Middletown, Connecticut: Summer of 1969
Civil Disturbances and Community Relations in an American City

Becca Masback
HIST171

Prof. Schatz
Wesleyan University
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Approximately 9:00 p.m. Thursday, June 26, 1969

Randy Moses, a 15-year-old black youth, was attacked by a group of three white youths on the corner of Silver and E. Main Streets. Within an hour of the attack, Middletown police officers received a radio message stating that black and white youths were congregating at the Washington Street Shopping Plaza, commonly known as the white youth's 'turf'. As the youths called names at each other and exchanged glares, there was trouble on the other side of town. Several unidentified youths broke the windows of seven lower Main Street storefronts and fled the scene. The police responded to the warnings, quickly arrived at the Shopping Plaza and demanded that the crowd, which was comprised of thirty to seventy black and white youths, leave the area. Fighting erupted and a few youths suffered minor injuries, but the police successfully put an end to the fracas. No arrests were made.

10:00 p.m.

Randy Moses arrived at the police station along with his brother, Thomas, and several other friends to give testimony. Meanwhile, Thomas Moses and his friend, James Moody, got into an argument with two police officers, Lynn Shelley and William Saraceno, in the lobby of the police station. The controversy escalated and the police officers arrested and maced both men. As Moses' friends ran to his rescue, his mother was accidentally sprayed with mace, and a rowdy brawl ensued between the police and the youths. When Police Chief Vincent Marino encountered the brawl, he commented...
that he, "never saw anything like this in my life." The melee was eventually subdued and the youths were expelled from the station.

Shortly before nightfall on Friday, June 27

A group of white youths attacked and injured Larry Owens, an 18-year-old black youth, at the Woolworth's on Main Street. Ginger Graham and Charles Faulkner, both white youths, reported to police that they had been attacked by black teens in separate incidents. In response to the violent disruption caused by the youths the Mayor of Middletown called for a meeting with the Common Council. In fear that the situation in Middletown might escalate, the council granted the Mayor unilateral power to call for a citywide curfew if more havoc ensued.

Over the weekend rumors spread throughout the community. White youths claimed that blacks were attacking them and black youths claimed that whites were taunting them. Police responded to many reports of supposed clashes at different sites in town, although no major outbreaks occurred Saturday afternoon or evening. However, at approximately 3:30 a.m. on Sunday the 29th, peace was broken when an unidentified youth smashed a window at the headquarters of Teenagers Organized for Productive Services.

10 a.m. Monday morning, June 30

The police station received yet another phone call. Once again, they were warned that black and white youths were congregating at the Washington Street Shopping Plaza. Police rushed to the scene and subdued the rowdy youths by promising that they
would meet and talk with leaders of each group.\textsuperscript{19} In fear of imminent outbreaks of violence, the Mayor called for a meeting with city officials and police to determine what should be done. The Mayor declared a state of emergency and enacted a citywide curfew that would begin at 10pm that evening and would last until 5am the following morning.\textsuperscript{20} At approximately 2pm, the mayor went on local radio and television stations to announce that the curfew would go into effect that evening and that all bars, restaurants, and businesses must close during the hours of the curfew.\textsuperscript{21} No one was allowed in the streets during those hours.\textsuperscript{22} Paul Parisi, aid to Mayor Dooley, explained to the community that the curfew was a “preventive measure to stop violence,” and would keep, “enraged,” white and black youths separated.\textsuperscript{23}

\textbf{9:53 p.m. Monday evening, June 30}

Police Headquarters received multiple phone calls claiming that Jason’s Package Store, located at Sumner Street in the South End of town, was being looted.\textsuperscript{24} Ten minutes later police arrived at the Washington Street Shopping Plaza to break up a group of black and white youths that had assembled there.\textsuperscript{25} Shortly after 11 p.m. it was reported that a Molotov Cocktail had been thrown through the window of Kelsey’s Paper Co., located at Union Street, and that a fire had erupted.\textsuperscript{26} As police rushed to the store, they were alerted that windows had been broken at another store, Lisco’s Market, located on the corner of E. Main and Silver Street.\textsuperscript{27} It was not until 11:43 p.m. that the police showed up in the South End to survey the scene at the package store and calm the rowdiness that had developed in the surrounding area.\textsuperscript{28}
Tuesday, July 1

