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## An Analysis of Reported Incidents of Racial Violence in Chicago: 1958 Through 1960

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AN ANALYSIS OF REPORTED INCIDENTS OF  
RACIAL VIOLENCE IN CHICAGO:  
1958 THROUGH 1960

by  
James E. Burns

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of  
the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

June  
1962

## LIFE

James E. Burns was born in Chicago, Illinois, December 25, 1931.

He was graduated from St. Rita High School, Chicago, Illinois, June, 1949 and from Loyola University, Chicago, February, 1955, with the degree of Bachelor of Science in Social Science. His graduate studies were performed at Loyola University and at the University of Chicago. In 1960 he received a certificate from Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, upon completing the Institute on Police Community Relations.

The author was a Juvenile Probation Officer at the Cook County Family Court during 1955. Since January, 1956, he has been employed by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, where he is presently serving as the Coordinator of Human Relations Services. During the period covered in this study he was a member of the Commission's Department of Civil Rights and personally investigated a majority of the incidents of violence reported upon in the thesis.

From October, 1958, to September, 1960, he edited the monthly magazine Community.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

In the Summer of 1943 racial violence erupted in Detroit, Michigan. During the week of June 20, thirty-four persons were killed, more than one thousand were injured, and millions of dollars of property was damaged. The Detroit Police Department was overwhelmed under the impact of mob clashes, and the United States Army was eventually called in to end the riot.<sup>1</sup>

Repercussions were felt in Chicago, where many of the citizens remembered the race riot of 1919 when fifteen whites and twenty-three Negroes had lost their lives, and 520 persons were injured.<sup>2</sup> An examination of race relations in Chicago in 1943 showed that many conditions were similar to those which contributed to the riot in Detroit. A subsequent report by the Commission on Human Relations discussed these conditions and the action taken to prevent their resulting in a riot:

In 1943 . . . Chicago's population was swollen with war workers, vast numbers of them Negroes from

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<sup>1</sup>Alfred McClung Lee and Norman Daymond Humphrey, Race Riot (New York, 1943), p. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Chicago Commission on Race Relations, The Negro in Chicago (Chicago, 1922), p. 35.

the South. In 1943 . . . there were strong community organizations existing chiefly to restrict Negroes to ghetto-like areas by use of restrictive covenants. As more and more Negroes were crowded behind these hard lines of segregation small eruptions boiled up here and there. Houses and apartments were being bought and occupied by Negroes just over the bounds of the segregated districts, and there were bombings, fires, and attacks on the families as they moved over them. Colored men and women were being employed for the first time in the plants on the west and north-west sides of Chicago and they were crowding into the already overcrowded streetcars and buses to get to work. As the Negro population grew the areas of conflict grew--on the beaches and in the parks, in the schools, in places of public accommodation, and in the taverns.

The civic organizations took the lead in calling an Emergency Citizen's Conference in the City Hall in July of 1943. They decided to recommend to the late Mayor Edward J. Kelly that he establish an official City Committee on Race Relations made up of outstanding citizens of Chicago, and give it a budget of city funds.

They found the Mayor sharply aware of the problem and prepared to do something about it. Within a week he had appointed a committee of ten respected leaders of different racial backgrounds from labor, business, and the professions.<sup>3</sup>

In this way Chicago became the first city to establish an official human relations committee supported by public funds. This group, named the "Mayor's Committee on Race Relations," represented for the first time an official acceptance by a city of public responsibility to improve race relations. Since then approximately sixty other cities and states have followed the lead of Chicago by establishing similar agencies.

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<sup>3</sup>Chicago Commission on Human Relations, The People of Chicago (Chicago, 1952), p. 2.

On December 12, 1947, the Chicago Council unanimously passed an ordinance<sup>4</sup> establishing the "Mayor's Committee" as an official department of the city government, naming it the Chicago Commission on Human Relations.<sup>5</sup>

At the first meeting of the original "Mayor's Committee on Race Relations" it was agreed that the task of working for impartial service by the police force in preserving law and order was of prime importance. A sub-committee on Law Enforcement was established. Although it lacked enforcing power, the sub-committee was expected to extend the arm of existing law enforcement agencies to those areas of conflict that resulted from racial, religious and ethnic differences. In his report for the year 1944, the Executive Director, Robert C. Weaver, demonstrated the need for such work: "When the Committee was established, there had been several incidents involving racial and nationality groups in Chicago. Negro tenants who had moved into new areas had been intimidated, and the property in which they resided had been damaged. Jewish high school students had been attacked by other teen-age groups; Mexicans had been intimidated and attacked. In all these instances those victimized--and the community of which they were a part--felt that the police had not been

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<sup>4</sup>See Appendix 1 for the text of the ordinance which created the organization and outlined its duties, functions and powers.

<sup>5</sup>Referred to hereafter as the Commission.

diligent or alert in offering the maximum degree of protection."<sup>6</sup>

When the present Commission was established by ordinance in 1947, the Department of Civil Rights was created to perform the functions of the sub-committee on Law Enforcement. The author believes these functions may be summarized as:

1. to investigate threats or acts of violence against persons or property on account of race, religion or nationality;
2. to analyse these acts to determine ascertainable trends, such as sections of the city that are in need of extra police attention;
3. to anticipate such acts of violence and attempt to prevent their execution;
4. to keep appropriate law enforcement officials informed, and to recommend specific action to them in individual cases;
5. to assist with long range training for police personnel in areas such as civil rights law, handling of crowd disturbances, population trends, and similar material;
6. to advise citizens who have been victimized because they are members of minority groups, and to attempt to see that their rights are guaranteed;
7. to assist Court officials during the trials of "racial cases" by interpreting the sociological and historical factors

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<sup>6</sup>Mayor's Committee on Race Relations, Race Relations in Chicago (Chicago, 1944), p. 5.

that influenced the crime that is before the Court.

Edward Marciniak, the present Executive Director of the Commission, summarized these activities in his Report for 1960 when he stated: "The Commission's absolutely necessary duty is like that of a building inspector--to look for violations, to follow through on complaints of racial and religious discrimination. Let us not underestimate the importance of this job. As long as human rights are being violated and constitutional liberties jeopardized the Commission's 'building inspectors' will be busy."<sup>7</sup>

During the period covered in this study the staff of the Department of Civil Rights consisted of a Director, Edmund A. Brooks, and two assistants, the author and George L. Roberts (Mr. Roberts left the staff in September, 1960, and was succeeded by Melvyn H. Bloom).

An operational definition of an incident of racial violence, based on the procedures of the Commission's Civil Rights Department, is: "any threat or act of force, in which racial tension might be a motivating factor, which comes to the attention of the Commission." The Civil Rights Department responds to a report of such an incident by conducting an immediate investigation. During the course of the investigation it sometimes becomes

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<sup>7</sup>Edward Marciniak, Report of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations for 1960 (Chicago, 1960), p. 4.

apparent that, although the incident did involve people of different races, racial tension was not a motivating factor. Examples of this type are teen gang fights resulting from inter-school or inter-neighborhood rivalries.

These cases, where the motivating factor was found to be something other than racial tension, have not been included in this analysis. The Commission is aware that such experiences, in their effect, often influence the overall pattern of race relations, usually causing racial tension. But for the purpose of this study, only those incidents which were racially motivated are included.

The definition used in this study is as follows: An incident of racial violence, refers to assault upon individuals or their property solely or primarily because of their racial identifications.<sup>8</sup>

This is a comprehensive study including all such incidents reported to the Commission during the indicated three year period. The author is confident that the vast majority of incidents occurring in Chicago are reported to the Commission because its sources of information include, not only the complainants, but also the

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<sup>8</sup>Paraphrased from Allen D. Grimshaw, "Lawlessness and Violence in America and Their Special Manifestations in Changing Negro-White Relations," The Journal of Negro History, XLIV (January 1959), 52: "Social violence . . . refers to assault upon individuals or their property solely or primarily because of their group (ethnic, religious, or racial) affiliations."

Police Department, the press, other human relations agencies, community organizations and numerous other contacts maintained by the Commission. Nevertheless, there probably are incidents taking place which are not reported. Although these cannot be included, the author believes their omission does not invalidate the general conclusions of this study because unreported incidents are probably numerically few in relation to the total, and presumably they are relatively minor if the victim does not complain to the Commission, the police or to other interested parties.

This thesis, which analyses the 237 incidents of racial assaults and property damage which occurred in Chicago from 1958 through 1960, is essentially investigative and descriptive. However, it will also attempt to test certain hypotheses which are held by persons who have studied interracial violence in Northern urban areas.

The first hypothesis to be examined is the widely held belief that incidents of racial violence occur primarily in the warmer months of the year. Sister Claire Marie Sawyer, O.S.F., in her study of the Commission records for the years 1943-1954, found that the highest numbers of incidents were committed in the months of June, July and August.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, in a more recent

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<sup>9</sup>Sister Claire Marie Sawyer, O.S.F., "A Study of the Department of Civil Rights of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations from 1943 to 1954," Unpublished Master's Thesis (Loyola University, Chicago, 1956), p. 62.

study, the Chicago Urban League concluded that the highest proportion of such incidents takes place during the spring and summer months.<sup>10</sup>

The second hypothesis is that incidents are committed most frequently in neighborhoods which are changing from white to Negro occupancy. According to Grimshaw, changing neighborhoods "were the centers of most racial violence in northern cities through World War II."<sup>11</sup> Morton Grodzins has stated that "the greatest animosity is found on the edge of the expanding Negro districts, where whites live in fear of 'invasion.'"<sup>12</sup> The Urban League also concluded from its study that "reported incidents of racial violence occurred most often in residential 'changing neighborhoods.'"<sup>13</sup>

The third hypothesis is that incidents most often are committed by juveniles. Lee and Humphrey, in their study of the Detroit race riot of 1943, found that the rioters were "to a large extent, youngsters . . . of twelve to twenty . . ."<sup>14</sup> And the

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<sup>10</sup>Chicago Urban League, A Working Paper on Reported Incidents of Racial Violence in Chicago: 1956 and 1957 (Chicago, 1958), p. 7.

<sup>11</sup>Allen D. Grimshaw, "Urban Racial Violence in the United States: Changing Ecological Considerations," American Journal of Sociology, LXVI (September 1960), 115.

<sup>12</sup>Morton Grodzins, "Metropolitan Segregation," Scientific American, CLXXXVII (October 1957), 38.

<sup>13</sup>Chicago Urban League, p. 6.

<sup>14</sup>Lee and Humphrey, p. 80.

Urban League concluded that "reported incidents of racial violence, in most cases, were executed by teenagers."<sup>15</sup>

The fourth hypothesis is that Negroes are usually the victims and white persons the offenders in incidents of racial violence. This conclusion was drawn by the Chicago Urban League in its study. St. Claire Drake, in the preface to their report, stated: "The picture revealed is one of constant year-round house-burning, window-breaking, and vicious personal attacks on Negroes by white individuals, as well as a very much smaller number of retaliatory attacks by Negroes."<sup>16</sup>

Several other widely held, and often conflicting, beliefs will be examined. Police officers feel they have a good record of solving crimes of racial violence and that they are unjustly criticized by spokesmen for the Negro community. Some white citizens believe that the police extend unmerited "around the clock" protection to Negroes following minor incidents, and that Negro organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League wield undue influence over government units such as the police. Finally, many Negro leaders complain that the courts are too lenient with persons arrested in racial incidents.

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<sup>15</sup>Chicago Urban League, p. 8.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. iii.

## CHAPTER II

### DESCRIPTION OF A MAJOR INTERRACIAL DISTURBANCE

During the three year period studied there was a total of 237 incidents of personal assaults and property damage which, in the judgement of the staff of the Commission's Civil Rights Department, were racially motivated. These incidents are briefly described in Appendix II.

There is no "typical" incident of racial violence. The author has chosen to present this particular case for several reasons. It was probably the most serious disturbance taking place during the three year study period; an abundance of records exist regarding it; the police action ranged from poor to highly efficient; it demonstrates the effect that Court action can have during a disturbance; and it reveals the types of techniques utilized by the Commission staff.

The following is a narrative description of the anti-Negro violence that occurred in 1959 in the vicinity of 4338 West Jackson Boulevard.<sup>1</sup> (Incidents 143 through 152 in Appendix II.)

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<sup>1</sup>Unless otherwise noted, all material is from Chicago Commission on Human Relations, Documentary Report on the Disturbance at 4338 W. Jackson (Chicago, 1959).

On August 1, 1959, the Commission was notified by the occupant of 4338 W. Jackson that she had experienced some hostility from neighbors who had learned that she had sold the building to a Negro family. She had been verbally abused the previous night by a crowd of juveniles gathered in front of the home, and earlier in the day, had been insulted by several adult neighbors. After these experiences she had called the police and was satisfied that they were providing surveillance.

The closest Negroes to this building resided about four blocks east, and Pulaski Road had been considered a "boundary line." The Commission subsequently learned that the building had been listed for sale for three years. Since no white buyers were found, it was then listed with a reality company known to have Negro clients.

Mr. Roberts of the Civil Rights Department immediately called the Millmore Police Station and was informed by an officer in the Captain's Office that surveillance had been established and the building was being checked hourly.

On August 4, the author, in his capacity as an official of the Civil Rights Department, was contacted by Mrs. Joshua Hargraves, 2649 Fulton, and informed that she was the purchaser of the building. Her residence at that time was in the center of a Land Clearance Commission Project and had been scheduled for demolition.

She was apprehensive about moving in since hers would be the first Negro family on the block. She stated that she and her husband were employed during the day and thus their four children would be home alone. She was especially alarmed since she had just learned that five windows had been broken the previous day as the seller was moving out, and requested that the Commission determine the extent of tension in the area.

On August 5, at 11:00 A.M., the author and Mr. Roberts visited the Police Lieutenant who was Acting Captain of the Fillmore District. He stated that two officers had been assigned to a detail at the building following the window breakage. After explaining, in great detail, the need for keeping crowds from gathering, and receiving assurances from the lieutenant that the situation would be kept under control, the Commission staff members toured the area around the building and talked to the officers on the detail. Both had three-wheel motorcycles equipped with radios and were thus able to summon help if needed.

At 8:30 P.M. a crowd of about 150 persons gathered in front of the building. According to a statement given the Commission by the police:

Since the group was orderly and appeared to be residents of the block, no attempt was made to disperse them until about 9:30 p.m. when some bottles and stones were thrown at the house. The crowd was then pushed back to the corner where it remained fairly orderly for a time. Later in the evening members of the crowd threw stones at passing autos occupied by Negroes, and it was dispersed from the corner. Up until

midnight the crowd returned to the corner several times, and each time it had grown in size. Each time it was dispersed. After midnight the crowd numbered over 1,000, four arrests were made, the "task force" was called into the area, and it was not completely clear until 1:30 a.m., with Deputy Chief of the Uniformed Force Robert Ryan on the scene.<sup>2</sup>

This had been an example of disregard by the police of one of the Commission's most important instructions. Experience has proven many times that the small "orderly" crowd soon becomes a violent mob, and consequently, that such crowds must not be allowed to gather.

The Commission was not notified of these events until the following morning when staff members learned of the disturbance from radio news broadcasts.

During this day, August 6, the entire staff of the Commission was ordered by Mr. Pollard, Acting Executive Director, to assist the Civil Rights Department.

The author and Mr. Roberts attended the hearings of the four arrested persons at the Boy's Court Branch of the Municipal Court. Each was charged with disorderly conduct and with inciting to riot. Since two of the defendants did not appear, the four cases were continued until August 18.

At 7:40 P.M. on August 6, the author and Mr. Roberts returned to Jackson Blvd. It was a warm, humid evening and people were

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid, p. 2.

sitting on front porches throughout the neighborhood. Small groups were standing at nearby corners, and approximately one hundred people were gathered on the sidewalk across the street from the building. About fifty policemen were distributed throughout the area, but the only actions they were taking were toward keeping the exceptionally heavy automobile traffic moving.

Thus once again crowds were allowed to gather. Before the night was over it was necessary to bring in more than two hundred policemen to disperse an estimated three thousand persons from the scene and seventeen persons were arrested. The sequence, according to the Commission report, was as follows:

8:15 P.M.: Staff at Fillmore District. Discussed situation with Lieutenant in Charge of Task Force. He expressed reluctance to enforce strict dispersal at that point because of the "delicacy of the situation" --referring to the rights of residents to be on their own properties. Staff left the station for the purpose of visiting the Negro owner at the Fulton Street address. Before staff could leave the sidewalk outside of the station the Task Force Lieutenant called them and suggested that they should go to Jackson Boulevard. The situation there was described as serious and the Lieutenant was moving his officers to the scene.

8:45 P.M.: Staff back at Jackson Boulevard. Heavy crowds were evident on all corners and concentrated in the 4300 block on Jackson. Fireworks were being exploded at many different points. Bottles were being broken in the streets. The crowds were cheering and yelling uncomplimentary remarks which were directed primarily at the police. Additional police were on the scene. However, their action was only holding. The property at 4338 West Jackson was protected well, although crowds were gathered on the porches of the houses on either side. Within a short time Deputy of the Uniformed Forces James P. Hackett arrived at the scene.

9:15 P.M.: Captain Hackett called for police plan 4. Reinforcements began to arrive. All units of the

Task Force began reporting to the area. Captain Hackett, using a loud-speaker, passed up and down the streets announcing to the crowd that they should clear the streets, clear their porches and go into their homes. The police officers on the streets began to clear the sidewalks. Vehicular traffic, except for police and the Chicago Transit Authority vehicles, had already been rerouted for several blocks surrounding the area.

Staff remained at a point in front of 4338 West Jackson Boulevard.

9:45 P.M.: Captain Hackett passed through the streets again speaking over the amplifier. This time he informed the people that the police were now ready to enforce the previously given dispersal order. He told them that the law was that if thirty or more persons were gathered and they failed to disperse when ordered by the police they could be arrested, fined \$500.00 and imprisoned for one year. He also stated that he was ordering them into their houses, off their porches and off the streets. The police began to enforce the order. Several arrests were made. Within half an hour the streets and porches were cleared. The crowds were backed at least two blocks away in all directions. A tavern on Kostner Avenue was ordered closed. Law and order was restored. Subsequently, a false fire alarm brought a great deal of Fire Department equipment into the 4300 block on Jackson. A false call for an ambulance brought it, with sirens screaming, through the block.

11:45 P.M.: Staff returned to Fillmore District. Deputy Ryan, Captain Looney, Lieutenant Enright, Lieutenant Tyrell, and Sergeant Hugo Olsen were conferring on plans for the future and processing of arrestees.

