

# VIRGINIA CAPITOL CONNECTIONS

QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

**Virginia's  
Pathway to Liberty**

**Have You Seen  
Chuck Robb?**

Summer 2007



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# VIRGINIA CAPITOL CONNECTIONS

QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

SUMMER 2007 ISSUE

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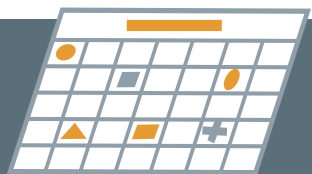
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What do Thomas Jefferson, L. Douglas Wilder, Susan Clarke Schaar, Bruce F. Jamerson, The Baskerville Family, and Jamestown High School all have in common? They are all included in *Virginia's Pathway to Liberty*, the inscribed brick walkway leading to the Capitol's new Bank Street Entrance.

The newly restored and expanded Virginia Capitol, Thomas Jefferson's monument to liberty and democracy, reopened to great acclaim on May 1, 2007. Also unveiled on that day was an inscribed brick walkway that provides a way for individuals, families, schools, and government units to be remembered at Virginia's "Front Door."

*Virginia's Pathway to Liberty* was initiated in December 2006 by the Virginia Capitol Foundation, the non-profit advocate for the historic treasures of Capitol Square. Bruce F. Jamerson, Clerk of the Virginia House of Delegates and Secretary/Treasurer of the Virginia Capitol Foundation explained the purposes of the Pathway as two-fold stating that "*Virginia's Pathway to Liberty* provides an opportunity for individual citizens and schools in the Commonwealth to have their names inscribed for posterity while demonstrating their personal support for the preservation of Capitol Square."

A tax-deductible donation of \$250 will reserve an inscribed brick in *Virginia's Pathway to Liberty*. Proceeds from the pathway will support the Virginia Capitol Foundation, the perpetual care of the walkway itself, and the ongoing preservation of historic Capitol Square. While response to the initial offering has been strong, there is still room for additional inscribed bricks; the Pathway was designed to allow for future installations. Bricks reserved before August 15, 2007 will be installed and available for viewing in time for Election Day 2007. Bricks reserved after the deadline will be installed six to twelve months later.

"The walkway is similar to those already installed at the Univer-

sity of Virginia, Virginia Military Institute, The College of William & Mary, Virginia Tech, and national sites such as Ellis Island," according to Jim Wootton, Executive Director of the Capitol Square Preservation Council. He further explained that "in recognition of the historic nature of Capitol Square, the Preservation Council is administering inscription standards for the Pathway to insure that we create an atmosphere that is respectful of the place and of the other individuals included in the Pathway."



The bricks measure 4 inches by 8 inches and allow for a maximum of three lines of text with up to 14 characters per line. Text may include names, significant dates, official titles, and place names. Details including inscription standards are posted on the website. A mini-replica of the inscribed brick may be purchased for \$35.

The inscribed bricks provide an ideal way to celebrate loved ones and co-workers, to commemorate milestones, and to recognize grandchildren in a permanent manner. "It has been particularly moving to receive requests for brick inscriptions in memory of loved ones who have passed away and in recognition of children and grandchildren; it is an honor to be a part of a family's wish to remember a beloved family member and it is exciting to know that future generations already have a tie to our Capitol" shared Jim Wootton.

In addition to individuals and families, provisions have been made in the inscription standards to allow for governmental units and school units to be included in the Pathway. Susan Clarke Schaar, Clerk of the Senate and Trustee of the Virginia Capitol Foundation, explained "for obvious reasons it is important that government departments and divisions that work tirelessly in support of our representative democracy are given an opportunity to join the recognized individuals who have made a difference. Additionally, school groups who visit the Capitol by the thousands and who represent the future of our Commonwealth are also important to be included at our state Capitol."



Nearly 1,000 citizens from across the Commonwealth assembled at the South Portico for the rededication of the Virginia Capitol.

The Pathway is in place on the sidewalk leading to the new 27,000 square foot underground visitor center located on the south side of the Capitol. "As visitors from around the world approach the Capitol, they will be reminded of the individuals, school groups, and state workers who have made a difference by their contributions," said S. Buford Scott, Chairman of the Virginia Capitol Foundation Board of Trustees.

The Virginia Capitol was rededicated on May 1, 2007 upon the completion of a comprehensive restoration and expansion that was begun in 2004. In addition to the 27,000 square foot state-of-the-art visitor center with exhibits, the restored Capitol has all new mechanical and electrical systems; a new roof, elevators, stairwells, and legislative meeting space; full accessibility for the disabled; recreated 1910 decorative finishes in the legislative chambers and Rotunda; and restored original 18<sup>th</sup> century woodwork. In 2007, the Capitol is well-positioned to meet the needs of the oldest English-speaking legislative body continuously operating in the Western Hemisphere and to welcome over 150,000 visitors who come each year to pay homage to America's first monument to democracy.

The public is invited to share in the excitement of the rededication of the Capitol by making a mark on history with an inscribed brick at Virginia's State Capitol.



Thomas Jefferson, portrayed by Bill Barker, assisted visitors in locating individual bricks on Virginia's Pathway to Liberty.

Orders: [www.virginiacapitol.gov](http://www.virginiacapitol.gov), click on "Reserve a Brick"  
 Deadline for the November installation: August 15, 2007.

*The author: Alice Lynch is the Executive Director of the Virginia Capitol Foundation (VCF). The VCF is a 501(c)(3) publicly-supported, non-profit organization established in 2004 by the General Assembly and the Governor to assist the Capitol, Executive Mansion, and Capitol Square in realizing their educational, cultural, and economic potential through program development, fundraising, and marketing. To learn more about the Virginia Capitol Foundation visit [www.virginiacapitol.gov](http://www.virginiacapitol.gov).*

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 Phone: 1-888-201-9101 • Fax: 1-262-886-1130  
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Inscription: 14 characters per line with a maximum of three lines

□	□	□	□	□	□	□	□	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
□	□	□	□	□	□	□	□	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
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\$250 per brick x \_\_\_\_\_ = \$ \_\_\_\_\_ (\$250 is tax deductible)

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# Have You Seen Chuck Robb?



If you haven't seen former Virginia Governor and former U.S. Senator Charles S. Robb recently, you probably haven't been an



By CHARLES TODD

occasional visitor at the Department of State, the CIA, the White House, the FBI, the Air Force Academy, or NASA.

Looking trim, fit, and carefully dressed in a dark pin-striped suit, white shirt, and bright blue tie with white polka dots, Chuck Robb opened the front door of his McLean home for David Bailey and me in mid April.

His house, which he and Lynda have called home for 35 years, is on the bank of the Potomac River. Governor Robb, the title he likes best, explained that there were few residents of the area when they acquired the property, and that they have made several major additions over the years. "If Thomas Jefferson and I have anything in common," he said, "it is an interest in architecture. I designed our house with the help of an architect."

Robb pointed out that he maintains the 55-foot vertical drop of wooded and rocky bank of the Potomac using a chain saw and other tools. "We have eagles, hawks, raccoons, and deer," he said, "and we've added azaleas, dogwoods, and rhododendrons." It is an easy commute from his home to downtown Washington and nearby residents include other military and government officials.

We sat in his spacious living room for nearly two hours and listened to his stories of political life and his activities since leaving the U. S. Senate in 2001. An able talker with a keen sense of Virginia and American politics, he rarely provides an interview with the media. A message on a cushion says much about the Robb family: Take a breath, lose your turn.

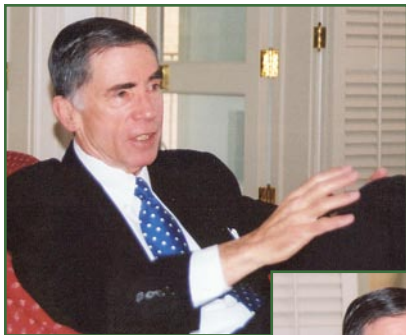
"I've turned down all five Sunday TV talk shows and all partisan events," he said. His only speaking engagement in years was a recent talk to a human rights group. His reason was quite clear: He is deeply involved in national security and intelligence activities.

Mrs. Robb, daughter of President Lyndon Johnson, is known as a spirited speaker. "Lynda has been active in the Reading is Fundamental Program for 40 years and served as its national chairman," he said.

(Reading is Fundamental is the nation's largest children's literacy organization.) In the late 1970s when Robb was Lieutenant Governor, Lynda traveled from McLean to visit Virginia school divisions to promote reading instruction in public schools. Now, she frequently visits her mother, the former first lady, in Austin. Mrs. Johnson is 94 years old and is in an assisted living environment but still visits the Johnson Ranch occasionally.

Since leaving the Senate, one of Governor Robb's major responsibilities was co-chairing the President's Commission on Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction. "The Commission developed 74 recommendations, 70 of which have been implemented," said Robb.

Robb's resume shows that he is currently on the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, the Secretary of State's International Security Board where he was chairman of the WMD-Terrorism Task Force, the FBI Director's Advisory Board, the National Intelligence Council's Strategic Analysis Advisory Board, the Iraq Study Group, and the Critical Incident Analysis Group. In addition, he is on boards of the Space Foundation, the Thomas Jefferson Program in Public Policy, the Concord Coalition, the National Museum of Americans at War, Strategic Partnerships LLC, and the Center for Strategic and International Studies. He said, "I have more commitments now than ever. I failed retirement!"



In discussing his four years as Governor, Robb felt that he had helped make Virginia's government more representative, but he insisted that "Governor Linwood Holton should receive the greatest credit for this." Governor Holton made Virginia a

two-party state. He also said that he had obtained "a billion more dollars for education in Virginia" and this had played a significant role in raising teachers' salaries.



When the subject of civil rights was mentioned, he reminded us that he had sent all three of his daughters to the Richmond public schools while he was Governor. He said, "They all got an excellent education and they had no trouble getting into the best colleges."

Chuck Robb was Governor when the observance of Martin Luther King's birthday was signed into law (at Virginia Union University) as a state holiday in Virginia. He appointed the first African-American to the state Supreme Court and appointed a record number of minorities and women to state positions.

Robb said that he used "executive agreements" to squeeze more money out of the state budget for public education without raising taxes. "On one hand you can make political capital by cutting taxes," he explained. "You can also provide more money for programs. I did neither! I didn't cut taxes just to be cutting. I insisted that Cabinet members and Agency heads work with the money appropriated the previous year and to work together to make savings wherever possible. This was a measure of accountability and it freed up money for education, and there was a positive return on expenditures."



Governor Robb described himself as frugal in handling public money. "My parents grew up during the Depression and I was taught to be conservative," a trait that he demonstrated in elected positions. "I held a luncheon for all Cabinet members at the Mansion one day and they were all served a small portion of chicken salad. For dessert they had a small cookie shaped like Virginia. My Secretary of Administration said, 'Thank goodness we're not in Rhode Island!'"



**Governor Robb signing Senator Wilder's Martin Luther King Holiday bill.**

When asked how things have changed since leaving the Governor's office, Robb said, "Political life has gotten more partisan. It is now more difficult at the state and national levels to reach across the aisle to make agreements and there is more confrontation between parties."

Further, he said, "Computers are largely to blame in redistricting so that there is less competition in elections." Computers can identify precincts which will affect local and Congressional districts and elections. "The only way to do redistricting fairly is to do it judicially or by a nonpartisan committee or commission."

During his tenure as Virginia's chief executive he said he "...had to make the Executive Mansion livable without changing its appearance," another expression of his interest in architecture. He added that he "...did this without using state funds." The Mansion has been renovated twice since his governorship. He enjoyed his years as Governor and agreed with former Governor Mills Godwin's statement that "There was no higher honor than being Governor of Virginia."

While we did not discuss the former Governor's military service, it is well known that he was a Marine who served 2 tours in Vietnam as a rifle company commander and was awarded the Bronze Star. He retired from the Marines with over 20 years service.

His present work on commissions involves "trusted insiders" and nothing has a political flavor. Much of his advisory work is classified and without compensation. He said, "Reports have been accepted as accurate and fair. Recommended changes in the nation's intelligence practices have been approved along nonpartisan lines."

