

Southern New Hampshire University

The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots

This Capstone Project Submitted to the College of Online and Continuing Education in Partial  
Fulfillment of the Master of Arts in History with a Concentration in Public History

By:

Kelsey Wisman

York, Pennsylvania

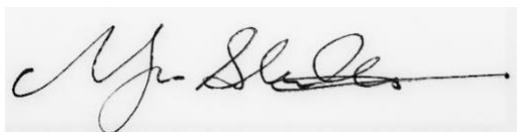
December 2018

Copyright © 2018 by Kelsey Wisman

All Rights Reserved

Student: Kelsey Marie Wisman

I certify that this student has met the requirements for formatting the capstone project and that this project is suitable for preservation in the University Archive.



December, 18, 2018

---

Capstone Instructor

---

Date



January 14, 2019

---

Southern New Hampshire University  
College of Online and Continuing Education

---

Date

## **Abstract**

York County, much like the rest of the nation, experienced political and societal strife during the Civil Rights Movement. Certain locations received national media attention due to the events that occurred. Although York did not receive media coverage to the extent that other locations did, York and its citizens were impacted by previous events that directly led to its predictable past: the race riots. The race riots became a predictable and inevitable future due to the consistent racial unrest, societal and political limitations, gang violence, and the questionable tactics used by the York City Police Department. The United States continues to address racism today and York is no stranger to this problem either. However, York's location makes it particularly unique. York is a county within Pennsylvania, which is considered a part of the North and was a Union state during the Civil War. It borders the Mason-Dixon Line, which separated the Union from the Confederacy. Although this border separated slave states from free states, it is clear that ideals, values, and principles easily passed over this line, which greatly influenced the history of York, Pennsylvania. This examination seeks to detail how York's location, historical racial events, societal limitations, and inaction caused the race riots in York County to become a matter of when, rather than a matter of if. In order to achieve this goal, a thesis and curriculum workshop were created to foster a greater understanding of those events. The thesis includes the research information, while the curriculum workshop, located in the appendix, seeks to educate students on local racial history. Students will complete specific activities led by an educator within the classroom, while also having the opportunity to schedule a walking tour with the York Historical Society. With this understanding, residents in and

outside of York County will gain a new perspective that illuminates how societal and cultural obstacles impacted the history of York County, Pennsylvania.

## **Dedication**

This project is dedicated to York County. I hope that you gain a greater understanding and appreciation for the county that you reside in as I have throughout this process.

## Table of Contents

ABSTRACT .....	IV
DEDICATION.....	VI
LIST OF FIGURES .....	VIII
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	IX
INTRODUCTION .....	1
CHAPTER ONE: HISTORIOGRAPHY .....	4
CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY .....	17
CHAPTER THREE: AUDIENCE .....	21
CHAPTER FOUR: HISTORICAL TOPIC RESEARCH AND PROJECT PLAN.....	26
CHAPTER FIVE: BUDGETING AND STAFFING .....	44
CHAPTER SIX: RECOMMENDATIONS AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	48
CONCLUSION .....	52
APPENDIX.....	54
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	100

## List of Figures

<b><u>Figure 1:</u></b> Are you interested in the race riots? .....	21
<b><u>Figure 2:</u></b> Have you ever heard of the York County race riots? .....	22
<b><u>Figure 3:</u></b> Total Participants in Age Group vs. Yes, I have heard of the riots .....	23

## **Acknowledgements**

I want to give a special thank you to the York Historical Society for working with me to complete and advance this project. Thank you to Dr. Peter Levy who met with me to discuss the riots and my project.

I would also like to thank my husband, who supported me throughout this entire journey. It was your belief that propelled me forward.

## Introduction

Confederate flags dangle from flag poles, drape off trucks, and adorn belt buckles. Racial divides consume cities, which is felt through violence, property damage, injuries, and the loss of innocent lives. For many, images of the Civil War and the South come to mind, but this describes what occurred throughout the United States during the Civil Rights Movement as well. Racial divide and the Civil Rights Movement are usually tied to the South, but racial riots occurred throughout the country. This reigns true for northern states and even cities such as York County, Pennsylvania, which forces the question, what circumstances occurred that allowed certain southern ideals to infiltrate various individuals that reside within this northern county?

As someone who was born and raised in rural York County, local history was nonexistent and easy to ignore. Currently, working as a teacher in York County, local historical events are barely discussed due to subject matter, state requirements, and time restrictions. Many students are unaware of York's history or the race riots that occurred within the county, while older residents know of the riots because they lived during that time period and experienced or saw events unfold within the city. In order to address the ignorance of York's history and combat the racism that is prevalent within the county, *The Predictable Past's* mission is to educate students on local racial historical events by exposing them to a curriculum that examines the historical events that led to the race riots. This knowledge will encourage empathy, a greater understanding within the community, and the ability to apply this knowledge to current ongoing issues. This thesis concludes that York, Pennsylvania's history and the lack of identifying and addressing racial inequalities, directly impacted and allowed for the development of a toxic environment that led to the race riots of 1969. York's racial history, African American history,

the race riots of 1969, the lack of effort to rebuild the community, and a stalemate of 32 years that ended with two murder trials, will illustrate why ongoing racial tensions still exist within York County.

This thesis coupled with the curriculum workshop for local educators and public institutions will inform residents of the past, break misconceptions, and create an environment in which understanding can occur. Primary and secondary sources support this thesis, which strengthen the merit of the curriculum workshop, as do meetings with the York County Historical Society, educator input and feedback, discussions with local historians, interviews with residents that lived in York during the riots, and survey results.

In order to completely discuss and examine the projects' mission and the thesis, each chapter includes pertinent discussions that will resolve questions or considerations and stress the importance of this project. Chapter one examines the historiography on the race riots within York County, the gaps present in the current historiography, and the agreements and disagreements throughout. This historiographical examination proves why this thesis is necessary and adds to the overall discussion. Chapter two focuses on the methods that were used to complete this project such as the historical lenses applied, the tactics employed for research purposes, and the resources and archives used to support the conclusions. The target audience for this particular project is discussed in chapter three. Although many would benefit from this project and research, it was particularly developed for a specific audience.

The last three chapters specifically focus on the main concepts and details of the research within the thesis and on the projects' development and implementation. Chapter four dissects the research gathered about the racial history within York County, while explaining how these events led to the race riots. This chapter also examines how this research narrative translates into

the project and how that project was implemented and created. Next, chapter five examines the necessary budgeting and staffing that will be needed for this or a similar project. Staff within a public history institution is needed to create, complete, and implement a thorough curriculum workshop. Funding is needed to not only complete the workshop but also to update the curriculum on a regular basis. Chapter six includes recommendations for future research on this topic as well as ideas that could be added to the project in the future. Ethical considerations are also discussed here in regards to potential concerns or obstacles that this particular project may present. Finally, the conclusion will bring the entire project together and illustrate the importance and necessity of this research and project. The appendix includes the curriculum objectives, state standards, general lesson plans, supplements, and [walking tour](#) information for educators and students.

The York race riots were a pivotal moment in the county's history, which was preceded by other historical events that directly led to racial instability. That instability created unrest and fear within a city of about 50,000 people<sup>1</sup> and a county of about 270,000 people.<sup>2</sup> This project seeks to recognize and explore this history, so future generations are aware of what has occurred on a railroad track that they may walk across every day.

---

<sup>1</sup> "York, Pennsylvania Population 2018," World Population Review, accessed November 16, 2018, <http://worldpopulationreview.com/us-cities/york-pa-population/>.

<sup>2</sup> "Population of States and Counties of the United States: 1790-1990," U.S. Bureau of the Census, March 1996, <https://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/PopulationofStatesandCountiesoftheUnitedStates1790-1990.pdf>.

## Chapter One: Historiography

In order to create a comprehensive, inclusive curriculum workshop and thesis, historiography that pertains to the York race riots is pertinent to examine. Overall, the historiography on this particular subject is limited. A thorough examination of the race riots within York County is extremely difficult to find. The authors and historians that chose to examine this topic have dissected it and separated it into various sections instead of examining the event as a whole. Very few have done this topic justice, which this thesis hopes to address. Although this is simply a start, it is the beginning of a comprehensive examination of the racial history within York County, but before this occurs, it is important to reflect on the current interpretations available.

### Secondary Sources

To provide a clear perspective on the secondary sources available, they are examined from best to worst. Meaning, the most relevant, comprehensive, and inclusive resources are examined first and the resources progress to the “worst.” This does not mean that those resources were not useful or beneficial; in this case they were simply less helpful than others. For example, the resource may not specifically discuss the riots. However, the information included relates to the riots and provides insight on the events surrounding the riots, so it should be mentioned in this examination. With those specifications in mind, the first resource to discuss is that of Dr. Peter B. Levy.

Compared to available secondary sources on this particular topic, Dr. Levy’s book *The Great Uprising* includes the most comprehensive examination of the riots. Currently a professor at York College, Dr. Levy examines three different riots within his book: Cambridge, Maryland, Baltimore, Maryland, York, Pennsylvania. Although the York riots only make up a third of this

book, that section of about 80 pages pulls this topic together in a way that allows readers to understand the societal issues that African Americans faced within the city and how those issues escalated. Levy includes various primary and secondary resources including items from the historical society. This particular account provided the most well-rounded examination of the riots and the issues that plagued African Americans, which greatly improves the understanding and connection that can be made with the next couple of resources.

*Charrette at York, PA* by George Shumway, *Murder is the Charge* by William C. Costopoulos and Brad Bumsted and the article written by Raul Urrunaga entitled “The York Charrette: April 19-27, 1970” are examinations about certain events that occurred due to the riots. *Murder is the Charge* briefly introduces events that occurred during the riots, such as Officer Schaad’s murder and former mayor, Charlie Robertson’s role during the riots. However, this book quickly adjusts for the thesis, which examines how the 2001 trial tainted Charles Robertsons’ reputation. Although this book specifically examines a repercussion from the riots, it does not provide a great amount of valuable information for this thesis.

Shumway and Urrunaga’s text are similar to Costopoulos and Bumstead. The information is useful and an important piece in regards to the historiography on this topic, but Shumway and Urrunaga also only addresses one aspect: the Charrette. The Charrette was held in York to address several problems within the city in hopes that it would “solve societal ills that plagued inner-city York for decades...”<sup>1</sup> Shumway’s text discusses the specific items that were discussed and addressed as well as the organizations that came from the Charrette, while Urrunaga provides a brief overview for the *Journal of York County Heritage*. The Charrette in

---

<sup>1</sup> Raul Urrunaga, “The York Charrette: April 19-27, 1970,” *Journal of York County Heritage* (September 2011): 33.

York was a historical moment for the city and an examination that must be included when discussing the riots; however, this is only one piece of the puzzle. The entire picture must be constructed in order for the residents of York to gain a complete understanding.

Another specific and vital resource in regards to the riots and Lillie Belle Allen's murder is *The Wrong Car* by William Keisling. This particular book provides a great amount of insight on what happened the night of Allen's murder and why it happened. However, Keisling's claims must be questioned due to his lack of cited sources. Keisling's text does not include any citations or a bibliography. However, there is a website for his book that does offer, what appears to be examples of some items and resources that Keisling had access to in order to complete his book. Items include supplemental reports and interviews in which case, these items clearly support his book and provide other historians with access to vital information. However, without a complete bibliography, historians must question Keisling's claims and research. An email was sent to Mr. William Keisling regarding this concern. Mr. Keisling responded that Charlie Roberston provided him with pre-trial materials, Brady disclosure materials, which included most of the police reports and other agency reports. Keisling stated his reasoning for not releasing all of the materials to his website is for a variety of reasons.<sup>2</sup> This communication provides a greater reassurance of Keisling's claims, but hesitation still remains.

Lastly, another book that was of great importance for different reasons was Jim Kalish's *The Story of Civil Rights in York, Pennsylvania: A 250 Year Interpretive History*. This particular collection does address the York race riots in chapter four, which provides a great amount of information on the community and the residents within York. The main benefit of this text is the

---

<sup>2</sup> William Keisling, Email message to author, November 29, 2018.

comprehensive examination of civil rights within York, Pennsylvania. This particular examination is rare and provides a unique awareness that many other resources do not include. Kalish's civil rights collection is unlike any other and provides readers and historians with a great starting point as well as a broader understanding of their home, which is why this resource is vital to this thesis.

The above resources illustrate how limited historiography is on the York race riots. From this point on the resources discussed become less applicable in regards to the topic. Although this may be true, these resources still provide helpful insights on this topic as a whole. Take for example James Hirsch's discussion on the riot in Tulsa, Oklahoma or Trotter and Smith's examination entitled *African Americans in Pennsylvania*. Although these books do not relate specifically to the topic, they each provide helpful and supportive information in order to better understand the riots in York. Hirsch's book details the riots that took place in Tulsa, which allows for comparisons to be made. Trotter and Smith's accumulation of documents construct a complete picture of Pennsylvania, while detailing where African Americans fit into that picture.

James McClure and Mary Hamilton consolidated newspaper articles within their collection that examines the racial events in York County. Hamilton also discusses the role J.W. Gitt played in the coverage the riots received while he was the owner and publisher of the *York Gazette and Daily*. Although these resources provide a small snapshot of the articles that were published, they also provide an insight into the newspapers and journalists that were detailing the riots and the people involved. The journalists that published these articles began to document history for the county, while also "taking unpopular positions on local civil rights issues."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Jim Kalish, *The Story of Civil Rights in York, Pennsylvania: A 250 Year Interpretive History* (Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Emerson Egervary & Associates, Inc., 2000), 63.

The secondary sources that exist in regards to this topic contain some gaps, discrepancies, and shortcomings that must be considered when examining their text. Gaps within historiography will naturally develop when the secondary resources available on any specific topic, including the York County race riots, are extremely limited. In this case, the secondary sources that exist are limited when examining their relevance to the topic and many secondary sources also lack detail when examining the history of York and the riots. Although the secondary sources that currently exist and specifically discuss the York race riots are relevant, many of those resources focus on different aspects of the York race riots as well as the historical racial events that occurred in York. Take for example Joseph Cress's publication of *Murder and Mayhem in York County*. His entire book lacks detail in regards to York's racial history and the race riots. His book sought to clump the major crimes of York County together in order to educate readers on well-known events with the use of "firsthand accounts by fellow journalists..."<sup>4</sup> Cress provided a short examination of the race riots and other crimes in order to compare the events that have occurred in York County. *Murder is the Charge* takes on a different goal. Costopoulos and Bumsted solely focus on the trial of Charlie Robertson, one of the ten men tried for Allen's death. He was the mayor of York during the trial, but a member of the York City police force when Lillie Belle Allen was murdered.<sup>5</sup> While working to achieve this goal they neglect the history of York and other details that led up to the riots. This is another example of reliable research that adds to the historiography and adds to this thesis, but is specifically focused on one particular aspect.

---

<sup>4</sup> Joseph David Cress, *Murder and Mayhem in York County* (Charleston, South Carolina: The History Press, 2011), 10.

<sup>5</sup> William C. Costopoulos and Brad Bumstead, *Murder is the Charge* (Philadelphia: Camino Books, 2004), vii.

These resources provide context for this thesis, but this thesis can stand alone due to a comprehensive examination of the events and the impact on the community. Each author and historian has a different interpretation and argument and each support his or her arguments with a great amount of primary and secondary sources, which adds to the historiography that currently exists on this topic. Although they lack in certain areas or have gaps, these resources still add to the historiography available and future discussions to come. This thesis utilizes their research and interpretations to illustrate that historical events and inaction during the riots created the racial climate then and has fostered the current racial climate today. This allows this thesis and research to stand apart from previous historical accounts, while providing past and future historians with new interpretations.

Within the historiography on this topic, discrepancies and differing opinions developed. Many historians and authors have debated their views and the impacts of the riots, as well as the reason for a stalemate of over 30 years. Stewart's view discussed in *No Peace, No Justice* is an important text to consider. Her particular interpretation is quite different when compared to others, which is why this debate must be broken down, examined, and discussed. Stewart's claims seek to disprove what many other historians and authors have stated occurred such as the white gang rally in the park or the barricade that was moved so Allen's family could drive down Newberry Street.<sup>6</sup> She argues that these items were exaggerated in order to wage a race war.<sup>7</sup> However, multiple newspapers discuss these incidents as well as historians. While Stewart

---

<sup>6</sup> Mary Conway Stewart, *No Peace, No Justice* (Xlibris Corporation, 2006), 4.

<sup>7</sup> Stewart, *No Peace, No Justice*, 6.

argues that many of these Costopoulos and Bumsted's book, events did not occur, Levy, and many other historians, argue they did and that these events had a great impact on the community.

