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It must be demonstrated . . .

From a Dual to a Unitary School System

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The Road to Equality in Educating African American Students: Horry County Public Schools (1930–1970)

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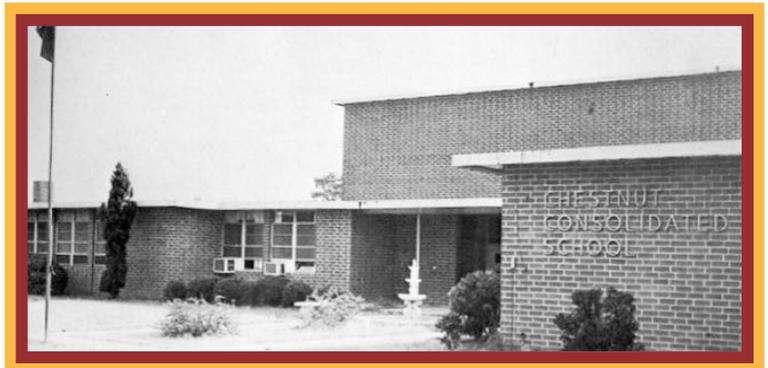
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Introduction

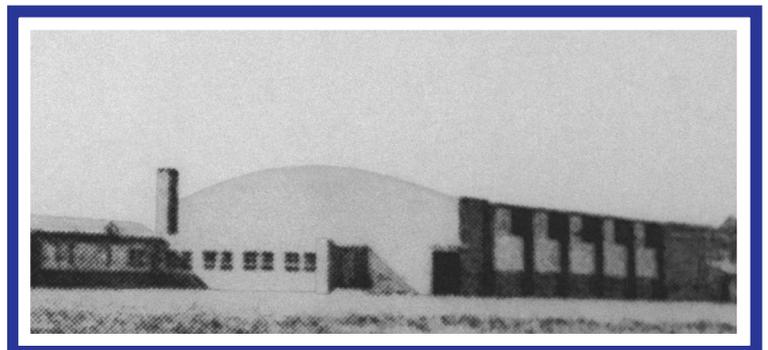
The past still affects all of us because, to understand where we go in the future, we must understand the past. Decisions we make relative to the present are because of our past. Therefore, this paper will focus on the road from the dual—white and black—to unitary public school system in Horry County. This paper is not an attempt to shame South Carolina nor Horry County for its past unequal treatment in educating white and black children but rather



**Whittimore High School
(1932–1970)****



**Chestnut Consolidated High School
(1954–1970)**



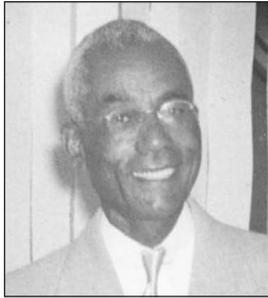
**Finklea Consolidated High School
(1955–1970)**

*The author of this paper attended grades 1–12 in Horry County under its dual public school system.

**Founded in 1870 and was approved as a high school about 1930.

Former Principals: The administrators shown below are the educators who led the three Horry County African American high schools discussed in this paper from 1930 to 1970.

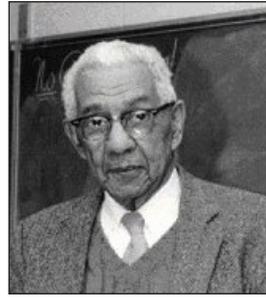
Whittemore High School—Former Principals



Mr. Robert E. Rhue Sr.
Tenure: ca.1938–1951*
b. 1882 d. 1964



Mr. Isaac S. Lewis
Tenure: 1951–1954
b. 1919 d. 1994

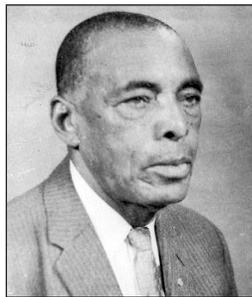


Dr. Ernest A. Finney Sr.
Tenure: 1954–1964
b. 1906 d. 1992



Mr. Robert Laney Sr.
Tenure: 1964–1970
b. 1924 d. 2003

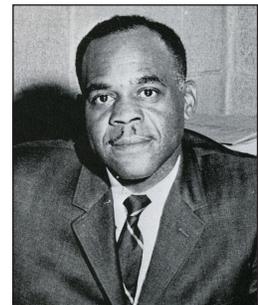
Poplar Training School and Chestnut Consolidated High School—Former Principals



Mr. Jacob T. Chestnut
Poplar Training School
Tenure: 1930–1952
b. 1885 d. 1967

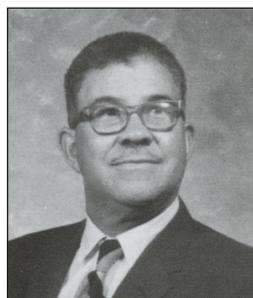


Mr. Edward M. Henry
Poplar Training School
Tenure: 1951–1954
Chestnut Consolidated High School
Tenure: 1954–1969
b. 1918 d. 2009



Mr. J. R. Taylor
Chestnut Consolidated High School
Tenure: 1969–1970
b. 1917 d. 1991

Loris Training School and Finklea Consolidated High School—Former Principals



Mr. William P. Johnson
Loris Training School
Tenure: ca. 1930–1941
b. 1910 d. 2007



Mr. George G. Cooper
Loris Training School
Tenure: 1941–1955
Finklea Consolidated High School
Tenure: 1955–1970
b. 1915 d. 1991

*South Carolina Department of Education began listing African American high schools and their principals in 1938–39. It is believed that Mr. Rhue was principal a few years before the school received state-accredited status in 1938.



Introduction

From Page 1

to serve as a history lesson on the profound unequal treatment of children under its former dual school system—one white and one black. Perhaps, this paper can help parents and the school system deal more effectively with the many everyday complexities that confront the public schools of Horry County today, especially behavior and academic performance gap issues.

The starting point in this paper is the outcomes of the Rosenwald school initiative, under which many schools were constructed from the late 1920s to the early 1930s, comprising about 50 percent of the county grammar schools for African American students. The enrollment graphical pattern shown in this report starts in 1940 because the South Carolina Department of Education (SCDE) did not publish annual enrollment numbers for African American schools until 1938. Starting in 1938 and 1939, it published enrollment data for the only two African American high schools in Horry County at that time: Poplar Training School and Whittemore High School. The report includes student enrollment for Loris Training School starting in the 1947–48 school year.* No other black grammar schools, enrollment data were published in the annual report. Therefore, the report includes only African American and white teachers and students because the idea is to look at the enrollment of white and black students in 1940 and compare them at various intervals on the timeline through 2019. Consequently, these two historical subpopulations are the only groups depicted throughout this paper.

The ethnic identifier “African American” will be used in many cases interchangeably with the identifier “black” throughout this paper. In the same manner, the ethnic identifier “Caucasian” will be used interchangeably with the identifier “white” throughout the paper. Headcount and enrollment will also be used interchangeably. Because about 90 percent of the sourced data in this paper were created by the SCDE, rather than list every title of a source

within the SCDE, all in-text citations will include the acronym followed by the year in parentheses: for example, (SCDE, 1950).

The vast majority of the information in this paper is from SCDE’s annual report known as “School Directory of South Carolina.” This document was published annually by the state superintendent of education. In addition to enrollment data, the report contains all vital information on colleges and public schools, including the headcount of all grammar schools for white students, but not the grammar schools for black students. Severe restrictions were placed on publishing the enrollment data on African American grammar schools until 1951–52, when the report began including a few African American grammar schools in South Carolina and its county school districts.

The Whittemore High School became a state-accredited high school in the 1938–39 school year. The 1938–39 annual report included Whittemore elementary and high schools and the number of teachers and students but did not include enrollment data of any of the other grammar schools for black students in Horry County. Also, the 1939–40 enrollment report included enrollment data for the recently established Poplar Training School as a high school. However, for the first time, the annual report for 1954–55 included all Horry County African American elementary schools that were consolidated and designated for black children under Governor Byrnes’ equalization schools program.

All analyses throughout this treatise are relative to students’ public school education and enrollment trends in the dual public school system in Horry County—one white and one black. Therefore, this report depicts the dual system in the aftermath of the Rosenwald initiative (1940–54) and subsequently South Carolina’s equalization schools program (1954–70), and the desegregation timeline when all South Carolina and Horry County public schools converted to a unitary school system (1970–2019).

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*The wording on the Myrtle Beach Colored School’s historical marker states that grades 8 through 12 were added after 1945. Information published by SCDE from 1913 to 1970 does not list a fourth high school in Horry County where African American students could earn a high school diploma. Therefore, the information relative to grade 12 on the historical marker is questionable and the author of this paper sent an inquiry to South Carolina Department of Archives and History regarding the possible error on the marker.



Introduction

From Page 3

Moreover, the topic of this paper is not unique to Horry County it could have been written for any of the 46 counties in the state. The narrative and data fit the same pattern during a difficult time that all southern states were dealing with after several hundred years of oppression of African Americans to guarantee them the freedom guaranteed to everyone by the US Constitution. State and county public officials worked hard until the bitter end to preserve segregation. Finally, all public schools in the state desegregated in 1970, which ended 200 years of open and legal oppression of African Americans.

Establishment of Public High Schools for African American Students (1930–1954)

Before organized grammar schools and high schools were established by the state to educate black children in South Carolina and other southern states, what is known today as the historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) began organizing in about 1870, long before there were grammar and high schools in South Carolina and other southern states to educate black children. These institutions provided the necessary grammar school, high school, and college education on the same campus for African American children, basically serving as their own feeder schools. For example, when Claflin University (Orangeburg, SC) opened its doors in 1872, it included a grammar school, high school, and college, all in one. More examples comprise Allen University (Columbia, SC), Benedict College (Columbia, SC), Morris College (Sumpter, SC), and South Carolina State University (Orangeburg, SC), which all included elementary through college training. Many of these schools maintained this model into the 1930s as South Carolina and other southern states continued their unwavering refusal to properly fund education for African American children. Hence, the first state-accredited high school graduating class in South Carolina of African American students was in 1929, and the first in Horry County was in 1932 or 1933 at Whittemore Training School—an unaccredited high school at the time. This was almost 60 years after Claflin

University offered grammar schooling through college for black students. The contributions to educating young black students that these colleges and universities made were immeasurable. However, in the opinion of the author, the plans and actions by the earlier HBCU schools worked well for African Americans during very challenging times before the African American struggle was hijacked by other groups with a very different and historical experience from that of African Americans. On the basis of these other groups' behavior, it appears they had their own agenda and needed African Americans in their cause to boost their power because there is strength in numbers. The tragedy is that since the hijacking by other groups, their causes distracted blacks from what they as a group had made work for them in the past. Moreover, African Americans have been helped the least and those who hijacked the black struggle have been helped the most. One glaring example is affirmative action. However, any additional discussion about affirmative action is beyond the scope of this paper.

Another misconception that keeps perpetuating itself is that the African American's and Hispanic's situations are interchangeable when discussing minorities, whereas Hispanic students' historical presence in Horry County is very different from that of the black student, not even close. For example, the African American experience in the state and county is that Jim Crow laws and the inferiority of blacks were the foundations of society. In Horry County public schools, Hispanic students outperformed African American students in English language arts and mathematics by an average of about 40 percent on the 2018 SCREADY assessment test. Why? The historical treatment of black students before the Hispanic student arrived should be examined and understood better when educating and comparing the two groups.

Whittemore High School was different from Loris Training School and Poplar Training School in that it was founded about 1870 but was not approved by the county school district to offer high school

Establishment of Public Schools, Page 5



Establishment of Public Schools

From Page 4

diplomas until about 1932 or 1933, whereas Loris Training School was not an approved high school until the early 1940s and Poplar Training School was approved as a high school in the 1939–40 school year. These three new high schools were established by the local school district of Horry County in accordance with *South Carolina Code of Laws Title 59—Education Chapter 39, High Schools, Article 1, Section 59-39-10*.^{*} Neither Loris Training nor Poplar Training became a state-accredited high school until 1949–50 and 1951–52, respectively. This meant that, before these school years, neither Poplar Training School nor Loris Training School could award a state high school diploma; rather, they awarded local diplomas signed by the principal, the area superintendent, and the Horry County school district superintendent.

Whittemore High School became state-accredited starting in 1938–39 after meeting its four-year requirement as a high school and the state accreditation standards. It became the only high school in Horry County where an African American could earn a state high school diploma. Moreover, in the 1938–39, there were only 31 African American state-accredited high schools in the entire state. The late Mrs. Annie Johnson Henry graduated from Whittemore Training School in 1933 from the tenth grade, and she was believed to be in the first or second graduating class from the school. The eleventh grade was added in 1934, which put the school on the four-year track to become a state-accredited high school, which it did, as mentioned above, in 1938–39.

The Loris Colored School was constructed with seed money from the Rosenwald Foundation in 1928–1929 at a total cost of \$4,700, and the Rosenwald contribution was \$1,000, which equated to about 21

percent. The late Mr. William P. Johnson Sr. became its first principal. In 1941, after an arduous journey, Mr. Johnson was able to obtain approval to increase the grades from 1–7 to 1–8 and implement a nine-month school year. Mr. George G. Cooper became principal in 1941. He built on Mr. Johnson’s legacy by adding one grade per year or so until the school was approved as a high school when students could still graduate from grade 11. In 1944, South Carolina legislation added grade 12, but it took a few years from the 1944 legislation for graduation from grade 12 to become effective. About 1945, Mr. Cooper sought state accreditation for the high school, but was denied because the school lacked indoor plumbing, sufficient classrooms, running water, a certified librarian, the proper number of teachers, and so on. A promise by the county school district to help correct the deficiencies was made but not acted on; therefore, the black community was mobilized and literally constructed a five-room cinder block building to accommodate the students to meet the accreditation standards. After the community completed the addition, the county hired an additional five teachers for the five new classrooms and grade 12 was added. Subsequently, Loris Training School became a state-accredited high school in 1949–50 (SCDE, 1950).

The Poplar Training School was the outgrowth of the Poplar Grove Colored School and Poplar Grove Vocational School. The Poplar Grove Colored School (1925–26) was constructed at a total cost of \$4,650 with a Rosenwald Foundation contribution of \$1,100, which equated to about 24 percent of the total cost. The Poplar Grove Vocational School was constructed a few years later with funds from sources other than Rosenwald, including the county. The Poplar Grove Colored School focused on reading, writing, and arithmetic with formal grade levels, whereas the vocational school focused on teaching agricultural education, home economics, and industrial trades.

Establishment of Public Schools, Page 6

^{*}After a district establishes a new high school in accordance with South Carolina Code of Laws cited, the officials of the high school can apply for the high school become state-accredited after operating for four years and meeting the accreditation standards of the South Carolina Department of Education. In the interim, the school’s high school diplomas are not state high school diplomas. The accreditation process for African American high schools was difficult because of the severely unequal funding needed to meet accreditation standards.



Establishment of Public Schools

From Page 5

After the Poplar Training School was established and approved as an unaccredited high school starting in 1939–40 school year, the Poplar Grove Colored School and Poplar Grove Vocational School no longer existed as separate entities and became the newly established Poplar Training School (grades 1–11*), which included both elementary (grammar) school and high school under the name Poplar Training School. Mr. Jacob T. Chestnut was the head, and C. A. Prince was the principal. After the district approved the Poplar complex as a high school (grades 1–11 with grade 8 being the first year of high school), Mr. Chestnut returned as the principal and remained its principal until 1951.

In the mid-1940s, a third building including an office for the principal and several classrooms made of cinder blocks were constructed on the site as part of the Poplar Training School campus. Twelfth grade was added about 1949; therefore, grades 1–12 were distributed among the three buildings. After its establishment in 1939, Poplar Training School became a state-accredited high school starting in 1951–52 (SCDE, 1951) after the late Mr. Edward M. Henry Sr. became its principal. He had a four-year college degree. This meant that after 12 years as an unaccredited high school, Poplar Training School was now a state-accredited high school; therefore, it now was qualified to award state high school diplomas to its graduates.

Although Loris Training School and Poplar Training School became state-accredited high schools in 1949–50 and 1951–52, respectively, Whittemore High School remained the flagship high school for black students in Horry County. Whittemore had a stronger high school curriculum than Loris or Poplar. These schools were later replaced with Chestnut Consolidated High School (1954) and Finklea Consolidated High School (1955), respectively.