As a result of the disturbances that occurred during the previous evening, the curfew remained in effect for the night of July 1. All members of the police force were called on active duty during the hours of the curfew, although there were no major outbreaks.29 A few people were arrested and there was a theft at Sam’s Outlet, located at 319 Main Street, but according to the police these crimes were unrelated to the youth disturbances.30 The next morning the Mayor lifted the curfew.31

Isolated outbreaks of gang violence and criminal activities committed by black and white youths caused Middletown Connecticut to enact its first citywide curfew on June 30, 1969. As community members and city officials probed how to prevent further disorder, certain controversial issues and injustices within the community were brought to light. These issues included city official policy, town recreational facilities, and police procedure. The debate over these issues exposed the difficulty inherent in mitigating civil disturbances and mending community relations.

The riot activities and inequalities that existed in Middletown followed a trend that pervaded many cities across the United States at the time. Beginning in 1967, cities like Los Angeles, Detroit and Newark suffered riots that involved scores of deaths and hundreds of injuries.32 On July 28, 1967 President Lyndon B. Johnson created the President’s National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders in order to answer, “What happened? Why did it happen? What can be done to prevent it from happening again and again?”33 Chaired by Illinois Governor Otto Kerner, the commission delved into the
causes of the rioting and attempted to find ways to mitigate these problems. To gain insight into the riots, the commission proceeded to interview thousands of people in 15 cities across America. They concluded from their analysis that America was, “moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.” This was true not only in Los Angeles, Detroit, Newark, and the other cities investigated by the Kerner staff, but Middletown too. The report revealed other problems afflicting American cities, which affected Middletown as well. For example, blacks and whites in Middletown, as in other cities, cited that a major problem in their neighborhoods was the lack of recreational programs and facilities for youths. The study also revealed that many blacks were dissatisfied with the police force and that both blacks and whites felt that there should be more communication between their community and local officials. Finally, in Middletown, as in other cities described in the Kerner Report, male adolescents were far more likely to participate in or cause disturbances than young women or older or younger people in the community.

On the morning of July 2 the Mayor of Middletown, Kenneth Dooley, organized a conference for police, administrative aides, and citizen representatives to address current problems in the community and to answer any questions that those invited might have. Salle Davage, the wife of the head of the Department of Human Relations, Rev. William Davage, asked if anything had changed in the community as a result of the curfew. The Mayor and his aides assured all those who were gathered that they had successfully quelled the situation utilizing the curfew and police action. Despite the Mayor’s
positive response, community members and even city officials seemed skeptical of his decision to enact the curfew.

An editorial in The Middletown Press noted that, “The curfew is…the ultimate weapon which is normally reserved for riot conditions of fairly substantial proportion.”\textsuperscript{43} The ‘riot conditions’ in Middletown although fairly destructive, seemed to be isolated events.\textsuperscript{44} They were by no means as severe as those occurring in other small cities in the country like Plainfield, New Jersey.\textsuperscript{45} Therefore, The Middletown Press suggested that the situation could have been dealt with in a different fashion such as a teen-age only curfew or mass arrests of the youths.\textsuperscript{46} There was also the concern that the curfew itself incited the youths towards violent or criminal acts.\textsuperscript{47} After all, on the first evening of the curfew there were several instances of youth disturbances in the community. Councilman John O’Dea noted that the curfew incurred unnecessary worry in the community when he stated that “several rumors have been started and been spread around town.”\textsuperscript{48}

