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Adams, Rebecca Clark White, Ed.D.

The College of William and Mary, 1992

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SCHOOL SYSTEM MERGER:
A STUDY OF POWER AND
REDISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES

A Dissertation
Presented to
The Faculty of the School of Education
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

Submitted by
Rebecca Clark White Adams
April, 1992

SCHOOL SYSTEM MERGER:
A STUDY OF POWER AND
REDISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES

by

Rebecca Clark White Adams

Approved April 1992 by


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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my family whose encouragement and assistance made it possible for me to pursue my educational dream. My sons, Samuel Clay Adams, Christian McGehee Adams, and Joseph Clark Adams assumed responsibilities without complaint and were unfailing in their support of my doctoral program. My parents, Joseph and Virginia White, have served as educational role models throughout my life. They taught me the meaning of life long learning.

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Special friends and colleagues must be thanked. The following administrators from Chesapeake Public Schools contributed greatly to the writer's completion of the doctoral program: Janet T. Garner, Penny G. Goodin, Linda D. Palombo, and Connie C. Saul. They travelled together to classes in Williamsburg for three years. They supported each other academically, professionally, and personally as they sought to expand their horizons. Doris Wayman, both friend and secretary, was kind enough to volunteer to proofread the final copy of this dissertation. She too provided the constant encouragement necessary to reach this goal.

This study turned into a labor of love as the writer interviewed a number of people who had personal ties with the Norfolk County/South Norfolk consolidation in 1963. Thanks go to all of those who so willingly shared their knowledge in this inquiry. Special appreciation must go to Mr. Edwin W. Chittum, who gave unselfishly of his time and historical resources, and Dr. Henry I. Willett, Jr., whose information raised countless questions that opened many doors in this study.

SCHOOL SYSTEM MERGER: A STUDY OF POWER AND REDISTRIBUTION
OF RESOURCES

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine the merger of the school systems of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County in the State of Virginia. The merger of these two geographical entities was consummated on January 1, 1963. Norfolk County was formed in 1636 by the Virginia General Assembly. The cities of Norfolk, Portsmouth, and South Norfolk were carved from this county. A series of annexations by these cities between 1940 and 1960 cost Norfolk County thirty-three square miles of territory, 110,000 residents, and \$1,881,000 in revenue.

In order to protect its viability, Norfolk County voted to merge with the small City of South Norfolk. The City of Chesapeake was formed. Since schools were a major issue during the pre-merger campaign, this study examined the merger of the two school systems with primary emphasis on the control of power and the distribution of resources for facilities in the newly formed city.

The research data included primary and secondary sources in the areas of documents, newspapers, oral history, quantitative records, historical texts, and relics. A number of major figures in the school system of that period were available for personal interviews.

The hypothesis that resources for facilities were distributed equitably to the former South Norfolk and

Norfolk County areas was accepted. Equitable did not mean equal since South Norfolk schools were in much greater need at the time of the 1963 merger. Therefore, the new Chesapeake School Board provided a larger share of the 1963 bond revenues and other fiscal resources to the former South Norfolk Schools.

The hypothesis that the power in the newly merged Chesapeake School System was unevenly controlled by former Norfolk County leaders and residents was accepted. While it is fair to conclude from a review of School Board minutes, newspapers, periodicals, and interviews that former Norfolk County leaders and residents controlled decisionmaking through the Chesapeake School Board and major central office leadership roles, there was no indication that this power was used unjustly. Research into sources of the period and extensive interviews indicated that the leaders genuinely wanted the best for the new school system.

The issues of power and distribution of resources examined in this dissertation must be considered in any merger of school systems. Research into other school system mergers would advance this study.

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Chapter One
Introduction to the Study

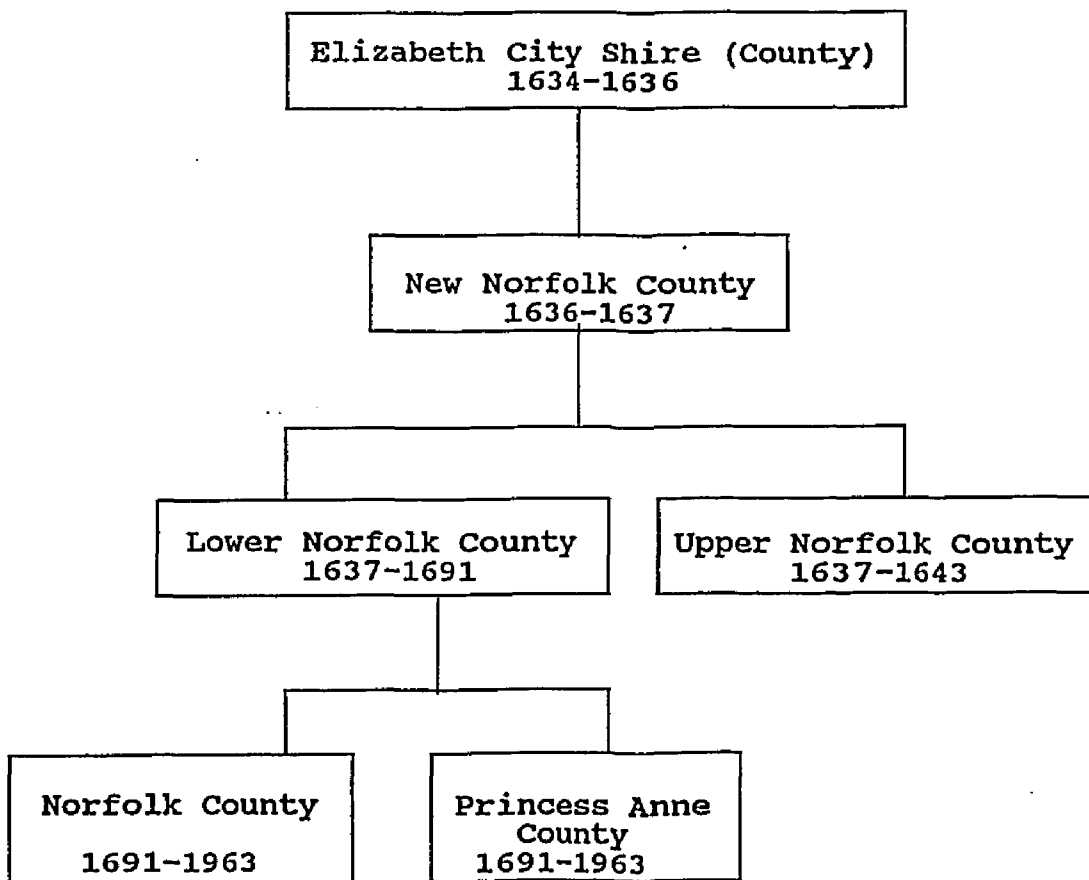
PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to examine the merger of the school systems of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County in the State of Virginia. The merger of these two geographical entities was consummated on January 1, 1963. The demographic reasons for this merger will be discussed later in this study.

In order to analyze the merger of the two school systems, it is necessary to have an understanding of the two geographical areas prior to the merger. Norfolk County had been a political subdivision of the State of Virginia for three hundred twenty-six years prior to the 1963 merger. In 1585, historical records show that Ralph Lane led a group of English colonists from the Roanoke Island settlement to explore what is now called the Elizabeth River and visited a village inhabited by the Chesapeake Indians.

In 1610 planters from Jamestown, with Captain John Smith, searched for fertile land and planted a settlement in Norfolk County. In 1634, the Virginia Colony was divided into eight shires or counties modelled after those in England. The Elizabeth City County extended from the Atlantic Ocean to an area west of Richmond. Two years later in 1636, the General Assembly divided this large county, and the new Norfolk County was formed.

GENEOLOGY OF NORFOLK COUNTY



This geneology shows the various land changes affecting Norfolk County from 1634 until the merger with the City of South Norfolk on January 1, 1963.

A number of changes took place in this large, land rich county. In 1682 the fifty acre town of Norfolk was created, followed by Princess Anne County being carved out in 1691. The town of Portsmouth was established in 1763 and later became a city in 1858. Norfolk met the requirements to be incorporated as a city by the State of Virginia in 1845. Legislative acts and annexations continued to take more land from Norfolk County in the next hundred years.

In the colonial days of Norfolk County, the isolation of communities within the broad geographical area made a single educational system difficult. There are historical indications that some provisions were made for education. All educational policies were administered jointly under the Church of England and the Colonial Assembly. White children received cultural enrichment in their homes and in three other ways. These included tutors, local free or private schools, and parish schools. After 1693, higher education was available at the College of William and Mary. Formal education was available to boys only during this period.

In an early history of public education compiled for the Jamestown Exposition in 1907, information indicated that Norfolk County had no organized public schools during the period 1607 until 1798. In the early days of settlement, there were few children because of the rugged demands of colonial life. In 1619 one hundred orphans from England were

sent to the Virginia Colony for apprenticeship. They were taught a good trade in exchange for five hundred pounds. Others followed in subsequent years.

The first board of school trustees of Norfolk County was elected by the Norfolk County Court in 1798 under the auspices of an act passed by the General Assembly. The three School Aldermen tried to set up a system under Thomas Jefferson's edict for "General Diffusion of Knowledge" for Virginia. It was not successful at first because the wealthy planters did not want to pay for the education of the poor. By 1832 however, thirty-three schools were operating in Norfolk County; they enrolled at least fifty percent of the indigent students.

The period from 1862 until 1871 became known as the period of educational darkness in Norfolk County. There were only six very small private schools left in existence with an enrollment of one hundred fifty students. Military government was not abolished until 1868. The State of Virginia reestablished the public system in 1871. Ninety days after the Norfolk County School Superintendent was commissioned by the Governor, thirty schools were opened. By 1907 there were one hundred sixty-eight schools.

Public high schools came about as the result of the passage of the High School Act in 1906. The first high school was constructed in the Great Bridge community in 1907. By 1916 there were seven high schools, including the first four-

year accredited Negro high school in Virginia. These high schools served an area of 364.2 square miles in Norfolk County. In 1945 the County Court appointed a board of twenty School Commissioners that organized a school system that provided free education to all children over the age of six years. A tax was also levied on real and personal property for school use.

South Norfolk was located on the east side of the Southern Branch of the Elizabeth River which formed its western boundary. It also had a common boundary with the Berkley and Campostella sections of the City of Norfolk. Its southern border was originally Jones's Creek at the Virginia Railway Bridge over South Branch. Municipal status came in 1919 when the Town of South Norfolk was incorporated. It did not go through the normal channel of an unincorporated town in Virginia. It also did not wait the full three years before moving to the next step in 1922 when it became a city of the second class. This was done under a provision of the 1902 Virginia Constitution. A city of the second class was placed under the jurisdiction of the County Court. The City of South Norfolk was under the jurisdiction of Norfolk County Court.

In 1950 the boundaries of the City of South Norfolk were expanded to include the area of Portlock and the Money Point industrial area. This area was at a bend in the Southern Branch and included a number of fertilizer plants. It got its name from folklore about buried pirate treasure in the area. With the increased boundaries to the east and south and

expanded population, the City of South Norfolk became a city of the first class by state standards. It became independent of Norfolk County and received its own Corporation Court. It was originally governed under a mayor-council administration but later changed to a council-manager form of government.

South Norfolk's primary economic life was industry located on the waterfront. A large number of industrial plants were located in this area and on the numerous railway lines. It brought this industry and its strong tax base to the merger with Norfolk County in 1963.

The City of South Norfolk had a well developed school system. It included Oscar Frommel Smith High School, George Washington Carver High and Elementary School, South Norfolk Junior High School and five elementary schools.

A number of annexation cases played a major role in the merger of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County in 1963. Norfolk County decreased from 544 square miles in 1691 to 337 square miles in 1962. A series of annexation suits from the City of Norfolk and the City of Portsmouth took valuable property.

In 1948, Portsmouth annexed 9,000 citizens and 4.7 square miles of Norfolk County. The year 1951 brought the annexation by the City of South Norfolk of 10,514 residents and 5.1 square miles of the Washington District of Norfolk County. The City of Norfolk annexed the quickly growing section of Tanners Creek with its 55,000 people and 11.2 square miles in

1955. Ten square miles and 36,000 residents, including the Deep Creek section of Craddock, were annexed from Norfolk County by the City of Portsmouth in 1960.

The constant threat of annexation made long range planning by the School Board very difficult. The citizens of both the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County voted in a referendum to merge and form the City of Chesapeake on January 1, 1963.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this investigation is to examine the merger of the school systems of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County. This formed the Chesapeake Public Schools in 1963. Among the major issues arising from such a merger is the economic redistribution of resources for facilities. While there are many different types of resources that could be considered in a study of the merger of two or more school systems, they are not in the scope of this dissertation since facilities were an overriding issue in the pre-merger debate. School facilities served as a symbol of community identity. Another important issue is power redistribution as a result of the merger. Did it occur in an equitable manner for the two previous geographical areas? If not, what form did it take? Research hypotheses growing out of these questions will be:

1. That resources for facilities were distributed equitably to the former South Norfolk and Norfolk County areas.
2. That the power in the newly merged Chesapeake School system was unevenly controlled by former Norfolk County leaders and residents.

RATIONALE

Almost thirty years have passed since the 1963 merger. Enough time has elapsed to judge the period in an historical context but still to have the opportunity to conduct many personal interviews with some of the "key informants." There is a wealth of untapped research information. People from that period seemed anxious to share their recollection of history.

Many school systems have had to merge both for economic reasons and for political reasons in the last thirty years. This study focuses on the commonalities of economic and power issues in these mergers. Norfolk County possessed size and relatively modern school buildings in 1962. The City of South Norfolk was a smaller urban district with inadequate facilities. With the degeneration of many city school systems today, the time may come when mergers between the more affluent suburban county districts and their city neighbors will become necessary. Understanding the economic and power issues is important in those mergers. The merger of the Norfolk County and South Norfolk School Districts can provide useful information for school districts considering the option of merger.

PROCEDURES

According to the William and Mary Doctoral Student Handbook, "historical studies explain, interpret, and evaluate

a particular educational idea/practice within a specified period. The research relied on systematic examination and analysis of artifacts, organizational records, personal diaries/journals, published writings of an historical period, and other documents." Borg and Gall categorize data, whether primary or secondary sources, as documents, quantitative records, oral history, and relics. All four categories were used in this study.

The documents category has been subdivided into four types of sources that were reviewed for this study. The subheadings researched were: the proceedings of governmental and legal bodies, personal records, newspapers, and historical texts.

Quantitative records are available. These include school enrollment figures, financial records and personnel records.

Oral history interviews provided primary source information from key participants during the merger of the two school systems. A list of interviewees has been identified and is detailed in the Reference section. A few persons were asked if a tape recording of his/her interview could be made. If he/she wished a transcript to review before giving permission for the information to be used in the final dissertation, the researcher gladly supplied one.

Relics exist for the school systems of South Norfolk, Norfolk County, and Chesapeake. They include publications by the school systems that provided invaluable descriptive information.

Records of Norfolk County and the City of South Norfolk are accessible and have been carefully maintained by the City of Chesapeake. Court documents are also available. The Norfolk County Historical Society maintains a special room in the Chesapeake Public Library to house special works of an historical nature. Other records are available through the Chesapeake Public Schools for data collection.

LIMITATIONS

The study has been limited to the period 1961-64. This includes two years prior to the merger and two years after the merger. Historical information prior to this period has been used as background information for better understanding the events that brought about the merger.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Power: the ability to influence an individual or to change a behavior.

Resources: materials and facilities related to the the school system.

Public school: an elementary and/or secondary institution of learning established and supported by the local, state, and federal governments.

Consolidation and Merger: these two terms will be used interchangeably to mean the complete joining of separate governments and/or school districts.

Chapter Two
A Review of the Literature Related
to School System Merger and Power

Introduction

At the turn of the twentieth century in the United States the district form of school organization existed in most states. The local district was expected to provide a close link between the schools and the people. The glaring inequalities that arose in the large numbers of systems led to a movement toward consolidation at the turn of the century. In 1869 the state of Massachusetts had passed legislation that allowed two school districts to consolidate. The district system in that state was abolished thirteen years later. By 1910, a majority of states had authorized consolidation. In states such as Ohio, Colorado, and North Carolina, the process of consolidation moved more quickly than in areas such as California, Kansas, and Wisconsin where progress was quite slow. In those districts where consolidation took place, larger schools led to improved instructional services (Butts, 1953, p. 451).

In 1932 there were 127,649 separate school districts in the United States. The decline of the family farm and an increase in urbanization brought about a decrease in the need for so many small school districts. People were believing that larger schools would increase instructional effectiveness and larger districts would be more fiscally sound. Some viewed consolidation as a panacea (Peshkin, 1982, p.5).

Reorganization reduced the number of school districts in the United States to 105,971 in 1948 to 67,075 in 1953 and to 36,402 in 1961. This was more than a seventy percent reduction since 1931. This occurred because a number of districts were incorporated into larger geographical areas. Larger areas were expected to increase the scope and quality of services more economically than large numbers of small districts (American Association of School Administrators, 1962, p.2).

Expansion of enrollments in the 1950's and 1960's helped to continue the movement toward consolidation of school districts. Large school districts became the rule. The number of school districts moved from 100,000 at the end of World War II to 16,000 in 1980 (Ravitch, 1983, p.327).

A major change occurred with the dissolution of the one-room schoolhouse. From 1910 to 1960 their numbers declined from approximately 200,000 to 20,000. The country people wanted better buildings and curricula for their children, but they also wanted to retain some control of their schools (Tyack, 1974, p. 25). The new school systems were complicated by the heterogeneous values within the now urban populations and those former independent districts joined together. School governance was not simple (Tyack, p.7).

Solutions were complicated by the personalities of the areas joined. Professor Peshkin from the University of Illinois described the consolidation of school districts as often combining a smaller system with one that is large enough to provide arguments and votes that will dominate the issues of which schools to keep open and where to locate new buildings (Peshkin, p.7).

School closings were often used as a solution to fiscal and demographic problems facing School Boards. However, closing a school had a major impact on the community. It was rarely an easily accepted decision. When the school had represented the community for many years, the citizens took its closing as a personal loss (Peshkin, p. 5).

Analysis of the small communities and their relationship to the state and larger community must include an understanding of the conflicts in values. Many small communities tried to divorce themselves from connections with larger political entities. This was evident in their desire to have control of their schools (Tyack, p. 27). This became more difficult as federal and state funds assisted in providing capital investment in the 1950's and 1960's (Tyack, p. 269).

Concept of Community

Bennett Berger described the concept of community since the nineteenth century as a positive one in comparison to that of society. While community represented tradition, society was viewed as change. He painted community as warm and intimate and society as cold and formal. Community represented those commonly held values that usually depend on close interaction. That was not possible in society (Chekki, 1989, p. 4).

The desire in the United States to separate school politics from general community politics was done to protect the schools from partisan politics. This was extremely difficult due to the desire for community control of schools. This led to the politics of persuasion (Cremin, 1976, p.71).

The politics of persuasion had to be utilized by the administrators and School Boards in order to achieve the results desired for consolidation. The School Board had a very sensitive role. The School Board had to understand the political forces that affect the school system. It attempted to shield the schools from undue political pressures but also encourage cooperative relationships with outside organizations that could provide needed resources for the schools. It developed lines of communication and influence. It evaluated its relationships with outside groups (Greenfield, 1969, p. 175).

Concept of Power

Power is the ability to influence an individual or group to alter behavior. In 1651 Thomas Hobbes wrote a philosophical treatise on absolute government based on a relationship between those who were ruled and the authority who provided protection and peace. His theory included a detailed description of power and its proper use by those who possessed it. Hobbes described those who possessed power as generally increasing in power. The reputation of power was power itself since it brought adherence to the leader's opinions. He also viewed the affability of those in power as a characteristic that increased power because it fostered love of the leader (Hobbes, 1691, p. 43).

Hobbes sought to explain the complexities of society in such a way that individuals could understand their responsibility to their leader and the leader would understand the proper use of power within society. He wrote that each person should look within himself to understand the utilization of power (Hobbes, p. 2).

There are a number of different frameworks concerning the types and uses of power that have been developed by various scholars. The sources of power and the instruments by which power is utilized are interrelated. The implementation of some power is dependent upon its being concealed. Other power

such as conditioned power, is a change in belief. This often takes the form of education, persuasion, or a social commitment that leads an individual or group to accept the will of someone else (Galbraith, 1983, p. 6).

The effective personality brings about acceptance of an idea with persuasion, by "exercising leadership" as Galbraith describes it. The conviction of the individual must be effectively conveyed to others. At certain times in history, the powerful person was able to make others accept that she/he possessed supernatural force or divine guidance such as Joan of Arc, General Douglas MacArthur, and many religious leaders. Others used honesty, humor, solemnity, intelligence, and charm to exercise power (Galbraith, p. 40).

Peter Blau studied the role of power in social life. The imbalances in society produced differences in power. In defining power, he gave four basic alternatives to it. The first way of receiving benefits from someone who could provide them was to exchange something he needed in return. This raised the issue of equitable distribution of resources within a community. The second method called for obtaining needed benefits from another source. The third possibility called for the use of force to obtain the benefits. The fourth simply had the need for the benefits being renounced (Blau, 1986, p. 140).

Blau dealt with the contrast of giving orders and

offering advice. He indicated that the person who gave orders did indeed exercise power to receive what he wanted, but the person who gave advice helped others to better do what they wanted and therefore obligated themselves to the leader. He discussed the risk of investing power to receive more power. A person who has much power does not need to remind others of that power. They wish to maintain good relationships with the leader who can then use that power to better achieve his/her objectives. The rewards that come to them due to effective leadership bring more power to the leader. Leadership entails the danger of losing power if the leader cannot provide adequate rewards (Blau, p. 142).

Power rests on social influence. It is the ability to affect another individual or group in some way. This will bring a deviation from the expected behavior (King, 1975, p. 5). That behavior has then been transformed through social interaction.

Social influence is a part of the framework of other scholars in this area. Much of their work grew out of the writings of Max Weber and his most notable disciples, John French and Bertram Raven. Max Weber is the German scholar who refers to power as the probability that one person in a social relationship will be able to impose his will in spite of resistance (Weber, 1947, p. 152).

Weber classified three types of legitimate authority or power. These two terms were often used interchangeably, but Weber always emphasized his belief that authority was the most important form of power in existence. The first type was legal authority in which the individual owed obedience to the legally established order and the offices within that framework. The second type was traditional authority in which the individual owed obedience to the person who occupied the traditional position of authority. Charismatic authority called for the individual to obey the leader based on personal trust or exemplary qualities that projected charisma (Weber, p. 328).

Weber categorized rational legal authority in specific ways. It was a continuous organization that was bound by rules and covered a specified sphere of competence. The organization was hierarchical and was regulated by rules or norms. Legal authority could be utilized in a variety of ways (Weber, p. 331).

Traditional authority was based on order and power of control that was passed down from the past. The organized group with the authority was usually based on personal loyalty. Allegiance was not owed to any set of rules but rather to the person who occupied the position of authority based on tradition. The administrative staff in the traditional authority mode is usually selected on the basis of personal loyalty (Weber, p. 342).

Charismatic authority is based on a certain quality of an individual's personality that makes him different from the majority of other people. He is viewed as possessing exceptional powers that ordinary people have not acquired. In some cases, he is viewed as superhuman. What makes the person charismatic is not the critical issue. What is central to charismatic authority is how the individual is perceived by those who are subject to his authority (Weber, p. 359).

Charismatic authority has a very different base of operation from legal or traditional authority. They are based on rationality and the everyday routine control of organizational action. They are bound to rules of the past. Charismatic authority does not deal in the past but is revolutionary in nature. Such authority lasts only as long as the inspiration in the followers is maintained (Weber, p. 362).

John French and Bertram Raven studied the bases of social power with regard to the agent of power and the recipient of that power. They designed a typology that distinguished among the various effects of social power. They limited their theory to the power related to an individual person. Although their work has often been cited in reference to organizational behavior, it was originally written to emphasize the influence of a social agent, which they referred to as O, on a person, which they referred to as P (Cartwright, 1968, p. 260).

The relationship between O and P was the source of power. French and Raven defined the sources of power as bases of power. They selected five common bases of O's power. They were reward power, coercive power, legitimate power, referent power, and expert power.

Reward power is based on P's perception that O has the ability to provide rewards. This type of power is dependent on O actually delivering meaningful rewards to P. These rewards must be desired by P and must be seen as a direct result of the mediation of O. It is not enough to promise a reward for an impossible task. P must see it as worth the effort and reasonably attainable. The actual attainment of these rewards over a period of time increases the attachment of P to O and thereby increases another base of power called referent power (Cartwright, p. 263).

Coercive power shares some of the qualities of reward power in that O can manipulate whether P is able to attain certain valences. In coercive power, P must believe that he will be punished by O if he does not conform to the expected social influence. There are situations in which it is difficult to distinguish whether the power exhibited is coercive or reward. Is P carrying out a specific directive because he is afraid of losing his job (coercive power) or because he is anticipating a raise (reward power)? The perception of P is the critical variable. While reward power often binds P closer to O, coercive power usually decreases that attraction (Cartwright, p. 264).

French and Raven described legitimate power as the most complex in their typology. It involved group norms and role expectations. It is based on the internalized values of P that O has the legitimate right to power over him, and therefore, he must respond (Cartwright, p. 265). P accepts the right to be influenced by O. This form of power is based on the legitimate authority discussed by Weber. He discussed it in terms of traditional, legal, and charismatic. French and Raven put the emphasis on social norms. These may include age, sex, intelligence, physical characteristics, or social group. In some cases, O is perceived by P as receiving power from a legitimate agent which transfers the right to social influence to O.

Referent power is based on the identification of P with O. If the power recipient has a feeling of closeness with the power holder, referent power is in force in the relationship. The desire to maintain a relationship with O or a specific O group causes P to increase the power granted to O. In some cases P is not consciously aware of the referent power that is exerted over him by O. French and Raven hypothesized that the stronger the attraction P had toward O, the greater the range of referent power in the relationship (Cartwright, p. 267).

Expert power is based on the special knowledge and/or skills possessed by O and the perception of that knowledge as being greater than possessed by P. The range of expert power is more limited than that of referent power. The expert is

limited to that specific area of knowledge encompassing his expertise. When he moves outside that field, the expert power dissipates (Cartwright, p. 268).

From their study of the five types of power previously discussed, French and Raven delineated several hypotheses. All of the types of power will vary in their range, but referent power usually has the broadest range. Trying to utilize power outside of its natural range will generally reduce the power. Reward power increases the attraction of P to O and lowers resistance. Coercive power decreases the attraction of P to O and increases resistance. As the coercion increases in legitimacy, it decreases the amount of resistance. In considering all five types of power (reward, coercive, legitimate, referent, and expert), French and Raven indicated that as the strength of the basis of power increased so did the power itself (Cartwright, p. 268).

Donald Warren used the French and Raven typology in a 1968 study of school teachers conforming to organizational controls. His results indicated that in most schools, more than one form of power was used. The combinations included together most often were expert and referent power. Legitimate and coercive power were rarely found together. Coercive power, more than any of the other four types, was found alone. Warren's results indicated that the type of power used to achieve one form of conformity might be very unsuccessful in achieving another form of conformity. He

stated that effective social control is based on linkages to various bases of social power (Warren, 1968, p. 962).

Robert Peabody studied the perceptions of organizational authority within an elementary school using a framework similar to French and Raven. Peabody also found that different types of power seemed to fit different situations. Teachers put the emphasis on expert power more than any of the other forms of power (Peabody, 1962, p. 476). The effectiveness of a specific type of power depended a great deal upon the persons on whom the power was expended.

The power base within communities is studied by looking at the interrelationships of social institutions in a locality (Bell, 1972, p. 19). The politics of those institutions and organizations can be understood through an analysis of power relationships. Two major questions must be asked. Who are the key individuals and groups? How do these individuals and groups compete for resources and interact within their environment (Bacharach, 1980, p. 18)?

The study of power often focuses on power flowing from higher levels downward. Power is not always unidirectional. Subordinates can also exercise power. It is important to understand the multidirectional nature of power in any analysis of an organization's influence (Bacharach, p. 41).

TIDEWATER CONSOLIDATIONS

The merger of these two geographical entities was only one of four local government consolidations that occurred in the Tidewater, Virginia area between 1952 and 1963. They took place on both sides of the Hampton Tunnel (Temple, 1972, p. 2). In the United States, the decade of 1960 to 1970 encompassed seven successful city-county consolidations. This was the largest of any decade to that point in the twentieth century. They included (1) Nashville-Davidson County, Tennessee, (2) Virginia Beach-Princess Anne County, Virginia, (3) South Norfolk-Norfolk County, Virginia, (4) Jacksonville-Duval County, Florida, (5) Indianapolis-Marion County, Indiana, (6) Carson City-Ormsby County, Florida, (7) Juneau-Borough of Juneau, Alaska. This period also included eleven other proposed city-county consolidations that were unsuccessful with the voters when brought to a referendum (Makielski, October 15, 1969, p. 46). This period was an unusual one in the history of government consolidation.

The four Tidewater, Virginia, mergers contained several aspects that did not follow the existing patterns of consolidation during that historical period. Consolidation agreements that did away with existing governments were difficult to accomplish. Citizens were reluctant to give up their existing governments because of loyalty or comfort with the government they presently understood. Many of the

voters feared increased taxes. Leaders often were concerned about the loss of control or power. Three of the four Tidewater mergers abolished existing governments and formed new city governments. This was accomplished without any in-depth studies of the financial ramifications of merger in the affected communities. County voters in Tidewater voted overwhelmingly to accept merger despite the pattern of suburbanites in other sections of the country who felt their interests would not be served in a consolidation with an urban area. Another issue within the Tidewater mergers was the role of public officials. Local officials initiated and supported the consolidation proposals in three of the four areas. Those leaders who did not support the merger publicly in the cities of Newport News and Warwick remained neutral on the issue (Temple, p.4). In many other consolidation cases the local officials were against major change since their power base would be adversely affected. This often led to a struggle against change in communities.

VIRGINIA BEACH-PRINCESS ANNE COUNTY

The officials in Princess Anne County, led by Sidney Kellam, were determined to protect their area from further annexation by the City of Norfolk. On January 1, 1959, Norfolk had annexed 13.5 square miles and 38,000 county residents. Norfolk extended water lines into Princess Anne County since the county area did not possess adequate

resources. The Kellam political machine tried to influence the 1960 General Assembly to change annexation laws to provide greater protection for counties against their urban neighbors. While this was unsuccessful, Norfolk took the opportunity to cease providing new water lines to Princess Anne County. This eventually led to an agreement between the city to provide water if the county would not seek legislative changes for a five year period (Kelly, April 13, 1960).

Despite the fact that no annexation suit was pending, Kellam forces began discussing the "1963 annexation" they were facing. This led to the talks between the City of Virginia Beach and Princess Anne County. The themes included the protection from annexation, continuing economic improvement, and local pride. Voters were also promised that this could be accomplished with very little change for the city or the county (Blackford, November 4, 1961).

NEWPORT NEWS-WARWICK

The Hampton campaign was a very quiet, localized one in which there was little or no organized opposition. The pro-merger forces put their emphasis on clubs and civic groups. One of the best organized consolidation campaigns was in the Newport News-Warwick area. The merger campaign in the Newport News and Warwick areas was handled very differently. Two citizens committees, the Newport News

Citizens Committee for Consolidation led by Dr. Russell V. Buxton and a similar group in Warwick led by J.B. Woodward, led the fight after the defeat of the tri-merger vote on November 6, 1956. They were well financed. The only constitutional officer in either city that played a vocal role in the debate was George DeShazor, clerk of the circuit court of Warwick, who led the opposition to merger in that city. The majority of city council members did not campaign actively for merger, but it was apparent that they supported the pro-merger committees (Daily Press, July 10, 1957).

The anti-merger forces concentrated their efforts on the Warwick area. Their major emphasis was on the possible increase of taxes. They projected a real estate tax increase of \$353,000. They charged that the school system would be damaged, and school bus service could be lost. They pointed out the loss of their name and any local control they presently possessed. They compared the growth in Warwick to the static nature of Newport News (Daily Press, July 14, 1957).

The pro-merger forces emphasized that taxes would probably rise whether there was a merger or not. They were assisted in their arguments by a fire on July 1, 1957 just fifteen days before the referendum. Rich's Supermarket in Warwick burned to the ground. The Warwick Fire Department and many volunteers fought the fire but needed assistance from the Newport News aerial truck and two pumpers. They were

credited with preventing the spread of the fire to other buildings. That example of cooperation was used for the duration of the merger campaign (Daily Press, July 2, 1957).

The pro-merger organization emphasized neighborhood campaigning. The vote in Newport News was 4,398 for merger and 873 against merger. The vote was much closer in Warwick where five of the twelve precincts voted against merger. The total vote was 3,938 for merger and 3,253 against merger (Daily Press, July 17, 1957).

SOUTH NORFOLK-NORFOLK COUNTY

The Norfolk County-City of South Norfolk merger campaign will be discussed in Chapter Three. It has many aspects that were comparable to other Tidewater mergers and some that were unique to that geographical situation.

SUMMARY

Consolidation of school districts led to a reduction of districts from 105,971 in 1948 to 36,402 in 1961. These consolidations were often based on the belief that larger schools would increase instructional effectiveness and larger districts would be more fiscally sound. Citizens were interested in having better school buildings and curricula for their children, but they also wanted to retain control of their schools. The types of areas joined in these consolidations often heightened their concerns. Peshkin's work pointed out that most mergers included a smaller school

system with one that was large enough to dominate the issues of which schools to keep open and where to locate new buildings. Facilities were a key issue in school system consolidations.

Power was also a key factor in school system mergers. All of the communities involved desired to retain their decision making authority. The smaller communities feared that their larger counterparts would dominate important issues. A number of writers in the area of power were discussed. John French and Bertram Raven's typology was built on the work of Max Weber and classified power into five categories: reward, coercive, legitimate, referent, and expert.

This study analyzes the merger of the South Norfolk and Norfolk County School Systems with regard to who held the power and how it was utilized during the historical period. It also studies the redistribution of resources with major emphasis on school facilities as they were affected by the consolidation of the two school districts. It places the merger of South Norfolk and Norfolk County within the geographical framework of Tidewater, Virginia, where four such mergers took place within the period 1952-1963.

Chapter Three
Redistribution of Power and Resources

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to study the redistribution of resources and power as primary issues in the merger of the South Norfolk and Norfolk County School Systems. In order to understand these issues, the historical and geographical context of the merger of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County will be explored.

Three other Tidewater, Virginia, consolidations during the same period will contain similarities to the South Norfolk/Norfolk County merger. All but one (Newport News/Warwick) were led by elected officials. That one was spearheaded by public figures with most officials remaining neutral.

During the period of the four Tidewater mergers (1952-1963), counties sought relief in the state legislature of Virginia from the numerous court annexation cases brought by nearby cities. State law allowed cities to annex territory in adjoining counties. The laws regulating annexation and merger in the state of Virginia during this period will be discussed. The annexation suits and the related laws were directly responsible for the need of local governments to pursue the possibility of merger. The environment for merger will be the first topic for discussion in this chapter.

ENVIRONMENT FOR MERGER

Introduction

On January 1, 1963, the City of Chesapeake, Virginia, became a legal entity. It was composed of the former City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County. The environment for merger in this historical setting included many factors. Both annexation and merger laws impacted on the desires of cities and counties in Virginia to alter their boundaries.

