From Red Shirts to Research: The Question of Progressivism in North Carolina, 1898 to 1959

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This curriculum unit is recommended for:
8th Grade Social Studies
North Carolina: The Creation of the State and Nation

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Teaching Standards: 8.H.2.2, 8.H.3.3, 8.C&G.1.3, 8C&G1.4

Synopsis: This unit is designed to build student skills of independent analysis and inquiry. Beginning with the Wilmington Massacre of 1898 and ending with the creation of Research Triangle Park in 1959, students will come to their own understanding of the progressive nature of North Carolina's past.

I plan to teach this unit during the coming year in to 111 students in 8th Grade Social Studies, North Carolina: The Creation of the State and Nation.

From Red Shirts to Research: The Question of Progressivism in North Carolina, 1898 to 1959

Calen Randolph Clifton

Introduction

The concept of progressivism is hard to grasp. In a literal sense, progressivism is the idea that advances in a society can improve the quality of life experienced by the members of that society. However, the ways in which different individuals and groups view "progress" can be paradoxical. This is especially true in societies that are struggling with internal strife and discord. North Carolina in the 20th century and in the early years of the 21st century was one of those societies.

The "Progressive Era" in North Carolina began in the late nineteenth century as an outgrowth of the Populist movement and its response to the social inequities of the Gilded Age.[1] While many people in the state sought to reconcile these inequities, many others sought to perpetuate them. However, both sides of this debate rationalized their agenda's by citing the need for progress in society. What one side viewed as progressive, the other side viewed as regressive—and vice versa. This unit focuses on that conflict as it played out in North Carolina between the years 1898 and 2003**.**

School Demographics

I teach 8th grade Social Studies at a Title 1 school on the north side of Charlotte, North Carolina. Traditionally, the students at my school read and write below grade level. Here is the data on the proficiency rates of each ethnic subgroup of my current students on their seventh grade Reading End of Grade Test:[2]

African American	16.2%
Hispanic	29.2%
Caucasian	45.5%
American Indian	N/A
Asian/Pacific Islander	N/A

Although this data only reflects reading ability, I know that their skills in the areas of writing, speaking, and listening are also lacking. Therefore, I focus on these four areas of literacy every day. Such an approach necessitates student collaboration and

communication, but the literacy level of my students also requires that the sources be accessible and comprehensible.

Here are the demographics of my school according to the most recently released data: [3]

African American	59.05%
Hispanic	33.89%
Caucasian	3.57%
American Indian	.7%

I teach four total classes with an average class size of twenty-four students. Student abilities within these classes are very heterogeneous. Each of my classes is composed of about one-third general population, one third English Language Learners, and one third Exceptional Children; the ethnic demographics of my classes match with the overall school profile in the table above. Within my classes, there are a wide range of intellectual abilities and interests. This diversity allows for excellent collaborative experiences. In order to reach all students, a variety of media, materials, and strategies has to be implemented. A differentiated approach will allow for all students to demonstrate higher-level skills and mastery.

Content Background and Introduction

In 1898, North Carolina was still relatively fresh off of the heels of emancipation and subsequent Reconstruction-era industrialization. However, even though North Carolina did see some industrial growth during Reconstruction, it remained a largely rural and agricultural state dominated by a white majority. Most African Americans worked on white land as sharecroppers or tenant farmers, and the state Democratic Party championed white supremacy and worked to eliminate any chance of black political participation.[4] Immediately after the removal of Republican government in North Carolina at the end of Reconstruction, the state passed legislation that provided for the appointment, not election, of the chief officers of each county. The majority-black counties in the eastern part of the state instantly returned to white rule. [5]

In the early 1890s, small farmers, factory workers, and African Americans all across the South created a coalition known as the Populist Party. Each of these three groups was dissatisfied with their economic and political situations. Many of these individuals were formerly followers of the Farmer's Alliance, an agrarian interest group led by North Carolina native Leonidas Polk, or the Knights of Labor, which had some success in unionizing cotton mill workers in North Carolina. Mill conditions and layoffs served as impetus for reform. In Charlotte, for example, mill layoffs made workers a highly-visible feature of society. Well-off Charlotteans who viewed these workers as

