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THE DEADLY PARALLEL—PART 3 . . . CLIFFORD DOWDEY
VIRGINIA BUSINESS REVIEW . . . ROSEWELL PAGE, JR.

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THE DEADLY PARALLEL-Part III

(Third and final part of an editorial by Clifford Dowdey)

IN THE ANTI-SOUTHERN COALITION which is repeating, in ominous detail, the sequence of events that led to the explosion of an internecine war in 1861, the most alarming aspect of the parallel is the cynical expediency with which elected legislators, for immediate advantage, are serving the disruptive ends of the NAACP.

Again there is that catalyst of hate as an element in the body of non-Southern Americans and, as before, a vocal anti-Southern bloc tends to give the impression that the Radicals represent the Northern viewpoint. They do not. The Northern people of truly humanistic intelligence, not seeking aggrandizement by joining anti-causes, do not relish the trend that events are taking against the South. They do not believe in forcible integration because they would not demand of others, under any kind of banner of "civil rights," what they are not doing themselves.

Yet, military leaders in the Federal army during the Civil War also disbelieved in coercion of the South and bitterly regretted the devastation that took place before their eyes. They were compelled to act under orders of a government controlled by and for the purposes of a few.

In those other days, the moderates of neither side wanted a total war to divide the country. While Southerners, trusting in the Constitution, would not believe that their homes could actually be despoiled by invaders, incidents built over a ten-year span until the point of explosion was reached. During that period of mounting tensions over "incidents," just as now, there were a biased press and fashionably humanitarian intellectuals to present the incidents in aspects favorable to their side and damning to the South.

The incidents did not begin over slavery at all. The first was over the design of Northern industrialists to exploit the agrarian South. This first issue between the sections, South Carolina's nullification of a discriminatory bill in 1831, was settled by the threat of armed force. No consideration was given the principles involved and no thought to the future consequences of government by force. But there was planted the principle of might which the South ultimately rose up against and, though illy equipped for the struggle, met force with force.

Slavery began to creep into and to cloak the power-struggle with the admission of Texas as a state. Under the "cause" of containing slavery, a Northern coalition sought to block the entry of a new state that would continue the South's equality of representation in Washington. Then a Pennsylvania political hack, a party wheel-horse named David Wilmot, went further. He repudiated the Missouri Compromise, which agreed to the western extension of slave-holding states south of a certain latitude, and offered in Congress the Wilmot Proviso to forbid to slaveholding states territory newly acquired in the Mexican War and south of the agreed boundary. As the territory embraced the deserts and mountains of Arizona and New Mexico (where 40 acres are required to sustain one lean Hereford steer), it was obvious that slave-operated plantations could never flourish there. Wilmot knew that and so did the Southerners. The coalition was trying to establish a *principle* that would contain the expansion of the South and lead to their numerical equality of senatorial representation. Today the *principle* of amalgamation is being established on school integration.

Then there was the admission of California, on the same grounds, and finally the first open violence occurred in Kansas as a result of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. This was another of the compromises the Northern coalition was forced to make *before* it established numerical superiority in Washington. Fundamentally, the bill permitted the citizens of the new territories to decide whether they wished to enter the United States as slave or free—as we would say, "local option."

New England abolitionists outfitted wagon loads of emigrants to establish residence in Kansas and vote for entrance as a free state. Southerners in the general area took up land to protect the interests of the South. Inevitably the opposing factions clashed in armed conflict. To strengthen the anti-slavery crusades, abolitionists supported a gang of hired killers led by a Bible-spouting cheat and forger named John Brown. This failure in everything except fanaticism confused himself with a vengeful Jehovah, and in today's parlance would be called something like "Bugsy" Brown. But the South got all the worst of it in the press and murder. Bugsy returned north as a hero.

Another incident occurred in a Supreme Court decision written by Chief



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Justice Taney and concerned a freed slave named Dred Scott. The Negro had nothing to do with making a case of his complicated status; he was selected as a "cause" by the NAACP of that day. When *that* decision went against the anti-Southern coalition, the country has never heard before or since such damning of the Supreme Court and the Chief Justice. Abraham Lincoln became the first prominent man in American history to advocate packing the court and establishing a balance of power favorable to the coalition.

The incidents reached a climax when a group of eight abolitionist-conspirators financed Buggy Brown to open race warfare in Virginia. The events were moving too slowly for the coalition; too many Northerners remained neutral or actively sympathetic to the South. The coalition needed violence where it could be well publicized. The plotters selected Harper's Ferry, west from Washington, for Brown's gang to start a killing that would pit Negroes and whites against each other in race warfare.

When the mad scheme failed, the abolitionist-conspirators fled to states whose governors refused to have them extradited on the grounds that Southerners were mean to Negroes. It is significant for today to note that proven crimes of murder and inciting race-warfare were, in that climate of hatred, held to be less reprehensible than the alleged treatment of Negroes by the Southern whites. The Southerner's attitude toward the Negro had become the one unforgivable crime, in protest against which any other act was justifiable.

It was significant also to note then the bias of the press and the New England intellectuals. In that same period, a South Carolinian named Preston Brooks, outraged at an infamous insult hurled on the Senate floor at his aged uncle, beat Senator Sumner over the head with a gutta percha cane. Brooks was excoriated in the North, and even today a scholarly New England historian still refers to him with the tag of "Bully." As Bully Brooks, the hot-headed young man entered history for his one ill-considered act in a life otherwise distinguished by service to his country.

But Brown, the cold-blooded assassin, whose gang killed among others a United States marine, became "St. John the Just" to Louisa May Alcott, and Emerson said that "he would make the gallows glorious like the cross." When John Brown became canonized and likened to Jesus Christ for acting in the cause of the Negro and in promotion of civil and race-warfare, no further argument is needed to establish the fact that any action against the South became—as it is becoming again today—reasonable and noble if it served the end of the anti-southern coalition.

Yet, in the days preceding the open break between the sections, it is undeniable that the majority of Americans, North and South, did not want to be at each other's throats. Thousands of Northerners who, under the later brutalizing effects of a war of conquest were to become burglarizing hoodlums, certainly had no slightest notion that they would be drafted into an army to invade and despoil a part of their own country.

No history is more skimpily taught than the actual elements that went into the subjugation of the South and the horrible details of the course of the in-

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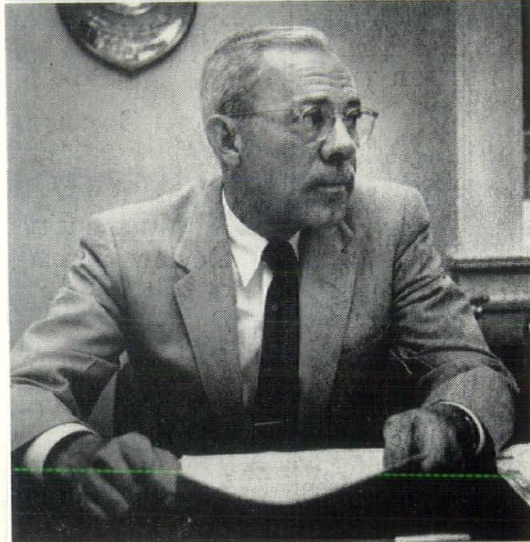
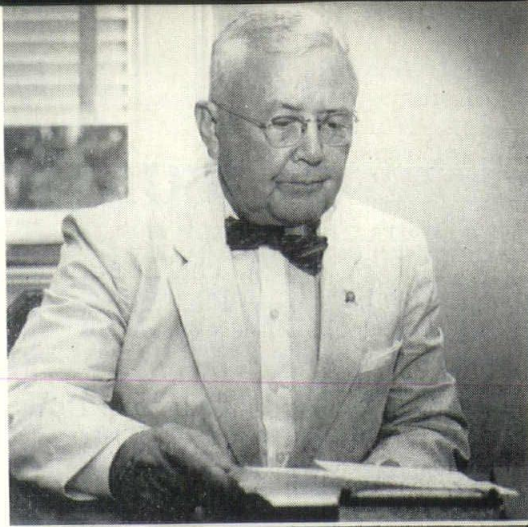
COVER NOTE

Hunting is a prime sport in Virginia, and an especially appealing one during our colorful Fall season. A hunting scene from Southwestern Virginia takes cover position for this October edition of *Virginia Record*.

STAT

by JOHN CONNORS

OF SALARIES AND EXPENSES



Richmond's Autumn brings more than falling leaves and frost-at-dawn to Capitol Square. It also marks the arrival there of an annual flood of requests from hundreds of government officials for determination of their salaries and expenses for the coming year.

The requests—most of them include bids for raises—are delivered to a second-floor suite of rooms in the grey stone Finance Building at the square's southeast corner. In those offices are located the headquarters of the State Compensation Board.

Created by legislation enacted in 1934, the three-member board is charged with setting the annual salary and expenses of officials who perform both state and local duties. Termed "dual officers," these officials include attorneys for the Commonwealth, commissioners of the revenue, sheriffs and sergeants and treasurers. Their offices are financed jointly by the state and the localities.

Salaries of the assistants and deputies to these officials are also established by the board through the state agency's determination of expense schedules for the dual officers.

Because of its broad authority in determining salaries and expenses of officials serving localities throughout the state, the Compensation Board is sometimes termed a potential power in Virginia's political life. Critics have claimed that the party in power could reward or punish through salary adjustments the political activities of dual officers.

Yet, those same critics have never been able to produce evidence that such political power has ever been used. Often touched by controversy, the Compensation Board has never felt the first blush of scandal.

What are the reasons for the board's restraint in using powers that in other places and eras might well have been turned toward political advantage?

They include legal restrictions never mentioned by the board's critics, rights of appeal from the board's decisions, Virginia's tradition of politics without scandal, and perhaps most important, the quality and reputation of the men who have served as members of the Compensation Board in its 23-year history.

First, the legal restrictions and rights of appeal:

The statutes of Virginia fix the minimum and maximum salaries of the dual officers who are on a salary basis, and the Compensation Board under the law tentatively fixes the salaries within these limits.

