From New South to Sunbelt: Greenville, South Carolina

by

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Abstract

Greenville County, South Carolina is the Palmetto State's most populous county and exerts substantial influence on the state's politics and economy. Spaces such as Greenville have largely been omitted from the narrative of the Sunbelt South. This dissertation situates Greenville in the context of the Sunbelt South and analyzes political change and economic development in Greenville since 1945 with emphasis given to developments since 1966.

During this period, Greenville County transitioned from a solidly Democratic space to an early bastion of the Republican Party in South Carolina. Businessmen and young professionals led the transition and provided important leadership for the development of a two-party system in the state. Bob Jones University's 1947 relocation to Greenville placed the city in the currents of the national conservative movement. The institution grew into a powerful force in local and state politics augmenting the strength of the local Republican Party. After the mid-1970s, political divides between city residents, county residents, and fundamentalists associated with Bob Jones University structured area politics. Within the urban space of the city of Greenville, political leaders such as Max Moses Heller, an Austrian refugee, thrived but struggled to gain traction among the wider county electorate.

Once considered a textile center, Greenville County moved away from the textile economy beginning in the 1950s. Strong local leadership and cost advantages related to low wages and a low rate of unionization helped attract corporations including General Electric, Michelin, Hitachi, and BMW to the area. These companies cushioned the loss of the textile industry and brought growth to the area. By the late 20th and early 21st

centuries, population growth strained local resources and new residents offered the potential to disrupt the area's dominant political conservatism. Clashes over issues such as a controversial "anti-gay" Greenville County Council resolution demonstrated that older political divides between development-oriented business leaders and county residents remained. In the early 21st century, however, some signs of change were present.

Acknowledgments

This project began with my interest in the textile industry's decline and evolved into a dissertation on my hometown of Greenville, South Carolina focusing on politics and efforts to recruit industries other than textiles to the area. Writing about my hometown has been a challenging but fulfilling experience. I could not have completed this dissertation without the help and encouragement of many people. Archivists at Bob Jones University, Clemson University, Furman University, the Greenville County Library, the South Carolina Political Collections, and Winthrop University offered guidance and patience with my requests. In particular, I would like to thank Jennifer Walton, Susan Hiott, Carl Redd, Durham Hunt, Rulinda Price, Julia Cowart, Jeffrey Makala, Kate Moore, Herb Hartsook, and Gina Price Bolt.

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completed my dissertation without their support. I dedicate this dissertation to my parents and Emily.

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Introduction

Greenville County, South Carolina is a former textile manufacturing center located in upstate South Carolina.[1] The upstate, or as it is also known the piedmont or upcountry, is the largest of South Carolina's regions and subregions. One definition holds that one-third of the state is contained within the Piedmont. As Walter Edgar noted in his *South Carolina: A History,* the upcountry is "a region of rolling hills, punctuated by numerous valleys" and known for red clay.[2] In the late 19th and early 20th century, Greenville and other upstate towns and cities added large numbers of textile mills which changed the spatial landscape and drove growth.[3]

Greenville which stretches from flatter agricultural lands in the southern part of the county to mountainous terrain in its northern reaches is the state's largest county in terms of both area and population. In the late 2010s, over 500,000 residents called its 795 square miles home.[4] With a population of nearly 70,000, the city of Greenville is also one of South Carolina's largest cities.[5] Greenville County includes smaller towns and cities such as Fountain Inn, Greer, Mauldin, Simpsonville, and Travelers Rest. Most residents, however, live in the county's unincorporated spaces.

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[1] South Carolinians often use the terms upcountry, upstate, and piedmont interchangeably.
[2] Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 7-8.
[3] See David Carlton, *Mill and Town in South Carolina: 1880-1920* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982) and Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, et. al, *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987). For a Greenville specific work, see Ray Belcher, *Greenville County South Carolina From Cotton Fields To Textile Center Of The World* (Charleston: The History Press, 2006).
[4] A.V. Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995) 1.; Per the Greenville Area Development Corporation, a non-profit economic development agency in Greenville County, the county's estimated population in 2018 was 514,213. See "Demographics," Greenville Area Development Corporation, accessed July 22, 2019, http://www.greenvilleeconomicdevelopment.com/quality-of-life/demographics/.
[5] "Facts and Figures," Visit Greenville SC, accessed July 10, 2019, https://www.visitgreenvillesc.com/about-greenville/facts-figures/

Although Greenville does not rank among the top southern or Sunbelt metropolitan areas, it possesses greater importance than has often been recognized. In the New South era, Greenville arguably served as the heart of the textile industry. Greenville boosters argued that it was "the Textile Center of the World." This moniker served as an accurate description of the industry's role in the city and county. As late as the early 1970s, 21,000 Greenville County residents worked in textile mills. Many others earned a living in related industries.[6] Dating back to the textile era, Greenville developed a reputation for political conservatism and opposition to organized labor. One commentator critical of Greenville argued its mix of religious fervor, political conservatism, and success at luring companies to its business-friendly environment made Greenville, "a place whose national significance far exceeds the size of its population."[7]

Scholars, however, largely bypass areas such as Greenville in favor of larger Sunbelt spaces. Impressive studies examine postwar politics and economic changes in Atlanta, Dallas, Los Angeles, or Orange County among others.[8] Studies such as Marko Maunula's *Guten Tag, Y'all: Globalization and the South Carolina Piedmont, 1950-2000*, a focused study of Spartanburg, South Carolina's embrace of international manufacturing during the postwar period, partially fill the gap.[9] In *Sunbelt Capitalism*, a

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[6] Nancy Vance Ashmore Cooper, *Greenville: Woven From the Past* (Sun Valley, CA: American Historical Press, 2000), 161.
[7] Cliff Sloan and Bob Hall, "It's Good To Be Home in Greenville, But It's Better If You Hate Unions," *Southern Exposure* 7, no. 1 (1979): 82.
[8] See Kevin Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).; Matthew D. Lassiter, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics In The Sunbelt South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).; *Sunbelt Cities: Politics and Growth Since World War II* ed. Richard M. Bernard and Bradley R. Rice (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983).; Elizabeth Tandy Shermer, *Sunbelt Capitalism: Phoenix and the Transformation of American Politics* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).; Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).
[9] Marko Maunula, *Guten Tag, Y'all: Globalization and the South Carolina Piedmont, 1950-2000* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2009).

study of Phoenix, Arizona, historian Elizabeth Tandy Shermer argues secondary cities such as Greenville also belong to the Sunbelt and calls for increased scholarly attention on these spaces.[10] This dissertation adds Greenville to the Sunbelt narrative by focusing on Sunbelt-era Greenville and the area's political and economic evolution.

Previous histories of Greenville either provide a general overview of the city or focus on a narrow aspect of the community such as business or the textile industry. A.V. Huff Jr's *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont* offers an excellent overview of Greenville from settlement by Native Americans through the early-to-mid 1990s. A single chapter, however, is devoted to the period after World War II.[11] An assortment of other studies address the role of the textile industry, downtown redevelopment, or provide a non-scholarly overview of Greenville's history.[12] Historian James Arthur Dunlap III recognized this problem and authored a valuable study on economic development in postwar Greenville. Dunlap's research on Bob Jones University and Charles Daniel has been valuable to this project. His narrative, however, focuses narrowly on the business community and economic development at mid-century.[13] This dissertation offers a new approach by placing Greenville alongside other Sunbelt cities and focusing on politics and economic development.

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[10] Tandy Shermer, *Sunbelt Capitalism: Phoenix and the Transformation of American Politics,* 10-11.
[11] See A.V. Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995).
[12] For example, Ray Belcher, *Greenville County, South Carolina: From Cotton Fields to Textile Center of the World* (Charleston: The History Press, 2006) provides an overview of the textile industry in Greenville and John Boyanowski, *Reimagining Greenville: Building The Best Downtown in America, Rev. ed.,* with Knox White (Charleston: The History Press, 2017) provides a focused treatment on downtown redevelopment with emphasis placed on the period from the 1990s to present. Nancy Vance Ashmore Cooper's *Greenville: Woven From The Past* (Sun Valley, CA: American Historical Press, 2000) offers a good overview of Greenville history, but is not written from a scholarly perspective.
[13] James Arthur Dunlap III, "Changing symbols of success: Economic development in twentieth century Greenville, South Carolina," PhD Diss (University of South Carolina: 1994), 1.

I view postwar economic development efforts and the area's shift toward the Republican Party as two defining elements of postwar Greenville. Successful recruitment of new companies offset the loss of the textile industry. Anti-unionism, low wages and taxes, the recruiting efforts of Greenville individuals and institutions, and quality of life improvements helped the recruitment strategy succeed. In Greenville, new companies recruited to the area drove growth to a greater extent than in other South Carolina cities reliant on defense industries or state government.[14] As Minor Shaw, a Greenville leader, contends "we've had to be sort of entrepreneurial and create our own environment."[15]

Business leaders, such as Shaw's father Buck Mickel, championed growth and development through industrial recruiting. Although many of these leaders identified as political conservatives, they often exercised a sort of "qualified moderation" on social issues such as desegregation or LGBTQ rights. This formulation builds on ideas expressed by historian Elizabeth Jacoway. In an important study of the role of southern business leaders in the civil rights movement, Jacoway argues that following 1954's *Brown v. Board* decision: southern business leaders "embarked on a painful quest for order, for stability, and for reassurances that their progressive 'image' could somehow remain untarnished."[16] During the civil rights movement, Greenville business and civic leaders often behaved in a similar fashion by intervening to protect the community's

[14] For example, defense spending through the construction and operation of the Savannah River Site drove postwar growth in Aiken County, South Carolina. See Kari Frederickson, *Cold War Dixie: Militarization and Modernization in the American South* (Athens: University of Georgia, 2013). Charleston, South Carolina also derived substantial benefit from Cold War defense spending.
[15] Minor M. Shaw interview with the author, March 11, 2020.
[16] *Southern Businessmen and Desegregation* ed. Elizabeth Jacoway and David R. Colburn (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1982), 2.

reputation, in part driven by business concerns, in response to direct action and court rulings.[17]

White Greenville leaders' advocacy for growth and unwillingness to risk the city's reputation by taking strong stands on busing or other controversial issues sometimes put them at odds with other residents. Residents associated with Bob Jones University and the fundamentalist community expressed their opposition to a downtown arena for sports and entertainment, broke with city leaders over an LGBTQ rights controversy in 1996, and opposed an ecumenical prayer breakfast sponsored by Greenville's Jewish mayor Max Heller. Rural voters sometimes opposed the actions of city leaders as well. The arrival of home rule in 1975 and the entrance of Bob Jones University-affiliated residents into local politics exacerbated the divide between city and county.[18]

Economic growth also helped foster the most important political development of the postwar period: the emergence of two-party competition and the eventual dominance of the Republican Party. I argue the process of party transition occurred more rapidly in Greenville because of postwar economic growth. Native-born businessmen, professionals, and people drawn to the area as management for the textile or other industries formed the party's base in the 1950s and 1960s. Other scholars including Alexander P. Lamis, Gregory B. Sampson, and Kari Frederickson have demonstrated that

[17] Stephen O'Neill, "Memory, History, and the Desegregation of Greenville, South Carolina," in *Toward The Meeting Of The Waters: Currents in the Civil Rights Movement of South Carolina During the Twentieth Century*, ed. Winfred B. Moore Jr. and Orville Vernon Burton (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2008), 295.
[18] See Alan Ehrenhalt, *The United States of Ambition: Politicians, Power, and the Pursuit of Office* (New York: Times Books, 1991), 85-104.

the Republican Party achieved its earliest success in fast growing southern metropolitan spaces and among white collar voters.[19] Greenville confirms their analysis.

The transition from a Democratic to Republican majority in Greenville mattered. The fundamentalist Christian Bob Jones University formed one important faction of Greenville's Republican Party. Bob Jones University-affiliated voters generally supported socially conservative candidates and played an important role in the transition. Business-oriented Republicans formed another faction of the party and coexisted uneasily with social conservatives. Their fusion, however, helped propel the party's success in the 1980s and 1990s.[20]

As South Carolina's largest county, Greenville also plays an important role in the state's Republican Party. Greenville businessman Gregory D. Shorey Jr. served as chairman of the state Republican Party from 1958 to 1962 and helped build a competitive party. Carroll Campbell Jr., a Greenville businessman, became the first Republican to represent South Carolina's Fourth Congressional District in Congress since Reconstruction. His controversial victory over Greenville mayor Max Heller marked a key moment in the area's transition to a Republican majority. Campbell later served as governor of South Carolina and as an important figure in President Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush's successful primary campaigns. The decision of the South Carolina Republican Party to hold a "first-in-the South" presidential primary beginning in 1980

[19] See Alexander P. Lamis, *The Two-Party South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).; Gregory B. Sampson, "The Rise of the New Republican Party in South Carolina, 1948-1974: A Case Study of Political Change in a Deep South State," PhD Diss (University of North Carolina, 1984).; Kari Frederickson, *Cold War Dixie: Militarization and Modernization in the American South* (Athens: University of Georgia, 2013).
[20] See Ehrenhalt, *The United States of Ambition: Politicians, Power, and the Pursuit of Office* (New York: Times Books, 1991).

also elevated Greenville's importance in Republican politics.[21] By the end of the century, Greenville no longer relied on a textile-based economy and the once Democratic majority voted Republican in most cases.

This dissertation builds on a growing body of historical literature on the Sunbelt, modern conservatism, and southern economic development. The remainder of my introduction provides a historiographical overview and surveys Greenville's early history before laying out the structure of the chapters that follow. The Sunbelt and the postwar conservative movement are closely intertwined.

The idea of the Sunbelt originated in Nixon-era politics. In 1969, Republican political strategist Kevin Phillips introduced the idea of the Sunbelt. In *The Emerging Republican Majority,* Phillips argued that a broad stretch of the southern United States which included the Deep South and southwestern states such as Arizona and California served as the foundation for Republican electoral success. In historian Bruce Schulman's words, "Phillips portrayed the emerging South and West as the seedbed of a conservative majority in the United States, the foundation for a generation of Republican dominance in national politics." Phillips emphasized appeals to middle- and lower-middle class whites. He believed these voters, particularly in the South, would respond to a Republican strategy based on "racial animosities." This is commonly described as the "southern strategy."[22]

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[21] See H. Gibbs Knotts and Jordan M. Ragusa, *First in the South: Why South Carolina's Presidential Primary Matters* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2020).

[22] Raymond A. Mohl, introduction to *Searching for the Sunbelt: Historical Perspectives on a Region* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990), 3.; Stephen P. Miller, *Billy Graham and the Rise of the Republican South* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 157.; Cobb, *The South and America since World War II,* 132.; Bruce Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (Da Capo Press, 2001),107.; Bartley, *The New South:1945-1980,* 360.

The other most influential early treatment of the Sunbelt is journalist Kirkpatrick Sale's *Power Shift*. In his 1975 book, Sale described the Sunbelt as the "southern rim." By Sale's definition, the southern rim extended from the Carolinas to Southern California and provided a home for a "cowboy culture" that combined rapacious capitalism with political conservatism. Southerners and westerners benefitted from federal spending and threatened the northeast's cultural, economic, and political dominance. In contrast to Phillips, Sale feared the southern rim's growing power.[23] As Michelle Nickerson and Darren Dochuk contend, "from his [Sale's] perspective, the rise of the Sunbelt portended the nation's decline."[24]

The Sunbelt and particularly the South received more positive portrayals in most media outlets during the mid-1970s. The publication of a series on the Sunbelt South by *The New York Times* in 1976 led to a wave of interest in the region. Publications such as *Time* magazine recast the South and white southerners as virtuous rather than racist. As historian Numan V. Bartley has noted, for a brief period "virtually every national magazine carried articles, usually flattering, about the newly discovered Sunbelt South."[25] The positive image of the South even extended to television and country music achieved national popularity.[26]

This image reflected growing southern prosperity and the ascent of moderate southern politicians such as Jimmy Carter and Florida governor Rubin Askew that helped the region overcome its association with racial violence and segregationist politicians

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[23] Numan V. Bartley, *The New South: 1945-1980* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 431.; Cobb, *The South and America since World War II,* 171.; Schulman, *The Seventies*, 108.
[24] Michelle Nickerson and Darren Dochuk, introduction to *Sunbelt Rising: The Politics of Space, Place, and Region* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 5.
[25] Bartley, *The New South:1945-1980,* 432.
[26] Schulman, *The Seventies,* 114.; Cobb, *The South and America since World II,* 161-62.

such as George Wallace.[27] But it also relied on northern struggle throughout the decade in contrast with the South's seeming success. Historian James C. Cobb argues riots in northern cities and northern whites' violent resistance to busing and residential integration "revealed some fairly formidable motes in the eyes of white northerners who had long chosen to see racism and racial injustice as a purely southern characteristic."[28] During the 1980s, a wave of scholarship addressed the Sunbelt before historians largely abandoned the concept as the national economy recovered and tensions over busing receded.[29] As historians David Goldfield and Howard Rabinowitz contended in a 1990 essay, "call it death by reality or death by convergence, the Sunbelt is vanishing."[30]

Other historians questioned the notion of a changed South or of southern exceptionalism. Cobb argued the South remained exceptional in the degree to which the region avoided the changes usually wrought by industrialization. Unions remained weak and wages remained low. Southern states continued to spend less on social services and offer fewer environmental regulations.[31] In his 1981 study of the civil rights movement in Greensboro, North Carolina, William Chafe argued persuasively that the burden of racism was carried by Americans as a whole rather than by southerners alone. He contended that Greensboro's history "makes clear that white Americans will respond to the issue of race only when forced to."[32] Although the present generation of southern

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[27] Schulman, *The Seventies,* 114.
[28] Cobb, *The South and America since World War II,* 160.
[29] Nickerson and Dochuk, *Sunbelt Rising,* 9.
[30] David R. Goldfield and Howard N. Rabinowitz, "The Vanishing Sunbelt," in *Searching for the Sunbelt*, ed. Raymond A. Mohl, 224.
[31] James C. Cobb, "The Sunbelt South: Industrialization in Regional, National, and International Perspective," in *Searching for the Sunbelt,* ed. Raymond A. Mohl, 39-41.
[32] William Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 248.

historians continues to question the idea of southern exceptionalism, the Sunbelt concept has returned.

In the early 2000s, historians began to reexamine the Sunbelt and framed their studies around the growth of the conservative movement and the Republican Party in the postwar South and southwest. Historian Sean P. Cunningham argues that "during most of the 2000s, the study of modern conservatism, principally as it evolved in the Sunbelt, was one of the trendiest research fields in all of academia."[33] Lisa McGirr, Michelle Nickerson, Kevin Kruse, Matthew Lassiter, Joseph Crespino, and Darren Dochuk among others have authored substantial studies of the conservative movement focused on Sunbelt locales.[34] To borrow Cunningham's phrase, these studies focus on what he labels as the Sunbelt's "dynamic and multifaceted political culture." Their work has broadened the discourse on the postwar conservative movement.[35]

Influential, recent studies emphasize "grassroots politics" and studies focused on the Sunbelt South deemphasize the traditional narrative of a "Southern Strategy" based on "white backlash against the civil rights movement."[36] Lisa McGirr's *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* emphasizes how postwar conservatism took shape in Orange County, California where anti-communism, Cold War defense spending, and migration from the South and Midwest brought residents into the

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[33] Sean P. Cunningham, *American Politics In The Postwar Sunbelt* (New York: Cambridge, 2014), 2.
[34] See Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).; Kevin Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).; Matthew Lassiter, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).; Joseph Crespino, *In Search of Another Country: Mississippi and the Conservative Counterrevolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).; Michelle Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).
[35] Cunningham, *American Politics In The Postwar Sunbelt,* 13.
[36] Lassiter, *The Silent Majority,* 3.

conservative movement.[37] In *Mothers of Conservativism,* Michelle Nickerson demonstrates that conservatism also flourished in neighboring Los Angeles County among middle class and affluent women driven by a desire to protect their homes against outside influences such as progressive educators or international organizations. These studies demonstrate commonalities in the language of the conservative movement across regions.[38]

Sunbelt South studies such as Kevin Kruse's *White Flight,* Matthew Lassiter's *The Silent Majority,* and Joseph Crespino's *In Search of Another Country* provide more analysis of the role of race in the conservative movement. All, however, complicate the idea of "white backlash" as the genesis for the postwar conservative movement's success in the South. Lassiter argues the "South's central contribution to national political realignment came primarily from the suburban ethos of Sunbelt metropolises such as Atlanta and Charlotte, not the exportation of the political culture of the Deep South and the Black Belt." He argues the politics of largely white suburban residents centered on their identities as "homeowners, taxpayers, and schoolparents" which fit in with the ideology of the Republican Party.[39] In contrast, Kruse views the origins of modern conservatism as rooted in urban spaces such as Atlanta where battles over the desegregation of residential and public spaces led to white abandonment of urban spaces and the development of "a new conservatism predicated on a language of rights, freedoms, and individualism."[40] Lastly, Joseph Crespino argues against viewing Mississippi as an exception within the conservative movement and emphasizes the state's

[37] McGirr, *Suburban Warriors,* 8-9.
[38] Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism,* xxi.
[39] Lassiter, *The Silent Majority,* 7-8.
[40] Kruse, *White Flight,* 6-7.

role in the construction of the language of modern conservatism.[41] Other recent works examine Sunbelt businesses such as Walmart and Chick-fil-a and their links with the region's conservative political climate.[42]

By taking the narrative out of Atlanta and Mississippi and into Greenville, I provide a new perspective on the conservative movement which emphasizes the importance of economic growth and the impact of evangelical and fundamentalist Christians. My dissertation also contributes to the literature on southern economic development by building on the work of historians Bruce Schulman and James C. Cobb. In his work on economic development and industry in the South, Cobb argues the South retained continuity with its past while industrializing and remained a low-wage region.[43]

Studies such as Marko Maunula's *Guten Tag, Y'all* make a similar argument.[44] Maunula contends Spartanburg, South Carolina leaders modernized the local economy without engendering significant political or social liberalization.[45] My study finds that economic growth aided the growth of the Republican Party in Greenville and brought new residents to the area, but the elements such as anti-unionism and low taxes which encouraged companies to relocate to the area remained. Bob Jones University also reinforced the area's conservative tendencies. Greenville's modern character has also been influenced by its evolution from Cherokee hunting ground to a textile center.

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[41] Crespino, *In Search of Another Country,* 277-278.
[42] See Bethany Moreton, *To Serve God and Walmart: The Making of Christian Free Enterprise* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); Several essays in Michelle Nickerson and Darren Dochuk's *Sunbelt Rising* also provide excellent analysis of Sunbelt businesses.
[43] See James C. Cobb, *The Selling of the South: The Southern Crusade for Industrial Development, 1936-1990* 2nd ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1993) and *Industrialization and Southern Society* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1984).
[44] See Maunula, *Guten Tag, Y'all.*
[45] Maunula, *Guten Tag, Y'all,* 2.

Greenville's history began with Native Americans. The lands that became Greenville County largely belonged to the Cherokee tribe that controlled northwestern South Carolina until the late eighteenth century.[46] Richard Pearis, an Irish-born Indian trader, became the most influential early European settler when he obtained a grant of land from the Cherokee in present-day Greenville County and settled on the land around 1770.[47] Pearis established a plantation and constructed mills on the Reedy River which runs through present-day downtown Greenville.[48]

In the late 18th century, Greenville remained a backcountry area with little in the way of governance.[49] In 1786, the state legislature incorporated then "Greeneville" as a county because residents needed more regular access to the court system.[50] As Huff Jr. notes, the county remained rural and lacked a true "urban center to form the focus of its economic and political life" at the close of the 18th century.[51] Religion filled the gap. As Huff Jr argues, Southern evangelical Protestantism "provided a moral discipline for the community without questioning the social system and brought to the people who lived in relative isolation in rural society a sense of community."[52] Historian Lacy K. Ford reached a similar conclusion. As Ford noted in his pioneering *Origins of Southern Radicalism: The South Carolina Upcountry 1800-1860,* "evangelical Christianity fit the

[46] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 4-5. Huff notes that present-day Greenville County may have served as a "hunting preserve" for the Cherokee and the Catawba tribe as well. The Cherokee, however, were more active in Greenville.
[47] Ibid, 14.
[48] Ibid, 17-18. According to Huff, Pearis "built a grist and sawmill."
[49] Ibid, 41.
[50] Ibid, 48-49. Greeneville County was the original name. Although the origin is disputed, the consensus appears to be that "Greeneville" was an homage to Revolutionary War general Nathaniel Greene. Greene's service included time in South Carolina. Some have argued the name was in reference to the "verdant appearance" of the land or in honor of an early mill operator on the Reedy River which runs through the current city limits of Greenville. The added "e" did not last long.
[51] Ibid, 57.
[52] Ibid, 70-79.

Upcountry well" because of its emphasis on the individual and its role as a stabilizing force in an area whose population often moved in search of economic opportunity.[53]

Religious fervor remained a lasting characteristic of Greenville and helped to shape the area's politics. In the late 20th Century, church membership in Greenville County exceeded regional and national averages.[54] According to one study, 80 percent of Greenville County's population heled membership in a church. Evangelicals, particularly Southern Baptists and independent Baptists, constituted the majority of adherents.[55] The roots of Greenville's manufacturing economy also formed in the early 19th century.

During the antebellum period, the village of Greenville grew through the addition of small manufacturing operations tied to agricultural products. These manufacturers used the Reedy River, one of many fast-flowing rivers and streams in the Upcountry as a source of power.[56] Vardry McBee, antebellum Greenville's leading entrepreneur and citizen, operated a sawmill, paper mill, and flourmill on the Reedy River. Several textile mills also operated during the antebellum period. McBee could also be considered Greenville's first economic development leader.[57] He pursued an antebellum railroad and provided land for the construction of village churches and supported a newly arrived women's college.[58] McBee's manufacturing enterprises presaged the importance of the

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[53] Lacy K. Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism: The South Carolina Upcountry, 1800-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 37, 32.
[54] In 1990, 64.9 percent of Greenville County residents belonged to a church whereas 61.9 percent of South Carolinians and 55.1 of Americans were church members. See Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 412.
[55] Ashmore Cooper, *Greenville: Woven from the Past,* 172.
[56] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 63.
[57] Belcher, *Greenville County, South Carolina: From Cotton Fields to Textile Center of the World,* 21; Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 83-86.
[58] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 120-21, 100-102, 125.

textile industry to Greenville, but agriculture remained the dominant activity in antebellum Greenville.

County residents predominantly grew wheat and corn.[59] Cotton production remained relatively small even well into the antebellum period. As late as 1840, "only 275 bags of cotton were produced in the entire district."[60] Cotton production peaked in Greenville after the Civil War which differentiated Greenville from counties that lay closer to the middle of the state.[61] These lower Piedmont counties bore a greater resemblance to the middle of the state known as the Sandhills or Midlands through their deeper involvement "in the cotton economy than the upper Piedmont." Upper piedmont counties remained majority white and "dominated by small and medium-sized farms."[62] Greenville County never contained a black majority. On the eve of the Civil War in 1860, only about a third of county residents were black.[63] This may account for the county's substantial unionist sentiment in the 1830s and during the crisis of 1850.[64] In 1860, however, Greenville delegates to the Secession Convention voted in favor of secession.[65]

The county and the upper Piedmont in general escaped significant fighting in the war.[66] The postbellum period, however, led to significant economic changes.[67] The textile industry's growth shaped the economy and character of Greenville. As historian David

[59] Ibid, 62.
[60] Ibid, 63.
[61] Ibid, 53.
[62] Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, 46-47
[63] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 420-21.
[64] Ibid, 104-5, 129.
[65] Ibid, 135.
[66] Greenville's only direct brush with the United States Army during the war happened during "Stoneman's Raid," in which a cavalry unit came through Greenville in search of Jefferson Davis. This action came after Robert E. Lee's army in Virginia had already surrendered. See Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 143-4.
[67] Ibid, 178-9.

Carlton has noted, pre-Civil War Greenville and neighboring Spartanburg were "small, sleepy courthouse and railroad terminal towns…dealing in supplies and serving as summer resorts for low-country planters."[68] Carlton argues that postwar railroad growth made Upcountry towns such as Greenville more important to South Carolina's economy. By 1880, Greenville grew to include six thousand residents and 161 stores. Four times as many people lived in Greenville in 1880 as on the eve of the Civil War.[69]

Carlton views the maturation of towns such as Greenville and Spartanburg into larger entities as an essential development in forging modern South Carolina. He argues the growth of a business class in towns converted businessmen's desire for "individual aggrandizement into a powerful force for economic and social development which began to transform the landscape and the people of South Carolina."[70] The spirit of the New South, as well as structural factors such as water, electricity and access to rail lines, helped lead to the rapid growth of the textile industry in South Carolina's upper Piedmont. By the early 1900s, textile mills clustered in and around the towns of the upper Piedmont. Anderson, Greenville, and Spartanburg accounted for over a quarter of the state's town mills.[71]

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century and particularly in the first decade of the twentieth century, the pace of textile mill construction in Greenville and South Carolina increased.[72] Thanks to the textile industry, Greenville's industrial growth rate of 63 percent between 1900 and 1905 led South Carolina.[73] Textile industry suppliers

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[68] Carlton, *Mill and Town in South Carolina: 1880-1920,* 23.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid, 26.
[71] Ibid, 46-7.
[72] Belcher, *Greenville County, South Carolina: From Cotton Fields to Textile Center of the World,* 46-7.
[73] Ibid, 48.

and purchasing departments for dozens of mills located in Greenville and dozens of mill presidents resided in the city. In 1915, Greenville provided ten percent of the American textile industry's supplies.[74] During the same year, Greenville began its run as the host of the Southern Textile Exposition, which originated as an exhibition of textile machinery held in Boston. The industry gathering brought 40,000 people to Greenville and lent credence to Greenville's booster claim of being the "textile center of the South."[75]

The textile industry also divided Greenville socially and politically. In South Carolina towns and cities where the textile industry had a large presence, mill workers often felt ostracized by urban residents. In Greenvillle, mill workers "noted that people crossed the street so as not to have to share the sidewalk with 'lintheads' and 'bobbindodgers'"[76] The social distinctions were part of the broader "mill problem," which referred to South Carolinians fear of disorder caused by mill workers. Middle class town and city dwellers often believed mill workers were "rowdy and crude."[77] As one study notes, "places such as Greenville and Charlotte acquired large populations of clerks, service workers, and professionals who defined their status in opposition to the millhands on the outskirts of town."[78] Fears of unionization and workers' support for

[74] Ibid, 63.
[75] Ibid, 64-65; Greenville became the Southern Textile Exposition's "permanent home." See Edgar, *South Carolina: A History,* 456.
[76] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History,* 459. The terms were considered insults to workers in textile mills. "Lintheads" referred to an undesirable side effect of working in a cotton mill. Lint from the processed cotton could accumulate on the person of a textile operative. Bobbins were part of the machinery and flying bobbins were an occupational danger.
[77] Ibid, 457, 461. For the original source of the "mill problem" concept, see David Carlton, *Mill and Town in South Carolina.*
[78] Dowd Hall, et. al, *Like A Family,* 222. See pgs. 222-25 for a fuller description of tensions between middle class town dwellers and mill villagers.

populist politicians such as South Carolina's Cole Blease were other important manifestations of middle and upper class fears.[79]

Unionization efforts in Greenville textile mills started in the 1880s with a failed campaign by the Knights of Labor in Greenville and Anderson County.[80] Management reacted quickly to unionization attempts. Greenville mills normally discharged strike leaders and members of labor unions.[81] Local leaders' fierce opposition to organized labor became a defining trait of the manufacturing-oriented county.[82]

Management and town dwellers also divided politically from millhands. Although South Carolina populist Benjamin R. Tillman initially rejected textile workers because they were associated with industry, Tillmanites such as Cole Blease relied on textile workers support in their statewide campaigns.[83] In Piedmont counties such as Greenville, these workers made up a sizable voting bloc. In 1910 and 1912, Greenville textile workers enthusiastically supported the candidacy of Cole Blease for governor. Blease rallied against progressivism and claimed to champion the interests of workers.[84] He won 63.7 percent of mill workers vote in 1910 and increased his share to 70 percent in 1912.[85]

Greenville textile workers enthusiasm for Blease even exceeded that of South Carolina mill workers as a whole. In 1910, Blease captured 57 percent of South Carolina textile workers vote.[86] Blease's resistance to progressivism has been credited with

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[79] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History,* 457, 461.
[80] Ibid, 461.
[81] Belcher, *Greenville County, South Carolina: From Cotton Fields to Textile Center of the World,* 108-109.
[82] See Cliff Sloan and Bob Hall. "It's Good To Be Home in Greenville, But It's Better If You Hate Unions," *Southern Exposure* Vol. 7, No. 1 (1979): 82-93.
[83] Huff Jr., 277. Also see Stephen Kantrowitz, *Ben Tillman & The Reconstruction of White Supremacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2000).
[84] Edgar*, South Carolina: A History,* 473.
[85] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 277.
[86] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History,* 473.

delivering the mill workers votes.[87] By 1934, Greenville millhands shifted their support from Blease to Olin Johnston, a former textile worker and a proponent of the New Deal.[88] Johnston presented himself as a friend to South Carolina's textile workers. He helped reduce the textile industry work week to forty-hours and create a workmen's compensation program.[89]

Despite class divisions among Greenville whites, they almost universally identified with the Democratic Party. The Democratic Solid South held in Greenville throughout the 1930s and into the Second World War. In 1932, Republican Herbert Hoover received 95 of the 7,863 votes cast. Four years earlier, Hoover won the votes of 270 Greenville County residents.[90] In Greenville County, a small Republican Party functioned with some members of the black middle class involved in Republican politics.[91] By and large, Greenville whites identified as political conservatives. Despite broad support for President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, some local elites backed Senator Ellison "Cotton Ed" Smith over Olin Johnston, his Roosevelt-backed primary challenger.[92]

The vast majority of black Greenvillians were excluded from participation in politics and the textile economy. In 1940, 30,432 black residents called Greenville County home. They were the victims of economic and spatial segregation.[93] In the city of Greenville and outlying areas, black and white communities were separate. This

[87] Ibid, 472-73.
[88] Dowd-Hall, et. al, *Like a Family,* 121; Huff Jr.*, Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 374; Edgar, *South Carolina: A History,* 507.
[89] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History,* 506-7.
[90] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 342.
[91] Ibid, 340-41, 313.
[92] Ibid, 359.
[93] Ibid, 420.

separation remained legal within the city until 1963 when a court ruling struck down a law that prohibited "blacks from living on residential city blocks deemed 'white.'"[94] Most black residents also lacked access to quality housing. Substandard housing characterized the city's black neighborhoods. As historian A.V. Huff Jr. described Greenville's black communities in the 1930s: "On paved or unpaved side streets were large and medium houses owned or rented by black families. Behind the side streets were narrow, unpaved alleys lined with small houses, many in poor condition."[95]

Most of Greenville's African American residents were employed in occupations such as domestic service or unskilled trades.[96] The jobs available to African Americans in southern textile mills were "the dirtiest and heaviest work," which often involved tasks such as loading cotton or janitorial work. Production jobs remained off limits to black workers.[97] Black Greenvillians worked as "odd-jobbers or cleaners" in local textile mills. A small, black middle class was concentrated in teaching and ministry.[98]

On the cusp of American entrance into the Second World War, Greenville like other southern cities remained Democratic in its politics and segregated. The textile industry maintained its dominant status. Defense spending aided the industry and helped Greenville's economy recover from the Great Depression. Greenville's recovery began with the start of the European war in 1939 when increased demand led the price of cotton and textile mill stock to rise to higher levels. Production also increased. Local mills started operating 80 hours per week.[99] Federal money also augmented Greenville's

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[94] O'Neill, "Memory, History, and Desegregation in Greenville, South Carolina" in *Toward the Meeting of the Waters* ed. Winfred B. Moore Jr. and Orville Vernon Burton, 291.
[95] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 355.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Hall, et. al, *Like a Family,* 66-67.
[98] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 355.
[99] Ibid, 375.

strength in textiles. Mills produced materials for uniforms, jeep tops, medical gauze, and parachutes and sometimes operated seven days per week.[100]

Greenville's economy also benefited from the selection of Greenville as the site of an Army Air Force base in 1942.[101] The creation of Greenville Army Air Base had been a project of local elites and brought a substantial amount of money into the county from the base's payroll, its construction, and operation.[102] The renamed Donaldson Air Force Base stayed open after the war ended, as Greenville benefited from Cold War defense spending. The headquarters of the Military Air Transport Command were located at Donaldson and added over 2,000 residents to the county.[103]

Donaldson Air Force base linked Greenville with the broader South and emerging Sunbelt. Cities from Atlanta to Oklahoma City to San Diego all benefited from Cold War defense spending, either through the production of weaponry or the economic impact of military installations.[104] In the Atlanta metropolitan area, a World War II bomber plant operated by Bell Aircraft Corporation fueled growth in Cobb County. During the Korean War, the plant reopened and grew into the Georgia's largest employer.[105] Donaldson and other military bases in the South made the region the national leader in defense salary expenditures and represented about ten percent of the region's personal income in the mid-1950s.[106]

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[100] Belcher, *Greenville County, South Carolina: From Cotton Fields to Textile Center of the World* (Charleston: The History Press, 2006), 124, 126.
[101] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 378.
[102] Ibid, 378-9.
[103] Ibid, 392-93.
[104] Bradley R. Rice and Richard M. Bernard, introduction to *Sunbelt Cities: Politics and Growth since World War II* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1983), 12-13.
[105] Matthew Lassiter, "Big Government and Family Values" in *Sunbelt Rising: The Politics of Place, Space, and Region* ed. Michelle Nickerson and Darren Dochuk (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 86-88.
[106] Cobb, *The South and America Since World War II,* 62.

A 1946 newspaper report explained that Donaldson's monthly payroll more than doubled "the monthly payroll of one of Greenville's largest textile mills."[107] In 1948, 4,000 Air Force and civilian personnel derived income from their work at Donaldson and spent a combined $500,000 for goods and services in Greenville County.[108] Food, housing, clothing, and amusement were major categories of spending, as the Greenville area captured over 70 percent of spending by the base and its personnel.[109] As historian Bruce Schulman contends, military bases and other federal spending in the South boosted the region's economic fortunes and underwrote the Sunbelt boom.[110]

In many respects, the Second World War changed the American South and set the stage for postwar growth. Regional power shifted from the traditional "county-seat elite" to industrial interests and business leaders in metropolitan spaces.[111] Greenville benefited from these changes. Area business leaders and politicians displayed many of the characteristics of the group that Schulman labels "new Whigs." These leaders sought new industries and government aid for infrastructure such as airports.[112] Charles Daniel, an area construction executive, led postwar development efforts and also supported Republican presidential candidates. Greenville and other growing southern cities made the transition from New South cities centered around industries such as textiles and loyal to the Democratic Party to Sunbelt cities with a mix of more diverse, if still relatively low wage, industries and a large number of Republican voters.

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[107] Unidentified clipping, October 24, 1946, Donaldson AFB/Center clipping file, Vertical Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as Donaldson AFB clipping file.
[108] "GAFB Brings Millions of Dollars to Greenville," Unknown publication, September 14, 1948, Donaldson AFB clipping file.
[109] Unidentified clipping, October 24, 1946, Donaldson AFB/Center clipping file.
[110] Bruce J. Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South, 1938-1980* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), vii.
[111] Bartley, *The New South: 1945-1980*, 105-111.
[112] Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt,* ix.

In the chapters that follow, I analyze economic development and political realignment in Greenville using important figures, events, and institutions as a frame. Most of the narrative is devoted to the Sunbelt era which dates from the late 1960s. Chapter One explains economic and political developments in Greenville following World War II with particular attention paid to the recruitment of new industry, Bob Jones University's relocation to the community, and the emergence of a competitive Republican Party in Greenville. By the mid-1960s, new industries started arriving and Republicans gained a majority on the county's legislative delegation.

Chapter Two examines Greenville during the Sunbelt era of the late 1960s and 1970s and focuses on two events that contributed to the Sunbelt image: Greenville's comprehensive integration through busing, which brought positive attention to the community despite its failure to bring about longer term educational gains for black students, and Max Heller's tenure as mayor from 1971-1979. Heller's transformative leadership reshaped Greenville's urban space.

Chapter Three focuses on the 1978 Fourth Congressional District race that included Heller, Republican Carroll Campbell Jr. and independent candidate Don Sprouse. Voter dissatisfaction with the Carter administration and anti-Semitism helped lead to Heller's defeat. Campbell's victory paved the way for further Republican gains and propelled his political career.

Chapter Four demonstrates how the rise of the Christian Right and the advent of home rule influenced local politics and juxtaposes political changes with the arrival of important international corporations to the area. Fundamentalist politicians' emphasis on social conservativism sometimes led to clashes with more development-oriented leaders.

By the late 1980s, economic development reshaped the county's landscape and the addition of companies such as BMW to the area brought an influx of new residents.

In the mid-1990s, growth led the *Greenville News* to label Greenville "boomtown" and identify Greenville as an international city. Chapter Five explores the intersection of growth and conservative politics in Greenville through a controversy over an "anti-gay resolution" and George W. Bush's controversial visit to Bob Jones University. The growth of immigrant communities, suburbs, and the persistence of inequality also marked the Greenville of the 1990s.

I conclude with a discussion of Greenville's growth and evolution in the new millennium. Although the area remained politically conservative, local institutions and politics showed some signs of change. Growth led to Democratic Party gains in the city but also threatened the status of many long-time residents.

Chapter One—From New South to Sunbelt: 1945-1966

"You talked about business and even to the point that my mom and I were on an airplane flying to New York and happened to sit next to somebody from Hoechst Chemical and found out they were thinking about locating a plant down in the South…so my mom got on the phone and called my dad and next thing you know they were recruiting Hoechst Chemicals….so, we were all involved in economic development"—Minor Mickel Shaw

"It matters not how the rest of the country voted, Greenville County is Goldwater Country today"—*The Greenville News,* November 4, 1964.

In the winter of 1950, Massachusetts born navy veteran Gregory D. Shorey Jr. moved with his young family to Greenville, South Carolina in order to pursue a business opportunity. The recent graduate of Boston University had studied law and marketing communications, but manufacturing brought him to Greenville. Through his in-laws, he discovered an opportunity to convert an ailing manufacturer of surgical dressings into a what proved to be a profitable enterprise. His company Style-Crafters Inc. manufactured boat cushions, life jackets, and other related equipment and eventually employed several hundred workers.[1]

Shorey also brought a passion for politics to Greenville. In college, he served as president of the Boston University Young Republicans and worked for Republican candidates in Massachusetts. South Carolina presented a new type of challenge. All local and state elected officials were Democrats. The publisher of the local newspaper initially refused to run an Eisenhower for President advertisement that Shorey tried to purchase. The symbolic only state Republican party's interest lay in seeking patronage

[1] Gregory D. Shorey Jr. telephone interview with author, March 11, 2020.

appointments rather than contesting elections or building a second Party organization and running candidates.[2]

By 1958, Shorey chaired the South Carolina Republican Party and white South Carolinians in metropolitan areas such as Greenville regularly voted for Republican presidential candidates. In 1958, he invited Arizona senator Barry Goldwater to address a Republican fundraiser in Greenville. Shorey promoted Goldwater with 1964 in mind, acknowledging the Republican nomination of Richard Nixon in 1960. Shorey enthusiastically backed Goldwater again in 1964 and the Arizona Republican won Greenville County by a ten thousand vote margin. As historian Laura Jane Gifford argues, transplanted businessmen such as Shorey exemplified "the kind of individual active in the early development of the South Carolina GOP."[3]

Shorey's business and political career demonstrates the important changes that took place in Greenville County, South Carolina between the end of the Second World War and the mid-1960s. The area began the process of shedding its image as a textile town and white residents began to express their political conservatism through the Republican Party.

This chapter examines both how Greenville diversified its economy after the Second World War and how area voters began to shift their loyalty from the Democratic to Republican Party. By the mid-1960s, Greenville's economic development efforts led to the growth of new industries and the construction of infrastructure such as a jet airport

[2] Ibid.; Gregory D. Shorey, Reflections on a life in Politics, South Carolina Leadership file, Box 6, Gregory D. Shorey Papers, South Carolina Political Collections, University of South Carolina Libraries. Hereafter referred to as Shorey Papers.
[3] Shorey, interview; Laura Jane Gifford, "'Dixie is no longer in the bag': South Carolina Republicans and the Election of 1960," *Journal of Policy History* 19, No. 2 (2007): 211.

located between Greenville and Spartanburg played a vital role in the area's acquisition of BMW's first North American plant in 1992. Greenville grew through the leadership of locals such as construction executive Charles E. Daniel who promoted local and state economic development efforts and by attracting manufacturers seeking a low wage, non-unionized environment.

I argue that the process of economic development and the growth of the Republican Party in Greenville were related. As political scientists Alexander P. Lamis and Gregory B. Sampson have demonstrated, the Republican Party flourished in growing metropolitan areas such as Greenville where economic considerations and racial backlash both aided the party's growth. As Lamis has noted, "presidential" or "urban Republicanism" was the first stage in the South's postwar political transition.[4] Growing metropolitan spaces such as Greenville, Sampson contends, "contained increasingly large numbers of residents who found Republican economic policy and social philosophy compatible with their political needs and economic interests."[5] During the early postwar decades, these types of voters clustered in the city of Greenville delivered the strongest returns for Republican presidential candidates and provided the initial electoral success for candidates for local office.

This chapter analyzes the relationship between economic development and political realignment. First, it establishes the process of economic development which fueled Greenville's postwar growth. Second, it demonstrates the importance and impact of Bob Jones University on Greenville. The city persuaded Bob Jones to relocate to

[4] Alexander P. Lamis, *The Two-Party South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 24-25.
[5] Gregory D. Sampson, "The Rise of the New Republican Party in South Carolina, 1948-1974: A Case Study of Political Change in a Deep South State," PhD diss (University of North Carolina, 1984), 147.

Greenville in 1947. In Greenville, BJU helped diversify the local economy and linked the city more firmly with the postwar conservative movement. Third, economic development encouraged the growth of the Republican Party in Greenville. The party first took root in the more affluent city before flourishing in the county.

Postwar Economic Development

Greenville's drive for postwar economic growth was part of the larger framework of postwar economic development in the South. Formal efforts to attract industry to the region by state governments began in the 1930s when Mississippi created its Balance Agriculture With Industry Program (BAWI).[6] After the Second World War, southern communities created aggressive economic development programs meant to attract new industry and residents. As historian James C. Cobb argues, "business and professional leaders in the region's cities and towns launched all-out campaigns to bring more jobs to their area" that were often driven by the influx of returning veterans.[7] Historian Bruce Schulman labels development-oriented southerners as "new whigs." The new whigs sought federal money for infrastructure and defense dollars to boost their communities.[8] In South Carolina, Cold War defense spending transformed communities such as Aiken and Greenville benefitted as well through Donaldson Air Force Base and federal subsidization of the interstate highway system which linked Greenville with larger southern metropolitan areas.[9]

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[6] James C. Cobb, *The Selling of the South: The Southern Crusade for Industrial Development, 1936-1990* 2nd ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1993), 5-6.
[7] James C. Cobb, *The South and America Since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 55-56.
[8] Bruce J. Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South, 1938-1980* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), ix.
[9] Kari Frederickson, *Cold War Dixie: Militarization and Modernization in the American South* (Athens: University of Georgia, 2013), 1-7.; A.V. Huff Jr, *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 392-94.

In the decades following the Second World War, Greenville rode the wave of southern economic development. Between 1953 and 1969, the number of manufacturing firms located in the county rose from 249 to 318.[10] The postwar period also witnessed a surge in white collar and service sector jobs. Growth in the service sector accounted for two-thirds of job gains between 1950 and 1970. Between 1940 and 1960, the number of white collar workers in Greenville County increased from 22.2 percent to 34.5 percent to rank third in South Carolina.[11] Population surged from 136,580 residents in 1940 to 209,776 in 1960.[12] Development minded citizens such as Charles Daniel helped fuel Greenville's postwar growth.

In the early 1950s, Minor Mickel Shaw's family moved from Georgia to Greenville when her father Buck Mickel became a field engineer at his uncle's growing construction firm. Daniel Construction Company grew to be the largest industrial constructor in the southeast and one of the five largest construction companies in the United States. The company's founder Charles E. Daniel became as historian James Arthur Dunlap III argues, "Greenville's most prominent citizen." Daniel influenced economic development efforts throughout the region, briefly served in the United States Senate, and played a role in national conservative politics.[13]

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[10] Industrial Expansion Greenville, S.C., 1970, Box 27, Folder 122, Carolyn E. Frederick Papers, Louise S. Pettus Archives, Winthrop University. Hereafter referred to as Frederick Papers.
[11] Sampson, "The Rise of the New Republican Party in South Carolina, 1948-1974: A Case Study of Political Change in a Deep South State," 136.
[12] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 420.
[13] Minor M. Shaw interview with the author, March 11, 2020.; James Arthur Dunlap III, *Changing symbols of success: Economic development in twentieth century Greenville, South Carolina*, PhD Diss (University of South Carolina: 1994), 152-153, 180.; Russell Shaw, "Buck Mickel Chairman & CEO, RSI Corporation," Unknown Publication, June 1987, Box 21, Folder 2, Mss 298, Buck Mickel Papers, Special Collections, Clemson University Libraries, Clemson, SC.; *The Economy of Greenville County: a look to the future,* Greenville County Planning Commission, November 1976, 3, Economy Reports/Statistics file, Vertical Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as Economy Reports/Statistics file.; Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 532.

