BLACK PRIDE DAY, 1968: HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT ACTIVISM IN YORK, PENNSYLVANIA

by Dwayne C. Wright*

On Friday, April 5, 1968, the day following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., 250 African American students at William Penn Senior High School, also known as "York High," in York, Pennsylvania, refused to attend class. Instead, the students, solemn yet resolved, barricaded themselves in the auditorium of the school to commence Black Pride Day. Unlike the disruptions and eruptions that occurred in high schools in other Pennsylvania cities, such as Lancaster, Harrisburg, and Erie, the York students did not find it necessary to use violence in staging their event, nor did they want to attract any negative attention to their cause.[1] Throughout the day-long "Black-only" assembly, students celebrated Dr. King's life and legacy by reading speeches, poetry, newspaper articles, and portions of his dissertation. The student-led nonviolent protest was perceived and viewed as a peaceful and thoughtful tribute to Dr. King. This was evident by the headlines and stories found in *The Gazette & Daily* and *The York Dispatch*, two local newspapers in circulation at that time. *The Gazette & Daily*, the city's more liberal paper that was supportive to the black students, published "William Penn Students Mourn King," which covered the entire third page of the newspaper.[2] The full-page story included two photographs with a caption that read, "Negro Students at William Penn Senior High School had scheduled yesterday as 'Black Pride Day.' . . . 200 black students held a special assembly in the auditorium."[3] On the other hand, *The York Dispatch*, York's conservative newspaper, printed no pictures, and only a one-column article "Students Praised," which was buried on page 30.[4]

Although the African American students were praised for their admirable act, it was their actions and demands, addressing social and educational inequities, that were significant factors in altering the course and history of African American education and schooling in the York City Public School District. For example, the demands to incorporate Black History into the curriculum, increase the number of African American staff, teachers, and guidance counselors, and permit African American parents and students to participate in the school's political and governance systems all have residual effects in the more contemporary operations of the York school district. Therefore, the protests of the African American high school students in York, Pennsylvania, demonstrate their role, impact, and importance in the history of social and educational reform.

Despite the significant contributions and actions initiated by the northern black students, the historical studies of African American schooling in the 20th century focus

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primarily on eradicating the vestiges of legalized segregation in the South.[5] In addition to the issues arising in the South over school segregation which dominate the discourse, the civil rights narrative of African American schooling in the North focuses on events and actions spearheaded by parent groups and organizations in the larger cities. From the 1930s through the 1950s, African American activists in Milwaukee demanded that public school officials hire college-educated African American teachers and improve the guidance programs for black students.[6] In Chicago, a coalition of black and white organizations orchestrated a massive student boycott in the early 1960s to challenge de facto segregation in the public school system.[7] In Harlem and Ocean Hill-Brownsville in Brooklyn, New York, parents and local black leaders in the late 1960s sought "community control" of neighborhood public schools.[8]

For the most part, historians associated leadership in educational change with community leaders, while student-led initiatives were virtually ignored. However, in Richard Wormser's *Rise and Fall of Jim Crow*, he documents the courage and commitment of African American students at Robert Russa Moton High School in Farmville, Virginia. In 1951, 200 African American Prince Edward County students, led by 16-year-old Barbara Johns and others, organized a strike that challenged the unequal distribution of resources to black schools in the district.[9] In "Black High School Student Activism in the 1960s: An Urban Phenomenon?" V. P. Franklin argues that black high school students in large public school systems should be included in the narrative of the Civil Rights Movement.[10] This study focuses on high school activism in York, Pennsylvania, a small public school system. More specifically, the student-led "Black Pride Day" at York High, the actions leading up to the protest, and the immediate aftermath all raise important issues about student agency and the quest for justice and equality in the York City Public School District during the Civil Rights-Black Power era.

