

The Crucible of Liberalism: Kerr Scott and the 1948 Gubernatorial Election in North Carolina

**Julian M. Pleasants, Professor Emeritus of History,
University of Florida**

Delivered September 2012 at the Historical Political Campaigns in North Carolina Conference

William Kerr Scott was the most controversial, polarizing and successful North Carolina politician of his age. When Scott left office at the end of his four year term as governor, Simmons Fentress referred to Scott as "the century's most cussed governor. Columnists... attacked him as a political accident, a notorious spender of other people's money, a dangerous liberal tied to Harry Truman's coattail, a governor of only half the people." Fentress wrote that the man who changed the face of the state was "as plain as a plow point, as candid as a school kid and as stubborn as an Alamance mule and just as unpredictable." Many will be glad to see him go, but "the gladdest are the men in the front offices of the big utilities." Scott would be remembered as a builder, "but he was, essentially, a needler, a provoker, a builder of fires under the foot-draggers and the indolent." It was all for a "good cause" and the governor brought a new level of political courage to Raleigh. A brand of effrontery which had him "delineating the ills of the legal profession before an audience of lawyers and cursing private power companies at a power plant dedication." In a profession where everyone avoided controversial issues and parsed each sentence, Scott was an anomaly who always spoke his mind. He never understood the value of no comment. Fentress praised Scott for his impressive achievements that changed the course of the state.¹

Up until 1948, the state had been dominated by a powerful machine organization, known as the Shelby Dynasty or the Gardner machine. Led by what V.O. Key, Jr. called the "progressive plutocracy," the machine consisted of an oligarchy of bankers and industrialists who dominated the state's political and economic decision making. The Shelby Dynasty believed in sound, conservative government and the status quo. They maintained power by controlling the elective and appointive offices of the state administration and by having access to the political funding that would keep them in power. For twenty years the Gardner machine had, in effect, chosen the governor of the state.

The gubernatorial election of 1948 marked the beginning of a dramatic transformation of North Carolina from an introspective, backwater, segregated society dependent on tobacco and textiles to a progressive, modern state. In 1948, North Carolina was 45th out of 48 states in per capita income. The median income for families in 1950 was \$2,121. In rural areas the average was \$1,304. In 1947 some 42 percent of the work force was engaged in agricultural related industries. The state had an average school completion of 7.9 years. For Negroes the school completion rate was only 5.9 years. And North Carolina grappled with widespread illiteracy. Sixty-six percent of the population lived in rural areas and there was only one city, Charlotte, with a population more than 100,000. In 1950 the state had a population of just over 4 million, with only 16,134 foreign born. Non-white residents numbered 26.6 percent and, by every measure, their opportunities were limited and they languished behind whites in almost every category. There were no interstate highways and only 16,000 of the state's 63,000 miles of roads were paved.² There were no regional hospitals, no community colleges and very few opportunities for advancement for those who lived in rural areas- many of whom lacked electricity, telephones and paved roads. If the status quo "progressive plutocracy" had prevailed in 1948, the state would be far different from what it is today.

W. Kerr Scott, a folksy, plain-spoken, ambitious politician, changed the power structure in the state in 1948 by winning one of the greatest political upsets in the state's history. When Scott announced he would run for governor, he had little name recognition although he had been Commissioner of Agriculture for eleven years, no real political organization and very little money. Why did he think he could beat the entrenched machine, awash in money and with a strong, efficient organization?

Scott, in his visits to rural areas, had heard the rumblings of discontent from the forgotten people in the state. Farmers and the poorer element in the state believed that they had been ignored and had not been given their fair share of the state's benefits. They had grown tired of the conservative, business dominated political system. Scott understood the needs and desires of the state's less fortunate citizens and believed he could, with a reform platform and through his contacts as Commissioner of Agriculture, turn this burgeoning movement clamoring for change into a vote against the status quo. He correctly concluded that what was bad for two-thirds of the state was bad for the entire state. He would become the spokesman for the disgruntled common folk who did not have a lobbyist in Raleigh.

