

Spring 1972

Linwood Holton's long quest for the governorship of Virginia and its impact on the growth of the Republican Party

Jack R. Hunter

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LINWOOD HOLTON'S LONG QUEST FOR THE GOVERNORSHIP
OF VIRGINIA AND ITS IMPACT ON THE GROWTH OF
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

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

by

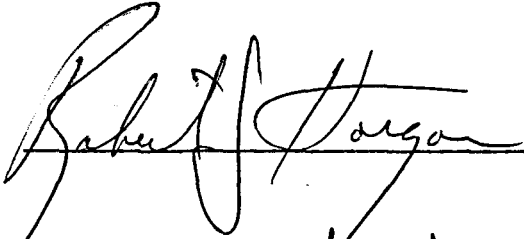
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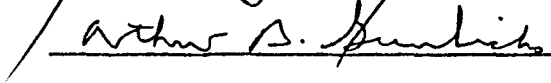
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Approval Page

The undersigned, as members of the committee, have read and approved this thesis:





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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

When the history of Virginia in the 20th Century is written, the emergence of the Republican Party as a force in its political affairs will surely rank among the more important events of the time. It is my purpose to examine this event, chiefly in terms of the role played by Abner Linwood Holton, Jr., in his long and successful effort to win election as Governor of Virginia. It is not my intention to say that Holton alone was responsible for the growth of Republicanism in Virginia in the 1960's, nor to suggest that it would not have come about without him. What will be made clear, I trust, is the extensive nature of the political change that swept the Old Dominion and the fact that Holton was the right politician in the right place at the right time to give it direction.

The significance of Holton's victory in 1969 -- preceded by an unsuccessful first election campaign in 1965 -- will become more apparent after an appraisal of the Republican Party before his two campaigns. In Chapter II, we will find that the Republican Party of Virginia was hardly a statewide party at all; more aptly, it might be described

as a regional political interest, for only in Southwest Virginia and the Shenandoah Valley did the party maintain strength during the first half of the 20th Century. Its role during this period consisted chiefly of serving as the agent of the national Republican Party and in dispensing patronage within the state whenever a Republican administration took over the White House.

Examination of the factors which led to this lowly condition of Republicanism in Virginia will take us back to the latter decades of the last century. These factors include the swift rise and fall of the so-called Readjuster-Republican Party led by General William Mahone, and the Democratic Party's assumption of power in the state. A vital aspect of the Democratic control was that party's exploitation of the race issue in Virginia, to the point that the electorate agreed in 1900 to the calling of a convention to rewrite the State Constitution. The constitutional convention's handiwork was proclaimed in effect in 1902. It imposed a poll tax and other restrictions on the vote, drastically curbing participation in state and federal elections by the Negro and illiterate white citizens. Republican vote totals declined sharply, and the Democrats' grip on state offices remained unbroken until 1969.

As we will see in Chapter III, Virginia's voter dissatisfaction with the national Democratic Party became

apparent with the success of the Republican presidential candidate, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, in 1952. His repeat victory in Virginia in 1956 and the fact that Republicans carried Virginia in four of the five presidential elections between 1952 and 1968 is evidence of a strong trend away from the national Democratic Party in the state.

The feeling against the national Democratic Party was turned against the state Democratic Party in 1965 when Holton, unknown in much of Virginia, received more votes than any Republican gubernatorial candidate had before, although he lost to a well-known conservative Democrat, Mills E. Godwin, Jr.

Between Holton's first and second campaigns, we will find that two of the more important developments in the history of the growth of Republicanism in Virginia in this century were the elimination of the poll tax requirement for participation in any election and the death of Senator Harry F. Byrd, Sr., long the dominant Democratic figure in Virginia. Chapter IV will show that after Byrd's death, the fragmentation of the Virginia Democratic Party developed rapidly. Sharp increases in Negro voter registration resulted in a rise in strength of the Democrats' liberal element, which was hostile to the party's dominant conservative wing, and two divisive Democratic gubernatorial primary elections in the summer of 1969 set the stage for a Republican victory in the

ensuing general election.

The proposition is advanced in Chapter V that the general election campaign of 1969 was almost anti-climactic. The Democratic candidate, William C. Battle, was associated in the public mind with the national Democratic administration of the late John F. Kennedy, and yet he failed to receive the full support of liberal elements in his party. Powerful Negro and labor organizations in unprecedented moves announced support for the Republican candidate for Governor. In addition, many dissident conservative Democrats -- increasingly fearful of the trend in the state party and bitterly unhappy with their national Party -- either strayed to newly formed, ultra-rightist parties or joined the Republican Party. As a result of these developments, Virginia elected its first Republican Governor of the 20th Century.

Holton's victory alone cannot be construed to demonstrate the strength of the Republican Party in Virginia. I will attempt to appraise the party's emergence in terms of its increasing strength in the state congressional delegation and its gain in representation in the General Assembly. A year before Holton became the first Republican to occupy the Virginia Governor's mansion in this century, as we will see in Chapter VI, his party had won five of the

state's ten seats in Congress. In the year of his election, climaxing a steady increase begun in 1962, when the party's representation was 5 percent of the total membership of the state legislature, Republican strength reached 20 percent.

Also in connection with the emergence of the Republicans as a force in 20th Century Virginia, a study of statewide election results will be undertaken. It will show a decline in participation in the Democratic Primary elections and in the percentage of votes cast for the Democratic candidates in the general elections, along with a rise in the percentage of votes cast for Republican candidates. And an analysis of the voting of Virginia's growing urban and suburban population will shed some light on the prospects for continued Republican Party growth.

In summary, we see the new Republican Party growing from a regional organization to a statewide organization. This development was manifested chiefly by the party's capture of the Governor's mansion and by the factors which contributed to that event. The party's growth was evident, also, in the addition of new voter groups of: (a) affluent, conservative business and professional men in the Richmond area; (b) a rapidly increasing suburban population; and (c) rural Virginians who formerly gave their allegiance to the Byrd organization. Increased representation in the legislature, from 5 percent in 1962 to 20 percent in 1970, and in Congress, from 20 percent in 1964 to 60 percent in 1972,

are further evidence of Republican political power on the rise in Virginia.

Finally, the more recent victories of two candidates who ran for statewide political offices without formal party affiliation deserve to be examined. I refer to the re-election in 1970 of Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr., and the election as Lieutenant-Governor of Henry E. Howell, Jr., in 1971. Both had been Democrats and both left their party to run as Independents. The question to be considered -- and it may be too soon to find the answer -- is whether their success portends emergence of a permanent, unaffiliated political movement in Virginia or whether it will lead eventually to a strengthened two-party system in the state.

CHAPTER II

THE BACKGROUND

Virginia had not elected a Republican as Governor since July 6, 1869, when Gilbert C. Walker won by a margin of about 18,000 votes.¹ This victory actually was the result in large measure of a coalition with the Conservative Party (later to become the Democratic Party of Virginia²), and it points up an ironic parallel, in that the victory of Linwood Holton³ a century later can be attributed in part to a coalition with dissident Democrats.

The election of 1869, in addition to elevating a moderate Republican⁴ to the Governor's chair, marked adoption of a Constitution that enabled Virginia to return to the Union in 1870 and be spared the more disagreeable aspects of the Reconstruction.⁵

¹Virginius Dabney, Virginia: The New Dominion (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1971), pp. 370-72.

²July 26, 1883, in convention at Lynchburg, Virginia.

³Governor Holton, in repeated informal requests to newsmen, has made clear that he prefers this usage.

⁴Richard L. Morton, Virginia Since 1861 (New York: The American Historical Society, 1924), pp. 158-59.

⁵Ibid.

This election also saw Virginians, for the first time since the war, able to make a free choice between the white man's Conservative Party and the black man's Radical Republican Party.⁶ A total of 97,205 Negroes and 125,814 whites voted.⁷ Going down to defeat with the Radical Republicans' candidate for Governor were Negro candidates for Lieutenant-Governor and Attorney-General. In the Assembly, the Radical Republicans won 42 of 138 House seats and 13 of 43 Senate seats. Twenty-one of the newly elected delegates and six new senators were Negro. Two years later, the Radical Republicans won 27 House seats and seven in the Senate. At the same time, the number of Negroes fell to 14 in the House and from six to three in the Senate.⁸

Besides race, the single factor influencing the decline and fall of the Republican party in Virginia in the 19th century was its association with the at first heroic and then somewhat tarnished image of William Mahone and his Readjuster Party. One modern Virginian historian makes the strong statement that "no man in Virginia played a more important role in the redemption election of 1869--thus

⁶ Ibid., p. 170; Allen W. Moger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, 1870-1928 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968), p. 90.

⁷ Morton, Virginia Since 1861, p. 154.

⁸ Ibid.

achieving widespread veneration--than did the former Confederate General Mahone."⁹ Yet the dynamic former war hero and railroad builder had become an arrogant and somewhat unprincipled political manipulator when he was defeated for re-election to the United States Senate in 1885.

Mahone's Readjuster Party was born of a split in the dominant Virginia Conservative Party over whether the state should pay all its crushing Civil War bonded indebtedness or readjust the debt and pay part of it. By late 1884, in Richmond, this former leader of Confederate soldiers and his powerful new party combined with the remnants of the discredited Radical Republicans to form a new Republican Party of Virginia.¹⁰ As senators, Mahone and a Readjuster colleague, H. H. Riddleberger, had voted to give the Republicans the needed strength to control the United States Senate. One result of this was to make Mahone the chief Southern dispenser of federal patronage.

Mahone's party in 1881 dominated the Virginia legislature and elected a Governor, William E. Cameron, who, as a result of the merger with the Republicans three years later, became known to history as the only modern Republican

⁹Moger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, p. 10.

¹⁰James A. Bear, Jr., "Thomas Staples Martin: A Study in Virginia Politics, 1883-1896" (M. S. thesis, University of Virginia, 1952), p. 56.

Party Governor of Virginia in a stretch of a hundred years.

The success of General Mahone's Readjuster-Republicans was the only breach at the state level in the Democrats' otherwise "Solid South" in this period,¹¹ but in 1883 Virginians gave control of the Assembly to the Democratic forces. (By this time, the Conservatives, in convention at Lynchburg, had formally adopted the name, the Democratic Party of Virginia.)¹²

That the Democratic-controlled Assembly would then refuse to return Mahone to the Senate in 1885 was a foregone conclusion. And, in 1889, the squeaky-voiced, diminutive Republican "boss" of Virginia suffered his final defeat in a bid for election by popular vote to the office of Governor. Afterward, the coup de grace to Republicanism in Virginia as well as throughout the South was delivered in the form of the national Republican Party's ill-advised "Force Bill," which sought return of federal troops to supervise elections in the former Confederate states.¹³

¹¹Charles C. Pearson, The Readjuster Movement in Virginia (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917), pp. 176-77.

¹²Moger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, p. 52.

¹³Stanley P. Hirshson, Farewell to the Bloody Shirt: Northern Republicans and the Southern Negro, 1877-1893 (Bloomington, Ind.: University of Indiana Press, 1962), pp. 205-08; Morton, Virginia Since 1861, p. 296.

It remained for the Democratic Party of Virginia, in consolidating its power, to eliminate the Negro as a voter. In the process, many poor or illiterate white voters were removed from the lists of qualified voters, and effective two-party politics was to disappear from the Commonwealth.

Sentiment had mounted steadily in the last decade of the 19th century in Virginia to rid the state of the political corruption which had been rampant since 1869, and which many blamed on the fast-disappearing Mahonism, the Republican Party, the 1869 Constitution and the Negro.¹⁴ This was true even though Mahone was now dead and no Negro had been elected to the Assembly since 1891.¹⁵

Fraud had been proven in 16 of 20 contested Virginia elections for the House of Representatives, and as the Democrats well knew, both parties had cynically engaged in buying Negro votes and stealing elections.¹⁶ In a move which helped to assure their perpetuation in power for many

¹⁴ Raymond H. Pulley, Old Virginia Restored: An Interpretation of the Progressive Impulse, 1870-1930 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968), pp. 57-58.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 64; Charles E. Wynes, Race Relations in Virginia, 1870-1902 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1961), pp. 54-56.

¹⁶ Andrew Buni, The Negro in Virginia Politics, 1902-1965 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967), p. 12.

decades to come, the Democrats took advantage of a political device concocted in the deep South in 1895 and upheld by the United States Supreme Court in 1898.¹⁷ The so-called "Mississippi Plan" provided in essence for disfranchisement of the Negro. It required payment of a poll tax, display of the receipt for it and the ability to read the state constitution or to understand and interpret it reasonably upon its being read aloud.¹⁸

With the Republican minority in opposition, the General Assembly of Virginia on March 5, 1900, ordered a referendum on the question of calling a state constitutional convention.¹⁹ The Democrats of Virginia, meeting in Norfolk, subsequently pledged that any changes proposed by the constitutional convention would be submitted to popular referendum. A pledge to this effect was framed by Carter Glass of Lynchburg and written into the party's platform of 1900. Glass also was the author of a convention promise that no white man would lose his vote. The latter promise was credited with helping to allay fears of possible Democratic attempts to disfranchise poor whites in the independent, mountainous western

¹⁷Williams v. Mississippi, 170 U.S. 213 (1898).

¹⁸Robert Eugene Cushman, Leading Constitutional Decisions (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1947), p. 94.

¹⁹Buni, The Negro in Virginia Politics, p. 15.

sections of the state.²⁰

The convention call was issued by the electorate in referendum on May 24, 1900. The vote for calling the convention was 77,362, and opposed, 60,375. Most cities and the "black belt" counties, which favored black disfranchisement, voted heavily in favor of the question, and counties heavily populated with white Republicans opposed it.²¹

Disregarding the Norfolk pledge, the Democrat-dominated constitutional convention in a 13-month session voted to adopt a clause imposing suffrage restrictions that could not but affect poor whites as well as Negroes. These restrictions included: a poll tax paid six months prior to elections; an "understanding" clause slated to last two years; and a permanent literacy test. The "understanding" clause enabled individual registrars to accept whomever they saw fit.²²

²⁰Herman L. Horn, "The Growth and Development of the Democratic Party in Virginia Since 1890" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1949), pp. 52-59; Pulley, Old Virginia Restored, p. 72. See generally, also, C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970), pp. 321-49.

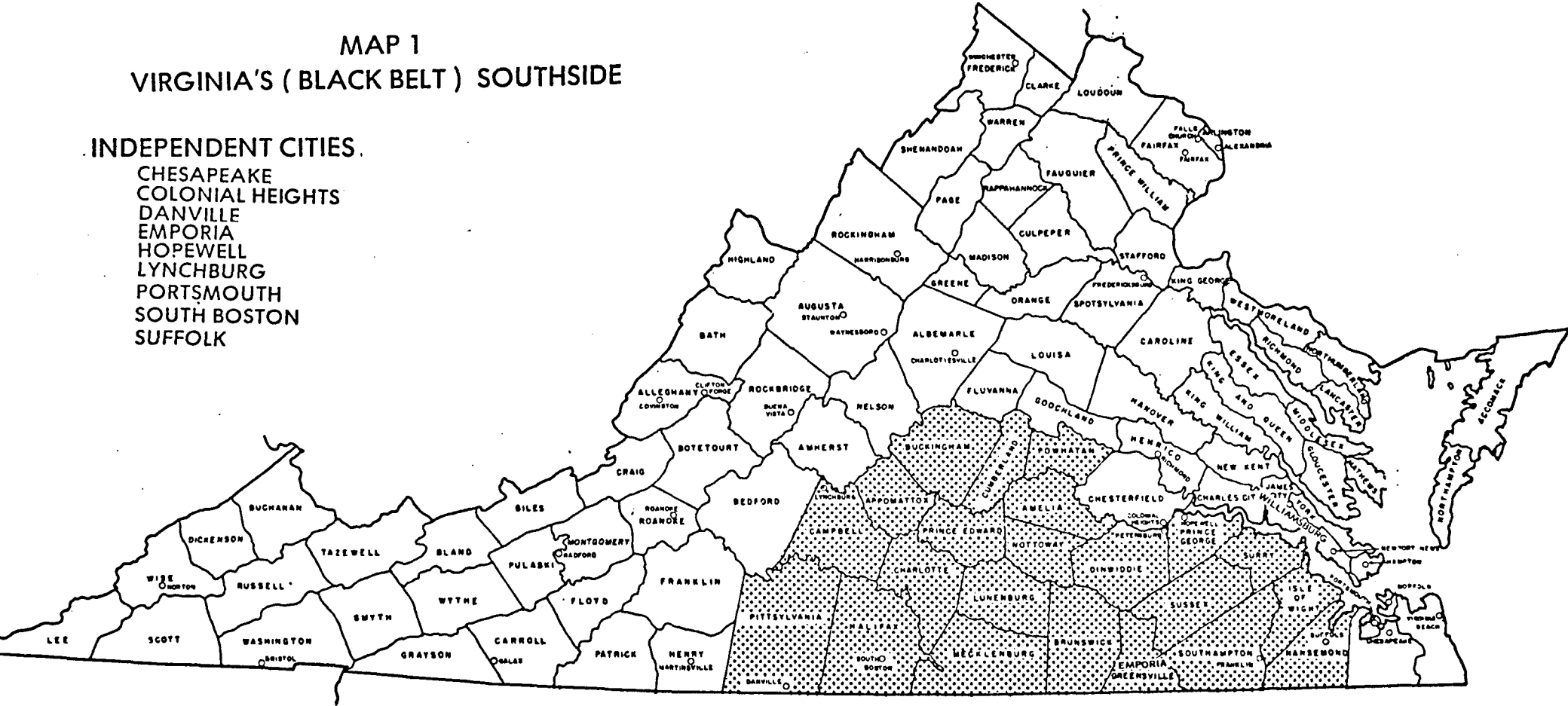
²¹V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation, Vintage Books (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., and Random House, Inc., 1949), p. 546. Map 1 shows the area commonly referred to as the Black Belt of Virginia, or Southside Virginia; (for a description of this region, see A Hornbook of Virginia History (Richmond: The Virginia State Library, 1965), p. 4.).