SMALL PLACES WERE NOT EXEMPT FROM THE MOVEMENT

The city of York is an industrial area, located in an agrarian section of south-central Pennsylvania. York borders Lancaster, Perry, and Dauphin Counties to the east, west, and north, respectively, while bordering the "Mason-Dixon Line" to the south. York is approximately 47 miles north of Baltimore, Maryland, and 80 miles west of Philadelphia. For the decade 1960–1970, the United States census reported 50,335 persons in York, of which 14 percent were African American.[11] During this time, most African Americans were concentrated in the neighborhoods of Fries Alley, Codorus Street, Newton and Susquehanna Avenue, and Charles Lane.[12] According to Mary L. Armstrong, an African American who lived in York for more than 80 years and was raised on Susquehanna Avenue, "Blacks could only live in rodent and roach infested shacks on alleys and side streets. . . . Blacks just did not live in big houses on major thoroughfares such as Queen, Duke, and King Streets."[13] While many African Americans were forced to reside on side streets and alleys, other blacks "moved up" to live in the newly constructed Park Way, West End, or East End government subsidized housing projects.

In addition to less-than-standard living conditions, the economic and social situation was also bleak for most African Americans in York. According to the *ABC's of Good Will*

for Yorkers (1961) published by the York County Council for Human Relations, African Americans did not have the same job opportunities as whites. Among the 99 employers who participated in this study, 75 percent did not have any black employees; 10 percent stated they would not hire black workers; only 5 percent would hire them reluctantly.[14] Black workers who were able to obtain employment usually found it in unskilled and menial positions, where they earned one-third the wage paid to white laborers. African Americans were likely to experience some form of discrimination at their place of employment, or when they tried to patronize local restaurants. The local movie theater, bowling alley, and other business owners were wary, but did not bar African Americans from their facilities, including private golf courses and swimming pools.[15] Because white store owners were reluctant to serve them, African Americans felt unwelcome in both private and public business establishments.

"OLD YORK HIGH HIGH HIGH"[16]

During the Civil Rights-Black Power era, the majority of African American students attended schools in the predominately white York City Public School District. William Penn Senior High School, also known as "York High," is the city's only public high school and it served students in grades ten through twelve. In addition, the school accepted students from surrounding districts who wanted to enroll in the vocational education programs, such as graphic arts, mechanical drawing, or metal and wood shops.[17] The three-story school building and campus occupied one city block on York's south side. The main entrance to the school was directly across from Penn Park; the address was 250 West College Avenue. St. Patrick's Catholic Church and primary school were adjacent to York High on Beaver Street. The natatorium entrance and faculty/staff parking lot were on the Princess Street side of the school. During the 1967–1968 school year, 1,526 students were enrolled at York High.[18] While black students comprised nearly 23 percent (350) of the student body, the black faculty and staff only accounted for less than 3 percent of the 150 employees at York High. The four black employees at York High were Theresa Johnson (English), John Jones (Foreign Language), Bernie Manning (Special Education), and Frank Spells (Custodian).[19]

Although York High was an integrated school, traceable racial discrimination existed. The guidance counseling staff poorly advised the black student population. Opportunities for employment were limited for African Americans after graduation; therefore, guidance counselors recommended "General" and "Vocational" track programs for black male students and "Business/Clerical" programs for black females.[20] According to Wendy (Woodyard) Bryce, a member of the class of 1968, "white students dominated all top sections; those of us [black students] in the top sections were separated. While the rest of the black students [in general and vocational] were together in the basement, not getting much of an education, . . . I remember helping Hank [a general track student] get out. It made me wonder if they were even teaching the blacks anything down there."[21] Guidance counselors also advised black students to enlist in the army. Another member of the class of 1968, John Mitchell, indicated that although he was enrolled in advanced courses, the school counselor did not encourage him to apply to college, but told African Americans to go into the armed services since the Vietnam War was going on then.[22] Indeed, the guidance

staff did little to encourage black students to attend college. Although Cheyney State and Morgan State Colleges and Howard and Lincoln Universities were within a 100-mile radius of York, the guidance staff failed to invite recruiters from local black colleges to York High.[23]

