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from 1865
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The Story Of A Century

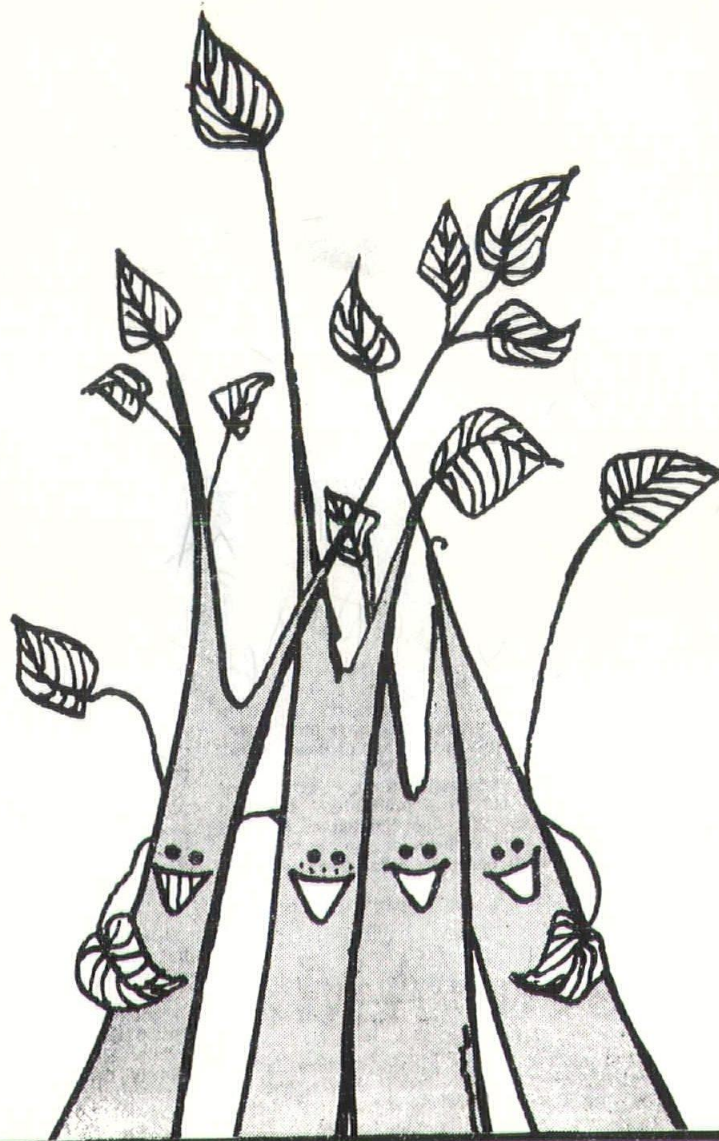
by
Clifford Dowd ,

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JANUARY 1965

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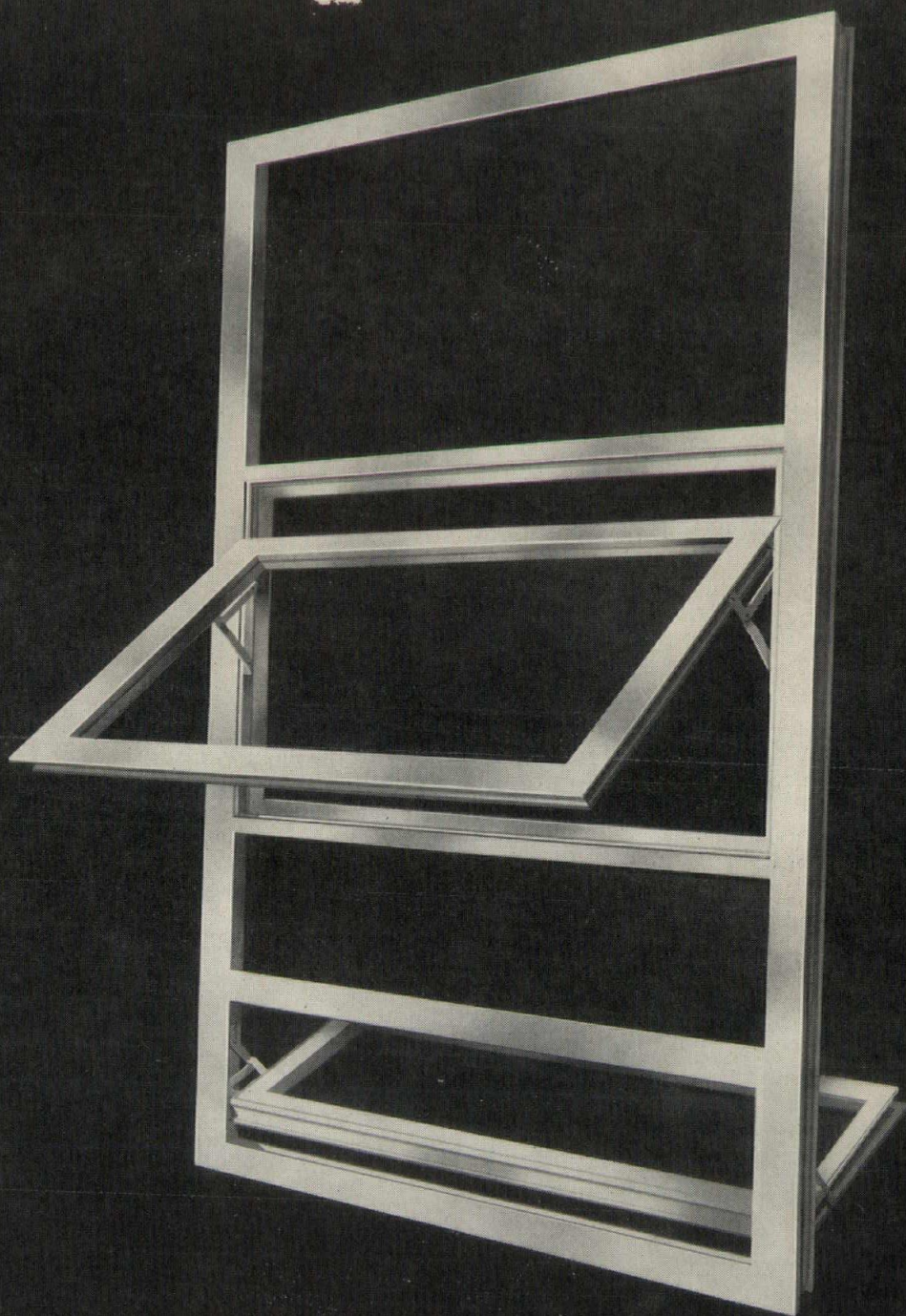
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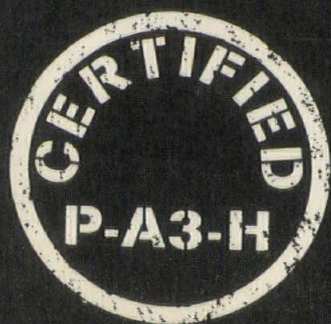
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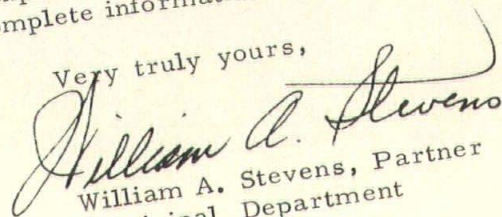
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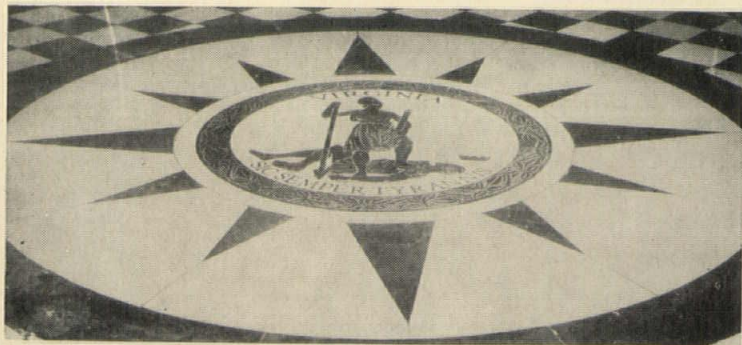
VIRGINIA 1865—1965

The Story Of A Century

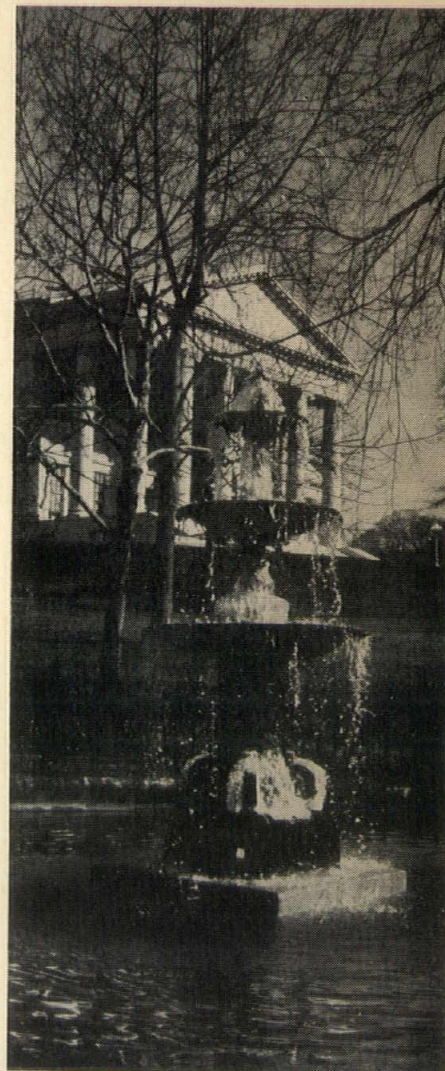
by

Clifford Dowdey

BEGINNING ON PAGE 7



Quotation
from a
recent address
by Governor
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"... and as we are preparing her to be."



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Hundreds of cities, regions and states carry on a competitive battle to attract new industry. Consequently, the Virginia decision maker promoting industrial development must continually increase and update his store of facts in depth on the State's many business advantages. This decision maker may chart particular benefits for an individual industry's relocation one day. The next day, he may be on his way to Europe for a discussion with Paris bankers on the wisdom of investing in new Virginia plants. A wide range of beneath-the-surface facts helps the industrial development expert to bring more new businesses in every year to enjoy the healthy industrial climate of Virginia.

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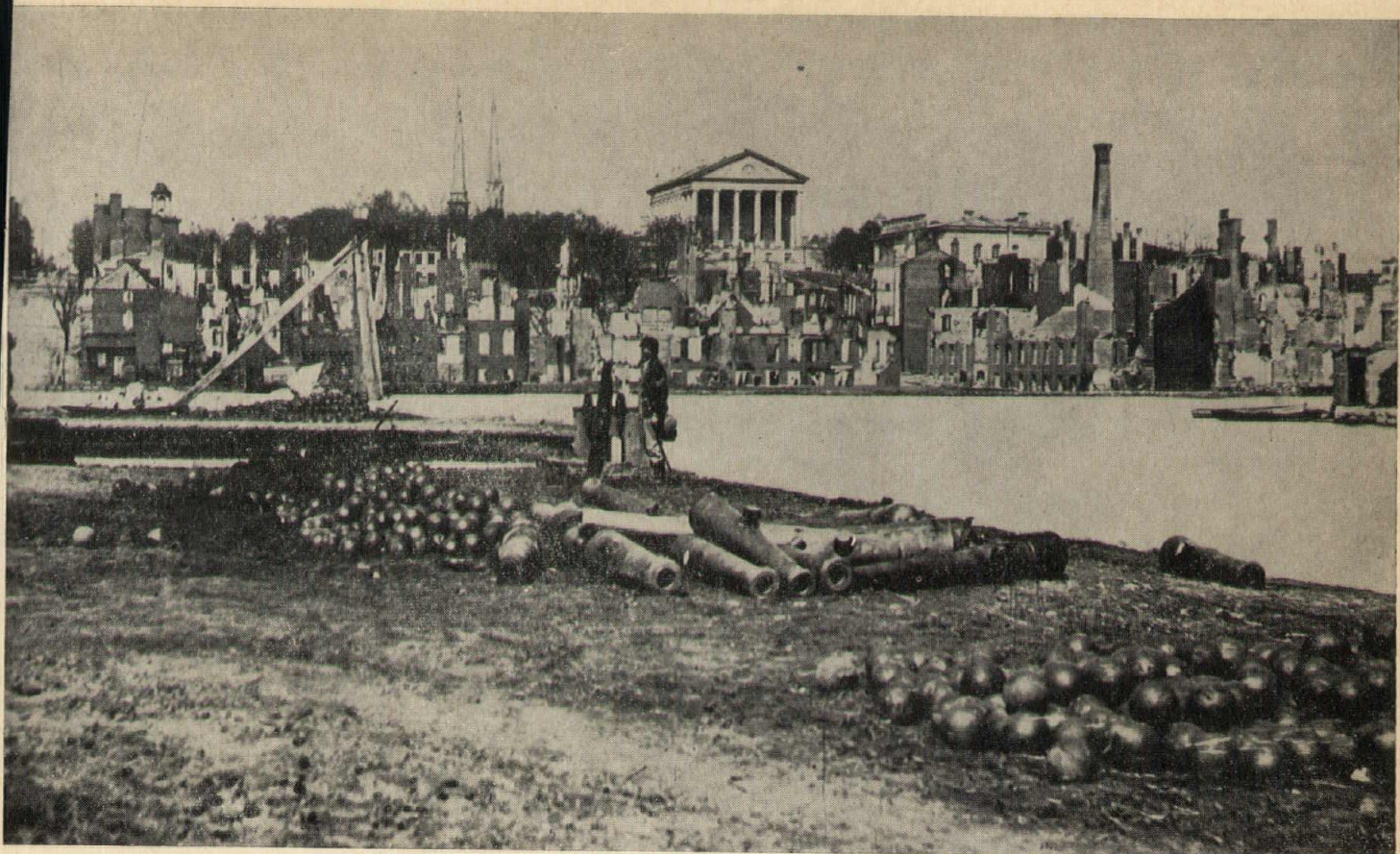
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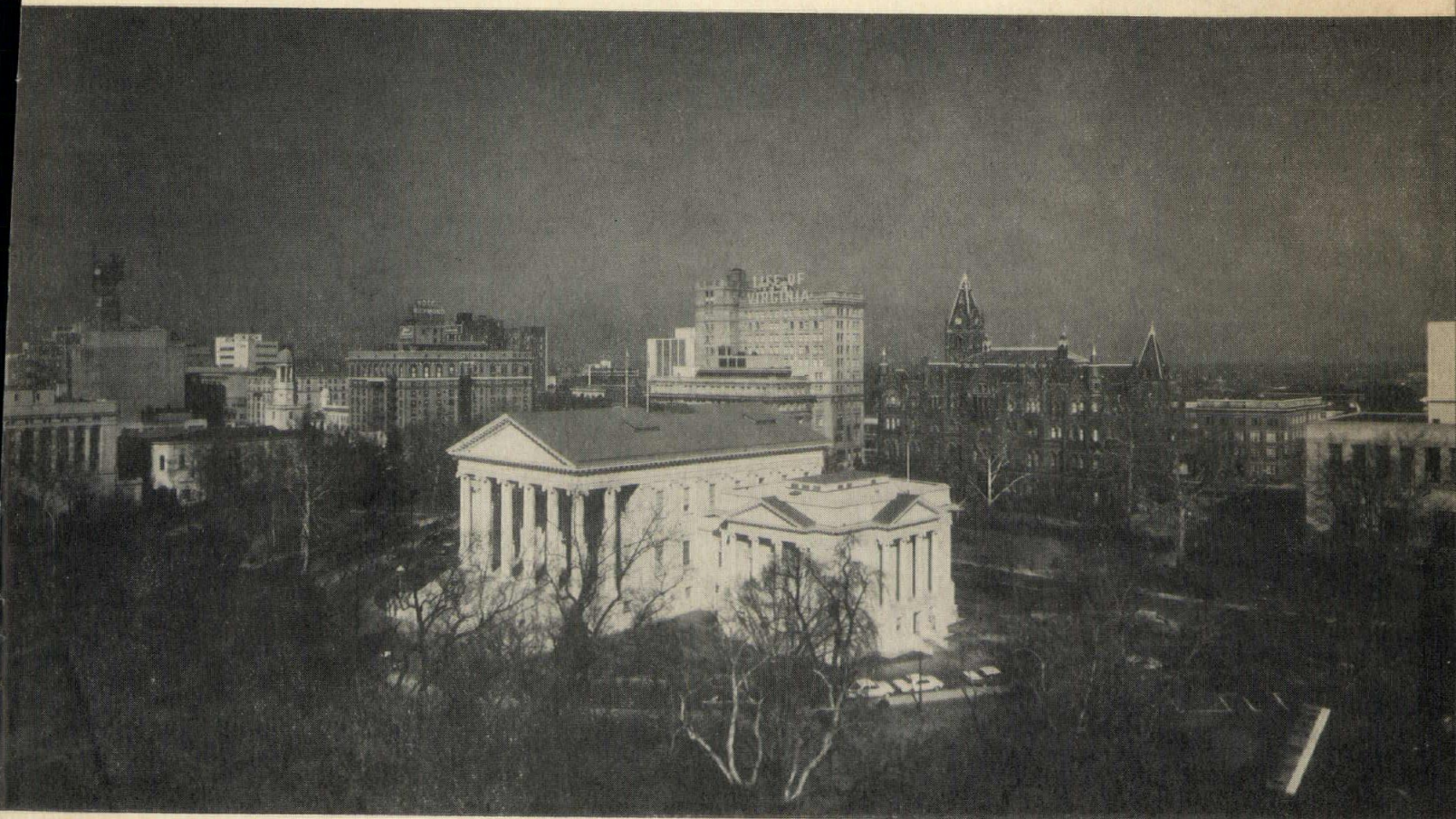
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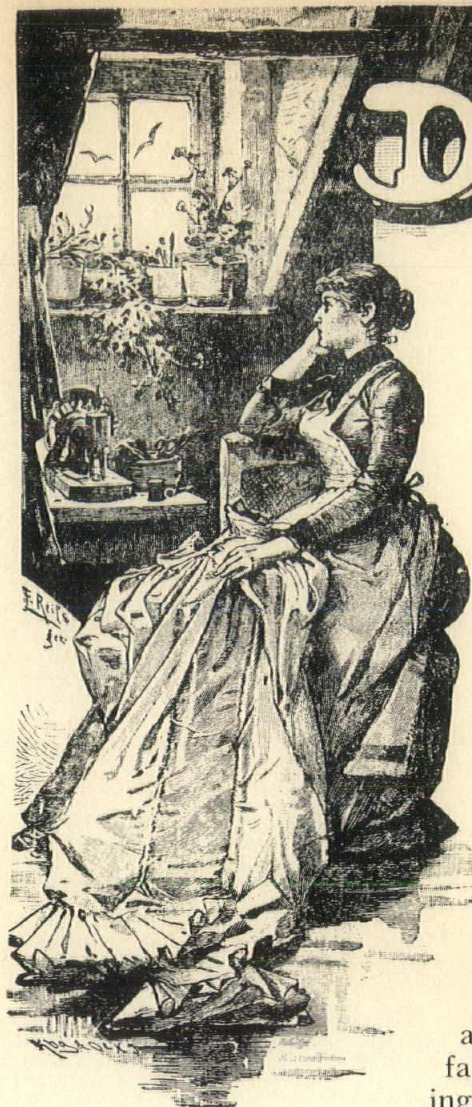


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1865 — VIRGINIA — 1965





DURING the summer of 1864, when the battles around Richmond rattled window panes in the city and citizens went to bed and awakened in the morning to the boom of cannons, Mrs. Judith McGuire made an entry in her journal. It was a very hot summer and the houses were crowded with ill people, while the wagons of the wounded were carting past their cargoes of moaning and screaming men.

Mrs. McGuire calmly wrote she had been unable to keep abreast of the larger affairs while so busy nursing, and then added, "It is a wonder that we keep our senses at all with the cannons booming in our ears." That was the story of Virginia for the next 60 years—"to keep her senses."

Virginia's story, in the century since the Civil War, falls into three major phases. The first began with Mrs. McGuire's, the 60 years from 1865 to 1925. Though periods within this phase varied considerably, and outwardly the 1865-1870 era would appear to have little in common with the 1920-1925 era, in its attitudes the state experienced no significant change.

In that total span, Virginia was essentially characterized by the effects of suffering the ruin of unrestricted warfare and the rule of a Military Occupation government which destroyed its institutions, restructured its internal government and left the state in destitution and political upheaval. Perhaps it will be yet another century before all effects from this era of blight pass, an era during which Virginia was separated from the nation in whose founding she had been a great leader. And these effects were a determining factor of major importance in the state's course until 1925.

The second phase was a transition, less clearly defined in time and character. Definitely it began in 1926, with the inauguration of the new governor, Harry F. Byrd, and extended into the early years of World War II. This phase was a transition between the six decades characterized by the effects of catastrophe and Virginia's emergence into the modern era.

Just to make a round figure, the last quarter century would represent a third phase. As in the first, periods within the last 25 years vary widely, but unmistakably the total phase marks Virginia's emergence from attitudes determined by the first phase. This is not to imply that *some* attitudes do not extend from that first phase. (and even before) into the present. It is only to say that these attitudes are no longer the determining factors in Virginia's economy, her re-

lationship with the nation and her outlook on the future.

It would be a tragic thing for Virginia if all the historically determined attitudes were lost, for it is these very attitudes which have perpetuated the Virginia character—or "identity." Basically Virginia's story of the past century has been a struggle to maintain her identity. In this struggle, the state—her government and people—has been successful; but, as with any achievement, it has not been made without sacrifice. As an individual will instinctively struggle to maintain his own identity even at the cost of healthy adaptiveness to his environment, so Virginia maintained her identity at the cost of a sixty-year period in which she sacrificed adaptiveness to a larger national environment.

In keeping their senses, their identity, the people were called upon largely to *endure*. "The people" here applies to the large majority of dislocated individuals who, as they had formed the bulk of Lee's army, formed the backbone of the endurance required. The postwar phases of Virginia have usually been written about from the viewpoint of a privileged few, whose tendency has been to romanticize the "ole plantation" and the "characters" disporting themselves among the wrecked lives of the less fortunate. That is not the way that most of us remember Virginia in the lean days when a courageous people clung with quiet persistence to a native character.

When I received my first impressions of Virginia in the years preceding the World War I, it was in the midst of the first phase. Because the people from whom I received these impressions were not supported by any romantic trappings, looking back I most of all admire their quiet courage because it came from something inside them. It came from *being* a Virginian. Wherever I have lived since then, and amongst whatever people, of those now gone I remember most their gentleness, their unfailing good manners, their unshakable principles and, it cannot be repeated too often, the unassertive indestructibility of their courage.

"The war" was still close then. Men and women of my family had lived through the war, and talked about it and about the black times of Reconstruction. Curiously, however, there was not the "harking back" currently associated with active memories of the time of the turmoil. Those who, like my parents, had been born years after the war—but of parents who had lived through it—had nothing to hark back to in the sense of nostalgia for a lost paradise. They held a deep, deathless love for those who had borne the struggle, and their sense of identity was sustained by their identification with the heroism of the generation that produced them.

The communication would be difficult to define to those



RICHMOND, 1865
(Courtesy, Valentine Museum)

who did not experience a firsthand association with those born of the war and postwar generations, but the quality they communicated was their oneness as a people. "One of our people" contained an emotional impact, an overtone, not suggested by the more formal "homogeneous." Homogeneity might be, in sociological terms, what they had, but what they communicated was the emotion of belonging together in one place, formed of one history and the attitude to it.

Much has been written in praise of this attitude, but it cannot be stressed too much, because the total attitude of the sustained identity is responsible for Virginia's ability to enter adaptively into a new age with her character intact.

Yet, as mentioned, since all accomplishments come at some cost, the highest cost to Virginia in maintaining her character continuity came in her static reaction to changing times in the 60-year phase.

In the first period of this phase, from 1865 to the turn of the century, this gradualism was probably inevitable. In the second period of this phase, the first quarter of this century, it was probably not inevitable. What happened was that aspects of the defensive attitude became fixed, as if *all* changelessness contained an inherent value.

Thus it was that in the pre-World War I years of this century, the Virginia I first viewed showed no *significant* changes from the period after the debris of war was cleared away by the time of the 1870's. Cities had been rebuilt and modestly expanded on existing lines, towns

continued much the same—some growing at no great rate, others declining—and the crossroads' settlements (a store, a blacksmith shop, a house or so) were still common. Most of all, the face of the state was agricultural — "country," as we called it then — and this face was unchanged since the last Federal troops of Occupation had left in 1870.

It seemed that every one I knew in Richmond had kinspeople on farms. A regular, indeed ritualistic, part of childhood was summer visits to the country. In those days we went by train, whose coaches could have been little different from those on the old Virginia Central (now the Richmond to Gordonsville stretch of the C. & O.) which Lee spent such anxious years protecting during the war. We would alight at a wooden "station" at some small stop, where nearby growing honeysuckle sweetened the warm air, and a serviceable surrey (with no fringe on the top) waited in the road. From the surrey emerged our greeters, the bright-cheeked children smiling shyly, and the older people with their weather-beaten faces giving welcoming smiles of a kindly gentleness that now seems almost gone from the world.

In the surrey, drawn by one nondescript horse, we proceeded over the same rutted roads, dusty or muddy by chance, over which uprooted farmer and planter families had migrated to the cities in the years and decades following the war. At the farm, the fields baking

under the sun were totally unchanged from the end of the war. They looked like the pictures that, though drawn of a bygone time, could have been made the day before. With no machinery, it was still "the man with the plough," trudging behind horse or mule. Scrub pines, draped with vines, grew from the rank underbrush that layered formerly tilled fields. A milk cow foraged for grass near the house, chickens pecked around the dirt farmyard and nearby hogs could be heard grunting.

This was the look and the *feel* of Virginia nearly half-a-century after Appomattox. This rural life was not a separate existence outside the so-called urban centers. The "country" flowed into towns and cities, farmers personally bringing their wares and intermingling with townspeople. The farmers' green-painted open wagons of produce gathered in the market districts, and the covered two-wheeled carts moved idly along the shady streets with the mellow, liquid voices of Negroes chanting "watermelons" and "sweet cantelopes," interweaving in the fabric of impressions of hot, lazy afternoons in a sense of changeless time. (Even today in Richmond, people say, "We'll wait until the Hanover tomatoes come in.") And the towns, where the farmers and their families gathered on Saturdays, regarded from today's perspective, seemed like stage sets of period dramas of some era lost in a distant and tranquil past.

The farmers brought more than their wares and their presence. In the early 20th century the rural life dominated the psychology of Virginia's people, expressed in their politics and in their attitude toward the future. It was the country which created what today would be called a *mystique* in Virginia. More in the vernacular, there was "a thing" about the country. Virginians liked to think of their culture as being rooted in the land.

As late as after World War II when, on returning to Virginia, I wrote a series of newspaper articles pointing out the state was urban, persons in authority indignantly denied this. At that exact date of writing, statistics could prove by decimal points in various indices that the state was still predominantly agricultural. Knowing no statistics, but seeing Virginia again after two decades of absence, it was clear to me that the state had become urbanized. After World War II, the early impressions formed before World War I were merely a memory of another place. Yet moulders of opinion wished to deny this.

