



## South Carolina's black colleges : a strategy for survival.

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SOUTH CAROLINA'S BLACK COLLEGES:

A STRATEGY FOR SURVIVAL

A Dissertation Presented

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## INTRODUCTION

Among the total of about twenty-two hundred institutions of higher education in America, less than one hundred thirty can be termed black colleges.<sup>1</sup> Black colleges are presently engaged in a struggle for survival and all of them are vital to black America.

These colleges were originally set up to educate the newly freed slaves over a century ago and they continue to serve the special needs of black people.<sup>2</sup>

As Kenneth Clark stated in an address at Howard University:

Our great academically revered American universities and colleges have remained eloquently silent on obvious and elementary issues of social and racial justice in America. Therefore, just as the civil rights movement was born in the black colleges, the survival of the black community will, to a large extent, depend on the survival and prosperity of the black colleges.<sup>3</sup>

Many educators are presently engaged in a debate on whether or not black colleges should exist at all. Not only should they exist, but black colleges should be

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<sup>1</sup>Rufus E. Clement, "Historical Development of Higher Education for Negro Americans," Journal of Negro Education, 35 (1966), p. 299.

<sup>2</sup>K. B. Clark, "Higher Education for Negroes: Challenges and Prospects, With A Discussion," Journal of Negro Education, 36 (1967), pp. 198-199.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, p. 199.

upgraded and improved because of the important role that they play in society. Black institutions enroll about 160,000 students, slightly over one third of all black students attending college in the United States.<sup>4</sup>

In this dissertation the writer will attempt a model study of black colleges in the state of South Carolina in order to determine their status in the state, the ramifications of the loss of these institutions and what strategy is necessary for survival. The study will assess the black colleges in South Carolina in terms of their total value to the people of the state. It will also discuss the alternative strategies for survival.

Chapter I will review current literature on the status of black colleges in general. It will discuss the forces that brought the colleges to their present situation and why they are worth saving.

Chapter II will treat the colleges of South Carolina individually. It will be an in depth look at the history of black education in South Carolina.

Chapter III will deal with the "mood" of the students in the 1950's and 1960's. It will cover the civil rights movement in South Carolina and the giant step by the students to a movement in the direction of human rights.

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<sup>4</sup>Grolier Incorporated, Encyclopedia Year Book, (1972), p. 176.

Chapter IV will show the importance of each college to its surrounding community. This chapter will look at the educational roles these colleges play in the state. However, the main focus will be on the services that the schools provide for the students and the community.

The alternative solutions to problems of survival is the subject of the final chapter. The avenues of assistance are few. This chapter will explore the alternatives open to South Carolina's black schools and black colleges in general.

This study is necessary to prove that black education is indispensable to the finer growth of the state.

## CHAPTER I

### A REVIEW OF THE STATUS OF BLACK COLLEGES

Once black institutions produced most of the black professionals who, in turn, served black America. Because American society offered little or no educational opportunities for blacks, it was out of a necessity for black Americans that black institutions were born. The separate and unequal colleges established for blacks in the South have served over 100 years. Now they are dying a fast death. Their passing will have drastic and colossal effects on the black community and America in general.

The need for black institutions is greater than ever. The survival struggle these institutions now face is also unprecedented. "A valuable sector of U.S. higher education is now threatened by a financial squeeze and a perverse consequence of racial progress" says Ernest Holsendolph. That racial progress could have such negative side effects was a problem foreseen long ago but those setting the priorities for the civil rights movement had to gamble on the institutions that bore them.<sup>1</sup>

Though the financial squeeze is a major survival issue faced by the black colleges, certain demands, as

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<sup>1</sup>Ernest Holsendolph, "Black Colleges Are Worth Saving," Fortune, October 1971, p. 165.

outlined by A. Philip Randolph in 1942 have to be dealt with by these institutions. Mr. Randolph, heading the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, proposed a march on Washington D. C. While the march never materialized due to President Roosevelt's decision to take positive action, the following demands were outlined:

1. We demand, in the interest of national unity, abrogation of every law which makes a distinction in treatment between citizens based on religion, creed, or color or national origin. This means an end to Jim Crow in education, in housing, in transportation and in every other social, economic and political privilege; and especially, we demand, in the capital of the nation, an end to all segregation in public places and in public institutions.
2. We demand legislation to enforce the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments guaranteeing that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, so that the full weight of the national government may be used for the protection of life and thereby may end the disgrace of lynching.
3. We demand the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and the enactment of the Pepper Poll-Tax bill so that all barriers in the exercise of the suffrage are eliminated.
4. We demand the abolition of segregation and discrimination in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Corps and all other branches of national defense.
5. We demand an end to discrimination in jobs and job training. Further, we demand that the Fair Employment Practices Commission be made a permanent administrative agency of the U.S. Government and that it be given power to enforce its decisions based on its findings.

6. We demand that federal funds be withheld from any agency which practices discrimination in the use of such funds.
7. We demand colored and minority group representation on all administrative agencies so that these groups may have recognition of their democratic right to participate in formulating policies.
8. We demand representation for the colored and minority racial groups on all missions, political and technical, which will be sent to the peace conference so that the interests of all people everywhere may be fully recognized and justly provided for in the postwar settlement.<sup>2</sup>

these demands were the priorities for all of black America and they have changed little from 1942 to the present. Only the interpretation of them has changed. Black organizations from the NAACP to the Black Panthers still have these demands as basic priorities. It is paradoxical that as these priorities are being met, the future of the institutions that led the fight for black equality is as bleak as a forgotten graveyard.

White educators, philanthropists, state and federal government officials debate the desirability of perpetuating black colleges. White colleges have met their quotas of black students while the poverty program has built as absurd dream in its Upward Bound Program for blacks who will seek higher education and have it denied to them in the name of "racial progress."

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<sup>2</sup>Milton Meltzer, ed., In Their Own Words: A History of the American Negro, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1967), pp. 164-165.

"America has been committed in principle, to universal access to higher education for some time," says James Cheek in the forward to Minority Access to College.<sup>3</sup> But principle and reality (at least for non-whites) have been miles apart. The decades of the 1960's saw serious implementation begin, but the decade of the 1970's is another matter, a matter to be taken with serious questioning in this study. "Black higher education in comparison to white higher education suffers from inequity of quality and quantity." Black higher education has from its inception suffered from economic deprivation. Even so, a record of service to the community stands as a testament to the worth and potential of black colleges. Eighty per cent of all black college students were educated at black institutions. Seventy-five per cent of all the black Ph.D.'s did their undergraduate work at black colleges. Black America would have little health care without Meharry and Howard Medical Schools, little record of its history and art without Fisk and Atlanta University, very few teachers and other professors without its hundred odd colleges that have struggled over the past century. The question is, will those colleges last another century or even a quarter of a century?"<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Fred Crossland, "Foreword" James Cheek, Minority Access to College, (New York: Shocken Books, 1971), p. vii.

<sup>4</sup>Frank E. Emerson, "The Black Colleges Are Our Institutions," Encore, Sept. 1972, p. 28.

According to Ernest Holsendolph in an article called "Black Colleges Are Worth Saving," the traditional black institutions, particularly the private ones...are in serious trouble, and the continued existence of many of them is in doubt. "It is paradoxical," he says, "that this threat arises at a time when a rapidly increasing number of blacks are seeking higher education."<sup>5</sup>

Why are black colleges dying? Why are they worth saving? What must be done for them to survive? These are the questions this study is aimed at. There are, however, limitations to a study this broad. Therefore only a segment of the black colleges will be dealt with. A few generalizations will apply to the larger body of black colleges, but it is the intent of this study to show that each black college is unique in function within its community and unique in service to the type of black student it appeals to.

One black student has said, "I don't think white schools are really geared to accommodating black students yet. There's nothing like a black college for a black student. I really love it."<sup>6</sup> Certainly this student's feelings are shared by thousands of black students. "We can't afford to lose one college...Once they go, we all lose."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Holsendolph, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup>Emerson, p. 30.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid, p. 30.

The specific reasons for the present state of black colleges are many. The reasons given the public are often intentional misinterpretations of the truth and the law. The public colleges are most affected by what might be called racist manifestations of semantics. The "separate but equal" farce did its damage but the 1954 decision is also having damaging effects. That decision which said separate schools are 'inherently' unequal did not imply or advise merging black colleges with their white counterparts for the sake of integration. Merger in itself might not be a bad idea but two things stand out:

1. Merger is not achieving a balanced integration and
2. Merger "is a state tool which some legislatures are wielding, or attempting to wield in a scramble to tighten state budgets" -- not to achieve integration.<sup>8</sup>

There are thirty-five black public colleges in the U.S. Their white enrollments range from one to eighty per cent (See Appendix A). Their faculties are becoming less black everyday and their boards of trustees have never been black. Annexation has essentially abolished Maryland State College, Lincoln University in Missouri, Bluefield State and West Virginia State. In less than ten years these schools have gone from predominantly black to predominantly white institutions. Hurray for integration!

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<sup>8</sup>Jack Slater, "Is the Black Public College Dying?", Ebony, Oct. 1972, pp. 92-93.

So what if a significant number of the black students who would have gone to these schools can't go. After all, how else can there be compliance with Title Four of the 1964 Civil Rights Act?

Approximately eighty-five black private colleges exist. Their continued existence poses a philosophical question for interested intellectuals and philanthropists. These schools were founded in a time of racial inequity. Now, history has by-passed them. They are remnants of white institutional racism. Today they are victims of inflation. They must compete with white schools that have better facilities, more financial aid, higher faculty salaries and broader courses of study. Even so, there are important reasons for saving them:

1. They produce the majority of the nation's black doctors, lawyers, teachers, and community workers.
2. The black colleges are the archives of black history and culture. They nurture black scholars.
3. Black colleges are better suited to meet the needs of black students from rural areas and city ghettos whose psychological adjustment is not addressed properly at white schools.
4. More than fifty of these schools are tied to black churches. Will the black church lose part of its identity too?<sup>9</sup>
5. Approximately fifty-five thousand black students are enrolled in private black institutions. They won't be absorbed into white institutions, many of which have unpublished

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<sup>9</sup>Holsendolph, p. 4.

quotas for black students. Where will they go if the private black institutions die? Where will the ninety-five thousand black students in black public colleges go when their schools have integrated them out?