²²Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, pp. 332-33.

MAP 1
 VIRGINIA'S (BLACK BELT) SOUTHSIDE

INDEPENDENT CITIES.

- CHESAPEAKE
- COLONIAL HEIGHTS
- DANVILLE
- EMPORIA
- HOPEWELL
- LYNCHBURG
- PORTSMOUTH
- SOUTH BOSTON
- SUFFOLK



Then the delegates on May 29, 1902, proclaimed the new constitution in effect.²³ Executive and judicial officers throughout Virginia, led by Governor Andrew Jackson Montague, took an oath to uphold it on July 10, 1902. In a special session on July 15, all members of the General Assembly did likewise, except for a dissident Republican member of the House of Delegates who refused and was ejected from the Assembly by his colleagues.²⁴

One result of the 1902 Constitution was that "the Negro thereupon ceased to be a political issue in Virginia until the integration crisis in the late 1950's."²⁵ But, in the words of a Virginia historian, there was more to it:

The real political purpose behind the convention movement was to insure the permanent dominance of the Democratic Party, to establish control over the electorate, and to effect a reform that would eliminate the necessity for fraudulent political practices

The Republican leadership claimed
 . . . that the purpose of the convention was to eliminate their party as a political force.²⁶

Local registrars interpreted the new Constitution's provisions as they saw fit. In one Wythe County precinct, for example, two Negroes and 34 whites were refused regis-

²³Ibid., p. 329.

²⁴Buni, The Negro in Virginia Politics, p. 19.

²⁵James W. Ely, Jr., "The Campaign for Massive Resistance: Virginia's Gubernatorial Election of 1957" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1968), p. 5.

²⁶Pulley, Old Virginia Restored, p. 77.

tration.²⁷ William Pendleton, editor of the Tazewell Republican, said Tazewell County registrars disfranchised 90 percent of the Negroes and 50 percent of the whites. Professor Buni has compiled figures which reveal the shift in voter registration in Virginia. (See following page for Table I.)²⁸

In 1901, the number of Negroes eligible to vote was put at 147,000; four years later, 21,000 had registered and fewer than half of this number had qualified by paying their poll tax.²⁹ But the entire electorate was halved, also. In the 1900 presidential election, 264,095 Virginians voted; in 1904, only 129,929 voted. The Republican vote declined from 81,366 in the gubernatorial election of 1901 to 45,795 in 1905.³⁰ The restricted vote was to be the hallmark of what amounted to a one-party political system in Virginia for the next half-century.

²⁷Buni, The Negro in Virginia Politics, p. 21.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 263-66; for further figures on the decline in voting in Virginia and the South, see Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, pp. 344-45.

²⁹Pulley, Old Virginia Restored, p. 90.

³⁰Ibid., p. 192.

TABLE 1

VIRGINIA VOTER REGISTRATION IN 1900, 1902

Locality	1900	1902
Richmond (city)		
Negro	6,427	760
White	12,338	9,093
Petersburg		
Negro	2,400	620
White	4,600	2,040
Waynesboro		
Negro	149	5
White	317	627
Accomack		
Negro	2,472	495
White	5,473	3,718
Amelia		
Negro	1,099	128
White	743	671
Brunswick		
Negro	1,876	212
White	1,422	1,644
Prince Edward		
Negro	1,876	173
White	1,280	868

Until Dwight D. Eisenhower was to make the Republican Party respectable again in the South in the presidential election of 1952 and the Supreme Court was to loosen the suffrage shackles to where the Negro and the poor white could once again take part in the state's electoral process,³¹ the most fruitful pursuit of the Republican Party in Virginia would be to act as a channel for federal patronage whenever the national party took over the White House.³²

³¹Harper v. Virginia State Board of Elections, 383 U.S. 663, 86 Sup. Ct. 1079, 166 L. Ed. 2d. 169 (1966).

³²Moger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, p. 203, 349. For a detailed account of the Virginia Republican Party's patronage pursuits, see, generally, Guy B. Hathorn, "The Political Career of C. Bascom Slemph" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1951).

CHAPTER III

THE 1965 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION

The period between the advent of the new state Constitution in 1902 and the election of Linwood Holton in 1969 was marked by uninterrupted Democratic sway over all three state governmental branches. During this time, the Democratic Party was controlled by, first, Senator Thomas Staples Martin¹ and, after Martin's death in 1919, by Harry F. Byrd, Sr.² Throughout this time, the state also voted Democratic in most presidential elections.

Along with the nation, Virginia went Republican in the 1928 presidential election of Herbert Hoover,³ but the state was not to give its electoral votes to the Grand Old Party again until Dwight D. Eisenhower arrived on the

¹ Dabney, Virginia: The New Dominion, pp. 411-12.

² Ibid., p. 480. Interesting comparisons of the periods of control by Senator Byrd and Martin are to be found in J. Harvie Wilkinson, III, Harry Byrd and the Changing Face of Virginia Politics, 1945-1956 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968), pp. 3-8, passim, and in Moger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, Passim, Ch. xv.

³ State Board of Elections, Statement of Vote Cast in the Commonwealth of Virginia for President of the United States--1924 and 1928 (Richmond: Commonwealth of Virginia, 1929), p. 7.

scene in 1952.⁴

Virginia's turn to the Republican Party presidential ticket for the first time in 24 years had its roots in the racial and economic policies of the Democratic administration of Harry S. Truman, according to James Latimer, political reporter for The Richmond Times-Dispatch.⁵ The Federal civil rights report of 1948 for the first time since the Republican "Force Bill" had raised the possibility of Federal intervention in racial matters.

Coupled with universal admiration of General Eisenhower's record as the Supreme Allied commander in Europe during World War II, the reaction in Virginia to "Trumanism" made it easy for Virginians to vote Republican in the presidential election of 1952.

Thereafter, the state voted Republican in three of four presidential elections: for Eisenhower's re-election in 1956, and for Richard M. Nixon in his unsuccessful attempt in 1960 and in his victory of 1968.⁶

Against the background of a reawakened interest among Virginians in the Republican Party, Linwood Holton ran for

⁴ State Board of Elections, Statement of the Vote for President and Vice-President, General Election Tuesday, November 4, 1952 (Richmond: Commonwealth of Virginia, 1952), p. 4.

⁵ Richmond Times-Dispatch, Oct. 19, 1969.

⁶ State Board of Elections, Statement of the Vote, 1956, 1960 and 1968.

Governor in 1965, lost, ran again in 1969, and won. It could hardly be deemed surprising that his 1965 campaign did not result in victory; what was surprising was that a candidate who twice had failed in attempts to win election to the Assembly, in 1955 and 1957,⁷ could now make such a strong showing in his first try for a statewide office (see Table 2).

TABLE 2
VOTES CAST FOR GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA
NOVEMBER 2, 1965⁸

Candidate	Party	Vote	Percentage of Vote
Godwin	Democratic	269,526	47.9
Holton	Republican	212,207	37.7
Story	Conservative	75,307	13.3
Rockwell	American Nazi	5,730	1.1
Other		19	-
	Totals	562,789	100.0

For the first time in this century, the Democratic candidate--Mills E. Godwin, Jr.--received less than a

⁷Holton failed in successive attempts to win election to the House of Delegates from Roanoke, Va. In November, 1955, he ran third in a four-way race for two seats in the House, and in November, 1957, he ran fourth in a four-way race for the two seats.

⁸State Board of Elections, Statement of the Vote Cast for Governor, Lieutenant-Governor and Attorney-General, General Election, November 2, 1965 (Richmond: Commonwealth of Virginia, 1966), p. 4.

majority of the votes cast for the office of Governor. This is explained partly by the defection of extreme right-wing forces of the state Democratic Party who, enraged with the choice of Lieutenant-Governor Godwin as the candidate, broke away to form the Conservative Party of Virginia.⁹

As shown in Table 3, among Republican candidates of the period 1945-1965, Holton's 37.7 percent was second only to that achieved by Ted Dalton in 1953. Dalton's highwater mark was won, it will be recalled, in the year following Eisenhower's landslide victory. (See Table 3 on the following page.)

Although Holton polled more votes than any Virginia Republican had ever before attracted, he carried surprisingly few localities. He won in only 20 of 96 counties (see map 2). With the exception of Chesterfield, which gave him

⁹The Virginia Conservative Council came into being on July 10, 1965, in a convention at the Hotel Jefferson, Richmond, Va. The some 300 delegates were called together by a group that included John W. Carter, a Democrat and member of the Danville City Council, and Ed Silverman, a Democrat and employee of a Blackstone, Va., weekly newspaper. Carter, in opening the convention, cited the "duplicity" of both major political parties and described both Mills E. Godwin, Jr., the Democratic candidate for Governor, and Linwood Holton, the Republican candidate, as "too liberal." The Conservatives nominated William J. Story, Jr., assistant superintendent of schools, Chesapeake, Va., for Governor; Reid T. Putney, a forestry consultant of Goochland, for Lieutenant-Governor, and Carter for Attorney-General. For an account of the convention, see the Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 11, 1965, p. A-1. (Records of the convention are believed to have been destroyed.)

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL VOTES RECEIVED BY REPUBLICAN

CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA

1945-1965¹⁰

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percentage of Total</u>
1945	Landreth	52,386	31.0
1949	Johnson	71,991	27.4
1953	Dalton	183,328	44.3
1957	Dalton	188,628	36.4
1961	Pearson	142,567	36.1
1965	Holton	212,207	37.7

second place to a third party candidate,¹¹ his 20 included the state's most populous suburban counties.¹² He won in

¹⁰ Wilkinson, Harry Byrd and the Changing Face of Virginia Politics, p. 203.

¹¹ State Board of Elections, Statement of the Votes Cast for Governor, 1965, p. 3. Chesterfield County voting for Governor was as follows: Godwin, 4,314; Holton, 4,634; Story, 5,656; Rockwell, 67.

¹² The 20 counties and their population are: *Arlington, 174,284; Augusta, 44,220; Botetourt, 18,193; Carroll, 23,092; *Fairfax, 455,021; Floyd, 9,775; Grayson, 15,439; Greensville, 9,604; *Henrico, 154,364; Highland, 2,529; Montgomery, 47,157; Page, 16,581; *Roanoke, 67,339; Rockbridge, 16,637; Rockingham, 47,890; Russell, 24,533; Scott, 24,376; Shenandoah, 22,852; Smyth, 31,349; Washington, 40,835. (*indicates suburban.) Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1970, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, p. 48, Virginia.

seven cities, of which only Alexandria is among the larger ones.¹³ Two of 10 congressional districts voted for him (see Map 3). These were the Sixth, which included much of the traditionally Republican Shenandoah Valley as well as his home area of Roanoke, and the Tenth, which included heavily populated suburbs of Washington, D. C.

According to one expert observer, "Virginia's traditional and suburban Republicans probably accounted for at least three-quarters" of Holton's 1965 vote share. This view was advanced by Kevin P. Phillips, political analyst and former special assistant to the Attorney General of the United States, in a confidential memorandum prepared for the House staff in 1970.¹⁴ His thesis, to be referred to again

¹³ Besides Alexandria, pop. 110,938, the cities and their population are: Falls Church, 10,772; Harrisonburg, 14,605; Norton, 4,001; Roanoke, 92,115; Waynesboro, 16,707; Williamsburg, 9,069. Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, United States Census of Population: 1970, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, p. 48, Virginia.

¹⁴ Kevin Phillips, "The Constituency and Significance of the Republican Gubernatorial Victory in Virginia," unpublished, confidential memorandum prepared for White House staff, 1970. Phillips, a syndicated political columnist, also is the author of a book referred to in Ch. V of this thesis, The Emerging Republican Majority (Garden City, N. Y.: Anchor Books, 1970).

below, is that Holton failed in 1965 but succeeded in 1969 in areas where the Democrats traditionally had found their greatest strength for five decades or more.

This view does not take into account, as Governor Holton pointed out to this writer,¹⁵ that he failed also to carry the Negro and central city vote in 1965. Virginia's Negro population resides chiefly in the central cities of the eastern area, in Richmond, Roanoke and Alexandria, and in the "Black Belt" counties, cities and towns of the Southside (see Map 4). Holton carried just one of the latter counties, Greenville.¹⁶ An examination of the following figures (Table 4) from the 10 largest Negro precincts of Richmond in 1965, may reveal further evidence of Holton's failure to carry the Negro vote at this time.

¹⁵ Private interview held in Executive Offices, State Capitol, Richmond, Va., December 20, 1971.

¹⁶ State Board of Elections, Statement of the Votes Cast for Governor, 1965, p. 2. One of the Holton's ticket-mates, D. Dortch Warriner, candidate for Attorney-General, was a resident of Emporia, then an incorporated town in Greenville County.

MAP 3
 CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS OF VIRGINIA, 1969

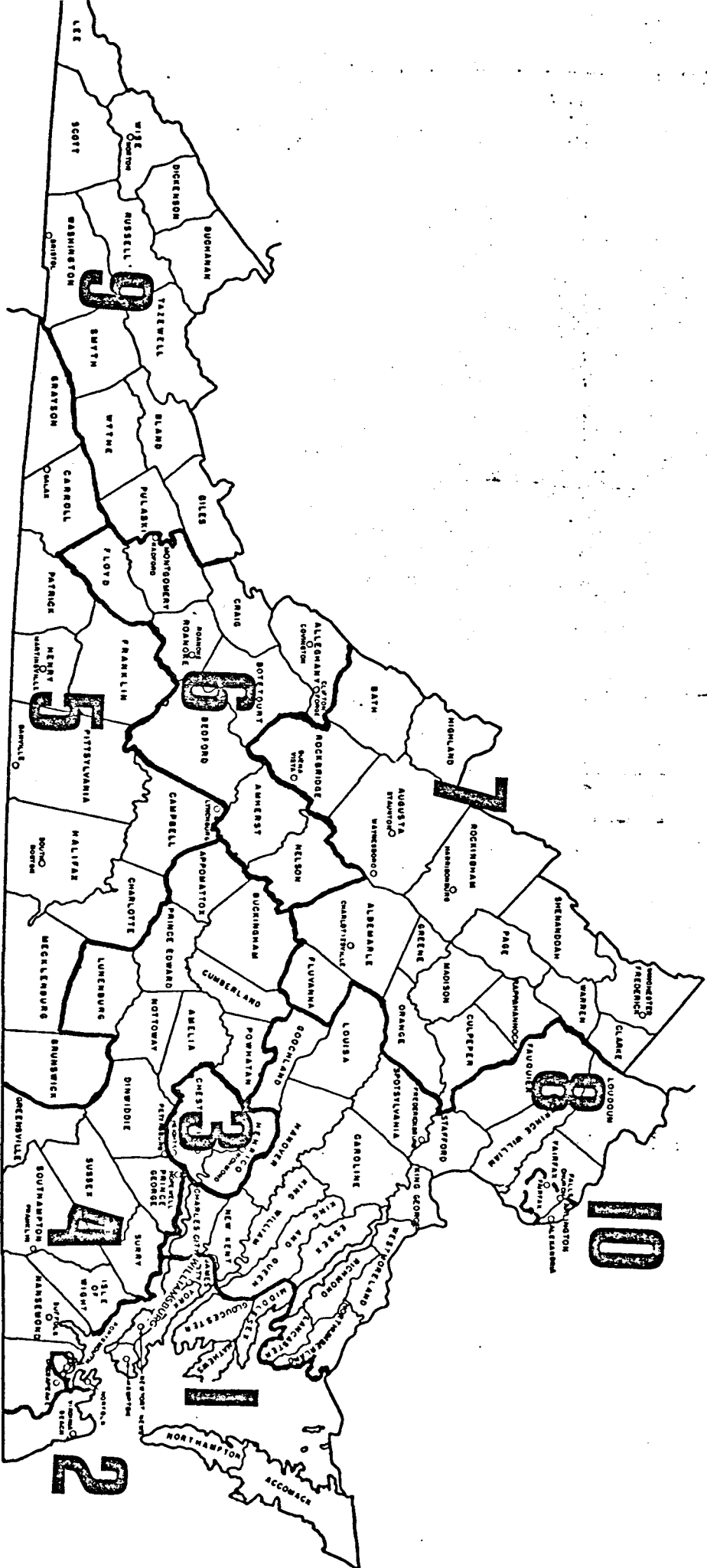


TABLE 4

GUBERNATORIAL VOTES IN 10 SELECTED NEGRO PRECINCTS
 IN RICHMOND IN 1961 AND 1965¹⁷

<u>Precinct</u>	<u>1961</u>		<u>1965</u>	
	<u>Democratic</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democratic</u>	<u>Republican</u>
1	19	197	250	45
4	28	224	264	48
18	54	404	546	95
19	62	235	306	83
46	54	519	572	191
55	36	455	505	155
62	52	363	520	120
64	39	377	595	113
65	53	182	309	44
66	27	232	339	46

The Richmond News Leader editorially cited the figures above in making another point, that the pronouncements of leaders of at least two statewide Negro organizations in support of Lieutenant-Governor Godwin, the Democratic candidate, were observed with remarkable fidelity by Richmond's black voters. Godwin won the endorsement of the Crusade for Voters Committee of Virginia on October 24, 1965.¹⁸ A day earlier he was publicly recommended by the Virginia Independent Voters League.¹⁹ Dr. Rupert Picott, president of

¹⁷Richmond News Leader, November 3, 1965.

