

ABSTRACT

ANDREWS, VALERIE GRIFFIN. A Historical Case Study of P. W. Moore High School from 1960-1970. (Under the direction of Dr. Lance Fusarelli and Dr. Peter Hessling.)

The purpose of this qualitative, historical case study is to explore former living administrators', teachers', and students' opinions of their personal experiences while working at or attending P. W. Moore High School in North Carolina. The school's culture and leadership qualities of administrators will be examined through participants' interviews and two focus groups to determine the success and failures during the era of segregation from 1960-1970. In-depth interviews, either face-to-face or via telephone, was conducted through digital recordings by informed consent of participants. Data collection included interviews with former teachers, staff and students, personal notes, field notes, document analysis of photographs, archival official school records, audio recordings, and video tapes, memos, and a focus group. Data analysis includes ongoing, inductive, methods that typically yield verbal descriptions largely derived from interviews and observational notes. Notes and memos were analyzed for themes and patterns that are described and illustrated with examples, including quotations and excerpts. Findings are reported in Chapter four and recommendations, implications, conclusions, and directions for future research are discussed in Chapter five.

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A Historical Case Study of P. W. Moore High School from 1960-1970

by
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DEDICATION

This manuscript is dedicated to my amazing family! Thank you for being my cheerleaders and support base.

To my parents Addie and Bill Griffin for the never ending support you gave me in my efforts to complete this journey. Thank you for instilling the importance of education in me. You are and will always be my inspiration.

To my star; my daughter Jade, you are my sunshine and my light. I am so very proud of you and I love you from the bottom of my heart. Don't ever give up on your dreams because I know you are destined for greatness! Never forget that you can do all things through Christ that strengthens you.

To my husband John, a simply "thank-you" doesn't begin to express my gratitude for all the support and encouragement you have shown me through the completion of this manuscript. It has meant more to me than you will ever know.

Renita, Kenny, Nina, Billy and Manny thank you for everything. I love you all very much. Please know I am so blessed to have you a part of my life and I am grateful for you every day.

To my Elizabeth City family that came through for me and participated in this study without hesitation, I am forever grateful. Thank you for all your encouraging words and may God continue to bless each of you.

To Mrs. Virginia P. Jones, my third grade teacher and the first teacher that believed in me; thank you for pushing me to be great! Lastly, this manuscript is dedicated to Mrs. Ruth

Cooper, a classy person and phenomenal teacher. Thank you for all the lessons. Continue to rest in peace Madame Cooper, you are truly missed.

BIOGRAPHY

The coursework I received in preparation for this dissertation addressed the historical and research studies in the field of education. This paper is my first historical essay and though I am a novice in this field, I am confident this will not be my last project on segregated schools in the South during this era. Elizabeth City, North Carolina has been the hometown for my family for generations. My parents lived here and were educated here. My grandparents worked on farms while growing up and received as much formal education as they could. Although I was born at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, because my father was in the Marine Corp, when he decided not to reenlist, we returned to Elizabeth City. Being a small town, there are limited job opportunities and social activities so traveling to Norfolk, Virginia is the norm by all accounts.

My experience in the school system as a student began at the age of five when I entered first grade. My mother was employed at Elizabeth City State University so I attended preschool on the university campus and completed kindergarten at age four. I started first grade at Central Elementary when I was 4 and I turned 5 that January.

When I entered into the public schools for the 1974-1975 school year, it was not even a thought that only 6 years earlier our schools were segregated. I also had no idea about segregation, slavery or really what Martin Luther King Jr. stood for until I was in the fifth grade and viewed the movies *Roots*. At that point, it seemed as though everything unraveled for me. I watched and read everything I could on civil rights, which included the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X as well the movie, *The*

Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman. It was then I became curious about segregation in our community and how my parents dealt with it. The leaders in these movies also had a major impact on their community. Although it was performed in different ways, the end result was for a common goal of equality. My research for this dissertation has taught me a great deal about segregation in the public schools especially in the South I cannot say I ever encountered any blatant racism and I had friends and teachers that were White and Black. The principals of my elementary, middle and high schools were all White but it was not an issue for me because I was never in trouble or sent to the principal's office for anything other than running an errand. Though I was not a troublemaker in school I was not a very good student. I had no idea how to study so I did not. My grades averaged with Cs and sometimes even an F but no school administrator, teacher or counselor ever had a conversation with me so I continued to exist. I was athletic but my grades hindered me from time to time to stay on various teams. All of my coaches were White and none of them ever had a conversation with me about my grades and how to improve them. Now as I look back, I wonder if that is what they thought or expected of me.

By high school, I was still barely making it. But by my 10th grade year, I had a Black high school counselor named Ms. Anne White. She called me in and had a conversation with me about my grades and my plans after high school. She met and talked with me over the last 2 years of high school and although I did not have a great grade point average, I was accepted into a university.

Throughout my years as a student in public school (K-12), I witnessed classmates

struggle with academic, social, and developmental issues which affected them daily. In high school, I began working with children and served as a mentor. When I went to college, I knew I wanted to be a guidance counselor to help students get through one of the most difficult times in their lives as I had to endure when I was an adolescent. I wanted to give back and help others, just like Mrs.

Anne White helped me.

Years later in graduate school for my second master's degree, I knew that leadership was my passion. The administrative internship was with Mr. Daniel Callaghan, principal of a middle school in Oxford, North Carolina. There, I was afforded the opportunity to learn more about how important leadership was not only to staff but also to students and community. I had interest in effective leadership and how it could be an impetus for student achievement.

My experience as a public school educator involved working with students on all grade levels from kindergarten through twelfth grade, which was an asset for knowing what to look for in educational settings to interpret the information that I found in my study. In the public schools, I was a teacher assistant, a guidance counselor, an assistant principal on the middle and high school level, and a principal on the middle school level. I have worked with students representing the spectrum of economic means, parental support, and of various races and creeds. It has always been a goal of mine to make the culture of the school one that touched the lives of students and staff. In summary, I believe that my interest and experience are assets in this historical research quest about P. W. Moore High School. I wanted to explore the impact of administrators', teachers', and students' opinions of school leadership

and school culture had upon the people in this rural community.

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

P. W. Moore High School Song, circa 1965

Moore High the time has come for us To say fare you well
 We don't know whether to be glad or sad Old dear Moore High
 What we gave, we have Moore High What we spent, we had
 What we left we lost Moore High Oh dear Moore High
 May our future bring us happiness And be ever tall
 May we walk out your doors Moore High And never, never fall
 Please always remember The seniors of "65"

May that flame that burns for us Moore High, May it never, never die.

(Taken from P. W. Moore High School Class of 1965 class song as written in their senior yearbook)

The song listed above is the class song for 1965, which is the year my father graduated from P. W. Moore High School. According to him, his senior class was the best that ever graced the high school. However, my mother, who was in the class of 1966 at P. W. Moore High School, strongly disagrees.

According to my father, the pride he, my mother, and other family members describe about P. W. Moore comes from the dedication and commitment that the faculty, staff, and administration instilled in them during their time matriculating at P. W. Moore. Former staff members speak highly of their time at P. W. Moore as well as about the students who walked the halls there so many years ago. Alumni of P.W. Moore indicate they felt the teaching and

administrative staff had the greatest impact on them and on the culture at the school.

Problem Statement

There is limited research on the desegregation of the Elizabeth City Pasquotank School System; however, there is a documented account of the desegregation of the neighboring county of Camden. In the book, *Bringing Desegregation Home: Memories of the Struggle toward School Integration in Rural North Carolina*, Kate Willink talks about how desegregation affected the community of Camden. She stated, “Desegregation resulted in a sense of loss for both white and black communities” (p. 3). She continued, “Whites feared the loss of control of the school system and the mandated association with Black people and both communities bemoaned the loss of discipline and respect by students in the integrated schools, a change they attributed to desegregation” (Willink, 2009, p. 5). Much of what happened in the Elizabeth City Pasquotank School System when it came to desegregation efforts mirrored other small rural counties and towns in North Carolina such as Camden, Louisburg, and Williamston. Some of the larger cities such as Charlotte and Greensboro, North Carolina set the stage; not just for our state but for the nation. This study is equally important as the stories (of schools) in smaller rural areas also need to be told.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative, historical study is to tell the story of the culture and influence of working at and attending P. W. Moore High School through the eyes of living administrators, teachers, and students as well as examine the leadership and its impact on school culture from 1960 until it closed in 1970. This study documents the account of this

missing piece in Elizabeth City Pasquotank School System's history. The study also adds to the literature on the desegregation of small rural schools.

Rationale for this Study

During this decade, the events that occurred during 1960-1970 were surrounded by the Civil Rights Movement. Bus riders boycotted city buses and walked or carpooled while marchers risked their lives for freedom to be equal to Whites. The push for laws to change was met with resistance. From churches being bombed with little children killed to shootings and riots along with other forms of violence against Blacks, this seemed to be a widespread occurrence in the south. Those events were common occurrences in the South while Whites from northern regions joined in protests with Blacks to fight for equal rights after *Brown vs. Board of Education*. White supremacy organizations marched in protest and in opposition of Civil Rights marchers (History Bits, 2016).

The rationale for conducting this study was to document the history of P. W. Moore High School during the years of 1960-1970 before it is lost forever. It is important to interview former parents, teachers, and students who attended the school to express their opinions of the school culture during this era.

There is a sense of urgency to complete this study before school documents disappear and before those currently living are no longer with us. It is important to document the history of P. W. Moore High School that no longer exists, except as an elementary school in North Carolina, so adults and children who come after will learn of its culture and history. It was simply coincidental that I was born during the year that P. W. Moore High School

officially closed. Yet, here it is in 2016, nearly five decades later, that I decided to conduct a study about the school, its parents, teachers and staff, and students who worked at and attended P. W. Moore High School during 1960-1970. Being born in 1970, of course, it was impossible for me to know about the history of this renowned high school and how it survived the era of segregation along with other schools in the nation. Those events transpired only a few years prior to my birth. My parents did not discuss Civil Rights and teachers and students did not discuss or learn about it in school. When I was in the fifth grade, Alex Haley's *Roots* was televised and I was stunned. Learning about slavery and the inequities of Blacks from television was overwhelming for me. My fifth grade integrated class had many questions for our parents. The next day in school, the atmosphere of my once light-hearted class was uncomfortable. For the first time, many of us saw the colors, black and white.

At first, there were no conversations about Haley's *Roots* series, then the talk began followed by laughter and jokes about Blacks being slaves by some of the White classmates. One of my Black classmates said, "Man, black is beautiful" is what my parents told me throughout my childhood." The White classmate sat back at his desk and said, "Yeah, Black is beautiful, tan is grand but White is the color of the boss man." At that point, it was utter chaos with fighting and yelling by my classmates.

I am relating this story because with all the preparation and thoughts that the government put into desegregation, years later, the conversations still exist about if it was a good thing to integrate the public school system. If the schools were still segregated when I

was in the fifth grade, *Roots* may not have been that much of a shock to me or my classmates because we would have no doubt learned about it in school. However, if we did not integrate, how would we have learned to deal with people on equal levels not one of superiority.

Site Selection and Sample

Pasquotank County is in the northeastern section of the State of North Carolina. Perquimans, Camden, Gates, and Edenton are all neighboring counties. The present land area is approximately 227 square miles, and in the year 2000, the population was nearly 35,000. Pasquotank County was formed in 1668 as a precinct in Albemarle County, and its name is derived from an Indian word pasketanki, which means “where the current of the stream divides or forks” (Nestor, 2004).

It is not known when the first courthouse was built but from 1765 until 1785, the courthouse was in Winfield. In 1784, the courthouse was moved to Nixonton at the request of the Assembly. In 1799, Elizabeth Town (City) was named the county seat and on June 6, 1800, the first court was held there. Elizabeth City was first called *Redding*, but the name was changed to Elizabethtown in 1794. When it was realized that there were two other towns in North Carolina with the same name it was changed to Elizabeth City.

According to my 87-year-old grandmother, P. W. Moore High School was always the centerpiece of the Black community. She recalled that when the city demolished the original front and sides of the high school building, she walked over to the school that day and retrieved two bricks as a keepsake and reminder of the school. She always lived and continues to live beside the school.

My father, who was an athlete, remembered he and other students tried very hard to do the best they could in the areas of athletics and academics because it was an expectation of his teachers and their parents. According to him, several teachers and administrators made a difference in the lives of students. The leaders of this school were not only administrators; they were teachers, counselors, cafeteria workers, and any other adult who was committed to students. According to former teachers, the line was blurred between teachers and school leaders then. “Everyone did what was needed to make it through,” said Ruth Cooper, a former teacher at P. W. Moore High School. She continued, “We worked together to make sure our students achieved” (personal communication with Ruth Cooper before she died).

Today as a principal, I often see how those lines continue to be blurred because of mandated school improvement plans and professional learning communities. During the time high schools were segregated, as well as now, many teachers and leaders like those at P. W. Moore as well as at other southern schools promote a culture that went beyond the walls of the school because of their expectations of students. I believe this is what we must strive for every day in our schools now. With the constant push for positive cultures and leadership in our schools, this study allowed me to be able to look at how leadership and culture were shaped in P. W. Moore High School during this time of societal turmoil. It is my hope that in turn, this will help inform future leadership practice, particularly given increasing diversity in public schools today.

Research Questions

As I researched P. W. Moore’s history, I focused on several questions. I was

particularly interested in examining the leadership in this school and its impact on the school culture. I also wanted to have an understanding of the ramifications that leadership within the school had on the staff, community, and students of P. W. Moore High School.

The following research questions guided this study:

1. In what ways did leadership impact school culture with students and staff at P. W. Moore High School during 1960-1970?
2. How did the administrators during this time promote leadership among staff and students, and what was their style of leadership?
3. How did school culture affect student achievement during segregation?
4. Why did the school close and what factors influenced its closing?

Definitions of Terms

The following terms are used operationally in this study to provide clarity for the reader:

- *Administrators.* For the purpose of this study, administrators will be used as a broad category because several of P. W. Moore's principals are deceased and this term will include a wide spectrum of individuals to interview. Consequently, administrators will include former school principals and counselors as assistant principals were not present at P.W. Moore during this time.
- *Desegregation.* Desegregation refers to reversing racial segregation in schools, housing, employment, and criminal justice based on changing the laws in the courts (Alexander & Alexander, 1992; Bergman, 1969; U.S. Schools, 2013).

- *Dissimilarity index.* Dissimilarity index is the extent to which Black and White students are dispersed randomly among schools within a larger geographical area (Orfield, Kucsera, & Siegel-Hawley, 2012).
- *Educational leadership.* Educational leadership is defined as a process whereby one person influences others to attain group or organizational goals (Yuki, 1994).
- *Hypersegregation.* Hypersegregation is used describe the extreme forms of geographic isolation, frequently government imposed, experienced by Blacks in urban, poverty areas (Massey & Denton, 1993).
- *Intensely segregated schools:* Intensely segregated schools are defined as those schools that enrolled less than 10% White students (Ayscue et al., 2014).
- *School culture.* School culture represents faculty and staff's values and beliefs in how schools are operated and managed (Fullan, 2007).
- *Segregation.* Segregation is defined as measures of concentration, exposure, and evenness by both race and class that compelled racial groups to live apart, attend separate schools, and use separate facilities based on discrimination and racism in America (Ayscue, Woodward, Kucsera, & Siegel-Hawley, 2014).

To identify persons of African descent, Franklin and Moss (1994) provided the following descriptive terms to identify Blacks in America: African, Colored, Negro, African American, Black. All the terms, with the exception of *Black and African American*, were used interchangeably in the United States for approximately 500 years. In colonial times, the term *African* was used because Africans were taken from their native

land of Africa and brought to American on ships to be sold as slaves. Later, the term *Colored* and *Negro* were used to identify people of color. The term *African American* is used similar to Hispanic American, Asian American, etc. to define Blacks in America. The term *Black*, more recently has been used to display pride among the Black race but African American is also still used to identify Blacks. In this study, the term *Black* will be used interchangeably with the term *African American*.

Context/Background of the Study

P. W. Moore High School is located in Pasquotank County, Elizabeth City, North Carolina. Pasquotank County has a population of approximately 20,000, according to the 2009 United States Census. I was raised and educated in the Elizabeth City Pasquotank School System. My parents and grandparents, as well as a host of aunts and uncles, were also educated there. Consequently, I was interesting in learning as much about this school as possible and how its culture affected my family and our community. In addition to telling the story of P. W. Moore High School from 1960-1970, I explored the lives of former parents, teachers, and students who attended this high school and gained an in-depth understanding about its leadership and school culture as well as how it affected the school and community.

The purpose of this research was to explore the opinions of former parents, teachers, and students of P. W. Moore High School and to explore school leadership and school culture. Being from Elizabeth City and being educated in the Elizabeth City Pasquotank Public School System, as well as being a principal in North Carolina, I had a personal interest

in telling this story and yearned to see if there were any strategies used then that are similar to strategies we utilize now or strategies that we could try that would promote academic success for all students.

My parents, aunts, uncles, and other family members were educated during segregation and some were in the last graduating class of P. W. Moore High School. Other family members started at P. W. Moore High School and finished at the new integrated school that was built for the district, Northeastern High School. For the purposes of this study, I focused on the time period from 1960-1970 for P. W. Moore High School and the experiences of those students who attended during that time. I also interviewed students who started at P. W. Moore but completed their education at Northeastern High School. In addition to these students, I also interviewed a former student that began high school at P.W. Moore but completed her studies at Elizabeth City High School (the local white high school). She was one of five students that integrated this school in 1965. It was beneficial to hear their perspective of these schools, leadership and culture.

As a pilot study for one of my doctoral classes with Dr. Peter Hessling, I was able to interview two teachers who started their careers at P. W. Moore High School and who made history by agreeing to be teachers at Northeastern High School, which was the first integrated high school in Elizabeth City Pasquotank Public Schools the first year it opened. Since then, one of those teachers has passed away. I will use these teachers' interviews as well as other teachers who agreed to meet with me (who once taught at P. W. Moore High School and later transferred to Northeastern High School) to compare the differences before segregation and

after integration. It was interesting to meet and talk with them and there was a fascinating contrast about their feelings in teaching at P.W. Moore and when they taught at Northeastern.

While interviewing these people, I drew conclusions about P. W. Moore High School as being a sense of pride for them because they seemed to feel empowered and supported by the people in this building. Other studies such as, *To Be the Best School in Town: An Historical Study of Two Southern Elementary Schools* by Peter Hessling; *Education to Subordinate-Education to Liberate: An Historical Study of the Dual Role of Education for Blacks, 1865-1968* by Diane Eugene Emerson, and *The Louisburg Rosenwald School: Franklin County Training School/Riverside High School* by John Hadley Cabbage all stress the importance these schools served in the African American community. They believed the staff worked hard inside as well as outside the school to give African Americans every opportunity to be successful.

Although P. W. Moore High School has been closed for over 40 years, it was interesting to see what former staff members and students expressed about their experiences and the difference the school made to and for them. This is especially important when it comes to building a positive school culture that promotes success for teachers and students. It was also important to determine what roles staff and students played in this culture building and how this affected the community.

Further, it was interesting to explore teachers' opinions about their roles as leaders during this time and how were they appointed. How did these leaders work with other teachers to provide the opportunities for success of all students? As an educator who has

worked in several school systems, it has been my experience working in middle and high schools, Black students holistically; especially males have a more difficult time being successful in school than White students.

In an article written in 2012 for the local newspaper, my great aunt, Elizabeth Cole (who incidentally passed away 2 weeks ago) was featured and talked about being in the first grade in 1929. She attended one of the twelve public schools in Pasquotank County built with the help of local churches. Her school, called *Kehakee* had wooden stoves, no buses or lights. The restrooms were outside. The article also discussed how children walked to school usually having to rise early to do chores before going to school or only being able to go to school when it rained because any other day their assistance was needed on the farm. According to the article, it was not until 1951 that Black children began to attend new separate but equal schools in Elizabeth City as a response to those who supported such schools and facilities. (Hampton, 2012)

From a historical viewpoint, it is anticipated that this study may be valuable in extending the knowledge that exists about the history of separate but equal education and other facilities and understand subsequent desegregation of schools and other facilities in Elizabeth City, North Carolina. In addition, this study provides an understanding of racial attitudes that may have contributed to that history. This study also contributes to expanding the present knowledge of Black principal leadership, school culture, educational history, and identifies needs for staff development and community programs in the area of racial understanding and how leadership impacts school culture. The study has the potential for

guiding further efforts toward improving race relations among faculty and students in schools that enroll diverse student bodies today.

As a result of this study, educators will have a more thorough understanding of the attitudes toward school desegregation on the part of those individuals who make up the school's community. Sixty years after *Brown (Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 1954)*, African-American educators nationally do not advocate separate schooling for Black students. This study has the potential to guide and direct policy makers and educators who still struggle with the challenge of eliminating racially isolated schools by pointing out the consequences of educating students in such settings. Additionally, the study may provide direction to school leaders concerning continued efforts to desegregate historically African-American schools.

Significance of the Study

This study fills a void in the analysis of school desegregation during the 1960-1970 era by presenting the experiences of those who were directly involved in influencing the desegregation process at P. W. Moore High School. No history of the desegregation efforts in Elizabeth City, North Carolina from the perspectives of former administrators, teachers, and students has been written. Listening to the voices of the past is a way to prevent making the same mistakes in the future. A recorded account of the experiences of those who lived through the segregation and desegregation implementation from 1960 to 1970 will serve as that important link in dealing with the issues of the 21st Century. The results of this study can be useful to those leaders who are trying to deal with the dilemma of race that

administrators, teachers, and students encounter on a consistent basis. This study supplements the history of desegregation efforts in education during the decade of P. W. Moore High School's beginning existence in 1960 and its subsequent demise during the 1969- 1970 school year. Lastly this study also brings a rural small town perspective to the desegregation story that impacted larger school districts throughout North Carolina and other states the south.