In Shaw's family, business matters were part of the nightly conversation. Her father and great uncle aggressively sold the advantages of the area and region for manufacturing. Shaw recalled that Daniel Construction executives scouted the management of large northeastern firms to "see if any of the board members had southern connections…or connections with people they knew." Her father made trips to New York and sat in the "outer office of the CEO" until he could get a meeting. When they convinced northern executives to visit the area, they sold them on the availability of land, low cost of living, and low rate of unionization. As a profile in *Fortune Magazine* explained in the mid-1950s, "if the customer permits himself to be lured into Daniel's hometown, he is a gone goose."[14] Described as "a one person development board," Daniel helped build South Carolina's economic development agency as well.[15]

Historian James Dunlap III's dissertation "Changing Symbols of Success: Economic Development in Twentieth Century Greenville" examines the impact of economic development on Greenville County and pays particularly close attention to Daniel and the city's recruitment of Bob Jones University. Dunlap argues that Greenville was particularly assiduous in its postwar economic development strategy. "In the postwar decade, Greenville wholeheartedly embraced the concept of aggressive industrial recruiting. The community sought and obtained a diversified portfolio of new businesses."[16]

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[14] Shaw, interview.; Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Upstate,* 390.
[15] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History,* 532.
[16] Dunlap III, "Changing Symbols of Success: Economic Development in Twentieth Century Greenville, South Carolina," 210.

Greenville leaders' desire for industrial diversification can be seen in a 14-point postwar program for the area that was published by the afternoon paper the *Greenville Piedmont* in 1944. The list, compiled by reader letters from a "Postwar Plans Contest," the chamber of commerce, and public officials, gave top billing to widespread concerns over jobs for veterans and better housing but accorded "diversified industries" a place of prominence. "For the welfare of the area we greatly need a diversity of industries so that our general economy may not be tied solely to fluctuating fortunes of one," the *Piedmont* argued. "The Chamber of Commerce is planning extensive promotional efforts to interest both people of other areas and our people here at home in creating new industries and in encouraging the enlargement of industries already established."[17]

A coterie of Greenville leaders helped to shape South Carolina's postwar economic development efforts. In 1945, South Carolina formed its first economic development agency: the Research, Planning, and Development Board. Roger C. Peace, the publisher of the *Greenville Piedmont* and *Greenville News,* served as the upstate's representative.[18] Charles Daniel forged close relationships with prominent South Carolina politicians such as Strom Thurmond, James F. Byrnes, and Ernest "Fritz" Hollings. He accompanied Thurmond on industry hunting trips and encouraged the state to adopt "pro-business measures" such as a Right-to-Work law.[19]

As South Carolina's economic development efforts continued to evolve into a more professional operation during the 1950s and 60s, Greenvillians played an important role.

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[17] "A Postwar Program For Greenville Area," *The Greenville Piedmont*, August 11, 1944, Greenville Planning & Development Postwar Program 1944 file, Vertical files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as Greenville Planning & Development Postwar Program 1944 file.
[18] Dunlap III, "Changing Symbols of Success: Economic Development in Twentieth Century Greenville, South Carolina," 160-61.
[19] Ibid, 164-72.

Greenville insurance executive Francis M. Hipp headed the State Development Board. In historian Walter Edgar's estimation, Hipp helped make the board "an effective tool for bringing in new industries and jobs."[20]

Greenville leaders also relied on the well-worn southern strategy of hawking the region's low cost of labor. Preventing labor unions from successfully organizing southern workers formed a key element of the strategy to induce industry to locate in the South. As James C. Cobb explains, "because the centerpiece of the South's appeal to new industries was still its large pool of cheap workers, labor unions could be demonized as nothing less than a mortal threat to industrial development."[21] Outside observers often commented on the depth of Greenville's anti-unionism. In 1977, Wayne King, a *New York Times* journalist covering the fight to organize J.P. Stevens textile mills described Greenville as "among the most relentlessly anti-union cities in the nation."[22]

Greenville possessed a long tradition of anti-unionism. Dating back to the earliest attempts at organizing southern textile workers, unionization efforts aroused fierce opposition. In 1886, the Knights of Labor attempted to organize workers at two area mills. Management fired union members and threatened to close the mills.[23] A mill deputy killed one person during the 1934 General Textile Strike and the strike's worst violence occurred in neighboring Anderson County.[24] The father of Greenville attorney

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[20]During the 1950s, the Research, Planning, and Design Board was renamed the State Development Board. *South Carolina Encyclopedia Online,* s.v. "South Carolina Department of Commerce" by R. Phillip Stone II, http://www.scencyclopedia.org/sce/entries/south-carolina-department-of-commerce/; Edgar, *South Carolina: A History,* 531.
[21] Cobb, *The South and America since World War II,* 58.
[22] Wayne King, "Textile Union Fight to Organize Stevens Plants Shifts to Greenville, S.C.," *The New York Times*, October 18, 1977, accessed April 18, 2020, https://www.nytimes.com/1977/10/18/archives/long-island-opinion-textile-union-fight-to-organize-stevens-plants.html?searchResultPosition=1.
[23] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 190-91.
[24] Ibid, 352-353.

John Bolt Culbertson, one of the area's few open supporters of organized labor, attempted to organize local mills and faced violence, lost his job, and experienced social ostracism.[25]

The importance of evangelical and fundamentalist Christianity in Greenville also played to unions' disadvantage. Scholarship on the relationship between southern religion and organized labor has traditionally emphasized a reaction to unions and strikes that ranged from apathy to outright hostility. In *The Mind of the South,* journalist W.J. Cash's influential reflection on the New South, he argued southern churches viewed strikes as a "sort of defiance of the will of heaven."[26] In his study of textile heavy Gaston County, North Carolina, sociologist Liston Pope found that ministers in mill village churches were often "instruments of social inertia."[27] At least one Greenville pastor appeared to agree with Cash's perspective explaining to his congregation the initials of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) stood for "Christ is Out."[28]

Operation Dixie, the CIO's major postwar push to organize the southern textile industry, experienced little success in the region and almost none in Greenville County. In 1938, millhands at Woodside Mills organized Local 268, the CIO's only foothold in the area, but the union failed to expand beyond Woodside.[29] In 1955, the *Greenville Piedmont* reported that only four of the area's 254 manufacturing facilities were unionized. Recruitment literature from the period reprinted the report to emphasize the

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[25] Marion Wright Address to the Greenville County Council on Human Relations May 15, 1958, Human Relations Council Greenville SC file, Box 17, John Bolt Culbertson Papers, South Carolina Political Collections, University of South Carolina Libraries. Hereafter referred to as Culbertson Papers.
[26] W.J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (Vintage: New York, 1991), 350.
[27] Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), 115.
[28] George B. Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1967), 524.
[29] Huff Jr, *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 391; Dunlap III, 45-47.

almost total absence of labor unions in Greenville.[30] Nick Theodore, a state representative from Greenville in the early 1960s, argued that South Carolina's low rate of unionization has historically been "the ace in the hole" in industrial recruitment.[31]

Many of Greenville's early postwar industrial gains were in competitive industries such as textiles and apparel that were already the area's strong suite. In these industries, cost savings on plant construction, wages, and benefits were critical to profitability. As James C. Cobb has noted, recruitment inducements in the post-World War II period such as bond financing "coupled with the South's cheap labor, helped to confirm the region's already heavy concentration of competitive, wage-sensitive industries."[32]

Greenville firms such as Daniel Construction were part of the postwar wave of textile mill construction and modernization.[33] Daniel pioneered the construction of air conditioned, windowless textile mills that increased efficiency and changed the signature look of southern textile mills. The company both constructed new mills and retrofitted older mills for major textile corporations such as J.P Stevens and Deering-Milliken, the latter of which established a headquarters and research facility in Spartanburg built by Daniel Construction.[34]

A 1976 report by the Greenville County Planning Commission noted, "the proportion of U.S. textile mill activity located in Greenville County rose in the 1950s." 75 percent of the county's manufacturing workers labored in textile mills in 1950. At mid-decade, Greenville's eight county market area had 130 textile manufacturers

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[30] 1955 Greenville Economic Development Literature, Economy G, Reports/Statistics file.
[31] Nick Andrew Theodore interview with author, December 28, 2018.
[32] Bartley, *The New South: 1945-1980,* 107; Cobb, *The Selling of the South,* 39; Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 389.
[33] Dunlap III, "Changing Symbols of Success: Economic Development in Twentieth Century Greenville, South Carolina," 156.
[34] Ibid, 154-156, 148-150.

employing 60,993 workers. By the mid-1960s, Greenville textile mills operated more than 800,000 spindles.[35]

Textile-related industries such as apparel and textile machinery also enjoyed postwar gains. Between 1950 and 1965, these industries grew from 14 percent to 32 percent of all of the county's manufacturing employment. The apparel industry, which included future mayor Max Heller's Maxon Shirt Company, consisted of 49 firms that employed almost 7,000 additional workers.[36] Through mergers with other firms, textile machinery manufacturer John D. Hollingsworth On Wheels, Inc. became one of the world's largest companies in its field. In 1955, textiles and related industries made Greenville County the wealthiest in the state in terms of "wages, buying income and total sales."[37]

Daniel and other Greenville leaders, however, wanted to move beyond reliance on the textile industry. Between 1950 and 1970 companies in non-textile fields began to gain a foothold in Greenville County. These gains were driven not only by local recruitment efforts, but also by infrastructure and educational improvements. First, the Highway Act of 1956 led to the construction of Interstate 85 (I-85) which crosses Greenville and Spartanburg Counties. Many of the new manufacturing operations that located in Greenville County were in close proximity to I-85 and U.S. 276 which connected Greenville with Interstate 26.[38] In historian Marko Maunula's estimation, the growth of

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[35] *The Economy of Greenville County: a look to the future,* Greenville County Planning Commission, November 1976, Economy G Reports/Statistics file, 3.; Blanche and Kenneth Frederick Marsh, *The New South Greenville, South Carolina* (Columbia: The R.L. Bryan Company, 1965), 158.
[36] *The Economy of Greenville County: a look to the future.*
[37] Ibid.; Sam Ayers, "Textiles Make Greenville Richest S.C. County," *The Greenville Piedmont,* September 14, 1955. Economy G-Articles-History, Vertical Files, South Carolina Room. Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as Economy G-Articles-History file.
[38] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 394.

manufacturing between Greenville and Spartanburg has made the area "the buckle of the Southern Piedmont's Interstate 85 Boom Belt."[39]

Secondly, Daniel and Spartanburg industrialist Roger Milliken led a successful effort to build a regional jet airport located along I-85 between Greenville and Spartanburg. Economic development considerations provided the motivation for a regional airport rather than the existing patchwork of small airports. Daniel and Milliken, frequent business travelers, and in Daniel's case, a member of the Eastern Airlines board, understood the absence of a jet airport placed Greenville and Spartanburg at a disadvantage relative to their competitors. Greenville-Spartanburg Airport (GSP) opened in 1962.[40] The airport helped recruit new industry to the area including automotive manufacturing such as BMW.[41]

Finally, Greenville benefitted from the creation of South Carolina's technical education system in early 1961 and the opening of the Greenville Technical Education Center in 1962.[42] The system, designed to train skilled workers and provide subsidized "start-up" training for new industries joined a broader push for technical education across the South. Daniel lobbied for the system as a means of recruiting companies to the state.[43]

Between 1950 and 1970, companies in non-textile fields began to gain a foothold in Greenville County. In 1970, the percentage of Greenville workers employed in the

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[39] Marko Maunula, *Guten Tag, Y'all: Globalization and the South Carolina Piedmont, 1950-2000* (Athens: University of Georgia, 2009), 1-2.
[40] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 394; Shaw, interview.
[41] A.J., Jacobs, *The New Domestic Automakers in the United States and Canada: History, Impacts, and Prospects*, Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015. Accessed January 22, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central, 157.
[42] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 393.
[43] Cobb, *The Selling of the South,* 169.; Lacy K. Ford Jr. and R. Phillip Stone, "Economic Development and Globalization in South Carolina," *Southern Cultures* 13 (Spring 2007): 24-25.

textile industry fell to 43 percent. The number of jobs in "new-line" southern industries such as the paper, chemical, rubber and plastics, and electrical industries increased during the 1950s and 60s. By the mid-1950s, non-textile industries located in Greenville County included food products, furniture, glass, lumber, and hosiery along with four dozen plants engaged in the manufacture of machinery and metal which employed almost 3,500.[44] Greenville added non-textile manufacturing operations such as plastics manufacturer Cryovac, electronics manufacturer Union Carbide, and Texize, a homegrown manufacturer of cleaning solutions. As one local historian boasted, "the textile and apparel vernacular of the town has been joined by talk of resins, polymers, chlorine, lubricants, softeners, conveyers, fabricated steel, carbon brush and seal rings, furniture, and even salad dressing and mustard."[45]

The industrial diversification strategy began to pay greater dividends when General Electric decided to locate a gas turbine plant employing 500 workers in Greenville. In April 1967, the *Greenville News* boasted "General Electric Company brought diversification with a capital D to Greenville County's industrial economy." The plant required machine tool operators, welders, and assemblers trained through technical education programs and brought prestige. Greenville also provided a cost savings. The *News* noted that wages were "in line with area scales for similar skills."[46]

The Recruitment of Bob Jones University

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[44] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 391-92.; Sam Ayers, "Textiles Make Greenville Richest S.C. County," *Greenville Piedmont,* September 14, 1955. Economy G-Articles-History file, Vertical Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter cited as Economy G-Articles-History file.

[45] Blanche and Kenneth Frederick Marsh, *The New South Greenville, South Carolina* (Columbia: The R.L. Bryan Company, 1965), 125.; Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 391.

[46] Jack Trim, "GE To Build $50 Million Turbine Plant Here," *Greenville News,* April 11, 1967.

The 1947 relocation of Bob Jones University to Greenville provided another boost to the area's economic development and helped to shape Greenville's politics and religious culture.

The development included both residential and retail expansion on the edges of the city limits and into the expanding suburbs that became an important base for the Republican Party.[47] BJU's presence also led to the creation of dozens of fundamentalist churches in Greenville County.[48] Conservative politics and conservative religion often mixed in these congregations. By the 1980s, Bob Jones graduates and employees exercised considerable power in Greenville politics. At least one publication later claimed that Bob Jones University "all but controls local Republican politics in its hometown."[49] Although the claim that Bob Jones University has controlled local Republican Party politics is overstated, it has enjoyed a prominent role in shaping local political affairs and in South Carolina's important "first in the South" Republican presidential primary.

The process by which Bob Jones University arrived in Greenville not only explains much about the interplay between economic development, politics, and religion but also foreshadows the conflict between the community and University that characterized the institution's early decades in Greenville. The reality is more complicated.

The origins of Bob Jones University are in Alabama. Born to a large farming family in southeastern Alabama's Dale County, Robert Reynolds Jones (known as Bob

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[47] Dunlap III, "Changing Symbols of Success: Economic Development in Twentieth Century Greenville, South Carolina," 270.
[48] John Matzko, "'This Is It, Isn't It, Brother Stone?' The Move of Bob Jones University from Cleveland, Tennessee, To Greenville, 1946-1947," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 108, No. 3 (July 2007): 235.
[49] Ibid. Matzko quotes Oran P. Smith, "Baptists" in Robert Wuthnow, ed. *Encyclopedia of Politics and Religion,* 2nd ed. (Washington D.C.: CQ Press, 2006), 1: 63.

Jones Sr.) founded and lent his name to Bob Jones University.[50] His background in Alabama and evangelistic career informed the manner in which his institution operated. Jones came of age amid a wider regional agricultural crisis that increased the burden of small farmers in the poor farming country of Jones's native "wiregrass" region of Alabama.[51] These struggles motivated his father Alex to serve in a leadership role in the local Farmers Alliance. The belief of alliance members that industry and urban settings threatened their values appears to have influenced Bob Jones Sr. who later railed against the deleterious effects of cities on America's moral fiber and viewed rural settings as morally superior.[52]

According to historian Mark Taylor Dalhouse, Evangelical Christianity, served as the "single most important formative influence upon Bob Jones."[53] In his devout household, the Jones family engaged in daily bible reading and prayer.[54] Bob Jones Sr. demonstrated an early devotion to his family's religious faith. According to Melton Wright, the author of an authorized account of the university and its founding family, Jones began to pray at a young age and often prayed alone in the woods. Jones underwent a formal conversion experience at age 11 when he responded to an altar call at a local revival meeting.[55] During his childhood, Jones began to preach in front of audiences of children and adults.[56] Licensure to preach and conducting revival services followed in

[50] Melton Wright, *Fortress of Faith: The Story of Bob Jones University* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1960), 15.
[51] Mark Taylor Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire: Bob Jones University, Fundamentalism & The Separatist Movement* (Athens: University of Georgia, 1996), 21.
[52] Ibid, 22-23.
[53] Ibid, 23.
[54] Ibid, 24.
[55] Wright, *Fortress of Faith,* 20-21.
[56] Ibid, 19.

Jones's teenage years.[57] He also excelled in the limited educational opportunities that his rural environment provided.[58]

Bob Jones Sr.'s intellectual gifts and preaching talents allowed him to attend Southern University. Historian Mark Taylor Dalhouse asserts that Southern's combination of liberal arts and a "strict, theologically orthodox setting" helped inspire Jones's own institution. A desire to pursue his budding career as an evangelist and to financially assist his two widowed sisters led Jones to leave Southern before graduating.[59]

After leaving Southern, Jones's ministry expanded from Alabama into other southern states and eventually into midwestern towns and cities.[60] His ministry in the Midwest forged connections that would later lead a large number of students from Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Michigan to study at Bob Jones University. In many cases, these students remained in the Greenville area after graduating.[61] His cultural background and the growing fears of conservative Christians and Americans in the 1920s provided Jones with the motivation to form his own college and shaped the institution's values.

Historian William Chafe argues the 1920s can be viewed as "a period of systematic polarization." In this decade, "profoundly antagonistic cultural forces engaged

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[57] Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire,* 25.
[58] Wright, 21-22.
[59] Dalhouse, 25.; Matzko, "'This Is It, Isn't It, Brother Stone?' The Move of Bob Jones University from Cleveland, Tennessee, To Greenville, 1946-1947," 237. Southern University became Birmingham Southern College which is located in Birmingham, Alabama.
[60] Wright, *Fortress of Faith,* 31-32.
[61] Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire,* 5. As Dalhouse notes, "almost since its inception and continuing into the 1990s," Bob Jones University has drawn "its largest pool of students from Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Ohio." Terry Haskins serves as a useful example of a midwestern born Bob Jones graduate who stayed in Greenville. The Michigan born Haskins pursued a career in law and politics after his graduation from Bob Jones and served on Greenville's City Council and then as a state legislator. At the time of his death from cancer at the age of 45, Haskins served as Speaker Pro Tempore in the South Carolina House of Representatives. See Alan Ehrenhalt, *The United States of Ambition: Politics, Power, and the Pursuit of Office* (New York: Times Books, 1991), 85-104 and Lee Bandy, "Speaker Pro Tem Haskins dies at 45," *The State*, October 25, 2000, "Terry Haskins," Republican Party of South Carolina Papers, South Carolina Political Collections, Box 34. Hereafter referred to as Republican Party of South Carolina Papers.

in mortal combat to determine who would control the future of the nation." Rural and small-town dwellers of northern and western European descent feared urbanites who arrived in United States more recently and largely descended from southern and eastern Europeans. These predominantly Catholic and Jewish immigrants frightened many Americans who resided in the farming communities and small towns of the South and Midwest. A resurgence of nativism and fears of alcohol consumption and the potential repeal of prohibition animated conservatives and fundamentalists such as Jones. Their broader fears of Jazz Age cultural decline and the threat of modernism to Christian religion led them to fight against perceived threats to their values.[62]

In the 1920s, Jones resided in Montgomery, Alabama and felt the cultural and political influences of the state.[63] Nativism grew as a political force in Alabama with the rise of the second Ku Klux Klan and other nativist organizations. In the early and mid-1920s, the Alabama Klan's membership surged and included numerous prominent politicians and ministers among its members.[64]Although Jones did not join the Klan, his close friend Alabama governor Bibb Graves held active membership and secured the organization's support in the 1926 gubernatorial contest.[65]

Within Alabama, Jones played a prominent role in leading the opposition to Democratic presidential nominee Al Smith in 1928. Smith's Catholic faith, support for the repeal of prohibition, and status as a New Yorker were anathema to numerous Alabama and southern Democrats. Smith narrowly prevailed within Alabama as many

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[62] William Chafe, *The Rise and Fall of the American Century: The United States from 1890-2009* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 75-77.
[63] Wright, *Fortress of Faith,* 35.
[64] William Warren Rogers, et. al., *Alabama: The History of a Deep South State* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama, 1994), 430-31.
[65] Ibid; Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire,* 28.

loyal Democrats felt strongly enough to cast their vote for Republican Herbert Hoover rather than Smith.[66] Even within this environment, Jones proved to be one of Smith's strongest opponents.

In 1924, Jones had opposed Smith's "wet" or anti-prohibition faction at the Democratic National Convention in New York which he and other fundamentalists attended to express their support for prohibition. Historian Daniel K. Williams labels the battle between the "wet" and "dry" factions at the convention as "the opening salvo in fundamentalists' attempts to reclaim the nation through politics."[67] Jones also vigorously opposed Smith's candidacy in 1928. He attended an August meeting of anti-Smith Democrats held in Birmingham, Alabama. At the meeting, which included not only many Baptist and Methodist ministers but representatives from the Ku Klux Klan and temperance groups as well, Jones "inflamed the gathering by warning of the immigrant menace to traditional American values."[68] Jones campaigned against Smith in Alabama and told readers of *Bob Jones Magazine* that "the things that made America great are the things that Al Smith's religion opposes."[69] The anti-Catholicism of Bob Jones University's founder persisted in his institution and led to a national controversy over Republican presidential candidate George W. Bush's visit to the university in 2000.[70]

The threat of immigrants and big city values to "old-time Americans" constituted one major theme of Jones's ministry in the 1920s.[71] The perceived threat of modernism to American higher education, however, played the decisive role in Jones's decision to

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[66] Rogers, et. al., *Alabama: The History of a Deep South State,* 437-38, 441.
[67] Daniel K. Williams, *God's Own Party: The Making of the Christian Right* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 11.
[68] Rogers et. al., *Alabama: The History of a Deep South State,* 438.
[69] Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire,* 29.
[70] Williams, *Fortress of Faith,* 247.
[71] Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire,* 29-30.

found a college. Jones believed that Modernists who denied biblical inerrancy were "destroying the foundations under all our Protestant civilization."[72] The rise of secular institutions of higher education and Darwinism were also considered to be major threats to Jones's vision of higher education.[73] As Dalhouse contends, "the declining state of American education became, from Jones's perspective, an encapsulation of the many ills he saw besetting Protestant values."[74]

According to *Fortress of Faith,* a history of Bob Jones University and Bob Jones Sr., parents and students often approached Jones to express their grievances with the secular drift of higher education. The stories recounted in *Fortress of Faith* employed a pattern in which Christian students found their "faith shattered" and "morals corrupted" by a college.[75] In one typical story, the pious child of a widowed mother attended a university in the North where students mocked his bible and a biology professor shattered his faith in God. The student turned to gambling and alcohol and kept company with immoral women before turning to Jones for help.[76] The role of science professors and Darwinism figured prominently into the stories Jones conveyed to Wright. In another story, a religious "skeptic" in the science department of a denominational institution turned the son of a preacher into an atheist who mocked his parents' faith.[77]

Jones followed a wave of institution building within fundamentalist circles. In the late 1920s, fundamentalists created new educational institutions, periodicals, and radio stations to broadcast their message. These developments led Jones to understand that an

[72] Ibid, 30.
[73] Ibid, 31-33.
[74] Ibid, 35-36.
[75] Wright, *Fortress of Faith,* 39.
[76] Wright, *Fortress of Faith,* 40-42.
[77] Ibid, 42-43.

institution centered around his religious and social worldview would have a natural "constituency."[78] The institution that Jones created proved to be a lasting and durable "alternative to the direction of American higher education since the Civil War," as Mark Taylor Dalhouse argues. Bob Jones, as the college's first catalog explained, was to be an institution "where the student's religious faith would not be shaken by questionable teachings." The emphasis Bob Jones placed on moral instruction more closely resembled the "nineteenth-century ideal of a college" than a modern institution.[79] In his own words, Jones sought to create "the greatest orthodox, interdenominational educational center in the world."[80]

In 1927, Jones opened Bob Jones College at a site located outside Panama City, Florida with the support of Alabama governor Bibb Graves and businessmen connected to Graves such as Birmingham's Donald Comer.[81] Jones, who never completed his undergraduate degree and held an honorary doctorate from Muskingum College in Ohio, held a different background from most university presidents and his institution's curriculum reflected his values.[82] The school's early curriculum centered around subjects such as music, speech, and religion that were applicable to ministry and students were required to take at least two semesters worth of public speaking courses because of its relationship to evangelism.[83] The institution notably eschewed accreditation. The former

[78] Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire,* 35-36.
[79] Ibid, 40-41.
[80] Wright, *Fortress of Faith,* 44.
[81] Wright, *Fortress of Faith,* 46-47 and Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire,* 36-37. Wright notes on pg. 101 that Graves maintained involvement with the institution. "He remained a loyal supporter and member of the executive committee until his death" and was honored through "Bibb Graves Hall" on the university's Greenville campus.
[82] Wright, *Fortress of Faith,* 35.
[83] Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire,* 42 and Wright, *Fortress of Faith,* 53-54.

registrar later argued Bob Jones Sr. did not want any constraints placed on his power.[84] The disciplinary standards of Bob Jones College set the institution even further apart. Female students were not permitted to leave the campus alone. They were required to be escorted by a family member or college approved chaperone. Vices such as dancing, card playing, listening to jazz music, or throwing dice were subject to punishment in the form of demerits.[85]

Financial troubles in Florida created by the Great Depression and the end of the Florida land boom of the 1920s forced the college to file for bankruptcy in 1933.[86] After a happenstance discovery by Bob Jones Jr., the bankrupt college purchased the campus of Centenary College, a defunct women's college in Cleveland, Tennessee. Businessmen in Cleveland were eager to have a tenant for the campus and to recoup money lost by Centenary's closure. They provided funds to upgrade the campus for Jones. Two supporters of Bob Jones College also helped financially underwrite the move to Tennessee.[87]

Bob Jones College operated successfully and expanded in size and scope in Cleveland until the post-World War II GI boom and Cleveland residents' reluctance to sell additional land to the institution forced it to move again. During the institution's tenure in Cleveland, it achieved the financial stability that eluded it in Florida. Stronger

[84] Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire,* 43. Bob Jones University finally earned accreditation in 2005 through the Transnational Association of Christian Colleges and Schools. See Ron Barnett, "Bob Jones students get easier way to transfer course credits," April 27, 2005, Bob Jones University-Accreditation file, Vertical Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library.
[85] Ibid, 41.
[86] Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire,* 37-39, 45-46.
[87] Ibid, 46-47.

finances helped Bob Jones to weather its initial years in Greenville when the promises of local businessmen fell short.[88]

During the Second World War's closing years and in its immediate aftermath, Bob Jones College felt the strains of added enrollment. As historian John Matzko notes, "between the 1944-45 and 1946-47 school years, Bob Jones College's enrollment nearly doubled." The institution struggled to house, teach, and minister to its student body. Classroom instruction began at 7 A.M. and continued into the evening. The important function of campus worship had to be altered as well. The college's chapel could not accommodate the entire student body. Services were conducted in multiple sites and students "could be seated in the main auditorium only once a week." [89] Surplus government trailers from the Oak Ridge National laboratory and leased barracks from an Air Force Base supplemented the campus's permanent buildings.[90]

The administration attempted to remedy the problem by purchasing adjoining land to expand the campus, but per the university's official history these attempts were "met with strong resistance and outrageous prices from the owners."[91] Despite the involvement of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce in a 1945 campaign to purchase adjoining land, property owners proved unwilling to sell to Bob Jones at rates the institution could afford. The official history of Bob Jones University argues, "the campaign brought to the surface long-held animosities by some owners." Per this account, owners reticent to sell

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[88] Ibid, 47-48.
[89] John Matzko, "This Is It, Isn't It, Brother Stone? The Move of Bob Jones University from Cleveland, Tennessee, to Greenville, 1946-1947," 235-256, 240. The eventual Lee College faced some of the same challenges as Bob Jones. As Matzko notes on pg. 240, it "had more than five hundred students, and an influx of veterans was similarly taxing its facilities."
[90] Daniel L. Turner, *Standing Without Apology: The History of Bob Jones University* (Greenville: BJU Press, 2001), 104.
[91] Ibid, 109.

their property at a price deemed reasonable by the college resented the added traffic it caused, its tax exemption, and the "religious and discipline standards of the school." The price of land in Cleveland, Tennessee also exceeded comparable parcels in other cities.[92]

The traditional story of the institution's relocation centers on an offer made by the Church of God (Cleveland) to purchase the Bob Jones campus. Cleveland, Tennessee also served as the headquarters of one branch of the Church of God. Doctrinal differences between Bob Jones College and the Church of God created no discernable hostility between the two institutions.[93] Bob Jones College officials concluded a land lease with the Church of God which led to an impromptu meeting in early 1946 between Jones Sr., his business manager, and Reverend John C. Jernigan, the head of the Church of God. At the meeting, Jernigan extended an informal offer to purchase the Bob Jones campus and relocate its denominational institution from Sevierville, Tennessee to Cleveland.[94] A formal offer followed in late February.[95]

On April 4, the Board of Trustees formally codified the decision to pursue relocation. The decision, however, appeared to be a fait accompli. Jones had already told

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[92] Ibid, 105. Practical considerations may have also influenced homeowners reluctant to sell to BJU. As Kenneth Jackson explains in *Crabgrass Frontier,* his influential survey of suburbanization, after the Second World War "housing was the area of most pressing need." During the Great Depression and war years, "new homes starts" averaged "less than 100,000 per year." See Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 232. In his account of the relocation, Bob Jones University historian John Matzko also contends that practical reasons rather than resentment may have played a role. Matzko writes, "some owners held land that had been in their families for generations; and in any case, replacement housing was increasingly difficult to find during the inflationary postwar period. Other owners simply (and understandably) tried to get top dollar for their properties." See Matzko, "'This Is It, Isn't It, Brother Stone?' The Move of Bob Jones University from Cleveland, Tennessee, To Greenville, 1946-1947," 240-41.

[93] Dunlap III, "Changing Symbols of Success: Economic Development in Twentieth Century Greenville, South Carolina," 223, 228-29.

[94] Turner, *Standing Without Apology,* 103. Another version of the story, told by Bob Jones College's former business officer R.K. "Lefty" Johnson, argues the college exhausted all of its options on expansion before deciding to leave Cleveland. In this telling, the Church of God offer would have followed rather than precipitated the decision.

[95] Matzko, "'This Is It, Isn't It, Brother Stone?' The Move of Bob Jones University from Cleveland, Tennessee, To Greenville, 1946-1947," 242.

the student body in a chapel service of possible relocation. According to college lore, students met the announcement with "an explosive roar" in a display of frustration with the inadequate campus and Cleveland itself.[96] The college's "Expansion Committee," which consisted of Bob Jones Sr., his son Bob Jones Jr., and the school's business manager began to receive offers from cities and organizations that viewed the institution as an economic development prospect, spiritual asset, or both.[97] The principal requirements for the new location were: adequate space, an atmosphere conducive to the institution's mission, and an ability to construct the new campus by the fall of 1947.[98]

Numerous cities in the North, South, and Midwest pursued Bob Jones including Boston, Detroit, and Kansas City. The southern cities of Atlanta, Orlando, Chattanooga and Knoxville, Tennessee and Asheville and Hendersonville, North Carolina also actively recruited the college.[99] Despite offers such as the purchase of a large tract of land in Massachusetts, the committee rejected sites outside of the South due to political and cultural considerations.[100] As Bob Jones Jr. later explained, the South's conservatism and the institution's political connections in the region were important factors in the decision

[96] Turner, *Standing Without Apology,* 107. As Matzko hints at these frustrations on page 248 where he cites a former BJU student who was present at the announcement. "He later concluded that although his fellow students knew nothing about Greenville, they thought anything was better than Cleveland."
[97] Matzko, "'This Is It, Isn't It, Brother Stone?' The Move of Bob Jones University from Cleveland, Tennessee, To Greenville, 1946-1947," 243. Matzko argues that the committee was given "carte blanche to make the final decision."
[98] Turner, *Standing Without Apology,* 108.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Matzko, "'This Is It, Isn't It, Brother Stone?' The Move of Bob Jones University from Cleveland, Tennessee, To Greenville, 1946-1947," 244.; Turner, *Standing Without Apology,* 109. As Matzko argues on page 244, the Joneses worried "about the number of churches with similar doctrinal beliefs—churches of a sort that were uncommon in Boston and Kansas City."

to remain.[101] With the northeast and Midwest eliminated, the committee focused on Asheville, Orlando, and Knoxville.[102]

Both Asheville and Orlando had issues that prevented the college's relocation. The university's official history argues in Asheville, "a group of local ministers made it clear through newspaper advertisements, sermons, and gossip that they would fight every aspect of bringing the school to the area and that the new Bob Jones University would be unwelcome in their community because of its Fundamentalist theology." The committee eliminated Orlando after determining the Florida city to be too distant from the majority of the student body and finding Orlando could not meet the college's deadline for building the campus.[103]

Knoxville, however, met all of the college's conditions. A benefactor offered to purchase three hundred acres of land. The University of Tennessee apparently had no qualms in sharing Knoxville with Bob Jones. The university's official history describes UT educators as "anxious to have the College close to its Knoxville campus."[104] Greenville entered the picture late in Bob Jones's accelerated relocation process. E. Roy Stone, a Greenville realtor, and the parent of a Bob Jones student received word through his daughter that her college would be relocating.[105]

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[101] Matzko, "'This Is It, Isn't It, Brother Stone?' The Move of Bob Jones University from Cleveland, Tennessee, To Greenville, 1946-1947," 244. Matzko also argues that racial beliefs did not play an important role in the decision to remain in the South rather than choose a northeastern or midwestern location. "Evidence that Bob Jones College decided to stay in the South in order to remain an all-white institution is circumstantial at best." See Matzko, 244. His argument is important in light of Bob Jones's reluctance to integrate and the university's interracial dating ban which cost the institution federal tax-exempt status until the 2000s. The ban was withdrawn in 2000.
[102] Turner, *Standing Without Apology,* 109.
[103] Ibid.; Matzko also argues on pg. 245 that Asheville was also "felt to be too much of a resort area and, again, too isolated."
[104] Ibid, 109.
[105] Matzko, "'This Is It, Isn't It, Brother Stone?' The Move of Bob Jones University from Cleveland, Tennessee, To Greenville, 1946-1947," 245.

Stone stood to benefit from Greenville's continued growth and his daughter's presence at Bob Jones University indicated the realtor believed in the institution's mission. He expressed the city's interest in becoming the institution's new home through a letter to Jones and rallied local businessmen and organizations. Despite his affinity for Knoxville and the incentives offered by other cities, Jones agreed to visit after complications with a land deal to bring the university to Knoxville.[106] Accounts of the decision to relocate to Greenville tend to emphasize a combination of temporal and spiritual elements.

Dunlap argues that Greenville's business and governing class presented a united front in its recruitment of the institution to Greenville. In his estimation, "none of the other prospective cities could match the Greenville chamber of commerce in sheer tenacity."[107] A private plane ferried university officials to Greenville where they inspected potential sites and were honored with a banquet.[108] Greenville's business community offered strong incentives including the purchase of 180 acres valued at $175,000 for the new campus.[109] A delegation of Greenville leaders including Stone also travelled to Tennessee in "a downpour of rain" to further persuade the Joneses to locate their institution in Greenville. In Wright's telling, there were "numerous telephone calls

[106] Ibid, 246. In a story repeated across histories of Bob Jones University, Stone reached Jones in a lawyer's office in Knoxville to encourage him again to visit Greenville. Errors in the contract and the landowner's last-minute misgivings about selling her property led to the fateful phone call between the two men. As Matzko notes on page 246, "by the end of the day, Jones had agreed both to take an option on the Knoxville land and to visit Greenville." As Dunlap notes, after Bob Jones University made the decision to visit Greenville Stone worked on a residential development near the new campus. See Dunlap III, "Changing Symbols of Success: Economic Development in Twentieth Century Greenville, South Carolina," 233.
[107] Dunlap III, "Changing Symbols of Success: Economic Development in Twentieth Century Greenville, South Carolina," 230.
[108] Matzko, "'This Is It, Isn't It, Brother Stone?' The Move of Bob Jones University from Cleveland, Tennessee, To Greenville, 1946-1947," 246-47.
[109] Dunlap III, "Changing Symbols of Success: Economic Development in Twentieth Century Greenville, South Carolina," 233.

and telegrams from other directors of the Chamber literally begging the committee to decide on Greenville" even though the Joneses had already chosen Greenville as the institution's future home.[110]

The Expansion Committee cited Greenville's climate, transportation, the cooperation of the chamber of commerce, and Charles Daniel's ability to construct the campus in a short time.[111] Bob Jones College's alumni magazine *Little Moby's Post* placed Daniel at the forefront explaining that "above all, a contractor was secured who is thoroughly capable" and cited his company's status as the largest contractor in the state.[112] Cultural considerations also mattered. Unlike northern cities such as Boston, Jones believed Greenville to be sufficiently conservative. Bob Jones officials described Greenville as "the center of a great population of typical American people, most of whom have a conservative religious background and are also progressive and have a forward look."[113]

The story of the decision has also been portrayed as an act of divine intervention. Bob Jones College's alumni magazine *Little Moby's Post* explained in its May 1946 issue that E. Roy Stone told the student body in an assembly announcing the move of "his experience praying in regard to the school's coming to Greenville." Stone was jarred

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[110] Wright, *Fortress of Faith,* 92. Dunlap's work also quotes this story on page 233. Matzko does not cite this story, but rather says the "chamber representatives drove through the night in a heavy rain to be present in Cleveland for a special chapel on April 25, in which Jones announced the move of his school to Greenville." See Matzko, "'This Is It, Isn't It, Brother Stone?' The Move of Bob Jones University from Cleveland, Tennessee, To Greenville, 1946-1947," 248. Whatever the provenance of the story, it has been cited as an example of Greenville's aggressive recruitment of the institution.

[111] Dunlap III, "Changing Symbols of Success: Economic Development in Twentieth Century, Greenville, South Carolina," 235-6.

[112] Campus Highlights: New Location Chosen," *Little Moby's Post,* Vol 4. (May 1946), No. 6, Bob Jones University Archives, J.S. Mack Library, Bob Jones University. Hereafter cited as *Little Moby's Post.*

[113] Dunlap III, "Changing Symbols of Success: Economic Development in Twentieth Century, Greenville, South Carolina," 235.

from his sleep and "suddenly a tract of land seemed to appear to him and he could not shake it from his mind." As the writer explained, "Mr. Stone left the entire student body and faculty with the realization that the site had been selected as an answer to prayer."[114]

Bob Jones Sr. also cast his decision to locate the college in a former cornfield located two miles outside of downtown Greenville in providential terms. The common retelling holds that Jones reached the highest point of land on the property and told the university's business manager R.K. "Lefty" Johnson, "This is it, Lefty." Melton Wright argued that Jones "meant this was the place where he felt God wanted the school."[115] Officials described the successful construction of the campus as a "series of many, many miracles" that involved obtaining the necessary building materials and permits in a period of shortages. The founder and business manager also narrowly escaped a hotel fire in Atlanta.[116]

On October 1, 1947, Bob Jones College opened its Greenville campus and adopted the name of Bob Jones University.[117] Even prior to the campus's opening, however, tensions between the community and college developed. These tensions were manifest in Bob Jones's relationship with Greenville elected officials and leaders. The involvement of faculty, staff, and alumni in local politics in later decades likely not only reflected the broader activation of conservative Christians in politics, but also a desire to gain respect and influence in Greenville.

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[114] "Campus Highlights: New Location Chosen," *Little Moby's Post.*
[115] Matzko, "'This Is It, Isn't It, Brother Stone?' The Move of Bob Jones University from Cleveland, Tennessee, To Greenville, 1946-1947," 247; Wright, 91.
[116] Wright, *Fortress of Faith,* 95; Matzko, "'This Is It, Isn't It, Brother Stone?' The Move of Bob Jones University from Cleveland, Tennessee, To Greenville, 1946-1947," 251.
[117] Wright, *Fortress of Faith,* 99.; "Jones University Begins Work in New Plant Here," *Greenville Piedmont,* October 1, 1947, Bob Jones University-1940's News Articles file, Vertical Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter cited as Bob Jones University-1940's News Articles file.

The perspective of Bob Jones affiliated historians emphasizes the opposition of downtown churches and businessmen as the catalysts for the poisoned relationship. Although the *Greenville News* trumpeted the decision of Bob Jones College to move to Greenville as "one of the most outstanding events of this period," Bob Jones Sr. believed that a "satanic whispering campaign" against his institution started in Greenville.[118] The university's official history argues that mainline churches within the city of Greenville including some Methodists and Presbyterians as well as the Baptist Furman University opposed the institution's relocation to Greenville.[119]

The misgivings of local business leaders about the institution also led to fundraising issues in the chamber of commerce campaign and ultimately a failure to meet the $175,000 pledge. Fears about the institution's academics and its actual economic impact, as well as Jones Sr.'s reputed tendency to "not take kindly to opposition" contributed to the campaign's struggles.[120] Another perspective holds that many Greenvillians did not initially understand the university's fundamentalist worldview which more closely reflected the doctrine of working class churches such as Tremont Avenue Church of God rather than downtown churches such as First Baptist Greenville or Christ Church Episcopal where the city's business and social elite worshipped.[121]

By May 1946, the chamber of commerce printed an advertisement in the *Greenville News* to reassure locals of Bob Jones's value to the community. The attempt failed. The chamber later considered levying an assessment on its members in order to

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[118] "Citizens Hail Bob Jones Removal Here," *Greenville News,* April 28, 1946, Bob Jones University-1940's News Articles file.; Matzko, "'This Is It, Isn't It, Brother Stone?' The Move of Bob Jones University from Cleveland, Tennessee, To Greenville, 1946-1947," 252.
[119] Ibid. Matzko is referencing Turner's *Standing Without Apology,* 123.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Dunlap III, "Changing Symbols of Success: Economic Development in Twentieth Century, Greenville, South Carolina," 240, 245-46.

raise the money which led to the ouster of executive vice president K.B. Miles, one of the chief proponents of the recruitment campaign.[122] The financial concerns of the institution were evident in its alumni magazine. In the first edition of *Little Moby's Post* in 1947, alumni were reminded that "our Alma Mater has not only gone through a huge building program, but it has meant a heavy financial burden." Contributions were requested from all alumni and reminders issued to fulfill pledges. Readers were told they could "lessen Dr. Bob's burdens by praying that God will put it upon the hearts of those to give."[123] In 1948, Bob Jones Sr. made his own attempt to raise the promised funds through a letter sent to chamber members requesting $50,000. The original chamber of commerce campaign only yielded $97,000. By one estimate, the university spent over half a million dollars on land.[124]

Although town-gown relations between then Bob Jones College and both Panama City and Cleveland turned acrimonious at various points, the relationship between the institution and Greenville proved more fraught. Bob Jones historian John Matzko contends the chamber of commerce's "broken promise poisoned the relationship between the university and the city of Greenville for more than thirty years."[125] The university's official history argues that neither Bob Jones Jr., who became the university's president when it moved to Greenville, "nor the school made allies easily with the established Greenville power base." Jones Jr. adopted a policy of "noninvolvement in the community's social and political life" in response to the broken promise and other

[122] Ibid, 242-244.
[123] *Little Moby's Post*, 1947, Vol. 7, no.1 Dec-January, 2.
[124] Matzko, "'This Is It, Isn't It, Brother Stone?' The Move of Bob Jones University from Cleveland, Tennessee, To Greenville, 1946-1947," 252-53.
[125] Ibid, 253.

slights.[126] Official maps excluded the institution and visiting businessmen were discouraged from visiting the campus.[127]

The frosty relationship between Greenville and Bob Jones University can also be seen as part of the institution's broader tendency towards separatism. In his study of Bob Jones University, *An Island in the Lake of Fire*, Mark Taylor Dalhouse argues the university's defining ideology has historically been "separatism" rather than fundamentalism. The institution's "separatism" explained its eventual break with figures such as Billy Graham and Jerry Falwell who crossed doctrinal lines in their ministerial and in Falwell's case, political involvement. Dalhouse also contends the Joneses created a "separatist subculture" at the university meant to "filter out the corrosive influences of society." [128] The institution's guiding philosophy of "separatism" meant that it created a sphere apart from most educational institutions and Greenville itself. Bob Jones operated a farm to provide food for the university and a hospital to provide medical care for students and faculty. The university also took responsibility for the printing of its own textbooks with the advent of BJU press and operated an on-campus laundromat.[129]

As an institution, Bob Jones University did not intervene in local and state elections in the 1950s and 1960s. This did not mean, however, that its leadership viewed engagement in politics as incompatible with the university's mission. As an early 1960s press release stated, "a good, Bible-believing Christian is by nature a good, patriotic American."[130] Conservative South Carolina politicians associated with the university

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[126] Turner, *Standing Without Apology,* 134-35.
[127] Matzko, "'This Is It, Isn't It, Brother Stone?' The Move of Bob Jones University from Cleveland, Tennessee, To Greenville, 1946-1947," 253.
[128] Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire,* 3-5.
[129] Ron Barnett, "BJU's Cautious Celebration," *The Greenville News,* January 26, 1997, Bob Jones University Anniversary Articles file, Vertical Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library.
[130] Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire,* 105.

which also played a role in the politics of the postwar Right that linked it with conservative Sunbelt hotspots. As historians such as Lisa McGirr, Michelle Nickerson, and Darren Dochuk have demonstrated, postwar conservatism flourished in areas such as Southern California where the defense industry provided a large number of jobs and many southern migrants settled.[131]

The grassroots conservative movement that developed in the Sunbelt emphasized many of the same themes that were present in Bob Jones University's political activism in the 1950s and early 1960s. As McGirr explains, spaces such as Orange County, California combined conservative Protestantism with staunch anticommunism.[132] Anticommunist schools and organizations flourished in Orange County.[133] Fears of communism led middle class professionals to take action against perceived challenges to American cultural identity by "progressive" educators and champion "Americanism," which emphasized patriotic display, a conservative view of American history, and the role of God in American life.[134] As historian Daniel K. Williams notes, Americanism served as "a code word for rightist politics at the time."[135]

The anti-communist politics flourishing in Southern California also took root at Bob Jones University. In late 1950, the university held the Mid-Century World Outlook Conference, a gathering of conservative politicians such as Strom Thurmond and foreign diplomats. Bob Jones Jr. used the occasion to denounce American foreign policy as

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[131] Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).; Michelle Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).; Darren Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt: Plain Folk Religion, Grassroots Politics, and the Rise of Evangelical Conservatism* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.: 2011).
[132] McGirr, *Suburban Warriors,* 31-34, 48-50.
[133] Ibid, 54-56.
[134] Ibid, 71-73.
[135] Williams, *God's Own Party,* 37-38.

insufficiently aggressive and call for "a forceful military policy that brooked no compromise with communist nations." The Mid-Century World Outlook Conference led to the creation of an annual "Americanism" conference that drew speakers from the Right.[136]

These conferences included speakers such as Billy James Hargis, a well-known anticommunist pastor from Oklahoma who hosted a radio and television program, and Dan Smoot, another radio figure from the Right. At the 1962 Americanism conference, Hargis and Smoot spoke on the dangers presented by communism and liberalism respectively.[137] Bob Jones Jr. also joined other fundamentalists in his opposition to John F. Kennedy and publicly criticized Kennedy's foreign policy. During the Kennedy administration, the university hosted prominent administration critics such as former General Edwin A. Walker and South Carolina senator Strom Thurmond. By the early 1960s, Williams argues, Bob Jones University's "name had become almost synonymous with right-wing politics."[138]

Racial conservatism also delineated the university from its peers. In the Jim Crow South, Bob Joneses' exclusion of African American students did not separate it from other southern educational institutions.[139] As other southern institutions desegregated in the late 1950s and early-to-mid 1960s, however, Bob Jones stood firm. Upstate South

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[136] Ibid; Dalhouse, 105-6.
[137] Williams, *God's Own Party,* 40-41, 60.
[138] Williams, *God's Own Party,* 37-38, 49-51, 57-58; Larry L. King, "Bob Jones University: The Buckle on the Bible Belt," *Harper's Magazine*, June 1966, 51-58, 53, Bob Jones University 1950's-60's News Articles file, Vertical Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter refrred to as Bob Jones University 1950's-60's News Articles file.
[139] See Matthew Lassiter, "Biblical Fundamentalism and Racial Beliefs at Bob Jones University," Master's Thesis, (University of Virginia, 1994), 8-9. Lassiter argues that Bob Jones University's refusal to admit black students "attracted little scrutiny" until the 1970s because of the focus on public institutions in the South.

