

Chapter 15

Racial, Economic, and Political Change

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Chapter Review

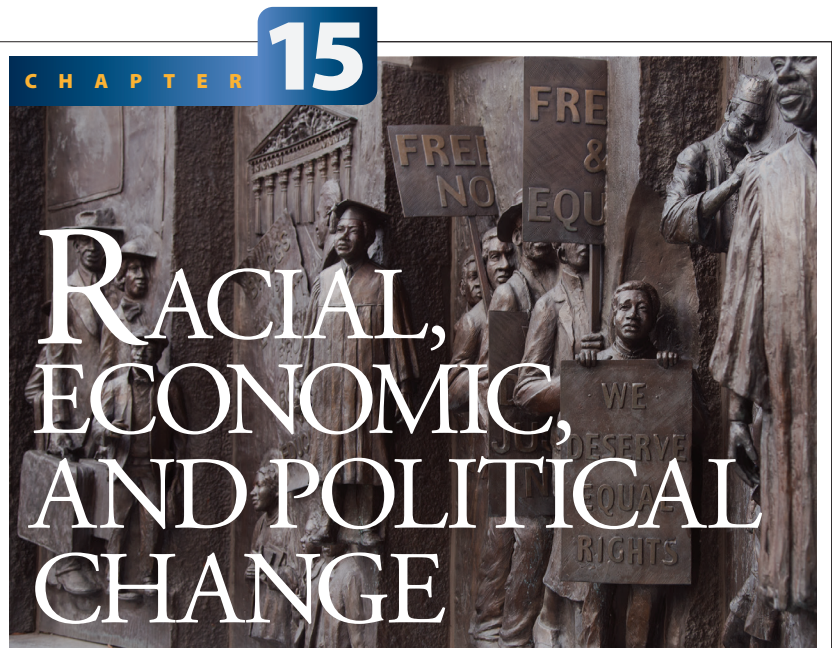
Pages 486-487

Teacher Note: Making a Mark

Each individual listed in the Chapter Preview has made specific contributions to the progress of South Carolina. Either assign individuals to specific students or have students draw names from a hat. (Some individuals will be studied by two students separately.)

Each participant should research the person and make a bookmark using both sides of stock paper describing the background and the accomplishments this person has made for the state or the country.

Each bookmark should have some type of illustration that sums up the person. As the chapter is discussed, when a name comes up in the text reading, the student will share that bookmark with the class.



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

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State Standards

Key Concept Progress

Standard 5 Demonstrate an understanding of the impact of world events on South Carolina and the United States from 1929 to present.

Enduring Understanding As a result of new perspectives on national security following World War I, South Carolina continues to benefit from and contribute to national and global communities. Additionally, civic participation and social change altered South Carolina's social standing and political alignment.



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.

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Setting the Scene: The Civil Rights Movement

"I am—Somebody. I may be poor, but I am—Somebody! I may be on welfare, but I am—Somebody! I may be uneducated, but I am—Somebody! I must be, I'm God's child. I must be respected and protected. I am black and I am beautiful! I am—Somebody! Soul Power!" (Jesse Jackson, Address to Operation Breadbasket rally, 1966)

Teacher Note

Check out "YouTube Early Television" along with "Dave Garroway," who first appeared on December 1, 1952. From 1953 to 1957, he had a co-host named J. Fred Muggs. Check out his co-host and watch a morning show with the two. Research the background of J. Fred and determine why he was chosen. Could someone like J. Fred Muggs become one of the hosts on a program like *Good Morning America*? Why or why not?

Note: Websites appear, disappear, and change addresses constantly. The Internet addresses included throughout this program were operative when the text was published.

Kid Friendly

Children's favorite shows were *Kukla, Fran, and Ollie* and *Howdy Doody*. Find a YouTube episode of either show and watch it for fifteen minutes or so. Then discuss four ways these shows were different from the Saturday morning shows today.

Think It Over

How did air conditioning change life in the South? (People spent more time inside rather than chatting on the front porch. The amount of outdoor exercise decreased. More factories headed south, changing from the high cost of heat to the acceptable cost of air conditioning.)

How About You?

Using the Internet, check out fads in the 1950s and the 1960s. In what ways did the fads change in these two decades?

FYI

In January 1977, a 12-hour, 7-night movie saga was seen by an average of 80 million people per night. It had a higher rating than any prior historical presentation. What was it? Why do you think it became and remains such an influential series?

