



WORLD WAR II, COLD WAR, AND CIVIL RIGHTS

CHAPTER

PREVIEW

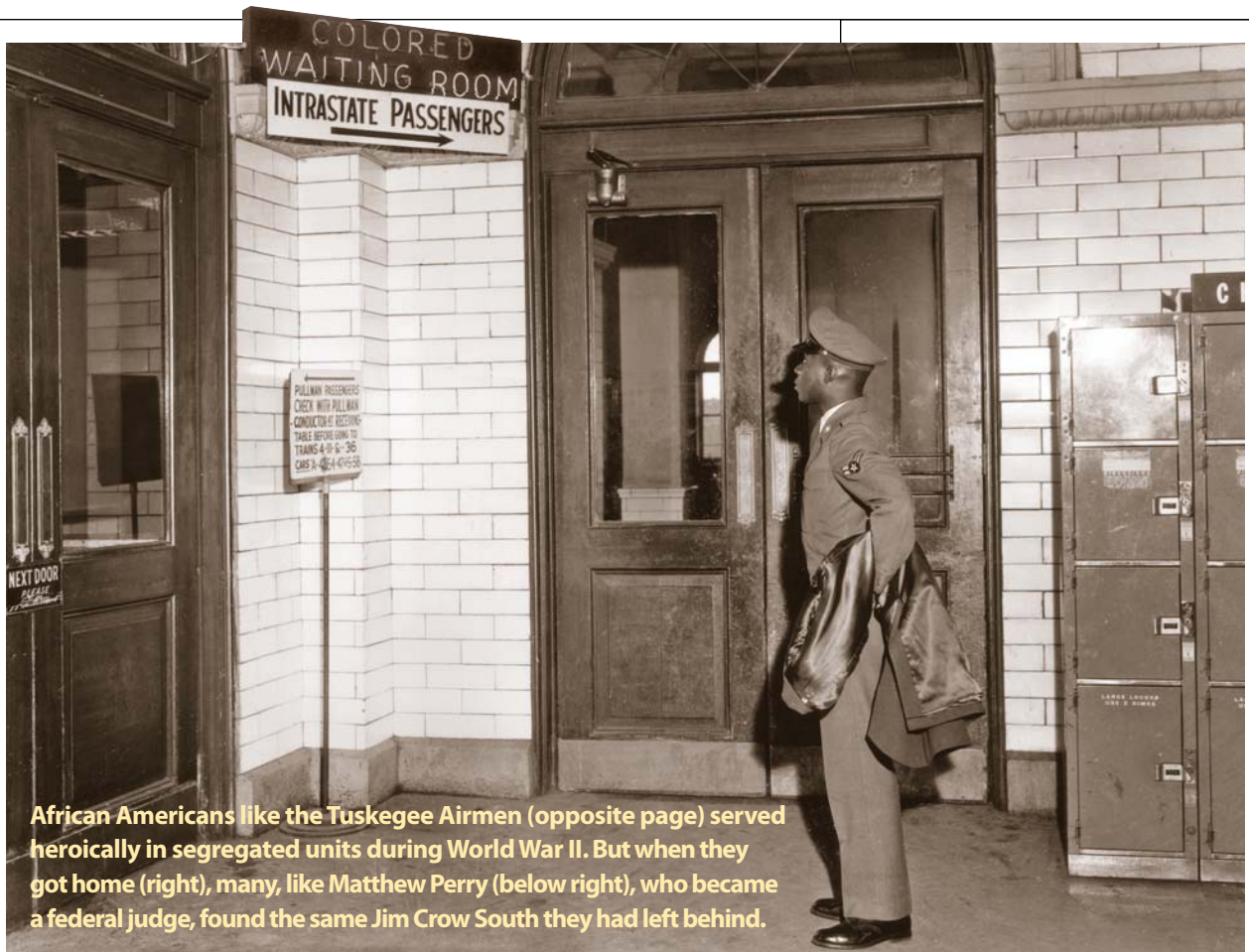
PEOPLE: Matthew J. Perry Jr., J. Strom Thurmond, Harry S. Truman, J. M. Hinton, Modjeska Monteith Simkins, J. Waties Waring, John McCray, George A. Elmore, John Wrighten, Ernest Finney, Isaac Woodard Jr., Willie Earle, J. A. DeLaine, L. Marion Gressette, George Bell Timmerman Jr., Alice Spearman, James McBride Dabbs

PLACES: Pearl Harbor, Hawaii; Savannah River Site; New Ellenton; Batesburg; Summerton; Lake City; Mayesville

As a soldier in the United States Army during World War II, Matthew J. Perry Jr. traveled by train across the South while on military leave. At a train stop in Alabama, he went to a train station restaurant to get a sandwich. African Americans were served only through a window while standing outside. Through the window, Perry could see Italian prisoners of war being served by the waitresses and having a wonderful time. He and his fellow black soldiers, in uniform, were left standing out in the cold to eat their sandwiches. “You have no idea,” he said later, “the feeling of insult that I experienced.”

Matthew Perry was gathering experiences that would propel him into his career after the war. He grew up in Columbia and spent two years at the state college for blacks at Orangeburg (now South Carolina State University) before going into the military. His army experiences, both in this country and as a menial worker for other soldiers in France, were humiliating. He learned well the ways of Jim Crow. He began to question what could be done about such an unjust system, and to ask what *he* could possibly do about it. He decided to finish college and study law as a way to challenge the system.

He graduated from the new law school that the state had established at Orangeburg to avoid having to include black students at the all-white

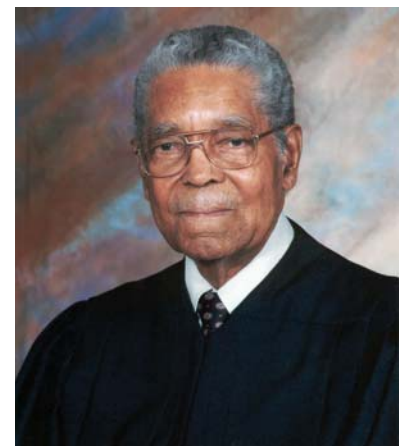


African Americans like the Tuskegee Airmen (opposite page) served heroically in segregated units during World War II. But when they got home (right), many, like Matthew Perry (below right), who became a federal judge, found the same Jim Crow South they had left behind.

university. The South Carolina Conference of NAACP chose him to be its chief lawyer to defend protestors arrested for challenging segregation laws. He often lost the cases at the trial level in South Carolina, but he always won against segregation if he could get the case to the U.S. Supreme Court. He and his fellow NAACP lawyers played a major role in removing discrimination laws in the state. All the while, Perry earned the respect and admiration even of his opponents.

In the 1970s, the longtime segregationist, Senator J. Strom Thurmond, recommended Perry as a judge on the U.S. Court of Military Appeals, and President Gerald Ford appointed him. Four years later, President Jimmy Carter appointed him to the U.S. District Court in South Carolina. Perry remained in that position for the rest of his life, treating all people in his court—the accused, the lawyers, the law officers, the reporters—with unfailing courtesy, respect, and fairness. He died in 2011 after a full day of work at the Columbia courthouse named in his honor. Six days later, on what would have been his ninetieth birthday, he was scheduled to meet President Barack Obama in the White House.

Matthew Perry's life is a testament to the changes that have taken place in South Carolina and America since World War II. His determination to keep working to the end shows he realized the change was not yet fully achieved.



TERMS: Axis Powers, Allied Powers, Lend-Lease Act, ration, blackout, victory garden, war bonds, genocide, consumerism, postwar baby boom, GI Bill of Rights, Cold War, containment, Dixiecrat Party, Southern Manifesto, White Citizens' Councils



SIGNS of the TIMES

EXPANSION OF THE U.S.

In 1959, Alaska and Hawaii became our 49th and 50th states.

EDUCATION

Veterans returning from World War II had a chance to attend college on the “GI Bill” (Serviceman’s Readjustment Act). In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* stated that separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.

EXPLORATION

The era of space exploration began in 1957 when the U.S.S.R. launched Sputnik 1, the first satellite to go into orbit around Earth. In 1958, the U.S. launched Explorer 1, which was our first satellite to go into orbit.

MUSIC

The 1940s was a decade of “big band music,” with bandleaders like Duke Ellington and Benny Goodman. Jazz trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie, of Cheraw, was at his peak in these decades. The 1950s saw the arrival of rock and roll. Elvis Presley had his first #1 hit in 1956 with “Heartbreak Hotel.” *American Bandstand* began broadcasting nationally in 1957.

LITERATURE

Southern novelist William Faulkner won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1950. Among the popular books of the 1950s were C. S. Lewis’s *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*; and J. D. Salinger’s *The Catcher in the Rye*.