In addition, York High was no "social haven" for black students. According to Barbara Mulkey Woodyard, "we [black students] could join athletic clubs and service-oriented organizations, like the business and nursing clubs, [but] blacks were rejected in their attempts to join Euterpean Literary Society (ELS) and Clio Literary Society (CLIO), two of the school's prestigious majority-white debating organizations."[24] Blacks were unable to obtain leadership roles in activities, such as theatrical productions or team sports. According to the *Investigatory Hearing Report* (1968) published by the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission, York High's administrators subscribed to strict disciplinary practices, which treated black students unfairly.[25] Also, it was reported that, "there has been frequent recourse to corporal punishment of students; instances wherein this corporal punishment was a reflection of a racist attitude on the part of teacher[s]."[26]

Since many black students did not feel accepted in the various social organizations and activities sponsored and supported by York High, some black students met outside of school to socialize and organize their own programs. The "outside class meetings" were not officially organized or recognized by the school officials; however, they gave students the opportunity to have a place where they could safely socialize together. In addition, the students were able to participate in the decision-making process, which was not likely in school-sponsored organizations. Black students were not elected to student government or senior class offices. Therefore, black students had outside class meetings and elected "Black Senior Class" officers. Ruby Wright Reeves, a member of the class of 1956, recalled that, "Since it was socially unacceptable for blacks and whites to mingle and party together, black students held outside class meetings to plan and organize our own after prom party and senior class picnic."[27] Therefore, the students took pride in Black Senior Class social events, which the entire black community embraced and supported. During a 1968 conversation with Reginald Ellis, vice president of the Black Senior Class, he stated that, "the goal was to have a bigger and better after prom party and class picnic than the previous class."[28]

Some black students used the outside class meetings to discuss and address the social and political injustices they encountered, while others on their own challenged the racial barriers they faced at York High. Several students achieved important "firsts" for African Americans in the history of York High. During the 1963–64 school year, Stevie Harley became the first African American female to be elected to York High's homecoming court.[29] Three school years later, Linda Woodyard was crowned as York High's Homecoming Queen, the first African American elected to that position.[30] During the fall of 1967, several black varsity football starting players boycotted the team because of the discrimination and favoritism practiced by the York High coaching staff.[31] As a result of their nonparticipation, York High suffered eight losses, with only two wins in the 1967–68 season.[32] Also during the 1967–68 school year, some black students took the initiative to demand that all students and staff address Frank Spells, the only African American custodian at York High, properly and respectfully. Just as the white staff was greeted with

the proper surnames; the black students did not want Mr. Spells disrespected by being called "Frank."

This period was the height of the Black Power movement in the United States, a time when African Americans began to increase their level of political and cultural consciousness.[33] It was also during this time that politically conscious adults and youth identified themselves as "Black," instead of "Colored" or "Negro." However, a few students objected to being called "Black" because of their light complexions.[34] Despite the few dissenting opinions, the African American students agreed there was a need to celebrate themselves and their African heritage. In the spirit of the times, some black students decided that on a mutually agreed upon day during the week, usually Friday, they would wear black clothing, dashikis, beads, and homemade medallions, some of which were designed and created by their school mate John Mitchell, as a symbol of their pride in their history and culture.[35] Moreover, some black students began to voice their contention that the York public school system did not incorporate contributions of African Americans in the curriculum. Since the school did not provide "culturally relevant curriculum," some black students obtained the desired information and books from Ocania Chalk, the owner of the only black bookstore in downtown York.[36] Willie Howard noted that, "Chalk had information that was uplifting, it was like wow. He was feeding us more than the stuff on Malcolm and Martin."[37] The actions and stances taken by the African American students came to a climax in the spring of 1968.