How About You?

Maurice Sendak, who died in 2012, left children a legacy of learning how to deal with fear. That was new in children's literature. Did you read *Where the Wild Things Are* as a child? How did the book affect you? Will you share it with your children? Why?

Teacher Note

Encourage students to read *The Water Is Wide*, or download the free movie *Conrack*, which takes place on Daufuskie Island, South Carolina. As always, obtain permission from the principal and notify parents.

A Revolution All Its Own

On YouTube, watch American Bandstand and listen to the Beatles, Motown, Chubby Checker, and James Brown. What were the messages in the music? How did it differ from the music of the 1950s?

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.

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*.

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.

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."

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.

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.

ARCHITECTURE

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

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Teacher Note

The 1960s were known for protest songs for both the Vietnam War and the civil rights movement. Go to YouTube for both of these and play them as students enter the room. Discuss the lyrics and the feelings behind the music.

Teacher Note

Encourage students who are interested in the environment to read *Silent Spring* or go to "The Life and Legacy of Rachel Carson" on the Internet to learn more about her life and influence and see a list of her other revolutionary environmental studies books.

Section 1

Pivotal Social Changes

INTRODUCE

Outline

- A. The Movement for Civil Rights in South Carolina
- B. Higher Education in South Carolina
- C. Public Education in South Carolina
- D. The National Movement for Civil Rights
- E. Other Social Protest Movements

Materials

Textbook, pages 458-469

Student Workbook

161 Vocabulary

162 Using the Internet: Greensboro, North Carolina, Sit-Ins

163 Interpreting: A Protest Song

164 Proposed Equal Rights Amendment

Teacher Tech Website

Lesson Plan

Guided Reading, 15-1

mystatehistory.com

Online Textbook

Check It Out


In what ways did Septima Clarke earn the moniker “queen mother of the civil rights movement”?

What About You?

Pull up “Norman Rockwell: The Problem We All Live With” and discover the story behind the painting.

T458

SECTION1



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.**



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

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State Standards

State Standard 5 (T454)

The student will:

8.5.CE Analyze the factors contributing to the shifts in the political party platforms between 1946–1972.

8.5.CX Analyze the correlation between the Modern Civil Rights Movement in South Carolina and the U.S.

8.5.CC Analyze the continuities and changes in South Carolina’s identity resulting from the civic participation of different individuals and groups of South Carolinians.

8.5.E Utilize a variety of primary and secondary sources to analyze multiple perspectives on the cultural changes in South Carolina and the U.S.

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.

Find Out More

The website <https://www.wgbh.org/program/american-experience/freedom-riders> has an interactive map of the freedom rides of 1961. Study the map and then try to duplicate their route through our state on a county map of South Carolina. How close did the riders come to your home?

The pictures on that website show freedom riders displaying posters out the bus window with slogans like "Freedom's Wheels Are Rolling" and "Take a Stand with the Law of the Land." Think up your own slogan for a freedom ride, and create a miniature poster on plain paper.

Teacher Note: This comprehensive PBS website is full of information, but you should preview it first. Some of the scenes are disturbing.

Teacher Note

Show the program <https://video.sctv.org/video/carolina-stories-jail-no-bail/>. Follow up with a discussion of the "Jail, No Bail" technique. Identify and discuss the character attributes these students must have displayed.

Which Organization?

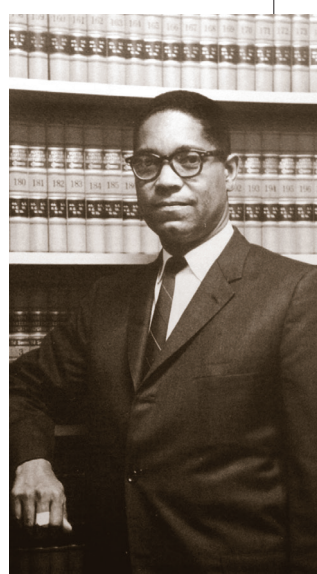
Using a Venn diagram or other graphic organizer, show the similarities and differences between CORE and NAACP or SCLC and SNCC. Teacher Note: Briefly discuss the aims of each group and have students share their opinion as to how each was effective.

Notes

Dig a Little Deeper

There were many protest techniques that could have been used during this period. Find out why non-violent protest marches and demonstrations were chosen as the method to express protest.

Teacher Note: If students are having difficulties with this, suggest trying “Nonviolent Protest Movement Advocates.” Or you may wish to start them off with researching “Mahatma Gandhi.”