The Tidewater region of the State of Virginia was also very active with regard to both annexations and mergers during this period. Major annexation suits took both land and resources from several counties. The loss or threat of loss of both natural and human resources made long term planning almost impossible for the affected counties. Self-preservation forced them to seek protection through the state merger laws. These laws allowed a city and county to merge under certain conditions. The most important condition was an affirmative majority vote for merger in both political entities.

After a series of annexation suits against Norfolk County had decreased its size four times from 1948-1962, the county residents chose to join with the small City of South Norfolk in a merger proposal that would form the City of Chesapeake. Since many of the residents of the

City of South Norfolk had previously been a part of Norfolk County before the annexations, there was a natural base for discussion of the merger of the two adjoining areas. This discussion took place within the framework of the existing annexation and merger laws in the State of Virginia at the time.

Annexation Laws

The annexation process in the State of Virginia was totally controlled by the annexation court. No opportunity was provided for the electorate in the city or county to vote on whether they agreed with the annexation proceeding. Such cases were decided only on the need for orderly growth and development in the total area. The court studied the area for proposed annexation with regard to the amount of urbanization present. It also looked at the possibility for future growth in that area and the need for municipal services. The court saw its responsibility in these matters to provide the opportunity for the differing services needed for urban citizens and rural citizens.

Most annexation proceedings were successful in the court system. A synopsis of the annexation cases in Virginia from 1904 until June 30, 1965, was given by Chester W. Bain. He pointed to 109 proceedings that had been instituted to extend city boundaries. Of that total,

ninety-three cases were actually heard in an annexation court, three were dismissed by the court without a hearing, eight were withdrawn by the city initiating the action, and five were still waiting for a hearing in June, 1965. The courts have approved the vast number of annexations. Of the ninety-three cases actually heard, the court granted city boundary extensions in eighty-six. Only seven cases ended in a refusal of the court to grant some territory to the city. The Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals affirmed the lower court decision in two of the three appeals brought to the higher court. In the third case, the Court of Appeals granted some territory that had been sought by the city. The boundaries of Virginia cities had been extended by annexation courts in eighty-seven cases during this period. Ninety-four percent of all the cases heard by annexation courts resulted in a finding on behalf of the cities (Bain, 1966, p. 210-211).

Because of the overwhelming success of cities in annexation courts, the counties of Virginia began to seek relief in the legislative process of the General Assembly. They sought more restrictive statutes that would curb the ability of the cities to continue to grow at the expense of their county neighbors and a higher price for any land annexed. The legislative debate continued throughout the period of the four mergers in Hampton Roads. There was even special legislation approved that allowed the former

Warwick County to incorporate as a city of the first class. This was the first time in the history of Virginia that a county had been allowed to become a city in just one step (Bain, 1967, p. 21-22).

Warwick County and Elizabeth City County had been protected from annexation by a 1938 law passed by the General Assembly. It stated that a county could not be reduced in area below sixty square miles through annexation. If the court felt that it must grant annexation in such a case leaving less than sixty square miles in the county, the court was required to provide that the city annex the total county area. It was called the Massenburg Act after G. A. Massenburg, a member of the House of Delegates from Elizabeth City County. Elizabeth City County had approximately fifty-three square miles, and Warwick County had about sixty-three square miles. The City of Newport News was effectively barred from trying to annex either county since it would leave them with less than sixty square miles. The General Assembly felt that such a small geographical area would make effective county government impossible (Virginia Code 15-152.26 (1950)).

The Virginia Advisory Legislative Council (VALC) was asked to study Virginia's annexation law and its effects. The council recommended to the 1950 General Assembly that the Massenburg provision be deleted from the Virginia

Code. The recommendation was that the protected area be reduced from sixty square miles to thirty square miles. That would have left only Arlington County, with twenty-four square miles, protected from city annexation. A successful counter campaign was led by Senator Victor P. Wilson of the Thirty-third District (including Warwick County, Elizabeth City County, Hampton, and Newport News) and E. Ralph James, a member of the House of Delegates from Elizabeth City County. The Senate retained the Massenburg provision by a vote of 18-13. The House of Delegates, however, gave the provision a margin of only one vote (Temple, 1972, p. 21).

The closeness of the the General Assembly vote caused Elizabeth City County, the Town of Phoebus, and the City of Hampton to merge in 1952. This was the same year that the County of Warwick received special permission to be incorporated as a city of the first class. Both of these proposals required permissive legislation from the General Assembly since they did not follow the traditional approach to Virginia government. The local legislative delegation worked diligently to allay any fears of legislators from around the state that this was a change in state policy and not merely a local issue.

For the decade of 1950-1960, the General Assembly was unable to make any changes in the Virginia annexation statutes. The delegates dealt with specific exceptions

but did not change the basic structure of local government in the state. Counties close to metropolitan areas continued to be targets of neighboring cities. This threat of annexation led directly to the consolidation votes in 1962 that set up the cities of Chesapeake and Virginia Beach.

Merger Laws

The merger laws were also an important aspect in the four consolidations in the Tidewater area. These laws stipulated the process to be followed for a merger to take place in the State of Virginia. The merger statutes were found to be constitutional in the Walker v. Massey case that was heard in the Virginia Supreme Court in 1961 (202 Va. 886, 121 S.E.2d 448). The court held that "there is no distinction between the authority to provide for consolidation of counties, cities, and towns and the authority given to provide for a change in the form of their organization and government."

Some of the specific aspects of merger law in Virginia during this historical period should be noted. The statutory law was relatively simple and encouraged mergers when two political/geographical entities could successfully negotiate a settlement. Proposed local government consolidation did not bring the same emotional negativism that was characteristic of similar situations

in other states. There was no strong anti-merger organization statewide. Mergers were viewed by state lawmakers as positive moves. Many local governments helped to mold the merger laws in Virginia. Many special provisions of the law that grew out of specific merger attempts later were written into general law for the entire state (Temple, 1972, p. 24).

Original merger law in Virginia was written by the General Assembly in 1910 to provide special permission for consolidation of the cities of Richmond and Manchester. The consolidation statutes used in the Tidewater mergers, however, were dated back to 1940 when a proposal was made to merge the six local governments of York County, Warwick County, Elizabeth City County, and the cities of Hampton, Newport News, and the Town of Phoebus (Ibid, p. 25).

While the proposal to merge the six governments never reached the referendum stage, it did lead to the 1940 Act which became section 15-220 of the Virginia Code. This formed the legal basis for three of the four Tidewater consolidations (Acts and Joint Resolutions of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1940, p. 693). The Elizabeth City County-Hampton-Phoebus merger required a separate law of special application (Ibid, 1950, p. 1591).

One of the critical constitutional issues in the proposed consolidation legislation dealt with section 168

of the Virginia Constitution which mandated "uniformity of taxation upon the same class of subjects within the territorial limits of the authority levying the tax." Since differing levels of services were needed in urban and rural areas, legislators sought to make it possible for those services to be paid for by those utilizing them. They did this by providing for the creation of a municipal corporation in which special taxing districts could be drawn (Ibid, p. 1591). This made the prospect of merger more appealing to both the county and the city residents.

In 1958 The Virginia Advisory Legislative Council was asked again to study the issues involved in governmental consolidation in the state. At this time, discussions were taking place between the City of Richmond and Henrico County concerning a possible merger. The VALC, in an effort to accomodate this merger, recommended that section 15-220 of the Virginia Code be made applicable to all cities, counties, and towns in the state (House Document 12, 1959, p. 16). The General Assembly enacted it in such a way that the amendment was not limited to the Richmond/Henrico County situation. The Act stated that "any one or more adjoining cities or adjacent counties, or any one or more adjoining or adjacent cities or towns, or any of such counties, cities, or towns, where such counties, cities or towns, as the case may be, adjoin or are adjacent to each other may consolidate into a single county or city." The

VALC also recommended amendments to sections 168, 170, and 176 of the Virginia Constitution that allowed differential taxation within a consolidated city based on the citizens who utilized specific services (VALC Report, 1959, p.7-8).

The actual process to be followed for city-county consolidation was located in sections 15-220-30 of the Virginia Code. Certain mandatory and optional provisions were to be stated in a formal consolidation agreement. The mandatory sections included: the names of the local governments proposing to consolidate, the name of the new consolidated government or a provision for a referendum to select the new name, a statement of real and personal property belonging to each of the governments proposing to consolidate, a statement of the indebtedness of each governmental unit, the date upon which the consolidation would become effective, a plan to provide for the disposition of all property or debts due any such county, city, or town, and the assumption of a reasonable amount of the existing debt of the governmental units to be merged (Ibid).

Local governments had the option to include in the proposed consolidation agreement that no increase in assessments would take place for five years in the new consolidated city except for permanent improvements, that there be no increase in tax rate on real property for five years, the establishment of boroughs within the newly consolidated city or shires if the governmental unit was

a county, and to make provision for the election of new officers for the newly consolidated city. There was a provision that prohibited the levy of special taxes for schools, police, or general government services.

After a consolidation agreement had been written by the governmental localities that proposed to merge, several steps needed to be followed. They included:

1. The agreement had to be approved by the governing body of each city, county, and/or town that was a party in the consolidation.
2. A copy of the consolidation agreement was to be filed in the circuit court of the county and the corporation court of the city involved in the consolidation.
3. The consolidation agreement had to be published once a week for four successive weeks in a general circulation newspaper in each of the localities proposing to consolidate.
4. The judges in each area had to order a referendum on the question of consolidation. The time of the referendum could either be at the general election in November or at a special election. A special election had to be held no sooner than thirty days but not more than three hundred days after the agreement had been filed in the courts. There was also a stipulation that the referendum be held on the same day in all of the localities proposing to consolidate (Virginia Code 15-223, 15-224).

The voters of each locality in the consolidation process had to ratify the agreement for it to become effective. One difficult aspect of merger law in Virginia was the period of time between the referendum and the time specified in the agreement for the consolidation to legally take place. The law provided that legal actions against the separate parties could continue during this period (Virginia Code 15-228). An example of this

incongruity was the Portsmouth annexation case against Norfolk County that continued after the referendum had been passed to form the City of Chesapeake but before the actual date of charter for the new city.

TIDEWATER CONSOLIDATIONS

In the State of Virginia, unlike most other states, each city is totally separate from the county in which it is situated. The city is set up to provide services to urban dwellers. Its residents do not pay any taxes to the county. The county provides the services necessary for rural residents who do not pay taxes to the neighboring cities. The separation of cities and counties was based primarily on tradition. Even the Virginia Constitution of 1928 (amended), under which the four Tidewater, Virginia, consolidations took place, inferred that city and county residents had different needs (Sec. 116). As the state developed and industrialized, more urbanization took place in the counties. Such urbanization increased the prospect that neighboring cities would seek to annex counties. Such was the situation in Tidewater.

Newport News-Warwick

The campaigns both for and against consolidation of Newport News and Warwick were well organized and had strong financial backing within the community. This consolidation was unusual in that it involved two cities

rather than a county and a city. Unlike the other Tidewater mergers, the major leaders supporting the consolidation were private citizens rather than office holders. In 1956 there had been an attempt at a tri-city merger involving the cities of Hampton, Newport News and Warwick. This had been affected by the 1952 change of Warwick County to the City of Warwick. The county had sought incorporation to avoid further annexation from Newport News which had taken territory up until 1940. After that time, Warwick had been partially protected by the Massenburg Act. With the attempt in the General Assembly to repeal that act, Warwick worked to become a city. The referendum on incorporation passed by 2,516 to 523 votes (Temple, p. 46).

Within three years, Warwick was studying merger with the cities of Hampton and Newport News. Business leaders and influential citizens formed pro-merger committees in each of the three cities in July, 1955. Chairman of the Warwick Citizens Committee for Consolidation was J. B. Woodward, Jr. who was chairman of the board of directors of Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company. This was the largest employer in Newport News. The pressure from the powerful business community caused most political leaders in Warwick to adopt a position of neutrality on the tri-city merger. The business leaders were primarily interested in the orderly growth and development of the

overall economic area. Newport News was the economic hub of the area and was experiencing the difficulty of overpopulation. With 42,000 residents in a four square mile area, Newport News ranked in the top fifteen percent in population density in United States cities over 25,000. This was complicated by the fact that large railroad yards and Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company covered a large segment of the available property (Temple, p. 47).

The campaign for the tri-city merger included extensive debate. Those opposed to the merger described Newport News as having "slums, enormous indebtedness, high taxes, and dilapidated schools." Those in favor of the merger emphasized the improvement of services and regional cooperation. Difficulty arose in the 1956 General Assembly when the Norfolk legislators blocked the name Hampton Roads for the proposed tri-city. When that name was disallowed, the only name upon which the three entities could agree was Port City. Some of the Hampton voters wanted to preserve their historic city name. The residents of Hampton defeated the merger proposal by 856 votes out of a total of 13,240 votes. Newport News approved the measure with a vote of 5,385 to 3,532. Voters in Warwick were in favor of the merger 5,336 to 3,532 (Daily Press, November 7, 1956).

Within a week after the defeat of the tri-city merger, informal discussion had begun about a possible

merger of the cities of Warwick and Newport News. The Warwick Citizens Committee for Overall Consolidation was led by J. B. Woodward, Jr. and announced that they planned to call for a referendum on January 29, 1957, on the issue of consolidating the cities of Warwick and Newport News. They proposed that the charter for the newly consolidated city be based on the general law charter, known as the Hallett Act and passed by the 1956 General Assembly (Acts of the Assembly, 1956, p. 777).

Opposition in Warwick was related to specific sections of the Hallett plan. The items of greatest community concern were the selection of the new consolidated city's constitutional officers by lot and the council's ability to levy varying taxes according to services received. The Commonwealth Attorney in Warwick, Henry D. Garnett, questioned the constitutionality of several aspects of the Hallett Act. Senator Stuart E. Hallett, sponsor of the legislation, requested a legal opinion on the act from Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond, Jr. On December 13, 1956, Attorney General Almond expressed concern about the legality of selecting constitutional officers by lot but felt that differential taxation could be legitimate under certain circumstances. On the strength of that legal opinion, the pro-merger forces filed petitions on December 19, 1956 in the Warwick circuit court and the Newport News corporation court to hold a merger referendum (Daily Press, December 20, 1956).

Court procedures brought about a delay in the date for the referendum vote until July, 1957. In a surprise move on January 8, 1957, the Warwick City Council passed a resolution requesting that a joint committee be formed from Warwick and Newport News to draw up a proposed consolidation agreement. The Commonwealth Attorney Garnett, who openly opposed consolidation, recommended passage. He felt the people should have the opportunity to vote on a "valid and workable charter," not one that might be flawed constitutionally like the Hallet Act (Daily Press, January 9, 1957).

Newport News and promoter groups did not fully trust the Warwick proposal which they felt was a tactic to delay a referendum to the voters. A preliminary meeting was held between the two city councils on February 5 in the Warwick municipal courtroom. A special advisory committee was formed with representatives from both cities to draft a consolidation agreement and charter. Newport News representatives were City Attorney Harry Nachman and City Manager Joseph C. Biggins as well as ex officio council members and Mayor Robert B. Smith. Warwick was led by City Attorney Glenn E. Sparks, Jr.; B. E. Rhodes, a member of the Warwick City Planning Commission and executive vice-president of the Bank of Warwick; and Fred W. Bateman, an attorney.

The Warwick group attempted to approve the best possible plan to protect the interests of their city.

After several meetings, the two groups began to trust each other enough to compromise over issues in the merger agreement. Very few public statements were made. This was before the passage of the Freedom of Information Act made it mandatory that such meetings be open to the public. Provisions were made for the at-large election of council members in November, 1957, constitutional officers in April, 1958, and a referendum to select the name of the city on September 10, 1957. Ordinances valid in the two cities would remain in effect two years until a uniform code of ordinances was adopted. The school superintendents would be retained in their districts until their contracts expired. At that time the consolidated school board would select one superintendent. School bus service would be continued for Warwick residents for four years until it could be expanded for all city students (Temple, p.66).

There were some unique aspects in the Newport News consolidation charter in comparison to the other Tidewater consolidation charters. It was the only one of the four council-manager governments that did not utilize the borough form of elections. Newport News was the only one in which elections for councilmanic posts as well as the constitutional officers were held before the legal date of consolidation. Newport News also did not adopt the use of differentiated taxing based on the use of specific services. Other items in the consolidation charter were very similar to the other three Tidewater mergers.

Elizabeth City County-Hampton-Phoebus

The consolidation of Elizabeth City County, the City of Hampton and the Town of Phoebus took place with less publicity and public discussion than the other Tidewater consolidations of this period. A review of the local newspapers, the Newport News Times-Herald and the Daily Press, revealed that they carried only highlights of the preliminary activities. There appeared to be very little difficulty reported in the public record during this premerger period.

Elizabeth City County and the Town of Phoebus had been engaged in consolidation discussions before the City of Hampton expressed interest. The Hampton council seemed more interested in remaining independent at that time. Hampton business leaders expressed concern that their city would be isolated by an incorporated Elizabeth City County. They used their power to pressure the Hampton City Council to join the proposed consolidation. It was apparent from previous voting records that the Elizabeth City County-Phoebus merger would be approved by the voters. In March of 1952, the Hampton council requested that their city be included in the consolidation plans. Stuart M. Gibson, Clerk of the Circuit Court of Elizabeth City County, was appointed to serve as secretary of a special joint study committee (Elizabeth City County Minute Books, March 3, 1952, 15:113).

A proposed charter agreement was reported out of the Hampton-Elizabeth City-Phoebus Study Committee in April, 1952, but it was rejected by the Hampton City Council. The major difficulty involved the name of the proposed consolidated city. Citizens of Hampton were anxious to preserve the historical name of their city and their claim that it represented the "oldest continuous Anglo-Saxon settlement in the New World." When the other partners in the proposed merger agreed to use the name Hampton, the Hampton City Council accepted a revised charter proposal on May 8, 1952. The General Assembly provided the legal authority for the merger process to be completed (Acts of Assembly, 1952, p. 952).

Princess Anne-Virginia Beach

The promergerites in Princess Anne County and the City of Virginia Beach followed a very well defined plan in their efforts to consolidate. They had the advantage of an organization that controlled the dissemination of information at the precinct level. Sidney S. Kellam was the openly acknowledged leader of this cohesive group that counted among its members all of the elected officers in both Princess Anne County and the City of Virginia Beach in 1963.

Sidney S. Kellam's power was a critical aspect in the total merger plan for Princess Anne County and the former

City of Virginia Beach. He was born in Princess Anne County in 1903 and was one of sixteen siblings. His father was Abel E. Kellam who served as clerk of the circuit court in Princess Anne County for twenty years. His brother Floyd E. Kellam was a judge on the circuit court of Princess Anne County, and another brother Richard B. Kellam served as an additional judge for the 28th Judicial Circuit. His brother William P. Kellam was a member of the Virginia State Senate. Sidney Kellam had sold insurance as a young man and founded his own company called Kellam and Eaton. He was also elected treasurer of Princess Anne County and was reelected to that office four times. He managed the gubernatorial campaign of John S. Battle who then appointed him director of the Department of Conservation. Three years later Kellam resigned to return to Princess Anne County. While he held no elective office at the time of the consolidation, he was serving as Democratic National Committeeman for Virginia (Blackford, March, 1965, 6 ff.).

The Kellam organization became worried after the January 1, 1959 annexation of 13.5 square miles and approximately 38,000 residents of Princess Anne County by the City of Norfolk. At the time, the City of Norfolk was the largest city in the State of Virginia. Princess Anne leaders could foresee that this was probably the first of many attempts to annex county territory.

During the 1960 session of the General Assembly, the Kellam forces attempted unsuccessfully to change the state's annexation laws to provide greater protection for the integrity of the counties of the state. The City of Norfolk retaliated by placing a moratorium on the expansion of water lines into the growing neighborhoods of Princess Anne County. Since the county depended on the City of Norfolk for its water supply, Sidney Kellan was forced to negotiate with Norfolk on the issue. He proposed on April 13, 1960, that a study be made of a "borough system of metropolitan government for the Norfolk area." He was given an informal pledge from Norfolk that they would observe a five year moratorium on annexation suits against Princess Anne County. The county agreed not to introduce legislation in the General Assembly to change the state annexation laws. After the announcement of this agreement, water service was extended to three new county subdivisions, Pocohontas Village, Point O'Woods, and Curlew Drive (Kelly, April 16, 1960).

The metropolitan planning committee met on April 19, 1960, with six governments agreeing to study a possible metropolitan approach to problems in the region. With leaders from Princess Anne and Virginia Beach calling for cooperation, a study committee composed of representatives from each of the six governments was formed with Sidney Kellan chosen in August as its permanent chairman (Virginian Pilot, August 13, 1960).

Although some discussion took place on the idea of metropolitan planning, Sidney Kellam called very few meetings. Norfolk's attention was diverted away from further annexation so that the county could study its options. On October 3, 1961, a public announcement was made that Princess Ann County and Virginia Beach would seek to consolidate (Clymer, October 5, 1961).

Despite the fact that there was no annexation procedure being planned by the City of Norfolk in 1961, the Kellam organization campaigned against a 1963 annexation that they created. The Virginian Pilot newspaper quoted Sidney Kellam as saying, "In 1963, we will be forced into a bitter annexation fight. Princess Anne County would lose Kempsville and Bayside magisterial districts. How is the rest of our county to survive if someone carves us up and takes our assessed value? We have a right to live" (Blackford, November 4, 1961).

Norfolk officials utilized tactics that reinforced the Kellam campaign for consolidation. The Norfolk City Council ran advertisements telling the residents of Princess Anne County that they did not have the right to close off the future growth of their city through merger with the small City of Virginia Beach. The Kellam organization's mythical 1963 annexation suit was now very real for the county residents. In early November 1961,

Norfolk requested to be included in the Princess Anne-Virginia Beach consolidation. Although the Kellam forces saw this as a tactic to delay the merger, Kellam agreed to discuss the inclusion of Norfolk. At the meeting at Pine Tree Inn on November 16, Norfolk Mayor Duckworth requested a delay of the proposed January 4 referendum. Norfolk threatened a possible payroll tax and the curtailment of water service to Princess Anne County if the original merger plan were adopted (Blackford, November 17, 1961). This domineering attitude helped the Kellam organization sell the merger plan to the residents of Princess Anne County and the City of Virginia Beach. The City of Norfolk was not included in the merger plan.

The antimerger group called the Committee for Retention of Princess Anne County formed in December and published a full page advertisement in the Norfolk paper, the Ledger Star, detailing twenty-five reasons against merger. No names of committee members were listed. The only admitted member was Littleton B. Walker who was a defeated candidate for county treasurer in 1955 and a long-time opponent of Sidney Kellam. Walker also filed a suit in the Princess Anne County circuit court challenging the constitutionality of the Princess Anne-Virginia Beach merger (Walker v. City of Virginia Beach and County of Princess Anne). Judge Robert S. Wahab, Jr. dismissed the case on April 17, 1962, after the voters had expressed their desire for merger.

An eleven man Merger Executive Committee, headed by cochairmen Sidney Kellam and Ivan Mapp, drew up plans for the merger. One of the early issues was the name for the proposed new city. Since Princess Anne had been in existence as a county in Virginia since 1691, many residents sought to retain its historical name. Since the City of Virginia Beach had spent a great deal of money publicizing its tourist industry, financial considerations won over historical ones. The newly merged city would be known as the City of Virginia Beach, and the Seaboard Magisterial District of the county would change its name to the Princess Anne Borough to preserve that historical name.

Attorneys had completed a working charter and consolidation agreement for the Merger Executive Committee by October 30 (Blackford, October 31, 1961). All deliberations were handled in closed session. The agreement was released to the public on November 3 with the Virginia Beach Chamber of Commerce endorsing the report the same day. On November 10, the city council and board of supervisors accepted the proposal. The Merger Executive Committee set January 4 for the referendum. An extensive speakers' bureau of over two hundred business and political leaders spent the next two months speaking to every possible group in the county and city no matter how large or how small. Sidney Kellam was very visible at

as many meetings as possible. Another very important speaker was Frank W. Cox, who had been Superintendent of Schools for many years in Princess Anne County. He spoke often in favor of the merger and made a strong public statement to the press on December 26, 1961, about a week before the referendum. Since schools were a critical issue in all of the merger proposals, the Superintendent of Schools in the affected areas wielded a great deal of power. The vote on January 4 brought an overwhelming response for merger from all precincts. The county vote was 7,476 to 1,759, and the city vote was 1,539 to 242 (Ramage, January 5, 1962).

During the transition period before the two geographical areas actually merged in 1963, the Merger Executive Committee continued to function. It had all city and county officials draw up reports of their department organization. From those reports, the committee was able to put together the newly merged city structure. It was helpful that the prior city and county already shared the school superintendent, clerk of the circuit court, and Commonwealth's attorney. The strong Kellam organization assisted in the orderly transition period. The last meeting of the two former governing boards and the Merger Executive Committee was held on December 28, 1962. On January 1, 1963, the City of Virginia Beach became an official entity (Virginia Beach Sun News, January 3, 1963).

Norfolk County-South Norfolk

Because the Norfolk County-City of South Norfolk merger occurred during the same time period as the merger of Princess Anne County and the City of Virginia Beach, writers have drawn parallels to the two consolidations. They both joined large land mass counties to small area cities. They also entered consolidation negotiations to avoid annexation of their land by the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth. Their charters contain many similar sections. When studied more closely, it is apparent that many differences existed. Norfolk County and the City of South Norfolk did not have an organization comparable to that of Sidney Kellam to generate grass roots support. There were also some very vocal groups that did not support the merger plan in both Norfolk County and the City of South Norfolk.

While Princess Anne County had created a mythical annexation to enhance its merger prospects, this was not necessary in Norfolk County. There had been four annexations between 1940 and 1960 that had cost the county approximately thirty-three square miles of territory, 110,000 residents, and \$1,881,000 in annual revenue. The county spent \$247,000 in defense against these suits brought by Norfolk, South Norfolk, and Portsmouth. In December, 1961, the Portsmouth City Council passed an

emergency ordinance 5 to 1 to enter another annexation suit to claim 44.77 square miles and 10,600 residents. This was approximately thirteen percent of Norfolk County's land. The suit was brought in response to rumors of merger talks between Norfolk County and the City of South Norfolk (Hill, December 6, 1961).

ANNEXATIONS FROM NORFOLK COUNTY 1940-1960

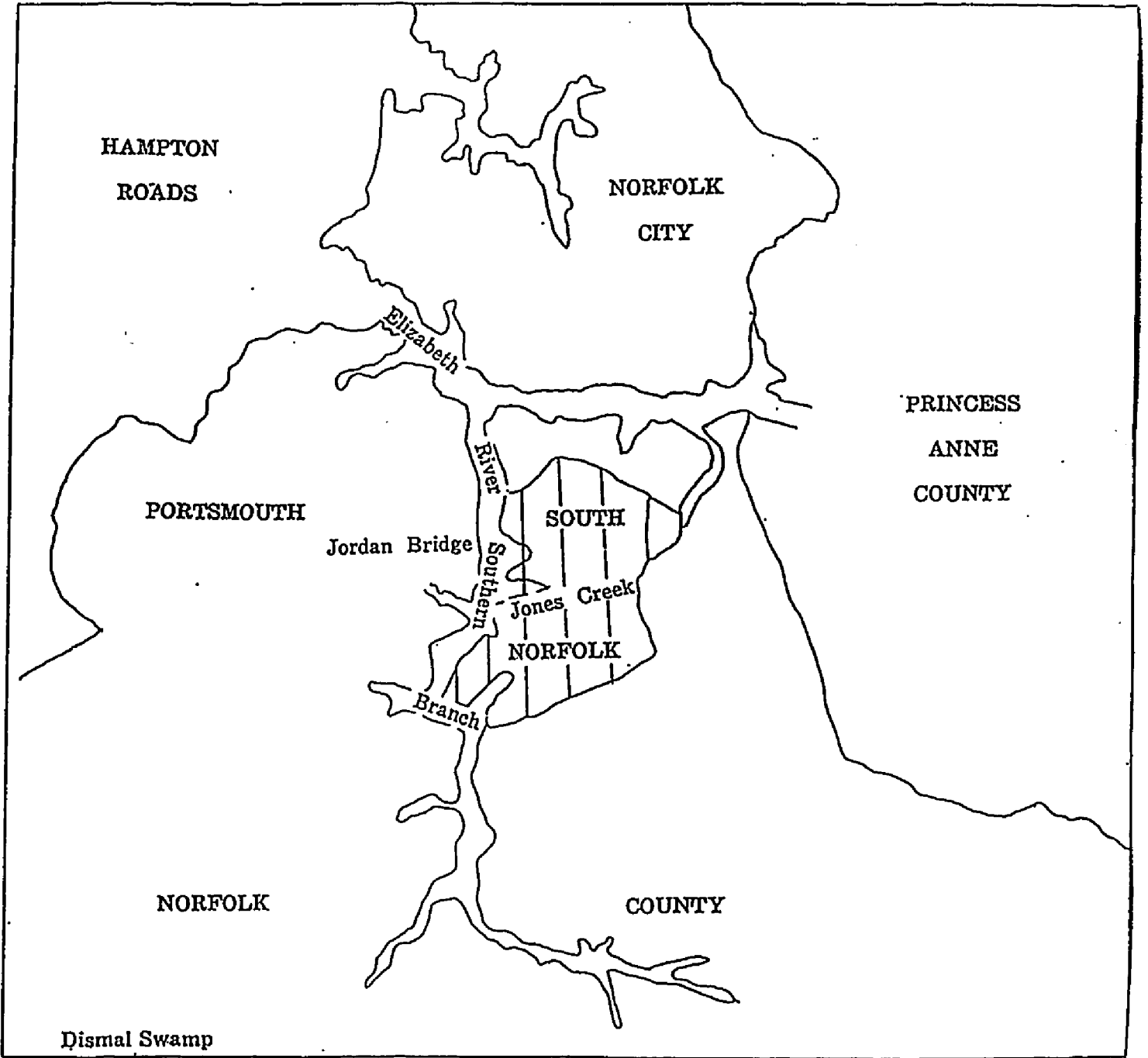
	<u>Population</u>	<u>Area (sq. mi.)</u>
1940	30,082	364.2
Annexations:		
1948 by Portsmouth	- 9,000	- 4.7
1950	99,937	359.5
Annexations:		
1951 by South Norfolk	-10,514	- 5.1
1955 by Norfolk	-55,000	- 11.2
1960 by Portsmouth	-36,000	- 10.0
1960	51,653	333.2

The 10,514 residents that became a part of South Norfolk in 1951 were living in the Washington District of Norfolk County while the 1955 annexation by Norfolk took area from Tanners Creek, a quickly growing section of the county. Ten square miles of territory primarily in Deep Creek were annexed by Portsmouth on January 1, 1960. Areas of growth in Norfolk County were annexed by neighboring cities (Schools for Norfolk County's Children, 1961, p.6).

The continuing annexation suits against Norfolk County territory made it a necessity for the county leaders to consider a merger. There is some doubt among those interviewed about whether the county would have considered merger at all if the state annexation laws had provided more protection for the integrity of counties in Virginia. As one of the School Board members reflected on the merger of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County "It was an unholy marriage, but Norfolk County needed to merge with somebody."

The actual merger talks between Norfolk County and South Norfolk were not confirmed publicly until a press statement was released on December 4, 1961. Discussions had been taking place informally for several months. One of the politicians in the Princess Anne-Virginia Beach merger mentioned the talks before the public statement was made. The Ledger Star discussed the impossible position of Norfolk County after the Princess Anne-Virginia Beach merger took place. Both the City of Norfolk and the City of Portsmouth would have no other place to seek territorial expansion except into Norfolk County. Lloyd H. Lewis said, "Under Virginia annexation laws, this left Norfolk with no direction to expand except in Norfolk County. County officials immediately had visions of Norfolk sprinting down the east shore of the Elizabeth River's southern branch, with Portsmouth matching pace down the west bank" (Lewis, January 1, 1963).

TIDEWATER MAP SHOWING NORFOLK COUNTY, THE CITY OF SOUTH NORFOLK, AND OTHER SURROUNDING GOVERNMENTAL AREAS



The antimerger forces were located primarily in South Norfolk and the Western Branch section of Norfolk County. The group that formed on December 27, 1961, in the Western Branch Magisterial District had much stronger ties to the City of Portsmouth than to South Norfolk or Norfolk County. Because of other annexations, this section had been separated by Portsmouth from the rest of Norfolk County. They emphasized the negative impact the South Norfolk merger would have on their schools and services. The Western Branch Citizens Association requested that the Western Branch District be allowed to merge with the City of Portsmouth. The Norfolk County Board of Supervisors rejected their request (Virginian Pilot, January 10, 1962).

Schools became a major issue in the merger discussions. While the City Council in South Norfolk was supporting the merger, the South Norfolk School Board was very opposed to the proposed consolidation. The School Superintendent, Mr. E. E. Brickell, was a leading spokesman for the antimerger movement. On January 8, 1962, he and W. Roy Britton, the Chairman of the School Board in South Norfolk, sent a copy of an antimerger resolution passed by the school board to every school patron. The anti-merger literature was entitled "Kill Merger--NOT SOUTH NORFOLK." Mr. Brickell was very adamant in his speeches that South Norfolk would be

harmred if merger did occur. A meeting was held between the South Norfolk City Council and school officials to try to come to an understanding about the merger issue. Mr. Brickell indicated in an interview that he spoke very forcefully at that meeting and many others during the antimerger campaign in South Norfolk. When asked why he was so opposed to the merger, Mr. Brickell responded, "There was no way South Norfolk could win. We would no longer be in charge of our own destiny. It could only go down hill. I believe history has proved me correct."

Mr. E. E. Brickell had begun his teaching career in South Norfolk in 1951 after graduating from the College of William and Mary and receiving a Master's degree from the University of Chicago. In 1954, he became Assistant Principal at Oscar Smith High School and in 1959 assumed the role of Principal. In May, 1961, Mr. Brickell was promoted to Superintendent of Public Instruction for the City of South Norfolk. In six months he was thrust into the middle of a merger debate. He stated that he felt he had to fight for the school system he represented. Part of one of his speeches in the Virginian Pilot said:

"I'll stack our school system up agianst theirs any time they want. As a school man I resent what's coming out over there. We have better administration- and I can prove it. We have more certified teachers- and I can prove it. Some people judge a school system on the basis of per-pupil cost. We're better there- and I can prove it (Tazewell, January 13, 1962)."

As a native of South Norfolk, Mr. Brickell provided a strong voice.

Many South Norfolk residents resented the fact that Norfolk County Circuit Court Clerk and promerger leader, Mr. Charles Cross, announced before the referendum that Mr. Edwin W. Chittum would become Superintendent of the proposed consolidated schools. Mr. "Ed" Chittum had been Superintendent of Schools in Norfolk County since 1949 and was extremely well respected throughout the state. Mr. Brickell expressed his displeasure by stating that it was the responsibility of the School Board, not Mr. Cross, to appoint the Superintendent. Mr. Brickell indicated that he had been offered the job of Assistant Superintendent in the newly proposed school district. He was not interested in that post and left to become Superintendent of the newly formed Franklin City Schools on November 1, 1962, just two months before the formal merger of the South Norfolk and Norfolk County School Systems.

Mr. W. Roy Britton, South Norfolk School Board Chairman, had served as a board member for fifteen years prior to the merger referendum. Despite the fact that most of that time had been spent as chairman, the City Council refused to reappoint him to his post after the merger referendum passed (Virginian Pilot, June 24, 1962).

