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A political biography of Thomas Bahnson Stanley

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A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS BAHNSON STANLEY

A Master's Thesis

Presented to
the Faculty of the ~~Graduate School~~ *Dep't. of Hist. & Pol. Sci.*

University of Richmond

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

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VIRGINIA

by

Warren Wayne Riggan

June 1965

Preface and Acknowledgments

In writing this paper, it is my purpose to relate the political career of Thomas B. Stanley, Governor of Virginia from 1954-58. The events are recorded chronologically, from Mr. Stanley's election to the House of Delegates in 1929 to a recent commission appointment by Governor Harrison.

I would like to express my appreciation to Miss Carol Major, Mrs. Roy E. Brinkley and the Library Staff of Richmond Newspapers, Incorporated for the aid given to me during the research for this paper. Also, I would like to thank Dr. Spencer D. Albright, Jr. for his guidance and patience, and especially I want to thank Thomas Bahnson Stanley, without whose permission and indulgence this paper would not have been possible.

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PART I

Thomas Bahnson Stanley was born on a farm near Spencer, Henry County, Virginia, July 16, 1890.¹ His mother was Susan Walker Stanley, a native of Walkertown, North Carolina; a daughter of R.L. Walker and a niece of Judge Henry Mullins of Martinsville.² His father was Crockett Stanley who served with Company H, Twenty-fourth Virginia Infantry, Pickett's Division, and was wounded at Gettysburg, during the Civil War. He recovered from his wounds to return to Henry County. He was greatly interested in public affairs, being Commissioner of Revenue for Henry County for some twenty years, and filled every public duty carefully and conscientiously.⁴

Tom Stanley attended the local public schools for his elementary and secondary education.⁵ Being interested in pursuing a career in business caused him to attend the Eastman National

¹United States Congress, Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1961, 85th Congress, 2nd Session, House Document No. 442 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 1644.

²Martinsville Bulletin, November 8, 1964.

³Judith Parks America Hill, A History of Henry County Virginia (Martinsville: Bulletin Printing and Publishing Company, 1925), p. 265.

⁴Richmond News Leader, January 18, 1942.

⁵Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1961, loc. cit.

Business College in Poughkeepsie, New York. After graduation, he went to work for R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Soon after, he received an offer from the E. L. Knight Distillery in Ridgeway, Virginia and moved back to Henry County to serve as that Company's bookkeeper.⁶ Mr. Stanley married Anne Pocahontas Bassett in 1918.⁷ Leaving the E. L. Knight firm, he worked first as an assistant cashier at the First National Bank of Ridgeway, as a teller for the First National Bank of Martinsville, and later as a cashier in the First National Bank of Rural Retreat, Virginia.⁸

In 1920, Tom Stanley left his position at the Rural Retreat bank in order to accept an offer from John D. Bassett, his father-in-law, and founder of the Bassett Furniture Industries. It was during this period, while working at the Bassett Company, that he decided to start his own company, and in April of 1924, ground was broken for the new factory.⁹

Tom Stanley began his political career in 1929 when he was elected for the 1930 term of the Virginia House of Delegates.

⁶Martinsville Bulletin, November 8, 1964.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Richmond News Leader, January 18, 1942.

⁹Martinsville Bulletin, November 8, 1964.

During his twelve years as a State Legislator, prior to the Speakership, he was on the Committee on Appropriations, part of it as Chairman. He served also on the Committee on Roads and Navigation. Mr. Stanley served on the Governor's Advisory Board on the Budget under each Governor during his service in the House, and also served on the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council.¹⁰ In addition to these duties, Delegate Stanley served as Chairman of the Manufacturers and Mechanic Arts Committee, as well as being Chairman of the Interstate Co-operation Committee.¹¹

In 1942 Mr. Stanley was elected Speaker of the House of Delegates and re-elected for the terms of 1944 and 1946. These terms were the highlight of his service in the House of Delegates.¹²

Tom Stanley was elected to Congress in a special election in 1946, at the same time of the general election in which he also was elected to the full term from 1947 to 1949, and went into office immediately to succeed Thomas G. Burch in the House of Representatives. Mr. Burch, Representative from the Fifth District in Virginia, was named to fill out the unexpired term of the late United States Senator, Carter Glass.¹³

¹⁰Richmond News Leader, January 20, 1954.

¹¹Richmond News Leader, January 18, 1942.

¹²Richmond News Leader, January 21, 1953.

¹³Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 30, 1948.

Representative Stanley's first Committee assignment in the House of Representatives was to the Committee on House Administration, one of the nineteen standing committees of the House. At the beginning of the 82nd Congress, January, 1951, he became Chairman of the Committee.¹⁴ While Chairman of the House Administration Committee, Representative Stanley was credited with saving the taxpayers a great deal of money due to close scrutiny of demands on the House contingent fee.¹⁵ Mr. Stanley also took a stand on curtailing expenditures for many overseas junkets, by members of the House to foreign countries, which he considered unnecessary.¹⁶

Every gubernatorial year, beginning in 1941, Stanley was mentioned as a potential candidate.¹⁷ There was talk in 1948 that Tom Stanley might be a candidate in the Democratic Primary of the following year,¹⁸ but Representative Stanley continued to bide his time. Again in 1950, note was made of Mr. Stanley gaining support for the 1953 gubernatorial race.¹⁹

¹⁴Richmond News Leader, May 9, 1953.

¹⁵Ibid. ¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 5, 1953.

¹⁸Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 30, 1948.

¹⁹Richmond News Leader, August 14, 1950..

The first man to announce his intention to run for Governor in 1953 was an independent, Howard W. Carwile, of Richmond. With the formal declaration came a campaign notice based on five absolutes. These were:

- (1) absolute freedom of speech.
- (2) absolute seperation of church and state.
- (3) absolute end to racial discrimination.
- (4) absolute end to police brutality, torture and third degree practices.
- (5) absolute devotion to the prevention of World War III.²⁰

Rebuking both parties in Virginia, Carwile said the Republicans were "nonchalant nonentities and lazy milksops." He also denounced "the rotten remnants of the blood oligarchy," and "the political freaks of lame liberalism in Virginia."²¹

Mr. Carwile further added, "I am sick of the paltry politics, the mediocre campaigns, the ambitious neophytes, and the plethora of nonsenicalities that I have endured on the local level. I yearn for space and fresh air; hence I am running for Governor."²²

On January 22, 1953 Tom Stanley formally announced that he would run for the Democratic candidacy to be sought in a July primary.²³ The following day, a second Democratic announcement

²⁰Richmond Times-Dispatch, December 30, 1952.

²¹Ibid. ²²Ibid.

²³Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 22, 1953.

came from Charles Fenwick, a State Senator from Arlington, who also was vieing for the Democratic nomination.²⁴

Both these men were considered part of the Byrd organization, within which there were quite different splits in presidential support in the 1952 presidential election. Senator Byrd would not endorse Democratic nominee Adlai E. Stevenson because his policies were too much like former Democratic President Harry S. Truman.²⁵ Tom Stanley endorsed the national Democratic ticket but did not actively campaign.²⁶ Fenwick endorsed and campaigned actively for Stevenson.²⁷

On January, 26, Russell Hatchett of Virginia Beach became the third Democrat to announce that he was running.²⁸ Few took him seriously,²⁹ and later in April he withdrew his name and threw his support to Fenwick.³⁰

After the announcements of intention to run for Governor

²⁴Richmond News Leader, January 23, 1953.

²⁵Richmond News Leader, November 12, 1952.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Richmond News Leader, January 23, 1953.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 26, 1953.

³⁰Richmond News Leader, April 10, 1953.

had been made, the crux appeared to be that Tom Stanley and Charles Fenwick would vie for the Democratic nomination in the primary on July 14, and the winner would face State Senator Ted Dalton, the Republican candidate, in the general election on November 3.³¹

In March, the independent candidate, H. H. Carwile, issued a fifteen-point platform. He advocated holding all elections on Sunday "in order that the working class can vote and then spend the remainder of the day in prayer for the sanctity of the ballot box."³² Carwile also favored "euthanasia for every public official who refuses to resign at the age of 70, and electrocution for every officer who unjustifiably and brutally assaults and beats a prisoner in his custody."³³ Among other points in the Carwile platform were: To end all programs of religious instruction in public schools as contrary to the Constitution; Repeal all State segregation acts; Make drastic changes in prison and parole systems; Abolish the Medical College of Virginia; Improve the State mental hospitals; and provide cash bonuses for Korean and Second World War veterans. Carwile also said, "I favor the destruction of the newspaper monopoly in Virginia by merciless taxation."³⁴

³¹Richmond Times-Dispatch, February 1, 1953.

³²Richmond Times-Dispatch, March 18, 1953.

³³Ibid. ³⁴Ibid.

In April, 1953, the Fenwick plan to promote industrial and economic improvement in Virginia was announced. It was to work through the establishment of a new division of the State Conservation Department. On this subject, Mr. Stanley said that more bureaucracy was not needed to improve Virginia and that it would only cost the taxpayers more money.³⁵

During the primary campaign, however, the two men differed little in political backgrounds beliefs and philosophies. For the most part both tendered suggestions for improving the State, such as step-ups in tourist and port trade, improved secondary highways and more money for schools. Fenwick wished to lure business industry into Virginia. Stanley wished to set up a businessman's administration. Mr. Stanley also hoped that the Hampton Roads Tunnel would be begun and completed during his administration, if elected, and favored commuters rates for crossing.³⁶

The Republican nominee for Governor, Ted Dalton, injected the issue of the World War II memorial into the Democratic primary campaign with remarks, in June, that the memorial should be a living

³⁵Richmond Times-Dispatch, April 10, 1953.

³⁶Richmond News Leader, June 30, 1953.

one, and not of marble. Fenwick suggested that a better memorial plan could be developed from additional public discussion. Stanley suggested that the situation be left to the Battle Administration.³⁷

Many people said it was a quiet primary campaign. But for two people, Tom Stanley and Charles Fenwick, it did not seem the least bit quiet. For nearly six months, each of them devoted nearly every waking hour to the task of amassing the most votes. Travelling across the State by highway, railroad, and air. Writing speeches. Delivering speeches. Shaking hands. Soothing and coaxing local political leaders. Worrying over the trend in this or that county. Trying to keep everyone happy and not to offend anyone. Doing everything that is involved in running for the most important State office.