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 Claflin 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



Notes

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.

Teacher Note

The Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, adopted in 1868, was primarily concerned with reintegrating the southern states after the Civil War and defining some of the rights of former slaves. The first section of the amendment, however, was to revolutionize federalism. It stated that no state could “deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.” Gradually, the Supreme Court interpreted the amendment to mean that the guarantees of the Bill of Rights apply to the states as well as to the national government. The website www.usconstitution.net/constkids.html provides additional information written in grade 8-12 language.

FYI

In 1961, at the University of Georgia, Hamilton Holmes and Charlayne Hunter ended 160 years of segregation in the state school that had been founded in 1785. After five days of relative calm, angry crowds gathered outside Ms. Hunter’s dorm and caused significant property damage as rumors spread that the state legislature was going to close the university. Once the rumor was quashed, calm returned to the campus. Both students demonstrated courage and determination.

Notes

Making a Difference

Read about the Harvey B. Gantt Center and describe what Mr. Gantt accomplished. If you could begin planning now, what would you like to accomplish? In what ways will your efforts make a difference to others?

What Do You Think?

Speaking of his peaceful admission to Clemson, Harvey Gantt said, “If you can’t appeal to the morals of a South Carolinian, you can appeal to his manners.” Do you agree that Carolinians have better manners than other people?

Your Opinion

Today, you don’t have to go very far before hearing others discussing the lack of civility in our country. What is your opinion? Do you think Mr. Gantt can still brag about manners in the South? What are some specific social skills to which we need to pay more attention? What can you do to help? Be specific.

A Moral Dilemma

For a taped interview describing Donald S. Russell’s governance during the period of racial integration in South Carolina colleges, go to https://sc.edu/about/offices_and_divisions/university_libraries/browse/ and search for “Donald S. Russell Interview.” Discuss the difficulties he must have experienced matching his moral beliefs with the political pressure he experienced. Are there times when students have to face a similar situation of matching beliefs with peer pressure? What are some techniques that might prove helpful?



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.

Notes

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.

Notes

Reviewing Where We Are

Based on your experiences, what are some concerns with which we must still deal concerning our schools? Be specific.

Teacher Note: Depending on the maturity level of your students, this might be a good time for small learning teams (groups determined through picking names out of the hat) to discuss areas of continued concern. For each concern, the group must come up with a list of specific suggestions they feel would bring about school-wide improvement. If no problems are identified, ask the groups to continue to develop their plan of action for implementation in another community or state.

Neighborhood Schools

During the past few years, there has been an increase in the number of people throughout the country calling for a return to the neighborhood school arrangement of the 1960s. What is your opinion of this concept? Record your ideas and give specific reasons for your views. Finally, divide the writing page you are using into two columns. Write all of the pro's for neighborhood schools and con's against. Teacher Note: You may wish to collect the papers of pro's and con's and, after mixing up the student work, discuss student reactions—filling in details as appropriate.

A Plan of Action

In his famous “Letter from a Birmingham Jail,” Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. described the four steps needed in any nonviolent campaign including (1) the collection of the facts to determine whether injustices exist, (2) negotiation, (3) self purification, and (4) direct action. What four steps would you choose in trying to bring about a major nonviolent change? If you choose to maintain Dr. King’s steps, explain your reasons for each choice.

FYI

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom took place in the nation’s capital on August 28, 1963. It was the largest demonstration ever held in that city (250,000 people), and one of the first to have extensive television coverage. Go to www.infoplease.com/spot/marchonwashington.html to learn more about it.

Read All About It

In the summer of 2011, a statue of Dr. King was erected on the 48th anniversary of his most famous speech. The carving is called *Stone of Hope*. Search for information about the monument. Describe it and identify the seventeen quotes engraved around it. How is the placement of the memorial important?



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.

Notes

Think About It

Prior to President Johnson’s signature on the Civil Rights Act of 1964, he said: “The vote is the most powerful instrument ever devised by man for breaking down injustice and destroying the terrible walls which imprison men because they are different from other men.”

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.

A Review from the Past

Earlier in the text, you read about voting and Jim Crow laws. Do some research and find out all of the laws that made it difficult or impossible for African Americans to vote following the Civil War. Research the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and reread the section on this page. Strike a line through the earlier laws that were overturned with the 1965 ruling.

