

Dear Lewis -
Bill Trapnell was
at one of our meetings. You
might try to get him to sign;
I believe he would.
Hamm

THOMAS BENJAMIN GAY
EPPA HUNTON, III
GEORGE D. GIBSON
ARCHIBALD S. ROBERTSON
LEWIS F. POWELL, JR.
PATRICK A. GIBSON
H. BRICE GRAVES
H. MERRILL PASCO
RALPH H. FERRELL, JR.
JOHN W. RIELY
FRANCIS V. LOWDEN, JR.
B. WARWICK DAVENPORT
LAWRENCE E. BLANCHARD, JR.
T. JUSTIN MOORE, JR.
JOSEPH C. CARTER, JR.
ROBERT F. BUFORD, JR.

E. MILTON FARLEY, III
HARRY FRAZIER, III
WILLIAM J. WILLIAMS
LEWIS T. BOOHER
GEORGE C. FREEMAN, JR.
JAMES A. HARPER, JR.
WALTER J. MCCRAW

HUNTON, WILLIAMS, GAY, MOORE & POWELL

ELECTRIC BUILDING

RICHMOND 12, VIRGINIA

MILTON 3-0141

March 5, 1959

E. RANDOLPH WILLIAMS
(1901-1952)

HENRY W. ANDERSON
(1901-1954)

T. JUSTIN MOORE
(1932-1958)

FILE NO.

Stuart T. Saunders, Esq.
President
Norfolk and Western Railway Company
Roanoke 17, Virginia

Dear Stuart:

I finally received signed letters from 21 members of the informal group of which you are Chairman. A list of the gentlemen signing these letters is enclosed.

I delivered all of the letters to Governor Almond yesterday, and had a nice talk with him. I explained that you had asked me to act in your behalf in view of your absence from the State.

He seemed genuinely appreciative of the letters and of the fact that his position in the recent special session of the General Assembly was supported warmly by such a significant group of community and business leaders. He said that he would acknowledge each letter personally.

I am sending a copy of this to each gentleman who signed a letter.

Sincerely,

24/119

Encl.

cc: Persons signing letters.

March 5, 1959

Stuart T. Saunders, Esq.
President
Norfolk and Western Railway Company
Roanoke 17, Virginia

Dear Stuart:

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Sincerely,

24/119

Encl.

cc: Persons signing letters.

Persons signing letter of
February 25 to Governor Almond

Mr. John S. Alfriend, President
National Bank of Commerce
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. M. W. Armistead, III, President
Times World Corporation
Roanoke, Virginia

Mr. Frank Batten, Publisher
Norfolk-Portsmouth News, Inc.
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. Samuel M. Bemiss
P. O. Box 1156
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. William E. Blewett, Jr., President
Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock
Newport News, Virginia

Mr. Ralph B. Douglass
Chairman of the Board
Smith-Douglass Company, Inc.
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. Guy L. Furr, Vice President
Appalachian Power Company
40 Franklin Road, S. W.
Roanoke, Virginia

Mr. James R. Gilliam, Jr.
Chairman of the Board
First National Trust & Savings Bank
Lynchburg, Virginia

Mr. Henry Clay Hofheimer, II
Chairman of the Board
Southern Materials Company, Inc.
Norfolk, Virginia

Dr. W. Harvey Maguigan, Mgr.
National Aniline Division
Allied Chemical Corporation
Hopewell, Virginia

Mr. Robert T. Marsh, Jr., President
First & Merchants National Bank
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Henry E. McWane, President
Lynchburg Foundry Company
Lynchburg, Virginia

Mr. E. H. Ould, President
First National Exchange Bank
Roanoke, Virginia

Mr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr.
Attorney at Law
Electric Building
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Webster S. Rhoads, Jr.
Chairman of the Board
Miller and Rhoads, Inc.
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Robert L. Riggs, Plant Mgr.
Nitrogen Division
Allied Chemical Corporation
Hopewell, Virginia

Mr. Stuart T. Saunders, President
Norfolk and Western Railway Co.
Roanoke, Virginia

Mr. William H. Trapnell
President
Commonwealth Natural Gas Corporation
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. E. H. Will
Vice Chairman of the Board and
Chairman of the Executive Committee
Virginia Electric & Power Company
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. J. Harvie Wilkinson, Jr.
President
State-Planters Bank of Commerce
& Trusts
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. John B. Woodward, Jr.
Chairman of the Board
Newport News Shipbuilding and
Dry Dock Company
Newport News, Virginia

Persons signing letters, to
Governor Almond, concerning
Virginia economy.