A unique quality of the black college is its ability to motivate the black student. The very nature of white colleges is psychologically damaging to the black student. On most predominantly white college campuses, the black student must struggle for a relevant environment. It has only been a few years since black students arrived at these "white institutions" in significant numbers. In such a short period of time, it is almost impossible for administrators, personnel workers and others already on campus to cope with the habits and arrangements that must be changed. "That the minority student must himself struggle to create the necessary change is an important aspect of his life on campus."<sup>10</sup>

The influence of culture on learning has been documented. Those familiar with the culture of their students are more adequately prepared to teach them. Nathan Wright says that instructors have to appreciate and be familiar with styles of speech, mode of dress, different

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<sup>10</sup>Robert Altman and Patricia O. Snyder, ed., The Minority Student on the Campus: Expectations and Possibilities (Boulder, Colorado: Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 1971), p. 48.

hair styles, patterns of dress and other things indigenous to the black culture. This is a necessary element for effective teaching.<sup>11</sup>

The need for black institutions is greater than ever. The 1960's brought an identity crisis to the college campus. This identity crisis, created by the radical, angry, and rebellious black student is the result of the failure of higher education, and the failure of the American Dream. Yet, at the same time the crisis may be the hope of the future.<sup>12</sup>

The black student, urged to seek higher education by black parents who saw an education as the key to "making it," has changed the entire scope of American education from Horatio Alger to community service. This places the emphasis on services for the unification of the community instead of strictly individual advancement. If the black college dies, the black community will be the first segment of society to feel the effects. When black people lose the institutions that have brought them this far, America will walk a tight rope while black youths sharpen the giant knife of inevitable rage. If by some miracle black colleges grow and prosper, the

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<sup>11</sup>Nathan Wright, Jr., ed., What Black Educators Are Saying (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1971), p. 48.

<sup>12</sup>Marilyn Hunt, "The Identity Crisis on the College Campus," Spelman Messenger, May 1969, p. 1.

positive effect of the black community will far outweigh any value placed on superficial integration.

America is a multi-ethnic society -- not a melting pot. Do we need integration or cultural pluralism? Would one ever think of Brandeis University as anything other than Jewish? Will Brandeis become fifty per cent black? No! Why should it? The college feeds the culture. If American culture is multi-ethnic then its colleges must be multi-ethnic. There is no logic in the argument that black colleges do not need to survive if America is a multi-cultural society. Even a blind person can see that we are a nation of ethnics, all asserting our own culture from our own institutions. A group of America's most valuable ethnic institutions is being killed and America can not afford to let them die. Seymour Itzkoff in Cultural Pluralism and American Education, sets forth an argument for ethnic groups having their own schools. He argues against public education because it does not reflect the pluralistic nature of our society. It does not meet the needs of most minority groups and it contributes to the alienation syndrome so common in our society.<sup>13</sup> Itzkoff, does not acknowledge the fact that public as

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<sup>13</sup>Seymour Itzkoff, Cultural Pluralism and American Education, (Scranton, Pa.: International Textbook Co., 1969), p. 126.

well as private institutions are fastly becoming more multi-cultural in nature. Even so there is a greater issue involved. There are three ethnic groups of people in this country who find themselves in a more precarious position than other groups. These groups are blacks, American Indians and Hispanic peoples. They have high visibility and economic deprivation. High visibility will undermine their chances of attaining anything in the larger society. Economic deprivation will necessitate that they concentrate on developing their own communities. For blacks, the only one of the three groups who have their colleges, the question is not should their schools survive? The question is, however, how shall they survive?

How shall black colleges survive? They began in a state of emergency after the Civil War and a century later find themselves still in a state of emergency. The question is broad and complex. Clearly, all of the black colleges cannot survive. Many black junior colleges have been born and buried unheard of by the blacks who might have attended them. The state of South Carolina had five such institutions. (See Table 1:1). Merger will probably benefit some black schools. The point is, each black school is unique in its services to black students and to the black community. This study will be a microscopic view of the problem. The black colleges in South

TABLE I:I

NON-EXISTING INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING  
IN SOUTH CAROLINA

<u>NAME OF INSTITUTION</u>	<u>DATE OF EXISTENCE</u>
Avery Normal Institute	1865-1946
Brainerd Institute	1868-1941
Brewer Normal, Industrial, and Agricultural Institute	1872-1928
Coulter Memorial Academy	1881-1947
Seneca Junior College	1898-1939

## Source:

Lewis K. McMillan, Negro Higher Education in the State of South Carolina, Orangeburg, South Carolina, 1952.

Carolina are particularly suited for this study. Firstly, "South Carolina has done less than any other southern state to provide higher educational opportunities for blacks, even on a separate basis."<sup>14</sup>

Secondly, South Carolina has five black private colleges and only one black state-supported school. Therefore, blacks in this state are largely dependent on schools which are operating on large deficits. (See Table 1:2). The one state school was the site of a racial strife in 1968 which left three students dead and twenty-seven wounded at the hands of white troopers. Needless to say, that institution has been shown how "black" the whites controlling it will allow it to be.

Even though higher education in South Carolina reveals many inequities, the system has been studied less than higher education in many other states. South Carolina has historically spent approximately ten times as much money to educate each white child as it has to educate each black child.<sup>15</sup> Paradoxically, blacks in South Carolina increased their literacy one and one half times by 1930 due to black private schools.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Jack Nelson and Jack Bass, The Orangeburg Massacre (New York: World Publishing Co., 1970), p. 4.

<sup>15</sup>Henry Allen Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South From 1619 to the Present, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 172-173.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 181.

TABLE 1:2  
 THE MONEY DRAIN AT PRIVATE  
 BLACK COLLEGES IN SOUTH CAROLINA

<u>NAME OF INSTITUTION</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>*DEFICIT (\$thousand)</u>
Benedict College	Columbia, S.C.	-257
Claflin College	Orangeburg, S.C.	-39
Voorhees College	Denmark, S.C.	-200
Allen University	Columbia, S.C.	ng
S.C. State College	Orangeburg, S.C.	ng
Morris College	Sumter, S.C.	-40

\* Estimate for academic year 1970-1971

ng = not given

Source:

Ernest Holsendolph "Black Colleges Are Worth Saving,"  
Fortune, Oct. 1971.

Finally, South Carolina has the largest amount of black students going out of state to college, even though the black institutions enroll eighty-eight per cent of their students from the state.<sup>17</sup>

South Carolina's need for black colleges is an emergency!

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<sup>17</sup>Nelson and Bass, p. 4.

CHAPTER II  
THE HISTORY OF BLACK EDUCATION  
IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Contrary to what many think, black culture, and the institutions therein are closely knit and very much dependent on one another. The black church is the key to black culture in America. It is a major reason why blacks were able to survive what lot has fallen to them from slavery to the present. In a large sense, out of black religion has come everything blacks have accomplished in America, from music to revolution. Most of the first educational efforts of blacks were also an outgrowth of church and religion. It is probably no mistake that efforts by whites to educate blacks had a religious nature.

It was the belief of some whites in the early 18th century that education was necessary for one to be a Christian. Of course, there was no question that it was necessary for slaves to become Christians since the opposite of Christianity was barbarism, which was synonymous with sinfulness. In 1701 The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was organized

in London. The missionaries in this organization wanted to help the Indians and slaves in the American colonies.<sup>1</sup>

Reverend Samuel Thomas began teaching slaves at the Goose Creek Parish around 1695. Ten years later, twenty of his pupils could read and write. Several people took up Thomas' work. Reverend Alexander Garden enrolled forty students in a school in 1743. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts had an interesting plan for its educational effort. This organization planned to purchase and educate two black men so that they could serve as schoolmasters to other blacks. Reverend Mr. Garden, the missionary who directed the training, also erected a building in Charleston, South Carolina in which the training was to take place. In 1744, the "school" had about sixty young students and a good daily attendance for a number of years. The plan of the directors was to send out thirty or forty youths each year, who were well instructed in religion and capable of reading the Bible, to diffuse the same knowledge to their fellow slaves. This plan proved to be rather effective because the progress of black

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<sup>1</sup>Asa H. Gordon, Sketches of Negro Life and History in South Carolina (Columbia, S. C.: University of S. C. Press, 1971), p. 82.

education was spreading rapidly. As a result, South Carolina enacted a law "prohibiting any person from teaching or causing a slave to be taught, or from employing or using a slave as a scribe in any manner of writing."<sup>2</sup>

While educational efforts were being spread across South Carolina, black education in Charleston was so advanced that Reverend Thomas Frost suggested the formation of an organization with the basic function of maintaining schools for black children.<sup>3</sup> However, the insurrection of Denmark Vessey in 1822 crippled the educational progress of both free blacks and slaves. After 1822, additional laws prohibiting the education of blacks were passed in South Carolina. In 1835 the following law was passed:

An act to amend the law relating to Slaves and Free persons of Color. -Be it enacted by the Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives now met and sitting in General Assembly, and by the authority of the same. If any person shall hereafter teach any slave to read or write, or cause or procure any slave to read or write, such person if a free white person upon conviction thereof shall for each and every offense against this act be fined not exceeding One Hundred Dollars and imprisoned not more than six months; or if a free person of color shall be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes, and fined not exceeding fifty lashes, and fined

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 84.

not exceeding Fifty Dollars, at the discretion of the Court of Magistrates and Freeholders before which such person of color is tried; and if a slave to be whipped at the discretion of the court; not exceeding fifty lashes; the informer to be entitled to one half of the fine and to be competent witness. And if any free person of color or slave shall keep any school or other place of instruction for teaching any slave or free person of color to read or write, such free person of color or slave shall be liable to the same fine and corporal punishment as are by this act imposed and inflicted upon free persons of color and slaves for teaching slaves to read or write.<sup>4</sup>

Even this law did not stop blacks from getting an education. The churches took an active part in black education, especially the Episcopal Church. Sunday school classes were held for white and black students separately, but they were taught by the same teachers. Around 1840, the Diocese of South Carolina even opened a special school strictly for this purpose.<sup>5</sup>

The Civil War caused a change in the educational arena. Federal armies soon found themselves burdened as well as helped by the fugitive slaves. General Sherman recognized the need for education in a general order he issued in 1862. In the order he said the following:

The helpless condition of the blacks inhabiting the vast area in the occupation of the forces of this command, call for

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>5</sup>C. W. Birnie, "Education of the Negro in Charleston, South Carolina Before the Civil War," Journal of Negro History, 12, (1927), p. 11.

immediate action on the part of highly favored and philanthropic people...Hordes of totally uneducated, ignorant and improvident blacks have been abandoned by their constitutional guardians, not only to all the future chances of anarchy and starvation, but in such a state of abject ignorance and mental stolidity as to preclude all possibility of self-government and self-maintenance in their present condition...To relieve the Government of a burden that may hereafter become insupportable...a suitable system of culture and instruction must be combined with one providing for their physical wants. In the meantime...the service of competent instructors will be received whose duties will consist in teaching them, both young and old, the rudiments of civilization and Christianity.<sup>6</sup>

These efforts sound perhaps totally initiated by Whites. However, this was not the case. Many free blacks in the North helped to finance many educational efforts. Even black leaders, like Frederick Douglass, used their influence to push the movement forward. Free blacks in South Carolina in whose behalf the effort was being made, did their part by responding with great enthusiasm. The educational effort at Port Royal attracted national and international attention and became known as the "Port Royal Experiment."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Luther Jackson, "The Educational Efforts of the Freedman's Bureau and Freedman's Aid Societies in South Carolina," Journal of Negro History, 8, (1927), 5-6.

