HULETT C. SMITH AND HIS PURSUIT OF EXCELLENCE

by

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The purpose of this thesis is to trace the early life and political career of West Virginia's twenty-seventh governor, Hulett Carlson Smith. Moreover, it proposes to portray the unqualified commitment of the Smith administration to the field of education. Many of today's educational improvements and innovative educational programs had their beginnings in the Smith administration. It can be concluded that the general public as well as many educators have forgotten the tremendous contributions to this vital need of society by the Smith administration. The time has come when Hulett C. Smith should be given due credit to his innovative and progressive term of office. Hopefully, this thesis has accomplished its intended purpose.
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INTRODUCTION

Born on October 21, 1918, Hulett Carlson Smith, West Virginia's twenty-seventh governor, came from a family of great political and social prominence. His father, Congressman Joe L. Smith, exercised a strong formative influence on Hulett's early life. This influence eventually led Hulett Smith into the business and political worlds of his father.

Although Hulett Smith's father was highly successful in the political realm, the younger Smith found success more difficult to attain. His first entry into politics as that of campaign manager for the 1956 gubernatorial bid of Congressman Robert H. Mollohan met with utter defeat. His 1960 bid for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination failed as well.

Nevertheless, throughout his political career, Smith remained loyal to his state and party. Never did he attack fellow Democrats regardless of the political advantage to his own candidacy. It was during his term as Democratic state chairman and as Commissioner of Commerce that he realized the only way West Virginia could release itself from the doldrums of poverty and depression was through an excellent educational system. Smith believed that education would provide West Virginians with much greater opportunities.

His 1964 Democratic gubernatorial bid emphasized his feelings about a sound educational system for West Virginia,
one he felt was imperative for a brighter West Virginia future. His success in 1964 was seen by him as his golden opportunity to improve significantly the educational system for this state.

During his four years in office, in speech after speech, he endorsed a sound educational system for West Virginia. In every one of his messages to the legislature from 1965 to 1969 he urged more money and attention to education. Education was the cornerstone of his administration's "Pursuit of Excellence."

At the end of his term, Smith realized many of his educational dreams for West Virginia. Improved teacher salaries, more innovative teaching techniques, more state aid to all phases of education, and greater public awareness of the need for a good educational system all met success during his administration. While he attained great rewards in the field of education, he met many disappointments as well, but Hulett Smith felt confident the foundation had been poured from which the future could build upon.
CHAPTER ONE
EARLY LIFE AND POLITICAL CAREER

Born on October 21, 1918 in Beckley, the son of Joe L. and Christine Carlson Smith, Hulett Carlson Smith was destined to become West Virginia's twenty-seventh governor. It would have been exceedingly difficult for Smith to have escaped his involvement in politics since his father was heavily involved in the affairs of the Democratic Party on both the local and state levels. Smith has said, "My father had a tremendous effect on me regarding politics. As a young boy, I thought that my father was the greatest politician in the world. Politics for me was simply assimilated due to the involvement of my father." Smith's mother often told him, "You'll never get out of politics, because it's in your blood." She further pointed out to him that a branch of his family extended to Thomas A. Hendricks, who had served as Vice-President in the first administration of Grover Cleveland. Certainly Hulett Smith's devotion and service to the Democratic Party and to his native state could trace their beginnings to the influence of his father.

The man who had such a great influence on his son, Joe L. Smith, was born in Marsh Fork, Raleigh County, West Virginia on May 22, 1880, the son of Hulett A. and Angeline McMillion Smith, both natives of southwest Virginia. Although Smith was born into poverty, he quickly overcame this liability and became a very successful Beckley business-
man. For a dozen years Smith worked as a printer which prepared him for the publication of the Raleigh Register from 1900-1912. His later ventures into business saw him as a newspaper editor, publisher, banker, and realtor before his entry into the political arena.

The elder Smith's political career began in 1908 when he successfully ran for an election to the West Virginia State Senate, representing the people of Summers, Monroe, Mercer, and Raleigh Counties. After serving only one term from 1909-1913, Smith entered municipal politics in Beckley. The people of that city expressed their confidence in him four times when he sought the mayorship. Hulett Smith remembered, "When my father served as mayor of Beckley, I was about nine years old. As a young boy, I thought that the mayor's job was the greatest ever for any man to hold but I knew Dad could handle it."

By 1928 when Smith was in his fourth term as the chief executive of Beckley, he concluded that he could better serve his constituency by seeking the Democratic nomination to Congress from the old Sixth Congressional District. He scored an easy victory in the Democratic primary by defeating his nearest rival by over 9,000 votes, but the general election proved to be more difficult.

In 1928, the Republican Party had great success in West Virginia. The state elected Republican William G. Conley as governor, and gave its electoral vote to the Republican nominee for President, Herbert C. Hoover. At first the congressional returns from the sixth district
showed that the incumbent Republican congressman, E. T. England, had defeated Smith in an extremely close race. A recount, however, showed Smith receiving 67,845 votes to England's 67,617, a majority of only 228 votes for Smith.\footnote{12} Smith's election made him the only Democrat in West Virginia's congressional delegation and the only Democrat in the nation to have defeated an incumbent Republican congressman.\footnote{13} Joe Smith's election to the 71st Congress was only the beginning of his congressional career in that he was re-elected to the House of Representatives for the next seven terms. His service stretched from the 71st to the 78th Congresses ending with Smith's retirement in 1945.\footnote{14}

In 1932 Representative Smith took his family, including Hulett, to the Democratic National Convention where Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York received the nomination for President. This visit to the national convention certainly added to the younger Smith's ever-developing interest in his father's political activities.

Joe Smith did not seek re-election to Congress in 1944 but this action did not end his political involvement in the Democratic Party, for in that year the West Virginia Democratic State Executive Committee elected him as its chairman. Smith headed the West Virginia Democratic Party until 1948, helping to elect two Democratic governors in this period. Hulett Smith would follow in his father's footsteps in that he too would later serve as chairman of the Democratic Party of West Virginia. In former Representative Smith's later years he was an adviser to others
seeking office while at the same time remained closely attuned to the needs of the Democratic Party, his state, and his nation. He died in 1962 at the age of eighty-two, leaving a large void not only in the political life of Hulett C. Smith but for West Virginia as well.  

While Hulett Smith never denied that his father had a dramatic influence on his early business and political life, he also acknowledged that his mother exercised a positive influence over his early life as well. Smith once said of his mother, "She kept us on the straight and narrow path as much as she could." Since Representative Smith was away from home so often due to his political commitments, Christine Smith had to give a "little extra" of herself in rearing the boys in the proper way. 

While Hulett C. Smith is proud of his hometown, he did not begin his educational career at home but at the Cranleigh Elementary School in St. Petersburg, Florida. He attended school in Florida because his father had to move there in 1924 to recuperate from a bronchial infection. Soon thereafter Smith returned to Beckley where he attended school but finished the eighth and tenth grades in Washington, D. C. during his father's long congressional sessions. His outstanding academic record permitted him to skip the second and sixth grades. 

Smith attended Woodrow Wilson High School in Beckley. There he was an academically acclaimed student but took time out for sports as well. During the football season of 1933, he served as a manager and water boy for the
local team. His high school deportment record would have been spotless if it had not been for one lone incident.\textsuperscript{18}

Smith was the salutatorian of his 1934 graduating class and won a scholarship to Beckley College where he had previously studied typing and shorthand. After a brief stint at the local junior college, he decided that he definitely wanted a business education. Earlier he had toyed with the idea of becoming an architect and with his mother's wish that he study law, but his father's business successes convinced Hulett that a business education would serve him best.

He and his mother mapped out a complete motor route of the schools he considered. They toured Yale University and the University of Pennsylvania. Their reception at the latter coupled with their course offerings persuaded young Hulett to seek acceptance at the Wharton School of Finance and Administration of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. Smith used the credits he had accumulated at Beckley College in gaining acceptance as a sophomore at Wharton in 1935. His collegiate work at Wharton was so successful that he received his bachelors degree with honors in 1938.\textsuperscript{19}

During 1937 Smith studied the insurance business with a local agency in Beckley and returned to the local agency for a short time after his 1938 graduation. From 1939–1941 he operated a family owned radio station, WJLS, in Beckley.
As war clouds gathered over the United States early in 1939, Smith, like many of his Beckley friends, concluded that military service to the country was inevitable. He, along with nine other students, enrolled in a civilian pilot training program at Beckley College, where he completed elementary and advanced flight training classes resulting in the acquisition of his private pilot's license in 1940. He gained much of the practice for this license at the old Beckley-Mount Hope Airport. Smith wanted to share his knowledge with other young men desirous of acquiring pilot licenses so he soon qualified as a ground school instructor and taught air frames, meteorology, and navigation.

Young Smith and his brother, Joe, purchased a Piper Cub and decided to put what flying knowledge they had to some practical purpose so on January 1, 1941, they undertook a flight from Beckley to Miami, Florida. A blinding snowstorm hampered their journey but within three days the Smith boys arrived at their preplanned destination. This early flying activity aided Smith in securing an appointment in 1947 to the West Virginia State Aeronautics Commission.

Like many other Raleigh countians, Smith served in the armed services during World War II. In 1942 he began a 46-month-tour in the United States Navy as a commissioned ensign. For many months during World War II he was assigned to the Bureau of Ordnance in Washington, D. C.

The service in the Navy was not all drudgery for on
July 25, 1942, Hulett Smith married his high school sweetheart, Mary Alice Tieche, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Albert Tieche of Beckley. The newlywed couple moved to Quonset Point, Rhode Island, for six months in October, 1942, where he was assigned to the staff of the commander of the fleet air; the Smith's returned to Washington, D. C. in April, 1943.

In June, 1944, the Navy transferred Smith to San Francisco, California where he served as a logistics expert on the staff of the Western Sea Frontier. He worked for Lt. Clark M. Clifford, who later became Secretary of Defense under President Lyndon B. Johnson. His assignments included scheduling or allocation of aviation equipment, including some bomb sights, bomb racks, machine guns, and gun mounts in preparation for the American invasion of Japan.

Following Smith's honorable discharge in January, 1946, he returned to Beckley where he, like his father, became heavily involved in the business and civic activities of his native city. His early business ventures were in the field of insurance and investment. In later years he became a director of the Bank of Raleigh and vice-president of his alma mater, Beckley College. He also served as an officer of the Beckley and Oak Hill Hospitals and as co-organizer of the Beckley Area Rural Development Council.

On June 24, 1951, Governor Okey Patteson reappointed Smith to the West Virginia State Aeronautics Commission for a term of four years. He had been a member of the
commission since 1947 and was its chairman. The reappointment was truly an honor for Smith because he dearly loved flying.  

In addition to his involvement in business and civic affairs in the postwar years, Smith participated in the religious functions of the community. He increased his activities in the Beckley Presbyterian Church which he had joined in 1930 at the age of twelve. The church congregation elected Smith as a Ruling Elder, an office he still holds today.  

In Hulett Smith's early formative years he had come in contact with hundreds of politicos. These meetings, in addition to his father's guidance, attracted Smith to politics, consequently, his entry into politics seemed to be only natural. Hulett Smith's initiation into the political world had begun with him handing out cards for his father at various polling places in Beckley and Raleigh County. This activity helped him gain the job of precinct chairman a few years later. This experience served as the primitive beginning of a long and rewarding political career, not only for Hulett C. Smith, but for the State of West Virginia as well.  

Needing a party chairman, Beckley Democrats in 1951 conducted a search for a conscientious, progressive, dedicated, and trustworthy person to fill that role. Hulett C. Smith accepted this invitation and readily accepted the post. This was the first official title Hulett Smith ever held in the Democratic Party. He held this important
post until 1955 when he resigned to accept the chairmanship of the West Virginia Democratic Party, a post previously held by his father from 1944 to 1948.33

During his tenure as chairman of the Beckley Democratic Party, Smith played no major role in any election, including the presidential election of 1952. Of course he did work on the sidelines for the complete election of the Democratic ticket in 1952, but he could have accomplished more if he had not been injured in an automobile accident in the summer of 1952.34 At that time another activity was competing for Smith's time and energy. That activity involved his membership in the West Virginia Junior Chamber of Commerce. In this organization Smith played an important role as the organization chose him as the "Outstanding Young Man of the Year" in 1948 and in 1949-1950 as the state president of the chamber.35

In 1952-1953 he won national acclaim for West Virginia by his selection as one of the two national vice-presidents of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, an honor which Smith still holds high on the long list of his accomplishments. The national convention for the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce was held in Dallas, Texas for five tumultuous days. Smith used some of the political expertise learned from his father to win the vice-presidency of the group. The West Virginia delegation to the convention worked very hard behind the scenes to "sell" their candidate to the other delegates. Banners, show cards, three foot diameter balloons, and "Hustle for Hulett" signs were in evidence at the convention. Seven
major candidates opposed Smith for this great honor making his election problematical. He won the election when Texas near the end of the roll call cast its 223 votes for him causing joy to ring throughout the convention hall from the West Virginia delegation. Smith, himself, attempted to shake hands with every delegate present and to make himself known to the city appeared in parades and shook hands with people on the streets. He and other West Virginia delegates promoted their state by distributing 2,500 books of matches depicting lovely fall and winter scenes from back home. All of these activities which occurred at this national Junior Chamber of Commerce convention would be quite helpful to Smith when he would make two bids for the governorship of West Virginia, even though the scale at Dallas was much smaller than a statewide campaign. He had put his inbred political knowledge to a practical use and had benefited from it. His promotion of West Virginia at Dallas with match books was only the beginning for his promotion of the state's potentials. His first campaign in 1960 called for the establishment of a department of commerce for the state in order to attract tourism and industry for West Virginia's sagging economy. In 1961 he became the state's first commissioner of commerce when his dream for such a department had been realized.