Teacher Note

The website https://www.thirteen.org/wnet/jimcrow/tools_voting.html has an informative interactive game about voting in the Jim Crow era and voting today. Be sure to preview the site before recommending it, as it has some harsh images.

Notes

Listen and Learn

Google “YouTube Protest Songs of the 1960s and 1970s.” Listen to three or four selections and download the lyrics. Identify four or five things that the youth of the period were protesting. How does that music compare and contrast with popular protest songs of today? List five things that musicians of today are trying to change.

Myrtle Beach Starts a Craze

Rarely does music from one period retain its popularity through fifty-plus years. But that’s exactly what happened. Pull up “YouTube Popular Beach Music.” Listen to three or four selections. In what ways does it differ from music today? Be specific.

If you want to make your grandparents happy, find out where they were living during high school. If their home was south of the Mason-Dixon Line (south of Maryland or east of New Mexico) and you’d like to give them a fun gift, download beach music that you also like. Search for “Shag Beach Music Steps.” Practice your moves and surprise them with songs and your new dance.

What emotions do you feel listening to or dancing to this music? In your opinion, will it remain popular for years to come? Why? Be specific.

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.



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

Top: Folk singers 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.**

scene. Folk singers 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

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Have You Ever Tried It?

Watch YouTube for “The Twist” and for “Let’s Twist Again Like We Did Last Summer.” Why do you think this dance became so popular? In what ways does it differ from other dances?

Something New

As the 60s moved into the 70s, drugs became their own form of protest. Research the drug culture of the later 60s and 70s. In what specific ways did our country change? Based on your research, why wasn’t it stopped?

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.



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.

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.

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.

FYI

Even today, the scars and divisions brought on by the Vietnam War continue. Ask five adults, including family members, about this war. Generally, persons who were over sixteen years of age during the Vietnam War will have strong opinions of agreement or opposition with the nine-year-long war. (If all U.S. involvement is counted, the war actually lasted from 1957 to 1975.)

Serious Reading

To learn more about this war, go to your media center or library and ask for one of the following books: *Vietnam: A War on Two Fronts*, by Sidney Lens; *Vietnam, Why We Fought: An Illustrated History*, by Dorothy Hoobler and Thomas Hoobler; *Portrait of a Tragedy: America and the Vietnam War*, by James A. Warren; or *The Wall*, by Eve Bunting. Based on what you have read about it, would you have been for or against the Vietnam War? Specify your reasons. Teacher Note: Search “How to Teach the Vietnam War to Children” for some valuable and easy-to-understand materials on a difficult topic.

FYI

One of the most frightening terms to come out of the war was “Agent Orange.” What was it? How does it continue to be a problem for many of the men and women who fought there?

ERA: A Step-Up for Women

Using your research skills, make a 5 W’s and H chart for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Your Opinion

Why do you think women were not allowed to serve on South Carolina juries? What message did it send?

Find Out More

Conduct research on the Catawba tribe. Find out five ways they have been able to maintain their culture. Why is that important to South Carolinians?

ASSESS

Answers to “Do You Remember?”

1. A **sit-in** is a protest in which people enter a public facility and refuse to leave until their demands are heard. **Freedom rides** were a series of rides through the South by integrated groups seeking to peacefully integrate the Greyhound and Trailways buses and terminals. **White flight** was the movement by city dwellers to virtually all-white suburbs, where few blacks could afford to live.
2. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 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.” It is a major asset for the protection of equal rights for blacks and for women.
3. Other protest movements of the 1960s included the youth, anti-Vietnam War, women’s, Native American rights, and antipoverty movements.



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.

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.

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?

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What About Today?

Many Great Society programs remain today. Google “Great Society Programs” and list the major projects. Conduct ten interviews with adults. Ask them to examine a copy of the list and choose those programs that have affected them. Do they like or dislike the program? Why? Summarize the responses.

Fighting Hunger

Draw a concept spider map graphic organizer with at least eight legs. Put “Childhood Hunger Ideas” in the center circle. Imagine that you were in charge of an adequately funded federal food program for students. On each leg, write in or illustrate your ideas for improvement.



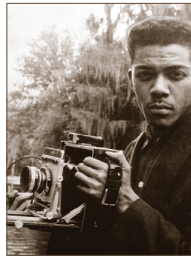
Photographing the Civil Rights Movement

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."