Lieutenant Enright revealed to staff that at that point ten men had been arrested. They were being charged with 193-1 c.c. [disorderly conduct] and 38-508 [failure to disperse]. Staff concurrence with the charges was sought--staff agreed. The plans for future police action were to have two lieutenants, four sergeants and sixty patrolmen around the clock.

12:30 A.M.: Staff returned to Jackson Boulevard. The scene was very quiet. Only a few scattered persons were in the immediate area. At 1:10 a.m., rain began to fall. Staff . . . left the area.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 2-3.

The turning point in the police action had been reached with the arrival on the scene of Captain Hackett. Under his command, the police force handled the situation in a highly efficient manner. Subsequently the Commission expressed its praise in the following letter:

June 1, 1960

Mr. Orlando W. Wilson  
Superintendent of Police  
Chicago Police Department  
1121 South State Street  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Superintendent:

Since the creation of the Commission on Human Relations, there have been numerous occasions when we have met with officials of the Police Department in order to discuss techniques that we felt should be used in dealing with interracial incidents and, more specifically, with disturbances that involve large numbers of people. It has been our happy experience that most of our recommendations have been accepted and are now standard methods of operation by police personnel.

The last instance of such discussions was during the fall of 1957, following the disturbances in and around Calumet Park. We recommended at that time that in the event of future disturbances of that nature, portable loud-speaking equipment be made available for the police officer in charge at the scene, so that there would be no question in subsequent court hearings about whether his orders to disperse were heard by those arrested. We also recommended that an officer be made responsible for assisting arresting officers in filing the proper charges, and for following all cases through their final disposition by the courts. The first major disturbance to take place following our discussion was that in the area of the 4300 block on West Jackson Boulevard last August. We were pleased to observe that both suggestions were followed.

We believe that, except for some delay in dispersing the crowd during the initial stages of the disturbance, the handling of this situation by the police was exceptionally efficient, and that all the

many officers involved during the several days of tension should be commended. We would especially like to call to your attention the efforts of three of your men: Chief of the Uniformed Force James P. Hackett; Sergeant Hugo Olson of the 31st District; and Lieutenant William Tyrrell of the 23rd District. Chief Hackett and Lieutenant Tyrrell were instrumental in containing and eventually dispersing the mobs, and Sergeant Olson was responsible for advising arresting officers on the proper charges, and for coordinating the subsequent court cases. They have each been invaluable during the court hearings, and have put in many long hours beyond their normal working day. We feel that they deserve only the highest praise.

Sincerely yours,  
Jerome J. Friedman, Chairman  
Law and Order Committee

The police detail of sixty-six men during the day and 150 men at night remained through the end of August. It then was gradually decreased in size, but existed until 1960. There were no further incidents of violence.

The persons arrested on the night of August 6 appeared in Boy's Court the following morning, and their cases were continued until August 18, in order that they might be tried with those previously arrested. Judge John L. Sullivan set bond at \$2,500 cash or \$5,000 property. This was the maximum bond possible, and the fact received considerable attention in the newspaper reports. Commission staff felt that this served as a deterrent factor and contributed to the restoration of peace.

On August 18 Judge Irving Landesman was presiding in Boy's Court. Following a description by Captain Hackett of the general behavior of the crowd and of the action taken by the police, the

first case was called. The defendant was a youth who was arrested after he had been told to leave the area on four separate occasions. At the time of the arrest he was carrying a rock and admitted that he was going to break a window at 4338 W. Jackson. He was sentenced to ninety days in jail. The second trial was of a youth who had been one of the vocal leaders of the crowd. The arresting officer testified that he ordered the youth to disperse three times, over a forty-five minute period. The defendant replied that he had come to the area to visit a friend, and that he could not obey the officer because of the density of the crowd behind him. He was fined seven hundred dollars.

There was an immediate reaction to these two cases. In order to avoid being tried by Judge Landesman, all the other defendants requested jury trials or continuances. Another probable reaction, in the community, was the deterrent value of the swift and strict punishment.

A long series of delays and continuances of the trials then began. The next case to reach a conclusion was not disposed of until January 12, 1960. On that occasion a youth who had first demanded a jury trial, and then agreed to a trial by the Judge sitting in Jury Court, was fined one hundred dollars and sentenced to ninety days in jail. The result was that several subsequent defendants fearing this judge were tried by juries. These are time consuming, and in one of the cases, there was a "hung jury" which necessitated a second trial. At one point another

judge refused to hear the cases, and judges from central Illinois had to be called in to try them. Many defendants were not finally disposed of until almost a year after their arrests. One case did not reach a conclusion until September 13, 1960. Another defendant was in court on twenty-one separate days before three different judges and a jury before his case reached a disposition.

Twenty-one persons had been arrested for participating in the disturbances. Four had their cases adjusted at the police station and did not appear in court. Two of those tried were found innocent, and the remaining defendants received the following dispositions: five were fined, one was sentenced to jail, five received both a fine and a jail sentence, and four were placed on probation and fined.

Besides the necessity for arresting officers and witnesses to appear for all these court hearings, staff from the Commission were also present each time in order to acquaint judges and prosecutors of the background of the arrests and to review the details of the arrests with the witnesses for the prosecution.

Commission activities, beyond appearances in court and observation at night on Jackson Blvd., which continued through August 16, were mainly in two areas: providing services and advice to the Hargraves family, and enlisting the cooperation of individuals and organizations on the west side.

The Hargraves family had not moved in at the time of the violence on August 5 and 6. Mr. Brooks of the Civil Rights

Department visited Mrs. Hargraves on August 7 and found her annoyed with the continuing requests, both at home and at her place of employment, from reporters seeking information. On August 10 the author and Mr. Roberts visited the Hargraves family and were shown a threatening letter, the first of several they would receive, which had arrived that day. Mr. and Mrs. Hargraves were beginning to show signs of anxiety. They had been unable to obtain the services of a moving company willing to transport their belongings into the tense west Jackson area, and the utility companies would not promise immediate service. The Commission staff agreed to handle these matters.

On the day of the move-in, August 12, Mr. Roberts remained inside 4338 W. Jackson from 7:50 A.M. until 10:45 A.M. when the movers arrived, in order to arrange telephone installation and admit various utility representatives. The author remained with the Hargraves family throughout the day. Various other staff members contacted the family daily during the rest of August to assure them of the Commission's continuing interest in their safety.

Twenty-two influential persons and organizations in the area around the building were contacted by the Commission on August 6 and 7. All were urged to speak publicly in behalf of the right of persons to live securely where they wish, and to use their influence to restore peace to the community. Several of these groups responded actively. The Blessed Martin DePorres Center staff and

volunteers helped the family move, brought food to them at their new home on the day of the move-in, and in many ways provided emotional support throughout the days of crisis. The West Garfield Good Neighbors Council sent representatives to visit the Hargraves family and welcome them to the community soon after they moved in. This group also publicly supported the actions of the police and Commission, and contacted many residents of the area urging them to welcome the Negro family and to condemn the actions of the crowds.

Through the combined efforts of the Commission, Police Department, Courts, and responsible leadership of the community, the violence, and later the tension, subsided and peace was restored.

### CHAPTER III

#### ANALYSIS OF INCIDENTS OF RACIAL VIOLENCE

Although the incidents were committed throughout the city, there were locations, in addition to the one described in the previous chapter, which were the scenes of multiple related attacks. One such area was Bessemer Park. Incidents 215 through 219 occurred following the use of the swimming pool by Negro youths who resided only a few blocks east of the park. During the three days of disturbances it was necessary to bring a force of over a hundred policemen into the area to cope with the large crowds that gathered. The violence was directed against the Negroes at first, but before the area was quieted, there were incidents of rock throwing by Negro youths.

There were two notable series of incidents which related to private housing. In the 4100 block of West 16th Street, there were eleven separate incidents committed against four white families and their property. They were the last remaining white occupants of this area, and were unable to move because of financial reasons. These incidents occurred throughout the three year period. The second series of incidents was directed against the first two Negro families who occupied residences in the 3800 block of West Lexington. During March and April, 1959, there were six

separate incidents of window breakage, and two arsons committed against their property.

Another area of the city which merits some explanation is the Trumbull Park Homes public housing project. There were twenty-five incidents committed against Negroes and their property throughout the three year period in the immediate vicinity of the project.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The major violence at Trumbull Park occurred prior to the period studied. The first Negro family moved into the project on July 30, 1953, and this fact was well known throughout the area by August 5. On that date the first crowds gathered and a window was broken in the apartment of the Negro family. A pattern developed of large crowds damaging both property in the project and Negro-occupied automobiles traveling through the neighborhood. A permanent police detail of about 750 officers was established, but numerous allegations were made, by the Commission staff as well as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Friends Service Committee and other groups, that the officers were allowing their personal prejudices to interfere with their performance of duty.

Additional Negro families moved into the project in October. As the violence increased, it was necessary for the police to drive the Negroes and their guests in squad cars whenever they were coming into or leaving their apartments. Police escorts were even necessary for the protection of the Negroes when they attended Church or shopped in the area.

The major violence continued through the summer months of 1954, but since that time there have been only occasional incidents and they have been relatively less severe. The police detail was gradually decreased in size, and finally eliminated in December, 1957.

At the present time about twenty-five Negro families reside in the project, which has 462 apartments. Incidents still occur, but the Negroes feel relatively secure.

A detailed description of the violence is contained in Chicago Commission on Human Relations, The Trumbull Park Homes Disturbances (Chicago, 1958). For an analysis of the efforts of various civic groups in relieving the tension, see American Friends Service Committee, Trumbull Park; A Progress Report (Chicago, 1957).

The 237 incidents of personal assault and property damage described in Appendix II are analyzed in this Chapter in an effort to determine meaningful generalizations about certain significant variables. Beginning with general information about frequency, the factors given special considerations are: the initial source of the Commission's information; the monthly and seasonal variations in the number of incidents; the types of property damage; the severity of personal assaults; the racial composition of the residential areas in which the incidents occur; the age of the offenders; the race of the offenders and victims; the police action; and the court dispositions of persons arrested.

#### A. FREQUENCY OF INCIDENTS.

During the three year period there were yearly decreases in racial incidents. This was the net result of yearly decreases in assaults, plus a significant decrease in the number of incidents of property damage between 1958 and 1960. There was however a slight increase between 1958 and 1959 of incidents resulting in property damage.

In 1958 the Chicago Urban League studied the records of the Commission and prepared A Working Paper on Reported Incidents of Racial Violence in Chicago: 1956 and 1957. A comparison of the Urban League's findings with Table I demonstrates trends over a five year period. Total racial incidents increased from seventy-nine in 1956 to eighty-seven in 1957. This trend continued through 1958 when there were ninety-four incidents, but was

reversed during the following two years when the frequency decreased to eighty-nine and fifty four. The average of eighty-three incidents per year reported by the Urban League was slightly higher than the average of seventy-nine for the three years 1958-1960.<sup>2</sup>

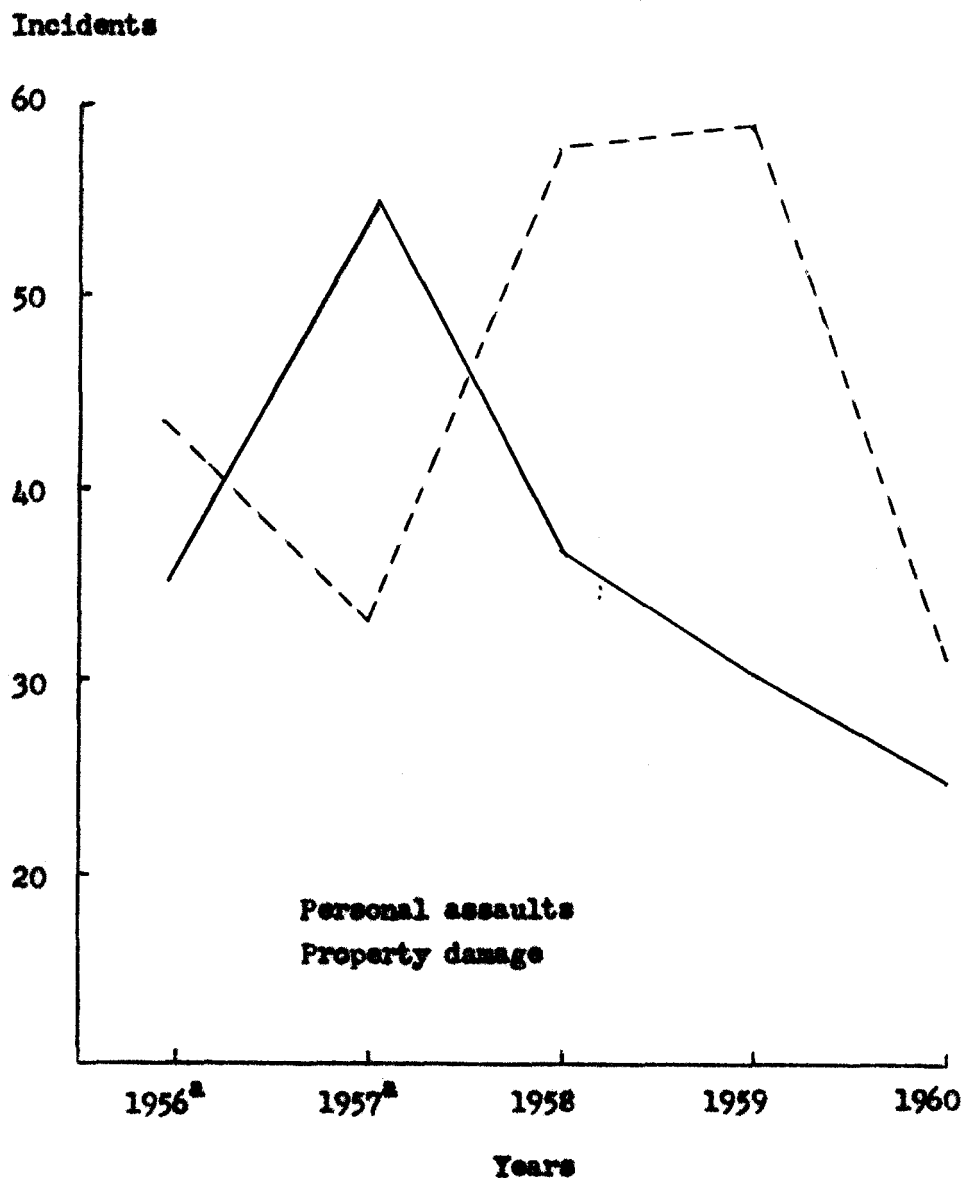
TABLE I

INCIDENTS OF RACIAL VIOLENCE, 1958-1960, BY TYPE AND YEAR

Type of incident	Year			Total
	1958	1959	1960	
Personal assault	36	30	23	89
Property damage	58	59	31	148
Total	94	89	54	237

Figure 1, on page 26 indicates the separate trends in personal assaults and property damage over a five year period. The Urban League reported thirty-five assaults in 1956, fifty-four in 1957, or an average of 44.5 per year. The average number of assaults during the three subsequent years decreased to almost thirty, with thirty-six assaults in 1958, thirty in 1959, and twenty-three in 1960. In contrast to the decreases noted in total

<sup>2</sup>Chicago Urban League, pp. 1-2.



<sup>a</sup>Chicago Urban League, pp. 1-2.

FIGURE 1

FREQUENCY OF INCIDENTS OF RACIAL VIOLENCE,  
BY YEAR, 1956-1960

incidents and in personal assaults, there was an increase in incidents of property damage when averages reported by the Urban League are compared with averages during the years 1958-60. There were forty-four incidents of property damage in 1956, thirty-three in 1957, or an average of 38.5 per year. There were fifty-eight in 1958, fifty-nine in 1959, thirty-one in 1960, or an average of 49.3 incidents of property damage per year.<sup>3</sup>

Another frequency comparison may be made between the period 1958-60 and the incidents reported in the study by Sister Claire Marie Sawyer, O.S.F.<sup>4</sup> In an examination of Commission records she found a total of 860 incidents<sup>5</sup> from 1945 through 1954 (excluding 1952 when records were not available), or an average of ninety-five per year. Contrasted with the average of seventy-nine incidents per year in 1958-60, this is further evidence of a general trend toward decreasing frequency of racial violence.

#### B. SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

The Commission maintains a wide variety of contacts throughout the community. The ordinance establishing the Commission expressly suggested this: "The Commission shall invite and enlist

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Sister Claire Marie Sawyer, O.S.F., p. 62.

<sup>5</sup>Her definition is more extensive: "These cases involve actual attack or threat of attack on persons or property, because of the individual's racial, religious or nationality background."  
Ibid.

the cooperation of racial, religious and ethnic groups, community organizations, labor and business organizations, fraternal and benevolent societies, veterans organizations, professional and technical organizations, and other groups in the City of Chicago in carrying on its work."<sup>6</sup> Thus a monthly newsletter, "Human Relations News," is distributed to a mailing list of approximately 7500 persons. Over four hundred persons serve on Commission Advisory Committees on Awards, Community Organization, Education, Employment, Health and Hospital Care, Housing, Law and Order, New Residents, Public Information, Recreation, Research and Welfare.

The principal reason for these contacts is to enlist the cooperation of these persons and their organizations in furthering the general program of improving human relations. An important secondary reason is that they will inform the Commission of tension situations and incidents of violence that come to their attention. This analysis of how the Commission learns of incidents is an attempt to evaluate the success in achieving the secondary purpose.

The sources which supplied the Commission with its initial notification about incidents of racial violence may be broken down into three general categories: governmental organizations, private groups and private individuals. Included within governmental

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<sup>6</sup>Municipal Code of Chicago, Chapter 21, Paragraph 51.

organizations are the Police Department, the Chicago Housing Authority, public school officials, the Commission of Youth Welfare, the Illinois Youth Commission and the courts. The Police Department is further subdivided into District Stations, the Youth Bureau and the Human Relations Section. Included among the private groups are human relations organizations, news media, churches, settlement houses and neighborhood organizations. The categories of private individual sources are victims, friends of the victim, real estate brokers, aldermen and anonymous informants.

Examination of Table II shows that the victims provided the original notification in the largest proportion of the 237 incidents analysed here. They were the Commissions initial source of information in 27.6 per cent of the incidents in 1958, 37.2 per cent of the incidents in 1959, and 16.6 per cent of the incidents in 1960. Of the total 237 incidents during the three year period, victims made the initial report to the Commission in 28.7 per cent, or in sixty-eight cases.

A significant decrease took place between 1959 and 1960 in the percentage of cases initially reported by the victim. A possible explanation for this may be found in the substantial increase between those two years in the percentage of incidents reported by the Police Department. The police had been the Commission's source of information in 23.4 per cent of the incidents occurring in 1958, and in 13.4 per cent of the cases during 1959.

