

Malverne, New York: How School Integration Failed to Break Barriers

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More than 60 years after *Brown v. Board of Education* outlawed segregated schools, segregation has increased on Long Island. Today, two out of three Hispanic students and three out of four black students attend majority-minority segregated school districts.¹ One of these districts is the Malverne Union Free School District, located in Hempstead, Nassau County. The district was the first in New York ordered to integrate by the state education commissioner, resulting in tensions between white parent associations, who strengthened barriers to equal education, and black parents and activists, who attempted to break barriers. The reorganization of the district in order to integrate was barrier-breaking in the short term, but unsuccessful in the long term. Integration efforts in Malverne prove that segregation was not only a southern issue, but a northern one.

The US Supreme Court Case *Plessy v. Ferguson* made segregation legal in America, creating barriers to equal public education.² *Plessy v. Ferguson*'s "separate but equal" policy was overturned in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*.³ In 1954, the court decided segregation at schools denied black children the equal protection guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment,

¹ "2017 Infographic: School Segregation on Long Island." Infographic. Erase Racism NY. 2015. Accessed January 12, 2020. <http://www.eraseracismny.org/component/content/article/1/498>.

² In 1892, Homer Plessy, who was seen as colored by Louisiana, sat in the "whites only" section of a Louisiana train car, in direct violation of the state's Separate Car Act, and was arrested. Plessy sued and brought the case to the Supreme Court, where a 7-1 decision asserted that "separate but equal" public facilities were constitutional. For more information, see <https://www.oyez.org/cases/1850-1900/163us537>.

³ *Brown v. Board of Education* began when Oliver Brown unsuccessfully attempted to enroll his daughter at the Sumner School, an all-white elementary school in Topeka, Kansas. By 1952, similar cases in South Carolina (*Briggs v. Elliott*), Virginia (*Davis v. County School Board*), and Delaware (*Gebhart v. Belton*), had also arisen. In each, black children had sought and been denied admission to the public schools because of laws requiring or permitting segregation. For more information, see Vanessa Romo's "Linda Brown, Who Was At Center Of *Brown v. Board Of Education*, Dies" (<https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/03/26/597154953/linda-brown-who-was-at-center-of-brown-v-board-of-education-dies>).

even if the physical facilities seemed equal.⁴ By declaring segregation unconstitutional, *Brown v. Board of Education* paved the way for integration throughout the nation and Long Island.

On June 19th, 1963, New York State Education Commissioner James Allen ordered integration in Malverne,⁵ a district comprised of segregated housing communities.⁶ Allen demanded the district integrate its 75% black Woodfield Road Elementary School.⁷ Malverne's other two elementary schools, Lindner Place and Davison Avenue, had only 15% black enrollment, drastically different than that of Woodfield Road.⁸ Allen ordered the Princeton Plan, which assigns students to schools "on the basis of grade, instead of geography, so that all students in the same grade go to the same school regardless of their neighborhood."⁹ The Malverne school board proposed a plan to send first through third grade students to Lindner Place and Davison Avenue, and fourth and fifth grade students to Woodfield Road.¹⁰ Allen also

⁴ Warren, Earl, and Supreme Court Of The United States. U.S. Reports: *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483. 1953. Periodical. <https://www.loc.gov/item/usrep347483/>.

⁵ "High NY Court Gets Pleas on Allen's Order." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Feb 12, 1965, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/914450495?accountid=35174>.

⁶ Malverne's three elementary schools at the time were Woodfield Road Elementary School, Lindner Place Elementary School, and Davison Avenue Elementary School. The Woodfield Road school was located in Lakeview, a predominantly black neighborhood. Davidson Avenue and Lindner place were located in the North Lynbrook and Malverne neighborhoods (respectively), which were both predominantly white. The nature of the housing segregation in the district resulted in segregated schools, since elementary schools students were enrolled in the schools in their neighborhood.

⁷ *The Helm* (Lynbrook, NY). "Demonstrations, Unrest Mark School Opening." September 5, 1963. <http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn95071206/1963-09-05/ed-1/seq-1/>.

⁸ Hevesi, Dennis. "Malverne Schools, 15 Years Later: Integration Makes the Grade." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Jun 11, 1978, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/964186028?accountid=35174>.

⁹ Murray, Alice. "Malverne Board to Ask New Integration Rule." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Jul 09, 1963, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/913598495?accountid=35174>.

