To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Alexander Macaulay, Jr. entitled "Black, White, and Gray: The Desegregation of The Citadel, 1963-1973." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in History.

Charles W. Johnson, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of The Graduate School

BLACK, WHITE, AND GRAY: THE DESEGREGATION OF THE CITADEL, 1963-1973

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Arts
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Alexander Stephens Macaulay, Jr.
May 1998

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I thank all The Citadel alumni who took time out of their busy schedules to talk with me. Obviously, this paper could not have been written without them, and their enthusiasm, candor and generosity made my job easier and enjoyable. The credit for what this paper is belongs to these alumni. The blame for what it is not belongs to the author. I appreciate the guidance and advice provided by the members of my committee. Stephen Ash seems to truly love his job, and his contagious enthusiasm made my meetings with him relaxing as well as insightful. Susan Becker possesses an uncanny ability to offer much needed encouragement at just the right time, and she helped me more than she knows. Most of all, I thank Charles Johnson for agreeing to direct my thesis. He listened patiently while I unloaded all my thoughts, and then offered calming, helpful and reassuring advice. I could not have written this paper under anyone else's guidance.

Numerous Citadel personnel provided invaluable assistance and information. Jane Yates in The Citadel Archives put up with my irregular hours and repetitive requests with grace and pleasantness. Barbara Fairfax in the alumni office endured numerous pleas for "just one more address and phone number." Both of these ladies made me feel welcome and I cannot thank them enough. Members of The Citadel faculty who thought they saw the last of me in May of 1994 humored my pop in visits and took an active interest in my work. In particular, I thank Colonel Moore, Captain Coussons, Colonel Barrett, Colonel Nichols, Captain Boykin, and Colonel Moreland. In the English Department, I thank the "Sage of the Ashley River" and her husband for the beer and also the brief but entertaining afternoons on the back porch.

The people I thank the most had the least to do with the actual researching and writing of the paper. Without Jane Brown's dock, navy bean soup, hospitality and friendship my life would be much poorer and the University of Tennessee would have one less thesis. In the short time he has known me, Steve Chandler has witnessed some of the most violent mood swings in the history of graduate school. He helped

me regain my sanity when I needed to, and he let me lose it when I needed to. Eleanor Maxwell has endured the rantings and ravings of a stressed academic lunatic for the past two years, and she somehow knew exactly when to listen and when to talk. I do not know many people like that, and that is just one of the reasons she means so much to me. Throughout my entire life, my parents have given me unwavering support and unconditional love, and although I can never repay them, I can thank them. For this reason, my greatest thanks go to Alex. Macaulay, Sr. (Citadel Class of 1963) and Maria Macaulay (Honorary member of the Class of 1994).

ABSTRACT

In the 1960s, the integration of Southern colleges and universities attracted national attention. From the riots at the University of Mississippi to Clemson University's "integration with dignity," Americans witnessed Southerners' reactions to federally enforced social change. In 1966, Charles DeLesline Foster enrolled as the first African-American student at The Citadel, The Military College of South Carolina amid little fanfare. The number of black cadets increased over the next seven years, but by 1973, they constituted scarcely more than one per cent of the student body. This thesis examines the integration process at The Citadel between the years 1963 and 1973.

The author studied The Citadel's annual reports, student publications, the papers and correspondence of Citadel presidents, newspapers, and minutes from the meetings of The Citadel's Board of Visitors. However, the majority of the information comes from over forty-three personal interviews with alumni, faculty and administrators who worked at or attended The Citadel during this time.

Unlike the integration of other institutions, the desegregation of The Citadel did not flow from the machinations of political, civic, or military leaders. Instead, its course depended upon the students, both black and white. Because of the college's unique traditions and military structure, the first African-American cadets faced challenges far different from their peers at other schools. With little help from the administration, these young men met these challenges and strove to enact positive change at The Citadel.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	INTRODUCTION	1
I.	"WITH A WHIMPER, NOT A BANG"	15
II.	THE CLASS OF 1970 – CHARLES DELESLINE FOSTER	25
III.	THE CLASS OF 1971 – JOSEPH DAWSON SHINE	54
IV.	THE CLASSES OF 1973, 1974 AND 1975 – CRITICAL MASS	64
	CONCLUSION – "A DREAM DEFERRED"	93
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	99
	VITA	110

INTRODUCTION

"I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny and I say segregation now, segregation tomorrow and segregation forever."

When Alabama Governor George Wallace shouted this pledge in January of 1963, the United States was experiencing severe racial strife and turmoil. Dissatisfied with hollow legal victories that failed to improve their status as second class citizens, black Americans grew more vocal and aggressive, and whites reacted violently. These problems plagued the whole nation, not only the states of the Deep South. Riots and racial turmoil erupted in Pennsylvania, as well as Florida and Virginia. However, the year 1963 brought vivid images of Wallace standing in the doorway at the University of Alabama. Americans watched police officers turn fire hoses and attack dogs on student protestors, and listened in horror at the news that a bomb blast had killed four young girls at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama. These acts of violence alerted the nation to the depths to which race relations had plummeted and sparked a "national revulsion against southern segregation." During a ten week span in the latter half of 1963, the Justice Department counted seven hundred and fifty-eight civil rights marches and demonstrations.[1]

These events pushed the civil rights movement to the forefront of the nation's consciousness, and President John F. Kennedy noticed this shift. On the same night a sniper gunned down National Association for the Advancement of Colored People field secretary Medgar Evers, President Kennedy informed a national audience,

> "We face . . . a moral crisis as a country and a people. It cannot be met by repressive police action. It cannot be left to increased demonstration in the streets. It cannot be quieted by token moves or talk. It is a time to act in the Congress, in your state and local legislative body, and above all, in all of our daily lives."[2]

---

[1] Introductory quotation from C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow, second revised edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 175-176. Reed Sarratt, The Ordeal of Desegregation: The First Decade (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1966), 323; Woodward, Jim Crow, 175, 179; Numan V. Bartley, The New South, 1945-1980 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 335-338.

[2] Bartley, New South, 338; Woodward, Jim Crow, 175-179; William J. Cooper and Thomas E. Terrill, The American South: A History (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1991), 729.

Eight days later, Kennedy proposed replacing a relatively mild piece of civil rights legislation with one of the most sweeping reform bills in this nation's history. In addition to eliminating racial restrictions on voting rights and labor union membership, it outlawed discriminatory employment practices, banned segregation in public facilities and accommodations, prohibited discrimination in any institution or program receiving federal aid, and allowed the Justice Department to file lawsuits against segregated schools.[3]

This legislation spurred civil rights workers to greater activism, and in the center of the storm, the debate raged over the desegregation of public schools. With its 1954 decision in Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, the Supreme Court had established public education as the "yardstick by which racial progress would be judged." In addition to broadening African-Americans' economic and social opportunities, the Justices hoped to lessen prejudices by bringing the races into closer contact.[4]

However, the "Court's decision changed the law, but it did not change the thoughts and feelings of vast numbers of white Southerners."[5] The thought of black and white children attending the same schools appalled many white Americans, and as Adam Fairclough has pointed out, the Brown decision "mobilized southern whites behind segregation far more effectively than it did southern blacks behind integration."[6] As the South operated with "all deliberate speed," change came with glacial slowness, and most schools continued their segregated practices over a decade after the Brown ruling.[7]

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 accelerated the integration process, with Title VI serving as one of the government's most effective weapons. Title VI eliminated federal funding to any program or facility that discriminated according to race, color,

---

[3] Woodward, Jim Crow, 175-179, 180-181; Cooper and Terrill, American South, 728-730.
[4] Bartley, New South, 159.
[5] Sarratt, Ordeal of Desegregation, viii.
[6] Bartley, New South, 186.
[7] Sarratt, Ordeal of Desegregation, 46.

sex, or national origin. Up until 1964, only token desegregation had occurred in the South. However, when the Department of Health, Education and Welfare began to fulfill its threats to withhold federal largesse, more school districts complied with government regulations. With the support of the government, federal judges cracked down on Southern efforts to avoid integration.[8]

The state of South Carolina had approached integration with a combination of dread, pride, and common sense. One of the school desegregation cases that would eventually be incorporated into Brown originated in Clarendon, South Carolina, and when Virginia Senator Harry Byrd opened his campaign of "massive resistance," white South Carolinians joined Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama in endorsing the policy. In the first three months of 1956, these five states passed at least forty-two statutes designed to block the desegregation of public schools. South Carolina Governor James F. Byrnes claimed the right to close the state's schools and formed a fifteen-member committee instructed to devise anti-desegregation strategies. Unofficially, the committee took the name of its chairman, L. Marion Gressette, and one proposal of the Gressette Committee relieved the state of its constitutional obligation to fund public schools.[9]

Although South Carolina officials planned to fight integration with every means possible, they displayed more moderate tendencies than some of their Southern counterparts. In a sincere effort to provide "separate but equal" facilities, the state of South Carolina appropriated over one hundred million dollars to improve public schools. However misguided its intentions, this practice helped alleviate racial tensions within the state.[10]

---

[8] Numan V. Bartley, The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South During the 1950s (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), 4, 5; Cooper and Terrill, American South, 736; George R. Metcalf, From Little Rock to Boston: The History of School Desegregation (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1971), 7-8, 24, 37; Bartley, New South, 373.

[9] Woodward, Jim Crow, 156-157; Bartley, Massive Resistance, 45, 340; John G. Sproat, "Firm Flexibility: Perspectives on Desegregation in South Carolina," in New Perspectives on Race and Slavery in America, eds. Robert H. Abzug and Stephen E. Maizlish (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1986), 167; Sarratt, Ordeal of Desegregation, 34; Bartley, New South, 163.

[10] Marcia G. Synnott, "Desegregation in South Carolina, 1950-1963: Sometime Between Now and Never," in Looking South: Chapters in the Story of an American Region, eds. Winfred B. Moore, Jr.

Governor Byrnes's term ended in 1954, and his successor took a hard-line stance against the Supreme Court's edict. As governor, George Bell Timmerman signed an interposition resolution and an appropriations bill that would close any South Carolina college or university required to admit students by court order. Furthermore, if any school closed for this reason, the state college for blacks would also shut down.[11] According to the chairman of the Gressette Committee, "the people of South Carolina intend to operate their schools in accordance with their own wishes so long as they are allowed to do so. When this right is denied to them, they will close the public schools."[12] Timmerman's belligerent policies angered many black South Carolinians, and generated unrest on some college campuses. The University of South Carolina fired two teachers who advocated desegregation, and Furman University banned a student publication for including an article supporting the Supreme Court.[13]

The trend continued in the 1958 elections when Ernest "Fritz" Hollings "out-segged" Donald Russell to win the governor's chair. But as the candidates preached the politics of massive resistance, social, economic and political realities worked to undermine South Carolina's segregationist traditions. Immediately following his inauguration, Governor Hollings told the media, in private, to prepare the state for desegregation. He warned reporters "you might as well start preparing for the inevitable. We are not going to secede."[14]

Donald Russell became governor in 1962, and he continued the course set by

---

and Joseph F. Tripp (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1989), 52-58; Stephen O'Neill, "From the Shadow of Slavery: The Civil Rights Years in Charleston" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1994), 95-96; Sproat, "Firm Flexibility," 164; Walter Edgar, South Carolina in the Modern Age (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992), 105; Bartley, New South, 162.

[11] Charleston News and Courier, 15 February 1956; Sarratt, Ordeal of Desegregation, 131

[12] Sarratt, Ordeal of Desegregation, 186.

[13] Synnott, "Now and Never," 58; Sarratt, Ordeal of Desegregation, 140-141; Bartley, Massive Resistance, 75-76, 228, 230-232.

[14] Edgar, Modern Age, 105, 106; Earl Black, Southern Governors and Civil Rights: Racial Segregation as a Campaign Issue in the Second Reconstruction (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976), 79-80; Sproat, "Firm Flexibility," 165, 169, 170; George McMillan, "Integration With Dignity," in Perspectives in South Carolina History: The First 300 Years, eds. Ernest M. Lander and Robert K. Ackerman (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), 385.

his predecessor. After urging the people of the state to "work out our problems peaceably, according to our standards of justice and decency," he hosted an inauguration day barbecue open to "all South Carolinians." This marked the first official racially integrated state function in almost one hundred years.[15]

Governor Russell and the people of South Carolina were put to the test in January of 1963 when Harvey Gantt became the first black student to enroll at Clemson University. South Carolina was the last Southern state to admit blacks to its state supported colleges and universities, but it avoided the chaos that plagued other campuses. After witnessing the ugliness at Oxford, Mississippi, South Carolina's political and business leaders made preserving order and avoiding federal intervention their number one priority.[16] Even the head of the Gressette Committee admitted that, "peace and order must be maintained both on and off the college campus."[17] Outgoing Governor Hollings informed South Carolinians "if we don't do our jobs, others will do it for us. Our failure to build a strong state government will create a too strong federal one."[18] In his farewell address, he advised the state to "move on for the good of South Carolina and our United States."[19]

After exhausting every legal recourse to block Gantt's enrollment, South Carolina prepared for the inevitable. State officials sent representatives to Oxford to learn from the University of Mississippi's mistakes, and they devised "probably the most complete and carefully thought out [plan] ever drawn up in the United States to meet the threat of racial violence."[20] Governor Russell assured everyone that "we

---

[15] Black, Southern Governors, 83; Edgar, Modern Age, 151.

[16] Woodward, Jim Crow, 155, 174-175; Bartley, Massive Resistance, 146, 212, 335; Sarratt, Ordeal of Desegregation, 34, 173-174; Synnott, "Now and Never," 52, 53, 58, 59; Edgar, Modern Age, 151; McMillan, "Dignity," 382, 385.

[17] Paul W. McNeill, "School Desegregation in South Carolina, 1963-1970" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kentucky, 1979), 23.

[18] Synnott, "Now and Never," 59.

[19] Edgar, Modern Age, 151.

[20] Maxie M. Cox, "1963 – The Year of Decision: Desegregation in South Carolina" (Ph.D. diss., University of South Carolina, 1996), 469; Sproat, "Firm Flexibility," 173-174; Sarratt, Ordeal of Desegregation, 173-174; Synnott, "Now and Never," 58, 59; Sproat, "Firm Flexibility," 174.

shall solve this problem peaceably, without violence, without disorder and with the proper regard for the good name of our state and her people."[21]

One observer noted that "the logic of South Carolina's history and the force of her traditions argued that Clemson would be another Oxford, Mississippi." To prevent this, Clemson officials planned Gantt's first day on campus with the "precision of an astronaut shot."[22] Security guards accompanied Gantt wherever he went. Highway patrolmen set up roadblocks and screened everyone entering and leaving campus. Clemson students had to wear nametags, and school officials threatened to expel anyone who caused a disturbance. Gantt's mild, unassuming demeanor gave the segregationists little reason to complain, and he explained that "if you can't appeal to the morals of a South Carolinian, you can appeal to his manners."[23] The students' reactions to Gantt's arrival eased tensions. One young man claimed that one black on campus did not warrant much attention, while another student huffed, "I'm not going to get mixed up in this mess. I'll be spending my time trying to build up my GPR and staying out of Gantt's way."[24] The integration of Clemson passed without incident, and Clemson and South Carolina earned nationwide praise, such as the Saturday Evening Post article about Gantt's enrollment entitled "Integration with Dignity."[25]

A few months later, the University of South Carolina desegregated with the registration of Henri Monteith. The school maintained strict control over the media and students, but Monteith's presence generated more unrest than Gantt's. Prior to her arrival, white students staged a demonstration in which they burned a cross, hung a black person in effigy and then marched to the state house grounds. Police dispersed the mob quickly and avoided any violent confrontations.[26]

---

[21] McNeill, "School Desegregation," 23.

[22] McMillan, "Dignity," 381.

[23] McMillan, "Dignity," 381-382; Sarratt, Ordeal of Desegregation, 173-174; Cox, "Year of Decision," 46-47, 52, 472, 473.

[24] Cox, "Year of Decision," 43-44.

[25] Synnott, "Now and Never," 60-61; Edgar, Modern Age, 151; Sarratt, Ordeal of Desegregation, 173.

[26] Cox, "Year of Decision," 81-82, 84-84, 93-95.

Throughout the next three years, racial barriers fell across the state. In August of 1963, federal judge J. Robert Martin ordered Charleston School District Twenty to admit blacks, and all Charleston schools to desegregate by September 1964. Similar rulings followed in Sumter and Orangeburg counties. Wofford College and Winthrop College integrated in 1964. Furman University voluntarily desegregated in 1965, and, after a struggle, the College of Charleston admitted African-American students in 1966. That same year, Senator Marion Gressette dissolved the Segregation Strategy Committee. However, die-hard segregationists continued their protests. One state legislator voiced concerns over black men attending schools with white women. When a newspaper editor accused the opponents of integration of feeding themselves "large doses of self delusion and false hope," he received death threats and faced social ostracism. Eventually, he resigned his position and moved to Chicago.[27]

In 1966, Governor Robert McNair, though opposed to desegregation, pledged to "comply . . . and live with the law, as distasteful as it may be."[28] McNair worked to improve South Carolina's image in hopes of attracting businesses and stimulating the state's economy. He wished to avoid negative publicity, but that is exactly what he got when a riot broke out between police and some black students at South Carolina State College on February 2, 1968. The melee ended with three students dead and many others injured.[29]

Despite the state's obvious strides towards school integration, the chaos at South Carolina State revealed that South Carolina still had a long way to go. By 1969, only twelve of the state's ninety-three school districts had integrated. In 1970, a federal court ordered the state to establish a unitary school system. This sparked further racial unrest and violent confrontations. Some schools closed while others received bomb threats and hired armed guards to patrol the halls. When the federal

---

[27] O'Neill, "Shadow of Slavery," 238; Cox, "Year of Decision," 63,130, 139; McNeill, "School Desegregation," 58; Sarratt, Ordeal of Desegregation, 218, 256-257.

[28] Black, Southern Governors, 83.

[29] Black, Southern Governors, 83, 84; Jack Nelson and Jack Bass, The Orangeburg Massacre (New York: The World Publishing Co., 1970).

government ordered the desegregation of Greenville and Darlington county schools, Governor McNair vowed to enforce the order and advised the citizens to adjust, not oppose.[30]

Tempers had cooled considerably by the time of the 1970 gubernatorial race, and South Carolinians demonstrated a weariness for race-based politics by electing John West as their governor. West's opponent ran a blatantly racist campaign, while West vowed to "eliminate from our government any vestige of discrimination because of race, creed, sex, religion or any other barrier to fairness for all citizens."[31] A year later federal officials met with members of the South Carolina Education Advisory Committee and praised the state's progress in school desegregation.[32]

The civil rights movement in South Carolina witnessed relatively little violence, and this set it apart from other Deep South states. One scholar attributes this civility to the white leadership's rejection of mob violence and black leaders' efforts to seek moderate gains through moderate proposals. This enabled the "state's white power structure . . . to work with the state's black leadership in dismantling segregation."[33] John Sproat argues that through inhabiting the same region for almost three hundred years, black and white South Carolinians had developed common values and aspirations. Leaders on both sides maintained control over the more militant members of their movements in order to accomplish what was best for the state. Injustices and inequities existed, but over the years the two races had obtained an intimate knowledge and understanding of one another. As one African-American leader put it, "We understand each other too much to be enemies."[34]

A recent study of the civil rights movement in Charleston claims that the struggles effected more social change in that city than in the rest of the South. According to Stephen O'Neill, the movement forced blacks and whites to reevaluate

---

[30] Edgar, Modern Age, 124, 127; Black, Southern Governors, 84, 126.
[31] Bartley, New South, 399-400; Black, Southern Governors, 85.
[32] Charleston News and Courier, 25 June 1971.
[33] Edgar, Modern Age, 107.
[34] Sproat, "Firm Flexibility," 164-165, 172-173; Cox, "Year of Decision," 475.

social roles prescribed by over two hundred and fifty years of inequality. As with the rest of the state, Charleston witnessed less violence and outright hostility than other large cities such as Birmingham, and O'Neill credits this to the "lowcountry myth," a mixture of paternalism and deference that reduced tensions between the races and often worked better than violence in suppressing black activism. During the civil rights struggles, black and white Charlestonians exhibited extraordinary compassion and unnecessary violence, paternalism and vindictiveness, understanding and intolerance.[35]

No two people exemplify Charleston's dichotomous reaction to the civil rights movement better than Judge J. Waites Waring and his nephew Thomas Waring. Judge Waring shocked fellow Charlestonians in 1947 by ruling to abolish the all white Democratic primary in South Carolina, and he convinced Thurgood Marshall to challenge the legality of segregated schools in the case of Briggs vs. Elliott.[36] When the federal district court upheld Plessy vs. Ferguson by a vote of two to one in the spring of 1951, Waring wrote the dissent. His argument that "segregation is *per se* inequality . . . and [the Fourteenth] Amendment . . . was intended to do away with discrimination between our citizens," became one of the bases for the Supreme Court's decision in the Brown case.[37] Unfortunately, Waring's heresy made him the target of verbal assaults and vigilante attacks. The South Carolina House of Representatives appropriated funds to purchase Waring a one-way ticket out of the state, and a magazine article labeled him, "the lonesomest man in town."[38]

Thomas Waring edited the Charleston News and Courier and it seems that the only thing he shared with his uncle was a last name. Officially, the News and Courier declared itself "South Carolina's Most Outspoken Newspaper," but Judge Waring preferred to call it the "bible of the supremacists."[39] A colleague of Thomas

---

[35] O' Neill, "Shadow of Slavery," 3, 79-80; Walter J. Fraser, Charleston! Charleston!: The History of a Southern City (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989).

[36] Fraser, Charleston!, 397-399, 404.

[37] Fraser, Charleston!, 404, 407.

[38] Fraser, Charleston!, 397-399, 402-403.

[39] O'Neill, "Shadow of Slavery," 128.

Waring claims that "for sheer volume and variety of his editorial fusillades against the Supreme Court, Waring was without peer."[40] After hearing the Supreme Court's ruling in 1954, Waring cried that the Brown decision could be "carried out only by an army, dispatched into South Carolina from the outside."[41] He further warned "the day may not be far away" when "homemade bombs may be hurled in the streets" because "the spirit of rebellion never dies."[42]

In 1960, Charlestonians attended segregated schools, played in segregated parks, shopped in segregated stores and worshipped in segregated churches. However, early that year, these policies came under attack from various forces. The Carolina Student Movement Association staged sit-ins across the state. J. Arthur Brown revitalized the Charleston branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and it once again became active in the community. Growing up, Brown watched Citadel cadets walk past his house and he hoped to one day attend the school. As a child, he could watch Citadel football games only if he agreed to clean the stadium afterwards. However, if the home team started losing, disgruntled stadium officials forced him to leave. During World War II, the sight of Japanese-American cadets in Citadel uniforms heightened Brown's frustration. These experiences left an indelible impression, and as president of the Charleston NAACP, Brown made the desegregation of public facilities his main goal.[43]

On November 28, 1960, newly elected Mayor J. Palmer Gaillard responded to a petition from Brown and made the Charleston Municipal Golf Course the first integrated municipal facility in South Carolina. Soon the city began desegregating its bus and train depots, its parks, its libraries, and a handful of restaurants. In the background, Thomas Waring wailed about the "apostles of race mongrelization and

---

[40] Sarratt, Ordeal of Desegregation, 253.

