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East Rock: Facts, Artifacts, and Memories

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Neighborhood as a State of Mind

The East Rock neighborhood is anchored by the Boulevard of Broken Dreams," as we call the Trumbull/Orange Street axis, where so many lawyers and psychiatrists ply their trade, so it is appropriate to begin this exploration of the area guided by Sigmund Freud's observation that in the life of the mind, "nothing which has once been formed can perish" -- "everything is somehow preserved and that in suitable circumstances. . . can once more be brought to light."

Freud compared the mind to the ruins of an ancient Rome, in which all things originally present survive, along with everything that succeeded them. In speaking of the ancient city as a physical reality, he observed, "of the buildings which once occupied

this ancient area," [the visitor] will find nothing, or only scanty remains, for they exist no longer. . . . [All that remains is] "dovetailed into the jumble of a great metropolis which has grown up in the last few centuries. . . . There is certainly not a little that is ancient still buried in the soil of the city or beneath its modern buildings" (Freud 1961, 17-18)

But, as a psychical reality, "nothing that has once come into existence will have passed away and all earlier phases of development continue to exist alongside the latest one." The shell heaps and wigwams of the Quinnipiacs would coexist with Puritan fields and farmsteads, with the great estates of the early industrialists, with the houses, schools, stores, saloons, and factories of the growing nineteenth century city. Gazing at the ramps, overpasses, and embankments of I-91, we might see rising busy streets and vital neighborhoods. More importantly, we would see East Rock connected to other parts of the city - to Fair Haven and Wooster Square - in ways that seem unimaginable today.

Although Freud was making a point about mental life, he also made an insightful point about the meaning of community. We tend to use terms like neighborhood and community as if they referred only to physical places. In reality, neighborhood and community are emotional and intellectual constructs. People of faith know that when Christ enjoined them to love their neighbors, the Savior was not only referring to the folks next door.¹ People of faith know they can go to a congregation of their denomination anywhere in the city, state, nation -- or even the world -- and be invited to worship in familiar ways as a member of the Body of Christ. Members of the Elks, Odd Fellows, Masons and Alcoholics Anonymous know the extent of the communities in which they participate. Academic professionals acknowledge their kinship with disciplinary colleagues everywhere.

Of course, the formal communities created by organizations differ from the more textured and idiosyncratic communities we construct and enact as city residents. In this day and age, the mere fact of physical proximity is unlikely to engender feelings of neighborliness or impart a sense of membership in a community. Our sense of fellowship, our feeling of belonging, the likelihood of our being acknowledged and

recognized are more likely to arise from where we choose to shop, to socialize, to send our children to school -- from where we work and where we play.

This essay explores the history of Greater East Rock as a physical reality – as a place, a population, a set of physical structures – and as a psychical reality – as evolving and changing feelings and ideas about who we are and our sense of belonging.

In the not so distant past, New Haveners thought of themselves as members of a broad and inclusive civic community. Even though citizens were divided by race, ethnicity, wealth, education, and religious belief, circumstances of urban life tended to draw people together: Irish and Italians lived and worked in middle class households as domestic servants, laundresses, yardmen, and coachmen; men and boys who delivered groceries, milk, and ice were familiar with the homes and neighborhoods of the comfortable; and children from all walks of life attended the city's public schools. Because the downtown congregations resisted following their parishioners to more fashionable neighborhoods outside the Central Business District, religion vitiated social and economic divisions. Finally, New Haven's leaders strove to unify New Haven's increasingly diverse citizenry with pageants, parades, and celebrations that affirmed a shared civic identity.²

The circumstances of life in the third millennium have produced multiplicity of identities that obscure the older commonalities underlying the sense of belonging to a larger civic community. Can these commonalities, like the ancient buildings in Freud's metaphor of the mental life, coexist with "the jumble of a great metropolis"? Can things once present continue to survive, alongside of things derived from them? Or do we merely construct our sense of who we are and where we belong on the "scanty remains" of places and lives that no longer exist?

Founding Fathers

Today's East Rock and Ronan-Edgehill neighborhoods were part of the Town of New Haven – not the City --, the compact little seaport clustered around the Green. In the days when roads were impassable for much of the year, the two miles from Whitneyville to downtown were a daunting distance.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the expanse between Prospect Hill and the Mill River belonged to three men: Abraham Bishop, who owned everything east of today's Whitney Avenue; Eli Whitney, who owned everything north of Canner Street, and James Hillhouse, whose estate, Sachem's Wood, stretched from Grove to Canner.

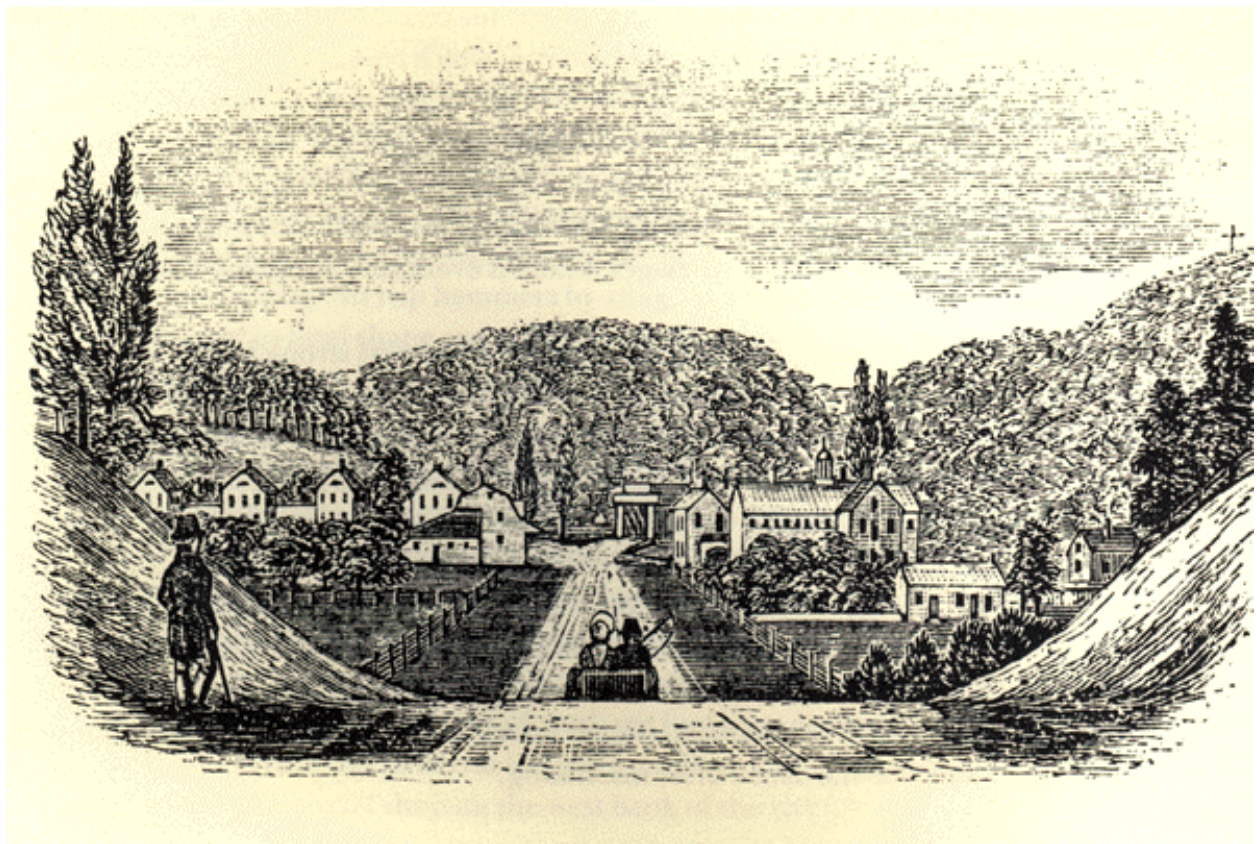
For Bishop, the entrepreneur and radical Jeffersonian politician (yes, East Rock is Democratic to its roots!) land was an investment rather than a symbol of prestige. Having no interest in creating a great estate, like his neighbors Hillhouse and Whitney, he and his daughters – Mary Ann Clark, Stella Foster, and Caroline Nicoll (after whom Bishop, Clark, Foster, and Nicoll streets were named) sold off the property. By the 1850s, the area between the Hartford Turnpike (as Whitney Avenue was called) and the Mill River was criss-crossed by streets on which no one would live for decades.

Hillhouse was the dominating figure in East Rock, just as he was in the affairs of the city.³ A pioneer city planner before there was even a word for such a thing, Hillhouse was responsible for transforming the Green from a noisome muddy expanse where farmers marketed their goods in season, cattle grazed, the militia mustered, Yale students caroused, and prostitutes plied their trade among the tombstones, into the showplace that it is today. Like city planners then and now, Hillhouse's schemes aroused grassroots resistance. After establishing the Grove Street cemetery and pushing through legislation forbidding further burials on the Green, he succeeded in persuading Center Church to construct its present edifice in the midst of the old burial ground. It is said that as teams of workmen dug the foundations, crowds of angry townspeople stood around the periphery shoveling dirt back into the excavation!.

Hillhouse was the chief promoter of the Hartford Turnpike, built in the 1790s and much later named Whitney Avenue. He arranged for the sale of the lands to the north of his estate to the inventor Eli Whitney, whose armory was established in 1798 to manufacture muskets for the federal government.

As Whitney noted in a letter to the Secretary of War in July of 1798, "I have not only the arms but the armorers to make" (quoted in Hall and Cooper 1984, 36). In the

1790s, there was no industrial labor force. America was still a place where sons followed fathers into their occupations. To make his armorers, Whitney had to create what we might call an industrial plantation, a self-sufficient factory village with its own housing, farm, and school. One of America's earliest company towns, by the 1840s, the Whitney complex had spread northward from the dam past the present intersection of Whitney Avenue and Treadwell Streets, with three mill sites, additional employee housing and a church – Whitneyville Congregational – built with donations from Whitney's widow.



Hartford Turnpike, c. 1820. This wood engraving looks north up today's Whitney Avenue towards the Whitney Armory (to the right), Armory workers' housing (to the left), and the covered bridge across the Mill River (dead ahead).

The industrial village on the Hamden border would presage East Rock's industrial roots. By the 1850s, Armory employees would be building houses on the Avenue south of the armory and Whitney's son, Eli Whitney, Jr., would build his own

estate near the factory, adjacent to the works of the New Haven Water Company, which he founded.

The Second Generation and the Rise of the Great Estates

James Abraham Hillhouse built on his father's achievements, but did so in a very different setting. In his father's generation, the Standing Order of wealthy, learned, and respectable could, as Brooks Adams put it, "unite to crush the ignorant and vicious." By the son's day, the common people, empowered by Jefferson, Jackson, and the boundless possibilities of the marketplace, challenged the authority of the establishment. In a society in which the will of the individual in pursuit of his self-interest ruled, aristocrats like Hillhouse (who had their own allegiances to republican ideals), strove to discover ways of maintaining order and authority in an increasingly unruly market democracy.

