

AREAS WHERE RIOTING OCCURRED:  
ROCHESTER, NEW YORK - JULY 1964

By

Monroe County Human Relations Commission

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MONROE COUNTY HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION

Areas Where Rioting Occurred: Rochester, New York - July 1964

June 15, 1965

INTRODUCTION

At about 11:25 P.M. on July 24, 1964 an incident, characterized as a riot, developed in the City of Rochester. According to the report submitted by the Rochester City Manager on April 27, 1965:

The riots were not planned or organized, although some persons took advantage of them for various purposes after they started.

The riots were not race riots in the usual sense of direct conflict, but there were racial overtones, particularly in the nature of the targets of destruction and looting and those who participated in such acts.

A summary of the characteristics of those arrested for "riot-connected reasons" follows, and is also taken from the City Manager's report:

About 1,000 persons were arrested for riot-connected reasons. However, the arrests during the last half-hour of July 24 and July 25 and 26 are most pertinent to this report, and they totaled 893 persons.

.....Most of those arrested lived in the City. Only negligible numbers resided outside the County or State.

.....Almost equal numbers of those arrested were married or single.

.....More than two-thirds of those arrested were born outside the State. A review of records reveals that most were born in southern states.

.....Less than half the rioters were unemployed. This makes no judgment as to whether these persons who were employed also were under-employed.

A total of 976 persons was arrested and charged with 997 offenses during the period of rioting and riot-related activities, compared with 893 arrested the first two days.

.....The predominant age group of those arrested was between 20 and 40.

.....One out of eight arrested was white.

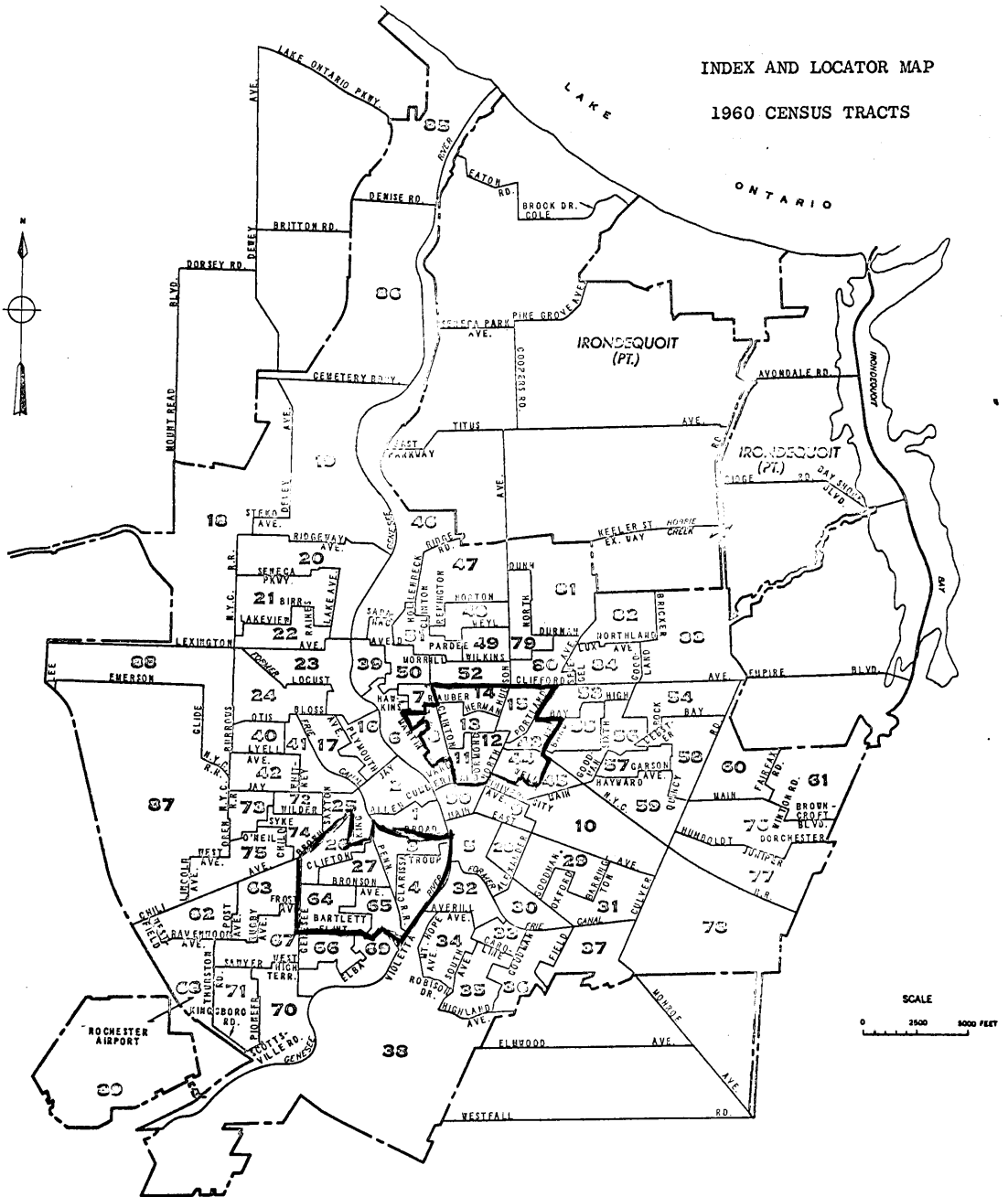
Many reasons by many persons and groups have been proffered as the cause of the riots. The Staff suspected the prevalence of unique characteristics associated with the populations occupying the two geographic areas in which the riots occurred. We, therefore, deemed it appropriate and imperative to assess pertinent factual information descriptive of the two areas and their residents.