[41] W. Gary Nichols, "The General as President: Charles P. Summerall and Mark W. Clark as Presidents of The Citadel," South Carolina Historical Magazine 95 (October 1994): 332.

[42] Fraser, Charleston!, 409.

[43] O'Neill, "Shadow of Slavery," 151-152; Fraser, Charleston!, 411-412; Edmund L. Drago, Initiative, Paternalism, and Race Relations: Charleston's Avery Normal Institute (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 272.

socialism."[44] Racial barriers continue to fall into 1962, but one observer noted that "custom still largely keeps the races apart."[45]

Despite its progress, by 1963 Charleston remained the only major city in South Carolina that had not completely abandoned Jim Crow. Spurred on by Harvey Gantt's success at Clemson, however, and inspired by the more youthful and energetic nature of the civil rights movement, the South Carolina NAACP launched its "Charleston Movement" in June of 1963. The organization spent almost ten thousand dollars and waged a vigorous campaign of "sit-ins," "wade-ins," and "play-ins." One of the more innovative forms of protest consisted of demonstrators crossing streets very slowly in order to back up traffic. The goals of the movement included the desegregation of lunch counters and other public facilities, more black appointees to city commissions, the enforcement of equal employment practices, and the formation of a biracial committee to examine the city's race relations.[46]

The movement produced many arrests, but very little violence. However, by July, racial tensions had reached a dangerously high level, and city authorities issued a temporary restraining order preventing blacks from staging more marches. In response, black activism increased, and on July 16, five hundred demonstrators gathered outside the News and Courier office building. City and county law enforcement officials quietly began to arrest protestors, but violence erupted when a bystander hit an officer with a brick. The city called in one hundred thirty members of the state highway patrol to restore order, and the incident culminated in sixty-eight arrests.[47]

White Charlestonians' reactions to the movement and its participants ranged from "shoot the bastards" to those who urged the city to "once again lead the South in a matter of principle" by promoting racial equality.[48] The marches continued until

---

[44] O'Neill, "Shadow of Slavery," 212; Fraser, Charleston!, 411-412.

[45] Fraser, Charleston!, 414.

[46] O'Neill, "Shadow of Slavery," 225, 226-228; Bartley, New South, 299-300, 303; Fraser, Charleston!, 414; Drago, Initiative, 279.

[47] Fraser, Charleston!, 414-416; O'Neill, "Shadow of Slavery," 234-236, 229.

[48] Fraser, Charleston!, 414-415.

July 19, when Mayor Gaillard agreed to meet with members of the black community. A few days later, the two sides reached a settlement and black leaders called off the demonstrations. The movement achieved most of its goals: the formation of a biracial community relations committee, assurance of equal customer policies and employment practices, and the desegregation of public restrooms and water fountains. Despite these gains, many Charleston restaurants and hotels still refused to accommodate African-Americans.[49]

In 1963, Charleston served as the testing ground for the desegregation of South Carolina's public elementary and secondary schools. In August, federal judge J. Robert Martin ordered four schools in Charleston to desegregate, with countywide school desegregation to occur one year later. In September, Rivers High School became South Carolina's first integrated public school, "without violence or publicity." The same held true at the three other schools. Police were present at each location, but they were not needed. One school received a bomb threat, but the situation was resolved in less than twenty minutes. The eleven African-American students who entered the schools faced mixed reactions. They met "kids who were nice, kids who didn't know how to respond, and some kids who were just downright mean."[50] Not one to sit idly by, Thomas Waring commented on the relative serenity of the moment, but sneered that a "cancer often eats away while one feels fit and well."[51]

With the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, many black Charlestonians took advantage of their newfound opportunities by going to local theaters, restaurants, and pools. Some of the more recalcitrant whites tried to stir up trouble, but generally Charleston businesses complied. In 1967, African-Americans achieved another

---

[49] Fraser, Charleston!, 415, 417; O'Neill, "Shadow of Slavery," 235-236.

[50] McNeill, "School Desegregation," 17; Fraser, Charleston!, 417; Drago, Initiative, 275; Sarratt, Ordeal of Desegregation, 108-109, 173-174; O'Neill, "Shadow of Slavery," 240, 241.

[51] Sarratt, Ordeal of Desegregation, 254.

milestone when St. Julian Devine became Charleston's first black city council member since Reconstruction.[52]

The civil rights movement brought considerable change to Charleston, and black leaders could look back at their hard work with a feeling of pride and accomplishment. Most realized, however, that other more difficult challenges remained. African-Americans still faced limited economic and employment opportunities and improvements were needed in housing and education.[53]

Overt racial hostilities decreased significantly across the South as its inhabitants became more educated and more accustomed to integration. As the region shifted from a segregated to a desegregated society, "white violence punctuated social change, but ultimately whites more or less accepted it."[54] The major battles at some of the South's more renowned universities had occurred some years before, but in 1966 the struggles of a small military school located on the banks of the Ashley River were just beginning.

Charles DeLesline Foster enrolled as the first African-American student at The Citadel, the Military College of South Carolina in September 1966. The number of black students increased over the next seven years, but by 1973, they constituted scarcely more than one percent of the student body. Unlike some of the South's larger colleges and universities, the integration of The Citadel has received very little, if any, scholarly attention. Because of the school's military structure and rich Southern heritage, the first African-American cadets faced challenges far different from those encountered by their peers at other institutions. Unlike at Clemson and the University of South Carolina, the course of The Citadel's integration depended upon the students, not powerful political or civic leaders. The cadets were the driving force behind the school's desegregation, and they strove to overcome a recalcitrant and often hostile administration in an attempt to enact positive change at their alma mater.

---

[52] O'Neill, "Shadow of Slavery," 244; Fraser, Charleston!, 419-420.
[53] Fraser, Charleston!, 424.
[54] Bartley, Massive Resistance, 14-15; Bartley, New South, 374.

An examination of how the cadets and the school approached integration offers an interesting and unique perspective on how Americans reacted to an era of immense social change. On a more contemporary note, a study of how The Citadel adjusted to the enrollment of black cadets may offer some solutions to the recent problems the school has encountered assimilating women into the Corps of Cadets.

For this study, the author examined The Citadel's annual reports, student publications, the papers and correspondence of Citadel presidents, newspapers, and minutes from the meetings of The Citadel's Board of Visitors. However, the majority of the information comes from over forty-three personal interviews with alumni, faculty, and administrators who worked at or attended The Citadel during this time.

Since the men who represent the focus of this study have not had time to write their memoirs, one must rely on oral testimonies when recounting their experiences. This method contains numerous advantages and pitfalls. Oral history lends itself to a captivating and authentic retelling of history, but one must remain cognizant of the human tendency to exaggerate, underestimate or overlook certain emotional occurrences in one's life. The author realizes the fallibility of human memory and attempts to compensate by seeking written corroboration when possible or by uncovering commonalties in the interviewees' responses and recollections.

CHAPTER I: "WITH A WHIMPER NOT A BANG"

In 1822, a black man named Denmark Vesey staged an unsuccessful slave revolt in Charleston, South Carolina. Despite Vesey's failure, his attempt unsettled white Charlestonians and they petitioned the state legislature to establish a garrison to "protect and preserve the public property . . . and safety." The General Assembly responded by passing "An Act to Establish a Competent Force to Act as a Municipal Guard for the Protection of the City of Charleston and Its Vicinity." The facility designated to house this guard was named The Citadel, and a similar post was established in Columbia and named The Arsenal. Later, as tensions escalated between the Northern and Southern states, Governor John Richardson sought to create an institution that would provide military training to the state's youth as well as offer an education in science and liberal arts. The South Carolina legislature conceded the "advantages of combining the military duties of the guards at The Citadel with a system of education," and on December 20, 1842, The Citadel became a military college.[1]

Less than nineteen years later, Citadel cadets allegedly fired the first shots of the Civil War. Many of the school's alumni thereafter served with distinction in the Confederate Army. The flag of the Corps of Cadets prominently displays nine battle streamers recognizing The Citadel's contribution to the Southern war effort.[2]

General William T. Sherman's federal troops destroyed The Arsenal when they sacked Columbia, and following the war, The Citadel served as headquarters of Lieutenant Colonel Augustus G. Bennett and his Twenty-first United States Colored Regiment. After federal occupation of the school ended in 1879, almost a hundred years would pass before another black man lived in the barracks. The Citadel almost

---

[1] Fraser, Charleston, 203; "A Self Study: The Citadel, 1972," documents in possession of author, 10, 11; Oliver James Bond, The Story of The Citadel (Richmond, Virginia: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1936; reprint, Greenville, South Carolina: Southern Historical Press, Inc., 1989), 2-5, 10, 16, 17.

[2] Bond, Story, 49-51; Gary R. Baker, Cadets in Gray (Columbia: Palmetto Bookworks, 1989), 1, 188-189.

integrated in 1869, when South Carolina's reconstructed legislature called for a constitutional provision declaring all schools receiving public funds "free and open to all the children and youth of the state without regard to race or color." The governor wished to keep the races separate, however, and he submitted a proposal making South Carolina College in Columbia open only to whites, and The Citadel open only to blacks. Nothing came of either proposal.[3]

The Citadel reopened as a military college in 1892 and continued to provide young white men with a "broad and practical education." Over the years, it expanded its educational programs, but the biggest change occurred in 1922, when the campus moved from the center of Charleston to a one hundred-acre site on the banks of the Ashley River. By 1963, the college's mission had undergone little change. According to a self-study performed by Citadel faculty, the school sought to develop its students' "character, physical fitness and moral and religious principles, thereby preparing them to meet the requirements of citizens and especially leaders."[4]

The years 1963 through 1973 marked a transitional period in The Citadel's history in many ways. General Mark W. Clark had served as the school's president since 1954, and under his guidance, the college had prospered. Enrollment reached its maximum, the number of Ph.D.'s on the faculty increased, and Clark's national prestige helped obtain funding for a new library, a new student activities building, and a new military science building. The General instituted a "Greater Issues Series" in which civilian and military leaders would address the corps on a variety of topics. Because of Clark's influence, the school attracted many powerful and well-known speakers, and the General enjoyed immense popularity among the cadets, the administration, and the faculty. After leaving the Army, he had received numerous lucrative business offers, and his decision to serve as The Citadel's president endeared him to school personnel. Clark raised teachers' salaries and made it easier for them to further their education, but in return he expected little opposition to his

---

[3] "Self Study," 11; Fraser, Charleston!, 269; Bond, Story, 87.
[4] Fraser, Charleston!, 219, 313; "Self Study," 11-12, I-5.

views. He rejected tenure for professors, and he informed potential faculty members, "if you've got any ideas . . . on integration and all that stuff that you want to publish and identify The Citadel [with], we don't want you."[5]

Clark expected and received the same loyalty from his staff. The Citadel's administration consisted largely of retired or active military officers from all branches of the armed services, and many of these men based their opinions of blacks on the misconception that African-American soldiers could not "stand the gaff." The integration of the United States Armed Forces had occurred long before 1963, but many "old guard" military officers refused to relinquish this view of black troops.[6]

The desegregation of the American military after World War II resulted from political pressure, civil rights activism, and most importantly, the need for efficiency. For many years prior to that, blacks had viewed the army as a potential means of achieving social equality. In such a structured environment, an individual tends to be judged by his or her ability, not skin color. In a more direct fashion, military life offered blacks a better chance at equal treatment, because "the armed forces could command, where others could only persuade."[7]

In World War I, African-Americans hoped to use military service as an avenue to social advancement, but these ideas quickly vanished. During the war, blacks served primarily as laborers, chauffeurs, and stevedores regardless of their education or abilities. The Army assigned blacks to segregated camps where they received little practical training from their white instructors. Despite these handicaps, black combat troops displayed extraordinary valor and discipline, and won the respect of the French army. Unfortunately, the black 368th Infantry Regiment performed disastrously at the Meuse-Argonne and their actions stigmatized African-Americans as cowardly and

---

[5] Charleston News and Courier, 12 March 1968; Nichols, "General as President," 315, 326-327, 332-333.

[6] W. Gary Nichols, "The General as President," 331; Lieutenant Colonel T. Nugent Courvoisie, interview by author, tape recording, 4 October 1997.

[7] Morris J. MacGregor, Jr. Integration of the Armed Forces, 1940-1965 (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, Unites States Army, 1981), 4, 17.

unreliable. While the French praised the other black regiments, white Americans focused on the actions of the 368th.[8]

After World War II, African-Americans returned home determined to receive their due recognition. Hope replaced the inter-war cynicism of black Americans and they began to demand equality. Black World War II veterans had seen more combat than their World War I predecessors, but despite evidence to the contrary, African-American soldiers' reputations for caving under fire persisted. After a brief flirtation with integration in 1943, the United States military returned to a policy of strict segregation.[9]

The debilitating effects of a racially segregated army hindered the effectiveness of American troops. Segregation fostered resentment and isolation among black soldiers, and heightened racial tensions. The attitudes and performance of African-American servicemen suffered as a result of segregationist policies, and in February of 1948 President Harry S Truman instructed his Secretary of Defense to "take steps to have the remaining instances of discrimination in the armed services eliminated as rapidly as possible."[10] Truman followed this with Executive Order 9981, which banned racial discrimination in the United States military. The Air Force and Navy made immediate plans to comply with the President's mandate, but the Army refused to abandon its segregationist tradition. White Army officials referred to isolated incidents in World War I and World War II as proof that African-Americans were not ready for integration.[11]

The Korean War forced the United States Army to comply. The massive influx of black and white recruits rendered continued segregation impossible. The post commander at Fort Jackson in Columbia, South Carolina, realizing the futility of

---

[8] Richard M. Dalfiume, Desegregation of the U. S. Armed Forces: Fighting on Two Fronts, 1939-1953 (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1969), 12; Edward M. Coffman, The War to End All Wars: The American Military Experience in World War I (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 69-73, 231-233, 314-320.

[9] Dalfiume, Fighting, 57-59, 82, 91-94, 96, 97, 100-101, 111-114; MacGregor, Integration, 11, 55.

[10] MacGregor, Integration, 37-39; Dalfiume, Fighting, 72-76, 157.

[11] Dalfiume, Fighting, 165-166, 171-173, 181, 188, 200, 203; Woodward, Jim Crow, 136.

maintaining segregated facilities, ordered the integration of training units. This worked well and other posts followed Fort Jackson's lead.[12]

In Korea, field commanders could not afford to waste manpower and they integrated their forces out of necessity. This literal "trial by fire" disproved the theories of blacks' inferiority, and Army officers noted that integrated units fought better than segregated ones. One white serviceman commented that "when it comes to life or death, race does not mean any difference . . . each guy is like your own brother – we're treated all the same."[13]

Korea proved that black and white soldiers could work side by side with positive results, and on July 26, 1951, the Army announced its intentions to desegregate fully. Soon thereafter, the Department of Defense began challenging discriminatory practices in the civilian world. Studies showed that such practices undermined soldiers' morale, and the Department of Defense endeavored to eliminate racial discrimination in areas such as public housing and education. Most on-base schools had integrated by 1953, and in 1955 the military began desegregating off-base schools located on federal property. It achieved some success in Virginia and Alabama, and the Eisenhower administration encouraged the integration of schools attended by military dependents in Tennessee, Florida, and Arkansas.[14]

However, not everyone recognized the merits of integration. General Clark served as commander of the Army Field Forces in Korea, and he opposed dismantling segregation. Like many of his contemporaries, Clark formed his opinions based on his World War II experience (he had seen members of the black Ninety-second Division wither under a German assault at the Serchio Valley in December of 1944). Clark praised the performances of individual black soldiers, but he questioned the effectiveness of black units.[15] He blamed their deficiencies not on poor training or

---

[12] Dalfiume, Fighting, 203; MacGregor, Integration, 12.

[13] Dalfiume, Fighting, 204-208; MacGregor, Integration, 612-614, 447.

[14] Woodward, Jim Crow, 137; Dalfiume, Fighting, 211-212; MacGregor, Integration, 3, 220, 222, 488, 490, 492-493, 498, 500, 556, 613, 619-620

[15] Dalfiume, Fighting, 209, Mark W. Clark, Calculated Risk (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1950), 413-415.

demoralizing policies, but on their "general reluctance to accept responsibility for the hard routine discipline that is essential in wartime."[16] Nothing Clark saw in Korea changed his mind, and he opposed school integration based on his personal evaluation of blacks' abilities.[17]

Clark disagreed with the Supreme Court's attempts to "force indiscriminate racial integration upon the South," but he opposed extremism.[18] When the South Carolina legislature introduced a proposal to shut down any college or university required to admit pupils by court order, a friend of Clark's urged him to use his influence to defeat such a "drastic proposal." The man exclaimed, "We don't want to give the impression that we would be willing to admit negroes to The Citadel lying down, and at the same time we don't want to burn the barn in order to get rid of the rats."[19]

Citadel officials paid little attention to the issue of integration until the federal government intervened. Bolstered by his newfound civil rights activism, President Kennedy sent a letter to The Citadel's Board of Visitors in July of 1963 asking for the school's help in alleviating the nation's racial strife. He urged the college to encourage all students to further their education, and subtly reminded the Board that he expected full cooperation by explaining that, "It is the American tradition, which we all wish to preserve, that the responsibility for education remain at the State and local level."[20] The Board's reply mentioned The Citadel's high student retention rate, but sidestepped the issue of recruiting or admitting African-Americans. The Board's chairman ended with a disclaimer: "Since I feel we are already fulfilling the

---

[16] Clark, Risk, 414.

[17] Mark W. Clark to Dink R. Rigsby, 13 June 1956, General Mark W. Clark Papers, The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina; Clark to Eric F. Goldman, 24 April 1956, Clark Papers; Nichols, "General as President," 331.

[18] Nichols, "General as President," 331.

[19] Charleston News and Courier 15 February 1956; J.M. Moorer to Clark, 17 February 1956, Clark Papers.

[20] The Citadel's Board of Visitors, "Minutes,"25 October 1963, John Kennedy to David E. McCuen, Jr., 12 July 1963, documents 632 and 633, The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

President's wishes and are carrying out the extra programs as outlined in this letter; this will be our only report."[21]

Citadel cadets viewed integration with a mixture of resentment, resignation and racism. An article in the school newspaper, The Brigadier, compared the Supreme Court to "an irksome, destructive child visiting in our home with its mother."[22] In the wake of Harvey Gantt's enrolment at Clemson, The Brigadier asked four cadets their opinions on the desegregation of South Carolina's public schools. A freshman conceded the inevitability of integration, but asserted that "a peaceful, gradual settlement with time for adjustment is the only answer." A sophomore agreed that all Americans deserve equal opportunity, but he disapproved of the Supreme Court's efforts to "force" social change. A Charleston native believed schools should be separate but equal "until the Negroe [sic] race has improved its moral standards and its living standards."[23] Attitudes remained relatively unchanged a year later, when a student's editorial condemned the Civil Rights Act for subverting the wishes of the founding fathers by destroying an American society based on "private property and self-determination."[24]

General Clark wished to avoid integrating The Citadel during his presidency, but he refused to violate the law. The Supreme Court and the other branches of the federal government prohibited segregation, and The Citadel was an institution controlled primarily by military personnel, "a sector of society that habitually recognizes the primacy of authority and law."[25] The school's administrators had learned early in their careers to follow orders and obey their government regardless of personal misgivings. Months before the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, The

---

[21] Board of Visitors, "Minutes," 25 October 1963, McCuen to Francis Keppel, 9 August 1963, documents 634 and 635.

[22] Nichols, "General as President," 332.

[23] The Brigadier, The Newspaper of The Military College of South Carolina, 2 March 1963, The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

[24] The Brigadier, 18 April 1964.

[25] Nichols, "General as President," 331; Dennis Dewitt Nicholson, Jr., A History of The Citadel: The Years of Summerall and Clark, (Charleston, South Carolina: The Citadel Print Shop, 1994), 348; MacGregor, Integration, 612.

Citadel received an application request from an African-American student at South Carolina State College. At that time, The Citadel did not accept transfer students, and the registrar informed the young man of this policy. The student replied that he wished to enroll as a freshman. Upon hearing this news, the Board of Visitors met and declared that the student's application would "be processed exactly as all applications received from residents of South Carolina regardless of race."[26]

With the Board of Visitors having agreed to accept African-American students, the passage of the Civil Rights Act elicited little response from Citadel administrators. On November 11, 1964, General Clark addressed the Board of Visitors concerning the "application of the Civil Rights Act on ROTC programs," and four months later he signed a certificate of compliance.[27]

In Clark's final years as president, no black applicants fulfilled the school's admission standards. Several requested application materials, a few completed the initial steps towards applying, and one was rejected for scoring below the school's minimum requirements on the college entrance exam. However, Clark did not avoid integration completely. His assistant, Colonel Dennis Dewitt Nicholson, Jr., remarked that the General's "final days were complicated when Negro applicants were found qualified for admission to The Citadel Summer School for the first time." According to Nicholson, the enrollment of African-Americans in the summer school program went "without incident . . . and was scarcely noticed by the news media."[28]

After General Clark stepped down as president of The Citadel in 1965, General Hugh P. Harris became the college's twelfth president and the third consecutive four-star general to occupy the position. Harris had served thirty-four years in the armed forces and retired as the commanding general of the United States Continental Army Command. His five-year tenure at The Citadel saw many changes beyond the enrollment of black cadets. Under Harris's administration, The Citadel

---

[26] Board of Visitors, "Minutes," 1 April 1964, document 668.

[27] Board of Visitors, "Minutes," 13 November 1964, document 793; Board of Visitors, "Minutes," 19 March 1965, document 797.

[28] Nicholson, Summerall and Clark, 348-349; Charleston New and Courier, 6 September 1964.

revised its policy on transfer students, accepted veteran students into its day program, and allowed women to attend its evening school. These changes generated concern among many alumni who feared that the school was abandoning its military traditions. Rumors circulated that The Citadel planned to admit civilian day students, discard the plebe system, and even admit females into the cadet corps.[29]

While consoling hysterical alumni, Harris endeavored to improve The Citadel's educational facilities and bolster its financial status. During this time, South Carolinians questioned the necessity of a state-supported military college, and Harris worked hard to enhance the school's reputation. He paid a great deal of attention to public perception of the institution, and tried to avoid any situations that reflected poorly on the college.[30]

The rising anti-militarism of the 1960s created a sharp drop in applicants, a problem that plagued Harris his entire term. Between 1965 and 1969, the number of students applying to The Citadel fell from 1,600 to 1,160, and Harris warned the Board of Visitors that "the roof is coming down faster than many realize."[31] In addition to spending $28,000 to film a new recruiting video, Harris launched a thorough evaluation of The Citadel's plebe, or fourth class, system. He worried that the rigors of freshman year discouraged qualified students from applying, and in his first days as president, he announced a plan to eliminate the excessive abuse of freshmen. He believed that the upperclassmen's treatment of incoming freshman hurt enrollment, damaged public relations, and hampered the college's chances of receiving federal grants. He informed the Commandant of Cadets of these concerns, and suggested numerous modifications. One proposal consisted of dividing the plebes into three groups: those who seem to adjust well, those who have potential but require

---

[29] Charleston Evening Post, 12 March 1968; The Brigadier, 28 November 1964, 18 March 1967, 13 May 1967; "Self Study," I-9, I-10; Charleston, News and Courier, 12 November 1968.

