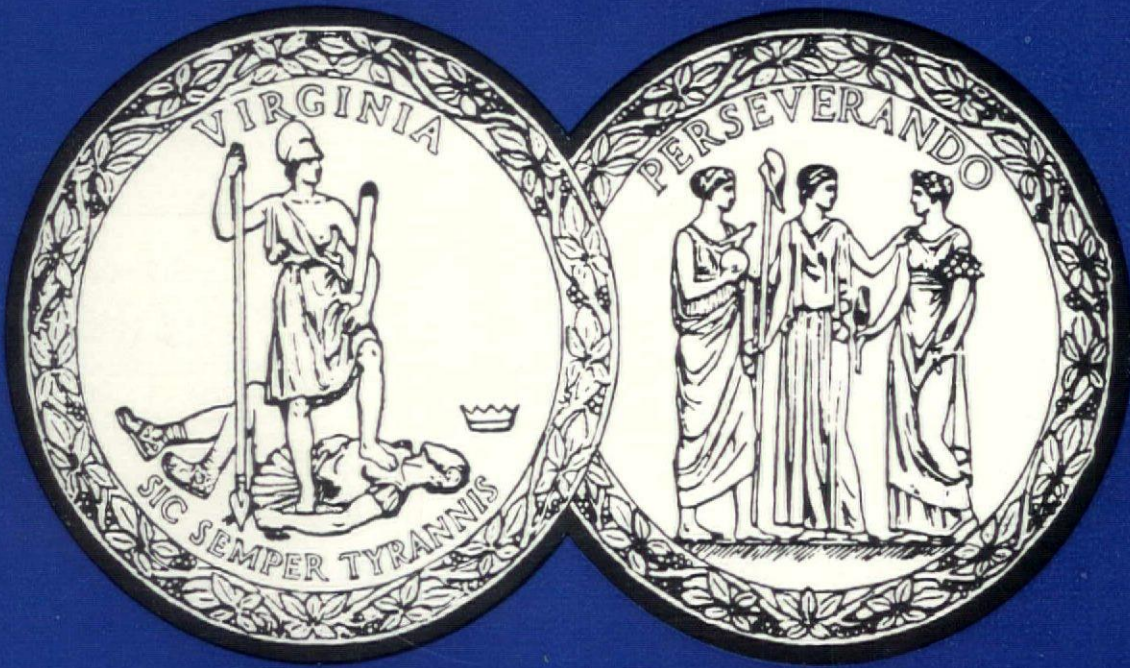


Virginia
RECORD

JANUARY 1964

THE HISTORY OF THE



VIRGINIA GENERAL ASSEMBLY

By **CLIFFORD DOWDEY**

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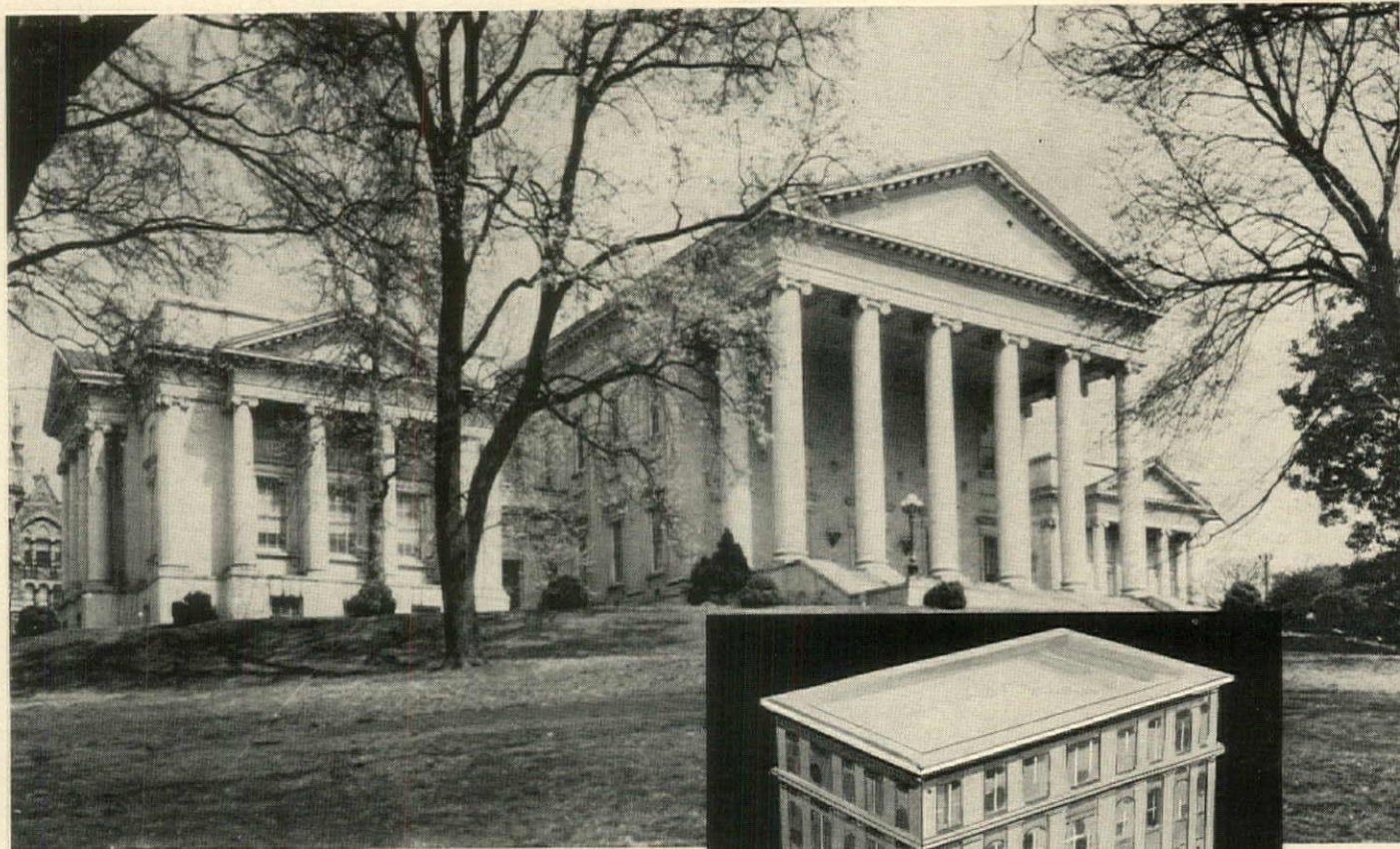
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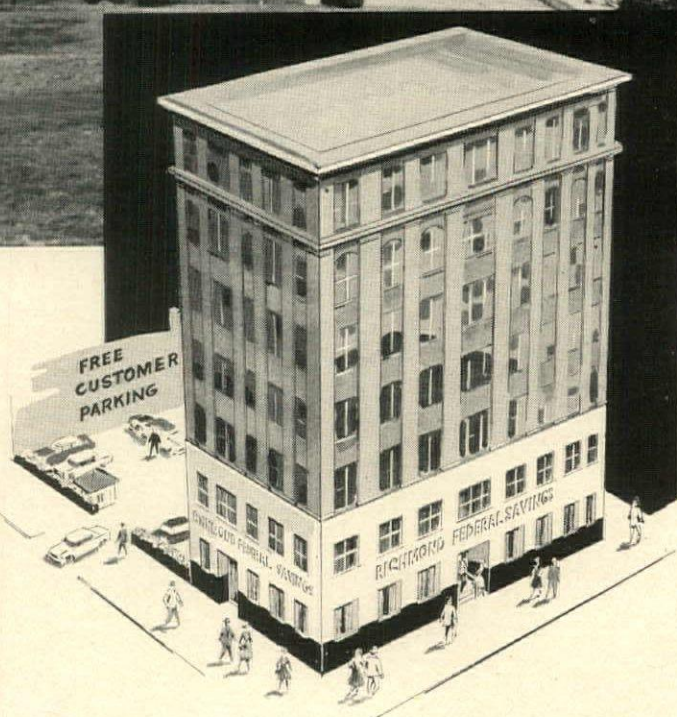
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The History of the General Assembly of Virginia

by

CLIFFORD DOWDEY

BEGINS ON PAGE 6



*This statue of Captain John Smith stands
overlooking the river at Jamestown*



ONE YEAR BEFORE the *Mayflower* set sail for Virginia, and was blown off her course to land at Plymouth, the first legislative body of representative government in America met on Jamestown Island on July 30, 1619. As unfortunately every school child does *not* know, the "General Assembly" — as the first meeting was called — gives Virginia the oldest, continuous body of representative government in the New World.

In 1619 the affairs in the struggling colony were not going well for the Virginia Company (the proprietors of the colonization chartered by King James I) and that year the colonial governor, Sir George Yeardley, brought from England a proclamation calling for a general assembly, that the people "might have a hand in governing themselves." Two burgesses were to be elected from each of the eleven centers of settlement (called "plantations") to meet yearly with the Governor and the appointive Council. In stiffling hot weather these twenty-two elected representatives of the "inhabitants" of Virginia gathered in the small church at Jamestown.

The first order of business was consideration of the charter brought by Governor Yeardley, which was concerned primarily with land tenure and the colony's internal organization. Setting a precedent that has been followed by all legislative bodies in America ever since, the burgesses appointed committees — two — to study

the matter. With only minor changes recommended, the charter was approved by the Burgesses and this could be said to be the first written constitution of government used in America.

From this the Burgesses proceeded to the enactment of laws. A basic one assumed in the individual members the power of initiating legislation: "a third sort of law such as might proceed out of every man's private concept." On the last, wilting day of the meeting, August 4, this first body of representative government passed its first tax law. A poll tax was to be paid by every man for the purposes of defraying the expenses of the officers of the assembly—or, the people were to be taxed to support the people's government.

In 1624, after other meetings of the General Assembly, the Virginia Company was dissolved and control of the Colony passed directly to the King. From 1625 until 1629, the status of the General Assembly was uncertain, with its meetings neither sanctioned nor denied, but the planters continued to hold regular meetings and remained insistent on the continuation of self-government in Virginia. In 1639 Charles I, after typical vacillation, gave the colonial governor instructions "to call a General Assembly" once a year, and Virginia's representative legislative body was officially established in the British system of colonial rule.

Not until after this did the King's Council and House of Burgesses have a capitol building. At first, they continued their meetings in the church

and then in the house of unpopular Governor Harvey. After Harvey was replaced by Wyatt, in 1639, his financial affairs got into such a sorry state that he sold his residence to the General Assembly in 1641. The two adjoining brick houses became Virginia's first capitol.

By 1656 this building, evidently in a state of disrepair, was replaced by the first statehouse built specifically for that purpose—technically, the second capitol. Four years later this building was destroyed by one of Jamestown's frequent fires and after five years—during which period the burgesses convened in the agreeable if unseemly atmosphere of taverns—the third capitol was built during the “reign” of the famous Sir William Berkeley.

Berkeley, coming to Virginia as an able cosmopolite, turned into a despotic monarchist after the interregnum of Cromwell's rule. His capitol went up in smoke in 1676 when Nathaniel Bacon's rebels drove him out and burned Jamestown. A fourth capitol was built in 1685, the last in Jamestown. When this was destroyed also by fire in 1699, the people by then had enough of the “malarious” island of Jamestown, and the seat of government was shifted to Williamsburg, where work on a new capitol was begun in 1701. The General Assembly, after appointing a committee to inspect the construction, anticipated modern procedures by appointing a second committee to examine the activities of the first.

Williamsburg proved to be little less

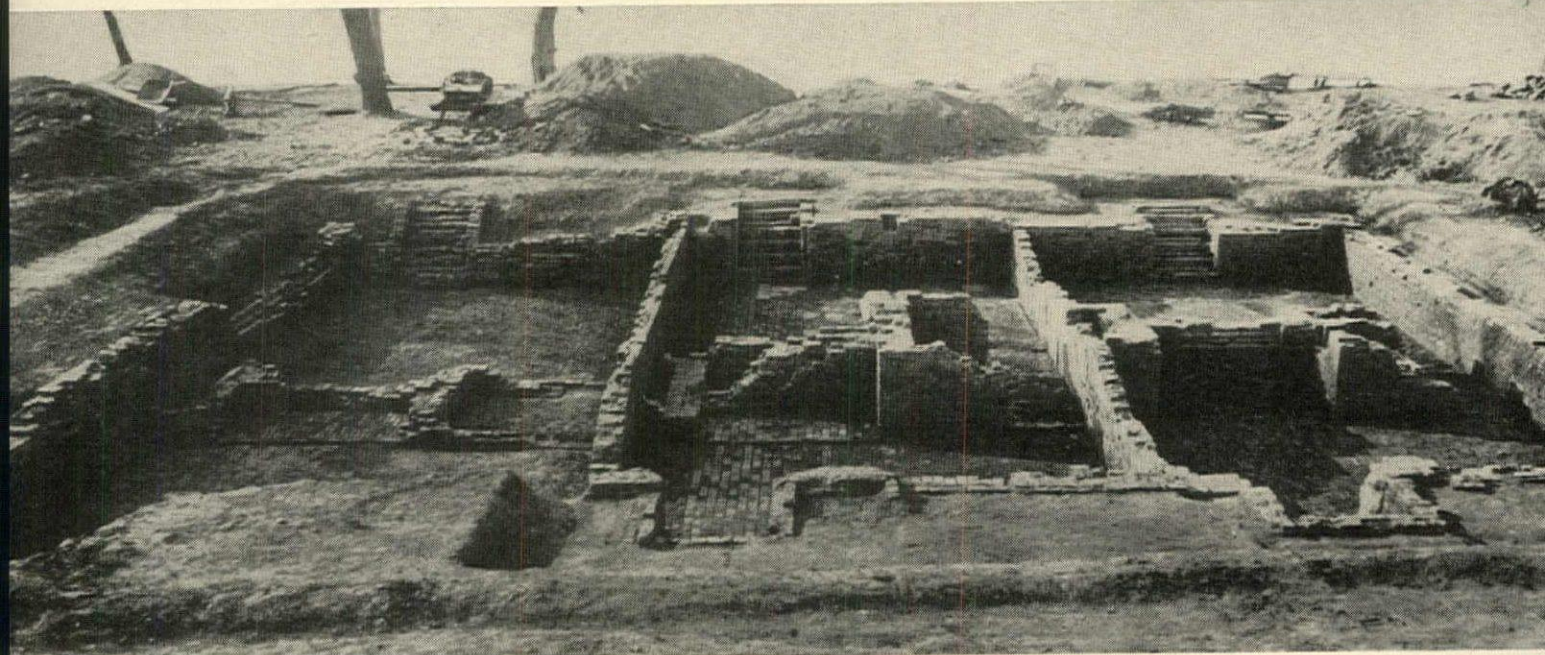
exposed to the hazards of fire than Jamestown and this building was destroyed in 1747. On the same site and in the same general H-shaped design, Virginia's sixth capitol was completed in 1753. This survived its use by the General Assembly and was not destroyed by fire until 1832, long after the capital had been shifted to Richmond. Following the original plans, the capitol was restored through the generosity of Mr. Rockefeller, and can now be seen as it was during the years when the future giants of the Revolution were learning and practicing politics in the stately, magnificently proportioned rooms.

There, in the increasingly powerful House of Burgesses, among future leaders could be seen imposing, impassive Washington, bland and skillful Benjamin Harrison, radical-minded and intemperate Patrick Henry, sandy-haired young Jefferson, brilliant visionary and practical politician (who had listened to the debates when a student at William and Mary), the Lees and Randolphs and countless others of talents and energy and deep personal involvement with the affairs of government. For Virginians were not sending politicians to run the government for them: men of substance, landowners in a colony where land was power, the planters trained themselves in the political operation of government and combined personal responsibility with sound, resourceful knowledge of the machinery of politics. Though the Burgesses thought in terms of the colony's welfare, (*Please turn page*)



Above, the Old Church at Jamestown. On this site the first legislative body of the new world convened in July 1619. The original church in which the General Assembly met was a frame building.

Below are seen the foundations of the first statehouse at Jamestown, as excavated in 1935. (Photo, courtesy National Park Service)



(Continued from preceding page)

some of the ablest tacticians could have given practical lessons to graduates of Tammany Hall.

The growing power of the General Assembly in colonial government had not come about without a struggle nor had the self-confident abilities of its members happened by chance. During the 17th century period, when the capital was at Jamestown, the structure of Virginia changed from the fumbling beginnings where scattered small farms formed about large settlements. During the mid-century the great plantations of individual landowners began to emerge.

Mostly because of the high duties and low prices on tobacco (the colony's money crop), imposed by the irresponsible greed of Charles II, the small planter was squeezed out. In an agricultural version of mass production, profits were made on volume—produced by slave labor in large-scale, complex operations. With the growth of the big landowners came a comparatively small number of families who, interlocked by marriage and community of interest, formed a dominant group, or class. Thus,

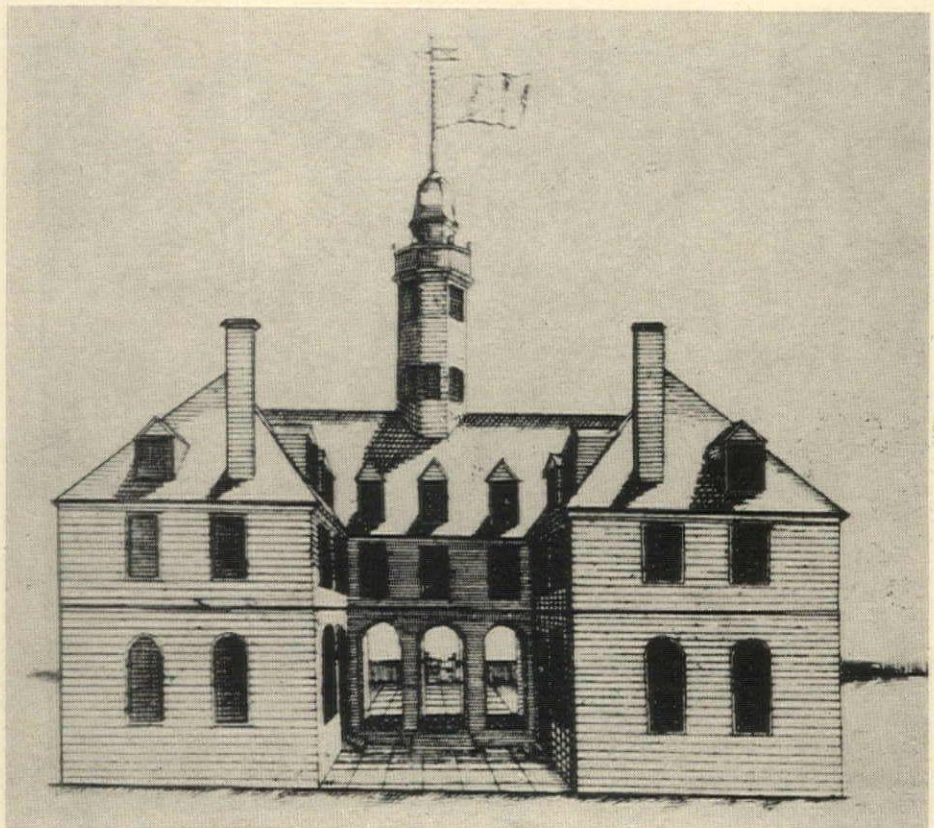


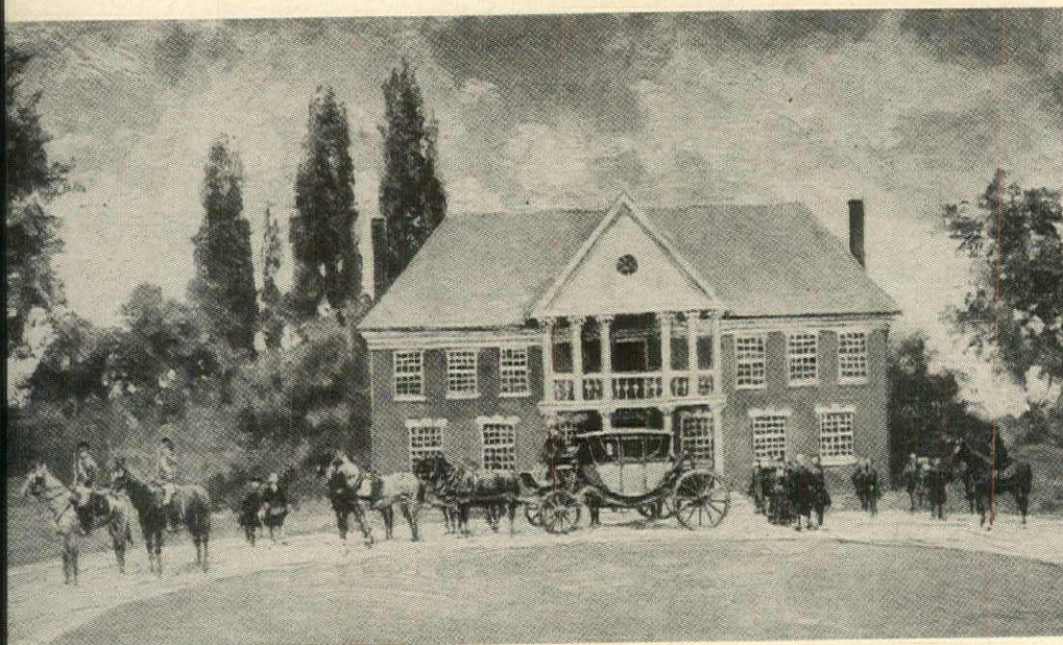
The Capitol building, shown above as now restored, was built on the ruins of the first, shown below, utilizing the foundations. Virginia's capitols having been sacrificed to a series of fires, the chimneys of the first capitol were not added until 1723, though work on it was begun in 1701. This building, too, was fated to be gutted by fire in 1747. A new capitol was completed in 1753.

"F.F.V." does not refer at all to the few survivors of the first colonizing days at Jamestown but to the families that got there first with the most acres.

Many of these big landholders, like the first Lee in Virginia, became appointed members of the Governor's Council — as the House of Burgesses was the only elective body in Virginia. From the mid-17th to the end of the century, representative government in Virginia cannot honestly be said to have been characterized by democratic tendencies. In 1670 the voting franchise became restricted to property owners. Though Nathaniel Bacon removed this restriction during his brief rule in 1676, his law was repealed by Charles II. In the changing, perilous economic times, the men of property and

to tell the Virginia Story



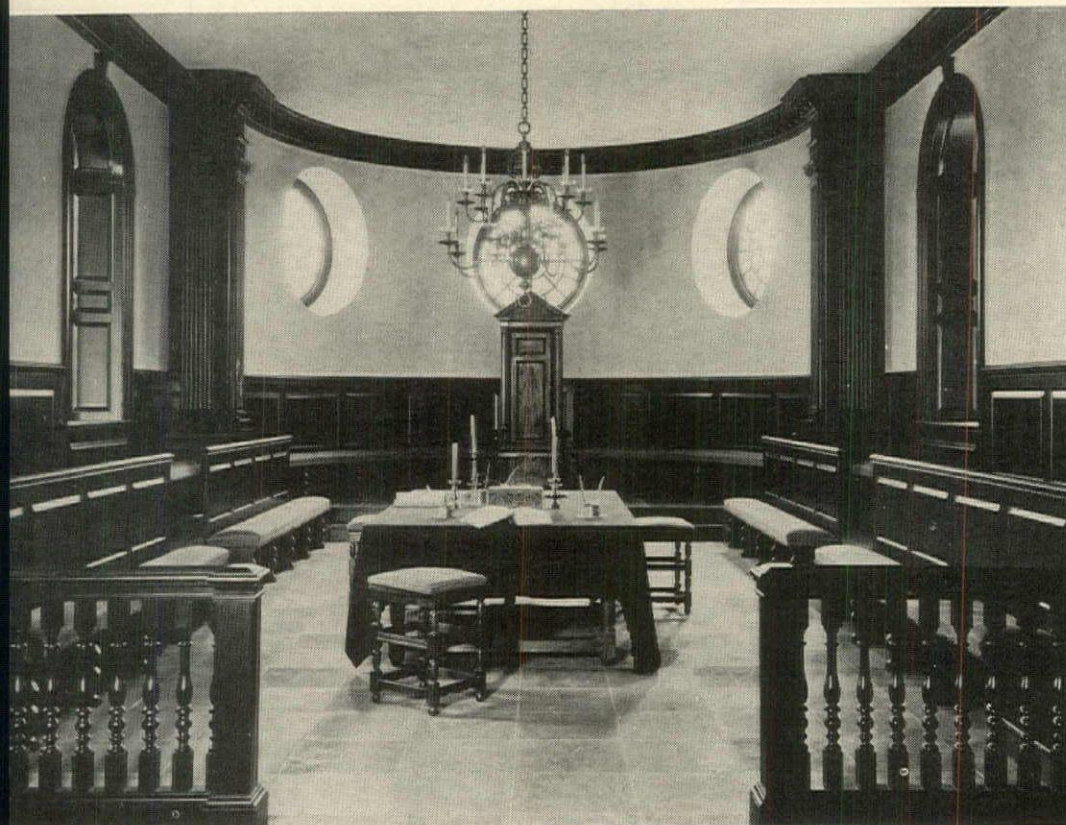


This painting, by Howard Pyle shows the second capitol, where gathered council, court and burgesses. The present reconstructed building was erected after plans for the first building.



Below, the hall of the Virginia House of Burgesses where the oldest legislative assembly in America held its meetings from 1704-1780. Reconstructed on its original site, the Capitol has been furnished according to accurate inventories of the period. At the far end of the room is the original speaker's chair, where the speaker of the House sat as he attempted to stop Patrick Henry in his fiery "Caesar-Brutus" speech.

(Colonial Williamsburg photograph)



power—and those aspiring to power—were frankly dedicated to securing their own positions.

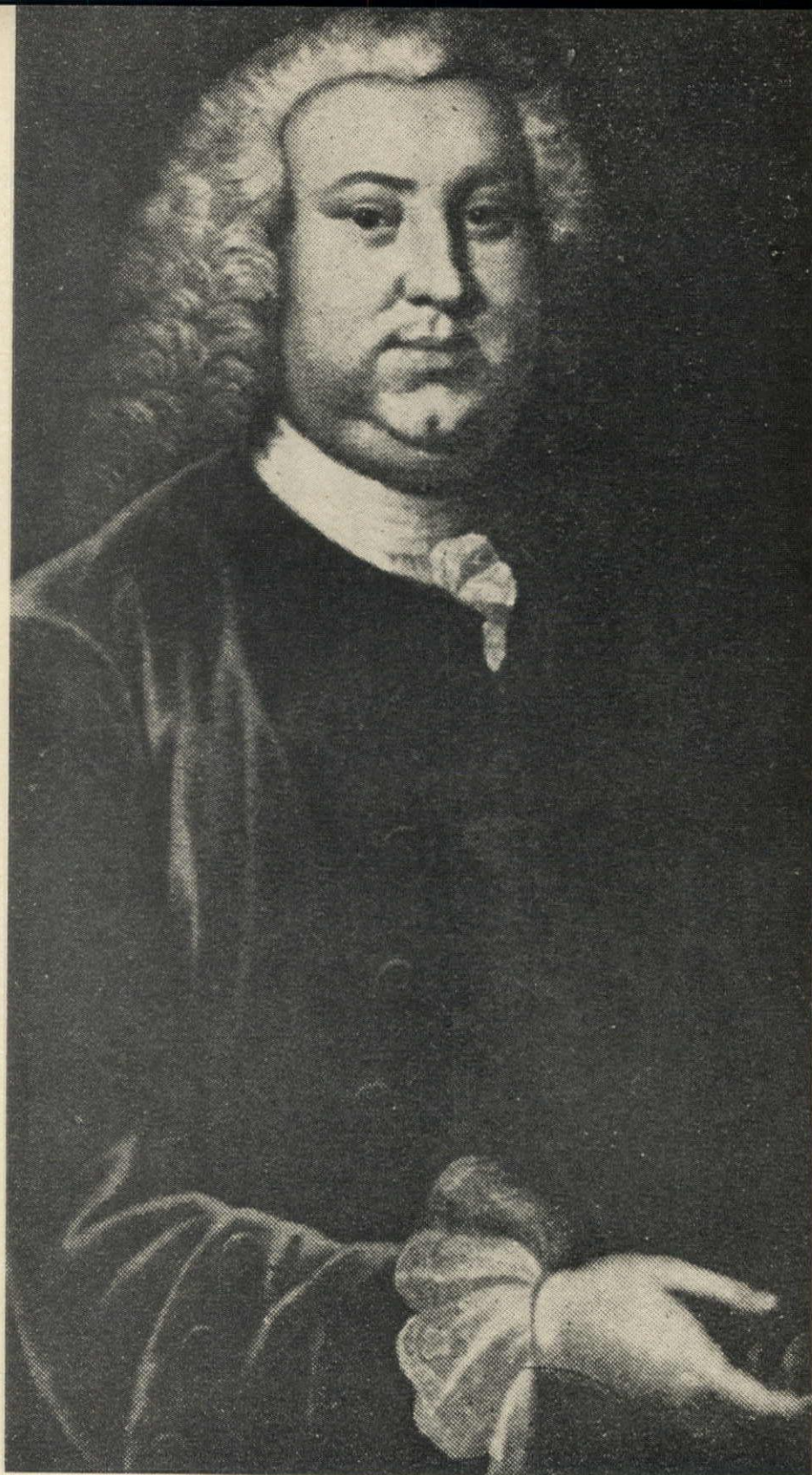
Once their positions were secured, with a dominant group forming and prosperity coming to the colony on its then stabilized structure, the representatives of what was becoming a ruling class began a slow, steady assertion of their power in the General Assembly. From 1624, when the House of Burgesses declared that it possessed the exclusive right of determining taxation, the members by successive acts zealously protected the fundamental principle that no taxation was legal in the Colony without the consent of the General Assembly. From this foundation of bargaining power with the Governor, the House of Burgesses—sometimes acting in concert with the Council—gradually encroached upon the areas of authority of the Crown's representative in Virginia. With an increasing sense of their own authority, both as plantation masters and as legislators, these Burgesses were making of the General Assembly far more a truly representative governing body than Charles I had ever conceived when he granted the right of a yearly assembly.

The House of Burgesses also represented a Colonial element that the Stuart king could not have foreseen—a local, self-made aristocracy. Instead of approximating the House of Commons, as a people's balance to hereditary rule in the House of Lords, the Burgesses themselves represented what was becoming an established, virtually hereditary order in the Colony. The interests of this governing class established in Virginia a conservative attitude in politics which has continued, through all shocks and mutations of time and circumstances, to characterize the

General Assembly into the present.

As an illustration of the power exercised in government by the new aristocracy, at the time the last capitol was occupied in Williamsburg—when the legislators then represented counties—nine men held the four most important appointive offices in the government, controlled the six standing committees, and dominated the thirty special committees. By then the office of Speaker had grown vastly in power and influence, and John Robinson held the joint offices of Speaker and Treasurer for 28 years—from 1738 until his death in 1766. He was succeeded by fat Peyton Randolph, who for 18 years previously had served as Attorney-General. When Randolph became Speaker, he was succeeded by his younger brother, John, who had previously been Clerk. The post of Treasurer went to Robert Carter Nicholas and, in 1769, George Wythe became a most powerful Clerk.

The controlling group around four of these men — Peyton Randolph, Nicholas, Robinson and Wythe — was completed by five political strategists in the House: Benjamin Harrison, of Charles City; Richard Bland, of Prince George; Richard Henry Lee, of Westmoreland; Edmund Pendleton, of Caroline; and Archibald Cary, of Chesterfield. One of these nine men was the chairman of each of the six standing committees, as well as serving on two or three other standing committees, and among them they also were chairmen of 21 of the 30 special committees. To indicate the satisfaction of the other Burgesses—cousins, in-laws, neighbors, and so on—with this arrangement, Patrick Henry was the only member of the



(Courtesy, Virginia State Library)

PEYTON RANDOLPH

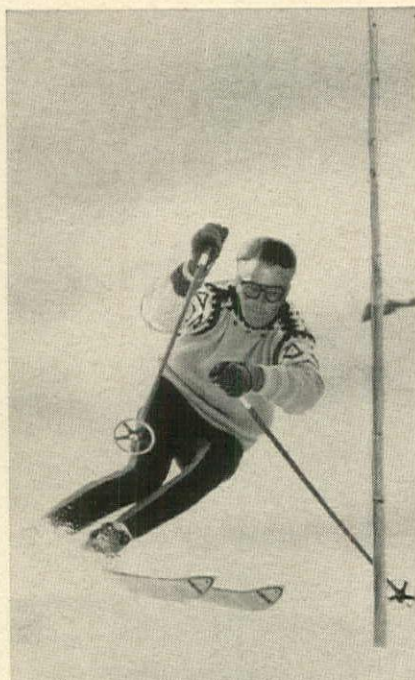
House to challenge this entrenched power, and he unsuccessfully.

This faction at the Capitol was only the apex of a broadly based political oligarchy whose foundation was in the counties. The office of Justice of the

Peace, bearing only faint resemblance to the present office, was a coveted post of influence, as the justices also comprised the county court. The justices were appointed by the Governor from names supplied by the counties, and the names sug-



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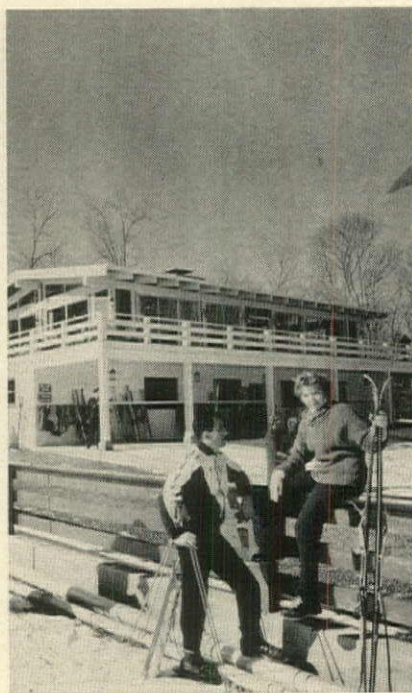


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THE HOMESTEAD

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VIRGINIA RECORD

gested were always members of the club. Of more or less co-equal importance were the vestrymen of the parishes in the established Church of England. The county justices and the parish vestrymen were one and the same, forming what amounted to a self-perpetuating body.

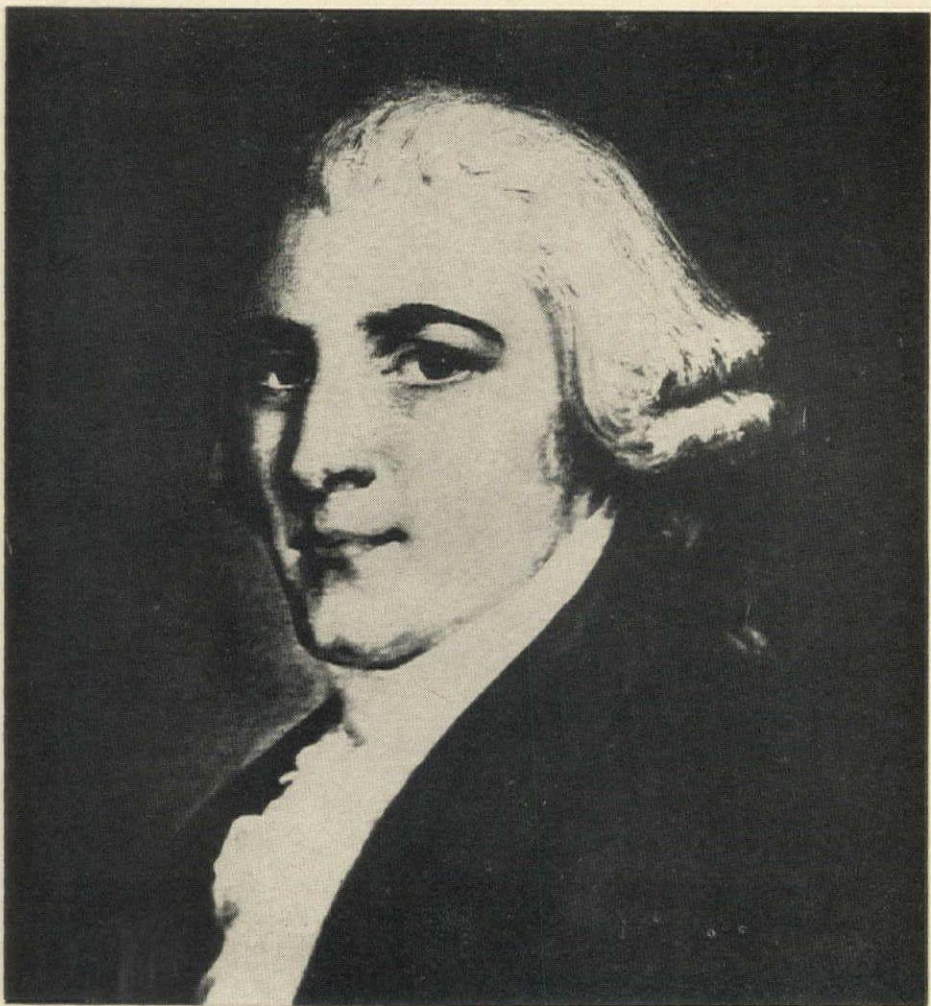
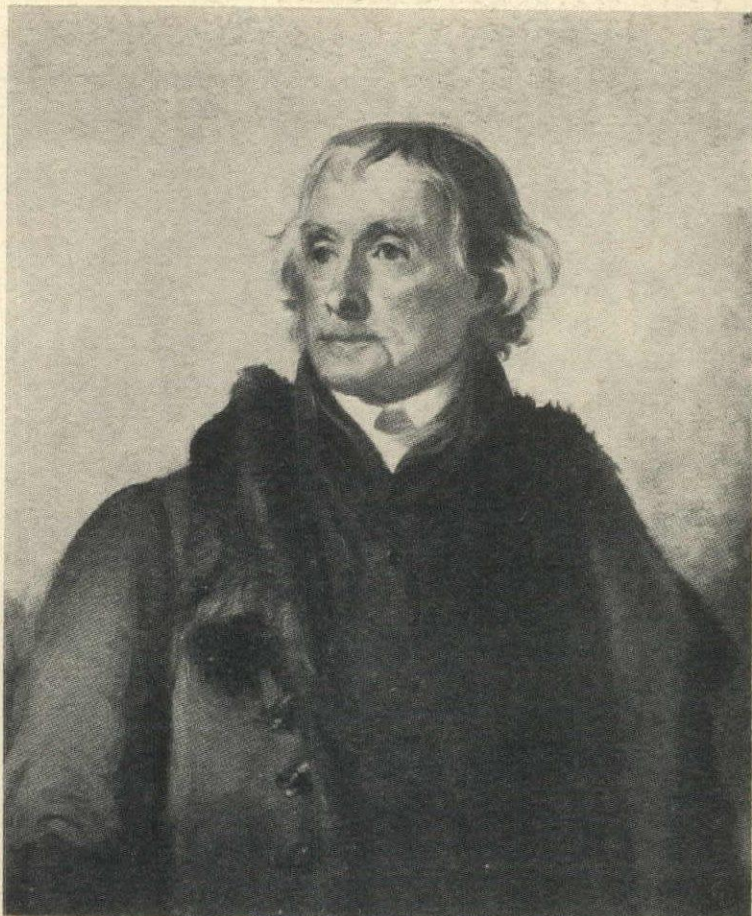
In these county bodies, men were trained in the machinery of government and the most promising advanced to the General Assembly, where they arrived thoroughly grounded in the rules of the political game. The oligarchy was too newly in power, and the colony too actively growing and changing, for stultification to set in among its leaders. The older men were constantly alert for fresh talent and quick to bring along young men who attracted attention. Monroe went to the House of Burgesses at 24, Washington and Madison at 25, and Jefferson at 26.