Although it is clear what led to the riots in York, it becomes unclear what happened on the night Allen was murdered. In regards to the available secondary sources, many shy away from the specific events as Costopoulos and Bumstead did, while others, such as Levy, seek to detail the known and verified events. Although Levy provides more detail on the events leading up to Allen's murder, he avoids specific questions, rumors, and questionable police entanglement. Keisling provides this touchy information and seeks to specifically address what occurred. However, due to his lack of citations, his claims and concerns regarding the police department remain just that. Stewart sought to validate the police officers' choices by downplaying their actions. Although countless witnesses verify and several newspaper journalists state that certain members of the York Police Department handed out ammunition, chanted "white power" at a rally, and called for white residents to defend their neighborhood, Stewart instead states that the police did not "plant ideas into the heads of white gang members." The police simply encouraged gang members to "protect" their neighborhoods. Stewart also claims that "many people labeled black were very dangerous indeed," so the white gang members were only "reacting to a wave of sniping and arson." It is true that both whites and blacks were inciting violence and sustaining the unrest throughout the community, but Stewart overcorrected in her interpretation.<sup>8</sup>

How did the events of that night become so skewed, so different? How are the details and facts so limited? This uncertainty in the facts directly impacts the historiography written.

---

<sup>8</sup> Stewart, *No Peace, No Justice*, 11-12.

Historians become limited and gaps develop. With a time delay of more than 30 years, unavailable police reports, and various perceptions and interpretations on this subject, there will continue to be a sense of uncertainty and a lack of understanding for what occurred that particular night.

With this new interpretation and comprehensive research, the discussed gaps, shortcomings, and discrepancies will be addressed, while also providing future historians the opportunity to continue to address the shortcomings and gaps that simply exist due to the limited historiography. Future historians and authors will be able to use this research and interpretation to continue to address the ongoing gaps and shortcomings. With further interpretations and insight, the gaps and shortcomings will lessen, creating a more detailed, inclusive account for York County.

### Primary Sources

To complete this project, primary sources were a vital resource to find and include. The York Historical Society accumulated various items to create more than three file folders of materials. 90% of the folders were composed of local newspaper articles about historical events leading to and during the riots, interviews with individuals who experienced the riots, updates on the trials during 2001, and a timeline of events. The other 10% of the folders contained photographs taken during the riots and newspaper or magazine articles on the riots, which were from established, larger publication companies, such as Time magazine.

Interviews were another vital aspect of this project that must be included and considered. People who lived in the city during that time have various stories to tell and can add to the narrative. Two people, Ms. Beth Grove and Mr. Bernard Wisman, were interviewed for this

thesis, but this is something that can be expanded upon in the future. Mr. Daniel Roe, the vice president of interpretation at the York Historical Society, stated that his staff is currently working on collecting oral accounts from residents for the 50th anniversary of the riots.<sup>9</sup> This push to collect oral accounts will add to the historiography available and perhaps cause historians to re-examine the riots and the historiography currently available.

Newspaper articles and interviews are useful primary resources, but it is also important to consider that these primary resources have the ability to be biased. Although these items are extremely relevant to the topic, it is important to consider the perception and interpretations that the journalists may have, which must also be applied to the individuals that were interviewed. The interviewees may have bias or differences in how they perceived the events, so it is important to interview many different individuals with different backgrounds. However, it is also important to consider that many journalists such as J.W. Gitt were pushing the status quo when it came to journalism. They took a stance on certain issues and pushed for more information and more detailed coverage, which was beneficial for the public but also illustrates the possibility of bias.<sup>10</sup>

Although limited, official government documents were another vital and insightful resource for this examination. The FBI file on Lillie Belle Allen's death provided details about her murder. Included within the file was a death certificate, interviews with family members who were in the car with Allen, and memos regarding updates from the York Police Department and the Pennsylvania State Police on the investigation into Allen's murder. This particular

---

<sup>9</sup> Daniel Roe, York Historical Society, meeting with author, November 9, 2018.

<sup>10</sup> Mary A. Hamilton, *Rising from the Wilderness: J.W. Gitt and His Legendary Newspaper: The Gazette and Daily of York, PA* (York, Pennsylvania: York County Heritage Trust, 2007).

resource provided access to interviews with the Allen family who experienced and witnessed Lillie Belle Allen's murder, which were not found anywhere else. The United States District Court for the Middle District of Pennsylvania also provided another insightful document, which included dates and times of specific events that occurred throughout the city from July 17, 1969 through October 28, 1969. This created a timeline of events within the city, which illustrated the extent of instability and violence within the city. Lastly, William Keisling, the author of *The Wrong Car*, has a website that includes links to documents used to write his book, such as "Uniform Supplemental Reports" and transcripts of interviews. Primary source documents such as these play such a magnificent role in revealing the complete truth, which has been missing up to this point.

Another helpful primary resource could be the 33-page report on Lillie Belle Allen's murder completed by the Pennsylvania State Police, which was sent to the FBI on October 3, 1969.<sup>11</sup> However the report was not included in the FBI file and it is difficult to obtain. Police reports and documents such as this do not fall under the Right-to-Know Law (RTKL), so they are not easily accessible. Records can be requested from the state police; however, "investigative reports are not public information and therefore not accessible under the RTKL."<sup>12</sup> These restrictions and withholding of pertinent documentation restricts history and the history available to the residents of York.

---

<sup>11</sup> "Lillie Belle Allen Part 1 of 1," FBI Records: The Vault. December 06, 2010, accessed November 10, 2018, [https://vault.fbi.gov/Lillie Belle Allen /Lillie Belle Allen Part 1 of 1/view](https://vault.fbi.gov/Lillie%20Belle%20Allen/Lillie%20Belle%20Allen%20Part%201%20of%201/view).

<sup>12</sup> "Right-to-Know Request," Pennsylvania State Police. 2018, accessed November 18, 2018, <https://www.psp.pa.gov/contact/pages/right-to-know-request.aspx>.

The above primary and secondary historiography available will aid in the creation of the curriculum workshop. The York County Historical Society seeks to “inspire the exploration of the history, people, and culture of our county, state and nation.”<sup>13</sup> In order to do this, the historical society offers tours, access to the museum and archives, and features specific events. Currently the historical society does not have a designated area created for educators. The historical society currently offers several tours for the colonial complex, the Revolutionary War, the murals, and a tour that provides an overview of York’s history.<sup>14</sup> *Predictable Past* would provide educators with a curriculum workshop for the riots, while also providing local schools the opportunity to work with the historical society to experience the walking tour created for the race riots. These featured events would help support the historical society’s mission, while also helping to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the riots.

A relationship between local schools and public history institutions are vital for any community. When a relationship is created, learning becomes limitless, it becomes “cross-disciplinary,” which has value “to a broad range of audiences...”<sup>15</sup> This relationship allows educators to discover where knowledge and understanding is lacking, reach out to local public history institutions, and create authentic learning environments for all students. The York History Center should seek to adopt and implement an educational pedagogy which “reviews and

---

<sup>13</sup> “About,” York County History Center, 2018, accessed November 26, 2018, <https://www.yorkhistorycenter.org/about>.

<sup>14</sup> Daniel Roe, York Historical Society, meeting with author, November 9, 2018.

<sup>15</sup> Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, ed., *The Educational Role of the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1994), xi, accessed November 25, 2018, [https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=-3\\_9K-TcPiwC&oi=fnd&pg=PR10&dq=Hooper-Greenhill,+E.+The+Educational+Role+of+the+Museum.+London:+Routledge,+1994&ots=oSCxe3UAGk&sig=KOGZevbRGXzALA7bvmV7aMdlH7Y#v=onepage&q=Hooper-Greenhill%2C%20E.%20The%20Educational%20Role%20of%20the%20Museum.%20London%3A%20Routledge%2C%201994&f=true](https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=-3_9K-TcPiwC&oi=fnd&pg=PR10&dq=Hooper-Greenhill,+E.+The+Educational+Role+of+the+Museum.+London:+Routledge,+1994&ots=oSCxe3UAGk&sig=KOGZevbRGXzALA7bvmV7aMdlH7Y#v=onepage&q=Hooper-Greenhill%2C%20E.%20The%20Educational%20Role%20of%20the%20Museum.%20London%3A%20Routledge%2C%201994&f=true).

develops its methods, strategies, and provisions with regard both to educational excellence and to working towards the democratization of the museum.”<sup>16</sup> The *Predictable Past* project is an example of democratization, which illustrates to local schools that their local public history institution is willing to help fill those gaps. This continued open line of communication as well as constant feedback, “offers opportunities to work to address long- established relations of advantage and disadvantage, to enable new voices to be heard, and critically to review existing historical (and other) narratives.”<sup>17</sup> This project will educate students on the events that took place in their hometown, encourage them to become involved, and foster a greater understanding for their city. Perhaps this will encourage students to ask their parents or grandparents about the riots, which will create an open dialogue, and add to the voices being heard within the community, while working to create a more encompassing narrative.

By acknowledging what exists in regards to historiography and public history, historians can continue to address the existing gaps and work on minimizing those that exist. In order to do this, we must educate students within the community so they are aware of their local history, which will encourage some to go a step further, build upon their knowledge, and address discrepancies and gaps. The research found from the above historiography, the results from the survey, and a lack of acknowledgment on this topic dictated this thesis, the projects’ mission, and the methods used to complete this project successfully.

---

<sup>16</sup> Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *The Educational Role of the Museum*, 4.

<sup>17</sup> Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *The Educational Role of the Museum*, 4.

## Chapter Two: Methodology

The research found from the above historiography, especially the primary sources retrieved from the York Historical Society, the FBI Vault, court documentation, and the resources provided by William Keisling, dictated the thesis, project, and the methods used to complete this project successfully. Due to the gaps within the historiography and the lack of an inclusive racial history, a social lens would help to develop an inclusive, comprehensive history. A social lens seeks to examine and explore different social groups in order to “organize their understanding of the past and as a means to bring individual historical experiences into view.”<sup>1</sup> By compiling a complete racial history within York, Pennsylvania, the events leading up to the race riots will be better understood and the African American community and their historical experiences will evolve to become an integral part of the riots historical account.

A social lens provides a unique interpretation on the relations that took place between the residents of York County from the late 1700’s to current day. This particular lens provides the opportunity for the audience to learn what social interactions occurred in York County between African Americans and Caucasians. This relationship was unique, as were the events that followed, and this complicated relationship continued to dissolve due to events that occurred within the county and the lack of action taken by local government. Therefore, a political lens is also necessary when examining the riots within York, Pennsylvania. A political lens specifically focuses on the “development and impact of governmental institutions, along with the proximate influences on their actions.”<sup>2</sup> Certain political decisions were made by the mayor and local law

---

<sup>1</sup> Paula S. Fass, “Cultural History/Social History: Some Reflections on a Continuing Dialogue,” *Journal of Social History* 37, no.1 (Fall 2003): 40, accessed November 25, 2018, ProQuest Central.

<sup>2</sup> Mark H. Leff, “Revisioning U.S. Political History,” *American Historical Review* 100, no. 3 (June 1995): 829, accessed November 20, 2018, JSTOR.

enforcement that impacted residents' rapport with local law enforcement and the city government. This inaction and their refusal to improve racial relations harmed the residents and the community.

Primary resources were vital when examining this topic through a social and political lens. In order to effectively apply a social and political lens, interactions and events must be clear and documented. The York Historical Society played a vital role in making this possible. The historical society has several archival folders that are specifically dedicated to the race riots and the history of African Americans in York County. These archival folders were mainly composed of newspaper clippings that discussed the riots and historical racial events. These articles provided information on what occurred, context on how the riots were discussed and viewed, as well as a timeline of events when the trial resurfaced after more than 30 years.

The FBI file on this particular case played a strategic role in illustrating the relations among the residents in York as well as providing key interviews with family members in relation to what the Allen family witnessed and experienced the minute they turned onto Newberry Street. The District Court transcript is also a vital piece of documentation due to its illustration of the clear disorder and violence that occurred throughout the city. This document clearly depicts a city in chaos due to race issues, as well as societal and political limitations. These primary resources coupled with various secondary sources provide a vast amount of evidence to support the importance of applying a social and political lens.

Secondary sources specifically dedicated to the York race riots are limited, but the accounts that do exist provided other useful resources to examine and consider. The available secondary sources discuss different aspects of the riots such as the trials of 2001 or the Charrette that worked to address community concerns. These texts provide specific examinations, while

Levy's book delivers a discussion on the riots and the events that led to the riots. Stewart's examination differs in that she is skeptical of the events that took place. The authors and historians of these secondary sources have interpreted the riots differently, yet these discussions add to the historiography, provide perception, and enhance the discussions that surround the primary sources.

Once the secondary and primary sources were gathered, it became an ethical responsibility to first determine how these resources would be used. The resources available, the lack of factual information, and the interpretations constructed steered this thesis. It became clear that a comprehensive examination of racial events within York, Pennsylvania and their impact on the city and the riots was lacking. Previous racial events, York's' location, political action and inaction directly led to the riots and this impacts York to this day. With resources gathered, a question in mind, and an objective to meet, the research and project began.

To appropriately and professionally research this topic, it was vital to examine the historical events that preceded the riots. The previous events must be examined and discussed in order for the audience to develop a sense of understanding of what previously occurred within the county, so they can apply that information to the events that unfolded during the riots of 1969. Secondly, this particular topic is limited in regards to the historiography and for this reason, it is important that the examinations that have occurred be included. Other historians and the audience should be aware of where the information was obtained and what accounts support this research. Secondary sources are necessary, but various primary sources must also be included to tell the story from a first-hand account. This also stresses and reaffirms the importance of remaining ethical and unbiased. As a historian or an employee within a public institution, visitors and our audiences must be able to retrace our research and examine the facts

for themselves.<sup>3</sup> Lastly, the audience must also be aware of current racial issues occurring in York so they see the relevance from something that happened almost 50 years ago to the issues occurring today. With this research plan in place, it became extremely important to gain a greater understanding of who that audience would be.

---

<sup>33</sup> “Statement on Standards of Professional Conduct (updated 2011),” *American Historical Association*, 2013.

### **Chapter Three: Audience**

In order to perfect the methods in place, while effectively and successfully implementing the project as a whole, further research was needed to determine the target audience. In order to understand that audience, a survey was administered and completed by over 200 residents within York County about their knowledge on the riots. This survey acted as a pre-assessment in order to determine what my audience knew and their interest level. This information serves to inform the institution about the audience and the needs they seek to meet, but it is also vital that appropriate research and information be collected and examined in order to receive funding. There are several institutions within York County that may be interested in offering this curriculum project such as schools within the area, the York County History Museum, or the historical society. Funding or grants would benefit a project such as this and depending on the project's success, support from interested public institutions or local schools may also become available to help alleviate financial stressors. While it may take some time for this project to become known and financially supported, grants should be applied for in order to keep the project propelling forward and growing exponentially.

In order to reach the intended audience, surveys were conducted and demographics were gathered, so there was a greater understanding on what the community needed and how best to meet those needs. Due to this particular topic, this project was specifically targeted toward the residents of York County due to the probability that many residents would become immediately intrigued due to the fact that they are residents of York County. Proper advertising, exit surveys, questionnaires, and constructive feedback would provide insight on how to attract a larger audience and how to interest new target audiences from outside the county. With York County in mind as the general audience, a target audience was quickly zeroed in on due to the

pre-assessment survey. A nine-question survey was administered at York County School of Technology, a technical and comprehensive high school in York County, in order to showcase where a small portion of the population currently stands in regards to their knowledge on this topic. Although this survey only provides a glimpse into what the community knows about the race riots, it provides a way to begin further data accumulation. Public institutions and schools should seek to consistently administer this, or an updated survey, in order to add to the current data and illustrate growth on this topic.

Various staff members and current students completed the survey using Google Forms. 208 individuals responded to the following questions: how long have you lived in York County, do you plan on staying in York, have you heard of the York County race riots, have your parents

Are you interested in learning about the York race riots?

208 responses

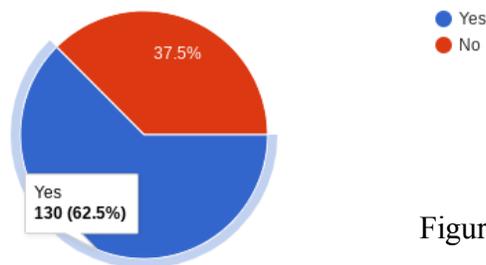


Figure 1

or grandparents ever talked about the riots, are you interested in learning about the riots, do you think the riots should be covered when examining local history in York County public schools.

If respondents answered yes to hearing about the riots, they were then prompted to type what they knew about the riots. 64 individuals responded to this question with a variety of answers in which they illustrated that they did in fact know about the riots, while others mixed up the riots with other events that took place within York County. For example, one student stated that it was a riot “about Donald Trump getting elected as president.”