It was wholly understandable that they would. The "identity" of the Virginian was established in and maintained by his concept of belonging to a people of the land. This concept was an element in the observation, "Virginia is a state of mind." But this generality was too glib and superficial. It was only in part true and, in the sense

VIRGINIA CAPITOL, 1861-1865

(Courtesy, Valentine Museum)





of a self-image, the same could be said of many places

Texas, as a state of mind, projects an image of prodigal wealth, but its per capita income barely equals Virginia's. At the same time it is true that huge new fortunes in Texas are squandered with an ostentatious display unequalled elsewhere. New York, as a state of mind, projects an image of advanced liberalism in racial relations, but the cesspool of Harlem festers between two great seats of learning from which come pronouncements of pious anguish at Mississippi. Yet, in New York, there does exist an enlightened liberalism which the citizens are as convinced represents their true attitudes just as Virginians were convinced they belonged to the land.

All this is perfectly natural. The need to establish an "identity" is the predominating subject in all contemporary psychological studies. This need for "identity" has been growing in most of the Western World since after World War I, in 1919. In America the sense of dislocation was manifested though not clearly understood in the twenties. In the thirties the basic problem was masked by the symptom of the Great Depression, in a period when "intellectuals" sought new identities in the foreign ideology of Communism. After World War II and the nuclear bomb, after the Russian ideology was exposed and after Western creeds began to weaken, the problem of "identity" was isolated and diagnosed. Now remedies are being hurriedly offered by healers from Existential nihilists to Pentacostals, with the analyst's couch

becoming as commonplace as the corner grocer used to be.

Outside the states that composed the Confederacy, the problem of identity came only recently — actually a mid-twentieth century development in its full flowering — when the consequences of sociological uprooting began to take effect nationally. The ultimate uprooting today can be found in the motion-picture and television industries around the old Hollywood area in Los Angeles County. Among established people the earnings are the highest in the world, dwarfing the incomes of great industrial executives and making the incomes of the highest paid professors seem like pocket money for a weekend at Palm Springs or Vegas. But along with a heated pool and a stereo outlet in every room, every person is equipped with a psychoanalyst to help him in his search for identity. In Virginia and other Southern states this uprooting came after the Civil War. It is, or for a long time was, the only social factor in which the South was *avant garde*.

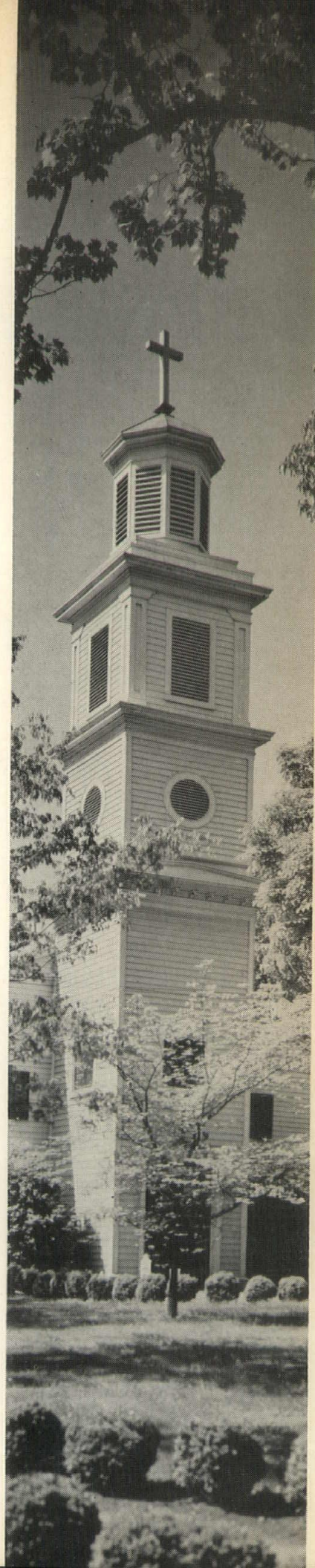
Virginia first grappled with the problem of dislocation—a people in search of identity—one century ago.

as a *fact*, shrouded though it might be in myths and sentiment, at the time of the Civil War Virginia *had* existed for nearly two-and-one-half centuries as a culture rooted in the land. When Reconstruction ended in Virginia, the state had existed as an agricultural community for just about one century longer than the whole nation *has* existed from its founding until today. There is

nothing of “a state of mind” about these realities. When the social-economic upheaval came in the 1861-1870 decade, the uprootedness was of a suddenness and a totality which is today almost inconceivable.

It was not only abject destitution, faced in the debris of what had been private and public buildings, on a landscape littered with the blackened walls of what had been mills, warehouses, railroad depots and barns. With this physical catastrophe, under troops of Occupation, the peoples’ familiar institutions were swept away while their internal government (as well as their relationship to what had been the Union) was restructured by alien adventurers. Judges, mayors, treasurers, tax-collectors, along with the governor and members of the General Assembly were mostly out-of-state imports appointed or “elected” by bayonet-supported despots. This represented a nature of uprootedness that did not come about gradually, with advance warnings, and the inventor of the “couch,” Dr. Freud, was then only a little child in faraway Austria. No one at all appeared concerned over the problems of identity being created in Virginia and the other Southern states.

The only awareness of the identity of Southerners shown by idealistic abolitionists, enlightened ministers of God and such educators as President Hill of Harvard, was their loftily given advice to Southerners to permit themselves to be embraced by the Northern culture which military might had demonstrated to be “the superior society.” President Hill





GOVERNOR ALBERTIS SYDNEY HARRISON, JR.

felt the North's duty would not be complete until Northern enlightenment "illuminated the darkness" in Virginia and her sister states. James Russell Lowell, the inventor of the *Barbara Frietzche* myth, stated simply that the Southern states "should be Americanized."

While farmers returned to desolated sites, missionary schoolteachers came in to establish free schools for Negroes. At this time Virginia had no *public* school system for white or colored and, in alienating the races who must be forced to co-exist in a single society, the missionaries treated the benighted whites with pitiless, condescending superiority. Their general attitude was summarized by Miss Cornelia Hancock, who journeyed on to South Carolina. She protested in outrage that confiscated lands were returned to their rightful owners and not

distributed among the "struggling humanity" of the freed slaves. By this definition, Southern whites were not a part of humanity and, hence, their own struggles for survival were of no consequence.

This is not a simple matter of, as the saying goes, picking at old scars. These are details by which a regional population was dispossessed of its natural perpetuity and its people, quite literally, uprooted. Everything they had lived by was not only taken away but—suddenly — *wrong*; everything they abhorred became suddenly *right* and was to be forced down their throats. Politically, it should be emphasized, *Virginians had no identity at all*. With the Confederacy destroyed and the state kept out of the Union formed by non-Southern states, Virginians existed as non-citizens in a Military District.

***"Politically . . .
Virginians had
no identity at all"***

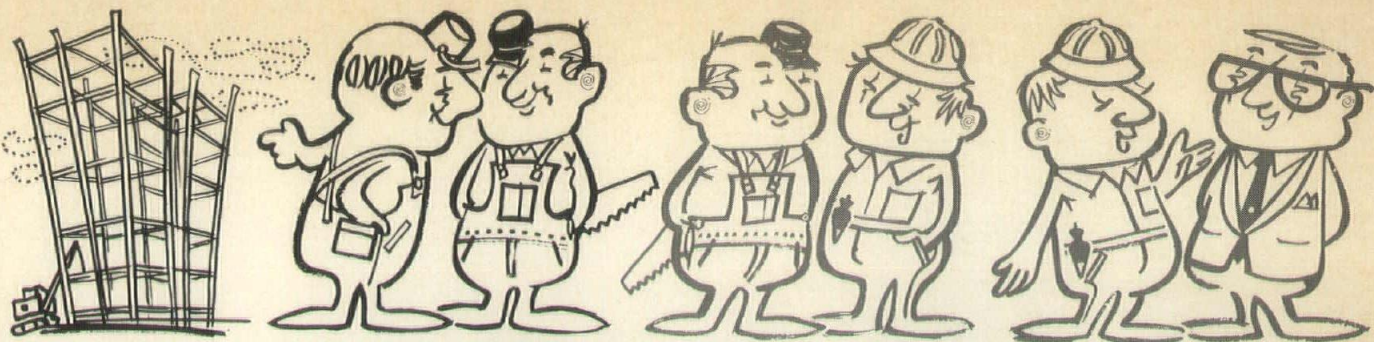
Familiarity with Freud is not necessary for any one with an objective appraisal to recognize that this type of complete dislocation, this cataclysmic loss of identity, is going to exert a traumatic effect on the individuals who compose the society.

Erik H. Erikson, in his new and profound book, *Insight and Responsibility*, states that ". . . all catastrophes and collective crises produce new traumatic world images, and seem to demand the sudden assumption of often transitory identities." Under normal circumstances, when adolescents are emerging into adulthood,

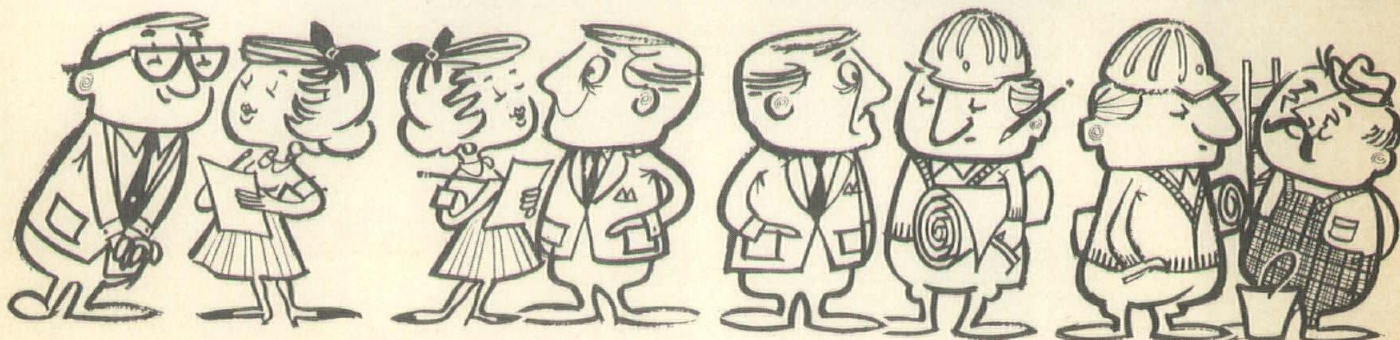
Dr. Erikson writes, "societies *confirm* an individual at this time in ideological frameworks and assign roles and tasks to him in which he can *recognize* himself and feel *recognized*. Ritual confirmations, initiations and indoctrinations only enhance an indispensable process by which healthy societies bestow traditional strength on the new generation and thereby bind to themselves the strength of youth. Societies thus verify the new individual and are themselves historically verified. . . ." However, "where historical and technical developments severely encroach upon deeply rooted or strongly emerging identities (i.e., agrarian, feudal, patrician) on a large scale, youth feels endangered, individually and collectively. . . ." In this estrangement, the rising generations become "ready to support doctrines offering a total immersion in a synthetic identity (extreme nationalism [in the South, regionalism], racism, or class consciousness). . . ."

This is not to suggest that Virginia assumed "a synthetic identity." However, in struggling to maintain her own identity in the trauma and turmoil of the upheaval, the state did strive to cling more passionately to the only "known" she had. In this clinging, what she had been was naturally idealized. And, as in any idealization, some distortions entered.

Before 1861 Virginia, while predominantly agricultural, was not *only* agriculture: her society was not *entirely* rooted in the land. The state capital was, comparatively, a progressive city, with diversified manufacturing and some heavy industry. The conversion of the Tredegar Iron Works, State Armory and a variety of nearby mills into a complex for the production of the materiel



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The Tredegar Iron Works, armament producing center of the Confederacy, rolled the plates for the VIRGINIA (MERRIMACK) (Courtesy, Valentine Museum) Inset: GENERAL JOSEPH R. ANDERSON (Cook Collection, Valentine Museum).

of war (making Richmond "the Ruhr of the Confederacy") was a miracle of technological ingenuity and resourcefulness never surpassed by any American city, even those most proud of their industrialization. The supposedly backward South produced the first ironclad vessel used in combat (with plates rolled at the Tredegar), the first submarine used in combat and countless firsts in such fields as underwater torpedoes and landmines. General Lee and his engineers introduced the most advanced field fortifications known in warfare.

Norfolk was a port-city; Alexandria, though not a large city, was definitely a city and a prosperous one, as were Fredericksburg, Petersburg and Suffolk, among others, and cities were known favorably for the charm of their urban life. The towns in the Valley were thriving centers of trade; salt-works operated in southwestern Virginia; and various mining operations had been engaged in since long before the Revolution. While based on agriculture, the state was developing a highly diversified economy and her citizenry included financiers of ability and vision. The state was crisscrossed with railroads, whose stock represented the soundest investments. Richmond's solid growth in the decades preceding the war was made by merchants, manufacturers and bankers who were by no means fugitives from the Old Plantation. Many came from Scotland; Gallego, of the great flour mill, came from

Spain, and General Anderson, of Boteourt County and a West Point graduate, used his engineering background when he resigned from the army to become superintendent of the Tredegar, which he subsequently acquired.

Even in the predominant field of agriculture, Virginia was not advanced in the nation according to indices of production. Though slavery was passing in the state, the use of chattel labor had caused the farmers and planters to lag behind the Midwestern farmers using machinery—especially the McCormick Reaper, invented by a Virginian in a shed outside Lexington. Also, the sentimental picture of "life in thrall" on the old plantation was idyllic for only a few. Virginia had been losing the energies of rising generations for half-a-century to Kentucky, southern Indiana, Ohio and Illinois, and Texas. Not only were Sam Houston and Stephen Austin nativeborn Virginians, but also half of the first Texas legislature and the publisher of that state capital's leading newspaper. In other words, Virginia, as an agricultural state, had dropped from first in the nation to fifth in population, her economy was unimpressive, her power in Washington was only a memory, and sons of planter families as eminent as the Lees were dependent for education on the free institutions at West Point and Annapolis.

Yet, up to the time of the Civil War, an afterglow of the "golden age" still colored the minds of Virginians. In its

cultural - sociological aspects, during which the plantation idyll was perfected, the "golden age" lasted from the early 18th Century to the Revolution. In its political aspects, the "golden age" would cover roughly the half-century from the Revolution to the end of the "Virginia Dynasty" in 1824, when Monroe left the White House. Socially and politically, the "golden age" covered about one full century, which is a long time even today—three generations. It was an incalculably longer time in a period without rapid changes in communication and travel. Thus, pre-war Virginia, while showing signs of lagging in national comparisons, still held great prestige.

The prestige was not as great to the new state west of the Alleghenies as it was to Virginians, but Virginians, turning provincial with their tightening allegiance to the Southern States, regarded these vigorous, assertive Westerners somewhat as "Colonials" and did not take them seriously. In the East—especially Virginia's old ally, Massachusetts—new powers of financial-industrial combines were rising, whose cold ambitions viewed Virginia's lingering prestige as only an impediment to their drive for national dominance. This rivalry seemed to feed Virginia's self-esteem rather than to warn the state of her waning strength, and ultimately the effect of the afterglow of the "golden age" was to provide a false

sense of Virginia's position in the expanding, changing nation.

Also, while the "Golden Age" did represent an historic era of which any state might be proud, it was never quite as "golden" as Virginians viewed it from a distance. The inequities were great, inter-family, inter-caste and inter-party political feuds were bitter, princelings of families who had won privileges often became soft wastrels, and the heaviest drain in migration from the state came from the self-reliant "yeomanry," the small independent landowners on whom Jefferson founded his dream of democracy. That is, some element of idealization of another time, some "harking back" to a greater epoch, was already present in Virginia's self-image when war and Reconstruction brought the dislocation that threatened the peoples' sense of identity. Without this background, the nature of Virginia's single-purposed struggle in the century following the Civil War can not be seen in the context of an almost cause-and-effect inevitability.

"Appomattox" came into general usage as synonymous with the end of the war. Officially the war never ended. Appomattox was merely the surrender scene of one army of an existing nation, which maintained other armies in the field and supply depots in operation. Because this one army was the only Confederate army with a history of success, and because General Lee as its leader had come to symbolize Confederate resistance, its surrender represented the end of effective resistance to Northerners as well as Southerners. However, as Jefferson Davis refused to admit that the surrender of Lee's army signified the end of Confederate resistance, he continued a government in flight while the generals commanding the other armies—against his orders—surrendered separately as field forces, with never a formal declaration of the cessation of the Confederacy.

During the period of the separate surrenders and while the remnants of the Confederate government dissolved, before Davis was captured as a fugitive (May 11, 1865), Lincoln was murdered a week after Appomattox and the situation in Washington became as chaotic as the situation in the Southern states.

Lincoln's successor, Andrew Johnson, was one of history's unfortunates. Born on the wrong side of the tracks in the South, he hated the planter-class and, while Military Governor of his

own state of Tennessee, issued the harshest proclamations for "punishment" of the "traitors." In his brief term as Lincoln's vice-president, he reaffirmed his vengeful attitude. Thus, when Johnson assumed office, all Southerners feared the worst. Even more significant, the Radical Republicans, who had opposed Lincoln's reconciliatory policy and regarded his death as a Godsend to their vindictive purposes, hailed Johnson as one of them. Once in office and sobered by the responsibilities, Johnson reversed his position. But, when he sought to put into effect Lincoln's generalized policy of restoration of the Union—for which no overall or detailed plan had been worked out—he found himself in the weakest position ever inherited by a United States president.

A Democrat in a rampant Republican Party, a Southerner in an anti-Southern party, he inherited none of Lincoln's control of the party machinery and none of the war president's

prestige. In his own nature, Johnson lacked Lincoln's ability to get along with people, political adroitness and gift for the phrase of poetic ambiguity, which could mean everything to everybody. Personally noncommittal and indecisive, he was no match for the powerfully organized Radicals who, regarding him as a "Judas Iscariot," were able to wreck his slow, blundering, if honest, efforts to restore the union.

At the same time, it was not in Johnson's character to offer any assurances to the defeated and bewildered ex-Confederates, to make any appeal that reached their hearts. Until it was too late—when the Radicals were firmly entrenched in national power—the Southerners suspected his motives when he thrust on them "oaths of allegiance" to sign and exempted various categories (aggregating about 150,000 Southerners) from amnesty unless they personally applied for a pardon. Johnson's least explicable and most harmful act was to refuse to acknowledge Lee's

"Also in the '80s apples began to be grown for export to the North and even to Europe. With Winchester the center, at the end of the century the Virginia apple crop brought, in round figures, \$1,500,000. . . . This was merely a beginning. . . ."



application for pardon which, on the urging of Grant and General Meade, Lee had written as an example for the Southern people "to bury dissensions" and accept in good faith "the arbitrament of arms."

This amorphous period in Virginia lasted from April 10, 1865, until the Reconstruction Acts of March, 1867, dissolved the state's internal government and reduced Virginia to the status of a conquered territory as Military District #1. During these years before the Radicals accomplished their purpose of imposing formal Reconstruction (for the primary purpose of re-making the franchise requirements in order to produce a Republican vote), Virginians, with the Confederacy vanished and the United States rejecting them, began their postwar existence in something of a nether world.

While a sense of state identification had always been strong in Virginia, as throughout the South, after the war Virginia's people existed politically, socially and culturally *only* as Virginians. Fundamentally the state's future course was determined by this one fact: that only as Virginians did the people have an identity on the North American continent.

Inherent in this reality was, as mentioned, a pre-war tendency to pride based upon status in a somewhat idealized though realistically great past. Beginning in 1865, the struggle to maintain an identity caused the *affirmation* of those prewar qualities which—though distilled and made idyllic—were absolutely necessary to the preservation of self-respect under a conqueror. In another way, the determination to preserve a distillation of the past (however idealized) could be seen as unyielding resistance to the alien identity the conquerors sought to impose.

As in the heritage that *must* be preserved all became good, so in the alien identity which the state rejected, all was regarded as bad. This "traumatic identity" (as Dr. Erikson put it) resulted in two major determinants in the physical rebuilding of the Virginia community. One was a psychological attitude and the other, conditioned by the first, was an economic attitude.

Psychologically, in the "Virginia is a state of mind" aspect, everything before the war became recalled as "a planters' paradise," in which such phenomena as factories and industry, a sturdy middle class and urban centers

all vanished. "Befoh the wah we had plenty of slaves" became a commonplace which totally disregarded the facts that, not only had slavery been passing in Virginia since 1800, but that such leaders as General Lee were emancipationists who regarded slave labor as a blight on the state. That Richmond had been the world's largest flour producer became unmentionable. In fact, it was a mark of ill breeding in some circles even to know where money came from. In the planters' paradise, money had just sort of somehow always been there: certainly nobody had ever done anything so common as to *earn* it.

In this understandable reaction of an unconquerable people, this myth (as every coin has two sides) took such a deep hold that an unfortunate attitude developed toward gainful employment. At the time when the people were gallantly "making do" with whatever job came to hand, and uncomplainingly enduring disrupted standards of living, a tendency developed to approach work with a wry humor, an ironic deprecation, as though temporarily engaged in playing a role. *Broadly speaking, there was no commitment to money-making as an important end in itself.*

The manufacture of tobacco in Richmond "provided work and brought in ready cash—and flavored the old parts of town, in the days before World War I, with a sweetly rank aroma on summer afternoons. . ."



Of course, in the decade following the war there was little money around. Except for a minuscule percentage of fortunates who had American dollars or gold after the war, most people were forced to such grubbing and scrimping to eke out an existence that they showed a certain pragmatic wisdom in minimizing the importance of money. The unfortunate part of this self-protectively "cavalier" attitude of mind was that it became a habit in the majority.

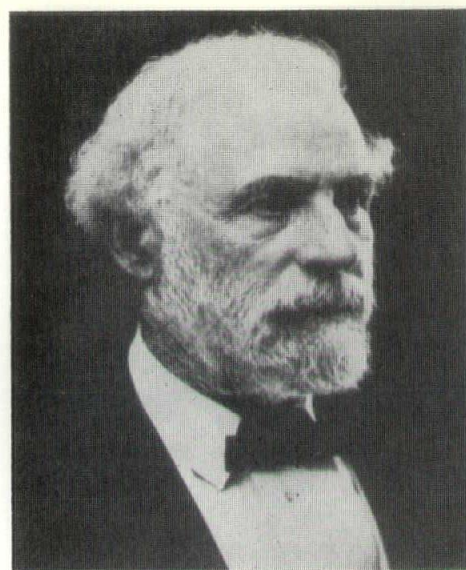
Among a few, beginning as early as 1868 (in the harshest part of Reconstruction rule), there was activity by energetic, financially-minded men who assumed responsibility for the physical rebuilding of the communities and for establishing a new economic structure. Some of these rebuilders saw personal opportunity in the crisis, others were genuinely concerned with providing income and with restoring the state's solvency, and others combined both motives.

There also came some displaced country boys, strong as oxen and injured to hardship, who were driven by ambition and shrewdness literally to fight their own way upward within the actual physical rebuilding. These were individuals, outside the prevailing attitude, and their very success tended to attach some aura of disrespect to "fighting over money."

Among the more representative Virginians who successfully accommodated themselves to the opportunities in the chaos—along with those whose

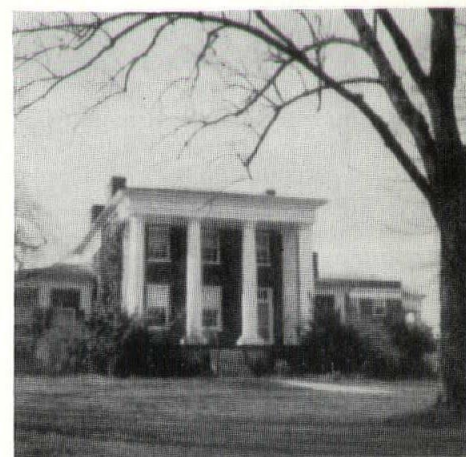
prewar holdings had not become worthless—there was a tendency to segregate themselves from the dispossessed. So little interrelation existed between their tightly formed groups of privilege and the general population that the negative attitude about money was not affected at all.

Among the truly oldline, such as General Lee, there was a *noblesse oblige* which required them to talk "poor mouth" and avoid any ostentation that would seem to make them appear more favored than the unfortunates. The trustees at Washington and Lee were so concerned over the General's family that they appointed his son, Custis, as his successor as president of the college in order that Mrs. Lee and her daughters might have permanent occupation of the president's house. In point of fact, the kindly Confederate hero was a prudent investor, very careful about a dollar. But only a few references in the thousands of extant items of his correspondence indicate this concern, and his values were most definitely not financial. Having grown up in "shabby gentility," he simply feared insecurity for his children. This dread of insecurity for all children gave Lee deep sympathy for the suffering around him and urged in him the promotion of technical courses (very advanced in his day) by which the disinherited rising generation could equip itself for competition in a technological society. Yet, personally Lee wanted to "return to the land." Though he had lived in the country only the first four years of his life,



(Andre Studio, Lexington, Va.)

One of the last portraits of Robert Edward Lee, made in Lexington.



(Philip Van Doren Stern collection)

The "old" president's house.

The Washington & Lee college chapel during Lee's funeral.

(Ellison, Lexington)



"... in Virginia, the 'big money' dream was not a common goal."



Left: A circus parade, shown on West Main Street in Richmond, was a familiar sight in the "old days" (Photograph by Heustis Cook)

Below: A typical city hotel was Ford's Hotel located on Capitol Square in Richmond. (Cook Collection)

his unfulfilled dream was to end his days as a farmer.

This honest pull of Lee to the land represented an actuality in the innumerable families who, outside any myth, made the ceaseless, melancholy migration from farms into towns and cities—and outside the state. Whatever rung they occupied on the status pole, many were self-respecting families of education and gentility, with generations of substantial family-life behind them, and adjustment to urban life came very hard to many. Year after year, from 1865 onward, a segment of farmers gave up the unequal struggle of trying to wrest a living from worn-out lands, without the cash for fertilizer or for hiring labor. Of course, in 1865, some took one look at the devastated fields, the blackened ruins of

house and outbuildings, animals gone and equipment destroyed, and headed for the nearest or the farthest city. From Nelson County, a young boy made it all the way to New York. Thomas Fortune Ryan, winning a position among the financial powers of the nation, was probably the richest Virginian to rise by sheer ambition after the war—unhappily, not in Virginia.

