

The Columbian League: The Life of George Edmund Haynes and the Formation of the National Urban League

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Theodore Ostrow discusses The Columbian League: The Life of George Edmund Haynes and the Formation of the National Urban League: [video]

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In 1912, Columbia University Press published *The Negro at Work in New York City*, a sociological study of the urban conditions of African Americans living in New York City in the first decade of the twentieth century. At the time, the only other comparable study was W.E.B. Du Bois's *The Philadelphia Negro*, which examined the urban conditions of African Americans in the city of Philadelphia. George Edmund Haynes wrote *The Negro at Work in New York City* as his dissertation at Columbia, the completion of which made him the first African American to receive a Ph.D. from the university. However, his doctoral degree in sociology and social administration was far from his greatest achievement. It was during his time at Columbia that Haynes co-founded the preliminary committee and then organization that became the National Urban League (NUL), the largest and oldest community-based civil rights organization advocating on behalf of

African Americans and against racial discrimination in the United States. To be precise, he founded the organization in its earliest form in 1910 at the New York School of Philanthropy, which in 1940 would officially become affiliated with Columbia University as the Columbia School of Social Work.

This paper traces Haynes's early life through his Columbia days and his leadership of the Urban League, demonstrating that his education at Columbia and the School of Philanthropy helped him lay the foundation for the NUL. Haynes's education in New York influenced him to form an organization that addressed and continues to address the urban problems of African Americans through sociological research. In doing so, Haynes challenged the racist notion of the "Negro Problem," by showing that urban poverty among blacks was not due to natural inferiority. Finally, it was Haynes's vision to establish an organization based on interracial cooperation. Central to this philosophy was one of the NUL's key objectives: to train black social workers, with Columbia and the School of Philanthropy serving as two of the Urban League's most sourced educational institutions.

Part I: Haynes's Early Life (1880-1908)

Haynes was born on May 11, 1880, in Pine Bluff, Arkansas. Just three years earlier, President Rutherford B. Hayes had pulled all U.S. military forces from the former Confederate states, marking the end of Reconstruction, and shortly thereafter, the birth of the Jim Crow era. There were still secessionist attitudes in Arkansas at the time, but the state recovered economically from the Civil War more quickly than others.[1]

Haynes grew up in the South during the reversal of the Reconstruction-era victories for the formerly enslaved. The 1880s through the beginning of the twentieth century was a time of immense legal and extralegal racial disenfranchisement and racist violence against blacks, justified under the guise of separate but equal segregation.[2] Haynes's family was typical of other post-Reconstruction black families in Arkansas; just barely getting by with an unskilled father earning insufficient wages from unstable jobs and a mother doing domestic work. Haynes was young when his father Louis Haynes died, and from the little information available about his early life, it is evident that his mother,

Mattie Haynes, played a dominant role in providing for the family and pushing him to obtain an education.[3]

Arkansas passed a law in 1867 that systematized free public education in the state, but only for whites. Black men had to pay \$1.25 a year in taxes to establish their own public schools. This effort to keep blacks subordinate by limiting their educational opportunities, among other discriminatory practices, was the reason Haynes ended up in a small one-room school for black children.[4] The twenty-five to thirty students in the class would have ranged from six years old to full-grown adults, all of them learning how read, write, and do arithmetic. However, a trip to the Chicago World's Fair in the summer of 1894 "stirred up dreams and ambitions in the mind of young Haynes." [5] In addition to experiencing the liveliness of urban life, Haynes listened in on group meetings in black churches as they discussed issues facing African Americans, providing him his first examples of black unity as well as inspiration to receive a more complete education. Soon after he returned to Pine Bluff, Haynes, his mother, and his sister, Birdye, moved to the city of Hot Springs in pursuit of better educational opportunities.[6]

However, the education Haynes received in Hot Springs did not live up to his high aspirations. In 1895, the fifteen-year-old left home for the Agricultural and Mining College at Normal, Alabama, where he took classes in history, physical geography, bookkeeping, as well as the Old and New Testaments. Again, Haynes felt he was not obtaining sufficient college preparation, so his mother enrolled him at Fisk University High School in Nashville, Tennessee in 1896.[7] Fisk was founded in 1866 by the American Missionary Association, an anti-slavery missionary society, to educate freedmen after the Civil War. Haynes entered the University during its early development as one of the primary educational institutions for African Americans.[8] According to Rev. Dr. Samuel Kelton Roberts of Columbia University, Fisk "held the position that one of the ways of dispelling popular beliefs about the inherent intellectual weakness of blacks would be to encourage its students to master the culture of American society." [9]

In accordance with Fisk's educational directive, when Haynes entered the higher university in 1899, he studied three years of Latin and two years of Greek (in addition to the three years and four courses he took in high school, respectively), as well as numerous math and science courses such as Trigonometry, Spherical Geometry, Physics, Chemistry, Zoology, and Astronomy, among others. He also took many humanities courses ranging from German literature to Logic, Music, and Sociology. Although excelling in his classes, Haynes struggled to pay the \$12 per month for housing and tuition over his four years, accumulating substantial debt to the University.[10] Following his graduation in 1903, and after settling his debt to Fisk, Haynes was admitted to Yale Graduate School.[11]

Between 1900 and 1904 only nine black students graduated from Yale despite its student body of 3,000 in 1904.[12] Although there is no record of explicit hostility towards the nine students, the black students undoubtedly met racial prejudice and academic condescension for their allegedly inferior intellects.[13] Though Haynes omitted this era of his life in his memoirs, his silence suggests his confrontations with racism that mirrored the experiences of black students at universities across the Northeast. One instance of racism occurred when the professor of an Experimental Psychology course for which Haynes was trying to register doubted his abilities outright, stating, "You graduates from these southern Negro colleges have not had adequate training to meet the strenuous requirements of graduate courses at Yale." [14] Haynes responded with diligent work habits, "studying seven days a week" for the courses he took in Philosophy, Political Philosophy, Experimental Psychology, Genetic Psychology, and Ethics and Epistemology.[15] Haynes eventually graduated with an M.A. degree in June of 1904.[16]

Of all the subjects Haynes studied, it was William Graham Sumner's course in Sociology, or "Societology," a social science then in its infancy, that captured his interest.[17] Haynes became very close with Sumner, who mentored him outside of class in sociology, the discipline that would eventually guide Haynes's future education at Columbia and the New York School of Philanthropy, as well as his professional career.[18] According to Haynes's memoirs, Sumner taught him the "method of

dispassionate analysis, classification, comparison and inductive conclusions in the field of human affairs and in the study of mankind,” and “to subject any notions to rigorous tests of the facts.”[19] Sumner was so impressed with Haynes’s work for his course that he wrote a recommendation for him in 1909 to bolster his application to the New York School of Philanthropy. In the letter, he testified that “Haynes distinguished himself while a student of Sociology under me, by the zeal and success with which he did the work.”[20]

In the five years between receiving a master’s degree at Yale and venturing to New York City, Haynes took up a job at the Colored Men’s Department of the YMCA. Haynes received a scholarship after graduation to study at Yale Divinity School, but he had to drop out because it was too expensive, for he was also still supporting his family back in Arkansas. After months of searching for permanent work, Haynes landed a job in 1905 through an old associate at the YMCA.[21] From 1905 to 1907 Haynes worked as a traveling secretary for the YMCA, visiting 76 black colleges in the South to facilitate Bible study groups, Christian meetings, interracial cooperation, and to organize college students for community service.[22] Meanwhile, Haynes took summer graduate courses at the University of Chicago in 1906 and 1907.[23] Haynes’s apprenticeship with the YMCA ended in 1908 when he “returned to New York and matriculated at Columbia.”[24]

It is clear that Haynes’s academic trajectory was influenced by his experiences growing up in the Jim Crow South and the racism he faced throughout his early life. He used education as a ticket to his own personal advancement, but also to further his emerging aspiration to help his fellow African Americans. Haynes had to overcome economic inequality and open racism to succeed as a black man in America at the turn of the twentieth century. At times, his disadvantages prevented him from continuing his education, such as when he had to drop out of Yale Divinity School. His early life, driven by perseverance, yet hindered by racial prejudice, molded how Haynes would go on to use his education for the betterment of urban black communities. However, he truly bloomed, intellectually and politically, during his years at Columbia and the New York School of Philanthropy.

