

RECENT REFORMS IN VIRGINIA GOVERNMENT

A Thesis presented at the College of William and Mary
as a Partial Requirement for the
Degree of Master of Arts

By

Charlotte Elizabeth Seward

Surry, Virginia

Williamsburg, Virginia

1927

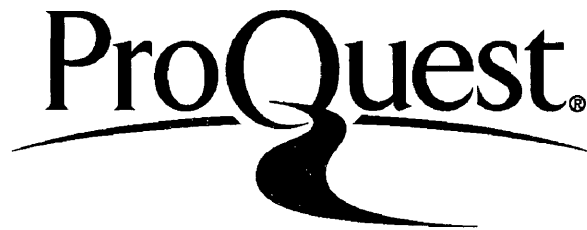
ProQuest Number: 10614641

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10614641

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN VIRGINIA

Williamsburg, Virginia

TO THE DEGREE COMMITTEE:

This is to certify that I have examined the attached
thesis entitled RECENT REFORMS IN VIRGINIA GOVERNMENT
submitted by

Miss Charlotttes Elizabeth Seward

as partial requirement for the Master of Arts degree at the Collgge
of William and Mary.

I approve this thesis with the following comments
~~disapprove~~

(no comments.)

Signed



Professor

Date

May 31, 1927

RECENT REFORMS IN VIRGINIA GOVERNMENT

Virginia, or the Old Dominion, is today a New Dominion. Let us focus our attention for awhile on the past and see if this is not true. Going back to the War Between the States it is easy to see that Virginia suffered more than any of the other States from the ravages of war. Parts of her territory, particularly that between Richmond and Washington were taken and retaken. Virginia not only lost in material wealth, but she lost the flower of her manhood. It was difficult for a State which had been looked up to so many years to accept her state of poverty. For awhile she was inclined to glory in her memorable past and to ever keep before her images of men like Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Henry.

From the ashes and ruins of war a New Virginia has emerged. A new generation has grown to manhood during the last two decades. These men who were born after the war were less hampered than their fathers by old ideals and prejudices. Like Omar they quickly observed that reviewing the past produced no progress for the present, but only "brought them out at the same door wherein they went". They longed to get the machinery of things into their own hands and make it create something new.

For sometime the passion of sentiment and tradition was too powerful for them. Property was largely in the hands of the old

men, politics was in the hands of orators who talked continually of old traditions; and public offices were monopolized by Confederate veterans.

Despite these facts, the germ of the new order worked within the old. Boys like Harry Flood Byrd left school and entered business. Young men like Douglas Freeman (now Editor of the Richmond News Leader) attended college outside of the State and came back filled with Modern American life. Young men began to talk about business instead of oratory, and about better State government. Editors aided in creating a sentiment favorable to a change. We may truly call it the new sign of a new spirit in Old Virginia.

Since 1870 the people of Virginia have been living under the Constitution which had been framed by a convention controlled by White Radicals and Negro Republicans. Although the Conservatives of 1868 and 1869 had been able to prevent anything very obnoxious to their belief and manner of living from being put in their important document, yet there were many provisions which needed to be changed because they were not suited to the newer times. A call for a convention was made, delegates were elected, and in 1900 the work of framing a new constitution began.

The chief matters discussed were the right to vote, taxation, public schools, and the regulation of railroads and other corporations. The question of how to prevent ignorant people, among whom were many negroes, from voting occupied a great deal of attention. Finally a provision, drawn up by Carter Glass of Lynch-

burg, was adapted without much change. This required all except former Confederate and Union soldiers to pay six months before an election poll taxes for the three previous years, and to be able to interpret the Constitution. The convention also provided that changes in the methods of taxation could be made in 1913. To regulate railroads, steamship lines, electric lines, and corporations the convention proposed that a new body, the State Corporation Commission, should be created. (Morton, R. L., "History of Virginia" Vol. III. American Historical Society. New York 1924)

The Constitution was adopted in 1902. From that time to the present there had been a gradual improvement in State and local government, and I will attempt to point out the most important steps in this development.

The first step taken toward reform was that in regard to city government. The government of a city is a very different matter from that of a State. As a rule it is necessary for the city government to make very few general laws, consequently the principal work of a city government is administrative. In the past many of our cities have failed to note this, the result being that the city government was incompetent, negligent, and corrupt.

Due to the disastrous flood of 1900 Galveston, Texas, established the first commission form of government in the United States. Virginia watched ^{the} growth and progress of the government in Galveston.

During the years of 1907 and 1908 the newspapers of Virginia were clamoring for reform in city government. Richmond and

Norfolk desired city government similar to that of Galveston. (Times Dispatch, Jan. 26, 1908. Other papers of the State) The fullest recognition of the fact that the government of a city is primarily a matter of administration and business has been shown by the cities adopting the city manager plan of government, which is an adaptation of the Commission type. The most important feature of this plan is the employment of an expert administrative official whose position corresponds to that of the general manager of a business corporation. Staunton, Virginia, in 1908 was the first city in the United States to bring forward this plan. The plan was first adopted by ordinance and later by charter. Charles B. Ashburner, a civil engineer of Richmond, Virginia, was made first city manager. (The Virginia Municipal Review, June, 1924. Day, Willard F., "After Sixteen years of City Manager Form of Government".)

In 1912 a constitutional amendment was adopted, and in 1914 a law was passed granting to the cities of Virginia the privilege of adopting forms of government entirely different from that which most of the cities were then operating. This law permitted any city with a population of more than 100,000 to adopt its own charter. For the other cities the legislature provided a choice of three kinds of government, the general councilmanic plan, the modified commission plan, or the city manager plan.

During the last thirteen years 250 American cities and towns have changed their municipal charters and adopted the city manager form of government. In addition to this 106 have

adopted the plan by ordinance. Cleveland, Ohio, is the largest city having this form of government.

Statistics show that this plan is successful in almost every place that it has been tried. In Lynchburg, Virginia, in three years nine miles of new pavement was built and seven miles rebuilt without a bond issue. There was similar progress in every department.

Norfolk, Virginia, introduced the city manager plan in 1918. Although her population doubled during the war, yet she reduced the inherited deficit of \$2,000,000, added \$1,500,000 to public improvements, made the police and fire departments the best paid in the country, established a juvenile court, employed visiting nurses, opened free medical and dental clinics, and established a city hospital. Because of cooperation between the city-planning commission and the citizens a strict extension project which would ordinarily have cost the city \$250,000 was completed for \$20,000. A fifty acre water frontage worth \$750,000 was acquired for \$250,000. Fourteen new play grounds were opened and recreation developed for adults. Infant mortality was radically reduced. (National Municipal League Pamphlet 1925. "Story of City Manager Plan".)

Woodrow Wilson expressed his idea on the subject in these words, "I regard the commission - manager plan of municipal government as a marked advance over any plan hitherto tried in this country from the standpoint of both efficiency and democracy."

As early as 1906 the people of Virginia were anxious for a reform in the scheme of laying and collecting taxes. Land was assessed

at an average of about \$5.00 per acre, horses and mules at \$40.00 per head, and hogs and sheep at less than \$2.50 per head.

Land in Brunswick was assessed at nearly \$6.00 per acre while that in Greenville was less than \$3.00 per acre. In Brunswick horses were assessed at \$70.00 per head, in Albermarle \$50.00, and in Wythe \$25.00. (Times Dispatch, Feb. 10, 1908. Editorial)

The Commissioner of Agriculture reported that the total value of farm products in Virginia for 1906 not including live stock was \$75,125,000 and the value of live stock \$68,125,000, making a total of \$143,250,000, yet the assessed value of farm lands for 1906 was \$132,360,031. In other words the farm products were worth \$11,000,000 more than the land. (Report of Commissioner of Agriculture 1906, p. 28)

Because of the above conditions a commission composed of wise and discreet men was suggested. The commission was not appointed at this time but a spirit of restlessness continued. In 1910 this change was attempted. On March fourteenth an act was passed providing for the "appointment of a commission upon the reform and revision of the tax and assessment laws of Virginia". (Acts of the Assembly 1910. Chapter 147, p. 227.)

Section 169 of the Constitution granted the General Assembly after the first of January 1913 the power to authorize and direct the segregation for the purpose of taxation in order to specify and determine upon what subjects local taxes were to be levied.

