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Amber Jones Date

"A Liberal Attitude Towards Truth and Men": John Hope and Manhood Development at Morehouse College, 1899-1931

By

Amber Jones

Master of Arts

Division of Educational Studies

____

Vanessa Siddle Walker, EdD

Advisor

____

Leroy Davis, PhD

Committee Member

____

C. Aiden Downey, PhD

Committee Member

____

Bryant Marks, PhD

Committee Member

Accepted:

____

Lisa A. Tedesco, Ph.D. Dean of the James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies

___________________ Date

“A Liberal Attitude Towards Truth and Men”: John Hope and Manhood Development at Morehouse College, 1899-1931

By

Amber Jones

B.A., Truman State University, 2009

Advisor: Vanessa Siddle-Walker, Ed.D

An abstract of
A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of
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By Amber Jones

In a brief biographical sketch soon after John Hope's sudden passing in 1936, Sociologist and Educator, Charles S. Johnson wrote of John Hope, "He was never lured from his one dominant concern of building men to advertise his opinions on education" [1] Johnson was only one of many who chose to honor the memory of John Hope with an emphasis on his career as an educator and his success at shaping young African American boys into men. The famous Black Historian, Carter G. Woodson as well referred to John Hope as a "Maker of Men" as a disproportional number of men who would become college presidents were taught and shaped by John Hope during his tenure at Morehouse College and Atlanta University.[2] This study explores how John Hope came to be known this way. The study is guided by two questions: (1) What were John Hope's ideas about manhood development and how were they articulated? And (2) How, if at all, were his ideas incorporated into his educational leadership and philosophies?

Throughout his career at Morehouse College, John Hope modeled and advocated a thriving manhood for his students. This idea of manhood was supported by three main factors: The dedication of leadership and community of college men to racial equality, the function of the Negro college to study and understand the needs of the negro community, and the cultivation of individual college men to meet those needs. These conditions contributed to Hope's reputation as a "maker of men" and producer of several college presidents.

[1] Johnson, C.S. (1936). "A Preface to Racial Understanding". Box 65. Folder 4. John Hope presidential papers. Atlanta University Center Archives Collection. Atlanta, Ga.
[2] Torrence, Ridgely. *The story of John Hope*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1948.

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George Sale, the last white president of Morehouse College began his administration in 1898. Sale was a Canadian Baptist Minister who believed in the power of a liberal arts education and the vision of the American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS). The ABHMS had established several schools across the south in the years after the Civil War to address the need for more schools to educate newly freed African Americans. One ABHMS supported school, Morehouse College (previously Augusta Institute) had been established in 1867 to serve African American men. However, like Sale, all of the early presidents, though they had served faithfully and worked to build the institution, had been white. From 1898 to 1906 Sale spent his administrative years building the institution and shaping and defending its ideals[1]. He advocated for a more liberal arts approach to education stating "'We aim not only at intellectual and spiritual culture, but also at social culture'"[2]. Emphasizing a more well-rounded curriculum spoke to Sale's educational vision to develop both the minds and spirits of his students.

For his position on African American men, President Sale faced criticism from entities in the north and south. A northern newspaper in 1895 published an article lambasting southern ABHMS education after an apparent experience with a "poorly equipped" student from one such institution[3]. In reply Sale wrote " 'is there any reason why the minority who show[s] aptitude in these [classical] studies should not be taught them? And if these studies have value for white students, why should they not have the same value for Negroes?'"[4].

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[1] Jones, Edward Allen. *A candle in the dark; a history of Morehouse College*. Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1967.
[2] Ibid., pg. 55.
[3] Ibid., pg. 56.
[4] Ibid.

Just as Sale defended his students against racially based assumptions of their intelligence, he also believed in their rights to claim their own identities in the face of oppression. His last speech as president in the commencement ceremony in the spring of 1906, George Sale concluded his congratulation to the new graduates with the words "'Boys...be men"[5]. His words, though simply put, spoke volumes to his audience of African American men. It was a compelling challenge, necessary for the world that Sale and his students operated. Sale believed in the intelligence and legitimacy of his students and dared to defend these values from racist rhetoric.

In the spring of 1906 the outgoing white president acknowledged the manhood of his students and challenged them to embrace it. Conditions aligned to bring John Hope to the forefront as a natural next leader for Atlanta Baptist College. Not only was Hope a very well respected and popular professor, he also was well liked among African American Baptists at a time where there was a push to have more control over the education of their children[6]. Thus, John Hope became the first African American president of Atlanta Baptist College.

A native of Georgia, Hope displayed a uniquely southern temperament that appeased whites and African Americans of the ABHMS. Hope was "slow and deliberate in his speech, conciliatory in tone,…with a willingness to negotiate and, perhaps, if necessary, compromise with well-meaning whites." This reputation and demeanor earned him the title of "The Booker T. Washington among Baptists"[7]. A title that was politically advantageous to Hope despite being incongruent to his core beliefs. Hope believed both

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[5] Ibid. pg. 76.
[6] Davis, Leroy. *A clashing of the soul: John Hope and the dilemma of African American leadership and Black higher education in the early twentieth century*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998.
[7] Ibid., pg. 79.

in working with necessary parties to achieve goals as well as working for quality well rounded education for his students. As Hope begins his presidency in 1906 events that followed would depict how important Hope's new role in shaping black male identity could be.

From the fall of 1906 onward, African American men would be at the helm at this institution building African American boys into men under oppressive circumstances. This historical moment in 1906 represents an era where control and chaos collide. The Presidency of John Hope constituted a new level of control over the process and principals of Atlanta Baptist College. Furthermore, as an institution that served only African American men, Hope's Presidency also demonstrated a potential for a historically black institution to produce and to advocate a future vision of African American manhood that has permeated the institution and continues to shape Morehouse College in the public mind.

In a brief biographical sketch soon after John Hope's sudden passing in 1936, Sociologist and Educator, Charles S. Johnson wrote of John Hope, "He was never lured from his one dominant concern of building men to advertise his opinions on education" [8] Johnson was only one of many who chose to honor the memory of John Hope with an emphasis on his career as an educator and his success at shaping young African American boys into men. The famous Black Historian, Carter G. Woodson as well referred to John Hope as a "Maker of Men" as a disproportional number of men who would become college presidents were taught and shaped by John Hope during his tenure at Morehouse

[8] Johnson, C.S. (1936). "A Preface to Racial Understanding". Box 65. Folder 4. John Hope presidential papers. Atlanta University Center Archives Collection. Atlanta, Ga.

College and Atlanta University.[9] This study will explore how John Hope came to be known this way.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to illuminate the processes, discourses, and actions taken by John Hope and his administration in the shaping of African American male identities at Morehouse College. The story of how the Morehouse College brand of African American manhood was created and nurtured at this institution in its history has yet to be fully told. Furthermore, more scholarship that speaks to how black men have negotiated and defined their identities in schools is needed.

This work will be guided by the following research questions:

What were John Hope's ideas about manhood development and how were they articulated?

How, if at all, were his ideas incorporated into his educational leadership and philosophy?

This era in the history of Morehouse College provides a lens in which to understand the nature of the discourse on African American masculinities from African American males within an institution of higher education.

Significance of Study

This work has both historical and contemporary significance. African American men and boys as a population have a history of being misrepresented in educational and

[9] Torrence, R. (1948). *The story of John Hope*. New York: Macmillan Co.

sociological research. Brown (2011) argues that between the 1930's to the present research on the processes and identities of "black males [have] been framed around four recursive conceptual narratives – absent and wandering, impotent and powerless, soulful and adaptive, and endangered and in crisis"[10]. These narratives paint African American masculinity as pathos. Though a plethora of contemporary scholarship has helped define the conditions facing black males in schools, the perspectives and historical contexts that inform the scholarship are still limited. In her study of African American boys and identity development in schools, Isom (2007) states that "little of the African American male image is his own or defined by his values of humanness or maleness; his maleness remains externally defined, practically eliminating him from his own picture"[11]. Additionally, as can be witnessed in United States history – through gendered acts of violence such as the Atlanta Race Riot and lynching - African American male identities, externally defined and exaggerated, can prove detrimental to the lives and livelihoods of African American men and the African American community. More scholarship that speaks to how African American men and boys construct meanings of their own identities within schools is needed.

Additionally recurring contemporary statistics concerning black males in schools indicate the need to further understand their experiences and trajectories. Noguera (2008) argues that black males in schools are "over represented in every category of failure and

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[10] Brown , A. (2011). ""Same old stories": The Black male in social science and educational literature, 1930s to the present." *Teachers' College Record* 113(9), 2047-2079. Pg. 2048.
[11] Isom, D. A. (2007). Performance, resistance, caring: Racialized gender identity in African American boys. *The Urban Review*, *39*(4), 405-423.

distress [in schools] and woefully underrepresented in every category of success[12]. This understanding leads many to consider African American males "endangered species" when it comes to educational achievement and positive life outcomes. In response, there have been increased research efforts and interventions investigating the experiences of black boys and theorizing on best practices to bridge this gap. For example, several educators have established single-sex schools and classrooms in hopes of addressing this segment of the achievement gap. The Coalition of Schools Educating Boys of Color (COSEBOC) states that in 1998 there was one single-sex school that exclusively served minority boys and now, "there are over 300 single-sex public and charter schools and hundreds of other single sex classrooms"[13]. However, these interventions do not directly hail from historical and/or empirical data. According to Noguera, "schools that serve black or Latino males have designed curriculum, created mentoring and rites of passage programs, and implemented counseling and recreation services without the benefit of clear and compelling research to support the design of these interventions"[14].

