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Undermining Progress in Early 20th Century North Carolina: General Attitudes Towards Delinquent African American Girls

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This article examines efforts made to challenge progress towards adequate service provision for delinquent African American girls in early 20th century North Carolina. This article seeks to explore the nuances of aid, from the African American community and by progressive whites, as it relates to legislative efforts, economic backing and public health issues. It also seeks to examine motivations for engaging in undermining activities.

Keywords: African American girls; female delinquency; juvenile justice; legislative efforts; Progressive Era; syphilis

African American women were instrumental in developing social welfare services for African American girls as a means to uplift the race, and more specifically, as a means to protect "true Black womanhood". Through the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), these women united to formalize social welfare services to meet the needs of the community. They established orphanages, old age homes, kindergartens, homes for working girls, homes for wayward girls, as well as other programs (DuBois, 1898; Hodges, 2001; Lerner, 1974; Salem, 1994) . These clubwomen provided services (e.g. literary clubs, mother's clubs, religious studies) to the African American community through women's and girl's clubs. They

also provided activities for boys (e.g. literary clubs, supervised sports activities) as a means of protecting young girls (Carlton-LaNey, 1999).

African American clubwomen were keenly aware of the negative perceptions that whites had of them. They were indefatigable in their efforts to improve the image of the race through the social uplift of its weakest elements, particularly delinquent African American girls. This quest for uplift motivated them to provide educational services, multilayered social welfare services, and refinement activities designed to teach social graces to those of the lower classes ("Charlotte Eugenia Hawkins Brown Papers, 1883-1961,"; Gilmore, 1994; Hodges, 2001; Hunter, 1983).

During the early 20th century, North Carolina's African American clubwomen gained support from the African American community and from progressive whites as they sought to meet the increasing needs of delinquent African American girls. Despite the semblance of aid, these women also battled elements that worked against their efforts. According to Carlton-LaNey (1994), this was a common occurrence. In examining Birdye Haynes' pioneering settlement house work, Carlton-LaNey found that Haynes was required to be diplomatic, tactful, and reticent as she interacted with the professionals, educators, advisory boards, and clients who were all key players in demanding success, yet they expected failure. At the same time, as a middle-class professional, she was expected "to inspire and share training and experiences" (p. 269).

Social welfare work among African American women required a skillful balancing act between interracial cooperation and commitment to the community.

African American women have historically been accustomed to concerted efforts to weaken their child-saving efforts, particularly as they touch upon the sometimes conflicting agendas of gender and race (Lerner, 1972). Whites were not willing to openly address race issues due to the social and political customs of the era. Likewise, men were not willing to openly address gender issues. African American women, however, were concerned with issues of race and gender. Yet, loyalty to both race and gender issues threatened notions of white privilege and male privilege (Beale, 1970; Cooper, 1892;

Lewis, 1977). While there were those who acknowledged the disparate situation of delinquent African American girls, the level of aid was dependent upon their willingness to relinquish some aspect of their own privilege. As a result, there was a 'comfortable level' of backing manifested through positive action towards these delinquent girls. However, beyond that comfort zone, a seemingly contradictory level of assistance was manifested.

This article seeks to examine these undermining efforts as they relate to the inmates at Efland Home for Girls. Further, this article will provide evidence of efforts to thwart progress in the African American and white communities as they relate to the provision of comprehensive services to delinquent African American girls in North Carolina. Finally, this article will explore this phenomenon regarding legislative, economic, and public health efforts, as well as general attitudes towards delinquency among African American girls, and the efforts of African American clubwomen to meet the needs of this population.

Efland Home for Girls

The North Carolina Federation of Negro Women (NCFNW) founded the North Carolina Industrial Home for Colored Girls, also known as the Efland Home for Girls, in 1921. These clubwomen were motivated by the state of North Carolina's gross neglect of delinquent African American girls. They were also motivated by the desire to save African American womanhood. One clubwoman wrote, "As mothers and sisters, we want to save the young colored girls who are going astray" (Brown, 1920). Efland Home served as that facility by which to save the delinquent African American girl.