When he wasn't devoting himself to trying to create an American literature, the younger Hillhouse focused his energies on creating a planned residential development whose architecture and layout, he hoped, would be showcase the possibilities of urban communities. He renamed his estate (originally called Highwood), "Sachem's Wood" as a memorial gesture to his father (who was known as "the Sachem," the Algonquian word for Big Chief) and as a concession to the popular democracy rising around him.⁴ Still, he could not resist occasional aristocratic impulses, as in this unpublished poem:

I am monarch of all I survey,
 My right there is none to dispute;
 From the Turnpike, to Powder House Lane,
 I am lord of the fowl and brute.

Oh, solitude, sweet are the charms
 That sages have seen in thy face.
 Let me fly from the city's alarms
 To dwell at my beautiful place (quoted in Hazelrigg 1953, 140).

A desire to maintain their leisurely lifestyle and pressured to deal with the huge losses his father incurred from his investments in the Northampton Canal required James Hillhouse's children to look for suitable marriages (like James Abraham's to wealthy New Yorker, Cornelia Lawrence) and to keep a sharp eye out for opportunities to liquidate their real estate. James Abraham developed Hillhouse Avenue, to the north

of his father's house on Grove Street. After his death, his children began selling off parcels to the north of Sachem's Wood, laying out Lawrence and Saint Ronan Streets, the latter named after Sir Walter Scott's 1823 novel of that name.⁵

Sachem's Wood: James Abraham Hillhouse's Greek Revival



Mansion which stood on the site of today's Kline Science Tower. This one of several great estates that dominated the East Rock area in the first half of the nineteenth century.

By the 1860s, Whitney Avenue was lined with large estates: the Hillhouses' Sachem's Wood (between Sachem and Canner); bank president A.C. Read's (between Bradley and Humphrey); Samuel E. Foote's (between Humphrey and Edwards); Henry Whitney's Belmont (between Canner and Cold Spring); the Messena Clark estate, whose magnificent wall still runs along the Ave. between Lawrence & Highland; the Richard Everit mansion, still standing on Whitney at the foot of Highland Street; and the Eli Whitney, Jr. estate (from Canner to Mill Rock). In the 1870s, these were joined by the Winchester and Davies mansions on Prospect Street. The years 1900-1929 would see another wave of mansion building, this time on Prospect Street, including the magnificent George Berger (810), Austin Cheney (755), and Louis Stoddard (700) houses. All of these are now owned by institutions.

Beginnings of a Neighborhood

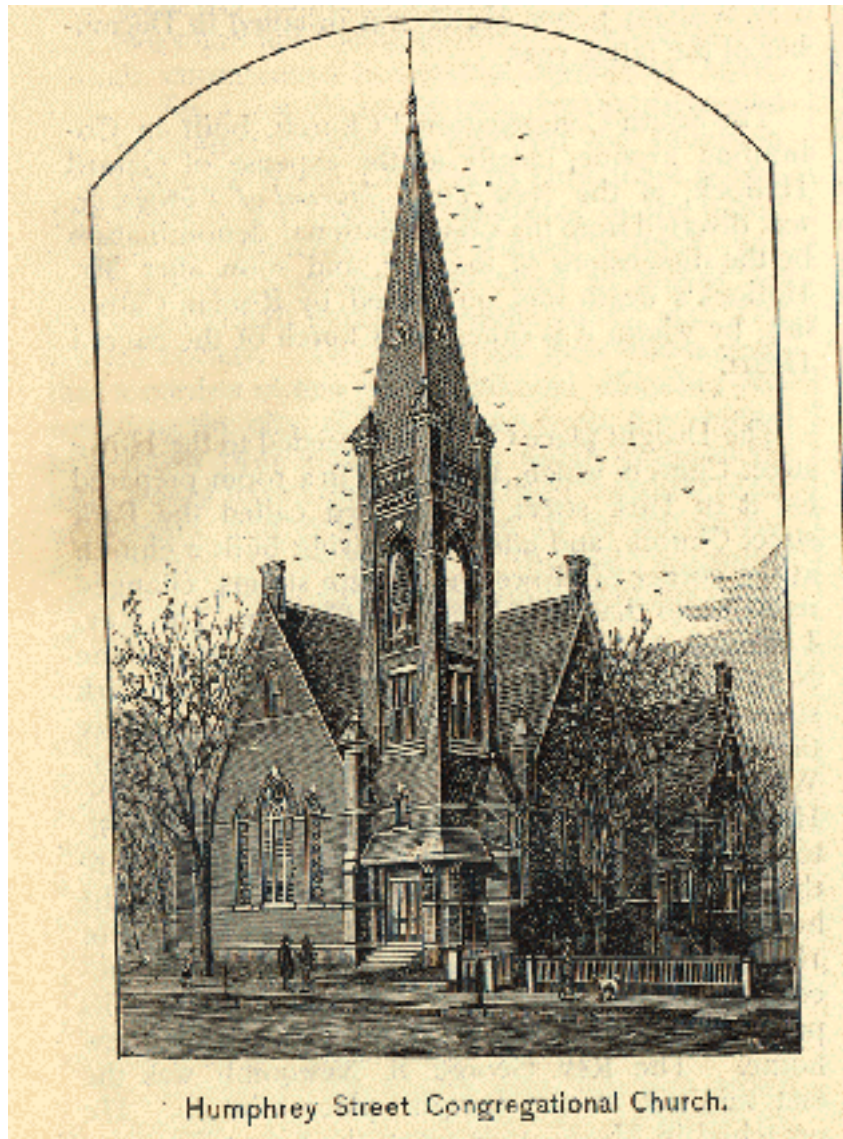
What do we mean when we speak of the East Rock neighborhood? Over time, people have meant different things by the term. For James Abraham Hillhouse, writing in the 1830s, it was “all I survey” from Sachem’s Wood, atop Prospect Hill, to Sassacus, as he called East Rock.

For residents of the later nineteenth century, the neighborhood was defined by where they went to work, to shop, and to school. A glance at the bird’s-eye view map of 1879 (fig. 3) shows how streets that today we think of as beginning on Prospect or Whitney and terminating at State Street actually continued on across State, crossing the industrial district along East and Hamilton streets to the river and harbor. Although the railroad was constructed in the 1850s, following its present day course paralleling State Street, the modest two track layout did not significantly impact the neighborhood. The map shows all the major streets bridging the railroad. Before the construction of I-91, Bradley Street ran all the way to William Street, near Wooster Square (in fact a stub end of Bradley still exists in the Wooster Square Historic District). A cluster of East Rock streets - Clark, Humphrey, Bishop, and Edwards – intersected with State Street, bent slight to the south, then continued under other names -- Franklin, Hamilton, Wallace, and East – all the way to the harbor. Until the 1960s, when interstate highway construction wiped out hundred of houses and obstructed most east-west streets, East Rock could be defined much more expansively than it is today.

Politicians impose their own definitions of neighborhood on human communities. For electoral purposes, cities are divided into wards, whose boundaries have shifted over time with changing demographics. In the 1960s, city planners redefined New Haven’s neighborhoods in accordance with their rather subjective estimates of community characteristics. Inside New Haven Neighborhoods, a booklet published in 1982, broke East Rock into two distinct neighborhoods, Upper State Street, comprising the area between I-91, Whitney Avenue, and Trumbull Streets, and Whitney-Orange, which comprised the area bounded by Orange, Prospect, Grove and the Hamden line.

Those of us who live in East Rock tend to ignore ward boundaries and arbitrary judgments about community character. Instead, when we define the community geographically, we tend to cast it in terms of the major north-south axes - Prospect, Whitney, Livingston, Orange, and State Streets – which connect the neighborhood to downtown, where most of shop and work.

In contrast, during the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, the social orientation of the neighborhood was to the east-west axes leading to the harbor and to the bustling industrial district bisected by East and Hamilton streets. The pattern of settlement moved westward from the river and harbor to State Street, and then across State to lower Trumbull, Bradley, Clark, Humphrey, Bishop, and other side streets. As late as 1875, Orange and the streets between Orange and Whitney were barely inhabited. But the streets to the east of Orange were beginning to be built up, first with some of the tiny workers houses, many of which still stand on Bradley, and later by more imposing structures. Schools and churches soon followed: St. John's Episcopal (originally at Eld & State, now at Orange and Humphrey); the East Congregational Society on Humphrey Street; the East Rock Methodist Episcopal Mission Church at Orange and Edwards; the Edwards Street School, still standing though converted to apartments, across from St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church. They would soon to be joined by an enlarged Edwards Street School at the corner of Edwards and Foster and the Lovell and Worthington Hooker schools on Lawrence and Canner streets. These amenities, along with the creation of East Rock Park in the 1880s, helped to make the area attractive to the middle classes.



Humphrey Street Congregational Church, 1887. This wood engraving of the newly completed church appeared in Edward E. Atwater's *History of the City of New Haven* (1887). While the building still stands, like many church edifices in the neighborhood, it has housed a succession of congregations. Now owned by the Seventh Day Adventists, it is also host to Trinity Baptist, a Southern Baptist congregation.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, State Street was the major commercial thoroughfare in the neighborhood, a place where residents shopped for groceries, drugs, dry goods, and other necessities. Between Trumbull and Lawrence along State there were seventy-seven retail establishments, including ten grocery stores, nine

saloons, eight confectionaries, five bakeries, dry goods stores, and barbers, twelve businesses concerned with making, cleaning, pressing, and selling clothing, five shoe and shoe repair shops, as well as stores selling cigars, hardware, fish, bicycles, and eyeglasses. In contrast, Orange Street, which today is substantially commercial, had not a single retail establishment!.

Shopping at the turn of the century was a very different experience from shopping today. There were neither “self-service” stores nor supermarkets. Bakeries, butchers,. confectioners, druggists, dry goods stores, green grocers, milliners, tailors, and other specialty stores catered to residents' needs. Consumers went to the store, selected what they wanted, and went home to wait for delivery boys to bring their purchases to their homes. Because there were no East-West streetcar lines in this part of town, there must have been a good deal of pedestrian traffic along the side streets connecting St. Ronan, Whitney, and Orange with State, and a commensurate amount of social interaction between residents walking to and from the State Street shops and their homes – exchanges facilitated by the fact that many of the houses built along the streets east of Whitney Avenue in the 1880s and 90s had porches.

Although socially stratified, the very wealthy living in palatial mansions along Prospect Street and Whitney Avenue, well-to-do businessmen, professionals, and academics comfortably ensconced along St. Ronan , and so on down the social scale to working class and industrial neighborhoods beside the railroad line east of State Street, boundaries were not clearly defined, but rather shaded almost imperceptibly into one another. Today, the contrasts between the east and west sides of Prospect Street, between the east and west sides of Whitney Avenue, and the east and west sides of Orange Street are unmistakable!. The neighborhood was surprisingly mixed ethnically, religiously, and occupationally. The closest thing it had to ethnic enclaves were Irish “Goatville” and the Polish clustering in the vicinity of St. Stanislaus Roman Catholic Church. At the beginning of the century, the neighborhood was home to nine congregations: two Roman Catholic (St. Joseph’s and St. Stanislaus), plus one Baptist, Congregational, Episcopal, Jewish, Lutheran, and Methodist.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, East Rock residents pursued an incredible range of occupations (see appendix). Close to a third were industrial workers. The second largest were people with no listed occupation, mostly elderly people, many of them widows. Craftsmen, businessmen, workers in the building trades, and clerks each claimed about 10 percent. Fewer than 10 percent were industrial owner/managers and professionals. East Rock's social and economic diversity contrasted with other parts of the city, such as the Oak Street and Wooster Square neighborhoods, where the residents were overwhelmingly foreign-born and poor.