Overview of Research Approach

The research approach was a qualitative, historical case study. A history is defined as “an account of some event or combination of events by discovering what has happened using records and accounts” (Marshall & Rossman, 2014, p. 119). Marshall and Rossman define narrative history as a: “qualitative method that gathers, analyzes, and interprets stories people tell about their lives” (Marshall & Rossman, 2014, p. 115). The lived stories in this study made P. W. Moore High School *come alive* in the personification of a living object. Narrative analysis can be “applied to any spoken or written account, for example, to an in-depth interview” (Marshall & Rossman, p. 118).

In-depth interviewing was the first form of data collection. Two focus groups of former students was another primary form of data collection. I included former students who were athletes when P. W. Moore High School closed and subsequently went to Northeastern High School. They were also able to participate in sports when they became students at Northeastern. In addition, data collection methods of qualitative research used for this study for triangulation are: interview transcripts with former teachers, personal comments, field

notes, document analysis of photographs, archival official school records, audio recordings, and video tapes, memos, and a focus group of former students. The existence of this school was over 40 years ago and I believed these methods were the most appropriate for me to gather information.

When I received permission from North Carolina State University Institutional Review Board, I contacted these students and teachers. I interviewed former parents, teachers, and convened two focus groups of students. I also examined historical records and documents, archival history of P. W. Moore High School, looked at artifacts such as trophies, certificates, letters, and minutes of the Board of Education, and took photos of memorabilia. I also intended to visit the office of the Board of Education in Pasquotank County to obtain permission to have access to archival and official school records of P. W. Moore High School; however I was not able to obtain this permission. When I completed the project for Dr. Hesslings' class years before, the superintendent at that time had given me complete access to any information that was housed by the Elizabeth City Board of Education with the agreement that once this study was complete I would provide a copy of this study to the Elizabeth City-Pasquotank Board of Education so they would have a documented account of this time for their records. Since I was not able to receive the approval again under new leadership, I was able to use the information I received from before as well as information found in archives at the library for the state of North Carolina.

After all interviews were recorded using audio tapes and some video recordings of individual interviews and focus group of former students, I originally intended to seek the

assistance of a designated person to transcribe the audio tapes verbatim but due to time constraints I was not able to do this. Instead I listened to the audio recordings over and over while noting key factors and themes from the interviews. I was able to examine the video recordings to observe facial expressions, gestures, and reactions to questions from some former students and staff members. After the completion of individual interviews and focus group transcriptions, I manually coded the data to look for common themes and categories.

The types of data that were collected are interview transcripts of past events, field notes, photographs, newspapers, yearbooks, relics, committee meeting records, audio recordings, videotapes, diaries, memos, official records, textbook passages, and any other data that convey actual words or actions of participants.

Historical research delves into the past and may relate the past to present events and actions (Northern Illinois University, 2013). The purpose of historical research is to gain insights or to reach conclusions about past persons or occurrences and current events. Historical studies are more than gathering factual details that are interpreted leading to researcher bias. Interpretation of non-numeric data places it in the qualitative domain. Historical studies may focus on a specific group of individuals, social issues, comparisons between old and new; for example, comparing teacher interviews with student interviews in the last three decades with current data. Some historical research seeks to reinterpret prior historical works and records called *revisionist history* (Northern Illinois University, 2013).

Data collected for this historical case study will include newspapers, committee meeting records, yearbooks, relics, photographs, and sometimes interviews with living

reporters of past events. This data will be categorized into primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are first-hand information sources, for example eyewitness reports and original documents. Secondary sources will include second-hand information such someone who heard about the event but did not experience it firsthand. A major problem with much historical research is over-reliance on secondary sources. Historical data will not be accepted at face value and I was careful to screen documents collected. Reports and testimonies reflect the interpretation of the participant and may be biased. Sources will be examined for authenticity and truthfulness using external and internal criticisms.

Chapter Summary

Chapter one introduced the study by presenting P. W. Moore High School's meaningful school song for the class of 1965. The purpose of this qualitative, historical study is to tell the story of P. W. Moore and to understand how leadership and culture at this school affected the morale of students, teachers and parents from 1960 until it closed in 1970 as a segregated high school. This study is important as there is not a documented account of this missing piece in Elizabeth City Public Schools' history. Next, the problem statement was presented and the reasons for conducting this study were outlined. Research questions were posed and definitions of terms were operationally defined.

Organization of the Study

Chapter one consists of the introduction, which presents the statement of the problem and includes four research questions. Chapter two contains a historical review of the literature including the history of school culture and leadership and how culture and

leadership looked in southern segregated schools.

Chapter three describes the research methodology used, which was narrative history: interviews with former parents and teachers, document analysis, and focus groups of former students as part of data collection. I scheduled interviews and convened former students in focus groups to obtain their opinions of P. W. Moore High School's past and present life.

Finally, I explored how leaders were appointed to their positions and how their styles of leadership impacted school culture. Chapter four presents an analysis of this qualitative, historical study about the P. W. Moore High School and interpretation of findings of the research questions. Chapter five includes a summary of findings, conclusions, and recommendations for further study.

CHAPTER 2: Review of Literature

Chapter two presents a historical view of a school that closed in 1970 but lingers in the minds and hearts of many living administrators, teachers, and students—P. W. Moore High School that is currently an elementary school in North Carolina. My research ventured into the hallways of yesterday and into the lives of living survivors who attended and worked at P. W. Moore High School. The purpose of this study is to take a look back into the past through the eyes of former parents, teachers, staff, and former students to get an in-depth view of what they witnessed during the era of separate but equal school practices in their lives as it was in the past. Some remembered passing by White schools that they could not attend in their neighborhoods and reading from second-hand textbooks while White students had brand new books. Others recalled times when they could not play against White teams or attend a White athletic event or go through the front door of a restaurant or movie theater but had to sit in the balcony to watch the same movie or wait in the back of the restaurant to be waited on.

I located information about P. W. Moore who was the founder of the Elizabeth City Colored Normal School for Blacks in Elizabeth City, North Carolina (now called Elizabeth City State University). I relied on a wide variety of data that I collected consisting of oral history interviews, and peruse personal and public documents. Digital recorders were used to document participants' experiences, their struggles, and successes during the era of P. W. Moore High School's existence and its influence on school culture.

Archival and historical records exist that serve as documentation of the segregated

role of implementing policies and practices during segregation and when segregation ended in a desegregated era. This chapter opens with a discussion on the importance of the historical perspective of the segregation and the desegregation of public schools in North Carolina. The chapter concludes by discussing how a school cultural perspective and educational leadership changed over the years. Additionally, this study sought to investigate whether leadership characteristics and strategies can be implemented presently that will assist educators in promoting a positive school culture in the post-*Brown* era.

An abundance of research is available about the separate but equal era and after the desegregation of public schools in America. For this study, the two broad categories I will study and review are the historical aspects of desegregation and the history of culture and leadership in schools with a majority Black student population. In my study of both, I will be able to see and understand the challenges and events that presented themselves during this time. Moreover, I want to see how some factors are instrumental in why some schools were successful during that time and are still in existence.

The first category of focus in the literature review is the historical aspect of school desegregation not only from a local or regional perspective but also a national one. Leaders of the movement to desegregate public schools in the post-*Brown* will be identified and court cases decisions related to the future of desegregation in the United States will be examined. Black principals and their historical perspectives during the pre-*Brown* (separate but equal) and the post-*Brown* (desegregation) eras will be presented. The second section of research in this literature review will focus on the history of culture and leadership in the public schools

especially in school, P. W. Moore High School with a Black population.

The standards and the education required for being in leadership and teaching positions will be identified as well as how these individuals were selected. The role these individuals played in the community and what the school culture was like within the school will also be examined.

Because of separate but equal laws, African American students could not attend the White high schools; so the first high school in Elizabeth City, North Carolina for African-Americans opened in 1923 as Paul Lawrence Dunbar High School. Nine years later, it was renamed P. W. Moore High School. After P. W. Moore High School closed in the 1969-1970 school year, the school was converted into a seventh grade academy for all seventh graders in the county until 1989 when it was torn down (at the disbelief and shock of former students, parents and staff), rebuilt and named P. W. Moore Elementary School.

Brown vs. Board of Education

On May 17, 1954, the Court unanimously ruled that separate but equal public schools for Blacks and Whites were unconstitutional. The *Brown* case served as a catalyst for the modern civil rights movement, inspiring education reform everywhere and forming the legal means of challenging segregation in all areas of society. Post-*Brown*, the nation made great strides toward opening the doors of education to all students. With court orders and active enforcement of federal civil rights laws, progress toward integrated schools continued through the late 1980s. Since then, all states have desegregated public schools and all public facilities for Blacks and other minorities. Historical literature on Black principals

emphasizes two areas: (a) the lives and the work of Black principals in era of segregation also known as *pre-Brown*; and (b) the employment status of Black principals immediately after the *Brown* decision in the era of integration referred to as *post-Brown*.

Historical Significance of Black School Leadership during Pre-Brown

Of historical and cultural significance is the leadership of Black principals and educators during the era of *pre-Brown*. A historical tradition of excellence in Black school leadership and an agenda for educating Black students is traced back to the 1860s when Blacks were denied an equal education with White students (Anderson, 1988; Foster, 1997a; Franklin, 1990; Pollard, 1997; Savage, 2001; Walker, 2000, 2001; Watkins, 2001). Black educators helped to build and operate public and private schools in Black communities, secured funding and other needed resources, worked with the Black community, and served both roles as educators and activists for the education of Black children. From a cultural viewpoint, the educational philosophies of Black principals generally reflected the combined philosophy of Black communities that believed education was the key to increasing the life chances of Black children.

Particularly in many small southern towns, the all-Black school was the institution that reinforced community values and served as the community's ultimate cultural symbol (Dempsey & Noblit, 1996). Educators, administrators and parents assumed a family sense of culture in educating Black children. Although schools were not integrated, they were valued and supported unconditionally by Black administrators, teachers, parents, and business leaders in the communities (Walker, 2000). While separate school systems were operating

under the law in the pre-*Brown* era, Black administrators and teachers taught and nurtured an important segment of Black communities: the children (Tillman, 2008).

Henig, Hula, Orr, and Pedescleaux (1999) noted that “By the second half of the Twentieth Century, Black teachers and principals were important role models and respected leaders in their communities. They also comprised a significant proportion of the African-American community’s middle-class” (Henig et al., 1999, p. 44). During the era of separate but equal education, Blacks were limited in the type of careers they could enter and pursue. Teaching was considered a respectable position and many Blacks entered the field of education because of this limitation and its noteworthy reputation in the Black community. Teachers were the most honored and respected members of the community second to ministers (Foster, 1997a; Orfield, 1969; Pollard, 1997; Walker, 2000, 2001).

Black principals were not only highly respectable but were also notable leaders with some of them running for political offices in their communities. Teachers were referred to as public servants. Black principals show a system of public service “which obligated those who acquired literacy to transfer this knowledge to others in the Black community” (Savage, 2001, p. 173).

Black principals endured significant discrimination along with their schools, staff, and students during the separate but equal era (Tillman, 2008). Lack of school materials and supplies, hand-me-down textbooks that were used by White schools were given to Black schools, Black students were housed in dilapidated school buildings, had large class sizes and endured much more but, those schools survived under the leadership of Black principals

during the pre-*Brown* era and the post-*Brown* era where little differences were noted in separate but equal practices (Tillman, 2008).

Sparse literature was found regarding the significance of the leadership of Black principals in the pre-*Brown* and post-*Brown* eras (Tillman, 2008). Pre-*Brown* Black principals were committed to the education of Black children, worked with other Black leaders to establish schools for Black children, and worked in all-Black schools, usually in substandard conditions with little or no financial support. Post-*Brown* Black principals implemented desegregation and educated Black children in the face of continuous opposition to integration and not without struggles (Tillman, 2008).

Pre-*Brown*, Black principals served as the link between the school and the community. These principals would encourage support from parents and the community by asking for donations to obtain resources in schools or to simply help raise money for the school. By attending professional conferences and earning graduate degrees Black principals in the pre-*Brown* era continued to model professionalism. It is also interesting to note that during this time African American women also played a role in the education of Blacks. Educated women called Jeanes Supervisors served as teachers and principals in northern and southern states between the years of 1907 until 1967 (Tillman, 2009).

Through all the literature available about the benefits of desegregation of schools, there is also literature that supports the segregation of schools by race. In B. J. Reed's dissertation, *The Brevard Rosenwald School: A Historical Case Study*, he contends that in spite of inequities, the Brevard Rosenwald School's leaders and staff were a positive

influence upon the children to describe encouraged, challenged, and supported. The Brevard Rosenwald School was a place of learning and of celebrating one's identity (Reed, 2000, p. 157).

Dr. Boyce Watkins (2013) stated in his article, "Was Integration a Good Thing for Black People? Probably Not." He stated:

The problem for our community, I humbly submit, is that we did not properly negotiate the terms of our integration. The pride that Dr. King's father instilled in him is lost for millions of youth who are being educated by people who don't care about them. Integration, for the most part, was simply prolonged assimilation, like moving into someone else's home and giving up the keys to your own. You are happy to be moving into a bigger house, but soon realize that you can't go into someone else's house and move around the furniture. Also, while you're renting a room, they are paying the mortgage, which means that their kids (not yours) are going to own the house when all the hard work is done. (Watkins, 2013, p. 5)

In the book, *The Price They Paid: Desegregation in an African American Community*, graduates from two schools: Trenholm High School, a segregated school, and an integrated school named Deshle High School in Alabama identified what made their school a *good school* (Morris & Morris, 2002). Three major factors contributed to Trenholm being a good school: (a) qualified, dedicated and caring teachers; (b) various school programs and activities; and (c) good parental and community support (Morris & Morris, 2002).

According to the graduates when the school integrated, those critical elements

gradually vanished and possibly threatened the features of a good and caring school for Black children, not only in Alabama but throughout the country (Morris & Morris, 2002). Sowell (1974) postulated that segregated schools are remembered as “atmospheres where support, encouragement, and rigid standards combined to enhance students’ self-worth and increase their aspirations to achieve” (Sowell, 1974, p. 8).

Walker (2003) devoted time and energy to explore the Black classroom and the culture that surrounds it. She stated, “The assumption that nothing good happened in segregation is incorrect and is impoverishing our ability to move forward. There was a cadre of Black educators who managed to uplift without resources during segregation” (Walker, 2003, p. 57).

With strong community support and professional educators whose training in many Southern states surpassed their White counterparts, Black children were protected in schools from the negative societal messages about their potential and encouraged to believe in what they were capable of achieving. Black teachers are protective figures for Black students by supporting their families and other siblings in the school (Soli, McHale, & Feinberg, 2009). Walker (2003) disagreed that segregation was a bad event and desegregation was good for Black students in public schools. Walker believes that the sense of loss for Black students when schools desegregated was something that is still felt.

One of the major results of desegregation was Black principals and assistant principals either lost jobs or were demoted (Tillman, 2008). Those fortunate enough to keep their jobs became disconnected with their schools. Additionally, teachers reported having

difficulty impacting students' school experiences and social conditions that influenced their educational success (Pollard, 1997).

In an article, *The Architects of Black Schooling in the Segregated South: The Case of One Principal Leader*, Walker (2003) identified three forms of resistance to school desegregation. The first type of resistance was Southern Whites simply ignored the Federal mandates to integrate schools. Rather than preparing for the integration of schools, legislative officials sought ways to undermine the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision.

The second type of resistance to integration was done by individual citizens and the local government who did not comply with the mandates and resisted the inevitable concept of desegregation. Many demonstrations of protests in the streets were against Black children being allowed to attend schools with White children. The last form of resistance to desegregation was to preserve White superiority by maintaining power and control of schools by demoting principals and assistant principals and placing White principals in Black schools.

As part of the political resistance to desegregation in North Carolina between 1963 and 1970 and under the Pearsall Plan, White parents were issued vouchers that would pay for their children to attend private schools (Walker, 2003). Schools were closed to avoid integration of Blacks attending White schools. A small number of Black principals existed with only 30% surviving and the jobs gradually diminished, even in Black schools that were still in existence (Walker, 2003). The "number of Black principals declined from 160 to fewer than 10" (Walker, 2003, p. 56). Neighborhood schools eventually were closed and

became abandoned and boarded up (Walker, 2003).

There is not an abundance of literature on the topic of Black principals and how they led and built culture during the difficult time of segregation in history during 1960-1970 era. The next section of this literature review will focus on the culture and leadership of Black schools and principals. According to Diane Pollard (1997), the limited amount of research on Black principals and their leadership during the era of desegregation during 1960-1970 falls into two categories: (1) kinds of problems administrators face, and (2) Black school administrators as successful school and community leaders who are particularly committed to the education of Black children (Pollard, 1997). For the purpose of this study, I will focus on the second area, which highlights the leadership of Black principals in schools and communities during the pre-*Brown* and post-*Brown* eras.

Black Principals in the Pre-*Brown* Era

Historians focus on archival research and interviews with Black principals who were appointed to leadership positions immediately after the slaves were freed in 1863. This time was during the Emancipation Proclamation by President Abraham Lincoln when the slaves were freed and was later traced into the early 1950s (A & E Television Networks, 2015; Tillman, 2008). Today's Black principal's role in educating Black students is the focus of the majority of the research in the south during the post-*Brown* era.

During the early 1800s through the late 1800s, Black principals and community leaders held leadership roles as school headmasters of common schools for Black students. In addition, Blacks held prominent positions as presidents of Historically Black Universities and

Colleges (HBCU). Earlier research shows several HBCU that were outstanding colleges and universities including Morris *Brown* College (Atlanta, Georgia), Tuskegee University Institute (Tuskegee, Alabama), and Hampton University (Hampton, Virginia; Anderson, 1988; Butchart, 1988; Franklin, 1990; Jones, 2003).

The First All-Black Schools in the South

In the segregation era, Black students were isolated and could not attend schools with White students (Rothstein, 2013). As a result, Blacks began to establish schools for only Black students. Due to lack of funds from the Federal and state governments, Blacks were crowded into one-room school houses for all grades and one teacher who was also generally, the headmaster or principal of the school. In 1865, Blacks established the Zion School that was one of the first all-Black schools in the South. The faculty and staff were also Black (Anderson, 1988).

Anderson (1988) noted, “Black Southerners were freed during the same time that education for Whites was transformed into a highly formal and critical social institution” (Anderson, 1988, p. 2). Black students were educated in separate schools, as Blacks gained access to education under those circumstances. In contrast for Whites, education is an entitlement (Anderson, 1988).

Not much has changed currently compared to the post-*Brown* era of integration because some Black students are still attending schools in their neighborhoods that are all-Black and separate schools (Rothstein, 2013). Many White families moved out of the integrated neighborhoods where Black families moved and created yet another segregated

school community. Thirty-nine percent of Black children are from families with incomes below the poverty line of \$15,000, compared with 12 percent of White children above the poverty line of \$30,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Twenty-eight percent of Black children live in high-poverty neighborhoods, compared with 4 percent of White children (Casey, 2013). The Annie E. Casey Foundation defines a high-poverty neighborhood as one where 30 percent or more of families have incomes below the poverty line.

Earliest Known Black Principals

One of the earliest known Black principals was Booker T. Washington, who founded Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute (Anderson, 1988). Students who attended Hampton and Tuskegee were typically older and were denied the opportunity to participate in structured education in the years immediately following slavery. Washington was assigned as a principal during a period of history when the education of former slaves was primarily organized by White humanitarians and entrepreneurs. Whites believed Blacks should be trained rather than educated. The goal was not to educate Blacks in skills that benefitted them or the economic development of the South (Anderson, 1988).

With that in mind, Blacks were trained in manual labor programs instead of academic studies at Hampton Institute in 1879 by Booker T. Washington (Anderson, 1988). To accommodate the working schedule of Blacks, the program operated at night all through the week and year for a full 2 years (Anderson, 1988). Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute was established in 1868 in Virginia. The Institute's curriculum, values, and ethos represented social class and ideology as the moral foundation of the Sabbath schools, free

schools, public schools, and the colleges represented the social and cultural values of ex-slaves. Hampton's manual labor program was "designed as an ideological force that would provide instruction suitable for adjusting Blacks to a subordinate social role in the emergent new south" (Anderson, 1988, p. 36). Black students had to learn the basic skills in reading, writing, and mathematics in schools for Blacks, however, cooking, sewing, farming, and learning Christian morals were emphasized in the church and home (Anderson, 1988).

Teacher Training at Hampton-Tuskegee Institute

In contrast to Hampton, the Hampton-Tuskegee curriculum was not focused on trade or agricultural training as it began at Hampton Institute in 1879 with manual labor training. But the curriculum was centered on the training of teachers (Anderson, 1988). One of the conditions for admission to Hampton was the intention to remain at the institute and become a teacher as a profession. This goal was achieved because 84% of the 723 graduates from Hampton's first 20 classes became teachers. The primary goal of the program was to work the prospective teachers long and hard so they would exemplify, accept, and expound an ethic of hard work of the dignity and labor that it took to become a teacher.

Samuel Chapman Armstrong, who was a White man, founded the Hampton Model of Normal School Industrial Education for Blacks. He believed that prospective teachers should be worked long and hard so they would be able to accept the "dignity of labor". Then he believed that these prospective teachers would develop the appropriate values and character to teach the children of the South's distinctive laboring class of Black teachers (Anderson, 1988).

Like other normal schools of the 19th Century, Hampton offered a curriculum of 2 or 3 years in length with no bachelor's degree conferred (Anderson, 1988). Most of Hampton's beginning students only had less than adequate elementary education and had not graduated from high school. When students successfully completed the normal school program, their education was equivalent to that of a tenth grade program (Anderson, 1988). With that education level, individuals could pursue a common school teaching certificate. Students who graduate from normal schools were considered less educated, poorer, and older than college students (Anderson, 1988). Individuals, however at those normal schools were recruited as "worthy colored youth" who would make the best teachers (Anderson, 1988).

Black Principals in the Post-*Brown* Era

After the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954) decision, Black principals in the post-*Brown* era faced different types of challenges than forerunners in the pre-*Brown* era. In the "desegregated schools of the South and North, the roles of Black principals were more complex" (Tillman, 2008, p. 180). Rodgers' (1967) study of Black high schools described Black principals as superintendents, supervisors, family counselors, financial advisors, community leaders, employers, and politicians.