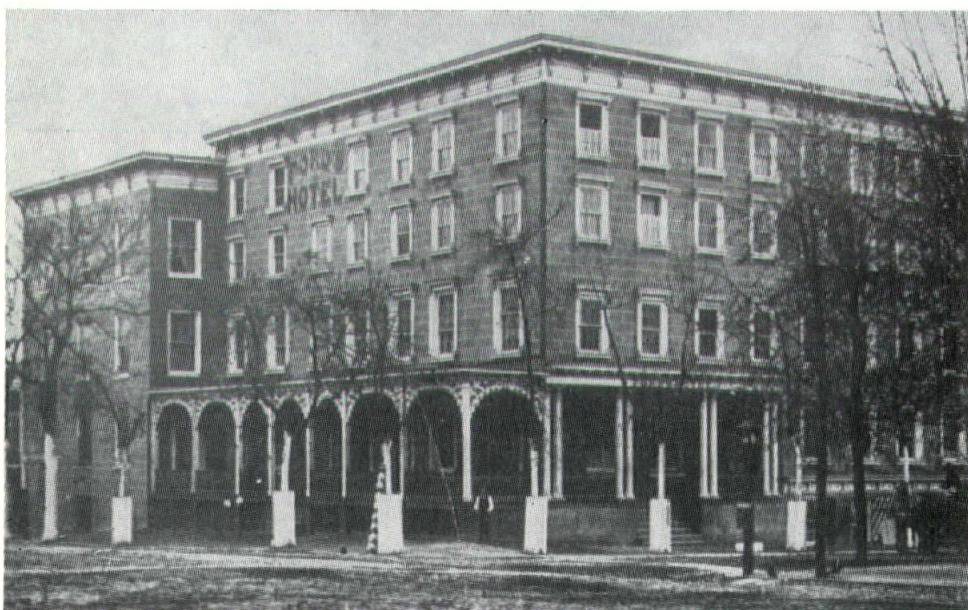
When the Thomas Fortune Ryans left the state they left "the country" behind. Although there are not many youths destined to become millionaires in any state in any era, in Virginia the "big money" dream was not a common goal. Instead, where opportunity for anything approaching wealth was slight and the opportunity for riches almost non-existent, the turning to non-monetary values developed the

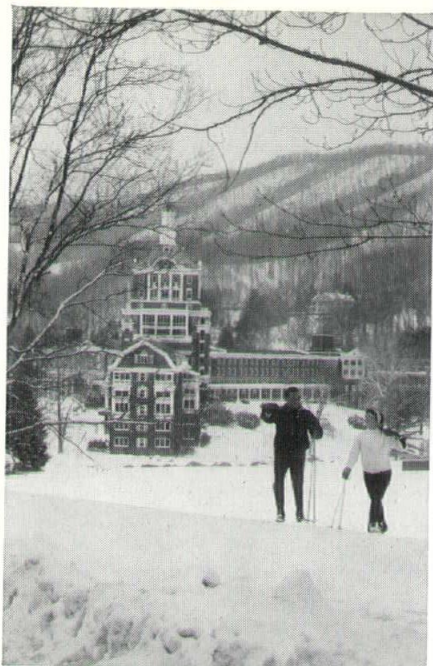
half-legendary ethos about the land. Everybody had not been uprooted from the land and Virginia in fact had supported comparatively few plantations of the myth. Yet, transcending the legendary aspects, the attachment to things of the land was entirely genuine to those who struggled to maintain their families on farms as well as to incalculable proportions of those forced to make do in the city.

In my own family, I remember the husband of a cousin of my mother who typified the essential uprooted farmer. He was a gentle, quiet man who never complained, but he was never content until he had saved enough to buy a small farm near Richmond, and commuted to the city to work. After a day in a store, he returned to his piece of land and tirelessly, with love, worked until dark to grow food from the earth. I remember relatives and friends who could scarcely wait for the "hunting season," as Virginians—in some ruralistic perversion of their British models—call "shooting." Faces and names of kinspeople, neighbors and childhood playmates cannot be recalled, but across half-a-century I vividly remember the look and moves of an Irish setter named "Jeff," who seemed the center of life to one of my older cousins. All this honest pull to things of the land was certainly not part of "the state of mind." Yet neither was this pull to the fields universal.

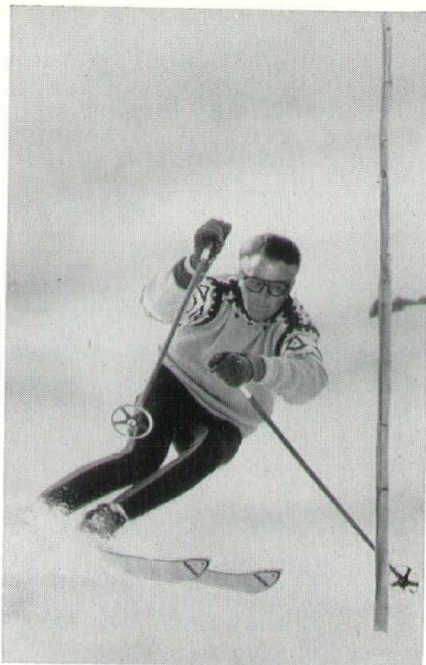
Better even than I remember "Jeff," I remember long-dead ladies of my family—migrants from New Kent and Chesterfield counties—who would not have gone back to the country for anything. In their houses, for the first time in my life I listened to mechanically recorded music on "Victrolas," experienced the wonder of Caruso's voice and the magic of Strauss and Kalman and Lehar, played as background to conversations in which they told me of visits to great cities, like New York and Boston, and talked of men and women who wrote books and painted pictures. The land meant less than nothing to them, who had looked upon the beauty of Lillian Russell and heard Eugene O'Neill's father in *The Count of Monte Cristo*. As I recall, their chief interest in relation to Virginia was in women getting the vote.

My own father, a powerfully built and physically vital man, had spent all the summers of his childhood and early youth on the Blount plantation in Chesterfield, which remained in our family until his grandmother was dead. He knew intimately the things of the earth from earliest impressions, but his indifference to them was total. He





High in the Virginia Alleghanies, a southern sun adds to the pleasure of winter sports.

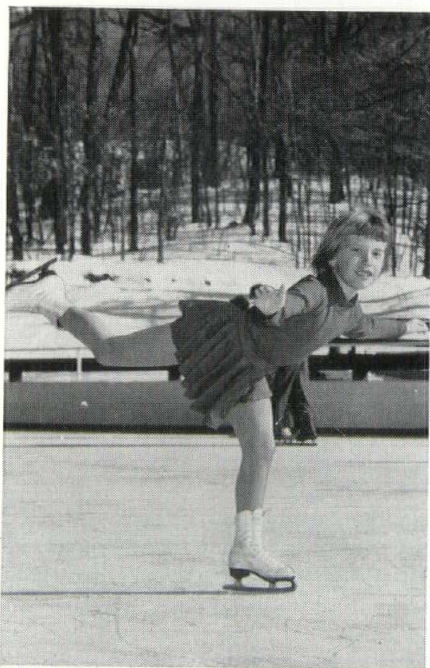


The addition of man-made snow maintains a consistently good skiing surface.



Safe trestle cars carry you almost a mile to the head of the main slope.

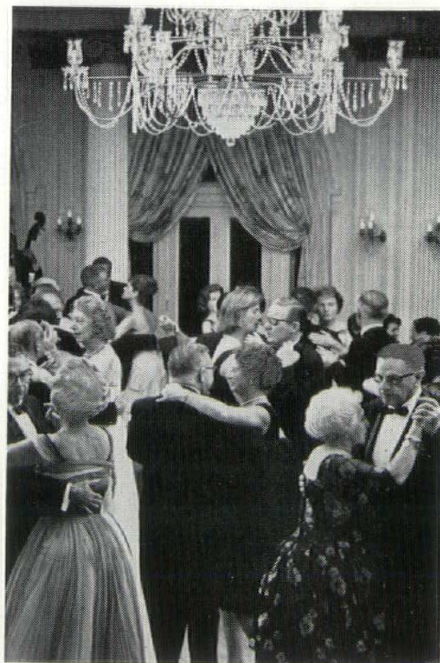
HOLIDAY AT THE HOMESTEAD



The skating rink is a favorite with beginners and experts—like the young lady above.



The winter sports lodge includes ski shop, rentals, restaurant, and Sepp Kober Ski School.



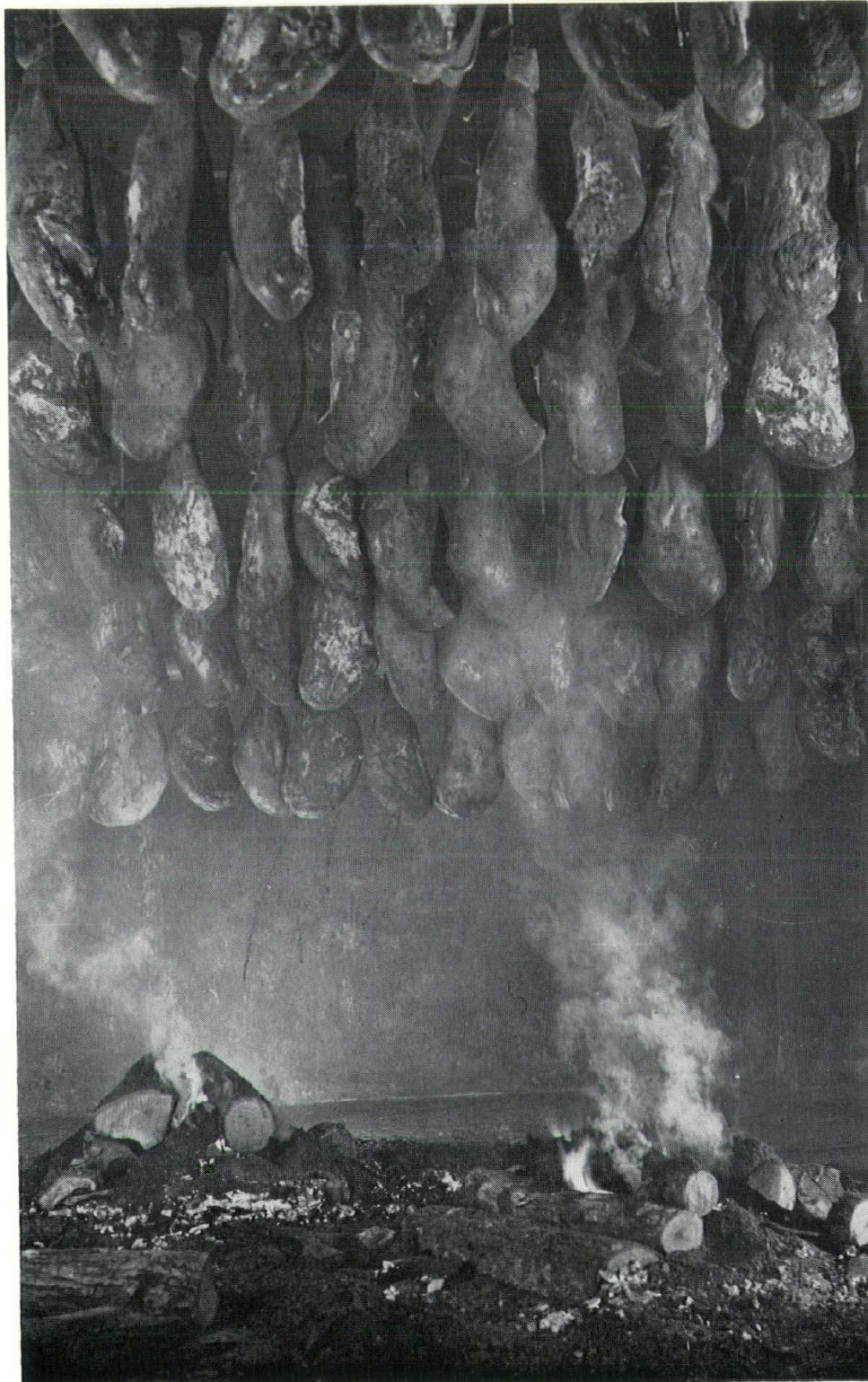
After a day on the slopes, a dip in the pool, a rubdown at the spa, then on to music and dancing.

THE HOMESTEAD

HOT SPRINGS, Virginia

The identity of Virginia was formed partly of what she had been, partly what she thought she had been, partly what she was and partly what she thought she was.

A familiar Virginia sight—the product a gourmet's delight.



never went with my mother and me in the summers to the country. His idea of heaven was a big hotel in New York City, from where he went to dine at Rector's and then to the theater. My first, and very inaccurate, impressions of Shakespeare came from my father's impassioned re-enactments of scenes played by Robert Mantel and Joseph Jefferson. He liked color and movement around him. And yet, the heritage of the land was in him and he felt obligated to expose me to shooting in the woods.

He did not let me know then that guns bored him, though I did know he liked fighting; he began giving me boxing lessons when I was nine and prize-fighters were among his heroes. An indelible memory of my early childhood was his shock when Jack Johnson knocked out Jim Jeffries. Decades later, when I was in Hollywood, Jim Jeffries, gnarled and old and as big as a bear, operated a second-rate fight-club in San Fernando Valley, and I went up and lost my hand in his huge paw, telling him I wanted to write my father that I had shaken hands with Jim Jeffries.

It was when I was nine then, when the first World War was beginning, that my father arranged for me to be introduced to shooting rabbits by Captain Bonner, then in his late sixties, who had been a scout with Jeb Stuart. He had an automatic shotgun, and with its barrel he followed the leaps of a rabbit at intervals in high grass. He fired when the dim streak of rabbit was reaching the crest of his swift arc, and the shot caught him cleanly in the head. Then Captain Bonner put the gun to my shoulder, told me how to squeeze and not pull the trigger, and pointed the barrel at a tree stump. "Imagine that's a Yankee," he said softly.

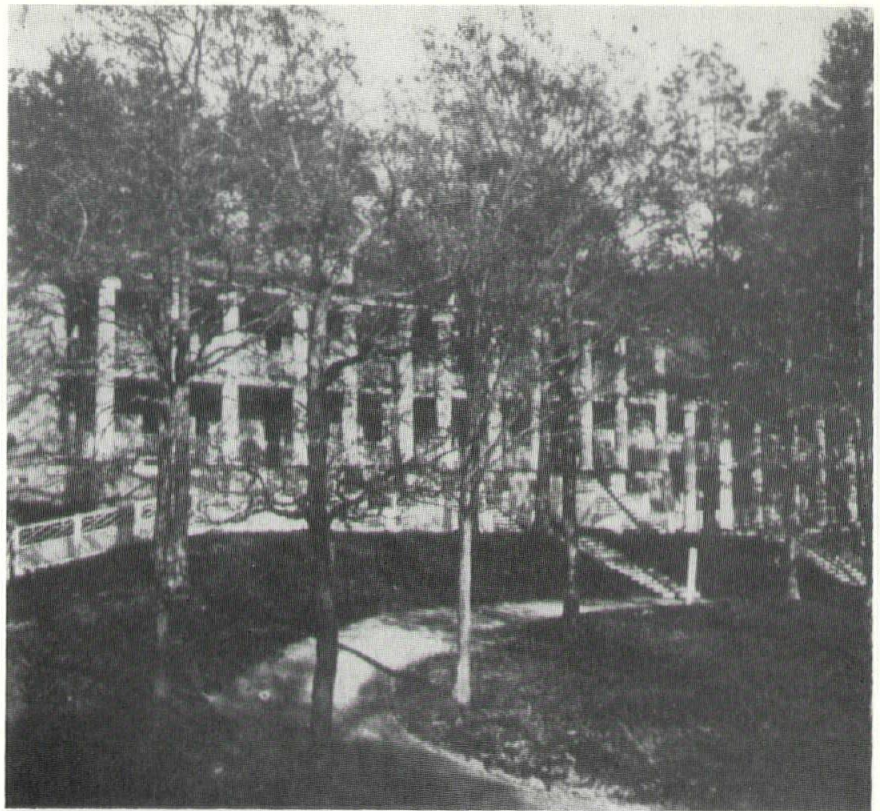
There it was, the cycle completed—the things of the land, the memory of war and of the enemy, and the overwhelming feeling of kinship for the soft-spoken, graybearded old man as "one of my people." No blood relation of mine, he felt close of kin because we had grown from the same soil, soaked by the blood of the same people.

In this microcosm of the memories from one childhood, there is the reality and there is the myth that went into the Virginian's identity. The identity was formed partly of what Virginia had actually been, partly what she thought she had been, partly what she was and partly what she thought it was; these diverse elements achieved a unity, more than the sum of its parts,

through what she *wanted* to be. For sixty years after the war what the state wanted to be was essentially *herself* in a character she recognized and felt at home with.

This is exactly what an individual, threatened with loss of identity ("weakening of the ego"), will strive to maintain—a character recognizable to himself *as himself*, even though the envisioned composite character contains elements that are not truly in him. As mentioned earlier, the individual, endangered by the threat of self-estrangement, will cling to the recognizable character *even* when maintenance of this central identity will not further his chances of success by any standards of his environment. Indeed, some individuals who, to maintain their own identities, rejected their environments, became among those human forces who changed the course of history, and caused all environments to be different after their influence.

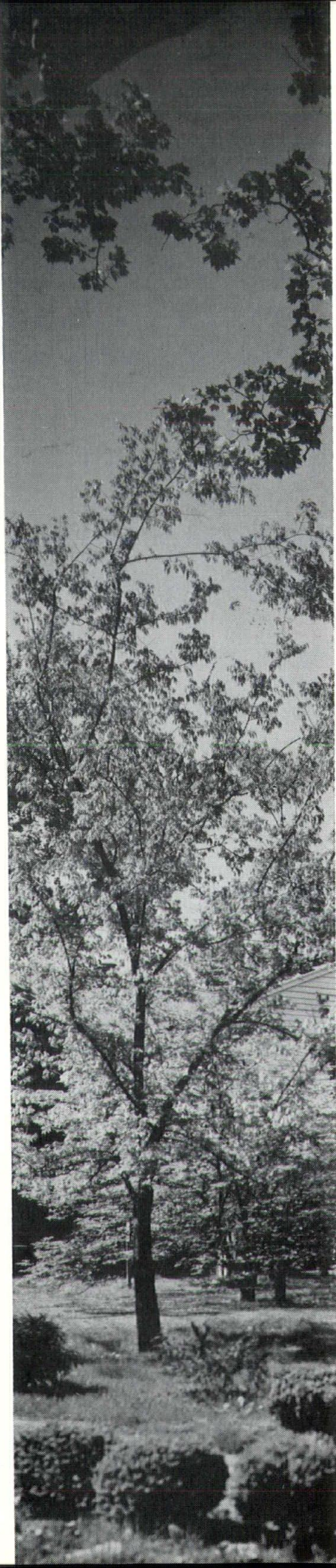
So Virginia, in maintaining her identity through identification with the land (with all the implied distortions and sentimentalities of the identification), almost of necessity damaged her own chances of success by the standards of her larger environment, the United States. Deriving from her psychological



Above: The "Old White," a favorite resort when spas were the fashion, photographed in the early 70's. (Cook Collection)

Below: A city street in the now bustling community of Salem.



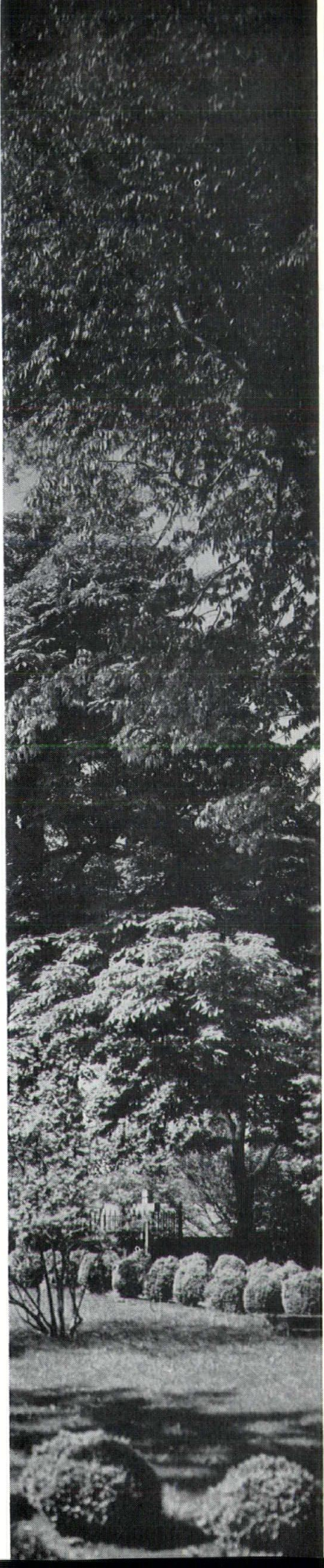


attitude, Virginia's economic attitude became a determinant in her rebuilding at two levels—the level of the state and the level of individuals (including those leaving).

The “state” as here used refers to Virginia as a political entity—the actual and would-be political representatives at all levels after the war, along with the newly powerful interests that supported political action from the post war period to the turn of the century. In this sense the state was preoccupied at least until the nineties with the practical problems of its debts and the complex problems of restoring state government to representative Virginians. “Representative” did not necessarily imply the ablest, nor untainted characters above trickery. It meant native, white non-Republicans who, according to their lights, wanted an honest government “recognizable” as representing a preserved identity—including in this identity especially the *mystique* of the land. With this identification with the land, the Democratic Party that finally assumed control of the government in the 1890's was built solidly upon a rural foundation.

In the years between the passing of Reconstruction and the election of Governor Philip W. McKenney in 1889, the problems of the state's debts and political control were interlocked. In simplest terms, the General Assembly unwisely sold its railroad stocks to retire some of its accumulated debts and, in one of those financial manipulations where new bonds replace old bonds, ended up owing \$45,000,000. The General Assembly naively assumed that the departed counties that had formed the war-manufactured state of West Virginia would assume one-third of this obligation. In the 20th Century the Supreme Court finally forced West Virginia to pay a substantial part of its share, but during the financially blighted period of the '70s and '80s, an impoverished state faced the burden of paying off \$45,000,000. This led to the celebrated Readjuster movement, where economics and politics joined hands through the ex-Confederate general, William Mahone.

Bantam-sized Billy Mahone was an individualistic careerist without allegiance to anything representing the Old Guard and under no thrall to the thing about the land. What we would call “a self-made man,” Mahone made a very good job of himself up to a point. Born outside all the symbols of privilege as the son of a Southampton County tavern keeper, his bustling energy and ambition won him the sup-





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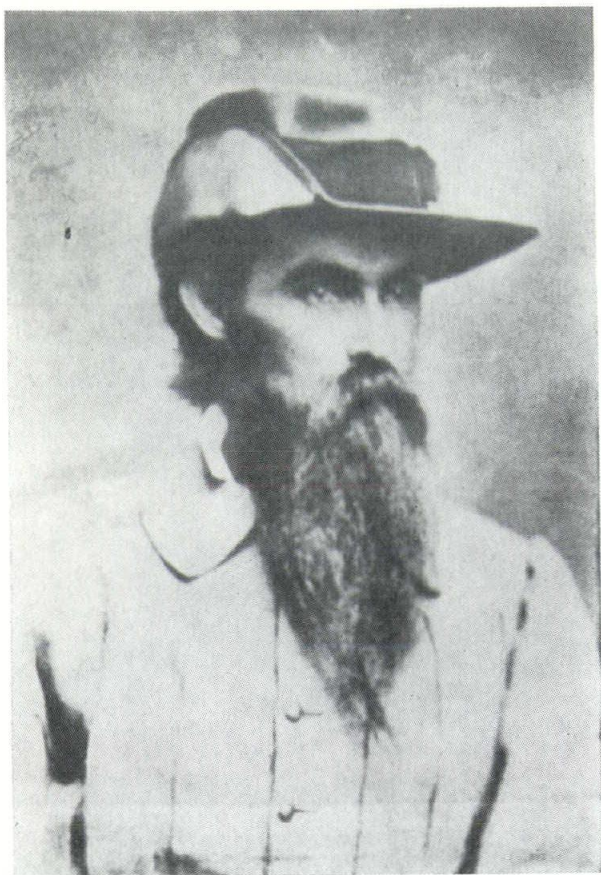
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LEFT: "Bantam-sized Billy Mahone was an individualistic careerist . . . (who) organized a Readjuster Party, dedicated to lowering the state's bonded indebtedness to a more realistic figure." (Cook Collection)

BELOW: At Brandon pier, grain was transferred from ox cart to boat. (Photograph by Heustis Cook)

Many energetic men found opportunity in crisis during the immediate postwar years. . . .

port of neighborhood friends in obtaining an education at V.M.I. (class of 1847), and as a civil engineer he had risen to the position of a young railroad executive before the war. In the army he was late in developing, but after he became a division commander in A. P. Hill's Corps in the last year, little Billy became one of Lee's stalwarts at the end. General Lee

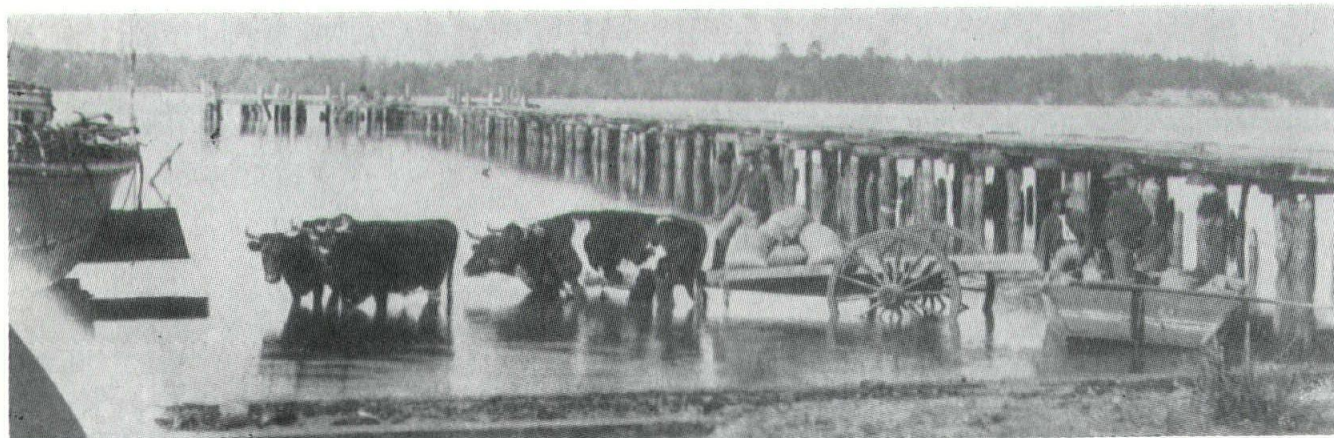
stayed at Mahone's house when he visited Petersburg after the war for the wedding of his son Rooney.

Among those energetic men who found opportunity in the crisis, Mahone—during the immediate postwar years when destroyed railroads were being rebuilt—organized three short lines into a system that became the Norfolk & Western, and enjoyed the power of

a huge salary while his former fellow-generals were laboring to restore a piece of land or teaching school or dishearteningly trying to sell insurance. Desiring to use his power as a road to the Governor's Mansion, Mahone organized a Readjuster Party, dedicated to lowering the state's bonded indebtedness to a more realistic figure. In his expedient drive, Billy gathered around him any groups who, for whatever motives, joined the Readjusters. Oldline conservatives and Radical Republicans, Negroes and carpetbaggers, and the usually bewildered elements led like sheep by slogans, Billy's assorted supporters formed something of a preview of what would constitute contemporary political alignments—and also demonstrated their effectiveness.

During the 1880s the Readjusters won control of the General Assembly often enough to "readjust" the debt to \$21,000,000 (with the consent of the creditors), raised money to support the new public school system (one of the beneficial acts of the Reconstruction state constitution), and introduced several social-minded measures which—though primitive by today's "womb to tomb" socialism—revealed an awareness of the plight of the poor. But Billy, who got himself to the U. S. Senate (though never to the Governor's Mansion), seemed too much like a homegrown Caesar, and he, the Readjusters and the Republicans were all deposed. Then Virginia, after thirty years, returned to *status quo*.

However, it was not truly the state of things as had existed in 1860. In addition to the imposition of the myth of the lost paradise, the changes in the composition of Virginia's population were terrifying. During the war itself, it had been the fashion of gallantry for educated citizens of privileged backgrounds to enlist as privates in



elite militia units. Richmond's Company "F", and the original three companies of the Richmond Howitzer Battalion, which were the closest approximations in America to the British "Guards" regiment—as the Cold Stream Guards or the Grenadier Guards—had rosters that read like a social register. There were similar units all through the state (as well as in the South). The gunners of the Rockbridge (County) Battery were almost entirely students at Washington College, and one of their later recruits, from the University of Virginia, was the son of the army's commanding-general.

The broad swath cut by death was not the only loss in this segment of natural leaders. An immeasurable proportion was maimed, physically or psychically, to become relics rather than assets. Of course, the casualty list was not total, or the state could not have survived; many war veterans rose to leadership and many more led lives of usefulness to the community. But the leader class was fragmented.