Antimerger rallies held in the Churchland section of the Western Branch District of Norfolk County brought about strong feelings from residents who felt close ties

to the City of Portsmouth. Interviews with school system employees living in that area at the time brought the response that they were more interested in the Portsmouth annexation suit than the Norfolk County-South Norfolk proposed merger. Mr. Charles Bolton, a young social studies teacher at Churchland High School in 1962 and later Principal and Assistant Superintendent of the Chesapeake Public Schools, revealed a typical response. He said, "I was living in a community that was going through the possibility of annexation. We were physically closer to Portsmouth than to Norfolk County. The debate split the community physically and emotionally."

There was much broader support for the antimerger group in South Norfolk. It was led by former South Norfolk Mayor Clarence E. Forehand. Another ardent supporter was his brother Vernon T. Forehand, the City Attorney. Several South Norfolk interviews indicated that it was Vernon Forehand's wife who actually wrote the antimerger material. One former councilman described her as "the pen in it all." The material emphasized that the 51,000 residents in Norfolk County would swallow up the 21,000 in South Norfolk. They would lose all power over their own affairs. They even suggested that the county just wanted the \$250,000 South Norfolk received each year from the Jordan Bridge Commission. The city had received \$2,327,500 from this corporation between 1944 and 1962 to be utilized for charitable, educational, and recreational

purposes (Chesapeake Post, November 7, 1963).

The promerger leaders emphasized the disruption caused by the annexation suits, making it very difficult to engage in long range planning. Nearly a hundred meetings were held throughout Norfolk County and the City of South Norfolk between the December 4, 1961, announcement of the merger proposal and the February 8, 1962, referendum that approved that merger. The meetings in Norfolk County usually were led by Clerk of the Circuit Court Charles Cross. He was accompanied by a group of county leaders that often included Delegate W. H. Hodges, Jr., Commonwealth's Attorney Peter M. Axson, the very powerful Commissioner of the Revenue Robert "Speedy" Waldo, State Senator Gordon F. Marsh, Supervisors E. P. Wadsworth and G. A. "Beef" Treakle, Chairman of the Board of Supervisors Colin Hall, Sheriff J. A. Hodges, and School Superintendent E. W. Chittum. They emphasized that the referendum was the one opportunity the voters had to influence their future (Tazewell, January 5, 1962).

The county promergerites emphasized that merger would not change the character of the county and its individual boroughs. They pictured each borough voting on its own services and taxation as well as electing its own representatives. This mentality caused difficulty later when a council-manager form of government was instituted.

The South Norfolk promoter forces emphasized the danger of encirclement as a result of annexations carried out by the cities of Portsmouth and Norfolk. Three members of the South Norfolk City Council wrote an "Open Letter to the Citizens of South Norfolk" on January 29, 1962. Councilmen F. T. Allen, H. S. Boyette, and Vice Mayor Howard R. McPherson discussed the financial problems the city had and suggested that the merger would allow the city to be on a more stable financial basis. They pointed out that there had been a revenue deficit of \$400,000 in fiscal year 1961-62 which had been retired by selling two mortgaged sewer lines to the Hampton Roads Sanitation District for \$455,000. They indicated that this sum represented one fifth of the city budget and would probably necessitate a tax increase of fifty-five percent. When asked about his reasons for writing the "Open Letter," Mr. McPherson indicated that he was very supportive of the merger and felt the information needed to be made public. He was elected as an at-large South Norfolk Councilman in 1961 and was then selected by the council as Vice Mayor. He would move to the Chesapeake City Council on January 1, 1963, and become the second mayor of the new city on September 4, 1963.

Suits were filed in an attempt to delay the referendum vote and to test the constitutionality of the merger itself. *Western Branch Citizens Association v.*

Board of Supervisors was filed in the Circuit Court of Norfolk County on January 15, 1962 (Virginian Pilot, January 16, 1962). The merger referendum was moved from February 9 to February 13, 1962. The suit was finally dismissed on March 20, 1962 after the referendum had passed successfully in both the county and the city.

Circuit Court records indicated that the Norfolk County voters passed the merger with 4,839 positive votes out of a total vote of 6,875 ballots cast. Magisterial districts reported 3 to 1 or larger approval votes except in the Western Branch District which passed the referendum with a vote of 1,383 to 1,163. Over half of the total opposition vote in the county came from the Western Branch District.

The City of South Norfolk passed the referendum by 433 votes or 1,809 to 1,376. The proposal was defeated in two of the six precincts and passed by less than twenty votes in two other precincts. Despite the passage of the referendum in South Norfolk, there was still a strong antimerger feeling in that area.

Following the positive merger vote in both governmental areas, the leaders in Norfolk County and South Norfolk had about ten months to prepare for the actual transition to a new city government. Many issues had to be resolved, not the least of which was a name for the new city. Since no name had been listed in the

original consolidation agreement, which can be found in the Appendix, names were proposed by the public. Each suggestion had to be accompanied by at least one hundred signatures to appear on the ballot. The following names appeared on the ballot: Bridgeport, Chesapeake, Churchland, Glendale, Glennville, Gosport, Great Bridge, Norcova, Port Elizabeth, Sunray City, Virginia City, and Woodford (Bancroft, March 3, 1962). The name Great Bridge garnered 171 votes with Chesapeake being the clear favorite with 1,274 votes. A very small percentage of the population went to the polls. Some names barely received votes. Gosport had one vote, Woodford had two, and Glennville had three (Lewis, January 1, 1963). Political leaders were embarrassed to find after the choice had been made by the voters that a Chesapeake post office already existed in a very small rural community on the Eastern Shore of Virginia. Negotiations had to take place for the Post Office Department to officially recognize the newly consolidated City of Chesapeake.

The Board of Supervisors of Norfolk County and the City Council of South Norfolk worked closely during the transition period to merge the major departments. Areas such as fire and police protection and trash collection had been handled very differently in the two governmental units. Adopting a city-wide perspective was difficult for some of the political leaders. When the consolidation was

officially declared on January 1, 1963, all members of the former County Board of Supervisors and the City Council became members of the new Chesapeake City Council. Colin Hall was elected to serve as the first Mayor of the City of Chesapeake. Charles L. Richardson, formerly of South Norfolk, was elected to serve as Vice Mayor.

It was difficult for some of the Norfolk County leaders to get beyond the mentality of the former Board of Supervisors in which each supervisor had a great deal of autonomy in running his district (Sallinger, November 16, 1963). The first councilmanic elections to be held in the consolidated city took place on June 12, 1963. Three of the incumbents were casualties. T. Ray Hassell was defeated in the Butts Road borough of the former Norfolk County. Vice Mayor Charles L. Richardson and Councilman Daniel W. Lindsay, Jr. were defeated in the South Norfolk borough by James W. Overton, Jr. and Edward L. Trotman. Both of the challengers had been against the merger and were supported by the South Norfolk Betterment League that also opposed the merger. There had even been some talk of trying to "undo" the merger after the original referendum vote. Mr. Lindsay credited his defeat with lack of adequate campaigning due to a new job and a growing family. His stand on merger obviously cost him votes. Overton and Trotman pledged that they would work for the good of the total City of Chesapeake (Lewis, June 12, 1963).

The selection of a mayor in the summer of 1963 became embroiled in two council controversies. The route to be followed by State Highway 168 was a critical issue since it connected the Borough of South Norfolk and the civic center for the City of Chesapeake which was located in the Borough of Great Bridge. It was a very narrow, twisting road that had to be upgraded. The State Department of Highways was ready to perform the work but asked the city to recommend the route the new road would follow. On March 26, 1963, the council voted to have the new four-lane highway follow the original twisting Highway 168 to protect the businesses along the road (Lewis, March 27, 1963).

On July 11, 1963, the council reconsidered his vote on the highway route. Mayor Hall made it clear that he preferred the straight route. Councilman E. P. Wadsworth, who represented the Washington Borough through which the old highway ran, was a strong proponent to retain the present location. The straight line route won on a 6-3 vote with Councilman G. A. Treakle abstaining. Vice Mayor Richardson and Councilman Lindsay from South Norfolk voted with Councilman Wadsworth (Phillips, August 21, 1963).

In August, Mayor Hall also had a council disagreement with Councilman G. A. "Beef" Treakle whose Deep Creek Sanitation District had overspent its funds. Mayor Hall still felt it was up to each councilman to take care of his district's responsibilities. He did not think the

council should have to bail out such a sewer district.

There were at least three different perspectives on the September 10 election for Mayor of Chesapeake. News accounts portray the change of mayors in terms of Mayor Colin Hall not being able to get the necessary votes in council due to the two issues previously discussed. Mayor Hall's grandson, Judge Colin H. Whitehurst, indicated that his grandfather had always planned to give up the mayor's job after the first election. He just wanted a Norfolk County person to serve as the first Mayor of the City of Chesapeake. Judge Whitehurst indicated this was Mayor Hall's way of making a smooth transition and appeasing the politics in South Norfolk.

Judge Whitehurst did tell an interesting story that occurred during this period. He had been standing in the kitchen of his grandfather's house when Mayor Hall was on the phone with Councilman Treakle. It was obviously a disagreement. Finally, Mayor Hall said, "Beef, why don't you come over here and talk about it." Within ten minutes, Mr. Treakle and Mr. Hall were sitting in the living room on Wilson Drive. As the voices got louder, Mr. Hall turned to his grandson and said, "Boy, you better leave the room now." Judge Whitehurst reported that within ten minutes they emerged from the living room with the issue settled.

The third version of the selection of the new mayor came from then Councilman Howard McPherson. He indicated

that this decision had been made informally before the actual merger on January 1, 1963. Colin Hall was to become the first mayor of Chesapeake, and Charles Richardson, from South Norfolk, would become the second. When Richardson was defeated for reelection, McPherson became the choice from South Norfolk. He also indicated it was done by Colin Hall out of his respect for the long term merger of the city.

On September 10, 1963, Howard McPherson, an incumbent councilman from South Norfolk, was elected as the second Mayor of the City of Chesapeake on a vote of 6-4. He received votes from former Mayor Hall, Councilmen Hudgins of Butts Road, I. H. Haywood of Western Branch, H. S. Boyette and F. T. Allen of South Norfolk, and his own vote. He was opposed by G. A. Treakle, E. P. Wadsworth, and the two newly elected councilmen from South Norfolk, Overton and Trotman. Councilman Haywood from Western Branch was selected Vice Mayor with the same 6-4 vote (Lewis, September 11, 1963).

The city would continue its growing pains in the next few years as it sought to understand what it meant to be a city as opposed to independent boroughs. One of the major areas of discussion during the merger campaign had been the public schools and how they would be affected by the proposed consolidation. Financial considerations were an important part of that overall issue.

The next sections of this chapter will deal with two major concerns in the merger of the South Norfolk and Norfolk County School Systems. Both equity of school facilities and the control of power in regard to decision making were discussed during the pre-merger debates. While school systems may be judged on a number of factors, such as instructional results, personnel systems, salary issues and transportation, this study focuses on the issues of concern during the merger debate, facilities and power.

Hypothesis #1:

THAT RESOURCES FOR FACILITIES WERE DISTRIBUTED EQUITABLY TO THE FORMER SOUTH NORFOLK AND NORFOLK COUNTY AREAS.

Introduction

The newly formed Chesapeake School Board had an important task to merge a small city school system with a county system that spread over 330 square miles. Since annexation law created new governments on January 1, the merger of school systems was complicated. The schools operated under two separate school boards and budgets for the first six months of the school year and then consolidated into one board and budget for the period from January until June, 1963.

Since schools were such an important part of the merger campaign, the equity of facilities after the merger should receive careful consideration. This section will focus on school facilities in Norfolk County and South Norfolk in 1962. The equity of new school buildings and renovations of existing buildings after the merger will be assessed. The procedure for the writing of policies for the new school system will also be considered.

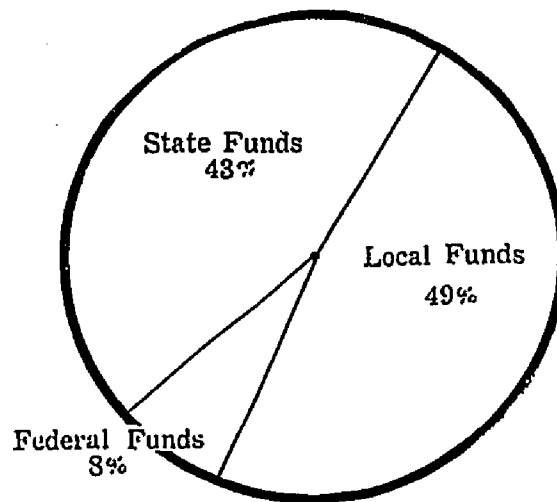
South Norfolk School Facilities

South Norfolk was the youngest city in Tidewater in 1962. In 1950 it extended its southern boundary through annexation of Norfolk County territory in the village of Portlock and the industrial section of Money Point and eastward toward Indian River. The population more than doubled (10,434 to 20,948) which allowed South Norfolk to move from a city of the second class (population under 10,000) to a city of the first class. This annexation also added 5.1 square miles through this annexation. That was an increase of 224%.

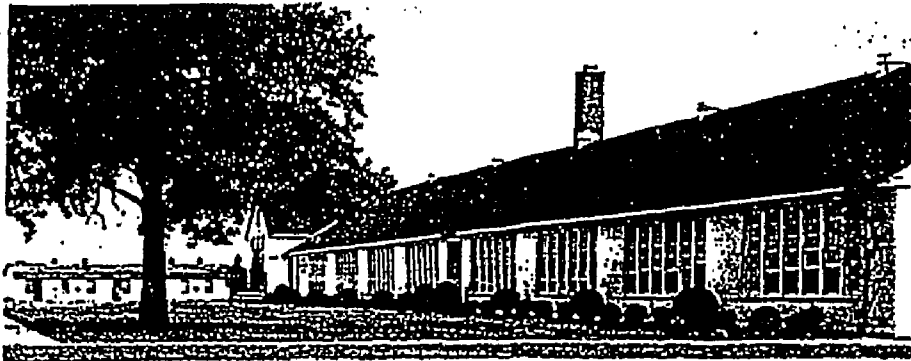
In 1962, the South Norfolk School Board requested that a study be undertaken of their school system by the Division of Teacher Placement and Field Service at the University of Virginia. This study was commissioned by the following members of the board: W. Roy Britton, Chairman, F. Jennings Richardson, Graham R. Harrell,

William B. Plummer, Herbert B. Curtis, and E. E. Brickell,
Superintendent.

One of the issues studied was the financial support
for schools. The graph below shows the sources that
funded South Norfolk Schools in 1962.



The next series of pages will describe each school facility in South Norfolk and discuss its condition in 1962, the year before the merger with Norfolk County.



PARK ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Park Elementary School was built in 1944 by the United States Government for children from a nearby housing development. The exposed concrete block structure was intended to be a temporary building until after the war. It is still being utilized as a school today. The thirteen-classroom building, housing grades 1-5, was on a 10.5 acre site. A sixteen-room addition was built in 1962, bringing the student capacity to 840. The Principal was Bradford Lowry who remained there for many years. The UVA study recommended that the attendance zone for Park Elementary be reduced to address the problem of overcrowding.



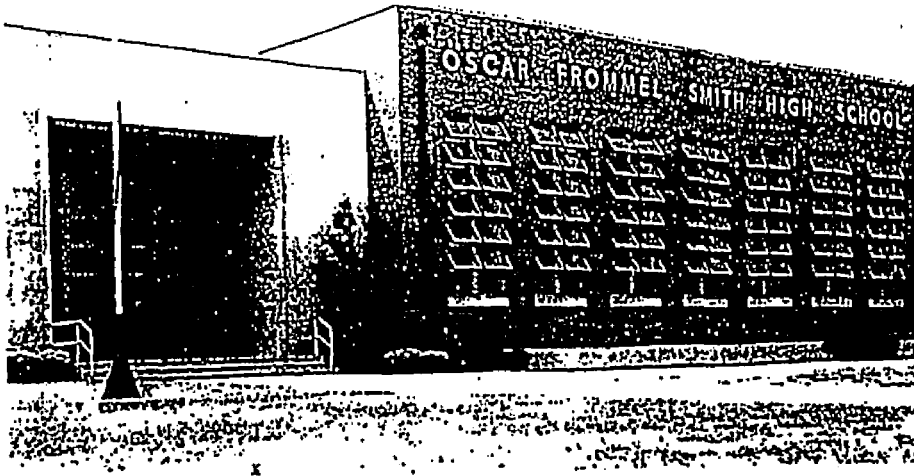
PORTLOCK ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

The plant at the Portlock Elementary School was made up of four buildings with a capacity of 750 students. The three story main building was constructed in 1908 and needed extensive renovation. The third grade building was constructed in 1921 and was located just a few feet from the very busy Bainbridge Boulevard (U.S. 460). The first grade building constructed by the United States Government in 1943, was dangerously separated from the cafeteria and other buildings by a street. The gymnasium was built in 1938 but was more appropriate for community use than for elementary students. This 8 acre site complex was of great concern to the planners.



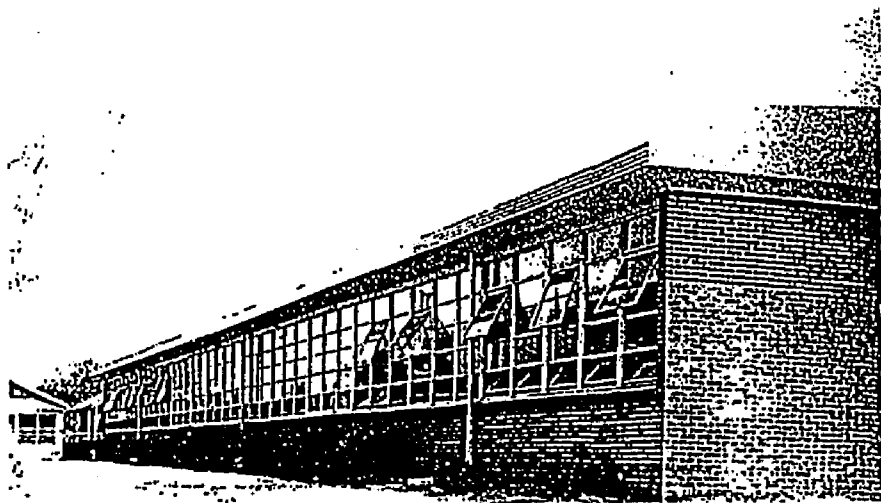
GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER ELEMENTARY AND HIGH SCHOOLS

The four buildings of this school were located on a fifteen acre site with Mr. Charles S. Brabble serving as Principal. The original building was constructed in 1908 with an addition in 1938. The high school, which was built in 1952, was much too small for the 383 students enrolled in 1962. An elementary classroom wing was connected to the high school in 1957 by a covered walkway. It included nine classrooms, a library, and offices. The library was being used as a high school band room, and the offices housed a closed circuit television studio. The low initial cost of the building had not included routine maintenance and repairs. The study recommended that this complex be turned into a junior-senior high school, and a new elementary school be built on a different site.



OSCAR FROMMEL SMITH HIGH SCHOOL

The Oscar Smith High School was the newest and most effective plant in the South Norfolk school system in 1962. It had been built in 1955 on a twenty-five acre site on Rodgers Street. It included complete facilities for a comprehensive secondary program. The study concluded that it should serve the community for twenty or thirty years. The enrollment of 1,150 was quite close to the stated capacity of 1200 students. The UVA group suggested that limiting the enrollment to 1,050 would allow for more efficient scheduling. As the enrollment grew, consideration would need to be given to the possibility of building a new building for a junior high school. Mr. J. William Etheridge was serving as Principal of Oscar Frommel Smith High School in 1962.



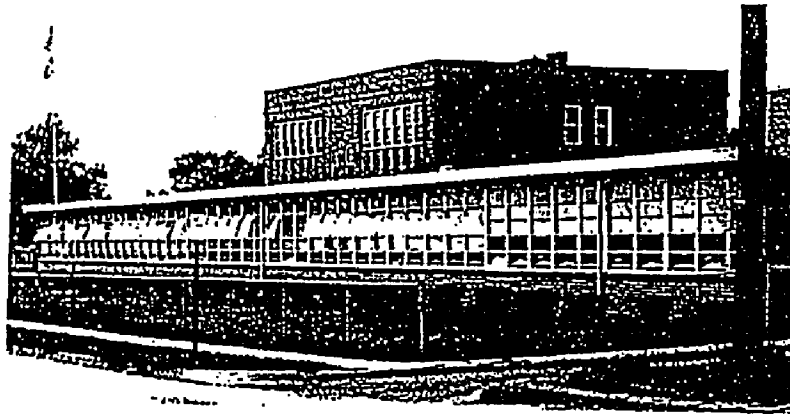
SOUTH HILL ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

The original building of this elementary school was constructed in 1908 on a 4.5 acre site. The site had not been properly developed and needed drainage improvements. The addition built in 1957 was, according to the UVA report, "typical of the new school plant construction in South Norfolk during the past few years." Criticism was made of the fact that so much emphasis was placed on the low initial cost that maintenance was quite high. With a capacity of 210 students and a building that did not include central facilities for a total elementary program, South Hill Elementary School was of limited use. It was also recommended that the site be expanded if possible. Mr. John A. Taylor served as Head Teacher.



SOUTH NORFOLK ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

This school was originally constructed in 1929 on a five acre site to serve as South Norfolk High School. Very little modification was done when it began use as an elementary school. A six-classroom addition was built in 1955 and was attached to a small building that contained "two substandard classrooms." The enrollment of 910 students far exceeded even the maximum capacity of 780 if all buildings were renovated. The recommendations of the study group included immediate renovation of both buildings, a cafeteria and kitchen constructed in a separate building, doubling the size of the site, and shifting three hundred students to a new school in a different location. Miss Dorothy Truitt served as Principal.



WATERFORD ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

The original building was constructed in 1914 and placed on a 1.3 acre site. The three story building featured the first floor slightly below ground level. The survey team stated, "The cost of putting this building in good condition would be exorbitant; therefore, it is recommended that it be abandoned at the earliest possible date." A new building, housing a cafeteria, library, storage rooms and five classrooms, was connected to the 1914 building in 1957 by covered walkways. The site was in need of major drainage work. The location of the buildings included railroads on two sides and a heavily travelled street on another side. Site expansion was a critical need but could only be accomplished in one direction. Mr. Otis J. Wynn was the Principal.



RENA B. WRIGHT ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

This school was located at 20th and B Streets and included three buildings on a small 2.7 acre site. The first building was constructed in 1900. A second building constructed in 1910 was connected to the first by a two-story enclosed corridor that gave it the appearance of one building. The third building was added in 1916. All were of class D masonry wall construction with the inclusion of combustible materials. The three story buildings were situated on a black-topped site and surrounded by a 10 foot chain link fence. The first building housed the central administration. The capacity of the school was

810 with Mr. Carleton S. Webb serving as Principal. The survey team recommended that a new plant be built at a different location that could better meet the needs of the elementary school population patterns.

SCHOOL SITE SIZE

George Washington Carver Elementary and High Schools	15 acres
Park Elementary School	10.5 acres
Portlock Elementary School	8 acres
Oscar Frommel Smith High School	25 acres
South Hill Elementary School	4.5 acres
South Norfolk Elementary South	5 acres
Waterford Elementary School	1.3 acres
Rena B. Wright Elementary School	2.7 acres

The site was critical to the schools of South Norfolk. None of their schools met the minimum site size recommended by the National Council of Schoolhouse Construction in 1962. Their suggestion for appropriate site size for an elementary school was a minimum of five acres plus an additional acre for each 100 students. A junior high should have had a minimum site of twenty acres plus an additional acre for each 100 students. A senior high needed a minimum of thirty acres plus one acre for each 100 students in the population. Most of the sites were developed before surrounding land was thought to be important to a school.

Enrollment 1960-61

George Washington Carver Elementary	623
and High Schools	383
Park Elementary School	760
Portlock Elementary School	670
Oscar Frommel Smith High School	1150
South Norfolk Elementary School	910
South Hill Elementary School	180
Waterford Elementary School	226
Rena B. Wright Elementary School	370
Total	5272

The enrollment in the City of South Norfolk Schools during the 1960-61 school year is listed in the above table.

Summary

The University of Virginia survey study recommended that every effort be made to bring the site size of South Norfolk schools up to standard. In some cases this meant the acquisition of surrounding land. In other situations, it meant abandoning certain locations and moving to areas where the population would support a school site.

During the twenty year period prior to the 1962 building survey, South Norfolk did not experience the need for facility expansion that was common in many school districts at that time. Unfortunately, according to the survey results, there was a lack of a program set up for preventive maintenance. In fact, deferred maintenance had brought about major deterioration in many of the buildings. School plants had not been a high priority during this period.

The issue of these facilities was a major priority for the newly merged Chesapeake School Board when they met in January, 1963. Board member Dr. William S. Terry commented on the South Norfolk schools in this way, "They were the worst I'd ever seen or heard of. They were just dilapidated!" The School Board toured all of the South Norfolk schools soon after the merger. Debate over the future of certain sites and buildings was a major feature of Chesapeake School Board minutes for the next several years.

Norfolk County School Sites

The Norfolk County school system faced increasing pupil enrollment after World War II. Long range facility planning was complicated by several annexation proceedings that sent some of their school sites to the cities of Norfolk, Portsmouth, and South Norfolk. Despite the difficulties the annexations posed, they were partly responsible for the good condition of the Norfolk County school facilities. Judge Jerry Bray, who was judge of the Corporation Court of South Norfolk from 1953 until 1963, indicated in an interview that under Virginia annexation law, Norfolk County received monetary compensation for the annexed land and schools. As he said, "Ed Chittum (Superintendent) had money all the time. When he built one school, he usually built two."

Norfolk County had commissioned three studies of their facilities after World War II. These were completed by the Division of Teacher Placement and Field Service of the University of Virginia in 1945, 1949, and 1955. In 1961, this division was again asked to survey the school facilities for Norfolk County. The School Board consisted of Chairman B. M. Williams, Vice Chairman C. E. Russell, Herman A. Hall, Jr., A. E. Roach, Mrs. J. J. Booker, and Superintendent Edwin W. Chittum. The descriptions of school facilities in this study are based on the 1961

survey, only one copy of which has been found to be available after extensive research. Fourteen of the twenty-one school plants in Norfolk County in 1961 had been built after 1944. The other seven had undergone extensive renovations and/or additions since 1948. The report indicated the schools were in excellent physical condition.

SCHOOL SITE SIZE

Secondary Schools	Site Size	Recommended Minimum
Great Bridge High	36 acres	44 acres
Great Bridge Jr. High	20 acres	29 acres
Deep Creek High	28 acres	42 acres
Churchland High	32 acres	42 acres
Churchland Jr. High	14 acres	34 acres
Crestwood High	28 acres	44 acres

All secondary sites were under the minimum size recommended by the National Council on Schoolhouse Construction. All sites, excluding Churchland Junior High, exceeded the minimum requirements recommended prior to 1958. At that time, site size recommendations were increased. Four of the elementary schools also included sites that did not conform to the recommended size. Those recommendations are the same as described in the previous discussion of the South Norfolk school survey.

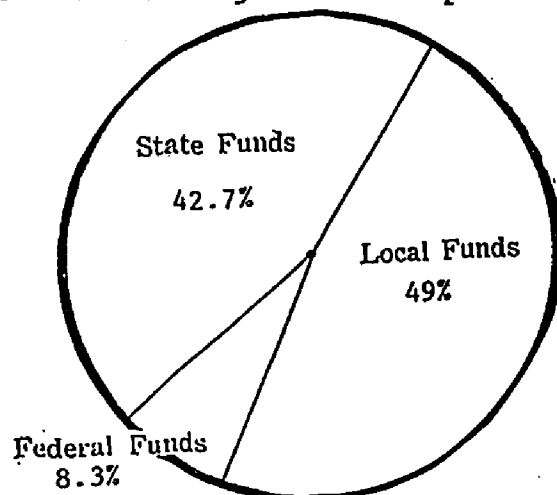
SCHOOL SITE SIZE

Elementary Schools	Site Size	Recommended Minimum
Great Bridge	16 acres	13 acres
Hickory	16 acres	11 acres
B. M. Williams	16 acres	13 acres
Indian River	16 acres	13 acres
Norfolk Highlands	6 acres	10 acres
Deep Creek	7 acres	14 acres
Sunray	4 acres	7 acres
Churchland	23 acres	13 acres
E. W. Chittum	22 acres	13 acres
Crestwood	7 acres	10 acres
Bell Mill	12 acres	9 acres
Southeastern	23 acres	13 acres
Central	16 acres	10 acres
Southwestern	12 acres	10 acres

The facilities survey commented that the recommended minimum size was based on the site used for school purposes only. Since Norfolk County Schools included an extensive community recreation program in a majority of the public school locations, the minimum number of acres for certain sites might need to be increased to properly meet the needs of those programs.

The funding for Norfolk County Schools came from the

local, state and federal governments. The graph below shows the percentages contributed by each level of government in 1961. They are remarkably similar to those of South Norfolk during the same period.



The actual funding amounts for the 1960-61 school year in Norfolk County according to the Superintendent's Report were as follows:

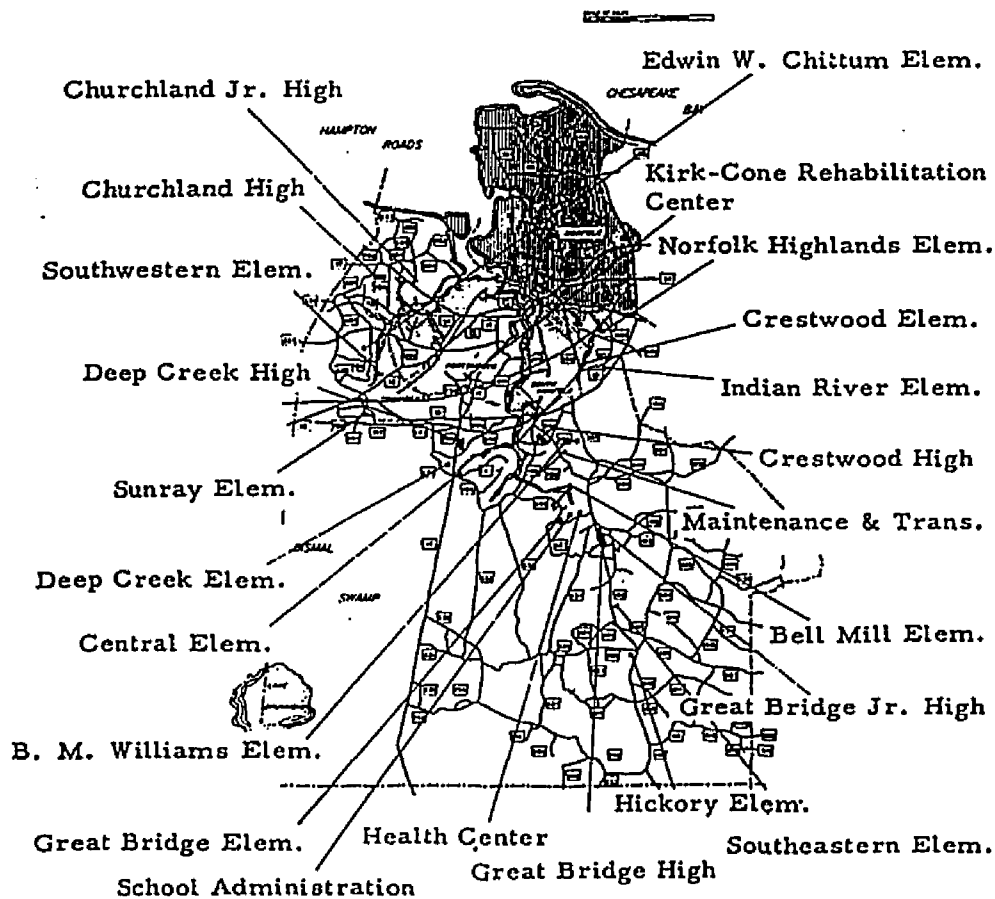
State	\$1,796,366.25
Federal	\$ 833,994.68
County	\$1,318,894.84
Other	\$ 645,754.02

A very important part of the financial records for Norfolk County during this period was its bonded indebtedness. On January 1, 1960, its long term debt was \$1,681,909. This was quite low in comparison to the thirty-two million dollars invested in school construction since 1951. The per capita debt in 1959 was \$21.04 in

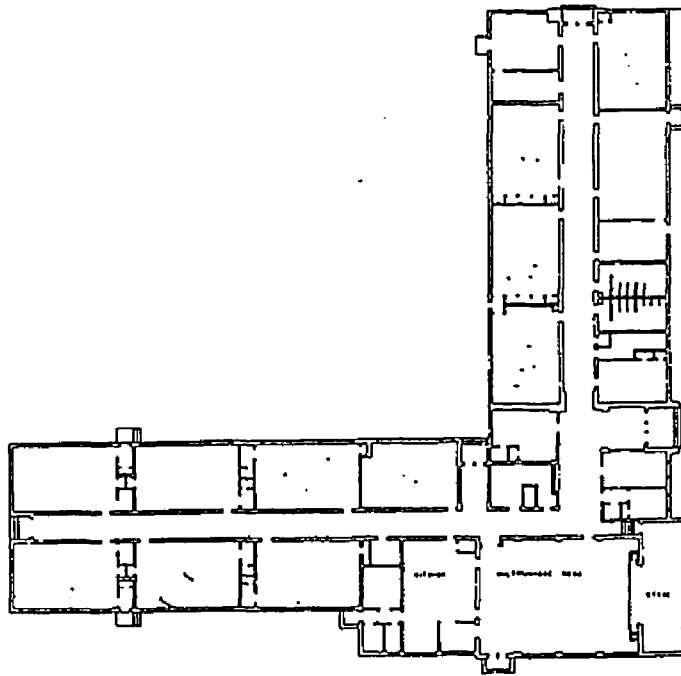
comparison with the average per capita debt in all Virginia counties of \$102.89. Annexation compensation money had alleviated some of the burden from local taxpayers.

The next section will deal with a description of each of the Norfolk County facilities. The enclosed map should assist in locating the sites of various schools.

