

# The Politics of Careers

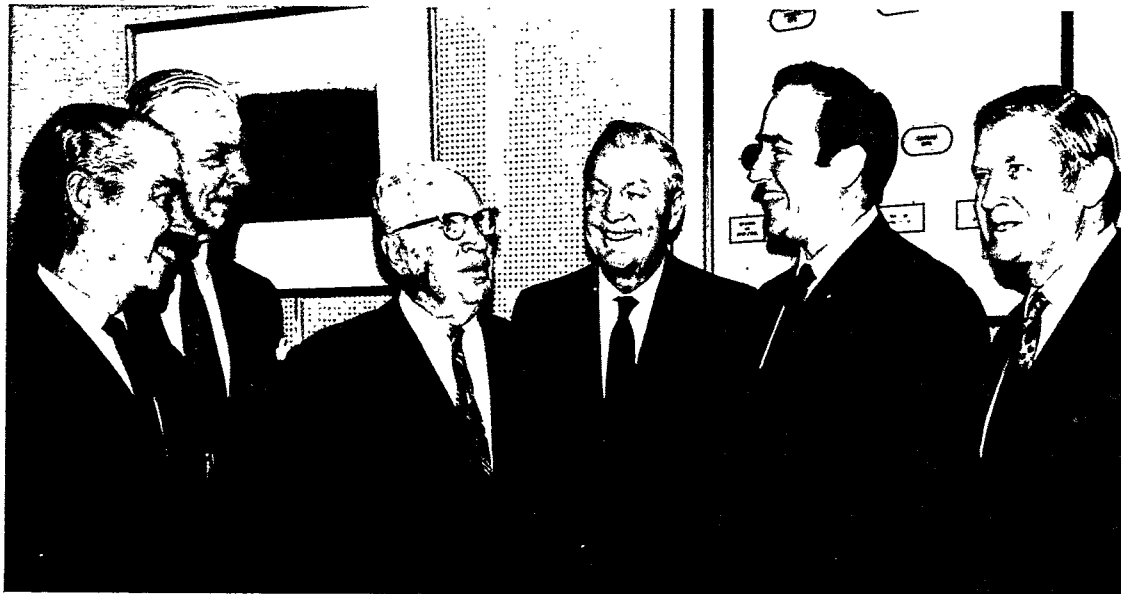
**T**he current crop of political leaders falls roughly into two molds: career politicians like Gov. James Hunt, Attorney General Rufus Edmisten, U.S. Senator Robert Morgan, Insurance Commissioner John Ingram, and former Gov. Robert Scott, or career ideologues like U.S. Senator Jesse Helms.

Hunt, Edmisten, Morgan and Ingram began their careers practicing law in the little towns of Wilson, Boone, Lillington and Asheboro. Each used his background "close to the people" to peg future campaigns. Bob Scott drew on his father's legacy as the little-man's governor who built roads (the same Gov. Scott who appointed Frank Graham to the Senate) for his alliance with the Scotch-Irish stock. Helms matured with philosophical ideals instead of political ambitions. From a Raleigh television studio, he broadcast impassioned conservative commentaries across eastern counties. This base, almost accidentally, catapulted him into the national right wing vanguard.

North Carolina careerists have survived by combining their "down-home" backgrounds with a savvy instinct for knowing which issues and slogans attract support—and votes. John Ingram has drawn on a latent hostility to big business to project himself as a modern-day populist working for the little man. After the Watergate hearings fortuitously created the image of probing legal investigator for Rufus Edmisten, he returned to North Carolina and successfully ran for attorney general. Jim Hunt built a national reputation as a "New South" governor by initiating and publicizing programs pegged to national issues. His education and "new generation" campaigns, for example, successfully piggybacked the "International Year of the Child." And Jesse Helms chose to broaden his constituency beyond eastern North Carolina and to transfer his energy into the electoral area at a time when sentiments consistent with his views were expanding throughout the state and nation.

The state's politician who currently has the longest sustained career in public life is Robert Morgan. In 1974, after 25 years in politics, Morgan reached the U.S. Senate by unifying disparate elements within the Democratic Party. Having built solid, conservative support from his Harnett County home in the east, Morgan skillfully added two important voter blocs to his coalition: the black community and consumer groups. Following the model of a number of attorneys general across the country, Attorney General Morgan established a consumer advocacy office in North Carolina. During the 1974 Senate race, Morgan often referred to his accomplishments as a consumer advocate, which netted endorsements and votes. Landing black support involved a more difficult adaptation to the times. In 1960, Morgan had managed I. Beverly Lake, Sr.'s pro-segregation gubernatorial campaign. In 1974, Morgan disassociated himself from Lake, saying, "We've all grown as the traditions and times have changed."