"beggars and tramps" began many of the reform movements that began years earlier in the North, such as prohibition and educational initiatives. Despite being well-intentioned, these movements showed that the bonds between the upper and lower classes were disintegrating.[6]

The farmers, workers, and African Americans which joined the Populist Party were members of these lower classes. Together, these three groups represented a strong voting bloc and a serious threat to the existing social and political order. In 1892, Populists won several seats in the North Carolina legislature. In the next election, Populists joined with the Republican Party to create what historians now refer to as the "Fusion" ticket. This alliance won almost two-thirds of the seats in the General Assembly and unseated the Democratic Party from its long hold over state politics.

Fusionists immediately began taking steps to regulate big business and open up democracy. By 1896, Fusionists held seventy-eight percent of the seats in the state legislature and had one of their own, Daniel Russell, in the executive office. Commercial leaders, traditionally Democrats, became angry and decided to take action. In the election of 1898, the Democratic Party successfully used race as a wedge to drive apart the Fusionists and capture state government.[7]

In 1898, the meaning of "progressivism" varied from person to person in North Carolina. A person's definition of the term depended on their views of race and politics. In 1898, for example, the Democrats viewed their actions as progressive because they served the white agenda, but the Fusionists viewed the Democratic agenda as racially reactionary.[8] Although these perspectives on race and democracy eventually migrated to across party lines, they continued to shape and define North Carolinian politics for the next century. Whichever side of the racial debate that the state's leaders were on, the state's leaders always sought to further the growth of industry and business.

The conflict between business progressivism and racial regression in North Carolina has caused historians to disagree over the degree to which the state was, or was not, "progressive." In his 1950 work, political scientist V.O. Key cited North Carolina's progress in business, education, and race relations to support his idea that North Carolina experienced a "closer approximation to national norms" than did any other state in the South. However, even though he praised the state's achievements, he conceded that the state was controlled by a "progressive plutocracy," a white financial and business elite, which saw constant opposition from black and poorer white citizens. Key recognized that this "progressive plutocracy" was "willing to be fair but not at the expense of their power."[9] In 1976, William S. Powell wrote that North Carolina had been the most progressive state in the South since 1900 but that economic, social, and political problems still lingered.[10] However, only five years later, current Duke professor William Chafe concluded that progressivism in North Carolina was a myth and that North

Carolinians simply practiced a form of civility that served to cover up the state's resistance to true progress.[11]

Rationale

The goal of this unit is to help students develop their own skills of academic inquiry and historical interpretation. They will use those skills to determine for themselves the degree of North Carolina's progressivism during the studied chronological time frame. The end product of this unit will incorporate an argumentative essay in which students evaluate the degree to which they believe North Carolina is, or is not, "progressive." Students will learn the skills of thesis creation and the importance of substantiating their claims by providing and analyzing relevant examples. The perspectives of various historical actors and scholars will be juxtaposed in order to build the skill of independent evaluation.

In this unit, students will become objective and inquisitive historians in order to come to their own understanding of North Carolina's "progressive" past. In order to do this, students will explore topics varying from, but not limited to, race relations, labor issues, and access to democratic rights. Students will also work to hone their skills of objectivity. During the course of the unit, students will be exposed to many controversial topics. Students come to school with their own biases and prejudices. They may be unaware that they are doing this, so to help dispel negative subjectivity a rationalized and unbiased presentation of content is required. Students will be taught to use historical inquiry to evaluate their perspective of the validity of historical sources. At times, students will be asked to defend a point of view that is opposite of their own.

Essential Questions

Students will study this unit in order to answer the following essential question: "Between 1898 and 2003, to what degree was North Carolina a 'progressive' society? Justify your response by analyzing leadership and citizen actions during three events that each impacted one of the following categories: social, political, and economic life. "[12] This question will be posed at the culmination of the unit as part of a comprehensive, summative assessment.