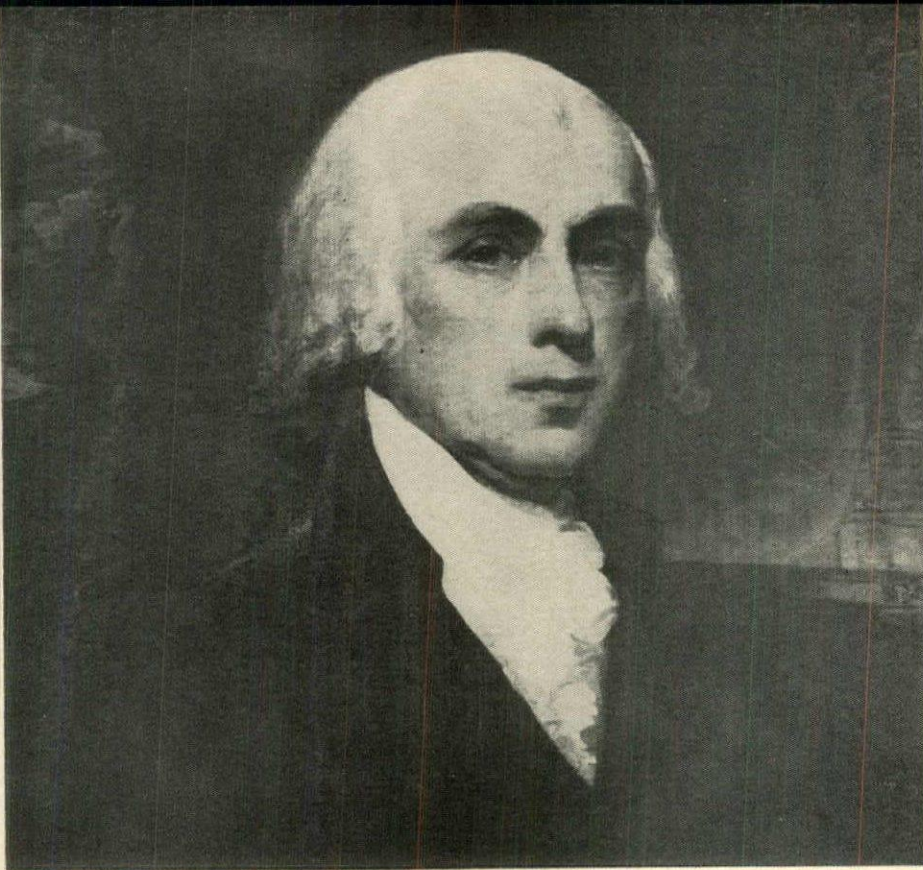
In winning seats in the House, the candidates picked by the oligarchy still were required to be elected by the voters, among whom the ruling families were no higher than one per cent of the voting population. The oligarchy could help—as can any political organization—but ultimately the legislators themselves had to win the approval and support of the voting public. The candidates were known to their constituents and faced the voters, and their questions, at the election polls. As was said by the late historian, Charles Sydnor, “The House of Burgesses was made up of gentlemen, but only of gentlemen who were acceptable to ordinary men.”

Thus, though these members of a representative governing body were themselves representative of a privileged class, their qualifications had been

THOMAS
JEFFERSON:
Portrait by Sully

BENJAMIN
HARRISON
*(Courtesy, Va.
State Library)*

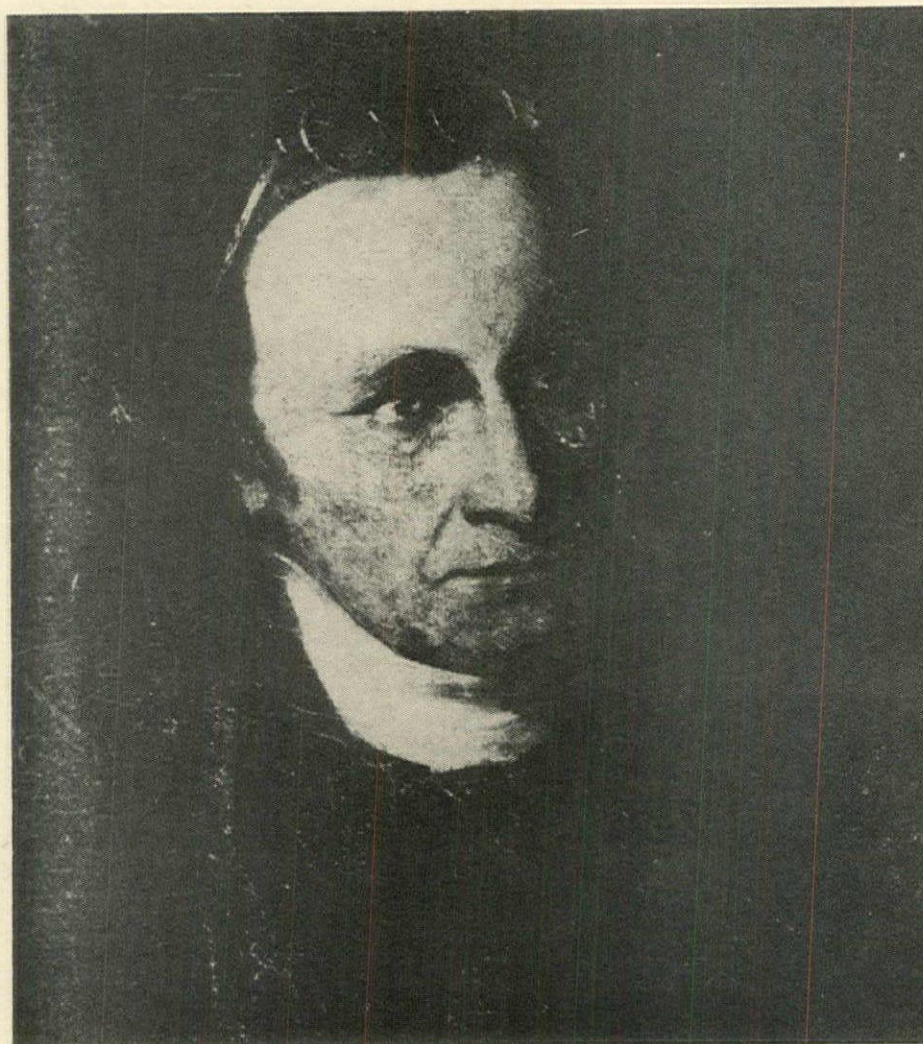




JAMES MADISON

(Photos, courtesy Virginia State Library)

PATRICK HENRY



passed upon both by the experienced, responsible leaders of government and by the freeholders who chose them, as known quantities, to represent the interests of the colony in its government. Once in the House, of a few more than 100 members, the individual Burgesses were carefully scrutinized by their fellows and advanced to higher place by the Assembly itself according to the nature of their specific talents. While at a glance it might appear naive to believe that a political body would advance men to positions of importance *solely* on the basis of their qualifications for a specific type of work, the results of this practice are demonstrable facts of history.

When the break with England approached and Virginia sent its representatives to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, the General Assembly sent Peyton Randolph, Speaker of the House, who was elected and served as presiding officer with the dependable equanimity he developed in Williamsburg. Jefferson went to do the writing—which turned out to be the Declaration of Independence — and Henry for the fiery oratory. Benjamin Harrison and Francis Lightfoot Lee were sent for their skill in committee, and “symmetrical” Richard Henry Lee for his flawless logic. Washington went to assume command of the military forces. After independence was won, James Madison was employed for his knowledge of constitutional history in helping to form the new republic. Around and beyond their specialties, so well trained were Virginia’s Burgesses in the theory and operation of responsible government that four of the first five presidents of the United States were graduates of the General Assembly who guided the newly joined former

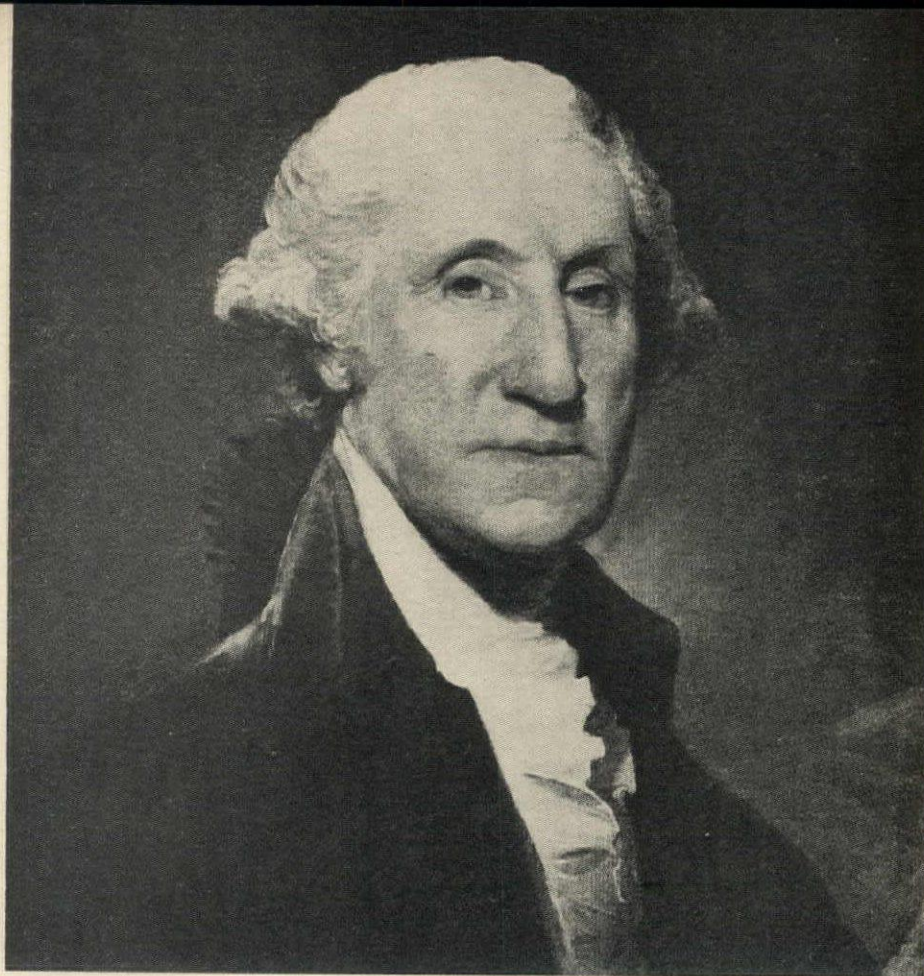
colonies in their formation as a nation.

IT WAS ESSENTIALLY members of the House of Burgesses that, in leading Virginia, gave the foremost leadership to the revolutionary movement that culminated in the colonies' separation from England. The causes of the conflict that developed between England and the colonies were many and varied, but fundamentally the British government failed to recognize the growth of the consciousness of individual identity in the separate colonies, along with their resistance to being treated as inferior subjects and exploited for the benefit of the Home Country. Richard Bland articulated Virginia's sentiments in a pamphlet in which he declared Virginia was "not a dependent of England," but co-existed with England in the British Empire.

Virginia specifically developed grievances after the Seven Years War. Virginians had participated in this war—suffering loss in life and property, along with serious dislocation to their economy—to clear the French from the land west of the Alleghenies. With the support of its British governors Virginia had sent out privately financed expeditions to explore and stake claims to the land, and many families had established holdings west of the mountains. The British king dismissed Virginia's claim to the new land, and the territory the Virginians had won was denied the colony.

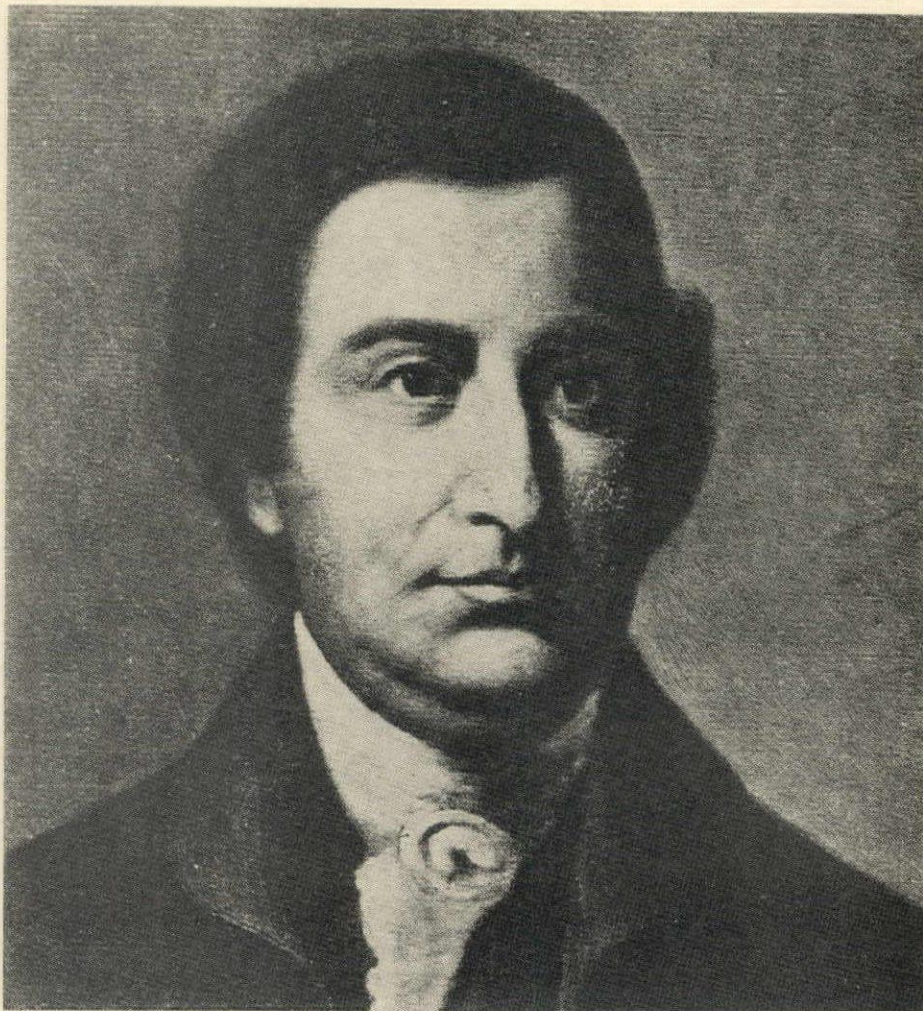
Against this background of resentment the British imposed the first measure of direct taxation in the Stamp Act. This was a tax of every transaction that involved paper — deeds and titles, wills and mortgages, newspapers and pamphlets,

to tell the Virginia Story



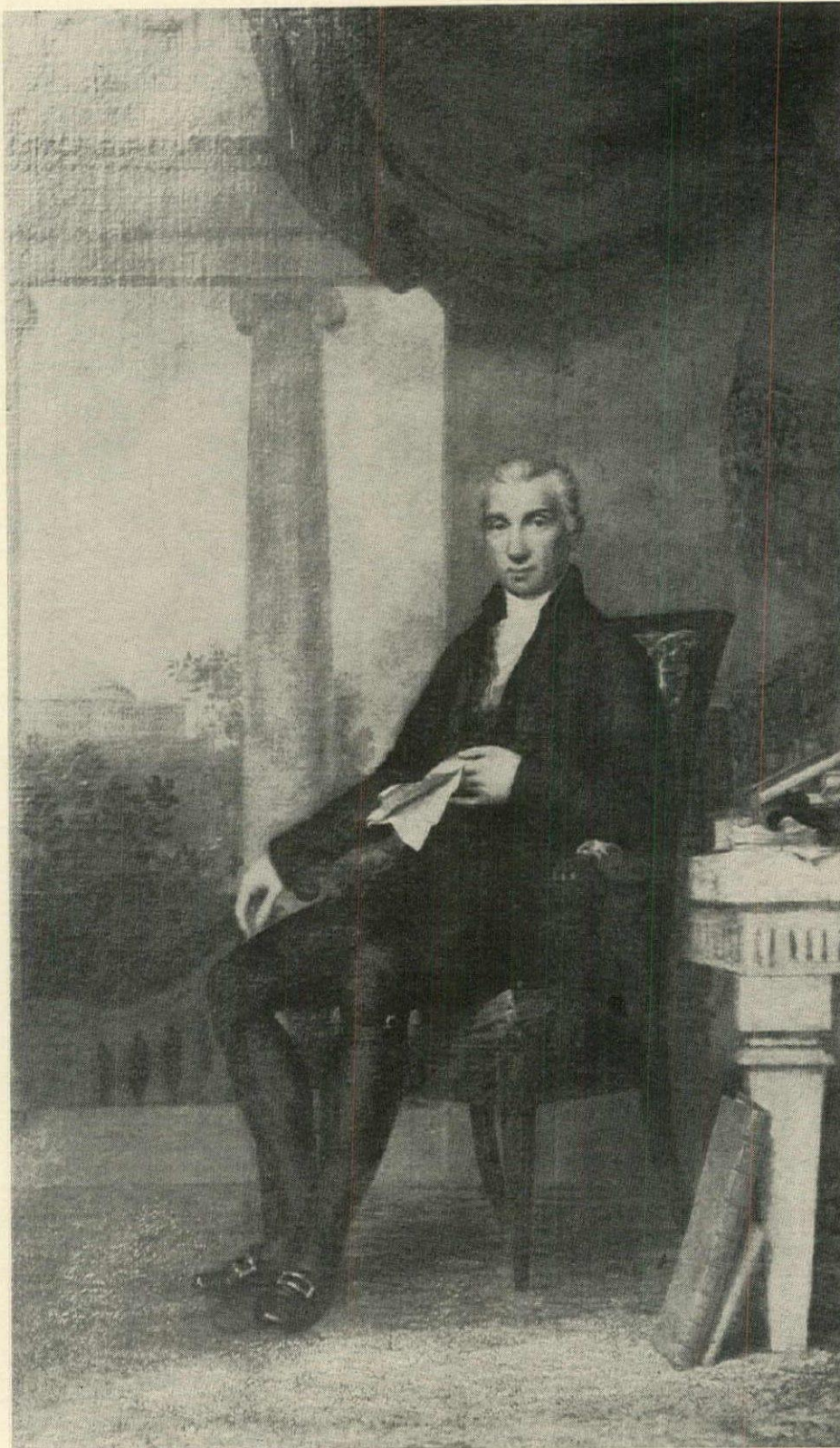
GEORGE WASHINGTON (*Gilbert Stuart's portrait*)
(Photos, courtesy Virginia State Library)

EDMUND RANDOLPH



and on and on. In the bitter reaction throughout the colonies, the General Assembly formed a committee of eight, drawn from the usual group — Benjamin Harrison, his brother-in-law Peyton Randolph, his uncle Landon Carter, his cousin Richard Henry

Lee. These conservatives sent a reasoned protest to England on the principle that a people could not be taxed without their consent. Their protest was ignored and the conservatives, along with the leaders of other colonies, were prepared to accept defeat.



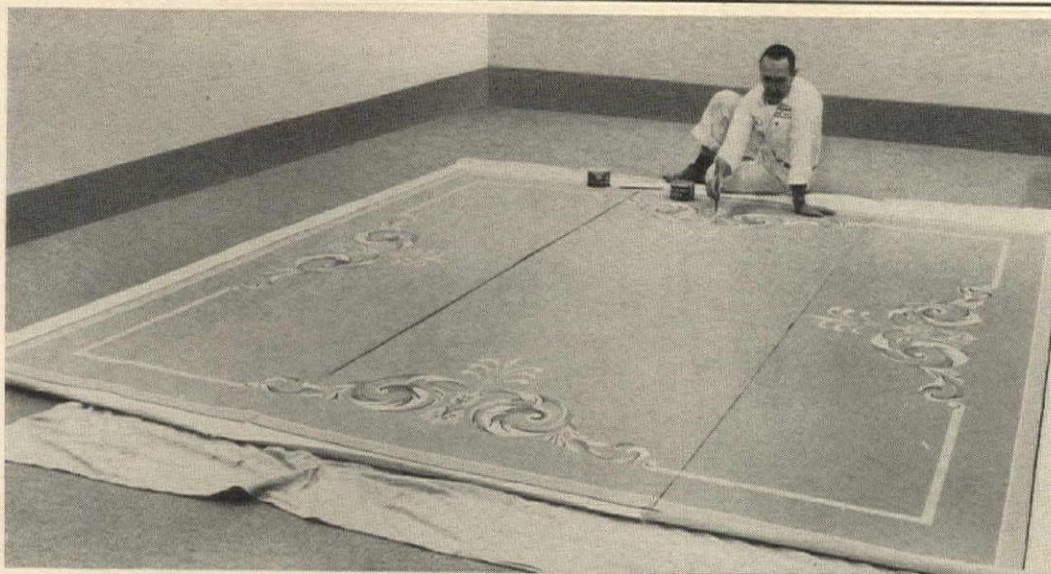
JAMES MONROE

At this point, 1765, Patrick Henry made his dramatic and historically garbled entrance on the stage of history. Henry introduced five Resolves, the heart of which was that "... the inhabitants of this colony are not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance whatever, designed to impose any taxation whatsoever upon them, other than the laws or ordinances of the General Assembly" Though the issue was "internal" taxes, Henry was actually developing Richard Bland's principle of self-government within a commonwealth.

In his impassioned oratory Henry did say, "Tarquin and Caesar each had his Brutus, Charles I his Cromwell, and George III . . ." but to the aroused cries of "treason" from the conservatives, Henry broke off and apologized. Modern historians have discounted the earlier version which attributed to him the words: "if this be treason, make the most of it."

The passage of Henry's Resolves created such a similar protest throughout all the colonies that the Stamp Act was repealed the following year. The British, however, did not concede the principle of taxation and introduced the Townshend Acts—an "external" tax on imports, such as lead, tea, glass, wine and such. This tax struck at the pocketbooks of New England merchants and smugglers, and Massachusetts, acting on the mutual sympathy developed among the colonies, circulated a petition calling on their fellow colonials to join in common cause.

In this period the word "liberty" began to be heard, but this did not at first hold any implication of independence. Nor was there anything about "democracy" or "equality" in what were essentially



← Hungerford workman at work on restoration of old canvas which was then reattached on the ceiling of the south portico of the Capitol during recent remodeling and restoration.

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"LIGHT HORSE" HARRY LEE

(Courtesy, Virginia State Library)

protests against tyranny. The drift toward actual separation from England, or independence, resulted from the British government's stiff-necked refusal to treat with the colonies on a realistic basis. In the Virginia General Assembly the big planters wished nothing more than reasonable compromises from the British. But England's purblindness to the growing separatist spirit in the colonies gave ammunition to the revolutionaries who had grown convinced that the only resolution lay in independence.

The climax was hastened in Virginia by the death of the colonial governor, Lord Botetourt, a sweet-natured gentleman with deep sympathy for Virginians. He was succeeded by a fatuous autocrat, Lord Dunmore. He dissolved the General Assembly in May, 1774, because of a resolution passed which, in effect, held the implication of separation unless England would change its ways. The dissolved assembly met informally in the

Raleigh Tavern, voted to call a Continental Congress and to hold a state convention to select representatives to it. From then on events moved rapidly.

Committees of Safety, established in all the colonies, were in active communication on the subject of establishing independence. On March 20, 1775, Virginia's Second Provincial Congress met at St. John's Church in Richmond, where carelessly dressed Henry delivered his famous "Give me liberty or give me death" speech. The purpose of Henry's speech was to place the colony in a state of defense—which could only be against England. The Old Guard, reluctant to make an open break with England, resisted this drastic step; but Henry's eloquence, in perhaps one of the greatest speeches ever designed to stir the hearts of men, caused his resolution to be carried by the close vote of 65 to 60.

From here on Dunmore became an active enemy of the colony he was supposed to

govern and by a succession of acts of force (including the burning of Norfolk) convinced the oldest Anglophiles in the Old Guard that the day of parting had come. On May 6, 1776, Virginians held their last convention as colonials. Since the colonial government had for all effective purpose ceased to exist—with Dunmore, a fugitive from Williamsburg, making war on Virginians—the convention resolved to create a new government.

Their representatives in the Continental Congress were sent instructions to declare formally for independence, with a confederation of the colonies. A Declaration of Rights—tantamount to Virginia's declaration of independence—written mostly by George Mason, introduced for the first time in the world the government principle of the rights of man. This served as a model for Jefferson's more famous preamble to the Declaration of Independence and was the precursor of the Bill of Rights.

In dissolving all political connection with England, the Convention of 1776 wrote a constitution for Virginia that was to remain in effect until 1829. The House of Delegates would approximate the House of Burgesses, with representatives elected annually, while the former appointive Council

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ROANOKE, VIRGINIA

would also become an elective body—the Senate. Twenty-four senators were to be elected for a six-year term. By this revised General Assembly the governor would be elected for a term of one year, in which he could succeed himself.

Patrick Henry was the first governor, serving three terms, followed by Thomas Jefferson who was not a notable success as a wartime leader. General Thomas Nelson, Jr., filled the office in an emergency capacity for six months during which period the fighting in Virginia came to an end with the surrender of Cornwallis on October 19, 1781. The first peacetime governor was Benjamin Harrison who served for three years and was followed by Patrick Henry, repeating for two more terms. During the two terms of office of Edmund Randolph, December 1, 1786 to December 1, 1788, occurred the most momentous event in the history of Virginia's government—the 1788 Convention for the ratification of the Constitution of a Union.

The significance of the 1788 Convention lay in the fundamental concepts of national government that were at issue and the fatefulness of the course chosen. After the Revolution, the Continental Congress of the Colonies changed into the Congress of the Confederation of the newly independent sovereignties of government—the states — but nothing basic changed in the co-operative alliance between the colonies after they became separate states. The Articles of Confederation, signed between the colonies late in the Revolution, remained in force as a working agreement and gave the Congress no powers of a central government. The legislative bodies of the states (as previously of the colonies) sent their

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delegates to represent their states in the Congress of the Confederation much as delegates are now sent by national governments to represent their nation in the United Nations. That is, Virginia's delegates were sent by the General Assembly with specific instructions just as the delegates to the United Nations act under the specific instructions of their governments today.

Toward the end of changing this arrangement and forming a federated republic, a Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia during the summer of 1787, to which Virginia sent eight representatives, with George Washington the presiding officer. Washington was a nationalist and James Madison, with similar leanings, developed a design ("the Virginia plan") which was presented to the Convention, along with other plans that were less nationalistic. The crux of the long, complicated and frequently bitter discussions that resulted in the Constitution was that all states feared the loss of their sovereign rights in a central government. The essentials of Madison's "Virginia plan" went into the Constitution only after countless compromises—"accommodations," as they were called—and with the brilliant support of Alexander Hamilton.

The most basic and far-reaching compromise was on the nature of representation. The majority of the Convention delegates were, like the Virginians, men of property, and the majority were concerned with the representation of their state as a sovereign entity rather in representation of what has come to be called "the people." The compromise that went into the Constitution placed the election of Congressmen, from districts, in

the votes of the people, but each state, regardless of its population, was to be represented by two senators elected by the state's General Assembly. These senators were—as had the Congressmen of the Confederation—to represent their *states*, under specific instructions from the state's legislative body.

Though senators were elected by their state's legislative bodies until into the 20th Century, the practice of acting under instructions from their capitals gradually passed, but the intent of a national legislative body for the preservation of the rights of the individual states was clearly manifest in the Constitution.

One compromise the Virginians found hard to swallow was the continuation of the slave trade. The slave holders of South Carolina and Georgia combined with the slave traders of New England to force that proviso into the Constitution as a condition of their acceptance. Two of Virginia's representatives, George Mason and young Governor Edmund Randolph, refused to sign the Constitution because of its inclusion of the slave trade.

Three others—Patrick Henry, George Wythe and James McClurg—refused to sign in opposition to the whole idea. Henry in particular opposed on the grounds of the threat to the sovereign rights of the states. In fact, only three Vir-

ginians signed—Washington, Madison, and John Blair.

All things considered, the single element that probably caused the passage of the Constitution was the argument as to the safety from foreign countries provided by a single, united republic. This argument, however, carried little weight in Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, North Carolina and Rhode Island when it came to the ratification of the Constitution by the states. As was said by Dr. Squires, the Constitution "would not have carried in one state, certainly not the five mentioned, had it been understood that one state or a group of states could, under any circumstances, coerce another state or group of states."

For Virginia's Ratification the General Assembly called for an election of 168 delegates, two from each county, to meet in Richmond on June 2, 1788. Since the balance of population had shifted from tidewater to west of the fall-line, in 1780 the capital had been shifted from Williamsburg to the old frontier trading post at the head of the tidewater on the James River. A city in little

(Continued on page 31)

THE PEOPLES NATIONAL BANK

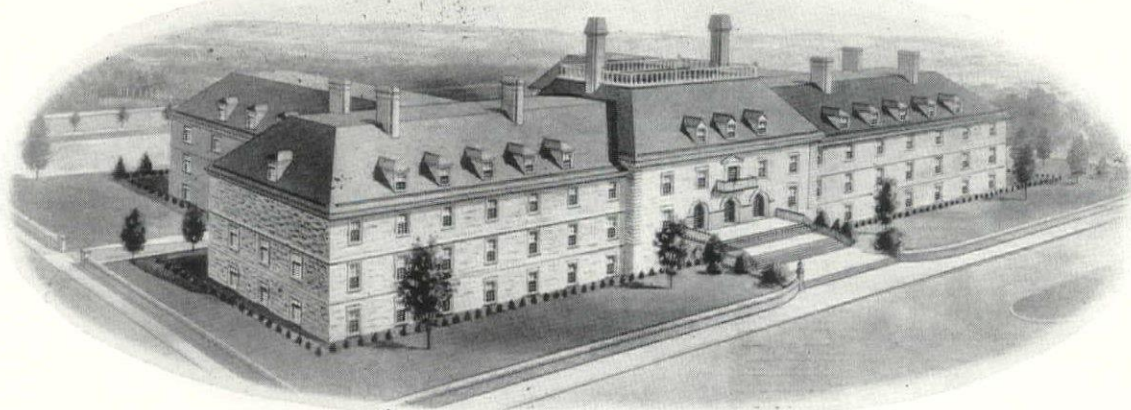
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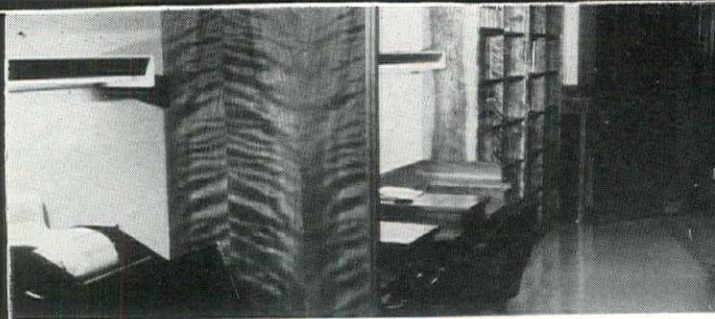
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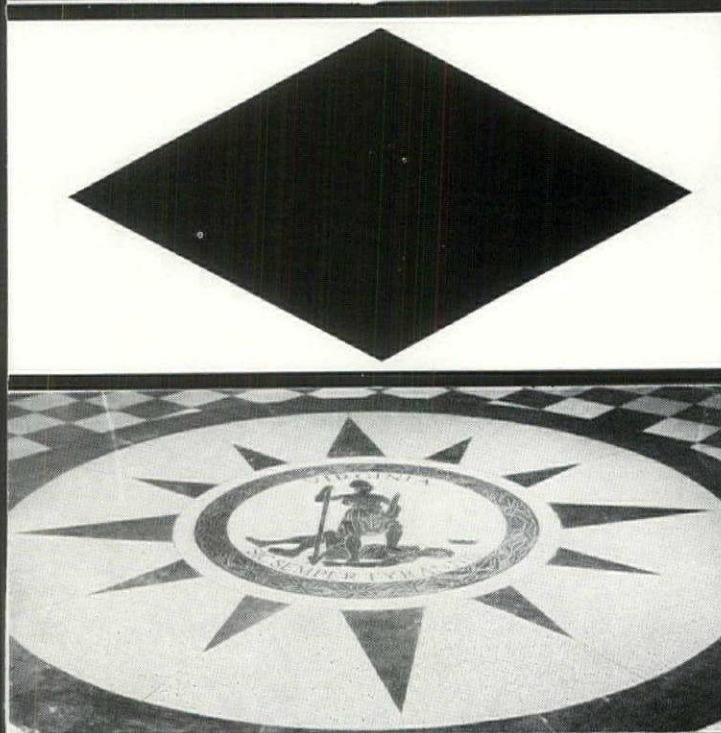
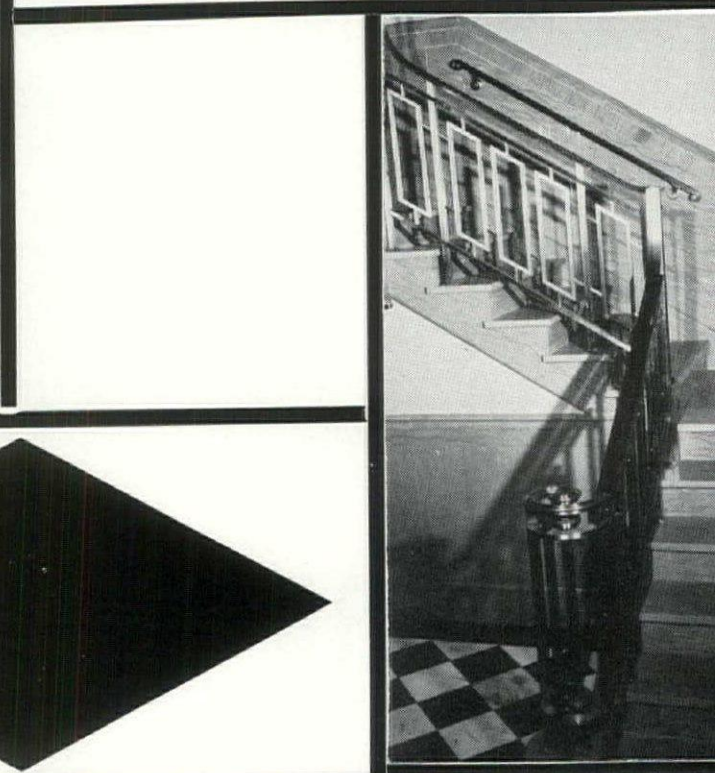
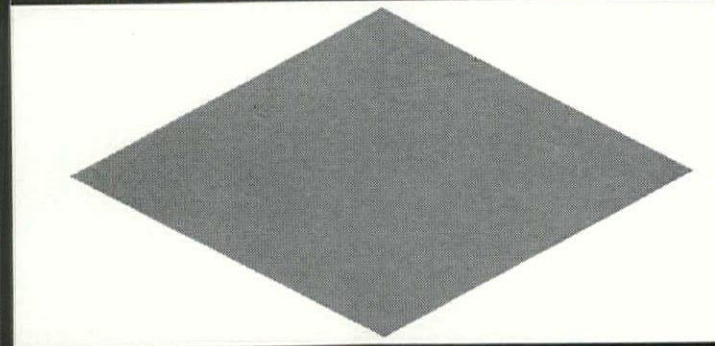
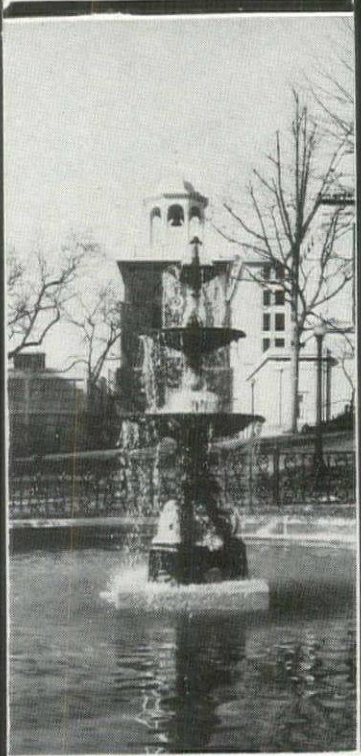
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PRESS HEADQUARTERS



THE COMMONWEALTH'S CAPITOL

by R. N. ANDERSON, JR.

• More of Thomas Jefferson's imaginative engineering, typified by the charming gadgets at his home Monticello, came to light during the just completed major remodeling of the Virginia State Capitol Building.

In the vaulted ceilings of the basement rooms were found a series of fireplace flues that had appeared to be supporting arches. The flues ran from fireplace to fireplace, from room to room, finally emptying into a central vertical stack through the upper floors and roof of the building.

According to Budget Division Director L. M. Kuhn, when in use it must have been necessary to start the fire in the fireplace nearest the vertical stack first. Once established, and creating a draft, the next nearest fire could be started and so on to the end of the chain of cross-ceiling flues.

As can be seen from the photographs on these pages, the changes to our Capitol building during its 178-year history have been many and at times radical. Even its beginning was somewhat less than orthodox for the cornerstone was laid before the plans had been received from Thomas Jefferson, then American Envoy in Paris.