Efland Home was a frame cottage with nine rooms and a fully equipped kitchen, located on 147 acres of land, in Efland, Orange County, North Carolina. This facility housed approximately 22 residents, ages six to sixteen years of age. The facility was governed by a Board of Trustees made up of seven to thirteen influential, predominantly African American, clubwomen representing various regions of the state. Efland Home was staffed by a superintendent, a matron, up to two

teachers, and a farm supervisor. The board required that the superintendent be a trained social worker, which was a significant request because there were only thirteen professionally trained African American social workers in the state during this time (Crow, Escott, & Hatley, 1992).

There was a straightforward referral process. Candidates deemed 'problems in their communities', particularly those described as having 'immoral characteristics' were referred to the home by a number of sources, including the North Carolina Board of Charities and Public Welfare (the state child welfare agency), county juvenile court systems, Efland's Board of Trustees, and community members. The referral source submitted a written application to the board. If the applicant was deemed suitable by the board, the child welfare agency petitioned the county juvenile courts for commitment orders to Efland Home. The applicant was then admitted to Efland Home as a parolee of the juvenile court system. Residents of Efland Home were referred to as inmates (North Carolina Board of Public Welfare-Institutions and Corrections, 1920-1939).

The plight of delinquent African American girls

Efland Home was a necessary facility in the state. Between 1919 and 1939, North Carolina's juvenile courts handled approximately 192 cases annually involving African American girls. Efland Home was the only facility for delinquent African American girls in the state of North Carolina. It was privately run and funded, receiving a meager stipend from the state. Although at the inception of the home the state adequately funded facilities for delinquent boys of both races, and for white girls, it did not fund a facility for African American girls until 1943. Efland Home provided a second chance for African American girls to lead a productive and meaningful life.

From the initial conception of providing a formal system of care for delinquent African American girls, these clubwomen received contributions from the African American community and from whites. This aid included assistance with legislative efforts, economic provisions, and guidance with addressing public health needs. Contributors seemed to be cognizant of the predicament of African American girls, and to appreciate

the reform efforts of African American clubwomen.

Although there was approval from the African American community and progressive whites towards the perilous condition of delinquent African American girls, there is evidence of efforts to destabilize progress from that same group of supporters. There were activities designed to damage legislative efforts, economic backing, and public health strategies. These undermining efforts spoke volumes of the prevailing negative attitudes towards delinquent African American girls and the clubwomen who provided services to them.

During the early 20th century, North Carolina's juvenile justice system addressed the needs of delinquent white girls and boys of both races. By 1923, there were two training schools for white boys, one training school for African American boys, and one training school for white girls. There was no hint of intention to establish a facility for African American girls, although the court system was inundated with cases involving this population (North Carolina Board of Public Welfare-Institutions and Corrections, 1920-1939). These young girls were systematically remanded to adult penitentiaries or returned to their community without rehabilitative treatment. The state did not respond to the needs of this population until 1943.

Supportive Legislative Efforts

Beginning in 1928, Efland Home founders attempted to lobby the state legislature for financial aid. These clubwomen were prepared to make the following contract with the state:

The North Carolina Federation of Colored Women's Clubs agrees to give the State of North Carolina title to the property located at Efland, North Carolina, on condition that the State assume responsibility for the payment of a first mortgage...and further, that the State provide adequate funds for the operation of the Home as a training school for delinquent Negro girls (Efland Home Board of Trustees, 1938).

The North Carolina Charities and Public Welfare commissioner, Mrs. W. T. Bost, and board, African American business leaders, and the African American community backed this

contract. Several state and local newspapers, such as the *Charlotte Observer*, the *Winston-Salem Journal*, the *News and Observer* (Raleigh), and the *Carolina Times* (Chapel Hill), included editorials that brought attention to the issue of a state funded facility for delinquent African American girls.

