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Saturday Evening Post Article on State of West Virginia

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 4, 1960

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I rise in response to the report on our State of West Virginia appearing in the Saturday Evening Post this week. The author of this article, Roul Tunley, has stated the strange case of West Virginia with unusual perception for an outsider. His objective reporting, his colorful slices of life, his summary of cause and effect, his listed suggestions for alleviation of the paradox—all these bare evidence of a reporter with purpose and dedication to his work.

Much of what Mr. Tunley says, we West Virginians have been saying. My colleague, Mr. RANDOLPH, and I have pointed to the poverty, the unemployment, the despair; we have also told of the limitless resources, the stalwart, courageous citizenry, the scenic grandeur of the Mountain State. The story of the paradox is not new. It is a story which, like Russell Conwell's "Acres of Diamonds," has been told 5,000 times. It has been told in other ages and in other times. Paradoxes are always with us. There is no State in the Union in which "the paradox of want and plenty living side by side" may not be found. The contrast may be seen to a greater degree in recent years in West Virginia, and the reasons are apparent, as Mr. Tunley has pointed out. Ours is a "basically rich State, long plundered by absentee landlords and later plied by all the woes of a one-industry area trying to convert to a multi-industry one." It is a State that is "just beginning to catch a glimpse of its potential."

I find no fault with those who try honestly to diagnose our problem. Mr. Tunley has indubitably attempted to do that.

It is unfortunate that he has fallen into the error of pointing to the exception rather than the rule; to the extreme rather than the normal. But he perhaps is not to blame for whatever distorted impression the picture may leave in the minds of his readers.

I hold those most to blame who gave to Mr. Tunley information that is not factual, those who reported the exceptional case rather than the average one. The exceptions and extremes are always spectacular, and the spectacular is always breathtaking. It makes good reading. Most regrettable are the statements that are little short of disgraceful, and which have fallen from the lips of a few careless and misguided West Virginians. Such statements sometimes assume a magnitude all out of proportion to the facts. In this regard, I think of such statements as the one which was reportedly made by a teacher to the effect that if better schools were built "there is a good chance youngsters would not attend." This statement is simply not factual. West Virginia's pupils are outstandingly faithful in school attendance. In average daily attendance, as in percentage of the number of pupils enrolled, 1955-56, West Virginia ranked tenth in the Nation, with a percentage of 90.8. This same individual, according to Mr. Tunley, is reported to have implied that West Virginia parents are sensitive lest their children be better educated than the parents are. To buttress this, the story was told of a college-educated girl who "admitted she was careful to use 'hain't' when around her mother and father." I simply do not believe a statement like this. I do not say that such could not happen. It could happen in West Virginia or anywhere else. If such a state of ignorance and shortsightedness exists upon the part of a parent in West Virginia today, it would be but one case in 10,000. I repeat that I do not

believe it exists at all. But the story has been printed, and millions of our fellow citizens all over the United States will remember West Virginia as a State in which uneducated parents are said to want to keep their children uneducated.

Mr. Tunley's article, perhaps unintentionally, may leave the impression that West Virginians are disinterested in education. There are certain favorable features dealing with education which should be mentioned:

First. Of all the Southern or border States which had segregated schools before the Supreme Court decision in 1954, West Virginia has been most successful in fully integrating its schools. Integration has been implemented in every school district.

Second. In general, the public schools in West Virginia are educating a large proportion of the State's school-age population. In 1957-58, the State ranked 16th in enrollment in public elementary and secondary schools as a percent of school-age population, with a percentage of 87.8. The national percentage was 82.9.

Third. The State itself is making a considerable financial effort to support its schools. West Virginia ranked 22d in the Nation in revenue from State sources per pupil enrolled, 1957-58.

Fourth. The State and local governments are spending a high percentage of their general expenditures for local schools. In 1957, West Virginia ranked 5th in the Nation in this respect, with a percentage of 33.1. The percentage for the Nation was 29.3.

Fifth. West Virginia also ranks high in per capita State expenditures (this does not include local contributions) for education. In 1957 the State ranked 21st, with a per capita expenditure of \$42.14. The National average expenditure was \$39.37.