Even the men who emerged—conditioned by the disruptions of experiencing unrestricted warfare and a separatism imposed by the conquerors—were forced to turn their minds and energies to primal survival and the preservation of their state's identity. Through no blame to them, the necessary immediacy and limitations of their objectives contained little to no progressive thought that could introduce the technological changes needed to provide employment for the continuing displacement of farm people or sufficient opportunities for the ambitious. In terms of the technological developments in other regions, the state seemed positively static.

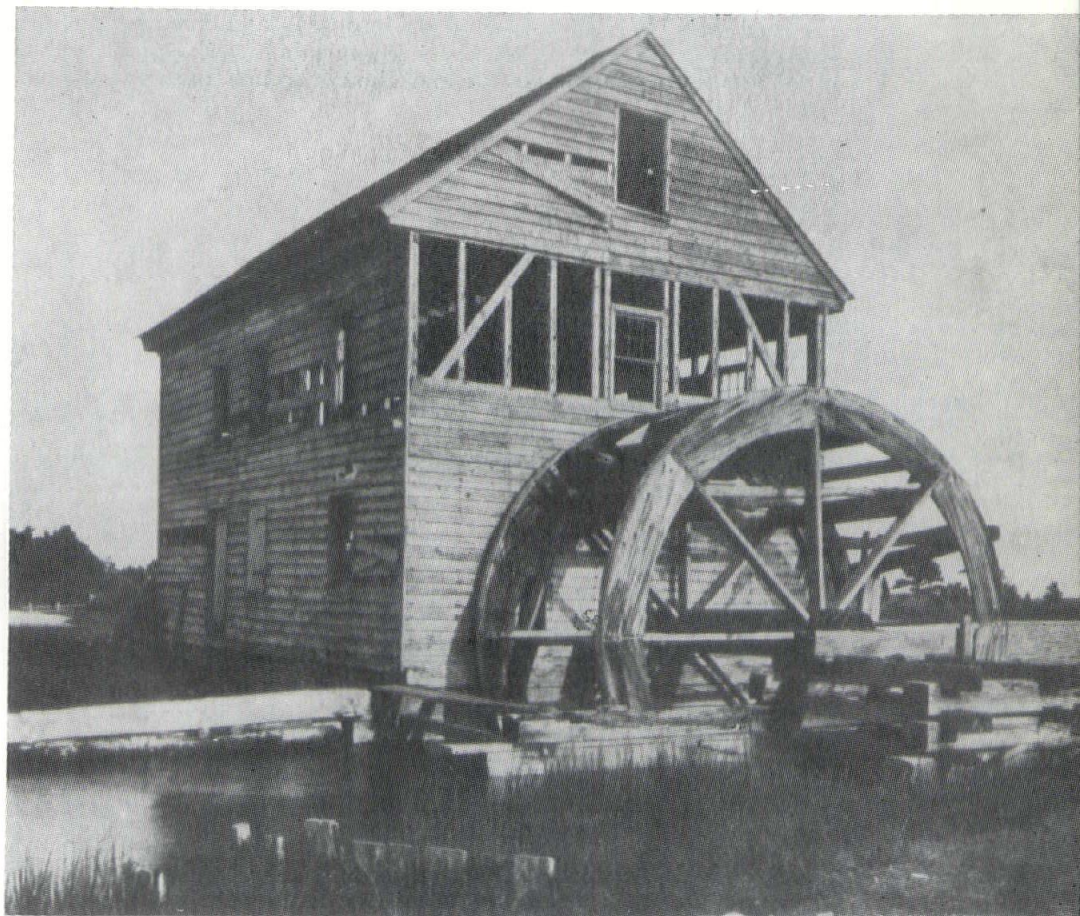
Because of lack of jobs for the many and lack of broad opportunities for the few, Virginia suffered a debilitating drain of manpower from her rising generations. This postwar drain of her youth, containing its own potentials for leadership, was more crippling to the state than the direct losses during the

war. Since the losses during the war itself led indirectly, in an amalgam of other factors, to the postwar migrations, the manpower drain through the three decades following 1870 was inevitable—historically a side effect on one state of preserving the union by force of arms. Through this delayed "casualty" list, the state as a society was not being "verified" and vitalized by fresh strength from the new generations.

In the decade of 1880—while the state was occupied with resolving her problems of government and debt—Virginia lost 600,000 of its native-born population by migration. At that time more than one out of every four native-born Virginians was living in some other state. With this kind of loss (which did not end in the 1880s) subtracted from the addition through birth-rate, it was also inevitable that in the period from 1880 to 1900 Virginia's annual net increase in population ran at half the national average. During this period, the state government knew nothing to do to check the appalling drift that made ambitious, energetic young Virginians the state's leading export.

In what might be called The Era of the Migrations, the afterglow of "the golden age" flickered low but never died out. By then, as the legends entered the total reality of identity, the gods of Virginia's epic as a Confederate state joined the mythology of the giants of the Revolutionary era and the formative years of the Republic. This is perfectly illustrated by the name of Washington and Lee for the college endowed by the great Virginian of the "golden age" and transformed into a national institution by the hero of the state's defense of her sovereignty. There was nothing unrealistic about this joining of the two: Washington, an intimate and supporter of Lee's father, was Lee's childhood hero and model; and Lee himself could be viewed as the last, great flowering of the society that produced the 18th Century giants.

Yet, there was an unnatural foreshortening and distortion of history in this blending of the past. Lee himself, actually a post-flowering of an earlier society, was not typical of the Virginian of the pre-Civil War and Civil War era. In many aspects of his character, he personalized an ideal of his day. But, though forced by circumstance to



A tide mill in Mathews County was one of the many in Tidewater Virginia, some in use until recent years. (Photograph by Heustis Cook)



A photograph of Virginia's famed Ellen Glasgow taken in the early '80s. She went on to win fame writing about impoverished, rural Virginia. (Cook Collection)

defend his state in a war over secession, Lee in point of fact looked to the future in which Virginia would be advanced "in science and education, as well as in religion and virtue." No Virginian advocated as strongly as Lee a total break with the plantation past

Below: A coach stop tavern at Taylorsville, on the turnpike that joined Richmond, Fredericksburg and Washington. (Photograph by Heustis Cook)



"No Virginian advocated as strongly as Lee a total break with the plantation past. . . ."

and an adaptation of modern technical methods, while perpetuating the character of the state. While the character was preserved and adaptiveness was not made, it should not be implied that adaptiveness to the national economic scene was possible without the sacrifice of the identity—and General Lee gave primary importance to the preservation of the "ancient virtues."

However, at the same time that the state (in its meaning of political entity) did not or could not look beyond survival, a slow and almost invisible progress in Virginia was made by individuals and groups of individuals. With all the loss of manpower, with all the inertia produced by the combination of the aftermath of war and the "looking back to glory," with all the limited goals of subsistence that directed a dislocated people, in two major interlocking fields of enterprises progressive changes *were* made during the physical rebuilding of the devastations left by invading armies. These fields were, one, railroads and, two, a relatively modest turn to producing new money crops as a supplement to subsistence farming. The interlocking came about through the new railroad

systems which enabled farmers to get produce to out-of-state markets.

Through the war period, Virginia's many railroads, as well as those in adjoining states, had consisted of short lines with gaps between and no union depots where various lines originated or terminated in a single place. During the war the privately owned lines had suffered great material loss in tracks torn up, bridges burned, rolling stock and depots destroyed, and their stock value had dropped considerably. Since most of the cash in Virginia was in worthless Confederate money, Northern capital came in. Some native stockholders welcomed American dollars in exchanges for stock then paying no dividends, and a few locals enriched themselves by acting as "Judas goats" in inducing fellow-Virginians to sell their stock at low prices. Though the financial operations gave comparatively few Virginians substantial long-range benefits, the physical rebuilding of the roads provided urgently needed jobs for many and brought cash into the state. Permanent jobs were increasingly provided as the new systems were completed between the early 'seventies and 1900.

In 1872, the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac was extended into Washington, giving the state capital its first railroad connection with the national capital. By 1873, the C. & O. connected Hampton Roads and the Ohio River; by 1880, the Norfolk & Western ran, with two branches from Radford, one to Bristol and one through the coal regions into Ohio. In 1893, the Southern Railway System (embracing the wartime Richmond & Danville, on which Jefferson Davis and the remnants of the Confederate government took "the last train out of Richmond") extended from Washington to Danville and into the Lower South. In 1900 the Atlantic Coast Line and Seaboard Air Line completed their huge systems south of Richmond, and helped the R.F.&P. enormously by using its tracks between Richmond and Washington.

Contemporaneously with these privately financed developments, individual farmers began shipping money crops to Northern markets. Particularly the new refrigerator cars opened Northern markets for such early vegetables as lettuce, spinach and potatoes

to farmers on the Eastern Shore and borders of the Chesapeake Bay. Beginning with a shipment from Norfolk in 1885, by the end of the century more than 35,000 farms were getting nearly \$3,000,000 a year from their produce. Compared to today's inconceivable figures tossed around, within a complex of subsidies and tax-supported surplus and prodigal waste, this amount seems like a drop in a small bucket. It was not a large amount even in the nineties, coming out to less than \$100 cash per farm, scarcely in sight of the national farm average. But the story of what the struggle for survival meant perhaps can best be illustrated by the gritty fact that this puny income was \$100 more than those farmers had in 1884. As this represents an immeasurable gain over zero, it also illustrates how the struggle for survival limited the horizons and kept most earners thinking in small money terms.

Also in the '80s apples began to be grown for export to the North and even to Europe. With Winchester the center, at the end of the century the Virginia apple crop brought, in round figures, \$1,500,000. To indicate that this was merely a beginning, thirty-five years later, during the depths of the Depression, the apples brought, in round figures, \$11,500,000.

Other Valley farmers began exploiting the commercial possibilities of their poultry (whose volume had by then recovered from Sheridan's 1864 carnival of destruction) and in the 1880s Rockingham became the center for which it has since grown famous. In Western Virginia, by the nineties the grazing lands began to be developed for milk and beef cattle.

These developments were pockets of change, not representing a general or systematic economic progressiveness. Though cities grew in population, this was largely from the influx of uprooted families (with the consequent concentration of the birth-rate) and only a few cities developed through industry. Danville took a big spurt from 1870 to 1885 through the textile mills, and Newport News changed from a fishing village into a growing city after the railroad came in 1882 and the shipyards in 1886. In 1892 the Norfolk & Western machine shops transformed Big Lick, with 400 souls, into the boom city of Roanoke with a population of 25,000. Richmond, whose prewar population of 40,000 was tripled to more than 120,000 early in the 20th century, owed much to the chance of Americans developing the cigarette-smoking habit.

A tobacco center since it was founded around a warehouse in the early days of the colony, Richmond was readily converted into a manufacturing center for cigarettes and other tobacco products. While some (though by no means all) of the capital was Northern controlled, this manufacturing provided work and brought in ready cash—and flavored the old parts of town, in the days before World War I, with a sweetly rank aroma on summer afternoons which form in the in-eradicable memories of that era lost in time.

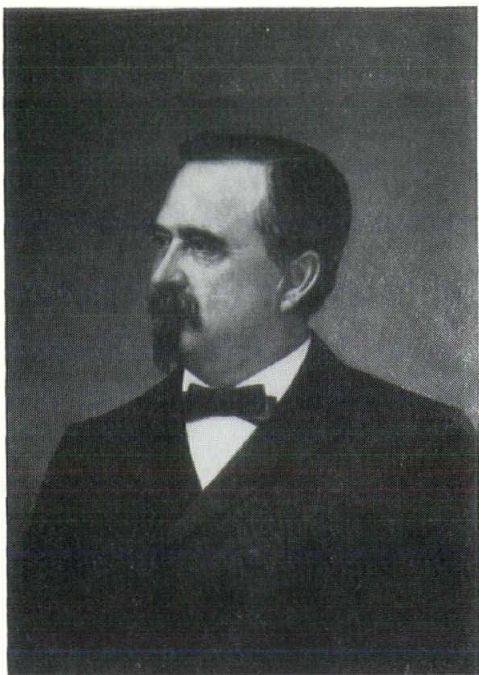
These cities were also pockets of growth, partly by chance, and no part of a design. In fact, two unpleasant points must be made. In the world's history, sociological-technical-intellectual innovations have seldom come from rural communities. By the very nature of the farmers' personal involvement with the timeless cycles of the earth, his mind is not directed toward change, and the isolation of farms and rural communities shields the individuals from the mental ferment created in urban centers. This basic generality was an important factor with the whole state conditioned by rural attitudes



Another famed Virginian was the late Lady Astor. Daughter of Colonel Chiswell Dabney Langhorne of Greenwood, she married the son of William Waldorf Astor, American-born English Lord. (Cook Collection)

Below: Sailboats once waited at Norfolk piers to unload truck farm produce. (Photograph by Heustis Cook)





ABOVE: "Governor J. Hoge Tyler was the first political leader to advocate the promotion of industry in the state and to offer inducements to Northern capital toward that end."

BELOW: The POCAHONTAS ran the James River between Richmond and Norfolk, featuring popular excursions and moonlight sails.

through the land *mystique* and the political power of county organizations. The railroads also exerted considerable political power and, in all truth, it must be said that at best their interests were not uncontrollably drawn toward developments that would bring change to Virginia.

It was not until the 1901-02 convention for a new state constitution that representative leaders began to speak of a "new era" and publicly declare for an industrial program. The 100 delegates who met to draft a new constitution were, frankly, concerned primarily with restricting the voting franchise which had been extended in the constitution imposed upon Virginia during Reconstruction—actually, as her price of readmission to the union.

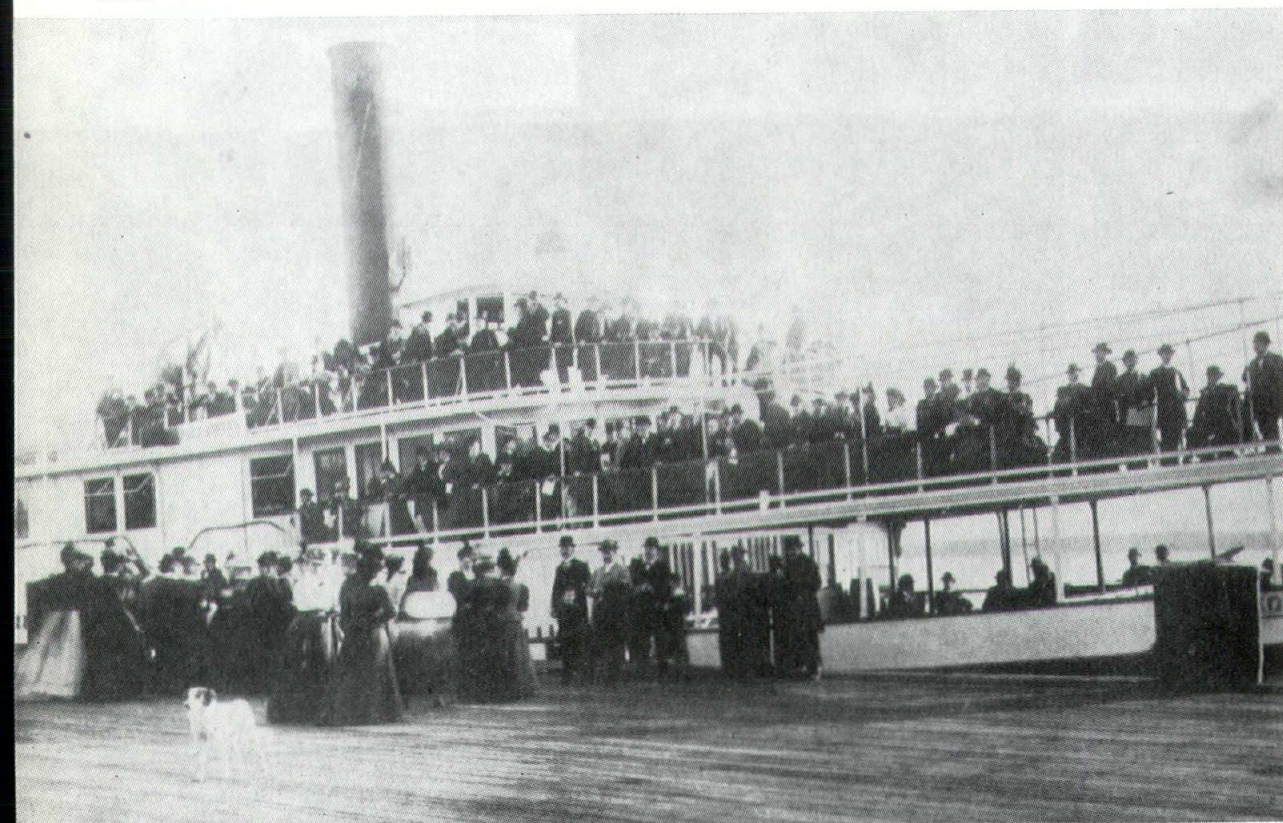
While the Radical Republicans who dominated the Reconstruction (Underwood) Constitution had enfranchised the recently freed slaves in order to obtain the Negro vote, the 1901-02 Convention was not directed, as seems usually supposed, only at the Negro. From her first General Assembly in 1619, the first representative governing body in the New World, until the Underwood Constitution in 1869, Virginia had operated with and strongly believed in a controlled, qualified electorate, historically based on property ownership. Whatever judgments might

be passed upon this principle, it was Virginia's historic attitude and the 1901-02 Constitution in effect restored the laws governing internal enfranchisement to the standard practices which the aliens had changed while in transient power.

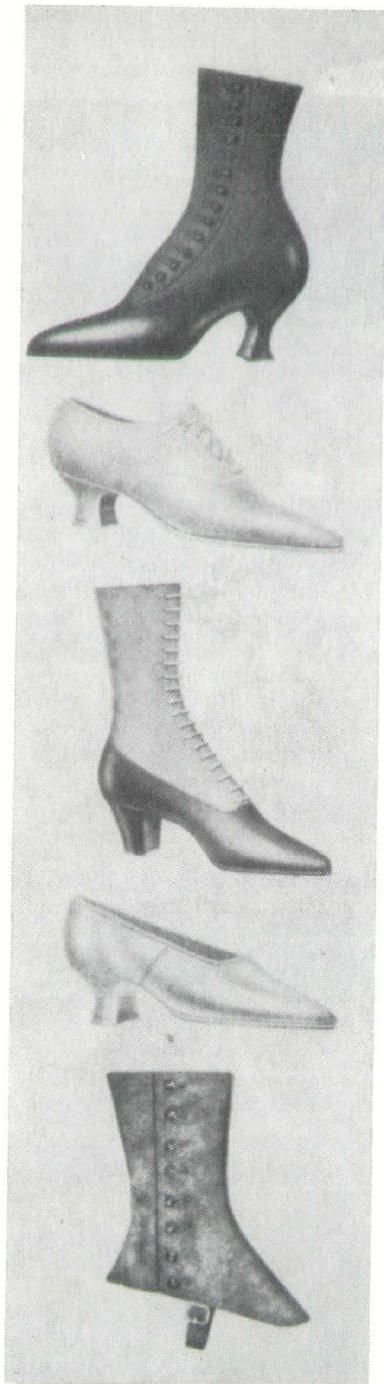
Beyond these adjustments in the voting franchise, the Constitution delegates, under the urging of Governor J. Hoge Tyler, drastically extended the governor's legislative power in order that he might be in a position of leadership for new legislation. Governor Tyler was the first political leader to advocate the promotion of industry in the state and to offer inducements to Northern capital toward that end. Governor Tyler's purpose was to empower the governor to act as "Business Manager" in leading the state into a new era.

At the same time Governor Tyler was very anxious that Virginia do nothing to change her fundamental character. He did not hope for any industrialization of the whole society for, he said, "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." As it turned out, this was the only part of Governor Tyler's "message" that struck home. In preserving her fundamental character, the state

(Continued on page 32)



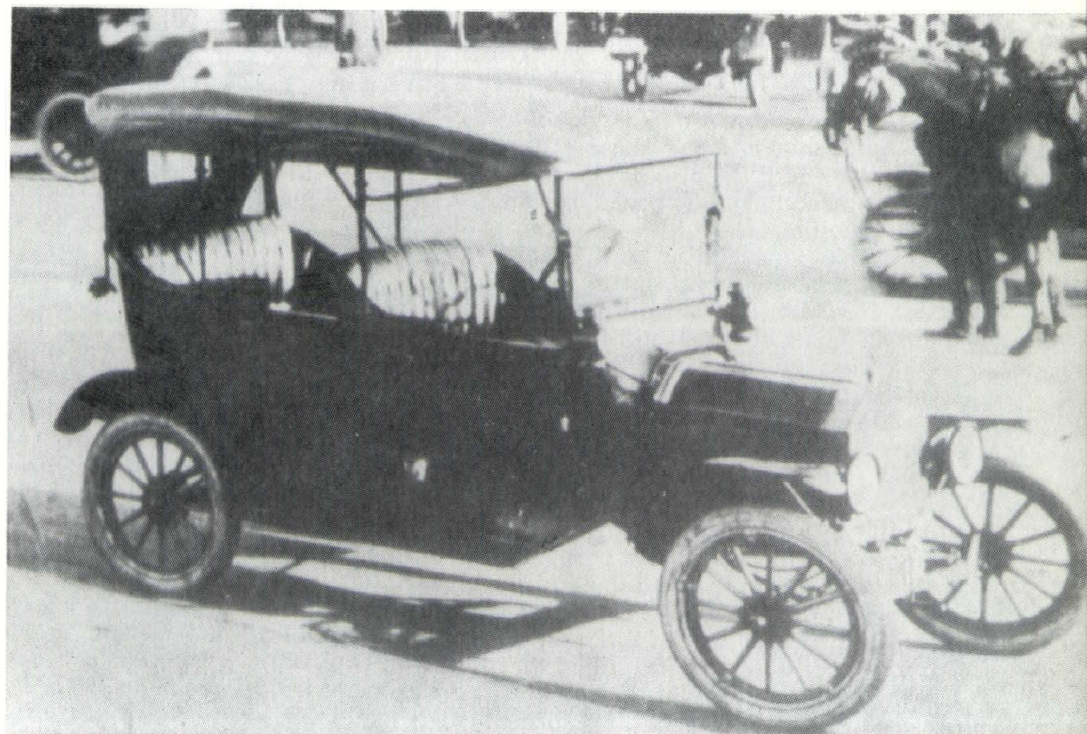
after the war . . .



Women in 1919 wore layers and layers of clothing; both the undergarments and the terminology were quite different from today, though we have recently seen a revival of "chemise"-inspired patterns. Camisoles and bodices were the order of the day and the phrase "American-made" was being used to differentiate articles from the hand-made foreign imports. Shoes like those above, characteristic of 1919-1920, were made of buckskin, kid-skin, cloth, or with suede tops in light tan or gray—sometimes very high, for women then seldom wore low shoes in cold weather without spats to protect their ankles.



"The War" was over, people danced in the streets and everyone thought the "world safe for democracy." The Model T Ford (below) was the most plentiful car on the road, and women's afternoon dresses were quite elaborate. Paul Whiteman's band was at a zenith, Babe Ruth pitched for the Boston Red Sox, Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford reigned as "stars," and little girls wore long black or white cotton stockings. There were, as yet, no red fingernails, no woman smokers, neither crossword puzzles nor radio to entertain the bored masses and—if one can credit it—no zippers and no cellophane!





Half a decade later, it seemed like a different world. Not only did the Prohibition Amendment of January, 1920 create widespread defiance of the law, but a rebellion, led by the younger generation, began against the puritanical manners and morals of the prewar days. John Held, Jr. was the most successful caricaturist of the wide-trousered, coonskin-coated "cake eater," as seen above.

did nothing at all progressively, nothing to attract industry.

Yet, it must be stressed that at this turn of the century period, Virginia fared well in comparison with the other Southern states—which, as these were the only states that suffered the ravages of total war and the exploitation of Occupation, offered the only fair comparison. Among these states, none had suffered the physical devastation of Virginia, and few had rebuilt as rapidly and as soundly as Virginia. And yet, Virginia had not grown into her 18th and early 19th Century greatness by comparisons with other Southern states—half of which still had been a wilderness during Virginia's peak.

It was true that, fairly and objectively, Virginia could not measure her progress during survival with the Northern states untouched by war. While Virginia was occupied with maintaining her essential self in the aftermath of upheaval, like a perpetual disaster area, during the same thirty years from 1870 to 1900 the Northern people had participated in the great industrial-commercial expansion that followed the war. When 35,000 Virginia farmers had been selling spring

vegetables for \$3,000,000, inestimable fortunes were made in oil and steel in the North, and the Jay Goulds among the new financial pirates would make as much in a day in stock-market raids.

However, if Virginia was to advance into the mainstream of the economy of its day, the state could not rest on comparisons with states with which she had been joined in a relatively brief and not entirely natural alliance. It was not enough to say, "Thank God for Mississippi." As General Lee had advocated thirty-five years before Governor Tyler's appeal, Virginia must adapt to the economy that brought to the rest of the nation material progress (including the money for education) and forward-looking attitudes.

But Virginia was no more ready for Tyler's program than for Lee's. Another quarter-of-a-century had to pass, extending the period of the aftermath of war to 1925. Thus it was that views of Virginia before the first World War showed little *fundamental* change from the state after Appomattox. However, while the 36 years to the 1901-02 Constitution convention were more or less directly traceable to the war and Reconstruction, the first quarter of the 20th Century was different.

By then the origins of attitudes were forgotten, and the attitudes had become fixed habits of mind, in themselves justified by time and custom. To return to the elements in Dr. Erikson's traumatic identities, pragmatic attitudes originally created by dislocation in another time extended as revered attitudes into a new era, as if they historically characterized Virginia.

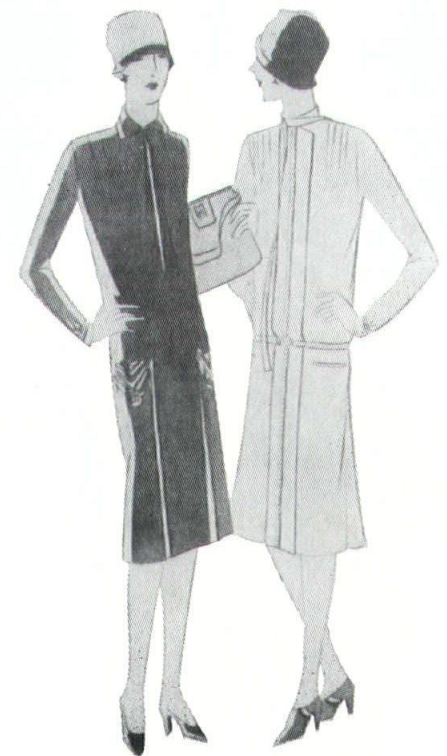
It was true that throughout the Southern states, as in all hot countries with long open seasons, people were attracted more to the land than to indoor work. But it was also true that the big planters, in a fear of "a restless proletariat" which might undermine their static system of using chattel labor, had encouraged the people to regard factories as "satanic mills." And it was further true that, as factories characterized the society which a merciless conqueror had tried to impose upon their own wrecked civilization, the war and postwar generations resisted industry along with everything else the enemy stood for. Historically and psychologically, it could be readily explained why the state (her government and the majority of her people) continued this resistance to industry, and all it implied, into modern times. But an explanation, like a diagnosis of a sick person, does nothing to change the situation.

The trouble was that most Virginians, public and private citizens alike failed to recognize, or admit, that in the early 20th century the situation needed to be changed—let alone that it called for a remedy. And the complicating element here was that life in the state *did* bear a pleasing aspect in the first quarter of the 20th Century. While an inverted pride laughed away the lack of dynamism in the state, it was nonetheless true that the emergent identity—with its core of character intact—brought incalculable intangible rewards to the condition of "being a Virginian." The pride perhaps tended to some smugness, and some pride was placed in false values, but it is good for a people to like themselves, as it is for an individual.

