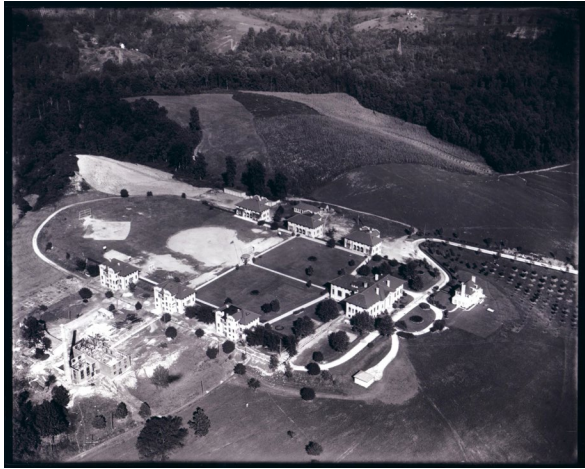


A Separate and Unequal System: Understanding the Early History of Youth Incarceration in Maryland



Maryland Department of Juvenile Services

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PURPOSE STATEMENT

The purpose of this research was to examine the history and evolution of Maryland's youth justice system and the ongoing struggle to fulfill its promise of equity and true justice for all Maryland children. This research project is a core component of Roots to Rise, a Maryland Department of Juvenile Services (DJS) initiative spearheaded by the Office of Equity and Inclusion (OEI). Led by OEI Executive Director Tiana Davis, Roots to Rise aims to empower system-involved youth and families, DJS staff, and the broader stakeholder community to acknowledge the pervasive racial inequities embedded in Maryland's youth justice system and foster meaningful system transformation. By confronting this history and engaging the DJS community in historical truth-telling that deepens understanding of the origins and persistence of racial and ethnic disparities in the Department's operations, Roots to Rise directly supports the Department's strategic plan to center positive youth development in programming, build inclusive systems, and ensure equitable treatment and access to opportunity so that all Maryland children can thrive.

The House of Refuge for Juvenile Delinquents was legally established by the General Assembly in 1830.¹ Based in Baltimore City, the House of Refuge was a privately-managed reformatory for delinquent white youth and did not begin operations until 1855. In 1910, the facility relocated to Loch Raven, Baltimore County and was renamed the Maryland School for Boys.² In 1918, the state of Maryland took over the institution and renamed it the Maryland Training School for Boys.³ The whites-only facility did not admit Black children until 1961. Between 1918 and 1987, the state agency responsible for the facility changed multiple times; agencies include the State Department of Public Welfare, Department of Education, and Department of Health and Hygiene.⁴ The facility did not fall permanently within DJS's authority until 1987. The Training School has since evolved into the Charles H. Hickey Jr., School, a secure detention facility for male youth who are awaiting trial or placement.

The House of Reformation for Colored Boys was legally established by the Maryland General Assembly in 1870.⁵ The House of Reformation was a privately operated reformatory for delinquent Black boys in Cheltenham, Maryland. In 1937, the state of Maryland took over operations of the facility and renamed it the Cheltenham School for Boys.⁶ As with the Training School for Boys, the state agency responsible for Cheltenham changed multiple times, and the facility came under DJS's authority permanently in 1987.⁷ The House of Reformation has since

¹ Chapter 64, Acts of 1830.

² Maryland Training School for Boys, *65th Report of the Board of Managers*.

³ Chapter 300, Acts of 1918.

⁴ "Juvenile Services, Maryland Department of - Historical Evolution."

⁵ Chapter 392, Acts of 1870.

⁶ Chapter 70, Acts of 1937.

⁷ "Juvenile Services, Maryland Department of - Historical Evolution."

evolved into the Cheltenham Youth Detention Center, a secure detention facility for male youth who are awaiting trial or placement.

This project builds on the work of education historian Jason Mayernick, who studied the disparate treatment of segregated reformatories in Great Depression-era Maryland. He argued that young Black boys sent to the House of Reformation were (1) presumed to have the culpability of an adult, (2) “disregard[ed] for individual potential,” and (3) offered few educational opportunities.⁸ He contrasted these attitudes against those held towards white boys at the Maryland Training School for Boys. Neither reform school became racially integrated until 1961. Mayernick provides a necessary scholarly intervention, as much of the historical literature on juvenile institutions focus exclusively on the reformation of white boys, neglecting the ways in which racism impacted the formation of the juvenile justice system.⁹ While Mayernick rightly points out operational inequities between the two facilities, one *cannot* assume that the white boys at the reform school were treated well. Much like its Black counterpart, the House of Refuge and its successors exhibited systemic patterns of abuse.¹⁰

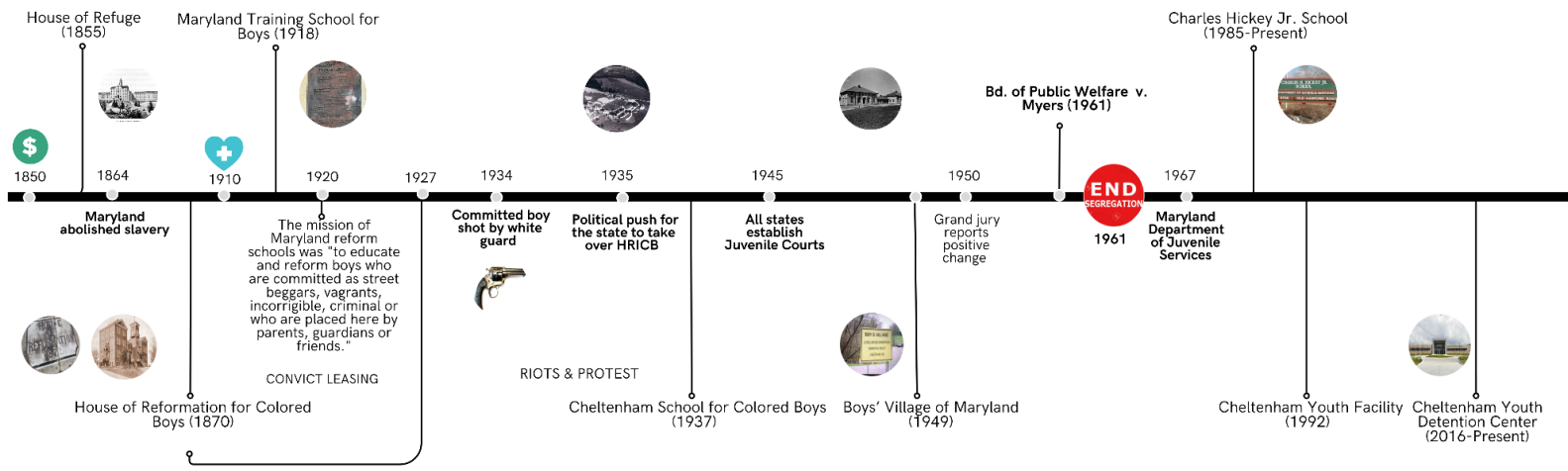
⁸ Mayernick, “Segregated Young Men’s Reformatories in Maryland during the Great Depression.”

⁹ Other scholars have examined the role of race in the history of America’s youth legal system. They include, but are not limited to: Tera Eva Agyepong, Alexander Pisciotto, Geoff K. Ward, and Vernetta D. Young. For book-length treatments on the topic, see Agyepong’s *The criminalization of black children: race, gender, and delinquency in Chicago’s juvenile justice system, 1899-1945* and Ward’s *The Black Child-Savers: Racial Democracy & Juvenile Justice*.

¹⁰ For the purposes of this paper, our research focuses on the history of youth justice as it pertains to boys in Maryland. However, the history of girls in Maryland’s youth justice system is equally compelling. Much like the Training School for Boys and the House of Reformation, the girls’ reformatories— the Montrose School for Girls and the Barrett School for Girls— were legally segregated and went through several administrative changes. To learn more, see Samantha Rogers’ master’s thesis, “Reformation or Retribution: Daily Life and the Landscape of Two Maryland Industrial Schools for Girls, 1916-1989” (2022).

TIMELINE

Hickey and Cheltenham Timeline



The mission of Maryland reform schools was "to educate and reform boys who are committed as street beggars, vagrants, incorrigible, criminal or who are placed here by parents, guardians or friends."

CONVICT LEASING

RIOTS & PROTEST

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The juvenile reform movement that swept New York and Boston in the mid-1820s inspired the creation of the Maryland House of Refuge. Prior to the existence of separate juvenile facilities, children were sent to state jails and the State Penitentiary for delinquent acts. By passing “An Act to establish a House of Refuge for Juvenile Delinquents” in 1830, Maryland was among the few southern states to establish a juvenile facility prior to the Civil War. The institution was legally established as a privately-operated reformatory with a 24-member Board of Managers. However, funding was initially tied to the profits of the State Penitentiary, which delayed the reformatory’s opening for years. The House of Refuge became incorporated in 1849. Using private contributions and funds from the city of Baltimore, the Board of Managers purchased the House of Refuge’s physical plant in the Gwynn Falls neighborhood of Baltimore the following year. The House of Refuge admitted its first cohort of children in December 1855. The facility received its first appropriation from the State in 1856.

The laws of 1860 explicitly stated that the House of Refuge was a whites-only institution. The House did not become a boys-only institution until 1866, when the Maryland Industrial School for Girls was created. Consequently, Black youth were still being sent to adult jails and the State Penitentiary, while white youth were sent to reform school, until after the Civil War, when the General Assembly passed “An Act to Incorporate a House of Reformation and Instruction for Colored Children”. By establishing the House of Reformation, Maryland became the first southern state to have an institution for delinquent Black youth. Like the House of Refuge, the House of Reformation was privately operated, but received funds from state and local governments.

The tract of land upon which the House of Reformation was built had formerly been a plantation and was donated by businessman Enoch Pratt (1808–1896). Prince George’s County land records indicate that Pratt did not donate the land until 1872, and the House of Reformation did not begin operating until January 1, 1873.

The movement in Maryland to remove white delinquent youth from adult prisons and jails predates the movement to do the same for Black youth by *four* decades. This difference demonstrates how the state and general public prioritized the welfare of white youth, without equal regard to the condition of Black youth. Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, the House of Refuge received more money from state government and Baltimore City, more positive press attention, and more programming than its Black counterpart. By contrast, the House of Reformation in Cheltenham was rife with allegations of abuse, forced labor, lack of educational opportunities, and unsanitary living conditions by outside observers and youth who had been under the facility’s custody.

A turning point came for the House of Reformation during the first week of September 1934, when Aubrey Bronson, a committed youth, was shot by John Hurley, a white guard at the facility. On September 8, 1934, *The Afro-American* covered the incident and the administration's response in two stories on their front page. Aubrey was hospitalized at Freedmen's Hospital in D.C after being shot by Hurley, who had been arrested, but released on \$1000 bond. Aubrey suffered from a punctured lung as a result of the incident. Three months later, reporters confirmed that Aubrey survived the shooting.

