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Building Men: African American Men's Community Organizations and the Creation of Camp John Hope, 1933-1937

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Building Men: African American Men's Community Organizations and the Creation of Camp John Hope, 1933-1937

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Abstract

Building Men: African American Men's Community Organizations and the Creation of Camp John Hope, 1933-1937
By Amber Jones

Several historians of African American education discuss the importance of out-of-school program spaces in providing well rounded academic, democratic, and cultural education for African American children during the segregation era. This historical case study contributes to this literature by investigating the people, purpose, and impact of the Georgia State Council for Work among Negro Boys (GSCNB). The GSCNB was composed of several delegates from all parts of Georgia including college presidents, K-12 educators, parents, and community members all concerned with a lack of development opportunities available for African American boys. The years in which they were active, 1933-1937, present a small scale view designed to analyze their contributions in the larger subject of enrichment programs for Black boys. The purpose of this study is to delineate the processes of how these African American educators and community organizers created a statewide network and completed a major project with a coalition of state and federal entities. Their major project, Camp John Hope, was the first modern camping facility for African American youth in the southern region.

This study is guided by the following research questions: What circumstances and actors led to the founding of the Georgia State Council for Work among Negro Boys? What was the makeup, purpose, and activity of the GSCNB? What circumstances led to the decline of the GSCNB? What influence did the GSCNB have on the accessibility and design of Camp John Hope and enrichment programs for Black boys in Georgia and across the South?

Building Men: The Georgia State Council for Work among Negro Boys and the Spread of Enrichment Programs for African American Boys in Georgia, 1933-1937

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INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1917, Edward Hope, an eighteen-year-old African American young man from Atlanta, Georgia wrote to the National Headquarters of the Pioneer Scouts (a subsidiary of the Boy Scouts of America). He challenged the organization to a debate about their own values. Hope explained to the Boy Scouts that he endeavored to live by the Boy Scout Oath and Law even though he did not belong to a local troop. "Why, you may ask, do I not join a troop?"

Hope continued, "It is because some people in authority," unlike himself, "are not living bravely up to the tenth Scout Law."[1] Hope was referring to the scouting laws that had been adopted by the organization in 1911. Among a long list of traits that describe a scout: trustworthy, loyal, and helpful; the tenth law states that a scout is brave. "I am a colored boy," explained Hope. "You have allowed yourselves to be swayed by the jeers and threats of race prejudice."[2] The "jeers and threats" came from local white councils whom the Boy Scouts gave final say in whether to charter a Boy Scout troop.[3]

Evidence does not exist to indicate whether or not Edward Hope ever received a response to his letter from the scouting organization. However, Edward and other African American boys like him in Georgia would receive a response from within their own communities, starting with Edward's father, John Hope. John Hope had been the president of Morehouse College, an all-male HBCU in Atlanta, Georgia, for 11 years at the time of Edward's letter. John Hope took on the challenge of being the first African

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[1]Ridgely Torrence, *The Story of John Hope* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), 195.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Scouting troops for African Americans did not spread throughout the South for another decade and integration of scout troops did not begin until the 1970's. David Macleod, *Building character in the American boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and their forerunners, 1870-1920* (Madison: University of the Wisconsin Press, 1983), 213.

American president of an American Baptist Home Mission Society backed school by designing his educational leadership and values to help the boys in his charge become men. As Hope transitioned from leading Morehouse to leading Atlanta University, he continued his dedication to the development of young African American men through his extensive work with the Young Men's Christian Association and other local and national organizations.

Hope founded the Georgia State Council for Work among Negro Boys (GSCNB) in 1933 with a coalition of other college presidents, educators, and African American community members. This new organization was dedicated to expanding and improving recreational and character development opportunities for African American young men. This study explores John Hope's endeavors to improve opportunities for African American young men through extracurricular recreational activities organized and supported by the Georgia State Council for Work among Negro Boys.

Purpose

In 1933, the GSCNB became an umbrella organization with delegates from all parts of Georgia, both rural and urban. These delegates ranged from college presidents, to K-12 educators, parents, and community members all concerned with the services available for African American boys in the State of Georgia. This dissertation examines the years 1919-1945 with a special emphasis on 1933-1937, when the GSCNB was most active. I describe the circumstances leading to the GSCNB, their organizational machinery, and the process of creating Camp John Hope. Within this story I discuss the major purposes and activities of the GSCNB and what ultimately led to the decline of the organization. The purpose of this study is to delineate the processes of how these African

American educators and community organizers created a statewide network and completed a major project with a coalition of state and federal entities.

Significance

This study has historical and contemporary significance to literature that discusses the life and educational philosophy of John Hope and to the history of leisure time development programs for African American males in Georgia and across the South. This study also speaks to current initiatives aimed at addressing social and educational issues for African American males and the search for theories on positive development for African American males.

Historically, John Hope was one of the most influential African American educators in the South during the early twentieth century. However, literature detailing his life and accomplishments do not delve deeply into his educational philosophy and his contribution to development programs for African American young men. This study will examine his founding of the Georgia State Council for Work among Negro Boys, an overlooked portion of his later career, and how this work helped to provide greater access to development programs for African American young men in Georgia and the South more broadly. The State Council brought stakeholders from several organizations and locations in Georgia together—at a time when development programs for African American boys were spreading— to devise plans for making sure all boys in Georgia had access to quality programs.

The contemporary significance of this study is two-fold. Since the 1980's, a particular concern in educational research has been the "Black male crisis." I discuss in

detail how the "Black male crisis" is characterized in education policy and research in my literature review. Concern for the "Black male crisis" has launched efforts to examine and explain the negative experiences of African American males in schools and society. However, according to leading researchers on the subject "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."[4] This study aims to provide historical context to the progressive research and theory on the positive development of African American males. This study is also uniquely tailored for such historical context as it examines an organization that brought together several national and local organizations to determine what community leaders did and what they could do across the state. President Barack Obama's initiative to support research on African American males has given a renewed national spotlight to this issue. It is important to recognize historical models that can inform contemporary work.

Conceptual Orientation

Two conceptual ideas inform this study. The first involves the connection between community and manhood. This concept explores the question of how African American communities prioritized the development of young men and boys. The second conceptual framework explains the symbiotic relationship between the community and school and how they worked together to provide education for African American

[4] Pedro Noguera, "Education Week: Saving black and latino boys." *Education Week: American Education News Site of Record*, last modified February 7, 2013, http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2012/02/03/kappan_noguera.html.

children. Community organizations played an important part in supplying additional training and development for African American children.

The Honorable John C. Dancy, Recorder of Deeds for Washington D.C., presented this argument in his lecture "How to Save Our Youth" given at The Negro Young People's Christian and Educational Congress which was held in August 1902 in Atlanta, Georgia. Dancy later published this lecture in book form along with the proceedings of the meeting. The arguments Dancy put forth demonstrated the intimate connections made between racial uplift and the development of boys. Dancy was not alone in conflating these two issues. Historian Kevin Gains argued that twentieth century middle class African American men placed a consistent emphasis on "civilization, manhood, and patriarchal authority" in their arguments for racial uplift.[5] Historian Angela Hornby-Gutting argues that this relationship between racial uplift and manhood development prompted a shift in how middle-class African American men defined their manhood and how they proposed to pass these ideals onto the next generation. Though disenfranchisement, segregation, and violence influenced a mass exodus from rural areas of the South to urban centers in the South, Midwest, and Northeast "it also motivated African American men who stayed to affirm a manly identity and expand their community role."[6] Racial uplift redefined African American men's relationships with their community. This broke from cultural understandings and discussions about what constituted manhood.

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[5] Kevin Gaines, "Black Americans' Racial Uplift Ideology as' Civilizing Mission': Pauline E. Hopkins on Race and Imperialism," *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (1993): 433-55.

[6] Angela Hornsby-Gutting, *Black Manhood and Community Building in North Carolina, 1900-1930* (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2009).

Historical literary critic, Keith Clark, argues that seminal works defining black manhood such as *The Autobiography of Frederick Douglass* and Richard Wright's *Black Boy* reflected cultural understandings of Black manhood as individualized and isolated. Within the African American literary tradition depictions of manhood "apotheosize physical action, dislocation, and violence as the cornerstones of maleness. The way to become a *gendered* subject is not to be subjected by family or community."[7] In *The Autobiography of Frederick Douglass,* Clark argues that Douglass defined his manhood during his individual realization and confrontation with his slave master, not, for example, any of his experiences teaching other Black men to read and write in secret, a communal activity.[8] Similarly, Richard Wright commented on his work *Black Boy* and other Black male characters in his writings and argued that "these subjects' marginal place within their own community mirrors their own socially and psychologically limited space within the white one."[9] Notions of Black masculinity were about the development of an individual, not the collective. Hornsby-Gutting's examination of African American middle class churchmen depicted a break from this reasoning in the name of organizing for manhood development.

Ideas about manhood amongst middle class African American men began to shift at the turn of the century to allow for different approaches to racial uplift. Hornsby-Gutting argues that for North Carolina's middle class African American men, racial uplift encompassed several dimensions and approaches rooted in a commitment to community and the fostering of respectable manhood.[10]

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[7] Keith Clark, Black Manhood in James Baldwin, Ernest J. Gaines, and August Wilson (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2004).
[8] Ibid., 4.
[9] Ibid., 20.
[10] Ibid., 12.

However, redefining African American men's roles in community organizing also involved inserting themselves into work that was traditionally done by African American women. Several historians have discussed the community organizing and women's club movement of the 20th century.[11] African American men's shifting identities meant re-branding "women's work" to fit their own agendas. Just as the women's movement helped to reshape the gendered roles of African American women, incorporating community organization, boy's work, and racial uplift represented a change in the spheres in which African American men operated. Hornsby-Gutting explores this shift within the institution of the Black church specifically. African American men "demanded new roles as religious social service workers, they appropriated positions typically understood as womanly tasks" as a way of battling the "feminization" of the church.[12] These "womanly tasks" included organizing in the community for racial uplift and manhood development. African American men organizing for racial uplift created tension in the Black church, but it also revealed a community interest in manhood development. These middle class African American men formulated a communal manhood to boost their identity and demonstrate their faith in agency/progress, which was at odds with the South's segregated social order and is still at odds with historian's traditional interpretation of Jim Crow as being predominated by Black subjugation and accommodation.[13] The church was not the only place that had a shift to an ideology of communal manhood.

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[11] Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the politics of white supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Charlotte, UNC Press Books, 2013); Deborah Gray White, *Too heavy a load: Black women in defense of themselves, 1894-1994*, (WW Norton & Company, 1999).

[12] Angela Hornsby-Gutting, *Black Manhood and Community Building in North Carolina, 1900-1930* (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2009), 11.

[13] Ibid., 7.

Sociologist Forrester Washington wrote an article examining recreational facilities available to African Americans in different sections of the country in 1928. Washington believed the right to wholesome recreation was a chief concern in the minds of African Americans who migrated from the rural South to urban centers in the Southeast, Midwest, and Northeast. Hornsby-Gutting writes about this turn to recreation as a means to manhood development when she contends:

> The latent promise that males have unencumbered access to public space remained a central component of masculinity, one with particular salience to black Americans who were encumbered at every step in the South.[14]

As some migrants searched for locations with opportunities to find better access to the lives they wanted, African Americans who remained in the urban and rural areas of the South also sought ways to provide better opportunities for recreation. Washington added,

> Perhaps the most heartening development is the fact that the Negro is refusing to allow himself to become discouraged because of the failure of the white man to provide adequate, wholesome recreation for him. He is gradually developing better forms of recreation for himself.[15]

African Americans who remained in the South found ways to create and sustain recreational programming that would serve their needs and community interests. Like the churchmen in North Carolina, middle class African American men across the South saw the issue of segregation and the lack of access to recreation as another denial of their rights as men, and thus a battlefield for manhood development. "Communal manhood" conceptually informed this dissertation as it is a way of explaining the priority assigned to

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[14] Ibid., 151.

[15] Forrester B. Washington, "Recreational facilities for the negro," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 140 (1928): 279.

the development of African American boys and an emphasis on their access to public recreational spaces.

The second conceptual framework guiding this study is drawn from literature discussing the theory and practices of African American Progressive Era educators. Lawrence Cremin, an educational historian, borrowed the Greek idea of the "paideia" meaning "a critical cultivation of an active citizenry" to describe the purposes of the education system in the United States.[16] Cremin's theory incorporated formal and non-formal education (i.e. apprenticing, shadowing) as being two parts of an "American Paideia" or "vision of life." These two parts were essential to achieving the goal of democratic education. However, as V.P. Franklin in *The Education of Black Philadelphia* argues that Cremin's understanding of education fails to fully explain its function in African American communities. Franklin posits that "the community educational activities of Black (and a few White) social and religious organizations were extremely significant" in providing a democratic education for African American children during segregation.[17] The South did not design segregation for the democratic education of African Americans.

Fortunately, as Cremin argued, education is not confined to what goes on in brick and mortar educational institutions. In the African American community, organizations, professional networks, and community programs helped to fill in the gaps for preparing well-developed, active, democratic citizens. Supporting this claim, several educational historians have noted that community programs and extracurricular activities in segregated schools were extremely popular and important aspects of meeting the

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[16] Lawrence A. Cremin, *Traditions of American Education* (New York: Basic Books, 1977).
[17] Vincent P. Franklin, *The Education of Black Philadelphia: The Social and Educational History of a Minority Community, 1900-1950* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), xvii.

academic, social, and developmental needs of African American students and their communities by extension.[18]

Existing historiography discusses the numerous ways these community organizations provided critical support for education in the African American community.[19] However, more can be understood about the priorities of these organizations especially when it comes to supporting education. This dissertation will argue several community organizations prioritized the development of African American males. Though urban education has undergone many changes and reforms since the Progressive Era, the accessibility of a democratic education as discussed is still largely defined along barriers of race and class.[20] For the purposes of this study, my definition of education pertains to the institutions, agencies, and individuals involved in the democratic development of a pupil. This definition better captures how schools and communities worked together for the positive development of their children. My analysis will be informed by the "African American Paideia" by complicating the ways community organizations contributed to the culture of education.

LITERATURE REVIEW

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[18] Faustine Jones, *Traditional Model of Educational Excellence: Dunbar High School of Little Rock, Arkansas* (Washington, D.C.: Published for ISEP by Howard University Press, 1981); Vanessa Siddle Walker, "Valued segregated schools for African American children in the South, 1935-1969: A review of common themes and characteristics," *Review of Educational Research* 70 (2000): 253-285.; Scott Baker, "Pedagogies of protest: African American teachers and the history of the civil rights movement, 1940–1963," *Teachers College Record* 113 (2011): 2777-2803.

[19] Vincent. P. Franklin, *The Education of Black Philadelphia: The Social and Educational History of a Minority Community, 1900-1950* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979); Vanessa Siddle Walker, "Ninth Annual Brown Lecture in Education Research Black Educators as Educational Advocates in the Decades Before Brown v. Board of Education," *Educational Researcher* 42 (2013): 207-222; Vanessa Siddle Walker, *Hello professor: A Black principal and professional leadership in the segregated South* (University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

[20] Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate IV, "Toward a critical race theory of education," *The Teachers College Record* 97 (1995): 47-68.

This literature review is divided into three sections, each with its own parameters and decision rules. The first section of the literature review presents the scope and setting for this study. This section contains secondary literature that attests to the historical, political, and educational climate of the years discussed in the dissertation. I specifically wanted to paint a picture of how economic conditions had direct effects on the theory and practice of education and how this contributes to the spread of extracurricular activities for African American young men.

The second set of literature is tailored to discuss the effect that the Progressive Era had on the field of education. This literature outlines important facets of Progressive Era education in White American and African American communities. I discuss the Cardinal Principals and how they translated into educational practices in both communities. This led me to a discussion of child labor and compulsory education laws that bolstered the progressive education movement.

The third section of this literature review discusses historical research into the impact of extracurricular and community programs in the lives of African American males. For that reason I excluded literature that approaches the subject in a contemporary setting. Within the historical literature I focused on the conditions that fostered organizations as well as the philosophies and pedagogies involved in the operation of the organization. These studies were found through a multi-database search using a variety of search terms: African American boys' club work, Black Boys' Club, African American extracurricular activities organizations, Butler Street YMCA, Carver Boys Club, Atlanta African American boys' club work, Georgia African American boys' club work, African Americans YMCA Georgia, African American boy scouts, etc. The terms

"boy's club", "extracurricular activity/organization," and "enrichment program" are all meant to represent different types of the same idea of an after school/community program. Savage defines an after school program as "school and community based programs implemented during non-school hours, including the summer."[21] Their differences lie in their affiliations to national organizations and the practices thereof. Location and leadership will be discussed in each case.

Scope and Setting

The period of 1929-1940 is a critical time period to investigate how character development programs have been designed and implemented in the state of Georgia and across the South. National and statewide political and social climates contributed to conditions that supported the spread of these programs. Two social and political circumstances dictated the scope and setting of this dissertation: Progressive Era educational ideals and the Great Depression.

The national economic crisis ushered in by the stock market crash of 1929 and the Great Depression had lasting effects on the American social, political, and educational landscape. Though the nation as a whole was suffering during the Great Depression, social and economic problems in the southern region were more acute.

Historian John Egerton wrote about the drastic effects the Great Depression had on the South. Before the worst years of the Great Depression the South experienced a significant shift in its population. Egerton wrote that between 1900-1930 three and a half million more people moved out of the South than those moving in.[22] The people leaving

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[21] Carter Savage, "Progressive education, after-school programs and their impact on the lives of African American males: An introduction," *Peabody Journal of Education 88,* (2013): 408.
[22] John Egerton, Speak now against the day: The generation before the civil rights movement in the South (UNC Press Books, 1995).

were of two kinds: those with the least political power, unskilled laborers of both races, and creative and gifted people of both races, looking for a better atmosphere to thrive. The Great Depression hit state of Georgia especially hard. Georgia for example "suffered a net migration loss of nearly half a million people between 1920-1930…a substantial majority of the state's population loss was Black."[23] Contributing to this migration were the impenetrable oligarchies that ruled southern state politics. All of the South's power and substantial amount of the wealth rested in the hands of a few families. Egerton wrote "this was feudal land, an Americanized version of European society in the middle ages."[24] For decades, the powerful elite operated only to solidify their own fortunes without concern for the people or land that supplied their lifeblood. These problems were further compounded when the South's major industries were threatened. In 1915 the boll weevil arrived in the South, decimating crops and eliminating any margin of profit for small farmers.[25] In the decade before the Great Depression "cotton and tobacco prices plummeted."[26] This left the South particularly vulnerable to the national economic crisis. By the 1930s, southern "soil [was] exhausted and eroded" and southern people were malnourished and indigent.[27] For example "the South could count a quarter of the nation's population but only a tenth of its wealth."[28]

All of these factors combined to create a nearly unlivable atmosphere for most of the South's population.

This economic state of emergency called for the reform of labor markets to provide some relief. Adult unemployment nationwide reached a peak of 24.75% in

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[23] Numan V. Bartley, *The creation of modern Georgia* (University of Georgia Press, 1990).
[24] Egerton, Speak now against the day: The generation before the civil rights movement in the South, 19.
[25] Jamil S. Zainaldin, "Great Depression," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2004.
[26] Egerton, Speak now against the day: The generation before the civil rights movement in the South, 22.
[27] Bartley, The creation of modern Georgia, 173.
[28] Egerton, Speak now against the day: The generation before the civil rights movement in the South, 21.

1933.[29] Stronger national laws regarding child labor were passed in an effort to ameliorate adult joblessness. These laws gave a greater emphasis to enforcement.

Child labor exploded during the industrial era even though it had been an issue of debate for generations. Industrial plants could hire children for lower wages. Prior to the Great Depression, very few protections existed to discourage this practice. Due to this largely unchecked practice the number of workers ages 15 and younger reached between 1.5 and 2 million by 1920.[30] Prior to the Great Depression, competition with adults for jobs had small impact on the rate of child labor and little was done by legislators to deter the practice. It was not until President Roosevelt signed the Code of Fair Competition in 1933 that the country saw steep declines in child labor.[31] Even then by 1935, only "100,000 children under the age of sixteen were removed from industry."[32] Furthermore, despite the slow progress in 1930 "more than three million children…were not attending school."[33] With children moving out of the labor market many found themselves with no place to go. Clearly, more was needed to protect children and lure them away from the labor market and into classrooms. The South's economic troubles and political rigidity also translated into state sanctioned oppression of the South's Black population.