Although each of the lessons described in the remainder of this unit have their own lesson essential question, students should be made aware of the above UEQ from the outset of the unit and instructed to look at those questions as pieces of the unit proper essential question. Furthermore, each lesson essential question will be supported by assessment prompts that serve to build understanding of the lesson essential question. These prompts will be embedded into the section entitled "Content Objectives," but a list of lesson essential questions follows this paragraph.[13] Teachers should use student artifacts and data from the lesson assessments in order to glean understanding of the

UEQ. It will be extremely helpful for the teacher to continually draw parallels between the events within the current lesson and the events within previous lessons.

For quick reference, here are the lesson essential questions and tasks for this unit:

1. How are the ideals of progressivism evident in American and North Carolinian society during the late 19th century?
2. Why did North Carolinian social and political leaders classify themselves as "progressive" at the turn of the 20th century?
3. To what extent do you believe that North Carolina was progressive during the 1920s? Justify your response by analyzing the political and social conflicts that occurred during this decade.
4. How did the Great Depression illustrate a discrepancy between the progressivism of private citizens and the progressivism of the state government of North Carolina?
5. Compare and contrast the North Carolinian elections of 1900 and 1950.
6. How did North Carolina during the middle of the 20th century exhibit the characteristics of a "progressive paradox?"

Content Objectives, Strategies, and Activities

Lesson One: Introduction to Progressivism

It is important that students first grasp the essential concept before moving into its dependent content. Therefore, this unit should begin with an introduction to the concept of progressivism. Students should work to answer the following question: "How are the ideals of progressivism evident in American and North Carolinian society during the late 19th century?" The model student answer should be an analysis of national and state progressive leaders and the impact of their agenda on economic, political, and social change during the late 19th century.

In order to ensure mastery, the teacher should create a lesson which first focuses on this prompt: What are the economic, political, and social ideals of progressivism? Then, students can analyze the implications of those ideals through this prompt: How did progressives seek to implement their economic, political, and social ideals into society? This will allow the teacher to assess student understanding of progressive ideals as a whole, and then to assess student understanding of the individual application of those ideals to economic, political, and social life.[14] Once students have demonstrated mastery of the concept of progressivism, then they can analyze the concept throughout the rest of the unit.

Lesson Two: Perspectives on Progressivism

In this lesson students will analyze the link between the Wilmington Massacre of 1898 and the election of 1900, and then examine the immediate impacts of that election on the state of North Carolina. In doing so, students should work to answer the following lesson essential question: Why did North Carolinian social and political leaders classify themselves as "progressive" at the turn of the 20th century?

Although many people were killed or injured during the Wilmington Massacre, the leaders of the attacking mob had what they believed to be a rationalized and progressive goal. They sought to erase black political participation and therefore progress the white agenda.[15] Students should arrive at this response through an activity designed around this prompt: Why did the leaders of the Wilmington Massacre of 1898 believe that they were "progressives?" Then, students can analyze the following prompt in order to determine a link between the events in Wilmington and the election of 1898: How did the Wilmington Massacre of 1898 affect the outcome of the North Carolinian election of 1900? The model student answer should be centered around the idea that racial violence kept many minorities from the polls, allowing for the election of a white-supremacist candidate, Charles Brantley Aycock.

Finally, students will examine Aycock's time in office by exploring the following prompt: How did North Carolina under the leadership of Charles Brantley Aycock personify the idea of a "progressive paradox?" They will learn that after Aycock was elected to serve as governor, African Americans became disfranchised and legally segregated into separate facilities.[16] Despite his racial views, Aycock helped to further the spread of public education in North Carolina by starting a decade long trend of educational investment. Between 1902 and 1910, North Carolina built, on average, more than one new school house per day. Salaries for teachers, attendance, term lengths, and literacy rates improved. At the end of Aycock's term, the achievement gap between black and white students in North Carolina was smaller than in other Southern states.[17]

Lesson Three: Evaluation of Progressivism in the 1920s

Now that students have understanding of the possibility of a "progressive paradox," students will be asked to determine the extent of progressivism in North Carolina during the 1920s. They will do so by developing their own answer to the following lesson essential question and task: To what extent do you believe that North Carolina was progressive during the 1920s? Justify your response by analyzing the political and social conflicts that occurred during this decade.

