



RACIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL CHANGE

CHAPTER

PREVIEW

PEOPLE: Septima Poinsette Clark, Esau Jenkins, Bernice Robinson, Martin Luther King Jr., Cecil Ivory, Harvey Gantt, Ernest F. Hollings, Donald S. Russell, J. Drake Edens Jr., Robert E. McNair, Cleveland Sellers, John C. West, James B. Edwards

PLACES: John's Island, Andrews, Fort Mill, Hilton Head, Kiawah, Isle of Palms, Litchfield, DeBordieu, Barnwell, Lamar, Denmark

TERMS: sit-in, freedom ride, white flight, Great Society, right-to-work law, Sunbelt, urbanization, reapportionment, southern strategy

Can you imagine life with no television? Can you imagine South Carolina without air conditioning? These two technological advances revolutionized the era of your parents and grandparents. For most of us, television and air conditioning are such natural parts of our lives that we hardly notice them—except when they do not work.

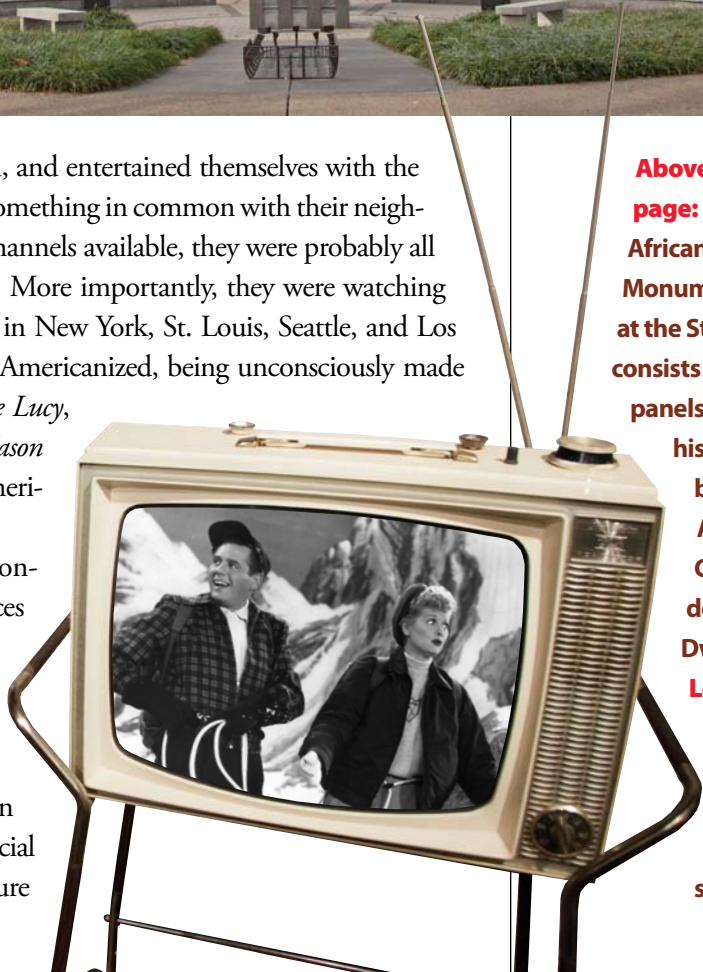
Try to think how the two technologies changed South Carolina when they began to have an impact in the 1950s and revolutionized life in the 1960s. In many towns, air conditioning appeared first in movie theaters, followed by department stores, supermarkets, hotels, and motels. By the 1960s, many homes were equipped with air conditioners. Probably more than any other device, it was air conditioning that opened up South Carolina and the South to tourists and new residents from the North. Many more people were leaving the South than coming in before the 1960s, and then the trend reversed. Economic activity increased, worker productivity increased, and the death rate decreased. Like most historical events, these changing patterns had multiple causes. But it's hard to imagine people working harder, or massive numbers of northerners coming south, without the comforts of air conditioning.

Television and air conditioning changed the front-porch, country-store, friends-and-neighbors culture of South Carolina. Families retreated into



their houses, enjoyed the cool, and entertained themselves with the TV. Of course, they still had something in common with their neighbors. With only one or two channels available, they were probably all watching the same programs. More importantly, they were watching the same programs as people in New York, St. Louis, Seattle, and Los Angeles. They were all being Americanized, being unconsciously made more like one another. *I Love Lucy*, *The Lone Ranger*, and *Perry Mason* were experiences that most Americans had in common.

Television and air conditioning were only two of the forces transforming South Carolina in the 1960s and 1970s. A diversifying economy, northern investments, a war in Vietnam, and—more than anything else—the quest for racial justice were changing the culture of South Carolina.



Above and opposite page: In 2001, the African American History Monument was dedicated at the State House. It consists of twelve bronze panels summing up the

history and contributions of African Americans to South Carolina. It was designed by Ed Dwight of Denver.

Left: The most popular TV sitcom of the 1950s was *I Love Lucy*, which can still be seen daily in reruns.



SIGNS of the TIMES

POPULATION

In 1960, the population of South Carolina was 2,382,594; the U.S. was 179,323,175. In 1970, the population of South Carolina was 2,590,713; the U.S. was 203,211,926.

EXPLORATION

Russian Yuri Gagarin became the first man in outer space when he orbited Earth in April of 1961. In May, American astronaut Alan Shepard became the first American in outer space. Americans Neil Armstrong and “Buzz” Aldrin walked on the moon on June 20, 1969.

SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

Inventions that got their start in the 1960s: the audio cassette, computer video game, CD, ATM, and bar code scanner. Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* (1962), about the pesticide DDT, helped set the stage for the environmental movement. Greenville native Charles Townes won the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1964 for developing the laser.

ARCHITECTURE

The twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, completed in 1972 and 1973, became the world’s tallest buildings.

ENTERTAINMENT

Popular movies of the 1960s included *The Sound of Music*, *Mary Poppins*, *2001: A Space Odyssey*, and *Doctor Zhivago*. *Star Wars* was released in 1977. Two popular series of movies were *Rocky* and *The Godfather*. Popular TV series of the 1960s included *Perry Mason*, *Gunsmoke*, *Leave It to Beaver*, *Bonanza*, *The Beverly Hillbillies*, and *The Dick Van Dyke Show*. In the 1970s, popular TV shows were *All in the Family*, *Roots*, and *M*A*S*H*.

MUSIC

The 1964 arrival of the Beatles in the U.S. started a “British invasion.” Motown music highlighted groups like the Supremes and the Temptations. Chubby Checker, born in Andrews, popularized the dance craze, the twist. James Brown, born in Barnwell, became known as the “Godfather of Soul.”

LITERATURE

Harper Lee won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1961 for her classic novel *To Kill a Mockingbird*. Maurice Sendak published *Where the Wild Things Are* in 1963. Stephen King’s first horror novel, *Carrie*, was released in 1974. Pat Conroy launched his writing career with publication of *The Water Is Wide* in 1972.

