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DePaul University
College of Education

**URBAN RENEWAL AND THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO IN THE
NEIGHBORHOODS OF HYDE PARK AND KENWOOD**

A Dissertation in Education
With a Concentration in Educational Leadership

By

David A. Belden

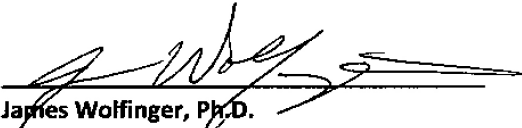
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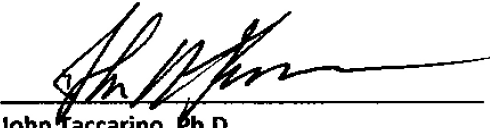
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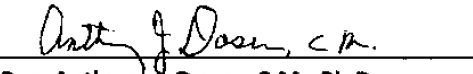
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ABSTRACT

In the years that followed the end of World War II, the University of Chicago was a national leader in education. The University influenced economic growth, national security, and scholarly achievement through its professional education and scientific research. As a university located in a large metropolitan area, the University of Chicago also faced a dramatically changing set of neighborhood conditions that not only threatened its position and role within higher education, but also experienced social forces that jeopardized the future of the institution in the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhoods. With the gradual decline of large American cities in the postwar decades, including Chicago, the University of Chicago sought to curb the economic and social change in the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhoods with an active role in the urban renewal efforts of the 1950s and 1960s. This dissertation focuses on a positive role the University of Chicago played in stabilizing the surrounding neighborhoods of Hyde Park-Kenwood between 1952 and 1973. More specifically, this research looks at how the University of Chicago changed, not only the physical environment surrounding its campus, but actually made a positive difference to the community, by creating a stable, integrated community. A positive case for urban renewal can be found in the story of Kenwood High School, a neighborhood school that was built during the final stages of renewal near the University of Chicago.

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URBAN RENEWAL AND THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO IN THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF HYDE PARK AND KENWOOD

“Hyde Park-Kenwood in 1949 was gravely threatened. It was surrounded by blighted and near-blighted sections, and the blight was spreading. There was no comfort in history. Neighborhood after neighborhood throughout the industrial North had gone through the same process: decline, overcrowding, loss of higher-income families, flight of white residents as Negroes moved in, and finally slums leveled by bulldozers and then rebuilt at tremendous expense to the taxpayer.”

Julia Abrahamson, *A Neighborhood Finds Itself*¹

Introduction

Issues of Crime in Hyde Park

Three blocks north of the University of Chicago campus sits a gracious two-story greystone residence. Like many of the houses on the tree-lined street, the Hyde Park home is a typical upscale residential home constructed in the area in the decades following the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. Located at 5321 South University Avenue, the Queen Anne brick home was built in 1906, by local architect Theodore Duesing², and contains typical details for the period, including exquisite stained glass windows, oak wainscoting, high ceilings and wood floors.³

In 1952, Samuel Untermyer, a physicist at Argonne National laboratories, and his wife Joan, a twenty-eight-year-old psychology student, lived in this South University Avenue

¹ Julia Abrahamson, *A Neighborhood Finds Itself*. (Bilbo and Tannen Booksellers and Publishers, 1971), 9.

² Architectural data for this residence was found online. Chicago Architecture Data, accessed September 18, 2016: <https://chicagoarchitecturedata.com/buildings/5321-s-university-avenue/>. Information about the architect, builder, and original owner can be found in Jean F. Block, *Hyde Park Homes, An Informal History, 1856-1910* (The University of Chicago Press, 1978), 125.

³ Architectural data for this residence was found online. Redfin, accessed September 18, 2016: <https://www.redfin.com/IL/Chicago/5321-S-University-Ave-60615/home/13950170>.

home.⁴ In the early hours of Sunday, May 11, 1952, a gunman entered the Untermeyer home and robbed the young couple of over \$7,000 in jewelry and cash, before abducting Joan Untermeyer from her second floor bedroom and forcing her in the family automobile and driving away.⁵ In the car the young intruder made Mrs. Untermeyer remove her housecoat and pajamas before threatening to rape her.⁶ When she promised to scream, he left her near a parking lot around 36th and State Street. A passing motorist took the stranded and petrified young woman to the Wabash Avenue police station to file a report.⁷

Within days, police were holding Chester Thresher as a “likely suspect” in the Untermeyer abduction, and was being questioned in other recent sex crimes on the south side.⁸ Area police had been actively investigating a series of attacks on young women seized by a rapist as they waited on isolated railroad platforms.⁹

The assailant in the Untermeyer case, who forever changed the lives of this young couple, also fueled the community debate over how to handle the rising crimes in the Hyde Park neighborhoods.

In fact, crime rates had been rising for some time in both Hyde Park and neighboring Woodlawn. According to the Chicago Police Department’s Annual Report for 1952, a total of 4,140 offences were reported in Hyde Park. This number ranks the Hyde Park district

⁴ John W. Boyer, *The University of Chicago, A History*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 347. *Maroon*, March 28, 1952, p.1. Also see, “Kidnaped Wife to View Bandit Suspect Today.” *Chicago Tribune*. May 13, 1952, p.1

⁵ “Negro Robs Atomic Scientist, Kidnaps Wife.” *Jet*. May 22, 1952, 51. Also see, “Stevenson Eyes Aid In Hyde Park By State Police.” *Chicago Tribune*. May 16, 1952, p. 12.

⁶ “Rape Suspect Seized; Admits Two Attacks.” *Chicago Tribune*. July 18, 1952, p. 4.

⁷ “Kidnaping Jolts Crime Fighters!” *Hyde Park Herald*. May 14, 1952, p. 1.

⁸ “Kidnaped Wife to View Bandit Suspect Today.” *Chicago Tribune*. May 13, 1952, p.1.

⁹ *Ibid*.

second in the city, just behind the Wabash district, which had 5,258 crimes reported.¹⁰

When comparing the Hyde Park figure to the reported offences in 1950, there was an increase of 795.¹¹ Shortly after the Untermeyer case broke, a *Hyde Park Herald* article cited a recent report from the police record bureau that showed that the Kenwood, Hyde Park, and Woodlawn areas were responsible for 23 percent of all of Chicago's crimes in one month.¹² In the same *Hyde Park Herald* edition, an editorial also called attention to the crime problem in the area by citing dark neighborhood streets, too few police in the district, and a lack of a concerted citywide action to curb the problem.¹³

In May 1952, Chicago Police officials recognized rising crime figures and seemed to acknowledge neighborhood concerns by promising sixteen more patrol officers in the Hyde Park district.¹⁴ Even Governor Adlai Stevenson, when asked by a reporter during a press conference, said he would consider using state police in Hyde Park to help enforce the laws in a district with one of the highest crime rates in Chicago.¹⁵

The kidnapping of Joan Untermeyer, within blocks of the University of Chicago, was the focus of an anti-crime meeting held in the University's Mandel Hall the following

¹⁰ *Annual Report Chicago Police Department*. City of Chicago. 1952. Print.

¹¹ *Annual Report Chicago Police Department*. City of Chicago. 1950. Print. The Hyde Park district reported 3,348 total offenses in 1950. The 1951, the number increased to 4,140. These figures still rank Hyde Park 2nd in the city behind the Wabash district which had 4,195 (1950) and 4,822 (1951).

¹² "Kidnaping Jolts Crime Fighters!" *Hyde Park Herald*. May 14, 1952, p.1.

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.1. Police Commissioner Timothy J. O'Conner promised the additional police presence in the Hyde Park district on Monday, May 11, 1952.

¹⁵ "Stevenson Eyes Aid In Hyde Park By State Police." *Chicago Tribune*. May 16, 1952, p. 12. When Stevenson was asked during a May 15, 1952, press conference in Springfield, he replied, "Yes I have, but I've had no request for outside assistance [from anyone in the Hyde Park area]." There were currently 500 state police on duty in Illinois, but Stevenson said that the use of state troopers in Hyde Park would be limited to the personal available. He also acknowledged that he had no idea how the troopers might be used to help the Hyde Park situation.

Monday. The May 19th meeting not only tackled the rising crime rates, but also set in motion a plan that would forever change the surrounding university neighborhoods.

Two months earlier, the Hyde Park Community Council met on campus, with the help of Chancellor Lawrence A. Kimpton, to draft plans for a permanent crime-fighting group in the area. On March 27, 1952, nearly two-thousand members of Hyde Park community assembled in Mandel Hall at the University of Chicago. Neighborhood residents had come to hear Chancellor Kimpton address the growing concerns in the neighborhood over the increasing crime rates, which had attracted local attention.¹⁶ The meeting was the first time officials from the University of Chicago met with the community to discuss these concerns.¹⁷ The issues for residents were both law enforcement and crime prevention. (See Appendix A, Figure 1.1.) Crime in the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhoods had reached “proportions that seemed threatening to the residents and institutions alike.”¹⁸ (See Appendix A, Figures 1.2 and 1.3.) At the meeting, Lawrence Kimpton, who became Chancellor at the University of Chicago the prior year, created the Committee of Five, to address the concerns important to the local residents, primary increased police protection and “the attack against illegal

¹⁶ The *Hyde Park Herald* reported that Mandel Hall, which seats about 1,100 people, was besieged by over 2,000 citizens, as the fifty organizations making up the Hyde Park Community Council held a long-awaited mass meeting to combat crime and corruption. The *Herald* story indicated that some 300 stood in the aisles, while some 600 “listened to the proceedings over loud-speakers in the Reynolds Club.” It is at this Thursday, March 27th, 1952, mass meeting that the new “Southeast Chicago Commission” was established. See “2000 Overflow Mandel Hall; K. Commission to Fight Crime,” *Hyde Park Herald*. April 2, 1952, p. 1. Also see Peter H. Rossi and Robert A. Dentler. *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings*. (The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc.: USA, 1961), 72; “2000 Overflow Mandel Hall; K. Commission to Fight Crime,” p. 1.

¹⁷ Peter H. Rossi and Robert A. Dentler. *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings*. (The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc.: USA, 1961), 72.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 72.

conversions of old houses and apartments.”¹⁹ To meet the needs of the community, the committee recommended the establishment of a permanent organization that would be known as the South East Chicago Commission.

At the next meeting on May 19, 1952, the South East Chicago Commission (SECC) was officially established to tackle neighborhood problems.²⁰ An article in the *Hyde Park Herald* described the formation of the organization:

This Commission started because of a rising crime rate in the community and the inability of any existing organization to deal with the problem on an area-wide basis. The organization, which started to handle one specific problem, soon found that all community problems are related to one another.²¹

Although race was not mentioned as the reason for the University’s desire to ultimately intervene in the neighborhood, the administration was keenly aware of community fears about the rising crime rates and the advancing color line. It is also quite probable that rumors about the recent kidnapping of Joan Untermeyer a week earlier were on the minds of those in attendance. Kimpton certainly used the news story to his advantage: “We used a rather sensational kidnapping and attempted rape case,” he later wrote, “to bring the community together and announce a plan for the organization of the South East Chicago Commission.”²² Whether the abduction and attempted rape of a faculty member’s wife was used strategically by the University as a catalyst for renewal plans is not

¹⁹ Ibid; “2000 Overflow Mandel Hall; K. Commission to Fight Crime,” p. 1.

²⁰ Hirsch, *Making of the Second Ghetto*, 144; “2,500 Pledge War on Crime!” *Hyde Park Herald*. May 21, 1952, p. 1. This jam-packed Mandel Hall meeting at the University of Chicago, over 1,300 citizens (including 100 organization representatives on the stage) witness the meeting, another 1,200 listened to the program over loud speakers in adjoining halls, and thousands of others listened to the proceedings on WCFL radio. The meeting, according to the *Hyde Park Herald*, was “widely-heralded in the press and radio following the Untermeyer kidnapping...[and] was acclaimed a success by almost all present.”

²¹ “South East Commission Just A Few Years Old.” An Anniversary Edition Celebrating Our 75th Year of Publication. *Hyde Park Herald* No. 40, October 3, 1956, p. 14.

²² Hirsch, *Making of the Second Ghetto*, 144.

certain, but what is clear, is that the University of Chicago had its own motives for interceding in the surrounding communities – chiefly, the preservation and protection of the University and the neighboring community – and was anxious to use whatever tools necessary at the time to create and advance a plan of urban renewal.

What is also certain is that the South East Chicago Commission, under the direction and support of the University of Chicago, would have a full time professional staff and “act as a listening post for the entire community.”²³ And in the end, this organization would be responsible for organizing Hyde Park-Kenwood urban renewal going forward.

Research Design

Central Questions

My research on urban renewal in the Hyde Park-Kenwood areas advances out of the many contradictory narratives about the purpose of urban renewal and how it has shaped the urban landscape around the University of Chicago. Without the University of Chicago, not only would urban renewal have occurred differently in Hyde Park-Kenwood, it might likely have never happened. To this point, I am interested in one aspect of the urban renewal narrative that sets what happened in Hyde Park-Kenwood redevelopment apart of others: the University. In particular, I am interested in how the University of Chicago changed, not only the neighborhoods surrounding its campus, but actually made a positive difference to the community. I argue a positive case for urban renewal in Hyde Park-Kenwood can be found in the story of Kenwood High School, a neighborhood school that was built during the final stages of renewal near the University of Chicago.

²³ Ibid, 73. Also see “Hyde Park Gets First Place on May Crime List.” *Chicago Tribune*. June 13, 1952, Part 1, Page 18.

In this dissertation, I will focus on the role the University of Chicago played in the urban renewal process that transformed the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhoods between 1952 and 1973. Beginning in the mid-1950s, university officials in concert with community organizations, conducted an ambitious plan of neighborhood renewal, paid for by the local, state and federal governments. Urban renewal in Hyde Park-Kenwood was the first of its kind in Chicago, and one of the first programs in the nation, and it served for decades as a model for other communities and cities. While the early models and methods of urban renewal were not without its critics, and there are a long list of negatives associated with the programs across the nation; in general, I will argue, neighborhood revitalization (urban renewal) is far more favorable than neighborhood decline, particularly in the Hyde Park-Kenwood area. Moreover, I will also make the case that urban renewal was not a mechanism of “racial exclusion” used by the University for preservation purposes.²⁴ Rather, the actions the University took during the renewal process can be viewed as a positive method to stabilize surrounding neighborhoods, preserve the University, and create a compatible community, with integrated schools.²⁵

²⁴ Preserving the University had nothing to do with a racial bias, according to Levi. At a Board meeting presentation when he tried to convince members to intervene in the neighborhood, Levi recalled: “There is no way in the world that we can look at this on the basis of racial exclusion. We’re going to have to look at it on the basis of an economic screen...You can develop what they think is a successfully integrated program provided that you have the proper and social compatibility.” See “Oral History Interview,” Uncorrected Draft, Conducted by Daniel Meyer, on September 21, 22, 23, 1992, The University of Chicago Archives: The Reminiscences of Julian H. Levi, Oral History Program, 1994, 34, Edward H. Levi, Papers, 1894-1998, Box 3, Folder 5, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

²⁵ At the first Board of Trustees meeting in 1953, Levi brought up the “neighborhood issues,” and said, “There’s no reason under any circumstance that the University ought to be doing any of this unless its academic mission is involved. We’re not a public improvement organization. We’re not supposed to be a developer. We’re not interested as a good government association. The only standard you ought to apply to this is whether the

More important, I am interested in asking the following questions: How did the University of Chicago's program of urban renewal in Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhoods help to create an interracial community? What role did the University play in helping to create an integrated high school within its boundaries? In what ways can the construction of a new high school during urban renewal in Hyde Park-Kenwood be viewed as a positive, rather than a negative effect, on these university neighborhoods? Do Hyde Park and Kenwood High Schools tell us something about the success of urban renewal in the neighborhoods surrounding the University of Chicago? One key to examining this last question is to look at the school level racial attendance data that is available for Hyde Park and Kenwood High Schools during the years 1963-1973.²⁶

The plan for urban renewal in the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhoods involved the movement and relocation of many individuals, families and local business concerns. By the end of the neighborhood redevelopment process, the renewal consisted of four separate projects, between 1952 and 1963.²⁷ The ability to manage urban renewal in the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhoods was only possible in concert with local, municipal, state and national players. While the University of Chicago played the role of composer and conductor in the renewal process, it would not have been possible without all section

University of Chicago as an academic entity requires a compatible community." See "Oral History Interview," 34.

²⁶ Student Racial Survey data from the Chicago Public Schools show the following figures for Hyde Park and Kenwood High Schools: 1963 (HPHS 11% white/86% black); 1973 (HPHS 0% white/99.8% black); 1967 (KHS 25.6% white/66.1% black); 1973 (KHS 26% white/67.4% black).

²⁷ See "The University and Preservation of Urban Values in Chicago," Speech, given by Julian H. Levi, before the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee conference on "The Role of the University in an Urban Setting," Milwaukee, WI, October 29, 1960. 7, Office of the President, Beadle Administration, Records, 1916-1968, Box 353, Folder 7: Urban renewal Julian Levi, speeches, 1961, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago Library, Chicago, IL, 2-3.

players playing their part. In the end, different legislative tools, developed during renewal, would be utilized in the four projects carried out in the neighborhoods surrounding the University.²⁸ (To view the Urban Renewal maps of the area, see Appendix B, Figures 1.4 – 1.9.)

Methodology

Julian Levi, the executive director of the South East Chicago Commission (SECC), was the force behind the neighborhood renewal efforts in the Hyde Park-Kenwood communities. Levi and University trustees and administrators had significant resources at their disposal and dealt with a largely sympathetic local government in the Richard J. Daley administration. As a result, the University of Chicago, with the South East Chicago Commission, was able to improve its campus and surrounding neighborhoods through acquisition, demolition, and redevelopment. By using the feral government and its willingness to support higher education, the University of Chicago was a very active participant in local redevelopment. As a result of the efforts of Julian Levi, the local political elite, and community associations, the University of Chicago stalled an urban demographic shift, conducted and orchestrated a local renewal effort, and encouraged an urban vision focus led by education professionals. While the University's redevelopment plan may have alienated certain segments of the Hyde Park-Kenwood communities and helped to invigorate political action and discourse

²⁸ The Illinois Blighted Areas Redevelopment Act of 1947 was the first legislative tool used to combat blight. This would be used to enact the Hyde Park A and B projects. Other legislative tools used by Levi, included amendments to the Neighborhood Redevelopment Corporation Act in 1953; the passage of the Community Conservation Act in 1953; and Section 112 of the Federal Housing Act of 1959.

about the built environment for decades to come, there were pockets of progress, some of which were positive, in the integrated neighborhoods of Hyde Park-Kenwood.

In making a positive case for local renewal, I will conduct historical archival research on Hyde Park-Kenwood's urban renewal, using various tools of historical analysis to present alternative explanations and analyses of the subject. I will examine archival records at the University of Chicago Libraries, primary studies of renewal efforts, school level racial attendance data from the Chicago Public Schools, secondary historical narratives, and relevant theoretical texts.²⁹ More importantly, I am interested in what mechanisms or strategies were employed by the University of Chicago, local neighborhood organizations and the Chicago Board of Education to accomplish urban renewal. Specifically, what arguments, narratives, ideologies or theoretical conceptions were used? What group of forces were employed to make urban renewal a reality and what are the lasting positive attributes that can be found in Chicago neighborhoods of Hyde Park-Kenwood? Was the construction of Kenwood High School within the urban renewal zones an effort to support the idea of an integrated community, or was it strictly built to combat the perception of *de facto* segregation within the CPS system? What role did overcrowding in Hyde Park High School play in the construction of Kenwood High School? Were the overcrowding and *de*

²⁹ These records come from the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference Records 1895-2011 collection. The Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference was formed in 1949 to "build and maintain a stable interracial community of high standards." The collection contains correspondence, memoranda, meeting agendas and minutes, budgets and fundraising material, by-laws, directories, reports; press releases, surveys, newsletters, brochures, clippings, photographs, an audio reel, maps, posters, flyers, pamphlets, booklets, and other documents representing the activities of the Conference. Materials date between 1895 and 2011, with the bulk of the material dating from 1949 to 2000. The records primarily document the administrative functions of the Conference and its program activities related to urban renewal. The student racial data is derived from the Teacher Observation Head Counts (Student Racial Survey) taken each year, in the month of October, from 1963-1973.

facto segregation concerns at Hyde Park High School largely ignored by urban renewal officials, or was there a belief that constructing a new high school twelve blocks north in Kenwood might lead to two integrated schools within the communities? By examining these research questions within the context of the broader central questions of renewal and the construction of Kenwood High School, a positive case for urban renewal within the Hyde Park-Kenwood communities is evident.

Source Base

The available source material for this dissertation is primarily historic in nature. The main arsenal of documents on the University's role in Hyde Park-Kenwood urban renewal come from the Special Collections Research Center at the University of Chicago Regenstein Library. The library houses primary materials on Hyde Park-Kenwood's neighborhood renewal, including: official press releases, newspaper clippings, official municipal plans for the area, photographs, crime data, school level attendance data, letters and documents from community organizations, correspondences from the University of Chicago's President's Office, speeches made by University and city officials on renewal plans, materials on overcrowding conditions at Hyde Park High School, and the documents relating to the construction of Kenwood High School. Collectively these materials are known as the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference Records 1895-2011. Of these, an oral history of Julian H. Levi's experience in Hyde Park, conducted in 1994 by Daniel Meyer; documents from the Chicago Board of Education; material related to area schools, including Hyde Park High School Needs, 1964-1967; and papers pertaining to the establishment of Kenwood High School, 1965-1969, (Sub-subseries 12: Youth and Schools) are useful. The University

of Chicago Map Collection is considered one of the largest university map libraries in the United States. The collection includes a compilation of scanned maps that are part of the University of Chicago Digital Preservation Collection. Of particular interest will be Chicago census maps, government maps of Chicago, social scientists maps of Chicago, and the Social Science Research Committee maps of Chicago.

Another invaluable resource is Julia Abrahamson's *A Neighborhood Finds Itself* (1959). Abrahamson was a local community member who was heavily involved in the renewal process. Her book is a detailed account of the process of change in a large urban neighborhood, and her story chronicles the role of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference (HPKCC) in accomplishing renewal.

During the renewal process, a number of texts written about Hyde Park's case have helped with my understanding of the urban renewal project in the neighborhoods around the University of Chicago. Peter H. Rossi and Robert A. Dentler wrote the groundbreaking text on Hyde Park's urban renewal, *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings* (1961), a quantitative and qualitative analysis of entire renewal process. In *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960* (1983), Arnold R. Hirsch explores the history of the Great Migration and demographic change in North American cities, as well as the structural racism that allowed for the growth of the contemporary urban ghetto. In his chapter, "A neighborhood on a hill: Hyde Park and the University of Chicago," Hirsch explores the effect of these issues in Hyde Park's urban renewal project. Another study of Hyde Park's renewal, written by Brian J. L. Berry, Sandra J. Parsons, and Rutherford H. Platt focus on how small businesses were affected by local renewal projects in *The Impact of Urban Renewal on Small Business: the Hyde Park-Kenwood Case* (1968).

As for a general history of the South Side of Chicago, the University of Chicago, the communities of Hyde Park and Kenwood, the Great Migration, and the Columbian Exposition of 1893, several other texts provided the needed background. Robin F. Bachin's history of the South Side of Chicago, *Building the South Side: Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago, 1890-1919* (2004), explores in depth the unique history of the area surrounding the University of Chicago. Rebecca Janowitz, a native Hyde Park resident wrote an informal history of Hyde Park's culture in *Culture of Opportunity: Obama's Chicago: the People, Politics and Ideas of Hyde Park* (2010). Finally, John W. Boyer's history of the University of Chicago, *The University of Chicago, A History* (2015), is a valuable source of material on the history of the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhoods. Boyer also explores, using university archival materials, the school's complex and sometimes controversial past, particularly as it relates to neighborhood deterioration and the role the university played in urban renewal.

Several texts were useful in understanding the history and politics of the Chicago Public Schools. Mary J. Herrick, who was a teacher in the Chicago public secondary schools from 1922 to 1965, provides a detailed and vivid history of the Chicago school system and the Board of Education of the City of Chicago in her book, *The Chicago Schools, A Social and Political History* (1971). Robert J. Havighurst's survey of the Chicago Public School, *The Public Schools of Chicago, A Survey for the Board of Education of the City of Chicago* (1964), was authorized by the Chicago Board of Education in 1961, and provides an assessment of school system in the early years of urban renewal. Havighurst's survey drew national attention for its controversial plan for school and community integration. Several of the twenty-two recommendations in the report offered by the committee focused on the need for organizational and structural changes in the Chicago Public School. Another primary

source that is useful to understanding the nature of *de facto* segregation and the racial composition of the student body of the Chicago Public Schools is the 1964 *Hauser Report* to the Board of Education. The “Report to the Board of Education by The Advisory Panel on Integration of the Public Schools,” found that the quality of education in black schools was inferior to that in white segregates schools. The report provides reliable school level data that is useful for my neighborhood research.

To better understand how *de facto* segregation affected the neighborhood schools in the Hyde Park and Kenwood communities, the annual racial attendance survey reports conducted by the Board of Education each year provide a glimpse into the racial balance in schools. As part of House Bill 133, passed by the General Assembly in 1963, (known collectively as the “Racial Surveys”), I have Racial Survey Reports from 1963-1973, which will help to determine the impact of urban renewal and integration on the communities and schools of Hyde Park-Kenwood.³⁰

To understand community concerns through a variety of local issues including: urban renewal efforts in the area, neighborhood crime, the role of the University of Chicago, and Chicago Public School policies, area newspapers are crucial. Archival records of the *Hyde Park Herald*, the *Chicago Defender*, and the *Chicago Tribune* are helpful. For more specific crime statistics for the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhoods, I have copies of the *Chicago Police Department’s Annual Reports* from 1950-1954. These records provide local crime report data on various offenses known to police in police districts throughout the city. Lastly, the *Local Community Fact Book Chicago Metropolitan Area* was developed by urban sociologists of the Chicago School, to provide social statistics at the neighborhood level.

³⁰ These are known as: Report to the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, *Student Racial Survey*.

Edited by Evelyn M. Kitagawa and Karl E. Taeuber, "Local Community Fact Book Chicago Metropolitan Area," (1960), provide a wide range of socioeconomic and environmental data, as well as historical depth to local communities. The fact books provide another level of data to help examine the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhoods during the period of renewal.³¹

Background

Defining Urban Renewal

The ambitious and highly controversial program of slum clearance and urban renewal and redevelopment, like that in Hyde Park-Kenwood in the early 1950s, began in many American cities after World War II. As new slum clearance possibilities captured city planners' imaginations and embodied their hopes for a better city, several states passed enabling legislation for clearance projects. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA), as early as 1941, with economists Guy Greer and Alvin Hansen developed plans for federal government aided slum clearance and urban redevelopment. By the mid-1940s, several downtown business leaders and the Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council, began to consider the possibility of rebuilding sections of the central city.³² The efforts of their

³¹ Evelyn M. Kitagawa and Karl E. Taeuber, "Local Community Fact Book Chicago Metropolitan Area." (Chicago: *Chicago Community Inventory*, University of Chicago, 1963).

³² Concerns about a declining downtown shopping customer base were deeply tied to fears that the encircling slums would overrun the central business district. A 1958 *Fortune* magazine article explained that slums "are eating away the heart of the cities, especially their downtown areas. The slums would, in fact, be much easier for the cities to endure if they were off the fringe areas. But in...almost every major metropolitan city – the slums envelope and squeeze the core of the city like a Spanish boot." See Daniel Seligman, "The Enduring Slums," *Fortune*, (December 1957). Similarly, *Life* magazine vividly illustrated this treat in an article entitled "An Encroaching Menace." The article begins: The slums of Chicago each year have pushed closer to the heart of the city. Some of the worst came only six blocks from the glittering skyscrapers. There a newly-aroused and desperate city stopped them. But elsewhere in the metropolis, every month, new slums are being born."

planning led to identifying possible areas of redevelopment, including the near Southside, and the Illinois state legislature's enactment in 1947 of the Blighted Areas Redevelopment Act.³³ This legislation "closely anticipated the provisions of the U.S. Housing Act of 1949 that was to follow."³⁴ Title 1 of the Housing Act of 1949 aimed to revitalize American urban cities by providing federal subsidies for redevelopment projects at the local level. Although American cities had participated in various programs of "slum removal" over the years, it was urban renewal and redevelopment that sought to protect and save certain parts neighborhoods in the urban areas from extinction while distinguishing other perceived negative elements at the local level. Those in favor of urban renewal believed that "blight" was grounded in powerful externalities that were "contagious."³⁵

In her book *Black on the Block*, Mary Pattillo writes about some of the "predominantly white institutions" near Chicago that were experiencing this "blight" first hand, namely, the Illinois Institute of Technology (ITT), Michael Reese, and Mercy Hospitals. Because of their location apart from the downtown area, they were looking for ways to either "leave the area or insulate themselves from the ghetto around them."³⁶ Using their

The article goes on to explain show that twenty-three square miles of "hopelessly blighted" slums surrounded the heart of downtown. And redevelopment could save the "skyscrapers" from being extinguished by the encroaching blight. See "An Encroaching Menace," *Life*, (April 11, 1955), p. 125-27.

³³ Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 136. The Illinois Blighted Areas Redevelopment Act of 1947, established the standard of using legislative tools to combat blight, which was later adopted at the federal level and "served as a model...that spread the concept of urban renewal across the nation."

³⁴ Gregory D. Squires, Larry Bennett, Kathleen McCourt, *Race, Class and the Response to Urban Decline* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 155.

³⁵ William J. Collins and Katharine L. Shester, "Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal in the United States, *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 5:239-273 (January 2013), p. 241.

³⁶ Mary Pattillo, *Black on the Block, The Politics of Race and Class in the City* (The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 218.

powerful coalition of downtown business interests and real estate developers, they were able to “invent and implement a redevelopment scheme that would serve all of their respective interests.”³⁷ Their plan, as Pattillo explains, was to stop the growth of the “poor and working-class black community by building a racially integrated middle-class community in its place. This in turn would attract students and professors to the university and doctors...and patients to the hospitals”³⁸

By the end of the 1940s, these federal subsidies provided in the redevelopment legislation were fused with the power of eminent domain authorized by state governments. In turn, local agencies, some of which combined with the help of universities, were able to gather, clear, and then sell sections of land in blighted urban areas for redevelopment and combat ill-defined perception of “slums” and “blight.” Cities around the country also received money for planning, code enforcement, and the rehabilitation of buildings and neighborhoods. The funding for the urban renewal projects ended by 1974, and local entities had been awarded federal support for more than 2,100 projects with grants totaling nearly \$53 billion (in 2009 dollars), as well as lesser awards for related activities.³⁹ Urban renewal in Hyde Park-Kenwood, which commenced shortly after the end of World War II and ended in the late 1950s, changed both the physical and demographic qualities of both neighborhoods. In the decade leading up to renewal, it was apparent that racial

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1974b. *Urban Renewal Directory: June 30, 1974*. US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Washington, DC, June 1974. It is important to note that these numbers do not reflect the subsequent investment that typically took place in areas cleared for redevelopment. Grants only covered a portion of the costs for planning, acquiring, and clearing land.

succession was taking place in sections of Hyde Park.⁴⁰ By 1940, the borders of the Black Belt had come within a mile of neighborhoods of Hyde Park-Kenwood. (See Appendix B, Figure 1.10.) Less than 4 percent of the neighborhood residents in 1940 were non-whites. This figure jumped to 36 percent by 1958, an increase of 500 percent.⁴¹ This increase was due, in part, to the migration of black southerners arriving after the war. The clearance of the Lake Meadows site to the north of Hyde Park, also contributed to an increase of African Americans into the Hyde Park-Kenwood area.⁴² Like other Chicago neighborhoods that faced a similar racial shift, this meant that individuals and families left the area, either by choice or because of urban renewal projects.

The Hyde Park-Kenwood redevelopment program was one of the first projects of urban renewal in the United States and forged legislation that was applied to cities and local neighborhoods across the nation, sometimes with unfortunate results. Urban renewal in these communities surely set the tone for later neighborhood projects across the city and nation. With its organized community group, the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, the development corporation, and the SECC, the University of Chicago took full advantage of redevelopment statutes and, with the city's endorsement, proceeded to reshape its neighborhoods substantially.⁴³

Urban renewal in the Hyde Park neighborhoods was undertaken with the support and leadership of the University of Chicago, in order to create a community that was,

⁴⁰ Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 139.

⁴¹ Peter H. Rossi and Robert A. Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal*, 21. Hirsch also makes the point that in 1940 there were 573 blacks living in Hyde Park. This number would increase to 1,757 a decade later. Most of the increase, according to Hirsch, took place after 1948. See Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 139.

⁴² Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 136.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 135-170.

according to Julian H. Levi, “appropriate for our faculty members and students.”⁴⁴ Renewal, unlike the earlier forms of slum removal, attempted to renew and revitalize an entire neighborhood rather than focusing only on the destruction or removal of blighted areas.⁴⁵ According to Julian Levi, head of the SECC, the renewal programs in Hyde Park-Kenwood occurred during this period through the combined efforts of the University of Chicago, the local community, the City of Chicago, and included: tackling crime issues, stricter enforcement of local building codes, federal grants to the University renewal planning, and modifications in state and federal legislation which allowed University officials to make changes to the neighborhoods surrounding the campus.⁴⁶

Conflict and Education in the Neighborhoods

A Positive Case for Urban Renewal?

When examining the legacy of urban renewal in Chicago in the post World War II era, it is important to understand the context behind minority communities that expressed their anger and frustration in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Not only did this anger manifest itself

⁴⁴ “The University and Preservation of Urban Values in Chicago,” Speech, given by Julian H. Levi, before the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee conference on “The Role of the University in an Urban Setting,” Milwaukee, WI, October 29, 1960. 7, Office of the President, Beadle Administration, Records, 1916-1968, Box 353, Folder 7: Urban renewal Julian Levi, speeches, 1961, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago Library, Chicago, IL, 2-3.

⁴⁵ Hirsch discussed the move from “slum removal” to “urban renewal” in his book: “The movement across the urban racial frontier and redefinition of ghetto borders also led directly to the next phase of the government’s postwar revitalization program: urban renewal. Redevelopment had always been closely associated with slum clearance. The semantic shift to ‘urban renewal’ indicated a substantive de-emphasis of the concern with slums. A new approach was justified, the National Commission on Urban Problems later concuded, ‘as a broader design to rebuild the cities,” ed. Arnold R. Hirsch and Raymond A. Mohl, *Urban Policy in Twentieth-Century America* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1993), 89.

⁴⁶ Levi, “The University and Preservation,” 3.

through riots and demonstrations around the city, but also through organized political protest. Much of the community-based protest of this era revolved around schools and housing, two issues of major concern to a community that expanded as quickly as did black Chicago in the 1950s.⁴⁷ The issues with overcrowded schools and a shortage of decent housing in the Black Belt, both a result of institutional efforts to maintain blacks in their “ghetto,” brought about protests and demonstrations by the 1960s. While these issues were apparent to the black community in prior decades, they did not result in collective action. Rather, leaders of Chicago’s political machine were able to use key leaders within the black community, such as William Dawson and Ralph Metcalfe, to dispense political patronage in the black wards of the city, with the help of machine politics.⁴⁸

As a national civil rights movement began to capture the support, participation, and imagination of thousands of Chicagoans in the 1960s, there was now a clear context to push change at the local level. Given the institutional resistance to change at any level, and the lack of empathy among Chicago’s leadership, any hope for a change through negotiation was not feasible. In time, the demand growing in the black neighborhoods for adequate housing forced families into adjacent white neighborhoods on the city’s Southside, where they were met with violence. Hirsch, in his book *Making of the Second Ghetto*, speaks to these neighborhood attacks when he writes about the postwar shift of “collective onslaughts” that he terms “a third phase of...interracial conflict.” He writes, “with the growing black population consolidating its position in recently acquired territory, new disputes arose

⁴⁷ In the 1950s, blacks in Chicago numbered 492,265, or 13.6 percent of the total population. By 1960, the black population had risen to 812,637, or 22.9 percent of the city’s total population. See Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 17 (Table 1).

⁴⁸ Gregory D. Squires, Larry Bennett, Kathleen McCourt, *Race, Class and the Response to Urban Decline*, 129.

over...neighborhood control. Battles over the use of schools, playgrounds, parks and beaches became the dominate mode of interracial conflict in the 1950s.⁴⁹ The city's Southeast Side, as Hirsh explains, was "particularly hard hit by disturbances at public recreational facilities in the 1950s and early 1960s."⁵⁰

When the response to the neighborhood violence from leaders in city hall, religious leaders, or even representatives from the civic or business community was absent, many of those responsible for the violent acts seemed justified in their actions.⁵¹ Even the press was mostly silent when it came to coverage of housing riots. It was not until the July 28, 1957 event, where a crowd of nearly 7,000 whites attacked 100 black picnickers who occupied a portion of Calumet Park that had been "reserved" for whites, did the press begin to report the violence. More than 500 police were needed to restore peace in the area after two days of disturbances. While the news coverage of the event was "far more extensive than that granted the earlier housing riots," there was an attempt at the time for respected local news sources to make the point that they were covering the violence.⁵²

For those in the black communities, there was a belief that those in positions of power in Chicago were insensitive to the needs of the black communities, or chose to ignore the neighborhoods completely. Robert Quinn, the city fire commissioner, when questioned

⁴⁹ Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 63. Hirsh suggests that there is a difference between this post World War II conflict and that of the World War I era. During the latter period, "the black ghetto was in the process of creation and the battles for housing and the use of public facilities were carried on simultaneously." With the black community established after World War II, the battles over the use of white public areas "did not occur until blacks were in sufficient strength to challenge for control of them." See Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 290, (note #77).

⁵⁰ Ibid, 65.

⁵¹ Roger Fox and Amy Goldman, "Marquette Park: A Descriptive History of Efforts to Peacefully Resolve Racial Conflict," report, Chicago Urban League, (Fall 1979), 46.

⁵² Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 66.

in 1975 by an investigative team for the *Chicago Reporter* about fire death rates in Chicago poorest neighborhoods, responded, “The ghetto? I don’t know of any ghettos in Chicago.”⁵³ This response to the existence of poor neighborhoods throughout the city was similar to that of Mayor Daley when told of the housing conditions in certain Chicago neighborhoods.⁵⁴

The seeming lack of sensitivity of Chicago’s political and business leadership to conditions of the black community and the desire to bring about change was most evident in the Chicago public school system. While the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision in 1954 ruled that separate school for blacks and whites could not constitute equal education, the Chicago schools did nothing to truly bring about change to a thoroughly segregated system in the years following the decision. The *Brown* decision effectively established integrated local schools as the legal standard, but in Chicago, as well many Northern cities, the practice of requiring children to attend the public school nearest to their place of residence perpetuated *de facto* segregation. “White northerners,” as Amanda Seligman in *Block by Block* writes, “recognized that as long as children were assigned to neighborhood schools, residential segregation in housing kept the populations of neighborhoods racially homogenous.”⁵⁵ White northerners, she concludes, focused their attention on policy shifts that threatened the neighborhood school, rather than protest

⁵³ Commissioner Quinn is quoted in Thomas Burne (ed.), “Neglected Neighborhoods: Patterns of Discrimination in Chicago City Services,” (Chicago: community Renewal Society, 1981), 11.

⁵⁴ Mayor Daley is quoted in Mike Royko, *Boss: Richard J. Daley of Chicago* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1971), 134.