The 1978 U.S. Senate race revealed a fascinating mix of North Carolina political tendencies. In the Democratic Party primary, John Ingram, the insurance commissioner who had championed the average ratepayer against the big insurers, upset Luther Hodges, the former governor's son and board chairman of the North Carolina National Bank. The state plutocrats from business associates to Terry Sanford-protégés like Duke's Joel Fleishman and manpower planner George Autrey had lined up with Hodges. But Ingram had been elected statewide before and Hodges had not. By campaigning "for the people" and against the banks, Ingram pulled off a surprise victory, edging Hodges and far out-



1969 annual meeting of the Research Triangle Institute. (L to R): RTI President George Herbert, RTI Board Chairman Watts Hill, Sr., former Gov. Luther Hodges, former Gov. Dan Moore, Gov. Robert Scott, former Gov. Terry Sanford.

distancing state senators Lawrence Davis and McNeill Smith. Prominent state legislators and attorneys from the state's two largest firms in Winston-Salem and Greensboro respectively, both Davis and Smith had developed a statewide reputation and network of supporters from having worked in various legal, consumer, and social welfare groups. And each ran a vigorous campaign. Even so, neither could mount a serious challenge to the eventual winner.

In the general election, Ingram faced incumbent Jesse Helms in a knock-down affair that attracted national attention. The state Democratic Party rank-and-file, exhausted and divided after the primary, never cranked into high gear. Meanwhile, Republican strategist Tom Ellis managed the Helms campaign with a budget of \$7.5 million (\$12.05 per vote), much of it from national contributors, and 100 full-time salaried employees. Ingram had \$265,000 (\$.26 per vote) and the loyal, but difficult to identify, "populist" base that had carried him to victory in the primary. The financial disparity, the difficulty in unseating an incumbent, and the increased willingness of North Carolinians from rural and urban areas to vote Republican proved too many obstacles to an Ingram victory.

Since winning his Senate seat, Jesse Helms has not let his national contributors down. He has led such conservative causes as "saving" the Panama Canal and has established a group of right-wing, tax-exempt organizations, the American Family Institute, the Center for a Free Society, and others. At the same time, Helms seems as established in North Carolina as

he does nationwide. Recently, an anonymous donor gave \$500,000 to Chowan College in eastern North Carolina for a gymnasium to be named after Helms. A Helms supporter has added a brick and mortar legacy to the messages that Helms has been sending to the eastern counties—once rock-firm Democratic Party country—for a generation.

Over the past decade, several other politicians have achieved wide reputations and yet failed to sustain themselves as careerists in state politics. In 1972, from a small law firm in Boone, Jim Holshouser tapped the area's Republican taproot, which reached back to the Lincoln era. Holshouser had Richard Nixon's coattails to ride. But what finally pushed him into the governor's mansion as the first Republican chief executive since the 19th century may have been the media-oriented campaign of the Democratic candidate, banker Skipper Bowles. After a hotly contested primary, in which he narrowly defeated Pat Taylor, Bowles ran a big-budget electronic media campaign instead of a traditional nuts-and-bolts county-based race. But the strategy seemed to backfire and the Republicans won, Holshouser as well as Helms. Holshouser and his mountain-wing Republicans set up a vigorous administration, but they never really gained control of the party. Helms' popularity remained too strong among Republicans as well as many lifelong Democrats, especially those in the eastern counties where his broadcasts had built him an ideological base.

Throughout the last 20 years, race has continuously been a distinctive but sometimes subtle theme in North Carolina politics. Bass and DeVries took a

close look at voting patterns in such bitterly fought racial campaigns as the Lake gubernatorial race in 1964, the George Wallace 1968 presidential primary, the 1972 Helms campaign, and the Goldwater and Nixon races. The counties giving these candidates the highest vote were located in the coastal plain, stretching from Pender and Duplin through Wilson, Nash, Wake and Person. Bass and DeVries found that this pattern did not result from party orientation (the races involved Republicans, Democrats and an Independent), economic ideologies (some were economic conservatives, others populists), or ruralism (Raleigh and Durham followed the patterns). "Race is the key," they wrote. "The fact is that the black population is concentrated in those areas...and the reaction of the white voter in those areas has been distinctly racist."