The so-called *inferior Black school* argument was not the sentiment held by all Black parents. In fact, many Black parents considered Black schools *good schools* that had highly capable staff that were competent to teach and educate all students (Blanchett, Mumford, & Beachum, 2005). Black parents argued against desegregation in favor of equitable resource distribution and a more inclusive society where White children and Black children lived,

learned, and played together (Blanchett et al., 2005).

Scholars conducting research on the education of Blacks in the post-*Brown* era often focused on the importance of the leadership of Black principals in good schools (Lightfoot, 1983; Sowell, 1976), leadership role identity (Lomotey, 1989, 1993), relationships between segregated schools and the community (Walker, 1993, 1996b), caring forms of leadership (Lyman, 2000), and Black women in principal positions (Bloom & Erlandson, 2003; Dillard, 1995; Doughty, 1980; Reitzug & Patterson, 1998). Dillard's (1995) research on the leadership of a Black female principal also represented research on a caring leader. The focus of Lightfoot's (1983) research was on good high schools, but the leadership styles of the principals of those schools were a consistent focus in her work.

Post-*Brown* saw a decrease in the number of Black principals. In Linda Tillman's article in 2009, Etheridge (1979) states that, "Whites believed that Black principals had been ineffective in educating Black children. Expert witnesses who testified during a series of post-desegregation legal proceedings called for the dismantling of all Black Schools and replacing Black principal with Whites (Tillman, 2009)."

According to Tillman (2009), there were four primary means to demote and fire principals:

- (a) They were demoted to teaching or nonteaching positions.
- (b) Their schools were downgraded to lower grade levels.
- (c) They were allowed to retain their title but with no real power.
- (d) They were given "paper promotions" to central office positions with no influence.

Many Black principals worked solely in elementary and junior high schools as a result of these practices. Other Black principals were assigned to schools where the decision-making authority was given to a White assistant.

These practices forced Black principals to work almost exclusively in elementary and junior high schools and to work in schools where decision-making authority was allocated to a White assistant. These practices took place mainly in south or rural areas. In larger more urban areas Black principals who retained their positions usually worked in districts with large populations of Black students (Tillman, 2009).

Thomas Sowell who was born in North Carolina and is an American economist, social theorist, political philosopher, and author sought to identify the factors that contributed to “Black excellence, its sources, and its wider implications for contemporary education and for social policy in general.” Sowell (1976) studied six all-Black high schools and two all-Black elementary schools. The high schools studied by Sowell were Black high schools with the highest number of alumni with earned doctorates from 1957 through 1962. The two elementary schools in the sample had records of high academic achievement. Principals in each of the schools examined were part of the reason why Black students performed well academically and professionally. A history of educational excellence at each school and strong leaders committed to the education of Black children were two prominent factors that were the focus in Sowell’s studies. His study also identified several questions that were raised.

1. “Is black "success" largely an individual phenomenon-simply "cream rising to the top"-or are the successes produced in such isolated concentrations as to suggest powerful forces at work in special social or institutional settings?”
2. “Does the environment for successful black education have to be a special "black" environment-either culturally, or in terms of the race of the principals and teachers, or in terms of the particular teaching methods used?”
3. “How much of the academic success of these schools can be explained as a product of the "middle-class" origins of its students?”
4. “How important was the surrounding community as an influence on the quality of education in these schools?”
5. “How many of the assumed "prerequisites" of quality education actually existed in these outstanding schools?”
6. “What kind of individual was shaped by these institutions (Sowell, 1976)?”
Sowell concluded his study by identifying the principal’s character and ability were the critical factors in the success of the school and student success (Sowell, 1976).

Sowell’s (1976) research not only focused on the prominence of those schools in the pre-*Brown* and early post-*Brown* periods but also documented a decline in those prominent factors during post-*Brown* era. Not only were the schools affected but the cities were also impacted as victims of the change of metropolitan cities. Large urban cities that flourished as

utopias of educational, economic, and social excellence ultimately turned into areas of crime, blight, White flight from neighborhoods, paucity, and continuous deterioration. Schools no longer had students with high test scores who earned many rewards, and served the community. Black students graduated in high numbers and did well professionally. The reverse became true for those neighborhoods. Low test scores existed, decaying and crime-ridden neighborhoods, poverty and violence, lack of parental support, and ongoing discipline problems emerged (Sowell, 1976).

Leadership of Black Principals

In the preface of his book, *Leading Minds: An Anatomy of Leadership*, Howard Gardner (1995), a professor at Elizabeth A. Hobbs Professor of Cognition and Education and Adjunct Professor of Psychology at Harvard Graduate School of Education defines leadership as, “A leader is an individual who significantly affects the thoughts, feelings, and/or behaviors of a significant number of individuals” (Mendels, 2012, p. 21). This definition could fit the mold during pre-*Brown* and post-*Brown* for Black principals, especially in the south. The Wallace Foundation is a national philanthropy that seeks to improve learning and enrichment for disadvantaged children and enhance the arts (Mendels, 2012). In a report published by the Wallace Foundation, five practices seemed central to effective school leadership:

1. Shaping a vision of academic success for all students, one based on high standards;
2. Creating a climate hospitable to education in order that safety, a cooperative

spirit, and other foundations of fruitful interaction prevail;

3. Cultivating leadership in others so that teachers and other adults assume their part in realizing the school vision;
4. Improving instruction to enable teachers to teach at their best and students to learn at their utmost; and
5. Managing people, data and processes to foster school improvement. (Mendels, 2012, p. 35)

Findings from the Wallace Foundation revealed when principals put each of these elements in place and in harmony, principals stand a fighting chance of making a real difference for students (Mendels, 2012). Those statements were true when schools were segregated and Black principals not only had to be excellent leaders in the school but also excellent leaders in the community, often times without full resources as in White schools. During pre-*Brown* era, the Black high school principal was one of the most powerful and influential members of the community who was forced to endure controversial situations dealing with desegregation. Principals also had “control and authority over most decisions in the Black school system as long as they effectively controlled the Black schools” (Willink, 2009, p. 45).

Advanced Training and Degrees for Black Principals Obtained in the North

Many Black principals went north to obtain advanced degrees since segregation was more pronounced in southern states in higher education than in the north. Universities in the north were more liberal and admitted Blacks more readily than those universities in the

south. During segregation, Blacks were not allowed to or were denied entry into universities in the south (Willink, 2009). In the north, Blacks received training in pedagogy and administration that were shared among Black colleagues. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, Pasquotank and Camden counties formed a club called the *Schoolmasters Club* consisting of principals and assistant principals who attended various universities and obtained higher educational degrees. Blacks formed this club to serve as a sharing of information, ideas, and techniques with others in academia (Willink, 2009, p. 79).

Characteristics of Black Education within Segregated Schooling Contexts

Among the Black school, the family, and the community dependence on one another was the foundation of educational success relished by Black students during the pre-*Brown* era (Horsford, 2010). There was value in segregated schools with extraordinary teachers who cared about and knew all of the students and their families, teachers who relished in the curriculum and participated in after school activities with students. Parental involvement was high and discipline problems were low because all teachers had to do was report a problem to parents and it was resolved. The leadership of the school included concerned principals who listened not only to teachers' problems, but also gave a listening ear to students and their concerns (Walker, 2000)

Loss of Values

With integration, Black schools seemed to have lost the concept of school family where *everybody knows everybody* and schools rally around families and Black families have lost the sense of family where support is always present from schools to families. Parents do

not have or take the time to talk with their children about what is going on in class and school. Many are busy and hurried with work as they try to earn a living to purchase nice homes and cars, and clothes for their children. Children are kept busy by watching television, playing video games, and talking on cell phones in both affluent and less affluent homes. Teachers are evaluated based on standardized test scores and not by how well students perform on classroom tests and behave in school. Schools have become failing schools if students with language deficits from English language learners and students with disabilities do not perform as well as other students, as the gap widens in student achievement between Black and White students (Walker, 2000).

Interpersonal Caring

Interpersonal caring is “a form of meeting the needs that teachers and principals perceived the students to have” (Walker & Archung, 2003, p. 33). Interpersonal caring was demonstrated by teachers of people who were no longer considered slaves and those freed from segregated schools. According to Foster (1997b), this form of caring is historical in nature and represents the “collaborative dynamic to student empowerment and achievement in schools within the African American community” (p. 109). This practice of compassion at the school level is institutional caring or “the system in the school whereby school leaders identified the “academic, social, and psychological needs of students much as a caring individual teacher might and, through the school’s policy, arranged for those needs to be met” (Walker & Archung, 2003, p. 34).

Institutional Caring

Compassion was displayed through after school clubs, religious services in church, and activities that validated school and community values, and highlighted student talents and interests (Horsford, 2010). Institutional caring exemplifies the type of leadership practiced in segregated schools. Morris's (1999) conception of communal bonds symbolizes how "all-Black schools historically involved African American families in the affairs of the school as well as functioned as stabilizing institutions for African American communities" (p. 602). Participation and ownership among educators, parents, and community members and the school were shared and entrenched within and interdependent to the Black community (Horsford, 2010).

The concept of interpersonal and institutional caring and communal bonds characterize the school-family-community relationships of good Black schools that valued success achieved by the group more than by an individual (Morris, 1999). Working together in a collaborative way, the school, the family, and the community were connected to make the school valued by everyone (Walker, 2000). Fairclough (2004) conducted a historical study of Black teachers in era of segregation in the South.

Fairclough asserted, "Black teachers, pupils, and parents formed an organic community that treated schooling as a collective responsibility. Schools were places where order prevailed, where teachers commanded respect and where parents supported the teachers" (Fairclough, 2004, p. 3).

Fairclough (2004) wrote in an article entitled *The Costs of Brown: Black Teachers and School Integration*, “The notion that integration destroys something uniquely valuable to African Americans in the South has been powerfully influenced by memories of and about Black teachers” (p. 2). Fairclough discovered from former students of segregated schools who “have testified to the commitment and skill that those men and women brought to the classroom in the era of Jim Crow” (p. 3). Fairclough interviewed former students who recalled segregation as encouraging “a special sense of dedication in Black teachers who helped compensate for the material deficiencies of the schools” (p.3).

The Decade of Separate but Equal Education, 1960-1970

For decades in America, Black students still attend and schools still operate in segregated environments. Blacks attend schools in their neighborhoods and Whites attend schools in their neighborhoods schools. While many Blacks may not be able to afford to purchase homes in White neighborhoods, those neighborhoods are more than likely segregated, which in turn, make the schools segregated—again (Civil Rights Project, 2013). The Southern and Western regions of the United States are the two largest regions where students of color currently contain the majority of public school enrollment (Civil Rights Project, 2013).

On a national level, the typical Black or Latino student attends school with a considerable majority of children in poverty, twice the percentage in schools where White and Asian students attend (Civil Rights Project, 2013). This research by the Civil Rights Project includes a comprehensive report on national developments in segregated schools, *E*

Pluribus... Separation: Deepening Double Segregation for More Students, and two smaller local reports, *The Western States: Profound Diversity but Severe Segregation for Latino Students*, and *Southern Slippage: Growing School Segregation in the Most Desegregated Region of the Country*. Combined, those three reports show segregation is markedly increasing across the U.S. for Hispanic and Latino students, who attend more segregated and impoverished schools than ever. The segregation level growths for Hispanics and Latinos are most noted in the West and for Blacks in the South (Civil Rights Project, 2013). Regardless of declining segregation in the housing industry for Black families, and a significant movement of Black families to the suburbs in some parts of the South, school segregation for Black students is still growing rapidly (Civil Rights Project, 2013). Similar to Hispanics and Latinos, school segregation is on the increase in the South for Black students. This surge led the nation in school integration after the 1960s desegregation struggles were in effect (Civil Rights Project, 2013). Those three reports concluded that sitting next to a White student in an integrated classroom does not increase student achievement for a Black student (Civil Rights Project, 2013).

Lack of Resources in Black Schools

Under the laws of desegregation during the post-*Brown* era, it seems logical that Black students would fare better in schools with White students who have far better resources and support than Black schools for Black students (United States Department of Education, 2014). Yet that was not the case because during the desegregation era, Black children continued to learn in dilapidated school buildings with little heat and often times no

ventilation, class sizes were large, and teachers were not supported with professional staff development to improve their teaching (United States Department of Education, 2014). Equal with inequity was the premise of discrimination that was related to lack of academic performance among Black students (Rothstein, 2013).

Separate but equal education is directly related to other serious problems including low graduation rates, high school dropout rates, lack of highly qualified teachers many of whom are inexperienced, fewer resources in Black schools than White schools, and unequal educational opportunities (Civil Rights Project, 2013). The resources include experienced teachers and advanced staff development courses that are more consistently found in predominately White and affluent schools than poor Black schools. Such available resources create unequal educational opportunities and become disadvantages for Blacks, Latinos, and Hispanics in segregated schools (Civil Rights Project, 2013).

School Culture and School Leadership in Separate but Equal Schools

In researching information about Black principals, the review of literature reveals sparse evidence regarding how schools are managed and how school culture was refined during the period of segregation. Black administrators managed schools from the end of slavery until presently. Those administrators' roles are critical in shaping school culture and school leadership, especially during the segregation era (Pollard, 1997). As an administrator, setting the tone and maintaining a positive culture for the school is one of the most important things to promote academic success and student growth (Bredeson, 2000). Administrators should promote a culture that portrays encouragement and high academic achievement

among students. Teachers, parents, community members, and students experience a positive presence of school culture and witness the visibility of the principal throughout the school's environment (Hatchett, 2010).

According to Fullan (2007), school culture means the guiding beliefs and values based on a school's operation and management. Rather than the school's operation as described by Fullan, Tillman's (2004) definition depends on a group's collective way of thinking, knowing, and believing in the shared experiences and skills of others. The school culture of a school managed by a Black principal is based on the cultural norms of the Black community and its leaders (Tillman, 2004).

Visiting businesses and meeting community leaders and providing support to faculty and staff, parents, and students are ways that some principals build school culture. If school culture is lacking, principals are generally responsible for setting the tone and developing school culture (Walker, 2003). Some examples of showing support are creating schools for Black students, providing financial support for existing schools, using the church to promote education, lobbying White school leaders for school reform measures, organizing local meetings to plan strategies to improve education, and engaging in numerous direct protest measures (Walker, 2000).

Black principals nurture and encourage students in ways that may be absent in many predominately urban schools (Tillman, 2008). With the respect and support of parents, those principals knew that they had the best opportunity to make a difference in lives of the students they were entrusted to serve. Rosenholtz (1985) asserts that school culture changes

significantly when experienced teachers become isolated as they attempt to solve problems related to students' learning.

In 2001, Savage conducted research called *The Agency of Black Teachers and Principals in Franklin, Tennessee* between 1890 and 1967. She found different principal leadership styles but a common theme existed in their stories. The common theme for Black principals was working to provide an education to all Black children under hostile conditions. Discriminatory practices and policies were difficult to overcome but doing so led to a substantial change by adding more academic courses to existing courses (Tillman, 2008).

Chapter Summary

Chapter two provided a review of literature that presented school culture and school leadership of Black principals during the time of mandated segregated schools in the South. The literature review included the expertise of Vanessa Siddle Walker (1996a) and Linda Tillman (2008) who dedicated years to studying the history of segregation. It is important to note that this chapter also gave life to the practices of administrators during this time and how they not only moved a culture within their school, but also within the community.

Chapter three will provide a detailed description of the planned methodology for this historical case study to explore the opinions of former administrators, teachers and staff, and students regarding working and attending P. W. Moore High School in North Carolina.

CHAPTER 3: Methodology

The purpose of this qualitative, historical case study is to understand how school leadership and school culture at P. W. Moore High School, a segregated high school, affected teachers, students, and the Elizabeth City community from 1960 until it closed in 1970. This study explored opinions of former parents', teachers' and students' experiences at the high school, and how their experiences influenced the school culture. Qualitative methods were used to record participants' opinions of their lived experiences at the school.

Qualitative research refers to “those methods that produce descriptive data about a phenomenon and the attempt to let us see the phenomenon as they are seen or experienced by participants” (Pickering, 1980, p. 1). People are best suited for the task of qualitative inquiry focusing on meaning in context. It is important that the data collection instrument is sensitive when gathering, collecting, and interpreting data (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Qualitative researchers want to understand the how and why people use their experiences to shape their lives and what meaning they give to these experiences (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

With this study I observed and asked questions that allowed me to have a better understanding of this time in history. It was important for me to also be flexible and comfortable with the process of qualitative research. Merriam and Tisdell (2016) reported in their book, *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation* that, “Given the nature and characteristics of qualitative research”, the following competencies are desirable and these following characteristics identify what I am undertaking in my research and are

consistent with what Merriam and Tisdell states in their book:

1. A questioning stance concerning your work and life context. Qualitative research is a means of answering questions so you must first look with a questioning eye as to what is happening in your life. Why are things the way they are?
2. High tolerance for ambiguity. The design of a qualitative study is flexible, relevant variables are not known ahead of time, findings are inductively derived in the data analysis process, and so on. Thus, one has to be comfortable with the flow of a qualitative investigation and trust the process.
3. Being a careful observer. Conducting observations is a systematic process.
4. Asking the right questions. Interviewing is often the primary data collection strategy in qualitative studies. Getting accurate data in an interview is dependent on asking well-chosen open-ended questions that can be followed up with probes and request for more detail.
5. Thinking inductively. Data analysis requires the ability to think inductively, moving from specific raw data to abstract categories and concepts.
6. Comfort with writing. Since findings are presented in words (sometimes also making use of images), not numbers as with quantitative research, a report of qualitative study requires more writing. The final product is typically longer than a quantitative write-up. (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 18)

Though there are several methods to use qualitative research, Merriam and Tisdale (2016)

chose six methods: basic qualitative research, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, narrative analysis, and case study. The method chosen for this study is case study, which is defined as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident (Yin, 2009, p. 16). Narrative theory/oral history uses personal stories and experiences of a person/people to understand the meaning of human experience (Marshall & Rossman, 2014, p. 115). Oral history was also a big part of this study as the personal experiences and stories from participants helped me to identify and understand why this school and this time meant so much to them.

Research Design

A qualitative, historical case study is the research design I selected for this study. In-depth interviewing with former administrators and teachers is described as “a conversation with a purpose” (Kahn and Cannell, 1957, p. 149). Qualitative, in-depth interviews are similar to conversations with individuals that you may or may not know, but there are predetermined response categories (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). Some degree of synthesizing information and questioning must occur, especially in a multi-site case study or when I am interviewing participants. The information received from this study actually came from these “conversations with a purpose”. All of the participants in study were happy and eager to talk about their experiences with P.W. Moore High School.

Selection of Participants

Many of the former students and teachers still reside or have relocated back to

Elizabeth City over the years and since I still have family that reside there as well, having conversations and interviews in Elizabeth City will be a fairly comfortable and easy task. The P.W. Moore class of 1966 had a class reunion the weekend of August 19-21, 2016 and it was phenomenal. This was a great time to speak with former students and possibly teachers. It was my intent to personally recruit former parents, faculty, staff, and students to voluntarily participate in my study. The weekend prior to the reunion, I reserved a private conference room for the focus group interviews. The participants in the focus group also recommended others for me to contact to also be a part of our group and in the end I had a total of 8 former students participating in the two focus groups. I visited former teachers and parents individually in their homes which seemed to be most comfortable for them. I was able to find time within the participants schedule that they agreed to be interviewed. The interviews averaged forty-five minutes to an hour long depending on the participant. I was careful not to intrude excessively on their time.

For the purpose of this study, I interviewed four teachers/staff, three former parents and a total of eighteen former students (focus group participants and participants that were interviewed at the class reunion) and who attended or worked at P. W. Moore during 1960-1970. I identified people to speak with by reaching out to family, friends and people in the community that I knew had been a part of the P.W. Moore High school era. Once I “officially” spoke with them about my study and asked if they would be willing to speak to me, all of them eagerly agreed and even recommended others. I used the word *officially* because I have unofficially, verbally, and informally talked with several individuals over the

past years about P. W. Moore High School even before this study was a reality.

Former students still talk about P. W. Moore High School with such pride. Although I did not attend the school when it was a high school, I still recall all the stories surrounding the students and faculty. When I attended the building in middle school (as the building was used for all 7th grade middle school students when the integrated high school was completed for the 1969- 1970 school year), I was so excited to be in the building that I had heard so much about. I remember asking my parents where were their lockers located or where did they sit when they were in the cafeteria. In securing former students and faculty to contribute to this study, I knew that it was important for me to have knowledge and experience in the Elizabeth City Pasquotank School System as well as a background and experience in the community. This not only builds trust but also allows people to comfortably talk with me about their experiences good or bad within the school and community.

Sampling Method

I will choose former students, parents, and teachers who were all employed at P. W. Moore High School during 1969-1970. I received referrals from current participants regarding the whereabouts of additional staff and/or students. This sampling process is called snowballing or snowball sampling. By asking a number of people to refer me to others allows the snowball (or reference pool) to increase as new information is accumulated to produce in-depth, productive cases (Patton, 2015, p. 298). A variation of snowballing is called chain referral sampling (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981) where a participant is located through another. For example, I may ask one of the former teachers who completed an

interview to suggest another person who has knowledge of a particular area or topic and would be willing to take part in my study. In turn, he or she will refer other individuals.

Johnson (2002) defines “snowball sampling when researchers do not know whom to include” (p. 111). Typically used in interviews, the researchers ask the interviewees if there are other people they should interview. They would continue in this manner until “no new names are suggested and the list of names has been saturated” (Johnson, 2002, p. 111).

Snowballing was the primary sampling source to obtain former teachers and students who are willing to talk to me about their experiences. I knew that a participant referring others would be a valuable resource and provide information about others who have knowledge and experience regarding P. W. Moore High School and the effect it had on them and the community. These people were willing to talk to me about their personal experiences while working or attending P. W. Moore High School. I provided a level of comfort for the focus group of former students by convening a group discussion to bring a sense of connection with former classmates. This type of camaraderie allowed me to retrieve needed data for my study. This strategy was a success as the participants in both focus groups shared personal experiences as well as experiences all had been a part of.