As the senior prom and picnic approached, members of the Black Senior Class met bi-weekly to plan and discuss the developments of "outside class" activities. On the afternoon of Thursday, April 4, 1968, members of the Black Senior Class met at the home of Barbara Woodyard. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss and plan fund-raising activities. In an effort to celebrate African culture, awareness, and unity, the students decided to have a school-wide Black Pride Day on Monday, April 8, 1968, that could also serve as a fund-raiser to defray some of the senior class expenses. Reginald Ellis suggested to the group that they sell John Mitchell's medallions, since the necklaces were a popular item and inexpensive to produce. As a group the eight black students mass-produced John Mitchell's creation. The design on the medallions consisted of two black hands holding up the world above a black panther as if it was on the prowl. The necklaces were white cardboard cut-outs, painted with the "Black Pride Day" logo, and had a hole punched at the top for a string. They were sold for 50 cents. In addition to the medallions, the group also painted the logo along with the words "Black Pride Day" on a white bed sheet to serve as a banner that they intended to hang in the school's cafeteria. Shortly after 6:30 p.m., however, a distraught underclassman interrupted the group meeting. Sobbing and crying, Louis Woodyard, a member of the class of 1969, delivered the startling news. "They killed King—you guys have got to do something, you got to do something!"[38] In response to Louis Woodyard's plea, the seniors deviated from their original plan; instead, they collectively decided not to attend class and hold the Black Pride Day in the school's auditorium the following day, Friday, April 5, 1968.

BLACK PRIDE DAY AT YORK HIGH

Just as much of the country came to a complete halt in November 1963 following the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, the nation buckled in response to the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. People throughout the world were dismayed that such a horrendous act could be perpetrated against a man who lived and preached nonviolence and peace. Most African Americans perceived this murderous act as symbolic of the hatred and violence often exhibited by white Americans. Many African Americans felt the assassination of this peaceful leader was also the end of the nonviolent movement toward racial equality.[39] Like most commercial business owners in York, the Superintendent of Public Schools, Dr. Woodrow W. Brown, decided not to alter Friday's schedule; therefore, the York public schools remained open. Willie Howard, an underclassman remembered, "Everyone was first on edge, didn't really know what to do or what was going to happen, but we were pissed off because they shot him down. They [school officials] just wanted us to come up here and just have business as usual. You didn't want to go on with business as usual that day."[40] Without a detailed plan in place, the student organizers of the Black Pride Day were able to convince fellow black students to skip class and join them in the school auditorium to talk about and grieve over the assassination of Dr. King.

As students entered the school building, several student organizers approached the school's principal, Dr. O. Meredith Parry, with their Black Pride Day plan. He did not prohibit the students from organizing or using the auditorium. Reginald Ellis reminisced, "I remember being just very solemn with him . . . no explanation basically . . . it wasn't defiance, but it was resolve. We had no secret . . . there was no 'cat in the hat' . . . no fear at all. We were not concerned about any repercussions. . . . It just unfolded and many people participated. A lot of people had suggestions and we discussed them. A handful of folks said 'let's do this and that' and people went along with it."[41] Although Dr. Parry did not stop the student organizers, he refused to make the announcement over the school's speaker system about the black-only assembly. Therefore, the student organizers went room-to-room, pulling black students out of class and directing them to the auditorium.[42]

Inside the auditorium, the organizers developed and modified the agenda of activities as the day proceeded. As students grieved and consoled one another, they reflected on Dr. King's life, accomplishments, and political positions. Some students started to plan to how they could change the social and educational system in York. The organizers decided to capitalize on the fact that they had the attention of the majority of the school's black population. Reginald Ellis, vice president of the Black Senior Class, addressed the audience. "'Hey, what are we going to do about this?' Then we began looking at our own situations and said, 'we don't like this.'"[43] Deborah McMillan, member of the senior class, recalled that, "Students were more interested in doing something, let's be angry, let's show people that we're really together. So the demands [were] a sort of a . . . vehicle for showing people. I don't know how interested they were, but we thought, at least I thought, it was important for us to look serious about what we were doing."[44] The audience listened attentively as Kerry Kirkland, president of the Black Senior Class, read the following prepared statement and list of demands.[45]

BLACK PRIDE DAY, 1968

We, the Black students of William Penn High School . . . dedicate ourselves to the purpose of insuring a well-rounded curriculum for the students of William Penn. In order for this to come about, we demand the following:

Article I.

Section 1. *Black History must be mandatory for all students at William Penn.* (By Black teachers.)

