

**REPORT TO
THE GOVERNOR AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF VIRGINIA
By
COMMISSION TO STUDY PROBLEMS
RELATING TO CHILDREN BORN OUT OF WEDLOCK**

**MAJORITY REPORT
DISSENTING STATEMENT**



SENATE DOCUMENT No. 5, 1960

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA
Department of Purchases and Supply
Richmond
1959

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THE GOVERNOR AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF VIRGINIA
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RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

October 27, 1959.

To:

HONORABLE J. LINDSAY ALMOND, JR., *Governor of Virginia*

and

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF VIRGINIA:

The Commission to Study Problems Relating to Children Born Out of Wedlock was created by the following Senate Joint Resolution No. 36 of the 1958 session of the General Assembly:

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 36

Creating a commission to study problems relating to children born out of wedlock.

Whereas, there has been an increase in both the number of children born out of wedlock and the ratio of such births to total births in Virginia during the past several years; and

Whereas, illegitimacy constitutes a problem that is of great concern to the public generally as well as to specific agencies, both public and private; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the Senate, the House of Delegates concurring, That a Commission is hereby created to study problems relating to children born out of wedlock. In making this study the Commission shall consider both the welfare of such children and the interest of society, and shall examine existing programs and resources, both governmental and voluntary, which are directly concerned with these problems, and shall suggest further steps designed to alleviate such problems.

The Commission shall consist of nine members, of whom one shall be appointed by the President of the Senate from the membership of the Senate, two shall be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Delegates from the membership of the House and six shall be appointed by the Governor from the State at large. The members shall receive no compensation for their service on the Commission. All agencies of the State shall assist the Commission in its study, upon request.

The Commission shall conclude its study and make a report to the Governor and the General Assembly not later than October one, nineteen hundred fifty-nine.

The President of the Senate appointed Senator Blake T. Newton from the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Delegates appointed Mrs. Inez DeGraw Baker and Mr. Arthur H. Richardson from the House. In accordance with the Resolution, the Governor of Virginia, the Honorable J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., appointed six additional members. These were: Mrs. Hunter Barrow, Capt. W. R. Gaines, Dr. Thomas H. Henderson, Mr. Raleigh C. Hobson, Mr. R. Franklin Hough, Jr. and Dr. Paige E. Thornhill.

The Commission held its first meeting on September 17, 1958. Senator Newton was elected chairman, and Mrs. Baker was elected vice-chairman. Mr. John B. Boatwright, Jr. of the Division of Statutory Research and Drafting agreed to serve as secretary. He has been assisted by Mr. G. M. Lapsley, a member of his staff. The Commission has held nine meetings and two public hearings. Attendance by members was excellent.

SECTION I

The Problem of Illegitimacy in Virginia

The increasing illegitimacy rate has been a cause for concern not only in Virginia, but in the nation. In October, 1957, Jay L. Roney, then Commissioner of Social Security of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare said:

"There is an unmistakably upward trend in the number of children born out of wedlock. Statistics from the National Office of Vital Statistics show that the number of reported illegitimate births has increased annually, with one exception, for the past 17 years (1939-1956). The number of such births more than doubled in this 17-year period. The increase was both absolute and in proportion to the total number of births reported; since the reporting of illegitimate births tends to be less complete than for legitimate births, the ratio is perhaps higher than the estimated increase."

Virginia's experience in the past twenty-four years is shown in the following table:

TABLE I

NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS, WITH NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS AS PER CENT OF TOTAL, BY COLOR: VIRGINIA, 1935-1958

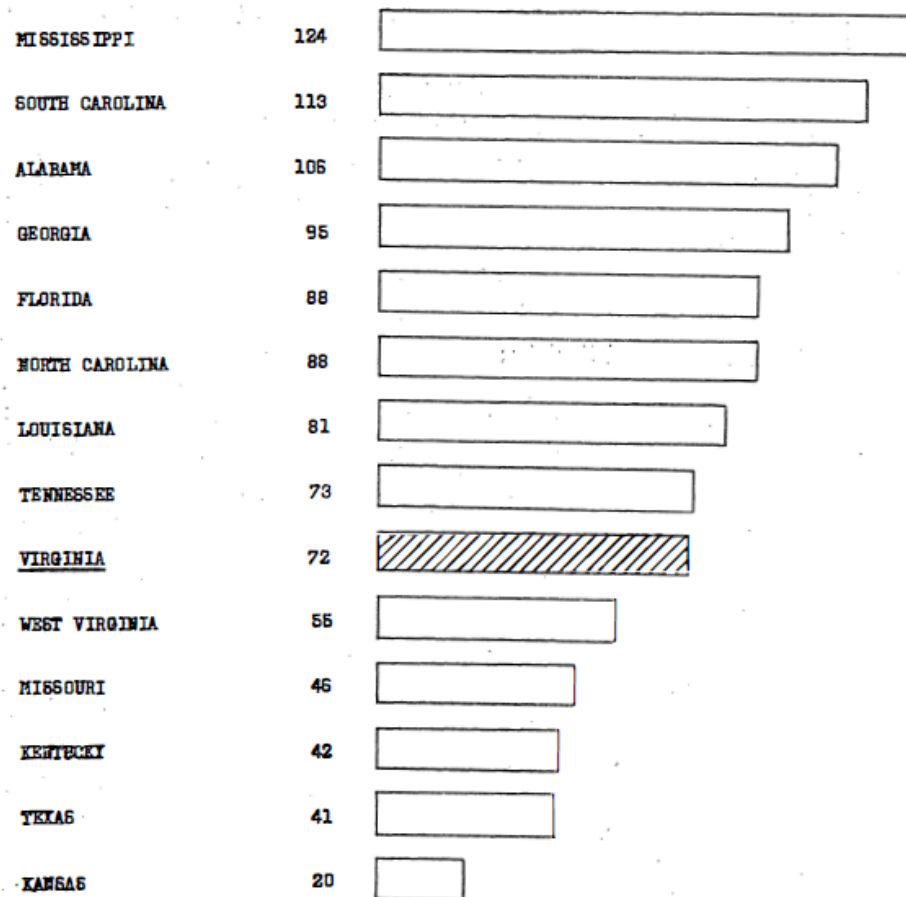
Year	White Births			Colored Births		
	Total	Illegitimate	Per Cent	Total	Illegitimate	Per Cent
1935	36,953	1,046	2.8	14,982	2,760	18.4
1936	37,056	989	2.7	14,793	2,738	18.5
1937	37,474	979	2.6	15,225	2,962	19.4
1938	39,129	1,054	2.7	15,127	2,957	19.5
1939	38,944	1,001	2.6	15,121	2,904	19.2
1940	41,003	1,072	2.6	15,655	3,101	19.8
1941	44,664	1,186	2.6	16,125	3,341	20.7
1942	50,642	1,214	2.4	17,053	3,477	20.4
1943	53,400	1,126	2.1	17,444	3,293	18.9
1944	51,238	1,205	2.4	17,127	3,310	19.3
1945	49,521	1,471	3.0	16,841	3,596	21.4
1946	57,438	1,450	2.5	17,542	3,453	19.7
1947	64,597	1,568	2.4	20,135	4,027	20.0
1948	60,568	1,481	2.4	20,998	3,994	19.0
1949	61,153	1,394	2.3	21,608	4,254	19.7
1950	60,609	1,344	2.2	21,377	4,162	19.5
1951	64,310	1,457	2.3	22,461	4,621	20.6
1952	67,178	1,454	2.2	22,839	4,593	20.1
1953	68,605	1,559	2.3	23,226	4,847	20.9
1954	70,962	1,587	2.2	24,192	5,207	21.5
1955	70,003	1,582	2.3	24,398	5,296	21.7
1956	71,875	1,667	2.3	24,842	5,680	22.9
1957	72,121	1,659	2.3	25,163	5,834	23.2
1958	71,931	1,693	2.4	24,842	5,689	22.9

Thus it can be seen that the white rate has remained fairly stable, while the non-white rate has increased steadily for nine of the past eleven years. While this is cause for concern, it should be noted that of the fourteen southern states for which figures are available, Virginia's rate is lower than the rates in Mississippi, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, Louisiana and Tennessee.¹

CHART I

Number of Total Illegitimate Births per
1,000 Live Births in 14 Southern States

1955



No figures available for ARKANSAS and OKLAHOMA

¹ See Chart I.

While much of the public interest in the problem is related to the cost of caring for those illegitimate children in need of public assistance, the Commission reached an early decision on the basis of the charge in Resolution No. 36 that members would concern themselves with the broader aspects of the problem in an effort to find ways of reversing the upward trend in the rate. It was recognized that any proposal which ignored the needs of children born out of wedlock would in the long run be the far more expensive method of handling the problem. To simply deny public assistance to needy illegitimate children because of a moral objection to their mothers' conduct would not only be cruel and inhuman to the innocent child, but would actually add to the financial burden on society through increased delinquency, crime, and health costs in later years. Some other means must be sought out to effect changes in the behavior of these mothers, 72% of whom are under the age of 25 in Virginia. It is to these ends that the Commission has directed its study and recommendations.

SECTION II

Basic Factors Contributing to the Problem

Early in its deliberations it became clear to the Commission that the problem of illegitimacy is a tremendously complex one. Cultural, legal, economic, psychological, social and moral factors all must be considered if the problem is to be understood. Some of the major factors contributing to the problem are discussed briefly below.

A. General factors applicable to both races

1) Our Familial Society:

Basic to any understanding of illegitimacy is the knowledge of its place in our society. One sociologist² states it thus:

"The function of reproduction can be carried out in a socially useful manner only if it is performed in conformity with institutional patterns, because only by means of an institutional system can individuals be organized and taught to cooperate in the performance of this long range function, and the function be integrated with other social functions. The reproductive or familial institutions constitute the social machinery in terms of which the creation of new members of society is supposed to take place. The birth of children in ways that do not fit into this machinery must necessarily receive the disapproval of society, else the institution itself, which depends upon favorable attitudes in individuals, would not be approved or sustained."

These norms are often broken because man falls far short of perfection, and Davis points out that "illegitimate children are born of illicit relations because the measures that would prevent their being born (encouragement of contraception and abortion) constitute in themselves an even more severely condemned violation of our mores."

2) Drastic Change in Our Attitudes Towards Sex:

One of the most far reaching and powerful factors in the increasing illegitimacy rates has been the great change in

² Kingsley Davis, "Illegitimacy and the Social Structure," American Journal of Sociology, September, 1939.

attitudes towards sex first noted in the generation born in the first decade after 1900. Kinsey³ notes that "The changes reflected more deliberate approaches to sexual problems by the post-war generation. The development of public interest in the works of Havelock Ellis and Sigmund Freud had helped to break down many a traditional barrier to the free consideration of human sexual behavior. The changes were correlated with a developing emancipation of the female, and especially of the unmarried female in our American culture. They were certainly hastened by the war itself."

There are multiple evidences of this changed attitude in America today. The over-emphasis on sexual matters in our literature, magazines, movies, advertising, dress, and in many other areas provides a constant stimulus unheard of in previous generations. It has been definitely established that there has been a radical increase in pre-marital intercourse, especially among the young, teen-aged group, since World War I. The mounting divorce rate and the increase of family breakdown are both indices of this violent change in social attitudes which if allowed to continue unchecked may eventually threaten our basic concepts of a familial society.

B. Factors Especially Applicable to the American Negro

It is evident that the rate of illegitimacy among Negroes is roughly ten times that of the whites. To the general public this is often believed to be the result of greater promiscuity, lack of morals, and greater sexual activity. Actually there are cultural, economic and social factors which operate to bring about this wide discrepancy in the rates.

1) Effect of the Slave Culture:

The American Negro is less than one hundred years removed from a slave culture which not only discouraged, but in most instances forbade marriage while at the same time encouraged a high rate of reproduction. We find many examples of the matriarchal family in the lower social strata Negro population today. In these strata the man is a shadowy figure who remains only a short time in the home and is usually replaced by others in turn. The mother or grandmother is the dominant figure in the home and the primary source of whatever financial stability there may be. The distinguished Negro Sociologist Franklin Frazier⁴ describes this phenomenon in this way: "The attitudes of these women indicate that they regard sex relations as normal behavior during courtship which may or may not lead to marriage. When it results in the birth of a child, certain obligations are thereby imposed on the mother. These obligations are the obligations which every mother should feel toward her offspring. The unmarried mother is as sensitive as the legally married mother to what is expected of the woman who is a mother. A certain distinction attaches to being fruitful. To say that a woman 'never did find anything' meaning that she has never had a child, may imply disparagement as well

³ Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin & Gebhard, "Sexual Behavior in the Human Female," Philadelphia, Saunders, 1953.

⁴ E. Franklin Frazier, "The Negro Family in the United States," New York, Macmillan Co., 1949.

as commiseration. Motherhood signifies maturity and the fulfillment of one's function as a woman. But marriage holds no such place in the esteem of many of these women. If they marry the father of their illegitimate offspring, it is not due to the fact that the woman regards it as an obligation on the part of the man."

This attitude toward marriage is one of the major factors in the high illegitimacy rate among the lower class Negroes. It should be emphasized that the middle and upper class Negroes have attitudes towards illegitimacy and marriage very similar to those held by comparable white groups.

2) Urbanization:

Quoting Frazier⁵ again, "The urbanization of the Negro population since 1900 has brought about the most momentous change in the family life of the Negro since emancipation. This movement, which has carried a million Negroes to southern cities alone, has torn the Negro loose from his cultural moorings. Thousands of these migrants have been solitary men and women who have led a more or less lawless sex life during their wanderings. But many more illiterate or semi-illiterate and impoverished Negro families, broken or held together only by the fragile bonds of sympathy and habit, have sought a dwelling place in the slums of southern cities. Because of the dissolution of the rural folkways and mores, the children in these families have helped to swell the ranks of juvenile delinquents. Likewise the bonds of sympathy and community interests that held their parents together in the rural environment have been unable to withstand the disintegrating forces in the city. Illegitimacy, which was a more or less harmless affair in the country, has become a serious economic and social problem."

3) Economic Factors:

The last available figures for individual income in the United States⁶ reveal that the median income for Negroes is less than half that of the white. Regardless of the reasons for this condition, it remains a sober fact that the lower class Negro suffers from many lacks which cannot help but affect the illegitimacy rate. Living in overcrowded slums, often sleeping in the same room or even bed as their parents, lacking even rudimentary recreational facilities, lacking in many areas the opportunity for a decent education and experiencing dietary deficiencies which affected their health and their energies so necessary to strive to improve their lot, it is small wonder that these children as teen-agers and young adults turn to illicit sexual activities in their drive for some satisfactions and recognition.

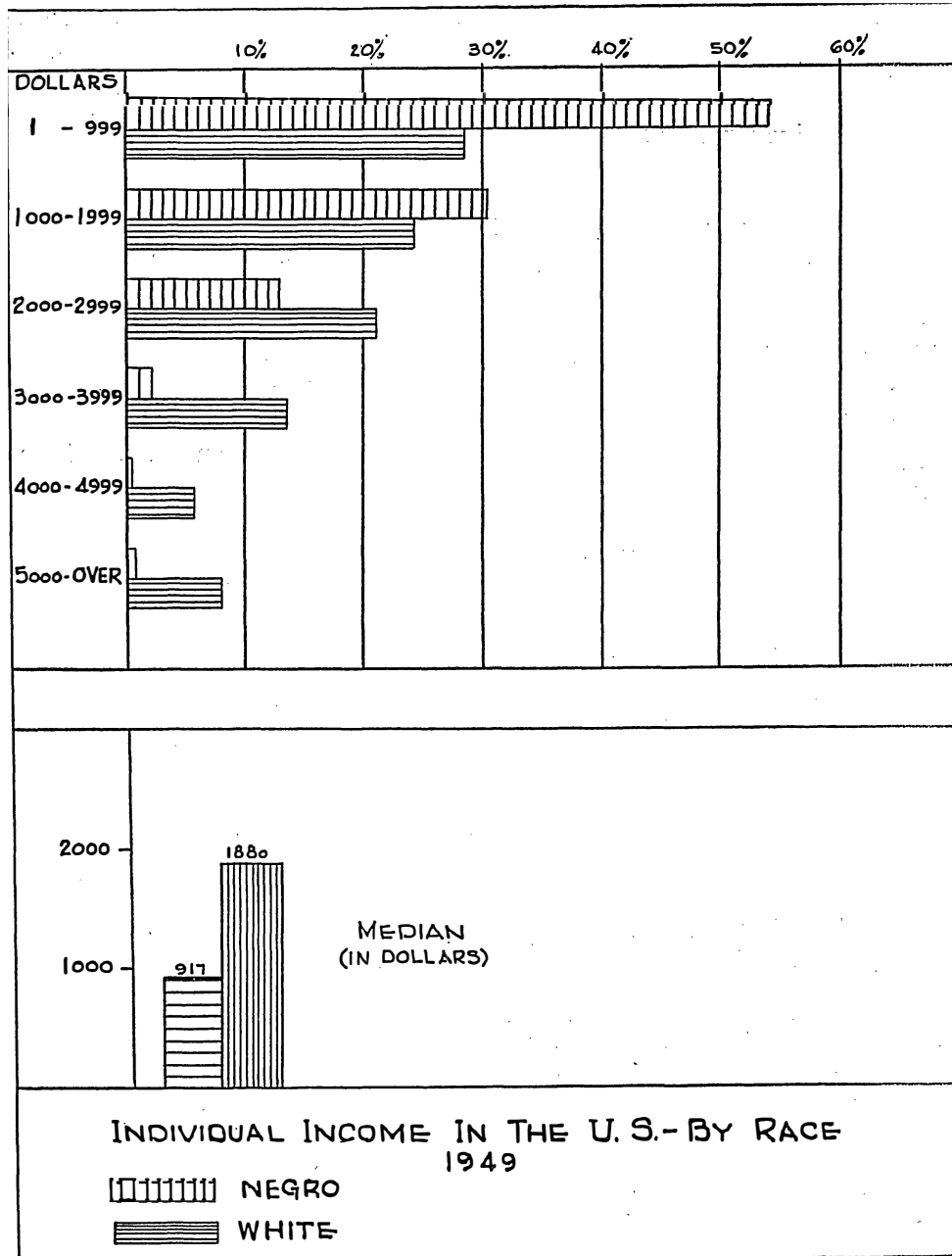
4) Use of Contraceptives

It is a well established fact that the lower class Negro seldom utilizes the available devices to prevent conception. It is often erroneously assumed that the high illegitimacy rate of the Negro indicates greater sexual activity. Illicit intercourse is a necessary but not sufficient cause for an illegitimate birth. Such factors as sterility, use of contraceptives, abortion, and the

⁵ Same as 4.