He depended heavily on the "Branch-head Boys," those isolated rural dwellers who lived at the head of the branch of the creek and on the star routes. They admired him for his integrity, his work ethic and saw him as one of their own who understood their yearning for a better life. They liked him because of his outspoken and charismatic personality. Scott could be articulate and urbane when he needed to be, but he never forgot from whence he came.

The urban, upper and middle class businessmen and professionals in North Carolina saw Scott as a poorly educated, unsophisticated rube, who with his "radical" views," would turn the state upside down if he ever came to power. His critics disliked his blunt-spoken, brash personality, but underestimated his intelligence and vote getting ability- to their chagrin.

A dedicated Populist, Scott had inherited from his father a distrust of big business, a commitment to a more democratic society, greater and more diversified economic development for the entire state and increased aid to farmers. Scott knew that the state had to expand services for its citizens, even if it meant raising taxes, and understood that the state would not budge from its low economic standing unless there was a strong push for new roads, better schools and a more industrialized society. It might seem counterintuitive for a farmer raised in an isolated rural area and limited by a hide-bound cultural tradition to be a visionary, but he was.

On January 10, 1948, Scott announced that he would not run for re-election as Commissioner of Agriculture (he later resigned his office), saying he had no intention of running for governor.³ Anyone who knew Scott, knew better. Lynn Nisbet presciently wrote: "Now I know who will be the next governor of North Carolina."⁴

Scott had contemplated running for governor for some time, but now hesitated, wondering if the time were right and if he could raise enough money to defeat the chosen candidate of the machine, state treasurer Charlie Johnson. Johnson had a huge head-start and had been campaigning for nine months and had an effective and extensive state-wide organization and had the backing of the state legislators, the state bureaucracy and the leading bankers in the state, including Robert Hanes of Wachovia Bank. His advantage seemed insurmountable.⁵ Political pundits considered Johnson a shoe-in. J.C.B. Ehringhaus said Scott had "no chance in the world of being governor."⁶ Not only that, but two young, attractive candidates, R. Mayne Albright and Oscar Barker, a state representative, had already committed to the race.

When the *Raleigh News and Observer* predicted in early January that Scott would announce soon, he coyly replied; "I have had some requests that I run, but not 400,000 of them yet."⁷ However, after a state-wide survey assessing his candidacy, L.P. McLendon, Capus Waynick and B. Everett Jordan told Scott that Johnson should not be governor and that he had a chance to win.⁸ Sensing that Scott was leaning toward entering the race, the public clamor for a Scott candidacy had increased exponentially with a flood of letters, phone calls, and personal entreaties. The Johnson backers, alarmed, had earlier gone to Scott and asked him to run for Lt. Governor instead or wait until 1952. Scott ignored the requests.⁹

Scott finally announced as a candidate for governor on February 6, 1948 and promised to put on "the damnedest campaign you ever saw." Now that Scott was in the race, the state's papers welcomed his entry and noted that the race was no longer a sure thing for Johnson. The fireworks were about to begin. One wag noted that the Johnson supporters had persuaded Lindsay Warren and Willis Smith not to run against Johnson, but what they had done "was to drown a bag full of kittens and now they've got a live wildcat on their hands."¹⁰

As a campaigner, Scott was forthright and candid. No one ever had to wonder where Kerr Scott stood on any issue. He was earthy, seldom subtle, often spoke without thinking about the consequences, and vigorously denounced any person or idea he disliked. His staff had to keep close tabs on him lest he lose votes with unappreciated verbal blasts. Standing up for his ideas was one thing, but an overdose could send voters scurrying into his opponent's camp.

Several newspapers approved of Scott's candidacy and admired him because of his forthright honesty and ability to get things done. One reporter viewed Scott as a man who would not hesitate to put his foot into the backsides of a big politician or a state employee if he thinks the man is not doing his job.¹¹

From the beginning Scott lacked money and the dearth of funds plagued his campaign to the end. The first weeks of the race were spent soliciting funds and it took him several weeks to set up his campaign apparatus. As of March 1, already way behind, he had done very little campaigning, still had not picked a campaign manager nor had he presented a detailed campaign platform.¹²

Johnson, like the Republican presidential candidate Tom Dewey in 1948, certain that he would win, made speeches to carefully chosen audiences, primarily those who already supported him, and mainly tried to avoid making a costly mistake. He denied that he was the candidate of the machine or any political faction and was running in his own right.¹³

The early thrust of Scott's campaign was to attack the Gardner machine, "the crown princes of state politics," telling his audiences that they had already picked "your governor for you."¹⁴ Scott argued that the voters should be allowed to make their own choice. For Scott, the election was not class warfare, but was about the haves vs. the have-nots, rural vs. urban and Scott vs. the machine. His campaign literature presented Scott as a man of the people fighting for their rights and the slogan for the race was "Go Forward With Scott."

