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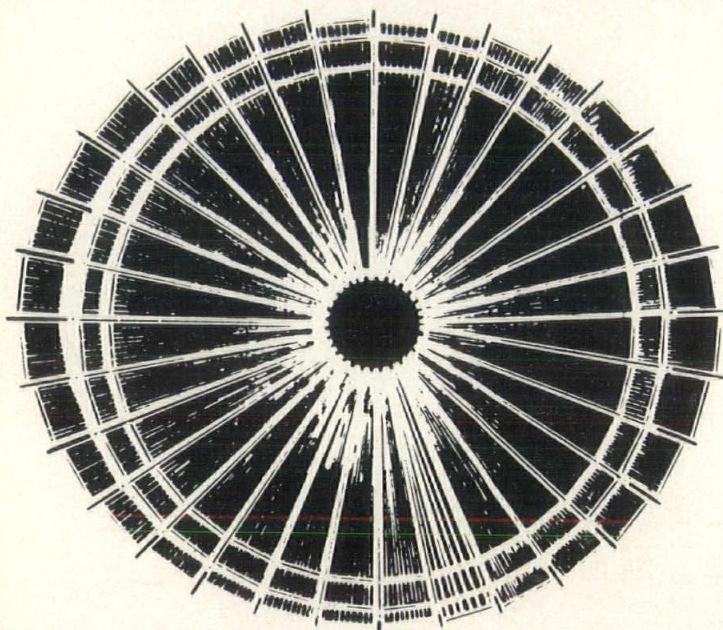
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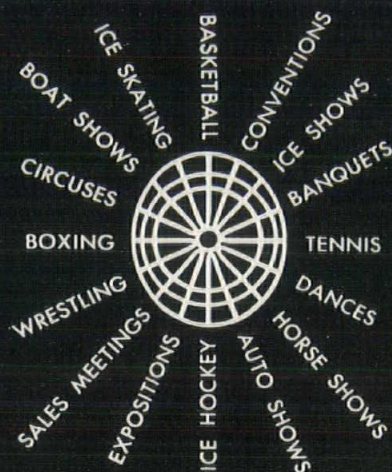


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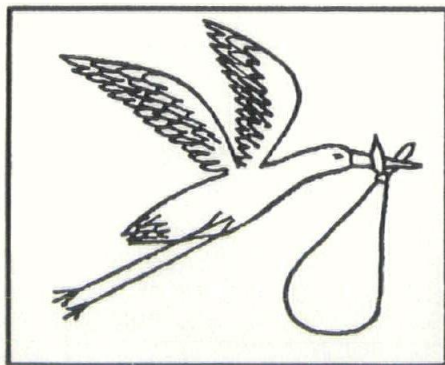
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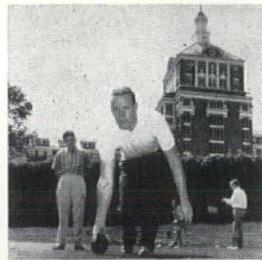
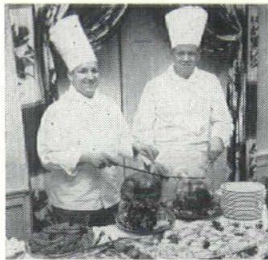
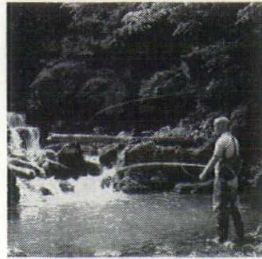
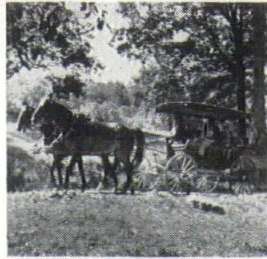
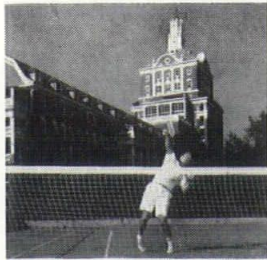
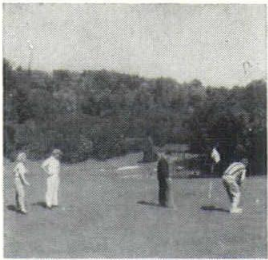


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JULY 1971

VIRGINIA IN TRANSITION

25 YEARS AGO AND TODAY

By

Clifford Dowdey



A YOUNG friend, a former student, and I were discussing the changes in Virginia and in the world, and the interrelation between them, when it was discovered that, as was most rare with us, we were talking along parallel lines. With an effort I could gain some comprehension of his world today, but, he, although highly intelligent and well informed, seemed unable to comprehend the world of 25 years ago out of which his present community had derived. He seemed to perceive no connection between the two eras, in Virginia or in the world, and the only influence of the post-World War II period he recognized on his generation was that it had produced a society which many of his contemporaries rejected. When I tried to explain that the society his contemporaries rejected was a transitional product resulting from vast changes, he asked which of the major changes in our civilization had made the deepest impact on me as an individual.

Without hesitation I said, "The decline of the British Empire, accompanied by the rise of Soviet Russia as an aggressively challenging world power."

He gave me a blank look. "Why?"

I found myself floundering in trying to describe the sense of

stability in an enduring world order provided by the global might of Great Britain ("Britannia rules the waves"), with the friendship between England and America which gave the English speaking people a prestigious security amidst all the upheavals among nations and power-shifts in geopolitics. My shock of change came with the loss of this sense of familiar order when Great Britain, ceasing to be a world empire, became reduced to a second-rate nation, struggling with the problems of socialistic experimentation, and America was suddenly alone as a bewildered power in a hostile world.

My young friend said, "A world that happened before my, 'age of consciousness'. I don't have any firsthand experience of this stable world order when Great Britain was a global empire. I can read about it, but can't imagine it. But I can understand now that a lot of our indecisive foreign policy is caused by the conditioning of that old order of men whose attitudes were formed by it. Maybe unconsciously they are trying to restore it."

"Yes, of course. In spite of your generation's denial of yesterday, the present is always at least partially—determined by the past."

"Even when we don't know what the past is?"

"An adult doesn't know what his infancy was, but what he is today came from that specific conditioning."

This conversation convinced me that the under-thirty generation would have no memory of the Virginia of 25 years ago, no personal basis of comparison of the Commonwealth then and now. Even those under forty would for the most part remember largely physical impressions, restricted in locale. Then, for the first time since the Colonial period, during the past 25 years Virginia has benefitted from an influx of new people moving into the state from other places, and these new citizens would, of course, also have no basis for comparing the Virginia of today with Virginia at the end of World War II.

For all those who do not have a clear impression of Virginia as of 1946—as well as to remind those who do—the fundamental point about the Commonwealth is that only then was it recovering from the economic effects of the Civil War. The obvious effects had been low economic standards—per capita income, per capita wealth, per capita public expenditures—in comparison with the non-Southern sections of the United States. Following the widespread loss of private and public property during the war years, along with a state debt which was not paid until well into this century, there had been the absence of capital for industry and modernizing agriculture, and there were rural areas which seemed permanently blighted by poverty.

As a consequence, public money had been lacking for education and other vital needs of the people. In a grim circularity, this lack of opportunity caused a steady migration of the highly motivated ambitious young out of the state, making a significant drain on the pool of

human resources. (From my own class in high school, I know of a dozen successful men in other places—a doctor, a dentist, an editor of a news weekly, a naval architect, a distinguished modern artist, an eminent book-designer, a Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, a university professor, and several in business and industry. This was *one* year in *one* high school.)

In 1946, when recovery began, these *tangible* effects had lasted 75 years. This not only spans three generations, but many of the middle generation—born in the shadow of Reconstruction and dying before the recovery—had no experience of life except as citizens of an economically deprived community, bearing the scars of a military defeat and occupation, and existing outside the flow of the American mainstream, an appendage of the dominant society, an unpitied poor relation of the feast of dollars. Manifestly the *psychological* implications would be profound and far-reaching.

The conditioning influences of these 75 years had developed attitudes of mind and casts of character which did not vanish with some brightening of economic prospects. Thus, when Virginia began its economic recovery in 1946—and this was merely a beginning; there was a long climb upward ahead—its mental habits were deeply imbedded. At the end of World War II, then, Virginia was a state of mind unique in the nation. To its admirers and detractors alike, it seemed a state of mind impervious to the changes of time and to the practices and the attitudes of the rest of the nation.

In this changelessness (called "stagnation" by hostile critics) Virginia was generally lumped with "The South," and Virginians, finding themselves in the rearguard of the national parade, sought comfort in their low standards by judging their statis-

tics by the standards of Southern states. Actually, with all the divergences within *The South*, from the Potomac to the bayous, from the Ozarks to the Everglades, essentially what Virginia shared with The South in 1946 was a history and a sense of history.

Virginia had shared with the other Southern states the experiences of invasion, occupation and the subsequent 75 years of dislocation and poverty, which caused President Roosevelt to designate the South as "the nation's Number One economic problem." Because the whole region was unique in America in having suffered the trauma of military defeat, destruction of its institutions and imposition of outsiders' will—as well as poverty in a land of plenty—the South was not infused by the booster evangelism which preached boundless optimism for the benefits of boundless progress. Indeed, most Southerners held some reservations about the undiluted blessings of American-style progress. Also, since much of American-style progress was identified with industry, the agricultural South's lack of enthusiasm for industrialization actually extended from an historic aversion to "dark, satanic mills."

These Southern attitudes naturally emphasized attachment to place, local identification, and parochialism in contrast to nationalism. In the defensiveness of defeat, the Southerner took pride in his differentiation from his fellow-Americans and assertively emphasized his own ways and attitudes, making his region distinctly different from the rest of the country. In the briefest visit from one region to another, one could feel the slower tempo in the South, the ritualism, the unhurried courtesy of the people and the simple pleasure taken in time for itself in contrast to the frantic use of time for advantage.

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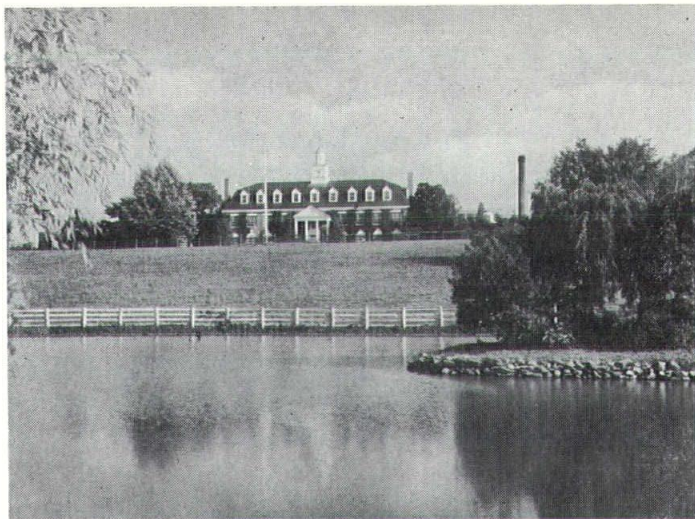
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In his defensiveness, the Southerner also rationalized many of the cultural defects of his region and, like any defeated people, mythologized his past. It was in this mythology that the South, including especially Virginia, differed most significantly from the other regions in 1946.

To non-Southern Americans the past was a vague, unimportant background for their myths of unending progress based on moral superiority and invincibility. Feeling somehow impervious to the conditioning of history, the North dismissed as irrelevant to the nation the effects of the Civil War on that benighted sub-region of The South.

However, since the South's mythology was rooted in a living past, it was the one region in the nation whose people (like Europeans) lived with a sense of their history. As has often been pointed out in literary essays, during the

renaissance of Southern letters during the 1930's every Southern writer was imbued with a strong sense of the past activating the present. Here the writers reflected their region by looking at life in its continuity, where what had gone before continued to affect what was currently happening.

Since the North dismissed as irrelevant this sense of the past in the present, the South came in for considerable derision. In all truth, some of the "looking back to glory" and "ancestor worship" was provocative of ridicule, but these were idiosyncratic excesses and should not be confused with the basic sense of history which characterized the South. However, nowhere were these idiosyncratic excesses more prevalent than in Virginia. They could tend to distort, or obscure, the nature of the perpetuated Virginia character as it existed at the end of

the second World War. These easily ridiculed externals could, and did, give a false emphasis of the real nature of a traditional society.

In 1946 Virginia, for all its shared history with the Southern states and aspects of similarity, was unique within the South. Indeed, Alabamians and Mississippians at that time felt that Virginia was not even in The South, and it certainly was not in *their* South. As there are many "Souths," probably it is simplest to say that Virginia, while classified with the gross category of The South and associating itself with the region generally rather than with the nation, actually was in a special category all its own.

Virginia had experienced two centuries of a district history before the new states of the "Deep South" were formed—most of this period as an aristocratically

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governed colony of Great Britain (with close cultural and economic ties with England) and for a briefer period as the largest and most prestigious state in the new republic for whom it provided presidents in all but four of the republic's first thirty-three years. Its own attitudes and customs and pride were deeply rooted long before the coalition of the Southern states and transcended the misfortune it shared with the Southern states for a period less than one-third of its total history. In brief, then, in looking at the Virginia of 25 years ago, it can be assumed that some of the state's characteristics and much of its conditioning could be found, in varying degrees, in other parts of the South, but our view will be of Virginia as a separate entity.

IN viewing Virginia in 1946, it was obvious that the state was far more of a separate entity than many of its people appeared to realize. At that time, I was seeing Virginia from the perspective of a returned native. Although I had grown up in Virginia, of a family with deep associations with the state's past, since the age of seventeen I had lived most of the time for the next twenty-odd years in other places—chiefly in New York City, with long stays in Arizona and Hollywood, a stint in the War Department in Washington, and with trips or visits in various parts of the country.

As a matter of fact, I was having some problems with my own identity. Whereas in New York I had been taken for "a Southerner," in Alabama I had been called a "Yankee," and in Boston I had been regarded as an exotic fugitive from Cotton Culture. Then when I came back to Virginia, I found myself looked upon as "a New Yorker." With these confusions it was with some difficulty that I established a working relationship with the Virginia

community as it existed at the end of the second World War.

I found that I was making friends with people who had come to Virginia from other places, making all the trips I could afford to New York and keeping out the welcome mat for visiting friends from the East.

Then one day I was having lunch with an older friend, a distinguished doctor and a distinguished gentleman of, as they used to say, "the old school." Our friendship had been based on a mutual interest in the Civil War: he was a famous collector of Confederate-ana. He gave me some very sound advice. He explained that he had spent some years in New York after completing his medical education and had also experienced difficulty adjusting on his return to Virginia. Then he told me that I was making the mistake of looking at Virginia from the "outside," that I had not truly committed myself to being *of* it. He advised me to concentrate less on my acquaintances from other places, especially transients, and to get to know "representative" Virginians.

In listening to my friend, I realized that while he would be "representative" of a quintessentially Virginian, in advising me to know more "representative" Virginians, he did not necessarily mean persons who represented what he did. He referred to any person, whether native-born or a Virginian by adoption, who personified some quality or attitude which represented the basic Virginia character.

In following this excellent advice (which I have since passed on to others with happy results) I began to look at Virginia with something of a dual viewpoint. While still under the influence of other cultures, I could see Virginia through the critical eyes of my friends from non-Virginian backgrounds, the "outsiders

who accepted me with reservations as one of them. At the same time, I began to see Virginia through the devoted eyes of a variety of representative Virginians, who accepted me warily as maybe one of them, although some highly placed provincials definitely regarded me with suspicion.