⁶ 1950 census.

CHART II



subsequent marriage of the partners each could intervene to prevent the illegitimate birth. The fact that all of these are used freely by the white race and very sparingly by the lower class Negro, is an important reason for the disparity in the illegitimacy rates between the two groups.

5) Penicillin

The discovery of penicillin, one of the most dramatic advances in modern medicine, has contributed to the increase in births including illegitimate ones, again especially in the lower social class of Negroes. Many thousands who were temporarily or permanently sterilized by the infections of venereal diseases, particularly gonorrhea, now are cured in a matter of days following infection without any lasting damage to their reproductive function.

SECTION III

Aid to Dependent Children and Illegitimacy

Aid to Dependent Children is a form of public assistance provided for children in their own homes or in the homes of near relatives. This program is financed chiefly by the Federal Government which contributes 75.8% of the cost, with the State paying 15.1% and the localities bearing only 9.1%.

At the request of the Commission, Col. Richard W. Copeland, Director of the State Department of Welfare and Institutions, made a survey of the Aid to Dependent Children and Foster Care cases in Virginia for the month of September, 1958. Some of the data of interest to the Commission follow:

Aid to Dependent Children

25.1% of children receiving ADC are illegitimate
10.4% of white ADC children are illegitimate
35.9% of colored ADC children are illegitimate
16.9% of ADC children in counties are illegitimate
33.8% of ADC children in cities are illegitimate
Of the 3,160 cases in which there were illegitimate children, 1,967 or 62% contained more than one illegitimate child
ADC payments on behalf of illegitimate children totalled \$184,482 in September 1958, of which \$32,873 was for white children and \$151,609 for colored children
In 735 cases out of the total of 3,160 cases with illegitimate children, mothers made contributions toward support of the children totalling \$30,629.

The most startling and provocative fact with regard to the relationship of this program and illegitimacy is that the estimated proportion of all illegitimate children born in Virginia and under 18 years of age, exclusive of those who have been legally adopted, who are receiving Aid to Dependent Children is only 8.5% (8.9 white and 8.4 Negro). In the 17 year period from 1941 through 1957 a total of 97,389 illegitimate children were born in Virginia (24,404 white and 72,985 Negro). An estimated 12,000 were adopted in this same period (9,800 white and 2,200 Negro).

This means that 91.5% of all illegitimate children are cared for by their families, relatives or friends without recourse to public aid. This has tremendous implications when drastic measures to reduce the number of illegitimate children receiving public assistance are considered. For example, the proposal that mothers of such children be required by law to submit to sterilization after the birth of their second illegitimate child or forego assistance would be highly discriminatory. It would mean that one-tenth of the mothers of illegitimate children would be severely penalized simply because they were forced by circumstances to apply for public as-

sistance while the other nine-tenths experience no such consequences for the same behaviour. In other words, it is not in truth the fact of illegitimate birth or the conduct of the mothers that is under fire in this proposal but the economic fact that a few of these births are costing the public money for their care. That this cost is considerable and that every possible reasonable effort should be made to reduce both the number and cost of their care should not be the reason to single out less than 10% of those involved in behavior which is not acceptable to the general mores. We must therefore look for other corrective means to reverse the trend towards higher rates of illegitimacy.

Several measures recently inaugurated have proven successful to a degree in reducing costs. Effective July 1, 1956 the State Board of Welfare and Institutions approved a set of regulations known as the "suitable home" rules for eligibility. These provided the local departments with a means of denying assistance in those cases where there was evidence of a continuing illicit relationship with a man whether or not he actually resided in the home, or where there was substantial evidence that the best interests of the child are not being served through Aid to Dependent Children due to neglect or subjection to immoral influences. The local welfare board is required to attempt to bring about improvement in the home through such means as may be appropriate, informing the mother of the consequences of her failure to modify her conduct. If these means fail, the board may initiate protective action through the courts, sometimes with the view of requesting removal of the children from the home.

One method of attack on this problem which has demonstrated its effectiveness is the provision of special casework services through limiting the number of cases carried by the caseworker, allowing her sufficient time to work productively with the mother. Such an experiment in Richmond has been largely responsible for a 31% decrease in the number of cases receiving Aid to Dependent Children in a three year period. Several other counties and cities, including Arlington, Henrico and Norfolk, have found this approach productive.

On January 1, 1959 the State Board of Welfare and Institutions made additional changes in the Aid to Dependent Children program. A ceiling of \$165.00 was set on all monthly grants in this category and the approved level for reimbursement was set at 80% of need. These were coincident with increased allowances in other categories and had the effect of stabilizing Aid to Dependent Children grants at their previous level. Some counties which had formerly met less than 80% of budgetary need had to increase these grants to reach that level. The \$165.00 ceiling on the monthly grant has the practical effect of not allowing any increase in the grant for any additional children beyond approximately the fourth child, depending upon the individual circumstances in the case.

Since it is logical to assume that illegitimate children because of their uncertain economic status would require more than their proportionate share of public aid than the legitimate children, it is not surprising to find that 36% of the Negro children receiving Aid to Dependent Children are illegitimate compared to the 23% of the total Negro births who are illegitimate. In fact it might be expected that the difference would be even greater.

It is encouraging to note that although the total number of Aid to Dependent Children increased 4.7% from May, 1956 to September 1958, the number of illegitimate children receiving ADC decreased from 7,546 to 7,252, or 3.9%.

SECTION IV

Foster Care and Illegitimacy

Most children placed in Foster Care are committed to the local welfare departments by the courts because of neglect in their homes. Relatively few are on entrustment from their parents, and these usually for temporary care. The costs of this program are borne equally by the State and the locality; the Federal Government does not participate.

The following are highlights of the September, 1958 survey of children in Foster Care:

Foster Care

31.4% of all children in foster care were illegitimate

20.9% of white foster children were illegitimate

49.1% of colored foster children were illegitimate

In September 1958 local welfare departments made payments in behalf of 1,547 illegitimate foster children in the amount of \$64,822.

From May 1956 to September 1958 the total number of children in foster care increased 21%.

In this period the number of illegitimate foster children increased 27%.

Foster Care has thus increased 21% in the same period that Aid to Dependent Children has increased only 4.7%. This, coupled with the fact that the number of illegitimate children receiving Foster Care has increased 27%, would clearly indicate that local welfare departments and courts have taken definite steps towards providing substitute homes for many illegitimate children facing neglect, abuse, and immoral influences in their own

SECTION V

Proposals Rejected by the Commission

Several drastic proposals for dealing with the problem were made. These proposals came from many different sources—by letters, at public hearings, and in letters to the editors of local newspapers. Each was carefully considered and weighed by the Commission, but were finally rejected as either impractical or unrealistic when all the many phases of the problem were considered. Three of these proposals are reviewed in some detail below:

Deny Public Assistance to Illegitimate Children.

This suggestion came to the Commission in many forms, from abolition of the entire Aid to Dependent Children program to the denying of assistance to any such child after the second or third illegitimate birth.

The Commission opposes any such drastic measure since it does not believe in punishing the innocent child for its parents' behavior and also because it is believed that in the long run such action would actually prove far more expensive than the present program in terms of health, delinquency and crime.

2. Compulsory Sterilization for Moral and Economic Reasons.

Many have suggested to the Commission that mothers should be forced to be sterilized after the birth of a second illegitimate child or at least be given the choice of either being sterilized or

being declared ineligible for any additional public assistance. A majority of the Commission believes that this would be cruel and inhumane treatment and would probably be declared unconstitutional. The proponents of this proposal are often not interested in making it applicable to *all* mothers of two illegitimate children, but only to those receiving or seeking public assistance. A closer look at the proposal in this light reveals that it is obvious that the basis is purely economical, an effort to save the expenditure of tax funds. They seek to apply this "remedy" only to approximately five out of every hundred such cases,⁷ on the thesis that giving birth to more than one illegitimate child is immoral or should be forcibly stopped by surgical procedure *only* if the mother is one of the few who cannot care for her children without resorting to public aid.

A majority of the Commission is opposed to any form of compulsory sterilization based on economic or moral grounds.

3. *Remove All Illegitimate Children From Their Homes and Place Them in Foster Homes*

This proposal is sometimes restricted to apply only to those homes receiving Aid to Dependent Children. Even in this restricted sense, the proposal is impossible of attainment, whether or not it is considered sound in theory.

Local welfare departments are experiencing extreme difficulties in finding suitable foster homes for the 4,858 children now in Foster Care. To find *additional* foster homes for 7,289 illegitimate children or for even a reasonable part of them would be an impossible task. There are simply not that many people willing to take children into their homes and provide the necessary loving care, regardless of the price offered. Incidentally, it should be noted that the present monthly cost *to the localities* of caring for these 7,289 illegitimate children through Aid to Dependent Children is approximately \$16,916.00. The monthly cost *to the localities* for these same children in foster homes would be approximately \$182,225.00.

Aside from the practical difficulties, this suggestion makes the false assumption that a mother is not a fit person to raise her children if they are illegitimate. In many instances this is simply not true. In some cases the raising of such a family is the *accepted* family pattern in the sub-culture to which they belong.

The Commission also considers it highly doubtful that such a policy would act as a deterrent to future illegitimate births even if it included a jail sentence for the mother. In fact the reverse would more likely be true since the mother would feel no responsibility and could rest assured that the state would take care of her children no matter how many she had.

The Commission is opposed to the wholesale application of such a policy, but recommends that local departments continue to protect the interests of children through requesting court action for their removal whenever there is evidence of cruelty, neglect or subjection to vicious and immoral influences. If these conditions do exist in certain ADC families, our present laws are adequate to correct these situations.

⁷ 62% of the Aid to Dependent Children cases contain two or more illegitimate children, and only 8.5% of all illegitimate children receive this type of aid.

SECTION VI

Recommendations

A majority of the Commission, after careful deliberation of the problem of illegitimacy in Virginia, makes the following recommendations in the confident belief that they represent the most practical and feasible methods of attacking this serious social problem:

1. Make voluntary sterilization clearly legal. It should be provided by statute that a licensed physician or surgeon may perform a sterilization operation upon any person twenty-one years of age or over, upon request by that person and consent to such operation given in writing by his or her spouse, if any; and that such operation may be performed upon any person under twenty-one years of age at the request of that person, if the appropriate court of record finds, upon petition of the minor's parents, or committee, guardian or next friend, that such operation is in the best interests of the minor and enters an order authorizing the operation.

2. The father of an illegitimate child should be required by law to contribute to the support and education of the child, after paternity has been established in appropriate court proceedings.

3. Funds should be made available to the State Board of Welfare and Institutions for reimbursement to the localities of one-half of the localities' shares of salaries of special case workers whose case loads are limited solely to Aid to Dependent Children cases, if each such case worker is assigned no more than sixty and no less than fifty cases at any one time, and at least 75% of such cases involve illegitimate children.

4. Funds should be made available to the State Department of Health for initiation of a pilot study utilizing field counselors to visit, consult with, advise and assist mothers of illegitimate children, and secure information as to their family background, attitudes, housing and health conditions, and related matters. The study should be directed toward determining the desirability of continuing and extending the field counselor program, compiling and evaluating the information secured from interviews with the mothers, and determining the need for maternity homes for unwed mothers and a method of financing such homes. A report of the results of such study should be made to the Governor and General Assembly by October 1, 1961.

5. The churches, schools, community leaders and civic groups are urged to cooperate in an effort to solve the problem of illegitimacy.

6. A commission should be created to study the laws relating to compulsory sterilization.

SECTION VII

Reasons for Recommendations

Recommendation No. 1: Voluntary Sterilization

While opposed to *compulsory* sterilization as a means of combatting illegitimacy, the Commission recommends the enactment of a statute making it legal for a physician to perform a sterilization operation with the written consent of the individual and the spouse, if there is one. Public welfare officials find many persons with over-large families who want to be sterilized but cannot under the present statute. The Office of the Attorney General has advised the Commission that there is urgent need for clarification of the present law, apart from the problem of illegitimacy. That office observed that the question of the legality of voluntary sterilization under

the present statute is not settled in Virginia by court decision, and accordingly any doctor who performs such an operation except for "sound therapeutic reasons" renders himself subject to the uncertain state of the law. The legislation being proposed by the Commission is designed to protect fully the rights of all parties including the individual requesting sterilization, the spouse, the physician and all others connected with the procedure. The rights and best interests of minors receive special consideration in the proposed legislation.

Recommendation No. 2: Paternity Law

Civil legislation which would make the father of an illegitimate child financially responsible for its care has been the subject of debate in the General Assembly in almost every regular session for the past thirty years. The chief stumbling block appears to have been the fear that the proposed bills would not have sufficient safeguards to protect the innocent man from being falsely accused. There is also a more basic reluctance to place too much responsibility on the man in such a situation because of the conflicts that it presents in our patrilineal (father as head of the family) society.

Sociologist Kingsley Davis ⁸ clarified this in an article on the subject.

"The illegitimate child presents a grave dilemma. On the one hand, the community must preserve the reproductive institutions and hence must not allow him to compete with actual or potential family ties. On the other hand, it must find some way to support the child and naturally tends to fix this responsibility on those who brought him into the world. The two necessities—that of segregating the child from his procreators and that of attaching him to these procreators—are in conflict."

"If the illegitimate child is to live at all, it must be supported and kept. Since the normal care of children is familial, the first plan occurring to a community is some sort of family or semi-family home for the bastard. Hence the mother or an adoptive parent is granted its care, the community often showing itself quite careless and hasty in its effort to get the child off its hands. (Much of the legislation dealing with bastards has been part of the law concerning the poor, vagabonds, and rogues. The penurious aim of this legislation is demonstrated by the fact that the community was seeking the cheapest way out, regardless of the child's welfare, and was punishing the mother not for her immorality but for her economic offense against the citizenry.) The community sometimes undertakes to elicit money from the putative father for the child's support, because the mother cannot be expected to support it in a world organized on the principle of feminine dependence. Such support, however, constitutes merely a minimum claim upon the father. The community, unwilling to attach the illegitimate child to him too closely, usually permits many loopholes and prosecutes only upon the initiative of the mother."

"Domicile and custody of the illegitimate child generally follow the mother. Since women are not economically independent to the same degree as men, the rule constitutes a hardship penalizing both the child and the mother; it thus forms part of the double standard of morality which is an integral feature of patrilineal reproductive institutions."

"In short, if attached to either parent, the child is attached to the mother. This secures the care of the child without interfering with the

⁸ Kingsley Davis: Illegitimacy and the Social Structure, *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1939.

patrilineal family system as represented by the male line. The minimum obligation upon the father is the duty of support, enforced only in a limited and desultory manner because otherwise it would defeat the principle of paternal nonattachment to the illegitimate child."

The Commission believes that a paternity law is desirable, that it will be very effective in some cases (particularly where a husband-wife relationship has existed for a period of time) and that it will serve as a deterrent in some situations.

The legislation proposed by the Commission is believed to avoid the objections made to previous bills presented in the General Assembly. It assures the defendant of careful, private judicial review and process, provides for trial by jury at the defendant's request, protects the rights of descent and inheritance, places a maximum of \$100 per month on support, limits the time that the mother may bring action, and makes her subject to perjury for false accusation.