The range of these maximum and minimum limits is broad. In cities of more than 100,000 population, the salary of the commonwealth attorney may by statute range from \$6,000 to \$12,500. The spread between maximum and

Left, reading from top to bottom: Chairman of the Compensation Board and former state senator from Richmond, EDMOND C. MASSIE; Auditor of Public Accounts and ex-officio member of the State Compensation Board, J. GORDON BENNETT; State Tax Commissioner and ex-officio member of the State Compensation Board, C. H. MORRISSETT; Executive Secretary of the State Compensation Board, MISS CARRIE L. BIESEN.

COMPENSATION BOARD

minimums, on a proportionate basis, is about the same for other dual officers in other population areas.

But the Compensation Board is still without power to fix any salary either below the minimum or above the maximum in any case.

Dual officers prepare their budget requests for salaries and expenses of office in the fall of each year for the ensuing calendar year. These requests must be filed with the Compensation Board by October 15.

At the same time, the officers file copies of the budget requests with the governing bodies of their counties or cities.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

Within the following few weeks, the Compensation Board holds public hearings in the Senate Chamber of the Capitol on the budget requests. Ample notice of the hearings is sent to the officers and the governing bodies of the cities and counties involved.

Whether they are in favor of the officers' budget requests or opposed to them, all persons who desire to be heard at the hearings are given an opportunity to speak.

Soon after the hearings are held, the Compensation Board tentatively fixes—within the maximum and minimums established by law—the exact salaries and expenses of office of the dual officers. Those figures are certified by the board to the governing bodies of the counties and cities in December of each year.

In fixing salaries, the board is charged under the law to "consider the work involved in the discharge of the duties of the respective officers, the amount expended or proposed to be expended by each for clerks, deputies and other assistants, the efficiency with which the affairs of each such office are conducted, and such other matters as the board may deem pertinent and material. . . ."

Said a member of the board this week: "The methods we use to determine salary and expense rates are not much different from those used by personnel officials in private industry."

The relatively infrequent appeals of the board's decisions gauge its success in determining pay rates and expenses. The average number of appeals filed each year is not over three or four, according to one member of the board. In some years, none are filed.

However, if the governing body of any county or city is not satisfied with the action of the Compensation Board in tentatively fixing any salary or any expense item, it may file an objection.

This results in a re-hearing of the case. For the re-hearing, the local governing body involved may designate two of its members to sit with the three members of the Compensation Board as a five-member body. Each member has one vote.

Even the decision of the five-member board is not final, however. The local governing body or the officer involved may, if desired, appeal to the circuit court of the county or corporation court of the city wherein the officer resides.

Courts meeting to hear such appeals are, under legislation enacted in 1948, presided over by the local judge and two other judges of circuit or corporation courts remote from that to which the appeal is taken. The latter two judges are designated by the chief justice of the Supreme Court of appeals. Prior to 1948, appeals were heard by one judge only.

The officer involved may always appeal to courts from the tentative action of the Compensation Board whether the local governing body takes action or not.

The decision of the three-judge court is final.

Such procedures make the fixing of the salaries and expenses of the dual officers not a matter left solely to the Compensation Board, but a joint undertaking by the board and the local governing bodies, with right of appeal to the three-judge court.

The board consists of the auditor of public accounts and the state tax commissioner as ex-officio members, and one member appointed by the governor and designated as chairman.

The ex-officio members were named in the statute because their official duties as auditor of public accounts and state tax commissioner require familiarity with the work of the dual officers who come within the purview of the legislation. The chairman, who may or may not hold other state office, serves at the pleasure of the governor.

Each of the three members of the board has one vote. In case of a division within the board, a majority vote controls action taken.

Ex-officio members of the board do not receive any additional compensation for their service as such members. The chairman is paid at a rate determined by the governor. The law provides that such compensation of the chairman "may not be in excess of \$5,000 per annum, or if such chairman be an officer of the state or is otherwise employed by the state, his compensation as chairman may not exceed \$3,505 per annum."

FUNCTIONS AS A SEPARATE BOARD

The Compensation Board functions as a separate board within the framework of the Department of Accounts and Purchases. It meets at least twice a month during the year and, of course, much more often during the period between October 1 and the end of the calendar year. Meetings are at the call of the chairman, whenever any matters arise requiring its consideration or action.

Duties of the chairman also include supervising the board's administrative work, receiving, collating and classifying the reports of the respective officers required to report to the board, and placing before the board all information necessary for the decision of questions coming before it.

He is charged with conducting all correspondence with the various officers within the board's jurisdiction and to institute and supervise investigations into the conduct of all such offices, as and when the board may direct.

As an aid to such investigations and inquiries, the law has provided: "The chairman of the board may, at any time, submit to any such officer a written questionnaire concerning the affairs of his (the officer's) office, to ascertain all facts relevant to the determination of the proper allowance to be made with respect to the officer's salary and the expenses of his office. Every officer shall answer fully and completely all questions so propounded and shall return the questionnaire to the chairman within five days."

The chairman is also required to preside at all meetings of the board and to cause to be recorded proper minutes of the action taken at all such meetings, and keep and preserve all papers, books, correspondence and records of the board.

(Continued on page 6)

The State Compensation Board at work. (Left to right) Chairman and former state senator Edmond G. Massie, Auditor of Public Accounts J. Gordon Bennett and State Tax Commissioner C. H. Morrisett. At right is Miss Carrie L. Biesen, the board's executive secretary.



G. EDMOND MASSIE, CHAIRMAN

New chairman of the board is G. Edmond Massie, former state senator from Richmond. Mr. Massie was appointed to the office by Governor Stanley July 12 and took office July 15. He succeeds Jesse W. Dillon, appointed to the State Corporation Commission.

Mr. Massie, a slight, generally smiling man with the courtly manners of old Virginia, is president of the Richmond firm of Garrett and Massie, Inc., Printers and Publishers.

Now 74, he was born in Hanover County and educated in Richmond public schools and the University of Richmond.

Associated for 20 years with C. W. Antrim & Sons, wholesale grocers and coffee roasters, he then organized the printing concern of Whitmore and Garrett, predecessor of the firm he now heads.

Mr. Massie showed an interest in public affairs and civic duties early in his career. He served for 10 years as a member of Richmond's School Board and two terms on Richmond's City Council.

Later, he was a member of the General Assembly for 12 years, first as a delegate and then as a senator. During that time he usually stood staunchly with the Byrd organization forces.

His memberships have included the Monument, now Reveille Methodist Church, where he served for a number of years as chairman of the official board and as superintendent of the Sunday school. He is a past president of the Richmond Kiwanis Club, Richmond Printers' Association and the former Richmond Advertisers' Club.

His other memberships have included the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce and the Richmond Chamber of Commerce.

Moving with characteristic caution and thoroughness in his first weeks in his new position, Senator Massie has been preparing himself for the annual flood of budget requests received by the board.

Friends say his reputation for diplomacy, fair-play and a sense of humor, built in Richmond through years of public service, insure his success in meeting the onslaught.

Senator Massie and the other two members of the board will be busy with Compensation Board responsibilities not only in October, November and December, however.

Their other duties include the fixing of the expense allowances of fee officers. Such officers are those whose compensation is provided through fees collected for services, such as most clerks of courts, and a few sergeants and high constables. Fee officers' maximum compensation is set by state law according to the population of the areas in which they serve. The Compensation Board administers this law.

BEGINNING IN ENGLISH LAW

What led to the creation of the Compensation Board?

Virginia's governmental organization was, from the moment the Jamestown Colony was founded, rooted in English law. And in England, certain officers of the government were not paid salaries but instead drew their income from fees. Those fees were paid by individuals to whom the services of the officer were directed.

The same system was adopted in Virginia, and, indeed, in most of the United States. A sheriff, for example, was paid a fee for serving a warrant; a clerk of court drew a fee from a land purchaser for registering a deed.

Such a system continued in Virginia without criticism until well into the beginning of this century.

Then, three factors operating over a period of years brought changes in the situation:

1. A growing population had increased the work of such government officers to the point that their annual income jumped, in many cases, out of proportion with the salaries paid other state officials.

2. The depression, during which Virginia's state employees were forced to accept cuts in salary, emphasized the lack of proportion.

3. Prohibition, during which certain officers enforcing the dry law were paid on a fee basis. Throughout the nation, there were charges that some of the prohibition officers abused the fee system for their own gain.

Each of these conditions led to moves by political groups, backed by editorial campaigns in a number of Virginia newspapers, to end the fee system.

The fight was long and bitter. But in 1914, the General Assembly placed the first control on the amount of fees which an official could retain. A Fee Commission, predecessor of the Compensation Board, was established to oversee fee regulations.

Then, in 1932 all county treasurers and commissioners of revenue were placed on a salary basis. This legislation was superseded by the Compensation Act of 1934.

Both treasurers and commissioners

of revenue under existing law are paid one-half of their salary and expenses by the state and the other half by the localities. As to capital expenditures, however, the proportion is one-third by the state and two-thirds by the localities.

Certain exceptions to this formula are made in the cases of treasurers whose duties are relatively restricted. Any city treasurer who neither collects nor disburses local taxes or revenue is paid entirely by the state. Those treasurers who disburse local revenue but do not collect local taxes are paid one-third by the city and two-thirds by the state.

COMMONWEALTH ATTORNEYS ON SALARY BASIS

In 1934, the commonwealth's attorneys of both cities and counties were placed on salary, as were city treasurers and commissioners of revenue. The salary of each commonwealth attorney is paid one-half by the state and one-half by the locality.

Later, sheriffs and city sergeants, with a few exceptions, and court clerks in certain cities were placed on salary. Two-thirds of the salary and expenses of sheriffs and city sergeants is paid by the state and the balance by the localities.

Those clerks of courts placed on a salary basis are paid their salaries and expenses through the city treasury. All fees collected by them in excess of salary and expenses go to the city treasury.

The clerks of county and city courts of record, justices and a few high constables who make up the list of state officials still paid on a fee basis are, in effect, paid conditional salaries made up from fees. This is because specific limitations have been put on the total compensation which these officers can retain for themselves—either in fees or salary.