From my dual vision, one observation became very vivid: the elements which the critics bemoaned were the elements the Virginians revered. The critics blasted the absence of any cosmopolitanism: there was nothing to do at night and you had to go as far as Washington to get a cocktail before a meal or even a decent meal. The Virginian said his community was a place of homes, with family-life the center: you could serve your own ABC-bought alcohol at home where, since every one ate at home, the good cooking was. The critics asked irritably: don't they know the pleasure of a cocktail lounge? The Virginian pityingly said: home-centered life has been traditionally our preference since Colonial days. The critics said disgustedly, these people are "country." The Virginian said proudly, we are an agrarian-based civilization.

Twenty-five years ago, this was a dual view of Virginia. Then, there was industry as a bone of contention. The state, the critics said, will have low income standards and a shortage of public money for education and similar needs unless more industry comes in. The Virginian's set answer to that was, "We do not want our cities to become Pittsburghs." The Virginian's ideal was a three-way balance between agriculture and commerce and concentrated industry. "Ideal, chmideal," retorted the critics. Isn't your triple play keeping the state so far down the scale in every measurable category that you have to say, "Thank God for Mississippi?" The Virginian

replied, "We have been an agrarian-based civilization for 340 years, and we will not forsake our heritage."

The critics fretted among themselves over the ideological unenlightenment in the state and complained of the lack of intellectual ferment in even the urban communities. The Virginians, among themselves, accused their critics of not understanding the nature and benefits of a traditional society. "Why don't you get into the modern world?" the critics asked. "We don't like it," the Virginian answered. With a foot tentatively in each camp, I began to realize that the issues were too black-and-white, too free of the nuances.

In general, while I tended to agree with the critics on the shortcomings, I felt they were missing some intangible fundamentals, some worthwhile values not in their scale of measurement. As a consequence, their judgments were too sweeping and too severe. The whole Virginia society, with all its measurable lags and appearance of close-mindedness, was simply not that bad. Also, from my experience with other societies, I knew that the mentally livelier communities, with their higher measurable standards, were not, in contrast with Virginia, all that good. As the heart of liberal thought in America, New York, which 25 years ago was probably the greatest city in the world, was showing the symptoms of what rapidly grew into a fateful decay, and even then it was becoming an impossible habitat for families (except the very rich) with children to educate.

On the other hand, it seemed that the Virginians were not making out the best possible case for their society. There was too much complacency, even smugness, at all levels, too much defensiveness about elements that seemed to call for remedies rather than rationalization. Having

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worked much in Virginia's past, I was acutely aware of the conditioning effects of the 75 years since 1870; nonetheless, the state seemed to be doing itself less than justice to weigh its standards in the scale of those Southern states with whom Virginia had happened—almost by accident—to share a repercussive disaster.

Virginia seemed to overemphasize its geographical position at the upper tier of the Southern states, while under-emphasizing its geographical position at the lower tier of the Middle Atlantic states. After all, two of Virginia's Revolutionary and early Republic heroes, Light-Horse Harry Lee and Madison, had been educated at Princeton, while the country that later composed Alabama and Mississippi was an unsettled wilderness. Confederate heroes had been educated at Harvard (General Lee's son, Rooney), Yale, Columbia, a large number at the University of Pennsylvania medical school and, of course, the greatest military

HARRY FLOOD BYRD, SR.

To representative Virginians, he long personified the best of the state's ideals in government.

leaders in Lee's Army at the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York. Then, in the slow rebuilding during the decades after Reconstruction, Virginians financed the capital outlays through New York banks.

This is not to say that Virginia's commercial and cultural affiliations with the East could have made the 1946 Virginian feel any personal affiliation with the North. The conflicts between Virginia and the North were too deep and long-standing (since 1820) for that; the Northern way of life was too alien and the North's condescension had aroused too much resentment. But Virginia's pride should not have permitted such a close identification with a bloc of states, of which some repudiated Virginia in their region and were every bit as alien as the East.

The shared scars seemed to cause Virginians to forget that the state, in 1861, had voted two to one against joining the secession movement of the states of the lower South, and only joined the Confederacy after Lincoln called on Virginia for troops for coercion of sister states through armed invasion. The state's attitude was clearly represented by



Lee's statements on resigning from the U. S. Army, in which he stressed that his motivation was the defense of *Virginia*. He never mentioned The South.

In 1946, then, it appeared that Virginia was acting with a certain inertia in leaning on its Southern-ness rather than struggling to assert its own uniqueness—this, despite the political control of Virginia by an organization unique in the United States and the very distillation of Virginia's attitudes. The Democratic State Organization—"the Byrd Machine" to the critics and simply "The Organization" to the majority of Virginians—embodied to the critics the worst of everything wrong with Virginia and to the representative Virginians the best of everything right with Virginia.

There was no meeting at all between detractors and supporters. The critics claimed that the Byrd Organization was backward, repressive and, in its arch-conservatism, subversive of the national trends. The Virginians regarded the Organization as representing sound government, sound financial policies and, in a conservatism which reflected the Virginia character, a bulwark against the national trends that were subversive of the constitutional fundamentals in which Virginians believed. Because here the nationalistic and the state principles were most clearly pitted against one another, I felt that on this central issue of the Byrd Organization some resolution could be achieved between the opposing viewpoints of Virginia.

There could be no disagreement with the critics' basic charge against the state's feeble support of education, libraries and mental health institutions. The total per pupil expenditure, state and local, was \$90.25! The acceptance of an inferior cultural position, along with a medieval system of mental hospitals, re-

vealed a displacement of values in the Virginia attitude. When the supporters defended the Organization's public allotments on the grounds of fiscal policy, it was evident that guarding financial resources took precedence over developing human resources. This aspect of the Organization's pinch-penny policies seemed an unqualified minus.

Of the pinch-penny policy itself, based on Senator Byrd's Pay-As-You-Go program, there seemed to be more of a balance of plus' and minus'. Twenty-five



William Munford Tuck was governor during the days when it seemed the Byrd Organization would last forever.

years ago, Roosevelt's unlikely successor, Harry Truman, was not only continuing but expanding Roosevelt's Depression-born policies of government centralization and deficit spending—both of which were anathema to fundamental Virginia principles, as represented by the Byrd Organization. The squandering and the wastefulness were made all the more distasteful to Virginians by "the mess in Washington" during Truman's administration.

A personally honest man, who had advanced through machine politics and bitterly partisan Party politics, Truman gave appointments to unqualified cronies who created public scandals reminiscent of the Harding era. His liberal supporters, who made him their darling, were distinguished

by an overweening righteousness (actually euphoric delusions of infallibility) accompanied by derisive scorn for all whom they regarded as so benighted as to disagree with their cult. In this perspective, the Virginians' aversion to all Truman liberalism was reflected in an uncritical support of the Pay-As-You-Go program. That is, if deficit spending was an expression of liberalism, Virginians would embrace the balanced budget as an expression of their conservatism.

As of 1946—specifically in that period—the Pay-As-You-Go plan seemed sound enough in principle, although lacking in flexibility. As mentioned, the principle could not bend or stretch to include the supply of needs vital to the human progress of Virginians. But that these unmet needs were accepted in order to support a principle indicated the depth of the conditioning of the previous 75 years in the Byrd Organization leaders and the majority of Virginians who supported them. That they could not escape the influence of this past was natural, a psychological cause and effect, and Senator Byrd himself both personalized the whole period and personified the Virginia ideal.

As is well known, Harry Flood Byrd spent his formative years in the dislocations of post-Reconstruction Virginia where, due to his father's failure with a Winchester newspaper, he went to work at fifteen and succeeded vastly on the virtues of self-reliance, hard work, applied intelligence and *thrift*. He entered politics, with an organization, during a period of lull in Virginia when the worst of the physical effects of the Civil War-Reconstruction era were receding and the mental effects (including acceptance of the deficiencies consequent to the destruction and poverty) had become a fixed attitude. As is often forgotten, when he became governor in 1926 Byrd was then con-

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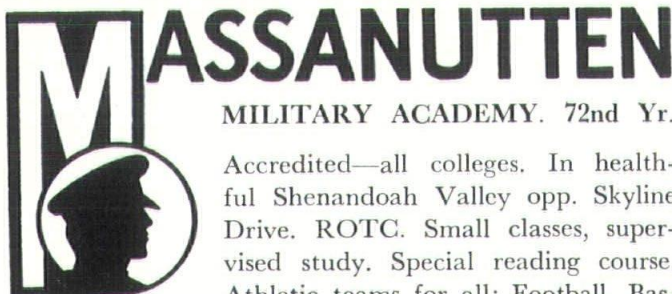
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sidered progressive, especially in his reorganization of the state government. He was also highly efficient and a master politician.

One cannot over-emphasize the significance of Byrd's personal qualities which epitomized all that Virginians liked to think of as best in their state and in their state government. For all the glamorized legends of Virginia's Colonial period, its government *was* an aristocracy—in the dictionary meaning of “those presumably best qualified to lead.” They were the men of property, education and the privilege of position; they were habituated to command and some of them were among the most enlightened minds on the continent. Perhaps the elements in the Colonial leaders that meant most to Virginians in 1946 were those habits of mind and styles of life associated with a social aristocracy, an elite of gentility.

Senator Byrd, a descendant of one of the most illustrious families of this ruling class, personified those qualities which Virginians associated with the gentry—especially country gentry. He was a deeply courteous gentleman, of warm personal charm, and the unquestioned integrity on which all his principles were based gave him something of a shining aura when compared to the demagogues who had fumed in the Lower South and the men of expediency who descended on Washington with Roosevelt. And he truly had that “habit of command” of his ancestors.

Transcending all this was Byrd's attachment to the agricultural tradition of Virginia. While his attachment had its highly practical side politically, it was also an emotional conviction, which he shared with nearly all representative Virginians. This conviction, inherent in the state's self-image, went far beyond the 5 years' conditioning. An agrarian society since its founding in 1607, Virginia first evolved the

plantation pattern which was adopted throughout the South and was, indeed, the prototype of the legendary planter society. With all its legendary aspects, the Virginia planter society produced the famed House of Burgesses and a galaxy of leaders, in the Revolution and in the founding of the Republic, whose numbers were never equalled before or since in a comparable period and space. In *The Mind of The South*, W. J. Cash wrote that Virginia, during its flowering in the planter society, “had enjoyed riches, rank, and a leisure perhaps unmatched elsewhere in the world, for more than a hundred years at least.”

That was 18th Century Virginia, which also produced the self-reliant, independent freeholder (or modest-scaled farmer) on whom Jefferson based his faith for a democratic republic. For Jefferson, the glory of the agrarian was the oneness between his means of livelihood and his way of life. He did not perform his job and then become a different person away from his work: he was a farmer all the time. Since later-day Virginians subscribed to Jefferson's ideal, there was a mystique about the land even among those working in towns and cities. Into this century all Virginians had relatives living on the land, and the timeless rhythms of farming continued into the 1946 era a sense of perpetuated agrarianism which was at the heart of the Virginian's image of his society.

This being the Virginian's ideal, Senator Byrd (founder of the largest family-owned apple business in the world) personified Virginian's philosophy of a traditional society as expressed in its state government. In this way, the Byrd Organization could be said to be satisfying the most fundamental purposes of the Virginia society by realizing the society's *intention*. Any self-knowledgeable individual, any creative

artist, any self-determining people will sacrifice much in detail in order to realize their basic *intention*.

Once this was understood, it was clear that Virginia's critics were making the mistake of not judging the state, its government and its people, on the basis of their *intention*. It was like judging a distance runner by the standards of a sprinter. The critics, seeing Virginia with viewpoints formed in societies with different intentions, often accused Virginians (for instance) of their divergence from the national stream of Truman liberalism, when the dearest wish of their hearts was to diverge as far as possible from everything associated with Truman liberalism. However wrong-headed they might seem, Virginians were realizing their intention.

With this realization, I no longer had a foot in both camps; at the same time, viewing Virginia according to its intention, I was not dazzled by the mystique of the land. I had been away too long, experienced too early and too deeply the stimulations of urban life (in that wondrous era before the blight of the cities). Thus, I could evaluate the Virginia intention in its own terms without accepting all aspects of it as immutable laws of nature, fixed eternally in the universe and to be tampered with only at the risk of invoking the wrath of the gods.

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IT SEEMED that Virginians were (as the psychologists say) "over-reacting" to the critics' demand for instant change. The critics, coming from regions unsobered by any catastrophic upheaval to their institutions and way of life, possessed that (then) typical American confidence in progress through change, and never paused to consider the side-effects of the changes they advocated on the Virginia community. In our present day the effects

of sudden changes have been revealed to be, as in *Future Shock* and other studies, potentially harmful to the whole organism *even when* the changes themselves bring specific benefits. Virginians 25 years ago did not need exposure to these studies to have an ingrained caution about sudden change. Having preserved the tested convictions in their society a long time through catastrophic changes visited upon them, Virginians held some not unreason-

able doubts about the benefits in progress from any and every change. However, primarily concerned about continuing the preservation of the Virginia character, Virginians, in resisting rapid change, tended to eschew self-criticism, or self-examination, of all the aspects of their traditional society. While the critics ignored the side-effects of sudden change, Virginians ignored some of the realities that were occurring in their society.

While the Byrd Organization leaders unquestionably acted for the good of Virginia, according to their lights (and according to the lights of the majority of representative Virginians), it *was* a political organization which also had the purpose of perpetuating itself in power. In achieving this, the Byrd Organization enjoyed the incalculable advantage of having a rural power-base in a society in thrall to the agrarian ideal. Also, in actual numbers, as of 1946, the rural population still outnumbered the urban population, as it had historically, although the margin had grown slight and cities were growing.

Of more significance than mere numbers was the solidarity of the rural voting. The political structure of the counties made it possible for local Organization leaders to exert considerable control over appointments, forming a hierarchy of influence, with the leading Organization figure in the county acting something like a pro-consul of his district. He not only delivered the vote, he was "the man to see." The beauty of this system was that the policies and principles of the Byrd Organization precisely suited these rural constituents, who voted their convictions.

Then, the Byrd Organization had inherited a franchise system inaugurated early in the century which, including the poll-tax among other features, discouraged the Negro vote. Although progressive Negroes had been

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making an effort to get out the Negro vote, in the 1945 election only 38,000 Negroes (in round figures) voted out of 365,000 of voting age—only a fraction above 10%.

Incidentally, this statistic in itself indicated nothing significant about the relations of whites and blacks in Virginia. At that time, eight years before the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation, Negroes nationally were barred from major league baseball, which had no teams in the South. It was not until 1947 that the "color line" was broken when Jackie Robinson signed with the old Brooklyn Dodgers. As a matter of fact, since the Byrd Organization controlled what was practically a one-party system, the voting percentage among whites was not high. Bucking the Organization had come to look like a futile proposition.

It was this condition which caused the critics to denounce The Organization as repressive and undemocratic. Here again they were missing Virginia's intention. Since its great Colonial governing bodies had been aristocratic (the rule of an elite), Virginia, revering this heritage, had never been characterized by the democratic outlook which presumably flourished in other places. Also, even though the revenue-producing cities (their representatives dominated in the General Assembly by rural blocs and committee-heads) were generally slighted in state legislation in favor of rural communities, the majority of urbanites accepted this discrimination because the conservatism of the ruralites coincided in principle with the basic conservatism of representative Virginians. And also the rural rule, of course, did no violation to Virginia's agrarian ideal.

However, although the critics misjudged Virginians' intention, they had spotted a weakness in the execution of the intention—

similar to a flawed technique in the execution of a work of art. There was the obvious repressiveness in those phases of the rural rule which discouraged development of human resources, through weak support of the educational system and cultural facilities such as libraries, and discouraged development of efficient urbanization through actual hostility to the cities. But beyond this obvious repressiveness, and perhaps even more significant to the future,

was a resistance to the tides of *fundamental* change. This repressiveness was like halting the hands of the clock, to keep Virginia forever as it was in denial of the manifest drift of the future.