Part II: The New York School of Philanthropy, Columbia University and *The Negro at Work in New York City* (1908-1912)

Haynes did not matriculate at Columbia University in the traditional manner. In the fall of 1909, Haynes entered the New York School of Philanthropy, a graduate school that was closely associated with Columbia at the time, but not formally affiliated until 1940 when it was renamed the New York School of Social Work at Columbia University.[25] The School of Philanthropy emerged out of a movement of the Progressive Era termed “New Philanthropy” by Professor of social work Albert O. Wright of the University of Wisconsin.[26] Although philanthropic work was firmly established in the U.S., “traditional practices of public relief, almshouses, etc., had proven ineffective, even destructive.”[27] In 1896 Wright contended that “New Philanthropy” “studies causes as well as symptoms, and it considers classes as well as individuals...it seeks prevention as well as for cure.”[28] Furthermore, philanthropy “is raised to the rank of a science, the practical and theoretical are yoked together.”[29] Wright’s calling for a new wave of philanthropy to consolidate communal sympathy with scientifically reinforced remedies birthed the School of Philanthropy, the first American educational institution for social work, two years later in 1898.[30]

The School was formed by the Committee on Philanthropic Education of the Charity Organization Society (COS) of New York City. The COS was founded in 1882 by Civil War widow Josephine Shaw Lowell to establish a system of cooperation between NYC welfare organizations. The Committee on Philanthropic Education was eventually formed in 1897 with the intention of creating a school for social work training.[31] The School originally offered a six-week summer course in “applied philanthropy.”[32] In 1904 it became a year-long program, and in 1911 it expanded to two years.[33] The purpose of the school was to “fit men and women for social service in either professional or volunteer work.”[34]

Haynes entered the School of Philanthropy to complete one minor for his Columbia degree in sociology and social administration.[35] At the time, students at the School of Philanthropy were allowed to take any courses “for which they may be qualified without

charge of tuition fees, the selection of courses being subject...to the approval of the Director of the School and of the instructor in the University whose course is chosen.”[36] Reciprocally, Columbia students were given the same privileges at the School of Philanthropy, and coursework there was “accepted by the University as the equivalent of one minor subject for an advanced degree (M.A. or Ph.D.).”[37]

The Director of the School of Philanthropy during Haynes’s stay was Samuel McCune Lindsay (1907-1912), who also held a law school chair in social legislation at Columbia. Edward T. Devine, who, like Lindsay, eventually became a colleague of Haynes’s in the National Urban League, was also both a Director of the School of Philanthropy (1904-1907 and 1912-1917) and Haynes’s Columbia professor of social economy in the politics department.[38] According to Professor Hindy L. Schachter of the New Jersey Institute of Technology, the School of Philanthropy’s affiliation with Columbia was a product of these two men’s belief that “social work could not receive adequate stature as a profession unless its educational offering had the same university imprimatur as law or medicine,” and they worked long after Haynes graduated to secure an official connection.[39]

Luckily, the Bureau of Social Research, an integral research entity in the School of Philanthropy, awarded Haynes a fellowship for his studies. In 1906, with funds from the Russell Sage Foundation, the School of Philanthropy established the Bureau of Social Research, which became an essential pillar of the School’s operations.[40] The objective of the Bureau was “to give training to advanced students who are at the same time inexperienced investigators.”[41] Furthermore, the purpose of their research was “primarily and essentially practical and not merely to add to the sum of human knowledge, but to increase the efficiency of the social work now being carried on and point the way to organize new efforts to ameliorate social conditions.”[42] Haynes received a \$500 stipend for the year, which he used to pay for his \$50 tuition and \$7 per week for room and board.[43] Since Haynes was not only taking courses at the School for his minor at Columbia, but was also actually enrolled in the institution, it appears Haynes was one of the twenty four students who were registered in both the School and the University.[44]

The School had some of its students focus entirely on conducting research for the Bureau. Among the many research topics were Loans on Salary and Chattel Mortgages, the Training of Social Workers, the Employment of the Handicapped, and the Social Treatment of Inebriates.[45] Haynes's research focused on "The Negro in Industry in New York City," a study of "the industrial and professional status" of African Americans in NYC that sought "to throw light on the problem of industrial training." [46] Haynes was aware of the large migration of African Americans to New York from the South, and through his investigations he began to unveil the severe economic hardships they faced upon their arrival.[47]

Haynes's Bureau fellowship was reappointed and he continued his research for the 1909-1910 year.[48] Additionally, Haynes was chosen to be a lecturer for a first semester thirty-hour course at the School called "Methods of Research and Investigation." The course took students through the process of developing the aim and scope of their investigations, conducting research and field work, and organizing collected data. The course was broken up into eight units, the first six of which were: 1. Introductory, 2. Analysis and Criticism of Important Studies in the field of Social Research, 3. Gathering the Material, 4. The Making and Use of Schedules, 5. Tabulating the Data, and 6. Working up the Material. Haynes was responsible for a series of lectures in the eighth unit entitled Methods of Social Research as Exhibited in Typical Studies. His subsection focused on the study "The Negro at Work in New York City." His lectures were split into two categories: 1. Making of the Schedules and 2. Tabulation and the making of Tables. In Making of Schedules, he taught students his preliminary preparation and the formation of his schedules for wage earners, business enterprises and professional classes. In Tabulation and the making of Tables, Haynes taught students how to efficiently organize their research findings.[49] In 1910, after the completion of his research, Haynes became the first African American to graduate from the New York School of Philanthropy.[50]

Lindsay, the Director of the School at the time, was very impressed with Haynes's research on the migrations of blacks into New York and their employment. He insisted that Haynes further his studies outside of the Bureau of Research and use his findings

for his doctoral dissertation at Columbia. Haynes took his advice and submitted “The Negro at Work in New York City” to the Columbia faculty in 1912, which was accepted and then published in the Columbia University Press series “Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.”[51] This achievement made Dr. Haynes the first African American to receive a Ph.D. at Columbia University.[52]

Haynes split his dissertation into two sections: 1. The Negro as a Wage Earner and 2. The Negro in Business in New York City. Haynes admitted that the published study was “incomplete,” for it was supposed to include a third section, the Negro in the Professions, but his focus on the former two inhibited him from “the securing of a sufficient amount of personally ascertained data for the third.”[53] Besides the omission of the third section, Haynes organized his dissertation in nearly the exact same way as his series of lectures at the School of Philanthropy. Both focus on wage earners, then business enterprises, and if Haynes had completed the third section, professional classes. Additionally, Haynes represented his data findings with tables and graphs interspersed throughout the text.