*South Carolina legislation added grade 12 in 1944. Poplar Training School added grade 12 in 1949.

Highlights of the Dual Public School System (1930–1970)

Since at least 1930, there were eight fully state-accredited high schools for white students in Horry County where a white student could earn a state high school diploma. The high schools for Caucasian students were Aynor High, Conway High, Floyds High, Green Sea High, Loris High, Myrtle Beach High, Socastee High, and Wampee Little River High. The lone state-accredited high school for African American students in Horry County was Whittemore High School (state-accredited in 1938). Poplar Training School was established in 1939–40 by the Horry County Board of Education as a high school for black students, but it did not receive state-accredited status to offer a state high school diploma until 1951–52 school year. Loris Training School was approved in the early 1940s by the county board of education as a high school and received state-accredited status 1949–50. Even though Poplar Training and Loris Training were approved by the Horry County Board of Education as high schools in 1939 and early 1940s to offer high diplomas (SCDE, 1950), neither school was state-accredited to offer a state high school diploma until the graduation classes of 1952 and 1950, respectively.

The inability to obtain state-accredited status was due primarily to the disparities arising from South Carolina's and Horry County's long-standing refusal to fund education for black students equally to that of white students. To reemphasize this horrific situation, the lack of state-accredited status was directly the result of inadequate funding by South Carolina and Horry County for African American schools. For example, there were no funds to establish a science laboratory, not enough qualified high school teachers, no certified librarian, no indoor plumbing, and so on. All of the above deficiencies hindered the granting of state accreditation to these schools because of the refusal of South Carolina and Horry County officials to provide the necessary resources to educate African American children.

Highlights of the Dual System, Page 7



Highlights of the Dual System

From Page 6

The state’s general population in 1940 was 1.9 million (US Census, 1940), the African American population in the state was 43 percent, and the African American student population was 51 percent. This means that the state was not adequately funding more than half (51 percent) of its students. The general population of Horry County in 1940 was 51,951, and the African American population in Horry County was 27 percent or 14,027.

The Loris Training School and Poplar Training School were closed in 1954 and 1955, respectively. They were replaced with two South Carolina equalization schools—Chestnut Consolidated High School replaced Poplar Training School (1954) and Finklea Consolidated High School replaced Loris Training School (1955). Therefore, for the first time in its history—starting in 1955—there were three modern high schools in Horry County with a gymnasium, science laboratory, certified teachers, and a certified librarian, where an African American could earn a state high school diploma. Hence, Whittemore High School was the only state-accredited high school in Horry County that was approved to issue a state high school diploma to African American students until 1950.

Before 1949, in order for a black student in the school district of Horry County to earn a state high school diploma, he or she had to attend Whittemore High School. For students in the rural areas of Horry County, this meant finding a family in Conway to board with while the student was earning a state high school diploma. There were a few schools in the county that offered courses in high school grades, but they were not approved to award a high school diploma. Examples include Richardson Training School (Bucksport), Carver Training School (Myrtle Beach), and Moton Training (Loris area) which briefly included some high school grades. Richardson Training School was replaced by a South Carolina equalization school, Bucksport Elementary School, in 1954.

There has been much confusion about the past use of the designation “training school” relative to the designation “high school” throughout South Carolina before 1954. The bulk of the confusion seems to be about the word “training” used in the naming of a high school. Also, many saw the term as relegating the school to a lower status. The name should be viewed in the context of the time, when many high schools for African American children officially included “training” in the names of these schools.* Often when these schools were initially established, they started as schools of industrial vocational agriculture, home economics, various trades, and so on. The process evolved from 1930 to 1970 as Horry County educators—Mr. Robert E. Rhue Sr., Mr. Isaac S. Lewis, Dr. Ernest A. Finney Sr., and Mr. Robert Laney Sr. (Conway area), the late Mr. Jacob T. Chestnut, Mr. Edward M. Henry, and Mr. J.R. Taylor (Wampee area), and Mr. William P. Johnson and Mr. George G. Cooper (Loris area), —worked tirelessly in their efforts to obtain more resources to educate the African American children of Horry County. *See photos on page 2.*

In the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, African American elementary schools generally consisted of grades 1–7, and these schools were referred to as “colored” schools. These schools started as grammar schools, industrial vocational and agricultural schools, and home economics schools for the purpose of training children for work in the agricultural area in which they lived. A few of these schools eventually added enough grades over time until they could seek approval from the county to be approved as a high school to offer a high school diploma. The next step was to apply for accreditation from the South Carolina Department of Education, and, if accreditation was approved, the graduates of the school would receive a state high school diploma. State standards required a considerable lag time of four years from the time a high school was approved until it became state accredited by South Carolina Department of Education.

Highlights of the Dual System, Page 8

*Several high schools in South Carolina retained “training” as part of the school’s name until 1970 when all schools in the state desegregated. Examples—the schools were Williamsburg Training, Manning Training, Berkeley Training, Estill Training, and Ellore Training.



Highlights of the School System

From Page 7

Earning approval as a high school and eventually state-accredited status was rare and difficult for African American schools; indeed, because only three of these segregated grammar schools in Horry County eventually emerged to become high schools and subsequently became state-accredited. The schools were Whittemore Training (became Whittemore High School), Poplar Grove Colored School and Poplar Grove Vocational School (became Poplar Training School), and Loris Colored School (became Loris Training School). The inability to obtain accreditation status was very obviously due to unequal funding of schools for white and black students in South Carolina and Horry County. The true mismatch here is not so much in the number of students enrolled but rather the fact that South Carolina spent \$221.00 per pupil and \$45.00 per pupil* on white and black students, respectively (Public Schools of South Carolina—The Peabody Survey, 1948). This five-to-one (5:1) ratio, along with all other oppressive practices, had a crippling effect on the African American child. To give the reader a sense of the depth and breadth of the resistance against black and white children attending school together, former democratic governor, James F. Byrnes (1951–1955) of South Carolina threatened to abandon the entire state education system (effectively closing it down) in 1954 rather than follow a court order to desegregate immediately. Fortunately, such a mandate never came down from the federal courts until early 1970 (Bartels, 1984).

The education of African American children living in the rural areas of Horry County was primarily left up to the community churches through the mid-1930s where there were a mix of Rosenwald initiative schools and colored grammar schools constructed using non-Rosenwald seed money from other sources. The Rosenwald initiative truly helped change the situation during the 1930s and 1940s and until the mid-1950s, when most African American communities had a two-room school house; however, many children lived several miles from these schools

requiring a great deal of walking to and from school each day. To put the situation in perspective, in 1941, there were only eight school buses to transport African American children to and from school in the entire state of South Carolina (Bartels, 1984). There have been firsthand stories of African American students in Horry County stopping at the halfway point of their long walk to school on cold winter mornings to build a fire so that they could warm their feet and hands for a few minutes before continuing the long walk to school. Many children who walked to school arrived before the teacher, so they would start the coal burning heater to warm the school by the time the teacher and other students arrived. These stories were told by Horry County students recently who actually experienced the long walks to and from school.

Omission of Enrollment Data for African American Elementary Schools (1940–1954)

Enrollment data on African American children in elementary school were not available because the South Carolina Board of Education’s annual school directory on African American grammar schools did not list them for schools that did not meet specific criteria. However, the South Carolina State Board of Education methodologically published enrollment data on all white elementary (grammar schools), including those with only one room and one teacher. It was not until 1952–53 school year that the state department of education started complying with listing African American schools with three or more teachers in the enrollment directory. This may have been triggered by the *Briggs v. Elliot* court case (1950) in Clarendon County, South Carolina. Here is an explicit quote of instructions from the South Carolina State Board of Education: *The list of elementary and high schools is set up according to the organization of the various counties. Counties are divided into their districts (or areas, if the county is one district) and the schools in that district or area are listed alphabetically. District or area superintendents are given at the beginning of each district or area.*

Omission of Enrollment Data, Page 9

*This is a perfect example of why the Loris Training School community had to build an addition with their own funds to meet accreditation standards in 1949–50.



Omission of Enrollment Data

From Page 8

The list contains all schools in South Carolina except one and two teacher Negro schools (School Directory of South Carolina, 1940–41).

This exception to African American schools excluded more than 95 percent of the grammar schools for African-American children. In fact, the enrollment list did not include African American schools with more than three teachers requirement to be listed as stated in the directory until 1951–52; therefore, South Carolina did not comply with its own directory relative to African American student enrollment until 1951–52, when it published enrollment data on a few black grammar schools. The only African American schools' enrollment data published before 1951–52, were those of Whittemore High, Poplar Training, and Loris Training. These data started to be published for Whittemore in 1938–39, Poplar in 1939–40, and Loris in 1947–48. Finally, in 1954–55, the state begin including all schools—African American and Caucasian students—in its annual report. Hence, the enrollment data or headcount published by SCDE before the 1953–1954 school year did not include all African American schools in the annual state directory of schools.

Structure of High Schools by Grades (1930–1970)

The categories of high school and elementary school were based on approved plans (Standards for Accredited High Schools of South Carolina, 1949). The categories are 6-3-3, 8-4, 7-5, and 6-6. It appears that most high schools (accredited and unaccredited), particularly African American high schools in Horry County, followed the state's 7-5 plan until 1953–54, after which the high schools followed the 6-6 plan. For example, the three African American high schools changed from the 7-5 plan

to the 6-6 plan (six-year high school) starting in 1954–55, which was followed until their extinction in 1970 when all schools desegregated. The 7-5 plan (elementary school enrollment and high school enrollment) means that grades 1–7 were considered elementary school and grades 8–12 were considered high school, although only grades 9–12 were actually high school credited courses.* Starting in the 1954–55 school year, three African American high schools in Horry County followed the 6-6 plan. This meant that grades 7–12 were high school and grades 1–6 were elementary school. Namely, Whittemore, Chestnut, and Finklea were high schools that followed this plan. The 6–6 plan was practiced by most equalization schools from 1954 to 1970, after which all public schools desegregated. Although grades 7 and 8 were under the high school banner, high school credit courses were administered to grades 9–12.

High School State Accreditation Challenge (1930–1970)**

Whenever a new high school sought state-accredited status, requirements had to be met before it was granted: additional personnel, teachers, construction of buildings or additions, purchase of equipment and supplies, certified teachers with degrees, organizational changes, a science laboratory, a librarian and books for the library, and so on. The lack of proper funding by South Carolina and Horry County made these required actions impossible for a high school seeking to become accredited because of South Carolina's and Horry County's continued defiant stance against providing resources to educate black students. The Loris Training School scenario was typical in many southern states (see footnote on page 8).

For example, statewide in 1934, there were 10,931 students attending unaccredited high schools

State Accreditation, Page 10

*Before South Carolina added grade 12 in 1944, the four years of high school consisted of grades 8–11. The grammar schools scattered throughout the county, generally included grades 1–7; therefore, after a student completed grammar school (grade 7), he or she had the option of ending formal education then or continuing it by attending Whittemore, Poplar Training, or Loris Training for high school (grades 8–11). Although grade 12 was added in 1944, grades 1–7 for African American grammar schools remained in effect until 1954.

**If a student earned his or her diploma from an unaccredited high school, the diploma did not include the wording “state high school diploma” and the local diplomas were not uniformly designed as a state high school diploma.



State Accreditation

From Page 9

and about 76 percent of this number was African American students. Of the 517 black students enrolled in high schools of Horry County in 1947–48, 57 percent were enrolled in a state-accredited high school and 43 percent were enrolled in an unaccredited high school. In contrast, 100 percent of white high schools were state-accredited in Horry County as far back as 1930 (SCDE, 1930).

In a corollary, in 1953–54, there were 165 high schools statewide for black students, but only 90, or 55 percent, of these high schools were state accredited. In contrast, there were 263 white high schools statewide with 233, or 89 percent, that were state accredited. The final year of the dual system (1969–70), there were a total of 397 high schools and all were state-accredited (276, or 70 percent, were white, and 121, or 31 percent, were black). Of the total, 66 percent were all clear (no deficiencies), and 34 percent were classified with at least one deficiency in one of the five classifications.* Statewide, within each subpopulation of white and black schools, 67 percent and 62 percent of schools had no deficiencies, respectively. In a snapshot of 1953–54 and 1969–70, all high schools, white and black, in Horry County were state accredited with no deficiencies (100 percent).

In addition to Whittemore High School, there were two other high schools (Loris and Poplar) in the county for black students, but they were not provided the resources needed to meet the state’s accreditation standards; therefore, they remained unaccredited until 1949–50 and 1951–52, respectively.

Equalization Schools (1954-1970)

Although South Carolina did not comply with the initial court’s decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, the changes made in educating African American children under its equalization schools program (1951–1961) were substantial improvements. Modernized schools were built,

and, for the first time in the history of the state and county, transportation was provided, school libraries were improved, and the vast majority of black teachers now had bachelor’s degrees or higher and certified in their fields, and gymnasiums, science laboratories, and so on were available to students and teachers (Wilson, 2018). Here is a significant example of the changes made—after the establishment of Chestnut Consolidated High School and Finklea Consolidated High School in 1954 and 1955, respectively, there were three state-accredited high schools with significantly stronger curricula in Horry County where African American students could earn a state high school diploma. Whittemore High School was upgraded with added facilities, a science laboratory, a new gymnasium, a band room, a new separate elementary school, and so on. The high school operated under the state’s 6-6 plan. This meant that the newly formed Whittemore Elementary School housed grades 1–6 and the upgraded Whittemore High School housed grades 7–12 as part of South Carolina equalization schools program. The feeder schools for Whittemore High School were Bucksport Elementary, Cochran Elementary, Levister Elementary, Carver Elementary, Whittemore Elementary, and St. James Elementary. The school was a place where returning World War II and Korean War African American veterans were able to learn modern farming techniques under the GI Bill and/or finish high school.

Starting with school year 1954–55, Chestnut Consolidated High School was constructed and established under South Carolina equalization schools program. Poplar Training School, which was the black high school for the area (Wampee), was replaced by Chestnut Consolidated High School, which was constructed a few miles from the former Poplar Training School (Wampee, SC area). The high school operated under the state’s 6-6 plan, which allowed grades 7–12 under the banner of Chestnut Consolidated High School and grades 1–6 under the banner of Chestnut Elementary School. The feeder schools to Chestnut Consolidated High School were Longs Elementary, Poplar Elementary, and Chestnut Elementary (housed in the same building).

Equalization Schools, Page 11

*Accredited classifications: (1) All clear, (2) advised, (3) warned, (4) probation, and (5) denied.

The list (397 high schools) consists of junior and senior high schools and both schools were eligible for state-accreditation.



Equalization Schools

From Page 10

Chestnut Consolidated High and Elementary had amassed a large collection of trophies and awards from competitive sports, academics, and numerous activities during their existence. After all schools in South Carolina and Horry County desegregated in 1970, the reluctance of many to integrate, confusion, and the fog of endless debates and discussions on how to best integrate Wampee-Little River High School (white) and Chestnut Consolidated High School (black), these momentous artifacts were lost, destroyed, or simply vanished never to be seen again. Whether the awards and trophies were accidentally destroyed or simply lost, their absence is most egregious because they were earned by children. Why hurt children, no matter their race, color, creed, or ethnicity? As of the writing of this paper, the Chestnut Consolidated High School Alumni Association has not been able to locate any of the trophies or the awards.

Finklea Consolidated High School was constructed and opened in 1955–56, one year after Chestnut Consolidated High School opened for classes. Finklea Consolidated High School replaced Loris Training School as the high school for black students in the Loris-Green Sea area. The high school operated under the state's 6-6 plan, which allowed grades 7–12 under the banner of Finklea Consolidated High School and grades 1–6 under the banner of Finklea Elementary School in a separate wing of the building. The feeder schools to Finklea Consolidated High School were Finklea Elementary, Watson Elementary, and Cedar Creek Elementary. The original structure of the equalization school was purchased by the Finklea Consolidated High School Alumni Association. Today, it has an ongoing variety of activities, including an after-school program and other educational and enrichment programs.

The children of these equalization schools were the sons and daughters of parents from various backgrounds, such as sharecroppers, loggers, farmers, laborers, teachers, preachers, and so on.