Beginning with a study of the election of Cameron Morrison as governor in 1920, students will juxtapose the growth of business within North Carolina with the anti-black, anti-female, anti-immigrant policies enacted by the state. Teacher should have students

recall information from the previous lesson on Charles Aycock in order to help students reach a comparative understanding of this question: How were governors Charles Aycock and Cameron Morrison both alike and different? Then, students will look at the conflict between the traditional social conservatism of the state and the campaign for intellectual freedom in the public education system during the 1920s by analyzing the following question: How did the emergence of Darwinism in biology lead to a resurgence of religious fundamentalism?

This lesson will culminate with the Presidential election of 1928, in which Furnifold Simmons used race-baiting to ensure that the votes of North Carolina went to Herbert Hoover. Students should be able to parallel the tactics used by Simmons with the tactics used by the Democrats throughout the 1890s.[18] Students should then have plenty of material to draw from in order to answer this prompt: How does the history of North Carolina in the 1920s reflect the idea of a progressive paradox? Finally, the lesson essential question will be posed to give students a chance to practice the argumentative skills that they will need at the conclusion of the unit.

Lesson Four: Progressivism in the New Deal

Students should now work to refine an understanding of the essential theme of this unit through a study of North Carolina in the Great Depression that centers on this lesson essential question: How did the Great Depression illustrate a discrepancy between the progressivism of private citizens and the progressivism of the state government of North Carolina? They will first analyze evaluate the response of the North Carolina government to the actions of private citizens during the Loray Strike of 1929 by focusing on this question: How did the actions of mill workers during the Loray Strike of 1929 and the way that the government of North Carolina handled the strike fit into the progressive agenda of each side?

Students should note that labor was the main issue of the Great Depression. People all over the country were living in desolate conditions because of the scarcity of work. The people that did have jobs were often forced to labor under appalling conditions. In 1929, workers at the Loray Mill in Gastonia, North Carolina, went on strike to protest these conditions. Here, students will have to determine how the events in Gastonia and the reaction in Raleigh fit into the overall picture of progressivism during the Great Depression. O. Max Gardner, himself a mill-owner, actively tried to end the strike in order to keep the mill operating and therefore further the mill business without regard for the concerns of the workers.[19]

This will flow naturally into a discussion of the expansion of governmental power during the Great Depression. In the same year that Hoover became President, O. Max Gardner, a mill-owner, was elected on a platform of reform. When the Great Depression hit North Carolina, it hit hard. By 1932, 78 towns and 39 counties had declared

bankruptcy. In an attempt to remedy the desperate economic situation of the state, Gardner centralized many aspects of government that were previously controlled locally, including the roads and prisons systems. Many people interpreted this as a slap to the face to local government and a move towards totalitarian government.[20] Students should be able to tie this content into this prompt: Why did the government of North Carolina believe that it was "progressive" to centralize governmental power? Recall the events discussed in North Carolina during the Great Depression to provide the background for your argument.

Lesson Five: Comparison of 1900 and 1950

Because of the way that both the state and national governments handled the Great Depression, the Democratic Party began to split. Its business leaders began to lean conservatively and its populist remnants moved further to the left.[21] In 1949, North Carolina was firmly in the control of the liberal faction of the Democratic Party, which was led by Governor Kerr Scott and Senator Frank Porter Graham. In the same year, V.O. Key published his seminal work, *Southern Politics in State and Nation*, and said that North Carolina was "the southern state with the most forward-looking race relations."[22]

However, the progressive vision of Scott and Graham was met by a conservative backlash that echoed the white supremacy campaign of 1900.[23] When moving through the corresponding content, students should also reflect on the election of 1900 to effectively perform this lesson essential task: Compare and contrast the North Carolinian elections of 1900 and 1950.[24] After leading students through a review of the second lesson essential question of the unit, teacher should present the following prompt: Why did conservative Democrats view themselves as progressive in the election of 1950? Students should then be able to answer the lesson essential question effectively.