It is a psychological (as well as a Biblical) truism that one must first respect his own identity before he can respect, or love, others. With the incongruent elements that were not entirely assimilated, the Virginian did respect himself, his state, and her values. With all that had been lost, to this extent the traditional society had "confirmed" and "verified" the new generation, those youths coming of age in the twenties.

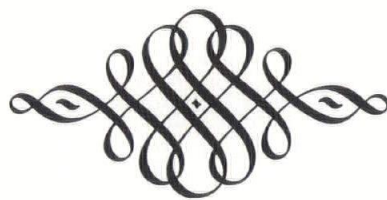
(Continued on page 55)

Street dresses of 1926 certainly had a "new look." Women during this prosperous period were not exactly advertising feminine allure. It was in this year that Rudolph Valentino died, Aimee Semple McPherson disappeared, Gertrude Ederle made it across the Channel and Tunney beat Dempsey at Philadelphia.



PANTHER COAL COMPANY

ROSEANN, VIRGINIA

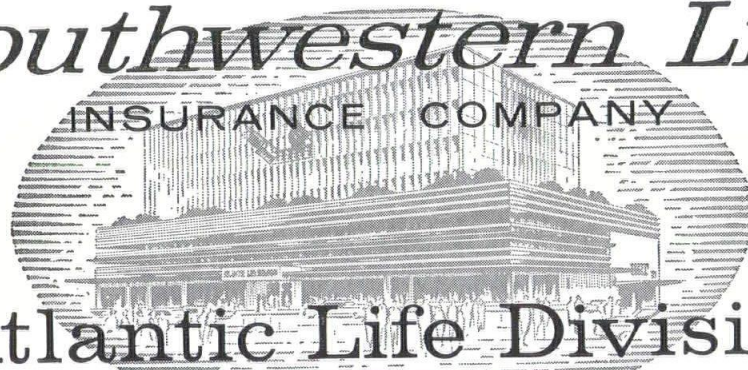


LECKIE MINES

BLUEFIELD, WEST VIRGINIA

Southwestern Life

INSURANCE COMPANY



Atlantic Life Division

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Virginia is quietly taking her place in the industrial sun...

From the Cumberlands to Tidewater country and from the Shenandoah to Carolina, Virginia is taking on a new look. This state, with a quiet that is not an especial characteristic of Texas or California, is taking its place in the industrial sun.

Spank in the middle of the Eastern seaboard, which contains over 60% of the United States market, Virginia is going after—and getting—the blue book of industry to come here. And this is not a state in quest of runaway industry from the North, nor is it offering tax abatements to eternity.

Aside from her choice geographic site, Virginia is compromising a historic modesty sufficiently to admit that she has the lowest personal tax rate, a stable labor force, high living standards, a high level of education, a new technical-vocational education program, the world's finest harbor system (Hampton Roads), the richest and best-run railroads in the land—these and plenty more.

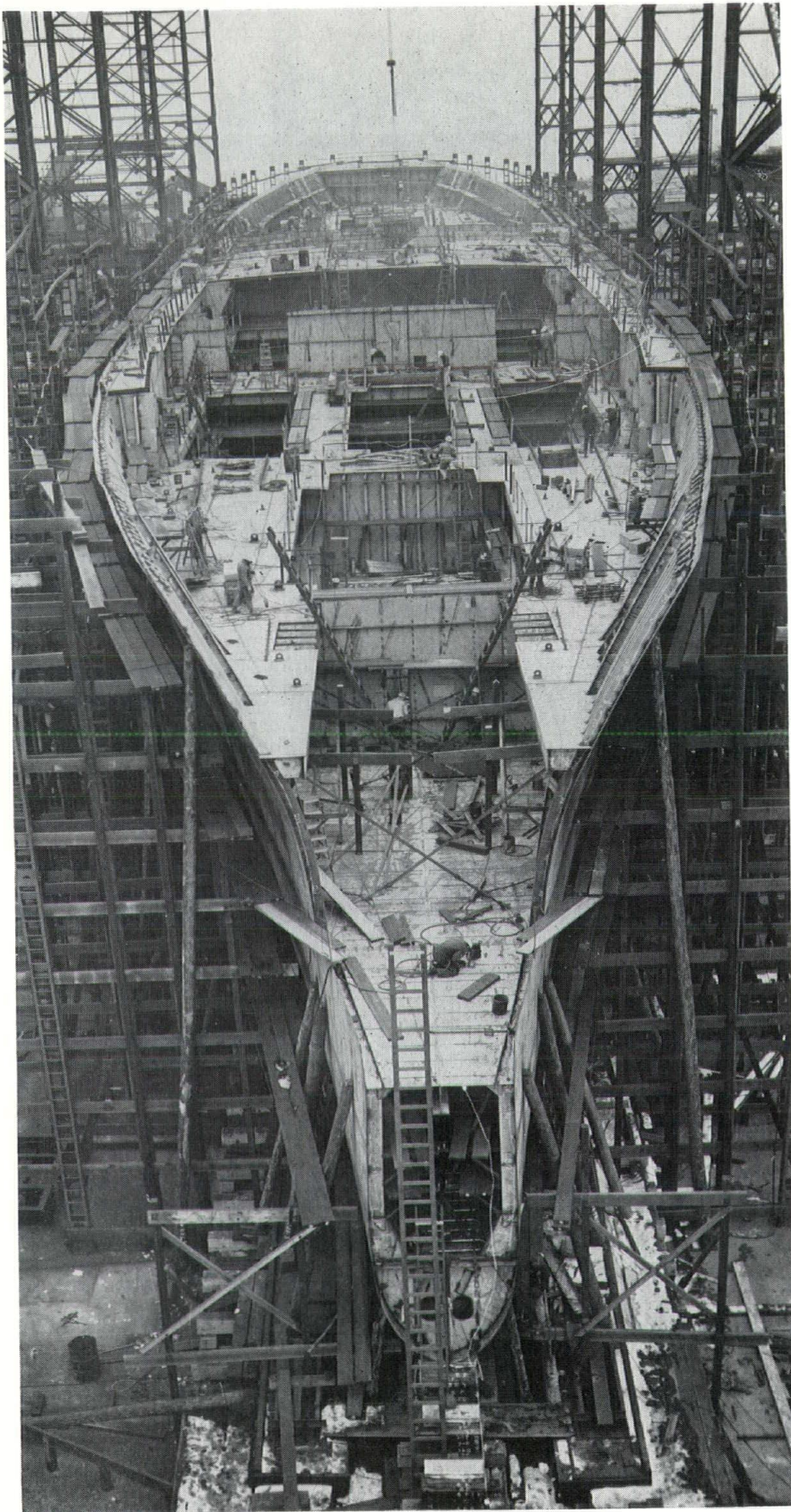
Nor are her natural resources inconsiderable. She has coal reserves that

are calculated to last 500 years, water and power aplenty. And most of all, good people who are good employees.

During 1964, 74 new plants announced location in Virginia, and 94 existing firms announced expansions. Resulting new jobs will reach a total of approximately 9,200.

The roster of new plants shows that almost every major industrial classification in Virginia is represented. A few classifications stand out as especially important in the year's industrial development. Foremost among these is the chemical industry, in the expansion of which most of the "big name" chemical companies are participating. New plants for new products are being built by Allied Chemical Corporation and du Pont; and very large expansions of existing facilities have been announced by Allied, Firestone, and Hercules Powder Company. Chief outcome of this expansion will be an important increase in production of synthetic fibers of various types.

In number of plants and expansions the apparel industry led the field with ten new plants and 13 expansions.



The furniture industry continued the growth pattern established several years ago. Two new furniture plants are listed in new manufacturing, and in addition, major furniture companies have announced large expansions. These include Bassett, Hooker, Lane, Pulaski, Vaughan, and Wells companies. Allied to this industry are new and expanding plants for veneer and furniture parts. Helms Veneer Corporation opened in Martinsville with more than 150 employees, and expansions have been announced for four plants turning out veneer or furniture parts.

Other products included in this year's new manufacturing developments are food products, glass piping, tobacco, metalwork, printing, paper products, and mobile homes.

The Richmond metropolitan area (particularly Chesterfield County), with ten new plants and 13 expansions, surpassed all other areas of the state during 1964. Two large plants have selected sites which have the advantage of sufficient space for future growth but are only a short distance from urban facilities. These are Corning Glass Works in Montgomery County (near Blacksburg), the second Corning plant in Virginia; and H. K. Porter's Riverside Alloy Metals Division in Augusta County. This is the third Porter plant to be established in Virginia in the last six years.

The importance of research and development in the Virginia economy was again highlighted by the appearance of new laboratories and expanded facilities during 1964.

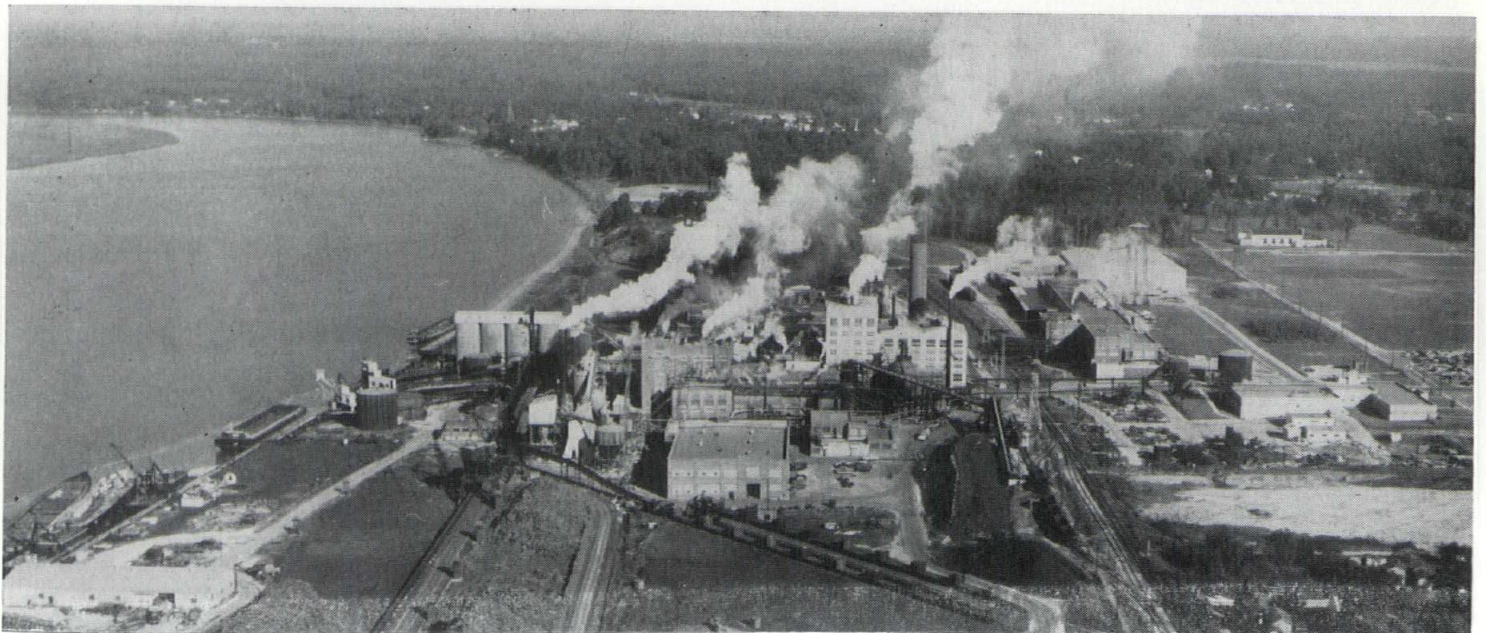
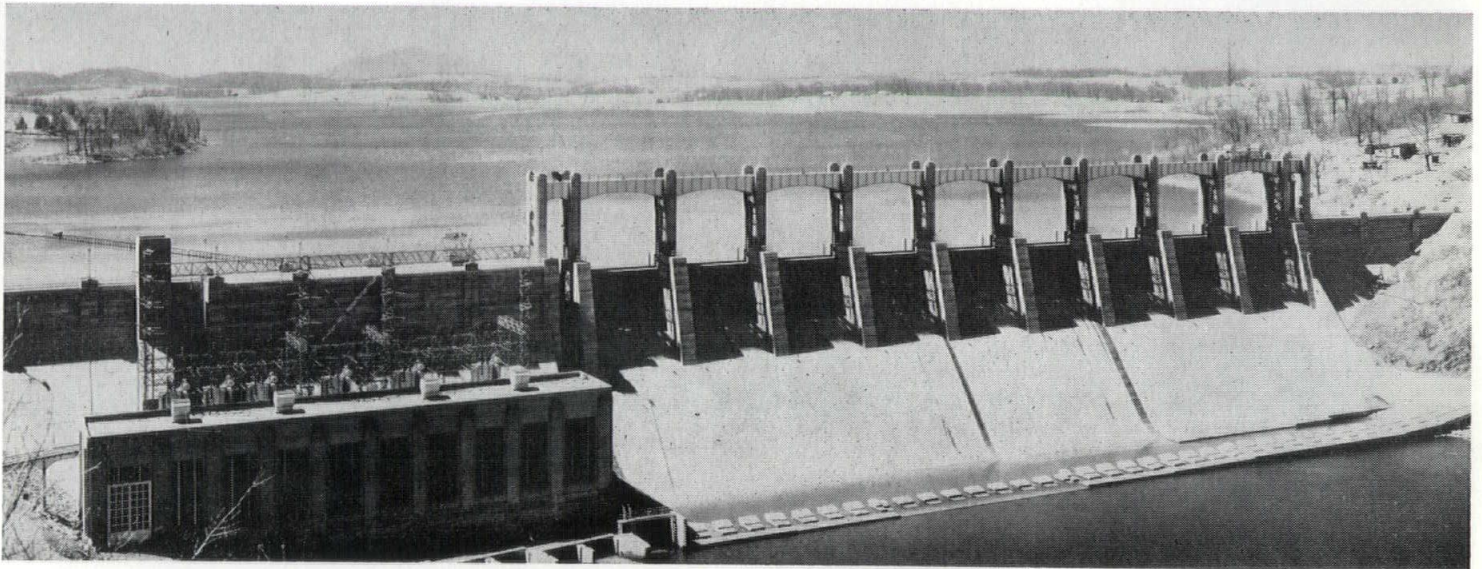
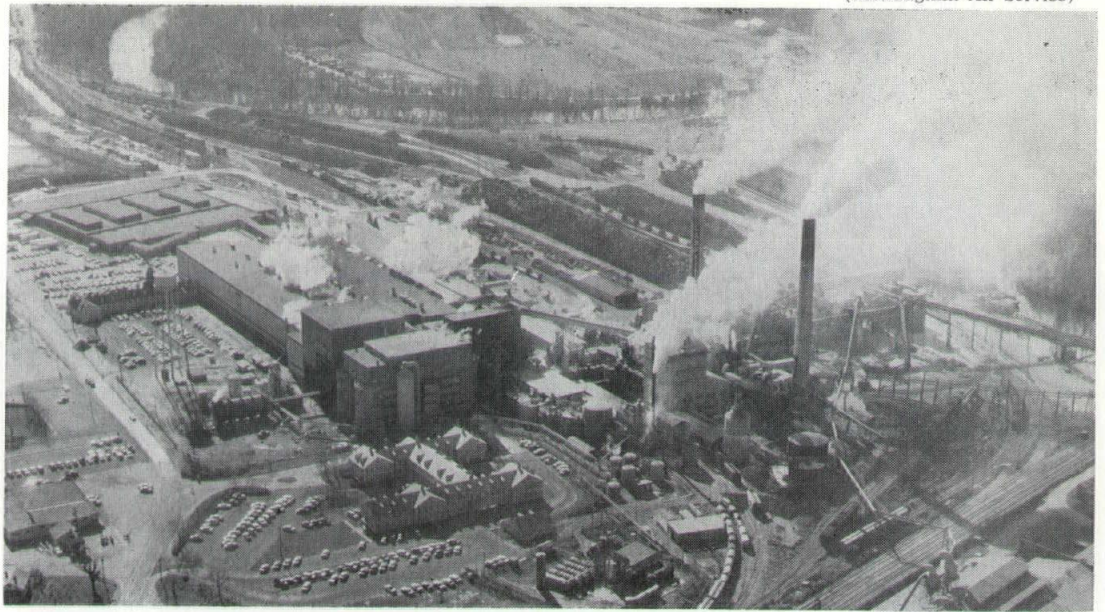
Among new industrial facilities announced was Allied Chemical Company's Technical Center for research in connection with development of polymers and fibers. This \$6 million facility will be built in Chesterfield County, a short distance from the company's manufacturing plants.

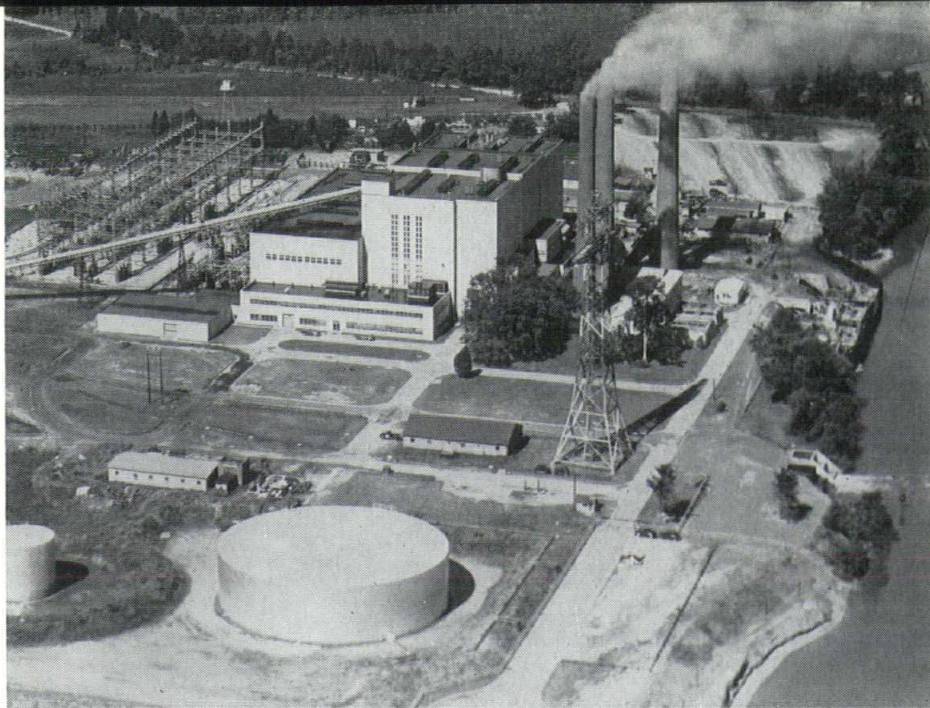
The American Tobacco Company plans to set up a research laboratory, also in Chesterfield County, near its leaf processing plant at a cost of from \$5 to \$6 million.

V-C Chemical Company has broken ground in Hanover County for a new laboratory devoted to research and development of agricultural chemicals.

Companies expanding their research facilities during 1964 include Albemarle Paper Company, Richmond; Babcock and Wilcox, Lynchburg; Celanese Corporation, Narrows; and Reeves Brothers (rubber coated fabrics), Buena Vista. Reynolds Metals Company enlarged its metallurgical

Giants of Virginia industry continue to serve the state in manifold ways. Photograph on opposite page shows progress on AMERICAN CHALLENGER at Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company, leader in shipbuilding and in the manufacturing of water power and other heavy industrial equipment. Top right, Union Bag-Camp Paper Co., located at Franklin, is among the many Virginia firms planning expansions this year, as is Chesapeake Corporation, bottom photo, which expects to increase employment by more than 100. Center photo shows the harnessing of water at Claytor Dam and Lake by Appalachian Power Company, needless to say an essential adjunct to the industrial growth of a state.





Above photograph shows one of the many networks of Virginia Electric & Power Company, constantly expanding to meet Virginia's growing needs.

research division in Richmond with a new laboratory and testing equipment. West Virginia Pulp and Paper Company moved its carbon technical service laboratory from Tyrone, Pennsylvania, to Covington.

Some new nonmanufacturing laboratories—those that do not manufacture any product for sale to the public—were added to the list of R & D firms. There have also been expansions of several existing laboratories.

The nonmanufacturing laboratories predominate in the area adjacent to

Washington, D. C., while a large share of industrial research is in the Richmond metropolitan area.

The Hampton Industrial Research Center, a 500-acre tract set aside for research and "clean industrial development," has acquired its first R & D tenant in Ling-Temco-Vought which is occupying offices and laboratory for research in aerospace and electronics. Another electronics research facility is Hayes International Corporation at Newport News. ●

A different sort of growth—that of communications—is reflected in the million dollar alterations and remodeling of Richmond Newspapers, Inc., projected below. Completion is expected sometime this year.

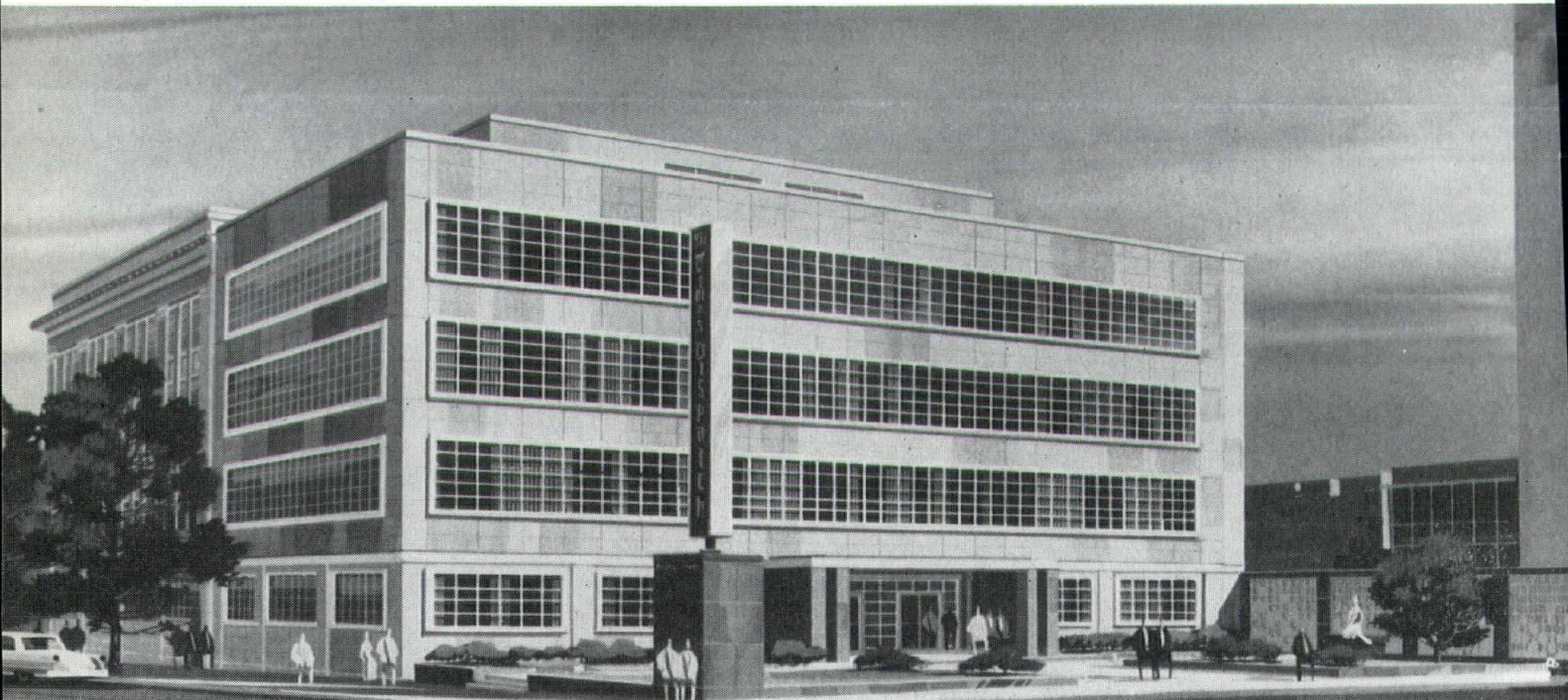
Indiana Furniture Firm Chooses Virginia Location

● Plans for a new furniture plant in Culpeper were announced recently by Keller Manufacturing Co., Inc., 65-year-old Corydon, Indiana firm and the Governor's Office, Division of Industrial Development & Planning.

"We decided on Virginia for a number of reasons," said Company President William H. Keller, who noted that his firm had been approached by every state east of the Mississippi except Maine, Rhode Island and Connecticut. "We came here to service the eastern market. We can service this market profitably from Virginia. We came because of economy of manufacturing, because of the availability of raw material and because Virginia is a good place to live.

"There is a supply of high quality labor in the Culpeper area. The community made it clear we would be welcome. The plant location surveys which eventually led us here were handled more efficiently."

The new plant, the first outside Indiana, will be started in the fall. When completed at a cost of \$3.5 million, it will manufacture the complete line of the company's plastic topped wooden dining furniture in four styles: early American, contemporary, French and Italian.



CREDIT UNIONS . . .

WHAT THEY STAND FOR . . .

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES BY MEMBERS
OF THE VIRGINIA CREDIT UNION LEAGUE

THIS WE BELIEVE

- We Believe . . .* Credit unions are associations of people, owned and democratically controlled by their members. Should they cease to be such, they cease to be credit unions.
- We Believe . . .* Credit unions are essentially thrift associations. They recognize thrift as the wise use of one's resources, which includes credit. They devote themselves to the development of regular thrift programs, to provide their members a greater measure of financial security.
- We Believe . . .* Credit unions must provide maximum protection for members' shares, including adequate surety bond coverage and systematic supervision by the auditing committee of their own members. They should have adequate annual examinations as required by law.
- We Believe . . .* Credit unions provide their members thrift and loan service that is more complete, more convenient, and more thoroughly helpful than they could otherwise obtain. Where possible they should provide insurance to cover the lives of their members to the extent of their loan balances and on all or a portion of their savings—for the benefit and protection of their members' families.
- We Believe . . .* Credit unions should regard the character of the borrower as the prime security consideration regardless of the amount involved, and the rate of interest should not exceed one per cent a month on the unpaid balance, and should be the same on all loans.
- We Believe . . .* Credit unions should recognize the essential and important place banks and other financial institutions have in our economy. They appreciate the service these institutions render and believe that friendly relations with them is mutually desirable.
- We Believe . . .* Credit unions should unite with each other to increase their services to their members and fulfill their obligation to bring credit union benefits to all people who need these services.
- We Believe . . .* Credit unions should be ever alert to changing conditions and should adapt themselves to the changing needs and desires of their members, while they always maintain their basic integrity and principles.
- We Believe . . .* Credit unions should be responsible organizations in their communities and fulfill their civic obligations in a generous and exemplary manner.
- We Believe . . .* Credit unions have demonstrated that average people can operate their own financial institutions. Credit unions are increasingly recognized as instruments of human well-being, and will continue to be, so long as they maintain and cultivate the highest ideals and standards of conduct.

VIRGINIA
CREDIT UNION LEAGUE

30 YEARS

For Additional Information
About Credit Unions, Please
Contact: GARLAND K. KEELING
Managing Director
VIRGINIA CREDIT UNION LEAGUE
P. O. Box 375
Lynchburg, Virginia 24505

"OUR ONLY PURPOSE . . . SERVICE TO OUR FELLOWMAN"

Our Job...

Our job is generating electricity and getting it to where it's used. We're in this business because it is concerned with the supply of a fundamental requirement of modern living, because it's an honorable one, because we like it, and because we want to earn a living at it.