When retrieving information about P. W. Moore High School for one of my doctoral classes I used “snowballing” which allowed me to talk to several participants and gather a great deal of information. Since this was a success, I knew that snowballing would be imperative for me to utilize once I began writing and conducting research for my study. Initially, I looked for people who may have been familiar with P. W. Moore High School at

the local central office and from there a referral was made for me to go to the elementary school. I was given permission to look through all the documents from the high school that was left in the basement. It is my belief that in any historical case study where you are seeking participants, snowballing is imperative people that can provide you with the rich data you will need for the study. I continued to talk to participants until there was data saturation which refers to when you are not obtaining any new information from your interviews or research. Basically at that point you have gained enough information to cap off your research.

After reading to attain general information about segregated schools in the south and the impact they had upon local citizens, I formulated interview questions based on my research questions. I also determined that interviews would be about thirty minutes to one hour in duration unless there is a group interview. I took notes and used audio/video tape, as the interviewee would allow. I structured these discussions loosely enough to allow the participants to add information, which they determined to be significant. I wanted the respondents to tell me why they perceive the school had the greatest impact upon them and I was impressed yet pleased with the results of these conversations.

Instrumentation

The interviewees can contribute the element of oral history to this study. As P. W. Moore High School served through 12th grade from 1960 until the spring of 1969, faculty members who were present during these years of the school are scarce; so I relied on the interviews from those who were students during that time. I open my sample size in this study until I reach the desired number of participants. Patton (2002) stated that “there are no

rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry” (p. 311). Sample size depends on what you want to know, the purpose of the research, what can be done with the time and resources that are available and lastly, what is most important to the study. It is imperative that I speak to as many participants that I can and who are willing to allow me to interview them until at which time new information is not being obtained.

Research Questions

As I researched the history of P. W. Moore, I focused on several questions. In addition to telling the story of P. W. Moore, I was particularly interested in examining the leadership in this school and its impact on the school culture. I also wanted to have an understanding of the ramifications that leadership, within the school, had on the staff, community, and students of P. W. Moore High School.

The following research questions will guide this study:

1. In what ways did leadership (including teachers) impact culture at P. W. Moore High School during 1960-1970?
2. How did the administrators during this time promote leadership among staff and students, and what was their style of leadership?
3. How did school culture affect student achievement during segregation?
4. Why did the school close and what factors influenced its closing?

Data Collection

To obtain as much information as possible about P. W. Moore High School, my first destination was to visit Pasquotank Board of Education where I spoke with the then

superintendent Mr. Linwood Williams. Mr. Williams allowed me complete access to board notes and documents during 1960-1970. At that time, the current school board secretary was also very helpful. The only request that Mr. Williams had was if I would provide a copy of the completed dissertation that could be housed at the Board of Education in Elizabeth City.

Originally, the superintendent's secretary informed me that there were two boards of education during this time. However, once I arrived she informed me that there was only one board for the Black and White schools which astounded her. I was able to obtain the board minutes from the time the schools merged and supporting documents including personnel information about what teachers would teach at the new high school, graduation rates, and course offerings at the individual schools during this time.

The secretary then directed me to P.W. Moore Elementary School to see if any information was still there. She actually called ahead for me and the principal at the time was waiting for me when I arrived. I spoke with him for a few minutes and he directed me to a closet in the back of the school where I located six file cabinets that contained various newspaper articles and other documents about the school, before and during desegregation. I collected a personal account written by a Black female student who attended Elizabeth City High School several years before the county officially desegregated in the fall of 1970.

In addition to these locations, I also went to Elizabeth City State University library and the local public library where I was surprised there was very limited information there about P.W. Moore High School and the desegregation of the school system.

Focus Groups and Personal Interviews of Former Students, Teachers and Parents

I interviewed former teachers, parents and students that agreed to talk to me. I collected data in 3 ways:

1. Individual interviews
2. Group interviews
3. Documents and notes from this time period

Bill Gillham stated in his book, *Research Interviewing: The Range Of Techniques: A Practical Guide*, the following as it pertains to group interviewing:

Having interviewed individuals, seeing them in a group context can be a revelation. There is something about an individual interview, which promotes a more 'rational' view of self and context; and the exclusion or suppression of opinions and events that do not fit this picture. With hindsight one can sometimes see that there are indications of these in the one-to-one interview. But it is their overt appearance in a group discussion, which provides the background to one's perception. (Gillham, 2005, p.63).

Uncovering social reality is not easy. As evidence is gathered and accumulated, some of it may be very contradictory making it very challenging. A group interview can provide an early indication of these elements that may be missed entirely. As a researcher, I cannot rely solely on one data source, but must gather several lines of evidence such as talking to individuals, reading available documents, and collecting archival records (Gaskell & Baur, 2000).

Focus Group of Former Students

In the field of educational research, focus groups are considered as a useful technique for receiving feedback about experiences and exploring various topics (Institute of Consumer Studies, 2012). A focus group is an interview conducted by an experienced and professional moderator among a panel of participants. An interview can be conducted as a group discussion with an average of 6 to 10 respondents in an unstructured and natural way where everyone is free to express ideas and concerns (Institute of Consumer Studies, 2012). A focus group is a type of qualitative research in which a group of people intend to discuss their opinions, beliefs, and attitudes towards a particular idea. In this situation participants discussed their experiences at P. W. Moore. (Institute of Consumer Studies, 2012).

Since beginning my doctoral journey, I have relocated to work in another state. Though my permanent residence is still North Carolina, I live and work six hours from Raleigh and nine hours from Elizabeth City, North Carolina where I conducted my study. The thought of distance interviewing came to mind, which would allow me to conduct these interviews through email, phone call, or any other technological device present for me to be able to use. Compared to traveling, this is less expensive. However, I took into account the age of many of the people I will be speaking with and determined that face to face interviews would probably be more comfortable as conducting interviews through email or telephone do not put people at ease as much as a face to face conversation.

Gillham (2005) stated that dealing with very personal topics via an e-mail interview will probably lead to “caution on the part of the respondent, and a lack of cues about

sensitive elements for the interviewer of which to be aware” (Gillham, 2005, p. 5). Since my parents, grandparents, and many other family members still reside in Elizabeth City, it was manageable for me to travel to Elizabeth City throughout the course of the study to obtain as much information as possible.

I convened a focus group of former students who were willing to meet with me and schedule a neutral place for everyone to meet. The interview setting was in a location that was centrally located and convenient for each person. To consent to audio and/or videotaping, I had each participant to sign IRB form giving me permission to speak with them. By setting a comfortable, positive rapport and environment with people who were formerly employed in this school, I was able to collect the information needed for this study. I also conducted individual interviews with parents and teachers that worked at P.W. Moore High School and who are available to voluntarily participate in this study. It was important to capture as much data at this time because many former teachers, parents and students may be deceased or may have moved out of the area.

Historical Documents

Using historical records was essential to this study as P. W. Moore High School has been closed for over 45 years. The historical case study method allows me to examine the possible motives of other living persons of interest. Using historical writings permit a greater understanding of what was typical or unusual behavior for the time. Such information provides an understanding of the past to explain present and future relationships (McDowell, 2002). This knowledge is crucial to answering the research questions posed in this study.

Both published and non-published documents were examined in this study.

The following sources will provide historical data:

1. The Daily Advance Newspaper; Elizabeth City North, Carolina; archival documents
2. Elizabeth City-Pasquotank Public Library
3. G. R. Little Library (Elizabeth City State University)
4. Elizabeth City-Pasquotank County Schools Records at Central Office
5. Lists of faculty and staff at the school over the years
6. Yearbooks from the school
7. Minutes from school board meetings
8. Archives of North Carolina, North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, local for photos and other documents

Since this qualitative, historical case study is based on one school, P. W. Moore High School, the emphasis will be on information about the events of this school during 1960 to 1970. It was my desire to capture the opinions of teachers and students during the time of segregation and provide an accurate account of the events that led up to the closing of the school. I began by reading literature about segregated schools in the South and rural education in the southeastern United States. Much information is available especially from Vanessa Siddle Walker whose articles were insightful and provided valuable contextual knowledge about segregated schools in the south including P. W. Moore High School.

Data Analysis

Data analysis will include constant comparative methods that produce transcribed

verbatim versions of individual interviews and field notes taken (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Notes and memos will be analyzed for common themes and patterns and illustrated examples of descriptions with quotations and interview excerpts. Raw data consisted of what participants said during their face-to-face interviews with quotations added to reveal opinions of P. W. Moore High School and their experiences. After interviews were completed, I manually analyzed qualitative data into common codes and themes to answer the research questions.

Research Reliability and Credibility

Guba (1981) seeks to satisfy four criteria: (a) credibility in preference to internal validity; (b) transferability in preference to external validity/generalizability; (c) dependability in preference to reliability; and (d) confirmability in preference to objectivity.

Credibility

One of the key criteria tended to by researchers is that of inside legitimacy, which they look to guarantee that their study measures or tests what is planned. According to Merriam and Rossman (2014), the qualitative investigator's equivalent concept, for example, validity, manages the inquiry. How accurate are the discoveries with reality? Lincoln and Guba (1985) contended that guaranteeing believability is one of most critical components in building up dependability.

Since I am from Elizabeth City and attended P.W. Moore when it became a middle school, I realized that there may be some bias on my part. To eliminate as much of this as possible, I researched and analyzed records from the central office, newspaper and archives

from the library. I also relied on “snowballing” to identify participants to interview. In addition to individual interviews there were focus group interviews. I was able to speak to several types of individuals (parents, staff and students) that were associated with P.W. Moore High during this time. To ensure as much credibility as possible in this study, it was imperative that all these things were done with fidelity.

In this study credibility played a large role and is extremely important. Since the school is closed and many of the staff members, parents and former students are deceased, it was important to establish that the results of this study were credible and believable. I desired to describe P.W. Moore High School and the magnitude it held in the community through the eyes of the participants in this study. I was pleased to determine that my findings were in line with the findings of other studies similar to this one and articles written by Vanessa Siddle Walker who has dedicated her career to research in the area of segregated schools in the south.

Dependability

In addressing the issue of dependability, the positivist utilizes strategies to demonstrate that, if the work were rehashed, in the same setting, with the same techniques, and with the same members, comparative results would be gotten. However, as Fidel (1993) and Marshall and Rossman (2014) noted, the changing nature of the phenomena scrutinized by qualitative researchers renders such provisions problematic in their work. Florio-Ruane (1991) highlights how the investigator’s observations are tied to the situation of the study, arguing that the published descriptions are static and frozen in the ethnographic present.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) stress the close ties between credibility and dependability.

Confirmability

Patton (1990) associates objectivity in science with the use of instruments that are not dependent on human skill and perception. He recognizes, nonetheless, the trouble of guaranteeing genuine objectivity, since, as even tests and surveys are planned by people, the interruption of the analyst's predispositions is unavoidable. The concept of confirmability is the qualitative investigator's equal concern to objectivity. Steps must be taken to guarantee beyond what many would consider possible that the work's discoveries are the aftereffect of the encounters and thoughts of the sources, instead of the qualities and inclinations of the specialist. The part of triangulation in advancing such confirmability should again be underlined, in this connection to decrease the impact of analyst predisposition. An additional choice can enhance a study's generalizability and that is triangulating multiple sources of data. Triangulation is the "act of bringing more than one source of data to bear on a single point" (Marshall & Rossman, 2014, p. 202).

Ethical Issues and Confidentiality

There will be precautions taken to protect the identities of the participants. Rather than use their real names and to protect their identity, pseudonyms will be used for each participant to protect their identity. I will maintain their privacy before, during, and after the interviews. For individual interviews, I will digitally record as well as take notes for this proposed study. I may use video but notes to capture the emotions of the participants. Permission from participants will be sought to use audio recordings. All data will be stored

and encrypted with a special code on my home computer and my personal laptop. All notes will be kept in a locked file cabinet within my home for a period of 5 years after which data will be safely destroyed. I will not share the real names of any of the participants without their written consent.

Limitations

Limitations are weaknesses or drawbacks of the study that researchers identify and disclose to participants and the audience of the study (Horga, Kaur, & Peterson, 2014). As with many historical studies, there are several limitations and this study is not different. The first limitation is that the study focuses on one school, P. W. Moore High School. The second limitation is that the study focuses only on the period between 1960 and 1970. The purpose of concentrating on these years is to deal with those isolated events that immediately impacted the desegregation of P. W. Moore High School and not the Elizabeth City, North Carolina schools as a whole.

A third limitation is the lack of availability of several key individuals to interview. Since this study is being conducted almost 40-50 years after the events took place, several of the significant persons associated with this period at P. W. Moore High School may be deceased or inaccessible. I attempted to compensate for this through interviews with other individuals who were directly involved in the desegregation of P. W. Moore High School before it closed in 1970.

Miles and Huberman (1994) considered that an essential standard for conformability is the extent to which the researcher yields his or her specific slants. To this end, convictions

supporting choices made and strategies embraced ought to be recognized inside of the exploration report, the purposes behind favoring one methodology when others could have been taken clarified, and shortcomings in the systems utilized conceded

P. W. Moore closed its doors as a high school in the spring of 1969 and many of the students, staff and administrators may have passed away. I was told by former students that some these people kept memoirs and or talked about their experiences with family and friends. I will research to see if this is indeed true. If not, this study will rely on the students and staff who are still alive and can relocate important events at this time. This study will rely on this people to explain the leadership and culture that remained prevalent at this school.

Research Bias

Being from this area and part of this community for my entire life, I want all positives to come from this study. To mitigate researcher bias, I will be careful to relay accurately the feelings of the participants and tell the real story without allowing my thoughts to bias this study. This study is limited since it is assumed participants will answer the interview questions honestly.

Chapter Summary

Chapter three provided a detailed description of the planned methodology for this qualitative, historical case study to explore the opinions, culture and leadership of former administrators, teachers, and students regarding P. W. Moore High School. Justification for using this type of methodology was presented. The research process was discussed that

included data collection methods and data analysis. To ensure trustworthiness, validity, creditability, ethical issues and limitations of the study was provided. Member checking is another method to ensure trustworthiness and this may be done informally down the road as people read a copy of this completed study.

Chapter four will present data collected to record the phenomenological in-depth and rich story and the impact the leaders of P. W. Moore had on the culture and leadership within the school and community.

CHAPTER 4: Findings

Strategies in working with African American students have failed over the last few decades. African American students traditionally achieve academically behind white students in the areas of reading and math. According to *Education Next*, the black and white achievement gap has made little progress since the 1960's. The article states:

In 1965, the average black 12th grader was 1.1 standard deviations (s.d.) behind the average white 12th grader in both math and reading. This placed the average black 12th grader at the 13th percentile of the score distribution for white students— meaning that 87 percent of white 12th graders placed ahead of the average black 12th grader. In 2013, the average black 12th grader had moved to only the 19th percentile of the white distribution in math (0.9 s.d. gap) and the 22nd percentile in reading (0.8 s.d. gap) (Cameron, 2016).

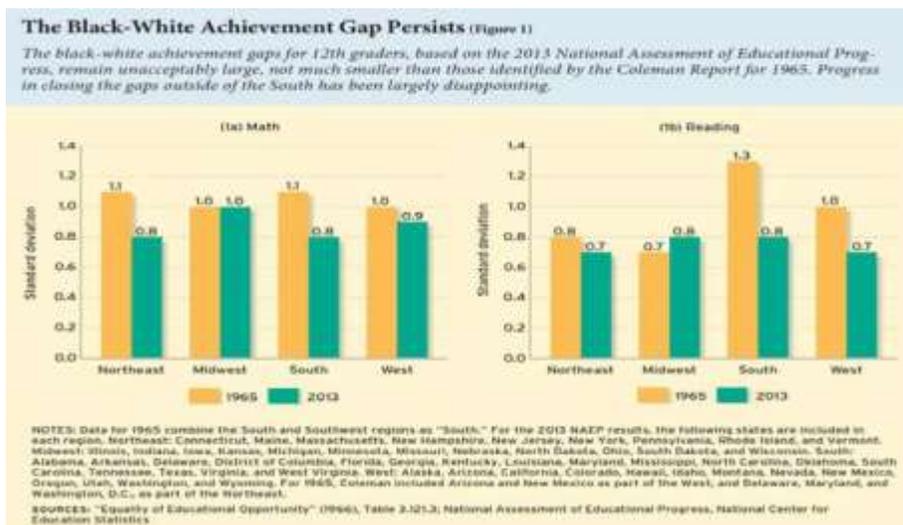


Figure 1. The Black-White Achievement Gap

Today educators of all races are charged with finding effective ways to educate African American students. African American students are the second most frequently referred ethnic group to Special Education, being identified at a rate of 12.2 percentage following American Indian students being identified at a rate of 14.4 percent. African American students are also suspended from school at higher rates than their counterparts. According to the U.S. Department of Education, 42.8 percent of African American students in grades 6-12 had been suspended at least once followed by Hispanic students at 21.9 percent.

Several students that attended P.W. Moore High School experienced tremendous success during school and as adults and gave much of the credit to the teachers and the culture set by them and the principal at P. W. Moore High School.

There is limited information available in Elizabeth City about the desegregation process of the school district and about P.W. Moore High School. It is important not only to identify if P.W. Moore High School was able to contribute to the success of African American students but also to contribute and to provide a detailed account of this time in history and tell a piece of P.W. Moore High Schools' story.

This chapter presents findings obtained from interviews with former students, staff members and parents of P. W. Moore High Schools as well as students that began their high school career at P.W. Moore but graduated from Northeastern High school (the integrated high school for Elizabeth City). I was also able to interview a student that left P.W. Moore High School to attend Elizabeth City High School in the midst of desegregation. Newspaper

articles, personal historical artifacts, Elizabeth City Public Schools Board minutes and graduation reports will give a complete description of events during this time.

Interviews were conducted face to face in the homes of participants, and during the 50th class reunion of P.W. Moore class of 1966. There were also two focus groups that were interviewed. The two focus groups consisted of former graduates (graduates ranging from 1960- 1969) and former students that started at P.W. Moore but graduated from Northeastern High. The interviews were conducted at a local community room in Elizabeth City and lasted 30-90 minutes. All interviews were audio recorded and the interviews from the reunion were also video recorded. Categories emerged from open coding which was then developed into themes. The interviews resulted in six major findings about P.W. Moore and three major finding from participants that graduated from Northeastern. Below you will find demographic information about the participants including pseudonym names to protect the identity of all participants. There is also a chart located in the appendix that also has this information.

Demographic Information (participants in this study)

Focus Group 1: Total 4: Ages 65-74:

Two male (Charles, David) and Two female (Alice, Catherine)

- P.W. Moore Graduates- 1960, 1967, 1969, 1964
 - All attended college- (3) Elizabeth City State University (1) Fayetteville State University
 - (2) attended graduate school
 - (3) retired educators
 - (1) retired federal worker
 - All live in Elizabeth City and surrounding counties

Focus Group 2: Total 4: Ages 63-64:**Three male (Edward, Hugh, George) and One female (Barbara)**

- Northeastern High School Graduates- 1971, 1972
- (3) out of (4) attended college- (2) Elizabeth City State University (1) Harris Barber School
- (1) retired college professor
- (1) retired barber
- (1) retired administrative assistant
- (1) former college resident hall supervisor
- All live in Elizabeth City and surrounding counties

Parents of former students: Total 3: Ages 89+:**Three mothers (Mrs. Brown, Mrs. White, and Mrs. Jones)**

- (1) P.W. Moore High School graduate 1941
- (1) attended P.W. Moore High School
- (1) lived in one of the surrounding counties as a student
- 10 of the total 13 children of these parents graduated from P.W. Moore 1962,1964,1966, 1967, 1969; (2) from Elizabeth City High School 1967 and 1968; (1) from Northeastern 1975

Former Staff: P.W. Moore High School: Total 4: Ages 80+:**Three male (Mr. Conway, Mr. Robbins, Mr. Wade and One female (Mrs. Kirby)**

- Former math teacher that later went to Northeastern High when the district integrated
- Former science teacher that went to Northeastern High when the district integrated
- Former science teacher that taught at P.W. Moore Junior High when the district integrated
- Former staff member that worked at P.W. Moore Junior High when the district integrated

Class of 1966 Reunion interview: Total 9: Ages 67-70+:**Five male (Joe, Paul, Jimmy, James, Howard and Four female (Helen, Elizabeth, Jennifer, Betty)**

- (8) graduated from P.W. Moore (1) graduated from Elizabeth City High School
- Other classes that interviewed with me 1965-1968-1967
- All attended college-Elizabeth City State University, East Carolina University, North Carolina Central, College of Albemarle
- (5) attended graduate school
- All retired- educators, state workers, pastor, draftsman, veteran, insurance agent

I also sought to interview Black principals or their family members if the principal was deceased to discuss their influence in the school community before and after

desegregation. However, during my study I found out the principal of P.W. Moore retired (it was not apparent to me if this retirement was his decision or if the decision was made for him) when P.W. Moore High closed and he and his family were no longer in the area.

My intent was to interview the wife of one of the former principals of P. W. Moore High School since he is deceased but his wife and other family members are no longer in Elizabeth City and it seems that there is no knowledge of where they are or even if his wife is still alive. To my knowledge, all of the former principals of P. W. Moore High School are deceased. However, I did speak to a former staff member about Mr. John Cooper who was the principal of P.W. Junior High School during the 1969-1970 school year (this was the first year of integration for the school system). The staff member stated that Mr. Cooper (who also worked under the principal at P.W. Moore High as a teacher) subsequently modeled some of the same strategies that he learned from P.W. Moore High School into this new school in a new era for the school district.

P.W. Moore High School

P.W. Moore was originally named Dunbar High school but the name was changed in 1927 to honor Peter Weddick Moore who was the first president of Elizabeth City State College (now named Elizabeth City State University). Prior to integration Elizabeth City Schools and Pasquotank County Schools were separate. There were actually three high schools for whites (two in the county and one in the city). Weeksville High School and Central High School were located in the county and Elizabeth City High School was located in the city. P.W. Moore was the only high school for African American students so regardless

of where they lived (county or city) all African Americans had to attend this school. Several participants that were interviewed recounted how they lived close to the county schools but had to come into the city to attend P.W. Moore. For them it seemed to cause friction between the county and city African American students. One former teacher,

Mr. Conway expressed:

Well, it was thought that the county students felt they were not as accepted as the city students and it should be noted that more city boys played and excelled at football while more county boys played and excelled at basketball.