After a short-lived fling in the national affairs of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, Smith returned to his real loves, politics and the Democratic Party.
In early 1953, State Senator Robert C. Byrd of Raleigh County resigned from the West Virginia State Senate in order to enter the United States House of Representatives. Very quickly word circulated in Democratic circles that Hulett C. Smith was seriously being considered as a replacement for Byrd. Smith and his father made a trip to Charleston to discuss the possibility of Smith's appointment to complete Byrd's unexpired term. Smith recalled that he would never forget the advice given to him by a member of the House of Delegates who said that service in the State Senate was boring, and politically, a dead end. Smith never had to experience this political dead end because the governor did not appoint Smith to the Senate seat, but instead the appointment went to Jack Nuckols. Though it was not Smith's choice to decline any appointment, he was happy in later years that he had been denied the post because he still feels that membership in the State Senate is a political dead end, since no senator in recent political history has ever risen to any higher office.38

Smith's first real indoctrination into politics came with the election of 1956. Activity for the campaign had begun in the summer of 1955 when Representative Robert Mollohan of West Virginia's First Congressional District visited Smith at his Beckley home. Hulett Smith, Smith's father, Robert Mollohan, and his mentor, United States Senator Matthew M. Neely, all had lunch at the Beckley Elks Club to discuss the campaign. Mollohan
was in his second term as the Democratic Congressman from the northern part of the state and was then seriously considering seeking the governorship of West Virginia in 1956. He wanted to make Smith's acquaintance so he could establish some solid southern West Virginia contacts for his projected gubernatorial bid. Smith's civic, political, and business activities made his name a highly respected southern West Virginia name. Smith informed Mollohan that he was favorable to a Mollohan candidacy but did not make any firm commitments to his race. 39

By November, 1955, Mollohan had firmly decided to seek the 1956 Democratic nomination for governor. He called Smith for a second time but this time he officially urged Smith to serve as his campaign manager in the upcoming gubernatorial campaign. Smith accepted the offer because he saw this as an opportunity for initiation in a political campaign and as a type of therapy because his son, Hulett, Jr., was dying of leukemia. Mollohan told him, "Let's do it, I'll help you all along the way." 40

In January, 1956, Mollohan asked Smith if he would accept the chairmanship of the West Virginia Democratic State Executive Committee if Mollohan succeeded in the May primary. Smith agreed to accept this honored position just as his father had done twelve years earlier. The 1956 gubernatorial campaign in West Virginia was quite an unusual one to say the least. Divisions within the Democratic Party occurred then which in some instances
have not healed yet. 41

Mollohan had excellent credentials for the governorship. Born on September 18, 1909 in Grantsville, West Virginia, Mollohan had attended Glenville and Shepherd State Colleges. 42 Early in his business career he had made the acquaintance of Senator Matthew M. Neely who had been instrumental in involving young Bob Mollohan into the maze of West Virginia politics. Due to Neely's influence, Mollohan had served as Chief of Miscellaneous Tax Division and Cashier of the United States Internal Revenue Bureau in West Virginia. Moreover, the administration of the Works Projects Administration in West Virginia went to him during the Great Depression. In 1940 President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him as the State Director of the census for West Virginia. One of United States Senator Neely's first appointments after he assumed the West Virginia governorship in 1941 was the appointment of Mollohan as Superintendent of the Industrial School for Boys at Pruntytown. He resigned from Pruntytown in 1948 and moved to Washington as secretary of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, headed by Senator Neely. With the strong backing of organized labor, Mollohan had been elected to Congress in 1952, where he had served two terms before his unsuccessful bid for governor in 1956. 43

Smith had a tremendous task before him in 1956 in chairing Mollohan's primary bid because other qualified Democrats also sought the nomination. J. Howard Myers
was a major contender for the nomination; Myers, who at that time, served as Democratic state chairman, clerk of the Senate, and was a former state senator from Berkeley County. Myers' campaign manager was former Governor Okey Patteson of Fayette County. During the Patteson Administration (1949-1953) Myers had been the hand picked choice of the governor to be state chairman. Myers' campaign was not dramatic in that he did not call for any radical change in the status of West Virginia but used the campaign to call for better roads, schools, and efficiency in government. Most of his support in the Democratic Party came from conservative Democrats and those within the party who possessed considerable wealth, furthermore his former constituents in the eastern Panhandle, who were Republicans registered as Democrats so they could vote in the primary, provided most of his support. This group was all that was left in the Republican Party following the debacle in 1932.

Mollohan's quest for the governorship was further complicated by the statehouse's support of Milton J. Ferguson of Wayne who had served as state tax commissioner in the Marland Administration. Ferguson was considered a strong foe since he had the solid support of the statehouse organization and its political expertise which had successfully elected two previous Democratic governors, Okey Patteson and William Marland. 44

Moreover, two other Democratic gubernatorial hopefuls were also in the running but posed little threat to
Mollohan. Joe F. Burdett of Point Pleasant, who later would become the Secretary of State for West Virginia, and Clarksburg's Albert Villers were the two minor candidates.45

The primary reflected a Mollohan landslide for the nomination. The totals were as follows: Mollohan 148,557, Burdett 24,913, Ferguson 95,869, Myers 75,606, and Villers 3,969. Mollohan carried 32 of the State's 55 counties with a plurality of 53,000 over his closest opponent; however, these results were not a true gauge of his strength in the Democratic Party.46 Soon after the primary, the defeated factions in the Democratic Party refused to support the nominee of the party. Each faction felt as though revenge on Mollohan was more important than party unity in the upcoming general election. These divisions would be left to Hulett C. Smith to bind.47

Shortly after Mollohan's primary victory, he asked his campaign manager to assume the chairmanship of the West Virginia Democratic State Executive Committee just as he promised Smith earlier.48 On June 1, 1956, State Senate Clerk, J. Howard Myers, met with Smith in Charleston to discuss the possibility of Smith becoming state chairman of the Democratic Party. Both men worked out the details for the meeting to be held at the Daniel Boone Hotel in Charleston on June 9, 1956.49

The West Virginia Democratic State Executive Committee granted unanimous consent for Mollohan's choice at that June 9 meeting. In order to promote harmony in the Democratic Party between the powerful independent Democrats
and Mollohan's faction, the committee chose State Senate President Ralph Bean of Moorefield as Vice-Chairman of the party. Smith succeeded the State Senate Clerk, J. Howard Myers as chairman. Governor Marland expressed great optimism for the party after Smith's selection and the harmony apparently produced for the party.

Even after the Smith-Bean election by the state committee, dissention and deep divisions remained throughout the party. The business Democrats who had supported Myers were alarmed at Mollohan because he was the "handmaiden of labor," and refused to support such a candidate for governor. The statehouse faction had been accustomed to winning elections had experienced defeat in Ferguson and were frightened about the possibility of Mollohan retaliations if elected, so many of these once loyal Democrats were cool towards Mollohan in the general election. State Chairman Smith had little success in halting any further rifts in the party as the general election campaign continued.

Whereas the Democrats were divided in 1956, Republicans were united behind a young, attractive, experienced, and energetic nominee named Cecil H. Underwood. Underwood offered hope for the Republican Party in 1956 since he had represented Tyler County in the House of Delegates since 1944 when he had been elected at the age of 22 and had won re-election in 1946, 1948, 1950, 1952, and 1954. In the 1949, 1951, 1953, and 1955 sessions of the legislature,
he had served as the Minority Floor Leader which by 1955 had gained him prominence and had helped him win the 1956 Republican gubernatorial nomination. Underwood was tied to no political machine and little negative could be found about his past; his record was spotless.

As the general election approached in the summer and early fall of 1956, Mollohan ignored Underwood, refusing to face him in a televised debate. Underwood charged the Democratic policies were "indefensible." The Republicans pressed the theme that the Democrats were no longer interested in the welfare of the people of West Virginia but only in personal gain and perpetuating themselves in power. Governor Marland became an issue due to some questionable activities in his administration regarding the granting of state contracts to political cronies and relatives.

Even with so many charges of corruption levelled at Mollohan and the Democrats, polls still showed him a favorite for the governorship. That may well have been the eventual outcome but for one shocking disclosure in the Monday morning edition of the Charleston Gazette on October 29, 1956, which erased whatever lead Mollohan may have had in the upcoming election.

Republican State Chairman John D. Hoblitzell, Jr. announced he had documented and reliable information proving that Robert H. Mollohan had received more than $20,000 for his influence in obtaining a Grafton concern the coal stripping rights on state-owned land near
Pruntytown while he was superintendent from 1941 to 1948. Hoblitzell's proof consisted of three checks and record of payments to Mollohan. The firm involved in the alleged payoff was the Mason Brothers of Taylor County. Hoblitzell produced copies of all the checks which he claimed had been accepted by Mollohan while Pruntytown superintendent. The evidence against Mollohan was very convincing.59

Democratic response was swift. State Chairman Smith commented that, "There's not a thing in the world I know about it. It sounds like a continuation of accusations that have been made before in this campaign."60 Mollohan's son, Robert, stated, "It's the first I have heard of it."61 Mollohan dismissed the charges as smear tactics employed by the Republicans since they were running behind. Nevertheless, the charges hung over the election like a menacing storm cloud.62 The Democrats were depending on their 3 to 2 registration over the Republicans and a warm election day in order to secure a victory. Their prayers were answered when a beautiful warm Indian Summer election day arrived.63

The timing of the public release of the charges against Mollohan was perfect since only a week remained before the general election. At that time, television was a limited medium by which a candidate could publicly refute charges levelled against him. Newspapers were too slow and were often times prejudiced against candidates, so their use was questionable. The use of the radio to
refute the charges was ruled out as well since few people were frequent listeners. There simply was not enough time for Mollohan effectively to disprove the charges against him. The situation was indeed serious. 64

The Charleston Gazette, the state's most renown Democratic paper, broke with tradition on October 31, 1956, when, in an editorial it endorsed the candidacy of Cecil H. Underwood. 65 This endorsement was another serious blow to the Mollohan campaign because the party had been hoping for considerable support in Kanawha County where the Gazette had formidable influence. Although the party still had high hopes in Kanawha County, these hopes had been tempered by the above-mentioned events. 66

As the election results poured in from across the state on November 6, 1956, a Republican victory for the governorship appeared more and more likely as each precinct reported. The final tabulations gave Underwood 440,502 votes to Mollohan's 377,121, giving Underwood a margin of 63,381 votes. 67 The Republicans had further cause for joy since they had elected a Republican United States Senator, Chapman Revercomb, and a State Superintendent of Free Schools, Virgil R. Rohrbough. 68 Furthermore, the party had come very close to taking the offices of Secretary of State, Auditor, Commissioner of Agriculture, Attorney-General, and Judge of the Supreme Court of Appeals. 69

Cecil Underwood was the first Republican governor of West Virginia in 24 years and the first to be elected since 1928. 70 On Wednesday, November 7, 1956, the Gazette
reflected in a lengthy editorial as to what had caused the Democratic Party's defeat in the election. The paper saw several major reasons for the Democratic loss of the governor's mansion for the first time in over two decades. 71

For several years the state had been gradually moving towards the Republican Party as was evidenced in 1952 when William Marland barely defeated his Republican rival for governor, Rush D. Holt. Marland had been accused of being nothing more than a pawn in the hands of United Mine Workers President, John L. Lewis. Marland also had poor relations with the state legislature, appointed friends and relatives to office, and even rewarded friends with lucrative state insurance and liquor contracts. His hated flower fund had been used to finance many of his political aspirations including his unsuccessful bid for the United States Senate in 1956. Marland was definitely a reason for the Democratic loss. 72

Moreover, Mollohan had lost considerable support because he had been employed by a non-union coal stripping company while superintendent at Prunytown. In addition Marland, various scandals, and Mollohan himself, all had contributed to the downfall of the Democratic Party in the 1956 elections. 73

State Chairman Hulett C. Smith pinpointed other reasons for Mollohan's defeat. There was widespread defection in the Democratic Party from Mollohan in November. Some of the Democrats either did not vote at
all or voted for Underwood instead. Most of these defections developed as a result of the bitter primary contest in May. The Eisenhower landslide over Democrat Adlai Stevenson was another key factor in the Democratic loss in West Virginia. The West Virginia rural counties saw Mollohan as an all-out labor candidate, so accordingly they voted for Underwood. Mollohan was supported by organized labor to the point that others in the party felt as though they were not important. The Marland scandals were not that important an impact since they helped defeat Marland for the United States Senate and did not have much bearing on Mollohan's race. The coal stripping charges were not as devastating as presupposed because most voters at that time probably had already made up their minds anyway.74

After a time of licking its wounds, the Democratic Party decided to rebuild and win the next election. Smith commented, "There was nothing worse than being part of a broke party out of power in the state and nation."75 Since the Democrats had no governor to lead them, the titular head of the party was its state chairman, Hulett C. Smith, who did not shirk this duty. Harry Hoffman, political writer for the Charleston Gazette, suggested in an editorial that Smith should resign as state chairman of the Democratic Party since, under his leadership, the party had suffered its worst defeat in 24 years. Others in the party echoed this opinion. They were, in reality, unjustly seeking a scapegoat for the 1956 defeat.76
The climax of this attempted purge of Smith came at the June, 1957 meeting of the state committee in Clarksburg. There, Smith officially refused to resign from his post as chairman. In declining to resign Smith said he greatly enjoyed the post as Democratic state chairman because he had met many fine people as he travelled around the state. Moreover, the party had accumulated a large debt which he wanted to erase and then to lead the party to a victory in the next election. He said at the meeting, "We still have the edge in our congressional delegation and legislature. Our losses therefore weren't devastating. If afforded the chance I'll give the party a full victory next year."77 The state committee then gave Smith a strong vote of confidence.

