ABSTRACT

This document reviews the literature concerning traditionally black colleges. Emphasis is placed on history, governance and administration, teaching and educational programs, facilities, financial problems and support, students, the black university, and the future and raison d'etre for black colleges. An extensive bibliography is included. (MJM)
The traditionally black colleges and universities have, for many years, been the subject of special investigative and scholarly concern. This concern has, doubtless, stemmed from the fact that they have been unique in the sense that for the major part of their history they constituted a separate "system" of higher education for blacks. As a separate "system," therefore, they have frequently been both objects of attacks and the objects of special support -- however inadequate. This uniqueness has generated a literature that perhaps exceeds their share of the higher education establishment.

Background

With few exceptions, the traditionally black colleges were established after the Civil War under three auspices: the Northern white religious denominations from about 1865-1875; the black religious denominations from about 1875-1895; the several Southern and border states from about 1873-1946, when the State of Mississippi established what is now Mississippi Valley State College.¹ Thus a number of these institutions have been in existence for more than a century.

¹The conspicuous exception was Tuskegee Institute, founded by Booker T. Washington.
As late as 1964, there were 123 institutions designated as "predominantly Negro colleges and universities." By 1972, however, this number had decreased to 107. This decrease was due primarily to the closing of a number of junior colleges, especially the public junior colleges in Florida. Of the 107 institutions, 38 are publicly supported and 69 are private. The breakdown is indicated below:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Institution</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private Four-year Colleges and Universities</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Four-year Colleges and Universities</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Junior Colleges</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Junior Colleges</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>107</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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These institutions enroll an estimated 160,000 students.

Over the years, four major status studies of the traditionally black colleges and universities have been conducted and they provide the perspective against which the current literature may best be interpreted: Jones (1916); Klein (1928); Brown, Blauch, Jenkins and Caliver (1942), and McGrath (1965). These studies indicate, in part, the enormous progress made by


these institutions during the 56 years since the Jones study in 1916, one of whose major conclusions was that of the private colleges, only three were worthy of the name college -- Howard and Fisk Universities and Meharry Medical College. Of the 107 institutions at the present time, however, 76 are accredited regionally, or by the appropriate professional agency; 21 offer the Master's degree; and two -- Atlanta and Howard Universities -- offer the Ph.D. degree. In addition, six offer accredited programs in engineering; three offer degrees in law; and two offer degrees in medicine and dentistry.

**Period Under Review**

The period under review, 1966-1972, was one of turmoil and change: the Civil Rights Laws opened those predominantly white institutions that had been substantially closed to black students and likewise opened many new employment opportunities for educated Blacks; student activism and protests did much to change administrative policies and educational programs -- including the introduction, in many institutions, of Black Studies; -- the persistent question as to the need for the continuation of the traditionally black colleges and universities, now that the predominantly white institutions were open, was raised with greater force than ever before; the question concerning the continuation of the traditionally black colleges raised with renewed emphasis the issue of the quality of these institutions; black students and some black faculty, on the other hand, were seeking to turn what had been very traditional institutions into Black Universities -- institutions run by Blacks for Blacks, devoting their essential efforts and resources to the special problems of black
people. In the meantime, however, white students at institutions like Bluefield and West Virginia State Colleges, Lincoln University (Missouri) and Kentucky State College outnumbered black students. At Bluefield and West Virginia State Colleges, white students outnumbered black students by two to one and three to one, respectively.

Thus, in this period of turmoil and change, the literature on the black colleges, in addition to the usual subjects such as administration and governance, curriculum, student personnel problems and programs, finance, etc., reflected the concerns with Black Studies, the notion of the Black University, the future and raison d'etre of the black colleges and universities.

While the literature of the period covered a wide range of subjects, there were only six books that devoted any substantial space to the traditionally black colleges and universities. A related development is the growing literature concerning Blacks in the predominantly white institutions of higher learning. This is not surprising in view of the fact that the majority of the black students are now enrolled in predominantly white colleges and universities. Ironically, the first book to be published on Black Studies in the universities consisted of the papers and commentaries of the Yale University Conference on the subject. Furthermore, only one

4Robinson, Armstead, et al. (Editors) Black Studies in the University.
of the listed participants in the conference was affiliated with a traditionally black institution. Thus, as the number of black scholars affiliated with the predominantly white institutions increase, along with the previously-mentioned shift in the proportion of black students enrolled in these institutions, it seems reasonable to assume that in-depth scholarly attention to the traditionally black colleges and universities may very well decrease.