⁵⁵ Amanda I. Seligman, *Block by Block, Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago’s West Side* (University of Chicago Press, 2005), 121.

every admission of “tiny groups of African American children to white schools.”⁵⁶ A decade after the important Supreme Court ruling, the *Hauser Report* on Chicago Public Schools made this observation: “Of 148,000 Negro elementary students, 90 percent were in schools at least 90 percent Negro....Of 17,000 Negro students in upper grade centers, 97 percent were in Negro schools.”⁵⁷

Throughout the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Chicago Public Schools response to these demographic changes in the student population came under fire. Since his arrival in 1953, superintendent Benjamin C. Willis did little to confront the growing racial issues in the school system. When confronted with the question of race in the schools, Willis claimed not to know how many black or white students were enrolled in particular schools, since the district maintained “no record of race, color or creed of any student or employee.”⁵⁸ The Chicago Public Schools would cling to this policy of color blindness until a law passed by the Illinois legislature in 1963 required the district to collect data on the racial composition of the student body and the teaching force.⁵⁹

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, Chicago public schools had grown on the basis of the neighborhood school, and the schools had become segregated. The concentration or segregation of blacks in the city, like that of other immigrants, was not only the result of external pressures, but also of internal forces. The use of restrictive housing covenants and neighborhood school policies, for example, were intertwined and established

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Mary J. Herrick, *The Chicago Schools: A Social and Political History* (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1981), 324.

⁵⁸ For more information on Benjamin Willis and the racial composition of the Chicago Public Schools’ students and staff, see Alan B. Anderson and George W. Pickering, *Confronting the Color Line: The Broken Promise of the Civil Rights Movement in Chicago* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 77.

⁵⁹ House bill 113, Ill. 73rd General Assembly, 1963. Signed by Governor June 13, 1963.

to maintain blacks and other minorities in designated neighborhoods of the city. By 1960, it was apparent that blacks in Chicago found their children attending *de facto* segregated schools. In 1960, non-whites (97 percent African American) made up 23 percent of the total population of Chicago, which constituted 34 percent of the population of elementary school age, and 27 percent of the high school age student body.⁶⁰ In 1963, according to the October 3rd Board of Education headcount, non-white students made up 54 percent of the elementary school children in public schools, and 36 percent of the high school pupils.⁶¹ *De facto* segregation in the Chicago Public Schools, according to the *Hauser Report*, “is mainly the result of residential segregation in the city as a whole, reinforced by a policy of geographically determined school attendance areas based on the neighborhood school policy.”⁶² By 1963, leaders of the developing civil rights movement were beginning to question the Board of Education policies. Many civil rights leaders claimed that Dr. Willis was committed to *de facto* segregation in the schools.

In the fall of 1961, the Chicago Board of Education endorsed a resolution authorizing the first survey of the city’s school system in thirty years. After providing an initial appropriation of funds in their 1962 budget, and after several deferments and stalls, the Chicago Board of Education officially hired Dr. Robert Havighurst, a professor at the University of Chicago, to head a committee of three to conduct a survey of the Chicago Public Schools.⁶³ The survey committee eventually included Dr. Robert Havighurst

⁶⁰ Philip M. Hauser et. al. *Hauser Report to the Board of Education, City of Chicago by the Advisory Panel on Integration of the Public Schools* (March, 1964), 6.

⁶¹ Report to the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, *Student Racial Survey* (October 3, 1963).

⁶² *Ibid.*, 15.

⁶³ “Willis to Take Part in Survey of Schools.” *Chicago Tribune*. May 29, 1963, p.1. Dr. Robert Havighurst was hired by the Chicago Board of Education in May 1963.

(Chairman), Superintendent Dr. Benjamin Willis, and Dr. Alonzo Grace, the Dean of the University of Illinois College of Education. Critics at the time were concerned the influence Willis would have over the committee, but Havighurst seemed to calm the fears of critics by announcing that “the study would be broad and inclusive and that no area would be excluded from the study.”⁶⁴ On November 12, 1964, a 502-page report on the quality of education in Chicago was made public.⁶⁵ When announced, the survey not only stressed the need for integrating Chicago schools, but recommended that the Chicago Public Schools administrative structure be decentralized.⁶⁶ According to the report, the achievement of “integrated schools must be phased” in. The committee recommended that the proper course to pursue was to “work in the areas that most desire integration, and where there is a good prospect of stabilizing and integrated community.”⁶⁷ The next action, according the recommendations, was to “work in areas that can be prepared for integration on the basis of open and rational discussion of the problems.”⁶⁸ For Havighurst and the committee, the best policy was to maximize the extent to which such an integration plan would be voluntary while also promoting practices promoting “integration more vigorously in some areas of the city than in other areas.”⁶⁹ While policy may have seemed unfair on the surface, it was the only practicable policy for a large city, which was on the “threshold of the great

⁶⁴ Cynthia Ann Wneck, “Big Ben the Builder: School Construction, 1953-66.” (Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Loyola University-Chicago, 1989), 192.

⁶⁵ “1964 Was the Year of Surveys in City’s Schools.” *Chicago Tribune*. January, 3, 1965, S1, p11.

⁶⁶ Paul Peterson, *School Politics, Chicago Style* (University of Chicago Press, 1976), 32.

⁶⁷ Robert J. Havighurst, “The Chicago School Survey.” *The Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (December, 1964), 162-166, p. 165.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

experiment of stabilizing an integrated population.”⁷⁰ It was clear from the Havighurst Report, that recommendations were directed towards the current Chicago Board of Education neighborhood school policy and the Willis administration.⁷¹ The report suggested that a more flexible neighborhood policy could allow students to attend the schools best suited to them, even if it required them to travel a distance from their homes. As this suggests a change in current policy, the most unique aspect of the report was the suggestion that the school board solve *de facto* segregation by selecting several neighborhoods to experiment with creating “stable integration.”⁷²

In 1963, the Chicago Board of Education also authorized another study and created an advisory panel of five members to study the problem of segregation in the public schools. The panel was headed by Philip Hauser, a demographer at the University of Chicago. The report and its findings were later to become known as *The Houser Report*. Among other things, the panel was assigned the task to “analyze and study the school system in particular regard to schools attended entirely or predominantly by Negroes, define any problems...and formulate and report to the Board.”⁷³ The panel established that *de facto segregation* was not unique to Chicago, and was not the result of the intentional design of the Board of Education of Chicago. *De facto* segregation was, they wrote, “a byproduct of segregated patterns of settlement and housing.”⁷⁴ Therefore, as a result of residential concentration,

⁷⁰ Ibid, 166.

⁷¹ The survey initially was marred by the refusal of Willis to participate actively in the group report. He attended a January meeting of the group, but then failed to show up for any others. Upset by the criticism that the survey report might be biased if he participated, Willis chose to leave the report solely up to Havighurst.

⁷² Robert J. Havighurst, “The Chicago School Survey.” p. 165.

⁷³ Philip M. Hauser et. al. *Hauser Report to the Board of Education, City of Chicago* (The Advisory Panel on Integration of the Public Schools, March 31, 1964), 2.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 4.

the black population found their children attending *de facto* segregated schools.⁷⁵ Thus, for Hauser, the Chicago Public Schools were thoroughly segregated, “with almost all African American students in the system attending schools with almost no white classmates.”⁷⁶ By reporting that the Chicago Public Schools were segregated, the Hauser panel concluded that African American students received an inferior education to whites. The report recommended to the Board of Education to avoid continued racial divisions within the system by locating new schools in areas beginning racial transition so that students could be sorted between them in an integrated pattern. In the 13-point plan that the report proposed, the panel suggested a remedy for combating segregated schools. One of the points in the plan called for what was later described as the “cluster plan.” The *Hauser Report* suggested that “several schools be placed in one attendance area and each pupil be given the right to choose which school he wanted to attend.”⁷⁷ If this is done in areas where white and black populations meet, African American students would have an opportunity to attend a school with white pupils. A board of education committee examined this suggestion, and discussed ways of “clustering the entire system,” but failed to reach a decision, and voted instead “for a test of clustering in neighborhoods.”⁷⁸ Willis would initially propose ten clusters to the board of education as a means of integrating the schools, which would involve twenty-seven schools.⁷⁹ The so-called “cluster” plans, which were

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 5.

⁷⁶ Amanda I. Seligman, *Block by Block*, 133.

⁷⁷ “1964 Was the Year of Surveys in City’s Schools.” *Chicago Tribune*. January, 3, 1965, S1, p11.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*.

⁷⁹ “School Board Gets Tally on Cluster Poll.” *Chicago Tribune*. January, 7, 1965, S1A, p2. According to the *Tribune* article, some 45,000 questionnaires were sent to the parents of the children involved in the 27 proposed schools. In some returned questionnaires, many parents were not happy with the proposed plan. For instance, “clustering” was opposed in

advocated by both Hauser and Havighurst, would reorganize attendance areas to embrace three or more schools and permit students to attend any school in their enlarged attendance areas. As ambitious as the plan was, many opponents of the idea believed the segregation problem had no conceivable solution that would satisfy all the disparate interests.⁸⁰ Even as the school board approved a broader school integration transfer plan in August 1964, to relieve overcrowding, promote integration and improve the quality of education for blacks, critics still voiced concern, including board member Raymond Pasnick, who publicly said, “adopting this resolution will be a concession to the worst kind of bigotry and racism I have seen. It is a concession to people who don’t want to see Negroes transported to their lily white areas.”⁸¹

The disparities that existed in the Chicago Public Schools at the time of these studies, and the problem of *de facto* segregation in the system, were well known before the reports

402 of the 480 questionnaires returned by parents in the May school. And according Mrs. John Cincotta, the school’s PTA chairman, “The white people here are already in a state of panic...we resent having our children forcibly sent to another school and we do not want our school more overcrowded by an influx of children from another school.”

⁸⁰ See “Integration: A Puzzle for City’s Schools.” *Chicago Tribune*. February, 25, 1965, S1, p4. According to the article, “The most reasonable plan, in the opinion of many who have studied the problem, would retain the present neighborhood school policy for elementary schools and permit limited open enrollment in high schools.” The existing neighborhood policy limits elementary school attendance to reasonable walking distance and high school attendance to reasonable transportation distance.

⁸¹ “Willis’ New School Plan.” *Chicago Tribune*. August 13, 1964, S1A, p1. Raymond Pasnick was also a critic of an earlier integration program that was introduced into elementary schools in 1962, and then into high schools in 1964. See: “School Board Ok’s Pupil Transfer Plan.” *Chicago Tribune*. August 23, 1962, S1, p1. The Board of Education approved a new transfer plan in a 9-1 vote on August 22, 1962. The plan will permit the transfer of pupils from overcrowded elementary schools to those with available classroom space. The policy provides for a student attending a school with an average size exceeding 40 pupils would be permitted, “at the request of the parents, to transfer to a school with classes averaging less than 30 pupils.” Students who transfer would be required to play transportation costs and assume “full responsibility for getting there and back.” Essentially, the program allowed students enrolled in schools operating above 125 percent of capacity to transfer to schools of less than 125 percent capacity.

were released in 1964. As early as 1958, an article on *de facto* segregation in the Chicago Public Schools appeared in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's magazine *The Crisis*. The excerpted article in the magazine was from a statement made to the members of the Chicago Board of Education in 1957, by the Chicago branch of the NAACP, and describes conditions in Chicago during that year. The article reported that an estimated "91 percent of the Chicago elementary schools were *de facto* segregated in the spring semester of 1957."⁸² According to the article, the school conditions showed "little promise" of changing. In examining the average student population of white elementary schools, there were only 699 students enrolled, while the average for blacks was 1,275.⁸³ In February 1957, 19 percent of schools with a "mixed" student body were on double shifts, as compared with 2 percent of white schools. However, as many as seventy-three black schools were on double shifts according to the story. Given these conditions, the article states that blacks "have a motive to move into mixed schools and whites to move out."⁸⁴ Although African American students are only slightly more than one-third of the total elementary school population, 81 percent of those affected by double shifts are black.⁸⁵

Of the thirty-five high schools in the system, twenty-five, or 71 percent, are "predominantly Negro or predominantly non-Negro." The percentage stays consistent when the number of pupils in the schools is factored in. In other words, the article finds that "7 out of every 10 Chicago high-school students" attend *de facto* segregated high

⁸² "De Facto Segregation in the Chicago Public Schools, A Report from the Chicago branch of the NAACP" *The Crisis* (New York: The Chris Publishing Company, Vol. 65, No. 2 (February, 1958), 87-95, 126-7, 88.

⁸³ *Ibid*, 89.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 90.

schools.⁸⁶ Besides the segregated high schools, there are ten racially mixed high schools, including Hyde Park High School, with 2,773 students, is estimated to be about 70 percent African American in 1957.⁸⁷ It is important to note that at the neighborhood school level, the article suggests that elementary schools are *de facto* segregated because of housing conditions in the ghetto, but not the high schools. While the article did shed light on the question of *de facto* segregation in the Chicago Public Schools, and various groups used the data "in their testimony at school budget hearings and before state legislative committees," any meaningful action to bring about change in the schools was still years away.⁸⁸

In 1959, the United States Commission on Civil Rights called Chicago the "most segregated city of more than 500,000 in the country."⁸⁹ African Americans in greater numbers were expanding across more neighborhoods at the same time, thus bringing enrollment in neighborhood schools to all-time highs. On the Southside of the city, the color line was expanding at a greater pace and causing enrollment problems in many schools. For example, between 1958 and 1960, student enrollment at Burnside School climbed from 1,138 to 1,773, an increase of over 630 students. At the Cornell School, enrollment rose from 868 in 1959, to 1,212 a year later. The Dixon School saw student numbers increase by 332 between 1958 and 1960; and at the Parker School, enrollment jumped from 1,830 in 1957, to 2,791 by 1960.⁹⁰ This pattern of enrollment increases was consistent wherever the color line was moving in neighborhoods throughout the city. Those individuals living in the

⁸⁶ Ibid, 92.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 93.

⁸⁸ Alan B. Anderson, George W. Pickering, *Confronting the Color Line: The Broken Promise of the Civil Rights Movement* (University of George Press, 2008), 80.

⁸⁹ "Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights," The United States Commission on Civil Rights (Washington, D.C., 1959), 430.

⁹⁰ Alan B. Anderson and George W. Pickering, *Confronting the Color Line*, 80.

affected neighborhoods understood that racial change was occurring in their local schools, but the board of education, and its leadership, seemed to believe the problem was linked to the unanticipated, but temporary overcrowding that occurred as a result of the lack of adequate housing in certain neighborhoods.

In the early 1960s, double shift schedules for classrooms in black schools were found to be overcrowded while under-utilized space remained in white schools. Instead of focusing on a policy of desegregation, the Chicago Board of Education pursued a program to increase the number of classrooms in black neighborhoods. Elementary school building schedules were accelerated, mobile classroom units were purchased, and vacated commercial buildings were quickly converted into schools.⁹¹ While this policy may have helped to elevate the surge of new students into the system, the basic problem still existed in Chicago: segregated schools were more widespread in the city than ever before.

These dire conditions, however, did not go unnoticed by certain elected officials. Charles Armstrong, a Chicago representative to the Illinois General Assembly, had long recognized that desegregation efforts in the city's school system had not worked. In 1963, Armstrong successfully introduced, and the General Assembly passed, House Bill 113,⁹² which made important changes to the School Code of Illinois. In part, it read:

In erecting, purchasing, or otherwise acquiring buildings for school purposes, the Board shall not do so in such a manner as to promote segregation or separation of children in public schools because of color, race, or nationality. As soon as practicable, and from time to time thereafter, the Board shall change or revise existing (attendance) units or create new units in a manner which will take into consideration the prevention of segregation, and the elimination of separation of

⁹¹ Chicago Urban League, Research Report, *Racial Segregation in the Chicago Public Schools*, 1965-66.

⁹² House bill 113, Ill. 73rd General Assembly, 1963. Signed by Governor June 13, 1963.

children in the public schools because of color, race, or nationality. All records pertaining to the creation of attendance units shall be open to the public.⁹³

The amendment to the Illinois school code was aimed at distributing blacks and whites more evenly in the schools. In explaining the objective of his bill, Armstrong said, "It is to stop boards of education from hiding behind a curtain of residential segregation in promoting segregation in the public schools."⁹⁴ As part of this new law, boards of education were to make a survey of all districts within their jurisdictions, and that pertinent information should be open to the public. Armstrong did not believe that all attendance boundaries would have to be changed around Illinois, but believed that "where necessary, new districts should be created to carry out the purpose of eliminating separation of children because of race, color, or creed."⁹⁵

It is clear that between 1954-1961, the Chicago Public Schools did little deal with the desegregation issue in its schools. In the immediate years after the *Brown* decision, little attention was focused on the problem of *de facto* segregation by either public officials from the school system or by local political leaders. What was a concern for school officials, however, was that migrations from the South were expanding student numbers by more than 130,000.⁹⁶ While *de facto* segregation in the schools continued to plague the Chicago Public Schools for years to come, it is possible to find a positive component to urban renewal in Hyde Park-Kenwood within the 13-point *Hauser Report*, which suggested a

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ "Waukegan School Board Names Racial Study Unit." *Chicago Tribune*. July 18, 1963, S2A, p1.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Chicago Board of Education, *Facts and Figures* (Chicago Board of Education, September, 1967), 35. Chicago's school population increased from 370,000 in 1954 to nearly 500,000 by 1961. Over \$240,000,000 in bond issues were approved by voters between 1952-61 for the construction of new buildings to accommodate the increase.

remedy for combating segregated schools in the city. One of the recommendations to the board of education was to begin locating new schools in areas beginning racial transition so that students could be sorted between them in an integrated pattern. In the Hyde Park-Kenwood renewal neighborhoods, this would be the construction of Kenwood High School in 1969.

Review of the Literature

Over the course of the past several decades many studies have focused on both neighborhood change and white flight. These studies have focused on many aspects of neighborhood change including both the causes and effects. This dissertation will build upon the previous research on neighborhood change and examine the implications of white flight and urban decay on the Chicago communities of Kenwood and Hyde Park, and the difference between the public neighborhood schools of Hyde Park (CA 41) and Kenwood (CA 39), and the catchment areas that they serve.

Historical Context on Neighborhood Change

Much of the research on neighborhood change over the past several decades has focused on white flight and urban neighborhood decay. These studies have examined a variety of causes and effects that try to explain why white flight happens, while also addressing the socioeconomic outcomes associated with neighborhood change. Before examining the historic context behind neighborhood change and white flight, it is important to have a conceptualization of what defines an urban neighborhood. In general, neighborhoods are usually constructed at the same time and have similar lot sizes and

location characteristics.⁹⁷ In turn, most of the houses in the neighborhood would have fewer variations in age or characteristics than the larger metropolitan area.⁹⁸ Thus, price and rents would be generally similar, even if the types of dwellings slightly differ.⁹⁹ As all of the neighborhood households have these similarities, they tend to be homogeneous areas that share demographic or housing characteristics and have a sense of identity. For the purpose of this research study, I suggest that the definition of a neighborhood be defined as “a homogeneous area of limited size and scope, sharing demographic, housing, and socio-economic characteristics, including a sense of identity.” The neighborhood communities of Kenwood and Hyde Park fit this neighborhood definition.

Ecological Perspectives

The earliest theory of neighborhood change is grounded in the invasion/succession model developed in the 1920s by Ernest W. Burgess and other scholars at the University of Chicago. Burgess developed the classic Chicago school model that detailed various stages of racial change that were used and augmented by other ecological researchers that followed. Using the ecological model, neighborhood racial change appears inevitable. Once the tipping point has been reached, the incoming group will re-segregate the area. Accordingly, segregation is projected as the natural and inevitable outcome of city life.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Grigsby, W., M. Baratz, G. Galster, and D. Maclennan, “The Dynamics of Neighborhood Change and Decline,” *Progress in Planning* 28 (1987): 1-76.

⁹⁸ Rosenthal, Stuart S, “Old Homes, Externalities, and Poor Neighborhoods: A model of Urban Decline and Renewal,” *Journal of Urban Economics* 63 (3) (2008): 816-840.

⁹⁹ Grigsby, W., M. Baratz, G. Galster, and D. Maclennan, “The Dynamics of Neighborhood Change and Decline,” *Progress in Planning* 28 (1987): 1-76.

¹⁰⁰ Park, Robert E., Burgess, Ernest W., and McKenzie, Roderick D., *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925).

During the decades of the 1920s and 1930s, a number of new perspectives on city growth and human behavior were advanced by sociologists at the University of Chicago. One model, proposed by Robert E. Park, claimed that much of human behavior, especially the way cities grow, followed the basic principles of ecology that had been documented and applied to wildlife for many years¹⁰¹. Ecology is the study of the dynamics and processes through which plants and animals interact with the environment. Applying Darwinian theory, Park proposed that the growth of cities follows a natural pattern and evolution.

More specifically, Park put forward the idea that cities depict a complex organism composed of the interrelations among the groups and individuals within the city. Park claimed that all cities would contain certain clusters or areas, where the cluster had assumed a life or organic unity to its own. For example, many cities have neighborhoods that are made up of a primary ethnic group or are distinguishable by certain unique features. New York's Harlem or Chicago's Chinatown represent areas of two cities that have a unique identity, but also contribute to the overall makeup and identity of the city.

Applying other ecological principles, Park also wrote that some areas, or species, may invade and dominate adjacent areas or species. Once this happens, the dominated area can recede, migrate to another location, or even perish. While there are many examples of how this happens in nature, Park asserted that a similar process occurs in urban areas. As Park developed this theory, he observed the trend of businesses and factories invading residential areas around Chicago, which seemed, according to Park, to cause major chaos and breakdown in the stability of those neighborhoods. This form of development can cause a breakdown of certain neighborhood controls and family ties. As a result, the area

¹⁰¹ Park, Robert E., "Human Ecology," *American Journal of Sociology* 42 (1936); Park, Robert E., *Human Communities* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1925).

would experience a transient group of community residents who do not have any true vested interest in the neighborhood. This indifference toward the neighborhood can cause people to ultimately leave the community.

Park's new theory was supported with the complementary perspective offered by Ernest W. Burgess.¹⁰² Burgess proposed a new theory of city growth in which cities were viewed as growing from the inside outward, instead of simply along the edges. Burgess believed that the growth came from the center of the city, and thus overtime, the inner city puts pressure on the adjacent areas, which then puts pressure on the other adjacent areas. This type of development is often referred to as radial growth or the theory of concentric circles.

In his theory, Burgess portrays a city consisting of six concentric rings: Central Business District, the industrial sector, zone in transition being invaded by business and light manufacture, zone of working men's homes, residential zone of high class apartment buildings, and commuters' zone of single-family dwellings.

For Burgess, Zone I in the theory contained the central business district. In this area contained the large business buildings and was home to the business and political centers of the cities. Zone II was a transition area where early residential areas were being replaced by industrial centers. Zone II is commonly the location of subsidized housing. Only individuals who cannot afford to live in other locations are forced to live in these communities. The three outer zones, (Zones III – V) are where a variety of neighborhoods exist that house the families that were tied to the city.

Neighborhood decline occurs when low income people move outward to a zone of

¹⁰² Burgess, Ernest W., "The Growth of the City," in *The City*, Editors, Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1928).

higher income dwellings. This decline may be accompanied by the city's outward expansion and migration of the population. According to this early model idea, neighborhood change is an unavoidable outcome of space competition. To Park and others from this period, cities grow in a natural way across time and place, and follow the natural principles of ecology. To these early urban ecologists, the fundamental assumption is that neighborhood change is unavoidable and inevitable. While much of these old models have been discounted and revised, it is important to understand the historic context behind the origins neighborhood change ideas and models.

One of the earliest attempts at revamping the invasion/succession approach was put forward in 1933 by Homer Hoyt and eventually expanded by Wallace Smith in 1963.¹⁰³ The new theory was the idea of filtering, where neighborhood change is a function of decisions made by landlords, ultimately affecting the desirability of the community. The filtering model, which dominated the literature on neighborhood change for over half a century, predicts that as a neighborhood ages, property owners invest less and less capital to improve the stock of the homes or units. Overtime, new construction takes place on the urban fringe, and residents who can afford the newer homes move to those locations, thus creating vacancies in the older units. The theory supports the idea that neighborhood decline is a function of the aging and neglected housing and the construction of the newer, more appealing property.

Research by James Sweeney has suggested that the declining physical characteristics of a community, coupled with the city's outward expansion and migration of the population,

¹⁰³ Hoyt, Homer, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933); Smith, Wallace F, "Forecasting Neighborhood Change," *Land Economics* 39 (3) (1963): 292-297.

are not necessarily bad.¹⁰⁴ Filtering allows for the opportunity of residents to improve the housing conditions of the older, and less attractive areas of the city. This view of neighborhood change is found in the lifecycle model developed by Edgar Hoover and Raymond Vernon and continued with David Birch and Jerome Rothenberg et al.¹⁰⁵ This change model explores the idea that neighborhoods are made up of a series of invasion/succession processes that progress through a series of stages from development to renewal. While neighborhood change may depend on such ingredients as the growth rate of both new housing and population, or accessibility to employment possibilities, the process may not be a drawback. Older housing is a source of gentrification and redevelopment, and is associated with rising economic status, and should not halt neighborhood deterioration.¹⁰⁶

Recently, Stuart Rosenthal uses a different argument that neighborhood change goes through cycles of decline and renewal¹⁰⁷. Newer housing attracts higher income households, “middle-aged” housing is associated with future decline in economic status. Older housing, however, is often a source of gentrification and redevelopment and, therefore, is associated with an increase in economic status. Thus, the relationship between a neighborhood’s age and change is not always linear.

¹⁰⁴ Sweeney, J, “A Commodity Hierarch Model,” *Journal of Urban Economics* 1:288-323 (1974).

¹⁰⁵ Hoover, E., and R. Vernon, *Anatomy of a Metropolis* (Garden City, New Jersey: Doubleday, 1959); Birch, D. “Towards a Stage Theory of Growth,” *American Institute of Planners* 37 (1971): 78-87; Rothenberg, J., G. Galster, R. Butler, and J. Pitkin, *The Maze of Urban Housing Markets: Theory, Practice and Evidence* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

¹⁰⁶ Rothenberg, J., G. Galster, R. Butler, and J. Pitkin, *The Maze of Urban Housing Markets: Theory, Practice and Evidence* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

¹⁰⁷ Rosenthal, Stuart S., “Old Homes, Externalities, and Poor Neighborhoods: A model of Urban Decline and Renewal,” *Journal of Urban Economics* 63 (3) (2008): 816-840.

Richard Ratcliffe added a social value of filtering and argued that filtering provides an opportunity for upward movement for all the households, not just the upper tier. Thus, the filtering process can result in improving the welfare of all residents within a metropolitan area.¹⁰⁸ This view gained some traction and became the theoretical foundation of much of postwar housing policy.¹⁰⁹

The invasion/succession model has also been used throughout the years to describe racial and social status transitions. In a 1957 study of racial transitions in Chicago, Otis D. Duncan and Beverly Duncan identified recognizable stages in the neighborhood change process. The four basic stages include: penetration, invasion, consolidation, and piling up. In their study, they found that neighborhoods do not need to pass through all four stages and that certain neighborhoods may pass through the stages at different rates.¹¹⁰ Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber augmented the Duncan stages and found different patterns of white and black population growth in urban centers across the United States that may affect patterns of racial change. From their sweeping effort to compare residential segregation in 207 cities, they conclude “a high degree of racial residential segregation is universal in American cities.¹¹¹ The Taeubers’ research project was one of numerous projects undertaken during the 1960s and 1970s to measure residential and educational segregation in the United States. Although other researchers (Massey, White, and Phua 1996) are continuing to measure segregation using indices, the Taeubers’ work represents an

¹⁰⁸ Ratcliff, Richard U., *Urban Land Economics*, (New York, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1949).

¹⁰⁹ Leven, Charles L., Little, James T., Nourse, Hugh O., Read, R. B., *Neighborhood Change: Lessons in the Dynamics of Urban Decay*, (New York, New York: Praeger, 1976).

¹¹⁰ Duncan, Otis Dudley and Beverly Duncan. *The Negro Population of Chicago; A Study of Residential Succession* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

¹¹¹ Taeuber, K. E., Taeuber, A. R. *Negroes in Cities* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1965), 2

important early attempt to integrate quantitative segregation research and cartographic techniques.¹¹²

Another group of theories grounded in the ecological perspective, concentrate on consumer decisions. These individual decisions relate to how changes in income, family structure or the social structure of the neighborhood can affect a consumer's bid for housing in an area. According to the model, families or individuals make a tradeoff between housing demand and transportation costs to the central business district.¹¹³ As a family's income rises, the desire for a larger dwelling increases, and these higher income groups will move to outlying areas, while forsaking smaller units nearer to the city center. Thus, neighborhood changes result from financial decisions made by individual consumers.

A final group of ecological models were developed and focus on residential location decisions. The border and tipping models of neighborhood change focus on the location decisions of residents by expanding the variables beyond economics of housing, and focus more on social characteristics such as race. Researchers have attempted to identify the "tipping point" or the percentage point of new black residents at which the remaining whites move out. Thus, a neighborhood undergoing a racial transition will experience a greater out-migration as the in-movers are viewed as being of a lower social status. Some research suggests that transitional changes can affect how residents from surrounding areas perceive their own neighborhoods.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Massey, Douglas S., Michael J. White, and Voon-Chin Phua, "The Dimensions of Segregation Revisited." *Sociological Methods and Research* 25 (1996): 172-206.

¹¹³ Muth, R, *Cities and Housing*. (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

¹¹⁴ Leven, Charles L., James T. Little, Ugh O. Nourse, and R. B. Read, *Neighborhood Change: Lessons in the Dynamics of Urban Decay* (New York, NY: Praeger, 1976).

Both of these models are based on complex neighborhood characteristics and the findings have varied. Several research studies have concluded that neighborhoods are too variable and too complex to fit a fixed model of transition.¹¹⁵ Research has shown that tipping may be explained by normal turnover rates, and thus, the racial component may not reflect white flight.¹¹⁶

Subcultural Perspectives

Critics of the human ecology models of neighborhood change have voiced concerns about the notion that change is a natural and inevitable process that is accompanied by rational and economic thoughts and choices.¹¹⁷ With the subcultural approach to change, all neighborhoods in a city do not follow the same predictable course. Under this perspective, the idea that all neighborhoods within a city are doomed to decline, while also providing some benefit to the residents, is questioned. In fact, decline can be slowed by the strength of social networks in the neighborhood, encouraging organizers within the neighborhood to mobilize residents to assert their desires.¹¹⁸ As a group, these subculturalist researchers argue that noneconomic factors, such as social networks, neighborhood reputations, and residential attachment attitudes can influence a neighborhood's stability over time.

¹¹⁵ Goering, J. M, "Neighborhood Tipping and Racial Transition: A Review of Social Science Evidence. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 44 (1978): 68-78.

¹¹⁶ Aldrich, H, "Ecological Succession in a Racially Changing Neighborhood: A Review of the Literature," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 10 (1975): 327-48; Brueckner, J, "The Determinants of Residential Succession," *Journal of Urban Economics* 4 (1977): 45-59; Frey, W. H, "Central City White Flight: Racial and Nonracial Causes," *American Sociological Review* 44 (1979): 425-48.

¹¹⁷ Firey, W, "Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Variables," *American Sociological Review* 10 (1945): 140-148; Ahlbrandt, R., and J. Cunningham, *A New Public Policy for Neighborhood Preservation* (New York, Praeger, 1979).

¹¹⁸ Fisher, Robert, *Let the People Decide: Neighborhood Organizing in America* (Boston: Twayne, 1994).

One of the earliest critics of human ecology was Walter Firey. During the early years of the ecological school dominance, Firey was critical of the idea of evaluating neighborhoods with only economic factors. Instead, he argued that there were non-economic factors that were just as important in determining the rationale for why residents decided to live in certain parts of the city, including sentiment and symbolism.¹¹⁹ Therefore, where people live can cause sentimental ties that bind them to their neighborhood, which may be devoid of simple economic factors. Along the same lines, Ahlbrandt and Cunningham found that a willingness of the residents to remain in their neighborhood and work to improve it can add to the stability of the area.¹²⁰ Thus, for the subculturalists, neighborhoods can remain stable or even improve if there is a cohesive social structure that is strong.

Subcultural models of neighborhood change have made important contributions to the community development practice and urban policy. Unlike policies and complex models of change that are consistent with ecological approaches, and, which promote individual mobility as a means for improving the lives of urban residents, the subcultural perspective models of change provide theoretical ideas that can be used for neighborhood preservation and defense efforts. Unfortunately, the sense of community that subculturalists seem to assume is the answer for stabilizing neighborhoods has led to unsuccessful efforts, because neighborhood's attributes and power in the local economy are often negligible.

Another way to think of neighborhood change is to see the forces that exist to create that change: changes in national economic conditions and policies, and the economic, social

¹¹⁹ Firey, W, " Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Variables," *American Sociological Review* 10 (1945):

¹²⁰ Ahlbrandt, R., and J. Cunningham, *A New Public Policy for Neighborhood Preservation* (New York, Praeger, 1979).

and political characteristics of specific metropolitan areas. Considering the subcultural perspective models of change, it would seem plausible that preservation and defense efforts might hinge on a strong social fabric within the neighborhood. However, there are many examples of tightly knit communities unable to defend themselves from the sources of change. Berry et al., identified such a fabric in a “fight-then flight” response of white neighborhoods in Chicago faced with a potential influx of black residents.¹²¹ Moreover, neighborhoods with a strong social fabric must consider reaching out to institutional actors outside the community who can distribute financial resources across a metropolitan area. Thus neighborhood stability requires committed residents who can successfully share their concerns with those in power who control the resources.

¹²¹ Berry, B., C. Goodwin, R. Lake, and K. Smith, “Attitudes towards integration: The Role of Status in Community Response to Racial Change,” in *The Changing Face of the Suburbs*, ed. B. Schwartz, (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

I. THE GREAT MIGRATION: THE SEEDS OF URBAN RENEWAL IN CHICAGO

“I pick up my life
And take it with me
And I put it down in
Chicago, Detroit,
Buffalo, Scranton,
Any place that is North and East –
And not Dixie”
Langston Hughes “One-Way Ticket”¹²²

The rapid industrialization that quickly followed the end of the Civil War enticed large numbers of migrant workers to distant northern cities.¹²³ Chicago and its geographical location, helped to pull thousands of migrant workers to the city in the decades following Reconstruction. Many African Americans desired to leave places where they had been slaves, and perceived the North as offering economic and social opportunities they had been denied in the South. Before 1910, an estimated 90% of the nation’s southern black population lived in the South.¹²⁴

Estimates of southern blacks migrating north in the last part of the nineteenth century indicate a volume of less than 100,000 in the 1870s and 1880s. During the next twenty years, this number increased to nearly 200,000. By the 1910s the number had risen to 522,000, and in the following decade reached 872,000.¹²⁵

¹²² Langston Hughes, *The Collected Works of Langston Hughes, The Poems: 1941-1950* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press 2001), 188.

¹²³ Sylvia Hood Washington, *Packing Them In: An Archaeology of Environmental Racism, 1865-1954* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2005), 130.

¹²⁴ Alan D. DeSantis, “Selling the American Dream Myth to Black Southerners: The Chicago *Defender* and the Great Migration of 1915-1919,” *Western Journal of Communication*, 62 (4) (Fall 1998), 474.

¹²⁵ Karl E. Taeuber, “Negro Population and Housing,” *Race and the Social Sciences*, Ed. Irwin Katz and Patricia Gurin (New York: Basic Books, 1969), 25-38.

During the twentieth century, African Americans began migrating from the South to Chicago in two waves. The first wave occurred from about 1890 to 1929 and the second wave happened from 1935 to 1970.¹²⁶ An estimated 50,000 black southerners arrived in the north between 1915-1918, to seemingly take advantage of job opportunities that were created during the World War I.¹²⁷ When the Great War began, the United States limited immigration, especially from European nations, the populations of which had comprised much of the northern industrial workforce.

Hoping to escape brutal discrimination in the South, as well as crop failures in the fields, many African-Americans turned Northward and saw opportunities for a new life in the growing economies and cities of the new Industrial Age, including Chicago. This “Great Migration,” not only can be linked to booming northern economies, but also occurred at a time when African Americans had developed a new identity apart from slavery.¹²⁸ While southern blacks looked to the north as a place where the broken promises of Reconstruction could be fixed, it was also a place where their dreams could be fulfilled. And for many in the Deep South, it was Chicago that captured the attention and imagination of the restless migrant.¹²⁹

What helped to stir the minds of many southern blacks was a popular newspaper that began in Chicago in 1905. Founded by Robert S. Abbott, the *Defender* was one of several distinctive, and longstanding African-American newspapers established between

¹²⁶ Arnold R. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago 1940-1960* (University of Chicago Press, 1982), 3-4.

¹²⁷ James R. Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), Appendix A, p. 269.

¹²⁸ Felecia G. Jones and Joseph P. McKerns, “Depression in The Promised Land: The Chicago *Defender* Discourages Migration, 1929-1940,” *American Journalism* 21 (1) (Winter 2004), 55.

¹²⁹ Grossman, *Land of Hope*, 4.

the end of Reconstruction and World War 1.¹³⁰ These unique newspapers catered to southern blacks who not only wanted an outlet to express their concerns and feelings, but also used a variety of techniques to stimulate the migration north.¹³¹ Abbott saw an opportunity to draw on a population of southerners and extend his readership beyond the borders of Chicago to the Southern states. Abbott could also point to his own experience as a migrant and print stories of African-Americans who met with success after traveling north.¹³² He could also advertise new job openings in the north and arrange for reduced railroad fares for migrants traveling in large groups. By 1915, Abbott and his *Defender* influenced an estimated 50,000 southern African-Americans a week.¹³³ Within a year, there was a sudden opening of Chicago's unskilled industrial jobs to African-Americans, and by the summer of 1916, the *Defender* began to encourage black southerners to migrate north.¹³⁴

With all the societal changes taking place in the early decades of the twentieth century, the *Defender* was developing into an innovative newspaper that played a large role in promoting the Great Migration. In fact, some believe that the *Defender* more than any

¹³⁰ The African-American newspapers, which are still in publication, have included the *Philadelphia Tribune* (1884), *Baltimore Afro-American* (1892), *Journal & Guide* (1900), and *Pittsburgh Courier* (1910).

¹³¹ "The Promised Land: The Chicago *Defender* and the Black Press in Illinois, 1862-1970" in *The Black Press in the Middle West, 1865-1985*, ed. Henry Lewis Suggs (Westport Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996), 25.

¹³² Information of Abbott's personal and professional life is difficult to find. The editor left no personal papers, diaries, or letters. Roi Ottley's book is the only biography published on the life and times of Robert S. Abbott; Roi Ottley, *The Lonely Warrior: The Life and Times of Robert S. Abbott* (Chicago:Regnery, 1955).

¹³³ Grossman, *Land of Hope*, 5.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, 82.

other was the greatest cause of northern fever and the large exodus from the southern states.¹³⁵

After the war, an even greater number of black southerners arrived in the city, increasing the black population in Chicago from 44,103 to 109,458, between 1910 and 1920.¹³⁶ Most African Americans heading to Chicago tended to follow rail lines north. The Illinois Central Railroad tied Chicago to New Orleans and the entire Mississippi Valley. As the war effort demanded more black southerners for the city's labor market, the majority of African Americans came from the Deep South, including Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and other southern towns that were connected to the Illinois Central Railroad lines.¹³⁷

By the end of the war, the South Side Black Belt, which began emerging between 22nd and 31st Streets on the Southside around 1900, extended to 55th Street, between Wentworth and Cottage Grove Avenues.¹³⁸ This black enclave, which was nearly three miles long and a quarter mile wide, was home to approximately 85% of the city's nearly 110,000 black residents in 1920.¹³⁹ By 1930, the areas that blacks lived in Chicago was five times larger than it was thirty years earlier and its borders were clearly defined.¹⁴⁰ The conditions within the Black Belt for the newly arriving immigrants was hideous. Not only did vice and crime proliferate within this overcrowded area, but the Black Belt dwellings were

¹³⁵ Florette Henri, *Black Migration: Movement North 1900-1920* (Garden City: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1975), 63.