This study can inform current initiatives that aim at investigating ways to develop black males in education. For example, in 2011 Education Secretary Arne Duncan and Director Spike Lee traveled to several colleges, including Morehouse, with the mission to urge more African American males to aspire to and enter the teaching profession[15]. Their reasoning is influenced by the belief that more African American male role models in

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[12] Noguera, Pedro. *The trouble with Black boys: and other reflections on race, equity, and the future of public education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2008.
[13] Noguera , Pedro. "Education Week: Saving Black and Latino Boys." *Education Week American Education News Site of Record*. Education Week, n.d. Web. 7 Feb. 2013. <http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2012/02/03/kappan_noguera.html>.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Turner, D. (2012). "Arne Duncan, Spike Lee Urge Black Men To Become Teachers." Breaking News and Opinion on The Huffington Post. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/01/31/arne-duncan-spike-lee-black-male-teachers_n_816597.html (accessed July 20, 2012).

schools should improve the educational outcomes of African American males. This trend also indicates the emphasis on identity development for African American males in schools as an important part of educational development. However, research suggests that simply placing more African American males in the classroom, without special attention to gendered and racial pedagogies, is not strongly connected to positive educational outcomes[16]. Thus, more information is needed on how different educational spaces and pedagogies can help shape African American masculinity.

Literature Review

Informing my study I will draw from three sections of literature. The first set of literature will introduce how scholars study and analyze masculinities in American history and culture. The second set of literature focuses on secondary historical scholarship that discusses how African American men have theorized and characterized masculinity within social constructs of enslavement, work, church, and military service. The third set of literature will be a survey of scholarship about the history of Morehouse College with respect to the shaping of masculinities. This literature review focuses on characterizations as well as philosophies of masculinities. The primary focus is to provide a foundation for understanding how masculinity is coded in laws, customs, and processes in United States history from both a dominant narrative and one focused on African

[16] Francis, B., Skelton, C., Carrington, B., Hutchings, M., Read, B., & Hall, I. (1998). "A perfect match? Pupils' and teachers' views of the impact of matching educators and learners by gender." *Research Papers in Education* 23(1), 21-36.; Odih, P. (2002) "Mentors and Role Models: masculinity and the educational 'underachievement' of young Afro-Carribbean males." *Race, Ethnicity in Education* 5(1), 91-105.

American men's experiences. I will look at this progression both on a national level as well as focusing on important regional and racial distinctions.[17]

American Masculinities

Using gender as a lens to analyze American history and culture reveals how hegemonic masculinities are associated with political and social power. Since the revolutionary era and before, race and gender have been conflated with what it means to have freedom and power in the United States. White American men who would later be labeled as founding fathers of the United States equated dependence on British rule with having diminished status like that of "women, children, or slaves"[18]. This gendered language suggests that manhood was inextricably linked to freedom and self-governance. Independence from Great Britain meant asserting their inalienable manhood rights with one hand and with the other restricting those same rights on the basis of race, gender, and class. Historians Timothy Buckner and Peter Caster argue that while white men conflated natural legal and social rights with their own identities, "at the same time…constructed a

[17] This literature review represents selected works that are representative of major themes within historical, sociological, and educational literature that discusses constructions of African American masculinities. In the first set of literature I chose works that summarized the setting of understanding masculinity in United States history and culture. To supplement that setting I included scholarship on west African understandings of gender as another influence on how African American men may think about and construct their masculine identities. In the second set of literature I wanted to focus on literature that discussed black masculinities in historical contexts leading up to the 1930s. Thus, I excluded literature that extended past this time. I also focused on secondary literature that is looking back on specific historical moments. I chose to focus on secondary literature instead of analyzing primary sources, for example autobiographies of African American men living during the turn of the century, for the same themes. I excluded literature that focused too specifically on the experiences of one man in order to get a broader understanding about how African American men constructed their identities.

[18] Buckner, T. R., & Caster, P. (Eds.). (2011). *Fathers, preachers, rebels, men: black masculinity in US history and literature, 1820-1945*. Ohio State University Press.

legal system that removed African American men from inclusion in conventional masculinity[19].

The resulting hegemonic masculinity can be theorized in concrete and abstract ways. Sociologist Erving Goffman (1963) offers a concrete definition of hegemonic masculinity: “There is only one complete unblushing male in America: a young, married, white, urban, northern, heterosexual, Protestant, father, of college education, fully employed, of good complexion, weight, and height, and a recent record in sports”[20]. To possess these traits is to fully possess the social and political power of manhood in the United States. However, power and gender cannot always be discussed in such concrete terms. In order to justify inequalities, gender must also be an abstract floating concept that can be applied to any number of situations. Gender historian Michael Kimmel (2005) theorizes two critical notions that explain how manhood is operationalized in United States history and culture. Kimmel argues that “masculinities are constructed in a field of power: 1) the power of men over women; 2) the power of some men over other men”[21].

Masculinity is measured in relation to hegemonic ideals that place power in the hands of individuals based on their conformity with a normalized set of characteristics. Others placed outside of these characteristics have less political and social power. The system of power is dependent on separation and difference. Furthermore, within American history these characterizations of hegemonic masculinity have been central because “beginning in the early part of the nineteenth century, the idea of testing and

[19] Ibid., pg. 5.
[20] Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma; notes on the management of spoiled identity.*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
[21] Kimmel, M. S. (2005). *The history of men: Essays on the history of American and British masculinities*. SUNY Press. Pg. 6.

proving one's manhood became one of the defining experiences of American men's lives"[22]. All men, whether they choose to conform to these characteristics or not, are compelled to endeavor to possess these characteristics or be judged by them. As this process has been normalized in American culture, it creates a lens in which to view how gender dictates history and culture in the United States. Despite historically being placed outside the system of power, African American men's gendered identities are not fully dictated by their conformity, or lack thereof, to hegemonic masculinity.

Though hegemonic masculinity is interwoven in the legal and social structure of the United States, African American men have drawn from various sources to theorize and characterize their masculine identities. Many scholars have contributed to the discussion of whether African American masculinities can be accurately characterized as reactionary to hegemonic masculinity or a mélange drawing from multiple relationships unique to the African American experience[23]. For example, some of the earliest scholarship that theorized African American gendered identities, E. Franklin Frazier's *The Negro Family in the United States* (1939) pointed to female headed families, and the inversion of patriarchal order, as the roots of social problems in the African American community. His argument that African American men, unable to possess hegemonic masculinity, are thus complicit in the problems of the African American community. Though several of Frazier's contemporaries and scholars since have taken issue with this reasoning, this idea survived and has been recreated in sociological and education

[22] Kimmel, M. S. (1996). *Manhood in America: a cultural history*. New York: Free Press.
[23] Buckner & Caster, 2011.; Hine, D. C., & Jenkins, E. (1999) *A question of manhood: a reader in U.S. Black men's history and masculinity*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.; Summers, M. A. (2004). *Manliness and its discontents: the Black middle class and the transformation of masculinity, 1900-1930*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

scholarship on African American men and boys[24]. This characterization proved to be pervasive as "generations of studies [contended] that gender identities among black men developed pathologically, creating a sense of social impotence both inside and outside of the family"[25]. However, more contemporary studies of gender and race in United States history take a more balanced approach.

Historians Hine and Jenkins (1999) describe the evolution of African American male gender roles under institutions of slavery and subsequent political and social oppression as "resistant masculinity"[26]. This resistant masculinity is defined in ways that are reactionary to and independent from American culture. Though all males in American society face pressures to construct their identities, African American males have a history of creating their gendered experience in a culture that at once privileges masculinity while at the same time denies the humanity and citizenship of African Americans. This distinction provides space for creation in ways to assert African American manhood and power. Additionally, Martin Summers argues that masculinity in the African American community draws from any number of relationships: with/to African American women, to the African American community, and to the state[27]. African American men and women in communities, their shared struggles to own their identities in relation to the state all have an effect on how African American manhood is constructed and taught in African American communities. Thus, theorizing black masculinity, unlike hegemonic masculinity, does not rely on separation and difference but in fact draws from

[24] Brown, 2011.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Summers, 2004.

connectedness to create meaning. Similarly, African American men may not only rely on their "American" identities for a system of gendered meaning.

West African cosmology regarding gender socialization is based on different ideals than European/American cosmology. Historian Nsenga Warfield-Coppock (1997) in her article outlining different manhood and womanhood rites of passage in west Africa, argues that a plurality of West African cultures view the masculine and feminine as connected as complimentary images and energies in nature. Warfield-Coppock illustrates that in African cosmology "the feminine and the masculine – [are] two faces of the same Creator, one complimenting the other, one existing only because of the other, neither one junior nor senior to the other"[28]. The masculine and feminine do not operate in separate spheres but engage in an ebb and flow of gendered meaning. Additionally, Daniel P. Black, in his historical and literary study of black masculinity following African men from the middle passage 20th century American life, argues that there was no monolithic concept of manhood in West African cultures. Instead rather, many cultures employed multilevel rites of passage for young men. These rites of passage, 2 or 3 over ones lifetime, were overseen and perpetuated by elder men of the group. This system emphasized that manhood was solidified within and belongs to the group, not the individual.[29]

Warfield-Coppock also posits that "unlike members of societies founded on European cosmology, in which adult status is ascribed simply because of age, Africans maintain that appropriate values and moral conduct are necessary for the privilege and

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[28] Warfield-Coppock , N. (1997). "The Balance and connection of manhood and womanhood training ." In *Manhood development in urban African-American communities*. New York: Haworth Press. 121-145.
[29] Black, D. P.(1997). *Dismantling black manhood: an historical and literary analysis of the legacy of slavery*. New York: Garland Pub.

distinction of being considered an adult"[30]. In a majority of African cultures these appropriate values and moral conduct are solidified by rites of passage "marking the movement of age set groups from one stage of spirit/life to another"[31]. Masculinity and adulthood is characterized by a performance. In European/American cosmology gender must be constantly confirmed and performed. However, rites of passage in African cosmology are designed so that successful males are given the distinction of manhood that can never be taken away. The contrast between African and European gender epistemologies could perhaps help us understand differences in how African and European American men perform and construct their masculine identities.

African American Masculinities

Gender studies in African American history reveal the various ways African American communities thought about and developed aspects of manhood in different social and political spaces. This set of literature spans across different historical eras and across different strategies of constructing masculine identities. The different categories illuminated in the literature are 1) careerism/politics of respectability – how African American men constructed their gender identities and connected their moralities in work spaces, 2) Honor and Religion – how African American men motivated by religion or codes of honor shaped their identities, and 3) Righteous physical violence/aggression – how African American men asserted their masculinities within oppressive spaces with violence and aggression.