Carolina's Clemson University integrated in December 1963 with the admission of Harvey Gantt.[140] In 1965, Greenville's Furman University integrated with the admission of Joseph Allen Vaughn as an undergraduate student and three black graduate students.[141] Bob Jones University did not integrate until 1971 and maintained a ban on interracial dating until 2000.[142]

Although the Joneses justified segregation and later the interracial dating ban on a biblical basis, racial considerations influenced the institution's politics.[143] In 1964, Bob Jones University bestowed an honorary doctorate on Alabama governor George Wallace, a leading opponent of the Civil Rights movement. Jones compared Wallace to King David. The federal government stood in for Goliath.[144]

The presence of Bob Jones in Greenville represented one strand of conservatism that reflected the Sunbelt emphasis on intense anti-communism. The racial policies of the institution helped to differentiate Bob Jones from conservatives in areas such as Southern California and many mainstream Republicans in Greenville.

The Growth of the Republican Party in Postwar Greenville

[140] For an accounting of Gantt's desegregation of Clemson that explains the role of Greenville leaders such as Charles Daniel and *Greenville News* editor Wayne Freeman in laying down the groundwork for the integration of Clemson University, see M. Ron Cox Jr., "Integration with [Relative] Dignity" in *Toward The Meeting Of The Waters: Currents in the Civil Rights Movement of South Carolina during the Twentieth Century* ed. Winfred B. Moore Jr. and Orville Vernon Burton (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2008): 274-285. Cox argues that a group of key South Carolina leaders including Daniel and Freeman worked together to ensure that South Carolina avoided violence and negative attention. Although Cox does not dwell on this aspect, economic development considerations likely melded with humanitarian concerns for Daniel, Freeman, and other leaders.
[141] Courtney L. Tollison, *Furman University* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2004), 32.
[142] Nathaniel Cary, "Bob Jones regains nonprofit standing," *The Greenville News,* February 17, 2017, Bob Jones University Tax Exempt Status Case file, Vertical Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as Bob Jones University Tax Exempt Status Case file.
[143] Larry L. King, "Bob Jones University: The Buckle on the Bible Belt," 58.
[144] Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire,* 106.

In 1948, Greenville County voters joined the majority of the state's electorate in their support for Dixiecrat Strom Thurmond over incumbent Democratic president Harry Truman, an expression of anger over Truman's limited embrace of civil rights.[145] The break with the national Democrats reached across divisions of class and space. Precincts in the city of Greenville and close-in suburbs provided the strongest margin for Thurmond. The Dixiecrat even won narrow victories in some mill village and working-class precincts such as Judson where Thurmond garnered 129 votes to Truman's 80. Small towns such as Fountain Inn and Travelers Rest also supported the Dixiecrat.[146] The Republican candidate Thomas E. Dewey received few white votes.[147] As historian Kari Frederickson contends, the Dixiecrat movement "laid the foundation, if only in presidential voting, for the creation of a two-party region."[148]

In Greenville County, the process of building a two-party system first took root in the city of Greenville where the greatest concentration of middle class and affluent white voters resided. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, per capita and household income within the city of Greenville exceeded the county average.[149] Beginning in 1952, Republican presidential candidates won inside the city limits and no Democratic candidate other than Adlai Stevenson in 1956 has carried the county in a presidential election.[150]

This pattern occurred frequently in the postwar American South. As Alexander P. Lamis and other scholars have demonstrated, middle class and particularly affluent

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[145] "State Fails to Back National Demo Slate 1st Time Since 1876," *Greenville News,* November 3, 1948.
[146] "General Election Vote in County," *Greenville News,* November 3, 1948.
[147] Ibid; "State Fails to Back National Demo Slate 1st Time Since 1876," *Greenville News,* November 3, 1948.
[148] Kari Frederickson, *The Dixiecrat Revolt and the End of the Solid South: 1932-1968* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press), 2001, 238.
[149] Statistical Information Greenville S.C., 1971, Box 27, Folder 122, Frederick Papers.
[150] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 407-409.

whites in urban areas such as Atlanta moved into the Republican column during the 1950s. Political scientists have termed this process "presidential" and "urban Republicanism."[151] According to political scientist Gregory B. Sampson, "Greenville County Republicans and 'independents' were from the beginning the most enthusiastic and dedicated supporters of the effort to rebuild the state Republican Party."[152] The growth of the GOP in in Greenville was at least partly a result of the area's economic growth and new migrants that economic opportunity brought to Greenville.[153] The basic groups drawn to the GOP in South Carolina during the early postwar years were "businessmen, disaffected Democrats, and local reformers." In Greenville, the business class played a particularly strong role and tended to favor the Republican Party's economic policies.[154]

These voters were part of the political shift caused by the New Deal. As Lamis contends, the New Deal made party affiliation about economic class rather than "sectional, ethnic, religious, and urban-rural cleavages."[155] Although racial fears played the largest role in precipitating white southerners' ultimate exodus from the Democratic party and shift into the Republican Party, the GOP grew fastest in economically vibrant areas such as Greenville where voters more readily identified with the party's economic and other philosophies.[156]

The Republican Party in Aiken County, South Carolina developed in a similar fashion. Kari Frederickson found that well educated Savannah River Plant employees

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[151] Lamis. *The Two-Party South,* 24-25.
[152] Sampson, "The Rise of the New Republican Party in South Carolina, 1948-1974: A Case Study of Political Change in a Deep South State," 237.
[153] Ibid, 148-49.
[154] Ibid, 276.
[155] Lamis, *The Two-Party South,* 21-23.
[156] Ibid, 4.

constituted the core of Aiken County's Republican Party. As Frederickson explains, "the party drew strength from their conservative, middle-class values, forged not only by opposition to certain New Deal—era programs and staunch anticommunism but also from notions of efficiency and modernization as they applied to the political process."[157] Other scholars including historian Laura Jane Gifford have advanced a similar argument. Gifford contends that "race mattered to these nascent Republicans, but the complete story of GOP development in the South is far more complex." In addition to the civil rights movement, Gifford emphasizes the importance of economic issues and anti-unionism to South Carolina Republicans.[158]

In Greenville, a group of local Republicans began to coalesce in the early 1950s around northern migrants and native-born businessmen. As Greenville mayor Knox H. White argues, the Republican Party in Greenville developed from the "emergence of a very well-educated business class of people."[159] Many of these businessmen were drawn to Greenville by the textile industry and "brought their party loyalties with them."[160] Young southern businessmen such as James M. Henderson of Henderson Advertising and established native businessmen such as Dan Wallace were also involved in the party.[161]

In the early 1950s, Greenville Republicans faced a number of obstacles. At the state level, the Republican Party continued to be controlled by a patronage minded leadership uninterested in contesting elections. As political scientist V.O. Key observed

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[157] Frederickson, *Cold War Dixie,* 147.
[158] Gifford, "'Dixie is no longer in the bag': South Carolina Republicans and the Election of 1960," 207-208, 210.
[159] Knox H. White telephone interview with author, April 8, 2020.
[160] Sampson, "The Rise of the New Republican Party in South Carolina, 1948-1974: A Case Study of Political Change in a Deep South State," 732.
[161] White, Interview; Gregory D. Shorey Reflections on a life in Politics, Republican Party, South Carolina, Leadership, Topical Files, Box 6, Shorey Papers.

in the late 1940s, these patronage minded leaders never entertained "seriously the notion that his party will during his lifetime gain control of state government."[162] After "reform" Republicans took control of the state party in 1956, the Greenville County Republican Party began to contest local offices.[163]

In early contests between 1957 and 1966, Greenville Republicans utilized a rhetoric that combined calls for "good government" which as Sampson notes "usually meant government run by the rising urban middle class" with attempts to link the national and local Democratic parties. During the Kennedy years, attempts to link the national and local Democratic parties became an important tactic for Greenville Republicans.[164]

In 1957, Greenville Republicans contested a local office for the first time when dissident Democrat James N. Threadgill ran as a Republican against longtime mayor J. Kenneth Cass. The *Greenville News* factually noted that "Greenville voters will have a choice for mayor in the General election Sept. 10 for the first time in the city's history."[165] Threadgill's uphill campaign called for tangible improvements such as better downtown parking, roads, and recreational facilities and employed the familiar call for a "two-party system" as a means of improving local government. Newspaper advertisements for Threadgill called for "A MORE PROGRESSIVE GREENVILLE THROUGH Two-Party Government." In an appearance before the League of Women

[162] Frederickson, *Cold War Dixie,* 150; V.O. Key Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), 292-293.
[163] Sampson, "The Rise of the New Republican Party in South Carolina, 1948-1974: A Case Study of Political Change in a Deep South State," 250-251.
[164] Ibid, 692.
[165] "Voters Will Have Choice Sept. 10," *Greenville News,* September 1, 1957.

Voters, Threadgill compared the Democratic Party's monopoly on city government to a "closed corporation."[166]

The idea that a Republican mayor would make city government more efficient and responsive apparently moved few voters. Cass received 4,744 votes to Threadgill's 1,140 votes. Even Threadgill's own ward delivered a strong majority for Cass.[167] The 1957 mayoral race simultaneously demonstrated the growth of the Republican Party in Greenville County and the obstacles that remained in the development of a two-party system in Greenville.

Threadgill's decision to enter the contest as a Republican led to a dramatic surge in turnout for a general election. Previous contests with no Republican opposition typically yielded fewer than a thousand voters. The *Greenville News* argued that in previous municipal general election contests, Greenvillians had been "woefully lax." 4,510 total residents voted in the previous 15 general elections.[168]

The campaign rhetoric demonstrated, however, that Greenville voters remained wary of the Republican Party's limited support for the civil rights movement. Threadgill quickly refuted a newspaper report that the national party provided financial support for his campaign. He also claimed that he met Vice President Nixon and other Republican leaders in Washington and told Nixon that he opposed the Eisenhower administration's stance on civil rights. The Republican candidate accused Greenville Democrats of

[166] Gil Rowland, "Cass Outlines Progress Made By City; Threadgill Criticizes Mayor, Claims," *Greenville News,* September 10, 1957.; "Threadgill Campaign Ad," *Greenville News,* September 9, 1957.
[167] James W. Crocker, "Record Vote is Reported," *Greenville News,* September 11, 1957.
[168] Ibid.

running a whisper campaign that linked Threadgill with the NAACP and school integration.[169]

Democrats' strength at the local and state level also made it difficult for Greenville Republicans to recruit strong candidates to run for local office. Threadgill and other early Republican candidates in Greenville struggled to run disciplined campaigns. The *Greenville News* reported that during his acceptance speech, Threadgill "predicted that, starting in Greenville, the Republican municipal movement 'will spread like a cancer throughout the state.'"[170] "We all winced over that," Republican leader Greg Shorey recalled.[171] Greenville County Republicans did not field another candidate at the local level until 1963.[172]

R. Cooper White Jr., the first successful Republican aspirant for office in Greenville County built on a strategy that South Carolina Republicans developed in response to John F. Kennedy's unpopularity among white South Carolinians. As historian John W. White argues, after Kennedy's election Republicans "simply reminded white voters that the Democratic Party was the 'liberal' party." Kennedy's appointment of African American officials, his perceived softness on the question of anti-communism, and the administration's intervention in the desegregation crisis at the University of Mississippi led "many conservative South Carolinians" to label Kennedy a "liberal."[173]

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[169] "Threadgill Says No Funds From National GOP," Gil Rowland, "Cass Outlines Progress Made By City; Threadgill Criticizes Mayor," *Greenville News*, August 10, 1957 and September 10, 1957.
[170] J. Hunter Stokes, "Threadgill is GOP Mayoral Candidate," *Greenville News,* May 10, 1957.
[171] "Gregory D. Shorey, Reflections on a life in Politics," Republican Party, South Carolina, Leadership, Topical Files, Box 6, Shorey Papers.
[172] "Protest Possible Over Marking of Ballots, Some Feel," *Greenville News,* September 11, 1963.
[173] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 409; John W. White, "Race, Grassroots Activism, and the Evolution of the Republican Right in South Carolina, 1952-1974," in *Painting Dixie Red: When, Where, Why, and How the South Became Republican* ed. Glenn Feldman (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011), 138-171, 154-55.

The strategy proved effective in the campaign of Richland County's Charles E. Boineau, the first successful Republican candidate for the state legislature. In 1961, Boineau defeated a conservative, segregationist Democrat by tying him to the national party while stressing his own economic conservatism and employing "subtle criticisms of desegregation."[174] Republican journalist William D. Workman, Jr's 1962 senatorial campaign against Olin Johnston, the party's first challenge in South Carolina for the U.S. Senate since 1948, used many of the same tactics.[175]

Voters considered Johnston, who enjoyed strong support from working-class whites, a reliable segregationist.[176] Workman, the author of *The Case for the South,* a defense of segregation, could not directly label Johnston as a proponent of integration.[177] Instead, Workman argued that Johnston aided the Kennedy administration's attempts to undermine segregation. Historian Russell Merritt argues that "in order to win the election, Workman had to convince a majority of voters that Johnston was working hand in hand with the hated 'Kennedy Klan,' not against it as Johnston claimed."[178]

Although 56 percent of South Carolinians who cast votes chose Johnston, perhaps in spite of their disaffection for the Kennedys, Workman's run represented substantial progress for the Republican Party. Workman enjoyed his greatest success in metropolitan counties rather than in black belt counties and with blue collar whites. Aiken, Charleston, and Greenville, the only counties that Workman won, were all growing metropolitan areas with ties to the defense industry and home to a large number of white collar

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[174] Ibid, 155.
[175] Russell Merritt, "The Senatorial Election of 1962 and the Rise of Two-Party Politics in South Carolina," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* Vol. 98, No. 3 (Jul.1997): 281-301, 282.
[176] Ibid, 285-87.
[177] Frederickson, *Cold War Dixie,* 156-57.
[178] Merritt, "The Senatorial Election of 1962 and the Rise of Two-Party Politics in South Carolina," 298.

voters.[179] As Merritt argues, Workman preached "the gospel of small government," drawing a contrast with Johnston, a New Dealer, that resonated with many middle class and affluent residents of South Carolina's most prosperous counties.[180]

A contemporary assessment by the *Greenville News* offers support for his argument. The *News* wrote, "boiled down, and with a few minor inconsistencies, it amounted to support or non-support of national Democratic policies extending from Roosevelt's New Deal in the early 1930's to President Kennedy's current administration."[181] Workman also earned the support of many employees of the Savannah River Plant in Aiken County. These voters were typically well-educated members of the middle class living in the county's growing suburban areas and gravitated toward the Republican Party.[182]

A similar pattern took hold in Greenville County. The Democrat Johnston won mill boxes, rural boxes, and "belt line" communities of working-class and lower middle class residents that bordered the city of Greenville. Workman ran up his biggest margins in the city of Greenville where the greatest concentration of affluent voters lived. The *Greenville News* opined that, "the city went overwhelmingly for the Republican candidate, not surprisingly." One affluent box yielded a nearly 800 vote margin for the Republican while a box located near Bob Jones University produced a 1,263 vote advantage. Suburban voters in areas such as Taylors and residents of the county's smaller

[179] Ibid, 297.
[180] Ibid, 290.
[181] Robert McHugh, "Johnston Fights Off Threat To Win Reelection," *Greenville News,* November 7, 1962.
[182] Frederickson, *Cold War Dixie,* 158, 4.

towns also provided a Republican majority.[183] Workman's success in Greenville helped lead to the first victory for a Republican candidate for an office in Greenville.

In 1963, Cooper White, a veteran of Workman's unsuccessful campaign and the grandson of a former mayor, resigned his post as chairman of the Greenville County Republican Party to run as a candidate for an open city council seat from the Republican stronghold of Ward 4. As a Greenville native, Presbyterian, and young professional employed by a cotton and stock brokerage firm, White fit the mold of a successful candidate that could appeal to the types of voters attracted to the Republican Party in Greenville. Although White proved to be a moderate Republican officeholder and later broke with racial conservatives in the party in 1970, he used a familiar playbook that emphasized the importance of two-party politics and linked local Democrats with the national party to win office in 1963.[184]

A typical campaign advertisement explained to voters that "R. Cooper White Jr., believes in America's time-honored two-party system as the best basis for an effective, conservative, constitutional government."[185] He repeated Threadgill's assertion that "if competition is good in business, it is good in government" and argued that residents of two-party states have "higher per capita incomes." White also attempted to tie local Democrats to the national party. The *Greenville News* reported that "Mr. White expressed his opposition to the Kennedy administration and thought the backbone of an anti-Kennedy campaign lies at the local level." At a meeting of Greenville Alert, a local chapter of a national anti-communist group, that his opponent also attended, White

[183] Ruth Walker, "Workman Is Victor in County Voting," *Greenville News,* November 7, 1962.
[184] Ibid; "GOP to Hold City Meeting Today," *Greenville News,* May 28, 1963, *Greenville News;* Jimmy Cornelison, "Ex-Mayor Prime Player in School Integration," *Greenville News,* June 7, 2000.
[185] "Cooper White Campaign Advertisement," *Greenville News,* September 9, 1963

argued "the S.C. Democrats cast their electoral votes for Kennedy and supported them with their votes."[186]

His conflation of national and local politics worked effectively. The local newspaper made the same connection contending, "the election of a Republican to City Council, while a first in its own right, was really not too unusual in the face of past elections on a national level, when the city voters repeatedly placed themselves in the Republican column." White defeated his opponent by a three to one margin and demonstrated strength across the city. Republicans, however, could not find candidates to contest any other local offices.[187]

In 1964, county residents followed local Republican leaders' strong support for Republican Barry Goldwater. "It matters not how the rest of the country voted—Greenville County is Goldwater Country," the *Greenville News* reported after the election. The Arizona senator delivered a smashing victory winning 10,000 more votes than Democrat Lyndon Johnson and taking reliable Democratic boxes. Goldwater performed best in the county's urban and suburban spaces and won many textile mill boxes, working-class, and lower middle class neighborhoods. In their assessment of the election, the *Greenville News* contended: "this time there was no issue of Catholicism. This time it was the inherent conservatism, the continuing States Rights' sentiment, the Donaldson Air Base closing, and the disenchantment of Greenville County voters with the national Democratic Party."[188]

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[186] Bill Bannister, "Virtues of Free Enterprise Extolled at Greenville Alert Meet," *Greenville News*, September 9, 1963.
[187] "Results," *Greenville News,* September 11, 1963.; "Protest Possible Over Marking of Ballots, Some Feel," *Greenville News,* September 11, 1963.
[188] "Pres. Vote," *Greenville News,* November 4, 1964.; A.T. Pederson, "Greenville County Goldwater Country," *Greenville News,* November 4, 1964.

Legislative elections offer a particularly good illustration of the dramatic change. Democratic legislator Nick Theodore, who was elected to the state House of Representatives in 1962, recalled with slight exaggeration that he entered a legislature that was "all-Democratic, all white [and] all-male."[189] As an afterthought in its post-election coverage in 1962, the *Greenville News* added that "yesterday's balloting included the routine election of these Democratic nominees named in a primary last June" with a list containing the entirety of the county's legislative delegation.[190] In 1964, Republicans ran a "full slate" of eleven nominees that lost a "squeaker" with the county's all-Democratic legislative delegation returned to office.[191]

The Goldwater movement clearly built on white southern backlash against the Civil Rights Act of 1964, but white southerners support for Goldwater did not always equate with an endorsement of massive resistance to the civil right movement. Historian John W. White contends that "Goldwater may have been a protest candidate for some alienated southern whites, but grassroots Republicanism signified the desire of white professionals to find an alternative to massive resistance." Rather, politically astute Republican voters in South Carolina understood that Republicans could not halt desegregation but were more likely to endorse gradual changes than Democrats.[192]

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[189] Nick Andrew Theodore interview with author, December 28, 2018. Theodore's recall is nearly flawless. The only Republican serving in the state legislature at the time was Charles Boineau of Richland County who was elected in 1961. No women served in the legislature when Theodore was elected or when he took his seat in 1963.

[190] Ruth Walker, "Workman Is Victor in County Voting," *Greenville News,* November 7, 1962

[191] Terrell P. Watts, "Demo Delegation Wins a Squeaker," *Greenville News,* November 4, 1964. At the time, ballots were not valid in South Carolina unless a voter chose a candidate for each office. This meant that unless a party ran a "full slate" of candidates, voters would have to also vote for candidates from the other party to have their ballot counted.

[192] White, "Race, Grassroots Activism, and the Evolution of the Republican Right in South Carolina, 1952-1974," in *Painting Dixie Red: When, Where, Why, and How the South Became Republican* ed. Glenn Feldman, 158-59.

White's argument explains the motivations of many Greenville voters and helps explain the success of Republican candidates in Greenville in 1966, as well as area leaders muted response to court-ordered bussing in 1970.

In 1966, Republicans gained control of Greenville County's legislative delegation when they won control of six of Greenville's eleven house seats. No Republican had represented the county in the legislature since Reconstruction.[193] Greenville stood out in an election that saw GOP candidates only win 17 total house seats in South Carolina. As White contends, Greenville's Carolyn Frederick typified the approach employed by successful Republican candidates.[194]

Frederick, an Atlanta native and graduate of Agnes Scott College, worked as a copywriter and advertising manager before moving to Greenville in 1949 from Connecticut. She and her husband were active in Republican politics and Frederick became involved in the Greenville chapter of the American Association of University Women and organized the Greenville Arts Festival.[195] In a profile, the *Greenville News* described Frederick as the "antithesis of the popular concept of a politician. Soft-spoken, dainty, what might be termed the old-fashioned southern gentlewoman."[196] She leveraged these qualities to win a seat in the state legislature. In her 1964 campaign, Frederick ran as a moderate Republican who emphasized education, pocketbook issues, and bridged the

[193] Jack Trim, "GOP Wins 6 Seats in S.C. House," *The Greenville News,* November 10, 1966.;"SC Legislative Manual, 1967," Political Parties G/SC Republican 1960s, Vertical Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library.
[194] White, "Race, Grassroots Activism, and the Evolution of the Republican Right in South Carolina, 1952-1974," in *Painting Dixie Red: When, Where, Why, and How the South Became Republican* ed. Glenn Feldman, 159-160.
[195] Elizabeth Stipp, "She Brings Vitality, Enthusiasm To 'Jobs'," *Greenville News,* April 19, 1964.
[196] Lucille B. Green, "Rep. Frederick's Vote Total The Envy Of Male Candidates," *Greenville News,* November 9, 1972, Carolyn Frederick file, Biographical Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as Frederick file.

gap between conservatives and moderates on racial issues. She espoused support for limited integration through "freedom of choice" plans, but opposed bussing.[197]

Frederick also made savvy appeals to voters that critiqued both national Democrats and one-party rule in South Carolina. One campaign tactic involved the candidate pushing a grocery cart to dramatize the effects of inflation on food costs. The front of the cart read "Great Society pushes FOOD COST UP" and "Fight Inflation, Vote Carolyn Frederick" on the side. A newspaper article explaining Frederick's campaign with the grocery cart explained that she "attributes the increase in grocery prices not only to the extravagant policies and give-away programs of the Great Society, but also to the totally Democratic state government."[198] She offered proposals for improving education such as a program to reward graduates of in-state colleges that remained in South Carolina and argued the all-Democratic Greenville County legislative delegation acted with "incredible apathy in meeting the needs of our county."[199]

Her election victory made Frederick the first Republican woman elected as a state representative in South Carolina. Over the course of a decade long tenure in office, Frederick supported the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and became known for her work on education reform.[200] Candidates such as Frederick won in Greenville while staunch segregationists such as Republican gubernatorial candidate J.O. Rogers lost to

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[197] White, "Race, Grassroots Activism, and the Evolution of the Republican Right in South Carolina, 1952-1974," in *Painting Dixie Red: When, Where, Why, and How the South Became Republican* ed. Glenn Feldman, 160.
[198] "Pushing a Political Point," and "Upstate Women Praised For Anti-Inflation Stand," *Greenville News*, September 25, 1966 and October 24, 1966.
[199] "Holding Plan Asked for S.C. Graduates," *Greenville News,* November 6, 1966.
[200] White "Race, Grassroots Activism, and the Evolution of the Republican Right in South Carolina, 1952-1974," in *Painting Dixie Red: When, Where, Why, and How the South Became Republican* ed. Glenn Feldman, 160; Lynne Lucas, "Hers Is A Bold Energy," *Greenville News,* January 11, 1989, Carolyn Frederick file, Biographical Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as Frederick file.

moderate Democrat Robert McNair whose "law and order" appeal won over moderate whites and African American voters.[201]

Major postwar developments that took place between 1945 and the mid-1960s played a significant role in setting Greenville's direction in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The introduction of new industries and infrastructure improvement helped pave the way for later growth. Bob Jones University brought new people to the area and enhanced the local economy. Its most significant impact, however, may have been political. The institution contributed to the emerging Right and later became a major player in local and national Republican politics. Lastly, Greenville County played a large role in the burgeoning Republican movement in South Carolina during the 1950s and 1960s. The success of Republicans in the city of Greenville demonstrated the appeal of the party's philosophy to the city's conservative business class.

From the late 1960s and through much of the 1970s, however, Democrats continued to be viable in local and state races. As Alexander P. Lamis has demonstrated, a Democratic coalition of moderate whites and African Americans in South Carolina emerged in the mid-1960s.[202] Although Greenville County remained Republican in presidential voting, moderate Democrats continued to enjoy success in local and state elections. Chapter Two views Greenville through the lens of the Sunbelt South when moderate Democrats such as Greenville mayor Max Heller held office and the county integrated through court-ordered busing with few immediate issues.

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[201] Ibid, "How Greenville County Voted In Biennial General Election In State, County Races," *Greenville News,* November 9, 1966, 12. Democrat Olin Johnston's death in 1965 meant that a special election was held to fill the remainder of his six-year term in 1966. Republican Marshall Parker lost to former governor Democrat Ernest F. Hollings while Strom Thurmond was elected to another six-year term. Both Republicans won Greenville County. See Al Lanier, "Dorn Tops Grisso; Watson is Victor; McMillan Winner," *Greenville News,* November 9, 1966.
[202] Lamis, *The Two-Party South,* 63-64.

Chapter Two—Greenville and the Sunbelt South 1968-1978

"*While civil rights workers have been demoralized by the recent drift of political events in Washington, the citizens of Greenville, a textile center situated between the ridges of the Piedmont range in the western corner of the state, have demonstrated that leadership could overcome the obstacles created by a climate of fear, frustration, and uncertainty."*—"Old Racial Bars Drop in Carolina," *The New York Times,* March 2, 1970.

"If it is possible for Max Heller, a Jew, to be mayor of Greenville, then it is possible for Greenville to have a black mayor."—the Reverend Jesse Jackson, 1973.

In 1974, *Money* magazine published a profile of a dozen cities that "you could be transferred to."[1] Greenville, South Carolina joined Atlanta and Tampa on the list. Greenville's inclusion reflected the success of economic development efforts as well as the continuing importance of the textile industry. *Money* reported few positive attributes. Race relations were poor. The quality of public education left something to be desired. There were few cultural institutions. The report focused on the ways in which economic development had not changed Greenville's social or cultural landscape.[2]

Most of all, Greenville remained a center of conservative Protestantism. "Because it is located in the Bible Belt, religious life leans towards the fervid," the reporter argued. Blue laws shuttered retail establishments on Sunday and mixed drinks were only available in mini-bottles. Conservative Protestant churches dominated social life in Greenville. "Non-churchgoers may thus find their social lives curtailed."[3] *Money* cautioned its readers, however, that Greenvillians displayed "no overt prejudice towards

[1] *Money*, August 1974, Max M. Heller papers, Box 3, Folder 6, Special Collections, James B. Duke Library, Furman University. Hereafter referred to as Heller Papers.
[2] "Greenville, South Carolina," *Money*, August 1974, Heller Papers.
[3] Ibid.

Catholics or others who belong to a religious minority…In fact, Greenville's mayor, Max Heller is an Austrian-born Jew."[4]

The mayor offered a sharp rebuttal to *Money.* "Surely there is more to a city than the fact that bars close on Sunday and the lack of 'more elaborate concoctions' (drinks)," Heller responded in a letter. He defended the relationship between black and white Greenvillians. "You said nothing about the positive race relations, and the fact that many people who left Greenville years ago would like to come back and are coming back." Heller also faulted the reporter for his assessment of the city's educational and cultural institutions. "Perhaps you will try us again," he suggested at the close of his letter. He made no comment on his status as a symbol of Greenville's tolerance.[5]

Max Heller's political career took place during a unique era in southern history. A confluence of events in the late 1960s and early 1970s led to a changed image of the South. The Sunbelt, a linkage of the south and west, became a popular way to refer to the southern half of the United States during the 1970s. The new image of the South emphasized improved race relations and regional prosperity amid the national struggles of the 1970s. As one contemporary observer explained, the South became in the national mind "a region cleaner, less crowded, more open and honest, more genuinely religious and friendly, and suddenly more racially tolerant than any other American region."[6]

In the late 1960s and the 1970s, Greenville benefited from the Sunbelt image. The narrative surrounding the community's response to court-ordered busing in 1970 and Heller's election as mayor in 1971 created a positive image of Greenville that maintained

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[4] Ibid.
[5] Max M. Heller to William Simon Rukeyser, August 8, 1974, Box 3, Folder 6, Heller Papers.
[6] Numan V. Bartley, *The New South 1945-1980* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1995), 431-432. Bartley quotes Fred Hobson's 1983 book *Tell About the South: The Southern Rage to Explain.*

the area's attractiveness for industry. Heller serves as an example of the "New South" Democrats or "Populist Moderates" of the early 1970s. Historian Numan V. Bartley notes these politicians eschewed "racial demagoguery" and "sought to appeal to ordinary white and black voters by combining a common-folk campaign style with the advocacy of moderately progressive policies."[7] In South Carolina, Democrats forged a coalition of moderate whites and African American voters that held together at the state level until the mid-1980s.[8]

As mayor, Heller enjoyed the support of black and white voters in the city of Greenville and melded concern for the African American community with a close alliance with business leaders interested in downtown redevelopment and economic development. Heller's leadership helped build Greenville's acclaimed downtown and won praise from a spectrum of community leaders. Shifting politics, however, limited his political career to the urban space of Greenville. Bob Jones University-affiliated residents provided the chief source of opposition.

During the 1960s, Greenville County followed a familiar pattern taking hold across metropolitan areas in the United States. Between 1960 and 1970, the county added nearly 31,000 residents, but the city of Greenville's population declined from 66,188 to 61,208. New residents settled in the county's suburban spaces as ranch homes and subdivisions constructed near major roads such as Wade Hampton Boulevard and agricultural land in the eastern and southern portions of the county became subdivisions. Between 1960 and 1970, the percentage of county residents living in suburban areas

[7] Ibid, 398-399. For a longer discussion of the relationship between New South Democrats such as Jimmy Carter and the Sunbelt image, see pages 398-404.
[8] Alexander P. Lamis, *The Two-Party South,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 63-64.

increased from 26 to 33 percent and the percentage of black residents in the county fell from 13.8 to 10.5 percent. By the early 1970s, the inner-city portion of the city of Greenville contained a black majority.[9]

Job losses accompanied the decline in white population and inner-city residents experienced slower income growth than the area, as a whole. Between 1960 and 1970, the incomes of families in the Greenville area rose 84.6 percent, but families living near the city center only saw income growth of 69.1 percent. Suburban whites enjoyed the greatest income gains.[10] The city also contained a substantial number of the county's 22,000 units of substandard housing and African Americans were more likely to occupy these dwellings. Black residents occupied the majority of the city's rental housing. In 1975, only 21.7 percent of African American residents were homeowners.[11]

The departure of downtown retailers for strip shopping centers and malls provided one of the most palpable manifestations of suburbanization. As urban historian Kenneth Jackson notes, the national origins of this change dated back to the interwar period when national retailer Sears began locating new stores in "low-density areas which would offer the advantages of lower rentals and yet, because of the automobile, be within reach of potential customers."[12] Shopping centers and malls built on this idea and in the postwar decades led to the departure of retail establishments from central business districts. By

[9] A.V. Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1994), 420.; "Greenville Evolving into Pattern of Segregated Areas, Study Shows," *Greenville News*, June 20, 1973.
[10] "Greenville Evolving Into Pattern of Segregated Areas, Study shows," *Greenville News*, June 20, 1973.
[11] "Greenville Citizens Urged to Join the Fight Against Substandard Housing," *Greenville News,* December 16, 1969, Box 2, Folder 8, Heller Papers.; "Statistical Information Released," *Greenville News,* October 25, 1975, Box 12, Heller Papers.
[12] Kenneth Jackson, *The Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 257.

1984, Americans conducted the vast majority of their retail trade in large shopping centers.[13]

Greenville followed the pattern. The area's first shopping center opened in 1948 and enclosed malls followed in the 1960s. As in other cities, the "once-mighty department stores that anchored many a Main Street" relocated to malls. In 1965, downtown Greenville department stores Ivey and Meyers-Arnold left for McAlister Square Mall.[14] Minor Shaw noticed the change on her visits home from college. She recalled that by the late 1960s, downtown "started shriveling up with closed storefronts."[15]

A rising crime rate accompanied population and retail losses. In 1970, Greenville's murder rate ranked third nationally.[16] Crime continued to be a problem throughout the decade. In 1974, crime increased in the city at a faster rate than in the region and nation.[17] Merl Code, who moved to Greenville in late 1970 and later served as a Municipal Court Judge, recalled "downtown Greenville was quite an adventure…and the safety factor probably was an issue during those early 70s."[18]

Downtown Greenville's challenges, however, had deeper roots. Charles E. Daniel criticized Greenville's business leaders in a 1957 address for allowing Greenville to become "unclean and neither attractive nor competitive with comparable progressive cities." In 1964, Daniel began construction of a skyscraper in downtown Greenville to serve as his company's headquarters. The Daniel Building was the tallest in South

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[13] Ibid, 258-259.
[14] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 395.; Ibid, 260.
[15] Minor M. Shaw interview with author, March 11, 2020.
[16] Cliff Sloan and Bob Hall, "It's Good To Be Home in Greenville, But It's Better If You Hate Unions," *Southern Exposure* 7, No.1 (Spring 1979): 92.
[17] "Greenville Crime Rate Is Rising," *Greenville News,* April 4, 1975, Box 13, Heller Papers.
[18] Merl Code telephone interview with author, March 9, 2020.

Carolina. Daniel's purpose was tied to his vision for a revitalized downtown and continued growth. "Charlie Daniel realized that when people came to town, Greenville needed to have a skyscraper," Minor Shaw recalled of her great uncle's vision.[19]

Daniel passed away before the completion of his building and his nephew Buck Mickel became one of Greenville's central figures. Mickel continued to press for downtown revitalization.[20] In a 1966 speech to the Downtown Greenville Association, Mickel implored business leaders to contribute their time and effort to finding solutions for the flight of retail to shopping centers. He called for planning and concerted action to address traffic and parking problems and to create a more appealing retail sector that could compete with shopping centers and malls. "Economic, traffic and parking, and design skills should be brought together to tackle problems and opportunities comprehensively," he argued.[21]

Economic development and civic pride both drove the program. Mickel believed that Greenville could attract corporate headquarters to augment the manufacturing sector. His plan relied on maintaining and improving the area's quality of life. "Adequate housing, fine highways, modern retail stores, splendid schools, recreation, culture and churches of all denominations" were necessary features for successful corporate recruitment.[22] Mickel and like-minded leaders sought local political talent that could help them achieve their goals for the city.

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[19] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 395.
[20] Ibid; Shaw, interview.
[21] Downtown Greenville Association, Box 30, Folder 3, Mss 298, Buck Mickel Papers, Special Collections, Clemson University Libraries, Clemson, SC. Hereafter referred to as Mickel Papers.
[22] Ibid.

Many businessmen such as Daniel and Mickel were political conservatives who consistently supported Republican presidential candidates. They identified with Republican economic policies and strongly opposed labor unions.[23] In 1961, Daniel hosted Richard Nixon at his home in Greenville.[24] Daniel's subsequent correspondence to Nixon illustrates his political beliefs. In October, Daniel explained in a letter that President Kennedy's administration "through the National Labor Relations Board and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has really taken out after the south in a big way with the resulting great unhappiness and high blood pressure in this area of the world." He expressed his frustration at an attempt by labor unions to organize his company and informed Nixon of the "reversal of feeling for Kennedy that is growing very fast in South Carolina."[25] Many Greenville business leaders shared their political views. By the late 1960s, Mickel and a number of influential Greenville business leaders and professionals appeared on Republican Party rolls.[26]

In 1968, Greenville County voters once again delivered the area for a Republican presidential candidate. Although Nixon only won 38 percent of the vote in South Carolina, he carried Greenville County with an absolute majority. Throughout the state, the results reflected class and racial divides. Upper income whites were more likely to support Nixon whereas a greater number of working-class whites supported independent

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[23] For a good summary of Daniel's philosophy on organized labor and advocacy, see James Arthur Dunlap III, "Changing Symbols of Success: Economic Development in Twentieth Century Greenville, South Carolina," PhD Diss (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1995), 168-180.
[24] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 408.
[25] Charles Daniel to Richard M. Nixon, October 10, 1961 and Charles E. Daniel to Rose Mary Woods, October 10, 1961, Mss 339, Box 49, File 12, Charles Daniel Papers, Boards and Personal Series, Special Collections, Clemson University Libraries, Clemson, South Carolina. Hereafter referred to as Daniel Papers.
[26] Undated Membership List, Republican Party South Carolina, Counties, Greenville, Membership file, Box 6, Gregory D. Shorey Papers, South Carolina Political Collections, University of South Carolina Libraries. Hereafter referred to as Shorey Papers.

George Wallace's race-based campaign. African American voters provided the core of Democrat Hubert Humphrey's base. The precinct totals in Greenville reflected this division. Independent George Wallace's race-based campaign only won in some rural and working-class precincts. African American precincts provided the only reliable source of support for Democrat Hubert Humphrey.[27]

According to historian Bruce H. Kalk, Nixon's narrow victory in South Carolina resulted from his "southern strategy." This interpretation holds that a bargain between Strom Thurmond and Nixon led to the candidate's decision to signal that he would reduce the pace of integration and appoint "strict constructionist" judges to the Supreme Court.[28] White South Carolinians feared the prospect of busing to achieve comprehensive desegregation. In 1968, the Supreme Court ruled against "freedom of choice" plans that placed the onus of desegregation on African American parents.[29]

In response to a lawsuit, Greenville County Schools enacted a freedom of choice plan in 1964. Under the plan, Greenville schools remained largely divided by race. The 1968 Supreme Court ruling against freedom of choice plans in *Green v. New Kent County* signaled the beginning of comprehensive desegregation in Greenville County.[30] The community's relatively muted reaction to court-ordered busing in 1970 can be attributed

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[27] Bruce H. Kalk, *Origins of the Southern Strategy: Two Party Competition in South Carolina: 1950-1972* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2001), 86.; "Greenville County Backs Dick Nixon," *Greenville News,* November 6, 1968.; "How Greenville County Voted By Precincts Shown In Table," *Greenville News,* November 7, 1968; Dan T. Carter also provides an interpretation of the southern strategy in his *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, The Origins Of The New Conservatism, And The Transformation Of American Politics* 2nd ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2000).
[28] Kalk, *Origins of the Southern Strategy: Two Party Competition in South Carolina: 1950-1972,* xv, 82, 85.
[29] Ibid, 83.
[30] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 404-405.

to Greenville's business-oriented leadership and demographics. Development-oriented leaders feared damage to the community's reputation.[31]

Although white memory of Greenville's desegregation emphasizes cooperation between black and white residents, historian Stephen O'Neill argues Greenville's white leadership acted "only when every reasonable avenue of resistance was rendered hopeless." At that point, white business leaders worked to "enlist the support of their counterparts in the black community to protect Greenville's image and to try to assure a peaceful transition to a desegregated society."[32] Their approach is exemplified by Charles Daniel.

In the early 1960s, the Greenville builder joined an informal group of prominent white citizens that formed in response to black activism in Greenville and privately aided a biracial committee in Greenville formed on the heels of violence at the University of Mississippi.[33] Daniel served in a group that worked to ensure the peaceful desegregation of Clemson University in 1963.[34] Most notably, Daniel responded pragmatically to the Kennedy administration's decision to place nondiscrimination clauses in federal contracts including those awarded to South Carolina textile mills. In a speech at Hampton County's

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[31] Stephen O' Neill, "Memory, History, and the Desegregation of Greenville, South Carolina," in *Toward the Meeting of the Waters: Currents in the Civil Rights Movement of South Carolina During the Twentieth Century* ed. Winfred B. Moore Jr. and Orville Vernon Burton (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2008), 286.; Matthew Lassiter, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 257.

[32] O'Neill, "Memory, History, and the Desegregation of Greenville, South Carolina," 286.; Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 403.

[33] Ibid, 403-404.; Keith Morris, "Desegregation With Dignity: Those Who Made It Work in Greenville—in Their Own Words," *Upcountry Review,* 1 (Fall 1999): 30-31, 36-38, African Americans Desegregation File, Vertical Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as African Americans Desegregation File.

[34] M. Ron Cox Jr., "Integration with [Relative] Dignity" in *Toward The Meeting Of The Waters*, 274-285. Cox argues that a group of key South Carolina leaders including Daniel and Freeman worked together to ensure that South Carolina avoided violence and negative attention. Although Cox does not dwell on this aspect, economic development considerations likely melded with humanitarian concerns for Daniel, Freeman, and other leaders.

Watermelon festival, Daniel cautioned white South Carolinians risked losing their freedom to act on "their own terms" without providing more opportunities for black South Carolinians.[35]

The leadership pattern set by Greenville's white elite held in the winter of 1970 when a court order forced the county's school district to comprehensively desegregate after a lengthy period of delay.[36] School district leaders devised a system of busing to achieve the federal mandate of an 80-20 white-to-black ratio in the county's consolidated school district of 58,000 students. Civic leaders undertook a large effort to ensure the February transition took place without violence or mass absenteeism. The Chamber of Commerce built a campaign with the slogan "THE IMPORTANT THING IS EDUCATION!" and a biracial Citizens' Committee formed by the school district fielded citizens questions and marshaled public opinion in support of busing. These organizations helped ensure the February transition took place without violence and little student absenteeism.[37] Greenville's moderate Republican mayor R. Cooper White Jr. aided the process by keeping his children in the public schools and urging ministers to urge compliance to the law from their pulpits.[38]

The initial success of busing in Greenville drew positive media coverage. Citizens' Committee chairman Ernest Harrill's assertion that Greenvillians did "what we had to but the people have done it with grace and style" gained purchase in national media coverage from outlets ranging from *The New York Times* and *The CBS Evening*

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[35] O'Neill, "Memory, History, and the Desegregation of Greenville, South Carolina," 290.
[36] Ibid, 293-295.
[37] Ibid.; Lassiter, *The Silent Majority,* 255.
[38] Eric Connor, "Ex-mayor dies at 90; pushed for civil rights," *Greenville News,* April 25, 2017, R. Cooper White Jr. file, Biographical files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter cited as Cooper White file.

News to *The Mexico City Daily Bulletin.*[39] The headline of a United Press International report appearing in newspapers throughout the United States read "Schools Integrated Smoothly in One Southern Town." The article contrasted Greenville County with two counties in Mississippi where "whites abandoned classrooms."[40]

The national unpopularity of busing made Greenville's response notable. "Busing programs were so massively unpopular that they tended to discredit civil rights reform generally," historian Numan V. Bartley noted. By late 1971, 90 percent of southern whites and close to half of African American southerners opposed busing.[41] The program's initial success in Greenville partly rested on structural factors such as the county's large white majority and placing the burden of busing on black students.[42] The positive image also reflected the absence of media focus on later tensions that erupted in fall 1970 when racial violence between black and white students took place in some county schools.[43]

Busing also revealed political divides in the community. Grassroots groups of black and white parents registered their opposition to busing.[44] Republican businessman and politician Carroll Campbell Jr. led the Citizens Committee to Prevent Busing, a white collar group, that demanded South Carolina governor Robert McNair "stop the court action in Greenville and Darlington" through whatever legal avenues were available. The

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[39] O'Neill, "Memory, History, and the Desegregation of Greenville, South Carolina," 295.
[40] "Schools Integrated Smoothly in One Southern Town," *The Post & Times Star,* February 18, 1970, Box 1, 1970 file, Ernest E. Harrill Papers, Special Collections, James B. Duke Library, Furman University. Hereafter cited as Harrill Papers.
[41] Bartley, *The New South: 1945-1980,* 423.
[42] Lassiter, *The Silent Majority,* 257.; O'Neill, "Memory, History, and the Desegregation of Greenville, South Carolina," 295.
[43] O'Neill, "Memory, History, and the Desegregation of Greenville, South Carolina," 295.
[44] Lassiter, *The Silent Majority,* 257.

group led more than 3,000 protestors to the State House steps where Campbell read their petition. Campbell couched the group's rhetoric in race neutral language.[45]

Campbell's opposition to busing reflected an emerging divide within South Carolina's Republican Party. Fellow Greenville Republican R. Cooper White Jr. represented the moderate or "cosmopolitan" faction of the party. Historian Bruce H. Kalk contends that "cosmopolitans" believed the Republican Party could construct "a coalition combining the business and political classes with support in the African American community."[46] White split with his party over the racially charged "southern strategy" of 1970 and refused to back Republican gubernatorial candidate Albert Watson over his racially charged campaign.[47]

In his 1969 mayoral campaign, White won in Greenville's black majority precincts. He viewed South Carolina's political culture as different than that of other Deep South states. Alluding to Watson's race-based campaign, White said "It may be the way in Alabama, but I cannot believe it will be successful in South Carolina."[48] Although Watson lost the election, he won Greenville County.[49] In 1971, White declined to run for a second term and supported Democrat Max Heller's candidacy.[50]

Max Heller

White's departure from office cleared the path for moderate Democrat Max Heller, a city councilman and relative political newcomer. Heller arrived in Greenville in 1938 as a refugee from Nazi-occupied Vienna, Austria and embarked on a successful

[45] Ibid, 255; Douglas Mauldin, "Crowd Orderly, Shows Displeasure, *Greenville News,* January 26, 1970.
[46] Kalk, *Origins of the Southern Strategy: Two Party Competition in South Carolina: 1950-1972,* 122.
[47] Lassiter, *The Silent Majority,* 254, 260-61.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Kalk, *Origins of the Southern Strategy: Two Party Competition in South Carolina: 1950-1972,* 124.
[50] Stuart Campbell, "White Has Parting Pangs: No Retrogression Fears For Retiring Mayor," *Greenville Piedmont,* July 13, 1971, Cooper White file.

career as a businessman and civic leader in the Bible Belt. In Greenville, Heller built an apparel manufacturing business that specialized in boys' clothing and sold the firm in 1962. His political career began after he fully retired in 1968.[51] Although the Hellers' story has been the subject of many journalistic accounts, little scholarship has addressed Max Heller's life and political career.

Two pieces of recent scholarship analyze Heller's legacy in Greenville and his failed bid for Congress in 1978. In an edited collection on the role of business in Jewish-American history, Dianne Vecchio examined how Judaism informed Heller's experience in Greenville. She views Heller's faith and background in business as vital parts of his success in Greenville. Vecchio emphasizes the importance of an existing network of Jewish businessmen in Greenville to Heller's early business success and his close association with local business leaders such as Daniel Construction's Buck Mickel.[52]

In a journal article on the 1978 congressional race between Heller and Republican Carroll Campbell, Robert David Johnson explained the role of "latent anti-Semitism" in Heller's defeat. He contends the campaign demonstrated that "a particular type of populist environment could stimulate anti-Semitic sentiments lurking just beneath accepted political discourse." Johnson concluded that prior to the insertion of anti-Semitic rhetoric into the 1978 campaign, "his Jewish identity had served as an *asset* to Heller's political career." Heller's story of American exceptionalism played a similar role. As a politician, Heller shared the ideological outlook of other successful southern

[51] See Jim McAlister, "Max Heller: 20th Century Pioneer," Box 2, Folder 4, Heller Papers.
[52] See Dianne Vecchio, "Max Moses Heller: Patron Saint of Greenville's Renaissance," *Doing Business in America: A Jewish History* ed. Hasia R. Diner (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2018), 185-6.

Democrats in the 1970s. "He combined a pro-business attitude with a belief that government could improve the lives of average citizens."[53]

The events that led Max and Trude Heller to Greenville came about as a result of larger geopolitical forces and his happenstance meeting with a young woman from Greenville in 1937. Heller grew up in a devout Jewish home in Vienna, Austria. His parents dreamed of their son becoming a doctor. He had other plans. After his graduation from Gymnasium at age 14, Heller started a job as an apprentice and attended a business school. He found business courses more interesting than instruction in Latin. His work experience and training prepared him for his later career in Greenville.[54]

In August 1937, 18-year old Max Heller on vacation with his family at a summer resort noticed Trude Schonthal during the resort's "dirndle," a dress competition. Later, when their respective families were dining and music played. Max asked the 14-year old Schonthal to dance and declared to his future wife "I'm going to marry you." As she remembered, "at 14, I thought he was crazy."[55] Max Heller had another consequential dance that August.

He briefly left the resort and returned with his father to Vienna and visited an outdoor café with a friend. A group of girls from Greenville, South Carolina were on a European tour and Heller asked one of them to dance. He and Mary Mills danced for two hours and walked in the park the next day making conversation with the help of a

[53] Robert David Johnson, "Latent Anti-Semitism and Political Culture: The Heller-Campbell Congressional Race," 1, 17, 13. Shared with the author by Johnson. Copy is in the author's possession.
[54] Abe Hardesty, "Greenville honors visionary behind downtown's rebirth," *Greenville News,* May 29, 2009, 1A, Max Heller file, Biographical Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as Max Heller biographical file.; Interview-Heller & McAlister, 1972, Box 7, Folder 8, Heller papers, Special Collections, Furman University, 1-4.
[55] Trude and Francie Heller interview with author, February 23, 2019.