As proponents strategized, they realized the need to have the support of the "right people" in the state. There was a collaborative effort between prominent members of the African American community and progressive whites in the quest to gain state funding for comprehensive service delivery to delinquent African American girls. In a letter to Charles C. Spaulding, president of North Carolina Mutual Insurance which was the nation's largest African American owned insurance company,, William Johnson, a consultant on Negro work to North Carolina's Charities and Public Welfare, and supporter of this cause wrote:

...realizing that the establishment and maintenance of a home for delinquent Negro girls to be a state responsibility, we feel that if the interest and support of the right people is aroused, the 1939 General Assembly can probably be persuaded to take favorable action toward the establishment of such an institution (Johnson, 1938).

Spaulding and his business partners had already provided help for the home primarily through the underwriting of loans for operations and maintenance. They were consequently active in the lobbying efforts of the home.

While the Department of Charities and Public Welfare sought collaborative support in these legislative efforts, African American clubwomen likewise sought help from across the state. Minnie Pearson, president of Efland Home's Board of Trustees and member of the Negro Advisory Committee to the Board of Charities and Public Welfare, informed William Curtis Ezell, the Director of Corrections and Public Institutions, of the following collaborative efforts: "...I have contacted Mr. C. C. Spaulding, Dr. J. E. Shepard, and other influential men of the state, who pledge their interest and support" (M. Pearson, 1939a). She provided updates regarding the aid of these legislative efforts when she wrote:

Your inspiring information came this morning and it makes us feel that we are getting somewhere. I have written dozens of letters to influential men, clubwomen and organized groups, soliciting them to contact their representatives to support the bill. Representative William T. Hatch replied very encouragingly to letters sent him from Mr. C. C. Spaulding and Prof. J. A. Cotton. Many thanks for your untiring efforts and advisement in behalf of Negro delinquent girls (M. Pearson, 1939b).

This letter not only demonstrated the web of support by various organizations and individuals, but it also showed the influence that these supporters had on individual members of the state legislature.

Many local African American organizations, civic groups, and clubs, such as the Negro Civic Club of Wilson, the Warren County Sunday School Convention, and the Rocky Mount Civic Forum responded to this call for action. In addition, Dr. Ferdinand D. Bluford, president of the Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina, a historically Black college in Greensboro, responded to this call to lobby the state legislature for assistance with the efforts at Efland Home. In a letter to William Johnson, Bluford vows to "get in touch with members of the General Assembly of Guilford County, and urge them to support the matter when it comes before the House" (Bluford, 1939).

Many prominent white organizations responded to this call for action as well, including the North Carolina Conference for Social Services, headed by Dr. John B. Bradway, a professor at Duke University; the North Carolina Legislative Council, headed by Mrs. J. Henry Highsmith, a prominent clubwoman; and the Juvenile Protection North Carolina Congress of Parents and Teachers, headed by Mamie Dowd Walker, a Durham County juvenile court judge. (North Carolina Board of Public Welfare-Institutions and Corrections, 1920-1939).

Evidence of undermining legislative efforts

Although the African American community provided the majority of assistance in the efforts at the home, there were

factions of the community that waffled, giving one opinion to one audience and another opinion to another. Prominent African American business leaders seemed lukewarm towards the initial efforts of establishing a facility for delinquent African American girls. In a 1919 letter, Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown wrote of initial efforts of establishing a facility for African American children and the level of support from prominent African American men. Brown wrote, in part, that:

Eight years ago we started this same movement. Our men halted us and said they were going to take it in hand and asked the women to follow. We have waited during these years and have been thoroughly disgusted with the factions among our men in North Carolina. Their absolute inability to set aside personal differences and come together for the good of our youth (Brown, 1919).

Brown's words indicated the frustration the African American clubwomen experienced as they sought African American men's endorsement and cooperation.