Pursuant to that objective, we have drawn upon the most recent and reliable information available -- the 1960 Census and the Special Census of Monroe County, New York, April 1, 1964.

The Rochester riots of July 1964 took place in the areas known as the Third and Seventh Wards -- the two predominantly nonwhite sections of the city. For our purposes, the Third Ward is defined as comprising census tracts 3, 4, 26, 27, 64 and 65; the Seventh Ward -- tracts 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 43 and 44. Most of the following analysis deals solely with characteristics of nonwhites. Figures are given on the white population only for the purpose of describing changes in the racial composition of the areas between 1960 and 1964. There is, then, no intent here to compare whites and nonwhites, as such.

# City of Rochester

INDEX AND LOCATOR MAP  
1960 CENSUS TRACTS



### THIRD WARD

#### Population

According to the 1960 Census, the total nonwhite population of the Third Ward, as defined above, numbered 10,596 persons, ranging from 551 in Tract (T) 26 to over 2,900 in T-27. The 1964 Special Census, however, shows a dramatic change in the size of population for the Third Ward.

With the exception of T-3, whose nonwhite population decreased by 8.3 percent, all the other tracts in the Third Ward increased substantially. The nonwhite population in T-64 more than doubled and T-26 increased by about ninety percent. The overall nonwhite population increase for the Third Ward was 3,687 persons, or by 34.8 percent, between the time of the census of 1960 and 1964. It is interesting to note that T-26, T-64 and T-65, which had the greatest percentage increase of nonwhites, also had the highest median school years completed, 10.7, 10.6 and 10.1 respectively; T-3, the only tract showing a nonwhite population decrease between 1960 and 1964, was 68.5 percent nonwhite in 1964, with an overall density (16.6 persons per acre) lowest of any tract in the ward. T-27, with the lowest nonwhite percentage increase between 1960 and 1964, had the highest percentage of nonwhites in 1964 (79.0 percent), and the highest overall white and nonwhite population density (41.8 persons per acre) in the Third Ward. The second highest population density, 32.3 persons per acre, was in T-64, the only tract in the Third Ward whose nonwhite population more than doubled between 1960 and 1964.

#### Housing

In the Third Ward, there were 8,144 nonwhite persons, five years old or older in 1960, who either lived in a different house in the United States in 1955, or who lived in the same house in 1955 as they did in 1960. Of the 5,850 who lived in a different house, 3,940 had moved within the Rochester area, 71 lived in another part of Monroe County, and 1,839 (31.4 percent) lived outside the County of Monroe; 2,294 persons, five years of age or older, lived in the same house in 1960 as they did in 1955. Data are not available, by race, which show from what areas outside Monroe County the new arrivals came, although for both whites and nonwhites in the Third Ward, 1,728 had lived in the North or West in 1955, while 1,419 had lived in the South. Percentage-wise, 71.8 lived in a different house in 1955 as compared to 28.2 who lived in the same house; 67.4 percent of those who lived in a different house in 1955 had moved within the city of Rochester.

There were 8,120 housing units in the Third Ward, based on the 1960 Census. Of these, 8,089, or 99.6 percent, were built in 1939 or earlier; conversely, only 31, or 0.4 percent of the total, were built between 1940 and 1960. Structurally, there were 2,516 units which were either deteriorating or dilapidated, and 1,158 units in which a bathroom was either shared or non-existent. There were 949 units in which the number of persons per room exceeded 1.00.

### Economic Status

The 1960 Census revealed that in the Third Ward there was a nonwhite labor force of 4,606, with an unemployment rate of 13.1 percent. Thirteen percent of the males and 13.3 percent of the females were unemployed. Of the employed males, more than forty percent were at the bottom of the occupational pyramid, as laborers (generally seasonal) and service workers. Over fifty-six percent of the females were employed as service and private household workers.

By census tracts, the highest unemployment was in T-26 with 22.1 percent. In two tracts, T-3 and T-26, the male rate exceeded twenty percent, at 20.8 percent and 26.0 percent, respectively. Tract 3, it may be recalled, revealed the lowest median education of all the tracts in the Third Ward and was the only tract which had a loss of population between the 1960 and 1964 censuses. T-26 which had the highest percent of male unemployment also, ironically, had the highest median education and showed the second highest population growth in the ward. The lowest percentage (8.6) of unemployment in the area occurred in T-64. That tract had the highest median income, the highest percentage population growth, and next to the highest median education.