East Rock represented the spectrum of the emerging American middle class: a melting pot and a ladder for strivers. Following East Rock families over generations, we find the successful sons of Bradley street factory workers of the 1870s moving westward, to larger and more fashionable houses on the side streets between Orange and Whitney. After the turn of the century, some made the jump to the west side of Whitney. The Bronson family was typical. In 1865, William Bronson (1826-1881), a foreman in the wheel room of the Henry Hooker Carriage factory (located at 600 State Street, between Wall and Grove Streets), lived in a modest home at 171 Bradley Street with his wife and three young children, two of whom survived to adulthood.

After their father's death, Bronson's sons, William A. (1857-1914) and Robert A. (1861-1910) boarded with their mother at 171 Bradley, after her death, they boarded elsewhere in the neighborhood, while clerking for local drug stores. In 1881, William A. purchased his own drug store at the corner of State and Bradley Streets. In February of 1893, he married – and shortly thereafter purchased a lot from the Messena Clark estate at 305 Lawrence Street, between Whitney and St. Ronan. The younger son, Robert A. (1861-1910) also became a druggist, ultimately becoming a partner in E.L. Washburn & Company. He married in 1895 – and shortly thereafter purchased a lot adjoining his brother's, at 299 Lawrence. In 1901, the Bronson brothers sold their properties and businesses and moved to Philadelphia. The Bronsons sold their house at 305 Lawrence to Ralph Bryant, a professor in Yale's newly-founded School of Forestry. The house remained in the Bryant family until 1965 – a pattern of stability typical of the neighborhood in its earlier days (in contrast, the residential turnover today in the Ronan-Edgehill part of East Rock exceed 10% annually).

The Lapidés family followed a similar path. With a horse and wagon, immigrant Harris Lapidés began a scrap metal business on Oak Street. By the 1920s, he had become the proprietor of United Smelting and Aluminum, one of the largest aluminum fabricating firms in the United States and had moved into an apartment in a newly constructed building at 414 Whitney Avenue. His son Louis, who joined his father in the business, lived nearby, at 104 Canner Street, into which Harris would move when Louis moved to North Haven in the early 1950s. Louis's son Robert, after graduating from Yale in 1939 and serving with distinction in the navy during the second World War, following the common pattern of the time, left New Haven for suburban Hamden. But his son John, who runs the family business, now lives on St. Ronan Street, making his children fifth generation East Rock residents!

The family of the pediatrician Benjamin Spock also made the jump across Whitney Avenue. Following his marriage in 1900, the senior Spock, a lawyer for the New York, New Haven, & Hartford Railroad, purchased a three-story house at 165 Cold Spring Street, a street so favored by fecund young Yale faculty that university President Arthur Twining Hadley, noted for his dry wit, once referred to it as Offspring Street (Maier 1998, 6). When the senior Spock became general counsel for the railroad, he moved across Whitney Avenue to a spacious brick Georgian establishment at 67 Edgehill Road (which the family owned until the 1960s).

East Rock at the Turn of the Century

In his autobiography, St. Ronan Street resident Robert Corwin provided a wonderful description of the East Rock neighborhood at the turn of the century. Like most upper-class New Haveners, the Corwins had lived downtown, within easy walking distance of Yale and the Green. But as increasing noise, traffic, and crime decreased the desirability of downtown residences, the Corwins began to look for a new home beyond the city's center. "For some years," Corwin wrote,

my mother had a desirous eye on St Ronan Street. It had not been cut through to Edwards Street, nor extended to Highland Street, but it was secluded and country like and otherwise attractive. On learning of our leaning toward that part of town, Professor Mather urged us to look at 247 built in part by him and his sons. . . . We bought it and in early summer, 1902, moved in. The forty intervening years [Corwin wrote in 1945] have brought many changes in our neighborhood. None of our first neighbors now survive, but others have

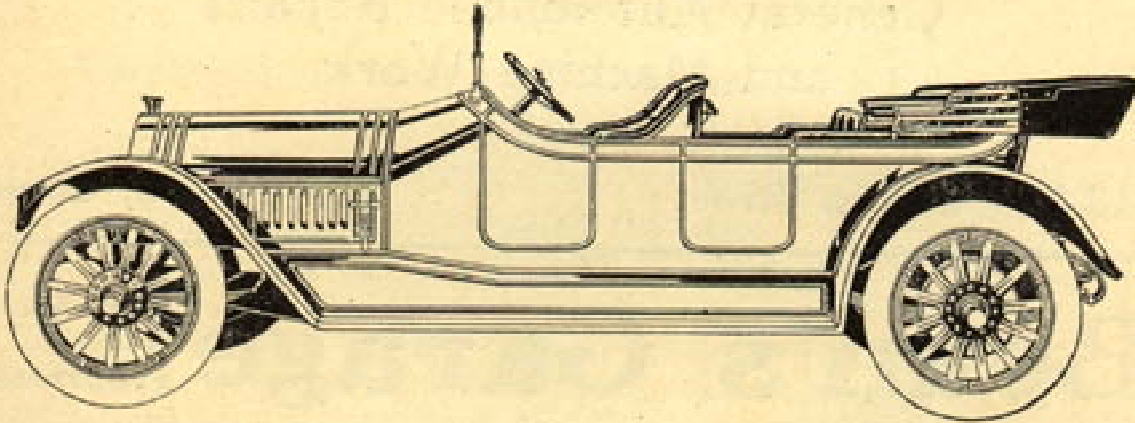
surrounded us more closely. The residential tide has surged far beyond us to the North. Business is now invading Whitney Avenue just below us, where cows pastured when we first came. A new city of apartment houses now cover vacant lots "way out" Whitney Avenue, where the Sheffield Scientific School Freshman-Junior rushes used to be fought in the good old days. (Corwin, 1946)

The construction of streetcar lines along Whitney and State Streets in the late 1880s making East Rock more convenient as a place of residence for people who worked downtown. Convenience was enhanced by the paving of Whitney Avenue, the extension of electric and gas utilities, and the advent of the automobile. By 1901, the city directory noted that the New Haven Carriage Company was manufacturing automobiles as well as "fashionable carriages"; Reichert's Mobile Company at 532 State Street proclaimed itself the sales and service agency for Mobile-Steam, Winton-Gasoline, and Waverly Electric vehicles (New Haven Directory 1901). Within a decade, the city would boast of more than 150 businesses serving the needs of automobile owners, including the East Rock Garage at the corner of Anderson and Cold Spring streets, which billed itself as the dealer for the Mitchell Automobile ("the car you ought to have at the price you ought to pay") and as "specialists in magneto and carburetor troubles" (New Haven Directory, 1913)

East Rock Garage

JOHN M. HENRY, Prop.

Agents for



The Car You Ought to Have **The Mitchell Automobile** at the Price You Ought to Pay

Automobile Repairs and Storage
Specialists on Magneto and Carburetor Troubles

Anderson and Gold Spring Sts. Telephone Connection New Haven, Conn.

An East Rock Enterprise: This advertisement from Price & Lee Company's 1913 *New Haven City Directory* features one of the hundreds of small businesses established after 1900 to serve the needs of East Rock neighborhood residents.

Shifting transportation preferences left their mark on the neighborhood's architecture. Few of the properties east of Whitney Avenue, an area developed before the advent of the automobile, have garages, though a few of the grander houses have small carriage houses. Properties to the west of Whitney, largely built up after the turn of the century, almost all have garages, many of them built in styles echoing those of the grand houses occupied by the proud owners of new automobiles.

More than anything else, new transportation technologies shifted the neighborhood's orientation from east-west to north-south. Residents were increasingly

likely to work downtown rather than in stores and factories along State Street. Their social interests tended to follow their occupations and the location of their workplaces. Until the Masonic Temple was built at 285 Whitney in the 1920s, the fraternal and sororal organizations to which thousands of New Haveners belonged were concentrated downtown, none of them, not even the Elks East Rock Lodge, No. 141, actually met in the East Rock neighborhood.

The neighborhood's shifting geographical orientation changed residents' sense of community. A division began to develop between those who worked in offices, classrooms, and businesses downtown and those who worked along the east-west axis in the stores and factories along State Street and in the industrial district between State and the harbor. Those who worked downtown, most of whom lived in the newest part of the neighborhood west of Whitney Avenue, no longer had to pass through middle and working class areas between Whitney and State to get to work. Rolling down Whitney Avenue in their automobiles or on the Connecticut Company's big yellow cars, residents had fewer opportunities to mingle.

The founding of the New Haven Lawn Club in 1891 and of the New Haven Country Club in 1898 were singular expressions of this new sensibility (Shumway, Shumway, & Hegel, 1991). Unlike the old fraternal and sororal associations and exclusive mens' clubs like the Quinnipiac and Union League, which were overwhelmingly male enclaves, the Lawn and country clubs served families, especially the prospering households of St. Ronan, Edgehill, and "big" Livingston and Everit streets. Located halfway between downtown and East Rock, the Lawn Club's location affirmed both the new North-South orientation of residents and the segmentation of the older socially integrated geographically-defined community into increasingly exclusive networks of affiliation and association.

Nonetheless, many factors sustained older unities. Until the 1930s, most children, even in the more exclusive parts of the neighborhood, attended the public schools. Yale, not yet morphed into a grandiose neo-Gothic architectural fantasy, was still very much a local institution. In 1925, Yale accepted thirty-seven students from New Haven (7% of the entering freshman class). Of these, twenty-five were graduates of New Haven High

School, most of them scholarship students. The fourteen East Rock residents entering the college reflected the extraordinary diversity of the neighborhood: along with privileged youngsters like Groton-educated Hiram Bingham of 787 Prospect Street, son of Connecticut's governor, Thomas and William Sargent of 130 Cold Spring Street, who had prepared at St. Paul's and the Thacher School respectively, were the twin sons of one of the city's leading leading industrialist, and Andover-educated Benjamin Spock of 67 Edgehill Road, son of the general counsel of the New York, New Haven, & Hartford Railroad, were young men like Lewis Aaron of 94 Linden Street, son of an immigrant furniture dealer, Bernard Brody of 518 Orange Street, son of an immigrant store keeper, and Sidney Svirksy of 143 Bradley Street, the son of an immigrant grocer -- all of whom had prepared at New Haven High School (History,1925).

Although the privileged youngsters whose families lived on Prospect, St. Ronan, Edgehill, Livingston, and Everit were more likely to attend private boarding schools than New Haven High School, they generally began their education at neighborhood public schools. Private day schools were few and far between before the 1920s. Hopkins, located before the 1930s on the present site of the Yale Law School, had fallen on hard times and does not seem to have been a popular choice for local families in the first quarter of the twentieth century.

Institutional Anchors

Although preeminently residential, the institutional presence in East Rock has been significant since the 1870s. As Yale began to grow into a national institution, rumors that it would leave its downtown location fueled intense speculation in properties to the north of Edwards Street. Speculators, among them members of Yale's faculty, projected streets paralleling St. Ronan and Prospect, a fragment of which survives as Loomis Place.