¹⁰ Special, to *Newsday*. "Malverne Group Says it Will Sue Allen Today." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Aug 23, 1963, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/964306464?accountid=35174>.

mandated each district in the state make a detailed study of racial imbalance and report plans for corrective action, defining racial imbalance as having a black enrollment of 50% or more.¹¹

Allen's integration order faced immediate backlash from the community. One group, the Taxpayers and Parents Association, intending to halt Allen's integration plan before the 1963 school year, sued Allen because he "exceeded his authority in ordering an integration plan for the school district."¹² They believed the Princeton Plan discriminated against white students.¹³ In September, the case went to the Albany Supreme Court, where the group's lawyer, Mason Hampton, reiterated, "'We contend that [Commissioner Allen] does not have the constitutional right to order local integration.'"¹⁴ This suit strengthened barriers to equal education by delaying integration and challenging Allen's authority.

Though the Taxpayers and Parents group reinforced barriers to equal education, equal rights groups on Long Island sought to break them. The United Committee for Action Now (UCAN) attempted to force integration by sending members' children to schools they were supposed to attend under the Princeton Plan. UCAN formed in July, 1963, after Allen issued his integration order, to alleviate intergroup tensions "consistent with the present nation-wide

¹¹ Uris, Robert. "Ask School Boycott in Amityville." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Aug 26, 1963, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/913666447?accountid=35174>; Kwartler, Richard. "Malverne Group to Appeal Order." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Jul 23, 1964, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/913625864?accountid=35174>.

¹² "Malverne Group Says it Will Sue Allen Today."

¹³ Special, to *Newsday*. "Allen to Fight Reversal of School Order." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Jan 17, 1964, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/913584385?accountid=35174>.

¹⁴ Clark, John and Ken Byerly. "200 Out as Boycott Hits Amityville Schools." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Sep 13, 1963, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/913550857?accountid=35174>.

revolution in the areas of civil rights, full freedom, and human dignity.”¹⁵ On September 4th, 1963, four parents and Lincoln Lynch, chairman of the Long Island Congress of Racial Equality, unsuccessfully attempted to enroll black children at the Davison Avenue School. They were arrested for “refusing to leave the school after three children were denied an opportunity to register.”¹⁶ At Lindner Place School, another group of parents, led by Lloyd Delaney, tried to enroll their children as well.¹⁷ They were told they could not register their children unless they were transferred from the Woodfield Road School.¹⁸ By September 6th, 1963, 17 protesters had been arrested.

Since their children couldn’t enroll in the Davison Avenue or Lindner Place Schools, many parents protested the Malverne district by enrolling them in “freedom schools,” small church schools where students received an education while boycotting their public school. About 180 students boycotting Woodfield Road attended the Unitarian Universalist Church of Central Nassau’s freedom school, which was set up by UCAN members.¹⁹ The students enjoyed going to the school, and the teachers were committed to providing a good education. One of the teachers said, “I have no opinion on either side of the controversy. I’m here solely as an educator—to

¹⁵ *The Helm* (Lynbrook, NY). "Newly Formed Group Backs Allen's Decision." July 11, 1963. <https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn95071206/1963-07-11/ed-1/seq-11/>.

¹⁶ Dorman, Mike, John Clark, and Dave Rosenbluth. "NEGROES SIT IN AT 4 LI SCHOOLS: NEGROES SIT IN AT FOUR LI SCHOOLS; COPS ARREST FIVE AT MALVERNE." *Newsday* (1940-1990), Sep 04, 1963, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/964307160?accountid=35174>.

¹⁷ Dorman, Mike, John Clark, and Dave Rosenbluth. "NEGROES SIT IN AT 4 LI SCHOOLS: NEGROES SIT IN AT FOUR LI SCHOOLS; COPS ARREST FIVE AT MALVERNE."

¹⁸ *The Helm* (Lynbrook, NY). "Demonstrations, Unrest Mark School Opening."

¹⁹ Clark, John and Ken Byerly. "200 Out as Boycott Hits Amityville Schools." *Newsday* (1940-1990), Sep 13, 1963, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/913550857?accountid=35174>.

help children learn. That's all. And I'll be here as long as I'm needed."²⁰ A fifth grader remarked, "I like this school better than Woodfield Road. They made me stand in the corner there."²¹ Though they were boycotting Woodfield Road, many children still wanted to attend some type of school. The freedom school was vital to the Malverne boycott—without having a place for their children to continue learning, some parents may not have participated in the demonstration.

