

# *Points of Personal Privilege*



A Collection of Essays by Virginia Senators and Presiding Officers

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Personal Privilege*



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— A COLLECTION OF ESSAYS —  
BY VIRGINIA SENATORS AND PRESIDING OFFICERS

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A publication by the Senate Clerk's Office  
Susan Clarke Schaar, Clerk

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# Acknowledgments

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We would like to extend a special thanks to the contributors, the Senators and Lieutenant Governors who have so generously shared their memories and insights of the Senate past and present. Their stories will serve as both a legacy and as a source of encouragement and inspiration for future generations of Senators.

We would also like to thank the following members of the Senate Clerk's staff for their individual contributions to the final editing and presentation of this publication.

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# Photo Credits

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Many of the essays include photographs taken of the authors during their service to the Senate and Commonwealth, and which give renewed meaning to the old adage that a picture speaks a thousand words. Many of these pictures came from the image collection of the Office of the Clerk of the Senate. For the remaining, we wish to thank those who provided or assisted in providing these timeless photographs:

*The Library of Virginia for the composite of the former members of the Senate;*

*Senator Robert L. Calhoun for several period photos from his personal collection;*

*Karla W. Boughey, Legislative Assistant to Senator Walter A. Stosch, for several period photographs of the Senate from the 1990s;*

*Janet Muldoon, Legislative Assistant to Senator Richard L. Saslaw, for the lead in photo for the Senator's essay;*

*Jediah Jones, Legislative Assistant to Senator A. Donald McEachin, for the photograph of the Senator with constituents;*

*Alice Lynch, Executive Director of the Virginia Capitol Foundation for the photos from the Capitol Preview Gala by Karl Steinbrenner;*

*The Lieutenant Governor's Office for the photograph of Lt. Governor Bolling at the podium, taken by Michael White;*

*The family of Senator Elmon T. Gray for the photograph of Senators Byrd and Ames;*

*The family of Senator Malfourd W. "Bo" Trumbo, for the photograph of Senators Trumbo and Potts, taken by Bob Brown;*

*Valerie Braxton-Williams, Legislative Assistant to Senator Henry L. Marsh, III, for the photograph of the Senator in the Hill, Tucker and Marsh Law Office; and*

*The Richmond Times Dispatch for several candid photos as credited throughout this publication.*

Captions identifying people and their titles have been provided for most of the photographs appearing in this book. Whenever a title is used in a caption, it reflects either the title held by the person when the photo was taken or the highest elected office they had attained at the time of the photo.

# Foreword

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*Points of Personal Privilege* is a collection of essays based on the personal experiences of Virginia's Senators and Presiding Officers serving in a body whose history stretches back to 1776 and the founding of our nation. For persons not familiar with the legislative process, understanding the rules, procedures, customs, and practices can be like navigating a maze while engulfed in a dense fog. One of the main goals of the book's authors was to demystify the process for not only incoming freshmen Senators but also for the general public who rarely have the opportunity to see first hand the inner workings of the legislature. What makes *Points of Personal Privilege* unique is the frankness and candor in which these first-person narratives are told that brings forth transparency in government at its best.

The historic series within the book, entitled "Yesterday's Senate," begins with remarks from Senator Byrd to the Virginia Senate in 2002, recounting his first days as a Senator. As the most senior statesman to contribute to this publication, Senator Byrd provides a look back in time to when the Senate was a very different body than it is today. In 1948, the Senate met biennially. Multi-member districts were a part of the election landscape, and Virginia's population of three million citizens were transitioning into a more industrial economy. Today, the Senate meets every year at the State Capitol, members are elected from single member districts, and Virginia's eight million citizens live and work in a growing knowledge-based and service economy.

This transition of Virginia and the legislature during the latter half of the 20th century is readily seen in the essays of former Senators who resume "the floor" one more time to share their words of wisdom and discuss their triumphs and struggles. Interspersed with humor and poignant moments, these stories remind us of the ever-present human element in the equation of governance. They also confirm that the Senate is a living and breathing institution made up of impassioned and dedicated men and women.

As the years unfold, we reach the contemporary section of the book where current members take the floor to provide their perspectives on today's Senate. At this point, we discover that while some rules and procedures have changed, the

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customs and traditions of the Senate of Virginia still remain strongly intact. By sharing their most memorable moments, these members provide a personalized glimpse of the experiences that shaped their legislative careers. Their willingness to share the lessons they have learned will help future generations of Senators in knowing what to do, but more importantly, what not to do.

For a different perspective of the Senate, the Presidents of the Senate revisit their time on the dais to describe what it takes to be an effective presiding officer. Their judicious advice will help incoming Lieutenant Governors master some of the finer points of parliamentary procedure. As these incoming presiding officers pick up the gavel for the first time to call the Senators to order, they will have the helpful words of previous Lieutenant Governors on leadership to reflect upon.

Throughout the collection of the essays, we find many timeless themes, including the spirit of duty and service, the bonds of camaraderie and friendship, and the rewards of hard work and determination. However, the one theme that ties all the essays together and stands as a testament to the strength of the democratic process is the deep appreciation and respect for the institution and the men and women who serve in it.

They say that behind every great piece of legislation there is a great story. I thank the Senators for sharing theirs and for making *Points of Personal Privilege* possible. I hope that you will enjoy their inspiring and colorful stories as much as I have.

*Susan Clarke Schaar*  
Clerk of the Senate

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*From the Floor of  
Yesterday's Senate*

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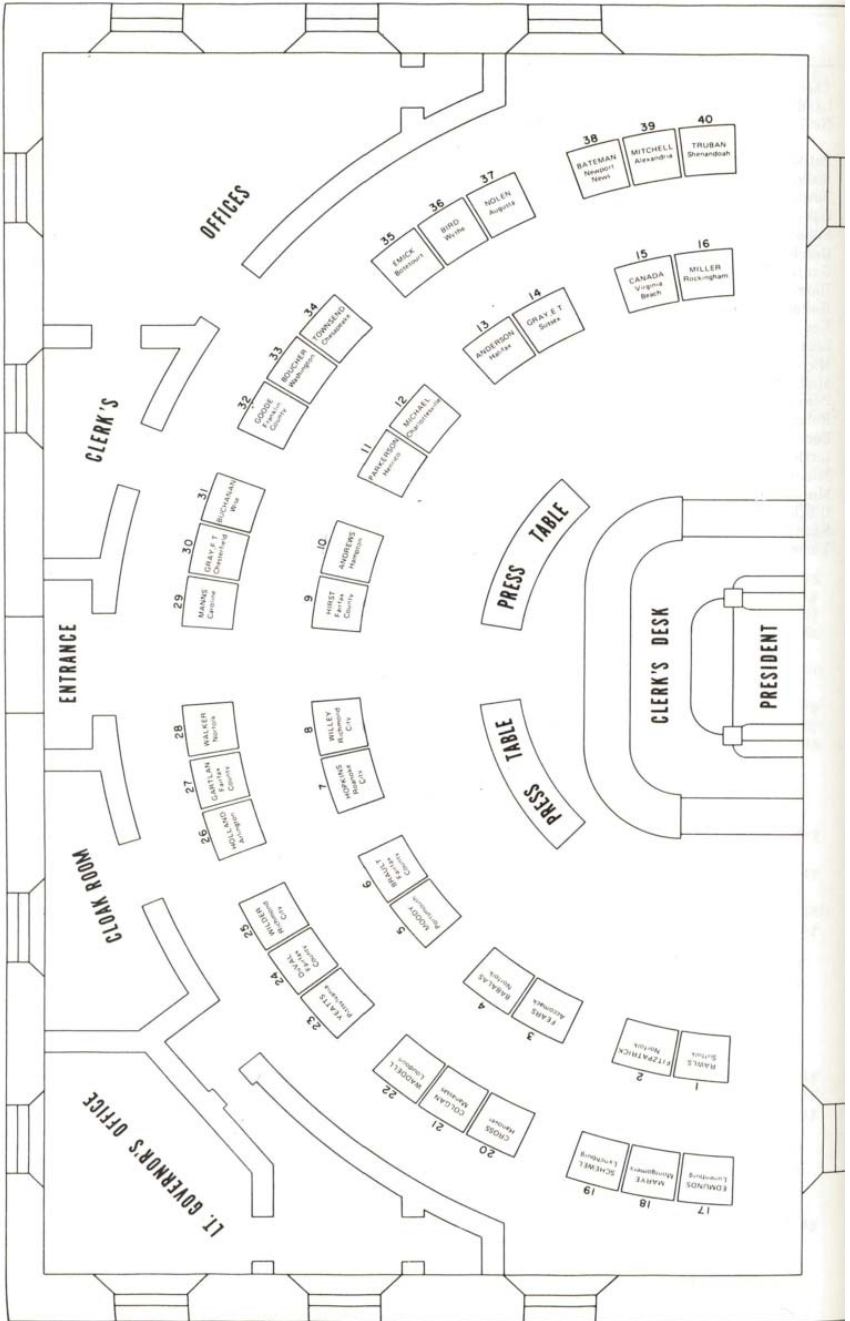


— POINTS OF —  
PERSONAL PRIVILEGE

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# SEATING ARRANGEMENT OF THE SENATE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1978







Senate Chamber 1959



by HARRY FLOOD BYRD, JR.  
Senator 1948-1965

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*“I value so highly the friendships that I made and which I am sure all of you are making here now as you serve in the oldest legislative body in the western hemisphere.”*

I am very grateful to be permitted to be in the Senate Chamber again. I feel somewhat at home, and another thing is I'm glad to be with some politicians. I assume you don't mind me calling you politicians. I've been a politician all of my life and I have no apologies to make. Sometimes the polls show that we politicians are not too popular. I'm in another profession, too, if you call it a profession. I'm a newspaper person and when you take a poll of the general public, newspaper editors and politicians are usually at the bottom of the list. I'm proud to be both of them and at the bottom of the




Courtesy of the Richmond Times-Dispatch

list with each one of them. Looking around this room, I find it hard to believe that I came here 54 years ago as a member of the Senate and sat in number 39, and Raymond Guest from Harrisonburg and Rockingham County sat in number 40, and Earl Fitzpatrick from the City of Roanoke was on my right.

This is a great, great body. I love the Senate. I love the United States Senate, but this Senate is my favorite. Number one, it is smaller. Number two, you can make friends here, which you can't to the same degree in Washington. It's so large and with the representation throughout the country you just don't have the opportunities. Albertis Harrison and Mills Godwin and I came to the legislature the same day in 1948, 54 years ago. We became friends then and we were the closest of friends both politically and socially until Albertis died and then Mills died. I value so highly friendships that I made and which I am sure all of you are making here as you serve in the oldest legislative body in the western hemisphere.

I want to recite one intimate story to you. In 1948, just a few days after I had become a member of this body, Jesse Dillon, who was the special assistant to Governor Tuck for legislative matters, leaned over my desk as I was waiting

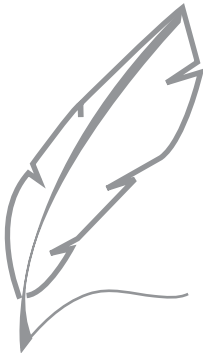
for the Senate to be convened by Lieutenant Governor Lewis Preston Collins and said that the Governor wants you and Senator Norris of the Northern Neck and Senator Caudill of Giles County to introduce this piece of legislation. Well, I said, “Fine leave it here and let me read it.” He said, “We don’t have time to do that. Senator Norris is ready to introduce it right now as soon as you sign it.” Well, I said, “Can I read it?” He said, “No you don’t have time.” So I signed it. The next day all hell broke loose. It was construed—and it was not the intent of the Governor or anybody else for that matter—as an attempt to keep the President of the United States off the ballot in 1948. So, three or four of us from the Senate and five or six of us from the House spent three or four days trying to get this thing straightened out, and during all that time and even after, we were being denounced daily. Douglas Southall Freeman was editor of the Richmond News Leader and he also had a radio commentator position, and two or three times a day we would be denounced. The legislature would be denounced. The Senate would be denounced. We would individually be denounced and it was not a very pleasant situation. But, I learned a lot. From that day in 1948 until I left public office in 1983, I never again signed a bill without reading it.

Thank you so much for letting me be with you on the floor today. I don’t feel a stranger to it because I love this old chamber as I am sure all of you do. I congratulate each of the members of this Senate of Virginia for the office that you are holding and for the work that you are doing in public service for the people of Virginia. Thank you very much. 



Lt. Governor Kaine, Senator Potts, and Senator Mims present Harry F. Byrd, Jr., former State and United States Senator, to the Senate on Feb. 7, 2002.

This essay containing the remarks of Senator Harry Flood Byrd, Jr. to the Senate on February 7, 2002, is published in memory of the Senator, who passed away on July 30, 2013.



### *More about Senator Byrd*

**Salutation:** The Gentleman from Winchester

**United States Senator:** 1965-1983

**Party:** Democrat; Independent (1970-1983)

**Committees Chaired:** General Laws; Nominations and Confirmations

**23rd District:** All of Clarke, Frederick, and Shenandoah Counties; and all of the City of Winchester



by WILLIAM B. HOPKINS, SR.  
Senator 1960-1980

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*"Concentrate on the work of the committees to which you are assigned. Do not try to be an expert in all subject matters."*

The Constitution of Virginia provides for the state to be run by the Governor and a General Assembly composed of 100 members in the House of Delegates and 40 members in the Senate. It's truly a citizen's legislature in that it meets no more than two months in any year.

The twenty-year period that I served in the Senate of Virginia, 1960-1980, was arguably the most progressive in Virginia's history. In the first year of my first term (1960), the Democrats in the Senate of Virginia were divided between the so-called conservatives and the so-called liberals. The nineteen members who would close our public schools if integrated were classified conservative, and the nineteen members who would keep the schools open if integrated were called liberals. There were two Republicans in the Senate of Virginia, Floyd Landreth of Carroll County, and James Turk of Radford. Both voted with the liberals, but only Floyd Landreth, a fine conservative gentleman, would participate in the liberal caucus.

Virginia was behind most states, even many in the south, in education, mental health, and per capita income. In fact, the government of Virginia received extra money for welfare because its per capita income was 87 percent of the national average. Unfortunately, the Byrd Machine, so called because it was headed by United States Senator Harry F. Byrd, believed that low taxes were more important than good schools and was intent on maintaining segregation at all levels of state supported education.

During the last two years of Governor Almond's administration (1960-1961), the legislature voted for increased taxes on cigarettes, whiskey and beer, plus a two cent per gallon tax increase for road building. During Governor Albertis Harrison's term as Governor (1962-1966), state revenue for the general fund was significantly enhanced by the passage of the withholding tax.

It was during Mills Godwin's term as Governor that the groundwork was laid to make Virginia competitive with all other states in the delivery of social services. A titling tax on automobiles and increased license fees provided the money to improve Virginia's road system. A four percent sales tax gave Virginia the wherewithal to greatly improve education at all levels, including the establishment of the community college system. No student in Virginia would have to travel more than 50 miles to attend a community college.

With the increased revenue came increased waste and lack of direction in addressing the priorities in state government. I, along with Senator Elmon Gray, were the chief sponsors of a management commission aimed at making our state government more efficient. The press labeled this commission the Hopkins Commission.

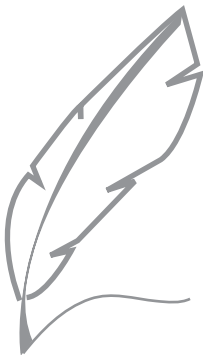


Courtesy of the Richmond Times-Dispatch

I am proud of the work done by this commission. Sixty-one pieces of legislation were passed as a result of its recommendations. A 1995 report in the University of Virginia newsletter labeled the work of the Hopkins Commission as the most effective and comprehensive study of the 20th century.

My advice to those who are first elected to Virginia's General Assembly: Concentrate on the work of the committees to which you are assigned. Do not try to be an expert on all subjects. ∞

This essay, penned in 2010 prior to Senator Hopkins' death on December 11, 2012, is dedicated to his memory.



### *More about Senator Hopkins*

**Salutation:** The Gentleman from Roanoke City

**Party:** Democrat

**21st District:** All of the City of Roanoke; and part of Roanoke County

**Leadership Position Held:** Majority Leader: 1972-1976

**Committees Chaired:** Counties, Cities and Towns; Local Government



by HUNTER B. ANDREWS  
Senator 1964-1996

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*“We had no office and no staff and were subject to the staff of the Governor, who at that time was a Democrat.”*

I thought the new members may be interested in the background on the substantial changes that have been made in the Senate of Virginia since 1964. During this time I believe the effects of the case of *Baker vs. Carr* (1964), when the United States Supreme Court supported the principle of one man one vote rather than one man plus 100 cows and 1,000 trees, made all the difference in the world in legislatures throughout America. This case and the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and subsequent amendments, again affected the composition of American legislatures. The following random thoughts relate somewhat to these changes.

When I first arrived in the Senate of Virginia in 1964, there were 40 Senators, 39 of whom were Democrats and one of whom was a Republican. They were all very delightful gentlemen—there were no female members and no minority members. We had no offices, only the desks in the chamber. We were in session 60 calendar days every even year (and some special sessions).

One advantage of having the desks in the chamber and practically no staff was an opportunity to get to know the fellow Senators in a more friendly and relaxed manner when not in session. I can well recall one time, when I was a freshman, a very distinguished gentleman who happened to be the President pro tempore and I were talking. I said, “Senator, there are certainly a lot of prima donnas in this group,” and he responded, “Yes, young man and if you weren’t one you wouldn’t be here either.” There is a lot of truth in that statement when you reflect upon it, and it may still be true today.



Senator Hirst and Senator Andrews  
in the Senate Chamber.

We had no offices and no staff and we were subject to the staff of the Governor, who was at that time a Democrat. In committees, the vote could be in executive session and was not recorded or reported to the chamber; the bills were reported for passage. Members could give a member proxy power to last the entire session, and some of them so did. I recall one time I had a bill before a committee and I went to the committee at the appointed time and only the chairman was sitting there. He inquired, “What do you want young man?” I said, “I would like to call up the bill” such and such and he said, “It’s passed by.” I said, “Well there’s nobody here.” He said, “I have all the proxies young man. Meeting adjourned.”



Senator Andrews (r) and Senator Anderson (l) in committee.

Courtesy of the Richmond Times-Dispatch

At that time we only met every other year and received the high salary of \$800. We also received expenses of \$12 a day when in session.

Except for the fact that the legislative bodies did not have staff and therefore we were subject to the staff of the Governor, and in the one party government at the time it seemed to work, but we were kept in the dark. I remember our budget was always prepared by the Governor and sent to the House of Delegates first; they kept it, looked it over and did not let the Senate look at it until about three weeks before adjournment. With no staff, we certainly were not able to do much but put in a few little goodies, “pork barrel stuff,” for our constituents.

Finally, around 1968, after we had gone through all of the above, a gentleman in Washington published a book called *The Sometimes Legislatures*, which ranked the 50 state legislatures in different respects. Virginia ranked 47th—the only place where we ranked high was on integrity. Based upon these comparisons, the then Speaker of the House of Delegates decided we needed to do something to modernize our structure. A committee was appointed from the House and Senate; I was pleased to serve on it. We traveled to North Carolina, Ohio, and Pennsylvania to find out what they were doing. It wasn’t until we were at a meeting in California on another subject that we learned, in a so-called “relaxing period” of the conference, from a California legislator’s advice, “Don’t overdo staff as we have in California.” We came back to Virginia and slowly started building the staff for our committees. Formerly, when a committee had session staff, that person was normally a lawyer in some law firm in Richmond

who came down and rendered his services during the session. We finally built up the staff, and it was not until the 1980s that the Senate Finance Committee and the House Appropriations Committee were able to develop their own staffs.