¹³⁶ Grossman, *Land of Hope*, 4.

¹³⁷ Dominic A. Pacyga, *A Biography: Chicago* (The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 204.

¹³⁸ Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 3.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 3. Note: The Black Belt eventually grew to encompass a geographic area seven miles long and a mile and a half wide from 22nd to 53 Streets, between Wentworth and Cottage Grove Avenues. See Sylvia Hood Washington, *Packing Them In*, 132; Maren Stange, *Bronzeville* (New York: The New Press, 2003), 7.

¹⁴⁰ Otis Duncan and Beverly Duncan, *The Negro Population of Chicago* (The University of Chicago Press, 1957), 95-96.

dilapidated, decaying and in need of major repairs. The desire of countless blacks was to move away and leave the Black Belt far behind. However, the directions in which the Black Belt area could expand were few to non-existent. To the north was a rundown district of many of the city's small factories and businesses. To the west, across Wentworth Avenue, were the Irish, who resisted the movement of blacks into their neighborhood. The resistance was so hostile, that in one Irish neighborhood there were only 29 blacks out of 3,762 residents, while in a bordering Black Belt neighborhood just to the east of Wentworth, 1,722 out of 3,711 residences were African-American.¹⁴¹ To the east of the Black Belt, residents could move into a small area bordered by Wabash Avenue to Lake Michigan. Given the limited space for black movement, the only direction for large expansion was southward to the neighborhoods of Kenwood and Hyde Park.¹⁴²

From 1929 to 1935, migration from the south nearly halted. Migration to Chicago picked up again during the Great Depression, when approximately 15,000 black southerners arrived in Chicago between 1935 and 1940.¹⁴³ While the number indicates a

¹⁴¹ William M. Tuttle, Jr., "Contested Neighborhoods and Racial Violence: Prelude to the Chicago Riot of 1919," *The Journal of Negro History*, 55:266-288 (1970), p. 273. At the same time, the Irish were also expanding south, along Halstead Street, which was parallel to the Black Belt. As the Irish neighborhoods expanded south, blacks were never able to successfully penetrate the Irish barrier. Some migrants were able to settle in deteriorating neighborhoods in the near North and West sides: see Harvey W. Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum* (University of Chicago Press, 1929), 38, 147-49.

¹⁴² Being immediately adjacent to the Black Belt, Kenwood-Hyde Park was the inevitable destination of numerous African-Americans. At the time of the war, Hyde Park was a deteriorating neighborhood, and offered affordable homes to blacks. Not only had property values declined over several decades, but many large buildings had been converted to apartment buildings and flats, in anticipation of black movement into the area. As for the residents of Hyde Park-Kenwood, many had fled to escape further depreciation, and by 1916, "an estimated 25 percent of the buildings in the district stood vacant." See Tuttle, "Contested Neighborhoods and Racial Violence," p. 273.

¹⁴³ J. Trent Alexander, "The Great Migration in Comparative Perspective," *Social Science History* 22:3 (Autumn 1998), 351 and 353. Alexander does make the point that "on the

positive increase in migrants to the city, the decade of the Depression was an era of territorial consolidation within the Black Belt, and only minor border augmentations to the crowded areas.¹⁴⁴

As black southern migration northward increased, and as Black Belt populations in Chicago continued to rise, there also was an increased effort among planners to create and maintain separate geographical spaces for African American communities. Whites living near these changing neighborhoods nestled along the fringes of the Black Belt, and feared that their neighborhoods would eventually change and become unstable. The Chicago Real Estate Board reflected the feelings of many of Chicago's white citizens when it first proposed explicit segregation of housing by race in 1917. The Board would also petition the City Council of Chicago to pass an ordinance prohibiting further migration of blacks to Chicago.¹⁴⁵

At the time of the Great Migration, Chicago was already a divided city, and perhaps more segregated than any other northern metropolis.¹⁴⁶ In *Making the Second Ghetto* (1983), Arnold Hirsch writes that as migration continued in the first quarter of the twentieth century, racial lines "begin to harden," and it was evident that white hostility to

whole long-distance migration continued to be an important strategy in the depression era," when a total of 347,000 people left the South for other regions.

¹⁴⁴ Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 4.

¹⁴⁵ Grossman, *Land of Hope*, 174. Also see Chicago Commission on Race Relations. *The Negro in Chicago* (Chicago, 1922), 121; Carl Sandberg, *The Chicago Race Riots July, 1919* (Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1919), 14; Thomas L. Philpott, *Slum and the Ghetto: Neighborhood Deterioration and Middle-Class Reform, Chicago 1880-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 164.

¹⁴⁶ Thomas Philpott, who made a very detailed analysis of segregation patterns in Chicago during the Great Migration, makes the argument that there was "probably no Southern city in which blacks were so segregated as they were in Chicago." Thomas L. Philpott, *Slum and the Ghetto: Neighborhood Deterioration and Middle-Class Reform, Chicago 1880-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 210.

the increased population numbers was linked to how patterns of black settlement were influenced.¹⁴⁷

In *Packing Them In* (2005), Sylvia Hood Washington mentions a similar issue related to the history of Chicago's urban form. Washington sees the roots of this hostility in a form of racism called environmental disenfranchisement.¹⁴⁸ This form of disenfranchisement, or racism, can be found in certain Southside communities, including the University of Chicago neighborhoods of Hyde Park, Kenwood, and Woodlawn. In these areas, community organizations encouraged segregation policies and practices that revolved around restrictive covenants and violence towards new arrivals.¹⁴⁹

Black Migration and the University of Chicago's Early Response

The University's leadership role in stabilizing the communities near the campus can be traced back to 1933 when Frank O'Brien, a University of Chicago alumnus, requested legal assistance to thwart the attempts of African Americans from entering the Washington Park Subdivision near Hyde Park.¹⁵⁰ Worried over the racial situation, the University quickly helped to reorganize local property owners' associations in the area into the Woodlawn Property Owners' League. In the Hyde Park and Kenwood neighborhoods, the University was behind the emergence of the newly created Hyde Park Property Owners' Association and the Oakland-Kenwood Property Owners Association.¹⁵¹ During the 1930s

¹⁴⁷ Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 9.

¹⁴⁸ Washington, *Packing Them In*, 131.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 144.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, 145.

and 1940s, the University of Chicago financially assisted these organizations in their legal efforts to keep blacks from migrating into the area.¹⁵²

From the outset of black migration into Chicago, neighborhood organizations and University officials used any available instrument to ensure racial segregation in the area, so the racial balance in Hyde Park-Kenwood remained intact. This would include not only the University's early support of restrictive covenants within neighborhoods, but also the enactment of state and federal legislation to augment existing laws regarding eminent domain and eventual urban renewal. While these tools were initially used by the University to protect itself from the encroaching color line; during urban renewal they were used intervene in the neighborhoods to integrate and stabilize the community with the construction of Kenwood High School.

Using racially restrictive covenants to enforce segregation became increasingly more useful as southern black migration to northern cities increased. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the residential segregation of blacks in Chicago was almost complete.¹⁵³ With the ruling in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court case the establishment of Jim Crow laws across the South was joined by "legally sanctioned" segregation policy across the country.¹⁵⁴ This type of legal segregation would take place in Chicago's housing market over the next fifty years in a variety of ways, such as the creation of neighborhood

¹⁵² Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 145. Also see Mary Pattillo, *Black on the Block, The Politics of Race and Class in the City* (The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 32-33. In her book, Pattillo writes that property owners' associations were the first line of defense against black settlement. "Perhaps the most notorious was the Kenwood and Hyde Park Property Owners' Association, formed in 1918." In its 1919 publication, the *Property Owners' Journal*, it stated the organization's position on making "Hyde Park white," and outlined its plans for addressing "the growing black presence in greater Hyde Park."

¹⁵³ Philpott, *Slum and the Ghetto*, 121.

¹⁵⁴ Washington, *Packing Them In*, 140.

organizations and “block clubs,” racially restrictive covenants on housing, and efforts by the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB) to “redline” African-American neighborhoods.¹⁵⁵ Although prior to the 1920s, several individual owners and developers had placed race restrictions on their deeds, covenants covering entire neighborhoods in Chicago were not common.¹⁵⁶

A challenge to racially restrictive covenants was dismissed by the Supreme Court in the 1926 *Corrigan v. Buckley* case, for want of jurisdiction.¹⁵⁷ After the *Corrigan* decision, The Chicago Real Estate Board began a concerted effort to blanket city neighborhoods with the covenants.¹⁵⁸ While organizing neighborhoods across the city was a massive undertaking, by the late 1920s, African-American neighborhoods in Chicago were kept in check by racial covenants. Soon, up to eighty-five percent of Chicago’s neighborhoods were restricted using this method.¹⁵⁹ A number of Chicago historians have written about racially segregated patterns for black southern migrants that formed in the city from the turn of the

¹⁵⁵ The Supreme Court’s decision in *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917), which invalidated a Louisville, Kentucky racial zoning ordinance, would help to bring about restrictive covenants and new property owners’ associations. The covenants and associations would be the tools by which white blocks and neighborhoods could provide a defense against black encroachment. Of these organizations, the Kenwood and Hyde Park Property Owners’ Association would gain notice in the fall of 1918 for its desire to make “Hyde Park white.” See William M. Tuttle, Jr., “Contested Neighborhoods and Racial Violence: Prelude to the Chicago Riot of 1919,” *The Journal of Negro History*, 55:266-288 (1970), p. 277. In *Making the Second Ghetto*, Hirsch does mention that “restrictive covenants” in Chicago during the 1940s, “served as little more than a fairly coarse sieve,” which were unable to stop the flow of the black population when actually put to the test. By 1948, the Supreme Court will rule that all restrictive covenants unenforceable (*Shelley v. Kraemer*). Also see Jennifer S. Light, *The Nature of Cities: Ecological Visions and the American Urban Professions, 1920-1960*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 52.

¹⁵⁶ Philpott, *Slum and the Ghetto*, 189.

¹⁵⁷ *Corrigan v. Buckley*, 271 U.S. 323 (1926).

¹⁵⁸ Philpott, *Slum and the Ghetto*, supra note 11, at 189.

¹⁵⁹ Allen R. Kamp, “The History Behind *Hansberry v. Lee*,” *University of California Davis Law Review* 20:481-499 (1988), p. 484.

century to end of the Second Great Migration.¹⁶⁰ While some of these scholars have discussed both voluntary and involuntary segregation, the historical evidence clearly shows that black southern migrants entering Chicago from Reconstruction until the middle of the twentieth of century had very little choice in the neighborhoods or locations in the city to live. What is clear is that the vast majority of African-Americans in Chicago became racially segregated because of legal and extralegal racial policies and neighborhood planning practices that were constantly reinforced by violence perpetrated by whites.¹⁶¹

As useful as racial covenants were to maintaining segregated neighborhoods in Chicago, the use of direct violence was often the preferred, and arguably more effective, way of guaranteeing racial segregation following the first wave of migration to the city. Given the existence of racial tensions that existed in the city, particularly between the years 1917-1919, it is not surprising that violence in Chicago increased as the black population grew and the competition for jobs and housing intensified.¹⁶² Fears about the spread of blacks outside the Black Belt boundaries led whites to throw twenty-four bombs at houses owned

¹⁶⁰ The research dealing with black migration to Chicago and neighborhood developments are St. Claire Drake and Horace R. Clayton's *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York Harcourt Brace, 1945), Alan Spear's *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto* (University of Chicago Press, 1967), James Grossman's *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners and the Great Migration* (University of Chicago Press, 1989), Thomas L. Philpott's *The Slum and the Ghetto: Neighborhood Deterioration and Middle-Class Reform, Chicago 1880-1930* (Oxford University Press, 1978), and William Tuttle Jr.'s *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (University of Illinois Press, 1970).

¹⁶¹ Washington, *Packing Them In*, 131.

¹⁶² Dominic A. Pacyga, *A Biography: Chicago*, 208. Pacyga makes the point that the Chicago Stockyards had become a major employer of African-Americans during the war years, and these jobs were largely built upon war orders. After the war, blacks would be among the first to "feel the pain of the postwar economy." By May 1919, "total employment in the stockyards fell from over sixty-five thousand in January to fifty thousand." It is safe to conclude that growing unemployment numbers would tend to add to the racial friction in the city at the time.

by blacks who attempted to push outside the established lines.¹⁶³ A bombing occurred an average of once every twenty days in the city, between July 1, 1917, and March 1, 1921.¹⁶⁴ Even public parks became dangerous places for African-Americans as white gangs, particularly Englewood's Ragen's Colts,¹⁶⁵ played a role in defending public spaces against black encroachment.¹⁶⁶ The effectiveness of this direct violence towards blacks in Chicago was reinforced with a police force that offered little, or no protection, and in some instances joining with the aggressors or instigated their own aggressive behavior on blacks.¹⁶⁷ This evidence is based on both actualities and rumors, and may explain why blacks had to depend on their own resources for protection.¹⁶⁸ In time, the violence that is tied to the housing crisis would help to stimulate the formation of property owners' associations that would be outwardly hostile to blacks moving into white neighborhoods.

¹⁶³ Figures and dates of the bombings vary by sources. William Tuttle writing in *The Journal of Negro History*, states that "no less than 26 bombs were exploded at isolated black residences in once all-white neighborhoods and at the offices of certain realtors who had sold to blacks." William M. Tuttle, Jr., "Contested Neighborhoods and Racial Violence: Prelude to the Chicago Riot of 1919," *The Journal of Negro History*, 55:266-288 (1970), p. 267. Also see, Grossman, *Land of Hope*, 178; Mary Pattillo, *Black on the Block*, 30-33. Pattillo writes about a "particularly spectacular and deadly method used to intimidate blacks," was the use of house bombings in the period between 1917-1921. Pattillo mentions that four black residents and three black real estate agents were bombed in Oakland. While no one was injured in the events, the bombings had the desired effect of making the black families move from their homes on Berkley Avenue.

¹⁶⁴ Washington, *Packing Them In*, 141.

¹⁶⁵ Dominic A. Pacyga, *A Biography: Chicago*, 210.

¹⁶⁶ William M. Tuttle, Jr., *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), 233-240.

¹⁶⁷ Grossman, *Land of Hope*, 178. In *A Biography: Chicago*, Dominic Pacyga makes mention of Chicago police often arresting victims, rather than rioters in the neighborhoods surrounding the stockyards during the industrial unrest that broke out in Chicago during the summer of 1919. See Dominic A. Pacyga, *A Biography: Chicago*, 208; Tuttle, "Contested Neighborhoods and Racial Violence: Prelude to the Chicago Riot of 1919," 268.

¹⁶⁸ Tuttle, *Contested Neighborhoods and Racial Violence: Prelude to the Chicago Riot of 1919*, 268.

By the spring of 1919, Chicago's black community began to fear an anti-black campaign that would be worse than the downstate riots in Springfield and East St. Louis in 1908.¹⁶⁹ Violence between blacks and whites occurred over several months and intensified by June. Not only were the Ragen's Colts active, but other less organized white mobs also attacked blacks.¹⁷⁰ As fears increased heading into the summer months, blacks were worried about larger attacks to come and, some evidence suggests that a few migrants decided to return South.¹⁷¹ Some of the fear can be linked to the industrial unrest in the city and the United States that was taking place at the same time. In July 1919, nearly 250,000 workers in Chicago either went on strike, threatened to strike, or were locked out of their workplace.¹⁷²

The struggle for geographic living space, the fight to protect the larger white communities surrounding the Black Belt, and the labor unrest in the city all influenced the infamous four-day race riot in July 1919. The riot began on Sunday, July 27, when Eugene Williams, a sixteen-year old black youth, went for a swim in Lake Michigan with his friends and violated the extralegal rule and planned policy governing the use of a white-only beach. Williams drowned in Lake Michigan when he and his friends floated on a raft off the black beach when the lake's current took them over the invisible boundary line in the water off the Twenty-ninth Street Beach. Whites began throwing rocks at the boys and one hit William in the head, and the current pulled him under and he drowned. This clash between whites and blacks on a near Southside beach led to one of America's bloodiest race riots.

¹⁶⁹ Grossman, *Land of Hope*, 177.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 179.

¹⁷¹ William M. Tuttle, *Race Riot*, 236-241.

¹⁷² Dominic A. Pacyga, *A Biography: Chicago*, 209.

The Chicago Race Riots of 1919 resulted in 38 deaths (15 whites and 23 blacks), 537 injuries (178 white, 342 black, 17 race unknown), and 1,000 homeless people.¹⁷³

The 1919 Chicago Race Riots and the anti-black violence campaigns in numerous city neighborhoods were just a precursor to decades of whites organizing against black encroachment and settlement on the city's Southside, particularly in the Kenwood-Hyde Park neighborhoods. Black migrants to Chicago soon discovered that the North was not all that they had envisioned nor did they anticipate the amount of violence found in the neighborhoods. "My first glimpse of the flat black stretches of Chicago depressed and dismayed me, mocked all my fantasies," recalled Richard Wright, one of the most famous southern black migrants to the city.¹⁷⁴ James R. Grossman echoes a similar thought when he concludes in his history of the First Great Migration to Chicago that, "the dreams embodied in the Great Migration eventually collapsed under the weight of continued racial oppression and the failure of industrial capitalism to distribute its prosperity as widely as the migrants had expected."¹⁷⁵

In what is known as the Second Great Migration, nearly four million southern blacks migrated to northern cities in the post war period, 1940-1970. This period of migration overshadowed any previous movement of people to Chicago. When nearly 25,000 southern black migrants moved into the already congested neighborhoods in the early 1940s, these

¹⁷³ For information on the Chicago Race Riot of 1919, see Washington, *Packing Them In*, 134; Dominic A. Pacyga, *A Biography: Chicago*, 210; Mary Pattillo, *Black on the Block*, 31; Charles S. Johnson, "The Negro in Chicago," *The American Sociologist*, 26:78-88 (1995), p. 79; William M. Tuttle, Jr., "Contested Neighborhoods and Racial Violence: Prelude to the Chicago Riot of 1919," *The Journal of Negro History*, 55:266-288 (1970); Chicago Commission on Race Relations. *The Negro in Chicago* (Chicago, 1922).

¹⁷⁴ Richard Wright, *Black Boy (American Hunger): A Record of Childhood and Youth* (1945; reprint, New York: HarperPerennial, 1993), p. 307.

¹⁷⁵ Grossman, *Land of Hope*, 265.

individuals set the stage for decades of migration into overpopulated and rapidly changing communities.¹⁷⁶ Between 1942 and 1965, nearly 425,000 southern blacks moved to Chicago, and nearly 535,000 moved into the entire metropolitan area.¹⁷⁷ While the percentage growth during these two decades cannot compare to the earlier Great Migration, the actual numbers of migrants arriving from the south was unparalleled.

It was during the 1940s and 1950s that the Black Belt boundaries, which were seemingly set before World War II, began to change as the renewal of massive black migration into the city began. The communities of Oakland, Kenwood, Hyde Park, and Woodlawn saw a large influx of new arrivals. The change this new migration group brings to the Black Belt is what Hirsch terms the “second ghetto.” According to Hirsch, the making of the second ghetto was fundamentally different from the first. Although the second ghetto preserved the color line, it was endorsed and supported by the federal government

¹⁷⁶ “In Chicago where every single available living unit regardless of condition is used, the over-crowding has caused a deterioration of dwelling units not only occupied by war workers but occupied by other gainfully employed families. From just one form of deterioration...fires, it was estimated that 1,000 persons were driven out doors in a month [in December 1943].” Horace Cayton and Harry J. Walker, United Committee on Emergency Housing, report to National Housing Agency re: “The Problem of Negro Housing and the Program of the National Housing Agency,” 14pp., January 14, 1944, Box 178, Folder 7, Julius Rosenwald Fund Collection, Fish University Archives, Nashville, Tennessee. Also see *The Negro Population of Chicago*, where Duncan and Duncan make the point that “the 1940 areas of Negro residence were congested, and the entire increase in Negro population could not be absorbed by these areas,” Otis Duncan and Beverly Duncan, *The Negro Population of Chicago* (The University of Chicago Press, 1957), 97.

¹⁷⁷ Ann Ratner Miller, *Intercensal Migration to Large Urban Areas of the United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1964); U.S. Bureau of Census, “1970 Census of Population and Housing: General Demographic Trends for Metropolitan Areas, 1960 to 1970: Illinois,” (Washington, D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), Table 3, 14. Also see Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 16. Hirsch writes that “between 1940 and 1950 Chicago’s black population swelled by 214,534; between 1950 and 1960 it grew by 320,372.” In *The Negro Population of Chicago*, Duncan and Duncan make the point that “the city’s population increased by 215,000 between 1940 and 1950 – from 277,731 in 1940 to 492,265 in 1950,” Otis Duncan and Beverly Duncan, *The Negro Population of Chicago* (The University of Chicago Press, 1957), 97.

through legislation and funding.¹⁷⁸ In *American Apartheid*, Massey and Denton contend that the building of the “second ghetto” was brought about through “institutionalized discrimination in the real estate and banking industries, support by widespread acts of private prejudice and discrimination.” These seemingly coordinated acts were underwritten by state and federal policies that encouraged white flight from urban areas, particularly Chicago.¹⁷⁹ It was through this new federal program of urban renewal and public housing that local governments, were able to continue to isolate black communities in numerous northern cities.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 9.

¹⁷⁹ Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and The Making of an Underclass* (Harvard University Press, 1993), 187.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

II. THE HISTORY OF THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF HYDE PARK AND KENWOOD

“An urban renewal program is the moment of truth in the life of any city or neighborhood. This is the moment when determinations have to be made as to goals and objectives, as to the future character of development and change over at least the ensuing quarter century. It is also the moment when assets and liabilities have to be cast up, when what is wrong and what is right has to be defined.”

Julian H. Levi, Executive Director, South East Chicago Commission,
Commencement Address to the John Marshall Law School, 1961¹⁸¹

I. History of Hyde Park-Kenwood – 19th Century

Located eight miles south of downtown Chicago, Hyde Park and the adjunct historic district of Kenwood, have a long and storied history. With the opening of the Illinois and Michigan Canal in 1848, the scale of commerce and industry in Chicago began to change dramatically, which helped to draw entrepreneurs, investors and innovators to the region. One such individual who believed in the promise the developing city offered was an ambitious young politician named Stephen A. Douglas. By 1851, Douglas had purchased seventy-five acres of lakeshore land between 31st and 33rd Streets on the near South Side of the city.¹⁸² Within a few years, Senator Douglas sold part of his lakeside property to the Illinois Central Railroad and planned to build a respectable home on the remaining land.¹⁸³ Like other entrepreneurs and investors who arrived in the early years of Chicago, Douglas was a strong advocate for the commercial and cultural development of the new city. The

¹⁸¹ Julian H. Levi, “Commencement Address,” Given before the John Marshall Law School, Chicago, Illinois, February 18, 1961, Office of the President, Beadle Administration, Records, 1916-1968, Box 353, Folder 5: Urban Renewal, Julian Levi, speeches, 1961, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago Library, Chicago, IL.

¹⁸² John W. Boyer, *The University of Chicago, A History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 8.

¹⁸³ Robert W. Johannsen, *Stephen A. Douglas* (New York, 1973), 335-36. It is worth noting that Douglas’s tomb at Thirty-Fifty Street and the lake is the last remaining trace of the estate that Douglas called Oakenwald.

Senator's desire to bring development to Chicago led Douglas to recruit others to region, including a young lawyer named Paul Cornell.

When he arrived in Chicago on a Fink & Walker stagecoach, the twenty-five-year-old lawyer soon found employment at the law office of Wilson & Freer.¹⁸⁴ Cornell soon moved to the firm Skinner & Hoyne, where he would meet Senator Douglas, whose advice changed his future. Douglas, who envisioned a southward expansion of the city, encouraged Cornell to put his money into land, "between the Chicago River and the Calumet."¹⁸⁵ After accumulating the needed funds, Cornell followed Douglas's advice and bought three hundred acres of land in 1853, between 51st and 55th Streets and Lake Michigan and Cottage Grove Avenue.¹⁸⁶ Cornell had hoped to establish a suburban resort town directly south of the city, and was delighted when surveyors for the Illinois Central Railroad wanted to run a line to Chicago that went directly through his property. Delighted at the prospect of increasing the value of his land, Cornell deeded sixty acres to the Illinois Central Railroad on the condition that they would build a station at 53rd street and run daily passenger trains between the city and his landholdings.¹⁸⁷ The first train ran on June 1, 1856, and by the end of July, regular service began, with four trains daily (except Sunday) at a fare of seven and a

¹⁸⁴ Susan O'Connor Davis, *Chicago's Historic Hyde Park* (The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 2.

¹⁸⁵ "Gallery of Celebrities," *Chicago Tribune*, March 25, 1900.

¹⁸⁶ Cornell's initial purchase of sixty acres in August 1853, became the center of the community he intended to eventually develop. Also see, Boyer, *The University of Chicago, A History*, 8, and Robin F. Bachin, *Building The South Side; Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago, 1890-1919* (University of Chicago Press, 2004), 36.

¹⁸⁷ According to Andreas's *History of Cook County*, initially three trains were scheduled to run in each direction, but only as far south as 56th Street; A.T. Andreas, *History of Cook County, Illinois: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Chicago: A.T. Andreas, 1884).

half cents.¹⁸⁸ This new transportation line to the city made the Hyde Park area accessible to the people in the city, and thus increased the value of the surrounding land.¹⁸⁹

In 1856, Cornell platted his tract of land south of city, not as a pastoral setting, but according to the regular rectangular street pattern commonly found in Chicago. However, Cornell made individual property lots larger than city standards, with wider minimum frontage, no service alleys, and a greater setback from the street for homes.¹⁹⁰

Cornell's original settlement consisted of eight houses and grew slowly as a residential community prior to the Civil War.¹⁹¹ By early 1861, the township of Hyde Park was incorporated, and at the time, included a large forty-eight square-mile area, from 39th Street south to 138th Street.¹⁹²

Cornell's Hyde Park settlement was just one of many that formed along the new Illinois Central tracks, providing Chicagoans who could afford to escape the growing city with several alternatives. During the spring of 1856, another new South Side settler arrived in the area. Local dentist, Dr. Jonathan Asa Kennicott, and his wife Marie left the city and purchased eight acres south of town. He christened the land "Kenwood" after his mother's birthplace near Edinburgh, Scotland.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁸ Susan O'Connor Davis, *Chicago's Historic Hyde Park* (The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 3.

¹⁸⁹ "Examination of Title," Hyde Park Community Collection, Chicago Public Library, Special Collections, Box 3, folder 11; A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago* (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1884), 2:479.

¹⁹⁰ Paul Cornell stipulated that all purchasers of his lots situate their houses twenty feet from the front edge of the lots. See A. T. Andreas, *History of Cook County* (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1884), 531.

¹⁹¹ Andreas, *History of Cook County*, 532.

¹⁹² Davis, *Chicago's Historic Hyde Park*, 7.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 7.

The planned development of Cornell's Hyde Park differed slightly from the new area of Kenwood. From the beginning, the economy of Hyde Park was centered on real estate development and residential building, keeping in line with Cornell's desire to keep the area suburban and industry-free. Soon, other developers and business people, including Marshall Field, purchased land in the area for speculation, and the section of land just north of Cornell's holdings would become another fashionable residential district.¹⁹⁴

To the north in Kenwood properties tended to be large – up to ten acres – with large homes set far back from the street, with room for coach houses and large barns.¹⁹⁵ Most homes were constructed of stone and brick, contained unique ornamentation, and were often obscured by stands of trees. In this community names like Martin Ryerson, the leading lumberman and capitalist of Chicago, Julius Rosenwald of Sears and Roebuck and Company, and Joseph Schaffner of the firm Hart, Schaffner and Marx, settled with their families.¹⁹⁶ Unlike Hyde Park, Kenwood remained entirely residential with no retail development until 1894, when storefronts opened at 47th Street and Lake Park Avenue.¹⁹⁷ While retail development began to creep in to the area, attempts to construct row housing or apartment buildings were frowned upon.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴ For example, George Kimbark bought land between Fifty-first and Fifty-fifth Streets, Woodlawn and Dorchester. John Kennicot bought property and built a home at Forty-eighth and Dorchester in an area that he would call Kenwood. A. T. Andreas, *History of Cook County* (Chicago: At. T. Andreas, 1884), 555; Jean Block, *Hyde Park Houses: An Informal History, 1865-1910* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 6-8.

¹⁹⁵ Robin F. Bachin, *Building The South Side*, 39.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Jean F. Block, *Hyde Park Homes*, 75.

¹⁹⁸ Developers began building apartments and row housing on the periphery of Kenwood, but not without community protest. Charles Hutchinson and others took Russell Ulrich and W. I. Beman to court to halt construction of an apartment house on the southwest corner of Greenwood and 44th Street. In 1893, the Illinois Supreme Court upheld a lower court decision and allowed project to continue. The court ruled that an apartment building is a

By 1880, the town of Hyde Park took on a village government, as was well on the way to becoming the largest village in the world.¹⁹⁹ As the population ballooned in the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhoods, tensions between class and ethnic groups also increased, and residents called for the area to be divided into three separate villages: Hyde Park, South Chicago, and Pullman. Other alternatives were considered, including making Hyde Park a city government and dividing the district into various wards.²⁰⁰ While the main reasons for the discontent were the rapid increase in population and the class and ethnic tensions in the area, there was also a desire among residents to have additional public services. When an amended bill allowing Chicago to annex adjacent territories passed the state legislature in 1889, some Hyde Park residents saw this as a solution to their problems.²⁰¹ Voters agreed to annexation on June 28, 1889, and thus, three years before the opening of the University of Chicago, Hyde Park-Kenwood became a part of the city.

II. History of Hyde Park-Kenwood – 20th Century

Hyde Park

Despite the growth of Hyde Park during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the largest transformation of the Hyde Park area took place in the early 1890s, with the creation of the University of Chicago and the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.

single dwelling, as opposed to a commercial structure. Despite the ruling, there was a feeling in the community that multi-family housing in Kenwood was not preferred.

¹⁹⁹ In 1890, Hyde Park announced itself the largest village in the world, and the census that year indicated a population count of 85,000. See Peter H. Rossi and Robert A. Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal*, 12; Julia Abrahamson, *A Neighborhood Finds Itself* (Bilbo and Tannen Booksellers and Publishers, 1971), 4.

²⁰⁰ Robin F. Bachin, *Building The South Side*, 40.

²⁰¹ While many Hyde Park opposed annexation, especially the rich Chicagoans in the northern sector, it was the residents in South Park who favored annexation, most likely for the benefits of services for water, roads, and general improvements.

While the University of Chicago emerged from the philanthropy of John D. Rockefeller and the goodwill of Marshall Field, who donated land for the new university, it did help to create a new residential community to the east of the campus. However, much of the transformation of the area was due to the impact of the World's Fair.²⁰²

The expectation of the coming Fair led to an increase in residential apartment construction and commercial and hotel building in Hyde Park and Woodlawn, and the development of the South Side Elevated line, which reached from the Loop to 39th Street by 1892, and Jackson Park and the exposition a year later.

Following the fair, the area experienced a construction slump, and many of the hotels and residential buildings became boarding houses. By the turn-of-the-century, new construction began in the area and continued until the 1920s. During these two decades, a mixed-use pattern of six-flat walk-up apartment buildings were constructed around larger structures, including commercial buildings.²⁰³

During the same period the community of Hyde Park became more diverse. In the years following World War I, and into the early 1920s, there was a large influx of Jewish residents into the area.²⁰⁴ Many of these residents preferred to live in the newer apartment buildings that were being constructed throughout the area, particularly east Hyde Park, which was developing into a popular hotel and resort area.

By the 1930s, Hyde Park had nearly one hundred hotels, and the lakefront east of the Illinois Central Railroad was home to nearly a dozen large and increasingly elaborate hotel

²⁰² Grossman, James R., Ann Durkin Keating, and Janice L. Reiff, *The Encyclopedia of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

²⁰³ McClory, Robert, "The Plot to Destroy North Kenwood," *Chicago Reader* 14 October 1993. Web. 31 January 2016.

²⁰⁴ Grossman, James R., Ann Durkin Keating, and Janice L. Reiff, *The Encyclopedia of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

structures which would later be converted into apartment complexes. In addition to these large hotels on the east side of the community, some of the older hotels built for the Columbian Exposition were still in use, but in time would soon house a more transient population, including housing for students at the University of Chicago. In 1930, the total population of Hyde Park was 48,017, with the white residents totally nearly 98 percent and the Black population about 1 percent.²⁰⁵

Between 1940 and 1950, the population of Hyde Park increased and the percentage of blacks moving into the community in even larger numbers. During this period, most moved eastward across Cottage Grove Avenue into an area between Cottage Grove Avenue and Drexel Boulevard and from Hyde Park Boulevard to 55th Street.

During the 1950s, the total population of Hyde Park declined considerably, but remained predominantly white. While the total population decreased, the movement of blacks into the community continued to accelerate, and by the end of the decade was nearly 38 percent.²⁰⁶ The total white population in the community was about 60 percent, there are some hints that whites were leaving the community, and some of this may be the result of the federally sponsored urban renewal plan that was well underway in the area.²⁰⁷

Since the 1960s, the total population of Hyde Park has continued to decline to nearly 30,000 residents.²⁰⁸ Although the total population of the community is substantially less

²⁰⁵ Kitagawa, Evelyn M., and Karl E. Taeuber, "Local Community Fact Book Chicago Metropolitan Area 1960," (Chicago: Chicago Community Inventory, University of Chicago, 1963), 96.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 97.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Grinnell, Max, "Hyde Park." *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*, edited by Grossman, James R., Ann Durkin Keating, and Janice L. Reiff, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 404-405, 1040.

than the 1960s, the black population has been consistent at nearly 38 percent. During this same period, the white population has declined to nearly 46 percent.²⁰⁹

Kenwood

After the village of Hyde Park was annexed to the City of Chicago in 1889, the community of Kenwood was within the city's boundaries. While the construction of large single-family houses began to slow after 1900, the community continued to be a preferred residential section of the city. During this time the area had few apartment buildings, and wealthy residents continued to construct large homes in an assortment of architectural designs, including Prairie and Queen Anne styles. The new families that moved into Kenwood at this time included many wealthy stockyard executives and other well-to-do families that migrated southward from the fashionable Prairie Avenue district.

By 1910, elevated train lines extended into Kenwood at a terminus that was built at 42nd Street and the lake. The transit extension attracted a new group of residents into the area that were white-collar workers that commuted into the city. These individuals and families found places to live in apartments that were constructed along Drexel Boulevard near the "L" lines, or in rooming houses converted from the old homes found in the northern part of the community. South of 47th Street, Kenwood continued to maintain itself as an area of single-family homes.

In 1920, there were 21,068 people living in Kenwood.²¹⁰ In the next ten years, the population increased 28 percent. This increase in population coincided with an increase in

²⁰⁹ Paral, Rob, "Chicago Community Areas Historical Data," *Chicago Community Areas Historical Data*. Web. 15 February 2016.

construction in the community, as there was an increasing number of homes being converted into kitchenettes and rooming houses. Kenwood by the end of the decade was a community that had numerous foreign born individuals, and the dominant groups were Germans, English, and Irish. The late 1920s saw the addition of two large art deco apartment buildings along with the growing popularity of the Chicago Beach Hotel at Hyde Park Boulevard and Lake Michigan.

During the 1930s the population of Kenwood increased slightly and conversions continued to take place at an increasing rate in the northern half of the community. This part of the community also began to attract transients and single persons. While the northern part of the community began to deteriorate, the southern part became less desirable. East of the Illinois Central tracks, which had been built up with tall apartment complexes in the 1920s, continued to be among the most desirable residential districts in Chicago.

Between 1940 and 1960, the population increased nearly 40 percent, from 29,611 to 41,533.²¹¹ The old Chicago Beach Hotel at Hyde Park Boulevard and the lake was taken over as an army hospital during the second World War. During the 1940s, a Japanese community grew up in the northern part of the community.²¹² It was during this period that the community also witnessed the first movement of African Americans into the community. Before the 1940s, Cottage Grove Avenue had separated the densely populated “Black Belt” from Kenwood. After WWII, African-Americans began moving into the northern and

²¹⁰ Kitagawa, Evelyn M., and Karl E. Taeuber, “Local Community Fact Book Chicago Metropolitan Area 1960,” (Chicago: Chicago Community Inventory, University of Chicago, 1963), 92.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² McClory, Robert, “The Plot to Destroy North Kenwood,” *Chicago Reader* 14 October 1993. Web. 31 January 2016.

eastern parts of Kenwood. By 1950, African-Americans comprised 10 percent of the population of the community. Like prior decades, increased conversions accompanied the increase in population.

By 1960, the community of Kenwood had a total population of 41,533, of which 84 percent (34,838) were African-American.²¹³ The remaining whites, which totaled 6,282 or 15 percent, were concentrated in the south-eastern part of the community where a new section of high-rise apartment buildings had been built.

By 1970, the population of Kenwood had declined by 14,625 to 26,908. The African American population dipped to 79 percent (21,222) and the white population rose to 20 percent (5396) of the total population.²¹⁴ While this shows a five percent increase for whites, the total number of whites in Kenwood dropped during this decade by nearly 900 individuals.

Thus, between 1950 and 1970, the number of whites who left Kenwood totaled 24,840 and the number of African-Americans that moved into the community totaled 17,769. The decade between 1950 and 1960 saw the greatest change in population, but white flight continued to increase well into the 1960s.

In the late 1970s, Kenwood experienced a renaissance, as several parts of the community were designated as historic districts by the City of Chicago and new residential construction began to replace vacant lots.²¹⁵ By the 1990s, families were moving back to the neighborhood, and an educational partnership between the Chicago Board of Education

²¹³ Kitagawa, Evelyn M., and Karl E. Taeuber, "Local Community Fact Book Chicago Metropolitan Area 1960," (Chicago: Chicago Community Inventory, University of Chicago, 1963), 92.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ McClory, Robert, "The Plot to Destroy North Kenwood," *Chicago Reader* 14 October 1993. Web. 31 January 2016.

and the University of Chicago resulted in the formation of a new charter school in the area.²¹⁶ In 1990, the total population of Kenwood was 18,178, less than half the 1960 level of 41,533.²¹⁷ The white population of Kenwood in 1990 was 20 percent, while the black residents were nearly 77 percent. While the total black population decreased slightly over this thirty-year period, the number of whites increased.

III. Early History - University of Chicago

Just as residents wanted to be part of the growing city to the north, the University of Chicago sought a unique role as well. The initial charter for the university said it must locate its campus within the city, not a suburb or a rural area.²¹⁸ According to William Rainey Harper, the University's first president, the city could serve as a laboratory in which students and professors could explore contemporary problems and find solutions through the scientific method. Harper hoped that the University of Chicago would become a central component of a rapidly developing urban center. Speaking at Columbia University in 1902, Harper refined his view on the role of urban universities: "A university which will adapt itself to urban influence, which will undertake to serve as an expression of urban civilization, and which is compelled to meet the demands of an urban environment will in the end become something essentially different from a university located in a village or small city."²¹⁹

²¹⁶ Grossman, James R., Ann Durkin Keating, and Janice L. Reiff, *The Encyclopedia of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

²¹⁷ Chicago Department of Development and Planning, *Chicago Statistical Abstract* (Chicago: City of Chicago, 1973).