Race, as well as sex, has seemed to be a major factor not only in presidential voting patterns but also in the judicial election process. In North Carolina, as in the rest of the South, white males have dominated the judiciary either by appointing political allies to fill vacancies or by pushing forward particular candidates through the leadership of local bar associations. While judges of wisdom and fairness have certainly emerged, a pluralistic selection process has not. Once a judge has been seated, rarely does he (or an occasional she) lose at the polls. Moreover, public scrutiny of judges remains minimal compared to the public's assessment of administration officials. Consequently, the numbers of black and women state judges remain very small.

The federal courts reflect similar patterns. Not only the judges but all employment at the North Carolina federal courts remains largely white male. In fact, according to a 1979 study by the Southern Regional Council, blacks are less represented in North

Carolina's federal courts than in any other Southern state (3 percent of the personnel). And only 4 percent of the professionals employed in the state's federal courts are female.

The historical influence of racism is perhaps most dramatically reflected in the criminal justice system, specifically the prisons. In 1977, North Carolina was 23 percent black but 57 percent of the prison population was black. Discrimination in education and employment no doubt contributed to such statistics. "Discrimination exists in every stage of the criminal justice system," says Pauline Frazier, a member of a N.C. Department of Correction official advisory board and director of Offender Aid and Restoration. One of every 20 minority men in the state is either imprisoned, on probation, or on parole. The figures for white males are five times lower.

Discrimination has contributed to a large prison population for the state, 310 per 100,000 people, number seven in the country. These figures also result from other interrelated factors: uneven sentencing within counties, the lack of good lawyers for the poor, and the Department of Correction's determination to build more prisons (the state has appropriated over \$80 million in recent years for prison construction).

### The Highest Expectation—Pride

The paradoxes in North Carolina range wide. It seems clear that V.O. Key's "progressive plutocracy" is as outdated as the Dixiecrat era during which he wrote and that the blemishes identified by the *New York Times* represent more than a string of isolated events. At the same time, migration trends show that more people are coming to North Carolina than are leaving; workers no longer flee to Northern cities for jobs, and

Photo by Bob Kretz, *News and Observer*



Democratic Party candidates for the U.S. Senate await taping of a WUNC-TV forum April 18, 1978. From left: William B. Griffin, Joseph Felmet, Luther

Hodges, Jr., Thomas B. Sawyer, McNeill Smith, David P. McKnight, John R. Ingram, E. Lawrence Davis.



J.P. Stevens workers celebrating a union election victory at High Point.

Northerners are escaping energy bills, high taxes, and crowded cities for the “good life” here. Songwriter James Taylor, a Chapel Hill native who moved north, captured the feeling that most Tar Heels retain in today’s mobile world with his hit tune, “Carolina On My Mind.”

Like the rest of the South and the nation, North Carolina faces a new era of complex transitions, few of which can be isolated from broader economic and social patterns transcending even national boundaries. But the South, and perhaps especially North Carolina, faces opportunities and responsibilities which much of the North relinquished generations ago: a chance to manage growth, to retain control of natural resources, to decentralize community development, and to provide equal opportunity from birth. No longer can North Carolina frame its goals by “national norms.”

With a dispersed urban structure and system of small farms, in a combination perhaps unmatched in the nation, North Carolina is ideally suited for managed growth if the strengths of both the urban and rural traditions are nurtured. Beaches, mountains, rivers, and open spaces—rather than coal, natural gas, or oil—provide a natural resource base that the state can protect and continue to enjoy. Small town networks already provide a decentralized base for energy production systems powered by the sun, water, and wind and for housing and employment enterprises independent of recession patterns. The traditions embraced in small farmers and yeomen factory workers reflect social stamina and an instinct for survival, while the legacy of individuals like Frank Porter Graham creates a compelling vision for present and future leaders willing to meet the state’s challenges with boldness and initiative.

North Carolina is an enduring paradox of “paternalism and protest,” as the labor historian Melton McLaurin described the state at the turn of the

century. The forces of paradox have created all that is worth preserving here, as well as all that is worth working to make better. Boosters and critics alike have high expectations for North Carolina. And meeting the highest of these expectations might be required in order to regain an image—and reality—of which all the people can be proud. □

The conceptualization and writing of “Forces of Paradox” required the help of many friends who are students of North Carolina’s image and reality. Special thanks to Fred Harwell, executive director of the N.C. Center for Public Policy Research, who pushed me to a more multileveled analysis and who contributed invaluable editing assistance. Victoria Grant and Ann Whatley spent tireless hours on the county-by-county data, and Joel Rosch, political science professor at North Carolina State University, made their assistance possible. Persons who read various drafts and offered suggestions are: Thad Beyle, Sallye Branch, James S. Ferguson, Raymond Gavins, Charles Jeffress, Richard Klein, Martha McKay, Patric Mullen, Dennison Ray, McNeill Smith, Alfred Stuart, Tom Vass, and Patricia Wagner. Tom Murray and Robie Patterson contributed research assistance. Mary Taylor and Jenny Shaia typed from near-illegible drafts. My sincere thanks to all of these persons. Any errors of judgment or fact, of course, are my own.