The graduates of these equalization schools had dreams and aspirations as some went on to become teachers, health-care professionals, lawyers, doctors, scientists, engineers, senior military officers, college professors, mayors, entrepreneurs and, more importantly, good parents and productive citizens.

Although South Carolina and Horry County will most likely forever be haunted by the ghost from the past; however, the course of history did change for the better when the US Supreme Court ruled in 1954 that segregation by race was unconstitutional. In the 1954 decision, the court reversed itself in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision of 1896, which solidified Jim Crow laws, when it ruled that segregation by race was constitutional as long as equal facilities, services, and so on were provided.

Even though from 1940 to 1954, African American students showed significant growth in high school enrollment, the majority did not stay to graduate from high school because of the lack of transportation to attend high school and the need to help support their families by working as loggers, laborers, or on the farm. For example, in the rural areas of the county, a significant percentage of the parents of students were sharecroppers; therefore, when they reached about halfway through high school, the children had to drop out to work the farm for the landowner. Often the sharecropping arrangement was a form of de facto slavery. Despite this situation or other scenarios that caused students to drop out of school before graduation, the higher the grade children were able to reach the better because they would be better prepared to share knowledge with their children. For example, instead of dropping out with only a fifth grade education, a student might make it to ninth grade before dropping out. Now that person would be more educated than he or she would have previously been. Hence, it was a step forward because African Americans as a subpopulation would now be more educated than the previous generation.

Equalizations Schools, Page 12



Equalization Schools

From Page 11

Here is an example of information extrapolated by the author from SCDE for 1935–36. Although a situation as in the following example was improved significantly with the equalization schools, it was never made equal. In 1935–36, there were 200,557 white and 207,941 black elementary school students (grades 1–7) actively enrolled in South Carolina public schools. This equated to 49 percent white students and 51 percent black students, respectively. During this same year, there were 58,066 white and 11,351 black high school students enrolled in the public school system of South Carolina. Here is a comparative analysis: The white student share was 49 percent in elementary school and 84 percent in high school. The black student share was 51 percent in elementary school and 16 percent in high school. For white students, this meant that for every four elementary school students, there was one high school student (ratio of 4:1). For African American students, this meant that for every 22 elementary school students, there was one high school student (ratio 22:1). *This ratio is 1:1 in 2019.* The mismatch between elementary and high school illustrates the rapid dropout rate of black students in high school (grades 8, 9, 10, and 11); the vast majority never made it to graduation.* The brighter side to this situation is that the percentage enrollment relative to the percentage of average daily attendance in elementary school for white and black students was 80 percent and 72 percent, respectively. For high school the percentage of enrollment relative to average daily attendance was 86 percent and 81 percent, respectively—Figure 2, page 13. The gaps in these two statewide measurements are not as severe as those in other situations such as the practice of grossly unequal funding. Therefore, the average daily attendance discussed here implies a strong element of self-determination in the African American parents and students to get an education despite grossly unequal funding, no school buses for

transport, and the numerous obstacles faced during this challenging time.

The white and black student mismatch in dropout percentages (Figure 4, page 15) was consistent with the demands and responsibilities placed on black students to work on the tenant farms so that white parents could keep their children in school much longer. The other large contributing factor to the dropout of black students, especially in high school, was the lack of transportation to school because the few high schools for African Americans were far from the rural areas. In the 1940–41 school year (Figure 7), Caucasian high school student enrollment was at 90 percent and African American high school student enrollment was at 10 percent, even though these groups, shares in the Horry County general population, as shown in the 1940 census (US Census, 1940), were 73 percent (white) and 27 percent (black).

Although the equalization schools program improved the situation for educating African American students, it never met the intended goal of equality in education for white and black children in the state or Horry County. For example, the percentages of high schools accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS)** are as following for white high schools—from 1953–54 to 1969–70, SACS accreditation increased from 21 to 56 percentage points statewide and from 13 to 85 percentage points district-wide, respectively. For black high schools—from 1953–54 to 1969–70, SACS accreditation increased from six to 26 percentage points statewide and zero to 33 percentage points district-wide, respectively.*** The fact that it took money to make necessary changes to meet the strict standards to earn SACS accreditation, the lack of SACS accreditation for African American high schools provide a great example showing that South Carolina and Horry County, despite the equalization schools program, continued their defiance of not equally funding education for African American children and for white children. ■

*South Carolina high schools issued a high school diploma to students who completed grade 11. The state legislation added grade 12 in 1944.

**SACS is a regionally accrediting agency, whereas the state accrediting process is handled by the state and allowed a high school to award a state high school diploma regardless of whether the school was SACS accredited or not.

***For information on current accreditation process SCDE, 2018 (open the link below).

<https://ed.sc.gov/districts-schools/state-accountability/accreditation-of-schools-and-districts/>



Dual Public School System—Headcount in the 1930s and 1940s

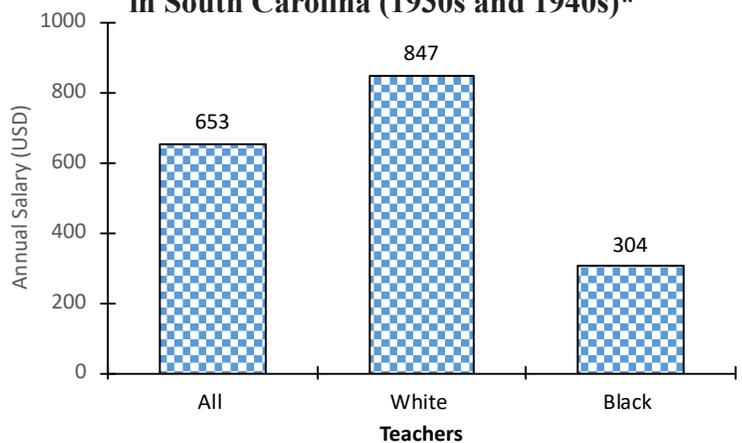
Before proceeding with the remainder of this paper, here are some very informative statistics (shown in the graphs below) that can be used as a backdrop to the report. African American teachers, including principals, were paid substantially less than white teachers. The annual salaries given in Figure 1 show that a white teacher earned more than a black teacher by about 94 percent per year. Black teachers earned less than all teachers by 73 percent. The unequal salaries in South Carolina persisted until the late 1940s when the state went close to an equal pay system.

The graph in Figure 2 depicts the average daily attendance per school year. This is based on dividing the average daily attendance by the total enrollment of the group being measured. The significance of the graph is that it represents the 1930s and 1940s when African American students were not provided school bus transportation to and from school and had limited funding, yet their average daily attendance was remarkably good when viewed in the context of the time. For example, in the early 1940s, there were only

eight school buses in the entire state to transport African American students (Bartels 1984). Black high schools were few and scattered across the state and counties, and yet the black high school attendance rates were about 81 percent. This is testimony to self-determination and self-worth. On the basis of these data, it is clear that these children and their parents had dreams and aspirations despite massive discrimination based on race in South Carolina.

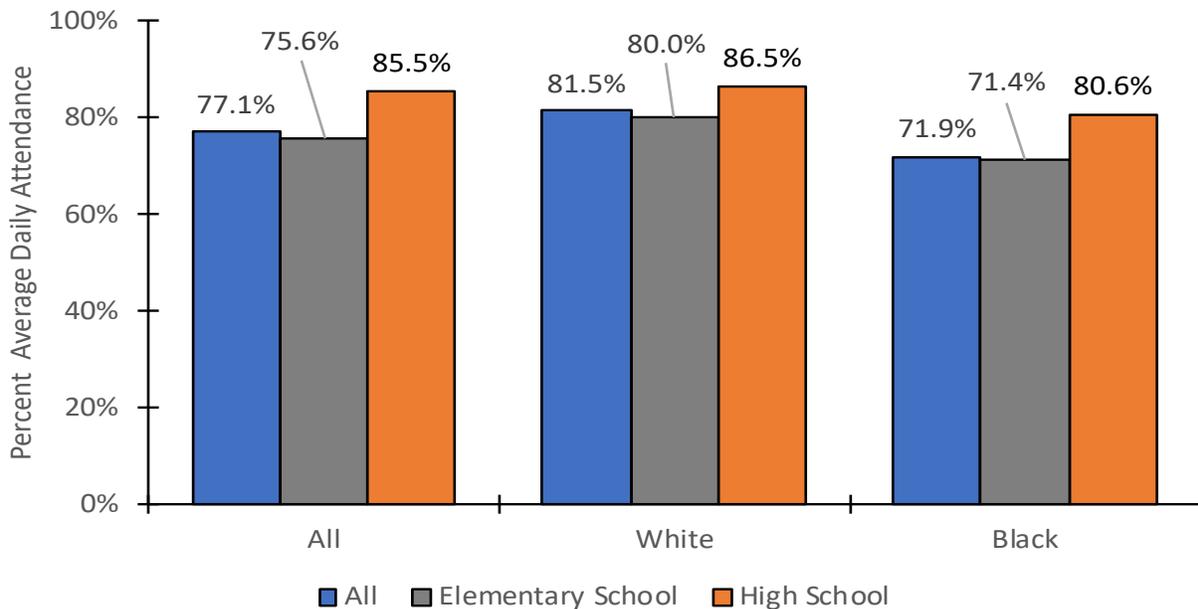
Headcount—1930s and 1940s, Page 14

Figure 1. Average Annual Salary of Teachers in South Carolina (1930s and 1940s)*



Source: South Carolina Department of Education

Figure 2. Percentage of Average of Daily Attendance Relative to Enrollment (1930s to mid-1950s)**



Source: South Carolina Department of Education

*The state’s legislature approved a uniform pay and certification system for all teachers of both races in 1945.

**Data from school year 1937–38. This graph was used as an example of the pattern exhibited up to the early 1950s.



Headcount—1930s and 1940s

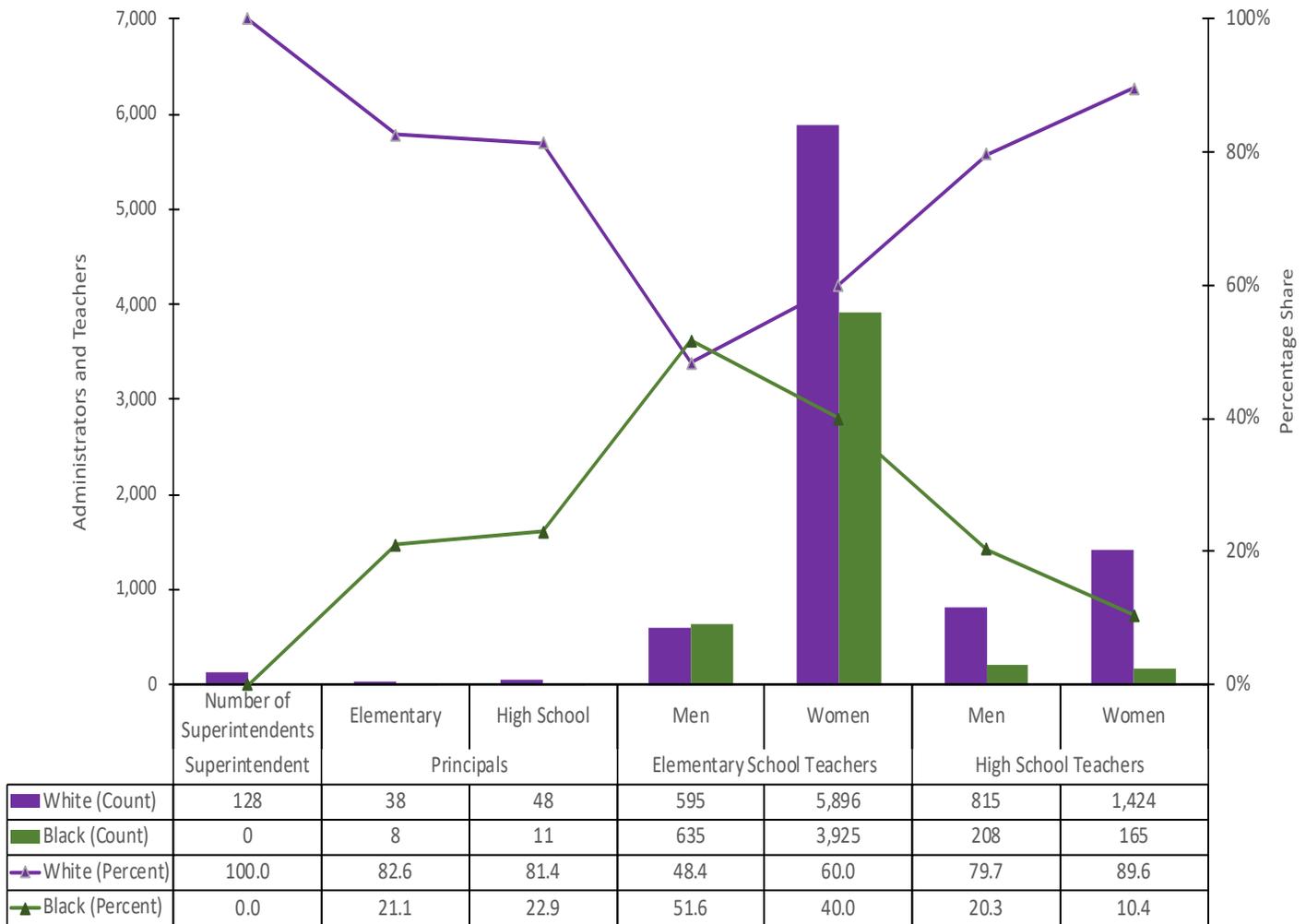
From Page 13

The graph in Figure 3 shows the distribution of public administrators and teachers. Although the information was compiled in 1935–36, the pattern is representative of the public schools of South Carolina in the 1930s, 1940s, and mid-1950s. There was a significant decrease in the number of teachers and a notable decrease in both the number and percentage of African American teachers at the high school level. This phenomenon is consistent with the student enrollment pattern (Figure 4). However, the enrollment of African American students decreased at a much higher rate in the higher grades than white students, which allowed for a significantly larger

percentage share of white students, resulting in an increase in the percentage share of white teachers. The pattern shown in the graph is consistent with the fact that fewer black children than white were proportionally able to stay in school longer. Although the graphs starting on page 17 will show an increase in the total number of high school teachers and students from 1940 to 1954, the pattern exhibited in Figure 3 and Figure 4 remained the same through the mid-1950s. Therefore, the increasing rate shown in the graphs starting on page 17 occurred because a larger number of students of both races were staying in high longer in Horry County and other school districts.*

Headcount—1930s and 1940s, Page 15

Figure 3. Distribution of Administrators and Teachers in South Carolina (Typical of the 1930s and 1940s)



Source: South Carolina Department of Education

*South Carolina general population during this period: White (57 percent) and Black (43 percent).



Headcount—1930s and 1940s

From Page 14

The graph in Figure 4 shows grade distributions that were typical of the 1930s, 1940s, and mid-1950s in South Carolina public school districts. There were significant decreases in the number of students from grades 1–11. However, as the enrollment of students of both races decreased the African American student enrollment decreased at a much higher rate in the higher grades, which allowed for a significantly higher percentage share of white students in the grade progression. The pattern of the graph is consistent with the fact that fewer black than white children were able to stay in school longer. Although the graphs on the following pages will show an increase in the number of high school teachers and enrollment for all students from 1940 to 1954, the pattern exhibited in Figure 4 remained the same through the mid-1950s.