The Malverne boycott ended two weeks later, when the NAACP withdrew their support, which subsequently lowered attendance at freedom schools in the area. Luis Bejarano, vice president of the Malverne School Board, said they couldn't integrate the Woodfield School until the Taxpayers and Parents group's suit against Allen was settled.²² Floyd Hazel, president of the Lakeview NAACP, said the withdrawal "was only effective until a court decision is announced."²³ Llyod Delany announced the end of the boycott, but promised the freedom schools would still operate on Saturdays, to "correct what parents of children in the Woodfield Road School know to be inferior education."²⁴

The parents and organizations advocating for integration initially failed. The black students were not able to enroll in predominantly white schools, and freedom schools ultimately

²⁰ Clark, John and Ken Byerly. "200 Out as Boycott Hits Amityville Schools."

²¹ Clark, John and Ken Byerly. "200 Out as Boycott Hits Amityville Schools."

²² Clark, John and Ken Byerly. "NAACP Stand Cuts 'Freedom School' Rolls." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Sep 17, 1963, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/915158469?accountid=35174>.

²³ Clark, John and Ken Byerly. "NAACP Stand Cuts 'Freedom School' Rolls."

²⁴ Dim, Stuart. "END MALVERNE SCHOOL BOYCOTT: SCHOOL BOYCOTT DROPPED IN MALVERNE." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Sep 21, 1963, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/913586188?accountid=35174>.

closed down, ending boycotts. However, these protests set a precedent for future picketing, proving there was significant resistance to segregation on Long Island and parents were willing to get arrested for their opposition. The protests, sit-ins, and boycotts in the Malverne district in late 1963 show that the barrier to integrated education was beginning to break.

In January, 1964, to settle the suit the Taxpayers and Parents Group raised against Allen's integration plan, NY Supreme Court Judge Isadore Bookstein declared Allen's right to implement the Princeton Plan was unconstitutional.²⁵ He cited a state education law that said admitting students on the basis of race or color is contrary to the law, and claimed Allen's order would discriminate against white students by forcing them out of predominantly white schools to make room for black students.²⁶ The state strengthened barriers to equal education, as evidenced by Bookstein's decision.

In July of 1964, the Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court reversed Judge Bookstein's decision. In a unanimous verdict, they said, "The court cannot substitute some other judgment for the judgement of the commissioner that correction of racial imbalance is an education aid to a minority group in attaining the skills and levels of education which others have had for generations."²⁷ The court also said by citing the education law to claim admission to a school, Bookstein would make that law "a segregation statute mandating continuation in schools of racial imbalance."²⁸ Allen's order to integrate the Malverne schools, now reinforced by the

²⁵ "Allen to Fight Reversal of School Order."

²⁶ Kwartler, Richard. "Malverne Group to Appeal Order." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Jul 23, 1964, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/913625864?accountid=35174>.

²⁷ Kwartler, Richard. "Malverne Group to Appeal Order."

²⁸ Kwartler, Richard. "Malverne Group to Appeal Order."

state judicial system, continued to set a precedent for other districts throughout Long Island and New York.

Like many people fighting for integration on Long Island, Dr. Eugene Reed, president of the New York NAACP Conference, believed the Appellate Division's ruling would end "months of confusion in the minds of some regarding Commissioner Allen's authority to call for the end of racial concentration in the schools."²⁹ Nevertheless, the Taxpayers and Parents Association went to the state's highest court, the Court of Appeals, to prevent the plan's implementation in the 1964 school year. Mason Hampton, the association's attorney, argued Allen had no right to deal with the "local internal affairs of local school districts," to which the education department attorney, Charles Brind, responded that the commissioner had the power to guarantee every child a quality public school education.³⁰ Both sides claimed they would take the case to the U.S. Supreme Court if they lost in the Court of Appeals.³¹ On March 18th, 1965, by a 5-to-2 vote, the Court of Appeals proclaimed Allen had the right to order the reorganization of school districts to promote integration, upholding the Appellate Division's previous verdict.³²

Critics of Allen's integration plan sought a legal loophole in the Court of Appeals's decision, alleging that moving white children to different schools in the neighborhood was just as discriminatory as assigning children to certain schools because they're black. Judge John Van

²⁹ Kwartler, Richard. "Malverne Group to Appeal Order."

³⁰ "High NY Court Gets Pleas on Allen's Order." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Feb 12, 1965, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/914450495?accountid=35174>.

³¹ "High NY Court Gets Pleas on Allen's Order."

³² R W APPLE Jr. "ALLEN IS UPHELD IN MALVERNE CASE: COURT RULES HE HAS RIGHT TO ORDER SHIFTS OF PUPILS ALLEN IS UPHELD IN MALVERNE CASE." *New York Times (1923-Current File)*, Mar 19, 1965. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/116807069?accountid=35174>.