On March 15, over a month after Scott entered the race and only 2 ½ months from the May primary, he finally presented his vision to the voters. He wanted to use the state treasury's World War II surplus to increase public services to the citizens of the state. His view was that there was not a surplus of funds, but a deficit in public service. He advocated improving teacher's salaries and lowering teaching loads; more paved rural roads; better medical care; and the construction of badly needed, modern school buildings. He then made the wisest choice of the race, persuading Capus Waynick, a former legislator, editor and Chairman of the State Highway Commission, to be his campaign manager. Scott probably would not have won without Waynick's wise counsel.¹⁵

The Squire from Haw River carefully picked his county managers, mainly agricultural agents and friends from his time as Commissioner of Agriculture. He gave 20 year-old Lauch Faircloth, a farmer and political novice from Clinton, his first taste of politics. In the meeting to select a manager, only four people showed up: the town drunk, two black men and Faircloth. Faircloth got the nod and agreed to manage Scott's campaign in Sampson County, but all the locals called Faircloth a fool for working for Scott since Johnson had the race locked-up.¹⁶

The primary quickly narrowed to a contest between Scott and Johnson although Mayne Albright and Oscar Barker ran vigorous campaigns. Some levity appeared when the pig-breeding, political perennial from Pinetown, Olla Ray Boyd, entered the fight. Self-described, at 6' 4" and 277 pounds, as the biggest hog farmer in the state; a title no one disputed, Olla Ray was a non-factor in the 1948 contest.¹⁷

Scott continued to be plagued by lack of money. Solicitation letters to friends decried the wealthy backers of Johnson and asked for help to elect Scott, "who will be the governor of all the people."¹⁸ B. Everett Jordan (they would later become bitter enemies) helped save the campaign with a sizeable donation and Ralph Scott concluded that Scott would not have won without Jordan's help.¹⁹

With an infusion of funds, Scott stepped up his appearances around the state and increased his attacks on big business. On a visit to Wilmington, the headquarters of the Tidewater Power Company, he denounced the company for its excessively high rates that strangled industrial development. As was his modus operandi, he liked to confront his enemies face-to-face and expose their failures in public. Scott liked to do brash, unpredictable things and he benefitted from the publicity stirred up by such outrageous confrontations.²⁰ One reporter wrote that Scott was now "reverting to type as an iconoclast and rampager...."²¹ He later castigated L.V. Sutton, head of the Carolina Power Co, for failing to provide enough electricity for the rural element in the state. Scott, who had a wicked sense of humor, kept calling him "Low Voltage" Sutton.

Scott constantly reminded his listeners that he was not anti-machine but pro people. He worked hard to get the votes of women and farmers and surreptitiously sought the black vote and help from the labor unions. On the stump he increased his emphasis on rural electrification, telephones and roads.²² A better education system had long been a goal for Scott and was at the forefront of his platform. He constantly challenged the state to develop the potential and skills of its youth through a revitalized and expanded school system. The state had to invest in its most important crop—"the oncoming generation of boys and girls."²³

Both candidates had similar platforms—better schools, roads, and health care. The essential differences between the candidates were Scott's reform proposals and personality. The low key Johnson was not a very good public speaker while the charismatic Scott raced around the state exuding passion and energy. Johnson constantly stressed his experience in government while running on his record of public service and his extensive knowledge of state finances.²⁴

Scott campaigned differently from Johnson. ""The way I campaign, I go into a county and don't go to the courthouse the first thing like most of them do to pay my respects to the powers that be. I go to the head of the branch and I start working back down. By the time I get to the courthouse I've got my votes.... I don't have to pay any attention to the folks in the courthouse. They weren't working for me."²⁵