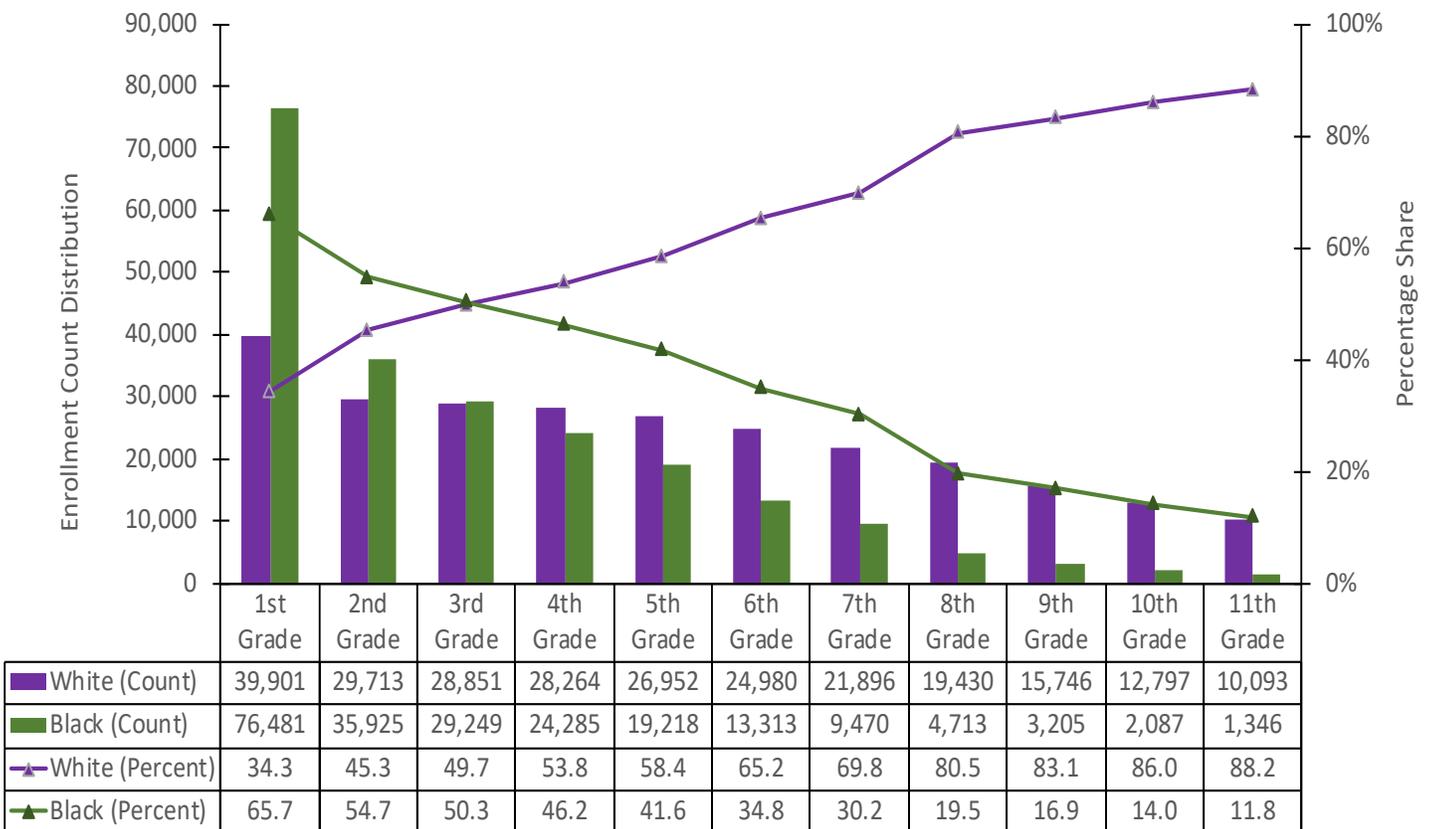
following pages occurred because more students of both races were entering the school population in first grade.

A representation index (RI) will be used often in the remainder of this paper. The RI in this paper measures white and black—teachers and students—relative to the general population of the two groups. The RI is computed by dividing the percentage of a group by its percentage in the general population. For example, 65.7 percent of first graders were African American students (Figure 4), and this group was 42.9 percent of the general population. Therefore, $RI = 65.7/42.9 = 1.53$. This means that African American first graders were overly represented compared to their share of the general population. An RI of one is ideal; an RI greater than one or less than one denotes an overrepresentation or an underrepresentation relative to the group’s share in the general population.

Therefore, the increasing rate shown on the

Headcount—1930s and 1940s, Page 16

Figure 4. South Carolina: Distribution of Students in 1935–36 (Typical of the 1930s and 1940s)*



Source: South Carolina Department of Education

*South Carolina high schools only went to grade 11 for graduation. The state’s legislature added grade 12 in 1944.



Dual System—SCDE Funds Distributed to Horry County School District: 1940–1950

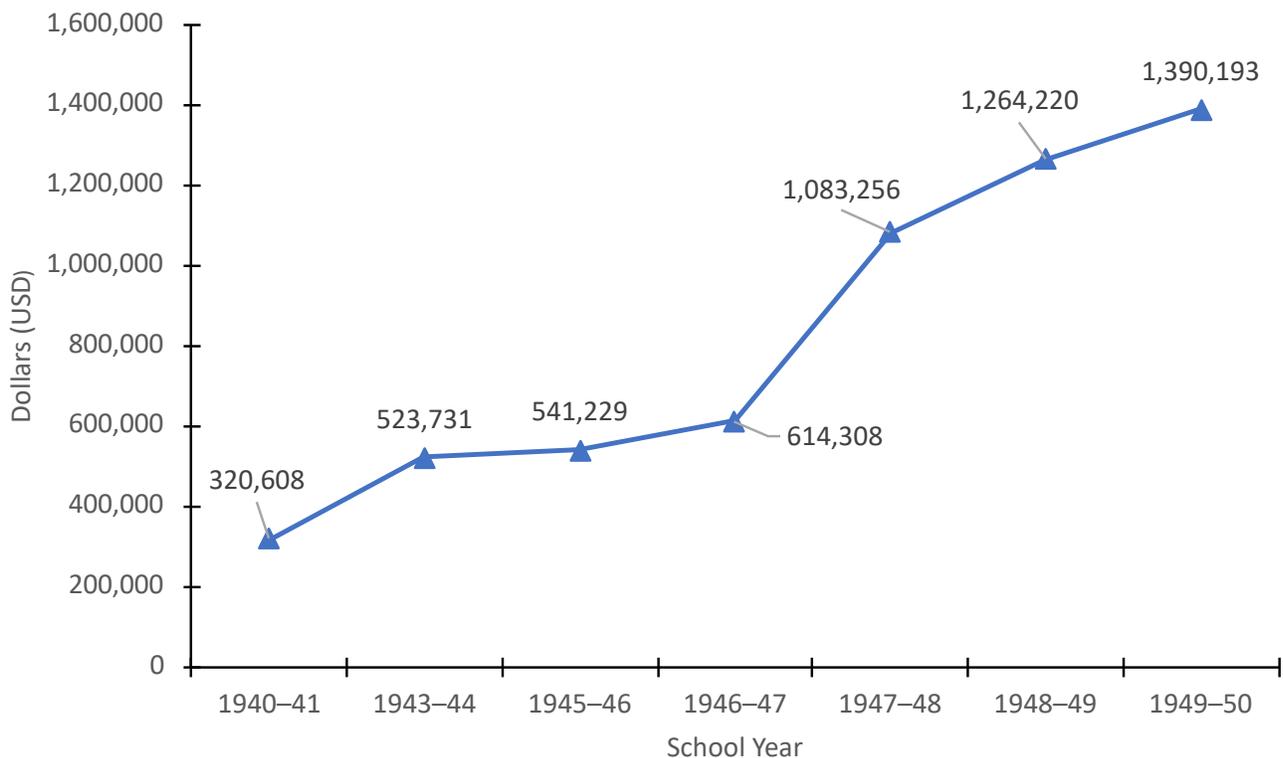
The data in Figure 5 were published by the South Carolina Department of Education (SCDE) and depict the trajectory of South Carolina aid to the county school district between the 1940–41 and 1949–50 school years. Before the mid-1940s, state aid for education was primarily reserved for teachers’ salary and transportation. However, the county spent little to none of the transportation aid to transport black children. As mentioned previously, bus transportation for blacks before the equalization schools program (early 1950s) was almost nonexistent.

By the mid-1930s, professional educators had organized for political action, and over the next 15 years, they accomplished several milestones (Bartels, 1984). This group rallied support for tougher compulsory attendance laws (1937), the addition of Grade 12 (1944), and the creation of a teachers’ retirement system. Additionally, they

started an adult education system, a vocational training system, a school lunch program school, and attendance supervisor system. Under pressure from federal court decisions and an awakening of the black electorate, the legislature also approved a uniform pay and certification system for all teachers of both races in 1945.

The graph in Figure 5 reflects the significant improvements that had taken place in the South Carolina education system by the mid-1940s. As Figure 5 shows, from 1946–47 to 1947–48, SCDE increased education aid to Horry County by 76 percent. By 1950, state aid to the county had increased by 126 percent. During the same period, state aid to all school districts increased by 88 percent or from about 17 to 36 million dollars, annually. In today’s currency, this would equate to an increase from 183 to 344 million dollars. ■

Figure 5. South Carolina Distribution of Aid to Horry County Public School System from 1940–41 to 1949–50*



Source: South Carolina Department of Education

*Horry County share of financial aid for education was an average of 3.6 percent per year of the state’s total per year.



Dual System—High School Teachers’ Growth in Headcount: 1940–1970

The graph in Figure 6 shows a comparison of white and black teachers in the public schools of Horry County from 1940–41 to 1969–70. The share is the number and percentage of teachers during this period. Starting in 1954–55, South Carolina was building new and improving older schools for

African Americans and white students. This was due in large measure to the massively unequal spending on education for the two groups. Although the schools remained segregated by race until 1970, one positive result was the increase in African American certified teachers.

Annual growth rate comparison of high school teachers in the public schools Horry County

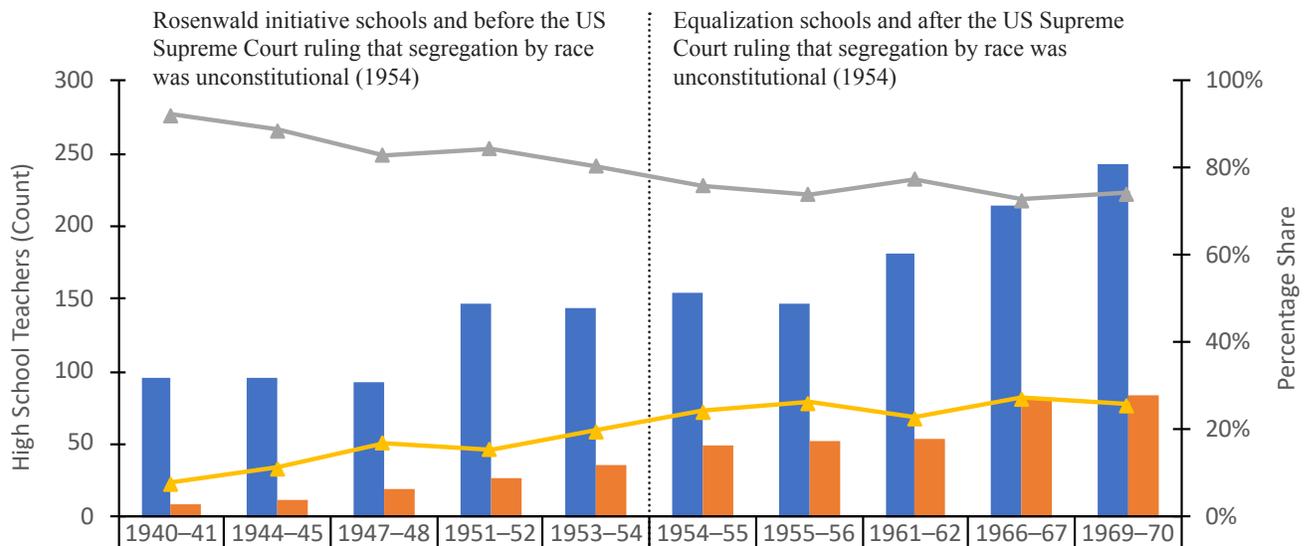
Time frame: 1940–41 to 1953–54

- The percentage change in growth of black teachers was about 2.35 times (2.35X) greater than that of all teachers. The black teachers’ 13-year total increase was 126 percent.
- The percentage increase in black teachers was about 3.12 times (3.12X) greater than that of white teachers. The white teachers’ 13-year increase was 41 percent.
- Changes in RI: African American RI = 0.29 to 0.73; white RI = 1.26 to 1.10, respectively.

Time frame: 1953–54 to 1969–70

- The percentage change in black teachers was about 1.5 times (1.5X) greater than that of all teachers. The black teachers’ 15-year total increase was 53 percent.
- The percentage increase in black teachers was about 1.2 times (1.2X) greater than that of white teachers. The white teachers’ 15-year increase was about 44 percent.
- Changes in RI: African American RI = 0.73 to 1.04; white RI = 1.10 to 0.99, respectively.

Figure 6. Horry County—Annual Growth of Public High School Teachers (White and Black, 1940–1970)



Source: South Carolina Department of Education

Table 1. High school teachers’ annual growth rate (13- and 15-year durations).

Description		Annual Growth (Headcount)			Annual Growth Rate (Percentage)		
Duration	Time Frame	Overall	White	Black	Overall	White	Black
13 years	1940–41 to 1953–54	6	4	2	4.11%	3.10%	9.66%
15 years	1954–55 to 1969–70	9	6	3	3.10%	2.96%	3.51%



Dual System—High School Students’ Growth in Enrollment: 1940–1970

The graph in Figure 7 shows a comparison share of white and black students in the public schools of Horry County from 1940–41 to 1969–70. The share in the number and percentage of students during this time frame. Starting in 1954–55, South

Carolina was building new and improving older schools for African Americans and white students. This was due in large part to the massively unequal spending on education for the two groups.

Annual growth rate comparison of high school teachers’ in the public schools in Horry County

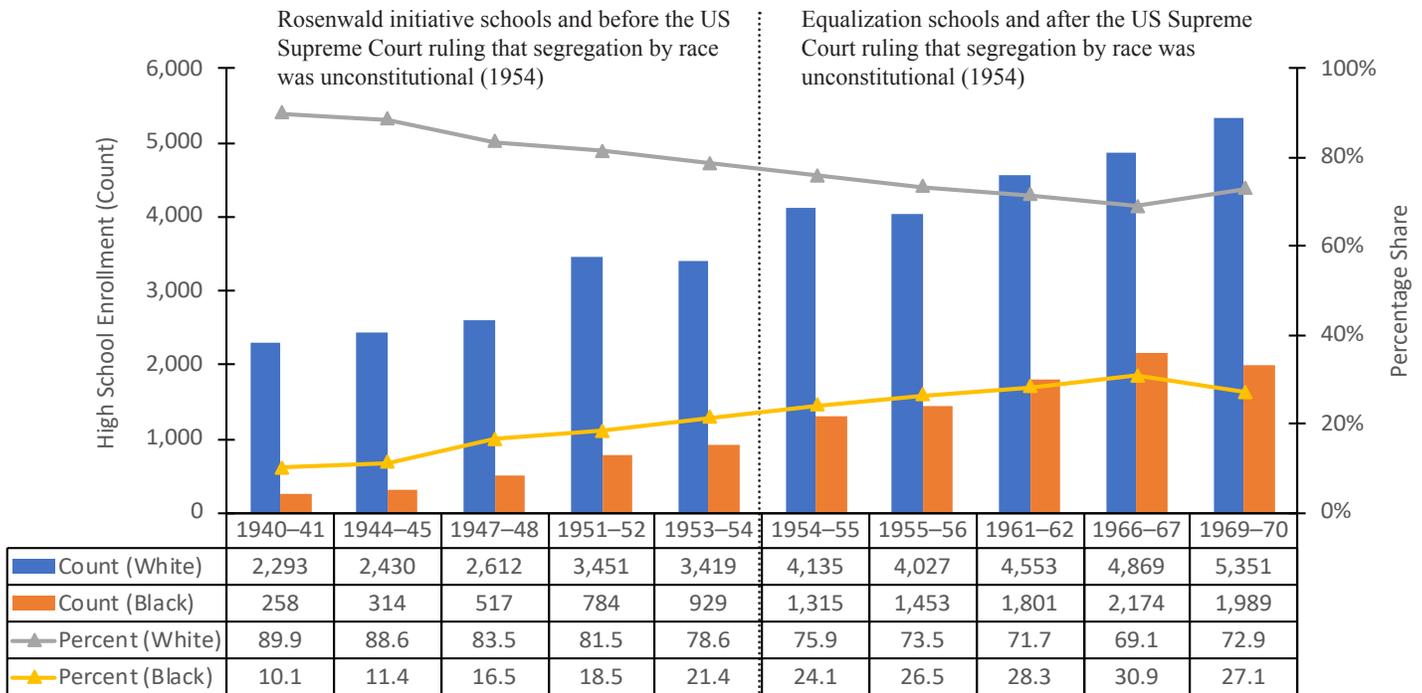
Time frame: 1940–41 to 1953–54

- The percentage growth rate in black students was about 2.2 times (2.2X) greater than that of all student growth. The black students’ 13-year increase in enrollment was 113 percent.
- The percentage change in black students was about 2.9 times (2.90X) greater than that of white students. The white students 13-year increase in enrollment was 40 percent.
- Changes in RI: African American RI = 0.37 to 0.80; white RI = 1.23 to 1.08, respectively.