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TABLE I  
POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS: THIRD WARD, 1960\* and 1964\*\*

Census Tract	Non-white in 1960	Non-white in 1964	Percentage Change	White in 1960	White in 1964	Percentage Change	White & Nonwhite 1960	White & Nonwhite 1964	Percentage Change	% Non-white 1960	% Non-white 1964	Median Age Nonwhite 1964
3	1,409	1,292	-8.3	649	593	-8.6	2,058	1,885	-8.4	68.5	68.5	24.6
4	2,662	3,199	20.2	2,505	1,588	-36.6	5,167	4,787	-7.4	51.5	66.8	22.5
26	551	1,046	89.8	2,961	2,129	-28.1	3,512	3,175	-9.6	15.7	32.9	18.1
27	2,904	3,364	15.8	1,553	893	-42.5	4,457	4,257	-4.5	65.2	79.0	18.8
64	1,572	3,191	103.0	3,469	1,989	-42.7	5,041	5,180	2.8	31.2	61.6	19.4
65	1,498	2,191	46.3	1,757	937	-46.7	3,255	3,128	-3.9	46.0	70.0	17.4
Total	10,596	14,283	34.8	12,894	8,129	-37.0	23,490	22,412	-4.6	45.1	63.7	--

\* 1960 Census

\*\* 1964 Special Census of Monroe County

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TABLE II

## POPULATION DENSITY, 1964: THIRD WARD

Census Tract	Number of Acres	Nonwhite Density	Total Density
3	113.7	11.4	16.6
4	167.7	19.1	28.6
26	119.4	8.8	26.6
27	101.9	33.0	41.8
64	160.4	19.9	32.3
65	101.0	21.7	31.0
Total	764.1	18.7	29.3

TABLE III

NONWHITE RESIDENCY\* - 1960 COMPARED WITH 1955, THIRD WARD

Census Tract	Same House as in 1960	%	Different House in U.S.	%	D I F F E R E N T H O U S E I N U . S .					
					Central City of Rochester	%	Other Part of Monroe County	%	Outside Monroe County	%
3	445	39.5	681	60.5	448	65.8	4	0.6	229	33.6
4	586	29.0	1,433	71.0	1,012	70.6	20	1.4	401	28.0
26	67	16.5	339	83.5	228	67.3	6	1.7	105	31.0
27	582	25.9	1,665	74.1	1,008	60.5	18	1.1	639	38.4
64	284	23.1	948	76.9	655	69.1	20	2.1	273	28.8
65	330	29.6	784	70.4	589	75.1	3	0.4	192	24.5
Total	2,294	28.2	5,850	71.8	3,940	67.4	71	1.2	1,839	31.4

Source: 1960 Census

\* Persons 5 years old and over, 1960

TABLE IV  
 PREVIOUS RESIDENCY -  
 WHITES AND NONWHITES LIVING OUTSIDE  
 MONROE COUNTY IN 1955\* THIRD WARD

Census Tract	North and West	%	South	%	Total	%
3	325	62.6	194	37.4	519	16.5
4	485	59.3	333	40.7	818	26.0
26	254	69.0	114	31.0	368	11.7
27	282	39.2	437	60.8	719	22.8
64	257	55.2	209	44.8	466	14.8
65	125	48.6	132	51.4	257	8.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,728</b>	<b>54.9</b>	<b>1,419</b>	<b>45.1</b>	<b>3,147</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: 1960 Census

\* Persons 5 years old and over, 1960

TABLE V  
OCCUPANCY AND STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF  
HOUSING UNITS IN THE THIRD WARD: 1960

Census Tract	Number of Units	Deteriorating and Dilapidated	Per Cent Deteriorating and Dilapidated	Built 1939 or Earlier	Built 1940-1960	Occupied Units	Shared or No Bath	More than 1.00 Persons Per Room
3	753	219	29.1	753	0	697	173	145
4	2,189	619	28.3	2,185	4	2,003	598	262
26	1,243	482	38.8	1,235	8	1,172	152	101
27	1,274	583	45.8	1,270	4	1,205	112	222
64	1,635	415	25.4	1,631	4	1,547	68	101
65	1,026	198	19.3	1,015	11	957	55	118
<b>Total</b>	<b>8,120</b>	<b>2,516</b>	<b>31.0</b>	<b>8,089</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>7,581</b>	<b>1,158</b>	<b>949</b>

Source: 1960 Census

TABLE VI

## ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS, NONWHITES: THIRD WARD, 1960

Census Tract	Total Labor Force	Total Emp.	Total Unemp.	% Unemp.	EMPLOYMENT - MALE					EMPLOYMENT - FEMALE					Median Family Income	Median Education
					Labor Force	Emp.	% Service-Labor	Un-Emp.	%	Labor Force	Emp.	% Service & Household Workers	Un-emp.	%		
3	592	485	107	18.1	346	274	38.3	72	20.8	246	211	60.2	35	14.2	\$3988	8.2
4	1,147	1,011	136	11.9	634	560	49.5	74	11.7	513	451	60.3	62	12.1	3697	8.8
26	213	166	47	22.1	146	108	31.5	38	26.0	67	58	50.0	9	13.4	Unavail.	10.7
27	1,269	1,113	156	12.3	741	649	44.7	92	12.4	528	464	57.1	64	12.1	4745	9.0
64	723	661	62	8.6	425	401	36.4	24	5.6	298	260	48.1	38	12.8	6178	10.6
65	662	565	97	14.7	387	338	32.8	49	12.7	275	227	52.4	48	17.5	5093	10.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,606</b>	<b>4,001</b>	<b>605</b>	<b>13.1</b>	<b>2,679</b>	<b>2,330</b>	<b>41.3</b>	<b>349</b>	<b>13.0</b>	<b>1,927</b>	<b>1,671</b>	<b>56.1</b>	<b>256</b>	<b>13.3</b>	<b>Unavail.</b>	<b>Unavail.</b>

Source: 1960 Census

## SEVENTH WARD

### Population

The 1960 Census revealed that the Seventh Ward, defined here as comprising tracts 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 43 and 44, had a nonwhite population of 9,026, ranging from 442 in T-11 to 3,305 in T-13. However, the 1964 Special Census reveals that certain important population changes took place since the 1960 Census.