Johnson's time as treasurer would backfire on him as the Scott staff discovered that Johnson had deposited between \$105-\$171 million in surplus state funds in 234 state banks without earning any interest. Scott pointed out that the banks, not the taxpayers, earned the interest. Scott never accused Johnson of being dishonest, but concluded that he had been a very poor businessman with taxpayer's money. Johnson, charged Scott, was the **HAND-PICKED CANDIDATE OF THE MACHINE** and was controlled by the bankers and big business. That was why he had deposited millions of dollars in state banks without earning any interest—losing the state's coffers over \$1 million in unearned income.²⁶

As the date of the primary approached, Johnson belatedly realized that Scott had wiped out his early lead and finally lashed out at Scott for his unfair assaults on his integrity as treasurer. Johnson pointed out that state law did not require that state funds be invested and demanded that the funds were always readily accessible.²⁷ Scott retaliated by pointing out that after he brought up the issue, Governor R. Gregg Cherry had invested \$15 million in state funds and had earned \$1.8 million for the state. Several newspapers aided Scott by reminding its readers that the state was still dominated by the money interests and condemned state policies that rewarded rich banks and millionaire donors at the expense of the farmers and the working class.²⁸

Scott doggedly persevered in his attacks on Johnson's bank deposits and his ties with big business. One particularly effective ad was the Deadly Parallel:

JOHNSON- hanging on to state job and campaigning at taxpayer's expense. SCOTT:
Resigned state job to run for governor.

JOHNSON- machine candidate. SCOTT- people's candidate.

JOHNSON- henchmen demanded support in exchange for roads built at taxpayer's expense.

SCOTT- "will revitalize state government, open the windows and let in fresh air in Raleigh."²⁹

Later, when Scott fired many workers disloyal to his regime, Chub Seawell said he knew Scott promised to raise a few windows in Raleigh and let in some fresh air, but what he let in wasn't fresh. It looks like the only purpose of raising the windows was to throw people out."

To the very end of the contest, Johnson expected to get fifty percent of the votes and despite negative reports, refused to accept the possibility that he would not win by a large margin. Rather than defending his work as treasurer and attacking Scott, he once again resorted to platitudes. Johnson ran ads saying that his program was sound and could only be put into effect by a man with Johnson's experience and training.³⁰ The majority of the state's papers endorsed Johnson, but the undaunted Scott ended his campaign with a flurry after visiting 93 of the 100 counties and traveling in some 16,000 miles by car and plane. He reiterated his desire for more schools and better roads, more opportunities for women and again castigated the public utilities for high rates and phone companies for failure to expand the system into rural areas. Scott explained that the crucial issue in the race was whether the state would vote for the way things are or elect a ticket that would provide for reform and progress.³¹

The first primary vote was much closer than any prognosticators had predicted and stunned many observers who thought the machine would prevail. Johnson led with 170,141 votes, but Scott, who had started late and lacked the resources that Johnson could draw on, had received 161,293 votes. Albright had 76,281 votes and three lesser candidates accounted for approximately 15,000 votes. Johnson excelled in the urban areas, especially Charlotte, while Scott, as expected, outpolled him in the rural precincts.³² Scott's attacks had paid off and the momentum was now with Scott. Johnson, who was expected to win easily, had a lead of fewer than 9,000 votes. Johnson's failure to win in the first primary had, in effect, doomed his chances in the run-off. Scott immediately called for a second primary. The Alamance farmer, aware that he was on the verge of one of the biggest

political upsets in the state's history, promised to campaign just as hard in the run-off as he had done in the first primary.

Second Primary

One key for success in the run-off would be to gain the support of Mayne Albright, but Albright declared neutrality.³³ Scott renewed his appeal to labor, blacks (asking them to not make any public statements about their support),³⁴ veterans and women.

Johnson, who had a less than energetic performance in the first primary, added new staffers and began to use a "new look" strategy to aggressively launch a counter-offensive against Scott. Many of Johnson's supporters had been upset with his lackluster performance to date and cheered his new battle plan. Above all, his supporters feared the ascendancy of Scott. "The people of Dare County have gone crazy; they were damn fools to vote for Kerr Scott...."