Although Yale built an observatory on the site of the present Celentano School in the 1870s, the main building of which still stands on the south side of the school, the university would not significantly encroach on the neighborhood until the 1920s, when it acquired the remaining Hillhouse properties between Sachem and Edwards streets, the area known as Pierson-Sage Square. Yale originally envisioned a complex of ornate

academic structures on the site, but lacked the funds for any grand architectural gestures. As a result that, by the 1960s, “on its most magnificent site Yale had produced its most poorly integrated, inefficient, and incoherent complex” (Brown, 1975, 141). Although boasting a few notable buildings, like the Kline Biology Tower and the Peabody Museum, the site is largely occupied by parking lots.

From the 1930s on, Yale purchased properties along Prospect Street and Whitney Avenue as they came on the market. One of its earliest purchases was the Oliver Winchester estate, to which it moved its Divinity School. (The magnificent wrought iron fence along St. Ronan Street is all that remains of the Winchester estate today.) In the 1940s, it acquired more property on Prospect Street to accommodate housing returning war veterans and married graduate students. By the 1980s, it owned almost everything between Mansfield Street and Whitney Avenue from the New Haven Green to Canner Street.

Yale’s presence has been a source of continuing controversy, especially in recent years, because of its fiscal and physical impact. From the 1890s on, citizens had been troubled by the erosion of the tax base, a particularly sore point with residents of the “great streets,” whose tax bills soared as the university grew (Dana 1937; Wareck 1985, 1985a; Hall 2000). In 1949, the City of New Haven sent Yale a tax bill for three quarters of a million dollars, based on the claim that providing houses for married veterans and their families did not constitute a valid educational use (Yale v. New Haven 1950). The courts ruled in Yale’s favor, riling not both tax reformers and architectural critics, who reviled the complex as “some of the most depressing postwar housing in New Haven” (Brown 1976, 145).

The impressive mansion built by Oliver Winchester’s partner, John Davies, proved to be another point of contention between Yale and the neighborhood. Located on the east side of Prospect Street between the Divinity School and Farnam Gardens, the building, designed by Henry Austin, New Haven’s premier Civil War-era architect, had been purchased in 1920 by the Culinary Institute of America, an institution for training chefs. The CIA, as it was known locally, sold the building to Yale in 1972. Yale wanted to tear it down, but determined opposition by the preservation community led

to a court order barring that action. In response, Yale spitefully left the magnificent structure to the mercy of the elements, human and natural. In short order, its “notable plaster ceilings, decorated with wreaths and moldings” had fallen, its “mantels in marble, brass, and varicolored woods with inlaid arabesques” had been torn from the walls, and its parquet and marble floors warped and destroyed by dampness (Brown 1976, 150). In 1990, the house was gutted by fire, though most of its exterior remained intact. After the fire, Yale was approached by a number of groups willing to restore the structure, including the producers of The Addams Family, who wanted to use it as the set for what became a phenomenally successful series of movies. But Yale refused all offers and boarded up the house, which continued to deteriorate. In the late 1990s, in response to growing neighborhood not only concerned about the condition of the building, but also the transformation of its once beautiful grounds into an area strewn with garbage, abandoned cars, and defunct appliances, the university finally began restoring the property to house a new research center on globalization.

During the 1990s, the Divinity School also became a source of contention. In the decades since the war, the school’s elegant quadrangles, modeled on Thomas Jefferson’s design for the University of Virginia, had suffered more than most of Yale’s buildings from the policy of deferred maintenance. At the same time, the university had become concerned about its declining enrollment and academic standards. In the mid-1990s, a proposal was made to move the school back downtown and to raze the existing structures. This solution succeeded in pleasing no one. Divinity School faculty and students feared the impact of the move on its unique intellectual community. Preservationists were roused by the possibility of the loss of historically and architecturally significant structures. And the neighborhood feared that the abandoned site would further expand the blight already evident on the adjoining Davies Mansion property. Angry students and faculty, along with a relative of John W. Sterling, whose gifts to Yale had underwritten the school, sued the university (Cynthia Sterling Russell et al. v. Yale University 1997). The litigants lost their case, but Yale eventually backed down and committed itself to the extensive renovations currently under way.

But Yale was only one of many institutions to which East Rock became home. In the 1870s, the Whitney family donated a large tract of land between Whitney, Prospect,

Highland, and Huntington to a Roman Catholic religious order, the Sisters of Mercy, who built the St. Francis Orphan Asylum, a huge facility that housed more than 200 children. Although the structure was razed in the 1960s, the St. Francis Home, a corporate descendant, continues to occupy the western part of the orphanage property, providing care for emotionally disturbed children. Foote School's athletic fields occupy the central portion of the property, so the voices of children at play still ring out over upper Highland Street as they have for a century and a quarter. The orphanage's beautifully-crafted sandstone retaining wall and its cobblestone driveways and stairways leading nowhere, evoke its ghostly presence.⁵

Also in the 1870s, the State of Connecticut purchased most of the block bounded by Prospect and Huntington streets and Edgehill, and East Rock roads to construct the Agricultural Experiment Station (Horsfall 1986). At the time of its establishment, New Haven County and the Town of New Haven itself were still full of farms and farmers, to whom the facility provided information about crops, pesticides, and fertilizers. (As late as the 1890s, cows still grazed in fields along Whitney Avenue north of Highland Street!) Having close ties to Yale, which had pioneered the field of agricultural chemistry, the experiment station became a national center for basic and applied studies of biochemistry and plant genetics. Although the state considered closing the station in the early 1990s, protests from the neighborhood and from citizens throughout Connecticut kept this useful facility in operation and its beautifully landscaped property and charming buildings intact, evidence that the wisdom of the station's scientists continues to be useful to suburbanized residents as they fret about soil quality, pesticides, and battles with termites and carpenter ants

As the economic distress of the 1930s and changing lifestyles made the large houses on Prospect and St. Ronan streets unaffordable or unsuitable for residential use, the institutional presence in the neighborhood increased. In the 1920s, the Dominican Sisters founded Albertus Magnus College to serve the growing demand by Catholic women for higher education. Originally located in the palatial Louis Stoddard house, described by architectural historian Elizabeth Mills Brown as "New Haven's grandest house," the college acquired nearby mansions as it expanded after the second World War, including the George Berger house at 810 Prospect, the Victor Tyler House at 711

Prospect, and grand houses on upper Huntington and Ogden Streets. The Human Relations Area Files, an international research center, purchased the splendid Tudor-style Austin Cheney House at 755 Prospect. The Cedarhurst School, an educational adjunct of Yale-New Haven's Psychiatric Hospital, acquired the handsome home of New Haven Register publisher at 871 Prospect.

By the 1970s, the area of Prospect Street between Highland and Edwards, once the city's toniest residential area, became its most intensively institutionalized. On the east side of the street, the Winchester, Davies, Taft, and Farnum mansions were replaced by Yale's Divinity School, The Day-Prospect School, and the Culinary Institute of America.⁶ The east side of the street, the gracious homes of John Schwab (310 Prospect), Charles Edward Amory Winslow (314 Prospect), Othniel Marsh (360 Prospect), Burton Twitchell (406 Prospect), Samuel York (500 Prospect), were taken over by the Gessell Institute of Child Development, International Student Center, the Yale School of Forestry, and the Overseas Ministries Center, with the interstices filled by apartments and offices

Perhaps the most notable institutional presence in the neighborhood after Yale was the Foote School. Foote was one of many proprietary and cooperative schools organized by upper class women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the nineteenth century, (Benjamin Spock's mother had run such a short-lived enterprise on Edwards Street for her children and those of like-minded friends, who shared her ideas about the value of fresh air and spartan diet; Mrs. Clive Day's school, originally located at the corner of Edwards and Livingston, would eventually move to its own campus on Prospect Street; the Gateway School for Girls, originally located at 404 Whitney, would eventually move to St. Ronan Terrace, before expiring in the 1960s.

Foote was actually started by Helen Blake, widow of James Kingsley Blake, in her home at 58 Huntington Street, serving a small group of neighborhood children.⁷ In 1916, Martha Babcock Foote, a Bryn Mawr alumna (Class of '02) and wife of Yale chemistry professor Harry Ward Foote, learned that Mrs. Blake was looking for someone to take over her school. Martha, then living at 209 Livingston, jumped at the chance. Offered space by one of Blake's neighbors, architect Charles Palmer, she moved

her clutch of pupils, which included her own three children, into a room over the Palmer garage at 150 Huntington Street. In 1919, the school moved to the Henry Seidel Canby House at 105 East Rock Road. Between 1919 and 1923, it moved twice more, first to the Bennett Winchester house at 76 Everit, then to the Eugenia Morris house at 230 Prospect.

Finally, in June 1923, Mrs. Foote was able to purchase the old Messena Clark carriage house at 315 St. Ronan, where the school remained until 1958. Unlike today's Foote, whose main constituency lives in the suburbs, the school was, through the 1970s, very much a neighborhood institution. The group that financed the purchase of the carriage house, which styled itself Edgehill Associates, Inc., included lawyer Victor Tyler of 760 Prospect, banker Pierce Welch of 251 East Rock Road, and widow Mary B. Gray, who lived at 255 Lawrence. The teachers were also neighbors: the early staff included Mrs. Frederick E. Beach (177 Livingston), Emily Beecher (123 Canner), Anna Berdan (71 Edgehill), Mrs. Ethel Carmalt (261 St. Ronan), and Winifred Sturley (226 Lawrence). Students were likewise the children of neighbors: early photographs show them to be residents of Bishop, Canner, Cold Spring, Edgehill, Livingston, Prospect, and St. Ronan.

Foote stayed at 315 St. Ronan until 1958, when it built its new campus on the west side of Loomis Place. Although Foote still commands the loyalty of the East Rock families that can afford its tuition, the school today overwhelmingly serves a suburban constituency – like so many of New Haven's educational and cultural institutions.

Today, East Rock boasts the highest density of educational, cultural, and health and social service providers in New Haven. These include such educational institutions, such as the private Foote, St. Thomas, Cedarhurst, and Elm City New School; such public schools as Celentano, Hooker, East Rock, Wilbur Cross, and Wilbur Cross Annex; nursery schools, such as Bethesda, Calvin Hill, Leila Day, and Edith B. Jackson; and institutions of higher education, including Alburus Magnus College and the Berkeley and Yale divinity schools. In addition to twenty two religious congregations, the neighborhood is also home to such research centers as the Human Relations Area Files and Yale's Institute of Sacred Music and Program on Non-Profit

Organizations; such human service providers as the Alcohol Services Organization of South Central Connecticut, American Red Cross, Catholic Family Services of Greater New Haven, Clifford Beers Clinic, Continuum of Care, Gesell Institute, Greenbriar, Marrakech, National Federation of the Blind of Connecticut, Oxford House, Post Traumatic Stress Center, Prime Research Clinic, Reachout, Sage Services of Connecticut, Sexual Assault Crisis Service of Connecticut, South Center Criminal Justice Administration, St. Francis Home for Children, There's No Place Like Home, Women's Health Services/Hill Health Center, and an uncounted number of group homes and halfway houses. The neighborhood also is home to the Connecticut and New Haven medical associations, the Connecticut Psychotherapists Guild, the Teacher Center. Connecticut Self-Help Network, Consultation Center, Community Action by Students Together, the national headquarters of the Daughter of Isabella, the women's auxiliary of the Knights of Columbus, and such twelve step groups as Alcoholics Anonymous, that gather in church basements throughout the neighborhood.