To accommodate the analysis of the literature, it will be divided into the following subjects:

-- History
-- Governance and Administration
-- Teaching and the Educational Programs
-- Facilities
-- Financial Problems and Support
-- Faculties
-- Students
-- The Black University
-- Future and Raison D'etre
-- General

**History**

Very few historical works were published during the period. Bullock's *History of Negro Education in the South* (1967) attempted to cover the several levels of education from 1619 to 1967. While it is an immensely interesting work, written with a definite point of view, it does not, and perhaps could not, cover the history of Negro higher education in depth.
The story of the long effort to obtain regional accreditation and eventually full membership in the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools for both the colleges and secondary schools is well told by L.S. Cozart (1967).

Bowles and DeCosta (1971) devote the first five informative chapters of *Between Two Worlds* to the development of the traditionally black colleges. It is regrettable that space apparently did not permit a fuller treatment. This is understandable, however, since the book has a broader purpose.

Frederick Chambers (1972) correctly calls attention to the paucity of histories of individual black colleges and until more of these are written, especially of key institutions, scholars who undertake to write comprehensive works on the history of black higher education face a prodigious task. For the period under review, apparently only one institutional history was published, Bacote's *Story of Atlanta University* (1969).

**Governance and Administration**

In the area of governance and administration, perhaps the most important of the publications was the Nabrit and Scott study (1969) of the trustees of 50 traditionally black institutions. The study arrived at 20 important conclusions -- among them being:

1. The charters and by-laws which stipulate qualifications, methods of election and the responsibilities of board members are often out of touch with the demands of the present;

2. Most boards do not take seriously their responsibility for developing positive and creative relationships with local power structures so
that their institutions can become more integral parts of the communities in which they are located;

3. Trustees in the institutions investigated have conservative attitudes about education and strong tendencies to maintain the status quo;

4. The ages of many trustees put them out of touch with the current student ideas and mood. At present there are no trustees under thirty and few between thirty and forty;

5. Only a negligible number of board members read educational publications and keep abreast of the problems and opportunities facing black colleges specifically and American higher education in general.

For each of the 20 conclusions, there is a specific recommendation. A major finding of significance was the fact that 88 percent of the trustees contributed, personally, less than $500 annually to the institutions.

The other articles dealt with very different aspects of governance and administration. Stanley H. Smith in an article in Southern Education Report (1969) suggested that administrators should heed the views of students. Miles in the New Republic (1967) characterized the administration at Howard University as "colonialism."

One brief article by E. W. Morris, in College and University (1969), dealt with the important problem of admissions. However, the most comprehensive work in the area of admissions was the monograph published by the College Entrance Examination Board, "The Administration of Admissions and Financial Aid in the United Negro College Fund Colleges (1969). The study
involved the sending of a questionnaire to 33 colleges and 29 responded. The findings suggested the need for a number of improvements. On the basis of these findings, detailed recommendations concerning recruitment, coordination between admissions and financial aid, cooperation with other colleges, etc., were made.

Teaching and the Educational Programs

The main themes in the area of teaching and the educational programs were Black Studies, special compensatory programs, graduate and professional programs and curriculum changes and development.

BLACK STUDIES

Several of the articles concerned with Black Studies were descriptions of programs in individual institutions or consortiums. Darwin Turner (1970), for example, described the Center for African-American Studies at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, as did Fisher (1971) for the program at Morgan State College. Eko (1970) edited the monograph describing the approaches employed by the Six Institutions Consortium in North Carolina. George U. Rigsby (1970) reviewed the program at Howard University "one year later."

There were comparatively few writings that sought to deal with the philosophical basis of the programs. Preston Wilcox (1970), in an article entitled "Black Studies As Academic Discipline," made an attempt and concluded that: "To apply the same criteria to Black Studies as has been applied to White Studies is to ensure that Black Studies will become White Studies." Wright (1970) likewise made an attempt and arrived at a very different conclusion:
It is my position and conviction that the viability of Black Studies will be contingent upon the extent to which they are handled as other disciplines. Otherwise, they are unlikely to receive the sustained financial support that is necessary to attract outstanding scholars who are absolutely essential to their development; or to attract, on a continuing basis, the able young men and women without whom there will be no programs.