German-English dictionary. Heller kept her address in his wallet. When Germany annexed Austria in March 1938, Heller wrote Mills.[56]

After the Nazi takeover of Austria, Heller noticed immediate changes and quickly decided that his family needed to leave Austria. He recalled that within minutes of the announcement of the Anschluss, police took "swastika armbands" from their pockets. When his family tried to remove money from the bank, they learned their "bank account was confiscated." A Nazi partner also took control of the business where Heller worked and fired most of the Jewish employees with the exception of Heller and several others. He recalled that he "realized that particular day there was no way to stay in Austria."[57]

Heller wrote to Mary Mills to seek her assistance. Through a dictionary, Heller translated his native German into English. In the letter, he attempted to explain the new situation in Austria and his desire to emigrate to the United States. Heller's family doubted that anything would come of his attempt. A few weeks later, he received a call from his father while visiting Trude Schonthal's home. His father explained that "a registered letter from the United States" had arrived. In the letter, Mills explained that she visited Shepard Saltzman, a Jewish businessman from Greenville, and Saltzman agreed to provide Heller with employment and the necessary paperwork. Saltzman followed through with the promised employment offer.[58]

In his retellings of the story, Heller emphasized that Saltzman felt compelled to help a fellow Jew when asked by a Christian. Heller recalled that Saltzman said "how

[56] WYFF 4 50 Years, Interview with Max Moses Heller 1988, WYFF 4, Box 18, Heller papers; Interview-Heller & McAlister, 7.
[57] Interview-Heller & McAlister, 6-9.
[58] Ibid, 10; Max Moses Heller, interview by Peggy Denny, *The Peggy Denny Show*, WGGS-TV, October 2001, Box 18, Heller papers.

wonderful is it that this young lady, who was not Jewish had so much compassion and wanted to help me. How could he do less?" Saltzman offered to try to assist Heller's sister and parents as well. The Hellers hesitated to ask for additional help and felt it "wouldn't be fair to this man" to find employment for the entire family. They prioritized the children. Saltzman provided an employment affidavit for Max and his sister.[59]

On July 26, 1938, the Heller children reached New York and stayed with "a long-lost aunt" who lived in Newark, New Jersey.[60] Their distant relative believed they could secure employment for Heller in Newark through "a rich cousin" and tried to dissuade him from moving to Greenville. Her negative view of the South apparently did not phase Max. He recalled in a later interview that he felt a loyalty to the "people who brought me here" and found his relatives' "impression of the South was so different from what I found it to be."[61] Heller did not explain what his relatives believed about the region.

When Max arrived in Greenville in August, he stepped into a very different setting from Vienna or Newark. Segregation made an early impression on him. At Heller's new workplace, Piedmont Shirt Company, black and white workers labored in different spaces and performed separate jobs. The heaviest work fell on African American employees.[62] The practice of Jim Crow initially confused Heller. He tried to drink from the water fountain labelled "colored."[63] Sunday Blue laws were also a new

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[59] Interview-Heller & McAlister, 1972, 15. Heller's parents were able to immigrate to the United States later.
[60] Ibid, 14,18.
[61] Ibid, 19. As Heller explained to McAlister, "I had about $1.60 in my pocket. That was all the money that was left over. I was allowed to take $8.00, incidentally, with me leaving Europe. That was the only money we were allowed to take out." See pg. 19.
[62] Vecchio, "Max Moses Heller: Patron Saint of Greenville's Renaissance," 185.
[63] Courtney Tollison interview with Max and Trude Heller, August 10, 2004, Furman University accessed February 18, 2019, https://scholarexchange.furman.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1023&context=oral-histories.

feature of life for Heller. He discovered that movie theaters and any other forms of entertainment were shuttered on Sundays and restaurants were not allowed to serve alcohol.[64]

At the close of 1941, Trude Schonthal and her mother visited Greenville. Their journey to the United States had been even more arduous and included surviving Kristallnacht and time as refugees in Belgium. On her first visit, Max picked them up from the train station and tried to conceal Greenville's small size by taking a circuitous route. She remembered the return trip to the train station "took like two minutes." After the couple married in August 1942, Trude took a job working at the window of Piedmont Shirt Company and initially found it difficult to understand southern accents. Greenville also lacked theatre and the live music that characterized life in Vienna. She recalled immediately buying tickets when the first theatre opened.[65]

As immigrants to Greenville and Jews, the Hellers were a decided minority. In 1940, South Carolina had the smallest number of foreign-born residents of any American state with fewer than 5,000.[66] During the same era, the Greenville Chamber of Commerce boasted that "no more than one tenth of one percent (of residents) were of foreign birth."[67] The majority of immigrants to South Carolina were Greek, German, Russian, or

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[64] James Shannon, "Max Heller Remembers," *Creative Loafing,* October 6, 2001, Heller biographical file.
[65] Trude and Francie Heller, interview.; Vecchio, "Max Moses Heller: Patron Saint of Greenville's Renaissance," 186-7.; Trude Heller's father arrived in the United States separately from her mother. He spent time in a concentration camp before escaping into the south of France and successfully securing passage to the United States.
[66] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998)*,* 513.; As Nick Theodore, a descendant of early Greek settlers to Greenville noted in his memoirs, "For years, Charleston had South Carolina's largest Greek community, a distinction now held by Greenville." See Nick Theodore, *Trials and Triumphs: South Carolina's Evolution 1962-2014* (Taylors, S.C.: Faith Printing Company, 2014), 14.
[67] Yancey Gilkerson Paper Prepared for Club of 39 Meeting Oct. 15, 1987, Greenville 1920's-1940's file, Vertical Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. This boast is likely tied to the common idea among southern business and political leaders that immigrants especially those from Eastern and Southern Europe were more likely to join labor unions than native-born workers.

from Palestine-Syria.[68] In Greenville, the most prominent group of immigrants were Greek. Greek immigrants arrived in Greenville in the last years of the nineteenth century. By the early 1930s, the Greek community organized a Greek Orthodox Church.[69]

A small Jewish community with influence disproportionate to its numbers also existed in Greenville County. In 1926, 195 Jewish families lived in the county. Jewish life centered on the city of Greenville.[70] Jews played an important role in South Carolina's early history. The religious tolerance granted by the colony of Carolina attracted a number of Sephardic Jews of Spanish and Portuguese extraction. Most of the early Jewish settlers lived in Charleston. Twenty percent of American Jews lived in Charleston in 1800.[71]

After the Civil War, the number of Jews in upstate South Carolina increased. These migrants were typically Ashkenazi Jews from Eastern Europe and often worked as peddlers that sold goods to farm families and in small towns.[72] Many Jewish peddlers transitioned from peddling to operating small businesses in upcountry towns and cities.[73] Cities such as Greenville that benefited from the textile boom of the late 19th and early 20th centuries proved particularly attractive destinations for Jewish merchants. In an article on the impact of Jewish peddlers and merchants on the postbellum South Carolina

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[68] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 513.; As Nick Theodore, a descendant of early Greek settlers to Greenville noted in his memoirs, "For years, Charleston had South Carolina's largest Greek community, a distinction now held by Greenville." See Nick Theodore, *Trials and Triumphs: South Carolina's Evolution 1962-2014* (Taylors, S.C.: Faith Printing Company, 2014), 14.
[69] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 266-7.
[70] Ibid; Robert David Johnson, "Latent Anti-Semitism and Political Culture: The Heller-Campbell Congressional Race,"15.
[71] "Jews," in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, 2006, s.v. "Jews."
[72] Diane C. Vecchio, "Making Their Way In The New South: Jewish Peddlers And Merchants In The South Carolina Up Country," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 113, No. 2 (April 2012): 101-102.
[73] Ibid, 110. The term upcountry is often used interchangeably with upstate and piedmont. I use all three terms to provide variety. The meaning is the same.

upcountry, Diane Vecchio notes that "migrant Jews were welcomed by New South advocates of economic development."[74] She cites the presence of large numbers of Jewish merchants in early 20th century Greenville, Spartanburg, and smaller upcountry towns as evidence. In 1930, the Jewish community in Greenville operated nearly two dozen shops that sold dry goods, apparel, and other items.[75]

Heller's employer Piedmont Shirt Company represented a substantial Jewish-operated business in Greenville. In 1928, its founder Shepard Saltzman, migrated to Greenville from New York City and started the company with the help of prominent local investors interested in bringing the apparel industry to Greenville. By 1946, Saltzman's firm employed 1,000 workers and became the fourth largest menswear manufacturer in the United States, as well as the largest south of Baltimore.[76] Through his workplace, Heller developed friendships with fellow Jews that Saltzman recruited to Greenville and worked in management.[77] He also found a source of religious and cultural identity through Congregation Beth Israel, a conservative synagogue.[78]

In the workplace, Heller adapted quickly despite his lack of English language skills. He initially swept floors in the shipping department. As Heller advanced at Piedmont Shirt Company, he received a promotion to internal sales manager and learned how to correspond with clients by reading through old letters.[79] Max and Trude Heller further honed their English skills by reading the same books and discussing them.[80]

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[74] Ibid, 102,
[75] Ibid, 114-15.
[76] Vecchio, "Max Moses Heller: Patron Saint of Greenville's Renaissance," 184.; David A. Tillinghast, "8,600 Dozen Garments Made Weekly by Piedmont Shirt," *Greenville Piedmont,* May 6, 1946, Max Heller biographical file.
[77] Vecchio, "Max Moses Heller: Patron Saint of Greenville's Renaissance," 185-86.
[78] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 266-67.
[79] Interview-Heller and McAlister, 1972, 20-21, 24-25.
[80] Trude and Francie Heller, interview.

By his mid-twenties, Heller served as vice president of Piedmont Shirt Company before he left to form a company with a partner. After the partnership dissolved, he founded Maxon Shirts in 1948, which produced children's clothing that sold across the United States and in foreign markets.[81] An innovative businessman involved with even the minute details of his company, Heller instructed salesmen to give their retail clients "colorful balloons" to place around Maxon's Carnegie Jr. line. "If the Mother should have her children with her and had not even intended to buy a shirt for her little boy; he will drag her over to that department because he will want to see the balloons," Heller explained in a letter to his sales staff.[82] By the company's tenth year, it had "produced and marketed over 22 million Carnegie Shirts."[83]

In 1962, Heller sold Maxon to Oxford Industries but continued to run the company until he retired in 1968 to pursue a second career in public service.[84] He explained that he "had no desire to be the richest man in the cemetery" and felt a duty to "give back" to Greenville. Heller's involvement in charitable organizations provided the bridge from business to politics. Even during his business career, Heller served on a number of boards including as chairman of board for the Roman Catholic St. Francis hospital and started a housing foundation after retiring from Maxon. He credited his work on housing issues and on reform for youthful offenders with launching his desire to run for elective office.[85]

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[81] Vecchio, "Max Moses Heller: Patron Saint of Greenville's Renaissance," 187-88; Trude and Francie Heller, interview.
[82] Letter written to salesmen carrying the Maxon Shirt Company product, Box 8, Folder 1, Heller Papers.
[83] Carnegie Shirts For Boys Ad, Box 8, Folder 12, Heller Papers.
[84] Heller Letter to Employees, March 26, 1968, Box 8, Folder 12, Heller Papers.
[85] Vecchio, "Max Moses Heller: Patron Saint of Greenville's Renaissance," 189-190.

In 1969, Heller won election to a two-year term on Greenville's city council. He served as the chairman of the Finance Committee and according to Vecchio, "his concern with such issues as employee benefits, improving housing and race relations won him the support of both white and black voters." Business leaders interested in downtown revitalization as a vehicle for economic development and civic purposes encouraged Heller's mayoral candidacy in 1971.[86] In his mayoral campaign, Heller advocated for downtown revitalization, the elimination of substandard housing, the erection of new lighting to deter crime, and the construction of additional recreational facilities. He promised to bring the government closer to the people by creating a "citizens service and information desk" at city hall and by holding town hall meetings.[87]

Amid the disarray caused by Albert Watson's gubernatorial candidacy in 1970, Republicans failed to offer a candidate to challenge Heller. His popularity with voters who identified as Republicans in presidential elections may have been another reason for the absence of Republican opposition. As former state legislator and South Carolina governor Richard W. "Dick" Riley recalled, Heller attracted support from members of the business class who "were Democratic voters locally but voted Republican nationally and considered themselves Republicans."[88] In the Democratic primary, Heller won by a three-to-one margin against former councilman Gus Smith.[89]

Heller's service as the mayor of a mid-sized southern city and his later congressional run generated interest outside of Greenville. Coverage of Heller focused on

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[86] Ibid, 190.
[87] Heller campaign advertisement, *Greenville News,* April 10, 1971.
[88] Richard W. "Dick" Riley interview with author, January 25, 2019. Riley was a Democrat and represented Greenville County as a representative and senator in the South Carolina General Assembly before his election as governor in 1978. Riley served two terms as governor and was appointed Secretary of Education by President Clinton in 1993.
[89] J. Hunter Stokes, "Heller Wins Primary By Large Margin," *Greenville News,* April 14, 1971.

his journey from refugee to mayor and built on the idea that Jewish mayors were rarely elected in southern cities. As Diane Vecchio argues, "the election of Heller as mayor of Greenville was not an anomaly in the South." Although Heller became the first Jewish councilman or mayor in the city of Greenville, over two hundred Jews have served as mayors of southern towns and cities including Durham, North Carolina's Emanuel J. 'Mutt' Evans and Atlanta's Sam Massell.[90] The perception remained, however, that Heller's business success and political career represented an oddity in the South.

In a feature that ran across major American cities, syndicated columnist Neal R. Peirce prefaced Heller's story by asking "how did a young Jewish immigrant wind up in deepest Dixie, in a town that likes to call itself 'the buckle of the Bible Belt?'"[91] *Money* magazine's 1974 profile of Greenville emphasized the importance of conservative churches to Greenville's social life but reassured readers, "there is no overt prejudice toward Catholics or others who belong to a religious minority. In fact, Greenville's mayor Max Heller is an Austrian-born Jew."[92] The decision of Furman University, then a Baptist institution, to award Heller an honorary doctorate led the *B'nai B'rith Messenger-Religious News Service Report* to tout "Baptist Students Hail Jewish Mayor."[93]

Nick Andrew Theodore, a state representative from Greenville County, also viewed Heller's election as significant. Theodore, the son of Greek immigrants to Greenville, told Heller in a letter that Greenville was "long overdue, compared to Charleston and Columbia, in electing officials of ethnic background to lead in moving

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[90] Vecchio, "Max Moses Heller: Patron Saint of Greenville's Renaissance," 191.
[91] Neal R. Peirce, "A Different Sort of Mayor in the Buckle of the Bible Belt," Unknown Publication, Box 3, Folder 4, Heller Papers.
[92] "Greenville, South Carolina," *Money Magazine,* August 1974, Box 3, Folder 6, Heller Papers.
[93] "Baptist Students Hail Jewish Mayor," *B'nai B'rith Messenger-Religious News Service*, 1975, Box 3, Folder 4, Heller Papers.

our city government forward."[94] Locals seeking to alter the status quo in Greenville also viewed Heller's election as progress.

Dale Perry, a reporter for the *Greenville News*, shed his objectivity to tell Heller that he restored his faith in Greenville. Following his graduation from Furman University, Perry decided to stay in Greenville although he "was not quite so sure I had much of a future here." He retained hope, however, that South Carolinians would "cast off the kind of politicians who stand in the way of community progress." John C. West's victory over Albert Watson and Heller's election as mayor renewed his optimism. "Greenville has certainly come a long way in electing a man of your caliber to the office of mayor. I only hope the city can keep up with you."[95]

Perry's statement had more than a ring of truth to it. Heller made the part-time position of mayor his full-time job and put in ten hour workdays.[96] In office, Heller worked energetically to enact his vision of creating a "city of tranquility" where residents expressed "a pride in citizenship."[97] In more concrete terms, Heller envisioned redevelopment of the city's Central Business District to improve the area's quality of life and enhance the tax base, as well as a more active role for city government in housing policy and greater responsiveness to citizens. Although Heller's ambitions were sometimes checked by the slow pace of government, he remained a very popular mayor throughout his two terms in office. His pro-development stance and his responsiveness to the needs of black constituents created an electoral coalition of white businessmen and professionals and African American voters.

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[94] Nick A. Theodore to Max Heller, April 21, 1971. Box 3, Folder 1, Heller Papers.
[95] Dale Perry to Max Heller, April 14, 1971. Box 3, Folder 1, Heller Papers.
[96] Stuart Campbell, "Ayes and Nays," *Greenville Piedmont,* December 4, 1973, Box 12, Heller Papers.
[97] "Mayor Heller's 'City of Tranquility,'" *Greenville News*, July 14, 1971.

Heller and the African American Community

Merl Code, who served as the first African American chairman of the Greater Greenville Chamber of Commerce, recalled that when he first moved to Greenville in the early 1970s it remained "very, very segregated." A graduate of North Carolina A&T University, Code spent his college years immersed in a city with a significant black middle class. In contrast to Greensboro, North Carolina, Code recalled that Greenville "did not have a cadre of African Americans who were socially and economically at a higher level because of their education." [98] Over a decade later, the *Greenville Piedmont* reported that on the city's westside "the indications of a black middle class are almost nonexistent."[99]

Heller's relationship with the black community dated to his business days. Although never a proponent of segregation, he initially acceded to local law and custom. His apparel firm employed hundreds of black and white women who, by law, were required to work in separate spaces. Maxon Shirt Company held separate Christmas parties and company gatherings for black and white employees and had separate drinking fountains and bathrooms. Diane Vecchio notes that Jewish businessmen in upcountry South Carolina often followed racial custom to defend their own status as white but "many empathized with the plight of blacks in the segregated South" and "quietly challenged white racial etiquette in their business dealings with African Americans." In

[98] Merl Code, interview.; Cara Bonnett, "Most Influential: Merl Code," *Greenville News,* January 1, 2000.
[99] James Eppes, "Marketer says where we live reveals much about how we live," *Greenville Piedmont,* January 24, 1989, Greenville Demographics 1980s file, Vertical files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as Greenville Demographics 1980s file.

Heller's case, he ended the practice of having separate drinking fountains and bathrooms on his own accord.[100]

As mayor, Heller attempted to bridge the divide between the city government and the African American community. His "hungry ear" telephone line for constituents allowed them to express grievances directly to city government. This proved particularly valuable to black constituents given their past treatment at city hall. Prior administrations had sometimes greeted black citizens by slamming the door.[101] Heller also desegregated city government by appointing African Americans to white collar jobs in city government. He hired city hall's first African American secretary and the first black employee at the administrative level.[102]

Heller began the practice of holding town halls in both black and white neighborhoods. At a town hall held at the Birnie Street YWCA in 1973, black residents expressed "complaints about substandard housing, sanitation problems and poor street conditions to Heller."[103] His administration proved responsive to these issues and used federal grant money to aid low income neighborhoods.[104] Community and recreational centers were built in predominantly black areas.[105] Heller also created a new bus system when the previous operator withdrew from the Greenville market. He rounded up church

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[100] Ibid, 188.
[101] Neal R. Peirce, "From poor refugee to mayor," *Boston Globe,* April 14, 1978, Box 4, Folder 4, Heller Papers.
[102] Vecchio, "Max Moses Heller: Patron Saint of Greenville's Renaissance," 198.; "Chronological Summary Evidence of Busy Year in Council Chambers," *Greenville News,* January 8, 1973, Box 12, Heller Papers.
[103] Dale Perry, "Housing, Sanitation Criticized At Meeting," *Greenville News,* October 12, 1973, Box 12, Heller Papers.
[104] Neal R. Peirce, "Greenville's Extraordinary Refugee-Businessman-Mayor," Box 4, Folder 4, Heller Papers. The Washington Post Publishing Group sent Heller a longer version of Peirce's column before it ran. This version contains additional detail.
[105] "City Government Did More Listening, Brick and Mortar, Heightened Service Mark Year's Progress," *Greenville Piedmont,* December 27, 1973, Box 13, Heller Papers.

buses and helped organize driver training. Black Greenvillians dependent on public transportation placed particular importance on the bus system.[106] Symbolic gestures such as a proclamation issued by Heller honoring Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday and Heller's support for the formation of African American cultural organizations were other ways that he engaged with the black community.[107]

The relationship between Heller and Greenville native and civil rights leader Jesse Jackson helps illustrate the Sunbelt South's new racial dynamic. Jackson used Heller's election as a symbol of progress while also pressing for greater economic and political opportunities for African Americans. Local and outside publications portrayed Heller and other white leaders' embrace of Jackson as evidence of a more enlightened South.

In October 1973, Jackson made a well-publicized return to his hometown to establish a Greenville chapter for his organization People United to Save Humanity (PUSH). Jackson's "homecoming" focused national attention on Greenville. The television show "Soul Train" broadcast from the Greenville Memorial Auditorium and national media covered Jackson's return. The city of Greenville honored Jackson with a parade.[108] Heller served as the principal emissary to Jackson and presented him with a plaque at a press conference.[109]

Jackson's "homecoming" also provided Heller with the opportunity to sell Greenville as a racially tolerant southern city. In a conversation with a reporter for the

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[106] Vecchio, "Max Moses Heller: Patron Saint of Greenville's Renaissance," 197.; Trude and Francie Heller, interview.
[107] Dale Perry, "Black Cultural Council Formed in Greenville," *Greenville News,* n.d.; "Mayor Issues Proclamation For Dr. Martin Luther King," *Greenville News,* January 9, 1975.
[108] Miram Goodspeed, "Jesse Jackson's Homecoming Attracts National Attention," *Greenville Piedmont,* October 4, 1973, Box 10, Folder 9, Heller Papers. Jackson visited Greenville regularly to see his mother and stepfather. The October 1973 visit, however, was an occasion to honor Jackson.
[109] Walter Morrison, "Jesse Jackson 'goes home' and Carolina town loves it," *The Chicago Daily News,* October 6-7, 1973, Box 10, Folder 9, Heller Papers.

Chicago Daily News, Heller compared Greenville to Atlanta. He argued that Greenvillians were also "too busy to hate." At a gathering of business leaders, Jackson met with a man for whom he caddied as an adolescent. "Now, they're meeting as equals," Heller declared. The *Daily News* report also painted a favorable portrait of Greenville and Heller. "Greenville strikes the visitor as one of those 'New South' towns, seeking investment by needed industry and unwilling to risk it by any too-rigid adherence to Southern 'tradition' or 'peculiar institutions,'" the reporter opined.[110]

Jackson viewed Heller and other Democrats such as South Carolina senator Fritz Hollings as progressive. He praised Heller's "openness to use his political position to help the poor." Jackson, however, also used Heller's success as a rhetorical tool. In 1973, no African Americans served on Greenville's city or county councils or represented the area in the state legislature. "If it is possible for Max Heller, a Jew, to be mayor of Greenville, then it is possible for Greenville to have a black mayor," Jackson told the audience at a breakfast meeting.[111] Black political power, however, remained elusive.

In 1976, only 31 percent of eligible African American voters in Greenville County were registered to vote. In July, the Greenville branch of PUSH filed a voter registration complaint with the Justice Department. The Justice Department denied the call for federal registrars, but Heller and other Democrats proved supportive of additional

[110] Ibid.
[111] Dale Perry, "Jesse Jackson Blasts Thurmond; Parade Begins Weekend Activities," *Greenville News,* October 6, 1973.; "Political Breakfast Held in Honor of Reverend Jesse Jackson," *Focus News,* October 12, 1973. Both in Box 10, Folder 9, Heller Papers.

registration efforts.[112] African Americans were not represented in city government until 1977 when minister Rayfield Metcalf won election.[113]

Heller also received some criticism from African Americans. He emphasized downtown development as a means of shoring up the area's tax base. "Without a strong tax base, government can't fulfill all its good intentions," Heller told the *Greenville News.*[114] Some constituents complained that a greater share of development money flowed to large downtown projects rather than impoverished neighborhoods.[115]

Downtown Redevelopment and Economic Development

Frustrated by the slow pace of redevelopment efforts, Heller considered not seeking reelection in 1975. Progress remained glacial. Heller recalled in a later interview, "there were broken sidewalks with grass growing out" and his plans to widen sidewalks and plant trees drew "objections from some of the merchants" who feared changes would increase crime. A small group of business leaders persuaded Heller to run for reelection. In exchange, they would raise money for downtown redevelopment.[116] The *Greenville Piedmont* also endorsed Heller's run.[117]

In April 1975, Heller defeated a Democratic primary opponent running on an anti-crime platform by a substantial margin and faced Bob Jones University-affiliated Republican Jesse R. Helms in the general election. The *Greenville Piedmont* cautioned readers that the "importance of who sits in Greenville's seats of power cannot be

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[112] Dale Perry, "Voter Registration Complaint Filed," *Greenville News,* July 30, 1975.; Carey Hayes, "Jackson asks 'resurrection,'" *Greenville Piedmont*, August 6, 1976.; "Call for Federal Registrars Denied," *Greenville Piedmont,* August 6, 1976. All in Box 16, Heller Papers.
[113] Sally Smith, "Race for council seat shows black voter split," *Greenville News,* March 10, 1979.
[114] "Mayor says downtown is community's mirror," *Greenville News,* May 3, 1977, Box 16, Heller Papers.
[115] Neal R. Pierce, "A Different Sort of Mayor in the Buckle of the Bible Belt," *Boston Globe,* April 14, 1978, Box 4, Folder 4, Heller Papers.
[116] Shannon, "Max Heller Remembers."
[117] "Minitorial Notes on City Elections," *Greenville Piedmont,* April 11, 1975, Box 13, Heller Papers.

overemphasized" and praised Heller's achievements while noting that Helms's ideology favored "maintenance of the status quo."[118] In the general election, Heller took 65 percent of the vote.[119] In his second term, the tempo of redevelopment activities increased and the seeds of downtown Greenville's later success were sown.[120]

Heller's rooted his vision for downtown Greenville in his experiences in Vienna. "He envisioned a Greenville that was more like a village…a European village with people coming downtown," Minor Shaw remembered.[121] On the advice of Halprin and Associates, a San Francisco-based urban design firm, the city government narrowed Main Street to two lanes, widened sidewalks, and planted trees. These changes were also accompanied by "new green spaces, flower planters, and areas for outdoor dining." Downtown merchants feared the changes to Main Street would damage their ability to attract customers dependent on cars.[122]

As mayor, Heller also made use of private-public partnerships. Heller and his allies believed a hotel and convention center to be necessary for the revitalization of downtown Greenville. Although several companies passed on building a hotel in Greenville, a connection between Greenville attorney Tommy Wyche and a member of Hyatt Hotel's management team led to a meeting between Heller and Hyatt CEO Jay Pritzker. Hyatt initially demurred on the Greenville market because of its small size. Heller and Pritzker, however, shared a connection. Heller's parents and Pritzker's mother

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[118] Ibid.
[119] John Bolt, "Heller's gain is Jordan's loss," *Greenville Piedmont,* April 23, 1975, Box 13, Heller Papers; Dale Perry, "Heller Easily Wins Reelection," *Greenville News,* May 21, 1975.
[120] Jimmy Cornelison, "Partners in Romance, Service," *Greenville News*, May 26, 1999, Max Heller biographical file.
[121] Minor Shaw, interview.
[122] John Boyanoski *Reimagining Greenville: Building The Best Downtown in America,* Rev. ed., with Knox White (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2017), 12-13.; Vecchio, "Max Moses Heller: Patron Saint of Greenville's Renaissance," 192.

shared the same birthplace in Poland. Private and public funding underwrote the cost of the hotel and convention center. The funds included a $5.5 million federal Urban Development Action Grant and contributions of $4 million from local businessmen.[123]

Heller also aided in the recruitment of new industry and companies to Greenville. During Heller's time in office, French tire manufacturer Michelin built its first American manufacturing facility in Greenville during Heller's service as mayor and Metropolitan Life Insurance Company located a computer center in Greenville. Heller traveled to France and New York to sell the companies on the area.[124]

Heller and the Christian Right

Heller's second term coincided with the start of a new stage in local and national politics. In the mid-1970s, Christian conservatives mobilized politically and became active in Republican Party politics. In Greenville, members of the Bob Jones University community were in the vanguard. In 1976, Bob Jones University-affiliated residents gained control of the county GOP at precinct meetings and students protested an ecumenical prayer breakfast organized by Heller.[125] In the 1980s, the Christian Right reached maturity as a political force in Greenville and altered the fabric of local politics.

Despite his many successes, Heller could not escape discrimination. As a young married couple, the Hellers could not rent certain homes.[126] Certain social clubs did not welcome Heller even after he built sufficient personal wealth. In 1968, Heller declined the invitation to a dinner honoring South Carolina Governor Robert McNair at

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[123] Ibid, 14.; Vecchio, "Max Moses Heller: Patron Saint of Greenville's Renaissance," 193.; "Greenville Commons groundbreaking set," Unknown Publication, December 24, 1978, Max Heller biographical file.
[124] Vecchio, "Max Moses Heller: Patron Saint of Greenville's Renaissance," 195.
[125] Huff Jr., 409; Unknown author, "Jones: BJU Not Trying to Control County GOP," *Greenville News,* March 6, 1976.; Bill Inman, "Students Protest Meeting," *Greenville Piedmont,* March 5, 1976. Box 4, Folder 2, Heller papers.
[126] Courtney Tollison interview with Max and Trudie Heller, August 10, 2004.

Greenville's Poinsett Club. The club's policies precluded a Jew from joining its membership. Heller wrote McNair, "People of my faith are not welcome as members and because of this I have declined the invitations to any affairs taking place there."[127]Almost a decade later, Heller penned a similar note to James B. Edwards, South Carolina's first Republican governor since Reconstruction, to explain why he declined an invitation to a reception honoring Edwards. "I have not gone to the Poinsett Club because of their admission practices which relate to ethnic and religious minorities. It is regrettable that such is the case and I hope that, in time, it will change."[128] Heller may have felt uncomfortable at other social clubs as well. Heller is "rarely seen on the country-club circuit and refuses to attend at least two private clubs where he realizes an anti-Semitic attitude exists," *The State* newspaper wrote in 1971.[129]

A turning point in the political involvement of local evangelical and fundamentalist Christians came in 1976. In March, a group of people affiliated with Bob Jones University took over the county Republican organization. As A.V. Huff describes the coup, local evangelicals used "floor leaders, walkie-talkies, and rigid discipline" to gain control at precinct meetings.[130] Republican Gregory D. Shorey Jr. recalled that his biannual meeting to organize his precinct normally featured a dozen or so regular attendees, but when he arrived at the meeting he noticed "about 25 people that I never laid eyes on….It turns out they were all Bob Jones people and at that point, they had literally outorganized us and virtually took the party over."[131] Bob Jones III denied that

[127] Max M. Heller to Robert McNair, March 19, 1968, Box 3, Folder 2, Max M. Heller Papers.
[128] Max M. Heller to James B. Edwards, January 26, 1977, Box 3, Folder 4, Max M. Heller Papers.
[129] Dave Partridge, "Max Heller: From Refugee to Mayor," *The State*, April 25, 1971 Box 3, Folder 1, Heller Papers.
[130] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 409.
[131] Gregory D. Shorey Jr., telephone interview with the author, March 9, 2020.

his institution organized the takeover of the local GOP. Despite the institution's disavowals, Strom Thurmond's long-time associate Harry Dent told the Senator in March 1976, "the Bob Jones people took over the Greenville County GOP precincts this past week" under the leadership of a faculty member and advised Thurmond to keep in touch with Dr. Bob Jones III.[132]

During his campaign for re-election in 1975 and in spring 1976, Heller faced two related controversies that centered around religion. The first controversy related to the invocation given to open City Council meetings. In January 1975, a rumor alleged Heller asked ministers offering the invocation to refrain from using the name of Christ. The rumor appears to have originated from a letter that Heller forwarded to members of City Council. As he explained to a local minister, "last May we received a letter from a resident expressing the thought that public prayer should be a common prayer in which members of all faiths could participate. I gave members of City Council a copy of the note, as I do on all correspondence addressed to this office concerning Council; and left it up to each individual as to how he or she wished to give the invocation. At no time were any orders issued to anyone."[133] A Methodist minister directed the January 1975 invocation to "Almighty God" and made no references to Jesus Christ.[134]

Some members of the community believed that Heller issued instructions to the ministers offering an invocation. Local ministers and concerned citizens wrote seeking

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[132] Joseph Crespino, *Strom Thurmond's America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2012), 267; An article titled "Jones: BJU Not Trying to Control County GOP" appeared in *The Greenville News* on the same page that carried stories on the prayer breakfast protest. The article carried Bob Jones III's denials that the election of 20 GOP committeemen affiliated with the university was orchestrated by the institution itself. Jones also took a shot at the county GOP's leadership, saying that "if old-time Republicans had power wrested away from them Thursday night, it is not Bob Jones University's fault." See "Jones: BJU Not Trying to Control County GOP," *Greenville News,* March 6, 1976.

[133] Max Heller to Carl R. Blair, February 27, 1975, Box 4, Folder 2, Heller Papers.

[134] G. Bryan Carroll, Invocation for the Greenville City Council, Box 3, Folder 2, Heller papers.

clarification or leveling accusations. The matter became controversial enough for the president of the Greater Greenville Ministerial Alliance to address the rumor. "At no time has Mayor Heller tried to influence, counsel, or instruct any member as to how to pray at these meetings," Smith explained to the *Greenville Piedmont.*[135] In 1976, the Associated Press reprinted the false accusation and renewed the controversy.[136]

Other controversies centered on the religious and social mores of Greenville. In a campaign the *Greenville Piedmont* characterized as "against the City Government in general," a Democratic candidate for City Council sent copies of receipts for the purchase of liquor by the City to the *Piedmont.* The controversy centered around the purchase of $216.82 of alcoholic beverages for for the presentation of a report on downtown development by Lawrence Halprin Associates and for officials of the Miss South Carolina pageant.[137]

Heller called the release of the receipts "dirty politics" and received "a heavy ovation from the Rotary Club."[138] The issue did not appear to affect Heller's support among his base but drew fire from members of the Bob Jones University community. WMUU, the Bob Jones University radio station, broadcast an editorial that attacked the city's purchase of liquor and Heller's characterization of the controversy as "the stinking part" of politics. Dayton Walker, the station's programming director, noted Greenville's blue laws and WMUU's long stand against the consumption of alcohol. "Liquor is

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[135] Lynn P. Smith to F.C. McConnell, III, March 9, 1976, Box 4, Folder 2, Heller Papers.
[136] "Baptist Students March to Protest Stand on Prayer," *The News and Observer,* March 6, 1976, Box 4, Folder 2, Heller Papers.
[137] John A. Bolt, "Candidate Tells of City Liquor Bills," *Greenville Piedmont,* April 9, 1975, Box 3, Folder 2, Heller Papers.
[138] "Liquor Purchase Report Dirty Politics, Mayor Says," *Greenville News*, April 9, 1975, Heller Papers;, "Minitorial Notes on City Elections," *Greenville Piedmont,* April 11, 1975; Both in Box 3, Folder 2, Heller Papers.

wrong; its consumption is wrong; its sale is wrong; and the use of taxpayers to finance a private reception for guests of the city is just adding insult to injury," Walker argued.[139]

The contretemps between Heller and WMUU continued after the campaign. Letter writers faulted Heller for what they described as a failure to "extend congratulations to the W.M.U.U. upon their extended range of coverage."[140] One even described Heller as "deliberately discourteous to Bob Jones University."[141] The tumultuous relationship between Bob Jones University and Max Heller became more contentious in 1976.

At the urging of the Greenville Ministerial Alliance, Heller organized a Mayor's Prayer Breakfast for Greenville to coincide with the World Day of Prayer and America's Bicentennial. Hundreds of locals attended the event in downtown Greenville on March 5. At the breakfast, a black Baptist minister, a white Methodist minister, a priest, and a rabbi offered prayers. L.D. Johnson, Furman University's chaplain and the former pastor of First Baptist Greenville, offered opening remarks. A choir of Greenville County Schools students sung America the Beautiful and the Battle Hymn of the Republic.[142]

Dr. Bob Jones III declined the invitation. The Joneses opposed cooperation between people who shared different religious faiths or ecumenicalism. Their long-held stance on ecumenicalism led to a break with the reverend Billy Graham in the late 1950s and their opposition to an extremely popular 1966 crusade that Graham held in Greenville.[143]

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[139] Dayton Walker, "WMUU Editorial," April 15, 1976, Box 3, Folder 2, Heller papers.
[140] H.R. Maurer to Max Heller, November 18, 1975, Box 4, Folder 2, Heller Papers.
[141] Mr. and Mrs. Steve McCrary to Max Heller, November 19, 1975, Box 4, Folder 2, Heller Papers.
[142] Cheryl Manning, "Prayer Breakfast Draws Crowd," *Greenville Piedmont*, March 3, 1976, Box 4, Folder 2. Heller Papers.
[143] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 412.

Jones also issued a threat. "The lord calls on true believers to expose wolves in sheep's clothing who rend and tear the flock of God, we consider any preacher who participates in an unscriptural endeavor such as this to be a wolf in sheep's clothing." He added, "Bob Jones University wants no part in it, and we are actively opposing it."[144] Dr. Gilbert Stenholm of Bob Jones University applied for and received a permit from the city to protest the Mayor's Prayer Breakfast.[145]

Outside of the gathering, "thirty-five, blazer-clad," and "clean-cut ministerial students" carried signs protesting the breakfast. [146] One of the students told a reporter that Bob Jones III had requested the protest.[147] A protestor's sign repeated the rumor from 1975. It read, "how can Christians join in a prayer meeting with a man who objected to the city council praying in the name of Christ?"[148] Although a *Greenville News* report following the protest noted "no one officially connected the Bob Jones University (BJU) protest last Friday knows where erroneous information originated that appeared on one of the picket placards," Bob Jones III still gave the rumor official sanction months later. [149] In a statement, Jones placed fault for the protest with Heller. "The only religious issue that's been raised in this whole affair—was raised by Max Heller himself when he made it quite clear at the Council meeting that he didn't want anybody praying in the name of Jesus," Jones wrote.[150]

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[144] Bob Jones III to Carolyn Stirm, February 5, 1976, Box 4, Folder 2, Heller Papers.
[145] John J. Dullea to Dr. Gilbert Stenholm, February 9, 1976, Box 4, Folder 2, Heller Papers.
[146] Bill Inman, "Students Protest Meeting," *Greenville Piedmont,* March 5, 1976, Box 4, Folder 2, Heller Papers.
[147] "Students Picket Prayer Breakfast," *Greenville News,* March 6, 1976. Box 4, Folder 2, Heller papers.
[148] Bill Inman, "Students Protest Meeting," *Greenville Piedmont,* March 5, 1976. Box 4, Folder 2, Heller Papers.
[149] "Error's Origin Unknown to BJU," *Greenville News*, March 11, 1976, Box 4, Folder 2, Heller Papers.
[150] Statement by Dr. Bob Jones, May 20, 1975, Box 4, Folder 2, Heller Papers.

Most Greenvillians who recorded an opinion on the prayer breakfast did not share the perspective of Bob Jones III. Heller received a number of supportive letters and letters-to-the-editor more often than not supported the prayer breakfast. A substantial minority, however, voiced their opposition.

At least one Greenvillian preemptively wrote to Heller. A local florist instructed Heller, "when you see the picketing tomorrow, please remember that there are many times more Christians in Greenville who greatly admire and deeply love the Hellers."[151] One Greenville resident wrote to Heller, "I'm daily more afraid that though your gracious comments to the press revealed no offense, you must surely have been sensitively afflicted." In seeking forgiveness for Greenville's Christian community, she explained her perspective on Judaism. "the Jewish people are the apple of God's eye, and His blessing will forever be with you."[152]

One local Protestant explained to Heller his view of the motives. "From what I can understand from the newspapers, and other reports, the objection seems to be that you as a Jew are sponsoring this breakfast to which will be invited ministers of all faiths, and some of another color besides whites." Babb added that these distinctions mattered little to God. "Our God when he welcomes us to that home in the sky, will not ask us whether we have been a Presbyterian, or a Methodist, or a Jew, or a Catholic."[153]

Some editorials running in *The Greenville News* and *Greenville Piedmont* supported Bob Jones's position. Raymond A. Hefle called the prayer breakfast one of Satan's deceptions. "Somehow, the devil had tricked thousands of people in our city into

[151] Unknown sender to Max Heller, March 4, 1976, Box 4, Folder 2, Heller Papers.
[152] Paula Morris to Max Heller, March 8, 1976, Box 4, Folder 2, Heller Papers.
[153] Victor M. Babb to Max Heller, February 25, 1976, Box 4, Folder 2, Heller Papers.

thinking that anything labeled 'prayer' is honoring to God. Nothing could be further from the truth." Hefle affirmed the primacy of the bible and salvation.[154] In a letter to the editor, Gilbert Swift of Bob Jones University described the modern ecumenical movement as "a lie of Satan which gives a false sense of security to people." In Swift's estimation, "Hell will be full of religious people, but only those who have trusted Christ for their salvation will be in heaven."[155] One local couple simply expressed their hopes that Bob Jones III would "always stand true and not compromise his beliefs."[156]

Bob Jones University provided criticism of Heller consistent with their opposition to ecumenical gatherings, but it marked a new stage in the university's relationship with the community. It corresponded with the takeover of the Greenville County Republican Party by Bob Jones-affiliated Republicans and the rise of the Christian Right. In the long term, this development increased the strength of the GOP in Greenville County and brought socially conservative candidates into city and county offices and the legislative delegation.

In 1978, Heller launched a campaign for the seat of retiring Democratic Congressman James R. Mann. Although Bob Jones University did not serve as the primary source of opposition to Heller in 1978, the religious controversies of 1975 and 1976 foreshadowed attacks on Heller during his congressional campaign. Republican Carroll Campbell's victory played a significant role in South Carolina's tilt towards the GOP. Questions about the campaign lingered for decades.

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[154] Raymond A. Hefle, letter to the editor, *Greenville Piedmont*, March 15, 1976, Box 4, Folder 2, Heller papers.
[155] Gilbert Swift, letter to the editor, Unknown Publication, Date unknown, Box 4, Folder 2, Heller papers.
[156] C.G. Lollis, Letter to the editor, *Greenville Piedmont,* March 15, 1976, Box 4, Folder 2, Heller papers.

Chapter Three—Max for Congress

"The state senator sits down to talk with three men—avowed Republicans who urge Campbell to 'take advantage of the golden opportunity' that 'that dummy in Washington' is offering the Republican congressmen."—"Campbell hustles rural vote," The Greenville News and Piedmont, August 30, 1978.

"He (Atwater) first made a name for himself on a race between Carroll Campbell and a Democrat by the name of Max Heller."—Boogie Man: The Lee Atwater Story.

In November 1978, the *Washington Post* profiled high-dollar D.C.-based political consultant Mark Shields on the eve of the congressional midterms. Shields told the *Post* that his "most interesting race was this guy in South Carolina." He referred to the candidate so frequently as to make "his wife's eyes glaze over." Max Heller fascinated Shields. The consultant believed that if a Holocaust survivor and self-made man improbably running as "a Jewish immigrant in the buckle of the Bible Belt" could be elected to Congress, it would be a victory for "decency and decent instincts."[1] The outcome disappointed Shields.

The popular mayor of Greenville lost the election to up-and-coming Republican politician Carroll Ashmore Campbell Jr. in a campaign that South Carolinians still discussed decades later. Campbell became the first Republican to represent the Fourth Congressional District since Reconstruction and the state's first two term Republican governor. His leadership played an important role in building the Republican Party in

[1] Lynn Darling, "On the Run with Mark Shields, Political Consultant," *The Washington Post,* November 6, 1978. Box 3, Folder 4, Max M. Heller papers, Special Collections, James B. Duke Library, Furman University. Hereafter referred to as Heller Papers.

South Carolina during the 1980s and 1990s. One prominent South Carolina Republican called him "'the master architect' of the state Republican Party."[2]

Campbell's victory was controversial. Many of Heller's allies and longtime political observers attributed his loss to anti-Semitism. They cite a "push-poll" employed by the Campbell campaign and the Republican's remarks on Israel and foreign policy and allege coordination with a third-party candidate.[3] Close to election day, independent Don Sprouse argued that Heller was "not as qualified to represent the Christian people of the district as a Christian Congressman" because of its place in the Bible Belt.[4] Heller experienced a sharp drop in support.[5] Republican strategist Lee Atwater allegedly assisted Campbell's campaign with tactics and coordinated with Sprouse on behalf of the Republican. The accusations remain unproven.[6]

Campbell's victory over Heller inaugurated the broader shift to the Republican Party in Greenville County and South Carolina. He successfully tapped into anti-government sentiment and employed an aggressive campaign to defeat Heller. Anti-Semitism also contributed to Heller's defeat and has dominated the memory of the campaign. After 1978, conservative Republicans became a more important force in Greenville politics.

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[2] Dan Hoover, "Republicans honor their 'master architect,'" *Greenville News,* October 6, 2002, Carroll Campbell biographical file, South Carolina room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as: Campbell biographical file.
[3] Associated Press, "Heller says Campbell made Judaism an issue during 1978 campaign," *Greenville Piedmont,* October 2, 1986, Max Heller biographical file, South Carolina Room. Hereafter referred to as Heller biographical file.; *Boogie Man: The Lee Atwater Story,* directed by Stefan Forbes (Interpositive Media, 2008), DVD (Interpositive Media, 2009).
[4] Sally Saunders, "Sprouse Says Religion Makes Heller Unqualified," *Greenville News,* November 3, 1978.
[5] Richard W. "Dick" Riley telephone interview with the author, January 25, 2019.
[6] *Boogie Man: The Lee Atwater Story.*

The broader state of South Carolina politics in the mid-to-late 1970s provides important context for the Heller-Campbell race. During this period, the Democratic Party remained dominant at the state level through a coalition of African American and moderate white voters.[7] The Democratic constituency included "courthouse officials, a rather highly politicized and close-knit law enforcement establishment, academics and other liberals, and a basically weak organized labor movement." Business leaders provided financial backing for moderate and conservative Democratic candidates who offered "stability."[8]

Between the early 1960s and mid-1980s, South Carolinians elected moderate Democrats as governor with the exception of Republican James B. Edwards in 1974. Edwards became governor after the state Supreme Court ruled that Democratic nominee Charles "Pug" Ravenel did not meet the state's residency requirement months before the election. Despite the challenge of maintaining the Democratic coalition, the pattern held into the 1980s. In 1984, political scientist Alexander P. Lamis argued that Democrats were likely to retain the governor's mansion unless "a wild man" Democrat alienated business interests and more conservative Democratic voters.[9]

Greenville politician Richard W. "Dick" Riley epitomized the type of Democrat acceptable to the Democratic coalition and its financial supporters.[10] In response to shifting politics, Riley and other moderate Democrats "emphasized the economic-political beliefs we had which were more or less conservative" and remained widely

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[7] Alexander P. Lamis, *The Two-Party South,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 63.
[8] Jack Bass and Walter DeVries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics: Social Change and Political Consequence Since 1945* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 265.
[9] Lamis, *The Two-Party South,* 63, 69, 74-75.
[10] Ibid, 70-72.

popular with voters. He argued that Democrats "had kind of a very clear economic/conservative view politically and a very progressive social view." Riley argued that Heller shared these views.[11]

In 1976, this philosophy and the popularity of Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter carried Democrats to victory in five of South Carolina's six congressional seats. "South Carolina Democratic party leaders found in Jimmy Carter the first national nominee of their party in over a decade for whom they could comfortably and actively campaign," Lamis argued.[12] Riley headed Carter's successful campaign in South Carolina and described his appeal to South Carolinians. The Georgia Democrat was "a very good conservative person with very strong faith and very southern roots." His background as a peanut farmer and Baptist faith provided South Carolinians a measure of comfort.[13]

South Carolina's metropolitan spaces, however, still trended Republican in presidential elections. In 1976, Carter garnered 56.2 percent of the statewide vote, but the state's urbanized counties voted for Republican Gerald Ford.[14] Urban whites and suburban voters delivered Greenville County to Ford. The Republican won by 3,164 votes.[15] From the late 1960s through the mid-1970s, Republican candidates regularly won city and county council seats and election to the state legislature.[16] An outside group assessing the race between Campbell and Heller labeled Greenville, "South Carolina's

[11] Richard W. "Dick" Riley, interview.
[12] "Holland wins in 5th; Mann easy victor," *Greenville News,* November 3, 1976; Tom Mason and Ann Green, "County Votes 88%," *Greenville News,* November 3, 1976.
[13] Richard W. Dick Riley, interview.
[14] Lamis, *The Two-Party South,* 69.
[15] "Unofficial Greenville Vote," *Greenville News,* November 3, 1976.
[16] A.V. Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 409.

most Republican city."[17] Until 1978, however, Republicans proved unable to mount an effective challenge for the Fourth Congressional District seat.