[30] Board of Visitors, "Minutes," 1 January 1967, documents 468-476.

[31] Board of Visitors, "Minutes," 22 March 1968, documents 736-741; Board of Visitors, "Minutes," 25 November 1969, documents 213, 219, 220; "Self Study," 17, III-83, III-20, III-21, III-23, III-24.

extra guidance, and those "who are simply misfits." The last two classifications would receive special training from a select group of upperclassmen.[32]

Throughout the South, Harris established friendly and beneficial relations with members of the black and white community. A black Charlestonian thanked Harris for his hospitality at a dinner party and informed him that "I admire your courage and sense of values very much, and I hope you know that it has made it easier for some of the others of us to do likewise."[33] Harris contributed an article to a brochure published by a black college in South Carolina espousing colleges' and universities' "legal and moral obligation to provide equal opportunity for education to all regardless of race, color, or national origin."[34] However, Harris seemed just as willing to help a colleague circumvent the guidelines set by the Civil Rights Act. In 1966, he submitted a deposition in support of a military school in Alabama that was trying to qualify for federal money without admitting African-American students. A month after defending the Alabama school's right to stay all white, Harris and The Citadel found themselves on the threshold of a new and challenging era in the institution's history.[35]

---

[32] Charleston News and Courier, 12 March 1968; Board of Visitors, "Minutes," 1 October 1965, documents 177-180; Hugh Harris to Reuben H. Tucker, 19 November 1965, Box 50, Folder 2, General Hugh P. Harris Papers, The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina; Memo to Tucker from Harris, 27 September 1965, Box 50, File T, Harris Papers; Memo to Tucker from Harris, 11 November 1965, Box 50, File T, Harris Papers; Memo to Tucker from Harris, 27 September 1967, Box 50, Folder 2, Harris Papers.

[33] H.V. Manning to Harris, 18 April 1969, Box 42 , File C, Harris Papers; Edwin C. Coleman to Harris, 3 March 1969, Box 42, Folder C, Harris Papers.

[34] Benjamin Payton to Harris, 11 August 1970, Box 41, File B, Harris Papers.

[35] Harris to Paul B. Robinson, 5 May 1966, Box 48, Folder 1, Harris Papers.

CHAPTER II: THE CLASS OF 1970 - CHARLES DELESLINE FOSTER

Charles Foster, the first African-American graduate of The Citadel, died in 1986, and his cadet career must be pieced together from interviews with his classmates and other people who knew him. The author spoke with many of Foster's friends and roommates, as well as cadet officers from his freshman year.

While Harvey Gantt, James Meredith, and Autherine Lucy enrolled as the first African-American students at their respective schools, the first black cadet "reported" to The Citadel. The differences did not end there. When a high school student informs a Citadel graduate that he or she plans to attend the institution, the alumni usually offer encouragement tempered with the disclaimer, "Well, you know The Citadel's not for everyone." A 1972 study of the college described The Citadel's environment as one where "the principal educational programs are carried out within the framework of a military regimen which has as its objective the development of student character by military training and the regulation of conduct according to principles of military discipline and which is intended to teach a methodical and orderly approach to tasks."[1]

In 1966, The Citadel Corps of Cadets contained around two thousand students. Many of the students grew up in the South and either came from military backgrounds or planned to join the armed services following graduation.[2] The student body was divided into seventeen companies billeted in four battalions. Each barracks housed a battalion staff and four rifle companies. Second battalion held the most cadets with four rifle companies, a battalion staff, the regimental staff, and the Regimental Band. The corps's highest-ranking cadets resided in number two barracks, and its companies were usually regarded as the most military and the most demanding. The school decided company assignments based on height with the tallest cadets living in first

---

[1] "Self Study," I-3.

[2] Board of Visitors, "Minutes," 6 January 1967, document 462.

and fourth battalions in companies A and T. The shorter cadets, the "duckbutts," fell in second and third battalions.

In a school full of eccentricities and oddities, The Citadel's most differentiating characteristic, and the one that links alumni from various years and decades, was and still is, its fourth class system. While a military school, The Citadel hierarchy depended upon class status rather than rank. Seniors occupied the top rung of the ladder and could achieve a cadet rank of anywhere from second lieutenant to colonel. The seniors who did not receive the burdens and privileges of such recognition remained cadet privates. Juniors' rank ranged from buck sergeant to sergeant major. However, the lowest senior private enjoyed authority over the highest-ranking junior. Sophomores served as corporals, and at the bottom of the pyramid rested the freshmen, or fourthclassmen. However, "rested" is not the best word to describe the life of a plebe.

The Citadel's fourth class system took the notion that "in order to lead one must learn to follow" to its furthest extreme. The school prided itself on breaking down freshman and rebuilding them in The Citadel's "whole man" concept. From his first day on campus, a plebe suffered constant degradation and mental and physical harassment. A student's first day at The Citadel delivered a shock like no other save birth, and many young men responded the same way to both situations. The cockiness of high school seniors evaporated quickly as new recruits were screamed at, insulted, and ordered around by young men fortunate enough to have been born two or three years earlier. Upperclassmen required freshman to stand at an exaggerated and extremely uncomfortable form of attention called a "brace." In this position, plebes pulled their chins in towards their neck, while keeping their forehead level, rolled their shoulders back and down, sucked their stomachs in, and locked their arms to their sides. Freshmen maintained this posture while eating meals, standing at formations and running in the barracks.

The freshmen reported to campus a week earlier than the rest of the corps, and a select cadre of upperclassmen from each company trained the incoming class. This

week bore the apt title "Hell Week." After suffering verbal abuse from their sophomore corporals and junior sergeants, the new recruits discarded their civilian clothes, changed into identical uniforms, and marched over to the campus barbershop. One after another, the freshmen sat in silence while skillfully manned electric shears removed most if not all of their hair. The haircut ritual underscored another tenet of the fourth class system. Starting out, no plebe boasted any advantage over his classmates. What each individual made of their cadet career depended upon their attitude and ability. With a bald head and dressed in a gray duty uniform, one's lineage or financial status became inconsequential. Freshmen differ in appearance only by their name tags and the company letter on the lapel of their shirts. After surviving their initial indoctrination, they retreated to their rooms to question their college choice and wonder how one day could last seventy-two hours.

Due to the fourthclassmen's shorn appearance, upperclassmen commonly referred to them as "knobs." Having relinquished the luxury of a first name, freshmen also answered to "nut," "maggot," "smack," and other descriptive but unmentionable monikers. "Knob" remained the prevalent term of endearment, and a cadet's first year was called his "knob year." This year tested the physical and mental endurance of every freshman regardless of prior preparation or stamina.

All cadets, freshmen and upperclassmen, lived in spartan rooms. College regulations prohibited the use of televisions, coffeepots, and most other appliances. The furniture consisted of two metal desks, the equivalent of two metal closets called "full presses," and two metal chests of drawers called "half presses." Cadets slept on bunk beds with three to four inches of what barely qualified as a mattress. The rooms lacked air conditioning, which created problems on one-hundred-degree August days in Charleston. The rooms had radiators that emitted enormous amounts of heat regardless of how far one turned the valve control.

Thin mattresses and discomforting radiators represented the least of a knob's worries. Plebes operated under extreme psychological and physical duress throughout their first year. Usually, outsiders distinguished freshmen from the rest of

the corps by their bald heads, sweaty uniforms, and the overwhelming stench of Brasso and shoe polish. Their weekday began at five thirty a.m. and ended around twelve thirty or one a.m. Freshmen faced four formations a day where upperclassmen subjected them to intense scrutiny and harassment. Sophomores, juniors, and seniors inspected them from head to toe and then ridiculed and punished them for the slightest infraction.

In the barracks, plebes ran wherever they went, and upperclassmen "dropped" them for push-ups at any time. The number of push-ups depended on the ranking cadet's disposition at the moment. The battalions contained four stories and whenever a freshman encountered upperclassmen on the stairs, he had to recognize and remember the name of the highest-ranking cadet and request permission to "use" his stairway. In addition to the difficulty of memorizing the name and rank of every upperclassman in the company, freshmen had to look straight ahead at all times, thus making it harder to learn this information.

On campus, freshmen walked at an accelerated pace in the gutters adjacent to the sidewalks. They were forbidden to talk or look around, but had to spot and salute every cadet and regular military officer within a fifty-foot radius. In addition to knobs' mandatory participation in intramurals, upperclassmen took them on biweekly runs that generally covered two to three miles interspersed with countless push-ups, sit-ups and other exhausting physical exercises.

In addition, freshmen attended classes and bore the brunt of the duties at Friday afternoon parades and Saturday morning inspections. For sophomores, juniors, and seniors, these last two activities constituted annoyances that had to be endured to enjoy some weekend freedom. For freshmen, they required long hours of shining shoes, polishing brass, cleaning rifles, waxing floors, and removing dust from crevices never touched or seen by humans. After this thorough preparation, freshmen braced for hours in full dress uniforms only to receive demerits for the tiniest infraction.

Meals offered little respite. Already required to memorize the name and rank of every upperclassman in the company, freshmen had to know the names of all seventeen company commanders, the members of battalion and regimental staffs, and any other information, Citadel-related or otherwise, asked by upperclassmen. While answering several questions at once, the knobs insured that upperclassmen had enough to eat and drink, and whenever the opportunity arose, they asked permission to take a bite of their own food.

The fourth class system was designed to test the limits of incoming freshmen, and upperclassmen commanded almost total control over the lives of knobs. At its best, the fourth class system was challenging, impersonal, and discomforting. The potential for violence existed, and unless closely monitored by responsible personnel, excessive cruelty became an unfortunate side effect. Rankholders and tactical officers could not supervise their charges every minute of the day, and an upperclassman could quickly cross the line from training to abuse. When administered by overzealous and unsupervised eighteen-, nineteen-, and twenty-year-olds, the system could degenerate into a violent and terrifying session of physical abuse. Many of the abuses that occurred within the fourth class system would be tried as criminal offenses on other campuses. At The Citadel, however, freshmen endured the punishment with the knowledge that the classes before them suffered the same treatment and it was a traditional and necessary tribulation of "knob year." The school printed clear and strict rules against hazing, and when such incidents were reported, the offenders usually received harsh punishments. More often than not, freshmen and upperclass cadets overlooked these instances as "part of the system." The doors to the barracks' rooms had no locks, and cadets entered and left the rooms freely. The constant threat of having a vindictive upperclassman burst into the room and initiate an extended private session of push-ups and physical torments heightened the already disquieted lives of most freshmen.[3]

---

[3] The description of freshman year found in Pat Conroy's novel The Lords of Discipline contains extreme exaggerations, but it does capture the perceived intensity and anxiety of knob life. Patrick Conroy, The Lord of Discipline (New York: Bantam Books, 1982).

A combination of constant harassment, sleep deprivation, and fearful uncertainty made it impossible for plebes to relax. However, it forced classmates to form close bonds and work together in order to survive. On "recognition day," freshmen relived the severity and intensity of their first day on campus, but when the day ended, they became upperclassmen. Drenched in sweat and barely able to stand, the former knobs lined up as the rest of the corps shook their hands and the cadets exchanged first names. The Citadel handbook claims that cadets emerge from their first year feeling "ten feet tall and bulletproof."

Sophomore year at The Citadel constituted an upgrade in status, but only relative to the miserable existence of freshmen. In some ways, sophomore year presented new problems. Cadet officers made no effort to monitor the treatment of upperclassmen, and at inspections, some sophomores received more demerits than the freshmen. Thirdclassmen enjoyed more liberties than plebes, but they still attracted the disdain of juniors and seniors. The upper two classes referred to sophomores as "knobmores" or "knobs with their chins out." Usually, second year cadets did little to improve their image. They relished the opportunity to inflict some of the misery they endured on a new crop of plebes, and corporals concocted the most innovative and grueling torments for freshmen.

Junior year offered cadets a great deal more freedom, and increased opportunities to obtain weekend and overnight leaves. Many juniors assumed positions of authority and they looked forward to finishing the year and becoming senior officers. Others held no desire for officer rank and worked on cultivating their social skills. In either case, most secondclassmen had achieved a level of maturity and a sense of responsibility that rendered the harassment of plebes unappealing. However, some juniors still enjoyed pushing the limits of the fourth class system and their elevated class status made them particularly bold.

Senior year at The Citadel almost compensated for the trials and tribulations of the previous three years. Whether an officer or a private, firstclassmen attracted the admiration and envy of the other three classes. Whether from a sense of duty or a

lack of interest, seniors had very little interaction with freshmen. Seniors tended to sympathize with freshmen and criticize overzealous "knobmores." Graduation and embarking upon a military or civilian career occupied the thoughts of most seniors, and since fourth year cadets understood how the school operated, parades and inspections constituted mere trivialities. Devoid of the critical scrutiny of cadets and the administration, senior year at The Citadel was the closest a cadet ever came to living a normal college life. He had more opportunities to leave campus, and seniors rarely stayed in on the weekends. Even classes appeared less stressful as the cadets had developed a rapport with their professors not usually possible at larger institutions.

Even for upperclassmen, the military structure and the duties required of Citadel cadets allowed the students little free time during the week. The typical day began with a seven twenty-five a.m. muster formation and inspection. After attending morning classes, the cadets returned to the barracks for a noon formation and inspection. They then marched with their companies to the mess hall for the mid-day meal. Meals were served family style with seven cadets to a table. A senior sat at the head of the table, flanked by juniors and sophomores, with two or three freshmen at the opposite end. A member of the wait staff brought the food to the table, where cadets served themselves in order of class status.

After lunch, cadets attended afternoon classes until around two or three o'clock. Although not mandatory for upperclassmen, most students participated in the school's year-round intramural program. At six o'clock, cadets gathered for the evening formation, and then marched over to the mess hall for supper. Seven thirty until ten thirty was referred to as Evening Study Period, when cadets supposedly sat at their desks and prepared for their upcoming academic endeavors. Periodically, school officials and regular military officers patrolled the barracks during this time to insure that cadets were staying quiet and allowing others to study.

About once every two weeks, cadets served guard duty. The particular function of each cadet depended upon his rank and class, but for all individuals the

obligation lasted twenty-four hours. Students standing guard were excused from classes or any other activity that prevented them from performing their required tasks.

From eleven to eleven fifty a.m. on Tuesday and Thursdays, cadets had drill and practice parade. On Friday afternoons, the entire corps donned shined shoes, polished brass, and full dress uniforms and marched onto the parade field for an hour-long full dress parade. To the amazement of the bored and uncomfortable cadets, this attraction drew large crowds from Charleston as well as other parts of the nation. The spectators gazed as Citadel cadets performed the manual of arms, and then clapped as the corps passed in review. Cadets grumpily referred to Friday parades as "the cheapest show in town"; these performances failed to stir the same emotions in the participants as they did in parents, alumni, and other visitors. As the members of the corps sweated, cursed, and braved the assaults of bloodthirsty mosquitoes, they reminded themselves that parades must be endured in order to enjoy a few hours of freedom that evening.

Unfortunately, Saturday morning inspections usually followed Friday night leave. Once again, cadets broke out their full dress uniforms and gathered on the barracks' quadrangles for a personal appearance inspection. Unlike the weekday formations, these inspections were conducted by company tactical officers and Citadel administrators, who usually had higher standards than junior and senior cadets. In addition to a freshly cleaned rifle, cadets' sported dress uniforms complete with brass breast and waist plates and black leather cartridge boxes, all of which had to gleam like jewels before the inspecting officer's glowering countenance. Failure to meet the tactical officer's image of an ideal cadet resulted in costly demerits or restriction to campus for the rest of the weekend.

After waiting patiently on the quadrangle for almost two hours, cadets retreated to their rooms to await the arrival of the tactical officer and the cadet chain of command. Cadets had to stay in full uniform while waiting, and by ten a.m. many students reexamined the value of a Citadel education. The inspector entered each cadet's room with about three or four company officers and began running a glove

over every surface he could reach without compromising his dignified posture. After this entourage left, the cadets remained in the rooms until every company had passed inspection and the "regiment is secured." At this point, students tore off their uniforms and either ransacked their room in search of carefully hidden civilian clothes or collapsed onto their beds for some much-needed rest.

With the daily trials and regimented lifestyles of cadets, many students gave little thought to the absence of black cadets. One man commented, "I was there two years before I realized there were no blacks. I didn't know the school was practicing a policy of segregation. I thought it was just nobody wanted to come."[4] However, in 1966, The Citadel received six applications from African-American students and approved three of them. Of these three, only Charles Foster enrolled for the upcoming school year.[5]

Unlike other college students, Citadel cadets knew little about the civil rights struggles in the rest of the country. With their restricted access to television, the staunchly pro-segregation News and Courier served as the cadets' primary window on outside events. This lack of information and the insular nature of the campus limited discussion on issues affecting the nation. However, the imminent enrollment of an African-American Citadel cadet heightened awareness among school personnel. Professors began asking students' opinions on civil rights and this sparked numerous debates. Many Southern whites expressed disapproval of admitting African-Americans into the Corps of Cadets, but most of the opposition lacked vehemence or hostility. The big battles over desegregation had occurred earlier and the integration of The Citadel aroused little emotion among the student body. Many questioned

[4] Michael Barrett, interview by author, tape recording, 14 January 1998; William Jenkinson, interview by author, tape recording, 5 October 1997; Charles Funderburk, interview by author, tape recording, 15 January 1998; Scott Madding, interview by author, tape recording, 10 October 1997; Philip Clarkson, interview by author, tape recording, 10 October 1997; Paul Short, interview by author, tape recording, 6 October 1997; William Riggs, interview by author, tape recording, 7 December 1997.

[5] Charleston News and Courier, 13 July 1966; Charleston Evening Post, 12 July 1966.

whether blacks and whites should attend the same schools, but by 1966 they recognized the inevitability of blacks' enrollment.[6]

The corps greeted the news of Foster's arrival with basic questions, such as his roommate assignment. Many whites worried that the first black cadet would operate as a tool of the NAACP and try to cause trouble on campus. Cadets doubted whether African-Americans could withstand the rigors of the fourth class system and worried about the consequences should they quit. Other students welcomed African-Americans based on the stereotypical assumption that it would improve the school's athletic program. Most men assumed that the first black student would look "like superman, earn a 4.0, and go on to attend Harvard."[7]

As the 1965-1966 school year drew to a close, the questions became more specific. Having never faced issues of race and segregation on The Citadel campus, some students debated whether blacks and whites would use the same water fountains. A situation peculiar to The Citadel arose over how upperclassmen would address the black freshmen. At that time, cadets commonly referred to individual plebes as "boy." Many wondered how a young African-American male would respond to this label, but they refused to abandon the designation. The question arose of how a black cadet's classmates would react if an establishment refused to serve African-Americans. A majority of cadets claimed they would walk out; this pledge would be tested a few years later.[8]

General Harris did not share Clark's stubbornness regarding integration. When the time came, "he just accepted it."[9] However, school administrators remained ambivalent in their attitudes towards desegregation. One faculty member maintained his vocal opposition to integration, but "tried to live with it."[10] Many

---

[6] Barrett interview; Philip Hoffmann, interview by author, tape recording, 29 October 1997; Adolphus Varner, interview by author, tape recording, 20 November 1997; Jenkinson interview; Funderburk interview; Madding interview; Clarkson interview; Short interview.

[7] Clarkson interview; Madding interview; Barrett interview

[8] Barrett interview.

[9] Courvoisie interview.

[10] Charles C. Martin, interview by author, tape recording, 24 October 1997, hereafter cited as Martin interview.

harbored prejudices concerning the abilities of black servicemen, and they approached integration with the military purpose of lessening the burdens of white troops by producing able African-American soldiers.[11]

Public opinion and expediency determined General Harris's commitment to integration. When Mayor Gaillard requested that The Citadel hire more African-Americans to insure "continued peace and tranquility in Charleston," Harris reaffirmed the school's equal-opportunity employment policies. While the General boasted that blacks comprised half of The Citadel's work force, most served as janitors, wait staff, or in the laundry and physical plant. He entertained the idea of hiring black faculty members, but never made a concerted effort to do so.[12] Six months after Foster enrolled, General Harris received a letter from Alderman Duncan, a 1927 Citadel graduate, who expressed concern over rumors that the college recruited African-American football players. The thought appalled Duncan and he favored "doing away with intercollegiate athletics altogether rather than have Negro players on our teams." He threatened to stop donating money to the institution's athletic department, and he informed Harris that other alumni shared his views.[13] The General replied that The Citadel's ROTC affiliation forced it to sign the compliance agreement, but he denied any attempt to recruit black athletes. In addition, he assured Duncan that only one African-American attended the school at that time and "there is little indication that any substantial numbers of Negroes will apply to The Citadel in the near future."[14]

Five months after this declaration, General Harris informed the Board of Visitors that the United States Department of Education planned to investigate South Carolina's colleges to determine if they awarded athletic scholarships on a non-discriminatory basis. According to Harris, The Citadel's policies had not been

---

[11] Courvoisie interview.

[12] J. Palmer Gaillard to Harris, 12 April 1968, Box 44, Folder 7, Harris Papers; Memo to Harris from Dennis D. Nicholson, no date, Box 50, Folder 1, Harris Papers.

[13] Alderman Duncan to Harris, 9 January 1967, Box 44, Folder 1, Harris Papers.

[14] Harris to Duncan, 16 January 1967, Box 44, Folder 1, Harris Papers.

questioned. The Board responded by reaffirming its seemingly hollow pledge that "The principal of non-discrimination shall apply equally to the recruitment of athletes by the Athletic Department of The Citadel as it does in all other operational phases of the institution."[15]

The desegregation of The Citadel occurred during an era when the fourth class system had become increasingly brutal. With Vietnam looming over the heads of most graduates, many cadets saw knob year as a way to prepare men for the gruesome realities of a strange and discouraging war. The brutality of freshman year escalated between 1965 and 1972, and many alumni and faculty members voiced their concerns. In 1972, school officials argued that the "fourth class system seems to be practiced at The Citadel chiefly to determine how much physical and mental abuse an incoming student can take."[16]

General Harris realized that the system had become too brutal, and with the increased watchfulness brought on by the arrival of black students, the situation became especially critical. Despite their misgivings, school authorities wanted Charles Foster to succeed. Given the anti-militaristic attitude of much of the nation and General Harris's preoccupation with preserving The Citadel's reputation, school administrators sought to avoid any publicity. Colonel Nicholson asked local media not to overemphasize Foster's arrival, and they respected his wishes. A local television station declined a one hundred twenty-five dollar offer from CBS to interview the first black cadet, and even Thomas Waring remained uncharacteristically quiet. The day after informing the public of Foster's acceptance, he printed a brief editorial on the subject. He grumbled that "under existing social pressures, racial integration of The Citadel was inevitable," but he predicted that the school would desegregate without any complications.[17]

---

[15] Board of Visitors, "Minutes," 1 June 1967, documents 571- 572.

[16] "Self Study," VII-6.

[17] Memo to Harris from Dennis Nicholson, 14 July 1966, Box 44, File F, Harris Papers; Charleston News and Courier, 1 December 1996; Charleston News and Courier, 14 July 1966.