There has been surprisingly little evaluative and guidelines literature on Black Studies. Henschel and Henschel (1969) did a short article, "Black Studies Programs: Promise and Pitfalls." The best piece, in the opinion of this writer, is "Black Studies: Myths and Realities" (1969) with separate pieces done by such outstanding scholars as Martin Kilson, C. Vann Woodard, Kenneth B. Clark, Andrew Brimmer and others.

CURRICULUM

The curriculums in the traditionally black colleges were the subject of serious concern. The most ambitious undertaking was the program developed under the leadership of the Institute for Services to Education. New and more relevant materials for the freshman and sophomore years have been developed for a large consortium of institutions. "Journey Into Discovery: The Thirteen College Curriculum Program" (1969) describes this effort.

"New Careers and Curriculum Change" (1968) reported on the Southern Regional Education Board's Conference whose purpose it was to assist the traditionally black institutions in making those changes in the curriculums that prepared their students for the new and emerging opportunities. O'Connell (1969) reported on the follow-up conference, a year later, to foster improvement of curricula and instruction in developing colleges. Reid (1967), through use of a questionnaire, surveyed recent changes in the curricula in the traditionally black colleges.
Several studies were also done on specific disciplines in the institutions: Woolfolk and Smith (1967) on chemical education in Negro colleges; Hamlett (1967) on biological sciences for general education in selected predominantly Negro colleges; Deskins and others (1971).

The only structured experimental study was done by Grooms (1971) as a doctoral dissertation at Florida State University. The academic performance of freshman and sophomore students in an experimental curriculum was compared to the performance of similar students in the regular curriculum.

In the compensatory and special programs designed to deal with the disadvantage many black students bring to the educative process, several relatively important programs were described: Born (1968) described the tutoring program conducted by white students at Rust College; Cooper (1966), the "ungraded" approach of the freshman program at Shaw University; Froe (1966), the program at Morgan State College; and Friedman (1969), the revised social science program at Miles College that substituted relevant problems in the local community for usual freshman social science materials.

GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

Emphasis on graduate and professional education increased during the period. This emphasis is reflected only in part in the literature. Included among the worthy of listing were: Petrof's (1966) study of business curricula in the predominantly black institutions; Valien's (1967) suggestions for improving graduate programs for Negroes; Morgan's (1970) suggestions for fostering the development of Negro engineering schools and Harrison (1971) on the role of the Negro business school in promoting black capitalism.
GENERAL

A wide variety of one-of-a-kind articles appeared. One of these by Monro (1971) tells, in a poignant manner, the experience of a former Dean at Harvard teaching at Miles College in Birmingham.

Facilities

Although Bowles and DeCosta (1971) indicated that the traditionally black institutions owned only about $600,000,000, or less than three percent of the facilities -- land, improvements, buildings and equipment -- in higher education, surprisingly few of the writings of the period were concerned with such things. The Journal of College Placement (1968) commented on the new, centralized placement facilities for the Atlanta University Center, which includes Atlanta University, the Interdenominational Theological Center, Morehouse, Spelman, Clark and Morris Brown Colleges; Josey (1969) speculated on the future of the black college library; and Buccieri (1972) discussed the use of computerized construction in making Black beautiful in black college design.

In other words, there were no critical articles that sought to evaluate the adequacy of the facilities for the size and mission of the institutions or to compare them, definitively, with those provided the predominantly white institutions.

Financial Problems and Support

Since most competent students of the traditionally black colleges and universities consider adequate financing to be one of their most critical and
stubborn problems, one might expect a plethora of enlightened articles on the subject. Such is not the case.

Brazziel (1967) discussed the need for federal aid; the *Journal of Negro Education* (1967) quoted excerpts from The Ford Foundation press release on grants to strengthen "Negro Higher Education"; Patterson (1969) described for the Council of Presidents of the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges the "Development Programs at Negro Institutions," and Votaw and Sethi (1970) analyzed some of the paradoxes in the support of black colleges.

However, three publications did come to fundamental grips with their needs:

2. *Federal Agencies and Black Colleges* (1971) indicated how poorly the traditionally black colleges fared at the hands of the agencies of the federal government;
3. The Southern Education Foundation's *Small Change: A Report on Federal Support for Black Colleges* (1972) makes what is, doubtless, the best case to date for a more adequate and equitable share of federal funds.