Sixth. West Virginia is trying to maintain high standards in employing teach-

ers. In the fall of 1958 its percentage of classroom teachers in secondary schools with standard credentials was 4.5. The figure for continental United States was 4.9 percent.

Seventh. Although, like all other States, West Virginia is experiencing a classroom shortage, the situation there is not so critical as it is in many States. In the fall of 1958 there were 19 States which had a higher percentage of pupils enrolled in school in excess of normal capacity as a percent of total enrollment than did West Virginia. Its percentage of 5.1 for elementary schools was better than the national percentage, which was 5.4.

Eighth. Citizens of the State are aware of the educational problems facing them and are taking steps to correct them. Recently the Princeton Research Service reported that 58 out of every 100 West Virginians considered the needs of the schools as the State's No. 1 problem. According to this same survey, only 9 percent opposed additional State taxes for schools. In order to learn how best to meet school problems, a number of studies and surveys have been and are now being made. When final conclusions are drawn, the State may be expected to begin vigorously to improve its public school system.

Ninth. According to one important statewide survey, authorized by the Legislative Interim Committee, West Virginia schools rank high in the Nation in regard to course offerings. The report based on this study, "A Survey of the Educational Programs of the West Virginia Public Schools," showed that in a national study made in 1954-55, 89.8 percent of the sample schools offered elementary algebra. In the West Virginia study, 96 percent of the sample State schools offered that subject. Plane geometry was offered in 78 percent of the schools in the national study, and in 94.6 percent of the schools in the State study. West Virginia also showed up well in course offerings in physics and chemistry.

Tenth. State accomplishments in education have been made in spite of financial handicaps. In 1957, West Virginia ranked 40th in amount of personal income per child of school age, with a figure of \$5,805. The national figure was \$8,591.

Eleventh. The State is making a great effort to assure its young people of an opportunity for higher education. Tuition fees in State institutions of higher

education are among the lowest in the country.

Because of the many factors involved, States cannot be given an overall ranking in education. In a number of important respects, however, West Virginia does rank below the national averages. For example, in average salary of classroom teachers in public schools, 1958-59, the State ranked 41st, with an average salary of \$3,610. The national average was \$4,775. In current expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance, 1958-59, the State ranked 42d, with an average of \$225. The national average was \$340.

Most of all, Mr. President, I resent the implication, by those who claim to be native sons, that West Virginia is "remote, backward, and dangerously provincial." West Virginia is not remote. It is not backward. I am not, by birth, a native son of West Virginia, but I love the State dearly, and my soul is stirred by those native sons who speak disparagingly of it and of the folks back home. It is one thing to speak of unemployment and economic conditions which are ephemeral, not lasting. It is quite another thing to cast a reflection upon the resourcefulness, the ingenuity, the character of a great people, especially when such discordant notes come from individuals who bear the proud name of West Virginians. As I think of these misguided, miserable wretches, I think of the appropriate lines by Sir Walter Scott, from "The Lay of the Last Minstrel":

Breathes there the man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land!
Whose heart hath ne'er within him burned,
As home his footsteps he hath turned
From wandering on a foreign strand?
If such there breathe, go, mark him well;
For him no minstrel raptures swell;
High though his titles, proud his name,
Boundless his wealth as wish can claim,
Despite those titles, power, and pelf,
The wretch, concentred all in self,
Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
And, doubly dying, shall go down
To the vile dust from whence he sprung,
Unwept, unhonored, and unsung.

And so, Mr. President, I must be somewhat critical of Mr. Tunley for his having relied upon such puerile patter, and permitting it to so discolor the true picture. It is particularly unfortunate that the article places a blotch upon the character of my State's citizenry by stating that West Virginia has "a higher ratio of illegitimate white babies than any other State," and by implying that some women make careers there of giving

birth to illegitimate children in order to draw money from the State Department of Public Assistance. Of course, one can find an isolated instance of almost anything he wishes to look for. Some women may indeed make it a career, but they are not to be confined to any one State or race. If Mr. Tunley had desired to print the whole truth, he would have said that a number of States have higher rates of illegitimate births than West Virginia. The rate for West Virginia for 1957 was 55.5 for each 1,000 births, according to the Childrens Bureau. For the rest of the Nation as a whole the rate was 47.4. Only 35 States report illegitimate births in this manner. Of these 35, in 1957 there were 10 States that had higher illegitimate birth rates than West Virginia. It is this printing of half-truths that is so disgusting, so discouraging, and so regrettable. I think it should be stated here that West Virginia has one of the lowest crime rates in the country.