²¹⁸ Robin F. Bachin, *Building The South Side*, 27.

²¹⁹ Quoted in *The University and the City: A Centennial View of the University of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 1992), ix.

The new University of Chicago was to be an important part of a growing metropolis. Chicago at the turn-of-the-century certainly faced the consequences of industrialization and rapid urbanization in the modern city: poverty, overpopulated neighborhoods, slums, and unsanitary and dangerous working conditions. Harper's belief in positivist science and its social function, advocating educational programs to produce research that could be used for practical social and civic betterment made Chicago the perfect focus to attract the best students and faculty. Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed, who earlier sought to establish a Baptist institution of higher learning in Chicago, believed that the city was the natural location for a new institution because it was a new and unique urban center: "A first class institution here is certain to become the greatest in our denomination. Chicago is the commercial, political, social, religious, education center of a wide empire. Of all the places in the world, this is the location plainly designed by nature for a great University of our people."²²⁰ Goodspeed's ideas were certainly on display as the new University of Chicago opened its doors on October 1, 1892, just two weeks before the dedication of the World's Columbian Exposition fairgrounds. Since the site for the World's Fair of 1893 was to be just south of the new university in Jackson Park, all in attendance for the opening would have the opportunity to see the future of Chicago and the nation rising in tandem with the opening of the modern university. The symbol of American progress and innovation at the Exposition, the Ferris Wheel, was constructed along the Midway Plaisance, a stretch of land adjacent to the university campus. From this location, university attendees would also see

²²⁰ Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed to John D. Rockefeller, January 7, 1887, Correspondence of the Founder and His Associates, box 1, folder 1. Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

the rise of several new limestone-clad Gothic buildings, designed by architect Henry Ives Cobb, and reminiscent of earlier days.²²¹

From the beginning, the founders of the University of Chicago believed the institution would be dedicated to solving social and industrial problems that seemed to consume the urban sphere in the nineteenth century. The University was founded as a Baptist institution, after Goodspeed helped to convince oil industrialist and philanthropist John D. Rockefeller of the need for such an institution of higher learning in Chicago. Rockefeller, the wealthiest Baptist in America at the time and a loyal member of the denomination, had been courted for several years to invest in higher education in Chicago.²²² After the collapse of the old University, Goodspeed and others helped convince Rockefeller to donate an endowment gift of \$600,000 to establish a college in Chicago.²²³ The donation was given on the condition that the Chicago organizers obtain a matching fund of \$400,000 within one year.²²⁴

As Goodspeed and Richard Gates were raising money for the new University, there was also a movement underway to spark the interest of William Rainey Harper to assume

²²¹ Jean Block, *The Uses of Gothic: Planning and Building the University of Chicago, 1892-1932* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

²²² John W. Boyer, *The University of Chicago, A History*, 37.

²²³ The original University of Chicago, established by Stephen Douglas in 1857 as a Baptist mission school, collapsed in 1886 due to financial difficulties. Frederick Gates and Thomas Goodspeed, who were aware of the misery and public humiliation that accompanied the ruin of the first institution, had considerable difficulty raising the need money to match Rockefeller's offer of \$600,000 to re-create a first-rate Baptist college in Chicago. Also, for much of the 1880s, Augustus H. Strong, the president of Rochester Seminary, had pushed a plan for endowing a Baptist institution in New York City. Strong believed New York was better suited for such an institution and had hoped that Rockefeller would bankroll his vision. Rockefeller would ultimately choose Chicago for a new Baptist institution.

²²⁴ John W. Boyer, *The University of Chicago, A History*, 49.

the leadership reins of the new institution.²²⁵ Harper, considered the nation's leading Baptist scholar of the Old Testament, favored the idea of Chicago as the site for a new Baptist institution.²²⁶ Not only did Goodspeed and Gates formally appeal to Harper to accept the position of president, but Rockefeller helped to negotiate a proposal that was agreeable to Harper and would draw him away from Yale University and accept the new leadership post in Chicago. Harper officially accepted the presidency of the new University of Chicago on February 16, 1891, to be effective beginning in July.²²⁷ As part of his acceptance, Rockefeller agreed to give the new University another \$1 million to endow graduate and professional instruction.²²⁸ The idea of establishing a large-scale university would serve both the needs of the Baptists and the desire to create a new world-class research institution in the region. The unique blending of religious ideas and scientific investigation might help to solve the needs and concerns of a modern urban society. To this point, Martin Ryerson, president of the University's Board of Trustees, said, "We know that in the presence of the great social and industrial problems of the day we cannot afford to leave concealed any part of the truth which the human is capable of grasping, and that this truth must be sought in the domain of natural science as well as in the domain of religion, ethics, and political science."²²⁹

²²⁵ Harper is best known for his role in shaping the Chautauqua movement, an educational experiment started in upstate New York in 1874, that was devoted to providing summer educational programs for Sunday school teachers.

²²⁶ Robin F. Bachin, *Building The South Side*, 29.

²²⁷ John W. Boyer, *The University of Chicago, A History*, 57.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 55.

²²⁹ Martin A. Ryerson, quoted in *Quarterly Calendar*, 1892-96, August 1894, 31.

III. THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO AND AN “APPROPRIATE COMMUNITY”: RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

“How do you tell desirable from undesirable Negroes?”
James Cunningham, Executive Director of the
Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference,
On the university’s neighborhood policies²³⁰

“My people are poor. And they are tired. And they are determined to live.
Our South side is a place apart: each piece of our living is a protest.”
Lorraine Hansberry, *To Be Young, Gifted and Black*²³¹

Carl Hansberry wanted to buy a better home for his family in 1937, when he purchased a three-story brick home at 6140 South Rhodes Avenue in the Washington Park neighborhood of Chicago.²³² In moving his family into this all-white neighborhood near the University of Chicago, Hansberry, a prominent real estate broker, directly confronted one of the most entrenched realities of urban segregation in the city: restrictive covenants. Under racially restrictive covenants, in particular, property owners in the area agreed contractually that no real estate should be purchased, leased, or occupied by a particular group of people, usually African Americans. By 1925, restrictive covenants became, as Judge Henry Lunt of the Chicago Real Estate Board expressed to the Kiwanis Club of Hyde

²³⁰ Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 170.

²³¹ Robert Nemiroff, *To Be Young, Gifted and Black: Lorraine Hansberry in Her Own Words* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1969), 17.

²³² Hansberry’s daughter, Lorraine Hansberry, the youngest of four children, later authored *A Raisin in the Sun*, as well as various other plays relating to human rights and equality. In *A Raisin in the Sun*, the Younger family lives in Woodlawn, the neighborhood just south of the University of Chicago. This is not a coincidence, as Hansberry grew up in this neighborhood, and this play was based on her own experiences with residential segregation. Also see, Lyonette Louis-Jacques, “Lorraine Hansberry: Her Chicago Law Story,” *The University of Chicago Library News*, Posted on March 6, 2013: accessed on December 29, 2016: <http://news.lib.uchicago.edu/blog/2013/03/06/lorraine-hansberry-her-chicago-law-story/>.

Park, “like marvelous delicately woven chain of armor” that stretched from “the northern gates of Hyde Park at 35th and Drexel Boulevard to Woodlawn, Park Manor, South Shore, Windsor Park, and all the far-flung white communities of the South Side.”²³³

Shortly after moving in, Anna M. Lee, a white woman, and one of many area residents who signed a restrictive covenant not to sell lots to African Americans, sued Hansberry for \$100,000. In the Cook County Circuit Court and the Supreme Court of Illinois, Lee won her suit. In time, the case came before the Supreme Court of the United States. In her lawsuit, Lee claimed that more than five hundred area landowners had signed the restrictive covenant. Lee claimed that Hansberry had bought and occupied the building despite knowing about the property owners’ association agreement. Hansberry’s lawyer, Earl Dickerson, argued that the required percentage of residents, which was set at 95 percent of the owners, had not signed the agreement, thus voiding the contract.²³⁴

Basing their decision on the Fourteenth Amendment’s due process rights, the Supreme Court reversed the Supreme Court of Illinois’ decision arguing that it was unfair to allow the 54 percent of the neighborhood landowners who had signed the covenant to represent the 46 percent who had not.²³⁵ While the ruling in *Hansberry v. Lee* was largely based on a legal technicality and did not actually void restrictive covenants in Chicago or elsewhere, the decision of the justices did represent a significant benchmark in the fight against housing discrimination and racial covenants. An earlier case upholding the use of restrictive covenants, *Corrigan v. Buckley* (1926), had been “dismissed for want of

²³³ “Hyde Park Still in Danger Warns Judge Henry Lunt,” *Hyde Park Herald*. March 20, 1928, p. 1.

²³⁴ Earl Dickerson was a founding member of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, who, as an African American, felt that open occupancy should be a right.

²³⁵ *Hansberry v. Lee*, 311 U.S. 32 (1940).

jurisdiction,” because the Court had insufficient jurisdiction to make a ruling in the case, as the questions of law related to the common law of the District of Columbia, not constitutional law.²³⁶ After the decision in the *Corrigan v. Buckley* case, the Chicago Real Estate Board started a program to cover city neighborhoods with restrictive covenants.²³⁷ The Chicago Real Estate Board worked to cover the city with these covenants, and used a model contract drafted by Nathan William MacChesney, a member of the Chicago Plan Commission. By 1927, the board sent representatives across the city to promote the racial restrictions.²³⁸

The movement of southern African Americans to the nearby Black Belt on the South Side, during this time helped to heighten the tension that existed between the University and its surrounding neighborhoods on the question of racial integration and the changing environment. Issues of adequate housing, the changing demographics of the nearby community, and University ambition and expansion increasingly caused conflict with the University of Chicago and the local community.²³⁹ There is evidence to suggest that the University actively purchased property and worked with neighborhood organizations to

²³⁶ *Corrigan v. Buckley*, 271 U.S. 323 (1926), Argued January 8, 1926. Decided May 24, 1926.

²³⁷ Allen R. Kamp, “The History Behind *Hansberry v. Lee*,” *University of California Davis Law Review* 20:481 (1986): 483-484. Restrictive covenants were legal agreements that were designed to prevent occupancy by blacks, or other racial and ethnic groups, binding both the signer and future purchasers of the property in the agreement. While blacks were banned from owning the property, an exception was made for certain vocations, including janitors, chauffeurs, and house servants.

²³⁸ MacChesney developed the “Standard Form Restrictive Covenant” in 1927. See: Whet Moser, “How Housing Discrimination Created the Idea of Whiteness,” *Chicago Magazine*, Posted on: May 28, 2014: accessed on December 30, 2016: <http://www.chicagomag.com/city-life/May-2014/The-Case-for-Reparations-and-the-Legacy-of-Discrimination-Against-Probationary-Whites-in-Chicago/>

²³⁹ Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago: The Relationship of the Growth of Chicago to the Rise in Its Land Values, 1830-1933* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933). Richard Muth, *Cities and housing: The Spatial Pattern of Urban Residential Land Use* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

promote the use restrictive racial covenants throughout the area as a way to buffer the University from the growing black district west of Washington Park.

One process the University used to create artificial borders around the campus was to expand its role as a property owner and landlord. The idea was simple. The University would acquire property away from campus grounds that could be used for a variety of purposes. Not only could the University use real estate as a source of fundraising, but it could consider using the property for potential future campus expansion. From the beginning, University leadership believed that real estate “was an attractive alternative to secure the school’s future, both because some properties off site could be purchased less expensively and because some investors had an easier time donating property than giving money.”²⁴⁰ Once the University obtained the property, it could be rented to those affiliated with the school, including faculty and students, particularly those lots close to campus. Others could be rented to residents or other professionals in the neighborhood. In some instances, undesirable tenements could be razed and new buildings erected in their place. For example, a modern apartment building was constructed at the corner of Park and Ashland Avenues after the University demolished an old four-story building. The Board of Trustees believed the University’s investment in the property would not only provide adequate rental income, but it would also enhance “the value of adjacent properties belonging to the University.”²⁴¹ The net effect of the entire process was to consolidate land

²⁴⁰ Robin F. Bachin, *Building The South Side*, 56. Also see JDF to Gates, September 2, 1892, RFA, RG 2, Educational Interests, box 103, unprocessed materials, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

²⁴¹ See Minutes of the Board of Trustees, vol. 1, 1890-96, September 10, 1890, 384, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library; and Minutes of the Board of Trustees, vol. 2, 1896-1900, April 17, 1900, 221, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

for the University while also increasing the value of the property, and indirectly the rents, so as to keep out certain groups as the expansion of the Black Belt came closer to campus.

Another method the University used to isolate its campus from Black Belt expansion was to increasingly support neighborhood organizations that were pushing for racial restrictions in their homeowners' associations or wished to keep disruptive elements outside their borders.²⁴² One such organization devoted to improving the conditions of the neighborhood was the Hyde Park Protective Association (HPPA). While the efforts of the HPPA were directed at keeping Hyde Park a dry community, the organization also worked to keep other vices away from the campus. Not only did the University of Chicago make annual contributions to the community organization, but the Board of Trustees believed that the HPPA played an important role in "protecting the neighborhood of the University from...gambling, and immorality."²⁴³

When it came to property owners' associations in the area, the University of Chicago also contributed to their causes. The communities of Hyde Park, Kenwood, Oakland, and Woodlawn all had organizations that were formed to keep the neighborhoods clean.²⁴⁴ Besides helping to form the Woodlawn Property Owners' League, the University also helped create the Hyde Park Property Owners' Association and the Oakland-Kenwood Property Owners' Association.²⁴⁵ As the borders of the Black Belt moved closer to these communities, the organizations began to use racial restriction covenants to ensure that blacks did not enter their communities. During the 1930s and 1940s, the University not only subsidized

²⁴² Robin F. Bachin, *Building The South Side*, 58.

²⁴³ Minutes of the Board of Trustees, vol. 11, 1919-20, August 12, 1919, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

²⁴⁴ Robin F. Bachin, *Building The South Side*, 58.

²⁴⁵ Hirsch, *Making of the Second Ghetto*, 145.

these organizations, but also aided their legal efforts to keep blacks from the immediate area around the campus.²⁴⁶ According to Hirsch, during a fourteen-year period, the University spent \$110,923 on “community interests,” the majority of which was used to defend restrictive covenants.²⁴⁷ The Hyde Park and Kenwood Property Owners’ Association was very active ensuring that property owners understood the rules. A *Chicago Defender* article criticizing Robert M. Hutchins, the President of the University of Chicago, for his views on restrictive covenants, reported that the University was the “most important contributor to these associations.” One of the associations defended restrictive agreements, and the *Defender* questioned why the “agreements” in the West Woodlawn area are commonly known as the “University of Chicago Agreement to Keep Negroes out?”²⁴⁸ A *Chicago Defender* editorial went so far to say that the University was the motive power behind restrictive covenants in Woodlawn and was dedicated “to the purpose of maintaining a black ghetto.”²⁴⁹

The Chicago Real Estate Board also pressured members to enforce restrictive covenants under the threat of expulsion.²⁵⁰ According to a resolution adopted by the

²⁴⁶ As an example, the University of Chicago supported the Woodlawn Property Owners’s Association move forward with litigation in court. According to Plotkin, five cases were filed in the 1930s, including: *Burke v. Ellis* (1933), *Cook v. Yondorf* (1934), *Cohn v. Penoyer* (1934), *Eck v. Wilson* (1934), and *Strobel v. Andrisunas* (1934). See Wendy Plotkin, “Deeds of Mistrust: Race, Housing, and Restrictive Covenants in Chicago: 1900-1953,” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Chicago, 1999), 123.

²⁴⁷ Hirsch, *Making of the Second Ghetto*, 145. According to Hirsch, \$83,597.46 was apparently used to defend local racial covenants.

²⁴⁸ “U. of C. Head Criticized on Segregation,” *Chicago Defender*. November 20, 1937, p. 7.

²⁴⁹ “Building Ghettos,” *Chicago Defender*. October 2, 1937, p. 16.

²⁵⁰ The Chicago neighborhoods largely covered by covenants included Auburn-Gresham, Beverly, Calumet Heights, Chatham, Clearing, Englewood, Greater Grand Crossing, Hyde Park, Kenwood, Morgan Park, Oakland, Roseland, South Chicago, South Shore, Washington Heights, West Lawn, West Pullman and Woodlawn. The neighborhoods that were partially covered included East Garfield Park, Humboldt Park, Near North Side, Near West Side, and

Chicago Real Estate Board in 1921, the board “voted to expel from its membership any members who sell to Negroes property in a block where there are white owners.”²⁵¹

Even as neighborhood associations adopted covenants, African Americans contested them at every turn. Certain associations, especially during the Great Depression, lacked the legal resources to enforce agreements that were adopted during the 1920s prosperity. In some neighborhoods, such as Oakland, racial integration occurred despite the covenants.²⁵²

Other areas, where racial covenants expired, African Americans moved in. Edward V. Walsh, the Assistant District Appraiser for the HOLC in Chicago discussed the process: “This property is an excellent example of the racial influence. Because of deed restrictions, which have two years to run, only white people can rent or buy in this neighborhood. The district is surrounded on three sides by Negroes. This property, will, when the restrictions have run out, be taken over immediately by colored people.”²⁵³

Besides Hyde Park-Kenwood, the University of Chicago also lent its financial support to the Washington Park Owners’ Association to ensure that a portion of Woodlawn immediately south of Washington Park remained white. The Washington Park covenant would ultimately lead Carl Hansberry, a long-time local NAACP secretary and major realtor in the Black Belt, to challenge the legality of such measures. After being forced to move from a Washington Park apartment rented for him by a white woman in 1936, Hansberry

North Lawndale. See Wendy Plotkin, “Neighbors and Boundaries: Racial Restrictive Covenants in Chicago, 1900-1948,” presented at the Chicago Historical Society, Urban History Seminar, March 19, 1998, 7.

²⁵¹ *National Real Estate Journal*, vol. 22, no. 13, June 20, 1921, 36.

²⁵² Wendy Plotkin, “Deeds of Mistrust: Race, Housing, and Restrictive Covenants in Chicago: 1900-1953,” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Chicago, 1999), 103-104.

²⁵³ Wendy Plotkin, “Hemmed In: The Struggle Against Racial Restrictive Covenants and Deed Restrictions in Post WWII Chicago,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* Vol. 94, No. 1 (1998), 42. Also see: Edward V. Walsh, “The Obsolescence Factor,” *Residential Appraisers Review* (November, 1935).

acquired a three-story apartment building the following year. The lawsuit against Hansberry was financed in part by the University of Chicago, and both the Cook County Court and Illinois State Supreme Court ruled in favor of enforcing the covenant. With the decision, the Hansberrys were forced to sell the building and leave their home in 1938. Nearly two years later, the United States Supreme Court overturned the lower courts' rulings, allowing the Hansberrys (and others) to move into the Washington Park subdivision area that the University of Chicago had pushed to keep restricted.²⁵⁴ Thus, prior to the beginning of World War II, deed restrictions and racial restrictive covenants were still a valid and popular means of keeping the borders of the Black Belt from advancing into the areas surrounding the University of Chicago. In the minds of many University officials at the time, racial covenants were also a useful tool to maintain an appropriate community in the neighborhoods surrounding the University campus. Soon the University of Chicago would need to find another method to stabilize its nearby communities.

²⁵⁴ The Supreme Court's decision in *Hansberry v. Lee* still fell short of the goal of having racial covenants ruled unconstitutional. In 1948, the Court would finally rule that all restrictive covenants were unenforceable in the landmark case *Shelley v. Kraemer*.

IV. THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO AND AN “APPROPRIATE COMMUNITY”: URBAN RENEWAL

“There is no reason under any circumstance that the University ought to be doing any of this unless its academic mission is involved. We’re not a public improvement organization. We’re not suppose to be a developer. We’re not interested as a good government association. They only standard you ought to apply to this is whether the University of Chicago as an academic entity requires a compatible community.”

Julian H. Levi, Board of Trustees meeting, 1953²⁵⁵

As the four-hundredth anniversary of Columbus’ discovery of the New World approached, the federal government announced that there would be a national event to celebrate the occasion. A number of cities across the nation entered a competition to host the national exposition, including New York, Washington, St. Louis, and Chicago. On April 21, 1890, Congress designated Chicago as the official site for the Columbian Exposition. One of the basic reasons the city was chosen was the fame of its local architects, including Daniel Burnham, John Root, William Le Baron Jenney, and Louis Sullivan. Once Jackson Park was chosen as the main location for the fair, and before a single exposition structure was raised, property in many neighborhoods, such as Hyde Park, Kenwood, Woodlawn, and Englewood, was purchased and retail spaces, hotels, warehouses and other buildings were constructed in anticipation of exposition needs. In 1891, two years prior to the opening of the World’s Columbian Exposition, Frederick C. Gibbs built a row of one-story frame store buildings on each side of 57th Street, between Stone Island Avenue and the Illinois Central tracks. Designed by local architect George Beaumont, the twenty-six simple framed buildings were intended to be temporary spaces to produce quick rental income for Gibbs. Inside amenities

²⁵⁵ The University of Chicago Archives: The Reminiscences of Julian H. Levi, Oral History Program, 1994, 34, Edward H. Levi, Papers, 1894-1998, Box 3, Folder 5, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

were scarce, even for the time, as the store buildings lacked electricity and gas, and relied on a stove for heat.²⁵⁶ When the Columbian Exposition opened in 1893, these narrow buildings were perfectly located near the South Park station, as riders arrived at the at the 57th Street entrance to the fair. During the fair, Gibbs' buildings were used for novelty booths and concession stands for the fair goers.²⁵⁷

After the fair, the University of Chicago helped to make Hyde Park the center of an active cultural movement. Concerts, lectures, dramatic performances on campus drew people from all over Chicago, and in increasing numbers, professionals with intellectual interests came to live in Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhoods. As the interest in art and literature increased so did the demand for moderate priced stores and studios for painters and writers in the area. In time, the area around East 57th Street became known as an art center in Hyde Park, as paintings and writings from the "colony" began to attract national attention.²⁵⁸ The area soon became known as "literary bohemia" when poet and novelist Floyd Dell moved into the area in 1913.²⁵⁹ Other writers, poets, and artists soon called Hyde Park home, including Sherwood Anderson, Sinclair Lewis, Carl Sandburg, Margaret Anderson, Harriett Monroe, Charles Corwin, Charles Francis Brown, and Karl Albeit Buehr.²⁶⁰ As the first wave of artists and writers moved on to other locations, new groups moved in to keep the area active, unique and culturally renowned. By the late 1940s,

²⁵⁶ Susan O'Connor Davis, *Chicago's Historic Hyde Park* (The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 122; and "Park Eight: Genuinely Civilized Oddballs," *Hyde Park Herald*. July 3, 2014.

²⁵⁷ "Art Colony Folds Its Easels, But Not Quietly," *Chicago Tribune*. May 20, 1962.

²⁵⁸ "Stony Island's Old Art Center Property Sold," *Chicago Tribune*. December 8, 1946.

²⁵⁹ Susan O'Connor Davis, *Chicago's Historic Hyde Park* (The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 122.

²⁶⁰ "Stony Island's Old Art Center Property Sold," *Chicago Tribune*. December 8, 1946; "A Community History Over 100 Years Old," *Chicago Tribune*. July 23, 1960.

however, the original buildings of the 57th Street Art Colony, became increasingly contentious sites as community residents complained about the growing crime and blight in the area. As one of the last remaining structures from the nineteenth-century fair era, these simple structures stood in Hyde Park as both a symbol of a bygone era and the new reality of the distressed urban neighborhood. While the 1950s land clearance and urban renewal programs of Hyde Park-Kenwood removed many of the “time-worn” buildings in each of these areas, the 57th Street Artists Colony managed to hang on until it was demolished in 1962.²⁶¹ The story of these simple structures links the history and founding of the University and the Columbian Exposition, and how they both transformed the area in Hyde Park over a century ago. The story also connects these two events to twentieth-century urban renewal, which would become “one of the most far reaching events” in the history of Hyde Park-Kenwood.²⁶²

Hyde Park Flight Against Blight

Eight years after the ruling in the Hansberry case, the 1948 landmark Supreme Court case of *Shelley v. Kraemer*, struck down racial restrictions nationally, and the movement of African Americans into Hyde Park and Kenwood was immediate and significant, and the racial composition of both neighborhoods changed dramatically.²⁶³ After the racial boundaries of the Black Belt that had been held for decades by racial covenants, the color

²⁶¹ “Part Eight: Genuinely Civilized Oddballs,” *Hyde Park Herald*. July 3, 2014.

²⁶² Max Grinnell, “Hyde Park,” in *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*, ed. James R. Grossman et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004): 404-5.

²⁶³ For example, the 1930 census for Kenwood shows a total population of 26,942 residents of whom 99.2 percent were white. By 1960, the population increased to 41,533, but the demographic data was reversed for blacks, as that population increased to 83.9 percent. Will Hogan, “Kenwood,” *Local Community Fact Book: Chicago Metropolitan Area Based on the 1970 and 1980 Census* (Chicago: University of Illinois at Chicago, 1985), 107.

lines began to fade around the University of Chicago, and the influx of lower-income minorities into the nearby communities created widespread concern. For the Hyde Park Community during this period, the nonwhite population increased from 1.5 percent in 1940 to nearly 6 percent in 1950. Six year later, however, the nonwhite percentage ballooned to 36.7 percent.²⁶⁴ Between 1950 and 1956, some 19,989 whites fled the Hyde Park neighborhood, while 23,162 blacks had crossed the old color lines and moved into the community.²⁶⁵

In 1952, the South Side Planning Board and the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference published a study that indicated that the “conditions within the areas vary significantly from neighborhood to neighborhood.” Not only does the report show that the entire area is “threatened by creeping blight,” but portions are so badly deteriorated that “most of the dwellings should be replaced.”²⁶⁶ While the report recommends the demolition of “worn out structures,” it also points out that the razing of “out buildings would provide parcels of land for the construction of new housing.”²⁶⁷

In an effort to address both the changing demographics of the neighborhoods and the growing blight, a citizen-oriented group was organized in 1949, with roots and support

²⁶⁴ Peter H. Rossi and Robert A. Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings*, 26. According to Rossi, the total population of Hyde Park increased from 71,689 to 74,862 during the same period.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Richard Philbrick, “Housing Survey Tells Needs of South Side Area” *Chicago Tribune*. October 23, 1952.

²⁶⁷ By 1950, Hyde Park-Kenwood was a “middle-aged” neighborhood, with apartment buildings, which were the bulk of the dwelling units in the communities, were from thirty to fifty years old. The single family houses, some of which predated the 1893 Columbian Exposition, were still of good quality and had been “well maintained.” See Peter H. Rossi and Robert A. Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings*, 52-53.

Also see, Richard Philbrick, “Housing Survey Tells Needs of South Side Area” *Chicago Tribune*. October 23, 1952.

from several community religious congregations, particularly the Unitarians, Reform Jews, and Quakers.²⁶⁸ Formed as the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference (HPKCC), the new organization would deal with a number of concerns, including the growing tensions within the communities, issues of housing and the growing crime problem. Unlike earlier neighborhood groups, such as the Hyde Park Community Council and the Hyde Park Planning Association, which from the outset, were “active in devising and maintaining racially restrictive covenants.”²⁶⁹ The HPKCC intended to “deal creatively” with changing demographics, and sought to bring about the “emergence of a stable interracial community of high standards.”²⁷⁰ The Conference would be the first organization in the local community to “initiate and promote planned renewal as a solution to the problems of Hyde Park-Kenwood.”²⁷¹

As organized efforts at the community level were underway to tackle the problems of neighborhood decline, blight, and growing crime rates, the University of Chicago faced its own set of challenges. The early postwar years, while a “golden age of expansion” for many universities, was a time of basic survival for Chicago.²⁷² As the fall 1951 semester began, it was clear to Lawrence A. Kimpton, the newly named president, that the University was in a financial mess. By 1950-51, during the final academic year of Robert Hutchins’s tenure at

²⁶⁸ Peter H. Rossi and Robert A. Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings*, 105.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 104.

²⁷⁰ Hirsch, *Making of the Second Ghetto*, 137.

²⁷¹ Peter H. Rossi and Robert A. Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings*, 103.

²⁷² John W. Boyer, *The University of Chicago, A History*, 325.

Chicago, the University had a budget deficit of \$1.2 million on a base of \$11.2 million.²⁷³ Given the budget short falls facing the University, Kimpton was forced to make substantial cuts to the regular academic budget on an annual basis by more than 5 percent.²⁷⁴ In addition to the budget shortfalls, Kimpton also faced an alarming drop in undergraduate enrollments.²⁷⁵ In the early 1950s, the University “faced a sixty percent drop in student applications.”²⁷⁶ By the fall of 1953, enrollment at the University had dropped to 1,350 students, and first year and transfer students were “less than half its size two decades earlier.”²⁷⁷ Kimpton and others believed that the declining numbers of undergraduates, particularly new students, was not “merely admissions or marketing failures, but more fundamental problems involving the College.”²⁷⁸ Some officials linked the declining numbers “with the decline in quality of local housing,” which was more than apparent around the campus.²⁷⁹ Moreover, the “quality and character” of the university’s neighborhood was “bound to become a factor affecting” faculty career decisions to stay or come to the University. Chancellor Hutchings, in his State of the University message in 1945, reported, “For the last fifteen years, the university neighborhood has steadily deteriorated, until, today, I am ashamed to say, the university has the unfortunate distinction of having

²⁷³ John W. Boyer, *Three Views of Continuity & Change at the University of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Publications Office, 1999), 9-10. This amounted to a budget deficit of over 10 percent, a situation that Kimpton described as “having been chronic since 1938.”

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 325. According to Boyer, Between 1950 and 1955, Kimpton was forced to cut the budget by a million dollars a year. The largest single cut of almost 10 percent coming in 1952-53.

²⁷⁵ Peter H. Rossi and Robert A. Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal*, 67.

²⁷⁶ *The University and the City: A Centennial View of the University of Chicago* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Library, 1992), 17.

²⁷⁷ John W. Boyer, *The University of Chicago, A History*, 325. The entering class that year was 275 first-year students, and 39 transfer students.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 325.

²⁷⁹ Peter H. Rossi and Robert A. Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal*, 67.

the worst-housed faculty in the United States.”²⁸⁰ Faculty members who left Chicago since 1947, “cited the decline in the caliber of Hyde Park as a source of disaffection.”²⁸¹ Certainly the plight of the neighborhood and the dire budget concerns had powerful negative consequences on the quality of the faculty at the University. Not only did “very distinguished senior faculty” leave the University for other appointments at other institutions throughout the 1950s, but during the same period, it was extremely difficult to attract senior faculty to Chicago.²⁸²

In response to these perceived crises, and with the realization that the University was located in a police district that in 1952 had one of the highest crime rates in the entire City of Chicago, Kimpton found the need to formulate creative, aggressive and even radical solutions to these problems. For Kimpton, the possibility to intercede in the community, was the sensational home invasion, robbery, and kidnapping of Joan Untermyer, within blocks of the University of Chicago. Presented with the opportunity to forcefully address the growing problems, the University made a commitment to the stabilization of the neighborhood with the foundation of the South East Chicago Commission (SECC) in March 1952.

Through the years, the University of Chicago administration had tried in many ways to protect and improve the neighborhoods around Hyde Park-Kenwood. The University purchased or constructed housing for its faculty, helped to finance homes for employees,

²⁸⁰ Henry S. Webber, “The University of Chicago and Its Neighbors, A Case Study in Community Development” in David C. Perry and Wim Wiewel, editors, *The University as Urban Developer, Case Studies and Analysis* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2005), 68.

²⁸¹ Peter H. Rossi and Robert A. Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal*, 67.

²⁸² John W. Boyer, *Three Views of Continuity & Change at the University of Chicago*, 10. Boyer mentions that during the 1950s, “no less than twelve outside offers to senior faculty” for the history department were all turned down.

and tried to control or restrict the occupancy of property in Woodlawn, Hyde Park, and Kenwood through the support of various community organization. All of these efforts, some of which were problematic, all had been too limited to achieve their purpose. Deterioration in the neighborhoods had kept spreading, the communities around the University continued to decline, and the administration worried about the future of the institution. Concerns about the growing problems lessened, however, soon after Lawrence Kimpton, the new Chancellor of the University, stated that “one of his high priority projects was to take the lead toward conservation of the South Side neighborhood.”²⁸³

At the March 17, 1952, general community meeting at the University of Chicago, a committee of five community leaders was selected to study and submit recommendations to the residents. It was at this meeting that Chancellor Kimpton was chosen as the chairman of the Committee of Five, and the Committee helped with a concentrated study of the neighborhood problems and eventually led to the University’s commitment to a far-reaching community program of change. It was clear that as chairman, Kimpton was prepared to act quickly, especially against the rising crime rates, with the public support that was generated by the heightened community unity at the early mass meetings. Although race was not stated as a reason for the University’s meddling in the changing neighborhood, Kimpton was well aware of community fears about the advancing color line.²⁸⁴

²⁸³ Julia Abrahamson, *A Neighborhood Finds Itself*, 189.

²⁸⁴ Kimpton acknowledged that they used the abduction and rape of Joan Untermyer to their advantage prior to the May 19th community meeting, as a way “to bring the community together and announce a plan for the organization of the South East Chicago Commission.” See Hirsch, *Making of the Second Ghetto*, 144.

Following the March meeting, Kimpton met nearly daily with the Committee of Five and explored solutions and prepared recommendations for a future community meeting.²⁸⁵ Once such recommendation was the formation of a new organization – the South East Chicago Commission (SECC) – which comprised local neighborhoods, including Hyde Park-Kenwood, Oakland, and Woodlawn communities. The new organization would work with existing neighborhood organizations in those areas, and the University of Chicago would contribute \$15,000 to the initial budget of the community organization.²⁸⁶ From the outset, the goal of the commission was to force the City of Chicago to provide better police protection in the communities, and Kimpton and others were vocal about the failings of the police in the area, going so far as to suggest that the police tolerated a culture of corruption.²⁸⁷ Soon, however, it became apparent to Kimpton and others that policing issues in the community were just part of a larger, complex set of interventions that needed to be taken in the communities, including land use, community planning, and housing occupancy. The South East Chicago Commission was formally announced to the community on May 19, 1952.²⁸⁸ It was at the May community meeting that the Committee of Five presented their recommendation which called for a “concerted community effort to fight against the increase of crime” while also attempting to halt the “growing number of illegal

²⁸⁵ Julia Abrahamson, *A Neighborhood Finds Itself*, 190.

²⁸⁶ John W. Boyer, *The University of Chicago, A History*, 347. The initial budget of the SECC was \$30,000, and it was assumed that the community would contribute the balance of the required funds.

²⁸⁷ “Report of the Citizen’s Committee on Law Enforcement, May 19, 1952,” Kimpton Papers, Box 12, folder 11, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

²⁸⁸ Julia Abrahamson, *A Neighborhood Finds Itself*, 191.

conversions in old houses and apartment buildings” in the area.²⁸⁹ According to the Committee of Five, the SECC would work closely with the community to achieve these two objectives by devising “a more comprehensive and effective approach.”²⁹⁰

As the Chancellor of the University of Chicago, Lawrence Kimpton had no real training or knowledge of urban planning or urban affairs, as his career was mostly rooted in academic administration. Knowing his limitations, Kimpton would reach out later that year to Julian H. Levi, asking him to join the committee as the executive director of the SECC. Julian Levi, a graduate of the College and Law School, was a successful corporate attorney in Chicago, who had a long family connection to the University. Levi’s younger brother Edward, had been a University faculty member, and would ultimately serve as president of the College before becoming the United States Attorney General in the Ford Administration. Those that knew Levi describe him as a “tough-minded, virtuoso political character, with superb negotiating skills and a reputation for both fearlessness and ruthlessness.”²⁹¹ In time, Levi would become a policy expert on urban renewal who would help deliver federal and municipal resources, as well as working deals with Chicago politicians to bring about change to the South Side. Like Kimpton, Levi understood the urgency of the crisis confronting the University, and agreed to lead the South East Side Commission.

The SECC, organized under the direction of the University of Chicago and led by the guidance of Julian Levi, was certainly an instrument of the University and would be the prime architect of the Hyde Park-Kenwood renewal program. While the goal of the renewal

²⁸⁹ Brian J. L. Berry, *The Impact of Urban Renewal on Small Business, The Hyde Park-Kenwood Case* (Center for Urban Studies, The University of Chicago, 1968), 13.

²⁹⁰ Julia Abrahamson, *A Neighborhood Finds Itself*, 191.

²⁹¹ John W. Boyer, *The University of Chicago, A History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 347.

program would be to stop the cycle of deterioration in and around the campus and develop stable, integrated, middle-and upper-income neighborhoods, it was also the only alternative to moving from the area.²⁹² Although the SECC did include the neighborhoods of Hyde Park, Kenwood, and Woodlawn in its boundaries, the primary goal of the Commission was to protect, serve, and enhance the interests and well-being of the University. Throughout the subsequent urban renewal process, the University of Chicago would change not only the built environment of the surrounding neighborhoods, but the local community as well, to establish a more “appropriate” community.²⁹³

While the plan for urban renewal in the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhoods was not officially approved by the City Council of Chicago until November 7, 1958, initial work in the area began in May 1955, with the demolition of deteriorated buildings.²⁹⁴ From the beginning, the residents of Hyde Park-Kenwood were worried by a variety of neighborhood issues, and block clubs and community organizations pushed hard for positive change to take place. According to Bruce Sagan, owner and editor of the *Hyde Park Herald*, the Conference Planning Committee became “the pipeline for information to the block clubs,” and helped promote citizen action through a number of local programs. “Throughout all these programs,” Sagan writes, “the Conference kept a public focus on the effort to create an interracial community” and made it a goal of all renewal efforts in Hyde Park-Kenwood.²⁹⁵

²⁹² John Hall Fish, *Black Power/White Control: The Struggle of the Woodlawn Organization in Chicago* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1973), 15.

²⁹³ Levi, “The University and Preservation,” 7.

²⁹⁴ “City Council Ok’s Hyde Park Renewal Plan.” *Chicago Tribune*. November 8, 1952, p.3. According the Tribune, the City Council voted 44 to 0 to approve the Hyde Park-Kenwood urban renewal plan. Mayor Daley praised the project as a “great experiment and promised that relocation of displaced persons will be handled with humanity.”

²⁹⁵ “Looking Back at Urban Renewal.” *Hyde Park Herald*. July 21, 2004.

The degree of local community participation was high, despite the immense size, scope, and complexity of the Urban Renewal Plan. Historian Carl Condit noted citizen participation in neighborhood projects when he wrote, “the level of education among the citizens of the area and their strong institutional, professional, and intellectual commitments implied that if the job could be done properly at it, it ought to achieve success in this community.”²⁹⁶ Despite the involvement of community members in the success of the projects does not suggest that the entire urban renewal process was free of critics or controversy. As the process unfolded over the years, Hyde Park-Kenwood urban renewal came under fire and scrutiny from many directions, including organized resistance from groups like The Woodlawn Organization.