The shooting was reported in Black-owned newspapers across the country, and it galvanized community organizers in Baltimore City to demand change. The shooting inspired the formation of the Abolish Cheltenham Committee, an activist group that campaigned for the state to take over the Black reform school, which was still privately-operated at the time. In 1937, the Maryland General Assembly passed legislation to take over the House of Reformation and renamed it the Cheltenham School for Boys. Consequently, the movement to turn the whites-only reformatory public predates the movement to turn its Black equivalent public by two decades.

The Loch Raven and Cheltenham facilities remained segregated until the landmark court case *State Board of Public Welfare v. Myers* (1961).

On February 26, 1960, Robert Myers, a thirteen-year-old Black boy, sued the State Board of Public Welfare and the four reform schools under the Board's authority in the Baltimore City Circuit Court. His complaint challenged the constitutionality of Maryland laws establishing Boys' Village and Maryland Training School for Boys as institutions for the care and reformation of "colored male minors" and "white male minors" respectively. Robert had been admitted to Boys' Village in 1959, and his attorney Tucker Dearing moved to have him transferred to the Training School. Lawyers from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) joined the suit. Juanita Jackson Mitchell, the first Black woman to practice law in the state of Maryland, litigated the plaintiff's case with Dearing, with support from legal titans Thurgood Marshall and Jack Greenberg.

The NAACP argued that the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) applied to public reform schools and that Maryland's system of *de jure* segregation violated the 14th Amendment's Equal Protection Clause. The State of Maryland argued that the Training School and other facilities for delinquent youth were analogous to penal institutions, not schools; thus, *Brown*'s desegregation mandate was inapplicable. The State argued this despite the fact that even Maryland *adult* prisons have never been racially segregated.

On July 6, 1960, the Circuit Court ruled in Robert's favor, declaring segregation unconstitutional. The Court issued an injunction prohibiting the defendants from denying admission or transfer to the Training School to Robert and other Black youth. The State Board of Public Welfare appealed to the Maryland Court of Appeals (now the Maryland Supreme Court).

On February 7, 1961, Maryland's high court upheld the lower court's ruling and ordered the Training School to integrate. Both reform schools for boys began admitting children of different races in July 1961.

In the mid-20th century, the state agency responsible for the reform schools changed multiple times; agencies include the State Department of Public Welfare, Department of Education, and Department of Health and Hygiene. Youth correctional facilities did not fall permanently within the Department of Juvenile Services's (DJS) authority until 1987. The Training School for Boys and the House of Reformation have since evolved into the Charles H. Hickey Jr., School and Cheltenham Youth Detention Center respectively, two secure detention facilities for male youth who are awaiting trial or placement.

METHODOLOGY

This research utilizes the archives of *The Afro-American*, a weekly Black-run newspaper based in Baltimore. Throughout the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, *The Afro-American* covered the numerous scandals and abuses that occurred within the House of Reformation (and its successors) in its Washington and Baltimore editions. Reporters covered the labor exploitation and physical abuse of committed children, poor educational attainment among committed children, and administrative mismanagement. The newspaper also ran editorials that called for reforms to the House of Reformation and compared it negatively to the Training School for Boys. Some of these articles were written after the state of Maryland took over and the name changed; however, they often mention and reflect on events that happened prior to 1937 and speak to how the conditions largely stayed the same despite the transition. *The Afro-American* often cited whistleblowers and reports produced by the Baltimore City grand jury to uncover the facility's deficiencies.

This research utilizes clippings from *The Baltimore Sun* (and its afternoon edition *The Evening Sun*) to discuss activities and scandals at the Training School for Boys, as well as labor exploitation at the House of Reformation. *The Sun* reported escape attempts by committed youth and oversight visits to the all-white reformatory. *The Sun* also highlighted the Training School's positive attributes, such as recreational opportunities for committed boys. Regarding the House of Reformation, *The Sun* documented years-long allegations of abuse at the reformatory's broom factory and chronicled the political push to have the state take over the reformatory in 1934 and 1935. Like *The Afro-American*, both editions of *The Sun* cited civic groups, grand jury reports, and reform school administrators in their coverage of the House of Reformation and Training School for Boys. This report also cites *The Evening Star*, based in Washington, D.C. to discuss the push for desegregating Maryland's juvenile justice system.

In addition to historical newspapers, this report utilizes numerous government documents pertaining to the House of Refuge and the Training School. Maryland General Assembly reports discuss legislators' visits to the House of Refuge and included an annual report of the House of Refuge. Separately, the 1919 Annual Report by the Board of Managers includes photographs of committed youth in uniform, classrooms, the military band; reports from various facility administrators; and positive findings by the Baltimore City Grand Jury. Regarding the House of Reformation, this report cites annual reports by the Board of Managers, biennial reports from the superintendent and letters from committed youth spanning from 1901 to 1917. These institutional documents include excerpts from newspapers covering the facility's activities, often skewed towards a positive light. The letters written by youth often showed gratitude towards the Superintendent and facility staff.

Lastly, the University of Baltimore archives digitized copies of grand jury reports from the Baltimore City Criminal Court beginning in 1932. These grand jury reports give insight into each reform school's population size, costs per capita, educational offerings, disciplinary structure,

and physical plant. The ones published between 1932 and 1936 specifically highlight the significant operational differences between the Training School and the House of Reformation. In their comparisons, the grand jurors excoriated the House of Reformation and appealed to the General Assembly to make the all-Black reform school publicly-operated. These reports also lend credibility to the news articles and youth testimonies cited throughout this research.¹¹

¹¹ One must note the antiquated language of primary sources: News outlets and administrators at both reform schools refer to committed boys as inmates, even though the term “juvenile offenders” had been in use at the time and the reform schools were established as an alternative to prisons. Additionally, a 1939 news report on the House of Reformation educational outcomes uses the outdated framework of “mental retardation” to describe those who are below grade level/not meeting benchmarks for intelligence. Grand jury reports and facility administrators likewise use the term “feeble-mindedness” to describe children who may have had intellectual disabilities.

PART I: CHARLES H. HICKEY, JR. SCHOOL

Origins of the House of Refuge for Juvenile Delinquents

The juvenile reform movement that swept New York and Boston in the mid-1820s inspired the creation of the Maryland House of Refuge. Prior to the existence of the juvenile justice system, children were being sent to state jails and prisons alongside adults for delinquent acts. By passing “An Act to establish a House of Refuge for Juvenile Delinquents,” Maryland was among the few states south of the Mason-Dixon Line to establish a juvenile facility prior to the Civil War.¹² In 1830, the institution was legally established as a private reformatory with a 24-member Board of Managers. However, funding was initially tied to the profits of the State Penitentiary, which delayed the reformatory’s actual opening for twenty five years. The House of Refuge became incorporated in 1849. Using private contributions and funds from the city of Baltimore, the Board of Managers purchased the physical plant for the House in 1850, and admitted children in December 1855. The facility received its first appropriation from the State in 1856. The House of Refuge was located in Gwynns Falls, Baltimore City.

The laws of 1860 explicitly stated that the House of Refuge was a whites-only institution. The House did not become a boys-only institution until 1866, when the Maryland Industrial School for Girls was created.¹³ Consequently, Black youth were being sent to the state Penitentiary, while white youth were sent to reform school, until 1873, when the House of Reformation for Colored Boys in Prince George’s County opened its doors. Thus the movement in Maryland to create an institution for white delinquent youth, separated from the adult penal system, predates the movement to do the same for Black youth by four decades. This inequity occurred against the backdrop of slavery, which Maryland had not abolished until 1864—only 9 years before the opening of the House of Reformation.¹⁴ This difference demonstrates how the state and general public prioritized the welfare of white youth, without equal regard to the condition of Black youth. Moreover, the movement to turn the whites-only reformatory public predates the movement to turn its Black equivalent public by two decades.

Child Labor

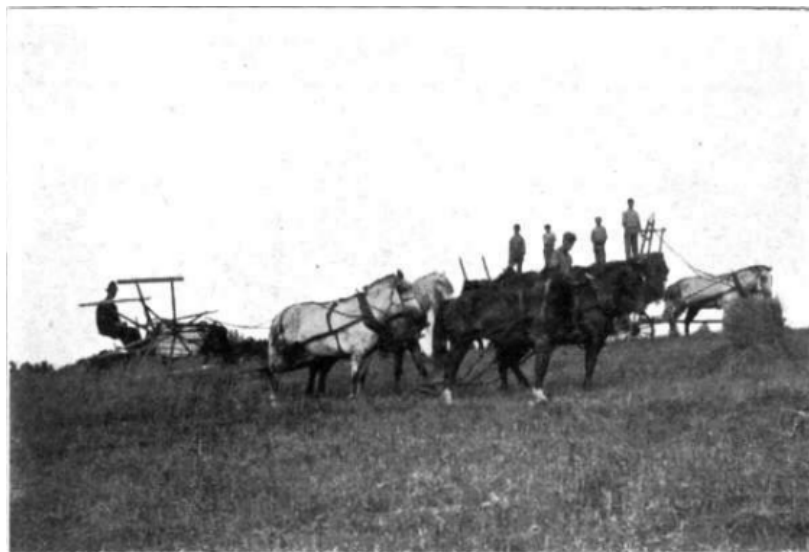
In 1830, 1849, and 1860, the Maryland state legislature authorized the Board of Managers to “bind out the children committed to their care” as apprentices, as long as those children

¹² Young, “Race and Gender in the Establishment of Juvenile Institutions”; Mayernick, “Segregated Young Men’s Reformatories in Maryland during the Great Depression”; Pickett, *V. Institutions for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents (1825-59)*.

¹³ Young, “Race and Gender in the Establishment of Juvenile Institutions.”

¹⁴ “Maryland Constitutional Convention of 1864”; Ward, *The Black Child-Savers*. Ward notes that, prior to Emancipation, enslaved Black children who were alleged to have committed delinquent or criminal acts were returned to their enslavers, who would enact their own punishment outside of the criminal legal system.

consented to it.¹⁵ According to Mayernick, the Training School gave its white detainees numerous opportunities for vocational training because the administration understood that young white men “required a means of livelihood after their term of imprisonment had concluded.”¹⁶ Examples of trades taught included farming, printing, blacksmithing, plumbing, carpentry, and horticulture.¹⁷ The extent to which the white reform school employed forced labor among its committed children, a common practice in training schools of the time, is hard to ascertain.



Training School boys reaping farmland, taken from 1919 Annual Report

The House of Refuge’s 1867 annual report makes a vague reference to “bodily labor” as part of the moral development of committed youth, arguing that it serves as a remedy for “idle habits.”¹⁸ According to The Historical Society of Baltimore County, boys committed to the House of Refuge were indentured to farmers and craftsmen.¹⁹ In the 1919 annual report, Training School administrators admit that, under the House of Refuge, committed boys were subjected to labor exploitation, “the result of which was constant mutiny and necessarily severe punishment with unsatisfactory results.”²⁰ The reformatory reportedly eliminated all forms of contract labor in 1905.

