

A Walk Through West Haven

*Land Use Coordination, Homeownership, and
the Origins of Zoning in an American Suburb*

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Introduction

In his social history of Boston's inner suburbs, Sam Warner reminded his readers that "[t]he world is full of Roxburys and Dorchesters; places statesmen never visited, towns and counties upon whose fate no intellectual movement or nation has as yet depended."¹ These places invited closer scrutiny, Warner contended, not just by "the mere fact of neglect," but also because a better understanding of ordinary people in ordinary localities would help to "clarify such concepts" as "class, mobility, mechanization, urbanization, and the like," and because the development of richer local histories is a good in itself.²

This work is an exercise in the kind of study Warner sought to popularize: it is a narrow look at West Haven, Connecticut—a city of 55,000 residents that has long stood in the shadow of its more celebrated neighbor, New Haven. Thanks to its early prominence in colonial New England, its rise as an American center for nineteenth-century industrialization, and its association with Yale University, the history of New Haven as a city is an especially well-documented one.³ Notwithstanding several excellent

¹ SAM BASS WARNER, JR., *STREETCAR SUBURBS: THE PROCESS OF GROWTH IN BOSTON, 1870-1900*, at 169 (1978).

² *Id.*

³ *E.g.*, MYRNA KAGAN, *VISION IN THE SKY: NEW HAVEN'S EARLY YEARS, 1638-1783* (1989); STEPHEN LASSONDE, *LEARNING TO FORGET: SCHOOLING AND FAMILY LIFE IN NEW HAVEN'S WORKING CLASS, 1870-1940* (2005); DOUGLAS RAE, *CITY: URBANISM AND ITS END* (2003); VINCENT SCULLY & CATHERINE LYNN, *YALE IN NEW HAVEN: ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM* (2004). Especially relevant to this work is the rich volume of literature on New Haven's history within the comparatively narrow field of legal scholarship, particularly in the area of land use and urban development. *See* Marie Boyd, *Zoning for Apartments: A Study of the Role of Law in the Control of Apartment Houses in New Haven, Connecticut 1912-1932*, 33 *PACE L. REV.* 600 (2013); John P. Elwood, *Rethinking Government Participation in Urban Renewal: Neighborhood Revitalization in New Haven*, 12 *YALE L. & POL'Y REV.* 138 (1994); Robert A. Solomon, *Building a Segregated City: How We All Worked Together*, 16 *ST. LOUIS U. PUB. L. REV.* 265 (1997); Andrew J. Cappel, Note, *A Walk Along Willow: Patterns of Land Use Coordination in Pre-Zoning New Haven (1870-1926)*, 101 *YALE L.J.* 617 (1991); Stephen Clowney, Note, *A Walk Along Willard: A Revised Look at Land Use Coordination in Pre-Zoning New Haven*, 115 *YALE L.J.* 116 (2005); Stephen Mark Fenster, Note, *Remedy on Paper: The Role of Law in the Failure of City Planning in New Haven, 1907-1913*, 107 *YALE L.J.* 1093 (1998).

treatments of its history,⁴ West Haven—like New Haven’s other suburbs—has received only a fraction as much attention as the central city, even though the twentieth-century story of the New Haven metropolitan area is largely a story of suburbanization.⁵ In this writing I hope to tell part of that story, focusing especially on the time period between 1924 and 1930. I focus on these years both because they fall in one of the most significant periods of West Haven’s historical growth and because they straddle the advent of a major shift in the legal regime governing the disposition of real property within cities, from a mostly *laissez-faire* system of private coordination to one governed by codified community controls and central planning, through zoning and other innovative land controls administered by municipal governments. Because West Haven’s embrace of zoning was fairly typical (it would appoint a zoning commission in 1929, just a few years after the famous *Euclid* case clarified that the U.S. Constitution posed no barrier to the adoption of zoning laws), a study of the city in this period is a study in microcosm of some of the forces that triggered this abrupt change in the way Americans organized their communities.

This study draws its methodological inspiration from Warner’s study of Roxbury and Dorchester,⁶ but it also aims to fit into a highly localized land use dialogue begun by

⁴ The most complete history of West Haven is a relic of the New Deal era. See WORKERS OF THE WRITERS’ PROGRAM OF THE WORKS PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION IN THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT, HISTORY OF WEST HAVEN, CONNECTICUT (1940) [hereinafter WPA, HISTORY OF WEST HAVEN]. Other secondary resources on West Haven’s history include PETER J. MALIA, VISIBLE SAINTS: WEST HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, 1648-1798 (2009); and HISTORY OF CHRIST CHURCH, WEST HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, 1723-1945 (1945). West Haven has not escaped the attention of legal scholarship, though the lone piece of scholarship is focused on modern-day land use coordination problems between West Haven and its neighbor, Orange. See Minor Myers III, *Obstacles to Bargaining Between Local Governments: The Case of West Haven and Orange, Connecticut*, 37 URB. LAW. 853 (2005).

⁵ See RAE, *supra* note 3, at 231-34.

⁶ Although Warner’s study covered Boston’s middle-class streetcar suburbs in an earlier era—the late nineteenth century—1920s West Haven bears a strong resemblance in various socioeconomic respects to the Dorchester and Roxbury of the 1890s. See Part II, *infra*.

Andrew Cappel's *A Walk Along Willow*⁷ and Stephen Clowney's *A Walk Along Willard*,⁸ each of which examined the rationale for the introduction of centralized zoning policy in the city of New Haven.

Cappel's work was "the first attempt to look at an unzoned regime on a microlevel, block-by-block."⁹ It made creative use¹⁰ of a set of detailed street maps of New Haven drawn by the Sanborn Map Company, whose Connecticut city maps—running from the late nineteenth century through the latter half of the twentieth century—are housed at the Yale University Library.¹¹ These maps, first intended for the use of fire insurance providers, provide a rich database of the built landscape of the city, including precise building dimensions, information on construction materials, and various other architectural features, as well as building uses and property lines.¹² By consulting the 1923-24 edition of the New Haven Sanborn maps, Cappel was able to construct a vivid picture of residential construction patterns in New Haven on the eve of zoning's advent in

⁷ Cappel, *supra* note 3.

⁸ Clowney, *supra* note 3.

⁹ Cappel, *supra* note 3, at 620.

¹⁰ *See id.* at 622 n.20, 638-42.

¹¹ YALE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, THE MAP COLLECTION: SANBORN® FIRE INSURANCE MAPS, http://www.library.yale.edu/MapColl/print_sanborn.html (accessed Sept. 27, 2014).

¹² *Id.* Since 1867 the Sanborn Map Company has produced detailed maps of approximately 12,000 cities and towns in Mexico, the United States, and Canada. The most extensive collection of these maps is stored in Washington at the Library of Congress. Walter W. Ristow, *Introduction to the Sanborn Map Collection*, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS: GEOGRAPHY & MAP DIVISION, <http://www.loc.gov/rr/geogmap/sanborn/san4a1.html#11> (accessed Sept. 27, 2014).

Among the Sanborn mapmakers was the adventurer Daniel Carter Beard, who took a pay cut to go to work for the company in 1872. He would later write in his autobiography, "My opportunity to travel came at last While working for [Sanborn] I not only saw all those places I had heard about but I made maps of them, made diagrams of all the homes in each town and city I visited. I took delight in putting into my records mention of real occupancy, genteel or disreputable. After four or five years of this work I knew a lot about our people, saints and sinners." *Id.* (quoting DAN BEARD, *HARDLY A MAN IS NOW ALIVE: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF DAN BEARD* 225 (1939)). Beard would later earn fame as an illustrator for Mark Twain, *see* MARK TWAIN, *TOM SAWYER ABROAD* (London, Chatto & Windus 1894); MARK TWAIN, *A CONNECTICUT YANKEE IN KING ARTHUR'S COURT* (New York, Charles L. Webster & Co. 1889), and as the first commissioner of the Boy Scouts of America. *See* Boy Scouts of America, *Founders of the BSA*, <http://www.scouting.org/about/factsheets/founders.aspx> (accessed Sept. 27, 2014).

1926.¹³ Focusing on a seventeen-block area in New Haven’s East Rock neighborhood, he found that “market forces and social custom” had generated “sophisticated patterns of coordinated land use” prior to the city’s adoption of a zoning code.¹⁴ In Cappel’s account, zoning came to New Haven not because it was needed to solve coordination problems, but because it was the fashionable policy tool of the City Beautiful movement, which had captured the imagination of political and business elites in New Haven (as elsewhere in the United States) in the wake of the 1893 Columbian Exhibition in Chicago.¹⁵

Fourteen years after the publication of Cappel’s Note, Clowney responded with a defense of zoning’s merits in New Haven. He posited that Cappel’s neighborhood sample, the “Willow-Canner strip,” was a particularly unrepresentative slice of New Haven: although Cappel had characterized the object of his study as a “predominantly middle class residential area,”¹⁶ Clowney noted that the area around Willow was among the city’s most economically upscale residential areas, that it did not reflect the ethnic diversity of New Haven at large, and that it was exceptionally insulated from industrial uses.¹⁷ Following Cappel’s Sanborn maps method, Clowney undertook a broader study of land use patterns by selecting several working-class New Haven neighborhoods, all in

¹³ Cappel, *supra* note 3, at 620.

¹⁴ *Id.* at 621, 630-34.

¹⁵ *Id.* at 634-37. The Exposition, famously, was a showcase for the urban design principles of architect Daniel Burnham and landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted. See CARL SMITH, *THE PLAN OF CHICAGO: DANIEL BURNHAM AND THE REMAKING OF THE AMERICAN CITY* 19 (2006). Olmsted’s son would later team with architect Cass Gilbert—who designed New Haven’s Free Public Library and Union Station in addition to his more famous works, including the United States Supreme Court—to draw up a city plan for New Haven. See CASS GILBERT & FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED, *REPORT OF THE NEW HAVEN CIVIC IMPROVEMENT COMMISSION* (1910). Although the Gilbert and Olmsted plan did not propose any scheme of zoning for New Haven—the nation’s first zoning ordinance would not be adopted until 1916, in New York—Olmsted was retained by the New Haven Zoning Commission as an advisor in the development of the city’s first zoning ordinance. See Christina Forbush, *Striving For Order: Zoning the City of Elms* 25 (May 9, 1997) (unpublished manuscript) (on file with Yale Law School Library).

¹⁶ Cappel, *supra* note 3, at 621.

¹⁷ Clowney, *supra* note 3, at 120-21 & n.14 (noting, *inter alia*, that Olmsted and Gilbert had designated the area as “New Haven’s high-class northern residential district”) (quoting GILBERT & OLMSTED, *supra* note 14, at 22).

different corners of the city, for observation.¹⁸ These districts closely abutted various industrial uses, and Clowney found that they presented a picture of market failure: “[s]chools and churches mixed with industry, small lot sizes and untidy street grids negatively impacted sideyards, and many residents were directly exposed to the filth and disease of unregulated junkyards.”¹⁹ He contended that evidence from pre-zoning New Haven showed that “[z]oning can be an effective, if paternalistic, way to ensure that the most noxious industry causes the least amount of long-term human suffering,”²⁰ and concluded that “zoning was not just a fad imposed by elite city planners, but rather a logical response to conditions that the people of New Haven observed around their city, on their streets, and in their lives.”²¹

Cappel’s and Clowney’s accounts use elegant research to provide impressive policy arguments on each side of the zoning debate. But as historical descriptions of zoning’s origins in New Haven, their findings are more limited. In focusing nearly exclusively on the data from the Sanborn maps, Cappel and Clowney operated on the presumption that zoning was designed with the intention of solving certain simple physical coordination problems: to ensure, among other things, adequate sideyard space between single-family homes, uniformity of building fronts along streets, or the separation of noxious or high-externality uses—e.g., noisy retail stores generating lots of traffic, or manufacturing concerns—from residential homes. Their close examination of the dimensions of side yards, the uniformity of building lines, and the adjacency of seemingly incompatible uses in pre-zoning New Haven flows from this premise.

¹⁸ See *id.* at 122 (selecting Westville, City Point, Wooster Square, and Upper Hill as areas for observation). City Point, on New Haven’s southwestern edge, lies directly across the West River from West Haven.

¹⁹ *Id.* at 172.

²⁰ *Id.* at 173.

²¹ *Id.* at 128.

Clowney’s Note affirms this premise and posits as a descriptive matter that the land-use coordination problems observed in the Hill neighborhood of New Haven and elsewhere motivated the implementation of zoning in the city.

In largely rejecting zoning’s utility in early twentieth-century New Haven, Cappel’s account moves beyond that assumption to examine alternative reasons why New Haven may have implemented zoning in the 1920s, but it only “briefly considers the possibility that the reasons for the enactment of zoning in 1926 were largely unrelated to any failures of the unzoned legal regime.”²² Its conclusion that New Haven’s adoption of zoning was driven by the popularity of the City Beautiful movement derives from “general observations” of city records and contemporary newspaper accounts.²³

Cappel’s judgment on this point is not uncontroverted: in his comprehensive history of modern New Haven, Douglas Rae found that, a decade before the adoption of a zoning code, New Haven mayor Frank Rice “stonewalled City Beautiful to death.”²⁴ None of the grand objectives identified by City Beautiful advocates in New Haven, Rae notes, came to fruition in the first half of the twentieth century, and “the City Beautiful remained a dream—at least until” New Haven mayor Dick Lee brought changes to the cityscape in the 1950s and 1960s in the name of urban renewal.²⁵ Whether or not zoning’s origin in the New Haven area might be accurately ascribed to the idealistic proponents of urban planning is therefore a matter in dispute.

²² Cappel, *supra* note 3, at 621.

²³ *Id.* at 634.

²⁴ RAE, *supra* note 3, at 207. *See also* Fenster, *supra* note 3, at 1093-95 (noting that, just two years before the adoption of zoning in New Haven, the city’s most prominent advocate of the City Beautiful movement, George Dudley Seymour, quit the City Plan Commission via a “bitter[]” open letter to the mayor castigating a failure to “prepare a plan for the orderly development of the City . . .”).

²⁵ RAE, *supra* note 3, at 208.

In the abstract, land use coordination—governance of the physical landscape—offers the most straightforward explanation or rationale for the imposition of centralized land use controls. The City Beautiful movement promised to transform American cities through aesthetic and practical changes to their basic infrastructure, including modifications in urban street plans, construction of public plazas, development of city park systems, improvements to public transit systems and the reduction of “urban clutter.”²⁶ Zoning fits naturally into this narrative as a policy means of structuring physical urban forms according to certain aesthetic and civic principles. As Clowney’s and Cappel’s accounts suggest, this explanation for the imposition of zoning controls remains popular.

But this physical story excludes notice of other possible descriptive explanations for zoning’s adoption. Those explanations center on the secondary effects of zoning, particularly the way that zoning shapes the human and economic landscape. The consequences of zoning policy—from the composition and distribution of racial and ethnic groups within cities²⁷; to the distribution of a city’s haves and have-nots²⁸; to the

²⁶ Daniel Baldwin Hess, *Transportation Beautiful: Did the City Beautiful Movement Improve Urban Transportation?*, 32 J. URB. HIST. 511, 512-15 (2006).