Another former teacher, Mr. Wade remembered:

The kids did feel there was a conflict with city and county students. As a matter of fact, one of my former students who lived in the city told me that he thought I did not like him as much as the county students because I lived in the county.

Even though there may have been some feelings of inferiority with the county students coming to the city to attend school, they all seem to have positive memories of the time they spent together.

These findings emerged from the research data involving students that graduated from P.W. Moore, parents of students that attended P.W. Moore and former staff members that worked at P.W. High School as well as those students that began their high school career at P.W. Moore but finished at Northeastern.

Discussion of P.W. Moore High School Findings

1. Teachers had high expectations for students in school and went above and

- beyond to make sure they were successful.
2. Principal set the culture of learning and respect in the school and had a positive relationship with staff and students.
 3. Students enjoyed everything about their experience at P.W. Moore and fondly remember school highlights and events.
 4. Many students played a part in the Civil Rights Movement that was happening during that time
 5. Students, teachers and faculty believe the atmosphere of education was better then than it is now.
 6. When P.W. Moore High closed there was an overall sense of sadness.

Finding 1: The teachers had high expectations for students and genuinely cared about them.

In all the interviews conducted with former students and parents, all participants indicated they truly believed that the teachers had high expectations of them. After reviewing the North Carolina High School Annual Reports for P.W. Moore and Elizabeth City High School I was interested to find out that not only did P.W. Moore offer higher level courses such as Chemistry, Physics, Algebra 2 and Advanced Math during the years of 1960-1970 but the pass rate in these classes was at least 85% which was comparable and in some cases better than the pass rate at Elizabeth City High School. (See appendix).

When participants were asked who their favorite teacher was, the majority of participants named Mrs. Ruth Cooper who was a French teacher. Other teachers included

Coach Hunter (Head Football Coach), Mrs. Felton (Librarian), Mr. Barnes (math teacher who was a pastor in the community), Mrs. Suggs (English teacher), Mrs. McCleave (Math teacher), and Mrs. Jenkins (English teacher). One student, Alice remembers:

Mrs. Cooper was a like a second mother to students in and outside of school. My mother was very ill during my senior year and I was in the Debutante Ball (the Debutante Ball was a scholarship fundraiser for senior girls sponsored by a local sorority in Elizabeth City) but I had no date. With my mother being sick it was the last thing I was thinking about but Mrs. Cooper told me not to worry about it and arranged for a classmate to take me and the rest is history (she laughs). (She and her date, now her husband have now been married for over 40 years).

A student, Julia stated:

Mrs. Cooper developed my love for French. I loved her because she was so poised and professional and I knew she cared about me.

Another student, Robert stated: Mrs. Cooper saw in me what I did not see in myself.” He went on to say:

My plan after high school was to enlist in the military because I didn’t want to go to college. Mrs. Cooper talked with me and told me I needed go to college because she knew I would be successful. She helped me with the prerequisites and I attended college. I graduated in 1970 from Elizabeth City State University. Not only was she my favorite teacher I referred to her as my adoptive mother.

One student, James shares: “Mrs. McCleave made me learn in her class. Years later I

appreciate it because what she taught me had helped me over the years.” While a parent, Mrs.

Brown remembers:

I remember finishing up dinner one evening after my kids were home from school and hearing a knock at the door. When I went to the door there stood Mrs. McCleave. Mrs. McCleave told me that my son was not in class that day and she wanted to go over his assignment to make sure he understood. I had no idea that my son had skipped school that day but here is his teacher sitting at my kitchen table going over his assignment to make sure he understands. That’s why I know those teachers cared about those kids over there.

Her son, Joe, who was also present during the interview, stated he was stunned to see his teacher at the door but said with a laugh he never skipped her class again.

Several students remember that Coach Hunter was a huge influence on and off the football field. “He expected the best out of his players in the classroom and on the field,” said one student, Jimmy. Another student, Paul remembers, “He told you what you needed to hear, not necessarily what you wanted to hear.” Another explained:

During a championship game that was very close, Coach Hunter simply told me, “I need you to get the ball.” I went in the game and caused a fumble which resulted in P.W. Moore winning the game. Years later when I would run into him and his wife would still talk about that play.

Ms. Suggs was another favorite teacher students liked because she was “community oriented,” one student, David recalled. He goes on to say:

She would let all the kids in the neighborhood hang out at her house and would even cook for us. We all would have such a good time with her (smiling). Now, we still had to do her work and she would tell us that (laughs). Not completing assignments was just not an option.

All of the students have the same recollection of the teachers and how they helped them in and out of school. From cooking for them in the neighborhood to buying coats or providing hygiene supplies for students that needed it; that was just what they all did to help and support students. Discipline problems were almost non-existent. One student, Alice stated, "Our teachers had minimal problems with discipline in the classroom or with students being disrespectful." One student, Catherine added:

Our parents never had to come to the school and if we saw any of our classmates' parents coming to the school we felt sorry for them (laughing). Our teachers demanded respect and we gave it to them. We also knew we would have to answer to our parents if there was a phone call home so we just didn't get in trouble.

In the interviews I conducted with the parents, they also had great admiration and respect for the teachers at P.W. Moore. One parent, Mrs. White, also a P.W. Moore graduate 1941, shared that:

Teachers were very conscious about teaching black students not just academically but about life itself and being black in this world and what it meant. Teachers knew that students would need a little more than education to do well in this world. They focused on the whole child.

Another parent, Mrs. Brown, added that she felt teachers cared for students and even adults. She remembers how there were night classes for parents or any adult that wanted to go to school. She states:

My husband and I took some of those classes and we enjoyed taking them.

Another parent stated that all the teachers seemed very patient with the students and made sure that they understood their lessons.

Additionally another parent, Mrs. Jones added:

All my kids liked going to school and they all graduated so I was happy.

The statements made about the teachers by students and parents seem to validate that teachers had high expectations for the students and cared about them academically as well as personally. It is apparent students believed their teachers would go above and beyond to make sure they were successful. The professionalism of the teachers is remembered forty and fifty years later and students still talk about the impact these teachers had on them then and on their lives today.

Finding 2: Principal set the culture of learning and respect in the school and had a positive relationship with staff and students

Mr. Calvin Paige was the principal of P.W. Moore High School during the time period of 1960-1970. Former students, parents and teachers have fond memories of him and remembered him as a strong disciplinarian that demanded respect and cared about the students. One student, David remembers:

Mr. Paige was very “low key” but powerful. You could not get upset with him when

he reprimanded you because you knew he and the teachers cared about you and most of the time you were in the wrong (laughs). The culture at P.W. Moore was a positive one because you felt that everyone cared about you as individuals. They became our parents away from home.

Another student, Howard added:

Our principal Mr. Paige was firm and fair. He was a hands-on leader and took a personal interest in students. He demanded the best from us and we knew his expectations. As a former educator (teacher and principal) I adopted a lot of the strategies that my teachers and principal showed me during my time as a student there and incorporated in into my leadership style.

Another student, Joe recalls:

Mr. Paige was a short but powerful man (laughs). He walked the halls to make sure everyone was in class. He actually caught me in the halls a couple of times and would say “y’all boys get in class”, we would run but he would still call my mom and dad (smile). I don’t remember a lot of discipline problems in school because we didn’t want to have to be called into his office.

Another student, Paul recounted:

I knew Mr. Paige had a bad label by some people of being a “yes-man’ or “uncle tom”. I didn’t agree with that because back then he couldn’t just walk in the superintendent office and demand things. Whatever we needed Mr. Paige made sure we had it in his own quiet way. I feel like he was really misunderstood by some

people in the community and he didn't get recognized like he should have for all the things he did back then.

He goes on to say:

I remember when we were heading to the football state championship. The game was to be a good distance away and the only bus we had was our activity bus which was "old" and "raggedy". Mr. Paige talked to the superintendent and when we were ready to leave we were leaving on a charter bus. That was the kind of man he was he made sure we were always ok.

In my interviews with the focus group of students that graduated from P.W. Moore, one student, Helen, shared her experience with Mr. Paige. She stated:

Mr. Paige was a short man who was well respected and a strong leader. His presence alone demanded respect and he carried a lot of weight in the school and community. I remember he would see students going off campus and follow them to the store or wherever they were going and would make them come back to school. Every day was a good day for us at P.W. Moore because we had great leaders and our friends were there. We had lots of fun but there was a strong academic environment and overall positive culture.

All of the students interviewed that had interactions with Mr. Paige had only positive things to say about him and his leadership style. It seems that he had high expectations for students and they knew it. In speaking with parents and staff members they echoed many of the same sentiments as the students. One parent, Mrs. White stated:

Mr. Paige would talk to kids about inappropriate behavior and when students did not follow rules he would consequence them and let parents know. However, he still showed them love. He was tough yet kind.

According to his staff they were held to high expectations as well. Mr. Paige actively recruited former students to come back and teach at PW Moore High School. All of the staff members I interviewed were graduates of P.W. Moore and after completing college came back to work under Mr. Paige's leadership. One staff member, Mr. Robbins, stated it was an honor for him and his brother to be asked to come back and work at P.W. Moore by Mr. Paige. Another staff member, Mr. Conway stated that Mr. Paige selected teachers to be in leadership positions based on their strengths and since there was not an assistant principal, his teacher leaders were very important.

Finding 3: Students loved everything about their experience at P.W. Moore and fondly remember school highlights and events.

The question that brought many smiles from the participants was when I asked about experiences at P.W. Moore. All students were eager to discuss:

One student, Catherine reported:

I loved being in the band! Every home game we had a parade and would march all

the way to the football field and people would follow us all the way to the game. We were good too (smile). It meant something to be in the band.

Another student, Julia stated:

I don't remember many bad days at P.W. Moore, but I do remember going to Mrs. Jenkins (teacher in charge of the prom) to tell her I wanted my new boyfriend to take me to the prom and she informed me that could not happen because he had already declared a prom date and there were no changes. I was devastated (laugh) but Mrs. Jenkins found me a prom date and I was still able to attend with a date even though I left with my friends and not him (laughs).

One student, Helen explained:

The really good times included the talent shows, dances after the football games and camaraderie at lunch time. Those are just a few of the standouts in my mind. I also remember a special program in school where students were able to work and get paid. This helped those of us who participated to learn responsibility and help with expenses at home. Even though it limited the extra-curricular activities we were able to participate in it was a great experience. I actually worked for Mrs. Felton in the library.

Another student, Charles eagerly shared:

I enjoyed playing football while at P.W. Moore. The football team was the center of black community and it was great. Elizabeth City High School would not play us because they were a white high school and that just didn't happen back then. In 1965

we won the state 4A football championship! No other school in Elizabeth City or Pasquotank County has ever done that since then.

A parent, Mrs. Brown remembered:

My husband and I enjoyed watching the football games because my son played on the team. I guess he was pretty good because everyone would be yelling for him to GO! GO! and cheering for him when he had the ball (laughs). We would follow the team wherever they played to watch our son play.

Another parent, Mrs. White explained:

I enjoyed the performances on stage at P.W. Moore and all the sports activities. There were Christmas programs, Easter programs and end of the school year programs for parents and the community to attend. It was great. Field day was also a good time for students. They had relay races, jump rope, egg races and all kind of activities. The teachers and principals made school fun for kids so they wanted to come to school.

While another parent, Mrs. Jones stated:

I loved to see all the students dressed up for the prom. That was a moment that they were proud and we were too because they were so beautiful.

A staff member, Mr. Conway remembered:

The proudest moment for me was when P.W. Moore became SACS (Southern Association of College and Schools) accredited in 1951. I considered that a major accomplishment for our school.

Finding 4: The Civil Rights Movement that was prevalent during the 60's and some students and staff participated in activities.

The years from 1960-1970 was a pivotal time in history for Civil Rights Movement. The state and nation were seeing many changes and this was no different in Elizabeth City, North Carolina. There were marches, sit-ins and boycotts similar to other North Carolina towns. It was intriguing to listen to the experiences of students, staff and some parents during this time. Several of the former staff members and students talked about the huge lack of resources available to them. From receiving used books that were discarded from the local white high school with torn pages or derogatory writings in them to coaches not able to arrange their football schedule until the Elizabeth City High School arranged their schedule first because they shared the same football stadium. P.W. Moore's schedule was secondary to Elizabeth City High School. A former staff member, Mr. Robbins added:

If for some reason Elizabeth City High School could not play their game on the scheduled night (due to weather or any other reason) they could pick any other night to play even if that was a night that P.W. Moore was already scheduled to play. P.W. Moore would then have to reschedule their game.

When I asked Mr. Robbins how did that make him feel with having to make these changes and continuously having to deal with being segregated? His response was powerful. He stated:

We didn't "know" we were segregated....to us it was just the way things were and the way we lived.

Other students, teachers and parents also vividly remember this time in history. One student, David shared:

Blacks came together and boycotted several businesses in Elizabeth City such as the Dollar Store, Woolworth and Orange shoe store. I remember going to Lamb hotdog stand where there was a side for blacks and side for whites. We waited and waited and no one came to wait on us so we decided to go to the white side where the waitress was waiting on the white customers. We went over there and sat and waited to be helped. Again we waited and waited. It wasn't until all other customers had been helped did she come and wait on us.

Another student, Elizabeth shared:

We had several teachers that led protest and movements to make positive change without violence. Some teachers such as Dr. Hoffler, Ms. Suggs, Dr. Beasley and Mr. Robinson who led major initiatives that saw changes for our community. We trusted them and followed their lead.

Another student, Hugh eagerly added:

Easter time was a time that Blacks spent a lot of money in downtown Elizabeth City. Several weeks before Easter, Blacks came together and decided that no one would use their money during the two weekends preceding Easter in downtown Elizabeth City because there were not any people of color working in any of the downtown stores and we felt that needed to change. So for those weekends Blacks did not spend their money downtown and the businesses felt it. At the end of those two

weekends, the result was, the first black teller in a bank began working in downtown Elizabeth City and there was a black female working in a clothing store that was not allowed to handle the cash register prior to this boycott that now was allowed to perform all duties for her job.....including handling the money. When the changes came about many people couldn't handle it. The owner of the Dollar Store committed suicide after that boycott. That was a time that we all worked together and the boycott was successful. We saw those changes immediately.

Some of the participants talked about when Martin Luther King came to Elizabeth City. This was an exciting time for everyone. One student, Julia shared:

I participated in a march downtown Elizabeth City in 1966 and while on my knees praying with other students a truck of white boys slung feces and urine on us and drove off laughing. It was awful but we didn't stop praying and marching.

Another student, James stated:

I participated in marches and sit-in and I saw Martin Luther King speak when he came to Elizabeth City. You know when MLK came to Elizabeth City he would actually stay with Dr. Kermit White who worked at Elizabeth City State University. Many people don't know this but MLK was an avid pool player and when he would come to Elizabeth City and stay in the home of Dr. White he would always play a game of pool. Years later when Dr. White passed away and his wife was taken to a rest home, I purchased the house from their son because of the historic value I felt it had. I tried my best to convince the son to let me buy the pool table but he would not

sell it (laughs).

A parent, Mrs. Jones remembers:

During the 60's I was an active member of the NAACP and I attended meetings. I went to see Martin Luther King speak when he came to Elizabeth City. He spoke at Cornerstone Missionary Baptist Church where my brother was the pastor but he did his main speech at The Armory in Edenton, NC. I followed him to Edenton after he spoke in Elizabeth City and it was standing room only (smile). You know it was a big deal for Martin Luther King to come to Elizabeth City and then for him to speak at Cornerstone....Wow! But my brother was very involved with civil rights activities.

It is interesting to note that while many participants and their families participated in the civil rights movement, several did not. Some students stated that their parents felt fearful or that their jobs would be in danger if they participated so they did not. Others were afraid of them or their families getting hurt. One student, George states:

I was raised by older grandparents and he indicated they were fearful of the backlash if they participated in any activities pertaining to civil rights so they did not. He did share with his children the importance of the movement during that time.

Another student, Elizabeth added:

My parents were afraid of losing their jobs or getting hurt so we were not allowed to participate in any of the civil right activities.

A parent, Mrs. Brown stated:

I did not participate because I had to work and keep my job but I think my children participated in some of the marches downtown.

In addition to being leaders in the classroom, some staff members were leaders in the community when it came to participating in the civil rights movement and trying to make a difference. Teachers and administrators were charged with educating students academically as well as socially. It seems as though they were successful in both.

Finding 5: When P.W. Moore High closed there was an overall sense of sadness and loss of things that had come to mean so much to them as students.

The Elizabeth City Pasquotank Public School system was one of the last school districts in North Carolina to desegregate. According to Elizabeth City-Pasquotank Public School Board meeting notes dated January 21, 1969, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare indicated that the pupil-assignment plan that was submitted for the 1969-1970 school year would not be accepted. The letter stated:

This plan does not meet the requirements of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and departmental policies under that act because it does not result in the elimination of the dual school structure in the Elizabeth City-Pasquotank administrative Unit by the 1969-1970 school year. The freedom of choice method has not operated effectively to desegregate the schools in your system during the several years that it has been employed. Consequently, the plan submitted cannot be considered adequate with respect to grades 1-9 because there is not adequate indication as to how and when these grades will be totally desegregated. In July of 1968, the Elizabeth City-Pasquotank Board of Education approved and submitted a desegregation plan that would eliminate the dual school structure as of the 1969-1970 school year. This indicates that there are no administrative reasons why such a plan could not be implemented by the 1969-70 school year.

The push for desegregation was met with some resistance in the community. According to students the closing of P.W. Moore High School was a sad time. The last class that graduated was in the spring of 1969. In September of 1969 Northeastern High opened and all high school students in Elizabeth City attended this school. One parent, Mrs. Jones remembered:

I was sad when P.W. Moore High School closed because my kids enjoyed going there and did well. I hoped that because there was a new high school for everybody that there would be better resources for kids and I also hoped that there would be transportation for all students to get them to the new school.

Another parent, Mrs. Brown said, "I did not feel good about P.W. Moore closing. It had been there so long. That was the only school that blacks could attend and you know I went there too." A student, Elizabeth stated:

I was so sad to find out P.W. Moore High School was closing because the school had truly been good to me.

Another student, David stated:

I felt that it was a loss of a legacy. I knew then at that time P.W. Moore would no longer be remembered as it was.

A student, Joe recalls:

I was sad because I knew it would be a change. Our teachers were very concerned with us doing well and took time with us. With integration I knew that white teachers would not do that. Our teachers helped us and wanted what was best for us

and gave us breaks sometimes.

Members of the focus group (1) stated:

It was devastating to find out that P.W. Moore was closing. Students were upset because they wanted to graduate from P.W. Moore. Our band was no more.

When Northeastern opened, it adopted all of Elizabeth City High School band culture. From the music they played to how they marched to the uniforms that were worn (which were the uniforms of Elizabeth City High School band).

What whites didn't understand was that we didn't want to be with them. We just wanted the equal things that you had to teach with. We wanted equal opportunities.

We did not want to go and sit in classes with whites. We were fine where we were.

Our football team was great! When schools integrated we wanted to know who was going to be the head football coach at Northeastern. Elizabeth City High School would never play us because we were black but in 1965 we won the state 4A championship. No other school in Elizabeth City has done it since then. The coach they selected to be the head coach was not our coach but was the coach from Elizabeth City High School.

It's important to note that in 1988 the building that housed P.W. Moore High School was torn down. The only part of the original school left was the gym. This was another devastating time for former students, parents and staff. According to several participants there wasn't any knowledge of the school being torn down. When former students heard about it the school was already in the process of being demolished. A parent, Mrs. Brown

remembers:

I was hurt when the school was torn down. I felt P.W. Moore was just as good as Elizabeth City High School and since they were built at the same time I didn't understand why they tore our school down. I was so hurt. I walked over to the school and gathered some bricks from the debris and kept them. I still have those bricks now.

A student, David remembers:

After they tore down P.W. Moore they tried to also change the name of the new school and many of us came together and fought it. We were successful in the name still remaining P.W. Moore even though they tore the school down and rebuilt it as an elementary school.

Another member of the focus group (1), Charles remembers:

We didn't know that the school was going to be demolished until the bulldozers were already at on-site. The bulldozer tore down the school and everything in it including our trophies in the trophy case and any memorabilia that was left in the school. We don't even have the trophy that the football team won as state champs in 1965. Someone said that someone else grabbed it as the bulldozer was tearing up the school but no one really knows. The lion statue that sat in the front of the school.....gone. Everything wiped out. Much of our legacy went to the landfill that day. There was a sense of pride we had in the school. We loved that school and everyone in it cared about each other. It was such a sense of grief when the school

was tore down. It really hurt.

Finding 6: Students, teachers and faculty believe the atmosphere of education was better then than now

Many of the former students are educators and former educators. They often compare today with when there were students at P.W. Moore. A parent, Mrs. White stated:

I feel education is better off today but only because of the resources schools have. If black schools had been given the same money and resources as the white schools back then, we would have been better off. Our kids needed the teachers that took the time with them. I don't believe white teachers would or will take that time for our kids. Do they even know how to? If we had the same resources our teachers could have out taught anyone. If that was the case I would not have even considered changing from segregation but since we didn't, I guess I agree with integration. However, I hate what is going on in schools today. Discipline out of control and students going through metal detectors.....there is something definitely wrong with the school system today.

Another parent, Mrs. Brown stated:

Education was better off then because teachers were more interested in helping our kids. Now it doesn't seem like there is an interest in helping black kids. I think integration messed blacks up more than whites because when the schools were segregated teachers took more time with our kids because they knew what they would have to face in the world and they prepared them not just academically but

developmentally and socially. I believe some white teachers are afraid of black kids and don't take the time with them like they should. It seems like they always want to kick them out of class and school.