Recommendation 3: Special Caseworkers in Public Welfare Departments

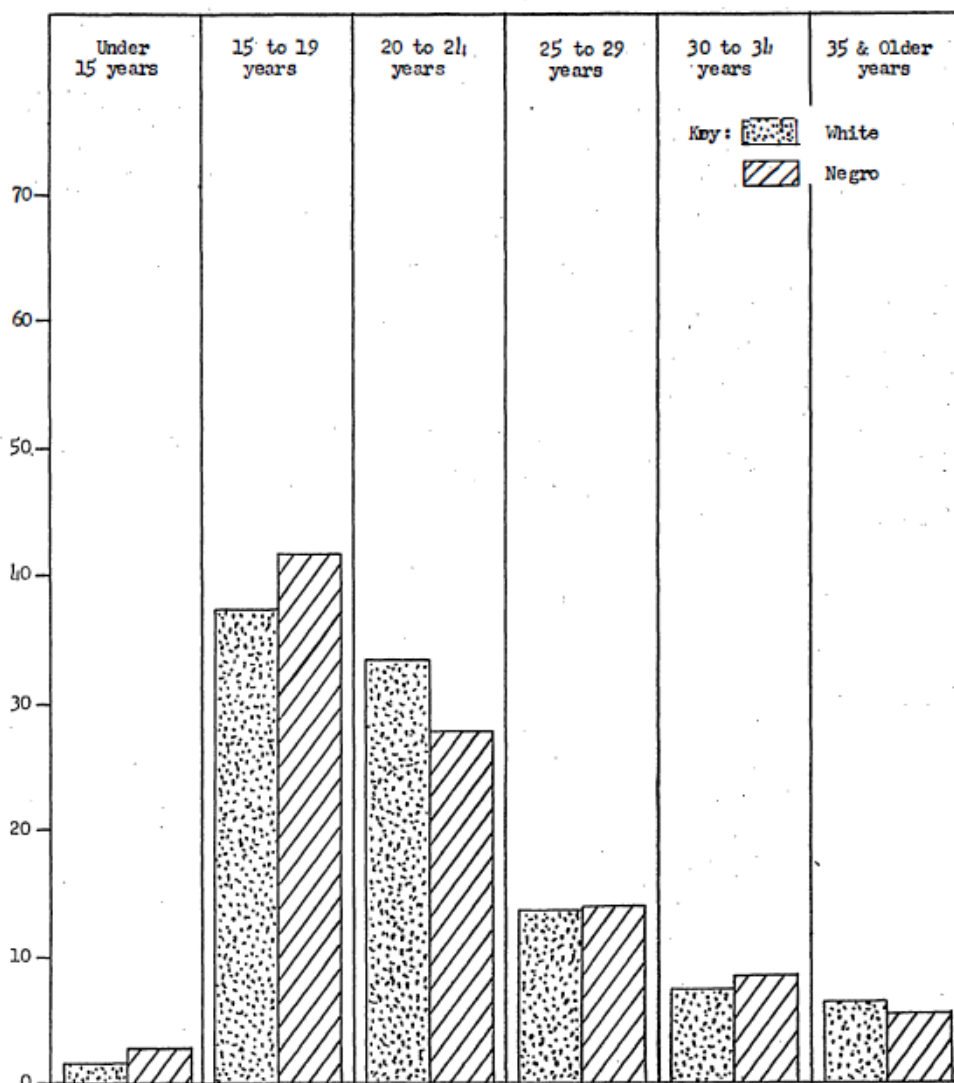
The Commission has studied the regulations of the State Board of Welfare and Institutions relative to the eligibility requirements for Aid to Dependent Children and finds them to be adequate both for the protection of the recipient and of the state. The ability of the local welfare departments to apply these regulations carefully and rigidly is dependent, however, upon the caseworkers having sufficient time to work constructively with the mothers in order to arrange for them to go to work (if indicated), to assist in locating absent fathers, to improve health and housing conditions, and to perform the many other actions which would tend to make them self-dependent and thereby reduce the number receiving this type of aid.

Recent experiments in the cities of Richmond and Norfolk, and the counties of Henrico and Arlington, among others, have clearly demonstrated the effectiveness of limited caseloads when dealing with Aid to Dependent Children cases. Richmond has effected a 30% decrease in these cases in a three year period largely as the result of the work of the four caseworkers whose caseloads were limited to a maximum of 50 cases per caseworker.

The Commission believes that local departments of public welfare should be encouraged to inaugurate similar plans with special reference to cases involving illegitimate children. This is the best single method of reducing effectively the number of such cases under care.

Under present regulations the federal government pays one-half the salary cost of caseworkers concerned only with the federally-matched categories, of which Aid to Dependent Children is one. The locality pays the other half, and the State pays nothing. The Commission recommends that the State provide sufficient funds in the 1960-62 biennium to reimburse the localities for 25% of the salaries of caseworkers carrying limited caseloads made up solely of Aid to Dependent Children cases of which at least 75% involve illegitimate children. Local departments who qualify for this help and who voluntarily apply to the State Department of Welfare and Institutions would therefore be required to pay one-fourth instead of one-half of the salary or salaries involved.

CHART III



PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN VIRGINIA BY AGE OF MOTHER AND RACE—1957

(Note that 72.5% of the White and 73.3% of the Negro births were to Mothers 24 years of age and younger.)

Source—Bureau of Vital Statistics, Va. Dept. of Public Health

Recommendation 4: Field Counselors and Maternity Homes

Since nearly three-quarters (72%) of mothers of illegitimate children born in Virginia in 1958 had not reached their twenty-fifth birthday, one method of attack on the problem should center on reaching these young mothers and trying to effect a change in their attitudes and behavior in order to reduce the number of illegitimate children born to them in the future.

The Commission believes that the following plan for early counseling and treatment has a great deal of merit. This plan is centered around the employment of field counselors, probably assigned to the departments of public health. The major effort would be directed toward casefinding of young mothers of illegitimate children *during pregnancy*. Pre-natal clinics, school nurses, physicians, midwives, and social workers would all be able to notify the counselors of pregnancies and births coming to their attention. The counselors would then visit these girls and women in their homes. They would secure as much information as possible as to the family background, attitudes, housing and health conditions, etc.; this information secured from all contacts would save tremendous research value in our learning more about these mothers. *There is a tremendous need for additional research.* Little is actually known about the attitudes and backgrounds of these young mothers. This project would lend itself to the acquisition of valuable new knowledge about the mothers of children born out of wedlock in Virginia, which in turn might point the direction which should be taken towards correcting the situation. The objectives of these counselors would include help in arranging pre-natal care, instruction in baby care, planning for the future, and attempting to influence the young mother against a repetition of the experience. Wherever possible the putative father would be located, interviewed, and his financial help secured.

As a further means of treating selected cases, maternity homes would be established for Negro girls. The most hopeful cases, usually of first pregnancy, would be offered care in these homes. It is believed that intensive casework services in these homes would be successful in changing attitudes and future behavior of these young mothers in a high percentage of cases.

The Commission believes that this plan should be given further study. It has not been possible within the time and funds available to the Commission for it to make the necessary studies and estimates required for a formal proposal. Such a program would be initiated on a pilot study basis in two or three of the larger cities in the state. The results over a period of several years would be carefully observed and recorded before any general expansion of the plan would be endorsed. Some central control and direction would have to be devised in order to insure a reasonable degree of uniformity in both the information secured and the services rendered by the counselors. A careful guide for the selection of counselors would have to be prepared. The method of financing both the counselor program and the establishment, staffing and operation of the maternity homes has to be carefully determined.

The Commission therefore recommends that the General Assembly refer the study of this plan to the State Health Commissioner together with an appropriation of sufficient funds to initiate a pilot study utilizing counselors and that the need for maternity homes and a method of financing them as well as the desirability of continuing and extending the counselor program be determined in time to report to the Governor and the General Assembly by October 1, 1961. It is estimated that an appropriation of \$50,000.00 would be sufficient to carry out this recommendation for the 1960-62 biennium. This would provide for four counselors, two clerical persons and the necessary supplies, transportation and incidental expenses.

Recommendation 5: Citizen Support

Members of the Commission are convinced that no genuine progress can be made in the reduction of the number of illegitimate births among that segment of the population where most of these births occur; namely,

the lower class of the Negro population, until the cultural attitudes of these persons towards marriage, illegitimacy, and the family are changed. The changing of a culture is of necessity a long term process. It will take the positive efforts of the churches, the schools, social workers, community leaders, civic groups and lawmakers to bring this about. The concluding section of an excellent recent report on the problem of births out of wedlock, published by the North Carolina Conference for Social Service,⁹ states vividly this need for constructive action on the part of all citizens in alleviating the problem.

“Consideration should be given to the necessity for objective study and review regarding causes of births out of wedlock. It is felt that such study should properly precede concerted efforts toward widespread control measures.

There is already, however, sufficient information available to show that no single solution to this highly involved problem exists. Just as there are many causes of the problem, so there must be many different kinds of action to alleviate it.

Since the problem stems partly from poverty, effort must be made to raise the economic levels of the poorest segments of society.

Since it stems partly from the lack of high moral standards among many, the agencies that have the means—the churches, schools and civic organizations—must work at raising these standards among our young people.

Since it results partly from the lack of wholesome recreational facilities, greater effort must be made to make the parks, playgrounds, and other facilities adequate to meet the needs of young people.

Since the problem is due partly to emotional maladjustments of certain young people, greater stress should be placed on the development and improvement of mental health clinics and related social services.

Since the problem stems partly from difficulty in enforcing laws relating to sexual misbehavior and to non-support of children, police forces and the juvenile and domestic relations courts need to be strengthened.

Since the problem results in part from broken families and inadequate parental care of children, greater efforts are needed from private social agencies and from public welfare departments toward strengthening family life.

Since the problem results partly from mental retardation, the appropriate agencies and institutions need to be enabled to give more help and protection to people who are so afflicted.

And since the problem is due partly to ignorance, greater efforts should be directed toward educating youth for marriage and family life.

Psychologists have discovered that the threat of punishment does little to influence human behavior in a positive way, while offers of reward can do a great deal. The lesson for society in this finding is obvious. *If the problem of illegitimacy is to be dealt with successfully, all members of society must be given the right to the pursuit of marital happiness, and the young people must be persuaded through precept*

⁹ The Problem of Births Out of Wedlock, prepared by the Technical Subcommittee of the Committee on Children and Youth of the North Carolina Conference for Social Service, P. O. Box 532, Raleigh, N. C., 1959.

and example that a lifetime of marital happiness is likely to be the reward for abiding by society's mores."

The Commission calls upon the citizens of Virginia to join hands in working toward the eventual solution of this vexing social problem, to the end that the number of illegitimate births in the Commonwealth be reduced.

Recommendation 6: Study of Compulsory Sterilization Laws

In the course of that phase of this study dealing with the subject of sexual sterilization, it came to the Commission's attention that the grounds upon which compulsory sterilization of a person may be ordered, as set forth in Chapter 9 of Title 37 of the Code of Virginia, are probably not in keeping with advances made in medical science since these laws were enacted. This chapter provides that, after the conclusion of certain proceedings, the operation of sterilization may be ordered to be performed upon an inmate of a State mental institution who is afflicted with hereditary forms of mental illness, mental deficiency or epilepsy. The underlying theory of these grounds for compulsory sterilization is that such an inmate, in the language of the statute, "by the laws of heredity is the probable potential parent of socially inadequate offspring likewise afflicted."

Recent advances in medical science cast some doubt upon the ascribed hereditary nature of some of these afflictions. Furthermore, enormous strides have recently been made in the successful treatment of several of these maladies. On the other hand, a person may be afflicted with a mental illness which is not hereditary but which renders him or her incapable of assuming the responsibilities of parenthood.

In view of the lack of time, the Commission did not feel that it could make the necessary investigation and study of the complex phases of this particular problem. Under these circumstances, the Commission was obviously not in a position to recommend any changes in these laws.

However, we felt that we should direct the attention of the legislature to this problem and recommend the creation of a Commission to study this particular subject.

SECTION VIII

Conclusion

The Commission expresses its appreciation to the Department of Welfare and Institutions and the Bureau of Vital Statistics of the Department of Health for Assistance rendered during the conduct of this study by furnishing essential information and statistics, and to the Department of Public Works of the City of Richmond for reproducing Charts I, II and III which are included in this report.

Drafts of legislation to carry out the recommendations in this report are attached.

Respectfully Submitted,

BLAKE T. NEWTON, Chairman
MRS. HUNTER BARROW
THOMAS H. HENDERSON
RALEIGH C. HOBSON
FRANKLIN HOUGH, JR.
PAIGE E. THORNHILL

DISSENTING STATEMENT

We concur in the majority report only insofar as it recommends enactment of a paternity law. It seems only just that a man who shares the responsibility of procreating an illegitimate child should also be charged with joint responsibility for providing for it, rather than sloughing his responsibility off on the State.

Our primary concern is to protect the taxpayers of this State. The resolution directing this study grew out of attempts to enact legislation at the 1958 Session of the General Assembly which was designed to reduce the financial inducements to illegitimacy and the alarming increase in welfare payments to support illegitimate children under the aid to dependent children program. The federal government, through the control of the purse strings, restricts the area in which the State can act to reduce the number of illegitimate children being placed upon the welfare rolls; the federal government persists in this attitude notwithstanding the shocking extent to which illegitimacy has increased in areas such as New York City, Chicago and Los Angeles.

We in Virginia are taxpayers to the federal government as well as to our State, and the waste of federal funds affects us equally with the expenditure of State money. The proposed legislation which was offered at the 1958 Session would have operated in the restricted area in which the State could act but it was vigorously opposed by those in the welfare field. This opposition still exists. We have been presented, by oral statements, with the familiar bugaboo that action in this field would run the risk of losing federal money, but contrary statements have also been made.

We would specifically charge the State Department of Welfare and Institutions with determining if the State can adopt legislation to cut off aid upon the birth of a second or subsequent illegitimate child without any loss of federal funds (as much as we would like to do without them completely). This should be done not later than January 1, 1960, in order for the General Assembly to take a *constructive* and immediate approach. Further, we would suggest that the General Assembly of 1960 adopt a strongly worded resolution directed to the Congress of the United States with copies to the Legislatures of the other 49 states requesting the enactment of legislation by the Congress whereby the states would be left free to deal with this problem.

The data in the report show clearly the race in which the problem is greatest, and that the number of illegitimate births has been increasing both quantitatively and relatively among the Negro race. The proposals of the majority will do little to stem this tide which can be expected to increase and become ever more aggravated until illegitimacy becomes uneconomical or the Negro race develops a sufficient sense of pride or moral values which will no longer condone illegitimacy. The majority report recognizes the existence of the problem but "explains it away" in a manner which makes immorality appear the natural and inevitable result of the conditions cited. We cannot take so pessimistic a view.

The recommendations of the majority concerning voluntary sterilization seem to us to go far beyond the scope of our study, and constitute a social experiment with dubious moral implications. In addition, they raise questions as to the legal status of physicians who have heretofore performed a voluntary operation for sterilization. We received strong suggestions from responsible sources regarding compulsory sterilization in appropriate cases. There is some legal precedent for this in our existing law, and although we are not prepared to go that far at this time, we do

not think the idea should be summarily dismissed. In the long run it may be found to be one of the most effective answers to the problem.

The proposal to appropriate funds to give more money to local welfare departments which employ special workers to reduce the drain of welfare funds through payments to illegitimate children would merely result in more money for certain local welfare departments. We firmly believe in local control of welfare and other programs. If the benefits from the proposed arrangement are as great as the proponents assert, it would appear that the localities could afford to follow such a course without benefit of State aid. Rather than accept the recommendation of the majority on this point the General Assembly would do better to do nothing (unless it has an excess of funds and no better use for them).

We were furnished with reams of material concerning public attitudes, economic levels, comparative moralities, and other sociological data. With all this material in hand, the majority still favors another study—well financed and long extended—for further research into the causes of illegitimacy, and looking toward the establishment of maternity homes together with an elaborate staff of field counsellors whose duty it would be to find expectant mothers of illegitimate children during pregnancy and talk to them. A modest appropriation of \$50,000 and an interval of approximately two years are requested to conduct this study. It is our feeling that there has already been too much studying with too little results. The so-called experts have been doing research on the problem for many years, yet the number of illegitimates has continued to rise. There is general agreement on many of the causes of illegitimacy but no equal agreement of remedial measures. What we need is some positive program for immediate action, and except for one proposal, the report of the majority does not provide this.

We have deep respect for the members of the majority but they appear to be impelled by a different philosophy. The time to act is now and we feel that action should be taken. The proposals advanced by the majority will do little to alleviate the problems which the Commission was created to study. The mountain has labored but it has not brought forth even a mouse.