Immediately after the state took over, the Training School used labor as a disincentive against misbehavior. The 1919 Annual Report describes the reformatory’s demerit system, where a boy earns points (merits) for good conduct and loses points for misconduct each week. The

¹⁵ Chapter 64, Acts of 1830; Chapter 374, Acts of 1849; Chapter 205, Acts of 1860.

¹⁶ Mayernick, “Segregated Young Men’s Reformatories in Maryland during the Great Depression.”

¹⁷ Maryland Training School for Boys, *65th Report of the Board of Managers*.

¹⁸ “Annual Report.”

¹⁹ McGrain, “Baltimore County’s House of Refuge.”

²⁰ Maryland Training School for Boys, *65th Report of the Board of Managers*.

maximum number of merits was 70. If a boy had less than 60 merits, he would lose all recreation time on Saturday afternoon and “work the entire afternoon.”²¹

Available sources generally characterize child labor at the Training School in softer terms when compared to its use at the House of Reformation for Colored Boys. Grand jury reports and news articles repeatedly likened the latter institution’s use of child labor to slavery, due to the factors of the boys’ race, non-payment for their services, and dismal educational programming. In 1928, *The Afro-American* described the all-Black facility as “hiring the boys out into veritable slavery” due to its practice of convict leasing.²² Unlike its Black counterpart, the Training School publicly maintained the semblance of workforce development to a greater degree.

Physical abuse of committed children

The Baltimore Sun covered multiple instances in which children committed to the House of Refuge orchestrated mass escape attempts in the 1890s. The Training School experienced similar mass attempts into the 1930s.²³ Many of these boys were recaptured (see Appendix). 19th century news reports do not tell us the circumstances around these escape attempts. Anecdotal evidence suggests that these attempts were reactions to the Training School’s harsh conditions.

In 1877, *The Baltimore Sun* reported that Superintendent Charles Leas whipped children; he was fired by the Board of Managers.²⁴ Three decades later, Superintendent J.M. Hendrix was accused of beating the children, which resulted in some boys being hospitalized.²⁵ In May 1908, Superintendent Hendrix resigned following an investigation into the allegations against him. His resignation coincided with a string of scandals at the House of Refuge, including what was referred to as a riot and a mass escape attempt that same month.²⁶

Soon after the state’s operational takeover, George W. Douglass, father of a Training School detainee, wrote an impassioned letter to the editor lambasting then-Superintendent Faulkner for the abuses his son William allegedly experienced at the facility.²⁷ The allegations included:

- (1) His son being lashed twice on the orders of the Superintendent.
- (2) His son being placed in solitary confinement for “12 or 15 days” and receiving his second lashing as punishment for attempting to escape.
- (3) Not informing William’s mother of his punishments when she came to visit him.

²¹ Maryland Training School for Boys.

²² “Cheltenham Boys Now Work on State Road.”

²³ “7 Slide Down Sheet Rope”; “Used Sheets As Rope”; “Seven Youths Escape At Training School.”

²⁴ Alder, “‘Flawed from the Inception’: 167 Years of Maltreatment at the Charles H. Hickey Jr. School.”

²⁵ Alder.

²⁶ Alder.

²⁷ “Superintendent Faulkner Invites Investigation.”

(4) His son working “in all sorts of weather without any underclothes.”

Grand jury reports, while largely positive, noted the Training School’s use of disciplinary practices that would now be recognized as abusive. Regarding the use of solitary confinement, the grand jury acknowledged the Training School had two “meditation rooms” to isolate youth in 1932. Then-Superintendent James Pratt stated that those rooms were used “only in extreme cases” and admitted that there used to be six cells dedicated to solitary confinement.²⁸ The jury lightly recommended that a psychiatrist advise the facility on the maximum length to “isolate a growing boy.”²⁹ When they visited in January 1936, the grand jury observed that reformatory instructors disciplined committed youth via a graded system. While the grand jury frames this positively, they note “corporal punishment being used only as a last resort and that limited to a thorough spanking.”³⁰ In both reports, grand jurors gave Training School administrators the benefit of the doubt with regard to how they used physical and psychological punishment.

The grand jurors’ uncritical attitude towards abusive practices matches the ambivalence expressed in the mainstream press. Mayernick found that even as *The Baltimore Sun* reported on escape attempts, deaths, and protests against solitary confinement at the Training School in the 1930s, articles framed those instances as “aberrations in what was generally considered a well-functioning system of reform.”³¹

Educational outcomes

Little is known about the educational structure of the House of Refuge. In their 1867 annual report, the Board of Managers discussed at length the religious training that committed youth received, but failed to describe any academic or vocational training. Committed youth participated in the reformatory’s musical program.³² The Board reassured legislators that “the appliances for their moral and mental instruction have been well supplied.”³³

Once the Training School became a public institution, the academic curriculum was managed by the State Department of Education.³⁴ Boys were mandated to attend school for half the day and vocational training the other half unless they were excused by a psychiatrist.³⁵ The grand jury describes the reformatory as having four schools: Unrelated Subjects, Practical Arts, Agriculture and Drawing.³⁶ When it came to the academic placements, the Training School administered

²⁸ “Grand Jury Report, 1932-01.”

²⁹ “Grand Jury Report, 1932-01.”

³⁰ “Grand Jury Report, 1936-01.”

³¹ Mayernick, “Segregated Young Men’s Reformatories in Maryland during the Great Depression.”

³² “Annual Report.”

³³ “Annual Report.”

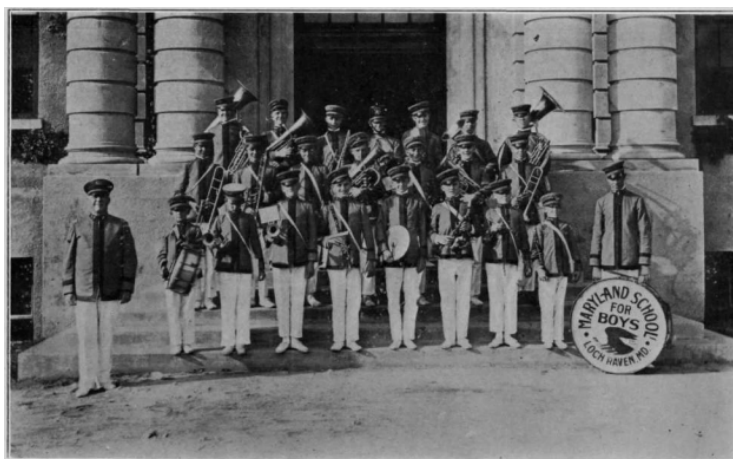
³⁴ “Grand Jury Report, 1932-01.”

³⁵ Maryland Training School for Boys, *65th Report of the Board of Managers*.

³⁶ “Grand Jury Report, 1936-01.”

reading assessments and other standardized testing. Mayernick found that the reading levels of Training School boys were significantly higher than boys at the House of Reformation in the 1930s. Training School boys were occasionally bussed to nearby high schools to complete their education.³⁷

The House of Refuge received positive coverage in *The Baltimore Sun* with regard to recreational activities.³⁸ This institutional element was maintained after the state takeover. Training School boys participated in a military band (depicted right), a summer camp, sports and other activities.³⁹ The Training School's print shop published a newsletter describing the lives of boys on parole throughout the 1920s.⁴⁰ This newsletter, "Maryland School News," began printing in 1919.



Training School military band, taken from 1919 Annual Report

In its first two decades as a public facility, the Training School held boys for up to eighteen months, after which they were eligible for parole. Boys on parole were required to secure employment or return to school, and submit monthly reports to the reformatory's Chief Parole Officer until they reached the age of 21.⁴¹ The Maryland School News reported "where former students were living, how well they were doing in school, and where they were employed."⁴²

³⁷ Mayernick, "Segregated Young Men's Reformatories in Maryland during the Great Depression."

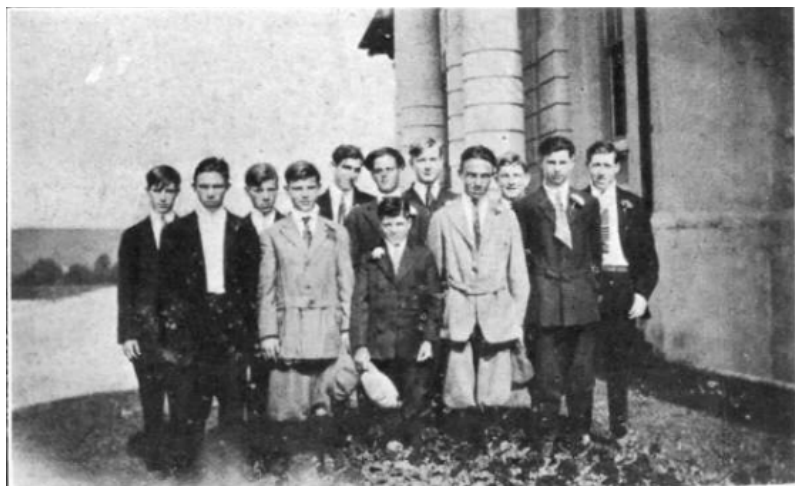
³⁸ "Entertainment As Well As Good Things To Eat For Inmates"; "Treat for House of Refuge Boys."

³⁹ Maryland Training School for Boys, *65th Report of the Board of Managers*.

⁴⁰ Mayernick, "Segregated Young Men's Reformatories in Maryland during the Great Depression."

⁴¹ Maryland Training School for Boys, *65th Report of the Board of Managers*.

⁴² Mayernick, "Segregated Young Men's Reformatories in Maryland during the Great Depression."



“Boys Going on Parole,” taken from 1919 Annual Report

Administrative oversight

The General Assembly provided oversight over the House of Refuge. The Joint Committee on Public Buildings visited the reformatory in the 1870s and 1880s. In 1878, the Committee criticized the physical plant of the House of Refuge for its poor heating and the number of committed youth, but made no mention of the staff’s attitude, the educational program, or boys’ health.⁴³ In 1882, the Committee found the reformatory “in perfect order” and noted significant improvement in the boys’ sleeping accommodations.⁴⁴

Operational deficiencies soured the public’s perception of the House of Refuge towards the turn of the century. In 1865, the Board of Managers reported to the General Assembly issues of overcrowding, which led to children sharing beds.⁴⁵ Outside observers criticized the reformatory’s physical resemblance to correctional facilities; one such observer in 1877 wrote, “Cold and cheerless brick floors, dungeon-like cells in gloomy corridors, are not considered the best means of transforming wayward youth into useful citizens.”⁴⁶ Another writer, George E. Tack, in 1907 acknowledged that the reformatory had experienced several escapes and recaptures of committed boys, although “of late years such affairs are of rare occurrence.”⁴⁷ Negative attention on the House of Refuge motivated the state to take over operations in 1918.