Since there was only one more assembly before January 1913,

the General Assembly decided on the above mentioned commission to be composed of the Governors, the Speaker of the House, the President of the Senate, Chairman of the Committee on Finance of the House, Chairman of the Committee on Finance of the Senate, Chairman of the State Corporation Commission, and a man of acknowledged standing in the sciences of political economy, taxation, and finance. The first six members were to choose the seventh member. The Governor was made ex-officio Chairman and the expert, secretary.

The Commission was to make a complete investigation of the system of assessment, revenue, and taxation in force at that time and was to present to the 1912 Assembly a plan for revision and reform. Douglas S. Freeman of Richmond was chosen as the expert member. Many theories of taxation were rejected because they were not of practical value to Virginia. The Commission considered their recommendations which were presented December 16, 1911, practical, advisable, and feasible. This was the first important tax report ever given in Virginia. The chief recommendation was the creation of a permanent unpaid Tax Commission composed of nine existing State officers with a paid executive officer. The Commission was to be given the power to equalize assessments among the counties and cities throughout the State. This recommendation failed to pass into law. (Virginia Tax Commission Report 1911. p. 5 - 9.)

The 1914 Assembly, not being satisfied with the existing laws on the assessment and collection of taxes, and not having time to consider the question thoroughly themselves, appointed a Joint Committee on Tax Revision March 24, 1914. This Committee consisted

of ten members, four appointed from the House by the Speaker, three from the Senate appointed by the President, and three appointed by the Governor. Senator Edward Echols was elected chairman and Honorable Hill Montague secretary. After careful study of the policies of other States in regard to taxation, the examination of past conditions in Virginia, and the consideration of suggestions offered by many citizens, two general systems of taxation were presented to the Assembly.

The majority system recommended by Joseph B. Anderson, John W. Chalkley, Edward Echols, A. C. Harman, Hill Montague, Thos. Walker Page, and D. H. Potts advised the establishment of a State Tax Commission. "We are convinced that the injustice now arising from unequal assessments cannot be ended except by some agency to support and guide assessors and commissioners of the revenue in their work. It is intolerable that a small landowner in Brunswick should be taxed as heavily as a large landowner in Henrico. Something must be done to assist the local officials to do their work properly, and relieve them from the terrific pressure that now hampers their efficiency. Such aid and relief can come only from a State Tax Commission". (Report of Joint Committee on Tax Revision of 1911. p. 21.) This plan was rejected and the minority or partial segregation plan supported by B. F. Buchanan, S. R. Donahoe, and Aubrey G. Weaver, was acted upon. The Committee stated that, "As long as any singly county or city depresses its assessments unduly just so long will other counties and cities feel obliged to keep their assessments down also in order to avoid paying

more than their equitable share of the State's income. With this strong temptation ever present, the wonder is not that assessments should be unequal, but that their inequality should not be more pronounced. The separation of State and local revenues is a method by which substantial reform can be attained". (Report of Joint Committee on Tax Revision 1914. p. 6.)

In Governor Stuart's inaugural address of February 2, 1914, he advocated a State and County Board of Tax Equalization. He also advised that, "steps be taken to distribute the burden and benefits of government with approximate equality". (Inaugural address of Henry C. Stuart, Feb. 2, 1914) During his term of office the tax system was revolutionized and made acceptable to modern thought and methods.

The General Assembly of March 16, 1916 provided for the appointment of a Commission on Economy and Efficiency to make a careful and detailed study of the organization and methods of State and local government of the Commonwealth, and to report to the General Assembly how the State and local government could be more efficiently and economically organized and administered. Senator P.H. Drewry, Hon. George L. Browning, Hon. J. Calvin Moss, Hon. Richard Evelyn Byrd, and Mr. LeRoy Hodges composed the Commission. Due to the lack of funds the investigation was limited to that of the State government. It was also found necessary to call on outside help. The Commission was assisted by a citizens Co-operative Committee made up of ten prominent citizens. The work of the Commission was interrupted by the war, but nevertheless on January 9, 1918 the report was made to

the General Assembly. The most striking recommendations were as follows:

1. Making of the Governor the State's business manager.
2. Introduction of modern budget system in the State's appropriation.
3. Supervision of all State, County, and City accounts by a State accountant.
4. Standardization of expense accounts.
5. Uniform fiscal year.
6. Uniform office hours
7. Abolition of fees.
8. Supervision of officials by the Governor to prevent unnecessary absence from duties.
9. Discontinuance of employment of specific counsel by the State Departments.
- 10/ Regrouping of State officials.
11. Intelligent supervision of State building and grounds.
12. Collective purchasing by State Departments and institutions.
13. Establishment of Civil service to control State positions.
14. Amendment to the Constitution to provide for greater efficiency in school administration.
15. Appointment of a Commission to report needed changes in school laws.

(Report of Commission on Economy and Efficiency 1916-1918.)

Many of the recommendations made by the 1916-1918 Commission were acted upon favorably by the General Assembly. Others which were

not acted upon were accepted by the Commission of Economy and Efficiency of 1922-24 and were drafted in their recommendations. (Report of Commission on Simplification and Economy of State and Local Government 1924)

In 1918 Westmoreland Davis came into office on a platform of economy and real business efficiency of State affairs. "An efficient government economically administered" was his keynote pledge. He accepted the recommendations made by the 1916-1918 Commission, and in his platform stood for an executive budget which he thought was one of the factors of most vital importance to efficient administration. In his inaugural address he continued to plead for the establishment of such a system. In this address he repeated part of his printed platform:

"We should scientifically administer our present State revenue rather than continually seek new subjects of taxation, involving added burdens on our people. To this end I advocate the inauguration of what is known as an "executive budget" - that is, an appropriation bill tentatively prepared by the Governor and submitted to the legislators at the opening of the Session of the General Assembly.

The appropriation bill then presented would be based upon estimates furnished by the heads of departments and of the Auditor of Public Accounts. It would provide a survey of the public efforts of the State, its financial condition, its income, and its proposed expenditures. It would offer a study for the public and for the legislature of the working of each department of the State, to the end that their operations may be simplified and economy and efficiency assured.

Of more importance still would be the centering of public opinion upon proposed expenditures. This discussion of the press would establish among our people a healthy interest in our State's finances. This tentative appropriation bill would be persuasive, illuminating; it would not infringe upon the constitutional powers of the legislature.

Few of our citizens realize that our state appropriations are arrived at in the most artificial fashion; they amount to 15,000,000 for every two years. The General Assembly of Virginia meets in biennial session of sixty days; it is overwhelmed with business during this period; committees having in hand the appropriation bill are frequently composed of men of limited experience in financial matters; they are members of many other committees, and are expected to be in regular attendance upon the sessions of the legislature body; they have brought to bear upon them all the influence that the stronger institutions can muster, while humbler endeavor, such as the elementary schools, are as a rule without enthusiastic champions. Legislators are called upon in the last days of the session to vote great sums of money with little if any knowledge of what they are voting for, yet we wonder at the lack of efficiency in government and submit to increased taxation, oftentimes necessitated by waste and extravagance.

The Governor of Virginia, because of high purpose, fair-mindedness and political fearlessness, should have the confidence of the public, and his recommendations in regard to the appropriation bill would go far to bring about those administrative reforms necessary

to economical and efficient service.

An executive budget simply applies to government the principles obtained in business successfully conducted." (Inaugural Address of Westmoreland Davis, February 1, 1918.)

On February 19, 1918 an act to this effect was passed providing for the preparation and review of estimates for expenditures and revenue, and to establish a budget system for all State Departments bureaus, divisions, officers, boards, commissioners, institutions, and other agencies and undertakings receiving or asking financial aid from the State of Virginia. (Acts of the Assembly 1918, Chap. 64, p. 118) This was certainly a new step forward in placing our government on a business basis and was by far the most important act passed during his administration. This law has become a model for a number of other States and was the foundation of Davis' work for real economy.

In the enactment of the State Purchasing Commission Law the Davis administration achieved another victory for economy. (Acts of the Assembly 1920. Chap. 172, p. 245.) Here again was applied the accepted methods of modern business with the inevitable benefits of the State Treasury. Comparative saving of half a million dollars in the purchase of coal alone may be mentioned as an illustration. (Times Dispatch. Feb. 1, 1922.)