The campaign was quiet compared to the heated senatorial primary and the bitter presidential fight in 1952, and quieter than the four-way gubernatorial primary of 1949.³⁸ But it certainly was not quiet for the two men under the gun.

They were both campaigning for Governor, after a fashion through the years: Stanley as Speaker of the House of Delegates,

³⁷Richmond News Leader, June 24, 1953.

³⁸Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 5, 1953.

then as a member of Congress, and Fenwick as State Senator. Mr. Fenwick also looked for the number one spot when he lost a close race for the Lieutenant Governorship in 1945.³⁹ After this, he too waited and cultivated his political hopes.

Each man developed his own campaign techniques, alike in some ways and different in others. Stanley, the tall, trim furniture manufacturer, shied away from question and answer forums, and from joint appearances on the same stage with his rival. He was not a polished orator. Realizing this, he sought to make the most of his forte: earnest person-to-person campaigning, meeting people, chatting about farm and business problems and sitting down with people at brunswick stews and barbecues.⁴⁰ Fenwick, with his lawyer's training, was far more the accomplished speaker. He delivered more public speeches and tried to needle his opponent into joint debates.⁴¹ Mr. Fenwick, however, also made use of the person-to-person approach.

Tom Stanley won the Democratic nomination for Governor on July 14. He held a two-to-one margin over Charles Fenwick. Early

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Richmond Times-Dispatch, June 20, 1953.

⁴¹Ibid.

returns from 1515 of the States' 1816 precincts gave Mr. Stanley 109,257 votes to 57,826 for Mr. Fenwick, at which time Mr. Fenwick conceded.* In addition to the gubernatorial race, Democrats voted for their choice for Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General and for a number of seats in the House of Delegates. Lieutenant Governor A.E.S. Stephens, of Smithfield, won an easy victory over his only opponent, Charles Loving of Bath County. Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., also a former Congressman, was unopposed for another term.⁴²

Soon after the primary, on July 17, Senator Byrd offered his active support to Mr. Stanley. Mr. Stanley was "highly pleased"⁴³ and stated that they (the Democrats) were going to wage a strong campaign. Mr. Stanley did not immediately issue a platform, but held off until the Democratic Central Committee met before plunging into the campaign for general election. Later in the month ex-Governor Tuck, who was Stanley's successor as the Fifth District Representative to Congress, and Governor Battle served notice that they would take the stump or otherwise lend an

⁴²New York Times, July 15, 1953.

⁴³Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 17, 1953.

* The final totals for the July 14, 1953 Democratic primary election are listed in Appendix A.

active hand to keep Virginia Democratic.⁴⁴

Because of the fact that Virginia had gone Republican in the 1952 presidential election, the general election of 1953 bade fair to be the most important interparty contest for Statewide election in this century. After nomination, the Republicans opened their campaign with State Senator Ted Dalton, of Radford, for Governor; Stephen D. Timberlake, of Staunton, for Lieutenant Governor and Walter E. Hoffman, of Norfolk, for Attorney General.⁴⁵

Early in the campaign, Mr. Stanley warned party leaders that the Republicans in that year presented "a threat such as the Democratic party in the State had not witnessed since 1929," and also said, "the GOP is putting forward what it believes to be its best foot."⁴⁶

The 1929 gubernatorial election was probably the most comparable situation to that of the 1953 election. The Republicans then, also, posed a serious threat for State offices in that year after Virginia had gone Republican for Herbert Hoover. In that year John Garland Pollard, Democrat, won by 169,329 votes against 99,650 for William Moseley Brown, Republican.⁴⁷

⁴⁴Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 26, 1953.

⁴⁵Richmond Times-Dispatch, August 30, 1953.

⁴⁶Richmond News Leader, September 17, 1953.

⁴⁷Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 26, 1953.

The Republicans first real problem in the 1953 general election was money. Republican State Finance Chairman C. P. Gillespie said that the Republicans had no hope of matching Stanley and the Democratic party money-wise. This was very true. They had only \$4,000 in their treasury. Mr. Dalton expressed hope that the National GOP treasury would supply the \$100,000 needed for the campaign. The National GOP treasury denied Dalton aid, however, on the grounds that it was impossible to finance one State's campaign without being obligated to finance all of them.⁴⁸

While the Democratic State Central Committee, made up of some 70-odd State Democratic leaders, was planning to meet and draw up its campaign on September 3, Ted Dalton was already making campaign speeches. Mr. Dalton's two platform planks that gained the most attention were the repeal of the poll tax via an unrestricted Constitutional Convention and the lowering of the voting age to 18.⁴⁹

The September 3rd Democratic session adopted a platform for the campaign against the Republicans and set up the machinery,

⁴⁸Richmond News Leader, July 20, 1953.

⁴⁹Richmond Times-Dispatch, August 30, 1953.

with State Chairman L. H. Blanton having his headquarters in Richmond, and naming Sidney S. Kellam, of Virginia Beach, as Director for the fall campaign.⁵⁰ The following day Mr. Stanley gave his kick-off speech. He said that he could not recommend unqualified repeal of Virginia's poll tax until other constitutional safeguards could be substituted to assure fraud-proof, accurate voting limits. He was emphatically in disagreement with the 18-year-old voting age on the grounds that liquor sale to 18-year-olds would be next. Also Mr. Stanley endorsed the Byrd automatic income tax reduction law and stated that if his opponent had had his way, the people of Virginia would have paid \$20 million more in income taxes in the past three years than they were called upon to pay.⁵¹

Through the following months both men brought out additional planks to their platforms. In the middle of September Mr. Stanley proposed a Road Equalization Plan, which would give each of the eight road districts in the State equal money, thereby diverting money from the eastern part of the State to the western part.⁵²

In response to this, Dalton stated on the 15th, "We are

⁵⁰Richmond Times-Dispatch, September 3, 1953.

⁵¹Richmond News Leader, September 3, 1953.

⁵²Richmond Times-Dispatch, September 13, 1953.

going to stop it (the diversion of money) if we are elected." ⁵³

The Dalton platform also included the improvement of teacher salaries in the State, stating that they would be raised to a \$2,500 minimum, if he were elected. He also wanted to take Judges out of politics by having School Boards elected by the people instead of appointed. ⁵⁴

The Stanley platform involved improved education and highways. Mr. Stanley said that he "would do his level best for under-paid teachers but would not pull a figure of \$2,500 out of the air and make promises just to get elected." ⁵⁵ He also felt that there should be more concern with the maximum rather than the minimum salaries, in order to keep experienced teachers. Stanley and the other Democratic leaders made the rounds to all the districts. During these visits he repeated his previous contention that a vote for him would be a vote for the "continuance of good, honest and efficient government which Virginia has enjoyed since the end of Reconstruction." ⁵⁶

In early October, Howard W. Smith, Democratic Representative

⁵³Richmond News Leader, September 15, 1953.

⁵⁴Richmond News Leader, October 1, 1953.

⁵⁵Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 17, 1953.

⁵⁶Richmond News Leader, September 18, 1953.

to Congress, said that the GOP threat in some districts was serious; therefore good solid districts should be stumped for more votes. He pledged his support to Mr. Stanley and published a list of appearances to be made by him in 18 counties in his district in October.⁵⁷

Less than three weeks before the election, the Republicans got what they considered their "break." Sidney Kellam, Democratic State Campaign Manager, was indicted for conspiring to evade income tax payments as a stockholder in the Beach Taxi Service, Inc. at Virginia Beach.⁵⁸ Kellam resigned from the campaign and cried politics. Regardless of the motive, the indictment became a part of the campaign.⁵⁹ Senator Byrd said that the Kellam affair was politically inspired. He stated that the Republicans wanted to defeat the party because of him although, he said, "I'm not a candidate in this election."⁶⁰

The last major campaign issue was Dalton's highway plan for future highway construction. The plan involved the issue of bonds amounting to \$20 million a year for a period of five

⁵⁷Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 3, 1953.

⁵⁸Time, vol. 62 (November 2, 1953), p. 22.

⁵⁹Newsweek, vol. 42 (October 26, 1953), p. 39.

⁶⁰Richmond News Leader, October 24, 1953.

years. He said the bonds could be assured by pledging portions of the anticipated revenue from the gasoline tax.⁶¹

Mr. Stanley was highly opposed to Mr. Dalton's plan. On this question he stated, "We have been committed for a long time to the pay-as-you-go system. My opponent proposes we issue bonds with which to build additional roads. Until I can be economically convinced we should change systems, I'm going to stick to the pay-as-you-go plan."⁶²

Senator Byrd, inventor of the pay-as-you-go plan, had this to say, "I intend to oppose with all vigor, the Dalton plan to junk our sound fiscal system based upon freedom from debt."⁶³

Mr. Stanley remained true to the form used in the primary, in his method of campaigning. Although he travelled extensively his formal campaign speeches were few.⁶⁴ The campaign techniques used in the primary were almost exactly repeated. Mr. Stanley shied away from speech-making and dwelled on the person-to-person approach. Although Mr. Dalton used the person-to-person approach some too, his lawyer's training allowed him many more formal speeches

⁶¹Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 28, 1953.

⁶²Richmond News Leader, October 22, 1953

⁶³Richmond News Leader, October 21, 1953.

⁶⁴Richmond Times-Dispatch, September 25, 1953.

and appearances. As the election day came closer, there were many guesses as to who would be the Governor and the issues grew hotter and hotter. Aside from the local issues, the Republicans were also making their bid as a test of the acceptability of Republican leadership at the State level following Virginia's support for General Eisenhower in the presidential election of 1952.

The Democratic party-loyalty issue was to be a major factor in the election contest since Virginia had gone Republican the year before. This rejection of party label had produced conflicts which blurred party lines and stirred up intra-party feuds.