Another great change in the system was, as I said before, the House of Delegates would have the budget, keep it for most of the time, and the Senate would get it for a shorter time. In the 1980s, the Senate made a decision to introduce its own budget. When the Governor's budget was brought down, it was put in by a member of the House and also by a member of the Senate; of course our friends in the House went crazy and said that it wouldn't comply et cetera. It was our right in the Senate and it was one of the best things we did from the budget viewpoint; it was one of the best things we did for the people of Virginia. You had the Governor's budget, each body of the legislature acting separately on its budget, each showing its whole cards at the same time towards the end of the session, and then both going into conference to resolve the matters.



Courtesy of the Richmond Times-Dispatch

I think one of the other great things we have done in the Senate is to have Rules of Procedure to tell us when to do things and what to do, which are set out in a resolution so that from the day we enter the Senate, members know what to do to introduce bills, finish bills, et cetera. In 1971, after the Constitutional Conventions of '69 and '70, the Senate reformed its Rules to cut down the number of committees and to set forth the functions and duties of the committees.

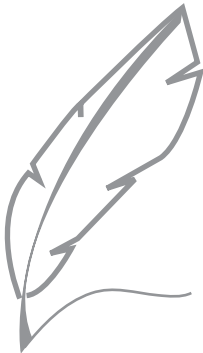
All this really had never been done before. We made the assignment of bills an administrative duty by the Clerk of the Senate. Prior to that time, in 1969, the Lieutenant Governor had been the chairman of the Rules Committee and also would appoint conferees on disputes with the House. Because of the work of a study committee it was clearly established that the Lieutenant Governor was not in the legislative branch but in the executive branch of the government. His sole duties were to preside over the Senate, as prescribed by the Constitution, and therefore he would no longer be chairman of a committee nor would he appoint conferees in the Senate. The new rules provided that the committee handling the bill would appoint the conferees from the Senate and that the negative side would have to have representation if there be such a negative side (this was not true in the House). I believe the system worked fairly well.



It is interesting that the basic rules of the Senate were revised in 1971, and few changes have been made since that date. It is also interesting that our friends the Republicans having attained the majority in 2000 made no changes in the Rules except to say the majority party is seated to the south side of the chamber and not the north side of the chamber.

We should always be guided by the principles of integrity, honesty, maintaining our spoken or written word, and service. There is much that can be said but I think service in the Senate of Virginia is one of the highest honors I have ever received, and in some small way I hope I made a contribution to the cause of moving Virginia forward. ∞

This essay, penned in 2003 prior to Senator Andrew's death on January 13, 2005, is dedicated to his memory.



### *More about Senator Andrews*

**Salutation:** The Gentleman from Hampton

**Party:** Democrat

**1st District:**  
All of the City of Poquoson; part of York County; and part of the Cities of Hampton and Newport News

**Leadership Position Held:**  
Majority Leader: 1980-1996

**Committees Chaired:**  
Finance; Education and Health; Interstate Cooperation; Privileges and Elections; Rules



by ADELARD L. BRAULT

Senator 1966-1984

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*"My proudest achievement during my 18 years in the Senate was the leadership I provided in securing a mandatory Special Education for the hearing impaired."*

After losing in the General Election in November 1965, I was elected to the Senate in a recount that occurred on December 18, 1965. My first term was a two-year term resulting from the one man, one vote decision of the United States Supreme Court, which ordered the Virginia Senate to be redistricted, resulting in Fairfax County gaining a new seat.

The two important committees to which I was assigned in my first term were Education and Health and General Laws. I served on both of those committees during the rest of my 18 years, becoming Chairman of the General Laws Committee in the term that began in 1972. I had to give up that chairmanship in 1980 when I became Chairman of the Committee on Education and Health.

Soon after the 1966 session began, I was approached by a constituent who had a daughter who was severely hearing impaired – his first name was Sams (I don't recall his last name). Sams made me aware that the hearing impaired children attending public schools in Virginia did not have the benefit of special education for their impairment. He asked if I would introduce legislation, which, if it passed, would mandate a program of special education for the hearing impaired. I agreed, had the bill prepared, and introduced it.

I made an appointment with the Superintendent of Public Education to seek his support. He agreed that such a program was important, but in effect said that the Commonwealth could not afford such a program.

I requested the Chairman of the Education Committee to schedule a public hearing on my bill. I then met with Sams to plan a presentation. Sams said that a Lutheran parochial school located somewhere in the Tidewater area of the state (I believe it was Newport News) had a program of special education

for the hearing impaired, and he would ask a teacher in that program if she would testify at the public hearing. She agreed and said that she would bring along four or five of her pupils.

On the day of the hearing, I met with her and Sams and reviewed her testimony. The children she had with her were five or six years of age. I put Sams on the stand first, and he reviewed the dire need for the program. He cited the number of hearing impaired in the Commonwealth and in Fairfax County. He was an excellent witness.

I then put the teacher on the stand. She testified on how she taught her pupils and demonstrated through the use of her children the results of her efforts. There were others in the audience who testified on the need for the program. And when we were through, she asked permission from the chairman to let the children go to the members of the committee and show them their notebooks. He agreed and those little children went to the committee table and each one selected a member of the committee and showed him his or her notebook. One of them selected Senator Garland Gray, a very senior member of the committee. After several minutes, Senator Gray disappeared. He came back in the committee room with his pockets bulging with candy. As he passed me, he said, "Abe, we have to get this bill passed," and then passed out the candy to the children. I knew that with his help I would get the bill passed in the Senate.

The Committee reported the bill to the Senate and it later passed the Senate. The bill then was sent to the House, where it was handled by Delegate McDiarmid. She presented the bill to its Education Committee, which reported the bill to the House and it passed the bill. When the Governor was ready to sign the bill, the teacher who had testified at the committee hearings brought her children, and their picture was taken with Governor Godwin signing the bill.

A resolution was introduced by Senator Henry Howell creating a commission to study the need for special education for all handicapped persons aged 5 to 21. I served on that Commission. After it completed its study, the Commission recommended to the 1970 Session of the General Assembly the enactment of legislation mandating a program of special education for all handicapped persons aged 5 to 21. Senator Howell was the Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor that year and was elected. He asked me to handle the bills that were recommended by his Commission.

I agreed and introduced the bills. They received enthusiastic support from the education associations in the Commonwealth and many other organizations. I was successful in getting those bills passed in the Senate. Delegate Dorothy McDiarmid handled the bills in the House, where they passed to be effective in 1972. Needless to say, I am proud of the fact that the hearing impaired and all handicapped children have benefited by the enactment of legislation Delegate McDiarmid and I were successful in getting enacted.

There is one other issue for which I provided leadership that has affected most if not all Virginians. When I was elected to the Senate, Virginia had Sunday Blue Laws, which were widely ignored and violated. In each session of the General Assembly, one or more bills were introduced to repeal those laws. The Virginia Retail Merchants Association, through its president and chief lobbyist, Sumter Priddy, vigorously opposed these bills. I finally introduced legislation that would permit counties and cities to adopt ordinances providing for referenda giving its citizens the right to vote for or against the Blue Laws.

I was successful in getting my bill passed in the Senate. Delegate Marshall Coleman (who was later elected to the Senate) agreed to handle the bill in the House. By a very close vote, he was successful in getting the bill passed in the House, and it was signed by Governor Holton. The following year, the Board of Supervisors of Fairfax County adopted an ordinance which put the issue on the ballot in the following general election, and the Blue Laws were defeated in Fairfax County. I believe that similar action has been taken in just about all jurisdictions of the Commonwealth with success in repealing the Blue Laws.

I am proud of my accomplishments during my 18 years in the Senate. I worked hard in helping to get the Northern Virginia Community College established, as well as George Mason University, which was a branch of the University of Virginia when I was first elected. As a senior member of the Finance Committee, I was successful in getting items in the budget benefiting both institutions.

I was consistently cited in the annual polling of lobbyists, officials, journalists, and legislators as one of the ten most influential and effective legislators, sometimes being ranked as the most effective Senator.

Following the General Election in 1975, Senator Bill Rawlings of Capron, Senator Bill Hopkins of Roanoke, Senator Willard Moody of Portsmouth, and I discussed a plan to take over the leadership of the Senate. Senator Hopkins, the second ranking Senator, had been the Majority Leader

of the Senate, but Senator Willey, the President pro tempore, had taken it on himself to provide the normal functions of the Majority Leader. Senator Hopkins made it clear he did not wish to serve as Majority Leader in his next term.

Our plan was to contact the newly elected Senators and seek their support to elect a Majority Leader who would take over from Senator Willey the normal leadership functions of the office. Senator Hopkins agreed to contact the Senators in Southwest Virginia; Senator Moody agreed to contact the Senators in the Tidewater region of the state; I agreed to contact the Senators in Northern Virginia; and Senator Rawlings agreed to contact other Senators that we thought would be agreeable to the plan.

We selected a meeting place in Charlottesville and selected a date in late December for a meeting. My recollection is that there were twenty-seven Democratic members of the Senate who attended the meeting. Our plan was to select a Majority Leader and a new Senate Clerk.

The result of the meeting is history. I was selected to be nominated at the official Democratic caucus to serve as Majority Leader, and Jay Shropshire was selected to be nominated to serve as the Senate Clerk. One sad fact is that in the early morning of the first day of the 1976 session, I received a phone call from Mrs. Rawlings telling me that Bill had died during the night from a heart attack. He had been a prime leader in the changes that were about to take place in the organization of the Senate. Four years later, Bill Hopkins was defeated in the general election.

As time went past, I learned that there was a telephone campaign going on to support Senator Hunter Andrews for the position of Majority Leader. I was told that these phone calls emanated from Senator Willey, the President pro tempore and Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. I learned that all the Tidewater Senators, with the exception of Senator Moody, had agreed to support him.



Front: Senator Moody and Senator Brault  
Back: Senator Waddell and Senator Wilder (standing).

The Northern Virginia delegation was committed to me. This put the result of the election of the Majority Leader with the Southwest Virginia Senators. I learned later that they had met and agreed to vote as a block and

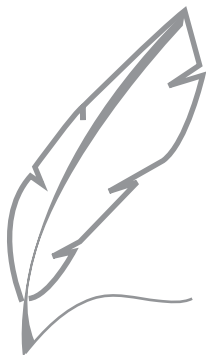
each Senator would write to Senator Emick, who had succeeded Senator Hopkins as the leader of that block, with his choice. Senator Emick called me a day or so prior to the first day of the session and left a message for me that the Southwest Virginia Senators were going to vote for Senator Andrews. When the caucus was held, I nominated Senator Andrews, who was then elected Majority Leader by the caucus. Senator Andrews served with distinction until he was defeated in the general election of November 1995.

My proudest achievement during my 18 years in the Senate was the leadership I provided in securing a mandatory program of Special Education for the hearing impaired and then enlarging that program to include all handicapped children in the public school system. This was done before the Congress mandated Special Education for all handicapped children in all the public school systems in the United States. My next proudest achievement was providing the leadership for the amendment to the state Constitution to provide for a Reconvened (Veto) Session of the General Assembly on the sixth Wednesday after the adjournment of any regular or special session of the General Assembly to consider any vetoes or amendments to bills by the Governor. The amendment was ratified on November 4, 1980, and became effective on January 1, 1981. Prior to that time, a bill vetoed by the Governor was dead. Since that time, the General Assembly can override a veto in the manner provided by the Constitution. ∞



Senator Brault and Senator Wilder in the Senate Chamber.

This essay, penned in 2002 prior to Senator Brault's death on February 13, 2007, is dedicated to his memory.



### *More about Senator Brault*

**Salutation:** The Gentleman  
from Fairfax County

**Party:** Democrat

**34th District:**  
Part of Fairfax County; and  
the City of Fairfax

**Leadership Position Held:**  
Majority Leader: 1976-1980

**Committees Chaired:**  
Education and Health,  
General Laws; Library



by WILLARD J. MOODY, SR.  
Senator 1968-1984

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*"I am told that I held the longest filibuster ever held in the Senate of Virginia, which was approximately 5½ hours."*

I was fortunate to serve in the House of Delegates of Virginia for 12 years prior to serving in the Senate of Virginia for 16 years. A number of my House of Delegates friends had been elected to the Senate of Virginia before me, and their experience and advice was very helpful to me as a new Senator. I would strongly recommend to a new Senator, if he or she has the opportunity, to seek out and listen to the advice of experienced Senators. They can be helpful in many different ways without necessarily obligating you to be persuaded by their views of legislation. In other words, the time you spend with experienced Senators, in the Senate, or at social activities will be well spent. Although not bound to their positions on legislative views, you will gain the insight that goes with seniority and experience, which can be extremely important in efforts to do a better job in representing your constituents.

My primary recollection of my service in the Senate was the great opportunity and pleasure it offered to meet and get to know some of the finest gentlemen in the Commonwealth of Virginia, or anywhere else. It made every day in the Senate exciting and enjoyable. Many of them became my friends and remain my friends although we are not together. I was honored to serve with many great leaders and participants in the Senate process, including, but not limited to, Doug Wilder, Ed Willey, Bill Hodges, Chuck Robb, Sargeant Reynolds, Harry Michael and many others of equal prominence, whose names are too numerous to include in this writing. I feel that these associations were definitely helpful to me. Also a real highlight in my service was to know and work with Susan Clarke Schaar, who was serving in the Senate Clerk's Office during my Senate service.

With regard to balancing my life as a Senator with my professional and family commitments, this was not an easy task. I started my legislative career in the House, and I tried to have my wife and children live in the Capitol city

during my memberships in the House. It was great to have them there with me; however, it was difficult since my schedule usually did not permit being with them very often, and we finally realized it wasn't working out very well. We decided to take the children out of school in Richmond and have them and my wife, Betty, return to my home in Portsmouth, while I remained in Richmond and commuted to my home in Portsmouth on most weekends. A legislator usually is required to give up and lose some of the opportunities to be with his or her family, regardless how hard they try to do otherwise, and it does require that a legislator make a determined effort to be with the family, particularly on special occasions in their lives.

Becoming associated with the more progressive Senators, who represented the majority in the Senate, provided me the opportunity to be involved in leadership positions and enabled me to actively participate in the legislative activities of the Senate and do a better job for my constituents. There were many activities and issues with which I was involved during my service in the Senate that I am proud of and which I enjoyed. One example that comes to mind was my participation in the creating and drafting of the Senate Seal. As the chairman of the Rules Committee, I appointed Harry Michael as chairman of the subcommittee to head up the project, and we worked closely together through several years in which he traveled to Europe and made very effective efforts to seek out ideas and information as he drafted this important document, which is located in a prominent place in the Senate.



Senator Moody (front) Senator Nolen (back)

Another endeavor in which I became involved was related to a bill to merge the ports of Hampton Roads. At the time, our port in Portsmouth was doing very well and I had the mistaken idea that if the ports merged, Norfolk would attempt to take over our port and we would be submerged into the greater port effort and lose our momentum as a premier port. I therefore chose to oppose the merger of the Hampton Roads ports. I did not have the votes to defeat the merger bill, and I therefore decided for the first time in my political career to filibuster a voting body in an effort to stymie the work of the Senate and put the brakes on the port merger bill.

It was the last day of the session that was required to adjourn by midnight, and everybody was ready to go home. I had not planned to filibuster until the very last moment because I thought I would be able to otherwise



defeat the bill. However, it became obvious that I did not have the votes, and I quickly made alternative plans to proceed with a filibuster against the bill. Since I had not prepared the necessary speech material for a lengthy filibuster, I immediately sent a page to my Senate office to bring me the entire report, consisting of hundreds of pages, on a very long study that had been made concerning the ports of Virginia. Upon receiving the report, I simply opened the book containing the report and began to read at random those parts that favored my position. Since it was all germane to the issues that were before the body, the rules permitted me to proceed in this manner, with my intention to continue reading until the Senate would decide to make an agreement with me. This was probably wishful thinking, but I headed in that direction. I am told that I hold the longest filibuster ever in the Senate of Virginia, which was approximately 5 ½ hours.

It was now approaching late night on the last day of the session and the Senators were becoming quite agitated and tired. They were trying every trick in the book to stall my filibuster and get me off the Senate floor so they could vote on the bill. One of the procedures available to any member who wished to do so was to pose questions to me concerning the subject matter, with the hope that they could trip me up and cause me to technically give up the floor and lose the right to continue my filibuster. The President of the Senate at the time was Lieutenant Governor Chuck Robb, who later became a United States Senator. Chuck was 100 percent in favor of the bill and opposed to my filibuster and was not interested in helping me retain the floor to continue the filibuster.

During the process, one of the members arose and stated a question. Upon my responding, he asked the President to rule that I had surrendered the floor by not immediately responding to his question and causing a pause in my speaking. President Robb, who was most pleased to have a legal reason to get me in my seat and end the filibuster quickly, ruled that I could not continue with the filibuster on the basis that I had surrendered the floor. A recess was taken by the Senate while leaders conferred about the next step, and I was able to obtain some concessions that were helpful, after which the consideration of the bill was taken up and proceeded to a favorable vote for the bill. The filibuster had ended and by that time, as a result of my 5 ½ hours non-stop talking, I could barely speak. Hopefully, one of these days, I will have the time and opportunity to research this and provide more detail, but I believe this gives a fair presentation of my filibustering efforts.

Another interesting and perhaps less important matter was my decision to introduce legislation that would tighten up the requirements in Virginia

for the containment of reptiles, which mostly included snakes and alligators that somehow had apparently migrated to the Elizabeth River, which happens to adjoin my home. My children were growing up and often played in the bulrushes along the river. One day, they came home and reported that their friends were playing in a yard along the river that contained alligators on the loose and unconfined. It horrified me to think that alligators, which I understood would not hesitate to eat a person or anything else and were very dangerous to those who may be in their presence, were in or along the river without confinement. The gentleman that owned the land admitted it was true and stated that he had a right for his alligators to roam free if he wanted to do so. I therefore introduced a bill to require that persons owning certain types of animals, primarily reptiles, would be required to properly contain them.

My bill was not treated with very much seriousness around the Capitol, but I managed to move it ahead until it came to the floor of the Senate for consideration. Even though it was not a bill that the Senate took very seriously, the members were not opposed to it. In preparation for my remarks on behalf of the bill to be presented on the Senate floor, I purchased a small rubber alligator that appeared to be smiling and another rubber alligator that appeared to be literally gnashing its teeth. I used the argument on the Senate floor that those who said alligators were friendly and would not harm anyone were not familiar with the alligator gnashing his teeth, which was a predator ready to harm the first animal or human that came within his reach; while those who said the smiling alligator was harmless were simply not familiar with alligators. Further, alligators should not be allowed to roam at large and the public was entitled to protection. After having some fun with my bill, the members of the Senate voted to pass it.

I had many other bills that were interesting. One of those that drew the attention and opposition of my friend, Senator Wiley Mitchell, was a bill requested by the Firefighters Association of Virginia. It had passed the House of Delegates, and I had agreed to assist with the bill in the Senate. The bill provided changes in the Code of Virginia to remove the word fireman throughout the Virginia Code and replace it with firefighter. This was requested because many women now were members of the fire department and they should not be referred to as firemen. However, Senator Mitchell was very budget-minded and referred to the bill as a ridiculous, useless, unnecessary, and very expensive piece of legislation. He pointed out that the word fireman was located throughout the Code in hundreds of places. It was his view that the bill would require many changes and would be expensive and was a total waste of taxpayers' money. The firefighters on the other hand were determined

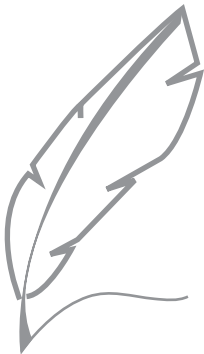
that it was important to eliminate the reference to firemen when many women served in the fire department, and it was not appropriate to call them firemen. The firefighters chose to correct this disparity in the Virginia Code by referring to all of those in the fire department as firefighters. Senator Mitchell had a unique and entertaining approach to this subject. He had



Senator Mitchell on the floor of the Senate.  
Courtesy of the Richmond Times-Dispatch

obtained a Mickey Mouse cap and mask and proceeded as he arose to oppose my bill, to put the hat and mask on and argue that this was a totally “Mickey Mouse” bill. Although his performance did not stop the bill from passing, it did succeed in providing Senator Mitchell with a front page story in the Richmond Times-Dispatch newspaper, including his picture, with his Mickey Mouse cap and Mickey Mouse mask. He thereby accomplished his goal to emphasize and encourage budget control in order to save taxpayers’ money.