In Davis' last biennial message to the General Assembly he did more than summarize his work for the previous four years. He called on all true Virginians for action in helping Virginia. His most outstanding recommendation was that regarding the centralization of State government in the hands of the Governor. He in-

sisted on the adoption and the application of the Federal plan of a chief executive with subordinate department heads to the State. This plan has been attempted in a number of the States and has proved successful in Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Nebraska, Massachusetts, Washington, and Maryland. (Davis' Address to General Assembly. Jan. 18, 1922.) Believing this to be beneficial to Virginia he recommended the appointment of a Commission on Administrative organization of State Government in Virginia. The work of this Commission will be discussed later.

A period of poor schools in Virginia existed between 1860 and 1902. About 1900 however, it was realized by a number of interested men and women that the schools must be improved in order that the people of the State would be better prepared for work and citizenship.

In 1905 a group of men and women with Governor Montague's aid formed the Virginia Co-operative Education Commission with Dr. S. C. Mitchell as its head. Under Dr. Mitchell's leadership, the Commission planned a great campaign throughout the State and set forth the following platform: Nine months schooling for every child; high schools within reasonable distance of every child; well trained teachers; agricultural and industrial training; efficient supervision; promotion of libraries; schools for the defective and dependent and citizens educational associations in every county and city.

As a result of this awakening the next ten years show great progress. Forty thousand more white children were enrolled in 1912 than in 1904, and about two thousand more colored children. The average length of the school session for the whole State was increased

from six months to seven months. The total number of teachers increased from about nine thousand to eleven thousand. The average monthly salary of male teachers was increased from \$35.36 to \$55.76, and of female teachers from \$27.79 to \$40.15. The money spent on each child actually attending school was more than doubled, and the amount of money spent on the public schools of the State was increased from \$2,245,000 to \$5,617,000. (Reports of Superintendent of Public Instructions 1902-1912.)

Despite the fact that much improvement had taken place in Virginia schools from 1900 to 1916, yet the Commission on Education and Efficiency found it necessary to recommend the appointment of an Education Commission. They felt that the "school system ought to be reorganized, simplified, and made more directly responsive to the demands of the people". (Report of the Education Commission 1918-1920.)

The Assembly accepted this recommendation, and in 1918 passed a bill to that effect. The Commission was composed of Senator G. W. Mapp, Senator C. O'Connor Goolrich, Delegate Charles H. Ralston, Delegate Franklin Williams, Miss Bessie Taylor, Professor Charles G. Maphis, Supt. Blake T. Newton, Supt. Harris Hart. Dr. Alexander Inglis of Harvard University was chosen as director of the survey. Through the influence of Dr. Inglis the cooperation of other specialists were secured. The field staff was made up mostly of Virginia educators. Education is a technical matter and the best advice that can be obtained is that of impartial experts.

In order to do effective work the staff was organized under the following divisions:

Division of Organization and Administration.

- " " Buildings and Equipment.
- " " Attendance and Enrollment.
- " " Course of Study and Instruction.
- " " Teacher Status and Training.
- " " Tests and Measurements.
- " " Negro Education.
- " " Finance.
- " " Physical Education.
- " " Vocational Education.
- " " School Organization.

As a result of the diligent work done by the survey staff the following imperative needs were discovered:

1. The School Term must be lengthened.
2. An effective compulsory attendance law must be provided.
3. Grading and School Organization must be improved.
4. Better trained teachers are needed.
5. Improvements are needed in the Program of Education Provided.
6. Consolidation must be increased.
7. The school plant must be improved.
8. Better supervision must be provided for Rural Schools.
9. State and Local Systems of Administration must be changed.
10. The financial support of Public Schools must be greatly increased
11. The methods of raising and distributing school funds must be changed.

(Report of the Education Commission 1918-1920.)

Believing these needs to be imperative the Commission recommended to the General Assembly on this basis certain constitutional amendments and also amendments and changes in Statute Laws. The constitutional amendments suggested were related to the appointment of the State Board of Education and the Superintendent of Public Instruction; Duties of State Board, county unit system rather than district system, distribution of State and local funds, and compulsory attendance. The recommendations of amendments and changed in statute law were related to length of school term, age of attendance, school census, distribution text books, teacher's salaries, teacher training, establishment of high schools, vocation-education, physical training and sanitation, negro education, re-organization of rural schools, division superintendents and financial support. (Report of Education Commission 1918-1920.)

Practically the entire program recommended by the Education Commission was enacted into law by the Assembly of 1920 with the exception of amendments to the constitution which would remove therefrom details as to the organization of the State Board of Education, the election of the State Superintendent, and the method of distributing State school funds. Superintendent Harris Hart considers the program passed by the Assembly of 1920 more constructive and more forward looking than anything that has been placed on the statute books since the Constitutional Convention of 1901 and 1902. (Virginia Journal of Education 1920.) (Hart, Harris, "Recent School Legislation.")

Governor Trinkle in his inaugural address stated that he approved the recommendation of the outgoing Governor and that he hoped the Assembly would consider them carefully. He also stated that

"too many public servants mean confusion and waste; too few mean incomplete service; and poorly paid officials naturally mean inefficiency and dissatisfaction. (Inaugural address of E. Lee Trinkle Feb. 3, 1922.) A few days after this the Assemble provided for a Committee of nine to investigate and see whether it was possible to abolish any offices, boards, or commissions and whether it was possible to combine some of them.

W. B. Cocke, John E. Miller, Robert F. Leedy, and J. M. Parsons were appointed from the Senate; R. L. Gordon, Jr., R. L. Jeffreys, L. F. Smith, A. C. Beatie, and Marvin Smithey from the House. Due to the short time allowed only the most striking examples of extravagance and duplication of effort could be considered. The Commission soon found that the State Constitution which is really a code of laws was an almost insurmountable obstacle, nevertheless the following recommendations were made:

1. Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics and the Commissioner of Labor be merged.
2. That the Banking Division of the State Corporation Commission be merged with the Bureau of Insurance.
3. Abolition of transfer fees paid to commissioners of the revenue.
4. Officer of Assessor and Commissioner of the Revenue be merged.
5. That the State Accountant be required to make a complete audit of county and city treasurer's accounts once a year.

6. That the present system of employing and compensating game wardens be abolished.
7. Lowering compensation of Treasurer, Division Superintendents, Commissioners of the Revenue, and Clerks of the Courts.
8. Discontinuance of State and county appropriation to farm demonstrators and similar agencies.
9. That the duties of examiners of records be conferred to omitted taxes of a non-fiduciary nature.

(Report of Special Joint Legislative Committee on Investigation of State Departments, merger and abolition of offices, of Boards, Commissioners, etc.)

For some time the people of the State had been dissatisfied over the existing fee system. In March 1920 an act was passed by the General Assembly, which provided for the appointment of a Fee Commission composed of five men, R. O. Norris, E. H. Gibson, M. C. Brown, A. H. Jeffreys, and W. T. Oliver. This Commission made an extensive study of the fee system of the United States. They were firmly convinced that a straight salary is much better for State and local officers, but that a sudden change was impractical. Many evils had grown out of the fee system and should be remedied if possible, consequently, the following recommendations were agreed upon:

1. Fee system of paying justices of the peace, constables, and coroners be retained.
2. That the clerk of the courts be limited to not less

- than \$1500 nor more than \$5000 per year.
3. That the treasurers be limited to not less than \$1500 nor more than \$5000.
 4. That the commissioner of the revenue be limited to not less than \$1000 nor more than \$5000.
 5. That the board of review be abolished and a board of equalization take its place; the chairman to receive \$40.00 per day, the other members to serve without pay.
 6. That the Commonwealth's Attorney be paid a salary and no fees; in large cities not more than \$5000 nor less than \$2400; in small cities and counties not more than \$3000 nor less than \$600.
 7. That sheriffs, city sergeants, and high constables be paid the fees now allowed by law and such salaries as are fixed by law.
 8. That the office of examiner of records be abolished.
 9. That the State Fee Commission, consisting of the Auditor of Public Accounts, State Accountant, and Governor be abolished.
 10. Local board of review abolished.
 11. Commissioner of court abolished.
 12. Deduction of salaries of heads of departments, boards, commissions, etc.
 13. Abolition of State Forester and Department of Forestry.
 14. Eight hour day for State departments.
 15. Abolition of the Register of the Land Office.