With the survey results compiled, Figure 2 clearly illustrates that many individuals are unaware of or unfamiliar with the York race riots. Over 66 percent stated they had never heard of the race riots, while 69 individuals stated they were familiar with the riots. This information was vital in determining who the

target audience must be. If a certain age group stated no consistently compared to another age group, then the survey would clearly illustrate who The *Predictable Past* project

must focus on. In order to

determine this, the data was broken down further, which is shown in Figure 3. Figure 3 includes a breakdown of age ranges and compares how many within that age group responded “Yes” to knowing about the riots. The collected data clearly illustrates certain age groups are aware of the riots, while other age groups are uninformed. Take for example the 19 out of 20 individuals in the age group of 51-65 that knew of the race riots in York compared to the 14-18 age group where only 17 out of 138 individuals knew of the riots. Therefore, this information dictated the need to create a way to entice and attract local high school students between the ages of 14 and 18. A curriculum workshop would educate this age group on the riots, while providing a way to shrink this gap of ignorance. Again, surveys should be administered regularly in order to illustrate that

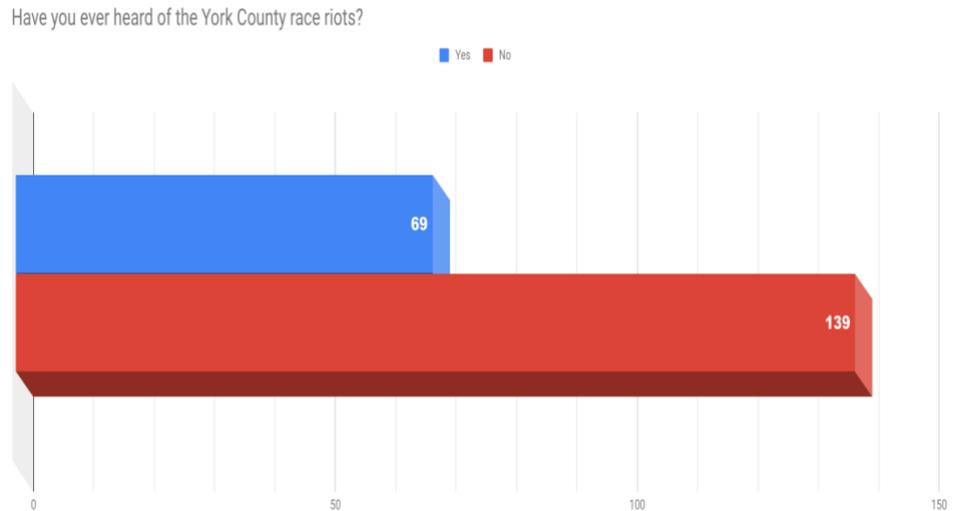
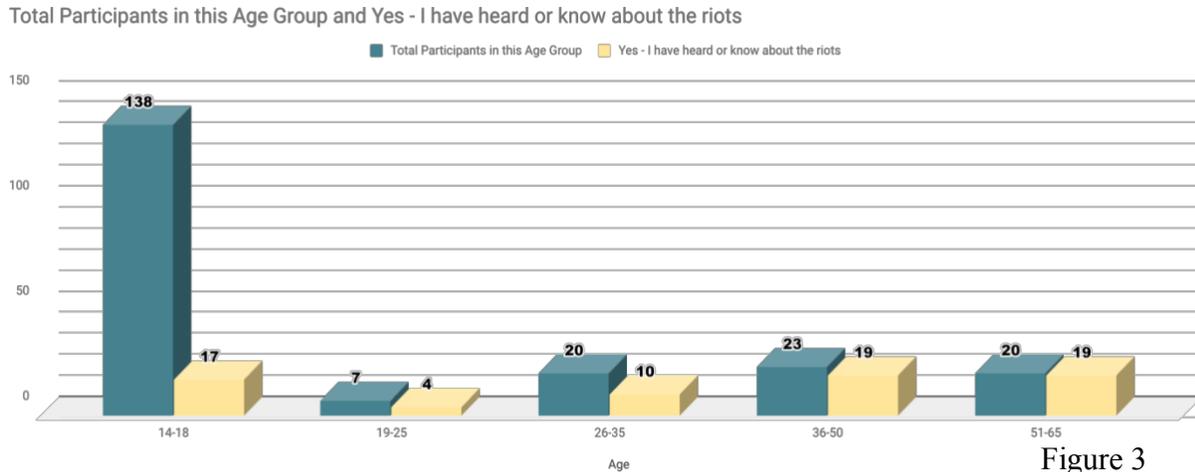


Figure 2

the curriculum workshop is indeed shrinking this gap, educating this particular age group, creating a greater sense of community, while hopefully encouraging families to seek out local historical events and institutions.

The results collected from this survey and the current historiography clearly illustrate that



this particular examination is extremely relevant and worthy of time, resources, and funding in regards to the country, as well as York County. This thesis and the curriculum workshop are also vital due to the continued racial strife that currently exists throughout the country as well as within York County. On a national level, recent examples include, the 2017 Unite the Right Charlottesville riots that caught national media attention or the 2015 attack where nine individuals were targeted and murdered while attending church in Charleston, South Carolina. On a local level, a York County high school student was captured on video saying “white power” after President Trump was elected,<sup>1</sup> the staff and personnel of a golf course in York were

---

<sup>1</sup> Junior Gonzalez, "York Tech Racial Incident Chronicled in New Report," *York Dispatch*, November 08, 2017, accessed August 29, 2018, <https://www.yorkdispatch.com/story/news/2017/11/08/york-tech-racial-incident-chronicled-new-report/841276001/>.

accused of discriminating against five black women,<sup>2</sup> and KKK propaganda was distributed throughout a York County parking lot in August of 2018.<sup>3</sup>

Considering the limited historiography, the history of York, Pennsylvania, and the survey results, this topic is prevalent and crucial to understanding York County, while also grasping the ability to apply that knowledge to the Civil Rights Movement as a whole. York county residents should become aware of the racial history that existed only 49 years ago, and this includes students within the community. If educators throughout the community were to utilize this workshop and information, ignorance could begin to dissipate.

---

<sup>2</sup> Anthony J. Machcinski, "5 Black Women Allege Racial Discrimination at Pa. Golf Course," *York Daily Record*, April 23, 2018, <https://www.ydr.com/story/news/2018/04/23/grandview-golf-club-racial-gender-issues-raised-after-black-women-kicked-off-central-pa-golf-course/541783002/>.

<sup>3</sup> John Buffone and Sam Ruland, "KKK Propaganda Spread throughout West Manchester Movie Theater Parking Lot," *The York Daily Record*, August 12, 2018, accessed August 28, 2018, <https://www.ydr.com/story/news/2018/08/12/kkk-fliers-spread-around-west-manchester-movie-theater-parking-lot/971915002/>.

## Chapter Four: Historical Topic Research and Project Plan

With a greater understanding of the target audience, methodology, and current historiography, it became necessary to combine these factors in order to create an effective curriculum workshop that educators can rely upon. Sufficient research had to be accumulated and dissected in order to create a thesis that also supports the discussion, activities, and walking tour. After examining various primary and secondary resources, it is clear York, Pennsylvania's history and the lack of identifying and addressing racial inequalities, directly impacted and allowed for the development of a toxic and predictable environment that led to the race riots of 1969. York's racial history, African American history, the race riots of 1969, the lack of effort to rebuild the community, and a stalemate of 32 years that ended with two murder trials, illustrates why ongoing racial tensions still exist within York County.

York, Pennsylvania, a county that contains over 446,000 people as of 2017, is situated just above the Mason Dixon Line, between Baltimore, Maryland and Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup> Currently the county's population is composed of 89 percent white individuals, while "black or African Americans" are 6.8 percent of the population and "Hispanic or Latinos" makeup 7.5 percent.<sup>2</sup> These numbers have drastically changed throughout York's history due to factors such as poverty, inequality, and violence. Many African Americans partook in the Great Migration, which led some African Americans to settle in York County.<sup>3</sup> In 1920 the black population was under 2,000 people, but grew to reach over 6,500 by 1970.<sup>4</sup> In 1970, blacks were 13 percent of

---

<sup>1</sup> "U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts: York County, Pennsylvania," United States Census Bureau, accessed August 26, 2018, <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/yorkcountypennsylvania/PST045217>.

<sup>2</sup> "Census Bureau QuickFacts: York County, Pennsylvania."

<sup>3</sup> Peter B. Levy, *The Great Uprising* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 228.

<sup>4</sup> Levy, *The Great Uprising*, 230-231.

York's population, which fueled the racial issues that occurred due to the drastic change in demographics.<sup>5</sup> This "300 percent increase" drew attention to the changes occurring in York and eventually led to the racial tensions that reflected similar tensions occurring throughout America.<sup>6</sup> The Civil Rights Movement often triggers thoughts of Birmingham or Selma, Alabama, Martin Luther King Jr., and Eugene "Bull" Connor. Very few individuals would picture northern states during the movement and fewer individuals would picture Lillie Belle Allen or York, Pennsylvania. Beth Grove, Bernard Wisman, and several other local York County residents could picture this because they lived through the race riots in York, Pennsylvania during 1968 and 1969. In order to understand the riots, it is first important to understand where this tension stems from and what historical events led to the riots.

Slaves arrived in Pennsylvania in 1639 and by 1700 there were more than 1,000 slaves. William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, owned slaves, and freed them when he died.<sup>7</sup> Many slaves in York served "in the homes of craftsmen, lawyers, and shopkeepers."<sup>8</sup> Just as slaves in the south played a vital role in the economy, so did the slaves within York County, by fueling the "charcoal iron industry."<sup>9</sup> Eventually, Pennsylvania abolished slavery in 1780, but York County has consistently been entangled in racial issues, which caused the city to struggle with its stance

---

<sup>5</sup> Levy, *The Great Uprising*, 231.

<sup>6</sup> Levy, *The Great Uprising*, 230.

<sup>7</sup> Jim Kalish, *The Story of Civil Rights in York, Pennsylvania: A 250 Year Interpretive History* (Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Emerson Egervary & Associates, Inc., 2000), 3.

<sup>8</sup> Kalish, *The Story of Civil Rights in York, Pennsylvania: A 250 Year Interpretive History*, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Joe William Trotter Jr. and Eric Ledell Smith, eds., *African Americans in Pennsylvania: Shifting Historical Perspectives* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997) 11.

on race since its inception.<sup>10</sup> This early incorporation of slavery clearly had an impact on Pennsylvania, as did its ties to Maryland, a slave state. Maryland's interest in Pennsylvania's coal birthed the idea of linking the two states through railroad lines. Eventually, railroad companies consolidated to form the Baltimore and Lehigh Railroad Company, which linked Baltimore, Maryland with areas in southern Pennsylvania, such as Delta.<sup>11</sup> A strong link was created between Baltimore, Maryland and southern Pennsylvania, which relied upon economic growth, financial stability, and business relationships. Racial ideals trickled over the Mason-Dixon Line, which was evident by publications of newspaper ads in *The York Gazette* for the "return of runaways" to slave owners in Maryland and other states. A \$40 reward was offered from a slave owner who lived in Frederick County, Maryland.<sup>12</sup> This cooperation between states was a huge disadvantage for slaves. However, some Pennsylvania residents chose to help escaped slaves instead.

York's location also benefited many as it eventually became a hub for the Underground Railroad. A small group of activists used various houses in York, such as the William Goodridge House or the Elmwood Mansion, to hide and smuggle slaves further north. While some York residents helped slaves, others ignored the issue, and some sought to return slaves to their southern owners.<sup>13</sup> Due to York's participation in the Underground Railroad, Maryland slave owners referred to York abolitionists as "nigger-stealers" who were seen as participants in

---

<sup>10</sup> James McClure, *Almost Forgotten* (York, Pennsylvania: York Daily Record/York Newspaper Co., 2002), 7.

<sup>11</sup> "Railroad History," Maryland & Pennsylvania Railroad Historical Society, accessed November 29, 2018, <http://www.maparailroadhist.org/history.html>.

<sup>12</sup> McClure, *Almost Forgotten*, 16.

<sup>13</sup> Kalish, *The Story of Civil Rights in York, Pennsylvania: A 250 Year Interpretive History*, 9.

“organized theft.”<sup>14</sup> Although York did help many African Americans reach safety, many runaways “...tried not to stay long in York” due to the treatment many slaves endured at the hands of some York County residents. One of those residents was Richard McAllister, founder of Hanover, who “...whipped a Negro to near death...” for a misdemeanor.<sup>15</sup> The issue of slavery and equality was a contentious one within Pennsylvania. Although Pennsylvania banned slavery and various citizens sought to help slaves reach safety, the county adversely supported the southern way of life by advertising the sale of slaves and offering rewards from southern slave owners for “lost property” in York County newspapers.<sup>16</sup> The county’s stance on equality was unclear, divided, and would continue with the “Conspiracy of 1803.”

The “Conspiracy of 1803” engulfed York’s attention when barns and houses were set on fire throughout the county in response to a black woman, Margaret Bradley, being convicted of poisoning two white York citizens.<sup>17</sup> Twenty-one blacks were tried for the arsons<sup>18</sup> and six black residents were given prison sentences for their participation in the arsons.<sup>19</sup> During their trial, the convicted arsonists were reminded of the “benevolent exertions” that residents of Pennsylvania had done in order to “remove slavery” and provide them with the “rights of freedmen.”<sup>20</sup> This marked the beginning of the African American community fighting back from

---

<sup>14</sup> Kalish, *The Story of Civil Rights in York, Pennsylvania: A 250 Year Interpretive History*, 9.

<sup>15</sup> Kalish, *The Story of Civil Rights in York, Pennsylvania: A 250 Year Interpretive History*, 4.

<sup>16</sup> Kalish, *The Story of Civil Rights in York, Pennsylvania: A 250 Year Interpretive History*, 9.

<sup>17</sup> Dave Gulden, “Woman’s 1803 Arrest Sparked Protest by Blacks,” *York Daily Record*, February 16, 1998.

<sup>18</sup> Scott Rappold, “Before the 1960s York Race Riots, There was 1803,” *York Dispatch*, March 4, 2002.

<sup>19</sup> McClure, *Almost Forgotten*, 10.

<sup>20</sup> Dave Gulden, “Woman’s 1803 Arrest Sparked Protest by Blacks,” 1998.

what they considered to be a “wrong conviction.”<sup>21</sup> The “Conspiracy of 1803” as well as many other significant historical events, such as the Civil War, the KKK, segregation, and poverty created the path that led to the race riots.

The Civil War quickly grabbed York’s and the nation's attention next. Many York County residents were unsure where they stood on the issue of slavery, but they did not want the country to be torn apart. For that reason, a total of 3,780 York county residents fought in the Civil War. A.B. Farquhar and other York businessmen also promised \$100,000 to a Confederate general in order to persuade him from attacking and destroying the city.<sup>22</sup> Although the Union prevailed, Ku Klux Klan participation increased throughout the 1920’s. The Klan met in several cities such as Hanover, Shrewsbury, Stewartstown, and York Haven, while also collecting more than 1,500 members from York City where the riots would take place about 50 years later.<sup>23</sup>

Segregation of schools, public facilities, and communities infected the nation and York deployed these tactics as well. Blacks attended segregated elementary schools, James Smallwood, or Aquilla Howard until *Brown vs. Board of Education*.<sup>24</sup> In 1935, the York City school system recommended that “sub-normal students” be taught in separate “junior high school pre-vocational classes.”<sup>25</sup> Facilities such as swimming pools were under pressure from groups such as the York Interracial Commission, who fought to allow African Americans to use the

---

<sup>21</sup> Kalish, *The Story of Civil Rights in York, Pennsylvania: A 250 Year Interpretive History*, 15.

<sup>22</sup> Kalish, *The Story of Civil Rights in York, Pennsylvania: A 250 Year Interpretive History*, 13-15.

<sup>23</sup> Kalish, *The Story of Civil Rights in York, Pennsylvania: A 250 Year Interpretive History*, 22-23.

<sup>24</sup> Levy, *The Great Uprising*, 236.

<sup>25</sup> Kalish, *The Story of Civil Rights in York, Pennsylvania: A 250 Year Interpretive History*, 29.

public pool. The mayor in 1948, Mayor Bentzel, proposed building a separate pool for blacks at Crispus Attucks, but this offer was refused. The Parks Director suggested the city sell the property rather than open it to blacks. Citizens obtained an injunction to halt the selling of the property. City officials threatened to then destroy the pool.<sup>26</sup> Segregation spread its tentacles throughout the community and poverty took hold

During 1970, blacks made up 13 percent of York's population and a majority of that percentage resided in two of the sixteen census tracts. In the 1960's it was only one tract out of sixteen. This area was mainly renters compared to homeowners, who were paying for deteriorating houses, unresponsive landlords, and a neglectful city government. Employment opportunities limited the houses African Americans could afford, while discrimination from real estate agents limited the houses African Americans could view.<sup>27</sup> Pennsylvania's Human Relation Commission reported that York City received thirty complaints within one month about substandard housing.<sup>28</sup> These historical events and past tensions directly impacted the African American community and the city of York. If York County had addressed their racial inconsistencies, improved housing conditions, and created greater employment opportunities, the riots would have been less likely. Unfortunately, these items were not addressed or resolved and many of them got progressively worse.

This turmoil came to a head in 1968 with violent retaliations, continued inequality, and questionable police and government tactics. These unrealistic tactics began with the mayor and

---

<sup>26</sup> Kalish, *The Story of Civil Rights in York, Pennsylvania: A 250 Year Interpretive History*, 35-36.