The grand jury of the Baltimore City Criminal Court periodically visited the Training School throughout the 20th century. The Training School was one of many state-funded institutions that

⁴³ “Report of the Comptroller of the Treasury.”

⁴⁴ “Legislative Visits to Public Institutions.”

⁴⁵ Alder, “‘Flawed from the Inception’: 167 Years of Maltreatment at the Charles H. Hickey Jr. School.”

⁴⁶ McGrain, “Baltimore County’s House of Refuge.”

⁴⁷ McGrain.

the jury inspected. Between 1932 and 1936, grand juries consistently praised the Training School for its facilities' cleanliness, military training, educational offerings (both academic and vocational), recreational activities, boys' hygiene, and the staff's sympathetic attitude.

The following excerpt from the September 1934 term expresses the grand jury's gushing attitude succinctly:⁴⁸

Your committee was very favorably impressed with the maintenance of the grounds, buildings and equipment and considers that this school offers an excellent scholastic and manual training for wayward boys and at the same time affords them sufficient indoor amusement and outdoor exercises.

With conditions found as existing, your committee considers the present management most capable in conducting the splendid work which appeared throughout.

The reports were not without recommendations. The grand jury for the May 1935 term suggested creating an "Adult Training School" due to the Training School facing an increasing number of young adult offenders (ages 18 through 25) and a reduced budget.⁴⁹ State appropriations decreased for the Training School between 1933 and 1936, which imposed operational constraints.

These reports juxtapose the scathing reports that the House of Reformation for Colored Boys received prior to the state's operational takeover. While the Training School's 1930s reports were no more than three pages of flattery, the House of Reformation reports were voluminous with complaints. Grand juries and other outside observers heavily criticized the Black reformatory for its academic and vocational offerings, cleanliness, and outcomes for committed youth.⁵⁰ Staff salaries, types of staff positions available, food & clothing allotments were the few categories where the two reformatory schools were comparable.⁵¹ Operational inequities persisted through the 1940s.⁵² It was not until the 1950s that the operational disparity between the two facilities seemingly shrunk, as the Cheltenham facility began to receive positive appraisals from the Baltimore grand jury.⁵³ However, both facilities in Cheltenham and Loch Raven were plagued with overcrowding in the 1950s.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ "Grand Jury Report, 1934-09."

⁴⁹ "Grand Jury Report, 1935-05."

⁵⁰ Melville, "GRAND JURY REPORTS: BALTIMORE CITY (Part II)."

⁵¹ Coole, "Survey Shows Cheltenham Far Behind Md. Training School."

⁵² "Cheltenham Boys Now Work on State Road"; Crooks, "Dr. Cooks Says Hanover School Tops Cheltenham"; Coole, "Survey Shows Cheltenham Far Behind Md. Training School"; "Citizens' Group Points to Inequalities at Cheltenham."

⁵³ Melville, "GRAND JURY REPORTS: BALTIMORE CITY (Part II)."

⁵⁴ "Welfare Chief Says 4 Schools Are Crowded."

PART II: CHELTENHAM YOUTH DETENTION CENTER

Origins of the House of Reformation for Colored Boys

Prior to 1870, African-American boys— often between the ages of five and sixteen— were sent to jail or the state penitentiary for crimes and delinquency; offenses included “vagrancy,” “larceny,” and “violation of the peace and drunkenness.” In 1867, a Baltimore City grand jury submitted a statement to the Maryland General Assembly calling for the creation of a Black reformatory as an alternative to prison.⁵⁵ By passing “An Act to Incorporate a House of Reformation and Instruction for Colored Children” in 1870, Maryland became the first state south of the Mason-Dixon Line to have an institution for delinquent Black youth.⁵⁶

In the 1860s, Baltimore-based philanthropist Enoch Pratt (1808–1896) purchased a 1200-acre plantation from the Bowie family, a prominent slaveholding family in Prince George’s County. In 1872, Pratt donated 750 acres of this land to the House of Reformation, and the reformatory began operating on January 1, 1873. The reformatory was run by a 16-member Board of Managers, with two appointees selected by the Governor and two appointees selected by the Baltimore City Mayor. Pratt served on the reformatory’s first Board of Managers and Executive Committee. John Watts Horn, retired military general, served as the reformatory’s first superintendent.⁵⁷ The law stipulated that the Board of Managers for the reformatory were required to raise \$30,000 in private funds before they could receive state funding.⁵⁸ Once that requirement was met, the state would allocate \$5000 annually for the reformatory’s first two years of operation.

Reformers had the explicit goal of cultivating delinquent Black youth into a productive workforce. In its Second Annual Report (1875), facility administrators are quoted as emphasizing the necessity of manual labor for Black boys:⁵⁹

[They] are required to work, *to learn how to work*, and to know the importance of labor. To learn how to handle the hoe, shovel and spade; to manage horses, mules and cattle; to plow, to sow, to reap and ‘gather the grain into garners.’

Child Labor

As part of its mission to transform Black delinquent children, the House of Reformation stressed the importance of vocational training to committed youth. Examples of trades included farming,

⁵⁵ “Memorial.”

⁵⁶ Mayernick, “Segregated Young Men’s Reformatories in Maryland during the Great Depression.”

⁵⁷ P.A.C. Spero & Company, “Boys’ Village of Maryland.”

⁵⁸ Chapter 392, Acts of 1870.

⁵⁹ Pisciotta, “Race, Sex, and Rehabilitation.” The italicization comes from Pisciotta’s quotation of the 1875 report.

blacksmithing, wheelwrighting, chair caning, and broom making. The institution also offered rudimentary education in math, reading, and writing.⁶⁰ Committed boys regularly worked on the facility's farms and broom factory. Coverage in *The Afro-American* suggests that the institution's vocational training was not formalized; one local juvenile justice advocate stated that the facility was "on the way toward development" of a vocational program.⁶¹ While administrators framed labor as beneficial to the youth's moral development, much of it failed to give the boys employable skills and was ultimately tailored toward white interests. Moreover, the labor cruelly echoed slavery, a system which only ended in Maryland in 1864, a few years before the facility was legally established.⁶²

The House of Reformation also used physical labor to punish the youth and put them in their place. William Creasy, who had been committed in 1912, told *The Afro-American* in 1925 that children worked without food for minor transgressions and were contracted out to people outside the institution.⁶³

I was at Cheltenham 3 years, 5 months, and a few days, and I had school two afternoons during this time. They would hire the boys out with mean people who hated colored people and the boys were worked just like slaves.

Beginning in World War I, the Cheltenham facility had leased committed Black boys to work on private farms in Prince George's County, in a practice that strongly resembles convict leasing.⁶⁴ Local farmers paid \$25 to \$40 yearly for the boys' labor, but most (if not all) of the money went to the institution.⁶⁵ Harry Brown, a former committed youth, testified, "At one time I was supposed to be earning \$5 a month—I earned it, but I never received it."⁶⁶ The facility faced significant public pushback for the practice in 1927. *The Afro-American* called it "veritable slavery"; grand jury reports also called this practice "virtual peonage."⁶⁷ Under scrutiny, facility leadership ended the practice and promised to stress educational development. However, rumors of committed boys being taken to work for white farmers in other parts of Maryland continued to circulate in the early 20th century.⁶⁸

The reformatory's broom factory also became controversial for its working conditions. Since 1923, the Baltimore Federation of Labor had complained about the factory not being up to code

⁶⁰ House of Reformation for Colored Boys, *Biennial Report of the Board of Managers*, 1909.

⁶¹ Crooks, "Dr. Cooks Says Hanover School Tops Cheltenham."

⁶² Ward, *The Black Child-Savers*. Ward also notes that convict leasing schemes involving Black youth were common throughout the post-Civil War South.

⁶³ "Boys Clubbed In Cheltenham Say Inmates."

⁶⁴ "Cheltenham Boys Now Work on State Road."

⁶⁵ Melville, "GRAND JURY REPORTS: BALTIMORE CITY (Part II)"; "Ex-Cheltenham Teacher Tells All: Inside Story of the Worst Reform School for Boys in the Entire U.S."

⁶⁶ "Cheltenham: Maryland's Hell Hole."

⁶⁷ Melville, "GRAND JURY REPORTS: BALTIMORE CITY (Part II)."

⁶⁸ "Maryland Reform Schools for Boys Rioted Against Alleged Brutal Guards Until They Fled"; Duyer, "Curiosity of Cheltenham."

and called on the state government to provide oversight.⁶⁹ Much like the facility's farming, the factory allegedly "reduced the Negro boys to a 'form of peonage.'"⁷⁰ In May 1926, investigators described the facility's broom factory as a "firetrap." The *Washington Afro-American* states that investigators had repeatedly recommended changes to the factory to promote safety, but they were ignored.⁷¹ Baltimore City grand jury reports confirm this, as they consistently disavowed the factory's utter lack of hygiene, fire safety preparedness, and rehabilitative value in the 1930s. At one time, jurors proposed, "the broom factory should be discontinued, as work of this kind will not assist to make better citizens of the boys."⁷²

In the 1930s, the House of Reformation subjected its youth to forced labor even after their placement ended, via its parole system. Instead of being sent home, a minority of youth were "paroled to service" wherein they were placed under contract with a "good citizen".⁷³ Mayernick validly characterizes this as indentured servitude, and boys could be paroled to service until the age of 21. The practice remained in place even after the state took over the reformatory. Evidence has not been found for the existence of an equivalent practice among white youth.

Physical abuse of committed children

Escapes and riots repeatedly occurred in the House of Reformation, and persisted long after the state assumed control. Administrators admitted to this in September 1934, and stated that frequent escapes caused them to limit visiting hours. Riots in the summer of 1937 led to one editorial calling on the Board of Managers to "get busy and clean out the entire place, if necessary," months before the state took over.⁷⁴ However, violence was not always initiated by the boys and the reformatory's living conditions contributed to the frequency of escape attempts.

In the early 1920s, at least two formerly-committed youths wrote letters to *The Afro-American* detailing physical abuses they endured at the House of Reformation. One 18-year-old boy, George Washington, reported being beaten with a cane by John B. Pyles, the facility's superintendent at the time, for no discernible reason.⁷⁵ George described himself as crippled and had been at the facility for seven years. Another boy, William Creasy, described how a fellow youth died after a teacher clubbed him in the head and how William himself was almost beaten to death within the first three months of his three-year long sentence.⁷⁶ Reporters for *The Afro-American* assert in multiple articles in the '20s and '30s that guards and other facility staff struck

⁶⁹ "Ritchie Seeks Data on Peonage Charge."

⁷⁰ "May Close Plant at Cheltenham."

⁷¹ "Ex-Cheltenham Teacher Tells All: Inside Story of the Worst Reform School for Boys in the Entire U.S."

⁷² "Grand Jury Report, 1932-01."