On July 1\textsuperscript{st} the city of Waterbury Connecticut dealt with a similar problem. It too had suffered from a week of gang disturbances mostly caused by blacks and tried to devise an effective way to prevent further destruction.\textsuperscript{49} The mayor of Waterbury, like Mayor Dooley, called for a citywide curfew to begin on the evening of the 1\textsuperscript{st}.\textsuperscript{50} However, after meeting with black community leaders he and his aides concluded that a curfew would not be an appropriate measure. Instead it was decided that community interaction with the youths would be the best option.\textsuperscript{51} Waterbury was able to successfully combat and prevent further violence by employing this tactic.\textsuperscript{52} Why then did Mayor Dooley enact a curfew to quell the youth disturbances in Middletown?
The resolution drawn up by Mayor Dooley and his administrative aides on June 27, the day after the first civil disturbance, allowed the Mayor unilateral power in determining if a civil emergency existed in the community. The council defined a civil emergency as, “A riot or unlawful assembly characterized by the use of actual force or violence or any threat to use force if accompanied by immediate power to execute such force by three or more persons acting together without authority of the law.”

Furthermore, the resolution gave the Mayor the right to then declare a curfew if he determined that the city was in a state of civil emergency. The curfew would be imposed on however much of the city and at whatever hours he deemed necessary. This action was to be carried out “in the interest of public safety and welfare.” Therefore, it is presumable that when the Mayor met with his aides on the morning of June 30, he believed that Middletown was facing a civil emergency and in the interest of the citizens of Middletown he imposed a curfew to protect their well being.

Shortly after the meeting with his aides, Dooley announced to the community that a curfew would be imposed and he read the rules and regulations. The notice was announced at approximately 2pm, a half-hour after The Middletown Press had closed for the day, and therefore the Mayor had to use television and radio to get his message across to the community. The Mayor’s tardy notice helps explain the curfew’s ineffectiveness on the first evening. It is probable that some members of the community did not become aware of the curfew in the hours between 2 p.m. and 10 p.m., when the curfew was to go into effect, and so were not able to abide by it.

The decision to impose the curfew had other unintended and perhaps more profound effects on the community. While some people in the community fully backed
the curfew, others, including Common Councilmen, resented the hastiness with which it was established. They believed that the Mayor should have consulted the community before making his decision. In a Common Council meeting, held July 7, during which the council voted on a revised version of the curfew resolution, Councilman John O'Dea denounced the unilateral power given to the Mayor. "I don't think the Mayor whoever he may be, at any given time should have this sort of power. I think that what is lacking and it was quite obvious last week is we haven't gone far enough to bring other people in the community into what is happening in our city," he stated. Councilman Buddy Sboma, on the other hand, declared that he fully backed the ordinance, "I don't feel that anyone other than the chief administrative officer should have the power to call a curfew." These remarks illustrate the differences in opinion within the community, and the difficulties in quelling civil disturbances.

In an essay entitled "A Moral Equivalent for Riots," author Harvey Wheeler explains that the most effective way to prevent violence is not simply to subdue the violence itself, but to extinguish the violation that propels this type of behavior. The director of Teenagers for Productive Services, Herb Williams, echoed this concept in a letter to the editor of The Middletown Press, "Law and Order without justice is but a hollow phrase. The cry for law and order must be re-enforced with justice and equality." However, The Middletown Press noted that justice is something that can only be brought about through the interaction of the entire community.

As people in the Middletown community attempted to explain the discord that occurred during the previous week and how further outbreaks might be prevented, a group of white youths expressed their own view on the subject to City Hall. The white
youths arranged a meeting with the Mayor on the morning of July 2, at which they presented a list of seven grievances. Most of these grievances were appropriate, such as the hope for peace in the community and the request for equal law enforcement for blacks and whites. However, the youths listed one grievance that was more controversial. They asked for the removal of Teenagers Organized for Productive Services (TOPS), a black youth organization located in the largely black populated, South End of town. They believed that because the organization was federally funded, all youths in the community should be able to be members of it, not just blacks. The white youths felt they were being denied access to the organization and thought that it would only be fair and just to shut it down completely.