<sup>7</sup>Gordon, p. 89.

The Post-Civil War era brought the emergence of private institutions for blacks. These institutions were established out of the urgency of a sudden emancipation of 412,320 slaves. The entire life of antebellum South Carolina was geared to the maintenance of slavery. Therefore, it was only natural that the state did not have a system of public schools for blacks. Ironically, South Carolina had none for whites either. Even more ironical is the fact that the first public school system in the state was devised by a committee under the chairmanship of a black man, F. L. Cardoza, in the Constitutional Convention of 1868.<sup>8</sup>

As South Carolina lay prostrate from defeat, the free blacks had a zeal for education and the northern missionaries were no less zealous about giving it to them. What was accomplished through the joining of these two zeals constitutes one of the most important pages in the history of South Carolina. These emergency institutions operated in the spirit of urgency on the basis of constant stress and strain. "Those who taught and those who were taught, collectively and individually, kept their loins girded and their shoes on their feet and their staff in their hands. They lived and they worked in haste. Theirs was God's work."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Lewis K. McMillan, Negro Higher Education in the State of South Carolina (Orangeburg, S. C., 1952), p. 201.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 201-202.

An interesting educational endeavor was carried out on St. Helena Island by one of the many voluntary organizations of the North, known as The Freedmen's Aid Society or relief association. In 1862, members of the Pennsylvania Society opened the Pennsylvania School on St. Helena Island. This school was one of the oldest of its kind.<sup>10</sup>

Permanent schools run by blacks began in South Carolina in 1865. F. L. Cardoza, with the backing of the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church founded Avery Normal Institute. The Shaw Memorial Institute was another pioneer institution in black education. It was named in honor of Colonel Robert Shaw who died in the Civil War. His family regarded this institution as a suitable monument to his memory.<sup>11</sup>

By 1890, educational advances were more than commendable but illiteracy was still a great problem. "According to the eleventh census, there were a total of 470,232 colored persons of ten years and above 301,262 illiterates, while of the 332,174 whites of corresponding ages, there were 59,443 illiterates."<sup>12</sup> (See Table 2:1)

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<sup>10</sup>Alruthus A. Taylor, The Negro in South Carolina During the Reconstruction (New York: Russell and Russell, 1969), p. 83.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 105.

TABLE 2:1

## 1890 POPULATION FIGURES ON ILLITERACY

<u>AGE GROUPS</u>	<u>WHITE</u>	<u>COLORED</u>
10-14	13,157	51,548
15-19	8,135	42,441
20-24	6,461	36,694
25-34	10,517	51,763
above 34	21,173	118,723

Source:

U. S. Census Reports, 1890, Vol. II.

Private black colleges emerged and struggled with a burden much greater than any other colleges in America. They had to train students who came with a wanton elementary and secondary background. Blacks historically have had a strong faith in formal education. Bullock says that "ever since their earliest contact with the printed page, southern Negroes had maintained an almost blind confidence in schooling."<sup>13</sup> The black colleges in South Carolina were established to meet the special needs of blacks in that state. Their development bears out this point.

Between 1880 and 1908 five private black colleges and one state college were founded in South Carolina. They were founded during a time when many educational efforts were failing. Junior colleges were created and dismantled and public education was Jim Crow at its best.

Blacks were largely sharecroppers and segregation was a fact that penetrated every aspect of life. Howard Quint explains the situation bluntly in his Portrait of South Carolina. "Segregation of the races in the state has been both a manifestation of belief in racial superiority and a basic distrust of democracy."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Henry A. Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South from 1619 to the Present (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 169.

<sup>14</sup> Howard H. Quint, Profile in Black and White: A Frank Portrait of South Carolina (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1958), p. 2.

Quint also quotes the editor of the Charleston News and Courier, the State's oldest paper. In 1880 the associate editor of the paper said "that in works of art, skill, science, invention, literature, in the whole field of human enterprise, endeavor, design and discoveries, in every respect that can be named, the Negro is far behind the lowliest families of the white race."<sup>15</sup> The climate was hostile, thus making the need for higher education even more an imperative for blacks in South Carolina.

In Orangeburg, South Carolina, with the Civil War still in the minds of many in the South, a small missionary school for blacks was born in 1869. Its goal was to transform South Carolina slaves into free men. For over 200 years, slavery had been a way of life in South Carolina. Therefore, Claflin University was called upon to guide the ex-slave into ways of freedom and adjust a slaving and enslaved white South to the condition of black emancipation. "To this end was Claflin University confronted with the necessity of converting even the evangelical Methodist of the North to the conviction of the Negro's right to freedom, and indeed his capacity to attain freedom through means of intellectual and emotional cultivation."<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>16</sup>McMillan, p. 134.

Claflin University, named in honor of the Honorable Lee Claflin of Boston, the school's chief philanthropist, found a home when the buildings of a once white female college were bought by Reverend S. Webster and T. Willard Lewis. A charter was obtained on December 18, 1869. Though the school made teacher training a priority, it did much more than that. While it offered an elementary education in early years, Claflin gave the gift of literacy to many blacks. Thousands of youth and adults left the farms to learn reading and writing. Claflin actively spread the idea of self improvement through education.

The South Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College was established in 1872 by a legislative act. This college was operated in connection with Claflin University under the name of Claflin University Agricultural College and Mechanical Institute. It came under the control of the Claflin University Board of Trustees.<sup>17</sup> In its early years, Claflin was primarily an elementary and secondary school but it proudly carried the title of "University." Its early presidents were white men but in 1922 Claflin gained its first black president, Dr. J. B. Randolph. "Within the span of more than a

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<sup>17</sup>Claflin College Catalog, (1971-72), p. 10.

half-century, Claflin University had turned out 136 college graduates; on the otherhand she had sent out 982 graduates from the high school."<sup>18</sup>

Dr. Randolph retired in 1945. He was followed in office by Dr. J. J. Seabrook and Hubert V. Manning. Under these administrations, Claflin has experienced substantial and continuous growth and development.

Perhaps the most significant contribution Claflin has made historically to blacks in South Carolina has been the providing of public instruction during the time when there were virtually no public schools for blacks in the state. For 20 odd years Claflin opened her doors to all who sought elementary education. She is largely responsible for the establishment of public instruction in the central parts of the state. The teachers she provided for the segregated black schools were innumerable. Claflin did more than her part to make the ex-slave a "free man!"

#### Benedict College

A widow from Pawtucket, Rhode Island named Bathsheba A. Benedict took a small bequest from her husband, who died in a fire in 1868, and founded South Carolina's

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<sup>18</sup>McMillan, p. 121.

second black college. She and a few black and white veterans of the Civil War experience whose hopes for freedom and opportunity had all but died, built a school. The original charter pledged to mold the ex-slave into "a power for good in society." The American Baptist Home Mission Society gave assistance and encouragement and in 1870 Benedict College was born.

Benedict's first presidents were northern white Baptist preachers and teachers. It was not until, 1929 that Benedict had her first black president, Dr. J. J. Starks. He came to the college the previous eighteen years. His work at Benedict was just as remarkable.<sup>19</sup>

Benedict's original purpose was a social and cultural transformation of the black population in South Carolina. Dr. Solomon Peck, the first missionary from the Northern Baptists to work among blacks in South Carolina, along with Reverend C. H. Corey, dedicated themselves to the mission of bettering the home life of ex-slaves and enriching the worship services in their churches. Many other missionaries came to South Carolina after Dr. Peck and Reverend Corey and followed basically the same course of service. "The spirit and the program

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<sup>19</sup>Benedict College Catalog, (1971-72), p. 12.

of the early Baptist missionaries in South Carolina became the very foundation stone on which the original Benedict was built.<sup>20</sup>

Benedict's first students came mostly from humble black homes. Her faculty was made up of "lowly northern whites" who had little to offer Benedict but a desire to uplift the black race. However, Benedict did something great in its early years for the adults of the state. (A man 65 years old was Benedict's first student.) Benedict brought literacy to many thousands of adult freedmen. She was a lonely tent in no man's land. She gave the black man in his hardest day "a few essential weapons with which to fight for his existence."<sup>21</sup>

#### Allen University

The origin of Allen University is indeed unique. It was born out of a national black religious movement, that of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Between 1787-1887, African Methodism was a church movement whose mission was to lift the souther black man to independence and honor. The African Methodist Episcopal

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<sup>20</sup>McMillan, p. 103.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 112.

church led by Reverend B. W. Arnett conceived Allen in 1787. In 1880 the school was born.

The history of Allen University is rich in the tradition of training black men and women for leadership. This institution represents the dream of Daniel Alexander Payne, (1811-1893), a strong advocate of black education in the United States. He saw the need for a black controlled institution in South Carolina. Thus, the Columbia District Conference at Newberry, South Carolina purchased 150 acres of land in Cokesbury for the establishment of Payne Institute.

During Reconstruction, blacks in South Carolina as well as the South in general experienced many discouraging years. This was a period when educational efforts by blacks was discouraged and sometimes violently opposed by hostile whites. In spite of this, the deed for land and buildings was adopted and became the property of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, bearing the name of Daniel A. Payne. The school prospered for ten years under strong leadership by W. S. Crogman, B. F. Porter, J. W. Morris, W. S. Scarborough as well as people of the community. In 1880, the institution was moved to Columbia and renamed Allen University in honor of Bishop Richard Allen, the founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. The establishment of Allen

was the first effort by blacks in South Carolina to maintain an institution of higher education.

During its early years, Allen University provided education on all levels for blacks. The curriculum included courses in theology, law, and the arts as well as elementary and secondary education. "At one time, it was possible for a student to enter Allen as a mere child in the first grade and leave prepared to teach, preach, or to plead in the courts."<sup>22</sup>

Born in the black struggle, Allen has played a continuous part in the Civil Rights Movement in the state. While there have always been limitations to the quality of education Allen could provide, the small university "talked and sung education in every corner of the state." She instilled the desire to learn among blacks to the times that followed. Allen has contributed greatly to the movement of self help in education among blacks in South Carolina. She was the first major effort in that direction.<sup>23</sup>

#### South Carolina State College

The land grant colleges established for blacks in this country were conceived with the racist notion that

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<sup>22</sup>Allen University Catalog (1971-72), p. 21.