When completed, urban renewal changed the nature and character of the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhoods. Gone were the blighted areas with aging, dilapidated buildings and rising crime rates. Wide expanses of open land, new houses, parks, schools, a new shopping center, and improvements to streets and parking facilities all filled the void from the demolition of crowded, decaying buildings. In the end, urban renewal became one of the most important events in the history of Hyde Park-Kenwood, one that would make a positive impact on area, just as the founding of the University of Chicago and the Columbian Exposition had changed and transformed the same area at the end of the nineteenth-century.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁶ Carl Condit, *Chicago: Building, Planning and Urban Technology, 1930-70* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 212.

²⁹⁷ Max Grinnell, “Hyde Park,” in *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*, ed. James R. Grossman et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004): 404-5.

V. THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO AND AN “APPROPRIATE COMMUNITY”: EDUCATION

“Urban Renewal...must operate on a neighborhood-wide basis. Its primary objective must be to alter the character of the area as to create economic and social pressures moving towards improvement rather than decline.”
Julian Levi, 1958²⁹⁸

George Corsan, a Canadian swimming enthusiast, designed the first group swimming lessons, including on-land instruction, at the Detroit YMCA in 1909. Corson would teach swimming strokes on land to build confidence. Known as the “learn-to-swim program,” Corson soon traveled coast-to-coast with the goal of teaching every boy in the United States and Canada how to swim.²⁹⁹

The same year that Corsan began to develop his learn-to-swim program, Ella Flagg Young, a prominent figure in the early progressive movement, was elected unanimously as the superintendent of the Chicago public school system.³⁰⁰ It was first time that a woman was chosen to head a large metropolitan school system.³⁰¹ Serving over six years in the position, the reform-minded administrator brought needed change and efficiency to all levels of the Chicago Public Schools.

In 1910, the Ravenswood branch of the YMCA offered to teach swimming to the children in eight North Side public schools. The official offer was made by Paul H. Krause,

²⁹⁸ Julian Levi, “The Federal Urban Renewal Program: Comment.” *The University of Chicago Law Review*, Vol.25, No. 2 (Winter, 1958), pp. 355-368, 356.

²⁹⁹ Lloyd C. Arnold, “100 Facts from the YMCA’s First 100 Years in Aquatics,” (Chicago: YMCA of the USA, 1985).

³⁰⁰ “Supt. Ella Young Is Now Her Title.” *Chicago Tribune*. July 31, 1909, p. 3.

³⁰¹ Joan K. Smith, “Progressive School Administration Ella Flagg Young and the Chicago Schools, 1905-1915,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (1908-1984), Vol. 73, No. 1 (Spring, 1980), pp. 27-44.

assistant secretary of the Wilson Avenue department, in a letter to Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, the new superintendent of schools. "The need for instruction in swimming is demonstrated by the fact that over 4,000 men and boys in the United States and Canada are accidentally drowned each year and the records show that most of these persons could not swim, wrote Krause.³⁰² The YMCAs idea helped to highlight the fact that the Chicago Board of Education was preparing plans for a new building at the Chicago Normal School, which would contain a gymnasium and a large swimming pool. Responding to Krause letter, Superintendent Young announced that "every child should be taught to swim. The high schools should have swimming pools for such instruction, and it should be given to both girls and boys impartially."³⁰³ Young promptly approved Krause's offer, and said she would recommend its acceptance by the Board of Education's school management committee.

Young, who admitted to board president James B. McFatrigh at the time, that she herself "can't swim," believed that "not only is it a good thing for the children, both boys and girls, to learn to swim for the purpose of making their lives the more secure on the water, but it is excellent exercise for their bodies."³⁰⁴ Speaking for the Board of Education in 1911, McFatrigh said that once the swim plan goes into effect, "natatoriums in six schools centrally located in various parts of the city...[will] teach the children the art of swimming between the hours of 4 and 6 o'clock."³⁰⁵ Schools already selected as swim centers, according to McFatrigh, included Carter Practice, Nicholas Senn High, and Hyde Park High School.

³⁰² "Come In; The Water's Fine; Y.M.C.A. Swimming Campaign Starts in Chicago Schools." *Chicago Tribune*. June 7, 1910, p. 1.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁴ "Schools To Make Good Swimmers." *Chicago Tribune*. December 24, 1911, p. 4.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

Hyde Park High School

While McFatrigh mentioned Hyde Park High School as a location for a swimming center, it was not the first time that the public learned that Hyde Park High would have a pool. In late 1910, the Board of Education accepted plans to build a new high school in Hyde Park at Stony Island Avenue and Sixty-Second Street. Local architect A. F. Hussander presented board President Alfred R. Urlon with drawings and plans for the new building on December 7, 1910.³⁰⁶ According to the *Chicago Tribune*, the new Hyde Park High School would be the “most beautiful, the largest, and most expensive of any of the Chicago high schools.”³⁰⁷ The new building would be “the first public school in Chicago to have a swimming pool and the first in which instruction in swimming will be given.”³⁰⁸ The architecture of the building would be in the Classical Revival style, and include fifty classrooms, with a seating capacity of forty students. In addition to the ground floor pool, the main level would also house a large assembly hall, calisthenics room, foundry and forge rooms, woodworking and machine shops. The second and third floors would be devoted to classrooms.³⁰⁹ The total capacity of the new building was estimated to be 2,000 students, which was nearly twice that of any other high school in the city.

Opening day enrollment in Chicago high schools in 1913 was reportedly 15,313 students, slightly less the prior year.³¹⁰ Hyde Park High School, which opened the same year, topped all high schools with 1,855, and a waiting list of 400 petitioning Superintendent

³⁰⁶ “New School To Have a Pool.” *Chicago Tribune*. December 8, 1910, p. 7.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³¹⁰ “High School Enrollment Less.” *Chicago Tribune*. September 4, 1913, p. 7.

Young for admittance to the new school.³¹¹ Designed to serve 2,000 students, Hyde Park High School was already experience overcrowding, As enrollment continued to rise, efforts began in earnest in 1927 to obtain an addition to the school to deal with attendance numbers that fell between four and five thousand students.³¹² This first attempt to build an addition was unsuccessful. In 1935, another movement to build an addition to the school, led by Mrs. Warner Sivyer the PTA president, was successful.³¹³ The construction of a \$600,000 addition was added to the high school in September 1938 and dedicated the following January.³¹⁴ This building addition would increase the school's capacity by nearly eight hundred students.³¹⁵ In time, however, the new addition would not help curb rising enrollment figures that continued to plague the school.

When the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference was first organized in 1949, it formed a Public Schools Committee that focused on human rights in the Chicago Public Schools.³¹⁶ Two years later, a subcommittee was created to look into overcrowded schools, and much of the efforts of both committees was "directed toward securing adequate facilities" in the area.³¹⁷ Enrollment in every one of Hyde Park-Kenwood's five elementary schools had already exceeded capacity by 1953, and one school had twenty-five classes on

³¹¹ Ibid., p. 7. According to the *Tribune*, Wendell Phillips was second with 1,465, and the new Senn High School was third with 1,350.

³¹² Due to the excessively large enrollment, Hyde Park High maintained for many years a branch school; the first, located at 54th and Kenwood, was later abandoned in favor of the building at 57th and Kenwood, which originally housed the Hyde Park High School. Also see "Present Community With Enlarged High School Tonight." *Hyde Park Herald*. January 19, 1939, p. 6.

³¹³ Present Community With Enlarged High School Tonight." *Hyde Park Herald*. January 19, 1939, p. 6.

³¹⁴ Ibid.,1.

³¹⁵ Ibid., 6.

³¹⁶ Julia Abrahamson, *A Neighborhood Finds Itself*, 167.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

double shifts.³¹⁸ Not only were the communities of Hyde Park-Kenwood experiencing over enrollment, but the situation in the neighboring communities of Oakland and Woodlawn was even worse. Given the census figures from 1950, the expectation for growth to accelerate in the near future was high. Hyde Park High School, which served the entire area, while crowded was not yet at capacity, and the committee understood that no planning or consideration was being made to meet the impending crisis.

The population of Hyde Park High School remained steady during the 1940s and early 1950s, as the school and community experienced a racial change in the surrounding neighborhoods. As the pace of change increased with the end of restrictive covenants, the communities of Hyde Park-Kenwood saw the black population of Hyde Park-Kenwood grow from 4,300 to 30,000 and the white population dropped from 67,000 to 47,000. As the rapid change was alarming to residents of both communities, the change at the high school was equally noteworthy.

In January 1953 the South East Chicago Commission released school enrollment figures that predicted that in ten years, the “potential school enrollment in this community will almost double.” The report also stated that in 1953 “our schools are filled beyond capacity.”³¹⁹ Julian Levi joined other local organizations at a Board of Education meeting in urging new additions for Hyde Park and Kenwood schools. Levi highlighted the dire nature of neighborhood schools to school board officials, with a letter written to the SECC by University of Chicago professor Philip H. Hauser. The letter, in part, reads:

“The situation in the Kenwood-Hyde Park area is more acute than in most areas because of relatively heavy in-migration into the areas and increasing density. The trend-towards higher densities has been accelerating during the past decade and

³¹⁸ Ibid., 167.

³¹⁹ “Ask New School Facilities Here.” *Hyde Park Herald*. January 7, 1953, p. 1.

especially during the past five years; and has, among other things, greatly increased the pressure on available primary school facilities.”³²⁰

Dr. Robert J. Havighurst, a professor at the University of Chicago, also spoke at the January Board of Education meeting, and confirmed the SECC report by saying that “in the Hyde Park-Kenwood area we have enrollment exceeding capacity to every one of the five public schools.” Speaking on behalf of the public school committee of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, Havighurst urged immediate action as “many of the families in this area are being tempted to move to the suburbs, and one of the principal temptations is the new modern school with small classes which awaits their children if they make the move.”³²¹

After releasing enrollment data, the Hyde Park-Kenwood Conference urged the city-wide Citizens School Committee, to “take immediate steps to stimulate action toward securing funds for an adequate school-building program.”³²² The focus of this effort was to motivate the Board of Education to create a planning unit that would prepare, in cooperation with local PTA’s, other interested community groups, local school administrators, and planning agencies, “a master plan for each community’s school-building-needs” for the next five to ten years.³²³ Besides urging the Board of Education to devise a new school building plan, the committee also asked the board to seek a referendum for a bond issue that would modernize the schools, and look for additional sources of revenue for the developing and staffing of an expanded school program. The message behind their efforts, was to motivate the Board of Education to “take advantage of this

³²⁰ Ibid., p. 1

³²¹ “Budge Hearing Told Over-Crowded Schools Driving Families Away.” *Hyde Park Herald*. January 7, 1953, p. 1.

³²² Julia Abrahamson, *A Neighborhood Finds Itself*, 168.

³²³ Ibid., 168.

unparalleled opportunity to use the area [Hyde Park-Kenwood] as a demonstration that would serve as a pattern for other communities.”³²⁴ While the suggestions to the school board would benefit neighborhoods and schools across the city, the ideas could also be related to the school problems within the Hyde Park-Kenwood area in particular.

In early January 1954, the Public Schools Committee of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Conference asked the Chicago Board of Education to take immediate action to deal with the predicted “unprecedented” increase in the city elementary school population over the next five years.³²⁵ The Committee, representing officials from a variety of area schools, called upon the board to seek help from Springfield with providing school facilities for the expected 44 percent increase in elementary school population by 1960. Appearing at the meeting, Professor Philip M. Hauser backed up the Public Schools Committee report with statistics projecting the public school population from its present 277,648 elementary and 89,237 high school children, to 399,912 and 116,431 elementary by 1960.³²⁶ In one example of already crowded facilities in the area, the Committee mentioned that Hyde Park High School would be “unable to accommodate the area children who will reach the high school age in the next three years.”³²⁷

The PTA’s of five area local elementary schools also appeared at the same January board meeting to outline the needs and concerns in Hyde Park-Kenwood schools. The parent groups supported the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference in its desire to have a special session of the legislature and a bond issue “adequate to provide for the school

³²⁴ Ibid., 169.

³²⁵ “Citizens Urge School Bond Issue.” *Chicago Tribune*. January 6, 1954.

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Ibid.

needs of a double school population in the next seven years.”³²⁸ At the time of the meeting, the city already had nearly 11,000 elementary and high school students on double shifts, and school administrators and parent groups were concerned with the effect rising enrollment numbers were having on the schools.³²⁹

Also speaking at the board meeting, Julian Levi, executive director of the South East Chicago Commission, suggested that the Board of Education explore with the SECC the possibility of “privately financing and building a high school” within SECC boundaries, sometime within the coming year. In a statement, Levi went on to say that “the location and the operation of such a school could be completely in the hands of the Board of Education.”³³⁰

As a result of this meeting, and other prior meetings with the Citizens Schools Committee, the Association of Community Councils, and local PTA organizations, the Chicago Board of Education approved appropriations of \$1,675,000 to meet all of the immediate needs “pointed out by the Schools Committee and the PTA’s” for a new school in Woodlawn; an addition to the school in Oakland; and additions to the Ray and Bret Harte Schools in Hyde Park.³³¹

Over the next several months, as the Board of Education analyzed Hauser’s enrollment projection figures and studied school needs; the Schools Committee of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community conference began to fear that the right appropriations figure approved by the board may be defeated by neighborhood voters. As a result, the Schools

³²⁸ “Local PTA’s Outline Problems At Hearings.” *Chicago Tribune*. January 13, 1954.

³²⁹ Julia Abrahamson, *A Neighborhood Finds Itself*, 169.

³³⁰ “SECC Suggests Private Funds For High School: Special Taxes.” *Chicago Tribune*. January 13, 1954.

³³¹ “The Year of Confidence.” *Hyde Park Herald*. January 6, 1954. Also see Julia Abrahamson, *A Neighborhood Finds Itself*, 170.

Committee, a group comprised of top PTA and school representatives of the ten area schools, went directly to the community with a petition. The circulating petition was directed at the Chicago Board of Education, and called for a public statement as to the size of the city school building needs and a bond issue “adequate to meet the needs” of the area schools.³³² By signing the petition, the community expressly stated that they would gladly pay higher taxes to make such a program possible. Nearly 4,000 signatures had been collected by the time a school rally was held in May 1954.³³³

A meeting of nine community business and civic organizations was held on May 19th at Temple Isaiah in Hyde Park. At the meeting, Dr. Hauser told the group that the overcrowding in Chicago’s schools this year was just the start of the “post war baby boom” reaching school age. He said that by 1960, elementary school enrollment “will be 67 percent above 1950” and by 1965, high school enrollment “will be 104 percent above 1950.”³³⁴ Hauser also pointed out that over 3,000 classrooms would be needed by 1960 in order to have 37 children in each room. To meet Superintendent Willis’s goal of 30 pupils per room, Hauser said that over 6,000 classrooms would be required, an increase of 92 percent.³³⁵ Clarence Beutel, president of the South East National Bank told the group that businessmen must understand that higher school tax rates must be viewed as “an investment rather than an expense.” He pointed out that good schools help to make good communities, and good communities make good land values.³³⁶ The importance of Beutel’s point was the financial solvency of the city, which was dependent on real estate taxes, in

³³² “Beutel, Hauser, Margolis Speak at School Rally.” *Hyde Park Herald*. May 12, 1954.

³³³ *Ibid.*

³³⁴ “10,000 In Area Pledge Support for ‘Adequate’ Schools.” *Hyde Park Herald*. May 26, 1954.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*

³³⁶ *Ibid.*

time would be seriously affected by neighborhood deterioration. If residents left Chicago for the suburbs, the city would lose the needed support of all services, including schools. Maintaining high standards for area schools was an important part of the efforts to keep taxpayers in the city.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the delegation of business and community leaders signed a large scroll, pledging their support to Willis for his school improvement program. It was agreed that the scroll, together with the signed petition, which now contained nearly 10,000 names, would be presented to Superintendent Benjamin C. Willis by a special delegation committee made up of three bankers, Dr. Hauser, the direction of the conference, and the president of the Hyde Park Community Council.³³⁷ After the group of business leader met with Willis, he invited the committee to attend the next Board of Education meeting in June. At the meeting Willis told the board, "I had a rare and exciting experience last week...it was the first time in my experience that bankers urged an increase in taxes."³³⁸ By the end of the summer, the Board of Education would unanimously vote to ask the 1955 state legislature for the authority to issue \$50 million dollars in school building bonds to be spent in the next two years.³³⁹ Pushing hard for a school building program, Willis suggested that the new money would be used to help area schools. "With the \$50 million," Willis boasted, "we can spend \$4 million for sites, \$27 million for elementary school classrooms, \$12 million for high school classrooms, \$4 million for rehabilitation and replacement

³³⁷ Ibid. Also see Julia Abrahamson, *A Neighborhood Finds Itself*, 171.

³³⁸ Julia Abrahamson, *A Neighborhood Finds Itself*, 172.

³³⁹ "A talk with Supt. Willis." *Hyde Park Herald*. August 25, 1954.

of existing buildings and \$3 million for vocational and special schools.”³⁴⁰ Voters would overwhelmingly approve the bond issue in April 1955.³⁴¹

In a preliminary project report prepared prior to the approval of the Urban Renewal Plan for the community, the prime concern in the area of education was the inability to keep up with the demands for classroom space in Hyde Park’s public elementary schools. Overcrowding conditions existed in Murray, Harte, Ray, Shakespear, Kozminski, and Kenwood schools, where there was an average of 42 pupils per classroom.³⁴² According to the 1956 report, the main problem with Hyde Park High School, which had a capacity of over 3,000, served an area that was “too wide.”³⁴³ Although the school is “not yet overcrowded, it threatens to be so by 1959 or 60.”³⁴⁴ The report recommended that the present Hyde Park High classes be distributed into the newly created, centrally located, “upper grade centers.” The one serving the Hyde Park-Kenwood area would be the Murray School. In the future, Murray and other upper grade centers, “might be expanded to full size high schools,” depending on the enrollment factors at Hyde Park High School. ³⁴⁵ The basic contention of the report is that the time to begin on the school crisis is now, “as soon as possible.” According to the report, “sufficient classrooms have to be provided immediately or more and more families will leave the community for less crowded surroundings.”³⁴⁶

In March 1958, the Board of Education approved the division of the Chicago school system into eighteen, instead of sixteen, supervisory districts. The change, which was met

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Julia Abrahamson, *A Neighborhood Finds Itself*, 172.

³⁴² “Plan 3 New Schools.” *Hyde Park Herald*. August 22, 1956.

³⁴³ Hyde Park High School served an area from 39th to 71st Streets and Cottage Grove to the Lake.

³⁴⁴ “Plan 3 New Schools.” *Hyde Park Herald*. August 22, 1956.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

with considerable opposition, would go into effect at the end of the month, and place Hyde Park High School into its own separate district.³⁴⁷ The decision to change the supervisory boundary districts was of major concern for many Hyde Park residents, who saw the move as a way to “freeze” segregation into the area schools and would ultimately “disrupt the community’s efforts to build an integrated neighborhood.”³⁴⁸ The Hyde Park community was determined to keep Hyde Park High a “racially integrated school, and toward this end it was necessary to maintain balance of white to Negro students.”³⁴⁹

Efforts to thwart the rising enrollment numbers at Hyde Park High and maintain a racially integrated school continued over the next several years with little success. By the fall of 1964, the Chicago Board of Education was considering an open enrollment plan for four south side high schools, including Hyde Park. The proposal was suppose to implement the *Hauser Report’s* recommendation on integrating the schools by “clustering” of contiguous schools. The hope was that an open enrollment policy will led to a “cross-flow of students” for the better integration of each of the four high schools.³⁵⁰ The inherent problem with the cluster plan was that each of the high schools was operating at 50 percent more than its maximum capacity. While the integration issue was the goal, it was secondary to the immediate space needs of the south side high schools, including Hyde Park. (For a Statement of Immediate Needs for Hyde Park High School Proposed Jointly by Five Community Organizations in District 14, March 23, 1964, see Appendix C, Figure 2.1.)

³⁴⁷ “School District Shifts Bring Ire, Confusion to H.P Area.” *Hyde Park Herald*. March 19, 1958.

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ A Racial High School Plan. *Hyde Park Herald*. August 26, 1964. Schools included in the cluster plan idea included Hyde Park, Bowen, Hirsch, and South Shore.

The problem for Hyde Park High was urgent and immediate. Projected student enrollment for the fall 1965 semester was 4,300 students, and estimates for the following year were 4,800.³⁵¹ The rated capacity of Hyde Park High by School Superintendent Benjamin Willis on November 3, 1963, was 2,450.³⁵² Operating at nearly twice the capacity, the overcrowded conditions were beginning to affect the quality of education at the school. For many in the community, the answer was a new high school in Hyde Park-Kenwood area. Given the amount of newly cleared land available to the board of education by urban renewal efforts, a new high school was certainly possible.

In September 1964, a new community group of parents was formed to concentrate on the problems of Hyde Park-Kenwood schools. The community, supported by both Robert Havighurst and Philip Hauser, set its first goal to find a solution to the problems at Hyde Park High School. Havighurst, who was interviewed by the *Hyde Park Herald* at the time of the committee's formation, believed that what was most needed was "local initiative and local imaginative thinking which could result in stabilizing an integrated community." Hauser, who was also excited by the formation of a new local group, told the *Herald* in a statement that he felt the "problems of Hyde Park-Kenwood are different from most communities." This neighborhood, Hauser believed, is "a more integrated residential community than any other in the city or even in the country." He also pointed out that the problems that affect Hyde Park's schools are different from those that exist in "either all-white or all Negro communities."³⁵³

³⁵¹ A Racial High School Plan. *Hyde Park Herald*. August 26, 1964.

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ "New Group to Focus Attention on High School Problems." *Hyde Park Herald*. September 9, 1964.

As the new committee began its work to improve Hyde Park High, an Ad Hoc Committee of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference was also busy addressing the overcrowding conditions at the school. The goal of this committee was two-fold: to study the campus plan and other solutions for Hyde Park High School and to go to the community “with a possible solution for discussion.”³⁵⁴ At the October 27, 1964, meeting the Ad Hoc Committee described the Hyde Park High “problem” as a three-fold issue: integration, educational opportunities and overcrowding. For those at the meeting, integration was the basic problem, and efforts to tackle the other two issues should be designed to attract white students to Hyde Park.³⁵⁵ (See Appendix C, Figure 2.2.)

At the November 1964 meeting of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference Ad Hoc Committee on Schools, Dr. Havighurst was present and discussed his recently released Havighurst Report and its relevance for Hyde Park High School. At the meeting the following month, the committee reported to the full conference all possible proposals for improving Hyde Park High. In its report to the conference and the community, the committee focused on three main problems at the high school. The first was the lack of integration (8% white); second, the overcrowding which they believed would continue into the future; and third, was some weakness in the approach to teaching students in the lower tracks.³⁵⁶ In examining possible solutions to these problems, the committee presented a variety of options for the community to examine, including the suggestion that a new ninth

³⁵⁴ “Ad Hoc Committee On Hyde Park High School, Tuesday, October 27, 1964. The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 199, Folder 7: Hyde Park High School Needs, 1964-1967, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ “Special Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference Schools Report.” *Hyde Park Herald*. December 9, 1964.

grade high school branch located in Kenwood. Such a school would remove approximately 400 students from Hyde Park High to help relieve overcrowding.³⁵⁷ It was acknowledged that such a branch school in Kenwood would pull a substantial number of white students from Hyde Park High, destroying the precarious integration that currently exists at the school. While there were other solutions reported by the committee, including a high school cluster plan, a campus proposal, the use of the George Williams College building as a high school, and a new high school near Hyde Park; this was not the first time the idea for a high school in Kenwood was suggested as a solution to the enrollment problem at Hyde Park High.

Kenwood High School

In a detailed summary of proposed solutions submitted in November 1964 to Ted Palmer, the Executive Director of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, the proposal for a new school building constructed north of Hyde Park High had both pro and con components. Positive arguments for a new school included: an increase in the number of white children attending the school, as families would opt to send children to a neighborhood school, instead of a private school; more white families would move into Kenwood; and there would be a decrease in the number of families leaving Hyde Park-Kenwood as their children approach high school age. The negatives arguments for such a school hinged on the following points: a school district as suggested in Kenwood would be far too small to be approved as part of a city system that was already in need of additional school space at the high school level; there would be massive opposition in the Woodlawn

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

and South Shore neighborhoods; there would be strong opposition throughout the city to giving special high school privileges to a community viewed as having high income and higher educational standing; and there would be no money for such a school, until a bond issue is passed.³⁵⁸

Four months earlier, the *Hyde Park Herald* published an editorial calling for a new high school located within the Hyde Park-Kenwood community. The editorial board floated the idea to the community as a solution to the extreme overcrowding at Hyde Park High.³⁵⁹ The *Herald* reiterated its position for a new high school in a December editorial a week before the Community Conference Schools Report. With the release of Havighurst survey in early November, a great deal of ferment and anxiety worried many about that state of education in the community. The survey reported that high school problem in the city is critical, and recommended the construction of ten new high schools immediately. According to Havighurst, the integration of the neighborhood can only be maintained if the schools are integrated. The *Herald* supported the Havighurst survey and believed that one of the best steps that can be taken “toward expanding integration is to have a high school located in this community.”³⁶⁰ To this point, the most recent racial headcount taken in October 1964 showed that only 9.1 percent of the present Hyde Park High population was white, while 88.4 percent was black.³⁶¹ The Board of Education had stated that an integrated school “must have at least 10% white or 10% Negro students” to be considered

³⁵⁸ “Arguments Concerning A New High School North Of The Present Hyde Park High School.” The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 199, Folder 7: Hyde Park High School Needs, 1964-1967, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

³⁵⁹ “A Radical High School Plan.” *Hyde Park Herald*. August 26, 1964.

³⁶⁰ “We Reiterate Our Position.” *Hyde Park Herald*. December 2, 1964.

³⁶¹ “Racial Student Survey Report,” Prepared by Bureau of Research Development and Special Projects, Board of Education, Chicago Public Schools. October 7, 1964.

integrated.³⁶² The integration figures were the same numbers recommended by the Hauser panel earlier in the year.³⁶³ With the belief that Hyde Park High School will become totally segregated within five years, and Havighurst's suggestion that a "semi-selective high school" could be built in the community, the *Hyde Park Herald* expressed the opinion that Hyde Park-Kenwood "must take the initiative in its own front yard now...that a new high school in this community is the answer for Hyde Park-Kenwood's problems."³⁶⁴

During a community-wide meeting of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference in early January 1965, James Clement, a Chicago school board member, told a group of over 200 community members that a "realistic and effective high school plan for the entire South Side of Chicago" must be considered.³⁶⁵ At the same meeting, George Reed, an officer in the Chatham-Avalon Park community organization warned the members present that time was running out. Reed pointed out in that the surrounding communities residential integration was a "serious problem." He recommended that the Conference could become a "Friends of the Schools Committee."³⁶⁶ To that end, Dr. Philip Hauser also recommended the formation of such citizens groups to aid in "establishing communications with the schools" and "implementing their programs" from his report on school integration that was published last year.³⁶⁷

³⁶² "We Reiterate Our Position." *Hyde Park Herald*. December 2, 1964.

³⁶³ Philip M. Hauser et. al. *Hauser Report to the Board of Education, City of Chicago by the Advisory Panel on Integration of the Public Schools* (March, 1964).

³⁶⁴ "We Reiterate Our Position." *Hyde Park Herald*. December 2, 1964.

³⁶⁵ "Discuss Safety and Integration Problems at Community-Wide Meeting on High School Issue." *Hyde Park Herald*. January 13, 1965. The meeting of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference took place on Saturday, January 9, 1965, at St. Paul Church, 50th and Dorchester.

³⁶⁶ "We Reiterate Our Position." *Hyde Park Herald*. December 2, 1964.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

During the next several weeks, dozens of meetings were held to discuss the school issue. The largest meeting, with over 500 attendees, was held in the Kozminski school auditorium, where four members of the Chicago school board were present to answer questions from the community. Bernard Friedman, a school board member, told the crowd that the school board “intends to protect, preserve and strengthen integration.”³⁶⁸ At the same meeting, F. Raymond Marks, Jr., an attorney, was named chairman of the new Schools Committee of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference. In accepting his appointment, Marks was pleased with the Conference’s formation of a Schools Committee to replace the former Public Schools Committee and the Ad Hoc Schools Committee. “An organization dedicated to maintaining a stable interracial community,” Marks said, “must be concerned with the quality of education for all children and must be aware of the importance of good schools to integrated housing.”³⁶⁹

The Ad Hoc Committee on Hyde Park High School issued a report to the Board of Directors of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference after assessing reports from the twenty-two area meeting that had recently taken place. It was clear from the Conference report that there was “no community consensus” about the solutions to the problems of Hyde Park High School, particularly as to the type and location of new buildings. What was clear, is that the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference favored a comprehensive high school at Hyde Park High, serving District 14, with a “new and imaginative total program designed by the Board of Education with the cooperation of federal and local institutions, including the University of Chicago.” The Conference believed

³⁶⁸ “Hyde park High PTA asks Willis Ouster As Community Meets Various School Issues.” *Hyde Park Herald*. January 27, 1965.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid*.

that the planning and implementation of the new program should start immediately, and be accompanied by the alleviation of the overcrowding issues. Because the racial balance of the school could be compromised with a new plan, the Committee also believed that a second comprehensive high school could be needed.³⁷⁰ (See Appendix C, Figure 2.3.)

As parents and concerned community members continued to meet on the school issue, the authors of two recent surveys of the Chicago Public School system announced their opposition to the reappointment of Chicago School Superintendent Benjamin C. Willis. In a letter to the Chicago Urban League executive director, Philip Hauser listed his reasons for opposing Willis' reappointment. Hauser also mentioned in his letter that Dr. Robert Havighurst concurs with his judgment. Besides listing the current school problems, Hauser highlighted issues of *de facto* segregation, inadequate educational facilities, and "an almost total lack of adequate provision for high school facilities. As long as Willis is superintendent, Hauser wrote, the exodus of whites will continue, and urban renewal will be slowed.³⁷¹ Hauser was convinced that changing neighborhoods could be stabilized and effective integration achieved if the Chicago Public Schools were administered "by a general superintendent with broader horizons, a more cooperative attitude, and genuine concern for the future of Chicago."³⁷²

As opposition to Willis intensified, so did the opposition to the use of Kenwood or Murray Schools as branches of Hyde Park High. In a March 1965 meeting, members of the

³⁷⁰ "Report From the Ad Hoc Committee on Hyde Park High School, February 10, 1965." The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 199, Folder 7: Hyde Park High School Needs, 1964-1967, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

³⁷¹ "Educators announce their opposition to Supt. Willis." *Hyde Park Herald*. February 3, 1965.

³⁷² *Ibid.*

Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference reported on the results of the twenty-four community meetings held in January and February on the high school issue. The major concerns of the community were the educational quality of the present high school [Hyde Park] and “related socio-economic-cultural problems.”³⁷³ Mrs. Meltzer, a member of the committee, said that a second school could be necessary, unless the racial balance improves at Hyde Park High. Meltzer urged that a new and imaginative program for the existing high school, with the support of the University of Chicago, be considered. It was the consensus of the committee that the branches being considered for Hyde Park, especially the Murray School, which was supported by Superintendent Willis, could not offer the curriculum advantages of the main high school.³⁷⁴

By April 1965, a proposal for a new high school was presented by the Chicago Board of Education to the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference. The board wanted the high school to be built on the Murray School site, located at 53rd Street and Kenwood Avenue, at a cost of \$4.5 million dollars.³⁷⁵ Previously the Conference board of directors rejected the idea of the Murray site as a branch of the existing Hyde Park High, when Superintendent Benjamin Willis had floated the idea months before.³⁷⁶ In commenting on

³⁷³ “Conference Reports To The Community On Proposed Changes For Hyde Park High.” *Hyde Park Herald*. March 24, 1965. The meeting took place on Thursday, March 18, 1965. Over 50 people were in attendance, include Chicago Board of Education member James Clement. Invitations had been sent to all Chicago Board of Education members, school district 14 officials, and other community organizations.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ “City Proposes New High School At Murray Site.” *Hyde Park Herald*. April 14, 1965.

³⁷⁶ In November 1964, the Conference was opposed to a freshman branch at Kenwood School, Murray, or else where in the area for several reasons. According to the Conference, the schools did not have the proper facilities, such as science labs, adequate gym space, or language labs. They could not offer broad enough programs, such as foreign language, science, or advanced math. The schools would not have extra curricular programs either. See: “Arguments Concerning A New High School North Of The Present Hyde Park High

the new proposal, Edward H. Palmer, executive director of the Conference, said the plan seems a “reasonable and possible solution to the school problem in this area.”³⁷⁷ Palmer went on further to say that a new high school in the Hyde Park-Kenwood was “in line with the goals and criteria” of a Conference-sponsored meeting on the high school held earlier in the year.³⁷⁸ The new high school idea, which was to be opened to all District 14 students, was to be studied by the Conference Schools Committee, and they were seeking community reaction to the plan.

At a special meeting June 7, the Conference board adopted the recommendation of its school committee calling for a new high school in Hyde Park-Kenwood “or on land immediately adjacent to the community.” In an interesting move, the committee report, which was presented to school Superintendent Benjamin C. Willis the next day, also asked for a second new school in Woodlawn. Pointing out the overcrowding at the present Hyde Park High, and the existing population composition trend in the area, the committee believed this would “frustrate rather than advance integration.” According to this new plan, a new school would serve part of Woodlawn and all of Hyde Park-Kenwood, and a second new school would serve the rest of the Wood lawn community.³⁷⁹ Given the resources and assistance of educational and cultural institutions within the area, particularly the University of Chicago, the committee believed that “District 14 affords an excellent opportunity for experimentation and innovation in educational efforts,” and they required

School.” The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 199, Folder 7: Hyde Park High School Needs, 1964-1967, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

³⁷⁷ “City Proposes New High School At Murray Site.” *Hyde Park Herald*. April 14, 1965.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁹ “Recommended New High School For Hyde Park-Kenwood Area.” *Hyde Park Herald*. June 9, 1965.

full use of federal funds to support such “imaginative and constructive proposals.”³⁸⁰ According to the Conference, the funds for new high school construction are available through Department of Urban Renewal and the Board of Education. In other words, urban renewal funds could be used for clearance for a new school in an urban renewal area, such as Hyde Park-Kenwood. In doing so, local urban renewal became part of community school building, and the success of a renewal stabilization project hinged on how integrated the new school was in the community. Both the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference and the Hyde Park-Kenwood Committee for a New High School expressed pleasure at the hope of relief for overcrowding at Hyde Park High. Robert Solomon, chairman of the high school committee stated in early July, that “we are encouraged that critical need for a new high school in the Hyde Park-Kenwood area has been recognized.” Solomon also requested that the new school should be included in the 1966 school budget. “Although we recognized that other communities also have critical needs, the survival of Hyde Park-Kenwood is dependent on access to a high school which is truly integrated, both racially and socio-economically.”³⁸¹

By mid-summer, it was clear that the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, and other community groups, understood that in order for the community to survive and for urban renewal to be successful, particularly as it relates to a stable and integrated community, that solving the education question was the key. There was no doubt that Hyde Park High school’s racial balance in 1965 was not considered integrated, that the school enrollment was projected to be 176% above capacity in the forthcoming school year, and

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ “Two To One Support New Willis Proposal For A Possible New High School In Hyde Park-Kenwood.” *Hyde Park Herald*. July 7, 1965.

both issues were not expected to change in the future; the only hope for meeting the needs of all students in the district was to link the school issue with urban renewal efforts.

It had been nearly a year since the Board of Education adopted a policy on stabilization in the schools. In November 1964 the Board adopted a statement policy claiming its desire to “increase the interracial association of students,” and recognizing “a responsibility to help preserve, as far as possible, such associations in areas where they now exist.” To attain this going forward, the Board asserted that “its policy to seek and take any possible steps which may help to preserve and stabilize the integration of schools in neighborhoods which already have an interracial composition” was their goal³⁸²

Over the next several weeks, action on the proposed new high school idea was delayed. Willis, who had recently distributed a list of overcrowded Chicago public schools in late August, was having trouble gathering together the needed materials to move forward with the proposal. The list of schools showed Hyde Park High as fourth on the priority list.³⁸³ By the September 22, 1965, Board of Education meeting, the recommendation for building a new high school in Hyde Park-Kenwood was on the agenda for a vote. The actual proposal for the new school was presented by Superintendent Willis to the school board at the September 8th meeting. The recommendation to the board gave top priority to the new high school in Hyde Park. While the detailed \$3 million dollar new school proposal was discussed, the vote on the proposal was deferred until the October 13th board meeting.

As the board continued to consider the Willis proposal, community groups met to ponder the new school proposal, and considered other solutions to best meet the needs of

³⁸² Board of Education, City of Chicago, Proceedings, Board of Education, City of Chicago, (Chicago: Board of Education, October 27, 1964), p. 542; (November 12, 1964), p. 548.

³⁸³ “School Action Delayed Again.” *Hyde Park Herald*. September 1, 1965.

students. Other groups, including Murray School parents, children, and friends began protests against the plan to build a new school on land adjacent to the elementary school, and had been investigating alternative sites for the proposed new high school. The Murray School PTA endorsed a separate proposal, known as the Unity plan, which called for an expansion of the existing Hyde Park High. A separate group of Murray parents, however, who endorsed using the Murray site for a new school, wrote to the Chicago Board of Education, claiming that the Kenwood site is better because it had better transportation, good local facilities, including a public library nearby.³⁸⁴

While Willis had recommended the new school be built adjacent to the Murray school, he also welcomed other plans and ideas by community members to be shared with the full board at the October 13th meeting. Regardless of the different plan ideas, it was apparent to all community members that a new high school was necessary to the success of the whole urban renewal program. The Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference at its regular meeting in October reiterated its stand for a new school of moderate size, which would provide a stable, integrated education to the children of the community. Speaking for the Conference, Executive Director Edward H. Palmer said, "Dr. Willis has suggested the Murray site for a new high school. The Conference recognizes that other sites are possible. More important than the sites, is the basic solution to the education and integration problem."³⁸⁵ Proponents of the Murray proposal claim that a new school is needed to maintain the stable, integrated character of the Hyde Park community. All of which supports the goals of urban renewal in the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhoods.

³⁸⁴ "Public Hearing Today On School." *Hyde Park Herald*. October 13, 1965.

³⁸⁵ "High School Issue Continues to Stir Controversy As Board Prepares To Meet." *Hyde Park Herald*. October 6, 1965.

At the October 13th meeting, nine people testified for and against the Willis proposal to build a 2,500 student high school adjacent to the Murray elementary school. Five people expressed interest in the Unity proposal; four for locating a high school in Hyde Park-Kenwood; and three expressed their displeasure with using the Murray site all together. No decision was made by the board of education, and the proposals were deferred until a future meeting.

At the October 27, 1965, school board meeting, the high school controversy took a new turn when Superintendent Willis proposed a change in the location for the new high school. As part of a six-page recommendation presented to the school board, Willis suggested that the location of the new school be changed from Murray to Kenwood. Willis asked in the new proposal that the high school be build on the present site of the Kenwood elementary school, located at 50th and Blackstone. Willis also recommended that the present Hyde Park High School be remodeled for 2,000 students, and a third high school in West Woodlawn be built as soon as possible. The timetable for the three point solution called for the construction of a new high school on the Kenwood site first, while the modernization of the present Hyde Park High School and the construction of an additional high school in Woodlawn were projected for completion by 1970. In his recommendation to the board, Willis stressed that overcrowding and integration were the reasons for the three schools, and that a school at the Kenwood site would be 25% white. "The racial composition of the school on the Kenwood site," Willis stated, "would be approximately 450 white and 1,370 Negro and 'other' students, if all the white students currently enrolled in elementary schools was retained."³⁸⁶ During the presentation of the new plan to the board,

³⁸⁶ "New High School Recommended at Kenwood Site." *Hyde Park Herald*. November 3, 1965.