Smith travelled even more throughout West Virginia in 1958 than he had in the past urging people to return to the party of the people, the Democrats. At this time the country was experiencing a recession which severely hurt West Virginia's economy. The economic recession, coupled with Smith's untiring efforts on behalf of the Democratic Party, are given much credit by Smith for the Democratic victory in 1958. This election gave the Democrats two United States Senators, one more in the congressional delegation, and even greater majorities in the state legislature. Smith had delivered on his 1957 promise to lead the party on to a victory in 1958 from one bitterly divided just two years earlier.78

On New Year's Eve 1958, Hulett Smith made the
obvious known to a few friends gathered at his lovely Beckley home. He announced to his friends, "I want to be governor." Smith was unsure of his chances in winning the nomination, but he would take the gamble. "It will be a tough gruelling fight, but by campaigning on the issues, I think that I can win," he continued. One close friend at the gathering asked, "Why do you want to be governor? It is the graveyard of political ambition." Smith replied, "I don't want to be anything but governor. Afterwards, I want to come home and run my affairs in what I hope will be a better state."

Certainly Smith had seen the collapse of the Democratic Party in 1956 only to help lead it to victory in 1958. He was a man who had proven that he was capable of fulfilling on promises, but this time he sought their approval for his gubernatorial nomination.

Many problems faced West Virginia in that fateful campaign to which Smith fully addressed himself. Smith underscored the state's economic condition by stating, "Modern technology has rushed us into a new and marvelous age but much of West Virginia has not kept pace. The displacement of thousands of workers by the changeover from old to new processes has left deep and ugly scars on our economy. Either West Virginia is faced permanently with the cost of public welfare for people on relief or it is faced with the task of finding the jobs they desperately want." With these words, Smith launched his campaign for
the 1960 Democratic gubernatorial nomination. These phrases and thoughts epitomized his thoughts in hundreds of speeches he delivered in the next two years as he sought support and recognition for his plan to revitalize the people and economy of West Virginia.

Later in the summer of 1959 he made these comments to the West Virginia Democratic State Executive Committee, "We have no higher duty than that of taking steps to correct the unemployment blight on our social, political, and economic conscience." At Morgantown that summer, he said, "There has been too much talk already. What we need now are solutions and a program for the future." At another Democratic gathering Smith stated, "Our great state is blessed with natural resources, and the greatest resource we have is our people. All we need is the right kind of leadership and a practical plan for mobilizing our resources to get things done."

Smith's official entry into the gubernatorial race opened in November, 1959 but the early stages of the campaign slowed due to a respiratory illness, which hospitalized Smith for several weeks. Rumors circulated that Smith would withdraw from the race. House Speaker Harry Pauley announced that Smith already had withdrawn from the race. Smith's response was, "I not only plan to run with all the strength and vigor I have in me, I expect to be elected governor and thus have the opportunity of bringing prosperity back to West Virginia."

The Charleston Gazette carried a detailed editorial
in its January 1, 1960 edition regarding the momentous year and decade which was then upon the state. The editorial pointed out that in 1960, West Virginians would elect a new governor who would determine more than any other individual the success or failure of the state's transition into the decade. Candidates for governor cannot be tolerated if they deal with just generalities regarding the state's economic and social plight. It is not enough for them to mention full employment, better roads, and better schools as goals for West Virginia, but they must spell out in great detail how they intend to accomplish these goals. The man worthy of the voters' support must have the plans to return dignity to the state's unemployed, to provide more roadbuilding, and to establish a better educational system for the state. The Gazette promised to query the gubernatorial candidates intensely and print their respective responses in the paper so the voters can intelligently decide which candidates should be rejected. The next governor of West Virginia should be one of imagination as well as ability.

Hulett C. Smith had the ability and the imagination to accomplish needed goals for the economically deprived state. He was the first gubernatorial candidate to display publicly a plan he thought would help curb the unemployment rate helping to return dignity to a once proud working force. Smith knew he had the ability and experience needed to serve as governor but he possessed a business expertise as well which was needed at that time of recession.
in West Virginia. He often pondered if the voters agreed with him.90

He cited as proof what he had done for Beckley's economy as to what he could accomplish for the entire state. He had promoted agricultural development in eight southern counties and at that time, was serving as president of the Beckley Rural Area Development Council. Moreover, Smith had been instrumental in establishing the Beckley Business Development Corporation to furnish financial assistance for business expansions. As chairman of the New Industries Committee, he had gained several new businesses into the depressed Beckley area. A ski resort and an outdoor historical drama in order to attract needed tourist dollars were also part of his plan to help the Beckley area.91

Smith officially opened his campaign headquarters on February 20, 1960 in the Bair Building in Beckley. He delivered a few brief remarks to his "Citizens for Smith" organization who had gathered at this opening. At that time he gave some hints on other phases of his economic revitalization plan for the state, including a severance tax on coal, a constitutional convention, and in order to lessen the number of unemployed, giving tax credits to companies wishing to locate in West Virginia.

Hulett Smith commenced his gubernatorial bid with a rally at the Raleigh County Courthouse on March 7, 1960, where he announced more details of his campaign platform.92 He stepped to the podium and declared:
It's time for a change. I find everywhere in the state that our capabilities are not limited, but that our approach has been wrong. I keep thinking and saying to myself and now to you--Let's go! West Virginia! Let's build a better state. Let's join together in Operation Opportunity for West Virginia! We can do it.

With these inspiring words he released the goals of his platform known as Operation Opportunity.

Operation Opportunity consisted of five major goals Smith envisioned for West Virginia. The goals were as follows:

(1) Smith's plan called for 63,000 more permanent jobs for people regardless of age. Unlike public work jobs which were low paying and temporary, private enterprise's energetic approach to unemployment was a much better solution. The necessary jobs were possible if the state government offered tax incentives not only to outside industries but to the native ones as well. Increased employment meant increased state and local revenues needed for a progressive West Virginia.

(2) A vastly improved educational system was necessary for a progressive West Virginia. Without such an educational system, outside industry was difficult to obtain. The plan sought smaller classroom enrollments, more pay for teachers, better buildings, better equipment, and more community involvement.

(3) The third goal of Operation Opportunity called for a modern highway system not only to benefit West Virginians but to attract the outside industries the state desperately needed.

(4) A constitutional convention was part of goal four as a step to modernizing West Virginia's state government. A more efficient state government could be more receptive to the needs of its citizens.

(5) Smith urged West Virginians to clean up the state so the beauty, its resources, its people, and its government would be attractive to tourists and outside businesses.

Hulett Smith outlined his program which emphasized West Virginia's need to attract outside interests to the
state. His program met with a hearty endorsement by the thousand supporters gathered at the courthouse. With this endorsement, he concluded his speech with these words:

Opportunity usually comes disguised as hard work. We must all work together in solving our state's problems; we must work together for a successful operation, an operation that will guarantee opportunity to all our citizens for all time and assure West Virginia remains for all its people the state they want and richly deserve. It will be a state in which no child shall go hungry again or a state in which cold for lack of clothing, a state that we West Virginians and the peoples of the United States will be proud to call our Mountaineer State. West Virginia needs Operation Opportunity. Give me your active support and together we will create Operation Opportunity.95

Smith travelled throughout the state promoting his Operation Opportunity as a businessman's approach in solving some of West Virginia's economic woes. There appeared to be support for Smith's unique approach but the real endorsement of such an approach comes on election day.

While there was grass roots support for Smith's gubernatorial ambitions, he was not alone in his quest in seeking the highest office in West Virginia. William Wallace Barron, West Virginia's Attorney-General, and Orel Skeen, West Virginia's State Treasurer, also had eyes on the governor's mansion. Moreover, House of Delegates Speaker Harry R. Pauley and State Senate President Ralph Bean were brief entries into the gubernatorial race but withdrew. Bean dropped out because he failed to raise enough money for a gubernatorial bid while Pauley pulled out because he found little support for his candidacy.96
Of the three remaining Democratic candidates, William W. Barron was perhaps the most formidable. Barron was experienced in various levels of government in that he was a former mayor of Elkins, former member of the House of Delegates, and Governor Marland's liquor commissioner. In 1956 he had run for Attorney-General and had campaigned closely with the Democratic gubernatorial nominee, Robert H. Mollohan. Although 1956 proved to be a disaster for Mollohan and many Democratic candidates, Barron had been successful in his bid for Attorney-General. His 1960 campaign for governor was a direct result of his plans laid while Attorney-General. Important political contacts had been made which aided him in winning the support of the statehouse faction of the party and of organized labor. Early planning clearly made Barron the front runner in the race. 97

Barron's campaign called for home operated industries, a Skyline drive, and a clean up campaign but failed to give any specific details regarding promotion or financing. Open commitments were not part of his well-organized campaign. 98

The third candidate, Orel J. Skeen, like Barron, was experienced in various levels of government. He had served in various advisory capacities to Governor Clarence Meadows and had served as warden at the West Virginia State Penitentiary. He had led the Democratic ticket in his 1956 bid for state treasurer. 99
His campaign had little operating funds, no major support, and no clear organizational pattern. Skeen's platform was just about as vague as Barron in that he was silent on specifics regarding better schools and roads. His campaign theme centered around integrity and morality in public office. Improvement of public service without sharp tax increases, formation of a state crime commission, and the removal of politics from the state police were all part of his campaign pledges.\textsuperscript{100}

Smith's entire campaign emphasized his status as an independent Democrat with no allegiance to any particular faction of the party. He hoped this independence coupled with his unique businessman's approach to the state's economic problems made him a formidable candidate for the nomination.\textsuperscript{101}

Although most pollsters considered Smith an underdog in the race, some considered his credentials and straightforward campaign pledges as evidence that he had an excellent chance to win. However, Smith's chances of success were seriously damaged when he announced he favored a personal income tax to finance teacher pay raises and a severance tax on natural resources.\textsuperscript{102}

Whereas, the income tax proposal hurt Smith's chances, another development boosted his sagging campaign. The Charleston Gazette broke the story on May 4, 1960.

State Treasurer Orel J. Skeen announced that Attorney-General William W. Barron in November 1959 had offered him
$65,000 to stay out of the gubernatorial race. For proof of such an offer, Skeen produced a tape recording purported to be that of Barron making such an offer.¹⁰³

Attorney-General Barron disclaimed any such accusation when he said, "I deny it. It's nothing but deceit and fraud."¹⁰⁴ He added, "I have never offered Orel anything not to run for governor or to get out of this race."¹⁰⁵ Skeen remained firm in his serious accusation against Barron.

As a result, William Barron filed a $300,000 slander suit against Skeen in Kanawha County Circuit Court and issued a formal statement noting, "I have today brought suit against Orel J. Skeen for slander and defamation resulting from the rigged tape recording and its false statements which he is maliciously circulating against me."¹⁰⁶ Skeen suggested that a lie detector test be administered to both Barron and him. Barron refused to discuss such a proposal maintaining his complete innocence in the affair.¹⁰⁷

Smith made no public comment on the Skeen-Barron affair but reassessed his chances of victory based on this new political development. His campaign received a boost on May 5, 1960 when the Gazette released a startling editorial concerning the gubernatorial race.

The editorial charged that the Skeen-Barron controversy was a divisive element for the Democratic Party which could seriously damage its chances for victory in November. Neither Skeen nor Barron was accept-
able for the nomination due to this controversy. The newspaper gave its endorsement to Hulett C. Smith with these words:

Hulett Smith is a man of honor and ability and integrity. He has the temperament and understanding to build an administration of knowledgeable and experienced men. He is a man who is honest and sincere and conscientious. We have no hesitancy in giving our full endorsement to Hulett C. Smith. Our reason is very simple: we think he is the best of the lot.

The Charleston Daily Mail branded both Skeen and Barron as "an embarrassment to the state of West Virginia and its people," and suggested that both withdraw from the race at once. The newspaper added, "It is unthinkable and intolerable that the state should continue to be served in any capacity by men who have gone to such lengths to question each other's character and integrity."

Edward H. Greene, a Huntington attorney and unsuccessful 1952 Democratic gubernatorial candidate announced his full support for Smith's candidacy. Greene charged that Barron and Skeen had discredited each other with charges and counter charges of corruption and bribery. Neither Barron nor Skeen had any chance to win in November so the party needed to unite behind a man of integrity and honesty, Hulett C. Smith.

The Roane County Reporter gave its endorsement to Smith because he was electable, decent, and representative of all loyal Democrats. The newspaper deemed his nomination and election as crucial for the state's good name.

Although Smith gained significantly from the Skeen-Barron affair, some charged that Smith might win by
default and not based upon his campaign platform. George Titler, president of District 29 of the United Mine Workers, charged that Smith and Skeen planned the accusations against Barron so as to enhance Smith's chances of victory.