State and local governments in the 1930s legitimized the color line in the South. Jim Crow laws solidified racial subordination in the South and encouraged segregation to spread into places it had not been before. As a result "all types of public accommodations, from parks and theatres to restaurants and libraries adopted segregation

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[29] United States. Bureau of the Census. The Statistical History of the United States, from Colonial Times to the Present. Basic Books (AZ), 1976.
[30] United States. Bureau of the Census. Historical statistics of the United States, colonial times to 1970. No. 93. US Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1975.
[31] Walter Trattner, Crusade for the Children: A History of the National Child Labor Committee and Child Labor Reform in America (Crown, 1970).
[32] Ibid., 192.
[33] Ibid., 289.

policies."[34] The state of Georgia was no exception. The economic, social, and political conditions caused by segregation led to a significant loss of population. In the decades between 1900 and 1930, Georgia lost 10% of its African American population.[35] Segregation could not be kept out of any place. According to Bartley, segregation tainted even the most mundane aspects of society. For example "Atlanta established the bizarre requirement that courtrooms have white and colored bibles for swearing in witnesses."[36] Eugene Talmadge signified the shift to legalized white supremacy when he was elected as governor of Georgia in 1933. Talmadge vociferously opposed any federal relief efforts or influence in the state of Georgia. Talmadge replied "I do not believe the money collected in taxes should be spent at the rate of 40 cents an hour for Negro highway laborers and boys who drive trucks" when asked about imposing federal minimum wages that far exceeded current wages.[37] However, Talmadge was not able to delay efforts for long as eventually the Roosevelt administration worked around state restrictions to provide needed relief by 1934. New federal programs introduced in 1934 and 1935 also did more to alleviate economic and social problems in Georgia.

The Roosevelt administration enjoyed increased political power in 1934 after midterm elections reflected support for New Deal programs. The National Recovery Administration, Works Progress Administration, Resettlement Administration, and the National Youth Administration were able to utilize Roosevelt's impact and challenge the status quo in Georgia. For example, the National Recovery Administration "succeeded in

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[34] John Egerton, *Speak now against the day: The generation before the civil rights movement in the South*, 31.
[35] James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988),179.
[36] Numan V. Bartley, *The Creation of Modern Georgia* (University of Georgia Press, 1990), 148.
[37] Ibid.,174.

raising minimum factory pay and generally eliminating child labor in industry."[38] Additionally, new executives brought a renewed commitment to the poor in the state of Georgia. Earlier New Deal programs were restricted by Southern state governments and failed to challenge the white supremacist exclusion of poor African Americans from even the most limited relief efforts. The Roosevelt Administration appointed a new crop of federal program directors with their increased influence in the region. Prior to 1935, Aubrey Williams was a Southern born, government social worker whose belief in work relief programs translated into his job as Executive Director of the National Youth Administration (NYA). Williams had full control of federal resources for the NYA and "went out of his way to ensure that blacks and other demonstrably needy groups were represented."[39] At this time Eleanor Roosevelt was also getting more involved in federal programs specifically related to youth development. The NYA then became the major channel in which to promote youth programs. The Great Depression also had a substantial effect on schools for African Americans in the South.

Schools for African American children reflected the social, economic, and political climate ushered in by the Great Depression. The Great Depression interrupted and in many ways reversed much of the progress made in the development of education for African Americans. This is made evident by comparing the changes between schools in the 1920s and 1930s. Educator and social scientist, Horace Mann Bond, published in 1934 a comprehensive evaluation of education for African Americans in the South. *Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* drew from Bond's research into educational trends across the nation with a particular comparison between schools in the

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[38] Ibid., 174.

[39] Egerton, Speak now against the day: The generation before the civil rights movement in the South, 101.

North and the South. Bond painted a very different picture of the trajectory of schools in the 1920s versus the 1930s. From his research Bond observed that in the years between 1920 and 1930 there was a general trend across Southern states that indicated a significant increase in enrollment in 10th, 11th, and 12th grades among African Americans.[40] Bond also observed that between 1921 and 1930 "expenditures for Negro high school teachers increased 525%" and this could have possibly caused the increase in enrollment.[41] However, enrollment began to decrease in the beginning of the 1930s. Educational historian James Anderson supports this claim. Since emancipation, African Americans had shouldered a significant portion of the funding for their own schools though their taxes and additional donations of money, labor, and property. However, Anderson wrote:

> What rural blacks did during the period 1914-1932 could not be done during the Great Depression…Their behavior of self-help and practice of double taxation, though not extinguished completely, became much less substantial than in the preceding decades.[42]

Though for some time African Americans were able to support their schools, the Great Depression affected African Americans more harshly than poor Whites and made it much more difficult for them to spare any resources. Bond's study also reflected the effects of fewer economic resources on the status of schools for African American children. Bond reported that in Arkansas during 1930, Black children made up 25.5% of students in the state, yet Black schools only received 10.2% of expenditures.[43] Bond also explained why the economic downturn affected the quality of education provided for Black children

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[40] Horace Mann Bond, *Education of the Negro In the American Social Order* (New York: Octogon Books, 1934).
[41] Ibid., p. 299-300.
[42] James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 177.
[43] Horace Mann Bond, Education of the Negro In the American Social Order, 169.

more than the same reduction of resources affected education for White children. In Black schools a majority of expenditures went to teacher salaries and not much else. In White schools, at the time, a loss of expenditures resulted in losing superfluous programs and projects and was less likely to affect teacher salaries or school terms. However, Bond argued, cuts to funding in Black schools "must come in the shortening of terms, the discharge of teachers, or the closing of schools."[44] Thus Black schools suffered more at the loss of state, federal, philanthropic, and community funds. Additionally, these losses to education quality for African Americans had an impact on the individual lives of students.

Sociologists of the time period wrote about the lamentable conditions Black children faced in and out of school. In an unpublished examination of Black schools in the 1930s, social scientist Charles S. Johnson argued that the education provided to Black children was "a confusing, disturbing, alienating experience" with "poorly prepared teachers, harsh punishments, rote learning, and a lifeless curriculum."[45] Bond's study discussed some of the individual challenges both rural and urban children faced in this educational climate. Bond wrote profiles examining some of the challenges the average Southern Black child faced. The typical Black child in a rural setting:

> Will come from a tenant family where the daily cash income to supply books, means of advancement…clothes, and other equipment necessary for his wellbeing as a student must be purchased from a budget of less than twelve cents a day. This sum must also furnish almost one-half of the food and other expenses incident in keeping the child alive.[46]

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[44] Ibid., 170.
[45] Adam Fairclough, ""Being in the Field of Education and Also Being a Negro...Seems...Tragic": Black Teachers in the Jim Crow South," *The Journal of American History* 87, no. 1 (2000): 65.
[46] Horace Mann Bond, Education of the Negro In the American Social Order, 288.

Bond implies that home conditions and life circumstances were out of sync with what a child would need to advance their development and education. The economic challenges faced by rural children and their families also led to high levels of employed children. Bond reported: "80% of the rural children will have been gainfully employed from the time when their little fingers were agile enough to grasp and strip a cotton ball."[47] Black children needed to work to help support their families and this impacted their education. Urban Black children in Bond's study also disproportionately faced out-of-school challenges that impaired their development as students. Among urban Black children "40%...will come from homes where both parents are away from home all day…and the child is obliged to…take care of younger children or…play in the streets until night."[48] Disproportionate home responsibilities and/or lack of parental supervision and support contributed to Black children's fluctuating attendance and advancement in schools. The educational climate in Georgia revealed a constant struggle between what legislatures and philanthropists wanted for Black children and what Black children and families wanted for themselves.

Georgia's allocation of educational funds signified their lack of commitment to any form of useful African American education. Schools for Black children in Georgia were among the first to be sacrificed in responses to the economic crisis in the 1930s. Historian Ronald Bayor wrote about the general policy of Georgia legislatures and White educators when it came to Black and White education during the 1930s. According to Bayor "generally, the Board of Education tried to limit the impact of the Depression on

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[47] Ibid., 288.
[48] Ibid., 289.

White schools by cutting funds from Black ones."[49] Evidence of this unequal allocation of funds and resources is reflected in educational statistics in Georgia during the 1930s. For example, Historian Roger Biles reported that in 1930 "in Atlanta the average pupil expenditure for White students stood at $95.20 but at $30.55 for Black students.[50] Bayor cited that in 1931 8% of White students in Atlanta and 89% of Black students were on double (and sometimes triple) sessions.[51] In the year 1932 in Atlanta there were 44 elementary schools for White children but zero for Black children.[52] Bayor also pointed out that Georgia's ideology, not just its lack of economic resources, which cost the state the most. New Deal programs "in 1933-34...provided Georgia with almost 5 million for education. Of this money the Black schools in the state received only 12.7% although Blacks represented over 39% of Georgia's school children."[53] Maintaining the dual system of education created significant waste because to keep up with White's refusal to share public accommodations with African Americans additional smaller buildings had to be built. If Georgia had decided to consolidate all of its school children in each county it would have saved thousands of dollars.[54] Needless to say educational policy in Georgia was not influenced by the needs of Black children.

Even philanthropic funds were wasted and misdirected because of social and educational policies. In 1931 an influential women's group, The Atlanta Committee on Women's Interracial Activities, petitioned the city to build their own school for Black children. However, the city denied their request because "of the aversion of White

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[49] Ronald H. Bayor, *Race and the Shaping of Twentieth-century Atlanta* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996)., 208.
[50] Roger Biles, "The Urban South in the Great Depression," *The Journal of Southern History* 56, no. 1 (1990): 71-100.
[51] Ronald H. Bayor, *Race and the Shaping of Twentieth-century Atlanta,* 208.
[52] Ibid., 208.
[53] Ibid., 208.
[54] Ibid., 209.

people living in the neighborhood."[55] Philanthropic organizations often tied their funding to industrial education when supporting African American schools. Anderson also demonstrated that industrial education for Black children was preferred by Southern educators and Northern philanthropists. Using circular reasoning, Northern philanthropists promoted industrial education because they believed that Black boys and girls would never be able to use academic training, thus they should not be provided any.[56] A 1931 study conducted in Georgia suggests that a majority of students aspired to professional and skilled jobs even though Black education was designed to produce better laborers. A survey of tenth graders in Spencer High School in Columbus found that 87% of students "aspired to occupations more prestigious and higher paying than those held by their fathers and mothers."[57] In this case the student's aspirations exceeded what their school curriculum offered them. The social, economic, and political constrictions of the 1930s also had a specific effect on the lives of Black men and boys.

Black men and boys bore the brunt of animosity and blame for nearly any social ill in the minds of White Southerners. Egerton theorized that after the Civil War and period of Reconstruction, one could observe a trend in the "Southern psyche" that placed principal blame on Black men for White men's perceived loss of political, social, and sexual power.[58] Egerton argued that "Black men were envisioned as the demons responsible for every outrage, from alienation of affections (both White and Black), to White male guilt, to… rape and dethroning…of White purity."[59] In the dominant White culture in the South to be Black and male was to be constantly guilty and a convenient

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[55] Ibid., 208.
[56] James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935,* 223.
[57] Ibid., 224.
[58] Egerton, *Speak now against the day: The generation before the civil rights movement in the South,* 51.
[59] Ibid., 51.

scapegoat for any discomfort. This ideology can be observed from several vantage points such as how Black men and boys were treated in terms of crime and punishment. In Southern practice of law and order "the caste, class, and sex of offender and victim, not the crime, determined [the] punishment."[60] When the accused offender was a Black man or boy, the punishments were the harshest. One needed only to examine the practice of lynching in the United States. Egerton reported "there were 2,771 lynchings…in the United States between 1890 and 1930 and the victims in a vast preponderance…were Black men in the South."[61] Additionally, this figure did not include a vast number of "legal lynchings" of accused fugitives and individuals who were claimed to have escaped from custody.[62] During this time period in Georgia there were 450 reported lynchings, the second highest in the South after Mississippi. Black boys and men did not only lose their lives through lynching. When Black men and boys were allowed to survive to be convicted and sentenced "local and state officials found ways to let farmers, factory owners etc. to keep prison inmates while they 'worked off' payment for their crimes."[63] Being both Black and male in the South carried a lot of risk.

Progressivism and Education

Educators, politicians, social workers, and scientists believed that the correct application of scientific research would lead to more productive and healthy communities and individuals during the United States' Progressive Era. However, progressive educational thought and implementation differed within two interconnected schools of thought: administrative progressivism and pedagogical progressivism. Educational

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[60] Numan Bartley, *The creation of modern Georgia*, 140.
[61] Egerton, *Speak now against the day: The generation before the civil rights movement in the South*, 27.
[62] Numan Bartley, *The creation of modern Georgia*, 139.
[63] John Egerton, *Speak now against the day: The generation before the civil rights movement in the South*, 28.

historian, Thomas Fallace, argued that the defining factor of progressive education was the placement of the identity, needs, and social status of the child at the center of educational endeavors. However, this "child-centeredness" had different characteristics depending on philosophy. Fallace explains:

> To some progressive educators individuality was internally determined and aimed toward self-expression, but for others individuality was externally determined and aimed at identifying and sorting students into their appropriate social roles.[64]

Administrative progressives sought to find better ways of categorizing children based on their capacities to learn at different stages in their development. Pedagogical progressives sought to address the social and educational needs of children in order to develop them to their highest capacity. However, despite these general philosophical differences when it came to teaching native and immigrant "White" children, progressives believed that Black children were monolithic and socially and culturally deficient. When it came to the education and development of Black children, White progressive educators predominantly fell on the side of administrative progressive education.

First published in 1918, a report filed by the National Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education represents the influence of administrative progressives. The Commission was tasked with creating guidelines for organizing secondary education in the United States. This was an effort to create clear objectives for secondary education and apply them to the growing population of available high schools. The commission created the Cardinal Principles which remained an important source of organization and evaluation of schooling in the United States for generations to come. The Cardinal Principles, the main objectives of secondary education, were: Health,

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[64] Thomas D. Fallace, *Race and the Origins of Progressive Education*, 1880-1929.

Command of Fundamental Processes, Worthy Home Membership, Vocation, Citizenship, Worthy use of Leisure Time, and Ethical Character.[65] These themes can be observed in many Progressive Era programs and projects. African American educators utilized these objectives to advocate for better educational resources for their communities.

The economic and social conditions created by the Great Depression left millions of children out of work and school despite federal, state, and local efforts to build schools and keep children in them. The passage and enforcement of child labor laws protected children from toiling away in industries but did not dictate where they would go after leaving their jobs. Realizing the result of labor reform, Progressive Era educational reformers worked on other legislation that would direct children into schools instead of jobs. Progressively minded child welfare advocates such as the National Child Labor Committee (NCLC) were responsible for pushing through legislation on child labor and they concurrently advocated for the federal government to create better conditions to bring children back to school.[66] In 1918, the NCLC along with the Committee on National Aid to Education "inaugurated a campaign for federal aid to elementary education" and a bill "that provided for the creation of a federal department of education.[67]" These actions set in motion a federal commitment to expanding the infrastructure of education needed to attract and keep children in schools. Improving school attendance was a major goal of progressive educators. These progressive goals were also mirrored in federal programs during the Great Depression.

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[65] National Education Association of the United States. Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education. *Cardinal principles of secondary education: A report of the commission on the reorganization of secondary education.* No. 35. Govt. print. off., 1928.
[66] Walter Trattner, *Crusade for the Children: A History of the National Child Labor Committee and Child Labor Reform in America*, (Crown, 1970). 110.
[67] Ibid., 157-58.

Some of the most popular programs extending from New Deal legislation were directly geared towards youth and youth development. The National Youth Administration (NYA), for example, engaged youths in work-study programs during the Great Depression. The CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps) employed young men in unskilled labor conserving national resources and building public works projects such as parks and playgrounds. Programs like the NYA and CCC utilized the "natural resource" youths represented to the United States. The popularity of the programs also suggest a national attitude that embraced youth development programs as tools in national economic recovery. Educators and the educational system in the United States also played important roles in utilizing the "natural resource" of youth.

A national progressive attitude aligned with the goals of progressive educators and community organizers. Extracurricular and afterschool programs for White American children expanded during the first decades of the twentieth century. Robert Halpern explains that two national sociopolitical conditions led to the spread of afterschool programs: "The first was a gradual decline in need for children's paid labor…the second was the growth of schooling fueled by the passing of compulsory education laws, large scale investment in school construction, and the greater availability of children to attend school.[68]" Programs for White American children began as spaces where children could escape crowded settlements and not spend all of their time on the streets. These programs were primarily designed for White American boys as White American girls at this time had household duties that occupied their after-school time.

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[68] Robert Halpern, "A Different Kind of Child Development Institution: The History of After-School Programs for Low-Income Children," *Teachers College Record Teachers College Rec*104, no. 2 (2002): 180.

White American boys, however, had more free time which presented as a problem for adults who were particularly concerned about the lure of street culture in the lives of young boys. To help quell this concern many "street laws" were passed regarding curfews, loitering, and other actions that may contribute to crime in urban contexts. However, where laws could herd children away from the streets, after school programs could go a step further and provide recreation through approved activities designed to develop the children into productive members of society. After school programs became tools for "progressive reformers [who] began reinterpreting the 'problem' of working-class children's out-of-school time as an opportunity, to use that time to improve those children, and through that effort ultimately improve society."[69] For example, recreational activities appealed to newly immigrated children as a way to escape their crowded settlement homes. After school activities, like the expanding common school system, could be places to aid in the "Americanization" of recent immigrants. White American progressive educators saw these activities as useful socialization tools for urban poor immigrant children. However, migrant African American children did not factor into the plans of these White community organizers. For example, settlement houses "considered White immigrants capable of being developed for civilization, but African Americans as mostly unassimilable."[70] Black children were consistently denied the benefits of these programs. However, African American educators in the South also displayed progressive philosophies and wanted to provide their students with worthwhile activities that supplemented their academic and cultural education.

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[69] Ibid., 181.
[70] Thomas D. Fallace, Race and the Origins of Progressive Education, 1880-1929, 51.

Educational progressivism was only as effective as the social scientific research used to fuel it. During the Progressive Era most social science research fueled social changes for White Americans, but were also marred by racist attitudes that sought to prove that Black Americans were pathologically inept. However, educational historian Derrick Aldridge argued that notable African American educators also used the logic and language of Progressivism to the benefit of African American children. Aldridge contended that aspects of progressive dogma such as "scientific study, efficiency, [and] community based strategies served as pragmatic ways for African Americans to improve their plight."[71] African American educators were able to utilize these ideas to promote better education in their communities. Aldridge examined the educational pedagogies of W.E.B Dubois and Anna Julia Cooper to illustrate these ideas. However, this dissertation argues that many other African American educators utilized Progressive Era ideals.

African American educators took action to accomplish the twin goals of compulsory education and a worthy use of leisure time. Black educators and parents heartily supported child labor and compulsory education laws.[72] The goals and rhetoric of national child labor and compulsory education laws would have served to supplement their campaign to get as many children in school. Unfortunately, state legislators in the South "still allowed local school boards to exempt Black children from the law."[73] Gender differences in Black schools reflected the need for stronger compulsory education laws. Social scientist, Horace Mann Bond, commented on the disproportional number of Black boys and girls in schools. Bond stated that it was not unusual to observe a larger

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[71] Derrick P. Alridge, "Of Victorianism, Civilizationism, and Progressivism: The Educational Ideas of Anna Julia Cooper and W.E.B. Du Bois, 1892–1940," *History of Education Quarterly History Educ Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (2007): 416-446.

[72] Miyoshi Jeurgensen, "African American Educators' Perspectives on Addressing Dropouts, 1920-1960." Empirical thesis, Emory University, 2013: 14.