Lesson Six: The "Progressive Paradox" in the Middle of the Twentieth Century

This is the final lesson of the unit. As such, it should lead the students to review previous content and acquire new content that reinforces the essential theme and skills of the unit. It will focus on the following lesson essential question in order to do so: How did North Carolina during the middle of the 20th century exhibit the characteristics of a "progressive paradox?" An effective answer to this question will require students to demonstrate their understanding of the conflicting nature of North Carolina's progressivism.

This lesson should begin with a recap of race relations throughout the covered chronology, including but not limited to Wilmington, the white supremacy campaign of Aycock, disfranchisement, and the racial baiting employed in various elections. Then, teacher should lead students through acquisition of new content inherent in the lesson

essential question by presenting this question: How did North Carolina's resistance to the *Brown* decision differ from that of other Southern states?

In 1954, the decision of the Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board* threatened to turn the Southern social structure upside-down. Southern states joined together in a policy of "massive resistance" and claimed the right to nullify the Court's decision. Some states experienced racial violence and saw its leaders turn to white supremacist demagoguery in order to rationalize their views. It should be noted that North Carolina's resistance strategy, created by political powers such as Sam Ervin, Jr., was "soft" as compared to other Southern states because it used a constitutionally-based argument instead of such racial pandering. Similar to other historical actors from North Carolina's past, the resistance leaders of the state believed that they had a rationalized, progressive goal. Also, whereas some Southern states closed schools to combat the implications of the 1954 *Brown* decision, North Carolina created the Pearsall Plan, which was legislation that gave school boards the authority to assign any student to any school and to allow for parents to apply for tuition vouchers to send their students to private schools. Charlotte itself became a battleground over desegregation when Dorothy Counts enrolled at Harding High in 1957. [25]

During this lesson, the teacher should also continually lead students to parallel the business progressivism that happened during the Civil Rights Movement to the business progressivism within North Carolinian society since 1898. This will be both review and acquisition at the same time, and will work off of the following prompt: How did the business progressivism of North Carolina under Governor Luther Hodges mirror the agenda of earlier North Carolina Governors? To teach this effectively, students must first review the business progressivism of North Carolina during the first half of the 20th century.

At the same time that political leaders such as Sam Ervin, Jr., called for nullification of the Supreme Court's authority, Governor Luther Hodges was restructuring the state's economic system. Although North Carolina led the South's industrialization during the first half of the 20th century, the state was 44th in per capita income and had the lowest wages in the country due to its reliance on low-wage, low-skill industries such as textiles, tobacco, and furniture. Hodges sought to recruit higher paying industries, create more skilled workers, and attract bigger businesses by building the state university system. He also developed the Research Triangle Park to help bring technology to the state. [26]

Suggestion for Final Review

An excellent way to review the content of the unit and have students successfully answer the UEQ is by having students learn about 21st century events that reflect the idea of a "progressive paradox" in North Carolina and having them draw parallels to the historical

events discussed during the unit. For example, students can analyze the provisions of the new budget and determine whether the budget is progressive or not; even though many teachers are angered by the budget, the budget does compensate the victims of the state eugenics program. Students should then be able to draw parallels between these modern events and historical events from the unit proper. For example, students should be able to compare the attitudes of teachers towards the budget with the attitudes of strikers at the Loray Mill. Students may also draw parallels between the push for educational reform throughout the 20th century with the emergence of charter schools and vouchers (parallel with the Pearsall Plan), and also between the business progressivism throughout the 20th century with the emergence of Charlotte as a major financial hub in the 21st century.

End Statement

The end goal of this unit is for students to learn that history is about interpretation. They will look at reality in order to come to their own perspective. By perceiving things through their own lens, they will be able to create their own reality. This is an invaluable life skill. After this unit, students will look at things with their own mind. Too often in education is the focus placed on content recitation and not skill application. At the end of the day, it does not matter if a student can tell you what you taught. What matters is that they can tell you why you taught it. It does not matter if a student can tell me all the names and dates and places and events from this unit, but a student should be able to tell me that I taught them this unit to teach independent thought. Our goal in education is to create citizens who can lead independent lives, and without the acquisition of the skills like the ones I have mentioned in this unit, our students will forever lead dependent lives.