²⁷ See, e.g., Jonathan Rothwell & Douglas S. Massey, *The Effect of Density Zoning on Racial Segregation in U.S. Urban Areas*, 44 URB. AFF. REV. 779 (2009); Swati Prakash, Comment, *Racial Dimensions of Property Value Protection Under the Fair Housing Act*, 101 Cal. L. Rev. 1437, 1448-51 (2013) (discussing zoning law’s *de facto* enforcement of residential racial segregation in American cities). *But see* Christopher Berry, *Land Use Regulation and Residential Segregation: Does Zoning Matter?*, 3 AM. L. & ECON. REV. 251, 270 (2001) (finding no statistically significant difference in racial segregation levels between zoned Dallas and unzoned Houston).

²⁸ See Frank A. Aloi et al., *Racial and Economic Segregation by Zoning: Death Knell for Home Rule?*, 1 U. TOL. L. REV. 65, 76 (1969); Charles M. Haar, *Wayne Township: Zoning for Whom?—In Brief Reply*, 67 HARV. L. REV. 986, 993 (1954); Jonathan T. Rothwell & Douglas S. Massey, *Density Zoning and Class Segregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas*, 91 SOC. SCI. Q. 11230-1133 (2010). *But see* Berry, *supra* note 27, at 270 (finding no statistically significant difference in income segregation levels between zoned Dallas and unzoned Houston).

composition of local public schools²⁹; to average property values³⁰; to labor market growth patterns³¹—have all been documented in great detail by students of urban planning and land use law. It is entirely possible, of course, that such consequences have arisen over time as unintended byproducts of zoning policy. Yet it is also entirely possible that these “secondary” consequences were in fact a primary determinant of the advent of zoning in the New Haven area—the result of conscious public determinations regarding who would be neighbors with whom, in addition to what would be neighbors with what.³²

Zoning as a Means of Economic Exclusion

Many observers have commented that residential areas governed by zoning law tend toward economic stratification. This is not a recent realization: American courts in the early twentieth century, faced with claims regarding the constitutionality of the first zoning laws, anticipated that such ordinances would have the effect of officially segregating rich from poor, and struck these ordinances down as violating the federal Constitution’s Due Process Clause.³³ The Supreme Court’s decision in the famous *Euclid*

²⁹ See William Lowe Boyd, *The Political Economy of Public Schools*, 18 EDUC. ADMIN. Q. 111, 119 (1982).

³⁰ See, e.g., William K. Jaeger, *The Effects of Land-Use Regulations on Property Values*, 36 ENV’T L. REV. 105 (2006); G. Donald Jud, *The Effects of Zoning on Single-Family Residential Property Values: Charlotte, North Carolina*, 56 Land Econ. 142 (1980).

³¹ See Raven E. Saks, *Job Creation and Housing Construction: Constraints on Metropolitan Area Employment Growth*, 64 J. URB. ECON. 178 (2008).

³² Cf. RICHARD F. BABCOCK, *THE ZONING GAME: MUNICIPAL PRACTICES AND POLICIES* 31 (1966) (“The resident of suburbia is concerned not with *what* but with *whom*.”).

³³ See *Ambler Realty Co. v. Village of Euclid*, 297 F. 307, 316 (N.D. Ohio 1924) (“The plain truth is that the true object of the ordinance in question . . . is really to regulate the mode of living of persons who may hereafter inhabit [the area]. In the last analysis, the result to be accomplished is to classify the population and segregate them according to their income or situation in life.”), *rev’d* 272 U.S. 365 (1926); *Spann v. City of Dallas*, 235 S.W. 513, 516 (Tex. 1921) (“It would be tyranny to say to a poor man who happens to own a lot within a residence district of palatial structures . . . that he could not erect an humble home upon it suited to his means, or that any residence he might erect must equal in grandeur those about it. Under his constitutional rights he could erect such a structure as he pleased, so long as it was not hazardous to others. It might proclaim his poverty; it might advertise the humbleness of his station; it might stand as a speaking

case, and its authorization of zoning controls designed to prevent “parasite[ic]” multifamily housing from “destroy[ing]” neighborhoods of single-family residences,³⁴ put an end to federal constitutional scrutiny of zoning’s discriminatory socioeconomic effects, though it did not entirely extinguish judicial review at the state level.³⁵

Were those *Lochner* Era courts, deploying muscular substantive due process protections for property—whatever the merits of their interventionist approach—nevertheless onto something descriptively when they identified economic segregation as the nub of American zoning? It is possible: indeed, it may well be that zoning writ large has broadly segregated American society into two zones, what economist and pundit Paul Krugman calls the “Zoned Zone” and the “Flatland.”³⁶ Harvard economists Peter Ganong and Daniel Shoag have recently posited a correlation between nationwide declines in income equality and the regulation of land uses through zoning and other restrictions in certain high-income metropolitan areas.³⁷ Could it be that this is simply macroeconomic evidence of zoning’s basic purpose, sounding in snobbery?

It’s possible, but the picture at the local level is somewhat complicated by evidence from pre-zoning regimes. As both Cappel and Warner have noted, even before

contrast between his financial rank and that of his neighbors. Yet, it would be his ‘castle’; and the Constitution would shield him in its ownership and in its use.”); *State ex rel. Twin City Bldg & Inv. Co. v. Houghton*, 174 N.W. 885, 887 (Minn. 1919) (“And when the humble home is threatened by legislation . . . at the instance of a particular class of citizens who would rid themselves of its presence as not suitable in architecture or in other respects to their own more elaborate structures, a step will have been taken inevitably to cause discontent with the government as one controlled by class distinction, rather than in the interests and for the equal protection of all. It is not believed the public welfare can be promoted by such legislation.”), *rev’d on reh’g* 176 N.W. 159 (Minn. 1920).

³⁴ *Ambler Realty Co. v. Village of Euclid*, 272 U.S. 365, 394 (1926).

³⁵ See *S. Burlington Cnty. NAACP v. Twp. of Mount Laurel*, 456 A.2d 390 (N.J. 1983).

³⁶ Paul Krugman, “That Hissing Sound,” *N.Y. TIMES* (Aug. 8, 2005), <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/08/08/opinion/08krugman.html> (predicting that the collapse of a “housing bubble” would occur more precipitously in heavily zoned areas, or the “Zoned Zone”).

³⁷ Peter Ganong & Daniel Shoag, *Why Has Regional Income Convergence in the U.S. Declined?*, Harvard Kennedy School of Government Working Paper No. RWP12-028 (Mar. 28, 2013), http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2081216.

the introduction of zoning controls, market forces tended to create a fairly strict segregation of economic classes within cities.³⁸ Evidence from the present day is mixed: although economists Jonathan Rothwell and Douglas Massey found that zoning has contributed to class segregation within metropolitan areas,³⁹ a comparative study of unzoned Houston and zoned Dallas showed that these otherwise similar cities' patterns of economic segregation are statistically indistinguishable.⁴⁰ In any case, the question of whether and to what extent American communities were motivated by a desire to separate rich from poor in their adoption of zoning codes in the 1920s and 1930s remains an open one.

Zoning as a Means of Racial & Ethnic Segregation

If the Supreme Court's *Euclid* decision, with its widely-noted language castigating multifamily housing, provided an indicium of class discrimination in American zoning law, then the Court's earlier decision in the less-famous *Buchanan v. Warley*⁴¹ case points up the long and complex relationship between zoning and race. That case concerned an explicit racial zoning ordinance adopted by Louisville, Kentucky in

³⁸ See WARNER, *supra* note 1, at 64 (“By 1900 the interaction of the growth of the street railway and class building patterns had produced class-segregated suburbs.”); Cappel, *supra* note 3, at 623 (“One of the most striking features of the pre-zoning regime was the segregation of lots according to size.”).

³⁹ See Rothwell & Massey, *supra* note 28.

⁴⁰ See Berry, *supra* note 27. These results are not irreconcilable: Berry studied economic segregation at the city level; Rothwell and Massey studied economic segregation at the metropolitan level. The difference is a vital one. Because metropolitan areas are usually composed of multiple—often dozens of—cities and towns, each with its own zoning code, it is possible for metropolitan areas to be highly economically segregated among towns (economically heterogeneous), even if the level of economic segregation within each town is similar (economically homogeneous). The importance of this distinction with regard to the impact of zoning upon economic segregation will become evident in Part IV, *infra*. It is possible that through the use of zoning, town governments are able to predictably control the supply of housing in their communities, giving them a measure of control over the price of housing. Consistent with the Tiebout Model of local sorting, then, some towns will cater to the housing needs of the wealthy, and some to those of the poor. See WILLIAM A. FISCHER, *THE ECONOMICS OF ZONING LAWS: A PROPERTY RIGHTS APPROACH TO AMERICAN LAND USE CONTROLS* 302-05 (1987).

⁴¹ 245 U.S. 60 (1917).

1914 that prohibited the proximate residence of black and white households.⁴² The Court unanimously held the ordinance to be a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, not because of its avowedly segregationist intent,⁴³ but because it deprived a person (black or white) of “the civil right . . . to dispose of his property [as] he saw fit” to a white or black purchaser.⁴⁴ The Louisville ordinance was not unique: before and after *Buchanan*, cities across the Upper South, Deep South, Midwest and Southwest—including Baltimore, Richmond, Winston-Salem, Atlanta, New Orleans, St. Louis, and Dallas—experimented with racial zoning ordinances that were struck down either by state high courts or the U.S. Supreme Court.⁴⁵

Such history may invite attributing zoning’s rise, at least in part, to the desire of white Americans to segregate themselves from non-whites. There is scattered anecdotal evidence to support this view: Christopher Silver has noted that H.L. Pollard, one of the land-use lawyers who helped to devise Los Angeles’s early zoning code, sensed that “racial hatred played no small part” in zoning’s rise in America.⁴⁶ Zoning consultant Herbert Swan, who (as we will see later in Part IV of this work) drew up West Haven’s original zoning code and map, wrote of his concerns in 1944 regarding “the almost

⁴² *Id.* at 70-72.

⁴³ As the Court noted, it had “held laws valid which separated the races on the basis of equal accommodations in public conveyances [*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896)], and courts of high authority have held enactments lawful which provide for separation in the public schools of white and colored pupils where equal privileges are given.” *Id.* at 81. The Court would not repudiate this accommodation of racial segregation, of course, until *Brown v. Bd. of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

⁴⁴ *Buchanan*, 245 U.S. at 81.

⁴⁵ See RICHARD R.W. BROOKS & CAROL M. ROSE, *SAVING THE NEIGHBORHOOD: RACIALLY RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS, LAW, AND SOCIAL NORMS* 39 (2013); Christopher Silver, *The Racial Origins of Zoning: Southern Cities from 1910-40*, 6 *PLANNING PERSPECTIVES* 189, 195-96 (1991). It should not be read into this pattern that racial zoning was uniquely the product of regional bigotries: Professor Silver points out that northern planning consultants generally drew up the South’s racially-discriminatory zoning codes and that northern cities with large black populations, including Chicago, harbored strong enthusiasm for racial zoning policies. See Silver, *The Racial Origins of Zoning*, at 190-91.

⁴⁶ See Silver, *supra* note 45, at 191 (quoting MARA WEISS, *THE RISE OF THE COMMUNITY BUILDERS: THE AMERICAN REAL ESTATE INDUSTRY AND URBAN LAND DEVELOPMENT* 83-84 (1987)).

complete removal of upper middle income groups from [New York City] and their replacement by huge numbers of unskilled colored people (people barely able to eke out a precarious existence even in prosperous times) . . . ominous forebodings and symptoms of troublesome times ahead.”⁴⁷

Anecdotal accounts of zoning’s racist underpinnings are bolstered by studies of zoning’s effects in the here and now, some of which have shown that facially race-neutral zoning has had the effect of magnifying and calcifying racial segregation in American cities. Rothwell and Massey have documented how zoning density restrictions (i.e., caps on how many persons can reside on a given acre of land), in particular, have contributed to racial segregation in the United States: they find that metropolitan areas in the South and West, where density regulations are relatively liberal, are less segregated along racial lines than metropolitan areas in the Northeast and Midwest, where density regulations are more restrictive.⁴⁸ Their conclusion that “the greater the allowable density, the lower the level of racial segregation,” leads them to suggest that zoning (whether intentionally racist or not) is deliberately exclusionary: “whatever their racial motivations, homeowners reveal their political preferences to exclude households of modest means through low-density zoning under predictable conditions.”⁴⁹ Matthew Resseger has produced similar research calculating that roughly half the difference in the segregation levels between the more-segregated Boston metropolitan area and the less-segregated Houston metropolitan area may be chalked up to restrictions on density around Boston.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ HERBERT S. SWAN, *THE HOUSING MARKET IN NEW YORK CITY* 1 (1944).

⁴⁸ Rothwell & Massey, *supra* note 27, at 791-799.

⁴⁹ *Id.* at 801-02.

⁵⁰ Matthew Resseger, *The Impact of Land Use Regulation on Racial Segregation: Evidence from Massachusetts Zoning Borders* (Nov. 26, 2013), http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/resseger/files/resseger_jmp_11_25.pdf.

As with economic class, however, when the focus shifts from the metropolitan level to the city level, the relationship of race to zoning appears much weaker: Professor Christopher Berry has shown that Houston's dissimilarity index (a measurement of racial segregation) is approximately identical to Dallas's, despite the fact that the latter applies general density restrictions through its zoning code and the former does not.⁵¹ Read in conjunction with Rothwell and Massey, these results suggest that although zoning may not affect racial segregation at the city level, the housing supply restrictions introduced by zoning at the city level have promoted intercity metropolitan segregation.

Yet there is also some evidence that early zoning codes had disparate racial effects at the neighborhood level. Allison Shertzer, Tate Twinam, and Randall P. Walsh have recently studied the history of zoning's adoption in Chicago for evidence of racial and ethnic discrimination.⁵² Methodologically their study bears some resemblance to Cappel's and Clowney's examination of pre-zoning New Haven: they compared building patterns and microlevel demographic data in pre-zoning and post-zoning Chicago and examined how Chicago's first zoning ordinance variously treated black and white communities within the city.⁵³ They also disaggregated Chicago's white population to compare the treatment of native-born whites with European immigrants; and disaggregated Chicago's black population, distinguishing between black families recently arrived from the South and those more rooted in the north.

Their study found two trends. First, even though white "[i]mmigrants had selected into more densely populated neighborhoods in the early twentieth century," the first

⁵¹ Berry, *supra* note 27, at 270.

⁵² Allison Shertzer, Tate Twinam, & Randall P. Walsh, "Race, Ethnicity, and Discriminatory Zoning," NBER Working Paper No. 20108 (May 2014), <http://www.nber.org/papers/w20108.pdf>.

⁵³ *Id.* at 2-3.

zoning ordinance “reduce[d] the density of immigrant neighborhoods . . . via constraints on building height.”⁵⁴ Black neighborhoods, by contrast, were zoned for density: “a one standard deviation increase in the black share of a neighborhood was associated with a 16 percentage point increase in the likelihood of the neighborhood being zoned primarily for higher density buildings. For European immigrants, the relationship is reversed. Thus, at the margin, the zoning board appears to have endeavored to increase the building density in neighborhoods with high numbers of black residents and decrease the density in neighborhoods with large numbers of European immigrants.”⁵⁵ Second, both southern blacks and white immigrants were likelier than native whites to be zoned into areas allowing for industrial/manufacturing uses.⁵⁶ These results led the authors to conclude that “racial discrimination can arise even with the most general and widely used forms of land use control.”⁵⁷

As I will discuss at further length in Part IV, I believe these results provide potentially significant evidence of zoning’s original purpose, but not necessarily the purpose identified by Shertzer et al. Rather than reflecting racial discrimination per se, their results may reflect fundamental differences in economic interests between Chicago’s native white population, its European immigrant population, and its black population—differences that were baked into the political economy of Chicago’s first zoning plan. For the time being, however, it suffices to say that their study presents a new

⁵⁴ *Id.* at 26.