Mrs. Eugene Krell, representing the community to investigate alternatives sites for a high school in Hyde Park-Kenwood, pointed out that the Kenwood School site and the adjacent cleared land was approximately 5½ acres, which is larger than the land at the Murray School site. The land around Kenwood is also owned or will be owned by the school administration under the terms of the urban renew program.³⁸⁷ Given all the time and energy put forward by community organizations, parents, and concerned citizens, the school board now had to consider how the clustering of three high schools could provide maximum educational value for every child in District 14.

Within days of Willis announcing a change in location for the new Kenwood school, the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference submitted a petition during a period from October 29 through November 4, 1965. The petition was signed by over 1,000 property owners, individuals, and firms who had invested in the Hyde Park-Kenwood Urban Renewal efforts. According to a letter from Executive Director Edward Palmer to Frank M. Whiston, President of the Chicago Board of Education, the signers “have invested in the continued success of the community as a stable, interracial area. They have purchased, rehabilitated, and upgraded their properties with this expectation. The petitioners want a new high school in Hyde Park-Kenwood now.”³⁸⁸ One important signature on the petition was that of Dr. Philip Hauser. (To view the first page of this petition, see Appendix C, Figure 2.4.)

As the Chicago Board of Education pondered the new Willis three point high school solution, University of Chicago professor Julian Levi sent to the Hyde Park-Kenwood

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ “Letter to Frank M. Whiston, President, Chicago Board of Education, November 8, 1965.” The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 200, Folder 5: Statements to the Board of Education, 1965, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

Community Conference and The Woodlawn Organization what he termed “suggestions for a possible compromise satisfactory to both sides.” Levi, who believed that both community organizations were hopelessly deadlocked on the school issue, offered a compromise plan that included the University of Chicago. Levi’s plan called for a remodeled and expanded Hyde Park High School at the present site that was limited to 3,750 students; an experimental high school located at the University of Chicago, that would be part of the Research and Development Center, and would allow Woodlawn students to attend; and another high school south of the present Hyde Park High for the other Woodlawn residents. While Levi’s plan offered alternative ideas, it also seemed to fit with the future goals of the University, that was already preparing an application for federal funds for the University’s experimental school center. Edward Palmer called the suggested plan “statistical gamesmanship representing exercises in futility.”³⁸⁹ The Conference had already sent a letter to the board of education on November 22nd, asking for support for the Willis proposal for a new high school on the Kenwood site, rejecting any compromise that does not include a high school at the Kenwood site.

In an attempt to solve the Hyde Park High School controversy, a five-member committee of the board of education was appointed at the November 22, 1965, board meeting.³⁹⁰ The committee was instructed to meet together with the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference and the Unity organization in attempt to resolve the controversy. Besides meeting with the community organizations, the committee was charged with

³⁸⁹ “School Pickets and Proposals.” *Hyde Park Herald*. November 24, 1965.

³⁹⁰ “No High School Decision Yet Appoint School Board Committee.” *Hyde Park Herald*. December 1, 1965. At the time of the Board of Education meeting, the committee of five included: Thomas J. Murray (chairman), Warren Bacon, Mrs. Lydon Wild, Cyrus H. Adams III, and Mrs. Louis Mallis.

gathering information from the Department of Urban Renewal and other sources on the cost and time of urban renewal as it relates to both the Willis and Unity proposals. The status of the University of Chicago's experimental school proposal was also under consideration by the committee. A new committee, the Committee for an Integrated High School in Hyde Park-Kenwood was also formed, with representatives from all the community committees pressing for a new local school.

After almost two years of discussion, countless community meetings, bitter wrangling and community in-fighting, the board of education voted to build a new high school in Hyde Park-Kenwood. At the board meeting held on January 26, 1966, the Chicago Board of Education, by a 7-2 vote, adopted a three-part motion to: 1) build a new high school for 2,500 students next to Kenwood elementary school, 4959 Blackstone; 2) to extensively rehabilitate Hyde Park High School; and 3) to permit open enrollment at the two schools, so students from any area of Hyde Park, Kenwood, or Woodlawn can attend either high school.³⁹¹ Both the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference and the Committee for an Integrated High School in Hyde Park-Kenwood thanked the board for their decision. Conference director Edward Palmer said, "This action assures the continued existence of Hyde Park-Kenwood as a stable, interracial community."³⁹²

Others, however, were concerned for the future of the neighborhoods. In particular, the Unity organization claimed that the school board decision violated the federal Civil Rights Act, on the grounds that the board had created new school boundaries for maximum integration. The Unity group believed that the board action would remove all white students from Hyde Park High School. The organization was looking into the possibility of

³⁹¹ "New High School For Hyde Park." *Hyde Park Herald*. February 2, 1966.

³⁹² *Ibid*.

court action. University of Chicago professor, Julian Levi, executive director of the South East Chicago Commission, said the board of education decision was not in accord with the commission's proposal, nor one would assume, with what the University of Chicago desired. The commission had proposed a high school for 3,750 students on the present site and a new high school further south in Woodlawn.

Robert Havighurst, however, seemed to find a positive in the board's decision. As the author of a recent survey of the Chicago school system, and a education professor at the University of Chicago, Havighurst urged that "representatives of Woodlawn, Hyde Park, and Kenwood get together to work out the details in such a way that a maximum of integration can proceed as part of a sound program of secondary education at the two high school sites."³⁹³ In concert, the Committee for an Integrated High School In Hyde Park-Kenwood said that the board decision provides "a positive step in implementing the Havighurst and Hauser reports," both of which call for "strengthening integrated communities." The group also commended the board for "maintaining integrated neighborhoods by providing good, integrated schools."³⁹⁴

The Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference Schools Committee met on May 4, 1966, and made the following statement on the recent board decision to build a new high school in Kenwood. The committee moved and seconded the following statement: "The plan passed by the Board of Education to provide for the physical needs of secondary education in District 14 calls for the building of a new high school at the Kenwood site and the physical rehabilitation of the present building." In order to expedite both parts of the board plan, the Conference was prepared to accept a temporary facility at the Kenwood site,

³⁹³ "New High School For Hyde Park." *Hyde Park Herald*. February 2, 1966.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid*.

provided that the following conditions were met: a) Quality education be provided to all students in District 14, including full range programming; b) Continued quality departmental education be provided for all of the 7th and 8th graders; c) At least part of the new high school be available and programmed in September 1967 to handle freshman entering the temporary facility this fall [1966], who would be sophomores in September 1967; d) A well-worked-out plan for clustering be developed; e) Progress continue to be made in the solutions of problems of discipline, safety, programming and services at the present facility; f) The temporary facility be indeed temporary and only an adjunct to the most expeditious implementation of the overall plan. After a lengthy debate the motioned carried by a vote of 18 – 5.³⁹⁵

The Building Beings

During the same January 1966 meeting that the Board of Education ended the battle for the expansion of Hyde Park High, and voted in favor of the construction of a new high school in Kenwood; Superintendent Willis set in motion plans to remodel the interior of Hyde Park High. At the meeting, Willis mentioned that Hyde Park High School had been entered in the architectural contest being conducted by the Great Cities Program for School Improvement grant. One high school in each of fifteen major cities was entered as a remodeling project, and the funds for the school improvement contest were in the form of a grant from the Educational Facilities Laboratories in New York, which was financed by the

³⁹⁵ “Minutes of the School Committee Meeting Held May 4, 1966.” The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 200, Folder 8: Kenwood High School Establishment, 1965-1967, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

Ford Foundation.³⁹⁶ The idea to allow Hyde Park High School to be the subject of the first contest was to show how to put new life into old schools through extensive remodeling.

Soon after Willis announced an architectural competition for the rehabilitation of Hyde Park High School the contest was launched. Opened to all qualified architects from around the country, the competition ran from mid-March until May 15, 1966, with winners announced on June 1st. The first prize was \$5,000, the second, \$2,000, and three additional prizes of \$1,000 were announced. The board of education agreed to use the winning design for the remodeling the school, and was to be begin as soon as working drawings were completed and contracts awarded. The prize money was applied to the architectural fee for designing plans for a complete remodeling effort. The total cost of the rehabilitation project for Hyde Park High was projected to be at least two million dollars, with \$500,000 to be expended in the first phase of construction.³⁹⁷

Response to the competition, according to Ben Graves, project director for the Great Cities Program, was “overwhelming.” Twenty-five entries were submitted to the competition, and a total of 179 Illinois architectural firms registered for the contest.³⁹⁸ Graves believed that interest in the project came from architects who had a personal connection to the high school, because either they or a relative had attended the school, which was a tribute to the academic tradition of the school. Graves also pointed out that the exterior of the building would be preserved because of the quality of its design.³⁹⁹ The contest rules stated that the interior of the school should be remodeled to support the kind of educational program needed to meet the needs of a large student body. In early May, the

³⁹⁶ “New High School For Hyde Park.” *Hyde Park Herald*. February 2, 1966.

³⁹⁷ “Architectural Jury Prepares to Judge.” *Hyde Park Herald*. May 11, 1966.

³⁹⁸ “Tell Hyde Park High Rebuilding Details.” *Chicago Tribune*. June 17, 1966.

³⁹⁹ “Architectural Jury Prepares to Judge.” *Hyde Park Herald*. May 11, 1966.

panel of judges for the architectural competition toured Hyde Park High School in preparation for selecting the winner.

The competition, sponsored by the Board of Education, in cooperation with the Research Council, named the winner of the \$2,000,000 contest to modernize Hyde Park High School at the May 25th board meeting. The firm of Orput and Orput, with offices in Rockford and Skokie, submitted the winning design, in the first of a contemplated series of national events.⁴⁰⁰ Orput and Orput, had designed a number of schools in the Chicago area, including Niles Township High School, North Division, the Ridgewood and Ridge Township schools, and the Park Forest High School.⁴⁰¹ Impressed by the comprehensive programs offered at Hyde Park High School, Alden Orput was interested in designing a plan that gave the school “an inherent ability to adapt to changing curriculums.”⁴⁰² Because of the curricula demands of the Hyde Park programs, the firm believed that a variety of group instruction spaces was needed within the school to accommodate the assembly of large groups of 90 to 120, to small groups or individuals ranging from 1-5. Compatible activities would be group together and the use of divisible walls, such as panel walls, folding partitions, and vinyl curtains helped to create more learning space. The architects said that the heart of the school would be the resource and independent study center, where laboratory facilities and the library would be adjacent to teachers offices and small study rooms. Specific changes to the existing interior of the school would also include decreasing the seating capacity of auditorium and the addition of two small lectures rooms and

⁴⁰⁰ “Hyde Park High School, Chicago. Orput & Orput, Architects, Named Winner of \$2,000,000 Competition.” *New Life For Old Schools*. No. 9. June, 1966.

⁴⁰¹ “Winner Chosen For High School Rehab.” *Hyde Park Herald*. June 1, 1966.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

audiovisual facilities on the second floor.⁴⁰³ The rehabilitation of the high school was done in stages so that the building could still be used as a school. Once completed, the rehabilitation project resulted in an almost complete rebuilding of the interior of Hyde Park High School.

As plans were being created for the remodeling of Hyde Park High School, working plans were underway on Kenwood High School. Within a year of the board's original decision to build, the preliminary architectural plans for the new Kenwood High School were approved by the Board of Education at their meeting in late December 1967.⁴⁰⁴

Prior to the board approving the plans, however, the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference was increasingly impatient with the slow progress, and seemingly lack of interest, in the school board's desire to begin the project. In a letter to Superintendent Redmond on September 20, 1967, the Conference expressed frustration that the board had given final approval for the new school in the spring of 1966, with the idea that the building would be ready by September 1968. Rufus Cook, President of the Board of Directors of the Conference, believed that even with the "most strenuous efforts," the project would not be completed on time. Cook also acknowledged that the new school project had already "reversed the trend of white students fleeing the public schools," and for the "viability" of the community, as well as for "the cause of integration in education," that the Conference did not wish to see this achievement lost.⁴⁰⁵ (See Appendix C, Figure 2.5.)

⁴⁰³ "Hyde Park High School, Chicago. Orput & Orput, Architects, Named Winner of \$2,000,000 Competition." *New Life For Old Schools*. No. 9. June, 1966.

⁴⁰⁴ "Original Kenwood Plans Approved." *Hyde Park Herald*. January 4, 1967.

⁴⁰⁵ "Letter to Dr. James F. Redmond, Superintendent of Schools, September 20, 1967." The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 203, Folder 1: Kenwood High School, 1967-1968, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

In response to the letter, Assistant Superintendent Francis B. McKeag sent a response indicating “existing properties on the site” of the new school would not be razed until October, and the properties would not be ready for conveyance to the Board of Education until early November. McKeag indicated that at that point the plans for the building would move ahead to the final stage, with approval expected in December 1967, and the awarding of contracts shortly after. Because of the delays in the site acquisition from the Department and Planning and Urban Renewal, McKeag suggested that building planning would not make it possible for the new school building to be ready for use until early 1969.⁴⁰⁶ Given this news, the Hyde Park-Kenwood Conference believed it would have more luck speeding up the project if it organized concerned neighbors to put pressure on the Department of Urban Renewal, particularly Lew Hill, the Commissioner of Urban Renewal. Such action, it was believed, might accelerate action from all sides.⁴⁰⁷

To help persuade on all parties involved about the importance of building the new Kenwood High School, the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference created a “Nagging Committee.” The committee was responsible for contacting members of the Board of Education and the Department of Urban Renewal, either by phone, letter, or in person, in order to relay information on community concerns, as well as gleaning information from a variety of sources. To target efforts in the most effective manner, the committee created a newsletter that included “notes of interest and encouragement” for members involved, with

⁴⁰⁶ “Letter to Rufus Cook, Chairman of the Board, from Francis B. McKeag, September 29, 1967.” The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 200, Folder 8: Kenwood High School Establishment, 1965-1967, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

⁴⁰⁷ “Letter to Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Krell from Cyrus H. Adams, September 21, 1967.” The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 200, Folder 8: Kenwood High School Establishment, 1965-1967, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

additional information about Board of Education meetings and suggestions for writing letters and making phone calls. (See Appendix C, Figure 2.6.)

In early October, the firm of Schmidt, Garden and Erikson received the commission to design the new high school in Kenwood. The architectural firm understood the problems inherent in constructing a functional school and a satisfying educational environment in which to teach and learn. In a letter to Rufus Cook, Chairman of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, Paul D. McCurry, a partner in the firm, acknowledged the pressing and immediate community need for a new school, but also expressed the problems designing a new complex could bring. According to McCurry, the school buildings would be “designed to use the latest and most advanced techniques of the construction industry in order to promote both speed and economy.” It was possible, McCurry said, that “some portion of the school plan could be ready for use late in 1968,” with the total building being completed the following year.⁴⁰⁸

The final plans for the high school in the Kenwood neighborhood provided for a complex of four buildings connected by covered corridors at a cost of \$5.7 million dollars.⁴⁰⁹ At the two December board meetings, Paul D. McCurry, the architect with the firm of Schmidt, Garden and Erikson, had prepared plans for a cluster of four buildings for the new school, rather than one large building, as it would be cheaper to construct. With board approval, the architectural firm began work on preparing drawings for the new buildings. Shortly after the board approved funds for the construction of a new high school in Kenwood,

⁴⁰⁸ “Letter to Rufus Cook from Paul D. McCurry, October 13, 1967.” The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 202, Folder 2: Kenwood High School, 1967, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

⁴⁰⁹ “Original Kenwood Plans Approved.” *Hyde Park Herald*. January 4, 1967.

Rufus Cook, Chairman of the Board for the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference sent a letter to Frank M. Whiston, President of the Board of Education “expressing appreciation for the appropriation of funds for the construction of a new high school in District 14.”⁴¹⁰ Superintendent James Redmond responded to Mr. Cook in kind. (See Appendix C, Figure 2.7.)

By November of the same year, Urban Renewal officials told representatives of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference that demolition of the buildings was underway and land would soon be available for the Board of Education to begin construction of the new high school between Blackstone and Lake Park along Hyde Park Boulevard.⁴¹¹ As buildings were being razed, the school board was finalizing construction plans for the new buildings. On December 27, 1967, the final architectural plans for Kenwood High School were approved by the Board of Education.⁴¹² The board approval opened the way for construction to begin as soon as the bids had been solicited and accepted.

Kenwood High School was planned to accommodate 2,000 students in four separate building units, with first and second story levels, and 65 teaching stations. At the corner of Blackstone and Hyde Park Boulevard, a two story arts building with an auditorium seating 750. In addition to a lecture room seating 150, the building had space for music, art, and economics classes. The three-story academic building, with an entrance from Blackstone Avenue, contained classroom, administrative offices, and a library. The foundation and

⁴¹⁰ “Letter from James Redmond to Rufus Cook, January 4, 1967.” The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 200, Folder 8: Kenwood High School Establishment, 1965-1967, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

⁴¹¹ “High School Site Ready This Month.” *Hyde Park Herald*. November 8, 1967.

⁴¹² “Final High School Plans Approved.” *Hyde Park Herald*. January 3, 1968.

construction of the building was adequate to build an additional floor for future expansion.⁴¹³

To the east of the academic building, and connected at the second story level, was the service building. The building housed a lunchroom seating 700 students, and contained a student commons and a faculty dining room. The main floor of the service building was built for receiving and plant operations. According to Dr. Edwin Lederer, associate superintendent in charge of operations, the service building would be completed first. The fourth building on site was planned as a two-story physical education building, containing two gyms, locker rooms, health classrooms and a swimming pool.⁴¹⁴

In early March, the A.J. Maggio Company began work on the new high school building. The construction company had been awarded the contractor for the new Kenwood High School at the February 28, 1968, Board of Education meeting. The contract called for the completion of the entire four-building complex at a cost of \$7,076,220.⁴¹⁵ The cost of the new structure was 20 percent higher than the \$5.6 million estimated two years earlier. According to Dr. Edwin Lederer, the increase was due the rise in construction costs across the Chicagoland area.⁴¹⁶ Forgoing the accelerated construction measures, which would cost the board an additional half a million dollars, Lederer said the whole building would be completed by September 1969.

Back in January, Lederer also announced that the Board of Education had approved the use of the Critical Path Method to expedite construction of Kenwood High School. The Critical Path Method of construction was used to process data before construction began

⁴¹³ Ibid.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ "Work Begins on \$7 Million High School Building Here." *Hyde Park Herald*. March 6, 1968.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

and monitored progress along the way. According to Lederer, the actual progress of construction would be compared monthly to the progress charted as a “critical path,” which would help to determine the “fastest and most efficient possible” way to complete the building in the shortest possible time possible.⁴¹⁷

Over the next year and a half, construction on the new school progressed on schedule. “We are expecting to hold classes in the new building when school starts,” reported Elizabeth Mollahan, principal of Kenwood High School in July 1969.⁴¹⁸ Paul McCurry, architect of the project, confirmed the progress when he said “the work is moving along well...[and] the classrooms on the third floor are almost completed and the lockers are being placed in their positions.” Mollahan suggested that the minimum amount of vandalism on the construction site to-date, suggested that the students and community want the building to be completed as soon as possible.⁴¹⁹

On September 2, 1969, the new Kenwood High School building opened for students. To open on schedule, furniture was moved “around the clock” over the past week to provide temporary seating until more permanent furniture arrived. According to Principal Elizabeth Mollahan, carpeting and tiling had yet to be completed, and the new gymnasium would not be ready for occupancy until October 1. In the meantime, Kenwood High School students would continue to use several classrooms in “the old building” for health and gym classes.⁴²⁰ Work outside the new building would continue through September, with “facading and trees” being completed by the middle of the month. With the opening of the

⁴¹⁷ “Computers to Expedite Construction of Kenwood, Forrestville High Schools. *Hyde Park Herald*. January 17, 1968.

⁴¹⁸ “Kenwood High School Will Be Ready For Fall.” *Hyde Park Herald*. July 9, 1969.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁰ “Kenwood High School Opens Today.” *Hyde Park Herald*. September 2, 1969.

new building, the old Kenwood High School building became Kenwood Experimental School for sixth, seventh and eighth grade students.

VI. THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO AND AN “APPROPRIATE COMMUNITY”: KENWOOD HIGH SCHOOL

A new high school for the community is “a logical completion of the urban renewal plan for Hyde Park-Kenwood...urban renewal is not only buildings, but the schools to serve adequately the number of pupils new housing brings.”
Edward H. Palmer, Executive Director HPCC, 1965⁴²¹

Julian H. Levi, a Chicago attorney, educator, city planner and an influential advocate of urban renewal, died on October 16, 1996, at the age of 87. As a former professor at the University of Chicago and chairman in the late 1970s of the Chicago Plan Commission, is credited with racially and economically stabilizing the Hyde Park-Kenwood community in the 1950s and 1960s. Professor Levi, who had formerly lived in the Hyde Park neighborhood of Chicago, where he helped “stem the tide of urban blight that threatened to swamp” the University of Chicago community in the 1950s, was one of the country’s foremost experts in stabilizing racially changing neighborhoods and helped to shape urban policies across the nation.⁴²² “Julian was one of the most dynamic, committed individuals my father came to know and trust. And so did I,” said former Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley, son of the former mayor, who worked closely with Levi during the urban renewal years. “He had nothing to gain from what he did for the city and its university. He did it because it was good and because he could make it work.”⁴²³

⁴²¹ “Recommend New High School for Hyde Park-Kenwood Area. *Hyde Park Herald*. June 9, 1965.

⁴²² Saxon, Wolfgang, “Julian H. Levi, 87, Influential Advocate of Urban Renewal.” *The New York Times*. October 19, 1996.

⁴²³ Heise, Keanan, “Julian H. Levi, 87, Attorney, Professor.” *Chicago Tribune*. October 18, 1996.

In 1952, Levi was named the executive director of the South East Chicago Commission, which eventually planned and implemented with the city the first urban renewal project in the nation sought by a local community. The issue for the city, the communities of Hyde Park-Kenwood, and the university was stability, as neighboring areas, including Woodlawn, saw white flee as the first African-Americans moved in. At the time, public programs to combat blighted inner cities consisted of waiting until an older community was thoroughly deteriorated, then tearing it all down. Whatever was in the old neighborhood was gone. Levi saw it differently. He helped to create a planning program which resulted in an urban renewal program which worked to correct the problems of physical deterioration within the community, including programs to combat rising crime rates, and a campaign to combat housing problems by the enforcement of housing and building codes of the city. But Levi wanted more. Committed to a racially integrated community, Levi recognized that a community needed to be a “livable” community if it was to have any chance to be a “successfully integrated neighborhood in the United States of the 1950s and 1960s.”⁴²⁴

To thwart plans to move the University of Chicago campus out of Hyde Park, Levi, with the backing of Chancellor Lawrence Kimpton, devised a plan to buy blighted property around the university and improve it to encourage stability and integration. This would require new legislation, and Levi helped lead a lobby effort for an amendment to the Housing Act of 1949, that became the key to rebuilding Hyde Park-Kenwood, and other communities through urban renewal. The entire process was controversial and angered many who saw it as a land grab by the University of Chicago.

⁴²⁴ “Community is Testament to Levi’s Work.” *Hyde Park Herald*. October 23, 1996, p.4.

For Levi, however, the mission was stabilizing racially changing neighborhoods. For the University of Chicago that meant to “turn the tide and make Hyde Park a stable, racially integrated neighborhood.”⁴²⁵ In an interview with the *Chicago Tribune* just before leaving Chicago for California in 1980, Levi reflected on his work in Hyde Park. “As I look back I can make a good catalog of my mistakes,” he said. “But we were out on the frontier in Hyde Park. When we started, most people said it was hopeless, that you couldn’t have a stable interracial community. We proved you can.”⁴²⁶ In the interview, Levi made no apologies about urban renewal in Hyde Park. “Of course, there was hardship worked on poor blacks,” he said. “That’s who was living in the buildings that had to come down. And no, we didn’t replace those buildings with enough public housing. We got some, but not enough.” When looking at the positives of his urban renewal efforts in Hyde Park, Levi said, “What we did do was create an integrated neighborhood where middle-class blacks and whites can live together.”⁴²⁷

Twenty years earlier, in a speech before the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Conference on “The Role of the University in an Urban Setting,” Levi recalled a quote from Chancellor Kimpton at the time of the formation of the South East Chicago Commission. On the role of the University of Chicago, Kimpton stated: “The University of Chicago has a deep interest and a tremendous stake in our community. We are here to stay, and we are dedicated to the kind of community that is appropriate for our faculty members and our

⁴²⁵ McCarron, John, “Julian Levi’s Parting Shot: Worried About Chicago.” *Chicago Tribune*. June 15, 1980.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

students.”⁴²⁸ The Chancellor’s statement indicates that the university had a deep commitment to the community and that the faculty would prefer an “appropriate” community that implies “more than just the mere absence of crime and slum.” According to Levi, this would include a community “whose standards for primary and secondary education in both the public and private schools equip children for an academic, collegiate education.”⁴²⁹ For Levi, the main goal was simple, to make “Hyde Park the kind of community in which the students and faculty will live.”⁴³⁰ While his motivation was limited by his definitions of what the Hyde Park-Kenwood community should be like, and democratic planning to achieve even his vision of community was not his highest priority, he did represent the institutional point of view. And it was the institution that brought the leadership, tools, and money to make it happen. Despite board of directors of the South East Chicago Commission, which included many community members, Levi considered the SECC “the political action arm of the University.”⁴³¹

The Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, through its various neighborhood programs, and the South East Chicago Commission’s role in urban renewal, both subscribed to the Conference’s goal of an interracial community of high standards. To the University and the Commission that meant as “high” as it could be pushed. Whether the University’s support for integration during urban renewal was a commitment to diversity, or a

⁴²⁸ “The University and Preservation of Urban Values in Chicago,” Speech, given by Julian H. Levi, before the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee conference on “The Role of the University in an Urban Setting,” Milwaukee, WI, October 29, 1960. 7, Office of the President, Beadle Administration, Records, 1916-1968, Box 353, Folder 7: Urban renewal Julian Levi, speeches, 1961, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago Library, Chicago, IL, 7.

⁴²⁹ Ibid, 8.

⁴³⁰ Sagan, Bruce, “Looking Back At Urban Renewal.” *Hyde Park Herald*. July 21, 2004, 38.

⁴³¹ Ibid., 40.

necessary accommodation to the reality of the 1950s and 1960s is hard to know. However, the Conference's commitment to the interracial community idea is certain, as it included concern for issues like "moderate and middle-income housing" and public school education.⁴³² It is clear that both organizations needed each other. The Commission had the money and muscle to get things done. The Conference had a public social purpose and an army of volunteers to motivate the community members. It is also certain, both organizations agreed that something needed to be done in the Hyde Park-Kenwood communities. The what, the how, and the why would depend on who is asking and who is answering.

The Importance of Integration in Hyde Park-Kenwood

In the Spring of 1954 the South East Chicago Commission received a grant from the Field Foundation that made it possible for the Commission to organize a Planning Unit, whose functions were, at first, directed at a Title I Slum Clearance Project, and later an Urban Renewal Project under the Federal Housing Act of 1954. By 1958, the Title I clearance projects and the Hyde Park A and B Projects had already progressed through the stages of acquisition, demolition and relocation, and Webb & Knapp, the developer, had already begun the initial construction phase.

Commenting on the Federal Urban Renewal Program for the *University of Chicago Law Review* the same year, Julian Levi reflected on a number of factors related to his experience with urban development in Hyde Park. For renewal to be effective, Levi made this observation:

⁴³² Sagan, Bruce, "Looking Back At Urban Renewal." *Hyde Park Herald*. July 21, 2004, 41.

“Urban Renewal...must operate on a neighborhood-wide basis. Its primary objective must be to so alter the character of the area as to create economic and social pressures moving towards improvement rather than decline. Inevitably, such a program must achieve more than the mere removal of obsolete structures and more than the mere removal enforcement of minimum standards. Much of the program must be directed at the improvement of public facilities, particularly schools, parks, play grounds, parking facilities and the like, to the end that the resident finds within the community opportunities and amenities equivalent to those available in newer portions of the metropolitan areas.”⁴³³

Important for Levi was the objective to “alter the character of the area” so that social pressures would help to improve the neighborhood. Moreover, the improvement should be directed toward public facilities within the community, including schools, so that residents find that the neighborhood infrastructure is on par with other locations in the city. Levi also made the assertion that public support and participation in the Urban Renewal Plan was crucial and an enormously difficult task. For Levi, the purpose of an Urban Renewal Plan was “to preserve an existing community,” and this could only be achieved through “the participation of residents and owners in the plan at all stages.” In the end, an Urban Renewal Plan “cannot be all things to all people.”⁴³⁴

To understand the concern surrounding overcrowding at Hyde Park High School in the early 1960s, or need for another high school in Hyde Park, is to understand how Levi saw the role of urban renewal. Residents in the communities of Hyde Park, Woodlawn, and Kenwood understood that the opportunities and amenities available to their children were not equal to those found elsewhere. If urban renewal was to work in Hyde Park-Kenwood, it would be up to the residents to provide the public pressure, or social pressure as Levi believed, to bring about change in education. This was certainly evident in role that

⁴³³ Julian Levi, “The Federal Urban Renewal Program: Comment.” *The University of Chicago Law Review*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Winter, 1958), pp. 355-368, 356.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid*, 358.

concerned citizens played in the Ad Hoc Committee on Hyde Park High School. The Ad Hoc Committee, which was part of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, was given the charge to study various alternative proposals for the Hyde Park High School issue. Citizens were concerned not only about the physical safety of the students, the quality of education available at the high school, but also about the question of integration. The Committee felt that integration was the most important factor in whether or not “middle class people in Hyde Park-Kenwood would continue to use the school.” It was at the neighborhood meetings, that members questioned the appropriate integration percentage necessary to encourage whites now living in the community to send their children to public schools. What would the minimal racial mixture need to be to be feasible or desirable in mixing children from different social-economic backgrounds?⁴³⁵

Numerous Area Meetings sponsored by the HPKCC were held locations in Hyde Park-Kenwood, and residents voiced their concerns about Hyde Park High School’s overcrowding and about the possibility of building a new school somewhere in Kenwood. Concerns varied from meeting-to-meeting, but residents were in agreement that the quality of education was of prime importance, and a reduction of overcrowding, no matter what form, was essential to improving the quality of education for their children. Many also understood that the success of Urban Renewal in the area was linked to a large extent on the acceptability of local schools, both elementary and secondary. Acceptability was another word for integration. The acceptability factor was also similar to Levi’s idea for an “appropriate community.” At one Area Meeting, the chairman asked that members used

⁴³⁵ “Minutes of the Ad Hoc Committee on Hyde Park High School, November 3, 1964.” The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 199, Folder 1: Area Meetings on Schools, 1964-1965, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

racial balance percentages of 20 percent, 25 percent, and 30 percent as viable balances when evaluating both long and short-term proposals on the school question.⁴³⁶

The fact that integration was on the minds of community members relates to both urban renewal efforts in the neighborhoods and a new policy statement from the Board of Education. On February 13, 1964, the Chicago Board of Education declared a policy of racial integration for the public schools of Chicago, saying in a formal resolution: “We shall continue to seek, and promptly take, any practicable steps by which, in conformity with sound educational procedures, racial and ethnic diversity in schools and class rooms can be promoted.”⁴³⁷ At the time the Area Committees were meeting to discuss the Hyde Park High School proposals, the Board declared its specific intention to help support and stabilize presently integrated schools and neighborhoods, saying on October 27, 1964:

“While the Board continues to search for ways to increase the interracial association of students, it also has a responsibility to help preserve, as far as possible, such associations in areas where they now exist.”

“Therefore, as one of our important objectives in the field of integration, the Board of Education hereby asserts that it is its policy to seek and take any possible steps which may help to preserve and stabilize the integration of schools in neighborhoods which already have an interracial composition.”⁴³⁸

It was clear that the understanding and acceptance of the importance of increasing the degree of integration of the public schools varied from one neighborhood of the City to

⁴³⁶ “Minutes of Dobry High School Meeting KPKCC, January 20, 1965.” The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 199, Folder 1: Area Meetings on Schools, 1964-1965, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL. Note: Mrs. Alan Dobry was the chairman of this area meeting.

⁴³⁷ “Concerning Plan to Foster and Maintain Integration of Public Schools Principally in Certain Areas of the City, with Other Areas Being Encouraged to Accept Timely integration of Their Schools in the Future, March 10, 1965.” The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 199, Folder 1: Area Meetings on Schools, 1964-1965, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

another. What was not clear was an understanding as to exactly how the Board intended, if at all, to attempt to foster integration in certain areas of the city. The Board did concur with the conclusion of the *Havighurst Survey Report* (pages 385-390) and recognized the concern for maintaining stable interracial communities, and acknowledged that District 14 (Hyde Park-Kenwood), which was referred to as “Area C - Southeast Side,” was one of ten districts that held the most promise of achieving the goal of integration.

Integration was also on the mind of supporters and critics of the new school debate during a contentious few weeks in late November and early December 1965, when residents were protesting the new school proposal before the board. During this period a public opinion survey was taken in predominantly black sections of Hyde Park-Kenwood and Woodlawn communities on integration and the District 14 high school controversy. A phone survey was conducted under the guidance of public opinion experts from the National Opinion Research Center, located on the campus of the University of Chicago. Interviews from a sample of 296 residents were conducted on December 12th and December 19th, and the purpose was to sample predominantly black areas of the two communities. The survey was important at the time, since the real feelings and attitudes of black people about the high school situation were an unknown quantity.

On the importance of integrated schools, the following question was asked: “If you have a good school, would you say having it integrated is very important?” A total of 98% of the sample answered the question, and 64% felt that school integration was “very important.” On the importance of Hyde Park-Kenwood as an integrated community, this question was asked: “Do you think it is important for Hyde park-Kenwood neighborhood to stay integrated?” A total of 95% of the sample answered the question, and 75% answered

yes to the question. In addition to this data, the survey also determined the following: (1) That the people in both communities, Hyde Park-Kenwood and Woodlawn, are overwhelmingly in favor of the maintenance of Hyde Park-Kenwood as a viable interracial community; (2) That blacks feel that school integration is essential to a good education and that there must be a substantial proportion of white (up to 50%) if a school is to be considered integrated; (3) That almost no individuals in either community want a high school over 4,000 in size and most want a high school of approximately 2,000.⁴³⁹

The Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference never lost site of idea that an integrated school, no matter what form it took, that reflected the stability of Hyde Park-Kenwood as an “integrated neighborhood of high standards.” Nor did the Conference forget that a quality education was a goal of most residents in the neighborhoods. Shortly after the Board of Education’s decision to construct a new school on the Kenwood site in January 1966, the Conference released a statement, that read in part: “We believe that the decision will provide this community with the reality of integrated education and provide for all of District 14 a level of quality education previously unobtainable.”⁴⁴⁰

Understanding the magnitude and seriousness of the problem facing the public schools, and knowing that the construction of the new high school in Kenwood and the expansion of Hyde Park High School were both vital to the success of urban renewal and the

⁴³⁹ “Results Of A Public Opinion Survey Undertaken In The Hyde Park-Kenwood And Woodlawn Communities Of Certain Questions Pertaining To The District 14 High School Controversy, January 7, 1966.” The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 201, Folder 9: Public Opinion Survey on District 14 High School, 1966, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

⁴⁴⁰ “Statement On The Board Of Education’s Action Of January 26, 1966.” The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 199, Folder 9: Schools - Integration, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

future of the neighborhood; the Conference was quick to apply pressure to the board to act quickly with its construction plans. In a March 28, 1966, press release, the Conference expressed the following:

“The Board, having recognized that integrated communities must, if they are to remain stable, have integrated schools, will be asked for prompt implementation of all parts of the adopted plan, not only in the construction of the high school at the Kenwood site but also the acquisition of and around Hyde Park High School for its expansion. The Conference will urge the Board of Education to seek sources of funds in addition to the \$25,000,000 school bond issue to provide for an excellent rather than a minimally adequate school system.⁴⁴¹

In April 1967, three Region PTA committees published a study on the stabilization of schools to better identify the causes of re-segregation of integrated schools. In the study, the groups defined “integrated schools” as those that had at least 10% and no more than 90% black children enrolled. This, according to the study, was a commonly used standard at the time. In the summary of their report, the groups mentioned that in Chicago there was a “high degree of racial separation in the public schools,” that was directly related to separation in housing. The number of integrated schools was very small, and many of these were “unstable and in transition.” In addition to recommendations regarding improvement of education in “problem” schools, the group also linked their study to the Havighurst Report, and reiterated the following points: (1) “The public school must adopt an urban community philosophy and cooperate with the effort to achieve social and urban renewal being made by public and private agencies;” (2) “The achievement of stable integration must be phased, starting with the areas most desiring to work for integration, recognizing that the ‘best policy is to maximize the extent to which integration is voluntary;” and (3)

⁴⁴¹ Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference Press Release, March 28, 1966.” The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 199, Folder 9: Schools - Integration, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

“Where such sentiment (favoring integrated school) exists, the schools should enter into the closest cooperation with the organizations in the community working toward these ends.”⁴⁴²

In the months and weeks leading up to the Board of Education vote on the new school question, it was clear that the Hyde Park-Kenwood Conference, Benjamin Willis and the Board of Education, citizens in the affected communities, and Julian Levi and other leaders of Urban Renewal, were all concerned with action that would assure the continued existence of Hyde Park-Kenwood as a stable, interracial community. The key for many was the building of a new high school; a school that would assure that urban renewal was successful and that integration continued. And certainly, as white flight in the area increased, the Conference realized that action in the neighborhood was needed, and perhaps the need to manage, contain, and control the extent of integration was necessary. It is also plausible that the University of Chicago, and the SECC, saw urban renewal as the only option available at the time in salvaging the community, and accepted “stable integration” as way to achieve it. Addressing a Board of Trustees meeting in 1953, Levi brought up the neighborhood issues:

“there’s no reason under any circumstance that the University ought to be doing any of this unless its academic mission is involved. We’re not a public improvement organization. We’re not suppose to be a developer. We’re not interested as a good government association. The only standard you ought to apply to this is whether the University of Chicago as an academic entity requires a compatible community.”⁴⁴³

⁴⁴² “A Study On Stabilization Of Integrated Schools, Chicago Region PTA, April 6, 1967.” The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 204, Folder 2: Schools Committee - Integration, 1968, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

⁴⁴³ Levi, “Oral History Interview,” 34.

Levi's approach to urban renewal was pragmatic and was based on the desire to save the University. For Levi, allowing for integration in the renewal plans, and by default the building of Kenwood High School, was not based on politics but common sense. Racial exclusion would not create a stable neighborhood, but an integrated one would.

In time, the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference and the University of Chicago succeeded in preserving the Hyde Park-Kenwood communities and maintaining a certain population within it. Hirsch, writing about the stabilization success of the Hyde Park story, points to two factors: the University's commitment to the area and the Hyde Park and Kenwood community members that allowed for more flexibility on racial issues, and their willingness to accept integration.⁴⁴⁴

Kenwood High School And An Integrated Community

At the time of urban renewal, the University of Chicago was concerned with creating and maintaining a community that faculty and students would find appropriate. Kimpton, Levi, and the Board of Trustees came to the realization that the University was in danger because of the Hyde Park-Kenwood and Woodlawn's current condition and that soon there would be a citywide crisis involving neighborhood change. Everyone understood that the University's relationship to the surrounding community would need to quickly change. Interventions, collaborations, and physical changes to the surrounding environment would be necessary to hedge their bets. All of this would happen under the programs of urban renewal.

