who had the means to help to do so.



Figure A.2. Portraits of Richard and Sarah Allen

Artifacts

The second room of the museum contains artifacts from the original church created from the blacksmith's shop that Allen hauled to the property in 1794. There is an unpolished wooden pulpit and several pews that were used in that structure. The pews look more like benches that you would find in an old schoolhouse. There is a pulpit chair which Mr. Crawford explained to

me was the chair that Richard Allen sat in when he was not standing at the pulpit speaking. There was also what is called a "moaner's bench" used by the members of the congregation who sat on it until they felt "the spirit enter them". In the display cases there is Richard Allen's Bible, pamphlets that announced special services and speakers at the church, a wanted poster to warn Black citizens of slave hunters (see Figure 4.8), and muskets believed to have been used by Richard Allen and Absalom Jones for the defense of Philadelphia during the War of 1812.



Figure A.3. Wanted poster (on the right) warning Black citizens of slave hunters



Figure A.4. Original woodwork from the 1794 location

Leaders

In the third room the great leaders of A.M.E. history are celebrated. There is a lithograph of Morris Brown who was the fourth pastor of Mother Bethel. Rev. Brown came from Charleston, South Carolina where he organized a church named the Hampstead Church, made up of Black members from Charleston's Methodist Episcopal Church who left that church over disputed burial grounds. Rev. Brown affiliated his church with Mother Bethel and Richard Allen. These two churches along with another A.M.E. church located in Cow Alley, now known as "Philadelphia Alley" in the French Quarter of Charleston, formed what was called the "Bethel Circuit". In 1822 Rev. Brown's church was investigated for its involvement with a planned slave revolt known as the Denmark Vesey uprising. Denmark Vesey was the personal servant of the slave trader Captain Joseph Vesey who settled in Charleston in 1783. Denmark Vesey had helped Rev. Brown form The Hampstead Church and he was the organizer of this major slave

uprising in Charleston. The authorities received word of this revolt before it could take place and Rev. Brown was suspected of being involved. Morris Brown fled to Philadelphia to work under Richard Allen at Mother Bethel.

Women

Also located in this third room was a display honoring the work of the women of the congregation of Mother Bethel. The display described Sarah Allen's work with the families and children of the Black community in Philadelphia around the church. She organized a group of women in the congregation who set about meeting the needs not only of their husbands and families but those in their neighborhoods as well. Richard Allen called this group of women the "Dorcas Society" a title that "generally refers to a women's auxiliary group that is engaged in clothing and feeding the poor". Sarah Allen and her group of women initially started out preparing good meals, repairing garments, and improving the appearance of A.M.E. pastors. After several years of doing this, the group expanded and began helping the needy outside of the clergy.

The group was renamed the 'Women's Missionary Society' and they formed a children's daycare school during the daytime hours, and helped to organize adult classes at night to help educate their church members. They also cooked meals, mended garments, and gathered donated clothes for the needy. This focus on education for the community had served as a foundation for the Bethel church from the beginning, and remains a strong focus to the present day. (writing from display on Women at Mother Bethel A.M.E. Church, 2008, Figure A.5)

Other women who were mentioned in this display were Sadie Tanner Alexander, Josephine D. Henderson and Frances Watkins Harper (1825-1911). Not much is known about the first two

except that they served in the Women's Missionary Society. Harper was born to free parents in Baltimore Maryland, she was raised by her uncle William Watkins – a teacher and radical advocate for civil rights who founded the William Watkins Academy for free colored children. Harper attended her uncle's school and became a poet and novelist who joined the American Antislavery Society in 1853. She became a traveling lecturer for this organization and became a strong supporter of prohibition and woman's suffrage. Inspired by Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin", Harper published "Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects" in 1854 which included such anti-slavery poems as "The Slave Auction" and "The Fugitive's Wife". While traveling and lecturing, several thousand copies of her books were sold and she donated a large portion of the proceeds to the Underground Railroad. Her first three novels were serialized in the A.M.E. church's paper; The "Christian Recorder". Stowe was one of the first writers acknowledged in this way by Blacks.



Figure A.5. Display of the African Methodist Episcopal Women

Also honored in this display is Fannie Jackson Coppin (1835-1912), born into slavery in Washington D.C., she had her freedom bought for her by an aunt and became a teacher in the Civil War era. Later she became the first president of the Institute for Colored Youth, a school that was supported by Quakers and to this day is recognized as Cheyney University. In 1837, the Friends of Philadelphia established the Institute for Colored Youth to find out if Blacks were capable of achieving higher education. One of the main arguments in the defense of slavery was that Blacks were incapable of learning and created by God for physical labor – some called this scientific racism. Fannie Coppin moved to Philadelphia after graduating from Oberlin College in Ohio, where she was educated in the classics and higher mathematics. While at Oberlin, Coppin established an evening school for freed slaves and she became the second Black woman to graduate from the college in 1865.

In 1869, Coppin was appointed principal at the Institute, a position that she held for almost forty years. This was the highest educational position held by a Black woman at that time. The Institute, under Coppin's direction, proved that Blacks were more than capable of mastering higher education. In 1876, Coppin had the idea to create a new department to address the needs of Blacks to learn a trade and become self sufficient. In 1879 the Industrial Department was established. Boys were taught bricklaying, plastering, carpentry, shoemaking, printing, and tailoring, while at the same time girls were taught dressmaking, millinery, typewriting, and stenography. This first trade school for Blacks in Philadelphia was an immediate success and always had a waiting list for admission.

The African American Museum in Philadelphia

The collections in the museum that held material related to this research are *The Frank*McGlinn Collection which contains broadsides, photographs, newspaper clippings, programs and

posters related to African American performing arts, primarily theater from 1850 – 1992; and *The Dorothy Wright Collection* which contains letters, newspaper clippings, posters, pamphlets, and photographs documenting Philadelphia African American history. Of these two collections, *The Dorothy Wright Collection* was the one that contained material which helped to shed light on the work of social welfare pioneers in Philadelphia.



Figure A.6. The Dorothy Wright Collection

There were documents in this collection that were personal papers of Dr. Eugene T. Hinson, one of the founders of Mercy-Douglass Hospital. Included were notes from an organizational meeting that was held at the office of Dr. E. C. Howard on 508 South 10th Street where he and others in attendance contributed \$5 each towards the first funds raised for the hospital.

There were also documents from Dr. Nathan F. Mossel who was the first graduate of the University of Pennsylvania Medical School. His letters described his involvement in founding the Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital. Dr. Mossel attended the Niagara Conference that was

called by W.E.B. Du Bois in 1905, which was organized by Du Bois and William Monroe Trotter (1872-1934), to renounce the ideas set forth in Booker T. Washington's Atlanta Compromise speech in 1895. The members of the Niagara Conference demanded immediate freedom of speech and press, full suffrage, the abolition of all caste distinctions based on race and color and a belief in the dignity of labor.

We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil, and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone but for all true Americans. It is a fight for ideals, lest this, our common fatherland, false to its founding, become in truth the land of the thief and home of the slave – a byword and a hissing among the nations for its sounding pretensions and pitiful accomplishment...We want to pull down nothing but we don't propose to be pulled down. We are not 'knockers' save at the Door of Liberty & Opportunity. We are 'out after the Stuff' but that 'stuff' includes education, decent travel, civil rights, & ballots...(Du Bois, 1905).

The Library of Congress

The Library of Congress contains seventeen collections that reference African American History in America. There were three collections within this group that held documents relevant to this study; *The Daniel P. Murray Pamphlet Collection, The African American Pamphlet Collection* (1824-1909), and *The Frederick Douglass Papers* (1864-1964).

Daniel P. Murray Collection

In the *Daniel P. Murray Collection* there were three items of relevance to this study.

There is a sermon given by Henry Theodore Johnson (1857 - ?) to students of Payne Theological Seminary located in Wilberforce, Ohio. Johnson was an African American minister; his home

church was not listed. He was giving practical suggestions for pursuing the ministerial profession to Black seminarians. The sermon was published by the A.M.E. Book Concern around 1894. There is another sermon delivered by Reverend John M. Palmer from the Allen Chapel A.M.E. Church located on Lombard Street in Philadelphia. Reverend Palmer was discussing the character of Richard Allen (1760-1831), his qualities as a slave and his life story with emphasis on his contribution in creating the A.M.E. church.

The third item of relevance was the thirty-fifth annual report of the Board of Managers of the Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons (1899). This home was located on the southwest corner of Girard and Belmont Avenues in Philadelphia, PA. The annual report contained a brief account of the history of the home and a summary of the activities that occurred in the home for that year. The home was first established in 1864 and was located at 340 South Front Street near the Schukyll River. The first resident of the home was a woman named Susan Silvey on March 7, 1865. At the time the new building was opened on Girard and Belmont Streets, there were 25 residents of the home (the report calls them inmates) who were moved into the new building on August 7, 1871. The fire proof infirmary was built in 1884 and the boiler house was built in 1888. The Parker Annex was completed in 1894 with the dedication being held on June 26, 1894 and the chapel being consecrated in August of 1894. Edward T. Parker (1821-1887) was dedicated to the success of this institution and served on the board for many years. Parker played a vital role in the organization of this institution and raising the funds to keep the door open.

The land on Girard and Belmont Avenues was donated to the home by Stephen Smith (1795-1873) who was one of the original supporters of the home. Smith was born in to slavery in Lancaster, PA and at the age of 21, bought his freedom for \$50. While developing a successful lumber company with another Black man named William Whipper (1804-1876) in Columbus,



Figure A.7. Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons circa 1880

PA, Smith and Whipper worked hard for the abolitionist movement. Both men also worked as conductors for the Underground Railroad. After vandals destroyed their company's papers, records, and books, Smith and Whipper moved to Philadelphia to rebuild the lumber company and continue fighting to abolish slavery.

Abolitionists, both Black and White, in Philadelphia found it challenging to find a meeting place, so Smith acquired Pennsylvania Hall for their use. Records are unclear as to whether Smith purchased the hall once it was built or if he constructed it and lent it to the abolitionists. The building was called "one of the most commodious and splendid buildings in the city" and was constructed to provide a forum for discussing "the evils of slavery" as well as other matters "not of an immoral character" (www.pbs.ord/wgbh.aia/part4/4p2938.html). An anti-abolitionist mob burned the hall down on Thursday May 17, 1838, three days after it was opened. Smith took advantage of a little known Pennsylvania law that held a municipality liable

for damage to property sustained by a mob action, and sued the city of Philadelphia and recovered \$75,000 in damages, which exceeded the building's value at the time of its destruction. The hall was completely destroyed by the fire and never rebuilt.

After the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, Smith and Whipper moved to Canada to continue to fight for the freedom of Blacks in America through the Underground Railroad. After the Civil War, Smith returned to Philadelphia and continued to advocate for civil rights for Blacks. In an 1868 letter to the newspaper *The Columbia Spy*, (Columbia, PA 1838-1889) a white Philadelphian expressed his support of Blacks' right to suffrage and used as his example the life of Stephen Smith, "whose wealth [was] almost equal to the combined wealth of the entire Democracy of Columbia".

The activities that occurred in the Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons in 1899 were weekly church services, celebrations of national holidays and birthdays of the residents, collection of money and supplies, physician visits, admission of new residents, funerals of deceased residents, lectures by guest speakers, visits by children's choirs, and visitation by family members of residents. The home received donations of drugs and medicines from companies not just in Philadelphia (W. Weightman) but in New York (Etna Chemical Works, Milk of Iron Co., Reed & Carnick, Malt Diastase Co., and Horlick Food Co.); Wisconsin (Malted Food Co.); St. Louis MO (The Antikamania Co.); and Denver, CO (Denver Chemical Co.). There were also year round donations of food (lobster salad, milk, ice cream, cake, potatoes, turkey, mince pies, goose and oranges); clothing (bonnets, night caps, overcoats, and underwear); furniture (rocking chairs, beds, and porch chairs); pillows, blankets, pictures, carpet rags, table covers, bed linens, flower pots, muslin, china, knitting needles, a Christmas tree (around the Christmas holidays) and walking sticks.

The financial statements of the home were included in the annual report which included a balance statement of \$9,997.76; admission fees of \$2,337; income from investments of \$8,284.84; trust estates totaling \$11,452.01; collections and donations \$953.63; legacies totaling \$17,823.77; cash from investments totaling \$12,000 and other investments bringing the total to \$54,588.34 for the year. There was a listing of all of the new residents with the date they were admitted into the home as well as a listing of those residents who expired, with their date of passing. During this year there were a total of 590 residents received (131 men, 459 women). Three men and nine women left the home voluntarily during the year. There were currently 28 men and 109 women living in the home at the time of this report. Eligibility requirements for the home included being a colored person of at least 60 years old and the ability to pay a fee of \$150. All who were admitted were on probation for a period of six months. If residents displayed acceptable conduct, they were retained longer and paid a fee of \$2.50 per week which was deducted from the sum paid for admission, the balance of which was returned to the paying party if the resident left the home with a balance in his/her account.

The day to day activities of the home were run by the matron, who reported to the Committee of Management, and she supervised a staff but it was unclear just how many were on this staff. The business of the home was run by a Board of Managers that consisted of 24 members. The Board of Managers met on the second and fourth day of every month. The officers were a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer who were all ex-officio members of the Board. The stated objective of the home was "...the relief of that worthy class of colored persons who have endeavored through life to maintain themselves, but from various causes are dependent upon the charity of others." The standing committees were Management, Admissions, Property, Supplies, Religious Meetings, Interments, Finance and Discipline.