In 1960 however they reported almost one-half, 48.1 per cent, of the fifty-four incidents. The Commission staff, upon being notified of an incident by any source other than the Police Department, immediately alerts the police to the difficulty. Prior to 1960, they would usually find the police were already aware of the incident. During 1960 Police Superintendent Orlando W. Wilson met with the Commission, and one of the topics discussed was the need for prompt notification of the Commission by the police.<sup>7</sup> As a result of this meeting a cooperative agreement was reached under which the police began to inform the Commission immediately of all incidents reported to them. Thus it was common thereafter for the Commission to already have received a police report by the time it was contacted by the victim.

Of the total 237 cases of racial violence during the three years, one-fourth (25.3 per cent) were reported by either the District Stations, the Youth Bureau or the Human Relations Section of the Police Department. Officers at the District Stations throughout the city were the source of information in twelve, or 12.8 per cent, of the ninety-four incidents in 1958; ten, or 11.2 per cent, of the eighty-nine cases in 1959; and six, or 11.1 per cent, of the fifty-four cases in 1960. The proportion reported by the Youth Bureau likewise remained relatively stable: five, or

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<sup>7</sup>Minutes of the Commission on Human Relations Meeting, June 1, 1960.

5.3 per cent, in 1958; two, or 2.2 per cent, in 1959; and two or 3.7 per cent, in 1960.

The Commission's experience with the Human Relations Section of the Police Department was irregular. This unit, which was created in 1948 at the urging of the Commission, serves as a liason between the Commission and the Police Department.<sup>8</sup> In 1958 it was the Commission's source of initial report in five, or 5.3 per cent, of the incidents. In 1959 it was not the source in any of the eighty-nine cases. However, following personnel changes within the Section during 1960, and following the meeting between the Commission and Superintendent Wilson, there was a significant increase in cooperation and communication. This is evidenced by the fact that the Human Relations Section was the initial source of information in eighteen, or one-third, of the fifty-four incidents during 1960.

Other important sources of information to the Commission are the news media and personal friends of the victims. Representatives of Chicago newspapers and radio and television stations reported twenty-eight, or 11.8 per cent, of the 237 incidents. Twenty-three, or almost one-tenth, of the cases during the three years were reported to the Commission by friends of the victims.

It might be expected that private human relations organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of

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<sup>8</sup>Commission, The People of Chicago, pp. 10-11.

Colored People, the Urban League and the Catholic Interracial Council would be the Commission's source in a significant number of incidents because victims, knowing the concern of these groups, would notify them, and they in turn would contact the Commission. However they were the source on only three occasions in 1958, once in 1959, and twice in 1960, and thus in only 2.5 per cent of the 237 incidents.

The remaining eleven source categories listed in Table II accounted for only twenty-two per cent of the total. Since the Commission traditionally expends considerable staff time in developing and maintaining these contacts, it would appear preferable that the emphasis in this relationship be placed exclusively on programs for improving human relations; they have not proven to be especially valuable in performing the role of informant.

On the other hand, it might seem advisable that the Commission should continue to strengthen its relationships with those sources which have been the most valuable informants: the Police Department, the news media, victims and friends of victims. There remain District Stations where the Commanding Officers apparently misunderstand the purpose of the Commission and do not inform it of incidents. This is also true of some officers in the Youth Bureau. The Commission might well institute a training program specifically designed to inform these police personnel of contributions it can make toward preventing and controlling racial violence. Once the police understand that the Commission can assist

TABLE II

INCIDENTS OF RACIAL VIOLENCE REPORTED TO THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS,  
1958-1960, BY SOURCE OF INFORMATION

Source of information	Years						Total	
	1958		1959		1960			
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
<u>Public groups</u>								
Police Districts	12	12.8	10	11.2	6	11.1	28	11.8
Police Human Relations	5	5.3	0	0.0	18	33.3	23	9.7
Police Youth Bureau	5	5.3	2	2.2	2	3.7	9	3.8
Chgo. Housing Authority	7	7.4	3	3.4	2	3.7	12	5.1
Public schools	1	1.1	4	4.5	0	0.0	5	2.1
Youth Welfare Comm.	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	3.7	2	0.8
Illinois Youth Comm.	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.9	1	0.4
Courts	0	0.0	2	2.2	0	0.0	2	0.8
<u>Private groups</u>								
Race relations agencies	3	3.2	1	1.1	2	3.7	6	2.5
News media	13	13.8	10	11.2	5	9.2	28	11.8
Churches	2	2.1	2	2.2	0	0.0	4	1.7
Settlement houses	1	1.1	5	5.7	1	1.9	7	3.1
Neighborhood groups	2	2.1	2	2.2	1	1.9	5	2.1
<u>Private individuals</u>								
Victims	26	27.6	33	37.2	9	16.6	68	28.7
Friends of victims	9	9.6	12	13.6	2	3.7	23	9.7
Real estate brokers	6	6.4	2	2.2	2	3.7	10	4.2
Aldermen	1	1.1	1	1.1	1	1.9	3	1.3
Anonymous	1	1.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.4
Total	94	100.0	89	100.0	54	100.0	237	100.0

them in their duties, they will be more willing to keep the Commission informed. In regard to the news media, the author has had the experience of talking to victims who, following an incident, contacted a newspaper reporter or television commentator rather than the police or the Commission. Some do this because they do not trust these organizations; some do so because they believe the interest of the news media will insure them better service from the police or Commission. It is likely that some victims will continue to react in this way, so it would be advisable for the Commission to reach an agreement with the representatives of the news media whereby they would inform the Commission prior to reporting the incident to the public.

The most valuable sources of information to the Commission are the victims and their friends. As the Commission continues to develop a reputation for providing valuable services to them, they will increasingly contact the Commission for assistance. But it is first necessary that the victims and their friends know of the existence of the organization. The Commission recognizes that it must become better known, and has a general public information program of increasing the distribution of its publications, providing staff members as public speakers, issuing press releases, and similar standard public relations practices. This program, which is city-wide, is necessary and productive. However, the author suggests that the Commission could profitably institute a specialized public information program in the geographical

sections of the city where racial violence is widespread. This should be directed toward informing those persons, both white and Negro who are likely to become victims, of the services offered by the Commission.

### C. MONTHLY AND SEASONAL VARIATIONS.

The most obvious pattern emerging from an analysis of the monthly variations in assaults and property damage, shown in Tables III and IV, is that the frequency is generally highest during the warmest months.

Examination of the eighty-nine assaults committed during the three year period shows that nine, or 10.1 per cent of the total, occurred during each of the months May and August. June and July each had thirteen, or 14.6 per cent of the assaults. Ten, or 11.2 per cent occurred in September. The only significant exception to this pattern is found in February, when nine, or 10.1 per cent took place.

A similar situation is found in the 148 incidents of property damage. Twenty-one, or 14.2 per cent occurred in June, and also in July. August had twenty, or 13.5 per cent of the total. April, a month in which many people change residences, had the most incidents of property damage: twenty-three, or 15.5 per cent.

Sister Claire Marie reported a similar general pattern. She tabulated the incidents and threats of violence from 1944 through 1954 and found that the five highest months, in order of their

TABLE III

## INCIDENTS OF PERSONAL ASSAULT, 1958-1960, BY MONTH OF OCCURRENCE

Month	Years						Total	
	1958		1959		1960			
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
January	3	8.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	3.4
February	3	8.3	4	13.3	2	8.7	9	10.1
March	2	5.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.2
April	4	11.1	2	6.7	1	4.3	7	7.9
May	3	8.3	5	16.7	1	4.3	9	10.1
June	4	11.1	7	23.3	2	8.7	13	14.6
July	4	11.1	1	3.3	8	34.8	13	14.6
August	1	2.8	5	16.7	3	13.1	9	10.1
September	4	11.1	3	10.0	3	13.1	10	11.2
October	5	13.9	0	0.0	2	8.7	7	7.9
November	3	8.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	3.4
December	0	0.0	3	10.0	1	4.3	4	4.5
Total	36	100.0	30	100.0	23	100.0	89	100.0 %

TABLE IV

## INCIDENTS OF PROPERTY DAMAGE, 1958-1960, BY MONTH OF OCCURRENCE

Month	Years						Total	
	1958		1959		1960			
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
January	4	6.9	1	1.7	1	3.2	6	4.1
February	2	3.4	0	0.0	1	3.2	3	2.0
March	3	5.2	3	5.1	1	3.2	7	4.7
April	8	13.8	11	18.6	4	12.9	23	15.5
May	10	17.2	3	5.1	1	3.2	14	9.5
June	7	12.1	4	6.8	10	32.3	21	14.2
July	9	15.5	7	11.8	5	16.2	21	14.2
August	3	5.2	16	27.1	1	3.2	20	13.5
September	4	6.9	4	6.8	1	3.2	9	6.1
October	7	12.1	4	6.8	3	9.7	14	9.5
November	1	1.7	5	8.5	1	3.2	7	4.7
December	0	0.0	1	1.7	2	6.5	3	2.0
Total	58	100.0	59	100.0	31	100.0	148	100.0

decreasing frequency, were June, August, July, May and September.<sup>9</sup>

An analysis of seasonal variations, shown in Table V, and illustrated in Figure 2, clearly indicates that the highest proportion of incidents occurred during the summer months (June, July and August). Of the 148 incidents of property damage, sixty-two, or 41.9 per cent, were committed during this season, as were thirty-five, or 39.3 per cent of the eighty-nine assaults. Thus a total of ninety-seven incidents took place during these months; 40.9 per cent of the 237 incidents in the three year period.

The study by Sister Claire Marie Sawyer, O.S.F., pointed out that the "greater number of disturbances in the area of Trumbull Park was felt during the months that comprised the summer season . . ."<sup>10</sup> Her findings, like those in this analysis, agree with the consensus among students of racial violence, that summer is the period when the most difficulty occurs.

Table V shows a consistently increasing proportion during the summer months from 1958 through 1960. Furthermore, the percentage is somewhat higher than for the preceeding two years. The Urban League reported that 35.5 per cent of the incidents during 1956-57 took place during this season.<sup>11</sup>

During the spring months (March, April and May), forty-four,

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<sup>9</sup>Sister Claire Marie Sawyer, O.S.F., p. 62.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>11</sup>Chicago Urban League, p. 7.

or 29.7 per cent, of the property damage was committed as were eighteen, or 20.2 per cent of all assaults. The total of sixty-two incidents, or 26.2 per cent of the 237, is a decrease when compared to 1956 and 1957. The Urban League reported that 33.7 per cent took place during this season.<sup>12</sup> Examination of Table V further establishes a clear pattern. Although summer was the only season with a higher proportion of the total incidents, the proportion occurring during the spring months decreased yearly. In 1958 this proportion was 31.9, but in 1959 it dropped to twenty-seven per cent, and in 1960 only 14.8 per cent of the incidents were committed during the spring season.

Thirty incidents of property damage, or 20.3 per cent of the total occurred in the autumn months (September, October and November), as did twenty, or 22.5 per cent of the assaults. This total of fifty incidents comprised 21.1 per cent of all incidents during the years 1958-60. The Urban League reported that only 15.1 per cent of the incidents during the two preceeding years occurred in this season.<sup>13</sup>

During the winter months (December, January and February), there is a significant decrease in violence. Thus in the three year period from 1958 through 1960 there were only twelve property damage incidents, comprising 8.1 per cent of all property damage.

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

There were sixteen assaults, or eighteen per cent of the total. Contrasted to 1956-57 when 15.7 per cent of all incidents took place during the winter months,<sup>14</sup> only 11.8 per cent occurred during this season over the following three years.

In summary, when a comparison is made between seasonal variations during 1956-57 and 1958-60, trends indicate decreasing racial violence in spring and winter, with corresponding increases in summer and autumn.

According to Professor Edwin Sutherland, "Statistical studies show very uniformly that crimes against property reach a maximum in winter months, and crimes against the person . . . in the summer months."<sup>15</sup> Incidents of racial violence, which are of course crimes, appear to deviate in part from this generalization. Incidents of personal assault, which are "crimes against the person," do reach a maximum in summer months. However, incidents of property damage, which are "crimes against property," do not reach a maximum in winter. In fact, the lowest proportion, only 8.1 per cent, of property damage occurred during the winter months. Crimes against property are described in the Encyclopedia of Criminology as including arson, "a willful burning or setting on fire of property," and malicious mischief, "the willful damage or

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

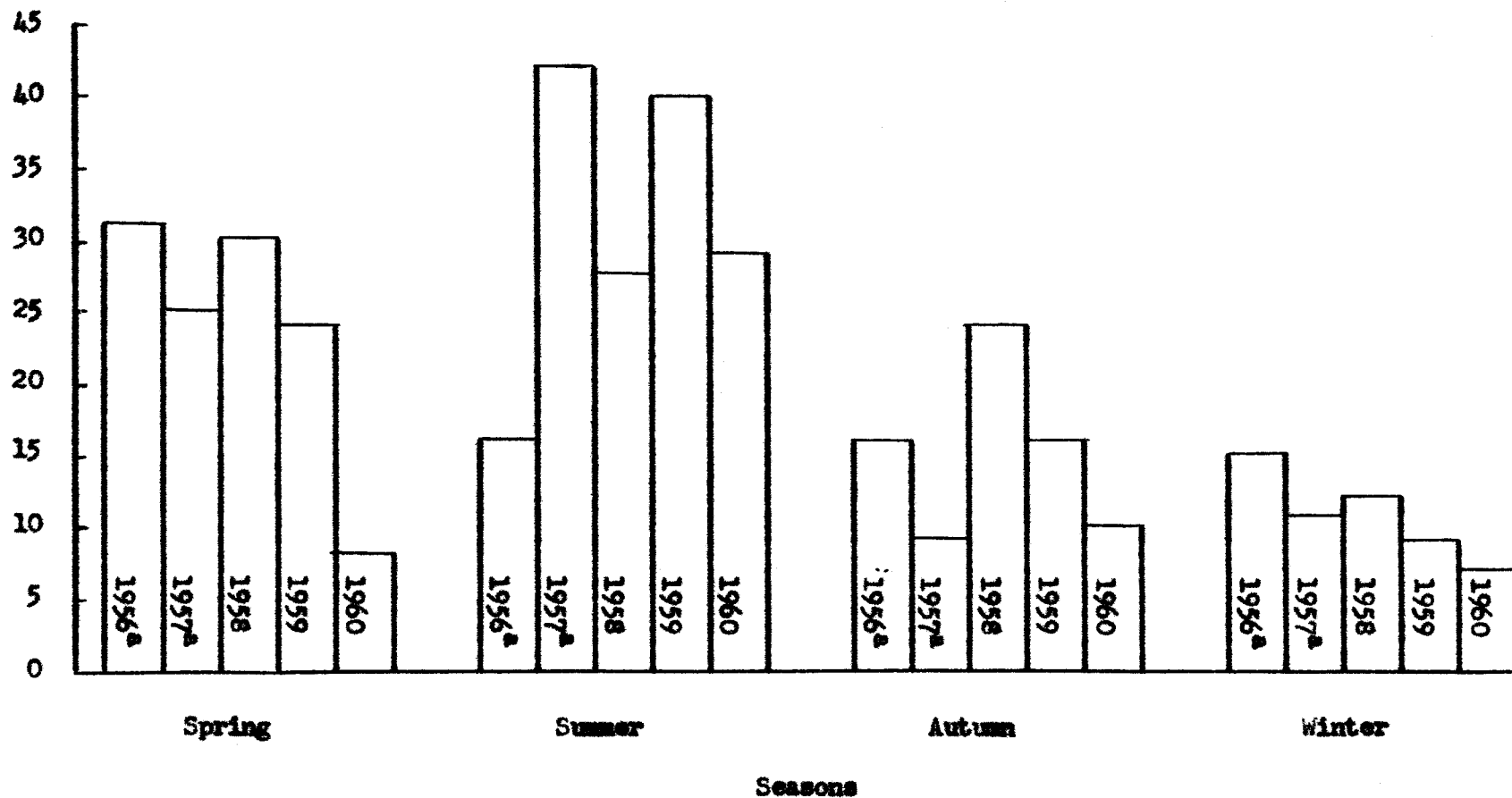
<sup>15</sup>Edwin H. Sutherland, Principles of Criminology, 4th ed. (Chicago, 1947), p. 82.

TABLE V

## INCIDENTS OF RACIAL VIOLENCE, 1958-1960, BY SEASON OF OCCURRENCE

Season	Years						Total	
	1958		1959		1960			
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Spring (Mar.-April-May)	30	31.9	24	27.0	8	14.8	62	26.2
Summer (June-July-Aug.)	28	29.8	40	44.9	29	53.7	97	40.9
Autumn (Sept.-Oct.-Nov.)	24	25.5	16	18.0	10	18.5	50	21.1
Winter (Dec.-Jan.-Feb.)	12	12.8	9	10.1	7	13.0	28	11.8
Total	94	100.0	89	100.0	54	100.0	237	100.0

Number of  
incidents



<sup>a</sup>Chicago Urban League, p. 7.

FIGURE 2

FREQUENCY OF INCIDENTS OF RACIAL VIOLENCE, BY YEARLY SEASONS, 1956-1960

destruction of valuables."<sup>16</sup> The incidents in Appendix II fit the definition of property damage in form, but the author believes that they differ substantially in motive. The person who damages the home recently occupied by a Negro does so in order to hurt, psychologically and financially, the Negro who resides there. He does not expect to gain anything tangible, as is normally the motive in "crimes against property." Consequently, based on the factor of intent, the author believes that incidents of property damage may correctly be classified as "crimes against the person," and thus the seasonal variation will conform to Sutherland's generalization.

#### D. TYPES OF PROPERTY DAMAGE.

Property damage is categorized in Table VI into several types. All forms of damage to autos are considered as one type. Damage to real property is broken down into arson, attempted arson, bombing, window breakage, and gun shots fired at homes. The general vandalism category includes all other damage or defacement of real property, such as breaking a fence or painting derogatory signs on buildings.

Almost one-half of all incidents of property damage were cases of window breakage. Sixty-eight, or 45.9 per cent of the 148 property damage incidents during the three year period were

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<sup>16</sup>Nicholas Atlas, "Criminal Law and Procedure," Encyclopedia of Criminology (New York, 1949), p. 92.

of this type. This is only a slight change in proportion from the years 1956-57 when according to the Urban League, broken windows constituted 49.3 per cent of all property damage.<sup>17</sup>

The general trends found in examining Table VI are decreases in the amounts of arson, attempted arson and bombing, and an increase in general vandalism. There were five incidents of vandalism in 1958, six in 1959, and nine in 1960. There were fourteen arsons during 1958, ten in 1959 but only two in 1960. The attempted arsons decreased during those years from four to three to two. Bombing decreased from four incidents in 1958 to one in 1959, and there were none in the final year.