⁴⁴⁴ Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 137.

The most dramatic part of the story of urban renewal was the demolishing and the rebuilding that took place in Hyde Park-Kenwood. The effort to rebuild, however, is more than just a story about community organizations and construction companies rebuilding the community. It is also a story of an inter-city neighborhood trying to cope with some of the most difficult problems facing urban centers across the nation in the early 1950s, particularly integration and stabilization. At the center of it all was the problem of race in America. For the community of Hyde Park-Kenwood, racial change was at the core of the urban renewal efforts, and the building of Kenwood High School became bitterest fights of the entire program, and a project supported by the Conference, not but not the Commission.

Many researchers have argued that urban renewal was in many ways a large failure. The process of renewal in many urban areas uprooted poor and minority populations, devastated neighborhood businesses in favor of larger commercial outlets, and ushered in a real estate boom. Others have examined the circumstances that created intense white flight from certain neighborhoods in the 1950s and the subsequent abandonment of cities. Some involved in early renewal efforts, such as the University of Chicago, have even taken steps to distance themselves from their past policies.

Danielle Allen, the Dean of the Humanities, organized a conference at the University of Chicago entitled "Cityscape: The Past of Urban Renewal and the Future of Community Development." Speakers on the panel during the two-day conference in April 2004, included historians Arnold Hirsch and Mary Pattillo, and local politicians such as Toni Preckwinkle and former alderman Leon Despres.⁴⁴⁵ In an effort to avoid past mistakes, the

⁴⁴⁵ Seth Sanders, "Cityscape: A Look Toward Future Development," *The University of Chicago Chronicle* 23: 13 (April, 1, 2004), accessed on March 15, 2017, <http://chronicle.uchicago.edu/040401/cityspace.shtml>.

University of Chicago President Don Michael Randel, speaking at the conference, called for “increased university involvement in surrounding neighborhoods during the ongoing redevelopment of the Mid-South Side.”⁴⁴⁶ During his speech, entitled “State of the University Within the Community,” Randel, offered an assessment of the university’s role during Urban Renewal. At the center of Urban Renewal was the idea of the university in retreat, according to Randel. “Holding at bay the outside world. And that’s exactly what the university did [in the 50s and 60s] when it thought, rightly or wrongly, that it was under some kind of threat. Lower the gates. Raise the draw bridges. Dig the moats deeper, maybe spread a little scorched earth around the place. So as to protect yourself from what was seen as a treat on the outside.”⁴⁴⁷ In terms of the ongoing South Side’s redevelopment, Randel warned that such projects open up the “mother of all interdisciplinary problems: How to create successful communities.” “If we don’t get it right we won’t get another chance for at least another 50 years and we will all live to regret it.” We have to tackle this great set of issues and get it right.” Addressing the transformations that were underway across the City, Randel said, “Having lived through a history of 50 years or so, in which we would all have to agree terrible mistakes were made, we are not at a moment when we might be able to get it right.”⁴⁴⁸ The *Chicago Maroon*, a University of Chicago student newspaper, reported that President Randel listed three prerequisites for a “successful community”: safe streets, good public education, and affordable housing. In particular,

⁴⁴⁶ Mike Stevens, “Learning From The “Terrible Mistakes” Of Urban Renewal.” *Hyde Park Herald*, April 14, 2004.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

Randel focused on education and the University's role in the creation of a new charter school in North Kenwood.⁴⁴⁹

The question of the University's role in the urban renewal that took place in Hyde Park-Kenwood over fifty years ago is one that is still being asked. And one that is worth exploring as expansion and redevelopment continues to take place in areas around the University. However, it is worth noting that Randel's prerequisites for a "successful community" are consistent with those offered by Levi and his ideas for an "appropriate community." The fact that Randel highlighted the creation of the UChicago Charter School in North Kenwood, which was established in 1998, as a positive, is interesting, as he failed to mention the role of urban renewal in the establishment of Kenwood High School in 1966.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁹ Juliana Wu, "University, Community Explore Development Policies at Conference." *Chicago Maroon*. April 13, 2004, accessed on March 16, 2017, <http://www.chicagomaroon.com/2004/4/13/universtiy-community-explore-development-policies-at-conference>.

⁴⁵⁰ The UChicago Charter School is a public school on the South Side of Chicago operated by the University of Chicago Urban Education Institute. The "school" consists of two schools (North Kenwood/Oakland and Donoghue) that serve children from prekindergarten to grade five. Carter G. Woodson, which opened in 2008, provides schooling to children from grade six through eight. Woodlawn, which was established in 2006, educates students from grade six to grade 12. Together, the four University of Chicago Charter School campuses offer students a prekindergarten through grade road to college. Not only does the charter school provide students with rigorous instruction and comprehensive academic support, but each campus also surrounds students in a culture of academic achievement with explicit attention to issues of race, class, culture, and gender that affect urban schooling. See "The University of Chicago Charter School, 2009-2010 Annual Review." *The University of Chicago Charter School*, accessed on March 16, 2017, http://uei.uchicago.edu/sites/default/files/documents/UCCS_AnnualReview_REPRINT_0.pdf.

A Case For a Stable, Integrated Community

What reason would President Randel have for not mentioning the establishment of Kenwood High School during urban renewal? All indications are that Kenwood High School was an integrated for years, and provided a superior education to neighborhood students. The answers can be found in the student enrollment data for both Kenwood and Hyde Park High Schools. To better understand the data, a review of the central questions is helpful.

The central questions driving my research on urban renewal stems out of the many contradictory stories about race, class and identity that are told in the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhood, the City of Chicago, and the nation today. My questions are also about the meaning “urban renewal” at the time of its inception, how it evolved, and how it has shaped the urban landscape around the University of Chicago, particularly as it relates to the education concerns in the community. Without the University of Chicago, not only would urban renewal have occurred differently in Hyde Park-Kenwood, it might not have happened at all. To this point, I am interested in one part of the urban renewal story that sets what happened in Hyde Park-Kenwood, apart of others: namely the construction of a new high school. More specifically, I am interested in how the University of Chicago changed, not only the physical environment surrounding its campus, but actually made a positive difference to the community. I argue a positive case for urban renewal in Hyde Park-Kenwood can be found in the story of Kenwood High School, a neighborhood school that was built during the final stages of renewal near the University of Chicago.

In this dissertation project, I examined the role the University of Chicago played in the urban renewal process that transformed the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhoods between 1952 and 1973. Beginning in the mid-1950s, university officials in concert with

community organizations, conducted an ambitious project of urban renewal, paid for by the city and state and federal governments. The urban renewal project was the first of its kind in Chicago, and one of the first in the United States, and it served for decades as a model for other cities. While the early models and methods of urban renewal were not without its critics, and there are a long list of negatives associated with the programs across the nation; in general, I argued that neighborhood revitalization (urban renewal) is far more favorable than neighborhood decline, particularly in the Hyde Park-Kenwood area. Moreover, I also made the case that urban renewal was not a mechanism of “racial exclusion” used by the University for preservation purposes. Rather, the actions the University took during the renewal process can be viewed as a positive method to stabilize surrounding neighborhoods, preserve the University, and create a compatible community, with integrated schools.

More specifically, in this dissertation I was interested in asking the following questions: How did the University of Chicago program of urban renewal in Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhoods help to create an interracial community? What role did the University play in helping to create an integrated high school within its boundaries? In what ways can the construction of a new high school during urban renewal in Hyde Park-Kenwood be viewed as a positive, rather than a negative effect, on these university neighborhoods? Do Hyde Park and Kenwood High Schools tell us something about the success of urban renewal in the neighborhoods surrounding the University of Chicago? One key to examining this last question is to look at the school level racial attendance data that is available for Hyde Park and Kenwood High Schools during the years 1963-1973.

The new Kenwood High School opened in September 1966, at the former Kenwood elementary school, with a freshman class. A new class entered the following year, and a third in 1968. Mobile classrooms adjacent to Kenwood School would accommodate expected enrollment in September 1968, until the academic building was completed later in the school year.⁴⁵¹ Before the high school was opened, Superintendent Willis projected enrollment membership in late 1965, at the existing Hyde Park High School and new Kenwood High School. According to his projections, in 1966, Hyde Park High School would have 4,280 students, which was considered overcrowded. Over the next four years, the enrollment projections show an increase of 590 students attending the school by 1970. The figures represent the increase in student enrollment without the construction of a new high school in District 14. (See Appendix D, Figure 3.1.) Willis also created enrollment projections a new Kenwood High School and the rehabilitated Hyde Park High School. Using the same 1966 enrollment baseline for Hyde Park High School, the total number of students projected to attend declines to 2,100 by 1970, as the new Kenwood High School opens and becomes a four-year school. (See Appendix D, Figure 3.2.)

Willis' enrollment projects were published on November 20, 1965, and were not very accurate. Using the actual school level racial attendance data that is available for Hyde Park and Kenwood High Schools during the years 1963-1973, a better story for both schools is evident. Beginning with the first year, Hyde Park High School had a student population of 3,559. The enrollment number included 3,082 (86.6%) black and 390 (11%) white students.⁴⁵² The number of students at the school continued to rise through 1965, where

⁴⁵¹ "Final High School Plans Approved." *Hyde Park Herald*. January 3, 1968.

⁴⁵² Report to the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, *Student Racial Survey* (October 3, 1963).

the total enrollment was 3,795. The enrollment that year included 3,445 (90.8%) black and 264 (6.9%) white.⁴⁵³ (See Appendix D, Figure 3.5.)

Beginning in 1966, as Kenwood High School opened to the first freshman class, the enrollment of Hyde Park decreased to 2,777 students, 1,018 less than the previous school year. The decrease does not fully account for the opening of Kenwood, as the enrollment that year was 388 students. There was a substantial decrease in the number of white students attending Hyde Park High School this year (down to only 4.4%), whereas, Kenwood opened with a white population of 17%.⁴⁵⁴ (See Appendix D, Figure 3.5.) The following year, 1967, student enrollment at Hyde Park continued to plummet, down another 827 students, to October enrollment number of 1950. The number of whites continued to decline to 52 (2.7%) and as did blacks 1870 (95.9%), but the percentage continued to climb for the second straight year.⁴⁵⁵ (See Appendix D, Figure 3.5.)

By 1968, the third year of Kenwood High School, with a freshman, sophomore, and junior class still attending Kenwood Elementary School, enrollment numbers were 1,031, with 277 white students (26.9%) and black students 674 (65.4%). While Kenwood enrollment continued to increase, along with the percentage of white students attending the new school, the numbers at Hyde Park continued to spiral downward. By October 1968, the total enrollment had slipped to 1,584 (366 less than the previous year), and the number of

⁴⁵³ Report to the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, *Student Racial Survey* (October 3, 1965).

⁴⁵⁴ Report to the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, *Student Racial Survey* (October 3, 1966).

⁴⁵⁵ Report to the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, *Student Racial Survey* (October 3, 1967).

white students totaled only 15 (1%) and black students totaled 1556 (98.2%).⁴⁵⁶ (See Appendix D, Figure 3.5.)

The newly constructed Kenwood High School opened as a four-year school beginning the fall of 1969. That year, 1,533 students were enrolled in the school, 144 more than students attending Hyde Park High School (1,389). With the increase in students, the number of whites also rose to 444 (29%) and black students to 982 (64.1%). This year would mark the second straight year that the percentage of white students at Kenwood was over 25%. Hyde Park High School continued to see the number of whites drop to only 2 (.1%) students, and blacks reached 1,379 (99.3%) of the total students enrolled.⁴⁵⁷ (See Appendix D Figure 3.5.)

Over the next two years, enrollment numbers at Kenwood High School continued to increase. By October 1971, Kenwood enrollment was 1,957, with 501 (25.6%) white students and 1,328 (67.9%) blacks. During the same period, enrollment at Hyde Park High School continued to decrease, but at a much slower pace. By 1971, the total number of students in attendance was 1,255. It was during this school year, that Hyde Park had no whites attending the school, and the percentage of blacks was 100%.⁴⁵⁸ (See Appendix D, Figure 3.5.) In 1973, the last year of school level racial data used in this study, there was a slight decrease in enrollment for Kenwood High School to 1,919, with 498 (26%) white students and 1,294 (67.4%) black students. While the numbers dipped slightly, the percentage of whites attending Kenwood remained consistent. During the same year, Hyde

⁴⁵⁶ Report to the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, *Student Racial Survey* (October 3, 1968).

⁴⁵⁷ Report to the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, *Student Racial Survey* (October 3, 1969).

⁴⁵⁸ Report to the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, *Student Racial Survey* (October 3, 1971).

Park High School experienced a slight up-tick in student enrollment to 1,392, but there were no whites in attendance, and the percentage of blacks was 99.8%.⁴⁵⁹ (See Appendix D, Figure 3.5.)

Does the racial attendance data for both Hyde Park and Kenwood High Schools give any hint to racial integration in the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhood schools? To answer that question, a definition of the original problems facing Hyde Park High School in 1964, is in order. According to a preliminary report of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference released on December 1964, the high school faced two major problems. The first was the lack of integration at the school, which at the time was 8% white. The second problem was overcrowding and it was expected to get worse the following year, with an addition of 300-400 more students.⁴⁶⁰ According to the actual racial attendance data for 1965, the overcrowding did get worse in Hyde Park High School, but the increase in students was only 117. As for integration, the school would lose 71 white students, which pulled the percentage to 6.9%.⁴⁶¹ The fact that the white enrollment at Hyde Park High School had dramatically dropped by one-third in two years was well known to school Superintendent Benjamin Willis and the Conference. Shortly after Willis released the official head count numbers, the Ted Palmer, executive director of the Conference, stated that “These statistics underline the Conference’s contention that less white children are attending Hyde Park High. A new high school serving Hyde Park-Kenwood would be truly integrated, overcrowding at the present school would be alleviated, and emphasis

⁴⁵⁹ Report to the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, *Student Racial Survey* (October 3, 1973).

⁴⁶⁰ “Special Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference Schools Report.” *Hyde Park Herald*. December 9, 1964.

⁴⁶¹ Report to the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, *Student Racial Survey* (October 1964 and 1965).

could be placed where it belongs, on quality education for all the school children of District 14.”⁴⁶²

In terms of Hyde Park High School, the data indicates that racial integration at the school did not exist. This is surprising, given Willis’ racial projections in November 1965. If the board approved to just renovate the existing Hyde Park High School, and not construct a new school, Willis projected that white enrollment would rise to 15.7% by 1970, while total student enrollment would drop from 4,255 (1965) to 3,500 (1970). However, if two high schools were in District 14, Willis projected that total enrollment at Hyde Park High School would shrink to 2,180 (1970) and white enrollment would steadily decline.

As for Kenwood High School, the data shows that between 1967 and 1973, the school was able to maintain an average white enrollment of 26.3%; and since the school opened in 1966, an average of 25.1%. (See Appendix D, Figure 3.5.) These numbers are important, as Willis’ projections for white enrollment at Kenwood were 11.2% (1967) to 18.3% (1970). Willis had also projected total enrollment would top 3,000 by 1969. (See Appendix D, Figure 3.5.) Thus, in terms of Kenwood High School the data indicates that racial integration at the school did exist. Moreover, in terms of *The Hauser Report* (1964), which found that only ten percent of Chicago schools were integrated using the definition that over ten percent of the student body was either black or white, Kenwood High School was, by definition, integrated.

Understanding that the Kenwood High School was integrated, can the construction of a new high school during urban renewal in Hyde Park-Kenwood be viewed as a positive? The answer is yes, and support for this view can be found in the community battle for the new school. There was an understanding with the Conference that “ultimate and complete

⁴⁶² Reveal Loss of White Students in High School At Public Hearing.” *Hyde Park Herald*. October 20, 1965.

integration” in Hyde Park-Kenwood would have to be preceded by “managed integration”⁴⁶³ And “managed integration” was the Conference’s goal of a stable, interracial community; or as Levi touted as an “appropriate community.” Racial integration was not a guiding moral principal of the Conference and it was often hard to define, especially as the black community at the time was speaking instead about equal opportunity. Rather, a “stable, integrated community” was more a goal that was defined in different ways by the actions the Conference and others took to implement renewal plans and projects.⁴⁶⁴ For instance, in a letter written to Superintendent James F. Redmond a year after Kenwood High School opened, Rufus Cook, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the HPKCC expressed fear that the current overcrowding conditions at the school could have a “disastrous effects on integration and community support for the school. The new school has to date reversed the trend of white students fleeing the public schools” “We anticipate,” Cook continues, “a better integration ratio this fall. For the viability of our own community, as well as for the cause of integration in education, we do not want to see this achievement lost.”⁴⁶⁵ The desire of the Conference to link the construction and integration of Kenwood High School to the “viability” the community shows that these items were inextricably linked to goals of

⁴⁶³ “HP-KCC Leader Cities Mistakes, Successes With Urban Renewal.” *Hyde Park Herald*. January 1, 1969.

⁴⁶⁴ The origins of the idea of a “compatible community” or “stable, integrated community” for Levi can be found in Section 112 of the Housing Act of 1959, which reads in part: “...the undertaking of an urban renewal project in such area will further promote the public welfare and the proper development of community...by providing, through the redevelopment of the area in accordance with the urban plan, a cohesive neighborhood environment compatible with the functions and needs of such educational institution...”

⁴⁶⁵ “Letter to Dr. James F. Redmond from Rufus Cook, September 20, 1967.” The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 201, Folder 20: Board of Education – Correspondence, 1966-1968, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

urban renewal. Thus, it is fair to assume that the construction of Kenwood High School together with urban renewal efforts within the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhoods support the idea of an integrated community. Since the data reflects an integrated school, this would be viewed as a positive, rather than a negative effect, on these university neighborhoods. (See Appendix D, Figure 3.6.)

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APPENDIX A: HYDE PARK AND CHICAGO CRIME INFORMATION

Are YOU next? —WILL YOU BE THE NEXT VICTIM OF OUR COMMUNITY'S EVER-INCREASING RATE OF CRIME?
Are YOU afraid? —DO YOUR OBLIGATIONS AS CITIZENS . . . AS PARENTS . . . FRIGHTEN YOU?
Do YOU know? —THAT THE VICIOUS AND NOTORIOUS SYNDICATE IS MOVING INTO OUR AREA?

--- then YOU
can help smash **CRIME!**

MAKE YOUR VOICE HEARD; ADD YOUR STRENGTH TO THAT OF YOUR NEIGHBORS; JOIN MORE THAN 50 CHURCH, SCHOOL, BUSINESS, CIVIC, VETERAN, FRATERNAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS OF HYDE PARK AND KENWOOD IN A GIGANTIC

**CITIZEN'S
MASS MEETING**

Hear:
BEN HEINEMAN, Special Prosecutor in the Cigaret Tax Fraud cases.
JOSEPH LOHMAN, famed criminologist and head of the Parole Board.
LOUIS WIRTH, nationally famous sociologist.
SAUL ALINSKY, community expert
—and other authorities on crime prevention.
COME AND TALK THESE PROBLEMS OVER WITH
ALDERMEN ROBERT MERRIAM AND ABRAHAM COHEN
—with our police officials and ward committeemen.

Don't miss it!

MANDEL HALL
57th & University

Thursday, March 27th, 8:15 p. m

SPONSORED BY THE HYDE PARK COMMUNITY COUNCIL

Figure 1.1 Citizens' Mass Meeting, Hyde Park Community Council, handbill, March 27, 1952. Called to address the issue of increasing neighborhood crime, a meeting of 2,000 Hyde Park residents at Mandel Hall led to the formation of the South East Chicago Commission. Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

ANALYSIS OF OFFENSES REPORTED YEAR OF 1952				ANALYSIS OF OFFENSES CLEARED BY ARREST - YEAR OF 1952			
District	Total Part 1 Classes	Total Part 2 Classes	Total Part 1 & 2 Classes	District	Total Part 1 Classes	Total Part 2 Classes	Total Part 1 & 2 Classes
1	2118	366	2484	1	649	134	783
2	2733	164	2897	2	1000	64	1064
5	4741	517	5258	5	902	107	1009
6	3948	295	4143	6	1026	140	1166
7	3709	382	4091	7	432	130	562
8	1053	170	1223	8	150	73	223
9	274	56	330	9	79	34	113
10	958	79	1037	10	218	38	256
11	680	49	729	11	79	40	119
12	611	125	736	12	143	82	225
13	348	35	383	13	132	15	147
14	851	101	952	14	303	51	354
15	2074	226	2300	15	404	85	489
16	1221	148	1369	16	279	62	341
17	602	104	706	17	125	72	197
18	856	140	996	18	137	51	188
19	636	68	704	19	159	31	190
20	522	61	583	20	81	35	116
22	1673	189	1862	22	415	59	474
23	1286	201	1487	23	333	112	445
24	741	126	867	24	298	64	362
25	2323	345	3168	25	352	97	449
26	1653	359	2012	26	317	140	457
27	2776	431	3207	27	620	198	818
28	1072	142	1214	28	165	73	238
29	962	169	1131	29	158	67	225
30	546	98	644	30	272	81	353
31	862	79	941	31	537	58	595
32	1718	221	1939	32	210	82	292
33	1311	135	1446	33	227	50	277
34	1956	278	2234	34	312	104	416
35	2475	478	2953	35	1063	323	1386
36	1375	290	1665	36	273	163	436
37	1166	154	1320	37	110	73	183
38	1616	233	1849	38	471	92	563
39	888	113	1001	39	92	45	137
40	1049	182	1231	40	292	146	438
41	530	83	613	41	145	60	205
				D.D.	1358	141	1500
				T.D.	101	6	107
				S.A.O.	3	1	4
				Park	50	67	117
Total	56,313	7,392	63,705		14,522	3,546	18,068

Figure 1.2 Analysis of Offenses Reported (1952). This chart shows crime data for Hyde Park, District 6 for the year 1952. The total population for Hyde Park was 101,678. According to the data, total offenses for the year totaled 4,143, which ranked the Hyde Park District 2nd in the total number of crimes. Wabash District 5 had the highest reported offenses. *Chicago Police Department Annual Report, 1952.*

PERCENTAGE FIGURES OF OFFENSES AND CLEAR-UPS							
BY DIST FOR YEAR 1954							
DIST	OFFENSES	CLEAR-UPS	PERCENT OF OFFENSES BY COMPARISON OF PREVIOUS YEAR	PERCENT OF CLEAR-UPS BY COMPARISON OF PREVIOUS YEAR	PERCENT OF CLEAR-UPS PER DIST. AGAINST OFFENSES PER DIST.	PERCENT OF OFFENSES PER DIST. AGAINST CITY TOTAL	PERCENT OF CLEAR-UPS PER DIST. AGAINST CITY TOTAL
1	2,425	659	14.70-	15.08	27.18	3.92	3.02
2	2,798	1,028	16.05-	26.45-	36.74	4.53	4.71
5	4,195	1,929	16.43-	13.74+	45.98	6.79	8.82
6	3,889	1,110	9.62-	24.49-	28.54	6.29	5.08
7	2,767	1,486	11.03-	89.30+	53.70	4.48	6.80
8	1,018	262	14.38-	6.09-	25.74	1.65	1.20
9	268	79	20.00-	6.95-	29.48	.43	.36
10	1,149	283	11.77+	53.80+	24.63	1.86	1.30
11	884	195	19.95+	52.34+	22.06	1.43	.89
12	635	269	1.60+	61.08+	42.36	1.03	1.23
13	407	167	10.00+	32.54+	41.03	.66	.76
14	976	554	.41+	100.72+	56.76	1.58	2.54
15	2,199	645	5.77+	20.79+	29.33	3.56	2.95
16	1,496	463	8.80+	36.98+	30.95	2.42	2.12
17	681	163	15.62+	2.52+	23.94	1.10	.75
18	1,311	251	12.73+	11.56+	19.15	2.12	1.15
19	1,000	238	5.75-	1.28+	23.80	1.62	1.09
20	513	262	12.16-	37.89+	51.07	.83	1.20
22	1,991	782	7.95-	29.90+	39.28	3.22	3.58
23	1,796	451	16.40+	3.44+	25.11	2.91	2.06
24	1,235	290	44.78+	30.79-	23.48	2.00	1.33
25	3,457	1,162	6.62+	88.94+	33.61	5.59	5.31
26	1,572	334	22.98-	23.92-	21.25	2.54	1.53
27	2,505	935	17.19-	17.76+	37.33	4.05	4.28
28	1,320	218	3.53+	38.42-	16.52	2.14	1.00
29	1,163	299	1.31+	19.84-	25.71	1.88	1.37
30	602	306	8.79+	10.00-	50.83	.97	1.40
31	1,448	406	53.55+	15.01+	28.03	2.34	1.86
32	1,861	753	18.16+	12.89+	40.46	3.01	3.45
33	1,449	292	11.46+	0.00	20.15	2.34	1.34
34	2,516	423	30.84+	27.03+	16.81	4.07	1.94
35	2,115	797	30.43-	34.94-	37.68	3.42	3.65
36	2,304	618	10.56+	33.48+	26.82	3.73	2.83
37	858	444	16.05-	39.62+	51.75	1.39	2.03
38	1,751	647	5.67+	15.31-	36.95	2.83	2.96
39	808	165	16.76+	37.50-	20.42	1.31	.76
40	1,753	408	37.06+	36.45-	23.27	2.84	1.87
41	688	168	23.52+	25.99-	24.42	1.12	.77
DD		1,715		26.05-			7.85
TD		85		0.00			.39
SAO		3		25.00-			.01
PARK		100		37.89-			.46
TOTAL	61,803	21,844	.01-	4.25+	35.34	100.00	100.00

Figure 1.3 Analysis of Offenses Reported (1954). This chart shows crime data for Hyde Park, District 6 for the year 1954. In comparison to crime rates from 1953, the percent of offenses in the Hyde Park were down 9.62 percent. The total had dropped to 3,889, but still ranked Hyde Park second in the total number of crimes per district in Chicago. *Chicago Police Department Annual Report, 1954.*

APPENDIX B: MAPS AND CHARTS OF HYDE PARK AND CHICAGO

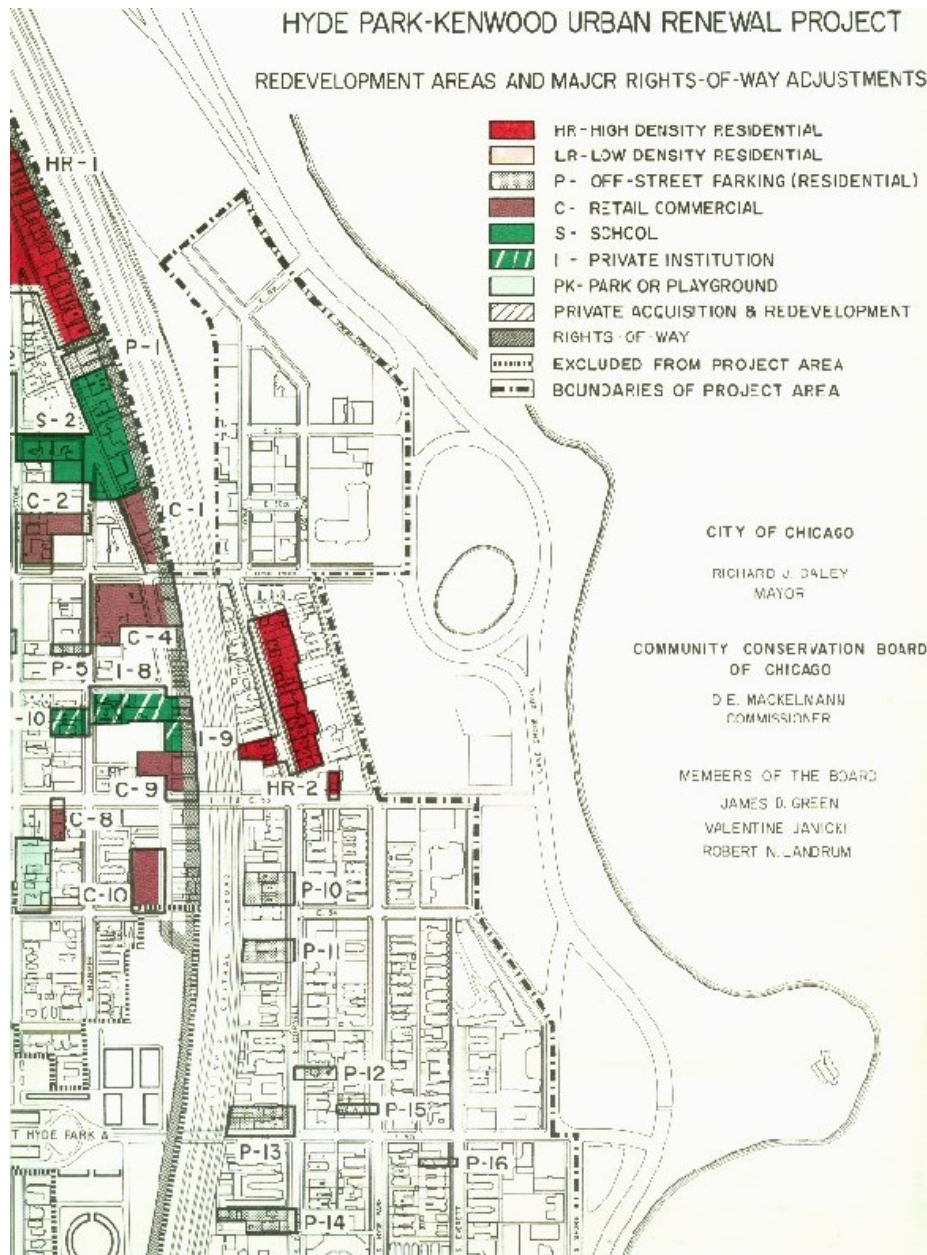


Figure 1.4 Hyde Park Kenwood Urban Renewal Plan, Community Conservation Board: East Hyde Park. (“The Hyde Park Urban Renewal Plan, as of December 1960,” *Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference Website*, assessed March 16, 2017, <http://www.hydepark.org/historicpres/urbanrenpl60.htm>).

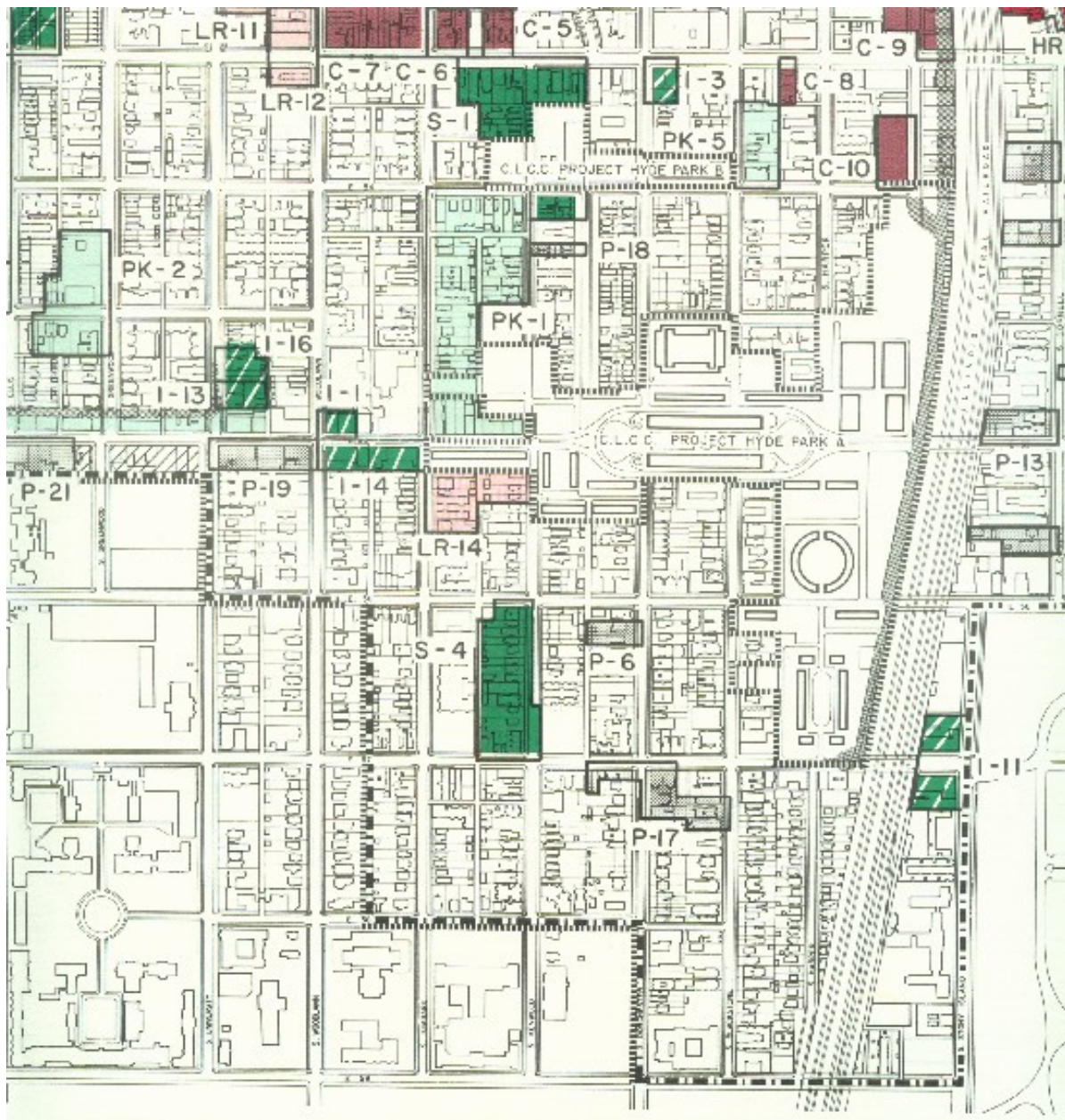


Figure 1.5 Hyde Park-Kenwood Urban Renewal Plan, Community Conservation Board: Central Hyde Park. Note: Hyde Park A and B is represented by the short dash-mark boundary. "A" is centered on the split in 55th Street (at center of picture), "B" is near the top, north side of 54th Street between Kimbark and Blackstone. Note the light green – (pre-expansion) Nicholas Park and Spruce Park. ("The Hyde Park Urban Renewal Plan, as of December 1960," *Hyde Park Kenwood Community Conference Website*, accessed March 16, 2017, <http://www.hydepark.org/historicpres/urbanrenpl60.htm>).

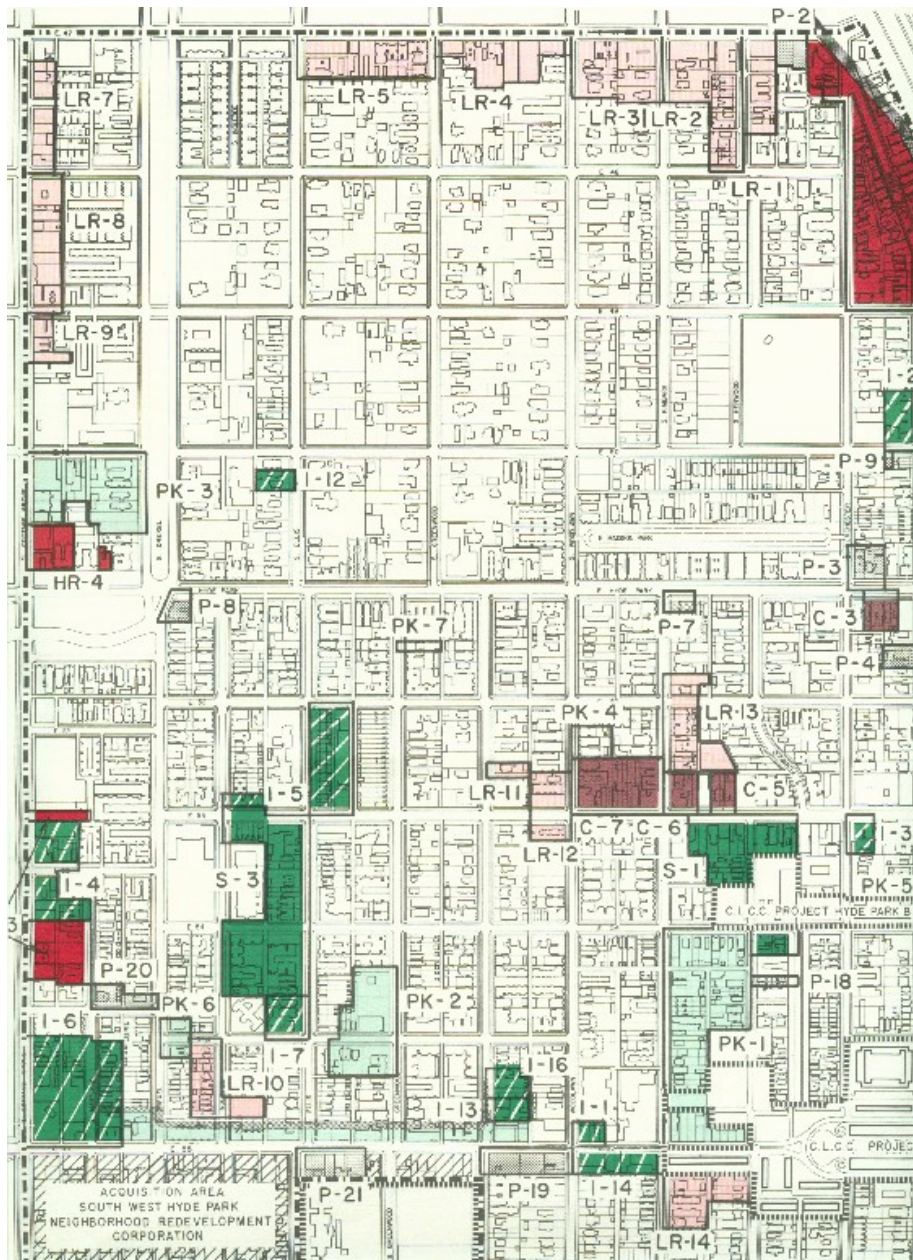


Figure 1.6 Hyde Park-Kenwood Urban Renewal Plan, Community Conservation Board: Dorchester to Cottage 47th to 56th. The most notable features are planned new low density residential along 47th except high at 47th Lake Park (all now realized), little else designed for Kenwood, Kimbark Plaza on 53rd, and redevelopment at Kozminski school (still mostly kept vacant although the adjacent Osteopathic area is completely redeveloped). (“The Hyde Park Urban Renewal Plan, as of December 1960,” *Hyde Park Kenwood Community Conference Website*, accessed March 16, 2017, <http://www.hydepark.org/historicpres/urbanrenpl60.htm>).