Assume for example, that the clerk's total fee collections equal \$15,000. Of that figure, the clerk must pay office expenses—say \$7,500. That leaves his net fee collection at \$7,500. Then, assume the county adds \$1,200 as salary.

This does not mean that the clerk may retain \$8,700.

If law were to fix his total compensation at \$5,400 from fees and \$1,000 from salary, he may retain only \$6,400 of the total \$8,700. The balance of \$2,300 must be paid to the state as excess fees. The state, in turn, refunds to the county two-thirds of that excess.

It is the administration of this system, of course, that is an integral part of the duties of the State Compensation Board.

The board is also required to examine statements of receipts and expenses filed by dual officers, determine the number of deputies and assistants, if any, required for the efficient operation of the office of each dual officer, determine reasonable expenses of office for each officer, and adjust equitably all questions of the division of compensation, allowances or expenses in the event of a change in incumbents.

Other duties of the board include reviewing and adjudging the state's rightful responsibility in paying the expenses of persons traveling on business of cities or counties wherein the state is required to pay a portion of the cost and reviewing and approving or rejecting local contracts with jail physicians or physicians attending prisoners.

Working with the chairman on each of these problems are the two other members of the board, C. H. Morrissett, State Tax Commissioner, and J. Gordon Bennett, Auditor of Public Accounts. Both have had years of experience as members.

C. H. MORRISSETT, STATE TAX COMMISSIONER

Mr. Morrissett has, in fact, been a member of the Compensation Board since it was created 23 years ago. For four years prior to that he was a member of the old State Fee Commission. He is in his 32nd year as State Tax Commissioner, and has served the state for almost 40 years.

Carlisle Havelock Morrissett was born in Richmond in 1892. He attended public schools in Richmond and Lynchburg. Later he went to Washington and Lee University in Lexington. He won his law degree in 1914, passed the state bar examinations and began practice in Lynchburg.

His public career began with work in the vast project of overhauling Virginia's statutes to produce the Code of 1919. Shortly thereafter, he was appointed by Governor Westmoreland Davis to the post of director of the Legislative Reference Bureau.

Mr. Morrissett was named Virginia's first tax commissioner in the spring of 1926, when Governor Byrd was launching his government re-organization program. He is credited with, among other things, revising and modernizing the tax code, drafting the re-organization bill of 1927 which turned 85 state administrative agencies into 12 state departments, and inspiring the Byrd road law of 1932, the basis of Virginia's secondary road system.

More recently, he devised the accel-

erated income tax plan in which the date for payment of state income taxes was changed from December to April. A resulting major windfall in taxes collected will provide for much of a capital building program planned by the state and, some observers hope, remove the danger of imposition of a sales tax for another two years or longer.

Mr. Morrissett, it is said, has done more than any other one man in the state to avoid the necessity of the passage of a sales tax.

Married in 1920 to Miss Gertrude M. Nance, Mr. Morrissett now lives in Richmond's Westmoreland Place. The Morrissetts have two children and four grandchildren.

His chief recreation is reading, mostly history and biography. He also is one of the teachers of the men's Bible class of the Seventh Street Christian Church.

He is known as a man of great logic, diplomacy and good humor. He is also known, however, as a man firm in his decisions.

Many of the same qualities are attributed to the third member of the board, J. Gordon Bennett, Auditor of Public Accounts.

J. GORDON BENNETT, AUDITOR OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS

Mr. Bennett has held the post of Auditor of Public Accounts and served as an ex-officio member of the Compensation Board since his selection by the General Assembly in 1944.

Prior to that, he had 23 years of experience in accounting, 13 of which were in the service of Virginia. He had been assistant auditor of public accounts for almost 10 years when he was named to succeed L. McCarthy Downs as auditor.

Born in Durham, N. C. in 1902, Mr. Bennett moved with his family to South Boston when he was two. He attended public schools there and graduated from South Boston High School in 1922. He then worked for four years as bookkeeper for the South Boston Tobacco Company, and from 1926-32 as secretary-treasurer of Hunt's Stores, Inc. of South Boston.

During this period, he took a correspondence course in accounting and pursued private study in government, municipal and institutional accounting.

Mr. Bennett entered the office of the State Auditor of Public Accounts in 1932 as a junior auditor. He was promoted to senior auditor in 1933, staff supervisor in 1933, chief staff supervisor in 1934, executive assistant to the auditor of public accounts in 1935,

and assistant auditor of public accounts in 1936.

While on leave from his regular post of staff supervisor in 1934, he organized the division of finance of the Virginia Emergency Relief Administration, designing for it a state-wide system of accounting.

He has served as an instructor in municipal and government accounting in the Evening School of Business Administration of the University of Richmond, and as a member of the Committee of Selected Consultants to the United States Bureau of the Census. He also served on a special committee on textbooks of the Virginia Education Commission.

In 1952, he was elected president of the National Association of State Auditors, Comptrollers and Treasurers.

Mr. Bennett is a member of Ginter Park Presbyterian Church, where he has served as treasurer and as a member of the board of deacons and elders. He is also a member, treasurer and director of the Richmond Rotary Club.

Perhaps Mr. Bennett's approach to his work is best summed up in this message appended to the final report of the Committee on Free Textbooks by the committee chairman:

"I have enjoyed working with you on this committee, and I am glad to state that I feel sure this is one committee report to which every member of the committee has made a material contribution. I think, however, that we should make special mention of the work which Mr. J. Gordon Bennett has done."

MISS CARRIE BIESEN, BOARD'S
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Much of the detailed work of the Compensation Board is handled by a fourth person, Miss Carrie L. Biesen, the board's executive secretary.

Miss Biesen is a native of Richmond and has been in the state employ since 1918. For 10 years, she was secretary to the auditor of public accounts, who then was C. Lee Moore.

Later, she served as secretary to E. R. Combs when he was state comptroller. Miss Biesen has also served as a secretary in the office of the attorney-general.

When the Compensation Board was created in 1934, the chairman of the board, Mr. Combs, appointed her to her present post.

Miss Biesen's work has drawn the praise of every member of the board.

The General Assembly has, since the Compensation Board was created, passed several blanket raises in the

PAGE EIGHT

Virginia BUSINESS REVIEW

by ROSEWELL PAGE, JR.

CHARGILL, INC. recently opened its new 2,100,000-bushel elevator with a dedication ceremony headed by the firm's Board of Directors.

John H. McMillan, Jr., former president and now board chairman, spoke of the future of the grain market both here and abroad. He expressed belief that expanded markets at home and abroad constitute a vital part of the answer to our nation's agricultural surplus problem. Norfolk was chosen because the location is ideally suited for an export base to European ports.

The Bank of Russell County, reports R. F. Ferguson, cashier and secretary for that institution, has recently occupied its new headquarters in Cleveland, Va. The new building is of stone and brick construction with a full basement which includes a large basement storage vault. The main floor includes ample lobby and counter space, a large

minimum and maximum salary ranges for dual officers. Within those ranges, of course, the Compensation Board has granted raises over the years to every dual officer. This is in line with the rapidly advancing cost-of-living and the growing population served by the officers.

In 1936, county treasurers drew a total of \$369,795 in salary, and county commissioners of revenue drew a total of \$282,210.

In 1957, county treasurers drew \$561,812, while county commissioners drew \$482,942.

In such a rapidly expanding economy, the three-member State Compensation Board has had the difficult assignment of seeing to it—in co-operation with local governing bodies—that dual officers of the state and localities were justly compensated for their services.

It is all the more remarkable that such a 23-year program could be carried out with rare appeals from officers or local governing bodies, and without a bow to politics.

board room for directors' meetings and for community conference purposes. There is also ample bookkeeping and supply room space. The building is electrically heated, air conditioned, and contains a main floor vault which is divided into two sections, a safety deposit vault for customer use and a money and record vault for bank use. A new vault door, along with a ventilator system and a modern night depository has been installed by the Mosler Safe Company of New York City. The interior is a combination of crab-orchard stone, walnut wainscoting and woodwork. The lobby floor is terrazo and the other floors are plastic tile. As an added attraction there is a large parking area available to the public.

Fred McWane, chairman of the Virginia World Trade Conference Committee, announced that the ninth annual Virginia World Trade Conference was held October 3-4 at Hotel Roanoke.

The program included sessions on Facilities and Services, Promotion and Publicity, and Exports and Imports.

On the second day a panel on agriculture was opened. This is the first year that the World Trade Conference has featured such a discussion and its importance to world trade.

The Conference has grown in interest each year. The outstanding speakers, the discussion and opportunities to meet with people interested in world trade made attendance worthwhile.

At its August 30th meeting, the board of directors of the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company of Virginia approved an expenditure of \$2,846,484 for the improvement and expansion of telephone service in its operating area throughout the state. Of this amount \$347,250 has been appropriated for Richmond. Other localities receiving large allocations are Roanoke, \$312,000; Denbigh in the Peninsula area, \$600,000; Staunton \$37,200, and Norfolk, \$30,000.

Crawley Williams, manager of West Virginia Pulp and Paper Company

plant in Covington, announced last month an extensive seedling program expanded six-fold to a total of 2,000,000 young trees.

"We consider it important as a wood-using industry to provide pine seedlings for the landowners operating in our area," said Williams. "The 2,000,000 young seedlings we will furnish on a matching* basis will help improve tired land, add to Virginia timber resources and contribute toward soil conservation. Planting pine seedlings on idle acres or cut-over land is profitable to everyone concerned."

West Virginia Pulp and Paper Company operates 11 modern wood-buying yards in Virginia at Ivy (Charlottesville), Dillwyn, Gordonsville, Pemberton (Goochland County), Caskie (southern Nelson County), Kelly (Lynchburg), Bedford, Wirtz, Fontaine (Martinsville), Chatham and Natural Bridge.

Landowners wishing to plant pine seedlings need only to fill out an application form available at any West Virginia Pulp and Paper Company wood-yard. These seedlings are being grown at Virginia State Nurseries in Charlottesville and will be ready for planting in 1958.