I hope that my comments make the point that, while we were serious and always desirous to improve the Commonwealth of Virginia, we were never sufficiently serious to miss the opportunity to have a little fun in the process!



### *More about Senator Moody*

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**Salutation:** The Gentleman  
from Portsmouth

**Delegate:** 1956-1967

**Party:** Democrat

**Committee Chaired:**  
Rules

**13th District:**  
All of the City of Portsmouth



by JOSEPH V. GARTLAN, JR.  
Senator 1972-2000

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*“Senate service can be a roller-coaster of exhilaration and depression, inspiration and disenchantment, high energy and exhaustion, and success and failure.”*

New members of the Senate of Virginia should find much wisdom in some words of John Adams, the first president of the United States Senate. He once wrote to his son Thomas who had expressed an interest in public life, “Public business, my son, must always be done by somebody . . . If wise men decline it, others will not; if honest men refuse it, others will not.”

It will be assumed, unless you prove otherwise, that you are honest. It will be hoped that you will grow in wisdom about our Commonwealth and its people. Senate service is truly a learning process and every member needs to find the right teachers, the true sources of wisdom and learn fast.

This body is blessed by the commitment of the Office of the Clerk of the Senate to the highest standards of professionalism and excellence in performance. The staffs of our legislative agencies are highly competent and professional in their service to members and to the Senate as a whole. Be friendly, treat them with respect, and learn how they can help you in your work unraveling the mysteries of Senate service, and, at times, making you look a lot smarter than you are.



Senator Gartlan and Senator Walker  
in the Senate Chamber

Winston Churchill once said something like this—“The rules of a parliamentary body are made to ensure every member the right to be heard and, in the end, for the majority to work its will.”

The Senate Rules generally meet Churchill’s standard. They are important and you must get to understand them and the process they govern. Party floor leaders can usually help. The Clerk and staff are invaluable sources of answers to your questions.

What about lobbyists? Some are just plain pests. Most lobbyists are compensated according to their demonstrated ability to get results for their clients. They are part of the process and often can be helpful with information. The best

lobbyists understand that a reputation for truth and candor is indispensable to their continuing success, and you will do well to find out quickly who they are.


Senate service can be a roller coaster of exhilaration and depression, inspiration and disenchantment, high energy and exhaustion, and success and failure. The swings from the highs to the lows can be debilitating unless you understand that the legislative process is, essentially, a process of accommodation—compromise, if you will, among the views of all the members of both the Senate and the House and the Governor. Seldom does one side on a contested matter achieve its objective totally. But remember that failure is not always complete and certainly not forever.



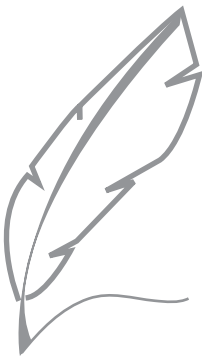
Courtesy of the Richmond Times-Dispatch

Legislators are “in politics.” Plutarch, the Roman historian, once wrote this: “They are wrong who think that politics is like an ocean voyage or a military campaign, something to be done with a particular end in view, something that leaves off as soon as that end is reached. It is not a public chore to be got over with. It is a way of life. It is the life of a domesticated political and social creature who is born with a love for public life, with a desire for honor, with a feeling for his fellows....”

The bottom line is that honest and wise legislative service is the ongoing pursuit, session after session, of the ultimate end of all government—the “common good” of the people. It is demanding and sometimes frustrating. Some leave it with bitterness and rancor, some with wonderful memories and a sense of accomplishment in doing “the public business.” At the beginning it is an opportunity. The end is what you will have done with the opportunity.

May God bless you in all the good things you can do! 

This essay, penned in 2002 prior to Senator Gartlan’s death on July 18, 2008, is dedicated to his memory.



### *More about Senator Gartlan*

**Salutation:** The Gentleman  
from Fairfax County

**Party:** Democrat

**36th District:**  
Part of Fairfax County

**Committees Chaired:**  
Courts of Justice; Privileges  
and Elections; Rehabilitation  
and Social Services



by **ELMON T. GRAY**

Senator 1972-1992

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*“My advice to a new Senator would be to be as thoughtful as possible about doing nothing to harm the good business climate in Virginia.”*

*M*y 20 years in the Senate of Virginia brought many satisfactions and a fair share of frustrations. My advice to any new Senator would be to be as thoughtful as possible about doing nothing to harm the good business climate in Virginia.

I became impressed with the business climate during my business career, especially in traveling around the country east of the Mississippi generally, knocking on doors and trying to sell a new product. I somehow learned that the business community of these other states regarded Virginia as the finest state in the country, in which to do business, especially geographically. Uniformly, they also preferred Virginia for any of their subsidiary operations.

I believe that I am the proudest of my efforts to protect independent service station dealers from the onerous and damaging treatment by the big oil companies whenever supply became short. We went up against the most expensive lobbying crew ever seen and I was very, very proud that we held our own and sent the big oil companies a message. As an aside, it is strange to me that after breaking up the Standard Oil Trust back in the thirties that we could even think of allowing these huge oil mergers to take place.



Courtesy of the Richmond Times-Dispatch

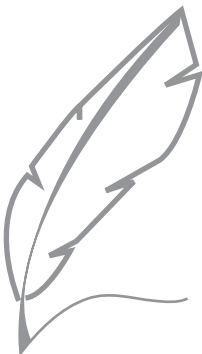
I feel constrained to offer my largest frustration which was losing the Jamestown Bridge after VDOT determined that it was essential for cost reasons—an estimated \$5-10 million a year cost for the ferries versus a bridge that would pay off the bonds by 2010. One can only imagine the clog that will take place in 2007, when all those people who congregate in Jamestown have limited ingress and egress.

By all odds, my fondest memory of my years in the Senate is that of my associates. They were a grand bunch of ladies and gentlemen and I very rarely focused on what party they belonged to because we all did the best we knew how for the best interests of our beloved Commonwealth. Specifically, it is also a rich memory of my desk mate for the whole 20 years, Senator Howard P. Anderson, and I sitting in the exact same station for the whole 20 years. I very seriously doubt that any two Senators in history could make that claim. Senator Anderson was a noble Virginian who served 34 years in the General Assembly. ∞



Courtesy of the Richmond Times-Dispatch

This essay, penned in 2001 prior to Senator Gray's death on September 27, 2011, is dedicated to his memory.



### *More about Senator Gray*

**Salutation:** The Gentleman from Sussex

Hopewell, and Petersburg; and part of Chesterfield County

**Party:** Democrat

**16th District:** All of Prince George, Surry, and Sussex Counties; all of the Cities of Colonial Heights,

**Committee Chaired:** Education and Health



by A. JOSEPH CANADA, JR.  
Senator 1972-1988

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*"The first thing a new Senator should do  
is to learn the Rules of the Senate  
-this is essential to becoming a good legislator."*

The Virginia Senate has a long and rich history, which contains volumes of significant meritorious service to the Commonwealth, the nation, and the world that has been provided by former members. The Senate can be looked upon as a training ground for politicians to go to the United States Congress and a wonderful forum for participation in state government. The greatest quality of the Virginia Senate has been the fact that people from all walks of life are elected on a part-time basis to represent the people of the Commonwealth. The greatest threat to the beauty of the state Senate of Virginia is that one day it may become a full-time job, and we would have people representing us that are more concerned with self-perpetuation than good government.

Virginia has a long and enviable tradition of honesty and fair government. It has not seen any of the scandals that we have witnessed in Washington and numerous other states. We have been fortunate that graft and corruption have been pleasantly absent from the Virginia Senate.

New members of the Virginia Senate should heed the tradition of honesty and straightforwardness that has been the hallmark of the Virginia Senate. All new members that go through a contested election will feel some sense of euphoria and want to be partisan in their approach to the legislation that they will be considering. This is a real mistake because once the election is over, the job of each Senator is to do the best that they can for the Commonwealth, and not what is best for their party or themselves.

The quality, integrity, and ability of the Virginia Senate ranks in the top of all legislative bodies in the country. All new members should keep this



in mind and realize that their conduct both in the Senate Chamber and in their hometown not only reflects on them but also on the rich traditions of the Virginia Senate itself.

The first thing that a new Senator should do is to learn the Rules of the Senate—this is essential to becoming a good legislator. New members must remember that there are a lot of distractions that they will be faced with, such as parties, receptions, and numerous meetings. This is part of the system and helps build relationships which are essential to becoming an effective legislator. But it must be done in moderation. Effective legislators must do their homework and that means concentrating on the bills and the research that is necessary for the legislation. The legislator must keep in touch with the people who will be affected by the legislation. This is very important because no legislator can be knowledgeable in every field, and therefore people that are affected by legislation that is under consideration must be consulted to help educate the legislator for the vote on that particular matter.



Courtesy of the Richmond Times-Dispatch

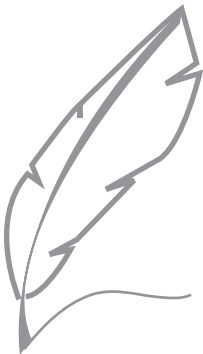
Lobbyists have been given a lot of publicity and not much of it has been favorable. I have found that most lobbyists are honest, and those that aren't don't last long. Lobbyists can provide a lot of information on the subject matter that they are involved with, and materials can be looked at on the other side of their position so that an educated decision can be made on the issue that is under consideration.



Courtesy of the Richmond Times-Dispatch

The most important thing for legislators to do is to keep their word. Whether you are a liberal or a conservative, Democrat or Republican, the fact that you keep your word will follow you throughout your legislative career. And if you don't keep your word, that will follow you as well. Make sure you study the issues and when you make a commitment, keep your word. Don't worry about polls, do what you think is right after you have weighed all the information that is available.

Your election to the Virginia Senate is a great honor, and a great deal of responsibility comes with that honor. Don't let your head get so big that you can't get your baseball hat on it. You will be given a lot of awards and ribbons, but remember where you came from—you really haven't changed, only your surroundings have changed. You don't represent other Senators or big special interest groups, but you do represent people from all walks of life whether they are rich or poor. Some members stay too long and become enamored with their own self-importance. This manifests itself by rude and obnoxious conduct. Thank goodness this does not happen very often. Make sure you don't stay too long. Every constituent should be treated with respect and dignity whether they are rich or poor. I enjoyed my tenure in the Virginia Senate and would not trade the experience for anything. I hope that I was able to contribute something to the Commonwealth, and I hope that you will do the same. I hope each of you will have a good tenure and carry on the rich tradition of the Virginia Senate. God Bless Virginia. ∞



### *More about Senator Canada*

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**Salutation:** The Gentleman  
from Virginia Beach

**Party:** Republican

**8th District:**  
Part of the City of Virginia  
Beach

**Judge:** Juvenile and  
Domestic Relations Court  
(2nd Judicial District)  
1996-2000

Circuit Court (2nd Judicial  
Circuit) 2000-2009



by MADISON E. MARYE

Senator 1973-2002

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*“Remember the old adage: All politics is local. Pay attention to individual constituents and their problems.”*

Having served 29 years in the Senate of Virginia, I still do not consider myself an authority on the political process, or on how to win elections. I have never found politics boring, and there is a new wrinkle every day. I believe that if you become bored, it’s time to quit.

My first advice would be don’t become too impressed with your own importance. It’s easy to succumb when you have prominent people, lobbyists, supporters, and even strangers slapping you on the back, opening doors, speaking to you on the street, and telling you how great you are.

Remember the old adage: All politics is local. Pay attention to individual constituents and their problems. Local government, chambers of commerce, and civic organizations are important, but never forget the little guy—even the ones that don’t vote. Word spreads. Reply to the person that writes in pencil. Their problems are real.



Courtesy of the Richmond Times-Dispatch

Take the time to become an expert in some area of government—the environment, transportation, mental health or whatever interests you. Your colleagues will respect you, and look to you for guidance. This knowledge is always good to fall back on when you must give a hasty speech back home.

Never take the floor to speak unless you have something to say. Humor is a great attention getter. When I was first elected, I was amazed to discover Senate members reading newspapers and chatting while a colleague was speaking. A joke or witticism now and then will help hold attention to your speech. If your jokes fall flat, find some other way to hold your audience.

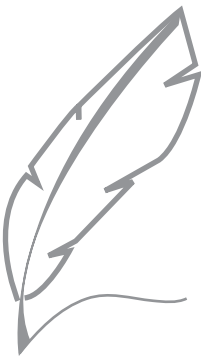
If possible, make few changes to your committee assignments. Since your prolonged tenure in the Senate is doubtful (sorry), and you aspire to become a committee chairman, you must remember one thing: to be committee chairman in Virginia, you must be the ranking committee member of the majority party. Therefore, seniority is the determining factor. While considered a plum assignment, the Senate Finance Committee takes three times as much time as any one of the other committees. Do not apply for Finance unless you have the time to serve and to do the research.



Senator Marye giving a floor presentation.

Hire an aide that can write and spell. Given today's volume of correspondence, including email, etc., it's impossible to keep up with everything. A good aide is hard to find. If you can afford it, hire two aides during legislative sessions: one for correspondence, and one for legislation.

My last bit of advice is to always tell the truth. If you vote for an unpopular issue, your supporters will usually understand if you have good reasons for doing so. Tell the folks back home what you did and why. You can bet your last campaign dollar that your next opponent won't fail to tell them how you voted. ∞



### *More about Senator Marye*

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**Salutation:** The Gentleman from Montgomery

**Party:** Democrat

**39th District:**  
All of Grayson, Montgomery, and Smyth Counties; all of the City of Galax; and part of Carroll and Pulaski Counties

**Committees Chaired:**  
Agriculture, Conservation and Natural Resources;  
General Laws



by DUDLEY J. "BUZZ" EMICK  
Senator 1976-1992

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*"Unfortunately, you don't get to take the oath of office without first running in a political contest."*

With apologies to Proust, remembering things past produces mixed emotions. As a young boy, homebound and bedridden with Rheumatic fever, I remember when the political bug first bit me. Day in and day out, I was reading about the Virginia Senate debating whether or not to keep our public schools open. Given immense pressure from white citizens incensed about the Supreme Court's decision to integrate, the vote ultimately came down to a 20-19 decision to remain open. Yes, I wanted to be like Stuart Carter, Woodrow Bird, Armistead Booth, Ed Willey, and Bill Spang.

It's true that extraordinary times produce extraordinary men, so when you serve in ordinary times you realize that you are but a small piece of a much larger mosaic.

Still, being sworn in the first time in a chamber decorated in the House of Lords' red scarlet remains one of the greatest thrills of my life. Unfortunately, you don't get to take the oath of office without first running in a political contest.



Courtesy of the Richmond Times-Dispatch

It is an unseemly business of raising money, humoring the party faithful, and appearing before countless strangers to debate your opponent. Bone tired weariness almost overtakes you as October fades into November and thoughts of impending doom weigh heavy on your mind. Will it ever end?

It does—with the combined apprehension of election night and euphoria of winning. In the span of a day, you are the man for the next four years! On balance, you look back on the entire process and try to believe the positives outweigh the negatives.

The people who get elected to the Senate reflect the same mix of people that constitute the population they represent. I was a member of a group of ladies and gentlemen who were brilliant, lazy, honest, shady, drunk, sober, philandering, cuckolded, and all the things in between.

I loved the Senator who, through brilliance and hard work, mastered the intricate details of the budget. I hated the politician who was hiding in the cloakroom when the hard votes were taken to raise revenue, but was first in line when the money was parceled out.

I think fondly of one of the innumerable law and order debates when it was suggested that it should be a felony to wear a bulletproof vest when committing a crime. And that it should also be a felony to yell “duck” during the ensuing gun battle with the police. Sarcasm proves of no value in the legislative process.

I remember the long days at the close of the session when there were endless votes to trim the budget, winning one and losing eighty-nine. The moral of the story is, “why bother,” especially since your fellow Senators are seething.

I relish the moments in the Senate when during the perennial flag burning debate, good, skilled argument carried the day. I was proud to be part of the Senate when colleagues, who had been in harm’s way in defense of our country and actually at risk in the next election, said no to their self-interest and no to the request from the veterans, who never got farther than Fort Lee, for special tax considerations.



Back Row: Senators Gray, Buchanan,  
Goode (standing), Emick, and Bird  
Front Row: Senators Parkerson, Andrews, and Babalas

I remember the uncomprehending look on the legislator’s face when I amended his parental notification bill to require parental notification at the act of conception rather than of the ensuing pregnancy. It was frustrating that we were much more interested in dealing with the symptoms than addressing the real problems.

I think fondly of the baseball junkie doorman and the staff whose courtesy each and every day made the system work a little better, of the many people who rose to the top of the political heap, and those whose lives ended for all intents and purposes when they lost reelection.

The necessary understanding of how the press works takes time. Journalists must sell their product. Consequently, you will never see a long article on how the budget process really works. No, you get a profile that only your mama knows is true. Perhaps a “thumbsucker,” which occurs every five years or so, pointing out that the yearly expenses for those liberal southwestern legislators far outweigh the expenses of those conservative Richmonders. Lastly, for good or bad, local television news can make you as recognizable as the “Marlboro Man.”

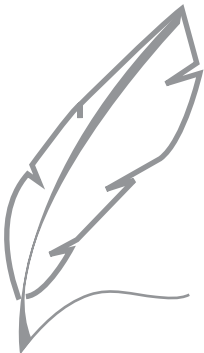


Courtesy of the  
Richmond Times-Dispatch

The 30+ years from my first election until now are blurring slowly. But I remember becoming more cynical, bored, and less caring toward the end of my time in the Senate. A number of times I talked of leaving, only to run again because loose talk prompted an opponent to run. I vowed never again to talk about my plans—just leave in time for the electorate to fill the vacancy.

I hope the Virginia Senate will continue to be a part-time job for those who are willing to sacrifice time, energy, and rejection to make our state the truly remarkable place it is.

Would I do it all again ... Yes, but not anytime soon! ∞



### *More about Senator Emick*

**Salutation:** The Gentleman  
from Botetourt

**Party:** Democrat

**22nd District:**  
All of Alleghany, Bath,  
Botetourt, and Craig Counties,  
all of the Cities of Clifton  
Forge, Covington, and Salem;  
and part of Roanoke County

**Delegate:** 1972-1973

**Judge:** Domestic Relations  
District Court (25th Judicial  
District) 1994-2005

**Committee Chaired:**  
Rehabilitation and Social  
Services



by WILEY F. MITCHELL, JR.  
Senator 1976-1988

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*"Never forget that you are a member of the Senate of Virginia, an institution with a proud and honorable tradition."*

I still remember, more than 25 years after the fact, the awe I felt when I first stood in the Senate Chamber as a newly elected member of the Virginia Senate, and the overwhelming sadness I felt years later when a change of employment status required me to resign in the middle of my fourth term. From Bill Truban's custom of periodically presenting the Senate with apples from the Shenandoah Valley to Bill Fears' interminable recitations of his World War II experiences, each of the men and women with whom I served added his or her own unique flavor to the blend of personalities that made up the Senate. They were, without exception, conscientious, dedicated legislators, from whom I learned much. Many became and remain close friends. All of us were, however, operating in an intensely political environment, in which partisanship was never far from the surface. To the credit of the Senate's Democrats, who at that time outnumbered the Republicans by margins ranging from 4–1 to 8–1, most substantive legislation was fairly considered on its merits. Partisanship was generally reserved for procedural matters, appointments to boards and commissions, judicial elections, and committee assignments, but that still left a great deal of room for political maneuvering and is the source of some of my fondest memories.