While this very basic repression was a manifestation of the rural rule, some of the leaders of the Byrd Organization and many representative Virginians appeared to suffer from a faulty "reality-contact" in appraising Virginia's future. It was as if

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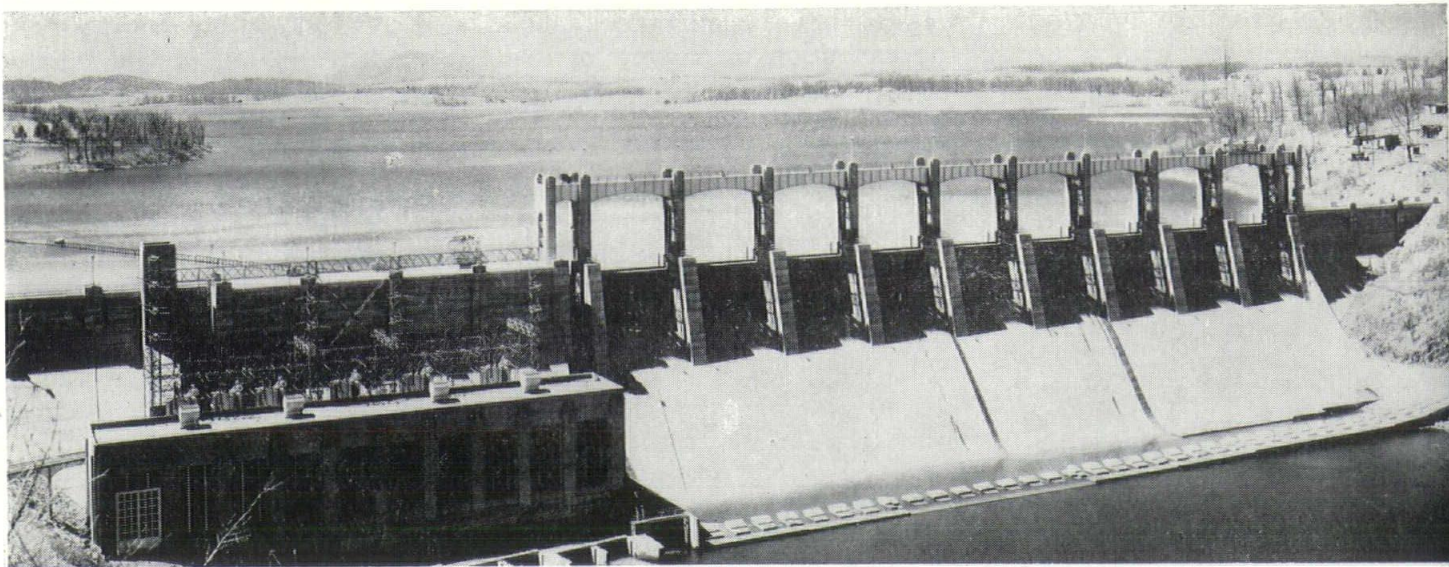
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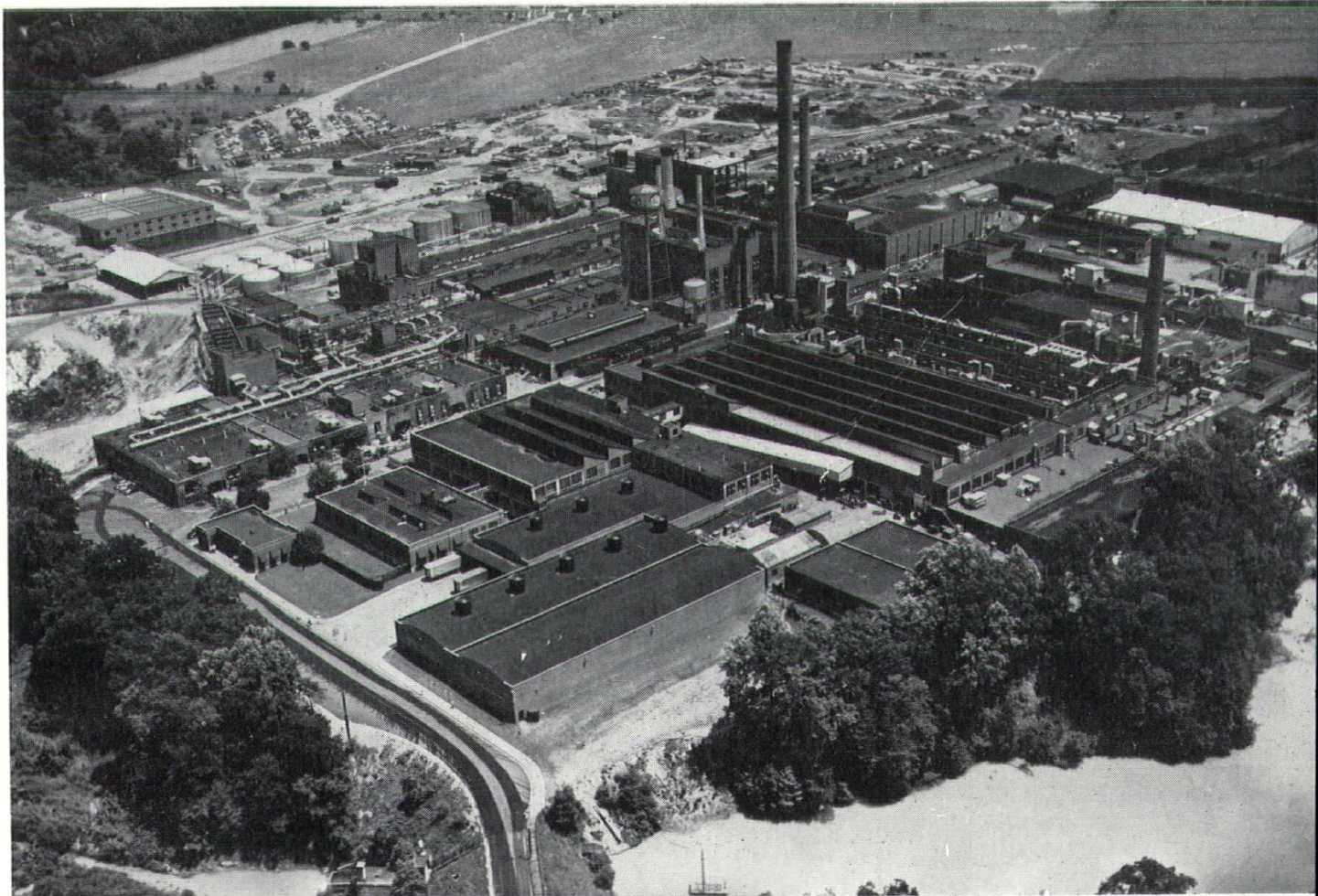


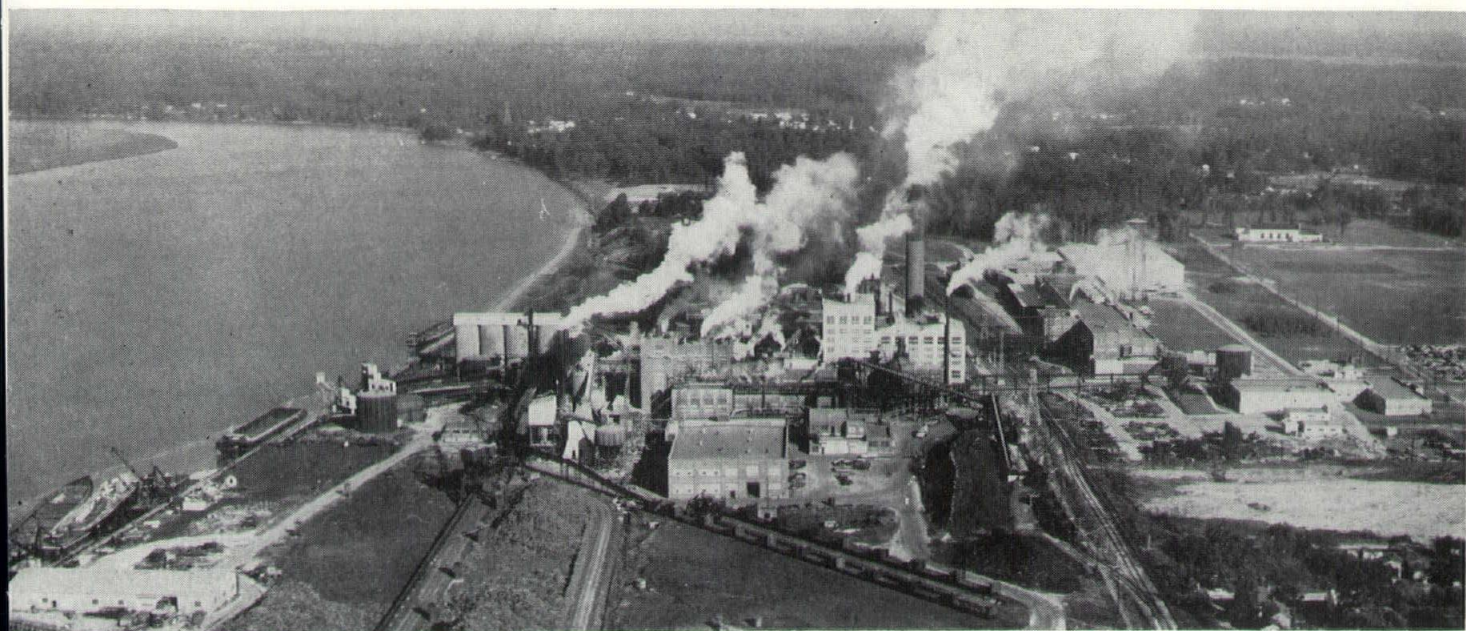
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— INDUSTRY —

In 1946 the balance of agriculture, commerce and de-centralized industry was already shifting, indicating a drastic realignment of the Virginia economy in the near future.

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their *wish* to preserve the present, as it had evolved from the past, caused them to *believe* that social forces would produce no further evolutionary changes. The ideal triad—agriculture, commerce and industry (de-centralized industry)—was referred to as if this could remain static in perpetuity, even though the balance, already shifting, unmistakably indicated a drastic realignment of the Virginia economy in the near future.

In 1946, 93 new manufacturing plants were opened in Virginia. This might not sound like much,

but it was epochal for Virginia. These plants gave work to slightly more than 9,000 employees. The employees did not come from outside the state nor was there any surplus labor force in the cities. They came off the farms. Although not again until 1967 were as many as ninety plants opened in one year, during the twelve years beginning in 1946, 667 new plants opened in Virginia, giving employment to 42,342 persons—mostly from the farms. It is fair to project ahead with those twelve years beginning in 1946 because neither the

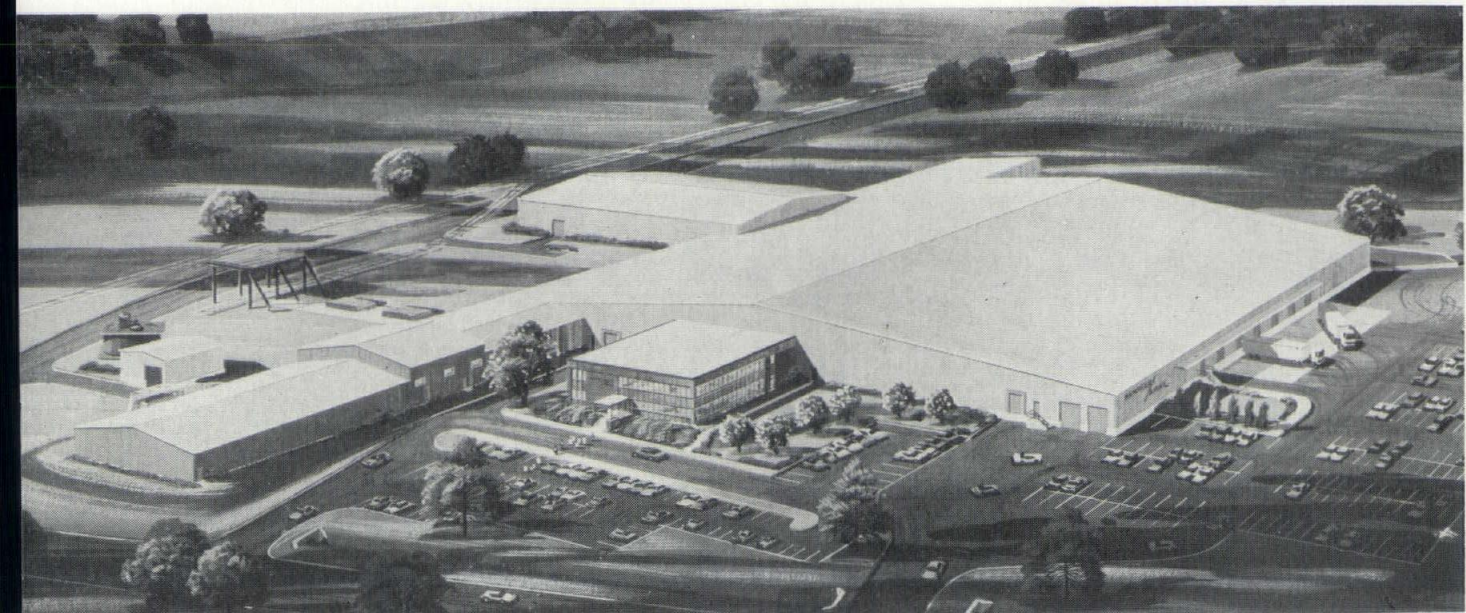
Byrd Organization nor the majority of representative Virginians changed their 1946 attitude about maintaining the balance of agriculture, commerce and industry.