FIGURE 23

Timeline: 1960 to 1980



1960
Civil rights protest march to Greenville Municipal Airport

1961
Protest march by State College and Claflin College students
TEC system created

1962
Confederate flag placed atop State House dome

1963
Clemson College desegregated
State park system temporarily shut down
11 black students admitted to white Charleston public school

1968
"Orangeburg Massacre"

1969
Senator Ernest F. Hollings led "hunger tour"
Charleston black hospital workers' strike

1970
South Carolina began a unitary school system

1964
Republican presidential candidate carried South Carolina

1971
First integrated State Fair

1974
James B. Edwards became first Republican governor since 1877

1960

1965

1970

1975

1980

1961
Freedom rides began

1963
U.S. Supreme Court *Peterson et al v. City of Greenville* decision

U.S. Supreme Court *Edwards v. South Carolina* decision

March on Washington
President Kennedy assassinated; Lyndon B. Johnson became president

1965
Voting Rights Act of 1965
U.S. combat troops sent to Vietnam

New immigration law attracted skilled and educated foreigners

1964
Civil Rights Act of 1964
Beginning of War on Poverty
24th Amendment banned poll taxes

1968
Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. assassinated
Poor People's March on Washington

U.S. Supreme Court *Green v. New Kent County* decision
Civil Rights Act of 1968 gave rights to Indian tribes

1973
Vietnam conflict ended with a truce

U.S. Supreme Court decision on single-member districts

1972
Equal Rights (for women) Amendment passed Congress; later failed ratification by states

1980
Catawba filed suit for return of tribal lands

1976
U.S. celebrated its bicentennial

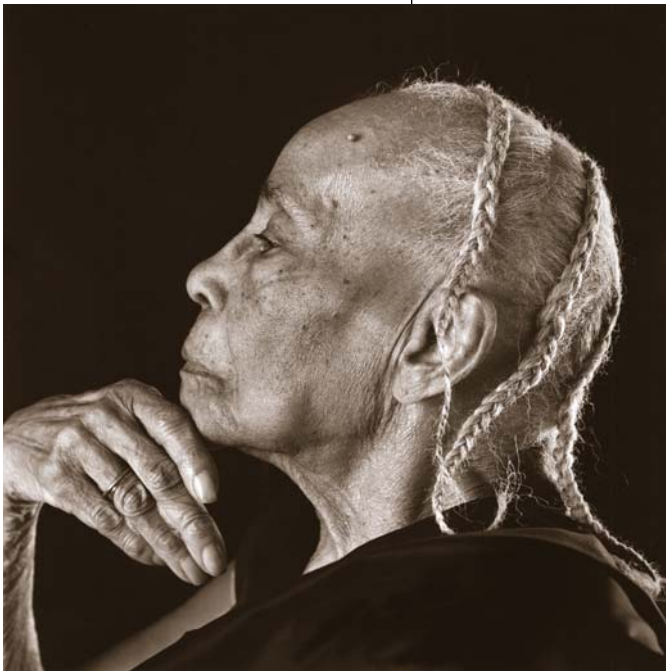
Pivotal Social Changes

DID YOU KNOW?

Septima Poinsette Clark was often referred to as the “queen mother of the civil rights movement.”

AS YOU READ, LOOK FOR

- how South Carolina activists advanced the cause of civil rights with sit-ins, freedom rides, demonstrations, and other forms of protest;
- the peaceful integration of South Carolina colleges and universities, beginning with Clemson;
- delayed success in the desegregation of public schools;
- national advances in civil rights;
- how the civil rights movement inspired other social protest movements;
- terms: **sit-in, freedom ride, white flight, Great Society.**



Above: Photographer Brian Lanker took this portrait of Septima Poinsette Clark in 1987, when she was 89 years old.

January 1, 1960, was the beginning of a new decade; it was also the date of a protest march by civil rights activists to the Greenville Municipal Airport. The march was an *omen* (sign or warning) of what lay ahead in the most pivotal decade in the civil rights struggle. The rally, led by several civil rights organizations, was to protest the rude treatment of baseball great, Jackie Robinson, when he entered the white waiting area of the airport on a visit to the city a few weeks before. The decade of the 1960s can be characterized as an era of protest in America—protest against segregation, racial discrimination, gender discrimination, poverty, and war.

The Movement for Civil Rights in South Carolina

The civil rights movement in South Carolina in the 1960s was based on the legal advances made by the NAACP in the two previous decades. The movement also benefited from the “citizens’ schools” created on John’s Island by Septima Poinsette Clark, Esau Jenkins, and Bernice Robinson to teach literacy and train citizens to vote. In the

1960s, they spread the citizens' schools across the South under the banner of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Many of the schools' alumni were active in the civil rights movement in the 1960s. As Dr. King said, we "are engaged in a creative battle to end the long night of racial injustice."

Sit-Ins

There was a new sense of urgency in the new decade. A small group of students in Greensboro, North Carolina, used a little-known type of protest called the sit-in. A **sit-in** is a protest in which people enter a public facility and refuse to leave until their demands are met. Within weeks, all across South Carolina—in Orangeburg, Rock Hill, Sumter, Columbia, Greenville, and Charleston—college and high school students were peacefully

"sitting in" at lunch counters. They were arrested and always convicted of *trespass* (being on property without permission).

In Rock Hill, the "Friendship Nine," students from Friendship Junior College, coached by Rev. Cecil Ivory, added a new technique: staying in jail rather than paying bail while waiting for trial. The "Jail, No Bail" technique filled the jails and forced the county to bear the expense of housing and feeding protesters. This tactic took courage because jail was a dangerous place for blacks, but the students were successful in bringing attention to their cause.

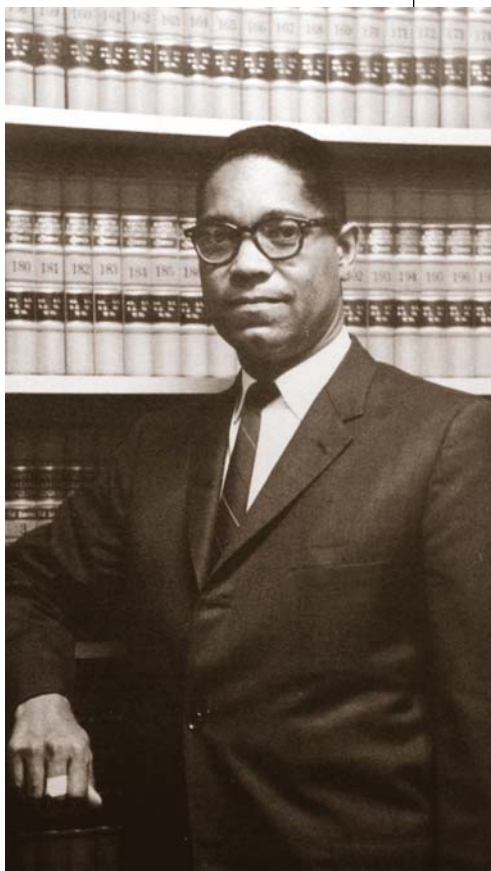
The NAACP, led by its chief lawyer in South Carolina, Matthew Perry, appealed the convictions in all the sit-ins and protests. In a famous and important decision in 1963, *Peterson et al. v. City of Greenville*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that state enforcement of discrimination on the basis of race was in violation of the equal protection of the law guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. The protesters' convictions were overturned. By 1963, white and black leaders of several larger cities in the state were teaming up to convince business owners to stop discriminating on the basis of race. Some white leaders thought it was the right thing to do. Many were convinced that civil turmoil was bad for business.

Freedom Rides

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) organized **freedom rides** (a series of rides through the South by integrated groups seeking to peacefully integrate the Greyhound and Trailways buses and terminals). Rock Hill was the freedom riders' first stop in South Carolina. On the first ride,



Above: The Kress department store in Orangeburg welcomed black shoppers, but wouldn't let them eat at the lunch counter. When black students started a sit-in campaign, the store solved the problem by removing all the seats. This photograph, and all the photographs between pages 460 and 463, and pages 479 and 483, were taken by Cecil Williams, a black photojournalist in Orangeburg. To find out more about Cecil in his own words, check out the "Of Special Interest" on page 469.



in May 1961, white men smashed the face of a black rider, John Lewis (later to become a congressman from Georgia), when he attempted to enter the white waiting room, but police intervened. Much worse treatment awaited the riders in Alabama, where white mobs attacked the buses, burned one, and badly beat many of the riders. The power of television was demonstrated as images of a burning bus and battered riders were flashed across America and the world. Within a few months, the federal government began enforcing earlier court decisions outlawing segregation in interstate commerce.

Mass Protest Demonstrations

Another nonviolent technique of protesting segregation and discrimination was the mass protest march. In March 1960, about 1,000 students of State College and Claffin College marched in protest against discrimination in Orangeburg. Some 388 were arrested and convicted of breach of peace. Matthew Perry appealed their conviction. In another case, 187 students marched on the State House grounds in Columbia. They were peaceful and orderly, but were convicted of breach of peace. Perry appealed their case to the U.S. Supreme Court, and the decision (*Edwards v. South Carolina*) became famous and was widely used by courts in other



civil rights and civil liberty cases. The Court reversed the convictions saying, “The Fourteenth Amendment does not permit a State to make criminal the peaceful expression of unpopular views.”