[30] Ibid., pg. 122.
[31] Ibid., pg. 127.

Enslaved African men in the United States exercised their masculinities in many ways despite their lack of social status. Horton and Horton (1999) discuss the juxtaposition of white masculine culture and the black male experience. In both northern and southern white cultural traditions “Aggression, and sometimes sanctioned violence, was a common thread in American ideals of manhood”[32]. Furthermore, Jeff Forret (2011) supports this characterization stating “violent aggressive behaviors…were crucial to the construction of masculinity and the functioning of the honor code for Southern men, whether white or black”[33]. White males were free to exercise a dual identity of at once a “Christian Gentleman” who also at any time had the unquestioned right to use violence against women and African Americans. However, African American men also at times used violence to assert their masculine identities. Black men had interests in asserting their cultural rights of protecting themselves and their families even when doing so could prove fatal. Horton and Horton analyze Frederick Douglass’ account of his last violent battle with a slave master as a turning point in his manhood development. After physically confronting his oppressor "it was natural for Douglass to express his new found power in terms of manhood, as power, independence, and freedom were often thought of as traits reserved for [white] men in nineteenth century America[34]. Self-defense and righteous violence became important aspects of how African American men characterized their manhood and honor.

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[32] Horton, J. O., & Horton, L.E. (1999) "Violence, protest, and identity: Black manhood in antebellum america." In *A Question of Manhood: A Reader in U.S. Black Men's History and Masculinity, Vol. 1: "Manhood Rights": The Construction of Black Male History and Manhood, 1750-1870 (Blacks in the Diaspora).* Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 382-398.
[33] Forret, J. (2011). "He was no man attal"? Slave men, Honor, Violence, and Masculinity in the Antebellum South.*Fathers, Preachers, Rebels, Men: Black Masculinity in U.S. History, 1820-1945.*(pp. 1-22). Ohio: Ohio State U.P. Pg. 20.
[34] Ibid. pg. 382.

Within the system of slavery some African American men constructed their masculinities using American capitalist ideals. Dew (1999) discusses slave men as skilled laborers in the upper south. Despite still facing extreme violence in the cities, skilled labor provided black males with more autonomy. According to Dew slave men working in the iron industry as skilled laborers "had considerable influence over [their] working conditions,… family arrangements, and the course of [their] everyday [lives]"[35]. Within these circumstances African American men had access to some semblance of the kind of manhood white men were able to enjoy. The opportunity to make extra money could mean asserting one's manhood from being able to buy necessities to being able to purchase freedom for himself and his family. Thus, skilled labor symbolized for some African American men an opportunity to exercise American masculinity. Like ironworkers, African American men found other workspaces that provided more opportunities for exercising their masculinities.

Bolster's (1999) article on African American seamen explores the occupation as one "of the few jobs readily available to them in the racially restricted employment market of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries"[36]. Getting a job at sea afforded a lot of the same masculinity affirming privileges as other skilled trades. African American men were able to earn more money while also earning more valuable social standing. African American seamen were prevalent during the late 18th and early 19th

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[35] Dew, C. (1999) "Disciplining Slave Ironworkers in the Antebellum South: Coercion, Conciliation, and Accommodation." In *A Question of Manhood: A Reader in U.S. Black Men's History and Masculinity, Vol. 1: "Manhood Rights": The Construction of Black Male History and Manhood, 1750-1870 (Blacks in the Diaspora)*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 205-226.

[36] Bolster, W. J. (1999). ""To feel like a man": Black seamen in the northern states, 1800-1860." In *A Question of Manhood: A Reader in U.S. Black Men's History and Masculinity, Vol. 1: "Manhood Rights": The Construction of Black Male History and Manhood, 1750-1870 (Blacks in the Diaspora)*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 354-381. Pg. 355.

centuries so it was not unusual to see free African American sailors around on shipyards and surrounding areas (trains, facilities ect.). This prevalence was known to many enslaved African American men and used as a way to “hide in plain sight” in order to escape into freedom. Another major social advantage of the seafaring trade was the differently structured social order while on ship. On ship, though racial tensions still existed, social rankings were closer tied to seniority, tasks, and abilities. Bolster argues "racial boundaries certainly existed, but they were often secondary to those established by the institution of the ship"[37]. This article points out more very important insights into how African American men experienced their masculinity. African American men found niches in a white supremacist society where they can earn their own money, find pride in having a special skill, and have a modicum of control over their lives and the lives of their families. Though it seems to be seated in capitalist values, possibly this is indicative of the unique "americanness" of the new identities they are forming. African American sailors were also afforded the freedom to sometimes work in all black shipyards. This freedom meant, "a sense of community could exist for black men plowing furrows in the ocean as well as those plowing furrows in the fields"[38]. Working as a seafarer had several advantages for African American men to experience a sense of American masculinity. Just as skilled labor helped shape African American modes of masculinity, the African American church served as a site of gendered expression.

As important sites in African American culture, African American churches were also places where gender was negotiated and exercised. Becker (1999) discusses models of African American masculinity in 19th century missions of the African American

[37] Bolster, 1999. Pg. 359.
[38] Ibid. 363.

A.M.E. church. Within the black church tradition Becker lists four "interrelated aspects of manhood…(1) leadership, self-assertion, (2) independence, (3) black identity, and (4) vocation"[39]. These categories all play part in the missionary work of the church. The A.M.E. Church placed considerable interest in missions to Africa as their duty to their familial heritage as well as a way to assert their American masculinities. African American men as missionaries to other African men meant "exercising leadership and independence, as having a definite identity (educated, Christian, chosen of God) and a definite vocation"[40]. As missionaries African American men could embrace these identities that were supported and legitimized by the church if not in American culture as a whole. For these African American men it also meant "to make some sense of the suffering of a slave past (that past was a perpetration for this vocation), and which held out high hopes for the future (God will reward his faithful missionaries, and no man will be able to doubt their courage or effectiveness)"[41]. Though the African American men in the church benefit from a more solidly recognized masculine identity, it is as missionaries of oppressive ideals. The African American men as missionaries operate under the understanding that they were like the "god-less Africans" once and want to civilize them and educate them like white men (and the institution of slavery) did for them. In the effort to assert their masculine identities, some African American men only reinforced hegemonic masculinities. Just as in missionary work, African American men in military work found spaces to assert their masculinity.

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[39] Becker, W. (1999) "The Black Church: Manhood and Mission." In *A Question of Manhood: A Reader in U.S. Black Men's History and Masculinity, Vol. 1: "Manhood Rights": The Construction of Black Male History and Manhood, 1750-1870 (Blacks in the Diaspora)*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 322-339. Pg. 323.
[40] Ibid. 330.
[41] Ibid.

African American men have served and given their lives in every American war since The Revolutionary War. Military service marked an important change in how African American men viewed their masculine identities. Lentz-Smith (2011) details that African American men and women viewed service in the military as "proving manhood, asserting themselves as courageous and capable, independent and deserving of honor"[42]. Service in the military also could be used as fodder to demand civil rights. For example, "black veterans of the civil war and the turn of the century imperial wars had staked much of their claims to freedom and equality on military service and had cited it as a vindication of African American manhood"[43]. African American men enlisted and served in the military to assert their manhood and also to illustrate the hypocrisy of a Jim Crow system that would render veterans second-class citizens. Gilmore (1996) further illustrates the duplicity black veterans faced by illuminating their experiences in the Spanish/American war. In North Carolina for example in 1898, Governor, Daniel Russell "lobbied Washington…for authorization to create a black battalion" to fulfill his quotas for volunteer soldiers[44]. However, after the initial push for African American volunteers, whites began to fear the increased political power of African American soldiers returning from war. Before the conflict was over, newspapers in North Carolina began to depict African American soldiers as children and animals. "Suddenly, the soldiers were not men but Russell's 'pets.' They did not drill; they 'frolicked.' Newspapers began putting 'soldiers' in quotation marks"[45]. This change in attitude

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[42] Lentz-Smith, A. (2011). *Freedom struggles: African Americans and World War I.* Cambridge, Mass.: Kindle Version .
[43] Ibid.
[44] Gilmore, G.E. (1996). *Gender and Jim Crow: women and the politics of white supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. Pg. 80.
[45] Ibid. 81.

reflects the newspapers refusal to grant African American soldiers respect or display an obligation for civil rights. These examples in United States history reveal that African American men have employed several means to assert their masculine identities whether these identities carried the same power of hegemonic masculinity or not.

Morehouse College and Manhood Development

The first history of Morehouse College was authored by Benjamin Brawley in 1917. This history chronicles the major advancements of the institution of the time, the founding, the move from Augusta to Atlanta, the expansion of the physical plant and various fields of study; however, this history interestingly does not discuss manhood development as a part of the early philosophies of Morehouse College. Brawley presents the interests of Morehouse College in terms of being an extension of the interests of the ABHMS and does not discuss race relations as part of those interests[46]. In contrast, the institutional history written by Jones in 1967 - for the schools centennial - posits that since its inception, Morehouse College "has been dedicated to the task of building men: first by enlightening their minds, then by freeing them from the shackles of a psychological conditioning brought about by nearly two hundred and fifty years of slavery"[47]. Jones dives deeper into the issue of manhood development as part of the goals of the leadership and faculty of the institution. However, Jones falls short in explaining the process of these tasks.

Later publications illuminate the idea of the Morehouse Mystique in definition and how this identity has played out in the lives of various alumni. Another alumni and

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[46] Brawley, B. G. (1917,1970). *History of Morehouse College, written on the authority of the Board of Trustees,*. College Park, Md.: McGrath Pub. Co. Pg. 11.
[47] Ibid.

historian Eaves (2009) explores the Morehouse Mystique throughout the history of Morehouse College. Eaves lists "a rich leadership legacy, the air of expectancy, self esteem building through messaging, the mentoring of faculty and staff, the bond of brotherhood, the modeling of the Morehouse Man, and the climate of celebration" as key components in how Morehouse has been successful in building African American boys into men[48]. To illustrate these points Eaves utilizes some historical examples yet relies primarily on first hand experiences of alumni from graduating classes in the 1970's and on. This study aims to expand on Eaves' work to look more closely on the process of building and nurturing African American masculinities that later would be part of the Morehouse Mystique. This study aims to investigate in real time evidence of how these ideals were synthesized, supported, and solidified in the experiences of students, faculty, and administration.