We aim to give one kind of service to everyone . . . the best that's possible. That means supplying our customers with what they want when they want it. It means being courteous at all times and maintaining attractive easy-to-do-business-with offices. It means doing every-

thing we can to keep complaints from arising, and it means prompt and fair handling of those that do.

We are a citizen of each community we serve and take an active part in its affairs. Like any other citizen, we want our neighbors to think well of us. Besides, it makes good business-sense. We can only prosper as the community prospers so we help it to thrive in every way we can.

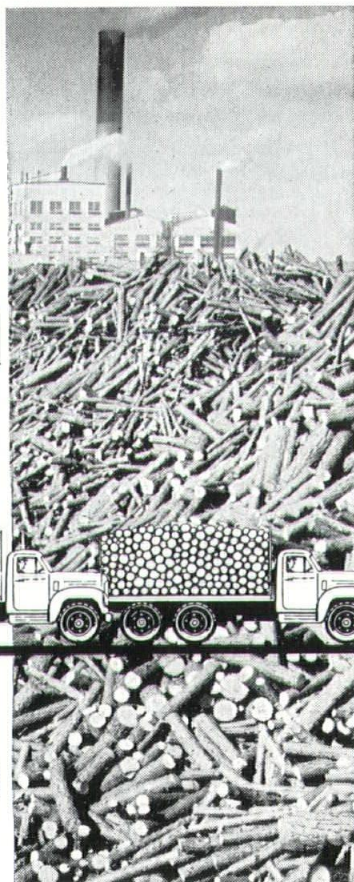
Such is our job as we see it. We are trying to do it well and to do it better all the time.



A
Mountain
and



a Stream



A mountain of logs and a stream of pulpwood trucks are now familiar landmarks on the landscape of the Southern States . . . landmarks that point the way to the fullest, conservation-minded use of our industrial and natural resources.

Chesapeake, founded in 1914, is proud to be one of the first kraft mills in the United States and a part of the nation's fifth largest industry . . . contributing annually more than \$5,500,000 in payroll and \$7,000,000 in pulpwood purchases to its area of operations.

The
Chesapeake
Corporation of Virginia

MANUFACTURERS OF KRAFT PULP AND PAPER
WEST POINT, VIRGINIA

NEW MANUFACTURING PLANTS THAT HAVE ANNOUNCED LOCATION IN VIRGINIA

Year Ending December 31, 1964

Name and Location of Firm	Expected Employment at Full Operation
Albemarle Chemical, Inc., RFD, Charlottesville.....	5
Pressurized liquids in cans	
I. J. Allen & Son, Chesapeake.....	5
Machine shop and repairs	
Allied Chemical Corp., Chesterfield County.....	400
Synthetic fibers	
Allied Chemical Corp., Hopewell.....	15 (est.)
Sulfuric acid	
American Bank Stationery Co., Norfolk Industrial Park.....	35
Printed bank checks	
Atlantic Concrete Co., Lee Street, Radford.....	10
Ready-mixed concrete	
Bassett-Walker Knitting Co., Stuart.....	75-100
Fleeced outerwear	
Beautyguard Manufacturing Co. of Tidewater, Norfolk.....	15-25
Aluminum siding for building construction	
Billie Ray Hosiery Co., Chilhowie.....	30
Hosiery finishing	
Blue Ridge Manufacturing Co., Salem.....	200
Women's shirts	
Blue Ridge Woven Label Co., Hillsville.....	50
Woven labels	
Bre-Co., Inc., Irvington.....	15
Women's and children's outerwear	
Bristol Steel & Iron Works, Inc., Richmond.....	25
Structural steel	
Brock Heading and Stave Co., Radford.....	15-40
Barrel heads and staves	
C & P Printing Co., Waynesboro.....	5
Printing	
Campbell Foundry Co., Emporia.....	50
Grey iron construction castings	
Capitol Foundry Co., Richmond.....	10
Manhole covers	
Cherrydale Sheet Metal, Merrifield.....	15
Sheet metal products	
Chesapeake Southern Dress Corp., Richmond.....	65
Apparel	
Coiffure Pillow Manufacturing Co., Norfolk.....	10
Foam rubber pillows	
Colonial Bedding Co., Norfolk.....	10
Springs and mattresses	
Colonial Block Co., Newport News.....	10
Concrete blocks	
Commodore Corporation, Danville.....	90
Mobile homes	
Commonwealth Corrugated Container Corp., Richmond.....	25 (est.)
Shipping containers	
Coons Custom Manufacturing Co., Radford.....	25-30
Pickup coaches for use on small trucks	
Corning Glass Works, Blacksburg.....	300
Glass piping	
Corrugated Container Corp., Salem.....	10 (est.)
Shipping containers	

REEVES

BROS.,

INC.

Manufacturers

of

Rubber Products

BUENA VISTA,

VIRGINIA

Shenandoah's Pride

* DAIRY PRODUCTS *

**Valley of Virginia
Milk Producers
Co-operative
Association**

TELEPHONE 434-7328

HARRISONBURG,
VIRGINIA

**THE BANK
OF
SOUTHSIDE
VIRGINIA**

PRINCE GEORGE
CARSON
STONY CREEK
JARRATT

Member Federal Deposit
Insurance Corporation

Name and Location of Firm

**Expected
Employment at
Full Operation**

Creative Screen Print Co., Richmond.....	10
Silk screen printing	
Decotex Corp., Fredericksburg.....	20
Foam rubber products	
Diemolding Corp., Victoria.....	25 (est.)
Thermo-set plastic items	
E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., Amthill, Richmond.....	250
Sheet structure fibrous polyethylene	
Eastern Isles Corp. Grundy.....	100
Apparel	
Ellen M. Dress Co., Lawrenceville.....	50
Women's and children's dresses	
Fabritex Co., Winchester.....	5
Machine shop and repairs	
Filtaire, Inc., Charlottesville.....	30
Crystal filters	
Grigco Petroleum Products Co., Norfolk.....	10 (est.)
Motor oil refining and reclaiming	
HRB-Singer, Inc., Reston.....	100
Electronic products	
Heat Exchanger Engineering Co., Yorktown.....	15
Heating equipment	
Helms Veneer Corp., Rocky Mount.....	160
Face veneer	
Hewitt Concrete Products Co., Verona.....	10
Concrete products	
Jackson Seafood Co., Lancaster.....	25
Processed seafood	
Jefferson Mills Division, Kahn & Feldman, Pulaski.....	75-100
Elastic yarn	
Jo-El Company, Winchester.....	150
Apparel	
Judd Construction Co., Barboursville.....	20
Pipe covering	
Kelliher Sheet Metal Works, Falls Church.....	5
Sheet metal	

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Name and Location of Firm	Expected Employment at Full Operation
Lillian's Sportswear Manufacturing Co., Front Royal.....	35
Women's sportswear	
Metal Products Co., Alexandria.....	10
Railings and guards made from pipe	
Metal Service Corp., Springfield.....	40
Prefabricated steel stairs	
National Banking Machines, Inc., Bena (Gloucester County).....	5
Computing machines	
Pacemaker Togs, Inc., Narrows.....	10
Apparel	
Pacific Pulp Molding Co., Prince George Industrial Park, Petersburg	20
Molded trays for food products	
Pemco Corp., Bluefield.....	35
Power rectifiers	
H. K. Porter Co., Riverside Alloy Metals Division, Stuarts Draft	300
Wire, rod, and strip alloys	
Prestige Spring Corp., Norfolk.....	10
Bedsprings	
Pulaski Furniture Co., Dublin.....	100
Furniture, veneer division	
Rappahannock Concrete Co., Gloucester.....	5
Ready-mixed concrete	
Republic Lumber and Building Supply, Stafford.....	35-50
Millwork (windows, doors, etc.)	
Richlands Metal Products Co., Richlands.....	25 (est.)
Dump-truck bodies for coal and other trucks	
Rollic, Inc., Lawrenceville.....	50
Children's playclothes	
Royal Crown Cola Co., Richmond.....	35
Diet Rite Cola	
Rose Bros., Inc., Merrifield.....	60
Sheet metal products	
Sadler Materials Corp., Varina District, Henrico County.....	25
Sand and gravel processing	
Southern Floors and Acoustics, Inc., Merrifield.....	40
Flooring and acoustical equipment	
Star Products Co., Roanoke.....	5
Aluminum castings	
TMC Power Distribution, Inc., Alexandria.....	125
Motors and generators	
Templeton, Marvin B. & Sons, Inc., Lynchburg.....	5
Ready-mixed concrete	
Turbo Products, Inc., Fredericksburg.....	30
Industrial fans and allied products	
Union Bag-Camp Paper Co., Richmond.....	Over 100 (est.)
Paper bags	
Union Iron Works, Inc., Herndon.....	30
Structural steel	
Virginia Agricultural Products, Inc., Eastville.....	75
Sweet potato flakes and processed tomatoes	
Virginia Furniture Co., Martinsville.....	200
Metal and wood dinette furniture	
Virginia Millwork, Inc., Fairfax County.....	10
Custom millwork	
Virginia Manganese Products Co., Lynchburg (Appomattox County)	10
Processed manganese ore	
Winchester Hosiery Mills, Inc., Winchester.....	30
Men's hosiery	

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MANUFACTURING PLANT EXPANSIONS ANNOUNCED IN 1964

Name and Location of Firm	Employment Expected to Be Added
Albemarle Paper Manufacturing Co., Richmond..... Paper and paper products	*
Alliance Manufacturing Co., Shenandoah..... Small electric motors	15
Allied Chemical Co., Chesterfield County..... Synthetic fibers	200-350
Angle Plant, J. P. Stevens Co., Ferrum..... Broadwoven fabrics	50
Anjay Fashions, Inc., Norfolk..... Apparel	50
Anderson Bros. Consolidated Companies, Danville..... Work clothing	35
C. W. Antrim Co., Richmond..... Coffee, spices	*
Armour & Co., Roanoke..... Meat packing	10
Bassett Furniture Industries, Martinsville and Bassett..... Furniture	**
Bastian Manufacturing Company, Bastian (Bland County)..... Sportswear	100
Blue Bird Knitwear Co., Copeland Industrial Park, Hampton..... Knitwear	30
A. Smith Bowman Distillery..... Distilled liquors	*
Brenco, Inc., Prince George Industrial Park, Petersburg..... Railroad car bearings	50
Buckingham Manufacturing Co., Sprouses Corner..... Children's dresses	15-30
The Budd Company, McLean..... Electronic devices	75
Burlington Industries, Inc., Galax..... Broadwoven fabrics	25
Chase City Manufacturing Co., Chase City..... Dungarees and work pants	200
Chesapeake Corp., West Point..... Paper	135
Colonial Plastics, Inc., Richmond..... Vinyl curtains	*
Columbia Veneer & Plywood Co., Rocky Mount..... Veneer and plywood	50
Continental Homes, Inc., Boones Mill..... Prefabricated houses	25
Coronet Casuals, Inc., Portsmouth..... Apparel	50
Craddock-Terry Shoe Corp., Halifax..... Shoes	*
Dan River Mills, Inc., Danville..... Broadwoven fabrics	*
Dataflow, Inc., Richmond..... Business forms	10
Dietz Press, Inc., Richmond..... Printing	*
Dibrell Bros., Inc., Danville..... Tobacco products	45
Electro-Tech Corp., Blacksburg..... Motors and generators	75

* Floor space added.

**Figure not available.

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DINNER 6:00-8:00 P.M.



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Name and Location of Firm

Farmville Dress Co., Farmville.....	25
Children's dresses	
Ferrum Veneer Corp., Ferrum.....	25
Wood veneers	
Fiberspun, Inc., Staunton.....	200
Yarn throwing	
Firestone Synthetic Fibers Co., Hopewell.....	20
Synthetic fibers	
Food Machine Corp., Woodstock.....	15
Packing house equipment	
Foote Mineral Co., Kimballton.....	30
Magnetite	
Friedman-Marks Clothing Co., Richmond.....	20
Men's clothing	
Franklin Veneer & Lumber Co., Rocky Mount.....	20
Wood veneers	
Mr. Frosty Seafood, Inc., Newport News.....	200
Processed seafood	
General Foam Plastics Corp., Portsmouth.....	30
"Genafoam" for insulation	
Gloria Manufacturing Co., Newport News.....	*
Apparel	
Gray Products Co., Waverly.....	10
Particleboard for interior woodwork	
Hampton Hardwood Co., Newport News.....	50
Millwork	
Hampton Manufacturing Co., Independence.....	15
Beach coats	
Harris Hardwood Co., Roanoke.....	5
Hardwood flooring	
J. M. Harris Co., Inc., Roanoke.....	300
Insecticides	
Hercules Powder Co., Covington.....	*
Synthetic fibers	
Hooker Furniture Co., Martinsville.....	25-50
Furniture	
Inta-Roto Machine Co., Sandston.....	40
Rotogravure engraving cylinders	
Jerose Shirt Co., Petersburg.....	35
Shirts	
Joines Body Shop, Galax.....	50
Truck and trailer bodies	
Kingsberry Homes Corp., Emporia.....	*
Prefabricated home packages	
The Lane Company, Altavista.....	*
Furniture	
James Lees & Sons, Glasgow.....	
Carpets	
Master Tank & Welding Co., Prince George Industrial Park, Petersburg.....	10
Bulk tanks	
Miller Container Corp., Roanoke.....	*
Cardboard containers	
Montague-Betts Co., Lynchburg.....	*
Steel fabrication	
National Fruit Products Co., Winchester.....	*
Canned fruits	
Newport News Iron & Steel Works, Hampton.....	*
Metal work	
New River Textile Plant, Burlington Industries, Radford.....	50
Broadwoven fabrics	

* Floor space added.

Employment
Expected to
Be Added

Name and Location of Firm

Norfolk Newspapers, Inc., Norfolk.....	800
Newspaper, printing	
Norfolk Shipbuilding & Drydock Corp., Norfolk.....	800
Ships	
Owen-Illinois Glass Co., Big Island.....	50
Container board	
Penry Manufacturing Co., Galax.....	100
Children's knitwear	
Pretlow Peanut Co., Franklin.....	*
Peanut processing	
Pulaski Furniture Co., Pulaski.....	250
Furniture	
Reeves Brothers, Inc., Buena Vista.....	*
Rubber-coated fabrics	
Reynolds Metals Co., Richmond.....	100
Aluminum sheet; metallurgical research facilities	
Reynolds Metals Co., Plastics Division, Grottoes.....	25
Plastic film	
Richmond Engineering Co., Richmond.....	10
Structural steel	
Richmond Newspapers, Inc., Richmond.....	*
Newspapers	
Rolling Pin Bakery, Inc., Richmond.....	10
Baked goods	
Rockingham Sleepwear Corp., Elkton.....	20
Nightwear	
Rowe Furniture Co., Roanoke.....	*
Furniture	
Schwarzenbach-Huber Co., Luray Textile Division, Luray.....	50
Yarn throwing	
Seven-Up Bottling Co., Richmond.....	*
Soft drinks	
Sonoco Products Co., Richmond.....	40
Paper cores and tubes	
Southern Special Products Co., Henrico County (Richmond).....	70
Cardboard boxes	
Southside Manufacturing Co., Blairs (Pittsylvania County).....	35
School furniture	
Swing-Away Manufacturing Corp., Chesapeake.....	5
Car trays for curb service	

* Floor space added.

Employment Expected to Be Added



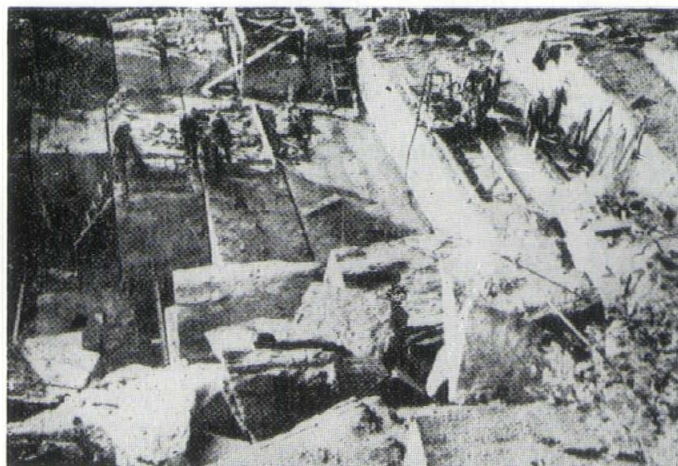
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Tabet Manufacturing Co., Norfolk Industrial Park, Norfolk.....	*
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Tidewater Crushed Stone Co., Richmond.....	10
Crushed stone	
Timber Truss Co., Roanoke.....	10
Wooden roof trusses	
Tuckersharpe Pen Co., Richmond.....	50
Pens	
Union Bag-Camp Paper Co., Franklin.....	150
Paper	
U. S. Filter Corp., Richmond.....	35
Cigarette and pipe filters	
Vaughan Furniture Co., Galax.....	250-300
Furniture	
Velvet Textile Corp., Blackstone.....	50
Textiles	
Virginia Crusty Pie Co., Portsmouth.....	30
Baked pies	
Virginia Paper Co., Richmond.....	*
Paper	
Virginia Iron and Metal Co., Richmond.....	10
Fabricated metals	
Wells Furniture Co., Roanoke.....	5
Furniture	
West Virginia Pulp & Paper Co., Covington.....	15
Paper products (new laboratory)	
Weyerhaeuser Co., Lynchburg.....	50
Corrugated paperboard	
Windsor Knit, Inc., Edinburg.....	45
Knitwear	
Woods Brothers Coffee Co., Roanoke.....	*
Coffee	

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NEW AND EXPANDED RESEARCH FACILITIES IN VIRGINIA, 1964

NEW INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH LABORATORIES

Name and location	Approximate Employment
Allied Chemical Company, Chesterfield County..... Technical center for research in connection with development of fibers and polymers.	400
American Tobacco Company, Chesterfield County..... Products research.	200
V-C Chemical Company, Hanover County..... Research and development in agricultural chemicals	75

*EXPANSIONS OF INDUSTRIAL LABORATORIES

	Added Employees
Albemarle Paper Company, Richmond..... Addition to R & D lab. to be completed January 1965.	---
Babcock & Wilcox, Inc., Lynchburg..... Expansion of nuclear research facilities; part of expansion of manufacturing plant announced in 1962.	15
Celanese Corp. of America, Narrows..... New building for testing, research and quality control. Part of expansion announced in 1962.	120
Reeves Bros. Company, Vulcan Plant, Buena Vista..... Expansion to house R & D programs and quality control. Product—rubber coated fabrics.	---
Reynolds Metals Company, Richmond..... Metallurgical research division enlarged. Double space allotted to R & D, new laboratory and testing equipment.	---
West Virginia Pulp and Paper Company, Covington..... Carbon technical service lab. moved from Tyrone, Pa. into new building in September.	15

NEW NONMANUFACTURING LABORATORIES

	Approximate Employment
Air Survey Corp., Reston (Fairfax County)..... Photogrammetry	75
Aries Corp., McLean..... Computer system specialists	40
Autometric Division, Raytheon Corp., Alexandria..... Mapping and charting, earth and space science	150
Dahlgren Naval Weapons Laboratory, Dahlgren..... Centralized facilities for computation and analysis	---
Data Associates, Inc., McLean..... Data processing systems	5
Electronic Concepts, Inc., Charlottesville..... Electronic receiving systems	50
Hayes International Corp., Arlington..... Research in electronics	20
Hayes International Corp., Newport News..... Research in electronics	55
Ling-Temco-Vought, Inc., Hampton..... Aerospace and electronic research	45
Litton Systems, Inc., Virginia Beach..... Electronic research	10
Motorola, Inc., Communications Division, Reston..... Electronic communications products	80
Vega Precision Laboratories, Inc., Vienna..... Electronic instrumentation	15

*Also listed as manufacturing expansions.

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EXPANSION OF NONMANUFACTURING LABORATORIES

	Added Employees
Aerospace Research, Inc., Roanoke..... Aircraft starter cartridges	8
Electro-International Corp., Newport News..... 9,000 sq. ft. expansion completed	46
Hazleton Laboratories, Inc., Falls Church..... New building for biological research dedicated September 1964
Melpar, Inc., Springfield..... Addition of 22,000 sq. ft. to house new Environmental Test Center
Scanwell Laboratories, Inc., Springfield..... Research in electronics; additional building
Woodard Research Corp., Herndon..... Addition of 40,000 sq. ft. Biological research	50

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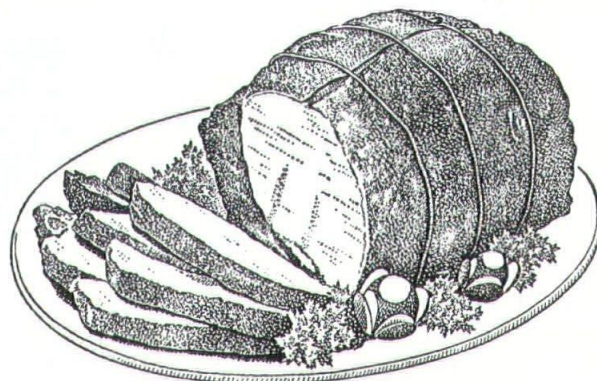
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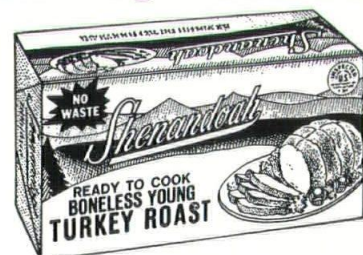
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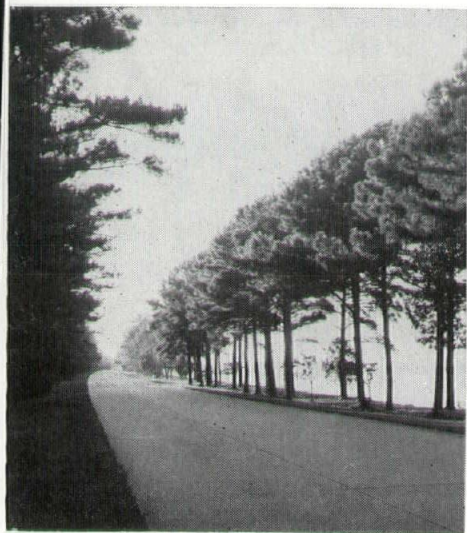
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VIRGINIA 1861-1865

The Story of a Century

(Continued from page 32)



Colonial Parkway near Yorktown, an example of Virginia's often envied road system.

But this achievement had been made at a sacrifice in adaptiveness that Virginia could not continue without declining into a backwardness that placed her with those states at the bottom of the regional tail attached to the kites of the rest of the nation. While the North was continually strengthened by the waves of manpower provided by European immigration (descendants of whom have held the highest and most significant offices in the nation during the past twenty years), Virginia continued to be drained of the energy of its own nativeborn youth. In the decade of the 1920s the young fled the state in such droves that Virginia experienced the lowest population growth rate in her history: the state of Washington and Lee ranked 41st in the national rates of increase.

The flight in the twenties was not so much the dislocated farm families as the disenchanting urban young. These emigrants left not to earn a live-

(Continued on page 59)

The Chesapeake Bay Bridge-Tunnel opened in April, 1964. Construction cost was \$139,000,000. From 2,000 to 5,000 cars per day are expected the first year. Tidewater and Eastern Shore business is booming as a result.

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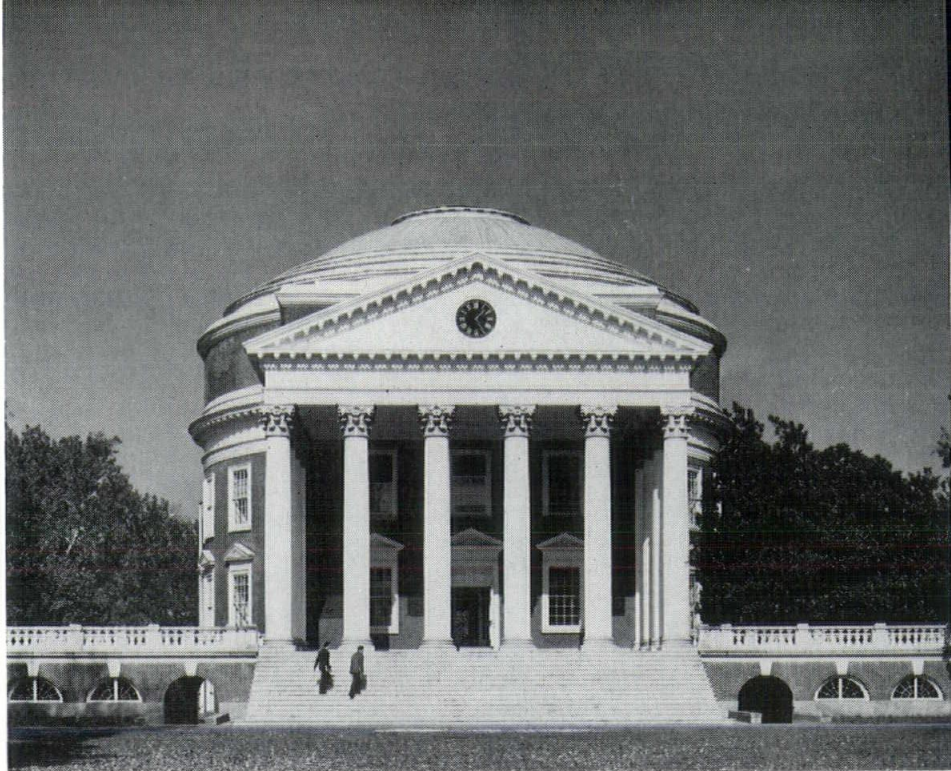
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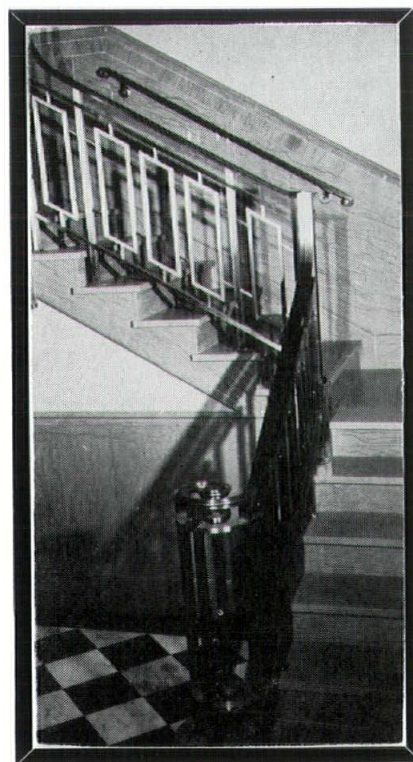
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

The architectural landscape of Virginia is truly a blend of the old and the new, side by side attracting tourists as well as Virginians to share the state's past glories and present achievements. Mr. Jefferson's famous Rotunda (right) not only still provides vital functions for the University of Virginia but draws many sight-seers throughout the year.

Seen below, as modern as a 1965 penny, is Roanoke's Public Library, first award winner in the American Institute of Architects Virginia Chapter's First Annual Competition. To citizens of a rapidly developing city, it offers a spacious reading room, informal reading areas and stack space for 185,000 volumes.



The detail at the lower right is from the interior of the newly re-decorated Capitol in Richmond. Originally inspired by the Maison Carrée, a small Roman temple at Nimes, it was also designed by Thomas Jefferson and houses the oldest continuous legislative body in the Anglo-Saxon world.



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(Continued from page 55)

hood but to seek broader opportunity and to breathe in a more invigorating atmosphere. There was an oppressive feeling that the society was "a closed corporation." The tight groups formed by the post-war rich had hardened as they expanded to include the newer rich, and the impression existed that the powers in the state were not at the top of a social pyramid, providing direction toward the base, but in a special compartment of their own unrelated to the rest of the people in the state—except to keep them out. I have been told by those in a position to know that it was more than a cynical quip to say, "The decisions seriously affecting the state could be made by a dozen men in the Commonwealth Club bar."