The annual report included a "sketch" of one of the residents whose name was Mary McDonald. Based on letters from one of the managers of the home and statements made by this particular resident, it was recorded that Mary McDonald was over 128 years old. She claims to have remembered Isaac Walker, who served in the Continental Army under General George Washington, and others whose names appear in historical documents as having lived at that time. Mary McDonald stated that she lived near King of Prussia, PA in the family of Reese Howell, who lived on the direct road from the Gulph to Valley Forge. The Continental Army crossed from White Marsh, at Conshohocken then encamped at the Gulph, from December 11 to December 19, 1777, before proceeding to Valley Forge. Mary McDonald stated that she was twelve years old when the Continental Army was at Valley Forge. The manager wrote:

Her account of the times corresponds with the stories given. She said 'guns were always going off and skeered us at night.' This corresponds with the fact that there was constant skirmishing in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, in the autumn and winter of 1777-78. There was no other war than the Revolution in which this was the case. She said "the soldiers were always going up and down the road.' They were dressed in 'all button.' This last identifies the Continental uniform. She said that the soldiers came around twice a week to collect the provisions prepared for them. All the women in the neighborhood gave food to the patriots. This corresponds with all the traditions in the neighborhood. (letter in documents examined)

At the time of the occurrence of these events, Mary McDonald given stated her age when she entered the Home on December 19, 1887 as seven years old. This date corresponds with the date of her birth noted by some of her relatives. The annual report does not state Mary McDonald's birth date but if these accounts are accepted, she was born in 1770 or 1771.

The African American Pamphlet Collection

From Slavery to Freedom: The African American Pamphlet Collection (1824-1909) is a subdivision of The Daniel P. Murray Collection. There are 396 pamphlets in this collection written about slavery, African colonization, Emancipation, Reconstruction and other topics related to the Black experience in America during this time period. There are personal accounts, letters, speeches, and reports all of which includes works written by Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, Ida B. Wells (1862-1931), Benjamin W. Arnett (1838-1906), Alexander Crummel (1819-1898), Kelly Miller (1863-1939), Charles Sumner (1811-1876) and Mary Church Terrell (1863-1954) among others. There is a wealth of information contained in these pamphlets about the fight that Blacks went through to obtain equal rights in America. Unfortunately, there was nothing in this collection that addressed the social welfare pioneers in Philadelphia and their work during the Progressive Era. I did review documents that examined the state and condition of "the free people of color" in Philadelphia in 1838, the effects of imprisonment "on individuals of the African variety of mankind" in 1843, and "the practicability and necessity of a house of refuge for coloured juvenile delinquents in Philadelphia" in 1841.

There was a document in this collection that reported on a conference between the American Union Commission and a committee from the American Freedmen's Aid Commission held in Washington D.C. in 1865. This shows collaboration across racial and geographic boundaries to help Blacks in America. Out of this conference a new organization was formed; The American Freedmen's Aid and Union Commission. Voted as president of this new organization was Matthew Simpson, of Philadelphia, PA. Also representing Philadelphia at this conference and as a part of this new organization was William Still, Philips Brooke, John P. Croser, Joseph Parrish, J. E. Rhoads, Francis R. Cope and Stephen Colwell. William Still is the

only recognizable name on this list, but these men are likely a part of the Black community in Philadelphia that were fairly well educated committed to opposing the relentless force of racial oppression that bore down upon Blacks at this time.

The American Union Commission was a continuation of the Christian Commission and was an organization entirely independent of the Freedmen's Bureau. The purpose of the American Union Commission was to aid and cooperate with the people in those portions of the South which had been desolated and impoverished by the war. The American Union Commission worked to restore the people's civil and social condition by giving out food rations, treating the sick, and setting up schools. This organization did not work solely with Blacks but with any person who needed aid the targeted these southern communities.

The American Freedmen's Aid Commission was initially set up in March of 1863 to investigate "the measures which may best contribute to the protection and improvement of the recently emancipated freedmen of the United States, and to their self-defense and self-support" (Alston & Lee, 1993, p. 852). From this inquiry came a final report given to Congress in 1864 that laid out the basic philosophy that would guide the actions of the Freedmen's Bureau:

The sum of our recommendations is this: Offer the freedmen temporary aid and counsel until they become a little accustomed to their new sphere of life; secure to them, by law, their just rights of person and property; relieve them, by fair and equal administration of justice, from the depressing influence of disgraceful prejudice; above all, guard them against the virtual restoration of slavery in any form, and let them take care of themselves. If we do this, the future of the African race in this country will be conducive to its prosperity and associated with its well-being. There will be nothing connected with

it to excite regret to inspire apprehension (38th UNITED STATES Congress, Senate Executive Document 53, 1864).

When the Congress wrote the bill to aid the transition of the freedmen they tried to integrate many of the American Freedmen's Aid Commission's recommendations. The agency that was set up to aid in this transition was to be named the Bureau of Emancipation, however, when the bill came up for a vote on March 1, 1864 the name was changed to the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands. This name change was due in large part to objections that the bill was exclusionary and aimed solely towards the aid of Blacks. The name change was to garner more support for the bill (Cimbala & Miller, 1999).

The Frederick Douglass Papers

The final collection examined at the Library of Congress is entitled *The Frederick Douglass Papers* which presented the papers that related to the life of Frederick Douglass and his experiences as a slave, abolitionist, editor, orator, and public servant. Most of the material was dated between 1862 and 1895 and the total range was from 1841 to 1964. Although there were three documents that showed Frederick Douglass's abolitionist work in Philadelphia, this work was done outside of the time period being examined by this researcher. Two of the documents were transcripts of speeches that Frederick Douglass gave in support of the UNITED STATES Civil war (1861-1865) and for the enlistment of Black men to fight in the war. One speech was given in 1863 at Concert Hall in Philadelphia and it was titled "The Mission of The War". The other speech was given on July 6, 1863 at National Hall in Philadelphia for "The Promotion of Colored Enlistments" to fight in the war. In this speech Douglass stated:

There are those among us who say they are in favor of taking a hand in this tremendous war, but they add they wish to do so on terms of equality with white men. They say if

their breasts, and with strong arms and courageous hearts confront rebel cannons, and wring victory from the jaws of death, they should have the same pay, the same rations, the same bounty, and the same favorable conditions every way afforded to other men. I shall not oppose this view. There is something deep down in the soul of every man present which assents to the justice of the claim thus made, and honors the manhood and self-respect which insists upon it. [Applause.] I say at once, in peace and in war, I am content with nothing for the black man short of equal and exact justice. (Douglass, 1863)

The third document was a letter detailing a trip that Douglass and his first wife made through Philadelphia during the time that he was publishing his abolitionist weekly newspaper *The North Star* (1847-1851). It is unknown who the letter was written to, but in it Douglass details the excitement that his visit caused among the Black people of Philadelphia; how he extended the circulation of The North Star to the residents of Philadelphia; and also, he addressed the injustices of the martyrdom of three Irishmen in comparison of their revolt against England and how Blacks should revolt against the American government that tyrannizes them.

...Whether they be called monarchies, aristocracies, [sic] or democracies, they are always the same bloody and remorseless monsters, and everywhere their authority is disputed by force. It may be, and doubtless is, a great outrage against humanity to hang Smith O'Brien by the neck until he is dead, and then to sever his head from his body, and to divide his body into four quarters and leave it at the disposal of the Queen. But is this worse or more revolting, on the part of England, than it was for America to cause Nathaniel Turner, the hero of the Southampton insurrection to walk barefoot on a train of living fire forty feet long, and at the end of it, to riddle his body with a hundred bullets?

Is it wrong for England to transport Mitchell for fourteen years, than it is for us to imprison Drayton for twenty?---the former plotting a bloody revolution, and the latter removing, by merely peaceable means, seventy-seven human beings from a land of slavery to a land of liberty... (Douglass, 1847, p.4-5)

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

One of the collections held at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is titled "American Negro Historical Society 1790-1905". The American Negro Historical Society was founded in 1897 by a group of Philadelphia Blacks to study and preserve materials documenting the American Black experience. Among the founders and early members were Robert Adger, W.M. Dorsey and Jacob C. White Jr., who donated materials to the society. Included in the collection are minutes of the society, 1897-1904; incoming correspondence and drafts, 1897-1905; membership lists, 1897 & 1904; bills and receipts, 1900-1904; and land accession books. Leon Gardiner, a Black printer in Philadelphia also donated materials to the American Negro Historical Society. Gardiner contributed the records of several civic and philanthropic organizations that he was a part of or had a connection to: Banneker Institute, minutes, roll book and receipts, 1854-1872; Alexandrian Institute (precursor to Banneker Institute) receipts, check book, record of lectures and debates, 1854-1868; Benezet Joint Stock Association of Philadelphia, a mutual beneficial society, minutes, share records, 1854-1885; Cultural, Social and Statistical Association of the Colored People of Philadelphia, constitution, by-laws, roll, and minutes 1860-1867; Benjamin Lindy Philanthropic Society, roll book, 1830-1842; Daughters of Africa, beneficial society, minutes, 1822-1838; Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League, executive board minutes, 1864-1872; and Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital (Philadelphia), records, 1895-1901.

Organizations

The Banneker Literary Institute of the City of Philadelphia was founded by the Black educator and activist Octavius V. Catto (1839-1871) in 1854 in honor of Benjamin Banneker (1731-1806), the Black surveyor and printer who had helped lay out the boundaries of Washington, D. C. The Institute defined as its objective "primarily the mental improvement of its members by means of lectures, debates" and the like (Martin, 2002). The acquisition of books was its priority and they also had a librarian who worked with the committee on debates and lectures to oversee library acquisitions. The Institute would maintain an archive of all speeches and addresses delivered under its auspices. This sense of obligation to posterity was an example for future generations of early Black organizational activity (Martin). Membership was restricted to males who were of "good moral character and ordinary literary attainments" and a two-thirds majority was needed to elect a person to the group who was under the age of twenty-one. Jacob C. White Jr. (1837-1902) and Robert Mara Adger Jr. (1837-1910), were charter members at the age of seventeen. Robert Adger Jr. went on to become president of the Institute in 1863. He eventually became one of 19th century African America's major bibliophiles and first president in 1897 of its historical society, the American Negro Historical Society. Jacob C. White Jr. wrote in his Secretary's report on April 2, 1857:

To those who have been with us in all our trials and difficulties I would say, persevere...;a bright day shall yet dawn upon us and they who are faithful to the end shall at last reap a golden harvest; the Banneker Institute will be looked up to as the source from which emanates light and knowledge, and the names of those who have labored to place her in that high position will be handed down with grateful recollections to an enlightened posterity. (Secretary's Report, The Banneker Institute, April 2, 1857)

The documents listed above did not highlight the work of any particular individual but they did show that there was an intricate network of organizations involved in initiatives to meet some of the needs of the Black community in Philadelphia. These organizations and voluntary associations were formed to provide mutual aid, benefit and insurance for relief from societal difficulties that challenged Blacks during this period of time when most were suffering under the grip of oppression and discrimination. Many of these organizations were formally organized with charters, and established customs. The benefits that they provided included, but were not limited to financial aid, to assist with sickness, retirement, education, the birth of a baby, funeral and medical expenses, and unemployment.

Many of these organizations also provided a social and educational network for members and their families so that they could support one another, and also contribute acts of kindness such as the provision of food, clothing, and emergency shelter to the wider community. There was a sense of "giving back" or lending a hand to help someone out of the engulfing vortex of poverty, ignorance, and social isolation that many were in because of their status as former and recently freed slaves and immigrants. Most of the members of these organizations were middle or upper middle class who wanted to reach out in effort to help other Blacks achieve what they had achieved – success. The income distribution shows that their assets compared relatively favorably with European immigrants.

Individuals

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania also had a collection of the papers of James Samuel Stemons (1870-1959). James Samuel Stemons was born in Clarksville, Tennessee in 1870 to former slave parents. Stemons traveled extensively through New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio lecturing on the subject of race relations. He settled in Philadelphia around 1900. While

supporting himself as a janitor, Stemons wrote newspaper articles, editorials and pamphlets promoting industrial opportunities for Blacks as a solution to racial strife. In 1906 Stemons became the editor of the *Philadelphia Courant*, a short-lived newspaper and a year later began the publication of his own paper *The Pilot*.

Stemons had correspondence with national figures such as Booker T. Washington (activist), President Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924), and Marian Harland (writer, 1830-1922). Locally he corresponded with politicians, journalists and clergy such as Henry W. Wilbur, General Secretary of the Religious Society of Friends, and Rolfe Cobleigh, Associate Editor of the *Congregationalist and Christian World*. These letters show how Stemons was trying to establish himself as a social commentator and his paper as a leading Black newspaper, offering an outlet for free expression of thought and ideas. Additionally, the letters also show how religious leaders and various organizations utilized the press to convey their messages of social change for Blacks to wider audiences and develop greater influence Philadelphia politics during the early years of the twentieth century.

There is a collection at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania called "The Justine J. Rector Papers". Justine J. Rector (b.1927) has been an active and prolific journalist and teacher in both Philadelphia and Washington D.C. since the 1960's. She has been involved in promoting civil rights, fostering high standards in journalism, and in documenting and improving race relations especially in Philadelphia. Of note in this collection is a series of negative sheets from a book on the history of Blacks in Philadelphia, which features 19th century images of prominent Black caterers like the Dutrieuille family, and the Baptiste family, and some identified as the Black aristocracy which included the Boggs, Mapps, and Porter families. These families represented the upper class of Black Philadelphians during this time. This is important because it

shows that some Blacks were able to rise above the vice-grip of oppression and discrimination that held back many other Blacks in Philadelphia and across the United States.

Categories – Groups/Societies

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania had an extensive collection of documents on microfilm which I was able to review and extract data relevant to this study. These documents were separated into five categories: group/society, political, church/religious, educational, and personal letters. The examples of the documents that fall into the group/society category can be seen in Appendices (G1-G8). The groups represented here are the American Negro Historical Society, Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the Industrial Exposition by the Colored People, The Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage and for Improving the Condition of the African Race, Home for the Homeless, The Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League, The Women's Union Missionary Society, and the Home for Aged and Infirmed Colored Persons. What all of these groups have in common is that they focused on serving the many needs of the Black community in Philadelphia at a time when other social welfare institutions, specifically those being run by Whites, overlooked this needful population. Almost every population is represented – young, old, uneducated, unemployed, the sick, and the healthy. All of the groups advocated in some way for the betterment of a segment of, or for the Black community as a whole. Through education – teaching the three "R's" reading, writing, and arithmetic, job training, networking, feeding the hungry, clothing those who were without, as well as caring for the sick, children, and the elderly. **Political**

The documents that fall into the political category can be seen in Appendices (H1-H5).