These same men expressed support for legislative efforts throughout the tenure of the home and thereafter. However, when it was time to provide meaningful support, there was a lukewarm response. Although there is evidence that prominent African American men wrote letters to state legislators backing these efforts, when asked to appear before a legislative committee to express this endorsement, one of the most prominent men wrote the following letter:

...I regret that a previous engagement in Durham will prevent my attending the public hearing at 9:30 tomorrow morning in Raleigh on the bill to establish an institution for delinquent Negro girls....I sincerely hope a spirit of fairness will prevail among the members of the Committee in order to convince them of the absolute necessity of establishing such an institution... (Spaulding, 1939).

Spaulding goes on to intimate that he has little faith that the political process will be fair towards the dilemma of these

African American girls. Despite his level of power within the African American community, he seems to be paralyzed by the inequality characteristic of the caste system of segregation. Spaulding's letter was written in response to an urgent letter sent on March 8, 1939 by Ezell, regarding the probability that "the bill may not get a favorable report unless a favorable attitude on the part of the membership of the committee is enlisted at the time of the hearing" (Ezell, 1939a). Ezell further states the following: "...For that reason we feel that those who are concerned over the need for the establishment of the school should arrange to be present, thus indicating their interest".

Progressive-thinking whites also engaged in activities to damage efforts regarding the problem of delinquent African American girls. As part of the quest for legislated state support of a facility, an interracial commission was established to explore options for such a facility. These options included using the existing Efland Home property, finding suitable property elsewhere, or converting the facility for African American boys into a co-gendered facility. Interestingly, the use of the existing Efland Home property was never considered an option by anyone other than members of the NCFNW. There were many instances where white observers noted the poor quality of the facilities. In a letter to Judge William York, a Greensboro juvenile court judge, Mrs. W.T. Bost, wrote:

...we [the Efland Home Board of Trustees and the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare] both realized that it was a sub-standard institution and that perhaps it might be standing in the way of the development of a really constructive program for delinquent Negro girls (W. T. Bost, 1939).

This sentiment suggested that this facility was not salvageable. Due to the political climate of the era, whites were not comfortable devoting money to the maintenance of the home, but were comfortable criticizing it. There were no plans to develop a "constructive program" for this population.

There was difficulty in finding suitable property elsewhere to be used as a facility for delinquent African American girls. Whites who expressed concern for this population were

often not willing to provide definite backing. For instance, Edwin C. Gillette, vice chairman of Home Missions of the Congregational and Christian Churches wrote the following when asked to consider the use of the Christian College property in Franklinton for this purpose. After stating that he may not be the right person to speak to because he is "only the Vice-Chairman" of the Board, Gillette made the following contradictory statement:

I feel confident, however, that those who are interested in the program that is planned for the use of the property at Franklinton would not feel that they could lease it for the work which you are interested in. That is a great work and would seem in some respects to be a more adequate use of the property. However, on the other hand, there are interests that would have to be considered and I feel quite sure that it would not be voted by the Board....Let me say that I feel that the work for delinquent Negro girls must be a most important one and deserving of very special consideration (Gillette, 1938).

This attitude was typical of whites who were seemingly sympathetic toward the predicament of these young girls, but were unwilling to provide the concrete assistance necessary to meet those needs. This lack of material assistance may have influenced the state legislature's reluctance to provide aid to such a facility. Despite the letter writing and telegram campaigns of support, concrete efforts were not realized, thus providing legislators the justification of further neglecting this population.

Supportive economic efforts

The privatized efforts at Efland Home for Girls were defended by the African American community and by progressive whites. African Americans provided support through Sunday schools, club and civic groups, as well as through individual philanthropy (North Carolina Board of Public Welfare-Institutions and Corrections, 1920-1939). These philanthropic efforts are largely characterized as "nickel and dime" campaigns (Martin and Martin, 1985). Because African Americans in early 20th century North Carolina were generally

impoverished, they did not have the financial reserves to make large donations to worthy causes. Characteristic of many efforts in the African American community, they contributed sums as meager as nickels and dimes. It is these small efforts that significantly contributed to the operations of Efland Home. These financial donations were often supplemented by in-kind donations, such as the donation of farm animals, dishes and utensils, maintenance services, and clothes for the inmates (W.G. Pearson, 1926, 1927; W. G. Pearson, 1928).