¹⁸Richmond Times Dispatch, October 25, 1965. There are no extant, official minutes of the meeting of the Crusade for Voters, according to Dr. William S. Thornton, former chairman.

¹⁹Richmond News Leader, October 24, 1965.

RANGE OF PERCENTAGES OF NEGRO POPULATION IN VIRGINIA COUNTIES AND CITIES, 1970

MAP 4

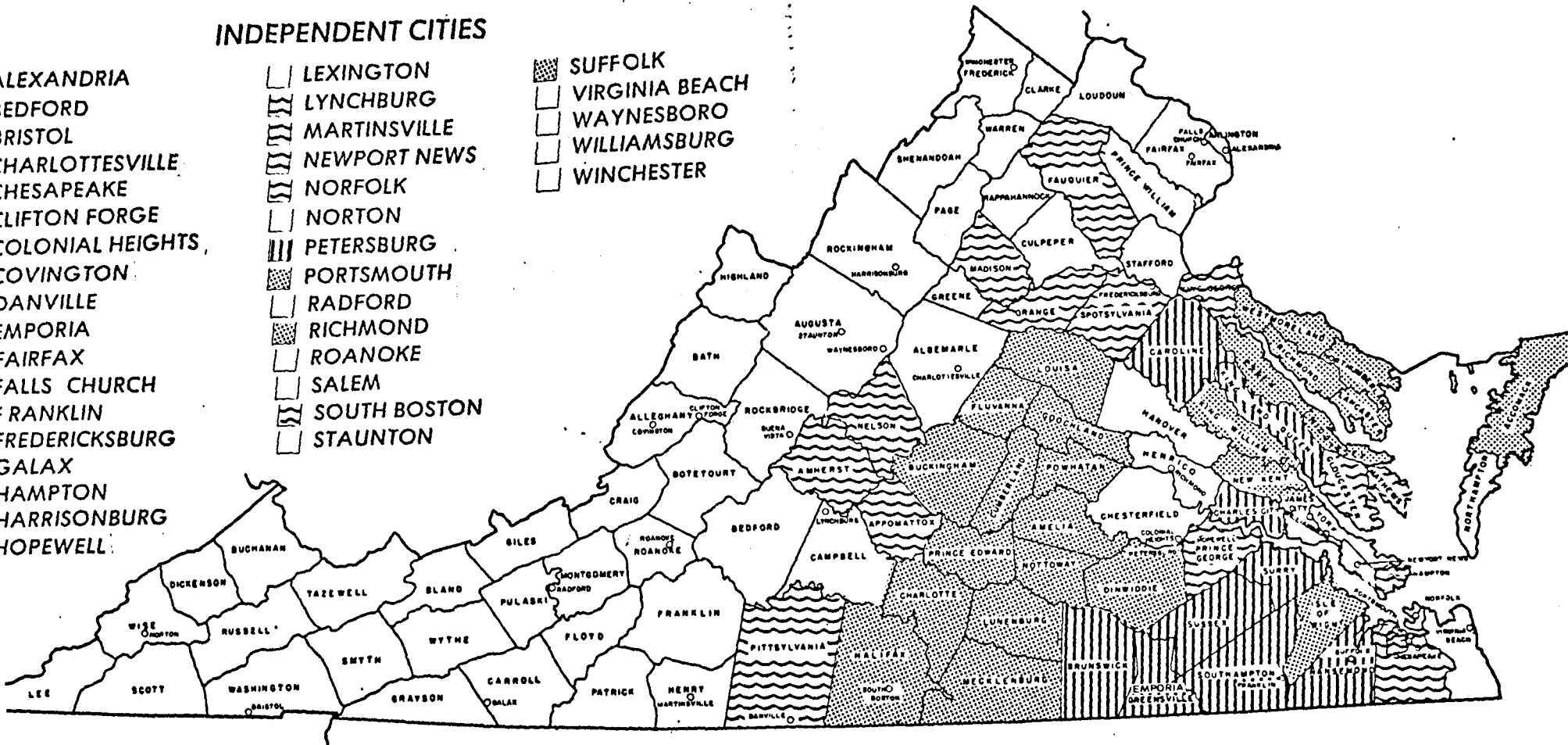
LEGEND

- 50% AND ABOVE
- 35 TO 49.9
- 20 TO 34.9
- LESS THAN 20%

INDEPENDENT CITIES

- ALEXANDRIA
- BEDFORD
- BRISTOL
- CHARLOTTESVILLE
- CHESAPEAKE
- CLIFTON FORGE
- COLONIAL HEIGHTS
- COVINGTON
- DANVILLE
- EMPORIA
- FAIRFAX
- FALLS CHURCH
- FRANKLIN
- FREDERICKSBURG
- GALAX
- HAMPTON
- HARRISONBURG
- HOPEWELL

- LEXINGTON
- LYNCHBURG
- MARTINSVILLE
- NEWPORT NEWS
- NORFOLK
- NORTON
- PETERSBURG
- PORTSMOUTH
- RADFORD
- RICHMOND
- ROANOKE
- SALEM
- SOUTH BOSTON
- STAUNTON
- SUFFOLK
- VIRGINIA BEACH
- WAYNESBORO
- WILLIAMSBURG
- WINCHESTER



the League, said it represented Negro groups whose membership totalled about 200,000 voters throughout Virginia.

Dr. Picott, who also was executive secretary of the Virginia Teachers Association, a statewide Negro teachers' organization, noted that there were only 14 members of the Republican Party in the General Assembly and said the inexperienced GOP candidate for Governor could hardly be expected to cope with a hostile legislature.²⁰

Clearly, the support of these Negro organizations augured well for the Democrats. The 24th Amendment had come into force on January 23, 1964, removing poll tax requirements in federal elections, and Virginia registration had swelled by 225,000 within 10 months. Of this total, an estimate is that 60,000 or more were Negroes.²¹

²⁰Ibid.

²¹The State Board of Elections, in the last such information compiled, estimated that as of October, 1964, Negro registration in Virginia totalled 173,832, as against 108,313 in 1963. A special United States court, in a decision affirmed by the U. S. Supreme Court (Hamm v. Virginia State Board of Elections, 379 U. S. 19, 85 Sup. Ct. 157, 230 F. Supp. 156 (1964)) permanently enjoined the State Board of Elections from keeping records distinguishing between white and Negro voter registrations. Dr. William S. Thornton, of Richmond, chairman of the Virginia Crusade for Voters, estimates that Negro registration as of December 31, 1971, totalled 250,000.

Besides the organized Negro support--an "abrupt about-face," in the words of one newspaper²² --the Democratic ticket²³ had been given the blessings of the largest statewide labor organization, the Virginia State AFL-CIO.²⁴

Explaining this move, the first known expression of AFL-CIO support of any Byrd-backed candidate in Virginia, Julian Carper, the labor group's vice-president, said state Republicans were supporting regressive policies of the national Republican Party. He read a statement which declared: "We feel an atmosphere is developing in the Democratic Party, nationally and in Virginia, where management, labor and government can work more closely together."²⁵

²²Richmond News Leader, November 3, 1965.

²³Besides Mills E. Godwin, Jr., candidate for Governor, the Democratic ticket included Fred G. Pollard, candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, and Robert Y. Button, candidate for Attorney-General. The Republican ticket, besides Linwood Holton, candidate for Governor, included Vincent F. Callahan, Jr., candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, and D. Dortch Warriner, candidate for Attorney-General.

²⁴Endorsement of the Democratic ticket was given by unanimous vote of the Virginia State AFL-CIO and its Committee on Political Education in a meeting October 9, 1965, at the Sheraton Motor Hotel, Richmond, Va. Source: AFL-CIO newsletter, News Hi-Lites, X, No. 10 (1965), 3.

²⁵Ibid.

To those expressions of support by Negro and labor groups were added the public espousal of the Democratic ticket on September 25 by 14 "eminent Virginians."²⁶ Many of the 14 had figured importantly in the support given the national Republican ticket in 1952 and 1956 by the Virginia "Democrats for Eisenhower." All had been and continued to be prominent in the Byrd organization. The political schizophrenia of this influential group typified the ambivalence of thousands of followers of Senator Byrd throughout his years of tight Democratic Party control in Virginia. Proclaiming still in 1965 their status as loyal Virginia Democrats, they would bide their time until the state was ripe for their "big switch" to the Republican Party in state elections.²⁷

Linwood Holton received some formidable backing in his campaign. Leading members of the Republican Party journeyed to the Old Dominion to rallies for this 39-year-old candidate

²⁶ Reported in Richmond Times-Dispatch, September 26, 1965. The 14 "eminent Virginians"--so-called by political reporter James Latimer--were: Samuel Bemiss, Thomas C. Boushall, Joseph C. Carter, John Cole Gayle, Robert V. Hatcher, Sr., Joseph A. Howell, Jr., J. Clifford Miller, Jr., Colonel Mills F. Neal, Alexander W. Parker, Beverley H. Randolph, Jr., Walter S. Robertson, Eugene B. Sydnor, Jr., John Randolph Tucker, Jr., and Mrs. Coleman Wortham, Jr.

²⁷ The expression, "big switch," was coined by veteran political reporter Carl Shires in reporting the defection of 166 influential Richmond area businessmen from the Democratic Party in 1969. See Richmond News Leader, October 1, 1969, p. 1.

who had never held an elective office. First among the visitors was the biggest "name" of them all, former President Eisenhower. The general, coming down to Richmond from his retirement home in Gettysburg, Pa., during the early days of the campaign,²⁸ made clear his party's commitment to the Virginia candidate. Within days afterward, a local party leader said the ex-President's speech had helped loosen some needed financial support in the Richmond area.²⁹

Following Eisenhower's visit, House Minority Leader Gerald Ford spoke to a large gathering at Staunton. Present on the platform with Ford and the three state Republican candidates were the state national committeeman and committeewoman, the state party chairman and area legislative and local candidates. "It was a day to put aside memories of 1964," said Ford.³⁰

Five days later, former Vice-President Richard M. Nixon in a chartered airliner began a 24-hour barnstorming campaign across the Old Dominion. He called on Virginians to defeat the "entrenched machine" and "lead the way to restoring two-party government throughout the nation."³¹

²⁸September 15, 1965.

²⁹Robert P. Buford, Third Congressional District leader in the Republican Party, quoted in Richmond Times-Dispatch, September 19, 1965.

³⁰Roanoke Times, October 1, 1965.

³¹Ibid., October 6, 1965.

In contrast to this public embrace of the national Republican leaders in Virginia was the distinctly inhospitable reception given Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey when he visited a convention at Virginia Beach of the Virginia Municipal League. Humphrey was avoided like the plague by campaigning state Democrats. Candidate Godwin had left the Tidewater area the day before and spent the day of Humphrey's Virginia visit campaigning in northern Virginia.³²

Despite the public display of national GOP esteem for the Virginia effort, an assessment of the 1965 campaign shows plainly that it was not of the dimensions of the party's 1969 drive. Further evidence to this effect may be seen in the brief statements of expenditures filed for the two campaigns, in conformity with Virginia's Pure Election Laws.³³ While no one would contend seriously that the sums covered all campaign spending, Holton reported \$79,164.29 for all three Republican candidates in 1965 and this contrasts sharply with the amount, \$387,552.48, listed for himself alone in 1969.

Godwin reported spending totalling \$218,066.68 by the three successful Democratic candidates. The unsuccessful

³² Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, September 19, 1965.

³³ Statements on file with State Board of Elections, Richmond.

Democratic candidate in 1969 listed \$107,097.87 as his one-third share of the "expenses incurred by the Democratic ticket from August 19, 1969, to November 4, 1969."³⁴

Holton leveled the only notable charge of the campaign. He assailed the State Highway Department's practice over the years of utilizing the legal services of influential local political figures in right-of-way cases. Holton named as an example a member of the politically powerful Kellam family of Virginia Beach, and he castigated this dispensation of "financial plums" from the State Treasury.³⁵ Two days later, the Republican candidate demanded that his opponent, who in private life was a lawyer, acknowledge any such fees he had earned.

Godwin was unable to ignore this conflict-of-interest insinuation, and within 24 hours publicly acknowledged that his law firm had received \$10,026 in fees for services to the State Highway Department over the past three years.³⁶

Political writer James Latimer, in a comparison of campaign statements by the two candidates,³⁷ said both

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 20, 1965.

³⁶Ibid., October 23, 1965.

³⁷Ibid., September 9, 1965.

promised to seek substantial increases in state outlays for education, mental hospitals and highways. Both expressed dislike early in the campaign for the thought of imposing any sales tax. However, Godwin's statements never flatly ruled out such a new source of revenue; the Democrats' platform had taken the party to the brink of such a proposal.³⁸ Holton also promised to name a Negro member to the State Board of Education.

One substantial proposal from Holton met silence from the Democrats. In an address to the Negro students of Virginia State College, Norfolk branch, the GOP candidate promised he would seek an end to the last vestige of the poll tax, still a requirement for registration to vote in state elections.³⁹

It remains, in appraising the 1965 campaign, to note that though few of them seemed unduly hostile to the Republicans' ticket, no major newspaper editorially endorsed Holton, whereas several announced for the Godwin ticket. Both of the influential Richmond daily newspapers were for Godwin editorially,⁴⁰ but both advocated support for a

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Norfolk Virginia-Pilot, October 15, 1965.

⁴⁰ Both papers are published by D. Tennant Bryan, Richmond.

"stronger two-party system" in Virginia. Prophetically, the afternoon newspaper pronounced this position: "The time for a change . . . is not yet."⁴¹

⁴¹ Richmond News Leader, October 30, 1965.

CHAPTER IV

SETTING THE STAGE

Between the 1965 and 1969 gubernatorial elections, there took place several events of immense political importance in Virginia. Foremost among these were the ruling of the United States Supreme Court that payment of the poll tax could no longer be required for participation in state elections,¹ and the death in 1966 of Harry F. Byrd, Sr. The Senator retired from office on November 11, 1965, just eight days after the victory of the Democratic ticket he had publicly supported. Governor Albertis S. Harrison appointed the Senator's son, Harry F. Byrd, Jr., as his successor within 24 hours.

A few months before the elder Byrd's death of a malignant brain tumor,² two other staunchly conservative Democrats, Representative Howard W. Smith of Virginia's Eighth District and U. S. Senator A. Willis Robertson were defeated in the primary elections.³ The first Negro to be

¹See supra, n. 31, p. 18.

²October 20, 1966.

³George C. Rawlings, Jr. won the Eighth District nomination July 12, 1966, and lost the general election to Republican William L. Scott; William B. Spong, Jr., won the Democratic nomination over Senator Robertson and then won the election. Sources: State Board of Elections, Statement of the Vote, Primary Election, Tuesday, July 12, 1966, and General Election, Tuesday, November 8, 1966.

elected to the Virginia General Assembly since 1891 took his seat in the lower chamber a year later.⁴

Virginians voted in record numbers for the second successive time in a presidential election since adoption of the 24th Amendment removing the poll tax as a bar to participation in Federal elections. A total of 1,359,930 cast ballots in 1968, or 50.7 percent of the eligible population. Four years earlier, the total was 1,042,207, or 41.2 percent of those eligible. In 1960, prior to elimination of the poll tax from Federal elections, the state's total vote was 771,499, or 33.3 percent.⁵ In other words, Virginians' participation in presidential elections nearly doubled in eight years. It will be recalled (see supra. pp. 9-10) that imposition of the poll tax requirement in 1902 had been followed by a decline of approximately 50 percent in voter registration in the state.

In the summer of 1969, the Democratic Party engaged in a bitterly fought gubernatorial primary and an exhausting run-off election which left the old organization fragmented and set the stage for the election of Holton. Divisions

⁴Dr. W. Ferguson Reid, of Richmond, won one of nine seats in the House of Delegates from Henrico County-Richmond with a total of 36,735 votes, of which 27,392 were cast in Richmond. Source: State Board of Elections, Statement of the Vote, General Election, Tuesday, November 7, 1967.

⁵State Board of Elections, Statement of the Vote Cast, 1968, 1964, 1960.

within the ranks of the Democrats at primary time were traditional. As Key notes, however, many of these disagreements were worked out "in the family."⁶ Occasionally, when the Democrats were unable to settle their differences amicably, hard-fought primaries developed, as in 1949.⁷ Nearly always, the dominant Byrd forces won and, in any event, the party members had always closed ranks behind their party's choice in the ensuing general elections.

The 1969 primary marked an end to this genteel party custom, and, as we shall see, the Democrats' cup of intra-party bitterness spilled over into the November election. The three contenders were Henry E. Howell, Jr., Fred G. Pollard, and William C. Battle.