This review of literature illustrates how African American men developed manhood in resistance to oppressive stereotypes. Out of the cultural building blocks from both their American and African identities, African American men constructed their identities in many spaces. Work, faith, and military service are important sites of African American masculine identity development. Though these studies illuminate the important themes in African American manhood in United States history, they fall short of exploring how these identities have been characterized in schools and educational contexts.

[48] Eaves, J. H. (2009). *The Morehouse mystique: lessons to develop black men*. Sauk Village, IL: African American Images.

Methodology

This paper utilizes historical case study design and intellectual history methodology to examine John Hope's thoughts on manhood development and how those thoughts laid a foundation for discourse on black masculinities at Morehouse College. The case study methodology examines the College in its context during the time period of John Hope's career at Morehouse College from 1899-1931.

This work will be guided by the following research questions:

What were John Hope's ideas about manhood development and how were these ideas articulated?

How, if at all, are these ideas incorporated into his educational leadership and philosophy?

To study history is to make an effort to understand people and events in different times and social constructs than our own. From artifacts left over from previous generations, historians must piece together and make informed conclusions about how people lived and made sense of their worlds. However, in order to make these judgments, methodological practices must be put in place to systematically analyze and synthesize information in a way that is reliable and respectful. Historical methodology can be defined as a body of principals for gathering, critically examining, and presenting the source materials of history[49]. Morehouse College is an appropriate site for a case study design about how manhood development is and can be incorporated into the education that is provided by an institution of higher learning. In order to capture and

[49] Garraghan. G. L. (1946). *A Guide to Historical Method.* Fordham University Press. Pg. 33.

evaluate how ideas about manhood development and educational philosophies intersect, I utilize the theory and process of intellectual histories and document analysis.

The methodology of intellectual history shapes my document and content analysis. Intellectual history both intersects with and is exclusive from philosophy, cultural history, political history, and sociology. However unlike these disciplines, an intellectual historian is primarily concerned with "intellectuals, ideas, and intellectual patterns over time"[50]. The methodology is distinct in its mission to identify and contextualize ideas as a means of understanding how people process phenomena. In order to identify and contextualize these ideas I engaged in multi-tiered document and content analysis.

According to Prior (2003) documents should be used in research not only for their content but also for their functionality and social context. Prior argues, "documents are not only manufactured, they are consumed...manipulated in organized settings for many different ends and they also function in many different ways"[51]. Thus, the use of documents in historical research must engage the full set of information that a document can represent for the researcher. Considering documents in their full capacity is both a process and a product.

Data Sources

The primary documents used in this study include, speeches, newspaper/journal articles, and personal correspondence from the John Hope Presidential papers housed at

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[50] Gordon, P. (2011, February 1). What is Intellectual History?. *Intellectual History Consortium* . Retrieved May 1, 2013, from history.fas.harvard.edu/people/faculty/documents/pgordon-whatisintellhist.pdf
[51] Prior, L. (2003). *Using documents in social research*. Sage Publications Limited.

The Archives Research Center of the Robert W. Woodruff Center, Atlanta University Center. As this is a study of the ideas and practices of John Hope, the documents used were either authored/prepared by John Hope, or feature a direct reference to him and/or his ideas and practices related to manhood development. To address the issue of internal validity in this case study I triangulated my data sources to include any references, made by John Hope, to the development of black womanhood during his tenure as president of Morehouse College. I also did a content search of Black Newspapers during the time period for references to "manhood" using the same criteria used to identify useful information from the primary documents. This data triangulation allows me to make reasonable inferences about the validity of my conclusions regarding John Hope's ideas about manhood development, their novelty, and their context. John Hope's speeches and correspondence relating to the development of Black womanhood, gives context and a point of comparison to how John Hope speaks about manhood development.

Data Analysis

My first level of analysis for each document is to record contextual information regarding the conditions in which the document was created. This process is facilitated by my Document Analysis Worksheet, derived from the Library of Congress (See Appendix A). The contextual information I focused on included the author/creator of the document, the dates/locations associated, and the intended audience. This information is crucial for me to construct a more detailed understanding of what the ideas expressed mean in the context of who is saying them and who is receiving the message.

The content analysis of documents had two levels. First, I looked for deliberate gendered ideals, value judgments, generalizations, advice, and warnings that invoke gendered language and/or connotations. I anticipate this being voiced in a variety of ways. For example speeches that invoked masculinity and manhood as themes were chosen for analysis. Additionally, I took note of gendered language that expanded from the general, that included qualifiers like "Christian manhood" or "Morehouse men". The second level of my document analysis will aim to collect and evaluate all of the important information from the documents with specific consideration for themes emphasized in my review of literature about Morehouse College's brand of masculinity. These themes are "a rich leadership legacy, the air of expectancy, self-esteem building through messaging, the mentoring of faculty and staff, the bond of brotherhood, the modeling of the Morehouse Man, and the climate of celebration"[52]. These expectations informed my coding.

From my analysis I organized the passages that had references to manhood and masculinity and coded them for their overarching themes and patterns. My second round of coding identified passages that were useful in answering my two research questions. Daily field notes were used to record first impressions and the progression of assumptions and interpretations. These field notes were also incorporated when creating codes. A matrix of my data sources and applications to my research questions can be found in Appendix B.

[52] Eaves, 2009.

Discussion of Terms

An important part of my data collection and analysis has to do with how I define and operationalize terms. As discussed in my literature review, masculinity and manhood in United States culture is defined and expressed in a myriad of ways. Through my literature review I provided concrete and abstract examples of how masculinity has been defined in Euro-American and African American contexts. However, like any category of identity, defining masculinity is a moving target. Martin Summers, in his study investigating how black masculinity has been defined throughout history argues that masculinity/manhood "functions not only as a category of identity that mediates and is mediated by, other categories of identity; it also functions as a discourse in that it signifies power relations"[53] Adding context to this notion, Hazel Carby in her work analyzing media produced by and featuring African American male intellectuals argued that gendered arguments, that are posed to apply to the entire African American race, also provide a lens to understand how "Race Men" conceptualize their gender roles.[54] In her analysis of Dubois' *The Souls of Black Folk,* Carby contends that "Dubois described and challenged the hegemony of the national and racial formations in the United States at the dawn of a new century, but he did so in ways that both assumed and privileged a discourse on masculinity"[55] Dubois and his contemporaries like Booker T. Washington, often argued their points about negro education in terms of manhood.[56] Thus, these

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[53] Summers, M. (2004). *Manliness and its discontents: The Black middle class and the transformation of masculinity, 1900-1930.* Chapel hill, NC. Pg 4.
[54] Carby, H. (2009). *Race Men.* Harvard U.P. Cambridge, MA. Pg. 10.
[55] Ibid.
[56] V.P. Franklin in his review of *Race Men* argues that Carby does not fully contend with ways that manhood and masculinity were used as literary and oratory devices in the early 20th century. For example, Dubois uses his theories of Negro education, in contrast with those of Booker T. Washington to conclude "'Washington's counsels of submission overlooked certain elements of true manhood' which included 'self

literary devices serve not only as a part (men) representing a whole (the Negro race both men and women) but also are a lens to understand how these men interpret manhood. In my data collection and analysis, manhood and masculinity were used in many of the same ways. I looked for metaphors and devices that referenced manhood, masculinity, and gender and analyzed what these connections could mean to men specifically or women (in my triangulation) specifically. Though I am not breaking from Carby's reasoning, I make an effort to understand the metaphors and usages of "manhood" in the context they are used.

Limitations

I anticipate some limitations to this study. My positionality as an African American woman can be seen as a limitation when it comes to understanding how African American manhood is constructed and developed. However, this particular topic is important to me as a member of the African American community. Though I may not have firsthand experience performing African American masculinity, I do have experience decoding my own gendered identity in the face of oppression. However, I expect my reliability and validity checks to minimize any effect of these limitations.

Findings and Discussion

This section of the study is organized chronologically with respect to different portions of John Hope's life that contributed to his educational leadership. The first two sections will be devoted to John Hope's formative years (primary education through graduating Brown University in 1894), and his pre-college president years teaching at

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respect', 'self development,' and 'ultimate assimilation through self-assertion.'" Franklin, V.P. (2000). "Race Men by Hazel V. Carby". African American Review. Vol. 34. No. 3.

Atlanta Baptist College. The second two sections will focus on John Hope as president of Morehouse College during the early years, up to 1917, and the later years of his tenure from 1917 to 1931, when he becomes the President of Atlanta University. Primary and secondary sources are used to present a well rounded story.

Pre College President: 1899

John Hope came to Atlanta Baptist College as a classics professor in 1898. At the time John Hope had just married Lugenia Burns Hope after a long courtship. Hope quickly became one of the most popular professors at ABC as one of the only black professors at the time. After students warmed to Hope's particular demeanor and realized his wealth of knowledge they began calling on him for counsel above George Sale who was president at the time.[57] Hope had also been popular with black Baptists due to his activism. Possibly in response to his rising popularity Hope was invited to speak to the Women's Mission of Wheat St. Baptist Church. In their letter to Hope inviting him for the address the Women's mission, the organization mentions being very excited to hear his address. In the speech, Hope displays many of his beliefs about the roles of black men and black women in racial uplift.

Hope began his address to the Women's Mission of the Wheat Street Baptist church with "The world has been ruled by men too long, it is women's time to take a hand. And I, as one of millions of men welcome into the highest and broadest activity." However, as if to say instead of welcoming the clubwomen as equal partners, Hope adds,

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[57] Ibid.,108.