Johnson warned all state workers that they would lose their jobs if Scott won and informed the city mayors that if Scott prevailed they would lose state funds to the rural counties. He accused Scott of using state-owned cars from the Department of Agriculture to get votes and tried to defend his record as treasurer, declaring: "you have not lost one penny of your tax money."³⁵

Scott constantly repeated his charge that Johnson was the choice "of a few powerful men" and revealed the details of a bank in Zebulon that had earned interest from \$500,000 in state funds while the state got nothing.³⁶

Charlie Johnson's "new look" strategy was too little, too late. Johnson did not defend his record as treasurer effectively and his attacks on Scott were thin gruel. Scott cried out that the Gardner machine was trying to buy the election by collecting a "slush fund" from banks, "which have huge sums of taxpayers' money in them without interest" and revealed that political pressure had been put on state employees with threats of a cut in pay or loss of jobs if they did not back Johnson. Scott insisted that he had a sound, sensible, progressive program of reform and wanted to keep the governor's office as the office of the people.³⁷

On Election Day Johnson predicted he would win by 30,000 votes. It is not clear whether he misread the tea leaves or if his self-confidence was merely false bravado, but he lost by 32,000 votes. Scott won a smashing victory: 217,620 (54 percent) to 182,684 (46 per cent) for Johnson. Johnson had increased his vote total by only 12,000 from the first primary, but Scott gained 56,327 votes.³⁸ Scott, only the second farmer elected to the state's highest office, reveled in his triumph, but felt very "humble as I join (the voters) in this tidal wave

movement to keep N.C. going forward." Scott also became the first candidate who had been runner-up in a primary to win the run-off.³⁹ The state's newspapers praised Scott's campaign strategy and his effective organization. Walter Lambeth called the vote "the most remarkable demonstration of popular support without demagogic appeal that I can recall in N.C." The people had confidence in the "fundamental integrity of Kerr Scott."⁴⁰ John Lang pointed out that it was a new day in North Carolina politics, the days of "King Fixing" were over.⁴¹

Why Did Scott Win?

1. Scott's campaign manager, Capus Waynick, was a master organizer and an excellent publicity agent.
2. Scott won the majority of the Albright and Barker voters.
3. Scott had persuaded the voters that his fight was their fight and the election was a choice between those who favored the status quo and those who demanded change.
4. Scott's attacks on Johnson's placing of state deposits in private banks without earning any interest resonated throughout the state and undermined Johnson's claim as an experienced and able state treasurer. The anti-machine vote went to Scott.
5. Johnson's organization never caught its stride and did not get out its message. Johnson was not a scintillating campaigner, was overconfident and assumed he would win easily. He started campaigning far too early and spent much of his funds too soon. Also, members of the machine spent more time electing William B. Umstead to the U. S. Senate since they thought Johnson did not need as much money and effort against a long-shot candidate like Scott. Johnson believed that the support of state legislators, state workers and big business in the state, a winning combination for twenty years, would be enough to win handily.
6. Scott waged an aggressive, vigorous fight—constantly attacking Johnson and keeping him on the defensive with a strong Populist agenda denouncing the excessive influence of bankers, power companies and textile owners. He campaigned as the champion of the forgotten people in the state and they flocked to his banner. Scott knew he would not get help from the bankers and lawyers so he

concentrated on the farmers and the average citizens who already mistrusted big business. Scott said "not enough lawyers supported him to prepare a decent will." A black elevator operator summed it up. "Mr. Scott got in there to run for governor. Mr. Johnson, he just walked but Mr. Scott, he ran."

7. Conservative Democrats had been in power too long and had become complacent. After World War II there was an optimistic mood in the state and a new electorate who favored the transition toward a more liberal government and expanded services for the state's citizens. Voters were tired of machine control of politics. "The apostolic succession had been broken."
8. Scott had strong support from blacks, labor and women.
9. Scott overwhelmingly won the rural and farm vote through a grass roots appeal. He understood the plight of the poor and promised to get the farmers out of the mud and get them electricity, telephones, better education and better health care. Bill Friday said Scott had a special sensitivity to the poor and they admired his integrity, decency, honesty and straightforward manner. "He knew who he was"—there was very little pretense in the man. Bill Friday concluded that Scott had persuaded the voters to follow his dream of lifting the state into the industrial age and called him "the most skilled populist political figure this state has ever seen."
10. There was a huge turn-out for the second primary, primarily in eastern North Carolina.