<sup>23</sup>McMillan, p. 100.

blacks should till the land and not cultivate the brain. That these schools survived throughout that stereotyped notion they were born from is remarkable in itself. South Carolina State College is a prime example of how state legislatures enacted federal laws only to the extent that they did not interfere with the status quo. The legislatures did not really care when or how this school got started, nor did they disburse funds fairly. They gave the schools odd names such as "The Colored Normal, Industrial, Agricultural and Mechanical College."

The South Carolina State College for Negroes has had the odd historical experience of having been born at three different times: in 1872, 1876, and 1895-96. On March 12, 1872, there was brought into being at Claflin University through legislative enactment of the Assembly of the State of South Carolina, the College of Agriculture and Mechanics' Institute for Colored Students, in South Carolina.<sup>24</sup>

In 1876, the Wade Hampton regime began to destroy every vestige of "Radical Reconstruction" possible. This included Claflin University. The original board of trustees was dismantled and a new all white board created with the governor of the state as president ex-officio. This was the second birth of the institution.

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 167.

In 1895, the committee on Education presented a report to the State Constitutional Convention. Section eight of this report dealt wholly with higher education.

Section 8: The General Assembly shall provide for the maintenance of Clemson Agricultural College and the State University, and may create scholarships therein. The proceeds realized from the land script given the Act of Congress, passed July 2, 1862, for the support of an agricultural college, and any lands or funds which have heretofore been or may hereafter be given or appropriated for educational purposes, shall be applied as directed in the Acts appropriating the same. (Wednesday, October 2, 1895, Twentieth Day.)<sup>25</sup>

Governor B. R. Tillman offered the following to be added to Section 8: "Provided, That the General Assembly shall as soon as practicable divorce entirely Claflin College from Claflin University, and provide for a separate corps of professors and instructors therein, it shall be the Colored Normal Industrial Agricultural and Mechanical College of this state;" which was agreed to. (Tuesday, November 19, 1895, Fifty-first Day.)<sup>26</sup>

In 1896, the directives of the Constitutional Convention were put into effect by the legislature of South Carolina. Thus, the State College for Blacks became a distinct and separate institution.

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<sup>25</sup>"The Constitutional Convention of 1895" Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of South Carolina, p. 310.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., pp. 580-581.

Section 1: Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, that Claflin College (The College of Agriculture and Mechanics' Institute for Colored Students) be and is hereby, severed from Claflin University: Provided, that this severance shall not operate so as to interfere with the teaching and instruction, now being given, during the present session, which closes in the month of May of this year.

Section 2: That during the year A. D. eighteen hundred and ninety-six there shall be established within the State a Normal, Industrial, Agricultural and Mechanical College for the higher education of the Colored youth of the State, and that said college shall be known as the Colored Normal, Industrial, Agricultural and Mechanical College of South Carolina.

Section 9: That the sum of five thousand (\$5,000.00) dollars be annually appropriated for five years for the purpose of erecting the necessary buildings and preparing buildings therefore, if so much be necessary; and that the authorities of the State Penitentiary be, and they are hereby, required to furnish, on the demand of the Board of Trustees of said College, forty able-bodied convicts to be used in erecting the necessary buildings, and to be transported, guarded, clothed, fed, and attended free of any cost to the College, and to be returned to the Penitentiary when the buildings are completed.<sup>27</sup>

This marked the third birth of South Carolina State College.

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<sup>27</sup>"Acts and Joint Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, Passed at the Regular Session of 1896. Article 65, An Act relating to the severance of Claflin College from Claflin University and the establishment of a Normal, Industrial, Agricultural and Mechanical College for the colored race."

Dr. Thomas E. Miller, a former Congressman from South Carolina, was appointed the first President of the College. He was followed by Robert S. Wilkinson, Miller F. Whittaker, B.C. Turner and Maceo Nance, Jr.

South Carolina State was supposed to fail, but it did not. She was a makeshift pacification plot that struggled through a period of inferior training and today offers top notch instruction.

### Voorhees College

From industrial training school to four year college Voorhees has traveled. In a community of hostile whites, a small school was opened. Its founders never dreamed that it would one day become one of the strongest and potentially most vital black colleges in the state.

On April 14, 1887, Elizabeth Evelyn Wright and Jessie Dorsey became co-founders of "The Denmark Industrial School." It was located in Denmark, South Carolina right in the center of South Carolina's "Black Belt." Denmark is a part of Bamberg County, which along with Allendale, Colleton, Hampton and Dorchester Counties, constituted one of the most backward areas in the state. Before 1897, several attempts were made to establish a school of this nature in this section of the state. These attempts proved to be unsuccessful because of the hostile members of the community.

The school was built on land that Miss Wright purchased from State Senator S. G. Mayfield. She made special arrangements with the senator to pay \$200 down and the rest at a later date. The black churches in the area provided the rest of the necessary money.<sup>28</sup> (See Appendix B) The school was finally moved out of town on 208 acres of land purchased by Ralph Voorhees of Clinton, New Jersey. The name of the school was changed to Voorhees in his honor.

Miss Wright died in 1906, but Voorhees continued to show steady improvement. The beginning of World War I brought about a crisis at Voorhees and all other private institutions. The gifts and grants made to Voorhees dwindled rapidly and the institution was finally faced with closing its doors or finding other means of support. As a result, the control of Voorhees came over to the Episcopal Church. An agreement was made that the church would contribute \$6,000 to the institution each year. It was also understood that the institution might solicit among all the individual churches of the connection. In this manner, funds were secured from all sections of the country.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>McMillan, p. 65.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 72.

In 1929, Voorhees added a junior college and received an "A" rating by the Southern Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges.<sup>30</sup> Voorhees School and Junior College became Voorhees College in 1962. South Carolina's one time only trade school for blacks is now proudly dedicated to the cultivation of the intellect.

### Morris College

The forgotten lowland blacks of South Carolina had a craving for education that they themselves nourished. These youth of South Carolina found literacy when Morris College was born.

The very birth of Morris College took place in a hotbed of intensified Negro racial consciousness. The Northern white missionaries conducted Benedict College in a purely paternalistic manner. The leadership there took upon itself the responsibility of doing everything for its students, its few subordinate Negro teachers, and for all the Negro Baptists of South Carolina. In 1904, the president of Benedict College sold the president of the State Negro Baptist Convention on the idea of that body's contributing a building to Benedict's campus. In the course of one year under the energetic leadership of this man and his co-workers, \$5,650.06 was raised toward the undertaking. The Negro Baptists in their turn began immediately to make demands for the sharing in the responsibility of the conduct of Benedict's affairs. Benedict's Northern white missionary leadership expressed amazement at such "impertinence." Quite a conflict ensued, the

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

upshot of which was the setting up of a "Baptist College" for Negroes which was owned and controlled exclusively by them.<sup>31</sup>

Northern white missionaries and unorganized black baptist ministers have nearly doomed Morris to failure. The students alone seem to know the direction the school should go in but their power is limited. The South Carolina "blackbelt" needs Morris to help meet the needs of the low country blacks of the state.

Higher education for blacks in South Carolina had admirable beginnings. The existence of the colleges has been precarious and in many ways incredible. Sometimes faith and desire for learning alone seemed to keep the college going. These schools "freed" the black man in South Carolina. They continue to educate many black youth in the state who would otherwise be doomed to failure and poverty. They can not all grow and prosper at the present rate. However, if any one of the six colleges dies, a large segment of South Carolina's black youth will be doomed either to the North with their ghettos or to frustrated lives of menial labor for southern whites.

Schools that taught slaves to strive for freedom cannot die now because freedom means so much. These schools must live and teach blacks in South Carolina how to continue striving for freedom.

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 139.

CHAPTER III  
THE MOOD OF THE STUDENTS IN THE  
1950's AND 1960's

The standard trademark for South Carolina is and has historically been inequity in education. South Carolina, perhaps more than other southern states has an intense fear of and hatred for the "educated nigger." There are two major reasons for this.

Firstly, South Carolina, during its slave holding years, had to contend with slave insurrections. The insurrection in 1822 led by Denmark Vessey stamped a firm belief in white South Carolinians - "an educated nigger is a dangerous nigger." Vessey's revolt was in the words of the abolitionist Thomas Wentworth Higginson, "the most elaborate insurrection project ever formed by American slaves."<sup>1</sup> Until recently, the average black child in South Carolina had never heard of Denmark Vessey. He is not talked about in text books on South Carolina's history. Certainly there are no black schools in the state named for Vessey, no statues of him in town squares,

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<sup>1</sup>John Lofton, Insurrection in South Carolina (Yellow Springs, Ohio: The Antioch Press, 1964), p. 1.

or pictures of him in libraries or museums. "Denmark Vessey is a symbol of a spirit too violent to be acceptable to the white community."<sup>2</sup> He was a freeman, keenly aware of the ideas of freemen. Therefore, history taught South Carolina that the educated black man was powerful force to be reckoned with.

Secondly, the zeal for education among blacks in the Post Civil War days was tremendous. The number of schools started, particularly junior colleges and the six colleges that were founded in the antebellum days, was seen by whites as a threat. They reacted with both outward hostility and subtle systematic actions designed to "keep the nigger in his place." This can be seen in the educational realm vividly. South Carolina has done less than any other southern state to provide education for blacks and has done quite a lot to undermine educational self help efforts of blacks. As late as 1918, only one public black high school was operating in the state. South Carolina did not have an accredited black high school until 1930. In 1950, there were eighty state accredited black high schools but only ten were accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. At the same time, there were 301 state accredited white

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

high schools and fifty-six were accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.<sup>3</sup>

On the level of higher education in 1949, the state appropriated more than \$4,500,000 for white colleges and less than \$600,000 for its only black institution. Until after World War II, the one black state institution did not have any program for graduate studies. However, in light of federal court decisions which began admitting black to white state universities because equal opportunities were lacking in black schools, South Carolina began appropriating money at the one black institution for the establishment of graduate, law and medical departments in 1946. The money provided was completely inadequate (25,000 for the graduate school, \$60,000 for the law school and \$15,000 for medical training).<sup>4</sup>

Black reaction to these inequities came to a head in the 1950's and 1960's. The seeds of strife had been planted long before. During the 1950's and 1960's black students became a force to be dealt with as they attempted to fight the inequities in education and in human rights in the state as a whole. The efforts of the students were met with hostile reactions from whites and reactionary black administrators.

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<sup>3</sup>Quint, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup>McMillan, p. 219.