The sad part to remember about the young in those days was the pleasure in Virginia life enjoyed by so many who did not feel stifled, either because of a special talent or a burning ambition, or both. *Inheriting* an acceptance of limited horizons, of values cheerfully free of the importance of money or of protest at closed avenues of advancement, young men and women I knew around high school years had actually perfected a social pattern, charming and leisured, about as unrelated to their contemporaries in non-Southern areas of the United States as the carefree abandonment of Tahitian Islanders would be to Chicago titans of industry.

Before anyone had even heard of the tag "drop outs," before college education was commonplace and when graduate schools were regarded as rare academic adventures except for those preparing in specialized professions requiring graduate work, many of the most delightful acquaintances of my high school days had barely "dropped in." There was no question at all of financial difficulties at home. Though pickings might have been lean, these young people would have worked no hardship on anyone by completing—or even starting—high school, and, with

In the first half of 1964, Virginia's ports moved 9% more tonnage than in the first half of 1963. The 1962 to 1963 increase was 6%. Export tonnage rose 9.3% and its value 15.3%, and import tonnage and value increased by 7% and 3.4%. In the first 10 months, coal exports were some 25,800,000 tons against 24,400,000 tons the year before, a 5.5% increase.

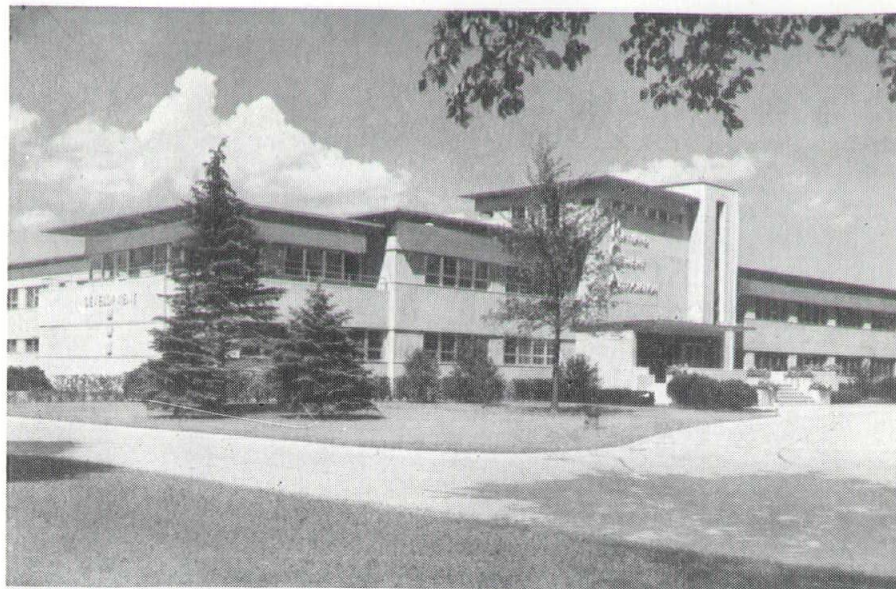
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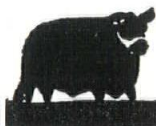
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only minor sacrifices and/or some effort at self-support, could have gone to practically any college of their choice. In fact, there was no discernible difference in clothes, manners, apparent background, intelligence, conversation and, most of all, social gifts, of those who did not go to high school and those who graduated from Yale, Princeton and the University of Pennsylvania (to name out-of-state universities that, where high tuition and fairly fancy board must be paid, were costlier than state institutions).

Those who went to work early did so, as far as I could determine, to have the cash to "play"—right then. They needed to acquire a "tux" (as a dinner jacket was called), part ownership of an automotive vehicle, and they were set to serve as escorts to debutante parties. Along with their pleasure-principle attitude, however, they all "held" jobs, paid their bills, stayed out of trouble, were respectable and respecting citizens. Of course, their futures were decidedly different.

These charming young people had committed themselves inexorably to life in the present as it was *then* in Virginia. This is not to imply that they

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ave not been able to carry their weight after the days of wine and roses were over. Those I occasionally meet are still respectable citizenry; some have, as the saying goes, "done well for themselves." They are good people, of fine principles and engaging manners, but they are not—in the larger meaning of the word—"educated people." This is unrelated to whatever point at which they abandoned formal education; in fact, it would include some who graduated from college. They are "uneducated" in the sense that were products of a society that placed little evaluation on motivation toward self-advancement *as an entire individual*—including, specifically, advancement in things of the mind. It was a society whose attitudes did not include, what has been called, "the mental habit."

Building permit valuation in 16 Virginia cities increased by some \$40,000,000 or 17% for 11 months in 1964 over that period in 1963, and employment in contract construction rose by 5,100 or 6%.

Looking back, from the perspective of decades, and other societies, I think finally it was thirst for a general mental stimulation that drew off the restless, ambitious young among the droves that emigrated. It would be difficult to explain in the context of those faraway days the element which divided the satisfied from the non-satisfied, for most of us who went away also placed little value on money and great value on pleasure. For all of them I could not speak, but the majority of those fugitives whom I knew personally did not go to seek fortune. They went for a "change of mental climate" necessary for their survival *as individuals*.

Those who went into the fields of the arts, entertainment or communication would be to some extent special cases, in that New York and Hollywood were the centers of their fields. But this applies only to some extent. Once established, writers and artists can set up shop anywhere, and for newspaper and advertising work there were local outlets. However, around my time in high school, to my personal knowledge, of the twenty-six men and women from that *one* high school who became successful in other states—less than half of these are artists, illustrators, in publishing, magazines, adver-

(Continued on page 65)

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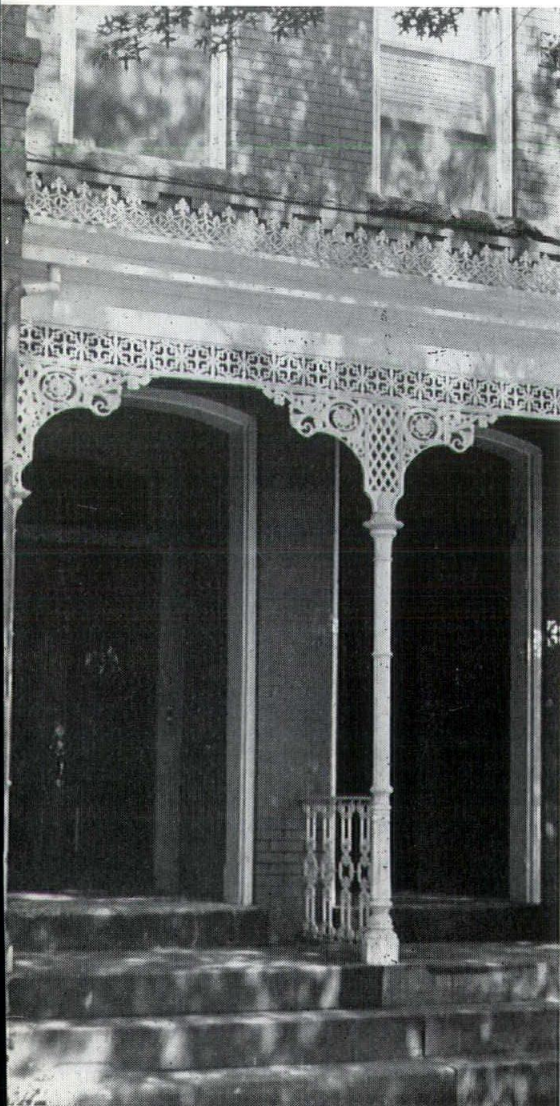
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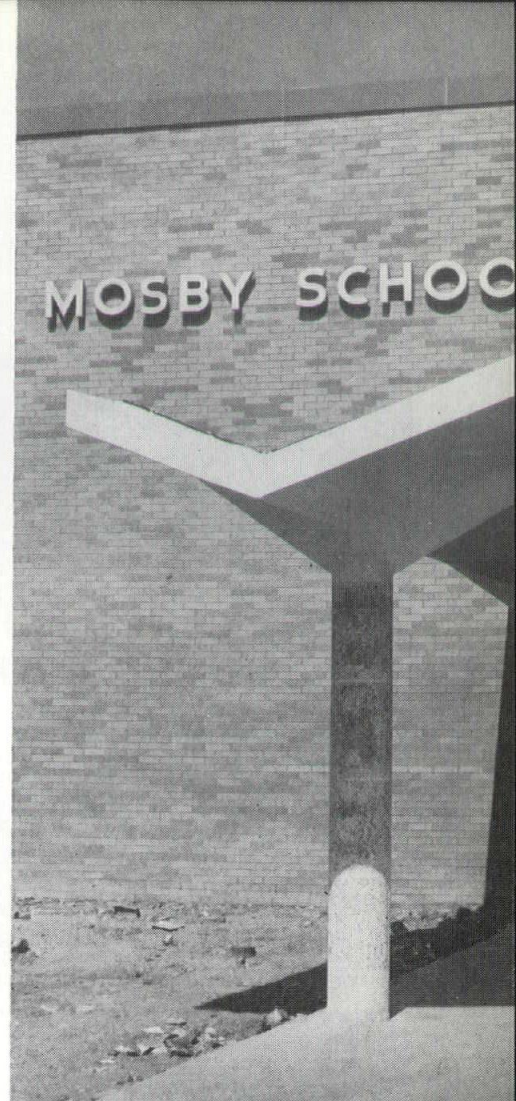
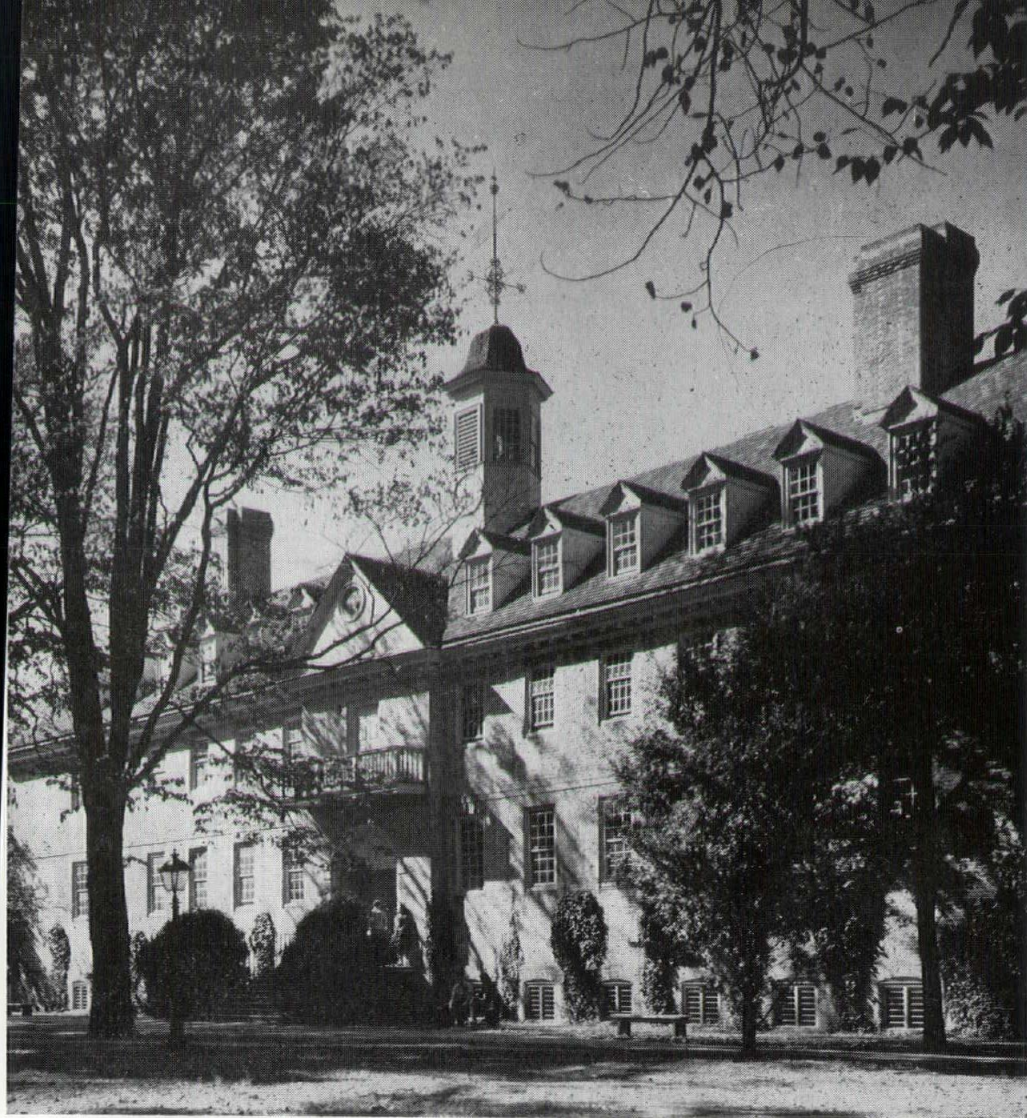
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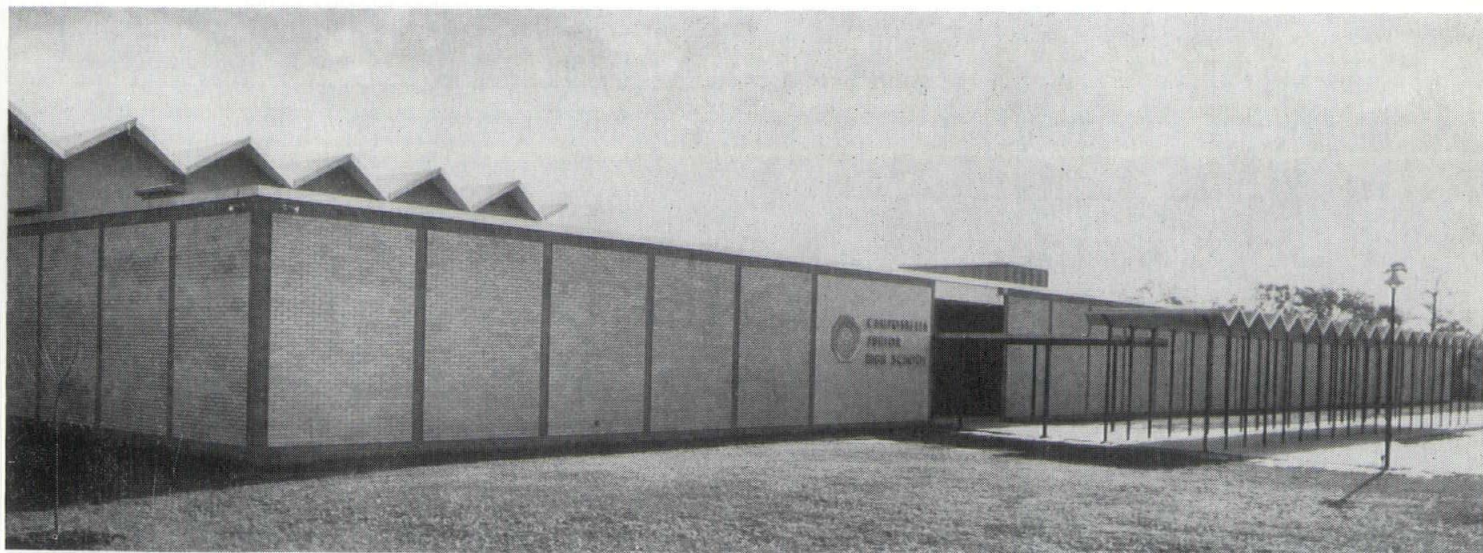
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LIVING HAS CHANGED. Changes are reflected here from the time of Shirley (left) in its fourth century as a working plantation, once the home of General Lee's mother, to the new high-rise look seen in so many Virginia cities. This particular model is of Lexington Tower Apartments, now going up on Franklin Street in Richmond. A blend of the old and new is represented by old houses made over into apartments under Norfolk's Redevelopment Plan, bottom left.





E DUCATION HAS A BEAUTIFUL CONTINUITY in the Christopher Wren Building, (above left), still in use at William & Mary College. Typical of today's most modern construction for the education of young minds is the Campostella Junior High School in Norfolk (below), the first climate controlled school in the United States, designed and constructed without windows. Urban renewal in Richmond produced a 30-acre site for the combined elementary and junior high Mosby School, whose entrance is shown (above right).



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(Continued from page 61)

ising or newspaper work (including two special correspondents for New York papers). Others are in finance, industry, law, medicine, science, education and one is a naval architect. Including two I knew in finance, all of those twenty-six losses to Virginia were drawn away primarily by need of environments with more highly vitalized mental habits than their own—though, of course, they were also influenced by practical considerations, such as escape from “a closed corporation” or escape into the opportunities for special talents.

The point of the “success” achieved by these expatriate Virginians is that they came of an environment which produced the *potential* for successful adaptation in any area. The young men and women from other states whom I first knew in New York were differentiated from those at home almost entirely by habits of motivation. On the basis of this comparison, the needless delimitation of the young Virginian represented a double loss. For the environment that drove the expatriates to realize their potential elsewhere deprived other decent, charming, even worthy young people of realizing their potential at home. The society was too non-competitive to bring it out.

The values in the identity that deprecated the world outside the Virginian *attitude* had passed the point of diminishing returns. The attitude was beginning to stultify those who subscribed as it drove away those whom it stifled. In retrospect, it is clear this

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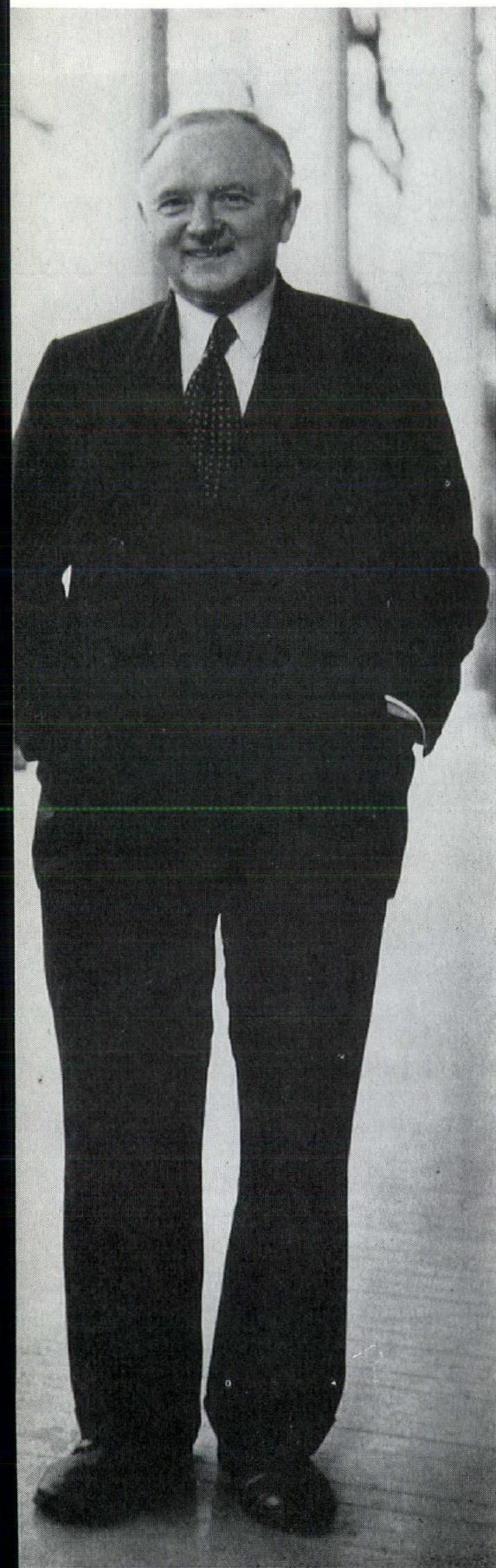
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generation possessed, in their identity as Virginians, a quality that could have been developed for the advancement of the state along with their individual advancements in broader uses of the mind.

Assuming that many individuals are excluded (for achievements were made in the state), the general mental apathy of the generation that came of age in the twenties was a major contributor to the appearance of "backwardness" and "provincialism" that made Virginia, in modern times, a part of "The South" rather than of the nation. Nor was this only an appearance of "provincialism." A superior scholar who wanted to come back to Virginia told me, in a mixture of sorrow and bitterness, that he could not go back to his own university to teach because he could not live in its "intellectual vacuum."

The outstanding symptom of this provincialism was its superiority to criticism of any kind; it was like a person who must be always right about everything. It had to be the State without a flaw. The real "countrified" aspect of the provincialism was the hostility to anything "strange." This could be instantly damned as not "Virginian." A visitor (even if nativeborn) took his social life in his hands if he suggested that *some* good things existed that were not *entirely* Virginian.

In the "Virginia is a state of mind" criticism, at the heyday of its provincialism in the twenties "the state of being a Virginian" was certainly and dangerously close to being a secular creed. The generation which came of age in the twenties made its own retranslation of the adage, "You can take the boy out of the country, but you can't take the country out of the boy." That urban-born generation had it, "You took me out of the country but for God's sake don't take the country out of me."

It must be understood that a sharp distinction exists between the cultivated "countrified" aspects of provincialism and the natural rootedness in a local community. The Virginian's sense of roots, his place-attachment, was probably the essential element in sustaining the unchangeable quality in the character that was perpetuated into the postwar identity. It was also a foundation of the soundness in that identity. For a time, the selfconscious provincialism was probably an inevitable concomitant in the continuity, but it continued after the necessity for it had passed. The reality must be faced that, with all the nostalgia for any appealing era that is irrecoverably

lost, the cultivated "countrified" provincialism outlived its usefulness.

This recognition affects nothing of the Virginian's place-attachment nor does it affect the rural-minded citizen with their own very real attachment to the land. Indeed, the segment of citizens who maintained their attachment to the land (many continuing today as part-time farmers) was and remains a powerful factor in the stability of the Virginia character. Nonetheless, Virginia is now a state of cities in competition with societies founded on urban centers, and we can no longer measure our standards by comparison with the rural denizens of the red hills of Mississippi.

As it is, we are carrying into the present the handicap of having extended the attitudes evolved in the postwar period into the first quarter of this century.—from where these attitudes exerted their own "afterglow." In the non-selectivity with which everything "Northern" was rejected as bad, industry became equated with Pittsburgh, or other cities dominated by a monolithic industry, and particularly the depressing stretches of the New Jersey milltowns where we could remember pleasant home-communities had existed before. But it never was an "either/or"—*either* preserve the provincialized status quo *or* become a Pittsburgh, with stretches of milltowns.

at the end of the 25 lost years after Governor Tyler's call for a "new era," two very dissimilar men with very dissimilar backgrounds appeared on the Virginia scene—Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the new governor, Harry F. Byrd. With no conscious design between the Northern custodian of vast riches and the dynamic young governor, Virginia was to enter the transitional phase between the end of postwar attitudes and the fundamental changes that transformed the state into an integral part of the nation's modern economic pattern. While no arbitrary dates can be assigned—as 1865-1901 and 1902-1925—the transitional period which began with Governor Byrd's inauguration in 1926 extended approximately into the opening period of the second World War. This period, then, as opposed to the previous 60 years, lasted no more than 15 years.

The connection between Mr. Rockefeller and Governor Byrd might be no more than an historic accident, but it combined an actualization of Virginia's past with material progress in a fresh vision. Governor Byrd was most known



Mr. Rockefeller's modestly begun dream led to the restoration of Williamsburg at a cost of about \$100 million. Above, reconstructed Printing Office and Post Office on Duke of Gloucester Street was the postal facility in Colonial days.

during his administration for the celebrated "Pay as you go" plan for new roads. When Governor Byrd took office, Virginia conspicuously lagged behind those states which recognized that the horse was gone for good, and the roads that had served Lee well (by hampering Yankee troop movements) were a cross between a joke and a nightmare for automotive travel. Virginia also *appeared* to be backward by not floating bond-issues for the building of practical roads. Governor Byrd went at both the reality and the appearance: he proved that a road system built by gasoline taxes was more soundly economic than those built by loans and, though Virginia's new roads might not have appeared as rapidly as the detractors would have wished, when completed the state's secondary roads ranked among the best in the nation. Visiting Northern friends, in taking battlefield tours off the main highways, have frequently expressed

(sometimes surprised) admiration for Virginia's roads.

These roads, of course, worked hand-in-glove with the reclamation of Colonial sites with which Virginia abounded, the center of which was the Colonial capital at Williamsburg. As Williamsburg was restored at a cost of approximately \$100,000,000 (mostly 100-cent dollars of the Depression years), its generalized effects were immeasurable. With the enormous publicity given the state by Williamsburg, tourists overflowed to the other sites. With more tourists, other sites were able to spruce up and exist as attractions in their own rights. In a sort of Tinker-to Evers-to Chance, the widely scattered attractions stimulated the building of motels, the refurbishment of hotels, and brought cash into the state in an unending chain from merchants back to gasoline taxes for the roads. Out of Mr. Rockefeller's modestly begun dream and Governor Byrd's solid

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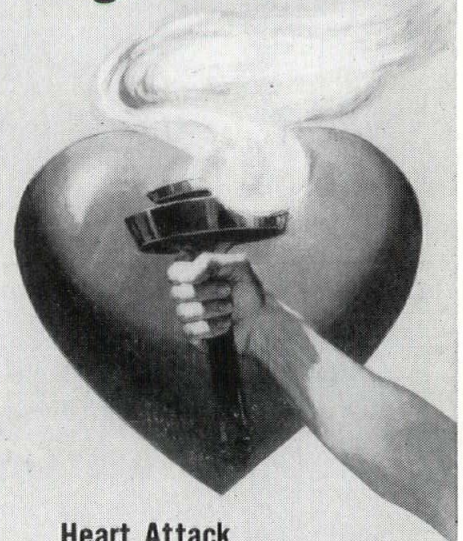
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rogram based on simple arithmetic, the state almost spontaneously developed a "tourist" industry that now brings \$600,000,000 annually into Virginia. From 25,000,000 annual tourists when Governor Byrd was elected in 1925, currently 700,000,000 tourists are known to visit Virginia annually.

There is another minor and often neglected element in this. While Williamsburg, like other tourist attractions, gets its "halter - and - shorts" crowds in the summer months, in the other seasons a considerable percentage of substantial visitors spend time in the state and indirectly Virginia is "sold" to these potential investors. Through the various Chambers of Commerce and travel bureaus, as well as directors of individual sites, there has been a concerted effort to "sell"—or present—the whole state. It is through these intangibles that the effects are immeasurable in the nature of Virginia's tourist trade.

July of 1964 saw the merger of the Norfolk and Western Railroad with the Nickel Plate, The Wabash and other roads. Still headquartered in Roanoke, the new N & W stretches some 7,800 miles over 14 states, bringing more freight traffic into Virginia and to our ports.

Governor Byrd's "pay as you go" plan was merely the most readily quotable in the vast, basic and comprehensive changes he brought to Virginia—both its government and the state. He re-designed the machinery of government, increasing its efficiency, and brought energy and fresh concepts to the state's financing. Along with the changes in the operation of government, Governor Byrd put into effect an active policy for attracting to the state industries which would not change the state's character. He proved that industry did not equate with Pittsburgh and Jersey milltowns. He proved this by working to bring in scattered industry of a nature that would not dominate the community.

By a curious inverseness, one of the strongest points of attractions to new industry was that plants did *not* change the character of the communities, creating a "laboring" population. The typical Virginian worker remained a self-reliant individual, many commuting to small farms and renewing themselves with roots in the land.