[73] James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935,* 101.

number of Black girls than boys in 10th, 11th, and 12th grades in the South. That phenomenon, according to Bond, influenced many teachers to conclude that Black girls were more focused and ambitious than Black boys. However, Bond contended that the issue related more directly to youth employment than motivation. Bond cited that "boys can be, and are, employed in greater degree than girls."[74] Thus, in the South more boys would be working at a younger age than girls. However, this was not a hard and fast rule. Bond also argued that in Northern and Southern urban areas girls were more readily employed as domestic servants and thus fewer numbers were enrolled in schools compared to boys in those areas.[75] The educational experience of African American boys and girls was highly dictated by their circumstances outside of school. Providing for a better educational experience and keeping Black children in school had to be done without the aid of protective school laws.

In the decades leading up to 1930 African American educators endeavored to increase the number of accredited schools using the same guidelines as the accreditation system used for all White schools[76]. Educators hoped that increasing the number of accredited African American schools would attract more students to school given the guarantee of a quality education. Compulsory attendance laws in Southern states "still allowed local school boards to exempt Black children" and this made increasing attendance more difficult.[77] Additionally, African American progressive educators knew that to reach their multifaceted goals they would have to reach beyond the schoolroom. The community was a natural extension of the African American school. The lynchpin

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[74] Horace Mann Bond, *Education of the Negro In the American Social Order*, 220.
[75] Ibid., 220.
[76] Ibid., 14.
[77] James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 101.

between the school and the community was the welfare of the African American child. Thus, their needs shaped the in school and out of school curriculum. The teachers facilitated the extension between the school and community. African American teachers in the South knew that their job required both effective instruction and a connection with the community that their students came from. To reach the desired goal of teaching the whole child and promoting racial uplift, African American schools knew that their influence had to extend past academic spaces.

Vanessa Siddle Walker explained that the extracurricular program was a "hallmark" of the African American high school. In her study of sixteen African American high schools, ten had an extracurricular program and an estimated 80% of students across schools were involved in some after school activity.[78] A study by Faustine Jones investigating the historical Dunbar High School of Little Rock, Arkansas found that 94% of respondents mentioned participating in some extracurricular activity, usually more than one.[79] These activities provided a variety of benefits for teachers, faculty, and students. These activities gave students a chance to further their interest in a sport or subject, hone skills, and display their talents. Teachers benefitted from the programs because they provided "contact with students in an atmosphere other than the classroom…that seemingly made the students want to please them in the classroom.[80] Scott Baker adds that extracurricular programs provided "unmonitored spaces" where teachers and faculty could enjoy more freedom to instill in their students important values

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[78] Vanessa S. Walker, "Valued Segregated Schools for African American Children in the South, 1935-1969: A Review of Common Themes and Characteristics," *Review of Educational Research* 70, no. 3 (2000): 253-285.
[79] Faustine Jones, *A Traditional Model of Educational Excellence: Dunbar High School of Little Rock, Arkansas.*
[80] Ibid., 68.

of racial uplift ideology.[81] After school activities provided spaces to plan Black History Week celebrations and reinforced lessons about voting and citizenship. Baker suggests that after school activities aided in a progression towards racial uplift activism for students and teachers. Afterschool programs may have been directly linked to the Civil Rights activism of students and teachers as "pedagogies became increasingly oppositional as unmonitored spaces became available.[82] Extracurricular and community programs were powerful tools for spreading the ideals of racial uplift and African American leadership.

Extracurricular programs were one means of supplementing the education of African American students while also providing a "worthy use of leisure time." However, the worthy uses of time for White children could be more readily found in and out of school. These choices were not always available for Black children. Ronald Bayor's historical account of Atlanta in the first decades of the twentieth century contended:

> The progressive impetus to uplift through recreational facilities at times extended to Black children also, but just barely...by 1932 Whites could play at 62 tennis courts, 5 golf courses, 12 baseball fields, 7 football fields, and one indoor basketball court; Blacks had none of these amenities.[83]

Black children who did not have access to extracurricular activities, either through a lack of school funding or by not being enrolled in school at all, had very few options for their recreation. Like compulsory education, the progressive ideal of a "worthy use of leisure time" was not employed for the betterment of Black children.

Though the Great Depression stressed the economic wellbeing of the United States, it also facilitated the growth of the progressive education movement. Competition

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[81] Scott Baker, "Pedagogies of protest: African American teachers and the history of the Civil Rights Movement, 1940-1963," *Teacher's College Record.* 113, no. 12 (2011): 2777-2803.
[82] Ibid., 2788.
[83] Ronald Bayor, *Race and the Shaping of the Twentieth-century Atlanta*, 149.

for jobs with adults led to a more comprehensive application of child labor laws. Concurrently, national compulsory education laws ushered more children into an expanding school infrastructure. Both White American and African American progressive educators were able to utilize these trends to strengthen the American educational system. In addition to providing children with more in school education, out of school education expanded to meet the needs and ideals of progressive education. White educators and community organizers saw extracurricular activities as a way to lure students from delinquency and bolster their efforts to "Americanize" newly immigrated and poor White American children. African American progressive educators employed extracurricular programs to dissuade delinquency and to provide additional unmonitored spaces in which to promote the education of the "whole child" and racial uplift ideology. In the next section I will discuss some of the challenges to the healthy development of manhood for African Americans that contributed to the need for enrichment programs.

African American Males in Education Policy and Enrichment Programs

The literature discussing extracurricular, leisure time, and enrichment programs blossoming during the early twentieth century is sparse and more often focused on individual programs, people, and locations. This study augments this literature by discussing the GSCNB which was designed to transcend organizational and locational divides in order to provide better services for larger numbers of African American boys in Georgia. The Georgia State Council for Work among Negro Boys was designed to become a blueprint for the spread of these programs across the South. Understanding the State Council's work of studying and providing better services contributes to

contemporary literature on the subject of manhood and character development for African American males.

In my preliminary data collection I also came across a number of dissertations written by African Americans on the subject of individual boys clubs, boy's club work, and organizing in Atlanta. These dissertations, a majority from the Atlanta University Center archives, span from 1930-1950. I will be using these as primary documents to construct a fuller story of how social services for African American young men were discussed and implemented.

African American males have had direct and indirect effects on educational policy in the United States. Educational historians Michael Fultz and Anthony Brown, while examining how African American males have influenced education policy, explain that laws designed to keep enslaved Africans from reading were a reaction to slave revolts led by educated Black men.[84] Thus the image of the literate Black man became synonymous with physical and cultural danger. Michael Fultz explains that despite these laws not singling out men specifically, it would be reasonable to understand that the combination of their gender, race, and education was particularly frightening for people interested in preserving a system of slavery. However, in his examination Fultz argues that the cultural understanding of the "Black male crisis" solidified due to the political, economic, social atmospheres of the 1980s and 90s. Educational historian Julia Grant argues that the phenomenon has a longer history. Grant explains "like the boy crisis, the 'boy problem' of the early twentieth century generated sensational media, cultural anxiety, and

[84] Michael Fultz and Anthony Brown, "Historical Perspectives on African American Males as Subjects of Education Policy," *American Behavioral Scientist* 51, no. 7 (2008).

concentrated reforms in education and juvenile justice."[85] "The Boy Problem" that Grant refers to was the result of an influx of "bad boys," usually White immigrant or African American, who adults feared were susceptible to street culture and juvenile delinquency. As was mentioned in the previous section, this belief in the "Boy Problem" was a concern for both White and African American educators and reformers.

A limited historiography exists on community organizations designed for the character, vocational, and educational development of African American males. The surviving literature focuses on individualized accounts of community organizations with attention to their affiliation to national organizations or it examines the national efforts of organizations such as the YMCA and Boy's Club Federation, to expand services in African American communities. A more in depth inquiry into how these organizations interacted with each other in the interest of serving African American young men is needed even though much can be learned from these accounts. Furthermore, the literature available has limited discussions about how philosophies and practices can be shared and applied in different settings (i.e. rural and urban) as well as in historical community contexts. Additionally, the historiography is incomplete without some understanding of smaller local programs that may not have connections to larger organizations.

Historian Angela Hornsby recounts that the proper development of young African American men, was traditionally prescribed to the family and church community, but expanded into community programs during the twentieth century.[86] However, this

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[85] Julia Grant, *The Boy Problem: Educating Boys in Urban America, 1870-1970* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 5.

[86] Angela M. Hornsby, ""The Boy Problem": North Carolina Race Men Groom the Next Generation, 1900-1930," *The Journal of Negro History* 86, no. 3 (2001): 283.

expansion was slow and dependent on accessibility and the laissez faire policies of national organizations toward community segregation and exclusionary practices. For example, The Young Men's Christian Association, considered the pioneer in boy's club work in the United States, opened its first Black YMCA in 1853 but did not push for expansion to more Black communities until the effort was sponsored by the Rosenwald fund in 1910.[87] Similarly, the Boy Scouts movement in the United States did not seek to build support for African American troops in the South until the Laura Spelman Rockefeller campaign funded their tour to convince Southern councils to expand services.[88] Additionally, the accessibility of both organizations was limited to urban centers and it was in affiliation with a sponsoring organization (i.e. a religious organization).

In 1903, the first chapter of the Boys Club Federation for African American males opened in Philadelphia. The founder, John T. Emlen, was a Quaker who from an early age felt a calling to extend social services to poor African Americans. This first chapter, The Wissahickon Boys Club, began meagerly as an extended Sunday school curriculum taught by Emlen. Emlen traveled first to New York City to study the theory and practice of settlement homes and second to Hampton, Virginia to study the popular "Hampton-Tuskegee" model for racial advancement because he was trained as an architect but wanted to nurture his dedication to social services for boys. These were all lessons Emlen put to work in his Boys Club. In an annual report for the Wissahickon Boys Club in 1911, Emlen explains that the "Wissahickon Boys Club would offer industrial education,

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[87] Carter Julian Savage, ""In Search of a "Benevolent Despot": John T. Emlen and the Establishment of the First Colored Boys' Club, 1903–1913," *Peabody Journal of Education* 88, no. 4 (2013): 416.
[88] David I. Macleod and Bruce Gore, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 215.

require student excellence in their trades; provide access to supplemental training, and assist their members at attaining jobs."[89] Emlen's idea of racial advancement depended on a White majority that would choose well trained and efficient workers over racial prejudice. Savage argues that a national effort to expand Boys Club chapters for African Americans did not take off until 1926 although the Wissahickon Boys Club represents an early first attempt.[90] Historian Angela Hornsby-Gutting goes further into the discussion of the spread of boys' club programs during this decade.

Hornsby posits that "the development of black boys' clubs…as an antidote to juvenile delinquency and idleness…took off [for Southern Blacks] in the late 1920s."[91] The number of boys' clubs more than doubled between the years of 1924 and 1928 with "about a third originating in the South."[92] This upsurge in boy's clubs was in response to the ongoing "boy problem" that had been a subject of debate in the African American community, particularly in the South, since reconstruction.

The "boy problem" has been discussed by researchers in several ways. The president of the North Carolina Baptist Sunday School Convention of 1909 described the problem "that much attention was given to the question of girls' environment and the ways in which that shaped their moral, physical, and spiritual well-being [while] the plight of boys' welfare had, lamentably, lacked certain urgency."[93] Boys were given more freedom in shaping their own lives and, in retrospect, needed more of a structure to develop characteristics that their community valued. Furthermore, this concern with the

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[89] Ibid., 426.
[90] Carter Julian Savage, "'In the Interest of the Colored Boys": Christopher J. Atkinson, William T. Coleman, and the Extension of Boys' Clubs Services to African-American Communities, 1906-1931," *History of Education Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (2011): *486-518.*
[91] Ibid., 283.
[92] Ibid., 298.
[93] Ibid., 276.

development of boys was not simply to maintain a consistency of cultural expectations but also a specific tool of racial protection and advancement. Hornsby contends that "parallel with the white supremacy campaign that spawned disfranchisement and race riots in Southern cities were indigenous, religious, educational, and social movements aimed at relieving the 'Boy Problem.'"[94] Respectability, along with the franchise and segregation, formed the nucleus of the Black communities' struggle for advancement. The "boy problem," in the minds of Southern Blacks, affected all of these. Thus, community programs were created to bridge the gap that family and church could not fully cover.

One example of this tradition is the Young Men's Institute of Ashville, North Carolina which was founded in 1897. From the beginning, The Young Men's Institute (YMI) operated much like other YMCA's that served Black communities. Both men and women of the community utilized the building and its services as it became a center for African American culture. The male leadership of the YMI had specific intentions to train young African American men despite being open to all members of the community. The development of young African American men in accordance with the expectations of their community was important to counter racist depictions and to support future racial progress. The male leadership of the YMI employed different strategies to achieve this goal. The organizational culture of the YMI was one such strategy. Though the organization was open to the entire African American community, both men and women understood that the organization possessed a "gendered imperative to portray YMI leaders as proud, respected, and self-sufficient men."[95] The male leadership was to serve

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[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid., 294.

as examples of what African American young men should strive to be. Men in the organization took this role very seriously. For example during World War I, YMI leaders "sought to demonstrate manly leadership through involvement in social and civic activity."[96] These leaders also created what Hornsby calls a "nurturing network" to show the power of Black men working together. Several of the young men involved with the institute had opportunities to work apprenticeships with the established leadership. Along with the obvious benefits of networking, the YMI leadership also strove to use the network as an informal brotherhood forming tight bonds among the youths.

The YMI represents an entire community that recognized the cultural benefit of creating spaces and programs for the development of African American male youth. The YMI directly reflected the views of the community it supported. The model of the YMI likely influenced other similar organizations, however outreach was not one of the major objectives of the initiative. Other organizations around the South followed a similar pattern. Many other organizations were intimately linked to the communities they served without needing to expand their influence. The Butler Street YMCA in Atlanta, Georgia also boasted a strong "boys program" supported by the Black community.

The Butler Street YMCA was an important organization to the African American community in Atlanta. The Butler Street YMCA was founded in 1894 and met primarily in churches until establishing a building located among the African American business district in 1920.[97] This organization operated primarily independent from the Atlanta Metro YMCA that served almost exclusively white-collar White Americans. Like the trend with many segregated organizations at the time, the Metro YMCA and Butler Street

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[96] Ibid., 296.

[97] J. R. Blau, C. Heying, and J. R. Feinberg, "Second-Order Cultural Effects of Civil Rights on Southern Nonprofit Organizations: The Atlanta YMCAs," *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (1996).

YMCA created different programs that were in demand from their communities. The Metro YMCA, for example, was a place where white-collar White American men could go to the gym after work downtown. The Butler Street YMCA focused more on social services tailored to the needs of the African American community. Older men, who represented about half of the members of the Butler Street YMCA, took advantage of job training and support services. The YMCA also facilitated meeting spaces for several unaffiliated African American organizations ranging from purely recreational to professional and labor organizations. The younger members of the Butler Street YMCA, who were arguably more affected by segregated and limited recreational facilities, were a central focus for the organization. For example, the Boy's Department of the organization was by far the largest and most developed in 1942.[98] Prior to this time the department had experienced its share of ebb and flow but became larger and more organized in the mid-1930s. Perhaps the Butler Street YMCA was also responding to the "boy problem" that had occupied the minds of many Southerners.

Like the YMI of North Carolina, the Butler Street YMCA aimed to provide recreational services to young men that could not be found through the church or other organizations. A study conducted in 1942 concluded that "the churches offered very little by way of a recreational or social program…there were one or two Boy Scout troops, a quarterly or annual Sunday school picnic…or a few church gatherings which the boys could attend."[99] Thus, the Butler Street YMCA represented the primary organization for African American young men's recreation by 1942.

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[98] James Garfield Dashiell, "A study of the problems and needs of the adolescent boys who participate in the program of the Butler Street YMCA, Atlanta, Georgia." *ETD Collection for Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center* (1942).
[99] Ibid.,10.

Historically, African American communities have a rooted interest in the transference of cultural knowledge to younger generations. The home and church were traditionally considered to be the sites of transference of the community ideals for manhood development. However, spanning from the 1920s through the 30s there was an upsurge of community organizations with the expressed purpose of facilitating the social, vocational, and character development of African American young men. This literature discusses the origins and practices of these organizations and is limited to either narrow individual cases or broad national examples. This dissertation will address this gap in the literature by discussing how representatives from rural and urban parts of Georgia collaborated to expand and enhance the services available for African American young men.

METHODOLOGY

This dissertation examines the GSCNB, a particular group of individuals who responded to problematic lack of access to enrichment programs for boys. The years in which they were active, 1933-1937, present a small scale view designed to analyze their contributions in the larger subject of enrichment programs for Black boys.

This study is guided by the following research questions:

1) What circumstances and actors led to the founding of the Georgia State Council for Work among Negro Boys?

2) What was the makeup, purpose, and activity of the GSCNB?

3) What circumstances led to the decline of the GSCNB?

4) What influence did the GSCNB have on the accessibility and design of Camp John Hope and enrichment programs for Black boys in Georgia and across the South?

To address these questions I will utilize the theory and methods of traditional historians as well as educational historians. Writing about the history of educational systems and practices requires an informed reconstruction of events, attitudes, and cultural contexts. Historian Marc Bloch explains that historical observation is challenging by nature as "its primary characteristic is the fact that knowledge of all human activities in the past, as well as of the greater part of the present, is…a knowledge of their tracks."[100] All of the things that are "knowable" about the past are only knowable through what has been left behind, whether intentionally or unintentionally. This provides both a challenge and an opportunity for historians. The challenge is the task of identifying the available "tracks," evaluating their ability or inability to teach about the past, and interpreting what that lesson reasonably is. The opportunity for the historian is to act as the detective in reconstructing however large or small the destination that the tracks lead to and from. Bloch also explains how to organize this tracking mission.

Bloch argues that interrogating tracks in order to reveal the messages they carry from the past involves a flexible and adapting evaluation. For example, one track that is related to a historical subject may be a letter written between two individuals. This letter has a potential to provide much more information than what is simply written between the two people. In order to discern that information, the historian must be prepared to ask informed questions of the document. Bloch states "the method of cross examination must

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[100] Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (New York: Knopf, 1953). 54.

be very elastic, so that it may change its direction or improvise freely for any contingency."[101] Thus, Bloch suggests that the historian must be flexible and informed in her approach to analyzing historical data. Questions will naturally shift and update as more information, and more tracks, are analyzed and contextualized. As new information is revealed the historian must adapt her evaluation to reflect how any piece of information is corroborated or refuted. The historian must routinely ask herself, how can I know what I am about to say? Additionally, this study constitutes a historical case study.

In this dissertation I recounted and defined the people, locations, philosophies, impacts, and actions taken by the Georgia State Council for Work among Negro Boys. What I have presented can accurately be defined as a historical case study. As defined by Sharan Merriam "a qualitative case study is an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single instance, phenomenon, or social unit."[102] In this dissertation the social unit and phenomenon are the GSCNB and the spread of enrichment programs in Georgia in the 1930s, respectively. It is historical as it deals with a context and phenomenon from a different time period. The intensive holistic description and analysis are detailed in my data analysis. Additionally, this study is *particularistic* in nature. A particularistic case study is one that "concentrates attention on the way particular groups of people confront specific problems…they are problem centered, small scale, entrepreneurial endeavors."[103]

Data Collection and Sources

The following procedures were followed when collecting data for this study. The majority of the data collected was in the form of archival resources associated with the

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[101] Ibid., 65.
[102] Sharan B. Merriam, *Case Study Research in Education: A Qualitative Approach* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1988).
[103] K. E. Shaw, "Understanding the Curriculum: The Approach through Case Studies," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 10, no. 1 (1978): 2.

various organizations and individuals discussed. A list and description of preliminary data sources follows:

John Hope Presidential Files, 1929-1936. 120 Boxes. This collection is housed in the archives research located at the Center Robert W. Woodruff Library at the Atlanta University Center. The collection contains 70 boxes spanning college/organizational files, personal correspondence, speeches and speech notes, and reports prepared by or about John Hope primarily between the years 1929 -1936. From this collection I drew evidence from speeches and correspondence of Hope's ideas about manhood development and implementation at Morehouse College. This collection also contains Hope's planning records for the Georgia State Council for Work among Negro Boys. This collection also included early correspondence between Hope and the YMCA Colored Division about investing more in serving African American boys in the South. These files also contained recruitment letters and meeting minutes for the State Council as well as the evolution of plans that led to Camp John Hope.