Chicago's experience with racial bombings has undergone a notable change in the past forty years. According to The Negro in Chicago, in discussing the background of the 1919 race riot, "in the 'invaded' neighborhoods bombs were thrown at the houses of Negroes who had moved in, and of real estate men, white and Negro, who sold or rented property to the newcomers. From July 1, 1917, to July 27, 1919, the day the riot began, twenty-four such bombs had been thrown."<sup>18</sup>

Auto damage remained almost constant throughout the three years 1958-60. There were six such incidents in each of the first

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<sup>17</sup>Chicago Urban League, p. 14.

<sup>18</sup>Chicago Commission on Race Relations, The Negro in Chicago, p. 3.

**TABLE VI**  
**INCIDENTS OF PROPERTY DAMAGE, 1958-1960, BY TYPE OF INCIDENT**

Type	Years						Total	
	1958		1959		1960			
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Auto damage	6	10.3	6	10.2	7	22.5	19	12.8
Arson	14	24.2	10	16.9	2	6.5	26	17.6
Attempted arson	4	6.9	3	5.1	2	6.5	9	6.1
Bombing	4	6.9	1	1.7	0	0.0	5	3.4
Window breakage	25	43.1	32	54.2	11	35.5	68	45.9
Gun shots fired at home	0	0.0	1	1.7	0	0.0	1	0.7
General vandalism	5	8.6	6	10.2	9	29.0	20	13.5
Total	58	100.0	59	100.0	31	100.0	148	100.0

two years, and seven in 1960. Incidents of window breakage increased from twenty-five in 1958 to thirty-two in 1959. During the latter year they constituted more than one-half of all property damage. In 1960 however there were only eleven such incidents. In contrast to the 1956-57 period, when there were four incidents of gun shots having been fired at homes,<sup>19</sup> only one such incident occurred during the subsequent three years.

#### E. SEVERITY OF PERSONAL ASSAULTS.

It is not possible to adequately measure this factor. The physical injuries suffered by the Negro boy who was assaulted by his classmates when returning from his grade school near Trumbull Park Homes (incident Three) were similar to those inflicted upon the Police Officer who was attacked while guarding the Negro-owned residence on West Jackson Blvd. (incident 145). It is very probable, however, that the emotional impact was much more damaging in the case of the boy, whose experiences and role in society had not prepared him for such an attack, as they probably had in the case of the Officer.

The only objective criteria of comparative severity available in Commission records are whether or not the victim required medical attention, and whether the victim died as a result of the assault. This information is tabulated by year in Table VII.

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<sup>19</sup>Chicago Urban League, p. 14.

TABLE VII

## INCIDENTS OF PERSONAL ASSAULT, 1958-1960, BY SEVERITY OF ASSAULT

Severity	Years						Total	
	1958		1959		1960			
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Resulted in death	1	2.8	1	3.3	0	0.0	2	2.2
Required medical care	16	44.4	8	26.7	10	43.5	34	38.2
Required no medical care	14	38.9	17	56.7	11	47.8	42	47.2
Unknown	5	13.9	4	13.3	2	8.7	11	12.4
Total	36	100.0	30	100.0	23	100.0	89	100.0

Almost one-half of the eighty-nine assaults occurring in the three year period were of relatively minor consequence, since no medical treatment was necessary. The forty-two such cases constituted 47.2 per cent of the total.

The thirty-four assaults that required medical treatment comprised 38.2 per cent of all assaults. This treatment ranged from a single visit in a physician's office to serious surgery and lengthy hospital confinement, but Commission records do not contain sufficient information to introduce a more detailed analysis here.

The Urban League report stated that there were two deaths in each of the years 1956 and 1957.<sup>20</sup> During the three succeeding years there was a total of two assaults in which the victims died. One occurred in 1958, and one in 1959. There were no fatal injuries in 1960.

In eleven, or 12.4 per cent of the eighty-nine assaults, the Commission records are incomplete and do not indicate whether medical attention was required.

#### F. TYPE OF NEIGHBORHOOD.

According to the estimate of Beverly Duncan and Philip Hauser, there were 805,000 nonwhites residing in Chicago in 1957.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Chicago Urban League, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup>Beverly Duncan and Philip M. Hauser, Housing A Metropolis-Chicago (Glencoe, Illinois, 1960), p. 171.

Since ninety-seven per cent of the nonwhite population are Negroes,<sup>22</sup> an estimated 780,850 lived here in 1957. The United States Bureau of Census reported a Negro population in Chicago of 812,637 in 1960.<sup>23</sup> Thus there was an increase of 31,787 Negroes during a period of time almost identical to the years 1958-60 included in this analysis.

Figures 3 and 4 are maps of Chicago which illustrate the distribution of Negroes in 1950 and 1960. The 237 incidents of racial violence are plotted on both maps to illustrate the relationship between the incidents and population change. Examination of the maps show concentrations in some areas of dots representing incidents. Comparison of the two maps reveal that the concentrations are plotted on unshaded areas on the 1950 map, and that these same locations are shaded on the 1960 map. This indicates that concentrations of incidents occurred in neighborhoods that underwent racial change during the decade. An exception, however, is seen in the concentration around Trumbull Park Homes. The census tract in which Trumbull Park is located has no Negro residents other than those who are tenants of the project, and they constitute less than five per cent of the population in the tract.

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<sup>22</sup>Commission, Human Relations News (Chicago, July, 1961), p. 1.

<sup>23</sup>United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1960. Final Report PC (1)-15 B (Washington, 1961), p. 79.

# PERCENT OF NEGRO POPULATION, IN CENSUS TRACTS, CITY OF CHICAGO, 1950

## COMMUNITY AREA NAMES

- 1 ROGERS PARK
- 2 WEST RIDGE
- 3 UPTOWN
- 4 LINCOLN SQUARE
- 5 NORTH CENTER
- 6 LAKE VIEW
- 7 LINCOLN PARK
- 8 NEAR NORTH SIDE
- 9 EDISON PARK
- 10 NORWOOD PARK
- 11 JEFFERSON PARK
- 12 FOREST GLEN
- 13 NORTH PARK
- 14 ALBANY PARK
- 15 PORTAGE PARK
- 16 IRVING PARK
- 17 DUNNING
- 18 MONTCLARE
- 19 BELMONT CRAGIN
- 20 HERMOSA
- 21 AVONDALE
- 22 LOGAN SQUARE
- 23 HUMBOLDT PARK
- 24 WEST TOWN
- 25 AUSTIN
- 26 WEST GARFIELD PK.
- 27 EAST GARFIELD PK.
- 28 NEAR WEST SIDE
- 29 NORTH LAWNDALE
- 30 SOUTH LAWNDALE
- 31 LOWER WEST SIDE
- 32 LOOP
- 33 NEAR SOUTH SIDE
- 34 ARMOUR SQUARE
- 35 DOUGLAS
- 36 OAKLAND
- 37 FULLER PARK
- 38 GRAND BLVD
- 39 KENWOOD
- 40 WASHINGTON PK.
- 41 HYDE PARK
- 42 WOODLAWN
- 43 SOUTH SHORE
- 44 CHATHAM
- 45 AVALON PARK
- 46 SOUTH CHICAGO
- 47 BURNSIDE
- 48 CALUMET HEIGHTS
- 49 ROSELAND
- 50 PULLMAN
- 51 SOUTH DEERING
- 52 EAST SIDE
- 53 WEST PULLMAN
- 54 RIVERDALE
- 55 HEGERWICH
- 56 GARFIELD RIDGE
- 57 ARCHER HEIGHTS
- 58 BRIGHTON PARK
- 59 MCKINLEY PARK
- 60 BRIDGEPORT
- 61 NEW CITY
- 62 WEST ELSDON
- 63 GAGE PARK
- 64 CLEARING
- 65 WEST LAWN
- 66 CHICAGO LAWN
- 67 WEST ENGLEWOOD
- 68 ENGLEWOOD
- 69 GREATER GRAND CR.
- 70 ASHBURN
- 71 AUBURN GRESHAM
- 72 BEVERLY
- 73 WASHINGTON HGTS.
- 74 MOUNT GREENWOOD
- 75 MORGAN PARK
- 76 ANNEXED AREA 1950-1960 (INCLUDING O'HARE AIRPORT)

● Personal assault

● Property damage

— COMMUNITY AREA BOUNDARY

— CENSUS TRACT BOUNDARY

342 CENSUS TRACT NUMBER

33 COMMUNITY AREA NUMBER

NOTE CITY LIMITS AS OF APRIL 1960

CITY OF CHICAGO



RICHARD J. DALEY  
MAYOR



0 1 2 3 4 5  
SCALE IN THOUSAND FEET

COMMUNITY AREA BASE BY  
CHICAGO COMMUNITY INVENTORY 1960

PREPARED BY  
DEPARTMENT OF CITY PLANNING  
RESEARCH DIVISION  
GRAPHIC SECTION  
1960

COMMUNITY AREAS AND CENSUS TRACTS  
1960 CENSUS OF HOUSING AND POPULATION

FIGURE 3

MAP INDICATING NEGRO RESIDENTIAL AREAS IN CHICAGO  
DURING 1950 AND LOCATIONS OF INCIDENTS  
OF RACIAL VIOLENCE, 1958-1960



SOURCE: ADVANCE TABLE PH-1  
POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS: 1  
U.S. BUREAU OF CENSUS

PREPARED FOR  
THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

# PERCENT OF NEGRO POPULATION, IN CENSUS TRACTS, CITY OF CHICAGO, 1960

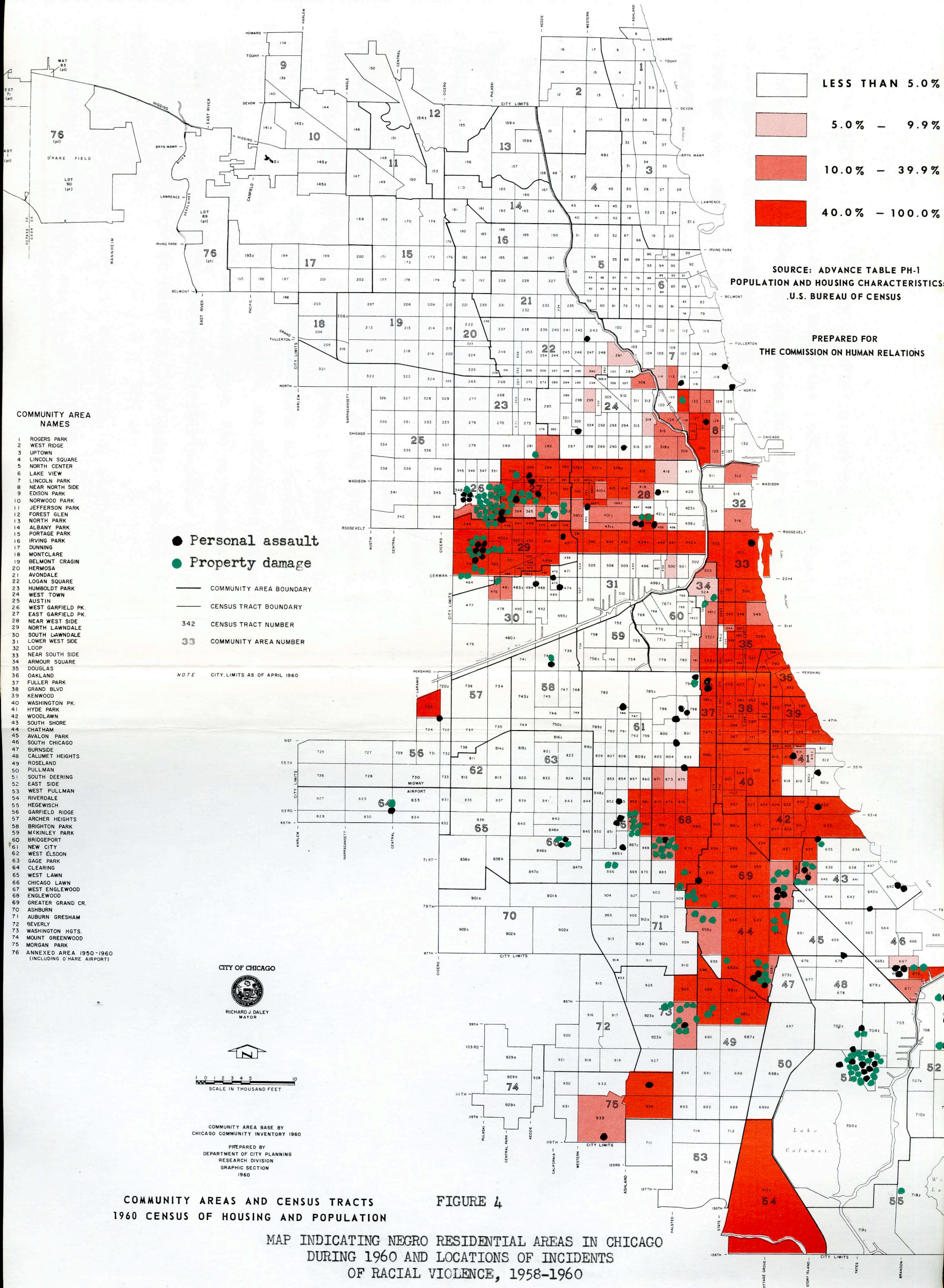


Table VIII contains yearly breakdowns showing the racial composition of the communities in which the incidents occurred. White neighborhoods are defined as those in which at least ninety-five per cent of the residences were occupied by white persons at the time of the incident. Negro neighborhoods are those in which at least ninety-five per cent of the residences were occupied by Negroes at the time of the incident. Changing neighborhoods are those in which Negroes occupy less than fifty per cent of the residences at the time of the incident, but in which white persons are vacating the housing and Negroes are moving in.

Examination of Table VIII demonstrates clearly that the highest proportion of incidents of racial violence occurred in changing neighborhoods. This was the case with forty-two assaults, constituting almost one-half, 47.2 per cent, of all assaults during the three year period. An even larger proportion, four-fifths of the property damage, occurred in these areas. Throughout the three years there were 119 incidents, or 80.4 per cent of all property damage. Of the total 237 incidents of racial violence, 161, or 67.9 per cent, were committed in neighborhoods undergoing change. This proportion is unchanged from the experience in 1956 and 1957. The Urban League reported that sixty-seven per cent of all incidents in those years took place in changing neighborhoods.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Chicago Urban League, p. 6.

An analysis of personal assaults shows that almost two-fifths were committed in white neighborhoods, but only one-tenth in Negro Communities. Of the eighty-nine which took place during the three year period, thirty-five, or 39.3 per cent, were in white, while nine, or 10.1 per cent, were in Negro areas. This would suggest that resentment is greater in white neighborhoods toward Negroes who enter them than it is in Negro areas toward white persons; however, it may also simply reflect larger numbers of Negroes travelling within white communities than white persons coming into Negro areas.

It would be valuable to learn the reasons for this difference, but the data available is not sufficient to provide the answer.

The three assaults classified under "other" neighborhoods in Table VIII occurred at a sports stadium and upon public transportation vehicles travelling through non-residential areas.

An examination of incidents of property damage reveals that twenty-four, or 16.2 per cent took place in white communities. As indicated above, 119 occurred in changing neighborhoods. Thus only five, or 3.4 per cent of the 148 property damage incidents were committed within Negro areas.

Another geographical analysis which can be made is to determine whether offenders live close to the scene of the incident. Grimshaw has proposed the possibility "that most of the violence visited upon new Negro residents is the work of individuals not

TABLE VIII

INCIDENTS OF PERSONAL ASSAULT AND PROPERTY DAMAGE, 1958-1960, BY TYPE OF NEIGHBORHOOD  
IN WHICH THEY OCCURRED

Type of neighborhood	Years						Total	
	1958		1959		1960			
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
<u>Personal assaults</u>								
White	17	47.2	6	20.0	12	52.2	35	39.3
Negro	1	2.8	6	20.0	2	8.7	9	10.1
Changing	15	41.7	18	60.0	9	39.1	42	47.2
Other	3	8.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	3.4
Total	36	100.0	30	100.0	23	100.0	89	100.0
<u>Property damage</u>								
White	13	22.4	4	6.8	7	22.5	24	16.2
Negro	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	16.2	5	3.4
Changing	45	77.6	55	93.2	19	61.3	119	80.4
Total	58	100.0	59	100.0	31	100.0	148	100.0

themselves local residents."<sup>25</sup> The only time the residence of the offender is known with certainty is when he is caught. Fifty-one persons were arrested for damaging property, but they were involved in only thirteen, or 8.8 per cent, of the total 148 incidents of property damage. Nineteen persons, or 37.2 per cent of those arrested for property damage, lived within one mile of the scene of the incident. Three persons, or 5.9 per cent, resided more than a mile away. The Commission records do not contain addresses of the remaining twenty-nine persons, who constituted 56.9 per cent of the total number arrested for damaging property. This evidence is contrary to Grimshaw's thesis, but it is based on a very small sample. A similar conclusion may be drawn from an examination of the addresses of the 136 persons arrested for assault. Forty-three, or 31.6 per cent, of those arrested lived within one mile of the scene of the assault. Twenty-nine, or 21.3 per cent, lived more than a mile away, and the addresses of sixty-four, or 47.1 per cent, are unknown.

#### G. AGE OF OFFENDERS.

Data on this factor is impossible to determine in a large number of cases. In 106 incidents, or 44.7 per cent of the total, the age of the offender is unknown. These incidents were "hit and run" attacks on property, usually committed at night. No

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<sup>25</sup>Grimshaw, "Urban Racial Violence," p. 114.

arrests were made nor were any witnesses found to describe the offenders. Consequently they were not included in tabulating the information in Table IX.

Arrests were made in forty-four of the remaining 131 incidents. Police records reveal the ages in these cases. The reliability of the information on age in the other eighty-seven incidents is subject to question. It was obtained from descriptions provided by victims and witnesses to Commission investigators and to the police. The author concedes the high probability of error in these approximations but elects to include all of these cases on the assumption that errors of this nature will most likely be at the limits of the groupings and will tend toward cancellation.

The limits of the age groupings used in this analysis are based upon legal definitions. In the State of Illinois a juvenile is a boy under the age of seventeen or a girl under the age of eighteen.<sup>26</sup> A youth is a person above the juvenile age and under the age of twenty-two. The upper limit of twenty-two, rather than twenty-one, is used because the Municipal Court of Chicago provides a special branch court to hear misdemeanors committed by persons under age twenty-two. The law thus considers this to be

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<sup>26</sup>Prior to July, 1957, seventeen year old boys were not treated as juveniles. At that time the Illinois Legislature passed a law to so treat them, but it reversed the law again in July, 1959. For the purposes of consistency and simplicity, the author has ignored this. Seventeen year old male offenders have been classified as youths throughout the three year study period.

a natural age grouping of persons who have not reached full maturity. An adult is a person aged twenty-two or over. The mixed age group category in Table IX consists of any combination of juveniles, youths and adults participating together in an incident.