They include speeches to address the "colored voters" in Philadelphia, celebration balls in honor

of the ratification of the 15th Amendment which prohibited each level of government; national, state, county, and municipality in the United States from denying an eligible citizen the right to vote based on that individual's race; celebrations of the anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation in which President Abraham Lincoln announced the freedom of slaves in 1864, an appeal for colonization of Africa, and census data from 1890. These documents show that Blacks were very aware of their geo-political environment and consequently, they made every attempt to have their voices heard by politicians in order to improve there socio-economic and legal plight. Indeed, Blacks took seriously their role in the political scene. Evidence of this is found in how speakers were arranged to meet directly with them in order to increase the civic engagement of Blacks and address concerns about the plight of Blacks in the city at this time.

Religious

The documents that fall into the political category share some commonalities with those that fall into the religious category which can be seen in Appendices (I1-I5); after all, many of the political meetings and speeches were held at Black churches. Other documents that fall into the church category show lectures by distinguished local and national speakers that were sold for fifteen cents a ticket, free entertainment by various church choirs, poetry readings, business meetings, and information about church excursions and exhibitions. These documents are evidence of the wide array of services that the organized churches provided to Black Philadelphians during the late 19th century. The church was not just a place to worship but it was a place where many of the political and civic needs of the people were met. In all, religious, educational, economic, political, and social needs were all met in one facility – the church. It was the hub of activity in the Black community in Philadelphia. Churches were not islands unto themselves; many worked together and joined up for the presentation of lectures, concerts, art,

civic, scientific and other exhibitions. It appears as though the focus was serving Black people, not on propping up the church per se.

Educational

The documents that fall into the educational category show how important education was viewed by Blacks in Philadelphia and can be seen in Appendices (J1-J4). Education was a major pathway to overcome the ills of the communities in which Blacks dwelled and participated. Educational groups included the Institute for Colored Youth, Sub-Primary School Society, Home for Colored Children, Moore Street Industrial School for Colored People, and The Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital and Training School. Scholarships were created by churches, mutual benefit societies, Black businesses and wealthy Black families to help the poor learn a trade, go to college, and tributes were made to those teachers who went above and beyond the call of duty to help Black students achieve via their contributions in not just the area of education but in a vast area of skills sets including social behavior, moral character and responsibility for service and leadership in the community.

Personal

There are personal documents that outlined conditions of Blacks in Philadelphia during the late 19th century; they can be seen in Appendices (K1-K4). These documents show how community leaders in Philadelphia like Jacob C. White Jr. (1837-1902) reached out to other prominent Black leaders of this time such as W.E.B. Du Bois (1868-1963), the great intellectual and Stephen Smith (1795-1873), a great businessman, for their input on how to best help Blacks gain greater political clout and economic assets in Philadelphia.

The Library Company of Philadelphia

The Afro-Americana Collection that is held at the Library Company of Philadelphia contained several documents that demonstrated they type of work being done by Black social welfare pioneers and change agents in Philadelphia during the late 19th century. There were numerous books, pamphlets and documents written about the anti-slavery movement in Philadelphia. An interesting contradiction was found when examining these documents. Although many White Philadelphians were advocates for abolishing slavery, showing that crossracial alliances could be formed at this time, many of these same White Philadelphians were slave owners themselves. An example was Benjamin Franklin (1706 – 1790), who despite owning slaves was president of the world's first anti-slavery society. He wrote many pamphlets and books about the anti-slavery movement under the name "Benjamin Lay". Benjamin Franklin is a classic example of how Whites while at the same time recognizing the inhumanity and injustice being thrust upon Blacks not just in Philadelphia but in America as a whole, were still fearful of Blacks, afraid of maintaining or losing the status which was heavily devised from the labor of slaves and indentured servants as the number of free Blacks in the city of Philadelphia increased. Whites, who were so quick to state that they had a "God-given right to freedom", were just as quick to deny this same "God-given right to freedom" to Blacks. Franklin stated in a letter:

The worship of God is a duty...Freedom is not a gift bestowed upon us by other men, but a right that belongs to us by the laws of God and nature... I never doubted the existence of the Deity, that he made the world, and governed it by His Providence...The pleasures of this world are rather from God's goodness than our own merit... Whoever shall

introduce into the public affairs the principles of primitive (essential) Christianity will change the face of the world... Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God. (April 17, 1787)

Politicians were urged by the White population to restrict Black emigration into Pennsylvania and suggestions were made to move this group to a territory in the west. Blacks already established in Philadelphia struggled to create an organizational life to help assimilate and integrate the growing numbers of Blacks moving into the city into a viable community. The Daughters of African Society and the Brotherly Union Society of the County of Philadelphia were two groups that hoped to achieve this goal. They each provided financial assistance to the sick and the poor and burial funds for those who could not afford to bury their own dead. They policed the behavioral conduct of their members and those in the Black communities, and held them accountable for immoral behavior which was defined as drunkenness, lewdness, corruption and dishonesty. They tried to alleviate and dispel the fear that the White population in Philadelphia had that Blacks could not become productive contributors to society; thus, they wanted to prove that Blacks "knew how to act" as good and solid citizens. They were courting acceptance from Whites.

Organizations

The Afro-Americana Collection had papers and documents from other organizations like

The Daughters of African and the Brotherly Union Society of the County of Philadelphia; the

Institute for Colored Youth, The Mercy Douglass Home for the Aged and Infirmed Colored

Persons, Stephen Smith Home for the Aged, and the Berean Institute (Berean Manual Training

and Industrial School). Many of these organizations are still operating today in some form and

providing resources to the community. Examples include the Institute for Colored Youth – now

called Cheyney State University; Stephen Smith Home for the Aged, The Berean Institute – now

called the Berean Manual Training and Industrial School, and the Mercy Douglass Home for the Aged and Infirmed Colored Persons which is now a health clinic in West Philadelphia called the Woodland Avenue Health Center.

Health Related

From education to health care, Mercy-Douglass Hospital (1948-1973) was the result of a merger between two hospitals in Philadelphia that served a predominantly Black population in Philadelphia – the Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital and the Mercy Hospital. These were the only two hospitals in Philadelphia where Black physicians could practice in the late 1800's and well into the mid-1900's. The Frederick Douglass Hospital began as the Home for the Aged and Infirmed Colored Persons and is cited in W.E.B. Du Bois' "The Philadelphia Negro" (p.230). It was established at 15th and Lombard streets in 1895 and incorporated in 1896. The hospital instituted the first approved Black nurse training school in Philadelphia in 1896 and remained open until 1935 when the last class graduated. The Mercy Hospital and School of Nurses opened at 17th and Fitzwater Streets in 1907. The Hospital instituted the same year a training school which continued to operate after the hospital moved to 50th Street and Woodland Avenue in Southwest Philadelphia in 1919. Currently the Woodland Avenue Health Center stands on the site of the Mercy-Douglass Hospital. Documents and records of Mercy-Douglass Hospital were also found at the University of Pennsylvania and the African American Museum in Philadelphia.

Educational

The Institute for Colored Youth was founded in 1837, later became known as Cheyney State College and more recently, Cheyney University which is the oldest African American school of higher education, although baccalaureate degrees were not granted from Cheyney until

1913. The founding of Cheyney University was made possible by Richard Humphreys, a Quaker philanthropist who bequeathed \$10,000, one tenth of his estate, to design and establish a school to educate any person of African descent. Born on a plantation in the West Indies, Humphreys came to Philadelphia in 1764, where he became concerned about the struggles faced by Blacks who were not slaves, in making a living. News of a race riot in 1829 prompted Humphreys to write his will, in which he charged thirteen fellow Quakers to design an institution "to instruct the descendents of the African Race in school learning, in the various branches of the Mechanic Arts, Trades and Agriculture, in order to prepare and fit and qualify them to act as teachers...."(www.cheyney.edu).

Founded as the African Institute, the school was soon renamed the Institute for Colored Youth. In its early years it provided a classical education to young Blacks in Philadelphia. In 1902 the Institute moved to George Cheyney's farm, 25 miles (40 km) west of Philadelphia, and afterward the name "Cheyney" became associated with the school. Currently there is a fund called "The Richard Humphrey Fund" which gives scholarships to Black students to attend Philadelphia areas colleges and universities. Cheyney University still plays a vital role in providing not just for Blacks, but for all students who enroll there, access to an opportunity for a higher quality of life in an excellent higher education.

The Berean Institute (Berean Manual Training and Industrial School) was founded in 1899 by Dr. Matthew Anderson, pastor of the Berean Presbyterian Church which he also founded in 1890. He wanted to create a place where Blacks could learn a trade and support themselves and their families. Dr. Anderson also created the Berean Savings Association (1887) where Blacks could do their banking at fair rates. The Berean Institute is still in operation today, located on 19th and Girard Streets; it offers programs in business and management, engineering

students enrolled currently and 95% of these students are Black and from the Philadelphia area. Dr. Anderson also created the Fresh Air program which allowed poor Blacks the opportunity to spend time at the Jersey shore and in the country. Reverend Henry Phillips was a friend of Dr. Anderson and presided over a Black Episcopalian church called Crucifixion located in South Philadelphia, and with the financial backing of Theodore Starr (1841-1884) and other wealthy Episcopalians, he created similar multi-faceted social service programs to serve his congregation and the Black population in South Philadelphia.

Civic

Looking inward to survive the many social pressures and injustices they were facing during the late 1800s and early 1900s, many people in the Black community used this period for an inward examination. Playing a key role in Black America's endurance were secret societies, such as freemasonry – The Prince Hall Masons, first formed in Philadelphia on May 6, 1787 as African Lodge #459; and the newly formed Black colleges where fraternities and sororities were established. Two of the greatest ideologies Blacks were encouraged to follow at the time were those of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois. Washington urged that in the face of such overwhelming pressures, Blacks should create and maintain their own institutions. He urged Blacks to discontinue attempts at integration and instead focus upon building up the Black community, emphasizing the importance of vocational training for Blacks. Du Bois on the other hand urged that Blacks should fight to receive equal treatment under the law and emphasized the importance of a classical education over vocational as advocated by Washington. And even more importantly Du Bois felt that Blacks should have a sense of African cultural identity, personal

identity, and self worth. It can be said that these two ideologies probably helped established the groundwork and background for the Black college fraternity and sorority.

There was extensive documentation showing that both Freemasons and auxiliary women's groups played a role in meeting the needs of Blacks in Philadelphia. The Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks was established in 1898 for Blacks for both social and charitable purposes. Following Washington's ideology these newly founded organizations were damaged and erected by Blacks for Blacks. While their manifest purpose was to uplift their communities, they also saw the need to fight heavily against social, legal and economic injustices. Following in the path of Du Bois, they imbued themselves with a strong cultural identity. They achieved this by promoting positive self images of Blacks, looked to support and establish Black businesses through networking and apprenticeships, and encouraged education in the Black community. An example of this was Sigma Pi Phi.

Sigma Pi Phi was founded in 1904 in Philadelphia as an organization for professionals and college graduates to do just this – network with Black professionals, uplift the Black community and fight injustices against Blacks. When Sigma Pi Phi was founded, Black professionals had not been offered the opportunity and invitation of participation in the professional and cultural associations organized by the white community. In this sense Sigma Pi Phi was rather much like the other more established Black secret societies such as the Freemasons, Eastern Stars, etc. On May 15, 1904, four men: Dr. Henry M. Minton, Dr. Algernon B. Jackson, Dr. Richard J. Warrick, and Dr. E.D. Howard, met in Dr. Howard's home in Philadelphia to discuss organizing a fraternity among college graduates with like ideals and attributes who were both outstanding men in their professions and active in community affairs. By the end of the first year there were twelve members of Sigma Pi Phi. The first national

meeting of the Grand Boulé (large fraternal gathering) of Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity convened in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on August 31, 1908. During a four-day meeting they established the Grand Boulé of Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity and in September of 1908, Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity became a national organization.

The Order of the Eastern Star is the largest fraternal (social) organization in the world to which both men and women may belong. It is a Masonic-related fraternal organization dedicated to "Charity, Truth, and Loving Kindness". The members of the Order of the Eastern Star are dedicated women and men who "sincerely reflect the spirit of fraternal love and the desire to work together for good". The order provides members an opportunity to give a part of their time to many projects that benefit mankind. The first meeting to organize the Grand Chapter of Pennsylvania was held in Philadelphia on November 22, 1895.

Other groups and organizations represented in the documents at the Library Company that focused on meeting the needs of Blacks in Philadelphia during this time were: House of Refuge (1840), the Philadelphia Association of Friends for the Instruction of Poor Children (1849), the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons (1849), Association for the Care of Colored Orphans (1850), Philadelphia Guardians for the Relief and Employment of the Poor (1863), Philadelphia Society for the Employment and Instruction of the Poor (1864), and Sanford's Opera House (1865).

By the end of the 1800s, many of the same names were showing up on membership lists for a variety of organizations in Philadelphia. William Bolivar created the *Negro Historical Society* in 1897 which attracted the intellectual Blacks of the city. The Minton family helped to create Mercy Hospital. The increase in the Black population in the 1880s and 1890s led to the creation of many employment agencies for Blacks, and savings and loan associations modeled on

the structure of the Berean Savings and Loan Association that was sponsored by several Black churches.

Philanthropy

At the turn of the century, Philadelphia's Black poor were impacted greatly by the expansion of and Progressives restructuring of social services and the creation of settlements in the Black communities that took place in Philadelphia as segregation became a dominant pattern. This led to a growth in the network of agencies that were devoted specifically to Black civil rights, economic advancement, education, and essential health and social services. Theodore Starr established Philadelphia's first Progressive Working Colored Men's Club with the Coal Club from 1878-1893. This began a series of philanthropic establishments that would develop later into a fully fledged cooperative community service association. Soon afterward Mr. Starr founded the Starr Bank, the first Penny Bank in Philadelphia in 1879.