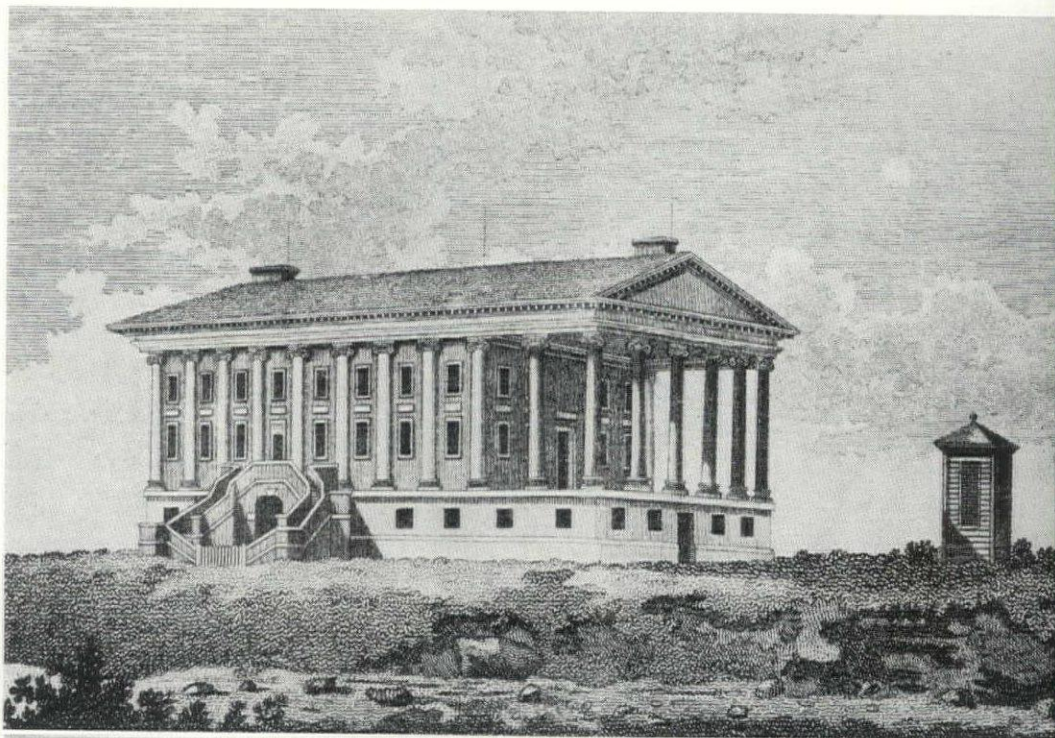
The home of the oldest continuous legislative body in the Anglo-Saxon world was originally conceived of by Jefferson as being three buildings, one for each of the three branches of the government. Economic considerations probably ruled out this idea and, upon purchase of the large and commanding site on Richmond's old Shockoe Hill, a building committee asked Jefferson to procure plans for the new capitol.

Authorities differ as to whether or not Jefferson had by that time seen the Maison Carrée, a small Roman temple at Nîmes, or had become attracted to it through a publication by a French architect, C. L. Clerisseau. In any event, plans for the building and a plaster model, based on the Maison Carrée as executed by Clerisseau, arrived in Virginia about a year after the cornerstone had been laid.

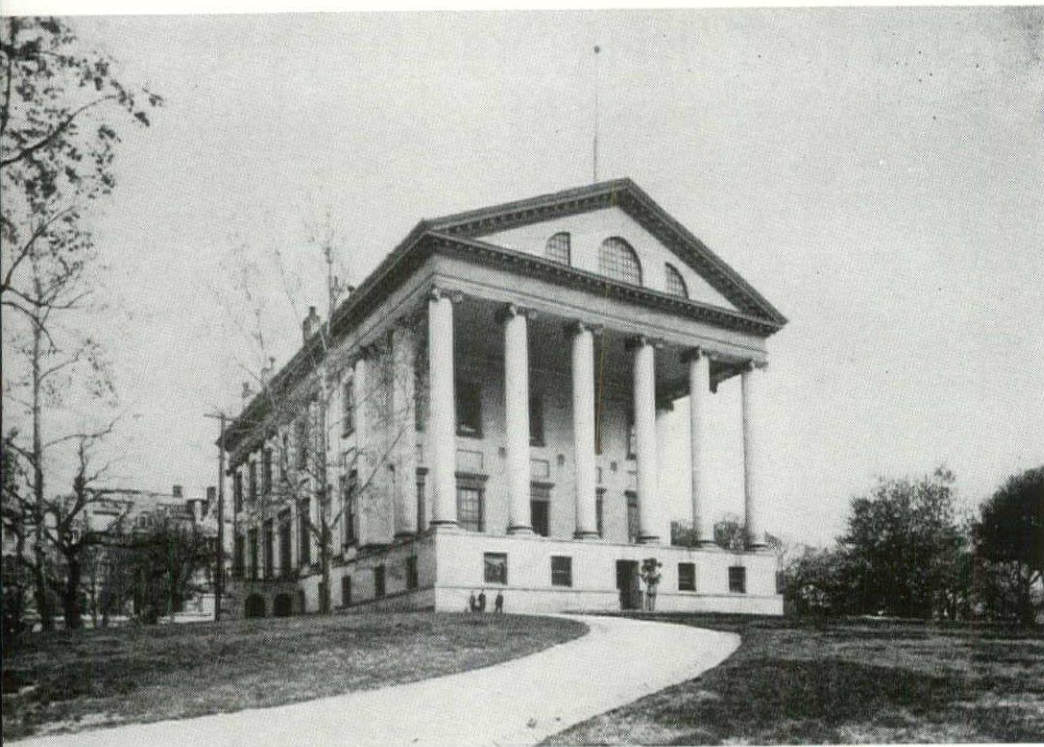
During the recent remodeling, there was some considerable searching for the cornerstone but to no avail. Perhaps it had been discovered during one of the previous reconstructions but has since disappeared.

Inspired as it was by the Maison Carrée, the new Virginia Capitol building was changed by Jefferson to reflect the surroundings which were so different and the state of the building art which at that time did not permit the Corinthian delicacy of the prototype. Additionally, it is said that the supervising architect, Samuel Dobie, was responsible for further variations.

When occupied by the Legislature

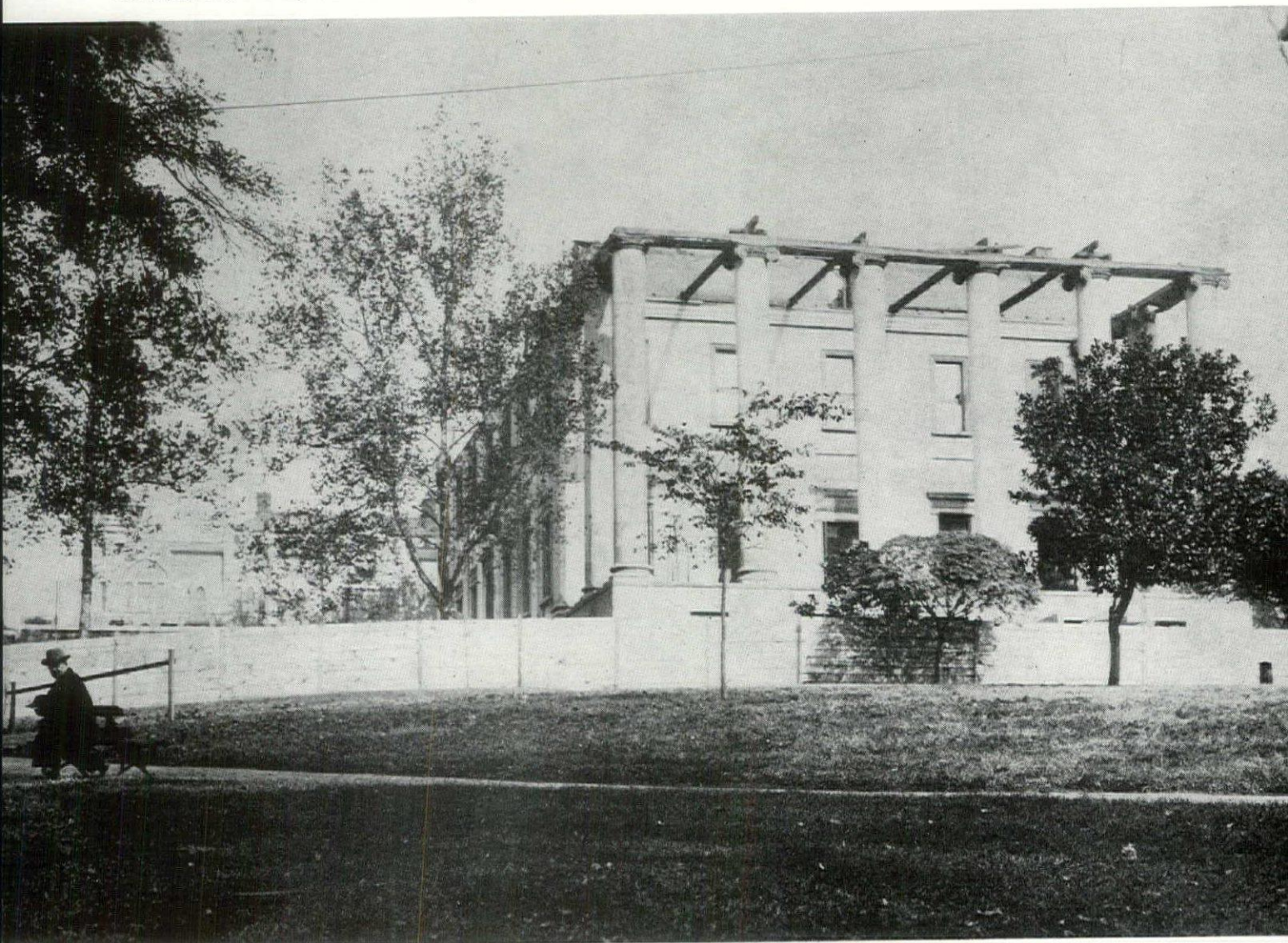


Virginia Capitols, 1802 (top) and 1861-1865 (below). (Photos, courtesy of Valentine Museum)



Above, Virginia State Capitol, 1897, and below, during the additions of the wings around 1904. (Photos, courtesy Valentine Museum)

for the first time in 1788, the building had a flat roof, a temporary measure that gave way to the well known pedimented pitched roof two years later. Almost from the beginning the building appears to have sported at least two flag poles, although located along the ridge of the roof rather than on the "separate but equal" two-pole platform which Governor Lindsay Almond had installed a few years back. From time to time during the years following, strange architectural embellishments and devices crept into the building. At one time the south pediment displayed a cluster of half- and quarter-round windows, perhaps to light the interior of the attic. In about 1800, perhaps in the interest of homogeneity and/or weathertightness, the entire building was covered with stucco. The interior arrangements of the building as envisioned by Jefferson are not clear. Structurally the vaulted supports to the main floor indicate that the entire south end of the building may have once



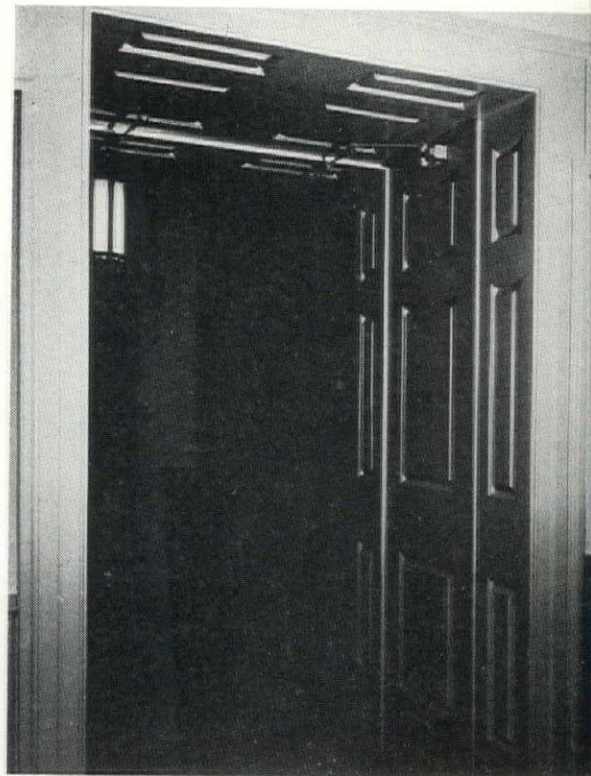
been open rather than divided by what is now known as the old Senate Chamber. The north end of the building, housing the now restored original House of Delegates Chamber is not similarly constructed. If Jefferson planned, as it is thought, for the Senate to be located on the second floor with the House of Delegates and the Supreme Court on the first, it was changed by 1858 when plans indicate both houses of the Legislature on the main floor with the Court above.

As varied as its early architectural origins were its uses. The Valentine Museum's fascinating history of the Capitol Building lists many scheduled church services for the building including the first Roman Catholic Mass supposed to have been said in Richmond. In this book Miss Mary Wingfield Scott and Mrs. Louise Catterall note also contests, lectures, balls and school examinations.

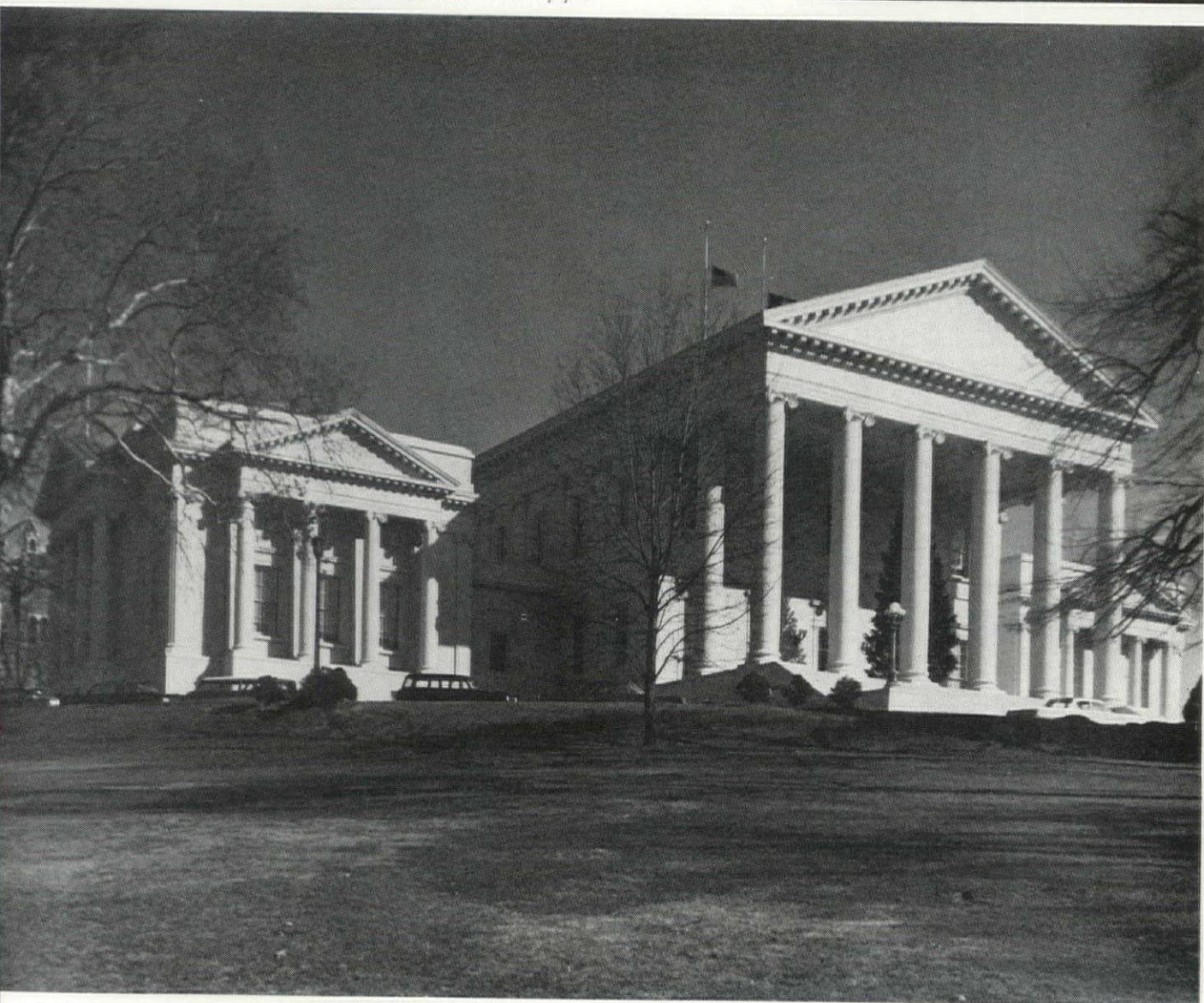
In 1870 the gallery of the Supreme Court Chamber collapsed, killing and injuring many spectators and obviously making extensive repairs to the building necessary. The repairs followed the by then established pattern for the building, however, and it was not until about 30 years later that major revisions and alterations to the building were again attempted.

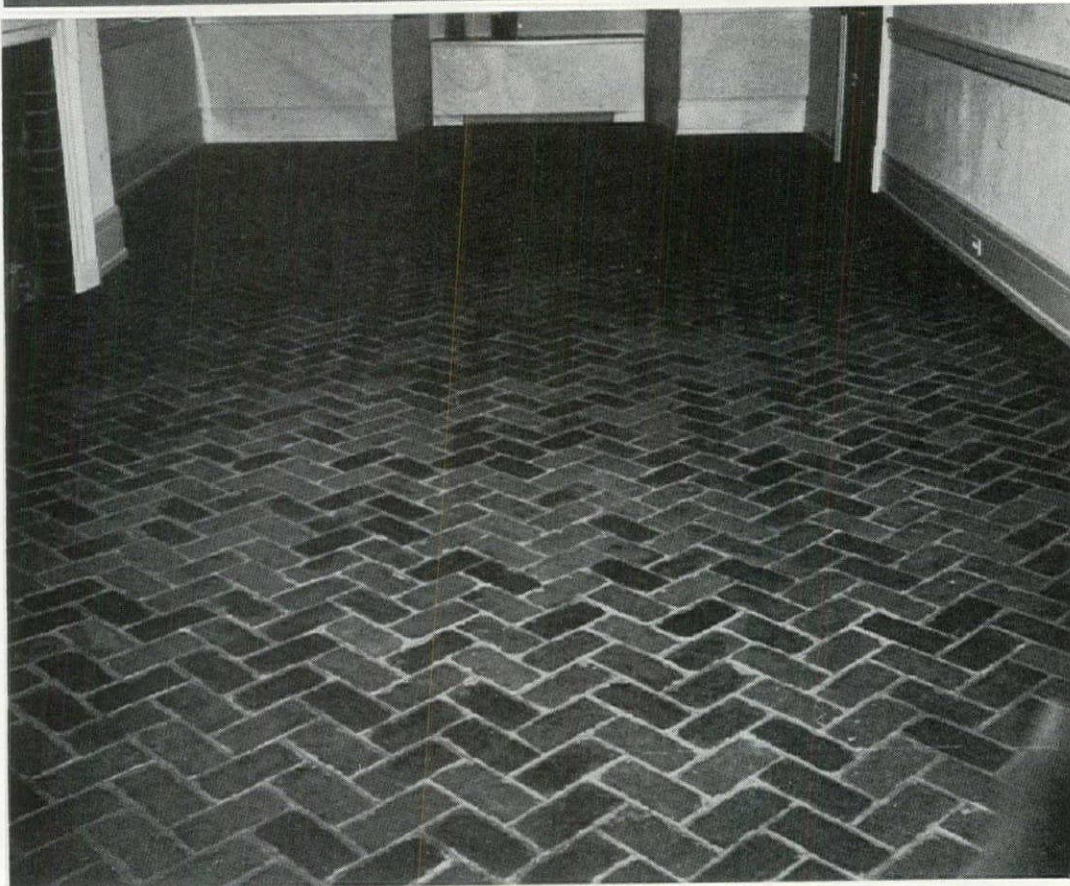
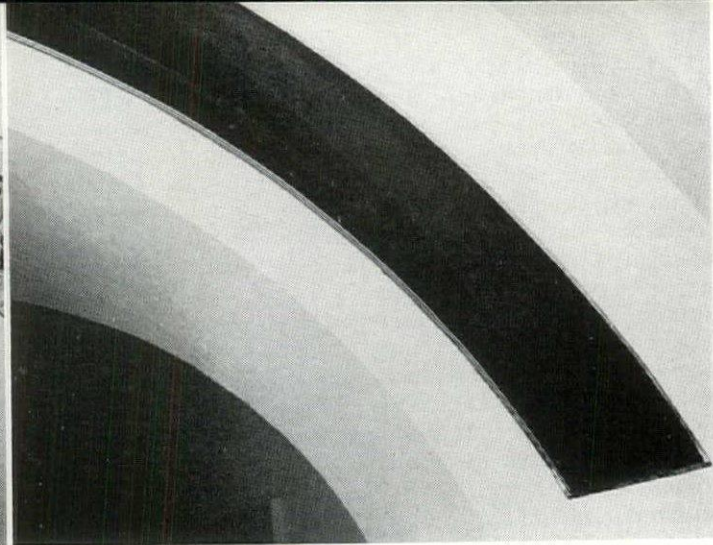
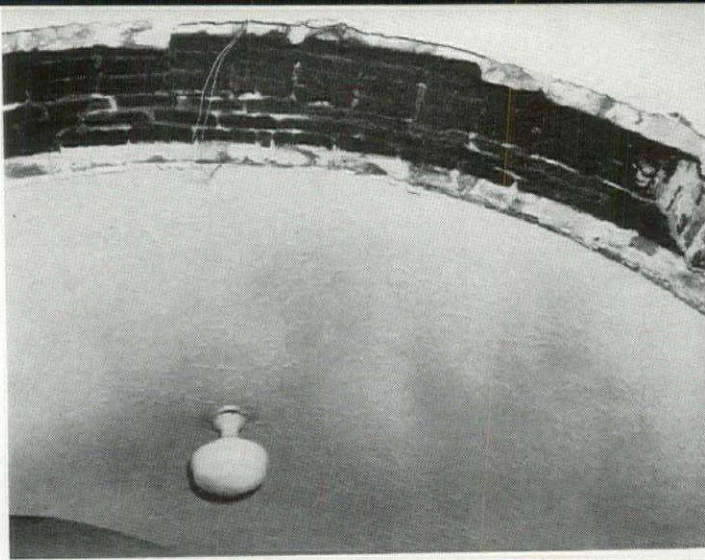
During the early part of the twentieth century the major changes that have made the Capitol building what is today came about. Crowded for space, the Legislature authorized two wings to house their respective bodies which still serve in this capacity today. The broad steps to the south portico were also added at this time as the finishing touches to the stirring facade as we know it.

The subtle changes incorporated in the Capitol building during the remodeling just finished were primarily



Below, Virginia State Capitol, 1963. Above, right, new fire doors have been so cleverly built in as to be hardly noticeable. A heat actuated device on these doors would close them to divide the building into separate areas in the case of fire.

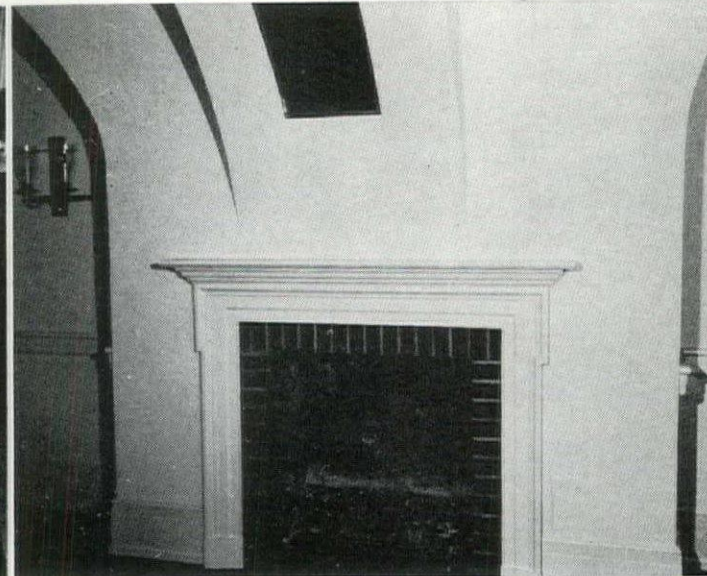
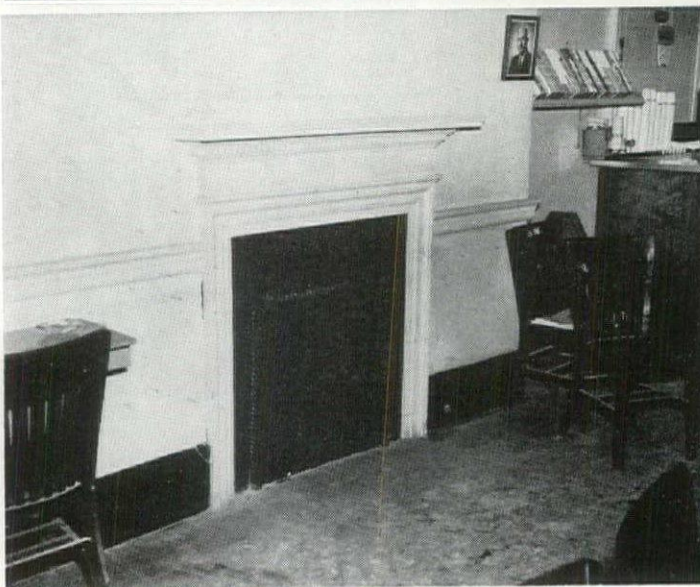




TOP: One of the arched flues from a fireplace which ran across the basement ceiling, as it was uncovered during demolition and as it has been framed with aluminum in one "display" room so that visitors can see the unique system. ("Before" photo, Va. Highway Dept.)

The handsome brick floor in the "restored" room in the basement of the Capitol.

One of the remodeled basement fireplaces as it appeared before and after the 1962-63 remodeling of the Capitol Building. ("Before" photo, Va. Highway Dept.)



made necessary by the aging inadequacy of the building's more technical components. There were too few fire exits, the electrical and mechanical core was in woeful shape, and many of the finishes were deteriorating. In removing the previously exposed stairs between the central building and the legislative wings, the "third scale" as Architect Louis Ballou calls it, was eliminated, resulting in a much more harmonious connection between the elements.

As thorough as the recently completed remodeling was, it will hardly be noticed by the casual visitor to the Capitol. With great thoroughness and ingenuity, the architects have served the needs of the building without pronounced changes in its appearance. The huge sky-light in the House Chamber, which formerly passed true daylight, has been revised with such subtlety that only the most well-informed would notice that it no longer is open to the sky and now can be modulated with four different levels of light to suit the occasion and the television cameras.

The exterior paint color for the building was selected with such patience that it gives the impression of superb maintenance rather than a fresh



Remodeled Senate Chamber

coat. The new lighting fixtures, ingeniously incorporating short vertical fluorescent tubes of varying color temperature blend with their surroundings so well as to hardly be noticeable.

The handsome light bronze railings in the new interior exit stairs are of a Chinese Chippendale design so favored by Thomas Jefferson and found in so much of his architectural work. Other new details which have been

added are studied with great care to avoid contrast with the existing elements and to "fit in". Two areas, rarely visited by the public, show probably the greatest change in the latest remodeling. The attic-like floor fourth floor has been transformed into offices with a new elevator serving it, and the press room in the basement has been divided into an efficient, functional area.

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RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

THE HISTORY OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF VIRGINIA

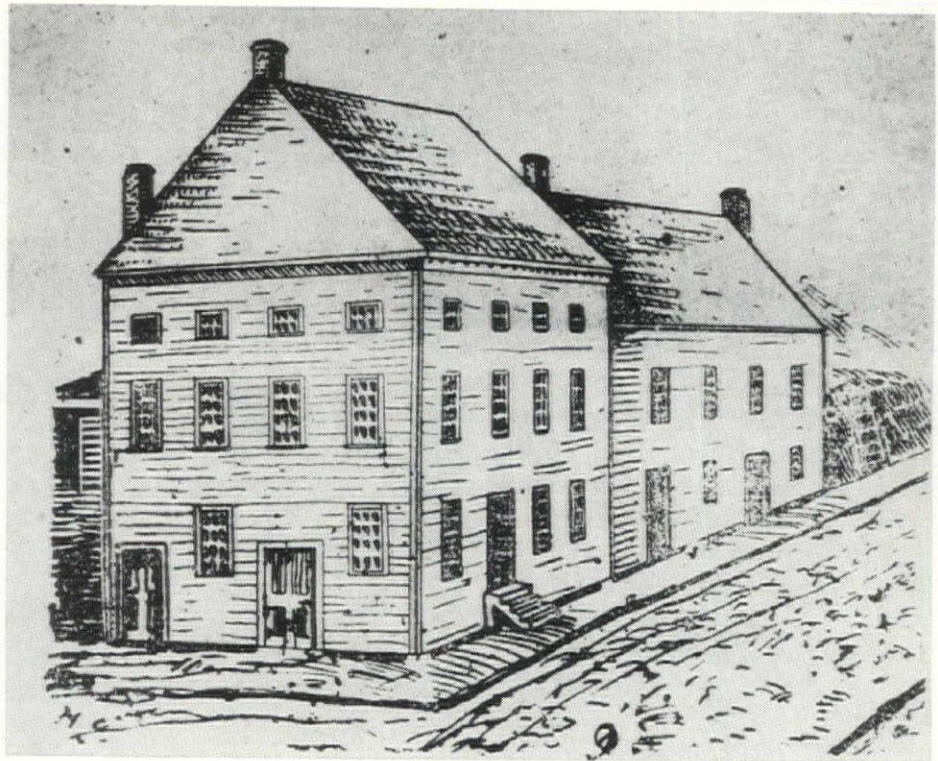
(Continued from page 21)

more than name, Richmond housed something over 1,500 white and colored inhabitants in a straggling collection of unimposing buildings along muddy, hilly streets. The handsome new capitol building (for which Jefferson had sent a plaster model of the Roman structure, *Maison Carrée*, at Nîmes, France) was nearing completion but not yet ready for the Convention. Its representatives met in the "old" capitol—a plain, three-storied, ridged-roof frame building that stood on what now is the northwest corner of Fourteenth and Cary.

Though a number of the delegates elected to the Constitutional Convention were not members of the General Assembly, the same old faces from the Colonial days—Harrison, Henry, Pendleton and their contemporaries—carried the influence, with one notable exception, James Madison. A young man during his indoctrination in Williamsburg, at 47 the frail-looking Madison, along with his unsurpassed knowledge of constitutional government, had become one of the most adroit maneuverers in the history of Virginia or national politics.

Madison had on his side 33-year-old John Marshall and war hero "Light Horse Harry" Lee (father of General R. E. Lee) in advocating the sacrifice of Virginia's to a national interest—though Lee made clear that in a pinch he was a Virginian first. More importantly, Madison won the support of popular Governor Randolph. Only 35 himself, Edmund Randolph was the nephew of Peyton Randolph (who had died during the Revolution) and the son of the John Randolph who, a British loyalist, had moved to England when Virginia declared independence. A difference of about five votes either way would have carried the convention, and the younger group (supported by the prestige of Washington) got a ten vote majority for the ratification of the Federal Constitution.

The Old Guard took its defeat with Henry and Harrison making what proved to be direfully correct predictions of Virginia's future in the new republic. Portly, aging Benjamin Harrison, from his home at Berkeley Plantation, wrote his friend Washington these prophetic lines "... If the constitution is carried into effect, the states south of the Potomac will be little more than appendages to those to the



This modest frame building, a store and warehouse, served as the first, temporary capitol in Richmond. (Courtesy, Valentine Museum)

northward of it. . . . I can not divest myself of an opinion that the seeds of civil discord are plentifully sown in many of the powers given, both to the president and congress. . . ."

Though the forebodings of a dying political generation went unheeded, Patrick Henry retained enough influence so that the General Assembly sent anti-Constitutionalists—Richard Henry Lee and William Grayson (soon to be succeeded by Monroe)—to represent the state in the first senate to convene, 1789, in the new United States.

IN VIRGINIA'S first years as a state in the Union, during Washington's two terms of office, the prevailing political wind in the nation was Federalism—but a Federalism that changed its meaning of a federated republic in the sense that Madison meant. As advocated by New York's Alexander Hamilton, Federalism came to mean a strong centralized government, ruled by an aristocracy, and which threatened the jealously guarded rights of the individual states. With this change in the meaning of the word, "Federalist," right at the beginning of the new nation, party allegiances began to be formed around labels that held different meanings to different people and at different times.

As an example, when Federalist meant ratification of the Constitution, Madison was a Federalist and Monroe an anti-Federalist; under its new meaning, both became republicans in *that* meaning of anti-Hamiltonian Federalism. Among Virginia's political leaders, the drift began strongly toward republicanism in its meaning of opposition to centralized power. After Washington's term of office ended in 1796, this republican (Democratic) movement in Virginia joined forces with Jefferson, the vice-president in Federalist Adams' administration. In 1800 Jefferson began the 24-year rule of the Virginia Dynasty—with Madison and Monroe following him in office. But during this period, "Jeffersonian Democracy" began to develop different shadings of meaning to different groups and in different places.

In Virginia, factions were born. Some tidewater conservatives resented Jefferson's systematic destruction of the old aristocratic-based oligarchy. In Jefferson's distrust of stultification and inertia setting in with what amounted to hereditary rule, he envisioned a future in which a "natural aristocracy" of ability would replace the ruling class built upon big land-holdings and the intermarriage of powerful families. In this

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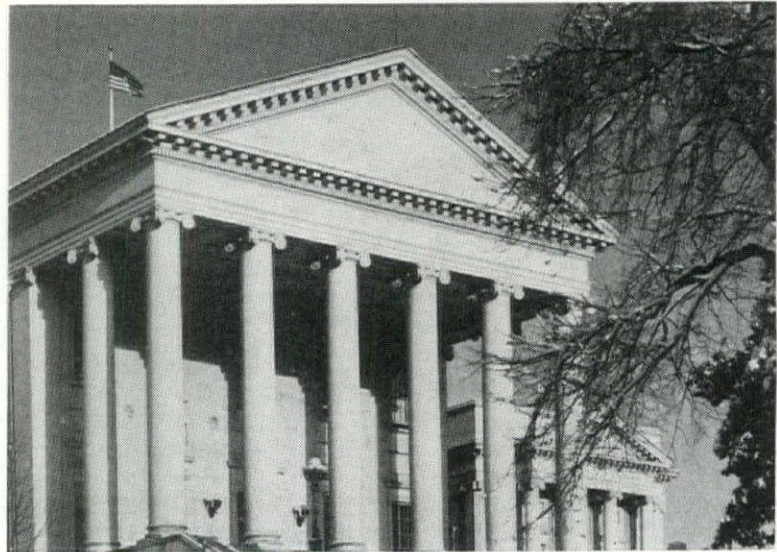
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rather wispy concept—in which to him “the people” meant the sturdy, self-reliant Virginia class of farmer and property-owning townsmen—he dreamed of an educational system which would advance the superior individual much as the old oligarchy had brought along its young men of promise through the county to the House of Burgesses and beyond.

At the same time the counties beyond the Shenandoah Valley developed the sympathy born of proximity with the growing country to the west of Virginia. Disinterested in developing the superior individual, whether of landed aristocracy or ability, the western Virginians became hostile to Jefferson’s suffrage concept of property owners—especially as it affected their own representation in the General Assembly.

As the Federalists began to die as a party (the end came about 1820) more labels sprang up and men shifted support so fast that identifying tags became almost meaningless. Of the men Virginia sent to Washington, John Randolph of Roanoke was arrogantly independent, Littleton Tazewell no party man, and William Giles was against everything. The factions, with all variations between the geographically based extremes, began to coalesce into practically new parties after the 1828 election of “Westerner” Andrew Jackson to the presidency.

Jackson extended Jefferson’s meaning of “the people” into the meaning it currently holds—in his time, the new urban masses and the migratory landless of the opening frontiers. Thus, at its basis “Jacksonian Democracy” differed from the conservative republicanism of many of Jefferson’s followers. But, Jackson was also strongly opposed to “states’ rights,” and thereby alienated Virginia’s states-rights minded Democrats. Within a few years after Jackson’s election, these two factions were to join forces—as Ritchie, of the *Richmond Examiner*, wrote: “Nationalists and Nullifiers sat down together”—to form the basis of the Virginia Whig Party. Concurrently with this development, Western Virginians became passionately attached to the Jacksonian Democracy, with its wide open suffrage and dominant central government.

A resolution between the two extremes in Virginia was attempted in the 1829 Convention for the writing of a new state Constitution. At that time the surviving Virginians of the Colonial days—as Madison, Monroe and John Marshall—still regarded Virginia as the sovereignty they had represented in the “federated republic” and service to their state remained of paramount

to tell the Virginia Story

importance to them. Aging Monroe presided at the Convention, attended by Madison and Marshall, chief justice of the Supreme Court, cabinet members, past and present foreign ministers, along with members of Congress, the General Assembly and the Governor—then anti-everything Giles. This august assemblage labored mightily and brought forth a compromise Constitution that pleased nobody.

The numerical strength lay with the East, 74 members in the House being from east of the Blue Ridge to 24 in the Valley and 29 west of the Alleghenies. The eastern advocates of restricting suffrage to property owners gave ground to the western claimants to open suffrage to the extent of giving the voting franchise to any one who “shall have been assessed with and paid a part of the revenue of the commonwealth during the preceding year. . . .” After passing the unsatisfactory Constitution, the Convention broke up and the westerners returned home across the mountains with a brooding resentment that would only grow with time

NEW ISSUES EMERGE

Actually the world of Thomas Jefferson—both that which formed him and its extension into that which he helped form—was passing. New issues arose, slavery and secession, as foreseen by the anti-Constitutionalists then long in their graves. Secession became an issue over South Carolina’s nullification of Jackson’s tariff acts. These have been objectively accepted by historians as unfair to Southern planters and were modified by Jackson. But on the principle of nullification, Jackson introduced the counter-principle of coercion. In less than 50 years after Virginia ratified a Constitution which it believed preserved the concept of a federation of states, Jackson’s interpretation of the Constitution made the national government a people’s government, with a central power that could impose its will by force on a state or states.

For eastern Virginians, that threw the fat into the fire. The General Assembly reelected John Tyler, anti-Jacksonian, to the senate, over the strong run of westerner McDowell, an administration supporter. Two years after South Carolina’s nullification stand in 1832, the Democrats lost the House of Delegates, 79 to 55, and the Virginia Whig party came into being.