The white community, likewise, provided financial support, particularly through the efforts of white clubwomen. The North Carolina Federation of Women, the white counterpart to the NCFNW, provided ongoing financial support to the efforts at Efland Home (W.G. Pearson, 1926, 1927; W. G. Pearson, 1928). Whites were often lobbied by members of the African American community for in-kind donations to the home. However, due to the social customs of the era, the granting of these requests only occurred after verification from state officials, as is demonstrated in the following letter from a social worker at Duke University to the Lily N. Mitchell, director of Public Welfare:

One of our colored orderlies has asked me to help him get some clothes and other things for the children in the Efland Home run by "Mr." and "Mrs." Pearson. Do you know about this place and if they are worthy? If so, I think I can assist him in the work as he is very much interested and wants to do something for the children. He says there are eleven there, ages five to thirteen (Hobgood, 1934).

This letter exemplified the diverse endorsement from the African American community for the maintenance of the home. It also exemplifies the level of support sometimes provided by whites.

Evidence of undermining economic efforts

Efland Home was never adequately funded by the state, nor by its supporters. The attitudes of community leaders in both the African American and white communities clearly

influenced the level of support that community members provided. In addition, the harshness of the Great Depression left few resources to go around. And, in the ultra-conservative South, the idea of sharing these meager resources with African Americans was not considered favorably.

Whatever the reason for this lack of adequate funding, a declaration of support was touted along with a noncommittal message—leaving one to wonder if there existed any groups beyond the NCFNW who generally cared about these girls' welfare. Individual faculty members of the University of North Carolina's School of Public Welfare and Social Work were seemingly interested in the cause of delinquent African American girls, evidenced by the school sponsored field trips for its social work students to Efland Home, although the frequency of these trips is not clear in the historical records. On one particular visit, they found less than ideal circumstances at the home. After the visit, George Lawrence, the director of field education at the School of Public Welfare and Social Work, wrote an apparently unsolicited letter to Ezell suggesting that the program be abolished and the inmates be "confined to the county jail". Lawrence wrote:

I have been aware for the past few years of the extreme lack of equipment and facilities of this little institution, and I have long thought that it should be greatly strengthened or abolished. Yesterday's trip, however, was a rather shocking revelation of the total absence of just about everything essential toward the conduct of an institution for delinquent [N]egro girls. I would just about as soon have a [N]egro girl to be confined to the county jail as committed to the school at Efland.... My own feeling is that the place is worse than useless because it is entirely an ineffectual attempt for care at [illegible] institution. It might be possible to get further with the program by not having an institution at all than by perpetuating such a farce as I believe this place to be....I feel that the present conditions at Efland are a disgrace to all of us interested in the Public Welfare Program (Lawrence, 1938).

Lawrence goes on to say that Dr. Wiley B. Sanders, the dean

of the School of Public Welfare and Social Work, "subscribes to my general feelings". Whether Sanders actually agreed with Lawrence is not known, however, there is evidence that Sanders did not avidly support other African American causes in the State.

Dr. Sanders had significant influence in the state of North Carolina, as well as in the social work profession. At a time when African Americans were denied entry to the School of Public Welfare and Social Work, Sanders successfully thwarted the efforts of Dr. James E. Shepard, president of North Carolina College for Negroes, a historically Black college in Durham, to establish a professional school of social work at his institution. While providing a semblance of support to Shepard in petitioning the American Association for Schools of Social Work for accreditation, Sanders simultaneously urged the accrediting body not to support Dr. Shepard's quest to establish a social work program (Armfield, 1998). This undermining activity suggests that Sanders, and the School of Public Welfare and Social Work, reflected the state of North Carolina's racist social politics.