<sup>27</sup> Levy, *The Great Uprising*, 233.

<sup>28</sup> William Keisling, *The Wrong Car* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Yardbird Books, 2002), 64.

trickled down to the police department. Mayor Snyder first created the K-9 units in 1963.<sup>29</sup> Various African Americans or “darkies” as Mayor Snyder preferred to call them, sought to meet with him to discuss the K-9 units. However, he was “unavailable or unable” to meet with those individuals on multiple occasions. Instead of meeting with members in the community, realizing how the dogs were being used, or understanding why this would present a problem after the Birmingham riot in 1963, the mayor decided to add more dogs to the police force in 1968.<sup>30</sup> “A well-behaved community would be required before he’d (John Snyder) disband the canine corp.”<sup>31</sup>

Multiple accounts detail how the local government and police department took advantage of their power to keep order and the public safe with unwarranted and unprovoked use of their weapons, canine corps, and unresponsive emergency services. In July 1968, police officers reported to Penn Park and fired their weapons at a crowd of young African Americans. Chief Landis stated that a 10:00 PM curfew was in effect and the first responding officers were enforcing that curfew at 9:30 PM. They called for backup, which led to the responding officers enforcing that curfew with gunfire. However, the city solicitor stated that a 10:00 curfew did not exist.<sup>32</sup> On multiple occasions police officers or the fire department did not respond to calls in the black sections of the city or to calls about white residents firing at blacks and on several different occasions canines attacked and mauled blacks at the order of their handler.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> Keisling, *The Wrong Car*, 62.

<sup>30</sup> Kalish, *The Story of Civil Rights in York, Pennsylvania: A 250 Year Interpretive History*, 74.

<sup>31</sup> Keisling, *The Wrong Car*, 63.

<sup>32</sup> Keisling, *The Wrong Car*, 52

<sup>33</sup> Keisling, *The Wrong Car*, 81.

Due to these unjust and violent attacks, blacks within York asked the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission to look into the events unfolding within the city. Findings were released in December of 1968, which described an “apartheid” life suffered by blacks in York, not only at the hands of the police, but including substandard or non-existent schooling, housing, recreation, and medical treatment.”<sup>34</sup> The report clearly stated that these factors coupled with Mayor Snyder’s complicity and the canine corps created a hostile environment in which the opportunity for “racial tension and violence” had great potential.<sup>35</sup>

With 25 pages of recommendations, Mayor Snyder made zero changes and the potential for tension and violence became reality.<sup>36</sup> In order to prevent continued violent retaliations, the police department began setting up barriers to block off dangerous sections of the city,<sup>37</sup> while the York City Council gave Mayor Snyder the power to declare an emergency and impose a 48-hour curfew. Although this did help at times, the city remained an unsafe place due to the continued violent occurrences. Various events led to Schaad and Allen’s murder but many authors mention or note the following event as the occurrence that marked the beginning of the riots due to the National Guard arriving in York County and the several unnecessary deaths that followed.

A young black male, Clifford Green, arrived at the York hospital due to a burn on his face, which he claimed a gang in York, the Girarders, were responsible for. News of this

---

<sup>34</sup> Keisling, *The Wrong Car*, 87.

<sup>35</sup> Keisling, *The Wrong Car*, 88.

<sup>36</sup> Keisling, *The Wrong Car*, 88.

<sup>37</sup> Keisling, *The Wrong Car*, 73.

reporting spread to other white gangs in the city, which led Bobby Messersmith, a member of the Newberry Street Boys, to shoot two black teens in retaliation. This sparked ongoing violence, which would continue for the next three nights.<sup>38</sup> The United States District Court for the Middle District of Pennsylvania accounted for and detailed the violent occurrences that took place within the city beginning on July 17, 1969 until October 28, 1969, which included those three nights. 123 entries were made within a little bit more than a three month time span. Entries included a date and the event that occurred, which included items such as shots fired, shootings, beatings, property damage, unlawful searches, curfew implementations, Molotov cocktails, as well as an entry for Schaad and Allen.<sup>39</sup> Both Ms. Grove and Mr. Wisman lived in York City during this time and both recall the instability. Ms. Grove stated that she remembers hearing bullets “whizzing through the air at all hours of the night.”<sup>40</sup> Mr. Wisman recalled seeing the canine units, seeing Confederate flags throughout the city, and abiding by the curfew.<sup>41</sup> This continuous insecurity due to violence, vandalism, and racism led additional police officers to occupy the city as well as local police officers becoming more vigilant. However, on July 18th, the heightened precautions and increased presence did little to prevent the race riots from morphing into something much worse.

One night after Green claimed he was burned by the Girarders, Officer Henry Schaad and two other officers responded to a call in an armored vehicle named “Big Al.” When they arrived

---

<sup>38</sup> “Grand Jury Indictments,” *The York Dispatch*, April 27, 2001.

<sup>39</sup> United States District Court for the Middle District of Pennsylvania, “No. 69-286 Civil,” District Judge Nealon, March 31, 1970, LexisNexis.

<sup>40</sup> Beth Grove, interview by Kelsey Wisman, July 27, 2018.

<sup>41</sup> Bernard Wisman, interview by Kelsey Wisman, November 10, 2018.

on the scene at Pershing and College Avenue, “five Negro males and one white male were observed at the intersection.” Several shots were fired and struck “Big Al.”<sup>42</sup> A bullet penetrated the vehicle and struck Schaad, which would eventually lead to his death two weeks later.<sup>43</sup> The attack and death of a white police officer led to feelings of desperation and tensions among gangs intensified. A member of the Newberry Street Boys warned that if “they” did not find out who shot the “white cop,” “there will be another race war.”<sup>44</sup> On July 20th, just one night before the murder of Allen, a rally was held in Farquhar Park where white gang members gathered and witnesses state that a police officer screamed “white power” at the gathering.<sup>45</sup>

Members of the same police department that fired their weapons unwarrantedly, used the K-9 unit inappropriately, and attended a White Power meeting became aware of who murdered Officer Schaad and with the events taking place in the city, the police department knew who would help them take care of this problem. The Spells brothers, two African American men who were accused of taking part in the murder of Henry Schaad, had an ongoing feud with the Messersmith’s, who were a part of the Newberry Street Boys. After Molotov cocktails being thrown at the Spells’ mother’s house, the brothers visited Bobby Messersmith and warned him to stop attacking their mother or they would return. With that statement, Lillie Belle Allen’s fate

---

<sup>42</sup> United States District Court, “No. 69-286 Civil.”

<sup>43</sup> Levy, *The Great Uprising*, 230.

<sup>44</sup> Edward Barnes, “How to Break Open a Secret,” *Time*, May 28, 2001.

<sup>45</sup> Jim Lynch, Rick Lee, and Teresa Boecke, “Timing Raises Questions,” *York Daily Record*, May 18, 2001.

was sealed. The brothers drove away in a white Cadillac, the Messersmith's made note of this and planned for their return.<sup>46</sup>

Later that night on July 21, 1969, Lillie Belle Allen, a resident of South Carolina, was visiting her sister in York County.<sup>47</sup> Reverend Mosley, Lillie Belle Allen, Hattie Dickson, Murray Dickson, and Beatrice Mosley loaded up the light gray Cadillac and headed into town to grab some supplies for another fishing trip expedition.<sup>48</sup> The FBI file contains four different interviews with the family members that were in the car with Allen. They each detail the events that led to Allen's death in which they stopped at the intersection of Philadelphia and Newberry Street. The family members within the car recall the barricades that partially blocked off Newberry Street and the "several" police officers that stood at the intersection with rifles and shotguns. Three out of the four interviews state that the police officers were wearing helmets and two out of the four interviews state the police officers were wearing vests as well. These police officers did not stop the car from turning down Newberry Street where various members from white gangs including the Newberry Street Boys and the Girarder were waiting.<sup>49</sup>

The light gray Cadillac approached the railroad tracks on Newberry Street and saw a group of armed whites and individuals who may have been a part of the police department due to what looked to be uniforms. The family became afraid and tried to turn the car around before it was too late. The car stalled on the tracks and Lillie Belle Allen exited the rear of the car in order

---

<sup>46</sup> Keisling, *The Wrong Car*, 3-4.

<sup>47</sup> Editorial, *Gazette and York Daily Record*, July 22, 1969.

<sup>48</sup> Keisling, *The Wrong Car*, 24-28.

<sup>49</sup> "Lillie Belle Allen Part 1 of 1," FBI Records: The Vault. December 06, 2010.

to enter the front and drive. It was during this time that the shooting began and Lillie Belle Allen was fatally shot by a high-powered rifle, while her family sunk down within the car and hoped to survive. “Individuals dressed like policemen” stopped the shooting and called for an ambulance and an armored car arrived on the scene. The car’s back window, rear tire, and right wing were shot out and several bullet holes occupied the trunk and right rear door.<sup>50</sup>

The police department had this street sealed off with a barricade, but also with an armored vehicle located in Farquhar Park further up Newberry Street; the same armored vehicle that would arrive on the scene with Charlie Robertson. The police department let the Cadillac pass down Newberry Street and they watched as various individuals released fire upon Allen and her family. The FBI report states that “there were no city or state policemen in the immediate area where the vehicle was shot at and the closest officers were at the intersection of North Newberry and West Philadelphia Street.”<sup>51</sup> This is referring to the officers at the intersection, which was only two blocks away from the shooting. The armored vehicle was parked about 0.3 miles from the shooting. There were police officers in the immediate area and they had that Cadillac trapped in.

The next morning on July 22, 1969, the *Gazette* proclaimed, “Negro Woman Shot To Death in York; Fires Light Up Sky.”<sup>52</sup> Allen’s death triggered Mayor Snyder to request support from the Governor, who responded by sending in the National Guard.<sup>53</sup> As 1970 rolled in, it

---

<sup>50</sup> "Lillie Belle Allen Part 1 of 1," FBI Records: The Vault, December 06, 2010.

<sup>51</sup> "Lillie Belle Allen Part 1 of 1," FBI Records.

<sup>52</sup> “Negro Woman Shot to Death in York; Fires Light Up Sky,” *Gazette*, July 22, 1969.

<sup>53</sup> Levy, *The Great Uprising*, 273.

looked like York would remain unchanged. However, the York Community Progress Council approved the creation of the York Charrette, which sought to address “racial and related issues that affected the city as well as the suburban areas.”<sup>54</sup> Societal issues that haunted the city were to be targeted and destroyed. For example, the black community stressed the importance of dismantling the canine corps and the need to address the decaying infrastructure. Members of the Charrette, which included a diverse population including students, met at the Bond Sanitary Products warehouse to address the violence, racism, and inequality present within York County. Although the York Charrette did not create a major overhaul within the city, it addressed racial issues, created various organizations such as the York Health Corporation, encouraged the dismantling of the canine corps, and started the healing process that the community was so desperately yearning for.<sup>55</sup>

Unfortunately, the Charrette was the only healing the city was able to latch onto. As of December 1969, the local newspaper published an article stating that only two people had been arrested in regards to the more than 40 people who were “hit by gunfire...” during the riots and that “no arrests” were made in regards to Allen and Schaad.<sup>56</sup> This lack of effort continued as the deaths of Schaad and Allen went unanswered for over 30 years. Allen and Schaad’s trials were finally tried in 2001. Ten white men were arrested and accused of Allen’s murder. Allen’s case drew national attention due to one of the arrests being the mayor of York at the time,

---

<sup>54</sup> Raul Urranaga, “The York Charrette: April 19-27, 1970,” *Journal of York County Heritage* (September 2011): 33.

<sup>55</sup> Urranaga, “The York Charrette: April 19-27, 1970,” 33-36.

<sup>56</sup> “No Arrests Have Been Made in Slayings During Disorders,” *Gazette and York Daily Record*, December 5, 1969.

Charlie Robertson.<sup>57</sup> Robertson was a police officer in York when Allen was shot; he was accused of providing ammunition for the murder of Allen to the Newberry Street Boys.<sup>58</sup> He was charged with “criminal homicide in the death” of Allen and vowed that he would not resign or step down from his role as the mayor of York.<sup>59</sup> Many York County residents, as well as outside organizations such as the NAACP, called for Robertson’s resignation as mayor.<sup>60</sup> The trials determined the fate of the ten accused men; Robertson was eventually acquitted.<sup>61</sup> The trial results led many to refer to York as a “laughingstock” due to those results.<sup>62</sup>

For more than 30 years Schaad and Allen’s murder went unanswered. If the police department had pursued the murderers of Officer Schaad it would have meant opening doors into Allen’s murder as well. In order to protect the various individuals that had a hand in Lillie Belle Allen’s murder, it would mean forgetting about Schaad’s murder. Without the police department and the gang members mixing up the Cadillacs and expecting the Spells brothers, the truth about York and its police department may have never been uncovered. Lillie Belle Allen’s mistaken murder projected a spotlight on the issues occurring within York County. Allen instantly

---

<sup>57</sup> Edward Barnes, “How to Break Open a Secret,” *Time*, May 28, 2001.

<sup>58</sup> Andrew Broman, “Mayor Robertson’s Supporters Shaken,” *York Daily Record*, April 27, 2001.

<sup>59</sup> Jim Lynch, “Political Speculation Follows Mayor,” *York Daily Record*, May 18, 2001.

<sup>60</sup> Mark Scolforo, “NAACP Pushes Call for Resignation,” *York Dispatch*, June 13, 2001.

<sup>61</sup> Associated Press, “Charlie Robertson, Former Mayor Acquitted of Race-Riot Murder, Dies at 83,” *The Washington Post*, August 26, 2017, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/charlie-robertson-former-mayor-acquitted-of-race-riot-murder-dies-at-83/2017/08/26/321cb448-8a6e-11e7-a50f-e0d4e6ec070a\\_story.html?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.18aaa8a4182b](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/charlie-robertson-former-mayor-acquitted-of-race-riot-murder-dies-at-83/2017/08/26/321cb448-8a6e-11e7-a50f-e0d4e6ec070a_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.18aaa8a4182b).

<sup>62</sup> Elizabeth Auster, “3 Decades Later, Ghosts Shake up York, PA,” *The Nation*, February 3, 2002.

became associated with the riots of 1969 as did the county's inability to address and resolve the violence that took place throughout those five days in July.

The history and location of York County, the inaction of various individuals, and the inequality that African Americans faced within York, Pennsylvania created a ripe environment for further problems to ensue within the city. The riots were a predictable outcome of this history that eventually led to violent retaliations throughout the city and when this began, it was too late. Gangs were formed, lines were drawn, and minds were made up. Lillie Belle Allen was just “a nigger. They didn’t give a shit about Lillie Belle Allen. They still don’t.”<sup>63</sup> With this curriculum workshop, students will learn about what happened and they will gain a greater understanding for why they should care.

#### Project Plan:

The *Predictable Past* curriculum workshop was developed to educate students on the race riots by incorporating African Americans efforts to gain their civil rights into York County's history, while acknowledging the inaction taken politically by many government officials. By taking the historical research, historiography, and survey results into account, it is clear that this historical narrative has been ignored. Students need to be informed on the fight for equality within their local community in order to grasp a sense of how the Civil Rights Movement transformed the nation. In order to achieve this mission, the curriculum workshop contains the following items: a hook activity, an introduction activity, a timeline, the [walking tour](#), and a reflection. Each of these items has an important purpose.

---

<sup>63</sup> Keisling, *The Wrong Car*, 278.

The hook activity is a PowerPoint that introduces the students to Officer Schaad and Lillie Belle Allen's murder. This is meant to peak the students' interest in local history and engage them in the material. This will help transition into the introduction activity. This activity provides students the opportunity to gain a greater understanding of Pennsylvania and its link to Maryland. Students will then complete the timeline activity, which informs students of the events that led up to the riots. Teachers will then facilitate the walking tour within or outside of the classroom. Once the walking tour is complete, students should complete the reflection activity. This activity allows students to digest and critically examine the riots and the impact they had on the York community. Educators could choose to expand on this topic by discussing the 2001 trials. Materials will be added to the curriculum guide in the future and an examination of the trials will be a part of those upcoming materials. This examination will generate discussions, while also informing students of how long it took for Allen and Schaad's trials to occur, how this impacted the trials, and the verdict of each. The current workshop and future additions should be posted on the historical society's webpage in order for educators to access the information and supplements. Although the curriculum workshop is posted online, how will the historical society make local educators aware of these resources?

In order to make local history teachers aware of this workshop the historical society should begin by mailing or emailing the brochure to local high schools. The historical society should also consider choosing two representatives to meet with administration or the Social Studies Department Chair. This meeting would inform those individuals of the mission of this curriculum workshop, the materials and supplements included, and future goals for the workshop and walking tour. If administration or the department leader is interested, they may then choose to setup a demonstration for the Social Studies department. This could occur at a department

meeting, Act 80 Day, or a day that suits for all parties. It should be estimated that the demonstration would take about 30 minutes. The demonstration would discuss the mission of the workshop, detail the standards addressed, discuss the daily lesson plan/agenda and supplements, and conclude with discussing the walking tour that can be conducted within class or in downtown York with tour guides from the historical society.