Population-wise, the two largest tracts in 1960 were the only two tracts which showed a loss of nonwhite population by 1964. They were T-12 and T-13, whose populations fell by 27.3 percent and 2.1 percent, respectively. On the other hand, T-8 more than doubled and T-44 increased by more than 91.0 percent. At 83.0 percent, T-12 had the second highest percentage of nonwhites in 1964, and next to the lowest overall population density, 16.5 persons per acre; T-11, with the highest percentage of nonwhites, 92.4 percent, had the lowest overall density, at 12.6 persons per acre. T-13, with the third highest percentage of nonwhites, had almost twice the nonwhite density (34.7 per acre) of any other tract in the Seventh Ward and next to the highest overall density (46.1 persons per acre) in the area. T-44, which had the second highest population growth between 1960 and 1964, had the highest population density of all the tracts in the Seventh Ward, 49.3 persons per acre or, putting it differently, one person per each 9.8 square yards.

### Housing

In the Seventh Ward there were 6,714 nonwhite persons, five years old or older in 1960, who either lived in a different house in the United States in 1955, or who lived in the same house in 1955 as they did in 1960. Of the 5,269, or 78.5 percent, who lived in a different house, 72.3 percent had lived in Rochester, 1.9 percent lived in another part of Monroe County and 25.8 percent lived outside the County of Monroe. Data are not available which show by race from what areas outside Monroe County the new arrivals came although in 1960, for both whites and nonwhites in the Seventh Ward, a little more than half were living in the South in 1955, while the others in that year had lived in the North or West. The census tracts with the highest percentage of population which had lived in the South in 1955 were T-11 and T-13, at 86.4 percent and 73.6 percent, respectively; the highest concentration of population that had lived in the North or West in 1955 was in T-8, 87.0 percent of its population.

There were 1,445 (21.5 percent) nonwhite persons, five years of age or older, who lived in the same house in 1960 as in 1955.

Based on the 1960 Census, there were 7,307 housing units in the Seventh Ward. Of these, 93.3 percent were built in 1939 or earlier; conversely, 6.7 percent of the total were built between 1940 and 1960. Structurally, there were 2,942 units which were either deteriorating or dilapidated, and 474 units in which a bathroom was either shared or nonexistent. There were 1,192 units in which the number of persons per room exceeded 1.00.

### Economic Status

The 1960 Census revealed that in the Seventh Ward there was a nonwhite labor force of 2,983, with an unemployment rate of 19.4 percent. There were 18.8 percent of the females and 19.9 percent of the males unemployed. Of the employed males, over forty-two percent were at the bottom of the occupational pyramid, as laborers and service workers. Over fifty-eight percent of the females were employed as service and private household workers.

Highest unemployment was in T-12 (27.0 percent) and T-44 (24.9 percent). In five of the eight tracts (8, 12, 13, 15 and 44) constituting the Seventh Ward, male unemployment exceeded twenty percent. Female unemployment exceeded 20.0 percent in three tracts (12, 14 and 44), the highest being 35.9 percent in T-12. Lowest unemployment was in T-11 (8.9 percent) and T-43 (14.3 percent). Total unemployment in the Seventh Ward was 19.4 percent in 1960.



TABLE VII  
POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS: SEVENTH WARD, 1960\* and 1964\*\*

Census Tract	Non-white in 1960	Non-white in 1964	Percentage Change	White in 1960	White in 1964	Percentage Change	White & Nonwhite 1960	White & Nonwhite 1964	Percentage Change	% Non-white 1960	% Non-white 1964	Median Age Nonwhite 1964
8	499	1,136	+127.7	2,685	1,967	-27.7	3,184	3,103	-2.5	15.7	36.6	14.5
11	442	617	+39.6	63	51	-19.0	505	668	+32.3	87.5	92.4	20.8
12	1,426	1,037	-27.3	297	213	-28.3	1,723	1,250	-27.5	82.8	83.0	22.8
13	3,305	3,235	-2.1	1,703	1,068	-37.3	5,008	4,303	-14.1	66.0	75.2	15.0
14	889	1,227	+38.0	2,962	2,367	-20.1	3,851	3,594	-6.7	23.1	34.1	16.7
15	798	1,144	+43.4	3,003	2,443	-18.6	3,801	3,587	-5.6	21.0	31.9	19.0
43	946	1,122	+18.6	1,213	806	-33.6	2,159	1,928	-10.7	43.8	58.2	16.0
44	721	1,378	+91.1	3,113	2,301	-26.1	3,834	3,679	-4.0	18.8	37.5	17.1
Total	9,026	10,896	+20.7	15,039	11,216	-25.4	24,065	22,112	-8.1	37.5	49.3	--

\* 1960 Census

\*\* 1964 Special Census of Monroe County

TABLE VIII

## POPULATION DENSITY, 1964: SEVENTH WARD

Census Tract	Number of Acres	Nonwhite Density	Total Density
8	76.9	14.8	40.4
11	52.9	11.7	12.6
12	75.8	13.7	16.5
13	93.3	34.7	46.1
14	99.6	12.3	36.1
15	104.1	11.0	34.5
43	56.5	19.9	34.1
44	74.7	18.5	49.3
Total	633.8	17.2	34.9