The new child born to Mother Virginia's family of counties, cities and towns this year was christened on September 10th. The baptismal ceremony came in the form of a referendum among the people of the Warwick-Newport News area. Its godparents gave the latest addition to the family of the Commonwealth and old and honorable as well as a distinguished and beloved name—Newport News. It was chosen by a wide majority and the rest of Virginia is happy about the choice. We wish her Godspeed on her journey.

Tobacco is king on the Southside. Farmers selling tobacco at 20 Virginia-North Carolina Old Belt markets began their 1957 auctions Tuesday, September 10th and received higher prices or all grades than on opening day in 1956. These gains ranged from \$1 to \$13. Virginia Old Belt markets are at Clarksville, Danville, Petersburg, South Boston, Lawrenceville, South Hill, Martinsville, Rocky Mount, Kenbridge, Brookneal, and Chase City.

Governor Thomas B. Stanley hailed Virginia's "continuing industrial growth" as he dedicated the new 48 million dollar power plant of the Virginia Electric and Power Company at

*The company will provide 1,000 free seedlings for each 1,000 purchased through the woodyards.

Yorktown last month.

E. H. Will, Vepco president, introduced the governor and welcomed an assembled audience for the open air dedication ceremony. The new station marks 76 years of growth for the power company and will help meet the growing demand for electric power for home, farm, business and industry in the expanding peninsula industrial and agricultural growth.

A new oil company is in business in Salem. Chelf-Smith Fuel Company, Inc., will operate as an Esso heating oil distributor, also handling motor oil, diesel oil and various home heating grades. Charles G. Smith, formerly with Salem Hosiery as industrial relations director and with Fruehauf Company in a sales capacity, is associated in this business with H. J. Chelf, a West Salem businessman.

Dawbarn Brothers, Inc., received a building permit to expand its plastics plant in Waynesboro. The contractor for the \$125,000 project is Ivy Construction Co., Charlottesville (Raymond V. Long, Jr., president). H. D. Dawbarn, president, said the addition to his plant will be used for manufacturing space.

Corde and Starke, a Richmond firm, was awarded the contract to build the new Chesterfield County Court Office Building. The low bid was \$399,129, and a total of 300 calendar days was allowed for completion of the two-story, airconditioned, elevator-equipped, brick building. This announcement was made by M. W. Burnett, executive-secretary for Chesterfield County.

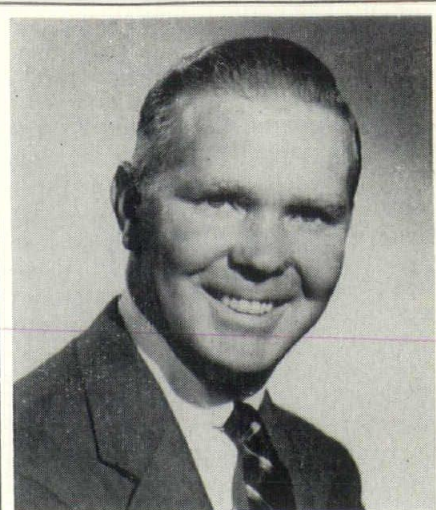
In the News . . .

John Tyler, Jr., and John E. Skilton have recently been named assistant vice-presidents of the First and Merchants National Bank in Richmond. Tyler is a graduate of Virginia Military Institute and Skilton is a University of Virginia graduate. . . . Edgar A. Thurman, of Greenhill Packers, Roanoke, succeeds J. J. Jessee of Shenandoah Packers, Timberville, as president of the Virginia Meat Packers Association for the coming year. . . . Arthur Eisler, plant manager of James Lees and Sons, Glasgow, has announced the following personnel changes effective last month: K. C. Horne of Glasgow became manufacturing superintendent; John F. Arndt, Jr., Lexington, assumed the duties of company-wide training coordinator, leaving the position of training director for the Glasgow plant, which has been filled by Martin Bauman, for-

merly of Wilmington, Delaware. Otey Glass, Buena Vista, has been named maintenance superintendent to succeed Earl Ware of Big Island, who will retire shortly. . . . A. Kyle Roop, Jr., former town manager of Lexington, is now in Pearisburg as town manager there. . . . Ralph T. Sharp, Jr., has been appointed assistant electrical and plumbing inspector for Suffolk, according to V. W. Rose, chief inspector for Suffolk. . . . J. W. Wood, vice-president in charge, announces that the new Colonial Store in Smithfield opened for business September 11th with an entire new stock and fixtures. The new building is owned by the Gwaltney Realty Corporation of Smithfield and leased to Colonial Stores. It has 10,200 square feet capacity, is airconditioned throughout and will contain a large variety of food. . . . Cliff Watts and Frank Simpson, Jr., announce the formal opening of Simpson's Pharmacy in Smithfield last month. . . . William R. White, of Roanoke, is now vice-president of Schermerhorn Electric Co. in Richmond, according to W. C. Schermerhorn, president of the firm. . . . Howard T. Denyes of Detroit has been named to a new position of regional vice-president with responsibility for bank functions in Norfolk, Portsmouth and Newport News by the Bank of Virginia, according to an announcement made by Thomas C. Boushall, president. Mr. Denyes was with the Industrial National Bank of Detroit for 27 years before coming to Virginia. He served as the bank's general vice-president and chief operating officer. . . . The annual meeting of the Virginia Manufacturers Association, held at the Jefferson Hotel, Richmond, carried a timely program based on current political and economic issues. Nationally prominent speakers included Congressman William M. Tuck of Virginia, Graham M. Barden, chairman Committee on Labor and Education, Herbert T. Kohler, president of the Kohler Company, R. S. Reynolds, Jr., president Reynolds Metals Co., and Ralph Robey, economic adviser for N.A.M. The following assisted J. Clifford Miller, Jr., president Miller Manufacturing Co., Richmond, as chairman of the program committee: Henry S. Holland, III, executive vice-president, Caldwell Machine Co., Richmond; Paul C. Beatty, assistant Southern manager, Pacific Mills Division, Burlington Industries, Halifax; Jas. H. Douglas, vice-president, Smith-Douglas Company, Inc., Norfolk; George W. Lowe, plant manager, American Viscose Corporation, Fredericksburg;

John B. Rawlings, secretary-treasurer, Brick & Tile Corp., Lawrenceville, and **Reuben M. Viener**, partner, Hyman Viener & Sons, Richmond. . . . **Franklin Arthur Peters** and **Margaret Anderson Peters** recently became owners and publishers of the *Washington County News*, the weekly newspaper edited at Abingdon for the past several years by Mr. and Mrs. John Anderson. Mrs. Peters, a native Virginian born in Marion, has newspaper in her blood, being the daughter of the late Robert Lane Anderson, former owner-publisher of the *Smyth County News* and the granddaughter of the late Sherwood Anderson. Mr. Peters, from Seattle, Washington, is the son of an advertising manager for a large chain of daily newspapers and himself has held responsible positions with newspapers in several states. . . . **Harry A. Hug** of Denver, Colo., has been named town manager of Big Stone Gap succeeding **Wilson E. Coleman** who has gone to Radford in a similar capacity. . . . **Robert Benze** and **George Sawyer**, both of Norfolk, have been promoted by McAllister Brothers, Inc., according to **John F. Drews**, vice-president of the firm. Benze was moved up from chief dispatcher to operations manager and Sawyer from office manager to claims and personnel manager of the McAllister Bros. Norfolk Division. . . . Du Pont's Martinsville plant placed more than \$14,300,000 in circulation in that area last year, **W. D. Hartford** said in a recent statement. Mr. Hartford is the plant manager at Martinsville. . . . Nathan's Department Store has lately broken ground for a new building next to the First National Bank of Bassett. **J. Coates Carter**, Martinsville, is the architect and **Frith Construction Co.**, Collinsville, is the contractor. The building will be a 72 x 110 ft. brick structure with glass front, air-conditioning, and will contain all new fixtures. **Martin Bertman** and **Herman Oostler** made the announcement for Nathan's Department Store. . . . **Frank Sizemore**, president of Sizemore Appliance Company of South Boston, has announced the purchase of interests held by **Floyd Smith** and **Lacy Smith** in the former C & S Tire Store in South Boston. C & S Tire which had operated under that name since 1946 officially became Sizemore Appliance Company September 1st. . . . **Bernard Meador** is manager of the new Boyle-Swecker tire store, opened a short time ago in Salem. The firm, which has headquarters in Roanoke, has secured a location at the corner of Main and Union Streets, Salem. . . . Daugherty

Brothers, of Weber City, are now Scott County's distributors of Phillips 66 kerosene and fuel oil. . . . **Winston Newton** has been made assistant manager of Peeble's Department Store, Clarksville. . . . **Lloyd Burgess**, Courtland, has been licensed to represent the National Farmers Union Life Insurance Company in Southampton County. Mr. Burgess will sell all types of insurance usually desired by farmers. . . . **Walter C. Shorter**, vice-president in charge of paper and bleached board sales for Union Bag-Camp Paper Corporation, has been named vice-president and general sales manager for the company. **Clark Reynolds** has also been named assistant to the vice-president and general sales manager. . . . **W. C. "Dan" Daniel**, national commander of the American Legion, has been named assistant to the president of Dan River Mills, Danville. **W. J. Erwin** is president of the company. . . . **Horace Hawes Harrison**, cashier of State Planters Bank of Commerce and Trusts, Richmond, is the new president of the First Virginia Conference of the National Association of Bank Auditors and Comptrollers. **Regis C. Allen**, controller of Southern Bank and Trust Co., and **Charles E. Wingo, III**, vice-president and trust officer of Savings Bank and Trust Co., are secretary and treasurer respectively. . . . **Albemarle Paper Manufacturing Co.**, Richmond, has bought the Interstate Bag Co. of Walden, New York, **F. D. Gottwald**, president of Albemarle, and **H. K. Steen**, president of Interstate, said the purchase covered substantially all the operating assets of Interstate. This company which had sales last year of about three million dollars will become a wholly owned subsidiary of Albemarle. Terms of the sale were not disclosed. Albemarle's latest annual report for the 12 months ended March 31st showed net income after taxes of \$2,305,840, a 46 per cent increase over the previous year and sales of \$32,063,107, a 20 per cent increase. . . . **W. C. Matthews, Jr.**, has been named supervisor of operations for Appalachian Electric Power Company's Clinch River Plant which is now under construction at Carbo. . . . **J. P. Gills**, manager of Bluefield Division, Appalachian Electric Power Company, has issued a statement to the effect that the company will spend over \$1½ million on construction of a new 66,000-volt transmission system running through Smyth, Russell, Wise, Dickenson, and Buchanan Counties. The work will involve construction and conversion of both transmission and distribution stations and lines. It will be done mainly



Promotion of **Thomas P. Gullette** to manager of the Richmond branch office of the Glass Container Division, Owens-Illinois Glass Co., has been announced by **Sidney F. Davis**, vice president and division general sales manager.