Exactly as of 1946, this balance could appear to have some reality. In that year, the sources of individual income were (in millions of dollars):

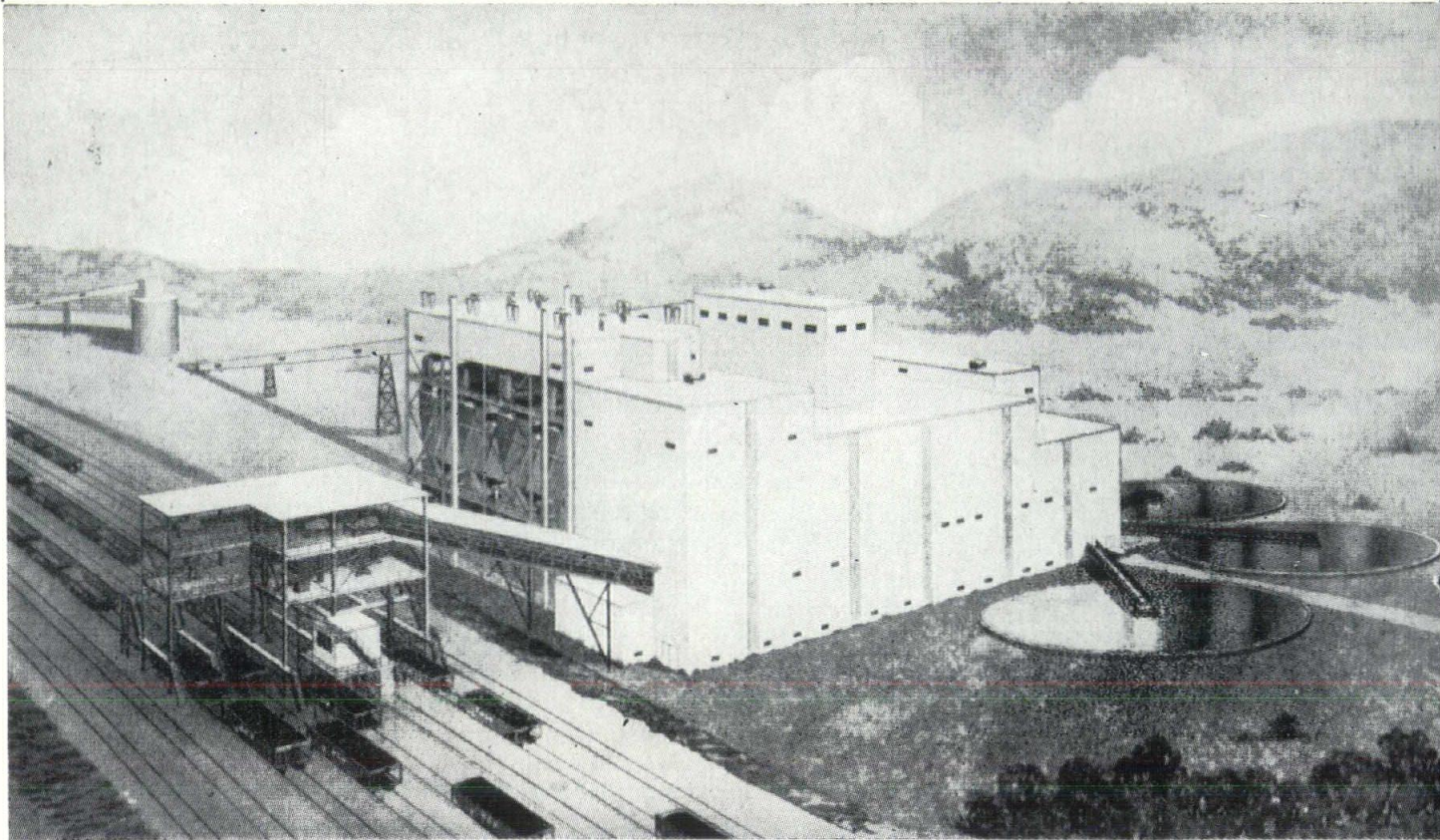
Farming	331
Manufacturing	440
Wholesale & retail trade	474

However, incomes from these three sources amounted to only

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a slight fraction more than one-half of the total incomes, the biggest other source of which was government—Federal, state and local. (The Federal did not include military personnel or Federal government employment in the Virginia portion of the Washington Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.)

As the 93 plants which came in 1946 manifestly represented the current of the future, the triad was obviously temporary. Within ten years incomes from farms had dwindled (in millions of dollars) to 260, while manufacturing had doubled to 898, and wholesale and retail had nearly doubled to 842. Incomes from government sources had more than doubled, leading all other sources at 900. In the next decade, this trend accelerated. Farming had shrunk to 218, two-thirds of the 1946 figure; manufacturing, nearly five times as high as 1946, had passed 2,000, almost ten times more than the income from farming; wholesale and retail trade had reached 1,449, and income from government still led the field with 2,210.

By then, of course, any emphasis on agriculture in the economic structure would have had the tail wagging the dog; incomes from farming came to about 2½% of total incomes. While no one could have predicted these precise figures, the point is that the 1946 attitude in the Byrd Organization and among representative Virginians seemed grounded in the impossibility of any such thing happening.

The political rural-rule and the agrarian ideal seemed impervious to the reality that in 1946 there was a steady drift away from farms. Small towns grew larger, small cities grew into bigger cities, and the big cities (by Virginia standards) began geographical expansion. Although no exact figures exist for the year of 1946, during the 1940's the urban population swelled from 35.3% of the total to 47% of the

total population, and during the 1950's Virginia for the first time in its history contained more urban than rural population. By 1960, the urban population was 55.6% of the total and growing more rapidly than ever.

None of this is a matter of hindsight. The drift was evident in 1946. Turner Catledge, the former political reporter in Washington, in his book on the *New York Times*, said that politicians have an amazing faculty for believing



*Albertis Sydney Harrison, Jr.,
who strove to bring industry in.*

what they want to believe. However, in Virginia it was not only the politicians. The position of the Byrd Organization was unassailable because its basic philosophy perfectly reflected the representative Virginian. Excluding the "outsiders" and a scattering of rebels, *nobody* wanted any change which threatened the Virginians' 350 year ideal.

The more enlightened, including Senator Byrd, welcomed the kind of change which could be assimilated without disturbing the perpetuated character. They were not advocating a total *status quo*, which would preserve Virginia as changeless in detail. However, in their deepseated, inherited fear of becoming Americanized, especially as represented by Truman liberalism, they could

give the impression of resisting all change.

This impression was deepened by some of the rural leaders in the General Assembly. While Senator Byrd himself was a high-minded gentleman for whom I had the greatest admiration, respect and personal affection, some of the Organization's rural representatives in the General Assembly were ignorant, primitive men, whose blinding passion for agricultural communities made them incapable of comprehending the needs for the broader development of Virginia. Also the rural-dominated legislature, in common with Southern politicians traditionally, were skillful in using all the tricks of manipulation and very satisfied (as a whole) with their hearty disinterest in the mental and cultural aspects of life, for themselves individually or for their constituents.

While this might seem a harsh indictment of the majority of the members of the General Assembly, it must be stressed that they reflected their constituencies. Since the 1830's, when enlightenment in Virginia gave way to a defense of the institution of slavery, Virginia was no more characterized by the mental and cultural aspects of life than the other former Confederate states. At the same time, its political leaders were no less in advance of their constituents than are the general run of national politicians; after all, it was a president of the United States who invented government by "consensus."

In summary, then, the plus' and minus' of the Byrd Organization reflected the plus' and minus' of the state. In 1946 The Organization was given the majority of Virginians the government they wanted. Of that, it must be said, that Senator Byrd's leadership served Virginia extremely well in the post-World War II period of heady and

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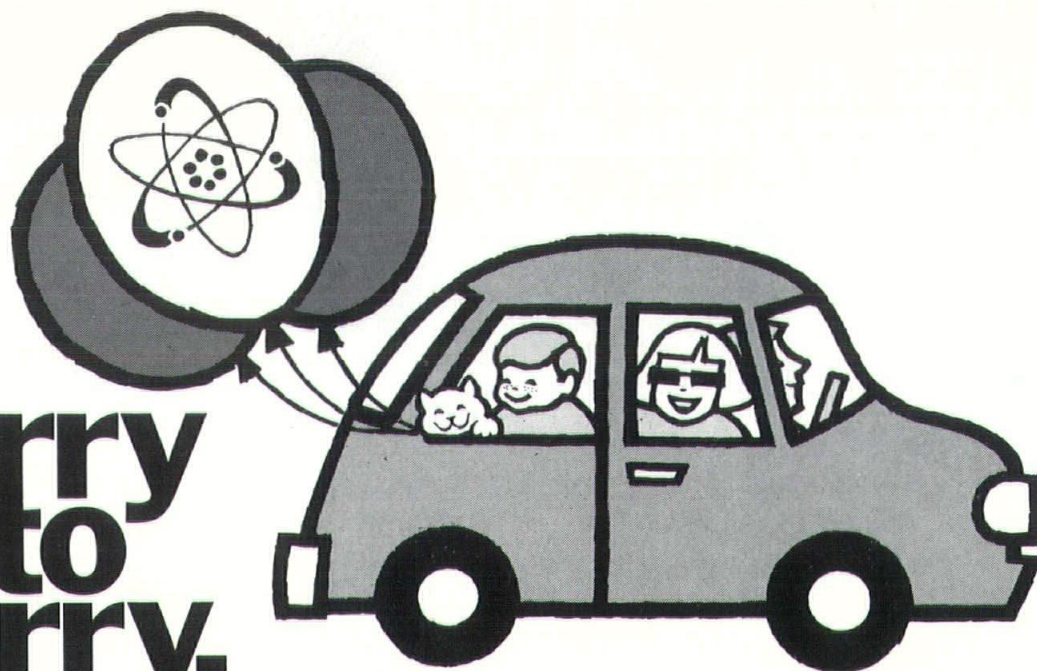


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hasty national social experimentation, accompanied by the fashionable liberalism which managed to make any subscribers to old values appear like quaint, rustic relics of another age.

With all its neglect of human resources (as in education, mental health, libraries, etc.) and inflexibility in anticipating basic changes, the Byrd Organization collaborated with representative Virginians in maintaining a stability and a pride in their local identification in the midst of a national stampede toward "progress" as defined by a liberalism which scoffed at stability and place identification. In fact, since the only "identity" recognized by the liberals was as a joiner of the cult (with its passwords, stereotyped attitudes, enshrined heroes: Truman and Mrs. Roosevelt, and villains: Senator Byrd and most Southerners), it really took some courage to be a "representative Virginian" in those days.

Since a projection was made in the trends of population and sources of income, it seems fair here to project the future course of the rampant liberalism of 1946. By now, it is a commonplace that the Federal spending policies, accompanied by the wastefulness of give-away programs and the overweening power which the labor unions gained with government support, has the nation in a sorry economic state. If Senator Byrd's Pay-As-

You-Go program was too rigid and finally had to be abandoned in Virginia, then the other extreme has certainly not led to unqualified benefits.

Also in the realm of ideology, the fashionable liberalism of 1946 has since been largely discredited. Now very old-hat, it is recognized as having contributed to the current national state of disillusion, unease and generalized confusion about ends or means. The liberals' scorn of place-identification has been replaced by the greatly written about "need for identity," in which the word "alienation" came into common usage as a definition of an American spiritual state.

To go with the old truism, "there are two sides to every coin," Virginia's deficiencies in performance and idiosyncratic attitudes formed the other face of a stabilizing conservatism which, perpetuating a traditional society, preserved a recognizable character, with all the implications of customs, manners, values and tested convictions, during an effervescent period when little virtue was accorded preservation of anything.

While the people and their government could appear to be socially inert, the preservation of their character provided the Virginians with a definite concept of their roles, defined by *human* objectives, in a society with which they felt identification. This sense

of identity, validated by the continuity of their past, was probably the outstanding characteristic of the Virginia society in 1946. It was the characteristic which, sustained through the apparently fixed order of the Byrd Organization, seemed to hold the capacity to endure through all the mutations of time and change.

NOW ALL that belongs to the past. The order represented by the Byrd Organization is as historic as the world order once represented by the British Empire.

Today a Republican governor represents incomparably more than a break with the old order. The transient political alignments which put Linwood Holton in the Governor's Mansion represent a fragmenting of the political order, which in turn reflects a fragmentation of the Virginia identity. There is no more one Virginia, with a single identifiable character to provide the representative Virginians with a definite concept of their roles. There is no longer even a definite concept of a single, guiding philosophic principle for the whole state of Virginia. For Virginia, without concept or plan—indeed, with strong reluctance in many segments of the population—has passed into another age of civilization.

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considered to be the early period of agriculture, the 1890-1945 period of the great cities, and the post-1946 period of the suburban culture. Virginia, for reasons already made clear, missed the second cycle when culture was dominated by the great cities—stimulating centers of ideas and magnets for the talented young, where high culture and high-priced entertainment flourished and fashions were set. Virginia not only missed this second age, but politically prolonged the early age of agriculture well into the suburban age. What Republican Holton's election meant, among other things, was the repudiation of the agricultural age politics by a majority of Virginians and an emergence into the suburban age by the state as a whole.

However, as the state as a whole has drifted into—or been absorbed into—the American suburban cycle, the regional differences within the state have become so marked that we now have a number of Virginias. The chief characteristic of the change brought by the suburban sprawl is the growth of metropolitan areas and the development of the statistically designated “smaller urban areas.” In point of fact, the so-called “urban areas” consist of expanding bands of suburbs encircling old core cities, many of which are in serious trouble and some, already decaying, are struggling for survival.

The seven major metropolitan areas and the smaller urban areas vary so widely in their characteristics and interests as to be, in some cases, practically in conflict. There is, for instance, nothing similar between the metropolitan area dominated by the progressive, independent-minded city of Norfolk, and that portion of the Washington Statistical Metropolitan Area called Northern Virginia, which exists fundamentally as an appendage of the federal capital.

This population shift affected the formerly rural areas in a wide variety of ways. Sections of some rural areas have been, or are being, absorbed into the urban areas. Other rural sections are outside any urban area, but near to one or more, while some rural sections are remote from any urban area. Practically all formerly rural counties now have some manufacturing, although in some counties the manufacturing is either too light or too scattered, or both, to affect the life-patterns of the county people as significantly as the life-patterns have



Mills E. Godwin, Jr. revitalized education in Virginia.

been affected by absorption into a metropolitan area. Thus, while some formerly rural areas have remained unchanged for all practical purposes, others have for all practical purposes ceased to be rural areas, and others (with shading of local differentiation) have become what the Valley long was, part urban and part rural in outlook.

In this fragmentation of the state into many Virginias, the polarities are Northern Virginia, which epitomizes the suburban age, and Southside Virginia, which epitomized the agricultural age politically. Curiously, these two extremes contributed

to the demise of the Byrd Organization and the fragmented political order which followed.

It was natural for the Virginia portion of the Washington metropolitan area to find The Organization unsatisfactory: along with its strong emphasis on first-class schools and desire to liberalize rural-based political philosophy, the area contained a large percentage of residents who were not native Virginians and, hence, were not only little moved by the Virginian's sense of identity with a traditional society but regarded the Virginian's awareness of his past as an irritating encumbrance on progressive thinking.

At the other end, where the county pro-consuls had reigned as the stalwarts of the Byrd Organization, Southside Virginia was the leading advocate of the *status quo* as of 1946: there the majority of voters not only held no objection to the rigidity of the old Organization in the changing conditions of the state, they resented any deviation from the orthodoxy as it had been in Senator Byrd's prime. In the 1965 election, Southside Virginia repudiated Mills Godwin, The Organization's candidate, because of his flexibility in recognizing that the state's needs could not be met in the old ways nor even the election won through the old Byrd alignments, with the huge shift in the balance of the population and the changing temper of a more urbanized citizenry.

When Mills Godwin became the first Organization candidate to be elected on less than a majority of the vote, as the Southsiders opted for a “conservative” dedicated to the proposition that the clock could be turned back, that was the death-rattle of the old Byrd Organization. In office, Governor Godwin broke with the Byrd orthodoxy: he scrapped the Pay-As-You-Go program, introduced taxes to meet urgent needs, and addressed himself vigorously



U. S. Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr. continues the tradition of integrity of his father.

to improving education in Virginia. By 1969 total expenditures per pupil, state, local and (now) Federal, had risen to \$697—near the national average of \$773. With substantial state aid, the counties increased teachers' salaries during the 1960's by 89%, half-a-dozen doubling salaries. Unfortunately, the state had to climb from so far down that, as the other states did not stand still, Virginia is still 31st from the top in pupil expenditure. At

least, Virginia got on a national standard.

Also, in a continuation of the impetus given to new industry by Albertis Harrison in the preceding administration, new plants established in Virginia numbered more than 100 in each of the years, 1967 and 1968. In the decade of the 1960's, approximately 600 new plants had been established in Virginia, employing approximately 60,000 persons. The recently revered triad

had become unmentionable.

The 1969 election, which showed the political fragmentation of the state, revealed two significant factors operating within the patchwork of new and temporary alliances. The state remained fundamentally conservative, as it has long shown in national elections, although the Byrd Organization conservatism was rejected. Then, the end of the Confederate influence was reflected in the election of Linwood Holton; time (and voting Republican in national elections) had removed the stigma of Reconstruction from the Republicans as well as broken the *habit* of voting Democratic. Of course, there were many other elements in the election of a Republican: new people in the state without the old associations, a widespread desire for a two-party system, former Byrd Organization supporters without a choice of their own and the various makeshift alliances which have been analyzed by political writers. But the passing of the Confederate influence marked the end of an era, not only in politics but in what politics reflected of the people's attitudes.