Reflecting similar trends in the city, the number of religious congregations in East Rock has grown astonishingly: in 1935, there were only nine; today there are twenty two (not counting the Divinity School Chapel and the Berkeley Center, where religious services are held daily). The neighborhood's congregations have been anything but stable. Six of the nine extant in 1935 survive, though not necessarily in the same location. Newer congregations occupy edifices abandoned by older ones: Shiloh Missionary Baptist (100 Lawrence) occupies the old First Swedish Baptist church; St. James Unity Holiness (79 Lawrence) has taken over the First English Lutheran building; Swedish Evangelical Bethesda (855 State) is now occupied by the Glad Tidings Tabernacle; the ultramodern building built by the Christian Scientists in 1950 (749 Whitney) is now home to the Whitney Christian Life Center, an evangelical congregation; Humphrey Street Congregational (355 Humphrey) houses the Seventh Day Adventists, who share the edifice with a new Baptist congregation. Sharing facilities is not uncommon: Christ Presbyterian, a newly founded conservative congregation, has been worshipping in the Divinity School chapel, pending completion of its new building at 135 Whitney; the Korean Presbyterians worship in Bethesda Lutheran.⁸ These new congregations, though located in the neighborhood, are not neighborhood churches, Their members come from throughout the city and its suburbs.

In this respect they resemble the secular nonprofits that have flocked to East Rock to take advantage of free parking on its residential streets and its relative safety and security.

The gravitation of these secular and religious nonprofits to East Rock, which has larger percentage of such organizations than any other neighborhood in the city, along with the expansion of commercial and office uses, has inevitably given rise to conflict. In the 1960s, Ronan-Edgehill organized in opposition to plans to locate the Celentano School on the orphanage property. In the 1970s, neighbors on both sides of Whitney Avenue opposed efforts to run an extension of I-91 through East Rock Park. Within the past decade, citizens have litigated with group homes, negotiated with day schools about traffic and parking, agitated against the city's plans to expand or relocate public schools and to demolish historic houses, struggled with the Water Authority over the demolition of the Whitneyville Slow Sand Filter, and, most recently, convened heated discussions about plans to locate an abortion clinic on Whitney Avenue. As one of the few neighborhoods in the city in which the majority of houses are owner-occupied and in which, with the exception of the destruction caused by I-91, the buildings and streets do not bear the scars of urban renewal, it is easy to understand why East Rock has been willing to zealously defend its residential character.

Industrial Anchors

Despite the neighborhood's overall residential character, industry has always been an important part of East Rock. Eli Whitney (1765-1825) established his industrial plantation here in the 1790s. It grew in the 1860s, when his son, Eli Whitney, Jr. (1820-1894), built the present high dam at Mill Rock to power his consolidated manufacturing plant and to store water for the New Haven Water Company, which he organized and built. When the original water-powered pumps proved inadequate to the task of moving water to the distribution reservoir on Prospect Hill, the company built installed steam-powered pumps in a pump house on Armory Street. At the turn of the century, the steam pumps were replaced by electrical ones. In the days before electric refrigeration, ice was harvested from Lake Whitney and stored in a commodious ice house opposite the current site of Hamden Hall school.



Horse-drawn Construction Equipment, Armory Street, 1902. These horse-drawn graders and roller are doing site preparation for the construction of the Whitneyville Slow Sand Filter. In the background is the then coal-fired Whitneyville Pumping Station with its 90 foot smoke-stack. To the left of the pumping station is one of the houses built by Eli Whitney in the 1790s as residences for workers in the Whitney Armory.

Photograph courtesy of the South Central Regional Water Authority

At the beginning of the twentieth century, in response to a deadly typhoid epidemic, the water company built its slow sand filter, a massive bunker-like structure constructed with reinforced concrete (Hall 1993). Designed by civil engineer Charles Ferry, who would go on to design the Yale Bowl, the filtration plant used the same design principles as the bowl: a deep excavation lined with reinforced concrete. Because of the scale of the project – and the experimental state of reinforced concrete building technology --, construction of the plant took four years. The slow sand filter, which was razed in the spring of 2001, will be replaced by a new, state-of-the-art plant – one in keeping with the neighborhood’s character, thanks to the Water Authority’s receptiveness to the concerns of neighbors.

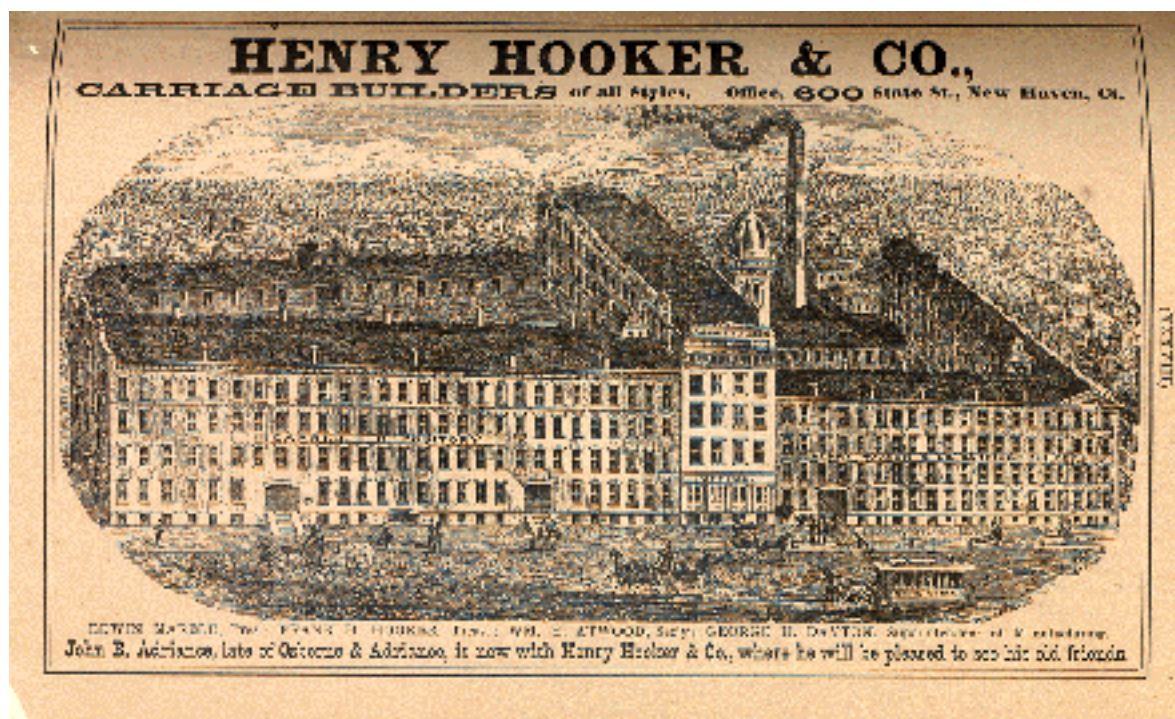
Although the Whitney Armory shut its doors in the early 1890s, the site continued to be used intensively for industrial purposes for another seventy years. For two decades, it served as a nursery for new industries like the Acme Wire Company, which eventually built its own complex at the corner of Dixwell and Putnam avenues, and Rockbestos, which later moved to Nicoll Street. The inventor J. Allen Heany arrived on the site in 1907 and established an industrial laboratory that made inventions to order for the automotive and electrical industries. The Heany Manufacturing Company, which made specialty industrial ceramics, occupied the site until the early 1970s.

Until the mid-1960s, the industrial complex built by Eli Whitney, Jr., during the Civil War remained largely intact. Its increasingly dilapidated condition led the Water Company to demolish all of the buildings on the site except one of the fuel storage sheds (the only building from the original Whitney armory of the 1790s), a small Victorian-style office building dating from the 1880s, and the early twentieth century Heany Building, which was still being used as a factory. The commodious barn and charming federal period boarding house, which had been built under the senior Whitney's supervision, continued to be used by the Water Company as rental housing and for storage.

The same gentrifying spirit that had led to the revival of the Ronan-Edgehill and North Edgehill neighborhoods in the 1960s and 1970s persuaded the Water Company to search for other more suitable uses for the property. Following the national bicentennial of 1976, during which archeological excavations demonstrated the historic importance of the site, the company, itself in transition from being a privately-owned utility to a public corporation, encouraged local history enthusiasts to organize a museum to preserve and interpret this cradle of American industry (Cooper & Lindsay 1980). Although the effort was slowed by scant funding, neighborhood disagreements over the museum's focus, and a devastating flood, the museum finally opened its doors in the fall of 1984 (Hall and Cooper 1984).

There have been other noteworthy industrial presences in East Rock, including the G.F. Warner & Company, manufacturers of "malleable and gray iron" and hardware, whose factory appears in the 1879 bird's-eye view map, located on Willow

Street near its present-day intersection with Mitchell Drive. The site would eventually be occupied by Rockbestos, an insulation manufacturer. The Marlin Arms Company, moved to Willow Street in the late 1880s and built the handsome complex, which it still owns, though it is now used for offices. The factory at the intersection of State, Mechanic, and Lawrence Streets, whose facade's, decorated with concrete ornamentation in the art deco style, has passed through a succession of owners, including the National Pipe Bending Company and Star Supply, since its construction in the 1920s. Early in the century, the Hygienic Ice Company built the imposing structure at 881 State Street that now houses state agencies and the offices of Citizen's Television. The Lehmann Brothers engraving firm, still very much in business, moved to corner of Foster and Canner streets in the late 1920s.



Henry Hooker & Company Carriage Factory, State Street, 1883. This impressive edifice was typical of the large-scale manufacturing plants that flourished in New Haven when it was the Detroit of the carriage industry. The industry took root in the city when carriage makers began applying Eli Whitney's manufacturing techniques to their trade, using interchangeable parts and power-driven tools to mass produce horse-drawn vehicles. Many carriage makers lived in East Rock

These factories were, before the construction of I-91, the western and northern edges of a larger industrial district that occupied the area between State Street, the Quinnipiac River, and the harbor. Hence, the eastern part of the neighborhood, the present day Ninth Ward, has always been more working class in orientation than other parts of East Rock. Certainly the industrial presence accounts for the remarkable clustering of pre-Prohibition era saloons adjacent to the factories. In 1913, the blocks along State Street between East and Ferry and on the side streets just off State boasted seven establishments where working men could slake their outsized thirsts. Of these, Archie Moore's on Willow Street, which dates from the 1890s, is the sole survivor.⁹

Turning Point

The 1930s marked a turning point for East Rock for a variety of reasons, first and foremost because the prosperity of the preceding decade had fueled the completion of the area's development. With the exception of the lots on Ogden and Cliff streets that would come on the market after the breakup of the Eli Whitney III estate in the mid-1920s and properties that would become available when the New Haven Water Company demolished its old distribution reservoir on the present site of Reservoir Street and Beechwood Lane, there were no more large tracts of land available for development.