SCIENCE & INVENTIONS

The first digital computer in the United States, named ENIAC, was completed in 1946. It weighed 30 tons and stood two stories high. In 1955, Dr. Jonas Salk’s polio vaccine was licensed in the U.S.

FOOD

In 1955, Ray Kroc opened his first McDonald’s restaurant in Des Plaines, Illinois, ushering in the age of fast food. That original hamburger cost fifteen cents. Also in the 1950s, frozen TV dinners became popular.

TRANSPORTATION

The invention of the jet engine and radar in World War II made flying faster and safer. The Federal Highway Act of 1956 gave rise to the Interstate Highway System. Trucks became more important than railroads in moving freight.

FIGURE 22

Timeline: 1940 to 1960



<p>1945 President Truman appointed James F. Byrnes secretary of state</p>	<p>1947 Beating of Isaac Woodard Jr. <i>Elmore v. Rice</i> ruling Law school opened at State College in Orangeburg Willie Earle murder</p>		
<p>1944 S.C. Progressive Democratic Party (PDP) organized</p>	<p>1948 Dixiecrat Party founded; Strom Thurmond ran as presidential candidate</p>		<p>1955 White Citizens' Councils took root in Orangeburg County; spread throughout the state</p>
<p>1942 James F. Byrnes became chief official in charge of war mobilization</p>		<p>1950 Decision made to build Savannah River Site</p>	<p>1956 Senator Thurmond helped write the Southern Manifesto</p>

1940	1945	1950	1955	1960
<p>1941 President Roosevelt signed the Lend-Lease Act Fair Employment Practices Commission created America entered World War II after the surprise Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor</p>	<p>1942 Successful raid on Tokyo, Japan, by Doolittle Raiders</p>	<p>1948 President Truman ordered desegregation of armed forces</p>	<p>1950 Beginning of Korean War</p>	
<p>1945 President Roosevelt died; succeeded by Harry S. Truman German surrender in May and Japanese surrender in August ended World War II</p>	<p>1953 End of Korean War</p>	<p>1954 <i>Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas</i>, ruling</p>	<p>1957 Civil Rights Act of 1957 established the Civil Rights Commission</p>	
<p>1959 U.S. Supreme Court ruled segregation unconstitutional in interstate transportation</p>				

World War II

Below: Benito Mussolini was one of the creators of fascism and the first fascist dictator, taking control of the Italian government in 1922. **Opposite page, above:** Adolf Hitler, fascist dictator of Germany, celebrates the defeat of France with a victory parade in Berlin. **Opposite page, below:** For six months in 1940 and 1941, Hitler attempted unsuccessfully to bomb Britain into submission.

AS YOU READ, LOOK FOR

- events leading up to America's participation in World War II;
- efforts on the homefront that helped win the war;
- dramatic changes in our nation's economy;
- social changes, including population shifts and expanding roles for women, but continued injustice for minorities;
- terms: **Axis Powers, Allied Powers, Lend-Lease Act, ration.**



Woodrow Wilson had declared World War I the “war to end all wars.” But he predicted another world war within a generation if America and other nations did not organize for peace. Like war, peace required planning. Wilson wanted countries to create a League of Nations to resolve disputes before they led to war. A League of a few nations was formed, but it failed to prevent wars, including World War II. Instead, in the 1920s and 1930s, America tried to isolate herself and did little to help solve international conflicts.

Europe Goes to War

Most major nations experienced their own versions of America's Great Depression. In the midst of economic turmoil, the people of Italy, Germany, and Japan turned to extreme nationalist parties that promised prosperity and national greatness through an aggressive foreign policy. Italy expanded into parts of Africa; Japan took over large parts of China and the East Indies; Germany absorbed Austria and Czechoslovakia. Other nations could do little but protest, make threats, and prepare their own defense.

World War II began in September 1939, when Chancellor Adolf Hitler's Germany invaded Poland. Britain and



France declared war on Germany. After defeating Poland, Hitler took over most of Western Europe and began to bomb the British Isles. Italy and Japan joined with Germany in an alliance called the **Axis Powers**. In response, Britain, France, Canada, Australia, and eventually the United States, the Soviet Union, China, and some sixty other countries joined forces and were called the **Allied Powers**.

Response of the United States

The outbreak of war in Europe tested the American policy of isolation. The United States, with President Franklin D. Roosevelt's leadership, slowly became convinced that we must support Britain's efforts to prevent a German takeover of Europe and a Japanese takeover of Asia. Congress enacted the first peacetime draft. American industry swung into action. When Britain could no longer pay for supplies, Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act, with the skillful guidance of Senator James F. Byrnes. This **Lend-Lease Act** allowed the United States, in effect, to give to Britain all the arms and ammunition, planes and tanks that we could send them. The supplies helped Britain survive, but German sinking of our supply ships brought the United States to the brink of war.





Top: With its attention focused on the war in Europe, America was shocked by the Japanese surprise attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941.

Above: From 1941 until the Allied invasion of Italy in 1943, American military forces were mostly occupied with the war in the Pacific. Here, a U.S. Navy medic helps a wounded Marine on the Pacific island of Guam. **Opposite page, below:** Women were needed to fill jobs traditionally reserved for men.

America Enters the War

America entered World War II over two years after it started, but not because of ships sunk by Germans. We entered because of the surprise Japanese attack on the American Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941. Japan saw American naval power in the Pacific as a challenge to her ambition to dominate East Asia. The attack aroused Americans to the challenge of Japan, Germany, and Italy. Now the nation

was stirred up, and patriotic sentiment overflowed.

Soon Americans were fighting in Europe, Africa, and Asia, and on Pacific islands. The U.S. Navy was deployed around the world. The Army Air Corps became crucial, bombing military bases and enemy encampments, and even destroying cities in enemy countries. World War II became the most destructive war in human history because of the new technology, which included, before the end, nuclear weapons. For America, the war was the most costly in human lives in our history, with the exception of the Civil War.

The Homefront

The 15 million Americans who served in the armed forces during the war have been justly praised for their courage, sacrifice, and achievements. But the war could not have been won without the 60 million workers in industry and

agriculture who performed miracles of production. Automobile assembly lines shifted to the production of tanks, trucks, and airplanes. The United States turned out twice as much as Germany and Japan combined. Crucial to this phenomenal feat was James F. Byrnes. Roosevelt had appointed Senator Byrnes to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1941 but, in 1942, asked him to resign from the Court and become the chief official in charge of war mobilization. His power was such that he was often called the assistant president.

The Wartime Economy

Wartime production greatly decreased unemployment. The Great Depression was over. There were now labor shortages. Instead of inexpensive goods but little money, people now had money—but civilian goods were scarce and expensive. Government adopted rationing to make sure everyone could get at least a small amount of scarce items. To **ration** is to control the amount of a product people are allowed to have. Local ration boards distributed books with ration stamps that had to be presented, along with money, to buy such items as meat, sugar, coffee, shoes, tires, and gasoline. The ration boards allotted the average family car less than two gallons of gas per week.

The war brought heartache and grief, but also affluence. The enormous federal spending penetrated the American economy. All classes in South Carolina and the nation felt the prosperity. Farmers' income quadrupled. The lowest-paid 20 percent of workers increased their share of the nation's income. The richest people did well, but their share increased less rapidly, owing to heavy wartime taxes. Half the war expenses were paid by taxes and half by borrowing (selling savings bonds to citizens). Wartime savings mushroomed. At the end of the war, people were ready to spend those savings.

Social Changes

The war stimulated shifts in population. The rural to urban shift increased. Severe housing shortages occurred in cities and around the new military bases. The rural population declined by 20 percent with the wartime shifts.

During the war, families experienced major changes. First, women entered the paid workforce in jobs not usually considered “women's work”: metalwork; riveting; welding; tending blast furnaces; and assembling jeeps, trucks, and planes. Women enlisted in the armed services in noncombat roles.

After the war began, the return of prosperity contributed to a rise in the marriage rate. More couples could afford to get married. When men were ordered overseas, couples often rushed into marriage. The divorce rate shot up along with the marriage rate. But not in South Carolina, the only state where divorce was still banned by state law.

Higher wages led to improvements in health. People were able to visit doctors and dentists. Also, the 16 million men and women in

HAVE YOU SEEN...

the statue honoring James F. Byrnes? It looks toward the State House from the corner of Gervais and Sumter Streets. The inscription calls him “the most distinguished South Carolinian of his time.”





Above: Tuskegee Airmen commander Colonel Benjamin Davis (left) and pilot Edward Gleed scan the sky above their base in Italy.

DID YOU KNOW?

Walterboro has erected a Tuskegee Airmen Memorial at the former Walterboro Army Airfield, now the Lowcountry Regional Airport.



uniform had health care for themselves and their dependents. More doctors were being trained. These health improvements were not as great in South Carolina, where the infant and maternal death rate was still very high.