TABLE IX

NONWHITE RESIDENCY\* - 1960 COMPARED WITH 1955, SEVENTH WARD

Census Tract	Same House as in 1960	%	Different House in U.S.	%	D I F F E R E N T   H O U S E   I N   U . S .					
					Central City of Rochester	%	Other Part of Monroe County	%	Outside Monroe County	%
8	23	6.6	326	93.4	265	81.3	12	3.7	49	15.0
11	96	28.7	238	71.3	179	75.2	--	0.0	59	24.8
12	326	28.5	816	71.5	614	75.2	8	1.0	194	23.8
13	640	26.3	1,794	73.7	1,288	71.8	31	1.7	475	26.5
14	102	15.0	579	85.0	393	67.9	31	5.3	155	26.8
15	106	18.3	473	81.7	352	74.4	12	2.6	109	23.0
43	115	16.9	567	83.1	333	58.7	6	1.1	228	40.2
44	37	7.2	476	92.8	386	81.1	--	0.0	90	18.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,445</b>	<b>21.5</b>	<b>5,269</b>	<b>78.5</b>	<b>3,810</b>	<b>72.3</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>1,359</b>	<b>25.8</b>

Source: 1960 Census

\* Persons 5 years old and over, 1960

TABLE X

PREVIOUS RESIDENCY -  
 WHITES AND NONWHITES LIVING OUTSIDE  
 MONROE COUNTY IN 1955\* SEVENTH WARD

Census Tract	North and West	%	South	%	Total	%
8	154	87.0	23	13.0	177	8.8
11	8	13.6	51	86.4	59	2.9
12	87	41.8	121	58.2	208	10.3
13	141	26.4	394	73.6	535	26.6
14	194	56.2	151	43.8	345	17.1
15	149	68.3	69	31.7	218	10.8
43	108	41.5	152	58.5	260	12.9
44	158	73.8	56	26.2	214	10.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>999</b>	<b>49.6</b>	<b>1,017</b>	<b>50.4</b>	<b>2,016</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: 1960 Census

\* Persons 5 years old and over, 1960

TABLE XI

OCCUPANCY AND STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF  
HOUSING UNITS IN THE SEVENTH WARD: 1960

Census Tract	Number of Units	Deteriorating and Dilapidated	Per Cent Deteriorating and Dilapidated	Built 1939 or Earlier	Built 1940-1960	Occupied Units	Shared or No Bath	More than 1.00 Persons Per Room
8	995	652	65.5	986	9	928	75	129
11	135	123	91.1	135	0	135	15	30
12	524	364	69.5	521	3	478	58	105
13	1,375	617	44.9	953	422	1,281	92	327
14	1,288	203	15.8	1,284	4	1,213	35	127
15	1,221	365	29.9	1,193	28	1,135	62	161
43	596	307	51.5	578	18	531	23	154
44	1,173	311	26.5	1,165	8	1,084	114	159
<b>Total</b>	<b>7,307</b>	<b>2,942</b>	<b>40.3</b>	<b>6,215</b>	<b>492</b>	<b>6,785</b>	<b>474</b>	<b>1,192</b>

Source: 1960 Census

TABLE XII

## ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS, NONWHITES: SEVENTH WARD, 1960

Census Tract	Total Labor Force	Total Emp.	Total Unemp.	% Unemp.	EMPLOYMENT - MALE					EMPLOYMENT - FEMALE					Median Family Income	Median Education
					Labor Force	Emp.	% Service-Labor	Un-Emp.	%	Labor Force	Emp.	% Service & Household Workers	Un-emp.	%		
8	166	138	28	16.9	103	82	40.2	21	20.4	63	56	78.6	7	11.1	--	--
11	112	102	10	8.9	62	52	44.2	10	16.1	50	50	78.0	0	0.0	--	6.8
12	538	393	145	27.0	340	266	45.5	74	21.8	198	127	74.0	71	35.9	\$2910	7.7
13	980	812	168	17.1	611	486	38.3	125	20.5	369	326	53.4	43	11.7	3874	8.5
14	342	271	71	20.8	192	158	43.7	34	17.7	150	113	59.3	37	24.7	--	8.5
15	330	272	58	17.6	194	152	52.6	42	21.6	136	120	40.8	16	11.8	--	8.1
43	266	228	38	14.3	179	157	43.3	22	12.3	87	71	53.5	16	18.4	--	7.5
44	249	187	62	24.9	167	128	33.6	39	23.4	82	59	54.2	23	28.0	--	8.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,983</b>	<b>2,403</b>	<b>580</b>	<b>19.4</b>	<b>1,848</b>	<b>1,481</b>	<b>42.1</b>	<b>367</b>	<b>19.9</b>	<b>1,135</b>	<b>922</b>	<b>58.2</b>	<b>213</b>	<b>18.8</b>	<b>--</b>	<b>--</b>

Source: 1960 Census

THIRD AND SEVENTH WARDS COMPARED

The white population in the Third Ward decreased by 37.0 percent between 1960 and 1964; in the same period the nonwhite population increased by almost 35.0 percent. In the Seventh Ward the white population decreased by 25.4 percent, while nonwhites increased by almost 21.0 percent. The total population in the Third Ward dropped by 4.6 percent, while T-64 was the only tract in that area which showed a net gain (2.8 percent). The total population in the Seventh Ward decreased by 8.1 percent, while T-11, the only tract in that area showing a net gain, increased by over 32.0 percent.

In neither of the two major nonwhite areas was there a white population increase indicated for any census tract. With the exception of T-3 in the Third Ward and T-12 in the Seventh Ward, both of which showed almost identical percentage decreases for whites and nonwhites, no further similarity between the two populations in that respect is apparent. There was but one other tract, T-13, which showed an absolute loss in nonwhite population. The other tracts, in both wards, experienced rather significant increases in nonwhite population.