At least one administrator made the student body aware of the importance of Foster's success. Lieutenant Colonel T. Nugent Courvoisie served as Assistant Commandant of Cadets from 1961 until 1968, and he developed a rapport with the students unlike any person before or since; cadets nicknamed him "The Boo." In his first book, Pat Conroy passionately and eloquently captured Courvoisie's influence on The Citadel by describing him as "the father of the Corps . . . dutiful and humane, stern and merciful, fierce and infinitely kind." According to many who knew The Boo, he earned the respect and admiration of an overwhelming majority of the student body. Most would have agreed with Conroy that " had the full destructive energies of the Corps ever been released in a full-scale riot, Mark Clark would have been trampled. Courvoisie could have met the charge head on, issued a command, and stopped two-thousand men in their tracks."[18]

Before Charles Foster reported as a freshman, The Boo stressed the importance of Foster's success, and made it known that he would be checking on him throughout the year. Courvoisie acted independently without orders from General Harris or any other school official. He delivered no specific guidelines or special edicts, but as Philip Hoffmann stated, "anyone with a modicum of intelligence would have realized that laying a hand on [Foster] would get you a one-way ticket to Clemson."[19]

For the most part, the administrators relied on the cadets to insure that the college integrated without incident, but they intervened when it came to Foster's company and room assignments. Based on height, Charles Foster would have reported to second battalion, F Company. However, the regimental commander suggested that Courvoisie place Foster in G Company. At an institution notorious for mental and physical cruelty, the cadets of F company had earned a reputation as the

---

[18] Courvoisie interview; David Eubanks, interview by author, tape recording, 10 October 1997; Michael Bozeman, interview by author, tape recording, 19 October 1997; Hoffmann interview; Varner interview; Leon Yonce, interview by author, tape recording, 14 January 1998; Patrick Conroy, The Boo (New York: The Old New York Bookshop Press, 1970; Mockingbird Books, 1993), vi, 13.

[19] Courvoisie interview; Jenkinson interview; David Banner, interview by author, tape recording, 22 January 1998; Eubanks interview; Madding interview; Varner interview; Hoffmann interview.

hardest and nastiest. As a freshman, Henry Kennedy "felt sorry for [his] classmates in F Company."[20] Golf Company possessed a strong cadet chain of command, and based on the regimental commander's endorsement, Courvoisie assigned Foster to G Company in second battalion. As another precaution, the school selected a Northerner, Dave Hooper from Cherry Hill, New Jersey, to room with Foster.[21]

In 1966, the G Company cadet leadership consisted of William Riggs as company commander, Leon Yonce as company executive officer, Michael Bozeman as cadre platoon leader and William Jenkinson as first sergeant. The week before the freshmen arrived, Courvoisie alerted these men that Foster would be under their command. He left Foster's training up to the cadets, but maintained a close watch over the company. Courvoisie offered no special instructions, and put no direct pressure on Bozeman or Riggs to train Foster differently. Other than an occasional "How's he doing?" the administrators kept their involvement to a minimum, but the cadets knew they could turn to The Boo for advice or assistance.[22]

The performance of Golf Company's leadership justified the decision of Courvoisie and the regimental commander. Each young man appreciated the importance of Foster's indoctrination, and each undertook the challenge with the seriousness it demanded. All understood the consequences should Foster fail, and they wished to avoid negative publicity. They appreciated the media's cooperation in keeping the exposure down and Courvoisie's pledged accessibility. However, they bore the burden of ensuring Foster's equitable treatment, and they accepted the assignment with the knowledge that they "were going to make a little history here."[23] In a year when one company lost half of its freshmen class, G Company had only four students resign. This does not imply that freshmen had it easy under Riggs and his

---

[20] George Gray, interview by author, tape recording, 25 November 1997; Jenkinson interview; Varner interview; David Dawson, interview by author, tape recording, 27 January 1998; Henry Kennedy, interview by author, tape recording, 24 October 1997.

[21] Courvoisie interview.

[22] Courvoisie interview; Yonce interview; Banner interview; Riggs interview; Bozeman interview.

[23] Bozeman interview; Banner interview; Riggs interview.

staff. It testifies to the cadre's stern but fair treatment of their charges, and the knobs' abilities to meet the upperclassmen's difficult but reasonable standards.[24]

Citadel authorities tried to downplay Foster's arrival. Major General Reuben Tucker's address to the training cadre never mentioned the first black cadet. He warned the cadre not to abuse freshmen, and stressed the importance of leading by example. Tucker reminded the upperclassmen that The Citadel's goal was to "build men," not "wreck them."[25]

On September 6, 1966, Charles DeLesline Foster stepped through the sallyport of number two barracks and became The Citadel's first African-American cadet. Foster lived in Charleston and had graduated with honors from C.A. Brown High School. He reported to The Citadel along with six hundred fifty-eight other freshmen amid little fanfare. A headline in The State read, "First Negro Signs in at Citadel," but the article dealt mostly with the entire incoming class and described Foster as "a face in a faceless crowd."[26] The New York Times announced, "Citadel Enrolls First Negro; Entrance Virtually Unnoticed."[27] When Foster arrived, his brother William sensed an undercurrent of resentment on the campus. "People didn't want him there . . . but they treated him as any other plebe coming into the system."[28]

While company officers appreciated the gravity of their duty, they worried that some of the lower ranking cadets might step out of line and jeopardize Foster's safety. Riggs and Bozeman placed Foster in a room adjacent to theirs, and they met with him to win his confidence and assure him that they would not tolerate the excessive physical abuse of any freshman. Cadet officers outlined their expectations to the cadre, and when the rest of the corps reported two weeks later, Riggs and his staff

---

[24] Charleston Evening Post, 8 June 1967; Kennedy interview; David McGinnis, interview by author, tape recording, 20 January 1998.

[25] Draft of "Proposed talk to cadre by General Tucker," dated 31 August 1966, Box 50, Folder 2, Harris Papers.

[26] Charleston Evening Post, 12 July 1966; The Citadel Official Register For The Period September 1966 – September 1967, The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina; The State, 6 September 1966.

[27] New York Times, 8 September 1966.

[28] Charleston News and Courier, 1 December 1996.

held another meeting to make their intentions clear. They informed the cadets of G Company that only rank holders and members of the cadre could train Foster and nobody else should approach him. The members of Golf knew better than to disobey a direct order, and Riggs believes that the cadets complied "more out of respect for me than for Foster."[29]

Initially, the corps regarded Foster as a curiosity. Many cadets ambled over to second battalion to see what a black man looked like in a Citadel uniform. However, when classes began and the novelty wore off, cadets in other barracks lost interest. One body out of two thousand failed to attract prolonged attention, and one man explains that the "school was still so white, nobody noticed."[30] Foster aroused little emotion among G Company upperclassmen. Some complained of Foster's presence in "their company," but they continued with their daily routines. William Jenkinson claims that "It was so uneventful and so unremarkable that it almost doesn't make a very interesting story."[31]

Jenkinson's statement reflected the thoughts of many cadets and Citadel personnel. By the time Foster arrived, school administrators had already conceded the inevitability of the college's integration, and his presence attracted little outside attention. But the enrollment of even one African-American brought significant change to The Citadel. For over one hundred and twenty years, the school was designed to meet the needs of young white males. In 1966, the school needed to reevaluate its procedures and adapt to a rapidly changing society, for it own sake as well as that of its students.

Under Bozeman's supervision, the G Company cadre trained the incoming freshmen. The cadets watched to insure that Foster received the same treatment as his white classmates, which proved as challenging as protecting Foster from excessive abuse. A few times a senior pulled an overly exuberant junior or sophomore away

---

[29] Yonce interview; Dave Hooper, interview by author, 14 October 1997; Bozeman interview; Jenkinson interview; Short interview; Riggs interview.

[30] Riggs interview; Bozeman interview; Gray interview; Hoffmann interview; Barrett interview.

[31] Short interview; Banner interview; Jenkinson interview; Riggs interview; Bozeman interview.

from Foster, and the cadre tried to prevent confrontations outside of their company area. On one occasion, Riggs rescued Foster from some members of Band Company who had cornered Foster as he returned from evening mess. However, if Foster's classmates believed the cadre shielded him from the fourth class system, it would have hindered his acceptance as a member of the corps. The cadre made a conscious effort to put Foster through the same rigors as the rest of the freshmen. They knew the school counted on Foster completing knob year, but they "gave him the same chance we did everybody else to succeed, and the same chance to fail."[32]

Overall, the Golf Company chain of command performed their duties with skill and maturity. They received little advanced notice of the situation and no explicit directions. Citadel officials told them that Foster should complete freshman year, and left it up to the cadets to insure that he did. Riggs and his staff watched over Foster without isolating him. Given the volatile and antagonistic nature of the plebe system, it might have been easier for Riggs, Bozeman, and Jenkinson to protect Foster from every unpleasant or potentially dangerous confrontation with upperclassmen. But this would have fostered resentment among the freshmen class, and Riggs and his staff maintained the delicate balance of sheltering Foster without setting him apart.

Golf Company set winning The Citadel's intramural championship as one of its goals for the 1966-1967 school year. When Foster dropped the baton in the four by one hundred-meter relay, Bozeman vocally and emphatically let Foster know he had erred. Certainly Bozeman realized the importance of Foster's success, but that did not prevent him from treating Foster as he would any other knob. Foster's classmates noticed this and "for the entire freshman year Charlie was one of us and he caught it just the same as we did."[33]

---

[32] Bozeman interview; Jenkinson interview; Short interview; Yonce interview; Riggs interview; Banner interview; Dawson interview; Gray interview.

[33] Bozeman interview; Kennedy interview; Jenkinson interview; McGinnis interview; Dawson interview.

The precarious status of a lone African-American on campus worried school officials, and problems encountered regularly by white cadets took on added importance when they affected Foster. Like most other freshmen, Foster contemplated quitting school on more than one occasion. Citadel personnel feared that if Foster left for any reason then the federal government would accuse them of non-compliance. Whenever Foster discussed resigning, various members of Golf Company offered counseling and reassurance that the fourth class system was harsh but impersonal. Other fourthclassmen suspected that The Boo and the cadet leadership kept a close eye on Foster, but they never noticed any special supervision. One cadet admits that he never saw anyone looking after Foster; he and others "felt it, we suspected it, but it was not blatant."[34]

Another crisis occurred when the company had to assign Foster a new roommate. While many freshmen failed to notice Foster until a few hours after arriving on campus, Dave Hooper became aware of Foster's presence almost immediately. At dinner with family and friends the night before he reported, Hooper learned that The Citadel's first black cadet would enter with his class. One guest remarked, "Wouldn't it be funny if you were his roommate?" When Hooper arrived on campus the next day, an upperclassman recognized his name and alerted other members of the cadre. Hooper remained oblivious to the reasons for this reception, until he met his roommate. The prophetic question of the night before shocked Hooper more than his roommate's race.[35]

Hooper and Foster developed an "amicable" relationship, but no deep friendship. While Hooper encountered less animosity than Foster, he achieved a certain notoriety. Some upperclassmen referred to him as Foster's "nigger loving roommate" and they singled him out for extra push-ups and other hardships. Some cadets told Hooper that Foster would live longer with a Yankee roommate, and one individual asked Hooper repeatedly, "Did you kill him yet?" Hooper and his family

---

[34] Courvoisie interview; Bozeman interview; Yonce interview; Gray interview.
[35] McGinnis interview; Bagnal interview; Dawson interview; Hooper interview.

received mail praising and condemning him for rooming with The Citadel's first African-American cadet. Hooper's father expressed concern for his son's welfare to Colonel Courvoisie, and after a personal disagreement between Hooper and Foster, the company assigned Foster another roommate. Unlike white cadets, Foster could not be placed with just anyone. Company officers screened freshmen and some indicated a strong aversion to living with an African-American. Eventually, Richard Bagnal agreed to live with Foster. Bagnal competed on The Citadel's wrestling team and, like Foster, he came across as mild and even-tempered. With this crisis remedied, Golf Company and Foster concentrated on finishing the year.[36]

The indoctrination of an African-American knob was as new to The Citadel as it was to Foster, and school personnel realized certain precautions and preventive measures needed to be taken. They put more thought into Foster's roommate and company assignment than they did for the average white cadet. However, even though the cadre wanted Foster to complete the year, it did not seem to inhibit their training methods. The counseling sessions and roommate search were necessary and unique, but as other freshman saw Foster bracing in formation, doing push-ups in the barracks, and struggling on the runs, it facilitated his acceptance as a classmate.

Even with efforts of the cadet officers, the success or failure of The Citadel's integration rested on the broad shoulders of Charles Foster. Early in the school year, upperclassmen used the fourth class system to "weed out" weaker members of the freshmen class. When a freshman proved he could endure the rigors, the cadre turned their attention elsewhere. Many cadets viewed the school's integration in these terms. They understood how the fourth class system worked, and if African-Americans "can make it, we'll accept them."[37]

When Charles Foster reported to campus, he left little doubt that he could withstand the physical torments of knob year. Many upperclassmen and freshmen commented on Foster's impressive stature, and dismissed the notion of physically

---

[36] Hooper interview; Courvoisie interview; Bozeman interview; Bagnal interview; Kennedy interview.

[37] Alan Hughes, interview by author, tape recording, 10 October 1997; Barrett interview.

intimidating him. In addition to his size, Foster possessed a non-threatening, unassuming, almost nonchalant demeanor. His classmates describe him as good natured and easy to get along with. He did not seem to view himself as a "pioneer," and he tried to survive freshman year without attracting undue attention. His classmates claim that Foster never made an issue of his race, and once other cadets saw that he neither expected nor received special treatment, they treated him as just another cadet.[38]

Knob year at The Citadel forces freshmen to pull together and rely on each other to survive. A basic tenet of the corps is that a "lone wolf cannot survive," and the bonds formed between classmates usually last a lifetime. Should one isolate or refuse to help one's classmates, that student's Citadel career ends quickly. In a strange and savage environment, a freshman must have the support of classmates in order to survive.

The quickness with which Foster developed friendships surprised many upperclassmen. His amiable personality and the school's structured and demanding lifestyle facilitated the formation of interracial loyalties and friendships. One cadet surmised that "because of our blending experiences, our uniforms, our way of life . . . it manages the situation itself."[39] After the first week on campus, upperclassmen send the freshmen to The Citadel beach house to recuperate and swap stories. This gets the freshmen off campus, while the rest of the corps moves in and unpacks. Plebes who live in Charleston may either go to the beach or go home.

Henry Kennedy was a G Company freshman from Charleston who decided to go home. Charles Foster opted to spend the day at his parent's house, also. However, some upperclassmen refused to allow the two men to leave without proper shirt tucks. Administering a shirt tuck according to Citadel standards required two people. The person who received the shirt tuck had to unbutton and unzip his pants, and then

---

[38] Dawson interview; Hoffmann interview; Gray interview; Ira Stern, interview by author, tape recording, 30 January 1998; Varner interview; Jenkinson interview; Short interview; Hughes interview; Richard Bagnal, interview by author, tape recording, 13 January 1998; Kennedy interview.

[39] Jenkinson interview.

unfasten the top three buttons of his shirt. While the first cadet pulled the sides of his shirt out to resemble wings, the other cadet stood behind him and ran his hand down the portion of the wing along the classmate's rib cage. The assistant then folded the shirt back as tight as he could, and then held the tuck in place while repeating the process on the other side. The first cadet then buckled, buttoned and zipped his pants back up while the second cadet held the tuck in place. It took several attempts before Kennedy and Foster met the upperclassmen's approval. This trivial harassment occurred everyday on the campus. In this instance, however, it forced a black man and a white man to rely on each other in a way not found at other institutions. Clemson students ignored Harvey Gantt, but this did not and could not happen to Charles Foster at The Citadel. Within a week of his arrival, Foster was thrust into a position of interdependence with a white man he had never met before. With this exposure came understanding. Foster's classmates saw him as another knob trying to survive the year, not as the man who broke The Citadel's color barrier.[40]

This acceptance was not universal however. As one junior cadet observed, "the corps contained men from throughout the South who did not at all agree with having a black cadet at The Citadel." These men resented Foster's presence, and used the fact that the class of 1970 had an African-American as an excuse to make the freshmen do more push-ups. Had Foster not been in the class of 1970, upperclassmen would have found another excuse for extra push-ups, but by blaming Foster they singled him out as the only cadet with dark skin. Some efforts to alienate Foster were more overt. Dave Hooper remembers that a few upperclassmen encouraged Foster's classmates to turn against him. Early in the year, a group of freshmen called Hooper into a room and announced their intention to run Foster off. Hooper noticed a homemade noose looped over an exposed pipe in the ceiling and left the room immediately. He never told Foster about the incident, and the cadets never carried out their threat.[41]

---

[40] Jenkinson interview; Dawson interview; Stern interview; Madding interview; Kennedy interview.

[41] Hoffmann interview; Hughes interview; Hooper interview.

Foster's classmates cannot recall many blatantly racist confrontations involving Foster within Golf Company. The physical abuse he endured stayed within the limits of the fourth class system as it then existed. None of the cadets interviewed heard a member of G Company issue any direct threats to Foster or witnessed any attempts to force him to quit. A few cadets overheard classmates and upperclassmen make derogatory racial comments, but rarely in Foster's presence.[42]

Throughout his freshman year, however, Foster dealt with subtle, but just as menacing, bigotry. Much of the racial animosity in Golf Company came from lower ranking juniors and sophomores. During inspections, Foster received more demerits than his white classmates, and he faced persistent mental and physical harassment. To the cadets' knowledge, the abuse never became excessively violent, but it did exceed the treatment suffered by Foster's peers. Hooper mentions that upperclassmen tormented Foster long after the mistreatment of other knobs had decreased.[43]

Foster encountered resentment and blatantly racial hostility from cadets outside of his home company. These students were not subject to the rules of G Company and some treated Foster with more outright hostility. On weekends, meals were informal affairs where cadets walked over to the mess hall and sat wherever they pleased. At these "open messes," Foster sat with freshmen and upperclassmen from other companies and battalions. On these occasions, cadets uttered racial slurs and derogatory comments directly at Foster. As he walked to and from class, cadets hurled racial epithets out their windows. One day, as Foster and the other freshmen stood in formation, some cadets from another company dressed in white sheets and ran towards Foster screaming and yelling. Golf's chain of command ended the demonstration quickly.[44]

Many cadets expected Foster to be a Herculean segregation-buster sponsored by the NAACP, and complained when he turned out to resemble an average cadet. They expected more from the first potential African-American Citadel graduate. A

---

[42] Dawson interview; Madding interview.
[43] Courvoisie interview; Hooper interview.
[44] Charleston New and Courier, 1 December 1996; McGinnis interview.

professor in the political science department heard these grumblings and asked his class to describe the ideal black cadet. After noting their criteria, he pointed out that the students wanted Bill Cosby to integrate The Citadel.[45]

Foster endured the immense physical and psychological strain of being the only African-American on campus with phenomenal patience, courage, and strength of character. Like most freshmen, he used the "brace" as a defense mechanism, and he adjusted slowly to the initial chaos of plebe year. The first few days, he feared leaving his room, even to shower. Eventually, an upperclassman literally smelled Foster's fear and assured him he could visit the latrine safely.[46] Even though he dwarfed many of his antagonists, Foster seldom lashed out. He expressed "no bitterness, no anger, no animosity," but just "kept to himself and pressed on." Often his classmates wondered why he refused to quit. Through it all Foster rarely complained, he simply persevered.[47]

Foster's fortitude endeared him to fellow cadets. One man agreed that "He was easy to get along with and he handled everything so well that it made it easier on everyone."[48] Of course, not all of his classmates embraced Foster, but those who did not, avoided him. As the year went on, Foster made more friends. The "longer he was there, the more he got along with his classmates . . . and the more people accepted him."[49]

Foster was quiet and tended to shy away from large crowds, but he was not unfriendly or aloof. As a Charleston native, he returned home on most weekends and on a few occasions he took classmates with him. One classmate noted that Foster maintained close ties with his non-Citadel friends and worried that they might believe college had changed him.[50]

---

[45] Barrett interview; Hooper interview; Hughes interview; Yonce interview; Laurence Moreland, interview by author, 22 October 1997.

[46] Hoffmann interview; Gray interview.

[47] Dawson interview; Hoffmann interview; Hooper interview.

[48] Thomas Byrd, interview by author, 13 January 1998.

[49] Yonce interview; Dawson interview; Bagnal interview; Hooper interview.

[50] Dawson interview; Hooper interview; Bagnal interview.

The completion of knob year marks a major milestone in a cadet's career and this applied especially to Charles Foster. By finishing the year, Foster proved himself and earned a measure of respect from Citadel cadets and administrators. Riggs noted that "he gained an acceptance by all of us for having completed the year."[51] General Harris congratulated Riggs for the successful completion of Foster's indoctrination. Harris revealed the minimal role played by school administrators when he acknowledged "The Citadel is much in your debt for the effective manner in which you handled all the details associated with this matter."[52] A 1950 alumnus sent Harris a newspaper article on Foster and conveyed his pride that "The Citadel has once again demonstrated its leadership among Southern colleges."[53]

Foster emerged from his freshman year with a great deal of confidence and little resentment. He refuted claims that he received extra attention and he exclaimed "I wouldn't take anything now for my plebe year." When asked about returning as a sophomore, Foster replied "I feel like I'm lucky and I'm part of the school and the military. Sure I'm going back, I wouldn't miss it."[54]

As an upperclassman, Foster's experiences mirrored those of his classmates. He was harassed by juniors and seniors during his sophomore year, but his sense of humor and affability helped him fit in with the white cadets. Foster remained quiet and reserved, but he attended Citadel parties and on one occasion carried an inebriated classmate into the barracks. David Dawson roomed with Foster for almost two and a half years, and he recalls several occasions when he went home with Foster or the two socialized in Charleston. Possibly in an attempt to give Dawson a taste of what he went through, Foster took his roommate to taverns patronized primarily by African-Americans. Dawson remembers these bars as places where Foster "was well

---

[51] Dawson interview; Hooper interview; Riggs interview.

[52] Letter to Riggs from Harris, 1 June 1967, Box 49, Folder 7, Harris Papers.

[53] Stanley Goldstein to Harris, 3 November 1967, Box 44, File G, Harris Papers.