Inez D. Baker

W. R. Gaines

Arthur H. Richardson

While I have signed the above statement I wish to call attention to the fact that many of the county welfare boards passed resolutions calling for compulsory sterilization after the birth of the second illegitimate child and sent them to the captioned Commission as a recommendation. I, personally, approve such action.

W. R. Gaines

A BILL to amend and reenact § 37-246 of the Code of Virginia and to amend the Code of Virginia by adding a section numbered 32-137.1, both relating to medical or surgical treatment involving nullification or destruction of the reproductive functions of persons.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Virginia:

1. That § 37-246 of the Code of Virginia be amended and reenacted and that the Code of Virginia be amended by adding a section numbered 32-137.1, the amended and new sections being as follows:

§ 37-246. Nothing in this chapter shall be construed so as to prevent the medical or surgical treatment for sound therapeutic reasons of any person in this State, by a physician or surgeon licensed by this State, which treatment may * involve the nullification or destruction of the reproductive functions.

§ 32-137.1. *It shall be lawful for any physician or surgeon licensed by this State, when so requested by any person twenty-one years of age or over, to perform upon such person a vasectomy or salpingectomy, as the case may be, provided the consent in writing of the spouse of such person, if any, to the performance of such operation is first obtained.*

Any such physician or surgeon may perform a vasectomy or salpingectomy upon any person under the age of twenty-one years at his or her request, provided the circuit court of the county or the corporation court of the city wherein such minor resides, upon petition of the parent or parents, if both be living, committee, guardian or next friend of such minor, and upon the determination of such court that the operation is in the best interests of such minor, has entered an order authorizing the physician or surgeon to perform such operation.

Subject to the rules of negligence, no physician or surgeon licensed by this State shall be liable either civilly or criminally by reason of having performed a vasectomy or salpingectomy authorized by the provisions of this section upon any person in this State.

A BILL to amend the Code of Virginia by adding in Title 20 thereof a chapter numbered 7 consisting of §§ 20-124 through 20-148; relating to the support and education of illegitimate children and proceedings to establish paternity.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Virginia :

1. That the Code of Virginia be amended by adding in Title 20 thereof a chapter numbered 7 consisting of §§ 20-124 through 20-148 as follows:

CHAPTER 7

§ 20-124. When the word "child" is used in this chapter it shall refer to an illegitimate child or a child made legitimate by §§ 64-5, 64-6 or 64-7.

§ 20-125. When the word "mother" is used it shall refer to the mother of a child as defined in § 20-124.

§ 20-126. The parents of a child are liable for its necessary support, education and funeral expenses. The father is liable for the reasonable expenses of the mother's confinement and recovery, and such expenses in connection with her pregnancy as the court may deem proper. In case of the neglect or inability of the parents to provide for the support and education of the child, it shall be supported under the provisions of the welfare law.

§ 20-127. (1) An agreement or compromise made by the mother or child or by some authorized person on their behalf with the father concerning the support and education of the child shall be binding upon the mother and child only when the court having jurisdiction to compel support and education of the child shall have determined that there is adequate provision fully secured by payment or otherwise and has approved said agreement or compromise.

(2) No agreement or compromise under this section shall be approved by the court until notice and opportunity to be heard has been given to the public welfare official of the county or city where the mother resides or the child is found.

(3) The performance of the agreement or compromise, when so approved, shall bar other remedies of the mother or child against the father for the support and education of the child.

§ 20-128. (1) A proceeding to compel support and education in accordance with this chapter may be brought by the mother, or her personal representative, or, if the child is or is likely to become a public charge on a county or city, by a public welfare official of the county or city where the mother resides or the child is found; provided, that no such proceeding shall be brought by the mother except within one year of the birth of the child. Complaints may be made in the county or city where the mother or child resides or is found or in the county or city where the putative father resides or is found. The fact that the child was born outside of the State of Virginia shall not be a bar to entering a complaint against the putative father in any county or city where he resides or is found, or in the county or city where the mother resides or the child is found. After the death of the mother or in case of her disability, it may also be brought by the child acting through a guardian or next friend.

(2) Proceedings to establish the paternity of the child may be instituted during the pregnancy of the mother or after the birth of the child,

but shall not be brought after the lapse of more than one year from the birth of the child, unless paternity has been acknowledged by the father in writing or by the furnishing of support. Provided, however, that a public welfare official of a county, city or town shall be empowered to bring a suit in behalf of any such child under the age of sixteen who is or is liable to be a public charge.

(3) Proceedings under this chapter shall, except as provided in § 20-132, be in the juvenile and domestic relations courts of the counties and cities which have the same, and when no such court exists therein then in other courts therein having similar jurisdiction.

(4) The complaint shall be in writing, or oral and in the presence of the complainant reduced to writing by the judge or the clerk of the court. It shall be verified by oath or affirmation of complainant.

(5) The complainant shall charge the person named as defendant with being the father of the child and demand that he be brought before the court to answer the charge.

(6) The court shall issue a warrant for the apprehension of the defendant, directed to any officer in the State authorized to execute warrants, commanding him without delay to apprehend the alleged father and bring him before the court, for the purpose of having an adjudication as to the filiation of the child, and such warrants may be executed in any part of the State. But in the discretion of the court, a summons may be issued as in civil cases, instead of a warrant. Such summons shall be personally served as directed by the court.

§ 20-129. (1) When the defendant is arrested he shall be taken before the court issuing the warrant, or, if he be arrested in another county or city, before a court of competent jurisdiction as provided in § 20-128, within that county or city. The court issuing the warrant or said court shall take from the defendant a bond in the amount of not less than five hundred dollars with surety in the form of a commercial surety bond or personal security approved by the court or cash or bond collateral to the effect that he will appear and answer the charge at the court which issued the warrant.

(2) If a summons has been issued the defendant shall be required to appear in the court where the complaint has been made.

(3) When the defendant is arrested in another county or city and does not give security as provided in paragraph (1) of this section, he shall be taken before the court which issued the warrant.

(4) When the bond mentioned in paragraph (1) of this section is given, the court issuing the warrant shall discharge the defendant and shall indorse a certificate of the discharge upon the warrant. If the defendant has been arrested in another county or city, the court before whom he has been taken shall deliver the warrant and the bond, cash or bond collateral, to the officer, who shall return it to the court issuing the warrant, by which the same proceedings shall be had, as if it had taken the bond.

(5) If the defendant does not give a bond as provided in paragraph (1) of this section the court issuing the warrant may commit him to jail to be held to answer the complaint.

§ 20-130. The court, on application of either party, on good cause shown, may grant such adjournments as may be necessary.

§ 20-131. If, after the complaint has been made, the mother dies or becomes insane or cannot be found within the State, the proceeding does not abate, but the child may be substituted as complainant.

§ 20-132. (1) The trial originally shall be by the court, but the right of removal or appeal and trial by jury as otherwise provided by law is preserved.

(2) Both the mother and the alleged father shall be competent to testify, but the alleged father shall not be compelled to give evidence, and if either gives evidence he or she shall be subject to cross-examination. If the mother is married, both she and her husband may testify to nonaccess. The court may exclude the general public from the room where the proceedings are had pursuant to this chapter, admitting only persons directly interested in the case, including officers of the court and witnesses.

(3) If the defendant fails to appear, the security for his appearance shall be forfeited and may be applied on account of the payment of the order of filiation, but the trial shall proceed as if he were present; and the court shall upon the finding of the judge make such order as if the defendant were in court.

§ 20-133. The court, on motion of the defendant, shall order the mother, her child and the defendant to submit to one or more blood grouping tests by a duly qualified physician, to determine whether or not the defendant can be excluded as being the father of the child, and the results of such tests may be received in evidence but only in cases where definite exclusion is established.

§ 20-134. (1) If the findings be against the defendant, the court shall make an order of filiation, declaring paternity and for the support and education of the child.

(2) The order of filiation shall specify the sum to be paid weekly or otherwise, until the child reaches the age of sixteen; provided, that such sum shall not exceed one hundred dollars per month. In addition to providing for the support and education, the order shall also provide for the payment of the necessary expenses incurred by or for the mother in connection with her confinement and recovery; for the funeral expenses if the child has died; for the support of the child from the date of the filing of the complaint; and such expenses in connection with the pregnancy of the mother as the court may deem proper.

(3) When an order of filiation has been made, the clerk of the court shall forthwith transmit to the State Health Commissioner on a form prescribed by him, a written notification as to such order, together with such other facts as may assist in identifying the birth record of the person whose paternity was in issue. If such order shall be abrogated by a later judgment or order of the same or a higher court, that fact shall be immediately communicated in writing to the State Health Commissioner on a form prescribed by him by the clerk of the court which entered such order.

20-135. The court may require the payment to be made to the mother, or to some person or corporation to be designated by the court as trustee, but if the child is or is likely to become a public charge on a county or city the public welfare official of that county or city may be made the trustee.

§ 20-136. (1) The court may require the father to give security by bond, with sufficient sureties approved by the court, for the payment of

the order of filiation. In case the action has been instituted by a public welfare official, the defendant shall also be required to give security that he will indemnify the county or city where the child was or may be born and every other county or city against any expense within the limitations set forth in § 20-134 for the support and education of the child or for the support of its mother during her confinement and recovery, which said undertaking shall also require that all arrears shall be paid by the principal and sureties. In default of such security, when required, the court may commit him to jail, or put him on probation. At any time within one year he may be discharged from jail, but his liability to pay the judgment shall not be thereby affected.

(2) When security is given and default is made in any payment the court shall cite the parties bound by the security requiring them to show cause why judgment should not be given against them and execution issued thereon. If the amount due and unpaid shall not be paid before the return day of the citation, and no cause be shown to the contrary, judgment shall be rendered against those served with the citation for the amount due and unpaid together with costs, and execution shall issue therefor, saving all remedies upon the bond for future default. The judgment is a lien on real estate and in other respects enforceable the same as other judgments. The amount collected on such judgment or such sums as may have been deposited as collateral, in lieu of bond when forfeited, may be used for the benefit of the mother or child, as provided for in the order of filiation.

(3) If at any time after an order of filiation in paternity proceedings shall have been made, and a bond given thereon, in accordance with the provisions of this act and such bond shall not be complied with, or that for any reason a recovery thereon cannot be had, or if the original bond shall have been complied with, and the sureties discharged therefrom, or if the money were deposited in lieu of bail, and the same shall have been exhausted, and the child born out of wedlock still needs support, the public welfare official of any county or city where the child born out of wedlock, for whose support the order of filiation was made, shall be at the time, upon giving proof of the making of the order of filiation, the giving of the above mentioned bond and the noncompliance therewith, or that the sureties have been discharged from their liability or that for any reason a recovery cannot be had on such bond, apply to the court in such county or city, having jurisdiction in filiation proceedings, for a warrant for the arrest of the defendant against whom such order of filiation was made, which shall be executed in the manner provided by law for the execution of such warrants; upon the arrest and arraignment of the defendant and upon proof of the making of the order of filiation, the giving of the above mentioned bond, and the noncompliance therewith, or that for any reason a recovery cannot be had on such bond, the court shall make an order requiring him to give a new bond, which bond shall also require that all arrears shall be paid by the principal and sureties, or upon his failure to give such new bond, shall commit him to jail, or put him on probation.

§ 20-137. The court also has power, on default as aforesaid, to adjudge the father in contempt and to order him committed to jail in the same manner and with the same powers as in the case of commitment for default in giving security. The commitment of the father shall not operate to stay execution upon the judgment of the bond.

§ 20-138. The court shall have continuing jurisdiction over proceedings brought to compel support and education and to increase or decrease

the amount fixed by the order of filiation, until the judgment of the court has been completely satisfied.

§ 20-139. (1) If a mother of a child be possessed of property and shall fail to support and educate her child, the court having jurisdiction, on the application of the guardian or next friend of the child or, if the child shall be a charge or likely to become a charge, of the officers mentioned in § 20-128, may examine into the matter and after a hearing may make an order charging the mother with the payment of money weekly or otherwise for the support and education of the child.

(2) The court may require the mother to give security, by bond, with sufficient sureties approved by the court, for the payment of the order. In default of such security, when required, the court may commit her to jail, or put her on probation. At any time within one year she may be discharged from jail, but her liability to pay the judgment shall not be thereby affected.

(3) Nothing in this section shall be deemed to relieve the father from liability for support and education of the child in accordance with the provisions of this article.

§ 20-140. The making of a false complaint as to the identity of the father, or the aiding or abetting therein, is punishable as for perjury.

§ 20-141. Upon a failure to give security as provided in § 20-136 or § 20-139, the court, instead of imposing sentence or of committing the father or mother to jail, or as a condition of his or her release from jail, may place him or her on probation, upon such terms as to payment of support to or on behalf of the mother or child, and as to personal reports, as the court may direct. Upon violation of the terms imposed, the court may proceed to impose the sentence and commit or recommit to jail in accordance with the sentence.

§ 20-142. Jurisdiction over proceedings to compel support is vested in the courts enumerated in § 20-128. It is not a bar to the jurisdiction of the court that the complaining mother or child resides in another county or state, if the defendant be a resident of this State.

§ 20-143. An appeal in all cases may be taken by the defendant, a guardian ad litem appointed by the court for the child, the mother or her personal representative, or the public welfare official, from any order or judgment of any court having jurisdiction of filiation proceedings, as provided for in this article, to the appropriate court for appeals from the court having original jurisdiction in such cases.

No appeal, however, shall operate as a stay of execution unless the defendant shall give the security provided in § 20-136 of this chapter, and further security to pay the costs of such appeal.

§ 20-144. It shall be the duty of the Commonwealth's Attorney, in the county or city in which the complaint is made to prosecute either in person or by an assistant all cases relating to illegitimate children where the complainant is a public welfare official.

§ 20-145. In all records, certificates or other papers hereafter made or executed, other than birth records and certificates or records of judicial proceedings in which the question of illegitimate birth is at issue, requiring a declaration by or notice to the mother of a child or otherwise requiring a reference to the relation of a mother to such a child, it shall be sufficient for all purposes to refer to the mother as the parent having the sole custody of the child, and no explicit reference shall be made to illegitimacy.

§ 20-146. The liability of the father under this chapter shall be coterminous with that of the father of a legitimate child, subject to the provisions of § 20-135.

§ 20-147. All provisions of law inconsistent with or repugnant to the provisions of this chapter shall be considered inapplicable to the cases arising under this chapter.

§ 20-148. Nothing contained in this chapter shall be construed to abrogate or otherwise affect the laws of the Commonwealth respecting the inheritance of property or rights or estates therein.

AMENDMENT TO APPROPRIATION ACT

Item	First Year	Second Year
For reimbursing counties and cities for a portion of the salaries of special case workers for certain aid to dependent children cases	\$20,900	\$33,650

It is provided that the funds appropriated in this item shall be used by the State Board of Welfare and Institutions to reimburse one-half of the localities' shares of salaries of special case workers under the following conditions:

(1) The case loads of such workers shall be limited solely to aid to dependent children cases;

(2) The number of cases and applications for assistance assigned each such worker at any one time shall be no fewer than 50 and no greater than 60 and at least 75% of such cases and applications shall involve illegitimate children;

(3) Upon the reduction of the number of applications and cases assigned to a case worker involving illegitimate children below the levels set forth above, reimbursement under this item shall terminate;

(4) The local department of public welfare shall furnish such reports and statistics as shall be required by the State Board to the end that a reduction in the case load of such cases may be effected and reimbursement under this item terminated.

A BILL to direct the State Health Commissioner to initiate a study of problems concerning mothers of illegitimate children, and compile certain information relating thereto and evaluate the same; and to make a report on the feasibility of continuing and extending such program and establishing maternity homes for such mothers; and to appropriate funds.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Virginia:

1. § 1. The State Health Commissioner shall initiate a pilot study concerning the problems of mothers of illegitimate children. In the conduct of such a study the Commissioner shall employ field counselors to visit, consult with, advise and assist such mothers, and to secure information as to their family background, attitudes, housing and health conditions, and related matters. Such information shall be compiled and evaluated. The Commissioner shall determine from such study whether recommendation should be made for the continuation and an extension of such field counselor program, and also whether recommendation should be made for the establishment of maternity homes for unwed mothers. If the latter recommendation be made, the Commissioner shall also recommend a method for financing such homes. The Commissioner shall make a report of the results of such study to the Governor and the General Assembly by October one, nineteen hundred sixty-one.
2. There is hereby appropriated to the Department of Health from the general fund in the State treasury the sum of fifty thousand dollars to carry out the purposes of this act.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO.

*Creating a commission to study the laws relating
to sexual sterilization.*

Whereas, the grounds for compulsory sexual sterilization of persons, as set forth in Chapter 9 of Title 37 of the Code of Virginia, do not appear to be in keeping with advances made in medical science since such laws were enacted; and

Whereas, compulsory sexual sterilization for the reason that a person by the laws of heredity is the probable potential parent of socially inadequate offspring should not be ordered unless such conclusion is based on the most recently available medical knowledge; and

Whereas, a person may be afflicted with a mental illness which is not hereditary but which renders him or her incapable of assuming the responsibilities of parenthood; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate, the House of Delegates concurring, That a Commission is hereby created to review the provisions of Chapter 9 of Title 37 of the Code of Virginia in the light of knowledge most recently available to the medical profession in the fields of hereditary forms of mental illness, mental deficiency and epilepsy, and the treatment thereof. The Commission shall recommend any changes in such laws which appear necessary in the light of such medical knowledge.