A few weeks after the curfew was lifted J.R. Ryan, a citizen of Middletown, published a five-part series in The Middletown Press in which he examined issues that plagued the community. He explained that TOPS, which was opened in the spring of 1968, was created out of a concern in the community that there were not enough recreational programs for black youths. The organization, which gained funding through donations and a state anti-poverty grant, was supposed to be run by youths and watched over by a board of directors. The creation of TOPS followed the ideas set forth in President Johnson’s “Great Society” plan. In a speech given at the University of Michigan—Ann Arbor in May of 1964 President Johnson declared that in order for America to become a “Great Society” it needed to put an end to racial injustices, reduce poverty, and improve education. He suggested that these goals would be achieved through government funding and the help of American citizens.
In Ryan’s article about TOPS he noted that although the club started with approximately 30 black members, the president announced on the opening day that “we want more members, and we’ll take them any color.” In this sense, the grievance lodged by the white youths was not completely sound.

Ryan attributed the de facto segregation at the youth club to the espousal of black militancy by the organization and a misunderstanding on the parts of the whites. He noted that members of TOPS advocated a sense of “constructive” black power. One symbol of this was a black raised fist that appeared in the window of the building in which the club was housed. The director of the organization, Herb Williams, felt that this symbol represented the ongoing struggle that blacks suffered in America and the need to work together to overcome it. Some members of society misconstrued this sense of “black militancy” or the movement to end the struggle. One Middletown lawyer, when interviewed about TOPS, said that he recognized black militancy as, “the fight to separate black from white...this fight for polarization.”

*The Middletown Press* noted that “the existence of TOPS will not stop disturbances, the abolishment of it surely won’t.” The closing of TOPS, although it would satisfy the white youths, would only cause rage and a sense of injustice among black youths. The establishment of a dialogue between the youths seemed a better alternative to resolving the sense of violation that both groups felt. Ryan felt that there should be more of an effort on the part of blacks to explain “black militancy.” This would help to eradicate the distorted views held by community members and thereby abolish the polarization of races. However, this would only be feasible if the whites were willing to listen to the blacks and change their views.
Similar to the black and white youths, the shop-owners in Middletown also felt a sense of injustice. Like the white youths, they too had suggestions about how to prevent further suffering. The shop-owners, particularly those in the Middletown Shopping Plaza, resented the fact that youths hung out in their parking lot.\footnote{83} The day after the curfew was lifted, the members of the Middletown Shopping Plaza wrote a letter to the Mayor advocating the passage of an anti-loitering law.\footnote{84} They believed that the youths jeopardized their business. They contended that the youths, “park haphazardly, use foul talk, smash liquor bottles, and throw general refuse all over the lot.”\footnote{85} By passing an anti-loitering law they believed that, “peace and quiet will be restored to the area residents and the property will be returned to its rightful purpose for business.”\footnote{86}

However, the shop-owners did acknowledge that the youths were opposed to the idea of an anti-loitering law. The youths claimed that with the institution of this type of law they would no longer have anywhere to congregate.\footnote{87} In response, the shop-owners said that it was not their responsibility to provide recreational outlets for the youths and suggested that town parks should stay open at night.\footnote{88}

Mike Pitzurello, a white youth, aptly noted that the anti-loitering law would not only affect the whites that hung out at the Shopping Plaza, but also the blacks that frequently gathered outside the TOPS headquarters.\footnote{89} He also recognized the fact that other towns near Middletown such as Old Saybrook had anti-loitering ordinances. However, unlike Old Saybrook which had beaches and discotheques, Middletown lacked alternative recreational facilities for youths.\footnote{90}

During a Common Council meeting held on July 7, Councilman John O’Dea asserted that City Hall was “not dealing with the problem of what to provide for the
children of this city during evening hours and free time." He believed that there was a "crying need" to develop activities for youths. However, not all members of the Common Council felt that this was necessarily true. Despite claims by adolescents, some councilmen believed that the city was doing a good job in providing recreation. Both Councilman Daniels and Councilman Cienava believed that the recreational opportunities in Middletown were "excellent." In response to O'Dea's remark on the need for evening recreation Cienava said "somehow I feel this should be provided by parents whether the remedy be painful or not." Once again, these opposing viewpoints suggest that there was not a simple solution as to how to mollify the youths.