The civil rights movement increased the boundaries of free speech and freedom of movement. But in spite of sit-ins, protest marches, and court decisions, progress toward desegregation was going slowly in most of South Carolina and the South. For example, in 1963, the state shut down its fine state park system temporarily, rather than integrate the facilities.

Higher Education in South Carolina

Few incidents in the story of the civil rights movement in South Carolina were more dramatic than the desegregation of Clemson College (now University) in 1963. Harvey Gantt, a black student at Charleston’s Burke High School, applied for admission to Clemson to study architecture. His admission was rejected. Matthew Perry filed suit in federal court in July 1962

against Clemson on Gantt’s behalf. The case was tried in the fall, just after a tragic event in Oxford, Mississippi, that was to affect South Carolina deeply.

The admission by court order of James Meredith, a black student, to the University of Mississippi had resulted in defiance by the governor and crowds of angry whites. The federal government sent U.S. marshals and troops to protect Meredith. In the riot against his admission, 2 people were killed and 166 wounded, including 79 marshals.

When the federal judge in South Carolina ruled against Gantt, Matthew Perry rushed an appeal to the U.S. Circuit Court, hoping to get Gantt admitted for the spring semester beginning in February. The U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals in Richmond, Virginia, ruled on January 21, 1963, in Gantt’s favor, and the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the ruling on the same day.



Opposite page, above: Matthew Perry was the go-to NAACP lawyer in South Carolina for civil rights cases. **Opposite page, below:** This demonstration in Orangeburg in 1960 resulted in the arrest of 388 students. **Top:** Students marching on the State House grounds were convicted of a breach of the peace. **Above:** Reporters crowd around Harvey Gantt as he arrives at Clemson College. He was the first black student to enroll there.



Top: In 1960, South Carolina State students Raymond Weston (left) and Leroy Williams attempted to register at the University of South Carolina and were refused.

Above: In the wake of Harvey Gantt's admission at Clemson, three black students were admitted to the University of South Carolina in 1963, including Henri Monteith, who became a doctor.

The *legal* way was clear to admit Gantt. Now the burden was on the leadership of the state to comply with the law and oversee a peaceful transition at Clemson. Most political, business, and religious leaders wanted to make sure nothing like Oxford, Mississippi, happened in South Carolina. The retiring Democratic governor, Ernest F. Hollings, had been elected in 1958 as a segregationist, but in his farewell address as governor, he took a very different tone. He declared the state had run out of courts, and begged Carolinians to be calm and obey the law. "This should be done with dignity," he said. "It must be done with law and order."

The new governor, Donald S. Russell, former president of USC, pledged peaceful compliance with the court orders. Prominent business leaders spoke out for calm acceptance of the court decrees. Leaders of ten church denominations reminded Christians that "we are bound by the law of love," should "avoid every form of violence and hatred," and should "do unto every man as we would have him do unto us." The newspapers of the state generally promoted order while insisting on continued efforts to hold the line against

further integration. Thus, most of the establishment entered into what conservative attorney and long-time South Carolina Senate leader Edgar Brown called "a conspiracy for peace."

But not all Carolinians were in agreement. Former governor James F. Byrnes, once a U.S. Supreme Court justice himself, was highly critical of the Court. Senator Strom Thurmond spoke of the "glaring stupidity" of the Supreme Court's decision. State Representative A. W. "Red" Bethea and state Senator John D. Long proposed closing Clemson rather than submitting to "political slavery." Cooler heads prevailed, and Clemson accepted its first African American student peacefully. The State Law Enforcement

Division (SLED) and the Highway Patrol were at Clemson in force, not to prevent Gantt's admission, but to make it happen in an orderly fashion.

Clemson agreed to accept students in the future without regard to race. In the fall of 1963, more black students joined Gantt at Clemson, and three were admitted by court order to USC without incident. One of these USC students, Henri Monteith, became a prominent medical doctor; another, James Solomon, later served as head of the South Carolina Department of Social Services. The state that a century earlier had rebelled against the United States now accepted desegregation of colleges with dignity and a minimum of disruption. South Carolina's leadership had seen the methods of Mississippi and Alabama as destructive of social order and bad for business. They realized that business investors they were trying to attract into the state liked calm, order, and predictability.

Public Education in South Carolina

White parents and the general public felt more strongly about protecting schools from desegregation than they felt about colleges, parks, lunch counters, and theaters. Their passion made desegregation of public schools the most difficult task of civil rights activists, black parents, and federal courts. Even with the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954, the state was able to avoid any racial mixing in the schools well into the 1960s. Real integration was to wait until 1970. South Carolina was the last holdout against the requirement of the law.

The first crack in the segregation of the state's public schools was in Charleston, where a judge ordered that eleven black students be admitted, in the fall of 1963, to the white elementary school where they had applied. Other black students would be able to choose their schools in the fall of 1964.

This “freedom-of-choice” system, widely applied across the South, was something of a trap. It allowed token integration; that is, a few black students could get into a “white” school. But they had to be courageous, and their parents had to withstand the economic retaliation of employers or landlords. All the burden of change fell on the black families. Civil rights advocates wanted the school system to bear that burden. School administrators should be responsible for planning the true integration of all students into all the schools, placing white and black teachers in all the schools, and transporting all students to the schools.

Desegregation of public schools went very slowly from 1963 until 1968. Only then did a new Supreme Court decision in a Virginia case, *Green v. New Kent County*, throw out “freedom of choice” and order immediate movement from a dual system to a unitary, integrated system. South Carolina had to begin a unitary school system in 1970—sixteen years after *Brown v. Board of Education*.

The reaction of many whites to school integration was to try to escape it. One method city dwellers used was to move to virtually all-white suburbs, where few blacks could afford to live. It was called **white flight**. Another method, especially popular in rural counties, was creation of private, segregated academies. The number of private schools ballooned in the late sixties and seventies.



Top: Cecil Williams photographed his journalism class at Wilkinson High School in 1954, the year of the *Brown* decision. The students, teachers, and principal of Wilkinson were all black. The trustees of the district school board were all white. **Above:** Gloria R. Blackwell and her daughter Luma walk past Whittaker Elementary School in 1963. Blackwell lost her job as a teacher at the school because she was active in the NAACP.



Top: Martin Luther King Jr. and a who's who of civil rights leaders protested in Washington. The theme of the March on Washington was jobs and freedom. **Above:** About 250,000 people gathered on the mall in Washington, DC, to hear Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I have a dream" speech.

The National Movement for Civil Rights

Across the South, and later in the North, men like Martin Luther King Jr. of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference led protest marches and demonstrations for racial justice and equality. On August 28, 1963, King, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, and other civil rights leaders organized a massive March on Washington to protest in the nation's capital for an end to discrimination. This march dramatized the movement and helped push the federal government to take action to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964

There were several reasons the Civil Rights Act of 1964 passed the Congress. The persistent protests of thousands of individuals got Congress's attention. The legal cases brought by the NAACP showed that equal treatment of citizens was required under the Constitution. This was the most important civil rights legislation since Reconstruction. It outlawed discrimination in employment opportunities and access to public accommodations on the basis of "race, color, religion, sex, or national origin." The act has been a major asset for the protection of equal rights for blacks and for women. For example, by 1970, about one in four textile workers in South Carolina was black, whereas almost no blacks had been hired before 1964.

The Twenty-Fourth Amendment

The Twenty-fourth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was also adopted in 1964. This amendment prohibited any government from denying a citizen the right to vote because of failure to pay a poll tax—or any other tax. Poll taxes had been used traditionally by southern states as one tool for keeping blacks and poor people from voting. South Carolina had repealed the poll tax in 1951.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965

In town after town in the mid-1960s, “White Only” and “Colored Only” signs started to come down. But there were still major obstacles to African Americans voting: literacy tests, rigid voter registrars, and economic intimidation by employers and landlords.