In January, the Fourth District seat opened for the first time in a decade when Democrat James R. Mann announced that he would not seek re-election.[18] The conservative Democrat played an important role in Congressional Watergate hearings and demurred running for governor as a replacement candidate for "Pug" Ravenel in 1974.[19] Mann opted to retire after a scandal that involved his congressional staff working on behalf of U.S. Coin Co. of Greenville. A financial issue also forced Mann to surrender $180,000 in assets. The strength of Campbell as a potential Republican opponent may have been another factor.[20] After the decision, most district voters continued to view Mann favorably. In August 1978, Heller campaign polling placed Mann's approval rating at 48 percent. Only 23 percent of respondents viewed Mann negatively.[21] Although Mann defeated Republican Robert Watkins handily in 1976, prospects looked far better for Republicans in 1978.[22]

By 1978, white South Carolinians expressed growing dissatisfaction with Jimmy Carter's leadership. In an August poll of likely voters in the Fourth Congressional District, 68 percent of respondents believed Carter was doing a fair or poor job as

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[17] A Survey of the Political Climate in the Fourth Congressional District of South Carolina," August 1978, Peter D. Hart Research Associates, iii, Box 1, Folder 1, Heller Papers.
[18] "Heller defeats Theodore; Campbell easily wins GOP race," *Greenville News,* June 14, 1978.
[19] Bass and DeVries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics,* 266; William Grimes, "James Mann, 90, Dies; Worked on Nixon Impeachment," *The New York Times*, December 23, 2010. accessed May 24, 2020. https://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/23/us/politics/23mann.html
[20] William Steele, "Congressional Races: Hot Contest Brews in Fourth District," *The State,* June 4, 1978.; Although Mann publicly contended that his decision centered on a desire to do something else, it seems likely the scandals of 1977 and 1978 played a major role. See Scott Sunde, "Mann Says His Job Lacks Challenge," *Greenville News,* April 10, 1978.; Robert David Johnson, "Latent Anti-Semitism and Political Culture: The Heller-Campbell Congressional Race," 11, Copy in author's possession.
[21] "A Survey of the Political Climate in the Fourth Congressional District of South Carolina," August 1978, Peter D. Hart Research Associates, 14, Box 1, Folder 1, Heller Papers.
[22] "Holland wins in 5th; Mann easy victor," *Greenville News,* November 3, 1976.

president.[23] In contrast, 55 percent of district voters rated Strom Thurmond positively and 52 percent held a positive view of outgoing Republican governor James Edwards.[24] The fourth district's demographics were also favorable to the Republican party's base constituency. White evangelicals constituted the majority of the district's voters. White voters made up 84 percent of the district and nearly half of the district's white voters identified as Baptist. Forty percent of the district's voters identified as conservative.[25]

Shifting politics in the 1970s brought white evangelicals into closer identification with the Republican Party. Historian Daniel K. Williams argues the link between the Christian Right and the Republican Party originated in the 1940s but strengthened in the late 1960s, as conservative Protestants began to focus "more on the culture wars than the Cold War." The importance of social issues throughout the 1970s strengthened the alliance between Christian conservatives and the Republican Party. Sunbelt growth and the Republican Party's need for southern votes encouraged the GOP's embrace of social conservatism.[26] Although economic and fiscal issues dominated the campaign discourse between Heller and Campbell, religion mattered. In August 1978, 15 percent of all likely voters and 17 percent of undecided voters agreed their congressman should be a "moral, Christian man."[27]

The Republican National Committee also took note of the district's favorable characteristics. In June, they announced that it would be "targeted for maximum financial

[23] "A Survey of the Political Climate in the Fourth Congressional District of South Carolina," 2.
[24] Ibid, 14.
[25] Ibid, T9.
[26] Daniel K. Williams, *God's Own Party: The Making of the Christian Right* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 3.
[27] "A Survey of the Political Climate in the Fourth Congressional District of South Carolina," T5 (continued).

assistance."[28] The strength of Republican nominee, Carroll Campbell also buoyed the party's hopes. Republicans considered the 38-year old Campbell "a rising star."[29]

The businessman turned politician overcame a difficult adolescence to achieve financial success at a young age and turned his energy to politics.[30] Campbell's political talent exceeded that of other Greenville Republicans and his young family was an asset on the campaign trail. Historian Robert David Johnson argues that Campbell "personified a new generation of southern Republicans." Campbell "avoided overt racial appeals" and emphasized "conservative positions on taxes and government spending."[31]

Campbell shared certain traits with Heller. Both men were largely self-made. The *Greenville News* described Campbell as the "scion of a blue-blooded family fallen on hard times." Campbell developed a rebellious streak as a teenager and dropped out of Greenville High School before an uncle enrolled him at McCallie School in Chattanooga, Tennessee. His family's struggles also precluded Carroll from completing a college degree until he served in Congress.[32]

The pattern for Campbell's political career can be seen in his early business success. Campbell was impatient and aggressive. At 18, he worked as a salesman at McDonald's, a men's store in downtown Greenville. Two years later, he used his earnings to lease a piece of downtown land that he turned into a parking lot.[33] Out of the

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[28] Karl Hill, "GOP asks 2 million to give money, ideas," *Greenville News*, June 7, 1978. Box 2, Folder 4, Heller Papers.
[29] Mary A. Glass, "Rep. Campbell Described As GOP 'Rising Star'", *Charleston News & Courier,* April 13, 1982, Campbell biographical file.
[30] John Boyanowski, "Jobs, tenacity highlighted Campbell's career," *Greenville Journal,* December 9, 2005, Campbell biographical file.
[31] Johnson, 12-13.
[32] Dan Hoover, "Carroll Campbell, former governor dies at 65," *Greenville News*, December 8, 2005; John Boyanowski, "Jobs, tenacity highlighted Campbell's career," *Greenville Journal,* December 9, 2005, Campbell biographical file.
[33] Ibid.

lot, Campbell formed a company named Handy Park. Campbell turned his experience running Handy Park into licensure as a real estate broker. In 1967, Campbell invested in a chain of Burger King restaurants in Florida and Georgia.[34] His ventures proved successful, as Campbell's enterprises earned millions in revenue by his mid-30s and his family moved to a farm in southern Greenville County and raised Arabian horses.[35]

Campbell met his future wife Iris Faye Rhodes when she worked at a drug store lunch counter in downtown Greenville. They eloped in 1959 when neither were far removed from high school. During the 1960s, they had two children: Carroll III and Michael.[36] As a young family man and successful entrepreneur, Campbell fit easily within the emerging suburban, white constituency of the South Carolina GOP. Campbell's formal involvement in GOP politics dated to his early 20s when he served as a Republican poll-watcher in 1960. In a later telling of the story, Campbell claimed that Democratic corruption in a local election pushed him to embrace two-party politics.[37]

Other motivations were present as well. Campbell's family attended Church of the Redeemer, an Episcopal church in Greenville. Influential early Republican leader Gregory D. Shorey Jr. taught Campbell's Sunday school class.[38] Another motivation may have been the death of Carroll's younger brother Mike in Vietnam in 1968. Family difficulties forced Carroll and Iris Campbell to raise Mike from the time he was a young

[34] Dolly Darr, "Campbell is One Of S.C.'s Leading Conservative Activists," *Spartanburg Herald-Journal,* October 28, 1975, Box 2, Folder 4, Heller Papers.
[35] Hoover, "Carroll Campbell, former governor dies at 65."
[36] Ibid.; Obituary, "Carroll Campbell, ex-governor, congressman, distinguished civic leader, prominent entrepreneur," *Greenville News,* December 9, 2005.
[37] Hoover, "Carroll Campbell, former governor dies at 65."
[38] Gregory D. Shorey Jr. telephone interview with the author, March 9, 2020.

teenager. Friends of Campbell argued Mike's death changed his outlook. He shed his "fun-loving" side and adopted a more serious demeanor.[39]

In 1969, Campbell managed R. Cooper White Jr's successful mayoral campaign and ran in a special election to represent Greenville County in the South Carolina House of Representatives. Campbell lost the election by 1,744 votes to Democrat Nick Theodore, a veteran legislator.[40] After the loss, Campbell burnished his conservative credentials by leading a protest over court-ordered busing. He couched the protest in "color-blind rhetoric" and argued that busing hurt both African American and white children. The controversy reemerged during Campbell's first gubernatorial run in 1986, but the busing controversy did not harm his electoral prospects.[41]

Campbell won a seat in the state House of Representatives in 1970 and earned a record-breaking number of votes in his 1972 re-election campaign, a testament to Campbell's popularity and growth patterns within the county.[42] Campbell's skill and ambition also led to leadership roles within the Republican Party. In 1973, he became assistant minority leader for the still relatively small group of Republicans in the state legislature.[43]

Campbell mounted a strong challenge for the Lieutenant Governor's office against Democrat Brantley Harvey in 1974. Although Harvey outspent Campbell by a

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[39] Boyanowski, "Jobs, tenacity highlighted Campbell's career."
[40] J. Hunter Stokes, "Cooper White First Greenville Republican Mayor," *Greenville News,* June 18, 1969; "Theodore Gets Seat in House," *Greenville News,* October 15, 1969. Theodore, later Heller's opponent in the 1978 Democratic primary served two terms as lieutenant governor that overlapped with Campbell's tenure as governor. Despite their history, Theodore argues they enjoyed a good relationship as governor and lieutenant governor. Nick Andrew Theodore interview with the author, December 28, 2018.
[41] Lassiter, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 255.; Jerry Adams, "Campbell tried to disrupt schools, legislator charges," *The State,* December 17, 1985, Campbell biographical file
[42] Mark Nickelson, "Brantley Harvey Defeats Campbell," *Greenville News,* November 6, 1974.
[43] *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, 2006, s.v. "Campbell, Carroll Ashmore, Jr."

wide margin, the Republican won many of the state's urban and suburban areas. Harvey won rural counties. In Greenville County, Campbell enjoyed a three-to-one advantage and won a majority of the Spartanburg County vote as well. Republican gubernatorial candidate James B. Edwards also carried Greenville by a large margin.[44] The result presaged Campbell's success among Fourth District voters in 1978 and the path to his election as governor in 1986. Edwards rewarded Campbell for his loyalty to the party by appointing him as an aide but he quickly returned to elective office winning a state senate seat from Greenville County in 1976. Campbell considered running against Mann in 1974 and 1976 but waited for Mann's retirement.[45]

Local and national Republicans lined up behind Campbell in the party primary. Robert Watkins, a twice-defeated aspirant for the Fourth District seat, decried the Republican National Congressional Committee's involvement in the race but otherwise offered light opposition. National Republican leaders including Kansas senator Bob Dole and former Secretary of the Treasury John Connally endorsed Campbell in advance of the primary.[46]

Heller's path to the Democratic nomination presented a greater challenge. Local Democrats speculated that Heller would run for Congress as early as winter 1977 when he withdrew his name from consideration as deputy secretary for the Department of Housing and Urban Development [47] "You'll be ready for another job in about a year," a

[44] Henry Eason, "Edwards Apparent Victor Over Dorn," "Harvey, Campbell Eye Political Future," *Greenville News,* November 6, 7, 1974; Johnson, "Latent Anti-Semitism and Political Culture: The Heller-Campbell Congressional Race," 13.
[45] *The South Carolina Encyclopedia,* "Campbell, Carroll Ashmore, Jr."; Johnson, "Latent Anti-Semitism and Political Culture: The Heller-Campbell Congressional Race," 17.
[46] "Dole boosts Campbell," *Greenville News and Piedmont*, June 3, 1978, Box 2, Folder 4, Heller Papers.
[47] Dale Perry, "Heller Rejects HUD Post," *Greenville News,* January 11, 1977.

Greenville resident wrote Heller in January 1977.[48] Heller also faced a term limitation as mayor.[49]

Veteran state legislator Nick Theodore also sought the nomination. Theodore began his political career as a state representative in 1962 and challenged Mann for the Democratic nomination for the Fourth Congressional District in 1968.[50] Theodore's status as a Greek-American may have played a role in his loss to Mann. A survey found that "around 20 percent of district Democrats…would be less likely to vote for a candidate of Greek descent." Robert David Johnson argues the "latent hostility to the 'other'" present in Theodore's race against Mann foreshadowed attacks on Heller.[51] Theodore kept his eyes on the Fourth Congressional District. He considered a run in 1976 when Mann was considered for a judgeship.[52]

In the 1978 primary, Heller and Theodore both enjoyed name recognition and popularity in Greenville County. The *Greenville News* described the competition for the Democratic nomination in the Fourth District as, "the most hotly contest primary race in the state."[53] Heller and Theodore espoused similar ideology and focused on their ability to fill Mann's shoes. Theodore touted his legislative experience and his work on behalf of education. He contended that he could adapt to Congress faster than Heller.[54] Theodore earned the endorsement of education groups in Greenville and Spartanburg counties.[55]

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[48] Rachel to Max Heller, January 14, 1977, Box 3, Folder 4, Heller Papers.
[49] Walter Julian, "Race will pit popular figures," *Greenville Piedmont,* June 14, 1978, Box 2, Folder 4, Heller Papers.
[50] Nick Andrew Theodore, interview.
[51] Johnson, "Latent Anti-Semitism and Political Culture: The Heller-Campbell Congressional Race," 9.
[52] Karl Hill, "Theodore known as education's friend," *Greenville News,* May 15, 1978.
[53] "Heller defeats Theodore: Campbell Easily Wins GOP Race," *Greenville News,* June 14, 1978.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Karl Hill, "Theodore known as education's friend," *Greenville News,* May 15, 1978; Nick Andrew Theodore, interview.

Heller's supporters emphasized his ability to "get things done" in Greenville. They made particular note of his use of private-public partnerships and federal dollars to finance economic development projects.[56] Heller's connection with Greenville's African American community was also considered an advantage. One Greenville democrat bluntly argued, "about 80 percent of the blacks will go for Heller because of the federal money he's brought into black neighborhoods in Greenville…They ain't gonna bite Santa Claus"[57] The primary race also provided a preview of the anti-Semitism that erupted in the general election campaign. In March, a Republican clubwoman wrote to Heller: "AT OUR LAST MEETING IT WAS DECIDED THAT WE WILL VOTE IN THE Democratic primary for Theodore the Greek so as to eliminate Heller the Jew."[58] Heller won the primary by just over three thousand votes. Greenville County provided most of his margin of victory.[59]

The Congressional race also featured two independent candidates. Both registered populist challenges to the establishment: Charles Hart, a Travelers Rest teacher, who identified as a Republican argued the national party "pre-selected" Campbell as their candidate. Hart claimed to represent textile workers and veterans and built his campaign around opposition to federal social programs and spending. He argued that federal regulatory agencies and welfare should be cut to balance the budget and education should be completely under state control. Hart assailed affirmative action programs and opined that affirmative action in medical school admissions would generate "a white backlash

[56] Karl Hill, "Heller backers say he gets things done," *Greenville News,* May 16, 1978.
[57] *The State,* June 4, 1978, Box 2, Folder 5, Heller Papers.
[58] "P. Archie to Max Heller," March 24, 1979, Folder 2, Box 3, Heller Papers. Archie identifies herself as the secretary of the "Republican Womans Club Ward Six."
[59] "Heller defeats Theodore: Campbell Easily Wins GOP Race," *Greenville News,* June 14, 1978.

that will in turn set back the cause of the blacks." He contrasted the impact of tax increases on people like him with the "two millionaires (Campbell and Heller) who I am running against in November." Hart withdrew from the race in early September.[60]

The other independent candidate had an outsized impact on the election. Don Sprouse operated a low-cost wrecker service known for its $12 towing fee and drove stock cars at Greenville-Pickens Speedway on weekends.[61] Sprouse's motivation to enter the race likely sprung from a general inclination to challenge local politicians and institutions rather than specific policy grievances. A litigious self-identified common man, Sprouse tangled with the city of Greenville over his wrecker service's exclusion from the police "duty roster" and sued the School Board for transcripts of closed-door hearings.[62] Sprouse developed a reputation as "something of a local folk hero." His "one-man crusades" even drew the attention of a Wisconsin novelist who visited Greenville to research.[63] Sprouse cited his experience fighting the school board and the lack of response to the issue by Campbell and Heller as his primary motivations for entering the congressional race.[64]

Sprouse officially entered the campaign in late September after the State Election Commission certified his petition.[65] Low on financial resources and without a nuanced

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[60] "Hart Launches His Campaign for Congress Here Thursday," *Greer Citizen,* July 19, 1978.; *Greenville County Monitor,* July 30, 1978; Karl Hill, "Hart Withdraws from House Race," *Greenville News,* September 9, 1978; All in Box 2, Folder 4, Heller Papers.
[61] Karl Hill, "Sprouse Plans to enter 4th congressional race," *Greenville News*, August 6, 1978.; "Novelist Found Subject for Book," *Greenville News,* September 11, 1978. Both in Box 2, Folder 4, Heller papers.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Hill, "Novelist Found Subject for Book."
[64] Hill, "Sprouse Plans to enter 4th congressional race." Neither Heller nor Campbell had any jurisdiction over Greenville County Schools, as it operated as a county rather than city or state entity.
[65] Karl Hill, "Don Sprouse candidacy now official," *Greenville News,* September 28, 1978. Sprouse won the right to be on the November ballot in an appeal to the State Election Commission. Sol Abrams, the director of the Greenville County Election Commission, had argued that Sprouse's petition did not allow enough time to be thoroughly checked. The State Election Commission decision allowed a spot check of petition signatures.

understanding of policy, the main ideological thrust of Sprouse's campaign was anger over taxation and government spending.[66] He told the *Greenville News* that his platform mirrored Massachusetts anti-tax candidate Edward King's.[67] Sprouse called for a 50-percent tax cut and seemed more likely to cut into Campbell's support rather than Heller's. The Republican supported the Kemp-Roth tax cut which fell far short of Sprouse's 50 percent target.[68]

Another theory holds that Sprouse entered the race in order to aid Campbell as "a stalking-horse" candidate and Republican political operative Lee Atwater recruited him. Atwater, a Columbia, South Carolina native, achieved notoriety for his aggressive campaign tactics and the use of race as a wedge issue. The Atwater led George H.W. Bush campaign employed the infamous "Willie Horton" advertisement against Massachusetts Democrat Michael Dukakis. Robert David Johnson notes that no "evidence has surfaced…to confirm any Atwater-Sprouse tie-in, and some reason exists to doubt any linkage." He views Sprouse as a figure more likely to damage than aid Campbell, but concedes the belief was "a commonly-held sentiment in the district then and later."[69]

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[66] Dolly Darr, a reporter for *The Spartanburg-Herald* noted that Sprouse "often candidly admits he is not familiar with some of the issues" that Campbell and Heller debated, but that "'open government' is his campaign platform." Darr also mentions reducing taxes by 50 percent as an issue that Sprouse campaigned on. See Dolly Darr, "Don Sprouse's Campaign Is For Open Government," *Spartanburg-Herald,* October 30, 1978, Box 2, Folder 4, Heller Papers.

[67] Ibid. King successfully challenged incumbent governor Michael Dukais in the 1978 Massachusetts Democratic primary and won the general election. As the *New York Times* later characterized King's race against Dukais, he ran on "an antitax, pro-business, and tough-on-crime platform." See Katie Zezima, "Ex-Gov. Edward J. King, 81, Who Defeated Dukais, Dies," *The New York Times,* September 19, 2006.

[68] Sprouse Ad, *Greenville News,* June 22, 1978.; AP, "Don Sprouse Certain to Claim Votes," *Spartanburg Herald,* October 9, 1978, Box 2, Folder 4, Heller Papers.

[69] Johnson, "Latent Anti-Semitism and Political Culture: The Heller-Campbell Congressional Race," 34, 38; *Boogie Man: The Lee Atwater Story.*

Political journalist Lee Bandy of Columbia, South Carolina's *The State* and journalist and historian Jack Bass contended that Atwater was involved in the campaign and Sprouse's decision to run. "Lee was accused of recruiting a third-party candidate. Sort of a Redneck kind of candidate who made religion an issue in that race. He said he entered the campaign on his own, but none of us really believed that," Bandy argued. Bass echoed Bandy. "He (Atwater) denied he recruited this guy, but none of us believed it," Bass contended. The absence of hard evidence linking Atwater and Sprouse is considered part and parcel of the operative's style. "Lee Atwater did not leave his fingerprints on his dirty tricks," Bandy argued.[70]

The amount of involvement by Atwater, if any, remains difficult to discern. Sprouse's entrance into the race and his comments about Heller's religion played a clear role in the closing phase of the campaign but for much of the contest Heller remained the favorite. In early July, the *State* opined that Heller's victory over Nick Theodore and Dick Riley's nomination as governor augured poorly for Campbell. Pundits expected Riley to drive voter turnout in Greenville and Spartanburg counties. Heller's support from businessmen who tended to "back Strom Thurmond, R-SC, and vote Republican in national elections" and the weakness of Republican gubernatorial nominee Ed Young gave Heller the advantage. "One would have to rate Campbell an underdog to Heller at this point," Lee Bandy contended.[71]

Campbell responded sharply. He argued Riley's nomination carried no relevance. His response revealed two important aspects of his strategy. First, he embraced the

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[70] *Boogie Man: The Lee Atwater Story.*
[71] Lee Bandy, "Democratic Primary Results Hurt GOP Chances in November," *The State,* July 2, 1978. Box 2, Folder 4, Heller papers.

underdog role with an aggressive attack. Second, Campbell described Heller as a "liberal" and argued Theodore was a "moderate-conservative." Campbell warned that he wouldn't be an "underdog in October."[72]

Polling also confirmed Heller's lead. Peter D. Hart Research Associates provided an in-depth study of the race for the Heller campaign. Their report found that Heller held a 51 to 29 lead over Campbell in early August. The report cautioned, however, that the Republican had "unusually high levels of strong support for a candidate getting only 29% of the vote." Their data indicated that most knowledgeable voters viewed Campbell favorably.[73]

The two candidate's bases demonstrated the emerging partisan divisions in South Carolina. Campbell enjoyed greater support among voters under the age of 35. "Younger voters in South Carolina tended to be more Republican than their elders," the report noted. Conservatives, moderate-income voters, and blue-collar whites also broke for Campbell. Heller performed best with older voters, liberals, African Americans, Democrats, Conservative Democrats, and Methodists.[74]

The report provided some cause for concern for Heller. "A Democrat should be getting a greater share of blue-collar workers," Hart argued. "His (Campbell's) strength among blue collar voters is impressive for a Republican." Robert David Johnson contends that Heller's difficulty attracting support from blue-collar whites may have been tied to populist resentment against elites. He cites the prominence of the Greenville's business elite in shaping policy on integration and county residents' resentment of the

[72] Sally Saunders, "Campbell Plans to Narrow Gap," *Greenville News,* Box 4, Folder 2. Heller papers.
[73] "A Survey of the Political Climate in the Fourth Congressional District of South Carolina," 8, 15.
[74] Ibid, 9, 10.

city of Greenville. As mayor, Heller closely identified with the city's business class and prominent business leaders. James R. Mann enjoyed strong blue-collar support.[75] Heller's challenges could also reflect a broader shift in blue-collar whites' political loyalty taking place during the 1970s.[76]

The salient issues for district voters, however, were economic. Voters feared inflation and many wanted to check government spending. The Hart report found Greenville and Spartanburg residents believed inflation was America's greatest problem. 57 percent of Greenville County voters cited inflation as the "top problem facing America." Middle-income voters expressed particular concern with government spending and provided a particular source of strength for Campbell. Taxes, government spending, and welfare reform dominated the electorate's concerns.[77] Both candidates campaigned hard on these issues and on issues affecting the textile industry.

The candidates vied to represent a district that continued to be strongly identified with the textile industry. At mid-decade, 40 percent of Greenville County's manufacturing employees labored in textile mills. Apparel and other textile-related industries such as textile machinery accounted for a large share of manufacturing jobs.[78] Dan River Mills made Greenville the site of its American headquarters and J.P. Stevens operated 18 area plants and employed close to 8,000 residents.[79]

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[75] Ibid.; Johnson, "Latent Anti-Semitism and Political Culture: The Heller-Campbell Congressional Race," 10, 24.
[76] See Jefferson Cowie, *Stayin' Alive: The 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class* (New York: The New Press, 2010), 1-19.
[77] A Survey of the Political Climate in the Fourth Congressional District of South Carolina," 22, 11.
[78] The Economy of Greenville County: A Look to the Future, Greenville County Planning Commission, November 1976, 3-5, Greenville Economy Reports/Statistics file, Vertical Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library.
[79] "Those Who Rate Cities As Business Sites Like Mid-Size Sun Belt Ones," *The Wall Street Journal*, March 14, 1980.; Cliff Sloan and Bob Hall, "It's Good To Be Home in Greenville…But It's Better If You Hate Unions," *Southern Exposure* Vol. 7, No.1 (Spring 1979): 82-93, pg. 82.; Both in Counties SC

Spartanburg County also retained a significant portfolio of textile and textile-related industries. The district as a whole contained the "state's largest concentration of plants and textile employees."[80] 58,000 district residents worked in either the textile or apparel industry.[81] Outgoing Congressman James R. Mann led an informal congressional committee on the textile industry.[82] "The congressmen from the 4th Congressional District is the textiles congressmen and should at all times maintain a leadership role toward the protection of textile jobs and the overall industry," Nick Theodore argued with little exaggeration.[83]

American economic struggles and the growth of offshore production led to a challenging decade for the southern textile industry. Textile job losses outpaced declines in other industries. As historian Timothy Minchin notes, "between 1973 and 1996, the industry lost 39 percent of its workforce, while manufacturing employment as a whole fell by only 8 percent in the same period." South Carolina and other southern states were home to the vast majority of textile jobs.[84] Automation caused a significant number of job losses. Politicians, however, championed import-restriction legislation as the best way to prevent further job losses due to foreign competition.[85] The Fourth District candidates uniformly supported protective legislation and emphasized their textile credentials.[86]

Greenville Articles from Other Publications file, Vertical files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library.

[80] "Palmetto Politics," *Greenville News and Piedmont,* April 30, 1978, Box 2, Folder 5, Heller Papers.

[81] John A. Byrne, "A Hot Race in the 'Textile Capital of the World,'" *Daily News Record,* September 25, 1978, Box 2, Folder 5, Heller Papers.

[82] "Palmetto Politics," *Greenville News and Piedmont.*

[83] "Candidates would foster textile growth," *Greenville News,* June 5, 1978, Box 2, Folder 5, Heller Papers.

[84] Timothy R. Minchin, *Empty Mills: The Fight Against Imports and the Decline of the U.S. Textile Industry* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2012), 2.

[85] Ibid, 70.

[86] "Candidates would foster textile growth," *Greenville News.*

Heller frequently referenced his status as a former worker and executive in the textile and apparel industry on the campaign trail. Campaign advertisements reminded readers that "Max Heller Knows Textiles...He learned it the hard way…Sweeping floors." The clever copy served the dual purpose of linking Heller with the district's blue-collar workers and emphasizing his ability to build a business.[87] He also argued that "his personal experience in the industry and his Washington contacts would give him influence" on textile issues.[88]

Campbell refused to cede the textile vote to Heller. The Republican cited his family's ties to the industry and his experience "cleaning out cotton in a warehouse" during the summer. More substantively, Campbell served on the Textile Study Committee during his stint as a state representative and helped draft the Republican Party's textile plank while serving on the National Platform Committee. Campbell attacked the Carter administration's trade policies and attempted to link Heller with them. He argued the administration used "the textile industry as a 'pawn of foreign policy'" and accused them of delaying passage of important textile legislation until after the election.[89] One Campbell advertisement asked readers, "The Piedmont Textile Worker—Can his job survive?" and argued that Campbell supported "a foreign policy that puts America and American workers first." "A vote for Carroll Campbell" it concluded, "is a vote for American jobs."[90]

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[87] "Heller Campaign Ad," *Greenville News and Piedmont,* November 6, 1978.
[88] "Heller stresses textile ties," *Greenville News,* May 16, 1978. Box 2, Folder 5, Heller Papers.
[89] Byrne, "A Hot Race in the 'Textile Capital of the World'"; "Campbell Advertisement," *Spartanburg Herald-Journal,* November 5, 1978.; Box 2, Folder 5, Heller Papers.
[90] Ibid.

The specter of organized labor also entered the campaign. Greenville and Spartanburg leaders were known for their opposition to unions. Some outside observers viewed anti-unionism as Greenville's dominant trait. In 1979, the progressive magazine *Southern Exposure* argued that "Greenville, South Carolina, has a national reputation for virulent anti-unionism" and detailed the opposition of local leaders, corporations, and institutions to unionization. Around eight percent of Greenville workers were union members.[91] The Heller-Campbell campaign also took place during a protracted battle between textile manufacturer J.P. Stevens and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU). In March 1978, Stevens held their stockholders' meeting in Greenville rather than New York to escape demonstrations.[92]

In the 1978 campaign, Republicans attempted to tie Democratic candidates to labor unions. Strom Thurmond attacked his Democratic opponent "Pug" Ravenel's ties to organized labor and argued labor unions would spend a quarter million dollars and employ hundreds in support of his candidacy.[93] Historian Joseph Crespino contends that anti-unionism replaced race in Thurmond's campaign rhetoric.[94] The *Greenville News* reached a similar conclusion. In October 1978, the newspaper noted that South Carolina's "politicians are either flatly anti-union or tiptoeing around the subject almost as if it doesn't exist, an indication that unionization has become one of the most sensitive issues in the South since civil rights in the 1960's."[95]

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[91] Sloan and Hall, "It's Good To Be Home In Greenville, But It's Better If You Hate Unions," 83-85.
[92] Ibid, 84.; See Timothy R. Minchin, *Don't Sleep With Stevens! The J.P. Stevens Campaign and the Struggle to Organize the South, 1963-1980* (University Press of Florida, 2005).
[93] Sally Smith, "Labor is Still Political Bogeyman," *The Greenville News,* October 2, 1978, Box 3, Folder 4, Heller papers.
[94] Joseph Crespino, *Strom Thurmond's America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2012), 266.
[95] Smith, "Labor is Still Political Bogeyman."

The limited support Heller offered for unionization and an unsolicited endorsement by the South Carolina AFL-CIO provided campaign fodder for Campbell. Heller supported South Carolina's "right-to-work" law and opposed unionization of public employees.[96] He also opposed the Labor Reform Bill of 1978. He argued the bill "was aimed against the South in particular."[97] In June, the South Carolina AFL-CIO endorsed Heller and other Democratic candidates ahead of the primary. Heller used the endorsement as an opportunity to reiterate his opposition to the labor reform bill and his support for right-to-work laws. The AFL-CIO's endorsement was withdrawn.[98]

The union revived the campaign issue by endorsing Heller and other Democratic candidates again ahead of the general election.[99] Letters containing a copy of the original endorsement circulated throughout the district with Heller and Charles "Pug" Ravenel's names circled.[100] An acquaintance of Heller forwarded a copy of the letter to the candidate. He noted the father of Campbell's campaign manager sent it to him.[101] Campbell, however, condemned the letters attacking Heller. He told the *Greenville News,* they were "despicable and deplorable, and should be given no credibility."[102]

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[96] James Shannon, "Max Heller Remembers," *Creative Loafing,* October 6, 2001, 12; Max Heller biographical file, Vertical Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as Max Heller biographical file.; Dale Perry, "Mayors Say No To Unions," Box 4, Folder 3, Heller Papers.
[97] David Watters, "A Debate Between the Fourth Congressional District Candidates," *Spartanburg Herald-Journal,* May 23, 1978. Box 2, Folder 5, Heller Papers.
[98] "Labor endorsement surprises Heller," *Greenville News and Piedmont,* June 8, 1978.
[99] Walter Julian, "Riley, Heller get AFL-CIO Backing," *Greenville Piedmont,* August 2, 1978. Box 2, Folder 6, Heller papers.; Not all Greenville democrats viewed the AFL-CIO endorsement as the kiss of death. Gubernatorial candidate Richard W. Riley expressed his support for right-to-work laws, but through a spokesmen told the *Greenville Piedmont* that Riley was pleased to have the endorsement of an organization that "represents the working people." It seems likely that the South Carolina AFL-CIO viewed Heller and Riley as better supporters of labor despite their opposition to certain reforms.
[100] "Heller Says Klan Attack Shows Slimy Side of Campaign," *Greenville News and Piedmont,* October 29, 1978, Box 2, Folder 4, Heller papers.
[101] G. Franklin Mims to Max Heller, October 10, 1978, Box 3, Folder 4, Heller Papers.
[102] Carroll Campbell, Letter to the editor, *The Greenville News,* November 2, 1978. Box 2, Folder 4, Heller papers.

Although Heller opposed collective bargaining for public employees, he expressed support for "a state-sponsored negotiating mechanism for public school teachers." Campbell accused Heller of "waffling." He argued the S.C. Educational Association's (SCEA) endorsement of Heller meant the Democrat supported "collective bargaining with a national goal of strike power" for public employees. The SCEA contended the candidate's stand on labor issues differed little. The organization based their endorsement of Heller on the mayor's support for the Equal Rights Amendment and "other affirmative positions regarding seniority and minority rights." Campbell opposed passage of the ERA.[103]

National debates over taxation, government spending, and the economy also entered the Fourth Congressional District contest. "By the late 1970s, runaway inflation had changed the economic landscape, and the political climate had altered," historian Bruce Schulman argues.[104] "The era's peculiar economic and political conditions intensified resentments against taxes and government, eroding Americans' resistance to cuts in public services." During the campaign, California voters approved Proposition 13 a dramatic reduction in property taxes and anti-tax activism spread throughout the United States.[105] The rhetoric of the tax revolt extended to the Heller-Campbell campaign. Campbell attempted to position himself as the candidate of tax and spending cuts and Heller as a tax-and-spend liberal.

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[103] Sally Saunders, "House candidates trade accusations," *Greenville News,* October 6, 1978.; Dolly Darr, "Collective Bargaining Talk Heats Up Race," *Spartanburg Herald,* October 6, 1978.; Both in Box 2, Folder 4, Heller Papers.
[104] Bruce Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (Da Capo Press, 2001), 208.
[105] Ibid, 210.

The Republican argued taxes were "the first major, absolute clear cut difference" between him and Heller.[106] He enthusiastically championed the Kemp-Roth tax bill which proposed a 33 percent reduction in federal taxes over a three year period. Campaign workers circulated petitions at sporting events, shopping centers, and other locales.[107] Radio advertisements touted Campbell's support for Kemp-Roth and urged listeners to sign the campaign's petitions.[108] An August appearance by Congressman Jack Kemp in Spartanburg further underscored the message. Heller argued Kemp-Roth would cause inflation and championed reduced government spending.[109]

Campbell extended the anti-tax message to Heller's management of the city of Greenville. He argued Greenvillians paid higher taxes than residents of other South Carolina cities and placed the onus for the flight of residents and industry to the suburbs on taxation. Campbell cited a Clemson University study of municipal taxes commissioned by the state legislature that found Greenvillians paid "a higher percentage of their income in property taxes than residents of any other city in the state." Heller also allegedly erred in using federal money for redevelopment and to hire additional city employees. His opponent contended federal grants were an indirect method of usurping residents' dollars. Federal money should have led to tax cuts not additional spending.[110]

Attacks on Heller's management of the city of Greenville also reflected a divide between city and county residents. In 1973, a referendum supported by Heller and

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[106] Karl Hill, "Heller, Campbell uncover clear-cut difference on tax cut," *Greenville News,* September 8, 1978.
[107] "Campbell advocates tax cut," *Greenville Piedmont,* August 9, 1978, Box 2, Folder 4,. Heller papers.
[108] Allen Clarke, "Campbell advertises support for tax bill," *Greenville News,* August 16, 1978, Box 2, Folder 4, Heller papers.
[109] Dolly Darr, "Jack Kemp Brings Plan to Town," *Spartanburg Herald-Journal,* August 26, 1978. Box 2, Folder 4, Heller papers.
[110] Sally Saunders, "Campbell hits Heller record on taxes, use of federal money," *Greenville News,* October 18, 1978, Box 2, Folder 4, Heller Papers.

Greenville business leaders to construct a downtown arena failed largely due to the opposition of county residents.[111] As mayor, Heller requested Greenville County Council answer if it recognized "city dwellers as citizens of the county?" In 1974, Greenville County Council "formally recognized city residents as county citizens" in a 6-3 vote.[112] Outside observers such as *Governing* magazine's Alan Ehrenhalt argued that Greenville politics strongly reflected a city versus county divide.[113] By using Heller's association with downtown elites against him, Campbell also arguably tapped into the anti-elitist strand of New Right thought.[114] The Republican's attacks on the city's use of eminent domain for development tapped in both local political tensions and anti-elitism.[115]

Heller mounted a strong defense of his record as mayor. He cited a reduction in the number of municipal employees and the city's fiscal stability as evidence of good management. The tax increases, Heller argued, were driven by inflation.[116] A Heller campaign advertisement noted that property taxes in New York City were ten times higher.[117] Heller also championed spending reductions, reducing the size of government, and a tax cut. The Greenville mayor's campaign style also differed from Campbell. His campaign advertisements were less issue oriented and he championed ethics in

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[111] John Boyanowski, *Reimagining Greenville: Building The Best Downtown in America, Rev. ed., with Knox White* (Charleston: The History Press, 2017), 66.
[112] "County Recognizes Residents of City," *Greenville News,* October 16, 1974, Box 12, Heller Papers.
[113] See Alan Ehrenhalt, *The United States of Ambition: Politicians, Power, and the Pursuit of Office* (USA: Times Books, 1991), 85-104.
[114] Schulman, *The Seventies,* 200.
[115] "Mayor Heller Responds to Charges Made By Campbell At Recent Press Conference," *The Greer Citizen,* October 25, 1978, Box 2, Folder 4, Heller papers.
[116] Ibid.
[117] "Heller Campaign Ad," *Greenville News,* November 6, 1978, Box 2, Folder 4, Heller papers.

government and his service as mayor.[118] Although Heller defended his record, he demonstrated greater reluctance to attack his opponent.

Campbell also benefited from a fundraising and spending advantage during the summer months and began television advertising early.[119] In September, Ronald Reagan also visited the district to fundraise and campaign for Campbell.[120] Heller continued to lead in October, but the tightening race attracted national attention. CBS journalist Roger Mudd visited South Carolina to follow Campbell, Heller, and Sprouse along the campaign trail. His profile aired on the CBS evening news with Walter Cronkite.[121] NBC's *Today Show* also featured the campaign in a segment.[122] Partisan attacks and religious controversies marked the campaign's closing weeks.

At a late October League of Women Voters forum, Heller detailed attack letters he received.[123] In one letter, the Grand Dragon of the South Carolina Ku Klux Klan, a Spartanburg resident, urged Klansmen and other recipients to "get out and vote against the anti-Christ Rascal." His election would be "another nail in America's coffin."[124] Another letter built on Greenville County residents' antipathy to Greenville and

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[118] Johnson, "Latent Anti-Semitism and Political Culture: The Heller-Campbell Congressional Race," 21-22.
[119] Ibid, 22; AP, "Campbell has edge in dollars," *Greenville News and Piedmont*, August 13, 1978, Box 2, Folder 4, Heller Papers; Al Dozier, "Campbell Outspends…" *Greenville Piedmont,* October 27, 1978, Box 2, Folder 5, Heller Papers.
[120] Karl Hill, "Reagan stumps for Campbell; calls GOP 'party of hope,'" *Greenville News*, September 28, 1978, Box 2, Folder 4, Heller Papers.
[121] Deb Richardson, "CBS's Roger Mudd Covers Local Race," *Greenville News,* October 8, 1978. Box 2, Folder 4, Heller Papers.
[122] "NBC crew films contest for Today," *Greenville News and Piedmont,* October 15, 1978, Box 2, Folder 4, Heller Papers.
[123] Sally Saunders, "Candidates Stress Familiar Themes," *Greenville News and Piedmont,* October 26, 1978, Box 2, Folder 4, Heller papers.
[124] Invisible Empire K.K.K., August 22, 1978, Box 1, Folder 7, Heller papers.

denigrated Heller's image as a reformer. It alleged he benefited financially from redevelopment projects in downtown Greenville.[125]

The campaign's enduring controversy developed in the final days. Heller and independent Don Sprouse tangled over religion. Heller received a question about his support for Israel during a debate. Sprouse told the audience, "he would owe allegiance to his religion and believed others would be in turn committed to their religious beliefs." At a subsequent event, Heller tried to explain the commonalities between Christianity and Judaism to the audience. He argued the faiths were "based on the same 'morals and ethics.'" The *Greenville News* reported that Sprouse "turned to Heller and said, 'is that so?'"[126]

The question about support for Israel that touched off the controversy may have originated from a poll conducted by Campbell's campaign. Journalist Jack Bass argued Lee Atwater served as the mastermind behind Campbell's poll.[127] Heller also believed in Atwater's involvement. "Later on they found out that Lee Atwater was involved," he said in 2001.[128] The poll's existence emerged years after the 1978 campaign. Pollster Arthur Finklestein, known for his use of push-polling which introduces potential wedge issues into a campaign, constructed a poll during the Campbell-Heller race.[129] Finklestein's poll asked respondents to name religious affiliation and allowed them to select "Jewish" as a descriptor of Heller. Voters could choose "A Christian Man" as a description of

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[125] Saunders, "Candidates Stress Familiar Themes."
[126] Sally Saunders, "Sprouse says Religion makes Heller unqualified," *Greenville News,* November 3, 1978; Al Dozier, "Sprouse attacks Heller religion," *Greenville Piedmont,* November 2, 1978. Both in Box 2, Folder 4, Heller papers.
[127] *Boogie Man: The Lee Atwater Story.*
[128] Shannon, "Max Heller Remembers," 12.
[129] Joshua Micah Marshall, "Talking Points Memo," October 31, 2002, Box 4, Folder 3, Heller Papers.; *Boogie Man: The Lee Atwater Story.*

Campbell. The poll asked, "if being a Jewish immigrant would affect their vote?"[130] It also included a question about American aid to Israel.[131] The inclusion of a question on Israel laid the groundwork for remarks about foreign policy that Campbell made to a Republican women's club. As he told the clubwomen, "I believe it is imperative that a congressman be objective in foreign policy and have absolutely no favorite nation in the free world except America."[132]

On November 2, Sprouse held a press conference and explained why he took exception to Heller's remarks. His response mirrored some of the objections to Heller's 1976 prayer breakfast. Sprouse argued that a relationship with God could only be obtained through Christ which "leaves him (Heller) out." Although he did not directly quote Sprouse to this effect, the *Piedmont's* Al Dozier wrote that Sprouse "said everyone who goes to Congress should be a Christian."[133] A Jewish congressman, Sprouse explained would not be "as qualified to represent the Christian people of the district as a Christian congressman." The independent denied that anti-Semitism explained his motivations. He framed his decision to question Heller's faith as an extension of his push for open government. Alluding to his fights with Greenville County Schools and the City of Greenville over transparency, he argued "this matter has been the executive session of the 4th Congressional District." [134]

Forced to respond, Heller tried to alternately rebut and shrug off the controversy. He again spoke of shared heritage reiterating that the United States was a "Judeo-

[130] AP, "Campbell made religion an issue in 78'," *Greenville News,* October 2, 1986.
[131] Marshall, "Talking Points Memo."
[132] AP, "Campbell made religion an issue in 78'"
[133] Sally Saunders, "Candidates Stress Familiar Themes."
[134] Sally Saunders, "Sprouse says Religion makes Heller unqualified," *Greenville News,* November 3, 1978.

Christian society…founded on the concept of one God." Monotheism was even enshrined in the Pledge of Allegiance. Heller also emphasized his ties to Christianity through the Mayor's Prayer Breakfast, his relationship with the Greenville Ministerial Alliance, and service on the St. Francis Hospital board of trustees.[135]

Heller expressed optimism in the citizenry of Greenville and Spartanburg Counties and spoke of his gratitude to Greenvillians. "The people of this community practically adopted me," he told the *Piedmont.*[136] He believed the community would reject Sprouse's attack. "I think the community will respond for themselves," he told the *Greenville News.* "They will have their own response to this type of thing."[137]

Local publications and citizens swiftly pushed back against Sprouse. The *Greenville News* argued Sprouse not only defamed Heller but "put forth an image of our community as bigoted." Christians and Jews shared "common bonds of morals and ethics, especially as spelled out in the Ten Commandments." Heller's faith was immaterial to his ability to represent Greenville in Congress and Sprouse's way of thinking was "alien to a majority of the Fourth District."[138] Letters to the editor also condemned Sprouse. One writer reminded Sprouse that when "he turns to Christ in time of trouble he is turning to a Jew" and suggested Sprouse consider "turning to two Jews—one in Heaven and one running for the 4th District of Congress."[139]

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[135] Al Dozier, "Sprouse attacks Heller religion," *Greenville Piedmont,* November 2, 1978, Box 2, Folder 4, Heller Papers.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Sally Saunders, "Sprouse says Religion makes Heller unqualified," *Greenville News,* November 3, 1978
[138] "Sprouse's remarks insult community," *Greenville News,* November 3, 1978. Box 2, Folder 4, Heller Papers.
[139] Barbara Ann Downs, Letter to the editor, *Greenville News and Piedmont,* November 4, 1978, Box 2, Folder 4, Heller Papers.

Heller and his supporters recall Sprouse's comments and Campbell's suggestion that Heller would favor Israel over America as a turning point in the election. In 2001, Heller told a reporter his lead was safe until his religion became an open campaign issue. "On Monday, I was still ahead by nine points. On Tuesday, I lost the election by two points," Heller argued. "I'm not saying I lost the election because of that, I may have lost anyway."[140] Heller's political ally Dick Riley won the governor's office and carried Greenville County even as Heller lost. Riley took a similar perspective. "At one time (Heller) was 10 or 15 points ahead and all of the sudden went down. But there some things happening that we were sorry about by our opponents."[141] Trude Heller recalled that after Sprouse's comments, "wherever I went for him (Heller), they told me that I killed Christ."[142]

On November 7, Campbell defeated Heller in both Greenville and Spartanburg counties to take the Fourth Congressional District seat. His narrow victory in normally Democratic Spartanburg County was surprising. In Greenville County, Campbell won by nearly 5,000 votes and in many suburban and rural spaces. The Republican even took a larger than expected share of the vote in the city of Greenville. Sprouse garnered fewer than 2,000 votes.[143] Although Heller performed well with African American voters in Greenville, the Campbell vote in the precinct closest to Bob Jones University exceeded

[140] Shannon, "Max Heller Remembers," 12.
[141] Richard W. "Dick" Riley, interview.
[142] Trude and Francie Heller interview with the author, February 23, 2019.
[143] Unofficial Greenville County Results, Box 3, Folder 4, Heller Papers.; Election Report 1978-1979, South Carolina Election Commission, 56. Accessed May 29, 2020. https://www.scvotes.org/files/ElectionReports/Election_Report_1978-1979.pdf.

total number of African American votes for Heller. Fellow Democrat Dick Riley also performed better than Heller throughout the county.[144]

Questions lingered about the role of anti-Semitism and his opponents' tactics. Letters received in the weeks and months after the election often singled out Campbell. L.D. Johnson, the former pastor of First Baptist Church and then chaplain of Furman University, wrote Heller to express his condolences. In plain terms, Johnson laid blame for Heller's defeat on anti-Semitism. "Once more goodness and the desire for a better and more equitable world were done in by hate and anti-Semitism and an appeal to prejudice and fear," He wrote. "Despite the innocent-sounding disavowals of the other side. They knew exactly what they were doing."[145]

The controversy even drew a sympathetic note from a young Spartanburg County boy named Trey Gowdy. The future Fourth District congressman explained that although he was "normally a Republican I must give credit where credit is due, and much credit is due to you for the way you conducted yourself regarding the remarks made by independent candidate Don Sprouse."[146] The anti-defamation league of B'nai B'rith also inquired into the role Heller's ethnicity played in his electoral defeat. Stuart Lewengrub, the director of the Southeastern Regional Office, asked Heller if in his judgment was "religion a factor and, if so, how much of a factor?" If Heller replied, his letter has not survived.[147]

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[144] Johnson, "Latent Anti-Semitism and Political Culture: The Heller-Campbell Congressional Race," 12, 13.
[145] L.D. Johnson to Max Heller, November 8, 1978, Box 1, Folder 7, Heller Papers.
[146] Trey Gowdy to Max Heller, November 4, 1978, Box 1, Folder 6, Heller Papers.
[147] Stuart Lewengrub to Max Heller, November 22, 1978, Box 1, Folder 8, Heller Papers.