Race and War

Nearly a million African Americans served in the army or navy during the war. Most soldiers were not in combat units but, like Matthew Perry, were sent off to service outfits doing construction and bringing up supplies to the front lines. However, in combat conditions, all troops had assignments for handling ammunition and manning artillery.

At the insistence of the NAACP, the Army Air Corps (later the U.S. Air Force) created a segregated unit of African American fliers known as the Tuskegee Airmen. They proved

to skeptical whites that blacks could be capable pilots and crews on combat missions. It is little known that many of the Tuskegee Airmen received their advanced combat training at the Walterboro Army Airfield before being sent into combat.

At home, blacks still faced discrimination in jobs and housing, in both the North and the South. Shortages of workers gave blacks more opportunities and higher wages than before, but not to the extent of whites. Hispanics and Asians suffered many of the same injustices. Roosevelt, under pressure from northern black labor leaders, agreed to create a Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) in 1941. The FEPC helped significantly in government hiring but was not very effective with private corporations. The Great Migration of African Americans that continued during the war made black-white relations not just a southern problem. Sadly, race riots in several northern cities showed relations were not good all across the United States.

DO YOU REMEMBER?

1. Define in sentence form: Axis Powers, ration, Lend-Lease Act.
2. What was the event that pushed the United States into World War II?
3. What South Carolinian became the chief U.S. official in charge of war mobilization?

South Carolina in the War

AS YOU READ, LOOK FOR

- how participation in World War II boosted our state's economy;
- the many ways South Carolinians lent support on the homefront;
- the sacrifices of soldiers and sailors from our state;
- terms: **blackout**, **victory garden**, **war bonds**.

World War II affected South Carolina as much as the nation.

The state probably got more than its fair share of military bases, with vast amounts of federal spending. Camp Jackson at Columbia reopened as Fort Jackson, a permanent infantry training base. Camp Croft in Spartanburg became another infantry training facility. Each could train 50,000 soldiers at a time. The Parris Island Marine Base near Beaufort expanded, as did the Charleston Navy Yard to produce more ships. In addition, several air bases were constructed.

The Doolittle Raiders trained at Columbia Air Base in Lexington County (now the Columbia Metropolitan Airport) and practiced dropping dummy bombs in Lake Murray. These fliers, under Lieutenant Colonel Jimmy Doolittle, were preparing for a daring air raid on Tokyo, the capital of Japan. The costly but successful raid in April 1942 gave a boost to the morale of Americans, who were bitter about the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor.

The Economic Impact

South Carolina contractors, builders, suppliers, and laborers benefited mightily from the new war production. Women, teenagers, older men, and men rejected by the military found jobs at the Charleston Navy Yard and at factories as electricians, carpenters, welders, machine operators, and mechanics. The new and expanded bases hired many civilian office workers. Textile mills went on three eight-hour shifts producing military uniforms and tents.

Below: While stationed at Fort Jackson, infantry sergeant Victor Lundy, a gifted artist, filled sketchbooks with drawings of life on the base, seen here, and later of his deployment in Europe. After the war, he became an influential architect in Sarasota, Florida.



DID YOU KNOW?

There were 8,000 POWs in South Carolina when the war ended. They had been able to earn 80 cents per day on farms and in factories.

The availability of good jobs in industry and around military installations lured away agricultural workers. Women and children filled some of the gaps. Also, help came from an unusual direction. The military set up twenty-eight prisoner-of-war (POW) camps in South Carolina. Those German and Italian POWs were hired to work in the fields and even in some factories. Farm wages and profits soared.

The war also contributed to the diversification of South Carolina's industry. Textiles were still the biggest factor, but chemicals, wood pulp, timber, food canning, tobacco, and products made of stone, clay, or glass grew in importance.



Local Social Consequences

The rapid wartime shift from the country to the cities caused large population increases in six counties—Charleston, Richland, Beaufort, Dorchester, Greenville, and Kershaw. The other forty counties lost population. This shift resulted in housing shortages, overcrowding, and overcharging for rent. The cities of Columbia and Charleston tried to control rents, but had limited success.

South Carolinians Pitch In

Patriotism and volunteerism ran very high among Carolinians. Red Cross volunteers made bandages; older men served as aircraft spotters and air raid wardens, preparing for possible aerial attack. People along the coast cooperated in blackouts. **Blackouts** involve turning out or concealing lights to deny geographical information to enemy submarines. (German subs sank several ships off the coast during the war, so the danger was real.) Each town near military bases established USOs (United Services Organization recreation centers) where off-duty servicemen could enjoy music, dances, card games, pool, ping pong, and food. USOs even arranged Sunday dinners in private homes for the armed service members.

Carolinians planted **victory gardens** to help relieve food shortages. They collected scrap metals and old paper for recycling. Scout troops and churches often ran such campaigns. Most drivers obeyed the national speed limit of forty miles per hour to help conserve gas and tires. World War II witnessed the



DID YOU KNOW?

During World War II, one of the largest paper mills in the world was the International Paper Company mill in Georgetown.

nearest thing to total involvement of the population since the Civil War. People saved money for the day the war was over and supplies became plentiful again. Buying war bonds was the patriotic way to save money. **War bonds** were government paper that paid interest to the owner when a certain period had passed. These bonds were used to finance the war effort. War bond drives were publicized on the radio and in newspapers and magazines. Bond rallies were held all over the country, sometimes with celebrities making the patriotic appeal. Even children participated in bond drives by buying one savings stamp at a time for ten cents or a quarter and sticking it in a little book. When the book was full of stamps, it could be exchanged for a bond, which a few years later would be worth much more money than the amount loaned.

The people who gave and sacrificed the most, of course, were those who served in the armed forces. Many volunteered; many more were selected by a lottery system set up by local draft boards. Every male from 18 to 45 was registered for the draft. Workers in vital war industries and the physically unfit were exempt. South Carolina had a population of less than 2 million in 1940; 184,000 of those served in the armed forces during the war. Over 2,600 of these were women. Because of physical problems brought on by poverty, one-third of the state's white population and one-half of the African Americans who were drafted were found "unfit for service."

DO YOU REMEMBER?

1. Define in sentence form: blackout, victory garden, war bonds.
2. Which South Carolina bases trained military personnel for World War II?
3. In what ways did ordinary South Carolinians help in the war effort?

HAVE YOU SEEN...

Patriots Point in Mt. Pleasant? This naval museum has three fascinating ships of World War II vintage: an aircraft carrier, the *USS Yorktown* (below); a destroyer, the *USS Laffey*; and a submarine, the *USS Clamagore*. All are open to the public.



Opposite page, above: Not all "pitching in" was voluntary. This tenant farmer and his family are being relocated from their farm to make room for the expansion of Camp Croft. **Opposite page, below:** One method of financing the war was the sale of war bonds and stamps, essentially loans to the government, repaid with interest when the bonds matured.

The End of the War



Above: World War II came to an end following the destruction of two Japanese cities, Hiroshima and Nagasaki (pictured) with atomic bombs. **Right:** On April 12, 1945, while sitting for this portrait by Elizabeth Shoumatoff, President Roosevelt suffered a massive stroke and died shortly thereafter.

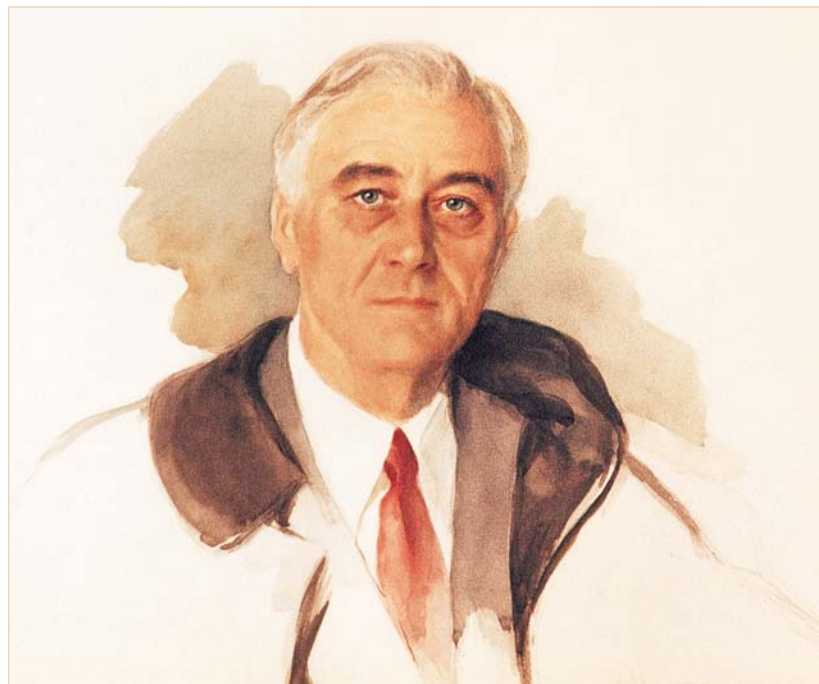
DID YOU KNOW?