Kerr Scott's victory in 1948 still ranks as one of the great political upsets in the state's history.

Accomplishments as Governor

During his four years as governor, the Squire from Haw River changed the future of the state in dramatic ways and made great progress in providing greater opportunities for rural citizens.

1. He proposed and passed an unheard of \$200 million road bond for schools and a \$50 million bond issue for schools. In four years the state paved 14,810 miles of

secondary roads and upgraded and improved thousands more. Farmers could now get their goods to market, could shop in the larger cities and this transportation revolution and the modernization of the state highways opened up the state to new commerce.

2. Scott insisted on pay raises for teachers and got them. He believed that students needed inspirational teachers and teachers needed to be honored and rewarded for their work. In four years the state constructed were 8,000 new classrooms, 175 new gyms, 350 lunchrooms, mainly in rural areas. He presided over \$300 million of permanent improvements in higher education.
3. Due to constant pressure by Scott on private companies, there were some 31,000 rural phones installed and 150,000 new electrical connections for rural communities, ending the isolation of farmers and improving production. He demanded and got more hydroelectric power for the state—a blueprint for future industrial development.
4. Scott inaugurated a new state-wide school health program to assist with the cure of rickets and pellagra; a new medical and dental school at UNC; construction of new hospitals, nursing homes and community health care centers—generally in places where there had been no prior facilities. He increased funding for public health programs (tuberculosis), mental health, old age assistance, and aid to dependent children.
5. He began a modernization of the prison system with an attempt to rehabilitate prisoners with an educational director, psychologists and vocational training.
6. The first environmental governor. Far ahead of his time, he was the first governor to be aware of the significance that water and water conservation would have for the future of the state and produced the first real comprehensive plan for the conservation of natural resources, better water quality, less pollution, and halting soil erosion.
7. He was the most pro-labor governor of his era, often acting as a neutral arbiter in labor disputes, protecting the workers' rights to strike rather than always favoring the mill owners, as in the Hart Mill Strike. He favored increasing the minimum wage.

8. He eagerly promoted industrial development in the state and used a bond issue to build deep water port facilities in Wilmington and Morehead City. Some 398 new industrial plants were brought into the state (partly due to better roads, schools and health care) and led to employment for an estimated 39,000 citizens.
9. He was an effective administrator. From 1949-1953 he presided over balanced budgets, with only one tax increase, a one cent tax on gas. He earned the state \$10 million by investing surplus funds in interest bearing accounts. He ran his "Go Forward" program on a foundation of human needs and public services.
10. Scott spoke out against religious prejudice, especially anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism. He fought for diversity in thought and belief. He won the *Carolina Israelite* Gold Medal in 1950 as the North Carolinian "who made the most outstanding contribution to human rights." He appointed the first black man, Dr. Harold Trigg, to the state Board of Public Education, chose blacks for other state positions and worked hard to make black schools more equal to white schools. He was a moderate on race as governor, often working with and meeting with black leaders while other southern governors were hard line segregationists. He never favored an end to segregation, but wanted improved opportunities for all minorities. He later shifted position on civil rights and opposed *Brown v. Board*, signed the Southern Manifesto and railed against President Dwight Eisenhower's intervention in Little Rock.
11. He appointed Susie Sharp as the first female Superior Court Judge. Convinced that women could serve as well or better than men, he selected many women for state boards—the first woman on the state Board of Conservation and Development and the first female assistant Commissioner of Paroles. Fifteen percent of Scott's gubernatorial appointments went to women.
12. He was more than an effective legislator and administrator. He was a visionary who inspired citizens to achieve a better life. His relentless energy, his candor and charisma, and his homespun qualities and integrity had a tremendous appeal to the average citizen.
13. He had some significant failures. His surprise appointment of the foremost liberal in the South, Frank Porter Graham, to the U.S. Senate in 1950, led to a bitter racist campaign that resulted in Graham's defeat. He frequently allowed his ego get the better of him and fought some losing battles in the legislature. His