According to the Uniform Crime Reports for the United States in 1958, the State's rate of major criminal offenses for the year was 429.1 per 100,000. The rate for the continental United States was 896.9 per 100,000. Only three States had lower rates than did West Virginia—New Hampshire, North Dakota, and Mississippi. The offenses included in this figure are murder and non-negligent manslaughter, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny over \$50, and auto theft. So, as one can see, our so-called "hillbillies" live a rather decent life as compared to people in certain other parts of the country.

Mr. President, the most offensive thing about Mr. Tunley's article was its reprint of a quotation from an unidentified newspaper which called the Mountain State's migrants "shoeless, shiftless, beer-swilling clods who wouldn't go to a church that didn't use rattlesnakes in the service." I protest such a charge. Ananias, together with his wife Sapphira, could not have concocted a more unadulterated, unmitigated untruth. Some West Virginians are shoeless, as are natives of other States, at times, but it is not by choice. It is no disgrace to be without shoes if a man is honest, wants to work, and would work if he could find work. As to shiftlessness, West Virginians are as industrious and resourceful as are other Americans. It is not a matter of laziness; it is one of finding employment during our State's industrial revolution. Edwin Markham might well have been thinking of men and

women like those from the hills when he wrote:

THE RIGHT TO LABOR IN JOY
Out on the roads they have gathered, a hundred thousand men,
To ask for a hold on life as sure as the wolf's hold in his den,
Their need lies close to the quick of life as rain to the furrow sown:
It is as meat to the slender rib, as marrow to the bone.
They ask but the leave to labor for a taste of life's delight,
For a little salt to savor their bread, for houses watertight.
They ask but the right to labor, and to live by the strength of their hands—
They who have bodies like knotted oaks, and patience like sea sands.

And the right of a man to labor and his right to labor in joy—
Not all your laws can strangle that right, nor the gates of Hell destroy.
For it came with the making of man and was kneaded into his bones,
And it will stand at the last of things on the dust of crumbled thrones.

As to the implication that West Virginians attend only church services where "rattlesnakes" are used, I need make no comment except to say that the term might be a fitting title for those who make such unfounded, preposterous statements.

Mr. President, the word "hillbillies" has been used in this article with reference to the men and women of West Virginia. Let us do a bit of reflecting. Ours are a patriotic people who possess a fierce pride in their State and country. During the Revolutionary War what is now West Virginia sent the first soldiers from south of the Potomac to join the Army under George Washington in Boston. The men who lived south of the Allegheny Mountains fought with Braddock and with Washington. In the struggle against England, West Virginia gave our country important army leaders. Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates, Maj. Gen. Charles Lee, and Brig. Gen. Adam Stephen came from the section that was then Berkeley County but is now Jefferson County. William Darke, also from Berkeley, served bravely as a colonel in the Revolution and became a brigadier general in the later Indian wars. Daniel Morgan, who had once lived in Berkeley County, became a general in the war. Other officers of lower rank came from West Virginia.

Ratification of the U.S. Constitution was required of at least 9 of the 13 colonies. Phil Conley and Boyd B. Stutler, in "West Virginia Yesterday

and Today," make the following statement:

The Virginia representatives held a convention in June 1788 to debate the subject. Sixteen of these men were from our section of the State of Virginia.

The convention ratified the Constitution by a vote of 79 to 89, a majority of only 10 votes. Of the 16 men from West Virginia, only one voted against ratifying the Constitution. The votes of our representatives were necessary for Virginia's approval.

In the war of 1812, records show that 52 companies went from the section that is now West Virginia. So many cavalry companies volunteered that at one time more than 1,000 men were sent home because they could not be used.