The Negro at Work in New York City was one of the only sociological studies of urban conditions among blacks in the North at the time. Haynes acknowledged W.E.B. Du Bois’s *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899) and R. R. Wright Jr.’s *The Negro in Pennsylvania* (1908) as the only other comparable studies of blacks in northern urban settings. Both Du Bois and Wright focused on Philadelphia.[54] Through historical research and sociological methods and investigation, Du Bois outlines his study into four sections: 1. The history of the Negro people in the city, 2. Their present condition considered as individuals, 3. Their condition as an organized social group, and 4. Their physical and social environment. He lays out the historical precedents for African American migration and discrimination and delineates the conditions of blacks in Philadelphia. In the end, he finds that “the Negro problem looked at in one way is but the old world questions of ignorance, poverty, crime, and the dislike of the stranger.”[55] Du Bois contends that the problems facing African Americans are not “hopelessly complex,” and thus solvable, for they are evocative of the same prejudices and oppressions that have plagued mankind throughout history.[56]

Haynes's dissertation, though less comprehensive, makes a similar assertion. He presents his thesis in the first chapter, arguing that "the Negro, along with the white population, is coming to the city to stay" and "that the problems which grow out of his maladjustment to the new urban environment are fixable by methods similar to those that help other elements of the population."^[57] This argument opposed the commonly-held belief that the African American migration from the South to northern cities was temporary, and that the causes were "of a different kind from those moving other populations," namely whites. Furthermore, he challenged the contention that this migration "can result only in dire disaster both to [the African American] and to the community into which he moves."^[58] In his memoirs, Haynes recalls that in his study "the more data I gathered on the movement of white and Negro population from Southern counties," the more evident it became that blacks "were being influenced by the same economic and social forces drawing them to urban centers as the white" and that their population would continue to increase.^[59] Similar to Du Bois's argument concerning Philadelphia blacks, Haynes found that the issues facing blacks in New York were solvable, for they arose from the same causes that affected urban whites, only exacerbated by racial prejudice. In other words, both Haynes and Du Bois were challenging the popular premise of the "Negro problem," the idea that the "disasters" of the northern migrations were the fault of blacks' inferiority, rather than structural economic and social inequalities aggravated and intensified by racism.

In the first chapter, Haynes outlines the phenomenon of African American migration to New York City. Through statistics and historical analysis, he finds that black population growth corresponded to improvements in livelihood brought by better housing conditions, as well as progress in personal hygiene and municipal sanitation and inspection. However, the primary reason for population growth was "by migration: that is, short distance movements by progressive stages from the more rural districts toward the larger centers." Haynes outlines four main causes of greater concentrations of both blacks and whites in cities. The first is "The Divorce of Men from the Soil." In this, Haynes argues that agricultural and scientific innovation has reduced the number of laborers needed to work on farms and plantations. Second is "The Growth of Commercial Centers," or the rising prominence of trade in cities and their locational

significance. The third cause is “The Growth of Industrial Centers,” or the emergence of factories and modern transportation and communication, which “draws populations away from rural districts to the industrial centers.” Finally, Haynes discusses “Secondary or Individual Causes,” of which he describes three main factors: 1. Industrialization was met with economically motivated workers, 2. Legislation shifted legal land tenure and centralized “governmental machinery” in cities, among other legal changes, and 3. Cities offered better social advantages such as education, higher standards of living, intellectual pursuits, and “varied amusements.”[60]

Haynes describes other causes that specifically affected African Americans, but he contends that those causes were secondary. For example, he examines the effect of Jim Crow legislation. Haynes argues that restrictions on the “rights and privileges of persons of color in Southern communities leads some of them to migrate North.” African Americans believed the North offered greater liberty, however Haynes asserts that blacks “will be affected in a manner similar to that of the Southern white population.”[61] Haynes’s research convinced him that while the effect of anti-black racism was a factor for many individuals, economic incentive was the most influential determinant for migration among whites and blacks alike.

In the second section on wage earners, Haynes sourced the 1905 New York State Census, as well his own personal canvassing, to present the neighborhood segregation of black wage-earner population in New York. Haynes chose four assembly districts, pulling from 2,500 black families, as well as 73 families (212 people) and 153 individuals that he personally canvassed block-to-block, representing approximately a fourth of the black population in Manhattan in 1905. Haynes gathered material between January of 1909 and January of 1910, carefully designing his study “to be reasonably conclusive for the wage-earning element of the whole Negro population.” He used tables and neighborhood diagrams to clearly show the segregation of black wage earners, and subsequently, their concentration in areas plagued with low standards of living.[62]

In the third section on wage earners, Haynes chronicles the black population by sex, age, nativity, marital condition, and family/living conditions. He describes the general condition of black wage earners as mostly “young persons and adults,” who migrated

from the South and the West Indies. However, they often do not “survive or remain in the City to a very old age.” Furthermore, because of low incomes and high rents, married couples, individuals, and “broken families” all lodge together, which Haynes argues “seriously [interferes] with normal family life.”[63]

The last two sections on wage earners focus on blacks’ occupations, as well as their wages and work efficiency. Through his research, Haynes found that most blacks held occupations in domestic and personal service due in part to their “historical conditions of servitude, of a prejudice on the part of white workmen and employers.” However, he notes that there has been a steady increase of blacks getting employment outside of these spheres between 1890, 1900, and 1905. Although this is “prophetic of a probable widening scope” of employment for African Americans, Haynes points out that restricted options contribute to a low standard of living.[64] Furthermore, Haynes found that blacks received inadequate wages, largely due to their exclusion from white-dominated unions. Women were particularly exploited for their personal and domestic labor. Low wages necessitated black families to make rent by housing lodgers, which according to Haynes, “[deprived] children of mothers’ care, [kept] the standard of living at a minimum, and thus [made] the family unable to protect itself from both physical and moral disease.”[65]

In the section on business enterprises, Haynes found that racial prejudice prevented black businessmen from gaining experience, and subsequently, financial grounding. Haynes interviewed 332 of the 475 African American businessmen in Manhattan listed in a 1909 black business directory.[66] From his findings, he concluded black businesses were constrained because “large capital was lacking and extended experience is yet to be gained.” Haynes believed if blacks were given equal opportunity, they would have the “thrift and initiative to enter many lines of business.”[67]

In the end, Haynes produced his dissertation to provide a factual foundation upon which the problems of African Americans in New York could be ameliorated. *The Negro at Work in New York City’s* objective was to “be a small contribution to the end that efforts for betterment of urban conditions may be founded upon facts.”[68] Haynes’s dissertation demonstrates his adherence to the School of Philanthropy’s prioritization of

scientifically guided resolutions to social issues. In the preface, Haynes gives thanks to his Columbia and School of Philanthropy professors and advisors, as well as the Bureau of Social Research “for making the investigation possible.”[69] Haynes believed that his research would shed light on the devastating urban conditions of African Americans, prompting interracial cooperation and the eventual uplift of the urban black population. He wrote, “The problem alike of statesman, race leader, and philanthropist is to understand the conditions of segregation and oppositions due to race prejudice” that black wage earners and businessmen face, and to “co-operate with the Negro in his effort to learn to live in the city as well as the country.”[70]

Haynes’s dissertation covers a peculiar time in American history, for he conducted his research just before the Great Migration, the massive migration of African Americans from the South to urban centers around the country (an estimated six million) between 1910 and 1970.[71] After the formation of the National Urban League, the continued influx of blacks into New York City, as well as other urban centers around the nation, would be the central focus of Haynes’s work for many years. New York University Ph.D. Daniel Perlman argues that the sociological tools Haynes gained from Columbia and particularly the School of Philanthropy were fundamental to his future work. Regarding the School of Philanthropy’s teachings, Perlman writes,

These were training principles that Haynes used to form the foundation of his developing philosophy. The scientific collection of data and the analysis and presentation of facts along with suggestions for meeting specific situations – all these techniques became part of Haynes’s concept of solving interracial problems by reason rather than emotion, by facts rather than preconceived notions.[72]

Not only was Haynes’s education in New York the basis upon which he produced his dissertation, but it also served as the backbone for his co-founding of one of the most groundbreaking civil rights organizations in the United States, the National Urban League. During Haynes’s time at Columbia and the School of Philanthropy, he started to develop an idea of what was lacking in philanthropic organizations that were trying to help the growing urban black populations. Like Du Bois, Haynes sought to show through actual *research* that urban black poverty stemmed not from an inherent inferiority, but

from structural socioeconomic inequality intensified by racism. Furthermore, these issues could be addressed by grounding initiatives in sociological research. It was at Columbia and the School of Philanthropy where Haynes and his associates framed the foundation of the National Urban League, and conducted its early efforts to mitigate the problems facing blacks during the onset of the Great Migration.