Mr. Gullette succeeds **Frank T. Cantrill**, Richmond branch manager since 1954, whose transfer to the company's New York sales office as food industries manager was announced earlier.

A graduate of Pennsylvania State College, Mr. Gullette has been a glass container salesman with Owens-Illinois since 1941. His assignments have been in Baltimore, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, and New York, where he has been since 1952.

Mr. Gullette is married to the former **Patricia Radcliffe** of Bryn Mawr, Penn., and they have two sons: **C. E. Gullette, II**, eight, and **Thomas P. Gullette, Jr.**, six. They have moved to 7203 University Drive, Richmond, from Larchmont, N. Y.

along the company's present 88,000-volt line from Saltville Station in Smyth County to Fremont Station in Dickinson County to Grundy Section in Buchanan County. . . . **William B. Pillis** recently joined the Roanoke office of Scott, Horner and Co., investment firm. He has been with Investors Diversified Services in Lynchburg until recently. . . . **Carl David Grimes** has been appointed the new manager of Southern States Big Stone Gap Cooperative. He replaces **Dewey Wells**, recently resigned. Mr. Grimes, a graduate of the University of Tennessee comes to Big Stone Gap from the Southern States store in Bristol. . . . **Miss Dorothy Ritenour**, proprietor of

(Continued on page 13)

The Aria that

CAROLINE RICHINGS BERNARD

Sang, He Never Forgot

by G. WATSON JAMES, JR.

*"I dreamed that I dwelt in Marble Halls,
With beauty and wealth at my side."*

THIS STORY began many years ago in a small western town, when a young man heard a famous opera prima-donna sing Arlene's aria in "Bohemian Girl" — "I dreamed that I dwelt in Marble Halls." And the story so far as he was concerned ended at the grave of Caroline Richings Bernard in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia, forty years later. But who was this songstress who charmed the opera-goers of America and whose memory is a part of the loveliest musical as well as tragic traditions of Richmond nearly a century ago?

She was Caroline Richings, the adopted daughter of Peter Richings, a native of Kensington, London and a veteran of the drama. Caroline was also a native of that city, but brought to America when an infant by her parents, lyric artists, who consented to her adoption by Richings. Her love of music, displayed early in life, was fostered by her adopted parents.

From the date she made her first public appearance (as a pianist) on November 20, 1847, during the first concert of the Philharmonic Society in Philadelphia, she progressed from one musical triumph to another; not, however, as a pianist, but the diva with a golden voice. On March 7, 1857 she made her debut as Adalgisa in the Italian Opera "Norma," in Philadelphia; became a member of the opera company that year and continued as such until January of 1859. Then she toured the country, followed by her becoming manageress of the Richings English Opera Troupe which often visited Richmond. Besides Caroline Richings, the stars of the opera company were Zilda Sequin, contralto; Castle, the baritone, and Campbell, basso.

Richmonders loved her and her troupe, which gave a repertoire of operas in the Old Richmond Theater,

which stood on the site of the present Greentree's Store at Broad and 7th Streets. These visits to Richmond were to finally result in making the city her permanent home, with her husband Pierre Bernard, a member of her troupe, whom she married in 1867. During the appearance of the opera troupe in Richmond, and recitals by the diva, her accompanist and the orchestra conductor when the troupe performed, was none other than the late Dr. Jacob Reinhardt, Richmond's distinguished composer and musician.

Meanwhile, fickle fortune caught up with the opera company, and as the result the Bernards settled for a time in Baltimore where they taught music and singing. Some two years later officers of the famous Mozart Association persuaded the couple to settle in Richmond where they opened a conservatory of music in the house which is now the Sheltering Arms Hospital.¹ Here she renewed her long friendship with her former accompanist and orchestra conductor, the beloved Jacob Reinhardt. Anyone who lived in the Richmond of that day and moved in musical circles could tell of the Pierre and Caroline Richings-Bernard musical soirees. In their home the musical lights of the community gathered.

Then in the year 1882 that most dreaded disease—smallpox—was abroad in the city. The lovely singer with her characteristic unselfishness volunteered to nurse some of the unfortunate victims of the scourge.

Readers of the *Daily Dispatch* of Sunday morning, January 15, 1882, were stunned to read this front page article captioned:

"Caroline Richings Bernard. Death From Smallpox of This Gifted Songstress and Excellent Lady—Circumstances attending Her Illness and Decease — Sketch of Her Life — Buried in Hollywood—Funeral Services

"Reports were current several times Friday and the day before her demise, but they proved unfounded. The sweet singer lingered in an unconscious condition until 12:35 a.m. yesterday, when the golden thread of her life was

snapped in twain, and the soul returned to God who gave it. She passed away in the full maturity of her powers, and will long be remembered both for her modest worth and artistic requirements. Peace to her ashes."

After recording the highlight of her career, the article continued with these details:

"About two weeks ago before her death, Mrs. Bernard went to the theater to witness the rendition of 'Patience.' Before leaving home she had a sick headache and nausea. On January 3rd, a physician was called. He found the malady sufficiently advanced and pronounced it smallpox. There were at the time five young pupils in her home. At her expressed desire her husband didn't go to the sick room. The diva's illness lasted 13 days. Following her death, a section in Hollywood was secured by two gentlemen who selected a spot in the new section (or Single Grounds as it was known in 1882) of the cemetery. . . ."

Before continuing with other details supplied by the *Dispatch's* article, the author might note here that according to the Richmond Directory of 1881, the Bernards lived at 16 West Grace Street, and in 1882 Pierre Bernard resided at 122 South 4th Street. At which place she succumbed is in doubt, but not the fact that during her illness her former accompanist, Jacob Reinhardt, climbed up a ladder outside her sick room to comfort her and she waved him away.

Reverting again to the article in the *Daily Dispatch*, we learn that her body was conveyed to Hollywood at 4 o'clock on the day she died (January 14th).

Dr. Armstrong, of Monumental Church, of which she was a member, read the burial service and Rev. H. Meville Jackson, of Grace Church, was in attendance. Representatives of both churches and members of the Mozart Association attended the last rites. The burial certificate, incidentally, revealed that the singer was 49 years old and came to America when she was one year old. Also that she succumbed, at "12:35 Saturday morning, January 14, 1882 in the presence of two faithful

A portrait by Sully of Caroline Richings-Bernard. Photographs of the portrait have been lost and this reproduction had to be made from a copy appearing with a newspaper article.



attendants."

But back to those faithful few who followed the singer to her last resting place. Were they prepared for this dramatic episode, as printed in *The Dispatch* of January 21, 1882, by a newspaper correspondent of *The Boston Herald* who evidently had attended the obsequies? The item was headed:

"A Touching Incident at Mrs. Bernard's Funeral

"Early this morning a mocking bird escaped from its cage in the upper part of the city, and though diligent search was made, its owner could not find it. This evening as the last clods of earth were being thrown in the grave

of the opera singer a succession of thrills and clear warblings poured forth from the throat of a mocking bird perched in a tree nearby and continued until the minister had pronounced the benediction. It was recognized as the missing bird, and at sundown it returned home and went back into its cage, which had been left open in the window."

Pierre Bernard soon followed his wife to her lonely resting place near the west fence of the Single Grounds of Hollywood. He died on August 15, 1883 at the White Sulphur Springs. In his will he left to Jacob Reinhardt, the portrait of Caroline Richings Bernard, by Sully (reproduced with this article)² also her

fan, and his baton.

The years rolled on. The memory of the singer became a tragic, musical story to be handed down to one's children and grandchildren. But not for the young man mentioned in the beginning of this story. For him the lilt of "I dreamed that I dwelt in Marble Halls," sung by Caroline Richings Bernard, still vibrated so rich and full that time could not hush. By chance the young man visited Richmond as the guest of the late John Stewart Bryan publisher of the *Richmond News Leader*—The young man was a Mr. Riess (whose full name unfortunately escapes the writer's memory). During

his stay in the city in some manner the name of Caroline Richings was mentioned and this was his story:

More than forty years ago, when he was venturing into journalism as a publisher of "The Keokuk Constitution," he read an advertisement stating that the famous soprano would sing. She was then touring the West in all the glory of her career. He heard her and became entranced. It was his first opera. The years passed swiftly by and her company again played in his town; this time gone were the beautiful costumes, the gorgeous scenery, for, like all missionary musical enterprises, financial success had deserted her company. Nevertheless, nothing could dull the memory of her exquisite voice, although she had dropped out of sight for Mr. Riess. Learning then, that the idol of his youthful days was buried in Hollywood, he paid a visit to her grave beside the west fence of Hollywood, placed there a wreath of American Beauty Roses, with a card inscribed, "I dreamed that I dwelt in Marble Halls."

Note 1: There has been speculation in some quarters as to whether the Bernards actually had their home and musical studio in what is now the Sheltering Arms Hospital, but the death notice on Pierre Bernard states: "Mr. and Mrs. Bernard opened a large and successful music school on Clay Street" which points to a well-established story handed down in the Reinhardt family that the school was once in the home now occupied by the hospital.

GWJJr.

Note 2: After the visit of Mr. Riess, a photograph was taken of the portrait by Sully and sent to the western newspaper publisher by Mr. Reinhardt. Later the portrait was sold to a collector. Unfortunately copies of the photograph taken of the portrait have been lost so the one reproduced here had to be photographed from a newspaper article on music in Richmond in the yesteryears, written by the author.