In the Civil War, the northern and northwestern sections of the State were in sympathy with the Union. Many of the southern counties and all of those east of the Allegheny Mountains were strongly Confederate. There were but few homes that did not give one or more men to the army of the North or of the South. In many instances a man would join one army, and his brother the other. It was a war where brother fought against brother, and father against son. The Civil War was very real to West Virginia.

In all, West Virginia furnished at least 32,000 regular troops to the Union Army. These were included in 17 regiments of infantry, 7 regiments of cavalry, and 1 regiment of artillery. Many of the men continued in the army after the end of their first terms. These figures do not include the 32 companies of home guards, or State militia, which were raised to defend the border counties. The men in this service numbered 2,300. Many of the home guard companies saw hard service.

There are no complete records of the number of West Virginians who served in the Confederate Army. There were certainly no less than 8,000.

During the 4 years of the war, 203 battles and skirmishes were fought in West Virginia. Truly this State is a child of war. A few of the most important battles that were fought on our soil were Beverly, Rich Mountain, Top of Allegheny, Gauley Bridge, Cross Lanes, Carnifex Ferry, Bulltown, and Droop Mountain. The eastern section was a fighting ground from first to last. Romney, the county seat of Hampshire County, was captured and recaptured 56 times during the 4 years of the Civil War.

West Virginia is proud of the brave lads who joined both the Union and the Confederate Armies. To the Confed-

eracy she gave Thomas J. Jackson, the "Stonewall" of Bull Run, a master of military science. Next to Lee, Jackson was the greatest military leader of the South. He was born at Clarksburg and was reared in Lewis County.

Other distinguished Confederate officers were Gen. Albert Gallatin Jenkins, of Cabell County; Gen. John Echols, of Monroe County; and Gen. John McCausland, of Mason County.

Sons of West Virginia who served in the Union Army and attained the rank of general were Jesse Lee Reno, of Ohio County, who fell in the Battle of South Mountain while commanding the IX Army Corps; Benjamin F. Kelley, of Ohio County; Thomas Maley Harris, of Gilmer County, later of Ritchie; Joseph A. J. Lightburn, of Lewis County; Isaac Harden Duval, of Brooke County; David Hunter Strother, of Berkeley County; William H. Powell, of Ohio County; Nathan Goff, of Harrison County; and Robert S. Northcott, of Harrison County.

In the midst of the Civil War, West Virginia became an independent State on June 20, 1863. On the following July 4, the 35th star was added to the flag of the United States to represent West Virginia.

During the Spanish-American War, more men than could be taken immediately offered their services in West Virginia.

The story of the message to Garcia is one of the famous tales of the war. The man who carried the message was Lt. Andrew Summers Rowan. He was born in Monroe County, W. Va., and was educated at the Military Academy at West Point. Early in the war with Spain, President McKinley selected Rowan to carry a message to Gen. Calixto Garcia, who commanded the Cuban armies and who was hemmed in by the Spanish Armies in the central part of Cuba. Lieutenant Rowan braved the dangers of the Cuban jungles and the Spanish Army and safely delivered the President's message. He then made his way back in an open boat to the British Island of Nassau. His bravery made him a national hero. Elbert Hubbard wrote about Rowan in his "Message to Garcia":

There is a man whose form should be cast in deathless bronze and the statue placed in every college of the land. It is not book-learning young men need, nor instruction about this and that, but a stiffening of the vertebrae that will cause them to be loyal to a trust, to act promptly, concentrate their energies; do the thing.

In World War I, West Virginians volunteered for service. They did not wait to be drafted. On the first day for registering for the draft, 127,994 men in my State registered for military service. Later, 325,266 men of military age registered in the State. Under the draft method, not all were taken for service. Of the number registered, 45,355 were sent to training camps, but 3,775 of those were not accepted. My State was one of the first to complete the registering of its men and was praised for its work.

In famous Westminster Abbey in London, near the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, a window honors the memory of Lt. Louis Bennett, of Weston, W. Va. A church in France was erected in honor of Louis Bennett, a member of the Royal Air Force of Great Britain in World War I. His plane was shot down by a German plane at Wavrin in August 1918.