Part III: The Formation of the National Urban League, its Early Efforts, and the Fellowship Program

While Haynes was conducting his study for the Bureau of Social Research, he also picked up a job at the Committee for Improving the Industrial Condition of Negroes (CIICN). In 1903, president of the Long Island Railroad William H. Baldwin Jr. called for a meeting to discuss the economic conditions of blacks in New York City. White and black activists were invited such as W.E.B. Du Bois and Felix Adler (later Haynes's professor of social and political ethics at Columbia) of the Ethical Culture Society, and Dr. William Bulkley, the first black principal in the consolidated NYC public school system, among others.[73] As a response to Baldwin's meeting and the "general recognition of the serious industrial and economic handicap under which the Negro labors, not only by reason of race discrimination, but also by reason of lack of industrial training," Bulkley formed the CIICN in 1906.[74] The CIICN established practical classes on hygiene and nutrition for children and adults, as well as an evening school for young adults on commercial and vocational training. One of Haynes's tasks for the organization was to interview graduates from Bulkley's schools and to help them find employment, often through negotiation with mostly white employers.[75]

During his time at the CIICN, Haynes came in close contact with another organization called the National League for the Protection of Colored Women (NLPCW). The NLPCW was co-founded in 1906 by Frances H. Kellor, who like Haynes, was a New York School of Philanthropy graduate. The organization was formed "as the outcome of an investigation of employment agencies in several Northern cities which revealed abuses connected with the emigration of Negro women from the South." In response, the NLPCW directed these emigrants to "proper lodgings," helped them find "suitable

employment and wholesome recreation,” in addition to placing members in Norfolk, Philadelphia and Baltimore to find emigrants coming in from boats and trains.[76] The founding study was conducted by Kellor and was one of the first sociological studies of urban racism. Kellor revealed white employers’ considerable exploitation of young black women in particular through an examination of over 700 private employment offices.[77] Bulkley also happened to be an original member of the NLPCW, whose leadership at times were “virtually interchangeable” with that of the CIICN.[78]

Haynes also grew close to Ruth Standish Baldwin, widow of the Long Island Railroad president William H. Baldwin Jr. and vice chairman of the NLPCW. Like her husband, Baldwin never advocated for complete equality between blacks and whites, but she did possess personal concern for the “injustices done to blacks,” as well as a Quaker-driven belief in philanthropy.[79] Baldwin subscribed to the philosophy of Booker T. Washington, a close associate of her husband. She believed that blacks should “be patient and not to attempt to force alleged rights – They will come just as rapidly as [they] are worthy to receive them.”[80]

While Haynes believed that interracial cooperation was integral to the amelioration of racial prejudice and the problems African Americans faced in urban settings, he recognized that the organizations in which he was involved were established and run by upper class white philanthropists. Haynes understood that they did not fully support a strategy of interracial cooperation. At this point, Haynes did not want to establish a new organization, but rather he wanted the organizations he was affiliated with to be racially inclusive.[81] As Perlman suggests, “Haynes was beginning to formulate his personal philosophy of educating the white public to live up to the moral responsibilities inherent in the Christian ethic and the Declaration of Independence.”[82] Accordingly, the CIICN, NLPCW and other social welfare organizations must dedicate their operations in large part to securing blacks education and training, particularly in social work, and to include them in their efforts. At the time, Haynes knew of only two other trained black social workers: Eva Bowle, who later became a National Board member of the YMCA, and B.F. Lee, a Wilberforce, Ohio State and Indiana University graduate.[83]

Haynes's first attempt to execute his ideas was with his former colleagues at the YMCA. Haynes suggested that they integrate a social work training program for blacks in Southern colleges, but they declined his idea because they felt it was out of their organization's scope of responsibilities.[84] Next, Haynes shared his ideas with Kellor and Baldwin, who agreed with him wholeheartedly. Coincidentally, the CIICN had just formed a special subcommittee to consider expanding their operations. Baldwin fought to get Haynes a secretary position within the new subcommittee, and arranged for him to present his ideas at a meeting that included both NLPCW and CIICN members. Surprisingly, the CIICN refused his proposition for expansion, but this did not halt Haynes's ambitions.[85]

In response, Haynes and Baldwin established their own organization, The Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes (CUCAN), which elected Haynes as its first Director. The NUL to this day hails the launch of CUCAN at their first meeting on May 19, 1910, held at the New York School of Philanthropy, as the official founding of the organization.[86] In addition to Haynes and Baldwin, Kellor, Bulkley and several other members of the CIICN and NLPCW joined the committee. Edwin R.A. Seligman, one of Haynes's Columbia professors of economics, accepted the committee's chairmanship, and other original members included Felix Adler, Edward T. Devine, Roswell C. McCrea, the School of Philanthropy's associate director and Haynes's research supervisor, and Haynes's former classmate, Edward E. Pratt. [87]

Many of the CUCAN's foundational objectives were nearly identical to that of the NLPCW and CIICN. These included the "improving of housing and neighborhood conditions" for blacks, addressing the fact African Americans were "ill prepared to grapple with an intensive industrial competition" due to a "race prejudice which is often insurmountable," the "provision of such amusement and recreation centres as would lead to the profitable use of leisure," as well as the protection of black women from exploitation. However, where the CUCAN distinguished itself was in its recognition of "the need of competent trained Negro men and women who shall also possess the spirit of social service," and to include them in the social welfare organizations serving their communities.[88] Furthermore, building on what Haynes learned at the School of

Philanthropy, their operations would be based firmly on *sociological research* of the migration of blacks and whites from the South to northern cities, and their living/working conditions in said cities.[89] As the official magazine of the NAACP, *The Crisis*, reported in 1914 with the CUCAN's founding, "a new era was reached in the handling of the city problem as it affected the Negroes." [90]

The CUCAN quickly developed a five-year plan of work to carry out their goals. Their program included the "registration and cooperation of existing social agencies," the "improvement of housing and neighborhood conditions," the "development of employment agencies and facilities," as well as "thrift agencies and cooperative business enterprises," the "provision of amusement and recreation facilities," the "improvement in the relation of the Negro church and other religious institutions to the social conditions," and finally, "cooperation with workers in other cities in exchange of methods and in securing and training of workers." [91] Some of the CUCAN's early accomplishments were the accumulation of reliable data of numerous City institutions, preliminary arrangements with the NLPCW in Harlem to improve the neighborhood and build a recreation center and playground, monthly conferences "of workers among Negro boys" in churches and social agencies in Manhattan and Brooklyn, and a "Fresh Air" model summer camp for African American boys.[92]

Other accomplishments regarding the training of black social workers came in part with Haynes's acceptance of an associate professorship at Fisk in the Department of Social Science during the CUCAN's founding. He entered his alma mater in part to organize a new Sociology Department, as well as to establish a program of social work training for blacks at the University. In addition to courses in economics, sociology, labor problems, and social work, students would be given "special training" in "methods of social work and in research and investigation," studying topics such as "housing, employment, delinquency, as they find them in Nashville." The Bethlehem House Program, as it came to be called, was meant to train prospective staff of the CUCAN and other social welfare agencies. Haynes ran the New York CUCAN office through an appointed assistant, Eugene Kinckle Jones, during the academic year while he was in Nashville, and agreed to return to the City in May or June of 1911 to "establish the work here." [93]