Their McLean house was built to accommodate a large, active family and many guests. Two of the Robb's daughters live in

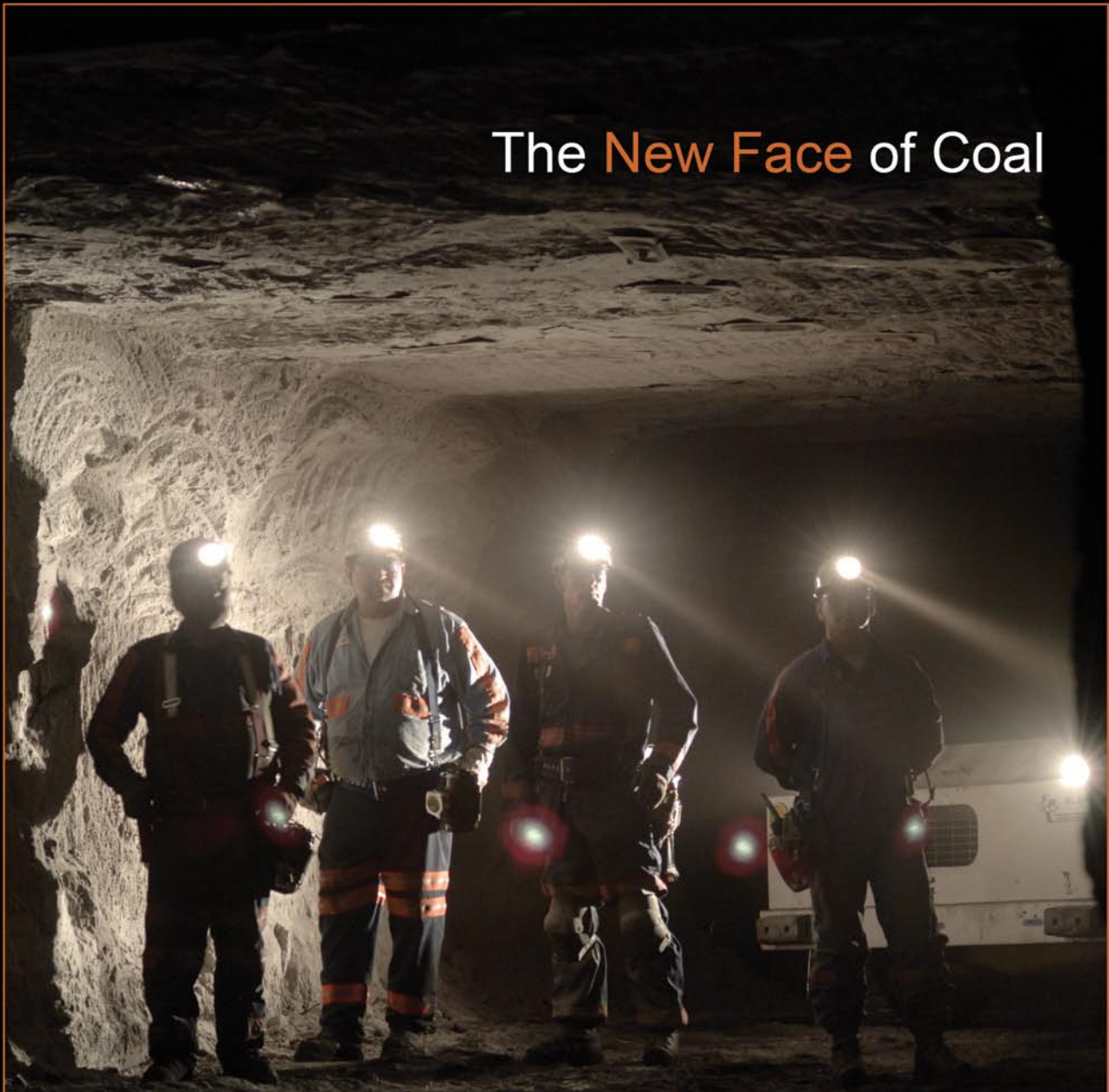
northern Virginia and a third practices law in Texas. They have one grandchild with another expected in August.

A special addition to their home is called "the tree house," a square, tower-like structure overlooking the Potomac. It has large glass or Plexiglas windows on three sides and "is used for charitable organizations and for parties with as many as 300 guests on occasions when our three daughters and other family members are here," Robb said.

Governor Robb said that he had "completed 600 pages of memoirs. My papers as Governor have been given to the state library and my personal papers will go to the University of Virginia."

See *Have You Seen Chuck Robb?*, continued on page 9

# The **New Face** of Coal



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# Performance Management

By GOVERNOR TIMOTHY M. KAINE

One of my top priorities is ensuring that our state government is well managed and focused on delivering results that sustain and enhance our quality of life. For Virginia to hold its ground and make sure that we are positioned to compete in today's global economy, we must increase the number of Virginians who have strong reading and math skills, outstanding technical and professional competencies, and the opportunity to lead healthy and productive lives.

Because these challenges cannot be solved by one leader, by one electorate, or by any one branch or level of government acting in isolation, the General Assembly established the Council on Virginia's Future to ensure a long-term focus on high priority issues. As Governor, it is my privilege to chair the Council, which includes senior General Assembly members, citizen and business leaders, and Cabinet members. Together, we have created a substantive performance leadership and accountability system and a robust new tool, a website called *Virginia Performs* (<http://www.vaperforms.virginia.gov/>). The website describes how Virginia is doing on a variety of important indicators and tracks service performance and progress by state government in achieving long-term objectives.

*Virginia Performs* gives citizens an opportunity to see the real world results of our efforts to make Virginia government smarter and more efficient. Strategic planning, performance budgeting, and productivity improvement are the driving forces for improving the Commonwealth's performance in a variety of areas. Collectively, they provide the structure and substance of our performance leadership and accountability system.

For example, agencies work with my office, the Department of Planning and Budget and others to set performance targets and measure progress. These targets encompass a broad array of areas that affect our quality of life: such as, increasing the high school graduation rate, increasing the percentage of third graders passing the third grade reading standards of learning test, reducing the percentage of adults who are obese or smoke and increasing the acres of land that are preserved for conservation purposes. Once the goals are set, agencies are required to report their progress on the *Virginia Performs* website at regular intervals, so that citizens can see how Virginia government is working for them.

The website also offers a comprehensive look at the quality of life in Virginia in areas that affect citizens and business. Citizens can see how the Commonwealth is performing from region to region and compared to other states, track progress in their communities and monitor activity on important issues. In some areas, we are doing very well; in others, we clearly face challenges. For example, while Virginia ranks among the top ten states in the nation on most of our economic indicators, our rankings for indicators such as infant mortality, fourth grade math, and voter turnout fall below the top twenty states.

In many ways, the easiest part of our quest is behind us. Now, we must review our progress, make adjustments where necessary, and use this information to improve our future policy and budget decisions. As I begin work on the 2008-2010 biennial budget, I recognize that we will continue to be challenged to do more with less. Throughout this process, I will insist that we focus on goals and outcomes for the future, using real measures of effectiveness to make hard decisions. I will challenge our state government leaders to be innovative and find new ways to deliver high-priority services in more efficient and effective ways. We will have to change programs and in some cases even reduce or eliminate them. I know this process will be difficult. But we must begin with the end in mind: to ensure a strong and vibrant future for all Virginians. ■



# 100 Ideas for the Future of Virginia Initiative

*Bolling solicits citizen input to craft a "positive vision for the future of Virginia"*

By LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BILL BOLLING

In April, I kicked off a major statewide initiative to focus attention on the important challenges facing Virginia and solicit citizen input in finding solutions to these challenges.

At a Capitol press conference, Bolling announced the *100 Ideas For The Future Of Virginia* initiative. The purpose of the *100 Ideas* initiative is to develop a blueprint for addressing the important issues facing Virginia in the years to come.

Virginia is a very special place. Thanks to the hard work of those who came before us, we have the privilege of living in a state that is the envy of our nation in many ways. However, we face some important challenges in Virginia today. If we are going to prepare our state for the future we have to talk about these challenges and build consensus around ways to address them. To do this we need the input of every Virginian.

The *100 Ideas* initiative is designed to do just that—to give every citizen in our state an opportunity to share their thoughts on the important challenges facing Virginia with me and other state leaders.

Since the announcement I have been traveling across Virginia, meeting with business leaders, political leaders, civic leaders and everyday citizens to talk about the important challenges we face in Virginia today and how we can meet these challenges in the years to come.

If we want to make sure that the Virginia we leave to our children and grandchildren is even better than the Virginia we inherited from our parents and grandparents, we have some work to do. Now is the time to roll up our shirt sleeves and begin working to build a better Virginia.

The *100 Ideas* initiative will focus on several issues that Virginians care about—public education, higher education, transportation, public safety, health care, the environment, fiscal reform and government reform.

The challenge before us is deciding what we need to do to make our schools better and our streets safer and adopt strategies for addressing important issues like transportation, health care and protecting the environment. These are not Republican challenges or Democrat challenges. They are Virginia challenges, and we need the help of every Virginian to put together a comprehensive plan to make certain that Virginia deals with these challenges effectively in the years to come.

Throughout the course of the year, I have been holding a series of Town Hall Idearaisers in every part of Virginia. These Idearaisers are designed to give business leaders, political leaders, community leaders, and everyday citizens an opportunity to meet with the Lieutenant Governor and offer solutions for the important challenges facing Virginia.

To make this effort a success, we need the input of every Virginian. We want the people of Virginia to be a part of this process and a part of helping us craft a positive vision for the future of Virginia.

In just a few short months of the *100 Ideas* initiative, we have held nearly 30 Idearaisers, all of which were well attended and provided thoughtful discussion of the challenges. At each event we have heard new ideas and as well as similar concerns from other areas that confirmed the importance of those issues.

See *100 Ideas*, continued on page 9





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## Virginia's Forgotten Founder: George Mason

By ATTORNEY GENERAL BOB MCDONNELL

When Americans think of the founding of this nation and the principles forming our republican form of government, they tend to think of only one "George"—George Washington. This summer we should all be reminded of the other "George"—George Mason. Both Georges should be forever linked, however, for no two men were more critical to American liberty. George Mason—the scholar—committed this government to writing. George Washington—the soldier—made it a reality.



When Virginians decided on independence from Great Britain, it became necessary to form a government. The people turned to Mason and he did something that had never been done before that time. He put the fundamental organization of government in writing. The Virginia Declaration of Rights, adopted June 12, 1776, and the Virginia Constitution, adopted June 29, 1776, were both written by Mason.

While Americans had inherited a bundle of charters, statutes, edicts, and court decisions collectively referred to as the British Constitution, the idea of committing our government to one or two organic documents was literally the invention of George Mason. This unique idea served as the model for states up and down the coast, and everything that has come since owed its origins to his Declaration and his Constitution.

Mason's Virginia Declaration set forth most of the fundamental rights we take for granted today. But it was also a document that set forth the philosophy underlying our creation: that all men are created equal, laying the foundation for the eventual perfection of liberty for all; that government is derived from the people, and that we are not subjects but citizens; and that we live not by the divine right of kings, but by God given natural rights.

We tend to overlook just how radical Mason's egalitarian language was in the elite and stratified society of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century. Add to this the knowledge that he was committing treason and would suffer death if King George ultimately prevailed, makes Mason's work not only unique but also the very definition of selfless patriotism.

Mason's patriotism, words, and principles set an example for colonies—and for posterity. And as his friend Patrick Henry said: "The example of Virginia is a powerful thing."

The Virginia example was tempered by our Revolutionary effort and refined in the furnace of our struggles for equality.

The Virginia example of individual freedom defeated the tyranny of a foreign power and broke the chains of discrimination in our own land.

The Virginia example of limited government framed the parameters of our Constitution and inspired the Bill of Rights.

The Virginia example of entrepreneurial liberty turned a wilderness into the greatest free economic system the world has ever known.