Heller retrospectives often mentioned the controversies surrounding the 1978 congressional campaign and noted that Heller refused to indulge in bitterness. The issue of Campbell's tactics, however, flared up again in 1986 when Campbell successfully ran for governor. Samuel Tenenbaum, a Columbia Democrat and associate commissioner for the national Anti-Defamation League, renewed the controversy through his own personal campaign to prove the accusations against Campbell. Tenenbaum's research raised accusations of coordination between associates of Campbell and Don Sprouse and touched off a new controversy over push-polling that led Heller to air a rare public criticism of Campbell in October.[148]

Heller stopped short of alleging collusion between Campbell and Sprouse. When asked by a reporter in 2001 whether anti-Semitism drove Campbell's tactics, Heller placed the blame on Campbell's competitive nature and people around him. "I think he used whatever was available. And he had people who worked with him who used ugly means of being elected, whatever was necessary."[149] Tenenbaum, however, relayed stories he heard through Democratic contacts and an independent filmmaker who alleged that Republican operative Lee Atwater covertly met Don Sprouse during the 1978 campaign.[150] Although Atwater has been described as "a political mentor" to Campbell, proving a link between the notorious operative and Sprouse remains elusive.[151]

After 1978, Heller never sought another elective office. Campbell ascended through the Republican ranks. He served four terms in Congress and played an important

[148] AP, "Campbell made religion an issue in 78'"
[149] Shannon, "Max Heller Remembers," 12-13.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Johnson, "Latent Anti-Semitism and Political Culture: The Heller-Campbell Congressional Race," 22, 34.

role in Ronald Reagan's primary campaign in 1980 and George H.W. Bush's primary campaign in 1988. Campbell served as the state chairmen for the Reagan campaign and as the southern chairmen for George H.W. Bush in 1988. Campbell successfully won election as the second Republican governor of South Carolina since Reconstruction. Buoyed by his handling of Hurricane Hugo in 1989, Campbell won re-election by an even larger margin in 1990 over Greenville Democrat Theo Mitchell. Considered a candidate for the Republican presidential or vice presidential nomination in 1996, Campbell instead retired from politics and served in a lucrative role for the American Council for Life Insurance.[152]

In late 2001, Campbell announced that he had been diagnosed with early onset Alzheimer's. He passed away as a result of complications in 2005. Retrospectives focused on Campbell's many accomplishments including the recruitment of BMW to upstate South Carolina in 1992 and his role in the Republican Party's rise to dominance in state politics, but questions about his tactics in the 1978 campaign and the 1970 busing protest lingered.[153]

In Congress, Campbell supported extending the Voting Rights Act and voted for a national Martin Luther King Jr. holiday.[154] As governor, Campbell abandoned the playing of "Dixie" at gubernatorial inaugurations and stopped state functions from being held at segregated private facilities.[155] In 1985, an African American legislator authored a letter circulated among black elected officials in South Carolina that reiterated Campbell's

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[152] *The South Carolina Encyclopedia,* "Campbell, Carroll Ashmore Campbell, Jr."
[153] Hoover, "Carroll Campbell: former governor, dies at 65."
[154] Jerry Adams, "Campbell tried to disrupt school, legislator charges," *The State*, December 17, 1985. Carroll Campbell file, Biographical Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Campbell initially voted against the holiday but switched his vote after Strom Thurmond announced his support.
[155] Hoover, "Carroll Campbell: former governor, dies at 65."

opposition to busing. The letter's distribution came on the heels of Campbell's gubernatorial bid.[156] The 1978 campaign remained Campbell's most controversial action. An obituary published in the *Greenville News* reiterated the push-poll controversy and Campbell's denial of coordination with Sprouse. Donald Fowler, the former Democratic state party chair, argued the 1978 campaign remained a point of contention for "those of us who remember." Another Democrat explained that Campbell demonstrated the contradictions inherent in life and politics, but "went over the line to win. Going back to Heller."[157]

The exact role of anti-Semitism in Heller's loss is difficult to determine, but evidence suggests that it influenced the outcome. The absence of exit polling and a positive link between Sprouse's remarks and Campbell's campaign, however, makes assessing its impact difficult.[158] Johnson contends that Campbell's strength as a candidate and the district's shift toward the GOP were salient factors in the campaign.[159] The prevailing political climate surely played a major role as well. Campbell employed a clear and consistent message that expressed voters' dissatisfaction with the economy and size of government. Heller could not easily be accused of being a big-spending liberal, but in an anti-tax climate Campbell's attacks against Heller's management of the city of Greenville likely cast further doubts in the minds of waffling district voters.

Social issues had little relevance in the campaign. Campbell did little to press home major differences other than describing Heller as a "liberal." Heller's pollsters identified his support for the Equal Rights Amendment and decriminalization of

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[156] Adams, "Campbell tried to disrupt school, legislator charges."
[157] Hoover, "Carroll Campbell: former governor, dies at 65."
[158] Johnson, "Latent Anti-Semitism and Political Culture: The Heller-Campbell Congressional Race," 36.
[159] Ibid, 34.

marijuana and his opposition to the death penalty as unpopular in the district. The latter two were particularly unpopular.[160] But they did not become major campaign issues. Over the course of the next decade, however, social issues became increasingly important throughout the Sunbelt and particularly in areas like Greenville County. County residents' antipathy towards the city of Greenville may have also played a role. Suburbanization and growing affluence also likely had an impact on the outcome.

The 1978 campaign marked a turning point for the Republican Party in Greenville County. In 1980, the Campbell chaired Reagan campaign carried Greenville County and Republicans exerted increased political power in the county. Although both political parties favored economic development, Republican politicians particularly those associated with Bob Jones University embraced socially conservative policies. Developments in Greenville paralleled the larger ascendance of the Christian Right that was particularly pronounced in the Sunbelt. During the 1980s and the early 1990s, social conservatism reached an apex in Greenville County and the Republican Party served as the vehicle. During the same period, International corporations also became more important players in the local economy.

[160] "A Survey of the Political Climate in the Fourth Congressional District of South Carolina," 24.

Chapter Four:
Social Conservatism and Economic Development: 1980-1995

"'When it came down to moral questions,' said Terry Haskins...'the fundamentalists and the traditional Republicans were in agreement. We agreed on everything except where to go to church.'"—Alan Ehrenhalt, The United States of Ambition, 103.

"Any time you have capital investment in a geographic area, you enhance the lives of everyone who lives in that area. That's Economics 101."—Charles G. Smith, The Greenville News, April 12, 1992.

In the early 1970s, a 19-year old Bob Jones University student planned out a political career that began with city council and culminated with his election as president in 2008. Terry Haskins, the Michigan-born student, became an important player in Palmetto state politics before his death in 2000 after a prolonged battle with skin cancer. Haskins's aggressive style and his skill as a legislator led to election as house minority leader and later as president pro tempore of the South Carolina House of Representatives. His political career spanned the apex of social conservativism in Greenville and South Carolina politics and the high point of Bob Jones University's political influence.[1]

During Haskins's senior year, he participated in his university's "takeover" of the Greenville County Republican Party and served as county party chairman before attending law school at the University of South Carolina in Columbia. When he and his wife returned to Greenville after his graduation, the young couple "didn't look for a house anywhere but in city council district one" which encompassed Bob Jones University and reflected the institution's political conservatism. The chairman of the city

[1] Lee Bandy, "Speaker Pro Temp Haskins dies at 45," *The State*, October 25, 2000, Terry Haskins clipping file, Box 34, Republican Party of South Carolina Papers, South Carolina Political Collections, University of South Carolina Libraries. Hereafter referred to as Terry Haskins clipping file.; Claudette James, "Small turnout expected in city elections," *Greenville News,* May 3, 1983; Alan Ehrenhalt, *The United States of Ambition: Politicians, Power, and the Pursuit of Office* (New York: Times Books, 1991), 103.

Republican Party described it as "perhaps the most conservative district in the state." In a two-year stint as a councilman, Haskins championed morality in addition to fiscal conservatism.[2]

In a profile on Greenville politics, *Governing* magazine's Alan Ehrenhalt argued Haskins and other Fundamentalist politicians "turned (decisions) inside out to see whether they might have a moral component."[3] Haskins opposed a plan to construct a coliseum because it took money away from fundamental infrastructure such as roads and sewers.[4] He acceded to alcohol sales at the Greenville Braves' minor league baseball stadium but requested an expansion of the alcohol-free section and offered an amendment forbidding advertisements for alcohol and tobacco products on the scoreboard.[5] Haskins followed and arrested an intoxicated driver using authority granted to councilmen by an old law.[6] "There's no such thing as an evil pothole…but there are ethical and unethical ways of dealing with potholes," Greenville's Republican mayor Bill Workman, a traditional conservative, mused on the new state of local politics.[7]

In 1986, Haskins won election to the state legislature which in Ehrenhalt's words, "seemed a better match for his interests—preventing the government from involving itself in the affairs of fundamentalist churches and their adherents." Haskins authored homeschooling bills and legislation that gave parents the authority to opt their children out of certain types of sex education programs. Although he remained at his core a social

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[2] Ibid, 102; Claudette James, "GOP wins contested city races," *Greenville News,* May 4, 1983.
[3] Ehrenhalt, *The United States of Ambition,*102.
[4] Amy Lieberman, "City council will take look at coliseum plan at informal meeting," *Greenville News,* August 13, 1984.
[5] Claudette James, "Council Oks alcohol sale at stadium," *Greenville News,* October 25, 1983.
[6] Laura Hubbard, "Councilman uses ordinance to chase, arrest DUI suspect," *Greenville News,* April 5, 1985.
[7] Ehrenhalt, *The United States of Ambition,*102-103.

conservative, Haskins gained a mastery of other issues which extended his influence in the assembly and developed friendships with moderate Republicans and his Democratic colleagues as well. Other social conservatives showed less inclination to compromise. Late in his life, Haskins mapped out a successful strategy for banning video poker in South Carolina and worked to remove the Confederate battle flag from the statehouse dome.[8]

The arrival of politicians such as Terry Haskins marked a new stage in local and national politics. In the mid-to-late 1970s, large numbers of conservative Christians took a more active role in politics in response to perceived threats to the patriarchal nuclear family such as abortion, feminism, and the gay rights movement. The "Religious Right" became an important component of the national Republican Party and held particular strength in the Sunbelt.[9]

In Greenville, Bob Jones University and allied churches became the most influential voice of the Religious Right. These institutions constituted the base for socially conservative politicians in Greenville County and in one Democrat's estimation, "the fundamental base of the Republican Party."[10] In 1980, the Fundamentalist faction and traditional Republicans associated with the business class forged a power sharing arrangement within the county Republican Party that resolved their 1976 fracture and aided the party's electoral fortunes.[11] "We agreed on everything except where to go to church," Haskins argued with some exaggeration.[12]

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[8] Ibid.; Bandy, "Speaker Pro Tem Haskins dies at 45."
[9] Kevin M. Kruse and Julian E. Zelizer, *Fault Lines: A History of the United States Since 1974* (USA: W.W. Norton & Company, 2019), 88-91.
[10] Ehrenhalt, *The United States of Ambition,* 98-99.
[11] Ibid.; A.V. Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1995), 410.
[12] Ehrenhalt, *The United States of Ambition,* 98.

Between 1980 and 1995, Greenville experienced three major changes. First, social conservatives and county residents resistant to some forms of development and wary of the power of city leaders emerged as an important force in local politics. County residents and fundamentalists' antipathy to the city of Greenville built on older tensions. Second, foreign corporations established a growing number of manufacturing facilities in Greenville that cushioned the blow of textile job losses. Their presence enabled boosters to label Greenville an international city. These changes set the tempo for the mid-to-late 1990s and the 2000s when tensions over development and "family values" generated a major controversy and population growth strained resources. Third, population growth brought new residents to the county and led to increased suburbanization. By the 1990s, new residential developments altered the spatial landscape of the county and strained resources. I argue that although new companies and people called Greenville home in the 1980s and early 1990s, they did little to alter the area's politics in the short term.

Broader structural changes to governance in South Carolina played a role in setting the conditions for politics in Greenville during the 1980s and 1990s. In the mid-1960s, the South Carolina General Assembly responded to Supreme Court rulings that introduced the "one person, one vote" principle by creating legislative districts rather than at-large county elections. These districts increased the power of metropolitan counties such as Greenville at the expense of the small, rural counties that traditionally dominated the state legislature and produced numerous governors. The power shift helped Greenville Democrat Rex Carter become speaker of the South Carolina House of

Representatives in 1973. Between 1979 and 1995, Greenvillians occupied the governor's office.[13]

The introduction of Home Rule through the Local Government Act of 1975 created the conditions for a significant redistribution of power. Although Greenville established a county council in 1968, its limited powers gave county residents relatively little influence over local affairs. Home Rule led to the creation of a dozen single member council districts which took away some of the influence that Greenville's business community normally exerted in county affairs. The previous system of county-wide elections for council seats gave greater weight to city voters. "This new system has been a triumph for groups that were unrepresented or inactive in the old days—blacks, rural whites, fundamentalists," Ehrenhalt argued.[14]

By the early 1980s, African Americans gained a small measure of political power in Greenville County. Attorney Theo Mitchell served as a state representative before winning election as a state senator. A single black member served on County Council and two African Americans occupied City Council seats in Greenville.[15] Rural whites and fundamentalists, however, exerted a stronger pull on local politics and joined forces to oppose the construction of a downtown arena in the early 1980s.[16]

Bob Jones University served as the organizational center of the fundamentalist faction. Dating back to the early 1950s, the institution provided a platform for speakers from the Right. In 1964, Bob Jones Jr. spoke in opposition to the national Democratic

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[13] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 410-411.
[14] Ibid, 410-411; Ehrenhalt, *The United States of Ambition,* 90-91.
[15] Nancy Vance Ashmore Cooper, *Greenville: Woven From The Past* (Sun Valley, CA: American Historical Press, 2000), 175.; Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont,* 411.
[16] Ehrenhalt, *The United States of Ambition* 95-96.

Party and some students and faculty members campaigned for Barry Goldwater in a bus tour.[17] The university's official history cites Strom Thurmond's decision to switch to the Republican Party and changes within the Democratic Party as the catalysts for the Republican movement in South Carolina and the growing identification of students and faculty with the GOP.[18] Even prior to 1964, however, the precinct closest to Bob Jones University strongly trended Republican.[19] Formal involvement in local politics came in the 1970s.

Historians trace the roots of Bob Jones University's involvement in local electoral politics to 1976 when activists affiliated with the university gained control of the county Republican Party. According to one common explanation, in spring 1976 fundamentalist minister Al Janney exhorted the congregations of large Baptist churches connected to Bob Jones University to increase their political engagement in response to "pervasive moral decay" in American society. Listeners responded to Janney and overwhelmed the local Republican leadership.[20] The Janney-centered explanation, however, misses wider reaching motivations for Greenville fundamentalists political awakening and their connection to national events.

The Internal Revenue Service's decision to revoke Bob Jones University's tax exempt status provided another motivation for the university to increase its political

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[17] Daniel K. Williams, *God's Own Party: The Making Of The Christian Right* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 73-74.
[18] Daniel L. Turner, *Standing Without Apology: The History of Bob Jones University* (Greenville: BJU Press, 2001), 246.
[19] Robert McHugh, "Johnston Fights Off Major Threat to Win Reelection," *Greenville News,* November 7, 1962. Republican senatorial candidate Bill Workman enjoyed his widest margin of victory at Ward 2, Box 3 located on Wade Hampton Boulevard in close proximity to Bob Jones University. Workman garnered 1,556 votes to Democrat Olin Johnston's 293.
[20] Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont*, 409.; Ehrenhalt, *The United States of Ambition*, 97.

activity. The long battle between Bob Jones University and the IRS began in 1970 when new guidelines called for the IRS to "deny tax exemptions to racially discriminatory private schools"[21] In 1970, the university still refused to admit black students. After protracted court proceedings, the IRS revoked Bob Jones University's tax-exempt status in 1976. Although the university began to admit married black students in 1971 and single black students in 1975, it continued to prohibit interracial dating as incompatible with its interpretation of the Bible. Legal proceedings continued until 1983 when the United States Supreme Court ruled against Bob Jones.[22]

Bob Jones only served as the most significant example of a religious school battling the IRS over tax exemptions. The IRS reviewed the tax-exempt status of recently created K-12 church schools while providing exemptions for Catholic and Jewish schools.[23] By 1982, 23 schools in South Carolina, including Bob Jones, and close to 100 mostly southern schools lost their tax-exemption due to the new IRS policy.[24]

In historian Joseph Crespino's estimation, the reaction by supporters of private Christian schools to the tax exemption controversy "bordered on the apoplectic." Opposition campaigns generated hundreds of thousands of letters and led to the creation of new advocacy groups on the Right.[25] Crespino contends the tax exemption issue

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[21] Joseph Crespino, "Civil Rights and the Religious Right," in *Rightward Bound: Making America Conservative in the 1970s* ed. Bruce J. Schulman and Julian E. Zelizer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 95.
[22] Lyn Riddle, "March Protests College's Policies," *Greenville News and Piedmont,* February 7, 1982, Bob Jones University Tax Exempt Status Case file, Vertical Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as Bob Jones University Tax Exempt Status Case file.; Mark Taylor Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire: Bob Jones University, Fundamentalism and the Separatist Movement* (Athens: University of Georgia, 1996), 156-158.
[23] Crespino, "Civil Rights and the Religious Right," 102.
[24] John Norton, "23 Private Schools Have Lost Tax-Free Status During Decade," *The State,* January 22, 1982, Bob Jones Tax Exempt Status Case file.
[25] Crespino, "Civil Rights and the Religious Right," 100-101.

"deserves a central role in any account of America's turn toward the Right."[26] Although the Bob Jones community already strongly identified with the Republican Party, the controversy brought it and similar institutions into an even closer relationship with the GOP.

The 1980 party platform included a plank on tax-exemptions for private schools which stated the party's opposition to the IRS policy. In January, Ronald Reagan visited Bob Jones University ahead of the state's Republican primary and announced his support for the institution's fight against the IRS. He described IRS policies as government established "racial quotas."[27] Reagan's visit reflected the campaign's broader strategy of courting evangelical and fundamentalist voters, as well as the importance of South Carolina's presidential primary.

The decision to hold a presidential primary thrust Greenville County and influential conservative institutions such as Bob Jones University into a place of prominence within the national Republican Party. In the late 1970s, the Republican Party remained a minority party in South Carolina politics. Democrats held the vast majority of seats in the legislature, all but one seat in the state's congressional delegation, and occupied the governor's office. According to political scientists H. Gibbs Knotts and Jordan M. Ragusa, the South Carolina GOP opted to hold a presidential primary in 1980 as "part of the party's strategy to influence national politics and recruit new members."[28] The state's now traditional "first-in-the South" presidential primary helped the party

[26] Ibid, 91.
[27] Ibid, 103-104.
[28]H. Gibbs Knotts and Jordan M. Ragusa, *First in the South: Why South Carolina's Presidential Primary Matters* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2020), 13, 1. In the wake of the 1980 elections, Greenville's Carroll Campbell was the only Republican House member from South Carolina.

achieve increased stature in South Carolina and correctly selected the "party's eventual nominee in six of the seven contests held since 1980."[29]

As the state's most populous county and a Republican stronghold, Greenville plays an important role in the presidential primary. In 1980, Greenville's 19,741 primary votes led South Carolina counties and accounted for roughly 13.5 percent of the state total.[30] Although former Texas governor and Secretary of the Treasury John Connally earned the endorsement of Strom Thurmond and Bob Jones III, Reagan won Greenville County by a nearly 3-1 margin. Carroll Campbell served as his state chairman.[31] Reagan won every precinct in the city of Greenville and Bob Jones-affiliated voters heavily backed him.[32]

As president, Reagan attempted to follow through on his campaign promise. In January 1982, the administration requested the university's tax case be dropped and announced plans to restore the tax exemptions of institutions affected by the policy. Strong public backlash led the administration to quickly reconsider the decision. "Reagan's support for Bob Jones University would become one of the fiercest controversies of his first term," Crespino argues.[33] The NAACP, the ACLU, and Americans for Democratic Action opposed the administration and senators from both sides of the aisle threatened to restore the previous policy.[34]

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[29] Ibid, 3-7.
[30] Ibid, 19, 133.
[31] "Did South Carolinians tell Connally to hang it up?," *Greenville News and Piedmont,* March 9, 1980, Republican 1979-1980 1st Presidential Primary in SC file, Vertical files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as Republican 1979-1980 1st Presidential Primary in SC file.
[32] "Greenville County Results," *Greenville News and Piedmont,* March 9, 1980, Republican 1979-1980 1st Presidential Primary in SC file.
[33] Crespino, "Civil Rights and the Religious Right," 104.; Matthew Lassiter, "Biblical Fundamentalism and Racial Beliefs at Bob Jones University" (master's thesis, University of Virginia, 1994), 28.
[34] Lassiter, "Biblical Fundamentalism and Racial Beliefs at Bob Jones University," 30.

In Greenville, African American and white residents protested the administration's support for the tax exemption in February 1982 with a 400-strong march to the front gates of Bob Jones University. The NAACP and local churches organized the demonstration.[35] An unusual coalition of conservative figures and religious institutions including university trustee Strom Thurmond, columnist James J. Kilpatrick, and the Mormon Church supported Bob Jones.[36] In the face of criticism, the administration reversed course within days, arguing that Congress should settle the issue through legislation granting the proper legal authority to address questions of racial discrimination in private schools to the IRS.[37]

During the peak of the controversy, letters written by members of the Bob Jones University community poured into Fourth District congressman Carroll Campbell's office. These constituents argued their institution's policies were not racially discriminatory and contended the federal government threatened their religious liberty. "A rule that applies to all students of all races is not and never will be discriminatory," one faculty member wrote to Campbell.[38] Another response reflected the belief the federal government engaged in persecution of religious institutions. "Treacherous organizations such as 'Hell's Angels', The Church of Satan, and the anti-American Communist Party groups receive tax exemption rather than us. Whose side is the government on?" a Taylors resident asked.[39] Along with other rising Republican leaders

[35] Lyn Riddle, "March protests college's policies," *The Greenville News and Piedmont,* February 7, 1982, Bob Jones University Tax Exempt Status Case file.
[36] Lassiter, "Biblical Fundamentalism and Racial Beliefs at Bob Jones University," 43.
[37] Crespino, "Civil Rights and the Religious Right," 104.
[38] Mr. and Mrs. Dan Turner to Carroll Campbell, January 19, 1982, Bob Jones University-February 2, 1982 Folder, Box 37, Mss 87, Carroll Campbell Papers, Special Collections, Clemson University Libraries, Clemson, SC. Hereafter referred to as Campbell Papers.
[39] Lynne Cummings to Carroll Campbell, January 26, 1982, Bob Jones University-February 2, 1982 Folder, Box 37, Campbell Papers.

such as Mississippi congressman Trent Lott, Campbell offered support for the university's fight against the IRS.[40]

The legislative approach to the tax-exemption question failed and on January 22, 1983, the Supreme Court ruled 8-1 against Bob Jones University.[41] After the decision, the Republican Party continued to employ a "populist framework" that positioned the party as "the chief defenders of conservative religious principles against a modern secularist enemy."[42]

By the late 1980s, Bob Jones University had become a regular stop for Republican candidates. Although other institutions such as California's Pepperdine University and Arkansas's Harding College also shared a reputation for engaging in conservative politics, Bob Jones University's involvement in South Carolina's Republican presidential primary and Greenville politics provides an unusual window into the relationship between evangelical and fundamentalist Christians and modern politics.[43]

The pages of Bob Jones University's student newspaper, *The Collegian,* reflected the open embrace of Republican politics by the administration, faculty, and students. Stories on politics regularly appeared in its pages. In 1988, *The Collegian* argued the university became active in politics before fundamentalists developed into a major political force. "The Bob Jones University family was in on the trend the start," the paper

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[40] Joseph Crespino, *In Search Of Another Country: Mississippi and the Conservative Counterrevolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 257-261.
[41] Crespino, "Civil Rights and the Religious Right," 104-105.
[42] Ibid, 105.
[43] Daren Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt: Plain-Folk Religion, Grassroots Politics, and the Rise of Evangelical Conservatism* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc), 198.; Bethany Moreton, *To Serve God and Wal-mart: The Making of Christian Free Enterprise* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

touted while retelling the story of the university's entry into local politics in 1976.[44] A faculty member suggested students should increase their political engagement by reading conservative columnists such as William F. Buckley and journals such as *The National Review* and *Human Events.*[45] In an interview Terry Haskins argued we, "can run the state when all Christians of the same political persuasion band together...that's the kind of clout we have."[46]

Students also volunteered for local campaigns and formed a College Republicans chapter in Greenville. In fall 1988, a small group of students "planned lighter course loads...in anticipation of the upcoming election." One served as the press secretary for a local candidate. Another student volunteered for 10-12 hours per week on a Republican congressional campaign.[47] Few openly Democratic or independent students could be found on campus. A campus poll in February 1988 found 86 percent of females and 84 percent of males identified as Republicans.[48]

Conservative Republican candidates seeking office or to shore up their credentials with social conservatives made pilgrimages to Greenville. In advance of the 1988 South Carolina GOP primary, evangelical Pat Robertson and former congressman Jack Kemp campaigned at Bob Jones. "Both were seeking to position themselves as the conservative heir to Ronald Reagan," *The Collegian* argued. Kemp stressed his anti-abortion credentials, commitment to national defense, and balancing the budget. Robertson received a "frenzied" welcome when close to 1000 students waited outside the

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[44] Bobby Jones, "Fundamentalists flex political muscle," *The Collegian,* February 25, 1988, Bob Jones University Archives, J.S. Mack Library, Bob Jones University. Hereafter cited as *The Collegian.*
[45] Vicki D. Holston, College students lag in voter turnout," *The Collegian,* February 25, 1988.
[46] "Rep. Terry Haskins: An insider's view," *The Collegian,* February 25, 1988.
[47] Tim Flora, College Republicans practice politicking," *The Collegian,* October 13, 1988; Jim Gardner, "Students balance studies, campaigns," *The Collegian*, October 13, 1988.
[48] Vicki D. Holston, "Collegian Poll: Voting," *The Collegian,* February 25, 1988.

auditorium for his arrival. The article noted that districts with the "most BJU voters" selected Kemp over Robertson and George H.W. Bush.[49]

In February 1992, Vice President Dan Quayle visited Bob Jones University to tout his administration's credentials on social issues as Pat Buchanan attempted to challenge Bush from the right. "Quayle sought to link Bush to the issues important to fundamentalists, such as abortion and family values, and condemned promiscuity and homosexuality," *The Collegian* noted. Bob Jones University also hosted Buchanan in early March.[50] Although research demonstrates conservative Christian voters are not a decisive factor in South Carolina's Republican presidential primary, the primary clearly enhanced the importance of Bob Jones University-affiliated voters and Greenville itself in Republican politics.[51]

The fundamentalist community exercised greater power in local and state politics. By the late 1980s, Bob Jones University-affiliated politicians held seats on Greenville City Council, Greenville County Council, and in both houses of the state legislature. An alum also served as county treasurer. The chairman of the university's political science department argued that Bob Jones University possessed a veto of sorts on the county GOP. "As a rule of thumb, I'd say Republicans in Greenville can get the party's nomination without our support, but they can't get it with our direct opposition," Dr. Carl Abrams argued.[52]

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[49] Bobby Jones, "Bush bags South Carolina, Kemp carries BJU districts," *The Collegian,* March 10, 1988.
[50] Don Harrelson, "Quayle, Buchanan come to BJU to fight for conservative votes," *The Collegian,* March 12, 1992.
[51] Gibbs and Ragusa, *First in the South: Why South Carolina's Presidential Primary Matters,* 68.
[52] Jones, "Fundamentalists flex political muscle."

Morality-centered politics dominated the fundamentalist political agenda. Dr. Bob Taylor, a university administrator and party activist, explained the institution focused on political issues involving "government control: licensure, certification, sex education, etc." Taylor cited "family issues such as abortion" as the greatest concern for "individual fundamentalists."[53] Despite Terry Haskins's profession that fundamentalists and other Republicans agreed on "everything except where to go to church," traditional Republicans and fundamentalists placed different priorities on economic development.[54]

In 1983, Greenville voters elected Bill Workman, a development-oriented Republican associated with the business class, as mayor. Workman argued economic development must take precedence over other priorities. "Everything we control, we're going to improve in an effort to cause good economic growth to take place," Workman explained.[55] The mayor focused on enhancing the area's arts and entertainment options and continuing Heller's downtown revitalization program to persuade companies to relocate to Greenville. "I don't want there to be a time when there's not a construction crane up in the city," he told the *Greenville News*.[56]

The city successfully recruited an Atlanta Braves minor league affiliate which relocated from Savannah and Workman championed the construction of a downtown arena to replace the aging Greenville Memorial Auditorium and a downtown performing arts center. Workman argued the arena "directly related to the quality of life."[57] The

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[53] Jones, "Fundamentalists flex political muscle."
[54] Ehrenhalt, *The United States of Ambition,* 98.
[55] Claudette James, "GOP wins contested city races," *Greenville News,* May 4, 1983; Claudette James, "Mayor elect targets economic development," *Greenville News,* June 13, 1983; Ehrenhalt, *The United States of Ambition,* 103.
[56] Jean Daskais, "Bill Workman is pleased by the growth last year brought," *Greenville News,* June 10, 1984.
[57] Ibid.

"arena controversy" dated to Max Heller's tenure as mayor when voters defeated the idea in a county-wide referendum.[58]

In 1981, Greenville County Council voted to use taxpayer money to construct an arena in downtown Greenville. The issue pitted economic development-minded residents and leaders in the city of Greenville against county residents and members of the Bob Jones University community. Opponents circulated a petition and placed the question on a county-wide referendum. County voters rejected the arena largely on account of the cost. The proposal remained popular in the city with the exception of the Bob Jones community due to moral concerns over the type of entertainment offered by the new arena. "Whatever it might do for the local economy, they wanted no part of it," Alan Ehrenhalt argued of BJU's opposition. Within the city limits, only precincts containing large numbers of Bob Jones-affiliated residents voted against the failed arena proposal. County voters reacted by replacing county council's Republican majority with Democrats wary of the city and economic development.[59]

Greenville, South Carolina: International City

The arrival of international firms such as Michelin, Hitachi, and BMW to the Greenville area shifted the economy away from textile manufacture and brought new people to the area. Economic development concerns drove downtown revitalization and improvements to the area's quality of life. By the mid-1990s, upstate South Carolina contained the "highest concentration of foreign investment per capita in the nation." Much of it tied to manufacturing.[60] Local boosters labelled Greenville an "international

[58] Ehrenhalt, *The United States of Ambition,* 94-95.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Lyn Riddle, "City still has a role to play in celebration," *The Atlanta Constitution,* June 25, 1996.

city." Although fundamentalists, county residents, and business leaders squabbled over priorities such as a downtown arena and moral standards, large corporations and new people continued to locate in the area. Substantial business leaders embraced growth and diversification.[61]

South Carolina's pursuit of foreign industry dated to the 1950s. In 1956, the General Assembly amended a law prohibiting a foreign person or entity from owning more than 500 acres of land in order to allow England's Bowater Paper Company to locate a paper mill in York County.[62] The larger effect was an increased flow of foreign direct investment into the state. The initial locus of development efforts was in Europe and particularly West Germany. By 1970, more West German capital resided in South Carolina than in any other location outside of West Germany.[63]

Greenville's neighbor, Spartanburg, pioneered the recruitment of European corporations to South Carolina. At the urging of Roger Miliken, a substantial textile manufacturer, two European textile equipment manufacturers located portions of their operations in Spartanburg in the early 1960s to take advantage of the Upstate's position in the American textile industry. By mid-decade, West German textile manufacturer Maschinenfabrik built a plant in Spartanburg. German-based Hoechst constructed a polyester fiber factory. Local business elites and the Chamber of Commerce developed a sophisticated program to bring other European corporations to the area. Spartanburg's

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[61] Marko Maunula, *Guten Tag Y'all: Globalization and the South Carolina Piedmont, 1950-2000* (Athens: University of Georgia, 2009), 54, 108.
[62] *The South Carolina Encyclopedia Online,* 2016, s.v. "Bowater" by Rick D. Boulware, http://www.scencyclopedia.org/sce/entries/bowater/.
[63] Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1998), 531.

success helped open South Carolina to further infusions of European capital.[64] "Spartanburg's plan became South Carolina's plan," historian Marko Maunula argues.[65]

In 1973, Greenville gained its first significant European manufacturing facility. French tire manufacturer Michelin chose Greenville and Anderson Counties as the sites of its first American manufacturing facilities.[66] Textile manufacturers initially opposed the company because it paid workers higher wages and they feared the United Rubber Workers could organize the workforce.[67] The staunchly anti-union Michelin, however, outpaced other upstate manufacturers in its opposition to unionization. "Francois Michelin, the leader and visionary behind the company's growth and expansion to Carolina opposed unionization with Milliken-like rigor and principle-drive conviction," Maunula contends.[68]

The Greater Greenville Chamber of Commerce, Max Heller, and South Carolina Governor John C. West actively recruited Michelin. "New industrial investments like Michelin's provide the tax base needed to improve schools as well as revenue for the many other public improvements that go into building a quality community," the president of the chamber of commerce explained.[69] Heller and West travelled to France to emphasize Greenville Technical College's workforce development programs.[70] The

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[64] Marko Maunula, "Another Southern Paradox: The Arrival of Foreign Corporations—Change and Continuity in Spartanburg, South Carolina," in *Globalization and the American South* ed. James C. Cobb and William Stueck (Athens: University of Georgia, 2005), 168-69.
[65] Maunula, *Guten Tag, Y'all: Globalization and the South Carolina Piedmont, 1950-2000* (Athens: University of Georgia, 2009), 74.
[66] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 532.
[67] Cliff Sloan and Bob Hall, "It's Good To Be Home in Greenville, But It's Better If You Hate Unions," *Southern Exposure* 7, No.1 (Spring 1979): 89-90.
[68] Manula, *Guten Tag, Y'all,* 110.
[69] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History,* 532.; Lewis Brabham, "Area Officials Welcome Plans for Two New Plants," *Greenville News,* February 14, 1973.
[70] Diane Vecchio, "Max Moses Heller: Patron Saint of Greenville's Renaissance" in *Doing Business in America: A Jewish History* ed. Hasia R. Diner (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2018): 195.

company's Greenville plant employed an initial 1,400 workers and produced steel-belted radial tires.[71]

The experiment proved successful. Michelin built an additional plant in Spartanburg and a test facility in neighboring Laurens County. In 1985, the company located its North American Headquarters in Greenville. "Michelin became the cornerstone of manufacturing and business development along the I-85 corridor extending from Charlotte to Atlanta," historian Diane Vecchio contends.[72]

In addition to foreign investment, Greenville leaders courted corporations that provided skilled jobs and an influx of well-educated employees. In 1973, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company decided to locate a $12 million computing center in Greenville. Heller and other Greenville leaders visited New York City and successfully persuaded hundreds of company employees to relocate.[73] The *Greenville News* extolled Metropolitan Life as "a bridge between the old industrial society which has sustained this region for generations and the knowledge society of the future" and linked further economic diversification with improving "education and cultural facilities."[74]

The woes of the textile industry played a major role in the quest to attract new manufacturers and white-collar jobs. During the 1980s, the textile and apparel industries continued to lead in payroll in South Carolina and five other southern states, but local leaders recognized the industry's problems.[75] Despite charged rhetoric over protection for the textile industry during the Campbell-Heller congressional campaign, Heller and other

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[71] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History,* 532.
[72] Vecchio, "Max Moses Heller: Patron Saint of Greenville's Renaissance," 195.
[73] Ibid.; Lewis Brabham, "Metropolitan Life will Build Center in Greenville," *Greenville News,* August 28, 1973.
[74] "Diversification Milestone," *Greenville News,* August 29, 1973.
[75] Timothy Minchin, *Empty Mills: The Fight Against Imports and the Decline of the U.S. Textile Industry* (USA: Rowman and Littlefield, 2013), 2.

Greenville leaders visited western and central Europe in May 1978 to directly target foreign investment opportunities.[76]

A delegation of Greenville constructors, realtors, bankers, and officials travelled to Germany, England, Switzerland, France and Belgium. A news release described the trip as an "effort to take advantage of the rising tide of European investment in the United States and Sunbelt in particular."[77] Promotional materials extolled the area's familiarity with manufacturing and Greenville's low taxes, wages, and rate of unionization. Industrial prospects learned that South Carolina exempted new industries meeting certain requirements for some property taxes for a 5-year period and did not charge an inventory tax on interstate commerce. The average Greenville manufacturing worker earned an hourly wage of $4.50 and $183.60 per week. Secretaries, payroll clerks, forklift operators, and maintenance electricians earned less in Greenville than in certain urban centers in Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, or Virginia.[78] Manufacturers could expect fewer than five work stoppages per annum. Workers in Charleston and Columbia, South Carolina were somewhat less quiescent.[79]

In 1979, Greenville's Dick Riley began his first term as governor of South Carolina and appointed Max Heller as chairman of the State Development Board. "That was probably the most important appointment that I had," Riley recalled. The two travelled widely in search of industries that could replace the ailing American textile industry. "I could see that (the textile industry) was moving to Mexico and then later to

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[76] News release, Box 3, Folder 5, Max M. Heller Papers, Special Collections, James B. Duke Library, Furman University. Hereafter referred to as Heller Papers.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Share of Total Personal Income Derived from Manufacturing for Selected SMSA's, 1972, Average Hourly Earnings of Selected Manufacturing Occupations in Selected Metro Areas, 1976, both in Box 3, Folder 5, Heller Papers.
[79] Work Stoppages for Selected Metro Areas, 1970-1975, Box 3, Folder 5, Heller papers.

China," he argued.[80] Automation and imports drove textile job losses. "Between 1970 and 1985, 155,000 jobs were eliminated in the textile industry, the bulk of which was located in the South," labor historian Timothy Minchin notes.[81] During this period, recruitment directed toward foreign direct investment supplanted the pursuit of industry from above the Mason-Dixon line.

By the early 1990s, Japanese electronics firm Hitachi and German automotive manufacturer BMW provided employment for Greenville County residents. The acquisition of Hitachi reflected a changed attitude by Japanese corporations and southern leaders towards Japanese business. When South Carolina first began its modern industrial recruitment efforts in the 1950s and early 1960s, Japanese corporations tended to view investment opportunities in the American South with skepticism. A report from the Japan External Trade Organization in 1959 described the South as America's "remotest and most underdeveloped" geographical region.[82]

Southern political leaders from the textile belt also contributed to anti-southern sentiment among Japanese executives. Measures designed to protect the southern textile industry from foreign competition targeted Japanese textiles. South Carolina was among the states that "enacted discriminatory local requirements regarding the sale of Japanese textile goods."[83] In the 1950s, South Carolina's protectionist Hart-Arthur Act forced

[80] Richard W. Riley interview with the author, January 25, 2019.
[81] Minchin, *Empty Mills*, 70.; Timothy Minchin, *Fighting Against the Odds* (University Press of Florida, 2006), 159.
[82] Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu, "From Southeast Asia to the American Southeast: Japanese Business Meets the Sunbelt South" in *Globalization and the American South* ed. by James C. Cobb and William Stueck (Athens: University of Georgia, 2005): 135.
[83] Ibid.

retailers of imported textiles to identify themselves with signs reading "Foreign Textiles Sold Here."[84]

Changes in the American South and Japan during the late 1960s and early 1970s paved the way for Japanese investment in the region. As the Sunbelt South entered the national lexicon, Japanese leaders felt more comfortable investing in the region after the Civil Rights movement removed the stigma of segregation.[85] Their comfort was also increased by the Sunbelt South's business climate. In addition to tax breaks and other incentives, the region's low wages and pattern of weak unionization offered strong incentives to relocating firms. As Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu argues, "unions were rare" in the Sunbelt South and "workers took a bread-and-butter approach that would make them amenable to paternalistic appeasement."[86]

In 1975, the new relationship between Japanese industry and the American South led to the creation of the Southeast U.S./Japan Association. The group held annual meetings that alternated between Japan and the American South. At the meetings, southern executives, business leaders, and economic development professionals met with Japanese leaders. The southern contingent extolled the virtues of the southern business climate. Heller and Riley were frequent participants in the association's proceedings and sponsored trade missions to Asia.[87]

As South Carolina's chief executive, Riley sold the region and the Palmetto state's advantages to his Japanese audience. South Carolina's successful recruitment of

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[84] Maunula, "Another Southern Paradox: The Arrival of Foreign Corporations—Change and Continuity in Spartanburg, South Carolina," 168.
[85] Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu, "From Southeast Asia to the American Southeast: Japanese Business Meets the Sunbelt South," 139.
[86] Ibid, 143-45.
[87] Ibid, 149-50.

European corporations served as a claim of its suitability. At a meeting of the Southeast U.S./Japan Association held at North Carolina's Pinehurst Golf Resort in 1980, Riley noted the presence of West Germany industry, Michelin, and some of the early Japanese corporations to make South Carolina home. "It's no accident that West German industry has made—in South Carolina—one of the largest investments it has placed anywhere in the world outside its borders," Riley told his audience. He also tried to paint South Carolina as a state that shared a common set of values with the Japanese industrialists. "Clearly there is in the character of South Carolinians and that of the Japanese a common bond—mirrored in the love and respect for family, home, and common, and in the profound respect of our peoples for the work ethic."[88] Following the conclusion of one meeting of the Southeast U.S./Japan Association, South Carolina leaders held a luncheon for Japanese business leaders in Columbia and a golf outing to Kiawah Island.[89] These connections eventually yielded Japanese investment in the state.

In 1990, Hitachi Ltd., a Japanese electronics manufacturer, chose Greenville over sites in Alabama and Virginia to serve as the home of a new $150 million plant that produced television picture tubes. The company offered above average wages for the area and expected to hire 700 workers. Hitachi's Greenville plant represented the largest single investment in the Palmetto State by a Japanese firm.[90]

Hitachi received incentives valued at over $5 million including site preparation work and a $300 tax credit for each new job created. The cost was split between the city,

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[88] "Proposed remarks for: Gov. Dick Riley to Southeast U.S./Japan Association," Box 6, Folder 2, Heller Papers.
[89] "Japan-Southeast Association Conference," Box 5, Folder 8, Heller papers.
[90] Robert Keefe, "Hitachi bringing 700 jobs to Greenville," *Greenville News,* January 20, 1990; "Hitachi move raises hopes for state's future," *Greenville News,* January 22, 1990, Both in Hitachi file, Lateral Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as Hitachi file.

county, and state. Hitachi's top executive in its American division argued the "availability of water, living conditions for expatriates, the airport and other transportation and access to the market and suppliers" rather than incentives shaped the decision.[91] Greenville's experience with manufacturing provided Hitachi a sufficient workforce and the availability of training through Greenville Technical College was important to the firm. The presence of large corporations such as Fluor Daniel and multinationals such as General Electric and Michelin also helped Greenville's recruitment effort. Other Japanese corporations such as Ryobi provided positive feedback on their experience in Greenville.[92]

Electronics manufacturers such as Hitachi paid a higher average wage than companies in the apparel and textile industries. In 1992, South Carolina workers in the electronics industry earned an average of $9.03 per hour. Millworkers and apparel workers earned less than $7 an hour.[93] When Hitachi added 30 jobs in 1991, over 1000 locals applied for the new positions. Job seekers lined up hours before the company started accepting applications.[94]

Heller and Riley also attempted to leverage China's new attitude toward foreign investment and trade to South Carolina's benefit. In 1979, Chinese officials received information about South Carolina's history and its business climate typical of recruitment efforts directed at European or Japanese industry. In 1980, Heller and a group of South Carolina businessmen visited China on a recruitment trip. The delegation sold their

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[91] Melissa Gladfelter, "Tax breaks seen as small price for benefits of Hitachi," *Greenville Piedmont,* Hitachi file.
[92] Suzanne Elliot, "Aoki relishes challenge presented by $150 million investment in county," *Greenville Piedmont,* March 2, 1990, Hitachi file.
[93] Melinda Gladfelter, "BMW's benefits, wages look good," *Greenville Piedmont,* June 22, 1992, BMW file, Lateral Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as BMW file.
[94] "More than 1,000 apply for 30 jobs at Hitachi," *Greenville News,* February 23, 1992, Hitachi file.

expertise to Chinese officials eager to modernize China's economy and infrastructure. Billed as an "expert in textile and garment manufacturing," Heller headed the delegation. Banking, construction, and engineering leaders comprised the bulk of the delegation. The information explained that Greenville based Daniel International Corporation was a global firm that was a "leader in the construction of electric generating plants." Its president Currie B. Spivey desired to "discuss these types of projects in China with appropriate officials."[95]

Relationships established by Heller and Riley eventually bore fruit for South Carolina. In the 1990s, Chinese firm Haier opened a $30 million refrigerator plant in Kershaw County. China also developed into a major consumer of exports from South Carolina.[96]

In the early 1990s, a major industrial recruiting effort offered the potential to provide jobs for thousands of residents of Greenville, Spartanburg, and surrounding counties. German automaker BMW considered a site just outside of Greenville County for a large automotive manufacturing facility. Early projections indicated that BMW could spend $1 billion and along with its suppliers create thousands of jobs. Local business leaders responded enthusiastically to the prospect.[97] A survey found that nearly all of the business elites they contacted hoped BMW would locate its first North American manufacturing operation in the area. A small number of leaders feared the plant might be unionized, but their fears did not dampen the enthusiasm of most locals.

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[95] Requested Agenda China Visit, Box 6, Folder 3, Heller papers.
[96] Lacy K. Ford Jr. and R. Phillip Stone, "Economic Development and Globalization in South Carolina," *Southern Cultures* 13, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 35.
[97] A.J., Jacobs, *The New Domestic Automakers in the United States and Canada: History, Impacts, and Prospects*, Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015. Accessed January 22, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central, 157.

Charles G. Smith, a Greenville executive, summarized the attitude of most local leaders. "Any time you have capital investment in a geographic area, you enhance the lives of everyone who lives in that area. That's Economics 101." Most leaders also accepted the need for a large incentive package. Many favored the state and localities offering more incentives to BMW.[98]

BMW's arrival marked the high point of South Carolina's recruitment of foreign industry that began in the 1950s. Prior to BMW locating in Spartanburg County, no European automakers had an American production facility.[99] BMW and other foreign corporations offered the potential to reshape Greenville County's economy, politics, and culture. In the mid-to-late 1990s, the idea of Greenville as an international community or city was frequently advanced in the pages of the *Greenville News* which often cited the presence of BMW, Michelin, and Hitachi.

The process of recruiting BMW to South Carolina began in the summer of 1989 when the German automaker started to evaluate sites for a manufacturing facility located outside of Germany. The global search examined 250 potential locations and settled on North America. South Carolina quickly gained BMW's attention.[100] Cost savings motivated BMW. Its chairman believed that an American site could generate a 30 percent reduction in cost.[101] In the late 1980s, executive Bernd Pischetsreider, a key leader in BMW's decision to locate a manufacturing facility in the United States, argued that

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[98] Robert Travis Scott, "Business leaders overwhelmingly support BMW plant," *Greenville News,* April 12, 1992.
[99] Jacobs, *The New Domestic Automakers in the United States and Canada: History, Impacts, and Prospects*, 151.
[100] "BMW Timeline," *Greenville News,* June 24, 1995.
[101] Maunula, *Guten Tag, Y'all,* 112.

German unions damaged the automakers ability to compete against Japanese automotive manufacturers.[102]

Upstate South Carolina met the company's requirements. As A.J. Jacobs notes in *The New Domestic Automakers in the United States and Canada,* "the automaker was believed to be considering only sites with good highway, rail, and airport access and was said to have ruled out all American states west of the Central Time Zone, those with strong union bases, and those with already existing Japanese assembly plants." This calculus eliminated much of the Midwest.[103]

The absence of a major threat from labor unions in upstate South Carolina helped sell company executives on the Greenville-Spartanburg area.[104] Nick Theodore, who served as South Carolina's lieutenant governor during the recruitment of BMW, believes the relative weakness of organized labor in South Carolina mattered more than incentives to BMW. "Being the second least organized state at that time certainly was a tremendous tool in enticing business and industries to move to South Carolina," Theodore argued.[105] Jacobs concurs with Theodore's assessment. He contends that BMW officials "found the Spartanburg County site to be especially attractive because it was located within a right-to-work, open shop state, far removed from the UAW union's strongholds in the Midwest."[106]

BMW's location consultant Fantus also argued that labor was the strongest factor in the automaker's choice. The president of Fantus noted the "harmonious relationships"

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[102] Jacobs, *The New Domestic Automakers in the United States and Canada: History, Impacts, and Prospects*, 156.
[103] Ibid, 157.
[104] Maunula, *Guten Tag, Y'all,* 112.
[105] Nick Andrew Theodore interview with the author, December 28, 2018.
[106] Jacobs, *The New Domestic Automakers in the United States and Canada: History, Impacts, and Prospects*, 157.

between labor and capital in upstate South Carolina heavily influenced BMW.[107] Compared to other manufacturers in the upstate, BMW offered excellent wages and benefits. In 1992, Greenville County manufacturing workers earned an average hourly wage of $9.58. Workers in traditional low wage industries such as the textile and apparel industries earned less than $7 an hour. Media outlets believed that wages for BMW's upstate plant could be in the $15-20 range.[108] The actual salaries were much lower. BMW's starting wage of $12 an hour for production workers which increased to $16 an hour after two years of service represented a substantial improvement for most Greenville manufacturing workers.[109]

Familiarity with manufacturing and the state's technical college system's job training programs also appealed to BMW. The technical college system already played a large role in the decision of Michelin and General Electric to locate manufacturing facilities in the upstate.[110] South Carolina offered a number of other incentives to BMW. Under governor Carroll Campbell's leadership, state and local leaders put together a major incentive package to entice the manufacturer to choose South Carolina. The $150 million package included land, infrastructure improvements, training, and tax incentives. South Carolina also provided subsidized lodging for BMW management. The state covered the cost of lengthening the runway of Greenville-Spartanburg Airport to accommodate BMW's cargo needs.[111] BMW originally focused on a site in Anderson

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[107] Maunula, *Guten Tag, Y'all,* 114-5.
[108] Melissa Gladfelter, "BMW's benefits, wages look good: workers likely to make more than most in area," *Greenville News,* June 22, 1992, BMW file.
[109] Jim DuPlessis, "What BMW will pay," *Greenville News,* September 30, 1993.
[110] Maunula, *Guten Tag, Y'all,* 114-5, Ibid.
[111] "What's State's Return on Incentive Package?," *Greenville News,* June 24, 1992; Jacobs, *The New Domestic Automakers in the United States and Canada: History, Impacts, and Prospects*, 157. The initial number reported by the *Greenville News* placed the incentive package's value at $134.5 million. A.J. Jacobs places the value at $150 million.