# Selected Resources

## Government Data Sources

*Census of Population: 1970, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Final Report PC(1)-635 North Carolina, U.S. Bureau of the Census.* Available from Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. This one-volume book contains all North Carolina data. The latest edition, containing 1970 census data, was published in April, 1972. Many categories have been updated by periodic Census reports or by state government departments. Consult the State Data Center for specific inquiries and check the *North Carolina Statistical Abstract*. Official 1980 census data will not be available until 1981.

*North Carolina County Labor Profiles.* Labor Resources Section, Business Assistance Division, N.C. Department of Commerce, 430 N. Salisbury St., Raleigh, N.C. 27611. Summary county-by-county data.

*North Carolina Labor Force Estimates, by County, Area, and State.* Bureau of Employment Security Research, Employment Security Commission of North Carolina, Box 25903, Raleigh, N.C. 27611. December, 1979. Yearly data, 1970-1978. Labor force breakdown by job category.

*North Carolina State Government Statistical Abstract.* Research and Planning Services, Division of State Budget and Management, 4th Edition, 1979. \$5.00 plus tax from Librarian, Division of State Budget and Management, 116 West Jones St., Raleigh, N.C. 27611. Call Mary Lou Stewart for any questions regarding the *Abstract* at 919/733-7061. This is the best single document on North Carolina data.

*The State Library.* A federal depository with complete state publications. Local access to these documents is available through the State Data Center and its regional affiliates, the public libraries at Asheville, Charlotte, Durham, Fayetteville, Greensboro, Greenville, Jacksonville, Raleigh, Wilmington, and Winston-Salem. For more information, call Nathaniel Boykin, the State Documents Librarian, 109 East Jones St., Raleigh, N.C. 27611, at 919/733-3343.

*Statistical Abstract of the United States.* Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Published yearly, this book contains useful summary data for the country and state rankings in most categories.

*Statistical Journal.* Reports and Program Analysis Section, Social Services Division, N.C. Department of Human Resources, 325 North Salisbury St., Raleigh, N.C. This *Journal* is published quarterly and contains human services data in each issue.

## History, Political Science and Reference

Ashby, Warren, *Frank Porter Graham: A Southern Liberal*, Winston-Salem: John Blair, 1979. The life and times of one of UNC's most famous presidents.

Bagwell, William, *School Desegregation in the Carolinas: Two Case Studies*, Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1972. Examines Greenville, N.C.

Barone, Michael, Grant Ujifusa and Douglas Matthews, *The Almanac of American Politics*, New York: E.P. Dutton, 1980. An excellent resource. State-by-state overviews with detailed description of each person in Congress and individual congressional districts.

Bass, Jack and Walter DeVries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics: Social Change and Political Consequence Since 1945*, New York: Basic Books, 1976. An excellent overview of Southern politics, utilizing anecdotes from a 360-person interview collection. The transcripts of most interviews are deposited in the Southern Historical Collection at UNC. Thorough voting pattern data and state-by-state analysis.

Beyle, Thad and Merle Black, *Politics and Policy in North Carolina*, New York: MSS Information Corporation, 1975. Anthology by academic and journalistic writers.

Billings, Dwight B., *Planters and the Making of a New South: Class, Politics, and Development in North Carolina, 1865-1900*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979.

Black, Earl, *Southern Governors and Civil Rights*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976. Analyzes the effect of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision on the character of Southern gubernatorial politics.

Burgess, Margaret Elaine, *Negro Political Leadership in a Southern City*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962. Durham's black political leaders.

Cash, W.J., *Mind of the South*, New York: Vintage, 1941. Classic work using historical context to explain Southern psychology.

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Chafe, William H., *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina and the Black Struggle for Equality*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1980. Draws extensively on oral history.

Clancy, Paul R., *Just a Common Lawyer: A Biography of Senator Sam Ervin*, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1974.

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Coates, Albert, *By Her Own Bootstraps: A Saga of Women in North Carolina*, Chapel Hill: Author, 1975.