Howell was unmistakably the liberal darling of the labor and Negro voters. His campaign slogan was "Keep the Big Boys Honest."⁸ A Norfolk lawyer, he was a member of the State Senate.

⁶See, generally, V. O. Key, "Virginia: Political Museum Piece," Southern Politics, pp. 19-35.

⁷Four candidates, all well-known in the state, ran for the Democratic nomination: State Sen. John S. Battle, the victor in the primary and general election; Horace Edwards, of Richmond; Rennie L. Arnold, of Petersburg, and Francis Pickens Miller, of Charlottesville. Source: State Board of Elections, Statement of the Votes Cast, Democratic Primary, Tuesday, August 2, 1949, and General Election, Tuesday, November 8, 1949.

⁸For a discussion of the slogan and its origin, see Richmond News Leader, August 12, 1969, p. 8.

Pollard, 51, a veteran lawmaker, was the current Lieutenant-Governor under Godwin. As a state legislator earlier, he had opposed the Byrd forces' "massive resistance" legislation to close public schools, but managed to retain close standing with the conservative and the moderate factions in the Democratic organization.⁹

The third candidate--ultimately the winner--was William Cullen Battle, also 49, a lawyer and son of former Governor John S. Battle. Repeatedly during his two primary campaigns, he referred to himself as a "moderate" who promised to move Virginia "not left or right--forward." Never elected to public office, William Battle was appointed United States Ambassador to Australia by John F. Kennedy, a fellow PT boat commander whom he had helped rescue from a Japanese-held island in the South Pacific 26 years earlier.¹⁰

The destruction of the old order in Virginia politics was accomplished in two steps, the Democratic Party elections of July 15 and August 19, 1969. The general election of November 4 merely laid it to rest. Table 5 shows the outcome of both primary elections.

⁹The history of "massive resistance" is best explained in Robbins L. Gates, The Making of Massive Resistance: Virginia's Politics of Public School Desegregation, 1954-1956 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962). A discussion of the origin of the term will be found in Benjamin Muse, Virginia's Massive Resistance (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1961), pp. 25-27.

¹⁰Richmond Times-Dispatch, June 22, 1969.

TABLE 5

VOTING IN DEMOCRATIC PARTY PRIMARY ELECTIONS
FOR GOVERNOR, 1969¹¹

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>July 15</u>		<u>August 19</u>	
	<u>No. of Votes</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>No. of Votes</u>	<u>Percent</u>
William C. Battle	158,956	38.9	226,108	52.1
Henry E. Howell, Jr.	154,617	37.8	207,505	47.9
Fred G. Pollard	95,057	23.3	-----	----
	-----	-----	-----	-----
Totals	408,630	100.0	433,613	100.0

A total of 408,630 ballots were cast in the first primary for the gubernatorial nomination. Since Pollard received only 95,057 votes, or 23.3 percent, he was eliminated from the race. Battle received 158,956 votes for a percentage of 38.9. Howell, as runnerup with 154,617 votes, asked for a runoff election, and the two confronted each other again in August.

The primary election law provided that the runoff must be held if no candidate received a majority and if the runnerup demanded it. At the request of the runnerup, a runoff election also was held to settle the question of the party candidate for

¹¹ State Board of Elections, Statement of the Votes Cast, Democratic Party Primary Elections, July 15, 1969, and August 19, 1969.

Attorney-General.¹² No further contest was necessary in the race for Lieutenant-Governor, because J. Sargeant Reynolds captured 63.9 percent of the ballots.

The Byrd organization had secured passage of the runoff law¹³ almost 30 years earlier after having the life nearly scared out of it in the party-wracking gubernatorial primary of 1949. Ironically, the winner of that four-way fight for the nomination in 1949--the father of William Battle--owed his victory to an estimated 50,000 Republicans who crossed party lines to vote in a Democratic primary. This kind of political machination was legal in Virginia under a 1929 interpretation of state law by Attorney-General John P. Saunders, a member of the Deomocratic organization. It is interpreted generally as evidence that the Republican Party of Virginia was little more than a wing of the Democratic Party for many years.¹⁴

¹²Andrew P. Miller, with 257,622 votes, defeated Guy O. Farley, Jr., with 150,140 votes, in the runoff election for Attorney-General. The results of the July 15, first primary for Attorney-General: Miller, 151,991; Farley, 129,241; Bernard Levin, 47,003; C. F. Hicks, 41,084.

¹³Code of Virginia, sec. 24-349.

¹⁴James A. Latimer, "Virginia Politics, 1950-1960," unpublished manuscript of notes by the chief political reporter for the Richmond Times-Dispatch, 1961, p. 34. Also, see, Wilkinson, Harry Byrd and the Changing Face of Virginia Politics, pp. 211, 212.

More people voted in July, 1969, and then in the August runoff than had ever before taken part in a Democratic gubernatorial primary. The July turnout amounted to an increase of 23.3 percent over the 1961 primary total, but this was somewhat disappointing in view of the 67.5 percent population increase over the eight-year period. The turnout in July included 15.2 percent of the voting age population, 23.5 percent of the registered voters and hardly more than half the estimated number of Democrats in Virginia.¹⁵ There was speculation that many Virginians were abstaining from the Democratic balloting. In this connection, it should be noted that Linwood Holton had made his candidacy known in April.¹⁶

Howell's support cut across low income elements of both Democratic and Republican lines. In the primary of July 15, his strength clearly lay with the Negroes, the so-called "blue collar" voters and the middle class white liberals. In the Tidewater area, where he was strong, a dozen Jewish businessmen formed the core of his finance committee, according to Dr. George Grayson, a government professor at the College of William and Mary and a campaign aide to Howell.

¹⁵ George Grayson, "The 1969 Democratic Primary in Virginia: An Analysis of the Howell Coalition," unpublished manuscript by Dr. Grayson, assistant professor of government, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 8; Phillips, "The Constituency and Significance of the Republican Gubernatorial Victory," p. 2.

The support of trade unionists reportedly was described as "extraordinary" by one state official of the AFL-CIO.¹⁷ Professor Grayson states that \$404,000 was raised for the Norfolk Senator's campaign and that more than \$150,000 was contributed by labor organizations.¹⁸

Howell carried six congressional districts, Battle four and Pollard none (see Map 5). Howell's support was in the "urban corridor" area running in a gentle arc southward from Washington, D. C. to Richmond and eastward from there toward the coast (see Map 6). His six districts included the Tenth, Eighth, Fourth, Third, Second and First.

Battle's four districts--the Sixth, Ninth, Seventh and Fifth--included territory which furnished a substantial measure of Republican voting, as evidenced in their voting for congressional representation. The Sixth and Ninth were already represented by Republican congressmen, and the Seventh soon would be.¹⁹ Only the Fifth was solidly Democratic.

¹⁷ Grayson, "The 1969 Democratic Primary," pp. 10-11.

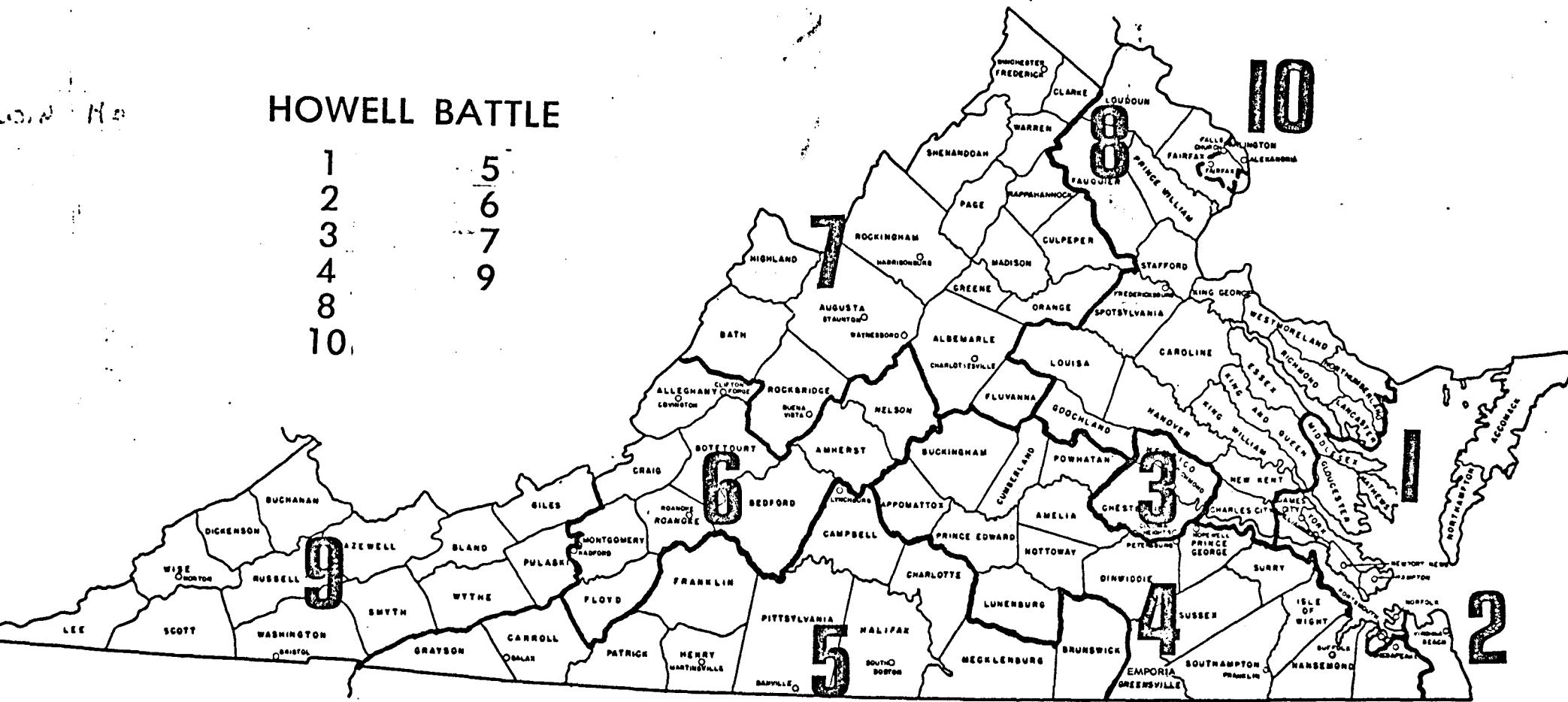
¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ In the Seventh Congressional District, Rep. John O. Marsh, Jr., a Democrat, did not seek re-election in 1970. Republican J. Kenneth Robinson won the seat with 52,619 votes to 32,617 cast for Democrat Murat Williams. Source: State Board of Elections, Statement of the Vote Cast for Members of Congress, General Election, November 3, 1970.

VOTING BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN DEMOCRATIC PARTY PRIMARY ELECTION FOR GOVERNOR, JULY 15, 1969

HOWELL BATTLE

- 1
 - 2
 - 3
 - 4
 - 8
 - 10
- 5
 - 6
 - 7
 - 9



The Howell percentage of the vote in selected predominantly Negro precincts of the Tidewater, Richmond, Southside and Washington, D. C. suburban areas was a lopsided 82.9 (see Table 6). It is significant that of the 10 previously cited Richmond precincts which Godwin had carried in 1965, Howell carried all in July and August (see Table 7) by equally one-sided margins. (Holton was to carry these same precincts decisively though not as strongly in November--see Table 9, p. 66.)

The accompanying map (Map 7) shows that Battle piled up enough votes to win in 58 of 96 counties and 23 of 38 cities. Fred Pollard carried one city, Emporia, and 10 counties, all in largely conservative areas.

Howell's "bag" of 14 cities included most of the larger ones, the exceptions being Virginia Beach and those in the Valley. Among the Howell cities were five in which one or more newspapers editorially supported Battle or Pollard.²⁰ Howell's 28 counties included nine in which non-whites outnumber whites, several in the Southside and upper Tidewater with substantial non-white minorities, and

²⁰The five cities: Hampton, Newport News, Norfolk, Portsmouth and Richmond. The papers were: the Newport News Daily Press, serving both Hampton and Newport News, for Pollard; the Newport News Times-Herald, serving both Hampton and Newport News, for Battle; the Virginian-Pilot and the Ledger-Star, both serving both Norfolk and Portsmouth and both for Battle; and the Richmond News Leader, for Pollard.

a number in the urban corridor ranging downward from hugh Fairfax and Arlington, where enthusiasm for his neo-Populist-consumer-oriented stance accounted for much of his support.²¹

In the runoff, Battle gained eight of the 11 political subdivisions which had voted for Pollard, plus others from Howell's original number (see Map 8). Table 5 recapitulates the outcome of the two primary elections for Governor.

²¹See Appendix A for list of the 28 counties and their racial make-up.

TABLE 6

VOTING FOR GOVERNOR IN SELECTED PREDOMINANTLY BLACK PRECINCTS IN VIRGINIA

IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY PRIMARY ELECTIONS*

City	Precinct	JULY 15, 1969 ELECTION			AUGUST 19, 1969 ELECTION			
		Total No. of Votes	Battle Percent	Howell Percent	Pollard Percent	Total No. of Votes	Battle Percent	Howell Percent
Charlottesville	Firehouse	356	23.0	63.8	8.2	490	16.3	83.7
Virginia Beach	Seatack	323	9.6	74.0	16.4	405	4.2	95.8
Norfolk	1	808	20.5	75.3	4.2	795	2.8	97.2
Norfolk	2	879	9.0	89.5	1.5	902	2.0	98.0
Norfolk	4	1,364	13.0	84.5	2.5	1,410	1.2	98.8
Norfolk	5	586	18.1	79.2	2.7	592	1.5	98.5
Norfolk	6	502	9.6	87.2	3.2	470	1.1	98.9
Norfolk	7	640	17.5	79.7	2.8	651	1.7	98.3
Norfolk	8	1,157	17.5	80.1	2.4	1,143	2.6	97.4
Norfolk	9	243	21.8	73.3	4.9	231	.9	99.1
Norfolk	17	559	12.7	84.1	3.2	618	4.4	95.6
Norfolk	42	772	31.0	66.8	2.2	814	11.1	88.9
Portsmouth	26	985	8.0	91.6	.4	1,083	2.3	97.7
Portsmouth	27	623	10.0	88.1	1.9	682	3.4	96.6
Richmond	1	365	10.7	78.1	11.2	343	8.2	91.8
Richmond	4	585	10.1	77.4	12.5	530	6.6	93.4
Richmond	5	136	19.1	69.9	11.0	117	14.5	85.5
Richmond	6	350	11.4	76.3	12.3	335	9.9	90.1
Richmond	18	931	7.5	84.3	8.2	906	2.9	97.1
Richmond	19	507	10.7	77.7	11.6	496	8.7	91.3
Richmond	24	726	10.5	68.9	20.6	687	8.2	91.8
Richmond	46	915	13.2	74.5	12.3	872	9.7	90.3
Richmond	55	699	11.9	80.7	7.4	631	7.1	92.9
Richmond	62	1,270	5.4	88.9	5.7	1,278	3.1	96.9
Richmond	63	423	6.6	88.9	4.5	393	2.3	97.7
Richmond	64	1,406	4.3	92.5	3.2	1,325	2.5	97.5
Richmond	65	728	9.8	86.6	3.6	708	6.1	93.9
Richmond	66	716	6.3	89.4	4.3	776	2.6	97.4
Richmond	67	986	8.4	86.9	4.7	1,059	3.2	96.8

TABLE 6 (continued)

VOTING FOR GOVERNOR IN SELECTED PREDOMINANTLY BLACK PRECINCTS IN VIRGINIA IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY
PRIMARY ELECTIONS*

City	Precinct	JULY 15, 1969 ELECTION			AUGUST 19, 1969 ELECTION			
		Total No. of Votes	Battle Percent	Howell Percent	Pollard Percent	Total No. of Votes	Battle Percent	Howell Percent
Lynchburg	1-1	190	4.7	79.5	15.8	251	13.9	86.1
Hampton	Phenix	469	3.8	92.8	3.4	567	3.5	96.5
Hampton	Pembroke	307	5.9	91.8	2.3	352	2.6	97.4
Hampton	Y.H.Thomas	231	5.6	92.7	1.7	274	3.3	96.7
Newport News	Dunbar	237	14.8	84.4	.8	231	4.6	95.4
Newport News	Lee	208	13.0	84.6	2.4	203	7.4	92.6
Newport News	Marshall	395	11.4	84.8	3.8	381	7.6	92.4
Newport News	Chestnut	513	18.9	78.8	2.3	501	8.4	91.6
Newport News	Jefferson	445	11.0	85.6	3.4	477	5.2	94.8
Newport News	Huntington	320	15.9	82.2	1.9	426	7.7	92.3
Newport News	Washington	350	20.0	77.4	2.6	333	9.0	91.0
Newport News	Newsome Park	197	9.1	89.9	1.0	212	3.3	96.7
TOTALS		24,402	11.8	82.9	5.3	25,000	4.8	95.2

*Eisenberg, "1969 Politics in Virginia: The Democratic Party Primary," University of Virginia News Letter, XXXXVI, No. 6 (1970), 24.