Section 2. More Black teachers must be hired. Especially in areas such as 1) gym teachers for boys and girls; 2) head coaches in sports; 3) teachers in the arts and sciences. . . .

Article II.

Section 1. Better counseling for Black students must be brought about.

Section 2. Black counselors must be hired.

Section 3. Scholarship services must be [made available to] all Black students. They should be told about them at the beginning of the year and at the time of application to colleges.

Section 4. Black college representatives must be scheduled to talk to Black students during every school year.

Article III.

Section 1. Black recognition must be made in areas such as: 1) heads of school committees; 2) more Black students in school societies.

Section 2. No discrimination in school plays, the best people must be [given] parts, no matter if there are color differences in the lead roles.

Article IV.

Section 1. More respect from the personnel in the main office.

Section 2. Black cafeteria personnel such as cooks and people in serving line.

Section 3. Black guest speakers in assembly programs must be scheduled.

Section 4. Black minister[s] must be considered for the baccalaureate services.

Section 5. School holiday should be given for the commemoration of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s death.

Article V.

Section 1. We want the Temple Report implemented.[46]

THE AFTERMATH OF BLACK PRIDE DAY

The actions led by black students at York High in 1968 affected the social and educational environment in the city of York. Since this was the first time in York's history that black students assembled themselves without supervision, the local news outlets covered the events. In the Saturday, April 6, 1968, edition of *The Gazette & Daily*, the editors expressed support for the black students and published a feature article "William Penn Students Mourn King," covering the entire third page.[47] The full-page story included two photographs and provided detailed coverage of the all-black student assembly at York High.[48] As noted earlier, *The York Dispatch* published only a one-column item on the student assembly.[49] Between April 6 and April 27, 1968, the newspaper editors at *The*

Gazette & Daily published three times as many articles regarding the black York High students than the editors at *The York Dispatch*.[50]

Just as there was a difference in how the newspapers covered the events led by the black students, the support from teachers at York High also varied. For the most part, the black students supervised themselves as they assembled in the auditorium. Dr. Parry and other teachers did on occasion check in on the students. One of the four African American teachers at York High, Bernie Manning, who taught special education and coached the track team, briefly visited the students in the auditorium. Before he left the auditorium, Manning told the students, "I have no comments to make either positive or negative, I just hope you look upon me as someone who respects what you're doing."[51] Also, Mr. Max Frye, a white math teacher, who wore a black armband in recognition of Dr. King's death, recalled:

> I went up to the auditorium that day, there was nobody there but the students and they were having discussions and reading speeches. So, I was there to show my respect and support. But at one point, one of my students got up and pointed out the fact that I was there and said he thought this was a very nice gesture on our [Manning and himself] part. Well, someone else took objection to that. I was a white guy, and I should not have been there. Then some people were arguing back and forth whether or not I should be there, and so at that point, I went up to the microphone and explained that I was there to show support, and I was not there to participate, and I feel very much and did not want my presence to be disruptive and so I left.[52]

While Manning and Frye publicly supported the black students' actions, Reginald Ellis indicated that some teachers chose to encourage the students privately.[53] Other teachers feared the possibility of losing their jobs or being labeled a rabble-rouser.[54]

As the black students received public and private support from staff members, there was also faculty members who were in opposition to the student-led protest. Wendy Woodyard remembered:

> The white folks were trying to come in to see what we were doing because we were supposed to be in class. . . . This one white teacher was sitting up in the balcony for a while before they made her get up and leave. After she got up and left, somebody said, "Lock the doors."[55]

The Gazette & Daily quoted an unidentified white female teacher as saying, "The black students should have been forced to go to class or face expulsion." The same unidentified person also was quoted as saying, "When the assembly is over, we'll have to fumigate the auditorium" as a reaction to the all-black student assembly.[56] Dr. Parry expected teacher criticism for his lack of response to the black-only student assembly; however, he dismissed the dissenters by saying, "they weren't running the ship."[57]