Titler maintained that Smith and Skeen plotted to defame Barron so that big business could gain control of the governor's mansion through Smith. Skeen would be the scapegoat in this intriguing plot and Barron's election could be foiled.\textsuperscript{112}

Smith retorted, "I emphatically deny the charge made by George Titler. There has never been any Smith-Skeen deal. There's been no deal with anyone."\textsuperscript{113}

Smith did not want to win based upon the Skeen-Barron controversy but rather on the issues of the campaign. He wanted to be perceived as an honest, efficient, and intelligent gubernatorial candidate who sought to better West Virginia's economic problems through a businessman's approach.

Despite his many supporters Smith still lost the election. The results of the May 10, 1960 primary were as follows: Barron 187,501; Smith 140,079; and Skeen 39,907.\textsuperscript{114} This was Smith's second political defeat since his entry into politics. It was now time for a critical assessment regarding his loss.

Smith pinpointed the reasons for his loss soon after the primary results. He needed more money, a more thorough organization, an earlier start, and an aura of victory about him. Smith received several offers of campaign funds,
but he turned them down when he realized these sources wanted something in return. His organization did receive a boost from the Skeen-Barron affair but it arrived too late to make much difference in the outcome. Barron's early planning and Smith's call for a personal income tax also contributed to his defeat. Smith, desirous of a Democratic victory in November, pledged his total support to the Barron candidacy. 115

As was traditional, Hulett Smith tendered his resignation as chairman of the West Virginia Democratic Party so that Barron could select a replacement. Barron asked Smith to remain on the job as state chairman and the Democratic State Executive Committee re-elected him in June, 1960. 116

Although Smith lost the gubernatorial nomination, he helped manage the Democratic general election campaign, including that of Senator John F. Kennedy, in West Virginia. Smith worked diligently in 1960 to insure a complete Democratic victory in West Virginia. He certainly did not want a repeat of the 1956 Democratic debacle.

General election results in November, 1960, were indeed joyful ones for the West Virginia Democratic Party. Democratic presidential nominee, John F. Kennedy, triumphed over Republican Richard M. Nixon in West Virginia as did Democrat William Barron over Republican Harold Neely. Just four years earlier, the Democrats had lost the presidency and the West Virginia governorship while Smith was state chairman, but now had regained both offices under the same
chairman. Smith's political star again was on the rise. 117

The state legislature early in 1961 established the
Department of Commerce to replace the Industrial and
Publicity Commission and the Economic Development Agency. 118

Governor Barron asked Hulett Smith to accept appointment as
West Virginia's first Commissioner of Commerce. Smith was
a logical choice for this appointment since he called for
such a department during the 1960 gubernatorial campaign
envisioning such a department as a vehicle by which to
attract tourists and outside industries into poverty-
stricken West Virginia. Smith readily accepted the
appointment to become effective July 14, 1961, but held on
as Democratic state chairman until October, 1961, when he
resigned his post. The Democratic State Executive
Committee chose Robert P. McDonough as Smith's replacement. 119

Commissioner Smith's first annual report of the
Department of Commerce's activities in 1961-1962 contained
an impressive list of departmental successes. Some 34 new
industrial plants moved into West Virginia providing
4,300 new jobs and over $19 million in new payrolls.
Many outside firms paid visits to West Virginia investiga-
ting the possibility of establishing industries in the
state. West Virginia's Aid to Dependent Children Program,
administered by the Department of Commerce, employed over
16,000 men in the first year of operation. Eight tourist
centers opened in West Virginia during the 1961-1962
period. The coal mining areas of southern West Virginia
found new revenues in promoting tours through renovated
coal mines. The report contained many more optimistic accounts of the growth of West Virginia's economy during 1961-1962 which Smith and the state legislature considered to be a year of success.

Smith's excellent performance as Commissioner of Commerce kept him in the limelight which helped make him a potential 1964 gubernatorial candidate. He did not make any firm decision to seek the governorship again until March, 1963 at which time he privately tested his support by conferring with close political friends. The response to another gubernatorial bid was terrific in that he received more and larger donations than he had in 1960, which indeed was a good political sign.

In November, 1963, Smith resigned as Commissioner of Commerce and announced his intentions to seek the 1964 Democratic gubernatorial nomination. The tragic assassination of President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963 caused Smith to postpone any major campaign activities until January. Very quickly the Democratic gubernatorial field became crowded with others seeking the nomination as well. Julius Singleton, Speaker of the West Virginia House of Delegates, Bonn Brown, former law partner of William Barron, and Harold Cutright, a political maverick, all entered the campaign for the nomination.

Many politicos saw Smith as the front runner due to his past involvement in the Democratic Party, his public exposure gained in his unsuccessful 1960 gubernatorial
bid, and his excellent record while Commissioner of Commerce. Unlike the 1960 race, there was little real controversy in the 1964 campaign. Brown sought to bring in more outside industry to West Virginia; Singleton relied on his legislative experience as reason he should receive the nomination; and Cutright based his campaign on finding fault with the other contenders. 122

In this campaign, Smith sought to build a much better organization which he lacked in the 1960-race. He appointed Mrs. Sue Scott of Oak Hill to co-chair the Citizens for Smith organization throughout West Virginia. Under Mrs. Scott's leadership, most of southern West Virginia was organized for Hulett Smith. Mrs. Bernard Gottlieb co-chaired the Citizens for Smith organization in the northern portion of the state. He too was successful in setting up solid support for Hulett Smith. 123

Smith's number one priority during the campaign was to emphasize the need for better education in West Virginia. Characteristic of this theme was his March 14, 1964 speech in Beckley, "I want to talk with you about the most important citizen living in West Virginia . . . He is the six-year-old child who will enter school next fall. 124

Primary election returns showed Smith with 186,273 votes; Brown 85,527; Singleton 47,845; and Cutright 30,119. Smith won an impressive victory in that he carried 53 of the 55 counties defeating his nearest rival by 100,000 votes. Smith had received a clear mandate from the Democratic Party and he was their choice for the general
election.

On the Republican side, former Governor Cecil H. Underwood easily gained his party's nod. Underwood opposed the man who managed his Democratic opponent in the 1956 race.

Smith and some political friends organized a general election strategy. Those who helped formulate this strategy were James M. Sprouse, later the Democratic state chairman, Robert McDonough, later Democratic national committeeman, Clarence Elmore, later state liquor commissioner, Robert D. Bailey, later West Virginia's twenty-first Secretary of State, and Milton J. Ferguson, former state tax commissioner and 1956 gubernatorial candidate.

Smith used dual slogans in his gubernatorial bid which were "A New Look for West Virginia" and "An Administration of Excellence." These slogans appeared frequently during his administration.

Better education for West Virginia occupied most of Hulett Smith's campaign rhetoric during the post primary campaign. Smith considered education as the only way to combat poverty in West Virginia. A good education was necessary if a West Virginia child stood any chance of bettering himself economically and socially. His campaign speeches echoed the remarks about education given on March 15, 1964 in Beckley. In that speech Smith outlined his proposed policy for better education for West Virginia. He called for the establishment of a
state minimum salary schedule and subsequent annual raises; a program to provide special teachers in reading and other communication skills; call upon the State Department of Education to encourage the use of the new curricula for schools in order to improve literacy skills and develop a program for vocational education; and increase the school year from nine and one-half months to ten months.  

The 1964 Democratic state platform reflected many of Smith's ideas on education when it advocated the following:

1. Procurement and retention of capable teachers by making a career of classroom instruction more attractive through:
   - A pay scale providing salary increases based on experience, academic degrees held, and substantial progress toward attaining higher degrees with hopes of not only retaining qualified native West Virginia teachers, but to attract qualified competent outside teachers as well.
   - Provide more financial assistance so teachers can devote more time to classroom instruction

2. Special education teachers employed in all 55 counties

3. Acceleration for the testing of some experimental teaching techniques

4. Expand the school lunch program

5. Expansion of the vocational education program

6. Use of educational television in the classroom

7. State teachers' retirement benefits equalized

8. Continued support for institutions of higher learning

9. Expand the Bookmobile program

10. Increase the support for all library services.  

Whereas Smith's campaign focused on the need for better
educational opportunities, other vital state needs were recognized as well. Smith favored more road building, constitutional reform, a minimum wage, consumer protection, better housing, and a general clean-up program for West Virginia.

Although Smith's campaign proposals were progressive, another factor helped him in his bid for the governorship. The Democratic Party's national ticket was headed by a very popular and progressive team, Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert H. Humphrey. The popularity of the Johnson-Humphrey national ticket helped Smith by the coattail effect. The Republicans nominated Barry Goldwater for President, considered by many to be a conservative reactionary which attracted few supporters in poverty-stricken West Virginia.

During the general election campaign, few derogatory remarks were exchanged between Smith and his Republican challenger, Cecil H. Underwood. Some newspapers called the campaign generally low key and not exciting.131

The Charleston Gazette predicted that even though Smith's proposals were popular and that he was riding high on the coattails of Johnson and Humphrey, the gubernatorial race was going to be a cliffhanger.132 Anticipating a close race, both Smith and Underwood campaigned right up to election day, November 3, 1964.133

The Gazette announced on November 2, 1964 that according to their poll, Smith closed the considerable gap between Underwood and him. A 30,000 vote margin between Smith and
Underwood was possible, making the election the closest since 1952 when William Marland defeated Rush D. Holt by only 27,269 votes. The election was still too close to call.\textsuperscript{134}

The \textit{Gazette's} assessment of the governor's race was highly erroneous when on November 3, 1964, Smith received 433,023 to Underwood's 355,559, a majority of 77,464 votes over his Republican opponent.\textsuperscript{135} The Democrats also won on the national level as Johnson defeated Goldwater in a landslide.\textsuperscript{136}

On that same night Smith made this statement, "I shall ask Governor Barron to allow me to work side by side with him during the remainder of his term so that we can continue without interruption the progress started four years ago."\textsuperscript{137} Governor-elect Smith did just that right up until his January inauguration.

In summation, during Hulett Smith's formative years, he was greatly influenced by the political activities of his father. Joe L. Smith served eight terms as a Democratic representative in Congress. Smith was not immune to this tremendous political exposure and soon developed a flair for politics.

His entry into the political realm did not meet with success as quickly as his father's career. Hulett served briefly as chairman of the Beckley Democratic Party until 1956 when he managed the ill-fated Robert H. Mollohan campaign for governor. His six-year term as chairman of the West Virginia Democratic Party was filled
with squabbles as to what means could be used to unify the party and prevent another 1956 debacle. Smith accepted the challenge, acquiring a great 1958 Democratic victory. He had proven his ability as a leader to the point he desired to be governor. His first bid in 1960 met with defeat but he was rewarded with the office of Commissioner of Commerce, a position in which he established an excellent record in promoting West Virginia. His loyalty to the Democratic Party and his proven commitment to a better West Virginia while Commerce Commissioner made him a natural candidate for the 1964 gubernatorial nomination.

His 1964 gubernatorial bid emphasized the fact that a better West Virginia could only become a reality only if opportunities for the youth could be improved. The key to the achievement of better opportunities was a sound, innovative, and progressive educational system. After his 1964 victory as West Virginia's twenty-seventh governor, he set out to improve the state's educational system so the state could realize its full potential through his "Pursuit of Excellence."
CHAPTER ONE

FOOTNOTES


4. Ibid.


8. Ibid.


12. Smith won Boone, Fayette, Greenbrier, and Raleigh Counties by comfortable margins but lost Republican Kanawha County by a little over 4,000 votes and lost Pocahontas County by a mere 164 votes. Ibid., p. 969.


18. The incident occurred in Smith's junior year when some seniors wrote unkind remarks about the juniors on the school sidewalks. Smith was among the juniors who retaliated in kind for the senior graffiti. Most of the culprits were discovered and forced to remove the writing using a brick and some sand. Smith chose to man the brick in the removal process. John A. Canfield, ed., State Papers and Public Addresses of Hulett C. Smith (Beckley: Biggs, Johnston, and Withrow, 1969), p. 26.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., p. 28.


23. Ibid.


26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid., p. 29.

29. Ibid.

30. Raleigh Register, June 24, 1951.


33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.


37 Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, November 27, 1979.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid.


43 Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, November 27, 1979.

44 Ibid.


46 Ibid.


48 Ibid.

49 Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette, June 1, 1956.

50 Ibid., June 10, 1956.

51 Ibid., June 12, 1956.

52 Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, November 27, 1979.

53 Ibid.


56 Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette, November 7, 1956.
57 Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette, November 7, 1956.
58 Ibid.
59 Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette, October 29, 1956.
60 Ibid.
61 Ibid.
63 Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette, October 31, 1956.
64 Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, November 27, 1979.
65 Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette, October 31, 1956.
68 Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, November 27, 1979.
70 Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette, November 7, 1956.
71 Ibid.
72 Ibid.
73 Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, November 27, 1979.
75 Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, November 27, 1979.
76 Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette, May 2, 1960.
77 Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, November 27, 1979.
78 Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette, May 2, 1960.

80 Ibid.

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid.

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid.

85 Ibid.


87 Ibid.

88 Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette, January 1, 1960.

89 Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, November 27, 1979.

90 Ibid.

91 Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette, February 21, 1960.


93 Ibid.

94 Ibid.

95 Ibid.


97 Ibid.

98 Ibid.


100 Ibid.


104 Ibid.


106 Ibid.


110 Ibid., May 9, 1960.

111 Ibid., May 7, 1960.

112 Ibid., May 9, 1960.

113 Ibid.


115 Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, November 27, 1979.


117 Ibid.


Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, November 27, 1979.