At the meeting the Mayor held on July 2 for aides and certain town members there was much talk of building a youth center in Middletown, but no resolutions were made. The Mayor reminded everyone that such a project would require a couple of years of work. In Middletown in 1969, recreation consisted mostly of Pat Kidney Field, Washington Park, Union Park, sports clubs, the Y.M.C.A, an arts club located at the old police headquarters, and swimming in the summertime. J.R. Ryan noted that in the past there had been talk of creating additional recreational facilities in the town because it seemed that the kids had, "nothing to do." However, little had been done to resolve this issue.

Nevertheless, in the wake of the disturbances and the curfew, it seemed that something needed to be done to control the youths. This was an issue that was debatable and, perhaps, did not have one solution. However, in order to effectively control the youths it appeared necessary to bring justice, not just to the youths, but to other members of the community as well. This was an issue that could not be ignored and was affecting
almost everyone. The youths, the community members, and town officials were all talking about and disputing this dilemma.

During a time when executing law and order was of utmost importance it seemed that many faults laid with those who were in charge of administering it, the police. This incompetence was revealed several times during the youth disturbances and the curfew that followed it. The conspicuous failures of the police caused community members and town officials to probe these inadequacies. Once again, it appeared that these failures stemmed from the fact that there were injustices inherent in the community. In congruence with the editorial piece by Herbert Williams, which was previously discussed, it seemed that in order to restore law and order these injustices had to be dealt with first. J.R. Ryan contends that City Hall and community members were responsible for the problems with the police force.\textsuperscript{100}

On the first evening of the curfew, during the hours between the looting at Jason’s Package Store and the arrival of the police, a mob had formed in the streets of the South End and chaos ensued.\textsuperscript{101} When the police finally arrived they called for a ‘code 24’, which meant that all police had to report to the scene of the crime.\textsuperscript{102} Despite the dramatic presence, the police did not actually do much. Even though the police could have arrested people breaking the curfew and standing in the streets, they chose not to act.\textsuperscript{103} One man was yelling threats to murder another man and even exposed a weapon, but he was not arrested.\textsuperscript{104} The police simply told everyone to go home and then proceeded to head back to the station.\textsuperscript{105} Ryan explained that rather than being surprised by the police inaction, many South Enders expected this kind of behavior. He proposed that the inaction of the police during the curfew was a conspicuous example of the way
the police usually dealt with the South End; they ignored it. The South Enders, most of whom were black, generally believed that the police had no real interest in resolving issues in their neighborhood and that they usually left them to deal with dilemmas on their own.

However, Ryan gave an explanation for the behavior exhibited by the police after the looting occurred. Supposedly, when the Common Council gave the Mayor the power to declare a curfew it was drawn up in the form of a resolution and not an actual ordinance. The reason for this was that an ordinance would have taken more than a week to ratify whereas a resolution would be enacted immediately. However, one disadvantage of the resolution was that under it, the curfew could not be legally enforced and, therefore, no one could be penalized or arrested as a result of not abiding by it. Unfortunately, the South Enders were not cognizant of this legality and because of this they construed the police behavior as indifference to what was going on. In this regard, the police behavior during the curfew brought to light the issue that, perhaps, the police were not really doing their job in the South End. It also revealed that there was a dire need for City Hall to change its policy towards the South End so that the residents would no longer feel that they were suffering injustices. After all, it was City Hall that conceived the policies that the police had to enforce. Councilman John O’Dea noted that there was a need for a “more uniform method of law enforcement so that everyone gets what due justice they have coming.” City Hall could not longer hide from this necessity.

The police department could no longer hide from claims of malpractice. Certain members of the black community claimed that two members of the police force, Lynn
Shelly and William Saraceno, had actually escalated the conflict at the Washington Street Plaza on June 26, by exhibiting unequal treatment towards the black youths. They asserted that these men had also displayed racist behavior in previous instances. Other members of the community decried the police use of mace during the melee at police headquarters, and suggested that “the U.S. army released a report that mace was harmful and in some cases could cause blindness.”