Time frame: 1953–54 to 1969–70

- The percentage change in enrollment of black students was about 1.4 times (1.4X) greater than that of all students. The black students’ 15-year increase was 41 percent.
- The percentage increase in black students was about 1.6 times (1.6X) greater than that of white students. The white students’ 15-year increase in enrollment was about 26 percent.
- Changes in RI: African American RI = 0.80 to 1.09; white RI = 1.23 to 0.97, respectively.

Figure 7. Horry County—Annual Growth of Public High School Students (White and Black, 1940–1970)



Source: South Carolina Department of Education

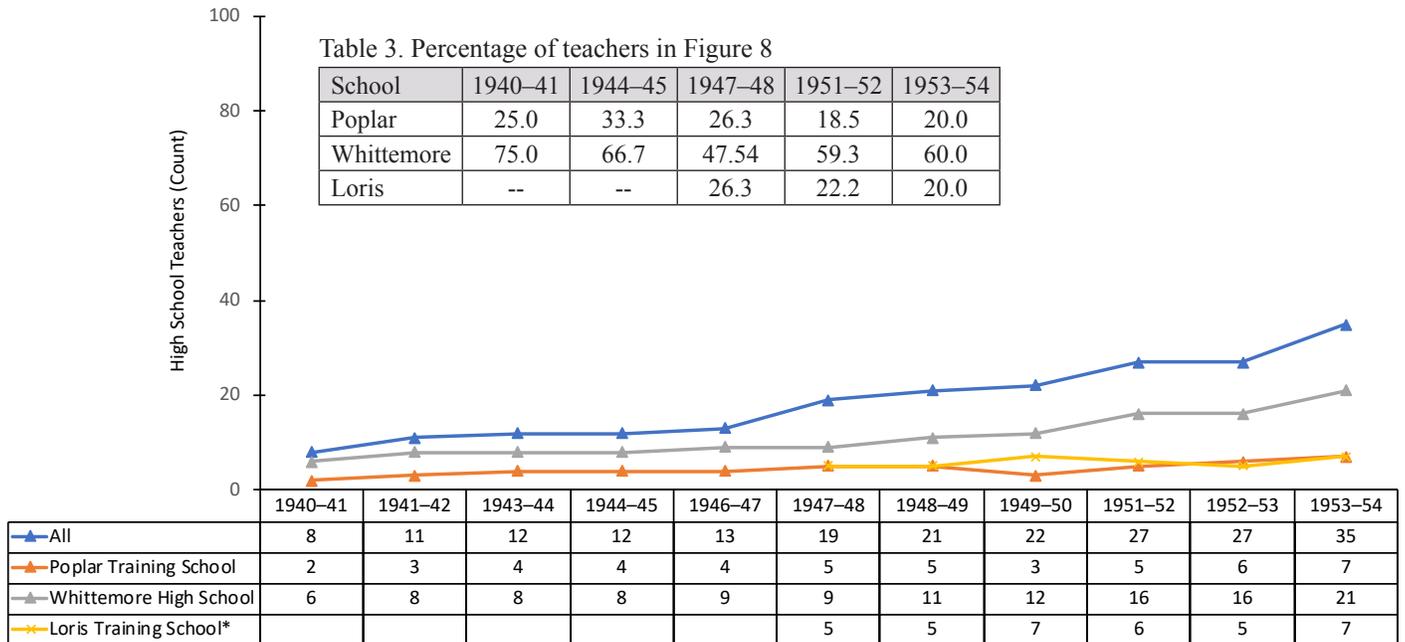
Table 2. High school students’ annual growth rate

Description		Annual Growth (Headcount)			Annual Growth Rate (Percentage)		
Duration	Time Frame	Overall	White	Black	Overall	White	Black
13 years	1940–41 to 1953–54	139	87	52	4.01%	3.03%	8.70%
15 years	1954–55 to 1969–70	126	81	45	1.97%	1.71%	2.72%



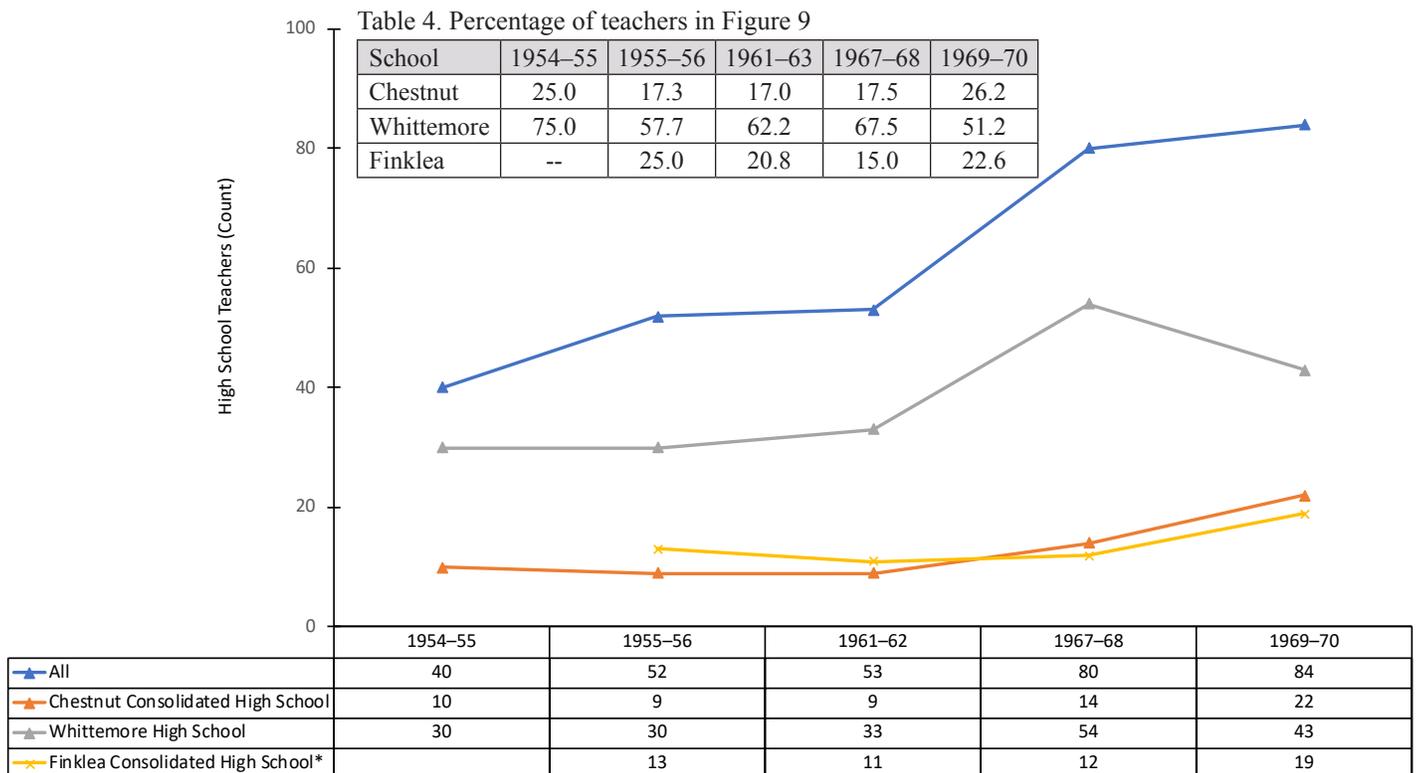
Dual System—Growth of African American High School Teachers by School: 1940–1970

Figure 8. Horry County—Average Growth of African American Public High School Teachers at Poplar, Whittemore, and Loris (1940–1954)



Source: South Carolina Department of Education

Figure 9. Horry County—Average Growth of African American Public High School Teachers at Chestnut, Whittemore, and Finklea (1954–1970)*



Source: South Carolina Department of Education

*Finklea was established in 1955 and started classes in the fall of 1955.



Dual System—High School Headcount of African Americans by School: 1940–1954

The graph in Figure 10 shows the growth trends for African American high school students from 1949–41 to 1953–54. The overall average growth rate per year was 52 students, which equates to an annual growth rate of 20 percent. Whittemore High School experienced an average increase of 28 high school students per year, which equated to about 14 percent annual growth over the 13-year period. Whittemore had about four times the number of high school students as Poplar Training School starting in 1940–41. Poplar Training School’s annual percentage growth (16 percent) was higher than that of Whittemore (14 percent); however, Whittemore showed a much higher raw number of students than Poplar (eight students per year) and Loris (15 students per year).

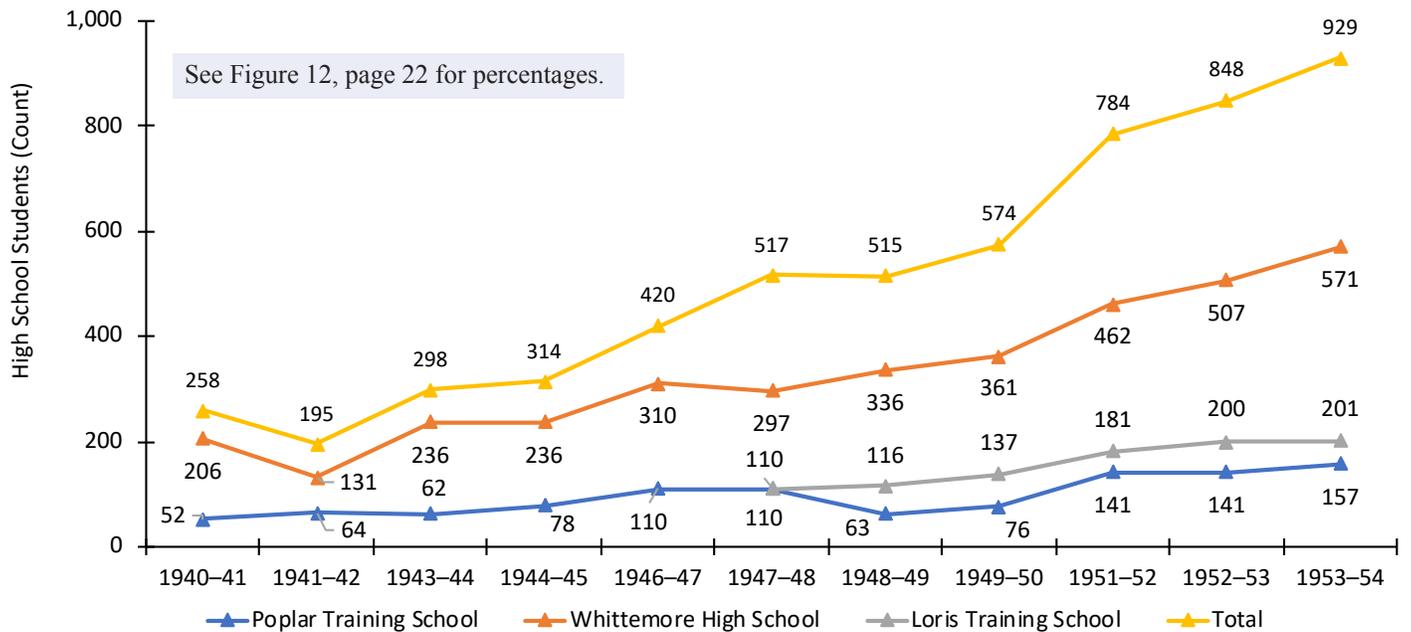
Whittemore was the African American flagship school in Horry County. Students* from across the county attended the school, plus returning veterans who sought a high school diploma. Additionally, Whittemore’s curriculum was stronger than that of Loris or Poplar. Also, Whittemore was a state-

accredited high school since the 1938–39. These were attractive factors that helped to account for the significant increase in the number of high school students.

No data were posted in the SCDE’s School Directory of South Carolina for Loris Training School until the 1947–48 school year. According to other sources the school was operational, so this absence appears to be an oversight. It is believed that Loris awarded its first high school diploma in either 1946 or 1947.

As a reminder to the reader, the data shown in the graph below represent the time frame when resources to educate African American children were so scarce and unequal that the US Supreme Court ruled in 1954 that segregation by race was unconstitutional. Many constitutional scholars have stated that the *Plessy v. Ferguson* court’s decision of 1896, which had ruled that segregation by race was constitutional so long as equal facilities and services were provided, was one of the worst US Supreme Court’s rulings in US history.

Figure 10. Horry County—Average Growth of African American Public High School Students at Poplar, Whittemore, and Loris (1940–1954)



Source: South Carolina Department of Education

*Those students who lived many miles from Whittemore and could not make the daily trip to school when it was the only high school boarded with a family who lived within walking distance so that they could continue their education that they started in the two-room, two-teacher school in the countryside. Also, after Poplar and Loris were high schools, there were many students who preferred Whittemore because it was state-accredited and awarded a state high school diploma.



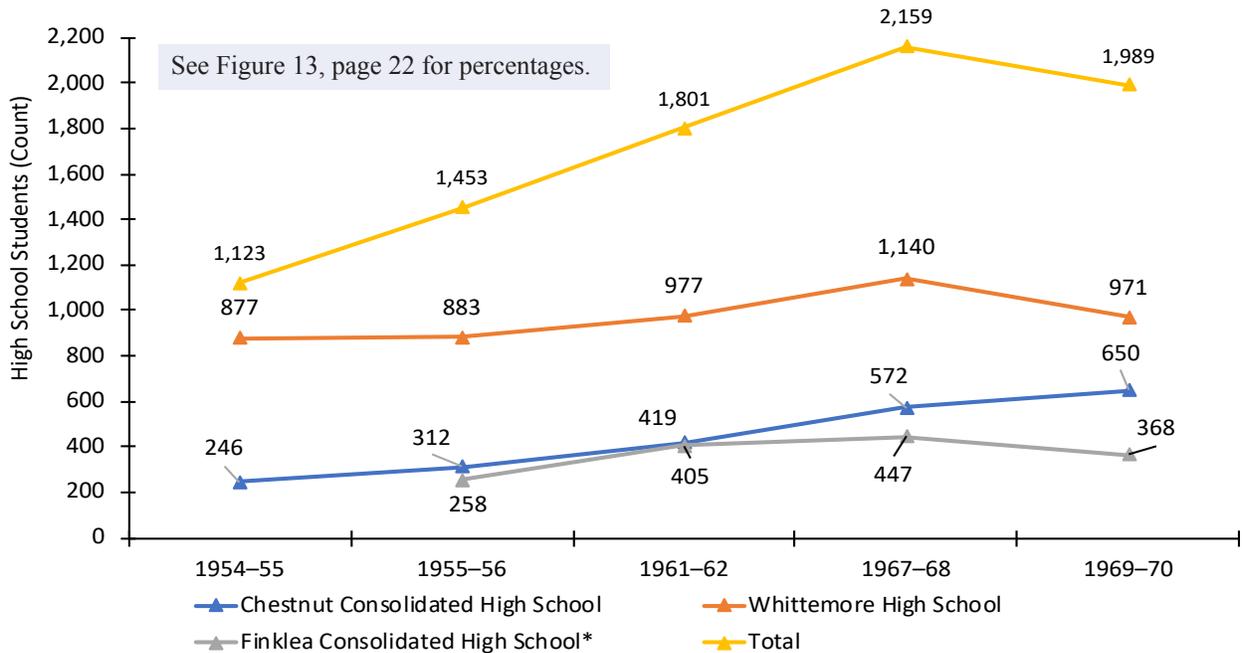
Dual System—Headcount of High School Students by School: 1954–1970

The graph in Figure 11 shows the growth trends for African American high school students from 1954–55 to 1969–70. The graph shows the replacement of Poplar Training School with Chestnut Consolidated High School and Loris Training School with Finklea Consolidated High School. South Carolina’s equalization schools program was going at full throttle as African American schools were being replaced with new schools and, in many situations, new names. With these changes, the black student now for the first time had access to state-accredited high schools with modern science laboratories, gymnasiums, certified teachers, librarians, transportation, and so on. The overall average growth rate for the three high schools for the 15 years was 41 percent, which equated to an average growth of 2.7 percentage points per year. Whittemore experienced an average growth of 10.2 percent for the 15 years, which equated to about a 0.68 percent annual growth rate over the period. Also, Whittemore experienced a large bounce in the 1967–68 school year, but normalized by 1969–70. A

few years before Horry County desegregated all of its schools, some black students were attending white schools; this could explain in part the downward trend in the high school headcount at Whittemore. During this time frame, Chestnut Consolidated High School experienced the largest high school enrollment growth of 90 percent, which equated to about six percent average growth per year. Finklea was second at 63 percent, which equated to an average growth of 4.2 percent per year for the 15-year time frame.