Because they serve one of the poorest of the constituencies in higher education, because the students bring to the institutions of higher education severe educational disadvantage, and because they have a long-accumulated deficit in support, the traditionally black colleges and universities have special financial needs for which the literature can make a still better case.
Faculties

Attracting and holding able faculties has been a critical problem for the traditionally black colleges and universities for most of their history. Well-trained black faculty members have always been in short supply and those colleges with racially integrated faculties, with few exceptions, never had the means to be competitive with their white counterparts. Nevertheless, faculties and faculty problems were given little attention during the period.

Huyck (1966) compared faculties in predominantly white and predominantly Negro institutions; Kirk (1969) studied the health and physical education faculties; and Scales (1969) examined the professional preparation of faculty in the South.

By 1970, the employment of black faculty by the predominantly white colleges had become a visible problem. Thus two articles on the "brain drain," one by Poinsett (1970) and one by Wright (1970), appeared.

Totten (1971) did a comparative study of the academic status of black and white college and university librarians.

Students

Student unrest and student participation in protests were the subjects that drew most attention during the period. Of these, three concerned Howard University: Hare (1968) wrote of paternalism; McDowell, Lowe and Dockett (1970) studied student participation; and U.S. News and World Report (1967) did a short article on what it interpreted as "Black Power" threatening the university. Other writers concerned themselves with a broader look at the mood of black students: Bass and Clancy (1968) writing in the Reporter
described what they referred to as a militant mood; Hunter (1969) described what she called the "black mood"; Harrison (1971) attempted to analyze the reasons for the campus unrest; and Terrell described the destructive demonstrations at Lane College (1969).

Several major research pieces appeared during the period: Fichter's study (1967) of the graduates of the predominantly black college; Froe's study (1968) of a disadvantaged population, Gurin's study (1970) of the aspirations and motivations of Southern college youth.

Bayer and Borouch (1969) devoted the American Council on Education Research Report (Volume 4, Number 2) to the black student in American colleges. The volume includes an overview of studies on black higher education and an overview of programs in higher education for the disadvantaged. In addition, it includes comparative norms and characteristics for white and black students. The sample of black students was drawn from 19 predominantly black colleges. The comprehensiveness of the data included in this document will make it useful as a bench-mark study for a considerable length of time.

The Black University

The Black University should, in no sense, be confused with the black college or the predominantly black college. The latter institutions are merely the designations of institutions whose enrollments are composed of black or predominantly black students. The designation has little, if anything, to do with the mission or the curriculum. On the other hand, "The
Black University is a concept of an institution whose mission and curriculum are designed to serve the special problems of Blacks, with special reference to their survival and liberation from white oppression. It goes without saying that such a university requires an administration and a faculty dedicated to this mission.

The notion of such a university appeared in the literature in organized form about 1968. In March of that year, The Negro Digest presented articles on the subject by Gerald McWhorter, Darwin Turner, Stephen Henderson, J. Herman Blake, Vincent Harding and Nathan Hare. In the March issue for the next two succeeding years, 1969 and 1970, The Negro Digest devoted special articles to the subject. In addition, other articles appeared in Ebony and elsewhere. Moreover, students at several black institutions, including Fisk and Howard Universities, sought to turn them into Black Universities.

Of those who have been its strongest advocates, perhaps Gerald McWhorter, Vincent Harding, and Stephen Henderson might be considered its architects. Harding (1970), for example, stated that "One of the central characteristics of the Black University is its willingness to define education as being unashamedly political and to tie black higher education to the struggles of African people everywhere...The search for the Black University is a clear response to Fanon's invitation to leave the ideals and standards of the dying Euro-American world behind and dare risk the creation of new institutions and new modes of thought on behalf of a new humanity, beginning with our own children."

McWhorter writes in a similar vein: "The values of the Black University must support the liberation of Afro-Americans, oppressed peoples around the world and all that prevents man from leading the good life."6

Like other revolutionary concepts, the Black University has its moderates and radicals. Darwin Turner (1968) would, in effect, make the traditionally black institutions stronger and more responsive to the needs of black students, defined in more traditional ways. Perhaps the clearest presentations of the more radical concepts of the Black University are set forth in the article by McWhorter quoted above and in a later article (1969), "Struggle, Ideology and the Black University," and by Harding (1968) in "Some International Implications of the Black University."

In addition to the writers indicated above, the cause of the Black University has had other eloquent advocates: Preston Wilcox (1969), "On the Black University: Movement or Institution?"; Beckman (1969), "Problems of Place, Personnel and Practicality: A Commentary on the Black University"; and Bullock (1971), "The Black College and the New Black Awareness."