The Commission shall consist of seven members. Six members shall be appointed by the Governor, of whom two shall be licensed physicians, two shall be licensed attorneys-at-law, and two shall be private citizens who are neither physicians nor attorneys-at-law. The Commissioner of Mental Hygiene and Hospitals shall ex officio be a member of the Commission. All agencies of the State shall assist the Commission in its study. The Commission shall conclude its study and make its report to the Governor and the General Assembly not later than October one, nineteen hundred and sixty-one.

The members of the Commission shall receive no compensation for their services but shall be paid their necessary expenses which, together with such secretarial and other expenses that the Commission may incur, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the General Assembly to an amount not exceeding fifteen hundred dollars.

APPENDIX A
COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA
DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE AND INSTITUTIONS
*REPORT ON ILLEGITIMACY IN THE AID TO DEPENDENT
CHILDREN AND FOSTER CARE PROGRAMS
SEPTEMBER 1958*

Prepared by:
Bureau of Research and Statistics

H I G H L I G H T S
AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN

25.1% of children receiving ADC are illegitimate.

10.4% of white ADC children are illegitimate.

35.9% of colored ADC children are illegitimate.

16.9% of ADC children in counties are illegitimate.

33.8% of ADC children in cities are illegitimate.

Of the 3,160 cases in which there were illegitimate children, 1,967 or 62% contained more than one illegitimate child.

ADC payments on behalf of illegitimate children totalled \$184,482 in September 1958, of which \$32,873 was for white children and \$151,609 for colored children.

In 735 cases mothers made contributions toward support of the children totalling \$30,629.

Although the total number of ADC children increased 4.7% from May 1956 to September 1958, the number of illegitimate children in ADC decreased from 7,546 to 7,252 or 3.9%.

FOSTER CARE

31.4% of children in foster care were illegitimate.

20.9% of white foster children were illegitimate.

49.1% of colored foster children were illegitimate.

Local welfare departments made payments in behalf of 1,547 illegitimate foster children in the amount of \$64,822.

From May 1956 to September 1958 the total number of children in foster care increased 21%.

In this period the number of illegitimate foster children increased 27%.

Commonwealth of Virginia
Department of Welfare and Institutions
**ILLEGITIMACY IN THE AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN AND
FOSTER CARE PROGRAMS**
SEPTEMBER 1958

TABLE I
AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN

	Total Number of ADC Children	Number of Illegitimate ADC Children	Percentage Illegitimate	ADC Payments for Illegitimate Children
State				
Total	28,940	7,252	25.1	\$ 184,482
White	12,348	1,289	10.4	32,873
Colored	16,592	5,963	35.9	151,609
Counties				
Total	14,904	2,514	16.9	54,257
White	9,811	1,072	10.9	25,657
Colored	5,093	1,442	28.3	28,600
Cities				
Total	14,036	4,738	33.8	130,225
White	2,537	217	8.6	7,216
Colored	11,499	4,521	39.3	123,009

TABLE II
NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATE ADC CHILDREN PER CASE ACCORDING TO RACE

Number of Illegitimate Children Per Case	Total	White	Colored
Total Cases	3,160	724	2,436
1 child	1,193	409	784
2 children	823	167	656
3 "	581	84	497
4 "	309	37	272
5 "	147	20	127
6 "	69	5	64
7 "	25	1	24
8 "	8	....	8
9 "	4	1	3
10 "	1	....	1

TABLE III
MONTHLY EARNINGS OF MOTHERS OF ILLEGITIMATE ADC CHILDREN
MOTHERS LIVING IN HOME

	Total Cases In Which Mother is in Home	Number of Cases With Earnings From Mother in Home	Percentage of Mothers With Earnings	Amount of Mother's Earnings
Total	2,768	720	26.0	\$30,629
White	634	151	23.8	4,376
Colored	2,134	569	26.7	26,253

TABLE IV
MONTHLY CONTRIBUTIONS OF MOTHERS OF ILLEGITIMATE ADC CHILDREN
MOTHERS NOT LIVING IN HOME

	Total Cases In Which Mother is Not in Home	Number of Cases With Income From Mother Not in Home	Percentage of Mother's Not in Home Contributing to Children's Support	Amount of Mother's Contribution
Total	392	15	3.8	\$444
White	90			
Colored	302	15	5.0	444

TABLE V
INCOME FROM FATHERS OF ILLEGITIMATE ADC CHILDREN*

	Number of Fathers Contributing	Amount of Father's Contributions
Total	332	\$11,597
White	19	645
Colored	313	10,952

* Except in a few cases, does not include court ordered support handled as refunds.

TABLE VI
TOTAL NUMBER OF ADC CHILDREN, NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATE ADC CHILDREN
AND AMOUNT OF ADC PAYMENTS FOR ILLEGITIMATES BY RACE ACCORDING TO COUNTIES AND CITIES

	Total Number of Children Receiving Assistance			Number of Illegitimate Children Receiving Assistance			Amount of Payments for Illegitimate Children		
	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored
Accomack	62	35	27	17	3	14	236.00	40.00	196.00
Albemarle	133	75	58	48	16	32	789.63	370.00	419.63
Alleghany & Covington	103	80	23	3	3		78.38	78.38	.... ..
Amelia	89	23	66	21		21	369.00		369.00
Amherst	46	18	28 ¹	13	4	9	211.00	83.00	128.00
Appomattox	60	22	38	5	1	4	113.75	19.00	94.75
Arlington	307	22	285	55	....	55	2,427.87		2,428.87
Augusta	79	72	7	14	13	1	484.70	456.70	28.00
Bath	28	28							
Bedford	137	81	56	4	1	3	55.47	15.33	40.14
Bland	20	20		1	1		24.83	24.83	
Botetourt	110	67	43	20	6	14	648.47	211.30	437.17
Brunswick	86	8	78	5		5	106.70		106.70
Buchanan	609	609		44	44		987.99	987.99	
Buckingham	49	20	29	2	2		43.00	43.00	.....
Campbell	168	74	94	35	15	20	699.42	366.50	332.92
Caroline	116	19	97	33	3	30	480.00	46.00	434.00
Carroll	283	283		29	29		508.00	508.00	
Charles City	76		76 ²	10		10	246.50		246.50
Charlotte	46	14	32	12	1	11	164.00	13.50	150.50
Chesterfield	95	46	49	2		2	48.06		48.06
Clarke	21	7	14	8		8	112.00	.....	112.00
Craig	9	9							
Culpeper	73	42	31	9	5	4	105.50	45.00	60.50
Cumberland	85	18	67	7	5	7	61.00		61.00

TABLE VI — Continued

	Total Number of Children Receiving Assistance			Number of Illegitimate Children Receiving Assistance			Amount of Payments for Illegitimate Children		
	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored
Dickenson	572	567	5	81	76	5	1,562.34	1,490.84	71.50
Dinwiddie	45	7	38	7		7	103.50		103.50
Essex	39	4	35	2		2	32.98		32.98
Fairfax & Falls Church	413	257	156	102	28	74	3,692.97	1,218.19	2,474.78
Fauquier	63	47	16	2	....	2	38.50	.....	38.50
Floyd	69	44	25	4	4	....	94.00	94.00	.....
Fluvanna	58	16	42	17	....	17	206.50	.....	206.50
Franklin	39	36	3	1	1	....	6.88	6.88	.....
Frederick	115	106	9	24	15	9	655.34	446.34	209.00
Giles	185	182	3	22	22	....	548.92	548.92	.....
Gloucester	105	45	60	34	....	34	715.98	.....	715.98
Goochland	95	18	77	24	1	23	376.20	32.00	344.20
Grayson	233	209	24	30	17	13	580.23	338.40	241.83
Greene	51	36	15	15	9	6	297.50	200.00	97.50
Greensville	177	31	146	68	8	60	726.58	148.83	577.15
Halifax	361	110	251 ³	79	11	68	1,222.11	239.50	982.61
Hanover	73	17	56	1		1	20.92	.....	20.92
Henrico	90	45	45	8	1	7	229.50	34.00	195.50
Henry	120	62	58	31	5	26	520.33	123.50	396.83
Highland	10	10	....	2	2	....	75.00	75.00	.....
Isle of Wight	178	27	151	38	....	38	836.12		836.12
James City	41	6	35	2	....	2	34.00		34.00
King George	19	13	6	3	....	3	39.50		39.50
King and Queen	26	....	26	8	....	8	159.25		159.25
King William	65	8	57 ⁴	24	....	24 ⁴	565.10		565.10 ⁴

	Total Number of Children Receiving Assistance			Number of Illegitimate Children Receiving Assistance			Amount of Payments for Illegitimate Children		
	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored
Lancaster	86	30	56	24	9	15	662.84	305.00	357.84
Lee	826	811	15	92	89	3	1,707.32	1,647.32	60.00
Loudoun	80	54	26	12	1	11	99.50	16.00	83.50
Louisa	157	35	122	36	3	33	853.51	92.17	761.34
Lunenburg	45	10	35	8	3	5	196.50	110.00	86.50
Madison	95	59	36	25	7	18	384.19	167.55	216.64
Mathews	61	30	31	10	4	6	232.00	120.50	111.50
Mecklenburg	300	38	262	32	2	30	550.16	57.50	492.66
Middlesex	17	2	15	9	....	9	111.50	.....	111.50
Montgomery	147	119	28	26	14	12	636.14	404.14	232.00
Nansemond	197	39	158	39	....	39	748.37	.....	748.37
Nelson	52	49	3	11	10	1	321.50	286.50	35.00
New Kent	32	6	26 ⁵	3	....	3	84.50	.....	84.50
Norfolk	585	228	357	137	17	120	3,124.76	443.90	2,680.86
Northampton	99	17	82	52	7	45	746.20	192.00	554.20
Northumberland	32	5	27	5	....	5	157.00	.....	157.00
Nottoway	57	12	45	7	....	7	206.50	.....	206.50
Orange	64	27	37	35	2	33	650.00	52.50	597.50
Page	211	203	8	78	72	6	1,751.68	1,625.68	126.00
Patrick	141	128	13	16	10	6	141.67	80.00	61.67
Pittsylvania	154	63	91	18	....	18	222.75	.....	222.75
Powhatan	25	4	21	7	....	7	137.00	.....	137.00
Prince Edward	52	13	39	11	....	11	162.00	.....	162.00
Prince George	88	6	82	13	....	13	364.95	.....	364.95
Prince William	77	59	18	9	2	7	237.67	75.67	162.00

TABLE VI — Continued

	Total Number of Children Receiving Assistance			Number of Illegitimate Children Receiving Assistance			Amount of Payments for Illegitimate Children		
	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored
Princess Anne & Virginia Beach	294	23	271	78	....	78	1,668.81	.....	1,668.81
Pulaski	294	261	33	42	32	10	1,096.49	905.61	190.88
Rappahannock	52	39	13	10	4	6	269.25	187.00	82.25
Richmond	59	10	49	17	....	17	338.00	.....	338.00
Roanoke	163	133	30	15	6	9	425.75	206.00	219.75
Rockbridge	242	202	40	41	34	7	907.33	717.58	189.75
Rockingham	315	307	8	81	76	5	1,842.53	1,728.03	114.50
Russell	298	288	10	19	19	....	436.50	436.50	.....
Scott	371	371	....	41	41	....	746.93	746.93	.....
Shenandoah	110	96	14	26	17	9	820.33	573.83	246.50
Smyth	281	279	2	31	31	....	586.50	586.50	.....
Southampton	50	6	44	12	....	12	153.63	.....	153.63
Spotsylvania	72	46	26	3	2	1	133.00	105.00	28.00
Stafford	16	11	5	1	....	1	17.00	.....	17.00
Surry	38	1	37	4	—	4	31.88	.....	31.88
Sussex	94	13	81	21	....	21	388.50	.....	388.50
Tazewell	485	458	27	65	49	16	1,449.55	1,114.38	335.17
Warren	120	81	39	48	22	26	961.16	497.06	464.10
Washington	352	326	26	56	37	19	1,171.35	880.85	290.50
Westmoreland	112	31	81	40	2	38	611.40	96.00	515.40
Wise	1,053	1,016	37	106	94	12	2,942.10	2,677.60	264.50
Wythe	189	163	26	13	7	6	349.25	216.50	132.75
York	32	8	24	3	....	3	78.00	.....	78.00
Counties Total	14,904	9,811	5,093	2,514	1,072	1,442	54,256.97	25,656.73	28,600.24

TABLE VI — Continued

	Total Number of Children Receiving Assistance			Number of Illegitimate Children Receiving Assistance			Amount of Payments for Illegitimate Children		
	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored
Alexandria	286	83	203	89	12	77	3,038.80	380.63	2,658.17
Bristol	227	193	34	42	23	19	1,075.83	725.58	350.25
Buena Vista	51	47	4	10	6	4	258.16	217.16	41.00
Charlottesville	58	11	47	26	4	22	619.75	99.25	520.50
Clifton Forge	29	11	18	7	....	7	171.50	.....	171.50
Colonial Heights	8	8		....	....	....	.....	.....	.....
Danville	475	136	339	191	16	175	5,270.30	609.25	4,661.05
Fredericksburg	74	48	26	15	7	8	389.10	198.50	190.60
Galax	53	51	2	2	1	1	55.13	26.13	29.00
Hampton	348	43	305	88	7	81	1,889.24	210.45	1,678.79
Harrisonburg	58	32	26	26	5	21	600.75	115.25	485.50
Hopewell	105	29	76	28	....	28	738.40	.....	738.40
Lynchburg	409	100	309	184	3	181	5,141.50	122.00	5,019.50
Martinsville	47	16	31	8	....	8	162.33	.....	162.33
Newport News	904	63	841	273	4	269	7,279.25	103.00	7,176.25
Norfolk	2,945	314	2,631	891	22	869	27,148.59	815.03	26,333.56
Norton	127	102	25	23	15	8	690.60	429.60	261.00
Petersburg	652	72	580	251	6	245	6,121.08	140.93	5,980.15
Portsmouth	1,306	77	1,229	425	....	425	10,020.94	.....	10,020.94
Radford	33	26	7	10	5	5	322.50	212.50	110.00
Richmond	3,842	390	3,452	1,456	22	1,434	41,659.41	697.41	40,962.00
Roanoke	1,426	491	935	522	41	481	12,802.84	1,460.47	11,342.37
South Norfolk	273	76	197	78	4	74	2,087.88	114.20	1,973.68
Staunton	23	13	10	13	8	5	371.25	276.25	95.00
Suffolk	119	9	110	46	....	46	1,133.04	.....	1,133.04

TABLE VI — Continued

	Total Number of Children Receiving Assistance			Number of Illegitimate Children Receiving Assistance			Amount of Payments for Illegitimate Children		
	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored
Waynesboro	85	66	19	9	3	6	365.35	101.35	264.00
Williamsburg	6	....	6	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....
Winchester	67	30	37	25	3	22	811.75	161.25	650.00
Cities Total	14,036	2,537	11,499	4,738	217	4,521	130,225.27	7,216.19	123,009.08
State Total	28,940	12,348	16,592	7,252	1,289	5,963	184,482.24	32,872.92	151,609.32

¹ Includes 2 Indians² Includes 8 Indians³ Includes 1 Indian⁴ Includes 4 Indians, payments \$96.00⁵ Includes 3 Indians

TABLE VII

FOSTER CARE

	Total Number of Foster Children Under Care	Number of Illegitimate Foster Children Under Care	Percentage Illegitimate
State			
Total	6,770	2,128	31.4
White	4,249	890	20.9
Colored	2,521	1,238	49.1
Counties			
Total	3,020	804	26.6
White	2,330	502	21.5
Colored	690	302	43.8
Cities			
Total	3,750	1,324	35.3
White	1,919	388	20.2
Colored	1,831	936	51.1

TABLE VIII

FOSTER CARE CHILDREN RECEIVING FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

	Total Number of Foster Children Receiving Financial Assistance	Illegitimate Foster Children Receiving Financial Assistance	Percentage Illegitimate	Amount of Payments on Behalf of Illegitimate Foster Children
Total	4,859	1,547	31.8	\$64,822
White	2,857	508	17.8	21,449
Colored	2,002	1,039	51.9	43,373

TABLE IX

FOSTER CARE CHILDREN RECEIVING NO FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

	Total Number Foster Children Receiving No Financial Assistance	Number of Illegitimate Foster Children Receiving No Financial Assistance	Percentage Illegitimate
Total	1,911	581	30.4
White	1,392	382	27.4
Colored	519	199	38.3