GWJJr.

bid for building the general office building for Farmers Mutual Telephone System at Edinburg and also five unattended office buildings at New Market, Mt. Jackson, Woodstock, Toms Brook and Strasburg. The Edinburg building will cost \$138,158. The five unattended office buildings will cost \$36,730. . . . **Oscar L. Thomas, Jr.**, recently assumed his position as office manager at the Clarksville finishing plant. He comes to the Clarksville plant from Burlington Industries where he was administrative manager of transportation. **David Alfred Qualls, Jr.**, has been made colorist in the laboratory at the Clarksville finishing plant. He was formerly associated with Collins & Aikman Corporation as a dyer. **Alfred B. Woodman** is recipient of a recent promotion of head dyer at the Clarksville finishing plant. Before coming to Clarksville, he was associated with Goodall Sanford, Inc. as supervisor of their laboratories. . . . **Clarence B. Moore**, regional director of the Small Business Administration, announced a short time ago that 69 small business firms in Virginia received \$1,798,367 in government contracts during June of this year. . . . **Glenn B. Good** has been elected treasurer of General Wholesale Corp. of Richmond. Mr. Good is also vice-president of the firm, which is a wholesaler and distributor of general merchandise. . . . **Harry D. Bitner** has been given a leave by the Reynolds Metals Co. to serve without compensation in the United States Department of Commerce. Bitner is a technical staff assistant in Reynolds extrusion manufacturing division. He becomes adviser to the director of the aluminum and magnesium division of the Business and Defense Services Administration. . . . **H. Dail Holderness** has been elected president of the Home Telephone Company of Virginia. The meeting was held in Emporia. . . . **Haynie S. Trotter**, formerly of Clarksville, has opened a law office in the Wright Building in Vienna. Mr. Trotter served as an artillery officer in Korea after graduating from William and Mary and the University of Virginia. . . . **J. Franklin White** of Waverly and **J. L. White** of Elberon have been elected to the board of directors of the Peanut Growers Cooperative Marketing Association. **Dr. A. L. Grizzard** was elected president. . . . **James H. Lee** is the new manager of Radio Station WRIC, Richlands. . . . **Goldston Motor Express** announces its merger with the Great Southern Trucking Company, according to **J. M. Goldston**, founder of the company. It

has terminals in Leaksville, Spray, Winston-Salem, Roanoke and Greensboro. Great Southern serves 1,300 points in six states: North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, and Florida. . . . **Alfred J. Dickinson**, of Richmond, has resigned as vice-president of Virginia-Carolina Chemical Corp. It is reported that he will shortly become vice-president for sales of Freeport Sulphur Co. and will move to the New York headquarters of Freeport. **Langbourne M. Williams, Jr.**, formerly of Richmond, is president and board chairman of Freeport Sulphur Co. . . . **George E. Kidd**, vice-president for personnel, Vepco, announces effective October 16th the promotion of **W. J. Mathews**, from Richmond district manager to assistant general sales manager for the company. **S. Harold Fletcher**, Petersburg district manager will replace Mathews as Richmond manager. **A. J. Young**, Rappahannock district manager, will replace Fletcher. **Floyd Gibbs**, Peninsula district superintendent at Newport News, will succeed Young. . . . **Adrian Ford Zehmer**, native of McKenny but recently of Richmond, has gone back to McKenny to become associated with his father, **A. Hardy Zehmer**, as company manager of Ye Olde Virginia Motel, Restaurant, Garage and Service Station. It is also an agency for a general line of tractors and other farm machinery. . . . **Raymond Shanklin** is the new staff manager of the Prudential Insurance Company's office at 4401 West Broad St., Richmond. . . . **John B. Pinder, Jr.**, has resigned as vice-president of the Virginia Carolina Hardware Co. to open a sporting goods firm which is located at 916 East Main St., Richmond. It is known as the Sport Center. . . . **William M. Meredith** is the resident manager of the new offices of J. C. Wheat & Co., Richmond investment securities firm opened recently in the Mountain Trust Building, Roanoke. Meredith came from the firm's Norfolk branch. . . . The Southern Bank of Norfolk has observed its 25th anniversary by a two-day ceremony which brought banking and other dignitaries to Norfolk from various sections of the state and nation. A brief history of the bank was given by **Harry O. Nichols**, president and chairman of the board. Other 25-year members of the bank are **W. Ludwell Baldwin** and **George A. Foote**, vice-presidents at the bank's opening who are now on the bank's board of directors along with **Herman R. Furr**, who has been on the board from the beginning.

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Virginia Business Review

(Continued from page 10)

Dorothy's Five and Ten Cent Store in Woodstock, has purchased the Kelley Variety Store in Mount Jackson. . . . **Meigs & Knight**, New Market, has been awarded the contract on the low

On Certain Phases of Government

by ROSEWELL PAGE, JR.

WHAT GIVES MEANING and purpose to local, county, municipal, and state government in the Commonwealth of Virginia?

The Constitution of Virginia and the laws enacted by duly elected representatives of Virginia people to the General Assembly have established certain offices to carry out the functions of local self-government. They make provision for appointment by legally constituted authority or election by the people of persons qualified to fill these offices for terms limited by law. These men spark the government.

Three important offices whose duties are under the circuit and county courts are the clerk of the court, the commonwealth's attorney, and the sheriff.

Clerks of the courts are elected by the people of their respective counties, cities, or towns for a term of eight years. Their duties are many, including keeping the court's records, being clerk to the Board of Supervisors, recording all judicial or court proceedings, issuing licenses, preparing the jury lists from which jurors both grand and petty are chosen, swearing in witnesses during trial, keeping all deeds, wills, mortgages, and the sundry records of business transactions required by law to be on record at the court house.

The commonwealth's attorney as the name implies is the lawyer elected by the people for a term of four years, whose duty it is to represent them in cases arising within the county, city, or town in which he resides. He is the public prosecutor in all criminal cases and represents his jurisdiction in civil matters pertaining to county or municipal matters.

Besides his official duties, he is guide, counsellor and friend to any citizen of his county who desires his help.

The sheriffs and their deputies police the counties, serve civil papers and criminal warrants, maintain order and decorum in the courts, summon the jurors, deliver the poll books and the ballots from the county electoral boards to the proper election officials, post the voting tax lists at the precincts, and are generally charged with maintaining the peace and dignity of that part of the Commonwealth under their several jurisdictions.

They must keep watch over, feed and care for prisoners committed to the county jails or transport prisoners to the regional jails and the state penitentiary, apprehend any law violators and bring them to court for trial and serve whatever papers are issued by the courts. They must deliver insane or imbecile persons to the state mental hospitals after a commission of lunacy has been held and enforce all laws of the Commonwealth and all county ordinances. In some cases the sheriff acts as auctioneer for property sold on order of the court. He investigates all offences committed against the laws of the Commonwealth, taking into custody those persons who are committing breaches of the peace to hold them for trial, or until they are admitted to bail pending their appearance in court.

The cities and towns for the most part have their own police forces to carry out their ordinances and police their jurisdictions.

The office of the sheriff carries high responsibility (in

bygone days in Virginia the title was High Sheriff), and is fraught upon occasion with no small amount of physical danger to the persons of the sheriff and his deputies. These courageous men are the guardians of the safety of the people. We owe them a debt of gratitude for they work around the clock in order that we may take our rest "in peace and quietness" secure in our persons and our property.

Two other officers are among those of particular importance in the state and county governmental functions—the commissioner of the revenue and the treasurer. The commissioner of the revenue is the officer whose duty it is to assess property belonging to the citizen for taxable purposes. This is a very important duty and one which affects every taxpayer who owns any property or has any income.

Upon the judgment of this officer largely depends the amount of revenue the county derives, and the amount of state and county taxes the citizens must pay to support their local and state governments. He is elected by the people whose purpose it is to choose a man of sound judgment and great influence. In nearly every instance he is one of the most popular men in the county, a tribute to his fairness and efficiency.

After the property has been assessed and the annual levy fixed by the governing board of the jurisdiction has been laid against it, then taxes thus raised must be collected. Here the treasurer, an officer elected by the people, enters the picture. It is his primary duty to collect these taxes. He usually does this every fall in the month of November unless a special statute is enacted by the legislature directing him to do otherwise.

For the most part the treasurer's office is at the county court house, but he may in his discretion designate certain places over his area where for the convenience of his constituents he like Matthew, the Publican of Old, will be sitting at the seat of customs to collect taxes due the county and state. These he must put in depositories designated by the governing bodies and approved by the circuit judge.

Upon order of the designated authority the treasurer must draw warrants upon the deposited funds which are countersigned by the chairman of the governing body to pay for the operation of the local government. Of course, he must turn over the state treasury fund collected from the state income tax and other sources of revenue designated for state expenditure.

Thus the Boards of Supervisors in the counties, the town and city councils, the commissioners of the revenue and the treasurers make up one of the taxing teams of state and local governments. It could be said that the sheriff is also a member of that team for he must enforce the treasurer's levy against the property of the delinquent taxpayer. Upon how well the treasurers do their duty depends the revenue of our local and state governments. Upon how well the commissioners of the revenue, the city and town councils, the county Boards of Supervisors, the Governor and the General Assembly of Virginia do their respective duties depends the amount of tax the citizens must pay. Upon how intelligent and how civic or politically minded each

citizen is depends the caliber of the men who fill these important offices, and upon this caliber depends the efficiency, the economy, and the honesty of our local and state governments. It therefore behooves each one of us to be continually on guard and keep up a constant keen interest in our government if we would be governed wisely and well. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," never more so than now.

The times we live in demand that we scrutinize carefully the men whom we elect or have appointed to public office from constable to the President of the United States. Otherwise we stand a chance to vote ourselves into a dictatorship. We must elect and appoint good men to office and then see to it that they carry out the duties efficiently and economically.

Government can easily become an unnecessarily heavy financial burden upon us and our only protection against this is continued interest in and knowledge of governmental affairs. If this knowledge shows us that our government is being run inefficiently and wastefully then we must have the courage to demand of our representatives that they do a better job. If at the end of their terms they have not done so then it is our duty to vote them out of office and put men in their places with the ability and the firm intention to get the job done in a manner best suited to the interest of the tax payer who foots the bills. But we must be careful to remember that before we criticize the men who run the government we must know government ourselves and how much or how little of it we desire.