Coates, Albert, *Citizens in Action: Women's Clubs, Civic Clubs, Community Chests, Flying Buttresses to Governmental Units*, Chapel Hill: Author, 1976. A lifelong student of North Carolina government institutions, Coates founded the Institute of Government.

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Dabney, Dick, *A Good Man: The Life of Sam T. Ervin*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976. A novelist, Dabney examines Ervin's life with both affection and criticism.

Dabney, Virginius, *Liberalism in the South*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932. An important account of progressivism in the South.

Daniels, Josephus, *Tar Heel Editor*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939. A North Carolina editor looks at his career.

Durden, Robert F., *The Dukes of Durham*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1975. The story of a famous North Carolina family.

Dykeman, Wilma and James Stokely, *Seeds of Southern Change: The Life of Will Alexander*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962. During the New Deal, Alexander worked to improve race relations, particularly as director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the forerunner of the Southern Regional Council.

Earle, John R., Dean D. Knudsen and Donald W. Shriver, *Spindles and Spires: A Re-Study of Religion and Social Change in Gastonia*, Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1976. An update of the Liston Pope book, *Millhands and Preachers*.

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Hodges, Luther, *Businessman in the Statehouse: Six Years as Governor of North Carolina*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962.

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Key, V.O., Jr., *Southern Politics*, New York: Vintage, 1949. State-by-state examination of the region. The model for Bass and DeVries.

Kousser, J. Morgan, *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910*, New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1974.

Lefler, Hugh Talmage, and A.R. Newsome, *The History of a Southern State, North Carolina*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973. The standard school text on the state, it emphasizes the

colonial period, the 19th century and early 1900s. Contemporary information is lacking. Good reference for dates, officials, and standard historical facts.

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Leifermann, Henry P., *Crystal Lee: A Woman of Inheritance*, New York: McMillan Press, 1975. Lee's story of the union campaign in Roanoke Rapids, seen through the life of Crystal Lee Jordan.

Matthews, Donald R. and James W. Prothro, *Negroes and the New Southern Politics*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966. A standard academic reference point for viewing changes in Southern politics resulting from black participation.

McGill, Ralph, *The South and the Southerner*, Boston: Little Brown, 1964. The former editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* examines how race relations affected the character of whites and blacks.

Morrison, Joseph L., *Josephus Daniels: The Small-d Democrat*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966. Thorough biography and valuable reference book on North Carolina politics.

Morrison, Joseph L., *O. Max Gardner: A Power in North Carolina and New Deal Washington*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971. A biography of the North Carolinian governor during the early 1930s.

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Myrdal, Gunnar, *An American Dilemma*, New York: Harper & Row, 1962, Twentieth Anniversary edition. Insightful inquiry into the social structure of the pre-Brown decision South.

Noppen, J. Van, *Western North Carolina since the Civil War*, Boone, North Carolina: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1973.

North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research, Post Office Box 430, Raleigh, N.C. 27602. The Center, now three years old, publishes a series of policy studies and a quarterly magazine, *N.C. Insight*.

*North Carolina*, Box 2508, Raleigh, North Carolina, 27602, monthly publication of the North Carolina Citizens Association. Best source for business perspective.

*North Carolina Manual*, Secretary of State's Office, Raleigh, 1979. A biennial publication for the members of the General Assembly. Contains description of all state officeholders, county-by-county election results, listing of all county officials, board appointments and other standard data.

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O'Brien, Michael, *The Idea of the American South*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979. A critical review of Southern intellectuals from 1930 to 1950.

Odum, Howard W., *Southern Regions of the United States*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936.

Odum, Howard W., *The Way of the South*, New York: MacMillan, 1947. Pioneering attempt to study the character and social structure of the South as a separate discipline.

Payton, Boyd E., *Scapagoat: Prejudice, Politics, Prison*, Philadelphia: Whitmore Publishing Company, 1970. Former regional director of Textile Workers Union of America who served a prison term connected with the