⁷³ Mayernick, "Segregated Young Men's Reformatories in Maryland during the Great Depression."

⁷⁴ "Clean Up Cheltenham, Now!"

⁷⁵ "Cheltenham Lad Says He Was Beaten Up."

⁷⁶ "Boys Clubbed In Cheltenham Say Inmates."

the boys with impunity. An unnamed boy who escaped in 1934 testified to having his front tooth knocked out as a result of beatings. This same report found that guards used the “schad,” a three-ply leather whip, to beat children for unruly behavior.⁷⁷

Two years after the state took over, *The Washington Afro-American* published an exposé on the institution’s physical abuse, calling the Cheltenham School for Boys “the worst reform school for boys in the entire U.S.” Raymond Hobson, a Black ex-employee, serves as the report’s principal source. The exposé features photographs of committed youth who had been physically abused, as well as a timeline of allegations against the reformatory since 1926. The exposé recirculated the adjacent photographs, which had been taken in 1934.

Facility staff and administrators lied about how children were being injured in official documents. One unnamed child was hospitalized after being struck in the face with keys, but the official report said that he was injured while playing football.⁷⁸ A white staff member resigned after witnessing the “merciless beating” of three children: “two with a lash and the other with a broom stick.”⁷⁹ Harry Brown, who escaped from the reform school, said that white guards disciplined children with a “brass-studded belt.”⁸⁰ Another committed youth said that one of the guards carried a rubber hose to “beat the boys on the slightest provocation.”⁸¹ The Superintendent of the House of Reformation confirmed that beatings by rubber hose were “not unusual” a year prior to the youth coming forward.⁸² The abuse was prolonged by the institution’s demerit system. Children were staying past the maximum of 13 months, due to them receiving demerits that lengthened their sentences, reportedly by as long as five years beyond when they should have been released. Parents were unaware that their children’s sentences should have expired.⁸³



Photos of an escaped youth and schad shown in the Sept. 15, 1934 issue of *The Afro-American*.

⁷⁷ “RUNAWAY.”

⁷⁸ “Ex-Cheltenham Teacher Tells All: Inside Story of the Worst Reform School for Boys in the Entire U.S.”

⁷⁹ “Ex-Cheltenham Teacher Tells All: Inside Story of the Worst Reform School for Boys in the Entire U.S.”

⁸⁰ “Cheltenham: Maryland’s Hell Hole.”

⁸¹ “Berry to Probe Latest Charges at Cheltenham.”

⁸² “HOSE FLOGGING OF BOY INMATES NOT ‘UNUSUAL.’”

⁸³ “Ex-Cheltenham Teacher Tells All: Inside Story of the Worst Reform School for Boys in the Entire U.S.”

Physical altercations with facility staff were not the only abuse Black youth endured; the quality of food and hygiene at the House of Reformation were subpar. These children were not adequately bathed nor clothed. Since at least 1927, visitors such as Reverend Ernest Lyon often found children barefoot and ragged during their visits.⁸⁴ In 1939, multiple reports alleged that the boys were malnourished, which is consistent with how many described the facility's food conditions pre-1937.⁸⁵ In 1934, an anonymous committed youth described the food as being "not fit for dogs."⁸⁶ Harry Brown, a former committed youth, told *The Afro-American*, "When it was known that members of the grand jury were coming for an investigation, the day's menu was hastily changed for the occasion."⁸⁷ In January 1939, "Some [boys] charge that they found rats in the food supply."⁸⁸ Three months later, a former staff member alleged that youth were "treated worse than mules" and that food conditions were so poor that committed youth protested against them.⁸⁹ Grand jury reports corroborated the inadequate food and instances of physical abuse committed by facility staff, before *and* after the state's operational takeover.⁹⁰

Shooting of Aubrey Bronson

Perhaps the most egregious incident of non-fatal physical abuse at the reformatory came in the first week of September 1934, when Aubrey Bronson, a committed youth, was shot by John Hurley, a white guard at the facility. On September 8, 1934, *The Afro-American* covered the incident and the administration's response in two stories on their front page.⁹¹ Aubrey was hospitalized at Freedmen's Hospital in D.C after being shot by Hurley, who had been arrested, but released on \$1000 bond. Aubrey suffered from a punctured lung as a result of the incident. Three months later, reporters confirmed that Aubrey survived the shooting.⁹²

⁸⁴ "Cheltenham Again."

⁸⁵ Melville, "GRAND JURY REPORTS: BALTIMORE CITY (Part II)."

⁸⁶ "Note from Inmate Cites Brutality at Cheltenham."

⁸⁷ "Cheltenham: Maryland's Hell Hole."

⁸⁸ "Ex-Cheltenham Teacher Tells All: Inside Story of the Worst Reform School for Boys in the Entire U.S."

⁸⁹ "Berry to Probe Latest Charges at Cheltenham."

⁹⁰ Melville, "GRAND JURY REPORTS: BALTIMORE CITY (Part II)."

⁹¹ "Arrest Guard in Shooting at Cheltenham"; "Bronson Says Guard Threatened to Pine Box Him."

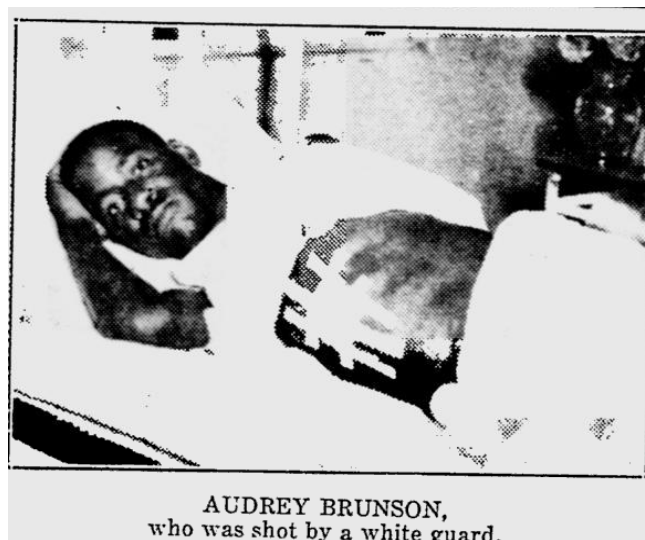
⁹² "Cheltenham Is Not Fit For Humans, Says Ex-Inmate."

Administrators remained silent around the shooting under instructions from the state's attorney investigating the matter. The employees of the institution's Baltimore office were not informed about the incident until they read about it in *The Afro-American*. None of the committed boys would say what happened, as visitors were banned from asking them questions. The state's attorney's version of events conflicts with that of Aubrey and his family. According to Aubrey, the guard was drunk and threatened to kill him.⁹³ By contrast, Hurley claims he was acting in self-defense after Aubrey "rebelled against disciplinary measures."⁹⁴ When questioned as to why no operation had been performed to remove a bullet in Aubrey a week after he had been hospitalized, hospital staff made no comment. A follow-up report found that House of Reformation staff had not visited Aubrey in the hospital.⁹⁵

In one story published on September 8, 1934, *The Afro-American* claimed that boys at the facility were instructed to keep their eyes down in the presence of white women, or else they received "fifty lashes on their bare backs."⁹⁶ Superintendent Pyles claimed he did not know that committed boys were being whipped by guards, but defended the rule concerning white women: "I am trying to make them well-mannered."⁹⁷ Pyles' comment plays into the hypersexuality imposed on Black boys during this period, and assumes that white femininity needs to be protected.⁹⁸ Given the intense climate, committed boys made numerous escape attempts in the shooting's immediate aftermath.

Boys' Village of Maryland Cemetery

The House of Reformation operated a cemetery in two sections near its facility. There are four extant headstones that are legible and mark the burials of named boys. Based on photos in a 2009 inventory report catalogued by the Maryland Historical Trust, three headstones read as follows:⁹⁹



AUDREY BRUNSON,
who was shot by a white guard.

⁹³ "Bronson Says Guard Threatened to Kill Him."

⁹⁴ "Guard Is Bonded."

⁹⁵ "No Operation Yet on Cheltenham Boy Shot Last Week" the Jan. 28, 1939 issue of *The Afro-American*.

⁹⁶ "Arrest Guard in Shooting at Cheltenham."

⁹⁷ "Arrest Guard in Shooting at Cheltenham."

⁹⁸ Social scientists and historians have greatly explored how hypersexuality, hypermasculinity, and adultification contribute to the stigmatization of Black men and boys. The idea that white women need to be protected from Black men and boys can be traced to the "Buck" stereotype, which portrays them as hyperviolent and sexually predatory. See George Fredrickson, *The Black Image In the White Mind: the Debate On Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914*; and Donald Bogle, *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks: An Interpretive History of Blacks in American Films*.

⁹⁹ Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, "Boys' Village of Maryland Cemetery."

Williams Jones / From Baltimore City / Died March 30, 1887 / Aged 17 Years
 Anthon Johnson / From Baltimore Co / Died March 24, 1888 / Aged 11 Years
 Asbury Brown / From Annapolis, Md / Died April 5, 1887 / Aged 15 Years



Photo taken from the Maryland Historical Trust: Boy's Village of Maryland Cemetery, Cheltenham, Section 1, Marker, looking east. (February 2009)

The ages and death dates indicate that the boys buried were once committed to the House of Reformation. While the names on the specific headstones have not been cross-referenced, institutional documents show that numerous children died at the facility.¹⁰⁰ In 1976, the cemetery was transferred to the Cheltenham State Veterans Cemetery. The last official survey of the cemetery was conducted in 2009 by historical preservationists on behalf of the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission.^{101 102}

¹⁰⁰ House of Reformation for Colored Boys, *28th Report of the Board of Managers*; House of Reformation for Colored Boys, *Biennial Report of the Board of Managers*, 1915.

¹⁰¹ Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, "Boys' Village of Maryland Cemetery." On October 31, 2024, DJS staff, DJS's youth advisory board members and their caregivers visited the Boys' Village Cemetery to locate the burial markers. Using maps provided by the Maryland Historical Trust, DJS rediscovered four legible headstones (including one not mentioned in the 2009 inventory) and rows of cinder blocks which appear to mark the graves of unidentified House of Reformation youth. Photos from this visit can be found in the appendix.

¹⁰² One should not assume that the four aforementioned headstones are the only ones in existence; a photograph from 1974 shows a legible headstone, lying horizontally, that was likely buried by 2009 due to soil erosion.

As of May 2025, DJS has cataloged the death certificates and obituaries of at least 80 youth who died at the House of Reformation and are likely buried in the cemetery. The agency has tracked each youth's age, county of origin, official cause of death, and parental information.