A Greenbrier County man, John L. Hines, went to France as a major and came back a major general, commanding an Army corps. He succeeded General Pershing as Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army. Another distinguished Greenbrier County soldier, Maj. Gen. Mason M. Patrick, became Chief of the Air Service in France during World War I. He retained his place as chief of this service after the war, building up the national air defense.

West Virginia played a noble part in World War II. In all, 250,000 men from West Virginia went into the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, and the Coast Guard in World War II. As the war spread to every continent except South America, our men engaged in battles throughout most of the world. Our young women joined the nursing corps, the WAC of the Army, the WAVE of the Navy, the SPAR of the Coast Guard, the WAF of the Air Force, and the Marines. West Virginians took their place side by side with men from other States in stopping the Communists in Korea. And today West Virginians lie side by side with their fellow soldiers, sailors, and marines in silent sleep. The men from the hills, like the men from the cities and the lowlands, gave their all that freedom and liberty might not perish from the earth.

The Congressional Medal of Honor, the highest decoration this Government gives to any man, has been awarded to 13 West Virginians.

In peace, West Virginians have helped to build their country. In war, they have helped to defend it. Theirs is the same patriotic, zealous, pioneer spirit that led their forebears to explore and settle the challenging, untamed hills and

mountains of the Alleghenies. They are mountaineers; not "hillbillies." Why should aspersions be cast upon mountain people? Are the Swiss a shiftless people? Are the Scotch highlanders a shiftless people? To ask the question is to answer it. West Virginians have been made in the same mold as have other courageous, strong, patriotic mountain men and women. William Griffiee Brown has this to say about our pioneer ancestors in his history of Nicholas County, W. Va.:

Our pioneer ancestors found Nicholas County a wilderness. They, and those who have followed them, have made it into a community of homes, of productive farms and thriving industry. They hewed down forests and made their homes. They had no government—they organized government. They had no schools—they created schools. They had no roads—they built roads. They had no churches—they built and maintained churches. These examples are sermons for those of us who follow. What we of later generations now need is a keener desire to do the utmost of which we are capable in the worthwhile activities of life. This would be expected of us by those stalwart people who were our ancestors and who themselves represented the best in American citizenship.

And West Virginians represent the best in American citizenship today.

Mr. President, Mr. Tunley wrote about the potentially bright future of West Virginia. Permit me to speak of West Virginia's boundless wealth in the words of I. C. White, a geologist, who once wrote thusly:

While precious stones, gems, and metals have been denied the Mountain State, yet generous nature has so richly endowed her with common minerals and other common things, that her natural wealth is unsurpassed by any equal area on this continent.

Mr. President, buried deep below the surface of the majestic hills of West Virginia are more than 100 different layers, or seams, of coal. In these seams lie billions of tons of coal that can be produced by present mining methods. Additional billions of tons may be mined when improved methods are developed.

West Virginia is located in one of the great gasfields of the United States. It is a producer of oil. We have beds of silica sand that are 99 percent pure. There are only six beds of sand in the world that are almost free of iron oxide, an element that does not produce good glass. Three of these beds are in America. One is in Morgan County, W. Va.

Millions of the world's marbles have been made in West Virginia glass factories. The largest bottle factory in the

world is in West Virginia. The world's largest flat glass plant is in West Virginia. If one visits the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York or the National Cathedral in Washington, he will admire the artistic windows made of thousand of pieces of colored glass. This glass was made at Milton, W. Va. The sides of the huge United Nations Building in New York City were constructed of glass blocks made in a factory at Charleston, W. Va.

West Virginia could provide the Nation with all of its limestone for many years.

The largest pottery plant is at Newell. It is in Hancock County, and our State is said to be second in the Union in the production of pottery.

Our forests furnish ash, beech, birch, maple, oak, chestnut, hemlock, pine, poplar, and spruce woods. When the U.S. frigate *Constitution*, the most famous of our early warships, was to be destroyed, West Virginia timber from Fayette County was used in restoring the vessel, and it was made fine and strong again. Nearly 100,000 acres of the George Washington National Forest are in my State, and Monongahela National Forest, containing approximately 1 million acres, is there.