John and Lugenia Burns Hope Microfilm Collection. 60 Linear Feet. This collection located at the Robert W. Woodruff library in the Atlanta University Center contains four series: 1) Correspondence, 2) Office records, 3) Financial records, and 4) Articles, essays, and speeches. Within this collection I used correspondence between Hope and other leaders in the State Council. This correspondence also contained communication between John Hope and boys club work leaders in other states across the South.

YMCA Colored Work Department Collection, 12 Boxes. This collection is located at the University of Minnesota Elmer L. Anderson Library in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

From this collection I used records to detail and support the efforts of the Colored Work Department in the state of Georgia. From this collection I was able to construct a more detailed account of how John Hope worked with the department to create and sustain the Georgia State Council for Work among Negro Boys. In addition to the general Colored Work Department papers, University of Minnesota contains smaller collections of individuals involved in the YMCA.

Channing Tobias Papers, 5 boxes. Tobias was the Senior Secretary of the Colored Work Department from 1923-1946 and directly involved with the conception of the State Council.

I also utilized the *John R. Mott Papers,* 11 boxes. Mott was a dominant figure in the early YMCA movement and involved with the State Council. The collection at the University of Minnesota also has a separate collection for the YMCA's "Interracial Programs" in which I found more reports and correspondence related to John Hope and the State Council.

This study also utilized African American run newspapers from the early twentieth century. I conducted a ProQuest search using multiple search terms to identify related articles: Georgia State Council for Work among Negro Boys, Boys Clubs, Boy Scouts, John Hope, Frank Callen Savannah Boys Club, S.J. Thompson Boys Club Notes, Ralph Bullock, National Youth Administration, etc. This search yielded several article from the following newspapers: *Atlanta Daily World, Norfolk New Journal and Guide, Chicago Defender, New York Amsterdam News,* and *Pittsburgh Courier.*

Data Analysis

Gary McCulloch and William Richardson provide detailed suggestions for how to evaluate historical documents. All documents were first organized and analyzed using the Document Analysis Worksheet. Appendix A shows an example of a completed Document Analysis Worksheet. This worksheet was derived from McCulloch and Richardson's guidelines which describe key issues in examining published and unpublished documents.[104]

I obtained a physical copy of all archival documents and arranged them in a binder with their respective data analysis sheets. This is consistent with McCulloch and Richardson's detailed suggestions on how to organize and evaluate historical documents.[105] The documents were organized in the binder by the following distinctions: meeting notes, reports, correspondence, newspaper articles, internal publications, and external publications. Within each of those categories documents were organized in chronological order. From that organization I began my first level of coding by using color tabs to indicate what documents answered each of my research questions.

Once all of the documents were coded in relation to which research question they corresponded to, I created idea maps to organize all of the data answering each research question and I organized them based on archival sources. For example, I took all of the data in documents from the John Hope Presidential files that answered research question 1 and arranged them on an idea map connecting them by themes and chronology. I repeated this process with each archival source and each research question. As I created these idea maps I noted emerging themes that would be part of my second level of coding. An example of one of these idea maps can be found in Appendix B.

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[104] Gary McCulloch, Gary McCulloch, and William Richardson, *Historical Research in Educational Settings* (Buckingham: Open University, 2000), 91.
[105] Ibid., 91-92.

After completing idea maps for each archival source and research question, I collapsed all of the data points from each archival source responding to each research question. For example, I took all of the idea maps corresponding to research question 1 and arranged them into a chronological outline. I conducted my second level of coding when making my chronological outline. I was able to observe and code themes that crossed archival sources and time periods. These codes were used to formulate my discussion section.

A majority of my newspaper data was accessed through online databases: The Black Studies Center and African American Periodicals Database. These data sources were downloaded into MAX QDA where I organized and coded them. My coding of the newspaper data followed the same pattern as the archival documents. I began by identifying which articles corresponded to which research questions. I used the MAX QDA software to compile all of the articles that I coded to correspond to each research question. Within the software I was also able to code based on emerging themes from the newspaper data and ones I had identified from the archival data. Then, I created separate chronological organizers for each research question using the newspaper data. This was done separately from the archival data organizers so that I could compare and contrast the themes emerging from each source and triangulate which themes were found in all sources. This diversification of sources between multiple archives and newspapers was used to triangulate my data to check for consistencies in themes, actors involved, dates mentioned, and perceived impact. Comparing sources from multiple points contributed to the reliability and validity of this dissertation.

Throughout the data collection and analysis I kept a monthly researchers journal to keep track of my impressions and reflections on the data. I found that using this interval of time I was able to see how my thoughts progressed. In addition to this journal when I was creating the chronological organizers I conducted a regular "so what?" analysis of my data. I found it was important as I was synthesizing and organizing data that I routinely ask myself a series of questions: "What is significant about this data?" "What does it mean in context?" "Why is an analysis of the organizational machinery important?" "What does not fit into my previous interpretations?" "How does this data relate to my conceptual orientation?" These "So What?" pages differed from my researcher's journal. In the journal I recorded *how* I was interpreting and analyzing my findings. In the "So What?" pages I analyzed my interpretations in the context of my proposed significance and contextualized my findings with themes from my literature review.

Researcher Bias

In planning this study I have put much thought into my own bias. Though this is a historical study I recognize that my interest in the subject is rooted in contemporary experiences and contemporary research and programs. From my own personal experience as an African American woman I noticed from an early age the differing treatment in school from myself to my older brother and cousin. Even though we all faced different challenges within our predominately white school district, I noticed stark differences in how I was treated and encouraged by teachers and authority figures. I was in a position to see how much my family members did not fit into the usual stereotype of the "Black male in crisis" and so his mistreatment particularly bothered me. My brother

nor cousin had discipline issues, did not dis-identify with academic pursuits, and did not have a "cool pose" posture any more than the average young person. My brother enjoyed comics, graphic novels, and anime drawing. My cousin was an amateur rapper and skateboarder. Both individuals had interests that extended past what was available or expected of them in school. However, neither my cousin nor brother had the experience of being challenged or guided to be anything more. It seemed that because they did not fit either extreme of being "at-risk" or "overachieving" that their development and experiences were out of the reach of the school.

Contemporary research on the experiences of Black boys follows a similar pattern of focus on bleak statistics or demonstrably extraordinary students. I read every day about a new initiative or program designed for the development of Black boys. But I found myself asking the question, "What about the boys who don't live in that district, who aren't winning the lottery, who may have been selected out, or just left out?" This research is a way of looking historically at organizations like the State Council that endeavored to fill in these gaps by using community as a resource.

FINDINGS

This findings chapter is divided into three sections. The first section discusses the circumstances that led to the founding of the Georgia State Council for Work among Negro Boys. It begins by explaining the status of programs for African American boys in the Southern region and Georgia in particular beginning in 1925. A series of studies and experimental programs sponsored by the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) illustrates the lack of proliferation of development programs for African American males and explains some of the reasons why progressing boys' work in the region was

historically difficult. Ralph Bullock, a secretary for the Colored Work Department of the YMCA who was responsible for much of the association's research in the Southern region, was instrumental to bringing together people and resources that led to the GSCNB.

Correspondence and reports between Ralph Bullock, Channing Tobias (YMCA Colored Work Department) and John Hope (Atlanta University) outline how these individuals met and discussed their concern over a lack of development opportunities for African American boys in the South and what they might do to alleviate this problem. This chapter goes on to discuss how different people and agencies came together to form the GSCNB, its philosophies, and strategies.

In the second section, I discuss the first official meeting of the GSCNB, key actors in developing their program, the purposes they agreed upon, and the actions taken immediately after. I also discuss the plans and implementation of Camp John Hope through the decline of the GSCNB. The time period represented in the first part of this section spans one year from the first meeting held in April 1933 to the second annual meeting held in April 1934. Over the pilot year, the GSCNB implemented two phases in order to achieve their objectives. The first phase involved providing committee members with the instruction and guidance for creating a network of local boys' work councils. The second phase was designed to inform and support these local councils to help guide them to provide community aligned, needs-based development programs. The second part of this section covers the years 1934-1937 when the GSCNB transitioned into a different organization.

In the third section I present the evidence, internal evaluation and discussion on the impact of the GSCNB's actions. The impact of the GSCNB manifested in five interconnected areas: organizational machinery, inter-agency cooperation, increased access, the creation/construction of institutions, and demonstration. This chapter thematically discusses these areas to demonstrate how they interact and influence one another. This provides a better understanding of how the actions and philosophy of the GSCNB influenced people, places, and institutions.

DEEPLY STIRRED

The Circumstances Leading to the Founding of the GSCNB

In 1927, the YMCA published an internal report card regarding the status of their mission in African American communities in the Southern region of the United States. The report lauds the association as a "pioneer" in boys' work yet is very frank about the challenges faced in the region. Comparing the years 1920 and 1925, the report concludes that most programs are located in cities and even those struggle from a lack of financial and programmatic support.[106] For example in regards to the Atlanta association it "is seriously handicapped in the lack of adequate staff and sufficient finances to properly carry out a full program."[107]

The report also discusses some of the perceived reasons why boys' work had been so difficult. A list a major problems in the report ranks holding interest in locations

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[106] Report, 1919-1928, box 4, Kautz Family Archives, University of Minnesota.
[107] James Garfield Dashiell, "A study of the problems and needs of the adolescent boys who participate in the program of the Butler Street YMCA, Atlanta, Georgia." *ETD Collection for Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center* (1942).

without program/financial support, a reliance on interracial support, competition amongst comparative orgs, and racial tension as the biggest stumbling blocks to their mission.

The author(s) of the report conclude that "the facts here presented are bringing us rapidly to the place where the question of whether or not it is time for this character developing and good will producing agency to surrender the field."[108] Citing the impossibility of growing a program without the necessary resources (i.e. financial support, leadership support), the report suggests that the YMCA cannot succeed in this region using the same strategies. "The apparent danger here lies in the future difficulty of holding moral and financial support to state, local, national agencies without a more successful effort to offer a program…commensurate with the value received."[109] It would be impossible to garner the necessary support without showing a commitment to the region. However, as this report was being made, some in the YMCA were conducting experimental initiatives in an attempt to address these issues.

In 1925, the Southern representative in the Colored Work Department, J.H. McGrew, reported to the national committee of the YMCA about inroads he made with African American communities in Kentucky. After holding a general conference with African American educators in Lexington, he organized some interracial committees in rural communities in Kentucky. McGrew's initial report in 1925 lacked details about the function of these committees but named this experiment "The Kentucky Plan."[110] In a follow up report filed later in the year McGrew provides more detail about the program objectives. McGrew recounted that the Kentucky Plan was originally designed "for the purpose of helping to work out plans by which rural or small town colored population in

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[108] Report, 1919-1928, box 4, Kautz Family Archives, University Of Minnesota, 7.
[109] Ibid., 7
[110] Report, box 3, folder, Secretary Reports 1925, Kautz Family Archives, University of Minnesota.

the state could be more effectively reached and served."[111] In order to achieve these objectives, the Kentucky plan suggested five steps.

The first step was to do a study of the needs of boys in each location. Next, the YMCA was to hold several mass meetings inviting influential and "carefully selected" African American men and women from each community. The goals of these mass meetings would be to create a tentative program for services in the area. Once the tentative program was created, according to the plan, the mass meetings would also produce organized committees that would be approved by the YMCA state committee which ultimately initiated the programs.[112] McGrew also noted that the "carefully selected" volunteer leaders were all to be African American principals.

The next time the Kentucky plan is mentioned is in a report McGrew filed in 1927 where he discusses his experiment in Kentucky that was "designed to garner interracial support."[113] McGrew explains that he was able to organize two groups of Kentucky principals made of both men and women. Each of these groups reported back to him once a month on happenings and their respective programs. Though McGrew does not specify what had been accomplished since the experiment started but lists fellowship groups, an interracial committee for boys, and summer camps as projects they hope to tackle.[114] This work did not go unnoticed.

In 1928, *The Chicago Defender* published an article that reiterated the work done in Kentucky and provided more detail into the program produced. The article titled "'Kentucky Plan Adopted By Body: Interracial Co-Operation Maintained Under Y-

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[111] Report, J.H. Mcgrew Secretary Report, March 1925, box 3, folder, Secretary Reports, Coll. YMCA Colored Work Department, Kautz Family Archives, University Of Minnesota.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Report, "Minutes of Commission of C.C.P. Relation to Colored Boys Work," 1927, box 9, folder, Boys Work Correspondence and Reports 1917-1939, Kautz Family Archives, University of Minnesota.
[114] Ibid.

Programs" began by explaining the origins of the plan. It read "on the invitation of the state Y.W.C.A. of Kentucky three years ago, J.H. McGrew, regional secretary, came here for an eight or ten days experiment developing work for boys and girls in smaller towns and rural districts."[115] The article then continued to give a detailed description of exactly the work done in the area. Like McGrew reported the plan started with:

> The organization of county Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. committees named an executive, usually a principal of one of the outstanding high schools in the county. These committees were to undertake to carry boys and girls of the county the essential parts of the regular…program.[116]

Like McGrew's reports reflected, the "Kentucky Plan" utilized the work of African American educators in the state to be the organizers who brought the YMCA and YWCA programs to rural areas.

Along with extending the programs, goals of the plan were to provide "supervised recreation, improvement of health conditions, increasing of attendance on the part of young people upon schools, churches, and Sunday schools."[117] The goals of the plan were far reaching. The article continued to go into more detail than was preserved in the records of J.H. McGrew. The plan was able to achieve "33 such organizations [which] have been effected, divided into groups known as the eastern and central group, and the western group" whose expenses were covered by the state YMCA.[118] The article continues to list the collective achievements of the 33 organizations over the year 1927. The 33 organizations created under the "Kentucky Plan" produced "24 Hi-Y clubs…14 [of which] made contributions of $10,000 each to state Hi-Y work."[119] In addition to these regular clubs, "two older boys' conferences were held…with an average attendance

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[115] "Kentucky Plan Adopted By Body" *Chicago Defender.* 1928. P. 5. Col. 1.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.

of 100 each. R.W. Bullock of the Men's department is rendering faithful and effective service."[120]

However, the experiment did not go unnoticed in the YMCA.

In June 1927, African American secretary Ralph W. Bullock, working in the Colored Work Department of the YMCA, discussed the virtues and challenges of the "Kentucky Plan" with the director of the Department, Channing Tobias. Bullock joined the YMCA in 1925 and was working as a field secretary in the YMCA, one of eight for the entire country at the time. As a traveling secretary Bullock worked collecting data, training leadership, and organizing conferences in the Midwest, Northeast, and Southern regions of the United States. Bullock's responsibilities included:

> [recruiting] intelligent friendly leaders, [creating] simple adaptive group organization plans, [developing] methods of individual and group work that are educationally sound, and ready[ing] resources.[121]

Before working on the Kentucky Plan, Bullock had experience planning and running YMCA conferences for boys and young men. For example, Bullock's work directing the first YMCA conference for older boys in Virginia was covered by the *Norfolk new Journal and Guide* in May 1926.[122] This conference "enabled the boys to discuss problems common to boy life with the utmost candor, and with a real desire to arrive at correct solutions."[123] The program itself, designed by Bullock and the planning committee, included various lectures from members of the YMCA Colored Work Department, the state YMCA, as well as notable figures from colleges and universities in Virginia. These lectures covered topics of wholesome and clean living, and cultivating

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[120] Ibid.
[121] Ralph Bullock, "Statement Regarding Boys' Work Situation in Southern Region," June 1927, box 4, folder, Miscellaneous Reports 1919-1928, Kautz Family Archives, University of Minnesota.
[122] "Boys Pledge to Higher Ideals," *Norfolk New Journal and Guide,* col. 4, p. 9, (Norfolk, VI), May 8, 1926.
[123] "Members of Norfolk Boys' Club Write Reflections," *Norfolk New Journal and Guide,* col. 4, p. 9, (Norfolk, VI), May 8, 1926.

"good thoughts and conceptions" that would lead them to their desired futures. The article also included the topics conceived and led by the boys themselves. The "Resolutions Adopted" by the conference attendees addressed more direct issues that the boys cared about. Their reports reflected the "utmost candor" that was one of the goals of the conference. The article reported that one of the most discussed resolutions adopted involved "illicit sex relationships common to the life of the young."[124] The plan set out in the notes from the conference listed their desire to:

> 1. To hold conference with student body concerning these questions.
> 2. To abandon false modesty, that we may discuss the question freely.
> 3. To work consistently to an effective solution of these problems.
> 4. To discuss these problems with parents, teachers, and leaders and try to secure sex education for adults and students.
> 5. To apply these solutions to our own lives, and see that out leisure time is properly occupied through the use of parks, libraries, clubs, etc.[125]

These resolutions suggested that though the lectures covered general issues related to the YMCA program of Christian citizenship, the conversations held between the boys and organizers addressed issues more specific to the lives of the attendees.

Between the years 1925 and 1940, Ralph Bullock organized and lectured at several conferences that used a similar format. Contributing to an Older Boys Conference in Virginia in 1926, Bullock led a discussion about the Hi-Y program with boys who had not entered high school yet.[126] In 1927, Bullock was invited to be a speaker at the Boy's conference in South Carolina.[127] Bullock directed the Older Boys Conference in North Carolina in 1929 with the theme of "Youth Facing the Future."[128] That same year Bullock presented a lecture at the Pennsylvania boys conference on the

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[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid.
[126] "The Boys' Club Activities," *Norfolk New Journal and Guide,* col. 4, p. 6, (Norfolk, VI), Apr 24, 1926.
[127] "Schools and Colleges," *Norfolk New Journal and Guide.* col. 3, p. 13, (Norfolk, VI), Feb 12, 1927.
[128] "N.C. Older Boys Confab April 12-14," *Norfolk New Journal and Guide,* col. 3, p. 11, (Norfolk, VI), Feb 16, 1929.

theme of "Laying the Foundation" with vocational education.[129] Again in May 1929, Bullock led the boy's conference in New Jersey with the topic of discussion "Choosing a Life's Work."[130] In 1931, Bullock attended the boy's conference in Virginia with the theme "Adventuring in Christ – In My World."[131] In November 1931, Ralph Bullock was the main speaker at the Boys' Conference in New Orleans.[132] Bullock was in Atlanta in 1940 leading a discussion at the Older Boys' conference.[133] From these experiences Bullock was very familiar with the work of the YMCA in African American communities in these areas.

Familiar with the issue the YMCA faced in trying to expand service in the Southern region, Bullock writes to Tobias in 1927 that the Kentucky Plan "shows what is possible in that region.[134]" Bullock points out to Tobias that even though Kentucky has the fewest number of African American boys statewide, it is also the only state association that actually has an African American secretary on staff *and* a plan to improve services in the South. Bullock goes on to discuss that only 4.3% of secretaries in the South are African American and most white secretaries in the interest of African American communities "host annual conferences and little else."[135]

Inspired by the Kentucky plan, Bullock proposes a different strategy for YMCA work in the South. Bullock begins by explaining that they cannot expect to have the same goals for reaching African American communities as they have reaching White

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[129] "Older Boys' Conference Meets Here," *Pittsburgh Courier,* col. 7, p. 8, (Pittsburgh, PA), Mar 23, 1929.
[130] "Jas. H. Hubert to Address Boys' Meeting," *New York Amsterdam News,* col. 5, p. 4, May 15, 1929.
[131] "More Than 200 Boys Attend Hi-Y Conference," *Norfolk New Journal and Guide,* col. 7, p. 8, (Norfolk, VI), October 31, 1931.
[132] "Boys Conference in New Orleans, LA," *Pittsburgh Courier*, col. 5, p. A3, November 14, 1931.
[133] "Older Boys to Meet in Atlanta On May 3," *Atlanta Daily World,* col. 4, p. 5, April 21, 1940.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid.