County located near automotive parts manufacturer Robert Bosch Corporation, but the need for a suitable airport led BMW to choose the Greenville-Spartanburg site.[112]

Although South Carolina offered substantial incentives, Nebraska, the other finalist for BMW's facility put together an incentive package estimated at $180-240 million.[113] As Theodore recalled, Nebraska's governor forged a strong relationship with BMW executives. The executives also liked Nebraska, as they found it "reminded them a lot of Germany." The upstate's topography and culture may have also been assets for recruiting BMW and other companies based in central Europe. "The rolling hills, proximity to the mountains, and orderly Protestant character of South Carolina's Piedmont were more than a bit similar to central German and Swiss culture and geography," Maunula contends.[114] South Carolina's labor conditions and location on the Eastern Seaboard tipped the scales.[115]

Nebraska's geographical limitations, however, proved too much to overcome. Despite the strength of his state's incentive package, Nebraska's governor explained to BMW executives that "he couldn't move the Atlantic Ocean." "It was a very strong factor for BMW to have the ports to be able to import and export," Theodore explained.[116] Charleston, South Carolina's port facilities met the company's needs and the upstate site was less than four hours from the Atlantic Ocean and German companies were already a substantial presence in Charleston.[117]

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[112] Jacobs, *The New Domestic Automakers in the United States and Canada: History, Impacts, and Prospects*, 157.
[113] Ibid, 159.
[114] Nick Andrew Theodore, interview.; Maunula, *Guten Tag,' Y'all,* 85.
[115] Jacobs, *The New Domestic Automakers in the United States and Canada: History, Impacts, and Prospects,*158-60.; Maunula, *Guten Tag, Y'all,* 114-5.
[116] Nick Andrew Theodore, interview.
[117] Jacobs, *The New Domestic Automakers in the United States and Canada: History, Impacts, and Prospects*, 157.

Despite the physical location of BMW inside of Spartanburg County and the tax dollars gained by Spartanburg, BMW's impact spread across both counties. The *Greenville News* portrayed BMW's decision as a win for the Upstate in extensive and favorable coverage in the summer of 1992. Describing BMW as a "partner in (the) Upstate's future," the *News* argued that the company's skilled workforce would bring "a higher standard of living for all with family members working there." The editorial argued that BMW's qualities reached far beyond its wages. "It's sure to be an exemplary corporate citizen and community presence." An editorial cartoon with the tag line "Beemer" depicted a smiling man with a cap that read "Upstate" and a BMW hood ornament affixed to his collar.[118]

Subsequent expansions by BMW and the growth of automotive suppliers in Greenville County which served the German automaker helped to fuel Greenville County's growth. By late 1994, BMW had invested around $600 million in the facility and suppliers.[119] The facility grew to a strength of 4,500 permanent employees and generated spin-off employment through its suppliers.[120] During the first two years that BMW operated in Greer, 10 suppliers constructed plants in upstate counties. In 1996, three BMW suppliers employing 274 people called Greenville County home. By 2002, the number increased to 11 suppliers.[121]

County residents also faced a familiar problem of southern economic development. Incentives offered to BMW included an exemption from the state's

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[118] "BMW new partner in Upstate's future," *Greenville News,* June 24, 1992.
[119] Jim DuPlessis, "BMW Workers move into plant," *Greenville News,* July 12, 1994.
[120] James C. Cobb, *The South and America since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 207.
[121] Jenny Munro, "Not just making cars: BMW is a big part of South Carolina landscape," *Greenville News,* June 23, 2002.

corporate profits tax while local property taxes rose. The facility also required infrastructure improvements. New residents added to the burden of providing essential services such as policing and firefighting.[122] Some local elected officials foresaw the challenges. Richard Ashmore, a Republican county councilman representing a portion of the Eastside, commented in 1992 that "many BMW employees will live in Greenville County, and the influx of people will put a demand on Emergency Medical Services and law enforcement." Ashmore proved prescient. The county's infrastructure struggled to maintain pace with growth.[123]

Economic Development and Growth

BMW and other successful economic development efforts drove population growth and suburbanization. The German automaker reinforced an existing growth pattern as subdivisions displaced farmland and more affluent residents continued to move into Greenville's Eastside. In the decade preceding the automotive manufacturer's arrival, Greenville's population grew by 11.2 percent to 320,167 residents. Most of the growth occurred in unincorporated areas dotted with subdivisions with names such as Botany Woods, Pebble Creek, and Foxglove. In 1990, 223,182 of the county's residents lived in unincorporated areas. An increase of 13.2 from 1980.[124] The city of Greenville's share of the county's population fell from 26 percent in 1970 to 15.8 percent in 1992.[125]

The locus of growth centered on the Eastside and an area in southern Greenville County known as the Golden Strip. Between 1970 and 1990, the population of the

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[122] Cobb, *The South and America since World War II,* 207.
[123] Jill Gerber, "Greenville County Impact," *Greenville News,* June 24, 1992.
[124] "Population Growth and Distribution Greenville County, South Carolina 1980-1990," Demographics Greenville 1980's file, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter cited as Demographics Greenville 1980's file.
[125] Jeff Wilson, "City of Greenville deals with problems caused by growth of other areas," *Greenville News,* November 3, 1994.

Eastside and Golden Strip increased from 57,000 to 113,000. Even before BMW's arrival in the Upstate in 1994, newcomers flooded Greenville's Eastside. Between 1985 and 1990, over 27,000 people moved into the Eastside from other counties, regions, or countries. Infrastructure did not keep up with the pace of growth. One state legislator complained that his Eastside district morphed from "essentially a rural and small-town type atmosphere to a megapolis." He feared that Greenville would experience traffic and congestion akin to Atlanta, Georgia.[126]

Economic development propelled growth. The *Greenville News* contended that "many newcomers were attracted by the region's growing base of high-paying manufacturing and professional jobs, with the latest coming from BMW and its spinoff industries."[127] Favorable cost of living also attracted companies and people to the area. Greenville's cost of living consistently ranked below the national average. In 1986, residents paid an average of 4.3 percent less for goods and services in Greenville relative to other American cities.[128] Residents also paid a lower share of taxes than the national average. According to *Money* magazine, Greenvillians paid the 11th lowest property taxes in the nation on median-priced homes in 1991.[129] By the mid-1990s, however, Greenville County residents consistently complained about traffic, congestion, and overcrowded schools.[130]

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[126] Scott Wyman, "Change in area affects everything from schools to roads," *Greenville News,* October 31, 1994; Scott Wyman, "Crowded suburban roads pose dangers," *Greenville News,* November 1, 1994.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Paul Davidson, "Local living costs 4.3% less than average," *Greenville Piedmont,* January 13, 1986, Greenville Economy Cost of Living file, Vertical Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as Greenville Economy Cost of Living file.
[129] "Magazine ranks Greenville 11th lowest for taxes," *Greenville News,* December 31, 1991.
[130] Wyman, "Change in area affects everything from schools to roads."; Wyman, "Crowded suburban roads pose dangers."

Other residents enjoyed little direct benefit from new industries. James C. Cobb and other historians of southern economic development contend that new factories and corporations produced more continuity than change to the structure of southern society.[131] Amid growth, Greenville retained significant pockets of poverty.[132] Although the city of Greenville's median household income rose from $12,677 to $23,963 between 1979 and 1989, it still trailed four of the county's six municipalities. African American residents comprised roughly 35 percent of the city's population and took home substantially less money than Greenville whites.[133] In 1990, the per capita income for black residents was $6,959. White city residents per capita income averaged $19,067.[134]

Greenville County's boom also provided fewer benefits for residents of declining West Greenville communities built around the textile industry. The population of City View fell 10.3 percent between 1979 and 1989. By the end of the decade, City View was home to 1,224 white residents and 247 African Americans. The median household income in City View of $16,212 trailed the county and state as a whole.[135] The closure of Parker High School in 1985 also indicated West Greenville's declining status. Parker faced falling enrollment as population shifted to the Eastside and Golden Strip. The institution founded to educate the children of textile workers became another victim of the industry's decline.[136]

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[131] See James C. Cobb, *The Selling of the South: The Southern Crusade for Industrial Development, 1936-1990* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993). Chapter 10-"A New South with Old Problems" speaks particularly well to the pitfalls of southern economic development strategies.
[132] Cheryl Manning, "Greenville suffers high level of poverty," *Greenville Piedmont,* August 22, 1977, Greenville Economy Poverty file, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library.
[133] "Income Distribution Greenville County, South Carolina." Demographics Greenville 1980's file.
[134] U.S. Census Bureau. Greenville city, South Carolina, 1990 Census. Prepared by Social Explorer.
[135] "Income Distribution Greenville County, South Carolina." Demographics Greenville 1980's file.
[136] James Arthur Dunlap III, "Changing Symbols of Success: Economic development in twentieth century Greenville, South Carolina," PhD Diss (University of South Carolina, 1994), 135-138.

In addition to unincorporated spaces, small municipalities that possessed a more suburban character benefitted most from the county's growth. Mauldin, a bedroom community of Greenville, exceeded the county as a whole in per capita income. In 1989, Mauldin residents earned a per capita income of $41,524 or $12,436 more than county residents as a whole. Mauldin also reflected the whiteness of the suburbs. By one measure, African Americans comprised less than 7 percent of the town's population. Four of the county's six municipalities enjoyed higher per capita incomes than the city of Greenville.[137]

Marketing research also offered another window into spatial changes driven by economic growth and areas left behind. In 1989, the *Greenville Piedmont* revealed the results of marketing research on Greenville County. The research divided American zip codes into specialized categories in order to effectively target the market.[138]

According to the report, residents of City View in West Greenville enjoyed watching stock car racing and wrestling. They were also more likely to consume tobacco products in the form of chewing tobacco and nonfilter cigarettes. The marketer categorized West Greenvillians as belonging to classifications known as "Heavy Industry, Norma Rae-ville, and Mines & Mills." In contrast, residents of the Eastside's 29615 zip code were predominantly whites that lived in "a household earning at least $30,000 a year" and aspired to drive "Mitsubishi Gallants or BMW 5 Series." Eastside residents fell into "lifestyle groups" with names such as: "Pools and Patios," "Young Influentials," "God's Country," and "New Beginnings."[139]

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[137] "Income Distribution Greenville County, South Carolina," Demographics Greenville 1980's file.
[138] James Eppes, "Marketer says where we live reveals much about how we live," *Greenville Piedmont,* January 24, 1989. Demographics Greenville 1980's file.
[139] Ibid.

Greenville's orientation around families and churches was also notable. "For young adult singles, Greenville seems a poor place to live a fast-paced single lifestyle," *The Greenville Piedmont* noted. Research also indicated the gaps between black and white Greenvillians. In downtown Greenville, the predominance of the lifestyle group "public assistance" testified to the poverty of many inner-city residents particularly on the city's westside.[140]

Between 1980 and the mid-1990s, Greenville experienced a number of important changes. Politically active fundamentalists who championed socially conservative policies and morality carved out a sphere of influence in local politics. Home rule empowered county residents. These groups used their clout to fight against priorities championed by downtown business leaders such as an arena.

Economic development as a whole, however, continued unabated. New companies and people called Greenville home. White-collar migrants settled in the suburbs of the Eastside and Golden Strip and largely reflected the area's prevailing political conservatism. Although Democrats continued to hold local and state offices, these white county residents increasingly identified with the GOP.

Downtown business and political leaders remained the strongest proponents of economic development. More and more of them, however, identified as Republicans rather than Democrats. Although little changed in terms of development priorities from moderate Democrats such as Max Heller to Republican mayors Bill Workman and Knox White, the change in partisan identification reflected the wider shift in the county and region.

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[140] Ibid.

The addition of Michelin, Hitachi, BMW and other corporations to the local economy provided a powerful new international presence. Restaurants, cultural centers, and schools serving families drawn to the area by foreign corporations and other economic opportunities opened and added cultural diversity. New migrants provided a source of interest. The addition of a growing body of Hispanic residents also became an important element of the community's growth in the 1990s and early 2000s. Their presence helped fuel the service sector and the local construction industry, but also generated tensions.

Despite changes, Greenville remained politically conservative and a center of conservative religion. In the 1990s and early 2000s, these traits led to conflicts over the community's values. Chapter five explores this period and focuses on the intersection between conservative politics and international business. A controversial county council resolution affirming "family values" and condemning homosexuality demonstrated the impact of the culture wars on Greenville. City leaders concerned about the impact on growth and development rallied against the resolution. Evangelicals, fundamentalists, and some county residents argued business concerns should not be held above their values. Former mayor Max Heller symbolized Greenville's international spirit and county councilman Scott Case, a Bob Jones University graduate, championed "family values" over "international values." The conflict over the area's identity continued into the new century.

Chapter Five: International Greenville

"Southerners are very warm to foreign people," Mrs. Manako says "They always give us big smile. Everybody says, 'Welcome to America'! I say I came here three months ago, four months ago. They still say, 'Welcome to America!'"—The *Greenville Piedmont, August 8, 1991.*

"County Councilman Scott Case said he isn't certain what will happen during this torch run, but he predicted the council, which approved the resolution on a 9-3 vote, won't be doing any backpedaling. 'I would hope the international (Olympic) body would not try to shove its values down the throat of locals,' he said*."*—The *Greenville News,* December 5, 2000.

In the aftermath of a controversial Greenville County Council resolution in 1996 that described homosexuality as "incompatible with the standards to which this community subscribes," councilman Scott Case spoke to the tensions between conservative social mores and a changing economic landscape. Case told the *Greenville News,* "we may be an international community and may have such industrial gems as BMW and Hitachi, but we do not accept international values."[1] A fellow Republican, council chairman Wade Cleveland also mobilized the rhetoric of Greenville as an international space. "We claim to be an international community home to Michelin, Hitachi, and BMW, but we go on this grudge match with the Olympics … instead of devoting us to the serious issues of buses, budgets, and roads, we are out stirring up trouble," Cleveland argued.[2]

Both officials were correct. By the mid-1990s, South Carolina and particularly the upstate were more strongly linked to foreign capital than any comparable region in the United States.[3] Historian Walter Edgar notes that in 1991, "South Carolina had a larger

[1] Scott Wyman and Jim DuPleiss, "Anti-Gay stance may hit county in pocketbook," *Greenville News,* May 23, 1996.
[2] "Anti-gay proposal carves deep rift in Greenville County Council," *Greenville News,* May 21, 1996.
[3] Lyn Riddle, "City still has a role to play in celebration," *Atlanta Constitution,* June 25, 1996.

percentage of its workforce on foreign payrolls than any other state."[4] The Palmetto State continued to lead the nation in that category a decade-and-a half later.[5] Greenville-Spartanburg developed into a center for international business. Michelin, Hitachi, and BMW only served as the most visible symbols of foreign-owned capital in the upstate. Numerous other foreign corporations called the area home.[6]

Changes to upstate South Carolina mirrored a broader regional pattern. Foreign corporations became an increasingly important part of the larger southern economic landscape.[7] In the 1980s and 1990s, a number of well-known European and Asian corporations including automakers Nissan, Toyota, Mercedes, Honda, and Hyundai located production facilities in the southern United States.[8] During the same period, white southerners completed the regional transition from Democratic to Republican Party dominance. Conservative white southerners, many of them considered evangelical or fundamentalist Christians, exercised strong influence over the national Republican Party. In an influential treatment of the South, journalist Peter Applebome noted that white southerners dominated the GOP leadership and argued they exported regional characteristics to the nation as a whole such as anti-government sentiment, racial tensions, excessive religiosity, and cultural conservatism.[9]

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[4] Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1998), 578.
[5] Lacy K. Ford Jr. and R. Phillip Stone, "Economic Development and Globalization in South Carolina," *Southern Cultures*, 13, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 37.
[6] Marko Maunula, *Guten Tag, Y'all: Globalization and the South Carolina Piedmont, 1950-2000* (Athens: University of Georgia, 2009).
[7] Ibid.
[8] James C. Cobb, *The South and America since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 207-208.
[9] Peter Applebome, *Dixie Rising: How the South Is Shaping American Values, Politics, and Culture* (New York: Times Books, 1996), chapter 1, Kindle.

The new economic and political currents sweeping the region and country in the mid-1990s and the early 2000s touched Greenville County. The area benefited from foreign capital and boosters touted Greenville as an "international city," but significant continuity with the past remained. Historian Marko Maunula argues, "the South has ... demonstrated remarkable ability to shape and influence the terms of its interaction with the world." Neighboring Spartanburg retained much of its culture despite the presence of foreign corporations and new people.[10] In some respects, Greenville's experience is similar. It remained politically conservative, oriented around evangelical and protestant churches, and the familiar divide between the city and county persisted. Growth, however, continued to alter the county's spatial landscape and offered the potential for greater change.

The controversy that engulfed Greenville in the summer of 1996 originated in the conservative hotspot of Cobb County, Georgia. In 1993, Cobb's County Commission passed a resolution that deemed homosexuality "incompatible with the standards to which this community subscribes" in response to a local theatre production with LGBTQ themes. The commission also revoked taxpayer funding for the arts. Pressure from gay activists led the organizers of the Atlanta Olympic games to punish Cobb for the resolution. The county lost its role as a site for Olympic volleyball and its place on the Olympic torch's route to Atlanta.[11] The decision, Applebome contends, placed "Cobb, quite happily, in the front line of a national antigay backlash."[12]

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[10] Maunula, *Guten Tag, Y'all,* 116-117, 119.
[11] Cobb, *The South and America Since World War II,* 285.
[12] Applebome, *Dixie Rising,* Ch. 2.

Greenville joined in the backlash in May 1996 when county council passed a resolution which mirrored Cobb County's by a 9-3 vote.[13] The decision testified not only to local sentiment, but the broader political climate of the mid-1990s. In fall 1996, the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) which defined marriage as between "one man and one woman" passed with little opposition in both houses of Congress and garnered the signature of President Bill Clinton.[14] In 1997, Greenville's I-85 neighbor Mecklenburg County voted to "withhold funding from arts groups that 'promote, advocate, or endorse behaviors, lifestyles, and values that seek to undermine and deviate from the value and social role of the traditional American family.'"[15] In Greenville's conservative political climate, gay rights proved particularly controversial.

Several controversies, however, had actually preceded the Olympic torch incident. In 1994, the establishment of Stephen's Home, a group home for HIV and AIDS-victims, in a historic neighborhood on Earle Street drew the opposition of some residents. A group of homeowners argued the home threatened their property values and a smaller number based their opposition on safety concerns.[16] In May 1996, Greenville's Board of Zoning Adjustments denied the predominantly gay Metropolitan Community Church's request to operate in a former school which had fallen into disrepair. "Land use regulators say plans to open a church have seldom, if ever, been rejected in Greenville County, home to more than 600 churches," the *Greenville News* reported.

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[13] Scott Wyman, "Resolution passes council by 9-3 vote," *Greenville News,* May 22, 1996.
[14] Kevin M. Kruse and Julian E. Zelizer, *Fault Lines: A History of the United States Since 1974* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2019)*,* 218-219.
[15] Cobb, *The South and America Since World War II,* 286.
[16] Ellen Dockham, "Home for AIDS victims planned for Greenville's historic district," *Greenville News,* July 21, 1994.; Bernadette Adams, "Open house held for group home," *Greenville News,* December 2, 1994.

Although the Board of Zoning Adjustments cited traffic and parking concerns as the reason for the denial, members of the church believed discrimination explained the board's decision. The pastor of a Baptist church located on the same block as the proposed site of the Metropolitan Community Church (MCC) said that "his congregation believes the church is a sign of the decline of society." His church's newsletter also requested members oppose Metropolitan Community Church's relocation because "it will cater to the homosexuals."[17] Greenville's Interdenominational Alliance registered their opposition and a Bob Jones University faculty member speaking as a private citizen cited scripture that she believed condemned homosexuality during a hearing. City Councilwoman Elizabeth Gower commented that her experience in Greenville led her to believe that sexual orientation rather than religion may have played a role in the board's decision to deny Metropolitan Community Church's request.[18]

In early May 1996, neighboring Spartanburg's county council adopted Cobb's anti-gay resolution to demonstrate their support for the Georgia county's stance. Supporters of the Spartanburg resolution hoped that other local governments would follow suit, but soon faced opposition in their own county. A protest group, Olympics Out of the Upstate, formed to pressure the organizers of the Olympic games to remove Spartanburg and any county that followed it from the torch relay route.[19] Spartanburg County Council withdrew their resolution on May 18 and passed a new resolution which stated the council's opposition to same-sex marriage.[20]

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[17] Scott Wyman, "Church to challenge city zoning ruling that site would cause traffic problems," *Greenville News,* May 7, 1996.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Anne P. Thrower, "Spartanburg rescinds anti-gay resolution," *Greenville News,* May 18, 1996.

On May 21, Greenville County Council passed an identical resolution to Cobb County. The council's Republican majority plus two Democrats and one independent voted in favor of the resolution. Both of the council's African American members and Republican Wade Cleveland voted against the resolution.[21] The near unanimity among Republicans, however, masked deeper divisions. Moderate Republicans, who favored a more cautious approach, faced strong pressure from religious conservatives and Republican activists to support the measure.[22]

The *Greenville News* reported that "a coalition of religious conservatives and Republican activists pressed Greenville County Council members to condemn homosexuality last week, telling them that they would be voted out of office if they didn't." The county party chairman helped organize a blitz of phone calls to wavering Republican councilmen. Councilmen Richard Ashmore and George Bomar received hundreds of calls from members of the Bob Jones University community, the Christian Coalition, and conservative local churches.[23]

The resolution splintered the community along ideological and economic lines. The Greenville Baptist Association issued a resolution supporting the council's stance. Bob Jones University and fundamentalist churches provided the most ardent defense. "By going on record against the homosexual lifestyle, three-fourths of the County Council have positioned Greenville as a community that fears God, gives primacy to the traditional family as biblically constructed and discourages deviant behavior," the university's statement read. "If the world really is so rotten that being known as a

[21] Scott Wyman, "Anti-Gay proposal carves deep rift in Greenville County Council," *Greenville News,* May 21, 1996.; Scott Wyman, "Resolution passes council by 9-3 vote," *Greenville News,* May 22, 1996.
[22] Scott Wyman, "Pressure Politics swung Council's anti-gay vote," *Greenville News,* May 26, 1996.
[23] Ibid.

community of Christian values denigrates us in the eyes of the international or economic communities, so be it."[24]

Constituencies that placed greater concern on maintaining the area's growth by attracting new businesses and factories reacted differently. The business community opposed the resolution. Their organ, the Greenville Chamber of Commerce implored county council to rescind the resolution which they believed created "an adverse effect upon the very image of Greenville that so many have worked so hard to build."[25] A Greenville business leader faulted the county council for deciding "their religious convictions were more important than growth."[26] One resident framed their opposition in similar terms. "If we continue to portray ourselves as being 'anti-'everything, we will quickly lose our current appeal as a growing, inviting, international city."[27]

The battle over the resolution also renewed city-county tensions. City residents offered greater opposition to the resolution. The city's mainline churches and moderate-to-liberal churches located in the county generally opposed it as well. Baxter Wynn, a former associate minister at First Baptist Greenville, recalled that senior ministers of many downtown churches such as First Baptist's Hardy Clemons opposed the resolution.[28] Clemons described the resolution as intrusive and contrary to the principle of separation of church and state and signed a newspaper advertisement expressing his opposition along with 100 other local religious leaders.[29]

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[24] "Bob Jones University's Resolution," *Greenville News,* May 31, 1996.
[25] "Greenville Chamber of Commerce resolution," *Greenville News,* June 1, 1996.
[26] Wyman and DuPleiss, "Anti-Gay stance may hit county in pocketbook."
[27] Charles Hill, Letter to the editor, *Greenville News,* May 29, 1996.
[28] Baxter M. Wynn interview with the author, February 23, 2020.
[29] Scott Wyman, "Pastors: Anti-gay vote goes too far," May 24, 1996.; Scott Wyman, "100 clergy sign ad against anti-gay stand," *Greenville News,* June 4, 1996.

On May 29, hundreds of supporters and opponents of the resolution rallied in separate houses of worship. Hampton Park Baptist Church, an independent Baptist congregation led by Bob Jones University alum Dr. David Yearick, hosted a pro-resolution rally which included a brass band and hundreds of sign-carrying demonstrators. Yearick prayed that God provide members of county council, "the fortitude and strength to stand by their decision." The *Greenville News* described the rally's atmosphere as that of "an old-time political stump meeting." Less than a mile away, the Greenville Unitarian-Universalist Fellowship hosted an anti-resolution rally which led to a formation of ProJustice Carolina, a local group of LGBTQ activists and allies who attempted to use economic pressure to force county council to change its stance.[30]

On June 4, the council debated whether to reconsider the resolution. The meeting drew 700 residents and the ire of the fire marshal. In the fraught atmosphere, many council members chose not to use their assigned spaces and additional law enforcement personnel were on hand.

The pro and anti-resolution factions fought over their differing interpretations of the bible and mobilized patriotic discourse. Resolution opponents sang "Jesus Loves Me" and proponents responded with the National Anthem. Supporters carried signs emphasizing the theme of protecting children from homosexuals and resolution opponents compared supporters to segregationists. Ultimately, the status quo prevailed when the council voted 8-3 against reconsidering the resolution.[31] Resolution opponents

[30] Ibid.
[31] Scott Wyman and Ron Barnett, "Council keeps anti-gay stand," *Greenville News,* June 5, 1996.

pressed the city to rebuke the county, but the city opted to neither pass the same resolution as county council nor condemn their resolution.[32]

ProJustice Carolina encouraged the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games (ACOG) not to remove Greenville from the Olympic torch relay. On June 8, however, ACOG opted to bypass Greenville on the torch run for the Paralympics. Two weeks later ACOG removed Greenville County from the Olympic torch relay in a "last-minute rebuke," but allowed the torch to run inside the city limits. After the torch departed BMW's production facility in Spartanburg County on June 25, the committee placed it in a vehicle away from public view.[33] ACOG's action illustrated the historical divide between city and county.

City leaders embraced the idea of Greenville as an "international city" because it represented their vision for growth. County residents and their elected representatives expressed greater skepticism and sometimes hostility. Although many city leaders identified as politically conservative and voted Republican more often than not, they remained reluctant to place social issues above the overriding goal of development. This qualified moderation dated back to at least Charles Daniel's "Watermelon Speech" of 1961 when the builder pressed white South Carolinians to provide greater opportunities for African American residents in order to forestall federal action and ran through the busing crisis of 1970 when civic leaders engineered an all-out effort to avoid violence and disruption.[34]

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[32] Ron Barnett, "Resolution's foes ask city to take sides," *Greenville News,* May 31, 1996; Lyn Riddle, "City still has a role to play in celebration," *Atlanta Constitution,* June 25, 1996.
[33] Scott Wyman, "Paralympics drops Greenville because of anti-gay stance," "Suburbs Won't See Olympic Flame," *Greenville News,* June 9, 1996, June 25, 1996.
[34] See Stephen O' Neill, "Memory, History, and the Desegregation of Greenville, South Carolina" in *Toward the Meeting of the Waters: Currents in the Civil Rights Movement in South Carolina* ed. Winfred B. Moore Jr. and Orville Vernon Burton (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2008): 286-299.

In June 1996, former mayor Max Heller served as the symbol of the city. Heller's identity as an Austrian refugee and business leader fit Greenville's new image as an "international city" and his election seemed to demonstrate residents' tolerance. His story articulated Greenville's place in a South that through the presence of foreign corporations and new people took on "international" as a mantra. By the mid-1990s, the downtown revitalization program that Heller championed also paid off. In 1994, *Southern Living* described Greenville's Main Street as "one of the liveliest prettiest streets in the South." The walkable downtown became known for its restaurants, plazas, and trees.[35]

Heller initially fretted that he might have to decline the honor of serving as an Olympic torchbearer. As he explained to the organizing committee, hip issues precluded him from being able to run or even walk the torch. "Could I carry (the) torch in an open car—driven by my wife?," Heller asked. "It would mean a great deal to us since we are 'Hitler' escapees and immigrated to the USA over 50 years ago!"[36] After a hip replacement surgery that spring and training on a stationary bike, Heller carried the torch on its final leg through the streets of downtown Greenville. A local news anchor explained to viewers, "his surgeon said that he might not be able to run with the torch, but they knew he was so strong willed that regardless of what they said he would find a way to do it."[37]

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[35] Ron Barnett, "Rollicking crowd greets flame in downtown," *Greenville News,* June 26, 1996.; Phillip Morris, "Remaking Main Street," *Southern Living*, August 1994, Counties SC Greenville file, Vertical File, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as Counties SC Greenville file.

[36] "1996 Olympic Torch Relay Torchbearer and Escort Runner Questionnaire," Box 10, Folder 20, Max M. Heller papers, Special Collections, James B. Duke Library, Furman University. Hereafter referred to as Heller Papers.

[37] "WYFF 4 Coverage of the Olympic Torch Run," WYFF TV, Box 21, Heller Papers.

On the night of the Olympic torch relay, thousands of people packed the streets standing shoulder to shoulder in the heart of downtown Greenville. Some of them carried signs reading "Go Max! Greenville Thanks You!"[38] A group of Furman students carried a banner that read "We Love You Max!"[39] A member of ProJustice Carolina chanted "Max for President!" A small number of protestors against the anti-gay resolution were present as well. Heller opposed the county council resolution but took on his familiar role as a unifying figure and emphasized the community's virtues. "Greenville is good. Greenville is beautiful. And don't let anyone kid you. We have the best people there are," Heller told the crowd. "Tonight we represent the best in the world: brotherhood, unity, and one God for all of us. One nation for all!"[40]

The narrative constructed around the torch's appearance emphasized Heller's role in making Greenville part of the latest New South. The *Greenville News* proclaimed that Heller helped Greenville "become an international business community" and "embrace the New South ideals that brought the Olympics to Atlanta." Heller's received of the torch from his partner in economic development, Tommy Wyche.[41] Another article noted that Heller, Buck Mickel, and Wyche "never strayed from a vision of attracting international industry and luring Greenville's own residents back downtown."[42]

Other local voices continued to view Heller as a symbol of a tolerant, progressive Greenville. A Travelers Rest resident wrote Heller to express her appreciation and explain that his story changed recent transplants negative perception of the area. The new

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[38] Ibid.
[39] A collection of photographs in Box #10, Folder #20, "Subject files: Olympic Torch June 25, 1996" of the Heller papers provides an interesting visual account of the scene in downtown Greenville.
[40] Ron Barnett, "Rollicking crowd greets flame in downtown," *Greenville News,* June 26, 1996.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Anne P. Thrower, "Changing of the Guard: Max Heller and other leaders of modern Greenville are passing the torch," *Greenville News,* August 16, 1998.

residents were "quite down on what struck them as a mean-spirited community." When the writer told them the Max Heller story, one of them "seemed amazed and relieved" that a fellow Jew formerly served as the mayor of a mid-sized, Bible Belt city.[43]

The aftermath of the controversy suggested that a decent number of suburbanites also felt uneasy about the council's resolution. Two reluctant supporters of the resolution, Republican councilmen Richard Ashmore and George Bomar, lost in a June primary notable for its low voter turnout. They believed that voting for the resolution contributed to their defeat. Ashmore argued that the resolution cost him critical support in an affluent subdivision whose voters "stayed home" to indicate their displeasure.[44]

Some residents of the largely suburban District 20 expressed their displeasure as well. Their representative, Scott Case, served as one of the principal proponents. In 1995, Case won a special election to fill the council seat campaigning on taxation and spending in the district encompassing Bob Jones University. The Bob Jones graduate faced no Democratic opponent.[45] In office, Case mixed fiscal and social conservatism. He opposed the construction of a new arena on fiscal grounds.[46] Case supported tougher restrictions on bars and nightclubs.[47] His strong support for the anti-gay resolution led Jeff Lynch, a social studies teacher at Dorman High School, to run against Case in the general election.[48]

Born in Toledo, Ohio, Lynch moved to Greenville in 1978 to join family members drawn to the South by weather and his brother's basketball career at Furman

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[43] Barbara Allen to Max Heller, August 16, 1996, Box 10, Folder 20, Heller Papers.
[44] Scott Wyman, "Anti-gay proposal carves deep rift in Greenville County Council."; Melinda Gladfelter, "Voters give Bomar, Ashmore the boot," *Greenville News,* June 12, 1996.
[45] Scott Wyman, "Scott Case enters race in District 20," *Greenville News*, January 5, 1995.
[46] Scott Wyman, "New councilman vows to fight planned arena," *Greenville News,* March 29, 1995.
[47] Scott Wyman, "County Council to vote on nightclubs proposal," *Greenville News,* May 7, 1996.
[48] Jeff and Liz Lynch interview with the author, February 10, 2020.

University. Lynch quickly noticed the influence of Bob Jones University and organized religion on Greenville. He recalled being surprised to discover the "streets deserted on Wednesday night" because of the large number of people attending mid-week church services.[49]

Lynch, a political independent, believed county council overstepped its fundamental responsibilities of maintaining infrastructure and ensuring fair taxation in favor of regulating private behavior. "My point of view was that county council's job is to ...take care of citizens not determine citizens morals," Lynch recalled. No Democrat challenged Case and resolution opponents approached Liz Lynch and her husband about running against Case as an independent. The Lynches soon had gathered enough signatures in district neighborhoods to place Jeff on the general election ballot. Lynch understood the odds were stacked against a successful challenge, but he believed district voters "should hear from both sides."[50]

He campaigned on his opposition to the resolution and on the county's pressing needs for improved government services. Lynch argued the county's lack of a bus system and adequate recreational facilities, as well as law enforcement's struggle to police the growing county deserved a greater measure of attention than social issues. Disgruntled suburban voters, ProJustice Carolina, members of Lynch's church, the Greenville Unitarian Universalist Fellowship, along with a group of realtors, offered support for his campaign.[51] The establishment *Greenville News* endorsed Lynch, citing the resolution

[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid, Scott Wyman, "Teacher challenges incumbent councilman," *Greenville News,* July 28, 1996.

issue and Case's opposition to the construction of a downtown arena and support for tough restrictions on bars and nightclubs.[52]

The campaign illustrated how conservatives deployed the rhetoric of "family values" to win local offices. A fundraising letter sent by Case argued that his opponents represented "the liberal godless left" and described Lynch supporters as "those who stand against traditional values." He contended Lynch would "push the national homosexual agenda."[53] Case defended the relationship between conservatism and morality to the *Greenville News.* "Conservatives do believe it is the proper role of government to enforce laws and that those laws should be based in some form of morality," Case argued.[54] Case retained his seat with 69 percent of the vote and no Republican member of county council lost their seat in the general election.[55]

Case continued to advocate for fiscal restraint and "family values." During his tenure on council, Greenville County achieved a AAA credit rating and Case served as chairman of the Finance Committee[56] He also maintained his support for the council's stance on homosexuality. In late 2000, the organizers of the 2002 Winter Olympic Games hosted in Salt Lake City, Utah selected Greenville as a site for the torch relay. "I would hope the international (Olympic) body would not try to shove its values down the throat of locals," Case responded.[57] The organizing committee's decision to conduct the torch run for the 2002 games only in cities avoided further controversy.[58]

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[52] "Endorsements for council," *Greenville News,* October 22, 1996.
[53] Scott Wyman, "Councilman Case calls opponents 'godless left," *Greenville News,* October 25, 1996.
[54] Scott Wyman, "Taylors candidates trade board barbs," *Greenville News,* September 18, 1996.
[55] Felicia Thomas-Lynn, "County Council Members Win Easily," *Greenville News,* November 6, 1996.
[56] Ishmael Tate and Sarah G. Bonnette, "County Council priorities: better parks, no new taxes," *Greenville News,* January 14, 2003.
[57] E. Richard Walton, "Olympic torch coming to Greenville," *Greenville News,* December 5, 2000.
[58] Dale Perry, "50 to pass Olympic torch through Upstate," *Greenville News,* October 19, 2001.

Although resolution opponents feared the impact on economic development, the resolution appeared to do little to slow the area's growth. In 1996, the Tour DuPont bike race announced they would remove Greenville from the event because of their corporate nondiscrimination policy.[59] Greenville experienced minimal fallout beyond the bike race's cancellation. Area firms such as BMW continued to grow. In 1998, BMW announced a $600 million expansion to its facility to accommodate production of the X5 Sport Utility Vehicle.[60] In 2000, nearly 380,000 people called Greenville County home, an increase of close to 60,000 residents.[61]

The Olympic torch controversy provided another illustration of the continuing divide between the city and county and the greater importance that city voters attached to economic development. By the mid-to-late 1990s, growth had not fundamentally altered the area's politics. Older divides remained and the power of the Fundamentalist voting bloc continued to influence local politics. The willingness of a small number of suburban residents to back Jeff Lynch's candidacy against conservative firebrand Scott Case and the impact of backlash to the resolution in Republican primaries demonstrated that a number of county residents did not subscribe to social conservatism. As a whole, however, the area remained tied to conservative politics.

An extensive scholarly literature demonstrates that political conservatism often flourishes in Sunbelt metropolitan areas with dynamic economies and a well-educated

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[59] Scott Wyman, "Tour DuPont drops Greenville over anti-gay vote," *Greenville News,* October 31, 1996.
[60] Rudolph Bell, "BMW planning for possible 2nd plant," *Greenville News,* May 10, 2001, BMW file, Lateral Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as BMW file.
[61] U.S. Census Bureau. Greenville County, South Carolina, Census 2000. Prepared by Social Explorer.; A.V. Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1995), 420.

populace.[62] Many scholars also contend industrialization and urbanization failed to fundamentally change southern society as an earlier generation of scholars including political scientist V.O. Key predicted.[63] As James C. Cobb argues, "the political conservatism, antigovernmentalism, fiscal frugality, and hostility to organized labor so long a part of the South's overall image of backwardness were actually essential ingredients in the recipe for Sunbelt prosperity."[64] This combination partially explained Greenville County's success in attracting industry and new residents, as well as the challenges presented by growth.

The county's ethos of limited government simultaneously propelled growth through low taxes and a lower than average cost-of-living while also exacerbating problems created by rapid growth. In 1994, the *Greenville News* published "boomtown," a series of articles, that addressed the causes and consequences of suburban sprawl. The "loosely ordered world in eastern Greenville County is largely a byproduct of large populated areas growing up outside city limits," the *News* argued.[65] The consequences of sprawl included increased traffic congestion and overcrowded schools. Portable classrooms dotted the campuses of many suburban schools. Understaffed law enforcement agencies also tested the patience of suburban residents.[66]

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[62] See Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); Michelle Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).
[63] James C. Cobb, *Selling the South: The Southern Crusade for Industrial Development, 1936-1990 2nd Ed.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 265. See Paul Gaston, *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking* (New York: Knopf, 1970); Also see Maunula, *Guten Tag, Y'all.* In his *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), political scientist V.O. Key expressed optimism that urbanization would bring the South closer to national norms.
[64] James C. Cobb, *Industrialization and Southern Society* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1984), 159.
[65] Scott Wyman, "Residents seek urban services from government designed to handle rural problems," *Greenville News*, October 31, 1994.
[66] Scott Wyman, "Change in area affects everything from schools to roads," *Greenville News,* October 31, 1994.

One migrant to Greenville County learned that no county law prevented the discharge of firearms in suburban areas after watching squirrel hunters down game in the woods behind her home as her young child played in the backyard.[67] A new resident arriving from Connecticut registered her surprise when she discovered that curbside recycling wasn't available in her affluent suburban neighborhood. As the *Greenville News* argued, the absence of countywide recycling presented "quite a change for some newcomers to Greenville County who are used to living in northern cities where recycling is mandatory and convenient."[68] A member of county council noted the clash between the rural-oriented county government and new residents. "Most of the people moving in come from areas where their standard of living is very high and they have good law enforcement, good roads and laws that prevent dangers like firearms. They want that here." County council, however, rejected restrictions on gunfire and a law requiring the licensing of all businesses.[69]

Low taxes also hurt Greenville County's ability to maintain adequate infrastructure. By 1994, Greenville County faced a shortfall of hundreds of millions of dollars to improve local roads and to provide adequate police protection. Some suburban residents took matters into their own hands and "taxed themselves to pay for extra services rather than wait for the county to provide them." [70]

Suburban growth also exacerbated the divides between black and white residents. In 2000, the *Greenville News* described the area as "a collection of neighborhoods that

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[67] Wyman, "Residents seek urban services from government designed to handle rural problems."
[68] Melissa Gladfelter, "Many suburban newcomers miss recycling," *Greenville News,* March 3, 1996.
[69] Wyman, "Residents seek urban services from government designed to handle rural problems."
[70] Wyman, "Change in area affects everything from schools to roads," "Residents seek urban services from government designed to handle rural problems."

are either predominantly white or predominantly black."[71] Black Greenvillians derived fewer benefits from growth. Data on residents for whom the poverty status could be determined illustrated the divide. In 1999, 22.4 percent of black residents' income fell below poverty level. In contrast, 7.3 percent of white residents had an income below poverty level.[72] Greenville's public schools also reflected the persistence of the gap between black and white residents.

In 2000, the *Greenville News* marked the 30th anniversary of comprehensive desegregation with a series of articles chronicling the "lost dreams" of better educational opportunities for African Americans residents. The *News* argued that three decades after comprehensive integration, "black children still face significant hurdles in getting an education equal to whites." Studies showed that a majority of black students were impoverished and more likely to be suspended, drop out, or be placed in remedial courses than whites. In spring 2000, only 288 or two percent of the district's black students were enrolled in "gifted or talented classes." [73]

The *News* attributed part of the problem to "a cultural divide" between the middle-class white females who constituted the bulk of the district's faculty and "students that come from a world they simply do not understand." State legislator Fletcher Smith, an African American, believed the problem went beyond cultural misunderstanding. He argued the placement of black students in lower level courses was "the way you maintain economic and social superiority over blacks." Black and white children were also less likely to attend school together in the Greenville of the 1990s and early 2000s.[74]

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[71] Cara Bonnett and Jamie Jones, "Less busing leads to less integration," *Greenville News,* May 29, 2000.
[72] Greenville County, South Carolina, Census 2000.
[73] Jamie Jones, "Promise of equal education unmet in Greenville schools," *Greenville News,* May 28, 2000.
[74] Ibid.

During the 1970s and 1980s, court decisions limiting busing, the growth of primarily white suburbs, and the proliferation private academies curtailed the progress of racial integration in schools throughout the South. A process of resegregation took hold in the urban South. As historian Harvard Sitkoff notes, "in 1990, some three-quarters of African-Americans attended schools at least 90 percent black."[75] Greenville County mirrored other urban spaces. The *News* noted, "every year, Greenville County schools become more white or more black."[76]

In 2000, the majority of the county's schools did not reflect the composition of its "school-age population of 68 percent white, 28 percent black." African American students comprised 95 percent of the student body at one school. Although the number of students bused to schools outside of the neighborhoods fell dramatically beginning in the 1980s, African American children still carried the majority of the burden. In 2000, 3,400 black students were bused to schools outside of their neighborhoods. Some parents believed their children benefited from the opportunity to attend better performing schools, but also faced the challenge of maintaining involvement at a more distant school.[77]

Suburban schools built to serve the predominantly white population on Greenville's Eastside plainly reflected the divide. High performing Riverside High School's attendance zone drew in children from upper-middle income and upper-income subdivisions on the Eastside. White students comprised 86.4 percent of Riverside's

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[75] Harvard Sitkoff, *The Struggle For Black Equality 25th-Anniversary Edition* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2008), 224.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.; Cara Bonnett and Jamie Jones, "Less busing leads to less integration."; Robert King, "Busing of elementary students from inner city to end by 2006," *Greenville News,* January 20, 1998.

student body. In contrast, residents of African American neighborhoods in close proximity to I-85 sent their children to the majority black Southside High School.[78] Racial tensions also remained in the community.

As workers labored on the assembly lines of BMW and other international corporations entered the county and region, the local Sons of Confederate Veterans opened a museum in a small home outside of downtown Greenville's central business district. The museum promised Greenvillians it would tell a different story than the state's other museums to the Confederacy.[79] Joel Skinner, the curator of the Museum of Confederate History, explained the museum's "goal is to be inclusive." According to historian W. Fitzhugh Brundage, "neo-Confederate enthusiasts are keen to celebrate the ethnic and racial pluralism of the southern war for independence."[80]

Skinner contended that an exhibit on "African-Americans in Gray" served as an example of the museum's inclusive attitude. The museum also deemphasized slavery because for "the majority of soldiers, slavery was not an issue."[81] The museum elicited controversy when it requested $10,000 in public funding from County Council from monies that supported area cultural institutions.[82]

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[78] Bonnett and Jones, "Less busing leads to less integration."
[79] Linda Carron, "Of Days Gone By," *Greenville News,* March 15, 1996.; Columbia and Charleston each had museums dedicated to the memory of the Confederacy. Columbia's Confederate Relic Room contained a variety of artifacts documenting South Carolina's role in the Civil War. The Confederate Musuem in Charleston was a more makeshift affair that during this period was housed in unused space in an elementary school. See Tony Horowitz, *Confederates in the Attic* (New York: Random House, 1998), 52-7 and 76-7.
[80] W. Fitzhugh Brundage, "Contentious and Collected: Memory's Future in Southern History," *The Journal of Southern* History 75, no. 3 (August 2009): 763.
[81] Ibid; Historians have debunked the belief that African Americans fought for the Confederate Army. The idea, however, continues to have wide currency in neo-Confederate circles. See Kevin M. Levin, *Searching for Black Confederates: The Civil War's Most Persistent Myth* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2019).
[82] Scott Wyman, "Confederate site seeks tax money," *Greenville News,* December 11, 1997.

Local NAACP leader Rev. Ennis Fant explained that beyond his moral objections to taxpayer subsidization of the museum, it could "harm efforts to broaden Greenville's international business image." The funding request met a narrow 6-5 defeat in county council. "We're an easy target for the politically correct," one museum supporter mused.[83] Although a request from Charleston's Confederate Museum for the backing of local taxpayers also failed, the funding request's narrow defeat in Greenville served as another reminder of the tensions within county politics.[84]

Accusations of differential treatment by law enforcement personnel in Greenville County also exacerbated tensions between black and white residents. The death of an African American prisoner in 1997 led to an investigation by the Department of Justice which concluded "guards routinely use excessive force and inmates are denied constitutional rights and adequate medical care."[85] Records revealed that prisoners were regularly punished by a process of restricting their movements known as "hogtying." Although white prisoners were hogtied more frequently, black prisoners were restrained for substantially longer periods.[86] The fatal shooting of two black men by law enforcement in 1998 provoked additional anger and led to the creation of a task force on race relations chaired by Max Heller and Merl Code, an African American leader and judge.[87]

As divides persisted between the black and white community, Greenville's Hispanic residents grew from being a numerically insignificant portion of the local

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[83] Ibid; Richard Walton, "County Council refuses to give $10,000 to Confederate Museum," *Greenville News,* December 12, 1997.
[84] Horowitz, *Confederates in the Attic,* 53.
[85] Scott Wyman, "Business leaders forge race relations task force," *Greenville News,* August 4, 1998.
[86] Scott Wyman, "Records show inmates were hogtied weekly at Greenville Jail," *Greenville News,* August 21, 1998.
[87] Wyman, "Business leaders forge race relations task force."

population in the 1980s to a highly visible group. By the mid-to-late 1990s, local media outlets took note of the Hispanic population's explosive growth and often placed the Hispanic community within the narrative of Greenville as an international city.