In addition, Lawrence's letter provides yet another example of supporters' willingness to criticize Efland Home, without acknowledgement of the impact of inadequate funding on the physical plant of the facility. Lawrence also reaffirms the sentiment that these delinquent girls are better deserving of the "county jail" than rehabilitation in a treatment facility. In 1939, Efland Home closed due to a lack of adequate funding to meet the needs of this population.

Supportive public health efforts

During the early 20th century, female delinquency was often equated with sexual delinquency. Young girls were adjudicated delinquent based on behaviors that were deemed crimes of morality, such as "vagrancy, beggary, stubbornness, deceitfulness, idle and vicious behavior, wanton and lewd conduct, and running away" (Brenzel, 1975). Wanton and lewd conduct is characterized as sexual behaviors outside of the institution of marriage.

Many of the young inmates at the Efland Home for Girls were sexually delinquent and consequently were infected with

sexually transmitted diseases, the most prominent of which was syphilis (Brice, 2005). In 1936, Hilda C. Allen, superintendent of Efland Home wrote Ezell saying:

I am writing you in the interest of the health of our girls. In that I have had Wasserman Blood tests taken of all the girls here. I find it necessary to take vaginal smears in two cases, which are positive Wassermans" (Allen, 1936).

There were public health concerns as to how to treat these inmates at the home without placing the other inmates and staff at risk for contracting the disease. There was a great deal of misunderstanding regarding the transmission of the disease, thus the focus on the treatment of the disease was in the context of the casual transmission to others. For example, the matron and staff were concerned with sharing restroom facilities with a syphilitic inmate for fear of spreading the disease.

There was a great deal of support for the treatment of this disease from the medical community. Lincoln Hospital, the segregated Durham medical facility that treated African Americans, offered reduced and pro bono services to the inmates at the home. The medical staff at the hospital provided pro bono diagnostic services as part of the intake screening process to inmates remanded to the home.

The white medical community offered limited support to the inmates at Efland Home. A local white physician, Dr. G. D. Tyson, of Mebane, would often provide home-based medical services to the girls at Efland Home for a fee of \$2.50 per visit (W.G. Pearson, 1927).

On the other hand, the African American community provided a great deal of support to public health efforts at Efland Home. As was typical of African American communities, these public health efforts were carried out by midwives, teachers, home demonstration efforts of the National Public Health Service, sorority and clubwomen, nurses, dentists, and physicians (Smith, 1995). These individuals and groups provided support to the home through education, consultation and volunteerism.

Undermining public health efforts

Syphilis was a major public health issue for the supporters of Efland Home. Many of the inmates were infected with this then-incurable disease. There were efforts to provide care to these young girls; however, there is also evidence that people harbored feelings of disgust towards the inmates. Supporters were seemingly influenced by the sentiment that the girls were the culprits and not really deserving of care and concern.

The eugenics movement gained significant momentum during this era. Eugenics, also known as "race hygiene" (Mehler, 1988), is the science of human improvements through programs of controlled breeding (Selden, 1999). Physicians influenced by this movement believed that the African American race, as well as other "undesirables", would eventually become extinct if disease and other factors were allowed to run their course without intervention (Kline, 2001; Mehler, 1988; Selden, 1999). This coupled with strict racial segregation, limited the number of physicians who were motivated to treat syphilitic African American girls. Consequently, the inmates at Efland Home made an 80 mile round trip to get medical treatment at Durham's Lincoln Hospital.

Classism also influenced a two-sided response towards public health efforts. Syphilis, for example, was viewed as a disease of the lower classes. In fact, one African American physician stated, "...there are absolutely no records of any real value regarding the prevalence of syphilis among the Negro teachers, professional men, business men, or students" (Hazen, 1937). This sentiment influenced the mode of treatment for these young girls. The middle class African American club-women who provided the material support to Efland Home held great disdain for syphilitic inmates, so much so that they eventually decided not to accept delinquent girls for admission if they were infected.