Bibliography for Teachers

Bartley, Numan. *The Rise of Massive Resistance.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969.

This comparative study was the first text to comprehensively examine the resistance of each Southern state to integration and desegregation. It is still one of the most important books on the subject.

Butler, Lindsey S. and Alan D. Watson. *The North Carolina Experience.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984.

This is a compilation of essays by many of the leading experts on North Carolina history. Topics range from early European exploration of North America to the feminist movement. Also includes supporting primary sources.

Campbell, Karl. *Senator Sam Ervin, Last of the Founding Fathers.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

In this biography of North Carolina's leading Constitutional authority during the middle of the twentieth century, Karl Campbell analyzes both the public image and private life of Sam Ervin, Jr, who was known to be a staunch supporter of individual liberties but a virulent opponent of civil rights.

Cecelski, David S. and Timothy B. Tyson, eds. *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 and its Legacy.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

This is a collection of essays that are focused on the Wilmington Race Riot of 1898. Essays vary from general narratives to specific analysis. Issues explored include: black radicalism, racial violence, and the influence of the riot on popular culture.

Christensen, Rob. *The Paradox of Tar Heel Politics: The Personalities, Elections, and Events that Shaped Modern North Carolina.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

This is the central text of this unit. Christensen, a veteran reporter, recounts the "progressive paradox" in a way that is both highly readable and highly informative.

Gaillard, Frye. *The Dream Long Deferred.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

This book describes Charlotte's struggle to integrate its public school system. The author trace's Charlotte's desegregation from Dorothy Counts at Harding High through the implications of the *Swann* decision for all parties involved.

Gilmore, Glenda E. *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919-1950.* New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2008.

In this book, North Carolina native Glenda Gilmore traces the beginnings of the Civil Rights Movement. Of particular interest to the reader is the author's analysis and interpretation of the strike at the Loray textile mill in 1929.

Litwack, Leon. *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow*. New York: Vintage Books, 1999.

Pulitzer-Prize winning author Leon Litwack details every aspect of African American life in the South in this highly-readable book. From chapter to chapter, every detail of segregated life is detailed.

McGerr, Michael. *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

This text is a comprehensive analysis of the Progressive movement between the years 1870 and 1920. The author places emphasis on the downfall of individual during the late nineteenth century to build his case that Progressivism grew out of an emerging sense of collective mutualism that was a result of industrialization.

Woodward, Comer Vann. *Origins of the New South: 1877-1913.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951.

This is the definitive text on the New South by its preeminent scholar.

Reading List for Students

The following is a list of relevant primary sources that are all accessible from the Butler and Watson text that the teacher may find helpful; teacher may find it necessary to modify and/or abbreviate sources depending on the literacy level of the students. They are grouped thematically and the page number is mentioned in parentheses.

Additionally, teacher should have students read the secondary source selections that are cited in the endnotes. As with the listed primary sources, the teacher may find it necessary to modify and/or abbreviate sources depending on the literacy level of the students. There are also many useful sources, both primary and secondary, on www.learnnc.org and www.docsouth.unc.org.

Wilmington and White Supremacy

Hal W. Ayer on the Red-Shirt Movement, 1899 (347)
Alex Manly on Lynching, 1898 (347)
Henry G. Connor on White Supremacy, 1898 (349)
Literacy and Poll Tax, A Test of White Supremacy (350)
Governor Aycock's Speech Before the North Carolina Society, Baltimore, 18 December 1903 (415)

Fundamentalism in the 1920s

The Age of New Things (369)
The Legislators on Evolution (371)
The Limits of Liberty (375)
Declaration of the Committee of One Hundred (378)

North Carolina in the New Deal

Governor Gardner on the Consolidation of the University, 1931 (390)
Views of Roosevelt and the New Deal (391)
A College Graduates View of the Teaching Profession (392)
Human Distress in the 1930s (397)