George Mason reminded posterity that "no free government, nor the blessings of liberty, can be preserved to any people, but ... by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles." This summer, all Virginians should take the opportunity to recur to fundamental principles and apply anew the Virginia example.

**Editors Note:** Today, George Mason often is best remembered for his principled opposition to the ratification of the U. S. Constitution in 1787; However, as Jeff Broadwater, Mason's most recent biographer, notes that opposition "...was not the protest of an isolated dissenter [or]...an aberration in a career otherwise spent in the revolutionary mainstream. Mason's fear of the abuse of political power and the inevitability of political corruption was grounded in the ideology of the American Revolution, and because that fear was so deep-rooted, essential elements of his philosophy have echoed throughout American history." ▣

## Have You Seen Chuck Robb?

from page 5

While in the Senate, Chuck Robb became the first member to serve simultaneously on all three national security committees (Intelligence, Armed Services, and Foreign Relations). In retirement, he has used his three careers—military, law, and politics—as background for continued national service, and his enthusiasm indicates he has enjoyed a lifetime of public service.

*Charles Todd is a retired public school teacher and administrator. ❏*



**Governor Robb signing Delegate Cohen's "Clergy Confidentiality Law" surrounded by Cohen (right of the Governor) and religious representatives that included Dr. Jack Knapp (behind Governor Robb) and Reverend Jim Payne (far right).**

## 100 Ideas from page 7

Citizens can also share their ideas on the important challenges facing Virginia by visiting a special interactive website—[100IdeasVA.com](http://100IdeasVA.com). On the web site citizens can comment on ideas already under consideration or offer ideas of their own. In the first 24 hours the site was live, we received over 100 ideas and comments.

For more information on *100 Ideas For The Future Of Virginia*, please contact Jeremy Greenfield at [Jeremy.greenfield@billbolling.com](mailto:Jeremy.greenfield@billbolling.com), or by calling (804) 786-2078. ❏



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# What did the Primaries Tell Us?

## Can Republican Divisions Benefit Democrats?

By STEPHEN J. FARNSWORTH

The long-running fight over whether Republican moderates or conservatives will control the Virginia Senate has begun to turn in favor of the conservatives, but the ultimate beneficiaries of this intense Republican feud may end up being the Democrats.

Two Republican moderates in Newport News and Roanoke were defeated by more conservative challengers in the June 12 primary, the latest round of an intramural battle that started when Republican Senators stopped the car tax cut plan of Gov. Jim Gilmore (R), saying that the state couldn't afford the policy. The Senate's Republican moderates further enraged anti-tax conservatives over the past six years as they generally backed the centrist policies of Gov. Mark Warner (D) and Gov. Tim Kaine (D).

GOP primary fights over the last several election cycles have not secured conservative control of the state Senate. Even this June, two of the four targeted moderate Republican senators survived right-wing challenges. And



the two conservative candidates who won the GOP nominations in Roanoke and Newport News may end up handing those two seats to the Democrats in November.

Republicans control 23 of the 40 seats in the Virginia Senate. The two defeated incumbent Republicans, a competitive race for an open seat now held by the GOP in Stafford County, as well as three increasingly vulnerable Republican seats in northern Virginia, have lifted Democratic hopes. But to take control of the upper chamber, Democrats would have to keep all of the seats they now hold and win four of six competitive seats now occupied by Republicans. (Conservative Republicans have a more solid grasp on the House of Delegates, where a smaller percentage of GOP seats are at risk).

Most Virginia Senate seats are not competitive because lawmakers drew the district lines to favor one party or the other. While the political system was designed to have the citizens select their representatives, elected officials in Virginia and other states have become very good at selecting their voters by drawing district lines to favor their party. For decades,

Democrats took care of themselves when they were in the majority in Richmond, and Republicans did the same in 2001, when they controlled redistricting.

As a result of anti-competitive redistricting, the tiny, unrepresentative sliver of the electorate voting in primaries effectively decides who wins in November in most districts. And the Senate elected this November will be the Senate that draws the new district lines in 2011, giving the parties an even greater reason to try to control the upper chamber.

Without competitive elections, the voters lose. Neither party needs to offer moderate candidates, even though most voters are not extremists. One-sided districts inhibit legislative compromise and reduce the need for lawmakers to defend their actions in office to all their constituents, since campaigns for most lawmakers are over once they win the dominant party nomination.

*Stephen J. Farnsworth is associate professor of political science at the University of Mary Washington and the co-author, most recently, of "The Nightly News Nightmare: Television's Coverage of U.S. Presidential Elections, 1988-2004."* ■

## Can Democrats Make the Numbers Work?

By BRIAN TURNER

Although few Virginians had the chance to vote, and fewer still took the opportunity, the June 12 primaries produced some important surprises that will have a potentially major impact on the make-up of the next General Assembly. Only 1.68% of Virginia's registered voters went to the polls. As is typical of primary elections, these voters seemed to be looking for true blue (or true red) candidates. It was a tough day for moderates.

Three incumbent Senators were defeated in nine races. On the Republican side, Marty Williams of Newport News lost to Tricia Stall by over eight percentage points, and former Roanoke mayor Ralph K. Smith edged Senator J. Brandon Bell by barely one percentage point. Two other Republican Senators survived tough challenges. Emmett Hanger of Mt. Solon defeated Scott Sayre 53% to 47%, while Majority Leader Walter Stosch of Henrico narrowly held his seat against Joe Blackburn. All of the Republican challengers in these Senate primaries are considered to be more conservative than the incumbents, as is Jill Holtzman Vogel, the GOP primary winner in a race to succeed Senator Russ Potts, who is retiring. Among Democrats, Delegate Donald McEachin defeated Richmond Senator Benjamin Lambert by a convincing sixteen points. Lambert made himself vulnerable by endorsing Senator George Allen in last year's race against Jim Webb. Webb endorsed McEachin, who is expected to easily win election in this heavily Democratic district in November.

With the defeat of two Republican incumbents the retirement of three other Republicans (Potts, John Chichester, and Charles Hawkins), there will be five open Senate seats and a chance for the minority Dem-



ocrats to pick up the necessary four seats to retake control of the upper chamber. Districts that have elected moderate Republicans in the past will now have the option to send Democrats or conservative Republicans to Richmond. Moderate Senate Republicans have been the deciding force in a number of recent legislative battles, but that may no longer be the case in 2008. In 2005, conservative Chris Craddock defeated Delegate Gary Reese in the Republican primary, only to lose the heavily Republican Fairfax district to Democrat Chuck Caputo. Democrats hope to replicate this result, at least four times, in the Senate this November.

Primary elections for seats in the House of Delegates produced few threats to Republican control there and are unlikely to do much to change the ideological or partisan balance in the House. Democrats need to pick up nine seats in order to regain control of the House. Six GOP incumbents are retiring, and Democrats ran credible challenges to retiring delegates Michèle McQuigg and Allen Dudley in 2005, and against Melanie Rapp in 2003, but it is unlikely that enough seats will move to the Democrats' column to affect control of the chamber. Senate races to watch in November include Tricia Stall's contest against an as yet unnamed Democrat, Ralph Smith (R) vs. Michael Breiner (D) in the Roanoke area, Jill Holtzman Vogel (R) running against Shenandoah University professor Karen Schultz (D) in the Winchester area, moderate Republican Richard Stuart versus former Delegate Albert Pollard for John Chichester's Stafford-Northern Neck seat, and a likely high-spending Fairfax race pitting Republican Jeannemarie Devolites Davis against former Delegate Chap Petersen.

*Brian Turner is Professor and Chair of the Department of Political Science at Randolph-Macon College.* ■

# Primary Victories of the Republic Right Could Threaten the Party's Senatorial Majority

By DR. BILL SHENDOW

For Virginia's more conservative wing of the Republican Party there was reason to rejoice on primary election night. Gone were the more moderate Senate Republicans Chichester, Hawkins, Potts, Williams and Bell. They were all gone as a result of either having announced their retirement or having been defeated by more conservative challengers. Even such a Republican moderate stalwart as State Senator Walter Stosch from Henrico County barely survived the challenge of a more conservative primary opponent. Despite their glee on election night there is a growing number of signs that the joy of the more conservative Republicans in Virginia might not last long. For instance, there are signs that in their quest for ideological purity on social issues and taxation the conservative wing might have created a scenario which would have the unintended consequence of placing the Republican senatorial majority at risk. A number of political analysts believe that by emphasizing a conservative political litmus test for Republican candidates, conservatives may have inadvertently played into the hands of their Democratic challengers who have long maintained that Republicans are too far right and out of touch with Virginia's political mainstream.



While the Republicans might be able to afford the luxury of intraparty squabbles in state senatorial districts where they possess a strong majority, this is a luxury they can ill afford in a growing number of competitive districts where Democratic victories could change the political landscape of Virginia's State Senate. With Republicans holding 23 seats in the State Senate, Democrats could become the majority party by holding their current seats and winning four additional seats. The Northern Virginia area and to a lesser extent the Tidewater region offer Democrats their best hope of achieving such an outcome.

Other areas of the state may have come into play as a result of the June 12<sup>th</sup> primary. Such an area could well be the 27<sup>th</sup> Senatorial District which comprises the City of Winchester and the counties of Frederick, Clarke, Fauquier and the western portion of Loudoun County. In this district the race was not between a moderate and a conservative, but rather between two ideologically conservative candidates, Jill Holtzman Vogel and Mark Tate. While Vogel, a Warrenton attorney, won rather easily her victory came at a price. The campaign exhausted her sizable treasury. The Vogel campaign accounted for approximately \$400,000 in expenditures in the primary. This left the candidate with slightly more than \$55,000 at the beginning of the general election campaign.

The primary campaign in the 27<sup>th</sup> Senatorial District also had the effect of exhausting the voters of the district with a barrage of nasty charges levied by the candidates against their opponent. In the end the most telling charge came not from a candidate but from the court. Little over a week prior to the primary election, a grand jury indicted Mark Tate on grounds of campaign finance fraud and perjury. Tate tried to counter this legal challenge by charging that the indictments were the work of political operatives in the Vogel camp.

The bitterness and divisiveness of the campaign served to detract voters particularly the more moderate Republicans who wanted to hear a comprehensive discussion of issues not limited to taxation and the social agenda of the Republican right. It was these other issues of education, transportation and health care which were championed by the district's previous, more moderate representative, State Senator Russ Potts. He addressed these issues and in so doing appealed to a number of Republicans, moderates, independents and even Democrats. When

State Senator Potts chose not to run for another term there was a void in the discussion of issues which would appeal to more moderate and independent voters. As a result, they did not participate in the Republican primary as they had previously. The total vote in the June 12 primary for the 27<sup>th</sup> Senatorial District race was 6 percent pared to 15 percent four years earlier when Senator Potts last ran for the State Senate. It remains to be seen whether moderate and independent voters will return to the polls in the fall in support of a conservative Republican candidate.

The answer to the question of whether the more moderate Republican and independent voters vote and for whom they will vote in the fall 27 Senatorial District election is further complicated by what retired State Senator Potts chooses to do or not do. To date Potts has not endorsed the Republican nominee, Jill Holtzman Vogel. It is rumored that he may endorse the Democrat in the 27<sup>th</sup> District Senatorial District race, Karen Schultz of Winchester. The extent to which such an endorsement will be a factor in the race is not known. It is, however, further indication that this formerly safe Republican senatorial seat could well be in play. The 27<sup>th</sup> District could in fact be a bellwether district in the contest for control of Virginia's State Senate. If the race is close or the Democrat wins, the Republicans are likely to lose control of the State Senate. If the 27<sup>th</sup> District's fall election returns indicate the Republicans have maintained their traditional 2 to 1 voter advantage over Democrats, the likelihood of Republicans retaining control of the State Senate is very good.