The federal government stepped in with the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The act removed literacy requirements for voting and set up a powerful means of enforcing the Fifteenth Amendment. South Carolina and other southern states where racial discrimination had occurred were required to get the approval of the U.S. Department of Justice for any changes in their election laws. The act also allowed federal registrars to go into communities with uncooperative voting officials and register voters. After the act, black voters began to play an important part in South Carolina politics.



DID YOU KNOW?

The Voting Rights Act is still in effect, and South Carolina must have any changes in election laws (such as photo IDs for voting) approved by the Justice Department.



Top: Martin Luther King Jr. talks to reporters following a meeting with President Lyndon Johnson at the White House late in 1963.

Left: President Lyndon Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act on August 6, 1965. It has since been renewed four times by Congress, most recently in 2005 for twenty-five more years.

DID YOU KNOW?

Chubby Checker was born Ernest Evans in Andrews in 1941. His family moved to Philadelphia, where he attended high school. Before graduation, he recorded “The Twist,” which went to the top of the charts.



Other Social Protest Movements

The civil rights movement inspired other efforts to bring about change. The early postwar baby boomers were now swelling the ranks of college students. Many were restless under restrictive rules of college life and courses they thought were unneeded. A youth rebellion, using the tactics of the civil rights movement, would change those rules and introduce new study programs, such as women’s studies and African American studies.



Top: Folksingers Joan Baez and Bob Dylan performed at the 1963 March on Washington. **Above:** The Beatles were greeted by thousands when they arrived in New York City in 1964. Over 73 million Americans watched their first TV appearance.

Youth Movements

The youth started a cultural revolution. They changed the way America dressed. Faded blue jeans and tie-dyed shirts, sandals, and miniskirts were their new style. Eventually, most Americans at least began to loosen their neckties and dress less formally. All standards set by the older generation were to be questioned. One youth motto was “Don’t trust anyone over thirty.” Experimentation with drugs was widespread. Music was an important part of the youth

scene. Folksingers Joan Baez, Pete Seeger, and Bob Dylan were popular for their protest songs. The Beatles, the Rolling Stones, and the Grateful Dead became the new standards of rock. And their lyrics were sufficiently offensive to the over-thirty folks! The youth still danced the twist, made popular in the early sixties by Chubby Checker, a native of Andrews.

The youth movement was most serious in its protests against American involvement in a civil war in Vietnam. President Johnson claimed it was

necessary to prevent the spread of communism. We sent combat troops in 1965, and by 1968, over 500,000 American troops were fighting in Vietnam. The antiwar protests included a mass march at the *Pentagon* (the command center of the Defense Department), “teach-ins” and sit-ins at universities, and demonstrations against Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) programs. One protest in 1970 at Kent State University in Ohio resulted in the National Guard killing 4 students. America was bitterly divided over Vietnam until a truce was arranged in 1973, after 58,209 Americans had died. Vietnam became a communist nation.



The Women’s Movement

Women working in the other protest movements noticed that men made the decisions while women made the coffee. Acceptance of a position of inferiority in society was no longer acceptable to most American women. Being expected to only become a teacher or a nurse, or be a full-time mother and homemaker like the stereotypes on television sitcoms, would no longer do. Almost by accident, women were included in the protection of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Women began to use the law to fight for equal wages for equal work. They demanded day care facilities for their children and more effective laws against assault. Many fought against state laws banning abortions. More women began to go into “male” professions as lawyers and doctors.



In 1972, Congress passed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) designed to cement gender equality into the Constitution. After several years of struggle to gain ratification, not enough states approved the amendment. South Carolina was among those states that rejected it. Some women objected to it because they feared it would nullify laws providing special protections for women.

Top: Fifty thousand Vietnam protesters clashed with military police in front of the Pentagon in 1967. **Above:** President Carter signed an extension for ERA ratification in 1978, but it did not pass.

Other Minority Movements

Several ethnic and national groups, inspired by the civil rights movement, sought greater recognition, respect, and treatment. The Civil Rights Act of 1968 gave back to Indian tribes broad rights to self-government within the reservations.

DID YOU KNOW?

South Carolina adopted a state constitutional amendment in 1966 that allowed women to serve on juries for the first time.



In 1980, the Catawba tribe, led by Chief Gilbert Blue, sued for return of 144,000 acres in York, Lancaster, and Chester Counties that they claimed had been taken from them in 1840. The awkward part was that Rock Hill, Fort Mill, and part of Carowinds Amusement Park were on the property. The suit was finally settled by an act of Congress in 1993. The tribe received \$50 million plus a 3,600-acre reservation with rights to run a high-stakes bingo operation. The Catawba also regained federal recognition as a tribe.



Top: The Catawba are the only federally recognized tribe in South Carolina. You can learn more about them at the Catawba Cultural Center on their reservation near Rock Hill. **Above:** President Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" tackled civil rights, health care for the elderly, and poverty.

The Antipoverty Movement

Despite the postwar prosperity, still in the 1960s nearly one-third of Americans lived in poverty. President Lyndon B. Johnson began a War on Poverty in 1964 as part of his **Great Society** program, which was the most massive federal effort to deal with economic problems since the New Deal. The Great Society included creation of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Job Corps, and the student Work-Study program to help the unemployed get jobs. Medicare was set up to subsidize health care for the elderly and Medicaid for low-income families. Head Start and many other federal aid-to-education programs were begun.

Even these massive efforts were too little. Martin Luther King Jr. was turning his attention to the problem of poverty. He was gearing up for a Poor People's March on Washington in 1968 when he was assassinated. In South Carolina, Senator Ernest F. Hollings led a "hunger tour" in 1969, which showed dramatically that problems of poverty and hunger were not yet solved. He led the national media to some of the poorest communities in the state, exposing them to a national television audience. Hollings wrote a book called *The Case Against Hunger* that promoted more government assistance for people in hunger, including a school breakfast program.

DO YOU REMEMBER?

1. Define in sentence form: sit-in, freedom ride, white flight.
2. What was the Civil Rights Act of 1964?
3. Which other social protest movements happened in the 1960s?



Of SPECIAL INTEREST

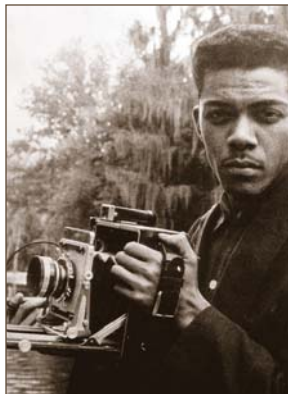
Photographing the Civil Rights Movement

Cecil Williams and his camera have been eyewitnesses to the civil rights movement. He remembers the places he has traveled and the important events he has photographed.

"I became a photographer at age nine when I got my first camera, a Kodak Baby Brownie, and started taking pictures of people in Orangeburg's Edisto Garden and selling them for \$1. I was the happiest kid in Orangeburg when my parents let me set up a darkroom in our home. At age twelve, I launched my professional career when I earned \$35 photographing a wedding.

"At fifteen, I started freelancing for *Jet*, the *Afro-American*, *The Crisis*, and the Associated Press. The world was changing in the 1960s, and I participated in and photographed many events of the civil rights movement, two of which I remember most clearly.

"When I was visiting relatives in New York City in January 1960, I read that Senator John F. Kennedy was holding a press conference at the Roosevelt Hotel. I had no press credentials, but I knew Kennedy might announce his candidacy for president that day. When I arrived, I noticed I was the only black person there. Two security men were about to remove me when Senator Kennedy came over, shook my hand, and asked my name. He gave me his business card and asked me to send him my best pictures. I got several shots, of which I am very proud.



"Kennedy did announce for president that day, and I volunteered in his campaign. As president, he paved the way for sweeping civil rights legislation. I was able to meet Kennedy on a half-dozen occasions before his unfortunate assassination.

"The Orangeburg Massacre of February 8, 1968, was one of the most senseless tragedies in American history. I was an eyewitness to the events in my hometown that led up to the shooting that killed three students and injured twenty-seven. As yearbook photographer for South Carolina State College, I knew and had photographed most of

the students who were shot. I was with the students on the three days before the massacre, taking pictures, as we were trying to integrate the All-Star Bowling Alley.