Although the black students received some support, their actions changed the educational climate in the York public school district. The black students demanded that a Black History course, taught by a black teacher, be mandatory for all students. Even though the members of the school board voted 5 to 1 to accept the black students' demand to develop

and implement a Black History course, the board referred to it as a "Negro History" course. The board also indicated that the district would incorporate contributions of African Americans and use black authors in all subject areas in every grade level. Dr. Brown claimed the school district could not afford the expense of adding the program. The superintendent incorrectly assumed that, "No Black History textbook is available, and supplemental materials were too expensive." In addition, he believed that, "To hire a Black [History] teacher would strain an already tight [school] budget." In response to Dr. Brown's comments, Deborah McMillan declared that, "students do not want to wait ten years before a well-integrated textbook is developed."[58] Russell Chapman, the only African American on the school board, also supported the students' demand for a Black History course. Mr. Chapman, a former student of Dr. Carter G. Woodson at Howard University, stated, "Blacks [should] know their background; therefore, in order to gain this knowledge, the students need 'Negro history.'"[59] Surprisingly, a white student expressed the necessity of Black History as a way to educate and dispel the prejudices of white students.[60]

After the board approved the course to be implemented in September 1968, Dr. Parry directed the standing social studies committee to meet during July to create the course outline and description, and present it to the board during the August school board meeting.[61] In addition, the board decided to implement the Black History course as an elective at the high school level, not mandatory as suggested by the black students. However, School Superintendent Dr. Brown explained that officials of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania specify which courses were to be mandatory, and therefore local districts could not change the mandate.[62]

The board members responded also to the students' plea to increase the number of black faculty and staff members at York High. Over a one-year period the number of black faculty and staff at York High doubled. During the 1967–68 school year, there were four African American employees. Almost immediately after the black students submitted the demands to the school board, the number of black employees began to increase. During the April 22, 1968, meeting, the school board promoted Frank Spells from custodian to assistant home and school visitor.[63] As a result of student complaints about the racially discriminatory attitudes and practices of white clerical and cafeteria workers, the district hired Helen Ritter to fill a secretarial position in the English department, while Irma Woodard was hired as the first African American to work in the school cafeteria. Both women were approved for hire during the May 15, 1968, school board meeting. During the July 17, 1968, school board meeting, an African American couple were hired by the York public school system. Wanda L. Brantley filled a vacant position in the Business/Economics department at York High. Her husband William E. Brantley was hired as the director of the pupil personnel office, a position from which he supervised guidance departments district wide. African Americans Sam Manson and Julia Muldrow were hired in the summer of 1968 as guidance counselors in the district to better serve the black student population. In addition to serving as guidance counselor, Muldrow taught the Black History course during the 1968–69 school year, the initial year of its existence.[64] Muldrow also served as the advisor to the Carter G. Woodson Society, the first black organization officially recognized by the school.

Another first for African American students also occurred shortly after the black students' demands were presented. As a result of the April 26, 1968, student government

elections, Allen Garnett and Juanita Green were elected to serve as vice president and cabinet member, respectively, for the 1968–69 school year.[65] Although African American students broke the student government color barrier, black students continued to elect and conduct "outside class" elections. So much so, for the first time in York High's history, black junior and sophomore students elected "outside class" officers for their respective classes.

"WE JUST HAD TO DO SOMETHING"

During the 1960s, a volatile period in United States history, it was not uncommon for black youth to participate in the contemporary struggles for social justice. In the late 1960s black students at William Penn Senior High School in York, Pennsylvania, recognized the inequities inside of the school and out, and the need for culturally relevant curricula. Student members of the class of 1968 planned Black Pride Day, an occasion to celebrate African and African American culture, and hoped to rectify the *miseducation* they felt they received in the regular classrooms. The black high school students who experienced the Civil Rights-Black Power era made lasting contributions to African American education.