The slavery issue was more complex. It was political where it concerned the admission of new territories as states on a slave or free basis, as this became a factor in the balance of power in the Senate. The balance of power struggle

was in itself a reflection of the conflicting interests that had deepened between the agricultural South and the industrial North. There was also the humanitarian, or moral, element in slavery. This was complicated by the practical aspects of abolition which confronted the white Southerner as opposed to the abstractions of uninvolved Northerners. Many of these seemed driven by a fanaticism that directed hatred at the white Southerner rather than interest in the slave, and inflammatory pamphlets began to appear that urged the slaves to insurrection. The effect of these publications struck Virginia with incalculable impact when Nat Turner led the slave uprising in Southampton County in August, 1831, which resulted in the murder of more than 50 white people, mostly women and children.

It was never proven that the incendiary pamphlets, or the organizations behind them, were connected with Nat Turner’s bloody march—and probably there was no connection—but the point was that Virginians, including Governor Floyd, believed Nat Turner’s insurrection to have been instigated by outside incitement. The uprising was the expressed purpose of the publications and the gruesome tragedy was applauded in them. The reaction in Virginia brought demands for an examination of the institution of slavery in the state, with the possibility of legal emancipation as a solution, and this led to the momentous meeting of the General Assembly in 1832. This marked a turn in the road for Virginia’s future.

At the time of the 1832 meeting (the Assembly actually convened in December, 1831), Virginia had a respectable anti-slavery tradition dating back publicly to the signing of the Constitution. In 1796, St. George Tucker presented to the legislature an elaborate plan for emancipation; in 1801 ex-Governor James Wood became president of a Virginia society whose purpose was emancipation; and in 1816 groups in Virginia supported the American Colonization Society, whose purpose was to transport free Negroes to Liberia. In 1832, James Madison was president of the national organization and John Marshall of the Virginia branch. Until Nat Turner’s insurrection, newspapers had generally skirted the issue, but in the months preceding the convening of the General Assembly editors became extremely outspoken and revealed a surprisingly large sentiment for emancipation.

When the discussions began in the legislature, emancipation was inextricably involved with the question of deportation, as the anti-slavery Virginians



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wished the Negroes—slave or free—removed from their communities. There was a strong distrust of the freed Negroes, coupled with the jealousy of artisans who resented the Negroes' moving into mechanical trades, as well as the humanitarian aspects of removing freed blacks from a white landowning society. But, whatever the motives toward the Liberia colonizing scheme, the financial cost presented a very real problem to the state.

The General Assembly reflected the various attitudes: the advocacy of deportation of freed Negroes, the advocacy of emancipation with a deportation of all Negroes, and the advocacy from large slaveholders of doing nothing that threatened their property. As translated into political positions, about 60 members wanted immediate action toward abolition, about 60 members (all slaveholders) resisted any action, with the balance of power held by about 12 compromisers who, typically of this sort of politician, wanted to postpone action.

While the emancipationists are usually referred to as "liberals," their great majority were Westerners, who represented regions with little to no practical interest in slavery. Of the 32 non-slaveholders among the delegates, 26 came from the West. While the delegates from east of the Blue Ridge

owned an average of about 14 taxable slaves, the Valley delegates averaged 3.3 and the trans-Allegheny 1.2.

However, some of the most powerful emancipationists were not westerners. Thomas Marshall, son of the Chief Justice, and Thomas Jefferson Randolph, Jefferson's grandson, came from east of the Blue Ridge and were themselves slaveholders. These were among the true "liberals" allied with the regional group whose liberalism was perhaps influenced by their lack of financial stake in the issue.

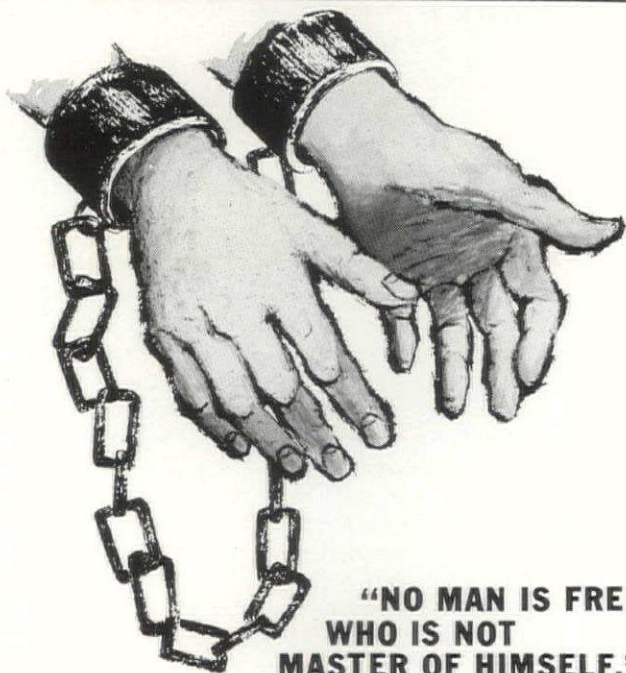
From perspective, the emancipationists had all the best of the arguments. They gave slavery as the reason for the state's relative decline in population: from first in the nation in 1810, to second in 1820, it had fallen to third in 1830. Whatever caused it, there was no doubt that migrations from the state steadily drained off that self-reliant class of yeomanry on whom Jefferson had based his democracy. There was also no doubt that (despite Jefferson's attack on the old oligarchy) the stratified society had produced a comparative inertia which held little of the progressive enlightenment that characterized the pre-Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary generations. Samuel Garland, of Amherst, said, "In the Mayday of life, she [Virginia] wears upon her countenance the evidence of premature

decay, and the yellow leaf of Autumn has followed too soon the budding Blossoms of spring." He attributed this to slavery. Though this was an oversimplification, there can be little doubt that slavery—in an amalgam of causes—contributed to a static society and the state's comparative loss of vigor.

The emancipationists also advanced some arguments in terms of the state's national interests, in which they were soon borne out by history. James McDowell, of Rockbridge, a future governor and himself the owner of four taxable slaves, said, "The slaveholding interests of the country will and can coalesce with no other interest and must, as a consequence, be separate and hostile to all others. . . ." With clear, prophetic vision, he mentioned the possibility of disunion, with slavery becoming a crusade in which, "in the name of liberty but with the purpose of plunder . . ." the rest of the country would hold up the South ". . . as the enemies of men whom it will be a duty to overcome and a justice to despoil."

But the emancipationists failed to present any feasible plan for abolition and deportation—and in all the many speeches no one ever suggested the emancipation of the slaves without deporting the Negroes. The crux of the debates came down to the point in which the non-emancipationists could

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say, in effect, "Even if slavery is an evil, we haven't got any remedy."

When the committee reported that action was found to be "inexpedient" at this time, a reversal of the committee report was proposed in the form of an "amendment" by William Ballard Preston. A nonslaveholder from Montgomery, Preston was the nephew of Governor Floyd, son of a former governor, and himself a future U.S. congressman and Secretary of the Navy. He proposed a vote on changing "inexpedient" to "expedient" as *then* being the time to act. With the compromisers joining the pro-slavery men, the move was defeated, 73 to 58.

Then James Bryce, of Frederick, proposed a preamble to acceptance of the committee's report. In this, slavery was admitted to be an evil and, while "it is inexpedient for the present legislature" to act, "a further action for the removal of slaves should await a more definite development of public opinion." The part about waiting for a development of public opinion naturally was agreeable to the compromisers and they swung their balance to pass the committee's report with Bryce's preamble by a vote of 65 to 58.

After 1832, however, public opinion swung in the other direction. Two elements joined here: (1) pro-slavery men, aroused by the threat to their property, took a strong and vocal stand in defense of the institution; (2) abolitionists, along with their incitement to insurrection, began virulent attacks on the morals and customs of Southern whites. Antagonizing Virginia moderates, who did not wish to be associated with the Northern fanatics (as now called, "moral coercers"), the effect of the outside attacks was to take the force out of the native emancipationist movement. This left the field to the aggressively united pro-slavery men. In Virginia, slavery became fixed as an institution simultaneously with the emergence of slavery as a fundamental political issue in the national power struggle between the sections.

In this power struggle, as the industrial North drew allies and numbers from the newly opening free states to the west, Virginia was allied with the smaller region of the South, limited in physical expansion by slavery and on the defensive against the dominant trends in the more populous, more progressive regions. It was not that the majority of people in the North cared anything about slavery one way or another, or that the majority in the South had any stake in the institution, but the political alignments over slavery

placed Virginia on the defensive with a static society.

At that very time slave-operated plantations were on the decline in Virginia, individuals continued to free their own slaves and a largely unspoken distaste for slavery was spreading among the people. Also at that time, though modest in comparison with the North, industry was growing in some Virginia cities (Richmond was the world's largest flour manufacturer) and commerce was healthily active. But politically Virginia cast its lot with a way of life dominated by pro-slavery interests.

From 1832 until the Civil War, political leadership—if such it could be called—in the General Assembly represented a drifting society. Though the giants were all gone from the scene, it was not (as it might seem in hindsight) that the legislators were necessarily behind the times. Men of their age and place, they represented a people who were caught in changing times with a society that was doomed to belong to the past—"the old America." It was not, as has been charged, that Virginians resisted industrialization out of obstinate stupidity or willful backwardness: the people simply had a profound aversion to factories and a deep attachment to a life based on the cultivation (and ownership) of land.

**"... the political alignments
over slavery placed Virginia
on the defensive with a
static society. . . ."**

This need not imply they would never have changed, as change was then taking place. Certainly slavery, with its drag on progressive thinking, would have passed in time and Virginia's society—with strong economic and social ties to the Northeast—could have changed in gradual adaptation to the dynamics of the rest of the nation.

The course of the power struggle in which it became involved not only denied the state this chance for a natural evolution but turned the mind of Virginia—its political leaders, its thinkers and apologists—away from the road traced by members and graduates of the General Assembly in the preceding 100 years. As was said by Dr. Joseph Clarke Robert, of Duke, "The Jeffersonian critical spirit had passed away.

Eighteenth century conceptions of natural rights, free inquiry, and appeal to reason were swept aside by a philosophy of defense, which combined literalness in religion with intolerance of social criticism. The South Carolina tide lapped on the sands of the Chesapeake. . . ."

IN THE THREE DECADES during which Virginia, along with the rest of the nation, was drawn toward a sectional clash, the political parties would be more difficult to define than those today. For example, while currently Virginians are predominantly Democrats, some are Southern (or anti-national) Democrats, others are simply Democrats; and still others are liberal Democrats; but in recent national elections, Virginia voted Republican and in Congress Southern Democrats vote with Republicans; yet neither the voters nor their representatives would support certain Republicans.

So, in the 1830's, 40's, and 50's, there were Whigs, with Federalistic leanings, especially in matters of national fiscal policy, and Virginia Whigs (largely anti-Jacksonian conservatives), along with the Democrats, who embraced all diversities of leanings derived from Jeffersonian republicanism and Jacksonian democracy, and who were fundamentally in agreement on national fiscal policy. The basic difference in Virginia now and then was that the Whig and Democrat parties contended for control of the General Assembly and in national representation.

Until 1844, the Whigs often had a majority in the House and elected senators to Washington, but in national elections the state went Democratic, though by very slim margins during the 40's. The shadings were so fine that in 1840 the Whigs nominated William Henry Harrison, of Ohio (the son of Benjamin Harrison), and as his vice-president nominated Tyler, whose democratic leanings were supposed to entice Democrats to the Whig banner. The strategy worked but the tactics went wrong. Harrison died within a month and Tyler acted as much like a true Democrat on fiscal policies as the Democrats themselves. Tyler then wanted to be reelected as a Democrat, but both parties spurned him.

From this time the Whigs lost ground in Virginia (though the party remained active), and in the decade before the war the Democrats held effective control.

During this period, the new state Constitution of 1851 finally granted

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the open suffrage so long fought for by the Westerners, along with the governor's election by the vote of the people. However, the trans-Allegheny people were still not satisfied with their representation.

Political activity became concentrated at state level, and in national affairs Virginia's political representatives, unlike those preceding the Revolution, were not leaders. Democratic power was divided between the Cotton States and the North. Leadership in national affairs was so completely surrendered in Virginia that Democratic Party leader, Thomas Ritchie, said, "We want a Northern man with Southern sympathies" for president.

With this background, the Virginia delegation held little power in the 1860 Democratic Convention in Charleston, where the Cotton States split the party. In the Cotton States' delegations were rabid secessionists who insisted upon a platform that not only was not acceptable to Northern Democrats but held no possible chance of winning a national election. In the election, Virginia voters showed their own division. The winner, by a margin of a few hundred votes, was Bell, the candidate of something called the "Constitutional Union Party," a hodge-podge formed around the survivors of the Whigs. Close behind came Breckinridge, as the Southern Democrat. Far behind came Douglas, the National Democrat. Out of 167,000 (in round figures), even Lincoln drew 1,929 votes as candidate for the new Republican Party—a motley collection of "outs" and the first frankly sectional party. Lincoln went into office with this anti-Southern party without a majority vote, due to the split in the Democratic Party.

Having done everything possible to bring about this eventuality, the Cotton States then declared that life under a Republican president would be intolerable and, beginning with South Carolina in December, seven states withdrew from the Union and formed the Confederate States of America. Quite suddenly Virginia had drifted into the dilemma of divided loyalties.

Though the institution of slavery was a large element in Virginia's alliance with the bloc of Southern states led by pro-slavery interests, Virginia had many deep and natural ties with the general society of the states of the Lower South. Fundamentally the plantation system (aside from slavery) gave all the Southern states a common agricultural-based society, with all the reflections in customs, habits, manners and attitudes. The absence of foreign

immigrants, who flocked to urban and industrialized communities, gave a homogeneity to the predominantly Anglo-Saxon white population. Then, politically, unrelated to slavery, the Southern states had always shared a strong states rights principle, with resistance to authoritative central government, to high tariff and to anti-Democratic fiscal policies.

As the leader in the formation of the republic, Virginia also held strong ties to the Union. Neither a secession movement instigated by pro-slavery interests nor the election of an anti-sectional president were sufficient to drive the state toward disunion. Actually, the concern of the majority of Virginians, and their representatives in the legislature, was to prevent a rupture in the Union.

SPECIAL SESSION CALLED

Nearly one hundred members of the General Assembly petitioned new Governor John Letcher, from Lexington, to call a special session, and the governor called this session on January 7, 1861. In his message, Letcher advocated calling a convention of all states to determine "whether the questions in controversy can not be settled upon some basis satisfactory to both sections." When nothing came of this convention, the legislature formed a peace commission to confer in Washington with President Buchanan (unhappily waiting for Lincoln to take office) and urged other states to send representatives to a "peace conference." Nothing came of this either. Instead, the moderates—holding the balance between the secessionists and the Unionists—were given a nudge away from their unionism by Lincoln's inaugural address. This implied a threat of force.

The one point the General Assembly was united upon was its opposition to armed coercion as a means to "re-union or submission." A resolution that Virginia would resist the use of force "by all the means in our power" was adopted in the House by an 112 to 5 vote, and in the senate 39 to 0. However, before Lincoln took office, the General Assembly had voted for the election of 152 delegates to form a convention to consider the state's course. The election was also to include a "reference" provision, which would require the Convention to refer to a poll of the electorate any action taken in connection with withdrawal from the Union. As the secessionists opposed this "reference," the state's sentiment was pretty well reflected when the people

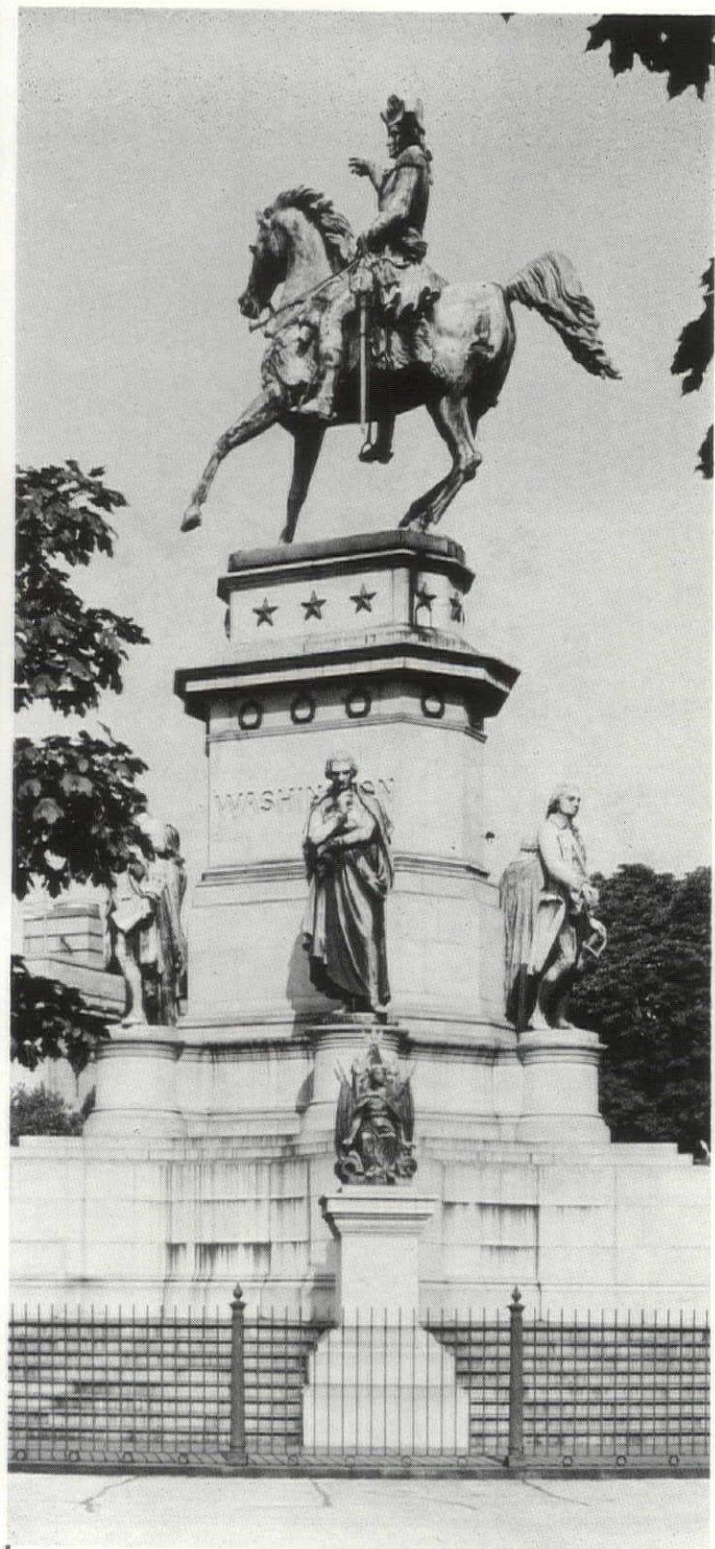
voted it (in round figures) 100,000 to 45,000.

The convention met on February 13 and, because the legislature was in session, moved to Mechanics Hall, facing Capitol Square on Ninth Street. John Janney, a moderate from Loudoun, was elected president, and the debates and the test votes began, with the secessionists showing a slow growth in strength. Finally in April, after Lincoln had been in office more than a month, a close vote was passed (63 to 57) to send a committee of three to wait upon the president, present to him the state's views on coercion, and "ask him to communicate to this convention the policy which the federal authorities intended to pursue in regard to the seceded states." The committee was formed of William Ballard Preston, a moderate who had introduced the resolution, George W. Randolph (Jefferson's grandson), secessionist of Richmond, and Alexander H. H. Stuart, a Unionist of Augusta.

For its significance in revealing Virginia's attitude on the eve of the firing on Fort Sumter, the visit of this committee to Lincoln has been curiously and *not accidentally* neglected by history. In the Lincoln myth, he is always apotheosized for preserving the Union by force of arms. But the president's task was certainly not to prosecute a four-year total war of subjugation which, as one of his cabinet members said, "preserved the Union but destroyed the nation." A triumph of national leadership would have preserved the Union in mutuality of trust and interest without a destructive war of divisiveness.

Of all things Lincoln needed to do was neutralize the Border States—Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas, the first three of which were the most populous, the most wealthy, and the most industrially advanced of the geographically Southern states. Without those pivotal states, the seven seceded states could not have long endured against patient measures of coercion short of force. But Lincoln, with Virginia's committee almost pleading for assurances that armed coercion would be avoided, gave the three gentlemen no satisfaction whatever. He simply ignored their viewpoint on armed coercion. It was a strange repeat of Virginia's conservatives of the century before trying to win compromises from the British government.

By the time Virginia's committee returned to Richmond, Sumter had been fired upon and this was followed by



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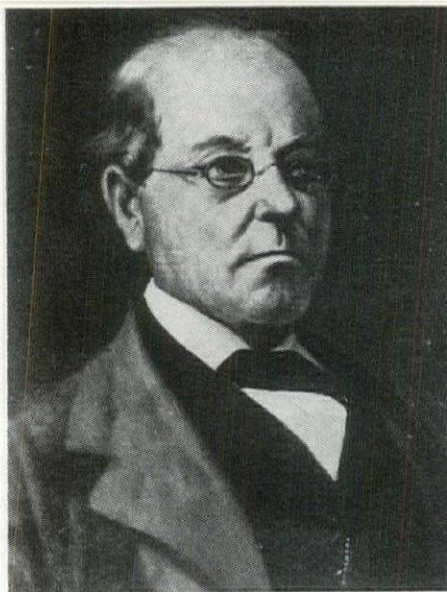
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Lincoln's call for troops to subdue the "insurrection" by force of arms. That, as the saying goes, did it. Overnight the moderates shifted to the secessionists and, in virtually secret session, on April 17 the Convention passed an Ordinance of Secession by a vote of 88 to 55. Ominously for the state's future, this vote was largely sectional. Twenty-five of the anti-secession votes came from the long discontented region west of the Alleghenies. The others were scattered among Unionists from the Valley, the southwest and east of the Blue Ridge. The ratification by the people's vote was a mere formality.

Before its adjournment, the Convention created an advisory council, which confirmed the appointment of R. E. Lee, colonel 1st U.S. cavalry, as commander of the military and naval forces of Virginia, under the authority of the governor. Before this appointment, 54-year-old Colonel Lee, a Unionist, had sorrowfully submitted his resignation to General-of-the-Armies Winfield Scott, a Virginian, who considered Lee "the very finest soldier I ever saw in the field." In the hall of the House of Delegates, dark-haired brown-eyed Lee, dressed in black civilian clothes, in solemn ceremony received his appointment from Convention President Janney. Seventy-three years after his father (three times governor of the state) had argued for Virginia's trusting her future to the Union, the last great descendant of the Revolutionary generation swore never to draw his sword again "save in defense of my native state."

DURING THE FOUR YEARS of Virginia's invasion by Federal armies, while the capitol was shared by the Confederate Congress, the General Assembly lost its representatives from west of the Alleghenies. This long disaffected region formed a separate "General Assembly" of its own, composed mostly of former members of the state legislature, and met in extra session in Wheeling on July 1. Declaring itself to represent the "Restored Government" of Virginia, this body passed (August 9) an ordinance declaring the action of the Secession Convention null and void, passed (August 29) an act providing for the formation of a new state, and on December 2 introduced a plan for the physical partition of the state.

In a war denying the validity of secession, Lincoln approved of the secession of the western counties and admitted the new state into the union, despite the expressed limitation in the Federal Constitution that required a



GOVERNOR JOHN LETCHER

(Courtesy, Virginia State Library)

state to give its consent to the formation of a new state out of its territory. In what he called the "expediency" of the "war measure," Lincoln got around the Constitution (which he made much of having sworn to uphold) by recognizing the "Restored Government" as the legitimate government of Virginia. After the new state of West Virginia was admitted into the Union on June 20, 1863, Lincoln—holding to the fiction that the "Restored Government," which created the new state, was Virginia's legitimate government—established Governor Francis Pierpont, of the "Restored Government," at Alexandria under the protection of Federal occupation forces. This bayonet-supported puppet government consisted of a small alien group in the hostile population of a few counties. Its constituents consisted of several Unionist slaveholders and some Northern residents.

During these goings-on, Virginia's General Assembly was, along with the state's citizens, occupied almost exclusively with the problems incident to resisting armed invasion. Though Virginia happened to be the battleground—and suffered a devastation more total than any other area in the history of the United States—the decisions of the defense were entirely directed by the Confederate authorities. As the war wore on, more and more of the districts represented by the legislature became either barren stretches of desolation or under the control of Federal military authority.

On January 1, 1864, Governor Letcher was succeeded by "Extra Billy" Smith, who had served an earlier term in the peaceful, prosperous era of the late 40's. A lawyer from King George, "Extra Billy" was extremely popular and, except for those in the group

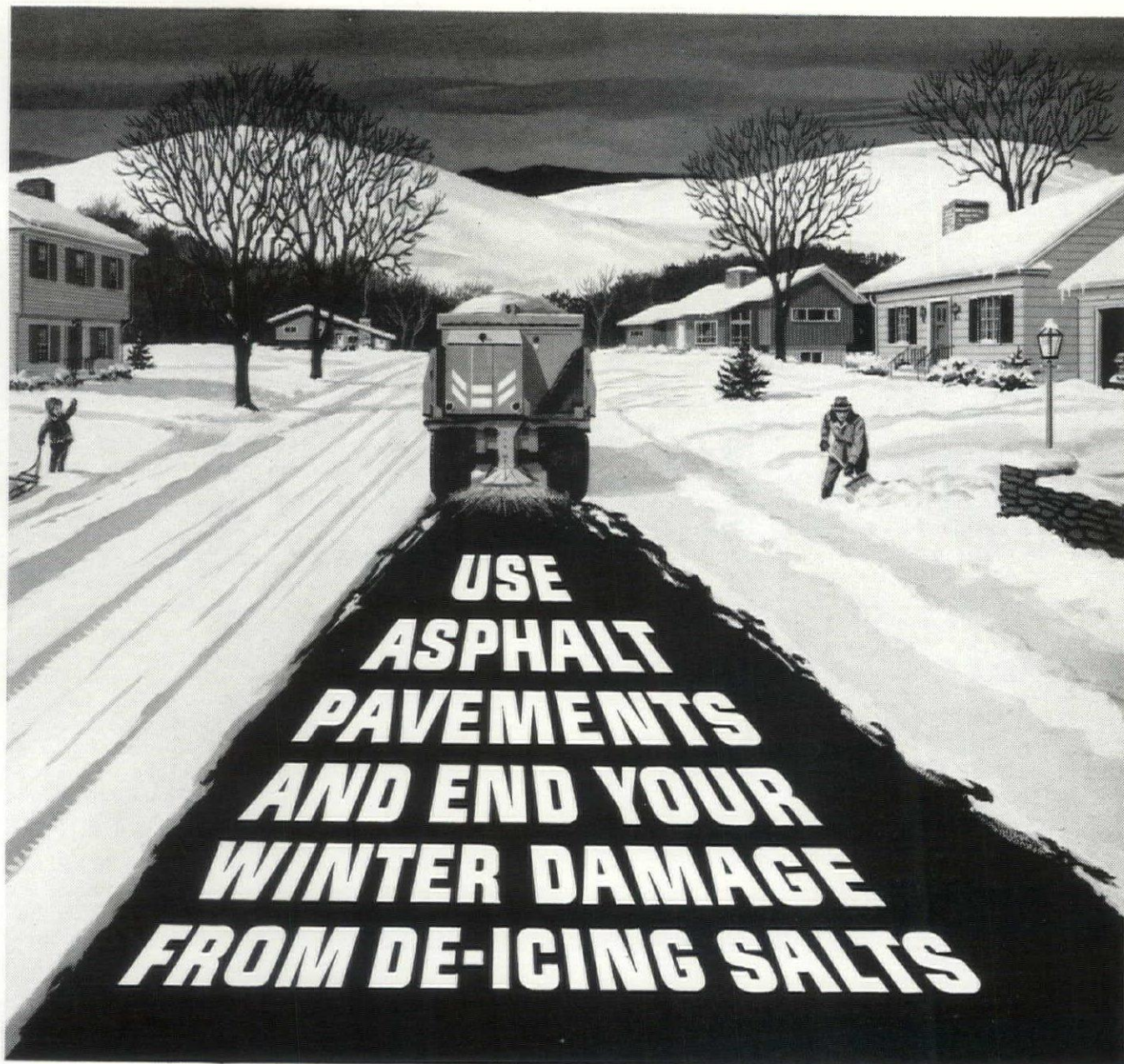
around Washington's statue, is the only governor to be honored with a statue in Capitol Square. Before his wartime election, Smith had served in the division of Jubal Early (a strong Unionist in the Secession Convention) and "Extra Billy" sometimes brought down on his head the wrath of the harsh-tongued Early for delivering political harangues to the troops—or even to bewildered Yankee civilians during the Gettysburg Campaign in Pennsylvania.

As Chief Executive in the wartime capital—its overcrowded population starving, shivering and apprehensive under the closing siege—his army life must have seemed like the good old days. However, with a more realistic understanding of the military emergency than the Confederate politicians, on December 7, 1864, Smith introduced a measure into the General Assembly for the freeing of slaves who would be armed and serve as soldiers. This policy, including a broad plan of general emancipation, was advocated by Lee. It was not until March, 1865, that the Confederate Congress got around to passing an emasculated version of the proposal. By the time the first few Negro recruits were gathering in Richmond, the city was evacuated, with the president and government officials fleeing to Danville.

At one o'clock on Monday morning of April 3, while the downtown section of Richmond was in flames, "Extra Billy" left with some state records on a canal boat for Lynchburg. From there he joined Davis in the temporary capital at Danville. After Appomattox he returned, by roundabout stages, to Richmond and surrendered himself to the military forces of occupation.

With no ceremony, Smith's term of office came to an end and the Governor's Mansion was occupied by Pierpont, who came down with his shadow government from Alexandria. After Lincoln's assassination, President Andrew Johnson recognized Pierpont's "Restored Government" as Virginia's legal government, and on June 19 Pierpont held a meeting of his "General Assembly"—three senators and nine delegates—in the drawing room of the Governor's Mansion.

Before Lincoln's death, the Radical Republicans had been the dominant force in the administration and this group of ruthless men had long made it clear that their purpose for the war was the enfranchisement of freed Negroes whose votes would perpetuate the Radical Party in power. Powerful Thaddeus Stevens made no bones



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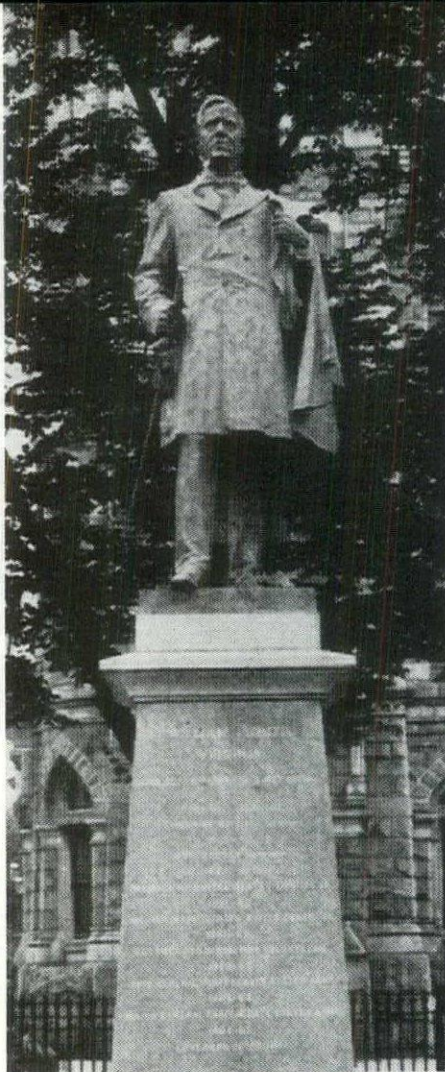
1901 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

about his intentions to the white South: "We intend to reduce it to a mud-hole." President Johnson was the only obstacle, and that mostly ineffectual, to the execution of their plans. Like Johnson, Governor Pierpont, a Unionist from what had become West Virginia, held no sympathy with the Radical Republicans nor animosity toward Virginians. He sincerely wished Virginia—which, according to the Lincoln administration, had never seceded—to be readmitted to the Union.

Unfortunately, Pierpont was neither a strong man—or a skillful politician, and—again like Johnson—stood against the tides of the times. In Virginia Pierpont was opposed by the Radical Republicans in his Alexandria government, who wanted to control the state by enforcing a wartime article in their constitution which would have disqualified just about all of the state's voting population. Their attitude was supported by the powers in the Federal Government and by segments of the Northern population, which were vindictively hostile to the conquered Southern states. At this period during the summer in the first aftermath of the war, the majority of Virginians seemed to follow Lee's example of conciliation. Though occasional bitter outbursts appeared in some of the newspapers (whose publication was immediately suspended by the Military Occupation authorities), the *Richmond Times* and the *Whig* called for an extra session of the legislature to inform the North of the state's loyalty, and citizens' meetings were held in various localities to testify to the people's loyalty to the Government. A meeting in Richmond, on August 29, passed resolutions denouncing "the persistent and wicked efforts of a portion of the press and people of the Northern States to brand the people of the South with perfidy and insincerity . . . by questioning their fidelity and truth in the oaths of allegiance which they have taken."

After the first postwar congressional and state elections were held in October, on December 4 Virginia's representatives to U.S. Congress were not admitted. The Union was physically restored but the Southern States were to be denied a voice in its government.

In Virginia, however, no interference was made when, on the same day, the new General Assembly met, with John B. Baldwin of Augusta as the Speaker of the House. Many of the members were old line Whigs and Baldwin himself had been a member of the Confederate Congress, though



"EXTRA BILLY" SMITH

(Courtesy, Virginia State Library)

there were no prominent leaders of the secession movement. Among the first acts of this postwar General Assembly was the appointment of a commission to negotiate with West Virginia on the restoration of the state and on West Virginia's assumption of its share of the state debt prior to 1861. There was no cooperation at all from West Virginia. No action was taken on the debt until after 25 years of litigation, the U.S. Supreme Court in 1915 forced a payment. The state debt was about the most important issue confronting the legislature and on March 2, 1866, an act was passed funding the interest on the state debt. The rumors of repudiation of the debt were so insistent that on December 20, 1866, the General Assembly adopted a resolution that it would never pass any act of repudiation which would be destructive of Virginia's future credit, integrity and honor.

A most pressing problem to be solved was the legislation in regard to the freed Negroes. The recently freed slaves were not unnaturally confused by their new status. Many equated

freedom from the plantations with freedom from work. Bands of them roamed about the countryside and congregated at the friendly Freedmen's Bureaus for rations. When they did hire themselves out to work, most of them possessed no sense of the validity of a contract. The exodus from the plantations and the Negroes' undependableness as workers created an acute need for labor on farms, many of which were totally devastated. Both to obtain the desperately needed labor and to regulate the idle, restless population, the General Assembly passed a Vagrancy Act.

Though some such measure was necessary, the act became associated in the Northern mind with the Black Codes enacted in some of the Cotton States and strongly antagonized the Radicals in Washington and General Terry in Richmond. Virginians, as other Southerners, did not immediately comprehend that the purpose of the Radicals was to extend Lincoln's war measure emancipation into giving freed slaves political and social equality while the Southern states were under military rule. When General Terry forbade the execution of the vagrancy statute, he was vehemently supported by the anti-Southern press and the acts were used as basis for the claim that Southern whites intended to maintain the Negro in *de facto* slavery.

As part of the program to holding the South as a conquered province subject to the rule of the Radicals, an Inquiry of Reconstruction Committee began in Virginia on January 23, 1866. While the ostensible purpose was to appraise Virginians' attitude to the Union, the real objective was to obtain evidence of the people's unfitness for readmission to their constitutional rights. To this end, of the 49 witnesses examined in Virginia, nearly all were prominent Republicans, most of whom came from northern states. As their interest was in controlling a subjected people, they painted as black a picture as possible of Virginians' hostility and disloyalty to the Government and said that the lives of "good Union men" would be endangered if U.S. troops were withdrawn. General Lee was one of the two non-Republican native Virginians called to testify. Though he expressed his belief in the people's loyalty and their desire to do justice to the freedman, this was not the testimony that the commission wanted to hear.

Shortly after this, on April 9, the Civil Rights Bill was passed over Johnson's veto. During this period, on May 18, the "Union Republican Party of

Virginia" held a convention which urged a qualified suffrage applying to both races—though with disfranchisement of all persons who had been connected with the Confederacy. On June 13, 1866, the 14th Amendment was proposed. This incorporated elements of the Civil Rights Bill as well as legislating discrimination against former Confederates. The intentions of the Radical Republicans had become very clear to Virginians when the second session of the General Assembly met on December 2, 1866.

Pierpont, in advocating conciliation, recommended a modification of the vagrant laws and ratification of the 14th Amendment. This postwar legislature was not by then in a mood of reconciliation. The Governor's proposals were rejected 74 to 1 in the House and 27 to 0 in the Senate. Two days before the regular session closed, the Reconstruction Act was passed on March 2, 1867. Virginia became Military District #1 and General John M. Schofield, military commander of the state, became Commissioner of the district. This brought an interregnum, with no sessions of the General Assembly held and elections suspended until a new state constitution was formed, ratified and approved by Congress.

The ostensible purpose of the Reconstruction Act was to bring political and social equality among the races—which was a sincere, if unrealistic, objective among some Northerners. Because of both the fanaticism in some of the missionaries who came into the South and the political purposes of the Radical Republicans, the effect was to ally the Negroes against the Southern whites. The significant element became not a struggle against or for the equality of the freed Negro, but the struggle of the native white to prevent the domination of his state by recently freed slaves. The ex-Confederates faced the specter of a Black Republic.