The success of the Starr Center inspired other Black and White Progressives to join together to expand a program of Black missions and also to organize settlement houses in other Black districts of the city. The Black and White Progressives founded the Eighth Ward Settlement House in 1895, the Spring Street Settlement in 1909 and the Whittier Center in 1897. By 1910 there were four settlement houses and thirteen missions that provided services to the poor, needful Black population in Philadelphia. In 1896 a group of workers from St. Mary's Hospital and Quaker philanthropists instituted Theodore Starr's personal model housing program for Blacks by organizing the Octavia Hill Association to promote housing reform in Philadelphia. The goal of this association was to convince landlords of the wisdom and profitability of providing safe, sanitary, low-cost housing to all of the poor. They accomplished this by purchasing properties that were in poor condition, rehabilitating them, then renting them

to low-income families. By 1906, 130 of the 350 families that were served by this association were Black, a significantly higher percentage than Whites who were serviced.

The Armstrong Association (later became known as The Urban League of Philadelphia in 1955) was a group that was racially mixed with Blacks and Whites created in 1907, which fought for employment equality, and provided programs for Black Philadelphians to survive the urban workplace. Initially founded by John T. Emlen, a White Quaker business man, and a group of wealthy Philadelphia philanthropists to raise funds for the Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes, the Armstrong Association, arguably became the most important racial uplift organization in the city within ten years. The group was named for Emlen's friend General Samuel Armstrong, founder of the Hampton Institute. The work that was done with Black Philadelphians began in 1908 when Reverend Richard R. Wright, Jr. (1878-1967), a Black graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania, who had come to Philadelphia in 1906 to update the work of W.E.B. Du Bois, convinced John T. Emlen to commit the Armstrong Association to the improvement of the industrial condition of Blacks in the city.

Richard R. Wright Jr. was a sociologist, social worker, and pastor who developed a relationship with George Edmund Haynes (1880-1960), founder of the Urban League, while studying sociology at the University of Chicago. He also came to work with Jane Addams and many others involved in the settlement house movement, and it was these relationships with Haynes and Addams that caused him to shift his studies from the New Testament to Sociology and to enroll at the University of Pennsylvania to do so (Modesto, 2004). Wright's follow up study to Du Bois's initial study of Blacks in Philadelphia defined the "Negro problem" as a lack of knowledge and understanding on the part of the majority culture as well as lack of access to economic opportunity (Wright, 1969). Wright (1969) states, "the 'Negro problem' – that

condition which is peculiar to Negroes, and common to them – is rather found in the attitude of the White race toward the Negro; an attitude of majority which seeks to shut out a minority from the enjoyment of the whole social and economic life."

Emlen set up the new association in May of 1908 with a White director and an interracial Board of Directors which included two of Philadelphia's most prominent and highly respected Black ministers, William A. Creditt and Charles A. Tindley as vice-presidents. The ministers believed that the only way to convince White clients and employers to hire Blacks was to make sure that only those with the best skills were employed. The first individuals who were assisted with skills preparation were mechanics. The Association organized Black trade guilds or departments composed of only competent, skilled workers. The guilds enabled Black mechanics to guarantee the quality of work, to improve their efficiency, and to assist one another in finding employment. They also acted as information bureaus, contacting White and Black employers, businessmen and institutions to also employ Black builders rather focusing solely on White builders and mechanics. In 1910, the Armstrong Association won contracts totaling \$20,000, providing employment opportunities for 1,500 men on at least one hundred separate jobs (Toll & Gillam, 1995).

There was some documentation showing the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Prominent Black Philadelphians like Reverend R.R. Wright, Jr. who was the editor of the A.M.E. church's newspaper *Christian Recorder*, two physicians; Dr. William Sinclair of the Constitution League which was a multi-racial legal rights organization, and Dr. Nathan F. Mosell, founder of the Frederick Douglass Hospital along with Quaker activists formed the nucleus of the early leadership that organized the Philadelphia branch of the NAACP at the Friends Meeting House on Race Street on February 22, 1911, less

than a year after the founding of the national organization. Unlike the Armstrong Association which concentrated on moral suasion, documenting existing conditions, and economic improvement, the NAACP launched direct campaigns for the advancement of Black civil rights. The Philadelphia NAACP focused its early efforts on the passage of antilynching legislation, the fight against the extradition of accused murderer Derrick Brown (occupation and date of birth unknown) to South Carolina, and the passage of new state civil rights legislation, introduced into the state legislature but was defeated in 1913, 1915, and 1917.

Despite the spread of segregation throughout America and Philadelphia in the early 1900s which led to the contraction of services available to the Black population in the city, there were 35 philanthropic and charitable organizations that ministered to the needs of the city's Black poor by 1910. This included about a dozen missions and half dozen settlement houses. The Roundtable Conference for Work among Colored People in Philadelphia founded in 1914 to coordinate the efforts of expanding the network of agencies serving the poor Black population, by 1917 included thirty-one separate organizations.

Documents show that John T. Emlen from the Armstrong Association, John Ihlder of the Philadelphia Housing Authority, and Reverend R. R. Wright who at the time was editor of the *Christian Recorder*, organized the Central Committee on Negro Migration to coordinate efforts to deal with the impending crisis of receiving and finding employment for Southern laborers migrating to the north – specifically Philadelphia. The name changed to the Negro Migration Committee as they coordinated services to Black migrants to the city of Philadelphia. The Negro Migration Committee also led an active campaign to alert the public to the crisis and win public support to help the migrants. Nine subcommittees composed of representatives from various Black churches, schools, social service agencies, and organizations dedicated to racial uplift,

dealt with Black employment, housing, social services, health, education, religious needs, and other concerns that rose from this influx of Blacks to the city. Unfortunately this group only lasted until 1919 and when it did, Black social service agencies lost their sole coordinating agency.

Women

During this time period there were also organizations that focused solely on the needs of Black women. One of these organizations was The Association for the Protection of Colored Women (APCW) which was organized in 1905 to protect Black female migrants from the con artists, thieves, and recruiters for the employment agencies and bordellos who haunted the city's docks and railroad stations and to provide basic education to Black girls who were recent arrivals from the South. Henry Phillips was the first president and it was one of the first of the new Black managed social welfare agencies. APCW worked closely with the Philadelphia Travelers Aid Society which had employed female social workers to meet and assist women who had begun arriving at the docks and railroad stations of Philadelphia since the 1880s. After meeting these new arrivals, the APCW workers provided them with directions related to daily life activities; how to ride streetcars, how to locate family and friends, find "honest" and "respectable" employment and decent living accommodations, and also how to identify and avoid impostors, thereby protecting themselves from vicious crimes such as molestation, rape, and other vices endemic to poor urban environments.

Social Clubs

There were also documents that discussed groups which were created that did not focus on social change but more on networking and social affairs for Blacks in Philadelphia. The Philadelphia Links, Girl Friends, Northeasterners, Jack & Jill of America, and the fraternities and

sororities that emerged from college networks provided debutante parties, picnics, and other outlets for fun and sociability as well as contacts for professional and geographic mobility. A highly educated, well heeled Black elite was able to organize and support its own symphony orchestra and a dozen literary clubs for several decades commencing in the 1840's.

Temple University

Housed in Sullivan Hall on the main campus of Temple University is *The Charles L. Blockson Afro-American Collection*. Within this collection were smaller collections: *The Philadelphia (Alpha) Chapter Boule Society Papers*, programs, social registers and private correspondences from the first African American fraternity, Sigma, Pi Phi; *The Prints and Photographs Collection*, prints and Black film posters, as well as photographs and prints of African American civil rights leaders, religious leaders, artists, entertainers, and scholars; *Dr. Ruth Wright Hayer Collection of Richard Robert Wright Jr.*, a collection of brochures, programs, reports, broadsides, scrapbooks, photographs and more; and *The William Still Collection*, personal correspondence involving the Underground Railroad conductor William Still and his family.

The documents that were examined at this location were rich in detail, and providing an overview of what life was like for Black Philadelphians during the close of the 19th century.

There were numerous anonymous pictures of Black families, mostly upper class and letters from one family member to another about their personal lives in the city. These letters discussed the education of the children, job opportunities for various family members and friends, and traveling schedules for various relatives and friends coming through Philadelphia.

I found that one of the most interesting parts of this collection was talking directly with Dr. Charles L. Blockson, the collection's founder, renowned historian and self-proclaimed

bibliophile. Dr. Blockson was generous enough with his time to explain to me how he began collecting so many materials and showing me around this extensive reference library. The one piece of advice that he gave to me was "Tell the truth, no matter how painful it is". He told me that one of the main reasons that he began collecting when he was younger was that he wanted to know the reason why Black people did and said the things that they did. Dr. Blockson believed that the answer to this question was found in history. He wanted to create a place where future generations of Black Philadelphians can find the answers to their "why" questions.



Figure A.8. Dr. Charles L. Blockson and Kareema Gray

While there were not many documents that directly addressed social welfare and social services being provided in Philadelphia for Blacks during the late 1800s and early 1900s, there were several documents from various Black churches in Philadelphia and reference texts that did address the plight of Blacks.

Churches

In a letter written by Bishop Ida Robinson of Mt. Olive Church in 1924, the role of the Black church and its importance to Black people was highlighted, it was stated that:

It is a fair reference that the apparent over-emphasis by the American Negro in the religious sphere is related to the comparatively meager participation of Negroes in other institutional forms of American culture, such as business, politics and industry, a condition which is bound up intimately with the prevailing custom of racial dichotomy which restricts the normal participation of Negroes in many avenues of American life.

There was a ledger from the 4th Georgia Annual Conference of the A.M.E. church in Cedartown Georgia that was held on November 4th – 9th in 1896 (Figure 4.2). It was an account of each day of the conference; the sermons, the songs; the amount of funding that was to go to the seminary, the speakers, supplies for schools and churches that participated, donations to and from families and committee reports. This ledger was a part of the material donated from Dr. Ruth Wright Hayre, a descendent of Reverend R. R. Wright Jr. and it is believed that several members of his congregation attended this conference. The connection between different A.M.E. churches throughout Philadelphia and various southern cities was reinforced by the surge in Philadelphia's Black population which peaked between the1890s and 1920s. At that time, Southern Blacks were fleeing from racial violence (e.g. the Atlanta, Georgia race riot of 1907) and unemployment owing to agricultural problems in the southern states migrated to northern industrial centers like Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, PA; Cleveland, OH; and Chicago. IL.

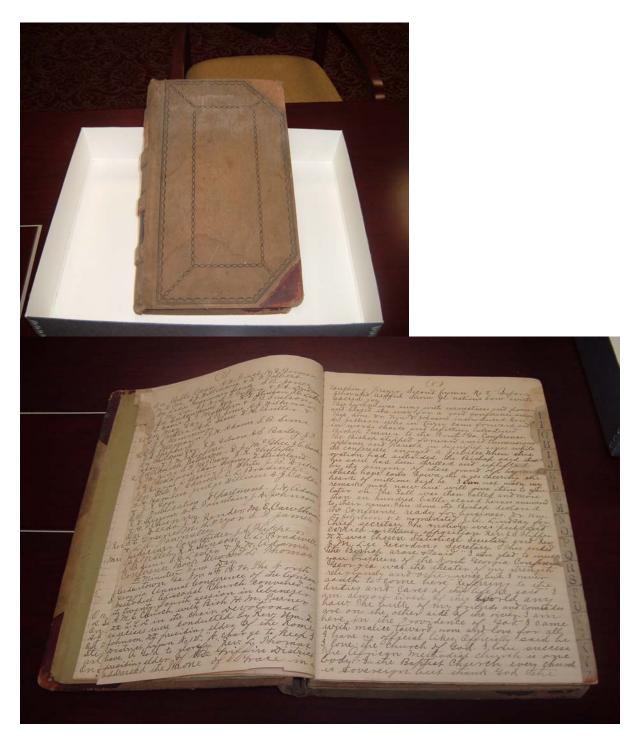


Figure A.9. Ledger in the Blockson Collection, Temple University

Individuals

Another example of discussion of the plight of Black Philadelphians during this time period was found in a text written by Arthur C. Willis (1990) called "Cecil's City":

From the beginning blacks found themselves pushing against economic, political, and social barricades thrown up by a racist social order in Philadelphia. They continuously fight to overcome tremendous odds which racial prejudice placed in their paths as they worked to provide for the safety and well-being of themselves and their families. The fact that many of them lived at the poverty level but still managed to survive in this hostile climate without public charity shows how resourceful blacks can be in times of personal and community crisis. (p.23)

The William Still Collection has personal letters from a conductor of the Underground Railroad, William Still (1821-1902) and his family. These letters talk about family visits and personal matters, but there are some letters that talk about "agents" and publishing circulars and pamphlets that have information for Blacks who are escaping from the southern states to the north. Most of these letters were written between the early 1870s through the late 1880s. These letters and their discussion of pamphlets and circulars show how important the written word was to Blacks during this time. It was the most effective and efficient way to get information to the people. Within these letters, circulars, and pamphlets it is believed that there were codes for Blacks who were looking for "safe houses" along the route of the Underground Railroad. The codes embedded in these pamphlets, letters, and circulars would tell folks where to go, who to ask for and what time to arrive or depart. William Still kept a personal journal where he did detail how the Vigilance Committee assisted approximately 485 escaped slaves between 1852 and 1857.

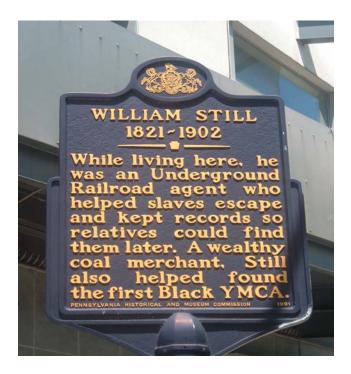


Figure A.10. Historical Marker on 244 S. 12th Street, Philadelphia, PA

In the Blockson collection there was information about Archdeacon Henry L. Phillips, who was born in Jamaica in 1847 and ordained an Episcopal priest in Philadelphia. He was the pastor of the Church of Crucifixion located on Eighth and Bainbridge streets and what made his church unique was that it attracted both wealthy Black and White members. Because of the membership, the church became one of the leading churches in the nation. Phillips organized the parish's first charitable organization called the Progressive Workingmen's Club in 1878 which focused on getting funds for poor Blacks living in the neighborhood in which the church was located. The American Negro Historical Society was also founded there in 1897. Phillips developed and implemented other philanthropic works including establishing a home for crippled children, supporting missions work on the Black communities in Philadelphia, and working with families who had a family member in prison.