Voorhis of the Court of Appeals supported that view, arguing Allen's act was an unconstitutional violation of the US Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*. He said, "Where is the line to be drawn between allocating persons by law to schools... according to color to promote integration, and doing the same thing to promote segregation? Both depend on racism. If one is legally justifiable, then so is the other."³³ Despite losing the case at the Court of Appeals, discriminatory beliefs persisted.

Racial prejudices maintained by some white parents prevented Allen from immediately implementing his integration plan in Malverne. First, in October, 1965, three white parents from Malverne—Michael Vetere, Lewis Hummel, and Herman Abrams—requested the US Supreme Court nullify Allen's right to integrate the Malverne elementary schools.³⁴ The US Supreme Court refused to act on this request, which effectively defended Allen's right to execute the Princeton Plan. Allen ordered students be moved to schools based on grade, not location, in January of 1966, which Bejarano supported for children in first through fifth grade.³⁵ Charles Reardon, president of the Taxpayers and Parents group, responded to the order, saying, "We will take any legal action to prevent the catastrophe."³⁶ He "hinted that many white parents would remove their children from the district schools having Negro children in the majority," which

³³ R W APPLE Jr. "ALLEN IS UPHELD IN MALVERNE CASE: COURT RULES HE HAS RIGHT TO ORDER SHIFTS OF PUPILS ALLEN IS UPHELD IN MALVERNE CASE."

³⁴ "Malverne Parents Will Seek New Law: Shift Plans After U.S. School Ruling." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Oct 12, 1965, Nassau ed.
<https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/915182870?accountid=35174>.

³⁵ January 31st was the chosen deadline for integration because it was the start of the spring semester.

³⁶ Goldberg, Merle and Edward G. Smith. "MALVERNE SCHOOLS INTEGRATE IN JAN: MALVERNE WILL INTEGRATE IN JAN." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Oct 22, 1965, Nassau ed.
<https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/914453746?accountid=35174>.

would resegregate the district.³⁷ Though Allen's order attempted to break barriers, the prejudices of district parents threatened to maintain these barriers.

Bejarano delayed integration of the kindergarteners until September of 1966, deciding mid-year changes would be detrimental to the students.³⁸ In August, 1966, the Board of Education, whose three members were elected that May on a pledge to "abolish the Allen Plan," agreed to carry out the plan.³⁹ Despite their compliance, the board members hadn't changed their mindsets. Board Vice President Venerando Indelicato said, "The board has reluctantly accepted [the Allen plan]. We feel this will give children an inferior education. However, we feel we have been forced to do it."⁴⁰ Allen's integration plan broke the barrier to equal public education in Malverne, but it didn't change the racist beliefs of some district parents and board members.

Some changes made in the district following integration promoted a greater understanding between students of different races. In 1969, Malverne high schoolers boycotted the school to reform guidance procedures, hire more black teachers, and offer new courses in black literature and history, their demands mirroring those of other students across the country during the Civil Rights Movement.⁴¹ Nationally, the Black Panther Party called for black history

³⁷ Goldberg, Merle and Edward G. Smith. "MALVERNE SCHOOLS INTEGRATE IN JAN: MALVERNE WILL INTEGRATE IN JAN."

³⁸ Goldberg, Merle. "Give New Plan on Integration in Malverne." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Dec 01, 1965, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/915333295?accountid=35174>.

³⁹ Morgan, Jan. "Malverne Yields the Last Inch to Allen: Malverne: Allen Gets Last Inch." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Aug 11, 1966, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/915521075?accountid=35174>.

⁴⁰ Morgan, Jan. "Malverne Yields the Last Inch to Allen: Malverne: Allen Gets Last Inch."

⁴¹ Barrett, Earl Lane Brian Martin Buskin. "Why Some Blacks Protest." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Mar 15, 1969, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/915771545?accountid=35174>.

classes.⁴² At San Francisco State College, in 1968, the Black Student Union led a strike demanding the university add a Bachelor's Degree in Black Studies and hire twenty more full-time teachers in the Department of Black Studies.⁴³ These changes were important to integrating new students after desegregating the schools, but weren't successful in the long term.

Ultimately, Allen's plan did not integrate the Malverne district. In 1967, less than a year after Malverne began desegregating its schools, the percent of black students in the elementary schools went from 48% to 56% in one, 49% to 55% in the second, and 61% to 60% in the third.⁴⁴ This increasing racial imbalance was a trend across the state. Allen said, "the growth of the [integration] problem continues to outstrip our efforts to deal with it," because between 1961 and 1966, the number of elementary schools with more than 50% black enrollment increased from 60 to 72 and schools with more than 90% black enrollment increased from 25% to 33%.⁴⁵ These statistics prove that in the short term, Allen's integration order was unsuccessful in desegregating school districts.