American communities. In order to think more accurately about the problem before them Bullock argued:

> It should be revealed that the YMCA among colored boys is required to serve in a much larger capacity…in many cases it combines the function of the scouts, the big brotherhood movement, the Kiwanis, and other civic agencies that serve white boys.[136]

Because there existed fewer organizations to develop African American boys, Bullock argued that they must adopt a model and strategy that could fulfill all of those needs. Though the Kentucky plan showed what could be achieved using local volunteers, Bullock suggests some important differences that he believes should go into the next Southern experiment. He contended that it would not be difficult to find volunteer leadership, however "there must be someone to discover, recruit, and train them for effective service."[137] Seemingly breaking from the strategy of "carefully selected principals" used in the Kentucky plan, Bullock suggested the YMCA focus less on "carefully selected" and more on how volunteers are trained and supported to be successful with the program. There was no indication in the original Kentucky Plan reports that the carefully selected volunteers would need any additional training. Furthermore, Bullock suggested that instead of having groups report to a secretary once a month they "will need frequent visitation and close follow up by traveling secretary."[138] This change suggests that Bullock believed that groups would need more consistent support and feedback in order to achieve their program objectives. Bullock also suggested that a portion of his time could be put towards building such a program

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[136] Ralph Bullock, "Statement Regarding Boys' Work Situation in Southern Region," June 1927, box 4, folder, Miscellaneous Reports 1919-1928, Kautz Family Archives, University of Minnesota.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid.

initiative in the Southern region. However, at this time Bullock's suggestions remained exactly that.

A report filed by Bullock in 1929 titled "The Negro Boys: A Unmet Need in the Rural Area of the Southern Region" illustrates how Bullock continued to conduct research and make policy suggestions for the YMCA's struggling service in the South. In this report Bullock repeats some of the same arguments with more facts. "988,067 Negro boys of association age live in the rural sections of the Southeast part of the United States. No agency responsible for the all-round [sic] needs of youth is working among these youth.[139]" Again, Bullock emphasizes that the YMCA mission is fundamentally different in rural areas of the South because of a lack of organized service.

Even though the YMCA had been stalled in expanding in rural areas, Bullock's report also discusses some of the progress he saw in organizing groups in Atlanta, Georgia. According to the report the Colored Work Department of the YMCA appropriated funds to for hiring a southern secretary that would be based in Atlanta. In the year since Bullock was working in Atlanta he identified 4-5 locations where he could foster "school, church, and government cooperation to work out some simple program experiments that might serve as suggestions to other communities."[140] In these efforts Bullock also reported that he already had the support of state college presidents. Though he does not specify if these 4-5 locations are limited to within the city of Atlanta or if they spanned a larger area. However, the rest of the report suggests that it was still proving difficult to build a program for African American boys. A considerable portion of the report discusses how interracial groups in the city should be asked to "consider the

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[139] Ralph Bullock, "The Negro Boys: An Unmet Need in the Rural Area of the Southern Region," 1929, box 9, folder, Boys Work Correspondence and Reports, Kautz Family Archives, University of Minnesota.
[140] Ibid.

needs of black boys" and contribute to a fund for hiring more secretaries. [140] For the next several years, however, Bullock would continue to travel throughout the Midwest, Northeast, and Southeast establishing programs in urban areas with some success. However, Bullock's ideas for approaching service in the Southeast would eventually fall on fertile ground.

An unpublished account of Bullock's service titled "A Brief Resume of Services Rendered by the Colored Work Department of the National Council of the YMCA to Negro Youth in Georgia" starts his story in January of 1933:

> A conference between the late Dr. Hope, Dr. Tobias, and myself, it was decided that the Colored Work Department of the National Council of the YMCA would attempt to see what could be done to extend service to a large, unoccupied area where practically nothing was being done among Negro boys...as a member of the National Board of the YMCA, Dr. Hope asked that our first effort of this kind be made in the state of Georgia, and offered all of the cooperation he could give.[141]

Bullock, who had been working to get a systematic approach to providing services in the South, finally found a foothold.

John Hope was the president of Atlanta University in 1933 and had demonstrated an interest in connecting manhood development and racial advancement while president of Morehouse College from 1906-1931.[142] While president of Morehouse College, Hope had advocated for shaping his all-male student body around ideals of racial advocacy and a dedication to serving one's community. Hope demonstrated his dedication to boys' work as the only African American and the only Southerner to be involved with the

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[141] Report, Ralph Bullock's Secretary Report 1936-1937, box 4, folder, Secretary Reports 1934-1937, Kautz Family Archives, University of Minnesota.

[142] Amber Jones, "A liberal attitude towards truth and men: John Hope and manhood development at Morehouse College, 1899-1929," Empirical Thesis, Emory University, 2014.

YMCA at the local, state, national, and international levels.[143] Perhaps when Bullock reported having the support of local college presidents he was listing John Hope in the number. It is not clear why the circumstances were favorable to begin work in 1933 instead 1929 or 1927, but after this meeting between Bullock, Tobias, and Hope, the mission began to take shape. Within the month, Bullock was traveling to Georgia gathering information to help guide their efforts.

Bullock began his research by examining what was already being offered in most areas. "It was already a well-known fact that in comparison with White boys, the opportunities of Negro boys in Georgia for wholesome recreation and general cultural development through public or private facilities were exceedingly limited."[144] Popular understanding at the time was that the primary agencies that made programs for African American boys were the school and church. However, like the organizers of the YMI of North Carolina, Bullock found the options of the church and school to be restricted. To be more specific Bullock recounted "the most they had was the very narrow, regular program of the public schools and traditionally out-moded church activities.[145]" Bullock brought all of these observations to John Hope. On March 3, 1933 John Hope sent out an invitation to a list of about 30 individuals, some educators, others businessmen and attorneys, asking them to meet to come up with a plan.

> Personally, I have been deeply stirred by the situation of our boys and young men. There are...many institutions that can be called upon in rehabilitating people of other races, but there are few agencies trying to give our boys the helpful assistance that they need, and need especially at this time. The situation requires

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[143] Report, "Bibliographic Report on John Hope in YMCA," 1935, box 4, folder, Secretary Reports 1934-1937, Kautz Family Archives, University of Minnesota.

[144] Report, Ralph Bullock's Historical Statement Concerning Camp John Hope, box 149, folder, 3, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives.

[145] Report, Ralph Bullock's Secretary Report 1936-1937, box 4, folder, Secretary Reports 1934-1937, Kautz Family Archives, University of Minnesota.

> a special effort of persons keenly interested in the welfare of these young men and acquainted with their needs.[146]

Within five days, fourteen men representing eleven educational and community institutions gathered with the aim of creating such a program in Georgia.

In his records, Bullock referred to this first gathering as "meeting of Representatives of Various Institutions and Agencies Interested in the Development of Negro Boys." Held at Atlanta University and hosted by John Hope, the meeting included principals, attorneys, and civil leaders in Atlanta as well as representatives of the local Boy Scouts, State YMCA, and the president of Fort Valley State University, H.A. Hunt. To begin the meeting Hope restated his concerns about the availability of development opportunities for young African American men and set out the following agenda:

1. Look at what is now currently available.
2. Discuss unmet needs.
3. Discover way of enlarging service.[147]

At this meeting Hope and Bullock presented field research which determined that out of the 129,000 African American young men in Georgia (ages 9-19), most lived in rural areas of the state that were largely unreachable for major boy's work organizations.[148] Moreover, the men discussed that amongst the four largest national organizations that worked with African American men (the YMCA, 4-H Clubs, Boys Club Federation, and Boy Scouts), only 5,545 boys and men in Georgia were listed as members.

Table 1
Assessment of Agencies and Programs Part 1

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[146] Letter, John Hope to Ralph Bullock, March 1933, box 129, folder 3, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives.

[147] Meeting Notes, March 8, 1933, box 129, folder 3, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives.
[148] Meeting Notes, March 8, 1933. John Hope Presidential Papers: 129:3.

Name of Organization	Number of Groups	Number Enrolled
4-H Clubs	137	3,659
YMCA	18	760
Boy's Club	1	716
Boy Scouts	22	410

Table 2
Assessment of Agencies and Programs Part 2

Name of Organization	Description of Program
Boys' Club	Recreation and crafts
4-H Clubs	Cultivate Head, Heart, and Hands
YMCA	Character and Christian Leadership

To supplement this information, the floor was opened to any individual who could provide insight into local development programs. Nearly every attendee came prepared to discuss the kinds of *Unlisted work* (work not reflected in the records of major organizations) going on in local communities. Attendees discussed different programs, both nationally affiliated and local, that they were involved in. With each example the attendee presented how many were involved with the program, who it was run by, and what kind of program it provided.

Table 3
Assessment of Agencies and Programs Part 3

Name/Affiliation	Program Info	Number Enrolled
K of P [sic], Mr. Walden	Building citizenship	500
Allen Life Gaured, AME Church, W.A. Quillian	Scouting	Unknown
The Playground Association of America, Atens	N/A (only expressed interest)	Unknown
Bethlehem Community Center, Augusta, Pain College	Several clubs	Unknown
Douglass County, Mr. Edwards	Rural Community: Athletics, debating, singing etc. Needs more organization	60-80
Central AME Church, Atlanta, Atlanta School of Social Work	2 clubs	30-40
Rice Memorial Presbyterian Church, Atlanta	Vocational program	25
Morehouse College, Washington H.S.,	Recreation	<300
Carrie Steele Orphanage	Like boys club	25-30

Atlanta University Laboratory High School	Club	16
Delinquent Boys, Mr. Thompson	Sunday service, character building, boys and girls	Unknown

Mr. Chiles, along with other representatives from Atlanta, suggested a plan after discussing at length an approximation of how many boys were involved in development programs outside of the school and church as well as the type/quality of programs. Mr. Chiles recommended that they form a state committee that would have the following characteristics:

- Made of representatives from various agencies
- Responsible for setting up machinery
- Decide and promote programs
- Utilize present facilities and leadership
- Cooperative effort, coordinate agencies for the common good

As well as the following procedure: 1) Council men will return to communities and seek best leadership and plan for training 2) Council will develop a general leadership training for all agencies (to be taught by Ralph Bullock) 4) Establish Dr. Hope, Mr. Chiles, Dr. Horne, Rev. Faulkner, Mr. Washington, Mr. Cochrane, Mr. Johnson, and Mr. Bullock as the executive board. Moving forward with their plans, the next meeting of the new State Council was held on April 1st 1933.

THE CHALLENGE MUST BE MET BY US

Pilot Year Activities, The Creation of Camp John Hope, and the Transition of the GSCNB

On the morning of April 1, 1933 thirty-nine men, from seventeen different points in Georgia met at Atlanta University for the first meeting of the GSCNB. The host of the meeting, President John Hope, began the meeting by presenting the results from their meeting on March 8, 1933 and their reasons for forming the current organization. To the thirty-nine men, Hope expressed his gratitude for each attending the meeting at their own expense as there was no money available to create necessary programs for Black boys much less to support the planning of these programs. From this point, Hope expressed: "We shall have to take the initiative in devising means for the welfare of our boys. The challenge must be met by us, it is our task."[149] Forrester Washington, who at that time was at the Atlanta School of Social Work, offered to donate his services to record and mimeograph the proceedings to be sent to each of the attendees.

From that point, the men continued their conversation detailing what work they all had done in their respective locations and the results they had seen. Frank Callen, who headed the only Boys' Club Federation chapter in Savannah, Georgia reported that in response to his program "delinquency had been reduced from 66% to 40% during the last 14 years."[150] Other attendees representing Fort Benning and West Point shared the challenges and successes they had promoting Boy Scout chapters in the state. At this point, Mr. Chiles, who represented Butler Street YMCA, introduced a motion to the group:

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[149] Meeting Notes, April 1, 1933, box 129, folder 4, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives.
[150] Ibid.

> The men [should] go into permanent organization for the purpose of promoting co-operatively a program for boys throughout the state; the four organizations…shall not lose their identity, but shall work co-operatively in a statewide effort to reach the unreached boys with a constructive program.[151]

This motion was carried and the men moved on to their next order of business.

The next order of business was to appoint executives and a committee to work on how they would organize their efforts. President John Hope was voted to be the GSCNB president. H.A. Hunt, principal of the Fort Valley Normal and Industrial School, was voted vice-president and J.M. Chiles of the Butler Street YMCA was selected to be secretary. John Hope's first action as president of the group was to appoint a committee to direct the organization of their work. This committee was made up of: Dr. Frank Horne, Forrester Washington, Frank Callen, W.C. Smith and F.H. Henderson.

This organization committee decided immediately that "a great deal of effort should be directed in the setting up of a program for rural boys who constitute about 77.8%...of the boys in the state."[152] Once the group had decided to direct most of their efforts to setting up a program for rural boys, various members of the general body suggested ways of approaching this work. The organization committee suggested that since the church and school were the primary institutions that would be concerned about the development of Black boys, "the pastors and principals of schools should be sought as contact men who would recommend the key people for a community Boys Work Council."[153]At that point R.W. Bullock was introduced to the general body as a loan from the Colored Work Department of the YMCA. Bullock distributed his research, *Brief Suggestions for Work with Negro Boys on a Volunteer Basis,* as a starting guide for the

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[151] Meeting Notes, April 1, 1933, box 129, folder 4, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid.

men as they formed their local councils. It was decided that Bullock would also travel to the local councils to provide more in depth training for the volunteers. Each of the representatives at the meeting were instructed to form their councils and let their volunteers know that Bullock would be along to provide more support. This way their local councils would know that Bullock is there to help them. To close the meeting, the representatives were given instructions on how to organize their local councils mirroring the organization of the GSCNB. Each representative was instructed to:

> Return home and make a survey, to determine the number of boys in the community or city; determine the needs of these boys; find out what is being done by all agencies for boys and organize to meet the unmet needs, working co-operatively with established agencies if there are any, to the end that every Negro boy will be benefitted through a program of character development, wholesome recreation, and health education.[154]

Phase 1: Building the Network

Each of the attendees at the first meeting went home with a training document entitled *Brief Suggestions for Work with Negro Boys on a Volunteer Basis,* and with the intention of laying the groundwork for the kinds of programs the GSCNB hoped to support. This document provided the connections between the rhetoric from their meetings and the applications in their communities. *Brief Suggestions* showed in detail how the GSCNB envisioned a statewide strategy would be supported. The pamphlet was organized into suggestions for selecting and training volunteers for local boys' work councils, along with ways to conceptualize and create programs aligned with the needs of an individual community.[155]

The first task of a GSCNB member was to establish a boys' work council in his community that would serve as the anchoring committee that planned out programs for

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[154] Meeting Notes, April 1, 1933, box 129, folder 4, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives.
[155] GSCNB Training Material, March 1933, John Hope Presidential Papers: 137:14.

their population. According to *Brief Suggestions,* the primary GSCNB member should go back to his community and identify other men who would be most interested in the work. These first recruits, along with the primary member, formed the nucleus of leadership for the community council. After leaders were identified, there were further instructions on how these local councils should attract and utilize other volunteers. When selecting additional volunteers, local councils should be careful not to make the organization too large. Though it was possible that many would be interested in the kind of work proposed, only volunteers with "interest, time, capacity, and integrity in the community" should be recruited.[156] Additionally, primary members and their nucleus of leadership were encouraged to engage in their own research and conduct interviews and make observations to determine for themselves which volunteers would be wise to include in their organization. Leaders were warned against selecting members of the council based only on fundraising interests as "these individuals should give freely" and suggesting that the quality of the volunteer was more valuable than money alone. Once the council was populated with dedicated volunteers, *Brief Suggestions* also provided insight into how the creation of programs should be approached.

Just as the construction of the council was tailored to support the goals of the GSCNB, local volunteers were also instructed on ways to coordinate the needs of the community and the programs provided. *Brief Suggestions* laid out four important procedures that must go into creating and improving local programs. The first suggestion was to study boys' lives in the community. For every stage of organization, the pamphlet included another reminder that all of the actions taken must be well-informed and in line with what the community needed. No purposes or objectives were formed until this

[156] Meeting Notes, April 1, 1933, box 129, folder 4, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives.

important step was recognized. Following logically, after the local councils had done the necessary research, their results had to be connected to a clearly defined purpose and objective. An illustration given in the pamphlet reads "for example if in your community you find you need strong healthy bodies, well-informed, alert minds…be as sure as possible that your program activities contribute to these ends."[157] The next two suggestions for program also refer to the need for an efficient and informed approach to achieve the goals of better and more accessible programming.

The next two suggestions for creating a program had to do with how the local council would engage with other organizations. Like the larger GSCNB, local councils were encouraged to coordinate the work of all local agencies working with boys in the community. In an effort to eliminate duplication, volunteers were instructed to familiarize themselves with the actions of other organizations and think strategically about the best ways to provide the best programs. Volunteers were told to think not only in terms of the programs from other agencies but also training opportunities, group leadership, and relevant literature. Councils were advised to focus on the population of boys who had not already been reached to help guide programming.

After the local councils had researched and identified their programming goals, *Brief Suggestions* also discussed how to manage volunteers in the field. After the work of matching need and programs was done, the local councils were also advised to individualize how they assist and supervise volunteers who would be group leaders. Group leaders should be approached and assigned responsibility with a "specific task and capacity in mind."[158] Thoughtfully choosing volunteer leaders added more support to the

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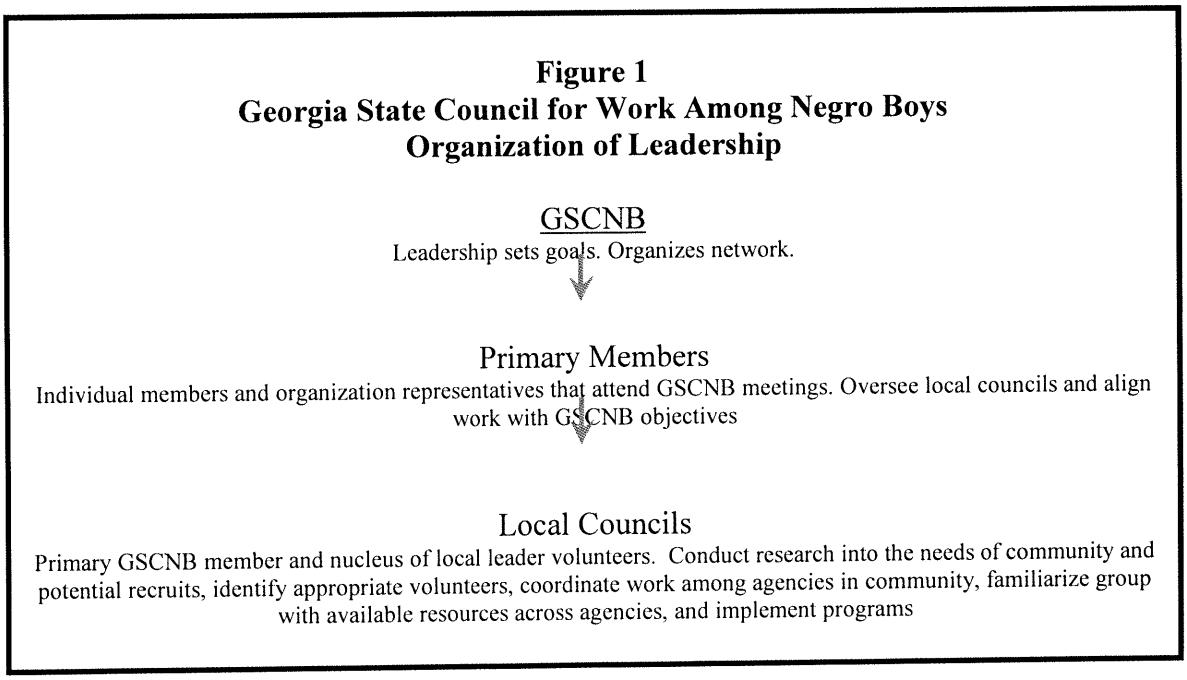
[157] Meeting Notes, April 1, 1933, box 129, folder 4, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives.
[158] Meeting Notes, April 1, 1933, box 129, folder 4, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives.

network the GSCNB was creating. Local councils were encouraged to form "training corps" for volunteer group leaders as their program grew. The last suggestions provided in the pamphlet addressed ways to secure literature and other materials to help efforts along the way.