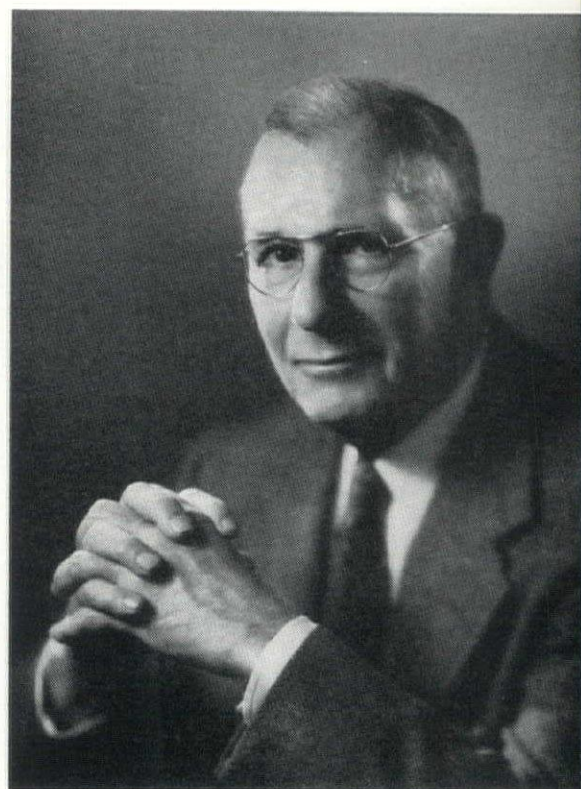
The alliance of the freed Negroes against the native whites was directed by the Freedmen's Bureau and the Union League. The Freedmen's Bureau, actually the agent of a foreign power established in the community, was naturally resented as an alien control between the planters and labor. In establishing a paternal supervision of the colored race, the Freedmen's Bureau made genuine accomplishments in material areas. In the three months of August, September and October of 1865 the Bureau issued nearly 700,000 rations to approximately 44,000 people, some of whom were destitute whites. Nearly 100 schools for colored children were established and by March, 1867

there were 228 teachers with 15,340 pupils. Where honest competent men were in charge of the Bureaus, the Negroes were urged to work, advised on the importance of keeping labor contracts, and in general extended a benevolent protection.

However, in the first months after the war the Bureau held a power of distributing nearly 100,000 acres that the government had confiscated from former Confederates. Before Johnson's decision began the gradual return of most of the lands to their rightful owners, countless Negro families had been settled on these farms along with the promises of more such benefits to come. This led to considerable litigation involving titles. As the Freedmen's Bureau exercised wide legal jurisdiction over these cases, as well as over crimes, it would be an understatement to say that their decisions were not unbiased. Two Federal generals, Steedman and Fullerton, sent from Washington to report on conditions in the Southern states, found that the effect of the Bureau was to stimulate the antagonism between the races.

The Union League was a national Republican organization which established branches all through the South. It was a secret society and their meetings, always held at night, had the double purpose of instructing the Negroes in the privileges of citizenship and in "the duties they owed the party which had made them free and given them the exercise of suffrage." By these secret meetings, the Negroes were inculcated with the doctrines of the white Radicals without any counterinfluence from the native whites. In Virginia this underground work of the agents of the Union League was so effective as to achieve a complete political separation of the colored race from the native whites.

Above ground, the Republican State Central Committee held in Richmond on April 1, 1867, a convention of 210, of whom 160 were Negroes, under the leadership of James Hunnicutt. Hunnicutt was a representative of the native Southerner called "scalawag." Formerly a slave holder and secessionist from South Carolina, he became a demagogue in Negro leadership for his personal power. As the leadership of Hunnicutt and his Radicals revealed their purposes, a countermovement began among Republicans who did not wish to form virtually a Negro party. A simultaneous movement was begun by native Virginians to form a coalition with the conservative Republicans since, as the Republican Party comprised the power of the U.S., the only



E. Griffith Dodson served as Clerk of the House for more than a quarter of a century, retiring in 1962. He is an authority on the history of the General Assembly and author of a book entitled "Capitol of the Commonwealth."

(Foster Studio)

chance of the state's restoration to the Union was through it. The Negroes, under the Radical influence, made a very fateful decision in rebuffing the Virginians who tried to act with them and in allying themselves with alien elements for control of a government designed to dominate the native white.

In this atmosphere registration of voters for the election of members to a Constitutional Convention was held under the direction of the authorities of the Military Occupation from October 18 to 21, 1867. Under the Reconstruction Act, Negroes were given the right of suffrage in the election of members while ex-Confederates were excluded by the "test act"—swearing they had not engaged in armed revolt against the U.S. Among the members elected, the Radicals had a majority of 70 to 35. Of the 70, 25 were Negroes, 14 were Virginia Republicans and the other 31 would come under the head of "carpetbaggers"—those harpies who followed the Federal armies into the conquered regions. Of the 31 non-Virginia whites, two were from England, and one each from Ireland, Scotland, Canada and Nova Scotia. Such was the group that was to provide Virginia with a new state constitution.

The president of the Convention was Judge John C. Underwood, the prototype of the worst element of "carpet-bagger." A little educated and unscrupulous native of New York, he had lived in Virginia for some while before his extreme abolitionist sentiment caused him to leave. During the war Lincoln made him district judge of the puppet government at Alexandria and after the war he came with Pierpont to Richmond. Active in promoting confiscation of Virginia property and of making Negroes powerful in politics, he ruled his court with little more regard for justice and law than a Nero.

Underwood's attitude was typified in May 6, 1867, when Jefferson Davis was brought to his court for trial after two years' imprisonment at Fort Monroe. The court was held in offices formerly occupied by the Confederate government, and in addressing the jury, Underwood said: "In this very room we now occupy dwell the fiery soul of treason, rebellion and civil war, and issued that fell spirit which starved by wholesale prisoners for the crime of defending the flag . . . assassinated colored soldiers . . ." and, charging the South with the actions of the invading Federal armies, ". . . burned towns and cities with a barbarity unknown to Christian countries."

The majority of the Constitutional Convention that met on December 3, 1867, and adjourned on April 17, 1868, was primarily concerned with perpetuating in power a Radical government composed largely of aliens or non-representative Virginians. A basic clause was the exclusion from office and denial of franchise to all who could not take the "test oath." Also, the 14th Amendment was included, with its fundamental point that all persons born in the United States are citizens and "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens. . . ." The intent of this was to enfranchise the recently freed slaves.

The Amendment included a section barring certain classes of ex-Confederates from holding state or government offices, except by a vote of two-thirds of each house. Another section repudiated any claims against the United States for property destroyed during the war or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave. (When England abolished slavery, its slaveholders were compensated for the loss, and Lincoln had told the Confederate peace commissioners in February, 1865, that it was his intention to compensate the Southern slaveholders.)

Though there were other objectionable clauses, the Constitution was not as bad as might have been expected. The governor's authority was increased by the power of veto. In establishing public schools, the Republican whites refused to support the Negroes' demands that mixed schools be written into the Constitution. However, the inclusion of the 14th Amendment was strongly opposed by the native conservatives who sincerely believed the recently freed Negroes—ignorant and deluded by false promises—were unqualified for the privilege of voting and holding office. Most of everything, the "test oath" placed the majority of the native white population in the dilemma of being "damned if they did and damned if they didn't." If they did not ratify the Constitution the state would remain a military district outside the Union, and if they did ratify the Constitution they would disfranchise themselves and turn the state over to the rule of Radicals and Negroes.

PIERPONT REMOVED

During this impasse General Schofield removed conservative Pierpont and appointed (April 4, 1868) Radical H. H. Wells. A Detroit lawyer and former colonel of a Michigan volunteer regiment, he had come into Virginia, as a brevet brigadier-general acting as provost marshal south of the Potomac, and then on to Richmond. Wells' purpose was to bring the state under Negro domination in order to get himself elected after Virginia was readmitted to the Union. At the same time a conservative Republican, Gilbert C. Walker, was gaining prominence as an anti-Radical. Though Walker himself, from Binghamton, N.Y., would be classed amongst the carpetbaggers—a financial adventurer in Federal occupied Norfolk—he was not among the demagogues who depended upon Negro political domination. A white-maned gentleman of engaging manners and personal charm, he allied himself with the native conservative whites against Radical Republicans and Black Rule.

With Wells and Walker leading the field for leadership of the state after Virginia was readmitted, the essential problem was to effect a compromise by which the Underwood Constitution could be ratified by the people and presented to Congress. It must be stressed that Wells' Radical Party wanted not equality for the Negro but supremacy—the political rule of the state. At the other extreme, the native white conservatives were united against

the political participation of freed slaves being forced upon them in the 14th Amendment. They would prefer to reject the Constitution and remain out of the Union rather than be coerced into extending the franchise to the Negro.

At this stalemate came the realistic compromise movement led by Alexander H. H. Stuart. His proposal would accept the political equality of the Negro—despite the generally held reservation that the freed slave was not then ready for the responsibilities of citizenship—in order to remove the Radical-Negro domination from the state. This still left the clause of the "test oath" and Mr. Stuart, as the head of a committee of nine, worked to have this clause removed from the Constitution and voted upon as a separate issue.

Stuart's "Committee of 9" worked hard and resourcefully in Washington, gained the support of powerful Northern newspaper editors, and won first the attention and then the sympathy of General Grant in the interim after his election and before his inauguration. After his inauguration, Grant caused an act to be passed which permitted Virginians to vote on ratification or rejection of the Underwood Constitution with a separate vote on the "test-oath" clause. Once the Virginians had a chance to vote (July 9, 1869) on whether or not ex-Confederates were to be disfranchised, the Radical-Negro rule of Virginia was doomed, and the people swallowed the inclusion of the 14th amendment in the state Constitution in order to reclaim their own state.

But Virginia was not yet readmitted to the Union, and here came the final, ultimate contradiction on the legalities over secession. While Virginia was not legally recognized as a state, its legislature was required to ratify the 15th amendment in order that she may be "restored to her proper relations to the Union." The 15th Amendment, dismissing the vague language and the confusing clauses discriminating against Confederates in the 14th amendment, stated simply, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by . . . any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude . . ." A session of the General Assembly was called for the sole purpose of ratifying the 15th Amendment while Virginia was *not* a state, and after the legislature of the non-state ratified the amendment, Virginia was readmitted to the Union.

The coercive legalities by which

General James L. Kemper, survivor of Pickett's Charge, was the first of the "Confederate governors," inaugurated in 1874.



(Courtesy, Virginia State Library)

further behind while struggling for primal existence.

Treated as a conquered province, in their economic and spiritual separation from a fattening, indifferent, materialistic nation (whose politicians for decades denounced them as "traitors" and discriminated against their economy in Washington), Virginians would have been reduced to a pitiable state if they had not held steadfastly to the pride in being what they were. For a long time, it was all they had. Like any other virtue, it had its harmful side effects, but essentially this pride in their identity as Virginians perpetuated into the present the character that can not be appraised by the statistical indices of "progress."

In beginning on "the road back," Virginia did not get off to a good start. The General Assembly of 1870, while predominantly conservative white natives, contained a bloc of Negroes and leftover Republicans, and genial Governor Walker had not, in his political responsibilities, forsaken his adventurer's spirit in finance. After serving as the last Provisional (Reconstruction period) Governor from September, 1869, to January 1, 1870, this non-Virginian was inaugurated as the state's first governor in the new Union—in which the South fulfilled Benjamin Harrison's prediction of existing as "an appendage" to the states north of the Potomac. It was under Walker's leadership that the General Assembly's first major act was a stroke of unwisdom that tied a millstone around the people in their climb out of the debris.

During the war, much of Virginia's debts had been acquired at low prices by speculators, mostly from outside the state, and their lobbyists in the Capitol were the loudest in appealing to Virginians' "honesty and integrity" in paying to the last dollar. When the Funding Act was passed, March 30, 1871, the legislature provided for the sale of the state's holdings in railroad stocks at a sacrifice. The argument of the advocates was that outside capital would come in and rebuild the railroads. It did, and took the profits outside with them. Few acts of the legislature have so antagonized the voters. Of the 132 Delegates in the House when the Funding Act was passed, only 26 were returned at the next election.

With this contribution to Virginia's future, along with a deficit of about \$1,000,000 in the Treasury, Governor Walker, the last and most attractive of the carpetbaggers, went his debonair way. With the inauguration of General Kemper, in 1874, the government of

Negro suffrage became forced upon Virginia naturally did not convince the native whites of the wisdom or the justice of the measure. All the current political talk at the national level about movements for equality having begun 100 years ago is very far removed from the realities of the beginnings of the freed Negro in the white society. After the Negro ceased to serve as a political pawn for the Radical Republicans and after the departure of the disenchanted missionaries from "darkest tidewater," he was forgotten in the North. In Virginia, as in the rest of the South, the resentment of the whites against the Reconstruction legislation aroused a determination to undo its effects. As was stated by the late Dr. Eckenrode, state historian: "A desire arose in the state to debar the Negro as far as possible from exercising his privilege of voting."

ruins of homes and barns. All over the countryside mills were destroyed. Horses to work the fields, implements, cattle to provide food, all were gone. Gone too was the slave labor, which represented millions of dollars of investment across generations, and — with Confederate money, stocks and bonds worthless—no cash for hiring workers.

Most of all, and most incalculable in its effects, was the loss of manpower from the war dead, in which ran a heavy proportion of educated young men of natural leadership and energy. Also among the imponderables was the despair left by a decade of the devastation of total war, defeat and the bitter aftermath of bayonet rule under the Reconstruction. For the people had not only suffered a brutal, exploiting subjugation but the structure of their civilization, as evolved over two-and-a-half centuries, was destroyed. What other English-speaking people on the continent have ever been confronted with a similar plight?

In 1870 the North and West (in which fortunes had been made while Virginia's economy was being destroyed) were in the midst of the great industrial boom, with railroad building and land speculation, that increased the wealth and advanced the technological progress in the rest of the nation at the time that Virginia was rebuilding out of ashes. In their bitter, sometimes hopeless, poverty, the people made do with what was at hand and rebuilt according to what was familiar —thus, in industrial progress, falling

AS CONTEMPORARY liberalism removes attitudes and conditions from the context of their causes, from historic evolution, so much of the current criticism directed at Virginia's industrial backwardness and resistance to progress is made in ignorance—or dismissal—of the existing circumstances by which Virginia began a new life as a state in 1870. From the Potomac to the James, from the Valley eastward, most of the region lay in a desolation worse than today would be considered a "disaster area." In a predominantly agricultural region, weeds covered the fenceless fields in which stood the blackened

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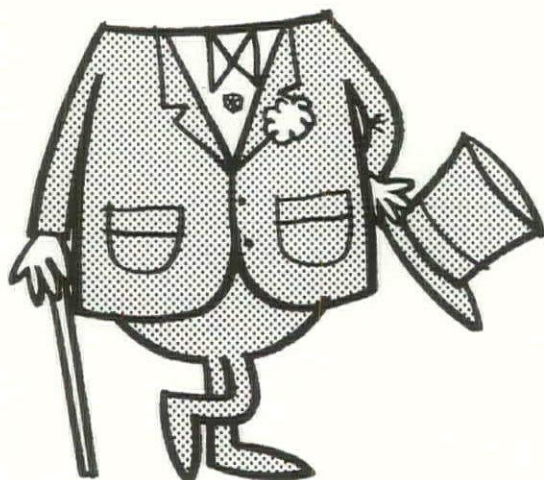
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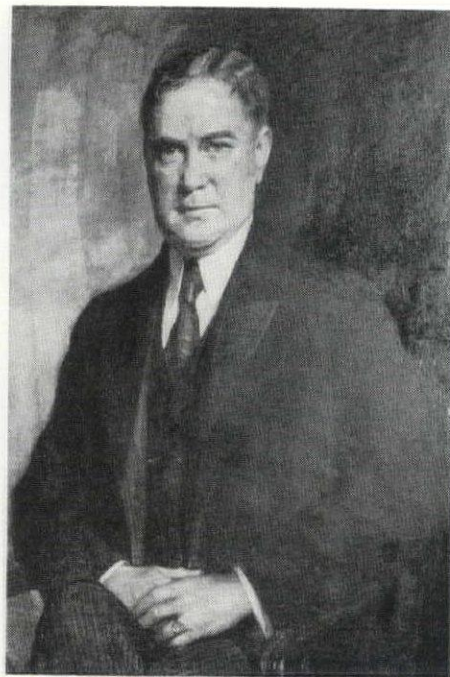
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ROANOKE, VIRGINIA

Virginia was at last returned to Virginians. The one survivor (badly wounded) of the brigadiers in Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg, James L. Kemper was the first of the "Confederate" governors who served the state in what he might be called the post-bellum period—the struggle for existence in the aftermath of destruction and reconstruction—that lasted until the turn of the century.

The actual, as opposed to legal, re-admission of Virginia to the Union was occasioned by the Spanish-American War of 1898. After Virginia sent 5,000 soldiers to the war (198 of whom did not return), along with a Gloucester County army physician, Walter Reed, the state ceased to be treated as a conquered province. As a mark of acceptance President McKinley, a veteran of the Federal Army, appointed as the representative extraordinary to Cuba General Lee's nephew—Fitz Lee, chief of cavalry at Appomattox and one of the state's "Confederate" governors, 1886-1890.



ANDREW JACKSON MONTAGUE

VIRGINIA 70 YEARS LATE

With this acceptance, the beginning of the 20th Century marked the beginning of Virginia's tentative entrance into the industrial age—about 70 years late. As was mentioned, Virginia supported successful industries at the time of the 1832 "slavery session" of the legislature. In fact, with the lively commerce, growing transportation lines and diversified (not one-money crop) agriculture, Virginia's industry gave the state a soundly balanced economic structure. It was not this that lagged in the three decades before the war. It was the arresting of the mental attitude around the defense of slavery. Then, after the debacle, when Virginia was returned to Virginians in 1874, it was not only—as Governor Kemper said—"bankrupt," but the mental attitude was fixed in its antebellum arrestment.

In the last quarter of the 19th Century, it must be said that the state's political leaders were primarily concerned with the control of the political machinery of the state. During the power struggle, in which the Democratic Party organization finally emerged triumphant in an entrenched position, the history of the General Assembly was not exactly characterized by distinguished legislation. The members of the legislature essentially reflected the driving motivation of the people—survival.

In 1899, Carter Glass wrote in the *Lynchburg News*: "There is but one

to tell the Virginia Story

hope of salvation from a corrupt, costly and intolerable domination of an office-holding despotism, and that is a Constitutional Convention . . ." The following year, the people voted—77,362 to 60,373—for a new Constitution. The General Assembly met (February 16, 1901) and passed an act providing for the election of 100 delegates to serve as constitution-drafters. Eighty-eight Democrats were elected and twelve of the fading Republicans, all but one from west of the Blue Ridge. These assembled in the hall of the House of Delegates on June 12, 1901.

This body of largely responsible Virginians, including Carter Glass and Hal Flood, labored earnestly and thoughtfully to cover every aspect of state government in drafting a Constitution suited to—what members themselves referred to as—"a new era." The ravages of the 1860 decade were then behind them after 30 years of struggle for existence in a type of economy the rest of the country had left in the past. Though it may come as a surprise to some of the younger critics who charge Virginia with "backward-looking" resistance to industry, the point of the address of Governor J. Hoge Tyler to the Convention was the need to draft a Constitution which would encourage industry to come into the state. "I ask that this Convention, framing a new constitution, will permit the State and local authorities to offer such inducements as I have indicated for capital to come within our borders."

However, Governor Tyler also made it plain that he was not proposing an industrialized society that would

change the character of the state. "We cannot hope for as rapid a growth as some of our western sister states but there is a charm in the very thought of having Virginia as your home, and your children reared among the sacred memories of this historic soil." Thus, the governor did not ask for a break in the continuity of the Virginia heritage when he said, in italics, "*The prosperity of Virginia should be marked from the very day this Convention adjourns.*"

The 1901-02 Constitution, which introduced the voting restrictions designed to mitigate the Underwood Constitution's enfranchisement of the Negro, is in essence the Constitution which has since guided the General Assembly, though by ratifications and amendments it has been vastly changed in detail. The most fundamental new provision in the 1902 Constitution was the extension of the governor's legislative powers through the grant of veto of specific items in appropriations bills and the authority to suggest amendments to bills. These details were part of a principle of advancing the governor's office to a position of legislative leadership as was necessary to meet the changing demands of the new era.

"GOVERNORS AS BUSINESS MANAGERS"

In the Colonial days, the House of Burgesses was motivated by the desire to strengthen self-government when its members constantly maneuvered to restrict the powers of the British Colonial Governor, and this habit of controlling the governor's powers caused Virginia's 1776 Constitution to make the governor almost the creature of the General Assembly. Not until 1850 was he elected by the people, and not until 1869 was he given a limited power of veto. Andrew Jackson Montague became the first governor to serve under the new constitution (which became operative at noon, July 10, 1902) and the first of what came to be called "The Governors as Business Manager."

But the state government still had a long ways to go to rid itself of ingrown habits that reduced the governor's administrative authority to virtual impotence. Since the Reconstruction government, bureaus and agencies had proliferated, not only making the parts of the administrative mechanism scattered and disjointed but removing these bodies from the governor's supervision. In the 1918 inaugural address of Governor Westmoreland Davis, he pointed out that these bodies were permitted "to disburse the funds collected by

them, as well as practically to audit their own accounts; they hold themselves entirely independent of the General Assembly, and conduct little governments of their own."

Governor Davis' accomplishment toward remedying this inefficient, ramshackle bureaucracy was in passing the Budget Act of 1918. He proposed an "Executive Budget . . . an appropriation bill tentatively prepared by the Governor and submitted to the legislature at the opening of the session of the General Assembly." His proposal was enacted into law at the 1918 session of the General Assembly.

But it was not until Harry Flood Byrd took office in 1926 that the long overdue reorganization in administration was made and the intent of the 1902 Constitution was realized. A quarter-of-a-century passed between Governor Hoge Tyler's appeal for a Constitution that would enable the state government to direct Virginia effectually into the industrial age and the 1927 Acts and Joint Resolutions (amending the Constitution) of the General Assembly during the administration of young governor Byrd.

During those 25 years the wheels of Virginia's political machinery did grind very slowly. Vestigial habits had been extended from the 19th Century, carrying along political deadheads and permitting self-interested blocs to retard progressive changes. In mental attitudes, the passing of the Jeffersonian spirit of enlightened inquiry, which Professor Sydner described as ending when the 1832 defensiveness began, had allowed the growth of a narrow-minded bigotry, reflected in the General Assembly by the despotic power of Prohibitionist Bishop Cannon. This quarter-century might be regarded as a transition period between the 1902 concept of progress and the 1927 execution under Governor Byrd, who gave Virginia the greatest leadership since the giants of the Revolutionary generation.

Before his election, Byrd had won wide prominence in the state senate as a leader of the "pay-as-you-go" forces in road policies and, as a plain-spoken advocate of the practical economy understood by the people, he was voted into office by a large majority. Governor Byrd's own principles were stated in a message transmitted to the General Assembly on February 3, 1926.

"The first fundamental change must be to make the Governor the real executive head of the State. In order to do this, the essential agencies of the State Government and their heads must be made responsible to the Governor. The number of officers elected directly



Senator Byrd with the late Senator Carter Glass at a Senate Judiciary Committee hearing in Washington in 1939. (Acme photo, courtesy Richmond Times-Dispatch)

by the people, activities of the hundred bureaus and departments must be consolidated into a few departments and the State's activities must be headed up by the Governor as the activities of a great private business corporation are headed up by the president."

In practical terms, he was introducing the "short-ballot"—reducing elective officers to governor, lieutenant-governor and attorney-general — and going at the wobbly structure of department agencies like a Samson in the

temple. Of the 95 agencies (some consisting of a single person) conducting the state administration when Governor Byrd began his reforms, 27 had been embodied in the Constitution and 68 had been created by Act of Assembly. Eight of the single officials were elected by the people, and several agencies were appointed by the General Assembly. Of all these, only 20 bureaus and commissions were selected by the governor. To make the most revolutionary reforms in the history of



Harry F. Byrd at his inauguration in 1926 with outgoing Gov. E. Lee Trinkle. Gov. Byrd carries the derby hat worn for the ceremonies because a farmer friend had expressed the hope that Mr. Byrd would not become "Silk Hat Harry" in the Governor's Mansion. (Dementi photo, courtesy Richmond Times-Dispatch)

Virginia government, Governor Byrd called a special session of the General Assembly to convene on March 10, 1927.

A special study would be required to trace the operations of that session of the legislature, when agency heads went rolling and vested protectors of inertia felt the trembling of the ground, but when the legislators finished their work 30 administrative agencies had been abolished, the remaining were consolidated into 12 administrative departments and four agencies, and a new accounting system centralized control of all revenues received and disbursements made. Naturally this sudden upheaval did not produce a perfect instrument overnight. Later changes were made to meet later changing conditions. However, though the commissions and departments have since tripled, except for special categories the administrative agencies remain under the supervision of and responsible to the governor. Beginning in 1927, for the first time in the modern era, Virginia's government was organized to do business by modern methods. Governor Byrd's program attracted national attention and he was invited by other legislatures to speak on governmental reforms. He talked in New York, Connecticut, Georgia, Tennessee, Delaware, Vermont, Maryland and Ohio.

The creation of administrative efficiency was not an end in itself: its purpose was to effectuate the state's economic development. Inducements were *made* to bring in industry as part of a total plan, including the development of Hampton Roads; a program was introduced to bring in tourists, as a part of which the Shenandoah National Park was established. All that he undertook was done with the sound economics (today called "fiscal sanity") that within two years gave the state a \$2,000,000 "surplus"—an archaic word, originally meaning having more than you spend.

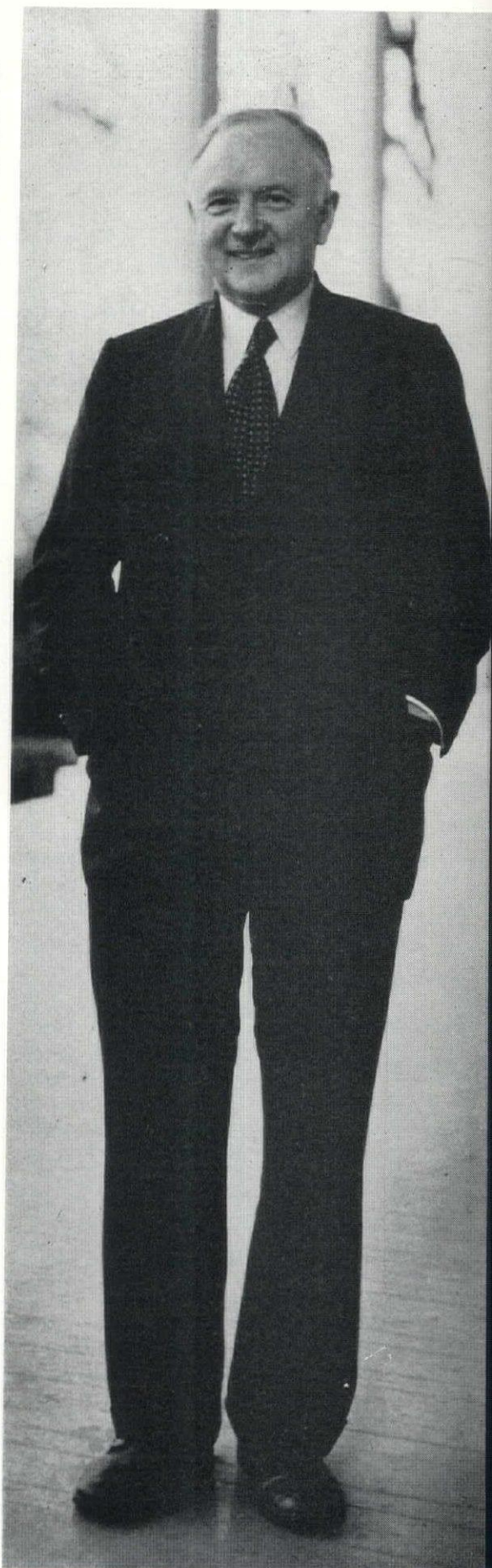
For those who think the General Assembly has been laggard in promoting industrial growth and "progressive" thinking, such was the state of mind of Virginians in 1928 that Governor Byrd, in his January 11 address to the regular session of the legislature, said, "I am not unaware that there are those who feel I stress too much the economic development of the state. . . ." Then he stated the broad principles of his policy. "We may attract many industries that make money; but we must not forget the institutions and training

that make men and women. For the distinction of Virginia has come from the men and women who command our admiration and stimulate our pride. I know the people of Virginia and have an abiding faith that they will not neglect our priceless resources in flesh and blood and souls as they go forward to develop our material resources."

This insistence on retaining the human values in the state's character gave Governor Byrd's program for the future a balance between *progress and perpetuity*. The finger-pointers at Virginia's slow and gradual shift to industrial development ignore the human values that Virginia's government has sought to retain. Beginning with the legislators in Governor Byrd's administration, the majority in the General Assembly have not regarded industrialization *per se* as a total good. What they have tried to do is a considerably harder thing than accept as an unmixed blessing the concentration of industries that produce the dreary mill-towns of New Jersey and New England, the spread of urban slums in such metropolises as Chicago, the dominating monolithic industry as in Detroit. Virginia's government has tried to bring in diversified industry (in which it has been far more successful than its critics seem to realize) and it has tried not to disturb the self-reliant character that characterized citizens with attachment to the land.

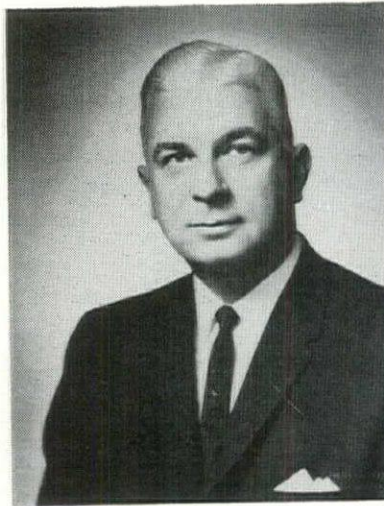
The recognition of the meaning of the land to Virginians has contributed a particularly difficult element in a modernization without sacrifice of human values, and unquestionably the legislature has lagged in making the change from a rural-based attitude to an urban-based attitude. But, starting with a great deal of ground to catch up and slowed by a conscious intent to avoid disruptive change (as well as by relics whose thinking was formed by the 19th Century), the General Assembly has been very suddenly confronted by the urbanization caused by the rapid industrial expansion since World War II. In this sudden confrontation of a change that occurred, seemingly overnight, from a pattern in existence for 350 years, the legislature is representing a people the majority of whom (especially in the middle and older generations) *like* to think of Virginia as essentially a civilization based on the land.

What people like is not necessarily backward in them. Certainly no place



SENATOR BYRD IN 1955
(TV & Motion Picture Productions, Inc.)

is less traditional and more progressive than Los Angeles, and no Virginians have ever fought harder against a change to progress than the residents of Malibu Beach today are resisting inclusion in the benefits of modernization. Much of what is attributed to resistance to progress is resistance to the side effects of technological advances that destroy the life values that have given Virginians their essential character. At the same time, it must be freely admitted that the side effects of many of Virginia's human values have perpetuated aspects of the defensive attitude that began in 1832 — particularly in the pride that has made the state blindly sensitive to criticism and complacent about a provincialism that is no longer appropriate to the change in its civilization. In some areas also there is a duality between the standards and needs of the contemporary scene, predominantly urban, and the pull exerted by elements in the provincialism of surviving rural attitudes. This unresolved duality is perhaps best currently illustrated by the



GOV. ALBERTIS S. HARRISON, JR.
(Colonial Studio)

legislature's pussyfooting around the "liquor-by-the-drink" issue, where the ghost of Bishop Cannon's influence continues to haunt a new era.

Governor Harrison, in his inaugural address, boldly spoke out for the need of self-criticism in Virginia and the need to adapt its attitudes, as well as its economy, to the contemporary epoch which has at last embraced the structure of the state. Indeed, the drastic changes in the nation's economy as reflected in Virginia have caused the recent sessions of the General Assembly to trust in (or hope for) the perpetuation of the essential Virginia, while its members concentrate on the growingly complex problems of the operation of a state advantageously in today's socialistically tended and highly competitive materialistic society.

Whether or not the people prefer it (and however many times Jefferson may turn over in his grave), as a geographical entity in a strongly centralized government and a sociological unit in a total society that regards any changelessness as a positive evil, the state must meet a new kind of survival test—incomparably more complicated than that of the post-Reconstruction period and immeasurably more indefinable. In meeting this test, the General Assembly is taking first things first. Of the current scene in state gov-

ernment, Governor Albertis S. Harrison, Jr., made this summarization:

"Budgetary matters have constituted one of the major problems of both state and local governments since World War II. Inflation and the tendency of costs to outdistance existing sources of revenue have prompted the State Government to redouble its efforts to operate with efficiency and economy and to accelerate economic growth.

"Education, including both the public schools and institutions of higher learning, is one of the major services requiring substantially greater appropriations as enrollments grow from year to year. There will be no diminution of this problem in the foreseeable future and adequately meeting the needs of education, therefore, will be one of the foremost concerns of our General Assembly for some years to come.

"We have made tremendous strides in all of our State services and these expansions and improvements, fortunately, have been financed largely through growth of our economy. Until 1960 there had been no substantial change in our basic tax structure since 1947 and in addition to meeting the needs of the State Government, 75 million dollars was made available in this period to assist the localities in public school construction.

"At my request, the General Assembly established in 1962 in the Governor's Office a Division of Industrial Development and Planning, in order to provide greater impetus to our industrial promotion efforts. The results have been highly encouraging and I am confident have been an important factor in strengthening our whole economy."

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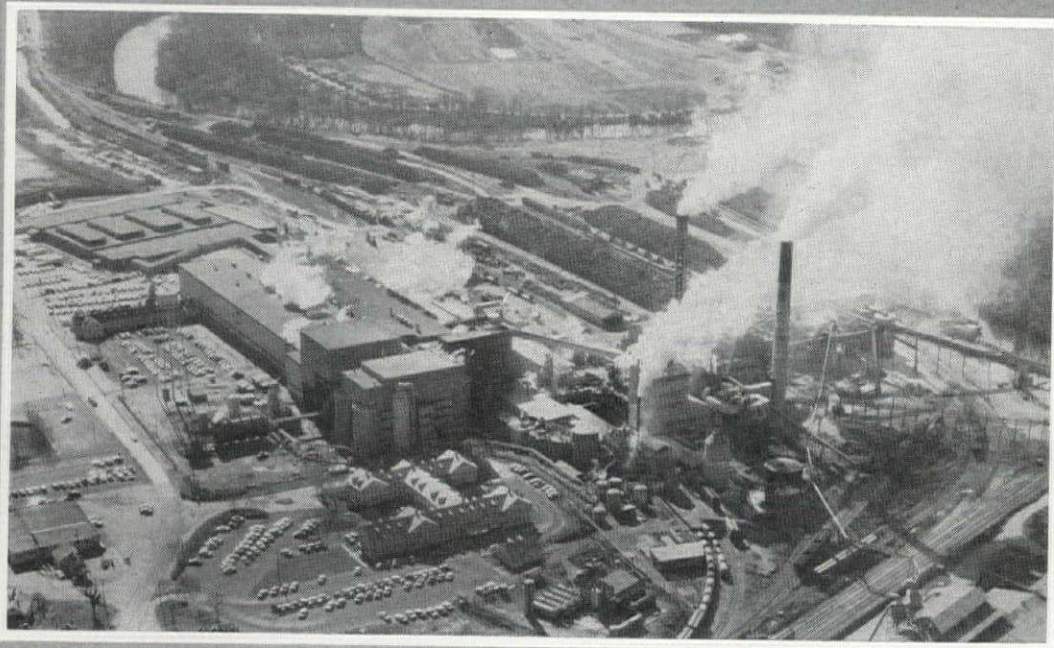
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The Oklahoma Test Road north of Oklahoma City will eventually be part of Interstate route 35

concrete wins on Oklahoma Test Road **with maintenance cost 65% lower than asphalt!**

5-year traffic test, ordered by the Oklahoma legislature, confirms again the findings of state highway departments and other official tests. Connecting two-mile sections of concrete and of asphalt, both the best of their type, were built in 1955 on Oklahoma's US 77. For five years beginning Jan. 1, 1956, exact records were kept of all *pavement* maintenance costs. Total for concrete: \$557.82. For asphalt: \$1,591.87. And not only did the asphalt cost nearly 3 times as much to maintain during the five years—it is already getting its first resurfacing at an additional cost of \$43,753.

Substantial maintenance economy is one reason why concrete is the choice of so many states today. Engineers are designing concrete pavements to last 50 years and more. It's the one pavement that can be designed *mathematically* to meet specific wheel load requirements. It's the only pavement with beam strength and stability.

The Oklahoma Test Road proves again the long-term value of concrete pavements. The first cost isn't just a down payment. Concrete provides true economy for Interstate highways as well as for other heavy-duty roads.

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Complete resurfacing after only five years adds another \$43,753 to asphalt's upkeep!

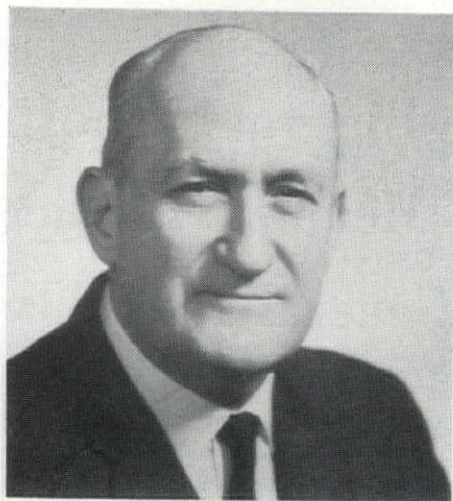
Despite continued surface maintenance for five years, the asphalt pavement on the Oklahoma Test Road has deteriorated to the point where complete resurfacing is required. The asphalt sections are being overlaid with 1½ inches of surfacing to seal out moisture and provide a new wearing course. When comparison is made, as shown here, on the basis of *total upkeep* cost, concrete's advantage is dramatic.