Only with the results of the fall 2007 Virginia statewide election will one know for sure the extent to which the Republican Party has been damaged by the results of the June 12<sup>th</sup> primary elections. The coffers of Republican candidates for the general election have been reduced. The bitterness of the primary campaign lingers. These factors coupled with a growing Virginia electorate who want a comprehensive approach to the problems of Virginia and a consensus-building General Assembly are all clear indicators that the Republican Party has a lot of work to do prior to the fall statewide election. While challenging, the task is achievable with a pragmatic campaign that attempts to include and not exclude fellow Republicans and addresses the concerns of the more moderate voters as well as the views of strict conservatives. If they don't expand their base and address the concerns of a broader cross-section of the electorate, Republicans may well discover that by winning the primary battles the party's more conservative right set in motion forces which could threaten the party's majority in the Virginia State Senate.

*Dr. Bill Shendow is Director the John O. Marsh Institute and Chairman of the Political Science Program at Shenandoah University.*



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# Volunteering in a Campaign Primary

By KARA NORRIS

During the second week of June, I had the opportunity to volunteer on a primary campaign, an experience entirely new to me. I started on a Friday afternoon, five days before the June 12 election date, in an office filled with young people enthusiastically volunteering their time for what they felt was a very important cause. I was impressed that these individuals recognized the importance of this election and were so willing to give of their time to help get voters to the polls the following Tuesday. Because of the gerry-mandered districts in Virginia, primary elections are often more crucial than the regular elections in November; often, the candidates elected in the primary take seats in the House of Delegates and Senate without ever facing a viable candidate in the regular elections.

I began my time making phone calls to registered voters in the district. Some were less than pleased to have received so many phone calls from each campaign, but most were receptive and at least pledged to go out and vote on June 12. It was imperative that we got as many people to the polls as possible because this was a race that was definitely going to be determined during the primary. On Tuesday, June 12, I began my morning at 6 am when the polls opened. I handed out fliers and greeted voters as they made their way to the poll. There was a friendly rivalry amongst the poll workers for each candidate, and we talked, joked, and shared water bottles in the near 100 degree heat. The day finally ended at 7 p.m. when the polls closed and the volunteers were able to relax at the post-election party.

I had the opportunity to talk to recently retired Delegate Leo Wardrup about his past campaigns and how volunteers have helped him win his past eight elections. Delegate Wardrup said the most important thing is for the candidate himself to knock on the doors of every registered voter in his district and follow up with a letter within 48 hours of the visit. After that, campaign volunteers can go

door to door and talk to voters. He says that volunteers should be presentable, friendly, and know the issues. Most importantly, they should never argue with potential voters. Delegate Wardrup said that people need to get out and start walking between now and November if they want to help their local candidates. In fact, he feels that going door to door is the best and most important part of campaigning for the House of Delegates and is not running this year because he isn't able to do that any longer. He believes that this type of campaigning got him elected to the House in 1991 when he was able to cover the houses of every registered voter in his district at least twice, and that other candidates and their volunteers should take note and start walking!

*Kara Norris, a VCU Graduate Student, works for David Bailey Associates. ▣*

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# Take a Parent to the Polls

By CRAIG SMITH,  
VIRGINIANS FOR INTEGRITY IN GOVERNMENT,  
BOARD MEMBER

This year marks the first year for a new effort designed to turn back the growing tide of apathy or disinterest in voting. Virginians for Integrity in Government will be working this year to encourage children of all ages to go with their parents to the polls and see first hand the American system of representative democracy in action.

So, take a moment now and go to your calendar and circle Tuesday, November 6<sup>th</sup>, 2007. If you are a parent, plan to take your child or children with you to the voting booth. I also encourage you to make it a fun experience too. As a parent of four

kids, I never miss an opportunity to vote with all of my kids in tow and share with them who is up for election and why we are voting. We make it a fun experience as well by going out for a meal.

Kids, talk to your parents and ask them to take you to the voting booth to see first hand this important right. Ask questions about who is up for office, what they support, and why. Even if you don't have children, vote, make a point of reaching out to friends and neighbors and encourage them to do the same.

Why?

Like many of you, I too have struggled to wade through the barrage of television and radio ads, postcards, flyers, and letters for and against candidates, as well as the almost nightly phone calls that seem to come each election season. While the reasons not to vote are understandable, the reason to vote is often lost in the hectic pace of life.

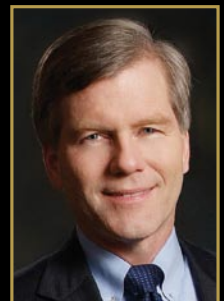
As we reflect on the 400-year anniversary of the founding of Jamestown we see the beginning of representative democracy. This early beginning ultimately led to the present form of government we have today. The American version of democracy is designed such that our voice is heard in government through the representative we collectively choose through our vote. It is a system reliant on the exercise of our right and responsibility to vote.

Interestingly, even after the founding of our country and the creation of our Constitution, only 6% of our entire population had a say in whose voice would represent them in government. This is not 6% of those who could vote did, rather it was that only 6% of the population by law was allowed to vote. Achieving the right to vote has been a hard fought battle throughout American history. Numerous heroes like Thomas Dorr, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Bob Moses, and Martin Luther King, Jr. sacrificed a great deal, some even their lives, for the right to vote. The freedoms we have today came at great cost. Our vote today honors those who sacrificed for us in the past and ensures our voice continues to be heard in the future. ▣

November 18, 2007  
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# Capitol Connections *On The Scene*



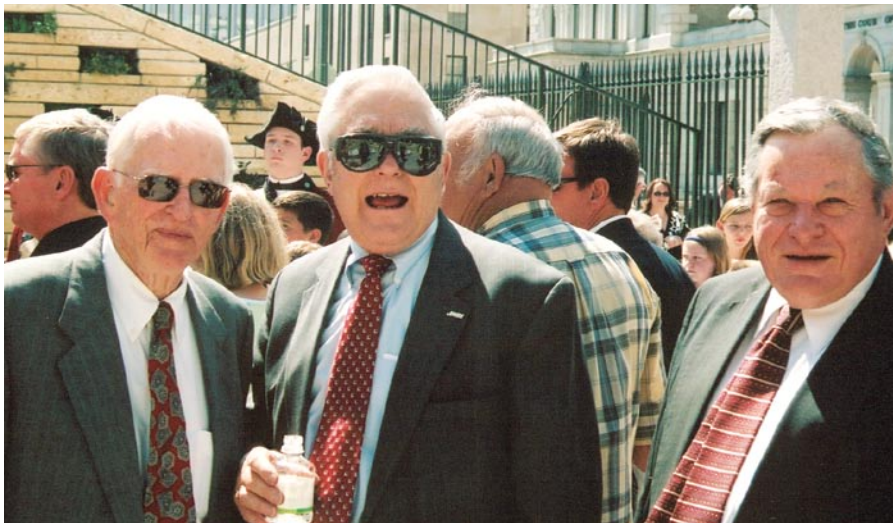
Aubrey Tarkington greets Senator Mark Herring at a Herring event in Richmond.



Visitors enjoying the renovated Capitol.



Delegate Ken Melvin and guests at the Melvin event, Old City Bar & Restaurant, Richmond.



Among the dignitaries at the opening of the renovated Capitol were former Clerk of the House, Joseph Holleman, Jr., former delegate Pete Giesen and former senator Frank Nolen.

Photo by Karl Steimbrenner Photography • www.karlwerks.com



Governor Kaine and other dignitaries enjoying the renovated Capitol.



House of Delegate Spouses take the lead in building a Habitat for Humanity house. Construction began on the vacant lot across from the General Assembly Building. Many legislators were involved, and pictured here are Delegates Janis, Frederick and Marsden.



An enthusiastic crowd viewed the Queen and the First Lady of Virginia on the "big screen" with the Capitol in the background.



## The First Lady of Virginia's Capitol

By BONNIE ATWOOD



Lobbyists, legislators, officials and reporters of all stripes are feeling just a little downhearted this summer. Oh, sure, the blossoming trees are bursting with spring color. The scents of magnolia and honeysuckle and roses are everywhere. Mr. Jefferson's Capitol is once again swarming with welcomed and excited visitors. And perhaps most importantly, there's a new understanding of the whole connection with Jamestown and what happened there. Children, parents and teachers have started to come in with more background and interest—acquired just this year at the celebrations. Capitol Square is once again a marvelous place to be.

All of those who worked in this crazy wonderful world in the 80s, the 90s, and the first decade or so of the New Millennium, knew Ms. Carmela Bills. And we (this reporter is included) relied on her for everything. She was the Center of our Universe. She was Information Central. Den Mother to a thousand lobbyists. She sat on a stool in the middle of a square service counter, in the middle of the ground floor of the Capitol, and you could approach from just about any side. By the time newcomers finally got over joking about her name (“you go to Ms. Bills to get bills”), one would find that Carmela Bills did, in fact, have the power to put into your hands any bill or document desired, on paper or on the internet. Moreover, she had the power to explain the bill for you, send you off to the proper committee, enabling you to do your job and look smart one more day. That was the power of Carmela. She could give you bills, a coke, a phone, a pencil, or a Kleenex. And she was always gracious. So why are so many people teary-eyed this June?

Because after Friday, June 1, life at the Capitol will never be the same. That was Carmela's last day on the job.

They're not sad for Carmela, though. Her June wedding was the stuff that Richmond legends are made of, as she married the distinguished gentleman from Bedford, The Honorable Lacey E. Putney, in a ceremony at the beautiful, freshly renovated Virginia Capitol. Carmela is as excited about this “new chapter” in her life as she has been pleased with the past. She is a stunning woman, cherished by all, marrying the longest serving legislator in the House and Senate. One of only three Independents.

Carmela has come a long way from Brownsville, Texas, where she was born. She describes her parents, now both deceased as “the

most wonderful parents anybody could ever have.” She attended Texas Woman's University, where government was her least favorite subject. After college her adventurous streak took hold and she became an airline stewardess for American Airlines, and was based in Chicago. Life changed dramatically at her college roommate's wedding, where she met her first husband-to-be, Edward, from Wisconsin. He worked for Reynolds Metals. They married and lived in Mexico, where daughter Carlye was born. Then they were transferred to Venezuela for 16 years, where Tommy was born.

Carmela said she “felt like a foreigner” when in 1978, the family came to Richmond, where they knew no one. Fortunately for the entire government community, she was not a foreigner for long. She was asked to work at the Virginia General Assembly in 1982, then in the reception area in 1983, then on to become secretary to then Speaker of the House Tom Moss in 1984 and 1985. After that she was in the public relations role for the House of Delegates.

Carmela admits she thrives on the interaction with people, and one can tell that's true. When a reporter tries to interview her, she becomes the reporter herself. She talks about earlier days at the Capitol before “technology moved in.” The job was quite different in those days. You couldn't get a bill or a committee list on the internet. You HAD to go to her desk. She dealt with people, not in ones and twos, but in lines and more lines, especially on Reopened Day, when lobbyists and reporters were hungry for those sheets of paper. The telephones would ring “incessantly,” she said. She'd get big printouts on the status of bills, which would be delivered every morning, hot off the printing presses.

“All the information was here,” she said. Her days, which might start even before dawn, would be filled with interaction. But computers made information accessible to almost everybody, so the nature of Carmela's job changed with the times.

The emphasis went more to education. Carmela took a major role, through publications and presentations, in educating school children of the process of government in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Her earlier lack of enthusiasm for all things government made her even more determined to make the subject come alive for Virginia's students. She decided that if she could “make government entertaining for these kids, then they would learn.” Her goal: get them beyond the textbooks and into the House and Senate Chambers.

“Kids are ignored so much,” said Carmela. “I think, and I hope, that we have been successful” in reaching children. She said “you would be surprised” at how the children respond to a Capitol tour, and a chance to sit at a legislator's desk, and light up the voting board. She explains to the students the process of how governments started and how a bill becomes a law. They participate in a mock session, using bills that would be fitting to the specific grade level.

They go through the process with real bills, bills that mean something to them, such as compulsory school uniforms, or restrictions on the use of cellphones, or changing the laws that allow teens to get driver's licenses.

“It's amazing what kids can do,” said Carmela. The students often want to have another mock session. “They say, ‘let's do it again!’” Not only are the children far from bored by the lesson—they learn from it.