The civil rights movement in South Carolina began in the 1950's with a legal attack on the secondary schools of Clarendon County, a "black belt" area. The Clarendon County school case was the key case in the NAACP fight against public school segregation. This was a logical place for a legal case because school conditions there were the worst possible anywhere in the state. The population in the county in 1951 consisted of 23,000 blacks and 8,000 whites. The public schools had a black enrollment of 6,531 and a white enrollment of 2,375. The discrepancies between the black and white schools were tremendous. School expenditures for whites totaled \$395,329 but only \$282,950 was spent on black schools in the county. The school district involved in the case was that of Summerton, South Carolina where black students outnumbered white students 2,259 to 298. The black school in this district had facilities that were grossly inferior to the white school. They had fewer toilets, less equipment, less space, and a larger pupil-teacher ratio. In one black school, drinking water had to be brought in a bucket because there were no drinking fountains.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Quint, p. 12.

The case of Clarendon, technically known as Harry Briggs, Jr., et al., appellants, v. R. W. Elliott, et al. appellees was presented to a special three judge court presided over by Federal Judge John J. Parker, and District Judges George Bell Timmerman, Sr. and J. Waties Waring. This was the first legal attack in the deep South on the system of racial segregation in public schools. Thurgood Marshall was chief counsel for the NAACP. He sought to prove that segregation per se was discriminatory and a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. The court ruled two to one that segregation per se was not a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. The judges, Parker and Timmerman, did say that facilities must be equal and gave the county six months to take action. The dissenting judge, Waring, wrote that the majority opinion was "unreasonable, unscientific, and based on unadulterated prejudices."<sup>6</sup>

The results of the case in South Carolina were that whites slowly became aware of legal threats against segregation. Governor James F. Byrnes began a program to make the schools separate but equal. He undertook an extensive school construction program. He spent over \$37,000,000 on black schools. The state also began preparing its defense of separate schools, foreseeing a

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

Supreme Court fight. Meanwhile, the NAACP took the Clarendon case to the United States Supreme Court. The case was heard in conjunction with cases from the states of Kansas, Virginia and Delaware. The cases from these states were based on different facts but one legal question caused them to be considered jointly. Black students were denied admission to white schools under laws which permitted segregation of the races. The segregated public schools were not equal and could not be made equal. Therefore, blacks would be deprived of the equal protection of the laws. Because the court viewed a decision in favor of desegregation as dangerously explosive, it found itself unable to make a clear ruling. Therefore, all parties involved had to prepare further testimony for reargument. The court finally concluded that separate educational facilities were inherently unequal. It was also concluded that the "separate but equal" doctrine had no place. Even though these conclusions were made, no implementing decree was included.<sup>7</sup> The Clarendon case was a forerunner to the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

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<sup>7</sup>Supreme Court of the United States, "Brief of Appellees on Reargument," Case of Harry Briggs, Jr., et al., Appellants, against R.W. Elliott, et al., Appellees, October term 1953, pp. 1-2.

The black college students were active in the NAACP's efforts to integrate these public schools. They helped organize walkouts and other protest efforts. Meanwhile, situations developed on their own campuses which led to an effort to attack the inequities in higher education in the state. The attitudes of the students during the late 1950's is typified by a series of events that took place involving Allen University and Benedict College in Columbia, South Carolina.

During the summer of 1957, a rumor was spread at Allen University that the school's president, Frank Veal, had been advised by the governor to dismiss three professors or suffer consequences. No charges had been made against the professors who all held doctorates from leading American Universities. They were considered to be among the most effective teachers at the college. The professors were John C. Ridout, Chairman of the Division of Education, and Forrest O. Wiggins of the Philosophy Department. Rideout had been a Rhodes scholar. Much attention was given to the fact that Wiggins and Rideout were in the files of the United States House of Representatives Un-American Activities Committee. President Veal fell to the pressure of the governor and demanded the resignations of the three men before even consulting Allen's

Board of Trustees. The board refused to back Veal and kept the professors on. Veal declared the men would be given a year's dismissal notice. The story made headlines in the newspapers across the state.

Allen announced a few weeks later that five Hungarian refugees would be enrolled at the University. This would be a breakthrough in South Carolina's policy of segregated education. The state Attorney General, T. C. Callison, acknowledged that there was no law in South Carolina against the action but that to admit the students would be against public policy. Only one of the five students actually enrolled in the following fall term. The governor and the State Board of Education withheld teacher certification to Allen's graduates and said it would continue to do so until such time as it could determine that "it is in the public interest to grant approval."<sup>8</sup> Allen's board of Trustees' president, Bishop I. H. Bonner, announced that Allen's students requiring teacher certification would seek admission to the state's all white University of South Carolina and other white state supported institutions.

The height of racist acts came with the State Board of Education's announcement that it would form

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<sup>8</sup>Quint, p. 118.

a bi-racial committee of six whites and one black, B. C. Turner, president of South Carolina State College for blacks, to help Allen with its internal problems. The Board of Education shortly after withdrew Allen's accreditation.

Allen's Board of Trustees met to determine the fate of the three professors who were obviously the target of the Governor and the State Board of Education. The National African Methodist Episcopal Church backed the professors and Veal too changed his mind and supported the professors. The student body gathered in front of Veal's house and seranaded him for his action.

The following month Governor Timmerman in his annual message to the state legislature warned that there was a "Communist mennace" in South Carolina and directly implicated Allen as the center of subversion. He suggested that a permanent committee be established to investigate communist activities and that "more realistic requirements for admission to teach in state-supported institutions be established."<sup>9</sup>

While the governor was announcing his determination to maintain segregation in South Carolina, eleven

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 122.

Allen University students appeared on the University of South Carolina campus seeking applications to take the University's entrance exam. They were turned away. Four students from neighboring Benedict College also attempted to apply for the entrance exam at the University of South Carolina. While no attempt was made to harm the black students when they were on the University's campus, a cross was burned on the University's athletic field and an effigy of a black man was hung up on the campus.<sup>10</sup> At that time, the efforts of the students proved fruitless.

The mood for the civil rights movement of the 1960's in South Carolina had been set by an ignorant governor who was determined to preserve the doctrine of white supremacy in South Carolina. "Allen had been the chief center for Negro militancy in South Carolina." The three professors the governor sought to get rid of had urged students to assert their human and civil rights. The governor also attempted to dismiss three white faculty members from Benedict College, as well as implicate that Benedict's president, Dr. J. A. Bacote, conspired with communists. "The governor's attack on

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 123.

Benedict was successful only in uniting the black community in defense of the college and in alarming white conservatives."<sup>11</sup>

Public education is and was the major issue in the civil rights struggle in the minds of whites in the state. However, the students enlarged the struggle to a fight against all Jim Crow laws in the state. First attacks were launched on the bus company owned by the South Carolina Electric and Gas Company. Sarah Mae Flemming brought suit against the company for alleged violation of her civil rights. The bus driver required her to sit in the rear of the bus and this action conformed with segregation laws in South Carolina. Judge George Bell Timmerman dismissed the suit on the grounds that the 1896 case of "Plessy v. Ferguson" upheld "separate but equal facilities" in transportation. However, this decision was appealed by Miss Flemming and reversed by Judge John J. Parker. Appeals by the South Carolina Electric and Gas Company were denied. Thus, the circuit court decision stood.<sup>12</sup>

The decision in Miss Flemming's case provided a spark in the civil rights struggle which grew into a tremendous fire. This fire burned very strong throughout the 1960's.

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 126.

The Mood of The 1960's

The students in South Carolina did the brunt of the picketing, boycotting, sitting in, marching, going to jail and voter registration in South Carolina during the early sixties. Untold numbers of college students fought tear gas, dogs, and billy clubs. They spent their free time in the rural lowlands getting blacks to register and vote. They swelled the membership roles of the NAACP and SNCC. They fought Uncle Tom administrators but also drew many black professors to the marching lines. A look at the student movement at South Carolina State College in Orangeburg, which came to a head when three students were killed in 1968, brings to mind the mood of black students in the 1960's.

It is ironic that when school desegregation occurred in Little Rock, Arkansas in 1957 no deaths occurred whereas when students in Orangeburg, South Carolina attempted to integrate a bowling alley in 1968 three were killed. Even more ironic is the fact that Little Rock received world wide attention and little attention was given to the "Orangeburg Massacre."

Orangeburg is a very conservative town with a population of 20,000. It is located forty miles southeast of the state capital, Columbia. Black students

outnumber white students in the public school system seven to five. It has two black colleges, Claflin University, the oldest black college in the state, and South Carolina State College, the only state-supported black college.

The students at South Carolina State and Claflin were very active in NAACP efforts to integrate public schools and public facilities in Orangeburg. During the early 1960's, they waged a long term boycott of the towns' stores to get whites to hire blacks in their establishments. Whenever picketers were the victims of hostile whites in the town, students were in the ranks. They found themselves all over the large county of Orangeburg explaining to rural black farmers the importance of the vote and the necessity of boycott. The town quieted down after "The March on Washington" in 1963. As a riot era began nationwide, the black college student in South Carolina seemed passive on the surface.

1967 was the beginning of a new awakening for the students. They turned their efforts to changing their own institutions and their surrounding environment. One of the first protests in the 1960's by the students regarding their own institutions came when they learned in February 1967 that three white Woodrow

Wilson's teaching fellows were not having their contracts renewed at South Carolina State. There had been hopes that the school would raise its quality level if it had more teaching fellows. There had been a subtle move to quiet students after the demonstrations of the early sixties. B. C. Turner, president of South Carolina State, (who few really believed to be black) regimented the activities of the students with chapel services and dress codes for meals. He erected a wall between the campuses of South Carolina State and Claf-  
lin which brought about feuds between the two groups of students who had formerly worked together in civil rights demonstrations. At the time, the college had relatively few professors who held doctorates. The school found it much easier to get the state to fund non-academic needs, rather than raise salaries to get top grade professors.<sup>13</sup>

Turner's administration had suppressed efforts to form a campus NAACP Chapter. Three students were suspended for protesting the dismissal of the teaching fellows. A two week boycott was organized by the students. They demanded that the state provide quality education for blacks. Negotiations between school officials,

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<sup>13</sup>Nelson and Bass, p. 4.

the governor and student leaders developed and the students returned to classes having been promised the school would receive some attention and consideration.