"But I welcome you as women."[58] Historian Deborah Gray White, in her book about African American clubwomen at the turn of the century, stated that "although many men had applauded clubwomen for fighting racism more vigorously then black men, Hope was not among them"[59] Hope goes on in his address to pass his own judgment about "some very caustic remarks…made about men" at a Women's club convention he had attended some time earlier. About those remarks Hope stated "that brow beating spirit is more masculine than feminine and you would do well to eschew it." Possibly here, Hope is referring to the kinds of remarks that White (1999) explains:

> Convinced that black female issues and race issues were identical, they [African American clubwomen] spoke publically in opposition to black men and openly revealed their disillusionment with black male leadership.

Hope took offense to the implication that male leadership could/should be replaced by female leadership. Hope makes the point in his speech:

> As much as us Negroes are in need of men, it was a great calamity for our women to act as substitutes…and the surest way for our men to become more manly is for our women to become more womanly.[60]

Hope disagrees that the women's club movement, over the efforts of Negro men, would generate more results in the fight for equality. Hope advocates for a Victorian idea of gender roles where women are the keepers of a culture and best serve the common good through working in the home as the only way to support the family. In this speech Hope seems openly dismissive of the potential for African American women to be race leaders.

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[58] Hope, J. (1899). Speech notes from Speech to Wheat St. Baptist Church Women's Mission. Reel 21. John and Lugenia Burns Hope Papers. Atlanta University Center Archives Collection.
[59] White, D.G. (1999). *Too heavy a load: Black women in defense of themselves.* W.W. Norton & Company: New York.
[60] John Hope. (1899).Women's Mission speech notes.

These comments shed light on what Hope believes to be men's roles in the work of their generation.

These statements suggest that at this time John Hope assigns activism in the name of racial equity as men's work. However, even though he feels that men are best suited for uplifting the race, he does emphasize that certain divisions, like quarrels between Christian denominations, only take away from their collective efforts for racial equality. Hope concludes on a more neutral note stating that these categories that divide the race, whether it be denomination or gender, should not come in the way of feeding the poor women and children in their community. Though he is biased against and dismissive of women in this stage of his life, Hope emphasizes that the "Negro millions" will need strong leaders into the future. Thus leaving theoretical space for women doing important work as long as there is important work to be done.

Using the same terminology in his notes to himself, Hope then writes about his feelings on producing "leadership for our Negro millions." Hope continues, "The negro must work a bloodless revolution from ignorance to education; from the position of underling to perfect equal manhood."[61] Hope ends his note with a question, perhaps a challenge to himself, "Can he do all this?" In the same vein as his arguments to the women's mission, Hope is theorizing about what is needed to serve his race.

Many other African American Baptists in Georgia were contemplating a similar question. From the 1880s through the turn of the century, Black Baptists in Georgia had been campaigning for more control over schools operated by the ABHMS. The conflict

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[61] Hope, J. (~1899). "Untitled notes". Reel 21. John and Lugenia Burns Hope Papers. Atlanta University Center Archives.

between Black Baptists who wanted to continue supporting and working with the ABHMS and ones who wanted complete control over schools run by the ABHMS came to a head by the 1890s when Black Baptists split into two groups: one for the "cooperationalists" and the "seperatists."[62] Historian, Stephanie R. Wright (2008) argues that a significant part of the Separatists platform was to have control of schools serving the African American community in order to better serve the cultivation and development of manhood. Wright, whose study compared student protests across several ABHMS run African American schools in the South asserts "like the situation in South Carolina, advocates of black-run schools [in Georgia] based their assertions on their manhood rights"[63] Separatists wanted greater control of schools serving the African American community and connected their arguments to an assertion of African American manhood. Proponents of establishing black run schools like minister E.K. Love argued that Black men should be in control of Black schools in order to train other black men to lead their race into full citizenship.[64] In an address in 1898, Love presents the argument that as the ABHMS claimed to not be able to find a suitable black man to run their schools that they are essentially trying to "check black independence and manhood."[65] At least in the minds of Separatists, the idea of developing Black manhood to improve the equality of the race was intimately tied to control of black institutions. Wright (2008) however does not extend her investigation to 1906 when John Hope becomes the first Black President of an ABHMS run school.

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[62] Leroy Davis. *A Clashing of the Soul.* Pg. 130.
[63] Wright, S.R. (2008). "Self-Determination, Politics, and Gender on Georgia's Black College Campuses, 1875-1900" *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 92, No. 1. Pg 102.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Love, E.K. (1898). "Annual Address of Rev. E.K. Love, President Missionary Baptists Convention of Georgia." Nashville, TN. Pg 10.

Hope's gendered ideas about race leadership reflect his contemporaries and his context. The years before John Hope rises as President of Atlanta Baptist College were full of questioning about the future of the race. As Hope asked himself the question of how the Negro could wage a bloodless revolution to gain his full rights as a man in American society, blacks all across Georgia asked questions about how whites can reasonably educate generations of black men and women to lead their race in the future? Even Henry Morehouse, the celebrated secretary of the ABHMS and eventual namesake of Morehouse College, in response to black student protests about unfair treatment writes in a note, "Be a man."[66] Much like Sale's final words in 1906, this assertion from a white man to Black students is empty without another means of understanding how manhood is to be operationalized in the interests of racial equality. These questions and more linger into subsequent years.

College President: 1906-1917

This question of manhood, what it means and should mean in the fight for equal rights and dignity for African Americans, continued to be significant in John Hope's life. In 1906, the year John Hope is named to become president of Atlanta Baptist College in the fall, several events transpire to shed light on this question and what it would mean for the future of the institution.

By 1906, African American students at Atlanta Baptist College were living in the Nadir of race relations in the United States south.[67] Only one generation

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[66] Morehouse, H. (1889). "Address to Students." Folder 6. Box 7. Henry Morehouse Papers, American Baptist Historical Society, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.
[67] Logan, R. W. (1954). *The Negro in American life and thought: the nadir, 1877-1901.*. New York: Dial Press.

earlier, during the Reconstruction era, these students would have had a better chance to exercise their rights to vote and operate as men how they saw fit. However, the turn of the century and the end of military reconstruction meant that these rights were far from guaranteed.

In 1906, American culture operated like the ruling of the infamous *Dred Scott v. Sanford* case: White men had no obligation to respect or even recognize the right to manhood of African American men. During Sale's time at Atlanta Baptist College he, along with African American in the south in general had seen an increase in racial violence and hateful rhetoric. According to Jones (1967) "the failure of the Populist movement…put an end to the hopes of Negroes for early justice and democracy in their country and signaled the beginning of a vicious reaction by racist extremists who used the Negro as a scapegoat"[68]. This volatile atmosphere fostered the conditions for "several lynchings, including an especially sadistic and barbaric one early in 1899, [that] had ushered in a season of depression and fear"[69]. These tensions affected how African American masculinity was permitted in public spaces. For example, Jim Crow laws established during this time period effectively policed "manhood rights" of the franchise, holding office, sexual choice, and freedom in public space[70]. The social and legal culture in the south was designed to make white men, "men" and black men, "boys" by virtue of their race. Thus, Sale's words "Boys…be men," also came with a challenge to his successor, John Hope, to find a way to operationalize what manhood would mean for his

[68] Jones (1967). 77.
[69] Jones (1967). 71.
[70] Gilmore (1996). 67.

students and what he would like it to look like. Hope's attendance at the 1906 meeting of the Niagara Movement also set in motion his evolving ideas about manhood.

The Niagara Movement was one of the earliest organizations committed to civil rights and directing work for racial equality. One of the founding principles of the Niagara Movement was to demand "full manhood rights" that among them "the right to vote goes everything: freedom, manhood, the honor of our wives, the chastity of our daughters, the right to work and the chance to rise."[71] Though "full manhood rights" here would only apply to African American men (as women wholesale had yet to win sufferage), manhood is being used as a language device for the entire race. However, this metaphor works on two levels. On one level is the argument for civil rights for all African Americans and on another level is the desire of African American men to have "full manhood rights" like those of white men who along with voting also perpetuate a patriarchy where they feel ownership over women. Hope's attendance of this meeting is significant in terms of the gendered language and as the only President of a Negro college in attendance at the time. With language and arguments about manhood rights and education being featured, how does Hope plan on incorporating these ideas into his career as a college president? One way, Hope articulates, is through the emphasis of activism.

In a letter from Hope to W.E.B. Dubois later in life, Hope explained that his participation in the movement was a deliberate and important gesture.

> I was the only president, colored or white, of our colleges that took part in the deliberations of that meeting. I cite this to show that I have dared to live up to my views even when they threw me in the midst of the most radical. Furthermore,

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[71] Jones. A. (2011). *African American Civil Rights: Early Activism and the Niagara Movement.* ABC-CLIO. Pg 57.

> every man on our faculty does the same and will as long as I am head of the institution.[72]

The message he sent as the only college president at the radical meeting was not lost on Hope. In fact the activism that he took part in as part of the Movement was to also become part of his rhetoric in leading his school. There was no tradition of activism among ABHMS college presidents before Hope takes office.[73] However, Hope aimed to solidify the importance of activism through his actions, the actions of his faculty, and the leading of his institution.

As hope returned home with a renewed charge to fight for full manhood rights, a distinctive racial tension was in the air in Atlanta. In September of 1906 chaos erupted in Atlanta, Georgia. The atmosphere in Atlanta had been primed with gendered and racial hatred after a "race-baiting gubernatorial campaign that was based in part on the strange bedfellows of southern politics and white fears of miscegenation."[74] Sensationalist stories in newspapers depicting African American men as dangerous brutes and rapists filled the streets and the imaginations of white men in Atlanta. Torrence (1948) recalls in the days leading up to the riot Hope had noticed "[white] men idling and drinking after the week's work or week's loafing, bored with blank lives but ready to prove to themselves that they too were men of spirit."[75] Within this atmosphere where white men of Atlanta were frustrated and eager to assert their masculinity, on September 22, 1906 newspapers editions claiming "new assaults on white women" by black men provided the necessary push to bring tensions to a head.