Section 1: Pivotal Social Changes 469

An American Tragedy

Just months after popular President John F. Kennedy had gone before television cameras to announce that a civil rights bill was up before Congress, the unthinkable happened. During a drive in a convertible in downtown Dallas on November 22, 1963, the president suddenly slumped into his wife's arms as shots rang out. Go to "YouTube Walter Cronkite Announcement of the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy." In what ways was this announcement different from the thousands televised before?

Another American Tragedy

On April 3, 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. had given a speech in Memphis in support of 1,300 sanitation workers who were out on strike. That night, he said: "It really doesn't matter what happens to me now because I've been to the mountain top... and I've looked over and seen the Promised Land. I may not get there with you... but, we, as a people, will get to the Promised Land..." The next evening at 6:01, as Dr. King was talking with some advisers on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel, James Earl Ray, using a high-powered rifle from across the way, took down another of our nation's leaders. Once again, the United States was in mourning. (James Earl Ray died in prison in 1998.)

Do Your Research

Visit via Internet the Lorraine Motel, which is now the National Civil Rights Museum. Identify five things you learned at the site that you did not know before. Continue your research by making a list of the accomplishments of Dr. King.

Where Were You?

Ask at least ten adults over seventy if they remember the day President Kennedy was shot and the day Dr. King was shot. What were they doing and where were they when they first heard the news. They will know. Why?

Section 2

The Industrializing State

INTRODUCE

Outline

- A. The Drive for Industrial Diversity
- B. The Tourist Business
- C. Agriculture

Materials

Textbook, pages 470-475

Student Workbook

165 *Creating a Souvenir T-Shirt*

166 *The Changing Landscape of South Carolina*

Teacher Tech Website

Lesson Plan

Guided Reading, 15-2

mystatehistory.com

Online Textbook

Diversity at Its Best

Go to www.sciway.net/bus/chemicalmfgs.htm and find out which chemical manufacturer is closest to your home. What does it produce? Click on "Jobs." What types of workers is it hiring?

On a map of South Carolina, indicate the location of other chemical companies and describe what they produce. Click on "Jobs" and determine what training would be necessary for employment.

Teacher Note


Review the list of reasons given in the text section as to why manufacturers and businesses are attracted to the state.

SECTION 2

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.

If, in the 1880s, you had traveled in a time machine to the 1930s, you would have seen a great many things that seemed familiar—the beautiful natural scenery, the largely rural way of life, the cotton in the fields. But if you had time-traveled all the way to 1980, you would have seen fewer cotton fields and many more trees. There would be broad highways crowded with speeding cars and trucks, and airplanes in the skies. Factories would be making not just cotton cloth but everything from synthetic cloth to parts for 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

470Chapter 15: **Racial, Economic, and Political Change**

State Standards

State Standard 5 (T454)

The student will:

8.5.P Analyze the transformation of South Carolina's economy from the Great Depression to its current economic diversification.



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.

Just for Fun

When you get home today, pick up twenty or so items on tables, in cabinets, in closets, etc., and look for the country where each was made. Count the number that say "United States." Which country was represented the most?

Teacher Note

By far, other countries will be listed most often, with very few items (if any) that originated in the United States. Why is that? (U.S. labor costs are so much higher.) With our high unemployment, would it help if some of these manufacturing jobs returned to our country? But with what consequences? (The price of items would be much higher.)

FYI

As you begin thinking about your future (yes, even in eighth grade), visit "Top 20 Hot Jobs in South Carolina" on the Internet. Jot down three types of jobs that interest you. Click on each and identify the 5 W's and H. That will assist you in choosing electives in high school.

Teacher Note: Share this Internet site with your students: "100 Best Companies to Work For (Insert current year) States South Carolina." Poll your class to learn which students plan to stay in South Carolina. Record the cities on the board or overhead. Have them match the city with the location of the "Top Jobs" or "Best Companies." How are these lists determined?

FYI

In 2020, there were twenty-seven right-to-work states in our country, plus Guam. There were twenty-three union states. Employees who work for railway or airline industries, and some federal property employees, are not protected by right-to-work laws. Search "National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation" for the latest information. What patterns do you see? Of what importance is this information to you?

FYI

Until the 1960s, high school graduates basically had three choices: go to college, start working, or join the military. The technical schools concept gave a fourth option. South Carolina became a model used by many states. Community colleges with technical- and skills-based programs attracted foreign companies that would partner with community colleges and give training specific to their employment.

Critical Thinking

Of all of the reasons to move industries into South Carolina, which one factor do you think is most attractive to new industries and why? As the head of a company, what would you expect a community to offer you?