Shortly after the CUCAN's formation, there was worry that the organization was duplicating the work of the CIICN and NLPCW, prompting discussions of their consolidation. As stated previously, the three organizations shared many of the same philanthropic goals, so on March 31, the CUCUN established a plan to form the American Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, a consolidation of the CUCAN, CIICN, and NLPCW with "the purposes and aims of the new committee [being] practically identical with those of the" present one.[94] After months of negotiation over budgeting, organizational autonomy, policies, etc., the three organizations consolidated to form the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes (NLUCAN), or the Urban League, on October 16, 1911. Each organization maintained their own field of work, but they all agreed to be subject to the unified Executive Board.[95] The new unified objectives of the NLUCAN, of which Haynes became the first Executive Director, were:

1. To bring about co-ordination and co-operation among existing agencies and organizations for improving the industrial, economic, social and spiritual condition of Negroes and to develop other agencies and organizations, where necessary.
2. To secure and train Negro social workers.
3. To make studies of the industrial, economic, social and spiritual conditions among Negroes.
4. To promote, encourage, assist and engage in any and all kinds of work for improving the industrial, economic, social and spiritual conditions among Negroes.[96]

The Crisis reported in 1914 that since the NLUCAN's formation, "there has been close co-operation with practically every agency in the city working for colored people." [97] The NLUCAN acted as a coordinator between social welfare organizations in New York and Nashville, and by the end of 1912, it expanded and established branch/affiliate organizations in Baltimore, Memphis, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Louisville, Richmond, and Norfolk.[98] In addition to serving as "a clearing house for information," the NLUCAN was the first organization of its kind "to make a consolidated appeal to the community

for financial support.”[99] The NLUCAN’s efforts to expand and maintain financial footing demonstrated their aspiration for an interracially supported organization, for they appealed to both black and white individuals and institutions.[100]

In its early years, the NLUCAN established new initiatives, but also developed many of the ones the CUCAN, NLPCW and CIICN had already began. Within the NLUCAN, the NLPCW continued their preventive work, meeting migrants from incoming boats and trains, holding a monthly “Conference of Workers Among Girls,” and establishing neighborhood clubs (including four girls’ clubs). Furthermore, the NLPCW expanded their probationary care of women. The NLUCAN 1911-1912 report states that “the probation work of the League has grown during the year to such proportions” that, due to understaffing, they were only able to handle 273 cases of the many more available. The NLPCW also formed a committee to raise funds and organize a “Home of Temporary Detention for Delinquent Colored Girls,” in addition to their probation officers’ handling of 1,888 delinquency cases across New York, Philadelphia, and Norfolk between 1911 and 1912.[101]

The CIICN also expanded their efforts, working with contractors and tradesmen to find 153 black men and women jobs in New York between 1911 and 1912, and investigating black individuals’ rejections. These jobs included “cooks, house-workers, waiters, elevator men, porters, caretakers, janitors, salesgirls, stenographers, chauffeurs, painters and skilled mechanics.” Other initiatives included the organization of conferences for black businessmen and other workers, studying the need for more evening trade schools, and continuing lectures on “The Rights and Duties of Landlords and Tenants.”[102]

The CUCAN continued to facilitate the cooperation of the many social welfare organizations in New York City, collecting data on “every social welfare agency doing work among the Negroes of Greater New York.” Additionally, the CUCAN formed a Housing Bureau to oversee the improvement of housing conditions in New York, expanded their “Fresh-Air Work” during the summer, and established a monthly “Conference of Workers Among Boys”, which helped create two church clubs for boys and a settlement boys’ club.[103] While all these projects played a significant role for

the NLUCAN, according to historian emeritus Nancy J. Weiss of Princeton University, “Creating a program to train black social workers was the Urban League’s most important accomplishment during its earliest years,” and a vital part of this program was the CUCAN’s fellowship program.[104]

Although Haynes was mostly preoccupied with his development of the Bethlehem House, he was also a member of the NLUCAN’s Fellowship Committee. The CUCAN wanted to ensure that black college graduates interested in social work were given proper training at schools with social work programs such as Fisk, Columbia, and the New York School of Philanthropy. Haynes was in charge of distributing applications, creating questions for the fellowship exam, supervising the applicants’ trial field work in Nashville, and during the program’s earliest years, he was the fellows’ main supervisor. [105] Once the candidates were chosen, Haynes would send their applications to the School of Philanthropy for admission.[106] Eligible candidates would then be given an entrance examination by the New York School of Philanthropy. The exam asked applicants to define specific terms such as “Charity,” “Death rate,” “Probation,” and “Standard of Living.” Additionally, the exam asked broader questions, testing the students’ knowledge of social work such as “What kinds of facts (or statistics) are needed as a basis for social work?” and “What reforms in local government would further social welfare and why?”[107]

Appointed fellows were required to take regular and laboratory courses at the School of Philanthropy and Columbia University. Each fellow was given duties, or “executive experience” in the NLUCAN’s office and in the field, “an opportunity to labor or make observation in each department of the League’s work, thereby becoming thoroughly acquainted with the needs of urban Negroes and undertaking methods of improvement, correction and reform.” This included one month on “Boys Work and Probation,” six weeks on “Housing and Neighborhood Conditions,” six weeks on “Industrial Conditions,” and a month on “Fresh Air and Recreation.” They also did field work for other social welfare agencies in the city, such as Victoria Earle Matthews’s White Rose Home, and the COS. Fellows were required to give the Director, or Associate Director personal

reports every week and to read Haynes's dissertation, *The Negro at Work in New York City*, once it was published.[108]

In the beginning, fellows at the New York School of Philanthropy were given scholarship loans in the form of tuition waivers, which the students were expected to pay back once they found employment. However, as the program developed, New York fellows were given a \$500 stipend (\$200 for Nashville fellows) to pay the \$35-50 per month living expenses. The School of Philanthropy provided the fellows \$100 in the form of tuition. Eventually, the Urban League began to receive funding from many different sources such as foundations, individual philanthropists, and organizations. [109]

Emanuel W. Houstoun, graduate of Atlanta Baptist College (renamed Morehouse College), was awarded the CUCAN's first fellowship in 1910 before the formation of the NLUCAN, and he split his time between his social work studies at the School of Philanthropy and Columbia, and his job as the Committee's part-time field secretary before Eugene Kinckle Jones's hiring.[110] Due to his inefficiency as field secretary, Houstoun was eventually let go, but Haynes rejected Secretary Edward. E. Pratt's suggestion to drop him as a fellow. Pratt reported that Houstoun was "very slow, having turned in but four full reports and has been on the job for 3 ½ months." Houstoun was "so unsatisfactory" that by February of 1911, Haynes and other members of the CUCAN were determined to fire him.[111]

However, Haynes changed his mind and believed the Committee should give him another trial month to see if he could make up his work. Haynes pitied Houstoun because the CUCAN "appointed him to a fellowship for the college-year without condition...but we are surely morally bound." Haynes wrote to Pratt that "we drew him away from what would have probably been a school-year employment," and that keeping him would be "worth much less than a probable criticism against the Committee." Haynes feared that "such a precedent in offering stipends to people for training would work against us in getting others." [112] While Haynes's decision to keep Houstoun was to some degree an act of sympathy for his economic concerns, he was also worried about the continuation of the fellowship program. Although Houstoun was a failure in the eyes of the CUCAN, his appointment as a fellow foreshadowed the

program's expansion. Haynes could not let the CUCAN's fellowship program die because it was essential to his vision, even if that meant keeping an inadequate worker.