In the long term, desegregation and integration in the Malverne schools also failed. One explanation for the decrease in white students is white flight, large-scale migration of whites

⁴² Seale, Bobby. "The 10 Point Program of the Black Panther Party." Speech, 1968. Video file. Accessed January 7, 2020. <https://nmaahc.si.edu/blog-post/all-power-people>.

⁴³ Whitson, Helene. "STRIKE!... Concerning the 1968-69 Strike at San Francisco State College." *FoundSF*. http://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=STRIKE!..._Concerning_the_1968-69_Strike_at_San_Francisco_State_College.

⁴⁴ Martin Buskin Newsday, Education Editor. "Is School Integration Working on LI." Newsday (1940-1990), Jun 24, 1967, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/915273465?accountid=35174>.

⁴⁵ Martin Buskin Newsday, Education Editor. "NY Readies Integration Push: Allen." Newsday (1940-1990), Oct 02, 1967, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/915095126?accountid=35174>.

from places predominantly populated by minorities.⁴⁶ In U.S. history, it's associated with departure from urban to suburban homes after WWII, but it happened in Malverne in the 1960s and 70s as the district eliminated neighborhood schools. From 1965 to 1967, registration dropped from 3,219 to 2,988, and February 1966 to June 1967, the district lost 200 white children.⁴⁷ In 1966, Malverne had 45% black students. By 1978, this grew to 48.5%.⁴⁸ In 2016, the students were 52% black, 23% Latino, and 18% white.⁴⁹ From this data alone, it is evident that since integration began in the 1960s, Malverne has become more segregated, reaching "majority-minority" status.

Racial imbalance increased as parents transferred their kids into religious or nonsectarian schools. In a 1967 *Newsday*⁵⁰ article, a Malverne school official estimated the district transferred students to 42 private schools.⁵¹ From 1961 to 1972, enrollment in the Malverne public schools dropped by 15%, and enrollment of Malverne residents in nearby parochial schools went from 828 to 1,494.⁵² Clement Wolff, assistant superintendent of Malverne, said, "We are losing many

⁴⁶ *The Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, s.v. "white flight (n.)," accessed January 6, 2020, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/white%20flight>.

⁴⁷ Martin Buskin *Newsday*, Education Editor. "Is School Integration Working on LI." *Newsday* (1940-1990), Jun 24, 1967, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/915273465?accountid=35174>.

⁴⁸ Hevesi, Dennis. "Malverne Schools, 15 Years Later: Integration Makes the Grade."

⁴⁹ New York State Education Department. "2016 Malverne UFSD Enrollment Data." New York State Education Department. Accessed January 6, 2020. <https://data.nysed.gov/enrollment.php?year=2016&instid=800000049551>.

⁵⁰ A Long Island newspaper

⁵¹ Martin Buskin *Newsday*, Education Editor. "Is School Integration Working on LI."

⁵² Ashkinaze. "A Refuge from Integration." *Newsday* (1940-1990), Mar 14, 1972, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/917442409?accountid=35174>.

more children to the Catholic schools than we used to ... and the racial situation is part of the picture.”⁵³ Parents who chose private schools were motivated by the same racial biases that existed when Malverne first integrated. A small portion⁵⁴ of the private school students were black, which suggests bigotry in the public schools drove black students away from integrated schools as well.

In 2017, 84.4% of Malverne residents were white, but only 15% of the students enrolled in Malverne public schools were white.⁵⁵ Malverne’s segregation, which parallels that of other Long Island schools, is a gross violation of the equal rights fought for in the 1960s. Segregated schools often receive less financial support from local funding, and as a result, black and Latino students’ learning suffers. Since 1963, the state has upheld barriers to equal rights and broken them—Allen’s integration order desegregated Malverne’s schools in the short term, Judge Bookstein ruled desegregation through the Princeton Plan unconstitutional, and the Appellate Division and Court of Appeals supported Allen’s plan. The district parents also upheld and broke barriers. White parents legally challenged Allen’s authority to order reorganization, moved out of the district, or enrolled their kids in private schools, upholding and intensifying segregation in Malverne. Black parents and activist groups broke barriers by boycotting schools and supporting state integration orders. In a country composed of diverse backgrounds, ethnicities, and opinions,

⁵³ Ashkinaze. "A Refuge from Integration."

⁵⁴ 43 students out of the 507 Malverne residents at Our Lady of Lourdes School in Malverne were black.