Interview with Mrs. Sue Scott, Oak Hill, West Virginia, February 6, 1980.


Ibid., p. 34.

Ibid.

Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, November 27, 1979.


Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, November 27, 1979.

Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette, November 1, 1964.


Ibid., November 2, 1964.


CHAPTER TWO
IN PURSUIT OF EXCELLENCE

Smith lost little time in preparing for his upcoming term as governor in that he appointed on November 19, 1964, a Governor's Advisory Committee on Secondary Roads. The committee's purpose was to advise the governor on the best ways to implement the recently passed road bond issue. The committee was to draft legislation setting down new criteria for the state's secondary road system. Smith hoped this new committee could become a close friend to many West Virginians desirous of better roads.

On December 2, 1964, Smith announced the creation of the Task Force on Roads for the purpose of advising the governor on methods to improve road service to citizens of West Virginia. Smith wanted a definite plan outlined by this group so that a modern and efficient highway system could be realized for the state.

Smith called for suggestions from 400 leaders in education, business, labor, mass media, and other fields as to how to make his upcoming administration reflective of the needs and desires of the West Virginia citizenry. He noted in this November 25, 1964 release, "West Virginia must utilize the intellect and talents of all her people. During my tenure in office, I will constantly be calling upon everyone to help us do the job we seek to do."

Smith followed through on a campaign promise in that he set up the Task Force on Conflict-of-Interest on
December 14, 1964 which was to develop a code of ethics for public officials. Smith noted that it was necessary to protect West Virginians from public officials who were unscrupulous and this task force would be helpful in correcting this situation. 

On January 18, 1965 Supreme Court Judge Chauncey Browning administered the oath of office to West Virginia's twenty-seventh governor, Hulett Carlson Smith. The swearing in ceremony took place on the north portico of the State Capitol during a blustery cold snowstorm; nevertheless, hundreds of supporters and interested citizenry packed the seating stands to observe the inauguration.

His inaugural speech was short but packed with inspiring words for all listeners. He pledged an "Administration of Excellence" which would demand the highest standards of honesty, integrity, and ethics from its public servants. Incompetence and mediocrity would be intolerable to his new administration. Again Smith sounded his educational theme when he said, "I am determined that excellence in education will be our number one goal. A great educational system is a prerequisite to a great state." More tourism, an interstate highway system, more industry, and a more streamlined government all received emphasis in his speech as well. He called upon every West Virginian to cooperate and participate in his new administration. With total effort from all West Virginians, the state could be number one among the fifty states.
The 1964 elections swept into office a legislature overwhelmingly Democratic which naturally helped a Democratic chief executive. The House of Delegates chose Laban White (Democrat-Harrison) as Speaker while the State Senate selected Howard Carson (Democrat-Fayette) as President. Both legislative leaders pledged to work closely with Governor Smith.11

Governor Smith delivered his first message to a joint session of the fifty-seventh legislature on January 19, 1965, only one day after his inaugural. His first address detailed his proposals for the legislature's consideration. He urged the legislature to grant teachers an average $1,300 pay raise over a three-year period. Funding for such an increase was to come from the three percent sales tax which the governor hoped would be permanent. Smith believed the pay raise was necessary in order to retain qualified teachers and to attract qualified outside teaching staff. Remedial reading programs, school building construction, and educational television programs were all part of his educational package collectively known as Decision '65. Smith hoped that 1965 would mark the year West Virginia made the firm decision to commit itself towards producing the best educational system in the nation. Education remained as the governor's highest priority throughout his administration.

Although the governor's speech included proposals regarding roads, highway safety, conflict-of-interest legislation, agriculture, the budget, and consumer protection,
three other areas received the most consideration in his speech. Those areas were constitutional revision, housing, and a minimum wage.\textsuperscript{12}

Noting that West Virginia's 1872 state constitution was in need of immediate revision, Smith remarked, "The operation of our state government is severely limited and often made more costly by provisions of a state constitution written 93 years ago."\textsuperscript{13} Smith urged the lawmakers to pass appropriate legislation for the calling of a constitutional convention.

As Smith travelled around West Virginia first as Democratic state chairman, a gubernatorial candidate, and as Commissioner of Commerce, he had witnessed gross inadequacies in the state's housing. Smith suggested the legislature give the Department of Commerce authority to resolve this problem. The Department of Commerce was to cooperate with private builders, building unions, county and municipal governments, and the federal government in securing funds for the improvement of housing. This joint effort on the part of private industry, labor, state, local and federal governments could aid in the alleviation of inadequate housing.\textsuperscript{14}

At a time when the average hourly wage in West Virginia was only $0.75, Smith made a bold proposal to the legislature in requesting the minimum wage in West Virginia be raised to $1.00 an hour.\textsuperscript{15} Much of the economic progress made in West Virginia was not being shared by
many workers just because their wages were too low.16

Among Smith's closing remarks was one which served as his administration's theme, "We declare in favor of excellence. But our actions will speak louder than our words. So, let our actions be an unmistakable expression of the will of our people to have an administration of excellence."17

The legislature's mood was highly receptive to most of the governor's remarks and proposals. Applause interrupted his speech thirteen times. Delegate Robert K. Holliday (Democrat-Fayette) said the governor's remarks were comprehensive and progressive. The delegate hoped the legislature would give all proposals close scrutiny. Other legislators echoed Holliday's assessment of the speech.19

To gain support for his proposals, Governor Smith held daily morning conferences with the legislature's leadership to insure a continuous working harmony with the legislature. His relationship with the 57th legislature was very smooth since cooperation came from both the executive and legislative branches.20

Whereas it was often times impossible for the governor to meet personally with the legislators to answer their questions, he employed very able administrative aides to help with relations with the legislature. John A. Canfield, Darrell McGraw, Paul Crabtree, and David Callaghan were all popular with legislators helping to produce a strong bond of cooperation and respect between
the legislative and executive branches.21

Before the legislature adjourned, the West Virginia Education Association praised Smith for his efforts on behalf of better education in West Virginia. At the March 2, 1965 centennial dinner, West Virginia Education Association President, C. P. Wells, said of the Smith administration, "1965 will have seen possible the greatest boost to education ever provided by any administration or legislature."22 Smith replied that the West Virginia Education Association was to be commended for its diligence and cooperation with his administration for the achievement of a better educational system for West Virginia.23

Except for the introduction of one very controversial piece of legislation, the 57th legislature was relatively calm. Delegate Robert K. Holliday (Democrat-Fayette) and Delegate Jesse Barker (Democrat-Kanawha) introduced in the House of Delegates a bill to abolish the death penalty. State Senator Paul Kaufman (Democrat-Kanawha) introduced similar legislation in the State Senate. This proposal was not on Governor Smith's call to the legislature but he heartily supported the bill during its lengthy debate. For several weeks there were many tense moments as to whether the bill would survive. Several of Governor Smith's administrative assistants served as liaison between the legislative and executive branches on this controversial matter. Late in the session the bill passed both houses.24 Governor Smith signed the legislation into law on March 18,
1965 noting, "Therefore it is with a deep feeling of justice . . . a knowledge that ours is a compassionate government . . . and a deep belief that this action is right, that I sign this law abolishing capital punishment in West Virginia."25

The Charleston Gazette noted in a March 13, 1965 editorial the abolition of the death penalty was a good reflection on the state. West Virginia was one of the first states in the nation to abolish the death penalty emphasizing that West Virginians believe in a sensible and humane system of justice.26

The 57th legislature convened on January 13, 1965 and adjourned on March 15, 1965. Legislators introduced 795 bills and passed 185 of them.27

The 57th legislature passed a $184.4 million budget, which was the largest in West Virginia's history.28 Governor Smith was generally pleased with the budget and the actions of the legislature. The governor extended the legislature his heartiest appreciation for a fine productive session. His remarks emphasized the close and friendly relationship existing between the two branches of state government during the session. This cooperative relationship had made it possible for so many progressive pieces of legislation becoming law.29

The governor succeeded in that the legislature passed his constitutional convention request, his right to hire and fire department heads, and the building of a $8.5
million state office building. But the highlight of
Smith's legislative success came in the field of education.\textsuperscript{30}

The legislature passed a $35 million education budget for
fiscal 1965-1966. The comprehensive package did the following
for education:

(1) Doubled the salary increment based on experience,
extended the school year to ten months, and raised
the average teacher's salary by $1,300 a year

(2) Appropriated $1 million to the counties to
encourage them to adopt modern teaching techniques

(3) Increased support for vocational education by
$400,000, exceptional children by $260,000, and
teachers' retirement by $500,000

(4) Set up $500,000 for a state aid deficiency

(5) Increased support for certain elderly retired
teachers by $25 a month

(6) Support for higher education was there too in
that $2,225,000 was set aside including salary
increases\textsuperscript{31}

Regarding the record educational budget, the
\textit{Charleston Gazette} called it, "The 57th legislature may go
down in history as the one which struck a blow for West
Virginia's struggling and under-financed public school
system."\textsuperscript{32} Phares Reeder, executive secretary of the
West Virginia Education Association, said, "This year's
legislative program ranks with creation of the county unit
system in 1933 and the rewriting of the state school aid
formula in 1947 as benchmarks in education."\textsuperscript{33} Delegate
Robert K. Holliday (Democrat-Fayette) called Smith's
educational package, "... the most innovative and
comprehensive in the state's history."\textsuperscript{34}

Generally, the 57th legislature was kind to Governor
Smith's proposals but he met some setbacks as well. His constitutional revision legislation which passed called for a special election to be held on November 9, 1965, in which the voters could decide if they wanted to hold a convention. If the voters approved, then the election for delegates to the convention would occur. Finally the people would have to approve or reject the new constitution. Soon after the bill passed, many critics argued that the constitutional convention idea was unconstitutional due to the manner in which delegates to the convention were apportioned among the counties. The county apportionment violated the state constitution's principle of one-man, one-vote.35

Governor Smith submitted the critical analysis of the convention plan to the Attorney-General, C. Donald Robertson, for his legal opinion. On June 25, 1965 Attorney-General Robertson notified the governor the convention plan was constitutional and violated no basic principles. Governor Smith announced the Attorney-General's opinion that same day in a public release.36 Many critics of the convention contended the only way to determine the act's constitutionality was to submit the act to the West Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals. Taking no chances, Governor Smith submitted the question to the West Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals on July 13, 1965. The high court declared the act, as passed, to the unconstitutional because it violated the principle of one-man, one-vote.37 As enacted, the convention could not be legally held.
On August 4, 1965, Smith met with legislative leaders to determine what course to follow in correcting unconstitutional sections of the law so a convention could meet as planned. After lengthy consultations with the legislative leadership, Smith decided a special session of the legislature was not necessary and the revised bill could be discussed by the upcoming session of the 1966 legislature. Smith's feelings on this matter were as strong as ever when he said:

I feel strongly today about the need for a constitutional convention as I did the day I first put the matter before the legislature, and I shall continue working for a convention in order to obtain the needed revisions in our Constitution.38

The minimum wage proposal submitted by Governor Smith met defeat because many legislators felt there was no need to set a minimum wage but that it should be left up to the various employers. There was no effective lobbying for the bill on the part of labor unions and most of the rural farming county legislators voted as a bloc against the bill. Smith promised to resubmit the bill in the upcoming 1966 legislature.39

The Charleston Gazette's Harry Hoffman, political editor, said Governor Smith lost several key proposals because his administration submitted many bills too late in the session to allow adequate study. Those gaining scrutiny had to be rewritten several times by the legislative staff. Hoffman said Smith and his assistants should improve their homework before making any submissions to the legislature. But Hoffman ended his criticism on a positive
note in that for the first time at bat, the Smith administration "batted well." 40

During and after the 1965 legislative session, Governor Smith continued his battle for a better educational system. Each speech reflected his administrations firm commitment to a better educational system. This noble endeavor needed public support. Much of this support came in Smith's Government-to-the-People programs where his administration went into various West Virginia towns and cities to discuss problems people incurred. 41 Moundsville, Martinsburg, Glenville, Hinton, and Madison all participated in this first Government-to-the-People program. 42

On February 4, 1965, Smith testified before the Subcommittee on Education, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare in Washington, D. C. At the hearing he reviewed progress in the field of education made by former Governor Barron and himself. Governor Smith urged the subcommittee to consider appropriating additional educational funds for West Virginia under Title III. These federal funds could help continue the educational progress thus far accomplished for West Virginia. Smith's concluding remarks emphasized the importance of a good educational system as the only means whereby more opportunities could be opened for students and a goal for West Virginia. 44

In the House of Delegates chamber on March 30, 1965, Smith addressed the state's county superintendents regarding West Virginia's participation in Project Head Start.
Project Head Start, directed by Mrs. Hulett Smith, was a program which sought to enroll disadvantaged pre-school youngsters into an enrichment program so they could be better prepared once they entered the first grade. Funding for such an innovative program came from the federal government. The governor pledged his total cooperation with the school officials urging them to organize such a project in their respective counties as soon as possible. Smith touched the emotions of many in attendance about the program's importance when he said, "Unfortunately there are many children going into our school system this year who have never seen crayons, or a pair of scissors, or a coloring book, or a reading book." Smith was totally committed to this program as a way to enrich the educational background of the disadvantaged and sought to enroll 15,000 needy youngsters in its first year of operation. In fact, Governor Smith and his administration succeeded in establishing Head Start programs in all 55 counties of the state, becoming the first state in the nation to do so.