- 1959 strike at the Harriet Henderson Cotton Mills in Henderson documents the strike from union viewpoint and describes his years in prison.
- Peirce, Neal R., *The Border South States: People, Politics, and Power in the Five Border South States*, New York: W.W. Norton, 1975. Part of his series on the states, Peirce examines North Carolina with a critical eye but in the traditional categories: coastal, Piedmont, and mountains. He includes a section on unions, the first state profile to do so.
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- Sosna, Morton, *In Search of the Silent South: Southern Liberals and the Race Issue*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1977. A history of post-bellum Southern liberals' perception of the role of blacks in society.
- The South Magazine*, Trend Publications, Inc., P.O. Box 2350, Tampa, Florida, 33601, monthly. Covers business news for a popular audience.
- Southern Exposure*, P.O. Box 531, Durham, North Carolina, 27702. Quarterly of the Institute for Southern Studies, it emphasizes political and cultural themes in separate issues: prisons, labor, women, land, utilities, etc. Thorough bibliographies and listings of recent books on the South.
- Southern Growth Policies Board, Box 12293, Research Triangle Park, North Carolina, 27707. Their reports emphasize economic development. Useful reports include: *Southern Urban Trends 1960-1977*, 1978; *The Economics of Southern Growth*, 1977; and *Guiding Growth in the South*, 1978.
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- Stick, David, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1584-1958*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958. Stick has written a number of books about the coastal area.
- Stokes, Durwood T., *Company Shops, North Carolina: The Town Built By a Railroad*, Winston-Salem: John Blair, 1979.
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- Weare, Walter B., *Black Business in the South: A Social History of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976.
- Weaver, Richard M., *The Southern Traditions at Bay: A History of Postbellum Thought*, New Rochelle, New York: Arlington House, 1968. Largely ignored, a penetrating examination of Southern history and the Southern mind.
- Wolcott, Reed, *Rose Hill*, New York: Putnam, 1976. A profile of the social and political life of an eastern North Carolina community.
- Wolff, Miles, *Lunch at the Five and Ten: The Greensboro Sit-Ins, A Contemporary History*, New York: Stein and Day, 1970.
- Woodward, C. Vann, *The Burden of Southern History*, New York: New American Library, 1968. A collection of essays (including "The Irony of Southern History") which have shaped much of the modern thinking about the region.
- Woodward, C. Vann, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951. Part of the L.S.U. series on the region, a thorough overview by the premier Southern historian.
- Woodward, C. Vann, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1966. A discussion of postbellum segregation.