16. Abolition of Counsel to the State Corporation Commission and Counsel to the State Tax Board.
17. Boards of supervisors of the counties and councils of cities by prohibited from appropriating any part of the local revenues to the salaries of division superintendents of schools.
18. Office of Second Auditor and office of State Treasurer be merged with the Auditor of Public Accounts.
19. To avoid annual election; that the State be placed upon bi-annual basis.
20. That the office of treasurer be merged with that of sheriff.
21. Decrease of division superintendents to one for every senatorial district.

The Commission also recommends that the Assembly pass an act submitting to the people the question of whether or not a Constitutional Convention should be called. In 1902 when the Constitution was made the cost of operation State government was \$3,900,000 annually. In 1922 it had risen to \$25,000,000. The cost of operating the State and local governments in 1922 was \$100,000,000. This was entirely too much and was most probably due to too many offices, boards, and commissioners. The cost of a Constitutional Convention would be little if any more expensive than amendments so the Commission urgently insisted that the question be put before the people. (Report of the Commission on the Fee System in Virginia 1922.)

On April 1, 1921 Governor Davis appointed the following

Commission to revise the laws of the State relating to child welfare and to suggest new bills that were needed; Franklin Williams, James Haze Ricks, Mary Evelyn Brydon, Elizabeth S. Brownlow, Wm. B. Dey, L. T. Rayston, Fannie Bagley King, Nora Houston, and C. H. Morrisette. In the recommendation nineteen new bills and nine amending old statute were submitted. The report did not cover the entire field of child welfare legislation so it suggested that a new commission be appointed to make recommendations to the next Assembly.

In November 1921 Governor Davis at the request of the Virginia League of Women Voters called for a conference on Government Efficiency. This was rather an unusual meeting. Here we find the people of the State discussing with State officials and political economists the question of good government. This was the first conference of its kind ever held in the United States. (Report of Commission on Simplification and Economy of State and Local Government. note p. 10.) Growing out of this Conference was a bill advocated by Honorable Julian Gunn and Honorable C. O'Connor Goolrich. This bill provided for the appointment of a Commission on Simplification and Economy of State and Local Government and was approved by the General Assembly March 24, 1922. Julian Gunn, William B. Cocke, Holman Willis, Edwin B. Jones, Marvin Smithey, Dr. Julian A. Burress, Miss Adele Clark, Dr. John Garland Pollard, and Mr. R. H. Tucker composed the Commission. Two of these were from the Senate, three from the House of Delegates, and four appointed by the Governor. Col. Le Roy Hodges was chosen Technical Advisor, Hon. H. C. Morrisett, Research Advisor, and J. H. Bradford, Statistician. (Report of Commission

on Simplification and Economy of State and Local Government 1922-1924)

The Commission was instructed to "investigate and study in detail the organization of the government of Virginia, State and local, also all bureaus, departments, and institutions and on the basis of this investigation" present to the 1924 Assembly a plan for the reorganization and simplification of all the component parts of the government, state and local, including such co-operation as may seem expedient, and such elimination of unnecessary duplication in State governmental agencies, both State and local, as may be revealed by the investigation and study herein mentioned." (Acts of the Assembly 1922. Chap. 416.) According to the act the recommendations were to be divided into two parts, the first including changes that could be made without constitutional amendment, and second those needed changes that would require a constitutional change.

The Commission was wisely chosen, as practically all of its members had kept in close contact with the government of the State.

After studying the principles of simplification and reorganization in Virginia the Commission decided it would be wise to have an interview with the heads of various departments, divisions, and bureaus. Reports of previous commissions on reorganization in other States and the information received from the heads of the departments, etc., were used as the basis of the work done by the Commission.

The movement for simplification and economy of State government is very popular at the present time. Probably the first plan in this direction was presented in 1913 by the Minnesota Efficiency and Economy Commission. Thirty three States have considered the question

since that time. (Report of the Commission on Simplification and Economy of State and Local Government. p. 14.)

The principles which have been developed by the State that have introduced reforms are as follows:

1. Consolidation of the various offices, boards, commissions, etc., into a small number of departments composed of groups of clearly interrelated functions, each headed by a single individual. An exception is made of departments performing quasi - legislative or quasi - judicial functions, these departments being headed by boards or commissions. In some States even this exception has been disregarded and all departments, regardless of the nature of the work they have to perform, are headed by single individuals.
2. Organization of the departments internally through the establishment of appropriate functional divisions or bureaus.
3. Placing the responsibility squarely upon the Governor by vesting him with the power of appointing the department heads, who in turn are accountable to him and removable at his pleasure. In Illinois, which may be said to have gone farther than most States in increasing the power and responsibility of the Governor, the Governor not only appoints the nine directors of departments, but also forty-one assistants and subordinate officials. The terms of these officials are made co-terminous with that of the Governor.

4. The establishment of an executive budget system, giving the Governor full responsibility in the preparation of the budget containing all the proposed expenditures of the State and in preparing plans for obtaining necessary revenues. (Report of Commission on Simplification and Economy of State and Local Government 1922-1924, p. 16-17.)

The Commission found that conditions in Virginia were similar to those of other States and that as a result of these conditions, there was inefficiency, waste, and duplication of work. In 1903 there existed in Virginia forty-eight independent or semi-independent agencies, in 1910, sixty-two, and 1923, ninety; an increase of almost one hundred per cent in twenty years.

The Commission states that "the administrative agencies in the State government at present includes twenty-four officers and sixty-six boards. Fifty of the boards are composed of appointed members, varying in number from three to nineteen, and sixteen are composed of ex-officio members. Ten of the officers are elected by the people and five by the General Assembly. Nine of the officers are appointed by the Governor, five independently, and four with the consent of the Senate or of the General Assembly. The Governor appoints fifty boards, twenty-two of them with the consent of the Senate. His is a member of eight of the sixteen ex-officio boards.

In addition to these State-wide agencies, there are members of local officers and boards appointed by the Governor, which are not listed here." (Report of the Commission on Simplification and Economy

of State and Local Government 1922-1924. p. 22.)

So far I have been speaking of the defects of the State government but the same thing was true of the county. The counties lacked central control. Little change in the county government can take place however until the State Constitution is changed. Improvement in the State government does not depend as much on constitutional changes as does that of the county.

In order that these evils might be corrected the Commission made recommendations along three lines.

1. Proposals looking to the correction of certain outstanding and obvious details of administration for immediate action on the part of the General Assembly.
2. The presentation of a plan of partial consolidation that can and should be made without waiting for complete consolidation.
3. Proposal to such amendments to the State Constitution as are necessary to open the way for complete consolidation.

(Report of the Commission on Simplification and Economy of State and Local Government 1922-1924. p. 24.)

According to the plans of the Commission the administrative structure of the State government would finally be consolidated into twelve departments: State, Finance, Education, Public Welfare, Public Health, Agriculture, Corporations, Labor and Industry, Highways, Conservation-Law, and Military affairs.

The Commission decided that it would be best for the departments having quasi-judicial or quasi-legislative function, like the

State Corporation Commission for instance, to consist of a board of three members, the chairman being made chief executive officer. The other departments, however, should be headed by individuals appointed by the Governor and made responsible to him.

The administrative details covered by the Commission in their recommendations were measures relating to the purchasing system, standards in State service, distribution of school funds, prison administration, equalization of taxation, limiting the compensation of certain fee officers, State workmen's compensation liability, interest on public money, collection of local revenue, uniform public accounting, and increased scope of local legislation. Think of the enormous waste that takes place in the purchasing department. The Commission found that there were eight hundred independent purchasing agents in Virginia who were buying supplies for State agencies and county units without any standards or knowledge of what the other agents in the State were paying for the same articles. (Report of the Commission on Simplification and Economy of State and Local Government 1922-1924.)