Carping criticism based upon hostile heresay testimony, prejudice or ignorance is of no value. It does harm. For the government is due the respect of the people. It is for each citizen to know that much of the present government expense stems from his or her own demand for government service. We should therefore be mindful of Mr. Jefferson's statement to the effect that the best governed people are those who are governed the least, and hold in check demands for any governmental services save those which are genuinely necessary for the general welfare of all people. Too often of late we have been the victims of what one wise man or wag has called "government by scream." We see pressure groups before every legislative body demanding special legislation entailing government expenditure for their own particular interests. They secure it often in exact ratio to how well they are organized and how much noise they can make at the county court house, the city hall, the state capitol or before the Congress at Washington. Our representatives at these places would take a careful look at these pleaders for special privileges for one group or another and remember that for everyone who is there trying to force an appropriation for his own selfish interest there are probably a hundred, maybe a thousand people at home tending to their own several businesses who do not want that appropriation made because it will cost them tax money from which they will derive no benefit. These good citizens are depending upon their duly elected representatives to do their duty by really representing them, that is the general welfare of all the people and not the interests of the few.

The people have a right to expect their representatives to remember that under the law this is a representative republic and not a pure democracy. A man elected to represent the people is supposed to do just that. Having all the evidence before him concerning the matter under consideration, he is duty bound to use his best judgment as to what is best for all of his constituents and vote accordingly. He ought not to be influenced by the hue and cry of those desiring an especial legislative advantage. Only thus can the

rest of his constituents be protected from "government by scream."

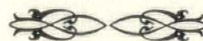
Those of us who must work for a living and to raise the taxes to operate the government at all three levels have no time to run it ourselves, therefore we elect men to do it for us and it is their sworn duty to represent our interests well and truly. These are the men who are on the firing line to protect the liberties of the American people from all enemies whomsoever. As long as they keep the expense of government to a minimum we have nothing to fear from enemies without or within. It is when our representatives at all government levels become extravagant and render services which are not necessary to the general welfare of all the people that America is in danger. She is in danger now.



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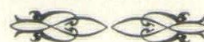


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Deadly Parallel, Part III

(Continued from page 3)

vading armies through undefended Southern neighborhoods. If there is no element of shame in this omission, the selective editing certainly indicates a desire to present the war period in terms to glorify one section and stigmatize the other. The details of the decade of Reconstruction have always held notably little appeal for Northern readers. They seem inclined to brush it away with, "It's too bad it happened, but that's all in the past now."

Because of these glossed-over versions of the South's history, Northern supporters of the coalition today are not aware that the present application of force is an extension of an interference with the social order of the South that covers 137 years of the 170-year-old Union.

In that span of time, the Southerner has become conditioned to being acted against. Because of this, the legal enforcement of social integration between the races, which began specifically with the schools, is not an isolated problem in humanities which he has suddenly been ordered to solve. It is only one act, in an historic chain of acts, which threatens his existing society from without.

On this fateful point, the fight between the coalition and the Southerner has been reduced to an essential which the average Northerner overlooks. *The NAACP allies are determined to elevate the Negro's social status by force, regardless of the consequence to the society in which he exists; in reaction, the Southerner has become determined to preserve his social structure regardless of what happens to the Negro.*

This should not be the issue. The problem of the Negro's status in the South would never have been reduced to such irreconcilable fundamentals unless the Northern coalition repeated the hostile behavior-pattern of a period that destroyed the Southern society and conditioned every Southerner in defensiveness. For the deadliness of the parallel between the 1850's and the 1950's is that, in each decade, a combine of powers antithetical to Southern interests applied a *total* principle which was not practical in detail.

The Southerner, in resisting the impracticality of the *total* principle, is forced to assume a defensive position which can make him appear to be an enemy of justice—"racist," as Northern journalists, in their moral superiority, like to call us.

On the issue of slavery 100 years ago, the percentage of Southerners actually involved varies from an estimate of something over 10 per cent of actual slaveowners to something under one-fourth of Southern families who included slaves in their property. It is a long established fact that slavery was on the way out in Virginia and other states. A balanced economy was replacing the slave-operated plantation devoted to a single money-crop. An incalculable percentage of slave-owning families retained their people only because they did not know what else to do with them. On the bare statistics alone, it is not reasonable to assume that three-fourths of Southern families would take up arms simply to save the property of one-fourth—even assuming, which was far from the case, that all of the one-fourth would fight over slavery.

The people fought to preserve their order in a fear that the sudden loosing of 4,000,000 Negroes in an agrarian society of five-and-one-half millions of white people would, to repeat Lincoln, produce "*a greater evil even to the cause of human liberty itself.*"

In the present crisis, Lincoln could be rewritten to read, "that the sudden social elevation of Negroes by force cannot be achieved without producing a greater evil even to the cause of human liberty itself."

At the basis, the methods by which the physical co-mingling of the races is being enforced will destroy the constitutional and traditional safeguards of human liberty as cherished by Anglo-Saxon people. The South is aware that the true interests of the Negro and the nation will not be served by creating a hostile alignment of the races in a dislocated environment. The social customs and mental habits of three centuries are not going to be dissolved on any given day by any order, and enforcement of the order can only result in violence and disruption.

Since the NAACP, with its skillful and long-range campaign, cannot be unmindful of this, it must be assumed that it is trying to make a success of the attempt that failed in Reconstruction—to elevate the Negro at the expense of the white with support from an anti-Southern coalition.

All the statements of the NAACP stress its enmity to the Southern white man with whom it presumably wishes to establish equality. Not by one word or deed has the NAACP evinced any attitude to indicate a mutuality of responsibility for the society in which it

demands equality. They seek an outside protection for forcible injection as equals into the society of a people for whom they express only hatred. Their methods indeed forbid the possibility of harmony in a mutual society, and certain elements among their allies reveal a total indifference to the consequences to the society just so long as the Negro is an equal in it. The Southerner could not escape, if he tried, the conclusion that *he* is the enemy.

The most outspoken advocates of instant amalgamation have admitted in print that school-integration has operated successfully when the percentage of Negro students was too low to cause "inundation." By implication, then, even school integration is practical only where white children are in a predominant majority. Yet, with this admission of impracticality where "inundation" would occur, the advocates of the NAACP's purpose still insist on the principle *in toto*. As the South has been offered no opportunity to apply the principle only where it could be practical, the people have no alternative save to fight the principle itself.

But in the deadly parallel, the Southerners are defending in detail "incident" by "incident." This is precisely the sort of defense that led to the Civil War, and an aggressor could not ask for any tactics more happily suited to his purpose. Because he knows, what the moderate Southerner fears, that one incident will finally cause the explosion. The undercurrent of tensions must rise to the surface, and the issue will be resolved by force. The first use of force as a principle has already been applied in Little Rock, where the colored element involved was proportionately small. When this principle is applied under different circumstances, force will breed force, and create consequences which form of themselves an irresistible momentum.

Before the course charted produces the inevitable collision, the South's only hope is to arouse to action the element in the non-Southern population who would not regard uncontrollable turmoil as a necessary means of achieving the ends of this combine of NAACP, the Warren-Brownell axis, expedient politicians of both parties, and the irresponsible social-justice apostles disseminating the line in mass media. If such a combine can again involve the whole nation in the purposes of a few, then our democratic processes have failed again—this time with a totalitarian world enemy as the witness. The spectacle which Eisenhower claimed that Little Rock made for

Communists will be but a slight disagreement compared to the spectacle that will be made when opposing forces really clash.

It devolves on the South to form allies for the preservation of Constitutional government for legislation of laws which grow organically from the nature of the society. A few have been found in Washington who could not stomach the abrogation of traditional liberties and procedures in order that punitive measures be taken against the South. There are millions more and, as before and always, the moderates are less vocal than haters and special pleaders.

Also, a few of the publications that regarded the Supreme Court's decision on school integration to be indisputably the law of the land have shown considerable qualms about the Court's legislation in regard to the protection of Communists, crippling of Congress' powers of investigation, and other "interpretations" of the law. The Southerner has always observed the association between communists and inciters of racialism. In Virginia we were treated to the spectacle of a man running in the 1957 primaries as an integrationist who, in 1936, ran in the congressional election on the communist ticket. It devolves on the South to point out this interrelation to citizens who certainly do not wish totalitarian techniques, as applied by Mr. Brownell, applied in this country — under whatever banner.

Today, the juvenile delinquent, the adult delinquent and the psychotic criminal, even when murderer and rapist, are studied carefully for the environmental influences that form his "case history." Frequently his punishment is ameliorated and his incarceration accompanied by rehabilitating therapy. The South alone is removed from its own case history. No anti-Southerner is bothered by any self-doubts as to his own Christianity in sitting in judgment without mercy and in condemning the accused unheard. "You damn racist," the Southerner is told, "commingle because that's what we want."

It is this approach that has gotten the Southerner's back up. His position in relation to the colored segment of his population is objectively untenable, and he knows it. But the approach to the solution by the new coalition can scarcely be termed objective, and it has aroused the Southerner emotionally. Now the issue is so joined that neither side, South or anti-South, could act with any objectivity in reaching a solution for the Negro's status.

Finally, then, it devolves on Southerners to bring to non-committed Northerners the awareness of the elements in this present impasse that preclude the possibility of a *practical* solution that is just to all and evolved out of the fabric of traditional American legislative procedures.

It devolves on Southerners as the only ones affected to make plain that the application of a total principle, which is being defied *in toto* in the South, is the way to chaos. The present resolution by force cannot be regarded as even concerning the problem and its solution. If there is a solution, and there must be one, it will be found by responsible citizens working in the interests of all who try to understand what is possible in changes in any organic body.

Of all things, the Southerner must cease reacting against outside pressures and interference, and begin an offensive of his own. He must clearly perceive that school-integration is merely a handy issue but one on which he is being nailed by defending only that point. *He* knows that he is defending the preservation of his social order and traditional government. But, unless he articulates what he is fighting for and carries the fight to the enemy, he will only continue the long rear-guard action which began in 1820 and which can end only in the ultimate obliteration of the world he knows.