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[72] Reid, I.D.A. (1940). "Chapel talk by Dr. Ira De A Reid at Spelman College, Feb 13, 1940). Box. 65. Folder 4. John Hope Presidential Papers. Atlanta University Center Archives.
[73] Davis. (1998).
[74] Ibid. 164.
[75] Torrence. (1948).

White men, who considered any fraternization between a white woman and a black man to be a threat to white womanhood and white man's relative power, used this situation to terrorize the black community of Atlanta and reassert their cultural power. "Disper[sing] in all directions looking for blacks on whom to vent their anger," soon, the mob of white men in downtown Atlanta grew to over 10,000 targeting innocent African American men and women who were "maimed, mutilated, and killed in the most grotesque fashion."[76] Hope, who like many in the African American community had been concerned about the racial atmosphere in Atlanta, heard the beginning roars of the race riot from a few miles away on the campus of Atlanta Baptist College. Though his administration began only months prior, Hope took up arms to protect his family home on campus as well as the campus itself. As innocent pedestrians trapped in downtown Atlanta were attacked, African American owned businesses in particular were overrun and destroyed. The violence erupted into neighborhoods and several African American Atlantans were forced to defend their homes from the opportunistic mob for days before they saw any relief. After days of mob violence against innocent citizens, Governor Joseph Terrell reluctantly (from only a few blocks away from the carnage) decided to send in the state militia to regain order. Over three days the Atlanta Race Riot claimed upwards of 40 lives, most of which were of African American men and boys.

These historical events in 1906 as Hope first becomes president represent an era where control and chaos collide. The Presidency of John Hope constituted a new level of control over the process and principals of Atlanta Baptist College. As an institution that served only African American men, Hope's Presidency also demonstrated a potential for

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[76] Ibid. 167.

a historically black institution that produced and advocated a future vision of African American manhood. In this same atmosphere was the ever-present racism that so easily leads to chaos that challenged these efforts. Although The Niagara Movement was inspired by the lack of progress on racial relations after the end of military reconstruction, The Atlanta Race Riot of 1906 exemplified exactly what was at stake in a culture that distorted, policed, and vilified African American manhood. In this narrative, gendered stereotypes of African American men were enough to justify depriving African American men, women, and children, of their lives and livelihood. In the face of glaring oppression, John Hope became the first of a number of African American men to embody and encourage a brand of African American manhood at Morehouse College. However, to do so, Hope would still need students and a black community to serve.

One of the direct results after the Atlanta race riot was the continued exodus of African Americans from the area in hopes of a more peaceful and fruitful existence in the north.[77] This exodus presented a specific challenge to John Hope. Torrence explains that several African American families in Atlanta, "intelligent industrious citizens whose loyalty Atlanta would have done well to retain" and "Atlanta Baptist College inevitably lost a certain number of prospective students".[78] Much like discussions about racial uplift, these migrations also took on rhetoric of manhood. Summers (2004) argues that black men across the south viewed such conditions as threats to their ability to be seen

[77] Steven Hahn, in his history of African Americans as a "nation within a nation" discusses the Great Migration of "a million and a half African Americans from the south to the north between 1915-1930." The conditions that contributed to the migration include violence, like the Atlanta Race Riot and lynching, along with increasing industrial opportunities in the north with the start of World War I. Hahn, S. (2003). *A nation under our feet: Black political struggles in the rural South, from slavery to the great migration*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Pg. 466.

[78] Torrence, R. (1948). 154.

and treated as men.[79] In the midst of this palpable heartbreak of the African American citizens of Atlanta, Hope had to begin his first year as President of Atlanta Baptist College. Despite the nearly overwhelming challenge set before him, Atlanta Baptist College "was to open the week after the riot…and gradually the trickle of students encouraged by the confidence and the sense of security radiated by Hope's personality increased to a stream."[80] Though Hope's personal reflections from the Race Riot have been lost to history, it seems that Hope would be aware how these events could have a direct effect on the success of his next venture. The tragedy of the Race Riot did not deter John Hope as he began his work at the first black President of Morehouse College.

In the first decade of John Hope's administration of Atlanta Baptist College, Hope preceded with his goals with measured caution. Though Hope had been put in charge of Atlanta Baptist College, his title was "Acting President" for a probationary period while the ABHMS evaluated what the first black president would do. This fact was not lost on the students of Atlanta Baptist College who in turn pledged amongst themselves, that in order to keep the first Black President of their institution, they would need to not make any trouble for Hope.[81] This allowed President Hope to focus the first decade of his administration on fundraising, building the institution, and continuing his mentoring practices with his students. As his first decade comes to a close, Hope is perhaps recognizing the increasing opportunities slowly emerging after years of struggle.

In 1917, the year the United States entered World War I, John Hope provides another glimpse into his thinking about manhood at Morehouse College. The year is

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[79] Summers, M. (2004). 3.
[80] Torrence, R. (1948).155.
[81] Ibid. 156.

significant as with the U.S. involvement in WWI more black men would have the opportunity to serve in the military and from that service demand their equal rights. Additionally, as the Great Migration is underway, the south is losing scores of black men who possibly would be potential students and leaders of the black community in Atlanta. Possibly Hope sensed the importance of seizing the current political climate to emphasize his vision for manhood development at Morehouse College.

In a speech entitled "Morehouse and Negro Education After Fifty Years" John Hope addressed his students on the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of their institution in March of 1917. In this speech, Hope, presented a narrative of how education for the Negro generally progressed since the Civil War within a lens of the connection between manhood and education. This speech spans not only history but also how Hope chooses to contextualize and learn from history. Early in the speech Hope remarks that education, formal and informal, was the means in which "the emancipated slave was to build his manhood and get his substance"[82] As Hope continues to discuss how education has been a means of adding substance to and building manhood, he brings his audience back to their own time period and asserts that when it comes to the connection between their education and their identities as men, "I wish it clearly understood that we have a liberal attitude toward truth and men". Within these parameters, this speech goes on to outline many of John Hope's foundational ideas about manhood development and it's place in Negro education and Morehouse College.

[82] Hope, J. (1917). "Morehouse and Negro Education After Fifty Years," Atlanta University Presidential Records – John Hope. Box 70. Folder 2. Archives Research Center, Atlanta University Center.

Citing the biblical story of the young boy who helped to feed thousands with only five loaves of bread and two fish, Hope emphasized how much has been and can be accomplished with limited, but fruitful resources. Resources for Negro education, like the few loaves and fish, seemed much less than what was needed to intellectually feed the masses of people. However, just as enslaved men took the scraps of lessons they could acquire from white children to build the substance of their manhood, they, too, had taken their meager resources to build a school that would build men. Hope begins his narrative by citing an example much like his own early educational experiences. Hope cites that in the days after the Civil War northern teachers that came to southern towns saw to it that "the Negro student while learning books learned to have a care for economy and today in town and country you find the stamp of the negro school in the life of the home." Hope himself had been taught in primary school by graduates from Atlanta University that instilled in him the same ideals. One of his educators, Georgia Swift Hope recalled "'had a peculiar facility for making pupils efficient in arithmetic and instilling the principles of a true gentleman.'"[83] This care for economy and Victorian values of "cleanliness and utility" are recurring themes when John Hope is discussing the individual traits of ideal manhood. However, as the first black president of Morehouse College and among the few successful black college presidents of the time, it is clear and necessary to John Hope that manhood in connection to greater educational possibility needs to grow as well. Thus, as this narrative continues, Hope breaks down what it means to make an institution, and a manhood, that serves the needs of the immediate time.

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[83] Ibid. pg. 22.

Continuing with his connection between manhood, education, and the institution, Hope explains “the college, like men, is not simply what it does, but also what it is, and it is exceedingly difficult to sum up what a great institution is” (emphasis his). Hope is laying out the essential problem, how does one measure a man and an institution? Where does the man end and the institution begin? To answer these questions he has set out for himself, Hope posits:

> Curriculum, books, laboratories are the necessary machinery of a college, but after all it is good men, men powerful and good, veritably smashing through the citadel of the youth and penetrating their very souls that make the school for the development of real leaders.[84]

As Hope looks to the future of Negro education, and his place in advancing that future, he lays out several ways that his school will build men along with proposed goals and products.

One strategy that John Hope lays out for manhood development is the unique positionality of the Negro college. Hope emphasizes that just as the Negro college should be concerned with evaluating the needs of the Negro community, this process also lends itself to building men to meet those needs. Hope contends “the college will open new fields of study and research and always seek in the future to prepare men for the work of their generation.[85] It is not enough to explore and expand academia, the Negro college, and specifically Morehouse, must aim to connect those academic advancements to the preparation of men to do the work of their generation. The pursuit of knowledge without practical application is not the brand of education John Hope is interested in. Hope further illustrates his point:

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[84] Hope (1917). 4-5.
[85] Ibid. 6.

> Just as any people makes a study of its welfare and ideals and fashions its youth for their accomplishment, so the negro college, through its gifted and consecrated professors, will decide what negro boys and men must learn and do, and will work upon these youths until they accomplish it.

Not only will the Negro college have an active role in building black boys into men, the leadership and faculty are tasked with being connected with the needs of the community and dedicated to building men in that tradition. Hope puts the responsibility of knowing and building on the shoulders of his faculty, the strong and good men that teach at his institution. Hope also discusses what he envisions as the intended products and goals of this orientation for his institution.

In between laying out how the Negro institution will build men to serve the community, Hope includes some narrow and broad examples of what these products will look like. To help illustrate his points, Hope uses the example of theological seminaries that serve to stifle the vision of young black men instead of build them up to utilize their talents and potential. Hope posits "men must be broadened and deepened, and the devitalization of aggressive young men in theological seminaries must cease."[86] Hope values the aggressiveness of youth and feels that instead of being discouraged, that aggressiveness needs to be shaped and guided towards the necessary work of a generation. In a more generalized statement, Hope asserts another proposed product of his brand of manhood "We must develop men who can move among men in all walks of life, know their difficulties and minister to their necessities" (5). John Hope aims to build his students to not only have the fortitude to go to the places they will need to go, but to also be able to affect change.

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[86] Ibid. 5.