As a result it becomes clearer how in the Third Ward the percentage nonwhite population increased from 37.5 percent to 49.3 percent, a difference of 11.8 percent, between 1960 and 1964. Putting it differently, there was a 7.6 percent difference between the two wards in terms of the percentage of their respective populations which was nonwhite; by 1964 this percentage difference had virtually doubled (14.4 percent) over the four previous years. This is attributed to the comparative accelerated rate of white displacement in the Third Ward over against that in the Seventh Ward.

More than three-fourths (77.9 percent) of all the City's nonwhites (32,340) in 1964 lived in the Third and Seventh Wards, as here defined; more than three-fourths (75.2 percent) of all of the County's nonwhites (33,492) in 1964 lived in the above two areas. In 1964, the total population for each ward was almost identical, differing only by three hundred more persons in the Third Ward. Of the total, the white population for each ward decreased between 1960 and 1964; however, the percentage decrease for the Seventh Ward was close to twice as great (81 percent) as for the Third Ward; the absolute increase of nonwhites in the Third Ward between 1960 and 1964 was nearly twice that of the Seventh Ward, while the percentage increase was over 14.0 percent greater. The nonwhite density was slightly higher for the Third Ward than for the Seventh Ward in 1964; on the other hand, the total population density, persons per acre, for the Seventh Ward was 5.6 persons more per acre than for the Third Ward.

In 1960, only 25.2 percent of the Third and Seventh Wards nonwhite population, five years old or older, were still living in the same house in Rochester as they were five years previously. Over twenty-eight percent of the Third Ward nonwhite population, as compared with 21.5 percent of the Seventh Ward nonwhite population were living in the same house as in 1955.

Conversely, 74.8 percent of the Third and Seventh Wards' nonwhite population, five years or older, lived in a different house in the U.S.A. five years prior to 1960. Of those, 69.7 percent were located in Rochester, 1.5 percent were living in another part of Monroe County, while 28.8 percent had been living outside Monroe County in 1955.

Census data are not available by race, which show in what regions outside Monroe County the new arrivals to the City had been living in 1955. The 1960 Census figures, however, indicate that 52.8 percent of the slightly more than five thousand 1960 Rochester whites and nonwhites who were living outside Monroe County in 1955 had been living in the North or West, while 47.2 percent had been living in the South. By wards, 54.9 percent in the Third Ward and 49.6 percent in the Seventh Ward had been living in the North or West in 1955; conversely, 45.1 percent in the Third Ward and 50.4 percent in the Seventh Ward had been living in the South in 1955.

Although in 1960 there were 813 more housing units in the Third than the Seventh Ward, there were 426 more deteriorating or dilapidated units in the Seventh Ward than in the Third Ward. Thus, 40.3 percent of the Seventh Ward units and 31.0 percent of the Third Ward units were deteriorating or dilapidated. Over 35.0 percent of all the housing units in the combined wards were deteriorating or dilapidated in 1960. Hence, it may not be too surprising that of the 15,427 combined units in the two wards, only 3.4 percent were built between 1940 and 1960. For both wards there was a total of over 1,600 units in which a bath was either shared or non-existent. There were over 2,000 units having more than 1.00 person per room, 55.7 percent of which were located in the Seventh Ward.

In 1960, there was a combined nonwhite labor force of over 7,500 in the Third and Seventh Wards, 15.6 percent of whom were unemployed. Of the employed, 41.6 percent of the males and 56.8 percent of the females, were employed in work at the bottom of the occupational pyramid.

Unemployment for males and females was almost identical in the Third Ward and substantially less compared with the Seventh Ward. In the Seventh Ward, 6.9 percent more of the males and 5.5 percent more of the females were unemployed than in the Third Ward; at 19.4 percent, total unemployment was 6.3 percent higher than the Third Ward's 13.1 percent.

In summary, objective indices suggest that total population for both wards fell between 1960 and 1964, with the Seventh Ward showing the greatest percentage loss. Both wards showed a significant loss of white population, numerically and percentage-wise, with the greatest loss, 37.0 percent, in the Third Ward. Both wards showed increased nonwhite population gains between 1960 and 1964, with the Third Ward showing both the greatest gain as well as the highest percentage of nonwhites. In terms of population shifts, therefore, the greatest transition appears to be occurring in the Third Ward, perhaps in part as a result of the fact that total density is less than in the Seventh Ward.

Other comparative generalizations stand out relating to the Third and Seventh Wards:

In the five-year period, between 1955 and 1960, a higher percentage of nonwhite Seventh Ward residents than Third Ward residents, lived in a different house than the one they occupied in 1955. A greater percentage of Seventh Ward residents than of Third Warders, who lived in a different house in 1955, had moved within the Rochester area. A higher percentage of nonwhite Third Ward residents, as compared with Seventh Ward residents, originated outside Monroe County between 1955 and 1960; more came from the North and West than from the South, although the largest percentage of those in the Seventh Ward who originated outside Monroe County came from the South, while in the Third Ward the largest percentage originated in the North and West.



Although only 31 units were built in the Third Ward since 1940, as compared with 492 in the Seventh Ward, both the number as well as the percentage of units deteriorating and dilapidated are much higher in the Seventh Ward. The incidence of over-crowding is also much higher, numerically and percentage-wise, in the Seventh Ward.