Location of Norfolk County Public Schools

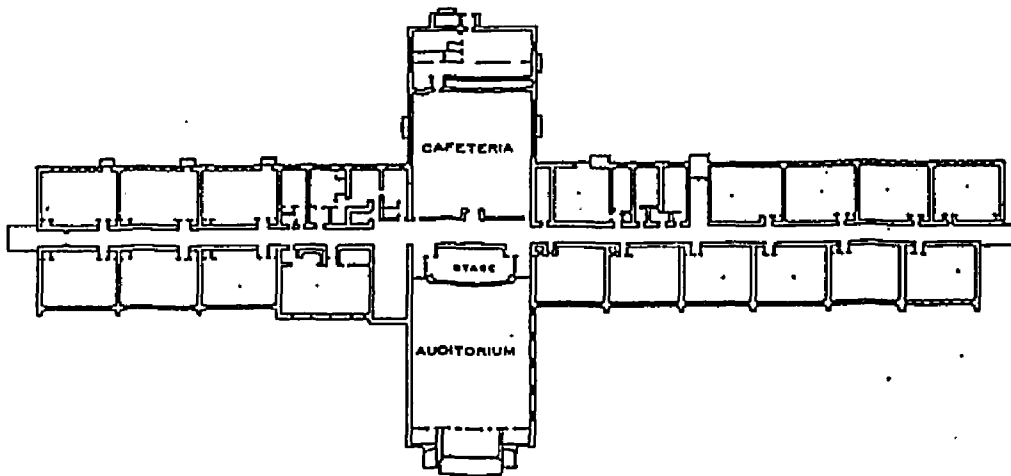


BELL MILL SCHOOL



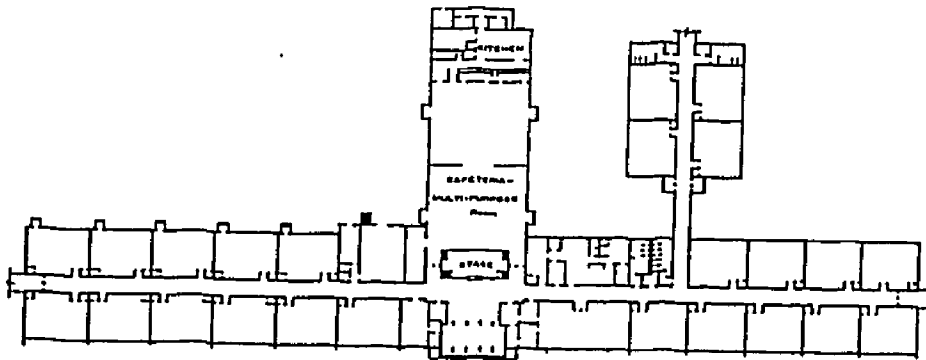
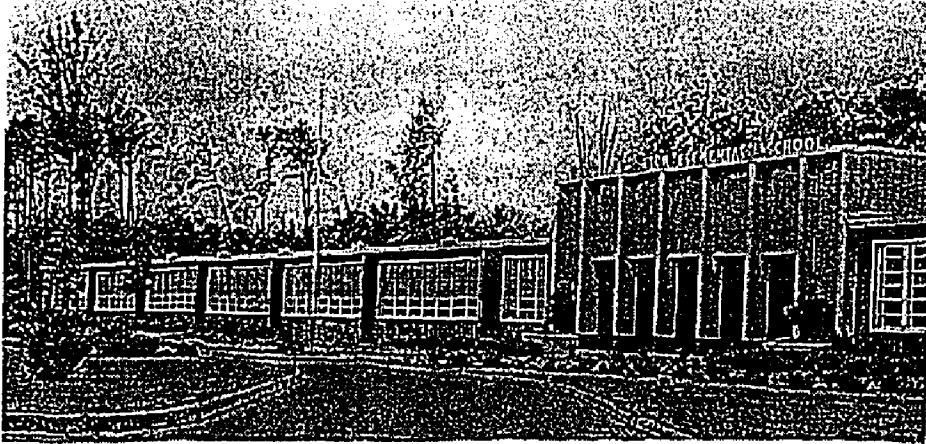
Built in 1923, the Bell Mill School had a capacity of 360 with the 1954 addition. It had a twelve acre site and was valued at \$348,000. The Principal was Mr. Jesse C. James.

CENTRAL ELEMENTARY SCHOOL



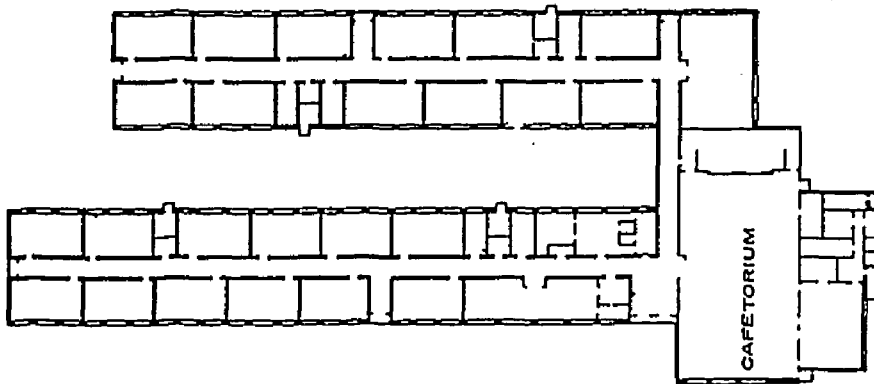
Central Elementary School was located on a sixteen acre site and was built in 1956. It had a capacity of 480 students. The school site and building were valued at \$461,000. Mr. F. L. Atkins served as Principal.

Edwin W. Chittum Elementary School



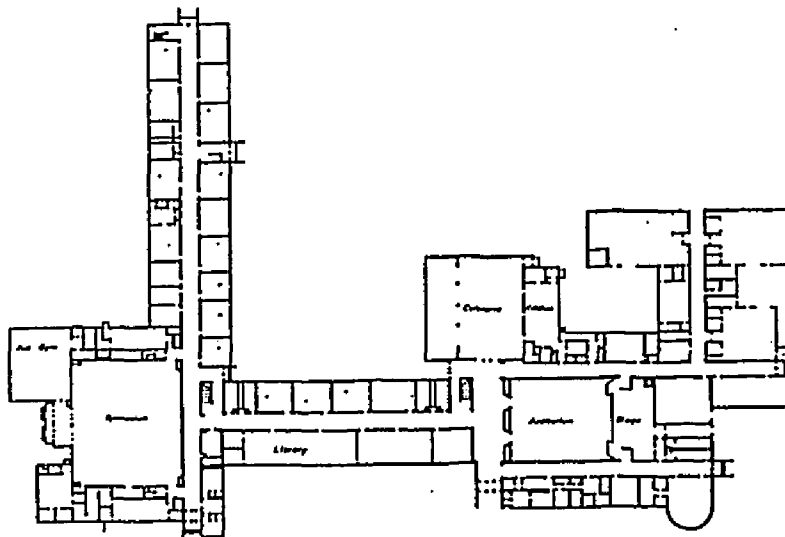
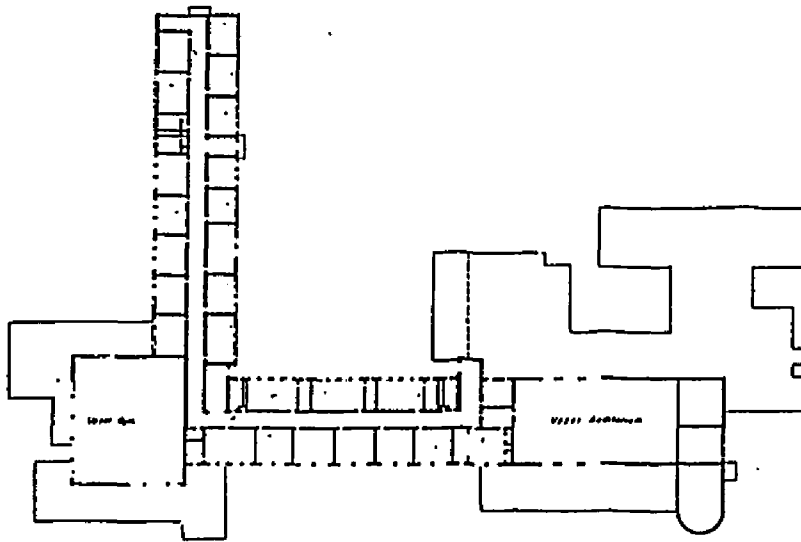
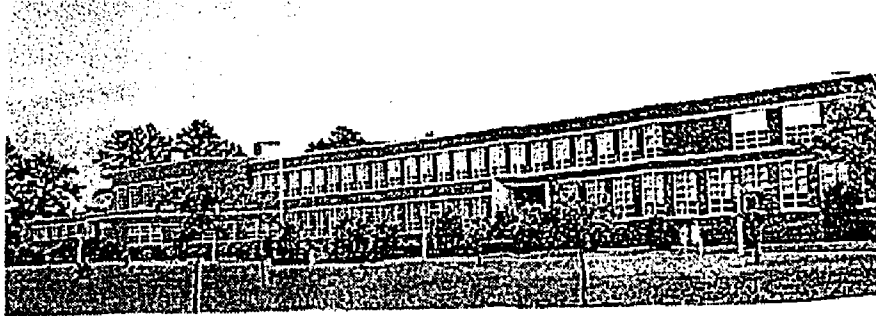
The E. W. Chittum Elementary School was constructed in 1958. Located on a twenty-two acre site, the school had a capacity of 720. It was valued at \$707,000. Mr. Franklyn Kingdom served as Principal.

CHURCHLAND ELEMENTARY SCHOOL



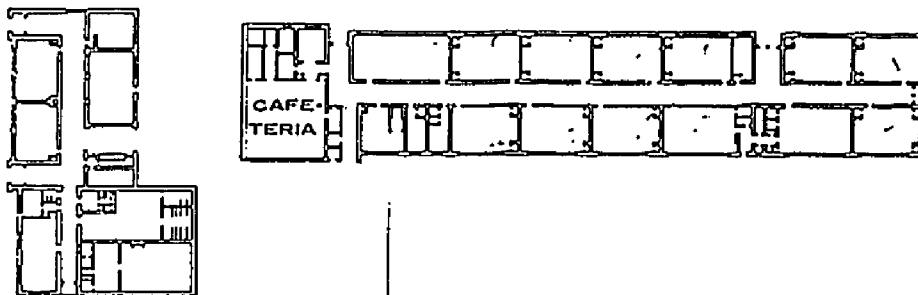
Located on a twenty-three acre site, Churchland Elementary School was built in 1958. At that time, it was valued at \$721,000. The capacity for the building was 720 students. Mr. Garfield Shafer served as the Principal.

CHURCHLAND HIGH SCHOOL



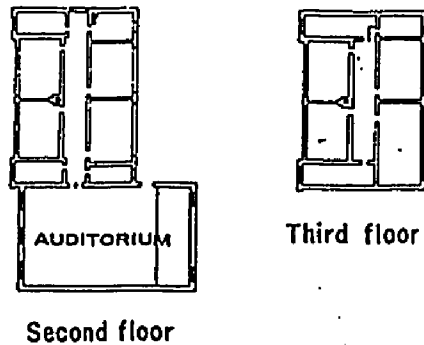
Churchland High School was built in 1954, and an addition was completed in 1955. Situated on a thirty-two acre site, it was valued at \$2,275,000. Mr. Frank D. Beck served as Principal.

CHURCHLAND JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL



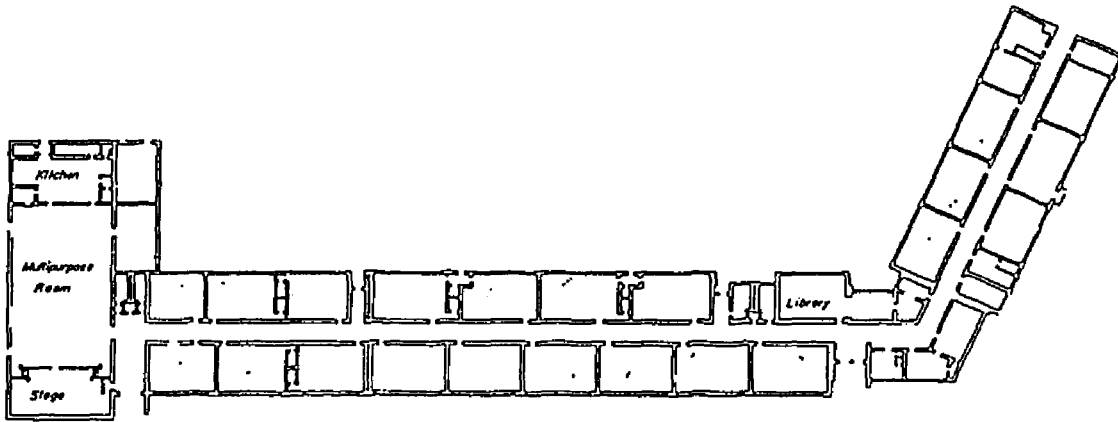
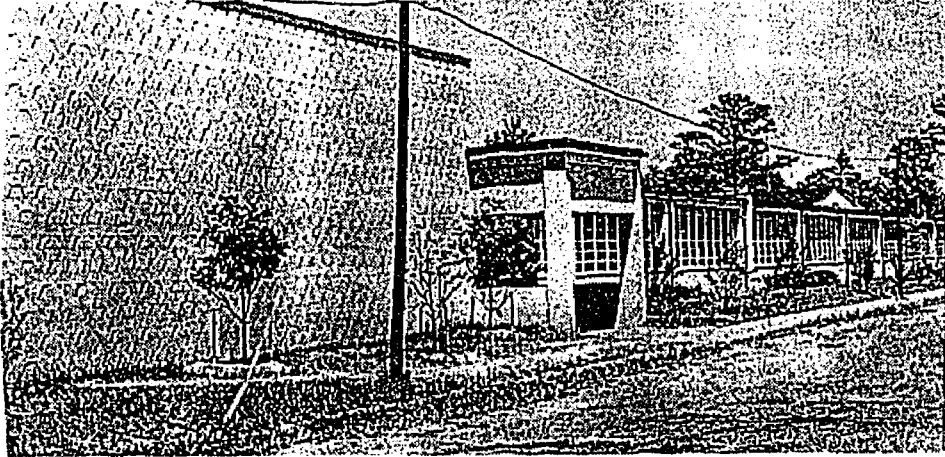
————— First floor —————

Churchland Junior High School (continued)



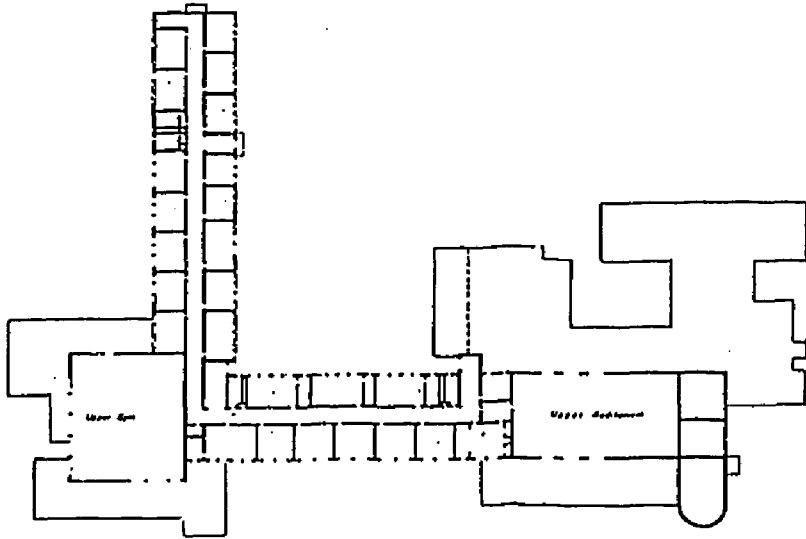
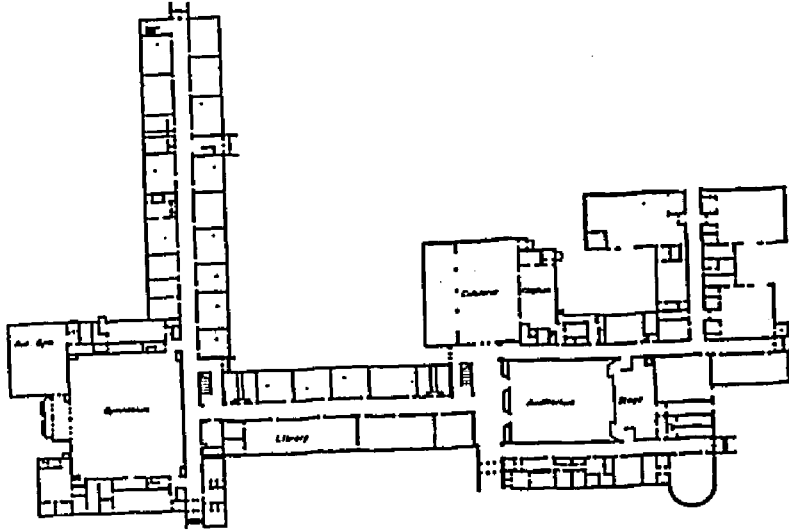
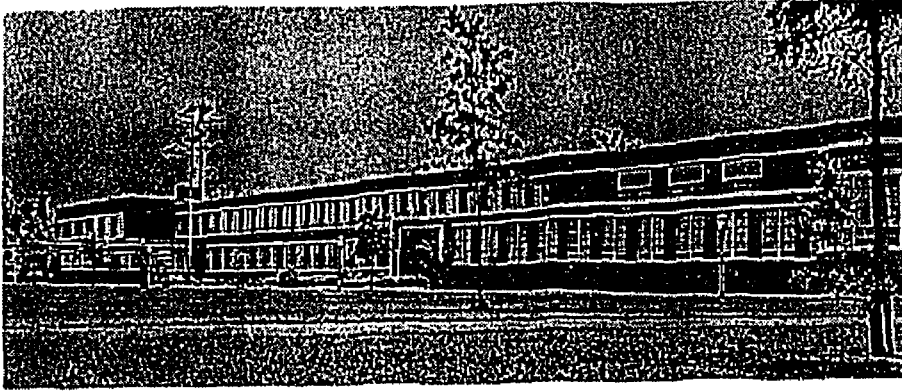
Churchland Junior High School was constructed in 1922. Additions were built in 1940, 1944, and 1952. The building was totally renovated in 1961. Located on a fourteen acre site, the school was valued at \$745,000. Its stated capacity was 660 students. Mr. Noble Moore served as Principal.

CRESTWOOD ELEMENTARY SCHOOL



Crestwood Elementary School was constructed in 1944. Additions were completed in 1955 and 1960. Located on a seven acre site, the school had a stated capacity of 690 students. It was valued at \$434,000. Mr. Arnell Burrus was the Principal.

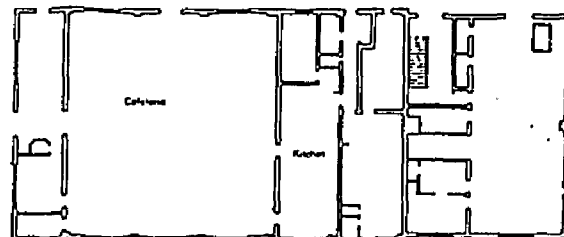
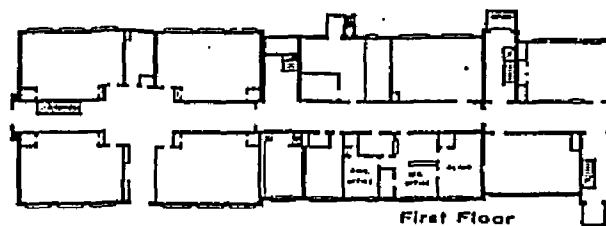
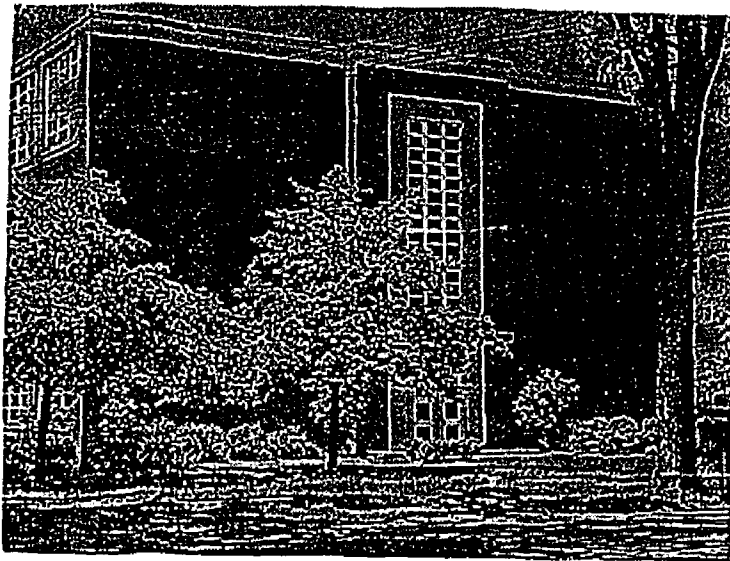
CRESTWOOD HIGH SCHOOL



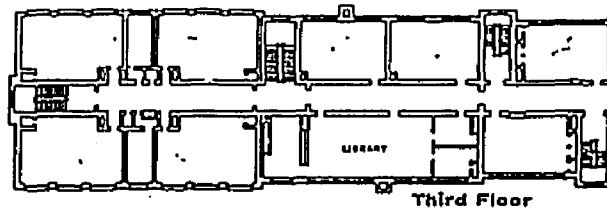
Crestwood High School (continued)

Crestwood High School was constructed in 1954. An addition was completed in 1955. Located on a twenty-eight acre site, the school was valued at \$2,385,000. The capacity was 1400 students. Mr. C. A. Wood served as Principal.

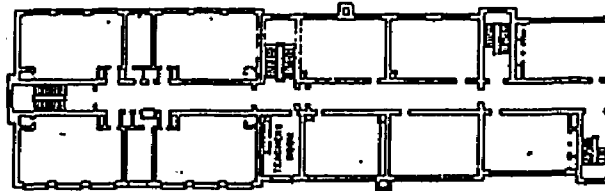
DEEP CREEK ELEMENTARY SCHOOL



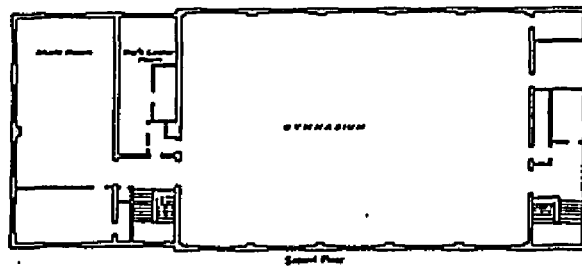
Deep Creek Elementary (continued)



Third Floor



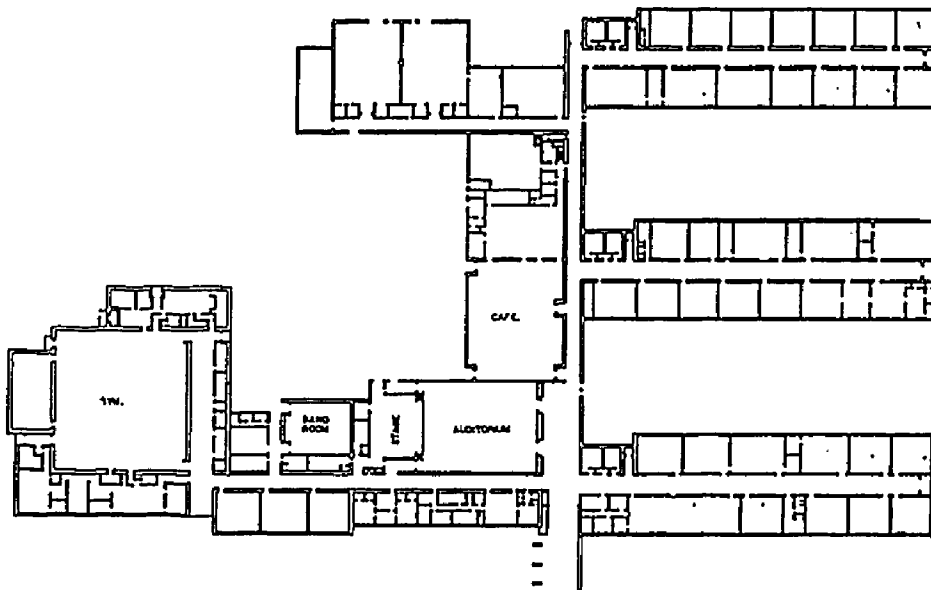
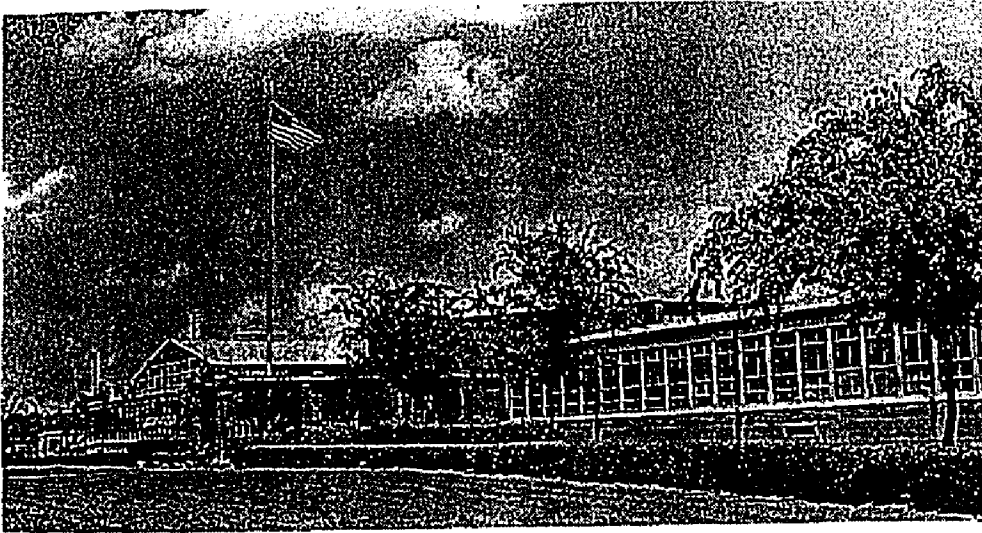
Second Floor



Gymnasium

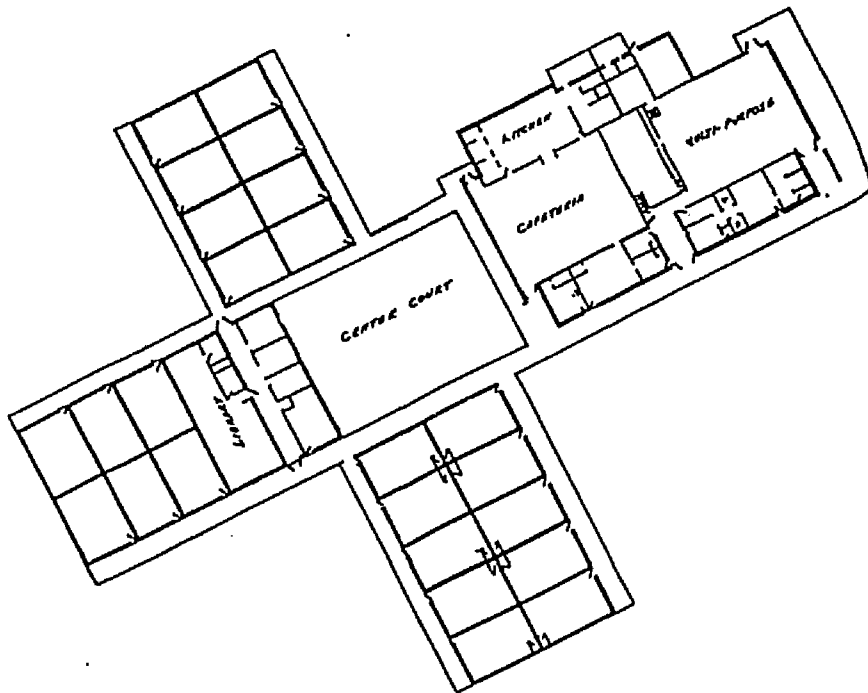
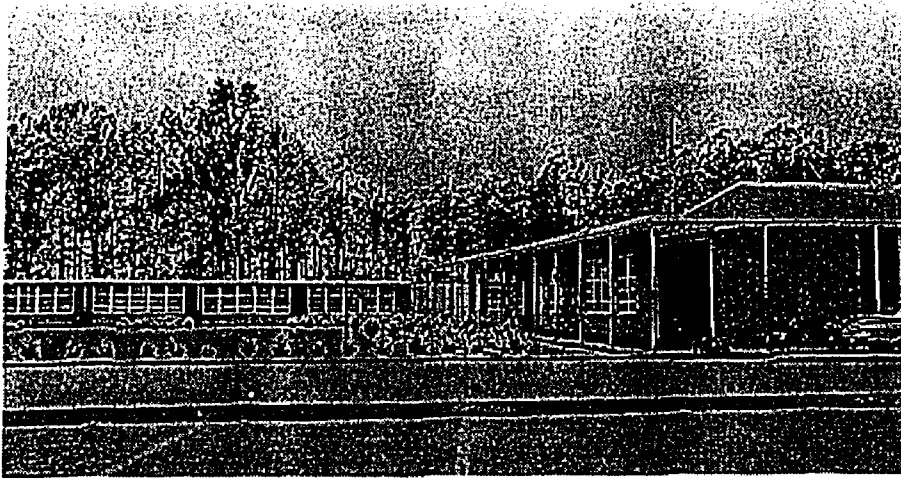
Deep Creek Elementary School was built in 1924. Additions were completed in 1952 and 1957. Located on a seven acre site, the school was valued at \$912,000. Its student capacity was stated at 870. Mr. F. Robert Weiser served as Principal.

DEEP CREEK HIGH SCHOOL



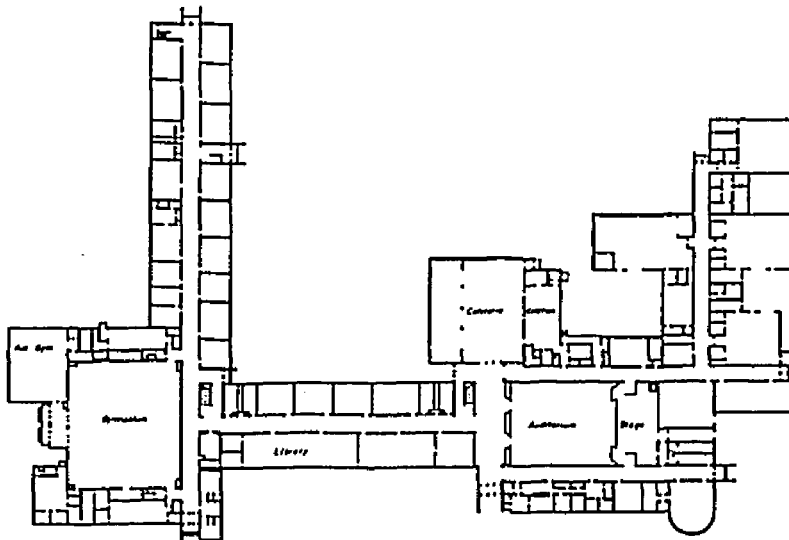
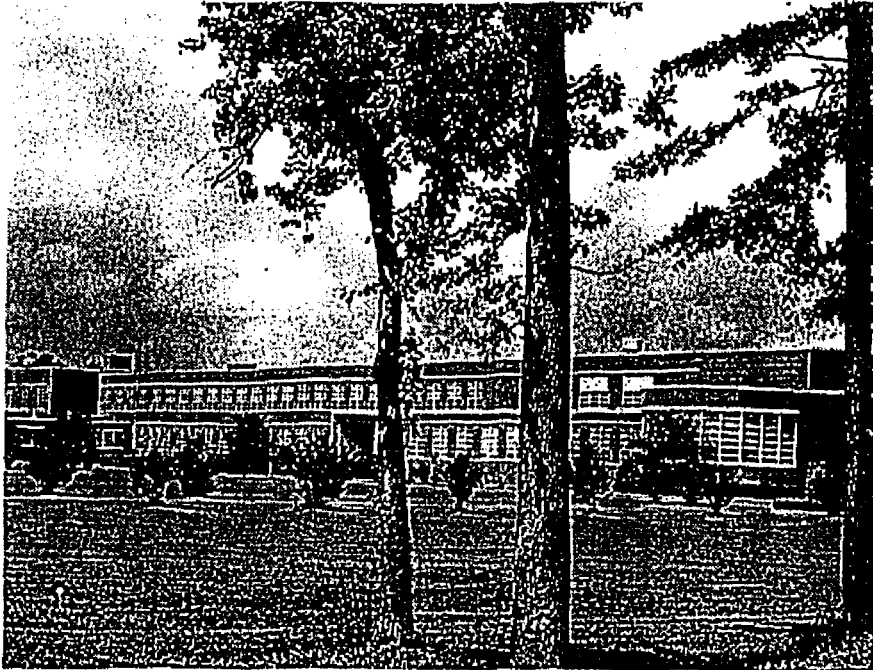
Deep Creek High School was constructed in 1955. An addition was completed in 1958. Located on a twenty-eight acre site, it was valued at \$1,820,000. It had a capacity of 1200 students. Mr. Leon Jones served as Principal.

GREAT BRIDGE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

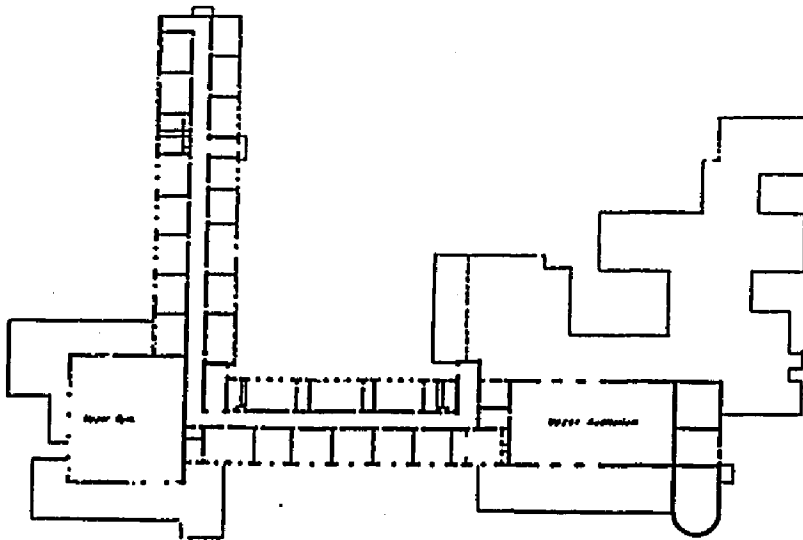


Located on a sixteen acre site, Great Bridge Elementary School was built in 1960. The school was valued at \$468,000 and had a capacity of 720 students. Mr. Frank M. Clemons served as Principal.