This assertion is akin to the modern campaign at Morehouse College that Morehouse Men should be "Renaissance" Men who are Well read, Well spoken, Well traveled, Well dressed, and Well balanced.[87] This campaign, coined by the 10th President of Morehouse College Dr. Robert Franklin, emphasizes the goal of shaping the Morehouse Man into one who can fulfill the goals laid out here by John Hope. This represents a continuity of leadership of Morehouse College. Though the duties may change from generation to generation, the need to shape men who can meet those needs, whatever they may be, is crucial. However, though responsibility to community is key in both of these time periods, the definition of those communities has changed greatly over the years. In the contemporary iteration of this ideal, it is also important to emphasize that the Morehouse Man must be "well traveled" as the community he serves is not only local, but global. The difference between these two ideologies emphasizes the difficulty to pin down all that a Morehouse Man should do and be. From John Hope's educational philosophy, this identity needs to be tied to the work of its generation. In a contemporary perspective, this identity can be more broadly defined and applied. Hope lists one more important end goal for his vision of manhood development.

In the closing of his speech, John Hope reveals the overarching goal of his brand of manhood development. Inspired and shaped by his example, and the example of his faculty, the Morehouse Man will "bring to pass the full fruits of Christian manhood that will challenge and defy anything less at its country's hands than perfect fairness and real brotherhood."[88] The ultimate goal for shaping men in the ways he has laid out, is so that

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[87] Franklin, R.M. (2008). "Renaissance Men with a Social Conscience." The Five-Wells . www.morehouse.edu/pdf/Five-Wells.pdf (accessed January 10, 2013).
[88] John Hope. (1917). 7.

those men can also dismantle the system of discrimination that define them as less than other men. The goal is to support true brotherhood in the United States and through that brotherhood, create and advocate for equality for the black community. In the early 20th century left Hope asking how the negro would wage a "bloodless revolution" to gain his manhood, the ideas in this speech are one way he has attempted to answer this question through the administration of his school.

Hope's "liberal attitude towards truth and men" set him apart from other Presidents of Negro Colleges. Nearby Fisk University, headed by Fayette McKenzie a white man, advertised a very different orientation towards the education of black males. In fact in "a fundraising letter written during World War I," the author of the letter representing Fisk University,

> I invoked black men as potential threats to the wellbeing of the nation. The letter warned potential benefactors of devoting too much attention to the war in Europe at the expense of 'the ever present and increasing Crisis of the Black Man at our door.'[89]

Unlike Hope, this campaign perpetuated the image of the black man as a savage and a threat in order to solicit money for his education.

College President: 1917-1931

As this speech in 1917 outlined Hope's ideas about the means and product of manhood development at Morehouse College, subsequent speeches, notes, and correspondence expand on these ideas. In the years subsequent 1917, John Hope continued to emphasize the recurring theme of sacrifice and economy as important aspects of manhood development. In an undated speech from John Hope's years as

[89] Summers, M. (2004). 249-250.

Morehouse President[90], Hope continues to discuss the connection between the institution and the brand of men they produce[91]. In this speech, Hope sets the stage by explaining that Morehouse College should create it's own brand of graduate (man) based on its own ideals:

> Now I want you men to know this: That we have a dozen or two, or three colleges devoted entirely to the education of colored men and colored women. They're all good schools. But we don't have to imitate a single one of them, not one.[92]

In this statement, Hope is displaying his philosophy that he does not have to build his school or his students like any of the other Negro colleges. Morehouse will create its own brand of manhood drawn from the ideals of its intellectual leaders. After asserting his desire to differentiate his students from other well trained Negro college graduates, Hope focuses on one important aspect of his brand of manhood development, economy. Hope instructs that Morehouse men are "to form habits of economy that will protect you and protect society as long as you live."[93] Economy and thrift are important parts of John Hope's idea of the Morehouse man. He points out that as the African American race continues to advance, increasing the number of wealthy African Americans, more people may adopt a selfish attitude toward building their community. Hope illustrates this point in several different ways. In this speech he comments "I say it's a pity for men to get an idea that an institution is to be rated as to its success and value by the amount of things that men do that don't add anything at all to the value of their life in college or after they

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[90] I coded this speech as coming from his years as Morehouse President for several reasons. In the speech he addresses "Young Gentlemen", a salutation not used in his speeches to mixed crowds. Hope also speaks of Morehouse specifically and does not make mention of the University Center, which he does in speeches made after he becomes President of the AUC. Furthermore, he references John Brown Watson, an Morehouse alum, former professor, and then president of University of Arkansas – Pine Bluff beginning in 1928. This dates this speech as occurring between 1928 and 1931.
[91] Hope, J. (1928-31) "Untitled/Undated Speech". Atlanta University Presidential Records – John Hope. Box 70. Folder 2. Archives Research Center, Atlanta University Center.
[92] Ibid., 5.
[93] Ibid. 5.

leave college."[94] The value of a college or college graduate is not measured by the amount of money that has been accumulated or spent. The true value of a college is tailoring its activities, including the activity of training and graduating students, to the needs of the community. John Hope picks this point back up in a commencement speech in 1931.

John Hope's commencement speech in 1931 continues his argument that good economy and thrift only important for individuals, and also for the individual's commitment to their community. In this commencement speech, John Hope is not only talking to his students, but also to his son, John Hope, Jr. In This speech John Hope emphasizes good economy and sacrifice and being essential to the work that needs to be done to uplift the black community:

> Are you willing to live life and have it more abundantly as a college man knows life to be? If not, why talk about endowment for Morehouse College? Why talk about bigger salaries for teachers? Why talk about throwing around you every opportunity to develop…if after getting that development you are apostic to it?...And in thinking about that, I want to speak about just one thing; that is, the collegian's obligation to the public weal.

John Hope connects the duties of a graduate, a Morehouse man, directly with various efforts, both pre and post-secondary, to serve education in the black community. The gendered identity of the Morehouse Man is tied to his service to his community. More about Hope's gendered ideals can be drawn from Hope's addresses to the women of Spelman College.

In 1899, when addressing a Women's club, Hope was dismissive of the usefulness of Black women outside of their "roles" as mothers and home makers. Hope received a

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[94] Hope. "Untitled Speech." 4.

lot of criticism for these views and probably most vocal was his wife, Lugenia Burns Hope. Lugenia Hope was a well respected community organizer who had used her own activism through organizations she founded like The Neighborhood Union, as "a chance to express her views on woman's suffrage, racial oppression, and sex discrimination (both interracial and intraracial)."[95] Lugenia, in the tradition of African American women activists at the time, most likely taught Hope in the years since 1899 the errors in his judgment of the roles of women in the future of the race. Another possible influence on his views about women's roles and capacities may have come from years of working in connection with Spelman and Spelman leadership. Though the leadership of Spelman was mostly white for several decades, Hope had great respect for the institution and the quality of Spelman students. This influence can be seen in his later addresses to women.

In a letter from Hope to Miss Lucy D. Slowe, the Dean of Women at Howard University, Hope displays how his thinking about women's education has evolved. Perhaps in a letter soliciting more information on women's education at different negro colleges at the time, Hope explains:

> I am tremendously interested in the education of women. In fact, I am not any too sure that we men are going to make much progress until we get a quality of educated women that will make us go. Women need not only education in books and the laboratory, but the development of a heroism and patience and unselfishness that will get us men somewhere else than to the devil…[96]

These ideas reveal many ways that Hope's attitudes about women's role in race work had changed. In 1899 Hope argued that not even dedicated clubwomen should try to replace men in matters of working for the uplift of the negro race. However, in this letter Hope is

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[95] Rouse, J. A. (1989). *Lugenia Burns Hope, Black southern reformer*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
[96] Hope, J. (1929) "Letter to Miss Lucy D. Slowe, Feb 4, 1929". Atlanta University Presidential Papers – John Hope. Box. 67. Folder 3. Archives Research Center, Atlanta University Center.

expressing his interest in training new generations to do exactly what he warned against before. Though he still uses language suggesting that women would be "pushing" men forward with their activism, he does seem to understand that their activism would still be valid and in fact needed. Hope further displays his evolving views in a speech made to Spelman students in 1929.

In April of 1929 Hope is invited by then Spelman President Florence Read to address the women of Spelman College. Hope begins his address similarly to how he began his speech to the women's mission thirty years earlier, "We came a few years ago…in a most serious manner to realize that the world for centuries has been run to suit men."[97] Unlike his previous address that used this example to draw distinctions between the legitimacy of black men's and women's work, Hope makes this statement seriously to go on a critique social structures that serve men only. Hope in fact displays a great deal of understanding for how social structures treat women differently. In his speech Hope talks about how many women are raised only to be tools that men use or are used to benefit their families and communities without any recognition. Hope emphasizes, "there are women today in Atlanta who are doing their work in the factories and going home and working in the home, while the men who have come from the factory not doing any work at home." This passage shows that Hope is challenging what others, including himself at one time, regarded as women's roles. However, as Hope is pointing out, it is wrong to diminish African American women especially as they regularly carry uneven amounts of the work to be done. Hope wants to emphasize that how gender roles have been previously prescribed to women need to be challenged:

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[97] Hope, J. (1929). "Untitled Speech April 1929."Atlanta University Research Center – John Hope. Box 73. Folder 4. Archives Research Center, Atlanta University Center.

> The thing I am trying to tell you is that you are just as good as men, and that you are just as smart as men, and that you have just as much right to exercise your body, mind, and spirit as men have. And the other thing is that men are just as smart as you, and they have just as much right to exercise their body, mind, and spirit as you have. And this world will not be a great deal better off…until society learns that men and women are equal and that women have a job to do in this world that is just as honorable and just as necessary as the job that men have to do.[98]

These comments fly directly in the face of his "suggestions" to clubwomen at the turn of the century. Here, Hope is displaying how far his understandings of gender have come. In 30 years, of marriage and as a college administrator, Hope came to the conclusion that women were just as suited for race work and had to be trained as such. Hope saw Spelman College as the type of institution that was producing Black women to lead the community forward. These remarks also reveal how Hope's attitudes towards men's roles in relation to women's have evolved. Hope began the 20th century seriously doubting the contributions of black women, yet still recognizing the need for leaders of the "Negro millions." By the 1930s Hope has expanded how he thinks about gender roles by encouraging the race leadership of Black women in partnership with Black men.