Clearly the new attitude would not accept the deficiencies in performance as part of the long aftermath of the Civil War, during which aftermath Virginia (along with the other Southern states) had been exploited by Northern capital and discriminated against by Northern policies (as on railroad freight rates). In 1969 it was said that "Virginia had re-joined the American mainstream." Although representative Virginians regarded this as a dubious compliment, and some took it as an insult, the state in a large part had swung or was swinging toward national standards.

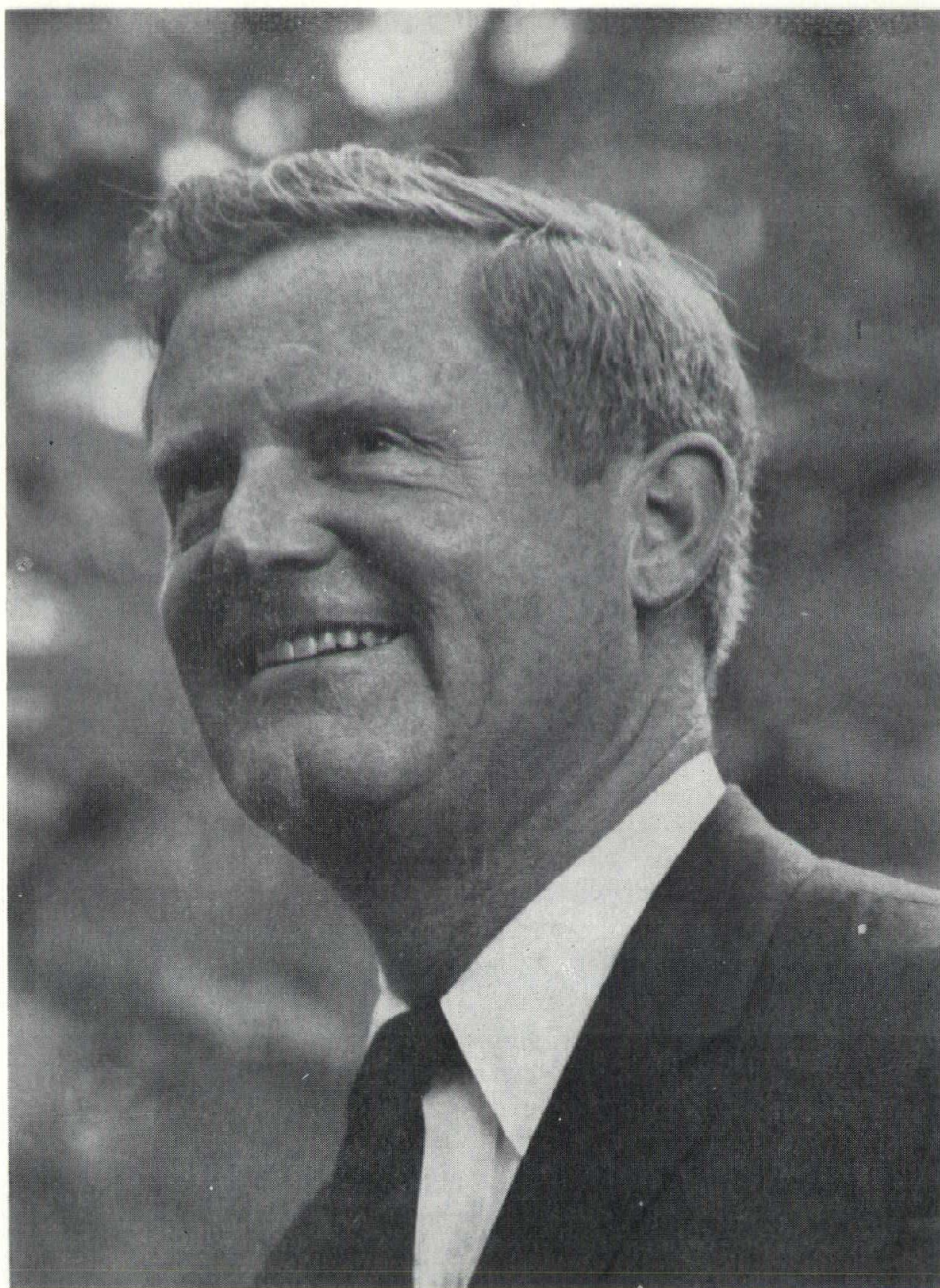
Some rural areas still maintained inadequate school system and were in general culturally deprived in comparison with the

cities and Northern Virginia. Pockets of the state's population had become very unequal in the opportunities provided their citizens, with the result that attitudes varied widely throughout the state. With all the varied attitudes—reflecting different economic conditions, standards of living, means of earning a living—which Virginia would represent the traditional society with which Virginians maintained a sense of identity?

With agriculture a small part of the state's economy, and the rural population steadily declining, what has become of the agrarian ideal that was inherent in the traditional society? Certainly a number of urbanites among representative Virginians cling, albeit wistfully, to the sentiment of an agrarian culture and have a genuine love of the land. But this personal sentiment would scarcely be significant in maintaining the agrarian ideal as a living factor in the current drift of population alignments.

Virginia's Division of Industrial Development has charted the state's population alignments as of 1971. The enormity of the change in the past 25 years can be best grasped by recalling that in 1946 more than 50% of Virginia's population was rural. In 1971, 61% of the population lives in seven metropolitan areas. In order of the size of their populations, they are: Northern Virginia, part of the Washington metropolitan area, 921,000; the Norfolk - Portsmouth metropolitan area and the Newport News-Hampton metropolitan area, the two combined having a population of 973,000; Richmond metropolitan area, 518,000; Roanoke, 181,000; Petersburg-Hopewell metropolitan area, 129,000; Lynchburg, 123,000.

Twelve smaller urban areas, ranging from 27,000 to 105,000 population, account for 16% of Virginia's population; the remaining 23% live in 100 other



Governor Linwood Holton, Jr., first Republican governor of this century.

communities of less than 10,000 or on farms. While obviously some people on farms, or who would be generally considered rural population, live in the twelve smaller urban areas and even spottily in the major metropolitan areas, their rural outlook would be subordinate to the dominant interests of their areas, and the trend toward urbanization (as predicted by the Division of Industrial Development) will create ten major metropolitan areas by 1980.

Now, then, not only does nothing in this alignment represent the structure of the traditional society, but within this untraditional alignment there are also new forces. While labor is not yet the force in Virginia that it is nationally, it is a force which, long slighted by the Byrd Organization, helped elect Mills Godwin. Then there is the Negro. In the 1960 election, a fraction over 100,000 Negroes voted, two-and-on-half times as many as only fourteen years before. Of

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these 56,871 voted in the cities and 43,533 voted in the rural districts, for the historically land-centered Negroes were moving to the cities as fast as the whites. In the 1964 presidential elections, it is estimated that the Negroes cast between 100,000 and 160,000 votes, and are expected soon to reach 200,000.

Outside the South, labor and the Negroes voted Democratic, but now that the Virginia Democratic Party has lost its formerly unchallenged control of the state and is fragmented within itself, these two forces will probably vote pragmatically—from election to election—according to which political faction promises best to serve their interests. Outside these two forces, doubtless many other Virginians, with their old voting habits broken and their old familiar Organization a thing of the past, will vote in the same way.

What we have here is this: the condition of change, of flux, in the state's structure gives Virginians, for the first time in memory, a situation in which there is no familiar political organization which automatically represents the representative Virginian. There have become too many representative Virginians, in the meaning of Virginians who represent various new aspects of life in the state, and too few representative Virginians in the meaning of Virginians who personify the philosophy underlying a traditional society.

Along with this unfamiliar flux, Virginians are confronted with major changes not initiated by themselves but which are largely the result of national movements. The drastic decline

in rural populations and agricultural employment, accompanied by accelerated urbanization and growth of metropolitan areas, was a phenomenon common, in varying degrees, to the whole South. Although manufacturing was sought by Virginia, the influx of plants that began in 1946 was part of a general movement out of the crowded industrial areas of the East. This trend had a special irony in that the long-derided poverty of the South made its lower wage-levels an inducement for manufacturers. Also part of a general movement throughout the South was the siphoning off of Negroes from the Black Belts, either to the North or to urban cores.

A corollary to this Negro population shift, and related to it, is the civil rights movement which gained force following the 1954 Supreme Court decision forbidding legal segregation in the schools. The geometrical rise of the population in the Washington area part of Northern Virginia was initially caused by the vast growth in the population of Federal employees more or less concurrently with the school rulings which turned the District schools into Negro schools and sent white families out of Washington. From this beginning, Arlington and Fairfax, and the city of Alexandria, attracted many small and medium-sized manufacturing plants, and developed all the services operating in a metropolitan area. But Virginians had little to do with the beginning of

the transformation of Northern Virginia; in fact, many natives did not consider the region to be Virginian—a sentiment shared somewhat bitterly by some of the Washington area inhabitants.

Since such changes *were* brought in from the outside, the Virginia character would possibly have absorbed them, as the Virginia character absorbed the impact of invasion and occupation and the long aftermath, except for three factors: for the first time in recent history Virginia enjoys a favorable balance in having more out-of-staters move in than Virginians move out and these new people, who are vitally needed, are here to stay and form an integral part of the state's life; the sociological effects of the continuously changing role of the Negro in the Virginia community have not yet made their fullest impact; and the continued expansion of the suburban sprawl represents the shifting patterns of the environment. These last two factors—involving the influx of blacks into the cities and the outflux of whites to the suburbs—are inter-active and constitute a most fundamental change that, not instituted by Virginians, seems to be on the way to undermining the physical structure on which the old order was based.

Although Virginia missed the second age, of the great cities, and the "true" Virginian was always supposed to have hated

(Continued on page 33)



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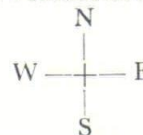
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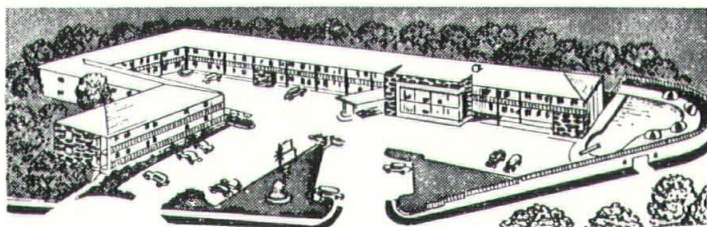
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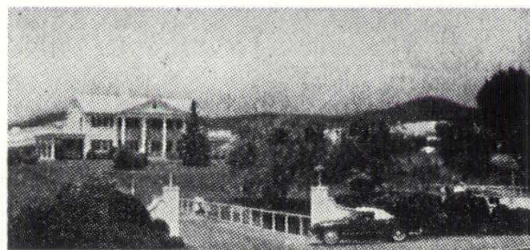
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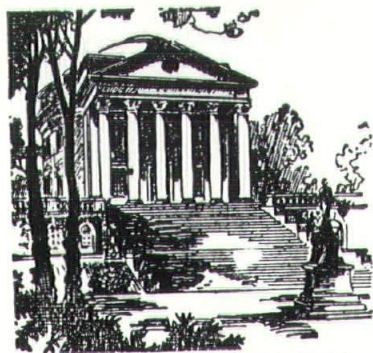
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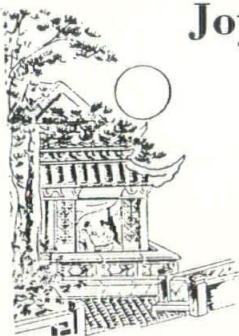
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cities, during the 19th century a number of charming cities grew in Virginia. While they were not cosmopolitan in the sense of the great cities (although, incredible as it might seem, Richmond was a small cosmopolitan capital until the end of the Civil War), the Virginia cities had physical beauty and a life-style that reflected the Virginia character. Before the Civil War, agrarians (among whom planters were the dominant force) and the provincial urbanites lived in amiable exchanges, social and economic. After the Civil War, with the passing of the planter class and the rise of the rural political powers, a cleavage gradually developed and, as legislation was little concerned with the development of the state's cities, such growth as the cities experienced in the 20th century prior to 1946 was largely the result of efforts by civic-minded individuals.

Then, after 1946, when industries began to come to the cities from outside, and the time of rural domination was obviously limited, the increased use of automobile travel brought new problems to the cities (side-effects of which were to make aspects of urban life less pleasing, less convenient, along with the destruction of physical beauty for parking-lots), simultaneously with the dual factors of white outflow and black influx. The flight to the suburbs is usually described as the exodus of "the affluent white." This is not accurate. The inhabitants of the ever-expanding fringes of the central city contain many affluent families, but the majority are middle-class middle-income families and there is a sizeable proportion of low-income families whose "suburbs" consist of tacky-tacky houses in cheerless subdivisions. Also, some affluent whites remain in the

cities, as do large segments of middle-class middle-income families. The problem arises because the affluent and middle-income families who are lost to the cities are replaced by families of low and borderline-subsistence incomes, and the loss of the low-income families (usually self-respecting people) who opt for their own small house outside the city, are replaced by no-income families on welfare.

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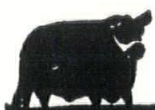
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As is generally known, this situation is not unique with Virginia. Boston, Newark, Cleveland, Detroit—to take the best-known examples—are confronted with the seemingly insoluble problems which include, according to Wilbur Thompson, the urban economist, too high a proportion of a population of “poor people who cost the city more than they put into it.” New York, the magic city of 25 years ago, has such a high proportion of the population who cost the city more than they put into it that his problem (and all its by-products, particularly unsafe streets) exacerbates all the ills endemic to the modern city probably beyond the possibility of a solution in the present order.

But what is unique in Virginia is the history of disinterest in the cities, which has allowed their plight to worsen to a stage where, for some, remedial measures might even now be too late. For our cities did not have those ills endemic to the great metropolises, such as ghettos and large slum populations, a frenzied pace of life and a dog-eat-dog attitude, prohibitive costs and corrupt political machines, and all the unfriendliness resulting from transients and continual assimilation of newcomers without roots in the community. Our cities had a quiet tempo, friendliness and courtesy, with many civic-minded citizens, many newcomers (from towns or the country) with roots in the Virginia community and many out-of-state newcomers who quickly adopted the city in which they settled and were adopted by it to form a homogeneous community. These cities were expressive of the Virginia character, basic in the structure of the state which evolved through the 18th and 19th centuries.

Now, the effects of the sociological changes—combined with historic state disinterest and currently the indifference of the



NORFOLK . . . before and after . . . Bars & "B" girls—now Banks. This is Main Street. (Photos on this page courtesy of the Norfolk Redevelopment & Housing Authority)

suburbanites who use the urban cores for their livelihood—are producing in some of our oldest cities a deterioration of such unpredictable outcome that the only certainty seems to be the end of the Virginia structure as it formed the environment for the Virginia character.