Franklin Delano Roosevelt is usually ranked in polls of historians as one of the top three presidents.

AS YOU READ, LOOK FOR

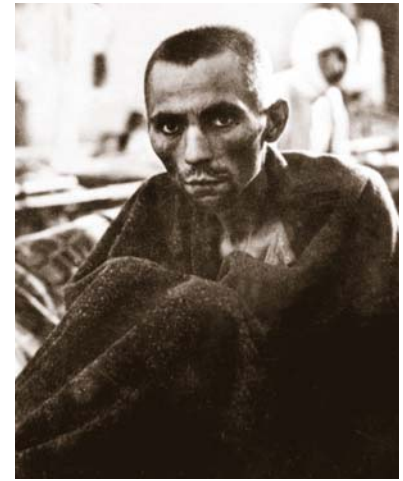
- events at the close of World War II;
- how the baby boom, the GI Bill of Rights, and the demand for consumer goods contributed to postwar prosperity;
- consequences of the Cold War on the world, the nation, and our state;
- terms: **genocide, consumerism, postwar baby boom, GI Bill of Rights, Cold War, containment.**

By May of 1945, Germany had been crushed by American, French, and British troops from the west and Russian troops from the east. Hitler committed suicide, and Germany surrendered unconditionally to the Allies on May 8, 1945. The Allies then concentrated on Japan. That nation surrendered only after the United States demolished two of its major cities with atomic bombs. Japan's surrender on August 14, 1945, was the end of World War II.



Only after the war did Americans fully realize the impact of Nazi Germany's wartime policy of extermination of Jews and other "undesirables." The policy of **genocide** (the effort to wipe out an entire ethnic group) nearly accomplished its purpose, as approximately 6 million Jews were killed by the Nazis in the notorious concentration camps in Germany and German-controlled countries of Eastern Europe. Over 5 million non-Jews were also killed by the Germans.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt served over twelve years as president through the difficult times of the Great Depression and World War II, but he did not live to see the end of the war. He had been in failing health and died in Warm Springs, Georgia, on April 12, 1945. He was succeeded by Vice President Harry S. Truman.



The Economy Remains Strong

Many people feared that when the war ended the prosperity would also end. Times had been tough for South Carolina after the Civil War and after World War I. The end of wartime spending, and all those servicemen returning to civilian life, might cause an oversupply of workers, leading to unemployment. Government spending did slow down, some South Carolina bases closed, and the soldiers and sailors returned. But several factors kept the nation's and state's economies prosperous after the war.

The Rise of Consumerism

One major boost to economic activity was all that money people had saved during the war. Another was everyone's backlog of needs and wants after the wartime scarcities. As industries shifted from producing tools of war to making automobiles, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, and bicycles, South Carolinians, like all U.S. citizens, were lined up to buy. This demand and purchasing power kept industries humming and prosperity rolling. Americans got hooked on buying and using up goods at a high rate, a condition known as **consumerism**. Radio and the new television advertising increased the desire for more and more goods.

Another factor that contributed to consumerism and the economy was the extraordinary increase in the birth rate, called the **postwar baby boom**. With millions of service personnel coming home to relative prosperity, many families had children. The depression had lowered the birth rate. After the war, the rate of birth exploded, and the baby boom continued for about fifteen years. Postwar parents wanted their children to have more of the good things of life than their parents had been able to afford for them. Consumerism became established as the main driving force in the American economy.



Top: It was not until Allied forces reached German concentration camps at the end of World War II, that the scale of German atrocities was revealed. **Above:** Television was the technological development that defined the 1950s. This model house TV room was state of the art for its time.

DID YOU KNOW?

In 1949, the new Cornell Arms, an apartment building in downtown Columbia, was advertised as the “tallest building between Richmond and Miami.” It was eighteen stories high.



The GI Bill of Rights

Soldiers and sailors (called GIs, which stands for “Government Issue”) came home to civilian life, with a congressional “thank you” for their service—the GI Bill of Rights. The GI Bill was helpful both to individual veterans and to the economy. Under the **GI Bill of Rights**, all war veterans could receive from the government tuition and living expenses for vocational training or a college degree. Over half took advantage of this educational opportunity. Many were the first in their families to attend college. This helped broaden the middle class in South Carolina and in the nation. It also held many veterans off the job market as thousands of new students flooded into our state colleges and universities in the decade after the war.

The GI Bill also provided unemployment compensation for one year (rarely needed) and provided assistance in buying homes. A veteran could buy a house for zero down payment and low monthly payments on a loan backed by the Veterans Administration. Many returning servicemen and women bought homes in the rapidly expanding suburbs. Like education, the housing loans contributed to an enlargement of the middle class. The GI Bill was one of the most far-reaching and important pieces of legislation ever passed by Congress.

The Cold War

Another reason the postwar economy did not collapse was the beginning of another sort of war—the **Cold War** (the period after World War II that was marked by rivalry and distrust between the United States and the Soviet Union). Both the democratic-capitalist United States and the

totalitarian-communist Soviet Union wanted to dominate the postwar world. Their ambitions placed them in dangerous competition that lasted for decades. The two nations developed and stockpiled nuclear weapons, tried to dominate space exploration, and competed for allies. Several times the rivalry nearly resulted in open warfare.

As President Truman’s secretary of state, James F. Byrnes helped develop the policy of **containment**, which the United States maintained until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The

policy was to try to contain Soviet power and territory within the boundaries it controlled in the early years after World War II.

One method of containment was to help develop the United Nations (UN) as a means of international cooperation and conflict resolution. Another was to help the war-torn nations recover rapidly so they would



Above: The Korean War Veterans Memorial in Washington, DC, honors the 300,000 Americans who fought to prevent North Korea’s takeover of South Korea.

not fall to communist rule. The Marshall Plan provided American grants, loans, and technical assistance to Western European nations. Its aim was to rebuild the nations' economies, cities, and *infrastructures* (transportation and communications systems, water systems, power plants, and schools). The aid helped them recover quickly and become allies and trading partners.

A third American response to Soviet competition was the development of several military defense alliances. In each alliance, several nations committed themselves to defending each other against Soviet attack. The most important was NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). This pact with many nations of Europe remains the keystone of our mutual defense, even though the Cold War ended when the Soviet Union broke apart in 1991.

Effects of the Cold War on South Carolina

The Cold War affected South Carolina and the nation in many ways. Defense of the country was an obsession with most American politicians. Several South Carolina military bases continued to be vital to preparing for possible war with communist nations. America never fought the Soviet Union directly, but we did engage in two serious wars of containment, the Korean War (1950-1953) and the Vietnam War (1965-1973).

Several national defense projects were important to South Carolina. Federal aid to education, which was justified on the grounds it would help in defense, benefited South Carolina's schools. The Interstate Highway System was begun in the 1950s as a defense measure. The new freeways would allow easier troop and supply movements and quicker evacuation of cities in case of attack. South Carolina gained several hundred miles of superb highways. The state had also engaged in extensive road building. Between 1935 and 1950, the state road system increased from 6,000 miles to 20,000 miles. Over 5,000 miles of highway were completed and over 4,000 miles of country roads were paved between 1946 and 1950.

The Savannah River Site

The most dramatic effect of the Cold War on South Carolina was the building of the Savannah River Site. The federal government built this enormous plant in the early 1950s to produce plutonium and tritium for



MAP 40

South Carolina's Interstate Highways

MapSkill: Which appears to be the longest interstate highway in South Carolina?

DID YOU KNOW?

The Interstate Highway System is named after President Dwight D. Eisenhower and consists of 46,876 miles of highway.



Above right: This is only one of the facilities that make up the Savannah River Site, constructed in the 1950s to produce radioactive materials for nuclear weapons.

Top: F Canyon, a plutonium and uranium separations facility, ceased production in 2002.

Above: Today, one focus of the Savannah River Plant is to find new uses for materials no longer needed for nuclear weapons.



America's nuclear weapons. The numerous manufacturing and waste storage facilities required 310 square miles of land in Aiken, Barnwell, and Allendale Counties. The government bought the land, and all the residents had to leave. The towns of Ellenton and Dunbarton and several smaller communities disappeared, as 6,000 people moved out. New Ellenton sprang up near the plant. The population of Aiken and other towns increased dramatically for several years with the influx of 35,000 construction workers hired to build the facility. All the inconveniences were bearable because construction pumped money into the state's economy—\$1 million every day.

DO YOU REMEMBER?