Much of the local council's work at this time was directed towards building the structure that could support the goals of the GSCNB. *Brief Suggestions* ends with a list of primary sources that can aid at every step of organization. Local councils were to also seek literature and information from the four largest boys' work organizations (YMCA, Boys Club Federation, Boy Scouts, and 4-H clubs) and get in contact with their respective state headquarters for support. With all of these tools and guidelines local councils should not have trouble getting started on their goals. At each step they were directed back to the main goal of tailoring efforts and programs directly to the populations that needed it the most. The following figure 1 visually represents how the organization and leadership structure of the GSCNB was defined by *Brief Suggestions:*

Figure 1
Georgia State Council for Work Among Negro Boys
Organization of Leadership



Phase 2: Informing and Supporting the Network

The next installment of training literature produced and disseminated by the GSCNB was entitled, "*Fundamental Needs of Negro Boys and Men.*" Unlike *Brief Suggestions* that outlined the ways local councils should be organized and conducted, *Fundamental Needs* provided in depth discussion of what the GSCNB considered to be the most pressing problems facing African American young men in the state. This document was to be used as training and guidance for volunteers. Keeping with the established focus on research and evaluation at every step, this publication went into further detail to aid volunteers with the tools to think about the issues the GSCNB hoped to address.

The purpose of *Fundamental Needs* as a training tool was to "spend time studying the philosophies underlying the work, the objectives toward which we work, the methods used in performing a task, and the criteria by which we judge our results."[159] Instead of merely providing information about unmet need, this document emphasized that critical thinking was as important as the information being processed. For example, *Fundamental Needs* argued:

> At the present time the data available seem to warrant that our efforts should be more specifically and effectively directed to the end of *more accurately* meeting these rather fundamental needs.[160]

This suggests that the audience should not waste time recreating programs or systems, but instead look critically at what isn't being done. This aligns with the organization and philosophy of the GSCNB because it again puts focus on unmet need as the highest priority. *Fundamental Needs* highlighted four areas that should be incorporated into how

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[159] GSC Training Material, 1935, John Hope Presidential Papers, Atlanta University Archives Research Center: 65:6.
[160] Ibid. Emphasis mine.

local councils plan their programs: need for health education, vocational guidance, profitable use of leisure time and thrift education, and philosophy of life.

Health Education

The section dedicated to Health Education began with an examination of public health statistics within the African American community at the time. The document explained the connections between hygiene, health, and wellbeing. The document suggested that within programs there should be an effort to "reduce ignorance, poverty, and provide medical care."[161] Councils were encouraged to start small with incorporating more health education into a physical education program. That way they could attempt to meet the need without creating cost prohibitive programs. To supplement the discussion, *Fundamental Needs* also listed several discussion questions that could be taken up by the local council as they decide how to incorporate these suggestions into their program. Finally, the section concluded with a long list of sources already referenced in the document and additional literature that could aid in development. The issues surrounding health education also spilled into other areas that needed improvement.

Vocational Guidance

Vocational education was another strategy presented in *Fundamental Needs* to address economic issues affecting young men. The publication argued that 1) most [African American] boys did not put serious or intelligent thought into their future vocations, and 2) social agencies are doing little to stimulate thinking on the subject.[162] To address these issues, *Fundamental Needs* recommended that local councils study vocational guidance so that they can plan programming. Several discussion questions

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[161] Ibid.
[162] GSC Training Material, 1935, John Hope Presidential Papers, Atlanta University Archives Research Center: 65:6.

were provided to guide a discussion on the topic. These questions stressed important points that correlate with the philosophy of the GSCNB. For example, local councils were encouraged to sponsor frank discussions with young men about "short cuts" in life that do not add value. Concurrently, service to society should be considered a top priority when choosing a vocation.[163] To supplement these areas of discussion, *Fundamental Needs* also included a reference list to vocational guidance literature. Vocational and Health education goals were aimed at addressing needs within the target population. However, suggestions concerning the use of leisure time and philosophy of life targeted the quality of an individual's life.

The Need for More Profitable Use of Leisure Time and Thrift Education

Many adults, African American as well as White American, were concerned about the leisure time activities of young men in the 1930s. The GSCNB was no exception. Local councils were told to engage with young men in their community to keep them from "movies, dances, house parties, and 'bull sessions...that claim practically all of their time."[164] Perhaps during conversations about vocational guidance the topic also went into what the community elders considered a "profitable use of leisure time." *Fundamental Needs* recommended several discussion questions and literature that could help with the process. Though the section did not prescribe specific definitions of what is meant by "profitable" there was a discussion that leisure time could and should be

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[163] Ibid.
[164] GSC Training Material, 1935, John Hope Presidential Papers, Atlanta University Archives: 65:6, 22.

"profitable for the community and self."[165] This again emphasized the importance of service to the community. Just as GSCNB volunteers were using their leisure time to contribute, they model "profitability" for future generations.

The Need for a Philosophy of Life

Keeping with the theme of improving the individual, local councils were also expected to address how the young men felt about themselves and the world around them. *Fundamental Needs* defines the need for a philosophy of life as a purpose or orientation towards what an individual deemed most important. The document argues "simply because every time a boy asks himself – what should I do about my health, life work, leisure time, money or social companionship – he is dealing in the realm of philosophy."[166] Thus, of all of the programs and activities implemented by the local councils, fostering a positive and constructive philosophy of life among young men may have been the most important.

The GSCNB felt that a philosophy of life touched every part of their program, and thus needs to be something carefully planned for and nurtured. To illustrate this point, *Fundamental Needs* cited a qualitative study designed to determine how African American young men determine right and wrong. In this study, it was found that the African American young men held consistent negative opinions of other minority groups (i.e. Chinese, Italians, Greeks) as well as "thoughtless" assumptions about women and inferiority.[167] *Fundamental Needs* argued that these findings suggested that young men derived their philosophies of life from authority and cultural custom rather than critical thinking about right and wrong. The GSCNB felt that this fact presented a challenge to

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[165] Ibid., 24.
[166] Ibid., 28.
[167] GSC Training Material, 1935, John Hope Presidential Papers, Atlanta University Archives: 65:6, 29.

local councils because "History shows that authority has been as often wrong as right...and custom often does not square with the highest ethical principles."[168] In other words, the local councils needed to evaluate their role as authorities and how they taught and modeled their ethics. The local councils must be the first to adapt this way as "the present generation of youth cannot be forced, coerced, frightened, or deluded into desired ways of living."[169] The constant theme of aligning actions, personalities, and procedures with philosophy was important for sustaining their objectives.

The Creation of Camp John Hope

The second full meeting of the GSCNB was held on April 1, 1934 in Atlanta, Georgia. Though the detailed minutes from the meeting are lost, R.W. Bullock's resume of his services describes in detail what came of this meeting. Though Bullock did not note who originally suggested the idea to the group but recounted that:

> "Consideration was given to the question of providing camping facilities for Negro youth of the state. At that time there was not a single permanent camp with modern equipment in Georgia for Negro youth."[170]

Following the April 1934 meeting, the executive board continued to meet to discuss the possibility of founding a camp. From these meetings Bullock recounted that they were very interested in "providing a modern camp where Negro youths would have an opportunity to enjoy wholesome recreation and cultural development."[171] Unlike their previous projects, the GSCNB needed to secure a location, obtain funding to purchase land and build modern facilities before they could move with their plans. Desiring a location that would be convenient to all points in Georgia, Bullock and Hope took on the

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[168] Ibid., 30.
[169] Ibid., 31.
[170] Camp Advertisement, 1935, box 149, folder 13, John Hope Presidential Papers, Atlanta University Archives Research Center.
[171] Ralph Bullock, Historical Account of Camp John Hope, 1939, box 149, folder 13, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Archives Research Center.

primary responsibility of finding a location and adequate funding. Bullock explained "while not in the best of health, Hope traveled with me over the state from Rynely in the North to St. Mary's in the South." Though some members suggested that they apply for federal funds to build the camp, John Hope was sure that the project could be funded by interested individuals in the state: both African American and White American.

As a result of their efforts to solicit support for the camp project, hope came in the form of a temporary site to hold their program. Later in 1934, the GSCNB received a letter from an interested party. A GSCNB member, Benjamin Hubert wrote to John Hope to offer the use of his land called "The Log Cabin Center." Hubert who was then President of Georgia State Industrial College pledged "all of the buildings at the camp including the tents and equipment of the same will be turned over to your committee."[172] The camp project continued to move forward.

After a location was available the GSCNB could move forward with their plans. In an internal document sent to all of the local councils Bullock wrote:

> "Without the selection of any site for a permanent camp, the work of the Council was deemed too important that we are taking advantage of the courtesy of Mr. Hubert in using the equipment and facilities at the Log Cabin Center for camp this summer."[173]

At this point the established structure of the GSCNB aided in accomplishing their next goal. The advertisement continued "we are seeking your cooperation in giving publicity to this project for the summer. We expect you to make a personal effort to contact worthwhile boys."[174] Members of the GSCNB also suggested potential programs for the camp.

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[172] Report, Georgia Boys To Get First Summer Camp," June 6, 1935, *Atlanta Daily World*, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives.
[173] Letter, Frank E. Horne to S.C, June 1935, box 144, folder 2, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Archives Research Center.
[174] Ibid.

The landowner Benjamin Hubert suggested that the GSCNB first assemble "15-20 leading or outstanding people or boys…and have them assemble for a week of intensive training under selected leaders."[175] After identifying worthy candidates Hubert suggests "these boys gathered from all sections of the state for a week's stimulating conference work out in the open, would return to their homes better prepared to stimulate others in developing more satisfying life for the group."[176]

Another member of the State Council suggested a program and procedure for their first camp session. Like Hubert, Alexander Hurse felt that the first programs of the camp should be purposed around leadership development. Hurse suggested that the GSCNB bring together twenty "outstanding leader boys" from each of the major organizations once a year for a week-long program.[177] The program would be conducted by educators and leaders from the major boys' work organizations and designed to build the leadership qualities of the young men to support future work. Hurse also suggests a central Georgia location that could be equally accessible from all parts of the state.[178] Later in 1935, the GSCNB created and distributed an advertisement for the camp to its members.

This advertisement for the "State Summer Camp for Negro Boys" was to be held at the Log Cabin Center (12 Miles from Sparta), August 17-31, 1935.[179] The advertisement began with a brief history of how the GSCNB was formed and what had brought them to this camp project. It stated that after the GSCNB had successfully created several local councils in Georgia the group recognized a need for permanent

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[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Letter, To GSCNB, April 1934, box 137, folder 14, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Archives Research Center.
[178] Ibid.
[179] Camp Advertisement, 1935, box 149, folder 13, John Hope Presidential Papers, Atlanta University Archives Research Center.

modern camping facilities that could be used for years to come. According to the advertisement, the purpose of the camp was to "contribute towards [the boys'] health and physical betterment, educational and cultural growth, religious and spiritual elevation, and general social wellbeing."[180] Like the internal memo, the advertisement stated that the promotion of camp attendance was in the hands of the camp committee that consisted of Dr. Frank Horne, Prof. W.A. Robinson, Prof. W.R. Cochrane, Mr. Alva Tabor, Dr. Hope, and Ralph Bullock. When discussing who may attend the camp the announcement read, "the camp will be open to Negro boys of good reputation, 10-19 years, who can easily adjust themselves to well organized camp life."[181] The advertisement also contained an application form that could be distributed amongst the local councils.

Along with general information about the boy's name, address, and school, the application also asked several questions aimed to tell the GSCNB more about each camper who would potentially come to their camp. The application contained a questionnaire that asked all about what kinds of interests and activities the potential camper was involved with. It also inquired as to whether the student had attended a camp before and/or took part in other group recreation like a dramatics club. The last question meant to be asked of the student was "what activities do you desire to participate in while in camp?" Another portion of the application is addressed to the parents of the potential camper. Like the student questions, the form asked parents to indicate what kinds of activities they wanted their sons to engage in while at camp. The application went as far as to ask parents if there were certain skills or characteristics that they wanted emphasized in their particular camper. These suggested characteristics were listed as

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[180] Ibid.

[181] Camp Advertisement, 1935, box 149, folder 13, John Hope Presidential Papers, Atlanta University Archives Research Center.

"carriage, physical development, promptness, neatness, woodcraft, swimming, or other choice." The GSCNB consulted parents as to how they should shape the program at the camp. The application also emphasized the desire to only have boys of good standing at the camp. This section also asks the parent to provide the names of two people, one of whom was a teacher at their child's school, and an adult who can give "unbiased testimony as to his moral character."[182] Multiple adults were consulted in planning how this camp would be conducted. The application also asked parents to respond to the following statement:

> As a precaution against the entrance of undesirable boys, it is distinctly understood that the parent or guardian signing this application certifies that his son is amenable to discipline and is free from vicious or immoral habits and is a normal healthy boy.[183]

The application emphasized several times the importance of recruiting only boys of "good standing" to their camp program. After this section, the advertisement describes the program of the camp in general terms.

On the next page of the advertisement/application the GSCNB showed how the camp program would be organized. Explaining that the boys will be organized into age groups, the advertisement argued this was done in order to better tailor the "health and hygiene, educational, cultural, and religious activities to meet the particular needs and interests of the individual camper."[184] The advertisement expanded further on this idea stating the programs of the camp will give "special attention…to each individual in the light of his particular needs, likes, and dislikes, with the view of making the camp an

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[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid., 2
[184] Ibid.

asset to the growth and development of each boy."[185] Like the GSCNB's approach to the programming of the local councils, the programming of the camp was advertised to be tailored to the actual (perceived or imagined) needs of each of the attendees. In addition to their regular targeted program, the advertisement included "the various organizations connected with the Georgia State Council for Work among Negro Boys may bring groups of boys to the camp and conduct their specific programs without handicap or interference."[186]

After the successful first session, the GSCNB did not stop looking for a permanent home for their camp. Towards the close of 1935, Bullock wrote that he created a document outlining the building plans and expected costs of buying land and building modern facilities and gave it to John Hope. Hope then "made a trip East and presented the project to one of his philanthropic friends who agreed to give the necessary money to build a modern camp."[187] However, shortly after this report was made, the GSCNB lost one of its founding members. The official history of Camp John Hope recounts the series of events.

> In January 1936, Dr. Hope made a trip East and presented the project to one of his philanthropic friends who agreed to give the necessary money to build a modern camp. Upon returning to Atlanta very much elated over the success of the trip, he called a meeting of the executive committee and announced that money for building the camp had been assured. The sudden illness and passing of Dr. Hope revealed that no record could be found giving the name of the person promising funds.[188]

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[185] Ibid.
[186] Camp Advertisement, 1935, box 149, folder 13, John Hope Presidential Papers, Atlanta University Archives Research Center.
[187] Letter, Frank E. Horne to S.C, June 1935, box 144, folder 2, John Hope Presidential Papers, Atlanta University Archives Research Center.
[188] Report, "Historical Account of Camp John Hope," Camp John Hope FFA-FCCLA Center Historical Record, Fort Valley, Georgia.

The GSCNB's camp project was one of the last things John Hope desired to see come to fruition. The unfortunate timing of John Hope's death and the loss of potential donor could have put their plans in serious jeopardy. However, the GSCNB found that their hard work over the last two tears had not gone unnoticed.

In 1935, the State Director of the National Youth Administration (NYA), Dr. Raymond Paty, heard of the work done by the GSCNB through channels and reached out to Channing Tobias to request Ralph Bullock's help with their projects. The two organizations came to an agreement that Bullock would give a third of his time to the NYA while also being able to remain in Georgia to continue his work with the council. After the unexpected passing of John Hope, Bullock decided to use his new position to propel the camp project forward. Upon joining the NYA and meeting the director of the Works Projects, D.B. Lassiter, Bullock wasted no time. "In my first conference with Mr. Lassiter concerning the Works Projects among Negro youth, I discussed with him the matter of building this camp."[189] Bullock saw the opportunity to see their project come to fruition with the backing of a federal agency. Mr. Lassiter, like his successor, saw a lot of promise in the plans originated by the GSCNB and from that moment on was dedicated to the project. Despite this good luck, Bullock, the NYA, and GSCNB went through many transitions in order to achieve their goal.

Bullock wrote that the first challenge was "the very real problem of securing the land on which to build the camp."[190] Though the GSCNB and Bullock had enlisted the resources of the NYA, they soon found that the NYA could provide funding to build the camp, but not to buy the land they would build on. Despite this setback, the NYA

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[189] Report, Ralph Bullock's "Historical Statement Concerning Camp John Hope," box 149, folder, 13, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives.
[190] Ibid.

continued to show dedication to creating the camp. When Dr. Paty retired as State Director, and was succeeded by D.B. Lassiter, "he left a provision in his Works Projects program for the ensuing year to build the camp if and when a suitable site could be purchased through other sources."[191] The NYA seemed to accept the inevitable setbacks in completing a large project and continued to show support as Bullock looked for means to buy land in central Georgia. Eventually, Bullock discovered that "The Resettlement Administration was purchasing land…to be used as a resettlement area for Negroes, and it occurred to me that we might get some help from this organization."[192] In order to pursue this venture Bullock traveled to Washington D.C. with another GSCNB member, Forrester B. Washington. This meeting garnered a call to the Regional Director of The Resettlement Administration, R.W. Hudgens, who was located in Montgomery, Alabama. From there, Bullock made his case again in order to convince the administration to use money earmarked for resettlement to purchase the land for this project. Bullock wrote, "Mr. Hudgens became interested and promised to act on the matter as speedily as possible."[193] Though Bullock had now secured means of purchasing the land to build the camp and build modern facilities, the bureaucratic process to get their plans in motion still threatened the camp project. The Resettlement Administration could not make an immediate purchase of the land that at the time was owned by a mortgage bank and positioned to sell as quickly as possible. Not wanting to lose this location and opportunity, Bullock came up with an alternative plan with the assistance of another GSCNB member. In a charitable and strategic act "a member of the camp site committee, Prof. A.T. Wilson, of the Fort Valley Normal and Industrial School, agreed to

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[191] Ibid., 8.
[192] Ibid., 10..
[193] Ibid., 9.

purchase the land personally and resell it to the resettlement administration."[194] Purchasing the land at personal cost bought more time while the Resettlement Administration was in negotiations to appropriate funds. However, even after the Resettlement Agency (renamed the Farm Security Agency in 1936) agreed to purchase the land, still other factors could derail their plans.

As negotiations continued towards purchasing the land and finding a sponsor for the project, Bullock was being pulled in several directions. By November 1936, the original agreement to loan out Bullock's time had more than elapsed and his work was needed back at the YMCA. Understanding the difficulty of making this change, Channing Tobias wrote "it has been helpful to have you related to one state for the past year or two, but the time has come for the experiences gained in Georgia to be passed on to Associations throughout the country."[195] With the limited number of staff and secretaries available during the 1930s, Tobias pointed out that eventually Bullock needed to spread out his service. However, at this crucial time neither Bullock nor the NYA were ready to end their cooperation. D.B. Lasseter wrote back to Tobias explaining that all of the work done until now would be "nullified" if Bullock were to leave before the camp had been built. Pleading Tobias Lasseter wrote, "I realize that all of colored youth are not located in Georgia but I believe that some of the work we have been able to do through Mr. Bullock can be of much value to every colored youth in the South, from a demonstration

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[194] Report, Ralph Bullock's Historical Statement Concerning Camp John Hope, box 149, folder, 3, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives.

[195] Letter, Channing Tobias to Ralph Bullock, November 1936, box 9, folder, Boys Work Correspondence and Reports 1919-1939, Kautz Family Archives, University of Minnesota.

standpoint."[196] Lasseter knew that achieving their goal of building the camp would be beneficial if they wanted to repeat the project in other states. Everything that they were doing for Georgia would have to be done in any other state as well. If this was not enough to convince Tobias and the New York office, another local YMCA leader made the case for Bullock to stay.