Median school years completed appeared to be significantly higher in the Third Ward than in the Seventh; median age appeared to be significantly lower in the Seventh Ward. Unemployment was quite high for both wards, but much higher for both males and females in the Seventh Ward as compared with males and females in the Third Ward.

TABLE XIII

## POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS: THIRD AND SEVENTH WARDS

Ward	Nonwhite in 1960*	Nonwhite in 1964**	Percentage Change	White in 1960	White in 1964	Percentage Change	White & Nonwhite 1960	White & Nonwhite 1964	Percentage Change	Percent Nonwhite 1960	Percent Nonwhite 1964
Third	10,596	14,283	34.8	12,894	8,129	-37.0	23,490	22,412	-4.6	45.1	63.7
Seventh	9,026	10,896	20.7	15,039	11,216	-25.4	24,065	22,112	-8.1	37.5	49.3
Total	19,622	25,179	28.3	27,933	19,345	-30.7	47,555	44,524	-6.4	41.3	56.6

\* 1960 Census

\*\* 1964 Special Census of Monroe County

TABLE XIV

## POPULATION DENSITY, 1964

Ward	Number of Acres	Nonwhite Density	Total Density
Third	764.1	18.7	29.3
Seventh	633.8	17.2	34.9
Total	1,397.9	18.0	31.4

TABLE XV

## NONWHITE RESIDENCY\* - 1960 COMPARED WITH 1955, THIRD AND SEVENTH WARDS

Ward	Same House as in 1960	%	Different House in U.S.	%	D I F F E R E N T H O U S E I N U . S .					
					Central City of Rochester	%	Other Part of Monroe County	%	Outside Monroe County	%
Third	2,294	28.2	5,850	71.8	3,940	67.4	71	1.2	1,839	31.4
Seventh	1,445	21.5	5,269	78.5	3,810	72.3	100	1.9	1,359	25.8
Total	3,739	25.2	11,119	74.8	7,750	69.7	171	1.5	3,198	28.8

TABLE XVI

PREVIOUS RESIDENCY - WHITES AND NONWHITES LIVING OUTSIDE MONROE COUNTY IN 1955\*  
THIRD AND SEVENTH WARDS

Ward	North and West	%	South	%	Total	%
Third	1,728	54.9	1,419	45.1	3,147	61.0
Seventh	999	49.6	1,017	50.4	2,016	39.0
Total	2,727	52.8	2,436	47.2	5,163	100.0

Source: 1960 Census

\* Persons 5 years old and over, 1960

TABLE XVII

OCCUPANCY AND STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF  
HOUSING UNITS IN THIRD AND SEVENTH WARDS: 1960

Ward	Number of Units	Deteriorating and Dilapidated	Per Cent Deteriorating and Dilapidated	Built 1939 or Earlier	Built 1940-1960	Occupied Units	Shared or No Bath	Units With More than 1.00 Persons Per Room
Third	8,120	2,516	31.0	(99.6%) 8,089	(0.4%) 31	7,581	1,158	949
Seventh	7,307	2,942	40.3	(93.3%) 6,815	(6.7%) 492	6,785	474	1,192
Total	15,427	5,458	35.4	(96.6%) 14,904	(3.4%) 523	14,366	1,632	2,141

TABLE XVIII

## ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS, NONWHITES: THIRD AND SEVENTH WARDS, 1960

Ward	Total Labor Force	Total Emp.	Total Unemp.	% Unemp.	EMPLOYMENT - MALE					EMPLOYMENT - FEMALE				
					Labor Force	Emp.	% Service Labor	Un-Emp.	%	Labor Force	Emp.	% Service & Household Workers	Un-emp.	%
Third	4,606	4,001	605	13.1	2,679	2,330	41.3	349	13.0	1,927	1,671	56.1	256	13.3
Seventh	2,983	2,403	580	19.4	1,848	1,481	42.1	367	19.9	1,135	922	58.2	213	18.8
Total	7,589	6,404	1,185	15.6	4,527	3,811	41.6	716	15.8	3,062	2,593	56.8	469	15.3

Source: 1960 Census

SUMMARY

The data presented in this report provide but part of the answers to questions about the nonwhite in the City of Rochester. No generalizations are intended beyond their relevance to the dates, areas and characteristics for which data are presented.

Considerable movement of nonwhite people has taken place in the two areas of major nonwhite concentration between 1955 and 1960. Over two and three-fourths as many nonwhites lived in a different house in 1955 as those who lived in the same house. By wards, in 1960 over two and one-half times as many nonwhites in the Third Ward lived in a house different from the one they lived in during 1955; over three and one-half times more in the Seventh Ward lived in a different house from the one they occupied in 1955. This, of course, does not necessarily mean that those families made but one move in that five-year period.

Much has been speculated about vast numbers of nonwhites moving to the North from the South. The truth of that kind of assertion has not yet been validated and remains in the realm of sheer speculation. Census figures are unavailable to either corroborate or refute that assertion. What those figures do indicate, however, is that tremendous nonwhite mobility within the inner city took place between 1955 and 1960.

For example, more than twice as many nonwhites in the Third Ward moved within the inner city of Rochester as those who came to the city from outside Monroe County. Internal movement within the city was even greater among nonwhites who in 1960 were living in the Seventh Ward; close to three times as many had moved within the city as had been living outside the county in 1955.