“This is a wonderful job,” she said. “I have tremendous passion for my job.” Her job and her many friends were of great comfort to her when her husband, Edward, died a few years ago.

Delegate Putney was a widower, whom Carmela had known a long time.

Her many friends were pleased to hear about the wedding. Carmela said they have a wonderful time together, filled with fun and laughter.

After her wedding, the couple will honeymoon on the Greek Isles, and then Carmela will move to Delegate Putney's rolling hills of Bedford. There she'll start her “new chapter,” as she calls it. She looks forward to housekeeping and “starting cooking again.” Del-

Continued on next page

# The Dictionary of Virginia Biography: Telling the Story of Virginia One Life at a Time

By JOHN G. DEAL

From Arthur Ashe to the rebel Nathaniel Bacon and from Daniel Boone to the Indian queen Cockacoeske, the Dictionary of Virginia Biography is changing the way we think about Virginia history. Published by the Library of Virginia (DVB), the DVB is the first authoritative, comprehensive reference work on the people of the Commonwealth. The multi-volume project features biographies about those Virginians who, regardless of place of birth or death, made significant contributions to the history or culture of their locality, the state, or the nation.

Intended for a wide audience of teachers, students, historians, librarians, genealogists, and anyone interested in Virginia's history and its people, three volumes have been published to date: volume one in 1998 (containing surnames Aaroe–Blanchfield), volume two in 2001 (Bland–Cannon), and volume three in 2006 (Caperon–Daniels). Thirteen volumes are planned, with biographies ranging in length from approximately 500 to 2,500 words and an accompanying bibliographical source note for each entry. Volume three contained 471 biographies written by 294 authors, including DVB and Library of Virginia staff members, university faculty, local historians, and experts in business, religious, legal, and artistic fields. Three members of the nine-person editorial team are funded through a generous two-year Preservation and Access Reference Materials Grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities “We the People” project.

While previous reference works generally have focused on politicians and military leaders, who have been overwhelmingly white and male, the DVB endeavors to expand the definition of who, and what, is important, in telling the story of Virginia. Project editors strive to include those who have oftentimes been left out of the historical narrative such as women, African Americans, and Native Americans, persons from geographic areas other than major urban centers, and those involved in occupations such as business, religion, science, journalism, and the arts.

Emerging from the margins to expand and enrich the Commonwealth's history are African American mercantile, fraternal, and civic leaders; active clubwomen involved in suffrage, moral reform, and historic preservation organizations; mayors and civic boosters who led the growth and improvement of their localities; newspaper publishers who shaped the culture of their communities; and a cavalcade of artists, writers, and musicians. Contributors' research is also raising intriguing questions about more familiar topics such as colonial trade, nineteenth-century politics, and twentieth-century local civic leadership. For many subjects their entry is the first comprehensive biography ever written and for most entries the DVB has corrected information or added new facts.

One of the core strengths of the Dictionary of Virginia Biography is the use of primary sources in determining the details of

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## The First Lady from previous page

egate Putney said he'll buy her a piano so that she can continue her self-teaching of the songs she loves to play. She has taken it up again after 50 years and it has become a passion.

She'll miss the kids, and the House and Senate pages, and the Kiwanis Clubs, the senior citizens, and yes, the reporters and the lobbyists—she'll miss them, too. And they'll miss her.

Carmela rubbed her arms and said that she “still gets goosebumps” when she thinks about how lucky she has been to have her career.

“I've been very, very fortunate,” she said. “I have lots of memories. Lots and lots and lots of wonderful memories.”

a subject's life. The Library of Virginia, as the archival agency of the Commonwealth and a designated federal documents repository, contains a treasure trove of documentary records relating to governors and other elected officials, vital statistics, the federal census, cities and counties, election results, military service, and land and personal property taxes, to name a few. The library's holdings also include a wide array of archival materials such as eighteenth-through twenty-first-century newspapers, business and organization records, and an extensive collection of personal papers, Bible records, and genealogical materials that prove invaluable to conducting research on DVB subjects.

As an historical reference work, the DVB includes entries only on deceased Virginians, which are defined as those persons who lived a significant portion of their lives within the state's current boundaries and in what is now Kentucky before it became a state in 1792, and what is now West Virginia prior to its statehood in 1863. A number of categories, mostly of a political nature, are automatically included, such as Virginia-born presidents; governors, lieutenant governors, and attorneys general; members of state constitutional, ratification, and secession conventions; United States and Virginia Supreme Court judges; and members of the United States Congress. Other automatic categories include presidents of major institutions of higher learning, African American and women members of the General Assembly elected prior to 2000, and recipients of national awards such as the Pulitzer Prize and Medal of Honor. These automatics account for only 35% of the subjects, however; the remaining entries come from a wide spectrum of persons in cultural, intellectual, business, and artistic fields.

The biographies presented in the third volume range chronologically from Sir Thomas Dale (d. 1619), who twice served as acting governor, to Richard Bernard Caspari (1942–2000), a pioneering arthroscopic surgeon. In between, readers will find a number of Carters, from Robert “King” Carter, the colonial planter who was once one of the richest and most powerful men in Virginia, to Peter Jacob Carter, an African American born into slavery who later became a member of the House of Delegates, to the Carter family pioneers of country music. Other artistic Virginians included are country singer Patsy Cline (born Virginia Patterson Hensley), Hollywood film star Joseph Cheshire Cotten, and Richmond tap dancing legend Pleasants Roper “Snowball” Crump. Sports enthusiasts can read about Caius Hunter Carpenter, an early twentieth-century football legend at what became Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, and Raymond Emmett Dandridge, the Negro Leagues third baseman who was later inducted into baseball's Hall of Fame. Native American biographies include Chauco, whose warnings of an Indian attack in 1622 became the legendary story of Chanco the boy who saved Jamestown, and Otha Thomas “Blue Wing” Custalow, who established the Mattaponi museum. Those interested in Civil War history will want to read the entries of Philip St. George Cooke and his son, John Rogers Cooke, who fought as generals on opposite sides.

An online searchable index is available for the three completed volumes categorized by personal name, birth date, places of origin, and principal places of residence, as well as by occupation, women, African Americans, and Native Americans. To access the online classified index, or find out more about the Library of Virginia or the Dictionary of Virginia Biography, see the library's Internet homepage at <http://www.lva.lib.va.us>.

*John G. Deal is Editor, Dictionary of Virginia Biography, Library of Virginia.*

# First, Do No Harm

By DIANA DUTTON

Having worked as a Legislative Assistant to Delegate Harry Parrish in the Virginia General Assembly for 19 years, I was used to seeing time spent on frivolous issues. We all need to laugh at ourselves sometimes! But this year I witnessed the legislative



process being used to push through legislation that will have a fiscal impact on most of the localities in Virginia—and I would dare say that most of the legislators supporting it have no idea about the unintended consequences accompanying the bills. I have become passionate about this issue because it affects my new career path in the Office of Voter Registration and Elections with Prince William County. Following is my view on the legislation passed dealing with electronic voting machines.

As a result of legislation hastily and unadvisedly passed during the 2007 session of the General Assembly, Voter Registrars' offices across the Commonwealth will be required to purchase "paper ballot" voting machines (optical scan machines) when they need to add machines to their inventory. In this age of technology, why are we reverting to paper ballots—especially after the fiasco with interpretation of ballots cast in the 2000 elections in Florida?

The legislation that passed in Virginia (HB 2707 and SB 840) has a partisan, political history that has lately made strange bedfellows. To make a long story short, the Democrats had been pushing for voter re-

ceipts or a paper trail. They used the media to introduce fear or trepidation to voters about the security of their cast votes. Instead of verifying these claims through voter registration offices, citizens believed what they read in the paper. Reflecting on the problems in Florida seemed to somehow substantiate these claims.

Republicans, seeing a hot campaign issue growing and not wanting their opposition to get all the credit, jumped on the bandwagon, first at the federal level and then in Richmond. The Virginia legislation introduced mirrored that which has been proposed at the federal level. And, the bills were much more comprehensive and egregious than merely mandating some kind of paper trail for the voters. Fortunately, the legislation in Virginia was amended. The bills that passed included some necessary "housekeeping" provisions, but also included the portion limiting the acquisition of the direct-recording electronic machines (DRE). A number of Registrars unsuccessfully lobbied legislators and the Governor's office to delay implementation of the legislation until July 1, 2008, or even January 1, 2009, after the Presidential elections. Apparently, not enough of these officials realized the impact this legislation will have on localities.

Because the issues proposed in the introduced legislation seemed so nonsensical to most Registrars, they were slow to respond, believing it would not even get out of the House or Senate Privileges and Elections Committees. They did not realize that the proponents had been working during the previous summer and fall to convince (or coerce) legislators of the value of the legislation. (I still do not understand the real motivation for this legislation.)

One of the problems with this whole situation is that the legislators did not take the time to consult with, and get the true facts from, the individuals and offices that administer elections in Virginia. They snowballed and steamrolled what they thought to be a hot political issue which will now financially affect all the jurisdictions in Virginia.

They might have learned that, following passage of the federal Help America Vote Act in 2002 (HAVA), partially in response to the hanging chads in Florida, all Voter Registrars' offices were required to discard their lever-operated and punch-card voting machines in favor of more modern equipment, and every precinct in Virginia was to have at least one DRE machine. After careful study and research of many types of machines available, 104 out of 134 jurisdictions in Virginia determined that the DRE's would be the most secure, honest and financially appropriate voting equipment to purchase. The federal government invested \$30 million in Virginia for these purchases. Local governments also made substantial commitments to this equipment. And the new legislation disregards this financial commitment.

Had they done their homework, they would have found that the DRE's do, in fact, have several detailed, internal audit trails which may be printed to substantiate the votes cast. Using these audit trails, the votes may be listed and hand-counted to verify the totals. The votes, however, are randomized to protect the secrecy of an individual's personal vote.

In addition, before a voter casts his ballot on the DRE, a message appears on the screen showing the voter's selections. If he wants to change any of the choices that appear, he can easily and immediately do so.



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Once a change is made, the review screen again appears with all the selections before the voter may cast his ballot.

Because the DRE voting machines look like computer screens, many voters are concerned that these electronic machines may be programmed to rig an election. (The optical scan machines which the new legislation mandates are also operated electronically.) Virginia law requires that a "Zero Report Tape" be printed and posted by each and every voting machine before the elections begin for the day. This tape shows that no votes have been cast on the machine before the polls opened.

When you ask someone why he or she wants a receipt, the response is usually that the voter wants a record of how he voted. He wants to be certain that the choices he made were recorded properly on the machine. A piece of paper does not certify that any more than seeing the review screens on the DRE! There is a certain amount of trust one has to exhibit in any process.

As with all legislation that has not been thoroughly researched, there will be many unforeseen and unanticipated consequences. When the DRE's were chosen by the localities in the Commonwealth (after meeting rigorous federal and state certification requirements), they met all the federal requirements for serving visually and physically handicapped voters. They have an audio component that may be used by a blind voter so that he may vote by himself in complete privacy. The optical scan machines do not have this.

By using the optical scan machines, we are reverting to a paper ballot situation, albeit with a computer component for reading the ballots. The voter marks his choices on a cardstock ballot which is then fed through the machine. If a voter does not correctly mark the ballot within the designated space, the machine makes an interpretation. In a recount situation, the more times a ballot is handled, the greater is the likelihood that ballot marks will be interpreted incorrectly.

These heavy boxes of cardstock ballots must be delivered to each precinct on election day and then removed when cleaning up after the elections are over. This is hard work for Election Officers whose average age across the Commonwealth is at least 60 years. In addition, by law, the used and unused ballots must be stored by the Clerk of the Circuit Court, along with many of the other records from the election. The increased storage needs were not even considered. This will quickly become a budgetary concern for the Clerks' offices. Under the current system, the DRE machines are securely locked, stored in their warehouse and untouched until the time to call for a recount has elapsed. The data cartridges with all the votes are stored by the Clerk's office for the mandated time period. The chain of custody is secure, and the storage requirements are minimal in comparison.