With the arrival of election day thousands turned out at the polls. Mr. Stanley's share of the total vote cast held in the vicinity of 55 per cent from the time of the first returns,* which were tallied at 7 p.m. on election night, until Mr. Dalton formally conceded at 10:15 p.m.⁶⁵ Mr. Stanley piled up thumping majorities in the Central, Southside and Tidewater sections, traditional strongholds of the Democratic party. For instance, in the Fourth District, embracing the Southside tobacco farmers, Mr. Stanley won by 23,505 votes to 8,234. He also ran reasonably

⁶⁵New York Times, November 4, 1953.

*The totals of the vote cast for Governor in the General Election on November 3, 1953 are found in Appendix B.

close to Mr. Dalton in the populous areas across the Potomac River from Washington and managed surprising results in several Republican bastions in the Shenandoah Valley area. In Shenandoah County Mr. Dalton won by only 700 votes, and in Rockingham County also, complete returns had Mr. Stanley 1,000 votes ahead.⁶⁶

By keeping his vote total around 45 per cent, Mr. Dalton made the strongest recorded race by a Republican gubernatorial candidate in Virginia since Civil War days. The Republican candidate, as expected, carried the Sixth, Ninth and Tenth Congressional Districts where Republican Representatives were elected to Congress in 1952. Mr. Dalton's majorities in these Districts, however, were not nearly enough to offset the Democrats' power in the other sections. In the Tenth District, embracing the Potomac shores opposite Washington, at the time of concession, with 5 of 65 precincts missing, Dalton was ahead 14,800 to 12,775. In the Sixth and Ninth Districts, embracing the southwest arm of the State, a mountainous region, with long Republican voting sentiments, returns showed Mr. Dalton ahead in the Sixth by about 4,000 votes and in the Ninth by only 700 votes. Another interesting tally showed Mr. Stanley leading Mr. Dalton by some 3,000 votes in the Richmond City area. These same city precincts gave President Eisenhower a 10,000 vote lead over Stevenson the year before.⁶⁷

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Ibid.

Mr. Dalton's failure to run as strong as some had expected in the sections believed to be favorable to him during the campaign was attributed, for the most part, to Senator Byrd and Mr. Stanley's attacks on Mr. Dalton's proposal for a \$100 million revenue bond issue to finance highway construction in the State. That the highway construction issue was of utmost importance was underscored by Mr. Dalton about an hour before he conceded. He said, "I made up my mind to tell the people where I stood, and I could have skidded around the road issue."⁶⁸

Democratic leaders, in the closing days of the campaign, said that they considered the road issue as providing them the "break" of the campaign. Mr. Stanley also got help from the Negro vote. Seventy per cent of the Negro vote went for him.⁶⁹

Mr. Stanley's running mates, Lieutenant Governor A.E.S. Stephens and Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., both seeking reelection, won handily.⁷⁰

When asked his opinion on the election, Senator Byrd said he thought the outcome was what was to be expected. After saying that he thought the results were an endorsement of "the sound government of Virginia," he added: "Under the existing conditions,

⁶⁸Richmond Times-Dispatch, November 4, 1953.

⁶⁹New Republic, No. 129 (November 16, 1953), p. 5.

⁷⁰Ibid.

the election was in my judgment, the greatest victory ever won by the Democratic party in Virginia."⁷¹

Following the election, Governor-elect Stanley had a long rest period while the inaugural committees were frantically at work. On January 19, 1954, thousands of Virginians braved a cold, driving mist to watch Tom Stanley ride into Capitol Square and become Governor of Virginia. For Governor Stanley, it was the fulfillment of an ambition of long standing as he took the oath of office from Chief Justice Edward Wren Hudgins of the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals, and vowed to defend the Constitution of Virginia and enforce all its laws. The oath was completed at 12:29 p.m.⁷²

Highlights of Governor Stanley's inaugural address included these recommendations to the General Assembly, already in session:

Taxes- A one-cent-per-gallon increase in the State tax on motor fuels should be enacted immediately to help meet highway needs on a pay-as-you-go basis. All diversion of highway funds should be halted, starting with a \$940,000 item in the Battle budget for the construction of permanent State convict road camps.

Teacher Salaries- Top minimums for certified teachers should be raised from the existing peak of \$3,200 to \$3,400 in the coming school year. Pay for new and uncertified teachers should also be raised.

⁷¹New York Times, November 5, 1953.

⁷²Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 20, 1954.

Highway Safety- State Police must be limited to policing the highways, and not for general enforcement work.

Unemployment Compensation- Weekly benefits should be raised from \$22 to \$24 a week.

Agriculture- A \$300,000 revolving local fund should be set up to help localities build wholesale produce markets.

Absent Voter Law- Recommendations of the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council to fraud-proof the Law should be enacted immediately.

Holidays- State Holidays should be cut from thirteen to eight.⁷³

Responses to the address were varied. Many were in opposition to some points while others heartily endorsed them. The problem now was to get this suggested legislation passed by the General Assembly.

⁷³Richmond News Leader, January 20, 1953.

PART II

Governor Stanley started his term of office with two major struggles in the General Assembly. The first was the Carter Bill to freeze the Byrd Tax Credit Bill for a period of two years. The Tax Credit Bill proposed that after a certain amount of taxes was collected---enough to meet the proposed budget--- all surpluses in excess of this would be returned to the taxpayers. Senator Stuart Carter, on the other hand, felt that certain unmet State services could be aided by this amount and sought to have the Bill frozen for two years. The result was a deadlock. After a great deal of wrangling, a compromise was reached. The Carter Bill was not passed, but a certain amount was to be retained for State services if the Byrd Tax Credit Bill was passed. Governor Stanley expressed opposition to the Carter Bill and the resulting compromise was considered as a defeat on his part.¹

The second and most publicized struggle was over Governor Stanley's recommendation of a one-cent-per-gallon raise on the gasoline tax in Virginia. This caused a great deal of uproar. Senator E. E. Willey organized strong opposition to the proposal in the Senate on the grounds that it was a repudiation of a campaign promise. Governor Stanley, however, made no apologies for

¹Personal interview with State Senator E. E. Willey, of Richmond on June 7, 1965.

the recommended tax increase. He further gave this explanation:

His campaign promise to finance highway improvements without a major fuel tax increase "was an honest opinion based upon information available to me at the time. Since then we have had the report of the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council, as well as the State Highway Department's own detailed study of existing and future needs. In recent weeks I have carefully re-examined our highway revenues and I am convinced now that they are inadequate to meet the urgent needs."²

The reaction to the tax increase proposal was varied, although the opposition proved overwhelming. Several of Virginia's editors voiced their opinions on the subject, many in abject opposition but others extremely favorably:

The willingness to change one's mind after obtaining more enlightening information, or of seeing with more accurate vision the meaning of information on hand, is an admirable human trait, and the Virginian-Pilot is glad that Mr. Stanley now sees more clearly. But the Governor must understand that there are still unanswered questions as to why he did not see much earlier what was difficult to miss: that the State had a highway money problem that could not be solved satisfactorily by standing pat and hoping for the best in more revenues from increased traffic and in the possibilities of aid from the Federal government's dropping their gasoline tax so the States could pick it up. Even with a one-cent increase in the gasoline tax, the estimated revenue is only \$10,000,000, which is much less than the Highway Department thinks essential. And even if something can be done in lessening the drain of

²Richmond Times-Dispatch, February 13, 1954.

so-called diversions from highway funds, the Highway Department will still have very much less than it thinks that it needs. We hope very much that, having seen the light in one respect, he will take courage in searching for other solutions for this problem---for it will not be solved by what he has done---and for many other problems, some of which he mentioned in his inaugural.³

On one point Governor Stanley does invite controversy. During his campaign, he declared against any increase in taxes, but now proposes that the six-cent gasoline tax be increased to seven cents. He calculates that this will raise \$10,000,000 additional revenue for highways. The highway authorities estimate \$28,000,000 additional will be needed to keep the highway system up to the proper standard. Governor Battle's budget estimates an increase of \$8,000,000 in highway revenues. With the higher gasoline tax, the estimated 'deficit' in highway funds would therefore be more than cut in half.... The explanation of this reversal of his tax stand is simply that he is changing his mind in the face of indications of pressing need for more highway money. There need be no criticism of the Governor for a shift in his attitude. It is unlikely that the gasoline tax proposal will be received by the General Assembly with much enthusiasm. The Virginia Advisory Legislative Council studying the matter, reported it split 5 to 5 on it....⁴

In his successful campaign for Governor last fall Thomas B. Stanley declared his opposition to any and all new or increased taxes. In his inaugural address he called for a one-cent increase in the State gasoline tax. There is no inconsistency here. One may be opposed to higher taxes and still recognize necessity. Mr. Stanley, it appears, has informed himself as to Virginia's highway needs and decided that a tax increase is necessary to meet them. It's a sound decision, thoroughly supported by the facts, and we congratulate the new Governor on having the courage to announce it on the first day in office even though it will be interpreted by many as a reversal of the position he took while seeking office. We're glad Virginia's Governor isn't the kind of man who thinks a

³Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, January 21, 1954.

⁴Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch, January 21, 1954.

position once taken has to be maintained, even if it's wrong.⁵

The Administration purposely started the tax bill rolling in the Senate in the belief that it could win passage in that chamber, and would face a tougher struggle in the House. As it was, the measure was quietly laid to rest in the Senate.⁶

The tax bill was defeated on February 25, and at a press conference on that day, Governor Stanley observed that he hoped as an alternative to his recommendation the Assembly would go along with bills to permit the State to impose a one-cent boost, if and when the Federal government lowered its two-cent tax on gasoline by as much as one-half cent.⁷

Among the authorizations of the 1954 General Assembly was that of the 37-mile Richmond-Petersburg turnpike. Speaking at the Eighth Annual Highway Conference, Governor Stanley described Virginia as the North-South bridge for traffic moving along the Eastern seaboard. "Construction of tolls is justified," the Governor said, "in sections of heavy traffic density where other thoroughfares are inadequate, and where for budgetary reasons, it is impracticable to construct additional freeways."⁸

⁵Charlottesville Progress, January 21, 1954.