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ended with the beginning of the Great Depression of the 1930s, and the time could scarcely have been less propitious for inaugurating a program of diversified, selected industry. The failure of an "instant" industrial boom could be—as it has been seen—pointed out as an illustration of Virginia's continued apathy to modern technologies in its economy. This is a fundamentally false generality. The thirties opened the period when the "Virginia is a state of mind" cliché began to contain the small spot of truth that *could* be used to color the reality formed by a pattern of ignored facts.

Though it is said that anything can be proved by statistics, the index of per capita personal income seems to be a usually acceptable measure of comparison for economic health. This particular index has never been weighted in Virginia's favor (nor that of any Southern state), since the per capita rate is lowered by the large proportion of colored population. This was particularly true in the thirties, when education was less widespread among Negroes, and when colored families among the rural population clung with pathetic determination to a patch of earth that yielded a subsistence income. At the other end of this index, there were no industries that paid incomes in the brackets of executives with such as General Motors, U. S. Steel, or motion-pictures (where Louis B. Mayer at Metro drew \$500,000 a year at the depth of the Depression.) Since, then, the per capita personal income rate in no wise favors Virginia, it seems significant to compare Virginia with the nation during the national economic catastrophe.

In the 1930-1939 decade, per capita personal income dropped less in Virginia than in the national average. As a more positive factor, Virginia's recovery to the 1929 level (which it approximated in 1939 and passed in 1940) was at a higher rate than the nation's average. In 1929, before the effects of the Depression struck, Virginia's per capita income was only 61.9% of the national average; by 1939 it had risen to 75.9% of the national average. During the national economic disaster, then, Virginia's essential stability was evidenced by an advance of 14% as the state compared with the nation.

Among the various elements indicated by this statistic was the soundness of Senator Byrd's vision of a balanced economy based upon agriculture, trade and *diversified* industry. During the Depression, Earl B. Morgan, an industrial engineer with experience in



That Virginia has its share of national industry is reflected in the photograph of the Du Pont plant in Martinsville.

plant location and management, selected Virginia as a site for a new industry. Serving for a time as chairman of the Committee on Industrial Development of the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Morgan, in an address at the All-Virginia Advisory Council at Richmond, gave a number of the advantages he considered Virginia offered as a location for new industries. Among the reasons he listed were:

"The industries now operating in the state are well diversified. . . . There is practically no section suffering from industrial congestion. . . . Almost all counties in the state have a high percentage of Virginia-born workers, and very few of the residents are foreign born. . . . Virginia has made a record of which it can be proud in keeping free from strife and lawlessness due to labor agitation. . . . The Virginia tax schedules reflect the sound fiscal policy for which the state is famous. . . . Virginia has a long record of political stability . . . it has very satisfactory highway system . . . that is constantly being improved to meet modern requirements and developments of industry. . . ."

That these listings of Virginia's advantages were made by an industrial engineer, who had located a plant in the state, indicated that the identity maintained by the state had suited it very well for contemporary technological development. Mr. Morgan, in advising the council on encouraging industry, leaned heavily and specifically

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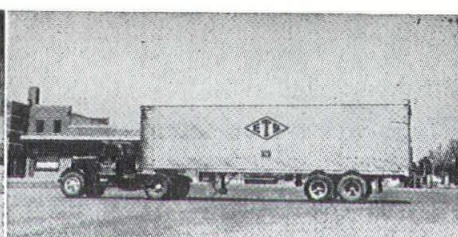
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on the nature of the existing communities. That is, the deep-rooted place attachment, which Virginians had sustained at considerable cost, was viewed as one of the state's most positive assets for industrial development. He advised the encouragement of the industry that "is willing and able to develop virgin territory and train its own personnel and will not dislocate the natural distribution of workers . . . choose industries that will have a community viewpoint . . . fit the requirements of the industry to what the community has to offer . . . prevent industrial overdevelopment of any particular section. . . ."

What the professional adviser was saying in the middle of the Depression was what Governor Tyler had said in 1901 and Governor Byrd in 1926—that diversified industry, properly controlled, would enhance the state without endangering the identity for which it had sacrificed so much. Industries could be absorbed in the communities rather than vice versa.

The November, 1964 total civilian labor force was 1,562,300, a 2.1% increase, or 31,600 more than the year before. Non-agricultural employment increased by 2.7%, from 1,151,200 to 1,182,500. The unemployment rate of 2.6% was well below the national rate of 4.5%, and 0.2% lower than the Virginia rate a year ago. Manufacturing employment increased by 11,600 (3.8%). In 1964, 74 new plants and 94 expansions were announced in Virginia, which will account for over 9,000 new jobs when all plants are completed.

The character of the state (its government and people) could translate its potential for economic growth into modern terms without distortion to itself. Just as the ambitious emigrants of the twenties (and the whole century before) had realized the potentials gained from their society in successful adaptation in social scenes of the toughest competition, so could the existing Virginia communities realize their potentials at home in competition with prevailing technological standards. In effect, the stage was set.

It is pointless to speculate on the extent to which Virginia would have taken advantage of her opportunities without the industrial stimulus of the second World War, followed by the

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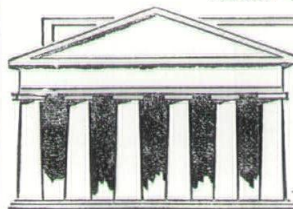


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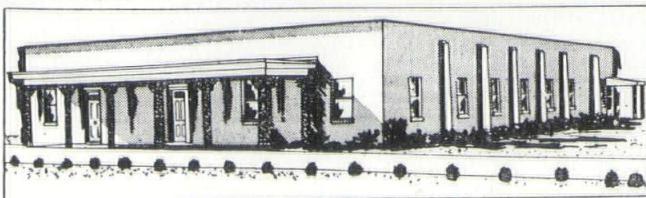
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rapid postwar expansion into new technologies and the generalized inflation, along with the population increase of the regularly, well-paid workers overflowing from the multiplying government "industry" in Washington.

On the specific point of the income from Federal government workers, however, this has been largely magnified by various critics of the Virginia government. Of the 1,290,000 persons currently employed in the state, only 79,800 are employees of the Federal government. The 132,600 employees of state and local governments, along with the 79,800 Federal government employees, earn 24% of wages paid to non-agricultural workers in Virginia—and of this, less than half is earned by Federal government workers.

This is not to appear ungrateful of the roughly 10% of her income that Virginia derives through her geographic location. It is to squelch the idea that Virginia's relative prosperity is traceable to the Federal government. In this connection, it should also be pointed out that Virginia is one of only 19 states that pays more in Federal taxes than is received in Federal aid. Virginia pays \$1.10 in taxes for each dollar that comes in by way of Federal aid—the only Southern state that pays out more than it takes in.

Also, of the \$30,000,000 from Federal aid in education, more than \$22,000,000 goes to Federally impacted areas, where Federal property is not taxed. In all non-Federally impacted areas, education is largely supported by taxes on property. By such figures, it becomes apparent that the talk of Virginia's dependence upon the Federal government is another one of those misrepresentations that contain a fragment of truth—this one about one-tenth of the truth.

The point of Virginia's resurgence was that, while an amalgam of factors was involved (many not controlled by the state), when new conditions brought new opportunities, Virginia was ready to exploit them.

The emergence of Virginia in the contemporary scene did not, of course, come full-blown. The transition period, which served as a bridge between the vestigial 19th Century attitudes and modern practices, naturally carried into the third phase many lingering habits—both of thought and behavior—involved with custom and the familiar. I imagine there were few native-born Virginians who did not regard the approaching changes with at least

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some apprehension. Many, including especially those of us who were returned expatriates, were moved by an emotional reluctance to part with the tempo of life which characterized the periods of memory.

Though we might have grown up in the "too poor to paint, too proud to whitewash" era, there was an atmosphere of tranquility, of gentleness and friendliness — a quality of grace — which colored our formative years and belonged to the perpetuity of our own times from the past. It was, probably the *remembered* Virginia which pulled us back and gave us, the returned expatriates, a more sentimental attachment to the perpetuated character than we found in some Virginians.

A segment of natives, aroused by personal experiences in World War II, was committed whole-souled and aggressively to "progress." I happened to be acquainted with one of these new dynamos at the time when the beautiful Nolting house on Fifth and Main was being demolished. I recall mentioning to him the wastefulness of such destruction and the pitying scorn of his answer: "You want to hold on to the past, but Virginia is a progressive state now. You can't stop progress!"

This summarized a purpose in the early, heady days of the resurgence which justifiably frightened the custodians of Virginia's character. What Mr. Rockefeller had done at Williamsburg, and individuals such as Malcolm Jamieson and Hill Carter had done at Berkeley and Shirley, was not "holding on to the past." It was making visual Virginia's heritage, serving to remind Virginians of the perpetuity from which the present was emerging. As we have seen by the tourist industry, it also provided visitors from other states and countries with a living view of the 18th Century world which produced leaders of the American republic. In point of fact, the restoring and refurbishing of the physical symbols of Vir-

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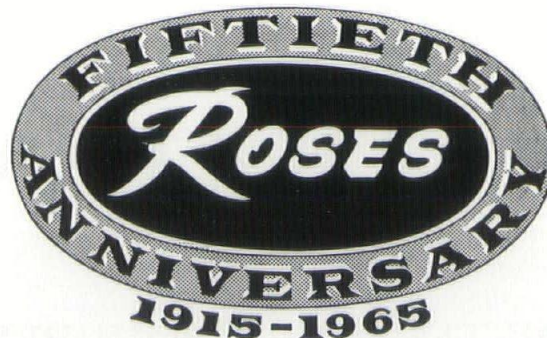
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The total commitment to "progress" at any cost would logically have demolished Monticello, Mount Vernon, Stratford Hall and the other plantations, and a plant for making King sized Hush-puppies would have replaced Williamsburg. Instead of the hostesses wearing Colonial costumes, leggy young ladies wearing ruffled bikinis and a smile would be serving mocassin-burgers with malteds. And here, at the "Cradle of the Republic," we could proudly display a Milltown USA, to compete with the best of them.

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This was the sort of nightmarish possibility, evoked by the "yesterday is dead" promoters of "progress," which urged caution in rushing ahead without brakes to collide with the bright, new industrialized tomorrow. It also must be said that a pull of inertia was exerted by the satisfied sentimentalists who, doing nothing themselves either to recapture "the golden age" or to insure Virginia's present economic health, simply resisted any change at all. This negative attitude sprang mostly from those who, as we say, "had it good," and could afford to indulge themselves in empty, chauvinistic appeals to a past that never was as they saw it.

At that, this brake of inertia acted as a counterweight to the shortsighted money-hungry who wanted *everything* changed tomorrow. Between the extremes, enlightened conservative elements made their adaptiveness with a cautious long view. In some areas, notably education, the adaptiveness has been slow, retarded by old standards and a complex of practicabilities. In some areas, the changes have perhaps come too fast, too totally, threatening the identity which a century was devoted to maintaining. But, with all the disparate elements, Virginia moved forward by most measures of contemporary American civilization in the past quarter-of-a-century of her emergence among the modern states.

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the years of discernible advance, from the transitional period, were 1940 and 1941. By the index of per capita personal income, the state passed its pre-Depression average in 1940 and increased this by just about 25% in 1941. In 1941 the per capita personal income advanced to 80.8% of the national average. This was the beginning in wholly economic terms. Since then, the rise has not been so spectacular, but it has been steady—as seen by the index which shows her per capita earnings to be approximately 85% of the national average.

The 50 states could be formed into three major blocs. The first bloc consists of ten states that *average* earnings above \$2500. The top three of these, the only states averaging above \$3,000, are all special cases: Nevada, first with \$3,278, bears no relationship to a broadly based technological economy; Delaware, second, consists largely of the Dupont empire; Connecticut, third with \$3,089, is the residential demesne of high-salaried Madison Avenue executives and potentates of the entertainment field.

There are 26 middle bracket states whose average runs above \$2,000 and under \$2,500. Virginia, averaging \$2,057, is near the bottom of these (34th in the nation), slightly shading Texas and shaded by Florida. Vermont brings up the rear of this middle bracket. As Texas and Florida are today only geographically Southern (Texans, except in presidential election years, regard themselves as "Southwestern"), Virginia is well ahead of all the Southern states with whom she shared the ordeal of the Confederacy.

These other Southern states are in the lower bloc of 14 states which average less than \$2,000. As the lowest bloc is topped by Idaho, Maine, Oklahoma, New Mexico and West Virginia, before reaching Georgia—at \$1,759 average—by this index it is apparent that Virginia is no longer at the top of the bottom (the tail of kite) but near the bottom of the large middle bracket.

When all are balanced out, from Nevada to Mississippi, Virginia's average per capita income is barely \$350 less than the national average. Surprisingly, such a highly industrialized state as Pennsylvania earns just about the national average, and Michigan, with its monolithic automotive industries, earns only \$50 above the average—or, exactly \$400 more than Virginia. This is scarcely enough difference to justify changing character.

Of course, the greatest change in Virginia during the past 25 years has been the shift from an agricultural to

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urban population, with all this im-
 es for a state with the land *mystique*.
 the 1960 census, the urban popula-
 n reached 55.6% of the total popu-
 ation, and this did not accurately
 present the proportions of the shift.
 rge numbers listed among the rural
 population were actually employed in
 industry, trade, services and govern-
 ent work.

Virginia's small towns, long past the
 rly century appearance of a period
 age set, had actively and intelligently
 romoted their locations as sites for
 ew manufacturing, which employed
 izens living on farms, or at least on
 nd, in the neighboring countryside.
 artly because of this practice, and
 artly because of the stability in the
 irginia character that does not em-
 brace all change for the sake of change,
 he Virginia towns have retained much
 f the leisured charm of the old era.
 ven with stop lights on the broad main
 reets, and shiny cars everywhere, one
 tep into a side street, a pause in the
 rugstore, a meal in a public place, and
 he visitor is immediately in an at-
 mosphere unmistakably and haunt-
 ngly of remembered Virginia.

The fundamental shift can be seen
 ore clearly in the breakdown on oc-
 upations. In 1938, just before the big
 change began, there were 270,000 agri-
 cultural wage-earners and 125,000
 wage-earners in industry. In 1938 each
 group earned approximately \$125,000,-
 000. In the 1960 census, there were
 104,000 agricultural wage-earners and
 302,000 wage-earners in manufactur-
 ing. These figures are evidently still
 changing—industrial wage-earners in-
 creasing and agricultural wage-earners
 decreasing—as the comparative pay-
 rolls changed from 1960 to the end of
 1963. During 1963 the agricultural
 wage-earners received \$61,000,000
 while the industrial wage-earners re-
 ceived \$1,376,000,000. In the 25-year
 period, in summary, the wages of agri-
 cultural workers were reduced by one-
 half while the wages of industrial
 workers multiplied 11 times.

It should perhaps be stressed that
 these figures for industrial wage-earn-
 ers are limited to manufacturing (tex-
 tiles, chemicals, and the like) and do
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In strictly economic terms, though agriculture is still listed as the state's third biggest "industry"—behind manufacturing and tourist trade—the value of the Virginia crop is steadily falling. After dropping 23% in 1963 for 1964 the cash income from crops will not exceed \$208,000,000. There is a slight increase in cash volume from livestock which, recently passing farm crops, will reach \$269,000,000. Even so the total farm income will be, in round figures, \$34,000,000 lower than the 1962 total of \$501,000,000. While government controls are involved in this steady drop in farm incomes, there is no doubt that the small independent farmer is becoming obsolete.

Retail trade employment increased between November, 1963 and November, 1964 by 5,300 or 2.8% and certain indexes show a substantial rise in sales volume.

This is the element in the total shift that is regarded with sadness by nearly all Virginians, sentimentally, and an immeasurable number of agriculturists, practically as well as sentimentally. We have for so many generations (indeed, so many centuries) identified Virginia with agriculture, thought of the state as a place of the land, that a profound psychological adjustment is required. Fortunately, for the physical appearance of the state, the continuing attachment of non-agricultural workers to a piece of non-urban land has in large measure maintained the familiar face of Virginia. While urban areas are sprawling, the increasing tendency of industry to decentralize will bring prosperity to the small cities and large towns where the workers can continue to reside in non-urban sites of their choice.

The gradualism with which manufacturing became dominant in economic importance has permitted the state to absorb industry in her social-cultural patterns, as envisioned by Governor Byrd, so that the long-feared

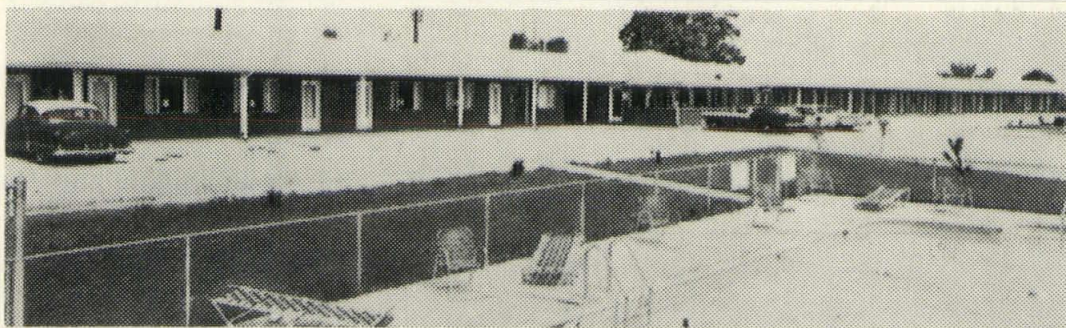
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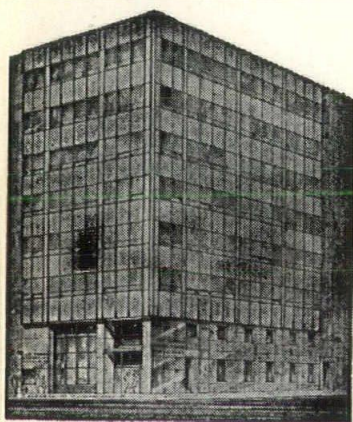
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monolithic industry has produced neither a Pittsburgh nor rows of dreary milltowns. The sacrifice the state made to maintain her postwar identity resulted in the achievement of becoming a national competitor in modern times without making what would have been the greater sacrifice in the Virginia character.

In effect, in rebuilding from the ashes of 100 years ago, Virginia devoted a modern century to "keeping her senses," as Mrs. Judith McGuckin put it during the enemy's siege of the state capital. For more than two-thirds of that century Virginia (along with the other Southern states) suffered economically from discriminations, as in railroad rates, imposed by the conquering regions, and endured into the present insults and finger-pointings from sections which advanced with prosperity while Virginia, in comparison, seemed to be going "backward."

Virginia never went backward; never retrogressed. She gave this optical illusion to the unsympathetic because she did move slowly, deliberately, and insisted upon honoring values which grew increasingly devaluated and cheapened in other regions. In this slow movement, with at times unnecessary lags, the test of her character was that she never panicked, never grasped at any quick panaceas, never considered being anything except what "Virginia" meant—not "a state of mind" but "a state of mine."

It seems one of the most significant commentaries on the values implied in the Virginia character is the wholeness

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in which many of the citizens who come from other states subscribe to the Virginia standard. Indeed, the citizens of other states—whose increase has been one of the major trends during the past 25 years—have contributed invaluably to balancing the previous decline of Virginia's "human exports." As of now, for the first time since 1960, the state has approximately as many new people coming in as native-born moving out. The balance is not quite even statistically (though the trend goes steadily toward the balance being tipped to a gain in the exchange), but it is close enough so that Virginia's birth rate will become a net gain in population. As of last year, Virginia's urban population increased at a rate of almost twice that of the national average.

Population in Virginia rose from July 1, 1963 (4,331,000) to July 1, 1964 (4,378,000) by about 1%, but from 1960 to 1964, our younger groups increased faster (10% to 11%) than our aging (8%) and in 1964 the proportion of aging to younger people was smaller.

It should be pointed out that a considerable proportion of the incoming migration consists of persons of high technical training in all fields and of educated persons who have come to Virginia for opportunity in professions ranging from medicine to finance, including particularly the fields of communications.

With no wish to indulge in counter-anger-pointing, the Virginian inevitably feels a justifiable satisfaction in present comparisons with those states who did sacrifice their own character to participate in economic, technological, industrial and liberal-thought advancement in "progress" at any price. While many formerly prosperous communities, with superior feelings of security, are now suffering their own kind of dislocation (such as the results of monolithic centralized industry and the exploitation of urban slum-dwellers), Virginia, by countless key indices of national standards, is passing the average established by those who formerly derided Virginia's "backwardness."

In such indices as total income in payments to individuals, employees in manufacturing, electric power generated, bank deposits, number of telephones and motor vehicle registration,

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In making this change, so deeply Virginia's identity established following her own violent dislocation thus far the character of the state (government and her people) seems to be fundamentally affected.

Governor Harrison, a realistic traditionalist, recently said in an address to New York businessmen that Virginia "welcomes the positive effects of change because she has experienced the benefits of change."

Few Virginians would disagree with the Governor's point that Virginia has "experienced the benefits of change" with the clear implication that at this stage the net result of the changes has been beneficial. Governor Harrison could say with confidence, "We offer you Virginia, as she is, and as we are preparing her to be."

It is a basis for honest pride when a state's governor can say, with sincerity and love, "We offer you Virginia, as she is. . . ."

It is also a sobering responsibility for those of us who share the benefits, and the pride in the way they were won, to look into a future which shall demand that the identity be sustained through increasing, unceasing change with unknown and unimaginable threats to the perpetuity of the Virginia character. For the first time Virginia enters an era when her identity will not be supported by the *mystique* of the land. Into unforeseeable time the sense of the land will continue as a sentiment in the total identity, but practically the land identification can no longer form the fundamental attitude.

In some ways, this basic shift will demand of Virginia a more difficult, because more amorphous, test of the perpetuity of her character than did the uprootedness of one hundred years ago. But, Virginia has *experienced* problems relating to identity for a long time and, when the new problems become less tangible than the cannons and carpetbaggers of another time, we do have the assuring knowledge that, when looking back over the past 100 years from today's perspective, Virginians formed a habit of "keeping their senses." •

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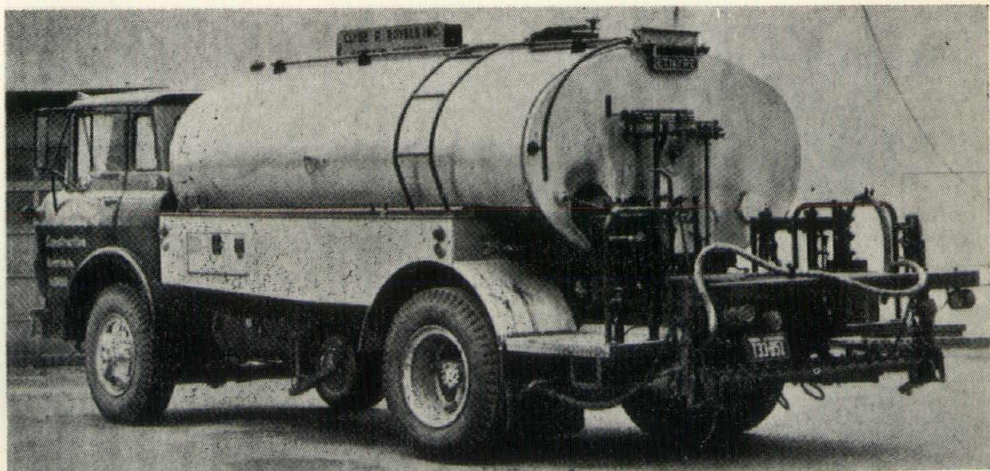
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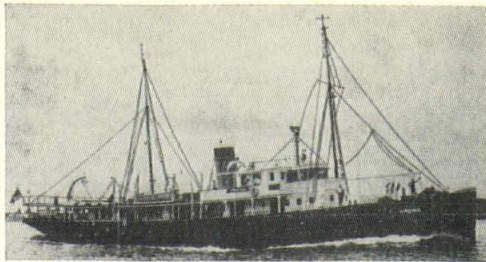
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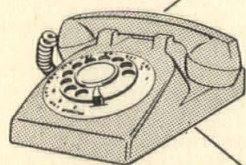
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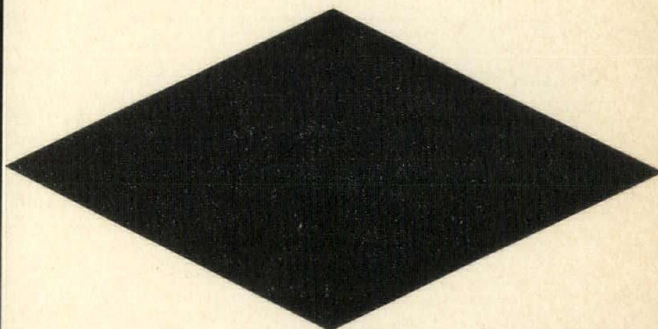
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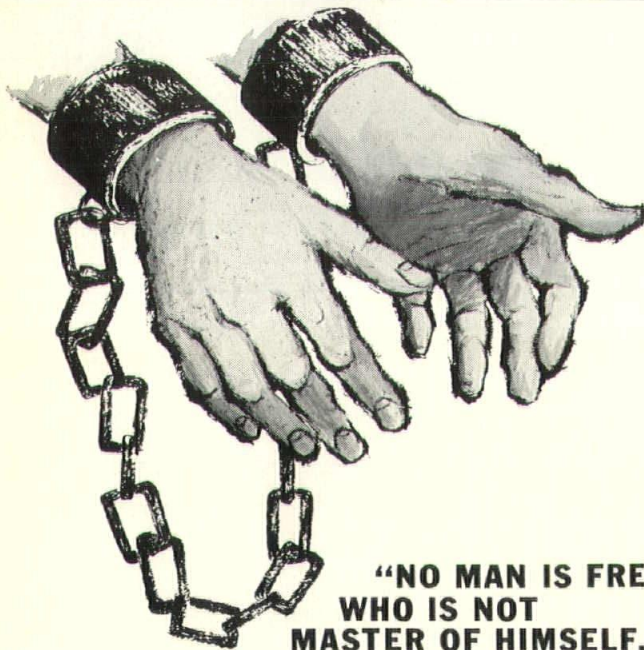
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Yet it is as true today in 20th Century America as it was 2,000 years ago in ancient Greece. To remain free, we must be willing to face individual responsibility. To accept self discipline as the only true discipline. To defend—consciously and constantly—the liberties we cherish.

This was the philosophy that guided our founding fathers. Men such as Washington and Jefferson dedicated their lives to creating a nation in which all men *could* be masters of themselves. Answerable above all to their own consciences. Served by their government—and not its servants.

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SAVE WITH SECURITY



WHERE YOUR DOLLARS GROW BIG

YOUR DOLLARS GROW WITH SECURITY FEDERAL WHERE
THE CURRENT RATE OF DIVIDEND IS 4 % PER ANNUM.
SAVE WITH SECURITY — GROW WITH SECURITY — THE
HOME OF THE GROWTH DOLLAR.

SECURITY FEDERAL SAVINGS AND LOAN ASSOCIATION

4%

CURRENT RATE
PER ANNUM

SIXTH AND FRANKLIN STS.

• PHONE MI 4-0761



"SAVE WITH SECURITY — IN PERSON OR BY MAIL"

**PUMP UP YOUR
SAVINGS IN '65!**

4 %



DAILY* DIVIDEND

*ON ACCOUNTS 6 MONTHS OLD

EXCLUSIVELY AT

Franklin Federal Savings
AND LOAN ASSOCIATION

J. B. BOURNE, JR., President

4 CONVENIENT
LOCATIONS

7TH AND BROAD • THREE CHOPT & PATTERSON
AZALEA MALL • SOUTHSIDE PLAZA