Governor Smith spoke at the West Virginia Education Association's workshop conference on August 18, 1965 at West Virginia Wesleyan College. The governor enunciated his desire to see more libraries, better school transportation, more educational television in use, and a move by the State Department of Education to seek new innovative teaching techniques employed in the classroom. He noted that Congress recently enacted twenty educational bills
and regarding West Virginia, he declared, "... and I can tell you now that I intend to see that the children of this State receive the benefits of this congressional action!"\(^{51}\) He concluded by challenging the teachers to seek educational excellence not just as an opportunity, but a reality for West Virginia.\(^ {52}\)

On October 15, 1965 at the West Virginia Education Association, Smith re-emphasized a recurrent theme of his administration with these words, "Education is on a priority basis. And there it will remain, as long as I am Governor."\(^ {53}\) Smith announced to the educators that based on the success of Project Head Start, he planned to call for the formation of a public kindergarten system for West Virginia.\(^ {54}\)

In a news release on October 27, 1965, the Smith administration announced the success of the adult basic education program administered jointly by the West Virginia Departments of Education and Welfare. Under the program 12,000 employed people on public works projects were to report to school twice a week instead of their assigned jobs. This program sought to encourage people to take advantage of vocational and high school courses available under the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act.\(^ {55}\)

Governor Smith more than proved his dedication to the cause of education in 1965. Speech after speech reflected his desire to improve education for West Virginia which in turn, could improve the standard of living for the state. More action on education would have to wait for
the 1966 legislature which convened in January.

The fifty-seventh legislature, second regular session, convened on January 12, 1966 and adjourned on February 10, 1966. Legislators introduced 192 bills and passed 66 of them. Before the amending of the constitution, the legislature met every other year in thirty-day sessions known as budget sessions. The 1966 legislature was such a session.

Governor Smith addressed a joint session of the 57th legislature, second regular session, on its opening day, January 12, 1966. Smith said real progress in education had been attained through cooperation with the federal government. West Virginia stood to gain $24 million in federal funds for the improvement of elementary, secondary, and vocational education. Echoing his concern for education, he said, "Education is still the priority matter for this administration and for this state." The governor urged the legislature to approve a public kindergarten program, improve working conditions for public school personnel, improve sick leave and retirement benefits, and improve the same benefits for university and college personnel.

Smith urged the Democratic legislature to pass his minimum wage proposal defeated in 1965. He prodded the lawmakers into action reminding them that many West Virginians could not properly care for their family needs because of low wages. A minimum wage was absolutely necessary to correct this economic injustice. He suggested the state legislature ratify the 25th amendment to the
national constitution providing for presidential disability and succession, approve a $132 million education budget, release another $20 million bonds from the 1964 Better Roads Amendment, initiate a better housing program, and place another call for a constitutional convention to meet. It was certainly a detailed list of proposals for a short thirty-day session of the legislature, but the governor thought all of his proposals proper and necessary for immediate action.

The Charleston Gazette editorialized about the governor's education requests. The newspaper took the Board of Public Works and Governor Smith to task for submitting a rather low budget for the state's colleges and universities. Several college administrators complained that the proposed budget was so small a mass emigration of college personnel could occur in 1967 if the inadequate Board of Public Works budget passed the legislature. Governor Smith went back on his promise to make 1966 the year for higher education in West Virginia. Public education improvements were fine but the state government should not neglect higher education in the process. The colleges and universities needed more funds and members of the legislature, interested in higher education, should approve a much larger appropriation to this facet of West Virginia's educational system. The editorial ended with these words of advice, "The legislature must make it, a first order of business to repudiate the totally unrealistic Board of Public Works budget and save higher education
from disaster." When the session ended, higher education did not meet disaster as the Gazette predicted, but gained significantly.

Like the 1965 session of the 57th legislature, Governor Smith and the Democratic legislative leadership worked hand in hand to get most of the governor's proposals through the thirty-day session. The governor was generally pleased with the legislature's enactments when it adjourned on February 10, 1966.65

The 1966-1967 fiscal budget passed the 57th legislature's second regular session was $199,130,486, which was only $3 million more than requested by Governor Smith. The major portion of the new budget was to go to higher education's support.

Education also received boosts when the legislature continued funds for another teacher pay increase as part of Decision '65. Sick leave and retirement benefits for non-teaching personnel received additional funds too.66

Another of the governor's priority items was the enactment of a minimum wage law setting the wage at $1.00 an hour. John G. Morgan of the Charleston Gazette called the enactment of the minimum wage law as "one of the most important acts passed during the thirty-day budgetary session of the 57th legislature."67 Howard Carson, President of the State Senate, said, "... will provide a great deal of help for people in the lower economic brackets."68

Five constitutional amendments passed the 57th legislature for submission to the voters for their approval
in November, 1966. One of particular interest to Governor Smith was the governor's succession amendment allowing a governor of West Virginia to serve two consecutive terms. The other proposed constitutional amendments contained the following points:

(1) Permitted the state legislature to increase the number of circuit judges

(2) Provided for special elections on constitutional questions

(3) Lowered from 60% to 51% majority needed to pass a county school levy

(4) Raised a legislator's annual salary from $1,500 to $2,500

(5) Established annual sixty-day legislative sessions

Senate President Howard Carson endorsed the amendments with these comments, "Every year our lives are affected more and more by the activities of government. I hope and believe that if the people will take the time and trouble to learn about the amendments, they will want to adopt them."70

The only real controversial bill enacted by the legislature regarded birth control for those people on welfare. The bill allowed the Department of Welfare to dispense birth control information to those people receiving assistance. After a bitter fight in both houses, the bill passed and went to Governor Smith for his signature.71

Smith was generally pleased with the actions of the legislature when he said, "The accomplishments of this second regular session of the 57th legislature will benefit all of our people, and contribute in a large measure an
economy that has already reached record heights. You have every reason to look with pride upon the job you have done."72

Even with these glowing words or praise for the 57th legislature, Governor Smith felt disappointment in that his anti-gambling law, updating of public institutions, corporate income tax proposal, and his constitutional convention proposal all met defeat.73

The legislative defeat of Smith's request for a constitutional convention was perhaps his greatest disappointment of the 1966 session. He urged the passage of this proposal again in 1966 due to the 1965 West Virginia Supreme Court ruling the law as unconstitutional. Constitutional revision was part of Hulett Smith's campaign and of the state Democratic Party in 1964.74 Many legislators shared in Governor Smith's disappointment as well. Perhaps State Senate President Howard Carson summed up their regret in these words, "Some disappointment is in that it didn't appear possible to take favorable action on legislation for a constitutional convention. The very fact that the five amendments are being proposed is evidence of the need for extensive revision of the state's fundamental law."75

Feeling the necessity to keep in touch with the citizens of West Virginia, Governor Smith promoted his program of Government-to-the-People. He met with citizens and listened to their problems and sought solutions to them.76 Smith visited Wheeling, Welch, Fairmont, and Keyser in
1966. He considered these local meetings as the best way to secure honest opinions from the citizenry as to what needs and desires they had from state government.

During 1966 Governor Smith reiterated his public endorsement for a better educational system for West Virginia. The governor felt he must lead the state into a new era of educational opportunity.

Smith's tireless efforts on the part of education did not go unnoticed. On March 23, 1966 the Epsilon Nu Chapter of Phi Delta Kappa at West Virginia University honored Governor Smith as the "Lay Leader in Education for 1965." William L. King, education honorary fraternity president, said Governor Smith received the honor because of his "outstanding contributions in the field of education." King noted Smith's spirit of cooperation as a key towards the betterment of West Virginia's educational system. The governor readily accepted this honor on behalf of his administration.

By Executive Order on March 31, 1966, Governor Smith placed West Virginia in the Compact on Education with several other states. The compact provided for a commission to suggest education policy, disseminate educational information, and in general, serve as a supporter and stimulus for better education. Regarding West Virginia's entry into the compact, Governor Smith stated, "New techniques, bold experiments and newly-conceived institutions are blossoming in almost every state in the nation and West Virginia will benefit from the abundance of knowledge that
will be shared by all members of this Compact."\textsuperscript{82}

At the Fayette County Classroom Teachers Association on April 21, 1966 Smith urged the teachers to seek more innovative teaching techniques to meet the modern challenge of the 1960's. West Virginia needed a fresh approach to teaching if our unique educational problems are to be solved. Federal cooperation promised to be a great resource in helping to solve some of West Virginia's educational problems.\textsuperscript{83}

On June 16, 1966, Smith and West Virginia received an honor in that the Southern Regional Education Board, consisting of fifteen states, unanimously elected Smith as chairman. Governor Smith succeeded Governor Carl B. Sanders of Georgia. Before the board, Smith pledged to seek regional cooperation in the field of education. Smith considered this selection as national recognition of West Virginia's efforts to improve its educational system during his administration.\textsuperscript{84}

At West Virginia University on October 21, 1966, Smith delivered a landmark education speech entitled, "The Public University in the Second Century."\textsuperscript{85} The governor noted it was a waste of valuable human resources when many intelligent West Virginia students could not continue their education due to the financial burden of post-high school learning.\textsuperscript{86} Smith made some concrete proposals to rectify this situation. He advocated the elimination of all tuition and fees for any West Virginia resident during the freshman and sophomore years of
college and urged the creation of more branch colleges in West Virginia, primarily to meet the demand of commuting students. These branch colleges were economically feasible since no housing was necessary. His last proposal called for the establishment of an Institute for Advanced Education in the Kanawha Valley. Broadening the educational programs at the Kanawha Valley Graduate Center was another part of this goal. He proposed, as necessary, the construction of five new vocational-technical schools in the next year. 87 His speech ended on an optimistic note when he said, "And because all education is the prerequisite to the total development of this State, we're really laying the cornerstone of a greater, and bigger and brighter West Virginia in what can become our most exciting century." 88 Again in 1966 Governor Smith made clear his total commitment for a better educated West Virginia.

Governor Smith supported five constitutional amendments before the voters in 1966. Of the five, two held special importance to him. Those amendments dealt with the governor's succession and better schools by lowering the percentage needed to approve a levy. Many politicos thought Smith wanted a second term, but surprisingly, Governor Smith never made a firm commitment regarding a second term. 89

To make the general public more aware of what the amendments entailed, Governor Smith named one-hundred prominent West Virginians to the Committee for Constitutional Amendments on September 8, 1966. The committee was to travel
throughout West Virginia informing the citizenry as to what each amendment meant. A well-informed voting public was the only way the amendments could survive the critical vote.  

Other than education in 1966, Governor Smith noted another priority for West Virginians—uncontrolled strip mining. On February 15, 1966, he appointed a task force to study the problem and to make definite suggestions to him regarding its solution.  

On March 6, 1966 Governor Smith addressed the Task Force on Surface Mining. Before this task force he laid down ten proposals for the task force's consideration and subsequently submit appropriate reports back to him. These points were as follows:

1. The group was to study the necessity of pre-planning on the part of the surface miners.

2. What powers were state agencies concerned with surface mining to have in prosecuting and/or stopping illegal surface mining activities?

3. Should surface mine bonds be increased from the present $150 an acre?

4. Is more money needed to reclaim stripped lands done prior to any surface mining regulations?

5. Was their need to increase the staffs of the Departments of Mines and Natural Resources for surface mining enforcement?

6. Was it feasible or desirable that West Virginia become a member of the Interstate Mining Compact which studied the need of a uniform plan of reclamation in all states so affected?

7. Backfilling regulations to be studied

8. Consider deep mining operations and report if they should reclaim land damaged from their underground mines

9. Study controls for gob piles
(10) Look into the possibility for the abolition of surface mining

This task force met the strong endorsement from environmentalists as the first major step towards saving the hills and mountains of West Virginia. They certainly were in agreement with Governor Smith when he states, "West Virginia is not investing $27 million in a major parks expansion program just so families and visitors can look upon mountains of gob piles." 39

On election day, November 8, 1966, Smith met great disappointments when the Republicans won twenty-six additional seats in the House of Delegates and two in the State Senate, significantly reducing the Democratic majorities in both houses. 94 And all five constitutional amendments failed to receive voter approval. 95

Smith was not able to explain why the voters rejected the better schools amendment except perhaps many voters misunderstood its basic provisions. Smith explained the loss of the governor's succession amendment as a result of the involvement of politicians who sought the governorship in 1968 such as William Barron, C. Donald Robertson, and Chauncey Browning, Jr. Bitterness and revenge were not part of Hulett Smith's character, so he accepted the voters' verdicts and planned for the upcoming session of the 58th legislature. 96

The 58th legislature convened on January 11, 1967 and expired on March 14, 1967, three days beyond regular adjournment day due to an order from Governor Smith. Legislators introduced a record 1,064 bills and passed
only 228 of them.\textsuperscript{97}

Governor Smith delivered his message to a joint session of the 58th legislature on January 11, 1967. As usual, his first remarks touched on education. He made several proposals such as continued school aid pledged in 1965; end the required tuition and fees for college freshmen and sophomores; establishment of the Institute for Advanced Education in the Kanawha Valley; formation of a central authority for educational supervision and coordination; support for branch colleges; formation of a School Building Authority to support needed school building programs; provide a basic annual $5,000 salary for all teachers; and study the feasibility of a kindergarten system for the state's pre-school youngsters. In other areas of his speech he urged the legislature to pass a tough strip mine regulation law; lower the voting age to eighteen; provide more benefits under workmen's compensation; expand adequate housing; requested an additional $20 million in bonds from the Better Roads Amendment of 1964 for more highway construction; development of more mental health facilities in the state; and requested, for the third time, constitutional revisions.\textsuperscript{98}