Fully settled, East Rock's distinctive character began to crystallize. The Institute of Human Relations' Handbook of Social Statistics of New Haven (1936) gives an interesting overview of the neighborhood and its people and shows how different it had become from the rest of the city. To begin with, as noted, it was overwhelmingly residential, nearly 80 percent of its land area being devoted to residential purposes. East Rock's 3,905 dwelling units were more likely to be owner-occupied than those in other parts of the city, although they represented a range of housing types – 945 single family residences, 2,359 two or three family flats, and 601 apartments, which the handbook defined as “a building in which each dwelling unit has independent and complete housekeeping facilities” and in which the entire building is heated by a single heating plant. The median value of East Rock homes, which ranged from \$8,415 to \$20,000, was generally higher than the citywide average of \$9,190. Rents, which ranged from \$34.95 to \$73.74 per month, were considerably higher than the citywide average of \$30.98.

Although East Rock's 15,680 residents were more likely to be native whites (77 percent in East Rock versus 72 percent for the city as a whole) with native white parents (39 percent versus 28 percent), its melting pot character was evident in the fact that more than 60 percent of East Rock residents were of foreign or mixed parentage. In contrast to the rest of the city, which was nearly 60 percent Roman Catholic, the loyalties of East Rock residents in 1930 were evenly divided between Catholics and Protestants (40 percent each), with 10 percent professing Judaism and the remainder expressing no religious preference. East Rock residents were almost three times as likely to have attended college than the city average (21 percent versus 8 percent). It was evidently a neighborhood of high achievers, since some 70 percent of the New Haveners listed in Who's Who in America lived in East Rock, along with 26 percent of the city's lawyers and 24% of the city's physicians. Residents were less than half as likely to be on relief (11 percent versus 24 percent) and more likely than the city as a whole to own luxury items like radios.

Despite East Rock's apparent prosperity, residents were surprisingly vulnerable to the economic downturn of the 1930s . The Depression appears to have struck affluent families on Whitney, St. Ronan, and Edgehill particularly hard. Many of the houses in Ronan-Edgehill were the products of a speculative boom in residential real estate. Large houses purchased at well above their actual value proved unmarketable when their owners, unemployed or suffering declining income, tried to sell them. Through the 1930s, New Haven led the state in foreclosures.¹⁰ Many foreclosed East Rock houses were purchased at bargain prices by speculators, who broke them into apartments and offices or converted them into rooming houses. In 1930, Whitney Avenue was almost entirely residential. By 1960, virtually every property between Trumbull and Cottage Streets had been converted to office use and the majority of houses north of Cottage converted to apartments. Even St. Ronan Street deteriorated during this period. Typical was the handsome Samuel Kirby house at 257 St. Ronan, which, after housing a succession of Yale faculty families, passed into the hands a speculator in 1945. who turned it into a rooming house and let the property deteriorate (Sokal 1980, 5). By the 1960s, the number of homes housing illegal roomers had become so great that one of the first acts of the newly-formed Ronan-Edgehill Neighborhood Association was a midnight police raid to evict the occupants of these illegal boarding houses.

Visitors to the neighborhood today, viewing East Rock's charming houses and tree-lined streets, cannot imagine the struggles of residents over the years to defend the neighborhood against perceived and actual threats. Former alderman William Lee Miller's memoir, The Fifteenth Ward and the Great Society: An Encounter with the Modern City (1966), gives a remarkable account of the neighborhood during a period of intense upheaval. East Rock, like other predominantly white middle-class urban neighborhoods during the 1960s felt besieged by liberal social policies, rising crime and taxes, and deteriorating schools and municipal services. Infused with spirit of what Miller calls "populist conservatism," East Rock stridently resisted the city's efforts to bus its children to schools outside of the neighborhood and to introduce scatter site housing for blacks displaced by urban renewal in other parts of the city. This spirit of civic activism was not entirely negative. Pressure from civic groups compelled the city to enforce its zoning ordinances in order to eliminate illegal rooming houses, stopped the conversion of residences to offices on Whitney Avenue, and prevented the destruction of East Rock Park by a proposed extension of I-91 and halted Yale's efforts to raze the historic Davies Mansion.

The net effect of these struggles has been the preservation of a neighborhood that is diverse and balanced in character. Although only seven percent of East Rock's residents were African Americans in 1990, the mix of races and ethnicities gave it a heterogeneity not often seen in other parts of New Haven. At the same time, it sustained a healthy mix commercial, office, and residential uses of property. During the 1920s and 30s, Orange Street began to develop commercially. In 1913, the only commercial establishment on Orange Street north of Trumbull was the Hall-Benedict Drug Store; by 1935, between Trumbull and Cold Spring, there were seven grocery stores (including three First National and one A & P chain stores), three cleaners, two confectionary stores, a shoemaker, a restaurant, and a beauty shop. Few of these remain today: most of the former commercial properties have returned to residential use, while the remaining ones – converted to up-scale delis, greengrocers, or coffee shops – serve the needs of neighborhood residents. Hall-Benedict, the city's oldest drug store, endures despite modern drug chains, supported by a loyal neighborhood constituency. Industry, which once flourished in the neighborhood, disappeared with the closing of Rockbestos in the early 1990s.

Murder and Mayhem

As a historically middle class, largely residential neighborhood, East Rock has had a less colorful past than other parts of the city. But what it has lacked in quantity, it may have made up for in notoriety.

Certainly the Whitneyville Disaster of March 1, 1861, was an extraordinary event. Eli Whitney, Jr., then in the midst of rebuilding his dam, was operating his armory, normally water-powered, with steam engines. Shortly before noon an engine boiler burst, with a roar that could be heard in downtown New Haven, two miles away. The main factory building was almost entirely destroyed. The New Haven Daily Palladium reported on the “very curious sight” of “men and boys crawling out from the frightful mass of wood and iron.” Six workers were injured. One of them, John E. Hall, a twenty-three year old machinist who had been standing beside the head of the boiler at the time of the explosion, was “very severely scalded over his entire body.” After two agonizing days, he died.

In the meantime, exaggerated reports of the calamity spread through the city. “It was said,” the Palladium reported, “that seven or eight men were killed, that more were in the ruins, and that the ruins and surrounding buildings were in flames.” A crowd of several hundred persons, on foot and in carriages, headed for Whitneyville to help or to gawk. Two city fire companies, including the new steam pumper, headed down muddy Whitney Avenue. The one dividend of the disaster was that, when the millpond was drained to fight the fire, “hundreds of very handsome pickerell were taken by hand in the shallow water. Friday was well kept – piscatorily – in that section.”

Over the next few days, the Palladium reported Hall’s death, along with efforts to collect money to pay for his burial and succor his widow and two young children: “Mr. C.S. Hubbard, the bookkeeper for Mr. Whitney, was in the office last night to show us a subscription list for the benefit of Mrs. Samuel Hall, whose husband was killed by the explosion.” The paper reported that “Mr. Eli Whitney heads the list with a liberal amount, and a great many of those employed in the factory have contributed according to their means.” By October, enough had been collected to erect a monument to the young worker, which can still be seen in the Whitneyville Cemetery.¹¹

It would be another forty years before anything as exciting as the boiler explosion would happen in East Rock and, when it did, the event would remain largely unknown until a decade later with the publication of Trumbull Street resident Clifford Beers's memoir, The Mind that Found Itself (1908). Beers (1876-1943) lived with his parents and siblings in a four story townhouse at 32 Trumbull Street. After graduating from Yale in 1897, he had taken a job with a New York insurance company. In June of 1900, plagued by increasingly disturbing mental symptoms, he return to New Haven. Preoccupied with thoughts of suicide, he took to his bed on the fourth floor of the townhouse to deliberate the best way to kill himself. He weighed the possibility of rowing on Lake Whitney "in the most unstable boat obtainable," a craft "that could be easily upset. . . so I could bequeath to relatives and friends a sufficient number of reasonable doubts to rob my death of the usual stigma" (Beers 1938, 15). "On Sunday, June 23," Beers wrote,

dinner having been served, my mother entered the room and asked me if she should bring me some dessert. I assented. It was not that I cared for the dessert; I had no appetite. I wished to get her out of the room, for I believed myself to be on the verge of another attack. She left at once. I knew that in tow or three minutes she would return. The crisis seemed at hand. It was now or never for liberation. She had probably descended one of the three flights of stairs when, with the mad desire to dash my brains out on the pavement below, I rushed to the window which was directly over the flag walk. Providence must have guided my movements, for in some unaccountable way, on the very point of hurling myself out bodily, I chose to drop feet foremost instead. With my fingers I clung for a moment to the sill. Then I let go. In falling my body turned so as to bring my right side toward the building. I struck the ground a little more than two feet from the foundation of the house, and at least three feet to the left of the point from which I started. Missing the stone pavement, I struck on comparatively soft earth. (17-18)

Beers broke some bones in his feet, but was otherwise unharmed. His family, needless to say, was alarmed by his defenestration. "It was squarely in front of the dining room window that I fell," Beers continued,

and those at dinner were, of course, startled. It took them a second or two to realize what had happened. Then my younger brother rushed out, and with others, carried me into the house. Naturally that dinner was permanently interrupted. (20).

Beers was taken to Grace Hospital, where doctors had no trouble recognizing his delusional state. In the meantime, his madness deepened. "Had my health been good," he wrote,

I should at this time have been participating in the Triennial [reunion] of my class at Yale. . . . The class reunions were held on Tuesday, June 26 – three days after my collapse. Those familiar with Yale customs know that the Harvard baseball game is one of the chief events of the commencement season. Headed by brass bands, all the classes whose reunions fall the same year march to the Yale Athletic Field to see the game and renew their youth. . . . These classes, with their bands and cheering, accompanied by thousands of other vociferating enthusiasts, march through West Chapel Street – the most direct rout from the Campus to the Field. It is upon this line of march that Grace Hospital is situated, and I know that on the day of the game the Yale thousands would pass the scene of my incarceration. (25)

Believing himself to be accused of "the criminal charge of attempted suicide," Beers imagined, as the days passed, that

many and other worse charges had accumulated. The public believed me the most despicable member of my race. The papers were filled with accounts of my misdeeds. The thousands of collegians gathered in the city, many of whom I knew personally, loathed the very thought that a Yale man should so disgrace his Alma Mater. And when they approached the hospital on their way to the Athletic Field, I concluded that it was their intention to take me from my bed, and there tear me limb from limb (25).

Thus began a downward spiral that brought Beers from expensive private clinics to the back wards of a state hospital, as physicians regarded his recovery as increasingly unlikely and his family's patience and finances were exhausted. With each downward step, he was subjected to the abuse and neglect that characterized the treatment of penniless mental patients at the turn of the century.

Beers eventually recovered and became America's preeminent spokesman for reforming treatment of the mentally ill. The "mental hygiene movement," to which he devoted his life, received major support from private philanthropists and had a profound impact on medical treatment of the mentally ill and on public policy (Dain 1980). It seems only fitting and proper that the house from which Beers threw himself should now be surrounded by psychiatrists' offices, anchoring the Boulevard of Broken Dreams.