GREAT BRIDGE HIGH SCHOOL



Great Bridge High School (continued)

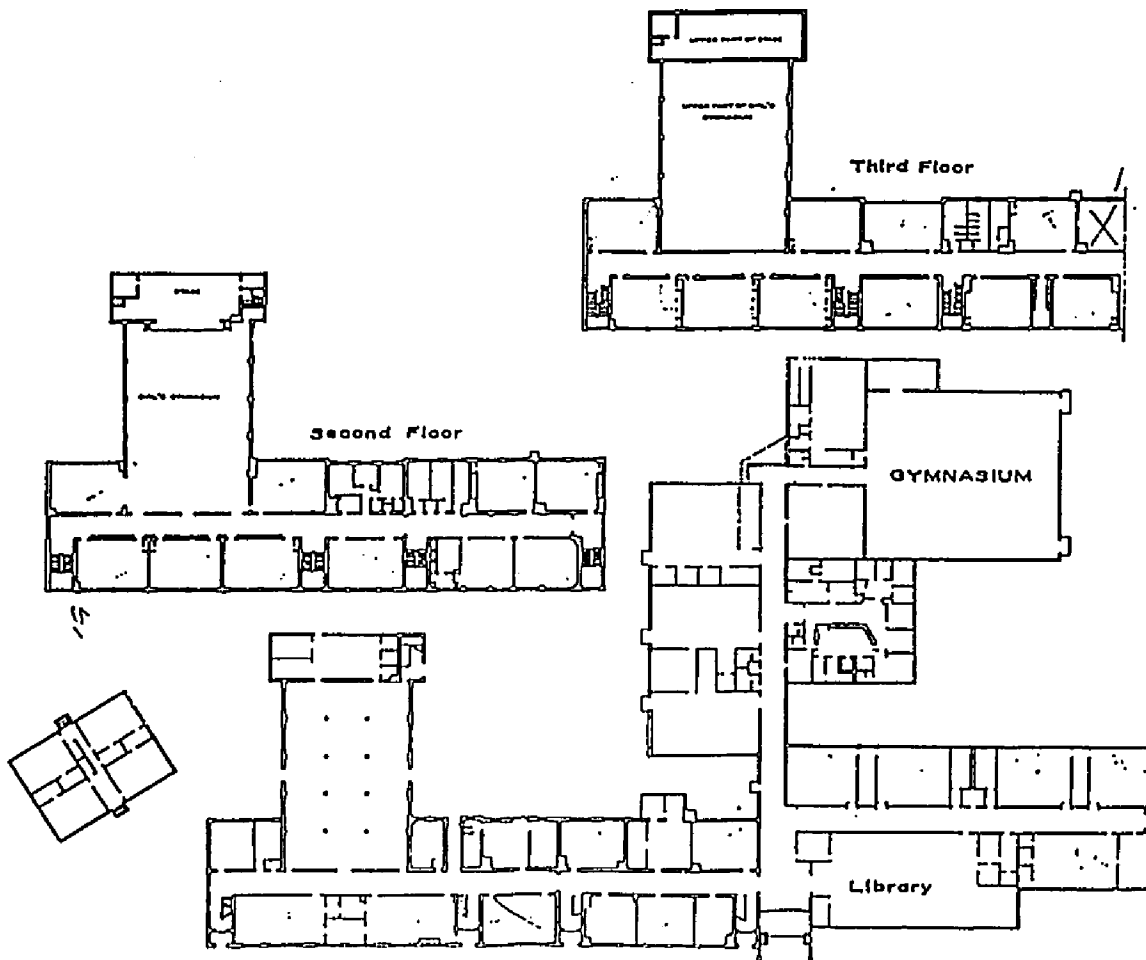
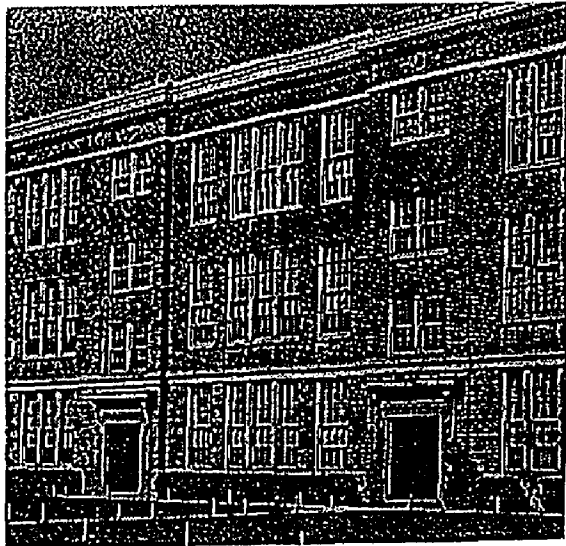


Great Bridge High School was constructed in 1954 with an addition completed in 1955. Located on a thirty-six acre site, the school was valued at \$2,385,000. It had a capacity of 1400 students. The Principal was Mr. Doug C. Eley.

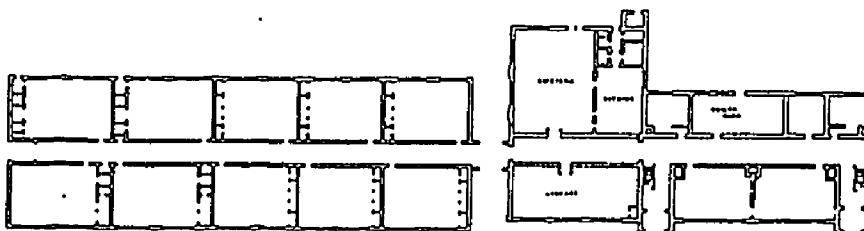
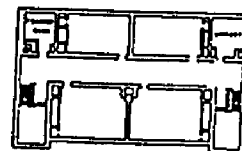
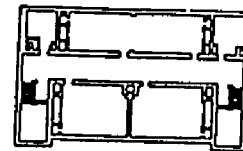
GREAT BRIDGE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Located on a twenty acre site, Great Bridge Junior High School was built in 1907. Numerous additions were constructed in 1918, 1924, 1943, 1948, and 1961. Its capacity was stated as 1080 students. The school was valued at \$1,300,000. Mr. John B. Eaves served as the Principal.

Great Bridge Junior High (continued)

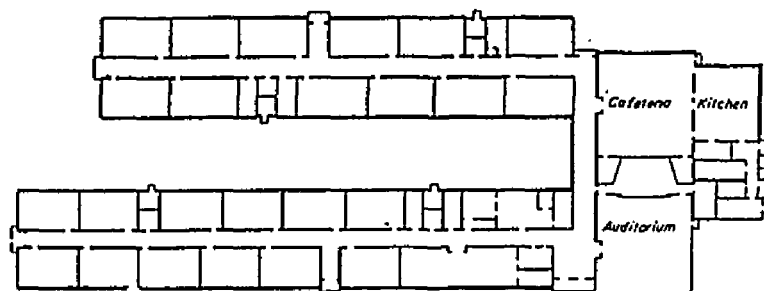
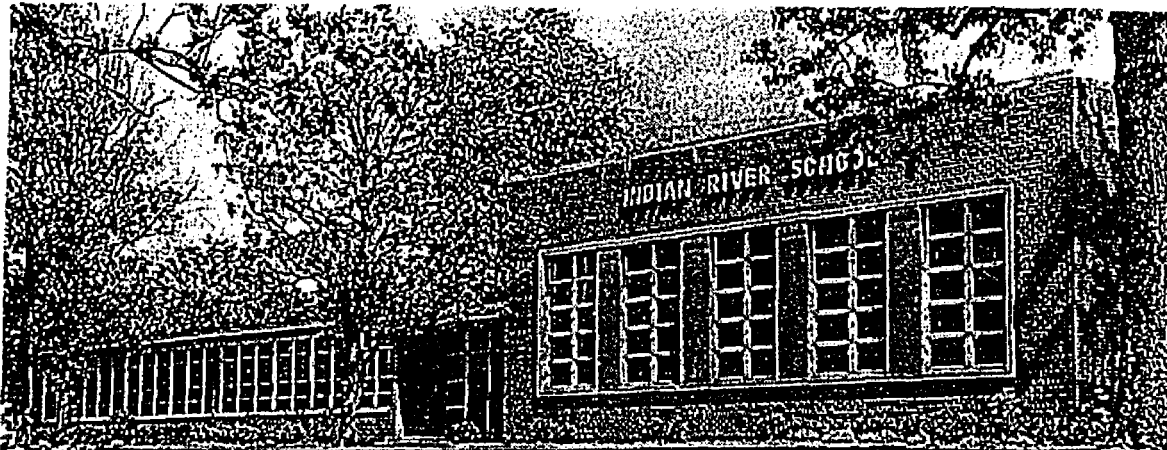


HICKORY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL



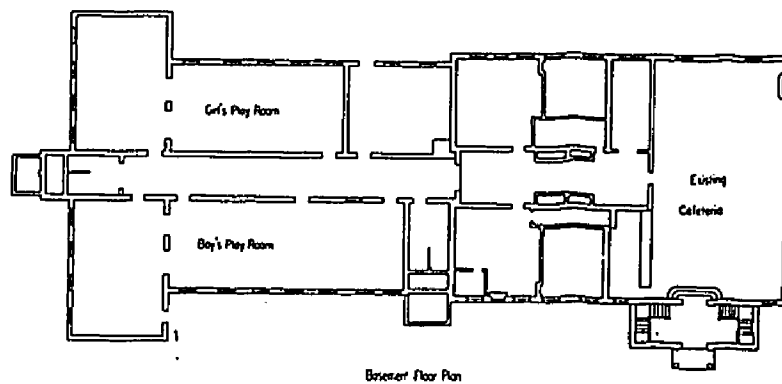
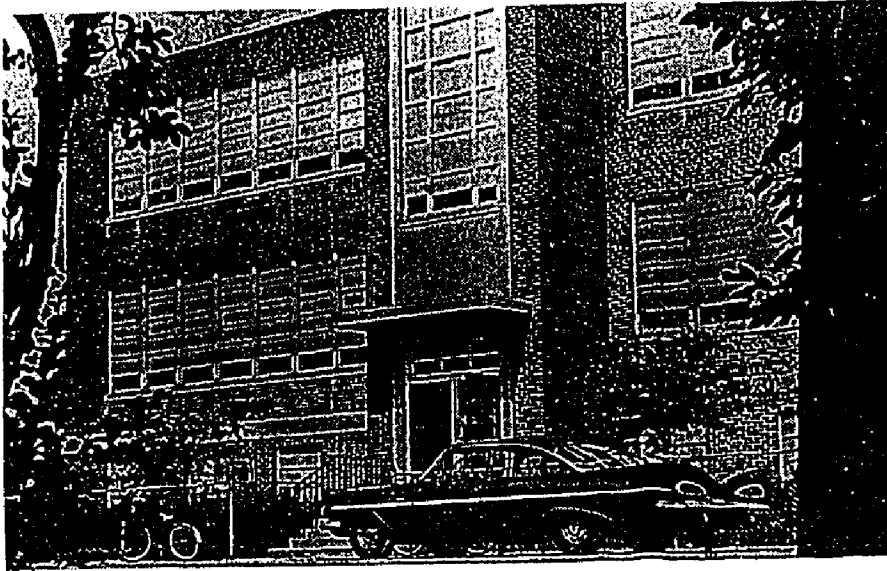
Hickory Elementary School was constructed in 1922. Additions were completed in 1939 and 1954. Total value of the school was \$486,000. It was located on a sixteen acre site and had a capacity of 600 students. Mr. Howard C. Laumann served as Principal.

INDIAN RIVER ELEMENTARY SCHOOL



Indian River Elementary School was built in 1959. It was situated on a sixteen acre tract and was valued at \$723,000. It had a capacity of 720 students. Mr. Herbert Phillips served as Principal.

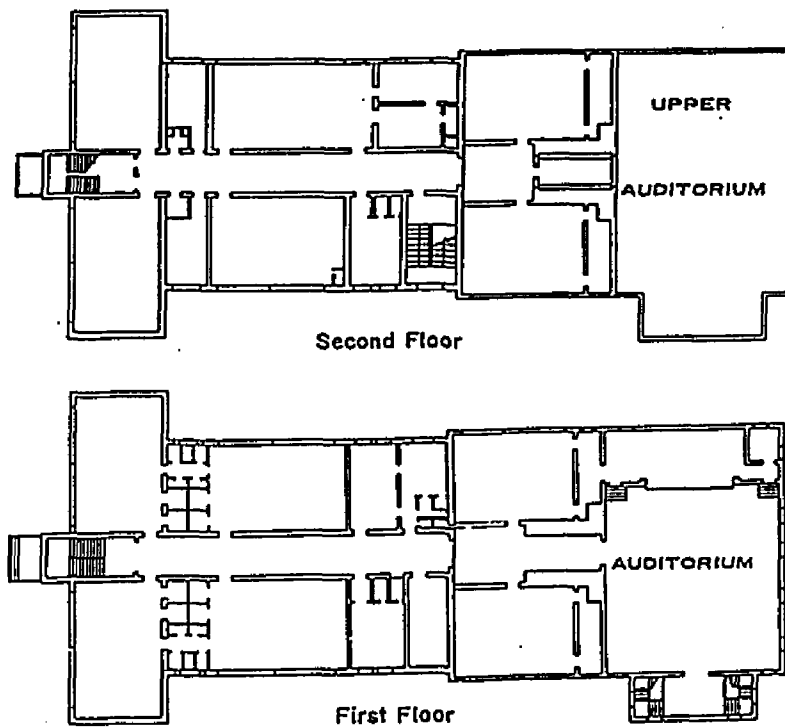
NORFOLK HIGHLANDS ELEMENTARY SCHOOL



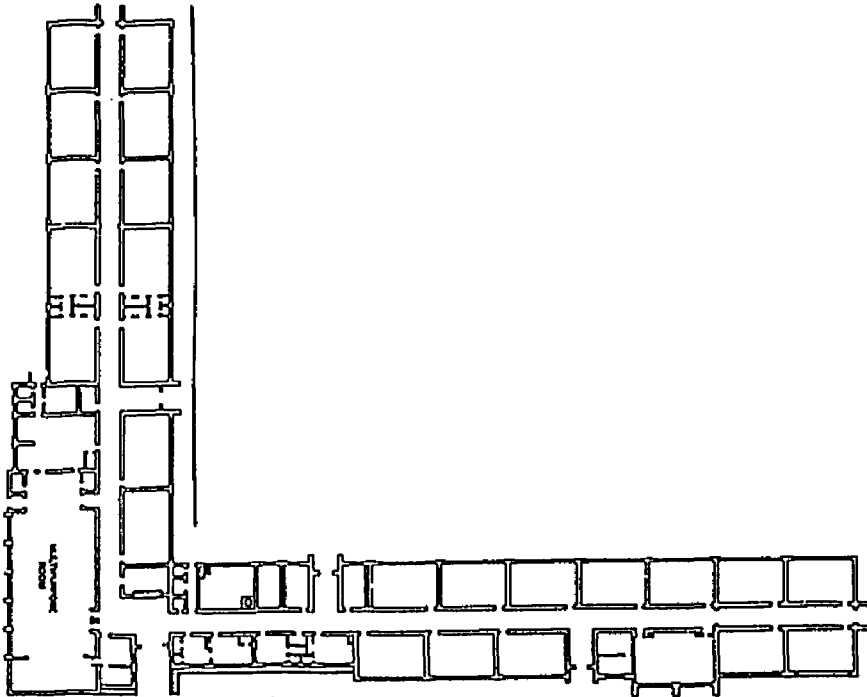
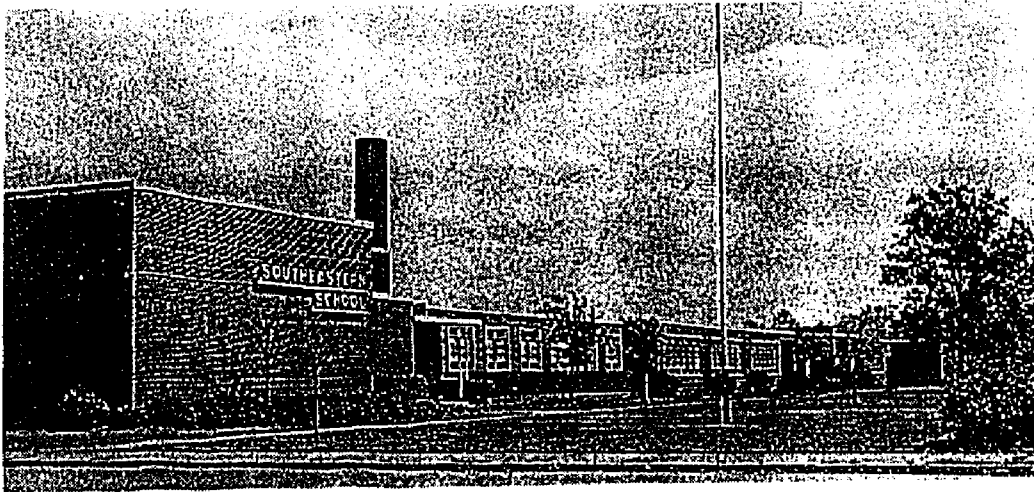
Norfolk Highlands Elementary School was built in 1913. Additions were completed in 1938 and 1952. It was located on a six acre site and was valued at \$537,000.

The school had a capacity of 480 students. Mr. Daniel Lane served as the Principal.

Norfolk Highlands Elementary School Building (continued)

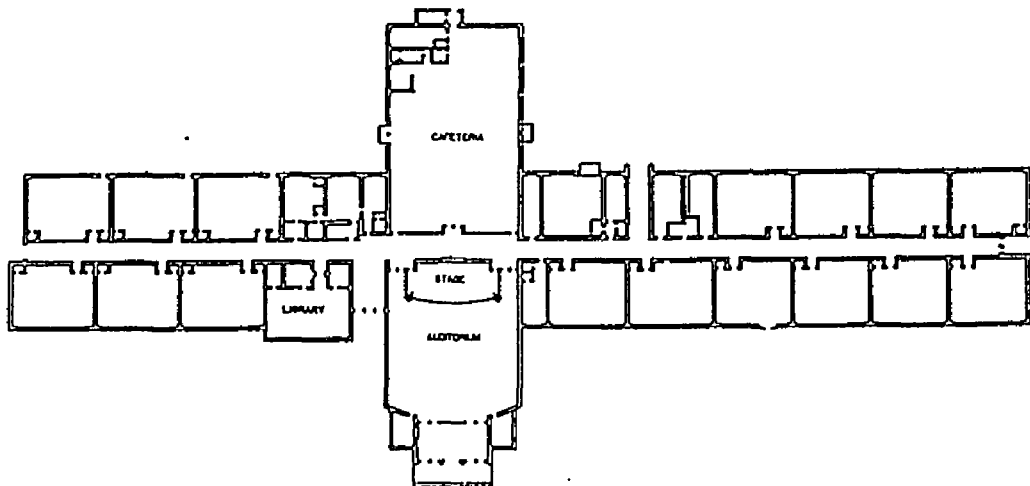


SOUTHEASTERN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL



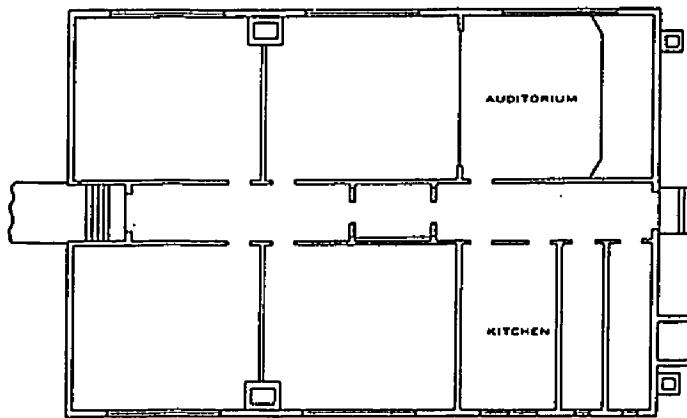
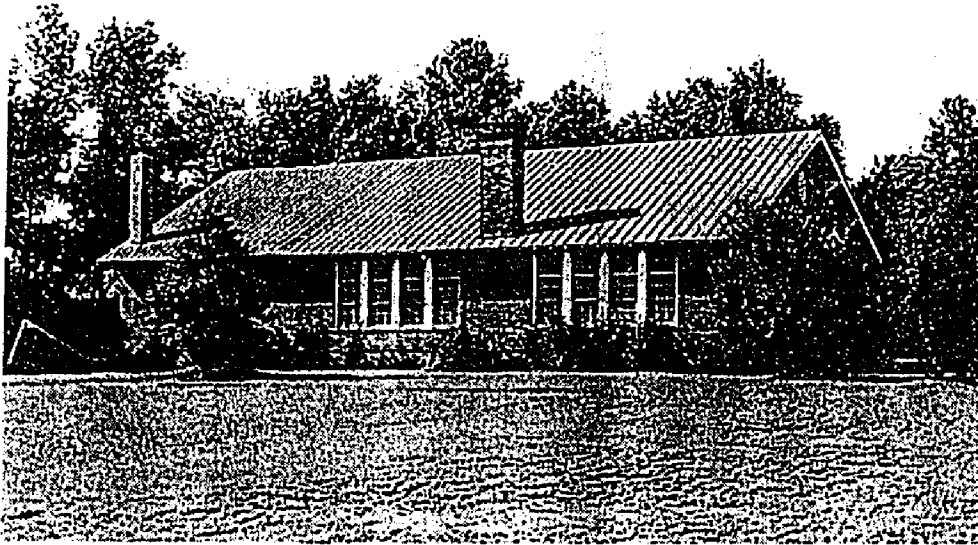
Located on a twenty-three acre site, Southeastern Elementary School was built in 1952. An addition was completed in 1955. The school was valued at \$745,000 and had a capacity of 720. Mr. Edward S. Cox was Principal.

SOUTHWESTERN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL



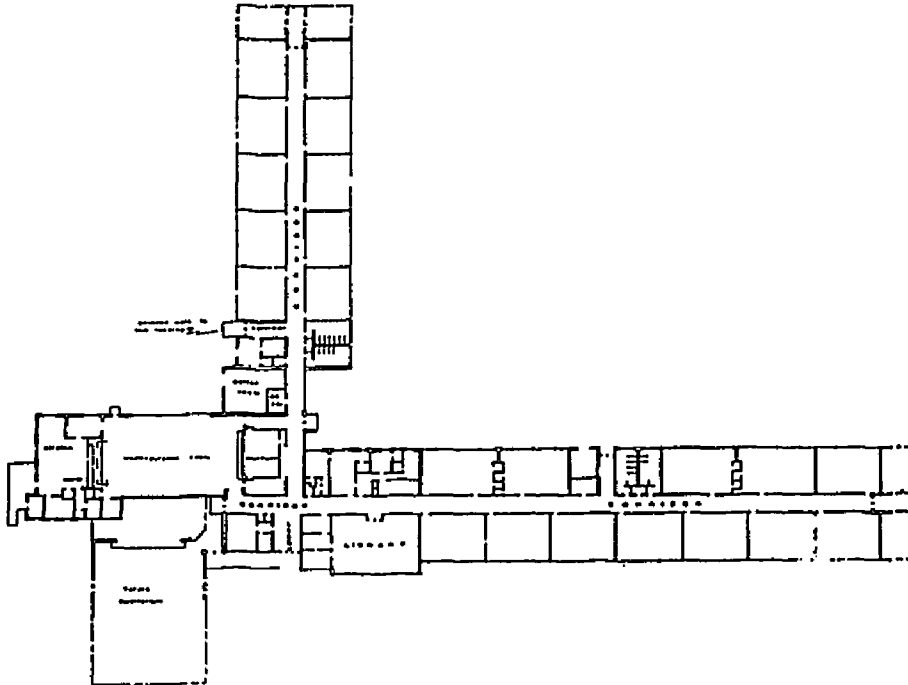
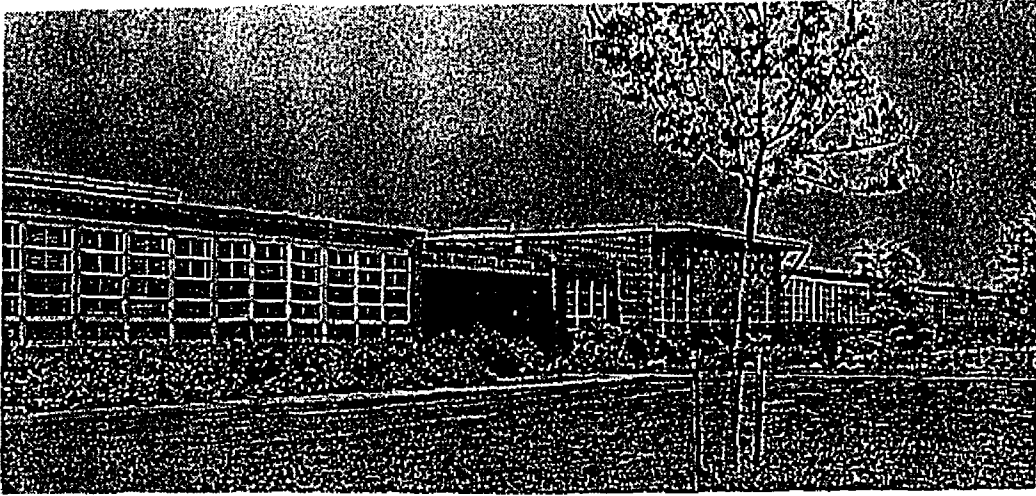
Mr. Harmor U. Booker served as Principal of Southwestern Elementary School in 1961. The building was constructed in 1954 and was valued at \$537,000. It was built on a twelve acre site and had a capacity of 480 students.

SUNRAY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL



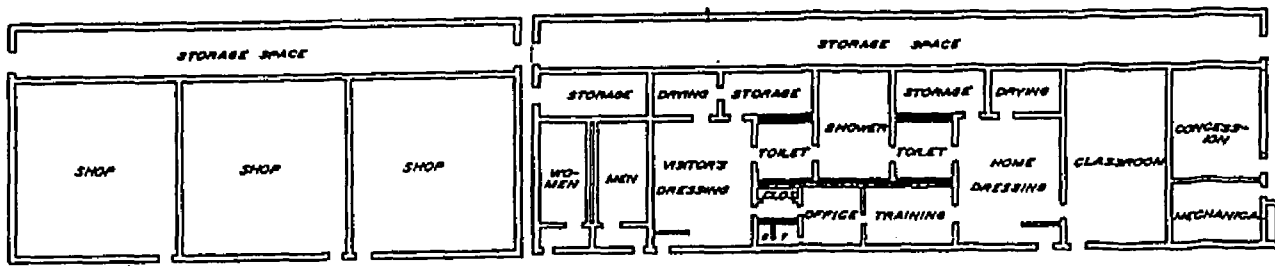
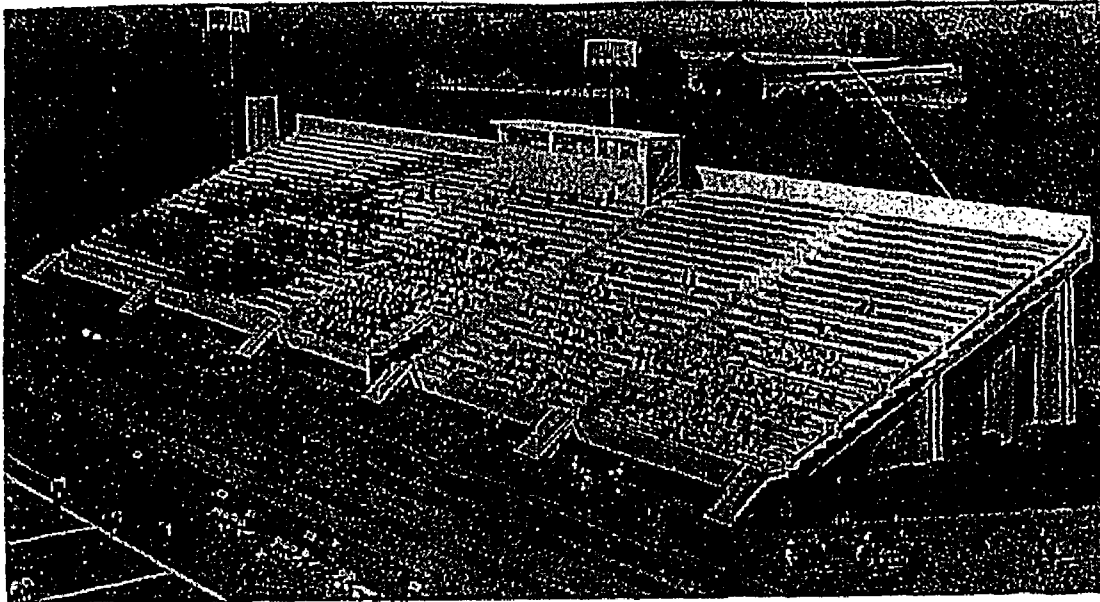
Sunray Elementary School was constructed in 1921. An addition was completed on the four acre site in 1951. The value of the school was \$74,000. It had a capacity of 120 students. The Principal was Miss Mary R. Craig.

B. M. WILLIAMS ELEMENTARY SCHOOL



B. M. Williams Elementary School was built in 1957 with a 1960 addition. It occupied a sixteen-acre site and was valued at \$749,000. It had a capacity of 780 students and was led by Mrs. Eva M. Gynn, who served as Principal.

HIGH SCHOOL STADIA



Construction of a stadium at each of Norfolk County's high schools--Churchland, Crestwood, Deep Creek, and Great Bridge--took place in 1961. They included space for 6000 spectators and facilities for vocational and physical education classes. Cost of the new classrooms was about \$11 per square foot in comparison to the normal \$12.50 per square foot for classrooms and \$14 per square foot for health and physical education classes. The UVA facilities study indicated this was a "practical and economical" way to provide vocational and physical education space.

Enrollment 1960-61

Bell Mill Elementary School	426
Central Elementary School	501
E. W. Chittum Elementary School	741
Churchland Elementary School	831
Churchland High School	1057
Churchland Junior High School	623
Crestwood Elementary School	693
Crestwood High School	1646
Deep Creek Elementary School	942
Deep Creek High School	1146
Great Bridge Elementary School	759
Great Bridge High School	1331
Great Bridge Junior High School	868
Hickory Elementay School	414
Indian River Elementary School	836
Kirk-Cone Rehabilitation Center	43
Norfolk Highlands Elementary School	510
Southeastern Elementary School	689
Southwestern Elementary School	604
Sunray Elementary School	47
Total	15340

The enrollment in Norfolk County Schools during the 1960-61 school year is listed in the above table. Although the various annexation suits had made long range enrollment planning difficult, these figures were utilized by the newly merged Chesapeake School Board in January, 1963.

Recommendations

The facilities survey conducted by the University of Virginia made a number of recommendations to the Norfolk County School Board. The program in place for regularly scheduled maintenance should be continued for the preservation of existing buildings. It was recommended that future school sites conform to the appropriate size recommended by the National Council of Schoolhouse Construction.

The facilities report also recommended the long range acquisition of sites and the construction of new school buildings. A new intermediate school that could accomodate 750 to 1000 students was suggested for the Crestwood area. A new elementary school needed to be built on the Brentwood site owned in the Deep Creek area. A second Deep Creek site was needed as well as the enlargement of the existing Deep Creek Elementary School site. A new intermediate school building was suggested to be built on the site adjacent to the Indian River Elementary School. This was to house 750 to 1000 students. Another elementary school site should be purchased in the Washington area. The Churchland area needed two new elementary school sites. It was strongly recommended that the Kirk-Cone Rehabilitation Center be exchanged for new facilites as soon as possible. This building was the least adequate Norfolk County facility.

School Board Actions

During the period that followed the successful passage of the merger referendum in South Norfolk and Norfolk County, joint meetings of the two School Boards were held to discuss procedures and policies. A great deal of discussion centered around the school buildings in the two areas. Since both systems had requested facility studies in the previous two years, some of the preliminary work had been accomplished.

The merged School Board decided to present a five year plan based on anticipated needs. This would enable citizens to know how their area would be affected before voting for a bond referendum. The Board also emphasized that the cost of renovation had to be considered in a comparison to the cost of new construction (School Board Minutes, December 11, 1962).

Two junior high schools were already under construction in the Norfolk County area in 1962. The Norfolk County Board voted to approve the names Crestwood Junior High School and Indian River Junior High School for these two new facilities (Norfolk County School Board Minutes, December 14, 1962).

On December 19, 1962, members of the combined School Boards of Norfolk County and South Norfolk met at the Portlock School at 1:00 P.M. to tour several facilities in the South Norfolk area. Those participating in the

tour included the following: Chairman B.M. Williams, Mrs. J. J. Booker, Jr., Mr. G. R. Harrell, Mr. H. A. Hall, Jr., Mr. A. E. Roach, Mr. C. E. Russell, Dr. W. S. Terry, Mr. C. G. Wagner, Superintendent E. W. Chittum, Assistant Superintendent H. C. Paxson, Jr., Superintendent William J. Story, and Clerk Aurelia I. Leigh. Those absent included Vice Chairman Mr. F. J. Richardson, Mr. H. B. Curtis, and Mr. W. B. Plummer.

They toured the Portlock school building. The future of this facility would be thoroughly discussed during the next year. They also visited the Steingold property located near Deerfield. This had been suggested as a possible site for a new Portlock Elementary School. It contained twelve acres at a cost of \$2000 per acre. The group also visited the Carver Elementary and High School buildings and the Waterford Elementary School (Board Minutes, December 19, 1962).

A special meeting of the Norfolk County School Board was called on December 28, 1962. The purpose was to deal with some issues related to school facilities in the county before the official merger of the two School Boards on January 1, 1963. It was decided to request permission from the State Board of Education to use the same building plans used for the new Indian River Junior High School for the proposed new Churchland Junior High School. Subject to approval, construction was to be authorized for occupancy in September, 1964 (Board Minutes, December 28, 1962).

The Portlock Elementary School building was discussed at the January 11, 1963, Chesapeake School Board meeting. The major issue was whether the existing building should be renovated or whether a facility at a new location should be built. Plans were reviewed by Board members. The cost for renovating the main Portlock building with electric heat was estimated to be \$143,000 and with steam heat, it would be \$155,000. Renovations for the annex would be approximately \$55,000. They also discussed the possibility of using the building as a system wide vocational school. No conclusions were drawn (Chesapeake School Board Minutes, January 11, 1963).

The Portlock building was discussed by the Board again on March 8 when estimates of the cost of a new building were \$450,000. Renovations were placed at \$250,000 (Ibid, March 8, 1963). At the March 21 School Board meeting, many building needs were discussed. However, when it came time to discuss the Portlock School, the Board went into executive session. Minutes of that session indicate that Mr. Story presented a paper that contained the pros and cons of each alternative. Issues related to the use of the present school site included the easy accessibility, gymnasium, good masonry construction on the three story building, and the view of people from highway 460 of a beautifully renovated building. The disadvantages included the four buildings in a "cut up"

fashion with the first grade building across a street from the other facilities.

The issues surrounding a school at a new location included a more attractive and functional site that would be closer to the population growth, less need for transportation, and the desire of the people in the area to have a more modern facility. Of concern was the future use of the existing Portlock buildings and the possibility of the need for new attendance zones (Ibid, March 21, 1963).

At the same meeting, discussion was held on a number of other schools. Tentative approval was given to the following projects:

1. Waterford Elementary-tear down the old building and add ten classrooms, an office, a clinic and toilets. Cost was estimated at \$115,000.
2. D. H. Truitt Junior High-add a gymnasium and a cafeteria and convert the outside buildings for the band and chorus. Alterations in heating, a new roof, and converting the present cafeteria into classrooms were estimated to cost \$250,000.
3. South Hill Elementary-renovate the old building since a proposed new highway decision was not complete.
4. Park Elementary-a new roof was approved if needed.
5. Rena B. Wright Elementary-plan to discuss all of the issues related to building a new school and to contact the Housing Authority about possible new sites.

6. Oscar F. Smith High School-approved a stadium with dressing facilities only at a cost of \$80,000. This was in comparison to a stadium with classrooms at a cost of \$125,000.
7. Carver High School-discussion of eliminating the old building and changing it to either an elementary or a high school eventually led to a decision to take no action at that time (Chesapeake School Board Minutes, March 21, 1963).

Discussion also took place about the possibility of moving the Carver High School students to Crestwood High School. Carver had served the black students from South Norfolk, and Crestwood educated the black students from Norfolk County. Since Crestwood was a more modern facility, meetings were held to discuss this issue. Two different meetings yielded two different opinions. Several delegations attended the April 19, 1963, School Board meeting. A letter endorsing the transfer of students from Carver to Crestwood was signed by the Parent Teacher Association of Carver, Waterford, and South Hill Schools. Mr. Moses I. Brockett presented a petition protesting the move. A meeting was held on Tuesday, April 23, for parents to view the Crestwood building and express their opinions about such a move (Ibid, April 19, 1963). Mr. Charles Brabble, Principal of Carver High School, worked with those forces who opposed the student transfer.