With the curriculum workshop created and the logistics in place, it became vital and necessary to meet with employees from the York Historical Society to discuss how to proceed with this project. Mr. Roe and a few other historical society employees examined the supplements and the walking tour. They provided some advice and we discussed how we would proceed with these items and the implementation of the workshop. Various educators examine the contents of the curriculum workshop as well. They provided feedback on the content and standards. This allowed various individuals from the two main parties, public institutions and educators, to view and provide feedback on the entire workshop.

The *Predictable Past* curriculum workshop includes various activities, supplements, and a walking tour. These items were developed to support the objectives, goals, and mission of the overall project. The current items should continue to evolve and additional items should be constructed or added in order to continue to improve upon the entire product. While planning or implementing this specific curriculum workshop, public institutions must also take budgetary considerations and staffing needs into consideration.

## Chapter Five: Budgeting and Staffing

In order to create and implement a curriculum workshop such as this, a few major aspects must be considered. First, dedication of time will be the main resource required from the staff. A project such as this requires communication and labor. The team working on this project must reach an agreement on the overall mission and work to support the mission throughout the entire project with the content, supplements, and other activities. Once the mission is determined, historians or archivists can locate items that support the mission. They may need to digitize these items and include the required metadata. The York Historical Society or any public history institution for that matter should collaborate with educators and encourage them to implement the workshop in order to gain feedback and fix the necessary items. Part time staff and volunteers could help with certain items, but full-time professionals, preferably staff members who have had experience working with educators and students, should be the leaders on a project such as this. Full time staff members receive salaries, so further compensation would not be needed. However, they would have to sacrifice time to complete this project, which would take time away from other responsibilities and commitments. In order to gain helpful ideas and tailor the workshop to students, a compensation incentive could be offered to attract teachers to help with the project.

Second, several expenses may accumulate, so a budget should be laid out and detailed before the project begins. (See the budgetary considerations for the *Predictable Past* in the appendix below.) Allot a specific amount of money and plan to stay under budget. The first expense to consider is compensating local educators. School communities and local public institutions should work together to make this possible. If schools are willing to offer Act 80 days or summer curriculum writing days for opportunities like this, it would allow educators to

work with public institutions to create something they could use in their classrooms. However, if schools or administration did not want to pay educators to do this, perhaps public institutions could offer free events to educators that are willing to help. If this is not possible, LAM's could offer a flat fee of \$100 per day. Public institutions could use their set budget to hire a variety of teachers from all over the county.

The second expense to consider is the walking tour. The walking tour requires attention due to two different items: the PocketSights app and tour guides. Depending on the public institution, tour guides may be an expenditure that must become a part of the budget. The York Historical Society already offers walking tours, so those tour guides could guide the race riot tour as well. However, if tour guides must be hired, a public institution should consider hiring two tour guides for different tours or to offer varying times. These individuals should be available when the historical society is open. However, if attendance for walking tours decreases in the winter, the historical society could consider seasonal guides, but until this is certain, full time guides should be hired. According to Glassdoor, tour guides make between \$10-\$15/hour or their yearly salary is on average \$20,000.<sup>1</sup> This must also be considered when crafting a budget.

The second component with this walking tour is the PocketSights app. The app allows users to access the walking tour points, which is accompanied with information about the importance of the location, current and historical images of the site. Educators would be able to complete the tour with their students by only using the app. The tour scheduled with the historical society would provide much more detail about each site and the app would still allow visitors to explore the tour individually, revisit information they missed, and examine historical photos on their mobile device. PocketSights offers a free version of their app, but in order to

---

<sup>1</sup> "Salary: Tour Guide," Glassdoor, accessed November 29, 2018, [https://www.glassdoor.com/Salaries/tour-guide-salary-SRCH\\_KO0,10.htm](https://www.glassdoor.com/Salaries/tour-guide-salary-SRCH_KO0,10.htm).

receive analytics, local advertising, donation support, multiple users, and virtual beacons, the Enterprise version is required. In order to obtain the Enterprise version, the historical society would need to pay \$199/month or 2,388/year.<sup>2</sup> Although pricey, the use of technology will engage students and the analytics will provide valuable data in order to improve upon the walking tour.

The design of the curriculum workshop will dictate how expensive the project may be. For some institutions, some ideas may cause the workshop to be unobtainable due to funding concerns. If that is the case, donations from the local community could help as well as grants. Mr. Roe mentioned that the historical society wanted to apply for a grant through the Civil Rights Grant National Parks Service, but missed the cut off date. He stated that although they missed it, this particular grant could also apply to the *Predictable Past* curriculum workshop and walking tour.<sup>3</sup> The “African American Civil Rights Grant Program documents, interprets, and preserves sites and stories related to the African American struggle to gain equal rights as citizens in the 20th Century.” Acceptable ideas include “a broad range of planning, development, and research projects for historic sites including: survey, inventory, documentation, interpretation, education, architectural services, historic structure reports, preservation plans, and "bricks and mortar" repair.”<sup>4</sup> These specifications clearly apply to this project and would provide a great amount of support for the project to be implemented successfully.

---

<sup>2</sup> "PocketSights Is Priced Right! Any Tour. Any Time," PocketSights. January 21, 2016, accessed November 29, 2018, <https://pocketsights.wordpress.com/2015/12/11/pocketsights-is-priced-right-any-tour-any-time/>.

<sup>3</sup> Daniel Roe, York Historical Society, meeting with author, November 9, 2018.

<sup>4</sup> "State, Tribal, Local, Plans & Grants," National Parks Service, accessed November 29, 2018, <https://www.nps.gov/preservation-grants/civil-rights/>.

Once the curriculum workshop is complete, staff members should determine how to advertise the workshop to local schools. The workshop should be advertised to local schools by sending out the brochure, but the historical society should also publish the curriculum guide and resources on their website. This allows all the materials to be easily accessible. The historical society should also advertise the fact that a few staff members or educators would be willing to demonstrate the activities for future reference. Staff members will again have to sacrifice time to demonstrate the workshop and answer questions that teachers have by phone or email.

With the workshop complete and advertising occurring, staff members will simply have to update the materials and walking tour as needed. Updates should reflect surveys from students, feedback from educators, and the data provided from PocketSights. This reflection process should occur yearly, so the content and supplements remain relevant and accurate. Time will continue to be the main sacrifice, which will impact daily routines within the institution. The public institution will also have to continue to budget for the expected, yearly expenditures: PocketSights app and tour guides. Considering that the project will evolve, changes will be made, and new recommendations may be incorporated, changes in the budget should be expected. When implementing improvements, these expenses must be considered and planned for ahead of time.

## Chapter Six: Recommendations and Ethical Considerations

As a budget is systematically planned for in advance, so must the logistical and ethical considerations that may arise. However, these items can be eliminated, lessened, or addressed by implementing precautionary measures. In order to avoid logistical issues, a project management system should be implemented in which the mission and objectives are determined, timelines are created, and a structure is practiced throughout the entire project. These items should be consistently reviewed in a collaborative nature, so multiple viewpoints and interpretations can be discussed and examined. Another logistical problem to consider on a project such as this is the importance of meeting deadlines. Specific deadlines are required for any public institution when creating such items as a curriculum workshop. If coworkers do not complete the required items to move forward or educators do not respond to the call to collaborate, this may cause certain deadlines to be pushed back. This impacts the entire public institution, the community, and the potential for funding opportunities. In order to avoid these potential setbacks, it must be assumed that plans may not work out as intended, so these items should be scheduled and conducted as soon as possible. This will provide the best opportunity to communicate with the other party, resolve the issue, and successfully complete the task at hand.

Ethical considerations are not only important, but vital. Various incidents that have lacked various ethical considerations have greatly impacted the LAM world. Take for example, the well-known *Enola Gay* display. A weapon that saved countless lives to some, but to others it was a “harbinger of a new and more indiscriminate holocaust.”<sup>1</sup> Due to the fact that many saw this weapon in different ways, the artifact presented various ethical considerations, in regards to

---

<sup>1</sup> Edward T. Linenthal, “Struggling with History and Memory,” *Journal of American History* 82, no. 3 (December 1995): 1094, JSTOR.

veterans, Japanese-Americans, and weapons of mass destruction.<sup>2</sup> The *Predictable Past* has some similar factors that could cause tensions to rise. For example, the *Enola Gay* received pushback from veterans in regard to how they were portrayed. The York race riots pulls the York City Police Department into this conversation, which could lead to strong pushback, racial tension, and heated discussions, within the community. Many may want this history to remain in the past and some parents may disagree with their children learning about the riots. Although pushback may be occur from parents or members of the community, the historical society and educators must be prepared to answer all questions and explain why it is vital that difficult history be taught. Students must be exposed to these issues. If we do not have these difficult discussions, “students are misinformed and curious,” this “contributes to the ongoing tensions that exist in our country.”<sup>3</sup> A conversation must begin in which the audience understands why we examine what happened, how it has impacted our community, and how we have and continue to address racial inequality.

In order to combat this, the information is presented in an objective, informative manner. Parents have the opportunity to examine the entire curriculum workshop since it will be hosted on the historical society’s website. A contact form could eventually be posted with the workshop in order for parents or community members to provide constructive feedback. In order to ensure all ethical concerns were taken into consideration, various individuals were asked to review this project in order to ensure it remained unbiased and unanswered questions were addressed.

---

<sup>2</sup> Linenthal, “Struggling with History and Memory,” 1094-1095.

<sup>3</sup> Tyrone C. Howard, “When We Talk About Race, Let’s Be Honest,” *Education Week*, August 18, 2017, <https://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2017/08/18/when-we-talk-about-race-lets-be.html>.

*Predictable Past* has a future; it must have a future for Lillie Belle Allen and Officer Schaad's sake. In order to make that future, there are various recommendations that would strengthen and improve this project as a whole. Surveys, feedback, and analytics should be collected continuously in order to gather sufficient material to support updates or changes. A form or blog should be created in order for educators to share how they used the curriculum workshop and/or how they tweaked activities. This would allow educators to share what worked for them while also providing a place for educators to upload activities or lessons they do in their own classrooms. The curriculum workshop would continue to expand and evolve with the guidance and help of educators, while the public institution supports in any way possible.

The historical society should also seek to address the gap of missing historical content in regards to this topic that exists online. Reliable online resources that discuss this topic are extremely limited. There are newspaper articles available through the *York Daily Record*, but if an interested individual wanted to learn about the riots on their own time, few resources exist to inform that individual quickly. The York Historical Society should create an online resource, perhaps a timeline, that details the events leading up to the riots, the major events of the riots, and also add a digitized copy of any artifact, primary document, or photograph available in the archive. This would provide a helpful and reliable resource for various individuals to utilize, while also providing educators with a reliable resource for students to explore.

Lastly, the experience that the historical society can offer should continue to expand. Although the 50th anniversary is approaching, exhibits on the riots or the walking tour should be a consistent, year-round featured item. The York Historical Society should continue to host the walking tour, while also seeking to evolve the current tour with more images, information, oral accounts, and perhaps featured guest speakers. The historical society is in the process of

collecting oral accounts from individuals who experienced the riots. This could eventually transform the walking tour into a walking audio tour. Visitors would listen to the accounts on the way to each location. When they reach the next location, the tour guide would proceed with an overview while guests continue to examine historical photos or artifacts on their mobile devices.

## **Conclusion**

Evidence and research throughout this thesis support the fact that an examination on the York County race riots will greatly add to the discussion on this topic. It will also provide a curriculum workshop that will educate students within York County on the historical events that preceded the riots, the continued inaction by the local government officials, and the questionable police tactics that created an environment that allowed the riots to occur. Current headlines indicate that racial strife is continuing to thrive in York County as well as throughout the nation. We must educate students on the events that took place within their community. This will help to inform students on their local history, make them cognizant of what occurred and how this impacts society today, while preparing them to deal with these issues in the future.

The historiography on the race riots in York is limited. Levy, Keisling, Kalish, Shumway, and Costopoulos and Bumsted provide the most relatable work on the topic. However, several of these publications are related to the riots but only discuss specific events or discuss the riots with limited detail. Taking this into account and the fact that primary sources exist but are also limited, accentuates the fact that various perspectives, interpretations, and historical lenses would develop the current historiography and work to build upon a more inclusive, complete history. Coupling the current historiography with the results from the survey creates a greater understanding and need for this content. The curriculum workshop and supplemental activities will lessen the gap of misunderstanding for students and provide them with the ability to apply their knowledge to current ongoing issues within York and throughout the nation.

The goal of this research and thesis is to illustrate why this subject matter must be discussed and incorporated into the community and local curriculum. This workshop hopes to

achieve its mission of educating students on local racial history by utilizing the supplements that were created to support the goals and objectives, while providing students with the opportunity to explore their local community on a walking tour.

With the proper preparation and planning, budgetary issues can be avoided and appropriate funding can be allotted to those expenditures. Ethical considerations can be accounted for with the help of an effective team, trial runs with the public, and continuous feedback from educators, students, and the public. By actively caring for these items, the historical society can seek to improve their materials and implement new ideas or recommendations. Without proper planning and considerations for an inclusive, comprehensive history, the historical society may put itself in a difficult position that may lead to pushback or negative media coverage, which will most likely impact their funding opportunities.

The racial history of York County has clearly impacted the area and directly led to the race riots in 1969. The lack of resolution after the riots has continued to impact the county and the residents that reside there, but this project will allow conversations to take place, healing to begin, and strides can be made within the community. The riots have provided an opportunity for understanding and knowledge to occur, this cannot be ignored or missed.

## Appendix

### *The Predictable Past of York County: Goals and Objectives*

#### **Summary:**

This project includes a curriculum guide and supplements for educators and public institutions to utilize within York County. The historical information and research will educate students and provide teachers with the background information needed. Activities in and outside of the classroom will foster a greater understanding of York County and the surrounding community. The overall goal and hope is that this project will continue to evolve and develop into a self-guided audio tour and eventually the curriculum will expand as other educators develop and add additional resources.

#### **Objectives:**

- Students will gain a greater understanding of York County's history.
- Students will be able to apply the historical information they learn to current events, which will allow them to gain a greater understanding of why York currently faces specific obstacles.
- Students will gain a greater understanding of the events that led to the race riots.

#### **Goal:**

- Students and parents within the community will gain a greater understanding of York County's history, which will create a more empathic community that seeks to address current ongoing racial biases.
- Residents of York County will become more active in the community and aware of its residents' needs.

- Students will become more aware of their surroundings and the events that took place within their own county/city.

- Foster empathy and create awareness for others within the community.

**Students will complete the following activities:**

- Introduction Activity
- Timeline of Historical Events
- Walking Tour
- Critical Thinking Analysis, Reflection, and Change

**Optional, yet encouraged local activities:**

- Walking Tour with tour guides
- Visit the York Historical Society
- Visit/update students on upcoming 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary events



## Brochure for Curriculum Guide/Walking Tour:

250 East Market Street  
York, PA 17403  
717.848.1587

# The Predictable Past:

## The York County Race Riots

### The mission of the York County Historical Society:

The York County History Center inspires the exploration of the history, people, and culture of our county, state and nation.