The students in South Carolina's black colleges were slow to catch the trend of black awareness. They were actively discouraged by the school administrators. Most encouragement came from views outside the college. However, a small group of students at State College organized the Black Awareness Coordinating Committee (BACC) in the fall of 1967. BACC was frowned upon by the faculty, staff and "Negro Middle Class" in the community. Such groups were being organized on all six black colleges in the state. They reflected a national move by black students to change the college curriculum. The move by students in South Carolina lagged behind the national move. BACC began with a small enrollment even though its lofty aim was "the development of a sense of black consciousness among students in South Carolina."<sup>14</sup>

Orangeburg was one of the few places in the South where integration of public facilities had not been fully accomplished. BACC was concerned about this. The black students in Orangeburg could not go to the segregated

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

drive-in-movies, nor could they bowl in the All Star Bowling Lanes which was within walking distance of the two campuses. On February 5, 1968, a group of South Carolina State students entered the nearby white bowling alley. The following night another group numbering over 300 went to the bowling alley. The doors were locked and the students were confronted by police who carried riot batons. Before the students left that night, these batons were used as clubs. A small riot occurred. National guardsmen were called in by the governor. The students went back to the campus to decide what to do. Some threw rocks at passing cars driven by whites. One such driver was a policeman, who shot his gun in retaliation. Two days later, police and students found themselves in a very tense situation. On the night of February 8, students gathered in front of the campus. They built a bon-fire and the crowds swelled. They sang "We Shall Overcome" and "We Shall Not Be Moved." Whites came to see the confrontation and parked near the college. A battle began between armed policemen and unarmed students. When it ended, three students were dead and about twenty-seven injured; most shot in the back as they ran.

Since the Orangeburg massacre things have changed in South Carolina's black colleges. Students have demanded

and gotten changes in the curriculum. Courses have been added in the area of black studies and plans are being laid to develop a black studies department. They have changed the thrust of their schools to the thrust of the black movement nationwide. The change has come because students turned their ears to the voices of leaders outside the ivory towers who spoke more truth than their conservative middle-class professors and administrators. What they heard and reacted to can be summed up in a portion of a speech by Malcom X:

The number one thing that makes us differ from other people is our lack of knowledge concerning the past. Proof of which - almost anyone else can come into this country and get around barriers and obstacles that we cannot get around; and the only difference between them and us, they know something about the past, and in knowing something about the past, they know something about themselves, they have an identity. But wherein you and I differ from them is primarily revolved around our lack of knowledge concerning the past... That is why it is so important to spend time today learning something about the past so that we can better understand the present, analyze it, and then do something about it.<sup>15</sup>

The students enrolled in the black colleges of South Carolina are now actively seeking a knowledge of their

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<sup>15</sup>Malcolm X, Malcolm X On Afro-American History (New York: Pathfinder Press, Inc. 1970), pp. 3-4.

black past. This is in evidence mainly by the present curricula at the institutions. The achievement of the cultivation of the black man in South Carolina is left to the black institutions therein. This is a monumental task confronting the colleges, but one that can be done through hard work and a dedication to the students. The mood of the students will produce the necessary atmosphere for implementation.

## CHAPTER IV

### SERVICES PROVIDED BY THE COLLEGES

Blacks in South Carolina have no reason to assume that any significant number of black students in the state will go to predominantly white colleges in the state. Black enrollment in public "white" South Carolina institutions of higher learning is less than ten per cent. In fact, black enrollment is even much less at private "white" institutions. (See Table 4:1). The total black population in the state is almost forty per cent. This means that the black colleges will probably continue to educate a significant number of black students in the state. Their services to the black community will have to continue and greatly increase. They provide higher education for many black students who otherwise would have none. (See Table 4:2)

Most black college students in South Carolina come from poor families. They come to college with sheltered life experiences, and poor communication skills but they have high hopes and good potential. They know that many others have sacrificed to get them to college and they are expected to give service to the family and community.

TABLE 4:1  
 ENROLLMENT IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE  
 WHITE INSTITUTIONS

<u>NAME OF INSTITUTIONS</u>	<u>TOTAL ENROLLMENT</u>	<u>PERCENT BLACK</u>
Anderson College	833	1.4
Baptist College of Charleston	1,337	7.1
Central Wesleyan College	250	.8
The Citadel	2,062	1.2
Clemson University	6,068	1.0
Coker College	364	2.2
College of Charleston	641	5.0
Columbia College	850	2.8
Converse College	736	.7
Francis Marion College	748	10.7
Furman University	1,801	1.1
Lander College	688	3.9
Limestone College	591	1.2
Medical University of South Carolina	424	9.9
Newberry College	797	.6
Presbyterian College	781	.5
University of South Carolina	10,671	2.6

TABLE 4:1 - CONTINUED

<u>NAME OF INSTITUTIONS</u>	<u>TOTAL ENROLLMENT</u>	<u>PERCENT BLACK</u>
Winthrop College	3,160	3.2
Wofford College	972	2.3

## Source:

Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) Racial and Ethnic Enrollment Data From Institutions of Higher Education, Fall 1970.

TABLE 4:2

## ENROLLMENT IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

## BLACK INSTITUTIONS

NAME OF INSTI- TUTION	TOTAL ENROLLMENT					PRESENT & S. C. STUDENTS
	<u>1966</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>70</u>	
	Allen	954	750	699	547	559
Benedict	1,084	1,137	1,254	1,254	1,398	81.3
Claflin	713	818	731	708	774	96.5
S. C. State	1,809	1,854	2,081	1,769	2,148	88.5
Morris	568	606	580	485	592	92.2
Voorhees	436	639	725	699	624	90.1

Source:

Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) Racial  
and Ethnic Enrollment Data From Institutions of Higher  
Education, Fall 1970.

More than seventy-five per cent of the black secondary and elementary teachers in the state were educated at the black institutions there.\* Many of the professors at the colleges received most of their education in South Carolina's black colleges. (See Table 4:3).

South Carolina State College has provided graduate study for a significant number of black students and teachers. (See Table 4:4). The graduate school provides three primary services. First, the teacher certification program aids a significant number of teachers in the state who are required to do further study periodically in order to maintain their certificates. Secondly, teachers desiring to retrain and specialize can do so at South Carolina State College. Finally, teachers who desire master's degrees but cannot afford to do full time graduate study, find South Carolina State's program flexible enough to accommodate their needs. (See Table 4:5). White colleges in the state at present provide only limited opportunities for blacks to do graduate study. (See Table 4:6).

It seems that there is an unwritten "grandfather clause" at white institutions in South Carolina to keep

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\*This estimate was given by an official in the South Carolina State Department Division of Statistics.

TABLE 4:3  
 PERCENTAGE OF INSTRUCTORS EDUCATED  
 IN SOUTH CAROLINA

<u>COLLEGE</u>	<u>TOTAL NO. OF FACULTY</u>	<u>NO. EDUCATED AT S. C. INSTITUTIONS</u>
Allen	73	30
Benedict	105	35
Claflin	53	21
Morris	36	18
Voorhees	56	18
S. C. State	NA	NA

NA = Not Available

Sources:

Catalogs from the six South Carolina black institutions.

TABLE 4:4  
NUMBER OF GRADUATES FROM SOUTH CAROLINA  
STATE GRADUATE SCHOOL (FIVE YEAR PERIOD)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TOTAL NUMBER OF GRADUATES</u>
1968	112
1969	121
1970	117
1971	144
1972	161

Source:

Director of graduate studies, South Carolina State College,  
Orangeburg, South Carolina.

TABLE 4:5  
SPECIAL ENROLLMENT PROGRAM AT SOUTH  
CAROLINA STATE GRADUATE SCHOOL

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TOTAL ENROLLMENT</u>	<u>NO. PART TIME</u>
67-68	405	359
68-69	336	285
69-70	415	355
70-71	580	540
71-72	673	622
72-73	505	421

Source:

Director of graduate studies, South Carolina State College,  
Orangeburg, South Carolina.

TABLE 4:6  
 ENROLLMENT IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE  
 WHITE GRADUATE INSTITUTIONS

<u>NAME OF INSTITUTION</u>	<u>TOTAL ENROLLMENT</u>	<u>PER CENT BLACK</u>
The Citadel (Military)	287	3.1
Clemson University	397	.5
Converse College	160	10.0
Furman University	9	0
Medical University of South Carolina	44	2.3
University of South Carolina	2,006	.7
Winthrop College	41	0

Source:

Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) Racial and Ethnic Enrollment Data From Institutions of Higher Education, Fall 1970.

large numbers of blacks out. Black students have to contend with entrance exams that are not designed to test their ability. They have to score high on the Scholastic Aptitude Test even though this test seldom reflects their achievement levels. Between quota systems and the scarcity of scholarships, black students in South Carolina can enter white schools in very limited numbers.

White schools offer blacks in the state a hostile environment, very little campus social life, and a culturally traumatic college experience. The students are isolated from one another in dormitories and classes and alienated from collegiate social groups. The black athlete is the only black student who is reasonably made to feel that he is welcome at the institution. The white colleges in South Carolina are not sensitive to the psychological and social needs of black students. Consequently, black students in South Carolina prefer black colleges. These institutions will continue, (if they survive), to provide black students with higher education, who would otherwise not have the opportunity.

In addition to the academic personnel, the black institutions provide jobs for many blacks in the surrounding communities. (See Table 4:7). They contribute significantly to the black labor force in the state.

TABLE 4:7  
 NON-ACADEMIC JOBS PROVIDED BY THE  
 BLACK INSTITUTIONS

<u>NAME OF INSTITUTION</u>	<u>NUMBER OF NON-ACADEMIC PERSONNEL EMPLOYED</u>
Allen University	*
Benedict	*
Claflin	71
Morris	37
S. C. State	271
Voorhees	93

\* = Not Available

Source:

The information was obtained from the personnel office of each institution.

## Financial and Program Services

Financial aid, which takes the form of scholarships, loans, and work study, is one of the most important services the colleges provide. Loans and work study are more plentiful than scholarships. Over 60 per cent of the students get some kind of financial aid.\*

Scholarships are highly competitive. Some are given according to exam scores and some are given by sororities and fraternities to high potential students.

Part of the issue of survival centers around financial aid. There is a severe shortage and an uncertainty about the future stability of government loans. As the cost of matriculation rises, scholarship funds dwindle. Despite the critical nature of financial assistance at black schools, it is an important service as well as an integral part of the black college itself.

Benedict College offers several services unique within the black colleges. Their computer service program is designed to prepare students for job opportunities in the contemporary and future technological society. The college has a Digital PDP 8/1 computer with a 12-K core memory, a 256-K disk, four ASR-33 teletypes, and

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\*This figure was given by officials in the financial aid departments at the six black institutions.

a high speed paper tape reader. The computer is expandable and has FORTRAN, BASIC, AND FOCAL capability.\*

Benedict's Community Development Institute is the center of the colleges participation in the community. The institute has a Social Work Program, an Economic Development Program, an Urban Education Program, and a Human Development Center.\*

The Continuing Theological Education Program is another significant service offered by Benedict. Untrained theologians from the community get formal training and a chance to keep up with current thought and development in theology. While the courses, seminars and institutes offered in the program are not given for credit, participation is voluntary, and self improvement is the worthy goal the college is perpetuating.\*

Benedict has developed a comprehensive television production training program without equal in the colleges of the state. Teachers-in-training will get experience in innovative instructional techniques with television. The program also provides for the training of technicians and production people from the community.\*

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\*Information taken from Benedict College Catalog, (1971-1972), pp. 46-47.