CONCRETE

5-year surface maintenance.....	\$557.82
total surface upkeep.....	\$557.82

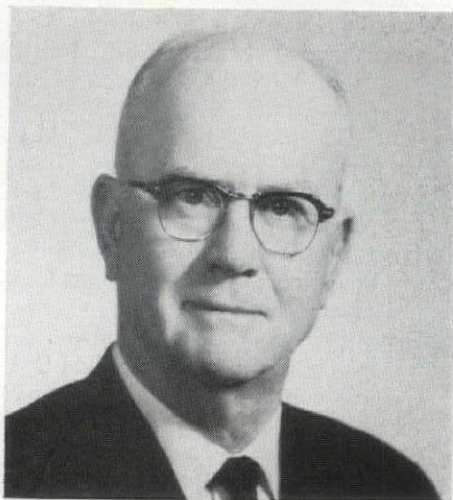
ASPHALT

5-year surface maintenance.....	\$1,591.87
complete resurfacing.....	\$43,753.00
total surface upkeep.....	\$45,344.87



Notable Figures at the 1964 General Assembly Session

*Top, left, BEN D. LACY,
Clerk of the Senate*



*Left, center, GEORGE R. RICH,
Clerk of the House*

Photos, Colonial Studio

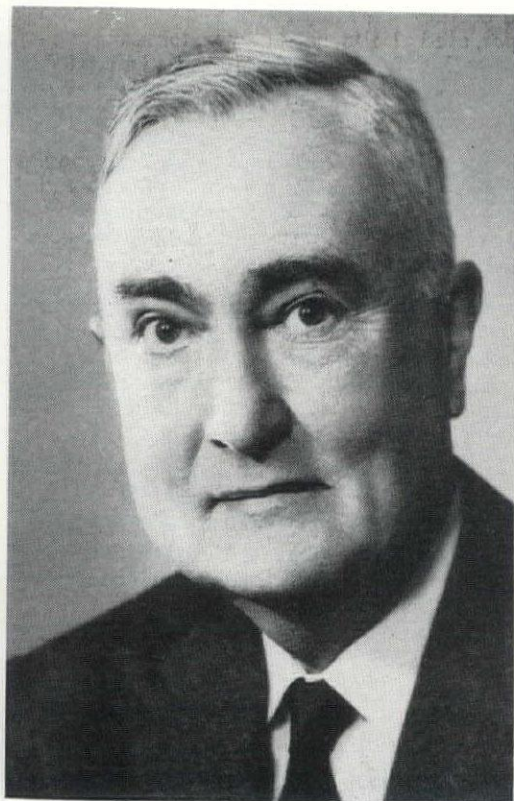


GOVERNOR ALBERTIS SYDNEY HARRISON, JR.



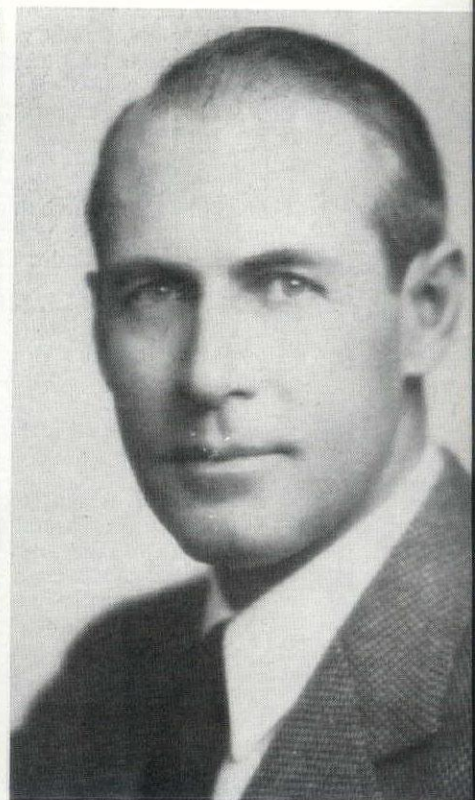
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Biographies of Members of the General Assembly

ADAMS, HOWARD HANSON, Eastville, Va.—Accomack and Northampton—Democrat. Born in Harborton, Va., December 18, 1891; educated in public schools, Beacom College and LaSalle Extension University; lawyer; married Mabel Edith Pruitt; member: Methodist Church, Cape Charles Rotary Club (past president), Ruritans, Masons (Past Master and Past District Deputy Grand Master) 32nd Degrec, Shrine, Eastern Shore Virginia Shrine Club (past president), Governor's Advisory Board on the Budget, State Central Democratic Committee, First District Democratic Committee; director, The Eastville Bank; Y.M.C.A. Committeeman for Virginia; director and past president, Eastern Shore of Virginia Historical Society, Incorporated; served twenty years as deputy clerk of Circuit Court of Northampton County. Member of House: 1934—.

ALDHIZER, GEORGE STATTON, II, Broadway, Va. — Twenty-second Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Broadway, Rockingham County, Va., June 15, 1907; educated at University of Virginia, B.S., LL.B.; lawyer; not married; World War II Veteran (Commander USNR); member: Presbyterian Church, Masons, Lions Club, Elks, Harrisonburg Bar Association (past president), Virginia and American Bar Associations. Members of House: 1950-Ex. 52; member of Senate: 1954—.

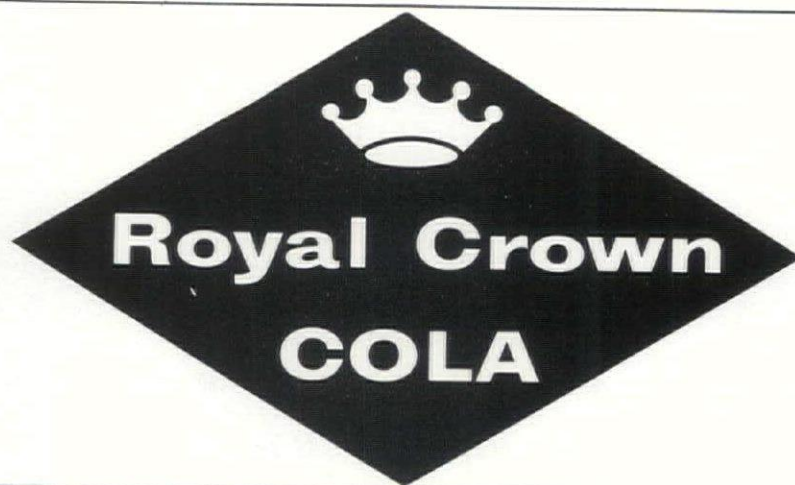
ALEXANDER, JOHN, 108 Culpeper St., Warrenton, Va. — Twenty-sixth Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Leesburg, Va., March 20, 1918; educated at Washington and Lee University, LL.B.; lawyer; married Louise Davis Landstreet; World War II Veteran (Sept. '42-Feb. '46; Korean War, March '51-Sept. '52, USAF, VANG 1957-1960); member: St. Stephens Episcopal Church of Catlett, Phi Kappa Sigma, American Bar Association, Virginia State

Bar, Warrenton Rescue Club, Fauquier Club, Fauquier Fish and Game Association, Fauquier Democratic Club, National Lawyers' Club, Fauquier County Democratic Committee, Catlett Volunteer Fire Company (president); director, secretary and attorney for Fauquier Savings and Loan Association. Member of Senate: 1962—.

ALLEN, GEORGE EDWARD, JR., P.O. Box 6855, Richmond, Va.—Richmond City and Henrico County—Democrat. Born in Victoria, Va., April 4, 1914; educated at Victoria High School, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and University of Richmond Law School, LL.B.; lawyer; married Elizabeth Wylls Stone; member: Baptist Church, Country Club of Virginia, Commonwealth and Downtown Clubs, Richmond, Virginia and American Bar Associations, Law Science Academy and Foundation, and Young Democratic Clubs of Virginia (past president). Member of House: 1954—.

ALMOND, D. HENRY, 3257 Hastings Rd., S. W., Roanoke, Va.—Roanoke County—Republican. Born in Campbell County, Va., July 22, 1923; educated at Lynchburg College, B.A.; engineer, Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Co.; married Patricia Malmar; World War II Veteran (Air Force); member: Unitarian Church, Telephone Pioneers of America, Chi Beta Phi scientific fraternity, Young Republicans, Roanoke County Republican Committee, Roanoke County Council of Parent-Teacher Associations; Member of House: 1964—.

AMES, EDWARD ALMER, JR., Onancock, Va.—First Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Onley, Accomack County, Va., January 22, 1903; educated at Randolph-Macon College and Washington and Lee University, B.A., LL.B.; lawyer; married Elizabeth Johnson Melson; member: Presbyterian Church, Sigma Phi Epsilon, Phi Beta Kappa, Order of the Coif, Phi Delta Phi, Masons (Past Master), Rotary, Ruritan, Accomack County Bar Association (past president), Virginia State Bar, Virginia State Bar Association, American Bar Association, Democratic State Central Committee; vice president and director, First National Bank of Onancock; Commonwealth's Attorney for Accomack County, 1943-55; chairman of Accomack County Democratic Committee. Member of Senate: 1956—.



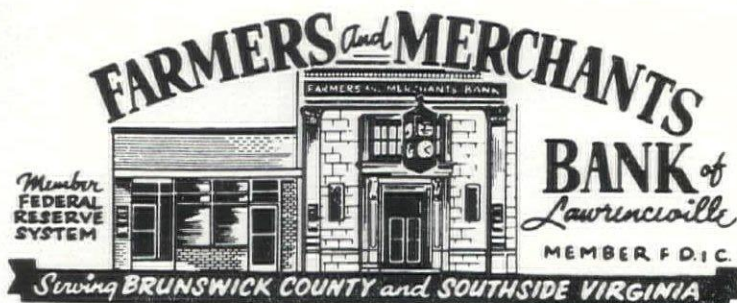
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ANDERSON, HOWARD PALMER, Halifax, Va.—Halifax and South Boston—Democrat. Born at Crystal Hill, Halifax County, Va., May 25, 1915; educated in Halifax County public schools, College of William and Mary, B.A., and University of Richmond Law School, LL.B.; lawyer; married Mildred Graham Webb; World War II Veteran (Lieut., S.G., USNR); member: Baptist Church, Masons, Lions Club, American Legion, Sigma Pi, Delta Theta Phi, American, Virginia and Halifax County Bar Associations, Virginia State Bar, Virginia Farm Bureau Federation, University of Richmond Law School Association, Sportsman's Club of Halifax, Wilson Memorial Ruritan Club, board of trustees of Patrick Henry Memorial Foundation, Halifax County School Booster Club (president); former member: Halifax County School Board. Member of House: 1958—.

ANDERSON, MATTHEW GARLAND, Oilville, Va.—Fluvanna, Goochland and Louisa—Democrat. Born in Louisa County, Va., June 28, 1904; educated in public schools of Louisa and Goochland Counties; farmer, merchant and lumberman, president of Bank of Goochland; married Frederica Mitchell; member: Grace Episcopal Church (vestryman), Farm Bureau Federation, Ruritans, Masons, Acca Temple and Commonwealth Club of Richmond; chairman, Democratic Committee of Goochland County; former member of board of supervisors, former treasurer of Goochland County, and former chairman of State Board of Elections; treasurer, Democratic State Central Committee. Member of House: 1959—.

ANDERSON, WILLIS MARTIN, Shenandoah Building, Roanoke, Va.—Roanoke City—Democrat. Born in Jacksonville, Fla., November 3, 1928; educated at Roanoke College and Washington & Lee University, LL.B.; lawyer; not married; 1st Lieut., Judge Advocate General's Corps, U.S. Army, 1952-54; member: Methodist Church, Roanoke Fine Arts Center (vice president and trustee), Greater Roanoke Valley Development Foundation (trustee and member of executive committee), Roanoke Kiwanis Club (director), Mental Health Association (director), Roanoke Advisory Council on Naval Affairs; Roanoke, Virginia State and American Bar Associations, Roanoke

German Club; member Roanoke City Council 1958-62; Mayor, City of Roanoke, 1960-62; recipient Jaycee Distinguished Service Award as Roanoke's outstanding young man for 1960. Member of House: 1964—.

ANDREWS, CHARLES BURKS, Giles Professional Building, P.O. Box 298, Pearisburg, Va.—Bland and Giles—Democrat. Born in Roanoke, Va., November 26, 1918; educated at Andrew Lewis High School, Roanoke College, B.S., 1941, University of Virginia Law School, LL.B., 1948; lawyer; married Caroline Lucille Snidow; World War II Veteran (Lieutenant in Navy, 4 years 10 months); member: Presbyterian Church, Men of the Pearisburg Presbyterian Church, Giles County Chamber of Commerce (former director and secretary for five years), Giles County Club (former director), New River Industrial Commission, Pembroke Ruritan Club (former president), Blue Key-Roanoke College. Member of House: 1962—.

ANDREWS, HUNTER BOOKER, Citizens National Bank Building, Hampton, Va.—Thirty-first Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Hampton, Va., May 28, 1921; educated at the College of William and Mary, AB, and University of Virginia Law School, LL.B.; lawyer; married Cynthia Bentley Collings; World War II Veteran (four years U.S. Navy, Pacific Theater); member: Episcopal Church, Hampton Rotary Club (former president), Hampton School Board (five years, four years as chairman), Hampton Democratic Committee (former chairman), Hampton Roads Educational Television Association (first chairman), Peninsula Industrial Committee (board of directors), Peninsula Chamber of Commerce (board of directors), American Legion, Hampton Elks. Trustee of War Memorial Museum of Virginia. Member of Senate: 1964—.

ANDREWS, THOMAS COLEMAN, JR., Suite 1126 Mutual Building, P.O. Box 271, Richmond 2, Va.—Richmond City and Henrico County—Democrat. Born in Richmond, Va., February 15, 1925; educated at Thomas Jefferson High School, Dartmouth College, B.A., and Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania (2 years); owner, T. Coleman Andrews Jr. Insurance Agency; married Barbara Jane Ransome; World War II Veteran, combat navigator, USAF

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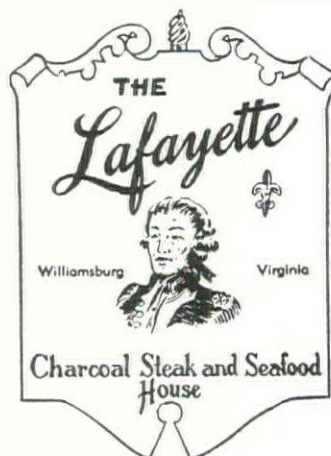
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BALDWIN, ROBERT FREDERICK, 116 Brooke Avenue, Norfolk 10, Va.—Second Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Norfolk, Va., January 22, 1900; educated at Norfolk Academy, Maury High School and University of Virginia, B.A., 1919; real estate and insurance agent; married Myra Skinner Carr; World War I Veteran; member: Episcopal Church, board of trustees of Norfolk Academy, Izaak Walton League, board of directors of Tidewater Automobile Association, B.P.O. Elks, Norfolk Yacht and Country Club, Princess Anne Country Club, Commonwealth Club, Raven Society, Phi Beta Kappa and American Legion. Member of House: 1938-Ex. 47; member of Senate: 1948—.

BATEMAN, FRED WILLOM, Room 217, Office Plaza Bldg., 311 Main St., Newport News, Va.—Thirtieth Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Roper, N. C., September 18, 1916; educated at Wake Forest College, B.A., and University of North Carolina (law); lawyer; married Frances Marie Sondag; World War II Veteran; member: Baptist Church, Kiwanis, Ruritan, American Legion, Elks, Masons, Naval Reserve (Cdr.). Member of Senate: 1960—.

BEMISS, FITZGERALD, Box 1156, Richmond, Va.—Thirty-third Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Richmond, Va., October 2, 1922; educated at St. Christopher's School, Woodberry Forest School and University of Virginia; businessman (president, FitzGerald & Co.; vice president, Virginia Sky-Line Co.; director, State Planters Bank of Commerce & Trusts); married Margaret Reid Page; World War II Veteran (U.S. Navy); member: Episcopal Church; trustee, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts; treasurer, Sheltering Arms Hospital; director, Richmond Area Association for Retarded Children; chairman of board, Richmond Public Library; director, Virginia Institute for Scientific Research. Member of House: 1955-59; member of Senate: 1960—.

BENDHEIM, LEROY S., 124-126 South Royal St., Alexandria, Va.—Thirty-sixth Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Alexandria, Va., February 12, 1906; educated at George Washington University, AB, and George Washington University Law School, LL.B.; lawyer; married Ethel Colman; World War II Veteran (U.S. Army 26 months, 16 months overseas); member: Alexandria Board of Education (9 years, 5 years chairman of the board), Veterans of Foreign Wars (past department commander), American Legion, Fraternal Order of Eagles, Alexandria Chamber of Commerce, Odd Fellows (Past Grand Master, Past Grand Patriarch), Masons, Elks, Big Brothers (director), B'nai B'rith Foundation of U.S. (trustee), Ascension Academy (director, board of regents), Alexandria Mental Hygiene Clinic (director), George Washington Chapter Association of the U.S. Army (director), Colonial National Bank of Alexandria, Va. (president and chairman of the board), Virginia Land Title Agency, Inc. (president and chairman of the board), Park & Shop Alexandria Corporation (director), Herndon Federal Savings and Loan Association (director and vice president). Member City Council of Alexandria 1948-52, Vice Mayor 1952-55, Mayor, 1955-61; instructor, Commercial Law, George Washington University, 1949-50; editor, State of Virginia Probate Law Digest; recipient National Youth Distinguished Service Award and citation for public service, B'nai B'rith; Central High School Alumni Award for Distinguished Public Service. Member of Senate: 1964—.

BIRD, DANIEL WOODROW, Bland, Va.—Eighteenth Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Bland, Va., July 6, 1912; educated at National Business College, Roanoke, Va., and Emory and Henry College; dairyman and farmer; married Elizabeth Kegley Dunn; member: Methodist Church (member of board of stewards), Kiwanis Club (past president of Bland County Club); Masons, Bland Lodge A.F. & A.M. No. 206, Wythe Royal Arch Chapter No. 51, Ceres Ruritan Club; director, County Farm Bureau, County Dairyman's Association and Tri-State Milk Producers Association; president, Virginia Safety Appliance Corporation, Bastian, Va. Member Ninth Congressional District Democratic Committee and

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chairman, Commission for Economy in Governmental Expenditures. Member of House: 1948-55; member of Senate: 1956—.

BIRD, LLOYD CAMPBELL, 8847 Riverside Drive, Richmond 25, Va.—Thirty-second Senatorial District—Democrat. Born at Valley Center, Highland County, Va., August 1, 1894; educated in public schools, Randolph - Macon Academy and Medical College of Virginia; pharmacist and farmer; married Lucille Crutchfield Phinney; World War I Veteran (Base Hospital No. 45, McGuire Unit); member: Methodist Church; president of Phipps & Bird, Inc.; president of Allied Scientific Corporation. Member of Senate: 1944—.

BRADSHAW, JUNIE LEROY, 1223 - 29 Central National Bank Building, Richmond, Va.—Henrico and Richmond City—Democrat. Born in Erwin, N. C., January 30, 1930; educated at Norfolk Division of the College of William and Mary, A.A., and University of Richmond Law School, LL.B.; lawyer; married Deirdre Eagle; Korean War Veteran (Navy); member: Baptist Church, Virginia State Young Democrats (vice president), Phi Alpha Delta, American Legion Post 361 (legal officer), Phi Theta Kappa, Tuckahoe Lodge A.F. & A.M., Shrine, Acca Temple. Member of House: 1962—.

BREEDEN, EDWARD L. JR., Virginia National Bank Building, Norfolk, Va.—Second Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Norfolk, Va., January 28, 1905; educated at Hampden-Sydney College and George Washington University; lawyer; married Willie Holland; member: Presbyterian Church, Lions, Masons, Shrine (Khedive Temple), Elks, Kappa Sigma, Commonwealth, Norfolk Yacht & Country, Princess Anne Country and Virginia Clubs; chairman, Second District Democratic Committee, 1950-60; trustee, Hampden-Sydney College, Jamestown Foundation and Norfolk General Hospital; director and board chairman, Southern Bank of Norfolk; director, Bank of Craddock & Norfolk County and The First Virginia Corporation. Member of House: 1936-Ex. 42; member of Senate: 1944—.

BROWN, EARLE MARSHALL, Peoples National Bank Bldg., Lynchburg, Va.—Amherst and Lynchburg—Democrat. Born at Pleasant View, Amherst County, Va., February 14, 1926;

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educated at Pleasant View High School, Lynchburg College and Washington and Lee University School of Law, LL.B.; lawyer; married Mary Elizabeth Jamerson; World War II Veteran (USN, Pacific Theater); member: Episcopal Church, Kiwanis, Ruritan. Member of House: 1956—.

BURRUSS, ROBERT S. JR., P. O. Box 270, Lynchburg, Va.—Twelfth Senatorial District—Republican. Born in Lynchburg, Va., November 9, 1914; educated at E. C. Glass High School and Virginia Polytechnic Institute (BS in Industrial Engineering); lumber manufacturer and farmer; married Margaret H. Brooks; World War II Veteran (in Corps of Engineers 5 years and discharged as Lt. Col., in European Theater); member: Methodist Church, Izaak Walton League, Boonsboro Country Club, Willis River Hunt Club. Former director, Peoples National Bank & Trust Co., presently advisory board member, First and Merchants National Bank; former president, Lumber Manufacturers Association of Virginia (presently a director); former director of Virginia Forests, Inc.; owner and operator of R. S. Burruss Lumber Co. and Ralco Stores, Inc.; director in Keith Furniture Co. and Royal Crown Bottling Co. of Lynchburg. Member of Senate: 1964—.

BUTLER, MANLEY CALDWELL, P.O. Box 916, Roanoke, Va.—Roanoke City—Republican. Born in Roanoke, Va., June 2, 1925; educated in Roanoke public schools, University of Richmond, A.B., and University of Virginia Law School; lawyer; married June Parker Nolde; World War II Veteran (Ensign in USNR); member: Episcopal Church (vestryman and former treasurer), Phi Beta Kappa, Tau Kappa Alpha, Raven Society, Order of the Coif, Phi Gamma Delta, Virginia State Bar, Roanoke, Virginia and American Bar Associations; chairman, Roanoke City Republican Party, 1960-61. Member of House: 1962—.

BYRD, HARRY FLOOD JR., Winchester, Va.—Twenty-third Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Winchester, Va., December 20, 1914; educated at Virginia Military Institute and University of Virginia; newspaper editor and orchardist; married Gretchen Bigelow Thomson; World War II Veteran (Lt. Comdr., USNR); member: Episcopal

Church, board of directors of Associated Press, board of directors of Shenandoah Valley National Bank; past president, Winchester Rotary Club. Member of Senate: 1948—.

CAMPBELL, LESLIE DUNLOP JR., Ashland, Va.—Twenty-ninth Senatorial District—Democrat. Born at Doswell, Va., January 26, 1925; educated at Randolph-Macon College and University of Richmond Law School, LL.B.; lawyer; married Eleanor Miller Dickson; World War II Veteran (U. S. Navy); member: Episcopal Church, Ruritan Club, Junior Chamber of Commerce (past member), Lions Club (past member), American Legion Post 206, Ashland Chamber of Commerce, Fishing Bay Yacht Club, Virginia Bar Association and Virginia State Bar. Past president, Fifteenth Judicial Circuit Bar Association. Commonwealth's Attorney, Hanover County, 1956-63; substitute judge of Hanover County Court. Member of Senate: 1964—.

CANTRELL, ORBY LEE, Pound, Va.—Lee, Wise and Norton—Democrat. Born in Pound, Va., November 10, 1906; educated at Pound High School and Radford State Teachers College; merchant; married Janie Mullins; member: Masons and Lions; past president, Wise County Chamber of Commerce; vice president, Breaks Interstate Park Association; bank director; mayor. Member of House: 1952—.

CARNEAL, RUSSELL MORRIS, Box 440, Williamsburg, Va.—Charles City, James City, New Kent, York and Williamsburg—Democrat. Born in Fredericksburg, Va., May 9, 1918; educated at James Monroe High School, Fredericksburg, and University of Virginia, B.A. and LL.B.; lawyer; married Vertie Elizabeth Leachman; World War II Veteran (U.S. Navy); member: Presbyterian Church, Moose, Exchange Club, Virginia State Exchange Clubs (past president), Ruritans, American Legion, Masons, Shrine, James City County Savings Bond Program (chairman), 7-Up Club, Pulaski Club, V.F.W., Williamsburg Democratic Committee (chairman). Member of House: 1954—.

CARTER, CURRY, Staunton, Va. — Twenty-first Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Washington, Va., April 17, 1892; educated at Augusta Military Academy and Hampden-Sydney College, B.A.; lawyer; mar-

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CLARK, ROBERT LYBROOK, P. O. Box 385, Stuart, Va.—Henry, Patrick and Martinsville—Democrat. Born in Stuart, Patrick County, Va.; educated at Stuart High School and Randolph-Macon College; partner in firm of Clark Brothers Company, merchants and building contractors; not married; World War II Veteran (U.S. Navy, 3½ years); member: Baptist Church (deacon and former chairman of the board), Lambda Chi Alpha, American Legion, Downtown Club of Richmond, Masons, Scottish Rite, Shrine, Rotary (past president of Stuart Club), Order of Eastern Star (Past Grand Patron of Grand Chapter of Virginia), board of governors of the Eastern Star Home in Richmond, board of directors of Patrick County Bank, member and president of board of directors of R. J. Reynolds-Patrick County Memorial Hospital; vice president, advisory board of Patrick Henry Branch, University of Virginia. Member of House: 1958—.

CLEATON, C. WILLIAMS, South Hill, Va.—Mecklenburg—Democrat. Born in Crichton, Brunswick County, Va., November 6, 1899; educated at La Crosse High School and College of William and Mary; hardware, tractor, farm implement and automobile dealer; married Alva Bracey; member: Methodist Church, Masons, 32nd degree (Past District Deputy Grand Master of District No. 28), Shrine, Eastern Star (Past Worthy Patron, Loyalty Chapter), Lions (past president), Virginia Retail Hardware Association (past president), South Hill Chamber of Commerce; former mayor of town of La Crosse; former member of town council of South Hill (mayor pro tem), state delegate-at-large to National Democratic Convention, 1960. Member of House: 1948—.

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COLLINS, MICHAEL McHALE, Covington, Va.—Nineteenth Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Covington, Va., August 9, 1901; educated at Covington High School, Mount St. Mary's College, Md., and University of Virginia, LL.B.; lawyer; married Eleanor Burr McCoy; member: Catholic Church, Rotary, Elks, Moose, Virginia Bar Association, Covington Fire Department; past vice president, Virginia State Chamber of Commerce; president, Hotel Collins Inc. Member of House: 1948; 1952-55; member of Senate: 1960—.

COOKE, JOHN WARREN, Mathews, Va.—Gloucester, Mathews and Middlesex—Democrat. Born in Mathews, Va., February 28, 1915; educated at public and private schools and Virginia Military Institute; newspaper publisher; married Anne Brown Rawn; member: Episcopal Church; president, Tidewater Newspapers, Inc.; director, Tidewater Telephone Co. Member of House: 1942—.

COX, DR. VIRGIL JEFFERSON, Galax, Va.—Grayson and Galax—Democrat. Born in Grayson County, Va., November 5, 1904; educated at Emory and Henry College, A.B., and Medical College of Virginia, M.D.; physician; married Gladys Guynn; member: Methodist Church, Rotary Club, Elks, Southwestern Virginia Medical Society, American Medical Association, Masons, Chamber of Commerce, Tau Kappa Alpha, Century Club of Emory and Henry College; owner of Blue Ridge Hospital and Clinic, Inc.; president, board of directors, Galax General Hospital. Member of House: 1962—.

DALTON, GRADY WILLIAM, Richlands, Va.—Tazewell—Democrat. Born in Stuart, Patrick County, Va., June 19, 1908; educated at Stuart High School and American Institute of Banking; banker and real estate broker; married Freya Louise Howell; member: Elks, Moose, Governor's Advisory Committee on Aviation (honorary member); Major,

Virginia Wing Civil Air Patrol; past State Councilor, Jr. O.U.A.M.; past Lt. Governor, Kiwanis International; executive vice president, The Richlands National Bank; president, Richlands Area Chamber of Commerce, 1963. Member of House: 1958—.

DANIEL, JOHN HANNAH, Charlotte Court House, Va.—Charlotte and Prince Edward—Democrat. Born at Charlotte Court House, Va., March 1, 1896; educated in public schools in Charlotte C.H.; farmer and businessman; married Eloise Burney; member: Presbyterian Church, Omicron Delta Kappa Society, Ruritan, Commonwealth Club, Loyal Order of Moose, Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, Virginia Manufacturers Association, Inc., Farm Bureau, board of trustees of Patrick Henry Memorial Foundation Inc., Charlotte County Democratic Committee (chairman), State Soil Conservation Committee (chairman); president, John H. Daniel Company, Knoxville, Tenn., and Virginia Crafts, Inc., Keysville, Va. Member of House: 1944—.

DANIEL, WILBUR CLARENCE ("Dan"), P.O. Box 261, Danville, Va.—Danville—Democrat. Born in Chatham, Va., May 12, 1914; educated at Schoolfield High School and Dan River Textile School; textile executive, assistant to president of Dan River Mills, Inc.; married Ruby McGregor; World War II Veteran (enlisted man in U. S. Navy); member: Baptist Church, American Legion (past State and National Commander), Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, Governor's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, Federal Civil Rights Commission (advisory), President's People to People Committee (permanent), Danville Golf Club, Kiwanis, Elks, Masons; awarded Italian Republic's decoration, Star of Italian Solidarity (July 3, 1958), and Republic of France decoration, Croix de Merit (July 1959); honorary member of veterans' associations in Canada, West Germany, Belgium, France and Israel; member, board of directors, Virginia State Chamber of Commerce; vice chairman, American Textile Manufacturers Institute's Committee on National Affairs. Member of House: 1960—.

DAVIS, JAMES WOODS, Agricola, Va.—Nelson and Amherst — Democrat. Born at Pedlar Mills, Amherst County, Va., October 18, 1913; ed-

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uated at Oglethorpe University, Atlanta, Ga.; farmer and real estate broker, secretary and treasurer of Shout It From The Mountain, Inc.; married Corinne Hampton Brown; member: Episcopal Church (senior warden and trustee), Ruritan Club (past president), board of supervisors of Amherst County, 1952; Lions Club, Amherst County Chamber of Commerce and Piedmont Area Boy Scouts of America Council (director). Member of House: 1962—.

DERVISHIAN, HAROLD H., 516 American Bldg., Richmond, Va.—Richmond City and Henrico County—Democrat. Born in Richmond, Va., October 20, 1910; educated in Richmond public schools, John Marshall High School and University of Richmond, LL.B.; lawyer; married Margaret Elizabeth Adams; member: Methodist Church, American, Virginia and Richmond Bar Associations, Exchange Club, West Richmond Business Men's Association, Masons, Downtown Club, Richmond City Council, 1952-58. Member of House: 1958—.

DEVORE, KENNETH IRVIN, Christiansburg, Va.—Montgomery and Radford—Democrat. Born in Roanoke, Va., August 3, 1927; educated at Emory and Henry College, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and University of Richmond School of Law, LL.B.; lawyer; married Lina Mae Christenberry; World War II Veteran (USMCR); member: Baptist Church (clerk), American and Virginia State Bar Associations, Virginia State Bar, Omicron Delta Kappa, Masons, Shrine, board of directors and vice president of Christiansburg Chamber of Commerce; assistant county court judge of Montgomery County 1957-61; chairman of Democratic Executive Committee, Montgomery County, 1957-59; listed in Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities—Richmond. Member of House: 1962—.

ELLIFRITS, WILLIAM HOWARD, Strasburg, Va.—Shenandoah—Republican. Born in Martins Ferry, Ohio, August 18, 1895; educated in public schools in Elkins, W. Va., and West Virginia University (Sigma Nu fraternity); retired as Clerk of Circuit Court, December 31, 1959; married Mary Ellen Resley; World War I Veteran; member: Presbyterian Church (elder), American Legion Post No. 77 (Past Commander and Past District Commander), Strasburg Rotary Club (past president), Ma-

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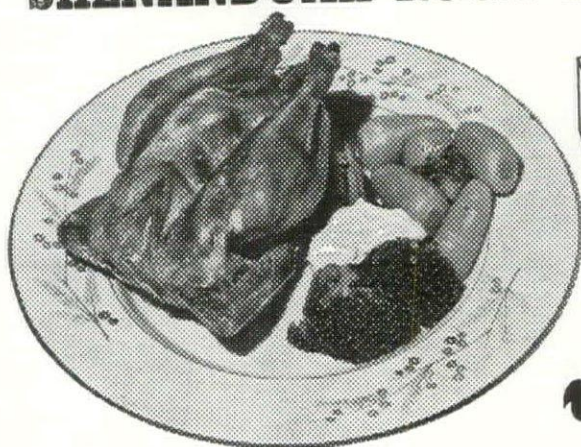
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ELLIOTT, DR. WALTER CARLTON, Lebanon, Va.—Russell and Dickenson—Democrat. Born in Gladys, Va., February 1, 1903; educated at University of Richmond, B.S., and Medical College of Virginia, M.D.; physician and surgeon; married Margaret Jane Jenks; member: Baptist Church, Lions, Shrine, Masons, Southwestern Virginia Medical Society, Medical Society of Virginia, American Medical Association, Virginia Academy of General Practice, Commonwealth Club of Richmond. Member of House: 1952—.

FARLEY, GUY O., JR., 306 South Payne St., Fairfax, Va.—Fairfax County and Cities of Fairfax and Falls Church—Democrat. Born in Staunton, Va., September 6, 1932; educated at Hampden-Sydney College, B.S., and University of Virginia, LL.B.; lawyer; married Janet Kathleen Harris; member: Presbyterian Church, Fairfax County Junior Chamber of Commerce (past president), PTA (past president), Fairfax County Chamber of Commerce, Fairfax County, Virginia State and American Bar Associations, Virginia Commonwealth's Attorneys Association, Virginia Trial Lawyers Association, National Association of Commonwealth's Attorneys. Member of House: 1964—.

FENWICK, CHARLES R., 6733 Lee Highway, Arlington, Va.—Ninth Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in East Falls Church, Va., August 11, 1900; educated at University of Virginia, LL.B., and George Washington University, post graduate, patent law; lawyer, specializing in patents, trademarks and unfair competition; married Eleanor Russell Eastman; World War I Veteran (private, Tank Corps) and World War II Veteran (Lt. Colonel, J.A.G.D., assigned to Air Corps); member: Baptist Church, Sigma Nu, Phi Delta Phi, Omicron Delta Kappa, Washington Golf and Country Club, Touchdown Club (past president), Rotary (past president), University of Virginia Alumni Association (past president), board of visitors of University of Virginia, Virginia Airports Authority (chairman), V.A.L.C.; Virginia Athletic Commission (chairman), Commission on Public Education, Tri-

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FIDLER, WALTHER BALDERSON, Sharps, Va. — Northumberland, Westmoreland, Lancaster and Richmond Counties — Democrat. Born at Sharps, Richmond County, Va., April 18, 1923; educated at Farnham High School and Randolph-Macon College, A.B., and University of Richmond Law School, LL.B.; lawyer and oysterman; married Martha Elizabeth Spencer; World War II Veteran (U.S. Navy 1943-46, Lt. j.g.); member: Presbyterian Church, Ruritan (past president), Veterans of Foreign Wars, Farm Bureau, Phi Delta Theta, Omicron Delta Kappa, Delta Theta Phi, Pi Delta Epsilon, Northern Neck, Virginia and American Bar Associations, Indian Creek Yacht and Country Club, Northern Neck Regional Planning and Economic Development Commission (vice chairman), Richmond County Democratic Committee, Overall Advisory Council on Needs of Handicapped Children. Member of House: 1960—.

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FITZGERALD, ROBERT CLAYTON, 301 Park Ave., Falls Church, Va.— Twenty-seventh Senatorial District— Democrat. Born in Alexandria, Va., September 22, 1921; educated at the University of Virginia, B.A. and LL.B.; lawyer; married Mary M. Williams; World War II Veteran (Captain USMCR); member: Baptist Church, Lions, Fairfax County and Virginia Bar Associations, Commonwealth's Attorneys Association, Delta Theta Phi, Court House Country Club of Fairfax County. County Court Judge of Fairfax County 1951-55; Commonwealth's Attorney, 1955-63. Member of Senate: 1964—.

FROST, THOMAS NEWTON, Warrenton, Va.—Fauquier and Rappahannock— Democrat. Born at Marshall, Va., April 5, 1905; educated at Marshall High School, Virginia Episcopal School; automobile dealer; married Frances B. Hundley; member: Episcopal Church, Warrenton Rotary Club; director, Fauquier National Bank; vice president, United States Auto Club. Member of House: 1952—.

FUGATE, JAMES BOYD, Gate City, Va.— Washington, Scott and Bristol — Democrat. Born at Clinchport, Va.,

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November 2, 1920; educated at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and King College, Tenn.; livestock dealer and farmer; married Margaret Louise Eller; World War II Veteran; member: Methodist Church, American Legion, Civitan. Member of House: 1960—.

GALLAND, MRS. MARION GIBBS, 1403 Bishop Lane, Alexandria, Va. — Alexandria — Democrat. Born in Montvale, N. J., November 18, 1913; educated at Vassar and Barnard Colleges (A.B.); housewife; married George Freeman Galland; member: Episcopal Church, League of Women Voters, Association of American University Women, Salvation Army Auxiliary, Council of Church Women, Human Relations Council, Tenth District Women's Democratic Club, National Woman's Democratic Club; board member: Alexandria Mental Hygiene Clinic, Alexandria Community Health Center; ex-board member: Alexandria Health and Welfare Council, Washington Area Health and Welfare Council, Washington Area United Givers Fund, Alexandria Red Cross, National Symphony Women's Committee, PTA, Alexandria PTA Council; organizing member, Alexandria Save Our Schools Committee, 1955-59; vice chairman Tenth District Democratic Committee, State Central Committee. Member of House: 1964—.

GIBSON, ROBERT EDWARD, Box 5025, Chesapeake, Va.—City of Chesapeake—Democrat. Born in Norfolk County, Va., May 15, 1918; educated at South Norfolk High School, Hampden-Sydney College and University of Richmond, LL.B.; lawyer; married Margaret Elizabeth McHorney; member: Christian Church, Virginia State Bar Association; former assistant trial justice South Norfolk, 1947; town attorney of Portlock, 1948-50, city attorney South Norfolk, 1951-56; Commonwealth's Attorney, South Norfolk, 1954-61, Chesapeake Better Business Club, Delta Theta Phi, South Norfolk Junior Chamber of Commerce (former president). Member of House: 1962—.