"The plan of partial consolidation included a few changes in the department of public health and of highways; a complete re-organization and consolidation of the several agencies connected with labor and industry into a single department, with appropriate divisions; replacement of the present scattered conservation agencies by a department of conservation with divisions of commercial fisheries, game and inland fisheries, geology, forestry, and public property; administrative changes needed to restore to the department of corporation control, and to the department of agriculture certain of their divisions which, for

one reason or another, have assumed independent functions; and finally some consolidations of existing agencies which may be regarded as preliminary steps in the establishment of a department of finance and a department of public welfare. Extensive changes recommended in connection with the department of education must wait upon a revision of the State Constitution. Concerning the departments of law and of military affairs, the commission made no recommendations, except that federal funds expended for military purposes in the State be reported to the auditor of public accounts and listed in the statistical tables of the State budget."

The recommendations referring to local government proposed increased powers of local legislation on the part of county boards of supervisors, thus relieving the General Assembly of local legislation; limiting the number of Commissioners of the Revenue; optional use of the State purchasing system; provision for the election of school trustees directly by the people; provision for the election of division superintendents from a list of eligibles furnished by the State Board, and the election of teachers on nomination of the school superintendent; that all schools and school systems receiving State aid be required to submit budgets to the State Board of Education and to the county supervisors; uniform financial records of all political subdivisions of the State; removal of restrictions as to membership in local boards of health; limit salaries, allowances, and commissions of fee officials; Commonwealth's Attorney shall serve as counsel for the local school board.

Eleven amendments to the State Constitution were proposed,

seven of these looking toward consolidation of administrative agencies, and four to the correction of individual administrative defects. Six of these referred to the educational system, two to welfare agencies, one to agriculture, one to county government and one to the establishment of a uniform fiscal year. (University of Virginia Record Extension Series. Nov. 1926. Tucker, R. H. "Virginia Proposes Simplification and Economy in Government." p. 208.)

By the adoption of the immediate plans of the Commission it was thought that there would be an annual saving of approximately \$1,132,000 to the people of the State. There could be several times that amount if the complete plans of the Commission were carried out.

The people of Virginia were pleased with the report presented, but the General Assembly was too busy with other matters to give the recommendations careful consideration. A number of the bills were referred to various committees, but few were presented to the Assembly. A few bills were passed however that may be attributed to the work of the Commission. The most important were provisions for the establishment of a centralized purchasing system and second, provision for uniform public accounting and the publication annually of a statement of the comparative cost of local government as found among the counties and cities of the State. The passage of the modern purchasing system should result in great saving for the State. The uniform accounting act was thought by some to require amendments before it could be made effective. The minor laws passed included the following: establishment of a uniform fiscal year, abolishing the register of the land office, and the State Highway Commission, creation of local boards of equali-

zation of assessment of land, composition and election of local school boards and local boards of health. (Report of Commission on Simplification and Economy of State and Local Government.)

The Governor was given the power to fix the time that State officials were to work per day. Seven hours per day was decided on for all State employees employed at the seat of government.

It seems that administrative consolidation was ignored for ~~an~~ new department was established and seven special boards or commissions were created.

A number of constitutional changes were proposed by only one was adopted, that being a resolution to amend the State Constitution with reference to the dates of the appropriation year.

The Commission did not present their report until after ~~the~~ beginning of the legislature, consequently the Assembly did not have time to consider the report carefully. There were also other important questions before the Assembly at this time. This report greatly influenced future legislation. Simplification and Economy became an issue in the campaign of 1925 and both candidates announced themselves for administrative reform.

Virginia was certainly fortunate in the choice of her last Governor, Harry Flood Byrd, whose achievements are almost unprecedented in Virginia. He was only thirty-eight years of age when he was elected, but he appeared to be just the man for the place. He is possibly not brilliant but he has sound business judgment, energy, force of character, practical imagination, an attractive personality, and great political skill.

He came to the State at a very critical time. The State had progressed in recent years but the time had come when it was necessary for it to go forward faster than it had before in order to keep up with the other States. A great deal of clear thinking was necessary before Virginia would be ready to progress at the proper speed. Grave problems waited solution.

Mr. Byrd was not the creator of the new movement in Virginia, but he most remarkably embodied it. The report of the Commission on Simplification in 1924 helped to make Byrd's reform possible by providing the ground work of research, analysis, and publicity. Few men have overcome more bitter political opposition than this leader from the Valley.

The Times Dispatch of February 2, 1926 states that Governor Byrd's inaugural address outlined a business chart suggestive of the lines along which he hoped to direct the State as its business manager. His address was thoroughly practical and he appeared to understand the task that confronted him. Since that time he has proved that he had the courage to undertake it.

In very fitting words he said that "if Virginia is to operate with the efficiency approaching a great business corporation, we must concentrate responsibility. Practical experience has taught me that success is only possible when responsibility is combined with authority. We should, of course, carefully prevent an encroachment of any one of the three branches of government - the administrative, legislative, and judicial - upon the other. The real head of the executive branch of the government should be the Governor. There is little dan-

ger in this concentration of executive authority, for the Constitution of Virginia wisely provides that a Governor cannot succeed himself. The constitutional inhibition removes from the Governor the opportunity to form a political organization for his personal advancement. Other States see the wisdom of concentrating executive responsibility in the Governor. As the proposed concentrated responsibility involves a business reorganization of our State departments and a short ballot, I will deal with these questions in a separate message." (Inaugural Address of Harry Flood Byrd Feb. 1, 1926. p. 6.)

Byrd also reiterated in his inaugural address his campaign pledges. He set them forth again as the objectives of his administration. The pledges as he repeated them are:

"To reform the fee system; to improve the tax system; to build the roads by the pay-as-you-go plan with speed, efficiency, with economy, and especially to quickly construct the gaps in the important trunk highways; to develop the schools, which are the hope of Democracy; to enforce the laws; to make the best use of our great natural resources; and to let the world know by means of an effective advertising campaign of the riches and opportunities that here await and attract development.

I construe my election as a mandate to me as a business man to institute the best methods of efficiency and economy in State affairs, so that the people may obtain in the public service a dollar value for every dollar spent.

Useless offices must be abolished, duplicated services must

be consolidated, and the manifold activities of the State systematized and directed with the efficiency of a great business corporation."

(Inaugural Address of Harry Flood Byrd. Feb. 1, 1926.)

Governor Trinkle insisted on boasting the State, but Byrd did not approve of the State's defects being concealed and its merits proclaimed. He says "we should welcome frank analysis of our faults." If knockers had not been hammering away for years we would probably not be where we are today. (Times Dispatch, Feb. 5, 1926.)

Byrd's first official act was to establish a uniform eight-hour day for all State employees engaged at the seat of government. This followed on February 3rd by a notable message to the General Assembly on "Simplification of Government in Virginia." He did not merely accept the report of the Commission. After careful investigation however it is interesting to note that his ideal coincided very closely with those that appeared in the Commission report.

He began his address to the Assembly with a quotation from Woodrow Wilson, "Simplify your processes, and you will begin to control; complicate them, and you will get further away from control." He then quoted from the Report of the Commission on Simplification. "Consolidation is a part also of the movement for "more business in government," and is thus closely connected with the increasing emphasis now being placed upon management as a factor in business. The State is properly conceived as a large-scale business enterprise. As such it has certain functions to perform and certain wants to satisfy. These wants are satisfied, as in other business, by goods and services. Large-scale business has long ago come to realize that efficiency and economy can more easily be

attained through the grouping of its functions under a few departments, each with a responsible head and through the establishment within these departments of appropriate divisions, or bureaus, each in charge of a responsible chief. Influencing the foregoing consideration, and closely connected with them, is the idea of the "short Ballot," limiting the number of elective officers, giving these officers definite powers and holding them definitely responsible for results. From this point of view the movement for administrative consolidation becomes a place of the struggle for democracy. In fact, it has been referred to by former President Wilson as "the key to the whole problem of the restoration of democratic government in this country." (Report of the Commission on Simplification and Economy of State and Local Government, p. 15.)

The Commission presented the following remedies which other States had found effective:

"Consolidation of the various offices, boards, commission, etc., into a small number of departments - - -. Organization of the departments internally through the establishment of appropriate functional divisions or bureaus. Placing the responsibility squarely upon the Governor by vesting him with the power of appointing the department heads, who in turn are accountable to him - - -. The establishment of an executive budget system giving the Governor full responsibility in the preparation." (Report of the Commission on Simplification and Economy of State and Local Government. p. 16-17.)