However, when attorney Howard Baran of the Legal Aid Society attempted to get written reports by community members of complaints against the police, most members who seemed agitated did not respond. J.R. Ryan offered two explanations for their silence. On the one hand, once written on paper these so-called events of police brutality or inequalities did not appear severe enough to merit legal action. On the other hand, witnesses to these events, Ryan suggested, felt that they were so far removed from town officials and the police that they did not believe any change would occur as a result of complaining. Similarly, Herb William stated that in order to remedy this situation, “Black people must be shown by the police and the society that the law is their benefactor too, rather than their oppressor.”

Councilman Buddy Sbona did not share that view. He believed the police were “caught between the devil and the deep blue sea....They’re condemned if they do and they’re condemned if they don’t.” This was true in regard to community response to police behavior during the curfew. For example, when the police entered the South End wearing riot gear they were condemned by the community for overreacting. However, when the police did not arrest anyone as a result of the package store looting, they were condemned for not doing enough. J.R. Ryan suggested that the police were often
ignorant of how the black community members felt and therefore they could not respond appropriately.\textsuperscript{122} He suggested that in order to resolve this problem there would have to be a change in policy on the behalf of the Police and City Hall.\textsuperscript{123} There needed to be more communication between community members and those who drew up and enforced the law.\textsuperscript{124}

During a South End Association meeting held shortly after the curfew was repealed many members criticized the police, but also suggested that a Civilian Review Board should be developed.\textsuperscript{125} Clearly, this shows that the South End recognized the breakdown in communication between themselves and the police and wished to correct it. However, not all members of society were as eager to involve the community in political and legal affairs. During a Police Commission meeting held in early July, Chief Vincent Marino said that a Civilian Review Board was not necessary.\textsuperscript{126} Once again, this controversy exposes the fact that not all community members agreed on what the city needed to accomplish.

The Kerner Commission Report recognized that American society was splitting along racial lines and declared that this issue had to be addressed. In the case of Middletown, it appeared that community was splitting along many lines. In an article entitled, "The City's Turmoil," reporter Sherman Beinhorn suggested that recreating trust in the community was fundamental to bridging the gaps that existed.\textsuperscript{127} He recognized that recreating trust would involve both public institutions and the private sector working together, and that it would take time before any improvements would become apparent.\textsuperscript{128} However, Beinhorn reminded the people of Middletown that "all that is asked is that people get their toes in the water. It is not as cold as they believe."\textsuperscript{129} The Middletown
*Press* believed that building trust would be facilitated by the fact that the people of Middletown were, for the most part, reasonable.\textsuperscript{130} They also contended that the people of Middletown would look beyond a curfew as a means to resolve problems inherent in the community.\textsuperscript{131} It should also be noted that the Mayor held a few meetings at the end of June and throughout July at which he met with the Police, town officials, and black community leaders.\textsuperscript{132} Although there was much controversy during these meetings, they do show some sort of a sign that attempts were being made to establish a dialogue within the community.

Fortunately, the city of Middletown had a unique feature that could assist them in resolving issues and controversy. Middletown, Connecticut was the focus of a year-long study conducted by Dr. Allen Schaffer called "Middletown Future."\textsuperscript{133} This program, the only one of its kind in the nation, was designed to improve relations between community members and address human relations.\textsuperscript{134} The program which began in 1968, had nearly 400 participants. However, they were not as ethnically diverse as had been desired.\textsuperscript{135} Although the program was not entirely successful in its first year, the program directors wished to continue it for a second year.\textsuperscript{136} In a meeting held almost a month after the curfew was lifted, the members expressed interest in including more diverse participants and developing a permanent meeting center in the upcoming year.\textsuperscript{137}

**Conclusion**— The curfew was, perhaps, too stringent a measure and it might have provoked further disturbances. However, by closing down the entire city, it revealed that the community faced problems that rested on the shoulders of everyone, not just a few. The curfew had been imposed to restore order in the community, but it could not
address the injustice and inequality felt by many citizens. Community members, city officials, and the Police had to deal with the issues that divided the community. Difference in opinion within the community revealed that resolving these problems did not have one solution. However, in order to begin to mend the gaps inherent in the community it was apparent that trust needed to be built and a dialogue needed to be established between all citizens of Middletown.