Shortly after Houstoun's appointment, the NLUCAN picked Ellie A. Walls, a 1911 graduate of Fisk University, and James H. Hubert, graduate of Atlanta Baptist College, as their new fellows to be trained at the School of Philanthropy and Columbia, in addition to two other fellowships at Fisk.[113] Walls and Hubert helped to facilitate boys' and girls' clubs and investigate City institutions and amusement centers. They also made studies that the NLUCAN deemed "serviceable as bases of practical efforts" entitled "Dance Halls and Public Dances of the City," "Negro Girl Offender," and "Negro Woman Adult Offender." [114] Fellows were expected to dedicate at least one year to social work after their academic training, and were encouraged to continue in the field thereafter. After receiving her M.A. from the School of Philanthropy in 1912, Walls went on to work as the Women's Protective Secretary of the League in New York until 1913, when she became the Director in the development of the Training Center in Nashville between 1913 and 1914. However, due to the financial needs of her mother and the lack of pay in social work, Walls ended up teaching at a public school in Houston, Texas.[115]

Hubert completed his training in New York, but was not eligible for a degree from the School of Philanthropy. He went on to become a general social and educational superintendent in Gay Head, Massachusetts, "of an isolated community of mixed Indian and Negro population...developing a community, amusement and social center, supervising the community school and church and forming the connecting link between this needed settlement and other sections of the state." [116] Hubert later became the Secretary of the New York Urban League. Other examples are Garrie W. Moore (1912-13), graduate of Morehouse college 1912, who went on to become a professor of Sociology at his B.A. alma mater, and Forrester B. Washington (1915-16), who organized and directed the Detroit League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes and later became the director of the Atlanta School of Social Work, as well as the Secretary of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia. By the end of the 1910s, eight women and

nine men became fellows of the NLUCAN, thirteen of which were at the School of Philanthropy.[117]

By 1935, the National Urban League (the NLUCAN's new name after 1920) had expanded their fellowship program to several schools, and had awarded seventy-seven fellowships, thirty-seven to men and forty to women. The majority were given at the School of Philanthropy (45), followed by the University of Pittsburgh (13), University of Chicago (6), Fisk University (4), Bryn Mawr College (2), Carnegie Tech (2), and one each at Columbia, University of Pennsylvania, Ohio State, Simmons College, and the Atlanta School of Social Work. The ex-fellows found residence and work across the United States in cities such as New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, Atlanta, Washington D.C., and Baltimore among others. Thirteen of the fellows went on to become case workers with families, or children's agencies. Ten became involved with emergency relief organizations, and four became professors of sociology. Other occupations the fellows took up included professorships of economics, positions in the fields of recreation, health, and religion, as well as parole officers, settlement house heads, and directors of Big Brother and Big Sister Organizations.[118]

The Urban League's fellowship program proved successful not only because it enrolled black students into prestigious graduate programs, but also for its subsequent placements of its ex-fellows into various lines of social work. Haynes's early efforts at the CUCAN and later the NLUCAN were remarkable in large part because he started the movement for racial integration in social welfare agencies, allowing blacks to address the urban problems of their own communities. Haynes understood that the socioeconomic plight of urban blacks would not be improved unless solutions were backed by sociological research, and furthermore, the inclusion of African Americans in these efforts. Haynes's education at Columbia and the School of Philanthropy set the foundation for these philosophies, and remained sources of African American advancement as they were used as social work training schools for the Urban League's fellows.

Conclusion

Haynes was one of the founders, early leaders and “guiding voices” of the Urban League, but his professorship at Fisk kept him from the New York headquarters for most of the year, and internal rivalry plagued the organization. Owing to these factors, Haynes was no longer affiliated with the organization by 1917.[119] He went on to serve as the Director of Negro Economics in the United States Department of Labor and later as the first Executive Secretary of the Department of Race Relations for the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America until he retired in 1947.[120] Haynes’s story is significant both for his perseverance in the face of Jim Crow to obtain higher education as a black man, and for his dedication to science-driven social work to help urban black communities in the beginning of the Great Migration. Despite his economic plight and experience with rampant racism, Haynes obtained four degrees from four world-renowned educational institutions: A B.A. from Fisk University, an M.A. from Yale University and the New York School of Philanthropy, and a Ph.D. from Columbia University.

These are achievements in and of themselves, but Haynes’s ambitions did not end with his academic education. It was during his years at Columbia and the New York School of Philanthropy that he became one of the only black people trained in social work. These institutions provided him the sociological tools he needed to combat the assertion that the urban poverty resulting from blacks migrating to northern cities, or the “Negro problem,” was a product of blacks’ natural inferiority. Haynes showed through his personal research in *The Negro at Work in New York City* that blacks were migrating to northern cities because of larger socioeconomic trends in America and that their low standard of living in urban settings was a product of general economic inequality intensified by anti-black racism. Furthermore, Haynes believed that social welfare organizations could specifically address the urban problems of African Americans through efforts based on sociological studies like the one he conducted for his dissertation. The “New Philanthropy” Haynes learned at the School of Philanthropy served as the foundation for his social work.

Haynes co-founded the CUCAN with Ruth Standish Baldwin to create an interracial, study-driven social welfare organization. The fact that it was established in the New

York School of Philanthropy and that many of its original members were Columbia, or School of Philanthropy staff bolsters the contention that the organization was a direct product of Haynes's education at these institutions. Furthermore, an integral portion, and one of the League's earliest successes, was the training and securing of black social workers at graduate schools and later social welfare organizations. A testament to Haynes's gratitude to Columbia and the School of Philanthropy can be found in the first pages of his dissertation, but also in the establishment of the Urban League's fellowship program, which put students through social work training at the same institutions he attended to become one of the first African American sociologists. Columbia and the School of Philanthropy not only laid the sociological and philanthropic foundation for Haynes's activism, but also for that of each of his fellows who obtained the same education he did.

This paper primarily focuses on the connections between the formation and early efforts of the NUL and Haynes's education at Columbia and the School of Philanthropy, but it would be incomplete without noting criticisms of Haynes's career. His philosophies and activism place him in the middle of two of the major African American figures of his time: Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois. As Perlman writes, "Haynes agreed with Washington's dicta of thrift and patience, but strongly opposed his passive acceptance of injustice and caste distinction." [121] After all, Haynes led a life of personal advancement, working and fighting his way into higher education and making organizational achievements. He also came from Arkansas, with a foot still in his old life of hard labor and farming. This is evident in his work with the CIICN on vocational schools in New York and other urban settings, as well as his personal relationship with Washington. Like Du Bois, however, Haynes could not accept Washington's acquiescence to white domination, and believed that his Tuskegean philosophy was not as applicable in cities. [122]

On the other side of the coin, Haynes shared the elitism of the "talented tenth," but his efforts were not as politically radical as that of Du Bois. Haynes's higher education put him into the demographic of African Americans whom Du Bois believed "through their knowledge of modern culture could guide the American Negro with a higher

civilization.”[123] Du Bois and Haynes alike can be criticized for possessing an elitist outlook in believing that a small portion of the African American population would be responsible for uplifting the race. While Haynes did not completely follow Du Bois’s more radical protests against the political, social and civil rights infringements against blacks, he did subscribe to some of his Progressive attitudes. For example, in his dissertation, Haynes assumed a moral hazard to African American households with lodgers, who allegedly interfered with the standard nuclear family. Haynes was a proponent of the politics of respectability and racial uplift that held impoverished blacks to a standard that is inherently racialized, gendered, and dictated by class lines.[124] This is evident in Urban League fellows Walls and Hubert’s reports entitled “Negro Girl Offender,” and “Negro Woman Adult Offender,” as well as the NLPCW’s work.