[54] The Rockland County Journal-News, 16 October 1967, Box 44, File G, Harris Papers; Charleston Evening Post, 8 June 1967.

received and I was not." On these outings, Dawson noticed that Charleston's black community took a great deal of pride in seeing a black man in a Citadel uniform.[55]

Philip Hoffmann participated in a field training exercise with Foster and the two men shared a foxhole for three days. Late one night, Hoffmann and Foster sneaked off to "commandeer" some of the tactical officers' rations. As they crept through the night, Foster warned his partner, "Don't make me laugh, because if I smile they're sure to see me." Hoffmann had not known Foster personally prior to this exercise, but afterwards he spoke to Foster on a regular basis. According to Hoffmann, "We had camped together. We had peed on the same bush. Now we were buddies."[56]

Like most other college students, Foster suffered from a persistent lack of money. Sometimes he asked his classmates for loans. Late one night, Paul Short helped Foster and a group of sophomores flaunt regulations by fixing grilled cheese sandwiches. For Foster, these episodes reveal a degree of acceptance and comfort with his white classmates. He still shied away from large groups, but he had developed close friendships with a few of his peers. As upperclassmen, white cadets saw Foster as "Charlie" rather than a civil rights pioneer.[57]

Possibly out of relief or as compensation for enduring three and a half years of intense scrutiny and pressure, Foster seemed to exploit his status as The Citadel's first African-American cadet in the latter half of his senior year. As graduation day neared, he realized that the administration wanted to prove that the school's integration had succeeded completely, and they would therefore overlook many of his transgressions. Foster took unauthorized leaves and skipped mandatory formations. When reported, these offenses went unpunished by college officials, which upset a few individuals. Foster's classmates understood that "there was never any doubt that he would graduate on time, and I think that he knew it." As Foster's misbehavior

---

[55] Short interview; Bagnal interview; Barrett interview; Kennedy interview; Dawson interview.
[56] Hoffmann interview.
[57] Bagnal interview; Short interview; Hughes interview; Kennedy interview.

became more brazen, the resentment increased and the distance between him and his classmates widened.[58]

Foster graduated in May of 1970 with a degree in Business Administration. His cadet career appears ordinary. He posted average grades and never rose above the rank of private.[59] He survived knob year, put on weight, harassed freshmen, and went to bars whenever the opportunity arose. This experience parallels that of numerous past, present, and future cadets. However, Foster's Citadel career differed vastly from that of other cadets. Bill Riggs points out that while at The Citadel, Foster, "wasn't an exceptional individual, but then he turned out to be a very exceptional individual."[60]

One alumnus describes a freshman's first day at The Citadel as "walking into Hades itself."[61] The Citadel took young men from all walks of life, shaved their heads, put them in gray, and started them out on equal footing. In this environment, anonymity becomes a freshman's greatest defense. Any quality that sets a cadet apart from his classmates magnified the treatment he received from upperclassmen. Overweight freshman, freshman with speech impediments, and freshman with heavy accents faced more difficulties than the average white, Southern student. But, while these cadets could lose weight or keep their mouths shut, Charles Foster would always be black.

A friend of Foster's commented, "I don't think Charlie was ever comfortable at that place."[62] He entered an incredibly harsh environment where many people believed he did not belong. Despite the potential for violence, Foster seldom received physical punishment beyond the proscribed limits of the fourth class system. Lieutenant Colonel Courvoisie and Golf Company officers made it clear that they

---

[58] Dawson interview; Courvoisie interview; Kennedy interview; Hooper interview; McGinnis interview.

[59] 1970 Sphinx, 115, The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

[60] Riggs interview.

[61] Gray interview.

[62] Norman Seabrooks, interview by author, tape recording, 17 October 1997.

would keep a close eye on Foster and anyone who attempted to harm him jeopardized his college career. Foster's torments came in the form of extra push-ups, extra demerits, and extra shoves or punches. For four years, he lived under intense mental duress and he deserves the credit for the initial success of The Citadel's integration. A white Charlestonian remembers community members predicting that Foster would fail. The cadets would "run him out or they'll give him blanket parties."[63] Living in Charleston, Foster probably heard these same comments. He knew some people disliked him because of his race and he could do nothing to change that.

Philip Hoffmann remembers, "I was a big hard-nosed football player who could take things in stride and could do push-ups all day long, and [The Citadel] scared me. How would you like to be a black man coming into the place that fired the first shots of the Civil War?" It had to have been horrifying for Foster when the cadets from another company ran at him dressed in white sheets. He was a lone black freshman, standing at attention, and surrounded by whites with almost no adult supervision. In such a highly charged atmosphere, situations could get out of hand quickly, and Foster must have felt extremely alone. One Sunday night, a white freshman heard upperclassmen outside his door yell a racial slur at Foster. Incidents such as this occurred throughout the nation on a daily basis; it did not surprise the freshman and it probably failed to surprise Foster. However, Foster did not hear Riggs's or Courvoisie's warnings to the upperclassmen, and every night he lay in bed, in a room without locks, knowing that some men hated the very idea of a black man in a Citadel uniform. The anxiety he must have felt when he heard footsteps or voices outside his door cannot be measured in push-ups or demerits.[64]

Foster's and The Citadel's success hinged upon his attitude and actions. Unlike other freshmen, Charles Foster did not have the luxury of quitting. To do so would have validated the belief that African-Americans could not "stand the gaff." His resignation would have stigmatized his race and especially the black cadets who

---

[63] Kennedy interview.

[64] Hoffmann interview; Kennedy interview.

followed. He knew and accepted his role without complaint, and he won the respect and admiration of many who knew him. A friend of Foster observed that "Charles would have died, but he would not have given up." Courvoisie praises Foster for possessing "the guts to stick it out and that's what got him through."[65]

Many alumni regret that Foster did not have any African-American classmates to rely on. This would have shifted some of the attention and pressure away from Foster, and might have softened the initial culture shock faced by a single black man entering an all-white environment. The Citadel had accepted three African-American applicants, but only Foster enrolled. In addition, the initial integration of many Southern colleges and universities rarely involved more than one black student. While this placed enormous pressure on that individual, it also posed less of a threat to southern whites. One black "intruder" was less likely to stir up strong emotions within the white community, and cadets had concerns beyond the presence of a lone black man.

The Supreme Court's plan to undercut racism by bringing blacks and whites into closer contact worked at The Citadel. After an endless number of shirt tucks, inspections, and training runs, Foster developed close friendships with a few of his classmates, especially those within his company. However, Foster realized some of his peers harbored prejudices and waited to pounce when he committed the smallest infraction. Foster's indiscretions drew a great deal of criticism, and while some cadets saw him as "Charlie," others saw him as "the first black graduate" and expected more.[66]

The uncertainty and constant pressure of his Citadel experience took its toll. One high school classmate described Foster as "macho" and said he seemed to internalize many of his troubles. Despite being an honors student in high school, Foster struggled academically at The Citadel. Riggs mentions that Foster "didn't

---

[65] Herbert Legare, interview by author, tape recording, 15 January 1998; Courvoisie interview.
[66] Dawson interview.

seem outwardly depressed, but he was pretty quiet. There seemed to me like there was a lot of passion within him that we never got to see."[67]

William Foster called The Citadel his brother's "toughest challenge. He won, but he never got the prize or recognition. But he's still a Citadel man." Foster's graduation received less press coverage than his enrollment: a one paragraph article in a local paper. He deserved more.[68]

[67] Legare interview; Riggs interview.
[68] Charleston News and Courier, 1 December 1996.

CHAPTER III – THE CLASS OF 1971: JOSEPH DAWSON SHINE

According to Harvard Sitkoff, the year 1967 brought the "most intense and destructive wave of racial violence the nation had ever witnessed."[1] Race riots inflamed Boston, Wilmington, Maryland and other cities across the United States. Stokely Carmichael and Floyd McKissick represented the civil rights movement's shift from nonviolence to Black Power. As the respective leaders of the youthful and aggressive Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality, Carmichael and McKissick voiced the concerns of many black Americans who had endured years of pain, fear and degradation. They rejected the views of moderate blacks and whites, and sought to force the federal government to meet their demands. Tensions increased steadily and culminated in possibly the bloodiest and most disturbing racial turmoil in America's history. Riots in Newark, New Jersey and Detroit, Michigan took the lives of sixty-eight African-Americans and left over 2,200 wounded. In all, the civil unrest of 1967 resulted in ninety deaths, over 4,000 wounded and almost 17,000 arrests.[2]

The September following this turbulent summer, Joseph Dawson Shine enrolled as The Citadel's second African-American cadet. Shine lived in Charleston, and he applied to The Citadel unaware that he could be the college's second black student. He wanted a quality education and respected The Citadel's reputation. Also, with the Vietnam War in full swing, Shine knew that "if I had to go in the military then I wanted to be an officer."[3]

Shine's arrival sparked fewer debates than Foster's, but it aroused considerable interest. Shine stood five feet eight inches tall and weighed one hundred eighteen pounds; many cadets wondered if he would survive. One upperclassman

---

[1] Harvard Sitkoff, The Struggle For Black Equality, 1954-1992, revised edition (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), 187.

[2] Sitkoff, Black Equality, 187-189, 196, 197-200.

[3] The Brigadier, 23 September 1967; Joseph Shine, interview by author, tape recording, 20 December 1997, hereafter cited as Shine interview.

feared, "they're going to run this kid out of here in three weeks and the world's going to come to an end."[4] But as with Foster, once the novelty of seeing an African-American in a Citadel uniform passed, cadets resumed their regular routines.[5]

No noticeable procedural or administrative adjustments occurred between the enrollments of Foster and Shine. If anything, school officials took a smaller role in Shine's assimilation into the corps. A personal appearance inspection by General Harris marked the extent of Shine's interaction with Citadel authorities. Shine appreciated this lack of intervention, and believed it prevented other cadets from viewing him differently, "which would foster frustration and resentment."[6]

Shine reported to Kilo Company and toiled under a demanding but effective cadet chain of command. Robert Woodhouse served as company commander, and in four years at The Citadel, Woodhouse gained the respect and admiration of his company and the school. He grew up in New York and came to The Citadel without knowing it was a military college. The anxiety and confusion of his freshman year imparted to Woodhouse a sense of fairness and compassion when he dealt with classmates and subordinates. Not everyone in K Company favored accepting African-Americans into the corps, but Woodhouse controlled the dissidents "with great strength and gentlemanly handling."[7]

The administration issued no special orders to K Company and cadet officers received no advance notice that Shine would fall under their command. Woodhouse told his staff that Shine should receive equal treatment, and if problems arose they should report to him immediately. Kilo's leadership alerted the rest of the company to the situation, but set no specific guidelines regarding Shine's training. A few upperclassmen "struggled" with the idea of integration, but they never voiced a desire to force Shine's resignation. Many cadets thought nothing of having an African-

---

[4] Hoffmann interview.

[5] Hoffmann interview; Barrett interview; Shine interview.

[6] Funderburk interview; Bagnal interview; James Cassidy, interview by author, tape recording, 23 January 1998; Shine interview.

[7] Cassidy interview; Stern interview; Albert Fitzgerald, interview by author, tape recording, 21 December 1997; Douglas Rich; interview by author, tape recording, 21 January 1998.

American in the company. For them, The Citadel's integration began and ended with Charles Foster, and few felt threatened by the presence of two black cadets.[8]

Shine does not recall much racial animosity his first few days on campus, but admits that as a freshman, "you're treated lower than dirt anyway." Shine faced the same tribulations as his white classmates, and "some of the things that were done to knobs was [sic] not done because [Shine] was black or anything else. They were done just because they were knobs and that's the way things were done at The Citadel." However, his skin color set him apart from the rest of the corps and at The Citadel "difference attracts attention." Oftentimes, this visibility and the bigoted attitudes of some cadets resulted in extra physical and psychological badgering. To make matters worse, Shine's roommate fell ill early in the year, and this left him without readily available assistance for shirt tucks and the countless tedious tasks expected of knobs.[9]

In his first weeks on campus, Shine received demerits at an alarming rate. This stemmed partly from his roommate's absence, but spiteful upperclassmen complicated matters. Prior to inspections, cadets would smudge Shine's brass belt buckle. When the inspecting officer came by, he issued Shine demerits for unpolished brass. This practice afflicted many freshmen, but rarely with the frequency that it occurred to Shine. After six weeks, Shine received tours for excess demerits. One tour entailed walking back and forth across the second battalion quadrangle with a rifle for fifty minutes. A freshman walking tours so early in the year shocked and amused many upperclassmen. When Shine reported to number two barracks to serve his sentence, cadets finishing tours held over from the previous year asked, "Damn Shine, what did you do, you just got here?"[10]

---

[8] Funderburk interview; Rich interview; Stern interview; John Reid, interview by author, tape recording, 30 October 1997; Robert Vogel, interview by author, tape recording, 17 November 1997; Barrett interview.

[9] Shine interview; Stern interview; Cassidy interview; Funderburk interview; Vogel interview; Reid interview; James Lockridge, interview by author, tape recording, 26 January 1998; Rich interview.

[10] Shine interview.

In addition to demerits, Shine faced overt and physically threatening racial confrontations. A group of cadets, and one junior in particular, subjected Shine to racially motivated abuse. On several occasions, Shine returned from mess with shins bloodied where an upperclassman had been kicking him underneath the table. Other times, Shine reported to a junior's room for extra push-ups, sit-ups or other punishments. One classmate claims that Shine "went through ten times more than we ever went through, both physically and emotionally."[11]

Especially outside of K Company, Shine encountered vindictive and bitter upperclassmen. At open messes, cadets from other companies tried to intimidate him. Others yelled racial epithets out their windows as Shine walked by. Men in other battalions urged freshmen to alienate Shine and force him to leave.[12]

Shine endured these torments with remarkable patience and maturity. As a Charleston native, he could escape on weekends, but he lost this option during the week. Growing up in a segregated society, Shine encountered bigotry on a regular basis, and he said that he expected the cadet's attitudes "to reflect society in general." When faced with racist attitudes at The Citadel, Shine "did not react to it, I dealt with it." He stayed focused and refused to dwell on the negative aspects of freshman year. He learned that "you don't let other people define who you are," and this principle strengthened him throughout his career.[13]

With courage and perseverance, Shine resisted the upperclassmen's efforts to intimidate him. One night, some cadets poured fingernail polish remover in the shape of a cross in front of his room. They lit it, knocked on Shine's door and then scurried off. When Shine saw the flames, he simply shut his door. Through trials such as these, Shine "learned a lot about myself . . . and came to terms with some things. I learned that when something like that happens you handle it." Shine refused to let the

---

[11] Reid interview; Stern interview; Lockridge interview; Samuel Jones, interview by author, tape recording, 16 November 1997.

[12] Cassidy interview; Jones interview.

[13] Lockridge interview; Cassidy interview; Shine interview; Joseph Shine, interview for WCSC News, 16 June 1997, Charleston, tape of interview in Shine's possession, hereafter cited as Shine interview for WCSC; Charleston News and Courier, 13 March 1987.

upperclassmen's behavior bother him. He concentrated on his studies knowing that his resolve to stay would outlast his antagonists' hopes that he would leave. Shine said that he approached the relationship between freshmen and upperclassmen as a game. Sophomores, juniors, and seniors pushed him as far as they could to see how he reacted. Shine understood this and played the game well. However, his patience had limitations. Towards the end of first semester, Shine grew tired of one cadet's constant harassment and threw the larger man against a door. This episode ended at least one cadet's efforts to complicate Shine's life.[14]

Shine's classmates ranged from "supportive" to "outright racists." Those who disliked Shine avoided him, but he formed close and lasting bonds with many of his classmates. Many K Company freshmen came from military backgrounds and had attended integrated high schools. This group of cadets shared a mindset and attitude that facilitated Shine's assimilation into the corps. Very few of them gave any serious thought to racial differences, and their views on knob year agreed with Shine's. To them, The Citadel pitted freshmen versus the upper three classes, and they had to band together to survive. This close-knit group looked beyond outward appearances and supported each other regardless of race, religion, or national origin. Shine's classmate Larry Gantt claimed that "whether you were black or white, you both had the same goal; trying to get through there."[15]

James Lockridge roomed with Shine for almost their entire Citadel career. Lockridge was from Ohio, and learned of his room assignment the day he reported. Unlike Dave Hooper, he was not pointed out by upperclassmen as the black cadet's roommate immediately upon arrival. Lockridge thought nothing of living with an African-American, but his mother worried that the situation might subject her son to extra hardships. Lockridge received extra attention as Shine's roommate, and a few upperclassmen and freshmen wondered how he tolerated living with a black man. He

---

[14] Shine interview; Lockridge interview.

[15] Shine interview for WCSC; Fitzgerald interview; Lockridge interview; Claude Moore, Jr., interview by author, tape recording, 20 January 1998; Vogel interview; Funderburk interview; Stern interview; Cassidy interview; Larry Gantt, interview by author, tape recording, 5 February 1998.

ignored their racial comments and innuendoes, and developed a lasting friendship with Shine. He visited Shine's home, and despite his own accomplished cadet career, Lockridge accepted his recognition as "Joe's roommate."[16]

Racial differences never posed a problem for Shine and Lockridge, but they did lead to some amusing situations. Not all of the abuse Shine received came from cadets. When the two men were upperclassmen, Lockridge's girlfriend visited The Citadel with her mother. The young woman had met Shine earlier, but her mother had not. When Shine came out of the barracks to greet the women, he reached in the car and hugged his roommate's girlfriend. Her startled mother assaulted Shine in order to protect her daughter, but the group straightened the situation out quickly and the embarrassed mother apologized.[17]

At a hundred and eighteen pounds, Shine struggled physically as a freshman. The fourth class system proved strenuous for thin people under any circumstances, but Shine's visibility magnified his difficulties. When Shine's physical shortcomings resulted in longer runs or extra "training" sessions, some freshmen began to voice their displeasure. Some cadets thought Shine should have prepared himself better for freshmen year, while others questioned his motivation. A few of these beliefs evolved into the perception that Shine received preferential treatment. Whether true or not, this perception could have generated significant problems. In a hostile environment, it could breed resentment, and cadets might have abandoned Shine to concentrate on their own survival. The K Company freshmen chose instead to support their classmate and help him meet the upperclassmen's demands. As they witnessed Shine's work ethic and sincere effort to succeed, their exasperation abated. Shine continued to struggle, but perceptions of favoritism ceased and his classmates rallied to his side. Shine "didn't ask for any mercy from anybody." Such a request would have been futile, of course, but his not asking impressed his classmates. Shine knew that "When people feel that you shared that experience with them and you've

---

[16] Shine interview; Lockridge interview.
[17] Lockridge interview.

come through that experience with them, then they're more inclined to accept you into the brotherhood." This rings true for most cadets, but especially for Shine. When he proved he could withstand the physical rigors of the fourth class system, race became secondary.[18]

Shine's energy, sense of humor, and intellect overshadowed his physical shortcomings. A history major, he excelled academically and after his sophomore year he stood seventeenth out of a class of four hundred and seventy-eight. He earned a place on the Dean's List and wore Gold Stars, The Citadel's highest academic award.[19]

Shine's grades and character impressed the faculty as well as the corps. Charles C. Martin taught history at The Citadel and held very conservative views regarding race, politics, and society. Martin voiced his opinions frequently and boisterously to cadets as well as the Charleston community. He wrote editorials for the News and Courier deploring integration and the country's "surrender to Kennedy." An anglophile of the highest order, Martin held prejudices that extended beyond skin color, but he tempered his racism with humor and a profound sense of honesty and fairness. The year preceding Charles Foster's enrollment, a cadet with the last name O'Kelley sprinted to Professor Martin's office and cried, "Have you heard what they are going to do?" Martin pled ignorance, and Cadet O'Kelley replied, "Integrate!" Martin retorted, "But sir, we've always had Irishmen here."[20]

Martin was a large man with a resounding voice, and he enjoyed badgering and intimidating less confident students. Prior to the history club banquet, Martin told Shine he could attend, but he could not eat with the other white cadets. When the

---

[18] Gantt interview; Reid interview; Rich interview; Lockridge interview; Funderburk interview; Stern interview; Moore interview; Shine interview.

[19] The Citadel Official Register For the Period September 1968 – September 1969, The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina; 1971 Sphinx, 134, 143, The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

[20] Barrett interview; Hooper interview; Stern interview; Jones interview; Vogel interview; Madding interview; Martin interview; Charles Martin to Thomas Waring, no date, Charles C. Martin Correspondence, File 23/414/10, Thomas R. Waring Collection, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, South Carolina; Charles Martin, interview by author, 15 October 1997.

professor saw Shine sitting at the table the next night, both men sm
with Martin the same way he dealt with hostile upperclassmen. Wl
refused to back down. Professor Martin enjoyed a good argument
took a great deal of effort to change his mind, he admitted his mist
characterizes Martin as "a gracious person, even though he had very strong social views." Martin respected Shine and eventually oversaw his induction into The Citadel's chapter of Phi Alpha Theta.[21]

Shine distinguished himself militarily as well as academically. He achieved the rank of cadet captain, served on regimental staff, received an Air Force scholarship, and earned recognition as an exemplary Air Force ROTC student. These accolades sparked some jealousies among whites, but not within Kilo Company. These men recognized Shine's abilities and knew he had earned his distinctions.[22]

In his senior year, an incident at a local bar solidified Shine's standing in the class of 1971. Under the headline "Rights Denied," the editor of The Brigadier, James Lockridge, informed the corps that a Charleston tavern refused to serve Shine because of his race. Earlier that week, Shine had entered Raben's Tavern with a group of cadets. When he ordered a beer, the proprietor quietly informed Shine that he would not serve him in the front of the bar, and requested he move to a back room. This shocked the cadets and they walked out. Lockridge vowed never to return until Raben's Tavern learned that "black is just as beautiful as white."[23]

When the article appeared, The Citadel's President called Shine and Lockridge into his office and asked their opinion on how the school should respond. The two men recommended that the college declare Raben's off-limits to cadets, but this never occurred. Instead, many members of the corps carried out an informal boycott of the bar.[24]

---

[21] Shine interview; Martin interview.

[22] 1971 Sphinx, 134; Shine interview; Eubanks interview; Lockridge interview; Cassidy interview; Moore interview; Gantt interview.

[23] The Brigadier, 2 October 1970; Lockridge interview; Shine interview.

[24] Lockridge interview; Shine interview; Fitzgerald interview.

The incident drew the attention of Citadel alumni as well. A 1969 graduate blasted Lockridge for criticizing an establishment "which has been serving cadets for half a century." He argued that Raben's had never served African-Americans and "right or wrong, some people like to have a place where they can drink beer and talk about problems of the times without looking over their shoulder to see if they are offending the person behind them." In opposition to Lockridge's stance, the alumnus endorsed Raben's as a place "where cadets are served with a smile and treated with special care."[25] He failed to note that this statement applied only to white cadets. Other alumni wrote in praising Lockridge and The Citadel. Neill Macaulay, a 1956 graduate, congratulated the cadets for striking "a blow for human decency."[26] One member of the class of 1971 called Raben's refusal a "turning point." The strong show of support by white cadets won over a few men who still harbored prejudices against Shine. Even Shine's "chief antagonist" left Raben's with the other cadets and joined in the boycott.[27]

The graduation of Joseph Shine in May of 1971 marked another milestone in The Citadel's history. While Charles Foster proved that a black man could survive at The Citadel, Shine proved that a black man could excel there. In a school with no black faculty members and few black administrators, Shine served as a role model for future African-American cadets.