While such obliteration is clearly desirable to a few, the South must seek allies among the many who can appreciate that the obliteration of the South's conservative order by force is the beginning of the obliteration of the conservative order in the United States.

That the Northern Democrats desire the destruction of the conservative order is a fact. That conservative Republicans have been driven by party leaders to act against their consciences in accommodation of Warren's conscience is also a fact. But the Northern Democrats do not represent the majority of Americans and the conservative Republicans can follow their own consciences if supported by their constituents.

It is pointless for the South to appeal to justice and legal procedures when Northern Democrats and Eisenhower's Palace Guard are trying to out-do the other in showing justice to the Negro, and when Eisenhower has given the ultimate demonstration of his lack in broad-range leadership. It is equally futile to answer those proven enemies among the moulders of public opinion.

An unfortunate majority of spokesmen in public media have demonstrated their prejudgment of the South, when

it is known their serious studies on the whole society are non-existent and their convictions are, at best, suspect. Many of these, as with national legislators, are motivated by the fear of antagonizing what seems the prevailing spirit; some, of course, eagerly embrace the popular cause, just as in the thirties their type embraced communism. There is no way to reach these people. By demonstration, they are disinterested in the nature of the problem or its solution.

There is still another element, the neo-abolitionists, whose self-righteousness has assumed the Pharisees' unction of "Thank God, I am not as other men." These are the advocates of a partisan justice which finds expression in name-calling, as currently "racist."

This contraction of the word "racialist" means literally race-hater, and no person or publication which applies it generally to all Southern people can conceivably be motivated by good intentions. If they sincerely believe that the white Southerner's position is caused by race-hating, they are disqualified by ignorance. Since it is unlikely that even the most biased publication believes that the South is composed entirely of race-haters, the use of the word in a national crisis would imply in the name-caller an intolerance or irresponsibility or both, which, in any event, could obviously serve only to incite passions.

Trying to answer name-callers, by reason or appeal, has produced in the South a sense of futility, and this sense is justified by the results of our present course. But that is not the only course open to us.

It must be faced coldly that the South once again is defending a position on principle against a coalition which is an amalgam of special interest, distant righteousness, expediency and hatred. As in the 1850's, this coalition has the clearly conceived end, the unity, and the initiative that is creating a force out of its own momentum. This momentum gives an impression of inevitability to their design, and they say, quite smugly, they are in "the course of history." They do not make explicit what constitutes this course of history. It assuredly is not to halt at the forcible commingling of races where distrust and hostility have been created, old wounds re-opened and new ones suffered, in an atmosphere of mounting tensions.

As the pundits point out, there *is* a course of history, but it has a disconcerting way of surging through unmarked channels. The Southerner suffered one unpredictable turn of the historic course, and he is fighting to

avoid another. By instinct he knows that emotions cannot be controlled by legislation, and he knows that the introduction of arms in the contest into which he has been drawn can only result in greater violence and upheaval.

Yet, in his fear for his society, the Southerner has not fought wisely or skillfully. He is resisting groups who are indifferent to the consequences he fears and, in the case of the NAACP, actively desire the tumult he is trying to avoid. In essence, he is fighting a cold-blooded strategy and steamroller tactics with a principle, and his efforts to avoid the specific issue of school integration served only as a delaying action until Eisenhower granted the NAACP's desire for bayonet enforcement. The South did not use the time to amass its forces to meet the issue squarely.

One element that has emerged during the delaying action is the presence of responsible individuals in Washington, in the nation, and in the public media who have come to view the conflict over schools in the context of the whole society of the South and of the country. These perceive the danger in the forces that are being created.

What amounted to a legislative law came into being through an edict of the Supreme Court that dismissed the known wishes of a majority of the citizens of a region, and efforts are being made to implement a law known to be in violation of a social order. The millions of involved people are told they must change on the instant their hearts, habits, customs and all familiar and secure to them. Since this is manifestly not a possibility, it must be recognized that such a chaotic measure could not be forced upon citizens without the support of this coalition who, for varying motives, are acting in effect against the South. That being the case, the South's only strategy of defense is to form a counter-coalition of its own.

The individuals across the nation who appeared to question the present course are not concerned primarily with integration in schools any more than is the NAACP. They are concerned over the threat of a central government, supported by the ragtag and bobtail of the coalition, to the traditional order of America. Without the immediate stake of the Southerner in the school issue, they do not wish to see a known order perish in one section, when clearly this is the beginning of the breakdown of the existing order across the nation.

The South must recognize that it is not alone in its determination to preserve an existing conservative order. It

is made to act alone when it resists isolated issues, such as school-integration, which appear to be outside of the context of the fundamental society it is protecting. School integration is no more and no less than all the issues that preceded the Confederate War For Independence. The South's mistake then — which it is repeating now — was to defend, without a total plan, against each issue as it arose. With each defeat on a single issue, with each compromise, even with each victory, the South's essential position was weakened in a retreating movement.

Calhoun's contemporaries ignored his advice to meet the threat in "its length and breadth"; we must not ignore it now. In Calhoun's day, the South did not have the example of what could happen to its society. Who would have believed that Virginia, the Mother of States, would be devastated by invasion and bled prostrate by a military occupation from a people "preserving the Union"?

Anti-Southern publications laughed at the Southerners' fear of bayonets coming again. In early September a TV interviewer of the Governor of Arkansas asked him why he, as Governor, did not use bayonets to force the Negroes into the school? If the Governor's interviewer believed the Governor should, and the Governor did not, then the next logical step was that the bayonets be used by someone else — as they were within two weeks. That Eisenhower acted as elements hostile to the South had expected him to act fairly grimly shows that the Southerner was no alarmist in his fears.

The Supreme Court's edict on integration was, the decision read, to prepare Negroes in school for their normal environment. From the way the President has executed the Court's order, it must be presumed that the normal environment is that of the Reconstruction era. The Negro and white have been pitted against one another, made enemies in a conflict in which the Negroes have sought and found armed support from Federal agencies acting against the state's laws and natural orders. By logical sequence, the South will again exist under martial law with its society controlled by elements outside its borders.

When the headlines are popping it is not possible to keep up with the separate incidents. The momentum of force has begun, and the Southerners must — as they did not before — go beyond incidents before it is too late. They must convince fellow-Americans that we have started on the road that leads to the abyss. But it is too late

to turn back on that road. All left us now is counter-action, with strategy and tactics to meet the enemy's. In doing this, we must devise strategy and tactics to implement what amounts to counter-action.

Action to preserve an existing order is not as dramatic as action designed to change it, but the nature of the threat can be made very dramatic indeed. After all, Hitlerism presented a change and so did Russian communism, and forces of preservation were aroused by the dramatic nature of the threat. The threat to traditional America is no less ominous because it originates within our borders.

If the Western World could form coalitions for containment of a menace, certainly Southerners can arouse allies in America to contain a menace at home. We will do it when we recognize that the coalition confronting us is the enemy, as the similar coalition of the 1850's proved its enmity.

In carrying the action to the enemy, a new political coalition is needed to remove from national power the alignment of Northern Democrats and Civil Rights Republicans, who for the second time are using the Negro as a lever to their own power. With those expedient humanists removed, a determined and well-planned campaign should be organized to repeal the "sociological" interpretations of the Supreme Court, and re-establish the states' prerogatives by constitutional amendment. It might not be too much even to hope that Negro leaders could be shown that the use of their people as a political football is a repetition of that earlier use of force after which, with their status suddenly changed, they were abandoned in a wrecked society.

Finally and essentially, a new coalition devoted to preserving the nature of the American society must offer a positive program in its rejection of the present trend as "the course of history." The course of history certainly tends toward ever broadening concepts of justice; it is the duty of American conservatives to direct the course toward a justice that can grow organically, *from its nature*, for all, and to protect all citizens from forcibly applied abstractions in violation of a people's organic nature.

Clifford Dowd

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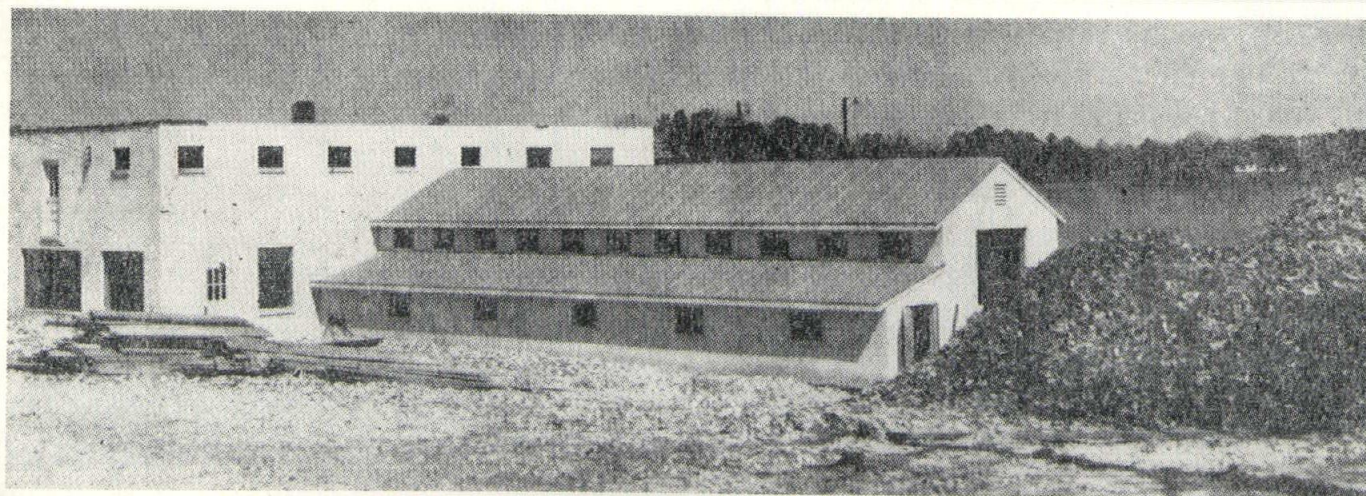
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