In order to prove Virginia's need of simplification which would bring control he brought to the minds of the people the fact that

"nearly 100 bureaus, boards, and departments, many of which are independent of one another, and if the Governor as well struggle to function in the management of the affairs of Virginia." "The executive head of the State," he continues, "is permitted to select and appoint the members^{of}/only 20 of the 57 so called administrative bureaus, commissions, and departments upon whom he must rely to make his administration efficient. This patchment system is made more cumbersome by an illogical designation of certain officials elected by the people and others to be elected by the General Assembly. Ten important officers are elected by popular vote and five by the Legislature." (Address of the Governor. Feb, 3, 1926.)

To remedy this condition he made specific recommendations

1. That the General Assembly submit constitutional amendments to popular vote so that Virginia can adopt the short ballot and elect by direct popular vote only the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and the Attorney General.

2. That the administrative heads of departments be appointed by the Governor who is directly responsible to the people for administrative efficiency.

3. That the bureaus, boards, and commissions be grouped in eight or ten departments and a business survey be conducted to make clear the way to economics. (Byrd's address to the General Assembly. Feb. 3, 1926.)

It cannot be said that Byrd was looking after his own interest in this matter for he could not possibly benefit personally by it. As a safeguard he desired the election of the auditor by the General

Assembly to serve as a check on expenditures. He also thought it best to make it possible to return to the old plan if the new did not prove successful.

It has been said that no measure recommended by the Governor failed to pass. Few of them receive opposition. The following is a synopsis of his recommendations:

An eight hour working day with the exception of Saturday; the abolition of 849 taxing officials; the consolidation of the Hampton Roads Port Commission, the underdeveloped Water Power Commission, Geological Commission, and the Forestry Commission into one commission known as the Commission of Conservation and Development; constitutional amendments to make the Governor the real business head of the State; an efficiency survey by business specialist as a preliminary to the re-organization of the machinery of the government; the budgeting of all funds from State taxes, and the abolition of all segregated funds except the gasoline and automobile license tax; the abolition of the Dairy and Food Department, the Commission of Hospitals, the State Crop and Pest Commission, the Live Stock Sanitary Board, the Virginia Agricultural Experiment Board, Virginia Truck Experiment Station Board, and the War History Commission; certain measures in the interest of greater efficiency in the local government; transfer of the regulation of traffic from the Motor Vehicle Department to the State Highway Commission; granting of power to the Governor to reduce the budget of the Motor Vehicle Department. (Various addresses of Governor Byrd.)

The Commission on Simplification and Economy of State and Local Government pointed out in its report the most serious defects of

the tax system. "In other words, the State taked its most difficult administrative problem, that of administering tax laws, and places it upon an ex-officio board composed of the three busiest men in the State, the Governor, the Chairman of the State Cerperation Commission, and the Auditor of Public Accounts. It is no reflection whatever upon this board to say that, with its members engrossed, as they are in other things, it is not humanly possible for it to cope with this problem in all of its necessary details. The ex-officio board has failed as a means of equalization in every State where it has been tried, and it will continue to fail for the reason just indicated."

Mr. Byrd proposes a full time commission, the Governor and the Auditor of Public Accounts to be the ex-officio members. (Report of Commission on Simplification and Economy of State and Local Government. p. 126.) He outlined clearly the work to be done by the Tax Commission and insisted that the General Assembly act favorably on this matter.

The tax law that existed when Byrd came in office was very burdensome. Both the State and the counties levied taxes on land and they also taxed personal property. Bond iddues were limited to a fixed percentage of the assessed valuation of the land. It was here that the State road bond issue aroused the farmers. They realized that the only way to increase the bonding capacity of the State was to equalize the assessed valuations and naturally that meant raising the valuation in the rural counties. The plan that he proposed was a complete segregation of taxes.

Even Dr. Robert H. Tucker, of Lexington, Chairman of the Commission on Taxation of the State Chamber of Commerce, which had

been in favor of equalization of taxation by equalization of assessments instead of segregation, said:

" Mr. Byrd's tax plan is a notable contribution to the study of taxation in Virginia, highly constructive and in its grasp and treatment of the problem, full of hope and encouragement." (Times Dispatch Feb. 3, 1926.)

The bill was passed by the legislature. Taxation of land is left entirely to the counties now, while the State taxes intangibles such as income, securities, and inheritance.

Byrd advocated and succeeded in getting them to increase the State tax on gasoline from three cents to four and one half cents per gallon. He was also instrumental in getting license fees for automobiles to be based on weight instead of horse power. These increased resources and the additional appropriation made possible by tax segregation increased the amount available for road construction for 1926-27, \$25,500,000.

We next see Byrd attacking the miserable fee system. The tax assessors, sheriffs, constables, and others received a certain percentage of all money that they placed in the treasury from taxes, fines, etc. This certainly led to corruption. Some of these officials received as much as \$35,000 a year. Byrd wanted a limit of \$7,500 placed on all salaried. The General Assembly finally limited their compensation and provided for publicity and control of the expenses of such officers.

In regard to the tax on stock of non resident corporations, Mr. Byrd said, "I am convinced that the tax of \$1.10 per \$100 on the assessed value of stock owned by Virginia citizens in non resident

corporations is doing more to prevent new citizens from locating in Virginia than any other one thing. This tax is unjust, because the non resident corporation is taxed in the state of its location. The rate is twice that on other intangibles, such as notes, bonds, and other evidences of debt. This excessive rate defeats its purpose as a revenue producer, as is shown by the relatively small assessment of this class of property." Finally he persuaded the Legislature to reduce the tax rate on stock of non-resident corporations from \$1.10 to \$.85. He wanted other wealthy men to move to Virginia and he also wanted outside corporations to come in and assist Virginia in building up her industries.

No one seems to realize more clearly than Mr. Byrd the possibilities of Virginia, and certainly no one is more anxious for Virginia's progress than he is. He says our laws should be such that the State's doors are thrown open to those who would like to join in its development. He not only wants outsiders to come in if they desire, but he greatly desires the disappearance of sectionalism. "We are all Virginians infinitely proud of our State, and all sections. Let us progress united in common purpose and effort for the common good of all." (Times Dispatch. Feb, 23, 1926.)

In 1924 the State Chamber of Commerce organized, Mr. LeRoy Hodges being its director. This organization formulated what is known as the "Five-Five Program" or Five Big Reforms in Five Years, namely:

1. "Commerce - Development of Hampton Roads as a world port.
2. Agriculture - Peopling of Virginia's millions of man-hungry, unoccupied, tillable acres with desirable, permanent, agricultural settlers

to one for each county, the corporation commission to be appointed instead of elected, separation of department of game and inland fisheries and the department of commercial fisheries, additional power of local legislation given to the county boards of supervision, land assessors abolished and their work taken over by the commissioners of the revenue, reorganization of the Tax Commission and the appointment of a full time Tax Commissioner, combination of certain bureaus and the establishment of others, creation of a "State Port Authority" to improve the State water ways, several conservation agencies consolidated under a commission of conservation; a uniform statement of receipts and disbursements, state and local, the State Accountant to prescribe a uniform classification and is to publish yearly a statement of the comparative cost of local government among the counties and cities of the State; several measures limiting the powers of the departments to create deficits; preparation and publication of annual budgets by all local governing authorities; power of local school boards to create deficits or borrow money without authorization by the local government; limited bond issues for local purposes without authorization by direct vote of the people prohibited.

Resolutions were passed proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing for the appointment by the Governor of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, the State Treasurer, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the ^U -ommissioner of Agriculture and Immigration.

Probably the most important measure was that which provided for the appropriation of \$25,000 for an expert survey of the State government in regard to consolidation and simplification, A similar act pro-

vided for the appointment by the Governor of a commission of seven men to study the State Constitution and to propose to the 1928 session of the General Assembly such amendments and revisions as appeared best for the State. (Acts of the Assembly. 1926.)

Undoubtedly there are some defects in the program of 1926 but the constructive program greatly overbalances the defects. A new tax system has been inaugurated which was greatly needed, administrative control has been strengthened, administrative consolidation and the short ballot have been approved, and it appears that the Governor is on the road to being the business head of the State.