In December 1936, R.H. King, director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, wrote a letter to Jay Urice, the associate general secretary of the National Board of the YMCA, that advocated extending Bullock's work in Georgia until the camp could be completed. King, who described the camp as "one of the most ambitious racial projects we have" argued that "we are at the stage where we are about to get in Georgia the Camp for Negro Youth on such a basis as to challenge every other state in the South."[197] King discussed the various bureaucratic hurdles that had already been cleared and insisted that Bullock was the only one who could see this project through. From a practical standpoint, King added, "It does not seem wise to us to generously cooperate with the Government over a period and then nullify the results of that cooperation."[198] Working with the NYA was no small feat and may have been the only way to build the camp. If that was not enough to convince the New York office, King also used some dry humor to make his case. Using a considerable amount of Southern wit, King wrote to Urice invoking the memory of the recently passed John Hope and his wishes to see this project built. A little tongue in cheek, King wrote:

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[196] Letter, D.B. Lasseter to Channing Tobias, 1936, box 9, folder, Boys Work Correspondence and Reports 1919-1939, Kautz Family Archives, University of Minnesota.

[197] Report, Ralph Bullock's "Historical Statement Concerning Camp John Hope," box 149, folder, 13, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives.

[198] Ibid., 2

> I checked carefully with Bullock on a schedule which would, in my humble judgment, achieve what you and Tobias want and at the same time safeguard a personal investment of self-sacrificing personal leadership including money, effort, and planning on the part of Dr. Hope.[199]

The detailed schedule King suggested involved Bullock alternating between spending time in Georgia, working with the NYA on the camp project, and in New York being available for the Colored Work Department and finishing the camp project by May 1, 1937.

> Dec. 28- Jan 15: Bullock turns over NYA work to successor
> Jan 15-Feb 15: Bullock goes to New York for Colored Work Department
> Feb 15- Feb 21: Atlanta working on Camp Project
> Feb 22 – Mar. 22: New York, Colored Work Department
> Mar. 23-Mar. 31: Atlanta, Camp Project
> April (whole month): New York, Colored Work Department
> May 1- May 8: Finish Camp Project

Afterwards, King uses humor again to soften his request adding "you will see that early in the letter I talked of May 1 as the severing point and the schedule brings us to May 8, but you will allow for the poetic strain that we Southerners sometimes have."[200] Besides, King argues, some of the delays in their work have been necessary for the ultimate purpose of their organization. King explains that while Bullock was working with the NYA and the camp project, he was also helping out local associations. The Butler Street YMCA had fallen into disrepair during the 1930s and "with Bullock's advent the NYA used the branch as headquarters [which] meant income which turned the tide."[201] Accepting these terms, Tobias allowed Bullock to continue working in Georgia in order to see the camp project through.

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[199] Ibid.
[200] Report, Ralph Bullock's "Historical Statement Concerning Camp John Hope," box 149, folder, 13, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives.
[201] Ibid.

Despite the delays and changes to the original plan, Bullock was able to use the resources he possessed to finally start construction on the camp. In his historical account of the project, Bullock noted "the construction work on the camp site actually began on July 26, 1937" a development made possible by his continued association with the National Youth Administration.[202] An historical account of the NYA in Georgia provides more detail into how the camp was finally constructed. Historian Florence Fleming Corley wrote of the history of the NYA in Georgia and the opportunities created for Negro youth. Corley explained that the NYA in Georgia was one of the most successful in expenditure and programs, second only to the Texas NYA which was run by future president, Lyndon Johnson.[203] This was due in part to the many friends the Georgia NYA had in Washington. Corley wrote that both Mary Mcleod Bethune, then director of the Division of Negro Affairs for the NYA, and Eleanor Roosevelt held the Georgia program in high regard, advocated for their programs in Washington, and visited the sites including Camp John Hope.[204] In addition to these powerful allies in Washington, the Georgia NYA also had several members of the GSCNB on the Negro State Advisory Committee that directed the programs specifically for Negro Youth. The state committee consisted of "Alva Tabor…as chairman…others serving were…B.F. Hubert…Dr. Frank S. Horne…and Ralph Waldo Bullock."[205] Of the many programs conducted by the Georgia NYA, one that was specifically celebrated was called the "Fort Valley Resident Work Project" that was "publicized and visited" by both Mrs. Roosevelt and Director

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[202] Ibid..
[203] Florence Fleming Corley, "The National Youth Administration in Georgia: A New Deal for Young Blacks and Women." *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 77, no. 4 (1993): 728-756.
[204] Ibid., 731.
[205] Ibid., 732.

Bethune.[206]This project facilitated by Henry A. Hunt and Frank S. Horne "attracted outstanding African Americans from all over the nation to serve on its staff. Describing the project Corley wrote:

> At the Fort Valley NYA project eighty-one young Blacks (fifty-six males and twenty-five females) constructed a camp for Black 4-H Clubs, the only such recreational facility in the state. It was named for Dr. John Hope...the youths cleared and landscaped a 150-acre tract of land obtained from A. T. Wilson... and built twenty-four cabins which could accommodate over 200 campers, a large dining or assembly hall with a theater facility, two athletic fields, ten tennis courts, two volleyball courts, two basketball courts, a croquet court, and a horseshoe rink...a swimming pool, two bath houses, an administrative cottage, a 2,000-gallon water tank, a deep well, and a 500-foot dam with two concrete spillways which created an 18 to 25-acre lake. While they were building the camp, the young people lived at and attended classes at the Fort Valley Normal and Industrial School. Principal Hunt, Dr. Home, Director Shell, H. E. Bryant, Alva Tabor, and others served as instructors in agriculture, health, hygiene, reading, and writing.[207]

From the initial idea to simply provide a camp for Negro Youth, connections with federal agencies allowed the camp project to be thoroughly successful. Not only was the camp constructed, the entire process served the original goals of the GSCNB to provide vocational guidance, health education, and a profitable use of leisure time. After much delay, the construction of Camp John Hope was completed that November.

The *Atlanta Daily World* published two articles in November 1937 concerning the construction of the camp and demonstrating some of the changes that occurred within the GSCNB in the completion of the project. The first article, published November 3, 1937, emphasized the contributions of the NYA to Georgia and cites the GSCNB as a major contributor. The article, drew its information from a report given by Bullock, to the GSCNB, about the success of their NYA work. Between the years of 1935 and 1937 the Georgia NYA had contributed $317,532 "according to a report read by R.W. Bullock...at

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[206] Ibid., 744.
[207] Ibid., 745.

a meeting of the Georgia State Council held at the Butler Street YMCA."[208] The article went on to explain "The Georgia State Council for Work among Negro Youths meeting had an attendance which constituted one of the most representative cross-section groups that has assembled in the state."[209] Though this change is not reflected elsewhere, this article signified that the GSCNB in pursuit of its goals necessarily had to evolve to be an inclusive "State Council for Work among Negro Youths." In addition to the name change, the article also showed how the influence of the GSCNB had grown. Alva Tabor, a member of the GSCNB and Georgia NYA reported "the activities of the State Association on Vocational Guidance was brought under the work of the State Council." Thus, as the GSCNB continued to grow and change, more agencies were connected to their work. The next mention of Camp John Hope also illustrated how the work of the original GSCNB was evolving.

On November 20, 1937 *The Atlanta Daily World* retold a meeting of the Georgia NYA that was held in Fort Valley. The meeting, presided by attorney and GSCNB member A.T. Walden, was called to discuss the past, present, and future of Camp John Hope. Before the meeting began, A.T. Walden and R.W. Bullock:

> "Led a motorcade of members of the committee to the Camp site...Mr. Bullock led the party in a tour of the project grounds explaining and describing each detail of construction and indicating future plans with regard to construction and physical development."[210]

After the tour of the campsite, the meeting began with a discussion of what was to be done from there. Ralph Bullock presented to the committee a detailed history of the project that had led them to this place as well as his thoughts on what the future of the

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[208] *Atlanta Daily World,* col. 1, p. 1, November 3, 1937.
[209] Ibid.
[210] *Atlanta Daily World,* November 20, 1937, pg.1, col. 2.

committee should be. After a vote, the GSCNB/NY was dissolved and "the executive committee was empowered to proceed at once with steps to incorporate the committee under the title of The General Committee on Recreation and Camping for Negro Youths in Georgia."[211] Thus the name and purpose of the GSCNB/NY was transformed to better represent and facilitate future plans of supporting recreation for Negro youth in Georgia. Bullock wrote in his report:

> "The original membership of the committee consisted of 32 persons representing the Georgia New Farmer's of America, The Boys' Club of America, The Boy Scouts of America, The 4-H Clubs, The YMCA, The YWCA, private schools and colleges, businesses and professionals."[212]

Though the names had changed, the general spirit of inter-organizational cooperation remained as a cornerstone of the work to provide better access to wholesome recreation for Negro youths.

NECESSARY ORGANIZATIONAL MACHINERY

The Impact of the GSCNB

One of the central impacts created by the actions of the GSCNB was the organizational machinery needed to create and sustain a state-wide initiative. The GSCNB had set out to reach "the largest possible number in the most effective manner" and to do so, the leadership of the GSCNB directed their energies toward sustainable collaboration.[213] Bullock writes in his one-year report of his work in Georgia:

> Our approach to this new task was unconventional in that from the outset we did not attempt to develop a YMCA program as such for Negro boys in Georgia. Our

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[211] Ibid.
[212] Report, Ralph Bullock's Historical Statement Concerning Camp John Hope, box 149, folder, 3, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives.
[213] Report, Ralph Bullock's "A Brief Resume of Services Rendered by the Colored Work Department of the National Council of the YMCA to Negro Youth in Georgia, box 4, folder, Secretary Reports 1934-1937, Kautz Family Archives, University of Minnesota.

> first effort was to stimulate the existing organizations already working with Negro boys.[214]

Their first step was not to imagine that their organization, which had experienced humbling efforts to provide service to African Americans in the South, had the resources and dedication to launch and support a state-wide effort on its own. Bullock who had argued that communities do not have a shortage of resources for leadership and development, thought that instead they could offer a more efficient way of tapping those resources. Their first effort went toward what they could find that had already been established. However, this was only one aspect of their structure.

Interagency Cooperation

Interagency cooperation was the first and key step in building their organizational machinery. As discussed earlier, the GSCNB brought together leadership from various organizations but had no guarantee, or model, that they could work together efficiently. Perhaps through the strengths of their social and professional relationships, or perhaps indicative of a deep identification with the purpose, the multiple agencies all experienced growth in enrollments and program initiatives in the pilot year. Bullock wrote, "It is indeed gratifying that these national boys' work organizations, working in line with the purpose and function of the State Council, have really extended the outreach of their programs."[215] The choice to seek collaboration on this scale was risky in that weaving together completely different agencies with different programs, leadership, and structures was a difficult task even and especially when working in the same field. However, the

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[214] Ibid.

[215] Report, Ralph Bullock's GSCNB One Year Later, 1934, box 149, folder, 13, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives.

GSCNB instead found that the collaboration served to stimulate all efforts and coordinate with a state-wide agenda.

How this was achieved with only a few meetings and correspondence is not clear. Bullock's travel records indicate that he traveled very frequently to contribute to leadership training and development but that support does not fully explain the structure and coordination needed to create and sustain this initiative.

Organizational Machinery

The cooperation and collaboration of major organizations was key, but still not enough. Bullock explained the other facets of their organizational machinery. In an effort to reach areas where major organizations were not operating, the GSCNB put in motion a strategy to identify, enlist, and utilize local leadership. The specific steps were discussed in the previous chapter. Reflecting on the importance of their process Bullock noted that "a definite effort was made to set up leadership machinery and organize programs among boys in communities that were not reached by existing organizations in the state."[216] This leadership machinery formed the supporting structure for authentic and effective programming tailored to communities and individuals. Bullock further explains,

> The present machinery set up by the Georgia State Council for Work among Negro Boys offers a way and an opportunity to provide for our boys a type of program service unlike, and possibly far more worthwhile, than any that has been provided in any other state. For it challenges, enlists, and offers an opportunity for the best leadership in any community to make a constructive contribution to the development of Negro boys' life in line with their specific needs, interests, resources, and capabilities.[217]

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[216] Report, Ralph Bullock's GSCNB One Year Later, 1934, box 149, folder, 13, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives.
[217] Ibid.

We see that within this machinery are more organizational constructs to support service. Identifying leadership leads to creating authentic and progressive programs which give multiple generation's opportunities to serve (as leaders or future leaders). The system is designed in theory to recreate itself as part of the curriculum involves giving back to community. One can give back to their community by being a leader and teaching the curriculum to new faces and so on. These internal structures supported sustainability. Bullock also recounted that "these councils assumed responsibility for organizing and promoting work among boys in each of the communities."[218]

These internal structures themselves represent part of the impact of the GSCNB. The GSCNB's success in taking what was already there and organizing it into an interconnected machine working on multiple fronts toward a common goal is also demonstrated in the new locations and programs created through this structure.

Increased Access

Compounding the impact of self-supporting organizational machinery was a measurable increase in access for a larger percentage of African American boys in Georgia. In a report made evaluating the success of their interagency collaboration Bullock wrote "it can be said that through the stimulation received from the efforts made by the State Council a much larger number of boys are being reached through constructive program activities at this time than a year ago."[219] The map in figure 2 shows where new and improved councils and programs were located.

Figure 2

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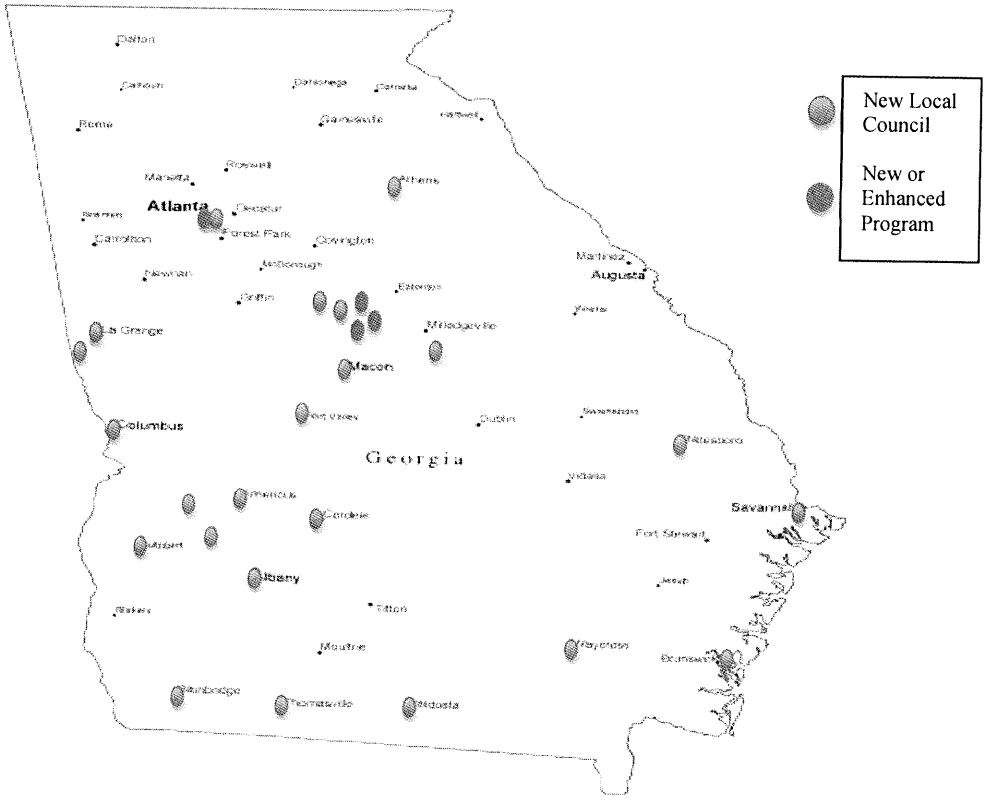
[218] Report, Ralph Bullock's "A Brief Resume of Services Rendered by the Colored Work Department of the National Council of the YMCA to Negro Youth in Georgia, 1936, box 4, folder, Secretary Reports 1934-1937, Kautz Family Archives, University of Minnesota.

[219] Report, Ralph Bullock's GSCNB One Year Later, 1934, box 149, folder, 13, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives.

Location of New and Improved Councils



New local councils: Albany, Brunswick, Columbus, Cuthbert, Fort Valley, La Grange, Macon, Monticello, Savannah, Statesboro, Thomasville, Valdosta, Forsyth, Americus*, Athens*, Bainbridge*, Bronwood*, Cordele*, Irwinton*, Parrott*, Waycross*, West Point*, and Atlanta.

New or enhanced programs: Wilkenson county (3 groups), Atlanta

*unorganized council

In addition to the new councils and programs, Bullock also noted the increase in enrollments in the four major national organizations: 4-H Club, Boy Scouts, Boys' Club, and YMCA. Between the four major organizations there was a 90% increase in enrollment. From the new programs and councils created in the first year Bullock

estimated an additional 2,000 Black boys in Georgia were being directly reached by a development program.[220]

The Creation of Camp John Hope

Camp John Hope was a joint initiative that, like many projects, came together only because the right person was in the right place at the right time. Had Ralph Bullock not been working with the GSCNB on a statewide initiative, if the GSCNB had not begun creating the camp and gathering support, the camp may never have been built. After John Hope's passing in 1936 and without funding to construct a permanent camp, it seemed that the efforts of the GSCNB would be stopped in their tracks. However, the work of the GSCNB drew the interest of the NYA who in turn hired Bullock to direct their work for Black youth. Ralph Bullock became the connector between the foundation building work completed by the GSCNB and the federal agency that could complete the project. The name of the camp, that still endures today, illustrates that the camp would not have been made without the initial work of the GSCNB.

> When reflecting on his work, Bullock wrote that Camp John Hope was perhaps, one of the most worthwhile projects, certainly of its kind, ever developed in the South… If the NYA had not built this camp Negroes in Georgia would not have had access to and use of a place of this kind during the lifetime of the present generation. [221]

The construction of Camp John Hope, perhaps their most obvious long term impact, was also a testament to the philosophy of the GSCNB. It took an interagency effort with foundations in local leadership, to construct an institution that could be mutually

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[220] Report, Ralph Bullock's "A Brief Resume of Services Rendered by the Colored Work Department of the National Council of the YMCA to Negro Youth in Georgia, 1936, box 4, folder, Secretary Reports 1934-1937, Kautz Family Archives, University of Minnesota.

[221] Report, Ralph Bullock's "Historical Statement Concerning Camp John Hope," box 149, folder, 13, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives.

beneficial to their collective goals going into the future. Though the operation changed hands, the name and the goal stayed the same as a centrally located facility that is used as a resource for the development of Georgia youth.

Demonstration

The demonstration of their work and resulting impact addresses one of the foundational objectives of the GSCNB. These efforts from the beginning were meant to demonstrate how boys' work can be improved across the entire South. This Georgia initiative was meant to be an experiment to provide more insight into how boys' work can evolve in the Southern region. However, when it came to successfully recreating their model in other states, Bullock's achievements were more modest. However, efforts to utilize the experiences of Bullock and the GSCNB were the topic of several conversations internally and externally.

Internal communications outlined the importance of creating a demonstration that could lead to more efficient state-wide systems of boys' work. Three months after the first meeting of the GSCNB Bullock wrote:

> Through the statewide experiment in Georgia we are hoping to make a demonstration which will point the way to a larger and more effective service among Negro boys in other Southern states, in particular, and over the country in general.[222]

Bullock hoped that his experience in Georgia could be the catalyst that within a few years took the YMCA from considering abandoning the South as a field of service, to planning state and nationwide initiatives modeled and anchored in the South.

Bullock's first steps to realizing this impact was reflected in internal YMCA Colored Work Department Newsletters:

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[222] Report, Additional Meeting Notes, June 1933, box 137, folder, 14, John Hope Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives.

> This project is significant not only for what it means to the boys of Georgia but for what it suggests to other Southern states…Alabama will be the next state to work out a state-wide program of services to Negro boys under the auspices of the various organizations working in the field.[223]

This was again repeated at a national YMCA conference.

> It was suggested that Mr. Bullock might do a limited service in such contigious [sic] states as Alabama and South Carolina, acquainting the leaders with what had happened in Georgia and suggesting a program of procedure.