PROBABLY the most typical example of the cities would be the Richmond metropolitan area because its urban core, the state's most historic city, combines (by Virginia standards) progressive manufacturing and trade and financial operations with a traditionally conservative

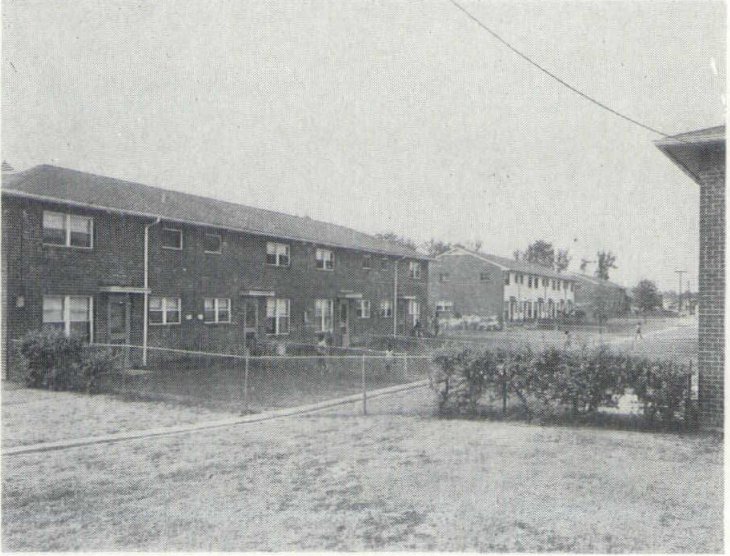
attitude, and in this way represents the old and the new, both in moderation.

As of now, Richmond contributes 63% of its total operational funds for education (the remainder provided by state and Federal funds), which places the urban core of the Richmond area 7th from the top of the 35 Virginia cities in the amount it appropriates. Richmond receives 25% from the state, placing the city 4th from the bottom of the 35 cities in what it receives from the state. Of the counties, only one (Arlington) receives a smaller proportion from the state than does Richmond, while more than

ten counties receive 50% and above of their total appropriation from the state. The old argument went that the counties are too poor to pay a larger proportion. But the progressive city of Norfolk, with its physical expansion, pays only 44% of its total school operational cost, receiving 33% from state and 23% from Federal funds, while Richmond homeowners stagger under the highest real-estate tax in the state and still the city is waging an unequal struggle to make ends meet.

It is generally known that Richmond's financial crisis was largely caused by the replacement of substantial white families with Ne-

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groes who have left the rural counties and brought with them a welfare burden to the city. A large proportion of the Negroes who work possess, at this stage, no skills adaptable to urban needs and, in low-paying jobs, contribute little to the taxes necessary to meet the spiraling costs of maintaining a city. There is also a small segment of a new white population who, judging from their appearance and behavior, are similar to the transiently employed drifters one used to see in the big cities. As they frequently occupy former residences now turned into cheap boarding-houses on the frayed edges of residential areas, these people would contribute little to the city's maintenance at best, and at worst increase the crushing burden of welfare. Since the state forbids Richmond (and other urban cores) from taxing the incomes of commuters who earn their livelihoods in the city, the burden falls on the declining number of home-owners in real estate taxes, which fall most heavily on older persons with fixed incomes and on the educated classes in the low-paying professions such as teaching and social work.

To this generally unhealthful economic condition, the Federal government has created a new sociological problem by the decree which forces school-children of all ages to be bussed to distant schools in order that each city school might have a mixture of white and black children. At the present time, the Negroes constitute 63% of the school population in the city of Richmond. Since some 4,000 white pupils were withdrawn from the public school system when bussing was forced on the upper grades in 1970, it can be assumed that additional withdrawals of white children will occur in 1971 when the bussing begins at the kindergarten level. If this trend continues, as it did in Washington,

the increase of Negro children and the decrease of white children in the public schools will gradually cause such a high proportion of Negroes in the schools that the "mixture" desired by Judge Merhige will contain a negligible sprinkling of white children.

This is not to enter into the subject of the rightness or wrongness of the desire of white parents to avoid sending their children to predominantly Negro schools. This is a national attitude, nothing typically Virginian, and one aspect of the whole melancholy complex of the relationship between blacks and whites in the changes baffling all of America. By now it is evident that opposition to desegregation outside the South is a part of the sociological upheaval in the third American cycle that is drastically changing living patterns.

In Virginia, although strong resistance was made in the '50s to desegregation as such, Negro students in white schools have been accommodated in most of the state without undue disruption; there is a far higher proportion of black students in majority white schools than in the North and West, and "incidents" have been handled with moderation on all sides. But minorities of white children in black schools, in combination with the disruption of neighborhood patterns, arouses both an apprehension and a resistance.

The resistance is complicated by the awareness that the disruption of familiar patterns is caused by regionally discriminatory social engineering, arbitrarily imposed by individual dictates which the people resent rather than respect. Thus, the predominantly black imbalance is associated with the resented and disrespected methods of coercion which damage the system of education itself and unsettle students parents and teachers. Already teachers have left the Richmond public school system because of

classes composed and courses arranged to fit a number ratio which subverts the basic methods of the educational process and threatens to derange the city's former standards in the school system. Other teachers have publicly threatened to transfer to one of the county systems where teaching would be more "attractive" and "predictable."

Of the parents' apprehension about the decline of quality in predominantly black schools, it would be unwise to make any generalities about the comparative performances of predominantly black and predominantly white schools. Precisely at this time, teachers observe that the average Negro is likely to perform at a lower level than the average white because of the cultural deprivations in the home environment, the absence of familiarity with the prevailing cultural mores in his neighborhood environment, and the intangible factor of motivation. For obvious sociological reasons, such as greater opportunities for the white and a history of opportunities, strong motivation is more likely to be present in white students than in black. This is now evidenced in Richmond where the rise in Negro school population has made Richmond one of only three of 35 Virginia cities in which less than 50% (48%) of its high school graduates expect to attend college. Lynchburg, leading the state, has risen in the past decade from 59% to 88%, and Winchester from 46% to 55%.

The statistics recently released by the school board support the teachers' observations. In the Richmond schools as a whole (no breakdown), the 4th and 7th graders are one grade and 1½ grades behind the rest of the state and the nation in reading; on scholastic aptitude tests, the 9th graders are 20% below the rest of the state and the nation, with

the 11th grade only slightly better.

Of course, this is a transitional period for Negroes as well as for whites: blacks are assuming competitive roles in a white society which (despite the accomplishments of individual Negroes) is a break with *The Negro's* role in America, as well as a repudiation of the "paternalism" which characterized racial relationships in the South. It is as pointless to deny, as it is to dwell upon, the ugly incidents of hostility that have occurred in mixed schools in Richmond, for in the sudden change of the Negro's role, it is inevitable that in some, assertiveness would take the form of aggression, even without the inciting influences of black militant movements. But it is much to the point for parents that this transitional period for Negroes in the public schools might work to the disadvantage of their children's education now. Aside from the educational element, there are parents in Richmond, as in the counties and in Northern cities, dedicated to the principle that they choose their children's school associates just as they provided a background which gave their children a choice in social associates.

Considering all the implications arising from the specific mandate of bussing by the Federal judiciary followed by the deannexation mandate by the Department of Justice, probably the fundamental effect on the city as a whole was the creation of a sense of uncertainty. Already struggling for survival, when the city was acted upon without regard for its existing problems, Richmond—and by no means only its educational system—faced a future which, without drastic changes from outside (such as Federal revenue-sharing), seemed beyond the control of its officials and citizens. As the public school teacher said spe-

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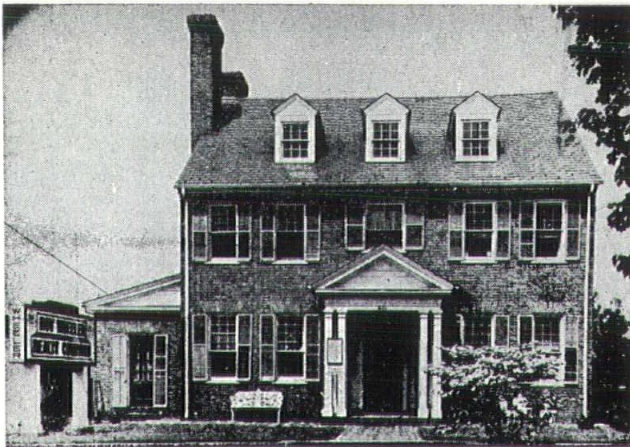
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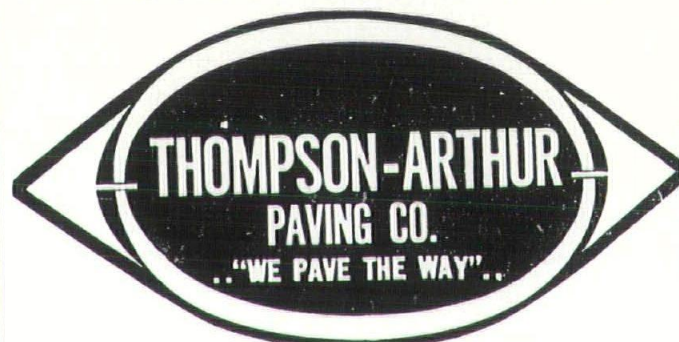
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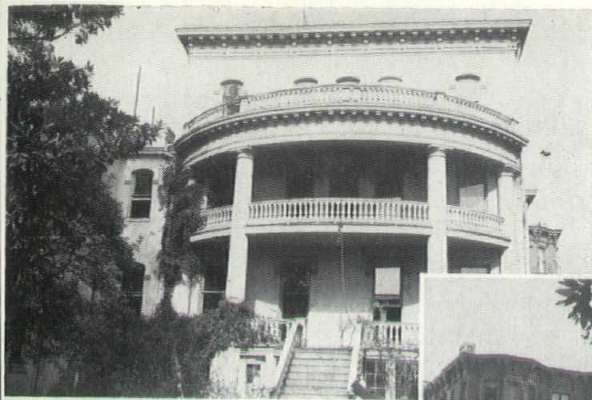
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cifically about her job, she wanted an environment that was more "predictable," it would appear likely that many home-owners—now facing a new rise in the cost of public utilities and under the threat of still higher real estate taxes—will also abandon the decaying city for an environment which (at least for the foreseeable future) promises to be more predictable.

This is no prediction of a sudden, mass exodus, not even if the Justice Department's de-annexation ruling is sustained, giving the core city more than 50% black population. Childless persons and families whose children are past school age will not be affected, and among Richmonders of all ages there is a love of the city *as they have known it*. But if white families continue to be siphoned off and parking lots continue to replace landmarks, Richmond will cease to be the

city as they have known it. Already physical changes in the city have been vast, with much that was familiar gone and much that had individual distinction replaced by sterile anonymity. As the white residential sections in the old central city existed at the turn of the century, only one narrow strip is left—"The Fan"—eight blocks at its widest and about twenty blocks long, and already frayed at the northern and southern edges. When the first bussing order was delivered last year, a humanitarian minister said sadly, "This is the death sentence to the Fan."

It must be emphasized that in this situation, as seen in the example of Richmond, the new environmental patterns are not expressive of anything uniquely Virginian; nor, as the present trend goes, does the evolving structure of the state represent a conscious *intention*. Where the

long rural domination of the cities did represent a conscious intention, the cities' gradual subordinate position to the suburbs—from the frying pan into the fire—is more of a drift into those life-styles of the mainstream that are processing the living patterns of Virginia into an anonymous Americanization.

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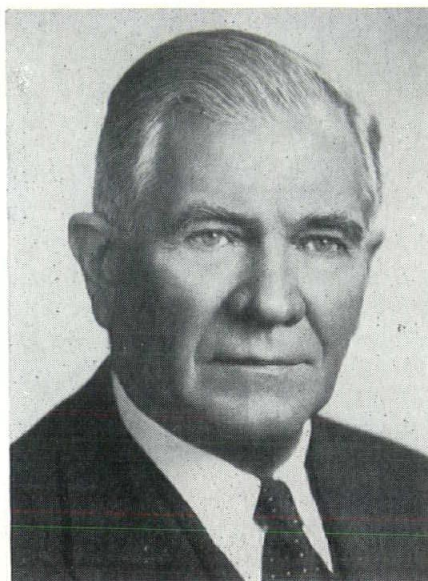
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VIRGINIA, having been passed over by the second American cycle, remained under rural political domination up to now for two reasons: (1) within generally fixed mental habits in the General Assembly, rural powers occupied strategic positions on powerful committees; and 2) no effective coalition was made by the non-rural areas or their representatives in the legislature. Now that six stalwarts of the Old Guard have resigned from the senate, some changes can be expected at the next session of the General Assembly. But any changes do not presage a coalition from the urban areas. (The Urban 12 organization, composed of representatives of core cities within the metropolitan areas, is concerned primarily with obtaining financial relief.)

No coalition can be expected both because of the sectional divisions (with conflicting interests) within the state and because most of the so-called metropolitan areas and smaller urban areas are not urban in their outlook. Except for Norfolk, our cities were blighted before they could blossom out of provincialism, and the suburbs encompassing the cities, neither urban nor rural, are represented by legislators who appear to grow more hostile to the urban cores in proportion to the troubles besetting the old cities. Probably the next dominant political force in the state will come from a suburban majority which, representing cultural patterns without roots in the traditional society, reflects—more than anything in Virginia before reflected an influence outside itself—a life-style resulting from American mobility.

Years ago, separate suburban communities outside of America's large metropolitan centers—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago—made it possible for commuters (mostly by train) to enjoy the stimulation of a major city, where their earnings could

be high, during the work-day, and the contrast of the quiet of semi-country life in the evenings and on weekends. These suburban communities were themselves stable with clearly defined identities. Also commuting trains made possible evenings of dinner, the theatre or concerts in town when the winter would grow old in the country. While these dual



A. Willis Robertson served Virginia well alongside the senior Byrd, in the U. S. Senate for many years.

lives represented the antithesis of the Jeffersonian ideal of oneness between the individual's means of livelihood and way of life, the contrasts offered variety, and even the rigors of the commuters' trains were lightened by convivial gatherings or offered executives an uninterrupted fifty minutes of morning and afternoon for paperwork. (Editors and literary agents used to read manuscripts on the trains.)

The present suburbs of Virginia are not separate communities, with a life distinct from that of a city, nor do the urban cores approximate metropolitan centers. North, east, south or west, there is no discernible physical line of demarcation between the "city" and the "county." City streets, not open countryside, extend unchanged from the "urban center" to the "suburbs."

Further out, the streets become more open, usually with more ground around the houses than in town; in the more expensive areas, the grounds can be relatively extensive, with pleasing vistas; but in the inexpensive areas the houses are cheek-by-jowl in treeless tracts, and there are apartment houses of all sizes and degrees. Remaining open spaces are rapidly transformed into new subdivisions of uniquely barren vistas. Life in such environments cannot be distinct from life in the central city. It is quieter (except in power-motor season), the air is fresher and, in the better suburbs, there is more openness. But none of these amenities change the nature of the living patterns. That is, the cultural patterns (as would be studied by a cultural anthropologist) would be identical in the whole so-called metropolitan area. It has all become what is loosely called "suburban" in its attitudes, all pervaded by a single ambience.

In Virginia, as elsewhere, the population shift to the new suburbs seems to be more of a flight than a movement toward a life different in kind. It is all a part of the unrooted mobility called "a nation on wheels." Nor does this nationwide flight cease with a residence established a few blocks or a few miles from the arbitrarily defined "city limits." Virginians, along with their fellow Americans, seem goaded to get away from wherever they are.

The rush of the nation to campers is reflected in Virginia with the maintenance of upward of 250 camp-sites for the new style travelers whose means of locomotion also provide their accommodations. For many families these campers cut down on the cost of travel and cut down drastically on the cost of accommodations. Yet, since campers, including everything except a swimming pool, are on sale at \$16,000

money cannot be the only consideration. On the other hand, some young make-do with makeshift campers, seeking the cheapest camp-sites or none at all if they can find spots secluded from the law and landowners, and they seem to be inspired with the appeal of "the open road" combined with some vague "back to nature" motif. But movement "elsewhere" is the common denominator.