Table IX contains information about the ages of the offenders. It does not reveal the number of offenders who participated in the incidents. The latter factor does not lend itself to statistical analysis, since there can be a range from one offender to several thousand in any particular incident.

Examination of Table IX shows that the majority of the incidents where age data is available were committed by juveniles. A trend toward decreasing responsibility is apparent. They committed sixty-six per cent of the offenses in 1958, 59.6 per cent in 1959, and 47.1 per cent in the final year. However, during the three year period, juveniles were responsible for seventy-seven, or 58.8 per cent of the offenses.

In the preface which he wrote for the Urban League study, Drake pointed out the difference between juvenile participation in racial violence and the more typical forms of juvenile delinquency:

A large part of the inter-racial violence is the action of teenagers, and there is a tendency to dismiss some of it with a "boys will be boys" argument. This is to miss the whole point. Ordinary juvenile delinquency is not approved of by adults in the neighborhood. Where racial incidents are involved, however, adults sometimes stand by and cheer the youngsters on. And even where

TABLE IX

## INCIDENTS OF RACIAL VIOLENCE, 1958-1960, BY AGE-GROUPS OF OFFENDERS

Age-group	Years						Total	
	1958		1959		1960			
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Juveniles	33	66.0	28	59.6	16	47.1	77	58.8
Youths	3	6.0	3	6.4	5	14.7	11	8.4
Adults	3	6.0	9	19.1	6	17.6	18	13.7
Mixed age-group	11	22.0	7	14.9	7	20.6	25	19.1
Total	50	100.0	47	100.0	34	100.0	131	100.0

there is no open encouragement to commit acts of violence, the youngsters know that the "improvement associations," the local neighborhood newspapers, the businessmen, and, often, even religious leaders, approve their hostile attitude toward Negroes if not their extremely violent acts. The teenagers are thus caused to see themselves as "heroes" not hoodlums.<sup>27</sup>

Youths committed only eleven, or 8.4 per cent, of the 131 incidents. Adults were the offenders in eighteen incidents, or 13.7 per cent of the total. In twenty-five, or 19.1 per cent, the offenses were committed by mixed groups.

#### H. RACE OF VICTIMS AND OFFENDERS.

The descriptions of the incidents presented in Appendix II indicated that racial violence usually consists of attacks upon Negroes by white persons, but that in a substantial number of cases white persons are the victims. Negroes are the offenders in most of the latter cases, but a significant number of white victims are attacked by other white persons. This section attempts to analyse the racial direction of the incident in two ways. First, by examining the distribution of these three alternative directions (white upon Negro, Negro upon white, white upon white) in the various types of incidents. The statistical breakdown of this information is contained in Table X. The second approach is to examine the distribution of incident types within each alternative direction (Table XI).

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<sup>27</sup>Chicago Urban League, p. iv.

Negroes were the victims in almost two-thirds of the incidents. They or their property were attacked by white persons in 150, or 63.3 per cent of the 237 incidents occurring throughout the three year period. A significant difference is seen, however, when personal assaults and property damage incidents are examined separately. They were the victims in less than one-half of the assaults; in forty-one, or 46.1 per cent of the total eighty-nine. But of the 148 incidents of property damage, almost three-fourths were directed against Negro-owned or Negro-occupied property. They were the victims in 109 of these incidents, or 73.7 per cent of the total.

When each type of property damage is examined, Negroes were found to be the victims in 84.6 per cent of the twenty-six arsons, two-thirds of the nine attempted arsons, 77.9 per cent of the sixty-eight incidents of window breakage, one-half of the twenty cases of vandalism, 63.2 per cent of the nineteen incidents of auto damage, all of the five bombings, and in the one case where gun shots were fired at a home.

Negroes were the offenders in fifty-five, or 23.2 per cent of the 237 incidents occurring in the three years. There is a substantial difference, however, when the personal assaults and the incidents of property damage are considered separately. Only eleven, or 7.4 per cent of the 148 property damage incidents were committed by Negroes. But they were the aggressors in forty-four of the assaults, a figure constituting 49.4 per cent of the total.

TABLE X

**INCIDENTS OF PERSONAL ASSAULT AND PROPERTY DAMAGE, 1958-1960,  
BY RACIAL DIRECTION OF THE INCIDENTS**

Type of incident	Racial direction						Total	
	Attacks by whites on Negroes		Attacks by whites on whites		Attacks by Negroes on whites			
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
<u>Personal assaults</u>								
Requiring medical care	16	47.1	1	2.9	17	50.0	34	100.0
Requiring none	21	50.0	3	7.1	18	42.9	42	100.0
Resulting in death	1	50.0	0	0.0	1	50.0	2	100.0
Unknown	3	27.3	0	0.0	8	72.7	11	100.0
Total assaults	41	46.1	4	4.5	44	49.4	89	100.0
<u>Property damage</u>								
Auto damage	12	63.2	6	31.6	1	5.2	19	100.0
Arson	22	84.6	4	15.4	0	0.0	26	100.0
Attempted arson	6	66.7	2	22.2	1	11.1	9	100.0
Bombing	5	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	100.0
Window breakage	53	77.9	11	16.2	4	5.9	68	100.0
Gun shots fired at home	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0
General vandalism	10	50.0	5	25.0	5	25.0	20	100.0
Total property damage	109	73.7	28	18.9	11	7.4	148	100.0
Total racial incidents	150	63.3	32	13.5	55	23.2	237	100.0

Negroes were thus the offenders more often than they were the victims in the incidents of personal assault.

When the assaults are further examined in terms of their severity, Negroes were found to have committed one-half of the thirty-four which required medical attention, 42.9 per cent of the forty-two which did not require such treatment, and one of the two assaults in which the victim died.

Throughout the three year period there were thirty-two incidents of violence committed by whites against other white persons. These accounted for 13.5 per cent of all incidents. Four were personal assaults, constituting 4.5 per cent of all assaults. Two of these were against white persons known to be friends of Negroes. The other two were against white police officers performing their duties in racial tension situations. The twenty-eight incidents in which white persons damaged white owned property amounted to 18.9 per cent of all property damage. Ten of these were residences which had been listed for rent or sale with an indication that Negroes would be accepted. Eleven were cases of damage to property occupied by white persons known to have Negro friends. Six incidents were against institutions, located in tension areas, which were serving Negroes, and one was damage to a Police Department squad car driven by a white officer at a tension situation.

Table XI reveals the distribution of the types of incidents committed by whites against Negroes, Negroes against whites, and

by whites against other white persons.

Examination of the incidents by this procedure clearly indicates a similarity between the classifications of assaults in which Negroes were victims and those in which white persons were attacked by Negroes.

It further demonstrates that, of the 109 incidents of damage to Negro owned or occupied property, fifty-three, or almost one-half (48.6 per cent) were window breakage, a relatively minor offence, but twenty-two, or one-fifth (20.2 per cent) were arsons. The ten incidents of vandalism and twelve of auto damage constituted about one-tenth of the total, and the five bombings and six attempted arsons each accounted for approximately one-twentieth of all damage to Negro property.

Of the eleven incidents of property damage committed by Negroes against white owned or occupied property, five were acts of vandalism and four were window breakage. There was one incident of attempted arson and one of auto damage. It is perhaps significant that Negroes did not commit any of the relatively serious types of property damage: bombings, arson, and firing gun shots at homes.

The theory that revenge is a significant factor in incidents committed by Negroes is difficult to substantiate, but it has been advanced by some authorities. Benjamin E. Novoselsky, Assistant States Attorney at the Family Court of Cook County, in an address in 1957 stated that "for every act we have in one part

TABLE XI

RACIAL DIRECTION OF INCIDENTS, 1958-1960, BY SEVERITY OF PERSONAL ASSAULTS  
AND TYPES OF PROPERTY DAMAGE

Type of incident	Racial direction					
	Attacks by whites on Negroes		Attacks by whites on whites		Attacks by Negroes on whites	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
<u>Personal assaults</u>						
Requiring medical care	16	39.1	1	25.0	17	38.6
Requiring no medical care	21	51.2	3	75.0	16	40.9
Resulting in death	1	2.4	0	0.0	1	2.3
Unknown	3	7.3	0	0.0	8	18.2
<b>Total assaults</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<u>Property damage</u>						
Auto damage	12	11.0	6	21.4	1	9.1
Arson	22	20.2	4	14.3	0	0.0
Attempted arson	6	5.5	2	7.1	1	9.1
Bombing	5	4.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
Window breakage	53	48.6	11	39.3	4	36.4
Gun shots fired at home	1	0.9	0	0.0	0	0.0
General vandalism	10	9.2	5	17.9	5	45.4
<b>Total property damage</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100.0</b>

of the city, we have a compensating act in another part of the city. Every time we have an outbreak of vandalism to property of non-whites or assaults on non-whites, we have a compensating occurrence in another section of the city where the white is subjected to the same type or similar type of treatment that the non-white was."<sup>28</sup> Mr. Novoselsky did not document this statement, but it was presumably based upon his experiences as a prosecutor.

The Urban League study also concluded that revenge was a contributing factor in incidents in which Negroes attacked whites. The conclusion was reached as follows: :

The list of reported incidents of racial violence committed by Negroes indicate a trend toward "revenge attacks" in two ways: (1) the increase in the number of incidents executed by Negroes in 1957 compared to 1956 and (2) the clustering of these incidents in 1957 following "major" attacks by whites.

.....  
Incidents of racial violence committed by Negroes in 1956 were spread throughout the year. The dates of attacks by Negroes did not indicate any relationship to attacks by whites, including "major" attacks. Two "major" attacks by whites, attacks resulting in the death of two Negro youths, were reported in July and August, 1956. Only two incidents of attacks by Negroes on whites were reported subsequent to the above two attacks by whites. One incident occurred in September, the second in November.

In 1957, incidents involving attacks by Negroes tended to concentrate. Eleven (38%) of the incidents committed by Negroes occurred within a month of the incident in which a Negro youth was beaten to death

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<sup>28</sup>Benjamin E. Novoselsky, "Juveniles and Intergroup Conflicts," Solving the Problems of Chicago's Population Growth, abridged proceedings of a conference sponsored by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations (Chicago, 1957), p. 151.

with a hammer by a group of white teenagers. Another 6 (21%) incidents occurred after the shooting of a Negro youth by a group of white teenagers. Five (17%) of the reported incidents of racial violence committed by Negroes occurred during the week following the Calumet Park mob attack by whites on a group of Negro picnickers. In total, 76% of the incidents reported as attacks by Negroes<sup>29</sup> in 1957 occurred following "major" attacks by whites.

Of the two criteria used by the Urban League, the first, that there was an increase of Negro initiated incidents in 1957 over 1956, is insufficient evidence. The second argument contains the logical fallacy "post hoc ergo propter hoc."

A valuable contribution to the field of intergroup relations will be made through further research into this subject. The records of the Commission are inadequate for such purpose however. Very few of the incidents described in Appendix II were indicated as retaliatory; only those in which an admission of this was made by the offenders. Even in those cases it is possible that the offenders, when caught, used this as an excuse in an effort to reduce punishment. Perhaps depth interviewing of the offenders, which is not utilized by Commission nor police interviewers, would prove to be the most effective approach to objective information on the subject.

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<sup>29</sup>Chicago Urban League, pp. 11-12.

## I. POLICE ACTION

When the Commission on Race Relations conducted hearings into the causes of Chicago's race riot in 1919, the State's Attorney testified: "There is no doubt that a great many police officers were grossly unfair in making arrests. They shut their eyes to offenses committed by white men while they were very vigorous in getting all the colored men they could get."<sup>30</sup> The Commission concluded that a "policeman's refusal to arrest a white man accused by Negroes of stoning the Negro boy [the initial incident of the riot] was an important factor in starting mob action."<sup>31</sup>

The literature in the field of intergroup relations has long recognized the crucial importance of professional police work in dealing with incidents of racial violence. Most human relations agencies devote part of their energies to improving police action, usually through conducting formal training courses. Furthermore, there is increasing realization within the police profession itself that law must be enforced with equality.

High officials in the Chicago Police Department have taken progressive positions publicly on matters of civil rights and equal law enforcement. However, criticism is still directed at police officers for their actions, or omission of action, during and after racial incidents.

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<sup>30</sup>Chicago Commission on Race Relations, p. 34.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

This section analyses the action taken by the police<sup>32</sup> during the years 1958-60. The author makes no value judgments, but intends only to present data with which future studies may be compared.

When a personal assault is committed the police conduct an investigation, which may result in the arrest of the offender. In racial assaults, when there is a possibility of future difficulty or when a pattern of such incidents has developed in a geographical area, the police may supplement their investigation with surveillance of the area. Surveillance ranges in form from periodic visits by an officer in a squad car to the establishment of a beat, or a relatively small area walked continuously by a patrolman. Surveillance is meant to deter future incidents; not to assist in investigation.

When an incident of property damage occurs, the police sometimes use an additional measure. If there is reason to believe that surveillance will be inadequate to deter further incidents, a detail may be established at the property. Details normally consist of one or two patrolmen permanently assigned to protect the property, but on occasions as many as one thousand officers may be utilized if there is danger of mob action. Details have

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<sup>32</sup>During 1958 the Chicago Park District maintained its own Police Department. Actions taken by its officers are included in this section, but are not differentiated from those of the Chicago Police Department. The two Departments were merged in January, 1959.

varied in duration from a few days to as long as eight years. The Commission advises the Police Department about desirability, size and duration of details, but final decisions are made by the police.

The Police Department investigated each of the 237 incidents occurring during the three year period. These investigations resulted in arrests being made in slightly more than one-third of the assaults. The police made arrests in thirty-one, or 34.8 per cent of the eighty-nine assaults, and a total of 136 persons were apprehended. The percentage of arrests is substantially lower in cases of property damage. These incidents are generally committed during the night, in a "hit and run" manner. Since there often are no witnesses, the police find it more difficult to make arrests. But arrests were made in thirteen, or 8.8 per cent of the total 148 incidents of property damage. A total of fifty-one persons were apprehended in these thirteen arrests.

Examination of Table XII reveals slight yearly increases in the proportion of property damage incidents in which the police were able to make arrests. In 1958, arrests were made in 3.5 per cent of the fifty-eight incidents; 11.9 per cent of the fifty-nine cases in 1959, and thirteen per cent of the thirty-one in 1960 were cleared in this manner. An opposite trend appears with regard to personal assaults solved through arrest. In 1958, arrests were made in 41.7 per cent of the thirty-six cases. In 1959, there were arrests made in forty per cent of the thirty

TABLE XII

## POLICE ACTION IN INCIDENTS OF PERSONAL ASSAULT AND PROPERTY DAMAGE, 1958-1960

Police action	Years						Total	
	1958		1959		1960			
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
<u>Personal assaults</u>								
Investigation only	13	36.1	14	46.7	14	60.9	41	46.1
Surveillance	8	22.2	4	13.3	5	21.7	17	19.1
Arrest	15	41.7	12	40.0	4	17.4	31	34.8
Total	36	100.0	30	100.0	23	100.0	89	100.0
<u>Property damage</u>								
Investigation only	34	58.6	26	44.1	13	41.9	73	49.3
Surveillance	9	15.5	15	25.4	9	29.0	33	22.3
Detail	13	22.4	11	18.6	5	16.1	29	19.6
Arrest	2	3.5	7	11.9	4	13.0	13	8.8
Total	58	100.0	59	100.0	31	100.0	148	100.0

assaults, but only 17.4 per cent of the twenty-three cases in 1960 resulted in arrests.

There were yearly increases in the proportion of personal assaults in which the police took no action beyond conducting investigations. In contrast, an opposite trend is noticeable in incidents of property damage. Here there were decreases each year in the percentage of cases ending with investigations, and corresponding increases in the percentage solved by arrest and in the proportion in which the police instituted surveillance. In both assaults and property damage the police went beyond simply conducting an investigation in more than one-half of the incidents.

It is widely believed that the Police Department provides "around-the-clock" details to property of Negro persons at which there have been incidents, even if the damage has been relatively minor. The facts contradict this belief; only twenty-nine details were established throughout the three year period. This measure was taken in less than one-fifth of the total 148 incidents of property damage.

#### J. DISPOSITION OF PERSONS ARRESTED.

During the three year period covered by this study, 187 persons were arrested for participating in incidents of racial violence. Fifty-one of these persons were apprehended in the thirteen incidents of property damage solved by the police. The other 136 persons were arrested as offenders in the thirty-one incidents of personal assault which the police solved.

Not all of these persons received court trials. The police have the alternative, particularly with juveniles, of making an adjustment at the Police Station rather than filing charges and taking the arrested person to court. Of the fifty-one persons arrested for damaging property, fourteen, or 27.5 per cent received such adjustments. Nine, or 6.6 per cent of the 136 persons arrested in assault cases, were adjusted by the police.

The cases which do go to court are followed closely by persons and organizations interested in intergroup relations, and there has been considerable criticism regarding their outcome. This subject was discussed at a Commission sponsored conference in 1957 by Nissen N. Gross, Midwest Director of the Civil Rights Division of the Anti-Defamation League. He stated:

One of the unfortunate obstacles we have found in the course of handling these tension situations, is that often when the police have made arrests and the cases have been presented to the Court, there is a tendency on the part of some judges to insist upon a limitation of the evidence with respect to the assault, so that the circumstances surrounding the assault, which are so essential to bringing out the picture of what has happened are not allowed as evidence. I think this is wrong; and most of the lawyers in the field think they are wrong.

In our judgment an action may constitute disorderly conduct not because of the action in itself, but because of the circumstances surrounding it that make that action either orderly or disorderly. That a person does that may result in a breakdown of law and order and in violence to person or property when a mob is gathered and tensions are high is important in determining whether or not that action is disorderly conduct.