Newspapers

Black newspapers in Philadelphia also served an important role in getting information out to the Black community in Philadelphia during the early 19th century. *The Christian Recorder*, a church based newspaper started by the A.M.E. church in Philadelphia ran from 1854-1902, was a way to get the ideas and information from Blacks to the Black community. *The Christian Recorder* currently operates as a web-based newspaper from the national headquarters of the A.M.E. church as well as in paper format throughout AME churches nationwide (Appendix L). The focus has shifted from social problems, e.g., anti-lynching, employment, housing to religious issues and concerns, e.g., increasing membership, converting people to Christianity and spreading their doctrine throughout the community, of the members of A.M.E. congregations across the country.

The Philadelphia Tribune was founded in 1884 by Christopher James Perry, Sr. and it is America's oldest and the Greater Philadelphia region's largest newspaper serving the Black community. Perry focused on writing about the problems that affected the daily lives of Black men and women in Philadelphia. Perry was born and raised in Baltimore Maryland and became known there as a civic minded and thoughtful public speaker. Perry told his father who wanted him to go to law school, "For my people to make progress, they must have a newspaper through which they can speak against injustice" (untitled, undated documents from The Philadelphia Tribune).

A VIEW OF THE SEVENTH WARD IN PHILADELPHIA, PA (1899) AND THE AREA

APPENDIX B

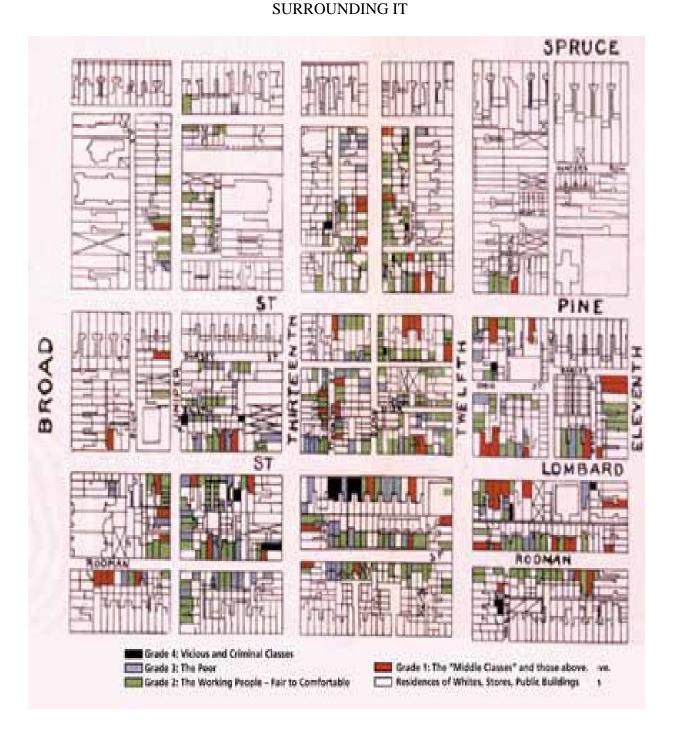


Photo Courtesy of Bryn Mawr College

APPENDIX C

COVER OF THE CENTENNIAL ENCYCLOPEDIA WRITTEN BY AME CHURCH HISTORIAN REV. RICHARD R. WRIGHT (1916)

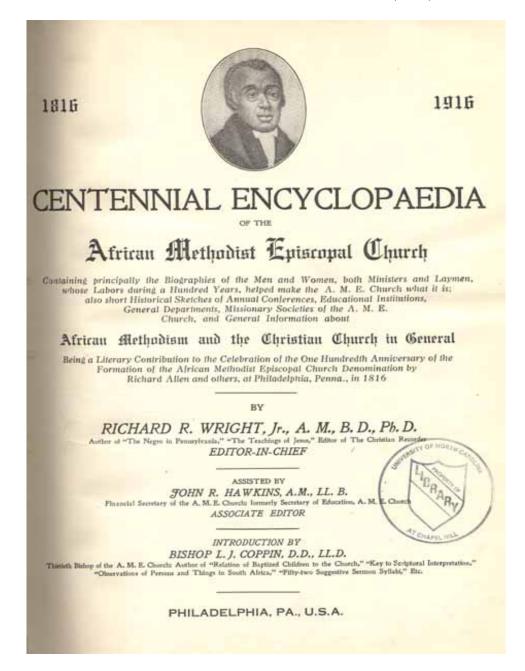


Photo courtesy of: Funding from the Library of Congress/Ameritech National Digital Library retrieved at: http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/wright/wright.html

APPENDIX D

COPYRIGHT PAGE OF THE CENTENNIAL ENCYCLOPEDIA WRITTEN BY AME CHURCH HISTORIAN REV. RICHARD R. WRIGHT (1916)

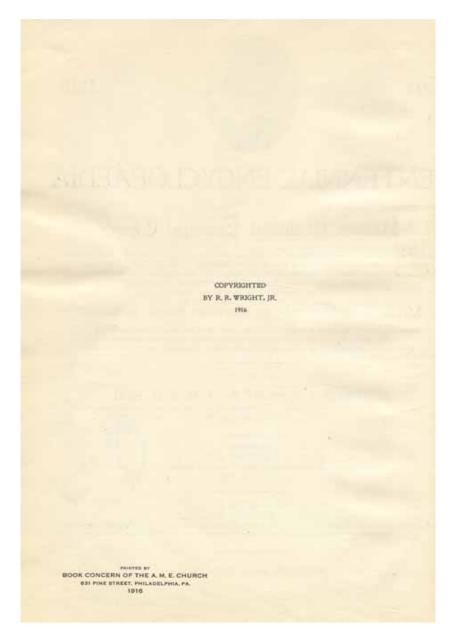


Photo courtesy of: Funding from the Library of Congress/Ameritech National Digital Library Retrieved at: http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/wright/wright.html

APPENDIX E

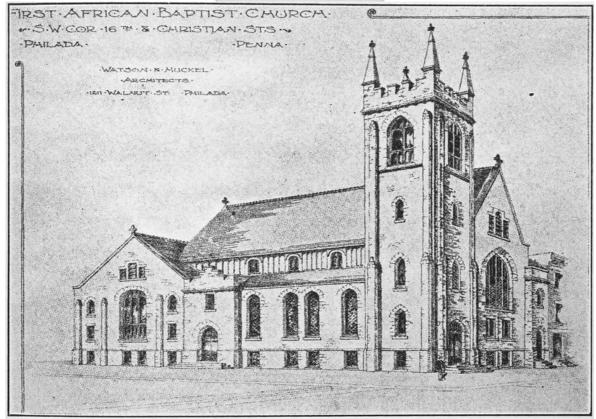
PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY FOR ORGANIZING CHARITY, <u>SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SEVENTH WARD ASSOCIATION OF THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY FOR ORGANIZING CHARITY....</u> (PHILADELPHIA, 1880). LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.

FOURTH DISTRICT.—Thirteenth to Mrs. Guy Foote, Chairman, Mrs. R. Meade Bache, Mrs. Hettie F. Biddle, Mrs. Moses Brown, Miss Mary C. Coxe, Mrs. John Lloyd, Mrs. R. W. Smith, Mrs. R. W. Smith,	
drs. Guy Foote, <i>Chairman</i> ,	
Irs. R. Meade Bache,	. 222 W. Rittenh'se.
Irs. Hettie F. Biddle,	. 318 S. Broad.
	. 1422 Spruce.
disc Mary C. Cove	1420 Pine
drs. John Lloyd.	1348 Pine.
drs. R. W. Smith.	423 S. 15th.
fiss Isabel Wallace,	. 422 S. Broad.
FIFTH DISTRICT.—Fifteenth to Ser	venteenth street.
diss Lucy B. Moss, Chairman,	. 332 S. 16th.
liss Mary S. Buckley,	. 1508 Spruce.
diss Annie Coxe,	1512 Spruce.
dies V. F. Graeff	1611 Spruce
Miss Meta Lisle.	. 1602 Spruce.
diss Sarah Lisle	. 1618 Spruce.
liss Lucy B. Stoss, Charman, liss Mary S. Buckley, Liss Annie Coxe, Liss Rebecca Coxe, Liss V. E. Graeff, Liss Meta Lisle, Liss Sarah Lisle, Liss Susan G. Wilcox,	. 348 S. 16th.
Sixth District.—Seventeenth to 1	Nineteenth street.
Miss Emily Ashhurst, Chairman,	1820 Pine.
Mrs. H. C. Barclay,	. 1816 Pine.
Mrs. H. C. Barclay, Mrs. Sarah Butler,	. 1816 Pine. 1926 Lombard.
Mrs. H. C. Barclay, Mrs. Sarah Butler,	. 1816 Pine. 1926 Lombard.
Mrs. H. C. Barclay, Mrs. Sarah Butler,	. 1816 Pine. 1926 Lombard.
Mrs. H. C. Barclay, Mrs. Sarah Butler,	. 1816 Pine. 1926 Lombard.
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Mrs. H. C. Barclay, Mrs. Sarah Butler,	. 1816 Pine. 1926 Lombard.
Mrs. H. C. Barclay, Mrs. Sarah Butler,	. 1816 Pine. 1926 Lombard.
Mrs. H. C. Barclay, Mrs. Sarah Butler,	1816 Pine. 1926 Lombard. 1734 Pine. 1710 Pine. 1834 Pine. 1839 Pine. 1230 Spruce. 917 Walnut. 1720 Pine.
Miss Fannie Clarke, Chairman,	1816 Pine. 1926 Lombard. 1734 Pine. 1710 Pine. 1834 Pine. 1230 Spruce. 917 Walnut. 1720 Pine. 1725 Pine. Twenty-first street.
Mrs. H. C. Barclay, Mrs. Sarah Butler, Mrs. H. G. Clay, Mrs. E. M. Foster, Mrs. C. H. Hart, Miss Mary Miller, Miss Fannie C. Sank, Mrs. Edward H. Weil, Mrs. Francis H. Wyeth, SEVENTH DISTRICT.—Nineteenth to Miss Fannie Clarke, Chairman, Miss Harriet P. Dillard	1816 Pine. 1926 Lombard. 1734 Pine. 1710 Pine. 1834 Pine. 1230 Spruce. 917 Walnut. 1720 Pine. 1725 Pine. Twenty-first street.
Mrs. H. C. Barclay, Mrs. Sarah Butler, Mrs. H. G. Clay, Mrs. E. M. Foster, Mrs. C. H. Hart, Miss Mary Miller, Miss Fannie C. Sank, Mrs. Edward H. Weil, Mrs. Francis H. Wyeth, SEVENTH DISTRICT.—Nineteenth to Miss Fannie Clarke, Chairman, Miss Hannie Clarke, Chairman,	1816 Pine. 1926 Lombard. 1734 Pine. 1710 Pine. 1834 Pine. 1230 Spruce. 917 Walnut. 1720 Pine. 1725 Pine. Twenty-first street.
Mrs. H. C. Barclay, Mrs. Sarah Butler, Mrs. H. G. Clay, Mrs. E. M. Foster, Mrs. C. H. Hart, Miss Mary Miller, Miss Fannie C. Sank, Mrs. Edward H. Weil, Mrs. Francis H. Wyeth, SEVENTH DISTRICT.—Nineteenth to Miss Fannie Clarke, Chairman, Miss Hannie Clarke, Chairman,	1816 Pine. 1926 Lombard. 1734 Pine. 1710 Pine. 1834 Pine. 1230 Spruce. 917 Walnut. 1720 Pine. 1725 Pine. Twenty-first street.
Mrs. H. C. Barclay, Mrs. Sarah Butler, Mrs. H. G. Clay, Mrs. E. M. Foster, Mrs. C. H. Hart, Miss Mary Miller, Miss Fannie C. Sank, Mrs. Edward H. Weil, Mrs. Francis H. Wyeth, SEVENTH DISTRICT.—Nineteenth to Miss Fannie Clarke, Chairman, Miss Hannie Clarke, Chairman,	1816 Pine. 1926 Lombard. 1734 Pine. 1710 Pine. 1834 Pine. 1230 Spruce. 917 Walnut. 1720 Pine. 1725 Pine. Twenty-first street.
Mrs. H. C. Barclay, Mrs. Sarah Butler, Mrs. H. G. Clay, Mrs. E. M. Foster, Mrs. C. H. Hart, Miss Mary Miller, Miss Fannie C. Sank, Mrs. Edward H. Weil, Mrs. Francis H. Wyeth, SEVENTH DISTRICT.—Nineteenth to Miss Fannie Clarke, Chairman,	1816 Pine. 1926 Lombard. 1734 Pine. 1710 Pine. 1834 Pine. 1230 Spruce. 917 Walnut. 1720 Pine. 1725 Pine. Twenty-first street.

APPENDIX F

COVER OF THE ORIGINAL BOOK BY CHARLES H. BROOKS





FIRST AFRICAN BAPTIST CHURCH 16th and Christian Streets Erected in 1906

APPENDIX G

PROGRESSIVE ERA FACTS

US Population: in 1880 it was 50,189,209 – in 1910 it was 92,228,496

City of Philadelphia population: 1880 it was 847,170

1890 it was 1,046,964 1900 it was 1,293,679 1910 it was 1,549,008

City of Philadelphia Black population: in 1896 it was 40,000

in 1900 it was 62,613

President of the US:	James A. Garfield	1881	Republican
	Chester A. Arthur	1881-1885	Republican
	Grover Cleveland	1885-1889	Democrat
	Benjamin Harrison	1889-1893	Republican
	Grover Cleveland	1893-1897	Democrat
	William McKinley	1897-1901	Republican
	Theodore Roosevelt	1901-1909	Republican
	William H. Taft	1909-1913	Republican
		1001 1001	_
Mayors of Philadelphia:	Samuel G. King	1881-1884	Democrat

Mayors of Philadelphia: Samuel G. King 1881-1884 Democrat
William B. Smith 1884 1887 Republican

William B. Smith 1884-1887 Republican Edwin H. Filter 1887-1891 Republican Edwin S. Stuart 1891-1895 Republican Charles F. Warwick 1895-1899 Republican Samuel H. Ashbridge 1899-1903 Republican

John Weaver 1903-1907 Republican

John E. Reyburn 1907-1911 Republican Rudolph Blankenburg 1911-1916 Democrat

Economics: The US was shifting from an agricultural to an industrial nation.