The textile industry served as the original driver of Hispanic immigration to Greenville. As one early Hispanic migrant recalled, he "came to Greenville to work on the looms" in the 1970s. Most of the early migrants to Greenville were Colombian.[88] Greenville's Hispanic community remained small until the 1990s when the combined effect of international and regional forces led to a rapid influx of Hispanic migrants throughout the southern United States.[89]

Southern states' economic development policies encouraged new manufacturing industries such as the automotive industry to migrate to the region while also leading to the development of low-wage industries such as food processing and the growth of the service industry. Both the food processing industry and the service sector extensively utilized immigrant labor. Immigration crackdowns and free-trade policies likewise encouraged migration to the southern United States.[90]

Between 1990 and 2000, Hispanic population increased over 200 percent in seven southern states.[91] Rural locations in north Alabama and cities such as Dalton, Georgia attracted large numbers of Hispanic migrants. In the case of the rural South, Hispanic

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[88] Frances Evans, "Hispanic Charismatic Convention will start Saturday in Greenville," *Greenville News,* June 22, 1991.
[89] Raymond A. Mohl, "Globalization, Latinization and the *Nuevo* New South," in *Globalization and the American South* ed. James C. Cobb and William Stueck (Athens: University of Georgia, 2005), 67-70; Mohl cites the work of Douglas S. Massey to argue the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) encouraged Mexican immigrants to settle in the southern United States. Massey contends the IRCA "diverted the migratory flows away from traditional points of destination" which made Mexican immigration "a national phenomenon." The IRCA also "encouraged undocumented workers to stay longer, or even permanently, to avoid the now more difficult border crossings." See pg. 69.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Cobb, *The South and America since World War II*, 278.

migrants labored in the poultry industry, agriculture, or in the many labor-intensive industries located in the southern countryside. Dalton's carpet industry tackled labor challenges by hiring a large number of Mexican immigrants.[92]

Greenville's pattern was similar. Its strong economy and reliance on low-wage nonunionized industry led to high demand for Hispanic workers. One study of Hispanic migrants to South Carolina focused on Mexican workers, argued that Mexican migrants would not only take "take jobs that that employers found difficulty filling with native-born labor" but also possessed values appreciated by the state's employers. Hispanic workers were not likely to join a union and offered few objections to overtime work.[93]

The Greenville-Spartanburg area outpaced the state average with a Hispanic population growth of 411.1 percent between 1990 and 2000. The number of Hispanic residents counted by the census increased from 5,120 in 1990 to 26,167 in 2000. In 1990, the Hispanic population of the Greenville-Spartanburg area numbered only 5,120 legal residents.[94] As a study of Hispanic immigrants to South Carolina in the early 2000s argues, however, "the actual number of Latinos in South Carolina is likely at least twice that reported by the U.S. Census Bureau."[95]

In the Greenville-Spartanburg area, a study found that the burgeoning Hispanic community worked "predominantly in construction, factories, landscaping, and

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[92] Mohl, "Globalization, Latinization and the *Nuevo* New South," 76-77.
[93] Elaine Lacy, "Cultural Enclaves and Transnational Ties: Mexican Immigration and Settlement in South Carolina" in *Latino Immigrants and the Transformation of the US South* ed. Mary E. Odem and Elaine Lacy (Athens: University of Georgia, 2009), 4.
[94] Mohl, "Globalization, Latinization and the *Nuevo* New South," 73.; South Carolina's Hispanic population grew 211 percent between 1990 and 2000. This ranked the state sixth among the seven fasting growing southern states in terms of Hispanic population. See Cobb, *The South and America Since World War II,* 278.
[95] Lacy, "Cultural Enclaves and Transnational Ties: Mexican Immigration and Settlement in South Carolina," 3.

agriculture."[96] Greenville's suburbanization provided many opportunities for work in construction, as new subdivisions dotted the Eastside and Golden Strip. A Greenville general contractor reported that 20 percent of his employees were Hispanic. One of Greenville County's remaining textile firms, JPS, employed Hispanic women to manufacture cloth. By the late 1990s, 30 percent of bedding manufacturer CDS's employees were Hispanic. Others found work in local restaurants. George Stathakis, a restauranteur and the descendent of Greek immigrants to Greenville, argued that without Hispanic workers he would have "one or two restaurants less." By the late 90's, about a quarter of his 250 employees were Hispanic.[97]

The implications of Hispanic migration to Greenville transcended economic considerations. Greenville and South Carolina as a whole struggled to adapt to the needs of the Hispanic community. Scholar of Hispanic migration Elaine Lacy argued that "South Carolina, like many other states experiencing the recent influx of new immigrants, is unprepared in many ways to accommodate them."[98] A Greenville magistrate serving on a task force to address the needs of the Hispanic community aptly summarized the problem when he described Hispanic residents as "a group a lot of Anglos know nothing about."[99]

In the mid-to-late 1990s, local organizations began to respond to the needs of the Hispanic community. Service providers in the community taught their employees Spanish and the Greenville Hospital System created diversity training programs to

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[96] Ibid.
[97] Leroy Chapman Jr., "Greenville's Hispanic, Asian populations up," *Greenville News,* September 4, 1998; Tilly Lavenas, "Asians, Hispanics fill niches in tight Greenville labor market," *Greenville News,* November 21, 1999.
[98] Lacy, "Cultural Enclaves and Transnational Ties: Mexican Immigration and Settlement in South Carolina," 5.
[99] "Greenville home to more Hispanics, Asians," *Greenville News,* December 19, 1997.

address "language and cultural differences." At least one business with a large number of Hispanic employees offered paid instruction in English. Churches offered English language instruction and sought new members through Spanish language services.[100] Problems, however, persisted. Some Hispanic residents did not understand how to display the proper identification when stopped by law enforcement officers. Others did not understand how to post bond when jailed for a minor offense.[101] At decade's end, public services for Hispanics still lagged. A small number of teachers provided instruction in English-as-a-second language and around 10-15 sheriff's deputies spoke Spanish.[102]

Hispanics also created their own spaces in Greenville through a process scholars describe as "cultural citizenship." The process involves the creation of spaces "where the people feel 'safe' and 'at home', where they have feel a sense of belonging and membership."[103] Branded the "people's station" by its owner, La Brava, a Spanish language AM radio station that catered to Greenville's Hispanic community filled part of the role. "The Brave" combined salsa, merengue, boleros, and tango music with news updates on Latin America. Listeners' occupational status affected how the station operated. The station owner noted that frequent requests came from callers such as "Painter Combo No. 3" or cooks working overnight. Hungry for an increased variety of music, listeners sometimes dropped CDs off at the station.[104]

Ethnic grocery stores provided another space for new migrants to find familiar markers of identity in Greenville. By 1997, Greenville specialty markets served Asian,

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[100] Lacy, "Cultural Enclaves and Transnational Ties: Mexican Immigration and Settlement in South Carolina," 5; Ibid.
[101] Mike Foley, "Growing Hispanic population feels isolated," *Greenville News,* April 13, 1998.
[102] Tilly Lavernas, "Agencies gearing up to meet diverse growth," *Greenville News,* November 21, 1999.
[103] Lacy, "Cultural Enclaves and Transnational Ties: Mexican Immigration and Settlement in South Carolina," 7.
[104] Tilly Lavernas, "Groups help residents maintain native ties," *Greenville News,* November 21, 1999.

Hispanic, Middle Eastern, and European migrants to the area, as well as aficionados of international cuisine. On Poinsett Highway, Toni's Tienda offered Mexican groceries. On South Pleasantburg Drive, the Pita House sold Middle Eastern groceries and doubled as a restaurant.[105] Area supermarkets such as Bi-Lo, Harris Teeter, and Publix also increased their own "international" offerings with a focus on Hispanic foods.[106]

Haus Edelweiss, a German restaurant and grocery, filled the culinary needs of Germans drawn to the area by the automotive industry. The restaurant's location near Bob Jones University on a highway named after former Confederate cavalry commander Wade Hampton III provided a striking contrast between Greenville's past and present.[107] The operator of Edelweiss, an Austrian immigrant, migrated to upstate South Carolina after her German born husband took a job in the textile industry. The restaurant served a similar function to Toni's Tienda and La Brava. Many BMW expatriates frequented the restaurant. As Margie Emich, the owner explained "the BMW folks, most of their wives can't speak English, and they feel at home here." [108]

Hispanic immigrants experienced some backlash.[109] In 1998, Immigration and Naturalization Service raids jailed 88 Hispanic workers in Greenville County. The continued use of Spanish served as a major source of consternation for some locals.[110] In her study of Hispanic immigrants to South Carolina, Elaine Lacy noted that many South

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[105] Tilly Lavenas, "Savoring the World: Greenville's ethnic markets cater to a changing community," *Greenville News,* February 5, 1997.
[106] Tilly Lavenas, "Chains try to meet ethnic demand," *Greenville News,* February 5, 1997.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Abe Hardesty, "In-haus success," *Greenville News,* July 3, 2002; Eric Connor, "Haus Edelweiss," *Greenville News,* August 18, 2006.
[109] Raymond A. Mohl contends that "many agencies and groups have responded positively to Hispanic newcomers." This seems to have been true of Greenville as well. See Mohl, "Globalization, Latinization and the *Nuevo* New South," 84.
[110] *Greenville News,* March 12, 1998.

Carolinians concerned about recent immigration feared that "new immigrants are not being incorporated or assimilated at the same pace and in the same manner as did previous waves of immigrants to the United States."[111] One county resident expressed his anxiety by pleading that Greenvillians "not allow Greenville to become another Miami, Florida where Spanish is the primary language and everyone caters to the legal and illegal Hispanic."[112] Another grounded her opposition to illegal immigrants in the rhetoric of taxpayer rights. "If they round up the illegal immigrants and kick them back to where they come from, we the taxpayers would not have to pay extra for translators," a resident of the suburban community Taylors argued.[113]

The growth of a small Asian community provoked less consternation among Greenvillians concerned by immigration. Its population remained smaller and more concentrated in white collar jobs. In the 1990s, Greenville followed the trend of rapid Asian population growth in many southern cities and states. Between 1980 and 2000, the South's Asian population increased from 500,000 to over two million in 2000.[114] Scholars of Asian migration to the South argue the Immigration and Nationalization Act of 1965 opened not only the nation, but the South to increased flows of migrants from the Asian continent. Changes in southern race relations and the economic development strategies employed in South Carolina and other southern states offered another boost.[115] In 2000, 28,659 South Carolina residents were of Asian descent.[116]

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[111] Lacy, "Cultural Enclaves and Transnational Ties: Mexican Immigration and Settlement in South Carolina," 11.
[112] Al Hughes, Letter to the editor, *Greenville News,* April 21, 1998.
[113] Janet Upshaw, Letter to the editor, *Greenville News,* July 28, 2003.
[114] David M. Reimers, "Asian Immigrants in the South" in *Globalization and the American South* ed. James C. Cobb and William Stueck, (Athens: University of Georgia, 2005), 106.
[115] Ibid, 107-110.
[116] Ibid, 122; This number includes the classifications: Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, and Vietnamese.

Refugees from Vietnam provided the earliest sizable Asian migration to Greenville. After the fall of South Vietnam to Communist forces in 1975, federal policy placed refugees in different locations in the United States to avoid concetrated opposition. In Greenville, a small Vietnamese community developed near Bob Jones University. In the 1970s, a small number of Filipino refugees also settled in Greenville to escape political unrest and in search of economic opportunity. Indian, Japanese, and South Korean immigrants also called Greenville home.[117]

Between 1990 and 1997, the Asian population increased 45.2 percent. Beyond the numerical evidence, some residents noticed the Asian population's growth through the presence of Asian foods in grocery stores and the formation of Asian organizations such as the Nippon Center which served as "the cultural focal point for the Japanese community" in the 1990s.[118] The smaller size of the Asian community may partly account for Greenvillians' more muted reaction to its rapid growth, but occupational status and greater assimilation likely influenced how Greenvillians' perceived it.

Some Asian migrants worked in blue collar jobs. Vietnamese immigrants labored alongside Hispanics at bedding manufacturer CDS. Vietnamese employees accounted for 20 percent of the workforce across the company's three facilities. Asian migrants, however, were more likely to fill skilled jobs in Greenville than Hispanics. As a study of Asian immigrants to the South noted, "Asian immigrants, except for refugees, are slightly

[117] Tilly Lavenas, "Asians, Hispanics fill niches in tight Greenville labor market," *Greenville News,* November 21, 1999; Leroy Chapman Jr., "Greenville's Hispanic, Asian populations up," *Greenville News,* September 4, 1998.
[118] Lavenas, "Asians, Hispanics fill niches in tight Greenville labor market"; Tilly Lavenas, "Groups help residents maintain native ties," *Greenville News,* November 21, 1999.

better educated than Americans generally." The same held true of Asian immigrants when compared to Hispanic immigrants.[119]

Consequently, Asian immigrants offered little competition for low wage jobs. In Greenville, a number of Asian migrants worked in white collar jobs or owned small businesses. Local engineering firms employed Indian engineers. Other Indian residents operated motels. Close to half of the Oncology Research Institute at the Greenville Hospital System's researchers immigrated to Greenville from China.[120]

Coverage of Hitachi employees of Japanese descent is particularly instructive. The stories depicted positive portrayals of assimilation to Greenville and southern culture. A profile on the wife of one Japanese executive noted the family's children were enrolled in Southside Baptist Church's nursery and preschool. She attributed disciplined children to southern Christianity and hoped that it would inculcate these values in her children. Greenville children said "Yes ma'am" and were "really polite and quiet at restaurants." In her estimation, Southerners were "very warm to foreign people." "Everybody says welcome to America!" The article also noted that she spoke English and the many American destinations she wished to visit.[121]

Other Hitachi employees apparently pressed the company for help acclimating their children to Greenville schools. "We found out housing was not nearly as important as education," the company's human resources manager told the *Greenville News.* In partnership with Greenville County Schools, Hitachi created a summer program to aid the

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[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Lynn Cusick, "Japanese Fans: Family enjoying life in the Upstate," *Greenville Piedmont,* October 8, 1991, Hitachi File, Lateral Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as Hitachi File.

students of their Japanese employees. English language instruction and current events were emphasized. The curriculum also featured instruction in subjects such as geography and history.[122] Locals may have complained about the drain on tax dollars that English as a second language (ESOL) instruction for Hispanic students represented, but Asian migrants provoked no such outcry in the community.

The children of the Asian migrants who settled in Greenville in the 1970s testified to locals' perceptions that the Asian community had assimilated more rapidly than Hispanics. Connie Handog, originally from the Philippines, moved to Greenville when she was five years old and belonged to what scholars term the "1.5 generation" of foreign-born residents "who arrived at an early age and were educated in American schools." Handog's parents were professionals and she graduated from the College of Charleston with a degree in biochemistry. In a newspaper profile, Handog explained that she sometimes felt ostracized by fellow students in Greenville County Schools because she "wasn't black or white." Another resident, the child of Vietnamese immigrants, explained that her father compared to her a "banana ...Asian on the outside and American on the inside." The daughter, a Furman University student, explained that she neither completely "fit in" or out in Greenville.[123]

Organized religion also pervaded local's approach to the stream of migrants to Greenville County. Although Southern Baptists and United Methodists were expected to maintain their dominant position among area congregations, greater ethnic and geographic diversity begat increased religious diversity. Demographers expected

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[122] Lee Ann Fleet, "Program designed to help acclimate Hitachi children to Greenville school," *Greenville News,* July 21, 1991, Hitachi File.
[123] Tilly Lavenas, "Greenville's look is more diverse," *Greenville News,* November 21, 1999; Reimers, "Asian Immigrants in the South," 107.

Greenville's Catholic population to increase by at least 25 percent thanks to the influx of Hispanic residents and migrants from above the Mason-Dixon line. Greater numbers of Muslims and Hindus were also expected to locate in the area.[124]

The Greenville Baptist Association viewed migrants to Greenville as a potential source of converts. "Foreign missions have come to Greenville," the organization's director enthusiastically noted. "We used to have to get on a plane or a boat—now you can do it right here." The association's churches started foreign language ministries that ran the gamut from Arabic to Spanish. Other area religious institutions attempted to rally ministers from different denominations around social issues through the creation of an interfaith coalition. Coalition leaders framed their work around improving Greenville's image. "For us to succeed, we need to learn more about the countries we're dealing with, and that will require more tolerance," a Hindu leader explained in reference to the multi-national firms with operations in Greenville.[125]

Although an influx of new residents increased Greenville's cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity, the Republican Party remained dominant locally and informed Greenville's national image. Greenville County's large Republican base and status as South Carolina's most populous county gave it a place of importance in the GOP nominating contest. In 1996, suburban Republicans in the Eastside and Golden Strip outvoted Bob Jones University affiliated voters and working-class voters to deliver the county for Republican nominee Bob Dole over Pat Buchanan. Buchanan campaigned on a message of economic nationalism and social conservatism. As one Republican political

[124] Cara Bonnett, "Diversity of faiths will continue to grow," *Greenville News,* November 21, 1999.
[125] Ibid.

consultant concluded, the presence of international firms such as BMW tempered Buchanan's protectionist appeal.[126]

The 2000 South Carolina Republican presidential primary thrust Greenville into the spotlight when the Palmetto State served as the tiebreaker after Texas governor George W. Bush and Arizona senator John McCain split the Iowa and New Hampshire primaries. According to political scientists H. Gibbs Knotts and Jordan M. Ragusa, "Bush's triumph in South Carolina helped propel him to success in other southern states and served as a springboard to his nomination."[127] Bush won Greenville County by 16,000 votes and the county provided 14 percent of his state total. Votes from Greenville and four other socially conservative upstate counties represented nearly half of Bush's margin of victory.[128]

Christian conservatives in South Carolina embraced Bush.[129] His testimony as a born-again Christian and strong positions on abortion and gay rights helped Bush gain support from evangelical voters who felt uncomfortable with McCain.[130] McCain's support for campaign finance reform which threatened the influence of Christian Right special interest groups and his less aggressive stance on social issues damaged his standing with these voters.[131] Christian conservatives comprised one-third of the Republican primary electorate in South Carolina and Bush won more than two-thirds of

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[126] "Suburbs give Senator edge in Greenville," *Greenville News,* March 3, 1996.
[127] H. Gibbs Knotts and Jordan M. Ragusa, *First In The South: Why South Carolina's Presidential Primary Matters* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2020), 81.
[128] Bob Paslay and James T. Hammond, "Upstate a force in Bush win," *Greenville News,* February 21, 2000.
[129] Gibbs and Ragusa, *First in the South: Why South Carolina's Presidential Primary Matters,* 77.
[130] Daniel K. Williams, *God's Own Party: The Making of the Christian Right* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 246-247; Ibid, 77, 81.
[131] Williams, 247.

their vote.[132] Bush appealed to these voters through an appearance at Bob Jones University which developed into a national controversy and generated a torrent of criticism towards the Greenville institution.[133]

On February 2, Bush spoke before a large audience of 5,500 at Bob Jones. His speech drew on the language of "values" and featured an introduction from Republican David Beasley, a former governor of South Carolina. Beasley held close ties with the Christian Right and emphasized that Bush "shares our values."[134] Beasley described Bush as "a man who deeply loves the Lord, a man who truly desires good things for America." Bush laid out his agenda of devolving control of schools to state and local governments, support for the military, restoring "honor and dignity to the White House," tax cuts, and individual responsibility.[135] Bush's campaign also announced the endorsement of a former Bob Jones University dean.[136]

Although Bob Jones University's opposition to ecumenicalism separated it from other institutions and leaders on the Christian Right, major figures such as Dr. James Dobson and the Reverend Jerry Falwell publicly criticized McCain prior to the South Carolina primary.[137] McCain attempted to link Bush with Bob Joneses interracial dating ban and the institution's criticism of Roman Catholicism as "a satanic cult."[138] McCain's campaign used the link between Bush and the institution as a wedge issue for Catholic

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[132] Ibid, 246.
[133] Ibid, 247.
[134] Dan Hoover, "Bush, McCain now focus on S.C. primary," *Greenville News,* February 3, 2000.
[135] Elena Hines, "Bush outlines 'positive agenda,'" *The Collegian,* February 17, 2000, Special Collections, J.S. Mack Library, Bob Jones University. Hereafter referred to as *The Collegian.*
[136] Dan Hoover, "Bush, McCain now focus on S.C. primary," *Greenville News,* February 3, 2000.
[137] Williams, *God's Own Party,* 248.
[138] Dan Hoover, "Haskins quits McCain over BJU," *Greenville News,* February 29, 2000.

voters.[139] He also launched a broader attack on Falwell and evangelical leader Pat Robertson.[140]

Democratic presidential candidate Bill Bradley started the controversy. On February 4, Bradley launched an attack on Bush over the Bob Jones ban on interracial dating. He argued Bob Jones's racial policies represented "what conservatism is…and it should be rejected."[141] Bradley and McCain's attacks led to a brief national controversy over the institution and the Republican Party's links with it. One syndicated columnist compared Bush's appearance at Bob Jones University with Ronald Reagan's decision to launch his 1980 presidential campaign at Mississippi's Neshoba County Fair. In 1964, civil rights activists Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner, and James Chaney were murdered in Neshoba.[142] Bush denied that he supported the interracial dating ban and apologized for "not condemning anti-Catholic bias" during his appearance at Bob Jones.[143] New Jersey Democrat Robert Torricelli authored a resolution that denounced the university's policies.[144]

A secondary controversy involved the role of Dr. Richard Hand, a Bob Jones University faculty member. Gibbs and Ragusa contend the "2000 GOP contest is often remembered as the nastiest presidential primary in South Carolina history."[145] Hand

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[139] James T. Hammond, "BJU furor surprises GOP officials," *Greenville News,* February 29, 2000.
[140] Williams, *God's Own Party,* 249.
[141] James Dao, "The 2000 Campaign: The Challenger; Bradley Blasts Bush for Talk At Bob Jones University," *The New York Times,* February 4, 2000.
[142] Bob Herbert, "GOP panders to racist element," *The New Orleans Times-Picayune,* February 11, 2000, Newspaper Clippings about Bob Jones/Politics February 2000 file, Vertical Files, Bob Jones University Archives, J.S. Mack Library, Bob Jones University. Hereafter referred to as Bob Jones/Politics February 2000 file.
[143] Stephen Barr, "McCain speaks against Bush's visit to Bob Jones," *The State,* February 14, 2000; Jay Root and Ron Hutcheson, "Bush offers apology to U.S. Catholics," *Miami Herald,* February 28, 2000. Both in Bob Jones/Politics February 2000 file.
[144] Cindy Landrum, "Graham's resolution defends BJU," *Greenville News,* March 21, 2000.
[145] Gibbs and Ragusa, *First in the South: Why South Carolina's Presidential Primary Matters,* 76.

authored an e-mail that alleged that "McCain chose to sire children without marriage" and accused McCain of other character defects including "partying, playing, drinking, and womanizing."[146] The professor suggested readers circulate the e-mail which became part of "a whisper campaign." A College of Charleston political scientist found that "negative opinion of McCain nearly quadrupled—from 4 percent to 15 percent" before the South Carolina primary.[147]

In a controversy unrelated to Bob Jones University, McCain's campaign accused the Bush campaign of using a "push-poll" to spread negative information about McCain and his involvement in the Keating Five scandal. The controversy harkened back to tactics allegedly used in the Heller-Campbell congressional campaign in 1978.[148] The controversy over George W. Bush's visit led to a significant change for Bob Jones University.

On Friday March 3, the institution published a full-page advertisement in the *Greenville News* defending its policies and decision to allow political candidates to speak on-campus. The advertisement's language mirrored the university's earlier defense of its policies. Dr. Bob Jones III argued Torricelli's resolution should be viewed as an attack on all religious faiths.[149] That evening, Jones appeared on CNN's "Larry King Live" and announced the end of the interracial dating ban because it stood as "an obstacle for people to see what the school is really about."[150]

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[146] Cynthia Tucker, "Unbridled bigotry: Keyes has courage to chastise Bob Jones," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution,* February 16, 2000, Bob Jones/Politics February 2000 file.
[147] Steven Thomma and Ron Hutcheson, "McCain subject of intense sneak attacks," *The State,* February 16, 2000, Bob Jones/Politics February 2000 file.
[148] Ibid.
[149] "The Nation: The Tower of Babel; Bob Jones's Dating Tips," *The New York Times,* March 5, 2000.
[150] Ken Garfield, "Dating ban dropped," *Charlotte Observer,* March 4, 2000, Newspaper clippings about Bob Jones\Politics March 2000 file, Vertical files, Bob Jones University Archives, J.S. Mack Library, Bob Jones University. Hereafter referred to as Bob Jones\Politics March 2000 file.

The controversy over Bush's appearance at Bob Jones University revealed another side of the institution's relationship with Greenville. Many locals defended the institution in response to national criticism. Beth Padgett, editorial page editor of the *Greenville News,* noted that dozens of Greenville residents unaffiliated with the institution contacted the *News* to offer a defense of the university. Padgett argued that many Greenvillians could criticize Bob Jones University's policies and also recognize the positive contributions of the institution and its alumni to the community.[151]

Bob Jones created a sort of duality in the community. "It's hard to have a stay in the hospital, or make it through 12 years of public school, or work in a major accounting firm, or serve in many nonprofit organizations, without rubbing elbows with a Bob Jones grad," Padgett noted. Greenville residents often liked members of the Bob Jones community as individuals, but many residents had also "long hoped the school would drop the interracial dating ban and lighten up on the excessive rhetoric about other groups."[152] In the new century, the institution continued to adopt changes that brought it closer to the mainstream of higher education while maintaining its fundamentalist identity.

In November, Bush carried the county by nearly 49,000 votes.[153] Republicans won ten of the county's twelve seats in the state House of Representatives and three of its five senate seats. Four of the five Democratic members of the legislature were African American.[154] Incumbent Republican congressman Jim DeMint faced no Democratic

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[151] Beth Padgett, "Bob Jones finds friends among critics," *Greenville News,* March 6, 2000.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Election Report 2000-2001, South Carolina Election Commission, accessed June 18, 2020. https://www.scvotes.org/files/ElectionReports/Election_Report_2000.pdf
[154] "How We Voted," *Greenville News,* November 8, 2000.

opposition.[155] In the 1950s and 1960s, northern expatriates such as Gregory D. Shorey Jr. and younger residents frustrated with the national Democratic Party and the stranglehold of the Democrats on local offices laid the groundwork for a competitive two-party system in Greenville. By 2000, the GOP dominated local and regional politics.

Bob Jones University also played an important role in building the Republican Party in Greenville. The Bob Jones community consistently supported Republican candidates for local, state, and national office and helped energize local social conservatives. The deeply rooted institution played a much greater role in shaping the community's politics than newer economic development prospects subject to wider global economic trends and largely reliant on local personnel. Numerically small, but growing groups of migrants drawn to the area by economic opportunity attracted attention but did little to change the immediate political context.

In many facets of life in Greenville, continuity persisted amidst change. Religion remained an important part of the community's social life. In 2010, over 600 religious institutions served county residents and 60.2 percent of residents identified as religious adherents. Although migration from above the Mason Dixon line and Latin America brought an increased number of Catholics to the area, evangelical Protestantism remained dominant. Evangelical Protestants comprised 473 of the county's 629 congregations. Eight Catholic churches and a growing number of nondenominational churches served the county.[156] Divides between the city and county persisted as well. In the 2000s,

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[155] John Boyanowski, "DeMint, Graham headed back to nation's capital," *Greenville News,* November 8, 2000.
[156] Association of Religion Data Archives. Religious Congregations and Membership Study, 2010. Prepared by Social Explorer.

Sunday blue laws and the absence of a Martin Luther King Jr. holiday in the county represented two of the distinctions between the city and county. If as boosters argued, Greenville County developed into an international space by the 1990s, the burden of its past continued to be felt.

Growth continued in the 2000s. In 2000, 379,616 residents called Greenville County home.[157] In 2018, the Census Bureau's American Community Survey estimated the county's population at 498,402.[158] The "boomtown" of the mid-to-late 1990s laid the foundation for some changes in the 2000s when Greenville institutions such as Bob Jones University continued to evolve and downtown redevelopment elevated the city's Central Business District beyond what its champion Max Heller likely could have imagined. Economic success, however, failed to resolve all of the community's problems and created new challenges.

[157] Greenville County, South Carolina, Census 2000.
[158] U.S. Census Bureau. Greenville County, South Carolina, American Community Survey, 2018. Prepared by Social Explorer.

Conclusion: Greenville in the 2000s

In May 2009, Greenville marked former mayor Max Heller's 90th birthday with the dedication of a sculpture in his honor facing the Greenville Hyatt, a keystone of downtown revitalization. The sculpture served as the "focal point" of Legacy Plaza and depicted Heller in motion gesturing at the Hyatt as if selling a prospective company on relocating to Greenville. A series of pylons chronicled Max and Trude Heller's escape from Austria and their lives in Greenville.[1] As historian Dianne Vecchio observed, Heller served as "patron saint of Greenville's Renaissance."[2] In the nearly thirteen years since Max Heller carried the Olympic flame through Main Street, downtown Greenville continued to garner accolades.

Greenville regularly attracted notice from regional and national publications. As one booster noted, "the city has been praised by everyone from the *Washington Post* to the *New York Times,* from Oprah to Ben Stein, from *Garden and Gun* to *Esquire.*"[3] Downtown Greenville served as the focal point of profiles which often recognized Heller's role in the area's transformation. "Heller and the city made revitalizing downtown a priority, and their efforts paid off," a writer for the *Washington Post* wrote in 2011. "Today, the tree-lined heart of town boasts restaurants, boutiques and plazas ideal

[1] Abe Hardesty, "Greenville honors visionary behind downtown's rebirth," *Greenville News,* May 29, 2000; John Boyanowski *Reimagining Greenville: Building The Best Downtown in America, Rev. ed, with Knox White* (Charleston: The History Press, 2017), 113.
[2] Diane Vecchio, "Max Moses Heller: Patron Saint of Greenville's Renaissance," in *Doing Business in America: A Jewish History* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2018), 181-212.
[3] Boyanowski, *Reimagining Greenville,* Rev. ed. with Knox White, 16-17.

for whiling away a sunny afternoon."[4] Prominent locals attributed downtown Greenville's "European" aesthetic to Heller's vision for the city.[5]

The Heller sculpture and the plaza not only celebrated Max and Trude Heller's remarkable story but also indicated that Greenville leaders believed in the success of downtown revitalization. When Heller passed away in 2011 at the age of 92, the *Greenville News* described him as the leading figure of Greenville's rebirth. There were many other dimensions to Heller's story: his escape from Austria, his successful business career, and his community involvement outside of politics in housing, education, and with Furman University, but Heller's legacy was firmly rooted in downtown Greenville.[6]

Max Heller's sculpture stood as a symbol of Greenville and of the values of its leadership class. Heller supported the city's growth and development through downtown improvements and recruiting new industry. As a moderate to conservative Democrat, Heller enjoyed support from the African American community, affluent whites, and the city's business leaders. His popularity in the urban space, however, did not translate to the county's broader and more conservative electorate. Heller's unique status as a Jewish immigrant amidst a sea of evangelical Christians reinforced the booster image of a tolerant, progressive city. When foreign corporations became an increasingly important part of the local economy, Heller provided a symbol of Greenville's "international city" status.

In the former mayor's nearly 73 years in Greenville, the city and county underwent significant changes. The textile and apparel industries no longer defined the

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[4] Becky Krystal, "Picture-perfect Greenville, S.C.," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution,* May 8, 2011. Krystal's story ran in other newspapers including the *AJC.*
[5] Minor Mickel Shaw interview with author, March 11, 2020.
[6] Ben Szobody, "Upstate loses Max Heller, who led Greenville's rebirth," *Greenville News,* June 14, 2011.

local economy. Replacement industries such as the automotive industry and non-manufacturing jobs replaced the former textile mainstay. Political changes accompanied economic change. The majority of residents voted for Republican presidential candidates. By the late 20th century, white Greenvillians often elected Republicans to local and state posts as well.

These changes were not unique to Greenville County as the majority of white southerners shifted their political loyalty from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party after the Second World War. As historians such as Timothy Minchin have documented, widespread losses of textile and apparel industry jobs also affected southern communities from Virginia through Alabama.[7] Greenville, however, provides a snapshot of postwar change in one community.

I have argued that Greenville leaders successfully pursued postwar economic development opportunities to ensure the area's continued development. The efforts of businessmen such as Charles Daniel, his nephew Buck Mickel, Heller, and other leaders helped attract new industry and companies to the area. Downtown improvements rested on civic pride as well as a desire to make the area attractive for new residents and companies. Local leaders' opposition to unions and the area's low wages and cost of living motivated companies such as Michelin to choose the area.

In Greenville, economic development and politics were linked. Affluent locals and young migrants drawn to the area by business opportunities provided a boost to the area's nascent Republican Party and also played an important role in building the party at

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[7] Timothy J. Minchin, *Empty Mills: The Fight Against Imports and the Decline of the U.S. Textile Industry* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2012

the state level. As Alexander P. Lamis and other scholars demonstrate, "presidential Republicanism" took hold in urban spaces before filtering into the rural South.[8] Although racial fears pushed the majority of white southerners into the Republican ranks, the party's initial growth in Greenville among the business class and young professionals suggests that Republican economic policies also played a role in the transition. As South Carolina's largest county, Greenville played a leading role in the Republican movement.

The change in partisan identification mattered for several reasons. First, the Republican Party that Gregory D. Shorey Jr. and other Greenville leaders helped to build occupied a dominant position in local politics. No Republican held an elective office in post-Reconstruction Greenville until 1963. Second, the GOP's dominance mattered because it cast a socially conservative tinge on local politics. Politicians associated with Bob Jones University cast their lot with the Republican Party, and the university community continued to assert significant influence on local politics and life.

Third, Heller's loss to Carroll Campbell in the 1978 4th Congressional District race paved the way for Campbell's political ascent. Campbell played an important role in the presidential primary campaigns of Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush and helped build a Republican majority in South Carolina. Moderate Democrats such as Heller found offices above the local level difficult to win. Fourth, South Carolina's "First-in-the-South" presidential primary added greater national political importance to Greenville.

As mentioned above, the relocation of Bob Jones University to Greenville in 1947 also illustrates the link between economic development and politics. Bob Jones has outlasted many of the other entities recruited to Greenville. It also exercises a greater

[8] Alexander P. Lamis, *The Two-Party South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 24-25.

influence over local politics than major corporations such as Michelin and BMW. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Joneses actively participated in the conservative movement. The institution's shift into local electoral politics augmented the strength of the county's Republican Party and strengthened the position of local social conservatives.

I have also examined the political and economic divides between the city and county—for example, the controversy over the construction of a downtown arena. City voters, both black and white, typically supported the arena project. Voters affiliated with Bob Jones University and rural voters did not. Historically, city leaders and substantial businessmen have taken a more moderate stance on racial or social questions in order to preserve the city's image. This "qualified moderation" representative of Greenville resembles the political transitions of other southern cities such as Atlanta.[9] As the Olympic torch controversy demonstrates, Christian conservatives and other voters motivated by ideological concerns often rejected the city's more moderate stance. These divides remained in the face of growth.

Lastly, I have argued the presence of new companies and people offered the potential for cultural and political change. Historian Marko Maunula contends that continuity prevailed in nearby Spartanburg despite the presence of a large number of foreign corporations. He argued that Greenville leaders possessed a more open attitude

[9] For Greenville context, see Stephen O'Neill, "Memory, History, and Desegregation in Greenville, South Carolina," in *Toward the Meeting of the Waters: Currents in the Civil Rights Movement in South Carolina during the Twentieth Century* ed. by Winfred B. Moore Jr. and Orville Vernon Burton (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2008). Kevin Kruse addresses Atlanta's reputation as the "city too busy to hate" in *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005). Kruse believes the reputation is overstated.; For the relationship between southern businessmen and desegregation, see *Southern Businessmen and Desegregation*, ed. Elizabeth Jacoway and David R. Colburn (Baton Rouse: Louisiana State University Press, 1982).

toward growth and change than Spartanburg leaders.[10] In the 1980s and 1990s, many older characteristics of life in Greenville prevailed. The area remained religious and conservative. Tensions between city and county remained as well. The first two decades of the 20th century demonstrate the persistence of earlier patterns in Greenville but also show that growth may be altering the area's culture and politics.

In the early 2000s, a clear divide remained between the city and county. Controversies over a Martin Luther King Jr. holiday in Greenville County and blue laws demonstrated the continuing divide between the city and county. Until 2005, Greenville County remained the only county in the state without a paid Martin Luther King Jr. holiday for county employees. The holiday's adoption required election losses by members opposed to the holiday after sustained protest by local activists and the Rev. Jesse Jackson.[11]

In the debate over an MLK Jr. holiday, a familiar divide ensued. Moderate churches and the business community backed the holiday.[12] One hundred and thirty white clergy signed a resolution supporting the creation of an MLK Jr. holiday in Greenville County. As a minister from First Baptist Greenville explained, "Greenville does not want and does not deserve the reputation for racial insensitivity that is being attached to us as a result of this controversy."[13] Leading members of the business community and Greenville

[10] Marko Maunula, *Guten Tag Y'all: Globalization And The South Carolina Piedmont, 1950-2000* (Athens: University of Georgia, 2009), 118-119. For information on Greenville's growth relative to Spartanburg, see 63, 108.
[11] King Holiday Passes," *Greenville News,* February 2, 2005; Ben Szobody, "County MLK holiday a dream come true," *Greenville News*, January 6, 2006.
[12] Baxter M. Wynn interview with the author, February 23, 2020.
[13] Baxter M. Wynn private papers.

mayor Knox White also backed the holiday. Economic development concerns were a strong factor in the business community's support.[14]

The city and county also divided on the question of Sunday alcohol sales. Economic development minded residents and business owners supported allowing the purchase of alcohol at bars and restaurants. Opponents cited "family values" and formed opposition groups. A December 1999 countywide referendum demonstrated the divide. A majority of city voters endorsed Sunday alcohol sales, but county voters rejected the measure. Conservative ministers mobilized county voters in opposition to the December countywide 1999 referendum. Both sides, however, viewed it as a sign of a changing Greenville and partially attributed the change to new residents.[15]

One opponent, a minister at a county church, argued "there's a lot of people moving into Greenville County who don't understand us" and suggested new residents unhappy with the area's social mores "stay wherever they're coming from." In contrast, a northern émigré found the notion of blue laws "backward" and noted the irony of voting for the measure at the Baptist church serving as his polling place.[16] In June 2000, a city of Greenville referendum permitted Sunday alcohol sales in restaurants and bars. Fifty-Seven percent of voters endorsed the measure.[17]

The city also diverged from the county in other respects. Expanding entertainment options increased the urban space's appeal as a fashionable space for young residents. This led to an increasing number of downtown residents.

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[14] Jesse Zacher, "Business leaders endorse King holiday," *Greenville News,* April 1, 2003.
[15] Bret Jessee, "Alcohol vote shows Greenville changing," *Greenville News*, December 4, 1999; Bret Jessee, "No Sunday liquor," *Greenville News*, December 15, 1999. Both in Sunday Sales file, Vertical files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as Sunday Sales file.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Gary Hyndman, "Voters give thumbs up to Sunday alcohol sales," *Greenville Journal,* June 16-22, 2000. Sunday Sales file.

In 2019, Greenville's population reached an estimated 70,000 residents, a nearly 20 percent increase from 2010.[18] At the city's previous peak in 1960, 66,188 people resided in Greenville.[19] Expensive apartments and condominiums held many of the new residents. Concerns about gentrification increased as older residents, many of them African American, felt the sting of higher rents or garnered offers to sell long held property.[20] The Census Bureau estimated that between 2010 and 2020, Greenville's black population declined by 4.2 percent.[21]

West Greenville, a declining area for much of the late 20th century, served as a flashpoint in the gentrification debate. High-end developments pushed farther out from the city center and into African American and former textile communities.[22] The demolition of the declining, but historic, Pendleton Street Baptist Church in 2016 served as one example. Apartments renting for between $1,600 and $3,000 replaced the church.[23]

In old textile and industrial areas, vacant mills and industrial spaces found new life as loft apartments or mixed-used developments. A former cotton warehouse became Hampton Station, the home of taco shops, axe throwing, and a boutique dog hotel. It bordered the former "tent city" homeless encampment which drew attention to growing homelessness in 2014 before being shut down.[24] In the mid-2010s, homelessness became

[18] "QuickFacts Greenville city, South Carolina," United States Census Bureau, accessed June 20, 2020, https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/greenvillecitysouthcarolina/PST120219#PST120219
[19] A.V. Huff Jr., *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 421.
[20] Eric Connor, "City looks to define 'affordable housing,'" *Greenville News*, September 10, 2015.
[21] U.S. Census Bureau. Greenville city, South Carolina, Census 2010. Prepared by Social Explorer; "QuickFacts Greenville city, South Carolina.
[22] Connor, "City looks to define 'affordable housing."
[23] Eric Connor, "Church demolition underway," *Greenville News,* August 26, 2016.
[24] "Our Story," Hampton Station, accessed June 20, 2020, https://www.hamptonstation.com/our-story/

a growing problem in Greenville. Between 2016 and 2018, the number of homeless residents increased from around 1,000 to 3,600.[25]

Some former textile communities remained untouched by gentrification. City View, once a thriving textile mill community, grappled with vacant homes and piled up garbage. The community no longer reflected the all-white nature of the pre-1960s textile industry as a significant minority of African American and Hispanic residents called City View home.[26] Greenville's challenges with homelessness and economic inequality were not an isolated problem, but indicative of wider challenges in the United States and the American South.

Growing concern about gentrification and the persistence of inequality also led to increased local and national attention. In 2015, the *Greenville News* launched an "Unseen Greenville" series focusing on residents left behind despite the area's growth. The series explored issues ranging from gentrification and transportation issues to health.[27] As the *News* explained, "the unseen Greenville is the flip side of the city with the lush downtown, the highly rated restaurants, the attractions that provide bragging rights for both city officials and residents."[28]

During a 2019 campaign stop, Democratic Sen. Bernie Sanders discussed gentrification at Greenville's West End Community Development Center as part of "a

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Colin McGuire; "Greenville Grapples with homelessness amid its rapid growth," *Washington Times,* accessed June 19, 2020, https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2020/feb/3/greenville-grapples-with-homelessness-amid-its-rap/

[25] Ibid.

[26] Angelia Davis, "Coalition working for a better City View," *Greenville News,* July 18, 2015; For an understanding of segregation in the textile industry, see Timothy Minchin, *Hiring the Black Worker: The Racial Integration of the Southern Textile Industry, 1960-80* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

[27] "Join us on this journey forward," *Greenville News*, June 14, 2005.

[28] Donna Isbell Walker, "Flip side of downtown: Unseen Greenville's woes include education, health," *Greenville News.*

roundtable discussion on poverty" that included Danny Glover and Cornell West. The progressive Vermont Senator argued that gentrification is "not just a Greenville issue, but a national issue." His appearance before a heavily African American audience, however, suggested the issue carried particular resonance with Greenville's black community. Sanders presented ideas on a housing trust fund, mandating affordable housing as a component of new developments, and rent controls.[29]

One of the city's most significant institutions also showed signs of change in the 2000s. After Bob Jones University's decision to end its ban on interracial dating in March 2000, the institution began to accept other changes that it had long resisted. In the last years of Bob Jones III's leadership, the university pursued and gained accreditation for the first time. In 2005, the institution received given provisional status from the Transnational Association of Christian Colleges and Schools. University leaders insisted that accreditation would not alter the institution's fabric. The institution did not plan to accept federal aid and the strict student code of conduct remained in place. "Students still won't be allowed to go to movies and all dates will continue to be chaperoned. Women will still be required to wear dresses of at least knee length and male students to wear ties until noon," a report noted.[30]

Greater changes took place under the leadership of Stephen Jones. In 2005, the great-grandson of the university's founder ascended to its presidency. Stephen Jones pursued accreditation from the Southern Association of Schools and Colleges, which

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[29] Eric Connor, "Bernie Sanders offers 3 ideas to battle gentrification while in Greenville," *Greenville News,* April 21, 2019.
[30] "New accreditation expands options," *Greenville News,* April 27, 2005, Bob Jones University Accreditation file, Vertical Files, South Carolina Room, Greenville County Library. Hereafter referred to as Bob Jones University Accreditation file.

placed Bob Jones alongside its crosstown neighbor, Furman University. The institution also added intercollegiate athletic programs.[31]

After Stephen Jones's early retirement due to health issues and in the wake of an investigation into the institution's handling of sexual abuse, Steve Pettit became Bob Jones University's first president from outside of the Jones family in 2014. The end of the direct linkage of the university president to the founder permitted greater change. In 2014, Petit described the university's past policies as based on "a social issue that was not biblical." Petit made regaining tax-exempt status a priority. In 2017, the institution regained its tax-exempt status.[32] Accreditation, tax-exempt status, and intercollegiate athletics brought the university closer to the mainstream and suggested a move away from the separatism that according to historian Mark Taylor Dalhouse defined the institution.[33] In other respects, however, continuity prevailed at Bob Jones University.

Bob Jones University's association with conservative politics continued. Petit's investiture ceremony included an address by South Carolina governor Nikki Haley. Haley, a Republican, expressed her appreciation for the university's "commitment to the quality of life, the work ethic, and to the family values we have here in South Carolina."[34]

The university continued to play a role in presidential politics as well. In 2016, four Republican candidates, including George W. Bush's brother Jeb, visited the campus in advance of a Republican debate held in Greenville and the state's first-in-the-South

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[31] Ron Barnett, "Bob Jones University looks to the future with new leader," *Greenville News,* May 8, 2005 and Lyn Riddle, "BJU seeks accreditation," *Greenville Journal,* December 9, 2011, Bob Jones University Accreditation file.
[32] Nathaniel Cary, "Bob Jones Regains Nonprofit Standing," *Greenville News,* February 17, 2017. Bob Jones University Accreditation file.
[33] Mark Taylor Dalhouse, *An Island in the Lake of Fire: Bob Jones University, Fundamentalism, And The Separatist Movement* (Athens: University of Georgia, 1996), 4-5.
[34] Nathaniel Cary, "Pettit invested as Bob Jones president," *Greenville News,* September 20, 2014.

primary. Candidates Marco Rubio, Ted Cruz, and Ben Carson also attended the university's "Faith and Family Presidential Forum" to discuss their views on religion, the Supreme Court, homosexuality, and abortion. Although eventual nominee Donald Trump was not in attendance, Mark Burns, an African American pastor from Easley represented him and argued Trump shared the "values we hold dear as South Carolinians, the Christian values, the conservative values." Trump, he explained, opposed abortion and "believes marriage is between a man and a woman."[35]

Trump won the South Carolina primary with 32.39 percent of the vote and Greenville County with 26.8 percent of the vote.[36] Although Greenville County still contained a large number of Christian conservative voters, the 2016 South Carolina Republican presidential primary challenged the conventional wisdom. As political scientists H. Gibbs Knotts and Jordan M. Ragusa contend, factors such as experience, campaign spending, and strong evangelical credentials mattered little in 2016.[37] In 2016, Christian conservatives divided their vote.[38] One study found Trump enjoyed stronger support from voters with "less 'religious commitment.'"[39]

In Greenville, Texas Sen. Ted Cruz won many precincts with a large number of socially conservative voters and finished second with 24.63 percent of the vote. Florida Sen. Marco Rubio finished third with 24.61 percent. Rubio won the votes of some Christian conservatives and performed particularly well in more affluent city and suburban precincts. Trump performed best in Golden Strip communities such as Mauldin,

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[35] Rudolph Bell, "Trump, Kasich no-shows at BJU presidential forum," *Greenville News,* February 13, 2016.; H. Gibbs Knotts and Jordan M. Ragusa, *First In The South: Why South Carolina's Presidential Primary Matters* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2020), 93.
[36] Gibbs and Ragusa, *First in the South: Why South Carolina's Presidential Primary Matters,* 137.
[37] Ibid, 92-93.
[38] Ibid, 93.
[39] Ibid, 97.

Simpsonville, and Fountain Inn and with the county's more rural voters.[40] In November, Trump took 59 percent of the county's vote.[41]

In the late 2010s, Greenville remained a solidly Republican county and a majority of voters could safely be classified as conservative. As the Sunday alcohol sales referendum demonstrated, however, new people began to reshape politics in the city of Greenville. Although moderate Republican Knox White remained mayor, voting patterns suggest growing Democratic strength. In 2012 and 2016, city precincts delivered a majority for Democratic presidential candidates Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton. In 2019, Democrat Dorothy Dowe's victory over a Republican incumbent gave Democrats their first city council majority in a dozen years. Democrats attributed their success to organization and a core message of "affordable housing, better access to public transportation, (and) a mindfulness of managing the city's growth."[42]

Some signs of changes are also present in county politics. In January 2020, Upstate Pride, an LGBTQ advocacy group, requested Greenville County Council rescind the 1996 "anti-gay resolution" that caused the Olympic torch to bypass Greenville County. An online petition listed over 3,000 signatures.[43] One proponent of rescinding the resolution argued, "we can't erase history, but when it is not consistent with today's values, it needs to be addressed."[44]

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[40] 2016 Republican Presidential Preference Primary Results, South Carolina State Election Commission, accessed June 24, 2020, https://www.enr-scvotes.org/SC/59148/160299/en/reports.html; Amanda Coyne, "Trump, Rubio, Cruz close in Greenville votes, Trump dominates rural counties," *Greenville News*, February 21, 2016.
[41] *Greenville News,* November 10, 2016.
[42] Eric Connor, "Majority Democrat: Does shift on city council matter?," *Greenville News,* November 9, 2019; Gabe Cavallaro and Eric Connor, "Dowe Wins in Greenville," *Greenville News,* November 7, 2019.
[43] Anna B. Mitchell, "Local group calls on county to rescind 1996 anti-gay resolution," *Greenville News*, January 23, 2020.
[44] "Why County Council must address anti-gay resolution," *Greenville News,* January 29, 2020.

The ensuing debate followed a similar pattern to 1996. Resolution opponents cited social justice concerns and fears of how the resolution affected the community's image to prospective residents and corporations. The Chamber of Commerce and the NAACP supported Upstate Pride's effort. Council members cited large employers concern and the potential effect of keeping the resolution on events such as the Southeastern Conference's Women's Basketball Tournament and the NCAA Men's Basketball Tournament.[45] Family values advocates carrying bibles and citing scripture argued against the resolution's repeal. An initial vote to repeal the resolution failed after two members switched their votes.[46]

The council took up on the resolution again on March 12 and a 7-5 majority passed a compromise "sunset" provision that removed any "non-binding resolutions after four years."[47] Although national attitudes on homosexuality changed dramatically between 1996 and 2020, the resolution's removal may also indicate broader changes in Greenville partly driven by growth. Whether further growth and development brings more sweeping political change remains to be seen.

[45] Mitchell, "Local group calls on county to rescind 1996 anti-gay resolution"; Anna B. Mitchell, "Council to take up anti-gay resolution," *Greenville News*, March 11, 2020.
[46] Anna B. Mitchell, "Measure that would have rescinded 1996 anti-gay resolution fails by 1 vote," *Greenville News*, March 5, 2000.
[47] Eric Connor, "County votes down anti-gay resolution," *Greenville News,* March 13, 2020.

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