General attitudes towards the plight of delinquent African American girls

There was a great deal of provision for delinquent African American girls; however, there was a great deal of undermining activities that influenced the level of help provided. The concept of parallel societies is evident. Due to social policies,

there was an African American society and a white society. Very rarely did the two societies meet on equal grounds. Both groups were distrustful of each other. This distrust is evident when exploring undermining attitudes towards delinquent African American girls.

This concept of parallel societies opposed and undercut activities. For instance, Ezell, who appeared to be one of the staunchest defenders of the work at Efland Home for delinquent African American girls, wrote of the history of Efland Home, in a less than flattering manner, in a letter to Dr. Sanders, regarding a social work student wanting to research early records of the home as part of her Master's thesis. He suggested the following as factors for the demise of Efland Home:

...Throughout the whole period since the be[ginning] of the efforts to establish the school, there have been internal bickerings and jealousies within the Negro group. In an earlier letter, which is in our files, one of the Negro Federation Officials wrote that one handicap to the development of the school was the inability of the Negro men to agree among themselves. During a recent hearing before the Appropriations Committee, there developed very definitely a dissention in the group which was in Raleigh as to who would represent them (Ezell, 1939b).

While there was lukewarm response by African American businessmen and community leaders regarding the condition of this population, there is little evidence to suggest that this is an accurate depiction of the demise of Efland Home. African American clubwomen established this home despite the lukewarm response by these men. In fact, several of the members of the Efland Home Board of Trustees were the wives of prominent African American business leaders. These women were able to glean economic aid despite the weaker conceptual support from their spouses. Anna Julia Cooper wrote of the quality of aid provided by African American men of their pioneering spouses, "While our men seem thoroughly abreast of the time on almost every subject, when they strike the woman question they drop back into sixteenth-century logic" (Cooper, 1892). African American clubwomen had to contend with

barriers of gender and race. Nonetheless, they were able to negotiate necessary resources to serve the needs of delinquent African American girls.

Ezell made further questionable statements about the lack of adequate financial provision from the state throughout the tenure of Efland Home. He wrote:

...Another letter in our files written by the superintendent at the school complains that the disagreement among the board members is a severe handicap. Even when the members from the Budget Commission visited the school, board members so disagreed on what the school needed that the Budget Commission was unable to find any clear idea as to needs for appropriation (Ezell, 1939b).

Ezell's observations fly in the face of the reality that the historical records reveal. The NCFNW and the Efland Home Board of Trustees kept meticulous records of their activities. There is no evidence of such disagreement that would be significant enough that state officials would be puzzled about the budgetary needs of the home. In fact, there is evidence that the Board of Trustees was consistently very clear as to the financial needs of the home. The home's records are replete with financial statements that detailed the financial needs of the home. In addition, the financial records were maintained by Dr. William G. Pearson, a Business Education professor at the North Carolina College of Negroes. Dr. Pearson was a successful businessman, having co-founded the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company; the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, an African American financial institution in Durham; the Durham Drug Company; as well as other businesses in the Durham area. These records, prepared by Dr. Pearson, were used to lobby state legislators and philanthropists (W. G. Pearson, 1926, 1927; W. G. Pearson, 1928; W. G. Pearson, 1929, 1931).

Ezell made further disparaging statements about the conditions of Efland Home. He stated that there were very few records of the school (Efland Home) and "There seems to be no fairly well organized material on the history and background but considerable correspondence regarding the early

beginning" (Ezell, 1939b). He said of the first chairperson of the Board of Trustees, Mrs. T.W. Bickett:

she had no record of the school or its early development but she does have some early correspondence with the Governor, one letter from him stated that the appropriation was in response to her considerable interest in such an enterprise.

Ezell portrayed Bickett as one who was only tangentially committed to Efland Home. This, however, is totally inaccurate. Mrs. Bickett was closely aligned with Efland Home and its early success. As the governor's wife she used her influence to garner state funds for the home. While the annual appropriation of \$2000 was indeed meager, it is likely that the home would not have received any funds but for Bickett's influence.