⁵⁵ Many of the district's students live in the Lakeview neighborhood, which is 74% black.

"Malverne NY Population by Race." World Population Review. Last modified 2019. Accessed January 7, 2020. <http://worldpopulationreview.com/us-cities/malverne-ny-population/>.

Malverne must make an effort to incorporate all children into its public schools, so that black and white people can better understand one another in the future.

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<https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/917442409?accountid=35174>.

This article was so important to my understanding of the effects of integration on the Malverne school district. It gives data about how many children left the public schools and why they transferred to religious schools. The quotes from Malverne parents helped me truly understand the parents' perspectives. I used this article in my paper while talking about the causes of Malverne's present-day segregation.

Barrett, Earl Lane Brian Martin Buskin. "Why some Blacks Protest." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Mar 15, 1969, Nassau ed.
<https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/915771545?accountid=35174>.

This article talks about racial demonstrations on Long Island in the late 1960s, after many schools began to desegregate. The perspectives in it are really important to my understanding of the social changes that occurred, especially in the high schools, once schools desegregated. It references administrators' attitudes towards integration as well. This was important to my paper because it shows the effects of Malverne's desegregation.

Clark, John and Ken Byerly. "200 Out as Boycott Hits Amityville Schools." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Sep 13, 1963, Nassau ed.
<https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/913550857?accountid=35174>.

I used this article in my paper to describe the events of the Malverne hearing. The article has information on why the Taxpayers and Parents Association believed Commissioner Allen's order was unconstitutional. It also shows the Malverne school board's opinions on the integration order and follows the growth of a local freedom school.

Clark, John and Alice Murray. "Plan to 'Force' Malverne Integration." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Aug 27, 1963, Nassau ed.
<https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/964305873?accountid=35174>.

I used this source to understand the opposition to the Princeton Plan proposed by Allen. I also used it to understand what the United Committee for Action Now planned to do if Malverne schools weren't integrated in the new school year.

Clark, John and Ken Byerly. "NAACP Stand Cuts 'Freedom School' Rolls." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Sep 17, 1963, Nassau ed.
<https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/915158469?accountid=35174>.

Dorman, Mike, John Clark, and Dave Rosenbluth. "NEGROES SIT IN AT 4 LI SCHOOLS: NEGROES SIT IN AT FOUR LI SCHOOLS; COPS ARREST FIVE AT MALVERNE." *Newsday* (1940-1990), Sep 04, 1963, Nassau ed.
<https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/964307160?accountid=35174>.

This article gave an overview of some of the school sit-ins happening across Long Island, specifically in Malverne, Manhasset, and Amityville. In my paper, I focused on Lloyd Delaney's plan to register students at the schools they were supposed to attend under the Princeton Plan. It demonstrates the agency of black parents and activists during the integration process.

Goldberg, Merle and Edward G. Smith. "MALVERNE SCHOOLS INTEGRATE IN JAN: MALVERNE WILL INTEGRATE IN JAN." *Newsday* (1940-1990), Oct 22, 1965, Nassau ed.
<https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/914453746?accountid=35174>.

In my paper, I cited quotes from the president of the Taxpayers and Parents Association to show that attitudes of the white Malverne parents did not change after Allen's order was backed by the US Supreme Court.

Goldberg, Merle. "Give New Plan on Integration in Malverne." *Newsday* (1940-1990), Dec 01, 1965, Nassau ed.
<https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/915333295?accountid=35174>.

This source shows the Malverne Board of Education's reactions to State Education Commissioner Allen's order to integrate. It shows change in that grades 1-5 would integrate by Jan 31st, 1966, but continuity in that the kindergarten classes wouldn't integrate until the following school year (1966-67).

The Helm (Lynbrook, NY). "Demonstrations, Unrest Mark School Opening." September 5, 1963.
<http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn95071206/1963-09-05/ed-1/seq-1/>.

The *Helm* is a local newspaper from Lynbrook, one of the neighborhoods in the Malverne school district. I used the information in this article to dig deeper into a conflict mentioned in one of the *Newsday* articles I read. Since it's a local paper, it had more of the details that I needed to write my paper.

The Helm (Lynbrook, NY). "Newly Formed Group Backs Allen's Decision." July 11, 1963.
<https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn95071206/1963-07-11/ed-1/seq-11/>.

This local newspaper from Lynbrook explains the formation of the United Committee for Action Now. It also connects the group to the national civil rights movement. I described the group's formation in my paper to provide context for its actions.

Hevesi, Dennis. "Malverne Schools, 15 Years Later: Integration Makes the Grade." *Newsday* (1940-1990), Jun 11, 1978, Nassau ed.