"On the fateful night, law enforcement descended on the town. Highway patrolmen, armed with shotguns loaded with buckshot, fired into the unarmed crowd of students gathered on one corner of the campus. Why did they not use tear gas to disperse the protesters? I arrived on the

scene early the next morning, in heavy fog, and was astounded by what looked like a battleground. Bloodstains and debris were scattered across the area. Ahead of clean-up crews, I picked up shotgun shells as evidence. They were later taken from me by the FBI.

"The demonstrations and the massacre remind us that freedom has never been 'free.' The privileges all Americans enjoy today have come through the sacrifices of courageous and civic-minded persons who believed in the equal opportunities of the U.S. Constitution. My pictures salute those people, many unknown, who put their lives on the line to change a system of segregation and racism. I hope my pictures help promote harmony and acceptance of all people, without regard to race or religion."

The Industrializing State

AS YOU READ, LOOK FOR

- the role of the State Development Board in diversifying our economy;
- creation of a technical education (TEC) system;
- the growing number of foreign companies doing business in South Carolina;
- factors leading to growth in tourism;
- changes in South Carolina agriculture;
- terms: **right-to-work law**, **Sunbelt**.



Above: A time traveler from the 1880s would have found a lot fewer cotton fields and a lot more tree plantations in the 1980s. Wood pulp and paper became important products after World War II.

nuclear bombs. Signs of wealth would be visible everywhere, with stores offering goods from all across the world. Unfortunately, there would also be signs of poverty and polluted streams. You would see the good and bad results of industrialization.

The Drive for Industrial Diversity

Textiles continued to dominate South Carolina's industry after World War II, but other industries were making headway, some introduced during the war, such as chemicals. Wood pulp and paper were growing rapidly. South



Carolina political and business leaders consciously began trying to attract a variety of new industries. Diversity was needed.

In 1954, the General Assembly created the State Development Board with a mission to get businesses from other states or foreign countries to build factories in South Carolina. Every city's chamber of commerce added its efforts. Recruiters offered the new industries attractive reasons to move into the state. These included good natural resources, water supplies, and port facilities; inexpensive land; low taxes plus special tax breaks; a plentiful supply of cheap labor; and no fear of labor unions. The government had tried to make sure labor unions got no foothold by passing a right-to-work law in 1954. A **right-to-work law** is an antiunion law that protects a worker from being required to pay union dues, even if the union has negotiated the worker's contract with the employer. The loss of dues makes it very difficult for the union to operate, which, of course, is the purpose of the law.

Technical Education

Governor Ernest F. Hollings convinced legislators in 1961 to create a technical education (TEC) system. The TEC system set up programs to train employees for a specific company that agreed to come into the state. The state also created sixteen permanent TEC centers across the state, intending to place one within twenty-five miles of virtually every state resident. These have all become community colleges, whose credits transfer to four-year colleges and universities in the state.

Above: Tri-County Technical College in Pendleton was founded in 1962, one year after the TEC system was created by Governor Fritz Hollings and the General Assembly.

The South Carolina TEC system has served as a model for other states. The TEC colleges and other programs are among the reasons for rapid industrial growth in our state. They are also one reason so many foreign companies have chosen South Carolina as the U.S. location for their manufacturing plants.



Above: The French tire maker Michelin was one of the first foreign companies to start a major manufacturing operation in South Carolina. Michelin currently operates plants in Anderson, Lexington, Columbia, Spartanburg, and Greenville, where Michelin North America is headquartered. In 2007, the company opened Michelin on Main in this futuristic building in downtown Greenville. The one-of-a-kind store has interactive activities and Michelin collectibles for sale.

Foreign Investments

At one time, South Carolina was almost closed to foreign investment, but since the 1950s, the state has rolled out the red carpet for foreign businesses. Indeed, one of the many new duties the governors have taken on in the past fifty years has been to travel to Europe, Japan, or—in recent years—China to convince corporations to do business with South Carolina.

In the 1960s, the Piedmont cities of Spartanburg and Greenville took the lead in seeking European manu-

facturers. As the textile industry began to lose more and more of its business and jobs to poorer countries, foreign investment in a diversity of industries was seen as good for the economy. The upper Piedmont succeeded in attracting European companies that wanted to be a part of the new Sunbelt of industry. The **Sunbelt** became the shorthand term for the strip of states from the Carolinas across the southern United States to California. This belt grew rapidly in population and diversified industry after about 1960. The growth was at the expense of the old industrial Northeast that was rapidly coming to be called the Rustbelt.

The German chemical giant, Hoechst, set up a large factory near Spartanburg to make polyester fiber for clothing. Michelin, the big French tire maker, built several factories in the Piedmont in the 1970s. Several manufacturers of machinery for the textile industry moved in from Switzerland and Germany. Foreign investments in the state continued to grow in decades after the 1970s. The number of workers employed by foreign companies increased. By 1987, foreign companies employed over 75,000 South Carolinians. And the biggest prizes were yet to come.

Nuclear Power Generation

One of the main requirements of industrial expansion is availability of electrical power. In the 1960s and 1970s, South Carolina power companies began investing heavily in nuclear power generators to meet that need. The first nuclear power plant in the state, the H. B. Robinson Plant near



Left: The Oconee Nuclear Station near Seneca was South Carolina's second nuclear power plant, going on line in 1973. **Below:** Tourism has become one of South Carolina's major industries since World War II. South Carolina's coast attracts millions of visitors every year. Saltwater fishing is a popular pastime on the beach.

Hartsville, began operation in 1971. This plant was soon followed by the much larger Oconee Nuclear Station near Seneca that went on line in 1973. The V. C. Sumner Station opened near Jenkinsville in 1982, and three years later the Catawba Plant in York County started production. In 2012, over half the electricity used in South Carolina was generated in these nuclear plants. Two new reactors are expected to begin operating within a decade.



The Tourist Business

After World War II, South Carolina experienced massive growth in tourism. Americans became more numerous, had higher incomes, and became more mobile because of improved highways and air travel. Our beaches and mountains, rivers and lakes were natural lures for travelers. Many tourists from northern states discovered that the Palmetto State was almost as warm as Florida, was much less expensive, and had many more historical attractions.



Top: There are hundreds of golf courses along the South Carolina coast, and everywhere else in the state. This is the Pawleys Plantation Golf and Country Club.

Below: Sesquicentennial State Park in Columbia is a beautiful place to relax and enjoy the fall coloring.

Charleston, with many historical sites and several fine beaches nearby, became one of the prime destinations in the country. Georgetown, Beaufort, Camden, Aiken, Columbia, and dozens of other smaller towns also offered rich experiences for history lovers.

Our splendid state parks attracted campers, hikers, boaters, and sport fishers. The parks average about eighteen thousand visitors per day. Beach-front parks are the most popular. Myrtle Beach boomed as it promoted the Grand Strand. Dozens of high-rise hotels were constructed near the beach. About one hundred golf courses have been built in the Myrtle Beach area. Water parks, miniature golf courses, an aquarium, shopping malls, and several theaters with live entertainment were designed to keep tourists busy.

Developers built luxury resorts—primarily second-home communities for part-time residents—on the Sea Islands at Hilton Head, Kiawah, and Isle of Palms, and on the Grand Strand at Litchfield and DeBordieu. Their creation was not without controversy because they often displaced communities of African Americans who had occupied the land since the days of slavery.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, South Carolina was entertaining about thirty million tourists each year. They generated from \$12 billion to \$17 billion in income for the state annually. Tourism employed the most workers of any industry, about 12 percent of the total workforce.