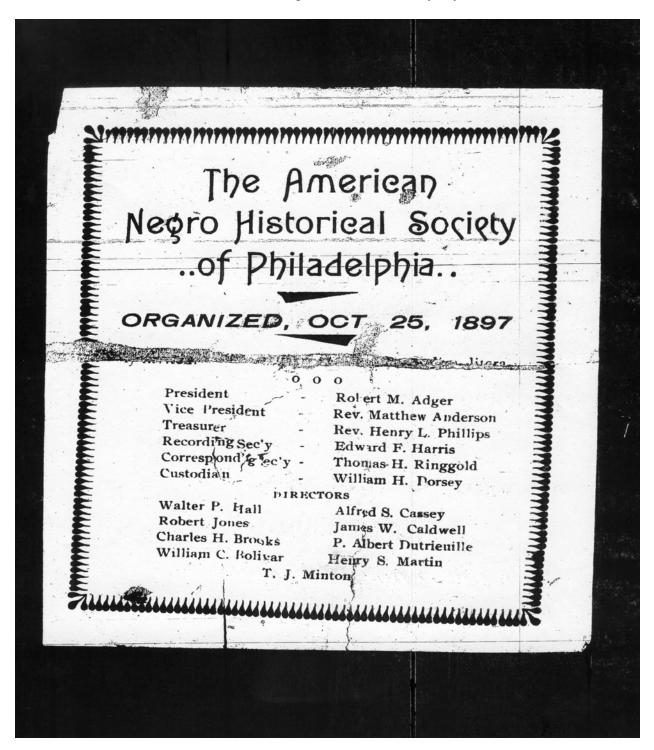
Manufacturing of goods were steadily increasing with the creation of factories and plants. Philadelphia becomes a major publishing city; Peterson's Saturday Evening Post and the Lippincott Company are examples of the elite publishing houses in the city at that time. The diversity of industries, such as beer, brooms, candies, cigars, cigarettes, ice cream, and pharmaceuticals, shipbuilding and railroad manufacturing mollifies the effects of severe economic downturns in the city.

Reference: <u>1880 - 1910 Census of Population and Housing</u> from the United States Census Bureau, City of Philadelphia Census 1880-1910, Davis & Haller (1973)

APPENDIX H SOCIETY DOCUMENTATION

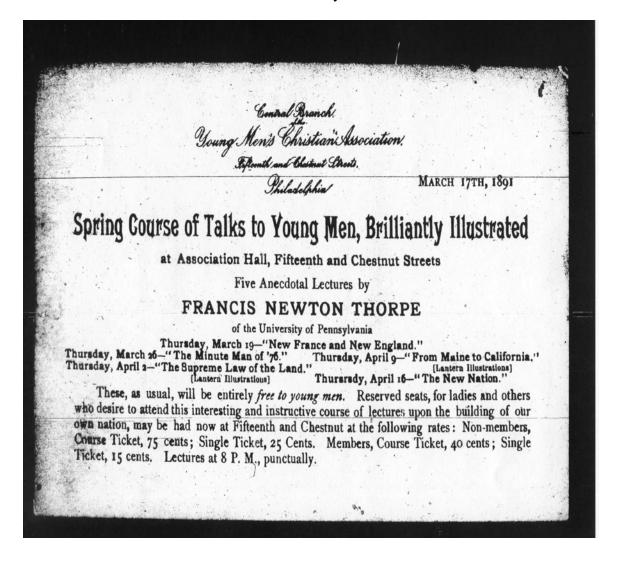
APPENDIX H – 1

The American Negro Historical Society Flyer



APPENDIX H – 2

YMCA Flyer



APPENDIX H – 3

Announcement for the Industrial Exposition by the Colored People

OFFICE OF THE COMMITTEE, fadustrial Axposition byfthe Colored People. No. 719 SANSOM STREET. PHILADELPHIA, PA, February 20th, 1889. The Industrial Exposition will open in this city at Horticultural Hall, May 13th, 1889, and will continue to May 18th, 1889. All mechanics, artisans, skilled workmen of all classes, farmers, women skilled in needle work, decorative art, the art of cookery and all branches of home industry, are invited to contribute exhibits. Attention is called to the following REGULATIONS: 1. All goods accepted for exhibit will be admitted free. Exhibitors will be permitted to sell their goods upon the condition that the same will not be removed until the close of the Exposition. 3. All goods must be shipped to "The Colored Industrial Exposition, care of WILLIAM-HENSON, Philadelphia, Pa." 4. Advices of shipment should be sent to the address of the Committee, No 719 Sansom Street, Philadelphia. 5. Exhibits will be received from May 1st to May 10th, 1889. 6. Exhibitors will prepay freight of go ds to the Exposition. Goods not sold will be packed and returned at the expense of the Committee. 7. Special care will be taken by the Committee to preserve all goods from loss and injury, but the Committee will not be responsible for the same should it occur. 8. Persons intending to exhibit should immediately place themselves in communication with the Committee, stating the character of the articles proposed to be exhibited and the amount of space required by the same. EMMA J. WHITTINGTON, MELINDA J. AMOS, President. Secretary

APPENDIX H-4

25th Anniversary Announcement for the PA Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and for the Relief of Free Negroes

Twenty-Fifth Anniversary HE Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and for the Relief of Free Negroes unlawfully held in Bondage and for Improving the Condition of the African Race, will celebrate the First Quarter Century Anniversary of Emancipation, in Association Hall, Fifteenth and Chestnut Streets, on January 2, 1889, at 3 P. M. The Committee has invited a number of eminent speakers to be present, whose lives have been indentified and interests associated with the grand movement that culminated in the glorious Proclamation of Emancipation. Among those who will address the public will be; Dr. H. L. Waland, Rev. R. J. Allen, D.D., Hon. Geo. W. Cable, Hon. Frederick Douglass, Bishop Foss, Gen. S. C. Armstrong, Robert Purvis, Prof. Washington, Rev. J. C. Price, D.D., Rev. B. F. Lee, Mrs. F. E. W. Harper, Mrs. Fanny M. Coppin, and others. The progress of the scheme of Emancipation during the last twenty-five years will be reviewed, and contrasts made between the condition of the African race at the time of the immortal Proclamation, when issued by Abraham Lincoln, and the high status won during the short period to the present time. Graphic accounts will be given of the struggles endured for years, the earnest efforts and untiring labors, the zealous workers in the cause of the condition of the Freedmen, the organization of the masses, the establishment of schools and churches, etc., throughout the South. The benefits conferred by the right of suffrage, as well as the abuses following therefrom, will be considered, and the remedies suggested for the improper application of the high prerogative granted to the race. The present condition of the colored people in the South will be faithfully shown and the great necessity of the work, which still remains to be accomplished, for the amelioration and for the effectual and permanent elevation of this long-suffering and oppressed race. The solution of the much discussed Negro Problem is a desideratum earnestly to be wished for, and it is hoped that this quarter century celebration may result in throwing such a flood of light upon the subject, as shall guide all those who are anxiously laboring for the promotion of the cause or who are in sympathy with the great movement. WM. STILL, Chairman, 244 S. Twelfth St., HENRY M. LAING, 30 N. Third St., THOS. H. McCOLLIN, 635 Arch St., Committee of Arrangements. Tickets may be procured of the Committee or at the Hall.

APPENDIX H – 5

Annual Report from the Home for the Homeless

-APPEAL:-

the Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Home for the Homeless, to which this appeal is attached, tells its own story very graphically.

In this quiet Institution, situated in the midst of poverty, meals are not only provided for the sick, but are often carried to those who cannot come, and have no one to send.

A permanent home is given to a number of homeless old women, communicants of the Church of the Crucifixion, who have no one to support them, and are too old to provide for their own wants.

A temporary home is given to homeless girls and women, free of charge, and without distinction of race or religion.

I believe this is the only place of the kind in this city.

In my work at the Church of the Crucifixion, the Home has been of very great service, as a place to which the needy can be sent to get a meal, and where a service is held weekly for many who cannot be induced to come to church. The work could be much enlarged, if the means for so doing were in the hands of its Managers. Not only is this not so, but the Home is in debt. This is partly owing to the fact, that while the work continues through the summer, few, if any contributions are received during that season.

Can any one say that this is not a Christ-like work?
Would He not smile upon it, if He were walking amongst us?

In His name then, and for His sake, we ask for means to release the Home from its indebtedness, and to carry on the work on a more liberal scale.

HENRY L. PHILLIPS,

President of Board of Trustees.

Jan. 1886.

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APPENDIX H - 6

Annual Meeting of the PA State Equal Rights League

To the Colored People of Pennsylvania.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—The Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League will hold its Tenth Annual Meeting at READING, PA., on Tuesday, 18th of August next, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.

At the time of our last Annual Meeting we fondly hoped that ere this time measures of redress of the highest importance would have been granted us by the United States Congress, and by our State Legislature, and we have been disappointed. The Civil Rights Bill has been strangled by its pretended friends; our children are still denied decent treatment in the school system; and, by reason of prejudice alone, we are debarred from many of the rights precious to us, and to which citizenship properly entities us. Colored people, merely on account of their color, are excluded from places and privileges that of right belong to the whole people. We represent a respectable minority in most of the States, even a majority in several. We have been true and faithful to the dominant political party, and men and measures have been carried because of our faithfulness.

As AMERICANS, as CITIZENS, as MEN, it behooves us to use all honorable means to secure to ourselves and to our posterity all the rights and privileges to which we are justly entitled; and it cannot be that a class as large as ours can be permanently denied if our efforts are intelligent and harmonious. It is of the highest importance that we meet together to deliberate respecting our past disappointments, our present condition, and our future course.

Therefore, we most carnestly hope that every colored man of public spirit will set himself to secure for his locality full representation at our Annual Meeting. Reorganize your old associations, or organize new ones, and send your best men to represent you, so that our deliberations may be wise, and that correct conclusions may be reached as to our future course.

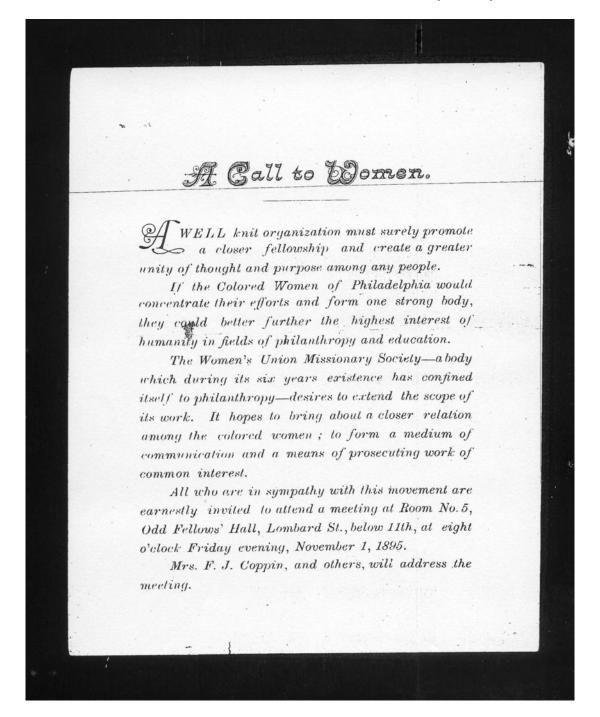
WILLIAM NESBIT,

Altooona, June 24th, 1874.

President Pennaylvania State Equal Rights League.

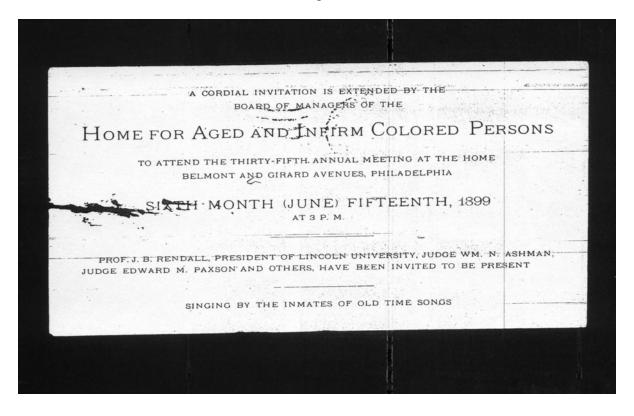
APPENDIX H-7

Announcement from the Women's Union Missionary Society



APPENDIX H – 8

Invitation from the Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons

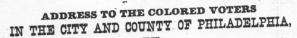


APPENDIX I

POLITICAL DOCUMENTATION

APPENDIX I-1

Address to Colored Voters



H. MAJOR JAMES

THE RISING COLORED ORATOR.

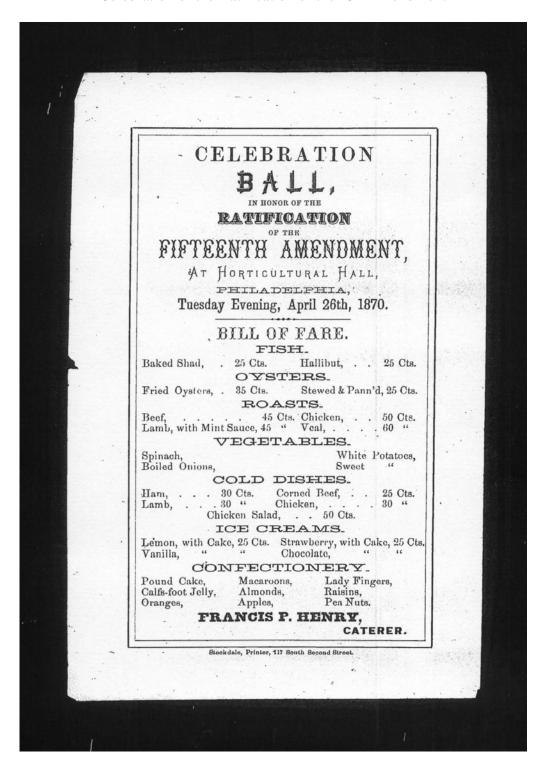
FELLOW CITIZENS:

We are upon the eve of a Municipal and State election, whose results, to be announced at the polls, on Tuesday next, are of the mest vital importance to the political interests of every freeman and qualified voter, not only of the ance to the political interests of every freeman and qualified voter, not only of the control of the c

CITY COMMISSIONERS, WILLIAM S. DOUGLASS, WILLIAM LAWSON.