TABLE 7

VOTING FOR GOVERNOR IN 10 SELECTED PREDOMINANTLY BLACK PRECINCTS
IN RICHMOND IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY PRIMARY ELECTIONS*

<u>Precinct</u>	<u>Total Number of Votes</u>	<u>July 15, 1969</u>			<u>August 19, 1969</u>		
		<u>Battle</u>	<u>Howell</u>	<u>Pollard</u>	<u>Total Number of Votes</u>	<u>Battle</u>	<u>Howell</u>
1	393	39	285	41	354	28	315
4	639	59	453	73	544	35	496
18	971	70	785	76	957	26	880
19	483	54	394	59	462	43	453
46	929	121	682	112	876	85	787
55	724	83	564	52	633	45	586
62	1,298	69	1,129	72	1,389	39	1,239
64	1,446	61	1,300	45	1,353	33	1,292
65	773	71	631	26	718	43	665
66	794	45	640	31	803	20	756

*Compiled from Precinct Returns reported in Richmond News Leader, July 16 and August 20, 1969.

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY FOR GOVERNOR, JULY, 1969

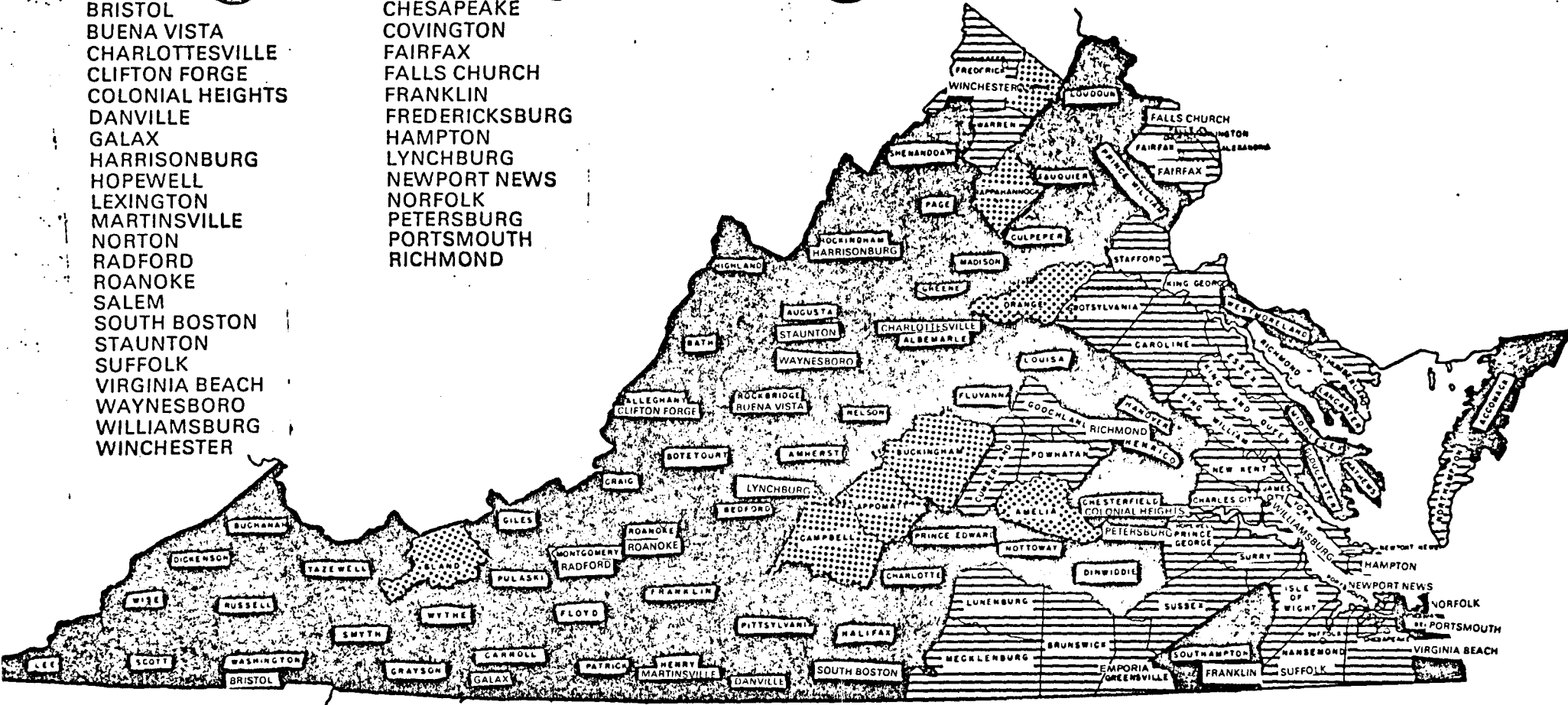
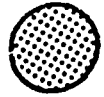
BATTLE
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 BRISTOL
 BUENA VISTA
 CHARLOTTESVILLE
 CLIFTON FORGE
 COLONIAL HEIGHTS
 DANVILLE
 GALAX
 HARRISONBURG
 HOPEWELL
 LEXINGTON
 MARTINSVILLE
 NORTON
 RADFORD
 ROANOKE
 SALEM
 SOUTH BOSTON
 STAUNTON
 SUFFOLK
 VIRGINIA BEACH
 WAYNESBORO
 WILLIAMSBURG
 WINCHESTER



HOWELL
 ALEXANDRIA
 CHESAPEAKE
 COVINGTON
 FAIRFAX
 FALLS CHURCH
 FRANKLIN
 FREDERICKSBURG
 HAMPTON
 LYNCHBURG
 NEWPORT NEWS
 NORFOLK
 PETERSBURG
 PORTSMOUTH
 RICHMOND



POLLARD
 EMPORIA



PRIMARY JULY

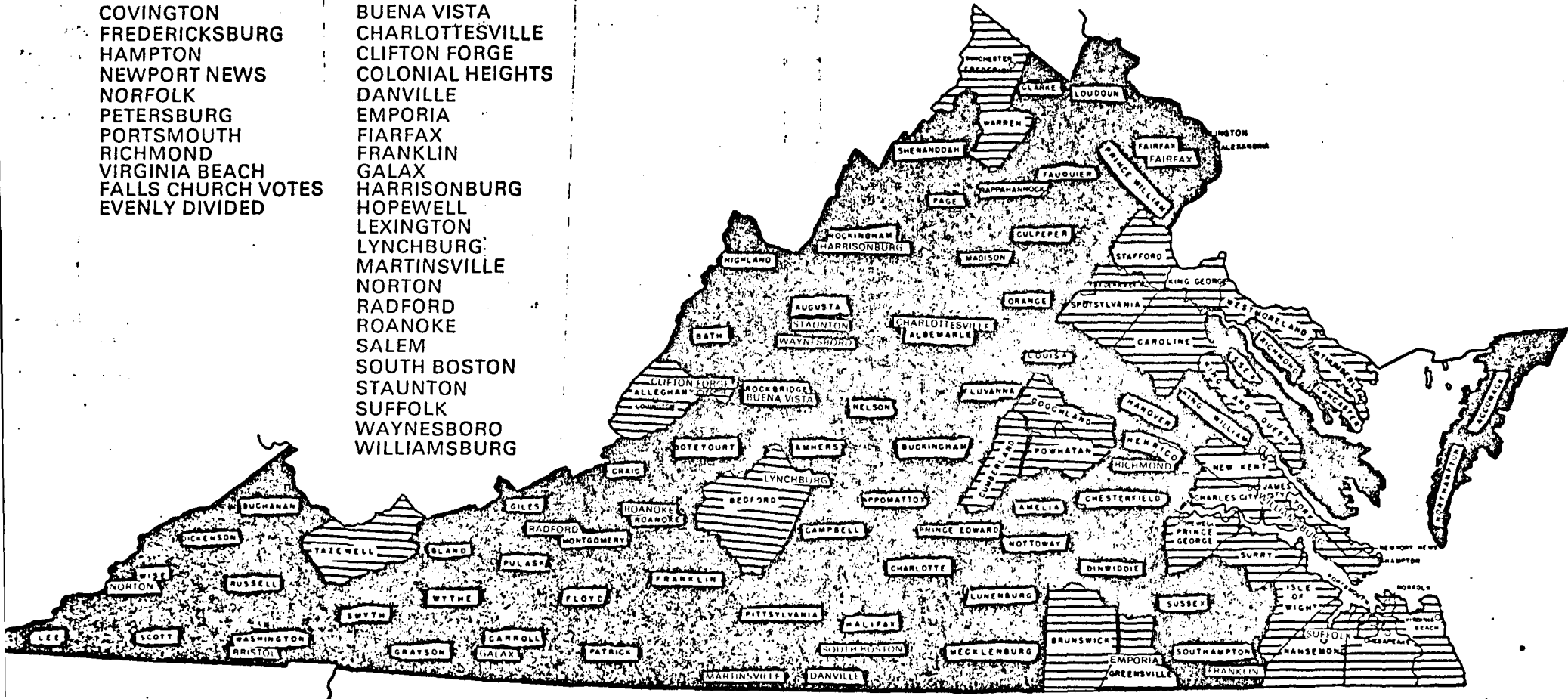
DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY RUNOFF FOR GOVERNOR, AUGUST 19, 1969

52

HOWELL
ALEXANDRIA
CHESAPEAKE
COVINGTON
FREDERICKSBURG
HAMPTON
NEWPORT NEWS
NORFOLK
PETERSBURG
PORTSMOUTH
RICHMOND
VIRGINIA BEACH
FALLS CHURCH VOTES
EVENLY DIVIDED



BATTLE
BEDFORD
BRISTOL
BUENA VISTA
CHARLOTTESVILLE
CLIFTON FORGE
COLONIAL HEIGHTS
DANVILLE
EMPORIA
FAIRFAX
FRANKLIN
GALAX
HARRISONBURG
HOPEWELL
LEXINGTON
LYNCHBURG
MARTINSVILLE
NORTON
RADFORD
ROANOKE
SALEM
SOUTH BOSTON
STAUNTON
SUFFOLK
WAYNESBORO
WILLIAMSBURG



PRIMARY AUGUST

CHAPTER V

THE CRUCIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1969

The Democratic primary battles set the stage, and it was against the backdrop of the breakdown of the Democratic consensus that Linwood Holton campaigned in 1969 against Democrat William C. Battle and won election as Virginia's first Republican Governor in the 20th Century. How he campaigned, how a winning coalition was forged and how he dealt with events in the four years to which he was limited by the 1902 Virginia Constitution might well determine whether his party continued to build, whether he would be the century's only Republican Governor. Table 8 shows the results of the voting in the general election for Governor.

There are differences of opinion on the most significant aspects of Holton's victory and the growth of Republican strength in Virginia. The view of Republican House Leader M. Caldwell Butler is that Linwood Holton's candidacy in 1965 made it easier for Virginians to change their state and local voting habits. The delegate from Roanoke called Holton's 1969 triumph a "personal victory."¹

¹ Delegate M. Caldwell Butler, private interview held in Roanoke, Va., July 19, 1971.

TABLE 8
 VOTING IN THE GENERAL ELECTION
 FOR
 GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA,
 1969²

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>No. of Votes</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Linwood Holton	Republican	480,869	52.5
William C. Battle	Democratic	415,695	45.4
Beverly B. McDowell	Conservative	10,596	1.2
William A. Pennington	A.I.P.	7,382	.8
George R. Walker	Independent	1,182	.1
Others	-	40	--
	Totals	915,764	100.0

A different assessment was made by Edd Shull, until recently the executive director of the Virginia Republican Party, who said, "The thing that won for us--I'll be candid--was the split in the Democratic Party."³ He cited the role of the Republican campaign organization in 1969 and, by inference, assigned it much of the credit, also. But Shull agreed that Holton personally had drawn together the elements of his victory.

²State Board of Elections, Statement of the Votes Cast for Governor, General Election, November 4, 1969.

³Edd Shull, private interview held in Richmond, August 1, 1971.

Holton, in an interview, said he might have been defeated twice in his quest for the governorship had his Democratic predecessor appointed a Negro to a Richmond court bench.⁴ Governor Holton added that he could not have won without the endorsement of the Crusade for Voters, an organization of leaders of Negro social and fraternal groups. For that matter, he regarded as very significant the public defection to his side in October, 1969, of a group of 166 influential Richmond residents who called themselves "New Republicans."⁵ These conservative and well-to-do industrialist, businessmen and lawyers had in the past formed an important part of the forces of the Democratic Party in state elections.

⁴ Governor Linwood Holton, private interview held in Richmond, August 1, 1971.

⁵ Group of 166 Richmond area business and professional leaders and their wives, over whose names a statement of intent to quit the Democratic Party and join the Republican Party was issued to the press on October 1, 1969. The statement, as quoted in the Richmond News Leader on that date, is reprinted in Appendix B. Eight persons actually participated in drawing up the statement. They were: Lawrence Lewis, Jr., chairman of the board, Flagler Hotel System, Inc.; Landon W. Trigg, insurance executive; Cotesworth Pinckney, lawyer; Henry T. Wickham, lawyer; Frank G. Louthan, Jr., industrialist; John Cole Gayle, stockbroker; James E. Covington, Jr., real estate broker; Robert V. Hatcher, Jr., insurance executive. In person and by telephone and correspondence, they contacted others in the group in obtaining assent to use of their names. This writer's information was obtained in a confidential interview with Alexander Wellford, a Richmond lawyer, whose name was used with his full knowledge and consent.

It is questionable, too, Holton said, whether he could have won without the support of the Virginia Council of the AFL-CIO.⁶

Looking at the election from the standpoint of a spokesman for the defeated party, Governor Mills E. Godwin, Jr., said the major factors were the defection of conservatives from the Democratic Party and the swing of the Negro and white liberals to the Republicans. He cited, also, Nixon's strong support of Holton, the campaign slogan--"It's Time for a Change"--and the failure of the Democrats to pull back together after August 19.⁷

Godwin's own failure to accede in any substantive way to Negro pressures for appointments was a weighty factor, as noted by Holton (see preceding page). Bitterness was particularly apparent among leaders of the Virginia Crusade for Voters, which had endorsed the Democratic gubernatorial ticket led by Godwin in 1965.

⁶The Virginia Council of the AFL-CIO endorsed Holton on the Republican ticket and Democrats J. Sargeant Reynolds, candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, and Andrew P. Miller, candidate for Attorney-General. Announcement of the decision by delegates to a state convention, meeting in Richmond, Va., on September 27, 1969, was contained in the labor organization's official newsletter, New Hi-Lites, X, No. 10 (1969), 1.

⁷Governor Godwin's assessment of the Democratic defeat, given at a press conference at the State Capitol, Richmond, November 7, 1969, was reported in the Richmond Times-Dispatch, November 8, 1969.

"We had been promised so much so often and they never delivered," said Dr. William S. Thornton, in explaining the swing.⁸ Dr. Thornton, a Richmond podiatrist and moderate, was one of the leaders of the Virginia Crusade, as well as of the monolithic Richmond Crusade for Voters. He acknowledged that Godwin had given them no commitments in 1965 but added that their feeling was nevertheless one of betrayal on the part of the Democratic Governor.

Dr. Thornton said there was widespread speculation, with which he disagreed, that Holton might not have won the backing of the Crusade for Voters if Governor Godwin had acted favorably on Negro bar groups' endorsements of Oliver Hill for a Richmond judgeship. Hill, a prominent Richmond attorney and veteran member of the state Democratic Party, feels differently.⁹

"If I'd been appointed, that would have given Battle the Negroes' vote," Hill said. He asserted that his disappointment with Godwin did not stem only from his failure to secure the appointment in 1969. Hill explained that the Democrats long had exercised unchecked control of the General Assembly and that where the same party controls the legislative and

⁸ Dr. William S. Thornton, private interview with author held July 20, 1971, Richmond.

⁹ Oliver Hill, private interview with author, held July 26, 1971, Richmond.

the executives branches, opportunities for progressive measures are enhanced. Yet, Hill said, Godwin had not "exercised anything like the leadership he could have."¹⁰

Hill emphasized that despite his personal disagreement with the 1969 swing by the Negro Crusade's leadership, he was "not averse to breaking up the Byrd machine."¹¹

That the Negro vote in Richmond did swing to Holton is made clear in the following tabulation (Table 9) of the November, 1969, major party voting in ten selected precincts.

TABLE 9

GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION VOTING
IN 10 SELECTED NEGRO PRECINCTS
IN RICHMOND IN 1969¹²

<u>Precinct</u>	<u>Democratic</u>	<u>Republican</u>
1	142	231
4	213	367
18	379	603
19	206	313
46	315	561
55	337	431
62	491	809
64	653	748
65	328	406
66	381	424

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Richmond News Leader, November 5, 1969.

It will be recalled that (see Table 4, page 28) all of these precincts had voted heavily for the Republican candidate in 1961, then heavily for the Democratic candidate in 1965.

The comparison in Table 6 (pages 50-51) of voting in 41 selected predominantly black precincts in several cities in the July and August primary elections shows that in the gubernatorial balloting, Negroes first voted heavily for Howell. Upon his defeat, enough of them switched to the Republican candidate for Governor (see Table 10) in the ensuing general election to reduce markedly the Democratic percentage of the Negro vote in gubernatorial elections. This is apparent because, as Table 10 also shows, the reduction in the Democratic gubernatorial vote among the Negroes was in sharp contrast to the outcome of the elections for Lieutenant-Governor and Attorney-General. The tabulations of percentages of the voting in the 41 predominantly Negro precincts cited shows Holton inroads on the one hand but overwhelming Democratic preference in both of the other two races. Dr. Ralph Eisenberg, who compiled the figures, notes that the failure of black voters to support the Democratic gubernatorial nominee in their usual proportions "contributed to Holton's majority in city voting."¹³

¹³Eisenberg, "1969 Politics in Virginia: The General Election," University of Virginia News Letter, XXXXVI, No. 9 (1970), 34.