GIESEN, ARTHUR ROSSA ("PETE") JR., P. O. Box 344, Verona, Va.—Augusta, Highland, Staunton and Waynesboro—Republican. Born in Radford, Va., August 8, 1932; educated at Yale University, B.A., and Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, M.B.A.; businessman

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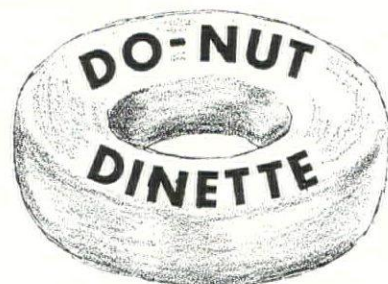
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GLASS, THOMAS REAKIRT, Lynchburg, Va.—Lynchburg—Democrat. Born Lynchburg, Va., May 13, 1928; educated at Virginia Military Institute and Washington and Lee University, B.A.; newspaper publisher; married Julia Marguerite Thomason; Korean War Veteran (Lt., U.S. Air Force); member: Episcopal Church, Elks, Odd Fellows, Lions, Shrine, Scottish Rite Mason, Junior Chamber of Commerce, Lynchburg Naval Advisory Board, Historical Society, State Commission on Public Education (1950-52); past vice chairman of city Democratic Committee; board member of Salvation Army and Lynchburg National Bank and Trust Company; former board member of the Red Cross and Mental Health Chapters, YMCA, and former treasurer of the Virginia Press Association; recipient of the Lynchburg Distinguished Service Award (1956). Member of House: 1958—.

GRAY, GARLAND, Waverly, Va.—Sixth Senatorial District—Democrat. Born at Gray, Va., November 28, 1901; educated at Waverly High School, University of Richmond, B.A., and Washington and Lee University, M.A.; farmer, president of Bank of Waverly; married Agnes Elizabeth Taylor (deceased); member: Congregational Church, Phi Kappa Sigma, Omicron Delta Kappa, Commonwealth Club of Richmond, Ruritan (national president), board of directors of First and Merchants National Bank, Richmond, and State Board of Education (1957-61); trustee, University of Richmond; former chairman, State Port Authority; chairman, Fourth District Democratic Committee. Member of Senate: 1942-Ex. 45; 1948—.

GUNN, CHARLES WESLEY JR., 16 West Washington St., Lexington, Va.—Rockbridge, Bath and Buena Vista—Democrat. Born in Tallahassee, Fla., July 31, 1922; educated at John B. Stetson University, Florida State

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University and Washington and Lee University, LL.B.; lawyer; married Mary Wilson Sheffield; World War II Veteran (served as enlisted man in U.S. Navy before and until after the war in North Atlantic, Caribbean and South Pacific); member: Methodist Church, American Legion, Kiwanis Club, Masons; on board of directors of: Wesley Foundation at Washington and Lee University, Rockbridge County - Buena Vista T.B. Association (first vice president), Rockbridge County Industrial Development Corporation, Lexington-Rockbridge County Chamber of Commerce (immediate past president); board of stewards of Trinity Methodist Church. Member of House: 1964—.

GWATHMEY, ROBERT RYLAND III, Hanover, Va.—Hanover and King William—Democrat. Born in Richmond, Va., December 21, 1917; educated in public schools in Hanover County, St. Christopher's School, Randolph-Macon College, B.A., and University of Virginia Law School, LL.B.; lawyer; married Anne Spottswood Merritt; World War II Veteran (1942-46, USNR in combat mine sweeping in all three areas, participating in three Mediterranean invasions: Sicily, Salerno, Anzio); member: Episcopal Church (lay reader and vestryman), Ruritan (past president of Courthouse Club), board of trustees of Hanover Academy, Hanover Farm Bureau, Country Club of Virginia, Downtown Club of Richmond, Virginia and Richmond Bar Associations; president of Hanover County Jamestown Festival Committee, Inc. (1956-58); Commonwealth's Attorney for Hanover County, 1948 - 56; past associate county judge of Hanover County. Member of House: 1958—.

GWYN, R. CROCKETT JR., Marion, Va.—Smyth—Democrat. Born in Chat-ham Hill, Smyth County, Va., July 28, 1903; educated in public schools and University of Virginia, B.A. and LL.B.; lawyer; married Laura Louise Lambert; member: Methodist Church, Masons, Shrine and B.P.O. Elks; vice president of the Bank of Marion. Member of House: 1960—.

HAGEN, JOHN WILLIAM, P. O. Box 102, Roanoke, Va.—Botetourt, Craig and Roanoke Counties—Republican. Born in Huntington, W. Va., February 16, 1935; educated at Marshall University, A.B.; industrial sales engineer; married Sondra Dell Shep-

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pard; member: Baptist Church, Toastmasters Club, official for Virginia High School League, Lambda Chi Alpha fraternity, Elks and Masons. Member of House: 1964—.

HAGOOD, DR. JAMES DAVIS, Clover, Va.—Fourth Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Mecklenburg County, Va., November 4, 1889; educated at Warrenton Academy, Warrenton, N. C., and Medical College of Virginia, M.D.; physician; married Wirt Carrington Jordan; member: Methodist Church, Masons, Shrine, American Medical Association, Medical Society of Virginia (president in 1957), South Piedmont Medical Society, Virginia Academy of General Practice (past president), Commonwealth Club. Member of Senate: 1942—.

HARRELL, LYMAN CHRISTIAN JR., Emporia, Va.—Greensville and Sussex—Democrat. Born in Emporia, Va., July 9, 1909; educated at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and Washington and Lee University, LL.B.; lawyer and banker; married Duane Curtis Moore; World War II Veteran (three years service, Lieut. in USNR); member: Methodist Church, Lions Club, Kappa Alpha Order, Phi Delta Phi, Country Club, Commonwealth Club, Masons (32nd degree), Council Virginia State Bar, Commonwealth's Attorneys Association of Virginia (past president), Greensville County Democratic Committee (chairman); president of The Citizens National Bank of Emporia; Commonwealth's Attorney of Greensville County, 1938-57. Member of House: 1958—.

HERRINK, LOUIS SHEPARD JR., 1106 Travelers Bldg., Richmond, Va.—Richmond City and Henrico—Republican. Born in Richmond, Va., January 13, 1925; educated at University of Richmond, B.A., and University of Virginia, LL.B.; lawyer; married Ruth Seybolt Jones; World War II, Korean and Berlin Crisis Veteran (USNR); member: Methodist Church. Member of House: 1964—.

HILL, GEORGE HOWARD, 900 River Rd., Newport News, Va.—Newport News—Democrat. Born in Mount Hope, King William County, Va., August 22, 1903; educated at Acquinton High School and William and Mary Extension; banker (vice president of the First and Merchants National Bank of Newport News); married Emily Parks Ames; mem-

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HIRST, OMER LEE, 7261 Little River Turnpike, Annandale, Va.—Twenty-seventh Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Annandale, Va., August 30, 1913; educated at Washington and Lee University, B.S.; realtor; married Ann Horton Palmer; World War II Veteran (Lieut., Marine Corps); member: Methodist Church, Greater Annandale Chamber of Commerce, Alexandria Chamber of Commerce, Historical Society of Fairfax County, Northern Virginia Builders Association, Northern Virginia Board of Realtors, Inc., Fairfax County Chamber of Commerce, Commonwealth Club, Farmington Country Club, Phi Beta Kappa, Northern Virginia Advisory Board of AAA, board of trustees of Sibley Memorial Hospital, board of trustees and secretary of Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies. Evening Star Trophy, 1962. Member of Senate: 1964—.

HODGES, WILLIAM HOWARD, Great Bridge Office Building, 2292 Cedar Rd., Chesapeake, Va.—City of Chesapeake — Democrat. Born Hickory, Norfolk County, Va., April 18, 1929; educated at Randolph-Macon College, B.A., and Washington and Lee University, LL.B.; lawyer; married Ann Turnbull Harding; U.S. Coast Guard, 1951-53; member: Methodist Church (trustee and past chairman of official board), Portsmouth Executives Club, Elizabeth Manor Golf and Country Club, Phi Kappa Sigma, Phi Delta Phi, Portsmouth-Norfolk County Bar Association, Norfolk - Portsmouth Bar Association, American Legion, Young Democrats Club of Chesapeake. Member of House: 1962—.

HOLLAND, SHIRLEY THOMAS, Windsor, Va.—Isle of Wight, Nansemond and Suffolk—Democrat. Born in Holland, Va., October 8, 1896; educated

in public schools, Elon College and Massey Business College; banker and insurance executive; married Gladys Anne Elizabeth Joyner; World War I Veteran; member: Congregational Christian Church, Masons, Knights Templar, Shrine (Khedive Temple), Ruritans, Commonwealth Club, Princess Anne Country Club; town council, 1922-45; County Democratic Executive Committee, 1927-45; Virginia Bankers Association (past president). Member of House: 1946—.

HOOVER, LAWRENCE H., Harrisonburg, Va.—Rockingham and Harrisonburg —Democrat. Born in Timberville, Rockingham County, Va., March 27, 1906; educated at Bridgewater College, B.A., and University of Virginia, LL.B.; lawyer; married Ola May; member: Church of the Brethren, Masons, Shriners, Elks (past state president), Kiwanis, (past president), U.C.T., Downtown Club of Richmond, Commission on Education (1959), Redistricting Commission, 1961 (chairman); Harrisonburg Grocery Co., Inc. (president); Farmers & Merchants Bank of Timberville (vice president); Lincoln-Miller Inc. (vice president); The Wetsel Seed Co. Inc. (director); former Commonwealth's Attorney for Rockingham County and City of Harrisonburg (1940-48); city attorney of Harrisonburg (1948—); Member of House: Ex. 1952—.

HOPKINS, WILLIAM BENJAMIN, P. O. Box 1868, Roanoke, Va.—Thirty-fifth Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Richmond, Va., April 16, 1922; educated at Roanoke College, Washington and Lee University, A.B., and University of Virginia, LL.B.; lawyer; married Virginia George; World War II and Korean War Veteran (Marine Corps); member: Episcopal Church, American Legion, Pythians, V.F.W. and D.A.V.; distinguished service award, Junior Chamber of Commerce for Roanoke, 1955. Member of Senate: 1960—.

HOWELL, HENRY EVANS JR., 808 Maritime Tower, Norfolk 10, Va.—Norfolk City—Democrat. Born in Norfolk, Va., September 5, 1920; educated at the Norfolk Division of the College of William and Mary and University of Virginia, LL.B.; lawyer; married Elizabeth McCarty; member: Episcopal Church, Virginia Trial Lawyers Association, Norfolk Chamber of Commerce, Mace Club, Izaak Walton League, Hampton

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Roads Foreign Commerce Club, Propeller Club, Hampton Roads Maritime Association, Ocean View Democratic Club. Member of House: 1964—.

HUDGINS, EDWARD MORTON, 704 First National Bank Bldg., Richmond, Va. — Chesterfield and Colonial Heights—Democrat. Born in Chase City, Va., December 19, 1910; educated in Mecklenburg public schools, Episcopal High School and University of Virginia, B.S. and LL.B.; lawyer; married Mary Atherton Howard; World War II Veteran (Colonel, Infantry); member: Episcopal Church, Beta Theta Pi, Phi Delta Phi, American and Virginia State Bar Associations, Ruritans, American Legion, Commonwealth Club, Country Club of Virginia, Young Democratic Club of Richmond, County Democratic Committee and State Democratic Central Committee. Member of House: 1952—.

HUTCHENS, CHARLES KUNKLE, 32 Ferguson Lane, P. O. Box 516, Newport News, Va.—Newport News—Democrat. Born in Radford, Va., January 22, 1896; educated in Newport News public schools; senior partner, Chevrolet Agency, Newport News; married Anne Elizabeth McErlaine; member: Methodist Church, Masons, Khedive Temple Shrine, Rotary Club, James River Country Club, Elks, Propeller Club, Commonwealth Club, Tidewater Auto Association (director and vice president); director and chairman of board of Citizens Marine Jefferson Bank; director of Virginia Peninsula Association of Commerce; president of Riverside Hospital. Member of House: 1938—.

HUTCHERSON, NATHAN BENJAMIN JR., Rocky Mount, Va.—Franklin County—Democrat. Born in Rocky Mount, Va., August 24, 1918; educated at Hampden-Sydney and College of William and Mary, A.B., B.C.L.; lawyer; married Ellen Elizabeth Lambert; World War II Veteran (3½ years, U.S. Army); member: Christian Church, American Legion (past commander of Post 6), Order of the Moose, Virginia and American Bar Associations, board of trustees of Franklin Memorial Hospital, V.F.W. (past commander), Willow Creek Country Club, Rotary Club, Virginia Trial Lawyers Association; Franklin County Democratic Party (chairman); Bankers Trust Co., Rocky

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Mount (vice president and director).
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HUTCHESON, JOSEPH COLLIER, Lawrenceville, Va.—Seventh Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Boydton, Va., July 23, 1906; educated at Boydton High School, Virginia Episcopal School and University of Virginia, LL.B.; lawyer; not married; World War II Veteran (Lt. Comdr., USNR); member: Episcopal Church, Kappa Sigma, Phi Delta Phi, Masons, Knights of Pythias, Lawrenceville Chamber of Commerce, Lions Club; mayor of Lawrenceville (1946-48); Commonwealth's Attorney of Brunswick County (1948-58); president of Commonwealth's Attorneys Association. Member of Senate: 1958—.

IRBY, LLEWELLYN HITE, Blackstone, Va.—Amelia, Powhatan and Nottoway—Democrat. Born in Lunenburg County, Va., May 26, 1902; educated at Blackstone High School and College of William and Mary, B.S.; general insurance and cattle farming; married Mary Hurt; member: Methodist Church, Rotary (past president of Blackstone Club), Kappa Alpha Order, Commonwealth Club, Democratic State Central Committee, Nottoway County Democratic Committee; past member of Blackstone town council. Member of House: 1958—.

JAMES, EDWIN RALPH, Hampton, Va. — Hampton — Democrat. Born in Dendron, Va., March 29, 1896; educated at College of William and Mary, B.S., and University of Richmond, LL.B.; lawyer; married Matilda McLeod Robinson (deceased); World War I Veteran; member: Baptist Church, Masons, Kiwanis Club (past president), American Legion (past department commander), American and Virginia State Bar Associations, Virginia State Bar (past president), Sigma Phi Epsilon. Member of House: 1952—.

KELLAM, WILLIAM PAGE, 3113 Pacific Ave., P.O. Box 777, Virginia Beach, Va.—Virginia Beach — Democrat. Born in Princess Anne County, Va., November 20, 1914; educated at Kempsville High School, Princess Anne County, and Norfolk Business College; insurance and real estate; married Josephine Wiley; World War II Veteran (Captain, U.S. Army Airborne Infantry); member: Presbyterian Church, Kiwanis Club of Virginia Beach (past president), Princess Anne Ruritan Club (past

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KINGER, RUPERT NEAL, 595 N. Eighth St., Wytheville, Va. — Wythe — Republican. Born in Wytheville, Va., May 7, 1909; educated at Wytheville High School and Emory and Henry College; home builder; married Louise Elizabeth Shupe; member: Methodist Church, Moose Lodge, Wythe-Bland Emory and Henry Alumni Chapter (president), Methodist Holston Conference Town and Country Committee, associate district lay leader of Methodist Church, member of board of directors of Holston Methodist Children's Home, Greenville, Tenn. Member of House: 1964—.

KOSTEL, GEORGE JAMES, 316 Commercial St., Clifton Forge, Va.—Alleghany, Covington and Clifton Forge — Democrat. Born in Clifton Forge, Va., October 30, 1927; educated in Clifton Forge public schools, Hampden-Sydney College, B.A., and Washington and Lee University, LL.B.; lawyer; married Helen Harriet Elite; 1st Lt. U.S. Marine Corps (1951-53); member: Episcopal Church, Lions Club, Elks, Masons, Omicron Delta Kappa, Pi Kappa Alpha, Cliftondale Country Club, Virginia Bar Association. Director: The First National Bank of Clifton Forge and First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Clifton Forge. Member of House: 1964—.

LANDRETH, SIDNEY FLOYD, Galax, Va. — Fourteenth Senatorial District — Republican. Born in Carroll County, Va., March 27, 1885; educated at Woodlawn High School, Carroll County, and Washington and Lee University; lawyer, farmer and banker; married Lola Evelyn Lintecum; member: Christian Church, Masons, Rotary, Moose, Boy Scouts, American and Virginia State Bar Associations, Retail Merchants Association, State Board of Virginia Christian Society, local Chamber of Commerce; president of First National Bank, Galax; former Commonwealth's Attorney of Carroll County;

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trustee, Lynchburg College. Member of Senate: 1944—.

LANE, EDWARD E., 718 East Franklin St., Richmond, Va.—Richmond City — Democrat. Born in Richmond, Va., January 28, 1924; educated in Richmond schools, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and University of Richmond Law School, LL.B.; lawyer; married Jean Wiltshire; World War II Veteran (pilot); member: Episcopal Church (former vestryman), Richmond First Club (past president), Potomac River Commission, Fishing Bay Yacht Club, Country Club of Virginia, Virginia Council on Educational Television (co-chairman), R. E. Lee Council of Boy Scouts of America (past president); chairman, Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner, 1957; Junior Chamber of Commerce Distinguished Service Award for Richmond and for Virginia in 1952. Member of House: 1954—.

LEVIN, BERNARD, 1508 Maritime Tower, Norfolk, Va.—Norfolk City — Democrat. Born in Portsmouth, Va., November 3, 1921; educated at Washington and Lee University, B.S. and LL.B.; lawyer; married Carla R. deCreny; Lieutenant USNR, 4½ years, U.S. Navy, received Bronze Star with Cluster and Presidential Unit Citation with Cluster; member: Jewish church, Beth El Temple (board of directors), Ohel Sholem Temple, American, Virginia State and Norfolk-Portsmouth Bar Associations, Virginia Trial Lawyers' Association, Sertoma Club of Norfolk (president), Norfolk Lodge No. 1, A.F. & A.M., Scottish Rite, Norfolk Consistory, AAONMS - Khedive Temple, Washington and Lee University Alumni, Inc. (president), United Cerebral Palsy Association of Norfolk (president), Omicron Delta Kappa. Member of House: 1962—.

LONG, MACON MELVILLE, St. Paul, Va. — Sixteenth Senatorial District — Democrat. Born in Rappahannock County, Va., April 2, 1885; educated at University of Richmond, B.L.; lawyer, banker and farmer; married Charlotte Tompkins; member: Baptist Church, Wise County Bar Association (former president), Virginia State Bar (former president), Virginia State Bar Association (former vice president), American Bar Association, board of trustees of University of Richmond, Judicial Council; president, St. Paul National

Bank; former chairman, Virginia Advisory Legislative Council; delegate to Democratic National Convention, 1940, 1948, 1956. Member of House: 1940-42; member of Senate: 1944—.

McCUE, EDWARD O. JR., Charlottesville, Va.—Twenty-fourth Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Charlottesville, Va., May 11, 1901; educated at Jefferson School for Boys, Charlottesville High School and University of Virginia, LL.B.; lawyer, businessman and farmer; married Isabel Chamberlain Cochran; member: Episcopal Church, Delta Tau Delta, B.P.O. Elks, Masons, Moose, Redland Club and Farmington Country Club; former chairman, Virginia Advisory Legislative Council; former member, Monticello Guard; member Governor's Commission on State and Local Revenues and Expenditures and Related Matters, 1963. Member of House: 1934-48; member of Senate: 1950—.

McDIARMID, MRS. DOROTHY SHOE-MAKER, 390 Maple Ave., East, Vienna, Va.—Fairfax County and Cities of Fairfax and Falls Church—Democrat. Born in Waco, Tex., October 22, 1907; educated at Swarthmore College, B.A.; realtor; married N. Hugh McDiarmid; member: Society of Friends, Business and Professional Women's Club, Virginia Congress of Parents and Teachers, League of Women Voters, International Student Service Council, Northern Virginia Mental Health Association (vice president), Virginia Association for Mental Health (executive committee), Fairfax Hospital Association, Fairfax County Democratic Committee, Woman's National Democratic Club. Member of House: 1960-62; 1964—.

McGLOTHLIN, DONALD ALLEN, Box 777, Grundy, Va.—Seventeenth Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Honaker, Va., February 16, 1926; educated at Franklin and Marshall, B.A., and Marshall Wythe School of Law of the College of William and Mary, B.C.L.; lawyer; married Mary Louise Williams; World War II and Korean War Veteran; member: Methodist Church, Masons, Shrine, Buchanan County Chamber of Commerce (past president and past director), Phi Kappa Psi, Phi Alpha Delta, Buchanan County Bar Association (past president), Virginia Bar Association, Virginia State Bar, V.F.W., American Legion, president

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of Buchanan County Development Corporation. Commonwealth's Attorney of Buchanan County, 1956-64. Member of Senate: 1964—.

McMATH, GEORGE NOTTINGHAM, Onancock, Va.—Accomack—Democrat. Born in Onley, Va., August 28, 1932; educated at Randolph-Macon Academy, University of Virginia, B.A., and American University, M.A.; president, The Eastern Shore News, Inc.; married Emma Allen Harlan; served in U. S. Army 1954-56; member: Methodist Church, Virginia Press Association (member executive committee), Delmarva Press Association (past president), Randolph-Macon Academy Alumni Association (board member), Onancock Rotary Club (vice president), Eastern Shore Industrial Development Corporation (president), Virginia Junior Chamber of Commerce (national director), Eastern Shore Yacht and Country Club (past president), Chincoteague - Assateague Bridge and Beach Authority; board member, Farmer and Merchants National Bank in Onley. Named Outstanding Young Man of Eastern Shore of Virginia in 1960. Member of House: 1964—.

McMURRAN, LEWIS ARCHER JR., Room 306, Exchange Building, 135-27th St., Newport News, Va.—Newport News—Democrat. Born in Newport News, Va., April 11, 1914; educated at Washington and Lee University; married Edith Margaret Lea; World War II Veteran (Lt. Comdr., USNR); member: Presbyterian Church, Peninsula Chamber of Commerce (president), Peninsula Industrial Committee (vice chairman), Peninsula Port and Industrial Commission; chairman, Virginia 350th Anniversary Commission; chairman, Jamestown Foundation; president, Jamestown Corporation; trustee, War Memorial Museum of Virginia; secretary-treasurer, Citizens Rapid Transit Company (member of board); secretary, Bank of Warwick (member of board); director, Virginia Commonwealth Corporation, Tidewater Teleradio Corporation, New York World's Fair 1964-65. Member of House: 1948—.

MANN, C. HARRISON JR., 1818 S. Arlington Ridge Rd., Arlington, Va.—Arlington—Democrat. Born in Mobile, Ala., January 15, 1908; educated at Episcopal High School and University of Virginia, LL.B.; lawyer and publisher; married Frances

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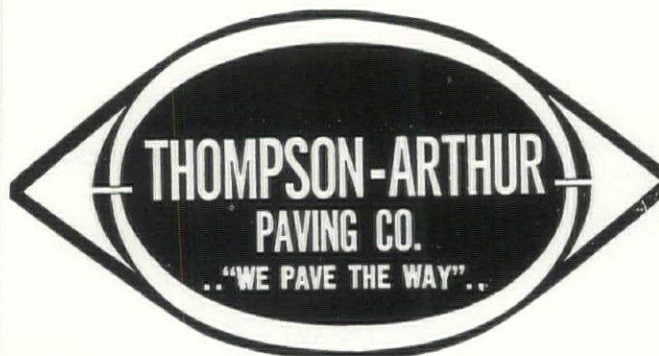
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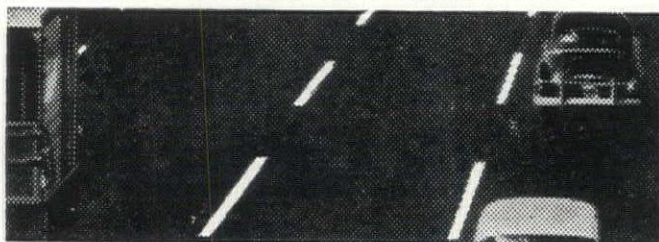
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MANNS, PAUL W., Bowling Green, Va. —Caroline, King George, Essex and King and Queen—Democrat. Born in Traverse City, Mich., June 18, 1910; educated at Traverse City Schools and William and Mary Ext., Richmond, Va.; newspaper editor and publisher, funeral director; married Emma Nunnally; member: Methodist Church, Lions, Ruritans, Masons (Acacia Temple Shrine), Legislative Advisory Council of the Southern Regional Education Board (past chairman), Virginia Press Association (past president) and executive committee, Board of Funeral Directors Association. Member of House: 1952—.

MARKS, CHARLES HARDAWAY, Perry Building, Hopewell, Va. — Prince George, Surry and Hopewell—Democrat. Born in Hopewell, Va., January 31, 1921; educated at public schools of Hopewell, Wake Forest College, B.S., Duke University and University of Virginia Law School; lawyer; married Archie Davis Andrews; World War II Veteran (Capt., U.S. Marine Corps, 1942-46, wounded on Iwo Jima); member: Baptist Church (affiliate), V.F.W. American Legion, Loyal Order of Moose, Sons of Confederate Veterans, Delta Sigma Phi, Delta Theta Phi, Young Democrats, American, State and Hopewell Bar Associations (past president); delegate to National Democratic Convention, 1960; past chairman of Hopewell Community Chest and Red Cross; former member, Board of Recreation and Parks, Hopewell. Member of House: 1962—.

MARSH, GORDON FRANKLIN, Chesapeake, Va.—Third Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Cumber-

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land County near Fayetteville, N. C., October 11, 1908; educated in public schools of North Carolina and the University of North Carolina; lawyer; married Frances Sifford; member: Baptist Church, Kiwanis Club, American Bar Association, Virginia State Bar, Portsmouth and Norfolk County Bar Associations, Khedive Temple AAONMS, Chesapeake Chamber of Commerce, Churchland Ruritan Club, Virginia State Bar Second District Committee, Democratic State Central Committee. Member of Senate: Ex. 1955—.

MIDDLETON, RICHARD HOXIE, The Tire Center, Inc. 1125 E. Market St., Charlottesville, Va.—Albemarle and Greene—Republican. Born in New York City, March 17, 1925; educated at The Taft School, Watertown, Conn., West Virginia University and University of Virginia, B.S.; farmer and president of The Tire Center, Inc.; married Martha Alice Haugh; World War II Veteran (U.S. Air Force, crew chief B-17 and flight engineer B-29); member: Episcopal Church, Sigma Chi, Virginia Hereford Breeders Association (past president and past director), Atlantic Rural Exposition, Inc. (past director); director: Virginia Engineering Foundation and Charlottesville Education Foundation; past director of Belfield School, Charlottesville. Member of House: 1962—.

MOODY, WILLARD JAMES, Professional Bldg., Portsmouth, Va.—Portsmouth —Democrat. Born in Franklin, Va., June 16, 1924; educated at Lelia Warren High School, Norfolk Division of the College of William and Mary and University of Richmond Law School, LL.B.; lawyer; married Betty Glenn Covert; World War II Veteran; member: Baptist Church, Portsmouth Junior Chamber of Commerce, Portsmouth - Norfolk County Bar Association (past president); board of directors of Portsmouth Chamber of Commerce, Portsmouth Cosmopolitan Club (past president), Tidewater Heart Association and Inter-Club Council. Member of House: 1956—.

MOORE, E. BLACKBURN, Berryville, Va. —Clarke, Frederick and Winchester —Democrat. Born in Washington, D. C., April 26, 1897; educated at Davidson College and Cornell University; fruit grower, farmer and banker; married Dorothy Parker; member: Presbyterian Church, State

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MOORE, GARNETT ST. CLAIR, Pulaski,
Va.—Pulaski—Democrat. Born in
Max Meadows, Wythe County, Va.,
September 9, 1914; educated at Nor-
folk Division of College of William
and Mary and University of Vir-
ginia, LL.B.; lawyer (town attorney
for Pulaski and Dublin); married
Virginia Kathleen Kersey; World
War II Veteran (U.S. Navy Shore
Patrol); member: Methodist Church,
Kiwanis Club, Ruritan Club, Elks,
Omicron Delta Kappa, Chamber of
Commerce, Virginia State and
American Bar Associations; chair-
man, Pulaski County Defense Bond
Committee; Director of Civil De-
fense, Pulaski County. Member of
House: 1954—.

MOORE, JAMES RUSSELL, 212 E. Main
St., Abingdon, Va. — Washington,
Scott and Bristol—Republican. Born
at Seven Mile Ford, Smyth County,
Va., February 23, 1918, educated at
Chilhowie High School, Berea Col-
lege and University of Virginia, B.S.,
LL.B.; married Leona Spence Greer;
member: Methodist Church, Abing-
don Kiwanis Club. Chief Assistant
United States Attorney, Eastern Dis-
trict of Virginia, 1953-56. Member
of House: 1964—.

MOSES, CHARLES T., Appomattox, Va.
Eleventh Senatorial District—Demo-
crat. Born in Appomattox County,
Va., June 27, 1897; educated in pub-
lic schools and Appomattox High
School; automobile dealer; married
Mary Virginia Godwin; member:
Methodist Church. Member of Sen-
ate: 1936—.

NEWTON, BLAKE TYLER, Hague, Va.—
Twenty-eighth Senatorial District—
Democrat. Born in Hague, Va.,
October 21, 1889; educated in pub-
lic schools and College of William
and Mary, B.A. and M.A.; educator
and lawyer; married Bertha Effing-
ham Lawrence; member: Episcopal
Church, Masons, Ruritans, Pi Kappa
Alpha, Phi Delta Kappa, Phi Beta
Kappa, Sons American Revolution,
State Board of Education, 1937-57
(president 1946-57); superintendent
of schools for Richmond and West-
moreland Counties, 1913-1954; listed
in Who's Who in American Educa-
tion and Who's Who in The South
and South West; author "The Gov-
ernor of Virginia as Business Man-
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mobile Association; past president of
Northern Neck Bar Association;
president, Northern Neck of Virginia
Historical Society; recipient of The
William and Mary College Alumni
Medallion for loyalty and service to
the college, 1956; member, Virginia
State Central Democratic Commit-
tee, 1928—. Member of Senate:
1956—.

ORR, ROBERT SIMPSON, Rte. 1, Dry-
den, Va.—Lee, Wise and Norton—
Democrat. Born in Pennington Gap,
Va., February 6, 1889; educated at
Virginia Military Institute; farmer
and breeder of registered Hereford
cattle; married Josephine Crockett
Allison; member: Methodist Church,
Sigma Nu, Lions Club, executive
committee of Virginia State Soil
Conservation Association; president
of the Tri-state Hereford Breeders
Association; served twice as president
of Virginia Hereford Association;
recipient of Honor Award from
Block and Bridle Club, Virginia
Polytechnic Institute, 1959; first re-
cipient of James P. Mills Award for
outstanding service in breeding and
promoting registered Hereford cat-
tle in Virginia. Member of House:
1960—.

OWENS, STANLEY ALBERT, Box 109,
Manassas, Va.—Prince William—
Democrat. Born in Canon, Ga.,
February 10, 1907; educated at
Emory University Law School and
University of Georgia Law School,
LL.B.; lawyer; married Janet Re-
becca Trusler; member: Baptist
Church, Kiwanis Club (past presi-
dent), Ruritan (past president and
past Lt. Governor), Virginia State
Chamber of Commerce (past direc-
tor), Greater Manassas Chamber of
Commerce, Pi Kappa Alpha, Phi
Alpha Delta; Commonwealth's At-
torney, Prince William County,
1944-60; vice president, Common-
wealth's Attorneys Association, 1959;
president, Piedmont Telephone
Company, Manassas; first vice presi-
dent and general counsel, Piedmont
Federal Savings and Loan Associa-
tion, Manassas; director and vice
chairman of board, The National
Bank of Manassas; director, Virginia
Independent Telephone Association
(president, 1946). Member of
House: 1960—.

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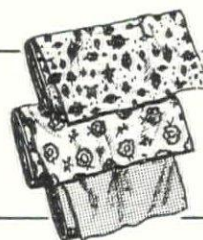
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PAXSON, C. ARMONDE, 435 Park St., Charlottesville, Va. — Charlottesville — Democrat. Born in Waterford, Va., October 30, 1905; educated at Kiski Prep School, Mercersburg Academy and University of Virginia; lawyer; married Helen Post; commissioned in U. S. Navy but had to surrender commission due to intervening illness; member: Baptist Church, Phi Alpha Delta, Phi Sigma Kappa, Farmington Club, Redland Club (president 1963-64), Commonwealth Club, Kiwanis (past president), Young Men's Business Club (past president), BPO Elks (past exalted ruler), Virginia Yacht Club, Virginia and American Bar Associations, Charlottesville-Albemarle Bar Association (past president), Virginia Conference of Bar Presidents (past chairman), Council of Virginia State Bar (member committee on unauthorized practice of law, 1963-64), American Judicature Society, Federation of Insurance Counsel, American College of Trial Lawyers, Navy League, Virginia Trial Lawyers Association, Belgian Nautical Research Association, American Academy of Political and Social Science, Nautical Research Guild; director: Citizens Bank and Trust Company, Recording for the Blind, Tandem Corp., Jefferson-Lafayette Theatres, Inc., Davis Motors, Grymes Oil Corp., Murphy Insurance and Travel, Inc. Member of House: 1962—.

PENNINGTON, DR. WILLIAM ALTON, Buckingham, Va.—Buckingham, Appomattox and Cumberland—Democrat. Born in Newport News, Va., January 13, 1911; educated at College of William and Mary (pre-med.) and Medical College of Virginia (M.D.); physician; married Margaret Allen; World War II Veteran (Captain, United States Army Medical Corps, 1942-45, Bronze

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Star); member: Baptist Church; director and first president, Virginia Wildlife Federation. Member of House: 1960—.

PHILLIPS, LUCAS D., Leesburg, Va.— Loudoun—Democrat. Born in Indian Valley, Floyd County, Va., December 7, 1903; educated in public schools of Floyd County, King College and George Washington University; lawyer; married Elizabeth Littlejohn; World War II Veteran; member: Presbyterian Church, Masons, Lions Club, American Legion, Virginia Bar Association; former mayor of Leesburg and trial justice for Loudoun County. Member of House: 1954—.

PHILPOTT, ALBERT LEE, Bassett, Va. — Henry, Patrick and Martinsville — Democrat. Born in Philpott, Henry County, Va., July 29, 1919; educated at Bassett High School, University of Richmond, B.A., and University of Richmond Law School, LL.B.; lawyer; married Katherine Apperson Spencer; World War II Veteran (U.S. Army Ordnance Dept., U.S. Army Air Force); member: Methodist Church, Lions Club of Collinsville, Virginia State Bar, American Bar Association, Virginia State Bar Association, Martinsville-Henry County Bar Association, B.P.O. Elks, Loyal Order of Moose, Knights of Pythias, Lambda Chi Alpha; vice president, Bassett Memorial Library; member, advisory board, Patrick Henry Branch of University of Virginia; board of directors, Patrick Henry Mental Health Clinic; president, University of Richmond General Alumni Association; past commander, Bassett American Legion Post No. 11; Commonwealth's Attorney for Henry County, 1952-57. Member of House: 1958—.

PILCHER, THEODORE CLAY, 402 Equitable Bldg., Corner of Boush St. and College Place, Norfolk, Va.—Norfolk City—Democrat. Born in Norfolk, Va., April 3, 1907; educated in Norfolk public schools, Randolph-Macon College, A.B., and University of Virginia, LL.B.; lawyer; married Ethel Mary Ostrom; World War II Veteran (Lt. Comdr., U.S. Navy); member: Presbyterian Church (elder), Kappa Alpha Order, Veterans of Foreign Wars (past Judge Advocate, Junior Vice Commander, Senior Vice Commander and Commander for Virginia Department, 1949), World War II Memorial Commission, American, Virginia



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POFF, JOSEPH HENRY, Floyd, Va.—Carroll and Floyd — Republican. Born in Willis, Floyd County, Va., November 20, 1901; educated at Willis High School, Roanoke College, A.B., and University of Virginia Law School; lawyer and farmer; married Bess Roop; member: Lutheran Church, Ruritans, Masons, Odd Fellows, Montgomery, Floyd and City of Radford Bar Associations, Virginia State Bar (past president); director, The Bank of Floyd. Member of House: 1958—.

POLLARD, FRED GRESHAM, 1309 State-Planters Bank Building, 904 E. Main St., Richmond, Va.—Richmond City and Henrico—Democrat. Born in Richmond, Va., May 7, 1918; educated in Richmond public schools, Episcopal High School and University of Virginia, B.A. and LL.B.; lawyer; married Jane E. DeJarnette; World War II Veteran (Lt., USNR, 1942-46); member: Presbyterian Church, Phi Kappa Sigma, Phi Delta Phi, American Legion, Capitol Renovation Commission, executive committee of Jamestown Foundation. Member of House: 1950—.

POPE, SAMUEL ELIBA, Drewryville, Va.—Southampton and Franklin City—Democrat. Born in Southampton County, Va., May 18, 1905; educated at Drewryville High School, Randolph-Macon College, A.B., and Virginia Polytechnic Institute (graduate student); farmer; married Sara Holt White; member: Methodist Church, Masons, Kappa Alpha Order, Ruritans, Jamestown Foundation; director of Southampton County Bank; delegate to Democratic National Convention, 1952; recipient of Distinguished Alumnus Award, Randolph-Macon College, 1963. Member of House: 1946—.

PRICE, CHARLES DANIEL, Stanley, Va.—Page and Warren — Democrat. Born in Page County, Va., July 26, 1894; educated in Page County public schools and University of Virginia; farmer; married Evelyn Grove Walters (deceased); member: Baptist Church, Masons, Shrine, Order of the Eastern Star, Virginia Farm Bureau Federation; president, Farmers & Merchants National Bank, Stanley; director, Shen-Valley Meat

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PURCELL, HAROLD HIDMORE, Louisa, Va.—Twenty-fifth Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Louisa, Va., February 7, 1920; educated at Louisa High School, Augusta Military Academy and University of Virginia, LL.B.; lawyer; married Virginia Blanche Omohundro; World War II Veteran (Captain in Infantry); member: Christian Church, Masons, Sigma Phi Epsilon, Theta Delta Phi, Scottish Rite, Shrine, Ruritan, Veterans of Foreign Wars, American Legion. Member of House: 1948-58; member of Senate: Ex. 1959—.

PUTNEY, LACEY EDWARD, Leggett Building, Bedford, Va.—Bedford—Democrat. Born in Big Island, Va., June 27, 1928; educated at Big Island High School and Washington and Lee University, B.A. and LL.B.; lawyer; married Elizabeth Harlow; U. S. Air Force, 1950-54; member: Baptist Church, Bedford Rotary Club, Masons, Bedford County Chamber of Commerce (director), Loyal Order of Moose. Member of House: 1962—.