1. Define in sentence form: postwar baby boom, Cold War, containment.
2. What horrible acts resulted from Nazi Germany's policy of genocide in World War II?
3. When and why was the Savannah River Site built?



Of SPECIAL INTEREST

Mamie “Peanut” Johnson

By Meribeth Walton Moore

One summer night in 1945, when a girl named Mamie was ten years old and living on her grandmother’s eighty-acre farm in Ridgeway, she saw a shooting star and thought that

“God must like baseball since he’s got a fastball good as mine.” Mamie and her Uncle Leo loved to play baseball in the yard. Mamie, always the pitcher, used a rock wrapped with sticky tape as the ball. She didn’t pitch underhand but a “surefire, windup, coming-right-at-ya pitch smack dab over the plate.” Uncle Leo gave her his scuffed-up baseball and taught her to throw a knuckleball.

When her grandmother died, Mamie’s mother, who worked in Washington, DC, sent Mamie to live with relatives in New Jersey. There, to her horror, girls could only play softball. At

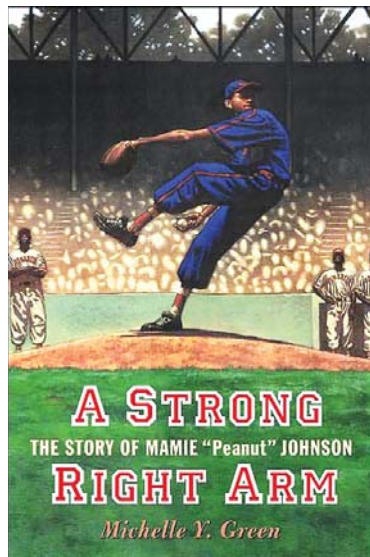
a neighborhood playground, she asked one of the boys to let her pitch in their baseball game. He said that she was a “dumb old girl, and you’re colored besides.” Mamie replied, “A ball’s a ball and it don’t know nothing about the person who’s throwing it except if they’re good or not.” She told the boys she was from South Carolina “where we don’t forget our manners.” The coach let her show him her pitches. He was impressed and told her she could play and to let her strong arm do all the talking. Mamie’s team won the division championship two years in a row on the strength

of her pitching. She was the only girl and the first black to play for the Long Branch Police Athletic League club.

When Mamie was seventeen, she wanted to try out for the professional All American Girls Baseball League. Even though black players Larry Doby of Camden and Jackie Robinson were in the major leagues, she was not allowed to try out because this girls’ league did not want “colored girls playing next to our girls.” Instead, she played for the best recreational baseball team, shocking male batters who weren’t expecting this ninety-six pound woman to throw as hard as any man. In 1953 she realized her

dream—playing professional ball for the Indianapolis Clowns of the Negro League. At age eighteen, she pitched to the very best hitters, and played just as hard as the men. The crowds would yell out, “Why, that little girl’s no bigger than a peanut.” She was proud to be “a peanut of a woman in a man’s game.”

The Indianapolis Clowns traveled to baseball fields throughout the North and the South. The team learned the rules for surviving in the South: which water fountains they could use, which restaurants would serve them from the back door, and not to expect to



enter any of the clubhouses. Mamie and her teammates changed into their uniforms on the bus. She wondered why people didn’t understand that it didn’t matter if you were “white or colored, girl or guy, city slicker or country as a mule.” Mamie realized that every pitch she threw was an opportunity to show the world that “colored people are just like everybody else.” In her three-year professional career, Mamie had thirty-three wins and eight losses. A biography of Mamie “Peanut” Johnson, *A Strong Right Arm*, was published in 2002.

The Beginning of the Civil Rights Movement

AS YOU READ, LOOK FOR

- modest beginnings of the civil rights movement in the 1930s and 1940s;
- *Elmore v. Rice* and the end of the all-white primary;
- incidences of white-on-black violence in South Carolina;
- the rise of the Dixiecrats and the White Citizens' Councils;
- court victories for school desegregation, and the responses of white Carolinians—both against and for the decisions;
- terms: **Dixiecrat Party, Southern Manifesto, White Citizens' Councils.**



Above: Jim Crow had a firm hold on South Carolina in the 1930s. Overnight accommodations for blacks were often hard to find.

The story of the civil rights movement in South Carolina started in the 1940s, but there were stirrings earlier. One could argue that there has been some movement for minority civil rights for as long as there has been an American nation, and certainly since emancipation. But those early demands had little impact on the modern movement of the 1940s and 1950s.

Stirrings in the 1930s

African Americans in the 1930s were becoming more vocal about their conditions, and for good reasons. South Carolina schools spent about five times as much per white pupil as per black pupil. White teachers were paid about three times as much as black teachers. Unequal and segregated education was only one cause of discontent. Police brutality and exclusion



from elections, good jobs, parks, pools, and restaurants were sources of frustration and anger.

During the decade, the NAACP grew from three branches (Columbia, Charleston, and Greenville) to eight branches with about 800 members. Another organized response to Jim Crow abuse was the new Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. They argued that white women did not need lynching to protect them from black men. The activism of the 1930s bore little immediate fruit.

Accomplishments in the 1940s

In South Carolina, membership in the NAACP increased from 800 to 14,237 in the decade of the 1940s, and branches were organized statewide. World War II contributed to that increased activism. Many returning black servicemen, and a few whites, were unwilling to passively accept the conditions of the past. Also responsible for the growth were Reverend J. M. Hinton and Modjeska Monteith Simkins, who insisted that NAACP membership was a mark of citizenship. Hinton, an inspirational speaker, was president of the State Conference of NAACP from 1941 to 1958. Modjeska Simkins held various positions in the NAACP over several decades. She was probably considered by the South Carolina establishment as the most pesky and persistent advocate for change of the Jim Crow system.



Above: Modjeska Monteith Simkins was a civil rights pioneer and NAACP activist. This portrait hangs in the State House. Top: Modjeska Simkins's house on Marion Street in Columbia was a civil rights meeting place.



Activist teachers in Charleston challenged the school board's unequal pay policy in 1943-1944. South Carolina was introduced to Thurgood Marshall, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund's lawyer, who visited the state many times over the next decade. Marshall, later appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court, presented the case in court for the black teachers. U.S. District Judge J. Waties Waring, a member of a prominent Charleston family, ordered the board to equalize pay over the next two years. A year later, Judge Waring issued a similar order in a Columbia case. Waring was on his way to becoming a hero to blacks and civil rights advocates. He was soon shunned by his former friends and relatives in the Charleston aristocracy.

Black Political Activism

Most African Americans across the country had become strong supporters of Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal. Many who lived in northern states where blacks could vote abandoned the party of Abraham Lincoln and voted Democratic. A few black South Carolina citizens had gone through the difficult and dangerous process of registering

to vote in the general elections. But they were excluded by law from voting in the Democratic primary, the only meaningful election. In 1944, a small group of them organized the S.C. Progressive Democratic Party (PDP). They were led by John McCray, editor of the Columbia *Lighthouse and Informer*, and Osceola McKaine. The PDP tried in vain to gain recognition from the National Democratic Party. Despite rejection, the PDP remained fiercely loyal to Democratic presidential nominees.



Top: Some of the unsung heroes of the civil rights movement were the federal judges like J. Waties Waring, who courted the scorn of the white community when they ruled in favor of black plaintiffs.

Above: George Elmore challenged all-white primaries in *Elmore v. Rice*.

Attacking the All-White Primary

Blacks had more success with court challenges to the all-white Democratic primary. In a landmark 1944 case, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled the Texas Democratic Party's all-white primary unconstitutional. In response, South Carolina repealed 147 laws regarding the primary and approved constitutional amendments separating party primaries from state government. Now the state could argue that the party was a private club and was not subject to the equality requirements of the U.S. Constitution.

George A. Elmore of Columbia and the NAACP challenged this version of the all-white primary in federal court in 1947. Judge Waring shocked Carolinians in his *Elmore v. Rice* decision with a strong affirmation of blacks' right to vote in Democratic primaries because primaries were the only real elections. Waring declared, "It is time for South Carolina to rejoin the Union. It is time to fall in step with the other states and adopt the American way of conducting elections."

Democrats tried again to save the white primary. They required that anyone voting in the primary had to swear an oath that they supported segregation and white supremacy. Judge Waring threw out the oath in 1948. About 35,000 blacks registered to vote, and most voted in the Democratic primary that year. They only composed about 5 percent of the voters, but it was a start.

Efforts to Open Higher Education to Blacks

Colleges and universities, like other schools, were rigidly segregated. Many African Americans wanted to change that pattern. In 1946, John Wrihten filed suit in U.S. District Court to gain admission to the USC School of Law. Judge Waring ordered the state to admit black students to the USC Law School or provide an equal opportunity for blacks. State officials chose to set up a new law school at State College in Orangeburg. That school opened in 1947 and for several years trained many of the lawyers who would argue civil rights cases in South Carolina for decades. These lawyers included Ernest Finney, later chief justice of South Carolina, and Matthew Perry. The state would successfully keep blacks out of all white colleges for another sixteen years.