In the March 1969 issue of The Negro Digest, President James R. Lawson, of Fisk University; President emeritus Benjamin E. Mays, of Morehouse College, Dr. Samuel D. Proctor, now Professor of Education at Rutgers University and former President of the North Carolina A and T College, and Dr. Benjamin Payton, former President of Benedict College, responded to the notion of "The Black University." None categorically endorsed the notion. Most indicated, directly or indirectly, that finding adequate financial support for

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the Black University would be practically impossible. President Lawson went on to state that: "At Fisk, we are attempting to meet the challenges represented by the need and the desire for black identity, dignity and status on the one hand and by new career opportunities for black students on the other... We are convinced that meeting the first challenge should represent a supplement to and enrichment of our basic program and our efforts to meet the second challenge."

The advocates of the Black University have not provided any satisfactory reconciliation of the notion of the Black University and the Civil Rights Laws, particularly as they apply to the state-supported black colleges -- the traditionally black institution that enrolls the majority of those black students still enrolled in black institutions.

LeMelle and LeMelle (1969) present what appears to be a more viable approach:

Black educators must fully understand the essential tooling and socializing functions of higher education before a basic transformation of the traditional Negro college can be achieved. In short, they must be persuaded that their institutions have a special obligation to analyze, interpret and legitimate the values and interests of black America and prepare black students to maximize these values in terms of their own black interests and those of American society generally. To be meaningful, the task of analyzing, interpreting and legitimizing must be pursued in the context of the objective realities of American Society and not in the contrived American myth. (Emphasis supplied.)

The notion of the Black University is likely to be pressed until the most meaningful aspects of its mission are adopted by institutions that serve substantial numbers of black students, whether in the traditionally black institutions or the predominantly white institutions.
The Future and Raison D'etre

As suggested earlier, but not detailed, a number of factors revived, with renewed vigor, the question of the future and the raison d'être of the predominantly black colleges and universities: the desegregation of the predominantly white colleges; the shift in the balance of enrollment of black students to the predominantly white institutions of higher learning; the opening of new employment opportunities with educational requirements that many of the black institutions could not provide; the growing awareness of the costly duplicating of programs in neighboring black and white publicly-supported institutions; the rising cost of higher education in general, among others.

Perhaps the most incendiary single article was written by Christopher Jencks and David Riesman and appeared in the Winter 1967 issue of the Harvard Educational Review under the title, "The American Negro College." The article was highly perjorative in nature and, with sweeping generalizations, characterized the predominantly black colleges and universities, without any documentary evidence, as "academic disaster areas." Carrying the prestige of Harvard and the usually scholarly Harvard Educational Review, if not the then prestige of Jencks and Riesman, it attracted widespread national attention. Time (March 31, 1967), for example, carried the gist of the article to its millions of readers as if it were the certified truth, while the Harvard Educational Review published in the Summer 1967 issue some of the rebutting reactions of Stephen J. Wright, then President of the United Negro College Fund; Hugh M. Gloster, President of Morehouse College; Albert Dent, then President of Dillard University; Benjamin E. Mays,
President emeritus of Morehouse College; William F. Brazziel, then Professor of Education at Virginia State College; Elias Blake, Jr., then of Educational Projects, Inc.; and Paul Garver, who characterized himself as one of the "carpetbagger" faculty at a large public institution in the deep South. But there were those, like Julian C. Stanley, of Johns Hopkins University, to whom the article was "a balanced portrayal of issues concerning this important class of institutions." The Jencks-Riesman article, with few substantive changes, was published as Chapter X of their highly regarded book entitled, The Academic Revolution (1968).

The questioning, then, of the future and raison d'être of the black colleges and universities gave rise to a number of speeches and articles. By far, the most comprehensive and organized response to the questioning was the Summer 1971 issue of Daedalus: "The Future of the Black Colleges." Some 15 scholars that included Andrew F. Brinner, a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System; S. M. Nabrit, Director of the Southern Fellowships Fund; Winfred Godwin, President of the Southern Regional Education Board; Patricia R. Harris, former Dean of the Howard University Law School; St. Clair Drake, Professor of Anthropology and Sociology at Stanford University wrote on a variety of issues. The advisory committee of the issue included, among others, Derek Bok, Kenneth Clark, Martin D. Jenkins, Edward Levi, Thomas Pettigrew and Daniel Thompson.