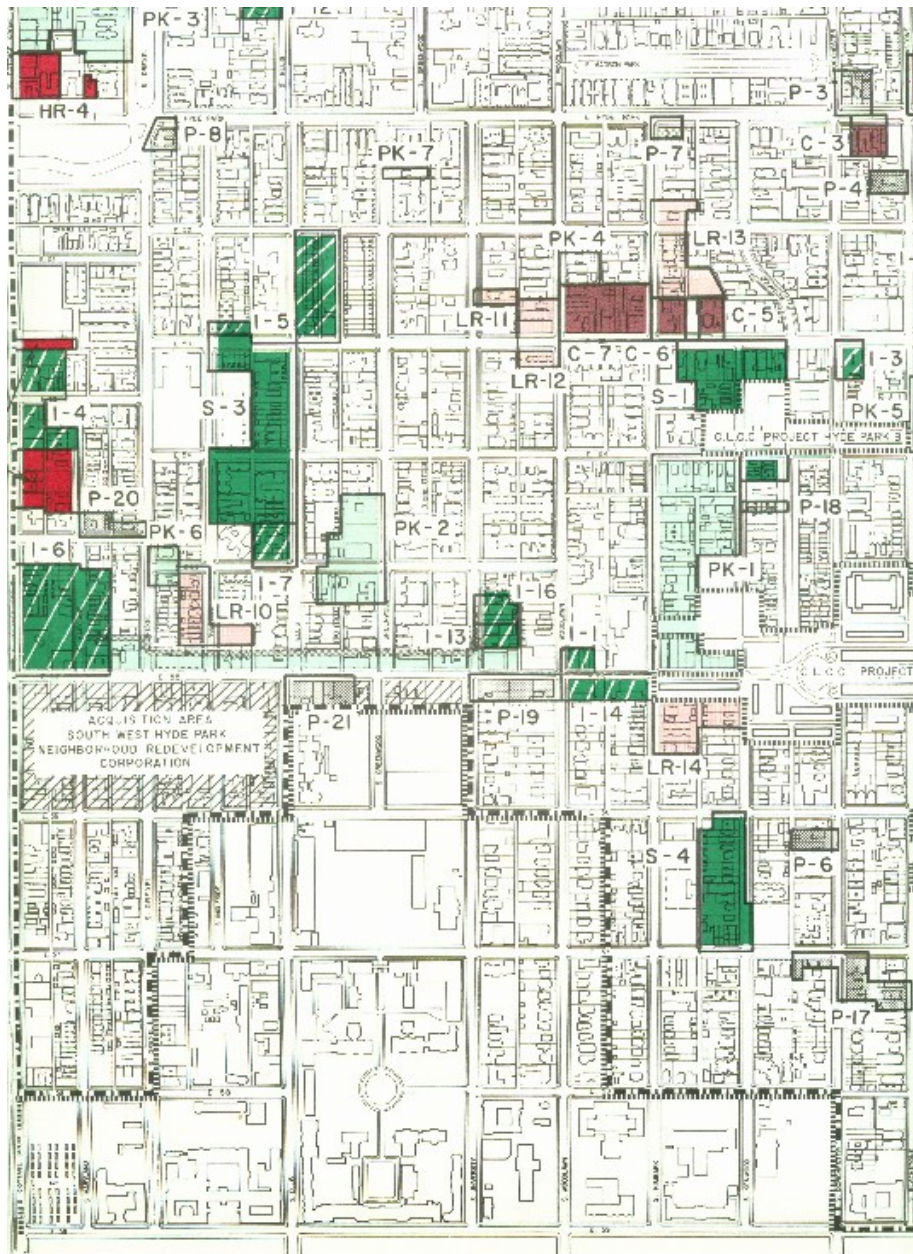


Figure 1.7 Hyde Park-Kenwood Urban Renewal Plan, Community Conservation Board: University Campus and South West Hyde Park, and north to 50th east to Blackstone. (“The Hyde Park Urban Renewal Plan, as of December 1960,” *Hyde Park Kenwood Community Conference Website*, accessed March 16, 2017, <http://www.hydepark.org/historicpres/urbanrenpl60.htm>).

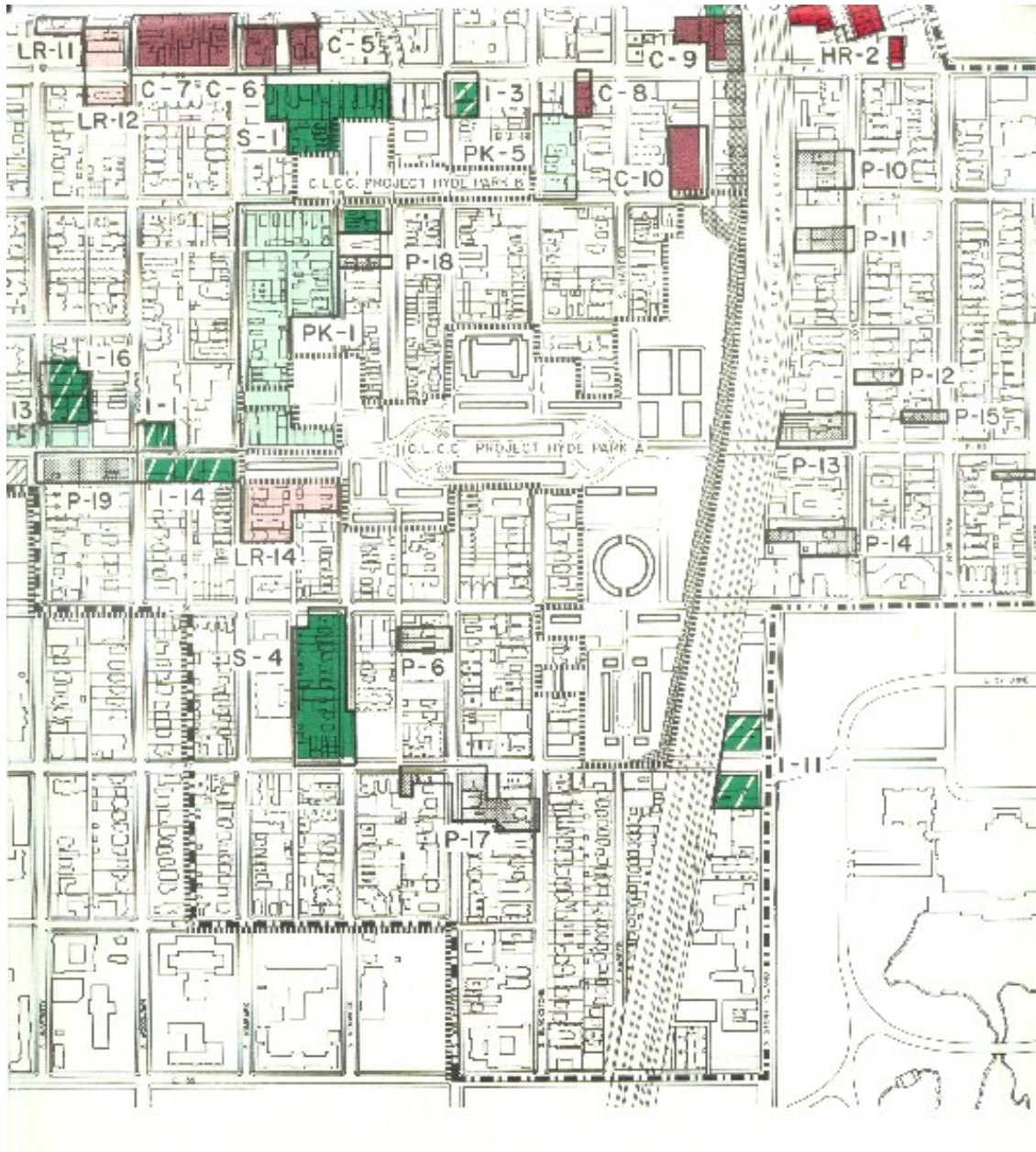


Figure 1.8 Hyde Park-Kenwood Urban Renewal Plan, Community Conservation Board: Parts of central and east Hyde Park 53rd to 59th. (“The Hyde Park Urban Renewal Plan, as of December 1960,” *Hyde Park Kenwood Community Conference Website*, accessed March 16, 2017, <http://www.hydepark.org/historicpres/urbanrenpl60.htm>).

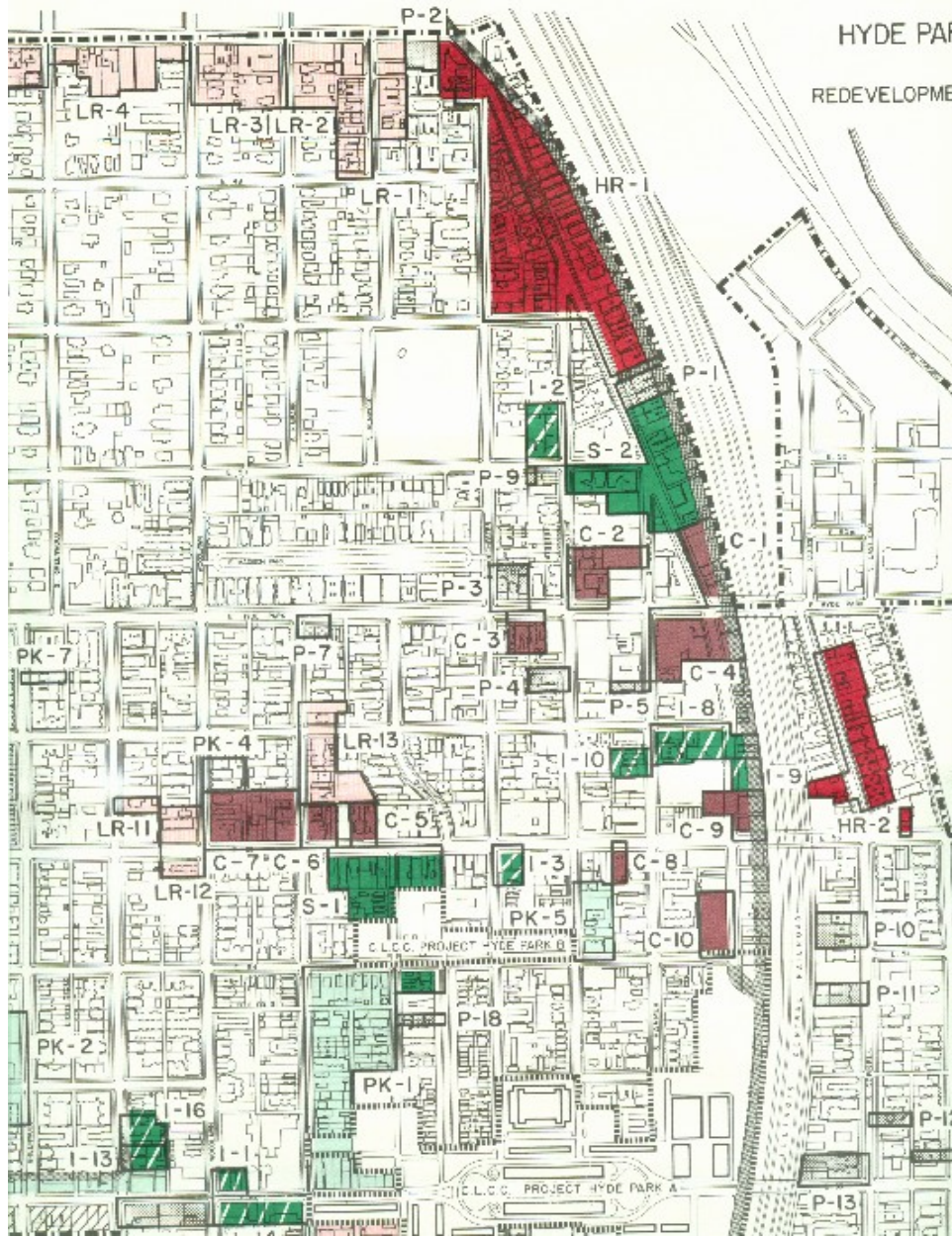


Figure 1.9 Hyde Park-Kenwood Urban Renewal Plan, Community Conservation Board: Parts of central and east Hyde Park from 47th to 55th Streets, Lake Park axis. (“The Hyde Park Urban Renewal Plan, as of December 1960,” *Hyde Park Kenwood Community Conference Website*, accessed March 16, 2017, <http://www.hydepark.org/historicpres/urbanrenpl60.htm>).

EXPANSION OF THE BLACK BELT

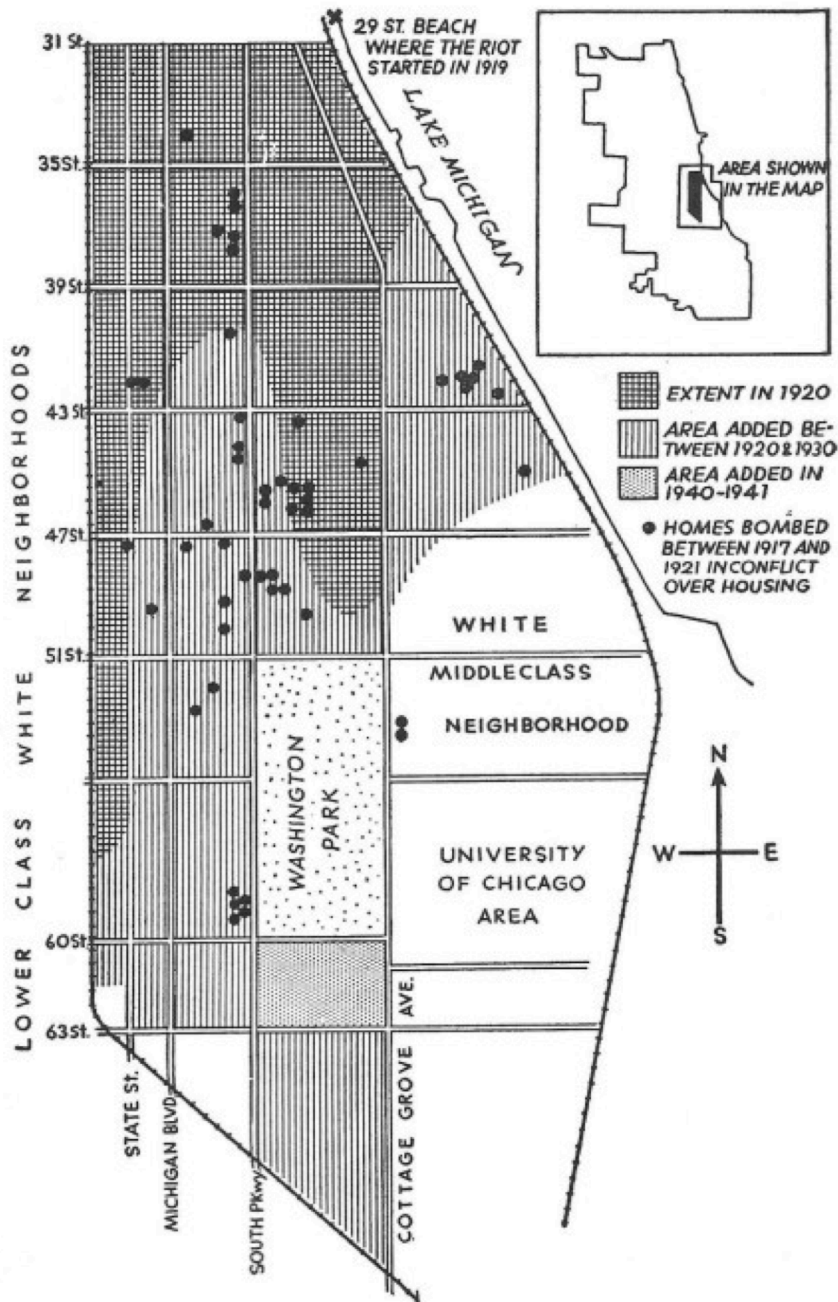


Figure 1.10 Expansion of the Black Belt, 1920-1940 ("Map of the Black Belt," as sited in Drake & Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*, 63).

APPENDIX C: HYDE PARK-KENWOOD COMMUNITY CONFERENCE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARY
FOR RESEARCH AND EDUCATIONAL USE ONLY

Statement of Immediate Needs for Hyde Park High School Proposed Jointly by
Five Community Organizations in District 14, March 23, 1964:

(1) Immediate Need to Remodel Kitchen and Lunchroom Facilities. There is an immediate need to remodel kitchen and lunchroom facilities by September 1964 to provide food service for 4200 to 4400 students within five 40 minute lunch periods.

The lunchroom has operated under extremely crowded conditions for many years. This past year, with a studentbody of from 3600 to 3900, lunchroom facilities have been totally inadequate. Seating capacity in the lunchroom is 650. During peak lunch periods, students have been required to eat while standing or to wait a turn to be seated. Food service is extremely slow. Three steamtables and present kitchen equipment are not adequate to serve large numbers of students in rapid order. Many students spend half their lunch period in line or being served.

All students at Hyde Park High use the lunchroom facilities to buy either full lunches or milk and other items to supplement sandwiches brought from home. And, since there are no other available rooms in the building, all students eat in the lunchroom most months during the year. There are not approved eating places within walking distance from the school. Lunch counters in the neighborhood are found next to or near taverns and liquor stores in an area known as "baby skid row," located two blocks from the school on 63rd Street between Blackstone and Dorchester.

Complete remodeling of the kitchen and lunchroom and installation of modern and efficient equipment which utilizes technical advances made in institutional food handling are needed by September 1964 to speed up food service so that more students can be fed more quickly.

We will urgently request school officials to allocate needed funds and to have work begin on remodeling the kitchen and lunchroom at Hyde Park High School during the Spring and Summer of 1964.

(2) Acquiring Land South of Hyde Park High School on Stony Island Avenue. The neighborhood south and west of the school is made up of dilapidated properties which attract transient occupants and undesirable commercial enterprises. Acquiring land immediately south of the school now occupied by two 6-flat buildings (6246-48, 6252-54) and a 24-flat building (6256-6270 Stony Island) would improve the adjoining area and provide a buffer between the building and the hotels on 63rd Street. It also would provide land space for mobile class units which are to be used as part of Hyde Park High in September 1964. It is believed that Hyde Park High School should not continue to grow in enrollment. However, the present plant, built in 1914 to serve 2400 students, does not adequately meet the plant needs of a 1964 program for as many as 3000 students. This land well could be used to meet demands of a present day high school program.

The Department of Urban Renewal is now considering recommendations for "spot clearance" in Woodlawn. The Mayor's Woodlawn Citizen's Committee on Urban Renewal has recommended clearance of the area known as "baby skid row" on 63rd Street and Dorchester, and clearance of the buildings immediately south of Hyde Park High School on Stony Island Avenue.

We will ask the Chicago Board of Education to express to the Department of Urban Renewal ~~at this time~~ its interest in purchasing the land occupied by buildings 6246-48, 6252-54, and 6256-6270 Stony Island Avenue, if spot clearance of the buildings is carried out by the DUR. Federal credits accruing to the city through the Board of Education's proposed purchase of this land would make such clearance attractive to the DUR and would provide a financially desirable way for the Board of Education to purchase badly needed land for Hyde Park High School.

March 24, 1964

Mrs. Don L. Bowen, President
Hyde Park High School PTA

Figure 2.1 "Statement of Immediate Needs for Hyde Park High School Proposed Jointly by Five Community Organizations in District 14, March 23, 1964." The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 198, Folder 11: Hyde Park High School Needs, 1964, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

HYDE PARK-KENWOOD COMMUNITY CONFERENCE
1153 EAST HYDE PARK BOULEVARD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60615
BU 8 - 8343

AD HOC COMMITTEE ON HYDE PARK HIGH SCHOOL
Tuesday, October 27, 1964

Present: Mrs. Bentley, Mrs. Goold, Mr. Janowitz, Rabbi Karff, Mrs. Meltzer, Chairman
Mr. Palmer, Mr. Speigel, Mr. Towns, Mr. White and Mrs. Woods.

The function of this committee is two-fold--to study the campus plan and other solutions for Hyde Park High and to go to the community with a possible solution for discussion. In order to hold community discussions, it was obvious that all of us must be thoroughly familiar with all the alternatives. These include the campus plan (a vocational building adjacent to Hyde Park High and a part of it), a new school in Hyde Park-Kenwood; a Freshman branch at George Williams or elsewhere; a redistricting so as to include the Lake Meadows and I.I.T. areas; and The Regional Plans (of which there are many)! It was suggested that The Regional Plans be compared by someone. Mrs. Woods has a copy of The Chatham Plan. Mrs. Bentley has The Citizens' Schools Committee Plan and others.

The Committee felt the need to define the Hyde Park High "problem". It is three-fold: integration, educational opportunities and overcrowding. It became apparent from the discussion that integration is the basic problem. The efforts to reduce overcrowding and to expand the curriculum are designed at this time to attract white students to Hyde Park.

Increased enrollment will mean a chance to add courses to the curriculum. There is a problem that the quality of the faculty is declining.

It is imperative that we move quickly in order to qualify in time for the Federal funds which are available for vocational education. Other organizations, too, are studying this problem.

Mr. Janowitz outlined briefly the theory behind the campus plan. There are at present 4000 students. The new plan would add 1500-2000 students (unlike the 20,000 in New York). Dr. Melnick estimates that the school population at the high school will increase by no more than 1,000 in the next 7 years. In the past few years it has been 200-250 annually. The new place would then add 500-700 more to this total.

The 500-700 additional students would come from other schools--Hyde Park would be a receiving school. 100-200 whites should come out of the new housing to be built in this area. The other children from outside of the area must be white children to conform with the principles of the Hauser Plan and The Adams Committee Statement.

The hope is to have a 25% white enrollment. Certain programs can be started before a building goes up. But we must be certain that if we build a new building, we won't regret it as we have with Shoesmith.

Mr. Janowitz said there will be less segregation with a campus plan where all students will be thrown together in some programs than in those schools where there are segregated programs. Mr. Havighurst seems to be for the campus plan now.

These site plans have been discussed and will be presented. If the facilities are not overcrowded, more courses can be offered. This may encourage more white students. Mrs. Woods asked where are the white students to come from? The white population at Hyde Park High has declined very little in recent years.

If Hyde Park High is made a receiving school and in line with the Hauser Committee Report and The Adams Committee Statement, the incoming students would be white. We must fight for this. What, however, would happen if the Board decides to redistrict instead of making Hyde Park a receiving school?

What will the V.A. Hospital do for the reintegration of Woodlawn? Is there any hope of integrating Woodlawn.

When all the material on the various plans is discussed, we must ask what is the worst we can expect.

Respectfully submitted,

Jean Meltzer

29 October 1964
/mg

Figure 2.2 "Ad Hoc Committee On Hyde Park High School, Tuesday, October 27, 1964." The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 199, Folder 7: Hyde Park High School Needs, 1964-1967, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

HYDE PARK-KENWOOD COMMUNITY CONFERENCE
1453 EAST HYDE PARK BOULEVARD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60615
BU 8 - 8343

TO: THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE HYDE PARK-KENWOOD COMMUNITY CONFERENCE

FROM: Ad Hoc Committee on Hyde Park High School

R E P O R T

The Ad Hoc Committee has assessed the report from the twenty-two area meetings and the summary by the Committee on Community Participation, and it is clear that there is no community consensus about the solutions to the problems of Hyde Park High School, particularly as to the type and location of new buildings. The community has indicated, however, its concern about overcrowding, the instability of racial balance, the disparity of the socio-economic levels and the educational program in the lower tracks. The excellence of the two top tracks was largely unquestioned.

Lacking a clear mandate, the committee has studied the various plans along with the reactions of this community and those of our neighboring areas to the south and has unanimously agreed on certain recommendations.

We favor a comprehensive high school at Hyde Park High, serving District 14, with a new and imaginative total program designed by the Board of Education with the cooperation of Federal and local educational institutions, including the University of Chicago. The planning and implementation of the new program should start immediately and must be accompanied by the alleviation of overcrowding. Since too large a school may adversely affect racial balance or quality of education, we may need a second comprehensive high school in District 14. This need will depend upon population growth in Kenwood, Hyde Park, Woodlawn and South Shore and upon the success of the new program in improving, or at least maintaining the racial balance at Hyde Park High School. It is hoped that the new program at Hyde Park High School will attract more white students.

We recommend, also, open enrollment to increase integration but only after there are enough facilities to make it meaningful.

A comprehensive high school has as its goal servicing the full range of student needs in one school. The diverse needs of secondary students from the communities within District 14 are not presently served adequately by Hyde Park High School. We ask the University of Chicago to offer its skills to the Board of Education to plan cooperatively and creatively a challenging, new program of studies which will offer both extensive remedial programs and highly specialized courses for students at all levels of ability and aspiration. The participation of the University seems to us to be crucial to the success of the program.

To finance this program, the community must work for the allocation of federal funds and the securing of foundation grants in addition to state and local monies. The type of new facilities must be related to program-planning. In addition, we need better statistics about population trends than we now have. We do not know when and to what extent urban renewal will be accomplished in Woodlawn, if the new remedial programs are successful in reducing dropouts and/or if the compulsory school attendance age is raised to 18, the need for space will be vastly increased.

To alleviate overcrowding by the fall of 1965, the committee makes the following recommendations:

Ad Hoc Report on Hyde Park High School

-2-

First, that the Board of Education allocate the necessary number of mobiles to be placed temporarily in the park.

Second, that the buildings south of Hyde Park High School be acquired and cleared immediately to be available for mobiles and/or new construction and to improve the physical condition adjacent to the school.

Third, to use the available space at Chicago Vocational High School which is the vocational school for the entire south side, south of 55th street. We ask that a new program be designed for lower track children to test the validity of vocational training for this group and to offer opportunities not now available. This wider use of a Chicago Vocational High School is more urgently needed than the expansion of the Junior College. We suggest any expansion or planned expansion of the Junior College be delayed until such time as new facilities are available for high school students. Federal financing for part of the program could be obtained. The students should be selected (but not coerced) from the entire southeast side. In addition, an effort should be made by the Chicago Vocational High School's administration to make the transition easy for those students. This program at C.V.S., if successful, could be made permanent and expanded.

Fourth, to urge the development of educational and vocational-guidance center in District 14 for students from Grade 7,8, and 9. This will relieve overcrowding at the freshman level.

We believe that the education at Hyde Park High School in the upper tracks is excellent and must be maintained. Teacher turnover figures are difficult to determine but are apparently normal. Student discipline at Hyde Park High School is excellent considering 4300 students in close quarters. There is enthusiasm and loyalty among the students to whom we talked. We ask the Conference to support the PTA and the school in their efforts to recruit students.

The Conference must continue to urge all possible methods of funding in order to build more schools and enrich programs. In addition to its immediate concern with Hyde Park High School, the Conference must press for high quality education and racial balance at the elementary school-level. It should work for the establishment of pre-school programs and the initiation of volunteer activities in the schools.

The Conference must work for the implementation of the above recommendations in light of the present situation and future developments.

JM:mg
2/10/65

Figure 2.3 "Report From the Ad Hoc Committee on Hyde Park High School, February 10, 1965." The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 199, Folder 7: Hyde Park High School Needs, 1964-1967, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.



A STABLE, INTER-RACIAL HIGH SCHOOL FOR A STABLE, INTER-RACIAL COMMUNITY

To the president of the Chicago school board Frank M. Whiston:

We, the undersigned property owners in Hyde Park-Kenwood have invested in a stable, inter-racial community.

Our community has reached a state of crisis because of the lack of an integrated school. Without an integrated high school, the Hyde Park-Kenwood urban renewal experiment is endangered.

The Board of Education has before it suggestions for construction of high school facilities in Hyde Park-Kenwood. We, therefore, demand that a public high school be built in Hyde Park-Kenwood NOW.

1. Walter K. Palmer 1320 East 58th Street, Chicago.
2. ~~Walter K. Palmer~~ ~~1320 East 58th Street, Chicago~~
3. Donald W. Palmer MD. 1528 E. 54th St, Chicago
4. Mrs A J Hopkins 1368 E. 55th St
5. Mrs. F. H. Wright 5739 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago
6. Sim Allen 5733 Kimbark
7. Mr. Kauser 5729 Kimbark Ave
8. Carolyn H. Larsen 1177 East 53rd.
9. _____
10. _____

Figure 2.4 "A Stable, Inter-Racial High School For a Stable, Inter-Racial Community." A petition sent to Frank M. Whiston, President of the Board of Education. The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 200, Folder 5: Statements to the Board of Education, 1965, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

FOR RESEARCH AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

HYDE PARK-KENWOOD COMMUNITY CONFERENCE

5200 SOUTH HARPER AVENUE - BU 8-8343
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60615



576

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Rabbi Ralph Simon
Robert S. Solomon
David Street
Richard Wade

September 20, 1967

Dr. James F. Redmond, Superintendent
Board of Education
228 North LaSalle Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Redmond:

The Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference deeply appreciates the interest and the substantial efforts of the members of the Board of Education and its professional staff in behalf of Kenwood High School. We know that your efforts for this school evidence your deep commitment to quality, integrated, urban education.

In the Spring of 1966, when the Board gave its final approval to the building of Kenwood High School, it was anticipated that the building would be ready in September 1968. It now appears that only by the most strenuous efforts will this timetable be met; architects drawings have not as yet been submitted to the Board for approval, and estimates for ground breaking range from early to late Spring 1968.

In September 1968, there will be over 900 students at Kenwood in a facility built for 500. We fear that this overcrowding will have disastrous effects on integration and community support for the school.

The new school has to date reversed the trend of white students fleeing the public schools. It opened with a distribution of 72.5% negro and 27.5% white and other students. We anticipate a better integration ratio this fall. For the viability of our own community, as well as for the cause of integration in education, we do not want to see this achievement lost.

page - 2 -

We urge the Board to recognize the high priority of this school, its importance as step one in the Redmond plan, and the need for visible action on construction while good weather prevails. Integration of the 1000 new units of housing on 47th Street, with occupancy beginning in 1968 will be profoundly affected by timely construction.

We cannot too urgently stress the need for new facilities by the time the entering class become Juniors, in September, 1968.

We will deeply appreciate your efforts in this matter.

Yours truly,

(S)

Rufus Cook,
Chairman,
Board of Directors

RC:gd

Figure 2.5 "Letter to Dr. James F. Redmond, Superintendent of Schools, September 20, 1967." The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 203, Folder 1: Kenwood High School, 1967-1968, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference
5200 S. Harper Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60615
BU 8-8343

Volume 1 - Number 1
October 6, 1967

NOTES OF INTEREST AND ENCOURAGEMENT

For the "NAGGING COMMITTEE"

A weekly bulletin of information for all those working towards the swift completion of Kenwood High School.

REMINDER - You are supposed to contact your member of the Board of Education or the Department of Urban Renewal WEEKLY

----by telephone)

---- by letter) OR ALL 3

---- in person)

HEAR FROM DOWNTOWN (in response to our letters):

----site will be acquired in early November - McKeag
and

----site will be acquired in December - Carey

----awarding of contracts expected early in 1968 - Lederer

----continued understanding and cooperation will be
needed in the months ahead. - Redmond
Ed. note - and hard work

SUGGESTIONS FOR YOUR LETTERS AND CALLS:

***Must the entire site be acquired before contracts can be awarded? Certainly not. High Schools have been built in this city where the Board of Education did not hold title to the land until after the building was occupied.

***If architectural drawings can be quickly finished (i.e. be approved by a November Board meeting) then there will be time for the advertising for bids (required by law) and the letting of those bids by December or January.

THE BUILDINGS STILL STANDING ON THE SITE MUST NOT HOLD UP THE WORK OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION. THE MINUTE THOSE BUILDINGS ARE DOWN, WORK MUST BEGIN.

Keep us posted on what you learn from your contacts with the Board of Education and the Department of Urban Renewal.

Call Barbara Krell - BU 8-3929

OR

Susan Honeycutt at the Conference
BU 8-8343

lm

Figure 2.6 "Notes Of Interest And Encouragement For The 'Nagging Committee.'" The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 203, Folder 1: Kenwood High School, 1967-1968, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

BOARD OF EDUCATION

CITY OF CHICAGO
228 NORTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60601
TELEPHONE DEARBORN 2-7800

JAMES F. REDMOND
GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS

January 4, 1967

Dear Mr. Cook:

This is to acknowledge copy of your letter of December 30 addressed to Mr. Frank M. Whiston, President of the Board of Education, expressing appreciation for the appropriation of funds for the construction of a new high school in District 14.

Thank you for your thoughtfulness in writing concerning this.

Sincerely


General Superintendent of Schools

JFR:sb

Mr. Rufus Cook
Chairman of the Board
Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference
5200 South Harper Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60615

Figure 2.7 "Letter from James Redmond to Rufus Cook, January 4, 1967." The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 200, Folder 8: Kenwood High School Establishment, 1965-1967, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

APPENDIX D: CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS RACIAL ATTENDANCE FIGURES

Membership of Hyde Park High School

	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
District 14	4280	4200	4460	4665	4870
U of C Title IV	--	300	300	500	500
School and playground clearance	--	70	150	150	150
Deconversion and urban renewal	--	--	100	200	320
	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
HPHS	4160	3600	3590	3415	3500

Figure 3.1 “Probable Size of Hyde Park High School in 1970, November 20, 1965.” The reduction in the size of Hyde Park High School as a result of the four factors suggested above might proceed as follows (using Dr. Willis’ estimates of Hyde Park enrollment for 1966, 1967, and 1968, the figure of 4870 substantially agreed to by Dr. Willis and Professors Murphy and Crain for 1970, and an average of the 1968 and 1970 figures for 1969. The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 199, Folder 7: Hyde Park High School, 1964-1967, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

Estimates for Kenwood High School and Rehabilitated Hyde Park High School

	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
HPHS	4280	2475	1950	1830	2180
Kenwood HS	--	925(a)	1390(b)	1860(c)	1820

- (a) Only 9th and 10th grades open
- (b) 11th grade added
- (c) First year for full 4-year high school

Figure 3.2 “Probable Size of Hyde Park High School in 1970, November 20, 1965.” Dr. Willis’ size estimates for Kenwood High School and rehabilitated Hyde Park High School. The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 199, Folder 7: Hyde Park High School, 1964-1967, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

White Membership of Possible District 14 High Schools

I. One High School

	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
Existing HPHS Merging into New HPHS	293*	320	350	400	475	550
Total Membership	4255	4160	3600	3590	3405	3500
% whites	6.9%	7.7%	9.7%	11.4%	13.9%	15.7%

* The figure 293 is based on the October 8, 1965 head count. It is 6.9% of the total 20th day membership of 4255.

Figure 3.3 “Probable Size of Hyde Park High School in 1970, November 20, 1965.” This chart shows the estimated percentage of white children in the suggested possible high schools. Part I shows the present Hyde Park High School as it would merge into a new Hyde Park High School built according to a schools-within-a school concept. The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 199, Folder 7: Hyde Park High School, 1964-1967, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

II. Two High Schools

	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
(A) Existing HPS merging Into rehabilitated HPS	293*	320	160 (grades 11-12)	80 (grade 12)	--	--
Total membership	4255	4160	2475	1950	1830	2180
% whites	6.9%	7.7%	6.5%	4.1%	--	--
(B) 3000 capacity HS in Hyde Park or Kenwood	--	--	190 (grades 11-12)	320 (grade 12)	475	550
Total membership	--	--	1700	2400	3000	3000
% whites	--	--	11.2%	13.3%	15.8%	18.3%

Figure 3.4 "Probable Size of Hyde Park High School in 1970, November 20, 1965." This chart shows the estimated percentage of white children in the suggested possible high schools. Part I shows the present Hyde Park High School as it would merge into a new Hyde Park High School built according to a schools-within-a school concept. The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 199, Folder 7: Hyde Park High School, 1964-1967, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

Racial Survey Data - 1963

	Total	White	Black	Other
Hyde Park HS	3559	390 (11%)	3082 (86.6%)	87 (2.4%)
Kenwood HS	--	--	--	--
TOTAL	3559	390 (11%)	3082 (86.6%)	87 (2.4%)

Racial Survey Data - 1964

	Total	White	Black	Other
Hyde Park HS	3678	335 (9.1%)	3253 (88.4%)	90 (2.5%)
Kenwood HS	--	--	--	--
TOTAL	3678	335 (9.1%)	3253 (88.4%)	90 (2.5%)

Racial Survey Data - 1965

	Total	White	Black	Other
Hyde Park HS	3795	264 (6.9%)	3445 (90.8%)	86 (2.3%)
Kenwood HS	--	--	--	--
TOTAL	3795	264 (6.9%)	3445 (90.8%)	86 (2.3%)

Racial Survey Data - 1966

	Total	White	Black	Other
Hyde Park HS	2777	123 (4.4%)	2597 (93.5%)	57 (2.1%)
Kenwood HS	388*	66 (17%)	282 (72.7%)	40 (10.3%)
TOTAL	3165	189 (6%)	2879 (91%)	97 (3%)

* Opened for only 9th grade students in the Kenwood Elementary School.

Racial Survey Data - 1967

	Total	White	Black	Other
Hyde Park HS	1950	52 (2.7%)	1870 (95.9%)	28 (1.4%)
Kenwood HS	684*	175 (25.6%)	452 (66.1%)	57 (8.3%)
TOTAL	2634	227 (8.6%)	2322 (88.2%)	85 (3.2%)

* Opened for only 9th /10th grade students in the Kenwood Elementary School.

Racial Survey Data - 1968

	Total	White	Black	Other
Hyde Park HS	1584	15 (1%)	1556 (98.2%)	13 (.8%)
Kenwood HS	1031	277 (26.9%)	674 (65.4%)	80 (7.7%)
TOTAL	2615	292 (11.2%)	2230 (85.3%)	93 (3.5%)

* Opened for only 9th /10th 11th grade students in the Kenwood Elementary School.

Racial Survey Data - 1969

	Total	White	Black	Other
Hyde Park HS	1389	2 (.1%)	1379 (99.3%)	8 (.6%)
Kenwood HS	1533*	444 (29%)	982 (64.1%)	107 (6.9%)
TOTAL	2922	446 (15.3%)	2361 (80.8%)	115 (3.9%)

* New Kenwood High School opened as a four-year school.

Racial Survey Data - 1970

	Total	White	Black	Other
Hyde Park HS	1268	0 (0 %)	1265 (99.7%)	3 (.3%)
Kenwood HS	1678	436 (26%)	1121 (66.8%)	121 (7.2%)
TOTAL	2946	436 (14.8%)	2386 (81%)	124 (4.2%)

Racial Survey Data - 1971

	Total	White	Black	Other
Hyde Park HS	1255	0 (0%)	1255 (99.7%)	0 (0%)
Kenwood HS	1957	501 (26.6%)	1328 (67.9%)	128 (4%)
TOTAL	3212	501 (15.6%)	2583 (80.4%)	128 (4%)

Racial Survey Data - 1972

	Total	White	Black	Other
Hyde Park HS	1314	1 (.1%)	1305 (99.3%)	8 (.6%)
Kenwood HS	1968	499 (25.4%)	1329 (67.5%)	140 (7.1%)
TOTAL	3282	500 (15.2%)	2634 (80.3%)	148 (4.5%)

Racial Survey Data - 1973

	Total	White	Black	Other
Hyde Park HS	1392	0 (0%)	13089 (99.8%)	3 (.2%)
Kenwood HS	1919	498 (26%)	1294 (67.4%)	127 (6.6%)
TOTAL	3311	498 (15%)	2683 (81%)	130 (4%)

Figure 3.5 Report to the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, *Student Racial Survey*, 1963-1973.

Kenwood High School Enrollment Figures

	<u>1970-71</u>	<u>1971-72</u>	<u>1972-73</u>	<u>1973-74</u>	<u>1974-75</u>	<u>1975-76</u>
Enrollment	1678	1957	1968	1919	1913	1904
% black	66.8%	67.9%	67.5%	67.4%	67.2%	66.3%
% white	26%	25.6%	25.4%	26%	25%*	25%*

* Estimated percentage of whites, using “other” student percentage historically between 4%-7%.

Figure 3.6 “Probable Size of Hyde Park High School in 1970, November 20, 1965.” This chart shows the estimated percentage of white children in the suggested possible high schools. Part I shows the present Hyde Park High School as it would merge into a new Hyde Park High School built according to a schools-within-a school concept. The University of Chicago Archives: Sub-Subseries 12: Youth and Schools, Box 199, Folder 7: Hyde Park High School, 1964-1967, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.