Photo by Paul Cooper

# A Statistical Profile:

County	Population (1978)	Percentage Change (1960-1978)	Percentage Non-white (1977)	Per Capita Income (1977)	Physicians per 1000 (1978)	Lawyers per 1000 (1978)	Percentage Failing Competency Tests (1978-79)	Manufacturing Firms	Firms Unionized	Average Hourly Production Earnings (1978)
Alamance	98,000	+14%	18%	\$5872	.9	1.2	10%	235	8	\$4.10
Alexander	22,600	+45%	7%	\$5458	.4	.3	7.5%	83	0	\$3.65
Alleghany	8,800	+14%	3%	\$4547	.6	.8	6.5%	18	0	\$2.75
Anson	23,500	-6%	45%	\$4828	.4	.7	28.5%	66	0	\$3.90
Ashe	20,800	+5%	2%	\$4585	.5	.5	11%	70	1	\$3.35
Avery	13,800	+15%	1%	\$3646	1.4	.9	14%	14	1	\$3.10
Beaufort	40,000	+11%	35%	\$5268	.8	1.1	20.5%	64	2	\$3.65
Bertie	21,200	-13%	52%	\$4386	.3	.7	22%	44	1	\$3.45
Bladen	29,200	+1%	38%	\$4051	.4	.6	21.5%	75	0	\$3.55
Brunswick	32,700	+61%	26%	\$4259	.5	1.1	22%	37	5	\$6.95
Buncombe	154,400	+19%	9%	\$6189	1.9	1.7	8%	209	15	\$4.45
Burke	63,800	+21%	8%	\$5983	1.3	.8	9.5%	139	1	\$4.10
Cabarrus	79,700	+17%	16%	\$6161	.7	.9	9%	100	0	\$3.80
Caldwell	60,900	+23%	6%	\$6024	.5	.7	9.5%	137	0	\$4.25
Camden	5,700	+2%	35%	\$4850	.4	0	15.5%	6	0	\$2.90
Carteret	37,000	+35%	12%	\$5030	1.0	1.3	12.5%	47	0	\$3.85
Caswell	19,600	-2%	46%	\$4505	.1	.6	21%	14	0	\$3.80
Catawba	100,900	+38%	8%	\$6575	1.1	1.2	6.8%	491	4	\$4.10
Chatham	31,000	+16%	30%	\$6082	.5	.9	8%	84	3	\$3.80
Cherokee	17,700	+9%	3%	\$3873	.7	.7	6%	31	1	\$3.30
Chowan	12,300	+5%	38%	\$5108	.8	1.0	15%	22	1	\$3.90
Clay	6,000	+9%	3%	\$4215	.7	.8	14.5%	5	0	\$2.90
Cleveland	78,300	+19%	21%	\$5764	.9	.6	13%	143	0	\$4.50
Columbus	51,600	+5%	33%	\$4349	.4	.9	20%	99	6	\$4.70
Craven	67,500	+15%	28%	\$4806	.9	1.1	16%	77	3	\$4.40
Cumberland	233,200	+57%	29%	\$5281	.8	.9	10%	136	3	\$4.70
Currituck	10,600	+61%	16%	\$4721	.2	.3	8%	7	0	\$2.90
Dare	10,600	+80%	6%	\$5387	.6	3.2	1.5%	12	0	\$2.90
Davidson	102,800	+29%	10%	\$6107	.5	.7	8%	273	6	\$4.05
Davie	22,400	+34%	9%	\$5532	.5	.7	7%	52	0	\$4.15
Duplin	40,100	-.5%	32%	\$4801	.5	.8	15.5%	75	0	\$3.45
Durham	145,600	+30%	37%	\$7028	4.9	2.4	9%	124	18	\$5.45
Edgecombe	55,500	+2%	49%	\$5816	.5	1.8	17%	65	1	\$4.10
Forsyth	229,400	+21%	24%	\$7712	2.5	2.4	13%	218	24	\$5.80
Franklin	28,100	-2%	40%	\$4585	.3	.9	13%	66	2	\$3.25
Gaston	156,000	+22%	12%	\$5889	.6	.9	11.5%	357	4	\$4.30
Gates	8,300	-11%	51%	\$5577	.1	.1	18%	12	0	\$3.70
Graham	7,000	+9%	6%	\$4389	.7	.9	10.5%	11	0	\$2.90
Granville	32,900	-6%	41%	\$5057	1.6	.6	13%	51	3	\$3.90
Greene	14,900	-11%	46%	\$5808	.2	.5	15.5%	16	0	\$3.20
Guilford	305,400	+24%	25%	\$7427	1.4	2.4	11%	707	31	\$4.90
Halifax	55,500	-6%	51%	\$4421	.5	.8	20%	79	7	\$4.40
Harnett	55,700	+16%	21%	\$4638	.4	1.0	11.5%	48	1	\$3.95
Haywood	44,600	+12%	2%	\$5599	1.0	1.0	9.5%	35	8	\$6.30
Henderson	51,600	+43%	4%	\$6272	1.3	1.0	5%	87	2	\$4.95
Hertford	25,000	+10%	48%	\$4850	.8	1.0	17%	50	5	\$3.80
Hoke	18,800	+15%	55%	\$3848	.4	.8	16%	14	0	\$3.85
Hyde	5,500	-5%	35%	\$3901	.2	.5	21.5%	8	0	\$2.90
Iredell	79,300	+27%	18%	\$5536	.8	.8	7%	178	5	\$3.90
Jackson	25,400	+43%	10%	\$4511	1.1	.9	5.5%	25	0	\$2.90

## SOURCES:

(1), (2), (3), (4) North Carolina State Government Statistical Abstract Census data and North Carolina Dept. of Administration, Division of State Budget and Management.

(5) University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Health Research Service Center.