### The goal of the *Predictable Past* project:

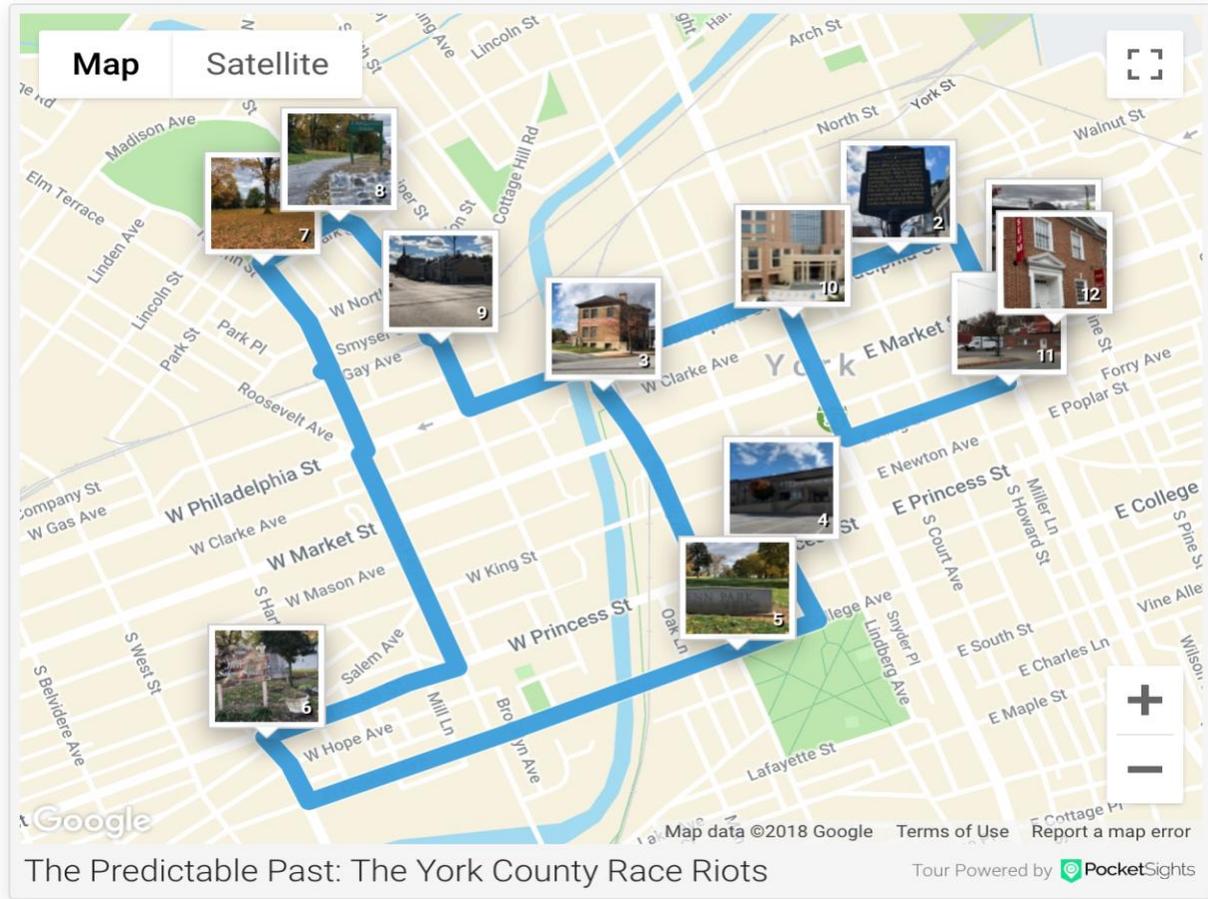
To educate students on local racial historical events by exposing them to a curriculum that examines the historical events that led to the race riots. This knowledge will encourage empathy, a greater understanding within the community, and the ability to apply this knowledge to current ongoing issues.

In order to achieve this goal and support the historical society, teachers within York County can gain access to a [curriculum workshop](#), which seeks to educate students on the race riots.

Students will complete a series of activities in order to gain a firm understanding of York's racial history. They then have the opportunity to go on a walking tour within the community that discusses the riots or they can experience the walking tour within their [classroom](#).

# The Predictable Past Walking Tour

## Tour Map



### Tour stops:

1. Begin at the York Historical Society
2. William C. Goodridge Freedom Center
3. York Rail Trail
4. William Penn High School
5. Penn Park
6. Salem Square – optional
7. Farquhar Park
8. Farquhar Park Continued
9. Location of Lillie Belle Allen's Murder
10. York County Judicial Center
11. Charrette Location 1970
12. Return to the York Historical Society

Please contact the York Historical Society with any questions or to schedule a walking tour. The walking tour utilizes an app to enhance your experience - Please download [PocketSights](#) ahead of time.

## **Pennsylvania Standards used in *The Predictable Past*:**

### **Pennsylvania History - 8.2.9**

- A. Analyze the political and cultural contributions of individuals and groups to Pennsylvania history from 1787 to 1914.
- B. Identify and analyze primary documents, material artifacts and historic sites important in Pennsylvania history from 1787 to 1914.
- C. Identify and analyze how continuity and change have influenced Pennsylvania history from the 1787 to 1914.
- D. Identify and analyze conflict and cooperation among social groups and organizations in Pennsylvania history from 1787 to 1914.

### **Historical Analysis and Skills Development - 8.1.9**

- A. Analyze chronological thinking
- C. Analyze the fundamentals of historical interpretation.
- D. Analyze and interpret historical research

<https://www.stateboard.education.pa.gov/Documents/Regulations%20and%20Statements/State%20Academic%20Standards/E%20HISTORY%20web03.pdf>

### **PA Core Standards - Writing in History and Social Studies**

- CC.8.6.9-10.C. Produce clear and coherent writing in which the development, organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience.

**CC.8.6.9-10.E.** Use technology, including the Internet, to produce, publish, and update individual or shared writing products, taking advantage of technology's capacity to link to other information and to display information flexibly and dynamically

**CC.8.6.9-10.H.** Draw evidence from informational texts to support analysis, reflection, and research.

### **PA Core Standards - Reading in History and Social Studies**

**CC.8.5.9-10.A.** Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and origin of the information

**CC.8.5.9-10.C.** Analyze in detail a series of events described in a text; determine whether earlier events caused later ones or simply preceded them.

**CC.8.5.9-10.F.** Compare the point of view of two or more authors for how they treat the same or similar topics, including which details they include and emphasize in their respective accounts.

<https://www.pdesas.org/Page?pageId=11>

## Day-by-Day Guide for Educators

<p><b>Day One</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Discuss the LEQ/Objective: How do historical events impact our future?</li> <li>2. Review with students the importance of local history and what we can learn about where we live by examining the history.</li> <li>3. <a href="#">Hook Activity</a> - PowerPoint that introduces Riots in York, PA.</li> <li>4. Begin “Introduction Activity.”</li> </ol>	<p>Teachers will need a way to present the PowerPoint/hook activity.</p> <p>Students will need computers, internet access, and copies of the Introduction Activity.</p>
<p><b>Day Two</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. LEQ/Objective: Understand the historical events that led to the riots.</li> <li>2. Continue/finish introduction activity</li> <li>3. Complete/examine “Timeline of Historical Events.”</li> <li>4. Discuss and reflect upon Timeline Activity - students should share the information they found with the class.</li> <li>5. Introduce/begin <a href="#">Walking Tour</a>.</li> </ol>	<p>If students are going on the walking tour, teachers should prompt students to download PocketSights ahead of time.</p> <p>Students will need computers, internet access, and copies of the timeline activity.</p>
<p><b>Day Three</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. LEQ/Objective: Explore the historical locations of the York Race Riots. How did the riots impact our community during that time period? How do they continue to impact our community today?</li> <li>2. Walking Tour (complete in the community on a field trip using PocketSights or complete online using link above).</li> <li>3. Complete and discuss “Walking Tour Reflection” questions.</li> <li>4. Optional - Discuss outcomes from the 2001 trials.</li> </ol>	<p>If completing the tour online, students will need internet access and the reflection questions.</p> <p>If going on the walking tour, students should have the app on their phone and they should complete the reflection questions during or after the tour.</p>

Hook Activity: [PowerPoint](#)

Figure 1 - Slide #1

THE PREDICTABLE PAST:  
THE YORK COUNTY RACE RIOTS

Unsupported placeholder

Has anyone heard or know about the race riots? Show of hands.

Explore

Figure 2 - Slide #2

## Have You Ever Seen These Benches?



These two benches face each other in Farquhar Park. They seek to remember two lives lost during the riots.

Ask students if they have seen these benches. Introduce them to the fact that these benches seek to memorialize the riots.

 Explore

Figure 3 - Slide #3

## Have You Ever Seen These Benches?



Discuss the names and where they are located. Go to the previous slide and ask them how people would know what these benches represent. Why is there no other marker here?

 Explore

Figure 4 - Slide #4

**OBJECTIVE:**

**Then:**

- Slavery in Pennsylvania
- The Conspiracy of 1803
- The Underground Railroad
- Poverty
- Segregation
- K-9 Units
- Riots of 1968
- Riots of 1969

How will we address these issues so they do not happen again?

- Charrette – April 1970
- Eliminate the K-9 Units
- 2001 Trials for Schaad and Allen

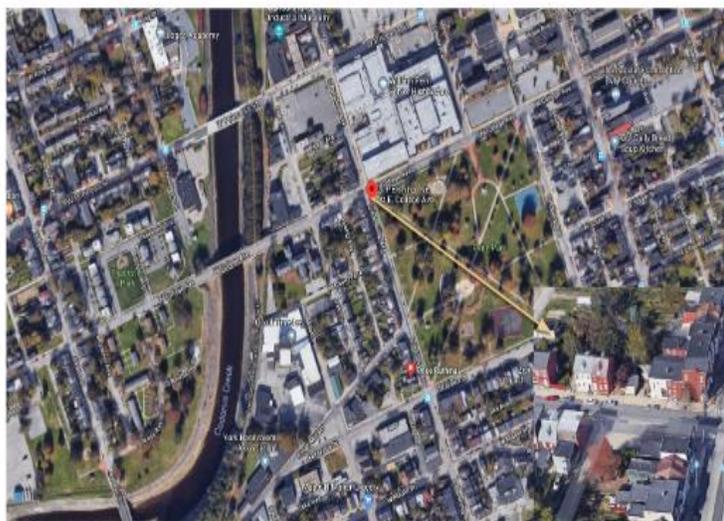
**Now:**

- KKK Flyers Disturbed
- Racial incidents within local high schools
- Graffiti with racial slurs targeted toward JCC members
- Poverty

Discuss the events that led to the riots, what the community did to try to address those problems, and current issues we see today. Have things changed? Do current issues indicate what occurred in our history?



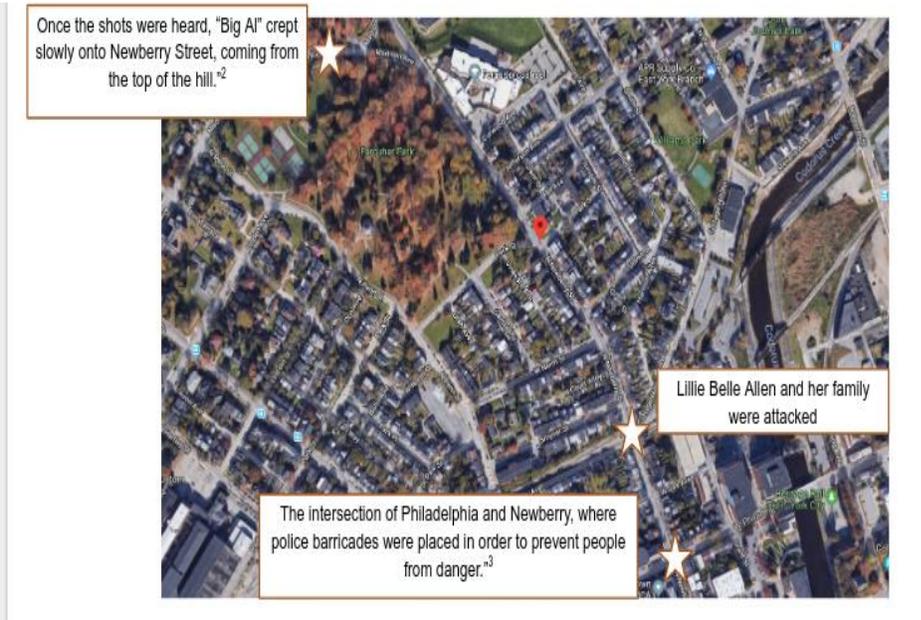
Figure 5 - Slide #5



Officer Schaad responded to an incident at Pershing and College Avenue. His armored vehicle was shot at and one of the sniper's bullets hit Henry Schaad. He eventually passed away from his wounds.<sup>1</sup>

This is the location of Officer Schaad's murder. He was patrolling in "Big Al," an armored vehicle. He encountered gunfire from a sniper and was wounded.

Figure 6 - Slide #6



This is the location of Lillie Belle Allen's murder. Discuss how some individuals state there were barricades, while other state they were not there. There are also discrepancies as to where Robertson was during this event.

Figure 7 - Slide #7

On July 21, 1969, Officers Charlie Robertson, James VanGreen, and Dennis McMaster were parked "on top of a hill by Farquhar Park" in "Big Al." They heard gunshots and agreed the shots came from around Newberry Street.<sup>4</sup>



Farquhar Park

Figure 8 - Slide #8



Charlie Robertson saw that the streetlights were "shot out" and then noticed the white Cadillac "resting broadside at the railroad tracks." The back window was "shattered, the trunk was riddled with holes, and the tires were deflated."<sup>5</sup>

Robert Messersmith lived on this road and this area was known to be a white gang area. Messersmith eventually went to trial for his involvement, as did several other men.



Figure 9 - Slide #9



Four African Americans were inside the car crouched down terrified for their lives. Near the "driver's door" lay a young African American woman "bleeding profusely."<sup>6</sup>

Dennis McMaster asked that the car be driven to the "barricades on Philadelphia Street, one block away, in the direction" the car originally came from.<sup>7</sup>

The FBI report includes several interviews from family members in the car, which states that they left the scene in the car and headed toward the hospital.

Why did the Newberry Street Gang attack this car and family? There were reports that a black gang had driven through this area and shot off multiple rounds. The Newberry Street Gang and individuals from other gangs prepared for a white Cadillac to show up again, but this time they were ready.

Figure 10 - Slide #10

The slide features a dark green header bar with the title "Why does this matter?" in white text. Below the header, on a white background, are five questions listed in a simple black font. The slide is framed by a light gray border.

Why does this matter?

- How did we get to this point? How did this happen?
- How does this impact or influence our city to this day?
- Have things improved?
- Why did it take over 30 years for trials to occur?
- What discrepancies exist?

Discuss questions and thoughts currently. Explain to students that upcoming activities will explain and answer some of these questions.



*Figure 11 - Slide #11*

## Notes

1. William Keisling, *The Wrong Car* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Yardbird Books, 2002), 16.
2. William C. Costopoulos and Brad Bumstead, *Murder is the Charge* (Philadelphia: Camino Books, 2004), 3
3. William Keisling, *The Wrong Car* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Yardbird Books, 2002), 7.
4. William C. Costopoulos and Brad Bumstead, *Murder is the Charge* (Philadelphia: Camino Books, 2004), 1-3.
5. Costopoulos and Bumstead, *Murder is the Charge*, 3.
6. Costopoulos and Bumstead, *Murder is the Charge*, 3.
7. Costopoulos and Bumstead, *Murder is the Charge*, 3.

Name:

Date:

Block:

### **The Predictable Past: Introduction**

Answer the following questions:

1. Were you born and raised in York County?
  - a. If **yes**, what do you know about York County? If you met a stranger and they asked about York County, what would you tell them?
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  - b. If **no**, what did you think or hear about York County before you moved here? What do you think of it now?
  
2. What do you like or dislike about York County? Explain your answer.
  
3. Do you think you will stay in York County or leave? Explain your answer.
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
4. What do you know about York County's history?
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
5. What do you know about the race riots in York County?

Visit this webpage to explore **Pennsylvania's** history:

<https://www.history.com/topics/us-states/pennsylvania>

1. Pennsylvania's capital is \_\_\_\_\_.
2. It was one of the original \_\_\_\_\_ colonies
3. Pennsylvania was founded by \_\_\_\_\_.
4. List two battles that took place in Pennsylvania:
  
5. Pennsylvania is also known as the \_\_\_\_\_ state. (nickname)

Visit the webpages below to explore **York's** history and answer the questions that accompany each section:

### **Shearer's Map of York County, Pennsylvania 1860**

<https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3823y.la000825/?r=-0.239,-0.477,1.368,1.111,0>

1. Examine the above map from 1860 and compare it with a current day map of the counties in Pennsylvania (find current day map online). List two differences or similarities you see:

Importance of manufacturing and railroads in York County:

### **York Manufacturing Company**

<https://www.loc.gov/resource/hhh.pa2957.photos?st=gallery>

### **American Chain & Cable Company**

<https://www.loc.gov/resource/hhh.pa1309.photos?st=gallery>

### **Hanover Junction, Pennsylvania 1863**

<https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca.33496/>

### **Hanover Junction, Pennsylvania 1863**

<https://www.loc.gov/item/2012649995/>

### **The Rail Trail:**

<https://yorkcountypa.gov/parks-recreation/the-parks/heritage-rail-trail-parks.html>

<https://www.railstotrails.org/trailblog/2015/september/18/pennsylvania-s-heritage-rail-trail-county-park-and-maryland-s-torrey-c-brown-rail-trail/>

<https://www.trailink.com/trail/torrey-c-brown-rail-trail/>

2. After examining the following links, what can you conclude about manufacturing in York County and the importance of the railroad?

### **York County's History**

<https://yorkcountypa.gov/about-york-county/york-county-history.html>

1. When was York County founded? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Who first settled in York County?
  - a.
  - b.
  - c.
  - d.
3. Explain how the Mason-Dixon line came to be:
4. Apply the information you learned above and explain how southern PA, including York County, would have up been influenced or impacted by Maryland's ideals, the Civil War, segregation, etc.