⁶Richmond News Leader, February 25, 1954.

⁷Ibid. ⁸Ibid.

Although defeated on two of his major campaign points, five of his other major points were given approval by the General Assembly. These were:

(1) Increased pay for teachers and higher unemployment and workers benefits.

(2) Improved salary scales for the mental hospital system, enabling the State's six mental hospitals to 'materially improve' their staffs.

(3) A \$2,300,000 State appropriation to go along with Federal funds for additional hospital construction in the State.

(4) Amendments to the State right-to-work law, which the Governor believed strengthened the law.

(5) The elimination of \$15,000,000 in diversions from the State highway fund, the money to be used exclusively for road building and upkeep.⁹

The 1954 General Assembly introduced a total of 1271 Bills. Of these 721 were passed. 11 of the Bills failed to become law because they were not approved by the Governor. 710 Bills were enacted into law and 4 Joint Resolutions were passed to amend the Constitution of Virginia.¹⁰

On May 17, 1954, with the rendering of school segregation as unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, Governor Stanley became involved with a problem which was to last throughout his entire Administration. Early in June, Mr. Stanley played

⁹Richmond Times-Dispatch, December 23, 1954.

¹⁰Acts and Joint Resolutions of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Session 1954 (Richmond: Division of Purchase and Printing, 1954), p. 1108.

host, in Richmond, to the Governors and their representatives from throughout the South, at a meeting called for exploratory discussion of the Supreme Court ruling.¹¹ However, no public statement was issued as to the decisions or discussions of this council.

Later in the month Governor Stanley announced that he planned to set up a commission to study the problems posed by the Supreme Court decision.¹² Also at this time, with the end of June and the beginning of the fiscal year, came a rush of appointments and reappointments.

On the 28th of June, two Richmonders were among four new members named by Governor Stanley to the Board of Trustees of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts. Three of the four appointees were to fill vacancies caused by resignations. The museum trustees were among a group of 16 persons selected for three of the State's administrative boards and one special commission. The museum trustees were Mrs. Walter A. Williams, Jr, and Fitzgerald Bemiss, filling the positions on the 33-member board created respectively by the death of Mrs. Arthur K. Evans, of Hot Springs, and the resignation of John L. Pratt of Fredericksburg. C. Francis Cocke, of Roanoke, who had just finished two terms on the Library Board, was named to the museum body to fill a vacancy caused by the re-

¹¹Richmond News Leader, July 19, 1954.

¹²Richmond Times-Dispatch, June 26, 1954.

signation of D. Tennant Bryan of Richmond. Delegate Edmund T. DeJarnette, of Hanover, was named to succeed William Stuart, of Abingdon, who also resigned.¹³

Named to the State Library Board for five-year terms were Lewis F. Hall and Mrs. Walter S. Robertson, both of Richmond. The Governor reappointed the five members of the Board of Administration of the Virginia Fisheries Laboratory at Gloucester, and the five members of the State Museum of Science Commission, all to serve terms coincident with the Governor. Members of the Fisheries Board were William P. Ballard, of Norfolk; William P. Hunt, of Hampton; T. D. McGinnes, of Irvington; Alvin D. Chandler, President of William and Mary College and State Fisheries Commissioner Charles M. Langford, Jr., of Exmore. The Science Commission members were Kenneth Chorley, of Williamsburg; H. Rupert Hanmer, of Richmond; George W. Jeffers, of Farmville; Ivey F. Lewis, of University and Alice Pollard Stryker, of Williamsburg.¹⁴

Governor Stanley announced a number of additional appointments on June 30. R. McC. Bullington was chosen to be Chairman of the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board for the 1954-55 fiscal year, succeeding Hunter Miller. The chairmanship is rotated annually among the three members of the Board. Stanley named Joe Pete

¹³Richmond News Leader, June 28, 1954.

¹⁴Ibid.

Gilliam, of Dinwiddie, to succeed Henry T. Coleman as a member of the Virginia Bright Flue-cured Tobacco Commission. W. A. Collins, of Bassett, was picked for a five-year term on the State Board of Embalmers and Funeral Directors to succeed H. M. Purviance. The third new appointee was L. H. Kernodle, of Danville, who was selected to fill the position of J. C. Holtzclaw, of Richmond, on the Advisory Council on the Virginia Economy.¹⁵

The following were reappointed to three-year terms on the Economy Council: State Senator Lloyd C. Bird, of Chesterfield; T. C. Boushall, of Richmond; J. Harvie Wilkinson, of Richmond; Delegate John H. Daniel, of Charlotte Courthouse; Jay W. Johns and E. A. Kincaid, of Charlottesville; Giles H. Miller, Jr., of Culpepper; Delegate W. Tayloe Murphy, of Warsaw; Charles T. O'Neill, of Charlottesville. Also J. Kirk Ring, of Roanoke; J. B. Woodward, of Newport News; Clarence Burton, of Lynchburg and John S. Alfriend and George D. Brooke, both of Norfolk.¹⁶

Reappointed for three-year terms to the Virginia Apprenticeship Council were Lawson Wimberly, of Arlington and C. W. McLennon, of Lynchburg. L. J. Boxley, of Roanoke, was reappointed for a five-year term on the State Registration Board of Contractors. Also announced was the appointment of Lewis J. Powell,

¹⁵Richmond News Leader, June 30, 1954.

¹⁶Ibid.

Jr., of Richmond, to the State Library Board.¹⁷

State Highway Commissioner James A. Anderson was reappointed to a new four-year term on June 30. Also reappointed to the highway commission was Howard C. Rogers, of Hamilton, along with a new appointee, William W. Wright, of Tappahannock. Most of the names announced on this date were reappointments. Two changes, however were made in the Medical College of Virginia's board of visitors. Harry H. Augustine and Eppa Hunton, IV, of Richmond, succeeded Robert T. Barton, Jr. and Samuel M. Bemiss. Also named were two new members for the Virginia Polytechnic Institute's board of visitors--- G. L. Furr, of Roanoke and G. M. Read, of Lynchburg. Among other new appointees were Major Samuel W. Dobyns, of VMI to the State Board for the Examination and Certification of Architects, Professional Engineers and Land Surveyors; State Senator Garland Gray to the State Commission on Local Debt and J. Gordon Bennett to the Virginia Commission on Interstate Co-operation.¹⁸

Among the reappointments made by the Governor were William Henry Burrus, of Lynchburg; Charles H. Reed, of Chesterfield; and Oscar F. Smith, III, of Norfolk, to the VPI board of visitors;

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Richmond News Leader, July 1, 1954.

John Porter Shockey, of Richlands, to the Board of Examiners of the Division of Mines; Dr. Carl A. Kaufman, of Suffolk, to the Board of Examiners in Optometry; Colonel Nathaniel J. Perkins, of Carysbrook, and Mrs. Mary Frances Rogers Hartz, of Waverly, to the Board of Welfare and Institutions; T. Brady Saunders, of Richmond, and Thomas M. Thornhill, of Lynchburg, to the Water Control Board; Thomas M. Thompson, of Norfolk, to the Elizabeth River Tunnel Commission; Grady W. Dalton, of Richlands, and Woodrow W. Edmundton, of Lynchburg to the Advisory Commission on Aviation; Dr. Edward L. Jackson, of Richlands, to the State Board of Health; William L. O'Flaherty, of Richmond, and Robert C. Boswell, of Bristol, to the Commission of Veterans Affairs and Miss Elizabeth J. MacKenzie, of Norfolk, to the State Board of Examiners of Nurses.¹⁹

As the summer progressed, Governor Stanley's thoughts again turned to the segregation problem. In August he appointed a Commission on Public Education, composed of 32 members of the General Assembly, and headed by State Senator Garland Gray. It was charged with the duty of studying the effects of the Supreme Court decision on Virginia, and the methods of dealing with them.²⁰

While this Commission was at work, Governor Stanley referred to the Supreme Court's non-segregation decision as a "serious challenge raised to the success of Virginia's educational program."²¹

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Richmond Times-Dispatch, September 8, 1954.

²¹Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 23, 1954.

Governor Stanley also said that he believed that the months of deliberation on the segregation problems had drawn the southern Governors closer together. He added however, that each Governor appeared to believe that the various States would have to work out individual solutions to the issues raised by the antisegregation decision.²²

As the schools opened in the fall, Governor Stanley said teachers could expect additional pay raises in the future so as to to guarantee the proper education of the young. He said, "The General Assembly recognized this by increasing appropriations this year to the public schools by \$15,500,000 for the present biennium. I made the public schools a major emphasis point in my program and I am glad to have had the opportunity of recommending these increases--- the greatest in the history of our public schools."²³

Also, in keeping with his mental health program, Governor Stanley supported the proposed establishment of a Southern Regional Council on Mental Health Training. Mr. Stanley said he thought the Council could do much toward meeting the South's need for better training for mental health workers. It was to consist of one person appointed by each Governor and eight other persons

²²Richmond News Leader, November 23, 1954.

²³Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 23, 1954.

named by the regional board. Each State would appropriate \$8,000 yearly to the council's work.²⁴

A busy first year left Mr. Stanley unruffled in appearance and demeanor, facing his problems with a mixture of determination and confidence, and meeting achievements and defeats with equal composure. Coming into office with the State surpluses spent, Governor Stanley saw that the State funds could meet only a small fraction of capital outlay and he set up a commission to assess the State's building needs through 1962 and to recommend ways of financing them.²⁵

Throughout his first year, Mr. Stanley let it be known that he still thought a one-cent raise in the State gasoline tax was needed to improve long-overdue improvements in the State highway network. He said he still felt the State needed the increase to provide improvements on Virginia's roads, not a part of the interstate system. The Governor made it plain that he believed his tax increase proposal sound. The Federal plan to spend \$25,000,000 during the coming ten years on interstate highways would not "eliminate the needs for additional funds to provide our highway system to meet growing demands." The Governor said a total of 911 miles of interstate lanes would affect Virginia, embracing

²⁴Richmond Times-Dispatch, November 9, 1954.