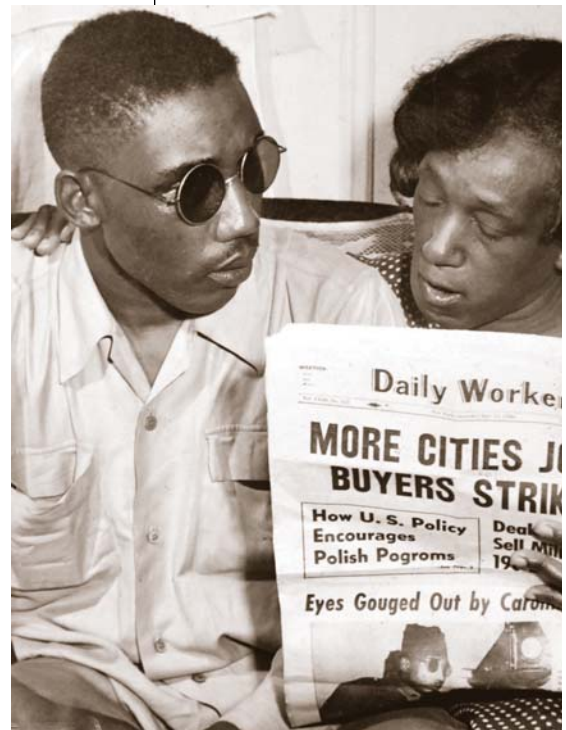
White-on-Black Violence Intensifies

In the two years after World War II, racial violence spread across the South. Black GIs came home from war more determined than ever to maintain some semblance of citizenship rights. Southern whites were just as determined to maintain white supremacy. South Carolina did not escape this white-on-black violence. There were many minor incidents, but two in particular brought national shame to the state.

The Beating of Isaac Woodard Jr.

Isaac Woodard Jr. was discharged in 1946 from the army in Georgia and was traveling by bus through South Carolina to meet his wife in North Carolina. He and the bus driver got into an argument that resulted in Woodard being tossed off the bus into the waiting arms of the Batesburg police. The lawmen beat the prisoner so severely that he became totally and permanently blind.

Heavyweight boxing champ Joe Louis hosted a fund-raising event in New York City for Woodard. Folk singer Woody Guthrie wrote and sang “The Blinding of Isaac Woodard” for the benefit. Actor Orson Welles helped convince the FBI to investigate the beating, which resulted in the arrest and trial in federal court of the Batesburg police chief. The defense counsels blasted the federal government for intervening in a local matter and warned that conviction of the chief would tell white Carolinians that their homes and children would not be safe. An all-white jury acquitted the chief.



Above: One of the most brutal racial crimes in South Carolina was the beating and deliberate blinding of Isaac Woodard, a World War II veteran who had only been discharged from the army a few hours earlier. The crime brought national attention.

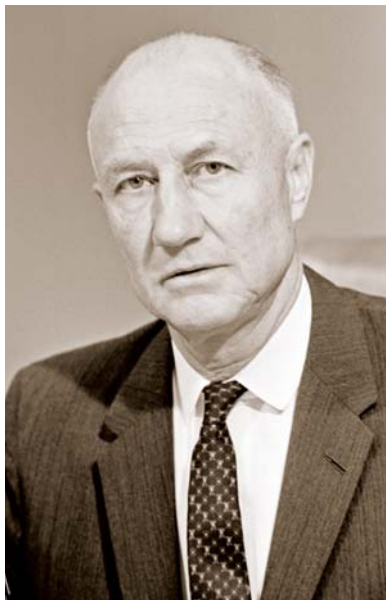


The Murder of Willie Earle

The second violent act that had a sensational effect on the nation was the murder of Willie Earle in 1947. Soon after this young Greenville black man took a cab ride, the driver was found dead. Earle was arrested and taken to jail. The following day, thirty-five cab drivers forcibly removed Earle from jail. He was beaten, horribly mutilated, and shot.

Governor J. Strom Thurmond denounced the crime and ordered a thorough investigation by state officials. But no arrests were made until the FBI investigated and got twenty-six men to admit in writing that they were involved. The trial of thirty-one suspects was watched nationwide and in the White House. After a ten-day trial, the all-white jury acquitted all thirty-one men.

The murder of Willie Earle energized many blacks and stiffened their resolve to push for equality. It also energized the federal government. The unjust verdict played a role in President Harry S. Truman's decision to present a strong civil rights legislative program to the Congress. It also helped influence Truman's Democratic Party to adopt a liberal platform on civil rights in the presidential election of 1948.



Above: Governor Strom Thurmond ordered an investigation of the murder of Willie Earle. The trial took place in the old Greenville County Courthouse (top).

The Dixiecrat Movement against Civil Rights

The Democratic Party's equal rights proposals in 1948 led many white southerners to abandon the party. Many who wanted to maintain the Jim Crow system formed the States' Rights Democratic Party, more commonly called the **Dixiecrat Party**. They chose as their leader and presidential candidate J. Strom Thurmond, the governor of South Carolina. Thurmond had been a state judge when he volunteered for service in the war. He returned home a hero and ran for governor in 1946 as a progressive Democrat.

As governor, Thurmond encouraged women's involvement in government and appointed a few blacks to state boards. He advocated spending more money on education, added a twelfth grade, and extended the school year to nine months. He insisted on vigorous prosecution of Willie Earle's murderers and supported repeal of the poll tax.

As the Dixiecrat candidate for president in 1948, Thurmond stood strongly for segregation and states' rights. To the States' Rights Democratic Convention he said, "I want to tell you that there's not enough troops in the army to force the southern people to break down

DID YOU KNOW?

Edgefield County has produced ten governors, more than any other one county in the country.

segregation and admit the Negro into our theaters, into our swimming pools, into our homes, and into our churches.” Thurmond won the electoral votes of four Deep South states: Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Democratic President Truman won the election, but it was the first crack in the solid Democratic South since Reconstruction.

The Crusade against Segregated Schools

By the end of the 1940s, black parents in Clarendon County were engaged in a dramatic lawsuit that challenged segregation of public schools. In their tiny school district, white schools were worth four times as much as black schools, yet there were three times as many black students. White elementary teachers averaged twenty-eight pupils; black teachers averaged forty-seven. White schools had hot lunches, janitors, gyms, and flush toilets; black schools had none of these. The county spent \$166 per white child and \$43 per black child. The white children were brought to school in the county’s thirty buses. No transportation was provided for black children.

Black parents first sued to get bus transportation for their children, some of whom were walking nine miles to school. Following Judge Waring’s advice, the parents challenged the constitutionality of the entire segregated educational system. And thus was created the first all-out assault on the system of racial segregation of public schools in the Deep South.

The legal suit known as *Briggs v. Elliott* was brought by twenty Clarendon County parents and was handled by Thurgood Marshall and his team of NAACP lawyers. As it made its way through the federal court system, it was combined with four other cases from different states. All were decided by the Supreme Court under the title of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, in 1954.

The Whites’ Response to Clarendon Black Activism

Clarendon County black citizens knew well the probable consequences of legally attacking the system of segregation. Getting the twenty persons to sign up for the case had taken several months of intense persuasion by Rev. J. A. DeLaine, a pastor and teacher. All the courageous parents who took that risk suffered from their decision. Harry Briggs, a service station employee, and his wife Liza, a motel maid, both lost their jobs. The local bank in Summerton cut off their credit. Several other signers suffered the same fates. Some were ousted from their rented homes.

The DeLaine family suffered mightily for the reverend’s activism. DeLaine, his wife Mattie, and several relatives were fired from their teaching jobs. DeLaine was threatened, driven off the highway more than once, and sued for slander. For his safety, the AME Church transferred him out of the county. Soon his empty house in Clarendon County was burned. The harassment continued in the DeLaines’ new home in Lake City. His church was burned. Night riders shot into his home on several occasions. He

HAVE YOU SEEN...

two statues of Strom Thurmond? There is one in his hometown of Edgefield (below) and another on the State House grounds in Columbia.



DID YOU KNOW?

Judge J. Waties Waring moved to New York City after he retired as federal district judge in 1952.

He was no longer welcomed by Charleston’s white community. He occasionally returned to see his black friends or to receive awards from civil rights groups. In New York, he was celebrated by prominent blacks and civil rights leaders.



finally fired back. Law enforcement issued a warrant for his arrest for assault with intent to kill. He and his family escaped from the state, and he was never able to return.