Mr. John S. Alfriend, President
National Bank of Commerce
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. M. W. Armistead, III, President
Times World Corporation
Roanoke, Virginia

Mr. Frank Batten, Publisher
Norfolk-Portsmouth News, Inc.
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Lynchburg Foundry Company
Lynchburg, Virginia

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Newport News, Virginia

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Vice Chairman of the Board
Virginia Electric & Power Co.
Richmond, Virginia

and Ch. of Ex. Comm

Persons signing letters to Governor Almond concerning Virginia economy.

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Richmond, Virginia



COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
RICHMOND

J. LINDSAY ALMOND, JR.
GOVERNOR

March 6, 1959

8870-8A
5
Indubious Powell.
JL

Mr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr.
Attorney at Law
Electric Building
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Lewis:

I am most grateful for your letter of February 25 endorsing my position relative to an approach to a solution of the school crisis.

We face a most difficult struggle in this matter. There is strong sentiment to repeal the mandate in the Constitution of Virginia requiring the maintenance of a public school system. I am endeavoring to the best of my ability to resist these efforts.

Your position is most helpful and is a source of inspiration during these trying days, when the future of Virginia might well be hanging in the balance. Your efforts among all of your contacts in support of the views which you express are needed at this time.

Sincerely yours,

Lindsay

J. Lindsay Almond, Jr.

e

THOMAS BENJAMIN GAY
EPPA HUNTON, III
GEORGE D. GIBSON
ARCHIBALD G. ROBERTSON
LEWIS F. POWELL, JR.
PATRICK A. GIBSON
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WALTER J. MCGRAW

HUNTON, WILLIAMS, GAY, MOORE & POWELL

ELECTRIC BUILDING

RICHMOND 12, VIRGINIA

MILTON 3-0141

March 10, 1959

E. RANDOLPH WILLIAMS
(1901-1982)

HENRY W. ANDERSON
(1901-1984)

T. JUSTIN MOORE
(1932-1988)

FILE NO.

Honorable Harry F. Byrd
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Byrd:

I know from the press that you are considering the making of a statement to the Perrow Commission on the school problem. This is a matter of deep concern to me, as it is to all thoughtful Virginians. I have no idea that I can shed any light on this subject for you, but I have followed the situation rather closely and do have certain thoughts and concerns which I would like to share with you.

Judge Smith's letter, suggesting the outright repeal of Section 129, is disquieting to me. I have the highest respect and regard for Judge Smith and his judgment, but I cannot bring myself to believe that the repeal of Section 129 is in the best interest of our State.

If the unhappy choice becomes inevitable (as it apparently will) between the abandonment or emasculation of

Honorable Harry F. Byrd-2-March 10, 1959

public education or some integration, it seems to me that Virginia must choose the latter. The consequences of failing to provide general public education for our children are unthinkable.

The adequacy of education affects directly (i) the extent of juvenile delinquency and crime, (ii) the productivity of our people, (iii) the economic health of our State, (iv) the tax burdens of those who would be called upon to carry the increased economic load that would inevitably result from widespread illiteracy and diminishing productivity, (v) the capacity of our citizens to exercise intelligently the franchise of voting, and (vi) indeed, the personality, opportunity and aspirations of each individual child. In short, it is obvious that Virginia must continue to educate her youth.

There are some who suggest that private schools can accomplish this. With the utmost respect to those who entertain this belief, I am convinced that they are completely wrong. The public school system, as you of course know, is an infinitely complex and expensive state and local organization, involving in Virginia thousands of employees, hundreds of millions of dollars of capital plant and equipment, and operating budgets of major

Honorable Harry F. Byrd-3-March 10, 1959

proportions at both the state and local levels. In Richmond alone our physical plant is valued at \$40,035,000, and our operating budget is about \$11,000,000. No one familiar with the scope and nature of our public school system would seriously suggest that bona fide private schools would replace this in whole or in any major part. I fear there has been considerable emotional and wishful thinking on this subject.

It may also be added that many constitutional lawyers feel that if state public education is abandoned, any system of private schools supported directly or indirectly with state money would inevitably go down before the Federal courts.

While the general substitution of private for public education is impractical and probably unconstitutional, I recognize of course that there are many areas in Virginia which simply will not tolerate integration. For the most part these are the southside counties and smaller communities. It will no doubt be necessary in these communities to have an alternative to public schools, and where the citizens are sufficiently determined they may be able to organize, finance and operate private schools with the aid of tuition grants. I do not believe personally that such schools will, on the average, be anything like

Honorable Harry F. Byrd

- 4 -

March 10, 1959

as satisfactory as state supervised public school education, but facing the realities of our unfortunate situation in Virginia, it is no doubt necessary to provide these communities with some acceptable alternative.

There will also be some new private schools in the urban areas, but these will serve only a fraction of the school population -- largely from the upper economic brackets, leaving the great masses of lower income families dependent entirely on free public education.