The Muppets, a cast of television characters created by the late Jim Henson, include a doleful creature called Kermit, a frog whose favorite response to a particularly trying situation is to begin singing a song entitled "It's Not Easy Being Green." Change a word or two here and there and Kermit's lament might describe how it felt, from a political perspective, to be a Republican in the Virginia Senate in 1976. Like a renegade relative at a family reunion, we were tolerated because we were members of the family, but we were grouped together in a remote corner of the Senate Chamber, systematically denied any semblance of proportionate representation on major committees, and in terms of procedural matters, we were never allowed to forget who was in charge. Shortly after my election to the Senate, I was asked by then Majority Leader Abe Brault, a Fairfax County Senator who became a close friend, if I had any preferences for committee assignments. Being a



transportation lawyer by profession, I told Abe that I would be very interested in serving on the Transportation Committee. I also reminded him that nine years service on the Alexandria City Council should qualify me for the Local Government Committee, and that my extensive experience in developing municipal budgets would be put to good use if I were appointed to the Finance Committee. I got my first lesson in Senate politics when I learned that my initial committee assignments were to the Agriculture, Rehabilitation, and General Laws Committees.

In 1976, the Senate Rules allocated automobile license tag numbers to the Senators strictly on the basis of seniority, with the most senior Senator being assigned tag number 1 and the most junior member tag number 40. The tag numbers were assigned alphabetically among Senators with the same seniority date. Some of the freshmen Democrats, realizing that this practice would give them higher tag numbers than some of the freshman Republicans, introduced a rule change which would have required that license tag numbers be assigned to all members of the majority party before any assignments to members of the minority party. The proposal was the subject of heated debate for several days before finally being abandoned by the Senate leadership, due in large measure to their desire to avoid hearing a daily speech on the subject by a freshman Republican Senator named Marshall Coleman.



Courtesy of the  
Richmond Times-Dispatch

About two weeks into my first session, Ed Willey of Richmond, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, scheduled a meeting of his committee one evening in the Old Senate Chamber to consider the budget bill. I was interested in what the committee was doing and innocently walked into the room shortly after the meeting began with the intention of observing its deliberations. Senator Willey promptly asked me why I was there, challenged my right to be there, and asked me to leave immediately. In doing so, he made it very clear that no one other than members of the committee, including other Senators, had any right to attend meetings of the Finance Committee. (The rules were later changed to prevent a member of the Senate from being excluded from any meeting of one of its Committees.)

Legislative offices during my first year in Richmond were located in an unrenovated portion of the old Hotel Richmond, directly across the street from Capitol Square. My office had a previous incarnation as a single hotel room, and was just large enough to accommodate a small desk and two chairs. If I received a visitor, it was necessary for my aide to leave the room and stand out in the hall. The bathroom, from which the plumbing had been removed,

served as a combination file and supply room, with the shower stall serving as a repository for the filing cabinets. There were a half dozen “pool” secretaries located in a nearby “typing room” who provided stenographic services for most of the Senators. All of this changed a couple of years later when the General Assembly acquired the Life of Virginia building and renovated it for legislative offices. Of course, the Democrats exercised their prerogative by taking all of the offices overlooking the Capitol and assigning the Republicans offices on the back side of the building. With one notable exception, however, no one complained about having newly furnished offices, with assigned secretaries, dictating equipment, and telephones that actually worked. The exception was Virgil Goode, a future member of Congress, who was so upset by the extravagantly furnished offices that he covered the new furniture with a sheet and used a small desk and chair that he brought from home. Then as now, Virgil Goode marched to his own beat.

Senators who now enjoy the use of computers at every desk might be interested to know that in 1976 each Senator had only bill books, which contained printed copies of most of the bills before the Senate. Copies of committee amendments were not generally available prior to final votes. The amendments were identified by page and line and then, regardless of their length or complexity, were read aloud by the Clerk. Unless a Senator had the foresight to go to each committee clerk and read or obtain copies of pending amendments prior to their consideration on the floor, it was next to impossible to follow, much less to understand, what was going on. Because final votes were frequently taken viva voce and the votes of individual Senators were not in those cases recorded, it was often difficult to identify who voted, or how they voted. The many changes in facilities and procedures which have occurred over the last 25 years have as a rule been good for the process of making laws, for the people who make them, and for their constituents.



Senators Bateman and Mitchell (seated)  
Delegate Miller and Senator Truban (standing)

Over the years, I learned some things about the way the Senate operates, which I am confident made me a better Senator. For example, I soon learned that the Senate is in fact more “clubby” than the House, and that when confronted with a hostile Delegate or a hostile action by the House, the Senate will almost always “circle the wagons” and defend its own. Here are a few other tips gleaned from my experiences:

Over the years, I learned some things about the way the Senate operates, which I am confident made me a better Senator. For example, I soon learned that the Senate is in fact more “clubby” than the House, and that when confronted with a hostile Delegate or a hostile action by the House, the Senate will almost always “circle the wagons” and defend its own. Here are a few other tips gleaned from my experiences:

1. Always inform another Senator, in advance, if you intend to vote against a bill of which he is the chief patron, or which he is carrying on behalf of a member of the House. Decide whether a change in the bill will resolve the problem you have, and determine, before the bill reaches the floor, whether the Senator responsible for the bill is willing to accept your change.

2. Always inform another Senator, in advance, if you intend to offer an amendment to one of his bills, or to a bill for which the other Senator is responsible. Try to obtain his consent to your proposal, or to work out an acceptable compromise, before the bill reaches the floor.

3. Ask that a bill you have a problem with be carried over for the day so you can resolve your problem off the floor if you are unable to contact the bill's patron in advance of a scheduled vote. In short, do not bring up anything on the floor unless you have tried and failed to resolve the issue off the floor.

4. Be prepared.

5. Be helpful to other members of the General Assembly. Provide them with information and, where appropriate, advice. Assist them where practicable with their legislation and be sensitive to their political problems.

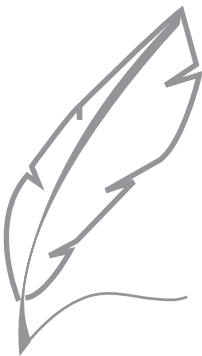
6. Keep your sense of humor.

7. Don't carry grudges. Today's enemy is likely to be tomorrow's friend.

8. On political issues, expect Democrats to be Democrats and Republicans to be Republicans.

9. Be courteous to the Pages, who are your assistants, not your servants. Remember that they are there to learn, so be careful what you teach them. Be considerate of the Senate staff, who are likely to know much more about the process than you and who will have much to do with your success or failure.

10. Never forget that you are a member of the Senate of Virginia, an institution with a proud and honorable tradition, and that your conduct, good or bad, reflects on your colleagues, on the institution of which you are a part, and ultimately on the constituents who elected you. ∞



## *More about Senator Mitchell*

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**Salutation:** The Gentleman  
from Alexandria

**Party:** Republican

**30th District:**  
All of the City of Alexandria  
and part of Fairfax County



by JOHN H. CHICHESTER  
Senator 1978-2008

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*“The turning point in my career was the realization that having information come to me was not enough.”*

What makes a legislator effective? In my view, the key is a willingness to listen, learn, objectively weigh choices, and communicate consequences in an honest and forthright manner. This prescription for success is not a revelation—it’s just good common sense. Yet, the competing demands that we face and the press of time sometimes lead us to a smaller dose of that prescription than we need to stay “healthy.”

Because we are a citizen-legislature, there are essential, process-oriented shortcuts that help us manage the volume of business in a legislative session. Those shortcuts can’t be avoided. But, there are shortcuts that an effective legislator must avoid. And those are the shortcuts in thinking and reasoning that lead to “phoning in performance.” Our constituents didn’t give us a phone—they gave us a voice.

The full weight of this fact did not come to me early in my legislative career. The turning point came over a two-year period when I was called upon to cochair the Senate Finance Committee. Prior to this time, I was fortunate enough to have a mentor in Senator Hunter B. Andrews, who knew that knowledge begets confidence, and confidence begets leadership.



Senator Chichester and Senator Andrews

What I learned from Senator Andrews was that more always needs to be learned. That can happen only through homework—through reading, listening, asking questions, and always setting the bar higher. Once a firm base of knowledge is acquired, one has the confidence to step forward and take a leadership role. And those who aspire to be leaders have a responsibility to share what they have learned with all members—Democrat and Republican alike, so the circle of knowledge will lead to good public policy.

Good decisions can flow only from sound information and unbiased analysis of that information. There is no substitute. The effective legislator understands this truth, and he also understands that it is equally important to communicate with the public in general, so our citizens understand the greater scheme of things.

A notable example in my career was in 2003 when we told the public that our fiscal ship was in trouble and conveyed the action that might be necessary to put the ship back on course. Virginia citizens are savvy. When they understand the predicament, choices, and consequences, they will dig in and provide ideas to help sort things out.

Quite simply, the turning point in my legislative career was the realization that having information come to me was not enough. That information had to be planted in the fertile soil of the Senate membership and body public in order for it to germinate and grow into good public policy.

I would urge new legislators to soak up everything that is available to them and become expert not only in their assigned areas but in the broader landscape that is reflected through the state budget. The interest of our citizens is best served by a clear understanding of how the interconnected parts fit together. Above all be honest with yourself. Hold no allegiance to a political party, a caucus, or any other special interest. You are beholden to only your constituency and the Commonwealth of Virginia.

With regard to fond memories of my service in the Senate, they most assuredly flow from the people with whom I was associated. It is folly to think that one can “share space” with 140 men and women and staff without forming strong bonds with many. The memories that come from those bonds are the ones that I will always cherish. If there is anything that I miss about the Senate, that is it.

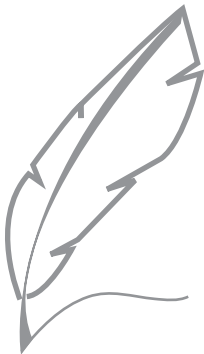


Senator Chichester with some members of the Senate Finance Staff: Dick Hickman, Joe Flores, Becky Covey, Betsey Daley, and Bill Echelberger.

Finally, on a personal level, the advice I believe is most useful to new members as they arrive in Richmond is to maintain perspective. Enjoy the elation that you feel from your first successful election, but remember that no one outside a one-mile radius of the Capitol knows you, except for your immediate family and those closest to you during your campaign.

As an individual, you are no different after that election than you were before it. Keep that thought in mind as your legislative career unfolds. Remember that serving is a high calling and an absolute privilege, but it must always be an avocation. The real responsibility is first with your family at home and providing for them.

Make them proud and make those who elected you proud by learning all you can, weighing choices carefully, and making the best decisions you can based on honesty and integrity. ∞



### *More about Senator Chichester*

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**Salutation:** The Gentleman  
from Stafford

**Party:** Republican

**28th District:**  
All of King George, Lancaster,  
Northumberland, Richmond,  
Stafford, and Westmoreland  
Counties; part of Fauquier

and Prince William Counties;  
and part of the City of  
Fredericksburg

**Leadership Position Held:**  
President pro tempore:  
2000-2008

**Committee Chaired:**  
Finance



by ROBERT L. CALHOUN  
Senator 1989-1996

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*“While the rules and conventions of the Senate serve to ensure a measure of order and civility among Senators, they aren’t the whole story.”*

Welcome to the Virginia State Senate. Along with your 39 colleagues and the 100 members of the “other body,” as the House of Delegates is sometimes called, you are a member of the oldest continuously sitting legislature in the Western Hemisphere. Whether the Jefferson-designed Capitol, the statue of Washington in the Rotunda, or the wine-colored carpet in the Senate Chamber (said to be modeled after similar carpet in the English House of Lords), the history of Virginia is all around you. During your time in the Senate, you will get to be a part of it and perhaps contribute a bit of your own.

In several respects, the Senate is a different place from the Senate I was first elected to in 1989. One example—the extensive use of technology. In 1989, you needed to have your own computer and understand arcane DOS and Unix commands to access the legislative database; now, computers are everywhere with user-friendly “paperless” access. Another is the steady and sustained development of a two-party system in the General Assembly, a profound change from the one-party government that, with occasional exceptions, had dominated Virginia since 1870. Other things don’t change, or change that much, including some fundamentals like the following:

#### 1. Always Remember Where You Came From

You were smart (or lucky) enough to get elected, and, presumably, will want another term. Paying attention to the people in your district is Rule One. Answer your mail, phone calls and emails or get a good staff person to handle them. When you can, drop a note to an honor student, a new Eagle Scout, or the winning high school girls’ basketball team. Learn the value of the commemorative resolution and a newsletter. When, as will often happen, you and your constituent disagree, treat the difference with respect and as much good grace as possible. Except for a few cranks, voters don’t expect you to agree with them all the time and are generally forgiving if they get a reasoned explanation for your position.

## 2. Do Your Homework

For a “part-time” legislature, the General Assembly is a remarkably busy place, considering some 2000-3000 bills and other matters every session. Fortunately, many of these are of little consequence to anyone other than the sponsor and those who sought the action from the legislature. The trick is to identify the ones that really matter, either because they have major consequences for the state or a region or are important to a significant element in your district. The strength of the Senate is its committee system, where, during and between sessions, the heavy work of the General Assembly is performed. On your first day, you will be assigned to three, possibly four, committees. Learn the jurisdiction of your committees and the departments and agencies of Virginia government with which they deal. Read the bills, and ask questions about things you don't understand. Fortunately, the General Assembly is blessed with an excellent and hardworking legislative staff. Make use of them. Get to know your Senate colleagues. They are a diverse group and have lots of experience and knowledge you can use. Don't overlook the many lobbyists with whom you will come in contact. While they have a job to do—convincing you of the wisdom of their clients' position—the good ones know a lot and are usually glad to share their knowledge with you.



## 3. Watching What You Say and Do

The other side of remembering where you came from is remembering where you are. While the rules and conventions of the Senate serve to ensure a measure of order and civility among Senators, they aren't the whole story. Keeping your word is at the top of the list. The General Assembly operates on the basis of personal trust. Don't make a promise on a vote unless you mean to keep it. If you find you can't keep your promise, let the person know of your change of heart. If you forget (as I did on a few occasions), apologize and take the heat.

Another good principle is learning to lose a vote or debate with good humor. Take an issue seriously, but not yourself. It's hard to do, but it helps keep perspective. Make every effort to keep the debate, however heated, on the issue and avoid personal attacks. Today's adversary may be tomorrow's ally. Finally, you have the vote but remember that it takes a lot of talented people, many laboring behind the scenes, in the Clerk's office, Legislative Services, and the Capitol Police, among others, to make your work a lot easier and your legislative career a success. Get to know them and say a kind word when you can. As it said in a sign on the wall in “Chickens” (the General Assembly's former snack bar), “It's nice to be important but it's more important to be nice.”

## 4. Public Service Is Rewarding

The hours, in and out of the session, are long, and the pay is nothing

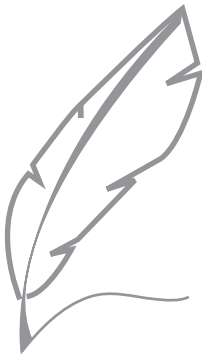


to cheer about. When dealing with various constituents, pressures from your colleagues or lobbyists to vote for or against a bill against your better judgment, or dealing with trivial legislation that has no apparent purpose other than to enhance the sponsor's campaign brochure or designed to make you feel warm and fuzzy, you have to wonder if it's all worth it. I think it is. When all is said and done, I think you will find your time in the Virginia Senate an enjoyable and satisfying experience. You are one of 40 people sharing in the governance of more than seven million people and despite the widespread public cynicism about politics and politicians, most people, including the highly skeptical media, appreciate what you do, and marvel at your willingness to serve.



Senator Andrews and Senator Calhoun

For all of the frustrations, you will get satisfaction and pride from the crafting to final enactment of some major piece of legislation as I did in sponsoring and steering to passage a major revision of the state's lobbying law and a major revision of the child custody laws. When you (or your voters) have decided its time to step down, you will take with you a lot of memories—good and not so good. The last two days of a session are the most enduring memories to me. Except for a few conference reports and other odds and ends, there is the light of adjournment at the end of the tunnel. Most of the lobbyists have gone home; the most pressing business is the always amusing and satirical resolution sponsored by the young men and women who serve as the Senate's Pages and Messengers, and listening to the tributes to departing members who will be, as Jefferson put it, "reduced to private station [and] return into that body from which they were originally taken." After a particularly difficult and contentious session, one of your colleagues looks around the room, and says, "You know Bob, in spite of it all, we did some good things." ∞



### *More about Senator Calhoun*

**Salutation:** The Gentleman  
from Alexandria

**Party:** Republican

**30th District:**  
All of the City of Alexandria;  
and part of Arlington and  
Fairfax Counties



by JOSEPH B. BENEDETTI  
Senator 1986-1998

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*“You cannot be over-prepared for participation in the day-to-day routine of committee and session meetings.”*

Responsibility and responsiveness come to mind as characteristics needed for service as an elected official. Responsibility suggests dedication to the task at hand—representation of a large constituency to the best of your ability and that comes only with long hours devoted to familiarity with the issues before the body and a determination of whether these issues are to become law or not to become law. Of course, you will not be expected to make decisions without insight from your fellow Senators who have more years of experience and from citizens, whether they be interested members of your constituency or paid lobbyists. Certainly, you cannot be over-prepared for participation in the day-by-day routine of committee and session meetings.



Courtesy of the  
Richmond Times-Dispatch

Responsiveness suggests sharing with your constituency the issues that will affect them, and the position that you will take when the issues are before you. You will learn much from your neighbors, and you will build confidence in their assessment of the issues, as their confidence in your judgment will likewise be increased. However, remember that your conscience should be your guide in making decisions that you will be required to make almost on a daily basis. You may be called upon to explain your stand on a particular issue. When this occurs, you must be able to say without hesitation that you voted as you thought was right and in the best interest of all Virginians.

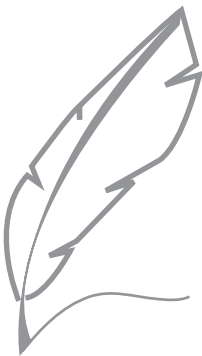
The Senate of Virginia is often referred to as “the other body.” That comment is clearly incorrect; it is more appropriate to refer to it as the “Conscience of the Legislature.” Members pride themselves on thoughtful consideration of the issues of the day, and only on rare occasions does the debate focus on special interests or political considerations.

I served in the Senate from 1986 through 1997. I was privileged to succeed the late Senator Ed Willey of Richmond City, one of the best known and most capable of all Senate members over the past 50 years. Although I never thought I would adequately replace him, I did enjoy some measure of success by virtue of the fact that I was a representative of our Capital City, and was more or less silent until I was eventually recognized as a senior member of the body. As expected, most of my efforts were on behalf of Richmond and its environs.