One of the real mysteries of East Rock is the remarkable coincidence in the lives of the lead suspects in the most notorious unsolved New Haven murders of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: both of whom lived at the same St. Ronan Street address. The elegant brick Tudor Revival mansion at 305 St. Ronan was built in 1915 for Walter E. Malley, chairman of the board of the Edward Malley Company, New Haven's leading department store. A quarter century before moving to the neighborhood, he and his cousin, Jimmy Malley, had stood trial for the murder of the beautiful young daughter of a Grand Avenue cigar maker.

The case broke early on the morning of Friday, August 5, 1881, when "a white object on a nearby sandbar, swaying back and forth with the incoming tide," caught the eye of Asahel Curtiss, a "grizzled, middle-aged oysterman" (McConnell 1999, 128). He was "shocked to discover the body of a young girl face down in the shallow water" (128). The victim proved to be Jennie Cramer, the twenty-one year old daughter of an immigrant tobacconist. The body showed no signs of decomposition. Initial medical examination revealed that she had not drowned (there was no water in her lungs) and had lost her virginity within the twenty-four hours preceding her death. It was later discovered that her body contained potentially fatal amounts of arsenic – though experts could not agree on whether it had been self-administered. Further investigation determined that Jennie had last been seen in the company of cousins Walter and James Malley, both in their twenties, and Blanche Douglass, a young woman from New York.

The Malleys were scions of one of New Haven's most prominent Irish-American families. Edward Malley, Walter's father, had arrived in New York in 1847 and had found his way to New Haven in 1855. Starting with a stake of \$240, he went on to build "a clothing empire throughout New England around a flagship store in New Haven" (146). Like the Kennedy family of later days, the Malleys were very much a clan: Edward's expanding business always seemed to have remunerative positions available for his brothers and their children and, blood being thicker than water, he spared no expense to ensure that his son and nephew had the best possible legal defense.

At the outset, the prosecution appeared to have a powerful circumstantial case, aided by the fact that the Malleys had been less than straightforward in responding to

detectives' questions. Young Walter and his cousin Jimmy had, it seems, earned reputations for wildness. It turned out that their companion at the time of the murder, Blanche Douglass (a.k.a. Anna Kearns or Annie Clements, as she variously called herself) had a checkered past. The Malley boys had met her at Lizzie Bundy's, a notorious New York brothel and had brought her back to entertain them in New Haven. At their trial, the prosecution, while ostensibly seeking to establish the boys' whereabouts on during the hours leading up to Jennie Cramer's death, made a point of calling witnesses who could offer lurid details of their drinking and womanizing. The defense fought back by bribing initially hostile witnesses to give less incriminating testimony. Whiling away the months in jail, Walter read novels and wrote a waltz, "Under the Elms," which was published during the trial.

The conduct and outcome of the Jennie Cramer case was inevitably shaped by the ethnic and class tensions of a growing New England industrial city.¹² At the time, New Haven's immigrant community was sharply divided between the Germans and the Irish united in their resentment of the privileged and worried about the safety of their children, especially their daughters, in an increasingly insalubrious urban environment. For some, the beautiful victim was a symbol of innocent virtue despoiled. For others, she was the spoiled and willful product of parental indulgence and weakness in the face of youthful rebellion.

Ultimately, the weakness of the prosecution's case and, some said, lavish distributions of Malley money, led to the boys' acquittal. The tale ended tragically for the Cramers. Jennie's father committed suicide during the trial, her mother hung herself a few years later, and her sister died of tuberculosis. All were buried in unmarked graves in the potter's field at Evergreen Cemetery. Walter and Jimmy, on the other hand, lived happily ever after. Jimmy was rusticated to with relatives in Pennsylvania. Walter stayed in New Haven and continued to work in his father's store, assuming its presidency on Edward's death in 1909. According to Virginia McConnell, whose *Arsenic under the Elms: Murder in Victorian New Haven* (1999) recently retold the story of the scandal, Walter may have also ultimately married his Blanche (or Anna or Annie) and, if the story is true, they lived out their lives in the splendid mansion he built at 305 St. Ronan Street in 1915. She died in 1944, he three years later.

By amazing coincidence, 305 St. Ronan, by then housing the offices of Bethesda Lutheran Church and half a dozen small apartments, would be the residence of James van de Veld, the lead suspect in the unsolved murder of Yale senior Suzanne Jovin.

On an unseasonably warm winter evening early in December 1998, police found the body of a young woman at the intersection of Edgehill and East Rock roads (Johnson 1998a). She had been stabbed seventeen times. Police could find no clues to the identity of the perpetrator, not even a murder weapon. Police searched for physical evidence, interrogated possible witnesses, and attempted to reconstruct her last hours. From the force and number of stab wounds, they assumed it to be a crime of passion. By the following week, although there were no strong leads to her killer, police announced that they had narrowed the range of the investigation to males living within three blocks of where her body was found (Johnson 1998b).

Just as pressure from New Haven's ethnic communities led the police to hasty conclusions based on circumstantial evidence in the Cramer case in 1881, so pressure from the Jovin family and the university fueled a rush to judgment. 1998 had not been a good year for Yale. The arrest of a senior professor and college master as a child molester and pornographer and continuing battles with the preservation community and community activists concerned about the university's continuing expansion and destruction of historic properties had battered its reputation. Under the circumstances, particularly because it was in the midst of a major fundraising effort, the last thing Yale wanted was the widely publicized murder of an undergraduate to remain unsolved. A quick resolution of the matter, even if the perpetrator turned out to be a member of the university community, would be preferable to protracted speculation.¹³

Within days of the crime, investigators and the university were leaking information to the press about a suspect, Jovin's senior thesis advisor, James van de Velde, who lived at 305 St. Ronan Street, three blocks from the crime scene (Francescani & Neumann 1998 ; "Yale Prof Quizzed" 1998; Johnson 1998b). Rumors ran rampant. The suspect allowed police to search his apartment and his car and offered to take a lie

detector test. The searches turned up nothing suspicious. But because van de Velde had no alibi witnesses to vouch for his whereabouts at the time of the murder, nothing he could do or say could stem the flow of misinformation. Yale added to the atmosphere of suspicion by cancelling van de Velde's courses. In ensuing months, federal authorities lent their expertise to the investigation, as did the celebrated forensic scientist Henry Lee who, on the anniversary of the crime, staged a highly publicized reenactment (Beach 1999).

Through the two years following the crime, the "prime suspect" courageously defended his reputation. He continued to live on St. Ronan Street and go about his life. But he eventually gave up and left town. At least Walter and Jimmy Malley had the satisfaction of a trial and vindication. Despite the \$150,000 reward offered for information leading to the arrest of a perpetrator, no evident sufficient to present to a grand jury has come to light and van de Velde continues to live under the shadow unfounded accusation.¹⁴

In Small Things Remembered

Getting beyond our own immediate experience of community and neighborhood is not easy. Our experience of community is largely defined by our circles of acquaintance and even what we see is largely limited by idiosyncratic itineraries shaped by the exigencies of childcare, schooling, work, and shopping. Freud's analogy between the persistence of memory and the archaeology of urban life inspired me to spend weeks wandering, 1879 birds-eye view map in hand, up and down the streets between the Mill River, Prospect and Trumbull streets, and the Hamden town line.

I was surprised by how much of East Rock's remote past survives. The great stone wheels that ground corn at Mill Rock from the 1640s to the 1780s still lean against the dam, where Eli Whitney, Jr. put them in 1861. White clay pipe stems and shards of Staffordshire and earthenware ceramics turned up in the ploughed earth near the baseball diamond at Blake Field. The neighborhood's oldest school, built in the 1860s, still stands, concealed beneath modern sheathing, opposite the Clifford Beers Clinic on the south side of Edwards Street. The great oaks, planted by James Abraham Hillhouse

in the 1820s and 30s, still shade the neighborhood. And hundreds of houses dating back to pre-Civil War times are occupied by today's residents.

The physical artifacts proved to be more enduring than the memories of those who produced them. Few people are now alive whose memories stretch back much earlier than the first World War and, thanks to mortality and mobility, few of these remain in the neighborhood. Direct experience of the nineteenth century is entirely lost to us. While there are memoirs and biographies of neighborhood notables, most of those who lived here left few traces and few descendants.¹⁵

Occasionally residents happen upon clues to the past, like this photograph, that are both intensely evocative and at the same time powerful reminders of how thoroughly the past keeps its secrets. Taken during the summer of 1900, it shows Lawrence Street, looking west towards Whitney Avenue and to the street's continuation between Whitney and St. Ronan. Neither the New Haven Medical Society (built as the Tilton residence and completed in March of 1901) nor 297 Lawrence (built in 1903) had been constructed, but one can catch sight of 305 and 307 Lawrence, both built in the early 1890s, as well as a now-vanished structure that stood on the site of 190 St. Ronan.



Lawrence Street in 1900: Looking west along Lawrence Street towards Whitney Avenue on a summer day at the turn of the nineteenth century. This picture was printed from negative found in the basement of 240 Lawrence. *Courtesy of Bruce Altman and Darcy McGraw.*

The picture is so vivid, we can almost step into it. It is noon on a quiet summer day. Not an automobile is in sight (there were very few of them in turn of the century New Haven). A horse stands in the traces of a delivery wagon (note the hitching posts in front of every house). Along Whitney Avenue, the Consolidated's big yellow fifteen bench open cars are carrying passengers to and from downtown. The occasional clang of their bells is probably the only sound breaking the silence of this magical scene.

But who is this girl? What is her name? Who is taking the picture? Was it for a special occasion? Neither this nor any of the five other negatives found in the basement at 240 Lawrence provide a clue. The other photographs show this subject with another female friend of the same age, two young men, and an older man. One shot shows an

interior, the front parlor of 240 Lawrence, sparsely furnished, but riotous with houseplants. City directories for the period hint at who the older man may be and one can guess that at least one of the young women was his daughter. But because the directories give only the name of the head of household, her name and those of the other subjects in this set of pictures are lost to us beyond finding.

Author's Note: Parts of this essay were presented as a magic lantern show to an East Rock community festival in Bethesda Lutheran Church in the fall of 2000. I am grateful to Bruce and Darcy Altman for sharing their beautiful and mysterious photographs of Lawrence Street at the turn-of-the-century. One of the ironies encountered in writing this essay was the fact that it appears to be far easier to do research on century-old events, like the Jennie Cramer case, than more recent ones like the Suzanne Jovin murder. Users of the archive feature on the New Haven Register's and Hartford Courant's websites will search in vain for any of the initial coverage of the case.