In summary, it is clear to me that we must retain a state public school system as the general rule, but provide the means for local communities and possibly individuals to experiment with alternatives. This could be accomplished by amending -- not repealing -- Section 129. Other steps can no doubt be taken to ameliorate or retard integration (such as, for example, the North Carolina type of assignment plan).

I come now to another matter of genuine concern to me. This is the unity and strength of the conservative wing of the Democratic Party in Virginia, which you have led for many years with unequalled statesmanship.

Honorable Harry F. Byrd-5-March 10, 1959

Already there are unmistakable signs of a serious split. I fear that this would be widened to a permanent breach unless the present trend is checked. Judge Smith recognized, in his letter, the importance of reuniting the Conservatives, but I am afraid his suggested solution would have exactly the opposite result. If the outright repeal of Section 129 becomes a major issue, the division among thousands of Virginians who have supported the Conservative wing of our party will be deep and bitter - and possibly lasting.

The most articulate voices in our State are those opposing integration at all costs, even to the extent of abandoning the public school system. I doubt, however, that a majority of our people would go so far. Virginia has a tradition of respect for education, and the average parent will tolerate even some integration rather than have his son or daughter deprived of the opportunity of an education.

In recent months I have been meeting with an informal group of some 25 or 30 of Virginia's leading businessmen who have been considering ways and means of improving the economy of our State. Almost without exception, these gentlemen feel deeply that retention of a state public school system is

Honorable Harry F. Byrd-6-March 10, 1939

essential to the future well being of Virginia. I am confident that most, if not all, of them also feel as strongly as you do about integration. They recognize, however, as did the Governor and the General Assembly at the recent Special Session, that the overriding power of the Federal Government cannot be resisted, and that now Virginia must make the painful choice indicated above.

And now, may I say one final word. Virginia is in its most difficult period since Reconstruction. The problems are many and obvious, and satisfactory solutions are few. Emotions have been stirred, and many false hopes aroused. We cannot continue to oppose the power of the Federal government. This means we must abandon the public school system or have some integration. It may be that a majority of the people, acting from resentment and relying upon hopes which are certain to be frustrated, would vote to abandon public education. But responsible leaders know that in the mid-Twentieth Century no state can prosper without general, free, and effective education. In these circumstances, I think it would be calamitous as well as futile to tear Virginia apart by a bitter campaign to repeal Section 129.

Honorable Harry F. Byrd

-7-

March 10, 1959

Please forgive me for having written you at such length -- especially on a subject which I know you have been pondering with the greatest care.

With warmest personal regards, I remain

As ever,

24-105

Industrial Devel.
File

8870-85

March 10, 1959

PERSONAL

Dear Harvie and Stuart:

I enclose a draft of a proposed letter to
Senator Byrd.

I will not release it until I have had an
opportunity to receive your comments.

I will be at the Penn-Sheraton Hotel in
Pittsburgh, returning to Richmond Friday morning.

Sincerely,

Mr. J. Harvie Wilkinson, Jr.
President
State-Planters Bank of Commerce & Trusts
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Stuart T. Saunders
President
Norfolk and Western Railway Company
Roanoke 17, Virginia

24/119
Encl.

March 13, 1959.

The Honorable Harry F. Byrd,
Senate Office Building,
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Senator Byrd:

I am writing because I believe that the future of both Virginia and the Norfolk and Western, its some 15,000 employees and 30,000 stockholders, depends to a large extent on industrial development, and I am concerned about the impact of the present school problem on the industrial development of Virginia.

I know that you have always had a strong interest in the industrial development of Virginia and, through the years, have made a tremendous contribution to raising the standards of living of our people. As you know, a principal factor in determining industry location is a favorable business climate, which is largely determined by good, honest government and sound fiscal policy. The people of Virginia are eternally in your debt for having placed us in a position second to none in this respect. It was during your administration as Governor that the groundwork was laid for the industrial progress which Virginia has made during the past three decades.

We cannot hope to improve the standard of living of our people -- in fact, we cannot maintain our present standard -- if we do not continue to get our share of new industries. Virginia will not be able to raise the taxes required to offer the people the services they need.

In truth, if we don't get new industries, we are going to find existing industries leaving the State, for it will soon become apparent that, unless there is a continuous flow of new industries into the State, the burden of taxation is going to fall heavier and heavier on those which remain. Several of the officers of one very large industry which has come to Virginia within the past few years have expressed their concern to me about this very problem.

I am confident that the industrialization of our State will be greatly hindered if we do not have public education in the State of Virginia. We are in constant touch with nationally known firms, trying to interest them in locating new plants along our line. I have personally talked to several top executives of such companies, and they have told me that they would not consider locating plants in a state where an adequate system of public education is not provided. They are unwilling to place their plants in states where their employees will not be in a position to give their children a good education.