The several extended articles touched most of the critical issues that will confront the traditionally black institutions in the future: the economic outlook, responsibility to the black community, future leadership roles, legal status, role in the social order, the role of the Southern
states, and reflections on the future of black colleges by S. M. Nabrit, a scholar and former Dean of the Graduate School at Atlanta University and former President of Texas Southern University.

Other shorter articles treat various aspects of the future and raison d'être. These include Mayhew's article, "Neighboring Black and White Colleges: A Study in Waste" (1971) which details the several pairs of institutions in the same general community that duplicate educational programs; Cheek's "Black College in a Multiracial Society" (1972) which offers a raison d'être, as does Johnson's "The Importance of the Black Colleges" (1971).

Chapter 13 in Bowles and DeCosta's Between Two Worlds, ("Prospects of the Historically Negro Colleges"), is devoted to various aspects of the future of the traditionally black colleges. Moreover, the very title of the Carnegie Commission report From Isolation to Mainstream (1971) suggests optimism about the future and includes such topics as "Emergence from Isolation," "A Record of Achievement," and "Competition and Cooperation." It concludes with a section that includes goals for 1980 and with recommendations for the roles that the federal government, the state governments, the foundations, other colleges and the black colleges, themselves, should play in the achievement of the recommended goals.

General

The category of general writings on the traditionally black colleges includes a wide range of subjects, very few of which are investigative in nature. In other words, they tend to be articles of opinion and speculation. Examples include Benjamin E. May's (1966) "Achievements of the Negro Colleges"; Vivian W. Henderson's (1967) "Role of the Predominantly Negro Institutions";
Gwendolyn M. Hall's (1969) "Rural Black College: A Special Experience"; and John U. Monro's (1972) "Black College Dilemma."

Those writings of an investigative nature included the Southern Regional Education Board's study (1967) The Negro and Higher Education in the South; Jaffe and others' (1968) Negro Higher Education in the 1960's; and Wright's (1971) unpublished "Study of the Five Black Colleges Related to the Presbyterian Church."

The Southern Regional Education Board's study was a brief survey of the predominantly black colleges of the region that included the curriculums, instruction, organization and operation, and recommendations for improvements in each area. The study was scarcely comprehensive and detailed enough to support the recommendations it made and, for this reason, drew criticisms from a number of educators, including this writer. Nevertheless, the study does include valuable factual data.

Negro Higher Education in the 1960's, the study by Jaffe, Adams and Myers, is the most important study in the category of general writings. It includes a section on historical trends, one on recruitment practices, considerable socio-economic data on black students, enrollment projections and a section on major findings and their policy recommendations. The two major findings were stated as follows:

1. "Most of these colleges are either academically "poor" or very questionable in quality, and they enroll students who are ill-prepared for college level work. The value of an education at these colleges for such students appears slight. In turn, it seems highly unlikely that the college experience would particularly enhance the student's later contribution to his community;
2. "These conditions will continue to be the case -- and probably will hold true for considerably larger numbers of students -- in the foreseeable future, unless concerted contravening measures are brought to bear upon the problem."

Similar criticisms of the traditionally black colleges have been a continuing part of their history and yet, somehow, they have continued to develop outstanding men and women and, for most of the past century, developed substantially all of the black leadership in the nation in all fields.

Wright's unpublished "Study of the Five Black Colleges Related to the Presbyterian Church" included several major recommendations, among them being the following:

1. That Barber-Scotia College and Johnson C. Smith University be merged as promptly as possible;

2. That Knoxville College and Johnson C. Smith University expand their offering through special arrangements with nearby state universities;

3. That the colleges give serious attention to the substitution of cooperative education programs for their present programs.

Conclusion

It is readily evident that the traditionally black colleges and universities have been the object of a considerable body of writings during the period under review, much of which has been critical, and because this has been the case, many of the articles have been devoted to rebuttals, justifications, etc. As the publicly-supported institutions become more integrated,
the writings are likely to decrease. What is likely to produce new writings will be the states' efforts to deal with the wasteful duplication of curriculums and programs in neighboring black and white publicly-supported institutions. Moreover, as an increasingly larger percentage of the black students enroll in the predominantly white institutions, the likelihood is that the major writings concerning black students will shift to the predominantly white institutions.

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January 5, 1973
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