Thriving Manhood, Thriving Community

During his years as a faculty member and President of Morehouse College John Hope posited many ideas that related to how black men from Morehouse should be and do. Hope advocated that the highest goal of black manhood ought to be the public weal. The Negro college, as an extension of the negro college president on down, should be institutions that cultivated knowledge that would aid in the mission of college educated men to serve their communities. Thus, the highest goal of black manhood is tied to the

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[98] John Hope. (1929). "Untitled Speech."

negro college and to education. Without the institution, with its racially minded college president and other black male leaders advocating and modeling masculinity, the men produced would not be as effective in their goals. This thriving manhood model is situated in three conditions. The first condition is to possess leadership and a community of men that advocate for full racial equality.

To support a thriving manhood model, leadership and a community of men are needed to model the life, ideals, and behavior of race men to future generations. Throughout his life Hope is unwavering in his belief that interracial cooperation was an important part of striving for equality. However, Hope's commitment to interracial cooperation was conditioned by his refusal to compromise on full equality for African Americans. Hope explains in his letter to Dubois in 1910 the confidence he has in the commitment of himself and his faculty. This suggests that Hope expects radicalism and advocacy to become important parts of the Morehouse Culture, and thus his plans for manhood development. Again, in his speech in 1917 Hope argues that the Negro college and "its gifted and consecrated professors, will decide what negro boys and men must learn and do, and will work upon these youths until they accomplish it."[99] Hope believes that the minutia of manhood development will and should be in the hands of the Negro college faculty. Men who are strong, value activism, and do not shrink from their generational duties. Through modeling and teaching Hope and these men provide examples for future generations of race leaders. The modeling and teachings of the college faculty also help to solidify the connection between manhood and working to understand how to best serve the community.

[99] John Hope. (1917).

The second condition is that through that commitment and advocacy, and the common operations of an institute of higher learning, obtain knowledge that will be needed to address the needs of the black community. Hope also emphasizes that the negro college will study the negro community in order to best serve its needs and contribute to racial equality. This idea was likely influenced by what many other educators, and Hope's wife, had been doing in black communities. African American educators through their professional organizations often conducted studies to better understand the needs of their students and provide an education tied to their needs. The Neighborhood Union, founded by Lugenia Burns Hope and growing during this time also used studies of the negro communities to advocate for better school conditions for black students and equal pay for negro teachers. Like Hope had likely seen from these organizations, it was not enough to be dedicated to solving a problem, one has to also know how to best address the foundational causes of the problem. The workings of Morehouse College, through its scholarship and cultivation of advocacy, should also be a center for knowledge on what needs to be done, what kind of people need to do it, how, and when. This third condition follows logically, with dedicated individuals, armed with the knowledge of the negro community, must then possess the characteristics that make their work sustainable.

The third condition is to cultivate individuals that will fulfill their duty. Hope emphasizes Victorian ideals of thrift and economy, outside of the logic of the politics of respectability, as important practices that affirm the manhood of an individual and liberate him to better serve his community. In speeches from his later years as President when discussing how college men should carry themselves and the characteristics he

wished to pass along to his students, Hope often referenced economy and thrift as major goals for men. According to Derrick Alridge, in his intellectual histories of W.E.B. Dubois and Anna Julia Cooper, Victorian ideals such as these, in mainstream United States culture, were steeped in "white supremacy and black inferiority."[100] However, African American intellectuals, like Cooper, Dubois, and I argue, Hope, "embraced aspects of Victorianism…but reconciled the ideas and language of these ideologies to construct educational ideas that emphasized black equality and social advancement."[101] Hope ties his emphasis of Victorian values to manhood and racial uplift. Much more stated in the selected speeches from his later years as president, Hope connects "habits of economy" that will protect his students, but ones that will also free his students to support Black education in the future. Hope appeals thriving manhood to his students on an individual and collective level. John Hope also displays his thinking on ways that women can and should contribute to the public weal.

Between 1899 and 1929 Hope's views about the contributions of women to the goals of an equal society change to be more inclusive. In 1899 Hope chides clubwomen against taking on roles and characteristics of men and thus replacing men in the arena of race leadership. However, even in his dismissal Hope believed that the "negro millions" would need leaders and those leaders needs not fit in such rigid categories. Perhaps many influences in these thirty years, from Lugenia Hope organizing and leading the Neighborhood Union, his connection to Spelman College its leadership and student, to the passage of the 19th Amendment extending the vote theoretically to all women,

[100] Alridge , D. (2007). "Of Victorianism, Civilizationism, and Progessiveism: The Educational Ideas of Anna Julia Cooper and W.E.B. Du Bois, 1892-1940." *History of Education Quarterly* 47(4). 416-446.
[101] Ibid.

influenced Hope to rethink his views. Possibly as Hope thought more deeply about the needs of the black community decided for himself that those needs went above arbitrary gender distinctions. Hope settles this dilemma within himself and encourages Spelman students in 1929 to regard themselves as equal to men and equally yoked to the advancement of the race through whichever means necessary. Instead of continuing a rhetoric of exclusion and subordination of women, Hope chooses to embrace the potential of women to provide necessary services that compliment or even exceed the efforts of black men. In fact, as Hope recognizes how black women have had to deal with oppression from whites and black men, their position in improving the community for future generations is all the more important. It is just as important for the women of Spelman College to understand how oppression works in their lives and to work to dismantle the structures of that oppression, even when it means challenging black men. However, one piece of the puzzle is still missing. As Hope recognizes that black men and women have similar but different prerogatives for racial uplift, these differences are communicated to the women of Spelman and not the men of Morehouse. In Hope's speech to Spelman in 1929 he emphasizes the oppression women have faced from black men but in his speeches to the men of Morehouse Hope does not go into the struggle of women and their "equal" right to work for the improvement of the community. Though Hope's rhetoric to the women of Spelman emphasizes an equality of duties between men and women, he fails to communicate that equality directly to his Morehouse students. Hope puts an extra burden on black women to fulfill their own duties to the community while also understanding the duties of men. The men of Morehouse, in Hope's surviving

speeches and letters, are never given such a task to also grapple with women's roles in generational work.

Conclusion

Throughout his career at Morehouse College, John Hope modeled and advocated a thriving manhood for his students. This idea of manhood was supported by three main factors: The dedication of leadership and community of college men to racial equality, The function of the negro college to study and understand the needs of the negro community, and the cultivation of individual college men to meet those needs. These conditions contributed to Hope's reputation as a "maker of men" and producer of several college presidents.

Previous historical and contemporary scholarship on the production and position of black manhood in educational spaces have focused on pathological depictions of black males that remove the autonomy of the individual and community to shape manhood identities. Additionally, in educational studies African American males and their identities have been discussed in terms of their resilience to oppressive factors in and out of the school setting. The production and negotiation of black masculine identities were not tied to the functions of the educational institution. This study presented an alternative glance into how masculine identity development can be tied to the mission of a school and can inform the actions of the leadership and faculty of that school. This model does not emphasize only the resilience of black men, though that is implied, but expands the idea that thriving, not just surviving, can and should be a goal of manhood development in schools and educational spaces.

Appendix A

Document Analysis Worksheet

Title:

Type of document:

Physical qualities/characteristics of document:

Date(s) of document:

Author/Creator of Document, position/title of author:

Intended Audience of Document

Function of document and evidence to support

Gendered language	Themes and connections

Quote	Connections to Morehouse Mystique/Notes

Appendix B

Data Sources Matrix

Data Source	RQ 1	RQ2	Selected Points
Hope, J. (1899). Speech notes from Wheat St. Baptist Church Women's Mission. Reel 21. John and Lugenia Burns Hope Microfilm Collection. Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, GA	Y	N	- Men are best suited for race leadership - Men and women stick to their Victorian roles - However room for Women's leadership due to need for leaders for Negro millions
Hope, J. (~1899). Untitled notes. Reel 21. John and Lugenia Burns Hope Microfilm Collection. Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, GA.	Y	Y	- How can the Negro achieve manhood and education through a bloodless revolution
Hope, J. (1910). "Letter to W.E.B. Dubois" John and Lugenia Burns Hope Microfilm Collection. Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, GA.	Y	Y	- Does not shy from radicalism in the name of racial uplift - Faculty share his vision for race leadership and advocacy
Hope, J. (1917). "Morehouse and Negro Education After Fifty Years." Atlanta University Presidential Records – John Hope. Box 70. Folder 2. Archives Research Center, Atlanta University Center.	Y	Y	- Manhood and education connected - Community of Good men at Negro College direct what black men should be and do - Negro College center of study for racial uplift - Cultivate individuals to serve their community/go into any part

Hope, J. (1928-1931) "Untitled Speech to Morehouse College." Atlanta University Presidential Records – John Hope. Box 70. Folder 2. Archives Research Center, Atlanta University Center.	Y	Y	- Victorian habits of economy to protect individual and community - Morehouse Can build it's own vision for what college men should be and do
Hope, J. (1931). "Commencement Speech." Atlanta University Presidential Records – John Hope. Box 73. Folder 4. Archives Research Center, Atlanta University Center.	Y	Y	- Sacrifice for individual and for the community - Educated men have an obligation to public weal. - Without the sacrifice of educated men racial uplift would be impossible
Hope, J. (1929). "Letter to Miss Lucy D. Slowe, Feb 4, 1929." Atlanta University Presidential Records – John Hope. Box 67. Folder 3. Archives Research Center, Atlanta University Center.	N	Y	- Interested in Women's education. - Well educated Women can "push" men in racial uplift
Hope, J. (1929). "Untitled Speech April 1929." Atlanta University Presidential Records – John Hope. Box 73. Folder 4. Archives Research Center, Atlanta University Archives.	Y	Y	- Starting to unpack the oppression black women face even at the hands of black men - Men and women's work equal for racial uplift - Women should push men to work

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