<https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/964186028?accountid=35174>.

This article was vital to my understanding of the long term changes in Malverne's elementary school enrollment demographics. This is where I found the percentages of black students that attended in 1963, before integration occurred. Knowing this, I was able to compare to the district's current demographics and draw conclusions about the degree of success of Allen's integration order.

"High NY Court Gets Pleas on Allen's Order." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Feb 12, 1965, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/914450495?accountid=35174>.

This article is a good description of Allen's order. It also explains white parents' reasons for fighting the order, and details what courts the appeal was brought to. I used it to understand the legal steps necessary for the constitutionality of Allen's order to be confirmed. I used it in my paper because it stated that Allen's order to integrate Malverne set a precedent for the rest of the state, and because it had information the case at the Court of Appeals.

Kwartler, Richard. "Malverne Group to Appeal Order." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Jul 23, 1964, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/913625864?accountid=35174>.

Kwartler's information was vital to my understanding of the actions of the Appellate Division of the NYS Supreme court. In my paper, I summarized this information and placed it in the context of other court decisions allowing for integration.

"Malverne NY Population by Race." World Population Review. Last modified 2019. Accessed January 7, 2020. <http://worldpopulationreview.com/us-cities/malverne-ny-population/>. I used the statistics about the Malverne community's demographics to compare the number of white people living in the area and the number of white children who attend the Malverne public schools. In my paper, I explained this disparity through other facts about Malverne children attending private schools in the nearby area.

"Malverne Parents Will Seek New Law: Shift Plans After U.S. School Ruling." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Oct 12, 1965, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/915182870?accountid=35174>.

Here I found more information on the Taxpayers and Parents Association's appeal to the US Supreme Court, and how that affected integration in Malverne. I included this information in my paper.

Martin, Buskin and Alice Murray. "'Welcome to LI's Freedom School': SMILE YOU'RE ON HIDDEN CAMERA." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Sep 10, 1963, Nassau ed. <https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/913574795?accountid=35174>.

This article mentions another private church school for boycotters (this one in Malverne). It also gives information on legal action taken in Amityville. I used the information about the Lakeview freedom school in my paper to show where students got their education while boycotting the Woodfield Road School in Malverne.

Martin Buskin *Newsday*, Education Editor. "Is School Integration Working on LI." *Newsday* (1940-1990), Jun 24, 1967, Nassau ed.
<https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/915273465?accountid=35174>.

Martin Buskin was *Newsday*'s Education Editor while Allen ordered Allen to integrate, and wrote many pieces following the process and the aftermath. This article specifically focuses on how well students were learning in newly integrated schools, and includes information about rising black enrollment and the attitudes of district parents.

Martin Buskin *Newsday*, Education Editor. "NY Readies Integration Push: Allen." *Newsday* (1940-1990), Oct 02, 1967, Nassau ed.
<https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/915095126?accountid=35174>.

This shows continuity after Allen's integration plan. I used a quote from Allen about needing further efforts to enact changes in Malverne because it was important to include his perspective in the narrative. It also shows that even in the short term, integration wasn't fully achieved.

Martin Buskin *Newsday*, Education Editor. "Allen Upheld on Malverne Schools." *Newsday* (1940-1990), Mar 19, 1965, Nassau ed.
<https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/914370967?accountid=35174>.

I used the information here to learn if the Taxpayers and Parents Association of Malverne went to the US Supreme Court after Allen was upheld by the New York State Court of Appeals.

Morgan, Jan. "Malverne Yields the Last Inch to Allen: Malverne: Allen Gets Last Inch." *Newsday* (1940-1990), Aug 11, 1966, Nassau ed.
<https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/915521075?accountid=35174>.

This source is about the struggle between the Malverne Board of Education and State Education Commissioner Allen. It highlights the feelings of the board--that the integration plan harmed the school district. However, it shows changes in policy, since the board plans on integrating the kindergarten classes.

Murray, Alice. "Malverne Board to Ask New Integration Rule." *Newsday* (1940-1990), Jul 09, 1963, Nassau ed.
<https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/913598495?accountid=35174>.

I used this article to understand the Princeton Plan, and used it in my paper to describe the plan.

New York State Education Department. "2016 Malverne UFSD Enrollment Data." New York State Education Department. Accessed January 6, 2020.

<https://data.nysed.gov/enrollment.php?year=2016&instid=800000049551>.