Teacher Note

Pull up “Highlights of the Carolinas Carolina Center for Foreign Investment” and share information that you find there.

A Term Just for Us

Google the term “Sunbelt” and find a listing of states, generally south of the 36th parallel. Growth in these states has been tremendous since the mid 1900s, but a new problem has arisen. What do you think that might be? And how can we deal with it? (It is a shortage of water.) Solicit students’ ideas and record them on the board for discussion.

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. This one-of-a-kind store sold Michelin collectibles and offered interactive activities until it closed in 2015.

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

Another New Term

Google the term “Rustbelt.” What area of the country is included in the Rustbelt and why has the word been coined? Give your ideas as to how the Rustbelt can be helped.

FYI

In 2019, South Carolina tied with New Jersey for the percentage of its private workforce employed by “FDI” (foreign direct investment) jobs.



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. Summer Nuclear Generating Station opened in western Fairfield County, near Jenkinsville, in 1982. Three years later, the Catawba Nuclear Station in York County started production. In 2012, over half the electricity used in South Carolina was generated in these nuclear plants.



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.

Map Skills

You have read that, earlier in South Carolina's history, the abundant water resources that were available as a power supply led to growth in our state. Now, nuclear power resources are supporting growth. Using a map of the state, mark the locations of the state's nuclear power plants. What can you tell about nuclear power from the physical locations of these plants? Teacher Note: Notice the necessity of water resources for nuclear plants.

Come On Down!

Log onto the state's main tourism site at <https://discoversouthcarolina.com/> and check out the tourist attractions in your local area. Make a list of the major attractions that your community offers to vacationers or visitors. Make a list of additional tourist attractions you would like to see in the state and indicate why. What is your favorite vacation spot in our state? Give two or three reasons for your choice.

Notes

Career Search

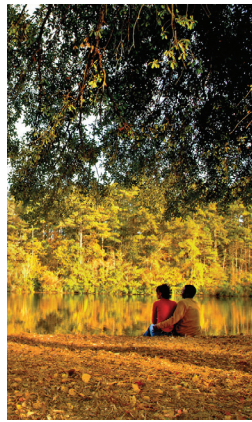
At <https://www.scprt.com/parks/jobs-at-state-parks>, you will find information about career opportunities with the South Carolina State Parks system. Read the list and see which career choices appeal to you. Select two or three possible occupations and explain why they match your interests. Are there specific educational choices you should make in order to pursue this job?

Let's Meet There: Map Skills

Using a South Carolina map or tourist guidebook, mark the state parks that offer full tourist facilities. Log onto www.southcarolinaparks.com and compare your map to the state parks map. Make changes as necessary.

A Conundrum

First, look up the word *conundrum*. After defining it in writing and listing three synonyms, describe why the term was used for this activity. What was the conundrum for both developers building luxury resorts and African Americans being forced out of their rightfully owned, long-held communities? Finally, in your opinion, what should be done? Explain the cause/effect relationship with each suggestion.



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. Beachfront 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

Notes



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.

Notes

FYI

The old red heart logo for the Coker Pedigree Seed Company, which is still visible on the roof, used to say "Blood Will Tell." What did it mean? Check out the company online. Why was David R. Coker considered a seed reformer?

FYI

Poultry is the number one product exported from South Carolina to foreign markets.

Timber!

Timber is the state's most valuable cash crop, producing \$17 billion annually and employing over 90,624 individuals. Using the Internet, determine what vocations and/or jobs are available in the timber industry.

ASSESS

Answers to "Do You Remember?"

1. A **right-to-work law** is an anti-union 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 **Sunbelt** is 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.
2. The sixteen permanent TEC centers have all become community colleges, whose credits transfer to four-year colleges and universities in the state.
3. Livestock and livestock products, such as milk and eggs, have surpassed row crops. Another important "crop" is trees.

Section 3

Pivotal Political Changes

INTRODUCE

Outline

- A. Urbanization and In-Migration
- B. The Rise of the Republican Party
- C. Moderate Governors

Materials

Textbook, pages 476-485

Student Workbook

167 *The Republican Party Cracks the "Solid South"*

168 *Moderate Governors*

Teacher Tech Website

Lesson Plan

Guided Reading, 15-3

mystatehistory.com

Online Textbook

Just for Fun

Go to <https://www.sciway.net/ccr/sc-city-nicknames.html> to find a list of nicknames for South Carolina towns and cities. Does your town have a nickname? Is it an appropriate one, or would you like to change it? As urbanization continues to impact these cities, do you think they will need to change any nicknames? Specify.