# County-By-County

County	Population (1978)	Percentage Change (1960-1978)	Percentage Non-white (1977)	Per Capita Income (1977)	Physicians per 1000 (1978)	Lawyers per 1000 (1978)	Percentage Failing Competency Tests (1978-79)	Manufacturing Firms	Firms Unionized	Average Hourly Production Earnings (1978)
Johnston	66,700	+6%	22%	\$5275	.5	1.0	8.5%	108	3	\$3.75
Jones	9,800	-11%	41%	\$4268	.4	1.1	16.5%	8	0	\$2.90
Lee	35,100	+18%	22%	\$5978	1.0	1.1	10%	86	1	\$3.85
Lenoir	58,700	+6%	41%	\$5618	1.2	1.0	9.7%	87	4	\$4.95
Lincoln	38,900	+35%	9%	\$5640	.6	.7	11.5%	84	2	\$3.95
McDowell	34,100	+28%	5%	\$5478	.5	.7	11.5%	58	1	\$4.00
Macon	19,200	+29%	2%	\$4672	.9	1.2	9%	32	1	\$3.00
Madison	17,200	0%	1%	\$3943	.6	.4	7%	15	0	\$3.25
Martin	25,400	-6%	44%	\$5180	.5	1.0	15.5%	41	2	\$5.75
Mecklenburg	384,700	+41%	26%	\$7739	1.5	2.5	14%	693	57	\$4.80
Mitchell	14,100	+1%	4%	\$4811	.7	1.1	10.5%	23	0	\$3.40
Montgomery	19,900	+8%	25%	\$5692	.5	.4	15%	94	0	\$3.55
Moore	44,700	+22%	23%	\$6181	1.4	1.6	9.5%	87	0	\$3.85
Nash	67,400	+10%	33%	\$5636	1.0	1.4	16.5%	106	10	\$3.90
New Hanover	97,700	+36%	25%	\$6074	1.7	1.7	9%	97	18	\$5.45
Northampton	23,400	-13%	60%	\$4194	.3	.9	20.5%	36	4	\$3.35
Onslow	117,600	+36%	18%	\$4925	.6	.5	9.5%	49	2	\$3.55
Orange	69,600	+62%	17%	\$5908	8.2	3.4	13%	53	2	\$4.00
Pamlico	10,000	+1%	31%	\$4588	.4	.2	11.5%	14	0	\$2.90
Pasquotank	28,800	+13%	35%	\$5106	1.4	1.5	17%	30	4	\$3.70
Pender	22,200	+20%	41%	\$4113	.2	.7	18%	22	1	\$3.25
Perquimans	8,800	-4%	42%	\$4529	.2	1.1	14.5%	17	0	\$2.90
Person	27,100	+3%	31%	\$5151	.4	1.3	10%	37	2	\$4.45
Pitt	81,600	+17%	34%	\$5428	1.7	1.4	14.3%	91	3	\$4.35
Polk	12,400	+9%	13%	\$6556	1.5	1.1	7.6%	27	0	\$3.55
Randolph	84,700	+38%	7%	\$6168	.4	.5	5%	310	1	\$3.90
Richmond	42,800	+9%	28%	\$5306	.4	.8	13%	69	2	\$4.05
Robeson	93,900	+5%	60%	\$4355	.7	.8	22%	131	0	\$3.55
Rockingham	76,600	+10%	20%	\$5902	.6	1.0	14%	93	11	\$4.30
Rowan	93,500	+13%	17%	\$5819	1.0	.8	8.7%	148	9	\$4.25
Rutherford	51,600	+14%	11%	\$5404	.6	.7	13%	82	0	\$4.10
Sampson	49,100	+2%	36%	\$4611	.6	.8	12.6%	78	1	\$3.50
Scotland	31,000	+23%	39%	\$5279	.8	.5	20.5%	42	0	\$4.40
Stanly	45,200	+11%	10%	\$5936	.6	.8	9%	90	3	\$3.95
Stokes	30,000	+35%	8%	\$4977	.3	.5	10.5%	24	1	\$3.60
Surry	56,000	+16%	4%	\$5693	.6	1.2	10%	110	3	\$3.45
Swain	10,200	+21%	28%	\$4368	.7	1.0	10.5%	13	1	\$3.10
Transylvania	22,000	+34%	6%	\$5392	.9	1.0	6%	18	2	\$6.35
Tyrrell	4,000	-11%	40%	\$4358	.3	.3	22.5%	8	4	\$2.90
Union	65,300	+46%	18%	\$5836	.4	.8	10.6%	129	5	\$3.90
Vance	34,300	+7%	40%	\$5501	.7	1.2	15.5%	54	5	\$3.95
Wake	278,500	+65%	23%	\$6993	1.3	3.5	8.5%	317	17	\$4.95
Warren	17,100	-13%	67%	\$3757	.3	.6	21.5%	45	2	\$3.30
Washington	15,100	+12%	40%	\$4946	.5	.9	20%	20	2	\$3.55
Watauga	28,700	+64%	1%	\$4547	1.2	1.2	7%	36	3	\$3.50
Wayne	93,000	+13%	36%	\$5556	.9	1.0	15%	96	4	\$3.85
Wilkes	55,700	+23%	5%	\$5637	.4	1.0	9%	104	1	\$3.65
Wilson	60,800	+5%	36%	\$5997	1.1	1.2	14.5%	80	10	\$4.50
Yadkin	27,000	+18%	4%	\$5848	.2	.6	10%	35	2	\$3.95
Yancey	14,600	+4%	3%	\$3799	.7	.6	13%	21	0	\$3.45

(6) North Carolina Legal Directory 1978-79.

(7) North Carolina Dept. of Public Instruction (English and math failure rates are averaged.)

(8), (9), (10) North Carolina Dept. of Commerce, Business Assistance Division (North Carolina County Labor Profiles).