The black students' actions influenced the educational changes in subsequent generations. In 1974, the York City School District hired Dr. Frederick D. Holliday, the first African American to hold the position of Superintendent. More recently, another first has occurred. Mr. Carlos Lopez was hired in 2001 as the first Hispanic American superintendent in York. African American alumni of York High have acquired positions in the York city school system. Jeff Kirkland, class of 1967, was elected the school board president in 1998. In addition to Kirkland's position, the majority of the voting members on the school board are African American, which was unheard of 35 years before. More recently, York High Principal Wanda Dorm, class of 1967, instituted a program that provides an opportunity for African American students to participate in a week-long bus tour of historically black colleges and universities.

The York High story is an important part of the larger history of the Civil Rights, Black Power, and Student Rights movements. Fortunately, the former students who attended York High during the late 1960s were willing to share their stories for the historical record. When the events unfolded, the local newspapers and school board meeting minutes only provided certain details about the student protests. Although York High's black students were unaware of the historical significance of their actions in the late 1960s, when the former students reflected on Black Pride Day and their actions of nearly 35 years before, one declared, "We did not think it was . . . heroic, we just had to do something."[66]

NOTES

[1]Barbara (Mulkey) Woodyard, telephone conversation with author, 19 October 2000.

[2]"William Penn Students Mourn Dr. King," *The Gazette & Daily*, 6 April 1968.

[3]Ibid.

[4]"Students Praised," *The York Dispatch*, 6 April 1968.

[5]For histories on segregation in education see David S. Cecelski, *Along Freedom Road: Hyde County, North Carolina and the Fate of Black Schools in the South* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1994); Robert Smith, *They Closed Their Schools: Prince Edward County, Virginia 1951–1964* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1965); Vanessa Siddle Walker, *Their Highest Potential: An African American School Community in the Segregated South* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1996); for histories covering Civil Rights in the South, see James D. Anderson, *The Education*

of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935 (Chapel Hill, NC, 1988); and Robert J. Norrell, *Reaping the Whirlwind: The Civil Rights Movement in Tuskegee, with a New Concluding Chapter by the Author* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1998).

[6]John Aaron Dougherty, "More Than One Struggle: African-American School Reform Movements in Milwaukee, 1930–1980," Ph.D. diss., The University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1997.

[7]James P. Pitts, "A Case Study: Analysis of Black High School Students—A Generation of Change," Thesis, Northwestern University, 1971); Dionne A. Danns, "Something Better for Our Children: Black Organizing in Chicago Public Schools," Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2001.

[8]Jane Anna Gordon, *Why They Couldn't Wait: A Critique of the Black-Jewish Conflict over Community Control in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, 1967–1971* (New York, 2001).

[9]Richard Wormser, *The Rise and Fall of Jim Crow*, 1st ed. (New York, 2003).

[10]V. P. Franklin, "Black High School Student Activism in the 1960s: An Urban Phenomenon?" *Journal of Research in Education* 10 (Fall 2000): 3–8.

[11]Department of City Planning, "Planning Unit Analysis—Data Report," City of York, 1973.

[12]Jim Kalish, *The Story of Civil Rights in York, Pennsylvania: A 250 Year Interpretive History* (York, PA, 2000), 47.

[13]Mary Armstrong, interview with the author, York, PA, 16 February 2002.

[14]York County Council for Human Relations, *ABC's of Good Will for Yorkers* (York County Court House, 1961).

[15]Harry Boyer, *Investigatory Hearing Report* (York, PA, 1968), 65.

[16]"Old York High High High" is the title of William Penn Senior High School's alma mater.

[17]*William Penn Senior High School: 68 Tatler* (York, PA, 1968).

[18]For educational and demographical data in York see the Planning and Zoning, Bureau of City, *Data Report: Planning Unit Analysis Part I* (June, 1973).

[19]*William Penn Senior High School: 68 Tatler.*

[20]Kalish, *The Story of Civil Rights in York, Pennsylvania*, 48.

[21]Wendy (Woodyard) Bryce, interview with the author, Durham, NC, 20 September 2001.

[22]John Mitchell, telephone conversation with the author, Ellicot City, MD, 26 June 2002.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Woodyard interview.

[25]Boyer, "Investigatory Hearing Report," 20.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Ruby Reeves, telephone conversation with the author, Chattanooga, TN, 8 January 2003.