A staff member, Mr. Conway added:

I felt pleased when the schools were going to integrate because I felt this was going to be a new phase in education for black kids. There were going to be more materials, more books and resources. However, I believe education is worse now because back then teachers were able to encourage students to do better in school and talk to them about things that were important like hygiene. We talked to them about making sure they were clean and their clothes were clean. We had some serious conversations with them about being black and what that meant. We weren't able to do this anymore when the school integrated and it hurt our kids.

Another staff member, Mrs. Kirby stated:

I believe that education was better before because I believe teachers took more time to work with our kids because they need a little more and we gave it to them. Today they are being put out of class, identified Special Ed, suspended from school and I feel no one really cares about our kids doing well and being successful.

A member of the focus group (1), Catherine stated:

I believe education was better off before because teachers took an interest in us and now teachers don't seem as committed or concerned. I don't think our kids are learning.

Another member, Charles added:

I believe education was better off before because of the upbringing at home. Back then parents ask “let me see homework” or if a teacher called your parents you were in trouble. Now parents don’t have time and they have no respect for the teachers.

A member, Alice shared:

I believe education was better off then because teachers were allowed to teach. Now with the local, state and national politics running education, it is hard for teachers to do their job. If our teachers had the things we have today they would have been even better. Education has been destroyed by people that have never taught. If you think about it...what other profession can you say that about?

A student, David stated “Education was better then. Teachers taught us with love. It was not just a job. Our teachers took the time and connected with us.” Another student, Joe explained:

Education was better off then because teachers wanted the best for us and were not afraid to discipline us when students didn’t follow rules. I believe teachers are afraid to discipline when students don’t follow rules. Teachers are intimidated so they allow kids not to do anything which was not an option for us. I think white teachers don’t want to be around black students especially black boys because they don’t understand them. It is easier to kick them out of class than to deal with them.

A student, Julia shared:

I think education is better off now because of resources; I think education was better

off then because of the solidarity we had with teachers.

A student, Robert added:

I think education was better off then. Even though there is a faster learning pace kids today don't have the same opportunities we had to connect with teachers.

Participants are passionate about their feelings when it comes to education today and education when they were in school. They believe that the education they received was top notch and African American students today are not receiving the quality of education they received.

Discussion of Elizabeth City High School Findings

While P.W. Moore High School didn't officially close until the fall of 1969, a few black students enrolled and attended Elizabeth City High School in 1964 and 1965. *Brown vs. Board of Education* made it illegal for students to be denied entrance to any school because of race. One of the students, Deidre Allen shared her experiences through an essay in 2005 on the occasion of the 300th Anniversary History Expo in celebration of education in Pasquotank County. She states:

My sister and I were asked to go to the High School and we went in obedience. Perhaps we were chosen because of the involvement of other family members in the civil rights movement, because we were blessed with good minds and had received an even better education in earlier years in France (because my father was stationed there in the Navy), and because it was expected that we would represent well in our behavior in spite of expected persecution.

Our father signed for us to attend Elizabeth City High School since he and my mother were divorced and my mother could not sign due to negative pressures from her job. We were told that buses could not be provided for us so we had to walk the first year. Neither me nor my sister can remember what adult was with us that first day but we do remember as we approached the school there were hundreds of people, students and adults, standing on the lawn waiting. And then there were the shouts of “here come the niggers”. Had that been the only time we heard that word it may have been bearable but my sister had a boy who called her nigger up and down the halls between classes every day for three months! When I entered the bathroom girls would often run out screaming and in some of my classes students would all turn their chairs backwards as we entered.

She also wrote:

My sister had taught herself to play the clarinet. She played so well, in fact that she was looking forward to being in the marching band as she had succeeded in achieving the honor to be second chair at P.W. Moore. At Elizabeth City High School, she was told she could not participate in the band at all. I hurt for my sister and struggled with the resentment of those who could cause her pain (Allen, 2005).

Deidre Allen is able to recount her experiences in detail with her memoir and I found her account to be astounding. It was also interesting to find out that Deidre Allen was given a full four year merit scholarship to Duke University Nursing program. In speaking with her mother, it was one of the proudest days in her life to have her daughter’s name called in an

auditorium full of “white folk” as the recipient of that award during senior night at Elizabeth City High School.

I also felt it was important for me to actually interview a student that integrated Elizabeth City High School. I was fortunate to speak to another former student that left P.W. Moore to attend Elizabeth City High School in 1964. The student, Mary stated she felt it was a hard transition for the black students that left P.W. Moore High to attend Elizabeth City High School. According to Mary, her parents left the decision to her whether to enroll. She decided to enroll because she felt “this was something she needed to do for her future.” Since she was so active in various clubs and activities at P.W. Moore, once at Elizabeth City High School she wanted to do the same thing. Mary remembers:

I decided to join a club called Future Teachers of America. The teacher that sponsored the club never really engaged with me and neither did the students but I wanted to be a part of the club. When picture day came I was so excited to take a picture with the rest of the students in the club. To my surprise when I saw the picture in the yearbook of the club I was not in the picture. Apparently, there was another picture taken that I was not aware of and that was the picture used. I was disappointed and hurt behind this. (chuckles) I guess they didn’t want a black face in their picture. When I asked the teacher about it she simply turned away from me and never answered.

Mary also shared that though she didn’t have many friends while a student at Elizabeth City High School. She recently attended the 50th class reunion and was pleased that many of the

classmates came over to her to strike up conversations and even invited her to participate in activities with them at their homes or vacation spots. She stated many even have asked her about how she was able to make the decision back then to come to the school. In her words, making the decision to enroll at Elizabeth City High School was “life-changing but she has no regrets that she did it.”

Discussion of Northeastern High School Findings

1. Students were excited about the opportunity to have a new facility and better resources.
2. There were some racial injustices and adjustment issues during the first few years with teachers.
3. Students missed the connections they had with teachers at P.W Moore and things that defined their culture such as the band.

In September of 1969, Northeastern High School opened in Elizabeth City for all high school students in grades 10-12; the former Elizabeth City High School was renamed Elizabeth City Junior High School and all students grades 8-9 were housed in this building and lastly P.W. Moore High School was changed to P.W. Moore Junior High School and all 7th graders in Elizabeth City attended this school. According to staff and students there was neither a transitional period nor conversations of how this change would take place. The change was immediate and non-negotiable. Teachers from P.W. High School that were selected by the school board to teach at Northeastern indicated that there was not a cultural or diversity workshop or anything similar prior to them beginning the school year. This meant

that teachers that may have had no prior contact or communication with black people or white people suddenly found themselves responsible for educating students that culturally they knew nothing about.

In conversation with Mrs. Cooper, French teacher at P.W. High School and Northeastern High School years before her death, she indicated to me that her first feeling walking into Northeastern to teach side by side with white teachers was a feeling of inferiority. She stated that she felt she wasn't as good as the white teachers because she knew that she as well as her former P.W. Moore colleagues did not have the same resources and opportunities as the white teachers. As she began the school year however she said she was so happy to realize that she and the former teachers of P.W. Moore were just as good if not better than the white teachers. "We did with our students what they did with their students and we had so much less." In speaking with one of teachers, Mr. Robbins, that was selected to teach at Northeastern, he indicated:

Twelve teachers from P.W. Moore were sent to the integrated high school where there were over 100 teachers. Northeastern's culture was very different than the culture at P.W. Moore. Many of us still tried to advocate for our students but we found many of our kids acted out..... in many cases because they were simply misunderstood. When our kids would get frustrated they would just leave the school. I would go to homes of some of these kids to talk to them and their parents and bring them back to school because I knew the kids would be the losers if they didn't finish school.

He also added:

I remember when the black Assistant Principal went to a conference with the principal who was white and the superintendent asked the principal “did you sleep in the same room as your Assistant Principal” as if there was something wrong with them sleeping in the same room...and he asked this question in front of the black Assistant Principal.

Finding 1: Students were excited about the chance of having the new facility and better resources.

During the interview, focus group participants recalled how it was no secret that they were not going to finish at P.W. Moore High School. They stated that they knew the law had passed for the schools to integrate so they figured it was a matter of time. One student, Edward stated, “We knew the new school (Northeastern High) was being built and why it was being built so we weren’t surprised about the changes.” Another student, Hugh stated, “And we felt ok about the change because Northeastern was new and integration was new.” He continued, “As a black male I felt I was ready for the challenge. I knew it was going to happen so I went with the flow. It was just no choice; but we were going to miss P.W. Moore.”

The participants also talked about some of the positives that came along with the new school such as having good cafeteria food, a brand new building with upgraded facilities and all new supplies and resources. Edward also added, “I think I really liked having the vocational classes like auto mechanics and welding. Those classes were new for us.”

Finding 2: There were some adjustment issues during the first few years but only with some of the staff not the students. (racial injustices)

The focus group discussed some of the adjustment issues at Northeastern High School at its onset. According to their discussion, P.W. Moore provided a sense of security for them that they lost when they began at Northeastern. One student, George added, “There was difference in white teachers’ attitude with black students, males especially. We felt like they (the teachers) were intimidated by us.” He goes on to say, “Many of those teachers were new teachers and had never been around black students before and it showed.”

Racial inequities were a part of those first years as well. The students in the focus group felt like there were instances that were not fair and that the punishments of black students were more severe than white students.

One student, Edward remembers:

One morning before school started some of the boys were sitting playing cards and many of us were just watching the game. This was normal for us at P.W. Moore. Not gambling just playing cards. The assistant principal who was black came over to us and instead of him singling out the two that were playing cards he told all of us, who happened to be black boys, to come with him and he suspended us from school. This was devastating for many of us because we had never gotten in trouble over our entire school career. This tainted my entire experience at Northeastern. The fact that the principal of the school was white and the Assistant Principal was black was even more devastating for us.

Another student, George recalls:

I remember we had a sit-in at Northeastern in the cafeteria. It was a racial thing. A white student had done something or broken a school rule and was allowed to stay in school and not sent home but when a black student did the exact same thing he was immediately suspended. Some of the students formed a sit-in to protest his suspension. We refused to go to class until we had an understanding of why this happened. There were many racial injustices at Northeastern but as kids we just dealt with it.

Lastly, I think it is important to note that the students stated that the transitional problems that were had at Northeastern were with the staff members and not the students. They all indicate that they had friends that were both white and black. They believed everyone was very accepting of each other especially the athletes. A student, Hugh adds, “It was a smooth transition from an all-black school to the integrated school. The rules were strict but we tried to make it easy to adjust. I believe athletes had a smoother transition because you felt an immediate connection to the school.”

Finding 3: Students missed the connections they had with teachers (like they had been accustomed to) and things that defined their culture of P.W. Moore such as the band.

When students transitioned to Northeastern students felt some things were lost for them. The participants in the focus group talked about the comfort zone P.W. Moore High School provided and how the teachers were so personal with them. “They cared about us doing well and made us do well,” Barbara, who was a student at Northeastern, stated.

Another student, Edward shared, “At P.W. Moore our teachers knew us and pushed us to do well because they believed in us and cared about us. At Northeastern, the teachers left us more on our own more and if you failed you just failed.

Another student, George remembers, “P.W. Moore teachers that were assigned to Northeastern from P.W. Moore were still our advocates but couldn’t advocate the same way because they didn’t want to be accused of favoritism.”

Sports and extracurricular activities were also an area that was lost to the former P.W. Moore High School students according to the focus group. A student, Hugh shared:

Even though P.W. Moore had won a state championship, [the only school in Elizabeth City to have done so] they selected the coach from the white high school to lead the team. Now because they wanted to win, if you had talent you played in the games.

He continued:

Our band however was completely non-existent. What our band represented was no longer because the band director for Elizabeth High School was named the new band director for Northeastern. So those band students lost nothing when we integrated because everything for them remained the same; the same buses, the same uniforms, the same music, the same band director. That was just not the case for us.

It was apparent when I interviewed this group that even though integration was new and even controversial, they were very optimistic about the change and in some cases a little excited.

However, as the year continued they began to feel a sense of loss that sometimes

overpowered the optimism they had when they began the school year. There were definitely some good and “not so good” things that students were able to take away from the experience of being one of the first classes to attend Northeastern High School.

Chapter Summary

Chapter Four provided the findings of the study based on interview questions asked of participants. Six findings were discovered regarding the thoughts of former P.W. Moore High School students, staff and parents and four findings were discovered from the thoughts of former students that began their high school career at P.W. Moore but graduated from Northeastern High School.

Findings regarding P.W. Moore High School included: 1) Teachers had high expectations for students in school and went above and beyond to make sure they were successful. 2) Principal was a strong disciplinarian but set the culture of learning and respect in the school and had a positive relationship with staff and students. 3) Students loved everything about their experience at P.W. Moore and fondly remember school highlights and events. 4) Many students and staff members played an active role in the Civil Rights Movement which was prevalent during this time. 5) Students, teachers and faculty believe the atmosphere of education was better then than now. 6) When P.W. Moore High closed there was an overall sense of sadness.

It is important to note that all participants included had nothing negative to say about the P.W. Moore High School or their experiences. It could be because the participants I spoke to at the reunion and focus groups for the most part were all pretty successful. It is not

unusual that the people that attend these events are the people that are doing well. It was interesting that even though I probed and probed, there was not one participant that had a negative comment. Personally, I thought that was amazing.

Findings regarding Northeastern High School: 1) Students were excited about the chance of having the new facility and better resources. 2) There were some adjustment issues and racial injustices during the first few years but only with some of the staff not the students 3) Students missed the connections they had with teachers (like they had been accustomed to) and things that defined their culture of P.W. Moore such as the band

Chapter Five will analyze and interpret the findings related to P.W. Moore and its impact on students, teachers and parents. The sources included in the research were: personal interviews, public documents, school board minutes and state archives. The local newspaper, web sites containing related information, private documents and photographs were also utilized. The data collected reveal the life of the school and its impact upon students, staff and parents. In Chapter Five, I present my conclusions based on these data and the recurring themes the data formed. The results of this research will be discussed and summarized. It will also offer implications for future research and implications for practice.

CHAPTER 5: Discussion and Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to explore former living administrators', teachers' and students' opinions of their personal experiences while working at or attending P.W. Moore High School in Elizabeth City, North Carolina from 1960-1970. Chapter Four recorded the memories, thoughts and opinions of former P.W. Moore High School students, staff and parents from questions posed through interviews which provided a solid foundation for this chapter. Categories were identified from the interviews were developed into themes. These themes encompassed the research findings. Six findings were discovered regarding the opinions and memories of former P.W. High School graduates, staff and parents and three findings were discovered from the opinions of former P.W. Moore students who, because of integration, graduated from Northeastern High School.

Findings regarding P.W. Moore High School included: 1) Teachers had high expectations for students in school and went above and beyond to make sure they were successful. 2) Principal was a strong disciplinarian but set the culture of learning and respect in the school and had a positive relationship with staff and students. 3) Students loved everything about their experience at P.W. Moore and fondly remember school highlights and events. 4) Many students and staff members played an active role in the Civil Rights Movement which was prevalent during this time. 5) Students, teachers and faculty believe the atmosphere of education was better then than now. 6) When P.W. Moore High closed there was an overall sense of sadness.

Findings regarding Northeastern High School included: 1) Students were excited

about the chance of having the new facility and better resources. 2) There were some adjustment issues and racial injustices during the first few years but only with some of the staff not the students 3) Students missed the connections they had with teachers (like they had been accustomed to) and things that defined their culture of P.W. Moore such as the band . Findings in this study were very similar to research covered in the literature review.

The data obtained from these findings formed answers to the four research questions I posed in chapter one. Answers to each of the research questions can be found in the conclusion topic in this chapter. The research questions identified in chapter one was:

1. In what ways did leadership impact the culture and students at P.W. Moore High School during 1960-1970?
2. How did the administrators during this time promote leadership among staff and students, and what was their style of leadership?
3. How did school culture affect student achievement during segregation?
4. Why is the school close and what factors influenced its closing?

Leadership and Culture

The leadership that was present at P.W. Moore High School empowered and encouraged students. Fifty years later participants still vividly remember how teachers and the principal pushed them to do the best in school and outside of school. Students truly believed that there was a caring aspect by teachers that far exceeded their job. In listening to participants I begin to feel that there was sense of family at the school and this was the culture that existed there year after year. In an article written by Vanessa Siddle Walker in

the *Journal of Negro Education* W.F. Crawl stated, “The principal has the responsibility to motivate the teachers--the attitude he/she should show toward students is the same attitude principal should show toward teachers (Walker, 2015).” According to students at P.W. Moore, teachers motivated them every day and encouraged them not only to better themselves as students but also to be better people.

During the years of 1960-1970, Mr. Paige was the only principal in the building. According to staff and students there was not an assistant principal so the teachers were important leaders in the building. By all accounts he was a strong disciplinarian but always put students first. He set the tone and culture of putting students first in his building and teachers followed. Mr. Paige was clearly the leader in this school and because he was the only administrator in the building he depended heavily on the expertise of teachers. He identified leadership roles for teachers based on their performance in the school and classroom.

The culture that was present in the building also spilled outside of the building. Parents that were interviewed also talked about how Mr. Paige and teachers cared about students and worked hard to ensure they had what they needed to be successful.

In an article by Sequoya Mungo published in *The Journal of Negro Education*, she stated:

“Fairclough (2007), Foster (1997), and Kelly (2010) agreed that African American teachers in segregated schools were instrumental in the academic and social lives of African Americans and were highly regarded by their communities. Similarly,

Dingus (2006) noted, “Personal narratives underscore racial, gendered, relational, familial, and social class complexities, reframing segregated school environments as sites of supportive relationships where students were pushed despite overwhelming circumstances (Mungo, 2013).”

This is exactly the culture that was cultivated at P.W. Moore. Regardless of where students lived or what they had teachers expected the best from students and they helped students to achieve success.

Desegregation

The integration of the Elizabeth City Pasquotank School system was long and difficult. Data from school board minutes and newspaper articles paint the picture of a town divided when it came to how integration was to happen. Some of the articles in the local newspapers prior to the vote before the merger of the schools in 1967 included:

- Klan members hold a rally to discuss the merging of schools and how displeased they were. According to the newspaper article teenagers sold buttons that stating “I am for segregation” and the concession stand was selling chocolate cupcakes with a white “K” on top. The “grand dragon” and the “imperial wizard” of the Klan were also on hand to encourage the audience.

- A letter written to the editor stated:

“I am opposed to the consolidation of the Pasquotank County Schools because of my belief in God and His plan for the future generations of my country. There is no place in the Bible where God told the races to mix but all through Bible history he

demanded the races stay separated and to retain their identity...”

- Another letter written to the editor signed by “concerned students at Elizabeth City High School”

“.....However these adults fail to realize that the consolidation (of the schools) would benefit them directly and indirectly. Their children would become better acknowledged through a wider choice of subjects which would fit his or her individual interest and abilities. Employers would have a wider choice of highly qualified personnel.....Therefore we are urging the voters of Pasquotank County, on April 15, to stand up against this group of misinformed citizens and vote for progress.

Even though the merger did pass, according to Board Meetings dated July 11, 1968, the Office of Civil Rights sent a letter to the Superintendent giving suggestions for how the school system could integrate for the 1968-1969 school year. The notes stated that these changes must be made for the 1968-1969 school year in order to meet the requirements of the Office of Civil Rights. However, the school system did not comply. By the 1969-1970 school year, the district was integrated and by all accounts from participants there was some positives to the merger and some negatives.

The positives are what many tried to focus on. The new school, better resources and the adding of vocational classes for students were all benefits for black students. With all the things that were gained that first year there were also things that were lost that many students still remember.

The Loss of P.W. Moore High

The integration of the Elizabeth City Pasquotank Public School system meant changes for the district but it was more of a sense of loss for those that attended the school and for those that attended Northeastern that first year after attending P.W. Moore. According to students, the support base and comfort zone that the staff provided for them while at P.W. Moore was gone. The teachers they had grown accustomed to seeing every day that held them accountable for their education while still supporting and helping them be successful were gone. The band that symbolized the pride that students had in their school and culture were also gone. What was replaced were teachers that left it up to students to be successful on their own as there wasn't any extra support for them. All the activities that defined the culture of the school including field days and performances were also gone. The band that was a big part of the school was now changed. The program that was adopted at Northeastern was the identical program from Elizabeth City High School including the band director. The music was different, the marching was different and overall feeling was just different. Many students dropped out of band that year after years of being proud to be in the band.

The building that housed P.W. Moore High School was originally to be phased out altogether based on the plans submitted to The Office of Civil Rights for the school system. This would have left the building empty. However, the building was used in the 1969-1970 school year as a 7th grade junior high school under the leadership of Mr. John Cooper who was a previous teacher at the high school. This building was used until 1988 at which time

the school was torn down to the dismay and shock of alumni.

According to the alumni of P.W. Moore High, they were not aware that the building was going to be demolished. It was a surprise to them that the building would be torn down as well as the fact that all items including memorabilia still in the building were not removed but remained there and was torn down with the school. This was sad and hurtful for African Americans in Elizabeth City. When the school was rebuilt as an elementary school, the board wanted to change the name from P.W. Moore but the African American community petitioned to keep the name the same and it was granted. The rebuilt school is now named P.W. Moore Elementary School.

The legacy of this high school stays alive by the former staff members, parents and students that loved this school. As long stories and memories are continued to be passed down to generations the legacy will live on. As one parent said:

Those were some hard times during segregation and integration but we made it
Valerie.....thank God we made it.

Implications for Future Studies

There was not an option for P.W. Moore High School to close. Federal mandates required all schools in the nation to integrate. With integration came an end to an era that saw many successes in and out of the walls of P.W. Moore. The resources and opportunities that came with integration were beneficial to students and staff and was a victory for Civil Rights leaders all over the country that fought and died to see this happen. With the efforts that went into integrating schools it is almost a shock to see the number of schools that are choosing to

re-segregate.

There are several school districts in the south that have areas of the county that only African Americans and minorities attend. One of these districts is Fulton County, Ga. The school district has four “learning communities”- Northeast, Northwest, Central and South. With eighteen elementary schools, five middle schools and four high schools, these schools continually perform behind their counterparts in the Northern area of the district. The students in the “South Learning Community” have the possibility to attend kindergarten through twelfth grade and have very limited interaction with white teachers or students.