A special meeting of the School Board was called for the purpose of completing the discussion of building needs. It was decided that students would remain at Carver School, and the two old buildings would be removed. The size of the site would be increased, and additional classrooms and a bandroom would be added. The library and cafeteria would be enlarged, and six classrooms would be added to the elementary school. After further discussion of the Portlock School situation, a motion was passed to build a new school if an appropriate site could be found. The decision was passed by Mr. Wagner, Mr. Plummer, Mr. Richardson, and Mr. Curtis, former South Norfolk Board members. The Norfolk County Board members, Mrs. Booker, Mr. Russell, Mr. Hall, and Mr. Roach, all abstained (Ibid, May 3, 1963).

After several months of discussion related to facility needs, the Chesapeake School Board endorsed the projects that would be covered within a bond referendum and requested the "judge of the appropriate court" to set a date for the referendum. The 4.5 million dollar bond issue included buildings and renovations to Truitt Junior High, Deep Creek Elementary, South Hill Elementary, Portlock Elementary, Carver Elementary and High School, Waterford School, Rena B. Wright Elementary, Central Elementary, Southwestern Elementary, and a new Butts Road Elementary (Chesapeake Post, May 9, 1963).

Strong support came throughout the community for the school bond referendum. The Chesapeake Chamber of Commerce President said, "If the people of our city want to go forward socially, mentally, and commercially, they must go to the polls on June 11 and vote for the school bond issue. Without the approval of this bond issue, our educational system will fall behind the needs of the entire population of our new city" (Ibid, June 6, 1963). The Chesapeake Post took a very positive editorial stand in favor of the school bond referendum in its May and early June issues. Headlines such as "School Needs" and "School Bond Issue Essential to Industrial Growth of City" were typical of the period.

The voters went to the polls on June 11, 1963, and voted favorably for the 4.5 million dollar school bond referendum across the new city. Approval for many of those projects included in the bond referendum was issued by the School Board at its July 12, 1963 meeting. This continued throughout the next several months. By the December 13, 1963 meeting, the School Board had voted to award the contract for the new Portlock Elementary School to Tugwell Construction Company for \$438,000 plus the streets, water, and sewage (Chesapeake School Board Minutes, December 13, 1963). South Norfolk received a larger share of funding in the next few years for both new construction and renovation of existing school buildings. This was considered equitable by the School Board because of the condition of the schools at the time of merger.

Policies and Procedures

With the merger of the South Norfolk and Norfolk County school systems, there were many policies and procedures that had to be decided. After the successful merger vote had passed in February, 1962, the combined School Boards of South Norfolk and Norfolk County began to meet together to provide for a smooth transition when the merger became effective on January 1, 1963.

On April 23, 1962, the combined School Boards met in the South Norfolk Board Room under the Chairmanship of W. Roy Britton from South Norfolk. He stated that the purpose of the meeting was to begin to study policy differences in the two school systems. A preliminary list of differences included the following: suspensions, school account audits, time required before and after school, standing budget committees, textbooks and fees, insurance plans, leave and retirement, graduation requirements, and conditional promotions. Groups of principals and/or supervisors were asked to make recommendations to two committees composed of School Board members. The Books, Supplies, and Fees Committee was made up of Mr. Jennings Richardson and Mr. Curtis from South Norfolk and Mr. Roach and Mrs. Booker from Norfolk County. The Personnel Policies Committee was composed of Mr. Hall and Mr. Russell from Norfolk County and Mr. Harrell and

Mr. Plummer from South Norfolk (Minutes of Combined School Boards, April 23, 1962). Mr. Henry I. Willett, Jr., Assistant to Mr. Chittum, and Mr. E. E. Brickell, Superintendent of South Norfolk Schools, chaired both of these committees.

In an extended interview with Dr. Willett, he indicated that the committees had worked in a very positive fashion. Most of the policy differences were worked out amicably. While he indicated that he represented the interests of Norfolk County and Mr. Brickell represented those of South Norfolk, he also said that both men tried to provide the best possible policies for the new Chesapeake School System. It provided a good opportunity to improve personnel policies by selecting the better of the two in existence. He said, "I think there were times when both Ed (Brickell) and I saw the policy of the other division as the superior of the two. There was none of this business of saying that because we are the big boys and they are the little boys, we're just going to take the handbook of Norfolk County and change the name on the cover and make it a Chesapeake one. It was too good an opportunity to go all the way through the process, and I think Ed Chittum and the School Board members saw that. It is not often you have the opportunity to go through your own policy manual from ground zero. We had that opportunity, and everyone looked upon it as a challenge."

Mr. Willett had begun work on his doctorate at the University of Virginia during this period. Since his professional project was on personnel policies on a state wide basis, he was able to utilize his research in the merger committee negotiations. Chesapeake became a forerunner in personnel policy development.

At the September 17, 1962, School Board meeting, decisions were made on several policies. Sabbatical leave would be available to personnel with at least seven years of experience in the system and a Master's degree. It would be granted for one year at one-half salary paid. They must return for a three year period or repay the salary. Only one percent of the personnel could be out in a given year. Maternity leave stated that a pregnant teacher had to leave her job four months prior to the birth of her child and could not ask to be reinstated until eight months after the child's birth. Emergency leave and leave of absence would be administered by the School Board Office. Hours of work would be thirty minutes before school and thirty minutes after school. Teachers would be paid monthly on a ten month calendar. Teachers would not be allowed to sell encyclopedias or other classroom materials in their own school divisions. Study would continue on the mandatory retirement age since both the South Norfolk and Norfolk County systems had different policies (School Board Minutes, September 17, 1962).

The October School Board meeting brought decisions on new policies. Teachers could accumulate up to sixty days of sick leave. Those who had worked in the system at least twenty years would be paid for accumulated sick leave at the time of retirement. School personnel completing nine hours of study in summer school in their subject area would receive a \$100 supplement. Department heads would receive a \$200 supplement. The estate of a deceased employee would receive full salary for the period during which the death occurred, less substitute's pay if applicable. Teachers were not allowed to tutor for pay any student they presently taught or taught the previous year. Teachers could receive a maximum of eight years credit for previous teaching in another school district. Every person employed by the school system had to present a chest x-ray report. Daily exercises could include "reading by the teacher or pupil volunteer, without note or comment, a portion of the Bible or Bible stories, praying the Lord's Prayer, and the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag" (Ibid, October 15, 1962).

The November Board meeting brought discussion of the age at which retirement would be mandatory. South Norfolk had used age 65, and Norfolk County had allowed 68. The Board decided that the compulsory age for retirement should be 65 with a waiver for those present employees who were between the ages of 60 and 68. This would allow them time to plan for retirement (Ibid, November 19, 1962).

Three major areas of pupil personnel policies were affirmed at the December, 1962, School Board meeting. Enrollment Regulations included enrollment eligibility, school attendance areas, transfers, non-resident pupils, birth certificates required, vaccination, students over 20 and post graduates. Attendance Regulations included attendance, excused absences, and leaving school grounds. Offenses and Punishments included punishment during lunch period or after school, profane language, defacing school property, firearms, truancy, travel to and from school, excerpt from Virginia School Laws: Paragraph 22-230, suspension of pupils, corporal punishment, smoking (Ibid, December 11, 1962).

On January 2, 1963, the first official meeting of the merged Chesapeake School Board took place. The Board members from South Norfolk were: Mr. F. J. Richardson, Mr. Graham R. Harrell, Mr. William B. Plummer, Mr. Herbert B. Custis, and Mr. Claude G. Wagner. The members from the former Norfolk County Board were: Mr. B. M. Williams, Mr. Charles E. Russell, Mrs. J. J. Booker, Jr., Mr. H. A. Hall, Jr., and Mr. A. E. Roach. An eleventh member, Dr. William S. Terry of the Western Branch section, was appointed. The South Norfolk School Board had met the second Monday night at 7:30 P.M., and the Norfolk County Board met the second Friday at 2:00 P.M. The vote to meet the second Friday at 2:30 P.M. passed 6-5 with all Norfolk County members and Dr. Terry voting for it (Ibid, January 2, 1963).

SUMMARY**Hypothesis #1:**

THAT RESOURCES FOR FACILITIES WERE DISTRIBUTED EQUITABLY TO THE FORMER SOUTH NORFOLK AND NORFOLK COUNTY AREAS.

School facilities were a key issue in the merger debate before the referendum in February, 1962. The long range plan for upgrading existing schools and building new facilities was watched carefully by both the former Norfolk County residents and the City of South Norfolk residents. The buildings in South Norfolk were in disrepair according to the University of Virginia facilities report. Norfolk County had launched a building plan in the 1950's that brought many new schools during that period. Because of the disparity in existing facilities in 1962, South Norfolk received a greater share of the funds for new schools and for remodeling of older buildings. This seemed justified to all the School Board members and school administration officials.

There also seemed to be a concerted effort to employ equity and fairness in writing the policies and procedures for the new Chesapeake Public Schools. As South Norfolk School Superintendent E. E. Brickell said, "Once the vote was taken, everyone recognized the responsibility to do what was best without a lot of argumentation" (Brickell interview). This hypothesis was accepted.

Hypothesis #2:

THAT THE POWER IN THE NEWLY MERGED CHESAPEAKE SCHOOL SYSTEM WAS UNEVENLY CONTROLLED BY FORMER NORFOLK COUNTY LEADERS AND RESIDENTS.

Introduction

Power is the ability to influence an individual or group to alter behavior. Power is both relational and situational. It is a factor in all organizations. Peter Blau discussed the imbalances within society as producing differences in power (Blau, 1986, p. 140). This was the concern that many South Norfolk residents expressed before the actual merger vote. They felt that since Norfolk County was more than double the size of the City of South Norfolk, they would be "swallowed up." They feared losing control of the decision making process.

Since schools were such a major consideration in the merger debate, it is important to consider the individuals and groups who wielded the power in the newly merged Chesapeake school system. John French and Bertram Raven's typology of power utilized five types. They were reward power, coercive power, legitimate power, referent power, and expert power. Each was described more fully in chapter two. The utilization of various types of power could be seen in the major individuals and groups who had considerable impact on Chesapeake Public Schools. This section will profile those individuals who controlled the power in the newly formed Chesapeake School System. Most of them came from the former Norfolk County area.

Edwin Wilson Chittum

It would be impossible to discuss the issue of power in the Chesapeake School System without beginning with Mr. Ed Chittum. All research indicated that his power extended far beyond school issues into city politics, business, and community activities. His role in the merger of Norfolk County and the City of South Norfolk cannot be overemphasized.

E. W. Chittum graduated from Washington and Lee University in 1933. He took a pre-med course of study and had planned to pursue a medical career. However, since the United States was involved in the Depression and he was in a family of seven, he took the first job he was offered. He taught English and coached in Stafford, Virginia. After three years, he became principal of a combined elementary and high school in Augusta County. He spent three years there and another four years as principal of a larger school before moving to Norfolk County as high school supervisor. He became principal of Norview High School for three and one half years before being selected as Superintendent of Norfolk County Schools in 1948. He remained in that position for Norfolk County and later for the City of Chesapeake until his retirement in 1975. His longevity in that position reflected not only his effective use of power but also the history of trust in the position of Superintendent of Schools.

The following chart shows the eight superintendents who served in Norfolk County and subsequently the City of Chesapeake from 1845 until 1975 (information supplied in Mr. Chittum's personal papers).

1845-1849	Thomas Hume
1849-1861	Leroy C. Edwards
1861-1870	No schools operated (Civil War and Reconstruction)
1870-1908	John T. West
1908-1916	A. H. Foreman
1917-1942	James Hurst
1943-1945	Henry I. Willett, Sr.
1946-1948	W. A. Early
1948-1975	Edwin W. Chittum

Mr. Chittum received his M. A. degree from George Peabody College in Nashville, Tennessee and did further graduate study at the University of Virginia. He received many honors on the local, state, and national levels. The Norview High School stadium was named "Chittum Field" in 1955. An elementary school located on Dock Landing Road was named "Edwin W. Chittum Elementary School" in 1958. Washington and Lee University awarded him the Omricon Delta Award in 1960, and the University of Virginia gave him the Phi Delta Kappa Award as the "Outstanding Educator in Virginia" in 1958 (Chesapeake Post, November 29, 1962)

Mr. Chittum served on the Board of Visitors for Old Dominion University when it first separated from the College of William and Mary. He used his influence with Governor Mills E. Godwin to extend adequate state funding. He was instrumental in assisting in the establishment of Eastern Virginia Medical School in Hampton Roads and served as Chairman of the Board. He served as a director of WAVY, a television (NBC) and radio station. He was a Director of the First Virginia Bank of Tidewater and Cross Country Cable TV. He served as an officer and member of numerous civic organizations and was named "First Citizen of Chesapeake" (information accompanying a Doctor of Humane Letters degree conferred by Old Dominion University on May 6, 1989).

During the period of time that Mr. Chittum served as Superintendent of Schools, that position was one of great influence in the community. Mr. Chittum possessed some qualifications and personal attributes that made it possible for him to maximize the power of that position. He was an excellent businessman who was very careful with the annual school budget. After Red Barnes retired as Assistant Superintendent in charge of finance, Mr. Chittum assumed more and more of the fiscal responsibilities. There followed a period when there was no Assistant Superintendent for Finance. Mr. Chittum oversaw that aspect and Mrs. Sue Sawyer, who was Clerk of the School

Board for forty years, oversaw the daily accounting and business operation. She retired in 1962 (Willett interview).

Drawing up a budget was done in close cooperation with those who drew up the Norfolk County and later the City of Chesapeake budgets. Mr. Chittum indicated that after they had drawn up the budgets, they checked them with Mr. M. L. Carnifax, the local auditor and "financial wizard." While there were sometimes differences, they were generally worked out before the public budgetary meetings. If there were a question about a suggested item, Mr. Chittum would say, "Well, of course you are the ones who make the decisions." Then he would give them the rationale about why it should be done and where the money might be found. He always reminded them that he was fiscally conservative. When the schools received their budget, he instructed them not to rush to spend it all immediately. They were to hold back a certain percentage until after the first of the year to be sure that revenues were adequate to cover the entire budget. Mr. Chittum referred to this agreement with the elected officials as "not a handshake but a mutual understanding." He indicated that they built a trust based on their mutual concern for the citizens of the community. Mr. Chittum commented on the fact that none of the council members or School Board members were paid a stipend at that time.

Mr. Chittum had close relationships with many of the politicians in the area. Metro magazine declared "it is said of Chittum that he didn't play the political game, but played on the periphery...like a career diplomat" (Ziemba, November, 1971, p. 62). He was a close personal friend of Mr. Charles Cross, the Circuit Court Clerk, in 1962. They had been students together at Washington and Lee. Mr. Cross had one of the most powerful and influential jobs in Norfolk County and then in the City of Chesapeake. He was an extremely intelligent man with broad personal interests. He was sought out for advice by countless community residents. The families of Mr. Chittum and Mr. Cross lived in the same Western Branch area at that time and enjoyed camping together. Mr. Cross's secretary at that time indicated that Mr. Chittum dropped in at Mr. Cross's office on a regular basis.

Mr. Chittum was also a close friend of Colon Hall, Chairman of the the Norfolk County Board of Supervisors and the first Mayor of the City of Chesapeake. He said Mr. Hall would call him up and say, "Ed, I've decided to run again. How about dictating a little something for the paper, not too elaborate, just something for me to put in." Mr. Chittum would send it to him. Colon Hall and his brother Herman Hall, who served on the School Board, were farmers and large land owners in Norfolk County. Much of the county's business was first discussed

informally at their packing shed on Butts Station Road. Mr. Chittum was a regular visitor at the packing shed.

The Chesapeake Public Schools and previously the Norfolk County Schools received a great deal of publicity in the local newspapers. This often occurred because of the plan followed by Mr. Chittum concerning his relations with the press. He understood the importance of positive information reaching the public. He said he learned early in his superintendency that press people liked to have a lot of information when they needed it. Sometimes they would need a story quickly, and Mr. Chittum could help them out. He did this by keeping a file of potential stories. He would dictate a memo of two or three pages to his secretary. He would say, "Put that in the file for future stories, and get such and such information to go with it." When a reporter, like Bill Reid, would call and ask if he had anything he could use for a Sunday story, Mr. Chittum would tell him to come over and check his file. In this way, he was able to get some stories into the paper that might not have been deemed newsworthy enough under different circumstances. He said he also had the gratitude of the reporters which could be useful later.

Mr. Chittum also encouraged principals to send any human interest stories to his office on a weekly basis. He would then give one to a reporter he thought would do

a good job. The reporter would go out to the school, get a quote from the principal, take a few pictures, and thus enhance the positive image of the schools.

Norfolk County Schools and then Chesapeake Public Schools always overprinted their publications. Whenever the budget and other information was released, Mr. Chittum had extra copies placed at the fire stations and police stations. The officers would sit down and read the information. When citizens began to discuss the issue, these officers enjoyed being able to quote facts and figures. Mr. Chittum called them "very effective promoters." They also placed certain publications in the local doctors' and dentists' offices. Report card stuffers were informational leaflets placed in all of the student report cards to provide facts to parents. "It seemed as though the public schools were always in the limelight, but we just took advantage of the opportunities that were there," Mr. Chittum said.

In the fall of 1962, Mr. Chittum, Mr. Charles Cross, and several other Norfolk County citizens each invested about a thousand dollars and set up a local weekly newspaper called The Chesapeake Post. Its purpose was to provide an identity for the new City of Chesapeake that was soon to be formed. The paper is still publishing a weekly issue today.

The Superintendent's relationship with the School Board is a critical one in relation to his overall power. Mr. Chittum's relationship with the School Board changed after the merger of the two localities on January 1, 1963. In Norfolk County, most of the votes in the School Board had been unanimous. The new Chesapeake City School Board was made up of five representatives from Norfolk County and five from South Norfolk as well as an appointed eleventh member. Suddenly, many of the votes were six to five along former geographical lines. His style was to continue to inform members about agenda items before meetings took place. The year following the formal merger was a critical one in which trust had to be built. Mr. Chittum worked to make sure one area did not feel another area had been favored. He indicated that when a project needed to be done in a specific area, he was very careful to make sure the need for it was well publicized before the vote was taken in the School Board. He often used the PTA to accomplish this task.

Mr. Chittum's work style explained a great deal about his use of power in his job. Henry Willett described him as very "people oriented; he brought people in and he wasn't afraid to lose them." He pointed to a long list of people who had worked for Mr. Chittum and gone into college work or the superintendency in other jurisdictions from Chesapeake. He supported them professionally, and

they felt personally supported. Norfolk County, and then Chesapeake, was one of the few school districts that had a sabbatical leave policy that actually worked. Many systems had them on the books, but they were not used. Chesapeake funded it, and many personnel were able to go back to school and get advanced degrees. Mr. Chittum pushed them to do it. He also developed relationships with universities and colleges so teachers and administrators could interface with professors and be stimulated by new ideas.

Mr. Chittum felt strongly that positive interpersonal relationships were the key element in an effective school system. He said, "A superintendent cannot be much more effective than the personnel he surrounds himself with. You've got to have good people. You've got to have people that you trust and they, in turn, have respect and trust for you. They have to feel that you're going to support them in things they do right, and if they are wrong, you may not support them, but it's going to be done in a way that they're not going to be anxious about making the mistake a second or third time." He encouraged principals to talk with each other about how to handle difficult situations.

Mr. Chittum treated everyone with dignity. There was no difference in his approach to a School Board Chairman or a custodian. He saw the importance of the role of each

individual person. He hired people he could trust and he let them do their jobs. He was constantly reading and considering new ideas. He said it was important to always keep something going in the schools. Henry Willett described him by saying, "Ed was always at the forefront of just about everything."

Mr. Chittum utilized several different types of power in his administration of the Norfolk County and subsequently City of Chesapeake school systems. There was little evidence that he used coercive or reward power even though some of his decisions may have seemed like a reward to those unfamiliar with his detailed decision making process. He certainly utilized expert power which was based on special knowledge or skills. Examples of this would be his financial skill and legal expertise. When asked why the School Board did not have an attorney, Mr. Chittum replied that all school superintendents were required to have taken a school law course and he filled that role for the board. He used referent power that was based on the relationship of individuals or groups with the power holder. Mr. Chittum built close relationships that caused individuals and groups to trust his judgments. One of the strongest types of power he utilized was legitimate power. This was based on values that indicated he had the legitimate authority to utilize his power. There was little doubt of his power in Chesapeake. He utilized skills and relationships skillfully.

Edward E. Brickell

When plans for a referendum on the merger of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County were first announced publicly, E. E. Brickell had been Superintendent of Schools for less than six months in South Norfolk. He was a true South Norfolk native, having graduated from the old South Norfolk High School. He graduated from the College of William and Mary in 1950 and received a Master's degree from the University of Chicago in 1951. In September of that same year, he came home to South Norfolk to teach. In 1954, he was appointed Assistant Principal at Oscar Frommel Smith High School. In 1959, Mr. Brickell became Principal of that same school. In May, 1961, he was appointed Superintendent of Schools.

Mr. Brickell, along with W. Roy Britton, South Norfolk School Board Chairman, helped lead the attack against the merger of the two localities. In January, 1962, Mr. Brickell made a scathing speech against the merger referendum to the South Norfolk City Council which supported merger. When asked why he was so opposed to the merger, Mr. Brickell replied, "There was no way South Norfolk could win. We would no longer be in charge of our own destiny. I believe history has proved me right on that one." After the referendum vote was taken in February, Mr. Brickell had other responsibilities.

Mr. Brickell visited Mr. Chittum after the vote and told him he knew Mr. Chittum would probably be elected as Superintendent of Schools for the new City of Chesapeake. He also said a group of politicians had told him that he (Brickell) would be named Assistant Superintendent. Actually the city charter stated that one of the two existing School Superintendents would be named to the post of Superintendent and the other would be the Assistant Superintendent. Mr. Brickell indicated he would look around for another position. Mr. Chittum recollected his response as, "Well Ed, I don't know. What you say may or may not be true. I do have seniority in that respect. I hate to see you leave, but if you feel that would be best for you, it'd be understandable" (Chittum interview). In August, 1962, a friend of Mr. Brickell's from William and Mary suggested his name to the Franklin School Board. They were searching for a superintendent for their new school division that had separated from Southampton County. Mr. Joe King, the Vice-Chairman, contacted him and by the first of November, 1962, Mr. E. E. Brickell was on the job in Franklin (information from interview with Mr. E. E. Brickell).

During the interim period from February to November, 1962, Mr. Brickell worked with Mr. Henry I. Willett, Jr. from Norfolk County to systematize policies for the new Chesapeake Public Schools. Mr. Brickell indicated that

once the vote was taken, everyone recognized the responsibility to do what was best for the schools. Most of the policy decisions on issues such as salary scale, buses, and retirement were made without a lot of argumentation. Mr. Brickell did appear at the December 11, 1962, meeting of the combined School Boards of South Norfolk and Norfolk County. He took the opportunity to thank them and offer any assistance in the future if questions arose about South Norfolk school operations during his term as superintendent (School Board Minutes, December 11, 1962).

William J. Story

With only two months between the departure of Mr. Brickell as Superintendent of South Norfolk Schools and the forming of the new Chesapeake Public Schools, many citizens felt that a new Superintendent in South Norfolk would not be appointed. In fact a few of the South Norfolk leaders asked Mr. Chittum if he had anyone in Norfolk County who could fill in for those two months. He suggested Harry Paxson who was originally from South Norfolk. However, within two weeks of the meeting, Mr. Chittum picked up the newspaper and read that the South Norfolk School Board had appointed Mr. Story as their Superintendent.

Mr. Story had served as Superintendent of South Norfolk Schools for a dozen years before leaving in 1961 to go to Rock Hill Academy in Charlottesville. He did not have a great deal of power in the merged Chesapeake School System or with the Chesapeake School Board. At the first official meeting of the School Board in 1963, Mr. Story asked if he should be excused from the meeting while they organized. The Board answered affirmatively. When Mr. Chittum asked the same question, the Board asked him to stay in the meeting (School Board Minutes, January 2, 1963). Soon after this incident, he questioned the audit procedures in the school system (School Board Minutes, February 21, 1963).

Mr. Story's political views made his working relationship with Mr. Chittum and some of the other administrators in the new Chesapeake Public Schools a bit strained. He was an arch segregationist who decided to run for Governor of Virginia in 1965. His racist speeches around the state were in contrast to the policies of Chesapeake Public Schools as they moved toward a unitary school system. Mr. Willett had the responsibility of keeping track of the hours Mr. Story used during the school day for political activities and seeing that he made them up appropriately. After his unsuccessful political attempt, Mr. Story retired from the Chesapeake Public Schools a few years later.

Harry Paxson

Mr. Harry Paxson boasted a strong commitment to both South Norfolk and Norfolk County. He was described as "a legend in South Norfolk." He had been an outstanding athlete at South Norfolk High School where he graduated in 1926. He stayed out of school for a year and then attended the College of William and Mary on an athletic scholarship. When he graduated in 1931, Mr. Paxson came back to teach and coach at South Norfolk High School. Mr. Chittum said the first time he met Harry Paxson was when Paxson's South Norfolk High School basketball team was in a state tournament at Washington and Lee College. Mr. Chittum was officiating the game, and Mr. Paxson was jumping up and down on the bench, complaining about the poor officiating (Chittum interview). In 1942, Mr. Paxson came to the Norfolk County Schools to serve as Supervisor of Physical Education.

He later took over the personnel department. He personally interviewed everyone hired by the school system for a number of years. According to many people presently in Chesapeake Public Schools, Mr. Paxson was a master at personnel issues. One of the present Assistant Superintendents said that Mr. Paxson spent thirty minutes with him in Chapel Hill and convinced him to come to work in Norfolk County. When he came to orientation several

months later, Mr. Paxson came over to him and called him by name. He was extremely warm and personable to everyone. Most people referred to him as "Uncle Harry" and still do.

Harry Paxson was given broad power in the hiring and assigning of personnel in both the Norfolk County and Chesapeake School Systems. He utilized both expert power and referent power that derived directly from his relationship with Mr. Chittum. The Superintendent had complete faith in Mr. Paxson and allowed him freedom to do his job which also included running a large recreation program in most of the district schools. There was no City Department of Recreation and Parks at that time. In return, Mr. Paxson was totally loyal to Mr. Chittum and his policies.

Henry I. Willett, Jr.

Mr. Henry I. Willett, Jr. had spent a few years in the Norfolk County Schools in the Churchland section when his father, H. I. Willett, Sr., had served as Superintendent of Schools for Norfolk County in 1943-45. After some brief teaching experience, military service, and a Master's degree, H. I. Willett, Jr. returned to Norfolk County to teach at Churchland Elementary School for one year in 1955. He then spent two years as Principal at Hodges Manor Elementary School before volunteering to

open one of the first junior high schools (Churchland) in Norfolk County. In July, 1960, Mr. Chittum created a new position called Assistant to the Superintendent and offered it to Mr. Willett. When the longtime Clerk of the Norfolk County School Board, Mrs. Susan N. Sawyer, retired on December 31, 1962, Mr. Chittum recommended that Mr. Willett be selected to replace her as part of his job description. He indicated that this combination of jobs was being utilized in other parts of the country (School Board Minutes, December 14, 1962).

Mr. Willett's job description grew through Mr. Chittum's vision. He began with such things as the yearly federal card count and report that enabled local school systems to receive federal funds. In Mr. Willett's words, "Ed Chittum was so great to work for because he was constantly looking for new things and new ways. He would come up with an idea. It might mean some more work for me, but if he thought it was going to help, you quickly became involved" (Willett interview). He became involved in planning principals' meetings and researching policies. After the merger in 1963, Mr. Willett became Assistant Superintendent (School Board Minutes, July 8, 1963).

Mr. Chittum had a great deal of faith in Henry I. Willett, Jr. He referred to him as "a very able, aggressive person." Mr. Willett's power came from his relationship with Mr. Chittum and the trust that was

manifested in him. When a bank president who was a member of the State Board of Education called Mr. Chittum for a recommendation for the Presidency of Longwood College, he did not hesitate to promote H. I. Willett, Jr. He told the man that "it's true he's very young. He's liable to shake things up a little bit sometimes because he's going to say exactly the way he feels about something. He can be a little abrupt at times, but I think that may be good. I'll take Henry every time." He subsequently became the President of Longwood College (Chittum interview).

B. M. Williams

Mr. B. M. Williams served on the Norfolk County School Board for twenty-three years, fifteen of which were spent in the position of Chairman. On November 3, 1961, he was given the Virginia Education Association's distinguished service award. He was named the "Outstanding School Board Member in Virginia." It was given on the basis of his contribution to public education and recognition of his role in a policy making position. He retired from Southern States Cooperative. He lived most of his life in Norfolk County. On September 24, 1957, The B. M. Williams Elementary School was dedicated in his honor (Chesapeake Post, January 3, 1963).

Mr. Williams's work style was built around his philosophy that the School Board was a policy making body

and should not get into the actual administration of the schools. Often a question would arise while the School Board was discussing a matter and Mr. Williams would say, "Gentlemen, I think that's an administrative matter, not a policy making matter. I move we leave it for the Superintendent." He was a very dedicated person who enjoyed being in the schools (Chittum interview). He was very slow to anger, even tempered. He was a strong supporter of the merger. He found it difficult to get used to the split votes on the newly merged Chesapeake School Board. He preferred unanimous consensus votes. Mr. Williams was not the "mover and shaker" on the 1963 School Board that Bill Terry was, but his role was very important (Willett interview).

Mrs. J. J. (Margaret) Booker

Mrs. J. J. Booker served on the Norfolk County and Chesapeake City School Boards for fourteen years, the last six of which she was in the role of Chairman. She retired in 1975, at the same time Mr. Chittum retired from the Superintendency. In 1961 when she joined the Norfolk County School Board, she was the only woman on the board. That continued on the newly merged Chesapeake School Board in 1963. Mrs. Booker had been an excellent reading teacher. On the School Board, she specialized in instruction.

When asked to describe her role on the Chesapeake School Board at the time of merger, Mrs. Booker replied, "I had the peacemaker role. I am not combative in any sense of the word. It was a difficult time. Any wrong statement could be taken in a negative way. The job is a very public one. You owe the public the best" (Booker interview).

Dr. William S. Terry

The role of Dr. William S. Terry from the Western Branch section of Chesapeake was an unusual one. When the Chesapeake School Board was formed in January, 1963, there were the five members from the former South Norfolk School Board and five members from the former Norfolk County School Board. In order to avoid a tie vote on issues that would come before the Chesapeake School Board, Dr. Terry was appointed to serve as a "tie breaker." His name was suggested for appointment by Mr. Chittum. Several people interviewed indicated that he could be counted on to vote for Mr. Chittum's proposals. Indeed there were a large number of votes during the first year after the merger in 1963 that were 6-5 with all former Norfolk County members and Dr. Terry voting as a unit.

Dr. Terry worked closely with Mr. Chittum whom he admired. His description of Mr. Chittum was the following: "I thought he was superb in every way. He was

very open minded and even handed. His record of building schools was unmatched. He reviewed every electric light bill every month. He was a shrewd business man" (Terry interview).

Mr. Willett indicated that Dr. Terry and Mr. Chittum agreed on almost everything except cigars. Dr. Terry liked to smoke cigars, and a few times when they would travel together, it would really upset Mr. Chittum. Mr. Willett would sit beside Dr. Terry at the School Board meetings. If they thought the meeting was dragging a bit, Dr. Terry would take out his cigar and start playing with it. Mr. Willett said the agenda really moved right along! This would have to be the closest thing to coercive power used by any of the School Board members.

School Board

Joint meetings were held during the last six months of 1962 between the School Boards of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County. This was a very critical period in which much maneuvering took place and political deals were made in private meetings. This was definitely a time before the Freedom of Information Act required all meetings of more than two officials to be publicly announced and open to the public. In talking to a number of the people involved in the decision making process during this period, it was very evident that all major

decisions had been made before the votes were taken at the meetings.

State statutes assisted in some of the decisions. In the Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly 1962, the following statement is made in chapter 16, number 16.02:

School Board. For a period of three years after the date of effective consolidation the school board shall consist of all ten members of the school boards of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County holding office immediately preceding the effective date of this charter and an eleventh member to be appointed by the council. Thereafter the school board shall be composed of seven members who shall be appointed by the council for terms of three years; provided, however, that in the appointment of the initial school board, two members shall be appointed for terms of one year, two for terms of two years, and three for terms of three years. Vacancies shall be filled by the council for any unexpired term.

This statement gave the rudimentary legal framework for the newly merged School Board of the City of Chesapeake.

The School Board minutes for the year prior to and the year after merger did not reflect the tension of the period indicated through interviews. The minutes seemed sanitized. It was possible to read between the lines and see the obvious geographical voting patterns of the members. In June, 1963, six months after the merger, five principals in the South Norfolk area left for positions in other school districts (School Board Minutes, June 21, 1963). Mr. Paxson and Mr. Chittum both indicated they probably felt they did not have a bright future in the newly formed district.

One comment in the School Board minutes of July 12, 1963 gave an indication of some of the strain during that first year. Mr. Russell thanked the group for their cooperation during his sixteen years on the School Board. He indicated, however, that since the merger, "he had noted a trace of politics." He pointed to the meetings held at Crestwood High School and Portlock Elementary School. He said "that operating the schools was the most expensive business in the city and politics should have no part in their operation." Of course, politics played a major role in the operation of the schools.

Mr. Chittum worked very closely with School Board members. He was careful to prepare them with the facts before every Board meeting. Certain members were called upon for their expertise. Dr. Terry was consulted for anything that had to do with the medical field. Mrs. Booker came to the School Administration Building often to better understand curriculum issues. Mr. Russell was consulted on development concerns. Members of the school staff often met with Board members to inform them on specific issues before the Board meetings. Mr. Chittum was considered a master at working with a School Board. In return, they showed confidence in his leadership and supported his initiatives.

SUMMARY

Hypothesis #2:

THAT THE POWER IN THE NEWLY MERGED CHESAPEAKE SCHOOL SYSTEM WAS UNEVENLY CONTROLLED BY FORMER NORFOLK COUNTY LEADERS AND RESIDENTS.

The hypothesis that is stated above was certainly borne out in extensive research into School Board minutes, school documents, local newspapers, and interviews with those who participated in the decision making during the period from 1961-1964. While there is no indication that former Norfolk County members of the Chesapeake School Board made decisions to favor their territory, it was very apparent that their voting majority gave them the power to make important decisions concerning construction, building use and personnel.

It was also widely accepted that Mr. E. W. Chittum was the most powerful figure in the school system and also retained extensive power in the local political system. There is every indication that he used that power for the good of the total community. He was dedicated to making the new City of Chesapeake work successfully. Control of the Chesapeake School System was definitely in the hands of his personally selected and trusted assistants. The hypothesis was accepted.

Chapter Four

SUMMATIVE REVIEW

Historical Background

This study focused on the merger of two school systems located in the Tidewater region of the state of Virginia. The legal date of this consolidation took place on January 1, 1963, when the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County merged to form the City of Chesapeake. The merger was necessitated by the need of Norfolk County to protect its borders from future annexations and the need of the small City of South Norfolk to expand its growth.