I doubt that any of the patrons or co-patrons of the legislation involved has ever worked as an Officer of Election or been a member of an Electoral Board. Obviously they do not have a close working relationship with their local Registrar, either. It is my opinion that these individuals do not really understand the actual administrative processes that are involved in preparing for an election, conducting an election or preparing and securing the voting machines for an election. This knowledge would have been invaluable to all legislators in considering the proposed bills.

Virginia has a very honest, efficient and well-run system of elections. We have good laws in place with excellent staff members throughout the Commonwealth to implement them. Because of this, we did not have to make as many modifications as other states when the federal HAVA was thrust upon us in 2003. We can all be proud that our privilege to vote is not wrought with corruption and fraud. With our system, we should

never experience the problems of Florida or Maryland or the questionable systems of Ohio, Illinois or Louisiana.

Because we in Virginia who work in the elections field have so much good going for us, it was just unconceivable that such bad legislation could get through the Virginia General Assembly. If it ain't broke, don't fix it!

#### Editor's Note

*The right or privilege of voting has long been regarded as the essence of our democratic process and our republican form of government; however, history has taught us that voting can be a "messy business." George Washington, in running for his first seat in the colonial Virginia House of Burgesses (a seat in Frederick County, a district in which he owned property but did not reside) reported in his records that his biggest expense for those elections was for the purchase of alcohol used to procure votes. That particular problem continued into the early years of the American republic and the adoption of the Australian secret ballot was supposed to be a cure. However, in college political science classes of the 1950s we learned how the sanctity of the secret ballot was violated by a tactic known as the "Tasmanian Dodge."*

*Other cures to violations of the secret ballot as well as the lengthy time required to count paper ballots and bring elections to an end in a timely fashion were the mechanical voting machine of recent "hanging chads" fame and the electronic voting machines of even more recent "flipping" and "residual" (lost) votes fame. While a number of charges have been made in Ohio of vote rigging and of lost votes in Florida on electronic voting machines in the 2004 elections, there has been no proof yet offered that either problem actually did occur. However, a recent federal Government Accountability Office study did point to numerous problems with electronic voting machines and several official government tests of one electronic voting machine type in Florida, California, and other places did show that machine type could be rigged to flip votes from one candidate to another without being detected. Fortunately none of these machines are used in Virginia. A more recent report on the 2006 federal congressional elections (with one Florida congressional seat still being contested in a Florida state court) documents a wide variety of problems affecting the operation and possible outcomes as a consequence of both human and equipment errors with electronic voting machines.*

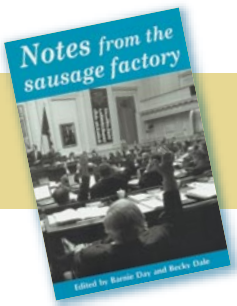
*As we commented at the beginning of this note, voting can certainly become a "messy business."*

*Diana Dutton is the Prince William County Administrative Elections Manager. [V]*

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The articles on these two pages are reprinted from *Notes from the Sausage Factory*

## Smoke-filled rooms and electrifying speeches: The General Assembly in the 1980's

By EVA TEIG-HARDY

My first impressions of the Virginia General Assembly were in January 1982, when on an icy cold day, I arrived to take charge of Lt. Gov. Dick Davis-Baliles legislative agenda. After a spirited campaign in 1982, the Robb-Davis-Baliles ticket had put Democrats back into the three top statewide offices. The Democratic leadership of the General Assembly had worked well with the previous Republican administration of John Dalton, but it was pleased to have some of its "own" in power, even though the old guard didn't quite trust the new governor, lieutenant governor, or attorney general. A new generation of Democrats had come to town.

My new office was in the back of the Senate Chamber, a long room with a curtain instead of a door, two desks, and a sofa and chair. The lieutenant governor and I have very little privacy, but while he held meetings with the senators on a daily basis, I got a crash course in politics. I heard deals being cut, votes being courted, heated arguments on legislative language and intent, lobbying by the governor's chief of staff on his key legislative agenda, and so much more. I was almost invisible to the members—they walked through the curtain intent on discussing the items of the day, while I listened just a few feet away. Once in a while, they would look at me and ask me what I thought. I was always frank and candid with them, and I felt they were more comfortable with me. As time went on, more and more of these "off the floor" discussions would take place in our office. Sen. Hunter Andrews and Jay Shropshire would stop in every morning and I would know from those meetings exactly what would happen on the Senate floor at noon. Sen. Andrews could even predict which senators would speak, what they would say, and how the vote would turn out.

As the sessions approached the last night, the parties began. Food and drinks were served, sometimes discreetly, sometimes in full view. As the late nights wore on, the rhetoric rose in volume and emotion. Senators took longer to make their point, and the voices quivered with righteousness. My office became the site of a nightly card game, and the blue haze of smoke curled through the curtain onto the floor.

The memories of those early years (1982-85) at the Virginia General Assembly will remain with me. I learned about the process and the rules from Sen. Andrews; I learned about civility and humor from Sen. Elmon Gray; I learned about eloquence and dignity from Sen. John Buchanan; and I learned about challenging the system with a smile from Sen. Douglas Wilder. But of all the things I learned in those early days, one key ingredient was this: Discretion was at the foundation of all relationships. It was always clear that secrets were expected to be kept, and that any indiscreet behavior was not to be broadcast or ever mentioned again. I followed those rules then, and I follow them now. After all, the General Assembly is like an extended family, with all sorts of behavior patterns, but it is a family first and foremost.

Today, a new generation of leaders is here in Richmond. Very few remember the old days of Senate and House when members were proud of their in-depth knowledge of the code, legislative history, and budgets. Delegates Bob Ball and Ted Morrison and

Speaker A.L. Pilpott could always be counted on to bring difficult parliamentary issues to a head. Senator William Truban and eventually Senator William Wampler brought solid Republican credentials to complicated health and human services issues in a compassionate but businesslike way. In the end, Virginians were the winners in this legislative game.

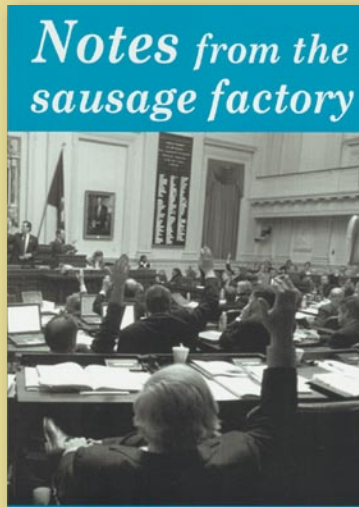
I am still involved with the General Assembly as a lobbyist for Dominion Virginia Power. I have enjoyed working with these new leaders, young public servants of both parties. Speaker Bill Howell has one of the most difficult jobs in the assembly because the very core of politics has changed. His personality is well suited to the task of ahead of managing so many different groups.

Will the General Assembly still remain a family? Can it overcome members' individual aspirations and instead focus on all of Virginia? Will we continue to hear the inspiring speakers who electrify us as they talk of the core issues of the day? Or will the win-win compromise process become extinct, the all-or-nothing philosophy rising to the top?

Continued on next page

## Virginia politics! ...where angels fear to tread

(But not Atkinson, Woodrum, DeBoer, Diamondstein, Callahan, Hardy, Wood, Allen, Brown, Morris, Day, Harris, Dillard, McSweeney, Akers, Goldman, Schapiro, Shareef, Gibson, Yancey, Allen, Dale, Scarborough, Edds, Davis, Lynch, Dougherty, Troy, McSweeney, Saslaw, Grayson, Wilkins, Haner, Hinkle, Bacon, Marshall, Gottstein, Wilder, Dodd, Bryant, Rozell, Warner, Holton, Hopkins, Gastanaga, Moncure, Bageant, Sabato, Vehrs, Landon, Martin, Beyer, Gilmore, Robb, Chichester, and Baliles!)



Edited by **Barnie Day and Becky Dale**  
(Brunswick Books, 2005, 403 pgs., \$19.95)

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## Those were the days

By VINCENT CALLAHAN

It is my honor to have served longer than any other legislator in the General Assembly's 386 year history, save one of my esteemed colleagues. That distinction goes to Delegate Lacey Putney of Bedford, who first took office in 1962 and is currently the longest-serving state legislator both in the Virginia General Assembly and in the United States. I will take my hat off to him any day. We have witnessed many changes in the venerable Assembly since we began serving.

First, let us get one thing clear. I serve with pride in the House of Delegates and have never had any desire to move over to the Senate. I say "move over" rather than "move up," as is often suggested. The Senate is not a higher body than the House—the House and Senate are equals. Indeed I would argue that the 100-member House is more active, with the more important legislation originating there rather than in the 40-member Senate. Besides, it is obvious that the House has more fun. In the same vein, I am also asked how many governors I have served under. My answer is always and emphatic **NONE**. I have served with, not under, the governors of Virginia, ten of them to be exact.

When I first took office in 1968, there were 86 Democrats and a mere corporal's guard of 14 Republicans, seated under the Speaker's nose so he could keep a watchful eye on this band of interlopers. The Speaker in 1968 was John Warren Cooke of Mathews; incredibly, he is the son of a Confederate veteran. Speaker Cooke was then serving his first term of a distinguished 12-year tenure presiding over the House. I mention Speaker Cooke's lineage

## The General Assembly in the 1980's

from previous page

I don't have the answers to these questions. But I have faith in the members, in the institution where they congregate each January, and in the voters. The Virginia General Assembly is different from the one I first came to in 1982. That difference reflects the march of time, changes in our society, and new ideas that need to be heard. The liquor is now gone, my old office is now a rest room for the women of the Senate, new technology and e-mail are now used, but the General Assembly is still the sounding board for Virginia and Virginians, and even with its flaws, it's the best in the good old USA. ■

because it played a role in my first legislative assignment given to me by our minority leader, Caldwell Butler. I was instructed by Butler to inform the Speaker on the following day, February 12, I would move that the House adjourn in honor of the 16<sup>th</sup> president of the United States, Abraham Lincoln. The Speaker seemed taken aback by this unprecedented proposal in the bosom of the Confederacy, but he did not object. So began another tradition: for 38 years now, I have made the same motion on Lincoln's birthday.

The House of Delegates in those years was a very different place than it is now. In addition to the obvious reversal of the ratio of Republicans and Democrats, the rules were different and the process much slower. Committee meetings were primarily a gathering of legislators and lobbyists, frequently seated at the same table, with both frequently giving equal input to the proposed legislation at hand. The one exception to such coziness was the Appropriations Committee, which met on the 4<sup>th</sup> floor of the Capitol in a window-less room in total secrecy. A guard was posted at the door to ensure that only committee members were granted access to what resembled a Virginia version of the Papal conclave. On occasion, I must admit, I look with nostalgia on the simplicity of those secret proceedings.

In those years, deliberations in the House chamber were conducted with an ever-present pall of smoke. Nearly everyone smoked, or chewed, or both, as tobacco was considered a necessary accouterment to legislation. Needless to say, the tobacco leaf frescoes and the rest of the chamber required frequent painting to cover up the resulting ravages of all that smoke. Another tradition of the House was the ample provisioning of alcoholic libations that mysteriously appeared in the clerk's office and the men's lounge (there being no ladies' lounge) during the closing days of the sessions. The ensuing deliberations often reflected the not-so-secret imbibing.

During my first year in Richmond, I resided at the Raleigh Hotel, which was both a landmark and a dump, and which has now been reincarnated as the Commonwealth Park. It had a mediocre restaurant and an excellent bar. It housed most of the Republicans and some renegade Democrats, such as future Speaker Tom Moss. The hotel, like a fading dowager, was cashing in on past glory and struggling to stay on its legs. The television sets did not work, and the hot water was sporadic. Hotel employees were known to bore holes in doors

in order to observe the amorous activities of their guests. But the price was right, and the camaraderie was exceptional. The Byrd machine power moguls, a very boring lot, resided in the Hotel Richmond, now the Ninth Street Office building.