APPENDIX I – 2

Celebration of the Ratification of the 15th Amendment



APPENDIX I – 3

Celebration Announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation

Inniversary of Emancipation.

* * * *

HE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM will celebrate the Anniversary of Emancipation in connection, with a Re-Union of old Abolitionists, on TUESDAY, JANUARY 3d, '93, at Association Hall, 15th and Chestnut Sts.

In order, that this event may be made, in the highest degree enjoyable, the Committee of arrangments have spared no pains in soliciting not only some of the most eloquent and able friends of Emancipation of our own city and vicinity, but have two or three of the best colored orators and most experienced educators in the Sou th, engaged to address the meetings.

The Committee hope to see on the platform several representatives of the great Educational work, which has been so faithfully prosecuted, in the establishment of hundreds of Schools, scores of Colleges and Universities in different parts of the South, under properly appointed Boards, organized by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, General Conference of the M. E. Church North, the Baptist Church, the American Missionary Association and other Philanthropic agencies, which have nobly been contributing of their means, talents and sympathies, for the general elevation of the newly emancipated millions in the South, and to listen to such experience, knowledge and earnestness which may be relied upon, not only to show up the abject condition of the South, but also their wonderful advancement as well.

All old Abolitionists are especially invited; all Friends of Freedom welcome. No charge for admission.

WM. STILL, Chairman. THOS. H McCOLLIN ALFRED H. LOVE.

Committee of Management.

TICKETS MAY BE HAD OF

WM. STILL, 244 South 12th St.

THOS. H. McCOLLIN, 1030 Arch St.

ALFRED H. LOVE, 219 Chestnut St.

HENRY M. LAING, 30 N. 3rd St.

JOS. M. TRUMAN, IR., 1500 Race St

APPENDIX I - 4

Address to Friends of the African Race



The African Colonial Enterprise

Philadelphia Executive Board

CREANIZER AND CENERAL EMECTOR, J. ALBERT THERNE, M. B., C. M., OF EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY

Chairman: REV. L. J. COPPIN, D. D.
Vice Chairmen: {
Rt. REV. BISHOP WALTERS, D.D., New York.
NATHAN F. MOSSELL, M. D.

Secretary: REV. ALEXANDER GORDON. Ass't Secretary: M. S. N. PIERRE, M. D., New York."
Treasurer: WENDELL REBER, M. D., 1208 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa

Auditor: MR. CHARLES J. LIPPMANN Solicitor: THEOPHILUS J. MINTON, Esq.

BANKERS: SIXTH NATIONAL BANK, N. W. Cor. Second and Pine Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.

NEW YORK: 353 Bleecker Street OPPICE HOURS: 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. 1508 LOMBARD STREET
Sat.: 9 a.m. to 2 p.m.

PHILADELPHIA

PENNSYLVANIA U. S. AMERICA

Freb. 20.1899.

AN APPEAL

ADDRESSED TO THE FRIENDS OF THE AFRICAN RACE

DEAR FRIENDS:

The accompanying letter from Dr. Albert Thorne to the Press deals with a subject of vital importance to our people. There is a difference of opinion among them, we know, on the question of African colonization, but much of this arises from a lack of knowledge of the country, as well as from the inability, in some instances, to appreciate existing conditions.

That some members of the race have returned with discouraging reports from Liberia, whither they had gone, or had been sent rather, to colonize with scanty resources, or with no resources at all to hold out upon until the first difficulties of settling in a strange country had been overcome, should not allenate sympathy from any proper attempt to open up a suitable portion of tropical Africa to the possibilities of our race in the American hemisphere.

The country selected for this new venture possesses exceptional advantages as a colonizing centre, situated as it is north of the Zambesi river, west of Lake Nyassa, at a distance of several hundred miles from the Coast. It is, moreover, fertile, well watered, and has a high elevation, which makes it infinitely preferable to the low-lying malarial West Coast. The fact that many Europeans have settled there, and have met with more or less success, according to their energy, skill and prudence, in spite of its Equatorial position and hostile tribes, is a strong argument in our favor.

We do not advocate the wholesale expatriation of the negro from the United States, nor from any other country of his adoption, for he is now a citizen, and a free citizen; and so long as he conforms to the amenities of civilized government, he should be accorded all its privileges. And we are of the opinion that the antipathy which has made itself so obnoxious to us and to all humane people, in certain sections of this country, will, in course of time, be completely removed. But, while this is so, we foresee the immense future which awaits the negro in a land where all the conditions are such as to give him every reasonable and possible opportunity in helping to shape and direct its destinies. This at least is the view we hold. And we believe that it will be shared also by every lover of freedom, and by every fair and accurate observer.

For this reason, then, we feel that Dr. Thorne has brought to us a great enterprise, and one which is not only worthy of being favorably received by every intelligent and enterprising African, but of being supported also by all who take an interest in the progressive development of our race. He came to us a perfect stranger, but we were not long in discovering his real worth, progressive development of our race. He came to us a perfect stranger, but we were noticed in discovering and during the eighteen months or so that he has spent in our midst we are glad to be able to say that he has gained our full confidence. We consider him singularly well fitted for the task assigned to him. The list of eminent physicians and other distingished personages, whom he has succeeded in interesting in the enterprise through his own personality, bespeaks its merit and testifies to the manner in which he has been received by our white fellow citizens.

He has been bespears its ment and testines to the manner in which he has been to be the body and the table of the manner in which he mergy entitles him.

We take special pleasure in giving this endorsement, not because we feel that Dr. Thorne needs a testimonial, for

what he has accomplished in the past is greater than any commendation we can give; but we do so because we wish to

place on record our full sympathy with him and his patriotic aspiration.

Five thousand dollars a year is a small matter in comparison to the good that will be done for our people, for Africa and for the whole civilized world, if it can be proved by demonstration that Central Africa north of the Zambesi river can become a permanent home for the American and West Indian Negro. The test will now be made, and made by competent men. We, therefore, trust that the people of the United States will prove equal to the occasion, and do honor to themselves by subscribing the first \$5,000, in order to enable Dr. Thorne to go foward and lead the pioneers to victory.

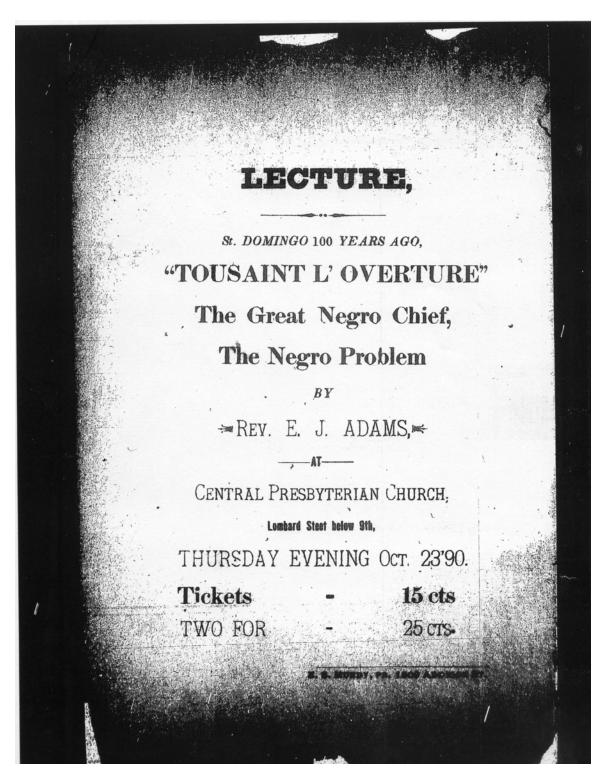
APPENDIX I – 5

Census Report from 1890

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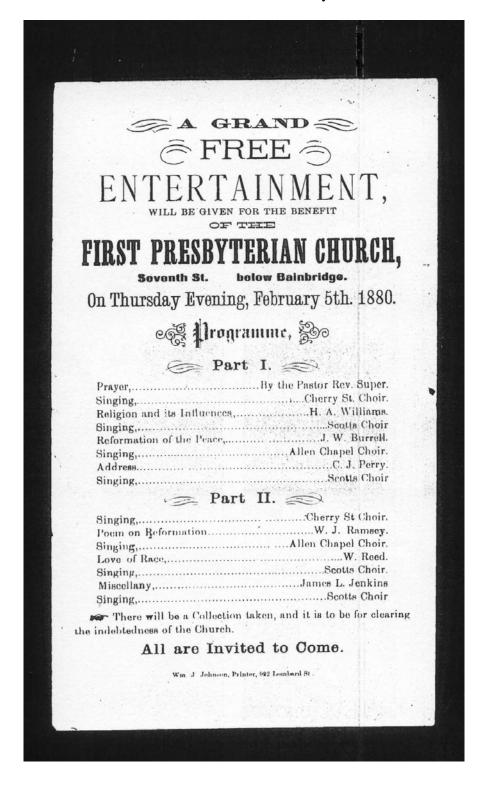
APPENDIX J RELIGIOUS DOCUMENTATION

 $\label{eq:APPENDIX J-1} APPENDIX J-1$ Lecture Announcement – "Tousaint L' Overture"



APPENDIX J – 2

Entertainment Announcement 1st Presbyterian Church



APPENDIX J - 3

Annual Meeting Century Building and Loan

NEW SERIES!

CENTURY BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATION

OF PHILADELPHIA.

SIXTH

ANNUAL MEETING

Tuesday Even'g, Nov. 22, 1892,

SHILOH BAPTIST CHURCH,

Lombard Street near Eleventh.

Stock in a new, the 7th, Series will be issued.

COMB, TAKE STOCK, AND SAVE MONEY.

LEVI CROMWELL, President.

JAMES F. NEEDHAM, Secretary.

Browne Printer, 117 South Becond St

APPENDIX J – 4

Lecture Announcement Professor G. L. Newton

HERE PRESIDENTER MAN DESIGNATION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPER

SEVENTEENTH & FITZWATER STS.

Rev. THOMAS H. AMOS, Pastor, Wednesday Evening, October 21, 1891. AT 8 O'CLOCK.

ADMISSION, 15 CENTS.

The Wonders of the Heavens!

SUN, MOON AND STARS

AND WHAT IS TO BE SEEN THERE.

A Highly Entertaining and Instructive

CTURE

Prof. G. L. NEWTON, of Boston.

Showing the results of the recent wonderful discoveries among the heavenly bodies, with the large telescopes now in use. Revealing what the universe really is, and illustrating as nothing else possibly can—the extent, perfection, grandeur and magnifi-cence of the works of the Great Creator...

COMMENDATORY.

Rev. J. J. Joyce Moore, Rector of Protestant Episcopal Church of the Covenant, 27th St. & Girard Avenue. Says,

Paffer we had read over the many high encomiums which clergymen and others had passed upon this lecture, by Prof. Newton, we looked forward to the time of its delivery in our Parish building with the most agreeable anticipations. We were wondering if he could condense in a brief lecture, the conclusions of the latest investigations in astronomy and at the same time make it intelligible to the young people who might be there. After the lecture had been delivered and we had questioned some of the younger members of the audience, we found that they had secured quite an intelligent conception of the subject and it is safe to say that this was as much owing to the novel and popular way in which the professor treated the difficult topic, as to the abundant and highly instructive information which was conveyed. Prof. Newton has promised to repeat the lecture so that those who were unable to be present, may have an opportunity of hearing this very thoughtful and entertaining lecture.

PROP. G. L. NEWTON.

MY DEAR SIR,

MY DEAR STR.

Allow me to say that the hour which I spent last Wednesday evening in listening to you on "The Wonders of the Heavens" was every way delightful—your lecture is not only informing but inspiring—it shows a wide rings of study and reading, and a thorough mastery of the subject—I am sure no one can hear it without being greatly profited, and I wish to thank you heartly for the good I found in listening to you.

Sincerely Yours

J. M. STIFLER,

Pastor of TRINITY BAPTIST CHURCH;

Prof. New Testament Exegesis,
Crozer Theo. Seminary, Chester, Pa.

PROF. G. L. NEWTON,

PROF. G. L. NEWYON,

My DRAR SIR:—It gives me pleasure to say that your lecture, "The Wonders of the
Heavens," was thoroughly enjoyed. It was clear, as simple as the subject permitted,
and a niodel of concise expression and judicions selection. It's tone was high, and
its effect most elevating.

W. Briksylon Griffing, Dr.

Pastor Tenth Presbyterian Church,
Corner 12th and Walnut Streets.

COME, HEAR AND ENJOY THIS GRAND LECTURE.

CRAS. A. BECHTER, Printer, 22 South Pourth Street.

APPENDIX K

EDUCATIONAL DOCUMENTATION

APPENDIX K – 1

Annual Meeting Institute for Colored Youth

INSTITUTE FOR COLORED YOUTH.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., August 27, 1889.

The Alumni Association of the Institute for Colored Youth, at its Annual Meeting, held June 26, 1889, recalling the excellent services of its former member, Octavius V. Catto, as a teacher in the Institute, his model character as a useful citizen, and his sad death in the midst of a life of promise, elected a Committee on Monument to his memory. The Committee recommended the creation of a Memorial Fund of Two Hundred and Fifty Dollars (\$250), to be donated by the members, and to be known as the Octavius V. Catto Memorial Fund, which shall be placed in the hands of the Managers of the Institute for investment, and the interest thereof, to the amount of Ten Dollars (\$10), shall be awarded as a prize, annually, and at the commencement of the In stitute, if held. This prize shall be known as the Octavius V. Catto Prize, and shall be given to the pupil obtaining the highest general average in scholarship and good conduct, and shall be competed for by members of the Junior Classes only.