Norfolk County traced its roots back to the year 1636 when the General Assembly of Virginia formed this large county which it called "New Norfolk County." In 1682, a fifty acre town called Norfolk was created within the county. In 1691, Princess Anne County was established from Norfolk County land. In 1763, the town of Portsmouth was established and became a city in 1845. Norfolk achieved city status in 1858. The City of Norfolk took the Brambleton area in 1887, the Atlantic City area in 1890, and Park Place in 1902. Portsmouth took the Park View section in 1894.

Annexations gave the Berkeley section to Norfolk in 1906 and two-thirds of the Tanners Creek section in 1923. Other annexations awarded the Scottsville-Prentis Place area to Portsmouth in 1909 and the Port Norfolk-Pinners Point area in 1919. South Norfolk was incorporated into a city of the second class in 1919 (Chesapeake Post, November 29, 1962, p. 1).

Annexations continued to carve land out of the existing Norfolk County. In 1948, Portsmouth received the Waterview-Glenershellah-Grove Park area. This included 9,000 residents and 4.7 square miles of land. South Norfolk was able to annex the Money Point section in the Washington District in 1951 which provided 10,514 residents and 5.1 square miles. This enabled South Norfolk to be large enough to qualify for status as a city of the first class. The city of Norfolk gained the remaining section of Tanners Creek in 1955 with its 55,000 residents and 11.2 square miles. Portsmouth was successful in its attempt to annex the Cradock area in 1960 with 36,000 residents and 10.0 square miles of land. The judges who made the award were Raynor V. Snead of the 26th Judicial Circuit, Elliott Marshall of the 17th Judicial Circuit, and Edward L. Oast of the Circuit Court of Norfolk County.

The annexation did not stop when Norfolk County and the City of South Norfolk merged formally in 1963. The City of Portsmouth filed an emergency petition to try to annex the Churchland area of Norfolk County in December, 1961, when they realized the implications of a Norfolk County-South Norfolk merger. The case was dismissed in May, 1963, after the merger was complete. However, the appeal was partially successful. The final decree was entered on October 2, 1967, and awarded much of the

Churchland section to the City of Portsmouth. The judges who signed the decree were W. S. Jordan, Hamilton Haas, and Major Hilliard (interview with Clerk of the Court, Lillian Hart).

The annexation law in Virginia during the 1940 to 1960 period gave the court the responsibility to provide for differing services needed for urban citizens and rural citizens. As areas of a county became highly developed, neighboring cities would often attempt to extend their boundaries.

The courts were very open to these attempted extensions. The majority of annexation proceedings were successful in the court system. A synopsis of the annexation cases in Virginia from 1904 until 1965 revealed that eighty-seven out of one hundred nine annexation proceedings ended in the boundaries of Virginia cities being extended. The cases were decided only on the orderly growth and development in the total area. Neither the electorate in the city nor the county was allowed to vote on whether they agreed with the annexation. The amount of urbanization in the proposed area was studied by the court. The possibility for future growth and the need for municipal services were considered.

As a result, Norfolk County had to attempt a merger in order to put an end to the continuing annexation suits that had carved various sections from its land. No one

interviewed nor any other resource indicated that Norfolk County and South Norfolk would have considered consolidation had there not been the threat of annexation from the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth.

When the residents of both Norfolk County and the City of South Norfolk voted to approve the merger in February, 1962, the two school systems began a period in which major decisions had to be made. Consolidation of school districts had taken place for various reasons throughout the United States during the twentieth century. The American Association of School Administrators reported that there had been a 70% reduction in the number of school districts from 1931 to 1960 due to consolidation. That consolidation trend continued with the merger of the South Norfolk and Norfolk County school systems. The next sections will analyze the two hypotheses related to the merger of these two school systems.

Hypothesis #1:

THAT RESOURCES FOR FACILITIES WERE DISTRIBUTED EQUITABLY TO THE FORMER SOUTH NORFOLK AND NORFOLK COUNTY AREAS.

This hypothesis was accepted. Peshkin's research at the University of Illinois revealed that one of the primary assumptions of the public was that larger school districts would be more fiscally sound. He further wrote that these consolidations often combined a smaller system with one large enough to dominate the decisions about

which schools to keep open and where to locate new buildings (Peshkin, p. 7). This certainly could have been the situation in the Norfolk County-South Norfolk consolidation.

South Norfolk, with its eight school buildings, had approximately one-third the number of school facilities located in Norfolk County. Some of the elementary schools in South Norfolk were also quite small in capacity. One of the arguments used to promote a positive merger vote in the City of South Norfolk had been the need to physically improve their schools. A 1962 study completed by the University of Virginia had called for major renovations and construction of new buildings.

The 1963 newly formed Chesapeake School Board had the responsibility to see that the expectations of improved school facilities became a reality. Since both of the former school districts had conducted facility surveys within two years of the merger, outside data was available for study. The Chesapeake School Board conducted its own visitation of all schools prior to the January 1, 1963, formal consolidation. It was apparent from both the outside surveys and the school visitations that the South Norfolk schools would require major renovation and building.

The Chesapeake School Board created a five year facility plan for the renovation and building of needed

schools. Public hearings were held. After many months of study, the School Board requested that a bond referendum be put to the voters. This included 4.5 million dollars to be used for renovations and buildings for Truitt Junior High, Deep Creek Elementary, South Hill Elementary, Portlock Elementary, Carver Elementary and High School, Waterford School, Rena B. Wright Elementary, Central Elementary, Southwestern Elementary, and a new Butts Road Elementary. Six of the projects were located in the South Norfolk area, and four were in the former Norfolk County area. There were also a number of renovation projects in the South Norfolk area schools that did not come under the bond referendum. The referendum had strong support throughout the community. The schools enjoyed good public relations with leaders as well as the press. The referendum passed easily.

School Board members from that period indicated in interviews that they were very conscious of the issue of fairness when school facilities were discussed. In one particularly difficult decision, half of the Chesapeake School Board abstained from the vote. The Portlock School in South Norfolk was in great need of major renovation or a new school. The community was split over the issue. The School Board had many public hearings and looked at every available piece of land in South Norfolk. Finally when the vote had to be taken at a special School Board meeting on May 3, 1963, all former Norfolk County Board

members abstained while the South Norfolk Board members voted to build a new building.

There is no doubt that the former South Norfolk schools received the majority of funds for facility renovation and building for the first several years after the consolidation. Because of the disparity of their buildings, this was accepted as a necessity by school leaders and the community. To provide equity, a majority of the fiscal resources devoted to capital improvement had to be expended in the South Norfolk section of the newly formed City of Chesapeake.

Officials of both former school districts seemed determined to use the time of consolidation to write the most advantageous school policies and procedures for the new Chesapeake Public Schools. Committees were formed with representatives of both school districts to consider all policies for the new school system. These committees met for approximately nine months between the February, 1962, merger vote and the January 1, 1963 formal merger. Both E. E. Brickell, Superintendent from South Norfolk, and H. I. Willett, Jr., Assistant to the Superintendent from Norfolk County, who co-chaired the committees to write the policy manual, indicated that they looked for the best policy in each case. It might have been from South Norfolk, Norfolk County, or something newly written. For these reasons, it is justified to say that resources, including facilities, were distributed equitably to both former school districts.

Hypothesis #2:

THAT THE POWER IN THE NEWLY MERGED CHESAPEAKE SCHOOL SYSTEM WAS UNEVENLY CONTROLLED BY FORMER NORFOLK COUNTY LEADERS AND RESIDENTS.

This hypothesis was accepted. The politics of institutions and organizations can be understood through an analysis of their power relationships. Bacharach suggests the following questions in such an analysis: Who are the key individuals and groups? and How do these individuals and groups compete for resources and interact within their environment? (Bacharach, 1980, p. 18).

In analyzing the newly formed Chesapeake School Board, it was very apparent that voting power was in the hands of the former Norfolk County members. Although the School Board was made up of five members from South Norfolk and five from Norfolk County, the person appointed as a "tie breaker" was a Norfolk County resident who expressed strong support and appreciation for School Superintendent Ed Chittum. Dr. William S. Terry usually voted with the five members from the former Norfolk County area. School Board Minutes during the first two years after the formal merger, revealed many instances of 6 to 5 votes on a variety of issues from facilities to policies.

Mr. Edwin W. Chittum, longtime superintendent of Norfolk County Schools and Chesapeake Public Schools, was a master at the use of power. He gathered competent

people around him and placed them in positions of trust. He then allowed them the freedom to do their jobs. He possessed certain skills in law and fiscal management that allowed him to exert expert power.

His genuine interest in every individual in the school system allowed him to utilize referent power that was based on a feeling of closeness with the power holder. One of the teachers from that period indicated that Mr. Chittum "was a fine gentleman. His eyes were always busy when he entered a building. He was there for us, and you could see it" (Interview with Lillie Coker).

Mr. Chittum also utilized legitimate power that was based on group norms and role expectations. His role as Superintendent of Schools brought expectations within the community. Everyone interviewed talked about Mr. Chittum's power in the former Norfolk County and newly merged City of Chesapeake. Mr. W. A. Johnson, who later became Assistant Superintendent under Mr. Chittum, said, "No ifs or ands about it. Mr. Chittum was the most powerful figure in the community, even among politicians. It was because of his job and his relationship to the politicians. It was almost a legacy for a school superintendent."

While it is certainly fair to conclude from a review of School Board minutes, newspapers, periodicals and interviews that former Norfolk County leaders and

residents controlled decisionmaking through the Chesapeake School Board and major central office leadership roles, there was no indication that this power was used unjustly. Research into sources of the period and extensive interviews indicated that the leaders genuinely wanted the best for the new school system.

CONCLUSIONS

Consolidation of school districts in the United States brought about a decline in numbers from 127,649 in 1932 to 36,402 in 1961. Two major issues in a large number of these consolidations were the equitable use of facilities and who would control the power in the consolidated district. These are issues that must be considered in any school system consolidation.

At the time of the South Norfolk/Norfolk County merger, both of the existing school systems received similar percentages of their total budget from the state. South Norfolk received 43%, and Norfolk County received 42.7% of the total school budget from the state. Both utilized 49% from local funds. Virginia did not and does not provide funds to localities for capital projects. While there are many areas such as salaries, textbooks, equipment, instructional materials, food services and transportation that impact a school budget, facilities have a major role in long range fiscal planning. This was

the reason that discussion of school facilities was prominent in the pre-merger debate. Many South Norfolk residents felt their school buildings would benefit from the resources available in Norfolk County at the time.

The other issue of primary concern in the merger of two school systems is the redistribution of power. Who will make major decisions that impact on the total system? Will representatives from both of the previous systems share equally in those decisions? Will the larger system exercise an unequal amount of power over the smaller system? These questions were concerns for South Norfolk residents who feared the smaller size (eight buildings) of their school district would mean that they would be controlled by the former Norfolk County district with its twenty-one schools.

This study has researched how both of the major issues were handled in the merger of the South Norfolk and Norfolk County School Districts into the Chesapeake Public School System. Based on both published materials and personal interviews, it was apparent that the Chesapeake School Board and school leaders endeavored to utilize fairness in decisionmaking in their efforts to build a strong school system. In the state of Virginia in 1963, School Boards were appointed by the City Council or the Board of Supervisors. The School Board was dependent upon the Chesapeake City Council to allocate funds both for the

yearly budget and for capital outlay for facilities. The newly formed Chesapeake City Council was very supportive of the need for school facilities and sent a school bond referendum to the voters in 1963.

This study points to issues that would be concerns in any potential school system merger. In the current historical period, there is much discussion about the restructuring of schools and the equity of resources. There are many inner city school systems and rural school systems that do not have an adequate tax base to support the needs of capital development and renovation as well as the provision of necessary instructional resources. It may become necessary to look at new ways of merging school districts so that these needs can be met in a more equitable fashion for all students in a public school system.

The issues discussed in this research document should form the basis for beginning discussions of any potential school system mergers. Equity does not necessarily mean equal in the distribution of resources. It means providing resources based on existing need. Any potential school system merger must deal fairly with the issue of control of power. Both parties must understand the roles of legitimate, referent, and expert power. They must also be aware of the limitations of reward and coercive power. They must work toward Thomas Hobbes'

description of the role of a leader in 1651. After the assessment of an organization, its needs and its personnel, the leader must look within himself/herself to understand the utilization of power. No successful school system merger will be possible without a thorough understanding and agreement concerning the redistribution of power.

Major Sources

Sources of major importance in this study would include South Norfolk School Study 1962 and Norfolk County School Study 1961 that provided an understanding of the school facilities as they existed just before the merger took place. After an extensive search, only one copy of each study was found. Merger Politics offered important information about similar governmental mergers in the Tidewater, Virginia, region. All of the interviews provided useful research data that was later cross referenced with books, periodicals, newspapers, governmental documents, and other interviews. Extensive interviews with Mr. Edwin W. Chittum and H. I. Willett, Jr. were also critical to understanding the specific period of history under consideration.

Recommendations for Further Study

This study focused on the merger of two specific school systems located in the Tidewater region of the

state of Virginia. There were three other governmental mergers in Tidewater during this same time period. It would be useful to study those three mergers in terms of their school systems and the issues of equitable distribution of resources and power after the mergers took place.

Another possible study would involve the role of the Superintendent of Schools. The position itself carried a great deal of personal power in the community in the late 1950's and the early 1960's. An interesting study would be the changes in that role in 1990 as related to the state constitution and societal expectations.

Appendices

Appendix A

CONSOLIDATION AGREEMENT
FOR THE CITY OF SOUTH NORFOLK
AND NORFOLK COUNTY, VIRGINIA

This CONSOLIDATION AGREEMENT is made in several counterparts this 22nd day of December, 1961, by and between the governing bodies of the CITY OF SOUTH NORFOLK, a municipal corporation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, and NORFOLK COUNTY, a county in the Commonwealth of Virginia. The governing bodies of the city and the county hereby declare that it is in the best interests of the city and the county to consolidate into a city pursuant to Article 4, Chapter 9, Title 15 of the Code of Virginia of 1950, as amended, and in order to effect such consolidation the governing bodies of the city and the county hereby agree as follows:

I. NAMES OF CITY AND COUNTY PROPOSING TO CONSOLIDATE

The names of the city and county proposing to consolidate are City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County.

II. NAME OF CONSOLIDATED CITY

The name of the city into which it is proposed to consolidate is to be selected by the people of the Consolidated City in a referendum to be held prior to the effective date of consolidation, as provided in Section XVI hereof.

III. PROPERTY AND VALUE

The property, real and personal, belonging to the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County and the fair value thereof in current money of the United States is as follows:

	<u>City of South Norfolk</u>	<u>Norfolk County</u>
Real Estate	\$4,873,473	\$23,867,500
Personal Property	823,525	3,948,200
Total	\$5,696,998	\$27,815,700

IV. INDEBTEDNESS OF UNITS

The net indebtedness, bonded and otherwise, of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County is as follows:

	<u>City of South Norfolk</u>	<u>Norfolk County</u>
General Bonded Debt	\$2,605,130	\$2,171,808
Great Bridge Sanitary District Bonds	---	130,000
Total	\$2,605,130	\$2,301,808

(Figures do not include interest in future years or advances to sanitary districts in anticipation of authorized but unissued bonds.)

V. SOURCES OF VALUATIONS AND DEBTS

The above valuations were established by the City of South Norfolk for property and indebtedness of the city and by Norfolk County for property and indebtedness of the

county, and such valuations are accepted by the city and county solely for the purposes of this agreement.

VI. EFFECTIVE DATE

Subject to the outcome of the referendum provided for in Section XV hereof and subject to approval by the General Assembly of Virginia of a charter for the Consolidated City as hereinafter provided, this consolidation shall become effective on January 1, 1963.

VII. DISPOSITION OF PROPERTY AND ASSUMPTION OF DEBTS

1. Upon the effective date of consolidation all property, real and personal, of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County, including sanitary districts therein, shall become the property of the Consolidated City, and any and all indebtedness and other obligations of the city and the county, including sanitary districts therein, shall be assumed by the Consolidated City.

2. The areas comprising the City of South Norfolk, Norfolk County and any sanitary district which has bonds issued and outstanding on the effective date of consolidation shall be continued in effect as special taxing districts for a period of not more than 20 years for the purpose of repaying any indebtedness chargeable to such areas. The council of the Consolidated City shall levy a special tax on locally taxable property within such

districts in such amounts as may be necessary to repay such indebtedness, to the end that all indebtedness existing on the effective date of consolidation shall be repaid by the area creating the indebtedness.

3. From the date of this agreement until the effective date of consolidation neither the City of South Norfolk nor Norfolk County, nor any sanitary district therein, shall issue any bonds which shall not mature on or before 20 years after the effective date of consolidation.

VIII. HIGHER TAXES FOR ADDITIONAL SERVICES

The tax rate on all property of the same class within the Consolidated City shall be uniform, but the council shall have power to levy a higher tax in such areas of the city as desire additional or more complete services of government than are desired in the city as a whole, provided that such higher tax rate shall not be levied for school, police, or general government services but only for those services which prior to consolidation were not offered in the whole of the city and the county. The proceeds of such tax shall be segregated and expended in the areas in which collected.

IX. BOROUGHES AND ELECTIONS

1. The present City of South Norfolk and the five

present magisterial districts of Norfolk County shall become boroughs of the Consolidated City which shall be known by the following names, i.e., South Norfolk, Butts Road, Deep Creek, Pleasant Grove, Washington and Western Branch, respectively.

2. The council shall consist of ten members, five to be elected from the Borough of South Norfolk and one from each of the other five boroughs. The judges of the courts of record shall designate one of the commissioners in chancery of such courts as a tie breaker for the council. He shall hold office at the pleasure of the judges of such courts, and he shall vote only in the case of a tie vote of all members of the council.

3. The initial council shall consist of the five members of the council of the City of South Norfolk and the five members of the Board of Supervisors of Norfolk County in office on the effective date of consolidation who shall hold office until the beginning of the terms of their successors. Councilmen in each borough shall be elected in the same manner and for the same terms as councilmen or supervisors were elected in such borough immediately preceding the effective date of consolidation, except that all councilmen shall be elected on the second Tuesday of June and shall take office on the first day of September following their election; provided, however, that the two councilmen to be elected in the Borough of

South Norfolk in June, 1963, shall serve until September 1, 1967. Three councilmen from the Borough of South Norfolk shall be elected in June, 1965, and shall serve until September 1, 1967. All other councilmen shall be elected in June, 1963, and shall serve until September 1, 1967. Beginning in 1967, all councilmen shall be elected on the second Tuesday in June for terms of four years and shall take office on the first day of September following their election.

4. At such time as may be determined by the affirmative vote of six councilmen, which shall not be earlier than five years after the effective date of consolidation but not later than September 1, 1971, the council shall submit to the qualified voters of the city a plan for election of councilmen.

X. CONSTITUTIONAL OFFICERS

1. Upon the effective date of consolidation the constitutional officers of the city and the county shall continue in office for the terms to which they were elected, except as provided herein to the contrary.

2. The sheriff of Norfolk County shall continue to be the sheriff and shall perform the same duties within the area from which he was elected during the remainder of the term to which he was elected, which expires on

December 31, 1963. The sergeant of the City of South Norfolk shall continue to be the sergeant and shall perform the same duties within the area from which he was elected until December 31, 1963. From and after January 1, 1964, the Consolidated City shall have a sergeant who shall be elected in lieu of a sheriff in November, 1963, and the election and qualification of the sergeant so elected shall terminate the office of the sergeant holding office in the City of South Norfolk on the effective date of consolidation. Thereafter, a high constable shall be appointed by the council of the Consolidated City. He shall serve at the pleasure of the council.

3. The attorney for the Commonwealth, the treasurer and the commissioner of revenue for the Consolidated City shall be determined by agreement between those persons holding such respective offices. In the event that no agreement is reached before the effective date of consolidation, the judges of the courts of record shall designate one officer as principal and the other as assistant or deputy.

4. Since constitutional officers come up for election in the counties and cities of the Commonwealth in 1963 and 1965, respectively, it is desirable that the terms of constitutional officers in the Consolidated City conform to such requirements of law. Accordingly, the

office of sergeant of the Consolidated City and the offices of attorney for the Commonwealth, treasurer and commissioner of revenue of the Consolidated City, if the terms to which the persons holding such offices expire in 1963, shall be filled by election in November, 1963 for terms of two years. Thereafter, such offices shall be filled by election for terms of four years.

5. Compensation of the constitutional officers and members of the council and of the Board of Supervisors shall not be diminished during the remainder of the terms to which they were elected, except as provided herein to the contrary.

XI. MUNICIPAL SEAT OF GOVERNMENT

The municipal seat of government shall be located at Great Bridge. Offices for municipal services shall be maintained at the present city hall in the City of South Norfolk for the convenience of citizens.

XII. PREPARATION OF THE 1962-63 BUDGETS

1. The city and the county shall prepare and adopt separate budgets for the fiscal year July 1, 1962-June 30, 1963, in accordance with present practices on the assumption that each would operate independently for the entire fiscal year. Before January 1, 1963, the city and county budgets shall be consolidated into a single budget

under which the Consolidated City shall operate from January 1 through June 30, 1963.

2. All funds from the issue of bonds by the city or the county, the use of which is restricted by the terms thereof, shall be set aside in a special fund for disposition in accordance with such requirements.

XIII. SCHOOLS

For the safety and welfare of the school children the school board of the Consolidated City shall continue substantially the school bus service formerly maintained in Norfolk County, unless in the opinion of the school board, considering various factors including increasing density of population, availability of school facilities, changes in traffic patterns and availability of public transportation, such services or any part thereof should be altered or discontinued.

XIV. PERSONNEL PAY AND RETIREMENT BENEFITS

1. In order to carry on an efficient administration, the Consolidated City will need the experience and skills of the employees of both the city and the county. Therefore, it is agreed that the city will adhere to the principle that all employees of the two governmental units will be retained and will be compensated at no lower rate of pay than they received at the effective date of

consolidation and that they will occupy positions as comparable as practicable to those occupied at the time of consolidation.

2. The obligations of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County under any existing pension or retirement plan on the effective date of consolidation shall become the indebtedness and obligation of the Consolidated City, and all employees and retired employees having vested rights under any such pension or retirement plan on the effective date of consolidation shall continue to be covered by such plan. This consolidation agreement shall be deemed an agreement between the Consolidated City and such employees and retired employees that in the event that the Consolidated City shall combine, consolidate or amend any such pension or retirement plan, such action shall not in any way diminish, curtail or impair the vested rights of any such employees or retired employees.

3. Any judge of the County Court of Norfolk County who has been a member of the Trial Justices' Retirement Fund for more than five years and who loses his rights therein as a result of the consolidation of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County, shall upon his retirement be paid retirement benefits out of the treasury of the Consolidated City, which, when added to any benefits he may receive from such fund will equal the benefits he would have received from such fund had there

been no consolidation, at a cost not to exceed the withdrawal allowance to the credit of such judge at the time of withdrawal from the fund, provided that he pays to the Consolidated City the amounts which he would have paid to the fund.

XV. REFERENDUM ON CONSOLIDATION

The Council of the City of South Norfolk and the Board of Supervisors shall petition the judge of the Corporation Court of the City of South Norfolk and the judge of the Circuit Court of Norfolk County, respectively, to order a referendum within the city and the county, to be held and conducted pursuant to Article 4, Chapter 9, Title 15 of the Code of Virginia of 1950, as amended, as soon as practicable to take the sense of the qualified voters of the city and the county on this consolidation.

XVI. REFERENDUM ON NAME

1. If this consolidation receives an affirmative vote by a majority of the qualified voters voting in the referendum in the City of South Norfolk and by a majority of the qualified voters voting in the referendum in Norfolk County, then the governing bodies of the city and the county shall petition the judges of the Corporation Court of the City of South Norfolk and the Circuit Court of Norfolk County to order a referendum

within the city and the county to take the sense of the qualified voters on the question of a name for the Consolidated City, as permitted in Section 15-221(2) of the Code of Virginia of 1950, as amended. The respective judges will be asked to order the proper election officers to have printed on the ballot such names as may be submitted not less than 30 days prior to such referendum to either of such courts by a petition signed by 100 qualified voters requesting that such name be submitted to the voters, and certified by the court to the election officers.

2. The ballot shall contain the following question:

"Which of the following names shall be adopted as the name of the Consolidated City?"

(Insert petitioned names)

The referendum otherwise shall be held, ballots counted, returns made and canvassed and results certified as provided in Section 24-141 of the Code of Virginia of 1950, as amended.

3. If any name has not received the vote of a majority of the qualified voters voting in such referendum, then the respective courts will be requested to order a second referendum within 20 days to take the sense of the qualified voters on which of the two names receiving the highest number of votes in the first referendum shall be the name of the Consolidated City.

4. The name approved by a majority of the voters voting in the first or second referendum, as the case may be, shall become the name of the Consolidated City, and the words "city" or "Consolidated City" whenever they appear in this consolidation agreement and in the charter attached hereto shall be construed to mean the name so approved.

XVII. CHARTER

The charter for the Consolidated City is attached hereto and incorporated by reference as a part of this consolidation agreement. The governing bodies of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County shall submit the charter to the 1962 session of the General Assembly of Virginia for approval and shall have authority to negotiate any revisions that may be proposed by the General Assembly.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Council of the City of South Norfolk and the Board of Supervisors of Norfolk County have entered into this consolidation agreement and the city and county have caused this consolidation agreement to be executed in their respective names and their respective seals to be hereunto affixed and attested by their respective officers thereunto duly authorized.

CITY OF SOUTH NORFOLK

By _____
Mayor

Attest:

Clerk

NORFOLK COUNTY

By _____
Chairman
Board of Supervisors

Attest:

Clerk

Appendix B

CHARTER FOR THE CONSOLIDATED CITY

Chapter 1

INCORPORATION AND BOUNDARIES

Section 1.01. INCORPORATION. The inhabitants of the territory comprised within the limits of the City of South Norfolk, as they are or hereafter may be established by law, shall continue to be a body politic and corporate and as such shall have perpetual succession, may sue and be sued, contract and be contracted with and may have a corporate seal which it may alter at its pleasure. The inhabitants of the territory comprised within the limits of Norfolk County as it exists at the effective date of this charter shall also be a part of such body politic and corporate.

Section 1.02. BOUNDARIES. The boundaries of the Consolidated City shall coincide with the outside boundaries of Norfolk County so as to include all of the territory comprising Norfolk County and the City of South Norfolk as existing immediately preceding the effective date of this charter.

Section 1.03. NAME OF CONSOLIDATED CITY. The name of the Consolidated City shall be such name as may be selected by an affirmative vote of a majority of the

qualified voters voting in a referendum in the City of South Norfolk and in Norfolk County called for the purpose. Whenever the words "city" or "Consolidated City" appear in this charter, they shall mean the name selected by such referendum.

Chapter 2

POWERS

Section 2.01. GENERAL GRANT OF POWERS. The Consolidated City shall have and may exercise the powers set forth in Sections 15-77.1 through 15-77.70 of the Code as in force on January 1, 1962. In addition thereto the Consolidated City shall have and may exercise all other powers which are now or may hereafter be conferred upon or delegated to cities of the first class under the Constitution and laws of the Commonwealth and all other powers pertinent to the conduct of a city government, the exercise of which is not expressly prohibited by the Constitution and laws and which in the opinion of the council are necessary or desirable to promote the general welfare of the Consolidated City and the safety, health, peace, good order, comfort, convenience and morals of its inhabitants.

Section 2.02. ADDITIONAL POWERS. Without limiting the generality of the foregoing, but in addition thereto, the Consolidated City shall have the following additional powers:

(a) To levy a higher tax in such areas of the Consolidated City as desire additional or more complete services of government than are desired in the city as a whole, provided that such higher tax rate shall not be levied for school, police, or general government services but only for those services which prior to the effective date of this charter were not offered in all the territory within the boundaries of the city and provided further that the proceeds from such higher tax rate shall be so segregated as to enable the same to be expended in the areas in which raised.

(b) To levy a special tax on locally taxable property in any borough, sanitary district or other special taxing district or combination thereof, for a period of not exceeding 30 years, which may be different from and in addition to the general tax rate throughout the city, for the purpose of repaying indebtedness existing on the effective date of this charter and chargeable to such borough, sanitary district or other special taxing district or combination thereof.

(c) To acquire, construct, and maintain or authorize the construction and maintenance of bridges, viaducts, subways, or underpasses over or under the Elizabeth River or any other stream, creek or ravine when any portion of such bridge, viaduct, subway or

underpass is within the city limits, and to charge or authorize the charging of tolls for their use by the public, and to require compensation for their use by public utility, transmission or transportation companies, except as the right to require such compensation is affected by any contract heretofore or hereafter made with the company concerned.

(d) To acquire, construct, own, maintain and operate, within and without the city, landings, wharves, docks, canals and the approaches to and appurtenances thereof, tracks, spurs, crossings, switchings, terminals, warehouses and terminal facilities of every kind and description necessary or useful in the transportation and storage of goods, wares and merchandise; perform any and all services in connection with the receipt, delivery, shipment and transfer in transit, weighing, marking, tagging, ventilating, refrigerating, icing, storing and handling of goods, wares, and merchandise; prescribe and collect charges from vessels coming into or using any of the landings, wharves and docks, and from persons using any of the facilities above described; provide for the management and control of such facilities or any of them by a department of the city government or by a board, commission or agency specially established by ordinance for the purpose; lease any or all of such facilities or any concessions properly incident thereto to any person,

firm, or corporation or contract with any person, firm, or corporation for the maintenance and operation of any or all of such facilities on such terms and conditions as the council may determine by ordinance; apply to the proper authorities of the United States to grant to the city the privilege of establishing, maintaining and operating a foreign trade zone within or without the city; regulate the use of other landings, wharves and docks located on the Elizabeth River within and without the city; prevent and remove obstructions from the harbor of the Elizabeth River and in, upon or near the landings, wharves, docks or canals adjacent thereto, and collect from the person or persons responsible for such obstructions the cost of their removal; close or discontinue the use of any such wharf, landing, dock or canal now owned or hereafter acquired by the city and upon the closing or discontinuance of such use the same shall thereupon be forever discharged from any public use or easement or from any obligation therefore imposed by reason of such public use or easement by statute or otherwise.

(e) To exercise all powers possessed by the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County immediately preceding the effective date of this charter, consistent with general law and not inconsistent with this charter.

Chapter 3
CITY COUNCIL

Section 3.01. COMPOSITION. The Consolidated City shall be divided into six boroughs. One of such boroughs shall comprise the City of South Norfolk as existing immediately preceding the effective date of this charter and shall be known as the Borough of South Norfolk, and the remaining five boroughs shall comprise the five magisterial districts of Norfolk County as existing immediately preceding the effective date of this charter and shall be known as the Boroughs of Butts Road, Deep Creek, Pleasant Grove, Washington, and Western Branch. The council shall consist of ten members, five of whom shall be elected by and from the Borough of South Norfolk and one by and from each of the other five boroughs. The five members of the council of South Norfolk and the five members of the Board of Supervisors of Norfolk County holding office immediately preceding the effective date of this charter shall constitute the council of the city and shall hold office until the beginning of the terms of their successors. At such time as may be determined by the affirmative vote of six councilmen, which shall not be earlier than five years after the effective date of this charter but not later than September 1, 1971, the council shall submit to the qualified voters of the city a plan for election of councilmen.

Section 3.02. ELECTION OF COUNCILMEN. Councilmen in each borough shall be elected in the same manner and for the same terms as councilmen or supervisors were elected in such borough immediately preceding the effective date of this charter, except that all councilmen shall be elected on the second Tuesday of June and shall take office on the first day of September following their election; provided, however, that the two councilmen to be elected in the Borough of South Norfolk in June, 1963 shall serve until September 1, 1967. Three councilmen from the Borough of South Norfolk shall be elected in June, 1965 and shall serve until September 1, 1967. All other councilmen shall be elected in June, 1963 and shall serve until September 1, 1967. Beginning in 1967, all councilmen shall be elected on the second Tuesday in June for terms of four years and shall take office on the first day of September following their election.

Section 3.03. FILLING VACANCIES. Vacancies in the office of councilmen, from whatever cause arising, shall be filled within 60 days for the unexpired portion of the term by a majority vote of the remaining members of the council, provided that so long as any councilmen are elected by and from boroughs the vacancy shall be filled by a qualified voter residing in the same borough.

Section 3.04. COMPENSATION. Councilmen shall receive as compensation for their services such amounts

as the council may determine, as provided by general law. No member of the council shall be appointed to any office of profit under the city government during the term for which elected and for one year thereafter.

Section 3.05. POWERS. All powers vested in the city shall be exercised by the council, except as otherwise provided in this charter. In addition to the foregoing, the council shall have the following powers:

(a) To provide for the organization, conduct and operation of all departments, bureaus, divisions, boards, commissions, offices and agencies of the city.

(b) To create, alter or abolish departments, bureaus, divisions, boards, commissions, offices, and agencies, except as specifically provided herein to the contrary.

(c) To create, alter or abolish and to assign and reassign to departments, all bureaus, divisions, offices and agencies, except as specifically provided herein to the contrary.

(d) To provide for the number, titles, qualifications, powers, duties and compensation of all officers and employees of the city.

(e) To provide for the form of oaths and the amount and condition of surety bonds to be required of certain officers and employees of the city.

(f) To provide for the submission of any proposed ordinance to the qualified voters of the city at an advisory referendum to be initiated by a resolution to the corporation court of the city and held not less than 30 nor more than 60 days thereafter in the manner provided by law for special elections.

Section 3.06. PROCEDURAL POWERS. The council shall have power, subject to the provisions of this charter, to adopt its own rules of procedure. Such rules shall provide for the time and place of holding regular meetings of the council which shall be not less frequent than once each month. They shall also provide for the calling of special meetings by the mayor or any three members of the council and shall prescribe the methods of giving notice thereof. A majority of the council shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. No ordinance, resolution, motion or vote, other than motions of a purely procedural nature, shall be adopted by the council except at a meeting open to the public.

Section 3.07. REFERENDUM ON ORDINANCE. No ordinance, unless it be an emergency measure as herein defined, or the annual appropriation ordinance, shall become effective until 30 days after its final passage. If a petition signed by at least 25 per cent of the number of qualified voters voting in the last preceding

presidential election is filed with the city clerk within such 30 days, requesting that such ordinance be repealed or amended as stated in the petition, such ordinance shall not become effective until the steps provided for herein shall have been taken. Such petition shall state the names and addresses of at least five electors who shall constitute a committee to represent the petitioners. If the council shall not have amended or repealed the ordinance as requested within 30 days after the filing of such petition, the city clerk shall upon request of a majority of the committee present such petition to the judge of the corporation court who shall order a referendum for the purpose of submitting the ordinance to the qualified voters of the city in the manner provided by law for special elections. If the ordinance is approved by a majority of the qualified voters voting in such referendum, it shall become effective upon the certification of the result. Ordinances passed as emergency measures providing for any work certified by the city manager to be immediately necessary to protect public property or health from imminent danger or to protect the city from imminent loss or liability, shall not be subject to referendum, and the certificate of the city manager in any such case shall be conclusive. All other ordinances passed as emergency measures shall be subject to the referendum as other ordinances.

Section 3.08. TIE BREAKER. So long as the council of the Consolidated City shall be fixed at an even number, the judges of the courts of record shall designate one of the commissioners in chancery of such courts as tie breaker for the council. He shall hold office at the pleasure of the judges of such courts. The tie breaker shall vote only in the case of a tie vote of all members of the council, and the provisions of Section 15-245 of the Code as to tie breakers for boards of supervisors shall apply so far as applicable.