With charter schools also being developed at an alarming rate there needs to be a study conducted to see if the re-segregation of schools is a true benefit for students and if they are seeing any success with segregated schools throughout the country.

With my study complete on P.W. Moore High School and the seemingly positive results staff, students and parents expressed, it may be beneficial to see if this type of environment would benefit African American students today. Once these studies are conducted, teachers, district leaders and parents need to know the results and decide if re-segregating students is in the best interest of our schools and school districts.

There should also be studies conducted that compare the perceptions of teachers, parents and students today as compared to the teachers, parents and students that were taught and/or educated during the time of segregation. It is important to determine if the characteristics of teachers and students now are the same or similar as teachers and students during segregation. Throughout my interviews I was told how the teachers made such a

difference in the success of students. It would be interesting to hear from high school graduates today that graduated from all black or predominately black high schools and see if their experiences are similar to the experiences of the alumni of P.W. Moore High.

For future research it would be reasonable to examine this study in the light of the Critical Race Theory. However, the purpose and goal of this dissertation was to research, collect data and tell the story of P.W. Moore High School from the participants' point of view. Looking at this study under the lens of the Critical Race Theory would possibly yield interesting results but again this was not the purpose of this study. Nevertheless, this would be an appealing study and is definitely a strong possibility for the future.

I also believe there needs to be further research on how to motivate African American students and how teachers and principals can and will play a vital role in this process. The teachers that taught in the segregated schools had a sense of pride and wanted their students to succeed. It is important to hear from teachers today about their true feelings when it comes to the struggles with teaching before any solution can be found. Is there an issue with Black students and teachers building positive relationships? That is a question that needs to be answered. Principals are also charged with leading their school and setting the tone and culture that promotes achievement for all students. As leaders in the building, principals have to give teachers what they need to be successful in the class and with their students. Setting a tone that "children come first" will be a tone that is contagious for anyone coming to work in that particular setting.

It is also important for there to be future research and studies about the desegregation

process of more schools in rural, low-income areas of the South and the effect it may have had on education the community as a whole. These areas were deeply affected socially and academically by integration and some of those effects are being felt today. The stories of these communities deserve to be told just like the stories of larger, urban areas that transitioned through the integration process.

Implications for Practice

This study had several implications for practice that will benefit administrators. It is important to note that principals should understand the importance of working as team with the school community, staff and parents. This unit supports students and ensures that the decisions that are made are made with student needs ahead of anything else. Principals are looked to for guidance even in the most tumultuous situations, so they must have strong interpersonal skills that allow him or her to effectively communicate with all stakeholders. Mr. Paige created a culture of excellence that transcended the walls of the school and principals today should also be prepared to create a school culture that emphasizes academic excellence and where failure is not an option.

It has been forty-seven years since P.W. Moore closed as a High School and the Elizabeth City Pasquotank County School System fully integrated all of their schools. The process of integration was challenging for students, parents, educators and the community. It is almost shocking that with all Civil Rights leaders sacrificed for this step toward equality that today it's like we have come full circle with more schools becoming segregated once again. In some instances Black parents are choosing public and charter schools that are

predominately if not all African American. It is important to read the comments from the participants of this study as to why P.W. Moore was successful. Was it because it was an all-Black school? Or was it because of the dedication and commitment the teachers had for these students? I believe the latter.

There was not one student that didn't have a story about how teachers supported them and had a positive impact on their lives. Forty years later, does it take a Black teacher to teach a Black student to be successful or does it matter what color versus the passion and drive that the teacher has. This story will continue to have an immediate impact on our lives today as educators trying to push academic success for our students in a world that is very different than before when it comes to accountability (regionally and nationally) but very much the same when it comes to the kind of educators that our students need from us to be successful today.

Lastly we require so much from our teachers today such as the importance of differentiating lessons for students, working with ESL (English as a Second Language) students, working with students that are very behind academically all while still focusing on the state test that will determine if they are a "good" teacher as defined by the state. Perhaps there should be an evaluation of teacher education programs to make sure these programs are giving teachers the tools they need to be successful in working with all students in this changing society especially Black students in urban or rural low- income areas.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to research the impact of culture and leadership on student achievement at P.W. Moore High School between the years of 1960-1970. The study revealed that P.W. Moore operated during a time that segregated schools was a way of life for African American students, teachers and parents. The study also revealed that former staff and parents of P.W. Moore thought the school principal, Mr. Calvin Paige to be an excellent leader who always made sure student needs were put first. It revealed former students perceived their teachers as being phenomenal and professional at all times. All students eagerly shared stories about their favorite teacher and fondly remember the high expectations all teachers in the building set for them. Failing was not an option and teachers worked with students in school, afterschool and sometimes even coming to the homes of the student to make sure they had a solid understanding of what was being taught.

The teachers and principal provided several extra-curricular activities for students to be a part of. The band and athletics seem to be the center of the school community. Several participants beam with pride as they recall the football team winning the North Carolina 4A State Championship in 1965 and the fact that no other team in Elizabeth City has done this since then. The talent shows, field days and holiday performances were activities that allowed all students to be a part of the positive culture that existed in the school.

The Civil Rights Movement was at the height of existence during this time. There were marches, sit-ins and boycotts that students and teachers were a part of. Teachers and the principal, in addition to teaching and leading the school academically also had to be the

calming voices for students that were eager to make a difference.

The principal and teachers always made sure that students had what they needed. From the principal making sure the football team had reliable transportation to the 4A State Championship game to teachers making sure students that were less fortunate had coats in the winter and hygiene products throughout the year. This was the culture that existed in this school year after year. It is also important to note that though P.W. Moore students only had access to used textbooks and limited resources former teachers believed that with all the things they did not have, they were still able to be successful in the efforts to educate students in an effective and efficient manner. This was echoed by students throughout my interviews.

Many students that attended P.W. Moore saw success in their lives after graduation. Several attended college and became teachers, principals, small business owners, retired military, federal government workers, barbers, office assistants, authors and ministers. One even had a successful career in the NFL as a quarterback. The graduates of P.W. Moore had career paths that carried them throughout the country and abroad. It appears that wherever their careers led them, they all worked hard and became successful productive citizens.

Even though P.W. Moore High School has been closed since 1969, former students look forward to any gatherings or reunions that bring them back together. The class reunions regardless of the class always bring smiles and good times. Students come back from all over the country to socialize and interact for a weekend with classmates and teachers that meant a great deal to them. These events help continue the legacy of P.W. Moore that meant a great deal to the African American community.

Once the center of the black community, P.W. Moore High was torn down in 1988 and was rebuilt as an elementary school. Local African American sororities in Elizabeth City volunteer in the school to help students with reading, math or simply to chat and connect with them. Though it may be sad for some that the school is physically gone, the lessons and values that teachers and the principal embedded in former students remain a part of their character today and they are very appreciative for the sacrifices that were made for them. Through volunteering, being a part of the school board, speaking in schools about their experiences during the Civil Rights era and being a part of the local City Council they continue to give back to their community and make a difference in the lives of African American children today.

It was an honor to reveal the impact and legacy that P.W. Moore left behind. In addition to living in the hearts and minds of former students, teachers and parents, now P.W. Moore High School will live on in history as well.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Focus Group Protocol for Former Students Opening: Setting the Stage for Discussion

My name is Valerie G. Andrews and I am a doctoral student at North Carolina State University. Today, I will serve as moderator of this focus group session that will last approximately 60 minutes. After introductions, I will begin by asking participants to select a pseudonym; for example, not your real name and write it on the place card in front of you.

The purpose of the study will be explained and clarified for you so you can focus your comments on the relevant issues. A tape recorder will be used for audio recording to ensure accuracy of your comments and a video tape will be used to focus on your gestures and facial expressions. I have your signed consent to use the tape recorder and video recorder. No one will listen to the transcribed tapes but the researcher. Transcribed tapes will not be used to identify what each participant said. I will provide a brief reminder that each participant signed an informed consent form for a tape recorder to be used in the interview. I will serve light refreshments because you may be hungry. Your comments are confidential and will only be used in the discussion forum of the dissertation. Your identity will not be revealed to anyone. You must maintain confidentiality during and after this discussion.

Set the Ground Rules

In addition to stating the purpose of the study, ground rules will be explained and reviewed for this focus group. Prior to speaking, each participant will state his/her pseudonym name. There are no correct or incorrect answers to any of the questions. The individual's opinion is valuable and will be respected. Wait your turn to speak and say your name each time before you speak. This procedure will help to identify which pseudonym

name said what comment during the transcription phase of this study.

Today, I want to spend a few minutes discussing your experiences regarding the time period from 1960 to 1970 when you were a student at P. W. Moore High School.

Specifically, I want to hear about your opinions of the leadership, school culture, your favorite teachers, and other events and activities at the school. Over the next several minutes, I am going to ask the group a few questions. Please share your honest opinions and thoughts on each question.

Prior to speaking, the individual will state his/her pseudonym name. There are no correct or incorrect answers to any of the questions. The individual's opinion is valuable and will be respected. A certain amount of time will be allocated to each question. The session will be recorded so that all your ideas and thoughts can be captured.

Your input is an important part of our effort to better understand how P. W. Moore was an influence on who you are today. I also want to remind you that your participation is voluntary. You do not have to answer any question you do not wish to answer. You may leave at any time you wish. The information which you give will only be used in my dissertation completed at North Carolina State University. No type of report will be prepared that identifies the views of any participant. Each participant's comments will be used in my dissertation and published as such. No one will be able to identify who you are when you speak because your real names will not be used. When you speak of other students who were your friends and your teachers who taught you at P. W. Moore, please do not use their real names. You must give them pseudonyms and use those names consistently when you speak.

Conducting the Discussion

During this stage of the session, you should focus on your set of responses. You will be asked only one question at a time. I may use this flipchart to write down key points offered by group members to each question. In fact, this will be quite helpful to you as a group since it allows you a chance to study and react to what others have offered in response to the questions, and I may use my notes as a guide for further probing.

Wrap Up

I will bring some closure to the meeting at the end of the focus group session by providing a brief summary of the major points that were raised by the group over the course of the session. You will then be given the opportunity to verify this summary. Finally, I appreciate your participation for providing valuable input today.

Appendix B
Demographic Profile

Directions: Please complete the following questions so that I can develop a demographic profile of the participants in this study. No individual information will be reported—only aggregate data.

Gender

1. Male
2. Female

Age

1. 50-55
2. 56-60
3. 65-70
4. 70+

Race/ethnicity

1. Black
2. White
3. Hispanic
4. Asian

Year of graduation (or attended) from P. W. Moore High School _____

If you did not graduate from P.W. Moore what school did you graduate from and when

College attendance

1. Yes
2. No

Graduate school attendance

1. Yes
2. No

Current employment (What do you do?) _____

City and state _____

Appendix C

Interview Questions for Former Teachers and Staff

1. In what capacity did you work at P. W. Moore High School?
2. How many years did you work there?
3. Tell me about your most memorable time at P. W. Moore High School?
4. Tell me about your most fearful time at P. W. Moore High School?
5. Describe the culture at P.W. Moore High School during the time you were there.
6. Describe what segregation looked like for teachers and staff during this time?
7. What was your involvement with the leadership of the school such as committees and faculty teams?
8. Describe a “typical” day for you at P.W. Moore.
9. Tell me about classroom management, organization and discipline of students?
10. How would you describe your feelings when you found out that the school was closing?
11. Do you think education is better off now than it was then? Why or why not?
12. Is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix D

Focus Group and Individual Questions for Former Students

1. What year did you graduate from P. W. Moore High School?
2. Describe a good day at P. W. Moore.
3. Describe a day that was not so good.
4. Describe a moment with your favorite teacher.
5. Describe a time when you were upset with the principal.
6. Describe the culture at P.W. Moore. Was it positive or negative? What contributed to this?
7. Describe the overall student behavior at P. W. Moore? Were there many discipline problems?
8. What role did you (your family) play in the civil rights movement that was a part of this time?
9. How did you feel when you learned that P.W. Moore would be closing and what did you do?
10. What was your biggest joy/fear when schools desegregated?
11. Have you ever talked about this time with your children or other younger family members? Why or why not.
12. Do you think education is better off now than we were then? Why or why not?
13. Is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix E

Focus Group Questions for Students that started at P.W. Moore but graduated from Northeastern High School

1. How did you feel when you were told you were going to an integrated school?
2. Describe the positives and negatives of each school.
3. What were the major differences in the culture and leadership in the schools?
4. What was the biggest challenge you faced as you transitioned from a segregated high school to an integrated high school.
5. Describe your last day at P.W. Moore. What was the hardest part of leaving the school?
6. Describe your first day at Northeastern or Elizabeth City High School?
7. Identify your daily concerns when attending the integrated school (safety, teacher biases etc.)?
8. What was the difference in teacher relationships at P.W. Moore and the new integrated high school?
9. What was the biggest challenge you faced while at Northeastern or Elizabeth City High School and how did you overcome it?
10. Do you feel education is better off now or then? Please explain.
11. Is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix F

Questions for Parents of Students that attended P.W. Moore

1. How many children did you have to graduate from P.W. Moore?
2. Describe the teachers at P.W. Moore and what role do you feel they played in the success or failure of your child?
3. Describe the leadership in the school? What role do you feel they played in the success or failure of your child?
4. What were some highlights that you and your student enjoyed at P.W. Moore?
5. In your opinion, what were the positives and negatives of the school?
6. What role if any do you think P.W. Moore High School played in the community?
7. How did you feel when you were told the school system was integrating and P.W. Moore would be closing?
8. What was your biggest joy/fear when the schools integrated?
9. Do you remember the last day students attended P.W. Moore as a high school?
What was that day like?
10. What role did you (your family) play in the civil rights movement that was a part of this time?
11. Do you feel education is better off now or then? Please explain.
12. Is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix G

Demographic Information (participants of this study)

	Number of Participants	Male	Female	Age 62-64	Age 65-74	Age 75-85	Age 89+	Moore graduate	Other H.S. graduate	Attended College	Retired Educator
Focus Group	4	2	2		4			4		4	3
Focus Group	4	3	1	4					4	3	1
Reunion Participants	9	5	4		9			8	1	9	3
Former Staff	4	3	1			3	1	4		4	4
Former Parents	3		3				3	1	1	1	1

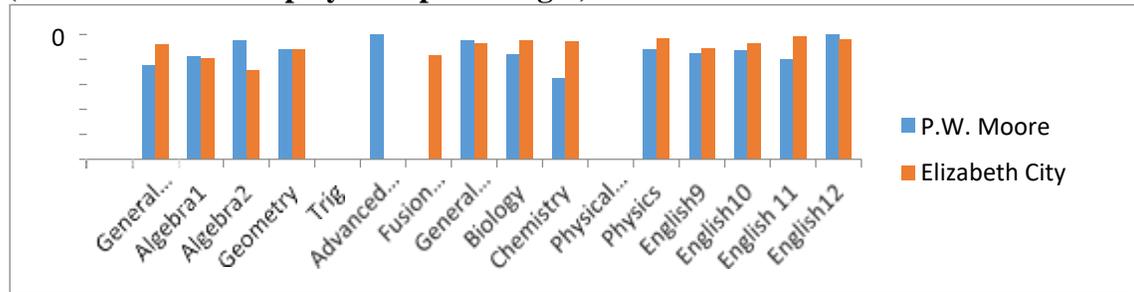
	Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2	Reunion	Staff	Parents	Age 62-64	Age 65-74	Age 75-85	Age 89+
Charles	x						x		
David	x						x		
Alice	x						x		
Catherine	x						x		
Edward		x				x			
Hugh		x				x			
Barbara		x				x			
George		x				x			
Mrs. Brown					x				x
Mrs. White					x				x
Mrs. Jones					x				x
Mr. Conway				x				x	
Mr. Robbins				x				x	
Mr. Wade				x				x	
Mrs. Kirby				x					x
Joe			x				x		
Paul			x				x		
Jimmy			x				x		
Robert			x				x		
James			x				x		
Elizabeth			x				x		
Helen			x				x		
Julia			x				x		
Mary			x				x		

Appendix H

End of Course Test results comparison for P.W. Moore High School and Elizabeth City High School (North Carolina High School Annual Report-Dept. of Public Instruction)

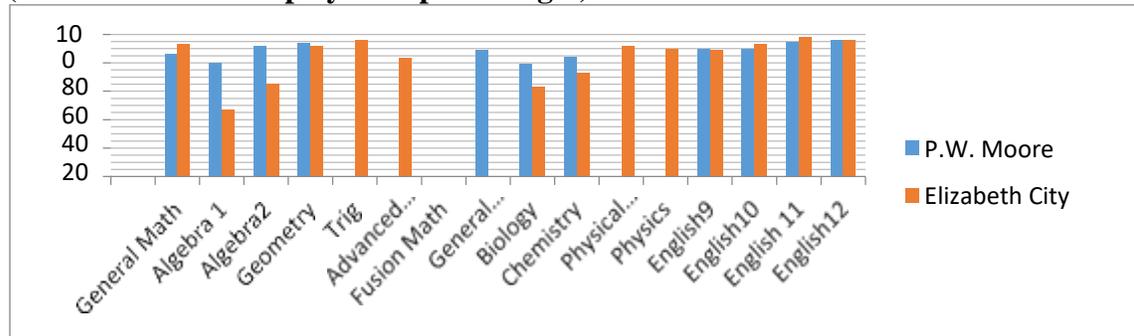
1960-1961 school year

(All numbers are displayed as percentages)



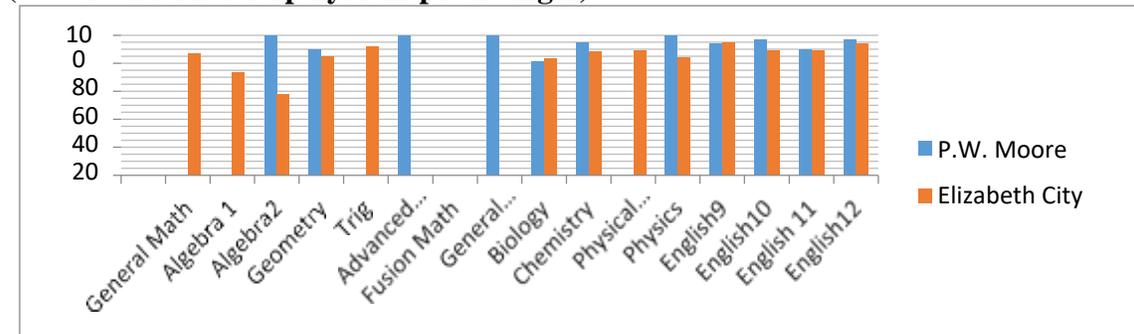
1961-1962 school year

(All numbers are displayed as percentages)



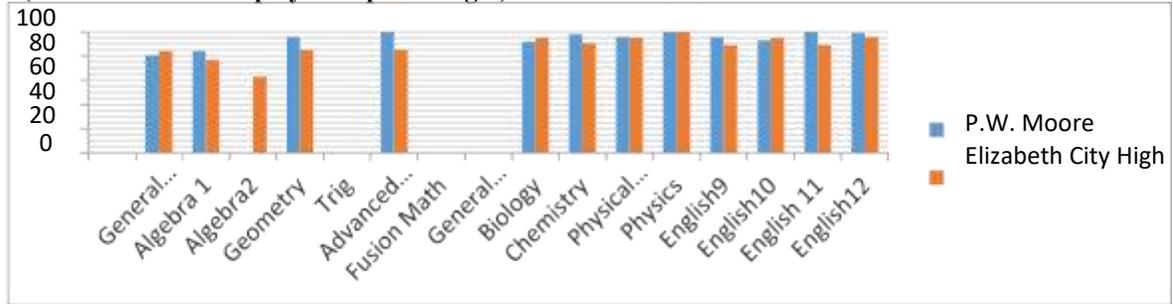
1962-1963 school year

(All numbers are displayed as percentages)



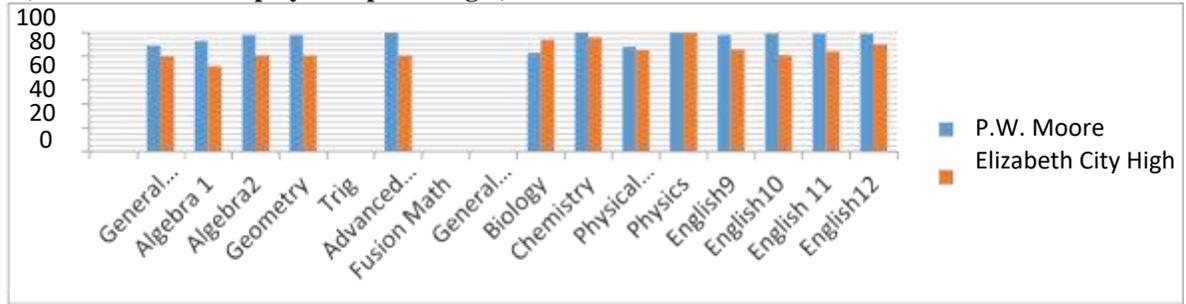
1964-1965 school year

(All numbers are displayed as percentages)



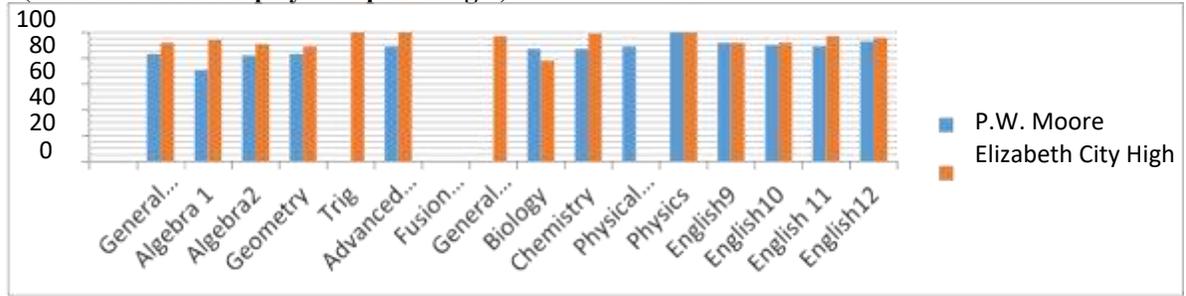
1965-1966 school year

(All numbers are displayed as percentages)