Name:

Date:

Block:

### **The Predictable Past: A Timeline of Historical Events Leading to the Race Riots**

Students will review the timeline of the historical racial events that occurred within York, Pennsylvania. Students should choose at least one item from the timeline to research further:

- | 1639 - Slavery came to Pennsylvania
- | 1682 - William Penn arrived in Pennsylvania
- | 1721 - Pennsylvania outlawed slavery
- | 1741 - York City was laid out
- | 1749 - York County was established
- | 1772 - 448 slaves in York
- | 1803 - Conspiracy of 1803
- | 1919 - Great Migration and settlement in York
- | 1920 - KKK presence and activity increased in York
- | 1935 - York City schools separate, but equal (Hannah Penn Junior High separate shower area for blacks, separate playground, separate assemblies)
- | 1948 - York city government came under pressure to desegregate the public swimming pool in Farquhar Park. City officials sought to sell or tear down the pool rather than desegregate it

- 1954 - Brown vs. Board of Education - Many city schools were primarily one race or the other. (Howard Elementary mainly white students.)
- 1961 - *ABC's of Good Will for Yorkers* (**Examine Figure 1**)
- 1962 - Creation of the York County Advisory Council
- 1962 - Police began using trained attack dogs for crowd control, patrolling, and to stop individuals when they ran
- 1963 - Largest civil rights rally in York at Penn Common - people gather to listen to speeches about wiping out racial discrimination
- 1965 - A woman was clubbed and punched by a police officer on Freys Avenue. Her brother jumped in to help, but was attacked by a police dog. The NAACP and local demonstrators attended the next city council meeting demanding the end to the use of dogs.
- 1966 - Crispus Attucks closed
- 1968 - Mayor Snyder added four more dogs to the police force.
- 1968 - "Investigatory Hearing Into the Causes of Racial Tensions in York, August 27 and 28, 1968" by PHRC (Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission) Examine

**Fig. 2**

**Next:** Highlight the events you are researching further and take notes below. Also, relate your research to national events. Use local newspapers to gather more information. You will share what you found with the class, so make sure you have a few examples and an understanding in order to expand upon the timeline.

**Compare Figure 1 and 2:** How does the report from 1961 compare or contrast to the report published in 1968? Explain. How would this have impacted the tensions within the city?

**Figure 1: The ABC's of Good Will for Yorkers**

CHAPTER 3



*Doris (Dorrie) Leader took the lead in writing the ABC and served for many years on both the state Human Relations Commission and the local York County Advisory Council, circa 1960.*

[PHRC]

- NATIONAL: 1956 - U.S. SUPREME COURT BANS SEGREGATION OF PUBLIC FACILITIES, REJECTING SEPARATE BUT EQUAL.
- NATIONAL: 1957 - THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE WAS ORGANIZED BY DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING AND DR. RALPH ABERNATHY.
- NATIONAL: 1957 - CONGRESS PASSES THE FIRST CIVIL RIGHTS LAW SINCE 1875.

regarding equality of opportunity in Greater York." A stirring preamble cited the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the Constitution and supported the Supreme Court, the dream of democracy, the belief in equality, the right to a decent life for all, and a commitment to an open society. It pleaded for more good will, admitting that it, "can't be legislated, but the law is there to assure liberty and justice, and to further create a climate in which good will can flourish, as people come together to know one another in daily life."

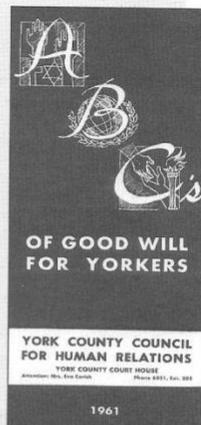
Findings of the survey were invaluable as a benchmark for measuring progress in civil rights for decades to come. Unfortunately, they can still serve today, 40 years later, as an agenda for change. The survey documented many examples of blatant discriminatory practices by real estate agents, bankers, physicians, nonprofit agency directors, retail store managers, restaurant owners, and others. Interviewers commonly heard the excuse, "I don't feel this way, but my customers would object." Others were only too happy to admit to their prejudice. Key survey findings are summarized below.

*THE ABC'S OF GOOD WILL FOR YORKERS*

**Education:** Public education was officially available without discrimination. However, residential patterns resulted in a heavy concentration of minorities in some schools, whereas others had no black students or only a very few. Two suburban districts had almost no Jewish students. Virtually no Negro students attended any of the suburban schools and there no Negro teachers and only one Jewish teacher. In the city, Negro teachers worked only in those schools where there many black students. Minority enrollment in private schools was minimal or, more often, nonexistent. Most of the Negroes interviewed believed they would not be welcome in any private educational institution.

**Employment:** It was clear that Negroes, and sometimes Jews, did not have the same job opportunities as others. Of the 99 firms interviewed, 75% employed no Negroes and 62% employed no Jews. Ten firms said they would not hire Negroes, and five said they would do so only reluctantly. Two firms said they would not hire Jews.

Most of the Negroes worked in unskilled positions. They earned an average of \$1.46 per hour, a third less than what whites earned. More than 34% of the Negroes held jobs at or



*ABC's of Good Will for Yorkers.*

[DORRIE LEADER]

This image is from Jim Kalish's book *The Story of Civil Rights in York, Pennsylvania*, Page. 45.

## Figure 1 Continued:

### CHAPTER 3



Cross burned on front porch of Wade Bowers, director of education at Crispus Attucks. Police Chief William Knapp called it a youthful prank, late 1950s.

[YGD]



*"Good will can't be legislated, but the law is there to assure liberty and justice, and to further create a climate in which good will can flourish, as people come together to know one another in daily life."*

DORRIE LEADER

near the bottom of the pay scale, for Christian whites 11%, for Jews 4%. Higher levels of education meant better pay for Jews and white Christians, but not for Negroes. Unions and industry each blamed the other for lack of Negro hiring. Employment agencies claimed it was difficult for them to find jobs for Negroes, so most did not try. Of the Negroes interviewed, 80% said they faced employment discrimination; however, 85% of the white Christians felt that firms did not discriminate against Negroes.

**Health and Welfare:** Although a number of physicians treated Negro patients, some indicated they would prefer not to. Others insisted on treating Negroes outside regular office hours or kept them out of the waiting rooms. Several said they did not treat Negro patients because their white patients would object. Neither of the two main convalescent homes accepted Negro patients. The largest home for children admitted whites only. Half of the Negro families interviewed experienced discrimination in dealing with health and welfare services, citing day nurseries in particular.

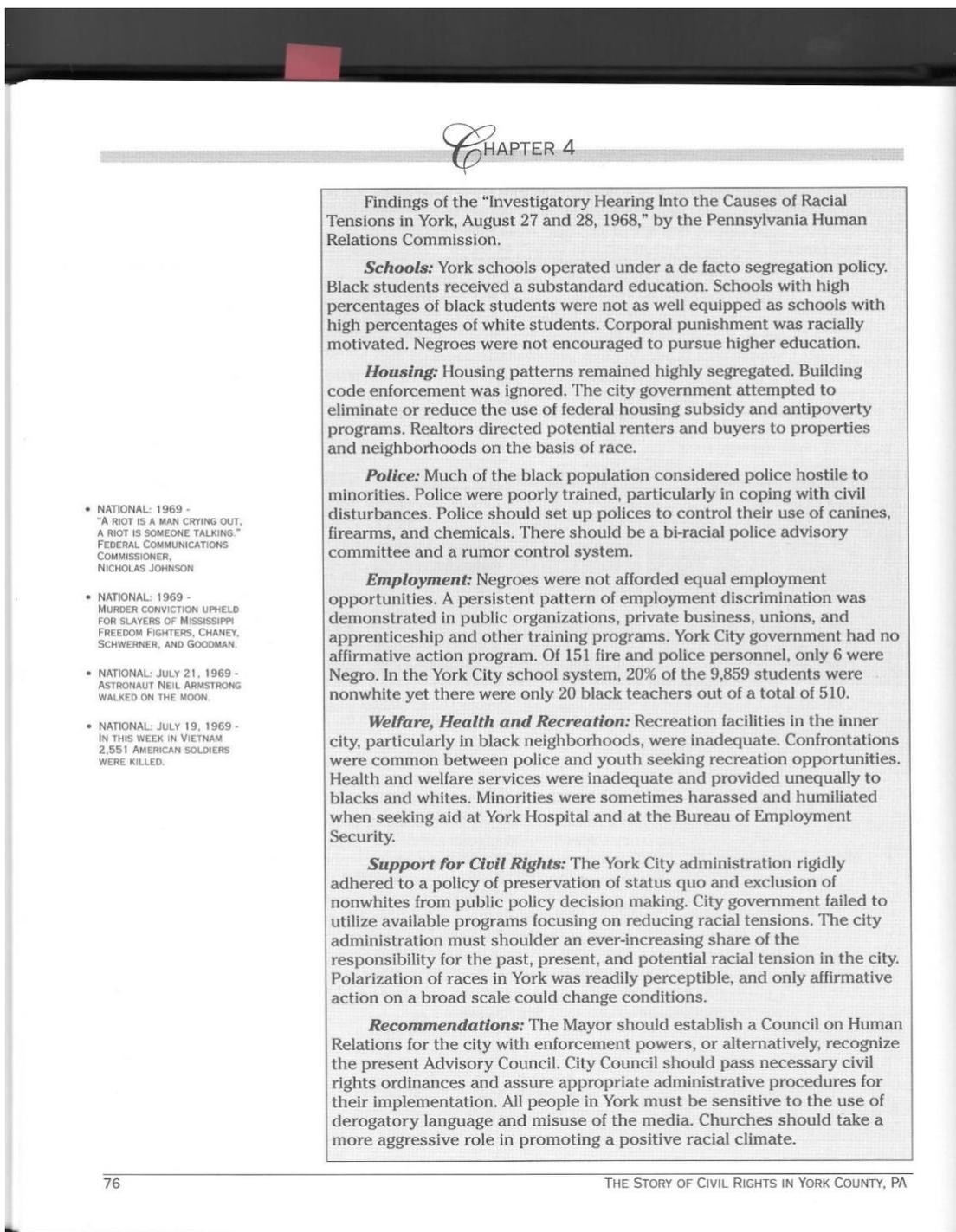
**Housing:** Access to housing was commonly restricted for Negroes and sometimes for Jews. All 39 real estate brokers interviewed admitted that Negroes lived in ghettos because of discriminatory practices; 60% said the same applied to Jews. The reasons given for why they were excluded from white areas included "reduction of property values, social objections, neighborhood degeneration, racial and religious prejudice." Three-quarters of the realtors said they would not sell or rent residences in white neighborhoods to Negroes, and 15% would not sell or rent to Jews. Half of the realtors said that written or oral exclusionary practices were common, but this did not deter them from handling the property. In addition the survey found the quality of housing occupied by Negroes was notably worse than that occupied by others.

**Public Accommodations (restaurants and hotels):** Most of the restaurant owners and managers interviewed at 54 eating places said they were willing to serve Negroes, but many did so quite reluctantly. Hotel representatives expressed the same views. Both indicated a concern that other guests would object. Very few Negroes patronized either restaurants or hotels outside their own community because they believed they were not welcome.

**Recreation:** Most publicly owned recreation facilities were open to Negroes and Jews; most private facilities were closed to them. Bowling alley personnel were particularly concerned about Negro users. All the golf courses were closed to Negroes, and some were closed to Jews. None of the five private swimming pools admitted Negroes. Most Negroes believed they were not welcome at private tennis courts or at any of the private recreation facilities.

*end of survey report*

**Figure 2: PHRC’s “Investigatory Hearing Into the Causes of Racial Tensions in York, August 27 and 28, 1968”**



This image is from Jim Kalish’s book The Story of Civil Rights in York, Pennsylvania, Page. 76.

## ***The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riot Walking Tour:***

Access through the following [link](#) OR download the app for PocketSights. Once the app is downloaded, the tour can be followed and explored further on a mobile device.

### *Tour Stop #1: Begin at the York Historical Society*

#### York Historical Society

Created By: Kelsey Wisman

#### Point of Interest Details

Welcome and thanks for joining us on this walking tour that discusses the race riots that took place in York, Pennsylvania.

Begin at the Historical Society.

Play Video

This point of interest is part of the tour: The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots

#### Leave a Comment

0 Comments PocketSights

Login

Recommend

Tweet

Share

Sort by Best



York Historical Society

Photo by: K. Wisman

Location

Create a Tour

## Tour Stop #2: William C. Goodridge Freedom Center and Underground Railroad Museum

Home > > > The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots > William C. Goodridge Freedom Center and Underground Railroad Museum

### William C. Goodridge Freedom Center and Underground Railroad Museum

Created By: Kelsey Wisman

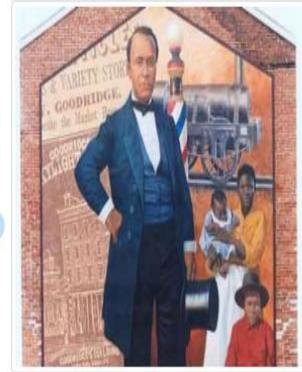
#### Point of Interest Details

William C. Goodridge was well known in the York community for being an entrepreneur. He was the son of an enslaved mother and became an indentured servant. This led to him working as an apprentice in York, PA. Goodridge learned several trades here and was granted his freedom at the age of 16. With his skills and freedom, he accumulated various businesses, as well as rail services from York to Philadelphia. He used these businesses and his home to hide and transport slaves seeking their freedom. Goodridge "risked his life and fortune by using his personal and commercial properties as stations on the Underground Railroad."

For more information check out: <https://www.goodridgefreedomcenter.org/>

A mural on 358 W. Market Street features William C. Goodridge - check it out! This is an optional stop as well.

This point of interest is part of the tour: The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots



William C. Goodridge Freedom Center and Underground Railroad Museum

Photo by: William C. Goodridge Mural

Location

Create a Tour

Interested in building your own tours?

## Tour Stop #3: York Rail Trail

Home › › › The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots › York Rail Trail

### York Rail Trail

Created By: Kelsey Wisman

#### Point of Interest Details

The Rail Trail links York, Pennsylvania to Maryland. This linked Pennsylvania's businesses, economy, and people to Maryland. The two states became intertwined with one another, which allowed for southern ideals to travel North.

<http://www.maparailroadhist.org/history.html>

This point of interest is part of the tour: The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots

#### Leave a Comment

0 Comments PocketSights

 Login ▾



York Rail Trail

Photo by: Map of Pennsylvania Railroad and its connections - 1889

Location \_\_\_\_\_

Create a Tour \_\_\_\_\_

Interested in building your own tours?

## Tour Stop #4: William Penn High School

Home > > > The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots > William Penn High School

### William Penn High School

Created By: Kelsey Wisman

#### Point of Interest Details

Throughout 1968, there were various incidents or disturbances that occurred within York that led to the 1969 riots. Some of those events happened in William Penn, the high school that resides in York city. For example, Dr. Levy details a "mini-riot" that occurred following a football game between William Penn and Cedar Cliff High, which was a predominately white school from Camp Hill. Fans began fighting and the fighting continued into downtown York, which led to more violence. (1)

After the riots, tensions within York remained. In 1970, a fight began in a hallway between one white and black student. This fight occurred due to the white student questioning the black student's relationship with a white female student. This escalated a day later when 200 whites arrived outside the school with "baseball bats, clubs, and chains, and perhaps guns." Once the police arrived, they accepted the whites account, utilized the K9 Unit, and arrested several blacks.

This led to Mayor Eichelberger declaring a state of emergency, closing all schools, and creating a curfew. (2)

A few days later, William Penn opened once again. However, "three white students" were detained for "possessing a gun." It was determined that the student who had possession of the gun was the "son of a city council member." This student was taken into custody, but he was not "charged with a crime." (3)



William Penn High School

Photo by: K. Wisman

Location

Create a Tour

Interested in building your own tours?

GET STARTED

## Tour Stop #5: Penn Park

Home » » » The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots » Penn Park

### Penn Park

Created By: Kelsey Wisman

#### Point of Interest Details

Penn Park, as well as the surrounding area, was known to many York residents as a dangerous area within the city during the race riots. There are several accounts of violent attacks with bricks, shootings, shots being fired, and vehicle damage. Although this area was known for the disorder that occurred here, many are also aware of this specific location because of the events that transpired which led to the death of Officer Henry Schaad.

Officer Schaad was dispatched in "Big Al," an armored vehicle, on July 18, 1969, to Pershing and College. Approaching the conflict, rifle shots struck the armored vehicle and Officer Schaad was shot. He was wounded and passed away on August 1, 1969, due to these wounds.

United States District Court For the Middle District of Pennsylvania, March 31, 1970.

This point of interest is part of the tour: The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots



Penn Park

Location

Create a Tour

Interested in building your own tours?

GET STARTED

Leave a Comment

## Tour Stop #6: Salem Square (optional stop)



Home > > > The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots > Salem Square - optional

### Salem Square - optional

Created By: Kelsey Wisman

#### Point of Interest Details

Many residents of York can recall the National Guard tanks within the city.

This point of interest is part of the tour: The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots



Salem Square - optional

Photo by: York County History Center

#### Leave a Comment



Location

## Tour Stop #7: Farquhar Park

### Farquhar Park

Created By: Kelsey Wisman

#### Point of Interest Details

After July 18, 1969, the night Officer Schaad was wounded, violence within the city continued. The mayor, John Snyder, called for a state of emergency and imposed a curfew on July 19. Tensions continued to build and violence ensued. On July 20, 1969, a rally was held in Farquhar Park. This was the rally where several people say they heard Officer Charles Robertson shout "white power."