His hard work and strength of character resulted in an exemplary cadet career by anyone's standards. Shine's quiet courage heightened racial awareness among white cadets and eroded stereotypes. Like Foster, he won the acceptance of many men predisposed to reject him based on his race. This respect did not come suddenly or easily. Some men waited twenty years to offer apologies and congratulations. Shine approached his Citadel career believing if "you deal with people honestly and

---

[25] The Brigadier, 23 October 1970.
[26] The Brigadier, 13 November 1970, 23 October 1970.
[27] Vogel interview.

fairly and if they are human beings and can get beyond . . . the color of one's skin then if they enjoy you as an individual, then they will like you."[28]

Shine tolerated many of the school's quirks, and while he may not have approved of them, he did understand them. During Shine's years at The Citadel, some seniors posed for yearbook pictures with swastikas and other Nazi memorabilia. Shine views these photos as "the efforts of young men to be as outrageous as they could be." Certainly, they reveal a large degree of insensitivity and poor taste, but Shine detects no maliciousness.[29]

Comparing Foster's and Shine's experience is not particularly instructive. The men possessed different physical, social, and intellectual inclinations that affected their cadet careers. Whereas some may argue that Shine had it easier because Foster had broken the racial barrier, others may claim that Shine enjoyed neither the pressure nor the security, of being The Citadel's first African-American cadet. The stark contrasts between Shine and Foster prevented whites from lumping the entire black race into a single category. When white cadets got to know Foster and Shine as individuals, the experience decreased their tendencies to accept stereotypes or prejudices.

---

[28] Lockridge interview; Stern interview; Shine interview.

[29] 1970 Sphinx, 316, The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina; 1968 Sphinx, 201, The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina; Shine interview.

CHAPTER IV: THE CLASSES OF 1973, 1974, AND 1975 - CRITICAL MASS

Many Citadel alumni credit the media and school officials for downplaying the college's integration, and indeed The Citadel's desegregation seemed to arouse less emotion and interest than the integration of other schools. On the other hand, 1971 Citadel graduate Robert Vogel criticizes the administration's role as "too simplistic." The perceived rapidity with which Foster and Shine assimilated themselves into the corps lulled Citadel officials into a sense of complacency. On September 27, 1968, General Harris alerted the Board of Visitors to a pending civil rights inspection by the federal government. He outlined the school's policies regarding the awarding of scholarships and the recruitment and acceptance of minority students. He documented the number of African-Americans in The Citadel's Evening and Summer School, and after reviewing HEW reports and civil rights legislation, Harris concluded that The Citadel had fulfilled all the federal government's requirements concerning integration. Rather than use the investigation as an opportunity to address and correct flawed policies, the administration delivered a perfunctory and thoughtless assessment of the college's obligation to its students. This attitude resulted in turmoil and controversy with the increased enrollment of black cadets.[1]

A tangible and lasting legacy of Joseph Shine's cadet career stemmed from his founding of an African-American studies group at The Citadel. While many school officials questioned the necessity of such an organization, Shine worked diligently to obtain a charter. He overcame the administration's obstinacy and the Afro-American Studies Club held its first meeting on February 9, 1971.[2]

---

[1] Jenkinson interview; Vogel interview; Board of Visitors, "Minutes," 27 September 1968, documents 14 and 15.

[2] Lockridge interview; Shine interview; Larry Ferguson, interview by author, tape recording, 23 January 1998; The Brigadier, 5 February 1971.

The club was open to all students and aimed to promote "dialogue between black and white cadets and to introduce features which will promote understanding."[3] Also, group members engaged in a variety of activities in the Charleston community. In particular, they worked with a local orphanage, taking the children to sporting events and bringing them presents at Christmas.[4]

As the number of African-American cadets grew, the society served as a support group for freshmen and upperclassmen. It provided a forum for them to relay shared experiences and to air grievances. As the group evolved, its relationship with the administration failed to improve. Many white cadets resented its existence, and, at best, school officials regarded it as a "necessary evil."[5]

In later years, the Afro-American Society became a vehicle through which black cadets could achieve change or seek redress for detrimental school policies. Members of the group discussed problems they faced at the college, and relayed these messages to the administration. Oftentimes these suggestions were ignored, and cadets had to rely on their own devices when settling divisive issues within the corps. This activism did not endear the society to white cadets nor Citadel officials. Some members of the corps treated the group as a subversive entity and would send white students to monitor the group's proceedings.[6]

The Citadel class of 1973 entered the military college at a time when public protests over the Vietnam War rocked the nation. The African-American community was especially critical of the United States' involvement due to the fact that a disproportionately high number of black soldiers bore the brunt of combat. Out of approximately 246,000 selective service recruits between 1966 and 1969, almost forty percent were African-American. Despite comprising only eleven percent of the

---

[3] The Brigadier, 5 February 1971.

[4] The Brigadier, 2 May 1972; Ken Feaster, interview by author, tape recording, 9 January 1998; George Graham, interview by author, tape recording, 28 January 1998.

[5] Patrick Gilliard, interview by author, tape recording, 13 December 1997; Ferguson interview; Shine interview; Keith Jones, interview by author, tape recording, 9 January 1998; Feaster interview; Graham interview; Seabrooks interview.

[6] Gilliard interview; Jones interview; Legare interview; Reginald Sealey, interview by author, tape recording, 18 October 1997, hereafter cited as Sealey interview.

nation's nineteen through twenty-one-year olds, black casualties constituted one-fourth of Army's losses in Vietnam.[7]

The cohesion and effectiveness of the civil rights movement had decreased following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., and in 1969, "white backlash ruled the roost."[8] The national media focused on the extremist preachings of Eldridge Cleaver and the Black Panthers, and politicians played on Americans' fear of reliving the violence of the mid-1960s. The Nixon administration reversed many of the gains made by the civil rights movement, and African-Americans faced less vehement, but just as oppressive forms of discrimination.[9]

In March 1969, black hospital workers at the Medical University of South Carolina went on strike for better wages, improved working conditions, and equal opportunities for job advancement. They staged numerous demonstrations and protests, and at one point the state called in the National Guard to protect against racial violence.[10] College campuses became the primary battlegrounds for young black activists as African-American students across the nation seized control of administration buildings and formed student organizations designed to meet their needs. Protests at Duke, the University of Wisconsin, and the University of Chicago drew the attention of National Guardsmen. Frustrated by callous and unreceptive administrators, African-Americans began to demand equal treatment and "above all, recognition of themselves as black people with their own history, heroes and culture." Students launched and sustained these movements and even at the notorious University of Mississippi, whites and blacks joined together in protesting school policies.[11]

---

[7] Bruce Palmer, Jr., The Twenty-Five Year War: America's Military Role in Vietnam (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1984), 83; Martin Binkin and Mark J. Eitelberg, Blacks and the Military (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1982), 34, 38.

[8] Sitkoff, Black Equality, 210.

[9] Sitkoff, Black Equality, 210-213.

[10] O'Neill, "Shadow of Slavery," 262-268; Fraser, Charleston!, 421-422.

[11] "Black is Beautiful – and Belligerent," Time, 24 January 1969, 43; "Campus Unrest: Now Force Meets Force," US News and World Report, 24 February 1969, 8, 10; "Black Mood on Campus," Newsweek, 10 February 1969, 53-59; "Ole Miss Enters the '60s," Newsweek, 30 March 1970, 83.

Citadel cadets shared the same thoughts and aspirations as their colleagues at other schools, but the rigid military structure, a domineering administration, and the bonds between black and white cadets tempered the students' protests. They waged no "sit-ins" and made no steps to take over campus facilities. In addition, while some students at other colleges sought to establish separate programs for African-Americans, black cadets proposed inclusionary methods of improving race relations. These moderate and necessary efforts to raise the school's awareness faced resistance from various forces within The Citadel, and the black members of the class of 1973 bore the brunt of the backlash. Nine African-American students entered The Citadel in 1969, and six graduated. The three who did not graduate resigned as upperclassmen, not during their freshman year.[12]

Herbert Legare lived in Charleston and entertained thoughts of a military career. The Citadel's academic and military reputation appealed to him, and in the summer of 1969 he reported to first battalion, D Company. As a freshman, Legare experienced limited racial animosity from classmates or other cadets. Early in the year, a group of upperclassmen told him to come to them with any problems. On two occasions, inebriated upperclassmen entered his room and yelled racial slurs, but Legare decided against reporting the incidents.[13]

Legare speaks positively of his relationship with his classmates. He says that their attitudes ranged from acceptance to avoidance, but he learned to steer clear of potentially unpleasant confrontations. If some of his white classmates planned to visit an establishment hostile towards African-Americans, Legare made other arrangements. Following The Citadel's formula for assimilating African-American cadets, Legare's first roommate came from a Northern state. The white cadet moved out after his father complained about his son living with a black man, and his

---

[12] An African-American named Nathaniel E. Addison entered with the class of 1972, but he resigned prior to graduating. The Citadel does not keep records on non-graduates and the author was unable to contact these men. The author was unable to contact one African-American member of the class of 1973, and another respectfully declined to participate.

[13] Legare interview.

replacement was from the small South Carolina town of St. Matthews. This match might have posed problems, but Legare and his new roommate became close friends.[14]

Norman Seabrooks was from Florida and he arrived at The Citadel as the school's first African-American scholarship athlete. He was a talented football player and had received offers from the University of Miami, University of Oklahoma, Grambling University, and Tennessee State College. One of his high school coaches knew a congressman and offered Seabrooks a chance to attend West Point. Seabrooks's father had served in the military and encouraged his son to take this opportunity. Seabrooks hoped to play professional football, and a mandatory stint in the Army did not appeal to him. When The Citadel's head football coach expressed interest in him, Seabrooks enrolled at the college as a compromise with his father.

While at The Citadel, Seabrooks says he never encountered any overt racial hostility. Even the most rabid racists thought twice about angering an all-state defensive tackle. The racial tension he experienced reflected societal, individual, as well as institutional shortcomings. Seabrooks observed that "In 1969 from 1973, the South was dealing with issues that were for them very uncomfortable and The Citadel was dealing with issues that were very uncomfortable. And The Citadel, like every other Southern institution, was trying to find its way."[15]

Senior members of the football team watched over Seabrooks as they did most freshman athletes. If Seabrooks needed someone to talk with, he went to his teammates and they offered support and advice. Seabrooks's primary misgivings concerning The Citadel relate to the college's military structure, which he found socially stagnant and emotionally stifling. His fondest memories stem from individual relationships on and off The Citadel campus. Seabrooks's pleasant demeanor and engaging personality endeared him to Citadel faculty and staff and members of the Charleston community. These people took pride in Seabrooks's

[14] Legare interview.
[15] Seabrooks interview.

accomplishments on and off the playing field, and they helped to make him feel comfortable while away from home.

His position as the school's first African-American athlete made him somewhat of a celebrity. A local black family provided Seabrooks with meals and a place to stay whenever he could escape from campus. Employees in the mess hall made sure he had enough to eat and took an interest in his progress. Various alumni assisted him in a variety of ways, and Seabrooks spent long hours visiting with a nurse in The Citadel infirmary. These individual dealings on an intimate basis enriched Seabrooks's Citadel experience. For him, "The Citadel was never the football team, the football players, or the military. It was always the people that went out of their way, both white and black, to make me feel a part of their lives and a part of their families."[16]

George Graham was a self-described "hot-headed kid" from South Carolina who needed the discipline of a Citadel education. When he arrived on campus, he "understood one thing early on, there were a lot of people . . . that did not want me there." After only a few hours as a Citadel cadet, Graham endured racial epithets; one junior questioned Graham's right to come to "his school."[17]

Graham fared worse with his roommate. The two men argued over who would sleep on the top bunk, with each equally determined not to let a black man or a white man sleep above him. Keeping with The Citadel's custom, Graham's roommate was from a Northern state, and Graham admits that cultural differences prevented them from becoming close friends. He characterized their relationship as "civil out of necessity."[18]

Graham remembers being singled out due to racial differences throughout his freshman year. Two upperclassmen approached Graham and claimed the Department of Health, Education and Welfare assigned them to keep tabs on him. If he witnessed any overt racist acts, he should contact them immediately. Soon afterwards, a cadet

---

[16] Seabrooks interview.
[17] Graham interview.
[18] Graham interview.

walked behind Graham and threatened to run him out of school. When Graham reported the incident, the two HEW "agents" forced him to run in place, do push-ups, and hold a fourteen-pound rifle out at arms length.

One upperclassman proclaimed Graham "culturally deprived," and made him eat cottage cheese to broaden his experiences. A sophomore required Graham to sleep with a Confederate battle flag to prove he belonged at The Citadel. One night, a cadet burst into Graham's room and explained that The Citadel "was built with the blood of his ancestors and the audacity of a nigger to go there was unbelievable to him."[19]

Graham grew up in a predominantly black environment, and he found white peoples' customs and traditions as strange as they found his. The racism he encountered from cadets compounded the culture shock. The HEW ruse hindered Graham's willingness to trust upperclassmen as well as his classmates. Within his company, he resisted the urge to lash out against his antagonists, and his understandable reluctance to share his troubles led to further isolation. He kept his fears and worries to himself and learned "to bite it and bear it."[20]

When Larry Ferguson reported to Regimental Band Company in second battalion, he fulfilled his father's wish of having a son integrate The Citadel. Ferguson was a Charleston native who earned a full academic scholarship to the college, and, as with Graham, he was subjected to derogatory racial slurs from his first day. In an environment best suited to keeping a low profile, Ferguson gained a large degree of notoriety. His efforts to heighten the administration's awareness of racial injustices earned him the reputation as a "militant radical" and made him a target of derision and ostracism.[21]

All these cadets survived the rigors of the fourth class system, and in many cases the system eroded the stereotypes of both black and white cadets. Once again, it forced whites and blacks to work together and disproved preconceived racial

---

[19] Graham interview.
[20] Graham interview.
[21] Ferguson interview; Kennedy interview.

images. George Graham admits that his limited exposure to white people contributed to his reticence, but eventually he understood that his classmates "were just like me, they were having a unique experience. They had never really been around a black person. I had never really been around a white person in close quarters." When Graham saw another freshman faint from exhaustion, he broke ranks to help his classmate. While this outraged the cadre, other freshmen noticed and appreciated it. Once white cadets realized that Graham lacked "horns and a tail," they formed friendships based on character and ability, not skin color. Reminiscent of Shine's experience at Raben's Tavern, a local establishment refused Graham service due to his race. This upset Graham's white companions more than it did him, and after loudly criticizing the bar's policy, the cadets left.[22]

Legare and Seabrooks agree that once they established personal relationships with their classmates, it fostered tolerance and appreciation. Whites and blacks spoke freely about issues that puzzled them, and cadets sought to breach cultural disparities through open dialogue. Once both sides recognized and understood these differences, friendships developed. Larry Ferguson remembers that while many of his white classmates avoided or ignored him, a few encouraged and helped him. This select group of supportive individuals reminded Ferguson that he should not condemn the entire corps even when it seemed he stood alone. With increased awareness and knowledge, black and white cadets learned to judge others based on personal qualities and strengths rather than racial stereotypes.[23]

This shift came gradually, and throughout the 1960s and 1970s black students encountered racial insensitivity stemming from a lack of awareness among whites. Though unfortunate, these offenses should not seem surprising. The Citadel was an overwhelmingly white environment, and "sensitivity training" had not achieved its present-day prominence. As the yearbook pictures show, what some viewed as harmless and humorous, others found hurtful and callous. At a home football game

---

[22] Graham interview.

[23] Legare interview; Seabrooks interview; Ferguson interview.

between The Citadel and George Washington University, the opposing team's African-American quarterback wreaked havoc on The Citadel's defense. Frustrated white cadets shouted "get the nigger," until their classmates quieted them down.[24] In 1968, a Brigadier article blamed the unrest following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. on the opportunist "seeking revenge on 'whitey' to whom he owed money and to get his supply of 'booze' restocked."[25] Not all the racial affronts contained this same harshness, and some men used humor to dull the conflict's harder edges. An article entitled "Civil Rights and Christmas Wrongs" poked fun at HEW endeavors to enforce the provisions of the Civil Rights Act. It provided guidelines for holding Christmas celebrations, with one rule requiring white and dark meat to be served on the same tray. "There will be no separate but equal platters permitted," the author exclaimed, and concluded that, "If it snows on Christmas Eve, we are all in trouble."[26]

Offensive articles such as these faded in the early 1970s with the increased enrollment of African-American cadets and a heightened activism within the student body. The anti-militarism of the 1960s crept into the corps of cadets in the 1970s, and many cadets openly questioned some of the school's policies. The cadets accused the administration of ignoring the changing needs of the corps, and they appealed for longer furloughs and a re-evaluation of the school's off-campus uniform policy. Some challenged the school's haircut regulations. Such blasphemy would not have occurred under General Clark's tenure, but by 1969 the cadets who trained under his tutelage had graduated.[27]

Articles in The Brigadier dealt less with military topics and more with educational and societal issues. Following the Kent State massacre in 1970, James Lockridge printed a special edition condemning the actions of the National Guard. Joseph Shine, the circulation editor, sent copies to cadets and alumni before Citadel

---

[24] Barrett interview.
[25] The Brigadier, 11 May 1968.
[26] The Brigadier, 25 January 1969.
[27] The Brigadier, 14 February 1970; 23 April 1971; 11 October 1969.

authorities halted production. This defiant and unauthorized publication earned Lockridge sixty tours and three months confinement.[28]

Unhappy with the administration and benefiting from the increased interaction between white and black cadets, the corps worked to improve campus race relations through education and communication. An article in the March 7, 1970, edition of The Brigadier asked black cadets, "Is The Citadel Biased?" The reporter wondered how African-Americans adjusted to life on an overwhelmingly white campus, and how the Charleston community treated black cadets, and even included a question on interracial dating. The interviewees credited The Citadel's military environment and small student body for facilitating the formation of relationships across racial lines. Still struggling to form the Afro-American Studies Group, the black cadets preached the necessity of a campus organization dealing with race relations and black culture.[29]

The initiation of a black studies program and the incorporation of black history into courses taught by the faculty became a crusade for The Brigadier. The editor ran an article on a University of South Carolina professor who taught a course entitled the "the Negro in American history, " and declared that "now is the time to search our own campus for a way to eradicate interracial misunderstandings which thrive on prejudicial ignorance." The Brigadier staff volunteered to gauge the corps' interest in instituting a black studies group and to see whether the school possessed enough resources to support the endeavor.[30] They solicited opinions from faculty members on the subject and kept the issue before the student body. They repeated the arguments of one professor who stressed that rather than establish a separate course in black history, "efforts should be made to get more about the black man into American history courses."[31]

Cadets extended their critical eye to events outside The Citadel's gates, and in February 1969, forty students from South Carolina State and The Citadel held an

---

[28] Lockridge interview; Shine interview.
[29] The Brigadier, 7 March 1970.
[30] The Brigadier, 7 March 1970, 1 May 1970.
[31] The Brigadier, 8 May 1970.

informal debate on race and racism. During the forum, cadets espoused the virtues of communication in alleviating racial tensions. In 1970, Citadel cadets served in the South Carolina student legislature that passed a resolution condemning discrimination and urged the state to take a firm stand in support of civil rights.[32]

Concerning national issues, the cadets criticized presidential candidate Edmund Muskie's refusal to consider an African-American running mate as "out of touch with American attitudes."[33] They praised Lee Elder for ignoring a United States congressman's petition requiring officials at the Master's golf tournament to grant Elder a special invitation. The writer congratulated Elder for upholding the spirit of competition by choosing to qualify based on his own merit.[34] At the local level, a couple of cadets penned letters denouncing the continued racist policies of some of Charleston's businesses.[35]

While the corps worked to effect positive change on a grand scale, Citadel officials plodded forward with a stated goal of "conservative progress" and "change where change is desirable and has been proven necessary." They tempered this already mild plan by maintaining a "faithful adherence to the standards and the codes that have long sustained this college and its graduates." A school oriented by a hundred years of tradition towards the development of young white males could not hope to accommodate the needs of young black men with a policy of "conservative progress."[36]

In April 1970, HEW officials conducted a civil rights inspection to insure The Citadel's adherence to federal guidelines. The agents evaluated the school's efforts to attract African-American students and involve them in every aspect of Citadel life. They found that black cadets at The Citadel enjoyed many of the same privileges and opportunities as their white peers, but that the school failed to foster among African-

---

[32] Charleston News and Courier, 3 February 1969; The Brigadier, 1 May 1970.
[33] The Brigadier, 12 November 1971.
[34] The Brigadier, 13 April 1973.
[35] The Brigadier, 2 October 1970.
[36] Board of Visitors, "Minutes," 26 September 1970, document 503; "Self Study," I-7.

American cadets "a feeling of belonging or being a part of the college." The absence of black faculty members and administrators offered black students few opportunities to discuss sensitive racial matters with a sympathetic older person. Furthermore, the school needed to compensate for the extreme numerical discrepancy between black and white students by enacting "an affirmative action program to begin to disestablish past patterns of racial segregation." The inspectors noticed that few pictures of black students appeared in Citadel films, brochures, or other publications, and they suggested addressing this oversight to remedy the enrollment disparities.[37]

General Harris responded promptly and positively to each of the HEW's contentions. He concurred with many of the agency's proposals, and pointed out that the school had either already implemented the changes or planned to do so in the near future. He claimed the institution awarded financial assistance on a non-discriminatory basis and that school-sponsored activities were open to all cadets. However, when outlining his reply to the Board of Visitors, Harris concluded "we should not turn The Citadel into a HEW program as an instrument of social reform." He opposed any measure "to build up the population of any specific ethnic group," and decided that "no issue is made of black studies so we should not announce our intent on this at this time." Despite the cadets' calls for an increased focus on African-American history, the administration refused to go beyond the federal government's requirements.[38]

The Citadel classes of 1974 and 1975 entered under a new president, Major General James W. Duckett. General Duckett's tenure lasted from 1970 to 1974, and he was the only person with a doctorate to hold the position. Prior to becoming president, he served the school as everything from a chemistry professor to Administrative Dean and Vice-President.[39]

---

[37] Board of Visitors, "Minutes," 29 May 1970, letter from Dewey E. Dodds to Hugh Harris, 22 April 1970, documents 335-340.

[38] Board of Visitors, "Minutes," 29 May 1970, Harris's "Comments For Board of Visitors on Civil Rights Report," 2 May 1970, documents 341-342.

[39] Charleston News and Courier, 22 November 1991; The State, 22 November 1991.

The African-American cadets who entered in 1970 and 1971 outnumbered those of the class of 1973, but not by much. The class of 1974 had five black cadets, while the class of 1975 had nine. Out of a student body of 1,817, about one percent were black.[40] A few of these new cadets came from Charleston, and almost all grew up in South Carolina. Hometown alumni and the prestige and challenge of a Citadel education attracted many, while others received scholarships.