Civil Rights in North Carolina During the Middle of the 20th Century

V.O. Key's Assessment of North Carolina in 1949 (416)
Resolution of the North Carolina House of Representatives in Regard to *Brown v. Board of Education* (417)
Education Expense Grants under the Pearsall Plan (419)
An Assessment of the Civil Rights Situation in North Carolina 1963 (422)

Sample Materials for Classroom Use

This unit gives students excellent opportunities to work on their skills of interpreting visual information. The V.O Key text, *Southern Politics in State and Nation,* is an excellent resource to use in this regard. Below is a list of charts and maps which it contains that the teacher may find helpful during instruction. As with student readings, there are also many useful materials, on www.learnnc.org and www.docsouth.unc.org.

Tables

Slaves and Slaveholdings in Principal Slave States, 1860 (207)
Value of Farm Products by States. 1899 and 1939 (209)
Value of Manufactured Products by States, 1900 and 1939 (210)
Percentage of Total Vote Received by the Two and Three Highest Candidates in the First Democratic Primaries for Governor of North Carolina, 1916-48 (212)
Comparison of North Carolina and Alabama Black Belts (218)
North Carolina Republicanism, 1920-48 (222)

Maps

North Carolina's Black Belt: A Center of Resistance to the State Machine (216)
Sectional Character of North Carolina Republicanism: Republican Presidential Vote, 1920, 1940 (221)
Points of Highest Strength of "Organization" Candidates in North Carolina Democratic Primaries (225)
Congressional District Gerrymandering in North Carolina (226)
Shift in Location of Simmons' Machine Support between Democratic Gubernatorial Primary of 1924 and Senatorial Primary of 1930 (227)

Implementing Common Core Standards

8.H.2.2 Summarize how leadership and citizen actions (e.g. the founding fathers, the Regulators, the Greensboro Four, and participants of the Wilmington Race Riots, 1898) influenced the outcome of key conflicts in North Carolina and the United States.

> This standard, combined with 8H3.3, form the heart of this unit. Students will continually focus on objective throughout each lesson, allowing for growth to be determined from the beginning of the unit to the end.

8.H.3.3: Explain how individuals and groups have influenced economic, political and social change in North Carolina and the United States.

> As above, this standard, in conjunction with 8.H.2.2, is the foundation of the unit. All three strands (economics, political, and social change) are a key component of North Carolina's "progressive paradox."

8.C&G.1.3: Analyze differing viewpoints on the scope and power of state and national governments (e.g. Federalists and anti-Federalists, education, immigration and healthcare).

> This objective serves as the basis for Lesson 4 and should serve to help students think abstractly about the differing ideas of progressivism between the citizens and government of North Carolina.

8.C&G.1.4: Analyze access to democratic rights and freedoms among various groups in North Carolina and the United States (e.g. enslaved people, women, wage earners, landless farmers, American Indians, African Americans and other ethnic groups).

> This objective can be utilized throughout the unit, especially in Lessons 1, 2, and 6. The struggle for civil rights and racial equality is half of the North Carolina's "progressive paradox."

[1] Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), xiv. "Progressivism" played out in a unique way in the New South, where it was a largely urban and middle-class trend. Its sectional leaders in the New South distrusted the "progressive" leaders of big businesses in the North. The gap between Northern and Southern progressivism grew so wide that neither side acknowledged the other as "progressive." See C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913.* (Baton Rogue: The Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 371.

[2] Data adapted from North Carolina Department of Instruction, "Reports of Disaggregated State, School System (LEA) and School Performance Data for 2011-2013," http://accrpt.ncpublicschools.org/app/2013/disag/ (accessed 11/23/2013).