My fond memories are the friendships made during the years of my service. Public service in the legislative arena allows one to observe those involved over and over—on good days and bad days—during endless meetings and sessions, at social events, and at those inevitable events when a member or former member is laid to rest. I learned much from and about the members with whom I served. I have made lasting friendships and treasure the memories of my associations. ∞



Senator Benedetti (r) with Senator Stosch (l) and Charlie Guthridge



### *More about Senator Benedetti*

**Salutation:** The Gentleman  
from Richmond City

**Party:** Republican

**10th District:**  
All of Powhatan County; part  
of Chesterfield and Henrico  
Counties; and part of the  
City of Richmond

**Delegate:** 1983-1986

**Leadership Positions Held:**

Minority Leader:  
1992-1996

Republican Leader:  
1996-1998



by MALFOURD "BO" TRUMBO  
Senator 1992-2004

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*"Any attempt to commit to writing each of the facets of the process for analysis would only result in total confusion. But the process works."*

*"Applaud us when we run; console us when we fall; cheer us when we recover; but let us pass on—for God's sake, let us pass on!" -- Edmund Burke, 1780*

The General Assembly of Virginia, particularly the Virginia Senate, is a living, viable institution. The key to its sustainability, however, is not in its consistency of personalities or ideologies. Its key ingredient is adherence to a system of governance that places great value on accommodating change while placing equal importance on understanding the trials and tribulations of its predecessors. Our founding fathers looked to the thoughts of those who, like Edmund Burke, recognized that: "Nothing in progression can rest on its original plan. We may as well think of rocking a grown man in the cradle of an infant."

A Senator's understanding of where he or she is in the vast continuum of Virginia and national history aids in applying judgment and consistency to the numerous and varied decisions to be confronted. This individual knowledge, combined with the ability to relate to 39 other members and their personal traits and desires, culminates in an interaction that is at times mystifying. Any attempt to commit to writing each of the facets of the process for analysis would only result in total confusion. But the process works.



Senator Trumbo's floor presentation to Lou Davis (pictured with family).

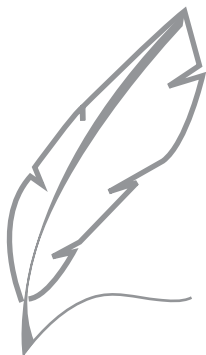
I have been astounded by the amount and quality of the work produced by a system of written guidelines and unwritten customs and traditions. The process may not be pretty, but I don't think it was intended to be. Accommodating varying influences and personalities inevitably generates

conflict, which eventually leads to compromise. The experience is at once frustrating, contorted, and exhilarating.

In the end, each member will recognize one enduring truth—he or she will soon be gone. Each of us will be relegated to a name in a book perhaps only we will read, but those who take our place will carry on just as well or poorly as we did. For our posterity's sake, let us pass on. ∞



Front row: Lt. Governor Hager  
Middle row: Senator Newman, Senator Potts, Senator Miller, Senator Chichester, Senator Stosch, Senator Stolle, Senator Bolling, Senator Wampler, and Senator Norment  
Back row: Senator Hawkins, Senator Trumbo, Senator Hanger, Senator Watkins, Senator Schrock, Senator Williams, Senator Forbes, Senator Woods, Senator Quayle, Senator Barry, Senator Mims, and Senator Newman



### *More about Senator Trumbo*

**Salutation:** The Gentleman  
from Botetourt

Montgomery and Roanoke  
Counties

**Party:** Republican

**Delegate:** 1990-1992

**22nd District:**  
All of Botetourt County; all  
of the Cities of Radford and  
Salem; and part of

**Judge:** Circuit Court  
(25th Judicial Circuit) 2004-

**Committee Chaired:**  
Rules



by JANE WOODS  
Senator 1992-2000

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*“Administrations and parties ebb and flow,  
but personal friendships and relationships endure.”*

Serving in the Senate of Virginia was one of the greatest honors of my life. It was also one of the greatest responsibilities. Looking back, I can say that it was a time that I would not trade for the world—even with its ups and downs, it was an incredibly rewarding experience. To those who have succeeded my tenure in this most august and special place, I would urge you always to stay mindful of the privilege bestowed upon you. My congratulations and, for what it’s worth, my thoughts on being a member of the Senate of Virginia.

To be elected is to serve. One of the joys of serving in the Senate was my ability to help my constituents. I never forgot that they sent me to Richmond to work for them. A word of advice to new members: don’t ever lose sight of the importance of the folks back home; you are their advocate.

To be elected is also to learn. I learned a great deal about myself and about others. I learned when to bite my tongue, when to sit on my hands, when to listen, and when to speak my mind. I learned that to be a good legislator, I must first and foremost be true to myself and my convictions. New Senators, vote your conscience. Too often, the waters are muddied by forces other than the best interest of the Commonwealth and her people. Do your best to ensure that good government is not sacrificed to convenient politics.

Treat your colleagues with dignity and respect. Share opinions, recognize each other’s differences, and forge ahead. Administrations and parties ebb and flow, but personal friendships and relationships endure. The greatest joy of my time in the Senate was the friendships that I made that remain to this day.

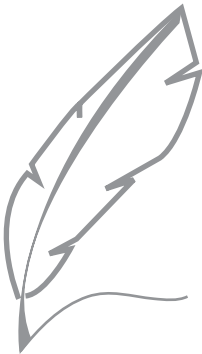


Senator Woods and Senator Stosch in Committee

Most important, however, is to do some good while you are in office, leaving the Commonwealth a better place because of the work you did. Strive to create legislation that will serve Virginia well even after you are gone. I have always been interested in healthcare, and I took the opportunity in the Senate to get very involved in this issue. The quality of healthcare and access to it impacts all of our citizens, and I worked diligently to improve our system and its many facets. I think some of my greatest legislative accomplishments in the Senate were sponsoring legislation that developed our long-term care capacity and services, that created a managed care ombudsman and an office of appeals for managed care enrollees, that helped to ensure access to care and services, and that helped families make their lives work just a bit better. ∞



Courtesy of the  
Richmond Times-Dispatch



### *More about Senator Woods*

**Salutation:** The Gentlewoman  
from Fairfax City

**Delegate:** 1988-1991

**Party:** Republican

**Committee Chaired:**  
Education and Health

**34th District:**  
Part of Fairfax County and  
part of the City of Fairfax



by **PATRICIA S. TICER**  
Senator 1996-2012

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*“When I left office as Mayor of Alexandria in 1996, I thought no job could be as challenging. I was wrong.”*

Making a difference among 40 talented people from all over the Commonwealth has been a difficult task given the varied backgrounds in public service, some being new to the “public” part of service. Because of regional differences of opinion on most issues, it is quite often challenging to achieve a basis for the need or understanding for many of those issues.



My primary challenge in Alexandria had been setting up an early childhood program. A director for early programs was hired, and many volunteers and semi-professionals made sure correct regulations (i.e. space, number of teachers, etc.) were available for all centers and home day-care providers. When I arrived in Richmond, however, there were many regional differences of opinion blocking what was viewed as intrusion into private family rights.

Through my years in Richmond, it has been wonderful to watch the evolution of public opinion relative to the real need for regulation, protection, and special care given to children not in family care.

And things do change in the Senate and General Assembly, albeit slowly. As an example, it has been heartening to see a true caring for the health and protection of the Chesapeake Bay across the partisan divide of the Senate.

As a Senator of Virginia, my views have expanded markedly since 1996. When we talk about the Commonwealth of Virginia and its oneness, I feel a true spirit of caring about every nook and cranny of the state. It has proven true time and again that if one aspect of the state is not doing well, for example education, the whole state suffers.

It is amazing to serve on different boards and commissions, and to share expertise with others in the body. I learned much more from the Science and Technology Commission than I could have ever imparted, and it has been that way with the Joint Commission on Health Care as well. It has been



enlightening to witness the shift in viewpoint in the legal system about the need for compassion and assistance to those who have made mistakes. The ability and willingness of public officials and other human beings to not only be open to this change in perspective but also to forgive has been inspiring.

There have been many extraordinarily talented and resourceful people in the Senate during my tenure. In particular, and with a smile, I think of Madison Marye for his entertainingly enlightening “Uncle Billy” stories. And to this day, I continue to dearly miss Emily Couric who was moving so passionately towards a strong and influential political career when she lost her battle with cancer.

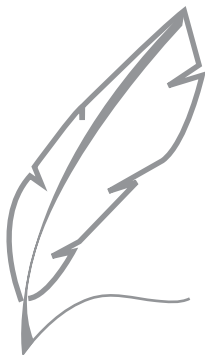
I also think of people with whom I have not necessarily shared regional opinions, such as those from the far Southwest. What a privileged opportunity it has been to get to know them and their regions better by visiting and meeting with their local people. There is always more give than take at these meetings, and I am grateful for all the insights I have gained.

As well, I am grateful for having been part of the National Conference of State Legislatures, which offered me so many interesting and productive opportunities to meet officials in all capacities from other states.

I will truly miss my home away from home in Richmond and, in particular, the family members who I have come to rely on and deeply appreciate. The support of everyone in the Senate Clerk’s Office and of all the lobbyists who are so committed to their missions has been tremendous.



It has been the privilege of a lifetime for me to know you, and an honor for me to have been of service with you in support of my beloved state, my home, as a member of the Senate of Virginia. ∞



### *More about Senator Licer*

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**Salutation:** The Gentlewoman  
from Alexandria

**Committee Chaired:**  
Agriculture, Conservation  
and Natural Resources

**Party:** Democrat

**30th District:**  
Part of Arlington and Fairfax  
Counties; and part of the  
City of Alexandria

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*From the Floor of  
Today's Senate*

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— POINTS OF —  
PERSONAL PRIVILEGE



Senator Saslaw has the floor during the 2012 Session as Lt. Governor Bolling presides.



by **RICHARD L. SASLAW**  
Senator 1980-

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*“We learned what the ‘Virginia Way’ means and what it takes to rise above the fray in a very combustible environment.”*

I admit to being no match for the wisdom and thoughtful prose of Jefferson, Madison, and Franklin. However, I am happy to ruminate over my long tenure in the General Assembly.

Let me begin by setting the record straight. Although I did come to the General Assembly in '76, it was NOT with Jefferson. In fact, I began my legislative experience in the House of Delegates as a newly minted freshman Delegate in *Nineteen Hundred and Seventy-six*. At that time, we ran in five-member districts. The one that I represented ran southwest across Fairfax County to just about Loudoun. It took the Supreme Court in its wisdom to get Virginia to move to one-person districts. Back in those days, John Warren Cooke (whose father fought in the Civil War) was Speaker, and he ran a very tight ship—one in which rural Democrats reigned king, just like the tobacco crops in the Commonwealth that literally filled the halls of the General Assembly with smoke. (Something we finally did away with in this century after years of debate, sometimes accompanied by science). While there are a number of anecdotes one could relate, it is difficult to do justice to the great humor and quick wit of the likes of Tom Moss, Dick Cranwell and Chip Woodrum. It was rumored that A. L. Philpott actually memorized the Code of Virginia, which made it rather challenging to win an argument with his “institutional history.” Let it suffice to say that we had our own version of Mo, Larry, and Curly as well as some of the best minds the House of Delegates would ever know.



Courtesy of the Richmond Times-Dispatch

One thing that I learned rather quickly was that it was better to be on their team and not on the receiving end of their banter. With the advent of technology and the emergence of the political industry over the years, it is best to remember that everything you say can and will be used over the Internet, in brochures or on the airwaves. Little did we know that our Mothers had it right when they warned us to “watch your mouth.”

Soon after my election to the House of Delegates, in 1979, the window of opportunity to move over to the Senate came when the Honorable Omer Hirst (District 35) retired. I began my first term in the Senate in 1980 with nary a grey hair and nothing but optimism. Looking back over the past three-plus decades, my hair has turned silver and now I carry a laptop, but serving in the Senate has been one of the most interesting and gratifying experiences of my life. The House of Delegates did not prepare me for the likes of Hunter Andrews, Ed Willey and Wiley Mitchell—mental giants and old time pols with unique methods for determining public policy. Today, I occupy the very office on the sixth floor of the GAB that once housed Hunter. As a member of the Leadership, I find being fair and evenhanded is something that is valued in the legislative process.

Those of us who were lucky enough to serve with Madison Marye learned to keep things in perspective with a sense of humor and civility thanks to his quotable “Uncle Billy.” John Chichester gave us a double dose of courage and sense of patriotism to do what is right for Virginia when we were heading toward our own “fiscal cliff.” We learned what the “Virginia Way “ means and what it takes to rise above the fray in a very combustible environment. We accomplished this with solid relationships on both sides of the aisle because we are elected to serve and move the ball forward.

I am particularly grateful for the friendships that I have enjoyed with individuals who sit across the aisle in the Senate Chamber. I respect and value their friendship on both a professional and personal level. I suspect over the years these individuals, just like me, have taken that occasional proverbial “bullet” in our efforts to remain faithful to serving the



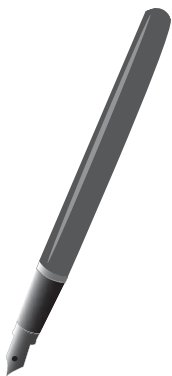
Senator Saslaw and Senator Howell  
in the Senate Chamber.

best interests of Virginians across the Commonwealth. I believe this shared camaraderie is the essence of what guides us in our leadership positions and keeps the daily debate in perspective. From Voltaire to Spiderman, it has been said, “with great power comes great responsibility.” Having served as Majority Leader, Minority Leader and as the Democratic Leader in an evenly divided body, as well as a committee chair, I am aware of the obligations of governance and the necessity for a broader vision that meets the common good.

Over the course of the past three-plus decades, I believe the most important lesson I have learned is that the public places a tremendous trust in their representatives to do the best job for Virginians in every corner of this Commonwealth. Abusing this trust makes for cynicism and bad public policy. Likewise, I trust the public to take its civic duty seriously and use the ballot box to make their voices heard.

I have been fortunate to have a supportive spouse for some 44 years. Eleanor is a talented, compassionate, and dedicated individual. She shares my passion for the legislative process and the importance of a world-class public education. We both are committed to public service and understand the demands it can make on a marriage.

As my good friend Russ Potts used to say—“I’m on a roll.” However, as any good politician knows, revealing “state secrets” can be detrimental to your political life. With that in mind, I thank you for reading this and hope the next generation of Virginia’s leaders have as good mentors as I have had as a public servant. Perspective is equally as important as ambition. As Mel Blanc would have said: “That’s all folks!” ∞



### *More about Senator Saslaw*

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**Salutation:** The Gentleman  
from Fairfax County

**Party:** Democrat

**35th District:**  
All of the City of Falls Church;  
part of Fairfax County; and  
part of the City of Alexandria

**Delegate:** 1976-1979

**Leadership Positions held:**

Majority Leader, 2008-2012

Democratic Leader, 1996-1998

Minority Leader, 1998-2008 and  
2012-

**Committee Chaired:**  
Commerce and Labor



by WALTER A. STOSCH  
Senator 1992-

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*"I am especially proud of Virginia's stewardship in preparing young people for a successful career."*

I learned early in life that the biblical admonition of "to whom much is given, much is expected" was a central truth.

When I grew up on a small farm in Virginia, "times were tough," as my father used to say, but we were able to survive with hard work, raising much of our food needs, and a loving family. Missing, though, was the hope and expectation of being able to transition from that meager life to one of success in a business, profession, or other career path.

But along the way, with a kind word from a wonderful teacher, encouragement from my family, the aid of the GI Bill, and someone of a higher power looking over me, I was able to achieve the equivalent of the American dream by attending college after my military service. I was more mature than most of my fellow students at the University of Richmond at the time and perhaps had greater anxiety and fear than they. After all, I really hadn't tried hard or taken the right courses in high school to best prepare me to meet the challenges ahead.

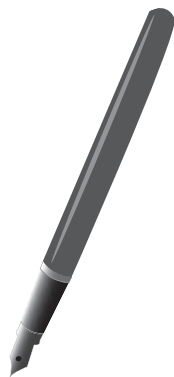
Fortunately, it worked for me. I became a success in my chosen career as a CPA, organizing and growing my own firm to one of the most prominent in my area while achieving personal, financial, and professional success beyond my wildest dreams when I was on that small farm. I was given much, and out of all of that came the commitment to give back.

So I now devote my time and energy to serving the people of Virginia as a member of the Virginia Senate and by sponsoring a non-profit organization that assists each year thousands of young people who have no hope or expectation of progressing beyond high school to do so. I have found that an ordinary person like me can make a difference and I derive great pleasure in helping those in need overcome obstacles in their way. Most of those obstacles are small, and if you are prepared in life to deal with the many daily complexities we face, they are easily overcome. But, for those I serve who are not prepared, they cannot surmount them without some assistance.



Seated: Senator Stosch  
Senate Clerk Susan C. Schaar,  
Ryan Messier, Caleb Boyer, Kelly Stosch,  
Elizabeth Scott Turner, and Holt Whitt

I am especially proud of Virginia's stewardship in preparing young people for a successful career through educational opportunities and the creation of jobs. Giving encouragement, assistance, hope, and a hand up are all part of the responsibility to give back that we have as good stewards of our successes. ∞



### *More about Senator Stosch*

**Salutation:** The Gentleman  
from Henrico County

**Party:** Republican

**12th District:**  
Part of Hanover and Henrico  
Counties

**Delegate:** 1983-1991

**Leadership Positions held:**  
President pro tempore: 2012-  
Majority Leader: 1998-2008  
Republican Leader Emeritus:  
2008-2012

**Committees Chaired:**  
General Laws and Technology;  
Finance





by HENRY L. MARSH, III  
Senator 1992-

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*“Learn to listen to debates, absorb information, ask questions, and evaluate and re-evaluate your position (if necessary) before casting a vote.”*

I feel a deep sense of pride, honor, and responsibility given that the voters of the 16th Senatorial District entrusted me to represent them in formulating the laws of Virginia in the Virginia General Assembly. This public service is rewarding because I am the voice of many who may otherwise not be heard on the numerous issues facing our Commonwealth. I know that each day of my public service results in making a positive difference to society.

When I reflect upon my tenure in the Senate of Virginia since 1992, my zeal and enjoyment of serving the public has never waned. I conscientiously guard my duty to serve faithfully my constituents in good times, bad times, and uncertain times. Such is how I view my life, as an elected public servant.

As a servant leader, I am continually committed to providing excellent service to my constituents, while preserving integrity in the legislative process, and demonstrating morally conscious leadership. As a steward of the public trust, I receive a great reward in being returned to the Senate of Virginia every four years to do what I love. Public service demands a personal sacrifice of time, resources, and privacy. Yet, done right, it enriches your life and renders quality time spent with family and friends even more special.

As an attorney, I am especially grateful to have served as chair of the Senate Courts of Justice Committee. This position provided me an opportunity to use my legal acumen in amending criminal and civil laws in Virginia. I also bring a proven level of expertise to the Local Government, Finance, and Transportation Committees as a result of 25 years of service as a former local elected official, including as mayor of Richmond City.

I advise new members to seek out committee assignments to which you can lend expertise and knowledge. Diligently research issues but do not be afraid to seek wise counsel or advice from colleagues. Learn to listen to debates, absorb information, ask questions, and evaluate and re-evaluate your position (if necessary) before casting a vote.



Senator Marsh, Paul Timmreck (Senate Finance Staff Director) and Senator Cross

Further, respect your colleagues regardless of political affiliation and differing opinions. Show gratitude to all of the personnel performing the various tasks that are essential to making the legislative process function smoothly. Remember simple civilities such as “Good Morning,” “Please,” and “Thank you.”

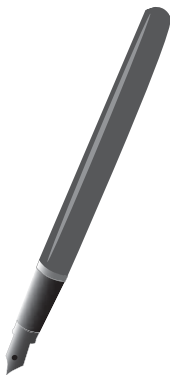
I have introduced numerous bills in the Senate that address controversial social issues (i.e., gun control, the death penalty moratorium, and prisoner rights) as well as quality of life issues for economically deprived residents. For example, I introduced Senate Joint Resolution No. 319 that designated February 4, in 2005 and in each succeeding year, as Give Kids A Smile Day in Virginia, to recognize and care for the oral health needs of children, and encourage Virginia dental professionals to participate in the observance of “National Give Kids A Smile Day,” by providing free oral health care to children, particularly low-income children, and conducting educational activities to heighten public awareness concerning oral health care.