Even one of the NLUCAN’s earliest fellows at the School of Philanthropy and Columbia, Chandler Owens, was highly critical of Haynes. Owens graduated from Virginia Union University in 1913 and became a 1913-14 fellow of the Urban League. Upon finishing his studies at the School of Philanthropy, he worked at the New York Colored Orphan Asylum with “satisfactory reports.” Later he became the editor of the *Socialist Messenger*, “the only Radical Negro Magazine,” and became very critical of Haynes for his “compromises [in] the case of the Negro.”[125] Generally, the source of his criticism came from his contention that the NUL was a capitalist organization and that Haynes conceded too much to the white political order.

Due to limitations of focus and space, the conclusion of this paper will not delve into the intricacies of Haynes’s problematic career and philosophies. Nevertheless, it is without question that Haynes made a significant contribution to the advancement of interracial cooperation, the use of sociological research for social work, and the training of African American social workers, in large part with the resources provided by Columbia University and what is today the Columbia School of Social Work. In 1979, the NUL established the George Edmund Haynes Fellowship Program to honor “Haynes’ vision and commitment to the education and training of African Americans interested in human services and planned change.”[126] Today the NUL continues where Haynes left off with numerous programs to tackle the issues facing African Americans in housing,

employment, education and healthcare, operating through twenty-five national programs with an annual budget of approximately \$25 million. Its annual report on African Americans' quality of life in comparison to white Americans, "The State of Black America," is a testament to the Urban League's continuing reliance on sociological research since its inception at the School of Philanthropy.[127]

Further research is necessary to fully understand Columbia's relationship to the National Urban League, not only for personal interest, but to support the respect due to Haynes and his colleagues at Columbia University, especially the School of Social Work. Students and activists should be aware of Haynes's attendance at the University, understand how and why he used the skills he learned as a foundation for his work in civil rights, and finally, learn how Haynes and the NUL used the University as a resource for the first trained black social workers in America. Other recommendations may include the renaming of certain facilities to honor Haynes, the establishment of a scholarship in his name, or any other tangible recognition of his groundbreaking work. This paper is not meant to propagandize Columbia as a place of progressive activism, but rather to uncover the inextricable connections between the University and the NUL, and to provide a basis from which the University can honor a relatively underreported story of the afterlives of American slavery.

APPENDIX

COS – Charity Organization Society of New York, founded by Josephine Shaw Lowell in 1882

CUCAN – Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes. The first iteration of the National Urban League, founded on May 19, 1910.

CIICN – Committee for Improving the Industrial Condition of Negroes, formed by William Bulkley in 1906, and where Haynes was employed before the formation of the CUCAN.

NLPCW – National League for the Protection of Colored Women, co-founded by Frances H. Kellor in 1906, and affiliated with the CIICN.

NLUCAN – National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, founded on October 16, 1911, and a consolidation of the CUCAN, CIICN, and NLPCW. The second iteration of the National Urban League. Also referred to as the Urban League.

NUL – National Urban League, renamed in 1920. The current name of the organization.

Endnotes

- [1] Daniel Perlman, "Stirring the White Conscience: The Life of George Edmund Haynes." Diss. (New York U, 1972) 1.
- [2] Nancy J. Weiss. *The National Urban League, 1910-1940*. (New York: Oxford UP, 1974) 3-4.
- [3] Perlman, 7; Jessica Salo, "Haynes, George Edmund (1880-1960)." *Blackpast.org*.
- [4] Samuel Kelton Roberts. "Crucible For a Vision: The Work of George Edmund Haynes and the Commission on Race Relations 1922-1947." Diss. (Columbia University, 1974) 41.
- [5] Perlman, 9.
- [6] Roberts, 41; Perlman, 8-9; *Blackpast.org*.
- [7] Perlman, 9-10.
- [8] Perlman, 10-11. See Perlman, pages 10-16 for a more detailed history of Fisk's founding.
- [9] Roberts, 42-43.
- [10] Perlman, 16-18.
- [11] *Blackpast.org*
- [12] W.E.B Du Bois and Augustus Granville Dill, eds. *The College-Bred Negro American*. No. 15. (Atlanta: Atlanta UP, 1910) 48.
- [13] Roberts, 55.
- [14] George E. Haynes, "Memoirs," section V, p. 7, cited in Roberts, 55.
- [15] Ibid.
- [16] Roberts, 56.

[17] Iris Carlton-La Ney, "Notes on a Forgotten Black Social Worker and Sociologist: George Edmund Haynes." *The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare* September 10.3 (1983) 531.

[18] Robert, 56.

[19] Haynes, "Memoir," Section V, p. 9b, cited in Roberts 58.

[20] William Graham Sumner to Whom It May Concern, March 28, 1909, cited in Roberts, 58.

[21] Perlman, 30-31

[22] Perlman, 45-46; Weiss, 30.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Haynes Memoirs, cited in Perlman, 48.

[25] Roberts, 59; "Introduction." Introduction. *The Columbia University School of Social Work: A Centennial Celebration*. Ed. Ronald A. Feldman and Sheila B. Kamerman. (New York: Columbia UP, 2001) 1.

[26] Perlman, 51; Roberts 59.

[27] Perlman, 50.

[28] Albert O. Wright, "The New Philanthropy," in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction* (Boston, 1896) 4.

[29] Ibid, 5.

[30] Roberts, 59; Feldman and Kamerman, 1.

[31] W.B.M. and Ronald A. Feldman, "A Century of Curriculums and Celebrations" in *The Columbia University School of Social Work: A Centennial Celebration*, 82-83.

[32] Ibid, 83.

[33] Hindy Lauer Schachter, "The New York School of Philanthropy, the Bureau of Municipal Research, and the Trail of the Missing Women: A Public Administration History Detective Story." *Administration & Society* 43.1 (2011) 7.

[34] Year-Book of the New York School of Philanthropy, 1906-1907.

[35] Perlman, 53.

[36] Bulletin of the New York School of Philanthropy, 1907-1908, 20.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Schachter, 8. Weiss, 31.

[39] Schachter, 8.

[40] Perlman, 53.

[41] Bulletin of the New York School of Philanthropy, "Report of the Director," 1909-1910, 8.

[42] Bulletin of the New York School of Philanthropy, 1907-1908, 18.

[43] Ibid, 17-18; Perlman, 54.

[44] Bulletin of the New York School of Philanthropy, 1909 Summer Session, 58.

[45] Bulletin of the New York School of Philanthropy, 1907-1908, 2.

[46] Bulletin of the New York School of Philanthropy, 1909-1910, 93.

[47] Roberts, 60.

[48] Bulletin of the New York School of Philanthropy, 1909-1910, 12.

[49] Ibid, 16-19. Some of the "Methods of Research and Investigation" units were omitted to emphasize the course's key curriculum.

[50] *blackpast.org*.

[51] Roberts, 60; Carlton-La Ney, 534.

[52] Weiss, 30.

[53] George Edmund Haynes. *The Negro at Work in New York City: A Study in Economic Progress*. Diss. Columbia University, 1912. (New York: Columbia UP, 1912) 7-8.

[54] Ibid, 8.

[55] W.E.B. Du Bois. *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1899) 8, 385.

[56] Ibid, 385-386.

[57] Haynes, 14.

[58] Ibid, 13-14.

[59] Haynes Memoirs, cited in Perlman, 55.

[60] Haynes, 43-44.

[61] Ibid, 33.

[62] Ibid, 7, 50-51, 53.

[63] Ibid, 65.

[64] Ibid, 77.

[65] Ibid, 89.

[66] Ibid, 98-99.