Governor Byrnes's Response to *Briggs v. Elliott*

The grand strategist for South Carolina's response to the challenge to segregation was James F. Byrnes, who had no trouble winning election as governor in 1950. Now, he was confronted with the greatest challenge to the "southern way of life" since Reconstruction. Governor Byrnes recognized the gross inequalities existing between the two state school systems. He calculated that the best way to maintain segregation was to make the black and white school facilities as nearly equal as possible.

Improving Black Schools

Byrnes convinced the General Assembly to make a great leap toward equal facilities. The state instituted a 3 percent sales tax to raise some \$75 million to spend mainly on improvement of schools for blacks. That the legislature would make such a commitment is a measure of the stature of Jimmy Byrnes and the fear of federal court intervention. Astonishing changes occurred. The state built new schools, repaired old ones, transported black students to schools, and gave black and white teachers equal pay. The state system was made more efficient by consolidating 1,200 school districts into 102.

The legislature established a special committee to steer efforts to prevent school desegregation. Chaired by Senator L. Marion Gressette, the committee proved inventive in avoiding the effects of federal law and court decisions. The state constitution was amended to remove the requirement that the state provide a public school system. The legislature authorized school districts to sell schools so they could be run by private groups, such as churches. The state never took the drastic step of abolishing its state-supported schools.

DID YOU KNOW?

Clarendon County's Althea Gibson was the first African American woman to win the Wimbledon and U.S. Open Tennis Championships, in 1957 and 1958. Later, she was the first black on the Ladies Professional Golf Association Tour.



The *Brown v. Board of Education* Decision—1954

After all the arguments were in on the case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, Chief Justice Earl Warren spoke to the other eight justices about the essence of the case. At the human heart of the issue, he believed, was this fact: the only justification for segregation of the races was the belief in the inferiority of black people. On May 17, 1954, Warren announced an amazing unanimous decision that reversed *Plessy v. Ferguson*. The court declared that "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." Therefore, separate schools violated the Fourteenth Amendment's requirement of equality under the law. In a follow-up decision, the Court ordered states to desegregate their

schools “with all deliberate speed.” That phrase would be used in some states to push the desegregation process forward and in others to delay the process for as long as possible.

White Carolinians’ Response to *Brown*

South Carolina’s white political leadership and white newspapers were bitter in their opposition to the Supreme Court’s decision. Governor Byrnes led the southern governors in planning and implementing a “massive resistance” to the new law of the land. Senator Strom Thurmond was the chief author of the **Southern Manifesto**, signed by most southern congressmen, which condemned the Supreme Court for substituting “naked power for established law.” It urged use of “all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision which is contrary to the Constitution and to prevent the use of force in its implementation.”

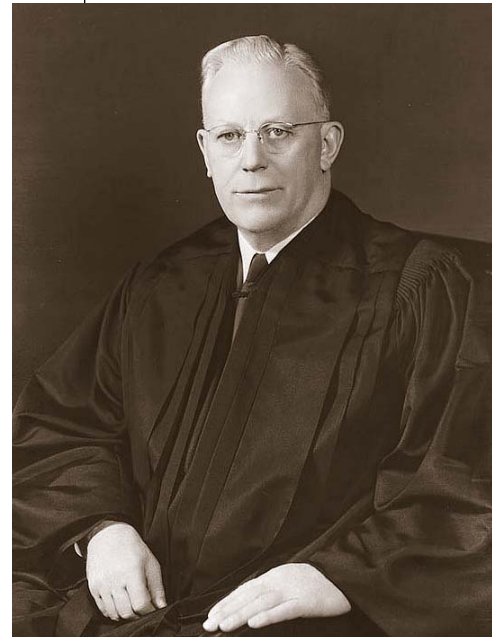
The General Assembly responded by repealing the compulsory school attendance law. It required the cut-off of funds from any white school that accepted a black student by court order and from that student’s former school. If black students were admitted to a public white college by court order, all state funds to South Carolina State College at Orangeburg would be cut off.

To discourage blacks from applying to white colleges for advanced degrees, the legislature provided free tuition and traveling expenses for students to attend universities in the North, even Ivy League institutions. South Carolina was willing to pay a high price for maintaining segregation.

George Bell Timmerman Jr. became governor in January 1955 and led attacks on the *Brown* decision and on the notion that any desegregation was going to take place within “a thousand years.” Governor Timmerman joined the chorus of those who equated civil rights activism with communism. He warned the state Democratic convention in 1956 that freedom is endangered by those who wish “to destroy constitutional government and to invade rights of the states and their people....Racial mixing in the South is a very real and very meaningful part of the Communist conspiracy.”

The Difficult Years in the Wake of *Brown*

The remaining years of the 1950s after the *Brown* decision were difficult for South Carolina. Most white people felt their way of life was threatened and white supremacy was endangered. Most black people were frustrated that court decisions had been made and laws changed, but their lives were not yet any better. In Orangeburg County, several dozen African American parents signed a petition in 1955, requesting admission of their children to white schools. The white response was quick and very tough on the signers.



NAACP attorney Thurgood Marshall (above) argued *Brown v. Board of Education* before Chief Justice Earl Warren (top) and the U.S. Supreme Court. *Brown* incorporated *Briggs v. Elliott*, whose plaintiffs organized at Liberty Hill AME Church (opposite page).



Above: As the location of two black colleges (Clafin and South Carolina State), it was natural that Orangeburg would be the site of much civil rights activity during the 1950s and 1960s. Student marches, like this one in 1956, continued through 1968.

The Orangeburg Boycott

Whites used economic pressure to try to force the petitioners back in line. Orangeburg Mayor W. J. Deer explained that the tactic was to starve NAACP members and anyone who protested Jim Crow. Whites should, he said, “Fire all petitioners, fire all members of their families...force them to move out of the community, deny them credit, boycott anybody who helps them in anyway.”

Economic intimidation was such a powerful tool for whites because most blacks worked for white bosses, rented property from whites, and depended on credit at white-owned stores. About half the signers had to remove their names from the petition. But black leaders realized they also had some economic clout. Blacks composed about half the population of the county. Many white businesses were dependent on trade from the black community.

Orangeburg blacks organized a counterboycott—refusing to do business with the whites who supported the boycott. With the help of funds raised by the NAACP and the National Council of Churches, the black boycotters held out for a year. The two sides finally arranged an uneasy peace, but both sides remained determined. No school desegregation took place.

White Citizens' Councils

The opposition to school desegregation and any change in racial policy was led in most communities by **White Citizens' Councils**. This movement originated in Mississippi in 1954, took root in Orangeburg County in 1955, and then spread rapidly across South Carolina. By mid-1956, frustrated and angry whites had created a state association and fifty-five

local Citizens' Councils. The Charleston *News and Courier* had become the unofficial mouthpiece of the movement. The Council claimed tens of thousands as members. They believed that “respectable southern white people” were the best friends black people had.

The Councils were much more active and popular in South Carolina than the Ku Klux Klan, whose members had been unmasked by law in the early 1950s. The prominent businessmen who led the Councils gave an air of respectability. However, the Councils used antiblack language similar to the Klan and had similar purposes: the maintenance of white supremacy, of racial segregation, and of “constitutional government.” The Councils' means of achieving their purposes were less violent. They included legal maneuvers, political action, education against race mixing, and economic intimidation.

The Councils' activities peaked in 1956, and then began to decline. Main statewide leaders, Emory Rogers and Micah Jenkins, retired from the organization by 1957 and the Councils were never the same. They lingered into the 1960s, but membership dwindled to only several hundred.

Other Voices

Other voices were speaking out on racial matters. African American churches and ministers, the backbone of South Carolina's black community, had worked for advancement of black people. Many, but not all, had advocated equal rights with whites. Some feared that pushing for true equality would anger white people and make conditions worse for blacks. In the 1950s, most black churches supported the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, but some were more enthusiastic than others.

Three biracial organizations worked cautiously for more racial justice. The Christian Action Council was under the leadership of Rev. Howard McClain, a white Baptist minister. Church Women United was led for many years by Edith Dabbs, a white Mayesville woman. Both organizations—which included churches of different denominations, both black and white—gently nudged their members to a higher consciousness about racial injustices.

A third integrated organization, the South Carolina Council on Human Relations (SCCHR), was led by a white executive director, Alice Spearman. The major white southern essayist, poet, and theologian, James McBride Dabbs of Mayesville, the husband of Edith Dabbs, was president several times. The SCCHR gave whites and blacks a chance to meet together and work toward racial and economic justice within a biracial society. All these organizations walked a thin line between moving too fast to be effective with whites or moving too slow to be attractive to blacks.

A few individual whites spoke out in support of desegregation in the mid-fifties. They usually suffered for their trouble. Rev. Jackson Stafford believed



Above: James McBride Dabbs (right) served as president of the integrated South Carolina Council on Human Relations. His wife Edith (left) was also active in civil rights, as a leader of Church Women United.