Governor Smith worked with the same leadership, with Laban White as Speaker of the House of Delegates and Howard Carson as State Senate President. As usual, the relationship between the legislative and executive
branches was smooth and cooperative.99

The 58th legislature passed some noteworthy legislation in its sixty-three days in session. One act was a strong enforceable human rights law permitting the State Human Relations Commission to use subpoena power to help end discrimination; liquor by the drink in private clubs gained approval; a strong set of air and water pollution laws was enacted; gave increased unemployment benefits to those who qualified; needed tax reform program established; a net corporate income tax law met success; and allowed state universities and colleges to cooperate in the support of graduate centers. The highlight of the session was the enactment of a very strict surface mining law.100

The Charleston Gazette said of the 58th legislature, "Overall, the 58th legislature deserves to be judged more on what it did in the public interest than on what little it left undone. On this balance, it has been a legislature of excellence. Measured against some of the legislatures of the past, it has achieved greatness."101 State Senate President Carson said of the legislature's performance, "... one of the most productive in the last 20 years." House Speaker White agreed with Carson when he noted, "If the tax study had been the only thing considered by the lawmakers, this still would have been one of the greatest legislative sessions of our lifetime and possibly in the history of the state."103
Governor Smith expressed satisfaction with the 58th legislature's performance but he did meet some discouragement regarding key pieces of his proposed legislation which failed to pass. The free tuition proposal, public kindergartens, a School Building Authority, call for a constitutional convention, and lowering the voting age to eighteen failed to win approval.\textsuperscript{104} His tough surface mining proposal gained approval which caused the editors of *Who's Who in the East* to award Governor Smith their conservation award. In part the award said, "By word and deed, Governor Smith has placed himself in the vanguard of the growing realization that nature's resources will one day cease to serve man, if he continues recklessly to pillage his planet."\textsuperscript{105}

During 1967 Smith continued his speaking tour emphasizing time and again his unwavering commitment to education. In March, 1967, he arranged for Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson to visit Charleston to inspect various educational programs in operation. This visit was of a dual purpose in that her visit brought national attention to West Virginia's educational programs while at the same time revealing inadequacies in its programs. An inspection by the First Lady helped gain additional federal dollars for more educational programs in West Virginia.\textsuperscript{106}
On March 15, 1967, at an educational seminar reception for Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson in Nashville, Tennessee, Smith delivered a few remarks regarding educational progress in West Virginia. The speech primarily reviewed the educational progress in his administration. Smith emphasized the tremendous progress West Virginia had made in the use of educational television and urged more national use of this innovative and successful teaching technique. The governor reiterated his stand that in West Virginia, his administration still placed education on a priority basis and with continued legislative cooperation, it would remain so.

Furthermore, Governor Smith spoke to the Education Commission of the States on May 8, 1967 at Denver, Colorado. There the governor attempted to show that politicians needed each other to improve the educational progress of the state. Both politicians and educators had to gain a mutual respect for each other. This mutual respect could grow into a meaningful relationship.

Smith again journeyed to Washington, D. C. and on July 19, 1967 appeared before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the House of Representatives. The governor urged the House of Representatives approval of a Senate passed bill giving more federal funds towards the construction and operation of educational television broadcasting. He outlined the success of West Virginia's educational television by pointing out the success of
West Virginia University's WWVU station, Marshall University's ETV educational television system, and West Virginia Wesleyan's WVWC-FM station. Smith ended his testimony before the committee by committing West Virginia's total support for the bill because it could "bring into being the long awaited maximum development of educational broadcasting in America." An educational task force heard from Governor Smith on July 24, 1967 in Charleston. The Governor said some type of carefully planned educational direction was necessary if education had any real chance of success. He emphasized this point when he said, "Unfortunately educational planning in West Virginia has been at the level of the traditional McGuffey Reader in an age that has already developed effective teaching machines." Moreover, many present educational programs either overlapped or duplicated other established programs, so planning was necessary in order to use effectively money and human resources. On August 27, 1967 in White Sulphur Springs before the Southern Education Board, Governor Smith praised the board's success in enticing more high school graduates to enter college, opening more educational opportunities for blacks, and seeking more college trained health and social service personnel for the state. Smith was proud of West Virginia's active participation in this program. Governor Smith took an active interest even in county bond issues as was evident by this statement released
on October 25, 1967:

It is very unfortunate for the students in our public schools and for the school system of Kanawha County that the school bond issue failed to receive the necessary 60 percent approval. We must continue our efforts statewide to improve our schools by every means now available to us if our commitment to educational excellence is to have real meaning. 114

At a November 11, 1967 press conference, Governor Smith announced his continued firm support for a school building authority. Although such an authority failed in the 1967-session of the legislature, the governor planned to resubmit the request in 1968. The authority was necessary to build more and better classrooms for West Virginia school children. 115 He said many West Virginians had been critical of its schools long enough so he encouraged them to join with his administration in seeking the success of such a building authority. The opportunity was at hand. 116

The governor delivered, on December 8, 1967, a speech to both Ravenswood and Ripley High Schools challenging the high school students to work together in helping bring West Virginia educational excellence. Smith urged the students, when they reached of age, to go to the polls and elect progressive boards of education and support bond issues so educational excellence could become a reality. He admonished them not to be satisfied with past educational accomplishments, but to work for an even better system. He noted that without an excellent educational background, the students' job potential diminished. 117 Governor Hulett C. Smith declared,
"The cost of a good education in good schools is a long way from the terrific price of joblessness and underemployment." 118

Also during 1967 Governor Smith and twenty administration department heads met with concerned citizens from Buckhannon, Point Pleasant, Lewisburg, Romney, and Williamson in his Government-to-the-People program. 119

News of Governor Smith's progress in education reached Brazil in 1967 when Governor Fontes, of the State of Rio de Janeiro, invited Smith to visit his state and country. Governor Fontes in a letter to Smith said:

We here in Brazil have heard of the splendid advances which, under your leadership, the great State of West Virginia is making in such areas as agriculture, tourism, education and social welfare. These fields are special concerns of mine, and I am delighted at the prospect that you may be able to come to my State to offer us first hand your valuable suggestions. 120

Governor Smith readily accepted the invitation noting that mutual discussions could be beneficial to both West Virginia and Rio de Janeiro. 121

Governor and Mrs. Smith left West Virginia on July 30, 1967 for Brazil, returning to the state on August 11, 1967. 122 While in Brazil, political speculation was rampant that this trip was the prelude to President Johnson's naming of Smith as the new American ambassador to Brazil. Smith's office quickly denied any such offer from the White House, stating his trip was purely one of goodwill and a learning experience on the part of an American state governor. 123 Persistent rumors continued about
Smith's probable ambassadorial appointment, prompting press secretary, John A. Canfield, to issue this statement, "For the umpteenth time, that report is ridiculous, completely unfounded and without even the slightest reason for being in existence . . . The only thing Hulett Smith is going to be is governor of West Virginia--and he's going to be that until January of 1969, when his term expires."\textsuperscript{124} Later Smith recounted he never approached the White House about any ambassadorial position nor did President Johnson ever make any overtures to him regarding such a position.\textsuperscript{125}

Several weeks after Governor and Mrs. Smith's return from Brazil, tragedy struck his administration. This tragedy, the saddest event in 1967 for Governor Smith and for many West Virginians, was the December 15, 1967 collapse of Point Pleasant's Silver Bridge which claimed the lives of 46 people. Governor Smith worked very closely with President Johnson in securing funds for the rebuilding of that structure across the Ohio River. As a result of this tragedy, the governor ordered the immediate inspections of all bridges in West Virginia and the closing of those showing any signs of major wear.\textsuperscript{126}

With the Silver Bridge catastrophe temporarily behind the Smith administration, he turned his attention to the upcoming second session of the 58th legislature which convened on January 10, 1968 and continued in session until February 10, 1968 due to an extension order by Governor Smith. Legislators introduced 290 bills in that
thirty-day session passing only 67 of them.\textsuperscript{127}

Governor Smith addressed a joint session of the 1968 session of the 58th legislature on January 10, 1968, the legislature's opening day. His initial remarks touched on education, urging the body to work towards a $5,000 basic teacher salary, establishment of a School Building Authority, the creation of a Board of Governors for Marshall University, a Board of Governors for state colleges, continuation of the Board of Governors for West Virginia University, and the formation of a Board of Regents. For education to receive the attention needed, such a reorganization was imperative. The West Virginia State Board of Education was to administer only public schools and not all educational facilities as in the past. Scholarships and guaranteed student loans also were part of his educational package. He asked for more protection of the state's streams and lakes, more money for housing, repeal of the mandatory retirement law, more road building, improvement of the state's mental and correctional institutions, a constitutional amendment for $350 million bond issue for additional road and highway construction, and the calling of a constitutional convention.\textsuperscript{128}

Again the legislature received a very detailed list of proposals from Governor Smith because he realized this session would be his last in which to win approval of his administration's major aims. He was confident the legislature would take positive action on his proposals when he
said, "... I look ahead to the great advances that can be made by the Senate of West Virginia and the House of Delegates, in the few days ahead."129

When the second regular session of the 58th legislature adjourned, Smith expressed general satisfaction with its overall performance. Several of Governor Smith's proposals passed the legislature such as more aid to education, the Executive Budget amendment, and the $350 million road bond amendment, both to be presented to the voters in November, 1968. Many Smith endorsed proposals failed to win approval such as constitutional revision, West Virginia Development Corporation, educational reorganization, and stronger water pollution regulations.130 The Charleston Gazette said the session could have done much better and any assessment of its performances would find more minuses than pluses.131

Smith, knowing his term's end was near, informally addressed the legislature on February 10, 1968, its closing day. He lauded praise on the legislature and his relatively smooth relationship with it since 1965. He cited many accomplishments his administration secured from past sessions of the legislature. The list included strip mining laws, more aid to education, conflict-of-interest legislation, aggressive clean-up campaigns, stronger water pollution standards, and funds for the building of a more efficient highway system.132 His concluding remarks were:
The joint effort of the Legislature and the Executive branch of government has produced these accomplishments. It is most gratifying, but I think truly that in our programs and achievements we have retained the trust of the people in their State government, and that our time has been well spent in serving the people of this great State.\textsuperscript{133}

Shock waves penetrated the Smith administration on February 14, 1968 when a federal grand jury indicted three high ranking officials in the administration. Those indicted were Road Commissioner Burl Sawyers, Deputy Road Commissioner Vincent J. Johnkoski, and Finance and Administration Commissioner Truman Gore. In addition to these Smith appointees, other indictments included the names of former Governor William W. Barron, Bonn Brown, close Barron associate and 1964 Democratic gubernatorial candidate, and a Clarksburg car dealer, Alfred Schroath.\textsuperscript{134} The grand jury charged all the above named defendants with buying various Ohio purchasing companies between 1961 and 1963, and attempting to induce companies to buy from their Ohio firms. In return for business, the indicted five promised to furnish the companies with inside tips regarding bids for state contracts.\textsuperscript{135} Governor Smith candidly admitted the indictments were an embarrassment to his administration but he did take some satisfaction in the United States Department of Justice's statement there was absolutely no evidence to implicate Governor Smith.\textsuperscript{136} Smith subsequently suspended Sawyers, Johnkoski, and Gore until the outcome of the trials.\textsuperscript{137} All were found guilty and sentenced to nominal prison terms.\textsuperscript{138}
The Smith administration contended with several tragedies both on the state and national levels. In April, 1968, civil rights activist, Martin Luther King, died at the hands of an assassin in Memphis, followed in May, 1968 with four deaths at the Hominy Falls mines. Senator Robert F. Kennedy met assassination in June, 1968 at Los Angeles, while campaigning for the Democratic presidential nomination. In November, 1968, 78 men died in the tragic Farmington Number Nine mine disaster.139

Prompted by the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Governor Smith proposed a gun control law for West Virginia. He released his gun control measure on June 14, 1968 which included registration and licensing for all firearms and of all dealers. He hinted at a possible special legislative session to accomplish this goal with these words, "West Virginia will strengthen its control of firearms at the earliest available opportunity—perhaps this summer, if a special session of the Legislature is called."140

Smith carried through on his June 14 hint as he called the legislature into special session on September 11, 1968. This special call listed five areas of importance to the governor. Effective improvements in the state welfare system, acquisition and development of the West Virginia Turnpike, increase the quality of housing in West Virginia, consumer protection for the taxpayer, investigate state purchasing policies and procedures, and a strong gun control
law were all listed in his call.\textsuperscript{141}

The legislature adjourned on September 14, 1968 after passing most of the governor's suggestions. His call listed in detail fifteen items for enactment with legislative concurrence on eleven of the items. Gun control legislation failed, but interest reform, a study for turnpike acquisition, and the West Virginia Housing Development Fund met approval. This three day special session, called by a lame duck governor, was very productive.