Virginians have joined America in the total denial of the Jeffersonian ideal of oneness between the means of livelihood and the way of life. Virginia's heritage and perpetuated character give many Virginians no immunity to the impulse to escape from the realities of both their way of life and means of livelihood. After a late start, Virginians are following California's lead in developing a life-style of surfboarding and now they are getting into the swing with ski slopes. Boating and water-sports are enormously on the increase, free souls on motorcycles act as one-man Hell's Angels in creating racket, tennis courts proliferate, and the old standbys of shooting and fishing have new devotees. All these outdoor activities (including the campers) could, by themselves, be seen merely as healthful trends except for two factors—the element of faddism and the indoor escapism which accompanies the athletic activities.

Indoor Virginians, in sharing the national opiate of the idiocies of television, will *watch* the miniaturized figures of *paid* athletes with the same completeness with which they participate. Be it golf, wrestling, endless baseball, collegiate or professional basketball, ditto football, ice skating, ice hockey, auto racing, skiing, swimming—any movement that involves physical skill and competition—advertisers can count on Virginians sitting and staring glazed-eyed at the goings-

on which are totally removed from any involvement in life on the viewer's part.

Since not even an experienced sports editor could be interested in such a variety of athletic performances, obviously the viewers who watch anything and everything are not held by any special interest but by the need to fill an inner vacuum without effortful



U. S. Senator William B. Spong, Jr. brought new blood to Virginia representation in the Senate.

engagement. The efforts to provide drama in the early days of television had to be abandoned for lack of viewer response (the dramas were too close to life), just as lack of response caused the abandonment of the one commercial radio station in the Richmond area of half-a-million people that provided classical music.

The whole escapist non-culture that spread over the country, and this state, with the sprawl of suburbia, was accompanied by a gradually deepening awareness of the absence of "meaningful" work as jobs became more routine and as college-level education became more commonplace. One recent survey estimated that eight out of ten jobs in the U. S. could be performed by high school graduates. Naturally the

ambitious holder of a B.A., especially one who had seriously sought an education and not merely the hours of credits required for the union-card degree, could often find nothing meaningful in his job. Recently some Harvard graduates decided to spend their lives working with their hands in order to get some sense of personal accomplishment.

In fact, some of the brightest find nothing meaningful in the whole system. The *Wall Street Journal* publishes stories of competent men in sophisticated production and high-grade research who have abandoned the rat race and taken to such occupations as ski instructor and organic gardener. Recently I met a formerly high-powered executive at the very top of a large industrial corporation who had walked out to run a mountain lodge, where he plays the genial host with people as *human* individuals. I know of two graduates of distinguished Eastern law schools who have chosen to drive taxis in New York, and I know two highly gifted holders of M.A. degrees in Richmond who have chosen to work minimal hours for a bare subsistence livelihood in order to devote their time and energies to their true interests outside of competitive bureaucracies.

The monotony of the work in the so-called "blue collar" jobs is a large part of organized

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Interstate Highways, such as these stretches of I-64 (Henrico County, above—Alleghany County, below) have helped change the face of Virginia. (Virginia Department of Highways photos)



labor's demands for shorter hours with full security. This is simply a more open admission that the job itself is a meaningless, unrewarding chore than is usually made in the "white-collar" ranks. Of course, executives are more likely to be involved in their jobs—although the price of power can be such a narrowing of the total personality that work is life—and professionals usually find their work "meaningful," as do others who happen to find work to their liking. It is largely among the rank-and-file that jobs have little meaning, although meaninglessness in a job is not restricted to them. This meaninglessness is pervasive in the whole society in flight from confronting the deeper meanings of life and death in their time on earth, as well as the deeper problems of the American communities.

Within such general trends toward typical contemporary cultural patterns, there remain many decidedly distinct Virginia characteristics. Most obvious are manners and a consideration in personal exchanges, customs which vary according to localities, an absence of suspiciousness and an interest (even curiosity) about people as individuals, although this is less manifest than

it was in the days of stable neighborhoods. I think among Virginians of loosely identical backgrounds there is still a feeling of shared identification, which could be defined as a sense of kinship. Among respectable but unprivileged native stock—those who might be called in the most complimentary sense "the simpler people"—there runs a strong strain of honesty, decency, fairness, self-respect, self-reliance and an innate courtesy which has not changed since world-weary Scott Fitzgerald was impressed by it fifty years ago.

This is not by any means to imply that these qualities are restricted to those unpretentious Virginians of native stock, but these traits have historically characterized this type Virginian. Even in the darkest days of Reconstruction, when men formed the original Ku Klux Klan as a means of protecting their families and putting some restraint on carpet-bagger tyranny, the most vigorous investigation by a committee of hostile U. S. Congressmen failed to find one member of the Klan in Virginia. There was always a quality of moderation in these Virginians, and there still is.

But how much of the *essential* Virginia character, as reflected

in basic attitudes, can be perpetuated with the continuing sociological changes whose full effects have not yet been felt?

That this question can be asked at all represents the most fundamental change between the Virginia of 1946 and today.

In 1946 the unification of Virginians was reflected in the control of a political organization which so expressed the majority's philosophy of government as to seem a permanent institution, transcending politics, in the structure of the state. Today the fragmentation of the state is reflected in the absence both of any enduring political organization or any clearly defined philosophy of government. From 1946's simple and historic division between rural and urban, today we have the conflicting self-interests of sub-regions within the state and in sub-regions within themselves. While Virginians have never been any more distinguished than other Americans for anticipating change, for far-sighted planning to meet foreshadowed needs and problems, nor have our state and local politicians been characterized by disinterested concern for the whole community, I must say that the conflicts of interests within some of the metropolitan areas have revealed in individuals

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a blindly selfish, dog-in-the-manger short-sightedness that places Virginia among the nation's leaders in at least this one category.

The divisions of 1946 were traditional and, representing a conscious conception of a desired alignment, appeared part of a stable order. The present divisions are transitory and, representing the effects of undesigned social change, are part of a manifestly unstable order. Fundamentally, the 1946 Virginians believed they were rooted in a traditional order, perpetuated across time and circumstance, that would be perpetuated into the future. The 1971 Virginians—white and black, natives and newcomers—do not as a whole hold this belief.

Of course, most Virginians of the older generation, and incalculable numbers (firmly conditioned by their parents) across all generations, will continue personally to be guided by those values inherent in the belief in the perpetuated social order of a traditional society. But their personal conduct, based on individual human values, will not necessarily exert any significant effect

on the continuance of a total Virginia character that, *as a whole*, was recognizably unique unto itself and distinctive in the amorphous American money-culture. There is already a dilution of the sense of the past, of a continuity with time before, with its awareness of what had been always present in what was. And there is already in some of the major metropolitan areas a complete cleavage with the physical structure of the past, a decisive break with the environment out of which grew the Virginia character and through which the Virginia character was expressed.

As mentioned earlier, the nearly 1,000,000 inhabitants of Northern Virginia most clearly represent a phenomenon of the past 25 years with their combination of urbanized attitude and contemporary semi-suburbanized environment. This environment *contains* cities—Alexandria, Fairfax, Falls Church—rather than being suburbs of them, as it contains light industry. While this phenomenon is largely attributable to the region's proximity to Washington—and the absence, except for Alexandria, of any

cities rooted in the old structure of the state—this semi-suburbanized environment might roughly approximate the larger metropolitan areas of the future. However, where old urban core centers were the hub for the growth of the metropolitan area, the changes into this contemporary semi-suburbanized environment will come with considerable travail, upheaval and dislocation. A lot of eggs will be broken to make that omelette.

IF YOU READ 100 urbanologists, sociologists and economists, you get close to 100 different predictions about the future of cities. There does seem to be a general agreement that, with some exceptions (especially cities with insignificant black population), the cities must become something different from what they are now.

In Virginia, with the old rural-urban structure gone, the trend in the metropolitan areas seems toward communities which will be self-sustaining in practically everything except the sources of livelihood. While Richmond's Main Street, as a banking-brok-

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erage center, will continue into the indefinite future, as will New York's Wall Street, opportunities for work will increase in the semi-suburbanized areas as the communities become more self-sustaining and as light industry continues its decentralization.

Then, without the physical division between the urban center and the distant suburban communities which existed before the general use of automotive transportation, probably units in the nature of towns (similar to Reston) or even small cities will develop within the widening sprawl, approximating the commuting towns which lined the commuting railroads into the big city. And, as with those earlier day suburban communities, the towns and small cities will vary quite widely in status—through the wealth and social pretensions of their inhabitants, the size and impressiveness of the homes, and facilities provided. Some might be as grand as the Beverly Hills of the old days, of whose private police force it was said that they were so exclusive that they had an unlisted telephone.

But, there will be little stability in many of these semi-suburbanized communities. As families continue to flee the problems of the city, congestion and new problems will arise in the inner suburbs. For example, in the Oyster Bay section of Long Island—once the prototype of an area of separate suburban communities, with fine expanses of countryside—crowding, proposed highways, commercial and other developments already threaten “the suburban character” of the former refuge from the city. Tightly restricted incorporated townships, like private communities, have developed as islands within a congested sprawl that seems destined to duplicate Los Angeles, and, if Virginia continues to follow the national pattern, such sanctuaries for the truly affluent will doubtless develop here. Also, in Virginia there is still enough open land for escapees from urbanized problems to move ever farther out.

However, as the suburban “frontiers” are ultimately limited in space, and as greater distances from points of livelihood make

commuting by automobile burdensome (as well as causing new super-highways to affect “suburban character”), there will probably also be an increase in the currently modest “back to the country” movement. In this, families establish a secluded place largely for weekends and, as part of this drift, there are commercial developments of secluded sites. At present, the state contains many areas which, thus far having escaped suburban sprawl, offer sanctuaries. One of these, the Warrenton-Culpeper area, was cited in a survey made by the *Potomac* supplement of the *Washington Post* as one of the nation's seven superior living areas, still unspoiled. Any day Virginia might experience the ultimate irony in its return to the mainstream of having hippie “agrarian communes” established.

Whatever details evolve, Virginia's version of the suburban age is as transitional as in most other older communities, but the drift does seem to be toward a uniform anonymous Americanization. The significance of this

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drift is twofold: first, it is toward a type of living environment which, for the first time in Virginia's history, does not express anything that is uniquely Virginia's civilization nor reflect anything that is uniquely the Virginia character; second, and as something of an extension of the first, the very unpredictableness of the future—of the way continual sociological change will take us—presents a situation not confronted in the memory of living Virginians.

Even after the cataclysm of the Civil War, the majority of Virginians knew what they wanted, and the state as a whole was unified most intensely in a singleness of identity. In 1946, this mental state had not fundamentally changed. In 1971, such a certainty and unity is not even a memory to the young. Who today could define the *intention* of the the majority?

Of course, in all times, we've had Virginians whose individual intention could be defined as the purpose of making money; but, and only partly because of the lack of opportunities, money-making as an end in itself never characterized the Virginia society. Always the stress was upon qualitative human values as opposed to quantitative material (non-human) values. Now that the opportunities to make money are much greater in the state, we doubtless have a considerably larger proportion of citizens whose motivating intention is to make money for themselves, and because there is more money in the state, there seems to be more of an awareness of money-values among Virginians.

However, in the present atmosphere—national as well as local—such limited individual intentions seem unlikely to be translated into a philosophic intention of the state, even though state agencies take justifiable pride in economic progress and we have more than we used to of

those operators whose idea of a civilization's progress can be measured in the opportunities for quick deals. But a strictly money-oriented society would be a turning back to the plutocracies of the age of the great cities, it would be contrary to the deepest values perpetuated in the state thus far and it would represent the de-humanized values which—the essence of non-Virginian values—now characterize much in the American society that the enlightened young are repudiating in Virginia and everywhere else.

We continually read of the need for, and search of, old values. This was one commodity with which Virginia was once abundantly supplied and, with all the basic changes to its society, the sense of human values has persisted in Virginia at least into the present. You can see in the younger generation an appreciation of these values here. Twenty-five years ago, the enlightened young with something of cosmopolitan outlook felt some embarrassment about their state's "backwardness," a need to apologize or defend. Today, as the great cities (especially the old mecca of New York) have lost their glamour, these enlightened young feel a pride in Virginia's perpetuation of human values which the nation now suffers for want of.

While such values might be a nebulous basis on which to form an intention, the young friend (with whom I discussed the

changes in Virginia) believes that the sense of these values forms an intangible element which might be called the *Virginia idea*. For his generation, the *Virginia idea* provides a point of reference for identity. However, he believes (as do other intelligent, educated under thirties with whom I've conversed), that this *idea* with which the Virginian can still identify was transmitted by Virginians of the older generation rather than by (or even in spite of) the current environment. Of this semi-suburbanized ambience that spreads out from dying cores, many of the young simply want to flee from that as for their lives—flee back to "the land" as it exists in the legends, flee in the ultimate escape into a past that can never come again. Even weekend flights have already created serious garbage-disposal problems in Shenandoah National Park.

As of now, the persistence of the *idea* through individuals refers to the larger metropolitan areas, which have been most af-

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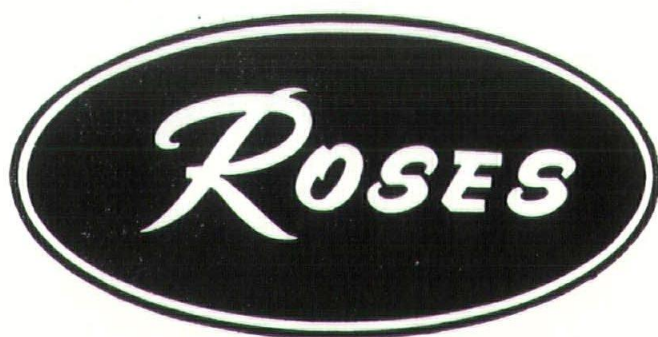
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fectured by social change and most influenced by out-of-staters, especially those who are educated, highly trained and likely to be liberal-minded (not necessarily orthodox, knee-jerk Liberals). The once rural areas are making some changes of their own, as light industry moves in and segments of population move off the farms (or away). But "country people" the world over are traditionally more set in their ways and in many parts of Virginia they are settled in physical environments which, subject to less upheaval, provide a continuity to perpetuated patterns. However, practical politics are making even Southside Virginians accommodate to participatory black voting, so there are probably few spots in the state unchanged since 1946 or unthreatened by change. With the rural areas dwindling and the presence of newcomers spreading over much of the state in time it might be only the Virginia *idea* that persists except in isolated enclaves.

The question is, of course, if the *idea* can persist through conceivable change continuing to come along with the passing from the scene of the older generations those who experienced the Virginia character when it was secure in its identity and, under the conditioning influences of the heritage of an agrarian civilization, at least felt it controlled a traditional social order which would be perpetuated into time immemorial.

Those transmitters of the Virginia *idea* were guided by a self-conception of their roles as individuals, in all the uniqueness of each individual whose acts had consequence to himself and to his society. The young people who subscribe to the Virginia *idea* believe in its values which stress the human condition, the sanctity of the individual, in contradistinction to values which stress social and economic conditions.

Malcolm Cowley, in his

Many Windowed House, wrote that in the first American cycle, man was pitted against nature; in the second period, it was man against society, "fighting to change it or simply to rise in it." In this age, he wrote, "the conflict is more likely to be that of group against group, of generation against generation, or of man against himself." The individual "had become an organization man . . . unless he resigns from the organization and goes hitch-hiking over the country trying to recapture his own personality."