As with all cadets, their experiences differed. Ken Feaster played baseball and would later become the first African-American Citadel graduate to attain the rank of colonel. He says that he encountered little overt racism, but concedes the difficulty of distinguishing racial hatred from freshman abuse. The resentment he encountered stemmed from his perceived status as a "privileged athlete." As with Seabrooks, upperclass athletes watched over Feaster and shielded him from overzealous and excessively abusive cadets.[41]

John McDowell recalls a couple of isolated racial confrontations, but, for the most part, "we got our company assignments, got our room assignments and we continued to march at that point." McDowell got along well with his classmates, but his experience was not entirely without racial incidents. When a white cadet delivered an off-hand racial slur, McDowell responded by kicking him. This ended his problems with that student. McDowell relied upon his white classmates for support and vice versa. As an upperclassman, he developed closer bonds with other black cadets, but overall he established friendships based on personalities, not race.[42]

Reginald Sealey was the first African-American in Hotel Company and even though he said that he felt isolated at times, he depended upon his classmates and they relied on him. The regimental commander kept an eye on Sealey as a freshman, but never intervened in his training.[43] Keith Jones followed Sealey as the second black member of Hotel Company, and he says that on a few occasions upperclassmen

---

[40] "Self Study," III-84.
[41] Feaster interview.
[42] John McDowell, interview by author, tape recording, 21 January 1998.
[43] Sealey interview.

singled him out due to his race. One Friday afternoon, a sophomore entered Jones's room and ordered him to perform a variety of physically arduous activities. The cadet admitted that he grew up hating African-Americans and was trying to overcome his animosities, but he blamed Jones and Sealey for reinforcing his past prejudices. This confusing monologue ended after an hour, and an exhausted Jones reported the incident to Sealey. Cadet leadership handled the situation within the company, and the offenders received light punishments. The father of Jones's first roommate disapproved of his son living with a black cadet and demanded his son receive another room assignment. Members of the cadet chain of command sought to defuse the tension by assuring Jones that not all cadets agreed with the young man's father. Eventually, the white cadet moved to another company, and Jones experienced no problems with his other classmates.[44]

As a freshman, Patrick Gilliard faced a frightening and dangerous situation in Alpha Company. He encountered racial resentment from his first day on campus, but he expected such confrontations. He was one of the first black Charlestonians to integrate the city's public schools and he knew that "the color of my skin . . . would probably present a problem. But I felt that I could overcome the challenge, if given a fair chance." Gilliard claims that upperclassmen did not separate him from his classmates, but they pushed him harder. One night, a group of cadets pulled Gilliard from his bed and led him to an upperclassman's room. They blindfolded him, put him on top of a chair and tied a noose around his neck. While screaming threats and racial slurs, they looped the noose over an exposed pipe in the ceiling, but left the end unsecured. With the blindfold, Gilliard did not know this, and when they pulled the chair out from under him, he suffered "the longest second of my life." Showing uncanny calmness and presence of mind, Gilliard regained his composure and requested permission to leave the room. Rather than report the incident to school authorities, Gilliard told his cousin, a junior cadet in an adjacent company, who contacted other African-American cadets. These men visited the A Company

[44] Jones interview.

commander and the cadets involved to make sure this incident would not be repeated. Gilliard's assailants received tours, but details of the incident never reached beyond the battalion tactical officer. By keeping the news of this abuse of the fourth class system at the company and battalion level, Gilliard earned the respect of the cadets in his company, including a few of his tormentors.[45]

In a startlingly common occurrence, Gilliard's relationship with his first roommate soured due to a parent's interference, but he won the respect of his other classmates, especially after they witnessed the abuse he endured. As freshman year progressed, the bonds grew stronger. In what became a familiar sight in Charleston, a group of cadets left a bar in protest after the proprietor refused to serve Gilliard.[46]

The African-American cadets who attended The Citadel between 1966 and 1973 possessed a remarkable awareness of their place in the school's history and how others would interpret their actions. They constituted a fraction of the school's enrollment, yet they were the most visible. They faced evaluations by their peers and higher authorities every day and any lapse surely would have been noticed. The outcome of their cadet careers would have an impact on the corps' and the administration's evaluations of future African-American students. These seventeen-, eighteen-, and nineteen-year-old men accepted their roles and the pressure and intensity that came with them.

A Marine Corps general reminded Norman Seabrooks to remain constantly aware of his appearance and behavior. When Seabrooks left a Charleston movie theater with his hat off and the collar to his uniform unfastened, the General drove by and barked at Seabrooks for his "slovenly" appearance. Despite this lapse, Seabrooks defied the stereotypical, unmilitary image of a Citadel athlete. He worked to keep his uniform neat and his brass and shoes shined. By the time he graduated, Seabrooks

[45] Gilliard interview; Jones interview.
[46] Gilliard interview.

had earned South Carolina Football Player of the Year honors, served as captain of the football team, and attained the rank of cadet officer.[47]

George Graham realized that "the black cadets were going to have be twice as good" as white cadets, but they repeatedly met the higher standards. Graham served as third battalion adjutant his senior year, and twice made the Commandant's Distinguished Service List. If Graham failed to win everybody's friendship, he did earn their respect. Two of Graham's more impressive and revealing accomplishments were his election to The Citadel's Honor Committee and his selection as a 1973 Summerall Guard. Both are competitive, peer-elected groups, steeped in Citadel tradition.[48]

Mark Clark's most enduring legacy to The Citadel remains his establishment of a strict honor code. According to this code, "A cadet does not lie, cheat, steal, nor tolerate those who do." Members of all four classes elect senior cadets to serve on an Honor Committee that judges alleged violations of the honor system. Any cadet found guilty of an honor violation is expelled. That his fellow cadets entrusted Graham with this important responsibility speaks well of him and demonstrates his status among his peers, white and black.[49]

The Summerall Guards do not wield the authority of the Honor Court, but they have strong emotional and traditional ties to cadets and alumni. The Guards are an elite drill team comprised of sixty-one members of the senior class. Senior members of the unit subject aspiring Summerall Guards to a grueling period of physical and mental rigors. Should the aspirants survive, they then become Bond Volunteers and begin a repetitive and time-consuming process of rifle drill. On "cuts day," the Bond Volunteers perform the routines taught them by the Guards. The seniors evaluate the Bond Volunteers' individual performances and place a mark by their name for the slightest misstep, misalignment, or lapse in timing. This arbitrary grading process

---

[47] Seabrooks interview; 1973 Sphinx, 300, The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

[48] Graham interview; 1973 Sphinx, 285.

[49] Nicholson, Summerall and Clark, 351-352.

depends upon the personal inclination of the man holding the clipboard. The Summerall Guards take pride in their unit, and when choosing between an inept but popular candidate and a skilled but unpopular candidate, skill wins out. The Summerall Guards constitute the closest thing to a college fraternity on The Citadel campus, and because of the hardships they endure and the mystique surrounding the selection process, they enjoy an elevated status in the eyes of most cadets.

Graham tried out for the Guards because "others told me I couldn't do it." One of the tortures inflicted upon Bond Volunteers comes when they crawl through the thick, smelly mud of the Ashley River. While this disgusted many cadets, Graham saw it as relief. "When I got in the mud, and the white guys got in the mud, they couldn't tell us apart."[50]

Graham understood that certain members of the 1972 unit refused to allow a black man to "violate" the sanctity of the Summerall Guards, and when they announced his name on "cuts day," it surprised him. After his selection, Graham faced little resentment or claims of tokenism from those who failed to make the squad. These men shared and suffered through the same hardships as Graham and they knew he had earned the recognition. Strutha Rouse and Reginald Sealey followed Graham as Summerall Guards in 1974 and Patrick Gilliard made the 1975 squad. Like Graham, these men proved themselves worthy of the honor, and their selections surprised few who knew them.[51]

The Summerall Guards performed at Citadel football games, Mardi Gras, and other festivals across the nation. The sight of black cadets in the gray uniforms drew more than a few comments from spectators. While he was performing at a Citadel football game, Graham's hat came off and his mates teasingly claimed that he removed it purposely to shock the crowd.[52]

The military and academic successes of the African-American cadets aroused jealousies among some of their white contemporaries. Even the standard assignment

---

[50] Graham interview.
[51] Graham interview; Sealey interview; Gilliard interview.
[52] Sealey interview; Graham interview.

of corporal and sergeant rank drew criticism. However, the cadets proved themselves worthy recipients of the accolades. Sealey served on cadre his sophomore and junior years, and as a senior, he commanded a platoon. When the cries of tokenism erupted, Sealey could refer to past achievements. As a cadet sergeant, Sealey's squad won The Citadel's drill competition. Accomplishments such as these proved Sealey's ability and quieted his detractors.[53]

The black cadets' relationship with the faculty varied according to the teacher and sometimes according to the subject. Some African-Americans believed that certain professors held black students to a higher standard and that some teachers were outright racist. When Graham called a professor on the phone to protest a grade, the instructor advised him "not to sound like a black man," because it hurt his chances of changing the professor's mind.[54]

One problem faced by black students stemmed from the fact that their classes rarely contained more than one African-American. When Ken Feaster disagreed with a professor's portrayal of slavery, he neither expected nor received support from other students. The white cadets were reluctant to question a professor anyway, much less over such a sensitive issue as slavery.[55]

Even though they represented the lone voice of dissent, African-American cadets challenged perceived injustices. The colorful and controversial Professor Martin banished Sealey from his room for reading a newspaper during class time. Martin would have reacted this way regardless of the offending cadet's race and his sanctions surprised no one. At the next class meeting, Sealey penned a poem lampooning Martin and his views. Another cadet grabbed the poem and gave it to the instructor. As Sealey glared at his betrayer, Martin occupied the next hour analyzing every syllable of the piece. Much to Sealey's chagrin, he had misspelled

---

[53] Graham interview; Legare interview; Ferguson interview; Jones interview; Sealey interview; Reginald Sealey, interview by author, tape recording, 2 February 1998; 1974 Sphinx, 323, The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

[54] McDowell interview; Jones interview; Legare interview; Feaster interview; Graham interview.

[55] Feaster interview.

"entertainment," and Martin emphasized this error relentlessly. [56] Despite their personal differences, Sealey respected Martin's teaching abilities and his gentlemanly conduct. Seabrooks agrees with this assessment and points out that "Professor Martin had some very strong opinions about race, but he also had one overriding factor, [he was] the fairest man who ever taught me." [57]

Seabrooks's high opinion of Martin also applies to other faculty members. He appreciated the fact that his professors challenged him and allowed him to challenge and question their opinions. George Graham echoes these sentiments about an English professor who took a special interest in helping Graham improve his writing style. Larry Ferguson received encouragement from his faculty advisor as well as his major's department head.[58]

Citadel alumni maintain fierce loyalties to the school and play large roles in the careers of most cadets. Graduates return often for football games or special weekend celebrations and delight in reliving past exploits and telling cadets "how hard it was when I was a knob." The African-American cadets' relationship with the alumni lacked this camaraderie, but they formed kinship ties with individuals who knew them previously or with whom they shared common experiences. Graham admits that most alumni ignored him, but former Summerall Guards spoke with him and treated him as an equal. A hometown alumnus helped Reginald Sealey raise enough money to attend The Citadel.[59]

The Citadel and the Charleston community share a close and mutually beneficial relationship. Charlestonians take pride in the college and its students, and when The Citadel celebrated its one hundred twenty-fifth anniversary the News and Courier printed a sixteen-page profile of the school. The insert covered everything from athletics to architecture to the school's role in the Charleston community. It

---

[56] Martin interview; Sealey interview.

[57] Sealey interview; Seabrooks interview.

[58] Seabrooks interview; Graham interview; Ferguson interview.

[59] McDowell interview; Legare interview; Ferguson interview; Jones interview; Gilliard interview; Graham interview; Feaster interview; Sealey interview.

boasted that "In addition to the prestige it lends and the education it dispenses in the community, The Citadel adds one other important factor – cold hard cash."[60] When Citadel cadets leave campus in their uniforms, they consciously and unconsciously serve as representatives of the school and their appearance attracts the eyes of tourists and native Charlestonians. The sight of African-American cadets elicited mixed responses from white observers. Joseph Shine noticed some stares, "but no one really approached me one way or the other." Other whites acted surprised, but mainly they admired Citadel cadets regardless of their color.[61]

Whatever their reception in the white community, African-American cadets achieved heroic status among black Charlestonians. These men and women took a great deal of pride in finally seeing African-Americans in Citadel uniforms, and they showed their appreciation regularly. Seabrooks remembers fondly that the "black community in Charleston took me under its wing because they wanted to make sure the first black Citadel football player, who was also a good player, did not leave town because he was homesick." In addition, African-American cadets valued the freedom offered by the black community. In this environment, they could discard their uniforms with little chance of getting caught.[62]

The African-American cadets' relationship with the black workers on The Citadel campus mirrored their ties with the black community. Members of the wait staff and other school employees helped the cadets in any way they could. They brought the cadets extra food and asked frequently about their progress. The workers' kind and appreciative behavior made it especially disturbing when black cadets heard white students utter derogatory racial remarks and display disrespectful behavior towards the predominately black janitorial and wait staff.[63]

This negativity and prejudice did not afflict the entire corps. Many white

---

[60] Charleston News and Courier, 12 March 1968.

[61] Shine interview; Graham interview; Legare interview; Feaster interview; Jones interview.

[62] Feaster interview; Graham interview; Ferguson interview; Seabrooks interview; McDowell interview.

[63] Seabrooks interview; Shine interview; Gilliard interview; Feaster interview; Legare interview.

cadets bantered playfully with the members of the wait staff. On one occasion, a black waitress jokingly chased a cadet around the mess hall with a knife, while the cadets cheered her on. However, sometimes the best intentions of white cadets betrayed a misguided tone. One student wrote a flattering and moving tribute to a black janitor named Ike who had worked at The Citadel for years. While portions of the poem convey heartfelt and sincere emotions, others reveal an undercurrent of condescension and paternalism.[64]

These social transgressions fostered a profound sense of isolation and alienation among black cadets. Tea dances offer another obvious and particularly hurtful reminder that the school never integrated socially. During the school year, the administration orchestrated tea dances and made attendance mandatory for freshmen. College officials arranged for women from Converse College and Ashley Hall to provide companionship for the awkward and unrefined cadets. As the freshmen in the class of 1973 ambled in, they realized the school had only invited white women. Since attendance was required, the black cadets spent the entire time standing around and drinking punch in excruciatingly uncomfortable conditions. This oversight left a lasting impression on these cadets, and Seabrooks makes the valid assertion that "You can't take a young black man in 1969, force him to go to a tea dance and then not have anyone for him to dance with."[65]

The scene repeated itself the next year at The Citadel beach house. For the knobs traditional trip to the beach, the college recruited young, white women from Converse to accompany the cadets. As the last female emerged from the bus, Reginald Sealey watched in amazement. Some white freshmen recognized Sealey's uncomfortableness and disappointment, and abandoned the women in favor of their classmate.[66]

Incidents such as these reinforced the African-American cadets' status as outsiders. As the quintessential "strangers in a strange land," African-American

---

[64] Barrett interview; Hoffmann interview; The Brigadier, 19 October 1968.
[65] Legare interview; Seabrooks interview.
[66] Sealey interview.

cadets faced challenges and hardships that required them to work closely with one another. In addition to coping with the everyday trials of Citadel life, cultural differences compounded black cadets' problems. Before allowing Graham to eat, upperclassmen required him to answer questions about bands popular among white society. This proved impossibly difficult for Graham and he began to freeze up whenever an upperclassman asked him any question about music. Ken Feaster watched soap operas in hopes of learning white customs and culture.[67]

Family and friends tried to prepare African-American cadets for whatever hardships they might face, but once inside The Citadel's gates, the students relied on one another. The paucity of their numbers resulted in few opportunities for interaction, but the men supported and helped each other whenever possible.[68] Shine and Foster were cordial, but never developed as close ties as the members of the class of 1973. Shine's dynamism and Foster's quiet, unassertive demeanor rendered such a relationship unlikely in any event, but class differences and living in separate battalions limited their exposure to each other. Out of necessity, both men formed close bonds with their company mates and these carried them through their cadet years.[69]

Foster and Shine did develop some ties with the class of 1973. Both men introduced themselves to Seabrooks early in his freshman year and offered advice on surviving the fourth class system. But, neither man made frequent visits, and most of their conversations occurred as Seabrooks traveled to football practice or class. The same held true for Ferguson, Graham, and Legare. Foster made sure they knew his room number and Shine stopped them periodically, but they maintained the proper freshman-upperclassmen distance. Shine and Foster wanted these new cadets to form relationships with their classmates and succeed based on their own merit.[70]

---

[67] Graham interview; Jones interview; Legare interview; Feaster interview.

[68] Ferguson interview; Legare interview; Graham interview.

[69] Shine interview.

[70] Seabrooks interview; Ferguson interview; Legare interview; Graham interview; Shine interview.

When Shine graduated, the class of 1973 continued the practice of checking up on the incoming freshmen. African-American students stopped each other on campus frequently to talk to and check on one another. Graham warned incoming freshman about false HEW agents. The cadets "tried to make The Citadel a place that [the freshmen] can come to and feel like they have an upperclassmen looking out for them."[71]

However, black cadets respected the rules governing fraternization between upperclassmen and freshmen. They maintained the proper relationship and formalities, while gaining the new cadets' trust. John McDowell's acquaintance with Larry Ferguson began when Ferguson "pulled me to the side, read me the riot act" and then offered reassurance. McDowell's introduction to Reginald Sealey evoked few images of communal harmony. McDowell admits that " I was impressed seeing a black upperclassman on the cadre, and I guess I looked at him a little too long. And he let me know it." Knowing that the entire school monitored their actions, black cadets pushed each other to excel. Patrick Gilliard, a Bond Volunteer, casts Sealey as his primary tormentor. While Keith Jones suffered through the cadre's yelling and screaming, Sealey stepped in front of him and Jones thought, "Thank God a black guy." Jones retracted this expression of relief when Sealey continued the abuse.[72]

These cadets drew a great deal of strength from each other and developed ties that lasted beyond their college years. As evidenced by the confrontation involving Patrick Gilliard, black cadets relied on each other rather than school officials or the cadet chain of command. In 1971, a controversy erupted that would test the strength of African-American cadets collectively and individually.

At an institution that prides itself on firing the first shots of the Civil War, "Dixie" and the Confederate battle flag factor are important symbols in everyday life. In 1971, "Dixie" served as The Citadel's unofficial fight song, and the waving of the

---

[71] Legare interview; Feaster interview; Graham interview; McDowell interview; Jones interview; Gilliard interview; Ferguson interview.

[72] McDowell interview; Ferguson interview; Sealey interview; Graham interview; Gilliard interview; Jones interview.

Confederate flag and the playing of "Dixie" figured prominently at sporting events. These symbols evoked different emotions among black and white cadets, and these conflicting views came to a head in the early 1970s. At The Citadel then, as in society now, people reacted with thoughtfulness as well as forcefulness.

A recurring issue among the members of the Afro-American Society dealt with "the discomfort black cadets felt every time the school band struck up 'Dixie.'" As freshmen, many African-Americans sang the song out of fear. As they grew more accustomed to the Citadel life and their relationships with other cadets, they refused to sing. Seabrooks, a football player, disliked hearing "Dixie" as a fight song, and he would sit down or walk away when he heard the tune. As captain of the team, Seabrooks left the locker room and stepped on the field before the band began playing.[73]

These silent protests angered many white students, but those closest to the black cadets tried to sympathize. In return, Seabrooks and the other black cadets recognized the white cadets' affection for the tune, although it frustrated them when whites refused to acknowledge that black and white Southerners possessed different emotions, experiences, and heritages. When it came to "Dixie," Seabrooks tried to explain that "There is never going to be a place where I am going to be comfortable hearing it, or singing it, or feeling good about it."[74]

Each cadet encountered resistance for his decision not to sing or play the song, but Larry Ferguson's refusal attracted the most attention and drew the most severe backlash. As a freshman in the Regimental Band, Ferguson played "Dixie" for fear of upperclass retribution. As a sophomore, he shared his discomfort over the song with his black classmates. After talking with them, he resolved to quit playing the tune regardless of the consequences. The group agreed that "once [Ferguson] made his personal decision not to play, all of us supported him in that."[75]

---

[73] Seabrooks interview; Gilliard interview.
[74] Graham interview; Seabrooks interview.
[75] Ferguson interview; Graham interview.

Ferguson's protest infuriated cadets and school officials. White cadets asked their black classmates "What's Ferguson's problem?" and the band director threatened to kick him out of the company. Some school officials warned him that he could lose his scholarship. Ferguson's duties as president of the Afro-American Society combined with his stance against the school's fight song solidified his reputation as a "militant radical."[76]

Ferguson received a company transfer, but the school realized the dangers of placing Ferguson with a white cadet. Fortunately, a black sophomore named Arnold Benson lived alone in C Company, and Ferguson moved in with him. Ferguson's reputation followed him, and he faced constant criticism and harassment. Catcalls of "troublemaker" hounded him wherever he went on campus. Ferguson contemplated leaving, but his family and friends convinced him to stay.[77]

Before the "Dixie" controversy died out, Ferguson and the other black cadets found themselves embroiled in another, more intense, struggle over the Confederate battle flag. On numerous occasions, the Afro-American Society requested that school officials ban the waving of the flag at Citadel football games. These pleas went unheeded, and so the cadets took matters into their own hands.[78]

Prior to the Illinois State football game, the black cadets constructed their own banner that featured a black fist crushing a Confederate flag. Members of the Afro-American Society often brought children from a local orphanage to school functions, and because they sat with the children, the black cadets faced the rest of the corps. When The Citadel scored and the white cadets began waving the battle flag, the black cadets hoisted their banner. Displaying a remarkable penchant for understatement, Graham claims that their flag, "excited some problems." Ferguson describes their action "as something that was totally reactionary to the situation that we felt we were

---

[76] Graham interview; Seabrooks interview; Ferguson interview.
[77] Ferguson interview.
[78] Jones interview; Graham interview; Feaster interview; Ferguson interview.

involved in." Soon after this incident, General Duckett banned the waving of all flags at Citadel events.[79]

Some white members of the corps reacted with more restraint than might be expected. In an article for the Brigadier, one cadet thoughtfully outlined his opposition to the black cadets' behavior. Upon first seeing their banner, the young man expressed outrage "at the obvious abuse of our heritage." After giving the matter serious consideration, he arrived at what the Confederate flag meant to him. With apologies to his great-grandfather, the author confessed that the flag did not remind him of the War Between the States but the fact that The Citadel had scored and general leave might be extended until two a.m. It did not conjure up images of war and hatred, but symbolized his pride in The Citadel. Without a trace of bitterness, the cadet expressed the hope that future shows of protest would not "visibly abuse the South, but . . . show the spirit which binds our institution and strengthens our future."[80] Subsequent editorial defenses of the Confederate flag betrayed no vindictiveness or antagonism, but offered calm, reasoned opinion on a pertinent issue before the corps.[81]

Most white cadets disagreed with the African-American students' confrontational and aggressive form of protest. A friend of Graham warned him that when alumni and parents saw the banner without any knowledge of who was waving it or why, it cast the blacks in a bad light. He sympathized with the blacks' plight, but reminded them, "I know you, but my dad doesn't know you."[82]

The white cadet's comment reveals a measure of understanding and tolerance among the student body, but unfortunately not everyone shared this forthrightness and civility. Due to Ferguson's earlier notoriety as a militant, cadets targeted him as the source of the problem. He and his roommate returned one night to find their room trashed, racial threats painted on the walls, their books shredded, and a doll hung from

---

[79] Graham interview; Ferguson interview; Jones interview; The Brigadier, 19 November 1971.
[80] The Brigadier, 19 November 1971.
[81] The Brigadier, 8 December 1972, 5 October 1973.
[82] Graham interview.

the ceiling by a noose. An inquiry failed to uncover the culprits, and the incident drew the black cadets closer. They believed that, "if they could do Ferguson the way they did him, then we weren't far behind." This controversy passed as all eventually do, but the African-American cadets' struggles with the administration continued.[83]