TABLE X

TOTAL FOSTER CARE CHILDREN RECEIVING FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE
NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN IN THIS GROUP, AND AMOUNT OF FOSTER PAYMENTS FOR
ILLEGITIMATE FOSTER CHILDREN BY RACE ACCORDING TO COUNTIES AND CITIES

	Total Number of Foster Care Children Receiving Financial Assistance			Number of Illegitimate Foster Care Children Receiving Financial Assistance			Amount of Grants to Illegitimate Foster Care Children		
	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored
Accomack	9	7	2	2		2	65.00		65.00
Albemarle	48	42	6	6	2	4	213.00	81.00	132.00
Alleghany & Covington	5	5		4	4		225.74	225.74	
Amelia	3		3	1		1	25.00	.....	25.00
Amherst	10	5	5	5		5	152.50		152.50
Appomattox	8	6	2	2	1	1	30.00	15.00	15.00
Arlington	101	69	32	22	14	8	1,146.40	686.11	460.29
Augusta	20	12	8	3	3		108.98	108.98	
Bath	9	9		4	4		176.00	176.00	
Bedford	64	60	4	10	7	3	331.75	241.85	89.90
Bland	1	1	....	....					
Botetourt	13	13		2	2		67.25	67.25	
Brunswick									
Buchanan	4	4							.....
Buckingham	4	4		1	1		30.00	30.00	
Campbell	20	17	3	4	1	3	130.00	40.00	90.00
Caroline	18	6	12	5		5	119.31		119.31
Carroll	14	14		3	3		90.00	90.00	
Charles City	2		2	2			92.75		92.75
Charlotte	9	4	5	5		5	105.00	.....	105.00

TABLE X—Continued

	Total Number of Foster Care Children Receiving Financial Assistance			Number of Illegitimate Foster Care Children Receiving Financial Assistance			Amount of Grants to Illegitimate Foster Care Children		
	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored
Chesterfield	51	25	26	19	3	16	682.17	105.42	576.75
Clarke	5	4	1	2	1	1	75.00	40.00	35.00
Craig	3	3	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....
Culpeper	22	16	6	10	4	6	283.24	134.78	148.46
Cumberland	7	4	3	1	1	....	15.00	15.00	.....
Dickenson	20	20	....	11	11	....	242.50	242.50	.....
Dinwiddie	9	5	4	3	....	3	60.00	.....	60.00
Essex	11	6	5	5	....	5	134.00	.....	134.00
Fairfax & Falls Church	185	143	42	39	21	18	1,956.86	1,020.50	936.30
Fauquier	25	17	8	10	3	7	237.50	96.80	140.70
Floyd	5	5	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....
Fluvanna	13	6	7	4	3	1	146.50	113.50	33.00
Franklin	3	2	1	1	....	1	5.00	.....	5.00
Frederick	35	34	1	6	5	1	220.00	183.00	37.00
Giles	4	4	....	1	1	....	30.00	30.00	.....
Gloucester	2	1	1	1	....	1	40.00	.....	40.00
Goochland	6	2	4	3	1	2	95.00	38.50	56.50
Grayson	9	8	1	3	2	1	28.50	18.50	10.00
Greene	16	10	6	1	1	....	31.00	31.00	.....
Greensville	4	4	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....
Halifax	22	17	5	3	1	2	105.00	35.00	70.00
Hanover	32	14	18	9	1	8	362.50	5.50	357.00
Henrico	77	47	30	12	5	7	511.75	258.37	253.38
Henry	14	11	3	4	2	2	81.02	48.02	33.00
Highland	6	6	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....

TABLE X — Continued

	Total Number of Foster Care Children Receiving Financial Assistance			Number of Illegitimate Foster Care Children Receiving Financial Assistance			Amount of Grants to Illegitimate Foster Care Children		
	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored
Isle of Wight	14	5	9	2	....	2	70.00	.....	70.00
James City	....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....
King George	5	4	1	2	1	1	55.82	8.00	47.82
King and Queen	8	....	8	7	....	7	189.00	.....	189.00
King William	5	....	5 ¹	1	....	1 ¹	45.00	.....	45.00 ²
Lancaster	3	1	2	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....
Lee	6	6	....	1	1	....	5.00	5.00	.....
Loudoun	39	32	7	10	6	4	435.45	235.26	200.19
Louisa	1	....	1	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....
Lunenburg	6	1	5	2	....	2	52.50	.....	52.50
Madison	29	24	5	16	13	3	413.00	353.00	60.00
Mathews	....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....
Mecklenburg	3	1	2	3	1	2	85.00	40.00	45.00
Middlesex	5	3	2	2	1	1	60.00	30.00	30.00
Montgomery	33	30	3	15	12	3	541.90	456.90	85.00
Nansemond	32	20	12	7	....	7	246.50	.....	246.50
Nelson	13	4	9	11	2	9	385.30	113.78	271.52
New Kent	4	1	3	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....
Norfolk	49	37	12	12	6	6	542.92	284.67	258.25
Northampton	7	....	7	3	....	3	83.36	.....	83.36
Northumberland	5	2	3	3	....	3	74.00	.....	74.00
Nottoway	10	4	6	1	1	....	78.00	78.00	.....
Orange	22	12	10	5	4	1	205.83	174.83	31.00
Page	16	15	1	8	7	1	185.00	170.00	15.00
Patrick	8	8	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....

TABLE X — Continued

	Total Number of Foster Care Children Receiving Financial Assistance			Number of Illegitimate Foster Care Children Receiving Financial Assistance			Amount of Grants to Illegitimate Foster Care Children		
	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored
Pittsylvania	24	24	....	3	3	....	115.00	115.00	.....
Powhatan	19	4	15	9	1	8	371.55	47.55	324.00
Prince Edward	20	5	15	5	....	5	71.00	.....	71.00
Prince George	8	....	8	3	....	3	97.00	.....	97.00
Prince William	40	40	....	10	10	....	530.04	530.04	.....
Princess Anne & Virginia Beach	39	30	9	8	2	6	270.00	80.00	190.00
Pulaski	35	30	5	8	8	....	283.42	283.42	.....
Rappahannock	20	18	2	2	....	2	61.00	.....	61.00
Richmond	9	1	8	5	1	4	145.00	30.00	115.00
Roanoke	77	67	10	5	3	2	167.30	85.10	82.20
Rockbridge	32	27	5	8	8	....	298.50	298.50	.....
Rockingham	88	87	1	14	14	....	540.30	540.30	.....
Russell	29	29	....	5	5	....	110.82	110.82	.....
Scott	11	11	....	5	5	....	167.00	167.00	.....
Shenandoah	26	25	1	12	11	1	395.00	355.00	40.00
Smyth	27	27	....	8	8	....	256.32	256.32	.....
Southampton	5	1	4	1	1	....	32.50	32.50	.....
Spotsylvania	6	5	1	1	1	....	31.50	31.50	.....
Stafford	1	1	....	1	1	....	30.00	30.00	.....
Surry	....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....
Sussex	2	....	2	2	....	2	50.00	.....	50.00
Tazewell	27	27	....	2	2	....	112.60	112.60	.....
Warren	14	14	....	5	5	....	121.00	121.00	.....
Washington	38	38	....	7	7	....	217.50	217.50	.....
Westmoreland	16	7	9	3	....	3	85.00	.....	85.00

TABLE X — Continued

	Total Number of Foster Care Children Receiving Financial Assistance			Number of Illegitimate Foster Care Children Receiving Financial Assistance			Amount of Grants to Illegitimate Foster Care Children		
	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored
Wise	47	46	1	8	7	1	471.27	441.27	30.00
Wythe	6	6	....	1	1	....	35.00	35.00	.....
York	....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....
Counties Total	1,937	1,472	465	481	267	214	17,270.36	10,048.18	7,222.18
Alexandria	125	78	47	48	19	29	2,415.00	965.00	1,450.00
Bristol	41	33	8	9	6	3	343.91	234.48	109.43
Buena Vista	2	2	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....
Charlottesville	64	21	43	33	5	28	1,408.22	218.00	1,190.22
Clifton Forge	6	1	5	5	....	5	178.59	.....	178.59
Colonial Heights	13	13	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....
Danville	129	97	32	59	32	27	2,691.56	1,420.02	1,271.54
Fredericksburg	28	23	5	3	3	....	170.87	170.87	.....
Galax	6	5	1	1	....	1	8.00	.....	8.00
Hampton	32	11	21	14	1	13	528.51	48.24	480.27
Harrisonburg	48	46	2	8	7	1	274.45	249.45	25.00
Hopewell	27	19	8	5	3	2	195.58	135.58	60.00
Lynchburg	164	78	86	72	16	56	2,595.63	689.00	1,906.63
Martinsville	8	....	8	4	....	4	140.00	.....	140.00
Newport News	136	47	89	54	6	48	2,152.23	249.00	1,903.23

TABLE X — Continued

	Total Number of Foster Care Children Receiving Financial Assistance			Number of Illegitimate Foster Care Children Receiving Financial Assistance			Amount of Grants to Illegitimate Foster Care Children		
	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored
Norfolk	582	220	362	224	38	186	11,072.27	2,327.00	8,745.27
Norton	3	3	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....
Petersburg	67	35	32	14	1	13	592.00	38.00	554.00
Portsmouth	126	26	100 ²	45	3	42	1,617.14	98.50	1,518.64
Radford	4	2	2	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....
Richmond	950	371	579	363	53	310	17,211.44	2,639.72	14,571.72
Roanoke	241	160	81	88	37	51	3,299.16	1,480.39	1,818.77
South Norfolk	37	32	5	4	1	3	160.00	40.00	120.00
Staunton	16	15	1	3	2	1	114.04	84.04	30.00
Suffolk	19	13	6	1	1	....	49.86	49.86	.....
Waynesboro	27	17	10	3	1	2	110.00	40.00	70.00
Williamsburg	....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....
Winchester	21	17	4	6	6	....	223.70	223.70	.....
Cities Total	2,922	1,385	1,537	1,066	241	825	47,552.16	11,400.85	36,151.31
State Total	4,859	2,857	2,002	1,547	508	1,039	64,822.52	21,449.03	43,373.49

¹ Includes 1 Indian, payment \$45.00² Includes 4 Filipinos³ Estimated, report not received

TABLE XI

TOTAL NUMBER OF FOSTER CARE CHILDREN
RECEIVING NO FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE AND NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATE
CHILDREN IN THIS GROUP BY RACE ACCORDING TO COUNTIES AND CITIES

	Total Number of Foster Children Receiving No Financial Assistance			Number of Illegitimate Foster Care Children Receiving No Financial Assistance		
	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored
Accomack	4	4	....	2	2	....
Albemarle	5	5	....	1	1	....
Alleghany	11	11	....	3	3	....
Amelia	7	....	7	....	....	....
Amherst	9	8	1 ¹	2	1	1 ¹
Appomattox	5	2	3	2	1	1
Arlington	14	14	....	9	9	....
Augusta	17	17	....	8	8	....
Bath	3	2	1	1	....	1
Bedford	19	14	5	6	2	4
Bland	....	....	....	....	....	....
Botetourt	....	....	....	....	....	....
Brunswick	2	1	1	1	....	1
Buchanan	7	7	....	....	....	....
Buckingham	16	16	....	1	1	....
Campbell	7	6	1	4	3	1
Caroline	31	13	18	5	1	4
Carroll	27	27	....	5	5	....
Charles City	1	....	1	1	....	1
Charlotte	2	2	....	2	2	....
Chesterfield	13	6	7	3	2	1
Clarke	1	1	....	....	....	....
Craig	....	....	....	....	....	....
Culpeper	7	5	2	3	2	1
Cumberland	5	1	4	2	....	2
Dickenson	5	5	....	....	....	....
Dinwiddie	14	7	7	1	....	1
Essex	14	9	5	....	....	....
Fairfax	42	39	3	19	18	1
Fauquier	20	18	2	3	1	2
Floyd	7	7	....	2	2	....
Fulvanna	4	1	3	1	1	....
Franklin	9	6	3	3	1	2
Frederick	4	4	....	1	1	....
Giles	....	....	....	....	....	....
Gloucester	4	3	1	....	....	....
Goochland	4	3	1	1	....	1
Grayson	10	9	1	2	1	1
Greene	10	10	....	....	....	....
Greensville	8	3	5	2	1	1

TABLE XI — Continued

	Total Number of Foster Children Receiving No Financial Assistance			Number of Illegitimate Foster Care Children Receiving No Financial Assistance		
	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored
Halifax	16	13	3	8	6	2
Hanover	15	13	2	....	....	....
Henrico	51	51	....	33	33	....
Henry	32	29	3	15	12	3
Highland	3	3	....	....	....	....
Isle of Wight	2	2	....	....	....	....
James City	....	....	....	....	....	....
King George	1	....	1	1	....	1
King & Queen	7	....	7	5	....	5
King William	....	....	....	....	....	....
Lancaster	5	4	1	....	....	....
Lee	3	3	....	....	....	....
Loudoun	8	7	1	2	1	1
Louisa	4	4	....	1	1	....
Lunenburg	....	....	....	....	....	....
Madison	16	14	2	7	5	2
Mathews	....	....	....	....	....	....
Mecklenburg	9	3	6	3	1	2
Middlesex	1	....	1	....	....	....
Montgomery	33	33	....	4	4	....
Nansemond	14	11	3	6	4	2
Nelson	22	22	....	7	7	....
New Kent	4	1	3	....	....	....
Norfolk	46	43	3	21	19	2
Northampton	16	4	12	9	1	8
Northumberland	4	....	4	3	....	3
Nottoway	13	3	10	6	....	6
Orange	11	7	4	6	2	4
Page	15	14	1	....	....	....
Patrick	16	16	....	5	5	....
Pittsylvania	27	12	15	4	2	2
Powhatan	9	5	4	....	....	....
Prince Edward	14	3	11	8	....	8
Prince George	....	....	....	....	....	....
Prince William	6	5	1	4	3	1
Princess Anne	18	16	2 ¹	5	3	2 ¹
Pulaski	16	15	1	6	5	1
Rappahannock	1	1	....	....	....	....
Richmond	8	3	5	1	1	....
Roanoke	50	45	5	15	13	2

TABLE XI—Continued

	Total Number of Foster Children Receiving No Financial Assistance			Number of Illegitimate Foster Care Children Receiving No Financial Assistance		
	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored
Rockbridge	15	15	....	....	....	....
Rockingham	33	33	....	6	6	....
Russell	9	9	....	5	5	....
Scott	7	7	....	....	....	....
Shenandoah	8	8	....	2	2	....
Smyth	22	21	1	9	8	1
Southampton	29	3	26	1	1	....
Spotsylvania	1	1	....	....	....	....
Stafford	1	1	....	....	....	....
Surry	3	3	....	....	....	....
Sussex	....	....	....	....	....	....
Tazewell	16	16	....	....	....	....
Warren	5	5	....	2	2	....
Washington	18	18	....	4	4	....
Westmoreland	14	9	5	7	4	3
Wise	8	8	....	4	4	....
Wythe	9	9	....	1	1	....
York	1	1	....	1	1	....
Counties Total	1,083	858	225	323	235	88
Alexandria	46	41	5	34	32	2
Bristol	18	12	6	12	7	5
Buena Vista	2	1	1	1	....	1
Charlottesville	7	5	2	2	1	1
Clifton Forge	7	1	6	1	....	1
Colonial Heights	3	3	....	....	....	....
Danville	33	23	10	1	1	....
Fredericksburg	9	9	....	2	2	....
Galax	3	3	....	2	2	....
Hampton	36	23	13	12	9	3
Harrisonburg	6	6	....	....	....	....
Hopewell	18	17	1	2	2	....
Lynchburg	44	25	19	16	9	7
Martinsville	1	....	1	1	....	1
Newport News	62	32	30	25	9	16
Norfolk	144	84	60	20	8	12
Norton	1	1	....	....	....	....
Petersburg	21	12	9	6	....	6
Portsmouth	46	23	23 ¹	....	....	....
Radford	4	4	....	2	2	....