On the other hand, we have judges who even when they have found the defendant guilty of such action have seen fit to impose a nominal fine of two dollars or five dollars. The defendants go out literally as

popular heroes to the community in which they engaged in this violence, and their fines are paid for by the [neighborhood] associations that were responsible for generating the violence . . . .<sup>33</sup>

During a discussion of this problem at the same conference, Attorney Erwin W. Roemer, a former president of the Chicago Bar Association, stated that some judges "are saturated with that same feeling of prejudice and they are a little afraid to do anything for fear they may alienate the votes of some of the majority; but pressure must be brought to bear on these men to hear these cases fairly. When [a prosecutor], presents a case that calls for conviction, there ought to be a conviction and there ought to be adequate sanctions enforced by the judge."<sup>34</sup>

Dispositions are tabulated in Tables XIII and XIV. Caution must be used in interpretation because the figures include cases of juveniles, youths and adults charged with several types of specific crimes, and these cases were tried by many different judges. Within these limits, examination does provide a general picture of the dispositions throughout the three year period, and a comparison between dispositions of persons arrested in assaults and those arrested for destroying property.

There is an impressive difference in the percentage of

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<sup>33</sup>Nissen N. Gross, "Civil Rights Violations and Housing," Solving the Problems of Chicago's Population Growth, p. 152.

<sup>34</sup>Solving the Problems, p. 148.

persons found innocent and discharged when a comparison is made between those arrested for property damage and for assault. While only four, or 7.8 per cent, of those arrested for property damage were discharged, fifty-one, or 37.5 per cent, of those charged with assault were found innocent. This difference was discussed with a former Commanding Officer of the Human Relations Section of the Police Department. He theorized that it might be accounted for by fear of reprisals which prevent witnesses from testifying in court trials of racial assault cases. This factor is probably not present in trials of persons arrested for property damage, where the only witnesses for the prosecution are usually the arresting officer and the owner of the damaged property.<sup>35</sup>

In some cases a judge may withhold a finding of either guilt or innocence, and place the defendant under the supervision of his court. This was the disposition in twenty-three, or 16.9 per cent, of the assault cases, and in ten, or 19.6 per cent, involving property damage.

Probation is similar to supervision, but is granted only after a finding of guilt. Five, or 3.7 per cent, of the defendants in assault cases were placed on probation, as were seven, or 13.7 per cent, of those persons charged with damaging property. Another disposition, similar to probation, was made in the cases

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<sup>35</sup>Information from a personal interview of the author with Lieutenant Thomas Marriner.

of five juveniles arrested for assault. They were found guilty in Family Court, and were sentenced, but with a "Stay of Mittimus". In effect this meant that actual incarceration was postponed as long as they complied with certain conditions imposed by the judge.

Supervision, probation and sentencing with a "Stay of Mittimus" are dispositions normally made when the defendant has no previous record with the police, and/or when the judge determines that the crime was of relatively minor consequence. One-third of all persons arrested for property damage, and almost one-fourth (24.3 per cent) of those arrested for assault, received these dispositions. The author, who attended court hearings of most of the 187 persons arrested during the three year period, believes that a combination of these two factors accounts for these relatively high proportions. As Nissen Gross indicated, many judges do not consider historical and sociological factors existing in such cases. They do not recognize the important differences between an ordinary case of window breakage with no racial complications, and the case in which a white person, caught up in the fears and rumors that exist in a changing neighborhood, has broken the window in the home of the first Negro family on a block.

The second factor, of previous record, is also significant. Many citizens who are normally lawful and respectable members of society have become involved in racial violence. The author has been present in court on numerous occasions when defendants have

testified that they are liberal, have friends of other races, and "did not know why" they committed the crime. Such testimony, along with the lack of a police record, normally results in a lenient disposition. Lohman and Reitzes give an example of the person who, in his role as a union steward may "be sympathetic with a Negro who had been insulted by the refusal of a white girl to dance with him at a union dance,"<sup>36</sup> but who, in his role as a property owner, "may join with others to use violence in preventing a Negro from moving into his neighborhood."<sup>37</sup>

Examination of the more severe dispositions, monetary fine and jail sentence, in Tables XIII and XIV does not reveal a similar pattern between cases of property damage and those of assault. Of the 136 persons arrested for assault, eight, or 5.9 per cent received a fine, as contrasted to nine, or 17.7 per cent of the fifty-one who were arrested for property damage. However, a much larger proportion of persons accused of assault were sentenced to jail than was true of persons arrested for damaging property. Only one jail sentence was imposed for property damage (two per cent of all such cases) as contrasted to seventeen persons, or 12.5 per cent of the total, who were jailed for assault.

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<sup>36</sup>Joseph D. Lohman and Dietrich C. Reitzes, "Note on Race Relations in Mass Society," American Journal of Sociology, LVIII (November 1952), 242.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

TABLE XIII

## DISPOSITIONS OF PERSONS ARRESTED IN INCIDENTS OF PERSONAL ASSAULT, 1958-1960

Disposition	Years						Total	
	1958		1959		1960			
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Adjusted by police	8	11.9	1	3.3	0	0.0	9	6.6
Adjudged not guilty	25	37.3	17	56.6	9	23.1	51	37.5
Court supervision	17	25.4	1	3.3	5	12.8	23	16.9
Probation	3	4.5	1	3.3	1	2.6	5	3.7
Jail sentence	5	7.5	5	16.7	7	17.9	17	12.5
Jail sentence with a Stay of Mittimus	4	5.9	1	3.3	0	0.0	5	3.7
Monetary fine	2	3.0	0	0.0	6	15.4	8	5.9
Fine plus sentence	0	0.0	1	3.3	7	17.9	8	5.9
Unknown	3	4.5	3	10.0	4	10.3	10	7.3
Total	67	100.0	30	100.0	39	100.0	136	100.0

TABLE XIV

## DISPOSITIONS OF PERSONS ARRESTED IN INCIDENTS OF PROPERTY DAMAGE, 1958-1960

Dispositions	Years						Total	
	1958		1959		1960			
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Adjusted by police	0	0.0	9	27.3	5	50.0	14	27.5
Adjudged not guilty	0	0.0	3	9.1	1	10.0	4	7.8
Court supervision	1	12.5	9	27.3	0	0.0	10	19.6
Probation	7	87.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	13.7
Jail sentence	0	0.0	1	3.0	0	0.0	1	2.0
Monetary fine	0	0.0	5	15.1	4	40.0	9	17.7
Fine plus sentence	0	0.0	4	12.1	0	0.0	4	7.8
Fine plus probation	0	0.0	2	6.1	0	0.0	2	3.9
Total	8	100.0	33	100.0	10	100.0	51	100.0

## CHAPTER IV

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Although this study is essentially investigative and descriptive, an attempt was also made to apply broad sociological generalizations about racial violence. The method utilized was analysis of 237 incidents reported to the Chicago Commission on Human Relations during the years 1958 through 1960.

The introductory Chapter presented a brief history of the Commission, which was originally called the "Mayor's Committee on Race Relations." This organization, created in 1943 to help prevent a race riot from breaking out in Chicago, as had happened that summer in Detroit, was the first governmental agency in the United States organized to promote improved intergroup relations. Throughout its history, the Commission, and especially the Department of Civil Rights, has felt it important to conduct investigations, independently of the police, of all incidents of racial violence. Defining these incidents as assaults upon individuals or their property solely or primarily because of their racial

identifications, the author obtained his information from the records of the Civil Rights Department. Although incidents certainly occurred which were not reported to the Commission, the assumption was made that the data available from this source was a substantial and adequate sample. Four hypotheses were set forth, dealing with the months of the year in which the incidents occur, the type of neighborhood in which they are most frequently committed, and the age and race of the offenders.

Chapter II contained a detailed description of one of the most violent interracial disturbances which occurred during the three year period. Large crowds demonstrated near a building at 4338 West Jackson Boulevard, after learning that it had been purchased by a Negro family. The police action was examined, and the court dispositions of arrested persons were discussed, as were the activities of the Commission staff.

Chapter III contained analyses of what the incidents were; how frequently, where and when they occurred; how the Commission was informed about them; who committed them; what police action resulted; and what was done to persons arrested for having committed them.

Yearly decreases in incidents during the three year period were found to be the net result of decreases each year in personal assaults plus a decrease in the number of incidents of property damage between 1958 and 1960. The experience during this period was compared to earlier years studied by the Chicago Urban League

and by Sister Claire Marie Sawyer, O.S.F. The comparisons indicated a general trend toward decreasing frequency of incidents of racial violence.

The Commission learned about the incidents from many different organizations and individuals. The original notification came from either the victim or the Police Department in more than one-half of the cases, but there were several other important informants. Friends of the victims and representatives of the newspaper, radio and television industries were found to be especially valuable sources.

A general pattern of high frequency in warm months of the year and less incidents in cold months was discovered, confirming the hypothesis. Examination of seasonal variations indicated that the highest proportion of incidents occurred during the summer months. Furthermore, when a comparison was made with the years 1956-57 studied by the Urban League, trends indicated increases in the proportion occurring in summer and autumn months, along with corresponding decreases in the proportion taking place during the spring and winter seasons.

The analysis of property damage by type revealed that almost one-half of these incidents were window breakage. The general trends found were decreasing amounts of arson, attempted arson and bombing; increasing general vandalism; and a relatively constant amount of auto damage during this three year period. Note was made of the substantial reduction in the number of bombings from

the two year period preceeding the 1919 race riot to the years 1958-60. Further research is needed to explain this decline.

Within the limits of the information contained in Commission records, the only objective criteria to evaluate the severity of personal assaults were distinctions based upon whether or not the victim required medical treatment, and whether he died as a result of the attack. Almost one-half of the eighty-nine assaults were of relatively minor consequence, since no medical attention was required. Two victims died during the three year period, and medical treatment was necessary following thirty-four of the assaults. No information was available in 12.4 per cent of the cases.

The cases were further subjected to a geographical analysis, noting the racial composition of the residential areas in which the incidents took place. In agreement with the hypothesis, almost one-half of all assaults, and four-fifths of the incidents of property damage occurred in racially changing areas. Almost two-fifths of the assaults were committed in white occupied neighborhoods, in contrast to one-tenth in Negro residential areas of Chicago. Sixteen per cent of the property damage incidents took place in white communities, compared to 3.4 per cent in Negro residential areas. The incidents were plotted on two maps showing the residential distribution of the Negro population in 1950 and 1960.

An examination was made of the addresses of the offenders, in order to test Grimshaw's suggestion that they do not reside near

the scene of the incident. Addresses were available for only twenty-two persons arrested for damaging property, and for seventy-two persons arrested in assaults. Nineteen of the former and forty-three of the latter persons resided within one mile of the scene. This evidence contradicts Grimshaw's thesis, but it is based on obviously limited data.

The age of the offenders was known in 131 incidents. Examination of this factor showed, confirming the hypothesis, that the majority of these incidents were committed by juveniles. Youths were responsible for 8.4 per cent; adults for 13.7 per cent; and 19.1 per cent of the incidents were committed by persons in mixed age-groups.

The analysis of the racial identity of victims and offenders showed a substantial difference between assaults and property damage. Almost three-fourths of the incidents of property damage were directed against Negro owned or occupied property, but Negroes were the victims in less than one-half the assaults. They were the offenders in 7.4 per cent of the property damage incidents and in almost one-half of the assaults. The remaining incidents, 4.5 per cent of the assaults and 18.9 per cent of the property damage, were committed by white persons against other whites. Thus the hypothesis that Negroes are usually the victims, and white persons the offenders, was only partly confirmed. Negroes or their property were attacked by white persons in almost two-thirds of the total 237 incidents. White persons damaged property owned or

occupied by Negroes in 73.7 per cent of the 148 incidents, but Negroes were the offenders in forty-four of the assaults, in contrast to forty-one assault incidents in which they were victims. A further examination was made in this section of the distribution of the types of property damage and the severity of assaults committed by whites against Negroes, Negroes against whites, and by whites against other white persons.

The data contained in Commission records was not sufficient to determine the extent to which revenge is a motivating factor in incidents committed by Negroes against white persons. Further research into this question would be a valuable contribution to the field of human relations.

The types of action taken by the police were described. They made an investigation of each incident, and these investigations led to arrests in more than one-third of the eighty-nine assaults. In approximately one-fifth of the assaults they supplemented their investigations by instituting surveillance of the area in which the attack took place. Of the 148 incidents of property damage, surveillance was provided in 22.3 per cent, and in 8.8 per cent, the investigations resulted in arrests. In twenty-nine of the incidents "around-the-clock" details were established at the property.

A total of 187 persons were apprehended in the forty-four incidents in which the police made arrests. Nine, or 6.6 per cent, of the 136 persons arrested for assault, received adjustments by

the police, and did not have to appear in court. The same was true of 27.5 per cent of the fifty-one persons arrested for damaging property. Of those arrested for assault, 37.5 per cent were found innocent in court, as were 7.8 of the persons charged with property damage. One-third of all persons arrested for damaging property, and almost one-fourth charged with assault received some form of supervision or probation. The more severe dispositions of monetary fine and/or jail sentence were given to almost one-fourth of the persons arrested for assault, and to 31.4 per cent of those charged with damaging property.

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## APPENDIX I

### CHICAGO COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

#### Municipal Code of Chicago. Chapter 21.

Section 21-49. (Declaration of Policy--Establishment of Commission). The city council finds that prejudice and the practice of discrimination against any individual or group because of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry menace peace and public welfare; that to eliminate such prejudice and discrimination an instrumentality should be established through which the citizens of Chicago may be kept informed of developments in human relations, the officers and departments of the City may obtain expert advice and assistance in ameliorative practices to keep peace and good order and private persons and groups may be officially encouraged to promote tolerance and good will toward all people.

There is hereby established a commission to be known as the Commission on Human Relations consisting of fifteen members, one of which members shall be designated as Chairman, to be appointed by the Mayor by and with the advice and consent of the City Council. They shall serve without compensation but may be reimbursed for any personal expense incurred in the performance of their duties. The commission shall appoint, according to law, an executive director and such other persons as are provided for in the annual appropriation ordinance to direct its activities.

Section 21-50. (Duties and Functions). The commission shall cooperate with the Mayor, City Council, city departments, agencies and officials in: securing the furnishing of equal services; training city employees to use methods of dealing with intergroup relations which develop respect for equal rights and which result in equal treatment without regard to race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry; assuring fair and equal treatment under the law to all citizens; protecting the rights of all persons to enjoy public accommodations and facilities and to receive equal treatment from all holders of licenses, contracts or privileges from the city; and maintaining equality of opportunity for employment and advancement in the city government.

The services of all city departments and agencies shall be made available by their respective heads to the Commission at its request, and information in the hands of any department or agency shall be furnished to the Commission when requested. Upon receipt of recommendations in writing from the Commission, each department or agency shall submit a reply in writing indicating the disposition of and action taken with regard to such recommendations.

The Commission shall advise and consult with the Mayor and City Council on all matters involving racial, religious or ethnic prejudice or discrimination and recommend such legislative action as it may deem appropriate to effectuate the policy of this ordinance. The Commission shall render an annual report to the Mayor and City Council which shall be published.

Section 21-51. (Cooperation with Civic Groups and Governmental Agencies). The Commission shall invite and enlist the cooperation of racial, religious and ethnic groups, community organizations, labor and business organizations, fraternal and benevolent societies, veterans organizations, professional and technical organizations, and other groups in the City of Chicago in carrying on its work. The Commission may aid in the formation of local community groups in such neighborhoods as it may deem necessary or desirable to carry out specific programs designed to lessen tensions or improve understanding in the community.

The Commission shall cooperate with State and Federal agencies whenever it deems such action appropriate in effectuating the policy of this ordinance.

Section 21-52. (Investigations, Research and Publications). The Commission shall receive and investigate complaints and initiate its own investigations of tensions, practices of discrimination and acts of prejudice against any person or group because of race, religion or ethnic origin and may conduct public hearings with regard thereto; carry on research, obtain factual data and conduct public hearings to ascertain the status and treatment of racial, religious and ethnic groups in the city; and issue such publications and such results of investigations and public hearings and make such recommendations to the Mayor and City Council as in its judgment will effectuate the policy of this ordinance.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Chicago Commission on Human Relations, Your Civil Rights (Chicago, 1960), pp. 37-38.

## APPENDIX II

### SUMMARY OF EACH REPORTED INCIDENT

During the three year period studied there was a total of 237 incidents of personal assaults and property damage which, in the judgement of the staff of the Commission's Civil Rights Department, were racially motivated. These incidents are briefly described below. The date, the essential facts of the offense, and the action taken by the police are disclosed. The geographical block in which the incident occurred is noted, but the precise location has been omitted in order to safeguard the identity of the persons involved.

1. On January 9, 1958, in the 3600 block on South Washtenaw, a white couple who were known to have Negro friends were attacked by five white youths who made derogatory remarks during the assault. The police arrested two members of the group but were unable to learn the identity of the other three.

2. On January 10, 1958, in the 10700 block on South Bensley, a Negro girl was stoned by her white classmates in a school playground in the Trumbull Park Homes area. She received hospital treatment for eye injuries. The police conducted an investigation and instituted periodic surveillance of the area.

3. On January 10, 1958, in the 10700 block on South Bensley, a Negro boy was attacked by his white classmates. This occurred coincident to the assault described above and was also investigated by the police.

4. On January 13, 1958, in the 10600 block on South Oglesby, windows were broken in a Trumbull Park Homes apartment occupied by a Negro family. The police conducted an investigation.

5. On January 13, 1958, in the 2400 block on East 107th Street, windows were broken in another Trumbull Park Homes apartment occupied by a Negro family. The police made an investigation.

6. On January 16, 1958, in the 2800 block on West Arthington, windows were broken by white youths in a home recently purchased by a Negro woman. The police conducted an investigation and instituted surveillance of the home.

7. On January 23, 1958, in the 400 block on North Kedzie, arson was committed at an apartment recently occupied by a Negro family. An investigation was conducted and a permanent twenty-four hour a day detail was instituted by the police.

8. On February 4, 1958, in the 6700 block on South Sangamon, a white girl was sexually assaulted by a group of Negro boys who subsequently admitted they were "out to get a white girl." The police made five arrests.

9. On February 7, 1958, in the 700 block on East 92nd Street, windows were broken and vandalism was committed in a vacant building which was for sale and which had been visited by several Negro prospective buyers. The police conducted an investigation and instituted surveillance of the home.

10. On February 14, 1958, in the 4100 block on West Cullerton, a building recently occupied by a Negro family was bombed. The police conducted an investigation and suspended three police officers who had fallen asleep while detailed to guard the building.

11. On February 19, 1958, at the intersection of Jackson and Kedzie, a white high school student was assaulted and robbed by a group of Negro youths on a CTA bus. The police made an investigation.

12. On February 28, 1958, at the intersection of Harrison and Oakley, two white students were assaulted by a gang of eight Negro youths on a CTA bus. The police conducted an investigation.

13. On March 1, 1958, in the 1800 block on West Ohio, a group of Negro youths armed with clubs attacked white students in a school yard. The police made an investigation.

14. On March 3, 1958, at the intersection of Adams and Racine, a white boy was attacked by four Negro youths without provocation. He required hospital treatment for his injuries. The police conducted an investigation.