This action was approved at a meeting of the Executive Council, held July 15, 1889.

You are hereby requested to subscribe to the above named fund. As the Association numbers about two hundred, the Committee asks that each member will give at least One Dollar (\$1.00), and as much more as interest and generosity will suggest.

Send the amount of your subscription to Thomas H. Boling, Treasurer, 917 Lombard Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Respectfully,

HORACE F. OWENS, JOSEPH E. HILL, JACOB C. WHITE, JR., JULIA F. JONES, MARGARET A. BOLING.

Committee on Monument.

JACOB C. WHITE, JR., Pres of Alumni Ass'n. ELIZABETH J. B. RAMSEY, Cor, Sec.

APPENDIX K – 2

Sub-Primary School Announcement

No. 5.

SUB-PRIMARY SCHOOL SOCIETY.

INCORPORATED JUNE 9TH, 1881.

PHILIP C. GARRETT, PRESIDENT.

MISS SARAH NEWLIN, SECRETARY, 1510 Arch Street.

HENRY C. DAVIS, CHAIRMAN FINANCE COMMITTEE. MISS ANNA HALLOWELL, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 908 Clinton Street.

MANAGERS.

MR. EDWARD T. STEEL,

" JAMES S. WHITNEY,

" WILLIAM W. JUSTICE,

MRS. SUSAN I. LESLEY,

" FANNY B. AMES,

MRS. NAOMI L. DAVIS,

" M. L. VAN KIRK,

" J. R. PATTON,

MISS ANNA HALLOWELL,

" CORNELIA HANCOCK,

The funds of the Society are almost exclusively used in the payment 'of teachers' salaries, the school rooms, including heating and care, being furnished either by the city in the public school houses, or by charitable organizations.

It is hoped that all who are interested in the object, will approve the

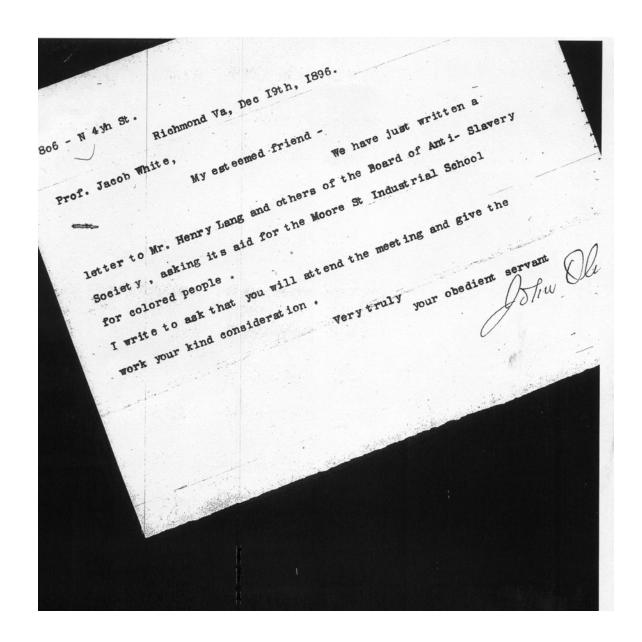
means and contribute to their support.

Donations and annual subscriptions may be sent to any of the managers, or to

HENRY C. DAVIS, 205 Walnut Place, PHILADELPHIA

APPENDIX K – 3

Note to Jacob C. White, Jr.



APPENDIX K – 4

An Appeal for New Building Funds

AN APPEAL FOR FUNDS

...FOR...

NEW BUILDINGS

THE FREDERICK DOUGLASS MEMORIAL HOSPITAL AND TRAINING SCHOOL, located in a building at 1512 Lombard Street, that was leased four years ago, and in which the work was so auspiciously begun, has outgrown its present quarters.

Of this work the *Philadelphia Press*, November 1st, 1895, says editorially: "As the Hospital stands, it offers a notable proof of self-reliance and self-sacrificing devotion. While there has been in the last ten years a decided advance in the thrift and savings of the colored race—in spite of a different impression in some quarters—the money needed for this Hospital has been raised and contributed by those ill-provided with resources, much being given by those receiving scanty wages. Their success in raising the sum needed reflects the greatest credit to all concerned. Both colored physicians and colored women seeking to become nurses, have been grievously handicapped even in our public hospitals by a most unjustifiable prejudice. This Hospital will give one experience and the other training. A more praiseworthy step, or one taken under greater difficulties, has not been seen in Philadelphia in many a day."

The training of colored girls to be self-supporting, in a profession for which they are, by nature, pre-eminently fitted, is a work which has both a humanitarian and a practical side. The practical nature of the average American mind, instinctively, permits the question of values to intrude even into the domain of philanthropy, hence, one is not astonished if the query suggests itself, whether special interest in the training of colored women will bring any special advantage to the community? In every large community there is a large class of colored women, graduates from normal and high schools, and in many instances from colleges of the country, who find it impossible to get employment outside of domestic service. Thus there is a large class of colored girls who bring to the field of nursing an intelligence far above the average women of the white race, who are admitted into this profession.

The Legislature, through recommendations of the State Board of Charities, has recognized the value of the work, and for two successive sessions has voted the Institution ten thousand dollars for maintenance. We have been compelled, during the past year, to refuse patients admission because of being overcrowded. In view of this fact we have decided to make a strenuous effort toward raising a Building Fund. A Building Committee has in hand the locating of a site for the building of a structure. Site and structure not to cost over seventy-five thousand dollars (\$75,000). Our first public effort to raise this fund will be made at the date of our Third Annual Commencement of the Training School for Nurses, to be held May 23d, from 3 to 5 o'clock, at the New Century Drawing Room.

SAMUEL B. HUEY, ESQ., Treasurer, 550 Drexel Building.

REV. J. P. SAMPSON, D.D.,

President of the Board of Managers.

APPENDIX L PERSONAL DOCUMENTATION

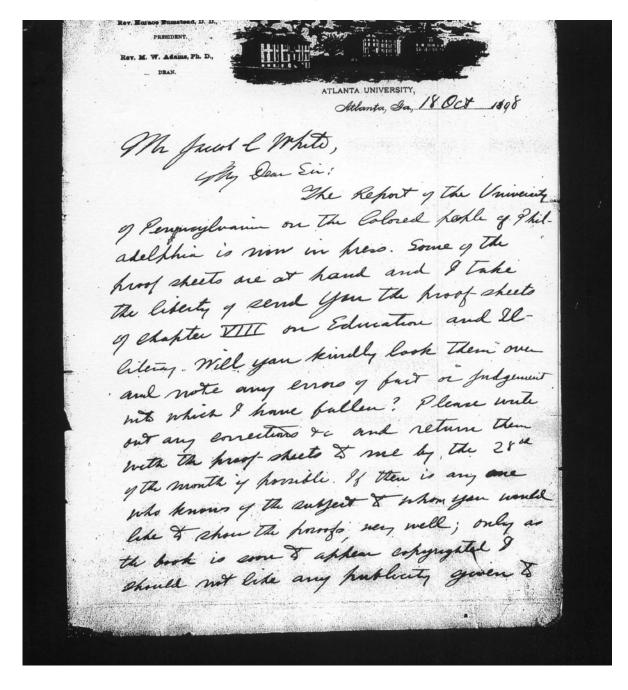
APPENDIX L – 1

Letter to Jacob C. White, Jr.

March 70, 1888 Who Jacob le White Wear Sir House for W & Children and as one much interested in elw work I take the liberty of addiessing you. entirely by private Subscription from time to trine et is our good fortune to receive. We feel that me are doing Good work in providing home and Jurendy for these poor Children, Who are methout Either, and who would have no alternative but to grow up paupers were they not thus cared for, Somite your careful attention to the accompanying report, and if after a careful pensal of it, you feel inchmed

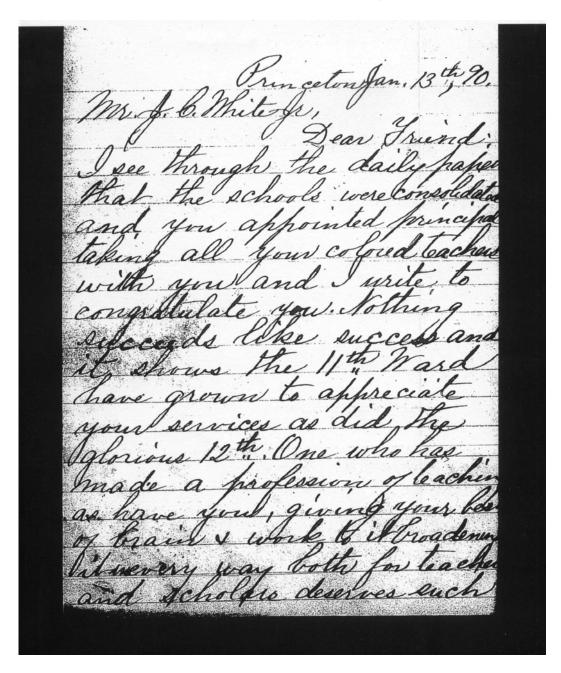
APPENDIX L – 2

Letter to Jacob C. White, Jr. from W.E.B. DuBois



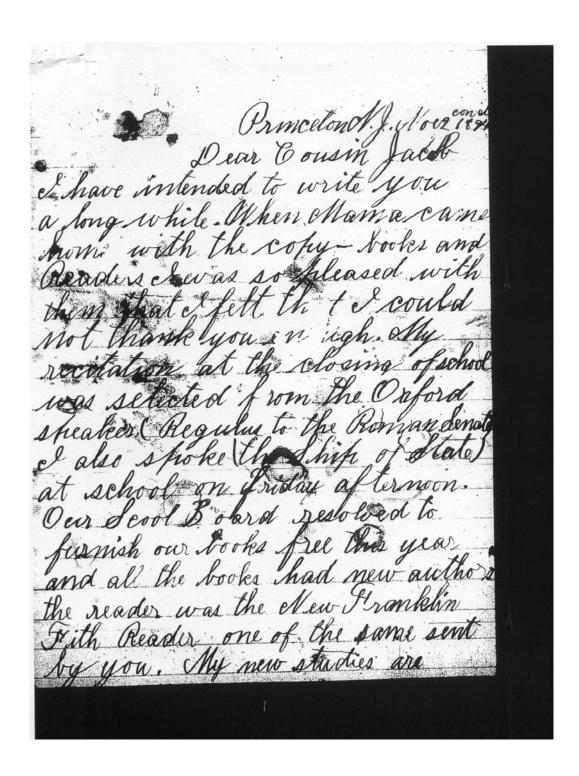
APPENDIX L – 3

Princeton letter to Jacob C. White, Jr.



APPENDIX L- 4

Cousin Letter to Jacob C. White, Jr.



APPENDIX M

THE CHRISTIAN RECORDER ONLINE

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THE CHRISTIAN RECORDER Online



3/14/2009

THE CHRISTIAN RECORDER ONLINE ENGLISH EDITION (3/14/09)

Bishop Richard Franklin Norris - Chair, Commission on Publications The Reverend Dr. Johnny Barbour, Jr., Publisher The Reverend Dr. Calvin H. Sydnor III, Editor, *The Christian*

1. EDITORIAL - TWO THINGS BOTHER ME; AND I HOPE THEY BOTHER YOU:

Dr. Calvin H. Sydnor III The 20th Editor of *The Christian Recorder*

On Tuesday I arrived in Hilton Head Island, South Carolina where I was invited to participate in the U.S. Army Chaplain Strategic Leader Development Training. There were 400-500 senior Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officers in attendance. I was scheduled to be the speaker for the memorial service.

The training sessions were informative and timely. The training sessions addressed family issues, the issues surrounding the recent uptick in suicides in the Army, and suicide prevention.

The training schedule was tight and every session, including the morning worship services started and ended on time. When I read the schedule of events, I saw the announcement that the vendors could not operate during the training sessions or during worship services; they could only operate before and after the sessions and during the breaks.

Whoa! I thought to myself, that announcement certainly prioritized training. That announcement made it clear that the participants were there for training and that the event was not a shopping event. That

Editor: The Christian Recorder Online



Dr. Calvin H. Sydnor, III

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APPENDIX N

DEFINITIONS

In addition to the terms defined below, all abbreviations are defined as they are used through each chapter in which they are used.

<u>Black:</u> A broad term that will be used to define a person who is of African descent, or relating to any of the various population groups having dark pigmentation of the skin, also will be used to define anything relating to the African-American people or their culture.

Social change agent: A person or individual who advocates for a change in social structure, the nature, the social institutions, the social behavior or the social relations of a society, community of people, and so on. For the purposes of this study, this term can encompass concepts as broad as revolution and paradigm shift, to narrow changes such as a particular cause within small town government. This term will be used interchangeably in this study with social reformer and social welfare pioneer (Dogoff & Fedlstein, 2009; Day, 2006).

Social conflict: This term will be defined as is a part of discord in society caused by the actual or perceived opposition of needs, values and interests (www.nasw.org). A conflict can be internal (within oneself) or external (between two or more individuals). Social conflict will include but not be limited to many aspects of social life such as social disagreement, conflicts of interests, and fights between individuals, groups, or organizations. Social conflict can refer to wars, revolutions or other struggles, which may involve the use of force as in the term armed conflict. Without proper social arrangement or resolution, conflicts in social settings can result in stress or tensions among stakeholders. When an interpersonal conflict does occur, its effect is often broader than two individuals involved, and can affect many associate individuals and relationships, in more or less adverse ways (Dogoff & Feldstein, 2009; Day, 2006).

<u>Social reformer:</u> This term is taken from the definition of reformer – one that works or urges for change or reform on the societal level. For the purposes of this study, this term will be used interchangeably with social welfare pioneer because many of these individuals performed the duties of both.

<u>Social welfare</u>: This term is defined as, "all social interventions intended to enhance or maintain the social functioning of human beings" (Dogoff & Feldstein, 2009, p.4). This is a broad definition that will be used for this study.

<u>Social welfare pioneer</u>: For the purposes of this study, this term will be defined as an individual or person who participates in a social intervention intended to enhance or maintain the social functioning of human beings, based on the previous definition of social welfare.