Agriculture

The importance of agriculture in South Carolina continued to decline in the decades after World War II—down from 139,000 farms in 1950 to 24,700 in 2007. Fewer than 10,000 people consider farming their principal



occupation, a radical change from the first 300 years of South Carolina's history. Cotton is no longer king of the cash crops. Tobacco, the product of the Pee Dee, passed cotton as the major crop for several years, but health concerns have caused it to slip. Corn, soybeans, and cotton surpassed tobacco, which was followed by peaches, vegetables, and hay as the major cash crops by 2007. But bigger than all these combined in bringing income to farmers were livestock and livestock products, such as milk and eggs. Nearly one-third of farm income is generated by broilers—young frying-size chickens.

Also very important to the state's economy is another kind of crop—trees. Timber brought to sawmills is worth almost \$1 billion annually. Wood products are the third-largest manufacturing business, adding over \$8 billion annually to the state's economy and employing about 32,000 people. Approximately two-thirds of South Carolina's surface is covered with trees, soaking up carbon dioxide and producing oxygen—a really good exchange. Eighty to ninety thousand seedlings are planted each year to keep the wood products and clean air coming.

DO YOU REMEMBER?

1. Define in sentence form: right-to-work law, Sunbelt.
2. What has become of the sixteen permanent TEC centers in the state?
3. Which agricultural products have surpassed row crops in bringing income to farmers?

Top: Pink peach blossoms make a lovely show in the springtime. Peaches are South Carolina's fifth-largest cash crop. South Carolina is the second-largest peach producer in the country after California. Peaches are the state fruit of South Carolina.

DID YOU KNOW?

The Coker Pedigree Seed Company in Hartsville developed a strain of cotton resistant to the boll weevil. In the 1960s, Coker supplied the seed for 65 percent of the cotton grown in the Southeast, for 80 percent of the oats, for 75 percent of the flue-cured tobacco, and for 40 percent of the hybrid corn.

Pivotal Political Changes

Below: Despite a population of less than 18,000 in 1960, Barnwell County wielded disproportionate power in the General Assembly, due to the fact that Barnwell's state senator was chairman of the Finance Committee, and their representative was speaker of the House. They were known as the "Barnwell Ring."

AS YOU READ, LOOK FOR

- how population shifts and the civil rights movement led to legislative reapportionment;
- the rise of the Republican Party in South Carolina;
- the moderating influence of Governors Hollings, Russell, McNair, West, and Edwards;
- damage to the state's reputation by events involving civil rights and workers' rights;
- terms: **urbanization, reapportionment, southern strategy.**



The decades after 1960 were marked by the rise of a significant Republican Party in the state. This presented a new challenge to the century-old control of the Democratic Party.

Urbanization and In-Migration

Shifting populations in the second half of the twentieth century had a great impact on South Carolina's political development. **Urbanization** (the movement of the population from rural counties to cities) shifted the majority of voters to the urban areas. But the legislature remained largely in the

hands of the old rural elite who represented a dwindling percentage of the population. For example, each county still had one senator, whether it was Barnwell County with 17,659 people in 1960 or Greenville County with 209,776. The senator from Barnwell, as chair of the Finance Committee, had more raw political power than the governor. So did the representative from Barnwell, who was speaker of the House. People spoke of the "Barnwell Ring" dominating the state.

Citizens living in or near cities had some different needs from rural residents. They needed streets, water and sewer systems, new schools, growth of job opportunities, and regulations on pollution. Urban dwellers became frustrated with their lack of influence in state government. A growing class of wealthy business elite, many from out of state, was particularly restless under the old leadership. The need for **reapportionment** (distributing representation according to population) was apparent. In 1964, the U.S. Supreme Court required states to give cities representation in proportion to their population. The court was trying to make each person's vote, whether from country or city, have equal influence in the legislature. This "one person, one vote" concept was an advance for democracy. However, urban counties elected their several representatives at-large (all voters voting on all representatives). This made it difficult for black candidates to get elected in white-majority counties. In 1973, the NAACP won a court decision requiring that senators and representatives be elected from single-member districts roughly equal in population.

Black leaders correctly calculated that more black candidates could be elected from single-member districts. Three blacks had been elected to the legislature in 1970, the first in the twentieth century. The number of blacks elected increased considerably after 1973, as Democratic officials drew district lines to provide some black-majority districts. It had unintended consequences, however. Many districts were made "more white." This meant that districts without significant black population elected representatives who had no strong obligation to black citizens. Single-member districts also contributed to the election of more Republican candidates. For the first time since 1877, the Republican Party became a significant factor in South Carolina politics.

The Rise of the Republican Party

The Republican Party had become a shell after Reconstruction as the Democratic Party seized all political power in South Carolina. The Dixiecrat movement of Strom Thurmond in 1948 was the first crack in the Democratic monopoly. Governor James F. Byrnes remained a Democrat in name, but he strongly supported Republican presidential candidates Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952 and Richard Nixon in 1960. A man of his prominence defying the party encouraged others who were discontented with the Democratic support for civil rights and union rights.

In the late 1950s and 1960s, a few economically conservative businessmen and women began to take over leadership positions in the tiny Republican Party and to build it into a positive force in the state. J. Drake Edens Jr. became the state chairman in the early sixties and quietly put together a modern political party. The party attracted voters from three main sources. The first source was the many people who moved in from northern states either to run the southern branches of an industry or to retire in a sunnier



Top: As governor, James Byrnes broke with Democratic tradition and supported Republican Dwight Eisenhower for president in 1952. Above: Dwight Eisenhower is the only U.S. president who was also a licensed pilot.

DID YOU KNOW?

The first Republican legislator elected since 1902 was Charles E. Boineau, who won a special election in 1961 to fill an uncompleted term. He ran for reelection in 1962, but lost.



Above: Barry Goldwater, a U.S. senator from Arizona, was the Republican candidate for president in 1964. He lost to the incumbent, Lyndon Johnson.

climate. Often they had Republican roots in their home states. Second was the wave of young college-educated, ambitious business and professional people who filled the suburbs. They were economic and social conservatives who leaned toward Republican policies, but waited for it to be more socially acceptable before openly becoming Republicans. The third source of new Republicans was the large number of Carolinians who supported the tradition of white supremacy. They were opposed to the liberal racial policies of the national Democratic Party.

The event that made shifting to the Republican Party respectable in South Carolina was the election of 1964. Here was a clear choice. Lyndon Johnson, a Democrat, had become president when John F. Kennedy was assassinated. He persuaded Congress to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Republicans nominated Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, who was strongly opposed to the act and what he saw as a shift toward too much federal power and too few states' rights. Senator Strom Thurmond jumped to the Republican Party to support Goldwater, and suddenly it was respectable to be a Republican in South Carolina. Goldwater was the first Republican presidential candidate to carry South Carolina since Reconstruction, but he lost in the nation.

Thurmond was reelected in 1966, this time as a Republican, and helped other Republican candidates run strong races. Twenty-three Republicans won seats in the General Assembly. South Carolina quickly became a reliable state for Republicans in presidential elections. The **southern strategy** devised by Goldwater's 1964 campaign was refined by Senator Thurmond and his assistant, Harry Dent, in Richard Nixon's 1968 campaign. It would be used to win every presidential election for the Republicans from 1968 through 1988, with the exception of Democrat Jimmy Carter's win in 1976.

FIGURE 24

The Southern Strategy

The principles of the southern strategy were

- to promise the South more states' rights, especially less federal interference on racial issues;
- to promote fewer federal social welfare programs; and
- to continue a strong national defense and rigid opposition to communism.

The promises of the southern strategy, along with the long-held Republican probusiness and antiunion policies, were popular with many white southerners. They were to create a solid Republican South on which Republican national victories could be built.

It took longer to gain control of state and local governments. Democrats would control the legislature and most local governments until the 1990s.

Moderate Governors

Compared to several other southern states, South Carolina was fortunate to have a string of moderate governors beginning in 1959. Though conservative on *fiscal* (financial) and most social issues, they tended to be farsighted and realized that change was coming whether the state was ready or not. The black population was unwilling to accept many of the restrictions of the past. The populations moving from the farms to the towns and cities wanted jobs in industry and commerce. Business people moving to our state insisted on stable race relations, better education for their children, and more highly trained

workers. The moderate governors valued order even more than racial segregation; their priorities were economic development and improved education.