The very poor physical condition of housing units in the two wards has been documented and cited above. Those conditions indicate that while the Third Ward is in obvious great need for new housing and some form of urban renewal, despite the fact that a total of 523 units were built in the Seventh Ward between 1940 and 1960 (as compared with 31 in the Third Ward) the percentage and number of units dilapidated and deteriorating in the Seventh Ward exceeds those in the Third Ward. This, even though there are far fewer actual housing units in the Seventh Ward.

The clamor for urban renewal in the Third Ward, an undeniably urgent need, should not (as appears to be the case) blind the community to the even more serious housing situation in the Seventh Ward, for if the larger community is in fact blinded to the reality of conditions in the Seventh Ward, the residents themselves certainly are not.

The general state of disrepair of housing units in both wards, coupled with the high unemployment and low median family income, characteristic of the two areas, would seem antithetical to any significant amount of internal mobility of a population so victimized. But the fact that the mobility has indeed occurred under those conditions, and no doubt continues, should serve for all of us as a type of weather-vane and barometer of the frustration and despair of the residents in their frantic and usually hopeless efforts to realize some semblance of a human existence, at least so far as occupying adequate housing is concerned.

Coming from wide and divergent backgrounds, the residents in the areas under concern do, nonetheless, share a common identity, aside from race. That is the identity of a forgotten, unwanted people; a desperate people whose only recognition by the larger community seemingly comes through the predictable regularity of visits by the rent collector and other creditors, or as a result of statistics on the incidence of anti-social behavior - the alpha and omega so far as the larger community appears concerned, rather than a symptom of grave and turbulent conditions that demand immediate attention.

Thus, conscious efforts, as well as silent support, to house nonwhites in restricted areas of the city have served only to multiply the city's problems. Expanded housing opportunities for all our citizens, not restricted to any particular section of the city or county, is not only desirable but imperative; it must be actively encouraged and implemented. To continue to residentially restrict our nonwhite population, through conscious or unconscious design, must be discouraged and discontinued. Nonwhites in search of housing in greater Rochester must make a far greater effort to do so with the firm resolve that it is their legal right, except with certain almost inconsequential limitations, to live in an area of their choice.

Contrary to the apparent prevailing attitude, it neither logically, rationally, legally nor morally follows that "squatters' rights" in housing apply simply because nonwhites have traditionally lived primarily in our Third and Seventh Wards; that whites have lived outside those two areas. The frontier associated with "squatters' rights" is an anachronism. And to apply that kind of approach to contemporary conditions, clearly perpetuates and intensifies the many social ills already indigenous to our community.

Traditional approaches, then, have time and again, especially recently, proved dysfunctional for the true workings of the democratic process in greater Rochester. Rochesterians can no longer delude themselves in believing that the "Rochester way" is the only way, or necessarily the best way. In the scheme of things, man may be the only animal capable of introspection and reflection. We will do ourselves credit to seriously and critically re-examine the past and, in light of present conditions and trends reflect on the future of our community. Today's unabated problems represent challenges of the highest magnitude for all of us, white and nonwhite, whether we live within or outside the city itself. These problems must be dealt with now and forthrightly.

\* \* \* \* \*

Also, contrary to the frequently expressed assertion that "It couldn't happen here," history reveals not only that riots could but indeed did occur in the City of Rochester in 1964. "Evidence" of major efforts directed toward alleviating problems in our inner city as documentation for the assertion that "Rochester Means Equality" suggests, on closer scrutiny, that in many instances in our community issues and controversy have been confused with concrete action. Some meaningful work has been accomplished but not nearly enough. And the rapidly broadening gap between the need and accomplishments is critically evident -- perceptibly and statistically.

Many agencies and groups, no doubt, sincerely felt that they were actually coming to grips, in a substantive way, with programs to reduce and change the negative direction of problems in the inner city. It was and is both plainly and painfully seen by inner-city residents that more often than not activity related to problems in the Third and Seventh Wards was more verbal than substantive. Close to a year later, that situation is virtually the same except more aggravated.

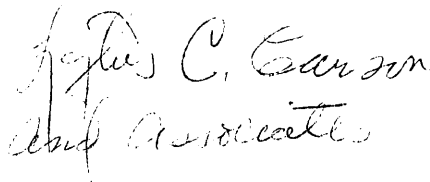
If there is anything that has been consistent and predictable, over the past few years at least, it is that most programs with "teeth" promoted during that time have been lost in controversy. This has been true to such a great extent that ultimately the issue of the issue has become the controversy rather than a legitimate issue about the prospective program itself.

Many of those most critically outspoken against the need for new agencies have either been silent in their support for existing ones or plainly antagonistic toward them. There has been minimal knowledge about and support for existing agencies. Community interest, especially negative, manifests itself only when an agency sets out to do the job for which it was presumably created. In the face of insurmountable obstacles to success, criticism of the agency for not doing its job is then set in motion.

Many ostensible supporters of agencies' efforts to deal with inner-city problems are frequently found to be fair-weather supporters. During adversity, they become silent or critical opponents. The agency then and, rather more often than not, personalities, become their target. Thus the birth of another fabricated issue. Another lull; another controversy. Meanwhile, conditions in the inner city gradually and unrelentlessly become worse.

It appears that agencies, ostensibly designed to come to grips with social ills, become for all practical purposes, conveniently "responsible" for the ills. So, more agencies come in, more controversies develop, charges and counter-charges as evidence of action become the pattern, and the problems themselves become increasingly worse and continually ignored.

That was Rochester, New York - July 1964.



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