TABLE XI — Continued

	Total Number of Foster Children Receiving No Financial Assistance			Number of Illegitimate Foster Care Children Receiving No Financial Assistance		
	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored
Richmond	212	123	89	82	35	47
Roanoke	47	35	12	18	12	6
South Norfolk	13	10	3	3	3	....
Staunton	11	11	....	4	4	....
Suffolk	8	7	1	2	1	1
Waynesboro	20	17	3	6	4	2
Williamsburg	....	....	....	....	....	....
Winchester	6	6	....	4	4	....
Cities Total	828	534	294	258	147	111
State Total	1,911	1,392	519	581	382	199

¹ 1 Indian

APPENDIX B
LIVE BIRTHS AND ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS, WITH PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMACY,
FOR THE WHITE POPULATION, BY INDEPENDENT CITY AND COUNTY: VIRGINIA, 1935-1958

Tabulated by Periods

A = 1935-1939 B = 1940-1944 C = 1945-1949 D = 1950-1954 E = 1955-1958

Area	All births					Illegitimate births					Percentages				
	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E
INDEPENDENT CITIES															
Alexandria.....	2,286	5,224	8,218	9,908	9,974	30	67	107	159	208	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.6	2.1
Bristol.....	1,064	1,263	1,648	1,666	1,354	46	46	51	48	36	4.3	3.6	3.1	2.9	2.6
Buena Vista.....	543	536	614	653	488	16	23	34	25	28	2.9	4.3	5.5	3.8	5.7
Charlottesville.....	1,006	1,690	2,634	2,928	2,744	21	25	35	43	38	2.1	1.5	1.3	1.5	1.4
Clifton Forge.....	396	416	536	431	321	6	12	14	12	7	1.5	2.9	2.6	2.8	2.2
Colonial Heights.....	*	323	501	856	871	*	1	2	7	6	*	0.3	0.4	0.8	0.7
Covington.....	518	599	668	802	868	13	13	26	23	25	2.5	2.2	3.9	2.9	2.9
Danville.....	1,908	2,191	2,873	3,727	2,985	49	61	71	95	103	2.6	2.8	2.5	2.5	3.4
Falls Church.....	*	781	1,881	2,389	2,198	*	11	16	16	37	*	1.4	0.8	0.7	1.7
Fredericksburg.....	661	912	1,102	1,141	860	21	16	20	25	37	3.2	1.8	1.8	2.2	4.3
Galax.....	233	387	415	519	447	4	7	10	20	13	1.7	1.8	2.4	3.8	2.9
Hampton.....	1,869	3,938	5,569	8,512	8,513	16	52	61	92	88	0.8	1.3	1.1	1.1	1.0
Harrisonburg.....	582	735	1,086	1,225	914	40	53	69	80	54	6.9	7.2	6.4	6.5	5.9
Hopewell.....	683	950	1,117	1,610	1,672	13	20	15	14	20	1.9	2.1	1.3	0.9	1.2
Lynchburg.....	2,701	3,222	4,275	4,204	3,443	106	102	179	268	215	3.9	3.2	4.2	6.4	6.2
Martinsville.....	804	995	1,513	1,707	1,351	11	14	26	25	27	1.4	1.4	1.7	1.5	2.0
Newport News.....	2,188	6,109	6,943	7,571	7,091	32	45	118	112	93	1.5	0.7	1.7	1.5	1.3
Norfolk.....	6,557	12,507	13,960	20,651	22,528	103	170	291	333	396	1.6	1.4	2.1	1.6	1.8
Norton.....	475	477	512	603	447	24	19	21	30	24	5.0	4.0	4.1	5.0	5.4
Petersburg.....	1,222	1,829	2,421	2,599	2,158	31	44	56	41	48	2.5	2.4	2.3	1.6	2.2

Portsmouth.....	2,308	4,278	4,251	5,899	4,289	26	54	86	103	107	1.1	1.3	2.0	1.7	2.5
Radford.....	577	1,031	1,082	1,026	689	15	28	33	26	29	2.6	2.7	3.0	2.5	4.2
Richmond.....	8,414	12,472	16,751	14,161	9,592	186	227	336	365	323	2.2	1.8	2.0	2.6	3.4
Roanoke.....	4,358	5,463	7,037	9,009	7,819	114	180	193	189	165	2.6	3.3	2.7	2.1	2.1
South Norfolk.....	463	683	943	2,495	1,933	2	6	8	29	35	0.4	0.9	0.8	1.2	1.8
Staunton.....	751	948	1,324	1,535	1,538	33	29	52	81	65	4.4	3.0	3.9	5.3	4.2
Suffolk.....	527	730	832	789	640	6	9	9	8	13	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.0	2.0
Virginia Beach.....	*	429	562	1,412	1,179	*	7	6	19	23	*	1.6	1.1	1.3	2.0
Waynesboro.....	926	914	1,280	1,661	1,509	21	26	28	39	53	2.3	2.8	2.2	2.3	3.5
Williamsburg.....	142	241	285	411	398	2	2	4	3	9	1.4	0.8	1.4	0.7	2.3
Winchester.....	926	1,136	1,619	1,612	1,264	39	52	89	70	75	4.2	4.6	5.5	4.3	5.9
COUNTIES															
Accomack.....	1,351	1,397	1,874	2,223	1,929	18	28	27	29	15	1.3	2.0	1.4	1.3	0.8
Albemarle.....	2,188	1,730	1,974	1,909	1,791	73	58	74	52	44	3.3	3.4	3.7	2.7	2.4
Alleghany.....	1,862	1,554	1,898	1,836	1,041	57	70	71	65	34	3.1	4.5	3.7	3.5	3.3
Amelia.....	404	430	400	427	340	8	4	10	4	6	2.0	0.9	2.5	0.9	1.8
Amherst.....	1,289	1,280	1,291	1,152	1,006	27	29	27	22	23	2.1	2.3	2.1	1.9	2.3
Appomattox.....	545	583	603	554	495	13	12	13	18	12	2.4	2.0	2.2	3.2	2.4
Arlington.....	3,528	10,146	17,663	18,660	15,265	27	80	145	200	249	0.8	0.8	0.8	1.1	1.6
Augusta.....	3,050	3,598	3,773	3,468	2,799	144	131	155	144	109	4.7	3.6	4.1	4.2	3.9
Bath.....	728	623	608	593	434	27	41	36	42	19	3.7	6.6	5.9	7.1	4.4
Bedford.....	2,132	2,152	2,427	2,482	2,080	67	70	64	60	34	3.1	3.2	2.6	2.4	1.6
Bland.....	778	758	738	645	447	11	19	10	19	10	1.4	2.5	1.4	2.9	2.2
Botetourt.....	1,623	1,468	1,536	1,415	1,240	46	46	55	42	29	2.8	3.1	3.6	3.0	2.3
Brunswick.....	884	810	882	839	542	20	12	22	6	9	2.3	1.5	2.5	0.7	1.7
Buchanan.....	5,121	6,050	5,950	5,767	4,580	175	217	228	220	174	3.4	3.6	3.8	3.8	3.8
Buckingham.....	813	710	680	558	428	27	27	18	14	19	3.3	3.8	2.6	2.5	4.4
Campbell.....	1,913	2,064	2,373	2,646	2,341	49	50	65	47	63	2.6	2.4	2.7	1.8	2.7
Caroline.....	606	593	592	620	436	25	23	27	19	6	4.1	3.9	4.6	3.1	1.4
Carroll.....	2,948	2,884	2,850	2,500	1,876	65	87	79	66	47	2.2	3.0	2.8	2.6	2.5

WHITE POPULATION—Continued

Area	All births					Illegitimate births					Percentages				
	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E
Charles City.....	40	57	82	67	88	3	1	1	.....	3	7.5	1.8	1.2	.....	3.4
Charlotte.....	949	837	818	853	633	28	13	13	16	7	3.0	1.6	1.6	1.9	1.1
Chesterfield.....	*1,615	2,060	3,097	4,429	4,717	*34	26	31	30	43	*2.1	1.3	1.0	0.7	0.9
Clarke.....	583	555	669	599	584	28	21	32	14	17	4.8	3.8	4.8	2.3	2.9
Craig.....	380	364	356	358	254	15	15	20	11	10	3.9	4.1	5.6	3.1	3.9
Culpeper.....	784	839	917	1,085	863	18	16	30	30	25	2.3	1.9	3.3	2.8	2.9
Cumberland.....	258	282	293	295	231	3	6	8	7	1	1.2	2.1	2.7	2.4	0.4
Dickenson.....	3,472	3,631	3,704	3,312	2,176	123	112	128	147	101	3.5	3.1	3.4	4.4	4.6
Dinwiddie.....	511	563	663	640	644	10	13	11	7	7	2.0	2.3	1.6	1.1	1.1
Essex.....	332	332	338	330	250	12	7	16	6	2	3.6	2.1	4.7	1.8	0.8
Fairfax.....	*2,573	4,312	6,891	17,518	20,117	*45	83	124	175	227	*1.7	1.9	1.8	1.0	1.1
Fauquier.....	1,399	1,389	1,635	1,953	1,659	50	52	68	53	53	3.6	3.7	4.2	2.7	3.2
Floyd.....	1,333	1,261	1,137	1,016	683	26	19	33	24	13	2.0	1.5	2.9	2.4	1.9
Fluvanna.....	391	293	386	352	294	9	14	10	6	7	2.3	4.8	2.6	1.7	2.4
Franklin.....	2,423	2,391	2,519	2,363	1,890	46	59	58	43	23	1.9	2.5	2.3	1.8	1.2
Frederick.....	1,174	1,416	1,818	2,011	1,878	42	44	71	102	107	3.6	3.1	3.9	5.1	5.7
Giles.....	1,595	2,084	2,682	2,290	1,652	49	65	99	94	88	3.1	3.1	3.7	4.1	5.3
Gloucester.....	541	570	669	741	697	5	7	15	15	11	0.9	1.2	2.2	2.0	1.6
Goochland.....	333	319	332	349	287	21	12	10	8	5	6.3	3.8	3.0	2.3	1.7
Grayson.....	2,228	2,005	2,064	1,838	1,381	49	37	84	50	43	2.2	1.8	4.1	2.7	3.1
Greene.....	591	559	563	454	397	27	27	46	41	20	4.6	4.8	8.2	9.0	5.0
Greensville.....	525	638	668	697	572	15	9	12	13	11	2.8	1.4	1.8	1.9	1.9
Halifax.....	2,460	2,357	2,430	2,521	1,916	34	51	52	61	56	1.4	2.2	2.1	2.4	2.9
Hanover.....	921	1,109	1,334	1,624	1,523	12	21	22	21	23	1.3	1.9	1.6	1.3	1.5
Henrico.....	1,791	2,689	4,412	8,723	10,021	19	38	54	57	72	1.1	1.4	1.2	0.6	0.7
Henry.....	2,466	2,762	2,615	3,099	2,943	27	49	55	52	42	1.1	1.8	2.1	1.7	1.4

Highland.....	591	480	431	366	267	42	25	30	33	18	7.1	5.2	7.0	9.0	6.7
Isle of Wight.....	580	630	629	699	547	2	10	6	3	4	0.3	1.6	1.0	0.4	0.7
James City.....	189	233	334	470	511	.....	3	4	4	5	.....	1.3	1.2	0.8	1.0
King George.....	304	464	488	602	407	7	9	12	12	4	2.3	1.9	2.4	2.0	1.0
King and Queen.....	276	338	282	227	162	6	5	5	.....	3	2.2	1.5	1.8	.....	1.8
King William.....	328	394	441	419	310	5	2	7	9	4	1.5	0.5	1.6	2.1	1.3
Lancaster.....	426	403	516	531	416	13	4	12	7	12	3.0	1.0	2.3	1.3	2.9
Lee.....	5,169	5,229	4,755	3,699	2,337	152	172	146	82	90	2.9	3.3	3.1	2.2	3.8
Loudoun.....	1,575	1,620	1,911	1,907	1,677	48	46	57	56	52	3.0	2.8	3.0	2.9	3.1
Louisa.....	744	709	769	771	639	26	23	20	22	16	3.5	3.2	2.6	2.8	2.5
Lunenburg.....	650	722	801	884	512	11	16	16	17	3	1.7	2.2	2.0	1.9	0.6
Madison.....	632	582	624	571	450	20	24	19	25	16	3.2	4.1	3.0	4.4	3.6
Mathews.....	340	339	390	384	306	6	4	6	5	6	1.8	1.2	1.5	1.3	2.0
Mecklenburg.....	1,553	1,562	1,736	1,817	1,379	27	34	25	40	27	1.7	2.2	1.4	2.2	2.0
Middlesex.....	261	244	290	317	242	2	11	6	1	2	0.8	4.5	2.1	0.3	0.8
Montgomery.....	2,176	3,015	3,385	3,523	3,012	84	80	99	114	79	3.9	2.6	2.9	3.2	2.6
Nansemond.....	587	747	842	932	856	7	9	15	16	7	1.2	1.2	1.8	1.7	0.8
Nelson.....	1,273	1,202	1,155	1,041	758	65	46	61	42	29	5.1	3.8	5.3	4.0	3.8
New Kent.....	126	128	141	204	168	1	4	4	3	1	0.8	3.1	2.8	1.5	0.6
Norfolk.....	1,321	6,667	12,359	13,813	6,056	11	58	149	134	92	0.8	0.9	1.2	1.0	1.5
Northampton.....	538	602	679	725	625	5	10	16	11	13	0.9	1.7	2.4	1.5	2.1
Northumberland.....	332	400	423	455	312	6	5	9	11	3	1.8	1.2	2.1	2.4	1.0
Nottoway.....	683	806	926	1,234	706	15	11	15	26	8	2.2	1.4	1.6	2.1	1.1
Orange.....	851	822	1,047	958	814	28	30	33	25	23	3.3	3.6	3.2	2.6	2.8
Page.....	1,611	1,613	1,782	1,684	1,272	86	85	117	90	62	5.3	5.3	6.6	5.3	4.9
Patrick.....	2,034	1,890	1,824	1,562	1,221	32	38	38	33	25	1.6	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.0
Pittsylvania.....	4,668	4,991	5,348	4,480	3,176	73	84	131	103	61	1.6	1.7	2.4	2.3	1.9
Powhatan.....	246	219	297	299	256	6	3	7	2	2	2.4	1.4	2.4	0.7	0.8
Prince Edward.....	600	653	773	817	563	14	11	14	21	12	2.3	1.7	1.8	2.6	2.1
Prince George.....	462	640	881	1,187	1,005	8	5	10	8	11	1.7	0.8	1.1	0.7	1.1
Prince William.....	1,257	1,330	1,891	2,340	3,192	15	18	44	52	55	1.2	1.4	2.3	2.2	1.7

WHITE POPULATION—Continued

Area	All births					Illegitimate births					Percentages				
	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E
Princess Anne.....	*875	1,517	2,152	5,531	9,468	*10	16	24	54	103	*1.1	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.1
Pulaski.....	2,361	3,048	3,447	3,254	2,120	73	95	127	127	90	3.1	3.1	3.7	3.9	4.2
Rappahannock.....	671	599	587	509	389	14	17	26	33	10	2.1	2.8	4.4	6.5	2.6
Richmond.....	315	331	379	369	306	13	11	5	9	12	4.1	3.3	1.3	2.4	3.9
Roanoke.....	3,188	4,203	5,045	4,463	3,901	54	93	108	110	87	1.7	2.2	2.1	2.5	2.2
Rockbridge.....	1,955	1,938	2,203	2,347	1,920	84	96	124	117	101	4.3	5.0	5.6	5.0	5.3
Rockingham.....	3,126	3,285	4,267	4,574	3,656	148	132	207	213	152	4.7	4.0	4.8	4.6	4.2
Russell.....	3,886	3,683	3,709	3,351	2,425	144	135	128	108	92	3.7	3.7	3.4	3.2	3.8
Scott.....	3,138	3,303	3,177	2,999	2,136	108	120	89	82	58	3.4	3.6	2.8	2.7	2.7
Shenandoah.....	1,897	1,998	2,329	2,192	1,767	65	66	118	99	73	3.4	3.3	5.1	4.5	4.1
Smyth.....	3,420	3,651	3,803	3,487	2,733	105	107	129	121	106	3.1	2.9	3.4	3.5	3.9
Southampton.....	902	1,015	1,091	1,132	895	9	20	11	9	6	1.0	2.0	1.0	0.8	0.7
Spotsylvania.....	681	789	909	1,024	914	12	15	21	18	20	1.8	1.9	2.3	1.8	2.2
Stafford.....	654	765	985	1,231	1,116	18	16	22	35	30	2.8	2.1	2.2	2.8	2.7
Surry.....	171	137	192	208	123	2	3	2	.....	1	1.2	2.2	1.0	.....	0.8
Sussex.....	275	386	443	457	334	5	10	4	2	2	1.8	2.6	0.9	0.4	0.6
Tazewell.....	5,654	6,162	6,796	6,604	4,898	156	180	232	188	160	2.8	2.9	3.4	2.8	3.3
Warren.....	931	1,177	1,664	1,484	1,125	52	41	60	65	49	5.6	3.5	3.6	4.4	4.4
Washington.....	4,463	4,445	4,682	4,501	3,276	133	145	150	155	132	3.0	3.3	3.2	3.4	4.0
Westmoreland.....	410	411	516	600	427	15	12	17	12	9	3.6	2.9	3.3	2.0	2.1
Wise.....	6,613	6,888	7,365	6,724	4,727	244	262	228	185	168	3.7	3.8	3.1	2.8	3.6
Wythe.....	2,531	2,884	2,871	2,877	1,971	99	80	98	90	67	3.9	2.8	3.4	3.1	3.4
York.....	471	745	859	1,310	1,652	7	4	6	9	9	1.5	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.5
The State.....	189,490	240,947	293,277	331,664	285,930	5,048	5,803	7,364	7,400	6,601	2.7	2.4	2.5	2.2	2.3

* In the 1935-1939 period separate figures for Colonial Heights, Falls Church, and Virginia Beach are not available. These are included with Chesterfield County, Fairfax County and Princess Anne County respectively.