15. On March 27, 1958, in the 700 block on East 92nd Street, windows were again broken (see Incident 9) in an apartment of a Negro family which had recently moved in. The police conducted an investigation and instituted surveillance of the home.

16. On March 30, 1958, in the 700 block on East 92nd Street, additional windows were broken in the apartment of the same Negro family. The police made an investigation.

17. On March 31, 1958, in the 10600 block on South Oglesby, three automobiles owned by Negro tenants at Trumbull Park Homes were vandalized. The police conducted an investigation.

18. On April 1, 1958, in the 6700 block on South Carpenter, vandalism was committed to an auto owned by a Negro who had recently moved into this previously all-white occupied block. The police conducted an investigation and instituted surveillance of the area.

19. On April 2, 1958, in the 9900 block along the lake shore, a Negro's auto was vandalized by white teen-agers while he was in Calumet Park. The damage amounted to six hundred dollars. The police made an investigation.

20. On April 11, 1958, in the 4500 block on South Union, four Negroes were assaulted by a group of five white juveniles. The police made an investigation.

21. On April 12, 1958, in the 4500 block on South Wallace, two white youths were assaulted by a gang of fourteen Negroes; one of the victims was shot in the leg. This incident was in retaliation for the assault described in Incident 20. The police made eight arrests.

22. On April 13, 1958, in the 10600 block on South Yates, a window was broken in an apartment recently occupied by a Negro family. The police conducted an investigation.

23. On April 16, 1958, in the 1400 block on East 72nd Place, arson was attempted at the home of the first Negro family to occupy a residence in this block. The police made an investigation.

24. On April 18, 1958, in the 7300 block on South Dorchester, eight Negro children were assaulted by four white teen-agers and were told to move out of the neighborhood or their house would be burned down. The police arrested the four assailants.

25. On April 24, 1958, in the 3900 block on West 16th Street, arson was attempted at an office of a real estate broker who had been showing homes in a white-occupied residential area to Negro families. The police made an investigation.

26. On April 24, 1958, in the 3800 block on Congress Parkway, arson was committed at a porch of a building recently occupied by a Negro family. The police conducted an investigation.

27. On April 27, 1958, in the 3900 block on West 16th Street, arson was committed at the real estate office referred to in Incident 25. The police made an investigation.

28. On April 28, 1958, in the 10300 block on South Oglesby, a Negro resident of Trumbull Park Homes was stoned by a white gang as he walked from the bus to his home. The police made an investigation.

29. On April 30, 1958, in the 8800 block on South Wabash, a derogatory sign was painted on a garage in a changing area. The police investigated.

30. On May 1, 1958, in the 3500 block on West Jackson, a window was broken in a settlement house which had Negro workers and guests. The police made an investigation.

31. On May 1, 1958, in the 10600 block on South Indianapolis, a Negro-occupied auto was stoned by a group of white youths. The police conducted an investigation.

32. On May 3, 1958, in the 300 block on South Hamlin, arson was committed at a building recently occupied by a Negro family. The police made an investigation and instituted a twenty-four hour detail.

33. On May 6, 1958, in the 3500 block on West Jackson, another window was broken in the settlement house referred to in Incident 30. The police made an investigation.

34. On May 6, 1958, in the 1900 block on South Keeler, arson was committed at a vacant building which had been shown to prospective Negro tenants. The damage amounted to eight thousand dollars. The police investigated.

35. On May 8, 1958, in the 3500 block on West Jackson, additional windows were broken in the settlement house referred to in Incidents 30 and 33. The police made an investigation.

36. On May 9, 1958, in the 7700 block on South Ingleside, a white youth was assaulted in a public park by a group of Negro boys. The police made six arrests.

37. On May 9, 1958, in the 1400 block on South Washtenaw, a white boy was attacked without provocation by a gang of eight Negro teenagers and required hospitalization. The police conducted an investigation.

38. On May 10, 1958, in the 7400 block on South Ingleside, a window was broken at a home next door to one into which a Negro family was moving. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance.

39. On May 22, 1958, in the 7100 block on South Winchester, seven windows were broken in the home of a white person who was known to have been visited by Negroes. The police made an investigation and instituted a detail.

40. On May 22, 1958, in the 10700 block on South Benaley, a Negro child was assaulted by white classmates while returning home from school in the Trumbull Park Homes area. The police conducted an investigation.

41. On May 23, 1958, in the 7100 block on South Winchester, arson was committed at a garage of the residence described in Incident 39. The police made an investigation and increased the detail.

42. On May 29, 1958, in the 6300 block on South Laflin, arson was committed at a garage of the residence occupied by the first Negro family in this block. The police conducted an investigation and instituted a detail.

43. On June 2, 1958, in the 9800 block on South Union, arson was committed at a garage of a home recently occupied by a Negro family. The police conducted an investigation.

44. On June 8, 1958, in the 10600 block on South Bensley, vandalism was committed to autos near a ground breaking ceremony of an interracial church in the Trumbull Park Homes area. The police made an investigation and instituted a detail.

45. On June 13, 1958, at the intersection of Independence and Arthington, Negro students were assaulted by a group of Puerto Ricans. The police made an investigation.

46. On June 17, 1958, in the 700 block on East 92nd Street, Negroes visiting a home in this block were shot at by white youths with an air rifle. Previous attacks are described in Incidents 9, 15, and 16. The police made an investigation and instituted a detail.

47. On June 18, 1958, in the 3900 block on West Jackson Blvd., windows were broken in a building recently occupied by Negro families. The police conducted an investigation and instituted a detail.

48. On June 25, 1958, in the 700 block on South Independence Blvd., arson was attempted at a building purchased by a Negro church. The police made an investigation.

49. On June 25, 1958, in the 9800 block on South Prairie, vandalism was committed at a home purchased by a Negro family. The police made an investigation.

50. On June 25, 1958, in the 6800 block on South Halsted, arson was committed at an office into which a Negro real estate company was moving. The police conducted an investigation.

51. On June 28, 1958, in the 10400 block on South Torrence, two Negroes were pulled out of their auto and beaten by members of a group of forty white youths. The police made four arrests.

52. On June 28, 1958, in the 9600 block near the lake shore, a Negro who was driving through Calumet Park stopped for a drink of water and was assaulted by six white teenagers. The police conducted an investigation.

53. On June 29, 1958, in the 7900 block on South State Street, windows were broken and arson was attempted at the office of a Negro real estate company. The police conducted an investigation and instituted surveillance.

54. On July 7, 1958, in the 3900 block on West Arthington, windows were broken in a home recently occupied by a Negro family. The police made an investigation.

55. On July 7, 1958, in the 300 block on West Wendell, two white children were assaulted by a group of Negro boys. The police made two arrests.

56. On July 8, 1958, in the 9600 block on South Union, a window was broken by white teenagers in the only Negro-occupied home in this block. The police conducted an investigation and instituted a detail.

57. On July 10, 1958, in the 300 block on South Homan, a Negro-owned auto was destroyed by a bomb. The police made an investigation.

58. On July 12, 1958, in the 4100 block on West 16th Street, windows were broken and vandalism was committed by Negro youths at the homes of four white families in an area otherwise occupied by Negroes. The police made an investigation.

59. On July 14, 1958, in the 7400 block on South Stewart, a Negro man was assaulted without provocation by six white adults and required hospitalization. The police conducted an investigation.

60. On July 18, 1958, in the 10500 block on South Oglesby, windows were broken in a Negro-occupied apartment in the Trumbull Park Homes area. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance.

61. On July 18, 1958, in the 10600 block on South Yates, three windows were broken in another Negro-occupied apartment in the Trumbull Park Homes area. The police conducted an investigation and instituted surveillance.

62. On July 21, 1958, in the 4100 block on West 16th Street, another window was broken by Negro youths in a white-occupied home. Refer to Incident 59. The police made an investigation.

63. On July 24, 1958, in the 7800 block on South Drexel, arson was committed at a home recently purchased by a Negro family. The police made an investigation.

64. On July 24, 1958, in the 9000 block on St. Lawrence, a Negro boy was assaulted by white youths while using the swimming pool in a public park. The police conducted an investigation.

65. On July 25, 1958, in the 900 block on West 68th Street, a residence recently occupied by a Negro family was destroyed by arson. The police made an investigation.

66. On July 30, 1958, in the 9000 block on St. Lawrence, a group of white teenagers and adults assaulted three Negro boys using the swimming pool in a public park. The police made five arrests.

67. On August 8, 1958, in the 3000 block on West Arthington, arson was committed at a vacant residence recently purchased by a Negro family. The police conducted an investigation.

68. On August 13, 1958, in the 2900 block on West 38th Street, windows were broken by members of a crowd of approximately fifteen hundred white persons gathered at a white-occupied residence at which there were two Negro visitors. The police made an investigation and instituted a detail.

69. On August 19, 1958, in the 1400 block on East 72nd Place, arson was committed at a building recently occupied by Negro tenants. The police conducted an investigation and instituted a detail.

70. On August 25, 1958, in the 9700 block on South Ewing, a Negro family from Gary, Indiana, was assaulted by several white youths while driving through the area near Calumet Park. The police made three arrests.

71. On September 10, 1958, in the 1800 block on South Keeler, a white woman was stoned by a group of Negro students while taking her daughter to school. The police made an investigation.

72. On September 10, 1958, in the 1800 block on South Keeler, another white student was assaulted while on patrol duty by a group of Negro classmates. The police made an investigation.

73. On September 13, 1958, in the 6800 block on South Washtenaw, a white woman on a date with a Negro male was assaulted by a group of white teenagers. The police made seven arrests.

74. On September 14, 1958, in the 6700 block on South Rockwell, windows were broken in the home of the white woman who had been assaulted the previous day for dating a Negro man. The police conducted an investigation.

75. On September 18, 1958, in the 2200 block on South Avers, four windows were broken in the home of one of the two Negro families residing in this block. The police conducted an investigation.

76. On September 23, 1958, in the 10000 block on South Crandon, windows were broken in an auto driven by a Negro. The police made one arrest.

77. On September 23, 1958, in the 6100 block on South Wolcott, a group of Negro students returning from school were assaulted by a group of white classmates. Two Negroes and one white boy required hospitalization. The police made three arrests.

78. On September 26, 1958, in the 10600 block on South Bensley, vandalism was committed at an interracial church under construction near Trumbull Park Homes. Prior damage is described in Incident 44. The police made an investigation.

79. On October 6, 1958, in the 6800 block on South Sangamon, arson was committed at a vacant building recently purchased by a Negro family. The police conducted an investigation.

80. On October 9, 1958, in the 1500 block near the south lake shore, two white students were assaulted by a group of Negroes at a football game in Soldier Field. The police made three arrests.

81. On October 9, 1958, in the 10000 block on South Yates, two Negro men were assaulted by a gang of white youths who objected to their patronizing a store in the area of the Trumbull Park Homes. The police conducted an investigation.

82. On October 11, 1958, in the 10600 block on South Euclid, a Negro man was assaulted by several white adults while waiting at a bus stop. The police made an investigation.

83. On October 12, 1958, in the 10700 block on South Yates, windows were broken in a Negro-occupied apartment at Trumbull Park Homes. The police

made an investigation.

84. On October 14, 1958, in the 6800 block on South Morgan, a Negro-occupied home was bombed in this changing neighborhood. The police conducted an investigation and instituted a detail.

85. On October 14, 1958, in the 6800 block on South Morgan, another Negro-occupied home was bombed. The police made an investigation and instituted a detail.

86. On October 16, 1958, in the 4100 block on West 16th Street, a white woman was stoned by a gang of Negro teenagers. Previous attacks are described in Incidents 58 and 62. The police made an investigation and instituted a detail.

87. On October 21, 1958, in the 400 block on West 98th Street, a window was broken in a Negro-occupied home in a changing neighborhood. The police conducted an investigation and instituted surveillance.

88. On October 26, 1958, in the 6700 block on South Rockwell, windows were broken in the auto of a Negro man visiting a white woman who resided on this block. See Incidents 73 and 74. The police made an investigation.

89. On October 31, 1958, in the 6700 block on South Rockwell, more windows were broken and a cross was burned at the home of the white woman who had been dating a Negro male. The police made an investigation.

90. On October 31, 1958, in the 6300 block on South Central, a white teenager who had followed and threatened a Negro man was shot and killed by the Negro. The police arrested the Negro.

91. On November 3, 1958, in the 6300 block on South Central, a Negro minister was driving through the area when a group of white teenagers vandalized and broke his auto windows. The police made an investigation.

92. On November 7, 1958, in the 4700 block on South Cicero, a white girl was assaulted by three Negro teenage girls. The three girls also burned a Mexican boy with a lighted cigarette. The police made three arrests.

93. On November 24, 1958, in the 4700 block on South Halsted, a Negro woman and her son were assaulted by four white youths as they were returning home from an open house at the boy's school. The police made an investigation.

94. On November 24, 1958, in the 5100 block on South Halsted, a group of Negro youths were assaulted by a white gang. One of the attackers was stabbed in self-defense by one of the victims. The police made 11 arrests.

95. On January 1, 1959, in the 700 block on East 89th Street, windows were broken in a home recently occupied by a Negro family. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance.

96. On February 2, 1959, in the 6500 block on South Wood Street, the only Negro male student in this public school was assaulted by a group of white classmates inside the school. The police made three arrests and instituted surveillance.

97. On February 19, 1959, in the 6500 block on South Wood, ten white students assaulted their Negro classmate in the school as a hundred other white students looked on. Five of the students were suspended from school. The police made three arrests.

98. On February 24, 1959, in the 6200 block on South Harper, a white high school student was assaulted by a group of five Negro youths while returning from school. The police made one arrest.

99. On February 28, 1959, in the 6700 block on South Stony, a white student was assaulted by four Negro youths as he was returning from school. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance.

100. On March 16, 1959, in the 3800 block on West Lexington, a window was broken in the home of a Negro family in a changing neighborhood. The police made an investigation.

101. On March 29, 1959, in the 3800 block on West Lexington, another window was broken in this home which had recently been occupied by a Negro family. The police conducted an investigation.

102. On March 30, 1959, in the 3800 block on West Lexington, another window was broken at this Negro-occupied residence. The police made an investigation.

103. On April 2, 1959, in the 3800 block on West Lexington, another window was broken. The police made an investigation.

104. On April 5, 1959, in the 1000 block on East 76th Street, arson was committed at a vacant building recently shown to prospective Negro buyers. The police made an investigation.

105. On April 9, 1959, in the 3900 block on West Lexington, windows were broken in a home recently occupied by a Negro family. The police made an investigation.

106. On April 9, 1959, in the 3900 block on West Lexington, three more windows were broken at this Negro-occupied residence in a changing area. The

police made an investigation.

107. On April 9, 1959, in the 1000 block on South Racine, a Negro man was assaulted by fifteen to twenty white youths without provocation and required hospitalization. The police made five arrests.

108. On April 11, 1959, in the 3800 block on West Lexington, arson was committed at a garage owned by a Negro family which had had extensive window breakage. Refer to Incidents 100 through 103. The police made an investigation.

109. On April 13, 1959, in the 3800 block on West Lexington, arson was committed at a garage owned by another Negro family. The police conducted an investigation.

110. On April 18, 1959, in the 6300 block on South Laflin, windows were broken in a home recently occupied by a Negro family. The police made an investigation and instituted a detail.

111. On April 21, 1959, in the 3800 block on West Lexington, windows were broken at a Negro-occupied residence. A previous attack is described in Incident 109. The police made one arrest.

112. On April 22, 1959, in the 800 block on South Ada, windows were broken at a Negro-occupied apartment by white teenagers. The police conducted an investigation.

113. On April 23, 1959, in the 10600 block on South Oglesby, a window was broken in a Negro-occupied apartment in the Trumbull Park Homes. The police made an investigation.

114. On April 23, 1959, in the 2200 block on South Whipple, several white girls were assaulted by a gang of Negro teenage girls. The police

conducted an investigation.

115. On April 28, 1959, in the 10600 block on South Oglesby, a window was broken in a Negro-occupied apartment in the Trumbull Park Homes. The police made an investigation.

116. On May 1, 1959, in the 1000 block on South Ada, a Negro woman was attacked by a white teenage gang. The police made an investigation.

117. On May 3, 1959, in the 9900 block on South Union, windows were broken in a white-occupied home which the owner had recently shown to prospective Negro buyers. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance.

118. On May 11, 1959, in the 1200 block on West Taylor, arson was committed to a Negro-owned automobile. The police conducted an investigation.

119. On May 11, 1959, in the 1200 block on West Taylor, a Negro man was assaulted by a white teenage gang. The police made an investigation.

120. On May 20, 1959, in the 4100 block on West 16th Street, a Negro man stabbed a white woman who was one of the few remaining white residents in the area. Refer to Incidents 58, 62, and 86. The police made an investigation.

121. On May 23, 1959, in the 4100 block on West 16th Street, a white adult was assaulted by a group of Negro boys. The police conducted an investigation.

122. On May 23, 1959, in the 4100 block on West 16th Street, arson was attempted at a white-owned residence in this predominantly Negro area. The police made an investigation.

123. On May 25, 1959, in the 5600 block on South Stony Island, several white high school girls were assaulted by seven Negro female classmates. The police conducted an investigation.

124. On June 1, 1959, in the 4000 block on South Normal, Negro children were stoned by white classmates while returning home from school. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance.

125. On June 1, 1959, in the 4000 block on South Normal, a window was broken at the first Negro-occupied residence in this area. The police made an investigation and instituted a detail.

126. On June 2, 1959, in the 2600 block on South Princeton, arson was committed to a Negro-owned auto by a white adult. The police made one arrest.

127. On June 2, 1959, in the 6900 block on South Marshfield, a Negro bus driver was assaulted by a group of white men who also attacked a white CTA employee who came to the victim's aid. The police made an investigation.

128. On June 8, 1959, in the 4100 block on West 16th Street, vandalism was committed by seven Negro juveniles to white-owned property. Previous cases on this block are described in Incidents 58, 62, 86, 120, 121, and 122. The police made one arrest.

129. On June 10, 1959, in the 10600 block on South Oglesby, vandalism was committed and an arson was attempted inside a Negro-occupied apartment in the Trumbull Park Homes. The police conducted an investigation.

130. On June 15, 1959, in the 10000 block on South Yates, bricks were thrown at a Negro-occupied auto by a white juvenile. The police conducted an investigation.

131. On June 15, 1959, in the 2500 block on West Iowa, a Puerto Rican youth was assaulted with baseball bats by three Negro youths. The police made an investigation.