⁵⁵ *Id.* at 3.

⁵⁶ *Id.* at 4 (noting that “a standard deviation increase in southern black share is associated with a 8 percentage point increase in the likelihood of an enumeration district being zoned to include manufacturing uses, and a one standard deviation increase in the first-generation immigrant share is associated with a 5 percentage point increase in the likelihood of an enumeration district being zoned for manufacturing uses”).

⁵⁷ *Id.*

and compelling argument for considering the importance of race and ethnicity in the adoption and implementation of zoning across the United States.

Zoning as a Device of Homevoter Control

Lastly, a broad description of zoning can be found in William Fischel's influential "Homevoter Hypothesis,"⁵⁸ which stipulates that the provision and distribution of local public goods (including those goods created by zoning laws) are driven by pure self-interest on the part of local homeowners to maximize the value of their homes, which are many Americans' single greatest financial asset.⁵⁹ The relationship between homevoters' local political power and homevoters' heavy investment in their homes is central to understanding one fundamental appeal of zoning, as it was promoted by some policymakers, as a way of boosting real estate values.⁶⁰ Fischel's theory suggests that widespread, national changes in the composition of American homevoting electorate might trigger nationwide changes in local land-use policies.

* * *

This paper explores a range of possible explanations for zoning's advent in West Haven. Part I examines zoning's plausibility as a means of controlling externalities in the physical landscape by separating different types of land uses (such as commercial or residential land uses) from each other, and by mandating certain standards of uniformity in building patterns. Part II examines the underlying socioeconomic dynamics of pre-

⁵⁸ WILLIAM FISCHEL, *THE HOMEVOTER HYPOTHESIS: HOW HOME VALUES INFLUENCE LOCAL GOVERNMENT TAXATION, SCHOOL FINANCE, AND LAND-USE POLICIES* (2001).

⁵⁹ See Edward N. Wolff, "The Asset Price Meltdown and the Wealth of the Middle Class," NBER Working Paper No. 18559, at 17 (November 2012), <http://www.nber.org/papers/w18559.pdf>.

⁶⁰ See Daniel P. McMillen & John F. McDonald, *Land Values in a Newly Zoned City*, 84 *REV. ECON. & STAT.* 62, 62 (2002); Forbush, *supra* note 15, at 43, 83 (noting that New Haven's zoning ordinance was sold to the public on the theory that it "would encourage real estate investment" and contending that "New Haven chose to zone in hopes of increasing property values").

zoning West Haven by looking at block-level Census data across a wide swath of the town. It then assesses the likelihood that zoning was sought out as a tool to segregate households along the lines of race, class, or ethnicity. Part III investigates a hypothesis put forward by Professor Fischel that attributes the rise of zoning across America in the 1920s to the nationwide change in transportation technologies from rails to automobiles. Finally, after having found that the evidence from West Haven does not persuasively support these explanations for zoning, Part IV looks at explanations of zoning offered by the consultant who devised West Haven's zoning code, and examines the relationship between home values and rents in West Haven. It hypothesizes that zoning in West Haven and other suburbs was designed to raise residential land values by restricting the supply of available land through legal caps on housing density. Part IV also draws on state and national homeownership data, and historical studies of the housing finance market in the 1910s and 1920s, to show that when West Haven and other American towns and cities adopted zoning codes, the country was in the midst of a massive expansion of homeownership fueled by institutional extensions of credit to the aspiring middle-class. I conclude that the link between zoning and America's home-lending and homeownership revolution in the early part of the twentieth century warrants further study.

Part I: West Haven's Built Landscape

An examination of zoning's usefulness in West Haven must begin with the physical state of the town as it existed prior to the creation of a zoning commission in 1929. What did West Haven's neighborhoods look like, how were they organized, and what did they have to say about the lives of the households that inhabited them? If zoning were nothing more than a novel policy tool designed to solve physical coordination problems, then we ought to see some evidence in West Haven, as had Clowney in New Haven, of disorder and market failure. If, on the other hand, we find that West Haven was basically what most urban planners would consider a "well-ordered" town—that is, one in which newly constructed buildings showed courtesy toward their neighbors through the adoption of uniform building patterns and in which the adjacency of incompatible uses (*e.g.*, a smelter next to a single-family home) was avoided—then we should infer, as did Cappel in the case of New Haven's East Rock neighborhood, that something else was likely at work in motivating the adoption of zoning in West Haven.

Taking a methodological cue from Cappel and Clowney, I have selected an approximately 40-block area of observation—a roughly two-block-wide strip of land running the whole length of Washington Avenue through the heart of West Haven, from Long Island Sound in the south to the street's terminus at Oak Grove Cemetery in the north, where Interstate 95 today cuts across the city. The object of study—the "Washington Avenue strip"—is bounded on its western side by Campbell Avenue (historically one of West Haven's principal thoroughfares) and on its eastern side first by Peck Avenue, then Union Avenue, and then North Union Avenue. I have used the same

resource that Cappel and Clowney did—the 1923/24 Sanborn maps, the fourth volume of which covered the burgeoning suburb of West Haven.

This sample, the Washington Avenue strip, was carefully selected to provide a representative cross-section of land uses in West Haven as it was in 1924. The suburb as such was still young then, its population just a fraction of its present-day size.⁶¹ Most of its present-day streetscape was not yet in existence. The 1924 Sanborn maps show the city on the cusp of a great building spree: to the west of Campbell and Savin Avenue, webs of newly platted streets and lots sit empty, ready for development.⁶² Campbell Avenue itself, one of the town’s principal thoroughfares, along which two commuter streetcar lines (the Connecticut Company’s “M” and the “D” lines⁶³) travel, is lined with a mix of shops and residences. East of Campbell Avenue stands the heart of the established town’s residential neighborhoods—the Washington Avenue strip. Further to the east appear more residential neighborhoods, bisected by another trolley line (the “R” line) on Second Avenue.⁶⁴ From west to east, then, the Washington Avenue strip presents a varied mix of uses: on its western edge, Campbell Avenue, we see a great deal of commercial development; on its eastern edge, a more sedate picture emerges.

⁶¹ The 1920 Census recorded a population of 16,614 in Orange prior to the break-up of Orange and West Haven; in 1930 the Census placed West Haven’s population at 25,808 and Orange’s at 1,530. *See* U.S. DEP’T OF COMMERCE, 1 POPULATION SIXTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES: 1940, at 182 (1942), available at <http://perma.cc/K6P4-RQKA>. Between 1920 and 1940, West Haven’s population doubled to 30,021. *Id.*

⁶² *See* 4 SANBORN MAP CO., INSURANCE MAPS OF NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, NOS. 451-62 (1924) [hereinafter SANBORN MAPS]. Some of the newly developed streets, such as Clark and Ivy Circle, *see id.* at 451, embraced the curvilinear form that would come to characterize large swaths of the suburban American landscape. *See* ANDRES DUANY ET AL., SUBURBAN NATION: THE RISE OF SPRAWL AND THE DECLINE OF THE AMERICAN DREAM 33-38 (2000); Michael Southworth & Peter M. Owens, *The Evolving Metropolis: Studies of Community, Neighborhood, and Street Form at the Urban Edge*, 59 J. AM. PLANNING ASS’N 271, 279-81 (1993). West Haven had already gone through a small building spree in the 1910s that obliged the Borough of West Haven, for the first time, to appoint an official building inspector in 1913. *See* WPA, HISTORY OF WEST HAVEN, *supra* note 4, at 26.

⁶³ *See infra* note 183 and accompanying text.

⁶⁴ *Id.*

Meanwhile, an overview of the Washington Avenue strip's orientation from south to north reveals a similarly diverse array of activity. Beginning at Beach Street, adjacent to the Savin Rock section of West Haven—locally famous once upon a time as Connecticut's own version of Coney Island—Washington Avenue climbs upland, first through the shops, hotels and amusements associated with Savin Rock, then past rows of single-family homes and duplexes, then past a major factory, across more residential neighborhoods, and beyond the rail lines of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad (and adjacent industrial structures), finally coming to an end shortly beyond the railroad at the Oak Grove Cemetery: all in all, a journey of about 1.7 miles.

A. Use Coordination

The reader may notice that I've already indicated some of the macro-level organization of the town: West Haven in 1924 evinces a strong tendency toward a clustering of uses: commercial shops are drawn to principal streets like the north-south Campbell Avenue and the east-west Elm Street; industry tends to locate near the heavy rail lines provided by the New York, New Haven & Hartford, and near the light rail lines along which streetcars run. The spaces in between are occupied by residential housing.

1. Commercial Structures

To help achieve a concrete sense of this clustering effect, I cataloged the locations of all 96 commercial addresses⁶⁵ located within the Washington Avenue strip. Sixty-nine of these addresses (72%) are located on Campbell Avenue. Roughly half of these Campbell Avenue businesses⁶⁶ sit within an easily recognizable central business

⁶⁵ See *infra* Appendix I tbl.1. Data included in Appendix I are drawn from 4 SANBORN MAPS, *supra* note 62, at 404-06, 408-412, 414-417, 421-24, 427-30, 433-35, 437, 452.

⁶⁶ 31 businesses located on Campbell Avenue, in addition to two located at 342 and 345 Main Street, formed the portion of West Haven's central business district lying within the area studied here. See *id.*

district—stretching from 385 Campbell Avenue (near the corner of Brown Street) to 563 Campbell Avenue (near the corner of Center Street)—that is oriented about a picturesque town green anchored by the traditional signs of New England public life: a white-clapboard Congregational Church complete with imposing steeple, the Town Hall, and an Episcopalian church (Christ Church). Another fifth⁶⁷ of the commercial uses located on Campbell Avenue are clustered at the southern end of the thoroughfare, adjacent to the Savin Rock beach and amusement area.

Of the minority of commercial uses *not* located on Campbell Avenue, sixteen (17%) are located on the principal north-south avenues—Washington Avenue, Peck Avenue, Union Avenue and North Union Avenue—or on the principal east-west street cutting through the Washington Avenue strip, Elm Street (along which runs the “J” trolley⁶⁸).

That leaves just eleven commercial-use or mixed-use structures on the side streets of the Washington Avenue strip. Over half of these side-street businesses are located in commercial or industrial clusters: two are located adjacent to Campbell Avenue in the central business district; two are located on Beach Street, in the Savin Rock area; and two are located on Wood Street, adjacent to the New York, New Haven & Hartford railroad. The remaining five side-street shops show a marked preference for corner lots or lots adjacent to corner lots: two are located on corner lots; three are located on lots adjacent to

⁶⁷ These thirteen commercial addresses ran from 21 Campbell Avenue to 90 Campbell Avenue, just south of Park Street. *Id.*

⁶⁸ See *infra* note 183 and accompanying text.

corner lots; and only one commercial use (154 Park Street) in the entire 40-block area of observation is located in the interior of a residential side-street.⁶⁹

Thus with regard to the setting of commercial uses in the Washington Avenue strip, a definite order seems to have emerged by 1924, with the bulk of businesses clustered on Campbell Avenue, weighted especially toward the central business district and the Savin Rock beach area, and a thinning out of commercial activity the further one moves east. Among the scattering of commercial uses located east of Campbell Avenue, most are located on the north-south avenues (and these generally on corner lots), or the principal east-west thoroughfare, Elm Street. Of the handful of businesses located on smaller side streets, all (with only one exception) are oriented toward street corners.

2. Industrial Structures

What about industrial-use structures, or other buildings that would typically be considered noxious disamenities, such as parking garages?⁷⁰ It is worth noting, to start with, that these structures compose fewer of the structures (17) than any other use-category in the Washington Avenue strip. Here again, however, the placement of these uses is strongly characterized by clustering: close to half of the structures (8) are located on Campbell Avenue, alongside the Campbell Avenue streetcar line—or, in the case of the Hall Organ Company, located at 678 Campbell Avenue, adjacent to both the streetcar line and the New York, New Haven & Hartford railroad. Three of the structures—the Hall Organ Company, the West Haven Buckle Company, and a business identified as “Second Hand Lumber Yard”—are located adjacent to the New York, New Haven & Hartford. Of the remaining seven structures, two (the New England Tube & Stamping

⁶⁹ Cappel also observed a strong preference for corner lots among commercial uses in his object of study, the Willow-Canner strip. *See* Cappel, *supra* note 3, at 622.

⁷⁰ *See* Appendix I tbl.2.

Co. and R.H. Brown Co.) are located on Brown Street, within a cluster of industrial uses centered on the Connecticut Company trolley-car barn located at the corner of Campbell and Brown. Another two (the West Haven Surgical and Maternity Hospital and a 10-car parking garage) are located on Elm Street, next to the trolley line that ran down that thoroughfare. These industrial clusters share some overlap with West Haven's commercial uses: again, Campbell Avenue plays host to the bulk of industrial uses, followed by the area surrounding the heavy rail tracks. A sprinkling of disamenity uses is located on Elm Street, a principal thoroughfare.

The remainder of the “industrial” uses (3) in the Washington Avenue strip is a collection of oddball, light industrial small business operations: a garage-sized backyard candy manufacturing shop located at 277½ Center Street; a backyard carpentry shop at 210½ Washington Avenue; and a North Street blacksmith, the vestigial remnant of a bygone age. Although all of these are located amongst residential homes, only the last seems to pose a serious nuisance to its neighbors. Polling them now is impossible, but it is altogether possible that the neighbors of the Washington Avenue resident who kept up a backyard woodshop or the citizen who maintained a small Center Street candy operation viewed these *petits entrepreneurs* as charming additions to the neighborhood, rather than disamenities to be pushed away.

3. Residential Structures

The rest of the structures located in the Washington Avenue strip are homes—single-family houses of the spacious and humble varieties, more cramped duplexes, and the (very) occasional multifamily structure capable of sheltering three or more households. Here too a clustering pattern of uses emerges: duplexes and multifamily

housing options tend to be gathered together in close proximity to public transit, while single-family homes dominate other neighborhoods. Most prominently, duplexes and multifamily structures are concentrated in the southeast portion of the area, close to Savin Rock and Long Island Sound. As is discussed in Part II below, this area of town tended toward the cheapest rents in the Washington Avenue strip, and inhabitants of homes in this area were an ethnically diverse mix of working-class laborers and artisans. And as discussed in Part I.B below, this area of town also tended toward the most significant building coordination problems in the sample, with residential structures put up in a somewhat pell-mell fashion.

Yet there was order here, too. Table 1 below indicates those residential blocks in the strip where the number of duplexes (i.e., houses with two listed addresses) equaled or exceeded the number of single-family homes.