As a reminder to the reader, the graph below represents the time frame when resources to educate African American children had improved, but the state and county did not comply with the US Supreme Court’s *Brown* decision of 1954 until 1970. Though the 1954 US Supreme Court reversed the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision, these three schools depicted in this paper continued to operate under the overturned ruling (Chestnut Consolidated High School: A Historical Perspective, 2010).

Figure 11. Horry County—Average Growth of African American Public High School Students at Chestnut, Whittemore, and Finklea (1954–1970)



Source: South Carolina Department of Education

*Finklea Consolidated School opened in the fall of 1955 under the 6-6 plan with a wing for elementary school students (grades 1-6) and a second wing for high school (grades 7-12).



Dual System—Percentage Distribution of High School Headcount by School: 1940–1970

Figure 12. Horry County—Percentage Trend Pattern of African American Public High School Students at Poplar, Whittemore, and Loris (1940–1954)

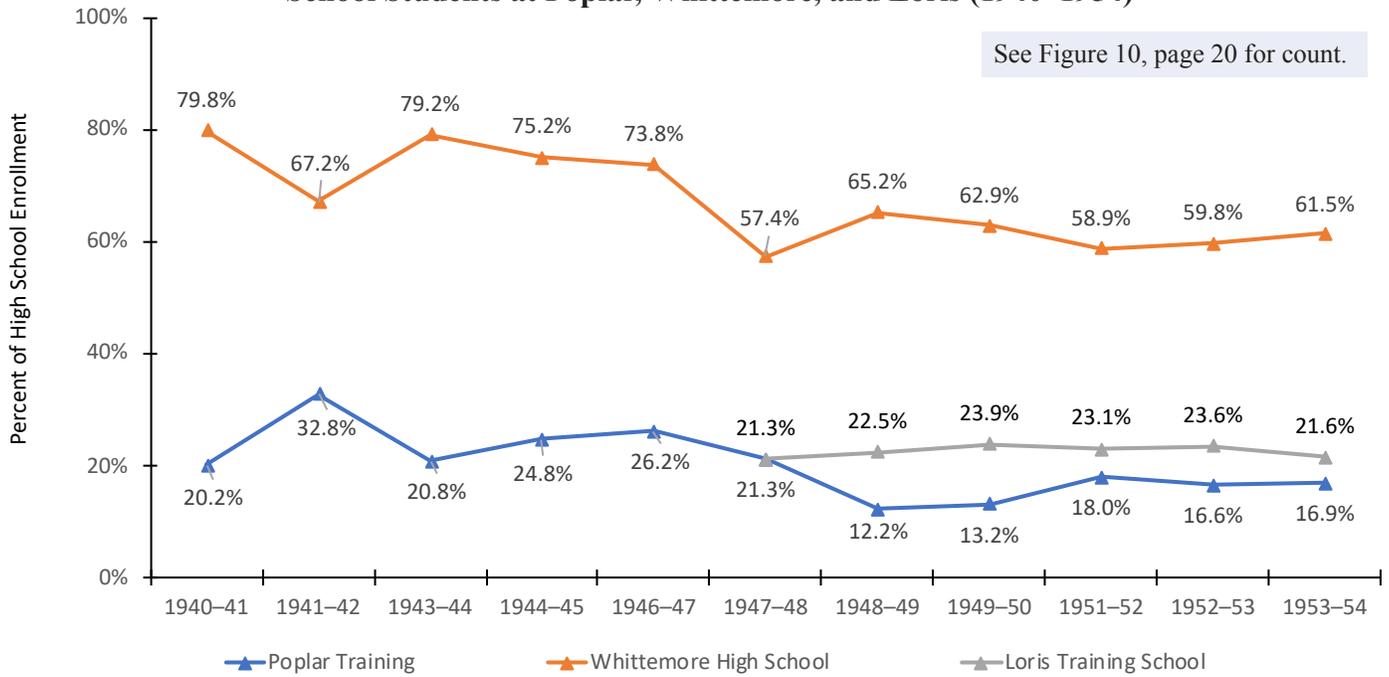
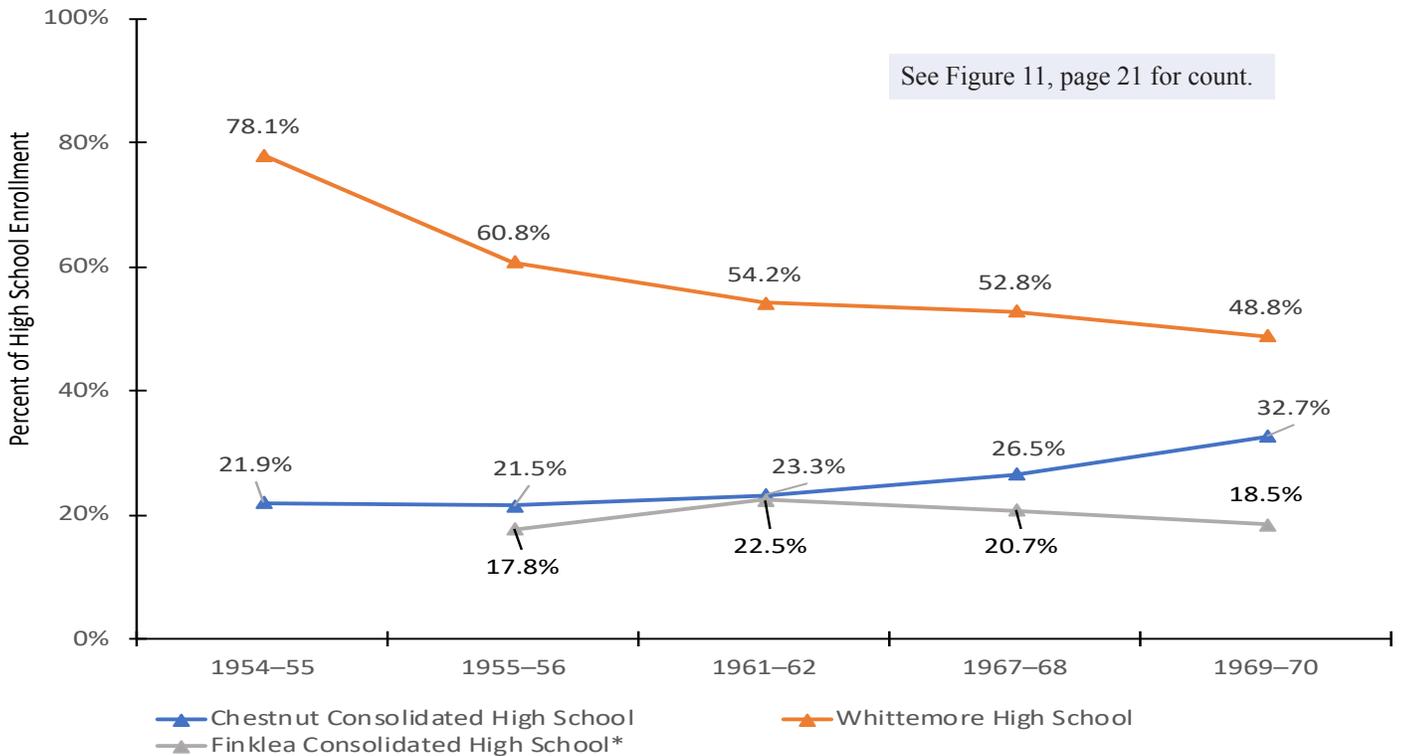


Figure 13. Horry County—Percentage Trend Pattern of African American Public High School Students at Chestnut, Whittemore, and Finklea (1954–1970)



*Finklea Consolidated School opened in the fall of 1955 under the 6-6 plan with a wing for elementary school students (grades 1–6) and a second wing for high school (grades 7–12). The student count for Loris Training School enrollment in 1954–55 was 192 (not shown on any graphs). Note: The 6-6 plan means that students in grades 7–12 are included under high school enrollment, but only grades 9–12 toward graduation.



Dual and Unitary System—Teacher Headcount and Growth Rate (Grades 1–12): 1954–2019*

The graph in Figure 14 shows a comparison share of white and black teachers in the public schools of Horry County, starting in 1954–55, when South Carolina was building new and improving older schools for African Americans and white students. This was due in large measure to the massively

unequal spending on education for the two groups. After all schools desegregated in 1970, African American percentage share of county teachers dropped from 29 percent to 6.7 percent in 2019. The Caucasian percentage share of county teachers increased from 71 percent to 93.3 percent in 2019.

Headcount comparison: Horry County public teachers before and after desegregation of public schools

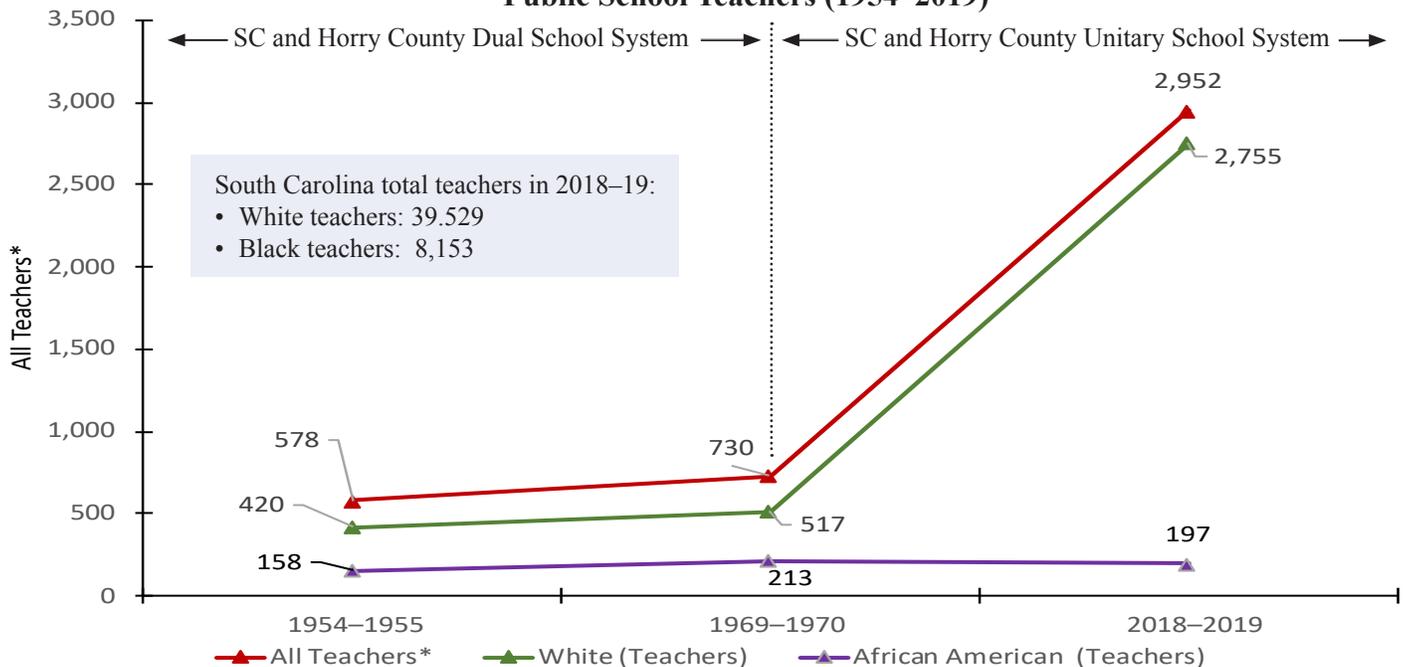
Dual School System: 1954–1970

- African American teachers’ growth rate was 2.3 percent per year and white teachers’ growth rate was 2 percent per year.
- The average growth rate of African American teachers was about 1.3 times (1.3X) greater than overall teachers’ growth rate (white and black).
- The average growth rate of African American teachers was about 1.5 times (1.5X) greater than white teachers.

Unitary School System: 1970–2019

- African American teachers’ growth rate was –0.15 percent per year and white teachers growth rate was 9 percent per year.
- The average growth rate (combined white and black) of teachers was about 41 times (41X) greater than African American teachers.
- The average growth rate of white teachers was about 59 times (59X) greater than African American teachers.

Figure 14. Horry County—Average Growth Pattern of White and Black Public School Teachers (1954–2019)



Source: South Carolina Department of Education

Table 5. Teachers’ annual growth rate (grades 1–12)

Description		Annual Growth (Headcount)			Annual Growth Rate (Percentage)		
Type of School System	Time Frame	Overall	White	Black	Overall	White	Black
Dual School System	1954–55 to 1969–70	10	7	4	1.75%	1.54%	2.32%
Unitary School System	1969–70 to 2018–19	46	46	0 <	6.21%	8.83%	–0.15%

*Horry County dual public school system is compared with the unitary public school system on pages 23–26, which was implemented in 1970.



Dual and Unitary System—Student Headcount and Growth Rate (Grades 1–12): 1954–2019

The graph in Figure 15 shows a comparison of white and black students’ growth patterns (all grades) in the public schools of Horry County, starting in 1954–55, when South Carolina constructed new and improved older schools for African American and white students. This was

due in large measure to the massively unequal spending on education for the two groups. All public schools remained segregated by race. After all schools desegregated in 1970, the growth of African American students continued its increase at a modest pace, but African American teachers remained flat.

Headcount comparison of all Horry County public school students before and after desegregation

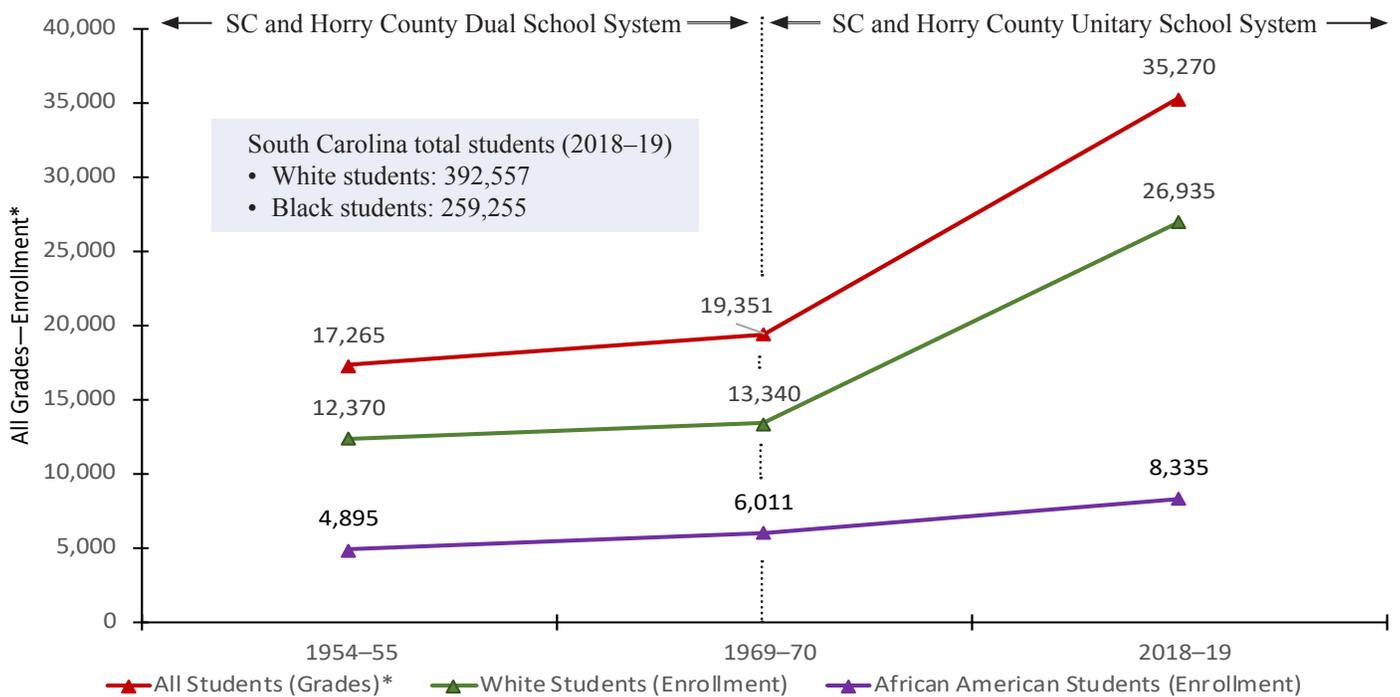
Dual School System: 1954–1970

- African American student headcount increased by 21 percent and white headcount increased by 8 percent.
- The average growth rate of African American students was about 1.9 times (1.9X) greater than the growth rate of all students.
- The average growth rate of African American students was about 2.9 times (2.9X) greater than white students.