In this same letter, Ezell minimized the role of the African American clubwomen who founded, established, and continually supported the home. He suggested only the names of white women for corroborating information. In fact, he stated, "...that the Federation of Women's Clubs (White) had taken considerable interest in the enterprise and very possibly had in their records some of the early history of the school". He further listed the names of five white women whom he suggested "...would probably be able to help interpret some of the influences active in its incipency, growth, and death".

Was Ezell an advocate or critic of Efland Home? Whatever the case, he was certainly guilty of engaging in activities that sabotaged the progress towards addressing the needs of delinquent African American girls. He obviously looked upon white efforts with much more favor than he did the work of African American clubwomen. He seemed unable to reconcile the fact that African American women established this enterprise while white women's roles were peripheral. Ezell avidly stated his support for Efland Home, yet his letter to the dean of the School of Public Welfare and Social Work, is bereft with negative, disparaging and almost slanderous commentary. Ezell ends this letter with an admonishment to Sanders in regards to this social work student. He suggested that this student "make her study in such a way as to bring in these

rather subtle influences...it would, I believe, give us some light on why the school has had such poor support" (Ezell, 1939b). This letter provides some light as to the influence of social mores of the time on meeting the needs of delinquent African American girls. Despite there being a mutual interest in this population, the manifestation of that interest differed based on the audience.

A climate of distrust was evident between African American and white professionals. For instance, Ezell solicited input from Paul Boyd, the director of Morrison Training School for Negro Boys, when exploring options for a facility for delinquent African American girls. One option was to convert Morrison into a co-gender facility, so as to accommodate delinquent African American girls. There had been significant research on co-gendered facilities, which indicated that this was a feasible option in the treatment of delinquency. Boyd was open to this option. However, when he asked to see research findings as it relates to the specific effects of this arrangement on girls, the following was written:

I showed Mr. Boyd the correspondence that I had from other states in regard to such a plan. He asked to have copies of such letters made for him because some of them gave him some ideas about operating his own school. I told him I would ask you [Bost, director of Public Welfare] if he might have copies. I told Mr. Boyd that to the present time the State Board had not taken any stand as to how such a school should be provided but were insistent that facilities should be made available (Ezell, 1938).

There seemed to be resistance in sharing information with Boyd, while at the same time insisting that he make his facilities available to the state.

Finally, there was an attitude suggesting that the proposed facilities for delinquent African American girls should at best be comparable to the facilities at Morrison Training School for Negro Boys (W.T. Bost, 1938). This is typical of the unspoken rule of the southern whites, described by Billingsley and Giovonnoni (1972): "...in relation to the provision of children's services: no [W]hite child shall be any worse off than any Black child; no Black child shall be any better off than any [W]hite

child" (p. 24). Female delinquency is a phenomenon with no regard to race, however, the social customs and policies of this era dictated that delinquency be addressed in regards to race, not gender. This is evidenced by the notion that these young girls be placed in a racially segregated facility with African American boys, as opposed to a gender-specific facility with white girls.

Conclusion

African American clubwomen made great efforts to address the needs of delinquent African American girls in early 20th century North Carolina and beyond. However, they were faced with challenges from individuals who advocated for the facility on one hand, but subtly or blatantly tried to dissuade public opinion on the other. These clubwomen had allies among African American men, progressive whites, and the public welfare officials, however, these same allies often engaged in tactics to weaken the indefatigable efforts of these women. Consequently, delinquent African American girls suffered in the process. They were faced with a facility that provided inadequate services due to a lack of adequate funding. They were faced with the eventual closing of that facility, thus affecting their opportunity for a second chance at womanhood. The state of North Carolina eventually provided financial sponsorship for a facility to address the needs of this population. The North Carolina State Training School for Negro Girls was opened in 1943. Despite the multiple challenges of gaining state assistance, withstanding the damaging and undermining activities, the efforts of these African American clubwomen were not in vain.

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