Table 1: Blocks with High Proportions of Two-Family Homes⁷¹

Street	Block	One-family	Two-family
Park	Peck to Washington	0	3
Noble	Washington to Campbell	4	5
Blohm	Peck to Washington	5	8
Blohm	Washington to Campbell	8	8
William	Peck to Washington	5	6
Washington	Thomas to Park	3	3
Washington	Park to Noble	1	10
Washington	Blohm to William	5	6
Washington	William to Leete	5	8
Washington	Leete to Atwater	5	8
Campbell	Thomas to Park	2	3
Campbell	Park to Noble	4	4
Campbell	Noble to Blohm	4	4
Campbell	Leete to Atwater	4	5
Campbell	New to Curtiss	1	1
Campbell	Center to Ashburton	1	2
Peck	Thomas to Park	3	3
Peck	Blohm to William	2	9
Peck	William to Leete	3	3

⁷¹ Data for Table 1 is derived from the Sanborn Maps data listed in Appendix I tpls.3-6.

The first, most interesting feature of these data is that all of the blocks in which duplexes made up at least 50% of the housing stock on the block are sited south of Atwater Street, with the exception of two segments of Campbell (New to Curtiss and Center to Ashburton) located further north, around the heavily commercial central business district. The second notable feature of these locations is their place near the juncture of three of the four trolley lines that served West Haven and connected it to the factories and offices of New Haven. As described below in Part III, two trolley lines—the “D” and “M” lines—ran down Campbell Avenue to Savin Rock; another line—the “R”—ran from Savin Rock west-east across Thomas Street, then turned north to Blohm Street before proceeding onward to New Haven.⁷² Commuters living on Park, Noble, Blohm, or William streets between Peck and Washington could access any of the three lines with less than a two-block walk. The same was true of housing on Washington or Campbell between Thomas and Park or between Park and Noble, and of housing on Washington between Noble and Blohm. For the other duplex-heavy blocks in the area, the walk to the “D” or “M” would have been one block or less, though the walk to the “R” might be as much as a three-block walk.

The pattern established by duplexes was followed for multifamily structures: of the twelve multifamily buildings identified in the Sanborn maps’ depiction of the Washington Avenue strip, nine sat south of Atwater Street in close vicinity to the trolley lines along Campbell and Thomas/Blohm.⁷³ Two of the other multifamily buildings sat near trolley lines elsewhere—one further north on Campbell, between Brown and Court

⁷² See *infra* notes 183-185 and accompanying text.

⁷³ See *infra* Appendix I tbls.3-6.

streets, and one on Ward Place, adjacent to “Ward’s Corner” where the “M” and “D” trains intersected with the “J” line.⁷⁴

West Haven’s housing market thus worked with a logical efficiency: in places near transportation nodes, where density was most valuable, West Haveners had built more densely. Builders and other market participants reserved single-family housing for lots further away from the trolley lines. This pattern of settlement is entirely consistent with Cappel’s pre-zoning findings from the East Rock neighborhood of New Haven, where multifamily housing was concentrated along Whitney Avenue and State Street, the two streets in the area served by streetcar lines.⁷⁵

4. Residential Adjacency to Industrial Uses

One of the rationales proffered by Clowney for zoning in New Haven was to “stop the creep of industrial nuisance into residential neighborhoods.”⁷⁶ Although there tended to be a clear concentration of industrial uses in the Washington Avenue strip around the heavy rail lines of the New York, New Haven & Hartford and the streetcar car barn at Brown and Campbell,⁷⁷ some of these industrial uses did, in fact, stand close to private homes.⁷⁸ Does this adjacency of residential and industrial uses provide evidence that West Haven industry had invaded the quiet of residential neighborhoods?

The short answer is that in at least two of the three cases of close residential-industrial proximity in the Washington Avenue strip, residential neighborhoods had crept

⁷⁴ See *infra* notes 183-185 and accompanying text.

⁷⁵ See Cappel, *supra* note 3, at 631.

⁷⁶ Clowney, *supra* note 3, at 136.

⁷⁷ See *supra* note 70 and accompanying text.

⁷⁸ See 4 SANBORN MAPS, *supra* note 62, at 416-17 (showing that homes at 289-345 Washington Avenue stood across the street from the New England Tube & Stamping Co.); *id.* at 437 (depicting the presence of a “2nd Hand Lumber Yard” in the middle of an otherwise residential block); *id.* at 452 (showing that the Hall Organ Company’s manufacturing plant closely abutted a home at 676 Campbell Avenue).

into industrial areas rather than vice-versa. A striking example of this “move to the nuisance” crops up on Washington Avenue, where by 1924 a row of modest homes at numbers 289 through 345 stood directly across the street from the manufacturing facilities of the New England Tube & Stamping Company. Yet a look back to the 1901 Sanborn map of that location shows that although the same manufacturing plant—then serving the needs of the Mathushek Piano Company, not New England Tube—already stood at the corner of Brown and Washington, the homes across the street on Washington had not yet been built.⁷⁹ At some point between 1901 and 1924, a set of homebuilders had taken advantage of the land across from the plant to provide a site for affordable housing on Washington Avenue.⁸⁰

A similar dynamic was at play on Campbell Avenue, where the 1924 Sanborn maps depict a home at number 676 closely abutting the factory of the Hall Organ Company, a major industrial concern (see Figure 1 below). The 1901 Sanborn map sheds no light on the matter, since neither the organ factory nor the homes at 676 or 672 Campbell yet existed in 1901.⁸¹ But a 1912 trade magazine notice notes that “Hall & Co., organ manufacturers . . . have purchased land on Campbell Ave., West Haven, as a site for a new factory.”⁸² The homes next to the factory at number 672 and number 676 were built in 1921⁸³ and 1915,⁸⁴ respectively. These residential neighbors had followed Hall to their homesites.

⁷⁹ See 2 SANBORN MAP CO., INSURANCE MAPS OF NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, NOS. 192-97 (1901).

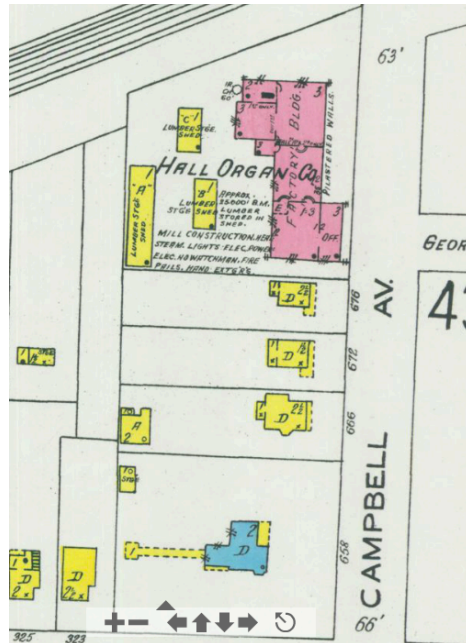
⁸⁰ As of the 1930 Census, this section of homes had the cheapest median rent of any block of houses on Washington Avenue. See *infra* Appendix II.

⁸¹ See 2 SANBORN MAP CO., INSURANCE MAPS OF NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, NO. 186 (1901). It should be noted, however, that homes at 658 and 666 Campbell had already been built by 1901.

⁸² See *General Manufacturing*, AM. MACHINIST, Apr. 4, 1912, at 77-78, https://books.google.com/books?id=mLBLAQAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

⁸³ See Appraisal Data for 672 Campbell Avenue, WEST HAVEN, CT VISION GOVERNMENT SOLUTIONS, <http://gis.vgsi.com/westhavenct/Search.aspx> (search “672 Campbell Avenue”).

Figure 1: Hall Organ Company Abuts Residential Neighbors⁸⁵



The patterns of settlement at 676 Campbell and at 289-345 Washington accord with patterns of settlement described by Cappel in New Haven, where there was some “construction of inexpensive housing in strips alongside industrial districts, whose low cost compensated for the annoyance of smoke and noise.”⁸⁶ They are, moreover, in line with an overall pattern of industrial-residential coordination in which industrial uses were generally buffered in some way from skittish residential neighbors. An example of such buffering can be found at the West Haven Buckle Company, located at the junction of Washington Avenue and the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad.⁸⁷ The 1924 Sanborn maps show that the buckle factory was separated from other residential uses on

⁸⁴ See Appraisal Data for 676 Campbell Avenue, WEST HAVEN, CT VISION GOVERNMENT SOLUTIONS, <http://gis.vgsi.com/westhavenct/Search.aspx> (search “676 Campbell Avenue”).

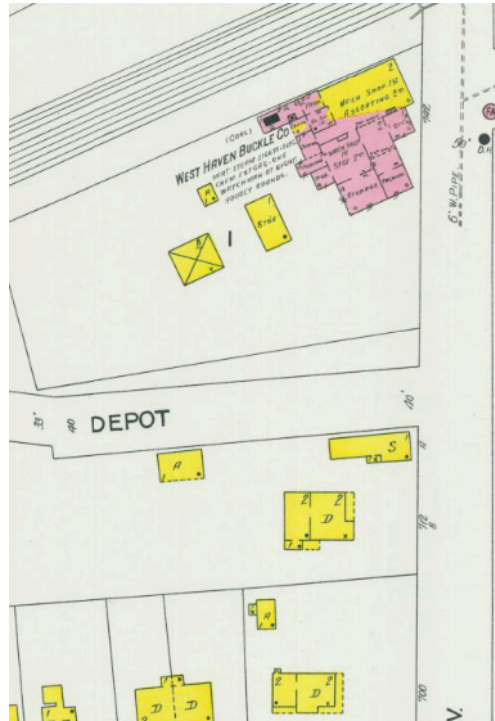
⁸⁵ See 4 SANBORN MAPS, *supra* note 62, at 433.

⁸⁶ Cappel, *supra* note 3, at 630-31 (citing FLOYD M. SHUMWAY & RICHARD HEGEL, *NEW HAVEN: A TOPOGRAPHICAL HISTORY* (1988)).

⁸⁷ See Appendix I tbl.2. Until its 2014 demolition, the plant of the West Haven Buckle Shop had been standing on the same site at 742 Washington Avenue since 1850. See Mark Zaretsky, *West Haven Mayor Kicks Off Buckle Co. Demolition*, *NEW HAVEN REGISTER*, July 22, 2014, at <http://www.nhregister.com/general-news/20140722/west-haven-mayor-kicks-off-buckle-co-building-demolition>.

Washington Avenue by Depot Street, then by a commercial store. The factory was over 150 feet away from the nearest house on its side of Washington Avenue, number 712.

Figure 2: West Haven Buckle Company Buffered From Neighboring Residences⁸⁸



This kind of use-coordination is a microcosm of the larger picture in West Haven. In the main, land uses in the Washington Avenue strip displayed a striking level of predictability, such that to the modern eye they appear planned: commercial uses are mostly gathered in a compact central business district or around a popular beach resort (Savin Rock); industrial uses are clustered around heavy- and light-rail links; residential uses are divided between multifamily residences clustered to provide easy access to public transportation and single-family homes located at a remove from the noise and density of the streetcar/multifamily/commercial-use landscape. On the evidence provided

⁸⁸ 4 SANBORN MAPS, *supra* note 62, at 433.

by the Sanborn maps, it would be hard to make the case that zoning arose out of a pressing need for better use-coordination in West Haven.

B. Coordination of Building Forms

The Washington Avenue strip's high level of use-coordination was matched by a remarkable regularity in formal aspects of the physical landscape, such as front-yard and side-yard setbacks and building heights. The consistency with which homeowners and builders matched the standards set by neighbors shows that even in the absence of central building regulations, the built landscape could be effectively regulated by community norms.

1. Building Heights

Data on building heights in the Washington Avenue strip are presented at Appendix I, Tables 7-10. They present a picture of extreme uniformity: on the strip's residential side streets, 89% of the structures were either 2- or 2.5-story buildings.⁸⁹ On Washington Avenue itself, 92% of structures were either 2- or 2.5-story buildings.⁹⁰ Campbell Avenue, home to a number of 1-story and 3-story structures, exhibited slightly greater height disuniformity, but its streetscape was easily dominated by the 2- and 2.5-story buildings that prevailed elsewhere.⁹¹

2. Front-Yard Setbacks

Although I have not quantified the regularity of the Washington Avenue strip's front-yard setbacks, a cursory glance at the Sanborn maps reveals that these were nearly always uniform within a given neighborhood. The image reproduced below of Smith

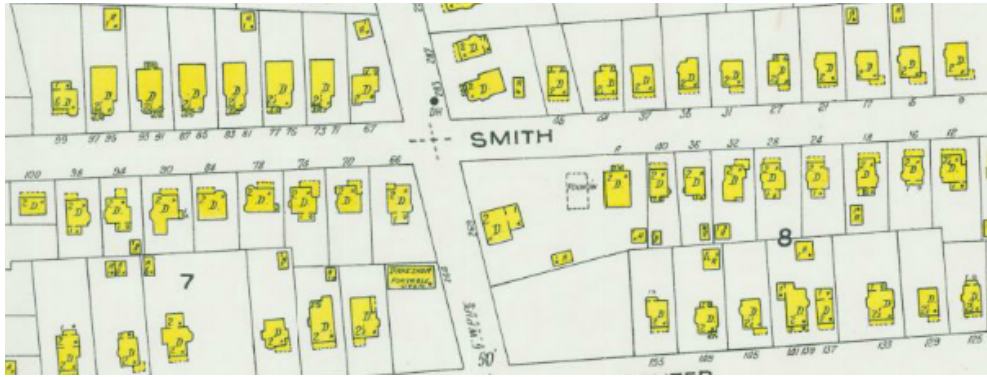
⁸⁹ See Appendix I tbl.7.

⁹⁰ See *id.* at tbl.8.

⁹¹ See *id.* at tbl.9.

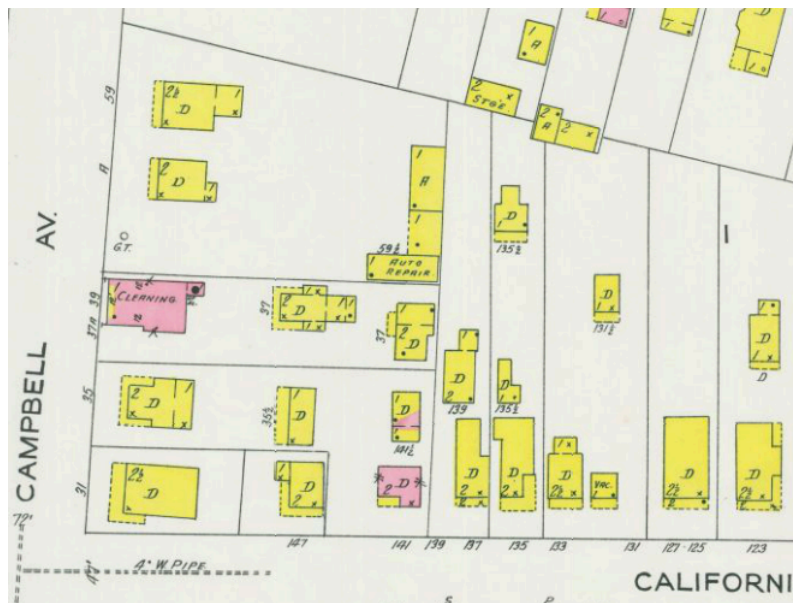
Street provides a representative picture of the regularity that generally attended front-yard setbacks on residential streets.

Figure 3: Uniform Front-Yard Setbacks on Smith Street⁹²



Even the corner of California and Campbell, the section of the strip that was the most disorganized—multiple homes crowded onto a single lot, close mixing of different uses, highly irregular backyards, and side-yard coordination problems—exhibited surprising regularity in its front-yard setbacks.