Claflin and Voorhees have a policy of admitting small numbers of "high risk students." These are students whose college board scores range between 450 and 499, but their transcripts and references show evidence of their ability to do college work. All of the private black colleges have a policy whereby individuals may take courses without becoming candidates for a degree.

Morris College has a special reading program for prospective students and students presently enrolled who are deficient in basic language skill and reading skills. The program meets the need of transfer students who have such deficiencies as well as students who are placed on academic probation because of skill weaknesses. Any student required to enroll in the program must successfully complete it in order to continue matriculating at Morris.

The cultural enrichment the colleges provide their students and the surrounding black communities is extremely significant. Exposure is often a key to black achievement. The blacks in South Carolina have historically been excluded from the cultural activities of the state because of segregation. Concerts, plays, lectures, dance recitals, and sports activities are only a part of the black experience in South Carolina insofar as their own institutions provide

them. The colleges make their presence felt. They expose high school students to opportunities available to them through education. High school students benefit by the use of facilities on the college campuses. Gymnasiums, auditoriums, libraries, and lab schools are community property.

Though the black colleges in South Carolina have to some extent perpetuated a social class system they have never closed their doors to the community. They have always provided exposure to black people in the state. The community in turn takes pride in the institutions. They are a visible accomplishment of blacks in the state.

CHAPTER V  
A STRATEGY FOR THE SURVIVAL OF SOUTH  
CAROLINA'S BLACK COLLEGES

Several well known and outspoken educators such as Christopher Jencks and David Riesman have drawn conclusions that would lead the public to think that little can or should be done to insure the survival of black institutions. They concluded the following:

1. Public and private black institutions for the most part will remain fourth rate institutions at the tail end of the academic procession.
2. There will not be a significant number of blacks in any income or ability group for whom an all black college will represent the best available academic or occupational choice.
3. No black college's B.A. carries the same weight as one from Harvard, Oberlin, or Berkeley.
4. The two black medical schools rank among the worst in the nation, and would probably have been closed long ago had they not been a main source of doctors willing to tend black patients.
5. These colleges do even less than comparable white colleges to remedy their students academic inadequacies.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, "The American Negro College," The Harvard Review, 37 (1967), pp. 4-47.

Therefore, it becomes crucial that those institutions directly involved work together to perpetuate a more positive point of view, and a feasible program to back that point of view.

The state of black higher education in South Carolina is unique. While South Carolina's black colleges share the general problems that all colleges and universities founded for black Americans are confronted with, they also have special problems. Firstly, they are situated in a state that lags far behind the nation in its educational efforts. Secondly, the inequities in black and white public instruction were until recently unmatched in disparity. Thirdly, the state has systematically interfered in and hindered the development of the colleges by removing those who brought progressive ideas to the college campuses. Finally, four of the six colleges have hindered each other through competitive hostilities. Their close proximity has not been seen as an asset. This will be discussed in more depth later in this chapter.

It is no doubt surprising that the state of South Carolina has six black colleges. White institutions in South Carolina number twenty, excluding junior colleges. Yet, the Southern Regional Education Board predicts that

by 1980 only twenty-seven per cent of the college age students in the state will be enrolled in college. The number of students who graduated from South Carolina high schools in 1966 numbered 33,539. Of that number, 10,383 went to college in public and private institutions of the state and out-of-state institutions. Compared with that number, there will be 30,830 qualified in 1975 to attend college. Therefore, unless South Carolina plans wisely now, the prediction of the Southern Education Regional Educational Board may turn out to be true. If this prediction comes true, this will place South Carolina last in this important measurement among the fifteen southern states. (See Table 5:1).

There is a crisis in higher education in South Carolina. That crisis especially affects black students. None of the twenty white colleges presently have above ten per cent minority enrollment. This impending crisis in education will probably mean little increase in minority enrollment. Black enrollment is already soaring; the one state-supported black institution has not been able to accommodate all of its qualified applicants. As a result, enrollment increases very little each year. Enrollment in white state-supported institutions continues to rise disproportionately to black institutions.

TABLE 5:1  
TOTAL SOUTH CAROLINA FRESHMAN DEMAND  
(1968-1980)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>POTENTIAL NUMBER OF FRESHMAN</u>
1968	14,555
1969	15,530
1970	18,614
1971	20,953
1972	24,658
1973	25,688
1974	28,361
1975	30,830
1980	37,450

Source:

Office of Planning and Research, South Carolina State  
Department of Education.

The black population of South Carolina has been an economic burden since the days when they ceased to be an economic asset. Forced integration has not produced jobs for blacks nor open minds for whites. South Carolina has not even progressed to the era of token blacks in high positions. The state has systematically hushed all radical voices in the black community, especially on the black college campus. The state has also exercised some control over both its black public supported college as well as the five private black institutions. It is clear, that if the black colleges are to survive and prosper the state must cease to hinder them.

It also stands to reason that the black community will need closer ties with the black colleges in the state as they become increasingly dependent upon each other. A new leadership born in the black colleges could foster direction in the state's black community that would work toward economic independence. The jobs traditionally left to many blacks in the state, namely domestic work, manual unskilled labor, and sharecropping are no longer being accepted by younger blacks. Such jobs are not even plentiful enough to go around. The result is that black high school graduates who cannot get into the crowded black colleges head for the northern cities taking their

undeveloped potential with them. The northern ghettos are living proof of this trend. The students leave the black community static and self-perpetuating. Too many of the graduates of South Carolina's black colleges leave the state because job opportunities are better elsewhere. There has never been enough pressure put on white employers in the state to hire black college graduates in significant numbers. The black colleges could exert such pressure.

No one survival strategy will work for all of South Carolina's six black colleges because of their locations, varying focuses, administrative differences and degrees of financial difficulties. However, there are certain generalizations that can be made regarding the survival of all six black institutions.

The colleges must cease to see themselves as independent of one another. They must realize the necessity of unity. Rufus E. Clement, the late president of Atlanta University, wrote in 1936:

In the face of the present situation, the Negro College stands about where it did in 1865, it is still training teachers and leaders... In far to many instances we of the colleges have taken the path of least resistance and followed the trends rather than studying our own situations, both racial and local.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Rufus E. Clement, "Redirection and Reorganization of the Colleges for Negroes," Journal of Negro Education, 18 (1936), p. 18.

South Carolina's black colleges independently duplicate each other. Their curricula are all basically liberal arts and the focus is primarily teacher training. If these schools had a sense of unity, they could all effectively offer different areas of concentration, thus making each college stronger by being more unique. The independent characteristic of the institutions has caused unnecessary bickering between them, competition for prestige and a poor assessment of needs and priorities.

The confusing issue of church politics has hindered prospects for unity among the private institutions. The church fathers contribute to the fractionalization of black higher education in the state. The colleges are to a large extent ruled by the denominations that support them and hampered by the church fathers who are themselves not unified.

Alumni contribute to the lack of unity among institutions. The competitiveness of sports spills over into the general atmosphere of the black colleges. The alumni perpetuate this. It is no doubt a reflection of class struggle in the black community. Each college carries on unwritten indication of social class. A graduate from Benedict may feel superior to a graduate of Allen and a graduate from Claflin will feel superior to a graduate

of Morris. Ironically, a graduate of South Carolina State will probably feel superior to a graduate of any of the private black insitituions in the state. This is so because the institutions are judged on size and quality of facilities, as well as extra.curricula activities such as marching bands and athletic teams. Petty rivalries that exist between the institutions and sentimental alumni cannot be allowed to stand in the way of progress.

Can the black colleges survive? What strategies will make their survival feasible? The answer to the first question is "simple." It is imperative that these colleges survive and prosper. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education takes the position that the black colleges and universities constitute "a valuable resource in knowledge and facilities needed to accommodate the still rising demands of young Americans of all races for higher education." Therefore, the Commission suggests policies that will correct imbalances of resources and opportunities resulting from these institutions historic isolation. In a report released in February 1971 by the Commission, they suggested steps to be taken by the federal government, state governments, foundations, black colleges and other colleges. The

implementation of these steps should move the black colleges "from isolation into the mainstream of higher education."<sup>3</sup> (See Appendix C)

The needs of blacks in South Carolina are clear. Other alternatives must be available to the colleges for them to play an effective role in meeting the needs of the larger black community. South Carolina's black colleges can become stronger institutions. A strategy, such as shall be suggested here will have to be implemented for such a transformation to take place.

#### THE STRATEGY

##### Long Range Planning

The most important segment of the survival strategy is long range planning of every facet of the college. The plan should involve research by professionals in the field of research and development. Such research and planning must be brought to the attention of foundations and state and federal agencies, as implementation will require millions in funding. Perhaps a person with proven fund raising

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<sup>3</sup>From Isolation to Mainstream: Problems of the Colleges Founded For Negroes, a report and recommendations by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, Feb. 1971, pp. 68-69.

ability should be hired by the six colleges to bring money into each institution. This person's salary can be provided by equal contributions from the six colleges.

It is hard to judge the impact of articles like the ones written by Christopher Jencks and David Reisman on black colleges, but it is safe to assume that such articles will not aid in the acquisition of funds that will be needed.

#### Cooperation and Coordination Among the Six Institutions

The schools must not compete with each other. Rather, they must work to strengthen each other. They must establish a board of directors, perhaps made up of the six presidents, to set and implement goals of a state-wide black college program. Each school's strength must be shared and duplications in programs should be eliminated where possible. Schools near each other such as Claflin College and South Carolina State in Orangeburg, and Benedict College and Allen University in Columbia should coordinate course offerings and combine departments where possible.

All six schools should have an exchange program so that more students can benefit from their individual specialties. The specialty of each college should be determined by the board of directors after a thorough

investigation of the various departments on each campus. Probably the most important element of cooperation is the development of a freshman acceleration program to insure that all freshman master certain skills necessary for college work.

#### Place Less Emphasis on Traditional Career Orientations

The social and economic development of blacks in the state will demand a futuristic curriculum. The schools need less expansion of teacher education programs and traditional agriculture and mechanical programs. The curriculum must reflect new occupations. There are obvious curriculum needs that must be met. There is no law school, no public health programs and no school of social work. Such programs are essential.

#### Redefine the Roles of Agriculture, Home Economics and Education in the Curriculum.

Training in agriculture, home economics and education must center around community needs. The curriculum should train students for jobs that will alleviate sharecropping, malnutrition latent reading readiness in black kids. Research should be a vital part of these curriculum areas.