In pursuance of the authority vested in him Governor Byrd employed the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, under the direction of Mr. A. E. Buck, to conduct the survey. He also appointed a Citizens Committee of thirty-eight for the same general purpose. (The Citizens Committee: W. T. Reed, Chairman, Shirley Carter, Geo. B. Kezell, D. H. Barger, Chas. A. Miller, Allen J. Saville, Richard Crane, Geo. A. Lambert, Thos. G. Burch, Robert D. Ford, F. S. Southgate, N. D. Maher, Jonathan Bryan, Dr. John G. Pollard, C. W. Grandy, Jean W. Staples, Carrie E. Sykes, Amy Frances Bell, Sallie Haskins, Laerence S. Davis, Wm. P. Woalls, C. M. Hunter, A. E. Shumate, C. R. McCann, Ben T. Gunter, J. Scott Parrish, Robert H. Tucker, Clude H. Ratcliffe, and H. F. Hutcheson.) (Report of the Citizens Committee, 1927)

In compliance with the Acts of the Assembly Governor Byrd appointed a commission to study the constitution and to propose the necessary changes. Judge Robert R. Prentis, President of the Supreme

Court of Appeals of Virginia, became Chairman, and R. G. Williams, President of the State Bar Association of Virginia, Secretary, Wm. Meade Fletcher, author of legal text books, Dr. Wm. Minor Lile, Dean of University of Virginia Law School, former Governor Henry C. Stuart, Robert M. Hughes, distinguished member of the Norfolk Bar, and Jos. H. Chitwood, formerly Assistant United States Attorney for the Western District of Virginia, were the other members of the Commission. (Times Dispatch. Feb. 23, 1926.)

Although it was directed to submit its report to the General Assembly of 1928 the Commission decided that this was not mandatory.

The Bureau of Municipal Research found the State government of Virginia very complex. There were twenty-seven constitutional agencies, not including the General Assembly and the Supreme Court of Appeals. There were sixty-eight other agencies, making a total of ninety-five administrative agencies. Twenty-nine of these were single officials, the other were boards or commissions. Eight of the single officials were elected by the people. Many of the boards and commissions were made up of ex-officio members. A majority of the administrative agencies were appointed by the Governor, but many of his appointments required the approval of the Senate and in several cases both the Senate and the House. Several administrative agencies were appointed by the General Assembly and the Governor had no authority over them. A large part of the State organization is written into the constitution. (Report of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. "Organization and Management of the State Government of Virginia.")

The Bureau of Municipal Research found that the accounting system was over burdened with bookkeeping, duplication, and meaningless

procedure. This may be illustrated by stating what occurs when the Department of Public Instruction buys a small supply of stationary through the public printer which is finally paid for out of school funds.

1. The Public Printer prepares and transmits to the vendor an approved voucher.
2. The vendor presents the voucher to the Department of Public Instruction for certification.
3. The vendor presents the certified voucher to the Auditor of Public Accounts (or he may deposit it in his bank for collection.)
4. The Auditor of Public Accounts draws a warrant on the Treasurer in favor of the vendor (or in favor of the bank by which the voucher may be presented.)
5. The Treasurer signs a check on the bank to cover the above warrant.
6. The Public Printer sends a bill to the Department of Public Instruction for payment of the Public Printer.
7. The Department of Public Instruction draws a warrant on the second auditor in favor of the Public Printer.
8. The Public Printer presents the warrant on the Treasurer in favor of the Public Printer.
9. The Treasurer signs a check on the bank to cover the above warrant.
10. The Public Printer presents the above check to the Auditor of Public Accounts.
11. The Public Printer presents the above check to the Auditor

of Public Accounts.

12. The Auditor of Public Accounts draws a "pay in warrant" on the Treasurer to cover the above check.

13. The Treasurer deposits in bank the check he signed as in No. 10 above.

The New York Bureau asserts that this procedure involves the entry of the transaction no less than thirty-two times in the various records kept by the departments concerned. (Report of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. "Organization and Management of the State Government of Virginia. p. 39.)

In view of the above facts it is easy to see that many changes were necessary. The essentials of the plans proposed by the New York Bureau are:

1. The Governor is to be in fact the head of the State administration. This means the elimination of all other elective administrative officers, or the adoption of the short ballot.
2. There are to be eleven administrative departments besides the Governor's office. All related functions now widely scattered are to be coordinated in these departments. Each of these departments is to make a single administrative head directly responsible to the Governor. The eleven department heads are to constitute the Governor's cabinet for the discussion of administrative matters in general, but this should not be required by law.
3. Boards and commissions are to be eliminated from the performance of purely administrative matters. Boards are to be retained. Connection with certain of the departments to function only

in an advisory, quasi-judicial, quasi-legislative, or promotional capacity.

4. Uniform financial planning, accounting, and control is to be established through the Department of Finance. Without this fundamental provision, the State administration cannot be business-like, effective, and economical. In the establishment of the proposed fiscal system it is not intended to take away any of the powers of the General Assembly, but rather to strengthen the control of the representatives of the people in this body over the raising and spending of the State funds. The General Assembly is to be given a special agent, namely, the Auditor of Public Accounts, who is to report periodically to the legislative body and to the people of the State.

The New York Bureau insists that the plan is modern, that it is workable, and that it will give better service than the present system. (Report of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. "Organization and Management of the State Government of Virginia.")

The Citizens Committee adopted such parts of the Municipal Bureau report as appealed to their good judgment and added several new suggestions. They insisted that their report was free from prejudice and favoritism. The most important items of the report are as follows:

1. Abolition of twenty-eight bureaus, boards, and agencies.
2. Organization of remaining State agencies into eleven major administrative departments.
3. Reconstruction of entire financial structure, with unified accounting and control over State collections by every department or institution.

4. Increase of gas tax from four and one-half to five cents.
5. Two year passenger motor vehicle licenses at saving of thirty percent to owner for period.
6. Abolition of offices of Secretary of Commonwealth, Second Auditor, Superintendent of Public Printing, State Accountant, and Commissioner of State Hospitals for Insane.
7. Placing of motor vehicle licensing under Department of Finance, and scrapping of title of Motor Vehicle Commissioner.
8. Giving general police power to prohibition and motor vehicle officers.
9. Permitting counties to adopt optional form of government.
10. Putting all tax collections, State and local, under one officer.
11. Permitting cities to except new industries from local taxation for five year period.
12. Audit of all city school fund and accounts and placing of funds and accounts under city's financial office.
13. Putting school property in name of city instead of name of school board.
14. Redemption of six percent perpetual educational certificates with certificates of lower interest rate.
15. Voluntary supervision of county finances with possible saving of \$280,000 annually in interest charges.
16. Cutting State Board of Censor to one member.

By these recommendations Virginia would probably save \$500,000 a year and she would have a well constructed government instead of the

clumsy system of administration now in existence. (Report of Citizens Committee on Consolidation and Simplification of State and Local Government.)

The Reed Commission was an authorized creation of the Governor's, while the Prentis Commission was a direct creation of the General Assembly.

Practically every recommendation of the Reed Commission that does not involve an amendment to the constitution can be made effective by the special session. Not one of the reforms proposed by the Prentis Commission can be effected by the General Assembly because all of them contemplate amendments to the constitution.

The Reed Commission rejected the New York Report recommendations that the Attorney General be appointed by the Governor, that the Corporation Commission be abolished and one Commissioner set up, that a State police force be created, and that the office of Lieutenant Governor be abolished.

The Reed Commission suggested to the Governor that an extra session of the Legislature be called to consider their recommendations and the recommendations of the Bureau of Municipal Research. The Commission was particularly anxious for the extra session to be called in order to save two years time. The constitution required that the proposed changes in the constitution be adopted by two General Assemblies elected at different times. The 1928 Assembly will be elected this Fall, the body being different from that which would meet in the extra session. If the constitutional changes could be adopted at the proposed extra session and again in 1928 they could be voted on in 1928, otherwise

they could not be voted on until 1930. The Governor considered this question and finally admitted that he was convinced that the public interest required a special session. March the 16th was the day set for the opening. The reports of the three Commissions were to be considered and acted upon. On March 16th the reports were submitted to the General Assembly. The Report of the New York Bureau was presented merely as a "text book on efficiency." As I have stated before this Bureau made a lengthy study of the governmental system and made a number of recommendations that were too drastic for the Reed Commission to adopt. Other recommendations were not practical.