One of my most memorable accomplishments was reflected in the implementation of Senate Joint Resolution No. 319. A few years ago while I was in a community supermarket, a nine-year-old child tugged on my coat and offered a bright, beautiful, toothy smile. He had just visited a dentist for the first time in his life at a free dental clinic in the neighborhood center. Signs throughout the venue touted Senate Joint Resolution No. 319 and noted that I was the sponsor. The boy’s mother thanked me profusely while her son hugged my leg.

This experience exemplifies what public service is all about—meeting the needs of your constituents while working for the greater good of all residents of the Commonwealth. ∞



Senator Marsh (r) at the dais with Lt. Governor Bolling during a presentation to Dr. Eugene Trani (President of VCU)



### *More about Senator Marsh*

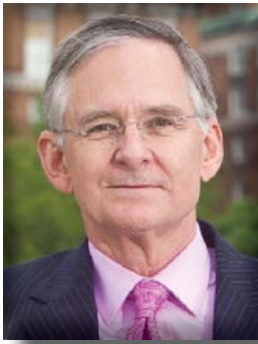
**Salutation:** The Gentleman  
from Richmond City

Prince George Counties; and  
part of the City of Richmond

**Party:** Democrat

**Committee Chaired:**  
Courts of Justice

**16th District:**  
All of the Cities of Hopewell  
and Petersburg; part of  
Chesterfield, Dinwiddie, and



by **THOMAS K. NORMENT, JR.**  
Senator 1992-

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*"You cannot be an expert in every issue that the General Assembly considers. Pick one or two issues to know well and own them."*

Making the decision to run for the Senate in 1991 was agonizing. I had a lot of people recruiting me to run, but it was not easy to pull the trigger. It was within days of the filing deadline that I finally decided to throw my hat in the ring. At the time, I had no idea that I would win that first race let alone that I would remain in the Senate for the next 22 years and counting.

Serving in the Senate has been one of the greatest honors of my life. I have tremendous respect for the institution. The district I represent includes both Jamestown, where the first legislature in the New World convened in 1619, and the colonial capital of Williamsburg. It is humbling to think that I am a part of such a unique history that goes back nearly 400 years. I have made some of my closest friendships with my fellow Senators—on both sides of the aisle. And I feel like I have been able to do some good things for the Commonwealth and the district I serve.



A few years ago, I was honored to receive awards from my alma mater, the Virginia Military Institute (VMI), and from The College of William and Mary. It was humbling at the award ceremonies to hear recited some of the accomplishments of my time in public service—acquiring funding for buildings at both institutions, providing leadership in the successful Jamestown 2007 commemoration, and sponsoring key pieces of legislation, such as the Water Quality Improvement Act, the Higher Education Restructuring Act, and electric utility regulation. Throughout my career, I have tried to look forward at what else I could do, not backward at what I have accomplished.

And it is that forward-looking perspective that has kept me interested in public service for so long.

When I entered the Senate, I was privileged to overlap with the terms of many Senators of both parties who had long and storied careers—Hunter Andrews, Warren Barry, Joe Benedetti, John Chichester, Stanley Walker, and the Holland brothers. I learned many lessons from them which have shaped my career in the Senate, and I have learned plenty more from my own mistakes. A few lessons learned, to impart to my fellow Senators—now and in the future:

- Learn to know what you don't know. This was a favorite lesson that Senator Andrews taught me. If you go into the Senate thinking you know it all, you are setting yourself up to fail. Learn from those around you and be able to admit when you are not the expert.

- Develop a specialty. You cannot be an expert in every issue that the General Assembly considers. Pick one or two issues to know well and own them.

- Change it up. In order to keep service interesting, I had to take on new challenges every few years. They have ranged from new specialty issues to new leadership roles.

- Don't take things personally. Your fellow Senators will disappoint you periodically. They will kill your bills. They will vote against issues important to you. It is part of the process that you cannot change. What you can change is how you react when that happens. Never let a vote or an issue impede a friendship or a sense of respect.



Senators Norment and Saslaw  
Courtesy of the Richmond Times-Dispatch

- Your word is your bond. This is a lesson from my days at VMI, but it has been applicable in the Senate and in every aspect of my life. You need your fellow members to be able to trust you and take you at your word. I have learned that I have been able to get more done with legislators with whom I don't agree with because they know if I tell them I will do something, I will do it.

- It is better to get along with the Governor than not to. I have served with Governors of my party and Governors of the other party. Regardless of party, I have always tried to establish a good relationship with the Governor as it has allowed me to be more effective as a Senator.

- Don't lose track of your home life. The Senate can be all consuming. But it is important not to let it affect your family. Coming home on the weekends during the session and blocking out family time on the calendar

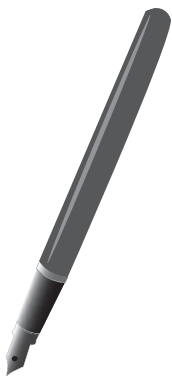
are both important. There will be another chance to go to a Republican Committee meeting, but you cannot miss your daughter's soccer game. But most important is that I have never made the decision on whether to run for re-election without consulting my family. My service in the Senate affects them as much if not more than it affects me, and they need to be a part of that decision.

- Know the rules of the Senate and parliamentary procedure. There are a lot of opportunities to achieve your goals even if you are in the minority if you just understand the rules and procedures. I know I have annoyed the Clerk and many Lieutenant Governors by citing a seemingly arcane rule. But more often than not, I have gotten my way.

- Sometimes you just have to play hard ball. I have a ceramic baseball on my desk with this motto. It speaks for itself.

Service in the Senate cannot be easily summed up. It can be described as humbling, exhilarating, all-consuming, and nerve-wracking. It is a lot of work, but can be a lot of fun. Particularly during the session, time seems simultaneously to move slowly and to fly by. Being a member of the Senate allows you to make a meaningful difference in the lives of others, but it also makes a difference in your own life.

Having spent nearly a third of my life as a Senator, all I can really say is that a special place in my heart is reserved for the General Assembly. I hope that I have been able to contribute to the good of the Commonwealth and to be the Senator that the voters expected me to be—and that I expected myself to be. I hope that other Senators—current and future—can benefit in some small way by the experience that I have had over the past 22 years. ∞



### *More about Senator Norment*

**Salutation:** The Gentleman  
from James City County

**Party:** Republican

**3rd District:**

All of Gloucester, King and Queen, King William, and New Kent Counties; all of the City of Poquoson; part of Isle of Wight, James City, Surry, and

York Counties; and part of the Cities of Hampton and Suffolk

**Leadership Positions Held:**

Majority Leader: 2012-  
Minority Leader: 2008-2012

**Committees Chaired:**

Courts of Justice; Rules



by JOHN S. EDWARDS  
Senator 1996-

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*"It is not possible to please everyone with each vote, but it should be possible to explain each important vote that is taken."*

In my first session in the Senate of Virginia, I learned what a steep learning curve serving in the Senate is. The fast pace in which bills are heard in committee, the vast number of bills, and the wide variety and complexity of the issues were both fascinating and exhausting. I frequently thought that more time was needed to understand and digest the issues before voting on them. By nature and training as a lawyer, I want to master the issues involved in each bill, but I learned that too often it was simply not possible in a 60-day session.

In order to navigate the scope and complexity of the issues, I learned to rely on people who had the experience, knowledge, and information needed to form my decisions. I listened to experienced Senators with institutional memory explaining in committee and on the floor many of the measures that came before us. I relied upon like-minded Senators in some cases. I also learned the important role lobbyists play in explaining bills of interest to them and to listen to both sides before deciding how to vote. The process underscores why legislation is and should be debated in the public arena. Not only did I learn from the debate, but I also saw how the process illuminates for the public the reasons behind the adoption of legislation.



Senator Edwards and Senator Whipple  
in the Senate Chamber.

Election campaigning is important in preparing a legislator to serve. Campaigns require candidates to formulate and explain numerous policy positions. This is done in the process of door-to-door campaigning, participating in public debates, filling out questionnaires from interest groups, holding press conferences and answering questions from the press, and simply listening and responding to voters' interests and concerns.

The campaign process educates both candidates and the public and helps forge policy positions which are debated in the legislature. A campaign is more than slogans, bumper stickers and campaign rallies. When issues are debated in the General Assembly, legislators are better prepared to articulate their positions having gone through an election campaign. In my first session, I built a legislative agenda around my campaign themes and, after the session, I was able to point to specific achievements in fulfilling campaign promises.

There are inevitably times when a vote will not please all constituents. From a senior area legislator, I learned that one can take a controversial vote, if it can be explained. It is not possible to please everyone with each vote, but it should be possible to explain each important vote that is taken.

I also learned that consistency and integrity matter a lot. When a change of position is indicated because of new information or a change of circumstances, it is important to explain why the change is being made. A legislator should be able to make a decision and not vacillate back and forth, which can create confusion and raise questions of integrity. There is an old saying that it is better to be on one side of the road or the other side, rather than to be in the middle of the road and get run over.

Both campaigning and serving in elected office require being a good listener of what constituents want. At the same time, constituents expect you to lead. They elect you to exercise your good judgment, to articulate a vision, and to vote for their long-term best interests. They respect independent thinking and will support you if they believe you care about the common interests and are hard working, honest, and competent.

While constituents learn some of what you do through the broadcast and newspaper media, there is much that is not reported by the news media. To communicate with constituents, I developed an annual end-of-session report, highlighting key accomplishments and progress made on matters of interest to the district. I have found many constituents receiving the report respond favorably to it.

There is an old saying that no legislator is more effective than the competence of the staff. During my first session, I learned the importance of the staff of the Senate Finance Committee and of Legislative Services, which drafts the bills. In my first session, the staff was instrumental in giving me guidance to obtain adoption of a key budget amendment to carry out a campaign promise to build the Roanoke Higher Education Center.



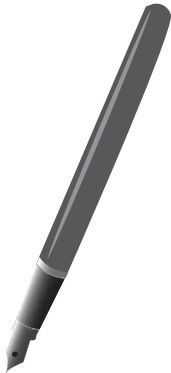
While I am in committee meetings, on the floor debating bills and otherwise out of the office, my legislative aide and administrative assistant are fielding numerous telephone inquires, emails, visits from constituents and lobbyists and otherwise managing a chaotic influx of guests and people interested in the legislative process. I learned quickly that I could not handle the office without this invaluable assistance. Obviously, I cannot return every phone call, answer every email, and draft a response to every letter. Drafting responses to letters regarding particular legislation requires research and drafting skills and can be very time consuming. Managing and overseeing this process can be daunting. Therefore, it is critical to have an experienced, capable legislative aide to oversee this extraordinarily important process. It is important that every inquiry be answered, whether by telephone, email, or letter, in a timely manner. Likewise, every request for services from my office must be handled efficiently and timely.



I have been very fortunate in this regard and have had numerous compliments because of the good work, quality services, and timely responses provided by my legislative aide.

The Senate Clerk's Office provides many valuable services to Senators and is indispensable in offering advice and counsel in the "how to" category as well as on the numerous unwritten protocols, customs, and practices of the Senate. This behind-the-scenes guidance keeps the Senate on an even keel and makes the Senate look good.

At the end of my first session, I reflected on the fact that I could be a more effective Senator the next session from the whirlwind learning experience of the first session, and that it was a thrilling honor to serve in the Senate of Virginia. ∞



### *More about Senator Edwards*

**Salutation:** The Gentleman  
from Roanoke City

**Party:** Democrat

**21st District:**  
All of Giles County; all of the  
City of Roanoke; and part of  
Montgomery and Roanoke  
Counties



by **MAMIE E. LOCKE**  
Senator 2004-

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*"The lesson that I learned that year was that there was no such thing as a 60-day session or 45-day session. It ended when it ended."*

I have had the high honor of representing citizens in the 2nd Senatorial District of Virginia since 2004. Prior to that I had served as a City Council member and mayor of the City of Hampton. As a local government official, it was part of our daily routine to bash the state legislature and disparage its goal of making the lives of local officials difficult, primarily through the passage of unfunded mandates. Now I was one of "them." So, I had to readjust my local government thinking cap to a state legislative one. The transition was not easy.

At the local level, campaigns and elections are non-partisan; thus, there was no political party influence or implications. Decisions were made by a smaller group of seven people, so consensus was easier to reach on most issues. While there was some discord, it was minimal and, for the most part, council members worked together collegially.



In coming to the Virginia Senate, I expected collegiality and consensus building to be the rule. In many cases it was, but not always, and not as often as I would have liked. I arrived on the scene in 2004, when it appeared that the session would never end. The struggle was over the budget and tax increases. There were many sides to the struggle and, it seemed, the target kept moving every day. After the regular session and two special sessions, a compromise was finally reached. The lesson I learned that year was that there was no such thing as a 60-day or 45-day session. It ended when it ended. I learned that I had to go with the flow.

I expected that my expertise in higher education and as a local government official would lead me to serve on committees where that expertise would be valued (Education and Health, Local Government). I learned that one could ask for those assignments, but getting them was a different thing. I was a freshman, and freshmen do not get what is considered “plum” assignments. Some committees are considered more desirable than others, so guess what the freshmen get? Lesson number two: work hard with what you get and make a difference where you are. In other words, go with the flow; your time will come.

I expected that all my fellow legislators would see and understand that the legislation I introduced was brilliant, valuable, and extremely important and essential to me and those I represent. Regional and partisan divisions and varying points of view on policy choices changed that thought process quickly. Expect that bills that start out doing one thing may end up different than envisioned. Lesson number three: while your legislation is important to you and your district, do not be so wedded to your point of view that you are unwilling to compromise; especially if, in the grand scheme of things, you get something. Learn not to take it personally, and go with the flow.

I carried with me to the Virginia Senate a great respect for government by the people and of being of service to constituents. One does not go into politics expecting to be loved and expecting that all decisions will be accepted or appreciated by those being represented. However, we should all learn that in being accountable to those citizens, we need to be able to explain decisions and be a resource to constituents. Citizens are not concerned with the long days, early morning presentation of bills, or committee meetings that are never ending. They are concerned with results and the impact that legislation has on their lives. Lesson number four: be able to explain your positions and your votes on various legislation simply and effectively. Citizens do pay attention and expect you to be able to keep them informed, even if they disagree with you.

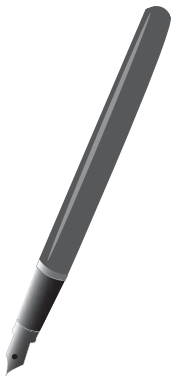


Women of the Virginia Senate 2012  
Senators: Favola, Howell, Miller, Puller, Locke,  
Lucas, and Vogel

My fondest memory of being in the Senate occurred following the 2007 November elections when I learned that, after four short years, I would become a committee chair. I would be one of seven women and one of four African Americans chairing a committee. This was history making for the

Virginia Senate, and I was happy to be a part of it. Governing is not easy, and to be in a position of leadership is daunting. The lesson here is to observe, listen, and learn. Adopt your own style, and go with the flow.

Balancing a life of public service with one's professional and family commitments is not easy. It helps if family members support your decision to run for office and understand that at the state level you will be away during the week for six to eight weeks. It is helpful when family members know that those home responsibilities now fall to them and that weekends for you are not always free either. Constituent services do not end on Friday when the session ends. It is also helpful for those who must continue to work full time to have an understanding employer who accepts and respects what you do—that your service is a positive accolade for them. You must be able to multi-task, and have great organizational and time management skills. The most important thing is balance. Service is important, but so are family and friends. The final lesson is: learn to balance the two effectively and efficiently, and go with the flow. The rewards are great. ∞



### *More about Senator Locke*

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**Salutation:** The Gentlewoman  
from Hampton

**Committee Chaired:**  
General Laws and  
Technology

**Party:** Democrat

**2nd District:**  
Part of York County; and part  
of the Cities of Hampton,  
Newport News, and  
Portsmouth



by A. DONALD McEACHIN  
Senator 2008-

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*"Being a good leader, I realized, in many ways, is being a good follower."*

Serving in the Virginia General Assembly has been one of the greatest privileges of my life. While I have seen both the House and Senate experience many changes, including changes in the majority and changes in leadership, I can say quite honestly that through all of those changing tides, the General Assembly continues to be a group of individuals dedicated to bettering the Commonwealth and serving their constituents.

Over ten years ago, when I was a freshman Delegate in the House, I was part of a long standing Democratic majority. My Democratic colleagues were accustomed to being in charge and to controlling the levers of authority. Yet, for the most part, both parties had a collegial and friendly relationship. Over the next years, even as the majority changed hands, Delegates continued to get along and to seek common ground. There was a universal acceptance that good ideas originate in both parties and that frequently the best solutions are born of compromise.

My election to the Senate in 2007 did not change that opinion. Although the Democrats reclaimed a narrow majority, many of the divisions were not along party lines. Rural legislators watched out for their areas while urban legislators sought solutions that worked for their constituents. After some posturing (it is politics, after all!), we would come together and seek solutions that recognized that Virginia is both urban and rural and that all our citizens deserve the best.



Senators McEachin, Puller, and Edwards in the  
Senate Committee for Courts of Justice

Being a member of a 40-person Senate was a change, however. Not only does every legislator know your name, not only is there always an opportunity to speak in party caucus meetings, but also desired and, frankly, expected is your input. The wonderful General Assembly staff, who were always helpful and enthusiastic in the House, are able in the Senate to tailor their assistance even more to individuals. With only 40 Senators, staff has the opportunity to learn a little about each of us and where they can be of the greatest service.

The 2012 session was the most challenging I have experienced. My colleagues elected me caucus chair. I had barely thanked my fellow Democratic Senators for their confidence in me when I was engaged in how to organize the new evenly-divided Senate. While I disagreed with the outcome of that effort, it was an excellent introduction for me to leadership. Thrown into the deep end, in a situation that was critically important, I quickly recognized that the most important skill I needed was to learn from my compatriots. My fellow Democratic Senators have a wealth of knowledge and experience. Some are outstanding tacticians and some are encyclopedias of policy. Being a good leader, I realized, in many ways, is being a good follower.

Assessing and building consensus and then acting on that consensus is the best mechanism for creating a strong caucus, and, thereby, a stronger Senate. To do this, I often hear many divergent opinions and ideas. Strong personalities sometimes make it more difficult for Senators to hear each other. My responsibility is to make certain that we all listen to each other, that every opinion and idea is voiced, and that even the quietest Senator has an opportunity to speak. This became my guiding principle. Sometimes ideas or resolutions come from unlikely sources, and if we don't listen to each other, and really listen, we have no chance of building consensus. I have also learned that sometimes consensus is not available, even within our Democratic caucus. Solutions and votes are not always partisan and we have to respect each other's differences. More significantly, no matter how much we may disagree on one issue, there is another vote and another issue that may create a different coalition or upon which we may all be in concert.

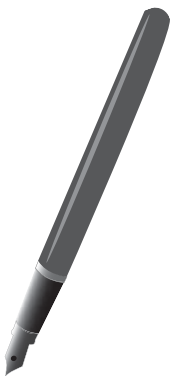
One of the most challenging parts of my new responsibility has been to make certain that I still do justice to my constituents and their concerns as well as to the issues most important to me. During the session, being a state Senator and representing my voters is a full-time job, and now I have

added what could easily be another full-time job on top of it. I quickly realized how much I regret that there are only 24 hours in a day. Moreover, in a citizen-legislature, during the months we are not in session, I work hard to earn a living and support my family. As an owner of a small law firm, the needs are many and the time is short. I often feel pulled between my legal career, my responsibilities as a Senator for the Ninth



District and my leadership tasks. This juggling act has been and continues to be the most difficult challenge. But, no matter the time constraints, I insist on an open door policy where I find time to help my constituents, to meet with any Senator or Delegate, and to work with organizations to better Virginia.