Educational outcomes

Black boys committed to the House of Reformation were denied a quality education due to their aforementioned labor exploitation, divestment in educational facilities, and mismanagement. Criminal justice professor Alexander Pisciotta argues that the de-emphasis of education for House of Reformation youth comes from the reformatory's first leaders believing it "not necessary for [the Black boys'] anticipated position and also because it was viewed as being beyond their mental capabilities."¹⁰³ The extent to which boys were assessed for reading and writing upon committal is unclear, and administrators treated academic offerings "secondary to the need to provide moral training."¹⁰⁴



Photo of a House of Reformation classroom, taken from the *Report of the Board of Managers*, 1907.

In 1925, grand jury reports found that committed youth received less than two months of education each year from unqualified teachers.¹⁰⁵ Two years later, the Baltimore City grand jury found that the facility's housing was unsanitary and "[c]lassrooms were practically empty."¹⁰⁶ Only 100 boys were present during the visit, despite the facility having 390 boys in its custody. That same year, over 290 boys were deployed to work on the state road. In response to public

¹⁰³ Pisciotta, "Race, Sex, and Rehabilitation."

¹⁰⁴ Mayernick, "Segregated Young Men's Reformatories in Maryland during the Great Depression."

¹⁰⁵ "Bishop Hurst Scores Hiring of Convicts."

¹⁰⁶ "Cheltenham Boys Now Work on State Road."

scrutiny, leadership at the House of Reformation promised to have a “greater stress on educational development,” but that promise went unfulfilled.¹⁰⁷

In 1934, grand jurors reported, “[t]he recreational and social expression and development of the boys at Cheltenham seemed non-existent. The grading and instruction of the boys appeared below standard.”¹⁰⁸ These criticisms are supported by youth testimonies. George Clark, who had been committed as a boy to the House Reformation between 1920 and 1930, eviscerated the reformatory for its lack of educational programming at a meeting organized by the Abolish Cheltenham Committee that same year.¹⁰⁹

People are told that the boys have school, but they don't. The men out there tell the people most anything... All I saw there was work.

Two years after the state's takeover, 243 children were found to be “feeble-minded” in a survey.¹¹⁰ The all-white state board of education committee that conducted the study described the dormitories at Cheltenham as dilapidated.¹¹¹ Recommendations made by the state education board imply that (1) teachers were inadequately trained and (2) committed youth often received assignments as punishments or busywork, rather than for their educational value.¹¹² The survey findings echo those of past grand jury reports, as juries previously characterized some youth as “feeble-minded.”¹¹³

Whistleblower and ex-employee Raymond Hobson made numerous allegations regarding the reformatory's educational system. For example, many of the boys could not read or write, which he partly attributed to their lack of eyewear: “In the whole school not one boy wears glasses, and certainly some of the 450 boys must need them.”¹¹⁴ Other allegations include, but are not limited to: Overcrowded classrooms, high rates of truancy, visitors not being allowed to speak to the teachers, no meetings among the teachers, and few recreational activities for youth. The lack of recreation for committed youth has been corroborated by both grand jury reports and local activists.¹¹⁵ By the time the state took over operations, the reformatory still did not have a recreational center.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁷ “Cheltenham Boys Now Work on State Road.”

¹⁰⁸ “Grand Jury Report, 1934-09.”

¹⁰⁹ “Cheltenham Is Not Fit For Humans, Says Ex-Inmate.”

¹¹⁰ “243 Cheltenham Boys Are Found Feeble-Minded.”

¹¹¹ “243 Cheltenham Boys Are Found Feeble-Minded.”

¹¹² “243 Cheltenham Boys Are Found Feeble-Minded.”

¹¹³ “243 Cheltenham Boys Are Found Feeble-Minded”; “Grand Jury Report, 1935-05.”

¹¹⁴ “Ex-Cheltenham Teacher Tells All: Inside Story of the Worst Reform School for Boys in the Entire U.S.”

¹¹⁵ Melville, “GRAND JURY REPORTS: BALTIMORE CITY (Part II).”

¹¹⁶ Crooks, “Dr. Cooks Says Hanover School Tops Cheltenham.”

Administrative mismanagement

An early sign of dysfunction at the House of Reformation came in 1905, when the Baltimore City grand jury criticized the institution's harsh conditions: "At present it is more like a prison than a reformatory."¹¹⁷ In the 1920s, grand juries that had visited the facility repeatedly provided negative reports of housing conditions, educational attainment, as well as rioting among committed youth.¹¹⁸ In the early 1930s, the institution was also investigated by outside organizations and they reported similarly negative findings as the grand juries.¹¹⁹ Excerpts from the Annual Reports show that grand jury reports were not always negative prior to World War I.

Outside observers repeatedly condemned the institution's leadership for their monetary interests and lack of diversity. The leadership of the House of Reformation was predominantly white for its entire history, a fact which outraged Black residents of Baltimore City.¹²⁰ An early example of hiring discrimination can be traced to 1902, when a Black woman was reportedly turned down for a nursing position at the House of Reformation because "the present white teachers and officers... did not care to have a colored woman on the place."¹²¹ In 1927, a Baltimore City Councilmember wanted to legislatively pressure the Board of Managers to replace the facility's staff members with Black ones.¹²² Grand juries and public officials continued to advocate for Black personnel in the 1930s.¹²³ In 1930, 14 out of the 16 members of its Board of Managers were white.¹²⁴ The whiteness of the facility remained constant at least until 1938.¹²⁵ Baltimore pastor Rev. G.W. Crawley stated that it would take 50 years for the political grip on Cheltenham to loosen to create real change: "The school is run by and for white jobholders instead of educating Negro boys."¹²⁶ *The Afro-American* expressed this sentiment in a 1925 cartoon lampooning the facility (see next page), and in its coverage of the 1934 shooting.

¹¹⁷ "The Reformation of Colored Boys."

¹¹⁸ "Cheltenham Again"; "Cheltenham Boys Now Work on State Road"; "Cheltenham's Board."

¹¹⁹ Melville, "GRAND JURY REPORTS: BALTIMORE CITY (Part II)"; "Grand Jury Report, 1935-01."

¹²⁰ Bragg, "Cheltenham."

¹²¹ "The Reformatory For Colored Boys."

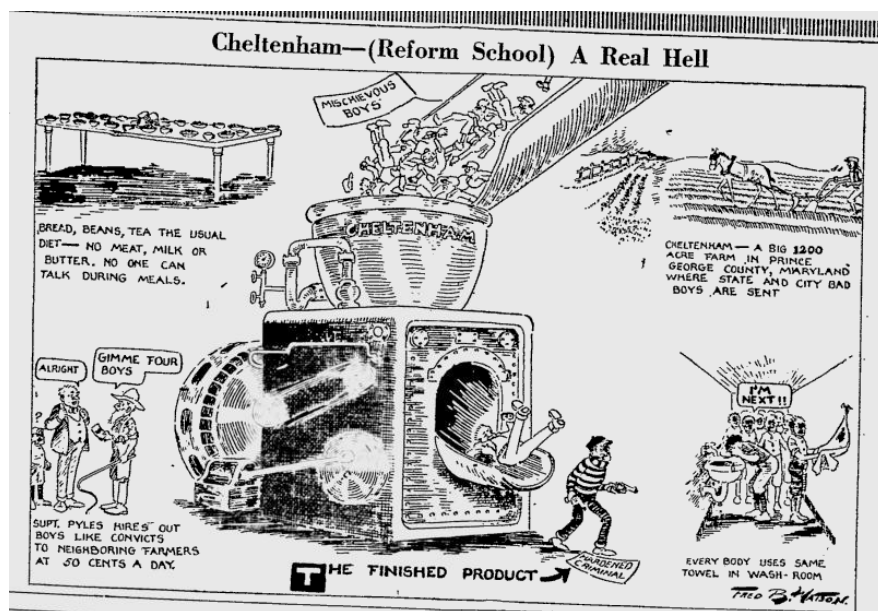
¹²² "Mr. Emerson Starts."

¹²³ "Note from Inmate Cites Brutality at Cheltenham."

¹²⁴ "Cheltenham's Board."

¹²⁵ Crooks, "Dr. Cooks Says Hanover School Tops Cheltenham."

¹²⁶ "Cheltenham Boys Now Work on State Road."



Fred B. Watson, "Editorial Cartoon 1," *The Afro-American*, Jan. 24, 1925.

Since the late 1920s, outside observers had called on the state of Maryland to take over operations at the House of Reformation. An excerpt from a 1928 grand jury report, which was then recirculated in 1935 stated:¹²⁷

We feel that it is unfortunate that the state does not own this vast and beautiful tract of fertile land so near the Nation's Capitol and located on our beautiful highway system. We feel sure that with the help of the great number of boys, under different and experienced heads in the different departments this could be made a valuable asset to our state instead of a liability, and under such practical heads you may be sure that when these boys bid a final adieu to Cheltenham they will be equipped to go out on life's journey as useful members of society, fully able to acquire an honest living.

Political momentum to place the House of Reformation under state control gained steam in the mid-1930s, with the shooting of Aubrey Bronson serving as the catalyst. On January 20, 1935, the Child Welfare League of America recommended that the state take over operations in their report on the facility. The League had been recruited by an interagency committee to survey the facility's conditions.¹²⁸ Erwin Feldman, a local attorney retained by Black clergymen, teachers, and social workers, said he would go to court "when he or his clients hear of any inmate at the reformatory being treated other than humanely."¹²⁹ The following month, the Abolish Cheltenham Committee, a Black-led advocacy group, demanded then-Governor Nice to hold a public hearing on the conditions at the House of Reformation, with the ultimate goal of having the state take over the reformatory. The committee was composed of church-goers and members

¹²⁷ "Grand Jury Report, 1935-05."

¹²⁸ "Conditions at Cheltenham."

¹²⁹ "Robert Defends Cheltenham Work."

of civic groups, with Black people in its leadership. The committee also wanted homeless Black children to be held in a separate institution from delinquent youth.¹³⁰ The Baltimore City grand jury that had visited the House of Reformation in May 1935 called for the immediate closure of the facility. Jurors were particularly critical of the lack of medical care at the facility and underqualified hospital staff.¹³¹ The General Assembly allowed the Board of Public Works to take over the facility if the Board of Managers consented to it in a vote, but they failed to pass companion legislation that would have finished the transfer.¹³² In 1937, ownership was finally transferred to the State Department of Education.

Transition to state ownership

The state takeover did not result in an immediate change in leadership: “Members of the governing board were retained until their positions became vacant and the governor appointed replacements.”¹³³ Benjamin B. Sunderland remained superintendent for at least two years after the state took over. In 1939, grand jurors pleaded with the Governor to not reappoint old members. Along with the personnel issues, the state faced problems with the institution’s physical plant: “By 1938, the hospital had burned down and medical needs were being handled in the basement of one of the cottages.”¹³⁴ The reformatory had also been plagued by poor recordkeeping.