The Reed report, with a few changes and additions, was recommended by the Governor. The Governor approved of practically all of the recommendations but one, and this one was not related to government reform. (Texas Dispatch. March 17, 1926.)

The Prentis Recommendations suggested changes in eighty-four sections of the constitution, but only fifty material changes. These fifty changes include the pending amendments. The Governor added two amendments to the Prentis list, first prohibition of bond issues by counties or districts without a referendum, and second prohibition on the right of the Governor to appoint anyone whose nomination was rejected by the General Assembly when confirmation is required. The Governor made no reference to the short ballot but on March 18th he sent a message to the Assembly stating that it was not necessary to bring up the short ballot. The Reed and the Prentis Commissions both approve the short ballot.

Near the end of his message the Governor said:

"I construe my election as a mandate to me as a business man to institute the best methods of efficiency and economy in State affairs in order that the public may obtain from the public service a dollar's value for every dollar spent.

Useless offices must be abolished, duplicated services must be consolidated, and the manifold activities of the State systematized and directed with the efficiency of a great business corporation." (Times Dispatch. March 17, 1927. Governor Byrd's message to the General Assembly. March 16, 1927.)

Governor Byrd in his supplementary message of March 21st urged the following specific legislation:

Authorization of an educational survey of both the public schools and the higher institutions of learning by an outside agency; an amendment of the act which permits public utility companies to put into effect proposed schedules of rates pending final disposition of their cases in the highest court; appointment of a commission of outstanding Virginians familiar with the seafood industry to make a careful survey of the industry and to report to the next Assembly; change of the law covering allocation of highway funds so as to permit the Highway Commission to allocate funds for the fiscal year; a more efficient audit and supervision of the use of gasoline sold for use by motors on the roads in order to reduce refunds of taxes on the part of the State; passage of a law vesting in the Department of Agriculture the right to establish apple grades so that Virginia apples shall be accurately branded and that the contents of each closed package shall conform to the grade indicated on the label. (Times

Dispatch, March 22, 1927.)

It is impossible to state accurately what was accomplished by the 1927 Assembly until the Acts of the Assembly are available. At any rate under the leadership of Governor Byrd the Assembly has accomplished and started on the way to accomplishment reforms that will play a mighty part in the future of Virginia. I will attempt to list some of the most important of these:

The agencies at the seat of government regrouped into twelve departments; establishment of a department of finance; second auditor abolished, the division of accounts and control will have a general system of bookkeeping for all the State Departments. The division of purchasing and printing will discharge the duties now performed by the State Purchasing Agent and by the Superintendent of Public Printing. The division of the treasury will perform the duties of the present treasurer; the division of motor vehicles will succeed the office of motor vehicle commission; the duties of the auditor changed; the Governor made head of finance department; state tax commission succeeded by a department of taxation.

Work on the constitution was not as effective as that on the departments. The proposals of the Prentis Commission were changed and amended until practically nothing was left but a redrafting of the sections relating to public education. As approved by the General Assembly the list must go before the new Assembly next year, and if any parts of it are changed, these will have to be deferred until 1930 and then submitted to the people. If the whole is endorsed unmodified, it can be carried before the people in the autumn of 1928.

Worthwhile surveys of the fish industry and of the educational system of the State were authorized. (News Leader. April 9, 1927.)

"A remarkable thing considering the magnitude of the bill" was Byrd's comment when both branches passed the Administration Reorganization Bill. The Constitutional Revision Bill, with a few changes, embodied the Prentis Recommendation and was also approved by both houses. The General Assembly separated several proposed amendments of a controversial character from the bill embracing the recommendations of the Prentis Commission. (Times Dispatch. April 3, 1927.)

Governor Byrd made the following statement in regard to the worth of the extra session:

"The General Assembly wisely adhered to the purposes for which it was convened, its attention not being diverted from the important question presented.

The General Assembly just adjourned has accomplished a great constructive work for Virginia the result of the patriotic labors of its members brought about in an atmosphere of State unity and unselfish devotion to Virginia. Another step forward has been made in our development and progress. Much of course, remains to be accomplished.

The General Assembly of 1928 must revise the budget so as to make effective the economies rendered possible by the re-organization program. It must ratify the constitutional changes

initiated at this session and provide for the submission of these changes to popular vote. Step by step our government must be made more efficient so that the responsible duties to our citizenship may not be neglected and so that Virginia may continue to press forward rapidly toward her high destiny and realize more fully her waiting opportunities." (Times Dispatch. April 10, 1927.)

Governmental reform has been much talked of in Virginia since 1902. In twenty-five years a complete reorganization of the State's government has been made. Thirty States bureaus have been consolidated into twelve co-ordinated departments for a cheaper and a more efficient administration of State government. If as much progress is made in the next twenty-five years as has been made in the past twenty-five Virginia will then occupy her rightful place among the States of the Union.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

1. Acts of the Assembly 1910.
2. Acts of the Assembly 1922.
3. Acts of the Assembly 1926.
4. Byrd, Harry Flood, Inaugural Address, February 1, 1926.
5. Byrd, Harry Flood, Address to General Assembly of Virginia on "Simplification of Government in Virginia." Feb. 3, 1926.
6. Byrd, Harry Flood, Message of the Assembly of Virginia, March 17, 1926.
7. Byrd, Harry Flood, Message to the Assembly of Virginia, March 21, 1926.
8. Byrd, Harry Flood, "A Discussion of the Plan to Increase Governmental Efficiency by Vesting in the Governor the Authority to be Business Manager of Virginia." February 26, 1927
9. Byrd, Harry Flood, Message to General Assembly of Virginia, March 16, 1927.
10. Byrd, Harry Flood, Message to General Assembly of Virginia, March 21, 1927.
11. Constitution of Virginia 1902.
12. Davis, Westmoreland, Inaugural Address February 1, 1918.
13. Davis, Westmoreland, Biennial Message 1920.
14. REPORT. Childrens Code Commission 1921-22.
15. REPORT. Committee on Tax Revision 1914.
16. REPORT. Commission on Economy and Efficiency 1916-1918.
17. REPORT. Tax Commission 1911.
18. REPORT. Fee Commission 1922.

19. REPORT. Education Commission 1918-1920.
20. REPORT. Special Joint Legislative Committee on the Merger and Abolition of Offices - Session of General Assembly 1922.
21. REPORT. Commissioner of Agriculture 1906.
22. REPORT. Commission to Suggest Amendments to the Constitution to the Assembly of Virginia 1927.
23. REPORT. New York Bureau of Municipal Research. "Organization and Management of the State Government of Virginia."
24. REPORT. Summary of the Report of the Commission to suggest Amendments to the Constitution 1927.
25. REPORT. Citizens Committee "Consolidation and Simplification in State and Local Government" 1927.
26. REPORT. Commission on "Simplification and Economy of State and Local Government" 1924.
27. Stuart, Henry C. Inaugural Address February 3, 1914.
28. Trinkie, E. Lee, Address to the General Assembly of Virginia January 13, 1926.
29. Virginia State Chamber of Commerce. "Tax Condition in Virginia." Document No. 1.
30. Times Dispatch, April 10, 1927. Byrd's Criticism of the Extra Session.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Secondary Sources

1. Merten, Richard L. "History of Virginia." Vol. III
American Historical Society, New York, 1924.
2. National Municipal League Pamphlet, "Story of City Manager."
3. News Leader. Editorial, April 1927.
4. Page, Roswell, Government in Virginia. Richmond, Va.
5. University of Virginia Record. Nov. 1926. Vol. XI, No. 5.
6. Virginia Municipal Review, June 1924.
Day, William F. "After Sixteen Years of City Manager Form of
Government."
7. Virginia Journal of Education. May 1920. Editorial.
8. Times Dispatch, February 10, 1908.
9. Times Dispatch, January 26, 1908. Editorial.
10. Times Dispatch, February 23, 1926.
11. Times Dispatch, February 26, 1926.
12. Times Dispatch, March 8, 1927.
13. Times Dispatch, March 17, 1927.
14. Times Dispatch, April 3, 1927.