TABLE 10

MAJOR PARTY VOTING IN SELECTED PREDOMINANTLY BLACK PRECINCTS IN VIRGINIA CITIES

NOVEMBER, 1969*

City	Precinct	GOVERNOR			LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR			ATTORNEY-GENERAL		
		Total No. of Votes	Per- cent De- moc.	Per cent Re- pub.	Total No. of Votes	Per- cent De- moc.	Per- cent Re- pub.	Total No. of Votes	per- cent De- moc.	Per- cent Re- pub.
Charlottesville	Firehouse	484	73.6	25.0	428	82.7	14.3	409	81.2	17.1
Virginia Beach	Seatack	410	54.9	40.7	379	64.6	29.6	371	66.8	29.1
Norfolk	1	1,238	57.1	40.8	719	87.6	10.3	706	86.4	12.0
Norfolk	2	1,010	78.4	19.1	921	89.9	8.8	907	91.0	8.2
Norfolk	4	1,517	80.9	17.0	1,294	93.5	1.1	1,371	92.0	7.5
Norfolk	5	611	74.8	21.8	498	84.9	13.3	486	84.6	14.4
Norfolk	6	511	76.3	20.5	342	88.6	9.9	335	90.1	8.7
Norfolk	7	686	75.4	21.6	632	86.6	12.5	556	98.0	1.3
Norfolk	8	1,280	77.5	19.5	1,047	88.3	10.4	1,016	87.0	11.7
Norfolk	9	280	81.8	17.1	243	88.9	10.7	239	90.4	8.8
Norfolk	17	702	84.3	12.8	667	89.4	9.4	647	89.6	9.4
Norfolk	42	931	80.7	17.5	779	89.0	10.3	777	88.5	10.4
Portsmouth	26	1,100	84.8	15.0	1,069	98.2	1.1	1,069	97.4	2.0
Portsmouth	27	757	87.1	12.5	689	95.9	2.8	693	96.7	3.0
Richmond	1	395	35.9	63.5	369	97.6	2.2	360	94.2	5.8
Richmond	4	608	38.3	60.4	465	95.3	2.8	545	93.8	5.3
Richmond	5	147	42.9	55.8	138	89.1	7.2	120	80.8	17.5
Richmond	6	428	44.9	52.3	425	89.6	5.4	400	88.3	10.0
Richmond	18	995	38.1	60.6	865	96.4	1.5	784	96.8	2.9
Richmond	19	524	39.9	59.7	498	95.0	3.6	461	89.6	10.0
Richmond	24	759	38.9	60.5	756	93.4	6.1	694	90.3	9.2
Richmond	46	878	35.9	63.9	981	96.6	2.8	916	91.8	7.3

TABLE 10 (Continued)

MAJOR PARTY VOTING IN SELECTED PREDOMINANTLY BLACK PRECINCTS IN VIRGINIA CITIES, NOVEMBER, 1969*

City	Precinct	GOVERNOR			LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR			ATTORNEY-GENERAL		
		Total No. of Votes	Per- cent De- moc.	Per- cent Re- pub.	Total No. of Votes	Per- cent De- moc.	Per- cent Re- pub.	Total No. of Votes	Per- cent De- moc.	Per- cent Re- pub.
Richmond	55	771	43.7	55.9	760	96.4	3.0	713	92.1	7.4
Richmond	62	1,311	37.5	61.7	1,160	97.7	1.2	1,186	95.5	4.0
Richmond	63	352	49.7	49.1	386	97.4	1.8	365	94.8	4.4
Richmond	64	1,409	46.3	53.1	1,356	98.2	1.3	1,278	97.0	2.9
Richmond	65	742	44.2	54.7	637	96.7	1.9	675	94.7	4.6
Richmond	66	807	47.2	52.5	779	97.8	1.8	726	96.1	3.7
Richmond	67	1,130	40.8	58.3	1,095	98.2	.9	1,020	96.2	3.2
Lynchburg	1-1	377	65.5	28.9	361	69.5	24.7	350	71.4	26.6
Hampton	Phenix	587	68.5	31.0	559	94.1	3.8	562	94.8	3.4
Hampton	Pembroke	374	46.0	53.2	353	97.2	2.0	357	96.4	3.1
Hampton	Thomas	296	47.3	52.0	294	96.6	2.4	293	96.6	2.0
Newport News	Dunbar	355	81.4	17.2	311	96.8	1.3	326	95.4	2.5
Newport News	Lee	258	76.7	21.7	235	96.2	1.7	244	94.3	4.1
Newport News	Marshall	503	75.3	24.1	449	96.2	1.6	439	93.6	5.2
Newport News	Chestnut	654	78.0	20.0	593	93.0	4.4	589	94.4	4.6
Newport News	Jefferson	584	79.3	19.0	527	93.2	3.6	514	92.0	6.0
Newport News	Huntington	399	75.7	23.1	364	91.5	5.2	363	91.5	7.2
Newport News	Washington	441	67.3	31.3	388	88.7	6.2	387	87.9	9.6
Newport News	Newsome Park	258	80.6	19.4	235	95.3	3.8	236	95.8	3.8
Totals		27,859	61.3	37.2	25,046	93.2	5.3	24,485	92.0	7.0

*Eisenberg, "1969 Politics in Virginia: The General Election," University of Virginia News Letter, XXXXVI, No. 9(1970), 34.

Voting in the two lesser statewide races followed lines of traditional party support in the Shenandoah Valley, in suburban counties outside of Richmond and in Fairfax County and the central portion of the state.¹⁴

Dr. Eisenberg, in extensive statistical analyses of the 1969 voting by localities, finds that the "key to the Holton victory clearly was (in) his ability to win urban votes, both in the state's largest cities and in its developing suburban complexes."¹⁵ On the other hand, he notes that Democratic candidates for the two lesser offices capitalized on support in cities and suburbs to win. Holton won over Battle by 54,000 votes--61.1 percent of the total-- in the urban corridor (see Map 6, p. 47), running southward from Washington, D. C. to Richmond and eastward to Norfolk, and in the Roanoke and Lynchburg metropolitan areas which lie outside the corridor.¹⁶

The 1969 decision by the Crusade for Voters to support Holton was reached on September 28. "A vote for Battle would be a vote for the Byrd machine," the Negro organization's statement declared.¹⁷

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 35.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 34.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 35.

¹⁷ Quoted in the Richmond Times-Dispatch, September 29, 1969.

That also was the rationale of the AFL-CIO action, taken September 26 and 27 in convention at the Holiday Inn West, Richmond, according to Julian Carper, president of the state labor group. He told a newspaper that "the best way to make sure that the Byrd machine is eliminated completely is to elect a Republican."¹⁸ Under this reasoning, the move would force "a restructuring of the (state) Democratic Party" in the image of the national party, so as to permit the election of a liberal Democratic Governor in 1973, Carper said.

Labor in Virginia was not wholly in accord. It was reported in the Richmond Times-Dispatch that an affiliate of the state AFL-CIO Council, the 6,000-member Virginia wing of the Laborers International Union of North America, had disavowed the views of the council and urged union members to support the Democratic ticket.¹⁹

Whether labor, like the Democratic Party in Virginia, was a house badly divided was not entirely clear, but the remarkable erosion of Democratic support in urban areas (see Map 9) cannot be explained wholly in terms of the swinging black vote in the central cities. In Virginia's

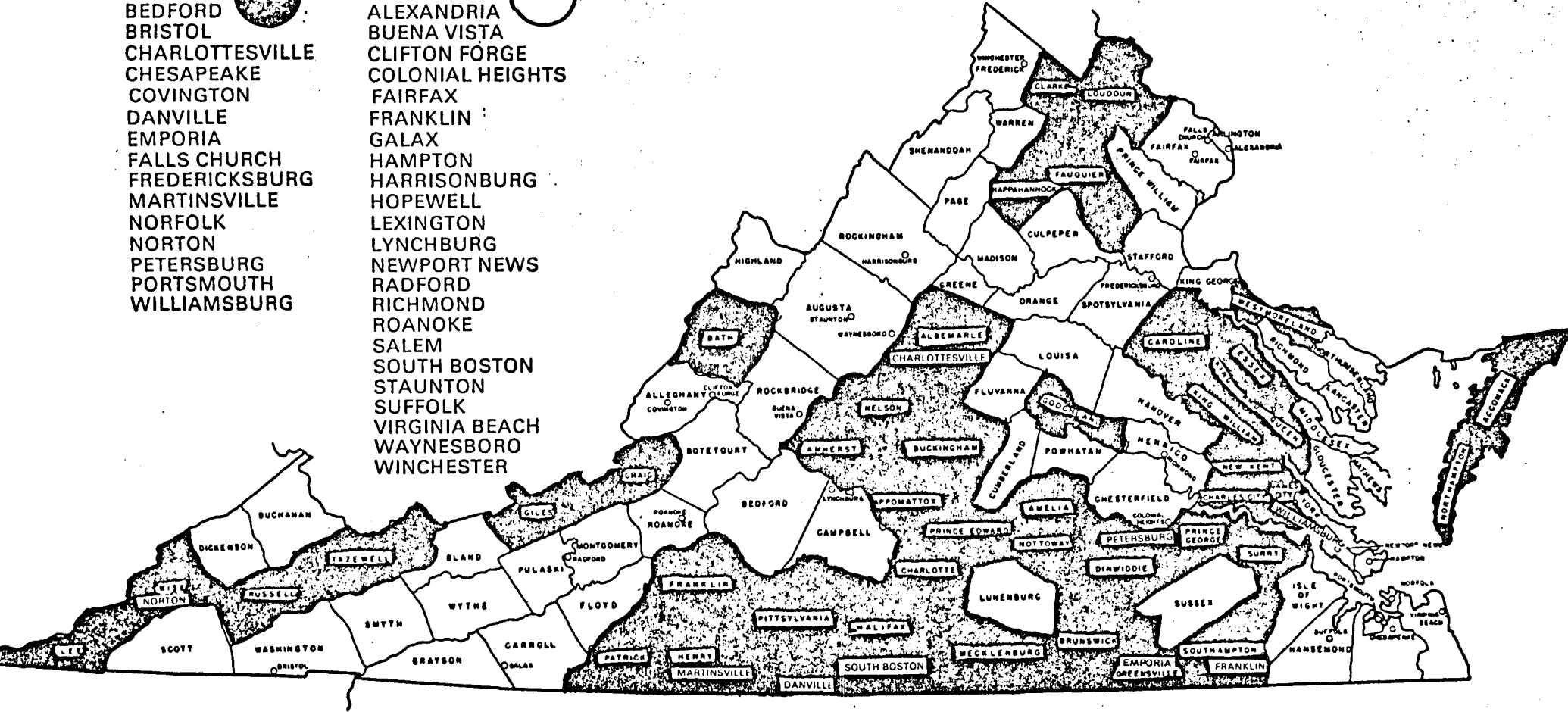
¹⁸Quoted in the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, October 10, 1969.

¹⁹Reported in the Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 2, 1969.

BATTLE
 BEDFORD
 BRISTOL
 CHARLOTTESVILLE
 CHESAPEAKE
 COVINGTON
 DANVILLE
 EMPORIA
 FALLS CHURCH
 FREDERICKSBURG
 MARTINSVILLE
 NORFOLK
 NORTON
 PETERSBURG
 PORTSMOUTH
 WILLIAMSBURG



HOLTON
 ALEXANDRIA
 BUENA VISTA
 CLIFTON FORGE
 COLONIAL HEIGHTS
 FAIRFAX
 FRANKLIN
 GALAX
 HAMPTON
 HARRISONBURG
 HOPEWELL
 LEXINGTON
 LYNCHBURG
 NEWPORT NEWS
 RADFORD
 RICHMOND
 ROANOKE
 SALEM
 SOUTH BOSTON
 STAUNTON
 SUFFOLK
 VIRGINIA BEACH
 WAYNESBORO
 WINCHESTER



GENERAL ELECTION - 1969

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5 VOUCHERS

six metropolitan areas, central city voting in November exceeded that of the Democratic runoff election by 62 percent, while suburban voting was 146 percent higher.²⁰ Holton won by majorities in several cities with substantial working-man or "blue collar" populations, including Hampton, Newport News, Richmond, Roanoke, South Boston, Virginia Beach, Waynesboro and Hopewell. Though losing in Norfolk, Portsmouth and Chesapeake, he scored impressive gains over his 1965 vote in each, amounting to 14 percent in Norfolk, 27.7 percent in Chesapeake and 14.6 percent in Portsmouth.

To utilize an appropriate cliché, the final blow to Battle's campaign in 1969 fell swiftly. Articulating the view of thousands who subsequently took their advice, the 166 Richmond businessmen and civic leaders (mentioned on page 57) publicly announced their switch from the party of their fathers to the Republicans on October 1. Whereas the AFL-CIO statement seemed implicitly to contemplate a return to the Democratic fold in four years or so, it is notable that the conservatives called themselves the "Committee of New Republicans."²¹

The Battle-Reynolds-Miller ticket was "in complete harmony" with a national Democratic Party that is "distinctly

²⁰ Eisenberg, "1969 Politics in Virginia: The General Election," p. 34.

²¹ See copy of statement, Appendix B.

un-Virginian" in philosophy, they declared in a statement quoted in the Richmond News Leader and reported signed by a "steering committee" of eight persons.²²

The editorial columns of the News Leader echoed the views of the "New Republicans." Despite its having endorsed Pollard in the Democratic primary in July, then Battle in the runoff election in August, the paper for the first time in its history proclaimed editorial support for a Republican gubernatorial ticket.²³

"Either candidate could lead (Virginia) very well," it said. The real question "is whether Virginia is to follow the national Democratic Party." It went on:

For years . . . Virginia enjoyed conservative leadership from the Governor's office, yet leadership that was continually out of tune with the national Democratic Party . . . The state Republican Party failed to gather momentum because the state Democratic Party occupied all the national conservative ground.

But not anymore. Today the state Democratic Party is becoming identified more and more with the liberals who, properly, are in it. . . . Sooner or later, if party labels are to have any meaning at all, Virginia's conservatives will have to move over to the Republican Party.²⁴

Arrival of the affluent businessmen within the ranks of the somewhat hard-pressed state Republican Party gave it new

²²Ibid. For a list of members of the committee, see *supra*, n. 5, p. 57.

²³Editorial, Richmond News Leader, October 27, 1969, p. 8.

²⁴Ibid.

strength for the campaign. In recognition of this and of his support earlier of Republican presidential tickets, multi-millionaire Lawrence Lewis, Jr., one of the New Republicans' principals, was appointed to the National Finance Committee of the Republican Party by the chairman of the Republican National Committee.²⁵

Surprisingly, not all reaction within the state party's ranks was favorable to the New Republicans. Delegate Butler, the Republican leader in the House of Delegates, expressed in a candid interview with the writer the personal feeling that their advent was regrettable in some ways, and he described them as "opportunists." Their move "creates the appearance that elections can be controlled by money . . . and I don't think it's true . . . Obviously, Linwood (Holton) needed them," Butler added.²⁶

The Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, which editorially endorsed Battle's candidacy, characterized the New Republicans as "conservative chameleons."²⁷

²⁵The appointment was announced at a press conference by the committee chairman, Rep. Rogers Morton, at Roanoke, Va., and reported in the Richmond Times-Dispatch October 17, 1969.

²⁶Delegate M. Caldwell Butler, private interview with the author, July 19, 1971, Roanoke, Va.

²⁷Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, November 5, 1969.

Reviewing the election on November 5, the Bristol Herald-Courier, which had supported Battle, conceded that many in Virginia might agree with the 166 Richmond conservatives if "pushed into making a choice on the basis of political ideology."²⁸

On September 2, Howell had observed that Battle was "going to need the 207,000 votes Henry Howell won, plus the votes he got, to win in November."²⁹ Howell had been miffed, according to a reporter who covered his campaign, over a failure to accord him due recognition during a Democratic Party dinner.³⁰ At any rate, the Norfolk Democrat in a public statement "freed" his supporters to vote as they pleased in the general election, although he said he was bound to support the party ticket.³¹

State Senator William B. Hopkins, Democratic leader in the 1972 Assembly and an influential legislator in 1969,

²⁸ Bristol Herald-Courier, November 5, 1969.

²⁹ Quoted in Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, September 7, 1969.

³⁰ Reporter George Kelley, private interview with the author, July 20, 1971, Richmond.

³¹ Quoted in Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, September 7, 1969.

believes that Howell's actions were a key to the party's defeat. Hopkins' statement to the writer was that "if Howell hadn't done what he did (freed his supporters) and played the spoilsport, I still think Battle would have won."³²

In an Associated Press dispatch published October 9, 1969, in newspapers across the state, Howell is quoted as saying that the time had come for Democratic moderates to "sit down and talk with me about the kind of Democratic Party we should have . . ." His statement was contained in a letter to a Negro leader, City Councilman Joseph A. Jordan, Jr., of Norfolk.³³

Replying to questions concerning his actions after his defeat in August, Howell stated to this writer: "I supported and campaigned as much as I was called upon by the Democratic leaders." He added that Virginia's electorate "voted for change" in November, 1969.³⁴

³² State Senator William B. Hopkins, private interview with the author, July 19, 1971, Roanoke, Va.