Above: Harry S. Truman succeeded to the presidency on the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt. He became the first U.S. president to make civil rights a priority when he desegregated the armed forces in 1948.

the *Brown* decision was “in keeping with the constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens, and . . . in harmony with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men.” Stafford was pastor of Governor Timmerman’s home church, the First Baptist Church of Batesburg. Expression of such sentiments was not acceptable, and Stafford was forced to resign. Claudia Sanders of Gaffney joined several other moderate whites in publishing a little book of essays titled *Concerned South Carolinians*, recommending modest changes. Several members of the local Klan blew out the side of her home with dynamite. Dr. Chester Travelstead, dean of the USC School of Education, spoke out boldly against segregation in education. Under pressure from the governor’s office, the university fired the dean.

The Civil Rights Act of 1957

Advocates for civil rights had a difficult job in the South, but the federal government had gradually begun to intervene. The federal courts had equalized teacher pay, opened the Democratic primary, and ordered schools to desegregate. And in 1959 the court was to rule segregation unconstitutional in interstate transportation (buses and trains). The presidency became committed to civil rights when Harry S. Truman ordered the desegregation of the armed forces in 1948, a very powerful use of presidential authority that had great impact.

The third branch of government, Congress, was slowest to respond to racial inequalities, but it considered a bill in 1957. Though it was a weak bill, a committee of South Carolina politicians urged senators to filibuster the bill. Senator Strom Thurmond set a record for a one-man filibuster, twenty-four hours and eighteen minutes. The bill passed anyway.

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 was the first one passed by Congress since Reconstruction. The act established the Civil Rights Commission with authority to investigate conditions of race relations and possible violation of legal rights. It also set up the Civil Rights Division within the U.S. Department of Justice. All three branches of the federal government had now committed to the concept of racial equality.

DO YOU REMEMBER?

1. Define in sentence form: Dixiecrat Party, Southern Manifesto, White Citizens’ Councils.
2. Who was Thurgood Marshall, and why did he visit South Carolina many times in the 1940s?
3. What was the result of Judge J. Waties Waring’s decision in the *Elmore v. Rice* case?



Of SPECIAL INTEREST

J. Strom Thurmond

By Dr. Jack Bass

A remarkable and complicated politician, J. Strom Thurmond at age twenty-six was first elected to public office in 1929 as Edgefield County's superintendent of education. He became an important figure in national politics for almost six decades and served in the U.S. Senate for almost forty-eight years—just beyond his one hundredth birthday. That made him the oldest person ever to serve as a senator.

Thurmond was considered a liberal Democrat when elected governor in 1946 after returning from service in World War II. He was a staunch opponent of lynching, and he appointed the first African American of the twentieth century to a state board or commission. But when he ran for president on the Dixiecrat ticket, he was an outspoken supporter of racial segregation.

In 1954, he became the first person ever elected to the U.S. Senate as a write-in candidate against someone whose name was on the ballot. He set a Senate filibuster record that still stands, speaking on the floor of the Senate for more than twenty-four hours against passage of the 1957 Civil Rights Act. In 1964, he switched from the Democratic to the Republican Party. He actively opposed the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

At the 1968 Republican National Convention, Senator Thurmond played a key role in the nomination

of presidential candidate Richard Nixon. Thurmond campaigned effectively for Nixon across the South. He helped put into practice Nixon's "Southern Strategy," which played a major role in Republican presidential victories over the next half-century.

As African Americans began voting in large numbers, however, Senator Thurmond became the state's first congressman to hire an African American staff person. He was noted for his outstanding constituent service. Any South Carolinian seeking help on a Washington matter, such as getting a military member home for a close relative's funeral, could find quick assistance from his office.

Later he voted in support of a national holiday honoring civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. and worked quietly in the Senate for its passage. He voted for the 1982 twenty-five-year extension of the Voting Rights Act that he had so bitterly opposed in 1965. At Thurmond's funeral, his friend, Democratic Senator Joe Biden (later vice president), said: "For the man who will see, time

heals, time changes and time leads him to truth. But only a special man like Strom would have the courage to accept it, the grace to acknowledge it, and the humility in the face of lasting *enmity* (ill will) and mistrust to pursue it until the end."

Shortly after his death, it became public that as a young man he had secretly fathered a daughter whose mother was African American. He later provided for the daughter's college education, met privately with her, and helped her and her family financially. Her name was added to those of his other children on his statue (left) on the State House grounds.





Chapter Summary

The whole world suffered through a decade of depression, which gave rise to extreme nationalist parties in Italy, Germany, and Japan in the 1930s. These parties promised prosperity and national greatness through aggressive foreign policy. By 1939, war had broken out in Europe as Germany began invading neighboring countries.

As had been the case after the outbreak of World War I in Europe, the United States tried to maintain neutrality in this Second World War. When the Japanese attacked the U.S. Naval Fleet anchored at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, the United States found itself once again fighting in a global war. The war would last until 1945 and would bring about many changes for the world, including the introduction of nuclear warfare.

The strong economy of the war years continued, but some aspects of society remained the same. Prejudice and discrimination were still widespread in South Carolina and the rest of the country. With the ideology of communism offering hope to some countries devastated by war, the United States found itself heading into a “Cold War” with the Soviet Union and the countries it was taking over.

Activities for Learning

Reviewing People, Places, and Things

Identify or define the following in complete sentences.

1. Modjeska Monteith Simkins
2. genocide
3. Axis Powers

4. containment
5. Allied Powers
6. GI Bill of Rights
7. Matthew Perry
8. Savannah River Site
9. consumerism
10. J. Strom Thurmond
11. Pearl Harbor
12. *Brown v. Board of Education*

Understanding the Facts

1. What kinds of goods were rationed during World War II?
2. How did German and Italian prisoners of war have an impact on South Carolina’s economy?
3. When and how did the Axis powers surrender to the Allies at the end of World War II?
4. What two factors helped the United States and state economies remain prosperous after World War II?
5. How did the GI Bill of Rights help veterans and help the job market for nonveterans?
6. What two national defense products were helpful to South Carolina in the Cold War era?
7. How did Governor James Byrnes respond to the inequality of black schools to white schools?
8. How did the *Brown v. Board of Education* U.S. Supreme Court decision affect the “separate but equal” status of schools in South Carolina?

9. How did the South Carolina General Assembly discourage blacks from applying to white colleges in the 1950s?
10. What did the Civil Rights Act of 1957 create?

Developing Critical Thinking Skills

1. How would your life have been different if you had been a teenager during World War II?
2. Why do you think the Cold War was called that?
3. Why do you think the desegregation of South Carolina public schools only began in the mid-1960s even though the Supreme Court had ruled in the *Brown* decision in 1954 that segregation in public schools was illegal?

Writing across the Curriculum

Write the definition of civil rights. Then write a paragraph or two explaining whether you feel like your civil rights have ever been violated.

Exploring Technology

Using the Internet, do some research on what happened in your hometown during the 1950s and 1960s concerning the issue of civil rights. Were there sit-ins, boycotts, or other types of protests?

Applying Your Skills

Interview someone who was a South Carolina public school student or teacher in the 1950s. Ask your interviewee to remember what he or she felt at the time about the suggestion of school integration.

Building Skills: Recognizing Propaganda

Propaganda is a method used to sway public opinion or to persuade people to think in a certain way. It is used in political, economic (advertising), and religious (cults) situations. Here are four of the many propaganda techniques.

Bandwagon Approach: This is the idea that “everyone is doing it” so it must be okay. This approach tries to get someone to join in on something so they won’t be left out.

Repetition: The idea here is that the more you hear something, the more likely you will remember it. This technique is often used in the advertising of merchandise, and is also used in political ads. Watch for political ads during an election year and you will begin to understand how effective it can be.

Name-Calling: This technique is used to create fear and arouse prejudice instead of arguing the merits of an idea or a belief. How many times do you hear a political candidate refer to his or her opponent as a “Liberal” or a “Conservative”? Although there are varying degrees of liberalism and conservatism, those two terms can mean “good” or “evil” to people who do not educate themselves on political issues.

Card-Stacking: This involves stacking the cards against the truth. This is the most difficult technique to detect because it does not provide all of the information necessary for informed decision making. The audience must decide what is missing. The Institute for Propaganda Analysis suggests we ask ourselves the following questions when confronted with this technique: Are facts being distorted or omitted? What other arguments exist to support these assertions? The best defense against card-stacking—or any propaganda—is to get as much information as possible before making a decision.

Try This!

Using one of the techniques described above, write an ad to be televised for several weeks to promote a new car dealership in the area that is trying to win customers away from the established firms. Or write an ad for an established dealership to counteract the newcomer’s propaganda.