Unitary School System: 1970–2019

- African American student headcount increased by 32 percent and white student headcount increased by 68 percent.
- The average growth rate of all students (white and black) was about two times (2X) greater than the growth rate of African American students.
- The average growth rate of white students was about 2.6 times (2.6X) greater than African American students.

Figure 15. Horry County—Growth Trend of White and Black Students (1954–2019)



Source: South Carolina Department of Education

Table 6. Students’ annual average growth rate (grades 1–12)

-12)		Annual Growth (Headcount)			Annual Growth Rate (Percentage)		
Type of School System	Time Frame	Overall	White	Black	Overall	White	Black
Dual School System	1953–54 to 1969–70	139	65	75	0.81%	0.52%	1.52%
Unitary School System	1969–70 to 2018–19	325	278	48	1.68%	2.08%	0.79%



Dual and Unitary System—Percentage of Teachers and Students (Grades 1-12): 1954–2019

Figure 16. Horry County—Percentage Share and RI of Black and White Teachers (1954–2019)

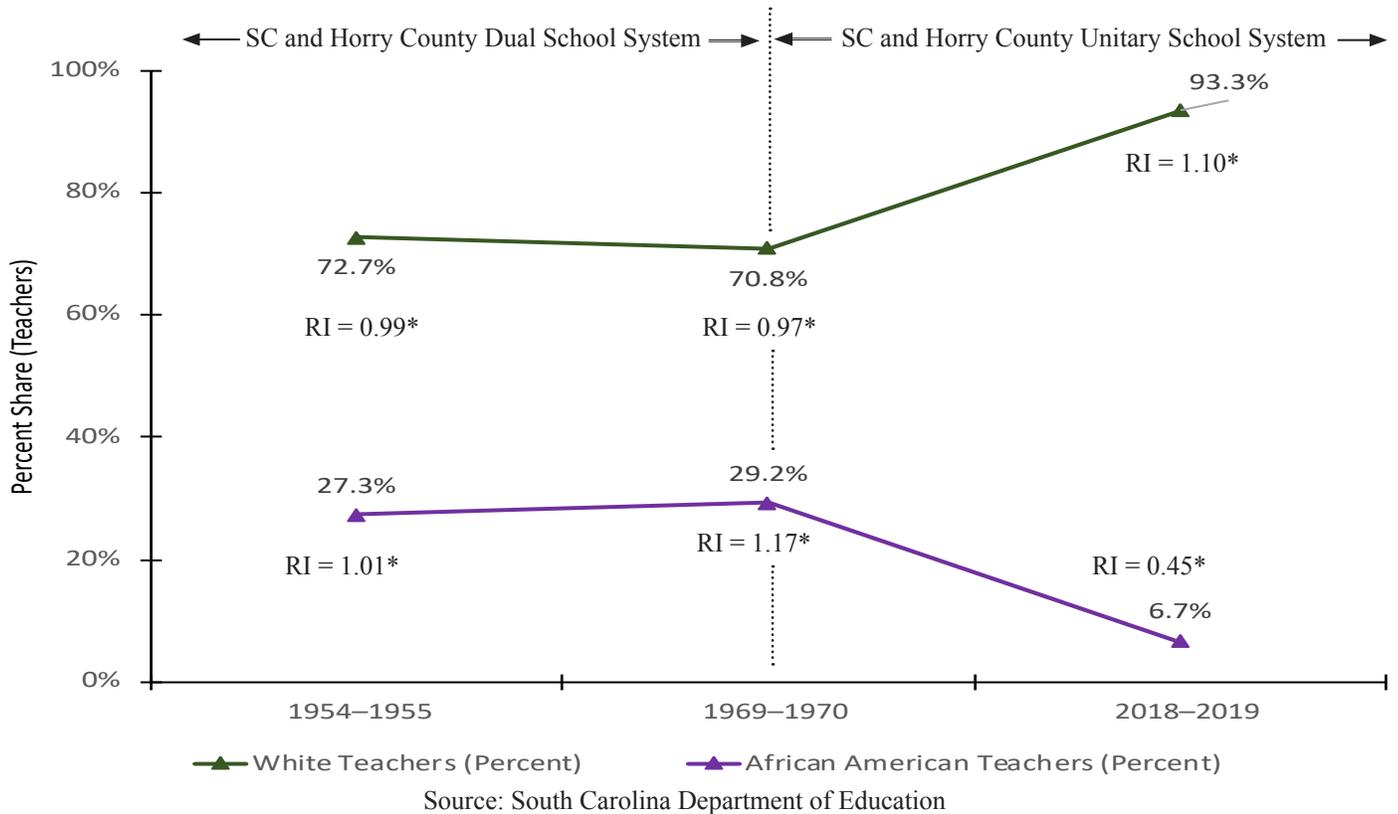
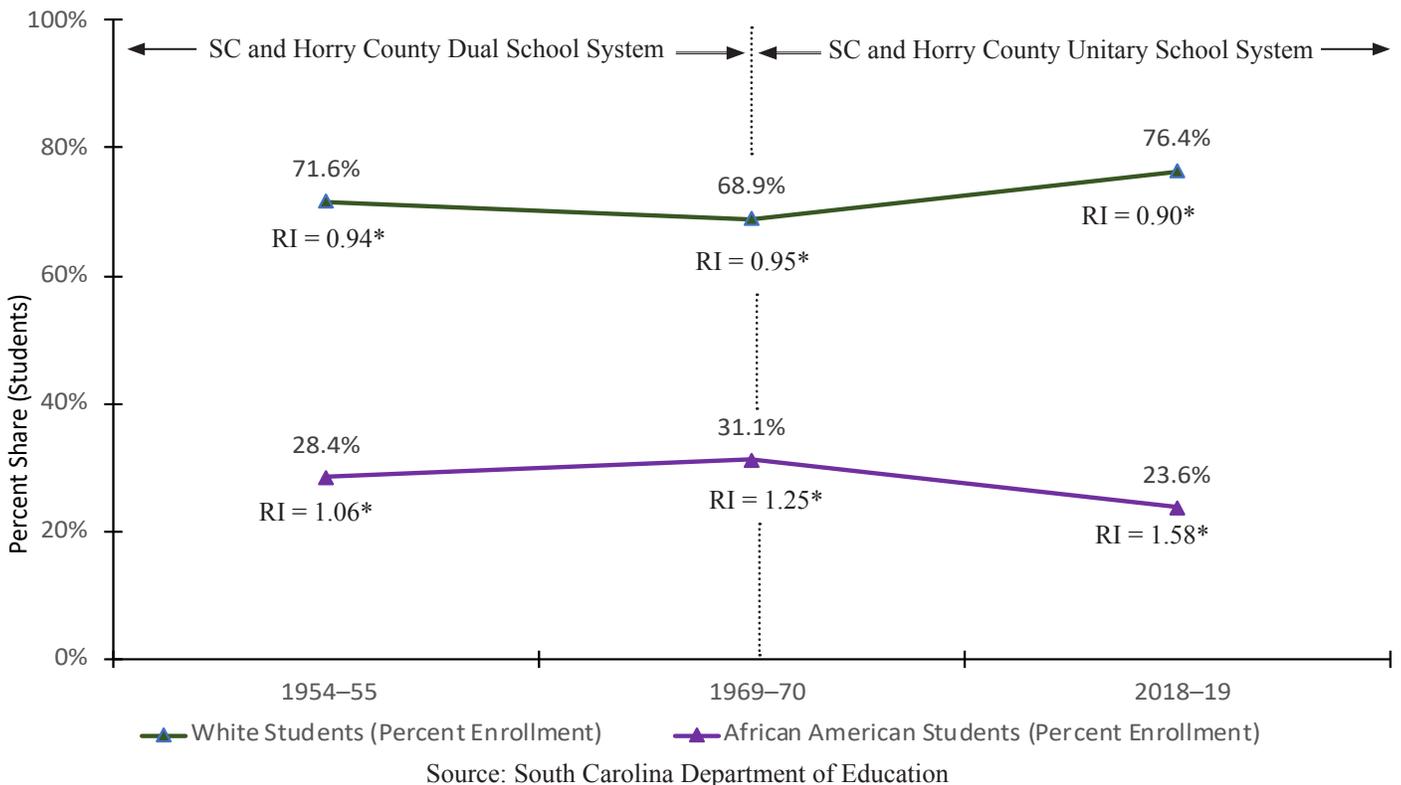


Figure 17. Horry County—Percentage Share and RI of Black and White Students (1954–2019)



*Representation index (RI) of the teachers or students to the their racial ethnicity in the general population. The number 1 is the most ideal balance.



Dual and Unitary System—Percentage of Teachers and Students (Grades 1–12): 1954–2019

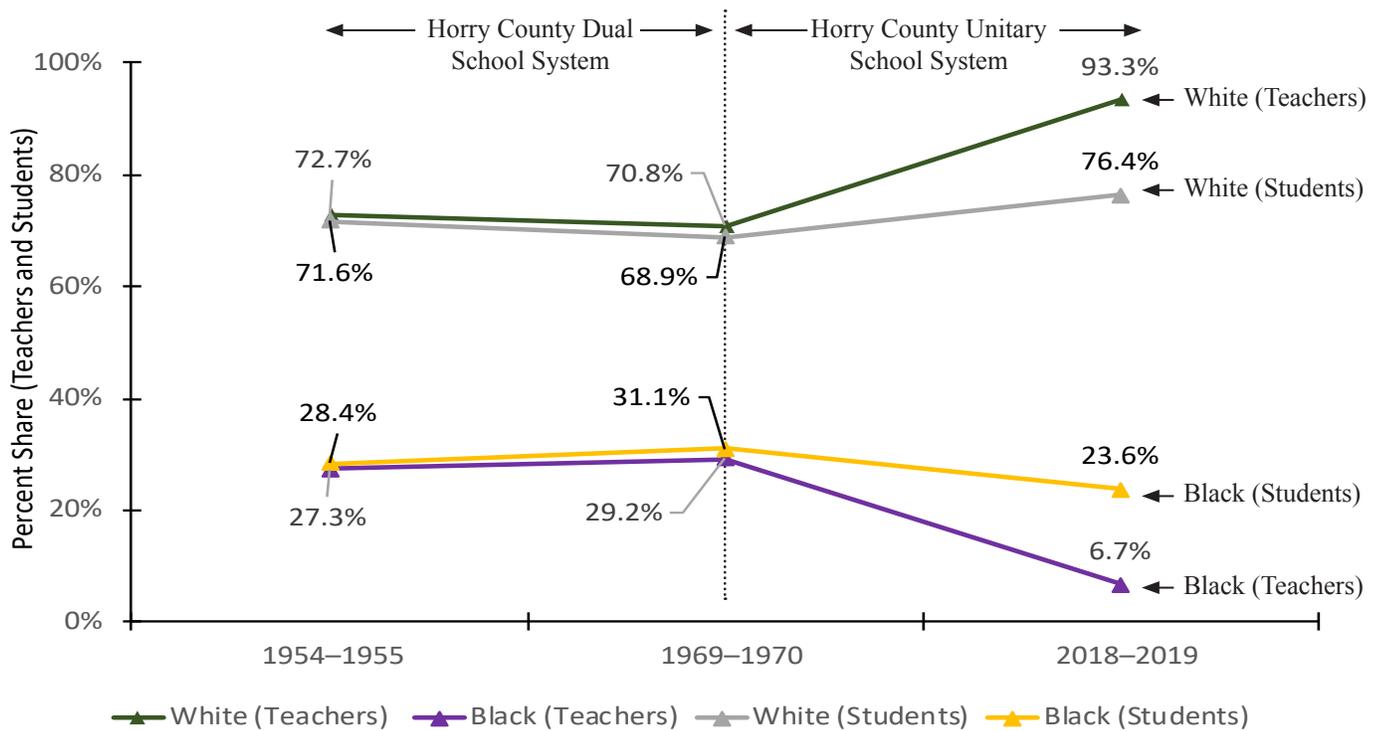
Figure 18 depicts the historical trend in white and black—teachers and students—starting with all African American equalization schools in Horry County. (Three high schools and 10 elementary schools served the African American community from 1954 to 1970.) The three high schools during this period operated under South Carolina's 6-6 plan; that is, the high schools included grades 7–12, but only grades 9–12 earned credit toward the high school diploma.

As mentioned previously in this paper, all public schools in the state and county desegregated in 1970. As shown in the graph below, the proportionality of student to teacher was within the margin of error. Notably, after the desegregation of schools in 1970, the percentage of black students to white students decreased through 2019. The proportionality gap between black students and black teachers increased in a negative direction through 2019, resulting in a disproportional number of black students to black teachers. On the other hand, the proportionality gap between the white teachers and white students

increased in the positive direction, resulting in a disproportionate overcount of white teachers to white students. For example, if the gap that is shown for the white teacher-student ratio was removed and placed in the African American gap, then neither group would have a disproportionate ratio. Hence, the gaps in both situations are almost identical. This clearly implies a substantial exodus of black teachers from Horry County Schools from 1970 to 2019.*

In percentage relative to the white and black populations of teachers in Horry County Schools, the black teacher population declined by 125 percent from 1970 to 2019. The white teacher population increased by 27 percent from 1970 to 2019. In 2018–19 numbers, Horry County Schools would need to fire about 700 white teachers and replace them with black teachers in order to be at the 1970 black teacher–student ratio and white teacher–student ratio. However, if Hispanic or Latino and other ethnic groups are factored in, the this number drops to about 500.** Either number presents an impractical scenario (Wilson, 2016). ■

Figure 18. Horry County—Percentage Comparison of Public School Teachers and Students (1954 to 2019)



Source: South Carolina Department of Education

*See Figures 16 and 17 for the RIs of the data shown in the above figure.

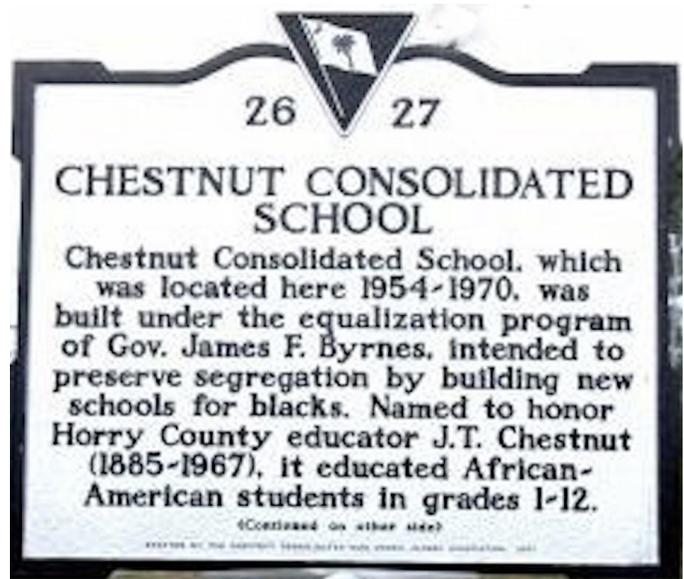
**For consistence throughout this paper, the general and school populations of Horry County are based on the former dual school system—white and black only. In 2019, Horry County general population are white (85 percent) and black (15 percent).