In 1972, Citadel faculty and administrators conducted a comprehensive examination of the college and found that blacks took issue with many aspects of Citadel life. Their grievances included the college's preoccupation with the "Confederate Legend," its reluctance to recruit black students, the campus barbers' inability to cut black cadets' hair properly, the absence of black Greater Issues Speakers, the belief that many racial incidents went unpunished, and the faculty's tendency to overlook blacks' contributions to American history. These problems contributed to a sense of neglect and a lack of belonging among African-American cadets. The study pointed out that the cadets aired their troubles with "no disposition on their part either to lecture or lay down demands."[84]

The examiners dealt cavalierly with these concerns, and their responses appeared narrow-minded and, at times, hostile. Regarding the complaint about the "Confederate Legend," the panel claimed that society's "current preoccupation with the influence of slavery is responsible for the extreme unpopularity of anything associated with the Confederacy." They questioned the Confederate flag's use as a "football standard," but ended the discussion with the statement that "neither the black nor white cadet can presume to sit in judgement [sic] upon the past, nor can he expect the school to repudiate its heritage." The study dismissed the indictment of the school's recruiting policies quickly and with no elaboration, and attributed the complaint about the barbers to a corpswide disgruntlement with short hair. School officials conceded the need for more African-American Greater Issues speakers, but advised that the speaker's expertise should not be limited to the "narrow, however important, field" of civil rights. They recommended that professors emphasize the

---

[83] Ferguson interview; Legare interview; Graham interview.
[84] "Self Study," VIII-29, VIII-30, VIII-31.

social and cultural contributions of African-Americans without "distorting their subject."[85]

These answers treated the black students' requests as pleas for special treatment, particularly their proposal that an African-American serve on The Citadel's Presidential Advisory Committee. The panel rejected this idea with the argument that "absolute equality [should] prevail with regard to race; special favors should be granted neither to blacks nor whites." This argument seems especially harsh and shortsighted. The presence of African-American cadets on campus was new to the students as well as the administration. Placing an African-American on the Committee would have provided the school with a new and much-needed perspective on the feelings and ideas of black cadets. These young men did not ask for special treatment, merely a voice.[86]

The portion of the study dealing with race relations concluded with a bland statement that the school should stay aware of the black cadets' attitudes. It prefaced this defense of the status quo with the assertion that, "it is currently fashionable among blacks – young blacks in particular – to become dissenters. While this circumstance may be perfectly understandable, it is not necessarily a positive influence."[87]

Even with increased numbers, African-American cadets at The Citadel felt isolated. They lived in an insular, predominantly white environment that made it difficult for them to meet and share thoughts, concerns, and experiences. Even the most tolerant white cadets lacked the knowledge or understanding to sympathize with all the concerns of their black classmates. As Keith Jones pointed out, "If I couldn't find Reggie [Sealey] at eleven o'clock to sit and talk, who was I going to talk to?"[88]

By taking a reactive rather than proactive approach to integration, Citadel authorities reinforced the black students' sense of isolation. At a college where the

---

[85] Ibid., VIII-30, VIII-31.
[86] Ibid., VIII-29, VIII-31.
[87] Ibid., VIII-31.
[88] Legare interview; Jones interview.

administration exerted significant control over its students' lives, school officials needed to strive for more than "conservative progress." Simply making school activities "open" to all students was lazy and myopic. School officials refused to acknowledge or adapt to the changes brought on by the arrival of black students; tea dances constituted one of many grievous sins of omission. Basic needs such as hiring a barber adept at cutting the black cadets' hair went unfulfilled. Among young men at an institution where hair is a precious commodity, competent barbers assumed roles of great importance. Eventually, the cadets themselves found a black barber willing to work at The Citadel. [89]

African-Americans' activism extended beyond matters of personal grooming. Unable to rely on college authorities, they looked after and protected one another. Whether over Larry Ferguson's refusal to play "Dixie," or Patrick Gilliard's disturbing confrontation with overzealous upperclassmen, the cadets banded together to address unpleasant and highly emotional aspects of Citadel life.

Now, years later, many of the African-American alumni agree that they were "very uncomfortable at an institution that didn't recognize that there were some distinct and unique problems of black cadets attending a school where you weren't encouraged to get out in the community." Many blacks never felt welcome or a part of The Citadel. "Whites were part of this big community, and blacks were standing at the door knocking, saying please let me in, please let me in." African-Americans attended The Citadel "but weren't a part. We were just there." This lack of connection lessened their loyalty to their alma mater. When other exuberant cadets threw their hats in the air following graduation, Larry Ferguson quietly placed his on his chair.[90]

---

[89] Legare interview; Graham interview.

[90] Seabrooks interview; Feaster interview; Graham interview; Ferguson interview.

CONCLUSION: "A DREAM DEFERRED"

When asked about the integration of The Citadel, Charles Martin said it was "Incredible, given the strong feeling on both sides, that there was not a clash."[1] Certainly, luck, timing and individual character played prominent roles in the desegregation process. However, the students were the driving force behind The Citadel's integration. They suffered the hardships, endured the frustrations, and worked to improve the school's race relations.

The Vietnam War was a factor in the increasing brutality of the fourth class system. With military service looming over the heads of graduating seniors, the trauma of integration paled in comparison. Between 1963 and 1976, sixty-seven Citadel alumni died in Vietnam; forty-three of these deaths came between 1966 and 1969. The classes of 1963 through 1969 lost thirty-eight men. These numbers represent a small percentage of Citadel alumni, but at a school that size, these soldiers were not nameless faces. They were former cadre squad sergeants, lackadaisical senior privates, and hellish sophomores. K Company commander Robert Woodhouse died in Vietnam within a year of graduating from The Citadel. Whenever an alumnus died, The Citadel played echo taps, and this remains a vivid memory of cadets from this era. "The most haunting thing for me at The Citadel was when a Citadel cadet died in Vietnam. That night, when it was announced, they did echo taps. I'll never forget that as long as I live."[2]

Either consciously or unconsciously, the all-male environment of The Citadel lessened racial tensions. Writer W.J. Cash placed women at the center of the white South's "proto-dorian ideal," and during the Populist movement, blacks' struggles for voting rights, and school desegregation, white Southerners sought to protect "their women" from black men. At tea dances, the presence of white women exacerbated

---

[1] Martin interview.

[2] "The Citadel War Record – Vietnam Casualties," The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina; Barrett interview; Lockridge interview; Kennedy interview; Hoffmann interview; Riggs interview; Rich interview; Cassidy interview.

racial divisions, but during the rest of the year the absence of females eliminated a source of strife.[3]

The military structure and the rigors of the fourth class system helped destroy racial stereotypes. If the Supreme Court sought to lessen prejudices by bringing the races into closer contact, The Citadel provided an ideal testing ground. When a group of upperclassmen pack fifteen to twenty freshmen into a space the size of a Volkswagen, it is hard to bring the races into any closer contact. The potential for violence existed under the fourth class system, but the system did force freshmen to work together. It provided the cadets with common experiences upon which relationships based on trust and ability, not skin color, could be built. The first African-American students at the service academies faced nearly complete ostracism from their white classmates, but The Citadel thrust blacks and whites into a hostile environment and forced them to work together to survive. This broke down racial barriers and prompted the reevaluation of racial attitudes based on stereotypes and unfamiliarity.[4]

Many cadets commend Citadel officials for not making a big production out of the college's integration. Avoiding confrontations by not disrupting the cadets' routines eased Foster and Shine's assimilation into the corps, although this lack of urgency probably stemmed more from thoughtlessness than a concerted effort to avoid alienating black cadets. From the outset, Citadel officials reacted to external stimuli, and the minimum requirements of the federal government determined their commitment to integration.

---

[3] W.J. Cash, The Mind of The South (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1941; reprint, New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 85-87, 115-17, 170; James C. Cobb, The Most Southern Place on Earth: The Mississippi Delta and the Roots of Regional Identity (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 238; Feaster interview.

[4] Henry Flipper, West Point's first African-American cadet, recorded his experiences in The Colored Cadet at West Point: Autobiography of Lieutenant Henry Ossian Flipper (New York: Homer Lee and Company, 1878; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968). Briefer accounts may be found in Stephen Ambrose, Duty, Honor, Country: A History of West Point (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), 231-34; Thomas J. Fleming, West Point: The Men and Times of the United States Military Academy (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc.), 213-27. Jack Sweetman, The United States Naval Academy: An Illustrated History (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1979), 104-105.

Ken Feaster describes The Citadel's history as "a tradition unhampered by progress." In the 1960s and 1970s, social conditions changed on and off The Citadel campus, and the school needed to adapt to these changes. Enrolling African-Americans in the corps and accepting them were two different things, and the administration failed to recognize that desegregation efforts had to continue beyond the arrival of black cadets.[5]

The low number of African-American cadets worked both for and against the school as Citadel officials concerned themselves with the college's physical integration but ignored its social integration. The arrivals of Foster and Shine attracted some attention but posed no serious threat to the school's all-white traditions. Certainly, recalcitrant members of the corps disliked attending school with blacks, but two African-American cadets failed to arouse enough moral indignation to warrant a show of defiance. When the college's African-American population consisted of Charles Foster and Joseph Shine, the institution could handle racial problems on an individual basis as they arose. When Foster needed a roommate or a local bar refused to serve Shine, The Citadel reacted and then retreated to its previous policies established when the school served only white males.

The increased enrollment of African-American cadets revealed the flaws in this narrow-minded and short-sighted behavior. More students brought new situations and new needs. Rather than welcoming these ideas and situations, school officials ignored and resented them. They failed to meet the fundamental needs of black men and made no allowances for cultural differences between black and white students. The absence of adequately trained barbers, African-American Greater Issues Speakers, and African-American women at the tea dances confused and angered these new members of The Citadel. Instead of developing intellectual and emotional attachments to their alma mater, many black cadets found themselves alienated and relegated to the school's periphery.

---

[5] Feaster interview.

Faced with a stagnant and indifferent administration, the cadets themselves stepped to the forefront in improving race relations. The integration process at The Citadel did not flow from the machinations of political, civic, or military leaders. When Charles Foster entered The Citadel's gates, the course of the school's integration depended upon young college students, white and black. The Citadel owes a debt of gratitude to the strong leadership of Golf and Kilo Companies, to the men who looked beyond race and befriended and supported their fellow cadets, to James Lockridge and the other men who strove diligently to heighten racial awareness among the corps and the administration. These men did not run large corporations or chair congressional committees; they were college students. Bill Riggs understands that "there are a lot of arguments some people have about giving young men and women at that age such responsibility over the lives of others. But to me, that is what The [Citadel] system is about, to give that opportunity."[6] Riggs not only appreciated the opportunity, but he and the rest of the cadets who worked to improve The Citadel proved worthy of the responsibility.

The truly remarkable displays of courage, maturity, and perseverance came from the young African-American men who integrated The Citadel. Portions of this paper may resemble a jumble of individual accounts, but taken together, these experiences were The Citadel's integration. The process involved people, not statistics, and each cadet brought his own strengths and weaknesses to the school. The Citadel did not have one "pioneer," it had several. These young African-American men possessed the talent and intellect to attend other institutions, but, even knowing that "The Citadel's not for everybody," they enrolled. They realized they would be watched and if they quit, their failure could be used as an indictment of future African-American cadets. Their goal was not merely to survive, but to enact positive change, leave their marks, and improve the school.

Each group of black graduates broke new barriers and built upon the accomplishments of the previous ones. Charles Foster proved that an African-

---

[6] Riggs interview.

American could graduate from The Citadel. Joseph Shine showed that an African-American could thrive at the college. The progression continued as members of the classes of 1973, 1974, and 1975 performed on the Summerall Guards, won accolades on the athletic fields, served effectively as cadet officers, and spoke out when they felt wronged.

These alumni emerged from their experiences with a great deal of confidence. The discipline instilled in them and the trials they endured prepared them for future careers in law, medicine, the military and many other professions. Joseph Shine cherishes his Citadel education. He believes that, "you don't know the test of your limits, until your limits have been tested," and he looks back upon his Citadel career with pride. After his tumultuous four years at The Citadel, Larry Ferguson knows "when I'm up against the wall, that I faced adversity before and I can face it again and keep going."[7]

Many of The Citadel's shortcomings regarding integration afflicted American society as a whole. The arrival of African-American cadets at The Citadel raised the same questions and concerns that arose on other campuses. White cadets made offensive comments and committed callous acts in an era before "sensitivity training" existed. As Joseph Shine and Norman Seabrooks noted, "The Citadel, like any other institution, is a reflection of the people and society in general," and that the white cadets' "insensitivity was because [integration] was new to them as well." Growing up in a segregated society, Southern African-Americans had experienced discrimination and bigotry throughout their lives. They expected to encounter insensitivity at The Citadel and they worked to eliminate it.[8]

The constant daily interaction between white and black students eroded racial stereotypes, and white and black cadets displayed the leadership lacking among Citadel officials. George Graham's selection to the Summerall Guards and the Honor Committee, Norman Seabrooks's service as captain of the football team, and the

---

[7] Shine interview; Ferguson interview.

[8] Shine interview for WCSC; Seabrooks interview; Gilliard interview.

white cadets' willingness to abandon bars that refused to serve blacks attest to the fact that exposure fostered understanding and tolerance. As friendships developed and each side earned the others' respect, the races worked together to revise outdated and unfair policies.

Observing conditions on The Citadel's campus in the late 1990s, the black alumni realize more fully how future cadets benefited from their trials and hardships. It upset George Graham when he did not receive the rank of company commander his senior year. With hindsight, he admits that the idea of an African-American company commander at The Citadel in 1972 sounded farfetched. However, when he saw a black man serving as regimental commander in 1994, he viewed his own hopes of leading a company as a "dream deferred."[9] The sense of belonging, missing from the cadet experience of many African-American alumni, arrived over twenty years later. Now African-Americans make up about seven percent of The Citadel's student body, and black graduates return to campus and see black cadets in high-ranking positions, hear of The Citadel participating in black history month, and see the administration supporting the Afro-American Society. When they witness these changes, they take added pride in what they accomplished at The Citadel.

[9] Graham interview.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Manuscript Collections

General Mark W. Clark Papers. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

General Hugh P. Harris Papers. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Thomas R. Waring Papers. "Charles C. Martin Correspondence." South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, South Carolina.

Thomas R. Waring Papers. "Mark Clark Correspondence." South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, South Carolina.

Unpublished Reports and Proceedings

Minutes of The Citadel's Board of Visitors – 1963 through 1973. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

The Citadel Official Register For the Period September 1966 – 1967. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

The Citadel Official Register For the Period September 1967 – 1968. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

The Citadel Official Register For the Period September 1968 – 1969. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

The Citadel Official Register For the Period September 1969 – 1970. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

The Citadel Official Register For the Period September 1970 – 1971. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

The Citadel Official Register For the Period September 1971 – 1972. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

The Citadel Official Register For the Period September 1972 – 1973. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

"The Citadel War Record – Vietnam Casualties." The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

"A Self Study, The Citadel – 1972." Documents in possession of author.

Student Publications

The Brigadier, The Newspaper of The Military College of South Carolina. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

1966 Sphinx. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

1967 Sphinx. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

1968 Sphinx. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina

1969 Sphinx. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina

1970 Sphinx. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina

1971 Sphinx. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina

1972 Sphinx. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina

1973 Sphinx. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina

Books

Mark W. Clark. Calculated Risk. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1950.

Articles

McMillan, George. "Integration With Dignity." In Perspectives in South Carolina History: the First 30 Years, eds. Ernest M. Lander and Robert K. Ackerman, 381-391. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973.

Newspapers

Charleston Evening Post
Charleston News and Courier
Charleston Post and Courier
The State
New York Times

Periodicals

Time
US News and World Report
Newsweek

Interviews

Bagnal, Richard. Interview by author via phone, 13 January 1998. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Banner, Dave. Interview by author, 22 January 1998, Florence, South Carolina. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Barrett, Michael. Interview by author, 14 January 1998, Charleston. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Bozeman, Michael. Interview by author via phone, 19 October 1997. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Byrd, Thomas. Interview by author via phone, 13 January 1998.

Cassidy, James. Interview by author, 23 January 1998, Greenville, South Carolina. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Clarkson, Philip. Interview by author, 10 October 1997, Spartanburg. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Courvoisie, T. Nugent. Interview by author, 4 October 1997, Mount Pleasant, South Carolina. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Dawson, David. Interview by author via phone, 27 January 1998. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Eubanks, David. Interview by author, 10 October 1997, Spartanburg. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Feaster, Kenneth. Interview by author via phone, 9 January 1998. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Ferguson, Larry. Interview by author via phone, 23 January 1998. Tape recording. Tape in possession of Ferguson.

Fitzgerald, Albert. Interview by author, 21 December 1997, Greenville, South Carolina. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Funderburk, Charles. Interview by author via phone, 15 January 1998. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Gantt, Larry. Interview by author via phone, 5 February 1998. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Gilliard, Patrick. Interview by author via phone, 13 December 1997. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Graham, George. Interview by author via phone, 28 January 1998. Tape recording. Tape in possession of Graham.

Gray, George. Interview by author via phone, 25 November 1997. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Hoffmann, Philip. Interview by author via phone, 29 October 1997. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Hooper, David. Interview by author via phone, 14 October 1997. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Hughes, Alan. Interview by author, 10 October 1997, Spartanburg. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Jenkinson, William. Interview by author, 5 October 1997, Charleston. Tape Recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Jones, Keith. Interview by author, 9 January 1998, Charleston. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Jones, Samuel. Interview by author via phone, 16 November 1997. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Kennedy, Henry. Interview by author, 24 October 1997, Charleston. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Legare, Herbert. Interview by author, 15 January 1998, Charleston. Tape recording. Tape in possession of Legare.

Lockridge, James. Interview by author via phone, 26 January 1998. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Madding, Scott. Interview by author, 10 October 1997, Spartanburg. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Martin, Charles C. Interview by author via phone, 15 October 1997.

Martin, Charles C. Interview by author, 24 October 1997, Charleston. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

McDowell, John. Interview by author via phone, 21 January 1998. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

McGinnis, David. Interview by author, 20 January 1998, Charleston. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Moore, Claude L. Interview by author via phone, 20 January 1998. Tape recording. Tape in possession of Moore.

Moreland, Laurence. Interview by author, 22 October 1997, Charleston.

Reid, John. Interview by author via phone, 30 October 1997. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Rich, Douglas. Interview by author via phone, 21 January 1998. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Riggs, William. Interview by author via phone, 7 December 1997. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Seabrooks, Norman. Interview by author via phone, 17 October 1997. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Sealey, Reginald. Interview by author via phone, 18 October 1997 and 2 February 1998. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Shine, Joseph. Interview by author, 20 December 1997, Columbia. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Shine, Joseph. Interview for WCSC News in Charleston, 16 June 1997. Videotape in possession of Shine.

Short, Paul. Interview by author, 6 October 1997, Columbia. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Stern, Ira. Interview by author via phone, 30 January 1998. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Varner, Adolphus. Interview by author via phone, 20 November 1997. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Vogel, Robert. Interview by author via phone, 17 November 1997. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

Yonce, Leon. Interview by author, 14 January 1998, Charleston. Tape recording. The Citadel Archives, Daniel Library, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Books

Ambrose, Stephen E. Duty, Honor, Country: A History of West Point. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1966.

Baker, Gary R. Cadets in Gray. Columbia: Palmetto Bookworks, 1989.

Bartley, Numan V. The New South, 1945-1980. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995.

Bartley, Numan V. The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South During the 1950s. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1969.

Binkin, Martin and Mark J. Eitelberg. Blacks and the Military. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1982.

Black, Earl. Southern Governors and Civil Rights: Racial Segregation as a Campaign Issue in the Second Reconstruction. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Bond, Oliver J. The Story of The Citadel. Richmond, Virginia: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1936; reprint, Greenville, South Carolina: Southern Historical Press, 1989.

Cash, W.J. The Mind of the South. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1941. Reprint, New York: Vintage Books, 1991.

Cobb, James C. The Most Southern Place on Earth: The Mississippi Delta and the Roots of Regional Identity. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Coffman, Edward M. The War to End All Wars: The American Military Experience in World War I. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Conroy, Donald Patrick. The Boo. New York: The Old New York Bookshop Press, 1970; Mockingbird Books, 1993.

Conroy, Patrick. The Lords of Discipline, 2d ed. New York: Bantam Books, 1983.

Cooper, William J. and Thomas E. Terrill. The American South: A History. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1991.

Dalfiume, Richard M. Desegregation of the U.S. Armed Forces: Fighting on Two Fronts, 1939-1953. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1969.

Drago, Edmund L. Initiative, Paternalism, and Race Relations: Charleston's Avery Normal Institute. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990.

Edgar, Walter. South Carolina in the Modern Age. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992.

Flipper, Henry O. The Colored Cadet at West Point: Autobiography of Lieutenant Henry Ossian Flipper. New York: Homer Lee and Company, 1878. Reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968.

Fraser, Walter J. Charleston! Charleston!: The History of a Southern City. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989.

Fleming, Thomas J. West Point: The Men and Times of the United States Military Academy. New York: William Morrow and Company Inc., 1969.

MacGregor, Morris J. Integration of the Armed Forces, 1940-1965. Washington, DC: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1981.

Metcalf, George R. From Little Rock to Boston: The History of School Desegregation. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1971.

Nelson, Jack and Jack Bass. The Orangeburg Massacre. New York: The World Publishing Company, 1970.

Nicholson, Dennis Dewitt. A History of The Citadel: The Years of Summerall and Clark. Charleston: The Citadel Print Shop, 1994.

Palmer, Bruce. The Twenty-Five Year War: America's Military Role in Vietnam. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1984.

Sarratt, Reed. The Ordeal of Desegregation: The First Decade. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1966.

Sitkoff, Harvard. The Struggle For Black Equality, 1954-1992, revised edition. New York: Hill and Wang, 1993.

Sweetman, Jack. The United States Naval Academy: An Illustrated History. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1979.

Woodward, C. Vann. The Strange Career of Jim Crow, 2d ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Articles

Nichols, W. Gary. "The General as President: Charles P. Summerall and Mark W. Clark as Presidents of The Citadel." South Carolina Historical Magazine 95 (October 1994): 314-335.

Sproat, John G. "Firm Flexibility: Perspectives on Desegregation in South Carolina." In New Perspectives on Race and Slavery in America, eds. Robert H. Abzug and Stephen E. Maizlish, 164-184. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1986.

Synnott, Marcia G. "Desegregation in South Carolina, 1950-1963: Sometime Between Now and Never." In Looking South: Chapters in the Story of an American Region, eds. Winfred B. Moore, Jr. and Joseph F. Tripp, 51-64. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1989.

Unpublished Theses and Dissertations

Cox, Maxie M. "1963 – The Year of Decision: Desegregation in South Carolina." Ph.D. diss., University of South Carolina, 1996.

McNeill, Paul W. "School Desegregation in South Carolina, 1963-1970." Ph.D. diss., University of Kentucky, 1979.

O'Neill, Stephen. "From the Shadow of Slavery: The Civil Rights Years in Charleston." Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1994.

VITA

Alexander Stephens Macaulay, Jr. was born in Columbia, South Carolina on October 12, 1972. His family moved to Walhalla, South Carolina in January of 1973, and he attended elementary and secondary schools in the Oconee County School District. He graduated from Walhalla High School in 1990, and earned a Bachelor of Arts Degree in 1994 from The Citadel. He entered the Master of Arts program at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in the fall of 1996.