²⁵Richmond News Leader, January 20, 1955.

U.S. Routes 1, 11, 60 and 250. He said also that the money as suggested by the National Governors Conference would go for interstate routes, with the States doing the actual construction and maintenance. In 1953, Virginia received \$10,823,603 in Federal aid from \$20,393,697 collected in the State under the two-cent Federal tax on gas. Stanley complained about the inequality of collections and allotments and announced he would be on a four-Governor group to work as a liaison group with the next Congress on Highway plans.²⁶

Twice during the year, the Governor had occasion to welcome distinguished visitors to Richmond and the State. President and Mrs. Eisenhower visited Richmond to attend a special Mother's Day service at St. Paul's Church with the Richmond Light Infantry Blues.²⁷ Also Great Britain's Queen Mother, Elizabeth, visited Richmond. Governor Stanley conducted a tour of the Capitol for her and she was entertained at a luncheon at the Governor's Mansion.²⁸

Among the honors accorded Governor Stanley was appointment to the Executive Committee of the National Governors Conference.

²⁶Richmond News Leader, December 7, 1954.

²⁷Richmond Times-Dispatch, May 6, 1954.

²⁸Richmond News Leader, November 11, 1954.

Also he was chosen "man of the year" by the Board of Governors of the American Furniture Mart in Chicago, and he was elected a member of the Board of Trustees of Randolph-Macon College.²⁹

In the spring of 1955, Governor Stanley travelled to Nevada to witness an impressive atomic blast. He returned with a strong plea for a well-rounded and well-organized civil defense unit in Virginia.³⁰

In June, Mr. Stanley met with the State Board of Education and after a joint review of conditions, it was agreed that Virginia should continue her 1955-56 school operations as before.³¹ Governor Stanley commented that a special session of the General Assembly would need to be called to alleviate some of the segregation problems.³²

Later in the year, in preparation for the approaching state-of-the-Commonwealth address, Governor Stanley said that the 1956-58 budget could be balanced without levying new taxes. He said, "A balanced budget for the general fund will be recommended without any increase in taxes."³³

²⁹Richmond News Leader, January 20, 1955.

³⁰Richmond Times-Dispatch, May 10, 1955.

³¹U. S. News & World Report, vol. 41 (November 25, 1955), p. 92.

³²Richmond News Leader, June 10, 1955.

³³Richmond News Leader, November 3, 1955.

The Commission on Public Education made its report on November 11, 1955, after extensive study and investigation.³⁴ A special session of the General Assembly was convened on November 30, 1955, and authorized a referendum on amending Section 141 of the State Constitution, as recommended by the Commission. The Act to provide for submitting to the qualified electors the question of whether there shall be a convention to revise and amend Section 141 of the Constitution of Virginia was approved December 3, 1955.³⁵ On January 9, 1956, the voters of Virginia approved the holding of the constitutional convention to consider the proposed change in Section 141, and the regular session of the Assembly then provided for the election of delegates.³⁶

In his state-of-the-Commonwealth speech on January 11, Governor Stanley covered most of the major areas of government. The highlights of the address are as follows:

Segregation- An early constitutional convention, with specific legislation deferred until 'a later date.' A pledge of 'full support' for preservation of public schools.

Capital Outlays- \$60,744,000 from the General Fund recommended to launch the State on substantially the same building proposed by the Morrissett Commission.

³⁴Richmond News Leader, November 11, 1955.

³⁵Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Extra Session 1955 (Richmond: Division of Purchase and Printing, 1955), pp. 4-6.

³⁶Richmond News Leader, February 9, 1956.

Taxes- No increase in rates, no new levies, but an accelerated payment plan to provide an initial 'one-shot windfall' to start the building program.

Highways- A VALC study proposed to see that funds available are allocated 'to the highways most in need.'

Schools- An increase of nearly \$23,000,000 recommended over current appropriations to continue teacher salary raises at State expense, create 2,335 new teaching positions, provide more teacher scholarships.

Health- An over-all increase of 22.4 per cent in mental hospital operating funds, a \$21,000,000 building program for mental hospitals, funds to complete Negro tuberculosis hospital in Richmond.

Labor- Unemployment benefits to be raised from \$24 to \$28 per week, with eligibility extended from 16 to 18 weeks. Workmen's Compensation Act benefits to be boosted from \$27 to \$30 per week.

Welfare- 'Substantial increases... are recommended for the Department of Welfare and Institutions....'

Traffic Safety- State police force to be increased to 600 men, their efforts concentrated on highway patrol. Drunk-driving laws to be amended to establish legal presumption of intoxication in drivers with .15 per cent or more alcohol in blood.

Economy- Prosperity anticipated for next two years, with agriculture needing most help.³⁷

The first reaction to the Governor's message was generally favorable. Robert Whitehead, leader of the opposition, spoke up against the plan to accelerate individual income tax payments to finance a capital outlay, this plan constituting an earlier collection of taxes. However, he backed the school views by saying,

³⁷ Richmond News Leader, January 11, 1956.

"I was greatly pleased at Mr. Stanley's strong recommendation for the continuation of an efficient system of free public schools throughout Virginia."³⁸

Ted Dalton said, "It was a good message on the state of the State, if it's all right for a Republican to put in a good word."³⁹

Early in February Governor Stanley, at a news conference, predicted that some time in the future Virginia would have to have a sales tax, but he also described as unwise passage of any local bills authorizing individual counties to adopt sales tax levies. He further said that he was not in favor of a bill introduced by Richmond Delegate Fred G. Pollard to transfer the State's \$7 million in Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac railroad stock to the State Retirement Fund. Also Mr. Stanley expressed doubt that Virginia could constitutionally appropriate or spend money to support a Southern States coalition or united effort to promote interposition to fight the United States Supreme Court decision on segregation. Governor Stanley supported however, a Senate passed amendment to deny unemployment compensation payments to employees receiving part wages under a guaranteed annual wage plan during lay-offs. The amendment had been tacked on to pro-

³⁸Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 12, 1956.

³⁹Ibid.

posals for increasing jobless benefits. Stanley said a man being paid by his employer could not possibly be considered unemployed. Mr. Stanley also backed the ABC Board's bill to increase license fees as justified on the grounds it was reasonable to have the fees high enough to cover the cost of administration. The Board had said the fees had not been meeting costs for six years. Mr. Stanley further reported three letters acknowledging receipts of Virginia's resolution of interposition. They came from Supreme Court Justices Reed and Burton, and a note from Chief Justice Warren's secretary. He said that he had not decided when to call a special session of the General Assembly to take up the Gray Commission's proposals for legislation to prevent enforced integration in public schools.⁴⁰

The 1956 General Assembly introduced a total of 1154 Bills. Of these 725 were passed. 9 of the Bills failed to become law because they were not approved by the Governor. 716 Bills were enacted into law and 15 Joint Resolutions to amend the Constitution of Virginia were passed.⁴¹

The constitutional convention was held on March. 5-7, 1956; it proposed and proclaimed an amendment to Section 141, author-

⁴⁰Richmond News Leader, February 9, 1956.

⁴¹Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Session 1956 (Richmond: Division of Purchase and Printing, 1956), p. 1265.

izing use of public funds for tuition grants to students attending nonsectarian private schools.⁴²

In April Governor Stanley issued a blast at the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights program. He said of the recommendation that the Federal courts be given immediate jurisdiction in all civil rights complaints, as a substitute for the regulation that State judicial and administrative remedies must be exhausted before the Federal courts could take jurisdiction, "It is an invasion of States' Rights in the worst form I've heard of yet."⁴³

Later in the month Governor Stanley said it would be his policy for the State not to try to operate public facilities in any localities which closed its schools rather than accept racial integration. He made this comment in answering reporters' questions after hearing a seven-man delegation from Prince Edward County reassert, with new emphasis, that the county would abandon its public school system rather than bow to a desegregation order from a Federal court. The delegation held a one-hour closed conference with Stanley just two days after the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People moved in Federal court in Richmond to force desegregation in Prince Edward County by September, 1956.⁴⁴

⁴²Richmond News Leader, March 8, 1956.

⁴³Richmond Times-Dispatch, April 19, 1956.

⁴⁴Richmond Times-Dispatch, April 26, 1956.

Members of the group afterwards referred all questions to the Governor who told the reporters that the discussion had brought out these points:

(1) Prince Edward residents neither want nor seek a special session of the General Assembly to consider school legislation in so far as Prince Edward is concerned.

(2) They expect 95 per cent or more of the County's white residents will sign a new statement affirming their support of plans to cease public school operations rather than have any integration.⁴⁵

The group left with the Governor, a copy of a statement which they predicted virtually all the white citizens of the County would sign. It read:

We the undersigned citizens of Prince Edward County, Virginia, hereby affirm our conviction that the separation of the races in the public schools of this county is absolutely necessary and do affirm that we prefer to abandon public schools and educate our children in some other way if that be necessary to preserve segregation of the races in the schools of this county.

We pledge our support to the board of supervisors of Prince Edward County in their firm maintenance of this policy.⁴⁶

The delegation also reviewed plans to operate private schools for white children in 1956-57 if the integration order came. They did not mention use of public buildings for private schools, but rather told of efforts to line up other buildings for possible use and of tentative steps to provide teachers. In 1955, before

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ "Affirmative," Stanley Administration Papers, Virginia State Library. April 25, 1956.

a three-Judge Federal court handling the Prince Edward case declined to order desegregation in the 1955-56 school year, Prince Edward citizens formed a private educational corporation and raised some \$200,000 in cash and pledges for private school operations. A member said that these funds were still available for the 1956-57 school year.⁴⁷

A reporter asked the Governor what the State would do about operating schools in Prince Edward if the county suspended its local public schools. Mr. Stanley replied that if the county withdrew its local financial support of the schools, then State funds would not be available to it.⁴⁸

In May Governor Stanley politely declined an invitation to visit the U.S.S.R. and attend the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition, showing the accomplishments of Soviet farming. Mr. Stanley dispatched letters saying that it would be impossible for him to leave Virginia long enough to make the trip to Russia.⁴⁹

Mr. Stanley did, however, attend the National Governors Conference in June, whereupon he was elected Chairman of the Conference for the coming year.⁵⁰

⁴⁷Richmond Times-Dispatch, April 26, 1956.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Richmond Times-Dispatch, May 29, 1956.