³³ Jordan had urged Howell to act to halt Democratic Party members' defections, according to the Norfolk Ledger-Star, October 9, 1969.

³⁴ Howell, private interview with the author, July 21, 1971, Richmond.

The Newport News Times-Herald, which had supported Holton editorially,³⁵ stated that in Newport News, Norfolk, Portsmouth and Hampton--all of which Howell carried convincingly on July 15 and August 19--" the Howell Democrats simply did not support Battle."³⁶

Political analyst Kevin Phillips, in his book, The Emerging Republican Majority, contends that the Republican future must entail the support of the South to help preserve an electoral college majority. The South is becoming increasingly conservative, he says, and Southern voters tend to turn away increasingly from a party that is closely identified with the Negro voter. "The national Democratic Party is becoming the Negro party throughout the South," he says, and yet, he adds, Southern reaction to this will not,

³⁵ Besides the Times-Herald, daily newspapers which supported Holton editorially included the Richmond News Leader, Danville Bee and Culpeper Star-Exponent. Daily newspapers which editorially supported Battle included the Bristol Herald-Courier, Charlottesville Daily Progress, Fredericksburg Free Lance-Star, Newport News Daily Press, Lynchburg News, Lynchburg Advance, Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, Norfolk Ledger-Star, Roanoke Times, Roanoke World-News, Suffolk News-Herald, Waynesboro News-Virginian.

³⁶ Editorial, Newport News Times-Herald, November 5, 1969, p. 6. Battle in the general election carried Norfolk and Portsmouth but lost Newport News and Hampton (see Map 9).

in the long run, bear the burden of third party movements.³⁷

Holton, in his interview with this writer,³⁸ made clear that he does not subscribe to views which fail to allow for the political aspirations of the Negro. In particular, he emphasized that he does not agree with Phillips' view, as stated in the latter's confidential memorandum to the White House staff, placing great stress on the "dissident conservatives" as the key to the 1969 Virginia gubernatorial election outcome.³⁹

"The whole thrust" of the change in Holton's vote pattern in 1969 from that of 1965 was conservative, in Phillips' opinion. He describes it in his memorandum as a "coming together" of the Republicans and much of the state's conservative Democratic electorate.

In the past, according to this reasoning, Republican statewide candidates usually had sought to augment their traditional support by appeals to anti-organization Democrats and Negroes. The conservative vote, the largest segment of Virginia voters, went to the Byrd machine candidates.

³⁷Phillips, The Emerging Republican Majority, pp. 286-87.

³⁸Holton, private interview with the author, December 20, 1971, Richmond.

³⁹Phillips, "The Constituency and Significance of the Republican Gubernatorial Victory in Virginia," p. 5.

This was true through 1965.⁴⁰

In 1968, Virginians who were growing increasingly disillusioned with the national Democratic Party, began moving into the Republican Party. The state went for Nixon by a vote of 590,319 to 442,387 for Humphrey and 320,272 for Wallace.⁴¹ Then the 1969 Democratic primary outcome enabled the Republican Party to assume a new role in Virginia's politics, as the vehicle of the moderate-to-conservative Virginia majority.⁴²

Holton, according to this view, had run to the left of the conservative Godwin in 1965 but now was enabled to run to the right of the moderate Battle.⁴³ The chief result was that, in addition to retaining support of the traditional Republican areas, Holton made significant inroads in the rural areas of central Virginia southward from Leesburg and Winchester (see Map 9, p. 66).

These areas, plus the Southside, constituted Virginia's best Dixiecrat country in 1948; in 1968, most of Wallace's

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹State Board of Elections, Statement of the Vote for President, November 5, 1968, p. 4.

⁴²Phillips, "The Constituency and Significance of the Republican Gubernatorial Victory in Virginia," p. 2.

⁴³Ibid.

best areas fell in these bounds. These counties in July 1969, produced the highest ratio of primary support for Pollard, and when Pollard lost, according to Phillips substantial numbers of the conservative Democratic element looked for a new home--in the Republican Party.⁴⁴

Holton picked up the conservative Democrats who had voted Republican in the 1960 and 1968 presidential elections and added the Byrd-Pollard supporters among those who had backed Wallace in 1968.⁴⁵

Map 10 shows that Holton's greatest gains on a percentage basis from 1965 to 1969 came in Southside Virginia; this was the area which had given him 8 to 15 percent of the vote in 1965 and it gave him 40 to 50 percent in 1969.

Elsewhere in the state, the best Holton precincts were those which had gone 10 to 1 against Howell and the worst Holton precincts were those which had voted 10 to 1 for Howell. Top Pollard precincts like Thompson's Corner and Lorton in Fairfax County gave Holton some of this highest percentage of votes and these also showed the largest 1965-to-1969 percentage gains. This was true in Norfolk, where four of five of Holton's top precincts were among Pollard's top five in July. Battle's best two Norfolk precincts in

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 9.

SIGNIFICANT 1965-1969 VOTE GAINS.

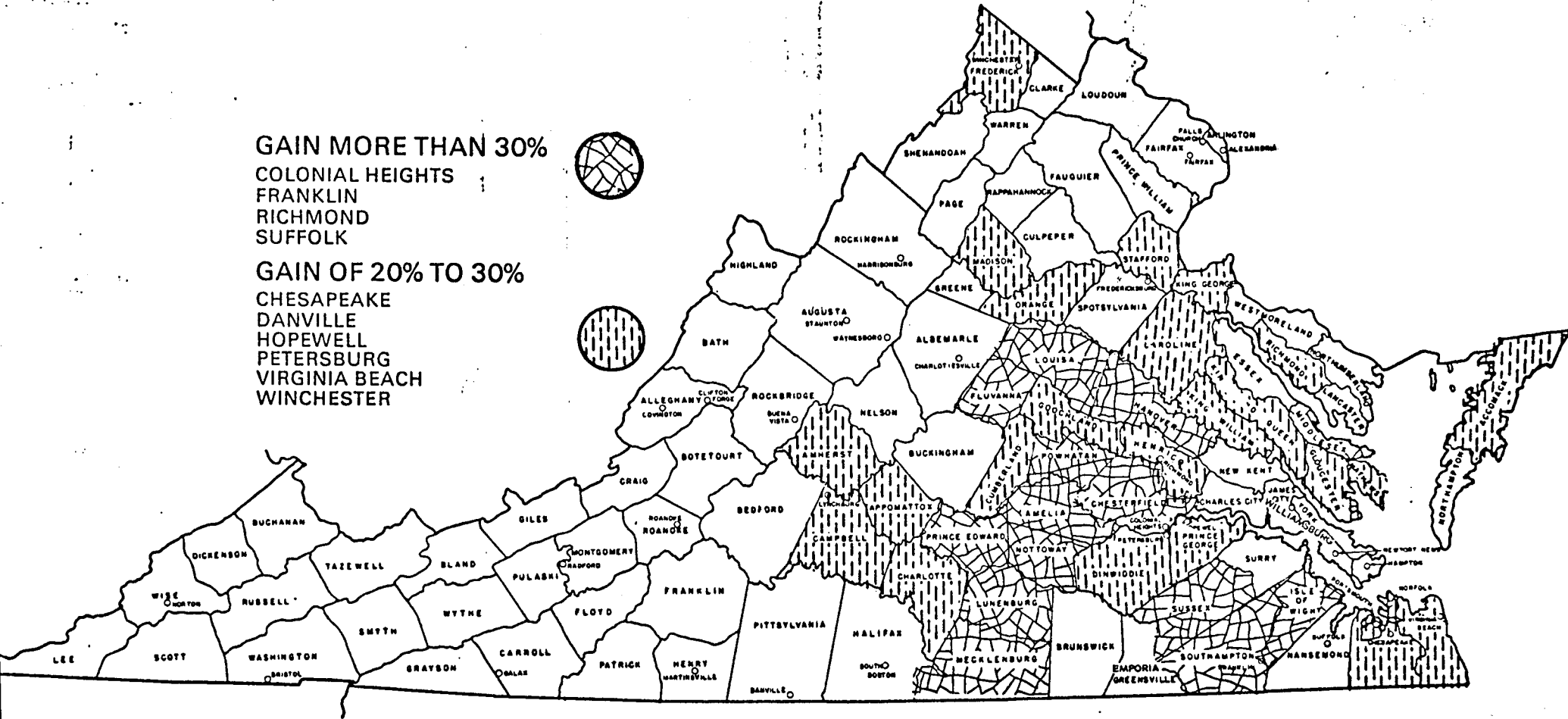
GAIN MORE THAN 30%

- COLONIAL HEIGHTS
- FRANKLIN
- RICHMOND
- SUFFOLK



GAIN OF 20% TO 30%

- CHESAPEAKE
- DANVILLE
- HOPEWELL
- PETERSBURG
- VIRGINIA BEACH
- WINCHESTER



November were among Howell's top five in July. In Fairfax County, Battle's top five included three which were among Howell's best five.⁴⁶

The best Holton totals in and around Richmond, outside of the Negro precincts were among the four best Pollard precincts--Dover Road, University of Richmond, Lock Lane and Tuckahoe. These are areas of middle class to very affluent voters. Table 11 shows that these precincts swung from Pollard to Battle to Holton in the elections of July 15, August 19 and November 4.

In support of the view that the swinging conservative vote was responsible for the Holton victory, the Phillips memorandum asserts that Negro voters outside the atypical Richmond area were strongly pro-Battle. Phillips calculated that on a statewide basis, Holton won 50 percent of the white vote and 4 percent of the Negro, against a Battle vote of 35 percent white and 11 percent Negro.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 10.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 15.

TABLE 11

VOTING IN FOUR SELECTED PREDOMINANTLY WHITE PRECINCTS
 OF RICHMOND IN VIRGINIA GUBERNATORIAL PRIMARIES
 JULY 15 AND AUGUST 19, 1969
 AND IN
 GENERAL ELECTION NOVEMBER 4, 1969⁴⁸

Precinct	July 15, 1969			August 19, 1969			November 4, 1969			
	Total Vote	Battle	Howell	Pollard	Total Vote	Battle	Howell	Total Vote	Battle	Holton
32	531	149	16	326	442	412	20	700	180	514
33	380	237	56	290	558	482	73	885	363	507
35	513	175	15	350	451	400	39	778	243	531
37	437	144	16	254	366	333	27	653	225	420

*Major Party Candidates

Phillips added weight to his emphasis on the swinging conservative vote with a finding that northern Virginia voter preference for the GOP showed little change from 1965 to 1969. This can be seen in a comparison of the Republican percentages for the two gubernatorial elections and the 1968 presidential election in four of the largest northern Virginia localities:

⁴⁸ Richmond News Leader, July 16, August 20, November 5, 1969.

TABLE 12

REPUBLICAN SHARE OF THE 2-PARTY VOTE
 IN THE GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS OF
 1965 AND 1969 AND THE
 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1968,
 BY PERCENTAGES⁴⁹

<u>Locality</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>
Alexandria City	52	48	51
Arlington County	53	52	52
Fairfax County	55	56	55
Falls Church City	53	52	49

As James Latimer has noted, Holton had studied Nixon's 1968 victory and, in particular, the Virginia returns.⁵⁰ Holton developed what is referred to as a "coattail" approach, with a refinement. He sought to emphasize his own support of Nixon and, at the same time, to pin on his opponent an obviously distasteful association with the "left-wing" national Democratic leadership. In view of Battle's earlier services

⁴⁹Phillips, "The Constituency and Significance of the Republican Gubernatorial Victory in Virginia," p. 13.

⁵⁰Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 19, 1969.

as a Kennedy appointee and in view of Virginia's emphatic rejection of the Democratic presidential ticket in 1968, the Holton strategy was effective. As Washington Post-Times Herald reporters noted, Battle labored under a two-way handicap: "To liberals he seemed a Byrd Democrat; to conservatives he was a Kennedy Democrat."⁵¹

While no national Democratic leaders were asked to Virginia by the Battle forces, Holton was receiving great infusions of campaign aid from the Republican hierarchy. Vice-President Spiro Agnew spoke in Richmond to an enthusiastic crowd at a fund-raising dinner October 3, 1969.⁵² California Governor Ronald Reagan addressed a \$50-a-plate dinner at Norfolk on October 23, 1969. The conservative former actor drew applause when he noted that he had worked with a hostile Democratic legislature for two years.⁵³

The biggest Republican of them all came to Salem, Virginia, as the campaign neared its end October 28, 1969. It was Nixon's second visit to Virginia to boost Holton's

⁵¹Reporters Helen Dewar and Tom Wilkinson, Washington Post Times-Herald, November 6, 1969.

⁵²Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 4, 1969.

⁵³Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, October 24, 1969.

candidacy in four years. The presence of Holton and four Virginia Republican congressmen on the platform made plain the state party's strong ties to the national administration, and President Nixon received a tumultuous welcome.⁵⁴

Campaign issues were few. There seemed little to choose from between the two major candidates, the Richmond Times-Dispatch observed editorially after they had engaged in a private, one-hour debate arranged by the newspaper and recorded in the newspaper offices on October 15, 1969. The only sparks were struck by Holton's insistence that he would seek legislative approval for a \$9 refund to each Virginian as a rebate on the sales taxes paid on food. Battle said this would cost \$20 million at a time when the state desperately needed more funds for education.⁵⁵

After his election, Holton proposed legislation to accomplish his \$9 rebate plan but it never came to a vote on the Assembly floor. The House Appropriations Committee, made up exclusively of Democrats, put the plan to death. Support had been sparse, even among Holton's closest associates in the legislature.

⁵⁴Roanoke Times, October 29, 1969.

⁵⁵Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 19, 1969.

Delegate Butler, a former law partner of Holton in Roanoke, said of the rebate proposal: "He (Holton) thinks it helped him (get elected). That's where he and I differ." Butler said the plan's only possible merit was to forestall any similar suggestion from the Democrats during the campaign.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Butler, Interview, July 19, 1971.

CHAPTER VI

OTHER EVIDENCE OF GROWTH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

Coming hard on the heels of the Holton victory, the overwhelmingly victorious re-election campaign of Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr., running this time as an Independent, was a startling political development in Virginia in 1970. A year later, State Senator Henry E. Howell, Jr., quit the Democratic Party to run successfully for Lieutenant-Governor, also as an Independent.

It is not possible at this time to assess the significance of these two events insofar as their impact may be felt by either of the major political parties in Virginia. In the context of this thesis, it is appropriate to acknowledge that emergence of the Republican Party as a force in state politics does not preclude the possibility that a more or less permanent third party movement might also come about. Nor can the possibility be discounted that the two Independent victories represent preliminaries to the realignment of power in both the Democratic and the Republican parties.

The two developments represented personal defeats--to a degree--for the Republican Governor. In an interview

with the writer, he explained that Byrd had rejected three invitations--one from President Nixon and the Governor--to join the Republican Party.¹ Afterwards, Holton had been influential in opposing efforts by New Republican leaders to secure party endorsement of Byrd's candidacy.² He insisted, instead, on the nomination of Delegate Ray L. Garland, who ran a distant third in the senatorial election. (see Table 13).

¹Holton, interview, December 20, 1971.

²Four leaders of the "New Republicans," Lawrence Lewis, Jr., Landon Trigg, Frank Louthan, Jr., and Henry T. Wickham, were interviewed by the author in July and August, 1971, in their Richmond offices. All conceded strong opposition to Holton's effort to assure nomination of a Republican opponent to Senator Byrd. It was implicit in their responses to questions that they were something less than enchanted with the Republican Party in Virginia as a result of the behind-the-scenes struggle. At least two indicated conviction that Senator Byrd would have joined the Republican Party in Virginia had he won its endorsement in this re-election campaign. In Wickham's words: "It would have created an instant two-party system" with a Republican Party of "moderate-to-conservative" image and a Democratic Party of "moderate-to-liberal" image.

TABLE 13

UNITED STATES SENATE ELECTION IN VIRGINIA, NOVEMBER 3, 1970³

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Number of Votes</u>	<u>Percentage of Votes</u>	<u>Party</u>
H. F. Byrd, Jr.	506,633	53.5	Independent
Ray L. Garland	145,031	15.3	Republican
C. G. Rawlings, Jr.	<u>296,057</u>	<u>31.2</u>	Democrat
Totals	946,751	100.0	

Similarly, Governor Holton was the key supporter in the nomination of Delegate George P. Shafran, who ran a very poor third in the voting for Lieutenant-Governor in 1971 (see Table 14).

TABLE 14

SPECIAL ELECTION FOR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA,
NOVEMBER 2, 1971⁴

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Number of Votes</u>	<u>Percentage of Votes</u>	<u>Party</u>
Henry E. Howell, Jr.	362,311	39.9	Independent
George J. Kostel	334,580	36.9	Democratic
George P. Shafran	209,861	23.1	Republican
Write-in votes	<u>81</u>	<u>0</u>	
Totals	906,893	100.0	

³Eisenberg, "The 1970 U. S. Senate Election in Virginia: Independent Voting and Turnout Patterns," University of Virginia News Letter, XXXXVIII, No. 2 (1971), 2.