[28]Reginald Ellis, interview with the author, Cincinnati, OH, 11 February 2002.

[29]Geraldine Wright, telephone conversation with the author, 4 January 2003.

[30]*William Penn Senior High School: 67 Tatler*, 1967, 146.

[31]Keith Beatty, interview with the author, Atlanta, GA, 24 November 2001.

[32]*William Penn Senior High School: 68 Tatler*, 44.

[33]For black consciousness during this period, see S. E. Anderson, "Black Students: Racial Consciousness and Class Struggle, 1960–1976," *The Black Scholar* 8 (1977); Jane J. Mansbridge and Aldon D. Morris, eds., *Oppositional Consciousness: The Subjective Roots of Social Protest* (Chicago, IL, 2001); Laurence Parker, Donna Deyhle, and Sofia A. Villenas, *Race Is—Race Isn't: Critical Race Theory and Qualitative Studies in Education* (Boulder, CO, 1999); Harry Edwards, *Black Students* (New York, 1970); and Kwame Ture and Charles Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation* (New York, 1992).

[34]Stella (Richardson) Banks, interview with the author, tape recording, York, PA, 30 September 2001.

[35]Ellis interview.

[36]Willie Howard, interview with the author, York, PA, 24 December 2001.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ellis interview.

[39]John Hope Franklin, Jr. and Alfred A. Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans*, 8th ed. (Boston, MA, 2000), 549.

[40]Howard interview.

[41]Ellis interview.

[42]Kerry Kirkland, interview with the author, York, PA, 22 October 2001.

[43]Ellis interview.

[44]Deborah Kittrell McMillan, interview with the author, York, PA, 20 March 2002.

[45]"Black Students Ask More Recognition at William Penn after Rally on Park," *The Gazette & Daily*, 9 April 1968; "Students Present 'Black Demands' to School Board," *The Gazette & Daily*, 19 April 1968.

[46]The Temple Report was two volumes of recommendations and criticism of the York City school district. The report was released by Dr. Leroy C. Olsen, professor of education, and a team of researchers from Temple University, who spent months studying educational facilities in York.

[47]"William Penn Students Mourn Dr. King."

[48]Ibid.

[49]"Students Praised."

[50]The articles that appeared in the *Gazette & Daily* included: "William Penn Students Mourn Dr. King," and "Hannah Penn Boy Writes of King," 6 April 1968; "Black Students Ask More Recognition at William Penn After Rally in Park," and "King Memorial Speakers Hit Violence," 9 April 1968; "School Directors Told 'Negro Teachers Not Coming to Us,'" 11 April 1968; "Students Present 'Black Demands' to School Board," and "School Upgrading Said Key Effort to Halt Race Shift," 19 April 1968; "City School Board Schedules Parley on Temple Report," 23 April 1968; "Three Groups Urging Action to Improve Schools in York," 24 April 1968; "Two Negro Students Elected to York High School Offices," 27 April 1968. The articles that were published in *The York Dispatch* included: "King's Assassination Stirs Action in York," 5 April 1968; "Negroes' Demands Stir School Board," 19 April 1968; and "York High to Offer Course on Negro History," 23 April 1968.

[51]"William Penn Students Mourn Dr. King."

[52]Max Frye, interview with the author, York, PA, 16 March 2001.

[53]Ellis interview.

[54]Frye interview.

[55]Bryce interview.

[56]"William Penn Students Mourn Dr. King."

[57]"Students Praised."

[58]"Negroes' Demands Stir School Board."

[59]"History of Negro Will Be Taught at William Penn."

[60]"Students Present 'Black Demands' to School Board"; "Negroes' Demands Stir School Board."

[61]"York High to Offer Course on Negro History."

[62]"Negroes' Demands Stir School Board."

[63]"Meeting Minutes," in *York City School Board* (York, PA, 1967–1968), April 22, 1968

[64]Julia (Muldrow) Hines, interview with the author, York, PA, 3 February 2003.

[65]"Two Negro Students Elected to York High School Offices."

[66]Kirkland interview.