Ernest F. Hollings

Elected governor at age thirty-six, Ernest F. “Fritz” Hollings played a major role in improving South Carolina’s chances to increase economic development. He increased the work of the State Development Board. He was able to work with the rural leadership in the General Assembly, especially Senator Edgar Allan Brown and House Speaker Solomon Blatt (pronounced Blot), both of Barnwell County. Hollings convinced the legislators to create the technical education system, to improve teachers’ salaries significantly, and to establish South Carolina Educational Television (SCETV). Soon, SCETV was providing closed-circuit educational programs to schools in all forty-six counties. It also opened several open-circuit stations to broadcast noncommercial programs. SCETV and SCETV-Radio have become very important parts of our cultural life. In 1966, Hollings was elected to the U.S. Senate, where he served until his retirement in 2005.



Above: Democratic presidential candidate John F. Kennedy is greeted at the Columbia airport by Governor Fritz Hollings during the 1960 campaign. Kennedy went on to defeat Republican candidate Richard Nixon (who had served as vice president under Dwight D. Eisenhower) in one of the closest presidential elections in U.S. history.



Above: The election of Donald Russell to the governorship in 1962 seemed to bode well for race relations in South Carolina. Governor Russell invited “all the people” to his inauguration day barbeque.

Donald S. Russell

Governor Donald S. Russell continued Hollings’s moderate leadership. On his inauguration day in January 1963, he invited “all the people” to a barbeque on the spacious lawn of the Governor’s Mansion. About eight thousand people came to the party. Russell sent the state’s law enforcers to Clemson to make sure Harvey Gantt was able to enter peacefully as its first black student.

He was governor barely two years when U.S. Senator Olin D. Johnston died. The governor had to appoint a person to serve until the next general election. Russell resigned as governor; Lieutenant Governor Robert E. McNair became governor and appointed Russell to the Senate seat. This “self-appointment” was used against him in the election in 1966, and Russell lost the Senate race to Ernest F. Hollings. Russell’s judgment in virtually appointing himself senator might have been questionable, but he spent the last thirty-one years of his life as a distinguished federal judge.

Robert E. McNair

Robert E. McNair served the remainder of Russell’s term as governor, and then was elected for a full term in 1966. He continued Hollings’s and Russell’s relatively moderate position on civil rights. McNair was governor during the years of greatest racial change in South Carolina schools. Under

his guidance and with persistent pressure from NAACP lawyers and the federal government, the school system made the transition from “freedom of choice” to a real unitary system in 1970-1971. There were small incidents of violence related to the schools in those years. The most serious violent outbreak related to the public schools was by angry white parents in Lamar protesting court-ordered integration in 1970. Wielding bricks and ax handles, nearly two hundred men and women attacked two school buses, showering the black children with glass. The students barely escaped into the school before the protesters overturned two buses. Highway patrolmen and SLED agents suppressed the mob with tear gas and arrested forty people. Three received jail sentences. Governor McNair dispatched the National Guard to maintain order in the community.

The “Orangeburg Massacre”

The “Orangeburg Massacre” was the major South Carolina tragedy in the civil rights era. The white people of Orangeburg were among the last in the South to accept federal laws requiring equal rights for blacks. In 1968, four years after the Civil Rights Act passed, some businesses were still closed to blacks. Students at State College and Claflin College began several nights of mass protests against the only bowling alley in town. Governor McNair sent several dozen highway patrolmen and national guardsmen to the town to help maintain order. On February 8, 1968, a large number of students gathered on one corner of State College campus and built a bonfire. A fire truck arrived and highway patrolmen moved up to the edge of the campus. One lawman was hit in the face by an object thrown by a student. Minutes later, officers began firing at the unarmed students. When the shooting ended less than ten seconds later, three students lay dying and about twenty-seven lay wounded.

Below: In 1968, students from South Carolina State College demonstrated in front of All-Star Bowling, the town’s only bowling alley, which had resisted all legal orders to admit blacks.



Above: Dr. Oscar Butler, dean of students at South Carolina State College, asks for calm from students picketing the segregated bowling alley.



Above: Mourners gather on the campus of South Carolina State College to remember the three students slain by state police in the “Orangeburg Massacre.” The event is still remembered with a memorial service every year on the anniversary of the killings.

Nothing like this had happened before on an American campus. Nine patrolmen were tried on federal charges for their part in what appeared an unwarranted action. They were acquitted by a South Carolina jury. The only person punished was one of the wounded men. Cleveland Sellers was convicted of inciting a riot at an earlier protest at the bowling alley. He served seven months in prison. Sellers later earned his doctorate, taught African American Studies at USC, and then became president of Voorhees College in his hometown of Denmark. Governor McNair, in his farewell address, called the shooting at Orangeburg “a scar on our state’s conscience.”

The Charleston Hospital Workers’ Strike

In 1969, black hospital workers in two Charleston hospitals formed a union to bargain for their rights, wages equal to whites’, and rehiring of fired workers. When hospital officials refused to bargain with the union, four hundred workers went on strike for one hundred days. During that time, the city was in turmoil. Thousands of people engaged in hundreds of demonstrations. Governor McNair imposed a curfew and sent in hundreds of national guardsmen. Eight hundred people were arrested during the ordeal.

National union leaders, the SCLC, and Coretta Scott King (widow of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.) got involved, calling attention to the civil rights issues at stake. The strike was national news, and Charleston’s tourist economy and its reputation suffered. The governor was sympathetic to the economic demands of the strikers, but was absolutely opposed to recognizing



their union or allowing it to bargain for the workers. The strike was finally settled by a compromise. The hospitals agreed to rehire any fired workers, raise wages, and set up a grievance process to handle workers' complaints. The hospitals did not agree to allow unions to represent workers' interests, but the workers felt they had gained a degree of respect.

John C. West

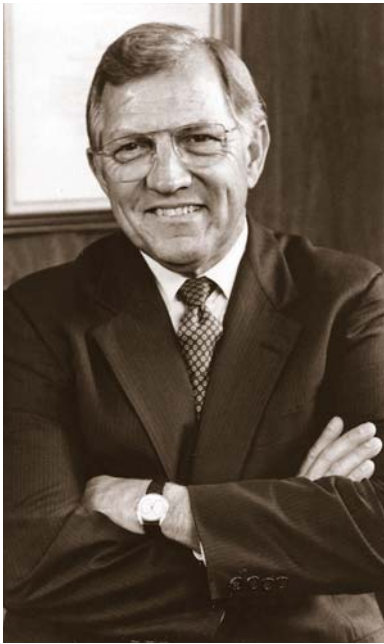
The power of the new moderation in South Carolina politics was demonstrated in the election of John C. West as governor in 1970. The campaign that year was the last one in which race was the major issue. West accepted, even embraced, most of the changes that had reshaped the state in the 1960s. His opponent, Republican Congressman Albert Watson, called on the people to resist school integration and the "illegal" court decisions requiring it. West's victory demonstrated that racism was no longer a winning strategy in South Carolina politics. The victory also showed the power of the new black voters who were added to the electorate after the Voting Rights Act of 1965. West received a large percentage of those votes. He also received the votes of many white suburban Republicans, who did not favor Watson's open appeal to racism.

As governor, John West worked to improve race relations. He appointed blacks to key staff positions. He established the Commission on Human Affairs to head off any such crises as the Orangeburg bowling clash and the Charleston hospital strike. His administration showed great concern about

Above: The 1969 Charleston hospital workers' strike attracted national civil rights leaders like Coretta Scott King, widow of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., seen here in the center, wearing sunglasses.

DID YOU KNOW?

The first integrated State Fair was in October 1971. Before that year, the State Fairgrounds in Columbia hosted one fair for whites and one for blacks.



Above: James B. Edwards was the first Republican elected governor of South Carolina since Reconstruction, winning against a divided Democratic Party.

problems of poverty, health, and the environment. He also followed the lead of Hollings and McNair in vigorously pursuing investors from out of state to bring more economic development into South Carolina. They believed many of the state's problems could be solved with more job opportunities, higher income, and a more diverse economy.