Our mineral springs are a great natural resource. Every year thousands of people from every section of the United States visit them. The Indians knew these springs before the white man came to this country.

The counties east of the Alleghenies in West Virginia have very rich soil. It is especially good for fruit trees. It is also good for farming and provides excellent grazing for cattle. Some of the largest truck farms in the State are found in the Ohio valley.

Chemicals are very important in the lives of West Virginians. The Kanawha Valley is often called the Ruhr Valley of America, and certainly it is frequently called the magic valley.

Union Carbide Corp. has an enormous plant at South Charleston. It makes many chemical products today at this place. Some of the interesting ones are synthetic or imitation jewels, such as diamonds, rubies, and sapphires. This company manufactured the first synthetic rubber produced in World War II in a plant built by the Government at Institute near South Charleston. This is the largest synthetic rubber producing facility in the country.

Other well-known chemical plants in the Kanawha Valley include the Electro Metallurgical Co. at Glen Ferris and

Alloy near Gauley Bridge, Barium Reduction Corp. at South Charleston, Belle Alkali Co. at Belle—east of Charleston—E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. at Belle, Monsanto Chemical Co. at Nitro, and Westvaco Chemical Division of Food Machinery and Chemical Corp. at South Charleston.

There are chemical plants at a number of other places in the State. Du Pont has a plant near Parkersburg. Standard Ultramarine Co. at Huntington is one of the most important dye producers in the United States.

Some years ago the great German airship, *Graf Zeppelin*, flew from Bremen, Germany, to New York and back home. This large dirigible then flew around the world. People everywhere were interested in this lighter-than-air ship. On both return trips across the Atlantic from New York, the gas bags of the dirigible were filled with ethylene gas made in a chemical plant at South Charleston.

In 1760, a company was formed to build an iron furnace on the lands of Lord Fairfax in Jefferson County. It was near Harpers Ferry at a place called "The Bloomery." Local iron ore was used. By 1797, the United States Armory and Arsenal had been built at Harpers Ferry. It was located there on the recommendation of George Washington. Its purpose was to make and store guns for the Army.

One of the first furnaces, if not the first, operating west of the Allegheny Mountains was built by Peter Tarr on King's Creek in Hancock County. Although the exact date is not known, the furnace may have been built as early as 1790 and certainly was constructed not later than 1794. It could produce no more than 2 tons of iron a day.

The northern panhandle of West Virginia today constitutes one of the principal centers of the steel industry in the United States.

Wheeling and Huntington are large centers for tobacco warehouses. The famous "Mail Pouch" tobacco and several brands of stogies made in Wheeling are known throughout the world.

The manufacture of cement is another important industry in West Virginia.

A large garment factory is located in Martinsburg. There, too, is the largest men's hosiery plant in the world. The manufacture of rayon is one of West Virginia's growing industries.

West Virginia has been famous for having the largest shovel factory in the world, the largest ax factory in the

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world, the largest nickel factory in the United States; and the largest clothespin factory in the country. Some of these are no longer operating.

For many years, West Virginia has ranked as one of the leading States in the Union in the production of apples and peaches. Each year we produce millions of bushels of apples. Two of the most popular apples grown in the United States came from seedlings found in West Virginia. The Grimes Golden came from a tree discovered on the Thomas Grimes farm near Wellsburg in Brooke County. It was bearing fruit before 1800. In 1874 it was said to be 100 years old. The monument that stands where the first Grimes Golden apple grew is said to be the only one ever erected to the memory of an apple tree.

The Golden Delicious apple was found on a farm in Clay County. In recent years, this apple has become popular in many sections of the country.

Our farmers sell approximately \$10 million worth of hogs annually, and our climate and hilly land are excellent for raising sheep. Many herds of purebred cattle have been developed in West Virginia.

Honey provides a delicious sweet for our tables and our cooking. West Virginia honey bees produce millions of pounds of honey every year.

West Virginia's poultry industry is becoming a leading feature of her agriculture. Millions of turkeys are raised each year and millions of broiling chickens are sent to markets in the East.

It is no secret that my State is a great producer of electric power, and I am sure that I need not repeat—after having spoken of it so many times—that West Virginia is the leading coal-producing State in the Union.