Figure 4: Uniform Front-Yard Setbacks on California Street

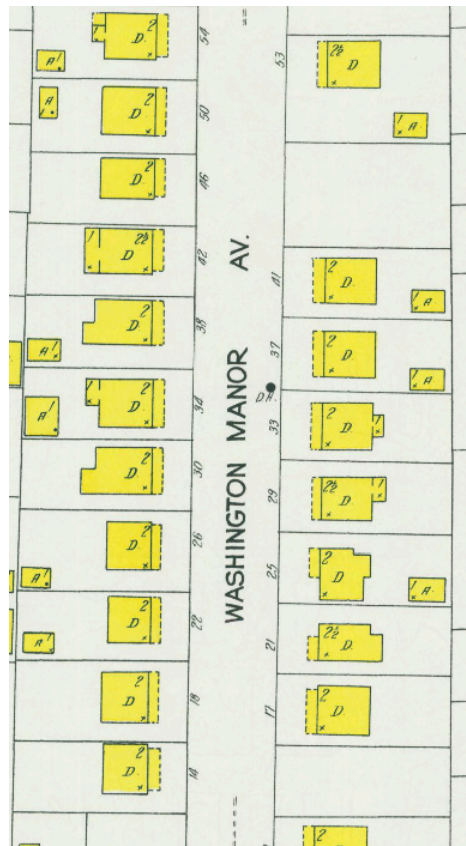


⁹² See 4 SANBORN MAPS, *supra* note 62, at 435.

3. Side Yards

Notwithstanding a few examples of coordination failure (such as that exhibited at Figure 4 between 135 and 137 California Street), the Sanborn maps generally provide evidence of a close coordination effort between neighbors to maximize side-yard space. An example of this informal coordination can be found on Washington Manor Avenue (Figure 5), where homes on the west side of the street were uniformly sited on the northern edge of their lots and homes on the east side of the street were mostly sited on the center of their lots.

Figure 5: Side-yard Coordination on Washington Manor



This pattern of organization is a reflection of the choices made by the first households that built on the street: on the east side of Washington Manor, the builders of the home at number 37 built their house in 1911 squarely in the middle of the lot, with

equal amounts of side-yard space on either side.⁹³ Although this pattern was disregarded by the builders of number 25, who put their home on the southern edge of its lot in 1917,⁹⁴ their southern neighbors at number 21 were able to assure adequate side-yard space by building closer to the southern edge of their lot in 1920.⁹⁵ Meanwhile on the west side of the street, the builders of number 42, who put their home hard against the northern edge of their property line in 1913,⁹⁶ induced those who built later to place their homes, too, against the northern edge of their lots. Thus were all the homes on Washington Manor guaranteed uniform and adequate side yards.

* * *

The general picture of the Washington Avenue strip that emerges from the 1924 Sanborn maps is mostly supportive of the account advanced by Cappel in his examination of coordination patterns in East Rock. Land uses and building forms in this section of West Haven displayed consistently high levels of organization at both the macro- and micro-levels: industrial, commercial and residential uses were kept generally separate from each other, with a clustering-together of multifamily residential around public transit links at the southern end of the strip; building forms were consistent throughout town, and hewed to patterns established by neighbors who had come before. An explanation for zoning's purposes in West Haven ought to focus on other factors.

⁹³ See Appraisal Data for 37 Washington Manor, WEST HAVEN, CT VISION GOVERNMENT SOLUTIONS, <http://gis.vgsi.com/westhavenct/Search.aspx> (search "37 Washington Manor").

⁹⁴ See Appraisal Data for 25 Washington Manor, WEST HAVEN, CT VISION GOVERNMENT SOLUTIONS, <http://gis.vgsi.com/westhavenct/Search.aspx> (search "25 Washington Manor").

⁹⁵ See Appraisal Data for 21 Washington Manor, WEST HAVEN, CT VISION GOVERNMENT SOLUTIONS, <http://gis.vgsi.com/westhavenct/Search.aspx> (search "21 Washington Manor").

⁹⁶ See Appraisal Data for 42 Washington Manor, WEST HAVEN, CT VISION GOVERNMENT SOLUTIONS, <http://gis.vgsi.com/westhavenct/Search.aspx> (search "42 Washington Manor").

Part II: West Haven's Social Landscape

A. West Haven in 1930: A Snapshot

The data presented above supply a sense of the town's physical composition in 1924, but they can only hint at the complex social and economic dynamics arising from West Haven's transformation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from a sleepy farming town adjacent to New Haven to a modern "streetcar suburb" of one of New England's foremost industrial centers. The shift from village to suburb had broad consequences for West Haven, not least of which was its emergence as an independent entity in 1921. Prior to that time the borough of West Haven had been a constituent part of the town of Orange; this municipal arrangement stretched back to 1822, when the religious parish of West Haven joined with the religious parish of North Milford to petition the state assembly for the formation of an independent township governing and uniting the two areas.⁹⁷ A thumbnail sketch of rural Orange as it may have appeared in this era is well captured by the WPA writers' description of West Haven's last remaining "back country" in 1940:

Stone fences divide rolling upland pastures and brushlots, with here and there a trace of the old rail fences, built of split chestnut. . . . Old farmhouses, usually of white clapboarding with green shutters and blinds, stand back from the road with their collections of barns, silos, corncrubs, and chicken coops near by, conveniently located for service during the long winters⁹⁸

The Civil War and the postwar boom of urban industrialization in New Haven would alter this pastoral picture, at least with regard to West Haven: after the war, horse-drawn and then electric streetcars connected West Haven to the burgeoning factories of

⁹⁷ See MARY R. WOODRUFF, *HISTORY OF ORANGE, NORTH MILFORD, CONNECTICUT, 1639-1949*, at 33-34 (1949).

⁹⁸ WPA, *HISTORY OF WEST HAVEN*, *supra* note 4, at 4-5.

New Haven,⁹⁹ and Orange began to develop a concentration of population around the old West Haven town green,¹⁰⁰ where the commuter lines terminated.¹⁰¹ These new suburban residents clamored for public goods—paved roads, street lighting, police and fire services—that the rural denizens of Orange were disinclined to provide; struggles over property tax rates stimulated the creation of a separate borough for West Haven in 1873.¹⁰² The new borough government—wielding its own authority to tax—saw to the provision of new public services within borough boundaries, while the Orange town government continued to administer schools throughout the town.¹⁰³

Meanwhile the transformation of West Haven continued apace: the village sprouted more industrial uses of its own as firms like the Mathushek Piano Company and American Buckle Company moved production operations to West Haven in the 1870s and 1880s.¹⁰⁴ The WPA history credits a “lack of crowding in housing facilities” for enticing a growing population of semiskilled labor to West Haven around the turn of the century.¹⁰⁵ This workforce would help to drive the New Haven and West Haven economies forward. But it put further strain on the internal politics of the town of Orange, whose population had more than doubled between 1900 and 1920, from seven thousand to over sixteen thousand.¹⁰⁶ In 1921, residents of the town’s northern precincts petitioned the legislature for the division of Orange, citing their “uneas[e] over the financial burdens the town is acquiring” and their feeling that “the West Haven people and the more rural

⁹⁹ See *infra* notes 103-112 and accompanying text.

¹⁰⁰ WPA, HISTORY OF WEST HAVEN, *supra* note 4, at 21.

¹⁰¹ See *infra* note 110 and accompanying text.

¹⁰² WPA, HISTORY OF WEST HAVEN, *supra* note 4, at 21.

¹⁰³ *Id.* at 22.

¹⁰⁴ *Id.*

¹⁰⁵ *Id.*

¹⁰⁶ See *Connecticut Population by Town 1900-1960*, CONNECTICUT DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, <http://www.ct.gov/ecd/cwp/view.asp?a=1106&q=250674> (last visited Dec. 15, 2014).

residents of the northern section have little in common.”¹⁰⁷ The secessionists had their way, and got to keep the town name of Orange; the General Assembly incorporated West Haven as a separate town on June 24, 1921, a few months shy of the centennial anniversary of West Haven’s and North Milford’s 1822 union.¹⁰⁸

Clearly, then, as the newly minted town of West Haven emerged into the era of zoning controls, its changing population profile was salient to its civic identity. Who were the people who had been moving in droves to this upstart suburb, and how did West Haven compare demographically with its neighbors? What were these residents’ occupations? What was the value of their homes? Was it a town of renters or of homeowners? The 1930 Census conveniently sheds light on these features of West Haven’s community profile almost precisely at the moment that the town selected its first zoning commission, but just before that commission enacted a zoning code or zoning map.¹⁰⁹ These data thus chart the social landscape that *laissez-faire* land use policies had produced in West Haven, and may therefore shed light on whatever social or economic motivations might lay behind the town’s adoption of centralized land use controls.

1. Racial Composition

West Haven in 1930 was a diverse city in some respects, but not racially: the Census that year recorded the residence of just 33 black households out of 6,573 households overall.¹¹⁰ The rest of the city was classified as “Native white”—nearly equally divided between those whose heads of household were of “Native parentage”

¹⁰⁷ *Orange Would Cut From West Haven*, HARTFORD COURANT, May 4, 1921, at 4.

¹⁰⁸ WPA, HISTORY OF WEST HAVEN, *supra* note 4, at 26.

¹⁰⁹ Compare ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TOWN OF WEST HAVEN, YEAR ENDING APRIL 30TH, 1930, at 7, with ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TOWN OF WEST HAVEN, YEAR ENDING APRIL 30TH, 1931, at 90.

¹¹⁰ U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, 6 POPULATION OF THE FIFTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES: 1930, at 234 (1933) [hereinafter 6 POPULATION 1930 CENSUS], available at <http://perma.cc/3DT7-RN6H>.

(2,582 households) and those of “Foreign or mixed parentage” (2,010 households)—or “Foreign born white” (1,938 households). Ten households were categorized as neither “Negro” nor “white,”¹¹¹ leaving West Haven in 1930 with a population that was, by the Census’s calculation, 99.4% white.¹¹²

Although this racial homogeneity is striking in the modern American context, West Haven’s 1930 demographics were hardly unusual among Connecticut cities of its size. Meriden, then home to nearly 10,000 Census-designated “families,” only accounted 29 non-white households; only 22 of East Hartford’s 4,000 households were black.¹¹³ Even Connecticut’s great cities, where the state’s nascent non-white population was concentrated, were overwhelmingly white: Bridgeport (97.7% white), New Haven (96.7% white) and Hartford (96% white) cumulatively hosted just 15,126 black residents and 271 other non-white residents.¹¹⁴ Statewide, 98.1% of the population was white.¹¹⁵ There was, moreover, no evidence that Connecticut’s nonwhite population was growing: as a proportion of the state’s population, the number of nonwhite households in Connecticut was effectively static between 1890 and 1930, hovering between 1.7% and 1.9% of the population.¹¹⁶ After the Second World War and the mass exodus of black families from the South in the Second Great Migration, Connecticut (and West Haven)

¹¹¹ The 1930 Census pre-populated its response sheets with 11 different “race or color options.” Jennifer L. Hochschild & Brenna M. Powell, *Racial Reorganization and the United States Census 1850-1930: Mulattoes, Half-Breeds, Mixed Parentage, Hindoos, and the Mexican Race*, 22 *STUDIES IN AM. POLIT. DEVELOPMENT* 59, 70 n.80 (2008).

¹¹² 6 *POPULATION 1930 CENSUS*, *supra* note 110, at 234.

¹¹³ *Id.* at 233.

¹¹⁴ *Id.* at 218.

¹¹⁵ *Id.*

¹¹⁶ *Id.* at 217.

gained a sizable non-white minority.¹¹⁷ In 1930, however, West Haven was a monochrome town in a monochrome state.

The region's 1930 demography throws considerable doubt on the proposition that West Haven (or any other town in Connecticut) adopted zoning out of a desire to exclude nonwhites from the community, or to segregate those nonwhites in certain areas of a community. There were very few nonwhite households in urban or suburban Connecticut to exclude, and there is no demographic correlative (i.e., an increase in the nonwhite population) that would explain the sudden appearance of zoning ordinances in West Haven and throughout Connecticut premised on racist exclusion.

A race-based explanation for zoning also runs into a peculiar problem in the case of West Haven. As Shertzer, Twinam and Walsh have argued, a race-discriminatory zoning code would likely employ density restrictions in racially discriminatory ways by zoning black neighborhoods for high-density residential use and zoning white neighborhoods for low-density residential use.¹¹⁸ But, as tabulated below, West Haven's tiny black population was predominantly composed of owner-occupied households in a relatively low-density suburban setting.¹¹⁹ These nonwhite households could not be so easily marginalized through density restrictions. That isn't to say that race was not a factor in West Haven's determination to undertake zoning: it may well have played a role

¹¹⁷ Between 1930 and 1950, Connecticut's black population nearly doubled. It doubled again between 1950 and 1960, and again between 1960 and 1980. See Campbell Gibson & Kay Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States*, Table 21 (U.S. Census Bureau Working Paper Series No. 56, 2002), available at <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0056/tab21.pdf>. Today West Haven is considerably more racially and ethnically diverse than the state at large. See UNITED STATES CENSUS BUREAU, STATE & COUNTY QUICKFACTS: WEST HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/09/0982800.html>.

¹¹⁸ See Shertzer et al., *supra* note 52, at 4.

¹¹⁹ See note 135 and accompanying table.

in this policy shift. But on this set of Census data, race seems unlikely as a determinative cause of zoning in West Haven.

2. National Origin

Census statisticians in this era paid considerable attention to the degree of “nativity” among survey respondents. As noted above, white households were separately categorized not only by whether or not the head of household was native-born, but—if he were native-born—whether he was of “native parentage” or of “foreign or mixed parentage.”¹²⁰ The issue of “nativity” was a politically prominent one in the United States at the time: in 1924 Congress passed a sweeping overhaul of the nation’s immigration laws that conclusively renounced the open-armed regime that had heretofore permitted nearly unhindered immigration from Europe.¹²¹

Connecticut’s population of foreign-born persons in 1930 was substantial in relative terms, both geographically and temporally. Though only 9.7 percent of the population, and 19.2 percent of heads of household, were foreign-born in the United States in 1930,¹²² 23.8 percent of Connecticut’s population was foreign-born, along with a remarkable 42.4 percent of heads of household.¹²³ The 1930 Census marked a 40-year

¹²⁰ See, e.g., 6 POPULATION 1930 CENSUS, *supra* note 110, at 217.

¹²¹ See A. Warner Parker, *The Quota Provisions of the Immigration Act of 1924*, 18 AM. J. INT’L L. 737 (1924). Although U.S. immigration policy before 1924 was generally less restrictive, the country’s openness to migrants was not consistent: the federal government promulgated formal and informal restrictions on immigration from East Asia through the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1908, which curtailed Japanese immigration. See generally Monica Boyd, *Oriental Immigration: The Experience of the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Populations in the United States*, 5 INT’L MIGRATION REV. 48 (1971).

¹²² 6 POPULATION 1930 CENSUS, *supra* note 110, at 11.