This point of interest is part of the tour: The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots



Farquhar Park

Photo by: K. Wisman

#### Leave a Comment

0 Comments [PocketSights](#)

[1 Login](#)

Location

[Recommend](#) [Tweet](#) [Share](#)

Sort by Best

Create a Tour

## Tour Stop #8: Farquhar Park Continued

[Home](#) › [The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots](#) › [Farquhar Park Continued](#)

### Farquhar Park Continued

Created By: [Kelsey Wisman](#)

#### Point of Interest Details

These two benches, one dedicated to Henry Schaad and the other for Lillie Belle Allen, are the only items within York that seek to remind the residents of York County of the race riots and the events that led to their deaths.

This point of interest is part of the tour: [The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots](#)

#### Leave a Comment

0 Comments [PocketSights](#)

[1](#) [Login](#)



Farquhar Park Continued

Photo by: [K. Wisman](#)

## Tour Stop #9: Location of Lillie Belle Allen's Murder

Home / The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots / Location of Lillie Belle Allen's Murder

### Location of Lillie Belle Allen's Murder

Created By: Kelsey Wisman

#### Point of Interest Details

This marks the location where Lillie Belle Allen was murdered on July 21, 1969. Allen was in the car with her family visiting from South Carolina. As the car approached the railroad tracks, the family spotted a group of white residents and proceeded to turn around. As they turned around the car stalled on the railroad tracks. Lillie Belle Allen got out of the car to drive and shots were fired. Lillie Belle Allen was shot and fell to the road, while her family hid in the car.

This point of interest is part of the tour: The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots



Location of Lillie Belle Allen's Murder

Photo by: York Daily Record File

Location

## Tour Stop #10: York County Judicial Center

### York County Judicial Center

Created By: Kelsey Wisman

#### Point of Interest Details

After 32 years of silence, Allen and Schaad's murders were finally heard in court. In 2001, the York County Courthouse, which was later replaced by the judicial center (see link below), heard the cases and determined the verdict.

Check out:

<https://yorkblog.com/yorktownsquare/york-countys-judicial-center-opened-10-years-ago-can-you-believe-it/>

This point of interest is part of the tour: The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots

---



York County Judicial Center

Location 

---

Create a Tour 

---

Interested in building your

## Tour Stop #11: Charrette Location

Home › › › The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots › Charrette Location 1970

### Charrette Location 1970

Created By: Kelsey Wisman

#### Point of Interest Details

1970 continued with ongoing violence that rolled over from 1968 and 1969. However, there was hope that the white and black communities could come together to address the ongoing issues that York residents faced. The Charrette, a council for the community, was approved and it sought to solve inner city issues by meeting to discuss the main issues and collaborating on how to improve these issues. For example, one issue that many wanted to address was the inappropriate use of the K-9 Units.

This point of interest is part of the tour: The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots

#### Leave a Comment

0 Comments PocketSights

Login



Charrette Location 1970

Photo by: York County History Center

## *Return to the Historical Society*

Home › › › The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots › **Return to the York Historical Society**

### Return to the York Historical Society

Created By: Kelsey Wisman

#### Point of Interest Details

Thank you for joining us for this walking tour!

If you have any questions or concerns, please ask your guide or visit the historical society.

This point of interest is part of the tour: The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots

---

#### Leave a Comment



Return to the York Historical Society

Photo by: K. Wisman

Name:

Date:

Block:

### **The Predictable Past: Walking Tour Reflection**

Students will explore the York County race riots by exploring the sites within the community using the PocketSights app (Search for The Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots) **OR** students will take the tour online using the following link: <https://pocketsights.com/tours/tour/-The-Predictable-Past%3A-The-York-County-Race-Riots-2633>

Once students have completed the tour **OR** during the tour (at the educators' discretion), students should complete the following questions:

1. List two things you learned about William C. Goodridge. Why were his efforts are so important to the city?
2. Are you surprised by what took place in William Penn High School during the riots? Please explain your answer.
3. How did violence, the National Guard, and heightened security impact the city and residents of York?
4. After learning about the riots in York, what does this mean to you? Does this change your perspective on where you live? Explain.

5. How impactful or meaningful do you think the Charrette was? Explain.

6. What did you learn from this tour and how can you apply it to today?

7. If you were given the opportunity to interview someone that experienced the riots, what questions would you ask them? Provide at least two questions.

8. Read the quotes below:

*In York there was a “long history of poor community relations, particularly with the police.”*

*“The triggers for the riots were the city’s refusal to provide recreation programs and facilities in black neighborhoods, refusal to enforce housing codes that affected the living conditions of Blacks, the unwarranted use of police power, and the arrogance of the mayor and other community leaders.”*

After reading these quotes and applying what you know, could the riots have been avoided?

Please explain.

9. How has York improved since the riots and what has changed or evolved to make those improvements? For example: How have police and resident relations improved? What has the York city police department done to improve community relations? Name a group(s) that exist within the county who work to improve the community.

**Budgetary Considerations and Proposal for 2019/2020 year:**

<b>Item</b>	<b>Details/Notes</b>	<b>Cost</b>	<b>Amount</b>
Research	Staff will determine ideas, goals, and objectives for curriculum workshop	Expected cost - salary of employees	-
	Create outline and gather items to use or incorporate into the workshop	Expected cost - salary of employees or volunteer/part-time employees	-
Creation of Curriculum Workshop and Supplements	Staff members create supplements to support the curriculum workshop and items within.	Expected cost - salary of employees	-
	Meet with local educators to discuss and improve upon these items. Encourage local educators to try the workshop and accompany items, while providing feedback to the historical society.	Meet with local school administration about idea to work with educators. Schools could offer as an Act 80 Day opportunity or a curriculum writing day during the summer. Help local schools pay for substitutes or the curriculum writing days by offering \$100/day - create a bank for this and allot the money as needed.	-\$2,000

		(Depending on the response, the historical society may consider advertising, priority passes, or other opportunities for educators in order to gain their help and attention.)	
Walking Tour	Tour Guides x2 - If the historical society already has tour guides, they may consider hiring one more or none at all. If the historical society does not have staff or volunteers to conduct the tours, this should be a consideration.	\$11.00/hour (40 hours/week) = \$440/week  Yearly tour guide = \$22,880 (subject to change due to holidays and hourly rate)	\$45,760  The York Historical Society would not need to worry about this expense due to having tour guides on staff.
	PocketSights Enterprise (analytics, local advertising, donation support, virtual beacons, mailing list, etc.)	\$199/month - \$2,388 for a year	\$2,388
Upkeep	Reevaluation of materials, supplements, and technology	Expected cost - salary of employees  Analytics from PocketSights Enterprise and Google forms (survey taken at the end of the tour)	-

		Total Expenses:	\$50,148
		Total Expenses without Tour Guides:	\$4,388
		Donations from local community or grants: (none at this time - depends on whether the historical society is awarded the grant or given a donation)	-
		Final Requested Amount:	\$4,388

Southern New Hampshire University

Interview Consent Form

Southern New Hampshire University: College of Online and Continuing Education  
33 South Commercial Street, Suite 203  
Manchester, NH 03101  
1-866-860-0449

I, Elizabeth A. Grove, give  
Southern New Hampshire University the absolute right and permission to use my written or  
spoken material for educational purposes in the *Predictable Past: The York County Race Riots*. I  
understand that the written material may be used in a course presentation, discussion forums,  
or other setting.

**The results of the interview will be used in course assignments or discussion forums, but your  
name or identity will not be revealed.**

I release the University, the filmmaker/photographer, their offices, employees, agents, and  
designees from liability for any violation of any personal or proprietary right I may have in  
connection with such use. I am 18 years of age or older.

Name: Elizabeth A. Grove Date: 11-26-2018  
Address: 2998 Cape Horn Rd. State: PA Zip: 17356  
Phone: 717 244-6248  
E-mail: Penguin7454@yahoo.com  
Signature: Elizabeth A. Grove

Please return this form to the student(s) involved in the \_\_\_\_\_ course, and you may keep one  
copy for your records. Should you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact the  
\_\_\_\_\_ instructor or the SNHU College of Online and Continuing Education Office at  
1-866-860-0449.

Interview Consent Form

Southern New Hampshire University: College of Online and Continuing Education  
33 South Commercial Street, Suite 203  
Manchester, NH 03101  
1-866-860-0449

I, (please print your name) Bernard C Wisman, give Southern New Hampshire University the absolute right and permission to use my written or spoken material for educational purposes in the Predictable Past The York County Race Riots understand that the written material may be used in a course presentation, discussion forums, or other educational setting.

The results of the interview will be used in course assignments or discussion forums, but your name or identity will not be revealed.

I release the University, the filmmaker/photographer, their offices, employees, agents, and designees from liability for any violation of any personal or proprietary right I may have in connection with such use. I am 18 years of age or older.

Name: BERNARD C WISMAN Date: \_\_\_\_\_  
Address: 150 Pauline DR. Apt 314 State: PA Zip: 17402  
Phone: (717) 893-5159 E-mail: N/A  
Signature: Bernard Wisman

Please return this form to the student(s) involved in the \_\_\_\_\_ course, and you may keep one copy for your records. Should you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact the \_\_\_\_\_ instructor or the SNHU College of Online and Continuing Education Office at 1-866-860-0449.

## Bibliography

### Primary Resources:

- Associated Press. "Charlie Robertson, Former Mayor Acquitted of Race-Riot Murder, Dies at 83." *The Washington Post*. August 26, 2017.  
[https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/charlie-robertson-former-mayor-acquitted-of-race-riot-murder-dies-at-83/2017/08/26/321cb448-8a6e-11e7-a50f-e0d4e6ec070a\\_story.html?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.18aaa8a4182b](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/charlie-robertson-former-mayor-acquitted-of-race-riot-murder-dies-at-83/2017/08/26/321cb448-8a6e-11e7-a50f-e0d4e6ec070a_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.18aaa8a4182b).
- Auster, Elizabeth. "3 Decades Later, Ghosts Shake up York, PA." *The Nation*, February 3, 2002.
- Broman, Andrew. "Mayor Robertson's Supporters Shaken." *York Daily Record*, April 27, 2001.
- Buffone, John and Sam Ruland. "KKK Propaganda Spread throughout West Manchester Movie Theater Parking Lot." *The York Daily Record*. August 12, 2018. Accessed August 28, 2018. <https://www.ydr.com/story/news/2018/08/12/kkk-fliers-spread-around-west-manchester-movie-theater-parking-lot/971915002/>.
- Editorial. *Gazette and York Daily Record*. July 22, 1969.
- Gonzalez, Junior. "York Tech Racial Incident Chronicled in New Report." *York Dispatch*. November 08, 2017. Accessed August 29, 2018.  
<https://www.yorkdispatch.com/story/news/2017/11/08/york-tech-racial-incident-chronicled-new-report/841276001/>.
- "Grand Jury Indictments." *The York Dispatch*. April 27, 2001.
- Grove, Beth. Interview with Kelsey Wisman. July 27, 2018.
- Gulden, Dave. "Woman's 1803 Arrest Sparked Protest by Blacks." *York Daily Record*, February 16, 1998.
- "Lillie Belle Allen Part 1 of 1." FBI Records: The Vault. December 06, 2010. Accessed November 10, 2018. [https://vault.fbi.gov/Lillie Belle Allen /Lillie Belle Allen Part 1 of 1/view](https://vault.fbi.gov/Lillie%20Belle%20Allen/Lillie%20Belle%20Allen%20Part%201%20of%201/view).
- Lynch, Jim. "Political Speculation Follows Mayor." *York Daily Record*, May 18, 2001.
- Lynch, Jim. "Why Did Arrests in Riots Take so Long in York." *York Daily Record*, May 2, 2001.
- Lynch, Jim, Rick Lee, and Teresa Boecke. "Timing Raises Questions." *York Daily Record*. May 18, 2001.
- Machcinski, Anthony J. "5 Black Women Allege Racial Discrimination at Pa. Golf Course." *York Daily Record*. April 23, 2018.

<https://www.ydr.com/story/news/2018/04/23/grandview-golf-club-racial-gender-issues-raised-after-black-women-kicked-off-central-pa-golf-course/541783002/>.

“Negro Woman Shot To Death in York; Fires Light Up Sky,” *Gazette*. July 22, 1969.

“No Arrests Have Been Made in Slayings During Disorders.” *Gazette and York Daily Record*, December 5, 1969.

Rappold, Scott. “Before the 1960s York Race Riots, There was 1803.” *York Dispatch*. March 4, 2002.

Scolforo, Mark. “NAACP Pushes Call for Resignation,” *York Dispatch*, June 13, 2001.

United States District Court For the Middle District of Pennsylvania. “No. 69-286 Civil.” District Judge Nealon. March 31, 1970. LexisNexis

Wisman, Bernard. Interview with Kelsey Wisman. November 10, 2018.

### **Secondary Resources:**

“About.” York County History Center. 2018. Accessed November 26, 2018.  
<https://www.yorkhistorycenter.org/about>.

Barnes, Edward. “How to Break Open a Secret.” *Time*, May 28, 2001.

Costopoulos, William C. and Brad Bumstead. *Murder is the Charge*. Philadelphia: Camino Books, 2004.

Cress, Joseph David. *Murder and Mayhem in York County*. Charleston, South Carolina: The History Press, 2011.

Fass, Paula S. “Cultural History/Social History: Some Reflections on a Continuing Dialogue.” *Journal of Social History* 37, no.1 (Fall 2003): 39-46. Accessed November 25, 2018. ProQuest Central.

Hamilton, Mary A. *Rising from the Wilderness: J.W. Gitt and his Legendary Newspaper: The Gazette and Daily of York, PA*. York, Pennsylvania: York County Heritage Trust, 2007.

Hirsch, James S. *Riot and Remembrance: America’s Worst Race Riot and its Legacy*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2002.

Howard, Tyrone C. “When We Talk About Race, Let’s Be Honest.” *Education Week*. August 18, 2017, <https://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2017/08/18/when-we-talk-about-race-lets-be.html>.

- Kalish, Jim. *The Story of Civil Rights in York, Pennsylvania: A 250 Year Interpretive History*. Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Emerson Egervary & Associates, Inc., 2000.
- Keisling, William. *The Wrong Car*. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Yardbird Books, 2002.
- Leff, Mark H. "Revisioning U.S. Political History." *American Historical Review* 100, no. 3 (June 1995): 829-853. Accessed November 20, 2018, JSTOR.
- Levy, Peter B. *The Great Uprising*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Linenthal, Edward T. "Struggling with History and Memory," *Journal of American History* 82, no. 3 (December 1995): 1094, JSTOR.
- McClure, James. *Almost Forgotten*. York, Pennsylvania: York Daily Record/York Newspaper Co., 2002.
- "PocketSights Is Priced Right! Any Tour. Any Time." PocketSights. January 21, 2016. Accessed November 29, 2018. <https://pocketsights.wordpress.com/2015/12/11/pocketsights-is-priced-right-any-tour-any-time/>.
- "Population of States and Counties of the United States: 1790-1990." U.S. Bureau of the Census. March 1996. <https://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/PopulationofStatesandCountiesoftheUnitedStates1790-1990.pdf>.
- "Railroad History." Maryland & Pennsylvania Railroad Historical Society. Accessed November 29, 2018. <http://www.maparailroadhist.org/history.html>.
- "Right-to-Know Request." Pennsylvania State Police. 2018. Accessed November 18, 2018. <https://www.psp.pa.gov/contact/pages/right-to-know-request.aspx>.
- "Salary: Tour Guide." Glassdoor. Accessed November 29, 2018. [https://www.glassdoor.com/Salaries/tour-guide-salary-SRCH\\_KO0,10.htm](https://www.glassdoor.com/Salaries/tour-guide-salary-SRCH_KO0,10.htm).
- Shumway, George. *Charrette at York, PA*. York, Pennsylvania: George Shumway Publisher, 1973.
- "State, Tribal, Local, Plans & Grants." National Parks Service. Accessed November 29, 2018. <https://www.nps.gov/preservation-grants/civil-rights/>.
- "Statement on Standards of Professional Conduct (updated 2011)." *American Historical Association*. 2013.
- Stewart, Mary Conway. *No Peace, No Justice*. Xlibris Corporation, 2006.
- Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean, ed. *The Educational Role of the Museum*. London: Routledge, 1994. Accessed November 25, 2018. Google Books.

Trotter, Joe William, Jr. and Eric Ledell Smith, eds. *African Americans in Pennsylvania: Shifting Historical Perspectives*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997.

Urranaga, Raul. "The York Charrette: April 19-27, 1970." *Journal of York County Heritage* (September 2011): 33-37.

"U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts: York County, Pennsylvania." United States Census Bureau. Accessed August 26, 2018.  
<https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/yorkcountypennsylvania/PST045217>.

"York, Pennsylvania Population 2018." World Population Review. Accessed November 16, 2018. <http://worldpopulationreview.com/us-cities/york-pa-population/>.