Even in the midst of the turmoil during Governor Smith's last year in office, he continued his Government-to-the-People program by visiting Weirton, Parkersburg, Elkins, Princeton, Morgantown, and Beckley, which were very important to Governor Smith.\textsuperscript{142}

Whereas Hulett Smith was barred by the state constitution from seeking a second term, he, nevertheless, took a very active role in the 1968 presidential and gubernatorial races. On March 25, 1968 Smith announced the formation of West Virginians for Johnson-Humphrey with himself as its chairman. Smith said he was giving his total support for President Johnson's re-election efforts because the President had always been a friend to West Virginia, especially in the area of federal funds. Smith noted he did not know what place other states would take in the 1968 race, but he hoped West Virginians would stand firm behind President Johnson.\textsuperscript{143}

Smith's Johnson-Humphrey Committee collapsed when
President Johnson announced he would not seek another term. Smith responded on April 1, 1968 with these words:

I reaffirm my deep regret about the decision of President Johnson not to seek re-election. The President has never stood higher in stature in my eyes—for he had ended his own political career in order to open new avenues which might lead to world peace.\textsuperscript{144}

Wasting no time, Smith announced on April 29, 1968, his total support for Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey's presidential campaign.\textsuperscript{145} At the same time Smith publicly announced his choice as the 1968 Democratic gubernatorial nominee. Previously Smith said at a future date he would announce his personal choice for his successor. Many inside politicos thought Smith favored Attorney-General C. Donald Robertson over Democratic state chairman, James M. Sprouse, and State Senator Paul Kaufman.\textsuperscript{146} He surprised many people when he announced he had no personal favorite and urged an open primary.\textsuperscript{147}

After Hubert H. Humphrey won the Democratic presidential nomination amid the chaos of Chicago, Smith worked tirelessly for Humphrey's election.\textsuperscript{148} James Sprouse, Democratic state chairman, won the Democratic nomination defeating his closest rival, C. Donald Robertson, by 5,000 votes.\textsuperscript{149}

On November 4, 1968 Smith made an election eve statement urging West Virginia voters to support democracy and vote. He strongly recommended to the voters the Humphrey-Muskie ticket on the national level, and gubernatorial candidate James Sprouse on the state level.\textsuperscript{150}
Millions of American voters on November 5, 1968 went to the polls to cast their ballots for president. West Virginia voters selected a new governor but to Smith's disappointment, Democrat James Sprouse lost by a scant 12,785 votes to Republican Arch A. Moore; however, Hubert Humphrey carried West Virginia by 67,000 votes over Richard Nixon, though Nixon won nationwide. There was some consolation for Smith since the Democrats carried West Virginia in the presidential race.\textsuperscript{151}

Forever a gentleman in defeat, Smith pledged his cooperation with Arch Moore at a congressman's Washington office and issued this joint statement:

We had a beneficial discussion that focused mainly on effecting a smooth transition between now and January 13. In addition, we discussed matters of concern to both of us, including the State's budget, federal-state relations, key administrative positions and responsibilities, and the general operation of the Governor's office.\textsuperscript{152}

Later, Smith reflected about Democrat Sprouse's narrow defeat by Republican Arch Moore. Smith said Sprouse never worked closely with the statehouse faction of the party, he failed to cooperate fully with the national Democratic ticket; he was too closely aligned with organized labor appearing to have only their interests at heart; he was too independent of the regular Democratic organization; indictments of key administration officials were damaging; and Sprouse's attempt to organize the workers at various Northern Panhandle horse race tracks helped cost him the election. A combination of all of these factors helped
Arch A. Moore become the second Republican governor of West Virginia since 1932.  

For the last time, on January 8, 1969, Governor Hulett C. Smith addressed a joint session of the legislature. The speech was a mixture of reminiscences and solid accomplishments of the Smith administration. Those 1965 to 1969 accomplishments Smith listed were as follows:

1. Decision '65, a program advancing education, primarily through better teachers' salaries
2. Strong measures to protect our natural resources
3. The control of dangerous drugs
4. The establishment of the Department of Personnel
5. A West Virginia Housing Development Fund
6. The state's first conflict-of-interest law
7. The Good Samaritan Act
8. Abolition of the death penalty
9. Workmen's Compensation increases
10. A strong and meaningful Human Rights Act
11. Establishment of a Division of Corrections
12. Unemployment compensation increases
13. The best congressional redistricting plan in the Nation
14. The first minimum wage and hour law
15. A functional highway classification system
16. The Work Incentive Program, to eliminate welfare dependency
17. Electronic data processing
18. Some needed tax reform
19. New investment procedures, yielding greatest interest dividends
Although Smith met defeat on other key proposals he agreed a solid base had been laid for the future. His last recommendations to the legislature, as governor, included a reorganization plan for higher education, an additional $60 million for capital improvement, and appropriate legislation for dealing with public employee strikes. Perhaps this statement from Governor Smith's last legislative address exemplifies his contribution to West Virginia, "The deeds of this administration are now a matter of record. They are being judged by contemporaries, and soon will be just another dot in the journals of historians. But the record stands."

Robert Mellace of the Charleston Daily Mail wrote of Governor Smith at the conclusion of his term:

What they may not show is that Hulett Smith was one of the hardest working men ever to occupy the office of governor of this state. And this, simply stated is how he got things done. He worked long hours with complex problems--at the office, at home and wherever he traveled. But the record will show no man ever tried harder to do good, and few accomplished more in the time alloted him in the governor's office.

These highly complimentary words came from a Republican newspaper editor about a truly Democratic governor--what high praise indeed.

Others close to Governor Smith echoed the same sentiments as did Robert Mellace. Mrs. Sue Scott, former Director of Personnel, said Hulett Smith, as governor, should be remembered for his fair judgments, ability to delegate authority, complete honesty, and something lacking in many politicians--the ability to listen. Robert K.
Holliday, former member of the House of Delegates and State Senate, stated, "Hulett Smith was truly a good and hard working governor, who deserves more credit for his accomplishments than what history has given him."\textsuperscript{160}

Hulett G. Smith officially assumed the office of governor on January 18, 1965 on the North Portico of the State Capitol. Before hundreds of well wishers Governor Smith outlined his goal for West Virginia during the next four years. His pledge to all West Virginians was for an "Administration of Excellence" which would demand the highest standards of honesty, integrity, and ethics from its public officials. Excellence in education was his number one goal while governor. The theme and tone for his administration had been cast.

During his addresses to the legislatures from 1965-1969, he urged constitutional revision, more highway building, tougher strip mine regulations, more stringent rules for air and water pollution, mental and health facilities expanded, minimum wage and hour proposal, gun control, and lowering the minimum voting age to eighteen. The focus of all his addresses was educational betterment. Smith urged more teacher pay raises, education reorganization, the building of more schools, use of more modern teaching techniques, expansion of the branch college system, better retirement benefits, tuition free education for the first two years of college, expansion of vocational education, and the establishment of the public kindergarten system.
Many of these proposals met success while others failed in his administration, however, today most of these aims for education have been approved. Truly he did pour the base from which to build.
CHAPTER TWO

FOOTNOTES


2 Ibid., p. 70.

3 Ibid., pp. 70-71.

4 Ibid., p. 71.

5 Ibid., p. 72.

6 Ibid., pp. 73-74.

7 Ibid., p. 76.

8 Ibid., p. 81.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid., p. 83.

11 Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, November 27, 1979.


13 Ibid., p. 97.

14 Ibid., p. 99.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid., p. 94.

18 Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette, January 20, 1965.


20 Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, February 20, 1980.


23. Ibid.


29. Ibid.


32. Ibid., March 14, 1965.

33. Ibid.


37. Ibid., p. 255.

38. Ibid., p. 256.


41. Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, February 20, 1980.


Ibid., pp. 116-117.

Ibid., pp. 118-121.

Ibid., p. 120.

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Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, February 20, 1980.


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Ibid., p. 222.

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Ibid., pp. 285-292.

*Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette*, February 1, 1966.

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Ibid., p. 312.

Ibid., p. 313.

Ibid., pp. 323-327.

Ibid., pp. 359-360.

Ibid., p. 404.


Ibid., pp. 4-7-410.

89 Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, February 20, 1980.


91 Ibid., p. 427.

92 Ibid., pp. 431-434.

93 Ibid., p. 429.

94 Ibid., p. 269.

95 The legislative amendment received 105,011 for and 279,366 against; constitutional improvement amendment 152,489 for and 242,822 against; judicial circuit amendment 163,121 for and 227,127 against; better schools amendment 206,542 for and 212,883 against; and the governor's succession amendment 142,265 for and 260,352 against. Robert D. Bailey, comp., Official Returns of the General Election Held November 8, 1966 (Charleston: 1966), pp. 9-13.

96 Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, February 20, 1980.


99 Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, February 20, 1980.

100 Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette, March 14, 1967.

101 Ibid.

102 Ibid.

103 Ibid.

104 Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, February 20, 1980.

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Ibid., p. 499.

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Ibid., pp. 555-557.

Ibid., p. 559.

Ibid., p. 565.

Ibid., pp. 574-579.

Ibid., p. 598.

Ibid., pp. 618-619.

Ibid., p. 618.

Ibid., pp. 620-625.

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Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, February 20, 1980.

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129 Ibid., p. 694.

130 Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette, February 10, 1968.

131 Ibid.


133 Ibid., p. 702.

134 Ibid., p. 703.

135 Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, February 20, 1980.

136 Ibid.


138 Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, February 20, 1980.

139 Ibid.


141 Ibid., pp. 763-766.

142 Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, February 20, 1980.


144 Ibid., p. 812.

145 Ibid., p. 817.

146 Interview with Mrs. Sue Scott, Oak Hill, West Virginia, February 6, 1980.

148 Interview with Hulet C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, February 20, 1980.


153 Interview with Hulet C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, February 20, 1980.


155 Interview with Hulet C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, February 20, 1980.


157 Ibid., p. 793.


159 Interview with Mrs. Sue Scott, Oak Hill, West Virginia, February 6, 1980.

CHAPTER THREE
EPILOGUE

Hulett Carlson Smith relinquished the governorship at noon, January 13, 1969, when his successor, Arch A. Moore, was sworn in as West Virginia's twenty-eighth governor. Former Governor Hulett C. Smith retired to his Beckley home, Crestwood, to devote time to other areas of interest.¹

In retrospect, former Governor Smith noted four of his greatest disappointments while governor were the failures of constitutional conventional call, legislation dealing with public employee strikes, any effective gun control law, and the Moore administration's decision to halt his West Virginia Turnpike acquisition plan. His greatest delights were his administration's success in placing West Virginia on a firm educational footing, strict strip mine laws, improved housing, new and modern highways, and the abolition of the death penalty.²

Many of Governor Smith's proposals failed to gain approval in his administration but are reality today. Public kindergarten, the Board of Regents, expanded interstate system, partial constitutional reform, West Virginia College of Graduate Studies, and tougher strip mine regulations are all law today.³ Perhaps he was a governor ahead of his times.

Since retirement from the governorship, Smith built a cable television system in Point Pleasant, West Virginia,
and at Hilton Head, South Carolina, both of which he sold. He continues as president of Beckley's Home Insurance Company and serves on the board of directors of the Beckley and Oak Hill Hospitals as well as the Bank of Raleigh. Smith is still active in the affairs of Beckley Presbyterian Church where he serves as Ruling Elder. Recently he completed a term as president of the Beckley Rotary Club.4

In the political realm since retirement, Smith has served from 1968 to 1972 as West Virginia's Democratic National Committeeman, national chairman of the 1976 Terry Sanford for President Committee, delegate to the 1972 and 1976 Democratic National Conventions, chairman of the West Virginia Judicial Inquiry Commission,5 and on February 27, 1980 named as chairman of the West Virginians for Carter-Mondale Committee.6

Asked if he ever had any ambitions to seek any other elective office since leaving the Governor's Mansion, the former governor replied he had given serious consideration in 1972 of seeking the United States Senate seat held by Jennings Randolph, but scrapped the idea when Randolph sought another term. Other than that brief consideration for elective office, he has no plans of ever returning to elective office. He declared, "I have had my turn at bat."7

Certainly, Hulett C. Smith has had his "turn at bat" and while at bat, he is remembered for his tireless efforts on the part of better education for a better West Virginia so the stigma of poverty can forever be erased from this
state's image. No one can deny that the Smith Administration brought great progress and rekindled pride to all West Virginians. Perhaps his administration can now be classified as not only an administration in "Pursuit of Excellence," but of one which achieved it.

After Hulett Smith left the governorship in January, 1969, he returned to Beckley to devote his time to his various business interests and keep an eye on political developments. He has remained an active supporter of Democratic ideas and candidates since retirement.

Only once has he given any serious consideration to seeking office again and that was briefly thoughts of seeking the United States Senate in 1972. He is now content to sit on the sidelines and offer constructive criticism and guidance to those who now seek to lead West Virginia.

Even in retirement he reminisces about accomplishments in his administration and the success of some proposals he once suggested. He is still loyal to his state and party and confident he contributed something to the betterment of his state.

In conclusion although Hulett C. Smith was born to wealth and affluence, he sought during his administration to improve the economic lot of all West Virginians. But Hulett Smith was more progressive in that he wanted a permanent solution to the economic woes of West Virginia and her people. Of course more aid to the disadvantaged
through public works projects, a minimum wage, and the Work Incentive Program all were temporary solutions to poverty in the state.

Early in Hulett Smith's political career, he realized the only permanent cure for West Virginia's economic troubles was the improvement of opportunity for its citizens. Education was the answer for better opportunity for all West Virginians. Accordingly, his administration promoted education at all levels in hopes of providing greater opportunity, this opportunity being the key to meaningful employment which would help erase the stigma of poverty from West Virginia's image.
CHAPTER THREE

FOOTNOTES

1 Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, February 20, 1980.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Beckley (W. Va.) Post-Herald, February 27, 1980.

7 Interview with Hulett C. Smith, Beckley, West Virginia, February 20, 1980.
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