These young, for whom my friend (a university instructor) is speaking, feel the loss of their own uniqueness as individuals in this group culture, and wish to avoid the organization role from which they would want to escape. They want to feel, as they do not now, that they as individuals and their acts are of some consequence to themselves and to society. If there are enough of them to make their presence felt, they could well sustain the Virginia *idea* even in an environment which has lost the characteristics of the traditional Virginia culture.

However, since there is no way to compute their numbers or potential influence, the guess would be that the prevailing majority of the rising generations will welcome the security of the organization and all that it implies in human non-values. What the Virginia *idea* would mean to them 5 years hence, when the older generation who transmitted the values have, for all effective purposes, passed from the scene, could not even be guessed at.

Already there is a fading of those myths that contributed to the feeling of a separate Virginia (and Southern) nationality in the 1830's, a feeling which was an often neglected factor in causing the Civil War. New people in the state, knowing nothing of the myths and having no reason

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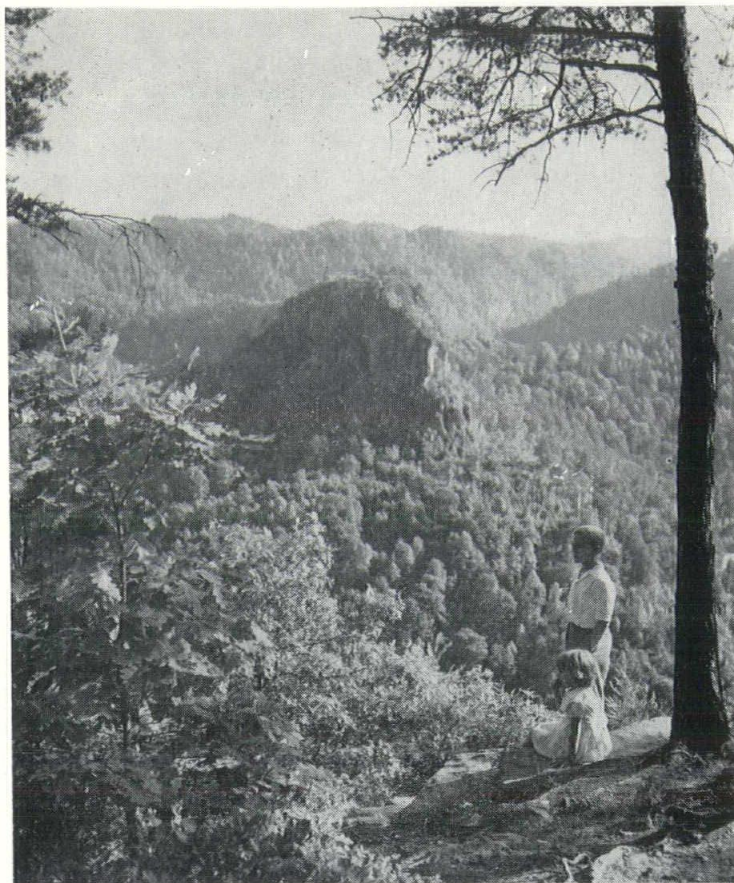
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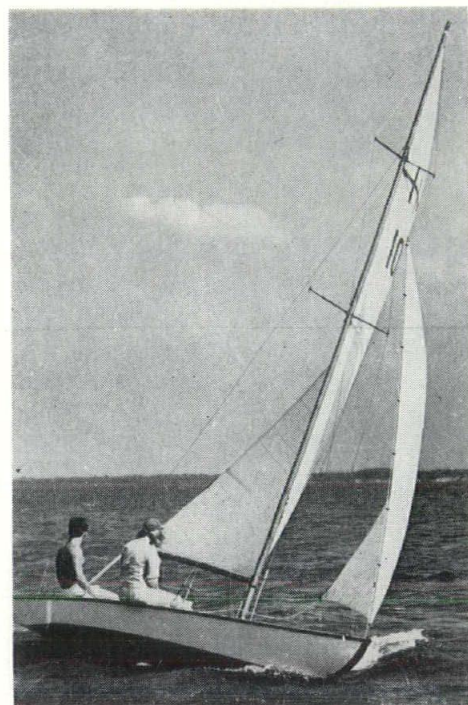


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to care about them, cannot share this feeling of separatism, which was fundamental in the Virginia character.

Negroes now in positions of political prominence attack the heritage of the Confederate period on the grounds (despite all historical evidence to the contrary) that Virginians fought to keep Negroes enslaved, and supporters of their charges write letters to the newspapers likening our grandparents' defense of their land to the tyranny of the Nazis. Perhaps the Negroes cannot be expected to view the Confederate experience, as do white Virginians, as an expression of honor, personal courage and heroic fortitude in defense of a principle, but their denigration of this heritage (and on false grounds) causes, as blacks grow in numbers and influence, a further dilution of the flow from the past and another element of fragmentation in the identity of the Virginia character.

There is one final element in the changes that are now reshaping the state's cultural patterns. While Virginia was, to all sociological purposes, left out of America's second age of the great cities, in the early days of the Republic Virginia *was* the American mainstream. During the second stage, Virginia continued with the patterns and convictions of the early America, and in 1946 its political philosophy and the standards of its individuals more fully reflected the original American concept than did the self-conscious "mainstreamers." While it is true enough that aspects of Virginia's political philosophy and personal standards caused cultural and economic lags by national measures, still the state and its people preserved essential qualities of the early America that today are highly regarded by thoughtful, informed observers of the national scene.

The Virginia character had carried within its own uniqueness

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qualities which, ignored or derided in 1946, are now recognized as needed in the age of "alienation"—of debased moral and ethical standards, of the churches' fading influence and of disrespect for established institutions, of unrootedness and mass-culture, of increased material standards (consumer status) and decreased value of the human individual, of lack of national political direction (where parties mean scarcely anything to the majority) and the uneasy apprehension that the nation has no defined purpose (except endlessly increasing the Gross National Product). It is to this third age that Virginia has returned somewhat inadvertently to the American mainstream, without the transition of going through the second age and with-

out being prepared for the effects of the sudden changes on the Virginia character.

It is the belief of many that it is as important to America as it is to Virginia for the state and its people to sustain those essential qualities of the Virginia character which are inherent in the Virginia *idea*. As mentioned earlier, it would be impossible to guess at this precise time what the chances are of the *idea* persisting as a living, meaningful reality.

Naturally Virginians of the older generations are saddened at the thought of the Virginia character becoming homogenized into anonymity, with our people as undifferentiated from other Americans as our suburbs are now from, say, Shaker Heights or Mill Valley, California. This premonitory sadness is, of course, sentimental and exists in those Virginians who were moulded in their formative years with a sense of separatism.

For others, I cannot speak. Subjectively, it is my earnest conviction that it would be Virginia's ultimate tragedy to lose those values of the early America which it preserved, at considerable cost to its national prestige, now in this third age when individuals in this confused nation desperately need those values.

For, in the renunciation of community that has grown nationally in the suburban age, as historian David M. Potter wrote, "The strength of the whole is not enhanced by destroying the parts but is made up of the sum of its parts."

After all, it would be too typical of the old "backward" Virginia to allow the state to be carried along into the mainstream just when advance thinkers were looking for ways to get out of it.

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(Ed. Note: The following is a reprint of a commencement address by Dr. Eric Walker, president of Pennsylvania State University. Thanks are expressed to Fred Russell, a columnist for the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner who ran it in his column.)

Ladies and Gentlemen of the graduating class and those who got advanced degrees: Let me extend to each of you my personal congratulations and those of the entire University on the degree you have earned today.

This ceremony marks the completion of an important phase of your life. It is an occasion in which all who know you can share in your sense of pride and accomplishment.

No one has more pride in your accomplishment than the older generation. But I am not going to tell the older generation how bright you are. Nor am I going to say we have made a mess of things and you—the younger ones—are the hope of mankind. I would like to reverse that process. For if you of the graduating class will look away into the bleachers on your left and right, I will reintroduce you to representatives of some of the most remarkable people ever to walk the earth. People you might want to thank on this graduation day. These are people you already know—your parents and grandparents. And if you will bear with me for five minutes, I think you will agree what a remarkable people they are indeed.

Let me tell you about them.

Not long ago an educator from Northwestern University by the name of Bergen Evans, a radio performer known to your parents, got together some facts about these two generations—your parents and grandparents. I'd like to share some of these with you.

These—your parents and grandparents—are the people who within the past five decades have, by their work, increased your life expectancy by approximately 50%. At the same time, they cut the working day by a third, and more than doubled per capita output.

These are the people who have given you a healthier world than they found. And because of this you no longer have to fear epidemics of flu, typhus, diphtheria, smallpox, scarlet fever, measles or mumps that they knew in their youth. And the dreaded polio is no longer a medical factor while TB is almost unheard of.

Let me remind you that these remarkable people lived through history's greatest depression. Many of these people know what it is to be poor, what it is to be hungry and cold. And because of this, they determined that it would not happen to you, that you would have a better life, you would have food to eat, milk to drink, vitamins to nourish

you, better schools and greater opportunities to succeed than they had.

Because they gave you the best, you are the tallest, healthiest, brightest and probably best-looking generation to inhabit the land.

And because they were materialistic, you will work fewer hours, learn more, have more leisure time, travel to more distant places, and have more of a chance to follow your life's ambitions.

Also, these are the people who fought man's grisliest war. They are the people who defeated the tyranny of Hitler, and who when it was all over, had the compassion to spend billions of dollars to help their former enemies rebuild their homelands. And these are the people who had the sense to begin the United Nations.

It was representatives of these two generations who, through the highest court of the land, fought racial discrimination at every turn to begin a new era in civil rights.

They built thousands of high schools, trained and hired tens of thousands of better teachers and at the same time made higher education a very real possibility for millions of youngsters—where once it was only the dream of a wealthy few.

And they made a start—although a late one—in healing the scars on the earth and in fighting pollution and the destruction of our natural environment. They set into motion new laws giving conservation new meaning, and setting aside land for you and your children to enjoy for generations to come.

They also hold the dubious record for paying taxes—although you will probably exceed them in this.

While they have done all of these things, they have had some failures. They have not yet found an alternative for the war, nor for racial hatred. Perhaps you, the members of this graduating class, will perfect the social mechanisms by which all men may follow their ambitions without the threat of force. But they—those generations—made more progress by sweat of their brows than in any previous era, and don't forget it. And if your generation can make as much progress in as many areas as these two generations have, you should be able to solve a good many of the world's remaining ills.

It is my hope, and I know the hope of these two generations that you find the answers to many of these problems that plague mankind.

But it won't be easy. And you won't do it by negative thoughts, nor by tearing down or belittling. You may and can do it by hard work, humility, hope, and faith in mankind. Try it.

Goodby and good luck to all of you.

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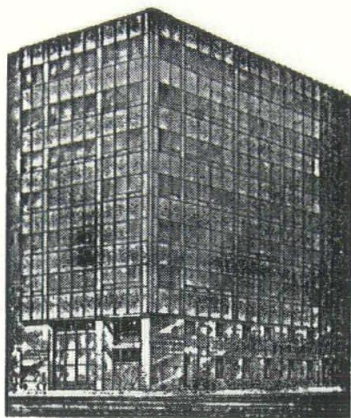
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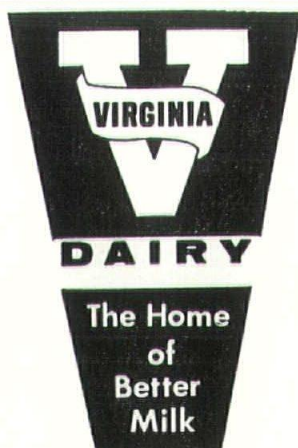
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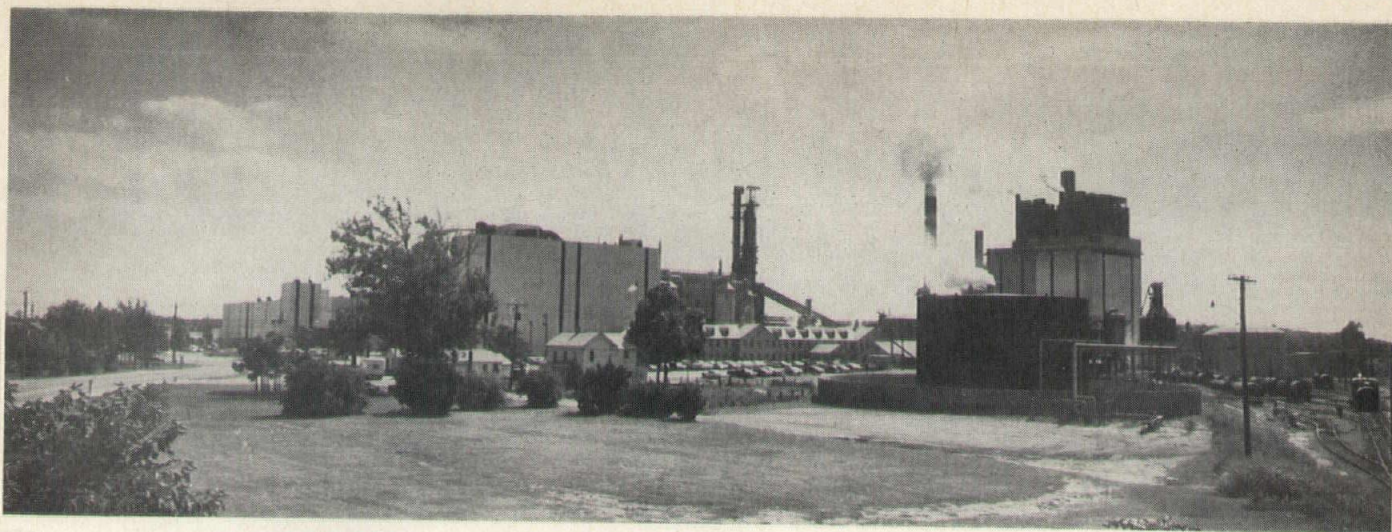
Mr. Clifford Dowdey
Editor
VIRGINIA RECORD
Dear Mr. Dowdey:

I found your article "Do Doctors Charge Too Much?" interesting and from my observations, remarkably accurate. As one who has had the opportunity to observe my Virginia colleagues in small towns, large counties and now through Virginia's Medicaid Program on a statewide basis I can confirm many of your observations. Currently 2,980 are participating in Virginia's Medicaid Program. We have very few who are in a hurry to make quick buck. We have some who continue to treat indigent patients without charging the program. Most participate at their usual and customary charges and at the same time contribute much to the economy of the non-physician health costs.

Recently we had a physician call to give us information concerning a patient that he had admitted to a hospital for surgery. Hospital personnel failed to carry out his orders which resulted in an unnecessary extension of his patient's stay. It was his opinion that the program should not be charged for the hospital's negligence.

Frankly, most of the complaints we receive concern facilities and services. Apparently the under 30 generation wants instant care as well as instant hamburgers. Prompt service is emerging as a major concern to the consumer as well as costs. The response of the medical profession to new demands will bring appreciable changes in the health care system over the next few years probably in less time than most of us would predict. Computer technology and group practices using paramedical personnel are likely to be major components.

Sincerely,
J. B. Kenley, M.D.
Deputy State Health Commissioner for Medical and Hospital Services, Commonwealth of Virginia Department of Health



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(DATE OF BIRTH)

Westmoreland Co., Va.

(PLACE OF BIRTH)

COLOR EYES

Blue

COLOR HAIR

Brown

HEIGHT

6'3"

WEIGHT

220

Other obvious physical characteristics

WAS DULY REGISTERED ON THE

17

DAY OF

February 1753

Jackie Brown

(SIGNATURE OF LOCAL BOARD CLERK)

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