The GSCNB and what their organization achieved was also reflected in external conversations. When Ralph Bullock transitions to work part time for the Georgia National Youth Association he brought work he began with the GSCNB. The GSCNB had completed the hard work of creating a foundation and interagency collaboration, the NYA was then in a position to benefit from Bullock's expertise and incorporate GSCNB procedures in NYA work. The director of the NYA in Georgia, D.B. Lassiter, wrote to Channing Tobias lauding the work of the GSCNB and Ralph Bullock:

> We have constant inquiries from NYA organizations in other states asking about our Colored projects and our methods of handling them, and I believe our good work is already overflowing into other states in this section.[224]

This suggests that ideas organized and disseminated by the GSCNB had emanating effects on multiple agencies proposing to work with African American boys.

Perhaps further proof of the sharing of ideas across agencies were the handful of interagency camping projects in other states that Bullock became involved with in the years following 1936. A memo written between Ralph Bullock and Channing Tobias in 1940 discusses these camp projects. Bullock explained the successes and setbacks he was experiencing while trying to duplicate the Georgia experiment in different Southern

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[223] Newsletter, Colored Work Department News, 1935, box 7, folder, Department Newsletters 1931-1937, Kautz Family Archives, University of Minnesota.
[224] Letter, D.B. Lasseter to Channing Tobias , 1936, box 9, folder, Boys Work Correspondence and Reports 1919-1939, Kautz Family Archives, University of Minnesota.

states. Bullock explained that collaboration between agencies to secure funding and other support created administrative hurdles that made some projects more difficult to get off the ground. For example, Bullock reported that in Florida and Alabama camp sites had been found and construction had begun on facilities. However, in Louisiana and Mississippi work was indefinitely halted due to "agency reasons."[225] Furthermore, in South Carolina "Negroes must accept this youth training center in lieu of an organized camping facility."[226]

Though it is difficult to discern how successful the demonstration campaign was in other states, Bullock reports on working with multiple agencies in different states but mentions nothing about the other facets of the GSCNB model.

DISCUSSION

Although there is no evidence to indicate that Edward Hope in 1917 received any response from The Boy Scouts or any other of the major agencies that were working with boys at the time, elite African American men in Georgia communities sought to respond to the needs of boys in the 1930s. The Georgia State Council for Work among Negro Boys began with a request from Edward's father, John Hope, for the Colored Work Department of the YMCA to direct its interests in expanding access in the South on the state of Georgia. From this request, Hope and Bullock assembled a collection of Black men who had been working within the larger agencies and limited by the lack of interest in investing in the development of Black boys. Not looking to duplicate work that was already being done, the representatives formed a statewide committee that could be a vehicle to support a network of boys work. Previous agencies that were limited when

[225] Report, Ralph Bullock's "Camps and Recreation Centers for Negro Youth in Southern States," box 4, folder, Secretary Reports 1938-1940, Kautz Family Archives, University of Minnesota.
[226] Ibid.

working independently, now had a means to share ideas, support smaller programs, and increase their access in rural and urban areas without losing their individual identities. The GSCNB used current research into the unmet needs of Black boys in Georgia and the contributions of the volunteer representatives to direct their work efficiently and promote a program that would be of greatest use to Black boys. The representatives then armed with research into best practices and policies were encouraged to create satellite work councils in their communities that would follow the same procedure of conducting research and identifying and training volunteers. Within a year's time the GSCNB began to see the results of their work. Enrollment in the four largest agencies increased by 90%. Even more impressively, satellite councils with their own programs were founded in twenty-four new points in Georgia with the majority of these in rural areas.

From that vantage point the GSCNB decided to create a space unlike any previously available to Black children where their related organizations could expand their programs. The result was Camp John Hope, the first permanent camping site for Black youth with modern facilities available in Georgia, and by some accounts, the entire South. Though the project changed hands several times, the original intent endured. Camp John Hope is still a place where youth of all colors and genders can use for their recreation.

Though only active for a short time, the GSCNB was able to achieve their major goal: increasing access to development programs to underserved Black boys and leaving a legacy to ensure access in future years. Agencies working with Black boys were strengthened and scores of volunteers were trained to contribute to their communities.

The story of the GSCNB differs from the seminal works by Savage, Grant, and Hornsby-Gutting in several important avenues. Savage writes about the responses of the Boys' Club Federation to the "social crisis" brought on by the Great Migration of African Americans from the South to urban centers in the Northeast and Midwest. Savage's investigation of the Wissahickon Boy's Club in Philadelphia focused on the work and philosophies of its founder, John T. Emlen, and most influential African American superintendent, William T. Coleman. Both Emlen and Coleman were educated at Hampton University and implemented programs rooted in the tradition of industrial education. The founder John T. Emlen, for example, was inspired by the Hampton-Tuskegee philosophy and believed that racial progress for African Americans would come from a demonstration of their industrial abilities. William T. Coleman advocated for racial pride through "self help." Under his tutelage the Wissahickon Boys Club won several competitions for their exemplary industrial skills.[227] This is contrasted with the philosophies of the GSCNB. One of the founding members, President John Hope of Atlanta University, had been a longtime friend of W.E.B. Dubois and advocate for classical education for African Americans. The GSCNB's publications with recommendations for programming discuss vocational training and education and do not specifically recommend industrial education. Though it is unlikely that GSCNB programs did not include trade skills akin to industrial education, it was not a central theme in their philosophies. In addition to not including industrial language, the GSCNB advocated that racial uplift would be achieved through a multifaceted approach to boys'

[227] Carter Julian Savage, "'In the Interest of the Colored Boys': Christopher J. Atkinson, William T. Coleman, and the Extension of Boys' Clubs Services to African-American Communities, 1906–1931," 508.

development. This dissertation also differed from existing research when it came to the population of boys that were served.

Guiding literature by Savage and Grant examined boys development through the lens of Northeastern and Midwestern programs developed for the exploding population of African American migrant boys. In these works, the "social crisis" created by the Great Migration prompted Progressive Era reformers to create programs for Black boys just as they had done for recent White immigrants. In an important contrast from this literature, the GSCNB was created to provide programs for native Southern boys and rural boys in particular. The Great Migration was dominated by rural African Americans seeking to escape the strictures and violence of Jim Crow. The GSCNB were specifically concerned with the plights of boys who were left behind. This population was perhaps even more vulnerable and poverty-stricken because they were not able to leave the South for better opportunities. Hornby-Gutting wrote about Southern communities and argued that the Great Migration influenced elite Black men to organize in new ways to ensure the proper development of Black boys. This suggests that organizing programs for native boys still living in the South emphasized values specific to Southern customs both in and out of Black communities. This dissertation also differs from Hornby-Gutting's work.

In her examination of the spread of boys programs in North Carolina, Hornsby-Gutting discussed the social changes amongst Black men and women that facilitated the movement. Hornsby-Gutting weaves together the actions and philosophies of several groups of elite Black men to argue that their emphasis on boys' development came from a conflation with racial uplift. This trend was observable from several different church congregations, programs, schools, and organizations. This dissertation differs from

Hornby-Gutting's work because it involves the collaboration and network of several boys' programs, instead of connecting the work of several people based on the theme of boys' work. By this I mean her work assessed how several different communities all came to the conclusion of improving the ways they develop Black boys but didn't suggest that this phenomenon was purposely connected. The GSCNB in contrast sought to deliberately connect the various agencies interested in boys' development in order to create a more stable network that could successfully extend into the most underserved areas. For example, Camp John Hope was a major project that was purposely located so that groups from the entire state could have equal access to use it for their programs. The same level of collaboration is not present in Hornsby-Gutting's study. In this dissertation, several distinctive ideas emerged from the example of the GSCNB.

The example of the GSCNB draws several connections to my conceptual framework. Hornsby-Gutting's theory of communal manhood posited that during the Progressive Era elite Black men tweaked their own masculine identities in order to provide care and development for Black boys and ensuring the future of the Black race. Manhood ceased to be an individual striving and turned into a community concern. The GSCNB embodied this shift by bringing together individual and extended communities of Black men under the mission of addressing the needs of Black boys. This state-wide community of Black men was needed to support efforts to provide for the most neglected demographic, rural boys. This example also expands the idea of communal manhood by demonstrating the strategies and connections required to bring together a state-wide community. The GSCNB showed that individual communities of Black men could unite

in a larger mission of communal manhood. There are also implications to the theory of an "African American Paideia."

The example of the GSCNB also extends the research on the segregated schooling of African American children. As a direct result of the limitations of segregation and Jim Crow African American pedagogical practice was tailored to address the needs of children. Educational Historian, Vanessa Siddle Walker, detailed several aspects of a Historical African American Pedagogical Network with specific philosophies and practices designed for the healthy development of Black children for their own good and the good of the community. Two important characteristics of this model, interpersonal and institutional caring, described how African American educators practiced care in their schools. Interpersonal caring involved providing for the emotional, psychological, educational, and physical needs of Black children. Institutional caring was the deliberate organization of a school to support teachers and administrators in interpersonal caring.

However, as V.P. Franklin pointed out, education for African Americans was not confined to the school. Several community organizations, both Black and White, contributed to caring for the "whole child." In this dissertation I am positing that a third tier of caring, community care, is therefore needed to better describe how adults and professionals outside of the school provided for Black children and contributed to the "African American Paideia." The triangulation of interpersonal, institutional, and community care created a cushioned environment where Black children could have a chance to develop happy, healthy, and productive lives. Each part was necessary to impart on the children who they were and who they could be. Importantly, the inter-organizational cooperation present within the GSCNB suggests community care was

salient for several communities. Collaborating with several organizations and recruiting leaders in multiple locations showed that the need to provide this care was an important issue throughout the state.

However, along with all of its successes, the example of the GSCNB also exposed important shortcomings. In several communications, both internal and external to the GSCNB, two of the primary actors, John Hope and Ralph Bullock, expressed that the true mission of the organization would be to reach all 129,000 Black boys in Georgia. These figures argued that their work would not be done until they had achieved this goal. Despite this optimistic and inclusive language, the actions of the GSCNB guaranteed that they would not reach this goal. From the beginning the GSCNB was limited to the representatives that could incorporate their program into their organization or community. If there was an effort to seek representatives from all communities and account for all Black boys it was not reflected in their actions. Furthermore, their language used in advertisements for Camp John Hope did not reflect their goals to reach all Black boys in Georgia. On the applications for the first session of their camp the GSCNB expressed a desire to only accept boys of "good standing." Not only were the boys expected to already display good character, the GSCNB requested recommendation letters from a parent and non-relative that would stipulate to the boy's high moral standing. This did not suggest that a subsection of all of the boys in Georgia, for example ones who could not demonstrate their respectability, were welcome at the camp.

Though in early deliberations of the GSCNB there was discussion of work with delinquent boys, this group seemed to be left out of their major project, Camp John Hope. There was no indication of other actions taken to specifically include this population as

well. Though the GSCNB claimed to want to provide for all of the underserved boys in Georgia, their plans and actions were not organized to achieve this goal.

Limitations

Several limitations in the data constricted this dissertation. The data sources were not sufficient to explore thoroughly the complexity of the personal network in the activities and accomplishments of the GSCNB. Connections between the public and private activities, as well as the local, regional, and national agencies were not evident in the records of the GSCNB. For example, creating Camp John Hope involved several different individuals and agencies. Though the project started with the GSCNB their focus had to adjust to include the needs of African American girls reflected in the name change to The Georgia State Council for Work among Negro Youth. The details of the events are suggested in the documents but not fully described. Additionally, federal agencies, such as The National Youth Administration, and the Resettlement Administration provided funds to purchase the land, but the details are missing. In each of these steps, the GSCNB and partnering agencies likely utilized relationships and connections to accomplish their goals. Understanding the machinery of the underlying network has not been possible in this work.

Other limitations exist as well. For example, an in depth discussion of how the GSCNB's suggestions and guidelines were utilized on a local level is also missing in the data. Even when Ralph Bullock reported the successes of the programs after the first year, he did not include a discussion of how exactly their ideals translated to practice. Furthermore, the perspectives and experiences of the actual participants is lacking. Evidence from Bullock's earlier work with Older Boys' Conferences showed that boys

were encouraged to write their own reflections that were then published. However, if the same practice occurred with Camp John Hope, the material produced is not included. This information would be essential in evaluating the extent of interpersonal and institutional care in GSCNB programs and particularly at Camp John Hope.

Implications

The gaps in the archival records I examined provide several possibilities for continued historical research. This case study suggests a need for further investigation into how communities organize to care for Black boys. The GSCNB operated in Georgia but the experiment was supposed to be adapted for the entire Southern region. Although the data show the influence of the GSCNB was not limited to Georgia, subsequent research on this topic should collect data to show how, if at all, the experiment happened in other states. A wider look at this work across the Southern region could also illuminate the nature of the network of individuals and organizations that contribute and coordinate on behalf of African American children. Additional research into networks like the GSCNB could shed light on how African American educators and professionals maneuvered to care for African American children in remote areas.

Additionally, though the GSCNB was, perhaps purposefully, made up only of men, the literature suggests that the Black women's club movement influenced how Black men organized in communities. Successful Black women's clubs also undoubtedly created programs designed for the development of boys. Not as much is known about the efforts of Black women's groups to organize programs for Black boys and/or how these groups interacted with organizations that were led by men and designed to provide care for boys.

This dissertation also has implications for current programs and initiatives for young men of color. President Obama created the My Brother's Keeper Initiative in 2014 which seeks to bring together a network of organizations, programs, and schools that engage in the development of Black and Brown boys. Obama explained that the purpose of the initiative will be "helping more of our young people stay on track [and] providing the support they need to think more broadly about their future."[228] This nationwide Initiative has taken several forms. At these beginning stages My Brother's Keeper provided for research into boys' needs and perspectives, best practices across programs, and Federal policies that affect the lives of Black and Brown young men. Community challenges sponsored by My Brother's Keeper engage in community research and host stakeholder conferences to share information. Eventually the My Brother's Keeper Initiative aims to create an online portal for information on programs and interventions that work to help young men.

Like the GSCNB, My Brother's Keeper Initiative is designed to establish a vast network of ideas than to have a clear connections between pedagogy and practice at every level. Proceedings from community challenges help show how ideas from the My Brother's Keeper Initiative were adopted by different groups but the process seems to be defined by the localities. If the history were utilized, future research could expand on how networks of people in different time periods created different kinds of networks to approach similar needs. This research could evaluate whether or not the network created by My Brother's Keeper Initiative engages in interpersonal, institutional, and community

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[228] Obama, Barack. "Remarks by the President on "My Brother's Keeper" Initiative." The White House. February 27, 2014. Accessed March 05, 2016. https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/02/27/remarks-president-my-brothers-keeper-initiative.

care. I suspect that, though the language may be similar, there would be important avenues of difference between the networks utilized by the GSCNB and My Brother's Keeper. Other ideas from history might also be considered. For example, whether cultural deficit models are used in the organizational language and/or translated into programs and networks. Additionally, an important difference could possibly be the kinds of incentives that connected individuals and organizations to the network. Does every facet of the network share the same concerns and beliefs? Does every facet of the network work toward the same ends? The answers to these questions would better illustrate how local and national communities in different time periods sought to address the needs of Black boys through enrichment and education. They might also help a current audience interested in the importance of examining models from history.

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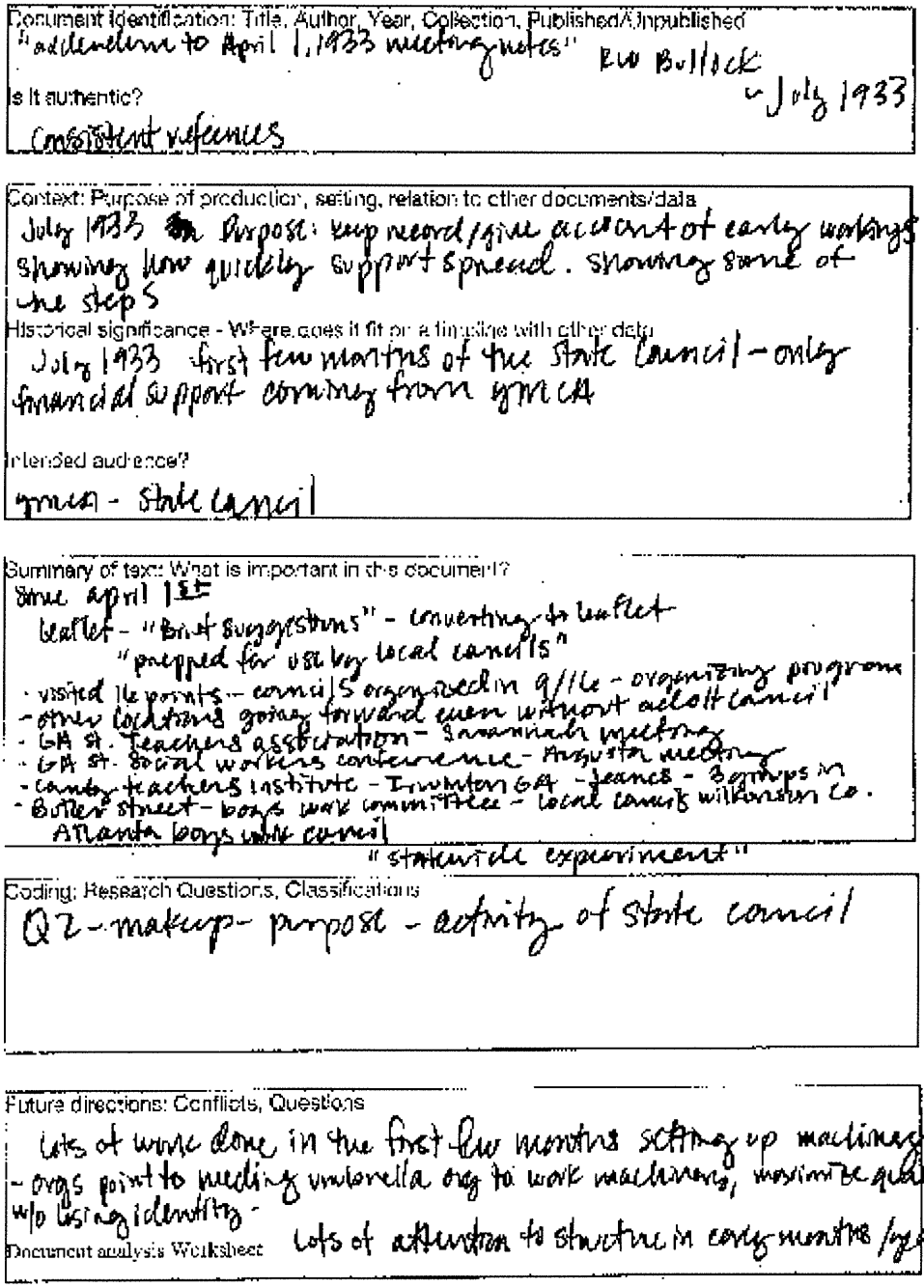
Appendix A



Document Identification: Title, Author, Year, Collection, Published/Unpublished
"addendum to April 1, 1933 meeting notes" RW Bullock ~July 1933

Is it authentic?
Consistent references

Context: Purpose of production, setting, relation to other documents/data
July 1933 Purpose: keep record/give account of early workings showing how quickly support spread. showing some of the steps

Historical significance - Where does it fit on a timeline with other data
July 1933 first few months of the State Council - only financial support coming from YMCA

Intended audience?
YMCA - State Council

Summary of text: What is important in this document?
Since April 1st
leaflet - "Brief suggestions" - converting to leaflet
"prepped for use by local councils"
- visited 16 points - councils organized in 9/16 - organizing programs
- other localities going forward even without actual council
- GA St. Teachers association - Savannah meeting
- GA St. Social workers conference - August meeting
- Candy teachers institute - Irwinton GA - Jeanes - 3 groups in
- Butler Street - boys work committee - local councils Wilkinson Co.
Atlanta boys work council
"statewide experiment"

Coding: Research Questions, Classifications
Q2 - makeup - purpose - activity of State council

Future directions: Conflicts, Questions
Lots of work done in the first few months setting up machinery - orgs point to needing umbrella org to work machinery, maximize quality, w/o losing identity -
Lots of attention to structure in early months/years

Document analysis Worksheet

Appendix B