⁵⁰Richmond News Leader, June 27, 1956.

A call for a special session of the General Assembly was issued on July 23, and the session commenced on August 27. Mr. Stanley addressed the General Assembly on its opening day. Following his opening remarks, he gave a program which would continue a State-wide system of segregated schools. The principal bill which he submitted defined State policy and governed public-school appropriations accordingly. The declaration read, in part, as follows:

The General Assembly declares, finds and establishes as a fact that the mixing of white and colored children in any elementary or secondary public school within any county, city or town of the Commonwealth constitutes a clear and present danger... and that no efficient system of elementary and secondary public schools can be maintained in any county, city or town in which white and colored children are taught in any such school located therein.⁵¹

The bill then defined efficient systems of elementary and secondary schools as those schools within a county, city or town in which there was no student body in which both white and colored children were taught. Following these definitions was this further declaration:

The General Assembly, for the purpose of protecting the health and welfare of the people and in order to preserve and maintain an efficient system of public elementary and secondary schools, hereby declares and establishes it to be the policy of this Commonwealth that no public elementary and secondary schools in which white and colored children are mixed and taught shall be entitled to or shall receive any funds from the State Treasury for their operation.... This policy is in harmony with Section 129 of the State Constitution, which provides that the General Assembly shall establish and maintain an efficient system of free schools throughout the State.⁵²

⁵¹Richmond Times-Dispatch, August 28, 1956.

⁵²Ibid.

Governor Stanley further stated:

In addition to the appropriation bill, which is the key to this program to preserve our schools and continue segregation, the other items submitted for your earnest consideration would accomplish the following:

1. Permitting the use of State funds, not distributed to a class of schools as defined in the declaration of policy, because of closure, to pay grants for educational purposes.
 2. Authorizing localities in which schools are not operated to raise tax funds or make appropriations and use same, together with State funds, in payment of grants for educational purposes.
 3. Permitting localities in which schools are operated to raise and expend funds for educational purposes and to receive and expend State funds for the same purposes.
 4. Providing that no child shall be required to attend a mixed school.
 5. Permitting, but not requiring, localities to furnish pupil transportation.
 6. Providing for the assignment of teachers by local school boards, instead of the division superintendents.
 7. Permitting local school boards to expend funds set aside for school operation for educational grants without first obtaining the approval of the tax-levying bodies.
 8. Permitting school boards to employ counsel to defend the actions of members.
 9. Amending the Virginia Supplemental Retirement Act to provide for retirement coverage of teachers in certain private schools.
 10. Authorizing the Attorney General to render legal assistance to school boards in matters related to the commingling of the races in the public schools.
 11. Permitting, but not requiring, school boards to maintain schools for nine months.
 12. Providing for tentative appropriations by the localities for public-school purposes; permitting taxes or cash appropriations for educational grants; providing for suspension of payments from local funds to school boards, and making other conforming changes.
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Bills incorporating these provisions have been prepared and are transmitted with this message, with the request for their introduction and consideration.

All of these measures have been studied by the Commission on Public Education, and recommended for favorable action by the General Assembly.

To members of the Commission on Public Education, I want to express my sincere appreciation for their long and tedious labors. The Commonwealth is indebted to them for their dedicated service, performed at considerable inconvenience and personal sacrifice. I take this occasion to commend every member for the consideration he has given these matters and the conscientious attention devoted to questions of equal concern to each of us....⁵³

The special session was to end on September 29 with a total of 155 Bills introduced. Only 71 Bills were passed by both Houses and enacted into law.⁵⁴ Although the laws were of varying natures, such as the creation of the Newport News Port and Industrial Authority and the changing of the charters of several of Virginia's Cities, most were concerned with school administration and appropriations.⁵⁵

Approved on September 29 was an Act to provide that no child shall be required to go to an integrated school.⁵⁶ Also approved on September 29 was an Act to create a Pupil Placement Board and confer upon it powers as to enrollment and placement of pupils in public schools and determination of school districts. It was to

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Extra Session 1956 (Richmond: Division of Purchase and Printing, 1956), p. 154.

⁵⁵ See Acts of Assembly, Extra Session, 1956.

⁵⁶ Chapter 59 of the Acts of Assembly, Extra Session, 1956, p. 61.

consist of a board of three residents of the State appointed by the Governor, with their term coincident with the term of the Governor. The board was given the power to employ agents necessary to administer the Act, and was authorized to promulgate all rules, regulations and procedures and to prescribe such forms as deemed appropriate and to require strict compliance with the same by all persons concerned. The Act also provided that any parent of a school child may appeal to the Board for a hearing, in the event such parent is dissatisfied with the action taken by the Board with respect to the placement of his child.⁵⁷

As the Special Session was coming to an end Governor Stanley headed Virginia's delegation to the Democratic National Convention to cast her vote for favorite son John S. Battle. Governor Stanley commented during the presidential campaign that he would support the Democratic ticket "straight down the line."⁵⁸ Also during the presidential campaign Governor Stanley headed Virginia's delegation to England to invite Queen Elizabeth and other British dignitaries to the Jamestown Festival, which was to be held in 1957.⁵⁹

⁵⁷Chapter 70 of the Acts of Assembly, Extra Session, 1956, pp. 74-76.

⁵⁸Richmond News Leader, September 28, 1956.

⁵⁹Martinsville Bulletin, November 8, 1964.

The Pupil Placement Act became effective on December 29, 1956, with Andrew A. Farley, Beverly H. Randolph, Jr. and Hugh V. White appointed as members. The first major problem was to adopt a form of placement application that was simple enough to be workable and detailed enough to enable the Board to perform its functions. The problem was given thorough consideration and the form of application was formally adopted on February 6, 1957.⁶⁰

The second major problem presented was to devise ways and means to give effect to the Pupil Placement Act, in accordance with what was deemed to be legislative intent. It was concluded that although the Board had no power or desire to delegate its responsibilities, or to demand any action by local school officials in the enforcement of the Act, the most desirable approach would be to seek the voluntary co-operation of local school officials in securing the execution of placement applications required of parents under the law. Accordingly, the Board sent to all local school divisions of the State a letter advising them of the need of the Pupil Placement Board of their co-operation in securing the application forms required by the Act. The Board asked the local school officials to transmit to them their recommendations as to where the child of each applicant should be placed in school,

⁶⁰ Addenda to the Address of Thos. B. Stanley, Governor, to the General Assembly of Virginia January 8, 1958, Senate Document No. 1 (Richmond: Division of Purchase and Printing, 1958), pp. 44-45.

in accordance with the standards set forth in the Pupil Placement Act.⁶¹

Early in 1957, Mr. Stanley said that the Pupil Placement Board would face their biggest test in the fall, but that he had no apprehensions about their ability to make suitable assignments to preserve racial segregation in the public schools. He also reasserted the State government's strong opposition to proposed federal aid for public school construction. In response to an inquiry from United States Senator J. M. Butler, of Maryland, who sought comment from all 48 Governors, Stanley said, "school building needs can be met by resources of our own localities, and there is no basis whatsoever for federal intervention in this field."

"Experience has shown that federal aid is a misnomer in that an excessive percentage of the aid is dissipated in administration. In addition, controls and restrictions are attached to the expenditure of the money, which are unnecessary and oft times objectionable."

"My judgment is that federal aid would not be a service to public education but a hindrance, and would result in unnecessary additional cost to the taxpayers of the respective States."⁶²

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Richmond News Leader, May 1, 1957.

Later, in a speech before the Richmond Rotary Club, Mr. Stanley hailed the mental care management. "Better business management of the State's mental hospital system has made it possible to add more than 200 employees and to increase existing salaries by some \$500,000 annually, without having to supplement appropriations," the Governor said. He added that "with the employment of a system-wide business manager, A. E. H. Ruth, the hospital superintendents were freed from many of their administrative duties to concentrate on improved care and treatment programs." Mr. Stanley noted also that "better management practices have been instituted to cover food service control, more efficient laundering operations, systematic repairs and upkeep to existing buildings, widespread pay raises, better recruiting and training procedures and more efficient management of a \$20 million capital outlay program."⁶³

Mr. Stanley had high praise for the contributions made to this program by what he called "a wonderful team" made up of Ruth, Richmond Senator E. E. Willey, Hospital Board Chairman, and Dr. Hiram W. Davis, Mental Hygiene Commissioner.⁶⁴

During the summer months of 1957, the Republicans launched repeated attacks on the Stanley Plan. Ted Dalton led the attacks

⁶³Richmond News Leader, May 21, 1957.

⁶⁴Ibid.

and the issue became a dominant one in the 1957 gubernatorial campaign.

Governor Stanley defended the no-integration legislative platform and denied that it was one to close schools. Following is the text of the Governor's statement:

Repeated misleading public references in recent weeks to the public school legislation enacted upon my recommendation prompts me to offer this comment. I recommended, and the regular session of the General Assembly for 1956 approved, the largest appropriation for public schools in the history of Virginia. Subsequently, the Assembly, again on my recommendation and after careful consideration on its own part, adopted additional legislation to preserve our school system. It defined an efficient system of public free schools as that in which pupils of the White and Negro races are not taught together, recognizing that mixing of the races in the classrooms could mean only one thing--- the destruction of our schools. The Legislature did not subtract one dollar from the appropriations for the public education of all pupils of both races in Virginia. This money is available for the continued operation of the schools, just as similar appropriations have been available before. The only difference is that no State money can be used to operate integrated schools and thereby contribute to the destruction of the opportunity for children of both races to obtain a public school education.