Endnotes

1. The question of who our neighbor is is a perennial conundrum of social life in communities. In Luke 10:29-37, Jesus answered the lawyer who asked "who is my neighbor?" with a parable of the good Samaritan.
2. The Yale pageant of 1916, commemorating the college's relocation to New Haven, was as much a civic event as a university one. Participants included congregations (Catholic St. Mary's, Congregationalists -- Church of the Redeemer, Grand Avenue, United, First, Davenport, Pilgrim, and Taylor --, Trinity Episcopal, and Mishkin Israel); fraternal and sororal organizations (Improved Order of Red Men, Ninegret Tribe, Degree of Pocahontas, Universal Sunshine Society); patriotic organizations (Colonial Dames, Daughters of the American Revolution); veterans groups (Grand Army of the Republic, Sons of Veterans, United Spanish War Veterans); military companies (Governor's Foot Guard, New Haven Grays, Troop A, Connecticut National Guard, and the Naval Militia); youth groups (St Paul's Girls' Friendship League, Young Women's Christian Association, Camp Fire Girls, United Workers' Boys' Club, and "boys from the Grammar and High Schools of New Haven), and an assortment of other voluntary associations (Association of Collegiate Alumni, New Haven Caledonian Club, Catholic Ladies Society, Equal Franchise League, P.O.U. Social Club, New Haven Police Department, Savin Rock Hose Company, New Haven Alumni Association) (Nettleton 1916). Published simultaneously with the university's Book of the Yale Pageant was a two volume set titled A Modern History of New Haven and Eastern New Haven County (Hill 1916) which celebrated the civic vision of leaders endeavoring to unify an increasingly diverse population.
3. For a wonderful account of the domestic and civic activities of the Hillhouse family, see Karen Kauffman's 1996 in the Journal of the New Haven Colony Historical Society.
4. As Hillhouse described the renaming of the estate in his 1838 poem, Sachem's Wood:

So farewell Highwood! -- "Highwood-Park"
O'ersteps the democratic mark:
We never gave it, or desired,
We never owned it, or admired.
A Yankee -- Whig -- and gentleman,
Should be a plain republican (14).
4. The first reference to St. Ronan in connection with the neighborhood can be found in the opening lines of Sachem's Wood:

How changed, how softened, since the *trail*
Suddenly turned the finer pale;

Since Highwood's dells, a tangled brake,
Harboured the otter, deer, and snake;
Since to St. Ronan's sparkling brink
The wolf and wild cat came to drink;
Since our good sires in their old hall,
Met armed to combat prayer and all! (6)

5. In the early 1960s, after the demolition of the orphanage, residents concerned about the future of the property organized the Ronan-Edgehill Neighborhood Association. Pressure by residents led the city to reconsider acquiring this property as a location for the Celentano School, which was ultimately built on the old Yale observatory property at the corner of Canner and Prospect. The main observatory structure was incorporated into the new school building.
6. Day-Prospect, originally Mrs. Clive Day's School for Girls, acquired the Yale Observatory property in the 1940s. When it merged with Hopkins in the 1970s, the property was sold to the city, which built the Celentano School on the site.
7. Reverdy Whitlock's History of the Foote School (1994) erroneously identifies Mrs. Blake, the school's founder, as a resident of Prospect Street. In fact, she and her husband originally lived at 302 Willow. They moved to 58 Huntington in 1906 (like so many other upwardly mobile families, they made the jump from the east to the west side of Whitney Avenue). Mrs. Blake evidently started the school after her husband's death in 1911.
8. In 2000, the neighborhood's twenty two congregations included:

9.	Bethesda Lutheran	450 Whitney
	Calvary Chapel	575 Whitney
	Christ Presbyterian	135 Whitney
	Church of the Redeemer	185 Cold Spring
	Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints	84 Trumbull
	Connecticut Korean Presbyterian	450 Whitney
	Emanuel Lutheran	280 Humphrey
	Evangelical Covenant	590 Orange
	First Baptist	205 Edwards
	First Presbyterian	704 Whitney
	Glad Tidings Tabernacle	855 State
	New Light Baptist	85 Willow
	St. James Unity Holiness Church	79 Lawrence
	St. John's Episcopal	400 Humphrey
	St. Joseph's Roman Catholic	129 Edwards
	St. Stanislaus Roman Catholic	9 Eld Street
	St. Thomas Episcopal	830 Whitney
	Seventh Day Adventist	355 Humphrey
	Shiloh Missionary Baptist	100 Lawrence
	Thessalon Assembly	35 Lawrence
	Unitarian-Universalist Society	608 Whitney
	Whitney Christian Life Center	691 Whitney

Congregations extant in 1935 included:

Emanuel Lutheran	280 Humphrey
First Baptist	205 Edwards
First Swedish Baptist	100 Lawrence
Humphrey Street Congregational	355 Lawrence
Swedish Emanuel Congregational	584 Orange
First English Lutheran	79 Lawrence
Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Bethesda	855 State
First Church of the Messiah (Universalist)	245 Bradley
Church of the Nazarene	647 Orange
St. John's Episcopal	572 Orange
St. Joseph's Roman Catholic	129 Edwards
St. Stanislaus Roman Catholic	9 Eld Street

9. Archie Moore's saloon appears in the New Haven city directory in the late 1890s at 189 Willow, across the street from its present location (188-1/2 Willow). Prohibition evidently put the establishment out of business, for by the mid-1920s, Archibald Moore is listed as dwelling at 188-1/2 Willow, while his former saloon at 189 was being run as a soft drink beverage store by one Michael J. Lynch. By the early 1930s, Archie Moore had moved to Ferry Street, with the listed occupation of "Janitor YU" (Greater New Haven Directory 1931, 894). With the end of Prohibition, Moore reoccupied 188-1/2 and opened the bar and restaurant which remains of the neighborhood's most cozy watering spots.
10. The authoritative source on New Haven municipal finances, Arnold Guyot Dana's New Haven's Problems: Whither the City? All Cities (1937), provides a detailed account of boom and bust in the city's real estate market during the years between the wars.
11. The Samuel Hall stone was vandalized many years ago. In the spring of this year, it was restored through the generosity of the Greater New Haven Labor History Association and the Greater New Haven Labor Council. The monument was rededicated "to the memory of Connecticut workers killed, maimed, and sickened in helping to make Connecticut a leading industrial state."
12. A decade later, the brutal murder of wealthy industrialist Andrew Borden and wife would generate similar tensions in Fall River, Massachusetts. The city's largely Irish Catholic populace believed that the acquittal of the couple's daughter, Lizzie, was due to her wealth and prominence. The Yankee elite believed that ethnic politics had protected the most likely suspect, the Borden's Irish maid, from prosecution. Like the Cramer murder, the Borden homicide remains unsolved.
13. Yale was not alone in its desire to minimize the matter. Then serving as president of the Ronan-Edgehill Neighborhood Association, I arrived home from a conference in the Midwest the day after the murder to find a Channel 8 camera crew on my front porch. I was quick to assure the interviewer that, because the slaying was obviously a crime of passion involving people who knew one another – rather than a mugging --, the public and residents could rest assured that our neighborhood continued to be safe and relatively crime free.

For a biting account of how major universities handle public relations disasters of this kind, see Melanie Thernstrom, Halfway Heaven: Diary of a Harvard Murder (1998). "Crime," Thernstrom writes,

does not enhance a university's reputation. . . . Reputation and money form a kind of dialectic: the richer Harvard gets, the more it has the resources to attract top faculty and students who enhance its reputation; the higher its reputation, the easier it is to fund-raise" (132-33). Explaining the way in which top institutions handle manage their public relations, Thernstrom quotes a Boston trial lawyer who has had extensive dealings with Harvard: "the whole university has gradually become a portfolio of securities and real estate to which is incidently attached an educational institution. Faculty have drawn back in their historic role of setting policy and running the institution. The administrators have taken over. . . . Everything is calculated to minimize negative publicity and is managed by lawyers, whose main concern is, 'no trouble on my watch' (136).

14. The failure to solve the Jovin murder had led to a variety of bizarre speculations about who the perpetrator might actually have been. One of the most zany is advanced in a murder mystery, Pamela Thomas-Graham's *Blue Blood* (2000), which suggests that she was done in by a member of an inner-circle Yale family that very much resembled the Basses – the Texas billionaires who have made a variety of generous gifts to the university over the past decade.
15. One of the best records of the history of the neighborhood was created by a group of older residents, Roberta (Yerkes) Blanchard, Margaret Corwin, and Sarah Curtis, in the mid-1970s. The trio had lived in the neighborhood since the turn of the century and knew intimately neighbors who had been living there since the 1870s. The assembled notes recording reminiscences of residents, incidents, and houses street by street. Memories range from the amusing to the outrageous to the tragic. They tell of the wealthy old lady who continued to pilot her stately electric vehicle through the neighborhood as late as the 1940s, of the Celia Beaux portrait of homely Winchester heiress, Hope Bennett, which had "much faith and charity but very little hope," and the tenants at 210 St. Ronan Street "whose child was burned to death in the fireplace." This manuscript is in the collection of the New Haven Colony Historical Society's Whitney Library.

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December 10, 1998, Thursday

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EAST ROCK OCCUPATIONS	1873	TOTAL		
			Ornamental Painter:	3
			Painter:	5
			Plumber:	1
CONSTRUCTION		26		
Builder:		3		
Concrete Paver:		1		
Contractor:		3	COMMERCIAL	33
Mason:		2	Agent/Salesman	4
Mason Builder:		2	Banker	1
Joiner:		15	Book & Stationary Dealer:	1
			Butcher:	3
			Clock Dealer:	1
SERVICE		24	Coal & Wood Dealer:	1
Coachman:		3	Confectioner:	1
Clothes Cleaner & Repairer:		0	Crockery Dealer:	1
Gardener:		11	Grocer:	6
Laundress:		1	Hat & Cap Dealer:	1
Nurse:		5	Photographer:	1
Porter:		1	Produce and Commission Merchant:	2
Janitor:		0	Real Estate Agent:	3
Policeman:		3	Saloon Keeper	3
			Baker:	2
			Jobber & Contractor:	2
INDUSTRIAL (owner/manager)				
Manufacturer (other)		14	PROFESSIONAL	9
Carriage Manufacturer		7	Architect:	3
Clock Manufacturer:		1	Artist:	1
Secretary, Whitney Arms Company		1	Clergy	1
Brewer		3	Lawyer	1
Insurance Company Executive:		1	Physician	1
Foreman/Superintendent		1	Teacher:	1
			Musician:	0
CRAFT		33	Music Teacher:	1
Blacksmith:		3		
Book Binder:		1	CLERICAL	18
Boat Maker:		1	Bookkeeper:	8
Brush Maker:		1	Clerk:	10
Chair Maker:		0		
Cigar Maker:		1	INDUSTRIAL (employee)	119
Shoe Maker:		1	Axle Maker:	1
Spectacle Maker:		5	Bayrtes Worker:	1
Stone Cutter:		5	Bolt Header:	1
Currier:		0	Bolt Maker:	1
Cutter:		0	Brass Founder:	1
Dress Maker:		2	Brass Molder:	1
Seamstress:		1	Burnisher:	4
Dyer:		1	Carriage Maker:	7
Portrait Painter:		1		
Farmer:		1		

Carriage Trimmer:	5	Gun Inspector:	1
Carver:	4	Gunsmith:	7
Core Maker:	1	Laborer:	9
Brakeman:	1	Lace Weaver:	1
Carman:	4	Lock Maker:	2
Clock Maker	3	Machinist:	27
Wood Turner:	1	Match Maker:	1
Teamster:	1	Melodeon/Organ Maker	4
Tinner:	2	Molder:	6
Electrotyper:	1	Organ Tuner:	2
Engineer:	6	Packer:	1
Pattern Maker:	4		
Pistol Maker:	10	Other	28
Plater:	3		
Powder Flask Maker:	1	No Listed Occupation	94
Printer:	2		
Sash & Blind Maker:	1		
Scroll Sawyer:	1	TOTAL	448
Sewing Machine Operator:	1		