¹²³ *Id.* at 217. The proportion of Connecticut’s foreign-born heads of household peaked in the 1920 Census, accounting for some 46.2% of households. Connecticut’s foreign-born population stands at approximately 13.5% of its overall population today, a rate only slightly higher than the nation’s at large (12.9%). See U.S. Census, Selected Social Characteristics in the United States, 2008-2012 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, at <http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk>.

high-water point in the relative number of Connecticut households headed by foreign-born whites and whites of “foreign or mixed parentage.”¹²⁴

The demographics in New Haven County were fairly typical of those in Connecticut at large, with 44.1% of all households headed by a person designated as “foreign-born white.”¹²⁵ Although these foreign born households were slightly more represented in the city of New Haven than in the county at large,¹²⁶ the city accounted for only 36% of foreign-born heads of household in the county—the rest resided in the county’s outlying towns.¹²⁷

In this context West Haven was atypical. The suburb was home to just 1,938 foreign-born heads of household, making up 29.5% of all households in the town. Among cities and towns with more than 10,000 residents, West Haven claimed the second-lowest proportion of foreign-born heads of household in the state; it was passed in this regard only by the affluent suburb of West Hartford, 28.7% of whose households were headed by foreign-born whites.¹²⁸ The 1930 Census data on West Haven therefore reveal two key demographic facts about the town: the first, hardly out of the ordinary in Connecticut, was that its population was almost uniformly white; the second was that, to a quite unusual degree, West Haven’s households were predominantly headed by native-born whites.

¹²⁴ See 6 POPULATION 1930 CENSUS, *supra* note 110, at 217.

¹²⁵ *Id.* at 231.

¹²⁶ *Id.* at 218 (recording at Table 4 that 45.9% of heads of household in the city of New Haven were foreign-born whites).

¹²⁷ Compare 6 POPULATION 1930 CENSUS, *supra* note 110, at 231 (recording 49,346 “foreign born” households in New Haven County) with *id.* at 218 (recording 18,150 “foreign born” households in the city of New Haven). The city of New Haven similarly accounted for 19,908 (33%) of the 60,064 “native” white households in the county. *Id.* at 218, 231.

¹²⁸ See 6 POPULATION 1930 CENSUS, *supra* note 110, at 233-34.

These data raise the murky possibility that zoning in West Haven (and perhaps elsewhere) was driven at least in part by a desire to exclude newly-arrived immigrants and their children, perhaps as part of a general hostility against certain ethnic groups. The concurrent rise of zoning and of national legislation designed to stem the influx of foreign immigrants makes this nativist narrative seem more plausible. But extrinsic evidence of tensions arising along the lines of ethnicity or national origin is hard to come by: aside from a petty, isolated act of anti-German sentiment during World War I (the theft of West Haven High School's German-language books¹²⁹), contemporary newspapers carried no reports of nativist discord.

As I discuss in Part II.B, moreover, the basic patterns of settlement—including patterns of ethnic settlement—in 1930 West Haven mirror the patterns of settlement found in the late-nineteenth-century Boston “streetcar suburbs” surveyed by Warner. For decades, notwithstanding the steady flow of a heterogeneous immigrant population, the social geography of towns like Dorchester and Roxbury had been governed first by household income, not ethnicity or national origin. The question of why suburban communities (like West Haven) across the United States would adopt zoning suddenly in the 1920s and 1930s, in response to patterns of immigrant settlement that had been established for many years, raises major problems for any nativist-zoning thesis.

As with the pattern of homeownership in West Haven's black community, the pattern of homeownership among West Haven's immigrant households also draws away from an explanation for zoning rooted in prejudice. As I will discuss in Part IV, the principal thrust of suburban zoning ordinances like West Haven's was to discourage density; this policy had the effect of benefiting property owners in low-density outlying

¹²⁹ *A West Haven Incident*, HARTFORD COURANT, Sept. 20, 1918, at 10.

neighborhoods by driving up land values in those areas. In line with the Homevoter Hypothesis, local policy would be driven by—and for the benefit of—these homeowners. Applied to 1930 West Haven, the ironic implication of this theory is that the bulk of West Haven’s immigrant households were benefited by the advent of zoning and the bulk of West Haven’s native-born population was not.

3. Rates of Homeownership

In the years since Professor Fischel published the book-length treatment¹³⁰ of his “homevoter hypothesis”—the notion that local government policy tends to reflect the interests of local property holders, who are motivated primarily by the desire to grow the value of their homes—his theory has become an accepted and well-established explanation for the policy choices of local communities.¹³¹ If Fischel’s theory is descriptively accurate, rates of homeownership within communities are important for gauging political incentives and may provide empirical explanation for certain policy outcomes.

The fact, then, that West Haven had unusually high rates of homeownership among Connecticut communities may be as important a demographic feature of the town as its racial homogeneity and its low proportion of naturalized residents. In 1930, over 52% of households in the town owned their homes—an appreciably higher rate than that obtaining in the city of New Haven (31%), the county (42%), the state (44%), or nationwide (46%).¹³² West Haven’s relatively high rate of homeownership, however, is consistent with the pattern in other suburban communities: West Hartford, for instance,

¹³⁰ FISCHEL, *supra* note 58.

¹³¹ See, e.g., Lee Anne Fennell, *Homes Rule*, 112 YALE L.J. 617, 636 (2002) (book review) (questioning Fischel’s normative conclusions but acknowledging that these concerns “do[] not undermine the descriptive force of Fischel’s model).

¹³² See 6 POPULATION 1930 CENSUS, *supra* note 110, at 11, 217-18, 231, 234.

saw a 60% rate of homeownership among its residents in 1930.¹³³ These results correspond with the intuition that the suburban “crabgrass frontier” is a realm uniquely dominated by the homevoter.¹³⁴

More counter-intuitive are the data on homeownership broken down by demographic group, presented below at Table 2. Most importantly, although native-born households outnumbered foreign-born households in West Haven 2.37 to 1, native-born *homeowners* outnumbered foreign-born homeowners only 1.66 to 1. Although a majority of West Haven’s native-born white households were renters, 66.7% of its foreign-born households were homeowners—a homeownership gap that was replicated across urban

Table 2: Homeownership Rates in Connecticut by Demographic Group¹³⁵

	Overall	Native-born White Households	Foreign-born White Households	Black Households
West Haven	0.53	0.47	0.67	0.68
New Haven	0.31	0.27	0.37	0.11
New Haven County	0.42	0.40	0.46	0.14
Connecticut	0.45	0.43	0.48	0.15

and suburban Connecticut. Whether the community was New Haven, Hartford, West Hartford, or Connecticut at large, the story was consistent: foreign-born whites owned their own homes at a higher rate than native-born whites.¹³⁶ This divergence is all the more notable given that (as discussed below) the value of homes owned by foreign born heads of household skewed lower than those owned by native-born Americans. Foreign-born Americans jumped more keenly to buy their own real property slices of America,

¹³³ See *id.* at 234.

¹³⁴ See KENNETH T. JACKSON, CRABGRASS FRONTIER: THE SUBURBANIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES 7 (1985).

¹³⁵ See 6 POPULATION 1930 CENSUS, *supra* note 110, at 217-18, 231, 234.

¹³⁶ See *id.*

even if these slices were smaller than their native-born neighbors'. Per Fischel, this enthusiasm for homeownership may have driven West Haven's minority foreign-born population to punch above its weight in local politics. The potential significance of this pattern of homeownership is discussed below in Part IV.

4. Home Values and Rents

West Haven's 1930 housing stock was almost equally divided between rented and owner-occupied homes, but the rentals and owner-occupied houses sent different signals about West Haven's standing in the region. On one hand, rental housing in West Haven carried a substantial premium over rental housing elsewhere: median nonfarm rent in West Haven was \$39.06,¹³⁷ as compared to \$28.41 statewide, \$29.03 in New Haven County, \$29.36 in Fairfield County, and \$32.85 in Hartford County.¹³⁸ These price data, as well as the physical data from the Sanborn maps, lend credence to the assessment of West Haven's boosters, recorded in the 1940 WPA history of the town, that "[t]he factory hand enjoyed a better living in West Haven than in many of the larger cities."¹³⁹

Although West Haven's rents were unusually high, its home prices—the reported median value of owner-occupied houses—were unusually low. At \$6,851, the median-priced West Haven home¹⁴⁰ was cheaper than the median-priced nonfarm home in Connecticut (\$7,013), New Haven County (\$7,138), Fairfield County (\$7,390), or Hartford County (\$8,781).¹⁴¹ A town's or county's reported rents generally tracked with its property values. But in the sample of Connecticut cities listed by the Census Bureau,

¹³⁷ See 6 POPULATION 1930 CENSUS, *supra* note 110, at 234.

¹³⁸ *Id.* at 231. Although West Haven was host to somewhat larger families than average—the median household in West Haven had 3.91 members, compared to 3.29 in New Haven County and 3.45 statewide—this difference is not dramatic enough to explain West Haven's higher rents. See *id.* at 220 tbl.6, 231, 234.

¹³⁹ WPA, HISTORY OF WEST HAVEN, *supra* note 4, at 22.

¹⁴⁰ 6 POPULATION 1930 CENSUS, *supra* note 110, at 234.

¹⁴¹ *Id.* at 231.

West Haven stands out as an unusual case: the median value of owner-occupied property in Stamford, for instance, where median rents were roughly equivalent to West Haven's (\$39.46 against \$39.06) was worth over 150% of what it was in West Haven (\$10,524 against \$6,851).¹⁴² Although West Haven's median real estate values were still high when measured against the nation's,¹⁴³ they appear to have been among the region's dregs. West Haven's property value-rent paradox suggests that the quality of its rental housing (relative to the region) was high, and the quality of its owner-occupied housing (relative to the region) was low. Such a conclusion would rest either on systematic differences between West Haven's rental and owner-occupied housing stocks, systematic differences between the region's rental and owner-occupied housing stocks, or some combination of these. Those possibilities, and an alternative explanation, are addressed in Part IV.

Finally, Census statisticians took note of the ways that rents and home values broke down differently in West Haven and elsewhere for different demographic groups. Although West Haven bucked the general trend of correlated home prices and rents, it fell into line in its demographic price-rent trends: in West Haven, as across the state at large,¹⁴⁴ immigrant households tended to live in lower-rent and lower-priced homes than households headed by native-born Americans. Native-born white tenants reported a median rent of \$39.80, and foreign-born white tenants reported a median rent of \$36.36; for native-born households the median home value was \$7,087, compared to \$6,478 for

¹⁴² *Id.* at 234.

¹⁴³ Median home values in West Haven were 43% higher than the national median (\$4778). *Compare id.* at 234, *with id.* at 38.

¹⁴⁴ The Census reported that the statewide median value of owner-occupied homes for whites of "native parentage" was \$7,747, that the median value of homes for second-generation Americans was \$7,228, and that the median value of homes occupied by foreign born-whites was \$6,594. A similar cascade appears in statewide median rents for these groups, which were \$33.59, \$30.61, and \$25.63, respectively. *Id.* at 222 tbl.8.

foreign-born homeowners.¹⁴⁵ But these gaps were narrower in West Haven than in the rest of the state: whereas native whites' rents were 25% higher than white immigrants' rents across the state, they were only 9% higher in West Haven; statewide, median home values were 13% higher for native-born white homeowners than for immigrants, while the equivalent gap in West Haven was 9%.¹⁴⁶ The home-value and rent gaps were much higher in urban New Haven, where the rent gap between natives and immigrants was 38% and the home-value gap was 39%.

These data shed some light on the social nuances facing immigrants who made the choice between settling down in New Haven or West Haven. Although immigrant workers who rented homes in West Haven paid higher rents than they would have paid in New Haven, they obtained a measure of social equality with their native-born neighbors that they wouldn't have had in New Haven. Unlike renters, immigrant homebuyers enjoyed relatively *cheaper* housing options in West Haven, but they too were buying into a market that was less stratified by national origin than the homebuyers' market in New Haven.

B. The Census-Taker's View of the Washington Avenue Strip

The Census statistical reports usefully compare West Haven with other cities and towns in Connecticut, but they have little to say about how West Haven was internally oriented and organized—they provide no information, for instance, on the extent to which West Haven's renters and homeowners were segregated, whether immigrants and their families were clustered in ethnic groupings, or the extent to which housing patterns mapped onto household economic stratification.

¹⁴⁵ *Id.* at 234.

¹⁴⁶ *Compare id.* at 222 tbl.8, *with id.* at 234.

Such information can come only through a more granular investigation of the Census data. These are available in the form of Census enumeration sheets—the data sets completed in handwriting by West Haven’s Census “enumerators” as they walked door-to-door around town in the spring of 1930, collecting information for the national questionnaire. The Washington Avenue strip lay within four 1930 Census enumeration districts: 273, 275, 276, and 278.¹⁴⁷ A recording of data from these districts, including all households within the Washington Avenue strip (except for those on the west side of Campbell Avenue and those on the east side of Peck Avenue), is presented at Appendix II. For reasons of economy, I limited the systematic transcription of data to those items most relevant to this study: the household’s (1) street address and (2) house number; (3) the name of the person listed as the “head” of the household; (4) the number of persons included in the household; (5) whether the home’s occupants rented or owned the home; (6) the rental value or purchase value of the home; (7) the head of household’s race; (8) the head of household’s birthplace; (9) the head of household’s father’s birthplace; (10) the head of household’s occupation; and (11) the head of household’s employer. These data were collected from 1,542 households, or nearly one-quarter of West Haven’s 6,573 households.¹⁴⁸

A few general features of this sample of the town should be noted at the outset. Heads of household in the Washington Avenue strip were likelier than other West Haveners to have been born in the United States (77%), to be white (99.8%), and to rent their homes (55%). The relatively lower rate of homeownership in the sample is likely due to the inclusion of Campbell Avenue and Main Street, home to many of West

¹⁴⁷ See 1930 U.S. CENSUS, NEW HAVEN COUNTY, CONNECTICUT, POPULATION SCHEDULE, ENUMERATION DISTRICT 273, 275, 276, 278, *available at* <http://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=6224>.

¹⁴⁸ See 6 POPULATION 1930 CENSUS, *supra* note 110, at 234.

Haven's larger multifamily structures.¹⁴⁹ Additionally, the strip's median owner-occupied home value (\$7,650) is substantially greater than the town's median home value (\$6,851), while its median rent (\$35) is somewhat lower than the town's median rent (\$39.06).

Those caveats aside, the strip nevertheless presents a diverse range of ethnicities, home values/rents, and occupations. A portrait of the Washington Avenue strip is, in many respects, a portrait in miniature of the New Haven metropolitan area's middle-class workforce at its industrial apogee. Among its denizens were over 150 heads of household who worked in various roles for the mighty New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad;¹⁵⁰ close to three dozen worked as molders, machinists, salesmen and managers in the rubber industry, some probably employed by the Candee Rubber Company, traditionally one of New Haven's largest employers;¹⁵¹ over 20 heads of household described their employment as "gun shop" or "gun company," which might refer to any number of area manufacturers, including the famous Winchester Repeating Arms Company of New Haven or the less-famous S.R. Avis & Sons of West Haven, a gun barrel producer;¹⁵² four described working at a "bird-cage shop," almost certainly New Haven's Andrew B. Hendryx Co., "one of the nation's leading manufacturers of bird and pet cages";¹⁵³ and eight worked in the organ industry, likely at Hall Organ Company on

¹⁴⁹ The Census indicates apartment blocks at 228, 232, 254, and 308 Main Street. See Appendix II. These were apparently built between the completion of the 1924 Sanborn maps and the taking of the 1930 Census.

¹⁵⁰ The New Haven's might was not long for the world: it filed for bankruptcy in October 1935. See *Palmer v. Palmer*, 104 F.2d 161, 162 (2d Cir. 1939) (Hand, L.).