RAWLINGS, GEORGE CHANCELLOR JR., Law Bldg., Fredericksburg, Va.—Spotsylvania, Stafford and Fredericksburg — Democrat. Born in Fredericksburg, Va., November 7, 1921; educated at Randolph-Macon College, B.A., and University of Virginia, LL.B.; lawyer; married Rosalie Dabney Saunders; member: Baptist Church, BPO Elks, Rotary, Kappa Alpha Order, 39th Judicial Circuit, Virginia and American Bar Associations, Fredericksburg and Virginia Chambers of Commerce, Spotsylvania County Farm Bureau; president, Fredericksburg Agricultural Fair, Inc.; member, board of directors, Virginia Heart Association and Historic Fredericksburg, Inc.; vice president, Virginia Association of Fairs; member, Spotsylvania Civil War Centennial Committee. Member of House: 1964—.

RAWLINGS, WILLIAM VINCENT, Box 126, Capron, Va.—Fifth Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Capron, Southampton County, Va., August 17, 1913; educated in Capron public school, Augusta Military Academy, Virginia Military Institute, C.E., and University of Virginia, LL.B.; farmer; married Novella Howard Pope; World War II Veteran (Col., USAR, 1941-46); member:



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Methodist Church, Phi Kappa Sigma, Phi Alpha Delta, Commonwealth Club of Richmond, former school board chairman, former mayor of Capron, various farm, civic and professional organizations; National Agricultural Advisory Commission; director, Tidewater Bank and Trust Co., Franklin; director, National Peanut Council; executive secretary, Association of Virginia Peanut and Hog Growers. Member of Senate: 1962—.

**RAWLS, JOHN LEWIS JR.**, P.O. Box 498, Suffolk, Va.—Nansemond and Suffolk—Democrat. Born in Suffolk, Va., December 7, 1923; educated at Virginia Military Institute, Duke University and University of Virginia, LL.B.; lawyer; married Mary Helen Macklin; commissioned officer USNR, served in Pacific Theater in P.T. boats and Air Sea Rescue; member: Congregational Christian Church, Virginia Club of Norfolk, Princess Anne Country Club, Commonwealth Club, Rotary Club of Suffolk. Member of House: 1962—.

**REYNOLDS, DR. RANDALL OSCAR**, P.O. Box 304, Chatham, Va.—Pittsylvania—Democrat. Born in Pittsylvania County, October 19, 1907; educated at Climax High School, University of Richmond and Medical College of Virginia, D.D.S.; dentist and tobacco farmer; member: Baptist Church, Lions Club (past president), executive committee of Democratic Party in Pittsylvania County, board of directors of Planters Bank & Trust Company (president, 1949-54); president, Rex Motor Company; trustee and secretary to board of trustees of Hargrave Military Academy, Farm Bureau, Farmers Union, Chamber of Commerce; mayor of Chatham, 1948-50; member of Town Council, 1938-48. Member of House: 1956—.

**RICHARDSON, ARTHUR HARRIS**, Dinwiddie, Va.—Petersburg and Dinwiddie—Democrat. Born in Dinwiddie, Va., August 24, 1899; educated at Dinwiddie High School, Randolph-Macon Academy and Randolph-Macon College; lumber dealer, farmer and warehouseman; married Nora Chambliss Edmunds; World War I Veteran; member: Methodist Church, Masons, BPO Elks, Princess Anne Country Club, Rotunda Club of Richmond, Downtown Club of Richmond, Cape Henry Club of Virginia Beach, Kappa Alpha Order, Ruritans, American Legion (past commander), Young

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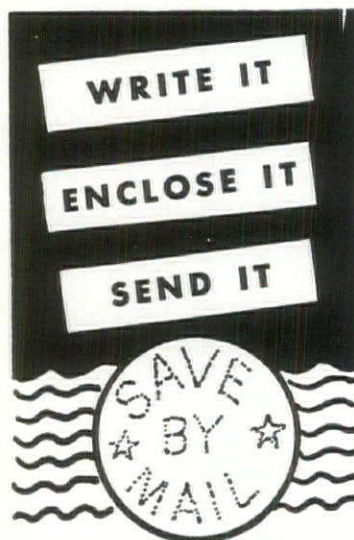
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Democratic Club of Dinwiddie (past president); president, Virginia Tobacco Warehouse Co., Petersburg; director, Petersburg Savings and American Trust Co.; delegate to Democratic National Convention, 1956. Member of House: 1946—.

**ROBERTS, JAMES WALKER**, 6435 Tidewater Dr., Norfolk, Va.—Norfolk City—Democrat. Born in Alexandria, Va., December 2, 1891; educated at Friends (High) School, Washington, D.C.; chairman of the board of The Henry B. Gilpin Company, wholesale druggists; married Elsie Palmer Brown; World War I Veteran (Captain, Field Artillery); Lt. Col., commander 1st Bn. Va. State Guard, 1942-46; member: Episcopal Church, Lions (past president and past deputy district governor), lay board of De Paul Hospital in Norfolk; U.S., Virginia and Norfolk Chambers of Commerce, Jamestown Corporation board, Norfolk Navy YMCA (director), American Legion, Tidewater Auto Association (director and treasurer); awarded Norfolk First Citizen Cosmopolitan Club Medal, 1943. Member of House: 1948—.

**SANDIE, DONALD HARVEY SR.**, 710 Professional Bldg., Portsmouth, Va.—Portsmouth — Democrat. Born in Kenmare, N.D., October 2, 1920; educated at University of North Dakota, B.S., and College of William and Mary, BCL; lawyer; married Lillie Mae Smith; World War II Veteran (4½ years in Navy amphibious forces, received Silver Star on Omaha Beach during invasion of France); member: Baptist Church, American Legion, Portsmouth Chamber of Commerce, Portsmouth Bar Association, Virginia State Bar and American Bar Associations, Portsmouth Executives Club; chairman, Portsmouth district, Tidewater Council, Boy Scouts of America; president, William and Mary Law School Association, 1963-64. Member of House: 1960—.

**SCOTT, JOHN LAFAYETTE**, 6823 Bland St., Springfield, Va.—Fairfax County and Cities of Fairfax and Falls Church—Democrat. Born in Wartburg, Morgan County, Tenn., January 6, 1922; educated in Wartburg public schools and Marquette University, B.N.S. and LL.B.; lawyer; married Elisabeth Marshall Boone; World War II and Korean War Veteran (Lieut.); member: Methodist Church, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Springfield Chamber of Commerce,



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**SLAUGHTER, DANIEL FRENCH JR.**, 135 Davis St., Culpeper, Va.—Madison, Culpeper and Orange—Democrat. Born in Culpeper County, Va., May 20, 1925; educated in Culpeper County public schools, Virginia Military Institute and University of Virginia, B.A. and LL.B.; lawyer; married Kathleen Wilson Rowe; World War II Veteran (U.S. Army, combat infantry); member: Episcopal Church, Ruritan, Lions, Chamber of Commerce, Junior Chamber of Commerce, American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Farm Bureau, Omicron Delta Kappa, Raven Society, Delta Psi, board of managers of University of Virginia Alumni Association, Culpeper County Democratic Committee, American, Virginia and local Bar Associations, The Commission on Public Education (vice-chairman 1958-62), Commission on Vocational Education (chairman, 1963-64); recipient of Distinguished Service Award for Culpeper County, 1960. Member of House: 1958—.

**SMITH, RICHARD MACLIN**, Kenbridge, Va.—Brunswick and Lunenburg—Democrat. Born in Brunswick County, Va., January 14, 1906; educated at Victoria High School, University of Richmond and Medical College of Virginia; druggist and farmer; married Annie Elizabeth Gee; member: Methodist Church (lay leader), Masons, Phi Delta Chi, Kiwanis Club (past president), Kenbridge Town Council (10 years), board of directors of Bank of Lunenburg, president of Imperial Brickett Corp., board of directors of Virginia Aberdeen Angus Association; Virginia Pharmaceutical Association. Member of House: 1954—.

**SMITH, SYDNEY STROTHER JR.**, c/o The Travelers Insurance Co., 3610 W. Broad St., Richmond, Va.—Richmond City and Henrico—Republican. Born in Richmond, Va., October 17, 1913; educated at St. Christopher's, John Marshall High School and Virginia Military Institute, B.S.;

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general insurance; married Elizabeth Oglesby; World War II Veteran (Captain, U.S. Army, 1941-46); member: Episcopal Church, Advisory Committee Governor's Highway Safety Committee, Sons of American Revolution, VMI Club of Richmond (past president), National-Virginia-Richmond Associations of Insurance Agents, Richmond Area Safety Council (past president), Virginia Society for the Prevention of Blindness, Richmond Chamber of Commerce, Inter-Club Council, Downtown Club, Country Club of Virginia, Richmond Power Squadron; Eagle Palm Scout; past president, Richmond Association of Insurance Agents; recipient of the Stock Insurance Club of Virginia award for outstanding service in the conservation of lives and property, 1962; recipient of the past president's award for outstanding contribution to the insurance industry, Virginia Association of Insurance Agents, 1963. Member of House: 1964—.

**SMITH, WILLIAM ROY**, P.O. Drawer 1270, Petersburg, Va.—Petersburg and Dinwiddie — Democrat. Born in Petersburg, Va., July 8, 1920; educated at Medical College of Virginia, School of Pharmacy, B.S.; drug manufacturer; married Virginia Lee Brown; member: Episcopal Church (vestryman), Masons, Elks, Knights of Pythias, Lions Club (past president), Salvation Army advisory board, Social Service advisory board, Fourth District Druggists Association, Virginia Pharmaceutical Association (past president), American Pharmaceutical Association; recipient of Distinguished Service Award, Petersburg, 1949. Member of House: 1952—.

**SPEER, DR. KEITH DEMPSEY**, Box jj, Grundy, Va. — Buchanan — Democrat. Born in Cumberland, Ky., November 9, 1926; educated at East Tennessee State University, B.S., and Medical College of Virginia, D.D.S.; dentist; married Mary Ruth Belcher; World War II Veteran (two years in U.S. Navy); member: Christian Church, Buchanan County Chamber of Commerce (vice president), Grundy Lions Club (past president), Masons, Shrine, Order of Eastern Star, American Legion, American Dental Association, Virginia State Dental Society, Southwest Virginia Dental Society. Member of House: 1964—.



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SPONG, WILLIAM BELSER JR., 403 Court St., Portsmouth, Va.—Tenth Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Portsmouth, Va., September 29, 1920; educated at Hampden-Sydney College, University of Virginia, LL.B., and University of Edinburgh, Scotland; lawyer; married Virginia Wise Galliford; World War II Veteran (Army Air Force 1942-45); member: Methodist Church, Pi Kappa Alpha, Omicron Delta Kappa, Portsmouth-Norfolk County Bar Association (past president), Virginia and American Bar Associations; lecturer in law and government at College of William and Mary, 1948-49; chairman, Virginia Commission on Public Education, 1958-62. Member of House: 1954-55; member of Senate: 1956—.

STONE, MRS. KATHRYN HAESELER, 1051 26th Rd. S., Arlington 2, Va.—Arlington—Democrat. Born in Lisbon, Iowa, October 5, 1906; educated at University of Iowa, A.B. and M.A.; former teacher of American history and government; co-author of book, "City Manager Government in U.S."; writer and lecturer in field of government and citizen participation; married Harold A. Stone; member: Beverley Hills Community Church, Alexandria, League of Women Voters (national first vice president, 1946-50), Tenth District Woman's Democratic Club, AAUW, Parent-Teacher Associations, Aurora Hills Woman's Club, Altrusa, Pi Lambda Theta, Delta Kappa Gamma, Colony Club of Richmond; former member, Northern Virginia Regional Planning Commission; vice chairman, Human Resources Commission of Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies; national board Civil Service League; national board, Metropolitan Area Problems; chairman, Metropolitan Washington Health Facilities Planning Council;





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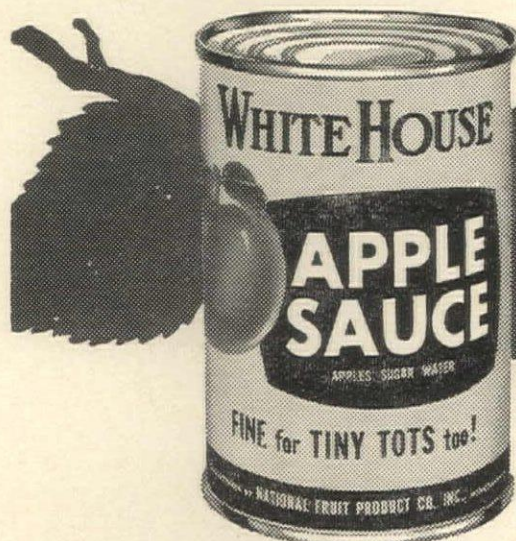
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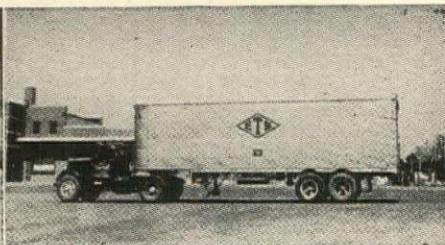
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Youth. Member of House: 1954—.

STONE, WILLIAM FRANCIS, Box 1432,  
Martinsville, Va.—Thirteenth Sena-  
torial District—Democrat. Born in  
Stoneville, N. C., September 29,  
1909; educated at Washington and  
Lee University, LL.B., and Atlanta  
Law School, LL.M.; lawyer; married  
M. Ivey Courtney; member: Virginia  
Board of Law Examiners, 1955-62;  
city attorney, Martinsville, 1947-58;  
director, Piedmont Trust Bank, Mar-  
tinsville. Member of House: 1954-  
56; member of Senate: 1958—.

SUTTON, TRIBLE DIX, 1037 Mutual  
Building, Richmond, Va.—Henrico  
—Democrat. Born in Henrico Coun-  
ty, Va., May 24, 1902; educated at  
University of Richmond, LL.B.;  
lawyer; married Bess B. McAlister;  
member: Baptist Church, American,  
Virginia and Richmond Bar Associa-  
tions, Glen Allen Lodge No. 131  
A.F. & A.M. (past master), Dover  
Baptist Association (past moderator),  
Virginia Baptist General Board (past  
secretary), Henrico County Demo-  
cratic Committee (past chairman),  
Downtown Club of Richmond. Rep-  
resented Third District on Resolu-  
tions Committee of 1948, 1952 and  
1960 State Democratic Conventions.  
Member of House: 1964—.

TEMPLE, JOHN HARRIS, P. O. Box 829,  
Petersburg, Va.—Eighth Senatorial  
District—Democrat. Born in Prince  
George C. H., Va., February 14,  
1917; educated at Petersburg High  
School and Hampden-Sydney Col-  
lege, B.S.; vice president, Delta Oil  
Sales Company Inc. and Realty In-  
vestments Inc. and director, City  
Savings Bank and Trust Co.; married  
Florence Kay; member: Presbyterian  
Church (elder), Kiwanis Club, Gide-  
ons, Masons, Elks, Country Club of  
Petersburg, Downtown Club, United  
Fund, Red Cross, Petersburg and  
Hopewell Chambers of Commerce,  
Advisory Council on the Virginia  
Economy (vice chairman), advisory  
board of Petersburg School of Nurs-  
ing; City Central Democratic Com-  
mittee, Travelers Protective Associa-  
tion, Chi Phi; recipient of Distin-  
guished Service Award of Peters-  
burg, 1951; Member of Senate: Ex.  
1952—.

THOMPSON, LAWRENCE RUSSELL,  
Rustburg, Va.—Campbell—Demo-  
crat. Born in Rustburg, Va., October  
5, 1910; educated at University of  
Richmond; lawyer; married Pauline  
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**THOMPSON, WILLIAM CARRINGTON**, Box 610, Chatham, Va.—Pittsylvania—Democrat. Born in Chatham, Va., November 6, 1915; educated at Chatham High School, Hampden-Sydney College and University of Virginia Law School, LL.B.; lawyer; married Margaret Sue Colbert; World War II Veteran (U.S. Navy); member: Baptist Church, B.P.O. Elks, Chatham Rotary Club; Assistant Attorney General of Virginia, 1946-47; Commonwealth's Attorney of Pittsylvania County, 1948-55. Member of House: 1960—.

**THOMSON, JAMES McILHANY, P. O.** Box 1161, Alexandria, Va.—Alexandria—Democrat. Born in New Orleans, La., August 9, 1924; educated at St. James Episcopal School, St. James, Md., Virginia Military Institute, B.A. and University of Virginia, LL.B.; lawyer; married Sarah E. Jennings; World War II Veteran (U.S. Marine Corps, 1943-46); member: Episcopal Church, Civitans, American Legion, Fraternal Order of Eagles, Alexandria Chamber of Commerce, Young Democrats (past presi-

dent), Alexandria, Virginia and American Bar Associations, Sons of American Revolution and Sons of Confederate Veterans; 1955 Distinguished Service Award of Junior Chamber of Commerce. Member of House: 1956—.

**TURK, JAMES CLINTON**, Radford, Va.—Twentieth Senatorial District—Republican. Born in Roanoke County, Va., May 3, 1923; educated at William Byrd High School, Vinton, Va., Roanoke College, A.B., and Washington and Lee University, LL.B.; lawyer; married Barbara Louise Duncan; World War II Veteran (U.S. Army, Captain, USAR); member: Baptist Church, Radford Jaycees, Rotary Club, American Legion, Masons, Shrine, Virginia, State and American Bar Associations, board of directors of First & Merchants National Bank of Radford, board of trustees of Radford Community Hospital, Phi Beta Kappa, Omicron Delta Kappa, Order of the Coif. Member of Senate: 1960—.

**WALKER, STANLEY CLAY, P. O.** Box 11266, Norfolk 17, Va.—Norfolk City—Democrat. Born in Norfolk, Va., July 2, 1923; educated at Norfolk city schools and Fork Union Military Academy; partner and offi-

cer in structural steel fabrication, erection and engineering firm; married Sybil Bruce Moore; World War II Veteran (U.S. Army, European Theater); member: Methodist Church (official board member), Norfolk Cosmopolitan Club (vice president), Kempsville Ruritan Club (past president), Norfolk Executives Club, Corinthian Lodge No. 266, A.F.&A.M., Tidewater Toastmasters Club (past president); former member Norfolk City School Board, Norfolk City Recreation Commission and Norfolk Citizens Advisory Committee. Member of House: 1964—.

**WAMPLER, CHARLES W. JR.**, Harrisonburg, Va.—Rockingham and Harrisonburg—Democrat. Born in Dayton, Va., November 25, 1915; educated at Dayton High School, Bridgewater College and Rutgers University; farmer and feed manufacturer; married Dorothy Liskey; member: Church of the Brethren, Dayton Ruritan Club, Rockingham County Fair Association (president), board of directors of Chesapeake Western Railway, board of directors of Atlantic Rural Exposition, State Board of Agriculture, Virginia Agricultural Education & Research Commission, board of visitors of Virginia Polytechnic Institute; former member of Rockingham County School Board. Member of House: 1954—.

**WARREN, GEORGE MARVIN JR.**, 600 Reynolds Arcade Building, Bristol, Va.—Fifteenth Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Bristol, Va., August 19, 1922; educated at Emory and Henry College, B.A., and University of Virginia, LL.B.; lawyer; married Merle Musser Warren; World War II Veteran (3 years, U.S. Navy, Southwest Pacific); member: Presbyterian Church, Elks, Masons; former United States Commissioner, Western District of Virginia. Member of Senate: 1964—.

**WHITE, JOSHUA WARREN JR.**, c/o Old Dominion Paper Co., 44th and Colley Ave., Norfolk, Va.—Norfolk City—Democrat. Born in Norfolk, Va., August 27, 1916; educated at Maury High School and Washington and Lee University; president and treasurer, Old Dominion Paper Company; married Dorothy Lee Winstead; World War II Veteran (discharged in 1945 as Lt. Comdr., U.S. Navy); member: First Presbyterian Church (deacon), Norfolk Assembly, Virginia Club, Norfolk German Club, Princess Anne Country Club, Norfolk Yacht and Country Club, Second District Democratic Committee, State

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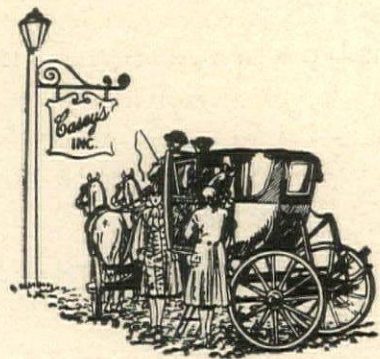


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WHITE, PRESSLEY BYRNES, 106 66th St., Virginia Beach, Va.—Virginia Beach—Democrat. Born in Norfolk, Va., September 4, 1905; educated at Maury High School, Grant's Law School at Norfolk; lawyer; married Veronica Garis; member: Presbyterian Church, State Bar, Norfolk-Portsmouth and Virginia State Bar Associations, Rotary, Ruth Lodge No. 89, John Walters Chapter, Grice Commandery, Khedive Temple (trustee) Shrine, Hardy Bible Class (past president), Virginia Beach-Princess Anne Shrine Club (past president), Princess Anne Country Club; former chairman of Electoral Board of Princess Anne County; former assistant judge of county court, Princess Anne County. Member of House: 1960—.

WILLEY, EDWARD EUGENE, 1205 Bellevue Ave., Richmond, Va.—Thirty-third Senatorial District—Democrat. Born in Frederick County, Va., April 17, 1910; educated in public schools and Medical College of Virginia, School of Pharmacy; pharmacist, owner of Willey Drug Co.; married Twyla Sutton Layton; member: Methodist Church, Masons, Shrine, various fraternal, professional and civic organizations; former City Councilman. Member of Senate: 1952—.

WINSTON, WILLIAM LITTLETON, 1437 N. Courthouse Road, Arlington, Va.—Arlington—Democrat. Born in Richmond, Va., August 7, 1923; educated at Randolph-Macon College and University of Virginia. LL.B.; lawyer; married Mildred Suzanne Ryland; World War II Veteran; member: Methodist Church, Kiwanis, Arlington County, Virginia State and American Bar Associations. Order of the Coif. Member of House: 1956—.

WYATT, LONDON RUSSELL, Danville, Va.—Thirteenth Senatorial District—Democrat. Born at Callands, Va., January 1, 1891; educated at Grady

grade school and Danville Commercial College; automobile dealer; married Mary Beulah Hundley; member: Baptist Church, Kiwanis Club (past president), Chamber of Commerce (past president), YMCA (past president), Retail Merchants Association; chairman of finance committee, City Council, eight years; president of board of trustees of Averett College; trustee of Hargrave Military Academy; director of Dan River Mills Inc. and Danville Tuberculosis Board; president: Danville Fair Association, Piedmont Hardware Company, Danville Parts and Body Mfg.

Co. and Dickerson Buick Corp.; director, Norfolk, Franklin & Danville Railway Co., a subsidiary of Norfolk and Western Railway; partner in Wyatt Buick Sales Co.; president, First Federal Bldg. and Loan Association; director, Piedmont Broadcasting Corp.; vice president, Danville Livestock Auction Market; chairman of board of directors, Danville Knitting Mills, Inc.; elected as Danville First Citizen, 1939. Member of House: 1944-52; member of Senate: 1954—.



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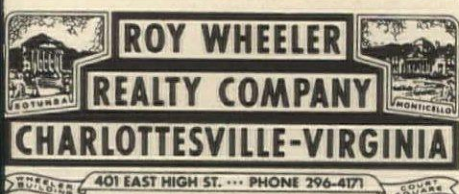
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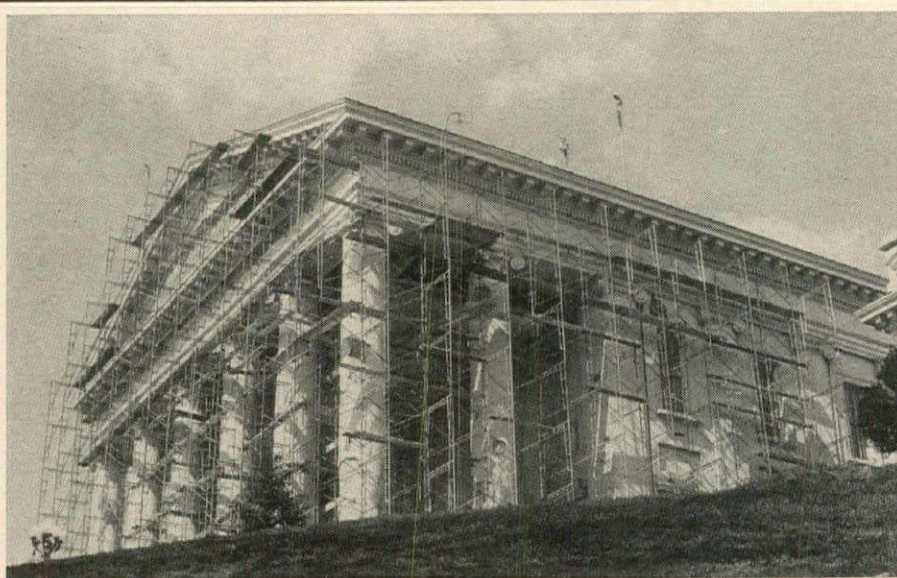
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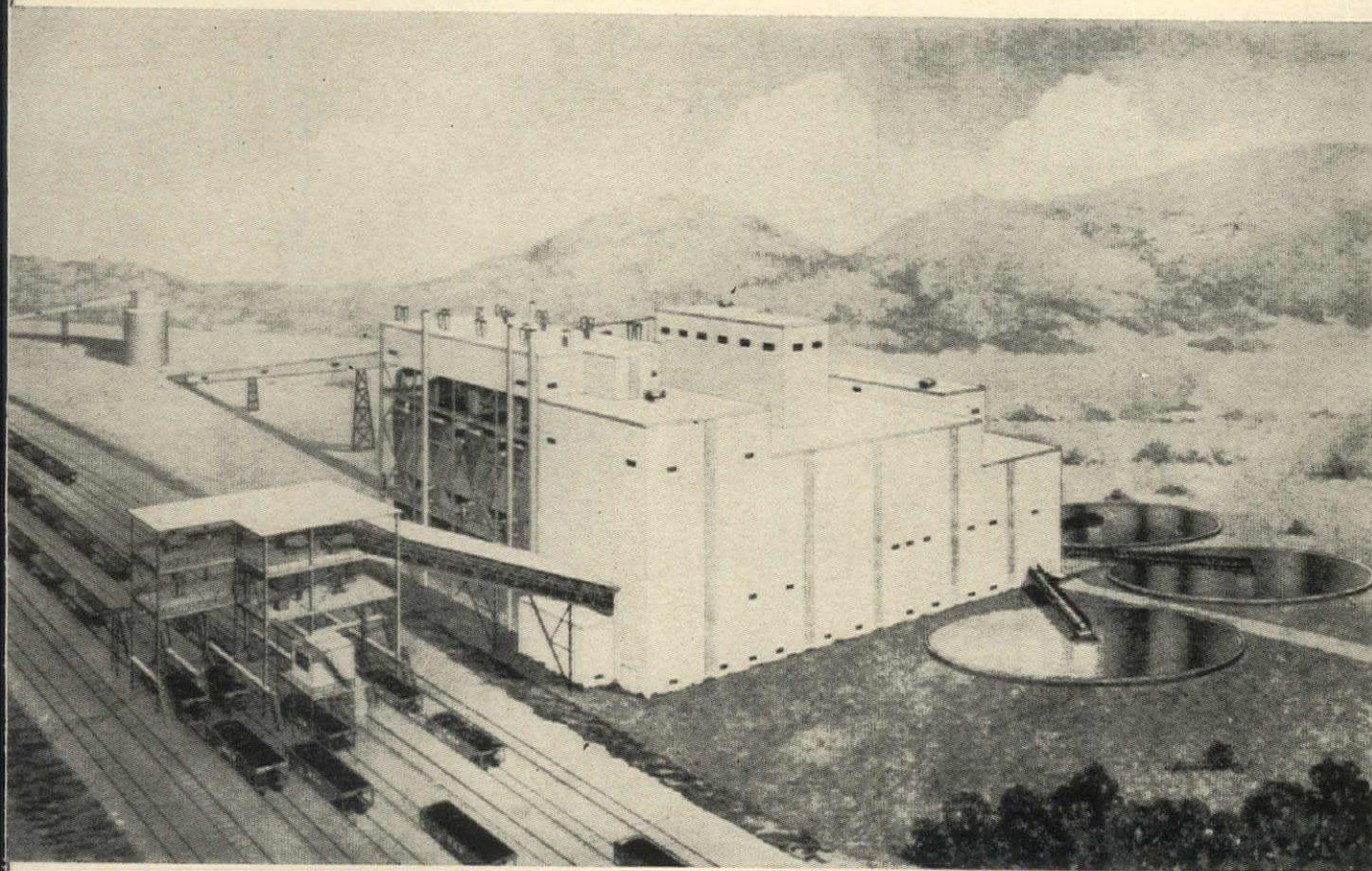
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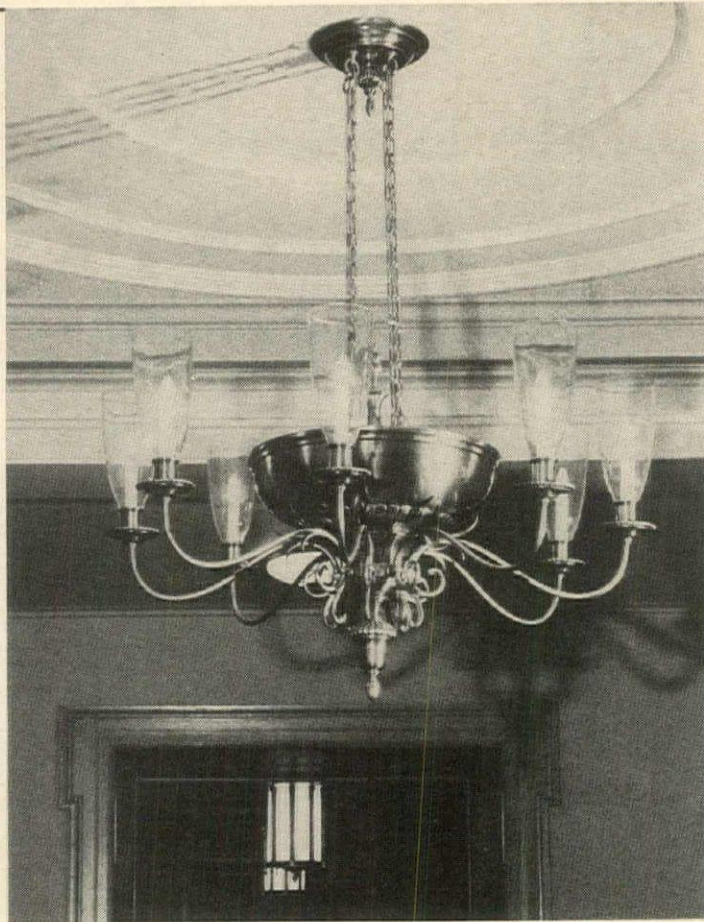
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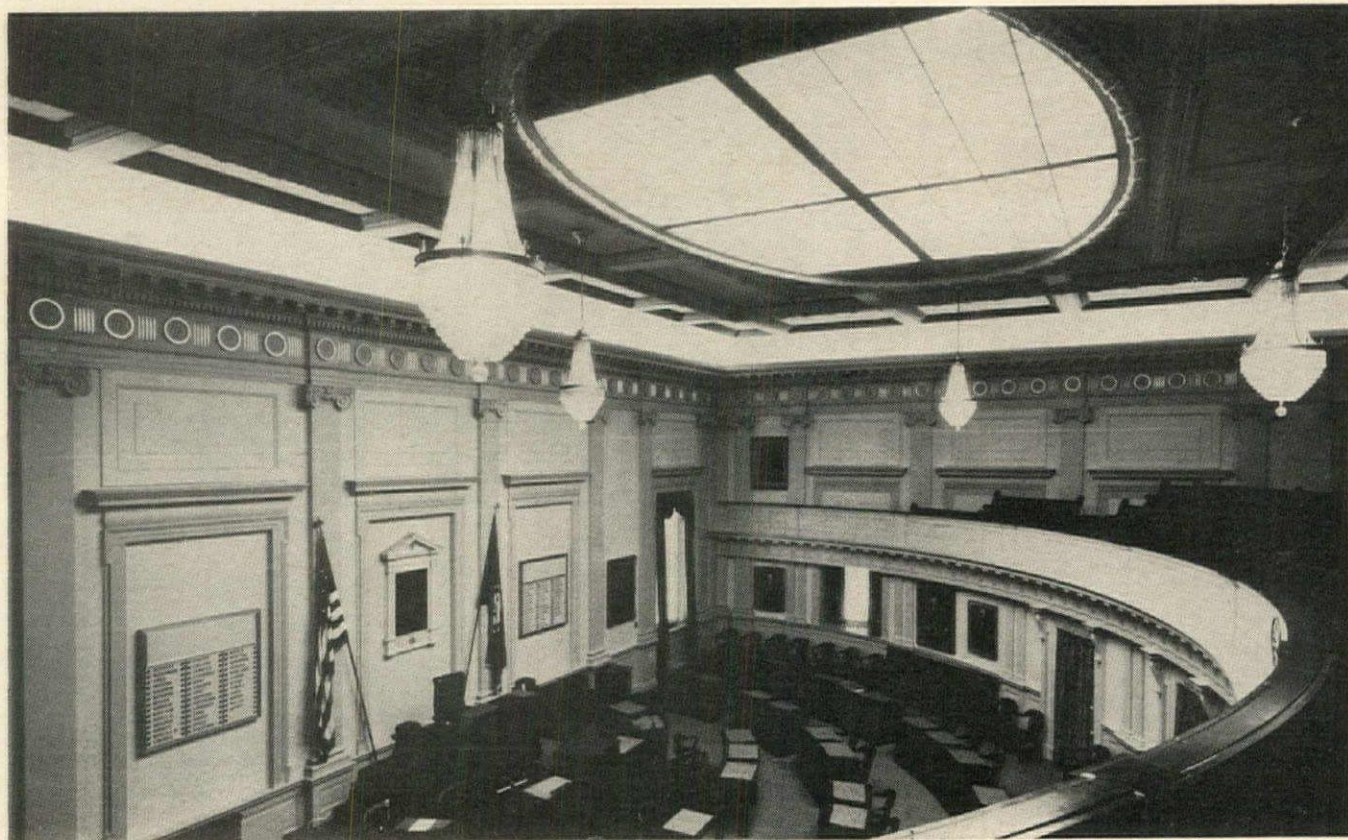
All ornamental fixtures in the renovated portion of the Capitol were designed by the Charles Wagner Manufacturing Company of New York in cooperation with the architects. The fixture shown at the top of the photo hangs over the Seal of Virginia in the first floor lobby and the lanterns, appearing below in photo, hang in the North Lobby.

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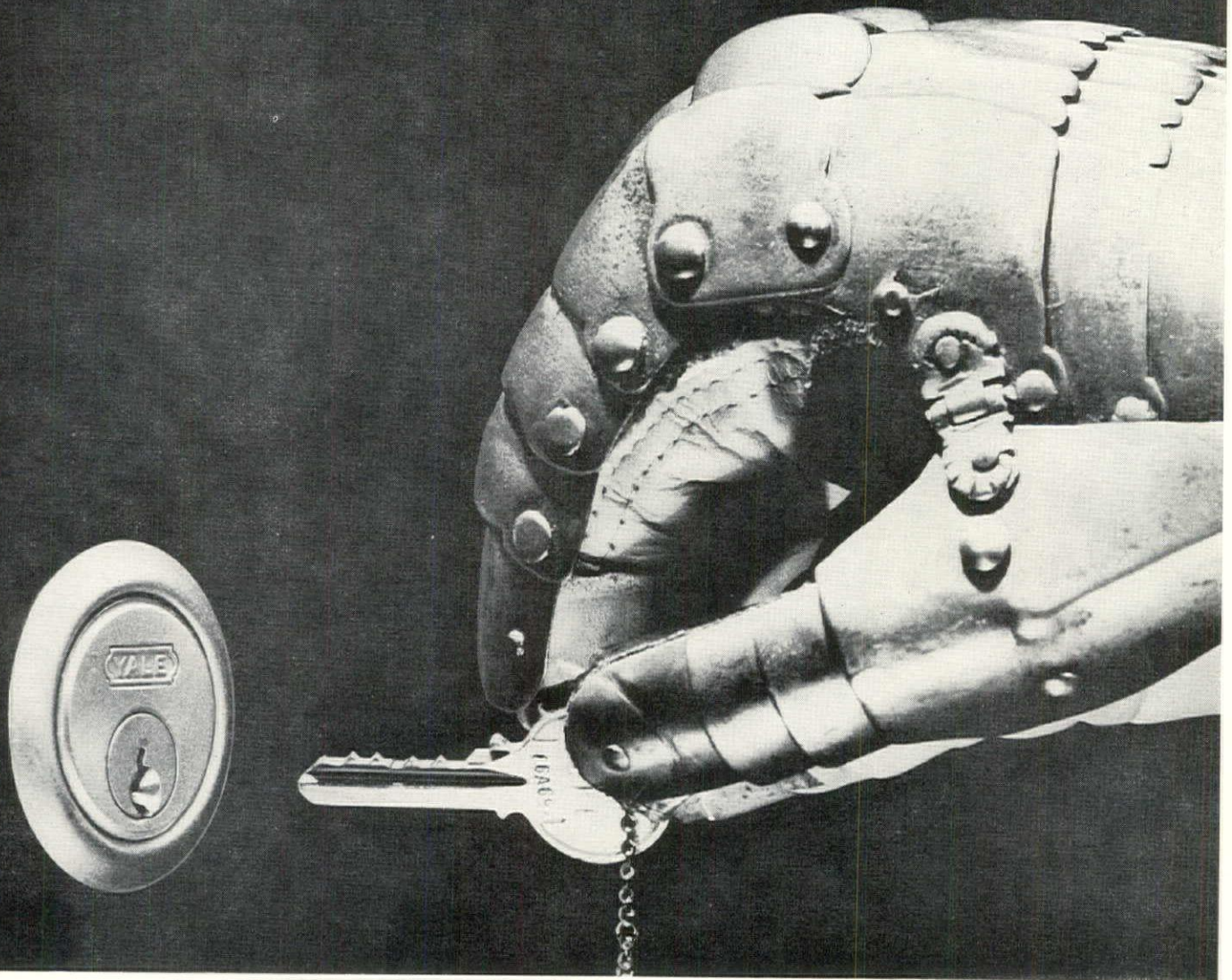
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