Being a Senator (and previously a Delegate) is a privilege and an honor, and I try, every day, to provide the service Virginians and the Virginia General Assembly deserve. ∞



### *More about Senator McEachin*

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**Salutation:** The Gentleman  
from Henrico County

**Delegate:** 1996-2002;  
2006-2007

**Party:** Democrat

**9th District:**  
All of Charles City County;  
part of Henrico and Hanover  
Counties; and part of the  
City of Richmond



by **BRYCE E. REEVES**  
Senator 2012-

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*“The traits that helped you get elected are invaluable and will enable you to be successful as a legislator.”*

Thinking back to my first political memory, it was eighth grade when I had the opportunity to visit Washington, D.C., and other major historical areas in Virginia. I was a middle school student in Houston, Texas, and I vividly remember Representative Bill Archer greeting us during our visit to Capitol Hill. The Capitol seemed larger than life, and being able to walk onto the floor of the House of Representatives made an indelible mark on my life. Still today, that memory is awe inspiring and humbling.

Fast forward 31 years, and I had the same feelings as I entered the floor of the Virginia Senate as a newly minted freshman Senator. An overwhelming feeling of patriotism and devotion to God and country overtook my thoughts that day. Those formative years had given me a deep commitment to public service. My experiences as a cadet, commissioned Army officer, Airborne Ranger, police detective, and small business owner prepared me for the challenges I now face each day while serving my constituency.



There is no training manual for work as a Senator and no program to teach you how to formulate legislation to get bills passed by colleagues. You will need to rely upon your experience and your ability to adapt and respond quickly. The traits that helped you get elected are invaluable and will enable you to be successful as a legislator.

Trust is one of the most important factors as a legislator. Trust between you and your team members, your Senate staff, colleagues, lobbyists, and your constituency is a key to success. Break that trust with any of them, and your



performance and standing will be diminished greatly. Be honest and forthright with members of your own party, and make every effort to build relationships with your peers on the other side of the aisle. You will find that collaboration and collegiality will do more to help your success than a great floor speech or attempts to outmaneuver any opponent to one of your bills.



Make sure you know the Rules of the Senate and have a working knowledge of them. Ask questions. Read the bills that will be coming on your docket each day in committee. Don't hesitate to ask other Senators on your committee if you have a question about a bill or some aspect of that bill. They may have background information and insight that will help you in decision making. It can be overwhelming to be knowledgeable on all issues and ready to vote. My recommendation is to get a general understanding of all, and then concentrate on the issues you know and understand best. Your peers will seek you out and ask for your recommendation if they know you are educated on a particular subject or become the subject matter expert.

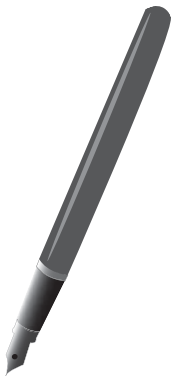
Lobbyists will be trying to educate you on a specific matter to try to gain your vote. For every lobbyist who is for a bill, there are others who will lobby against it. Do not commit before you have all the facts, and know where a particular piece of legislation fits in with your morals and values, and whether it addresses the needs of your constituency that elected you to represent them. Do not let campaign contributions drive your votes. Be appreciative, but always choose the “hard right” over “easy wrong.”

Take care of your physical fitness. The pressures of the office on you, your staff, and your family are immense. You have to figure out a way to eat right, get enough sleep, and exercise. Too often in session, you sit too long, sleep too little, and eat all the wrong foods.

Finally, remember your family and don't forget that they need you as much as you need them. Make plans to spend quality time with your loved ones. Be proactive in your community and with your constituents. Make sure you update them as much as possible with what you are doing and with information that affects them. Allow them to have input and a voice. Make them part of the process and the process will be less stressful.

In parting let me say that as a young cadet many years ago, I had to learn a lot of quotes, and one has stayed with me all these years. “Let your watchword be duty, and know no other talisman of success than labor. Let honor be your guiding star in your dealings with your superiors, your fellows, with all. Be as true to a trust reposed as the needle to the pole, stand by the right even to the sacrifice of life itself, and learn that death is preferable to dishonor.”

Per Unitatem Vis. ∞



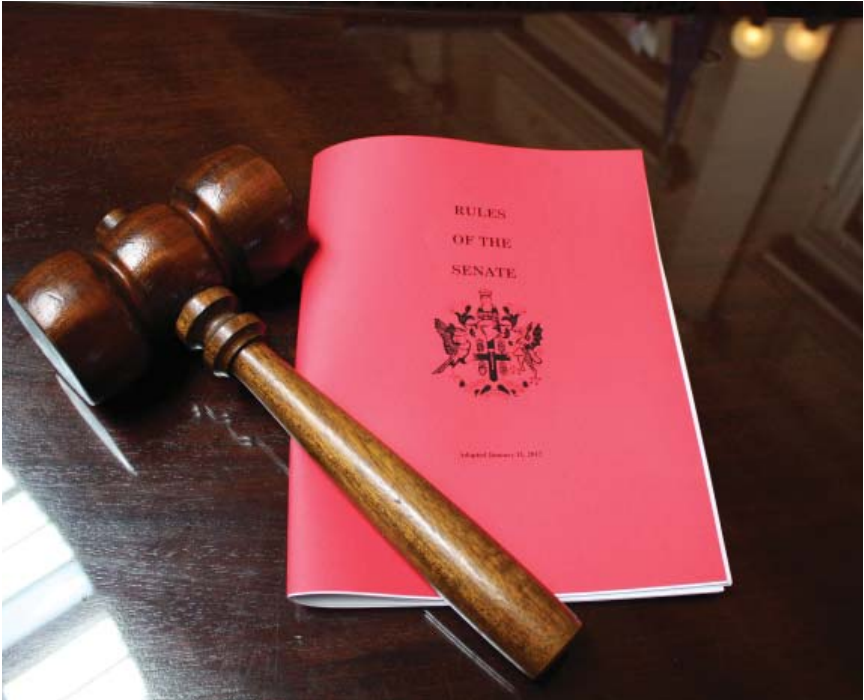
### *More about Senator Reeves*

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**Salutation:** The Gentleman  
from Spotsylvania

**Party:** Republican

**17th District:**  
All of Orange County; all of  
the City of Fredericksburg;  
and parts of Albemarle,  
Culpeper, Louisa, and  
Spotsylvania Counties



Tools of the Trade

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# *Perspectives from Presiding Officers*

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— PRESIDENTS OF THE —  
SENATE SHARE THEIR THOUGHTS  
FROM THE TOP OF THE DAIS



Governor Wilder's 1990 State of the Commonwealth Address  
Senator Walker, Speaker Philpott, Lt. Gov. Beyer,  
Chief Deputy Clerk Williams, Senate Clerk Schaar,  
Governor Wilder, and House Clerk Holloman



by **L. DOUGLAS WILDER**

President of the Senate 1986-1990

Senator 1970-1986

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*“The best times were when we would be able to have our young people come to visit and be welcomed along with their teachers and family.”*

I have always regarded service in the legislature of the Commonwealth of Virginia as the gilt edge of privilege. I say this for two reasons. One being that no person of color had served in the Senate other than during the brief period of “Reconstruction.” The other being that it originally was not intended that other than “Freeholders” should serve or even have voting privileges. To have the trust and confidence of the people to ordinate and shape the framework of the laws that would govern most of their conduct has always ranked at the highest in my mind.

That service provided me the opportunity not only to serve my constituents but also to learn what is called for when serving people other than my constituency. It made me learn of the concerns of all Virginians and to be more tolerant of dissenting views from my own. I would be the first to admit that it took me some time to come to that view.



Senator Wilder and Senator Holland

The thing that I am most proud of is that the Virginia Senate supported the passage of the Martin Luther King, Jr. holiday bill every time that I introduced the measure. One of the most memorable times was my introduction of the bill to repeal “Carry Me Back to Ole Virginy” as the official state song. When I made my maiden speech on the floor of the Senate objecting to the singing of the song, I did not know that it was the official state song. Not that that would matter; to the contrary that was all the more reason that it should not be sung.

It was the shortest of bills. It merely called for the repeal of the song. Though I had been there only two or three weeks since having been sworn in to serve, I had formed friends and bonds that have lasted to this day. I knew that there was no chance for success and that calling for a vote could only embarrass some of my newfound friends and colleagues. I chose not to do that. The irony is that the song had not been sung since February 1970, and that many

of those who would have been forced at that time not to be supportive were also some of the strongest and most consistent supporters of the King holiday.

Fair housing laws, which I successfully pushed for, and the Housing Study Commission, on which I served for many years and which made many recommendations that were ultimately enacted into law, improved the lives of many Virginians.

It was over 30 years ago that I was able to have Virginia be one of the first states in the nation to have a drug paraphernalia law. And it was also about that time that I was able to have restored in our Commonwealth, the compulsory school attendance law. I was pleased to chair the Virginia Advisory Council Committee on Services to Youthful Offenders. And in that capacity, I was charged with the responsibility of revising the juvenile code. It was a major and much needed change at that time.

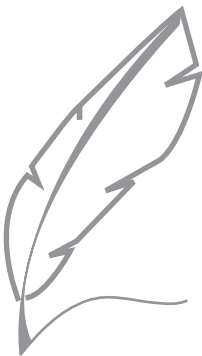
There are many things that I have been involved with in the Senate of Virginia, but the most important was the camaraderie and respect that was shared and engendered in that body.



Governor Wilder with Senator Stolle at the Capitol Reopening Gala in 2007.

Presiding over such a prestigious body was a highpoint in my career. The DMV background check, which Senator Stallings of Virginia Beach sponsored and successfully had enacted, was one of my priorities when I served as Lieutenant Governor. Another was to have the time increased for prisoners who escape from custody and our institutions. The best times were when we would be able to have our young people come to visit and be welcomed along with their teachers and family.

I have always thoroughly enjoyed my serving in and presiding over the Senate. It was a defining time in my life. ∞



### *More about Lieutenant Governor Wilder*

**Governor:** 1990-1994

**Residence:** City of Richmond

**Party:** Democrat

**Committees Chaired:**  
Privileges and Elections;  
Rehabilitation and Social  
Services; Transportation

**9th District:**  
Part of Henrico County; and  
part of the City of Richmond



by **DONALD S. BEYER, JR.**  
President of the Senate 1990-1998

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*“Of the many things I learned in my eight years of presiding, the most valuable one was the importance of watching and listening carefully.”*

I loved serving as Lieutenant Governor and President of the Senate of Virginia. Every day I felt as if I were part of something important, a project much larger than I, a piece of Virginia history. From the thunderous (intentional) strike of the opening gavel at noon until the final announcement, “The Senate stands adjourned,” every moment was fascinating and fun.

Of the many things I learned in my eight years of presiding, the most valuable one was the importance of watching and listening carefully. I did not really have much choice—as the Chair of the Senate, I was not allowed to participate in debate, nor to set the agenda, and I was only rarely allowed to vote (as the old joke goes, “always on the winning side”). But I did have ample opportunity to listen and figure out a few things. Who spoke and voted and wandered around the chamber, and why? How did the politics of the Virginia Senate work? Who moved the levers of power? And, perhaps, how I could offer leadership? So, here is what I think I learned:

I had never served as a Senator. I had parachuted in from some statewide election, thinking I could preside over warhorses who had been there since I was in grade school. Initially, they all knew the rules, procedures, and culture far better than I. God bless every Virginia Senator, but they never really looked at me as an authentic member of the Senate. Their answer to the critical constitutional question, “Is the President of the Senate an actual member of the Senate?” would often vary, depending upon who needed my tie-breaking vote for a budget bill or for a constitutional amendment. Always respectful of the office, the Senators nevertheless made it clear that their personal respect would only be earned over time.

The Senate always begins with a prayer, and my first job was to welcome and introduce the guest pastoral leader. Most often, the spiritual leader was the Christian pastor or Jewish rabbi or close friend of one of the Senators. But



occasionally we would be led by a Buddhist priest or Muslim imam, someone signifying the new Virginians. The most memorable for me was the Pakistani American Episcopal priest from Vienna, who prayed with us in Urdu.

Next in the daily session comes the acknowledging of the gallery guests, often groups, invited by the Senators. My job was to welcome them heartily, and to help each feel that their individual presence was meaningful. This was best accomplished by knowing at least a little about each guest and using that in their introduction. I would often wander up to the gallery in the 10 minutes before noon, just to get acquainted with the day's visitors and have a chance to figure out who was there and why. When I had no other information to individualize an introduction, my fallback was always just to praise the Senator who represented the guest, usually tongue-in-cheek—elevation by association.

Before each year's opening gavel, I would receive the list of the new Pages and commit to memory their names and hometowns. Then, the first few days of the Senate would be spent matching names to faces (and families). I tried to greet every Page by name every day upon arrival. By the end of the 60 days, these young women and men would be "Masters of the Senate." They often had more good information about what was happening behind the scenes than the lobbyists or staff, for they were there, sitting quietly and listening. And, of course, I had the great pleasure of seeing these kids again and again over the years as they grew into leaders on their own.

The Consent Calendar, the large part of the daily calendar containing all the bills that emerged from committee with no dissenting votes, gave me confidence that most of the work of government was accomplished with bipartisan cooperation.

The Senate of Virginia has ever been characterized by indefatigable courtesy and the absence of direct debate. Even in the most heated and frustrating of legislative battles, the Senators were always careful to address the Chamber (through the President) rather than allow the argument to get personal.

My pulse would quicken whenever I would see those handful of clever, dangerous members scrambling through the Rules of the Senate. Someone had just perceived a mistake, or an opportunity, or a departure from the Rules, and was eager to set things right. There never seemed to be more than three or four Senators who were committed to mastery of the Rules—these were the ones I needed to watch closely. Thankfully, the Clerk of the Senate and

her staff had a deep understanding of parliamentary procedure and had seen almost every variation from the Rules, and therefore gave me invaluable advice on how to rule.

The most frequent and sometimes most difficult rulings concerned “germaneness,” the simple constitutional requirement that no law shall embrace more than one object, which shall be expressed in its title. Again and again, over my eight years, legislators, frustrated by their inability to get a given bill out of committee, would try to attach their bill to legislation already on the floor of the Senate. Some would argue that germaneness is in the eye of the beholder, but I always tried to be as fair and logical as possible.

I cast 50 tie-breaking votes. For me, these were close to the most meaningful events and accomplishments of my tenure—because of my vote, laws and lives actually changed. My first vote was in favor of the augmented estate that expanded the classes of property to which a widow or widower was entitled by law to inherit. On my next bill, I voted to reject direct access by patients to physical therapy, keeping in place the legal requirement that a physician first examine the patient and provide the referral. I cannot remember a single time when the sponsor of a bill asked for my vote, despite the understanding that many of these votes were necessarily going to be close. My small, able staff and I would review every contested bill every morning, trying to anticipate ties. My goal was always to cast a vote, firmly, decisively, immediately, and on the merits of the bill rather than on a partisan vote—to earn a reputation as being fair to every member of the Senate. But the reality was that my merit-based vote usually mirrored my Democratic Party values and history—real opportunities for siding with the Republicans over the Democrats were rare. Far preferable for me were those votes that did not divide on party lines, but rather on different understandings of what the new law would achieve.

It was fascinating to watch the Senators who watched the big electronic voting board to determine how to vote. These members had an uncanny ability to count red and green lights in a split second, and vote accordingly. Sometimes, one would have promised his vote to another, but only if needed. Occasionally, someone would force a tie, just for the political entertainment. And, once in a while, a

ANDREWS	HOLLAND, R. J.	REASOR
BARRY	HOUCK	ROBB
BELL	HOWELL	
BENEDETTI	LAMBERT	SASLAW
CALHOUN	LUCAS	SCHEWEL
CHICHESTER	MARSH	STOLLE
COLGAN	MARVE	STOSCH
CROSS	MAXWELL	TRUMBO
EARLEY	MILLER, K. G.	WADDELL
GARTLAN	MILLER, Y. B.	WALKER
GOODE	NOLEN	WAMPLER
HAWKINS	NORMENT	WOODS
HOLLAND, C. A.	POTTS	
HOLLAND, E. M.	QUAYLE	

Senate voting board (1994)

Senator would take a short bathroom break to avoid casting a vote that would be unpopular at home or with his allies in the Senate.

It's not over until it's over. So many times, I watched gallery guests cheer the passage of their pet bill, and then depart for a celebratory lunch in Shockoe Bottom—only later to learn that the bill had been reconsidered and defeated. The truly hard legislation, with difficult close votes, was always saved for the last day before crossover or adjournment, just to make sure the first vote was the final vote.

Some votes seemed mysterious, impenetrable, subtle, or just contrary. My best understanding, over thousands of such votes, was that the best predictor of how a Senator would vote on any particular bill was his or her relationship to the sponsor of the bill. The world works by relationships, and those who built the best relationships of friendship, trust, and respect, accomplished the most.

During the long days towards the end of each Senate session, my attention wandered to the gallery of Lieutenant Governor portraits along the walls of the Chamber. The custom is that one's portrait only hangs there if you are not elected Governor. So, obviously, I spent eight years hoping that my picture would never hang in the Senate Chamber. But now that it is there, I cheer for every Lieutenant Governor running for the top job, trying to extend for decades the time before my portrait is moved to storage in the basement of the Capitol.

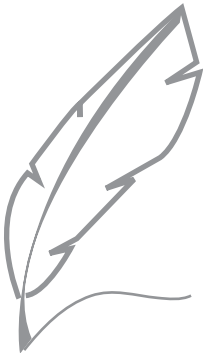
We often adjourned the daily session in memory of a Virginia President, a Civil War general, or a Civil Rights martyr. But the best adjournment was sine die, on the last day—ignoring how often we kept the hands of the clock stopped before midnight—we were exhausted, triumphant, ready to go home.

I was blessed to serve with Susan Schaar, the most intelligent, capable, and organized Clerk of the Senate possible. Susan is the living servant's heart, valued by Republican and Democrat alike, a Clerk for the ages. Any President of the Senate is only as good as the Clerk telling him or her what to do.

Today, years later, running into a current or former Virginia Senator is an occasion for celebration and camaraderie—a bond of shared experience and achievement. Those eight years were among the happiest and proudest of my life. It was a great privilege to be part of the Senate of Virginia. ∞



Front: Senate Clerk Susan C. Schaar, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, House Clerk Bruce Jamerson  
Back: Senator Walker, Governor George Allen, House Speaker Tom Moss, and Lt. Governor Don Beyer



### *More about Lieutenant Governor Beyer*

**Party:** Democrat

**Residence:** Alexandria

United States Ambassador  
to Switzerland and  
Liechtenstein: 2009 - 2013



by **JOHN H. HAGER**  
President of the Senate 1998-2002

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*"Rulings are about the integrity of the process and about the integrity of the General Assembly."*

It is a pleasure to reflect on my experiences as Lieutenant Governor of Virginia serving from January 1998 to January 2002. It was a position of high honor and exhilarating opportunity. The job of Lieutenant Governor has two relatively distinct parts.

First, during each session, service includes presiding over the Senate, pursuing a legislative agenda of one's own making, coordinating and/or cooperating with the Governor and others in leadership positions depending upon situations and circumstances, and working with legislative members specifically on issues. It is a busy time each year, which also includes reconvened sessions!