The policy of Virginia is to co-operate with the localities in the maintenance and operation of an efficient system of free public schools throughout the Commonwealth. The money and means of accomplishing this is available. The only way any school anywhere in the State could be closed would be by a parent entering his child in a school attended by members of the other race. The question has been raised as to the purported dilemma of a locality which might find itself under federal court order to desegregate. No federal court has said pupils of the two races must attend classes together.

I say again, the State has made provision for the operation of every school; any step that might result in closing a school

could come only from the action of a parent or parents in defiance and with full knowledge of the declared public policy in Virginia.

The 'Stanley Plan' is not one to close schools but one to keep them open on the only basis they have ever been operated or can continue to be operated in Virginia--- a segregated basis.⁶⁵

By August Mr. Stanley expressed renewed hope that all public schools in the Commonwealth would open as usual, on a segregated basis, in September. Mr. Stanley expected the Pupil Placement Board to continue its usual operation and hold fast to its requirement that parents must file application forms with the Board for the assignment of their children, even if such a course brought the Board into conflict in Charlottesville, with the ruling by federal Judge John Paul. Earlier Judge Paul agreed to stay his desegregation order for at least the first semester of the 1957-58 school year. At the same time, he amended the injunction to restrain Charlottesville school officials from denying enrollment of children whose parents disregard their application regulation. Until a "conflict" arose over the Board's insistence on application forms and the Court's ruling that they may be disregarded, Governor Stanley said he had no plans for additional enforcement measures.⁶⁶

With the opening of the 1957-58 school year, President

⁶⁵Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 8, 1957.

⁶⁶Richmond News Leader, August 1, 1957.

Eisenhower sent federal troops into Little Rock, Arkansas, in order to enforce integration in the schools there. Of this Mr. Stanley said, "Ike's use of troops in Arkansas smacks of totalitarian methods. The use of federal troops there is the greatest blow to States' Rights since Reconstruction days." Mr. Stanley recalled that President Eisenhower, in mid-July had said he couldn't imagine any circumstances which would cause him to use federal troops for the enforcement of school integration. The President, Mr. Stanley noted, had added, "I would never believe that it would be a wise thing to do in this country." "Despite these assurances," Stanley continued, "a little over two months later he has acted in direct contradiction of those statements--- and without request from the Governor of the State or its General Assembly."⁶⁷

Asked what he would do if faced with similar use of federal troops, Mr. Stanley replied, "take such action as my best judgment would dictate at the time. The Little Rock crises has served to dramatize to the nation the threat to the rights of all the States and their citizens by the unrestrained concentration of power in the Federal Government."⁶⁸

In October, Governor and Mrs. Stanley played host, at a

⁶⁷Richmond News Leader, September 27, 1957.

⁶⁸Ibid.

garden reception, to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and His Royal Highness Prince Phillip of Great Britain. This was a part of the 350th anniversary celebration of the founding of Jamestown, the first English settlement in the new world. Co-hosts with the Stanleys for the reception for 1,000 guests, and at a dinner party for 200 guests at the Williamsburg Inn on October 16, (also in honor of the Queen) were the Virginia 350th Anniversary Commission and the Jamestown, Williamsburg, Yorktown National Celebration Committee.⁶⁹

On November 5, J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., the Democratic nominee, was elected Governor of Virginia, with A.E.S. Stephens being elected to the Lieutenant Governorship and Albertis S. Harrison, Jr. winning the Attorney General's post.⁷⁰ Mr. Stanley said that the election showed clearly the overwhelming majority of voters "are in thorough accord with Virginia's school segregation policy. This program is built upon the solid foundation of States' Rights and continuing resistance to illegal attempts to force a new social order upon us."⁷¹

As 1957 drew to a close Governor Stanley found himself busy with the preparation of the biennium budget to be presented to the

⁶⁹Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 17, 1957.

⁷⁰Richmond News Leader, November 6, 1957.

⁷¹Richmond News Leader, November 21, 1957.

General Assembly the following January, and with the preparation of his 1958 report on the Commonwealth.

The final talk of Governor Stanley opened the 1958 General Assembly on January 8. Mr. Stanley called on the General Assembly to stand pat on his package of school legislation under which Virginia's public school classrooms had been kept racially separated. On other subjects he recommended:

1. A mandatory jail term for all persons convicted of drunk driving.

2. A substantial expansion of the State Police force.

3. Teacher pay raises of \$250 in each of the next two years.

4. Increased appropriations to the mental hospitals.

5. The employment of more than 1,000 additional teachers in each year of the coming biennium.

6. A ten million dollar appropriation to the Literary Fund for school construction loans.

7. Eventual closing of the Catawba tuberculosis sanitorium.⁷²

In his final address as Governor, Stanley also gave an account of his four-year stewardship. He cited progress made in various governmental services and reported that the traditionally solvent State Treasury would wind up that fiscal year with an obligated balance of more than \$53,000,000.⁷³

⁷²Richmond News Leader, January 8, 1958.

⁷³Ibid.

On January 9, Governor Stanley sent to the General Assembly his budget recommendations for the 1958-60 biennium. This was his last major official act as Governor. On Saturday, January 11, Mr. Stanley turned over his office to Governor-elect J. Lindsay Almond, Jr. and resumed his role as private citizen and manufacturer.⁷⁴

⁷⁴Richmond News Leader, January 11, 1958.

PART III

As Governor Stannley relinquished the reins of office, it could be said that he made a record which was strong in some respects and weak in others, but with the balance definitely on the plus side. He maintained the Byrd organization's tradition of sound, conservative business management of the State's affairs. As a prominent business man himself, he was well equipped to do this. In the broader sphere of overall business management he was more than ordinarily effective. Although there was no tax increase, the 1956-58 biennium would end with a \$53.5 million surplus--- due mainly to prosperous times but also to effective management of the State's fiscal affairs. Confronted with an insistent demand for large sums for badly needed State institutions, the Governor and his advisors came up with the plan for earlier annual collection of State taxes, which brought in more than \$62.5 million. This sum was not extracted painlessly from the taxpayers, but it was probably the best available way of getting the money. This 62.5 million, plus 40 million more expected to be available without tax increases, was expected to be sufficient to complete the capital outlay program which the Governor's Commission outlined.¹

¹Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 11, 1958.

Governor Stanley shook up the system of state mental hospitals, provided considerably more for both capital outlays and operating expenses, and added about 1,000 badly needed employees. Though one or two of the moves he made were unfortunate, the balance seemed definitely in his favor.²

He also provided substantial increases in teacher salaries and Literary Fund loans for public school construction. These were badly needed. But in order to keep the fiscal picture in perspective, it should be borne in mind that the overall operating expenses of the state government went up sharply under Governor Stanley. For the first two years of his term, expenditures from the general fund for recurring expenses totaled \$245,880,308; for the succeeding biennium ending June 30, 1958, they were approximately \$298,000,000.³

The problem which colored the whole of the Stanley administration, of course, was that of race relations precipitated by the Supreme Court's desegregation decision of 1954. The Governor accepted the report of his 32-man Commission on Education and all but repudiated it. Yet the fact remains that not a single public school was integrated, and not a single one had been closed during his term. This was in accord with the overwhelming sentiment of the State.⁴

²Ibid. ³Ibid. ⁴Ibid.

Any review of his four years in the mansion would not be complete without a reference to his charming wife, Anne Stanley, whose good looks and poise made her a particularly gracious hostess. These attributes of Mrs. Stanley were particularly valuable during the period when the 350th anniversary of Jamestown was being celebrated, an observance which involved contacts between the Stanleys and various crowned heads, both in this country and in Europe.

Born in the town of Bassett, which bears her family name, Mrs. Stanley was Anne Pocahontas Bassett before her marriage in 1918. She has two brothers, John D., Jr. and the late William Bassett, of Bassett, and a sister, Mrs. Taylor Vaughan, of Galax.⁵

When Tom Stanley was elected Governor Mrs. Stanley commented that it was a considerable heartache to have to leave behind, at Stanleytown, her five grandchildren. The Stanley's only daughter, Anne, Mrs. Hugh Chatham had four children; Hugh, Jr., Stanley, Crockett and Robert. Thomas B. Jr. had a baby son, Thomas B., III, and their unmarried son John David received his Second Lieutenant's commission in the Army on election day. Besides grandchildren, family and friends Mrs. Stanley's hobbies were chiefly gardening and fishing. As petite as her husband was big, Mrs. Stanley pursued her gardening hobby with tireless energy. She belonged to

⁵Richmond Times-Dispatch, November 5, 1953.

the Bassett Garden Club and kept her neighbors and nearby hospitals supplied with blooms from her own garden.⁶

While the Stanleys were living in the Governor's Mansion, it was renovated and the formal gardens were rebuilt. The old kitchen and servants quarters were restored and guest rooms were provided on the second floor, connected by a breezeway from the mansion. The renovation of the mansion and gardens had the assistance of the Art Commission. The renovating was done by a firm of building architects, and the gardens were designed by a landscape architect under the direction of Mrs. Stanley.⁷

As the Governor was leaving office, Mrs. Stanley commented that, "although it meant being away from home, I have enjoyed every moment of being in Richmond."⁸ Womanlike, she admitted the most satisfying part of being First Lady was "when my husband realized his ambition to be Governor." Next to that she enjoyed most the sense of accomplishment she felt over four years of refurnishing the Executive Mansion, restoring its gardens and guest house. For home-like touches she originally took with her to the mansion pieces of furniture from her own home. Slowly most of these were replaced by pieces she carefully selected for the mansion. She even made two trips to New York to look for furnishings. She was

⁷Martinsville Bulletin, November 8, 1964

⁸Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 8, 1958.

careful to choose furniture in the 18th Century mood, including Hepplewhite, Sheraton and Adams.⁹

When there were official parties at the mansion Mrs. Stanley did all the flower arranging personally. To fill in with fresh flowers, the petite First Lady could often be seen buying flowers from Sixth Street sellers whom she said she would miss when she left Richmond. Her lush arrangements, whether fresh in spring and summer, or dried in winter, always attracted the admiration of her visitors.¹⁰

The State Senate unanimously passed on January 29, 1958, a resolution, introduced by Senator Ted Dalton expressing its gratitude to Mrs. Thomas B. Stanley for her work in redecorating the Governor's Mansion. In commending Mrs. Stanley, Mr. Dalton declared that she had supervised the work on the mansion, the guest house and the gardens "with good taste, a sense of proportion, and grace so that it has become a showplace of which we in Virginia are justly proud."¹¹

When he completed his term as Governor of Virginia Tom Stanley considered himself actively retired from political life. However, he was named Chairman of the Commission on State and Local Revenues and Expenditures and Related Matters (a tax study

⁹Ibid. ¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 31, 1958.

commission) which delivered its report to Governor Albertis Harrison on November 1, 1963.¹²

Tom Stanley's life has been woven into the growth and changes of Henry county and he has personally been involved in the important matters of the County, State and Country for over thirty-five years. He is a man who lives in reality and accomplishes his aims--- Chairman of the Board of Stanley Furniture Company and the only native born Henry Countian to become Governor of Virginia.