One argument that circulated to justify the lack of staff diversity was that Black personnel would “fail to secure respect” from committed youth.¹³⁵ This argument assumes that white employees were more competent, and thus commanding of respect, than their Black counterparts. This racist attitude was coupled with a lack of training. While contrasting Cheltenham with a comparable institution in Virginia, activist Esther Crooks notes how most personnel at the former reformatory were *not* trained in social services.¹³⁶ In 1939, only one out of six “cottage masters” were Black. Black teachers were also outnumbered at the facility, as approximately 60 or 70 white instructors were employed at Cheltenham that same year. Black staff were mistreated and readily punished for not deferring to white authority.¹³⁷ Miscellaneous instances of malpractice include family members not being allowed to see boys and being uninformed about their child’s hospitalization.

¹³⁰ “Hearing Sought On Cheltenham.”

¹³¹ “State Officials Called By Nice After Hearing Grand Jury’s Criticism”; “Grand Jury Report, 1935-05.”

¹³² “Denies State Can Take Over Reformatory.”

¹³³ Melville, “GRAND JURY REPORTS: BALTIMORE CITY (Part II).”

¹³⁴ Melville.

¹³⁵ Crooks, “Dr. Cooks Says Hanover School Tops Cheltenham.”

¹³⁶ Crooks.

¹³⁷ “Ex-Cheltenham Teacher Tells All: Inside Story of the Worst Reform School for Boys in the Entire U.S.”

There were some areas in which the House of Reformation had been comparable to the Maryland Training School for Boys in Loch Raven (now Charles H. Hickey Jr. School); these areas include staff salaries, types of staff positions available, and clothing allotments.¹³⁸ By and large, however, the House of Reformation lagged behind the Training School and reform schools for Black girls in terms of educational and vocational offerings, cleanliness, and outcomes for committed youth.¹³⁹ Operational inequities persisted through the 1940s.¹⁴⁰ Grand jury reports on the Cheltenham facility did not take a positive turn until the 1950s.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ Coole, "Survey Shows Cheltenham Far Behind Md. Training School."

¹³⁹ "Cheltenham Boys Now Work on State Road"; Crooks, "Dr. Cooks Says Hanover School Tops Cheltenham."

¹⁴⁰ Coole, "Survey Shows Cheltenham Far Behind Md. Training School"; "Citizens' Group Points to Inequalities at Cheltenham."

¹⁴¹ Melville, "GRAND JURY REPORTS: BALTIMORE CITY (Part II)."

PART III: THE COST OF SEGREGATION

Funding disparities

Financial support for the House of Reformation came from public dollars; a third of funding came from the state of Maryland while two-thirds came from Baltimore City.¹⁴² Financial support for the House of Refuge (1855-1910) and Maryland School for Boys (1910-1918) came from the state and Baltimore City in roughly equal proportion. The ratio between state and local funding correlates to how each institution primarily served Baltimore. Youth from Baltimore outpaced those living elsewhere in the state in terms of committal rates, based on data from years 1935 to 1940.¹⁴³

Below is a comparison of state funds appropriated to the House of Reformation and its whites-only counterpart in selected years.

Comparison of state funds appropriated to segregated reformatories¹⁴⁴		
	House of Reformation for Colored Boys	Maryland (Training) School for Boys
1905 ¹⁴⁵	\$15,000 (\$522,862.50 in 2024)	\$20,000 (\$709,845.45 in 2024)
1913 ¹⁴⁶	\$10,000 (\$309,844.44 in 2024)	\$20,000 (\$619,688.89 in 2024)
1914 ¹⁴⁷	\$10,000 (\$306,746 in 2024)	\$20,000 (\$613,492 in 2024)
1915 ¹⁴⁸	\$15,000 (\$455,563.37 in 2024)	\$20,000 (\$607,417.82 in 2024)
1916 ¹⁴⁹	\$15,000 (\$422,127.52 in 2024)	\$20,000 (\$562,836.70 in 2024)
1917 ¹⁵⁰	\$10,000 (\$239,645.31 in 2024)	\$20,000 (\$479,290.62 in 2024)
1918 ¹⁵¹	\$10,000 (\$203,143.05 in 2024)	\$20,000 (\$406,286.09 in 2024)
1928 ¹⁵²	\$15,000 (\$269,075.44 in 2024)	\$138,820 (\$2,535,551.36 in 2024)
1929 ¹⁵³	\$15,000 (\$269,075.44 in 2024)	\$138,820 (\$2,535,551.36 in 2024)

¹⁴² Melville.

¹⁴³ Mayernick, "Segregated Young Men's Reformatories in Maryland during the Great Depression."

¹⁴⁴ The 2024 figures come from Ian Webster's inflation calculator: <https://www.in2013dollars.com/>

¹⁴⁵ Maryland State Archives, *Maryland Manual 1904*.

¹⁴⁶ Maryland State Archives, *Maryland Manual, 1912-1913*.

¹⁴⁷ Maryland State Archives.

¹⁴⁸ Maryland State Archives, *Maryland Manual, 1914-1915*.

¹⁴⁹ Maryland State Archives.

¹⁵⁰ Maryland State Archives, *Maryland Manual, 1916-1917*.

¹⁵¹ Maryland State Archives.

¹⁵² Maryland State Archives, *Maryland Manual 1928*.

¹⁵³ Maryland State Archives.

The significant discrepancy in state funding in 1928 and 1929 is largely attributable to the difference in public/private status between the two reformatories at the time. While both the House of Reformation and the School for Boys began as privately operated facilities, the latter institution became publicly operated and renamed the Maryland Training School for Boys in 1918—two decades *before* its Black counterpart.¹⁵⁴ However, the data clearly shows that funding inequities existed before the Loch Raven facility became a public institution. Reports submitted to the General Assembly show that the whites-only reformatory received greater state appropriations than its Black counterpart since at least 1878.¹⁵⁵

In addition to unequal state funding, the segregated reformatories received differential allocations at the local level. Late 19th century reports to the Baltimore City Council show that the House of Reformation continuously received smaller allocations than their whites-only counterpart. For example, the city appropriated \$10,000 (\$316,232.99 in 2024) to the House of Reformation in 1885, which is half of what was allocated to the House of Refuge (1850-1910), the predecessor to the Maryland Training School for Boys.¹⁵⁶

Funding inequalities cannot be explained by the facilities' population sizes. The Loch Raven facility was legally mandated to detain *at least* 250 boys per year, and it had the capacity of 350.¹⁵⁷ The rated capacity of the House of Reformation was 330.¹⁵⁸ News articles, grand jury reports, and the Board of Managers' own reports show that the House of Reformation was routinely overcrowded after 1914, occasionally having upwards of 400 Black youth.¹⁵⁹ By contrast, reports between 1932 and 1936 described the Training School as having *reduced* its youth population to avoid overcrowding, which resulted in delinquent youth being placed on a wait list.¹⁶⁰ The historic funding disparities between these two reform schools represents a broader trend of inequity among segregated reform schools in the South: "Physically separate institutions were the norm, with construction, funding, and programming typically privileging white youths."¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁴ Chapter 300, Acts of 1918.

¹⁵⁵ "Report of the Comptroller of the Treasury."

¹⁵⁶ *Reports of the City Officers and Departments Made to the City Council of Baltimore, ...*

¹⁵⁷ Maryland Training School for Boys, *65th Report of the Board of Managers*.

¹⁵⁸ Melville, "GRAND JURY REPORTS: BALTIMORE CITY (Part II)."

¹⁵⁹ "Ex-Cheltenham Teacher Tells All: Inside Story of the Worst Reform School for Boys in the Entire U.S.;" House of Reformation for Colored Boys, *Biennial Report of the Board of Managers*, 1915; House of Reformation for Colored Boys, *Biennial Report of the Board of Managers*, 1917; Maryland Training School for Boys, *65th Report of the Board of Managers*.

¹⁶⁰ "Grand Jury Report, 1935-01"; "Grand Jury Report, 1936-01."

¹⁶¹ Ward, *The Black Child-Savers*.

Desegregation of Maryland's youth justice system: State Board of Public Welfare v. Myers (1961)

Pressure to desegregate Maryland's youth justice system can be found as early as 1957. The Baltimore Criminal Justice Commission recommended that Boys' Village (formerly the House of Reformation) and the Maryland Training School for Boys integrate so that each institution can "concentrate more on special programs for specific age groups."¹⁶² The call for integration accompanied several other recommendations made to address the rise in youth crime and overcrowding at both facilities.

On February 26, 1960, Robert Myers, a thirteen-year-old Black boy, sued the State Board of Public Welfare and the four reform schools under the Board's authority in the Baltimore City Circuit Court. His complaint challenged the constitutionality of Article 27, Sections 657 and 659 of the 1957 Maryland Code, which established Boys' Village and Maryland Training School for Boys as institutions for the care and reformation of "colored male minors" and "white male minors" respectively. Robert had been admitted to Boys' Village in 1959, and his attorney Tucker Dearing moved to have him transferred to the Training School. Lawyers from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) joined the suit.¹⁶³ Juanita Jackson Mitchell, the first Black woman to practice law in the state of Maryland, litigated the plaintiff's case alongside Dearing, with support from legal titans Thurgood Marshall and Jack Greenberg.

The NAACP argued that the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) applied to public reform schools and that Maryland's system of *de jure* segregation violated the 14th Amendment's Equal Protection Clause. The lawyers representing the State, Assistant Attorney General Robert C. Murphy and Attorney General C. Ferdinand Sybert, argued that the Training School and other facilities for delinquent youth were analogous to penal institutions; thus, *Brown's* desegregation mandate was inapplicable.¹⁶⁴ The State argued this despite the fact that even Maryland's *adult* prisons have never been racially segregated.¹⁶⁵

On July 6, 1960, the Circuit Court ruled in Robert's favor, declaring segregation unconstitutional. The Court issued an injunction prohibiting the defendants from denying admission or transfer to the Training School to Robert and other Black youth. The State Board of

¹⁶² "Crime Study Unit Warns of Juvenile Problem Rise."

¹⁶³ "Negroes Sue Maryland on Racial Commitment."

¹⁶⁴ Robert C. Murphy became Attorney General in 1966, and later served as a jurist on the Maryland appellate courts. He ended his judicial career as the Chief Judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals (1972-1996). Shortly after the State filed for its appeal, Attorney General Sybert was appointed to serve on the Maryland Court of Appeals (1961-1965).

¹⁶⁵ State Board of Public Welfare, et al. v. Robert Myers, Minor, 224 Md. Judge William Henderson, who delivered the opinion in the appeals case, stated, "as the trial court pointed out in the instant case, our prisons have never been segregated."

Public Welfare appealed to the Maryland Court of Appeals (now the Maryland Supreme Court). On February 7, 1961, Maryland's high court upheld the lower court's ruling and ordered the Training School to integrate. Both reform schools for boys began admitting youth of different races in July 1961.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ The Montrose School for Girls and Barrett School for Colored Girls were named as defendants in the original lawsuit that the NAACP filed. However, they were removed from the case because Robert Myers lacked standing to sue them. The logic is as follows: Robert would have been denied admission to either school anyway on the basis of gender, and he was specifically seeking relief for racial discrimination. That being said, a year following the high court's ruling, the Barrett School closed and black girls were admitted to the Montrose School. Thus, *de jure* racial segregation in Maryland's youth justice system was completely eradicated in 1962.