⁴State Board of Elections, Statement of Votes Cast for Lieutenant-Governor, November 2, 1971, p. 3.

Republicans need not be accused of whistling in the dark if they see some encouragement in both of these elections, shattering as each was for the party candidate. The two elections marked the continuing decline of the Democratic primary and the continuing growth of the metropolitan area electorate. Both are important to the growth of the Republican Party.

Historically, the selection of Virginia's Governor had taken place every four years within the clubby party primary or its private conventions, and public indifference to the gubernatorial general elections usually was reflected in low voter turnouts. After 1949, however, there was less interest in the Democratic primary as against the general election. In 1953, 1957 and 1961, the primary votes for Governor represented, respectively, 55.1, 29.0 and 89.3 percent of the general election voting.⁵

In 1969, the August 19 gubernatorial primary runoff total of 433,613 votes amounted to 47.3 percent of the subsequent November total.

In 1970, the Democrats nominated George C. Rawlings, Jr., a political associate of Henry E. Howell, Jr., in the

⁵ Eisenberg, Virginia Votes, 1924-1968 (Charlottesville: Institute of Government, University of Virginia, 1971), p. 40. There was no gubernatorial primary in 1965.

party primary election for the United States Senate seat. The total vote in the three-way primary was only 128,959.⁶ In the general election, won by Senator Byrd with 505,633 votes, the total number of ballots cast was 946,751,⁷ a record for all elections in Virginia except the 1964 and 1968 presidential voting.⁸ The primary turnout amounted to only 13.6 percent of the general election total, a lower proportion than in any previous statewide election of the last 45 years.⁹ Then, in the 1971 special election for Lieutenant-Governor, the Democrats turned to the convention method to choose George J. Kostel as their candidate.

The decline of the Democratic primary gives promise of a greater emphasis on the general elections in Virginia. This, in turn seems to portend a stronger Republican Party.

A second major indicator of growing Republican strength is the rise of the metropolitan area vote as the weightiest demographic factor in total state voting. As Tables 15 and 16 show, in both the 1970 and 1971 balloting, the metropolitan area totals amounted to more than half of the state

⁶Eisenberg, "The 1970 U. S. Senate Election in Virginia," p. 3.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid., p. 1.

totals. In 1970, the metropolitan vote was 55.5 percent of the state total, and, in 1971, the corresponding percentage was 54.9. When Holton was elected Governor, the six metropolitan areas cast 54.1 percent of the state's total vote, and 57.7 percent of this was from suburban counties.¹⁰

In the last three successive statewide elections, then--the gubernatorial election of 1969, the United States senatorial election of 1970 and the special election for Lieutenant-Governor in 1971--metropolitan area voting has dominated the state outcome. And, in 1969 and 1970, suburban voting--clearly favorable to conservative candidates--exceeded the central cities' totals. That the 1971 special election produced a heavier turnout in the central cities than in the suburbs (see Table 16) is perhaps a tribute chiefly to the demonstrated extraordinary appeal there of Henry Howell.

A steady enhancement of Republican Party strength has been apparent in Virginia since the 1952 presidential election. This strengthening was evidenced in the majority the Republicans gained in Virginia's congressional dele-

¹⁰Ibid., p. 2.

TABLE 15

METROPOLITAN AREA VOTING IN 1970 U. S. SENATE ELECTION IN VIRGINIA,
 NOVEMBER 3, 1970¹¹

	<u>Total Votes</u>	<u>BYRD</u>		<u>GARLAND</u>		<u>RAWLINGS</u>	
		<u>No. of Votes</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>No. of Votes</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>No. of Votes</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>
Metropolitan Areas	525,496	284,447	54.1	72,986	13.9	168,047	32.0
Central Cities	226,108	117,629	52.0	23,437	10.4	85,037	37.6
Suburbs	299,388	166,818	55.7	49,549	16.6	83,010	27.7
State Totals	946,751	506,633	53.5	145,031	15.3	295,057	31.2

¹¹ Ibid.

TABLE 16

METROPOLITAN AREA VOTING IN 1971 SPECIAL ELECTION FOR LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR
OF VIRGINIA, NOVEMBER 2, 1971¹²

	<u>Total Votes</u>	<u>HOWELL</u>		<u>KOSTEL</u>		<u>SHAFRAN</u>	
		<u>No. of Votes</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>No. of Votes</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>	<u>No. of Votes</u>	<u>Per- cent</u>
Metropolitan Areas	498,364	191,127	38.3	150,531	30.2	156,706	31.4
Central Cities	289,049	117,216	40.2	77,411	26.7	94,422	33.0
Suburbs	209,315	73,911	35.3	73,120	34.9	62,284	29.7
State Totals	906,893	362,371	39.9	334,580	36.9	209,861	23.1

¹² Compiled from State Board of Elections, Statement of the Votes Cast for Lieutenant-Governor.

gation in 1970 (see Table 17), in the increase in Republican Party representation in the General Assembly since the early 1950's (see Table 18) and in the more or less steady decline of the Democratic vote despite the party's triumphs at the gubernatorial election level from the early 1950's to the Holton victory (see Table 19).

TABLE 17

PARTY AFFILIATION OF VIRGINIA DELEGATIONS TO CONGRESS

(1952-1970)¹³

<u>Year</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Republican</u>
1952	7	3
1954	8	2
1956	8	2
1958	8	2
1960	8	2
1962	8	2
1964	8	2
1966	6	4
1968	5	5
1970	4	6

¹³ State Board of Elections, Statement of the Vote, 1952-1970.

TABLE 18

REPUBLICAN REPRESENTATION IN THE VIRGINIA GENERAL ASSEMBLY
(1948-1972)¹⁴

<u>Year</u>	<u>Delegates</u> (100 seats)	<u>Senators</u> (40 seats)
1948	8	2
1950	7	2
1952	6	3
1954	5	3
1956	6	3
1958	6	3
1960	4	2
1962	5	2
1964	11	3
1966	12	4
1968	14	6
1970	24	7
1972	24	7

¹⁴ Compiled from information published by General Assembly of Virginia, Manual of the Senate and House of Delegates (Richmond: Department of Purchases and Supply, Commonwealth of Virginia, 1948-1972).

TABLE 19

MAJOR PARTY VOTING IN GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS
 IN VIRGINIA, BY PERCENTAGES
 (1949-1969).¹⁵

<u>Year</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Other</u>
1949	70.4	27.4	2.1
1953	54.8	44.3	.9
1957	63.2	36.4	.4
1961	63.8	36.1	--
1965	47.9	37.7	14.4
1969	45.4	52.5	.9

A final, significant factor to measure in gauging the growth of a state political party may be the extent of its staff organization and its membership. Virginia Republicans were the first to establish the position of full-time state party executive secretary, in April, 1969.¹⁶

The Republicans' state membership was estimated at 156,000 in 1970 by Edd Shull, its executive director, for

¹⁵Eisenberg, Virginia Votes, 1924-1968, p. 40.

¹⁶Edd Shull, who resigned in November, 1971, was appointed executive director. Tom Weber, his Democratic counterpart, was appointed executive aide in August, 1970.

a growth of nearly 100 percent since 1965. He acknowledged there were no statewide membership rolls. (The State Democratic Party membership apparently is pegged for statistical purposes each year at the number of votes in the latest primary.)¹⁷

Neither party imposes a minimum membership fee; most of the continuing expenses are paid through contributions, which are generated through regular solicitations and fund-raising affairs.

The Republican state office budget for 1970 was estimated at \$80,000, including the executive director's salary and that of his secretary plus the expenses of a modest suite in a Richmond office building. There were three other full-time paid employees in the Republicans' state organization.¹⁸

The more modest Democratic budget for 1970 was \$28,000, which covered the salaries of the executive aide and his secretary and a small suite in a new office building.¹⁹ A substantial share of the routine duties as well as election work was done by volunteer helpers in both party offices.

¹⁷Tom Weber, private interview with the author, August 4, 1971, Richmond.

¹⁸Shull, interview, August 1, 1971.

¹⁹Weber, interview, August 4, 1971.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

Throughout the first half of this century, the Republican Party of Virginia was hardly a state party at all. Except in the mountainous bastions of the party, its membership was minuscule in most parts of the state. The growing federal bureaucracy of Washington living in Northern Virginia had produced a second core of strength by 1952 and the Eisenhower election, but it was in the Holton years that the Republican Party was transformed into a state party, with congressional and legislative representation from nearly all regions, with substantial financial support, with establishment in the state's capital city of an administrative office and with a demonstrated potential for a still greater future.

The growth of the Republican Party of Virginia cannot be attributed only to Linwood Holton's election as Governor in 1969, nor was the Democratic Party's collapse alone responsible for it. Both of these things -- and more -- contributed to it. The Republican Party clearly has now achieved a position of strength in Virginia, but there is still uncertainty as to how extensive the change will be.

Historically, any Republican seeking election to a statewide office in Virginia faced an uphill struggle. The last Republican to hold the office of Governor, W. E. Cameron, actually had been elected in 1881 as a member of the Readjuster Party, which joined the national Republican Party and took that name on April 23, 1884. In the following year the first modern Republican Party candidate for Governor of Virginia was defeated by the first candidate of the New Democratic Party, and this precedent remained unbroken until Holton finally achieved his goal.

For 17 years, starting in 1885, the Democrats won every state office election by repeatedly raising the specter of Republican manipulation of the Negro vote. In 1902, under a new State Constitution, the Democrats imposed a poll tax and the so-called "understanding clause" on the right to vote, moves which halved the electorate and enabled them to further tighten their control of the state. It was not until 1966 that these restrictions were removed by the United States Supreme Court.

Holton in 1965 received 212,207 votes, or 37.7 percent of the total of 562,789 votes. In 1969 -- three years after the Supreme Court decision -- participation in the gubernatorial election nearly doubled, and Holton won with 480,869 votes, or 52.5 percent of the total of 915,764 votes.

When he ran for the first time in 1965 Holton was unknown to many voters in Virginia. His opponent, Mills E. Godwin, Jr., was then Lieutenant-Governor and before then had been an influential legislator. By virtue of his ties with the conservative Democratic organization led by Senator Harry F. Byrd, Sr., Godwin left Holton little choice but to run to the left of him in the campaign. Yet even that ground was cut from under the Republican candidate when two of the state's largest Negro voter organizations and the State Council of the AFL-CIO endorsed the Democratic ticket.

The tables were turned in 1969. Despite their party differences, Holton and his Democratic opponent, William C. Battle, held many similar views, but Holton was enabled to occupy the conservative ground because of Battle's earlier association with the late President John F. Kennedy. Then the Negro Crusade for Voters and the State Council of the AFL-CIO in a reversal of their decisions four years earlier publicly endorsed Holton. Their strategy was to weaken the Democratic Party and permit a liberal takeover in subsequent years.

Holton's election may be called, in part, a Democratic Party loss as well as a Republican Party victory. The breakdown of the Democratic consensus was signalled in 1966,

the year Senator Harry F. Byrd, Sr., died, when two of the best-known conservatives in the Democratic Party, Representative Howard S. Smith and Senator A. Willis Robertson, were defeated in primary elections. Three years later, the Democrats' collapse was completed in the two bitterly fought gubernatorial primary elections from which moderate William C. Battle emerged the nominee.

Holton's election had a discernible impact on the state Republican Party's growth. His attractiveness as a candidate plus the enthusiastic support given him by President Nixon and others in the national Republican Party drew into the state party thousands of Virginians who had been content to remain identified as Democrats while voting Republican in presidential elections. In addition, the defection of the 166 affluent Richmond area business and professional leaders from the Democratic Party to the Holton forces in 1969 was doubly helpful. While it added much-needed financial strength to the Republican Party, it simultaneously subtracted from the resources of the Democrats.

The Republican Party of Virginia had begun to show vigor when Dwight D. Eisenhower first carried the state in 1952, and three Republican candidates for Congress rode into office with him. Despite the Eisenhower administration's decision to send federal troops into Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1956, two of them held onto their seats in Congress. The two were

Representative Richard Poff in the mountainous Sixth District and Representative Joel Broyhill in the Tenth District just below Washington, D. C. In 1966, the year after Holton's first campaign for Governor, two more Republicans were elected to Congress from Virginia; in 1968, another; and, in 1970 -- a year after Holton's victory -- another. The present Virginia congressional delegation includes six Republicans and four Democrats.

Substantial evidence of state Republican Party growth during the Holton years also is seen in the increases registered in the party's legislative representation. Eleven Delegates of 100 and three Senators of 40 were Republicans in 1964; in the 1970 General Assembly, 24 Delegates and seven Senators were Republicans.

Republican optimism concerning prospects for further growth seems to be borne out by analysis of the last six gubernatorial elections and the last three statewide elections. In the voting for Governor from 1949 to 1969 inclusive, the Democratic percentage of the total declined from 70.4 to 45.4 while the Republican percentage rose from 27.4 to 52.5. This was accompanied by a more or less steady decline in the number of votes cast in the Democratic primary elections as against total participation in the general elections.

My analysis of the voting in the last three statewide elections shows that the growing metropolitan areas of Vir-

ginia now dominate the state. In 1969, when Holton was elected, and in 1970 and 1971 the metropolitan vote totals exceeded those of the rural areas. But in two of three of those elections, the suburban share of the metropolitan total was higher than that of the central cities. The key to political control of the state lies in the conservative votes of suburbia and rural Virginia, the latter being the former stronghold of the Democratic Party. Clearly, the future of the Republican Party of Virginia lies in its success in these areas.

Two potential obstacles to the continued growth of the Republican Party in the state have come about since the election of Linwood Holton. Because both are continuing developments, they force the writer to end this thesis on an inconclusive note. The two obstacles are the rise of the Independent movement in statewide political races and the related split within the Republican Party, between moderate forces led by Governor Holton and the conservative wing led by the New Republicans.

The victorious Independent candidacies of Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr., in 1970 and Lieutenant-Governor Henry E. Howell, Jr., in 1971 raised a potential barrier to the Republican Party's future. It is not possible at this time to do more than speculate on whether this Independent movement

portends the emergence of a permanent third force or, as seems more likely, whether it represents further stages in the re-alignment of the two major political parties in Virginia.

The split in the Republican Party came about when Holton blocked efforts by the New Republican faction to secure state party support for Senator Byrd's Independent candidacy for re-election in 1970. Instead, the party nominated Ray L. Garland, of Roanoke. The split deepened in 1971 when Holton successfully opposed the conservative wing's choice for the nomination for Lieutenant-Governor. The party nominated George P. Shafran, of Arlington. In both elections, the Republican nominees lost by substantial margins, and the stage was set for a moderate-vs.-conservative battle for control of the Republican Party of Virginia. The outcome of this battle may determine whether the Republican Party continues to gain strength or whether it again becomes a weak and ineffective force in Virginia politics.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

LIST OF

28 COUNTIES, WITH POPULATION BREAKDOWNS,

WON BY

HENRY E. HOWELL, JR.

IN DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY RUNOFF ELECTION FOR GOVERNOR,

AUGUST 19, 1969

<u>County</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Negro Population</u>
Arlington	174,284	10,121
Brunswick	16,172	9,414
Caroline	13,925	7,021
Charles City	6,158	4,536
Cumberland	6,179	2,992
Essex	7,099	3,188
Fairfax	455,021	15,856
Frederick	28,893	509
Goochland	10,069	4,375
Greensville	9,604	5,500
Isle of Wight	18,285	9,018
James City	17,853	6,309
King and Queen	5,491	2,783
King George	8,039	2,127
King William	7,497	3,184
Lunenburg	11,687	5,068
Mecklenburg	29,426	12,356
Nansemond	35,166	18,960
New Kent	5,300	2,338
Northampton	14,442	7,441
Northumberland	9,239	3,592
Powhatan	7,696	2,795
Prince George	29,092	6,304
Spotsylvania	16,424	3,572
Stafford	24,587	2,357
Surry	5,882	3,834
Sussex	11,464	7,224
Warren	15,301	963

APPENDIX B

STATEMENT OF 166 "NEW REPUBLICANS"*

As a group of former Eisenhower and Nixon supporters who have been statewide and local Democrats, we have formed a committee of New Republicans.

We are proud of our association with and support of Democratic members of Congress and those state and local officials who have provided honest and progressive leadership to the people of Virginia. However, events of our times, the dissolution of old alliances, the emergence of philosophies in conflict with the rich heritage of our Commonwealth, all convince us that we must pursue our philosophy of government within the framework of the party most closely akin to it.

The leadership of the Democratic party in Virginia is now dominated by those who tend to follow the philosophy of the National Democratic party which for many years has been drifting away from the political philosophy of a majority of Virginians. We believe the Democratic ticket in the forthcoming election to be in complete gubernatorial harmony with the National Democratic Party.

We further believe that the time has come for the voters of Virginia to have a strong two-party system. It is the purpose of our committee to work within the Republican party in Virginia to elect Mr. Holton and his running mates.

We respectfully urge all who have considered themselves "Independents" or "Virginia Democrats" in the past to join with us and work toward establishing a true two-party system within the State of Virginia.

*Quoted in Richmond News Leader, October 1, 1969.

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*All citations are taken from listed papers published during Virginia election campaigns of 1965 and 1969.

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