Afterword— The Mayor’s Annual Report for 1969-1970 reveals that there were moves by City Hall and government agencies towards satisfying community needs. In listing the most urgent problems in the community, the new mayor, Buddy Sbuna, noted that addressing the needs of Middletown’s minorities and disadvantaged was of utmost importance. As a result of this, the Mayor requested that the Police Department create a Community Services division. This department was developed with the intent that it would help sustain favorable relations throughout the community. The director of the Recreation Department, Bernard F. O’Rourke commented that the department had an extremely successful year in 1969-1970, but he did not give any details. However, he acknowledged that there was still more that needed to be done in the development of recreational programs and facilities in Middletown. For example, it was necessary that a recreational facility be built that would house all recreational programs in Middletown.

It should be noted that the Middletown Common Council unanimously approved an anti-loitering ordinance in early July of 1969. The ordinance stated that, “It shall be
unlawful for any person to loiter upon any quasi-public property. The penalty for not abiding by the regulations of the ordinance was a $25 fine or ten days imprisonment.146

Appendix--

The issue of community relations in Middletown is a broad topic and leaves much to be researched and debated. If I had had more time to conduct my research I would have liked to have conducted interviews with community members. It would be interesting to compare issues plaguing the community today with those that plagued the community in 1969. Interviews with community members could give insight into this type of comparison. I also realize that researching community relations in Middletown prior to the enactment of the curfew could be beneficial. Additionally, it would be interesting to find out how the problems that occurred during the summer of 1969 played out. Was a dialogue actually created between different community members? Did the residents of the South End eventually receive better treatment? Were more recreational facilities created? What happened with TOPS and was it eventually shut down? Was the “Middletown Future” program successful? The Middletown Press Articles, Common Council Minutes, and The Mayor’s Annual Report could aide in investigating these questions. It is expected that these changes occurred overtime, and they might still be going on now. Afterall, justice is not something that can be awarded overnight and it takes time for people to free their minds.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
10 Daseler, 27 June 1969.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
22 Beinhorn, 1 July 1969.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
33 Ibid., 12.
34 Ibid., 11-12.
36 Harris, x.
37 The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 40.
38 Ibid, 41-43
39 Ibid, 56.
40 Beinhorn, 2 July 1969.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid.
46 Beinhorn, 2 July 1969.
48 Middletown Common Council Meeting Minutes, July 7.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid.
Ibid.


Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.


Ibid.

Beinhorn, 2 July 1969.

Middletown Common Council Meeting Minutes, 7 July 1969.

Ibid.


Beinhorn, 2 July 1969.

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Middletown Common Council Meeting Minutes, 7 July 1969.

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Common Council Meeting Minutes, 7 July 1969.

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Beinhorn, 2 July 1969.

Ibid.


J.R. Ryan, "Wrapped In Rumors, TOPS Still Hangs On."

Ibid.


Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.
113 Common Council Meeting Minutes, 7 July 1969.
114 Beinhorn, 27 June 1969.
115 Common Council Meeting Minutes, 7 July 1969.
117 J.R. Ryan, "The Policeman: Walking the Shadow of City Hall."
118 Ibid.
120 Common Council Meeting Minutes, 7 July 1969.
121 Farell, 2 July 1969.
122 J.R. Ryan, "The Policeman: Walking the Shadow of City Hall."
123 Ibid.
124 Ibid.
126 Daseler, 18 July 1969.
128 Ibid.
129 Ibid.
131 Ibid.
132 *Middletown Press*.
134 Ibid.
135 Ibid.
136 Ibid.
137 Ibid.
139 Ibid.
140 Ibid.
141 Ibid.
142 Ibid.
143 Ibid.
144 Common Council Meeting Minutes, 7 July 1969.
145 Ibid.
146 Ibid.
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The Middletown Press.