APPENDIX A: HICKEY

Names of leadership

The following individuals served in leadership at the House of Refuge, Maryland School for Boys, or Maryland Training School for Boys. Their names were included in various articles covering scandals at the reformatory.

- Colonel James A. Pratt (Superintendent, 1932)
- Leon C. Faulkner (Superintendent, 1919)
- J.W. Hendrix (Superintendent, 1904)
- R.J. Kirkwood (Superintendent, 1882)
- Harry K. Smith (Chief Parole Officer, 1921)

Names of committed youth (63 total)

The following names were taken from a May 1894 *Baltimore Sun* article documenting a mass escape attempt by six youths:¹⁶⁷

- Harry Hoffman
- Herman C Lee
- Frank McCracken
- Charles Ruhman
- Henry Watts
- J.J. Wescott

The following names were taken from an August 1894 *Baltimore Sun* article documenting a mass escape attempt by eight youths:¹⁶⁸

- James L. Beatty
- Charles S. Holmes
- Michael Jarrio
- Nathan Klaman
- Herman C. Lee (2nd escape attempt)
- Clarence McCubbin
- Albert Nugent
- Harry G. Watts

The following names were taken from an 1897 *Baltimore Sun* article documenting a mass escape attempt by eighteen youths:¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ “House of Refuge Boys Recaptured.”

¹⁶⁸ “Nine House of Refuge Boys Escape.”

¹⁶⁹ “Escaped House of Refuge Boys Caught.”

- William Clark
- Otto Gesselle
- Abraham Goldstein
- Charles Hill
- Frank Hood
- Thomas Rowe
- Frederick Schinlotz
- John L. Smith
- George Stainer
- James Stewart
- Charles Sunstron
- Michael Vogel
- Charles Watts
- Louis Weisenborn
- Clarence Williar
- John Woods
- Frank Woods
- Richard Zimmerman

The following names were taken from a 1902 *Baltimore Sun* article documenting the arrests and sentencing of two youths:¹⁷⁰

- Joseph Levin
- Louis Levin

The following name was taken from a 1919 letter to *Baltimore Sun* written by George Douglass concerning allegations of abuse at the Training School:¹⁷¹

- William T. Douglass

The following names were taken from a 1919 *Evening Sun* article documenting a mass escape attempt by seven youths:¹⁷²

- Arthur Barth
- Arthur Brown
- George Crist
- Elmer German
- Carroll Kelbaugh
- Christopher C. Morgan
- John Worley

¹⁷⁰ “Sent to the House of Refuge.”

¹⁷¹ “Superintendent Faulkner Invites Investigation.”

¹⁷² “Nine Youths Escape From Institutions.”

The following names were taken from a 1922 *Baltimore Sun* article documenting a mass escape attempt by ten youths:¹⁷³

- Abraham Brager
- Frank Dickerson
- Harry Handleman
- Roland Harris
- Carroll McCready
- Frank Mobley
- George Schaffer
- Vinton Stinchcomb
- J. Carlton Spring (also featured in 1919 Annual Report)
- David Walman

The following names were taken from a 1922 *Baltimore Sun* article documenting a mass escape attempt by three youths:¹⁷⁴

- Elmer Bleimberger (known as “Slippery Eel”)
- George Erwin
- Arthur Fraiten

The following name was taken from a 1925 *Baltimore Sun* article documenting the death of an escaped youth:¹⁷⁵

- John Mohl

The following names were taken from a 1931 *Evening Sun* article documenting a mass escape attempt by seven youths:¹⁷⁶

- Frank Bonsal
- Arthur Burton
- Edmund Evely
- Austin Harper
- James Hutchinson
- Melvin Sherrick
- David Weiner

¹⁷³ “7 Slide Down Sheet Rope.”

¹⁷⁴ “Used Sheets As Rope.”

¹⁷⁵ “Training School Fugitive Dies in Florida Hospital.”

¹⁷⁶ “Seven Youths Escape At Training School.”

APPENDIX B: CHELTENHAM

Names of staff and leadership

The following individuals worked at the House of Reformation, served on the Board of Managers, or served on the Executive Committee before the facility came under state control. Their names were included in various articles covering scandals at the reformatory.

- Thomas J. Shryock (President of the Board of Managers)
- Robert F. Roberts (President of the Board of Managers)
- John J. Janney (Secretary of the Board of Managers)
- Rev. George Freeman Bragg (Black Board member)
- John L. Berry (Black Board member)
- Joseph P. Evans (Black Board member)
- Nathan Thompson (white superintendent)
- John W. Mitchell and his unnamed wife (Black employees, jobs unknown)
- Benjamin B. Sunderland (white superintendent)
- John B. Pyles (white superintendent)
- Harry Carroll (job unknown)
- Harry Washington (Black farm overseer)
- Raymond Hobson (Black ex-teacher)
- Ellis Dean (Black principal)
- Carl Pfingsk (white tailor)
- Maud P. Bell (job unknown)
- Thomas Jowanowich (job unknown)

Names of committed youth (49 total)

The following names were taken from letters written by committed youth.¹⁷⁷ Some of the youth wrote after they returned home, so the year in parentheses represents the year the letter was sent, not necessarily when they were committed to the House of Reformation.

- James Atkinson (1911)
- Robert Epps (1910)
- Edward Richard Frazier (1912)
- William Grimes (1911)
- Melvin Hawkins (1907)

¹⁷⁷ House of Reformation for Colored Boys, *28th Report of the Board of Managers*; House of Reformation for Colored Boys, *Biennial Report of the Board of Managers*, 1909; House of Reformation for Colored Boys, *Biennial Report of the Board of Managers*, 1917; House of Reformation for Colored Boys, *Biennial Report of the Board of Managers*, 1911; House of Reformation for Colored Boys, *Biennial Report of the Board of Managers*, 1913.

- A. Johnson Holland (1912)
- Lewis Jones (1917)
- Leonard Morris (1913)
- Paul Soopence (1911)
- Claude Spellman
- Howard N Walker (1911)
- William Wesley (1909)

The following names were taken from multiple issues of *The Baltimore Sun*, including *The Evening Sun*.¹⁷⁸

- George Johnson (1890)
- John P. Williams (1890)
- George Conquest (1918)
- Raymond Stewart (1919)
- Norman Waters (1933)
- Walter Thomas (1938)
- Luther Walker

The following names were taken from a January 1925 issue of *The Afro-American*, which published a letter to the editor written by a committed youth.¹⁷⁹

- William M. Creasy
- John L. Baker (died in custody)

The following names were taken from a March 1931 issue of *The Afro-American*; these boys were arrested and charged for setting fire to the House of Reformation's broom factory on March 10, 1931.¹⁸⁰

- Granville Haskill
- George Johnson
- Thomas Deshields

¹⁷⁸ "Proceedings of the Courts"; "Stole Paper; Sent to Reformatory"; "Held as Sunpaper Thief"; "Suspect Is Captured After Officer Fires"; "HOSE FLOGGING OF BOY INMATES NOT 'UNUSUAL.'"

¹⁷⁹ "Boys Clubbed In Cheltenham Say Inmates."

¹⁸⁰ "Boys Set Fire to Cheltenham."

The following names were taken from a September 1934 issue of *The Afro-American*.¹⁸¹

- Louis Waters
- Albert Day
- Vernon Carroll
- Charles Thomas

The following names were taken from a January 1939 issue of *The Washington Afro-American*; all the boys were committed before the state took over facility operations.¹⁸²

- Fred Ames
- Harry Brown (escaped, reported in 1934)
- Aubrey Bronson
- John Butler (escaped, reported Sept. 25, 1926)
- George Clark
- M. Clark (escaped, reported Sept. 25, 1926)
- Andrew Elliott
- Emory Hyson (escaped, reported in 1936)
- Alonzo Jackson
- William Wiggins

The following names were taken from a December 1940 issue of *The Afro-American*. All named youth were charged for riotous assembly and assault on a white cottage master at Cheltenham; all but one were sentenced to at least 3 months in adult jail.¹⁸³

- William Brooks
- Daniel Brown
- George Crawford
- William Gardner
- Benjamin Hardy
- Charles Jackson
- George Johns
- Charles Jordan
- Charles Noland
- Henry Solomon
- Jesse Wells (acquitted, Ancestry.com)

¹⁸¹ “Brutal Beating Laid to Guards at Cheltenham”; “Three More Boys for Cheltenham.”

¹⁸² “Ex-Cheltenham Teacher Tells All: Inside Story of the Worst Reform School for Boys in the Entire U.S.”

¹⁸³ “8 Cheltenham Boys Get 3 to 9 Months, 1 Freed.”

Table of Appropriations

The Annual Appropriations made for current expenses by the State and the City of Baltimore, and the number of boys present at the end of each year since the Institution started, are shown by the following table:

Appropriations by the State and by the City of Baltimore			Inmates
For the Year	By the State	By the City	
1874	\$10,000	\$10,000	128
1875	10,000	5,000	167
1876	10,000	20,000	186
1877	10,000	20,000	208
1878	7,500	15,000	..
1879	8,000	15,000	177
1880	8,000	15,000	..
1881	10,000	15,000	203
1882	10,000	15,000	..
1883	10,000	12,000	222
1884	10,000	10,000	..
1885	10,000	10,000	248
1886	10,000	10,000	..
1887	10,000	10,000	253
1888	10,000	10,000	..
1889	10,000	10,000	270
1890	10,000	10,000	..
1891	10,000	12,000	274
1892	10,000	12,000	..
1893	10,000	12,000	272
1894	10,000	12,000	..
1895	10,000	12,000	285
1896	10,000	12,000	315
1897	10,000	12,000	296
1898	10,000	12,000	255
1899	10,000	12,000	263
1900	10,000	12,000	261
1901	10,000	6,000	239
1902	10,000	6,000	191
..	..	*3,000	..
1903	10,000	8,500	182
1904	15,000	15,000	249
1905	10,000	19,280	260
1906	15,000	19,600	241
1907	15,000	19,840	270
1908	15,000	19,520	306
1909	15,000	23,600	289
1910	10,000	23,200	317
1911	10,000	24,000	287
1912	10,000	26,080	313
1913	10,000	27,520	325
1914	10,000	26,400	330
1915	15,000	26,400	346
1916	15,000	26,400	343
1917	10,000	25,120	355

*Special Appropriation made by the Board of Estimates.



Photo taken by Crystal Foretia: Headstone in Section 1, Boys' Village of Maryland Cemetery, Cheltenham (October 2024)



Photo taken by Crystal Foretia: Cinder block in Section 2, Boys' Village of Maryland Cemetery, Cheltenham (October 2024)

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