During my first terms, none of the legislators had offices. Our chamber desks, or our hotels, were our offices. Offices came later in the form of the old Murphy Hotel building, which was crumbling even then and is now mercifully slated for demolition.

I was joined in my first year in the House by Dr. W. Ferguson Reid, a Richmond Democrat, and the first black member of the House since Reconstruction. He was cordially accepted by his colleagues on the floor of the House, but that acceptance did not extend beyond the Capitol grounds. During the session Dr. Reid was invited to a reception hosted by the Richmond business community at their bastion of power, the Commonwealth Club. When the club realized he was of the wrong color, he was then disinvited. A number of legislators boycotted the event, and the club rules were eventually changed as a result.

In 1968, all Republican bills were routinely killed, regardless of merit. If the Democrats actually liked something in the proposed Republican bill, they would merely appropriate it under their own sponsorship and derail the GOP measure in the process. In 1968, I sponsored a number of bills, including one to raise the cigarette tax and another to abolish the state sales tax on food. Those proposals were met by a barrage of derision and suffered the inevitable fate of Republican initiatives. However, history does repeat itself: the tobacco tax was increased in 2004 and the food tax eliminated in 2005.

In 2007, Virginia will celebrate the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its founding at Jamestown in 1607. I am intimately involved in the preparations for this monumental event. This brings to mind the historical roots of the Virginia General Assembly whose first meeting took place only 12 years later, in 1619. As such, it is now the oldest continuing legislative body in the world, the British Parliament notwithstanding. It has been a privilege to serve our Commonwealth by representing the 34<sup>th</sup> District these many years.

**Editor's note:** *At the time this was written Governor Kaine had not yet been elected. Delegate Callahan has served with eleven governors.* ■

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# A Tribute to a Gentle Man

By JAMES DILLARD

If there is one thing that all Democrats and Republicans can agree on it is that Paul Council was a gentleman and a statesman. When Paul's name comes up, invariably the first comment is "What a gentleman and a truly nice guy."

I had the honor of serving with Paul for thirty years and numbered him one of my most admired and closest friends. He chaired the Education Committee for many years and for four years we shared the chairmanship. Those were pleasant years and never was a cross word spoken between us. As chairman, co-chairman and Delegate his one goal was to do the right thing for the school children of Virginia. And not just because of his deep concern for education, he wanted to do what was right for Virginia regardless of partisan considerations. It was always Virginia first.

Paul was highly respected by his fellow legislators and those staff members who worked with him shared that admiration. Kathy Harris who was Legislative Services' education expert and worked directly with Paul expressed her fondness for Paul and offered the following insights: "I can't say enough about his integrity and fairness. He was less concerned about party lines and always took the high road. He never raised his voice, but when he spoke, people listened. He was always so kind in dealing with people. When he served on the Charter School Study he went against the prevailing

view of his party stating, 'I think we need to try this.' His support was instrumental in the passage of the charter school legislation."

As a member of the powerful Appropriations Committee he was a strong supporter of higher education as well as public schools and got 100% ratings from the lobbying group Virginia 21 for his support of college access and affordability, funding for higher education, college reform, and protecting students.



Terry Atkinson, the education specialist for the Appropriations Committee had this to say about Paul:

What I admired most about Delegate Council was that he was so respectful and courteous to other members of the General Assembly. Whenever we discussed an issue and how he wanted to handle the bill or budget amendment, Delegate Council always wanted to make sure that both sides had an opportunity to be heard. Delegate Council always felt that his job as a legislator was to do what was right, not what was expedient and not what was necessarily good for a particular party or region. He was unfailingly courteous to staff, treating everyone with the same respect, no matter what their position. He was a true gentleman in every sense of the word.

Paul supported the interests of his district and was popular with his constituents having never lost a race. He had appeal across racial lines having garnered almost two thirds of the vote in a Democratic Primary to defeat an African American attorney in his majority black district.

His wife Genie spoke with me about her life with Paul. "We had a wonderful twenty years together, nineteen of which he was serving in the General Assembly. He worked so hard to do what was right for Virginia and his constituents. Our honeymoon was spent at a legislative meeting. He was a wonderful man and I am honored to have been his partner in his legislative work. I miss him so much."

See *A Tribute*, continued on page 24





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# The Way I See It

By DAVID L. BAILEY

I love their accent, but surely they are not smarter or wiser than we? I asked myself this question as I sat in a crowded pub, The Keel Row, on the Isle of Mull, Scotland. While waiting for our dinner table I asked the pub staff, "What about this smoking ban? How is it working?"

To hear the young woman and the slightly older man respond one would have thought that they were staff of Tobacco Free Kids or the Lung Association. They loved the healthy clean air and stated that it had not been a problem. If anyone had to smoke, it was taken outdoors. Even the crusty old character sitting on the next stool, Mr. McCollum, a smoker, said it was fine with him.

As we left to enter the attached separately enclosed restaurant area, I realized that I had heard not even a wee bit of coughing – just animated conversation.

There was pride in their telling me that Scotland acted before England, and they are not alone. Scottish pride is displayed the health minister's web, <http://www.clearingtheairsotland.com/index.html>.

The following week I observed the opening day speeches of the Scottish Parliament. Other than the award winning modern building and the Scottish accent, it could have been the Capitol in Richmond. But sitting in Edinburgh, I pondered their 2006 vote, 97-17, for a comprehensive smoking ban.

A quick check at Wikipedia online ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_smoking\\_bans](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_smoking_bans)) confirms that smoking either already is or soon will be prohibited in almost all indoor public places in this impressive list of countries: Albania, Argentina, Belgium, Bhutan, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Guernsey, Hong Kong, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Isle of Man, Italy, Jersey, Lithuania, Malta, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom (England, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland) & Uruguay. Not just Scotland!

My colleagues at Tobacco Free Kids tell me "22 states have smokefree laws that cover restaurants and bars. 21 states cover workplaces, restaurants and bars. The 21 represent just over 49 percent of the population."

When I recalled the 2007 General Assembly, I felt a surge of anger due to the unwillingness of the House leadership to permit a committee vote on Virginia Indoor Clean Air bills introduced by Delegates Callahan, Morgan, Oder and Howell (Algie). Yes they were "heard" by the ABC Subcommittee of House General Laws: Gear (Chairman), Albo, Wright, Cosgrove, Armstrong, Abbitt. But every observer knew that this subcommittee was going to terminate the bills – without a recorded vote.

Tell me why a good clean bill did not make it to the floor of the House. The Way I See It, the bill just most likely would have passed!



You are entitled to another opinion, and you may choose the time and place for a real debate on this issue.

By now most people around capitol square know the results of the Mason Dixon poll ([www.healthyva.org](http://www.healthyva.org)) reported in January 2007. This is a summary: By a 71 percent majority, Virginia voters favor a law prohibiting smoking inside all workplaces, offices, bars and restaurants. This support comes from a broad-based coalition of voters, including both men and women, young and old, and residing in all areas of the Commonwealth. Support for a smoke-free Virginia also cuts across party lines, including support from 78 percent of Democrats, 69 percent of independents and 66 percent of Republicans.

The Way I See It those who prevent voting on bills for smokefree restaurants in Virginia must certainly know they are in the minority. Why do they do it? Ask them, not me. Other than the worn out phrase, the one that still works as a fundraiser in certain circles, "let the marketplace decide," you will hear no convincing answers.



Ah, Scotland. Ye must be more than a wee bit braver.

*Editor's note: There is an old political science phrase coined by Henry Steele Commanger on "majority rule and minority rights," but it hardly seems truly appropriate in this case. Virginia Capitol Connections Quarterly Magazine welcomes an open debate on this matter and looks forward to publishing your comments in the Fall 2007 issue. █*

## A Tribute from page 23

When Paul retired from the General Assembly education and Virginia lost one of their champions.

Delegate J. Paul Council represented the 75<sup>th</sup> District that included Franklin, Va. He served from 1974 till his retirement in 2006. He died March 25, 2007.

*This tribute was written by former Delegate James Dillard who followed Paul as Chairman of the Education Committee. █*

# Announcement of Executive Director Hiring

The Virginia Network of Nonprofit Organizations (VANNO) is pleased to announce the hiring of its first full-time Executive Director. Deborah Barfield Williamson, a Richmond-based attorney, nonprofit consultant and educator, was chosen from a highly competitive pool of applicants.

Ms. Williamson brings a rich experience of serving nonprofits and the professionals who work for them. She began her career in association management with several Washington, DC organizations, gaining valuable experience in membership and program development. She practiced law with a state agency and in a private firm, and she teaches nonprofit management at Virginia Commonwealth University and the University of Virginia. She is a well-known and well-respected trainer on a wide variety of nonprofit issues. She most recently served as partner in the Williamson Phillips Group, a private consulting firm based in Chester, Virginia.

Ms. Williamson holds a bachelors degree in religion from the College of William and Mary (1990), a masters degree with a concentration in Nonprofit Management from George Mason University (1997), and a Juris Doctorate from the University of Richmond School of Law (2001).

“VANNO is at a pivotal moment in our brief history,” states Board Chair Peter Thompson. “We are fortunate to now tap the wealth of knowledge, skill, commitment and passion for the nonprofit sector which Deborah offers. We can think of no one better-suited and better-prepared to lead this organization to its full potential.”

Founded in 2004, VANNO has been led by its Board of Directors and a part-time contracted administrator during its start-up phase. Ms.



**VANNO**

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nonprofit organizations

Williamson will now guide the organization as it expands its membership base, adds services and benefits for members, and strengthens relationships with key stakeholders throughout the Commonwealth. “I’m thrilled to have this opportunity with VANNO – to build an important resource for nonprofit organizations statewide,” comments Ms. Williamson.

Ms. Williamson will begin her role with VANNO on a part-time basis in July and become full-time in the position as of August 6, 2007. She can be reached at [dwilliamson@vanno.org](mailto:dwilliamson@vanno.org)

The Virginia Network of Nonprofit Organizations provides affordable information, resources and advocacy for nonprofits throughout the Commonwealth. Membership is open to any nonprofit organization, regardless of size or mission. For more information about member benefits and how to join VANNO, visit [www.vanno.org](http://www.vanno.org) |

# Protecting Virginia’s Children in Traffic Related Accidents

By ASHLEY GEORGE

Becoming a mother five short months ago opened my eyes to a wide array of concerns.

Following initial parental worries, such as crib safety, warmth, and actually getting our daughter to sleep through the night, I began pondering other issues that exist outside of our “baby proofed” home.

Naturally, one of the primary concerns that came to mind was her safety in our vehicle. We had researched and given much thought

regarding car seats, comically spending over an hour with the trial installation in our car. The idea that she was securely fastened into a seat that was itself buckled into a belted base brought comfort if an accident were to occur.

Fortunately, *Senate Bill 1060* and *House Bill 1908* address child restraint devices. These bills took a more aggressive stance on protecting our children while they are passengers on our highways. As a mother my hope is that

every child is properly restrained when they are in a motor vehicle. Even the safest driver can be involved when there is an accident and the seat belt restraints will be one more safety measure.

Requiring a child to ride in a booster seat until age 8 will ensure increased protection of their head, neck and spine. Teaching our children to “**Buckle Up, It’s the Law**” will begin a foundation that will influence their be-

havior as they ride as passengers and grow into drivers.

Of equal concern is safeguarding the quality of air that our daughter breathes. With more and more studies emerging regarding second-hand smoke, it is important to shelter her as she grows and develops. The health benefits resulting from not smoking are well known. As society continues its education to the ill effects of second-hand smoke, my job as a parent is two-fold. I must make sure that my daughter understands what establishments to avoid and why, while pressing our state government to enact legislation for smoke-free restaurants. Various bills have been introduced to halt the free flow of smoke throughout our state’s diners. To date these bills have remained unsigned while other states have passed Virginia in creating a safer environment for its citizens.