[3] Data adapted from Tara Brown, "Membership for the First School Month of the 2012-2013 School Year," Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, http://www.cms.k12.nc.us/cmsdepartments/StudentPlacement/PlanningServices/Documents/Membership%20memo%20month%201%202012-13.pdf (accessed November 23, 2013). Of these students, 88.6% are economically disadvantaged. See Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, "CMS Economically Disadvantaged Students," Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, http://www.cms.k12.nc.us/cmsdepartments/StudentPlacement/PlanningServices/Documents/October%202012%20EDS_by%20percentage%20final%20sort%20by%20school%20and%20EDS.pdf (accessed November 23, 2013).

[4] Butler and Watson. *The North Carolina Experience.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 292-294.

[5] Woodward, *Origins of the New South,* 52.

[6] Hanchett, *Sorting out the New South City,* 70-77. According to the author, "money, wealth, and heredity" played as much a factor in class as did race.

[7] Rob Christensen, *The Paradox of Tar Heel Politics: The Personalities, Elections, and Events that Shaped Modern North Carolina.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 32; Hanchett, *Sorting out the New South City,* 78-86.

[8] Rob Christensen, *The Paradox of Tar Heel Politics,* 32.

[9] VO Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation,* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), 205-228. See chapter 10, "North Carolina: Progressive Plutocracy," for an in-depth analysis of North Carolina as it stood in 1950.

[10] William Powell, *North Carolina: A History,* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1976), 206-207. See chapter 11, "A State Transformed," for an in-depth analysis of North Carolina as it stood at the nation's bicentennial.

[11] William Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 3-11.

[12] The central focus of this unit is an amalgamation of NCES's 8H2.2 and 8H3.3. Therefore, students should have to demonstrate mastery of these concepts at the culmination of the unit. "Unit Essential Question" will be abbreviated as UEQ for the remainder of this text.

[13] The reader should be aware that the mentioned assessment prompts are to be used as steps stones to answer the lesson essential question, which will always be assessed at the end of a lesson.
[14] Teacher can then use this data to assess initial student understanding the central objectives of this unit, 8H2.2 and 8H3.3. This will allow for end-of-unit data to reflect growth from the very beginning of the unit.
[15] Rob Christensen, *The Paradox of Tar Heel Politics,* 26; Leon Litwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), 313-315. For an exhausting analysis of the events leading to and the impacts of the Wilmington Massacre, see Prather, Leon H. In *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 and its Legacy,* edited by David S. Cecelski and Timothy B. Tyson, 15-43. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
[16] Again, however, the white leaders who created this system believed that it was progressive to suppress black political participation.
[17] Woodward, *Origins of the New South,* 406; Christensen, Paradox, *The Paradox of Tar Heel Politics,* 45.
[18] Gatewood, Willard B. "Professors, Fundamentalists." In *The North Carolina Experience: An Interpretive and Documentary History,* edited by Lindsey S. Butler and Alan D. Watson, 356-367. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984; Christensen, *the Paradox of Tar Heel Politics,* 48-56.
[19] Gardner sent in the National Guard to end the strike, but later removed them and left the job to a group of deputized citizens. For an excellent analysis of the events in Gastonia, see Gilmore, Glenda E. *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919-1950,* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2008), 78-97.
[20] Christensen, *The Paradox of Tar Heel Politics,* 62-68; Stoesen, Alexander R. "From Ordeal to New Deal: North Carolina in the Great Depression." In In *The North Carolina Experience: An Interpretive and Documentary History,* edited by Lindsey S. Butler and Alan D. Watson, 382-392.
[21] Christensen, *The Paradox of Tar Heel Politics,* 88.
[22] Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation, 206.*
[23] Christensen, *The Paradox of Tar Heel Politics,* 109-10.
[24] For an in-depth analysis of the election of 1950 and its implications for North Carolina, see Christensen, *The Paradox of Tar Heel Politics,* 133-144.
[25] Numan Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South during the 1950's,* (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University Press, 1969), 77-79; Butler and Watson. *The North Carolina Experience* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 410; Christensen, *The Paradox of Tar Heel Politics,* 162-163; Karl Campbell, *Senator Sam Ervin, Last of the Founding Fathers* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 108-132; Frye, *The Dream Long Deferred* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 3-17.
[26] Christensen, *The Paradox of Tar Heel Politics,* 158-160.