state appointments often lacked skill and experience as he chose his buddies for positions above their capabilities. He fired anyone who did not support him 100 percent, primarily those who did not support his choice, Hubert Olive, in the 1952 governor's race. He could be self-righteous and stubborn, but that was Scott. He sincerely wanted a better life for the people of his state and the status quo was unacceptable. He liked to stir things up, loved a fight and hated to lose. Most often, his battles were for a good cause.

14. I have concluded that Kerr Scott was the MOST INFLUENTIAL GOVERNOR IN THE STATE'S HISTORY. Not necessarily the best as Terry Sanford, Jim Hunt and perhaps Luther Hodges had significant impacts on the state. In 1963 Frank Porter Graham honored Scott "for the enduring things he did to move our state forward on so many fronts. North Carolina is a stronger democracy and a wider servant to people in agriculture, business, roads, schools, colleges, hospitals, medical centers and better health facilities... because of his valiant and forward leadership."
15. Two successful progressive governors who knew Scott's contributions well, praised his work. Jim Hunt called Scott the state's "political savior." Terry Sanford said that the state's history would record "the many achievements of the Scott administration undiminished in importance" as Scott helped pave the way for the greatest era of industrialization ever enjoyed in the state. In his inaugural address Sanford lauded the "the tough-minded, warm-hearted drive of the Great Agrarian, Kerr Scott, bodily lifting up the rural segment of our economy, putting a new pulse beat into the progressive heart of North Carolina."
16. Kerr Scott would be pleased to see the progress the state has made since 1950 and he was the catalyst for change.

-
- ¹ . *Raleigh News and Observer*, January 4, 1953.
- ² . Howard G. Brunzman, preparer, Census of Population, 1950. Part 33, North Carolina. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952, pp. 33-49; William A. Link, North Carolina: Change and Tradition in a Southern State. Wheeling, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 2009, pp. 369-378.
- ³ . *Raleigh News and Observer*, January 10, 1948.
- ⁴ . Lexie R. Ray, "The Scott Clan," June 10, 1981, p. 1. Typed manuscript in Roy Wilder, Jr. Papers, Southern Historical Collection.
- ⁵ . R. Mayne Albright, "O. Max Gardner and the Shelby Dynasty," The State, August, 1983, pp. 8-11; *Raleigh News and Observer*, January 7, 1948.
- ⁶ . Capus Waynick, interview by Bill Finger, February 4, 1974, pp. 1-3, Southern Oral History Program (SOHP), Chapel Hill, N.C.
- ⁷ . *Raleigh News and Observer*, January 13, 1948.
- ⁸ . Lexie B. Ray, "The Scott Clan," p.2; Capus Waynick interview by Bill Finger, April 1 and September 17, 1979, Joyner Library, East Carolina University; *Burlington Daily Times News*, February 5, 1948.
- ⁹ . *Raleigh News and Observer*, January 21, 1948.
- ¹⁰ . *Burlington Daily News Times*, February 7, 1948.
- ¹¹ *The Independent* (Elizabeth City, N.C.), March 8, 1948.
- ¹² . *Raleigh News and Observer*, February, 13, 14, 17, and 23; *Burlington Daily Times News*, February 17, 1948.
- ¹³ . *Raleigh News and Observer*, February 24, 1948.
- ¹⁴ . *The Independent*, February 25, 1948.
- ¹⁵ . *Raleigh News and Observer*, March 24, 1948; Capus Waynick to W. Kerr Scott, February 20, 1955, Capus Waynick Papers, Joyner Library.
- ¹⁶ . Lauch Faircloth interview by William A. Link, December 14, 2006, in possession of the interviewer.
- ¹⁷ . Julian Pleasants, "The Many Campaigns of the Pinetown Pig Breeder," The State, March, 1986, Volume 53, number 10, pp. 10-12.
- ¹⁸ . Charles Parker, Publicity Director, to Ralph Scott, April 6, 1948, Ralph Scott Papers, North Carolina Department of Archives and History.
- ¹⁹ . Ralph Scott interview by Ben Bella, March 13, 1981, in possession of the interviewer.
- ²⁰ . Capus Waynick interview by Bill Finger, February 4, 1974, pp. 4, 8; *The Charlotte Observer*, April 7, 1948.