Mr. President, one can readily see that the future of West Virginia is not a hopeless one. The discouraging thing about our present situation lies in the fact that mechanization has displaced so many thousands of men in the coal industry. It is for this reason that I have sought diligently to have an intensive coal research program inaugurated. Such a program would be the means of discovery of thousands of new uses for coal. This magic mineral is a Cinderella story in itself. Formerly it was only used for heating purposes, but through capable research astounding discoveries have been made. Few Americans realize how heavily coal is woven into the fabric of their lives, and how much it will remain a vital part of the Nation for

centuries to come. Byproducts of coal touch every family's life many times a day. Vitamins, insecticides, aspirin, drugs, phonograph records, dyes, paint, synthetic fibers, weed killers, cleaning fluids, fertilizer, films—the list is nearly endless, and West Virginia's coal is unexcelled by that of any area.

Mr. President, I have attempted to react as objectively as I possibly can to the Saturday Evening Post article. The author and his magazine have presented a truly interesting and excellent piece of work. As I have said, if there is one fault which I consider basic, it is that he, like any outsider, has been prone to highlight misguided statements which produce a detrimental impact. Moreover, one might believe, in reading his article, that most of the coal-mining communities in West Virginia are shabby and poorly kept.

In this respect, most of his story is built around the mining community of Stotesbury. My father worked in the mines at Stotesbury many years. It was there that I graduated from high school in 1934, and I lived there when I began working at a service station and later in a meat market. I married a coal miner's daughter at Stotesbury, and my first daughter was born there. Stotesbury will always have a very important place in my hall of memories. It is today a ghost town, but one should not get the impression in reading Mr. Tunley's article that all mining communities are like Stotesbury today.

The State has been and will be criticized for its condition. But it should never be compared with Afghanistan, as it has been in Mr. Tunley's article. I know, because I have been in Afghanistan. The blame for West Virginia's present problems must not be placed alone on her citizenry, her government, her politicians. All must share some responsibility for the paradox. Natural factors have also contributed to some extent. The people of West Virginia are not lazy; they are not shiftless; they are not so provincial as the transient native son put it. They are a people proud of their heritage and capable of overcoming the odds, if given the opportunity to do so.

They are a kindly people, happy with their lives, friendly with the stranger, even if they are without work and living in a shanty in an abandoned coal town. They will welcome the stranger to their humble fare, be it yellow cornbread, turnip greens, rice, or pinto beans and potatoes. When I think of the

friendliness of West Virginians, I think of Walt Whitman's bit of verse:

I dream'd in a dream I saw a city invincible
to the attacks of the whole of the rest
of the earth,

I dream'd that was the new city of friends,
Nothing was greater there than the quality
of robust love, it led the rest,

It was seen every hour in the actions of the
men of that city,

And in all their looks and words.

As I close, I only wish that each and every Member of this body had the opportunity to view the picturesque strata formations in the eastern panhandle and could feel the heaven-kissed breezes press against his cheeks in walking through the green pastures and beside the still waters in the Shenandoah Valley. I wish that all could survey the rolling, rounded mountains in the State's midsection or could see from Cooper's Rock, near Morgantown, the bluish mountains blend with the sky in the distance. I wish all could experience the serenity that comes when one catches the laziness of the Ohio River. A journey through nature's wonderland of West Virginia in autumn or in spring would instill in every heart the love which West Virginians possess for their hills and streams and deep valleys. But most of all, one would come to know better the sons and daughters of West Virginia. These are its greatest resource. These people must smile again. Diversification of industry, to a greater degree, must be the key. If the title of keymaker lies with the Federal Government, and Senator RANDOLPH and I think it does, to some extent, the time for action is now.

They are not dead.

They are very much alive, struggling perhaps, but with a verve and determination which will burst open new horizons.

My feeling toward the hills of home has been appropriately penned in these lines by Roy Lee Harmon, poet laureate of West Virginia:

IN WEST VIRGINIA

West Virginia, how I love you!
Every streamlet, shrub and stone,
Even the clouds that flit above you
Always seem to be my own.