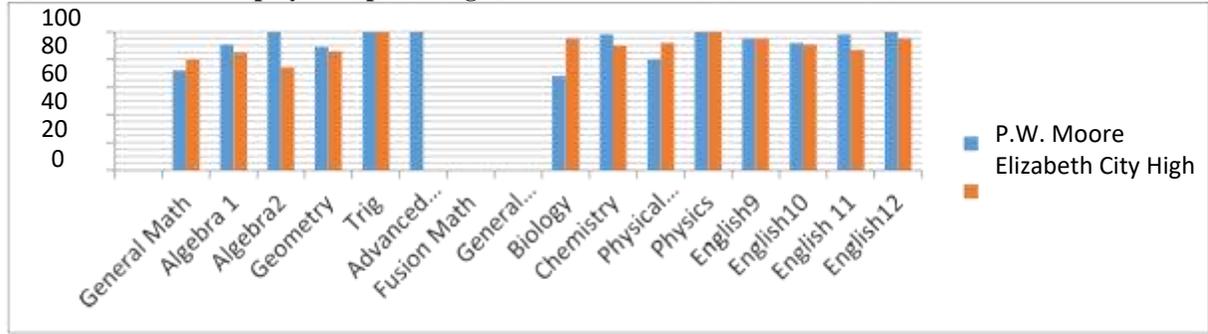
1966-1967 school year

(All numbers are displayed as percentages)



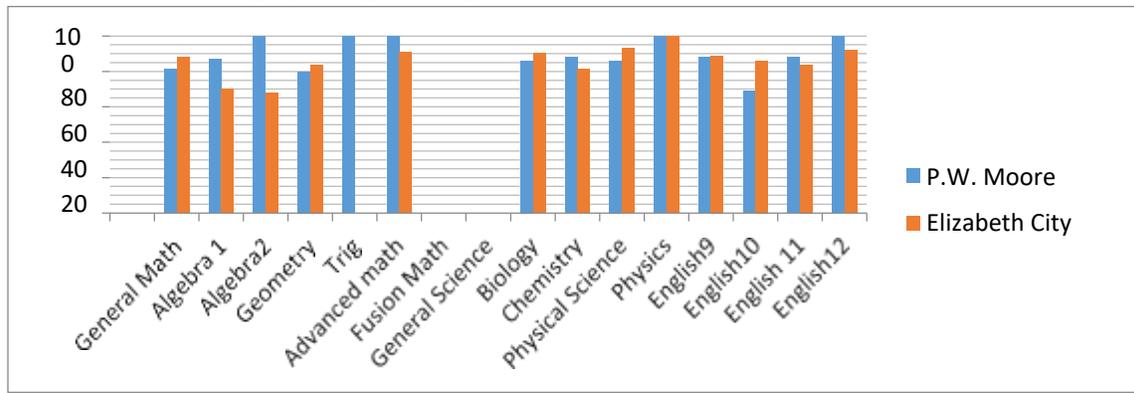
1967-1968 school year

(All numbers are displayed as percentages)



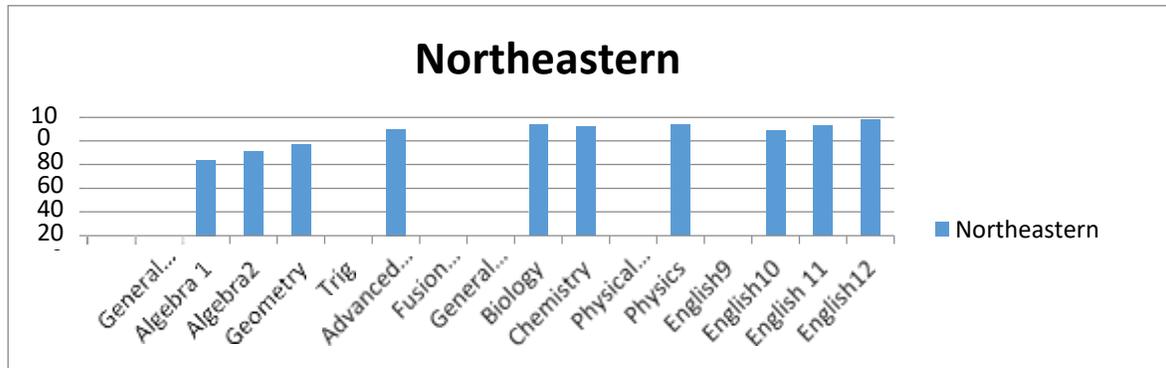
1968-1969 school year

(All numbers are displayed as percentages)



1969-1970 school year

(All numbers are displayed as percentages)



Appendix I

Copy of P.W. Moore High School Annual Report-North Carolina Department of Public Instruction

Page 1

DUPLICATE

NORTH CAROLINA
STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

HIGH SCHOOL
ANNUAL REPORT

19 63 19 64

School Code No. 702-601

County Perquimans

Adm. Unit Elizabeth City

School P. W. Moore

School Address Elizabeth City, N. C.

Date June 5, 1964 Race W

Principal C. B. Paice Date School Opened 9/3/63 Date School Closed 5/29/64

This report should be made out in quadruplicate by the Principal, Superintendent, or other Official Head of the school, promptly at the close of the school year. Three copies are to be sent to the Superintendent, two of which are to be approved and forwarded to the Director, Division of Instructional Services, State Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh, N. C. The fourth copy is to be filed in the Principal's office. Use ink or type-writer and staple each report (12 pages) separately.

1.0 TEACHERS EMPLOYED AFTER THE PRELIMINARY REPORT WAS FILED:

Name (Exactly as it appears on certificate)	Date Employed	Grade or Subject Assigned	Exact Type of Certificate	Class of Certificate	Number Years Experience

2.0 CURRICULUM CHANGES:

2.1 Were any changes effected in the school curriculum this year? (If "yes," list Subjects below.) Yes No

We were able to put in Choral Music and General Music this year.

2.2 Have course outlines or course syllabi been developed for the subjects taught? (If "yes," list subjects below.) Yes No

English, Social Studies, Mathematics, Science, French, Home Economics, Vocational Agriculture, Music, General Business, Typing, Bookkeeping and Physical Education and Health

School Code No. 701-601 page 4**COURSE OFFERINGS:**

Courses Offered	Subject Code	Total Enrollment	Membership Last Day	Number Passed	Per Cent Passed	Unit Credit
-----------------	--------------	------------------	---------------------	---------------	-----------------	-------------

5.1 *English*

Grade 9	101	196	176	164	93	1
Grade 10	102	174	161	152	93	1
Grade 11	103	137	127	126	99	1
Grade 12	104	96	95	94	99	1
Dramatics	111	29	29	29	100	1
Speech	112					
Journalism	113	32	30	30	100	1

5.2 *Mathematics*

General Math I	201	104	89	68	76	1
General Math II	202					
Algebra I	211	135	130	112	86	1
Algebra II	212	71	69	68	98	1
Algebra III	213					
Plane Geometry	221	107	106	101	95	1
Solid Geometry	222					
Trigonometry	223	19	19	19	100	1

5.3 *Science*

General Science	301	169	147	129	87	1
Physical Science	302					
Biology	311	181	170	160	94	1
Physics	321	16	16	16	100	1
Chemistry	331	108	103	100	97	1

Page 5
School Code No. 701-501

5.4

Social Studies

Courses Offered	Subject Code	Total Enrollment	Membership Last Day	Number Passed	Per Cent Passed	Unit Credit
Citizenship	401	123	107	90	84	$\frac{1}{2}$
World History	421	138	132	127	97	1
American History	422	129	119	117	98	1
Economics	431	93	91	91	100	$\frac{1}{2}$
Sociology	432	93	91	91	100	$\frac{1}{2}$
Problems	433					
Geography	434	123	107	90	84	$\frac{1}{2}$
Government	435					
Challenge of Dem.	437	33	32	32	100	1

5.5

Foreign Language

French I	511	156	150	140	93	1
French II	512	88	86	85	99	1
French III	513	17	16	16	100	1
French IV	514					
Spanish I	521					
Spanish II	522					
Spanish III	523					
Spanish IV	524					
Latin I	591					
Latin II	592					

Appendix J

Newspaper article-P.W. Moore players recall 1965 state crown

GOLDEN LION ANNIVERSARY



STAFF PHOTO BY OWEN HASSELL

Former P.W. Moore football players (l-r) Leon Riddick, Roy Hyder, Rayfield Brown, Bruce Bayd and J.C. Cole recall their team's state championship victory in 1965, which was claimed 50 years ago today. Brown is holding a patch commemorating the title.

P.W. Moore players recall 1965 state crown

■ Team earned championship victory 50 years ago on this date

BY OWEN HASSELL
Sports Editor

Most of the players said at least one assistant coach are still alive to talk about a state championship won on this exact date 50 years ago.

The P.W. Moore High School yearbook for 1965 was dedicated to the Lions' football team from the previous fall. Filled with photos and press clippings from a period 154 season culminating in that once-elusive title victory.

What remains today are memories from the people involved, and all kinds of stories about memorabilia lost from the grandest of memories.

NOV. 19, 1965

44 State Championship

P.W. Moore 26, Western Salem-Carroll 0

■ 1st (and last) football state title by Elizabeth City school

"I bet the guys at the barbershop know where that trophy is at, or know something," said Moore player Rayfield Brown of the No. 1 seniors.

502 a few years prior to the integration of all Pasquotank County schools — Moore, Central and Elizabeth City high schools merged for the 1960-70 academic year to form Northeastern — the Lions played in a 4A division that featured



PHOTO BY OWEN HASSELL

The 1965 state championship football trophy is one memento that's been lost through the years, according to players, off of the winning P.W. Moore team.

See STATEWIDE, 2E

STATE TITLE

Continued from 1D

predominantly black schools, played in the traditionally black North Carolina High School Athletic Conference.

It is the last football state championship won by an Elizabeth City team. The Eagles' inaugural year brought them an eastern regional victory, but a matchup against the best from western North Carolina was not played in 1961.

On the surface, predictions were not favorable for the Lions to win it all.

A season earlier, a strong Moore squad finished short with an 8-1 record and with it the graduation of star quarterback Johnnie Walton left a void.

Then again, almost all of the Lions in the break-through campaign were seniors, and legendary coach Walter Hunter — who played professionally for the New York Giants under then-coordinators and later Hall of Fame head coaches Vince Lombardi and Tom Landry — wasn't about to let his team think it wasn't good enough.

"In past years we'd always go 5-1 or 5-2 and tie up with Wilson, and we'd flip a coin and lose every time," said three-time tackle Bruce Boyd, now 57. "Coach said the only way we'd do it is to go undefeated."

Moore either played games at the former Memorial Field, where it shared time with Elizabeth City, or on a worn-out gridiron



Numerous photos adorned the P.W. Moore yearbook about the 1961 squad that won a 4A North Carolina High School Athletic Conference state title, a predominantly black league. Images also included those of the Lions coaches in middle photo, (r.) Willie Weeks, head coach Walter Hunter and Paul Winslow.

nearby divided a championship experience. "We broke down driving to Fayetteville on 195 near Smithfield, and we tested Fayetteville's E.E. Smith, the Lions called in the second half to win 14-12 to advance to a rematch of the 1962 state crown against Winston-Salem, and all of a sudden you'd go through small towns and the guys look at us and salute us like we're going to Vietnam," Brown said.

away in 1962, trade.

After all, the head coach coach who finished 42-42 as the program's leader rarely gave his team leeches of praise for fear of overconfidence.

One of the photos in the 1966 yearbook is Hunter checking out report cards for his players, and wrote in the publication that the majority "of truly great players the game is a stepping stone to higher education and career opportunities."

"He always found a way to drop you down a level," said Boyd, meaning to a level of humility.

Of course there were the breakout players who moved up in the college ranks, such as quarterback Lawrence Bugg (now deceased) and defensive end Thomas Overton to Virginia State, kickers Don Adams to Norfolk State and linebacker J.C. Cole — yes, the Superior Court judge Cole — to Livingstone.

There were nicknames added to the entertaining bunch, but not to bring any unnecessary individual attention in Willie County Lewis and Clarence "Cly" Lewis.

As extra shrewd, in the "Hinsborough" to Boyd was an assistant coach who didn't need a nickname for recognition, Paul Winslow.

The Moore team was coming off an NFL career with the Green Bay Packers and Minnesota Vikings when he returned to Elizabeth City to coach and teach.

"When he (Winslow) came back here I thought it was the craziest thing I'd seen in my life," said Brown.

And he'd hit you without pads."

Whittemore might not have allowed a game between the all-black Moore and majority white Elizabeth City or Central, the former Lions tested athletics still brought the entire community together and wiped away any racial tensions.

Boyd said many white-owned businesses helped with finances for team jackets, which were adorned with state championship patches.

"That's the one thing we could agree on, and we brought some recognition to the town," Boyd said.

"We still had a lot of white people come and watch our games," Brown added.

Noting the jackets, it was also a time where students were required to dress in what would be considered dapper today: blazers, cardigans, dress shirts and ties, otherwise "if someone found out you didn't have that on, you were through. It didn't matter how old you were," Brown said.

"And you had to show before you got on that bus," Cole said.

Brown still has his patch, but good luck finding other artifacts marking the achievement.

Days before the original P.W. Moore building was set for demolition more than 20 years ago, 1985 player Roy Haylor noticed the trophy was already out of the case, and he expected a teammate or school official had it in safe keeping for its return over the new P.W. Moore Elementary structure was finished.

That was because

Appendix K

Newspaper article- School name is selected: Northeastern High Eagles

OFFICE OF THE Supt. 6/1/69
ELIZ. CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS
P.O. BOX 547
CITY

The Daily Advance

INSIDE
Columns by Drew Pearson and other top state and national writers on Page 4 today.

ELIZABETH CITY, N. C. 27909, WEDNESDAY EVENING, MARCH 12, 1969 HOME DELIVERY 45¢ PER WEEK - SINGLE COPY 10 CENTS

School Name Is Selected: Northeastern High Eagles

By HESSIE CULPEPPER
Daily Advance Staff



Northeastern will be the name of the new consolidated high school. Teams will be known as the Eagles and the colors will be green and gold.

Elizabeth City - Pasquotank Board of Education approved the name, colors and mascot unanimously at their March meeting Tuesday night.

The colors and the mascot (Eagle) was selected by students of the three schools who will attend the new high school beginning next year.

Tony Gray, president of Elizabeth City High Student Council, William Gibbs, president of P.W. Moore and Beulah Pendleton, president of Central, served as representatives of their schools and submitted the recommendations. The board of education selected the same.

The calendar for the 1969-70 school year was approved. Student registration and orientation day will be Sept. 3 and Sept. 4 will be the first of the 180 required school days. School will conclude on June 5 and teacher evaluation days will be June 8-9.

The choice of school form to be filed in for each child in grades one - nine was approved in order for organization to begin for the coming school year.

All high school students in grades 10 - 12 will attend Northeastern. Both Elizabeth City High School and P. W. Moore High School will be needed to accommodate the junior high students, grades 7 - 9, and are designated as such: Central, Annie E. Jones Pasquotank, J. C. Sawyer, Harney, H. L. Trigg and Wessellville will serve the elementary grades.

All teachers who expressed desire to return next year and who were recommended by their principals were approved. Dr. Charles Weaver, superintendent said there are approximately 40 in the system who will be employed at a later date.

Suit Is Expected By Local Schools

Dr. Elton Severinson, regional civil rights director, has recommended that administrative enforcement proceedings be initiated against the Elizabeth City - Pasquotank Board of Education.

In a letter to Dr. Charles Weaver, superintendent, Dr. Severinson said all of the school district's files have been forwarded to the Washington office of Civil Rights for their action.

Dr. Severinson wrote Dr. Weaver that if such proceedings are initiated and "if an order for termination of your system's Federal financial assistance is subsequently issued, the order could take effect immediately following the close

Weaver, superintendent, right, and members of the Board of Education were presented copies of resolutions to the public schools and the community, local facilities and professional organizations of the city. President of the N. C. Teachers Association, Classroom Teachers Association and Mrs. G. M. Masterson Association. (Hessie Culpepper Photo)

Appendix L

Newspaper article- Klan Leader Urges Anti-Merger Vote



Appendix M

Elizabeth City-Pasquotank Public Schools Board of Education minutes: June 27, 1968

86

Minutes
Board of Education
Elizabeth City-Pasquotank Public Schools
June 27, 1968

The Elizabeth City-Pasquotank Board of Education met in special session on June 27, 1968, in the Conference Room of the Sheep School.

The following members were present:

W. F. Thompson, Chairman	Mrs. Vivian Jones
L. A. Harris	Norman Hopkins
E. Wilson Smith	Robert Syrum
Dr. William M. Spence	J. C. Abbott
Hugh Clinkcales	Tom L. McDaniels
Victor Morgan	Dr. William B. Thomas
Garland Harris	Dr. C. B. Jones

The meeting was called to order at 8:05 p. m.

The Elizabeth City-Pasquotank Board of Education discussed at considerable length the requirements regarding school desegregation as presented by officials from the Office for Civil Rights at the meeting of the board on June 11, 1968. These requirements, as presently understood, are as follows:

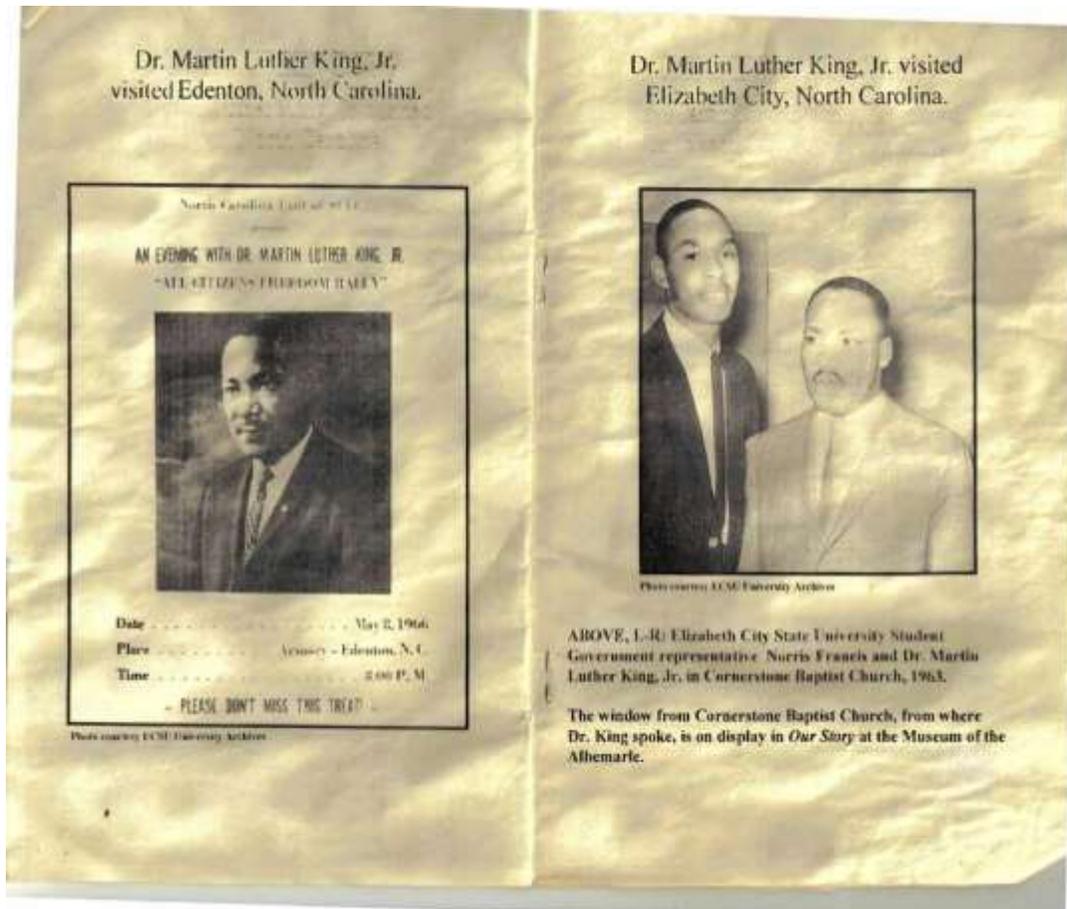
1. The P. W. Moore High School be closed by September of 1969.
2. The Annie E. Jones School be closed by September of 1968.
3. The Weeksville School be geographically zoned by September of 1968.
4. One grade be exchanged between the J. C. Sawyer School and the H. L. Trigg School or three grades be exchanged between the Pasquotank Elementary School and the Central School by September of 1968. Whichever of these alternatives is not accomplished in 1968 should be accomplished in 1969.

It was noted that no written communication had been received from the Office for Civil Rights since the oral presentation to the board on June 11. The board expressed a desire to receive this communication before making changes in the school desegregation plan now used in the school system. Accordingly, the board voted to determine finally what courses of action it would take regarding pupil assignment at the July 11, 1968, meeting of the board.

The board adopted the following calendar for the school year 1968-69:

Appendix N

Photo: Martin Luther King Jr. visiting Elizabeth City and Edenton, North Carolina



ABOVE, L-R: Elizabeth City State University Student Government representative Nueris Francis and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in Cornerstone Baptist Church, 1963.

The window from Cornerstone Baptist Church, from where Dr. King spoke, is on display in *Our Story* at the Museum of the Albemarle.

Appendix O

Photo: Mr. Calvin Paige, Principal, P.W. Moore High School



Faculty of P.W. Moore 1962



Appendix P

Photo: P.W. Moore High School- 1965



P.W. Moore Elementary



Appendix Q

Photo: Bricks taken from the P.W. Moore High School when the school was torn down



Appendix R

Photo: P.W. Moore High School Students and Teachers in Action



Trophy Case



Appendix S

Photo: P.W. Moore High School Band



Appendix T

Photo: Replica of P.W. Moore High School on display at 50th Class Reunion (1966)



Appendix U

Photo: P.W. Moore Class of 1965 50th Class Reunion



Appendix V

Bookmark given to participants when they entered the 50th class reunion