[67] Ibid, 108.

[68] Ibid, 42.

[69] Ibid, 7.

[70] Ibid, 33.

[71] "The Great Migration, 1910 to 1970." *U.S. Census*. U.S. Department of Commerce, 13 Sept. 2012.

[72] Perlman, 54.

[73] Perlman, 61-62; Roberts, 62; Weiss, 42.

[74] Bulletin of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, 1912, 6.

[75] Roberts, 62. Haynes's report to the CIICN on white employers' attitudes toward African Americans in manufacturing, mechanical establishments, and building trades eventually served as a portion of *The Negro at Work in New York City*. Perlman, 64.

[76] Bulletin of the National Urban League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, 1912, 6.

[77] Perlman, 64-65.

[78] Roberts, 63.

[79] Ibid.

[80] W.H. Baldwin, Jr., "The Present Problem of Negro Education," *Journal of Social Sciences*, XXXVII (1899) 56, cited in Perlman, 67; For further reading on Ruth Standish Baldwin consult Weiss, 34-40, and Perlman, 66-68.

[81] Perlman, 68. Weiss, 33.

[82] Perlman, 69.

[83] Ibid, 70.

[84] Weiss, 33-34.

[85] Perlman, 71.

[86] “Minutes of the First Meeting of the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes Held at The School of Philanthropy, September 29, 1910.” L. Hollingsworth Wood papers, 1910-1953. RBML, Columbia University, Box 5, “Minutes (c)” folder, 1, 4; Perlman, 72.

[87] Ibid, 4-5; Weiss, 41.

[88] “Minutes of the First Meeting of the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes Held at The School of Philanthropy, September 29, 1910,” 1-2

[89] Weiss, 42-43.

[90] “National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes,” *The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races* 8.5 (1914), *The Modernist Journals Project*, 243.

[91] “Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes. 43 East 22nd Street, New York City.” L. Hollingsworth Wood Papers, 1910-1953. RBML, Columbia University, Box 5, “Minutes (c)” folder, 2-3.

[92] Ibid; “Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes Bulletin 11. January 1st to Aug. 1st. 1911.” L. Hollingsworth Wood Papers, 1910-1953. RBML, Columbia University, Box 5, “Minutes (c)” folder, 3-5.

[93] “Minutes of the First Meeting of the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes Held at The School of Philanthropy, September 29, 1910,” 2-3; Perlman, 73, 93; Roberts, 64. For further reading on Haynes’s early years at Fisk and the Bethlehem House, consult chapter four of Perlman’s dissertation, Weiss, chapter 6, and La-Ney’s “Notes on a Forgotten Black Social Worker and Sociologist: George Edmund Haynes.” Additionally, for more information on Jones, who later became the Executive Director of the League, consult Felix L. Armfield’s *Eugene Kinckle Jones: The National Urban League and Black Social Work, 1910-1940* (2014).

[94] “Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, Friday, March 31, 1911, at the New York School of Philanthropy.” L.

Hollingsworth Wood papers, 1910-1953. RBML, Columbia University, Box 5, "Minutes (c)" folder, 3-5.

[95] Bulletin of the National League on Urban Among Negroes, 1912, 5. For further reading/research on the NLUCAN's consolidation and committee jurisdictions, consult Perlman, 74-77, Weiss, 43-45, and L. Hollingsworth Wood Papers, 1910-1953, at Columbia University's RBML.

[96] Ibid, 7.

[97] "National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes," 244.

[98] Bulletin of the National League on Urban Among Negroes, 1912, 8-9, 17-19.

[99] "Organizations Consolidate. National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes Formed." *Cleveland Gazette* (Cleveland, OH), Nov. 18, 1911, *Readex*, 1.

[100] Further research on the NLUCAN's appeal for financial support can be found in the National Urban League Records, 1911-1916, and L. Hollingsworth Wood Papers, 1910-1953 in Columbia University's RBML, and Weiss, Chapter six.

[101] Bulletin of the National League on Urban Among Negroes, 1912, 10-12.

[102] Ibid, 16-17.

[103] Ibid, 12-15.

[104] Weiss, 79. The NLUCAN also started a social science scholarship award program in its early years with its affiliated colleges. It was not as successful as the NLUCAN's fellowship program and not directly connected to Columbia so I decided to omit it from this paper. For further research consult Weiss, chapter 5, Iris Carlton-La Ney's "Training African American Social Workers Through the NUL Fellowship Program." *The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare* 21.1 (1994), and the RBML's L. Hollingsworth Wood Papers, 1910-1953 and National Urban League Records, 1911-1916.

[105] Haynes sent letters to black colleges, made announcements at conferences, and advertised the program in newspaper articles to promote the fellowship program.

Further research can be found in Columbia University's RBML, National Urban League Records, 1911-1916, Box 1.

[106] Iris Carlton-La Ney, "Training African American Social Workers Through the NUL Fellowship Program." *The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare* 21.1 (1994), 46.

[107] Ibid, 46-47; "The New York School of Philanthropy Entrance Examination 1913." National Urban League Records, 1911-1916, RBML, Columbia University, Box 1, "Miscellaneous Correspondence" folder.

[108] "Plan of Field Work and Practical Training of Fellows of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes 1914-1915." National Urban League Records, 1911-1916, RBML, Columbia University, Box 1, "Miscellaneous Correspondence" folder, 1-4; Carlton-La Ney, "Training," 49.

[109] Carlton-La Ney, "Training," 48-49; "Budget for Year 1911-1912." L. Hollingsworth Wood Papers, 1910-1953, RBML, Columbia University, Box 5, "Receipts" folder; Weiss, 78.

[110] "Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, Friday, March 31, 1911, at the New York School of Philanthropy," 1; "Training Negro Social Workers: The Story of the Urban League Fellowships." *Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life*, Vol. 12-13, 1934-35, 333.

[111] "Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes. Feb. 6th 1911." L. Hollingsworth Wood Papers, 1910-1953, RBML, Columbia University, Box 5, "minutes (c)" folder, 2.

[112] "Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, Friday, March 31, 1911, at the New York School of Philanthropy," 1.

[113] National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes Report 1910-1911, 16.

[114] Bulletin of the National Urban League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, 1912, 15.

[115] Weiss, 79; "State of Present Location and Work of Former Fellows of the League" from 1914. National Urban League Records, 1911-1916, RBML, Columbia University, Box 1, "Edward E. Pratt Correspondence" folder, 1.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Ibid, 2; Weiss, 79; L. Hollingsworth Wood, "The Urban League Movement." *The Journal of Negro History* 9, no. 2 (1924): 120; Carlton-La Ney, "Training," 49.

[118] "Training Negro Social Workers: The Story of the Urban League Fellowships," 333-34.

[119] Roberts, 63.

[120] *Blackpast.org*; For further biographical details, read both Roberts and Perlman's dissertation cited throughout this paper.

[121] Perlman, 79.

[122] Ibid, 79-80.

[123] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches*. (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1903), 58, cited in Perlman, 80.

[124] Perlman, 80; Roberts, 44-45. For further reading on criticisms of Haynes's career and philosophies consult Perlman, 77-82, Roberts, chapter two, and Touré Reed's *Not Alms but Opportunity: The Urban League and the Politics of Racial Uplift, 1910-1950*. Additionally, for reference to the NUL's connections to female reformatories in New York and the politics of respectability consult Cheryl D. Hicks's *Talk With You Like a Woman: African American Women, Justice, and Reform in New York, 1890-1935*.

[125] "State of Present Location and Work of Former Fellows of the League" 2; Carlton-La Ney, "Training," 51.

[126] Ibid, 52.

[127] "What We Do." *Nul.iamempowered.com*. For further information on their current operations, visit their just cited website.

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