Governor West was in charge of a major overhaul of the Constitution of 1895. Tillman's constitution was cumbersome, unsuited for twentieth-century conditions, and in violation of new federal court decisions. The constitution became more streamlined, more modern and workable.

The constitutional changes and the court decision requiring single-member districts in the legislature made it more difficult for the old rural elite to control the government. By the mid-1970s, the more heavily populated urban areas had their opportunity to dominate.

James B. Edwards

The election of the first Republican governor of South Carolina since Reconstruction was a surprise to many people, including the Republican candidate, James B. Edwards, himself. Though he won against a divided Democratic Party, Edwards's election was still an important step in the growth of a two-party system. He turned out to be a moderate, especially on the issue of race. An oral surgeon by training and with only two years of service in the South Carolina Senate, Edwards had to muster all his social skills and likable personality to deal effectively with a heavily Democratic legislature. The constitutional amendments of West's term had not increased the powers of the governor. The legislature was still in charge. Edwards advocated keeping government expenses low. A major accomplishment of his term in office was passage of the Education Finance Act—a landmark effort to equalize spending for education across the state. The idea was for the state to provide more funds for schools in poor districts where not much local revenue was available and to provide less money to rich districts where local revenue was abundant. It was a noble goal and the law has been very useful, but the state has not yet solved the problem of unequal educational opportunities in various parts of the state.

DO YOU REMEMBER?

1. Define in sentence form: urbanization, reapportionment, southern strategy.
2. What are some of the needs of urban dwellers that are different from rural residents?
3. Where did the "new" South Carolina Republican Party of the 1950s and 1960s get its members?

Of SPECIAL INTEREST

Robert E. McNair

By Philip G. Grose

Robert McNair was a farm boy from Berkeley County who became governor of South Carolina during some very difficult times for the state (1965-1971). He learned from his mother and father how to manage a large farm and how to make it successful as a business. He learned to help less fortunate neighbors, as his parents did through their leadership in the church and his father's political skill on the school board.

During World War II, McNair was an officer in the U.S. Navy, serving in the Pacific. He commanded a landing craft that brought tanks ashore during the invasion of the Philippines. He was awarded a Bronze Star medal for rescuing Americans from a burning Liberty ship.

At the end of the war, McNair completed his college and law school work at USC and set up a law practice in Moncks Corner. He lost his first race for public office in Berkeley County and moved to Allendale, the hometown of his wife Josephine Robinson, whom he married while in the Navy. He was elected to the legislature, and then lieutenant governor in 1962.

Bob McNair became governor in 1965, completing the term of Donald Russell, and was elected to a full term in 1966. During his years as governor, South Carolina underwent significant change. New federal laws and court decisions provided that students of all races would

be able to go to the same public schools and colleges. There were also laws making it easier for black citizens to register and vote. Other new laws provided that all persons—regardless of race—would be served in restaurants, hotels, and other places of business.

In some southern states, there was violent reaction to these changes, and deaths and injuries to innocent people resulted. In South Carolina, three students at South Carolina State College were killed demonstrating against an all-white bowling alley in Orangeburg. Governor McNair deplored the tragedy. He worked to encourage peaceful acceptance of

the changes, and most people of the state followed his leadership.

Governor McNair improved public schools in many ways, remembering the work of his father in Berkeley County. Under McNair's guidance, the first state-sponsored public kindergartens in South Carolina were created, making it possible for youngsters to begin their schooling at age five and earlier. He worked hard to bring factories



Governor Robert E. McNair and his wife, Josephine, on the way to his inauguration.

and businesses to all parts of the state so that working men and women would have well-paying jobs. During his terms as governor, many new companies came to South Carolina and created thousands of new jobs for the state's workers.

After his years as governor, McNair established a law firm in Columbia, and it grew to become one of the largest and most successful in the South. He never gave up the plantation in Berkeley County. After he retired, he and his wife made it their permanent home until his death in 2007 at age 83.



Chapter Summary

South Carolinians witnessed major changes during the decades of the 1960s and 1970s. The most notable changes were in the area of civil rights. The days of the signs “Coloreds Only” and “Whites Only” were to be a thing of the past. The beginnings of equality for the races were on the horizon. That brought the hope of a better future to parents whose children would experience that change for the better.

The United States government responded to civil rights issues by passing legislation protecting the rights of African American citizens to vote and by outlawing discrimination in the workplace. These advances did not come easily and resulted in violence far too often. People remember the names of slain leaders such as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., but there were many others, both black and white, who lost their lives fighting for equality for all Americans.

Civil rights was not the only issue of these decades as Americans watched the first “televised” war going on in Vietnam on the other side of the world. Protests against U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War resulted in violence at times even as students shouted “Peace, not war!” Even women were becoming active in the push for equal rights.

Activities for Learning

Reviewing People, Places, and Things

Identify or define the following in complete sentences.

1. Septima Poinsette Clark
2. Barnwell
3. James Meredith
4. Harvey Gantt

5. Donald S. Russell
6. white flight
7. Kent State University
8. Great Society
9. urbanization
10. reapportionment

Understanding the Facts

1. Which amendment to the Constitution protected the rights of American citizens against discrimination on the basis of race?
2. Why did the state of South Carolina shut down its state park system temporarily in 1963?
3. How did the Civil Rights Act of 1964 protect the rights of black Americans and other minorities?
4. What was the main purpose of a poll tax in southern states?
5. South Carolina has been known as a “right-to-work” state. What does this mean?
6. Why has the generation of nuclear power been so important in South Carolina?
7. When did the Republican Party begin its rise to becoming the predominant party in South Carolina?
8. Name four Democratic governors of South Carolina who were moderate in their politics and who led the state through difficult times.
9. Describe what happened in the “Orangeburg Massacre.”
10. Who was the first Republican governor elected in South Carolina since Reconstruction?

Developing Critical Thinking Skills

1. Do you believe that Hollywood movies depicting life in the South during the 1960s create an understanding of what the civil rights movement was like, or do you think they arouse anger?
2. Why do you think people are still guilty of stereotyping people?
3. Can you think of anything during your lifetime that is similar to what you have read about the 1960s or 1970s?

Writing across the Curriculum

Ask your parents to describe one event they vividly remember from their youth. Ask someone who is the age of your grandparents the same thing. Think about your life over the last ten years. Then describe something that you remember happening during that time that affected how you look at life. If you can't think of anything, write about something you hope to see change in your lifetime.

Exploring Technology

1. Using the Internet, find out what freedom riders did during the civil rights movement in the 1960s.
2. Find out why the Woodstock Music Festival in 1969 became such a part of the history of that time.

Applying Your Skills

Trace the Republican Party's rise to power in South Carolina.

Building Skills: Detecting Bias

When you have an opinion on a subject, it is difficult to maintain objectivity when writing about that subject. Your bias (preconceived opinion or prejudice for or against something) might show through in your writing.

It is important for everyone to know how to detect bias in written or spoken communication. Here are some questions that should help you determine whether the material is biased.

1. When was the material spoken or written?
2. Does the speaker or writer show one group in a better light than another?
3. Does the speaker or writer use phrases that play on the reader's or listener's emotions?

Both of the following statements describe the impact of the Supreme Court's ruling in the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. Identify any bias you see in these statements.

The decision marked the turning point in America's willingness to face the consequences of centuries of racial discrimination, a practice tracing back nearly to the first settlement of the New World. The process of ridding the nation of its most inhumane habit cannot be properly presented by dwelling on only the climactic moments of that effort.

—From Foreword to *Simple Justice*
by Richard Kluger, 1977

With the gravest concern for the explosive and dangerous condition created by this decision and inflamed by outside meddlers:

We reaffirm our reliance on the Constitution as the fundamental law of the land.

We decry the Supreme Court's encroachments on rights reserved to the States and to the people, contrary to established law and to the Constitution.

We commend the motives of those States which have declared the intention to resist forced integration by any lawful means. . . .

We pledge ourselves to use 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.

—From the Southern Manifesto, 1956