Education departments must find ways to alleviate the displacement of public school teachers. The American

Friends Service Committee, conducted a teachers' rights center in South Carolina in 1970. They estimated that in two-thirds of South Carolina's ninety-three districts, the contracts of about fifty or sixty teachers were not renewed. Six black principals were fired outright and more than eighty others were demoted. Thirty-seven black teachers also brought complaints to the AFSC during the same year. M. Hayes Mizell, director, said that twenty-four cases were investigated. It was found that nine blacks lost their jobs when their schools were closed, eleven had not had their contracts renewed, three had been demoted and one dismissed. Displacement is a very serious problem in South Carolina as well as the deep South.<sup>4</sup>

The vocational outlook of the college student must be increased. There are far too many job areas in South Carolina that have few or no blacks employed. The colleges are showing a trend toward needed technical studies. That trend must be speeded up.

#### Reorder Priorities and Modify the School Philosophy

The colleges suffer from unrealistic priorities. At present, too much emphasis is placed on sports, student

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<sup>4</sup>Robert W. Hooker, "Displacement of Black Teachers in the Eleven Southern States," a special report issued by the Race Relations Information Center, Nashville, Tenn., (1970), p. 213.

centers, and extra curricula activities. Social status is stressed too much. Sororities and fraternities are over emphasized. Emphasis on certain professional fields especially the teaching field, hinders the development of other professional orientations. Required courses do not insure the mastery of basic professional skills. The liberal arts philosophy should be reordered to insure the mastery of such skills. Scholarships should become a major priority. The students who enter South Carolina's black institutions are on the whole from poor families. Preparatory training must be upgraded. The schools should adopt a philosophy of black education that will make the college a more integral part of the black community and train students to provide better service to the community. Preparation for graduate study should be a part of the philosophy and the curriculum.

Plans Must be Made to Get Back Monies Which Flow From Black People in the State to Federal, State, and Local Treasures

Political pressure must be placed on state and federal governments to insure that there is adequate return of black funds to the black colleges. A state endowment for black education is needed as well as a federal endowment.

Foundations also must be pressured to increase their paltry funds. Until such time as there are black politicians in South Carolina who can actively voice support for the institutions, the schools themselves will have to solicit funds by all feasible means.

The black colleges of today are in a period of intense transition. They have a realization of the problems they face and most of them are taking necessary actions to meet and solve these problems. The American society must respond with greater commitment and financial support to these institutions. For these institutions to survive, "It will take the best of leadership, the best of ideas, and the best of support to solve the problems and realize the hope."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, p. 67.

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APPENDIX A  
BLACK PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER  
EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES:

Black Public Colleges and Universities	Total Enroll- ment	% Enrollment Non-Black	Competing Predom. White Institution in Community
Alabama A & M (1875)† Huntsville, Ala.	2,755*	3	Univ. Alabama at Huntsville
Alabama State Univ. (1874) Montgomery, Ala.	2,704	3	Auburn Univ.
Albany State College (1903) Albany, Ga.	1,942*	1.6	Valdosta State
Alcorn A & M College (1871) Lorman, Miss.	2,520	1	Univ. So. Miss. at Natchez
Arkansas A.M & N College Pine Bluff, Ark. (1873)	3,037*	2	Univ. Ark. at Little Rock
Bluefield State College Bluefield, W.Va. (1895)	1,177	80	None
Bowie State College Bowie, MD. (1865)	2,200	30	University of Maryland
Central State Univ. (1887) Wilberforce, Ohio	2,565*	12	Wright State, Antioch College
Cheyney State College Cheyney, Pa. (1837)	2,300	15	West Chester State College
Coppin State College (1900) Baltimore, Md.	2,500	10	Univ. of Md., Towson State
Delaware State College Dover, Dela. (1891)	1,670*	35	University of Delaware
Elizabeth City State U. Elizabeth City, N.C. (1891)	1,104*	5	None

Black Public Colleges and Universities	Total Enroll- ment	% Enrollment Non-Black	Competing Predom. White Institution in Community
Fayetteville State U. (1877) Fayetteville, NC	1,490	5	None
Florida A & M (1887) Tallahassee, Fla.	4,543*	2	Florida State U.
Fort Valley State College Fort Valley, Ga. (1895)	2,314*	.1	None
Grambling State College Grambling, La. (1901)	3,900	1.5	Louisiana Tech. U.
Jackson State College Jackson, Miss. (1877)	5,000	1	One being planned
Kentucky State College Frankfort, Ky (1886)	1,754*	30	Univ. of Kentucky
Langston University Langston, Okla. (1897)	1,250	8	Univ. Okla.
Lincoln University Jefferson City, Mo (1866)	2,998	over 51	Univ. Missouri, Stephens Coll.
Univ. Maryland-Eastern Shore Princess Anne, Md. (1886)	861	33	Salisbury State College
Mississippi Valley State College Itta Bena, Miss (1946)	2,005*	0	None
Morgan State College Baltimore, Md. (1867)	5,743	6	Univ. of Md. Towson State
Norfolk State College Norfolk, Va. (1935)	5,600	1.8	Va. Wesleyan, Old Dominion
North Carolina A & T State U. Greensboro, N.C. (1891)	3,797	5	Univ. No. Carolina at Greenboro
North Carolina Central U. Durham, N.C. (1910)	3,600	7	Univ. No. Carolina at Chapel Hill
Prairie View A & M College Prairie View, Texas (1876)	3,600	4	Univ. of Texas

Black Public Colleges and Universities	Total Enroll- ment	%Enrollment Non-Black	Competing Predom. White Institution in Community
Savannah State College Savannah, Ga. (1890)	2,368	1	Armstrong State
So. Carolina State College Orangeburg, S.C. (1896)	2,383	8.6	Clemson Univ.
Southern University (1914) Baton Rouge, New Orleans, Shreveport, La.	11,753	1.7	Branches of Louisiana State University
Tennessee State University Nashville, Tenn. (1912)	4,500	2	Univ. Tennessee at Nashville
Texas Southern University Houston, Texas (1947)	6,175	3	Univ. of Houston
Virginia State College Petersburg, Va. (1882)	3,222	12	U. Richmond, Va. Commonwealth
West Virginia State College Institute, Va. 1891)	3,663	75	Morris Harvey, Marshall Univ.
Winston-Salem State Univ. Winston-Salem, N.C. (1892)	1,734	3.5	Wake Forest Univ.

\* Figures based on the Directory of Traditionally Black Colleges and Universities, 1971.

† Year school was founded.

Source: Ebony Magazine, Oct., 1972.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF CHURCHES THAT RAISED

MONEY FOR VOORHEES SCHOOL

McCuan Branch	5.41
Mt. Nebo	1.48
Ashley Chapel	2.25
Thankful Branch Union	1.00
Jackson Branch	6.62
Long Branch	1.80
Dry Swanp School	5.32
Hickory Hill	1.38
Bethelehem	.67
Happy Hope	1.00
Lemon Pond	1.36
Crocketville People	1.20
Union	4.55
New Hope	4.18
Allen Chapel	1.12
Mt. Calvary	5.82
Second Mt. Olive	5.74
Evergreen	4.66
Ashley Union	5.00
Deep Creek	1.60
Estelle	.65
Almeda	1.37
Bell's Club, No. 1	1.50
Macedonia Union	2.10
Trinity	1.10
Rev. Kennedy's Union	1.75

Raysor's Mill	1.35
Pilgrim Rest	3.67
Galilee	8.16
Zion	.67
Oak Grove	1.36
Ebenezer	4.18
Ephesus	4.00
Good-Will	3.38
St. James	.38
Tabernacle	5.30
Davis Chapel	2.50
Galilee	3.10
Bethlehem Association	4.00
Three Mile Creek	3.00
Capernaum	4.97
Shunine	2.00
Bushy Pond	2.45
Canaan	2.21
Hovely Hill	1.77
Jericho	1.50
Sandy Run	2.00
Church at Salley	4.20
Church at Elko	5.20
Nazarene Association	2.51
Camp Meeting Buch Head	5.67
Mt. Zion	6.32
Willow Swamp	3.75
Rome	2.00
Oakley Springs	1.00
Springfield	1.57
Mt. Olive Association	2.10
St. James	2.06

Smyra	4.50
Bethel	.30
Browns' Chapel	2.30
Macedonia	3.40
Mt. Olive	2.00
Unorganized Church	.50
Gethsemane	2.26
Pilgrim Ford	2.30

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Source: Negro Higher Education in South Carolina by Lewis  
K. McMillan (1952).

APPENDIX C

SUGGESTIONS MADE BY THE CARNEGIE  
COMMISSION FOR THE SURVIVAL OF BLACK  
INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION:

The federal government should:

Continue to provide support for physical expansion of colleges founded for Negroes.

Create a federal agency, preferably within a National Foundation for the Development of Higher Education, to aid colleges and universities founded for Negroes in planning and funding developments to overcome deficits in physical resources, programs, and activities.

Provide initial financing for two or more regional centers for research on education for the academically disadvantaged.

State governments should:

Review salary levels of all institutions within their jurisdiction and take such steps as are necessary to achieve comparability between salaries paid in historically black and historically white public institutions with similar programs.

Prepare plans which permit predominantly black and predominantly white colleges in any given section of the state to develop programs which are complementary. Such plans should prohibit new developments that needlessly duplicate existing programs and facilities.

Work with public colleges founded for Negroes and with boards of education on long-range academic plans which will result in periodically raised college admissions standards and more college preparatory offerings in high schools attended by black students.

Foundations have opportunities to continue their past service to these institutions by:

Participating in the financial support of centers for research on education for the academically disadvantaged.

Encouraging interinstitutional cooperation through support of student and faculty exchange programs, development of summer programs in Afro-American studies, and experiments with joint admission of students to predominantly white and predominantly black institutions.

Providing financial support for faculty members at colleges founded for Negroes who must pursue one or two years of additional studies to obtain a Ph.D. or Doctor of Arts degree.

Black colleges should:

Review their curricula and recruit faculty members as necessary to provide more comprehensive educational programs for their students.

Develop facilities to accommodate greater numbers of both white and black students in the years ahead.

Continue their policies of hiring faculty members from all ethnic backgrounds and take steps to ensure that policies for promotion and compensation are equitably applied.

Develop responses to changes in occupational opportunities available to black Americans and offer instruction as needed to prepare their graduates for new career openings as they occur.

Develop continuing and adult education programs geared to the special needs of the black community.

Other colleges should:

Participate as is feasible in cooperating programs designed to supplement educational offerings of black colleges, promote student-faculty exchange, and coordinate state or regional higher education efforts.

Continue to recruit black students and faculty members and at the same time increase the number of black students prepared to go into college teaching.

The colleges founded for blacks are a national asset. They should be encouraged and assisted along with all other colleges to the extent that their problems are similar, and they should be given additional encouragement and assistance to the extent that they have special problems as they move from isolation into the mainstream of higher education.

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Source: A Report issued by the Carnegie Commission (1971).