I would like to make it absolutely clear that I am opposed to integrated schools and I think that it is most unfortunate that this situation has arisen. On the other hand, I am convinced that the future economic and cultural welfare of our State demands that we have a first-rate public school system. I hope very much, therefore, that you will use your great influence against any attempt to repeal Section 129 of the Virginia Constitution. At the same time, I recognize that some provision must be made to provide a method of relief for those communities which are most critically affected by the school problem. I believe that that can be done without repeal of Section 129.

I am sure that you know that I have always admired you tremendously and regard you as one of our great Americans. I am sure you also know that this letter is written in a spirit of warm friendship and deep concern.

Sincerely,

(Signed) Stuart T. Saunders

8870-85

March 15, 1959

Dear Stuart:

Many thanks for the copy of your letter to
Senator Byrd -- which seems to me to be just right.

Sincerely,

Stuart T. Saunders, Esq.
President
Norfolk and Western Railway Company
Roanoke 17, Virginia

24/119



Mississippi Agricultural & Industrial Board

P. O. BOX 849 • 1504 STATE OFFICE BUILDING
JACKSON 106, MISSISSIPPI

March 23, 1959



Mr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr.
Hunton, Williams, Gay, Moore & Powell
1003 Electric Building
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Powell:

Mr. John Satterfield of Jackson has told us of his recent conversation with you relative to our state's industrial advantages. We would like to support his efforts in directing your interest toward Mississippi as a future site for one of your enterprises.

Perhaps our biggest success story centers on the Futorian Furniture Operations. Mr. Futorian has four plants in Mississippi and his volume has tripled in the past ten years. The quality of his product is unquestionably excellent, and we invite you to contact him with questions about Mississippi's industrial atmosphere.

Let me pledge our enthusiasm in requesting you and your associates to consider Mississippi as a future location. Our state is ready to offer advantages in attitude, productivity, wage rates, market accessibility, labor surplus, tax exemptions, etc. I am forwarding a complete set of data outlining our program, and I would be pleased to have your comments concerning items of interest to you.

We appreciate your interest in Mississippi, and look forward to hearing from you in the future.

Sincerely,

William B. Barrett
Industrial Representative

WBB/jr

cc: Mr. W. E. Barksdale, First Mississippi Corporation
cc: Mr. John Satterfield, First National Bank Building

March 27, 1959

Mr. William B. Barrett
Mississippi Agricultural & Industrial Board
P. O. Box 849
1504 State Office Building
Jackson 106, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Barrett:

I appreciate greatly yours of March 23rd with the enclosures.

I have two or more clients who may be interested within the next few months, and I will certainly get in touch with you if this interest develops.

Sincerely,

24/119
cc: Mr. John Satterfield

NORFOLK AND WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANY

STUART T. SAUNDERS
PRESIDENT

ROANOKE, VIRGINIA
May 23, 1959.



Mr. Frank Batten, Publisher,
Norfolk-Portsmouth News, Inc.,
Norfolk, Virginia.

Mr. Henry E. McWane, President,
Lynchburg Foundry Company,
Lynchburg, Virginia.

Lewis F. Powell, Jr., Esquire,
Electric Building,
Richmond, Virginia.

Mr. J. Harvie Wilkinson, Jr., President,
State-Planters Bank of Commerce and Trusts,
Richmond 14, Virginia.

Mr. E. H. Will, Chairman, Executive Committee,
Virginia Electric & Power Company,
P. O. Box 1194, Richmond 9, Virginia.

Mr. John B. Woodward, Jr., Chairman of the Board,
Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company,
Newport News, Virginia.

Gentlemen:

I have deferred preparing any draft of report for our Committee until the Special Session of the General Assembly had been concluded. I have now prepared the enclosed draft, which I would like for each of you to consider critically and let me have your views as to any changes or suggestions that you might have. If, in light of these suggestions, it seems desirable to have another meeting, I will call it. If not, I will put the report in shape and submit it to you for your final approval. We can then transmit it to the full Committee and call a meeting of that group for its consideration.

Sincerely,

Encl.

Stuart

May 25, 1959

Dear Stuart:

I approve the draft of your report on Industrial Development, and have no suggestion as to its form or substance.

It does occur to me that possibly you may wish to talk personally to Erwin Will about sub-paragraph (d), now that Erwin has become President of the State Chamber. I assume we would wish to word this paragraph in a manner agreeable to him in particular, and also to avoid the appearance of being critical of the officers and Board members who have been responsible for Chamber policies.

It was good to see you and Dorothy at Williamsburg -- even though briefly.

Sincerely,

Stuart T. Saunders, Esq.
President
Norfolk and Western Railway Company
Roanoke, Virginia

24/119