LIVE BIRTHS AND ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS, WITH PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMACY,
FOR THE NONWHITE POPULATION, BY INDEPENDENT CITY AND COUNTRY: VIRGINIA, 1935-1958

Tabulated by Periods

A = 1935-1939 B = 1940-1944 C = 1945-1949 D = 1950-1954 E = 1955-1958

Area	All births					Illegitimate births					Percentages				
	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E
INDEPENDENT CITIES															
Alexandria.....	456	683	933	1,308	1,409	105	153	221	254	315	23.0	22.4	23.7	19.4	22.4
Bristol.....	83	100	143	164	93	15	19	19	30	13	18.1	19.0	13.3	18.3	14.0
Buena Vista.....	57	22	35	34	33	2	6	9	5	11	3.5	27.3	25.7	14.7	33.3
Charlottesville.....	378	470	615	726	647	95	132	137	168	142	25.1	28.1	22.3	23.1	21.9
Clifton Forge.....	108	74	139	141	106	17	13	25	30	32	15.7	17.6	18.0	21.3	30.2
Colonial Heights.....	*	1	.....	5	10	*	.....	.....	.....	1	*	.....	.....	.....	10.0
Covington.....	93	118	105	144	94	17	18	8	22	18	18.3	15.2	7.6	15.3	19.1
Danville.....	857	1,072	1,220	1,645	1,337	228	287	302	391	388	26.6	26.8	24.8	23.8	29.0
Falls Church.....	*	71	50	50	70	*	10	9	7	12	*	14.1	18.0	14.0	17.1
Fredericksburg.....	116	178	233	271	257	34	37	54	57	60	29.3	20.8	23.2	21.0	23.3
Galax.....	12	10	25	38	39	1	2	4	7	7	8.3	20.0	16.0	18.4	17.9
Hampton.....	706	1,132	1,340	1,629	2,012	149	206	218	250	280	21.1	18.2	16.3	15.3	13.9
Harrisonburg.....	59	78	97	83	72	24	40	36	25	16	40.7	51.3	37.1	30.1	22.2
Hopewell.....	91	148	130	300	350	22	27	15	50	84	24.2	18.2	11.5	16.7	24.0
Lynchburg.....	1,044	1,061	1,361	1,481	1,118	308	311	376	404	314	29.5	29.3	27.6	27.3	28.1
Martinsville.....	317	277	609	754	720	51	56	130	147	150	16.1	20.2	21.3	19.5	20.8
Newport News.....	1,602	3,071	4,310	5,068	4,920	360	515	663	752	733	22.5	16.8	15.4	14.8	14.9
Norfolk.....	3,910	5,712	7,261	9,599	9,921	960	1,183	1,570	2,158	2,182	24.6	20.7	21.6	22.5	22.0
Norton.....	34	33	45	41	49	3	4	7	12	21	8.8	12.1	15.6	29.3	42.8
Petersburg.....	1,203	1,567	1,823	2,237	2,036	362	423	380	376	453	30.1	27.0	20.8	16.8	22.2

NONWHITE POPULATION—Continued

Area	All births					Illegitimate births					Percentages				
	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E
Portsmouth.....	1,665	2,730	3,852	5,177	4,506	396	609	794	898	950	23.8	22.3	20.6	17.3	21.1
Radford.....	53	68	78	48	49	10	13	11	6	13	18.9	19.1	14.1	12.5	26.5
Richmond.....	5,363	6,291	8,600	11,213	10,731	1,460	1,737	2,206	3,092	3,253	27.2	27.6	25.6	27.6	30.3
Roanoke.....	979	1,280	1,801	2,123	1,780	246	268	354	483	473	25.1	20.9	19.6	22.8	26.6
South Norfolk.....	162	220	235	720	837	33	55	67	151	239	20.4	25.0	28.5	21.0	28.6
Staunton.....	162	151	210	284	205	40	51	51	78	48	24.7	33.8	24.3	27.5	23.4
Suffolk.....	323	434	615	762	675	114	131	138	200	181	35.3	30.2	22.4	26.2	26.8
Virginia Beach.....	*	17	54	73	125	*	7	15	18	18	*	41.2	27.8	24.6	14.4
Waynesboro.....	76	59	87	144	126	20	13	22	35	45	26.3	22.0	25.3	24.3	35.7
Williamsburg.....	82	101	124	159	125	12	11	26	28	26	14.6	10.9	21.0	17.6	20.8
Winchester.....	80	110	137	179	123	23	34	42	42	35	28.8	30.9	30.6	23.5	28.4
COUNTIES															
Accomack.....	1,216	1,199	1,482	1,901	1,602	349	392	514	666	597	28.7	32.7	34.7	35.0	37.3
Albemarle.....	678	531	573	643	615	136	118	129	143	130	20.0	22.2	22.5	22.2	21.1
Alleghany.....	70	87	94	110	62	17	13	19	19	11	24.3	14.9	20.2	17.3	17.7
Amelia.....	608	613	630	701	464	99	98	91	136	84	16.3	16.0	14.4	19.4	18.1
Amherst.....	788	733	758	757	644	124	129	114	122	107	15.7	17.6	15.0	16.1	16.6
Appomattox.....	295	306	285	327	241	33	39	57	54	32	11.2	12.7	20.0	16.5	13.3
Arlington.....	389	557	879	1,029	1,052	81	92	118	177	220	20.8	16.5	13.4	17.2	20.9
Augusta.....	267	279	232	281	206	58	57	44	50	45	21.7	20.4	19.0	17.8	21.8
Bath.....	50	48	55	49	31	16	8	14	9	13	32.0	16.7	25.4	18.4	41.9
Bedford.....	786	714	750	896	711	112	96	101	151	133	14.2	13.4	13.5	16.8	18.7
Bland.....	22	20	8	13	5	1	2	2	1	.....	4.5	10.0	25.0	7.7	.....
Botetourt.....	199	213	206	224	163	32	35	50	44	44	16.1	16.4	24.3	19.6	27.0
Brunswick.....	1,694	1,635	1,711	1,832	1,307	189	192	194	195	187	11.2	11.7	11.3	10.6	14.3
Buchanan.....	1	.....	.....	4	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Buckingham.....	844	820	888	869	652	166	157	144	167	132	19.7	19.1	16.2	19.2	20.2

Campbell.....	1,001	942	996	1,161	1,061	148	184	179	197	193	14.8	19.5	18.0	17.0	18.2
Caroline.....	984	1,027	1,001	953	780	182	191	177	145	154	18.5	18.6	17.7	15.2	19.7
Carroll.....	26	39	26	12	15	2	9	6	.....	4	7.7	23.1	23.1	.....	26.7
Charles City.....	504	586	655	650	568	72	118	117	121	133	14.3	20.1	17.9	18.6	23.4
Charlotte.....	941	846	828	881	643	129	174	160	144	104	13.7	20.6	19.3	16.3	16.2
Chesterfield.....	*710	834	971	1,163	866	*116	114	138	176	147	*16.3	13.7	14.2	15.1	17.0
Clarke.....	128	151	174	161	144	32	34	52	54	47	25.0	22.5	29.9	33.5	32.6
Craig.....	5	2	1	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	40.0	.....	.....	.....	.....
Culpeper.....	494	490	566	612	508	100	94	127	174	108	20.2	19.2	22.4	28.4	21.2
Cumberland.....	612	582	608	649	424	89	111	106	129	90	14.5	19.1	17.4	19.9	21.2
Dickenson.....	60	48	71	65	27	5	3	8	10	5	8.3	6.2	11.3	15.4	18.5
Dinwiddie.....	1,107	1,066	1,173	1,267	1,105	145	155	142	206	159	13.1	14.5	12.1	16.2	14.4
Essex.....	442	383	397	490	409	88	84	96	92	101	19.9	21.9	24.2	18.8	24.7
Fairfax.....	*416	526	830	1,366	1,362	*65	77	152	266	239	*15.6	14.6	18.3	19.5	17.5
Fauquier.....	718	703	733	852	756	124	153	146	191	150	17.3	21.8	19.9	22.4	19.8
Floyd.....	71	78	63	54	45	11	5	3	7	5	15.5	6.4	4.8	13.0	11.1
Flovanna.....	325	293	359	378	335	48	77	76	94	80	14.8	26.3	21.2	24.9	23.9
Franklin.....	448	459	518	638	488	64	56	73	82	91	14.3	12.2	14.1	12.8	18.6
Frederick.....	36	49	46	53	51	9	7	8	17	27	25.0	14.3	17.4	32.1	52.9
Giles.....	42	66	63	89	85	8	14	14	17	13	19.0	21.2	22.2	19.1	15.3
Gloucester.....	318	316	353	363	346	50	53	54	58	66	15.7	16.8	15.3	16.0	19.1
Goochland.....	514	541	576	553	480	94	97	127	116	92	18.3	17.9	22.0	21.0	19.2
Grayson.....	75	89	86	101	81	10	18	15	20	9	13.3	20.2	17.4	19.8	11.1
Greene.....	94	74	69	86	64	27	15	19	30	16	28.7	20.3	27.5	34.9	25.0
Greensville.....	1,232	1,418	1,700	1,723	1,148	175	260	269	312	253	14.2	18.3	15.8	18.1	22.0
Halifax.....	2,716	2,773	2,817	2,906	2,186	336	410	414	473	436	12.4	14.8	14.7	16.3	19.9
Hanover.....	817	836	896	1,038	956	146	124	159	227	197	17.9	14.8	17.7	21.9	20.6
Henrico.....	625	614	681	879	721	108	130	169	195	167	17.3	21.2	24.8	22.2	23.2
Henry.....	1,267	1,479	1,398	1,562	1,303	129	202	194	259	229	10.2	13.6	13.9	16.6	17.6
Highland.....	6	3	5	4	.....	2	2	2	.....	.....	33.3	66.7	40.0	.....	.....

NONWHITE POPULATION—Continued

Area	All births					Illegitimate births					Percentages				
	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E
Isle of Wight.....	979	969	1,114	1,305	1,113	175	181	229	246	255	17.9	18.7	20.6	18.8	22.9
James City.....	313	375	467	556	555	55	60	83	105	129	17.6	16.0	17.8	18.9	23.2
King George.....	241	250	243	316	242	60	67	70	83	72	24.9	26.8	28.8	26.3	29.8
King and Queen.....	444	417	424	510	357	56	47	59	75	51	12.6	11.3	13.9	14.7	14.3
King William.....	491	469	475	478	388	100	90	90	109	83	20.4	19.2	18.9	22.8	21.4
Lancaster.....	385	362	419	492	418	81	71	109	98	90	21.0	19.6	26.0	19.9	21.5
Lee.....	91	81	39	32	16	6	9	5	3	4	6.6	11.1	12.8	9.4	25.0
Loudoun.....	514	527	598	586	534	115	134	152	150	137	22.4	25.4	25.4	25.6	25.6
Louisa.....	753	724	720	828	724	105	121	126	134	132	13.9	16.7	17.5	16.2	18.2
Lunenburg.....	887	916	893	936	658	107	110	124	152	123	12.1	12.0	13.9	16.2	18.7
Madison.....	260	244	214	252	211	48	60	44	63	49	18.5	24.6	20.6	25.0	23.2
Mathews.....	153	146	184	201	162	34	27	34	29	22	22.2	18.5	18.5	14.4	13.6
Mecklenburg.....	2,470	2,499	2,657	2,769	1,898	391	471	415	472	348	15.8	18.8	15.6	17.0	18.3
Middlesex.....	309	287	341	376	293	33	50	68	68	36	10.7	17.4	19.9	18.1	12.3
Montgomery.....	138	157	214	207	131	36	29	30	33	22	26.1	18.5	14.0	15.9	16.8
Nansemond.....	1,930	2,111	2,182	2,453	2,298	411	454	502	581	614	21.3	21.5	23.0	23.7	26.7
Nelson.....	627	574	568	587	475	98	100	92	134	107	15.6	17.4	16.2	22.8	22.5
New Kent.....	255	259	287	345	329	31	49	43	54	87	12.2	18.9	15.0	15.6	26.4
Norfolk.....	1,558	2,011	2,665	3,065	2,396	311	350	574	702	563	20.0	17.4	21.5	22.9	23.5
Northampton.....	1,239	1,125	1,318	1,524	1,204	298	338	434	488	465	24.0	30.0	32.9	32.0	38.6
Northumberland.....	436	459	467	471	374	63	73	96	88	78	14.4	15.9	20.6	18.7	20.8
Nottoway.....	875	864	938	964	695	164	185	231	208	183	18.7	21.4	24.6	21.6	26.3
Orange.....	487	444	449	481	405	124	106	127	147	115	25.5	23.9	28.3	30.6	28.4
Page.....	77	63	64	87	55	11	9	10	29	16	14.3	14.3	15.6	33.3	29.1
Patrick.....	210	188	211	238	169	23	14	21	22	17	11.0	7.4	10.0	9.2	10.0
Pittsylvania.....	2,811	2,936	3,357	3,457	2,852	360	408	524	526	532	12.8	13.9	15.6	15.2	18.6

Powhatan.....	268	285	316	329	201	45	52	46	50	41	16.8	18.2	14.6	15.2	20.4
Prince Edward.....	1,057	864	899	957	764	153	151	163	197	164	14.5	17.5	18.1	20.6	21.5
Prince George.....	652	640	696	690	533	118	119	141	110	106	18.1	18.6	20.2	15.9	19.9
Prince William.....	253	302	322	448	383	42	58	67	92	83	16.6	19.2	20.8	20.5	21.7
Princess Anne.....	*946	1,082	1,269	1,528	1,583	*211	282	308	365	416	*22.3	26.1	24.3	23.9	26.3
Pulaski.....	242	242	269	252	220	46	58	55	50	63	19.0	24.0	20.4	19.8	28.6
Rappahannock.....	180	131	124	110	101	41	33	32	29	37	22.8	25.2	25.8	26.4	36.6
Richmond.....	321	313	310	336	267	74	55	50	68	74	23.0	17.6	16.1	20.2	27.7
Roanoke.....	265	315	365	411	321	52	61	74	88	67	19.6	19.4	20.3	21.4	20.9
Rockbridge.....	209	263	287	252	189	42	45	60	56	42	20.1	17.1	20.9	22.2	22.2
Rockingham.....	69	56	84	73	51	24	26	35	26	19	34.8	46.4	41.7	35.6	37.2
Russell.....	106	84	86	78	47	16	13	12	11	13	15.1	15.5	14.0	14.1	27.6
Scott.....	15	17	25	24	23	4	3	3	2	2	26.7	17.6	12.0	8.3	8.7
Shenandoah.....	32	41	49	56	31	6	8	7	4	13	18.8	19.5	14.3	7.1	41.9
Smyth.....	57	65	46	60	46	3	4	3	9	4	5.3	6.2	6.5	15.0	8.7
Southampton.....	2,434	2,417	2,561	2,689	2,082	362	371	465	532	511	14.9	15.3	18.2	19.8	24.5
Spotsylvania.....	386	348	352	450	356	41	43	60	75	54	10.6	12.4	17.0	16.7	15.2
Stafford.....	218	194	222	296	268	41	48	61	66	74	18.8	24.7	27.5	22.3	27.6
Surry.....	533	519	562	620	530	90	92	87	93	97	16.9	17.7	15.5	15.0	18.3
Sussex.....	1,267	1,247	1,224	1,481	1,033	239	242	200	275	241	18.9	19.4	16.3	18.6	23.3
Tazewell.....	302	338	367	419	212	37	47	57	52	26	12.2	13.9	15.5	12.4	12.3
Warren.....	109	156	168	142	103	16	29	28	29	26	14.7	18.6	16.7	20.4	25.2
Washington.....	178	114	88	139	95	30	20	13	18	26	16.8	17.5	14.8	12.9	27.4
Westmoreland.....	607	636	649	863	688	126	136	168	274	243	20.8	21.4	25.9	31.7	35.3
Wise.....	238	285	260	296	145	32	38	38	34	26	13.4	13.3	14.6	11.5	17.9
Wythe.....	158	141	132	143	93	28	24	34	17	16	17.7	17.0	25.8	11.9	17.2
York.....	494	445	406	492	638	69	80	63	88	122	14.0	18.0	15.5	17.9	19.1
The State.....	75,238	83,404	97,124	114,095	99,245	14,320	16,521	19,324	23,431	22,499	19.0	19.8	19.9	20.5	22.7

* In the 1935-1939 period separate figures for Colonial Heights, Falls Church, and Virginia Beach are not available. These are included with Chesterfield County, Fairfax County and Princess Anne County respectively.