¹²Martinsville Bulletin, November 8, 1964.

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APPENDIX

A. Statement of the Vote for Governor-
Democratic Primary Election 1953*

<u>COUNTIES</u>	<u>Fenwick</u>	<u>Stanley</u>
Accomack	619	1920
Albemarle	578	970
Alleghany	129	259
Amelia	98	397
Amherst	838	1265
Appomattox	131	1170
Arlington	7911	1686
Augusta	216	916
Bath	95	235
Bedford	917	2322
Bland	94	349
Botetourt	190	466
Brunswick	442	1210
Buchanan	273	1029
Buckingham	131	614
Campbell	599	1147
Caroline	104	464
Carroll	135	749
Charles City	52	439
Charlotte	173	1214
Chesterfield	637	1445
Clarke	254	342
Craig	51	122
Culpeper	282	581
Cumberland	550	545
Dickenson	890	642
Dinwiddie	213	832
Essex	151	346
Fairfax	4617	1924
Fauquier	495	853
Floyd	51	155
Fluvanna	190	342
Franklin	336	1337
Frederick	141	759
Giles	190	688

*Statement of the Vote for Governor and Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General, Democratic Primary Election, Tuesday, July 14, 1953 (Richmond: Division of Purchase and Printing, 1953).

<u>COUNTIES</u>	<u>Fenwick</u>	<u>Stanley</u>
Gloucester	103	581
Goochland	270	525
Grayson	204	1368
Greene	111	179
Greensville	185	553
Halifax	847	2843
Hanover	743	1578
Henrico	1113	2227
Henry	513	2037
Highland	29	198
Isle of Wight	202	820
James City	147	302
King George	110	205
King & Queen	59	101
King William	101	333
Lancaster	436	645
Lee	313	1319
Loudoun	1229	1509
Louisa	529	783
Lunenburg	341	1110
Madison	127	254
Mathews	86	301
Mecklenburg	237	1020
Middlesex	140	249
Montgomery	309	838
Nansemond	251	1141
Nelson	258	401
New Kent	69	238
Norfolk	2303	3566
Northampton	158	812
Northumberland	284	539
Nottoway	194	932
Orange	271	648
Page	614	920
Patrick	44	1666
Pittsylvania	735	3723
Powhatan	69	299
Prince Edward	1194	838
Prince George	289	604
Princess Anne	925	2339
Prince William	457	700
Pulaski	585	1795
Rappahannock	75	357

<u>COUNTIES</u>	<u>Fenwick</u>	<u>Stanley</u>
Richmond	288	490
Roanoke	608	1271
Rockbridge	253	603
Rockingham	168	722
Russell	479	1433
Scott	224	808
Shenandoah	335	847
Smyth	136	939
Southampton	507	1340
Spotsylvania	258	500
Stafford	297	180
Surry	149	435
Sussex	166	888
Tazewell	305	1079
Warren	288	516
Washington	228	775
Westmoreland	779	480
Wise	606	2281
Wythe	149	1657
York	<u>545</u>	<u>1004</u>
TOTAL-COUNTIES	45,800	91,378

CITIES

Alexandria	3559	2139
Bristol	390	1380
Buena Vista	77	226
Charlottesville	1439	1469
Clifton Forge	188	190
Colonial Heights	141	432
Covington	198	397
Danville	981	4543
Falls Church	783	153
Fredericksburg	329	551
Hampton	1004	1522
Harrisonburg	178	396

<u>CITIES</u>	<u>Fenwick</u>	<u>Stanley</u>
Hopewell	765	1311
Lynchburg	2620	3565
Martinsville	246	1144
Newport News	1256	2191
Norfolk	2965	5305
Petersburg	632	2026
Portsmouth	2640	4457
Radford	92	270
Richmond	5083	13,330
Roanoke	2363	4624
South Norfolk	526	761
Staunton	654	1287
Suffolk	501	675
Virginia Beach	357	850
Warwick	680	889
Waynesboro	581	995
Williamsburg	197	357
Winchester	<u>499</u>	<u>1656</u>
TOTAL-CITIES	31,915	59,121
TOTAL-COUNTIES	<u>45,800</u>	<u>91,378</u>
GRAND TOTAL	77,715	150,499

B. Votes Cast for Governor-
General Election, November 3, 1953*

<u>COUNTIES</u>	<u>Stanley</u>	<u>Dalton</u>	<u>Carwile</u>
Accomack	1866	922	27
Albemarle	1521	983	10
Alleghany	551	607	2
Amelia	715	365	2
Amherst	1527	643	6
Appomattox	1377	259	1
Arlington	8405	10,903	595
Augusta	1828	1376	11
Bath	498	486	9
Bedford	2427	1347	16
Bland	751	858	13
Botetourt	1261	1380	8
Brunswick	1595	317	2
Buchanan	2707	2126	66
Buckingham	864	310	8
Campbell	1950	985	13
Caroline	926	289	10
Carroll	1597	2992	12
Charles City	538	114	13
Charlotte	1496	310	6
Chesterfield	2412	1943	31
Clarke	689	191	3
Craig	428	251	3
Culpeper	1107	494	7
Cumberland	580	243	7
Dickenson	2773	2684	59
Dinwiddie	1302	253	3
Essex	542	196	8
Fairfax	5425	6658	144
Fauquier	1686	547	5
Floyd	570	1261	5
Fluvanna	654	297	3
Franklin	1921	1560	6
Frederick	1457	385	19
Giles	1599	1692	11

*Votes Cast for Governor, Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General, General Election, November 3, 1953 (Richmond: Division of Purchase and Printing, 1954).

<u>COUNTIES</u>	<u>Stanley</u>	<u>Dalton</u>	<u>Carwile</u>
Gloucester	893	370	11
Goochland	738	338	4
Grayson	3336	3893	50
Greene	230	219	2
Greensville	1083	336	17
Halifax	2979	608	15
Hanover	1373	1052	20
Henrico	4301	5110	55
Henry	2131	1724	26
Highland	473	321	2
Isle of Wight	1066	546	18
James City	263	269	8
King George	509	257	13
King and Queen	326	107	14
King William	557	225	14
Lancaster	580	508	27
Lee	3161	3587	177
Loudoun	1986	699	41
Louisa	1046	495	21
Lunenburg	1175	336	7
Madison	578	350	7
Mathews	517	414	6
Mecklenburg	2199	608	14
Middlesex	542	267	3
Montgomery	1708	3074	11
Nansemond	1374	480	8
Nelson	799	305	6
New Kent	343	174	16
Norfolk	4442	3207	44
Northampton	1295	329	8
Northumberland	477	444	14
Nottoway	1438	503	13
Orange	1039	537	12
Page	1593	955	23
Patrick	1720	653	6
Pittsylvania	3784	1317	22
Powhatan	572	247	5
Prince Edward	1120	441	7
Prince George	571	209	5
Prince William	1382	517	7
Princess Anne	2200	1663	12
Pulaski	1620	2316	8
Rappahannock	616	153	0

<u>COUNTIES</u>	<u>Stanley</u>	<u>Dalton</u>	<u>Carwile</u>
Richmond	363	260	5
Roanoke	2184	4092	16
Rockbridge	1162	1154	7
Rockingham	2561	1393	56
Russell	2845	2406	25
Scott	1896	3640	90
Shenandoah	2079	2160	22
Smyth	2147	2749	40
Southampton	1431	545	12
Spotsylvania	878	540	12
Stafford	609	650	7
Surry	596	135	3
Sussex ;	1256	222	13
Tazewell	2072	1908	23
Warren	1163	614	11
Washington	2237	2118	33
Westmoreland	650	410	3
Wise	4876	2928	54
Wythe	2586	3350	25
York	<u>749</u>	<u>667</u>	<u>27</u>
TOTAL-COUNTIES	150,906	117,890	2420

CITIES

Alexandria	4716	3899	87
Bristol	1129	626	2
Buena Vista	406	295	9
Charlottesville	1971	1731	9
Clifton Forge	761	719	5
Colonial Heights	714	325	9
Covington	884	985	6
Danville	3570	1484	48
Falls Church	597	809	33
Fredericksburg	1016	646	7
Hampton	2905	2808	49
Harrisonburg	1380	869	24

<u>CITIES</u>	<u>Stanley</u>	<u>Dalton</u>	<u>Carwile</u>
Hopewell	1130	866	12
Lynchburg	3381	2138	17
Martinsville	1568	1424	19
Newport News	2264	1721	37
Norfolk	7181	8075	89
Petersburg	2225	903	30
Portsmouth	4397	2672	73
Radford	736	1939	7
Richmond	16,409	13,278	517
Roanoke	6469	9538	39
South Norfolk	1315	923	43
Staunton	1405	1482	10
Suffolk	1018	681	11
Virginia Beach	847	593	2
Warwick	1631	1723	33
Waynesboro	916	980	12
Williamsburg	273	431	9
Winchester	<u>1758</u>	<u>434</u>	<u>5</u>
TOTAL CITIES	74,972	64,997	1253
TOTAL COUNTIES	150,906	117,890	2420
GRAND TOTAL	225,878	182,887	3673