Your steep hillsides clad in grandeur,
Always rugged, bold and free,
Sing with ever swelling chorus:
Montani, Semper, Liberi!

Always free! The little streamlets,
As they glide and race along,
Join their music to the anthem
And the zephyrs swell the song.

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Always free! The mountain torrent

In its haste to reach the sea,
Shouts its challenge to the hillside
And the echo answers "Free!"

Always free! Repeats the river
In a deeper, fuller tone
And the West wind in the treetops
Adds a chorus all its own.

Always free! The crashing thunder
Madly flung from hill to hill,
In a wild reverberation
Adds a mighty, ringing thrill.

Always free! The Bob White whistles
And the whippoorwill replies,
Always free! The robin twitters
As the sunset gilds the skies.

Perched upon the tallest timber,
Far above the sheltered lea,
There the eagle screams defiance
To a hostile world: "I'm free!"

And two million happy people,
Hearts attuned in holy glee,
Add the hallelujah chorus:
"Mountaineers are always free!"

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I ask my colleague to yield for a brief observation and a sincere commendation of his speech in reference to the Saturday Evening Post article.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I yield to my distinguished senior colleague.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, approximately 1 hour ago in this Chamber we had affirmative action and foresight by a majority of the Members of the Senate who supported a forward-looking program for school construction and the payment of Federal funds toward teachers' salaries in the expanding economy of the United States.

I think it appropriate to recall, as my diligent, devoted, and dedicated colleague has recalled, the contribution which West Virginians have made to the welfare of the Nation in many walks of life. I think it, therefore, pertinent, and not a gratuitous statement, to say that a West Virginia girl, Dr. Corma Mowrey, was the president of the National Education Association. Her contribution as a West Virginia teacher and as a leader in the educational development of our country is a very definite example of the type of consecrated West Virginian who lives beyond the borders of our State, and whose influence for good is felt in the country as a whole.

Mr. President, I wish that at the hour of almost 11 o'clock our colleagues of the Senate could have been here to have heard what I believe to be the restrained and reasoned comment of my colleague upon the article to which reference has been made. I shall not labor this sub-

ject, because I would hesitate to discuss it and seem to detract from the impact of the words which have been spoken; but as my colleague told of the contribution by West Virginia in time of strife to the cause of freedom and justice, I recall, what now he would recall, that it was the Father of our Country himself who said:

Give me but a banner to plant upon the hills of West Augusta, and I will gather around me the men who will set this bleeding Nation free.

West Augusta is an interchangeable name with West Virginia. George Washington realized that there was strength in those men of the mountains, when he spoke the words I have just recalled.

But to go from the days of the Founding Fathers almost to our most recent experiences in another type of warfare, we begin to break the barriers. Who was it who flew the first airplane faster than the speed of sound? It was Charles Yeager, from Hamlin, W. Va. This young man, whom I have heard on more than one occasion, after squaring his shoulders, say, "I was born so far up the 'holler' that they had to pipe sunshine into it," gave new light to the world.

These are the indications which have so well been brought out in the expression of my colleague, of many others who have held leadership in West Virginia through the changing conditions of the economy of our State.

I say with good conscience that I have the feeling that our colleagues in the Senate, on both sides of the aisle, who are unable to be here in person tonight—and understandably so after the long sessions, day and night, upon the school legislation—recognizing the stature of my colleague from West Virginia, will read what he has spoken tonight in their absence, and that they in a degree will join him in extolling, as it were, a land not overlooked from the standpoint of being unworthy of being understood, but a land which holds tremendous promise through its people and its resources for the years ahead.

I speak very calmly when I say that I resented the promotional program for the sale of this particular issue of the Saturday Evening Post, when that blazing jacket, placed on the newsstands, said that West Virginia was a dying State.

Very frankly, I shall say to my colleague from West Virginia, no such expression ever was used in the article to which reference has been made tonight.

West Virginia is not a dying State. West Virginia is a living State. West Virginia can, and will, become an expanding State.

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The contribution made tonight by my colleague toward a better realization that we are determined to build a better West Virginia is most timely. I con-

gratulate him on the effort he has given to this task.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I thank my fellow West Virginian.