Section 3.09. MAYOR. At its first regular meeting of the term the council shall choose by majority vote of all the members thereof one of its members to be mayor and one to be vice-mayor. Until such time as the representation on the council is changed as provided in Section 3.01, one of such officers shall be a councilman elected by and from the Borough of South Norfolk and the other shall be a councilman elected by and from one of the other boroughs. The mayor shall preside over the meetings of the council, shall act as head of the city government for ceremonial purposes and shall have such other rights and duties as the council may prescribe, in addition to all the rights and privileges of councilmen of the city. The vice-mayor shall perform the duties of mayor in the absence or disability of the mayor.

Section 3.10. CITY CLERK. The council shall appoint a city clerk for a two year term. He shall be clerk of the council and custodian of the corporate seal of the city and he shall have such further duties as the council may prescribe.

Chapter 4 CITY MANAGER

Section 4.01. APPOINTMENT AND QUALIFICATIONS. The council shall appoint a city manager who shall be the executive and administrative head of the city government. He shall be chosen solely on the basis of his executive and administrative qualifications and shall serve at the pleasure of the council.

Section 4.02. POWERS AND DUTIES. The city manager shall have the power and it shall be his duty:

(a) To appoint all officers and employees of the city and to remove such officers and employees, except as he may delegate such powers to appoint and remove to his subordinates and except as otherwise provided in this charter.

(b) To perform such other duties and to exercise such other powers as may be imposed or conferred upon him by the council.

Section 4.03. COUNCIL NOT TO INTERFERE IN APPOINTMENTS OR REMOVALS. Neither the council nor any of

its members shall direct the appointment of any person to or his removal from any office or employment by the city manager or by his subordinates.

Chapter 5

BUDGET

Section 5.01. FISCAL YEAR. The fiscal year of the city shall begin on the first day of July and shall end on the last day of June of each calendar year, unless otherwise provided by ordinance. Such fiscal year shall also constitute the budget and accounting year.

Section 5.02. SUBMISSION OF BUDGET. The city manager shall submit to the council a budget and a budget message at least 90 days prior to the beginning of each budget year.

Section 5.03. PREPARATION OF BUDGET. It shall be the duty of the head of each department, the judges of the courts not of record, each board or commission, including the school board, and each other office or agency supported in whole or in part by the city, to file at such time as the city manager may prescribe estimates of revenue and expenditure for that department, court, board, commission, office or agency for the ensuing fiscal year. The city manager shall hold such hearings as he may deem advisable and shall review the estimates and other data

pertinent to the preparation of the budget and make such revisions in such estimates as he may deem proper, subject to the laws of th Commonwealth relating to obligatory expenditures for any purpose, except that in the case of the school board he may recommend a revision only in its total estimated expenditure. The budget shall be prepared in accordance with accepted principles of municipal accounting and budgetary procedures and techniques.

Section 5.04. BALANCED BUDGET. In no event shall the expenditures recommended by the city manager in the budget exceed the receipts estimated, taking into account the estimated cash surplus or deficit at the end of the current fiscal year, unless the city manager shall recommend an increase in the rate of ad valorem taxes on real estate and tangible personal property or other new or increased taxes or licenses within the power of the city to levy and collect in the ensuing fiscal year, the receipts from which estimated on the basis of the average experience with the same or similar taxes during the three tax years last past will make up the difference. If estimated receipts exceed estimated expenditures the city manager may recommend revisions in the tax and license ordinances of the city in order to bring the budget into balance.

Section 5.05. BUDGET MESSAGE. The budget message shall contain the recommendations of the city manager

concerning the fiscal policy of the city, a description of the important features of the budget and an explanation of all significant changes in the budget as to estimated receipts and recommended expenditures as compared with the current and last preceding fiscal years.

Section 5.06. APPROPRIATION AND ADDITIONAL TAX ORDINANCES. At the same time that he submits the budget, the city manager shall introduce and recommend to the council an appropriation ordinance which shall be based on the budget. He shall also introduce at the same time any ordinances levying a new tax or altering the rate on any existing tax necessary to balance the budget as provided in Section 5.04.

Section 5.07. PUBLIC HEARING. The council shall hold a public hearing on the budget as submitted, at which all interested persons shall be given an opportunity to be heard. The council shall cause to be published a notice of the time and place of the hearing not less than seven days prior to the date of the hearing. One copy of the budget and budget message shall be always available for public inspection in the office of the city clerk during regular business hours.

Section 5.08. ADOPTION OF BUDGET. After the public hearing the council may make such changes in the budget as it may determine, except that no item of expenditure for

debt service shall be reduced or omitted. The budget shall be adopted by the vote of at least a majority of all members of the council not later than 30 days prior to the end of the current fiscal year. Should the council take no action prior to such day, the budget shall be deemed to have been finally adopted as submitted. In no event shall the council adopt a budget in which the estimated total of expenditures exceeds receipts, unless at the same time it adopts measures to provide additional revenue estimated to be sufficient to make up the difference.

Section 5.09. ADDITIONAL APPROPRIATIONS.

Appropriations in addition to those contained in the general appropriation ordinance may be made by the council only if there is available in the general fund an unencumbered and unappropriated sum sufficient to meet such appropriations.

Chapter 6

BORROWING

Section 6.01. BORROWING POWER. The council may, in the name of and for the use of the city, incur indebtedness by issuing its negotiable bonds or notes for the purposes, in the manner and to the extent provided in this chapter.

Section 6.02. PURPOSES FOR WHICH BONDS OR NOTES MAY BE ISSUED. Bonds or notes of the city may be issued for the following purposes:

(a) To finance capital projects. -- Bonds, and notes in anticipation of bonds when the issue of bonds has been authorized as hereinafter provided, may be issued for the purpose of financing the whole or any part of the cost of any capital improvement project.

(b) To anticipate the collection of revenue. -- Notes may be issued, when authorized by the council, at any time during the fiscal year in anticipation of the collection of revenue of such year.

(c) To refund outstanding bonds. -- Bonds may be issued for the purpose of refunding existing bonds, provided that the director of finance shall certify in writing that such refunding is necessary to prevent default on the interest or principal of the city's outstanding bonds or in the case of callable bonds to assure a lower rate of interest.

Section 6.03. LIMITATIONS ON INDEBTEDNESS. In the issuance of bonds and notes the city shall be subject to the limitations as to amount contained in Section 127 of the Constitution.

Section 6.04. FORM OF BONDS. Bonds and notes of the city shall be issued in the manner provided by general law.

Section 6.05. AUTHORITY FOR ISSUANCE OF BONDS. No bonds of the city shall be issued until their issuance

shall have been authorized by a majority of the qualified voters of the city voting in an election held for the purpose and in the manner provided by general law; provided, however, that the council may issue bonds in an amount not exceeding \$500,000 in any calendar year, or notes in anticipation of the collection of revenue, without submitting the question of their issuance to the qualified voters.

Section 6.06. PAYMENT OF BONDS AND NOTES. The power and obligation of the city to pay any and all bonds and notes issued pursuant to this chapter, except revenue bonds made payable solely from revenue producing properties, shall be unlimited and the city shall levy all ad valorem payment of such bonds or notes and the interest thereon, without limitation as to rate or amount. The full faith and credit of the city are hereby pledged for the payment of the principal of and interest on all bonds and notes of the City of South Norfolk and of Norfolk County, and any sanitary districts therein, issued and outstanding on the effective date of this charter, and of the city hereafter issued pursuant to this charter, except revenue bonds made payable solely from revenue producing properties, whether or not such pledge be stated in the bonds or notes or in the bond ordinance authorizing their issuance.

Chapter 7

ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENTS

Section 7.01. CREATION OF DEPARTMENTS. The following administrative departments are hereby created:

- (a) Department of Finance
- (b) Department of Law
- (c) Department of Public Safety
- (d) Department of Public Works
- (e) Department of Public Utilities
- (f) Department of Public Health
- (g) Department of Public Welfare
- (h) Department of Farm and Home Demonstration
- (i) Department of Education
- (j) Department of Parks and Recreation
- (k) Department of Personnel

The council may create new departments or subdivisions thereof, combine or abolish existing departments and distribute the functions thereof or establish temporary departments for special work; provided, however, that the council shall not have the power to abolish, transfer or combine the functions of the departments of finance, law and education.

Section 7.02. DEPARTMENT HEADS. There shall be a director at the head of each department, and the same person may be the director of several departments. The director of each department, except the departments of law and education, shall be appointed by the city manager and

may be removed by him at any time; provided, however, that the council may designate the city manager to be director of one or more departments. The director of each department shall be chosen on the basis of his general executive and administrative ability and experience and his education, training and experience in the class of work which he is to administer.

Section 7.03. RESPONSIBLE TO CITY MANAGER. The directors of each department, except the departments of law and education, shall be immediately responsible to the city manager for the administration of their respective departments, and their advice may be required by him on all matters affecting their departments. They shall make reports and recommendations concerning their departments to the city manager under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe.

Chapter 8

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

Section 8.01. DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE. The department of finance shall consist of a director of finance, a comptroller or accounting officer, the city treasurer and the commissioner of revenue and their respective offices, insofar as inclusion of these offices is not inconsistent with the Constitution and general laws of the Commonwealth, and such other officers and employees organized into such bureaus, divisions and other units as

may be provided by the council or by the orders of the director consistent therewith.

Section 8.02. DIRECTOR OF FINANCE. The head of the department of finance shall be the director of finance who shall be a person skilled in municipal accounting and financial control. He shall have charge of the financial affairs of the city, including such powers and duties as may be assigned by the council not inconsistent with the Constitution and general laws of the Commonwealth.

Section 8.03. CITY TREASURER. The city treasurer shall collect and receive all city taxes and other revenues or monies accruing to the city, except such as the council may by ordinance make it the duty of some other person to collect, and he shall have such powers and duties as are provided by general law. He shall perform such other duties as may be assigned by the director of finance or the council not inconsistent with the laws of the Commonwealth.

Section 8.04. CITY COLLECTOR. The council may direct the city manager to appoint a city collector who shall have such powers and duties as the council may provide.

Section 8.05. COMMISSIONER OF REVENUE. The commissioner of revenue shall perform such duties not inconsistent with the laws of the Commonwealth in

in relation to the assessment of property and licenses as may be assigned by the director of finance or the council.

Section 8.06. ANNUAL ASSESSMENT OF REAL ESTATE. The council may, in lieu of the methods prescribed by general law, provide by ordinance for the annual assessment and reassessment and equalization of assessments of real estate for local taxation and to that end may appoint one or more persons as assessors to assess or reassess for taxation the real estate within the city and to prescribe their duties and terms of office. Such assessors shall make assessments and reassessments on the same basis as real estate is required to be assessed under the provisions of general law and as of the first day of January of each year, shall have the same authority as the assessors appointed under the provisions of general law, and shall be charged with duties similar to those thereby imposed upon such assessors, except that such assessments or reassessments shall be made annually and the assessments and reassessments so made shall have the same effect as if they had been made by assessors appointed under the provisions of general law. The judges of the courts of record shall annually appoint a board of equalization of real estate assessments, to be composed of three members, who shall be freeholders of the city. Such board of equalization shall have and may exercise the powers to revise, correct, and amend any assessment

of real estate and to that end shall have all powers conferred upon boards of equalization by general law. The provisions of general law notwithstanding, however, the board of equalization may adopt any regulations providing for the oral presentation, with formal petitions or other pleadings of requests for review, and looking to the further facilitation and simplification of proceedings before the board. This section shall not apply to assessments of any real estate assessable by the State Corporation Commission.

Section 8.07. DIVISION OF PURCHASING. There may be a division of purchasing which shall be in charge of purchasing all supplies of the city. The head of the division of purchasing shall be the purchasing agent who shall have such duties as may be assigned by the council.

Section 8.08. ANNUAL AUDIT. The council shall cause to be made an independent audit of the city's finances at the end of each fiscal year by the auditor of public accounts of the Commonwealth or by a firm of independent certified public accountants to be selected by the council. One copy of the report of such audit shall be always available for public inspection in the office of the city clerk during regular business hours.

Chapter 9

DEPARTMENT OF LAW

Section 9.01. DEPARTMENT OF LAW. The department of

law shall consist of the city attorney and such assistant city attorneys and other employees as may be provided by the council.

Section 9.02. CITY ATTORNEY. The head of the department of law shall be the city attorney. He shall be an attorney at law licensed to practice in the Commonwealth. He shall be appointed by the council for a two year term.

Section 9.03. POWERS AND DUTIES. The city attorney shall be the chief legal advisor of the council, the city manager and all departments, boards, commissions and agencies of the city in all matters affecting the interests of the city. He shall represent the city in all civil proceedings, and he shall institute and defend all legal proceedings which he shall deem necessary and proper to protect the interests of the city. He shall have such other powers and duties as may be assigned by the council.

Section 9.04. RESTRICTIONS ON ACTIONS FOR DAMAGES AGAINST CITY. No action shall be maintained against the city for injury or damage to any person or property or for wrongful death alleged to have been sustained by reason of the negligence of the city or of any officer, employee, or agent thereof, unless a written statement by the claimant, his agent, attorney or representative, of the nature of the claim and of the time and place at which the injury or

damage is alleged to have occurred or been received shall have been filed with the city attorney within 60 days after such cause of action shall have accrued, except that when the claimant is an infant or non compos mentis, or the injured person dies within such 60 days, such statement may be filed within 120 days. Neither the city attorney nor any other officer, employee or agent of the city shall have authority to waive the foregoing conditions precedent or any of them.

Chapter 10

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY

Section 10.01. DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY. The department of public safety shall include the bureaus of police and fire protection and may include such other bureaus, divisions and units and have such powers and duties as may be provided or assigned by the council or by the director consistent therewith.

Section 10.02. DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC SAFETY. The head of the department of public safety shall be the director of public safety. He shall have general management and control of the several bureaus, divisions and other units of the department.

Section 10.03. BUREAU OF POLICE. The bureau of police shall consist of a chief of police, who may be the director of public safety, and such other officers and

employees as may be provided by the council or by the orders of the director of public safety. The bureau of police shall be responsible for preservation of the public peace, protection of the rights of persons and property and enforcement of laws of the Commonwealth and ordinances of the city. The chief of police and the other members of the police force shall have all the powers and duties of police officers as provided by general law.

Section 10.04. BUREAU OF FIRE PROTECTION. The bureau of fire protection shall consist of the fire chief and such other officers and employees as may be provided by the council or by the orders of the director of public safety consistent therewith. The bureau of fire protection shall be responsible for the protection from fire of life and property within the city.

Chapter 11

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS

Section 11.01. DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS. The department of public works shall consist of the director of public works and such other officers and employees organized into such bureaus, divisions, and other units as may be provided by the council or by the orders of the director consistent therewith.

Section 12.02. FUNCTIONS. The department of public utilities shall be responsible for the construction,

operation, and maintenance of the waterworks system and of sewers and sewage disposal and such other powers and duties as may be assigned by the council.

Section 12.03. DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC UTILITIES. The head of the department of public utilities shall be the director of public utilities. He shall have general management and control of the several bureaus, divisions and other units of the department.

Chapter 13

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH

Section 13.01. DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH. The department of public health shall consist of the director of public health and such other officers and employees organized into such bureaus, divisions and other units as may be provided by the council or by the order of the director consistent therewith.

Section 13.02. FUNCTIONS. The department of public health shall be responsible for the exercise of all health functions imposed on municipalities by general law and such other powers and duties as may be assigned by the council.

Section 13.03. DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC HEALTH. The head of the department of public health shall be the director of public health. He shall be a physician licensed to

practice medicine in the Commonwealth. He shall have general management and control of the several bureaus, divisions and other units of the department. He shall have all the powers and duties with respect to the preservation of the public health which are conferred or imposed on municipal boards of health officers by the laws of the Commonwealth.

Chapter 14

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

Section 14.01. DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE. The department of public welfare shall consist of the director of public welfare, a welfare board constituted as provided by general law and such officers and employees organized into such bureaus, divisions and other units as may be provided by the council or by the orders of the director consistent therewith.

Section 14.02. FUNCTIONS. The department of public welfare shall be responsible for the duties imposed by the laws of the Commonwealth relating to public assistance and relief of the poor and such other powers and duties as may be assigned by th council.

Section 14.03. DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC WELFARE. The head of the department of public welfare shall be the director of public welfare. He shall have general

management and control of the several bureaus, divisions and other units of the department.

Chapter 15

DEPARTMENT OF FARM AND HOME DEMONSTRATION

Section 15.01. DEPARTMENT OF FARM AND HOME DEMONSTRATION. The department of farm and home demonstration shall consist of an agricultural agent, a home demonstration agent and such other officers and employees organized into such bureaus, divisions and other units as may be provided by the council or by the orders of the director consistent therewith.

Section 15.02. FUNCTIONS. The department of farm and home demonstration shall exercise all powers which are conferred upon counties relating to county farm and home demonstration work and shall have such other powers and duties as may be assigned by the council.

Section 15.03 DIRECTOR OF FARM AND HOME DEMONSTRATION. The director of the department of farm and home demonstration shall be the agricultural agent. He shall be selected from a list of eligibles submitted by the Virginia Polytechnic Institute. He shall have general management and control of the several bureaus, divisions and other units of the department.

Chapter 16

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Section 16.01. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION. The department of education shall consist of the city school board, the division superintendent of schools and the officers and employees thereof. Except as otherwise provided in this charter, the city school board and the division superintendent of schools shall exercise all the powers conferred and perform all the duties imposed upon them by general law.

Section 16.02. SCHOOL BOARD. For a period of three years after the effective date of consolidation the school board shall consist of all ten members of the school boards of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County holding office immediately preceding the effective date of this charter and an eleventh member to be appointed by the council. Thereafter the school board shall be composed of seven members who shall be appointed by the council for terms of three years; provided, however, that in the appointment of the initial school board, two members shall be appointed for terms of one year, two for terms of two years and three for terms of three years. Vacancies shall be filled by the council for any unexpired term.

Section 16.03. DIVISION SUPERINTENDENT. The persons holding office as division superintendent in the City of South Norfolk and in Norfolk County shall continue in that office for the unexpired portion of their terms. The

school board shall designate one of such persons as division superintendent for the Consolidated City and the other as assistant superintendent.

Chapter 17

DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION

Section 17.01. DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION. The department of parks and recreation shall consist of the director of parks and recreation and such other officers and employees organized into such bureaus, divisions and other units as may be provided by the council or by the orders of the director consistent therewith.

Section 17.02. FUNCTIONS. The department of parks and recreation shall be responsible for operating and maintaining public parks, playgrounds, and recreation facilities and organizing and conducting recreation programs and shall have such other powers and duties as may be assigned by the council.

Section 17.03. DIRECTOR OF PARKS AND RECREATION. The head of the department of parks and recreation shall be the director of parks and recreation. He shall have general management and control of the several bureaus, divisions and other units of the departments.

Chapter 18

DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL

Section 18.01. DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL. The department of personnel shall consist of a director of personnel and such other officers and employees organized into such bureaus, divisions and other units, including a personnel board, as may be provided by the council or by orders of the director consistent therewith.

Section 10.02. FUNCTIONS. The department of personnel shall be responsible for the formulation and administration of the personnel policy of the city, including a civil service commission for policemen and firemen such as is presently in effect in the City of South Norfolk.

Section 19.03. DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL. The head of the department of personnel shall be the director of personnel. He shall have general management and control of the several bureaus, divisions and other units of the department, except as the council may assign such duties to a personnel board.

Chapter 19

CITY PLANNING

Section 19.01 PLANNING COMMISSION. There shall be a city planning commission which shall consist of not less

than five nor more than fifteen members, and shall be organized as provided by general law. All members of the commission shall be qualified voters of the city and shall be appointed by the council for terms of four years.

Section 19.02. FUNCTIONS OF PLANNING COMMISSION.

The planning commission shall be responsible for making recommendations to the council on all phases of city planning, including a master plan, zoning, and subdivision control. It shall have the powers and duties provided by general law and such other powers and duties as may be assigned by the council.

Section 19.03. BOARD OF ZONING APPEALS. There shall be a board of zoning appeals which shall consist of five members appointed for three year terms by the judges of the courts of record.

Section 19.04. POWERS OF THE BOARD OF ZONING APPEALS. Appeals from any action of the board of zoning appeals may be taken to one of the courts of record in the manner prescribed by law.

Section 19.05. APPEALS FROM ACTIONS OF THE BOARD OF ZONING APPEALS. Appeals from any action of the board of zoning appeals may be taken to one of the courts of record in the manner prescribed by law.

Chapter 20

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Section 20.01. COURTS OF RECORD. The Corporation Court of the City of South Norfolk shall be known as the Corporation Court of the Consolidated City and the Circuit Court of Norfolk County shall be known as the Circuit Court of the Consolidated City. The jurisdiction of such courts shall be coextensive with the area of the Consolidated City. The Circuit Court shall have exclusive jurisdiction of all criminal matters and of all civil matters concerning the probate and recordation of wills, the appointment, qualification and removal of fiduciaries and the settlement of their accounts, the docketing of judgments and the recordation in the manner prescribed by law of deeds and papers, authorized and required by law to be recorded. The Circuit Court and the Corporation Court shall have concurrent jurisdiction of all other matters, and the judges of such courts shall have authority to transfer any of such matters pending in either court to the other court for the purpose of equalizing the work of of the courts.

Section 20.02 CLERKS OF COURTS OF RECORD. There shall be a clerk for each court of record as provided by general law. The clerk of each court of record holding office immediately preceding the effective date of this charter shall continue to serve such court for the

remainder of the term to which he was elected.

Section 20.03. MUNICIPAL COURT. There shall be a municipal court for the Consolidated City. Such court shall have both civil and criminal jurisdiction, shall have such other judicial powers as are conferred by general law on municipal courts of cities of the first class, and shall hold court at such times and at such places as may be determined by the judges of the courts of record.

Section 20.04. JUDGES OF THE MUNICIPAL COURT. There shall be a judge of the municipal court and such associate and substitute judges as the council may deem necessary. The judges of such courts shall be appointed for terms of four years by the judges of the courts of record. Appointments to vacancies shall be made by the judges of the courts of record and shall be for the unexpired term.

Section 20.05. JUVENILE AND DOMESTIC RELATIONS COURT. There shall be a juvenile and domestic relations court for the Consolidated City. Such court shall possess the same jurisdiction and powers as are conferred by law upon juvenile and domestic relations courts of cities of the first class.

Section 20.06. JUDGES OF THE JUVENILE AND DOMESTIC RELATIONS COURT. There shall be a judge of the juvenile

and domestic relations court and such associate and substitute judges as the council may deem necessary. The judges of such court shall be appointed for terms of four years by the judges of the courts of record. Appointments to vacancies shall be made by the judges of the courts of record and shall be for the unexpired term.

Section 20.07. JUDGES OF COURTS NOT OF RECORD. Any judge, associate judge or substitute judge of the municipal court may also be the judge, or associate judge or substitute judge of the juvenile and domestic relations court. Judges of courts not of record shall receive such compensation as the council may determine.

Section 20.08. CLERKS OF COURTS NOT OF RECORD. There shall be a separate clerk for each court not of record who shall be appointed by the court he serves.

Section 20.09. TRANSITION OF COURTS. All actions of every kind, criminal as well as civil, pending in the courts of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County on the effective date of this charter shall be transferred to and proceed to final judgment in the appropriate courts of the Consolidated City, as the judges thereof may determine. Such courts shall have full authority to issue writs, enforce judgments and decrees and exercise every manner of judicial function in relation to former actions in the courts of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk

County as though no change had been made in the status of such courts.

Section 20.10 TRANSFER OF RECORDS. Upon the effective date of this charter all records and papers of the courts of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County shall be transferred to the appropriate courts of the Consolidated City.

Section 20.11. HIGH CONSTABLE. Not later than one year after the effective date of this charter, the council shall appoint a high constable who shall serve at the pleasure of the council. He shall be the ministerial officer of the courts not of record and shall have such duties as the council may prescribe.

Section 20.12. JUSTICES OF THE PEACE. Justices of the peace, not to exceed four from the Borough of South Norfolk and not to exceed three from each of the other boroughs, shall be elected by the qualified voters of each borough. The justices of the peace holding office in the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County immediately preceding the effective date of this charter shall continue in office until the expiration of the terms for which they were elected.

Section 20.13. NOTARIES PUBLIC. Notaries public for the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County holding

commissions immediately preceding the effective date of this charter shall have full power and authority in the Consolidated City until their commissions expire.

Chapter 21

MISCELLANEOUS AND TRANSITION PROVISIONS

Section 21.01. ASSETS AND LIABILITIES. Upon the effective date of this charter, all property, real and personal, of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County, including sanitary districts therein, shall be vested in and owned by the Consolidated City, and any and all debts due the city and the county, including sanitary districts therein, shall become due to the Consolidated City. The Consolidated City shall assume the payment of all the then outstanding indebtedness, bonded or otherwise, including interest thereon, and all of the then existing contracts and any other obligations of the city and the county, including sanitary districts therein, in the same manner and to the same extent as if they were originally issued, made, entered into or arose directly by or with the Consolidated City.

Section 21.02 ELECTION OF CONSTITUTIONAL OFFICERS. The offices of clerks of the courts of record, attorney for the Commonwealth, commissioner of revenue, city treasurer and city sergeant shall be elective and filled in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and

general laws of the Commonwealth, except that the attorney for the Commonwealth, commissioner of revenue, city treasurer and city sergeant elected in November, 1963 shall serve for terms of two years so as to conform to the schedule of election of such officers for cities, and thereafter such officers shall be elected for terms of four years.

Section 21.03. POWERS AND DUTIES OF CONSTITUTIONAL OFFICERS. The clerks of the courts of record, attorney for the Commonwealth, commissioner of revenue, city treasurer and city sergeant shall have such powers and perform such duties as are provided by the Constitution of the Commonwealth, and except as otherwise provided in this charter, as are provided by the provisions of general law for cities of the first class.

Section 21.04. APPOINTMENT BY COURTS. All appointments required by this charter or by general law to be made by a court or courts of record or the judge or judges thereof shall be made by all judges of the courts of record.

Section 21.05. ORDINANCES CONTINUED IN EFFECT. All ordinances, rules, regulations and orders legally made by the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County in force immediately preceding the effective date of this charter, insofar as they or any portion thereof are not

inconsistent herewith or with the consolidation agreement between the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County, shall remain in full force and effect within the same area to which they were applicable immediately preceding the effective date of this charter until amended or repealed in accordance with the provisions of this charter or general law.

Section 21.06. HOUSING AUTHORITIES. All of the ownership, rights, title, interest, powers and obligations of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County relative to or in any manner connected with the South Norfolk Redevelopment and Housing Authority and the Norfolk County Housing Authority shall be vested in, enure to and be assumed by the Consolidated City. The members of such authorities shall continue in office until the expiration of the terms for which they were appointed.

Section 21.07. PRELIMINARY MEETINGS OF COUNCIL. At any time after the General Assembly shall have enacted this charter the councilmen for the Consolidated City are authorized and directed to meet at such times and places as they may determine for the purpose of considering the appointment of a city manager, the preparation of ordinances, appointments which are required of them and such other matters as may be necessary to effectuate the transition resulting from the consolidation of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County.

Section 21.08. REPRESENTATION IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. The granting of this charter shall in no way operate to affect or change the representation in the General Assembly of Virginia to which the people of the City of South Norfolk and Norfolk County were entitled at the time the charter was granted.

Section 21.09. SAVING CLAUSE. In the event that any portion, section or provision of this charter shall be declared illegal, invalid or unconstitutional by final judgment of any court of competent jurisdiction, such judgment shall not invalidate any other portion, section or provision hereof, but all parts of this charter not expressly held to be invalid shall remain in full force and effect.

Appendix C

Norfolk County School Board - 1962

Mr. B. M. Williams, Chairman (Washington Borough)
 Mr. C. E. Russell, Vice-Chairman (Western Branch Borough)

Mrs. J. J. Booker (Deep Creek Borough)
 Mr. H. A. Hall, Jr. (Pleasant Grove Borough)
 Mr. A. E. Roach (Butts Road Borough)

Mr. Edwin W. Chittum, Superintendent

City of South Norfolk School Board - 1962

Mr. W. Roy Britton, Chairman
 Mr. F. Jennings Richardson, Vice-Chairman

Mr. Herbert Curtis
 Mr. Graham R. Harrell
 Mr. William B. Plummer

Mr. E. E. Brickell, Superintendent

City of Chesapeake School Board - 1963

Mr. B. M. Williams, Chairman
 Mr. F. J. Richardson, Vice-Chairman

Mrs. J. J. Booker, Jr.
 Mr. H. B. Curtis
 Mr. H. A. Hall, Jr.
 Mr. G. R. Harrell
 Mr. W. B. Plummer
 Mr. C. E. Russell
 Mr. A. E. Roach
 Dr. W. S. Terry
 Mr. C. G. Wagner
 Mr. Edwin W. Chittum, Superintendent

Chesapeake City Council - January 1, 1963

Mr. Colon L. Hall, Mayor
 Mr. C. L. Richardson, Vice Mayor

Mr. F. T. Allen
 Mr. H. S. Boyette
 Mr. T. Ray Hassell
 Mr. I. H. Haywood
 Mr. D. W. Lindsay, Jr.
 Mr. H. R. McPherson
 Mr. G. A. Treakle
 Mr. Eugene P. Wadsworth

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Ramage, Robert C. "Beach-P.A. Merger Wins by Sweeping 5-1 Margin," The Virginian Pilot, (January 5, 1962).

Sallinger, Merritt "Chesapeake Fight Brews Over Apartment Project," The Ledger Star, (November 16, 1963).

"School Needs," Chesapeake Post, (May 2, 1963).

"South Norfolk," Chesapeake Post, (December 27, 1962).

"South Norfolk City Council," Chesapeake Post, (December 13, 1962).

Tazewell, William L. "County Officers Claim Merger Is Only Hope," The Virginian Pilot, (January 5, 1962).

Tazewell, William L. "School Board and Council Clash on County Merger," The Virginian Pilot, (January 13, 1962).

"We Salute Norfolk County," Chesapeake Post, (November 29, 1962).

School Board Minutes

December 8, 1961 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Norfolk County School Board.

February 9, 1962 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Norfolk County School Board.

March 16, 1962 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Norfolk County School Board.

April 6, 1962 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Norfolk County School Board.

April 23, 1962 Minutes of the Joint Meeting of the Combined School Boards of Norfolk County-South Norfolk.

June 12, 1962 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Norfolk County School Board.

July 13, 1962 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Norfolk County School Board.

August 10, 1962 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Norfolk County School Board.

September 14, 1962 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Norfolk County School Board.

September 17, 1962 Minutes of the Combined School Boards of Norfolk County-South Norfolk.

October 12, 1962 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Norfolk County School Board.

October 15, 1962 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Combined School Boards of Norfolk County-South Norfolk.

November 9, 1962 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Norfolk County School Board.

November 19, 1962 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Combined School Boards of Norfolk County-South Norfolk.

December 11, 1962 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Combined School Boards of Norfolk County-South Norfolk.

December 14, 1962 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Norfolk County School Board.

December 19, 1962 Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Combined School Boards of Norfolk County-South Norfolk.

December 28, 1962 Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Norfolk County School Board.

January 2, 1963 Minutes of the Organizational Meeting of the Chesapeake School Board.

January 11, 1963 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the School Board of the City of Chesapeake, Virginia.

February 8, 1963 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the School Board of the City of Chesapeake, Virginia.

March 8, 1963 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the School Board of the City of Chesapeake, Virginia.

March 21, 1963 Minutes of the Special Meeting of the School Board of the City of Chesapeake, Virginia.

April 19, 1963 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the School Board of the City of Chesapeake, Virginia.

May 3, 1963 Minutes of the Special Meeting of the School Board of the City of Chesapeake, Virginia.

May 10, 1963 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the School Board of the City of Chesapeake, Virginia.

June 21, 1963 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the School Board of the City of Chesapeake, Virginia.

July 12, 1963 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the School Board of the City of Chesapeake, Virginia.

August 9, 1963 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the School Board of the City of Chesapeake, Virginia.

September 13, 1963 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the School Board of the City of Chesapeake, Virginia.

October 11, 1963 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the School Board of the City of Chesapeake, Virginia.

November 8, 1963 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the School Board of the City of Chesapeake, Virginia.

December 13, 1963 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the School Board of the City of Chesapeake, Virginia.

January 10, 1964 Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the School Board of the City of Chesapeake, Virginia.

All School Board Minutes available from 1957-67 were reviewed.

Interviews

Judge Jerry Bray Judge of South Norfolk Corporation Court 1953-62, City of Chesapeake 1963-90.

Edward E. Brickell Superintendent of South Norfolk Schools 1962; he left two months before the merger of the two school systems.

Charles B. Bolton Assistant Superintendent of Schools for the City of Chesapeake 1983-91.

Mrs. J. J. Booker Member of Norfolk County School Board prior to merger and Chesapeake School Board 1963-1975.

Charles S. Brabble Longtime principal in Norfolk County, South Norfolk, and the City of Chesapeake.

Edwin W. Chittum Superintendent of Norfolk County Schools 1948-62
Superintendent of Chesapeake Public Schools 1963-75.

Lillie G. Coker Norfolk County teacher at the time of merger.

Dr. Elsie W. Craig Deputy Clerk to Norfolk County Circuit Court Clerk Charles Cross at the time of merger; later served as Principal and Director of Personnel for Chesapeake Public Schools.

Josie Gammon Teacher at the time of merger.

Lillian Hart Clerk of the Circuit Court of the City of Chesapeake.

W. A. Johnson Supervisor at the time of merger; later retired Assistant Superintendent of Chesapeake Public Schools.

Howard Lauman Principal in Norfolk County prior to merger; Principal in Chesapeake Public Schools.

Dan Linsey Councilman for the City of South Norfolk 1962; Chesapeake City Council 1963.

Howard McPherson Vice Mayor of the City of South Norfolk 1962; Chesapeake City Council 1963; second Mayor of the City of Chesapeake, September, 1963; presently member of the Chesapeake School Board.

Harry Paxson Began career as teacher and coach in South Norfolk School System 1931-38; Assistant Superintendent for Personnel in Norfolk County Schools, 1962; Assistant Superintendent of Chesapeake Public Schools.

Dr. William Terry Appointed to Chesapeake School Board at time of merger (1963) to break tie votes.

Judge Colin Hall Whitehurst Grandson of Colin Hall, first Mayor of the City of Chesapeake.

Henry I Willett, Jr. Assistant to the Superintendent of Norfolk County Schools, 1962; Assistant to the Superintendent and Clerk of the School Board for Chesapeake Public Schools.

Vita

Rebecca Clark White Adams

Birthdate: November 23, 1944

Birthplace: Danville, Virginia

Education:

1988-1992 The College of William and Mary
Williamsburg, Virginia
Certificate of Advanced Study
Doctor of Education

1973-1975 Jackson State University
Jackson, Mississippi
Master of Education

1969-1971 Duke University
Durham, North Carolina
Master of Religious Education

1963-1967 Longwood College
Farmville, Virginia
Bachelor of Science

Professional Experience:

Rebecca C. W. Adams has taught and served as an administrator in the following school systems: Richmond, Virginia; Ayrshire, Scotland (U.K.); Rankin County, Mississippi; Northampton County, Virginia; and Chesapeake, Virginia. She is presently a principal in the City of Chesapeake, Virginia. She has been on the presentation team for the International Reading Association and the National Council of Teachers of English. She has published curriculum for the United Methodist Church and the Mississippi Authority for Public Television.