I used the charts and statistics on the NYSED website to learn about Malverne's current public school demographics. This information was necessary for drawing conclusions about the long-term changes in the school district and the degree of success of Allen's integration plan. I used the statistics in my paper to demonstrate the increased segregation in the Malverne school district today.

"No Little Rock for L. I., Malverne Citizens Say in School Dispute." *New York Amsterdam News* (1943-1961), Feb 27, 1960, City edition.

<https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/225457985?accountid=35174>.

This short article helped to understand when the Lakeview school was built and gave insight into some of the discourse surrounding it. I needed this information to describe the opposition to neighborhood schools.

R W APPLE Jr. "ALLEN IS UPHELD IN MALVERNE CASE: COURT RULES HE HAS RIGHT TO ORDER SHIFTS OF PUPILS ALLEN IS UPHELD IN MALVERNE CASE." *New York Times (1923-Current File)*, Mar 19, 1965.

<https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/116807069?accountid=35174>.

I used this article for its information on Allen's case when it went to the Court of Appeals. It provided a general overview of the court cases surrounding Allen's order to integrate, so I used it to establish a basic timeline of the legal actions taken against or in favor of integration.

Seale, Bobby. "The 10 Point Program of the Black Panther Party." Speech, 1968. Video file. Accessed January 7, 2020. <https://nmaahc.si.edu/blog-post/all-power-people>.

In my paper, I compared the speech about the Black Panther Party's Ten Point Program with the demands made by the Malverne high school students for more black history courses. This connects the local history to events occurring nationally, giving the reader context.

Special, to *Newsday*. "Allen to Fight Reversal of School Order." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Jan 17, 1964, Nassau ed.

<https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/913584385?accountid=35174>.

This source was essential to my knowledge of the state's involvement in maintaining barriers to equal public education. I used it in my paper when describing Judge Bookstein's reversal of Allen's order. I also used it to try to understand why white parents thought integration was discriminatory, and included my findings in my paper.

Special, to *Newsday*. "Malverne Group Says it Will Sue Allen Today." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Aug 23, 1963, Nassau ed.
<https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/964306464?accountid=35174>.

I used this article to learn about modifications made to Allen's proposed Princeton Plan, information I included in my paper.

Uris, Robert. "Ask School Boycott in Amityville." *Newsday (1940-1990)*, Aug 26, 1963, Nassau ed.
<https://0-search-proquest-com.search.livebrary.com/docview/913666447?accountid=35174>.

This article gave me information about Allen's definition of racial imbalance—a black population that is more than 50%.

Warren, Earl, and Supreme Court Of The United States. U.S. Reports: *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483. 1953. Periodical. <https://www.loc.gov/item/usrep347483/>.
 This report was essential to my understanding of the national context of my project. Without the decisions made in *Brown v. Board of Education*, I wouldn't be able to understand the causes of Allen's order to integrate. I summarized some of the case in my paper to help the reader understand the greater context of my topic.

Secondary Sources:

The Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, s.v. "white flight (*n.*)," accessed January 6, 2020,
<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/white%20flight>.
 I used this definition in my paper to better describe white flight.

"*Plessy v. Ferguson*." Oyez. Accessed November 17, 2019.
<https://www.oyez.org/cases/1850-1900/163us537>.
 I used this web page to understand *Plessy v. Ferguson* and get more details on which law Homer Plessy broke, and what the specific ruling was. I summarized this information in a footnote about the court case, since it is helpful to understand it but not necessarily vital to my paper.

Romo, Vanessa. "Linda Brown, Who Was At Center Of *Brown v. Board Of Education*, Dies." Editorial. npr. Last modified March 26, 2018. Accessed November 17, 2019.
<https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/03/26/597154953/linda-brown-who-was-at-center-of-brown-v-board-of-education-dies>.
 This article includes information about Linda Brown's perspective of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*. I'm citing it as a secondary source because I used the summarized information about the case, not Linda Brown's specific comments.

"2017 Infographic: School Segregation on Long Island." Infographic. Erase Racism NY. 2015. Accessed January 12, 2020.

<http://www.eraseracismny.org/component/content/article/1/498>.

This infographic depicts the current status of segregated schools on Long Island, specifically schools that are majority-minority. It makes statistics easier to understand, so I used some of them in my paper to introduce my topic to the reader.

Whitson, Helene. "STRIKE!... Concerning the 1968-69 Strike at San Francisco State College." *FoundSF*.

http://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=STRIKE!..._Concerning_the_1968-69_Strike_at_San_Francisco_State_College.

I referenced the San Francisco State College's strike in my paper when mentioning student strikes in Malverne after integration. The ideals and demands of both groups are similar, and show the connection between local and national history.