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.

476 Chapter 15: **Racial, Economic, and Political Change**

State Standards

State Standard 5 (T454)

The student will:

8.5.CE Analyze the factors contributing to the shifts in the political party platforms between 1946–1972.

8.5.CX Analyze the correlation between the Modern Civil Rights Movement in South Carolina and the U.S.

8.5.CC Analyze the continuities and changes in South Carolina's identity resulting from the civic participation of different individuals and groups of South Carolinians.

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.

Map Skills

On a South Carolina map, mark the ten most-populated counties in one color, and the ten least-populated in another color. Check www.scway.net/statistics/population.html for population statistics. What overall percentage of the state's current population is considered urban and what percentage is considered rural? (Urban 2,427,021 or 60 percent; Rural 1,584,991 or 39.5 percent)

What Do You Need Today?

Think about the needs of South Carolina's rural and urban citizens. Which needs are the same and which are different? On a Venn diagram, compare and contrast needs of modern rural and urban areas of our state.

Teacher Note

After students read the text section on reapportionment, discuss why it can be so controversial even though it is a necessity of population shifts. If appropriate, introduce the concept of gerrymandering.

Making a Point through Visual Aids

In the 2020 general election in South Carolina, the Republican Party presidential candidate won 55.1 percent of votes, the Democratic Party candidate won 43.4 percent, and other candidates won 1.5 percent. Show these facts visually. Why are visuals frequently used when political differences are discussed?

Notes

Teacher Note

As national elections draw closer, each party bombards the television airways with ads of facts and figures describing why one party is better than the other. Because most people in the country (approximately 65%) are visual learners, they remember what they see more effectively than what they hear. (Auditory learners are approximately 30% and kinesthetic learners are around 5%.)

Just for Fun

If your school uses techniques for the visual, auditory, and kinesthetic (and haptic or tactile) learners, direct your students to take a learning style inventory and see if your class mirrors the national statistics. Teacher Note: Google “Free Learning Style Inventory for 8th Graders.” Choose the one you feel will be most compatible with your students. Check with the building administrator first and send a note to parents about the inventory and reason for it.

Critical Thinking

Even today, different regions of the country have different strategies when it comes to national elections. Why would this be? Can you think of something that a modern presidential candidate would support in southern states that he or she would downplay, or not emphasize, in the urban Northeast or the central heartland states? What issues and why?

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.

Regional Thinking

Which sections of the country are most concerned today with illegal immigration and border control? Which sections are most concerned today with federal farm support for grain producers and exporters? Which sections are most concerned with government regulations of the beef industry and beef exports?

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.



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.

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.

Think It Through

Moderate governors who worked to help the state develop a strong economy had to support improved education. Why was this true? What does a strong, effective educational system mean to economic growth, to the addition of new industries, and to a stronger standard of living for the state’s citizens? Try listing at least five reasons why education had to improve to support economic development.

Your Opinion Counts

In what ways has SCETV affected your student academic life? Be specific.

Google “SCETV.” Is there a specific program you enjoyed when you were younger? Are there programs that you enjoy now? Ask some of your teachers for their reaction to SCETV. Has it helped in their teaching? In what ways?

Notes

“Quite a Strategy”: Critical Thinking

Why do you think people were upset at Governor Russell’s deal to have himself appointed senator? Was his action illegal? Was his judgment weak? What would you have done in his situation and why?



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

Notes

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.

Critical Thinking

Why do you think a governor would send National Guard troops into an area of the state to maintain order? Is this a good use of the National Guard or not? Why or why not?

Notes

Multidisciplinary Activity: Show Your Opinion

Draw two editorial cartoons that might have been prepared for the Orangeburg newspaper. One should support the student protests and the other should support the bowling alley's right to refuse service to anyone they chose.

Writing Skills

Imagine that you were a newspaper editorial writer during the Charleston hospital workers' strike. Write two editorials for your newspaper, one supporting the workers' strike and one opposing the workers' strike. Be sure to defend your positions in each article.



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.