Second, outside of the legislative sessions, service included, in my case, working full time for the people of Virginia. I chaired, cochaired or vice chaired six commissions; served at the national level with Lieutenant Governors' organizations, the Aerospace States Association, and party organizations; and continued to honor a bevy of non-profit organizational commitments. I traveled Virginia, full time, listening and learning and trying to turn ideas into action. Finally, I spoke and spoke out at literally hundreds of events and happenings. It was wonderful!

Having said all that, I'm not sure that I'm much different from any other committed Lieutenant Governor. The real key is relationships. Serving the people requires leadership, interpretation, doing the right things, and putting service above self. I really got to know each individual member, to understand them, to appreciate them, and to



Lt. Governor Hager (center) with Senator Stosch (l) and Senate Clerk Susan C. Schaar (r).

respect them. After all, we had a mutual stake in the outcome and in the public perception of our business. And, when traveling the state, I often called them or saw them or said good things about them all.



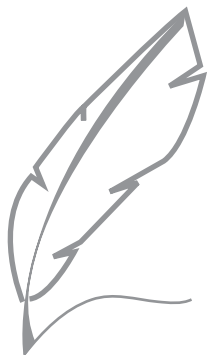
Lt. Governor Hager (center) with wife "Maggie" was honored as the 2012 Outstanding Virginian.  
Lt. Governor Bolling (l) and Senator Stosch (r)

I'm proud of many accomplishments, including being the first Lieutenant Governor in America in a wheelchair and taking my place at the dais to preside every day during my term, save one hour of one day, when I delivered the eulogy for a best friend's funeral. I'm proud of the decorum and the tenor of those sessions and of the overall efficiency of dealing with huge amounts of legislation and issues in such short periods of time. It

takes a team and that includes the Clerk and staff and, indeed, everyone in the chamber. Congratulations to them all!

My fondest memory has to be the last day of presiding when I was truly overwhelmed by the testimony of the several Senators who spoke. Such a day lasts forever in one's memory. That's when you realize the Senate is a family with bonds stronger than those outside usually have the chance to see.

Finally, there are the constitutional issues and rulings. The people of Virginia elected me to preside over the Senate, and I took every ruling seriously. It is an indication of the value of deliberative judgment that I was never overridden. Rulings are about the integrity of the process and about the integrity of the General Assembly. We have a constitutional mandate to carry out the people's business in an orderly process, and any member, new or returning, has a high calling to function in a manner consistent with the legacy of the Senate of Virginia. ∞



### *More about Lieutenant Governor Hager*

**Party:** Republican

Assistant to the Governor  
for Commonwealth

**Residence:** City of Richmond

Preparedness: 2001-2004



by **TIMOTHY M. KAINE**  
President of the Senate 2002-2006

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*“I learned early from Senators of both parties that the President is to be as neutral and fair as possible in dealing with every member of the body.”*

*I* served as Lieutenant Governor of Virginia from 2002 until 2006. The experience was a magnificent one in many respects. I had the opportunity to work for a great Governor, Mark Warner, who I had first met when we were law students at Harvard in the fall of 1980. I served as chair of the Virginia Disability Commission and worked hard with wonderful advocates from around the state to help advance opportunities for Virginians with disabilities. And I undertook a mission to visit public schools in all 134 cities and counties in the state so I could speak with authority about the educational conditions and needs in the Commonwealth.

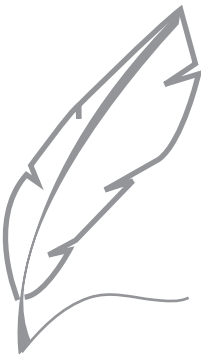
But the most vivid memories were of my service as President of the Senate. I served as President of a body with a Republican majority, and I was a strong Democrat. But I learned early from Senators of both parties that the President is to be as neutral and fair as possible in dealing with every member of the body. I considered it a privilege to work with the body on tough issues, including a tax reform package in 2004 that was politically controversial but necessary for the long-term good of the Commonwealth. And, I developed good friendships with Senators from both parties that remain to this day.



The basic rules I learned—be prepared and treat everyone equally and fairly—are the best rules to follow for any public official. The Senate of Virginia has a great institutional ethic—forged both by the members and the strong staff—about the work being more important than any member of the body. As I have continued my political career as Governor of Virginia, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and now U.S. Senator, I try to keep that lesson in mind.



Governor Kaine at Longwood University.



*More about Lieutenant Governor Kaine*

**Governor:** 2006-2010

**United States Senator:** 2013-

**Party:** Democrat

**Residence:** City of Richmond





## by WILLIAM T. BOLLING

President of the Senate 2006-  
Senator 1996-2006

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*"By watching films of past Lieutenant Governors you can get a feel for how to discharge these duties, but experience is the best teacher."*

There is no greater honor than the privilege of serving one's fellow citizens in the halls of government. Public service is a tremendous responsibility. The people place their trust in you when they elect you to represent them and this trust must always be respected. Public service requires a great deal of time and effort. It is a very demanding job. It can take you away from your family and business, and it carries with it its own set of challenges and burdens. But, public service can also be very rewarding. I have always enjoyed being part of a process that helps solve problems and improve the quality of life of those we serve.

I have been fortunate to have the opportunity to serve the people of Virginia in state and local government for the past 22 years. My public service career began in 1991, when I was elected to the Hanover County Board of Supervisors. In 1995, I was elected to the Senate of Virginia, where I served for 10 years. In 2005, I was elected Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, and I was re-elected to our state's second highest political office in 2009.

In Virginia, the Lieutenant Governor has two constitutional responsibilities including serving as President of the Senate of Virginia and succeeding the Governor in the event he is unable to fulfill the duties of his office. In addition, by state statute the Lieutenant Governor serves on a number of state boards and commissions.

Having served as Lieutenant Governor for seven years, I have come to believe that the structure of the office in our state creates many challenges for those who hold this position. First, in Virginia, serving as Lieutenant Governor is considered to be a part-time job. The compensation provided for the office is minimal, so unless the Lieutenant Governor is retired or independently wealthy, he has to work for a living in addition to fulfilling his public responsibilities. I have found this to be very challenging. Serving as Lieutenant Governor is

a full-time job when the General Assembly is in session, but it also requires a great deal of time throughout the year. It is very challenging to hold a job and effectively fulfill your responsibilities as Lieutenant Governor at the same time.

In Virginia, the Governor and Lieutenant Governor are elected separately. As such, it is possible to have a Governor of one political party and a Lieutenant Governor of another political party. It is also possible to have a Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the same political party who do not enjoy a close personal or political relationship. Because of this, most Lieutenant Governors have not been actively involved in the administration of the Governor they serve. Aside from performing the constitutional and statutory responsibilities discussed above, most Lieutenant Governors have had to pursue their own political agendas, which can make it very difficult to have a substantive impact on public policy. For example, during my first term as Lieutenant Governor I served with Governor Tim Kaine. While Governor Kaine and I had a good personal relationship, we were of opposite political parties. While there were some issues we worked on together, Governor Kaine did not allow me to be intimately involved in his administration and I was left to pursue my own agenda.

In my second term as Lieutenant Governor, I serve with Governor Bob McDonnell. Governor McDonnell and I are not only close personal friends, but we are also of the same political party and we share the same political philosophy. In 2009, we ran a united election campaign and we promised to govern as a team. We have kept that promise. For the first time in modern Virginia political history, Governor McDonnell has asked me to serve as a member of the Governor's Cabinet. In addition, he has asked me to serve as Virginia's Chief Jobs Creation Officer and oversee our state's economic development and job creation efforts. It is my hope that the relationship Governor McDonnell and I have forged will provide a model for redefining the role of the Lieutenant Governor in Virginia. Hopefully, this is a model that can be utilized by other Governors and Lieutenant Governors in the future.



In order to better utilize the Office of Lieutenant Governor, there are two changes I would support to our current governmental structure. First, I believe the Governor and Lieutenant Governor should run together on a

ticket, much like the President and Vice President. This would create a better opportunity for the Lieutenant Governor to be directly involved in a gubernatorial administration, and it would provide for greater continuity of leadership if the Lieutenant Governor should be called upon to succeed the Governor. Second, I believe the Lieutenant Governor's position should be a full-time position and every Governor should assign specific duties to the Lieutenant Governor, much like Governor McDonnell and I have done in the current administration. This would enable the Lieutenant Governor to play a prominent leadership role in the governance of our state.

During my first term as Lieutenant Governor, I pursued my own legislative agenda each year. I crafted legislative proposals in areas that were important to me, and I worked with the members of the General Assembly to advance these legislative proposals. In addition, I used my office to help promote various health care initiatives that were important to me. For example, my office advanced public service campaigns related to cervical cancer, asthma and cardiovascular disease.

While these health care programs were very successful, the most significant thing I did during my first term as Lieutenant Governor was to launch a program called 100 Ideas For The Future Of Virginia. As a part of the 100 Ideas program, we held more than 50 town hall Idearaisers all across Virginia. These Idearaisers brought together local government officials, business leaders, and community activists to talk about the challenges facing Virginia and how we could advance bipartisan solutions to these challenges. As a result of this effort, we were able to develop a series of policy recommendations in education, public safety, transportation, health care, protecting the environment, and more. The ideas developed through this program still guide many of the public policy initiatives I am pursuing today.

My best advice to any Lieutenant Governor is to find an area that you are interested in and use your office to promote that cause. As a result of the responsibility Governor McDonnell has given me in serving as Virginia's Chief Jobs Creation Officer, almost all of my time is now being spent on economic development related initiatives. In this capacity, I am responsible for coordinating our state's economic development efforts across numerous state agencies. In addition, I am responsible for helping the Governor craft his Jobs and Opportunity Agenda, which is our effort to improve Virginia's economic development competitiveness; and shepherd these legislative recommendations through the General Assembly. I also spend a great deal of time meeting with

new business prospects to help recruit them to Virginia, and visiting with existing businesses to see what we can do to help them grow and expand. Finally, I am the Administration's primary contact with business organizations across the state. I spend a great deal of time meeting with local Chambers of Commerce and other business organizations to tell them about our economic development efforts and solicit their feedback on what we can do to make Virginia a more business friendly state. Serving as Chief Jobs Creation Officer has given me a great chance to use my skills as a business leader to help create jobs in Virginia. While I have found this work to be very demanding, I have also found it to be very rewarding.

No discussion of the Lieutenant Governor's role would be complete without spending some time talking about the Lieutenant Governor's primary constitutional responsibility, presiding over the Senate of Virginia. Serving as President of the Senate is a full time role when the General Assembly is in session. In this role the Lieutenant Governor's chief duty is to run the daily Senate sessions smoothly and make certain that acceptable standards of conduct and procedure are maintained. To perform these duties effectively, the Lieutenant Governor must have an in-depth understanding of the Rules of the Senate and parliamentary practice, but he must also maintain a cordial working relationship with the members and staff of the Senate.

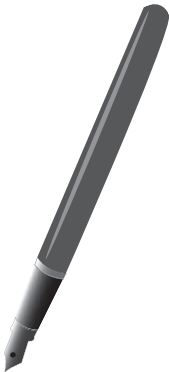


Lt. Governor Bolling at the dais honoring Virginia Task Force 1 with Senator Marsden and Senator Saslaw.

The Senate has a proud history and reputation for collegiality. It is the Lieutenant Governor's job to protect the customs of the Senate and maintain the high level of decorum for which the Senate is known. Running the day-to-day operations of the Senate requires a great deal of attention and effort, but the most challenging aspect of the job is being called on to make parliamentary rulings on matters that come before the Senate and to enforce the Rules of the Senate. In my experience, every Lieutenant Governor I have served with has taken this responsibility very seriously, and they have discharged this responsibility in an objective fashion, without regard to politics or political consideration.

The only real way to learn to discharge these duties is to do them. By watching films of past Lieutenant Governors you can get a feel for how to discharge these duties, but experience is the best teacher. If there is one simple quality each Lieutenant Governor should possess in the discharge of his duties as President of the Senate, it is simply this—fairness. Be objective and fair in fulfilling your duties and the members of the Senate will respect you and the service you provide. I have done my best to embrace this focus on fairness, objectively enforcing the Rules of the Senate and steadfastly maintaining the traditions of the Senate. Doing so is not always easy, and it may require you to take actions that are against your own political self-interest, but it is of the utmost importance.

I consider myself to be very fortunate to be one of only 37 people who have served as Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, and one of only eight people who have held this office for more than one term. Regardless of what else I may accomplish in my public or private life, the opportunity to hold our state's second highest elected office will always be a memory I cherish. Virginia is a special place, and it is a tremendous honor to serve our state and the eight million people who call Virginia home. ∞



### *More about Lieutenant Governor Bolling*

**Party:** Republican

**Residence:** Hanover County

**4th District:**

All of Caroline, Essex,  
Hanover, King and Queen,  
King William, and Middlesex  
Counties, and part of  
Spotsylvania County



Lt. Governor Bolling presiding over the Senate

# Committee Membership

## Membership on Committees from the Past

	Andrews	Brault	Byrd	Hopkins	Moody	Wilder
Counties, Cities and Towns (now Local Government)				C		
Enrolled Bills	X					X
Federal Relations (now Privileges and Elections)		X		X		
Insurance & Banking (now Commerce & Labor)						X
Interstate Cooperation (now Privileges & Elections)	C					
Library (now General Laws & Technology)		C				
Nominations & Confirmations (now Privileges & Elections & Rules)			C			
Public Institutions & Education (now Education & Health)	X	X			X	
Roads & Internal Navigation (now Transportation)			X			X
To Examine Bonds of Public Officers				C	X	
Welfare (now Rehabilitation & Social Services)	X	X		X		X

X = Member; C= Chair

# *through the years...*

## Membership on Committees Existing Today

	ACNR	Commerce & Labor	Courts	Ed & Health	Finance	General Laws	Local Govt.	P & E	Rehab	Trans	Rules
Andrews			X	C	C			C			C
Benedetti		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Bolling	X			X		X		X	X		
Brault				C	X	C		X			X
Byrd					X	C		X			
Calhoun	X		X				X	X	X	X	X
Canada	X		X	X			X		X		
Chichester	X	X		X	C				X		X
Edwards		X	X	X				X			X
Emick			X		X				C	X	X
Gartlan	X		C		X	X	X	C	C		X
Gray		X		C	X	X		X		X	X
Hopkins		X			X	X	C	X			X
Locke	X			X		C	X		X		X
Marsh			C		X		X		X	X	X
Marye	C	X			X	C	X	X	X	X	X
McEachin	X	X	X			X		X			
Mitchell	X		X			X	X	X			
Moody		X	X	X	X	X			X		C
Norment	X	X	C		X			X	X		C
Reeves			X			X		X	X		
Saslaw		C	X	X	X				X	X	X
Stosch		X			C	C	X*		X	X	X
Ticer	C						X		X	X	X
Trumbo			X		X				X	X	C
Wilder			X			X		C	C	C	X
Woods	X			C		X			X		X

*X = Member*

*C = Chair*

*\* Served 6 days*

*Full Names of Committees: ACNR (Agriculture, Conservation and Natural Resources; Ed and Health (Education and Health); General Laws (General Laws and Technology); Local Govt. (Local Government); P & E (Privileges and Elections); Rehab (Rehabilitation and Social Services); and Trans (Transportation).*



# The Virginia Senate



Senators: Chichester, Andrews, and Gray



Senators Earley, Calhoun, and Trumbo



Senator Reeves



Senator Canada (front)  
Senators Bateman and Mitchell (seated)  
Delegate Miller and Senator Truban (standing)



Senator Byrd\*



Women of the Virginia Senate 2008  
Senators: Locke, Howell, Vogel, Whipple,  
Miller, Lucas, Puller, and Ticer

\*Courtesy of the Richmond Times-Dispatch

*through the years...*



Senator Stosch



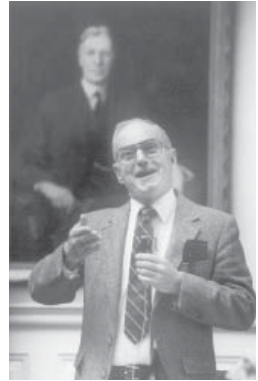
Senator Woods\*



Senator Hopkins\*



Senator Calhoun has the floor



Senator Marye\*



Senators Trumbo and Potts



Senators Chichester and Stosch

\*Courtesy of the Richmond Times-Dispatch

# The Virginia Senate



Senator Andrews and Senate Clerk Schaar



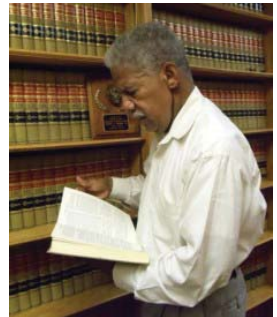
Senator McEachin



Senators Byrd and Ames



Senator Reeves



Senator Marsh



Senators Saslaw and Norment



Front: Lt. Governor Hager

Middle: Senator Newman, Senator Forbes, Senator Potts, Senator Stosch, Senator Bolling, Senator Martin, and Senator Wampler  
Back: Senator Barry, Senator Watkins, and Senator Schrock

*through the years...*



Senators Locke and Lucas



Senators Holland and Brault



Senator Calhoun



Senators Puller and Marsh



Senator Mitchell\*



Senator Norment

\*Courtesy of the Richmond Times-Dispatch

# The Virginia Senate



Senator Norment



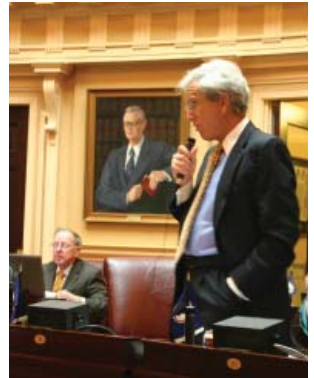
Senator Gartlan



Senator Ticer



Senator Stosch



Senators Colgan and Saslaw



Governor Wilder with the Senate doorkeepers:  
Mr. Jones, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Fleming, Jr.



Senators Calhoun and Edwards at a  
Code Commission meeting in 2013

# *One Body, Many Faces - The Virginia Senate*



# The Virginia Senate



Vice President Dick Cheney and Senators Chichester and Normant at the 2007 Jamestown Commemorative Session



Lt. Gov. Kaine and his family at the 2002 Inauguration



Governor Wilder and Senate Clerk Schaar at the 2007 Capitol Reopening Gala



Senators Locke and Normant with 2012 Olympian McCorory and her trainer Mr. Pierce



Governor Kaine, Lt. Gov. Bolling and Senator Chichester at the 2007 Jamestown Commemorative Session



Senators Stosch and Trumbo at the 2002 Inauguration

*through the years...*



Governor Wilder  
1990-1994



Governor Kaine  
2006-2010



Lt. Governor Beyer  
1990-1998



Lt. Governor Hager  
1998-2002



Senator Andrews  
Chairman, Senate Finance, 1986-1996



Senator Chichester  
Co-Chair, Senate Finance, 1996-2000  
Chair, Senate Finance, 2000-2008



# *The Senate Chamber*



1906, in the new wing of the Capitol



Senate Chamber 1959 extra session

*through the years...*



1985-2005



2007-present



Technology at the dais circa 1998



Current technology at the dais circa 2013

ANDREWS	HOLLAND,R. J.	REASOR
BARRY	HOUCK	ROBB
BELL	HOWELL	
BENEDETTI	LAMBERT	SASLAW
CALHOUN	LUCAS	SCHEWEL
CHICHESTER	MARSH	STOLLE
COLGAN	MARYE	STOSCH
CROSS	MAXWELL	TRUMBO
EARLEY	MILLER,K.G.	WADDELL
GARTLAN	MILLER,Y.B.	WALKER
GOODE	NOLEN	WAMPLER
HAWKINS	NORMENT	WOODS
HOLLAND.C.A.	POTTS	
HOLLAND.E.M.	QUAYLE	

Voting Boards (1994 above; 2013 below)