¹⁵¹ See MICHAEL SLETCHER, *NEW HAVEN: FROM PURITANISM TO THE AGE OF TERRORISM* 106 (2004).

¹⁵² See Connecticut Department of Factory Inspection, *Fifth Biennial Report to the Governor*, in 3 PUBLIC DOCUMENTS OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT 33, 58-59 (1917).

¹⁵³ *Past Exhibitions*, New Haven Museum, <http://newhavenmuseum.org/museum-collections/past-exhibitions/> (last visited Dec. 9, 2014); see also Linda Gross, *The Andrew B. Hendryx Company Knew Why Caged Birds Sing*, HAGLEY LIBRARY (Oct. 9, 2013), <http://www.hagley.org/librarynews/andrew-b-hendryx-company-knew-why-caged-birds-sing>.

Campbell Avenue.¹⁵⁴ The list of occupations, and its sheer variety—cigar-making, corset-making, tool and hardware production—highlights the lingering vitality of the area’s manufacturing economy during this period, an economy that provided the foundation for employment of the Washington Avenue strip’s other residents: grocers, restaurateurs, teachers, dentists, doctors, and lawyers.

And although West Haven was mostly home to native-born citizens, a large population of second-generation Americans made the Washington Avenue strip a rather cosmopolitan place. Table 3 below lists the birthplaces of the fathers of the Washington Avenue strip’s heads of households. Although more came from lower New England (Connecticut, Rhode Island, or Massachusetts) than from any other single region, a majority (51%) of the area’s householders were born to fathers born abroad.

Table 3: Father’s Birthplace (# of respondents)

Lower New England (United States)	453	South (United States)	12
Mid-Atlantic (United States)	212	Lithuania	10
Ireland	163	Greece	6
Germany	144	Austria	5
Italy	107	Hungary	4
England	93	Norway	4
Upper New England (United States)	50	Turkey	4
Sweden	40	Finland	3
French Canada	34	Switzerland	3
Russia	27	Wales	3
Scotland	27	Belgium	2
Northern Ireland	24	Bulgaria	1
English Canada	23	China	1
Great Lakes (United States)	19	Czechoslovakia	1
Poland	17	Spain	1
Denmark	16	Syria	1
France	14		

Yet as a review of Appendix II shows, the Washington Avenue strip’s households tended not to settle along ethnic lines. The town’s small Lithuanian-Jewish community

¹⁵⁴ See note 70 and accompanying text.

provides an instructive example: although immigrants John Stockonas and Peter Gellen lived at 165 Park Street together (Gellen, the homeowner, rented space out to Stockonas and his family)—just down the street from Louis Medley at 120 Park—the area’s other first- and second-generation Lithuanian households were more scattered. Louis Podowitz, a paper merchandise salesman, made his home at 251 Blohm Street, two blocks away. John Makarevich, a waiter living at 419 Campbell Avenue (far to the north of Blohm and Park) with his family, shared his address with Gust Meatelos, a Greek cook. Mr. Makarevich and Mr. Meatelos may have been co-workers. John Pickell, a Lithuanian cook, lived at 64 California Street, close to Long Island Sound.

California Street, home to a medley of lower-middle-class and working-class households—heads of household were employed as mechanics, janitors, chauffeurs, packers, waiters, and carpenters—well illustrates West Haven’s mixing of ethnicities. Residents included immigrants and children of immigrants from Lithuania, Germany, Sweden, Italy, Ireland, Northern Ireland, France, England, and Canada.

Martin Street, a quiet residential thoroughfare eight-tenths of a mile uphill from California Street and at another place on the socio-economic spectrum—its residents included a doctor, social worker, pharmacist, teacher, civil engineer, and the town’s postmaster—played host to its own array of diverse national backgrounds, including second-generation Americans whose fathers hailed from Italy, Sweden, Ireland, England, Scotland, Poland, Quebec, and Germany.

About midway between California and Martin, on Atwater Street, John Moore—a Virginia-born mail carrier for the U.S. Post Office and the head of one of the Washington Avenue strip’s two black families—owned a \$5,000 home at number 22. His neighbors

included Matthew Lawson, a Danish immigrant and Connecticut Company streetcar operator, at number 18; Julius Gancy, a second-generation Hungarian-American who worked with sewing machines, at number 21; and James Reynolds, a native of Ireland employed as a watchman for the New York, New Haven, and Hartford, at number 23.

When Sam Bass Warner wrote that “[a]lmost every street in Dorchester contained at least one landowner from each of the major immigrant groups,”¹⁵⁵ he might as well have been writing about West Haven. As in West Haven in 1930, much of Dorchester’s 1905 population consisted of first- and second-generation Americans.¹⁵⁶ As they had in Dorchester, these first- and second-generation Americans came to West Haven in search of a more secure footing in the United States. “Nationality and occupational statistics,” writes Warner, “show Dorchester to have been a middle-income community whose ethnic composition reflected the steady rise of new immigrants into the middle class.”¹⁵⁷ The block-level Census data from the Washington Avenue strip tends to affirm that streetcar suburbs like West Haven and Dorchester were engines for economic and social advancement and cultural assimilation.

If West Haveners didn’t settle into ethnic enclaves in 1930, how was their settlement organized? The examples above have already indicated the pattern: housing was stratified by the tenant’s or homeowner’s economic status and occupation. Consistent with the building data presented in Part I, the Census enumeration sheets show that manual laborers and semi-skilled factory hands tended to occupy the smaller, more crowded housing near Savin Rock, on California, Thomas and Park Streets. The further

¹⁵⁵ WARNER, *supra* note 1, at 80.

¹⁵⁶ *See id.* at 79 (noting that in 1905, 57.3 percent of Dorchester’s population was either foreign-born or the children of foreign-born persons).

¹⁵⁷ *Id.*

inland from the Sound, the more households were headed by small-business owners or persons engaged in low-skill office work. Beyond Brown Street and its industrial concerns—among them, New England Tube & Stamping Co. and William Hecht Cigar Manufacturing¹⁵⁸—the houses become more spacious, and their inhabitants’ jobs more rarefied and education-dependent: banker, lawyer, architectural engineer. Proceeding further north, towards the east-west heavy rail tracks of the N.Y.N.H.&H., the occupations again drop to less remunerative careers, as on George Street: maintenance man, bricklayer, mail clerk.

Naturally, this form of occupational stratification ran concomitant with stratification in rents and home values. The median value of an owner-occupied home on California Street was \$5,700; the median value of an owner-occupied home on Main Street was nearly three times that—\$15,000; the median value of an owner-occupied home on George Street stood at \$6,500. Median rents trended in the same directions.

These local geo-economic gradations are intuitive, but critical to understanding an essential fact of pre-zoning West Haven: like in other towns of its kind, market forces had *already* enacted a rather strict form of economic zoning in West Haven. As Warner wrote of Roxbury and Dorchester: “The patterned spread of various kinds of new construction bears witness to the power of the informal neighborhood regulation of building. It was a power based upon the sensitivity of individual landowners to the economic standing of their neighbors.”¹⁵⁹ Such persistent economic stratification strongly cuts against an explanation for zoning regulation premised on the purpose of segregating economic classes. Decentralized land-use controls, in the form of individuals’ own housing choices,

¹⁵⁸ See note 70 and accompanying text.

¹⁵⁹ WARNER, *supra* note 1, at 154.

had long since made centralized controls unnecessary. This conclusion is not only consistent with Warner's Roxbury and Dorchester observations, but also with Cappel's New Haven data.¹⁶⁰

On the other hand, these Census data indicate that West Haven's neighborhoods were extremely heterogeneous in ethnic terms. Could a rising tide of nativism or ethnic strife in the 1920s have driven the advent of zoning in West Haven? As noted before,¹⁶¹ there's little evidence of ethnic tensions in West Haven during this period; Warner also posits that in the Boston streetcar suburbs, "families of similar economic standing lived next to each other, and their similarity of economic position helped them to learn to ignore their differences of religion and national background."¹⁶²

But even supposing there *were* ethnic strife or nativist sentiment behind zoning, the cure (zoning) would be a poorly-fitted solution for the problem (rising numbers of new immigrants): in the Washington Avenue strip, as in West Haven at large, immigrants were the *most enthusiastic* demographic for homeownership: 61% of the strip's foreign-born households were owner-occupied, as against 40% of its native-born households. In Part IV, below, I will discuss how the architect of West Haven's first zoning ordinance designed suburban zoning ordinances to optimize the real estate value of single-family homes—precisely the assets that immigrants in West Haven were snatching up at almost twice the rate of native-born whites. If these laws were meant to discriminate on the basis of national origin or nativity, they were badly designed. A likelier scenario is that ethnic or nativist discrimination played no significant role in motivating the adoption of zoning.

¹⁶⁰ See Cappel, *supra* note 3, at 632-33.

¹⁶¹ See note 103 and accompanying text.

¹⁶² WARNER, *supra* note 1, at 161.

Part III: West Haven's Transportation Landscape

So far this paper has explored two traditional explanations for the advent of zoning: first, that zoning was introduced to control coordination failures at the block level; second, that zoning was introduced to segregate cities by class, race, or ethnicity. As discussed in Parts I and II, neither of these explanations adequately describes the situation in West Haven in the late 1920s.

We turn now to an account of zoning's origins put forward by Professor Fischel in a 2004 article, *An Economic History of Zoning and a Cure for Its Exclusionary Effects*.¹⁶³ Fischel's article built on his own famous "homevoter hypothesis," as well as the work done by Cappel, to argue that an "urban transport revolution that replaced walking with motorised transport led to a less obvious political revolution" in the form of homevoter-directed zoning control in cities and, to a greater extent, suburbs.¹⁶⁴ Embracing Cappel's conclusion that the built landscape of residential neighborhoods prior to the advent of zoning tended toward orderliness and uniformity, Fischel began with the premise that "[i]f zoning is concerned, as its many proponents claimed, with promoting neighbourhood uniformity and thus preserving property values, it is not clear why any city would have adopted it during zoning's hey-day."¹⁶⁵ Plus, he contended, other studies show that "the nuisances and near-nuisances that were said to give rise to zoning were much worse in the past. If it was just technical externalities that gave rise to zoning, American cities would have had it decades before its actual inception."¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ William A. Fischel, *An Economic History of Zoning and a Cure for Its Exclusionary Effects*, 41 URB. STUD. 317 (2004).

¹⁶⁴ *Id.* at 327.

¹⁶⁵ *Id.* at 320.

¹⁶⁶ *Id.* at 319 (citations omitted).

Searching for a “general explanation[.]”¹⁶⁷ that would fit with the particular timing of zoning’s rise, Fischel adverted to changing transportation modes for his answer. Recalling the empirical findings of Cappel and others that “homebuilders and organised home-owners used their political influence to prevent streetcar intrusion into residential or prospectively residential areas,” he explained that “[c]ontrol over the location of streetcar lines, in other words, was a substitute for zoning,” and that the “original residents of American streetcar suburbs seemed to have been doing okay without zoning.”¹⁶⁸

The answer he zeroed in on is the demise of the streetcar and the rise of the automobile, motorbus and motor truck: the latter two, he contended, “broke up” the predictable pattern of development for apartment buildings and industrial uses, thus destabilizing the value of single-family residential homes.¹⁶⁹ In the age of rail, factories, warehouses and other noxious uses could be counted on to locate adjacent to heavy rail lines; apartment buildings could be counted on to locate adjacent to streetcar lines. But the internal combustion engine “liberated heavy industry from close proximity to downtown railroad stations and docks” and “liberated apartment developers from close proximity to the trolley tracks.”¹⁷⁰ Trucks could follow industrial operations to wherever they wanted to locate; public transit could follow apartment-dwellers, rather than apartment-dwellers following public transit. The owners of single-family homes, alarmed at the potential invasion of their leafy precincts by industry and multifamily housing, therefore enacted zoning laws to suppress the appearance of nonconforming uses in their

¹⁶⁷ *Id.* at 318-19 (noting that zoning policy was adopted broadly across many cities contemporaneously and that “[i]t seems unlikely, then, that zoning thus was the product of circumstances in one particular place”).

¹⁶⁸ *Id.* at 321

¹⁶⁹ *Id.* (“I submit that Henry Ford broke up this cosy arrangement.”).

¹⁷⁰ *Id.*

neighborhoods.¹⁷¹ Fischel's account musters a powerful and persuasive story for the rise of zoning across America. The simultaneous rise of two major social and economic forces—the automobile, on the one hand, and increasing local public control of real property through zoning, on the other—provides fodder for an elegant and comprehensive narrative.

Applied to the particular context of West Haven, however, the Henry Ford zoning story quickly hits a few potholes. The timing of zoning in West Haven does not neatly map onto the local transition from rail transport to motor transport, and the causal link here is difficult to discern. Problematically, West Haven adopted zoning many years *after* motor truck freight transit had demolished the rails' freight business, but also many years *before* motorbuses replaced the venerable old trolley lines linking West Haven (and the ever-popular beach attractions at Savin Rock) with its neighbor New Haven. Zoning in the particular context of West Haven, therefore, makes little sense as a single-family homeowner's defense against the invasion of either noxious industrial neighbors or crowded apartment buildings.

A. The Early Days of Horse Trolleys

The story of the West Haven trolleys may be briefly told. The WPA Writers' Program history of the town recounts that a stagecoach line that had operated between West Haven and New Haven starting in 1855 was replaced in 1869 by a horse railway.¹⁷² This railway ran across a newly erected bridge at Kimberly Avenue, providing a direct link across the mouth of the West River between the heart of West Haven and downtown

¹⁷¹ See *id.* at 321-23.

¹⁷² See WPA, HISTORY OF WEST HAVEN, *supra* note 4, at 20-21.

New Haven.¹⁷³ The Writers' Program history also notes, however, that “[t]he first horse-drawn street cars connected West Haven Center with New Haven in 1867 and extended service to Savin Rock a few years later. This early transportation aided greatly in the growth of the community, increased realty values, and made the citizens proud of their modern facilities.”¹⁷⁴ The history, though helpful in its identification of the time period in which the first streetcars began running in West Haven, leaves a somewhat underspecified account. In particular, the questions of whether there were two separate horse-drawn lines, or what routes these lines (or line) followed, are left to the reader's guesswork.

Fortunately, Edward Atwater's comprehensive record of New Haven's early history fills some of the gaps.¹⁷⁵ That history reports that a horse railroad, the New Haven & West Haven, was incorporated in 1865, and that it “used to run from Church street by way of Congress avenue to West Haven. It now runs past the new depot, rejoining the old route in Howard avenue.”¹⁷⁶ Piecing together the WPA Writers' Program history and the Atwater history, it seems that by around 1870, West Haven had two streetcar lines into New Haven—the first originated at Church Street and the New Haven Green, then followed Congress Avenue in New Haven across the West River at an ancient crossing known as “West Bridge,” where today U.S. Route 1, the Boston Post Road, connects West Haven to New Haven.¹⁷⁷ It then jogged down Campbell Avenue to the West Haven

¹⁷³ *Id.*

¹⁷⁴ *Id.* at 21.

¹⁷⁵ See George Dutton Watrous, *Travel and Transportation*, in EDWARD E. ATWATER, HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW HAVEN TO THE PRESENT TIME 351 (New York, W.W. Munsell & Co. 1887).