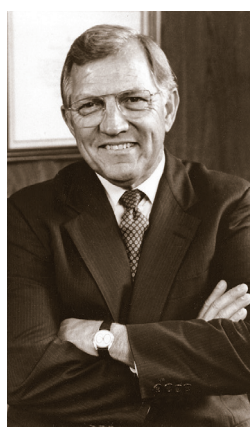
National union leaders, the SCLC, and Coretta Scott King (widow of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.) got involved, calling attention to the civil rights issues at stake. The strike was national news, and Charleston's tourist economy and its reputation suffered. The governor was sympathetic to the economic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

Notes

ASSESS

Answers to “Do You Remember?”

- 1. Urbanization** is the movement of the population from rural counties to cities. **Reapportionment** is distributing representation according to population. The **southern strategy** was a tactic 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.
- 2.** Urban dwellers need streets, water and sewer systems, new schools, growth of job opportunities, and regulations on pollution.
- 3.** The three sources of the “new” South Carolina Republican Party were (1) the many people who moved in from northern states to run the southern branches of an industry or to retire, who often had Republican roots in their home states; (2) the wave of young college-educated, ambitious business and professional people who filled the suburbs and were economic and social conservatives; and (3) the large number of Carolinians who supported white supremacy and opposed the liberal racial policies of the national Democratic Party.



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?

It’s Your Future

Despite efforts to make educational experiences equal in all counties, the goal remains hard to reach. What do you think the consequences of equalizing educational opportunities would be for the state? What do you think the consequences will be if the state does not equalize educational opportunities? Which position do you favor and why?



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

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

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.

A Legacy in Writing

Imagine that you have been asked to deliver a five-minute speech at a memorial service for Governor McNair. Using the text material along with "The Legacy of Governor Robert McNair" on the Internet, write your speech highlighting specific ways he improved life for South Carolinians. Use at least one quote. (Search "Quotes by South Carolina Governor Robert McNair.") Also use one amusing story. (Search "The Humor of South Carolina Governor Robert McNair.")

Teacher Note: If time permits, develop a performance-based assessment for both the writing assignment and the speech. Have students actually give the five-minute speech as you assess them with a teacher-developed speech rubric. (Particular attention is suggested to the five-minute length.)

Notes

CHAPTER REVIEW

Reviewing People, Places, and Things

1. Septima Poinsette Clark, a civil rights activist in South Carolina, was often called the “queen mother of the civil rights movement.”
2. Barnwell was a county with a small population but large influence in the last half of the twentieth century. Its senator was chair of the Finance Committee and its representative was speaker of the House. People spoke of the “Barnwell Ring” dominating the state.
3. James Meredith was the first black student admitted to the University of Mississippi.
4. Harvey Gantt was the first black student admitted to Clemson College, in 1963.
5. Donald S. Russell was a South Carolina governor who urged peaceful compliance with the civil rights laws. He later became a federal judge.
6. White flight was a way for whites to escape school integration in cities by moving to the suburbs, where many blacks could not afford to live.
7. Kent State University was the site of a protest against U.S. involvement in Vietnam where the Ohio National Guard killed four students.
8. The Great Society was President Lyndon Johnson’s program to deal with economic problems of the 1960s.
9. Urbanization is the movement of people from rural (country) areas to the cities.
10. Reapportionment is the distribution of representation according to population.



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?

Understanding the Facts

1. Fourteenth Amendment
2. It preferred doing that to integrating the parks.
3. It outlawed discrimination in employment and access to public accommodations based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.
4. It was to keep blacks from voting because they would probably not be able to pay the tax.
5. that workers do not have to pay union dues or belong to a union to be able to work for a company
6. Electrical power is necessary for industrial expansion, so South Carolina power companies have been investing in nuclear power.
7. in the 1960s
8. Ernest Hollings, Donald Russell, Robert McNair, and James West
9. Black college students from Claflin and S.C. State protested lack of access to the town’s bowling alley. Law enforcement came, a student

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

threw something that hit a patrolman, and shooting began. Three students died and many were wounded. The patrolmen were found not guilty and one black student was convicted of inciting a riot.

10. James B. Edwards

Developing Critical Thinking Skills

1. Answers will vary.
2. Answers will vary.
3. Answers will vary.

Writing across the Curriculum

Answers will vary.

Exploring Technology

1. Answers will vary.
2. Answers will vary.

Applying Your Skills

Answers should mention discontent over the Democrats' civil rights position, the creation of the Dixiecrats, the alignment of African Americans with Democrats, the influx of northerners, and the Goldwater candidacy.

Building Skills: Detecting Bias

Answers will vary.

Notes