-
- ²¹ . *Burlington Daily Times News*, April 10, 1948.
- ²² . Bob Scott interview by Rob Christensen and Jack Betts, September 22, 2005, in possession of the interviewers; *Greensboro Daily News*, April 22, 1948; *Burlington Daily Times News*, April 22, 1948.
- ²³ . *The Charlotte Observer*, April 20, 1948; *Raleigh News and Observer*, April 20, 1948.
- ²⁴ . *Raleigh News and Observer*, April 11, 1948.
- ²⁵ . *Ibid.*, April 21, 1948.
- ²⁶ . *Burlington Daily Times News*, April 12, 13, 30, 1948.
- ²⁷ . *Raleigh News and Observer*, April 30, 1948.
- ²⁸ . *The Independent*, April 18, 1948; *Washington (N.C.) Daily News*, May 4, 1948
- ²⁹ . *Dunn Dispatch*, May 10, 1948.
- ³⁰ . *Raleigh News and Observer*, May 24, 1948.
- ³¹ . *The Pamlico County Herald* (Bayboro, N.C.), May 14, 1948; *Raleigh News and Observer*, May 16, 1948.
- ³² . N.C. Secretary of State, North Carolina Manual- 1949. Raleigh: Office of the Secretary of State, 1949, pp. 199-201; *Raleigh News and Observer*, May 30, 31, 1948; *New York Times*, May 31, 1948.
- ³³ . *Durham Morning Herald*, May 31, 1948.
- ³⁴ . William Smith to Capus Waynick, June 4, 1948, Waynick papers; Ralph Scott interview by Jack Bass, December 30, 1973, p. 16, SOHP; *Raleigh News and Observer*, June 15, 1948.
- ³⁵ . *The Coastland Times*(Manteo, N.C.), June 4, 1948; *Burlington Daily Times News*, June 9, 1948; H. H. Baxter to "Dear Mayor," June 18, 1948, Waynick papers; *Raleigh News and Observer*, June 12, 1948.
- ³⁶ . *Zebulon Record*, June 4, 18, 1948; *The Raleigh Times*, June 10, 1948.
- ³⁷ . *Raleigh News and Observer*, June 21, 23, 25, 1948; *The Charlotte Observer*, June 22, 1948.
- ³⁸ . North Carolina Manual, 1949, p. 212.
- ³⁹ . *Winston-Salem Journal*, June 27, 1948.
- ⁴⁰ . Walter Lambeth to Capus Waynick, June 28, 1948, Waynick papers.
- ⁴¹ . John Lang to Capus Waynick, June 28, 1948, Waynick papers.

*Julian M. Pleasants is professor emeritus of history at the University of Florida, where he taught for thirty-nine years. The recipient of numerous teaching honors, Pleasants is the author or editor of books on North Carolina and Florida politics and history. His work *Frank Porter Graham and the Senate Election of 1950 in North Carolina* (co-authored with Augustus M. Burns) won an award of merit from the Society of North Carolina historians in 1991. His work *Buncombe Bob: The Life and Times of Robert Rice Reynolds* was published in 2000 and chronicles the life of Asheville-born, U.S. Senator from North Carolina known for his isolationist stances and several ill-conceived remarks praising Nazi Germany. Pleasants is also author of *Hanging Chads: The Inside Story of the 2000 Presidential Recount in Florida*; *Orange Journalism: Voices from Florida Newspapers*; and *Seminole Voices: Reflections on Their Changing Society, 1970-2000*. Pleasants is a native of Pinehurst and lives in Fearington Village.*

Presented on September 14th and 15th, 2012, the conference "To Gain Attention to Their Various Claims: Historic Political Campaigns in North Carolina" took place at Wilson Library, co-sponsored by the North Carolina Collection and the Southern Historical Collection