132. On June 16, 1959, in the 4200 block on South Wentworth, a white newspaper reporter covering a fire was assaulted by a Negro teenage gang and required hospitalization. The police conducted an investigation.

133. On June 16, 1959, in the 4100 block on South Wentworth, a white youth was assaulted by a gang of Negro teenagers while watching a fire. The police made an investigation.

134. On June 23, 1959, in the 4100 block on West 16th Street, a white woman was assaulted by a group of Negro boys whom she had caught breaking into the home of another white-occupied residence. Refer to Incidents 58, 62, 86, 120, 121, 122, and 128. The police made an investigation.

135. On July 4, 1959, in the 4300 block on West Cermak Road, arson was committed at the garage of a white-owned residence after it had been offered for sale to a Negro family. The police made an investigation and instituted a detail.

136. On July 7, 1959, in the 9700 block on South Yale, three white youths threw a bomb from their car while passing a residence recently occupied by a Negro family. The bomb exploded in the front yard. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance.

137. On July 13, 1959, in the 7400 block on South Kimbark, arson was committed at the rear porch of a residence recently occupied by a Negro family. The damage amounted to four hundred dollars. The police conducted an investigation and instituted a detail.

138. On July 13, 1959, in the 7400 block on South Kimbark, arson was committed at the front porch of another Negro-occupied home in this changing area. The police made an investigation and instituted a detail.

139. On July 13, 1959, in the 4300 block on West Cermak Road, an arson was attempted at a white-owned home recently offered for sale to a Negro family. A previous arson is described in Incident 135. The police made an investigation and instituted a detail.

140. On July 16, 1959, in the 10700 block on South Yates, four windows were broken in a Negro-occupied apartment, in Trumbull Park Homes. The police made an investigation.

141. On July 26, 1959, in the 400 block on West 77th Street, a window was broken in a home recently occupied by a Negro family. The police conducted an investigation.

142. On July 31, 1959, in the 7900 block on South Coles, a Negro bus driver was fatally shot by a white juvenile. The police made ten arrests.

143. On August 3, 1959, in the 4300 block on West Jackson, windows were broken as the white occupant who had recently sold the building to a Negro family was moving out. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance.

144. On August 5, 1959, at the intersection of Jackson and Kostner, a Negro police officer was assaulted by white youths while attempting to disperse a crowd demonstrating in front of the Negro-owned residence. This was the second incident involving this particular move-in. The police made one arrest.

145. On August 5, 1959, in the 4300 block on West Jackson, windows were broken by members of a crowd demonstrating near this building which had

recently been purchased by a Negro family. This was the third incident involving this particular move-in. The police made three arrests.

146. On August 5, 1959, at the intersection of Jackson and Kildare, a Negro-occupied auto was stoned by members of the crowd. This was the fourth incident involving this particular move-in. The police conducted an investigation.

147. On August 6, 1959, at the intersection of Jackson and Kilbourn, windows were broken in a CTA bus driven by a Negro through the area in which crowds were demonstrating. This was the fifth incident involving this particular move-in. The police made three arrests.

148. On August 6, 1959, at the intersection of Jackson and Kostner, rocks were thrown at a police car while the officers were attempting to disperse the crowd. This was the sixth incident involving this particular move-in. The police made one arrest.

149. On August 6, 1959, in the 4300 block on West Jackson, a Negro-occupied auto was stoned by members of the crowd. This was the seventh incident involving this particular move-in. The police conducted an investigation.

150. On August 6, 1959, in the 4300 block on West Jackson, a Negro driving through the area was assaulted by members of the crowd. This was the eighth incident involving this particular move-in. The police made an investigation.

151. On August 6, 1959, in the 4300 block on West Jackson, a white police officer guarding the Negro-owned property was assaulted by a member

of the demonstrating crowd. This was the ninth incident involving this particular move-in. The police made one arrest.

152. On August 6, 1959, at the intersection of Jackson and Kildare, the police officer in command at the scene of the disturbance was assaulted while dispersing the crowd. This was the tenth incident involving this particular move-in. The police made one arrest.

(In addition to the arrests indicated in the last ten incidents, all of which are related, eleven other persons were arrested by police officers for failure to obey orders to disperse from the area.)

153. On August 7, 1959, in the 9500 block on South Normal, a window was broken by two white men at a home recently occupied by a Negro family. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance.

154. On August 7, 1959, in the 9500 block on South Normal, a window was broken at another Negro-occupied home by the two white men referred to in Incident 153. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance.

155. On August 7, 1959, in the 500 block on West 77th Street, several windows were broken at a home recently occupied by a Negro family. The police conducted an investigation and established a detail.

156. On August 9, 1959, in the 10600 block on South Bensley, one of several aerial bombs exploded near an interracial church in the Trumbull Park area damaging the building and gardens. Refer to Incidents 44 and 78. The police investigated.

157. On August 9, 1959, in the 500 block on West 77th Street, additional windows were broken at this residence. (see Incident 155) which was recently occupied by a Negro family. The police made an investigation and instituted a detail.

158. On August 14, 1959, in the 8100 block on South Maryland, a window was broken in an apartment of the first Negro family to move into this building. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance.

159. On August 15, 1959, in the 3400 block on West Lexington, arson was committed at a building recently occupied by Negro tenants. The police conducted an investigation.

160. On August 15, 1959, in the 200 block on South Hamlin, arson was committed at a Negro church by two white juveniles. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance.

161. On August 21, 1959, in the 8000 block on South Ellis, three white juveniles broke several windows with an air rifle at an apartment occupied by a Negro family in this changing neighborhood. The police made three arrests.

162. On August 26, 1959, in the 9900 block on South Union, windows were broken in this white-owned house which had been offered for sale to a Negro family. The police made an investigation and established a detail.

163. On August 30, 1959, in the 10600 block on South Terrence, a Negro man who had recently moved into the Trumbull Park housing project was stoned by approximately twenty-five white adults when he got off a bus at this intersection. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance.

164. On September 1, 1959, in the 9900 block on South Wallace, a white teenage gang stoned a group of Negroes in a public park at this location. The Negroes fought back and one of the white boys suffered an eye injury. The police made one arrest and instituted surveillance.

165. On September 3, 1959, in the 3000 block on West Polk Street, a Negro family which had rented an apartment in this changing area found

windows broken and other vandalism committed on the day they moved in. The police made an investigation and established a detail.

166. On September 7, 1959, in the 10700 block on South Bensley, a Negro man who had recently moved into the Trumbull Park Housing project was assaulted on the street by four white adults. The police made an investigation.

167. On September 16, 1959, in the 12700 block on South Marquette, arson was committed at a building under construction for a Negro family. The police made an investigation.

168. On September 20, 1959, in the 3500 block on West Van Buren, windows were broken by members of a crowd which gathered in front of a home which was the first on the block to be occupied by a Negro family. The police made an investigation and established a detail.

169. On September 21, 1959, in the 3500 block on West Van Buren, an additional window was broken at this residence. The police made an investigation and increased the detail.

170. On September 23, 1959, in the 1400 block on East 72nd Place, one of a group of white teenagers who were causing a disturbance in front of a Negro-occupied home was shot by the occupant. The police arrested the Negro.

171. On October 4, 1959, in the 7300 block on South Lowe, arson was committed at a home recently purchased by a Negro family. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance.

172. On October 17, 1959, in the 8100 block on South Wentworth, a window was broken at the home of a Negro family which was the first to move into this block. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance.

173. On October 20, 1959, in the 2700 block on West Lexington, windows were broken in the first Negro-occupied building on this block. The police made an investigation.

174. On October 20, 1959, in the 2700 block on West Lexington, later on the same day, arson was attempted at the Negro-occupied residence. The police instituted a detail and made nine arrests.

175. On November 3, 1959, in the 8100 block on South Ellis, windows were broken following the move-in of a Negro family. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance.

176. On November 4, 1959, in the 4100 block on West 16th Street, vandalism was committed by Negro teenagers at the homes of the last four white residents in the area. Refer to Incidents 56, 62, 86, 120, 121, 122, 128, and 134. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance.

177. On November 9, 1959, in the 9500 block on South Green, a fence was knocked down on the property of a white-owned home which had been offered for sale to a Negro family. The police made an investigation.

178. On November 25, 1959, in the 6500 block on South Bishop, two windows were broken in the first Negro-occupied apartment on this block. The police conducted an investigation.

179. On November 26, 1959, in the 6500 block on South Bishop, two more windows were broken at this Negro-occupied residence. The police made an investigation.

180. On December 1, 1959, in the 3200 block on West Madison, a Negro high school boy was assaulted by a group of Puerto Rican classmates in a school store. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance.

181. On December 2, 1959, in the 3400 block on West Warren Blvd., a Puerto Rican youth was assaulted by five Negro teenagers in retaliation for the assault the previous day. The police made three arrests.

182. On December 3, 1959, in the 1600 block on Orchard, a Negro boy assaulted a white youth without provocation. The police made an investigation.

183. On December 25, 1959, in the 6500 block on South Bishop, two more windows were broken at a Negro-occupied apartment. Previous attacks are described in Incidents 178 and 179. The police made an investigation.

184. On January 25, 1960, in the 6700 block on South East End, a window was broken in an apartment of a white man known to have Negro friends in this changing area. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance.

185. On February 2, 1960, in the 8200 block on South Maryland, a window was broken and a cross was burned on the lawn in front of a home recently occupied by a Negro family. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance.

186. On February 9, 1960, in the 2100 block on East 87th Street, two white high school boys were assaulted by a group of Negro classmates, resulting in hospitalization for both victims. The police made fourteen arrests.

187. On February 18, 1960, in the 2300 block on McLean, several white boys were assaulted by a group of Negro teenagers. The police made an investigation.

188. On March 18, 1960, in the 9900 block on South Emerald, arson was attempted at a home recently purchased by a Negro family. The police made an investigation and instituted a detail.

189. On April 12, 1960, in the 600 block on East 91st Street, two

windows of a white-owned store were broken by Negro youths. The police made an investigation.

190. On April 20, 1960, in the 10600 block on South Bensley, a white woman who was the leader of an integrated Brownie Scout troop in the Trumbull Park housing area had the tires of her auto slashed after receiving several threatening phone calls. The police conducted an investigation.

191. On April 25, 1960, in the 10600 block on South Bensley, the tires of the woman's auto were again slashed. The police made an investigation.

192. On April 28, 1960, in the 10500 block on South Oglesby, a Negro tenant of the Trumbull Park Homes assaulted a white neighbor who allegedly had been harassing the Negro's children. The police made one arrest.

193. On April 30, 1960, in the 9300 block on South University, the fence was knocked down in the rear of the first Negro-occupied home in this block. The police conducted an investigation and instituted surveillance.

194. On May 17, 1960, in the 5200 block on South Woodlawn, a white woman was assaulted by a Negro woman neighbor who claimed to be a member of the "Black Muslims." The police made an investigation.

195. On May 28, 1960, in the 8100 block on South Harvard, a home which was listed for sale with a Negro realtor was vandalized by white adults. The police conducted an investigation.

196. On June 1, 1960, in the 4100 block on West 16th Street, windows were broken in the residence of one of the last white families in this area. Refer to Incidents 58, 62, 86, 120, 121, 122, 128, 134, and 176. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance of the building.

197. On June 1, 1960, in the 4100 block on West 16th Street, Negro teenagers broke windows in the home of another white resident on this block. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance of the building.

198. On June 1, 1960, in the 7300 block on South University, windows were broken in the auto of a Negro who had recently moved into this changing area. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance of the area.

199. On June 13, 1960, in the 7500 block on South Union, arson was committed at the first Negro-occupied home in this block. The police made an investigation and established a detail.

200. On June 16, 1960, in the 4000 block on West Jackson Blvd., vandalism was committed by white youths to property recently purchased by a Negro family. The police conducted an investigation.

201. On June 17, 1960, in the 4000 block on West Jackson Blvd., arson was attempted at this Negro-occupied residence. The police conducted an investigation.

202. On June 17, 1960, in the 7600 block on South Ingleside, a white woman and her four children were assaulted by a Negro teenage girl in a public park. The police made an investigation.

203. On June 19, 1960, in the 2400 block on South Wentworth, the apartment of a white woman who was being visited by a Negro friend was vandalized by a group of white adults. The police made an investigation.

204. On June 22, 1960, in the 9500 block on South Peoria, windows were broken and other vandalism was committed to an auto owned by a white man who was visiting a Negro family in this changing area. The police made four arrests.

205. On June 24, 1960, in the 4300 block on West Jackson, arson was committed at a garage of the residence owned by the only Negro family in this block. Refer to Incidents 143 through 152. The police made an investigation and established a detail.

206. On June 24, 1960, in the 2800 block on West 24th Street, a white high school student was assaulted without provocation by a group of fifteen to twenty Negro classmates. The police conducted an investigation.

207. On June 25, 1960, in the 9700 block on South Yale, white teenagers broke windows in a home recently occupied by a Negro family. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance of the building.

208. On July 5, 1960, in the 10500 block on South Oglesby, white youths broke windows in a Negro-occupied apartment in the Trumbull Park Homes. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance of the building.

209. On July 7, 1960, in the 2300 block on South Kedzie, a white youth was assaulted without provocation by five Negro teenagers. The police conducted an investigation.

210. On July 11, 1960, in the 1600 block on North Lake Shore, white picnickers were assaulted by eight Negro youths. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance of the area.

211. On July 23, 1960, in the 100 block on North Homan, windows were broken and vandalism was committed by members of a crowd of approximately fifteen hundred Negroes demonstrating in front of a restaurant where a Negro burglar had been shot by the white owner. The police made five arrests.

212. On July 23, 1960, in the 10200 block on South Indianapolis, a Negro man was stoned by a group of white teenage boys. The police conducted an investigation.

213. On July 24, 1960, in the 10200 block on South Avenue H, an auto which was owned by a Negro family who had stopped at a carnival in this area was stoned by about fifty white teenage boys. The police made an investigation.

214. On July 26, 1960, in the 2000 block on Lincoln Park West, several white couples in Lincoln Park were assaulted by a Negro teenage gang. The police made five arrests.

215. On July 26, 1960, in the 2800 block on East 89th Street, a Negro boy who had been using the facilities in a public park was stoned by a white juvenile. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance of the area.

216. On July 27, 1960, in the 2800 block on East 89th Street, a white youth attempted to attack a Negro boy with a baseball bat, missed the Negro, and struck another white youth by accident. This was the second incident surrounding the integration of the Bessemer Park swimming pool. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance of the area.

217. On July 28, 1960, in the 2800 block on East 89th Street, a group of Negroes preparing to use a swimming pool in this public park were stoned by a crowd of white youths and adults. This was the third incident surrounding the integration of the Bessemer Park swimming pool. The police made an investigation and continued surveillance of the area.

218. On July 28, 1960, in the 3200 block on East 89th Street, Negro youths broke windows at a white-owned factory. This was the fourth incident surrounding the integration of the Bessemer Park swimming pool. The police made an investigation and established a detail.

219. On July 28, 1960, in the 3100 block on East 89th Street, windows were broken in white-occupied autos by Negro youths. This was the fifth incident surrounding the integration of the Bessemer Park swimming pool. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance of the area. During the three days of disturbances, a total of sixteen arrests were made of persons involved in the assaults and of persons who refused to obey police orders to disperse.

220. On July 29, 1960, in the 7600 block on south lake shore, a Negro family was stoned by white youths who objected to their use of this public beach. The police made an investigation and established a detail.

221. On August 7, 1960, in the 9400 block on South Ewing, two Negro men were assaulted by white customers in a tavern which they attempted to enter. The police made an investigation.

222. On August 7, 1960, in the 9400 block on South Ewing, the auto belonging to the two Negroes was vandalized while they were attempting to enter the tavern. The police conducted an investigation.

223. On August 8, 1960, in the 10900 block on South Racine, five white youths were attacked by a gang of about thirty Negroes armed with baseball bats and golf clubs, resulting in hospitalization for two of the victims. The police made an investigation.

224. On August 28, 1960, in the 7700 block on south lake shore, a Negro girl participating in a "wade-in" at Rainbow Beach was stoned as her group was leaving. The police conducted an investigation and increased the detail.

(This was the first "wade-in" at Rainbow Beach. It was held as a protest to the assault described in Incident 220. Four subsequent "wade-ins" occurred

during 1960. There were no incidents of racial violence committed while they were taking place. The nineteen "wade-ins" held during the summer months of 1961 did not take place during the three year study period.)

225. On September 13, 1960, in the 3500 block on West Van Buren, a Puerto Rican family residing on this block was assaulted by a gang of Negro youths. The police conducted an investigation.

226. On September 14, 1960, in the 5500 block on South Lowe, Negro grade school students returning from school were stoned by white teenagers. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance of the area.

227. On September 15, 1960, in the 11800 block on South Vincennes, two Negro boys were attacked by a white teenage gang. One of the victims was stabbed and hospitalized. The police conducted an investigation.

228. On September 19, 1960, in the 6900 block on South Carpenter, extensive vandalism including window breakage was committed at a home recently purchased by a Negro family. The police made an investigation and established a detail.

229. On October 1, 1960, in the 7000 block on South Morgan, windows were broken in a Negro-occupied home in this changing area. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance of the building.

230. On October 2, 1960, in the 6500 block on South Bishop, windows were broken during the move-in of a Negro family in this changing area. The police made an investigation.

231. On October 6, 1960, in the 6500 block on South Bishop, another window was broken in this Negro-occupied apartment by a member of a group of thirty white teenagers who were demonstrating in front of the building. The police conducted an investigation.

232. On October 7, 1960, in the 700 block on South Independence, a Negro grade school boy returning home from school was assaulted by a group of white youths. The victim required hospitalization. The police made an investigation.

233. On October 8, 1960, in the 7600 block on South Ingleside, three white boys were assaulted by a gang of ten Negro teenagers in a public park. The police made four arrests.

234. On November 7, 1960, in the 900 block on West 70th Street, white teenagers vandalized an apartment building into which Negro families were moving. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance of the building.

235. On December 13, 1960, in the 8000 block on South Parnell, windows were broken in a white-owned residence which neighbors believed had been sold to a Negro family. The police made an investigation and instituted surveillance of the building.

236. On December 17, 1960, in the 4500 block on South Paulina, a Negro Park District employee was assaulted by a gang of white teenagers in a public park where he was working. The victim was hospitalized. The police made an investigation.

237. On December 19, 1960, in the 1400 block on North Ogden, vandalism was committed by Negro youths at the only white-occupied residence in this area. The police conducted an investigation and instituted surveillance of the building.

## APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by James E. Burns has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Sociology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

January 18, 1963  
Date

Andrew Egge  
Signature of Adviser