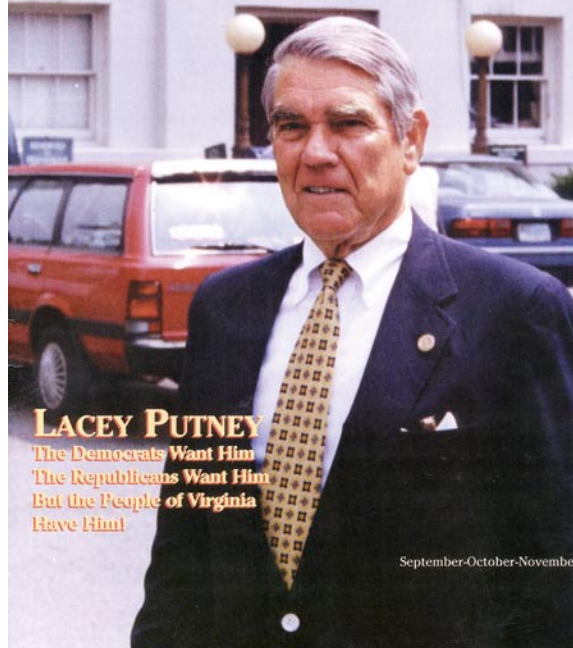
As a first time parent, I have many concerns about the safety and well being of our daughter. While our legislators continue making welcome strides to increase quality of life, some advancements remain undone. Until then, my husband and I will keep working daily to “baby proof” as many aspects of our daughter’s life as possible.

Ashley George is a staff member at David Bailey Associates. |



Bryan, Madison and Ashley George.

# VIRGINIA CAPITOL CONNECTIONS QUARTERLY MAGAZINE



**LACEY PUTNEY**  
*The Democrats Want Him  
The Republicans Want Him  
But the People of Virginia  
Have Him!*

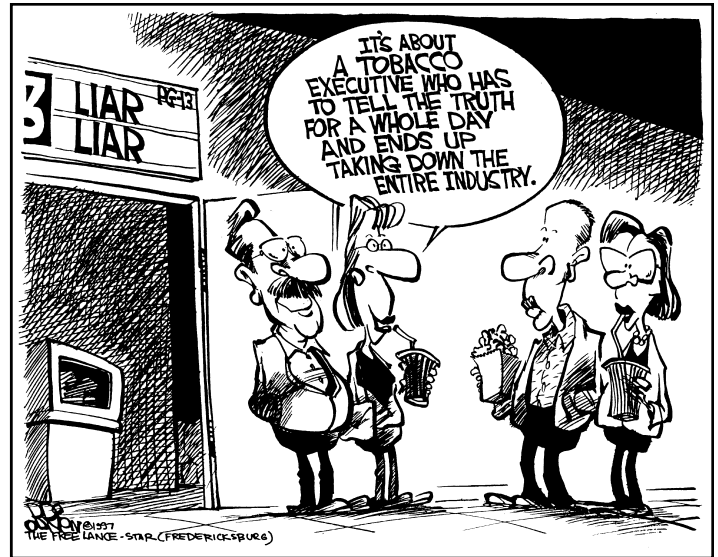
September-October-November 1997  
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## LACEY PUTNEY

*The Democrats  
Want Him  
The Republicans  
Want Him  
But the People  
of Virginia  
Have Him!  
Senator Chuck Colgan*

Summer 2007, Editor's note:  
*Now Carmela Bills has him!*

# 10 Years Ago in Virginia Capitol Connections



Cartoons by Chris Obrion  
Fredericksburg Free Lance-Star



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# Democrats, Republicans, Reform Groups Converge On Capitol Hill to Help Launch Anti-Gerrymandering Video Game

## University of Southern California, Rep. John Tanner and Reform Leaders Underscore Role of THE REDISTRICTING GAME to Rally Political and Social Change

Editor's Note: *For the rare reader who may be unfamiliar with the term "gerrymander," that term is applied to a form of legislative redistricting where the boundaries of a district are manipulated for electoral advantage of one political party or a constituency thereof. The term is derived from an early national period Democratic-Republican Congressman and later Governor of Massachusetts, Elbridge Gerry, who in 1812 reluctantly approved a state law which created a legislative district which one observer likened to resembling a salamander. His political opponents instead labeled the modified district as a "gerrymander."*

WASHINGTON, June 13, 2007—An interactive media research team from the University of Southern California, supported by members of Congress from both sides of the aisle and key political reform groups, launched THE REDISTRICTING GAME on Capitol Hill today, harnessing a powerful communications tool to reach millions of people directly affected by one of the nation's most pressing political issues: "Gerrymandering."

Flanked by Rep. John Tanner (D-TN-8) and leaders from a coalition of reform groups, Professor Chris Swain from the USC School of Cinematic Arts used THE REDISTRICTING GAME ([www.redistrictinggame.org](http://www.redistrictinggame.org)) to show how the crafty manipulation of district lines can yield skewed victories for either party—effectively allowing politicians to choose their voters instead of voters choosing their politicians.

"If you think electronic games are just an idle amusement, you should think again," Swain said. "They are one of the most pervasive and powerful means for communication in this age. The Redistricting Game builds on that; educating, informing and motivating people to take action who otherwise might never have known the challenge Gerrymandering poses to our democracy," he added.

Deriving its operating rules from current regulations, the free game enables players of all ages and partisan beliefs to see how redistricting works, how it is manipulated, and how it adversely influences the U.S. political process.

"The Redistricting Game will help people understand how broken the system is," said Tanner, author of "The Fairness and Independence in Redistricting Act" (H.R. 543). "When politicians can choose their voters instead of the voters electing their representatives, the result is a shrinking political center in Washington where fewer Members feel compelled to break the divide and put the needs of the American people ahead of their political parties." "The Redistricting Game is an interactive tool that illustrates how the current redistricting process works and how it can be abused," said Congressman Zach Wamp (R-TN-3) who supports the game, but was unable to attend the session due to a last-minute schedule conflict. "The game demonstrates the flaws in the current system and why reform—like the bill I cosponsored with Congressman Tanner—is necessary."

Featuring fictionalized characters such as Democratic Congressman "Tyree Hugger" and Republican Congresswoman "Val Hughes," THE REDISTRICTING GAME provides hands-on understanding of the real redistricting process, including drawing district maps and interacting with party bosses, congresspeople, citizen groups and courts. In addition, the game provides details on a variety of reform measures—including a playable version of H.R. 543—as well as features that let users get involved in the public

discourse: dialoging with citizens online; spreading the word; and writing their congressperson directly from the game.

The USC project is "A funny and insightful game that sheds light on redistricting and the complexity—yet necessity—of reform," said John Anderson, former independent presidential candidate and chair of FairVote.org. "Be prepared to be challenged in trying to win—and challenged to consider how we can all win," he added. Joining FairVote.org at the event were representatives from the Campaign Legal Center, League of Women Voters, and other reform groups.

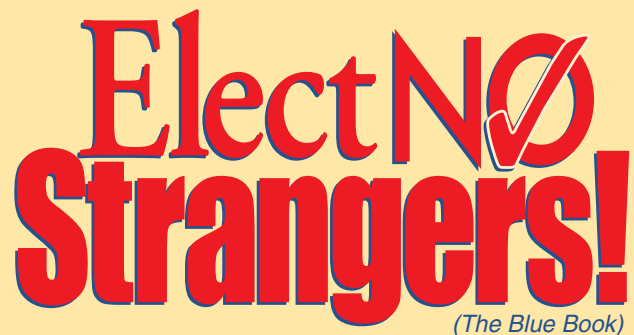
THE REDISTRICTING GAME is a project of the University of Southern California's Annenberg Center for Communication, Annenberg School for Communication, and School of Cinematic Arts, and Red Hot Learning, Inc., of Fredericton, NB, Canada.

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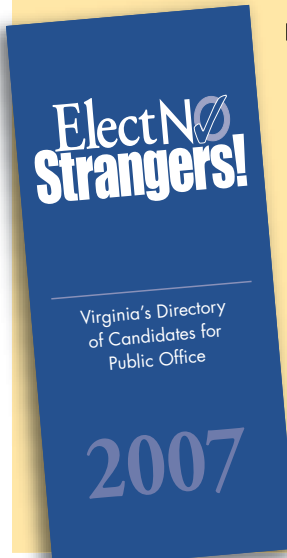
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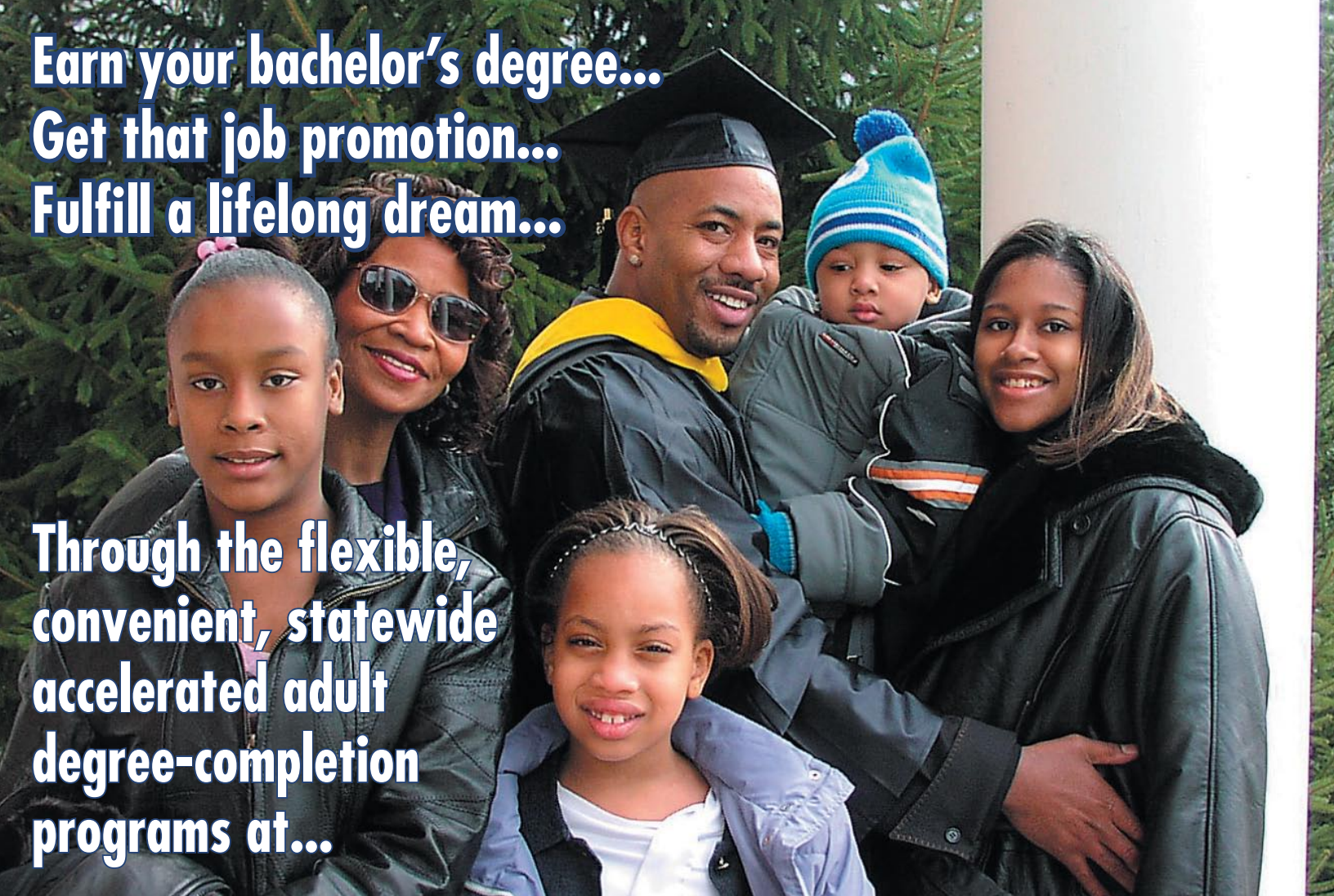
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