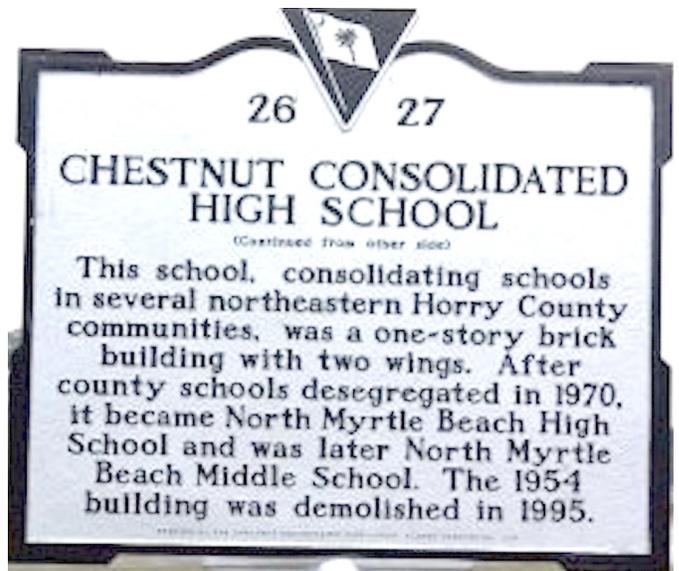
Historical Markers

Chestnut Consolidated High School

Of the three African American high schools before and after the equalization schools program, the two new schools and the upgraded school are listed as equalization schools by the South Carolina Department of History and Archives. The schools are Chestnut Consolidated High School, Finklea Consolidated High School, and Whittemore High School. Chestnut and Finklea were constructed and given new names to replace Poplar Training and Loris Training, respectively. Whittemore received massive updates under the equalization schools program. As noted on the Chestnut historical marker, the equalization schools program was implemented to preserve segregation, not to educate black children. The marker was erected by the Chestnut Consolidated High School Alumni Association (2011).



Front



Back

Snapshots of the unveiling ceremony for the Chestnut’s historical marker in 2011

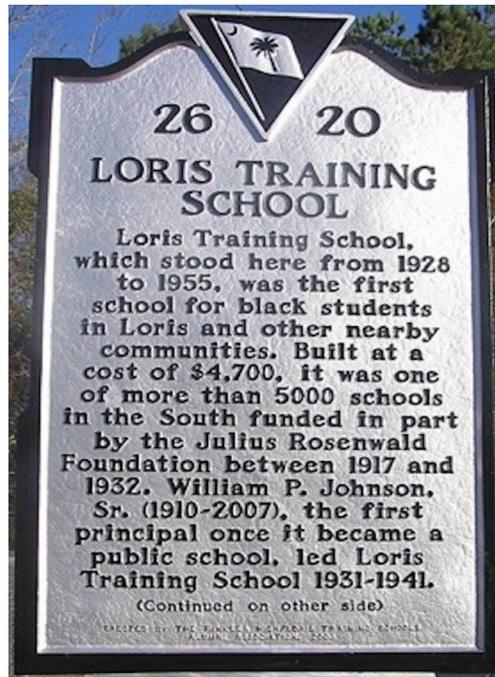


Historical Markers

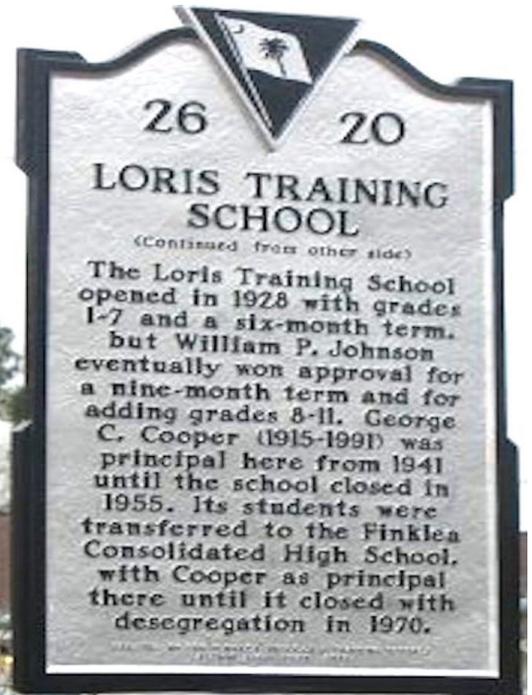
From Page 27

Loris Training School was the first school for African American students in the Loris area and nearby communities. The school was founded and constructed in 1926 with partial funding from the Rosenwald Foundation as Loris Colored School. Through the efforts of Mr. William P. Johnson Sr. and Mr. George G. Cooper, who continued working to have the school established as a high school; subsequently, the school received high school status in the in the mid-1940s. The Finklea High School that replaced Loris Training is eligible for a historical marker based on its status as an equalization school.

Loris Training School



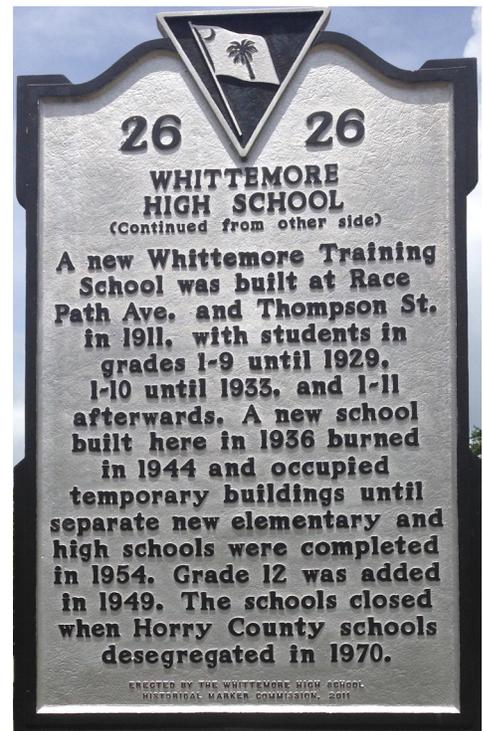
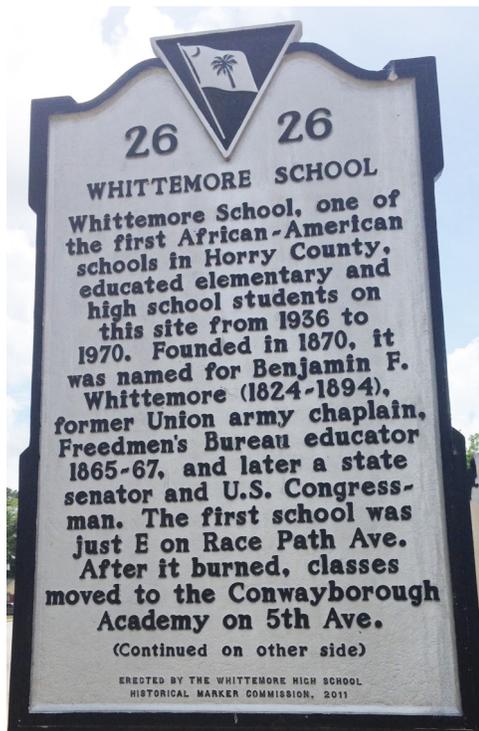
Front



Back

Whittemore High School

Whittemore High School and Whittemore Elementary School were deemed equalization schools by the South Carolina Department of Archives and History. Although Whittemore High School has a historical marker for its historic value. The school is also listed as an equalization school by South Carolina Department of History and Archives; therefore, it might also be eligible for another historical marker based on its equalization school status from (1954–1970).



Marker erected by the Whittemore High School Historical Marker Commission, 2011.



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The Author



David C. Wilson

David C. Wilson is an electrical engineer by training as well as an adjunct mathematics professor—now retired. He is a statistical consultant, family history researcher, author, and self-publisher.

Wilson is a graduate of the former Chestnut Consolidated High School (Horry County, SC) and an army veteran. After his discharge from the army, he pursued a mathematics-centered career. Consequently, Wilson earned his bachelor's and master's degrees in electrical engineering from the City College of New York and Manhattan College, respectively.

Wilson has worked in the engineering areas of product development, quality, and reliability for more than 35 years with multinational corporations such as IBM, General Electric, and Honeywell.

During his 25+ years as an adjunct professor, he taught engineering, mathematics, and statistics at Dutchess Community College (NY), Quinnipiac University (CT), and Horry Georgetown Technical College (SC). Additionally, he served one year with the prestigious IBM Faculty Loan Program.

A former reader for the College Board/AP Statistics Program and program evaluator for the Accreditation Board for Engineering and Technology/Technology Accreditation Commission (ABET/TAC), Wilson is currently a senior member of the American Statistical Association (ASA), the American Society for Quality (ASQ), and the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers (IEEE). He has earned numerous professional and community service awards and citations for his work and volunteer activities.

He and his wife, Beverly, have two adult sons and six grandchildren. They reside in Conway, South Carolina.

Note: Dave attended Todd Swamp Colored School, Poplar Elementary School, and Chestnut Consolidated High School (Horry County, SC).

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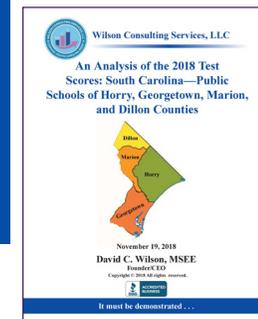
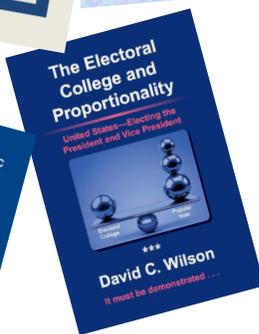
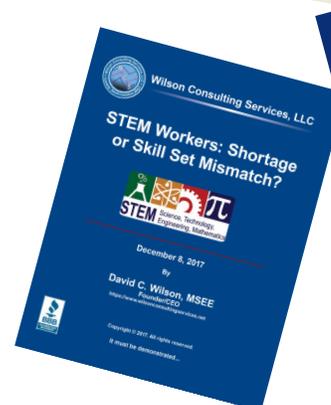
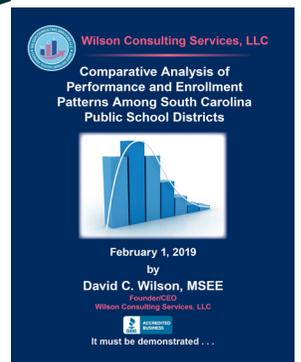
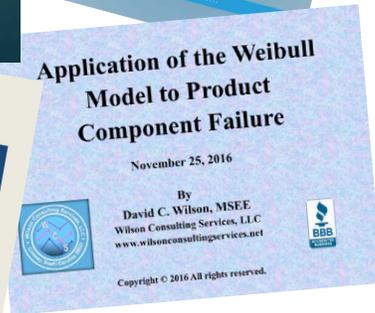
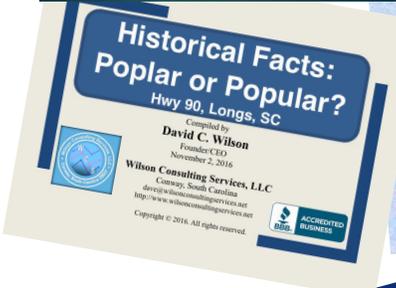
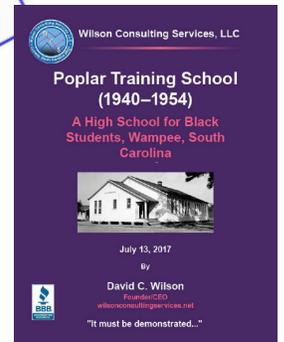
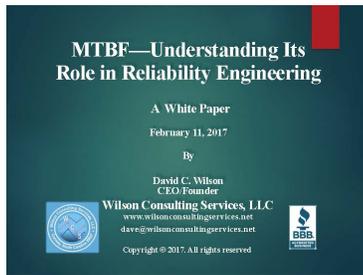
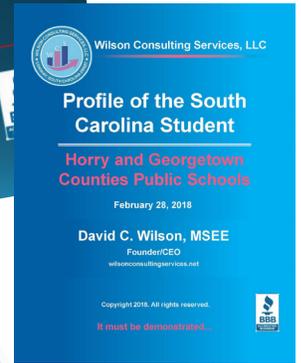
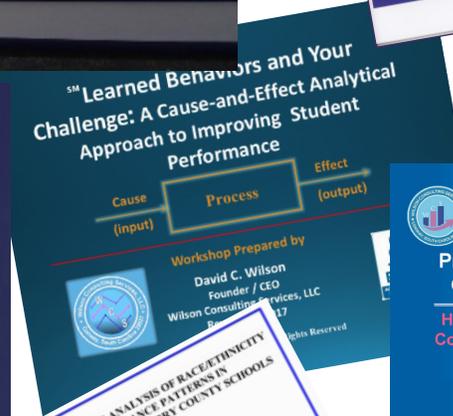
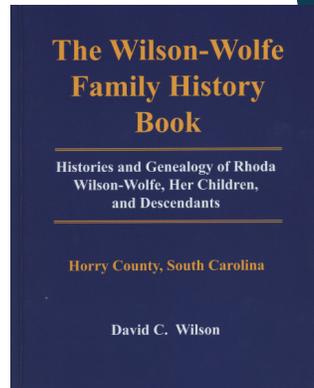
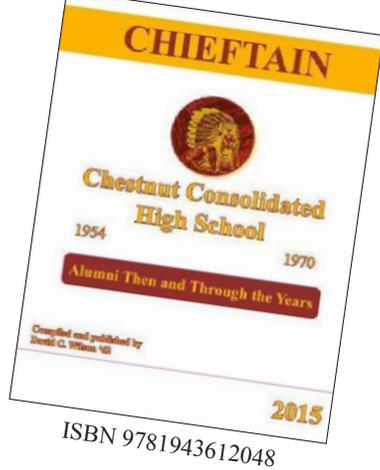
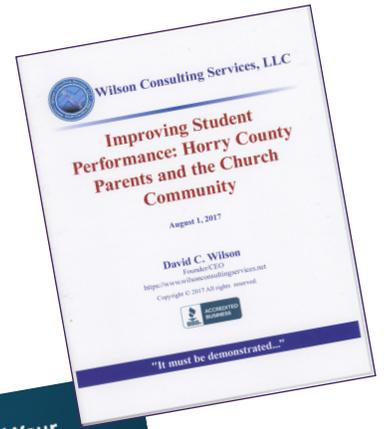
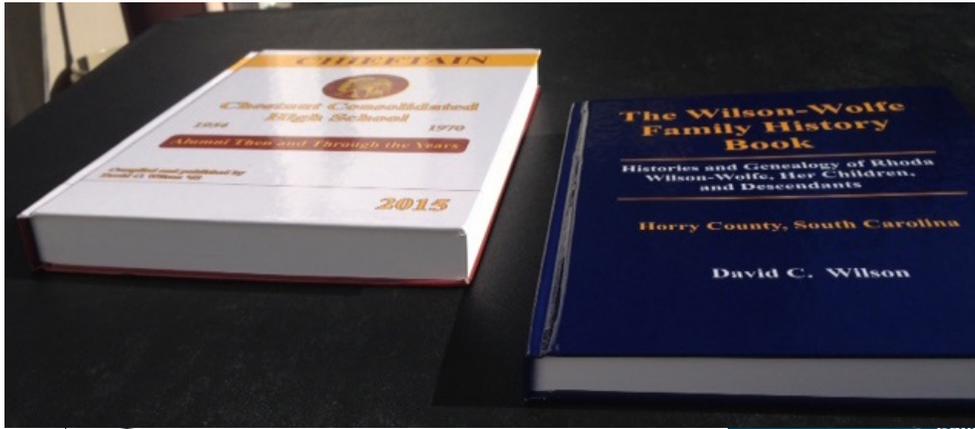
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