¹⁷⁶ *Id.* at 370.

¹⁷⁷ The humble “West Bridge” has an illustrious history. Its origins lie in a 1641 order by New Haven's General Court for the construction of a cart bridge across the West River to link the city of New Haven with farmland on the western side of the river that had been granted to residents of New Haven. This portion of land was then known to New Haveners as the “Suburbs Quarter, Second Division.” See MALIA,

Green at Campbell and Main, then onward down Campbell to Savin Rock. The second, more direct route ran from the streetcar terminus at Church Street and the Green, across Congress Avenue, down Howard Avenue, then down Kimberly Avenue and West Haven's Elm Street to the center of West Haven. As discussed below, these rail lines would remain the principal means of transportation between West Haven and New Haven until after World War II.

B. The Rise and Fall of the Connecticut Company

The inauguration of the electric streetcar era in and around New Haven began in West Haven on June 13, 1892, when the New Haven & West Haven Horse Railroad ran an electric trolley “shortly before midnight” from Savin Rock to the corner of Church and Chapel in downtown New Haven, then back to the company's car barn on Campbell Avenue.¹⁷⁸ Other street railway lines quickly adopted the new technology.¹⁷⁹ As the

VISIBLE SAINTS, *supra* note 4, at 14. In 1655, the town ordered the bridge repaired out of concern that it had begun to decay. *See* EDWARD E. ATWATER, HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW HAVEN TO THE PRESENT TIME 349 (New York, W.W. Munsell & Co. 1887). During the American Revolution, West Bridge became a flash point: after the British landed 1,500 men under the command of Brigadier General George Garth at West Haven on July 5, 1779, volunteers from Yale College marched from campus across the West Bridge to repel the invaders. Yale president Ezra Stiles recalled in his diary that a local detachment of artillery posted on the bridge under the command of Captain Jesse Bradley successfully kept the British troops from crossing; the redcoats were forced to march further north and try a crossing at “Derby Bridge”—approximately at the site of the present-day Yale Bowl—where they were harassed by gun-toting Yalies at the direction of Colonel Aaron Burr. *See* CHARLES HERVEY TOWNSHEND, THE BRITISH INVASION OF NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT: TOGETHER WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THEIR LANDING AND BURNING THE TOWNS OF FAIRFIELD AND NORWALK, JULY, 1779, at 42-45 (1879) (reproducing an account taken from the diary of Ezra Stiles).

¹⁷⁸ Morley J. Kelsey, *The Fair Haven & Westville Railroad*, 29 J. NEW HAVEN COLONY HIST. SOC. 21, 44 (Winter 1982). The New Haven & West Haven did not operate Connecticut's first electric trolley service. That distinction belongs to the Derby Horse Railway, which began running the state's first electric service in 1888. *See* JOHN R. STEVENS, THE DERBY HORSE RAILWAY AND THE WORLD'S FIRST ELECTRIC FREIGHT LOCOMOTIVE 18 (1987).

¹⁷⁹ *See id.* at 48 (noting that by 1895, the Fair Haven & Westville company was running 1.2 million miles of electric car service around New Haven and just 10,660 miles of horse-drawn car service annually). By 1894, the New Haven Street Railway Company, which operated 21 miles of railway in and around New Haven, powered all of its lines by electricity, using a “single trolley, General Electric system.” *See* RETURN OF THE NEW HAVEN STREET RAILWAY CO. TO THE RAILROAD COMMISSIONERS OF CONNECTICUT FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1894, at 11, *contained in* Box 9, Richard Symonds Collection of Connecticut Railroads Annual Reports, Thomas J. Dodd Research Ctr, University of Connecticut.

streetcar lines around New Haven grew and electrified, they transported a remarkable number of passengers: the New Haven Street Railway Company reported to state regulators in 1896 that it had carried over 4.4 million passengers that year,¹⁸⁰ suggesting a daily ridership of over 12,000. The rival Fair Haven & Westville—which would merge with the New Haven Street Railway Company in 1898—reported carrying over 5.5 million passengers in 1897, or over 15,000 passengers per day.¹⁸¹ The profits of these lines, which carried both commuters and freight, soon attracted the interested notice of Charles S. Mellen, the president of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad. In the late 1890s and early 1900s, Mellen joined with the Connecticut Power & Light Company to begin buying up the many small electric trolley services that had sprung up around Connecticut. These operations were consolidated under a single corporate entity—the Connecticut Company, which would preside over the electric trolley’s halcyon days in the Nutmeg State and then its eventual destruction at the hands of the Depression and the internal combustion engine.¹⁸²

By 1924, as the Connecticut Company map¹⁸³ below shows, the company was operating several trolley routes in West Haven. The three principal lines followed the old horse-trolley routes: the “M” and “D” lines ran from Congress Avenue in New Haven, across the old West Bridge, then straight down Campbell Avenue to Savin Rock; the “J” line ran down Kimberly Avenue in New Haven, then crossed the Kimberly Avenue

¹⁸⁰ RETURN OF THE NEW HAVEN STREET RAILWAY CO. TO THE RAILROAD COMMISSIONERS OF CONNECTICUT FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1896, at 13, *contained in* Box 9, Richard Symonds Collection of Connecticut Railroads Annual Reports, Thomas J. Dodd Research Ctr, University of Connecticut.

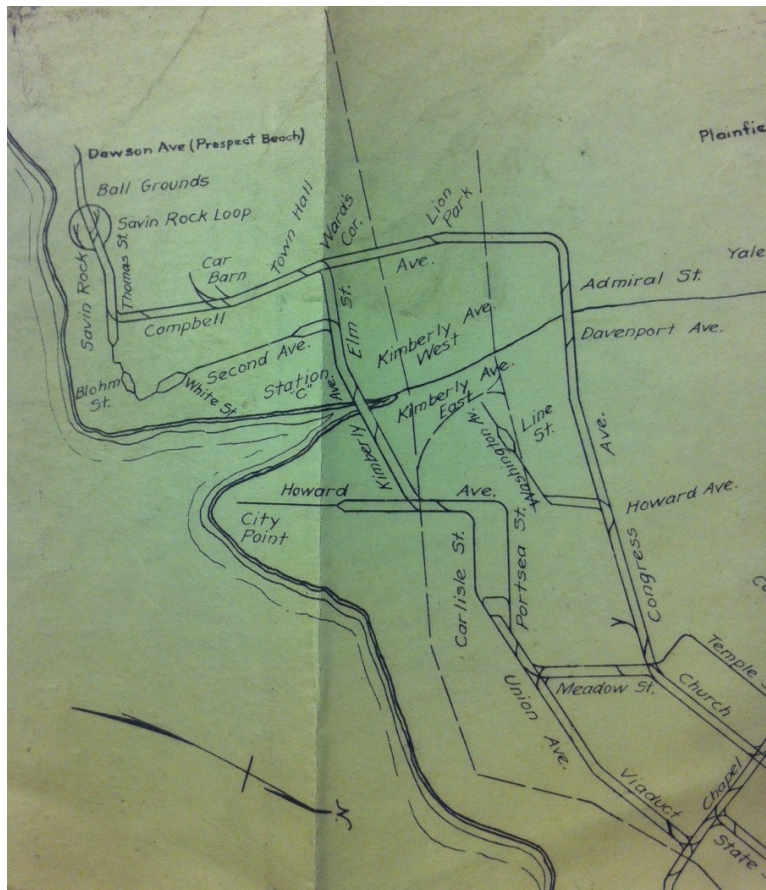
¹⁸¹ See Kelsey, *supra* note 178, at 50.

¹⁸² See FREDERICK A. KRAMER & ED WADHAMS, *CONNECTICUT COMPANY’S STREETCARS* 4 (1993).

¹⁸³ This image is a photographic reproduction of an April 1924 Connecticut Company map stored in the Leroy Roberts Railroad Collection, Box 11, at the University of Connecticut’s Dodd Research Center.

Bridge, and followed Elm Street until it met up with the “M” line trackage at Campbell Avenue and Elm, an interchange known as “Ward’s Corner.” From here it followed Campbell Avenue and then Thomas Street all the way to the end of the line at Dawson Avenue (Prospect Beach). These lines were double-tracked. In addition to these, the “R” line split off from the Elm Street track to run down Second Avenue before turning west on Blohm Street, then south on East Avenue to Thomas Street and Savin Rock.¹⁸⁴ The “R” train ran on a single track, with turnouts placed on Blohm Street and Second Avenue so that cars heading in opposite directions could pass each other without incident.¹⁸⁵

Figure 6: Trolley Lines in West Haven



¹⁸⁴ KRAMER & WADHAMS, *supra* note 182, at 17-26.

¹⁸⁵ *Id.* at 25.

As the chroniclers of the Connecticut Company, Frederick Kramer and Ed Wadhams, have noted, the mid-1920s marked the peak of the company's rail mileage and its influence around the state. Starting in the late 1920s, things went south fast. Service on remote, marginal lines—Putnam and Torrington—was ended in 1926 and 1929, respectively.¹⁸⁶ The company cut trolley service in Middletown in July 1930, right at the start of the Great Depression.¹⁸⁷ The economic crisis hastened the company's troubles: streetcar service was ended in Stamford in 1933, New London in 1934, Norwalk in 1935, and Norwich in 1936.¹⁸⁸ In the towns where trolley service was ended, the company replaced the electric cars with cheaper buses along most local routes.¹⁸⁹ Deteriorating finances left the company with little choice but to declare bankruptcy on October 31, 1935.¹⁹⁰

C. Persistent Streetcars

So far, this story reads like an affirmation of the Fischel hypothesis. But the New Haven area would prove to be an exceptional case: the irony is that—not in spite of, but because of—the Connecticut Company's woes, the electric trolley lines in West Haven and New Haven would endure well into the late 1940s. Rather than bankruptcy's accelerating the switch to buses in West Haven and New Haven, it slowed the transition: having run out of cash, the Company decided that in the long run it would convert its trolley services to bus lines (whose upfront capital costs were cheaper than trolleys), but recognized that it would have to make do with its existing trolley lines in the short run.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ *Id.* at 7.

¹⁸⁷ *Id.*

¹⁸⁸ *Id.* at 8-9.

¹⁸⁹ *Id.*

¹⁹⁰ *See In re Connecticut Co.*, 95 F.2d 311, 313 (2d Cir. 1938).

¹⁹¹ KRAMER & WADHAMS, *supra* note 182, at 9.

Thus streetcar service in the company's Hartford and New Haven divisions lumbered on until 1941 and 1948, respectively.¹⁹² In West Haven, the first line to be converted to bus service was the Second Avenue "R" line, on November 15, 1947; the "M" train, roaring down Campbell Avenue, finally gave way to the motorbus on July 17, 1948.¹⁹³ On September 25 of that year, West Haveners and New Haveners bid a reluctant adieu to the last two Connecticut Company trolley lines: the "D" line, running all the way from Dixwell Avenue to Savin Rock; and the "J" line, running from the corner of Church and Grove, into West Haven, down to Savin Rock, and all the way to Prospect Beach at Dawson Avenue.¹⁹⁴ West Haven's principal trolley lines were the very last routes in the New Haven area to be replaced by buses.

Thus, the transition from trolley to bus in West Haven and New Haven happened around two decades after West Haven and New Haven adopted zoning ordinances. Trolley schedules from 1934 show that the lines then connecting West Haven and New Haven were still running early and often: the "D" line ride from downtown New Haven, at the corner of Church and Chapel, to Savin Rock took approximately 24 minutes; cars ran every 12 minutes, with service beginning at 5:12 A.M. on weekdays and running until 12:45 A.M.¹⁹⁵ The ride on the "J" line from the New Haven Green to the West Haven Green took 18 minutes, with cars leaving every 6 minutes from 5:06 A.M. until 6:25 P.M., and then at slightly less regular times until 12:45 A.M.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹² *Id.* at 9-10. One exception to the rule was the Edgewood Avenue line in New Haven, which was converted from trolley to bus in 1936 after the bankruptcy court authorized a payment for bus purchases.
Id.

¹⁹³ *Id.* at 90.

¹⁹⁴ *Id.*

¹⁹⁵ See Connecticut Company Schedule, "Savin Rock via R.R. Station — D," in Box 10, William B. Young Collection, Thomas J. Dodd Research Center, University of Connecticut.

¹⁹⁶ See Connecticut Company Schedule, "West Haven via R.R. Station — D & J," in Box 10, William B. Young Collection, Thomas J. Dodd Research Center, University of Connecticut.

As the WPA Writers' Program history of West Haven evidences, the old streetcar commuter culture was alive and well into the 1940s, though its riders knew that it had become a bit of an anachronism:

Even the trolley service is geared to a fast-disappearing era. Many of the older motormen in the employ of the Connecticut Company, who pilot the cars which carry thousands of West Haven residents to and from work, personally greet their customers each morning, and are often overheard asking, 'Has Johnny got a job yet?'; frequently they halt the car at a deserted corner to wait for an accustomed passenger, who a few seconds later comes racing down the side street, buttoning his coat.¹⁹⁷

It is therefore fairly clear that West Haven did not adopt zoning in 1929 and 1930 as a defense against the motorbus and the encroaching apartment house: the day when West Haven commuters would trade in their trolley trips to board buses was still very far off.¹⁹⁸

But even if the day had not been far off, it's not clear that the switch from trolleys to buses would have "liberated" apartment builders to locate multifamily housing anywhere. Even in those communities where buses replaced streetcars, the buses simply ran along the same routes as the trolleys before them had.¹⁹⁹ Though their use of wheels rather than rails may have enabled them to go to the apartments, rather than the apartments coming to them, the public bus routes exhibited an impressive path dependency that is still with us: to this day, the West Haven bus lines of Connecticut Transit, the publicly-owned successor to the Connecticut Company, follow the same

¹⁹⁷ WPA, HISTORY OF WEST HAVEN, *supra* note 4, at 1-2.

¹⁹⁸ It might still be argued that the introduction of zoning controls happened once it became obvious to city planners that buses would replace trolleys at some point in the future; on this account, zoning was employed as an anticipatory defense against the onslaught of buses. But, as mentioned below at notes 199-200, city planners would have seen that in those localities where buses had replaced trolleys, they continued to run the same routes as had the trolleys. The argument also assumes that city leaders would recognize and act to avert future land-use problems arising out of a technology whose effects on land-use patterns were as yet speculative and untested.

¹⁹⁹ See KRAMER & WADHAMS, *supra* note 182, at 90.

routes traversed by their electric-trolley and horse-trolley predecessors, often under the same letter designations as they had in the trolley days.²⁰⁰

D. The Too-Early Rise of the Motor Truck

If not the motorbus, were West Haveners were defending themselves against land use chaos introduced by the motor truck? Here too, although the evidence is more fragmentary, it appears to cut against the Fischel hypothesis, albeit in a different way: whereas the transition from bus to trolley in West Haven came *too late* to plausibly support the hypothesis, the switch in freight carriage from streetcar to motor truck came *too early* to plausibly support the hypothesis. Indeed, when measured up against the land use data discussed above in Part I, it seems that the rise of the motor truck in the New Haven area may have been something of a non-event from a land use perspective in West Haven.

Over a decade before West Haven had begun contemplating the adoption of a zoning ordinance, the Connecticut Company's local freight business was suffering ruinous competition from the new motor truck. A July 28, 1917 article in the *Electric Rail Journal*, running under the headline, "Cost of Electric Freight Service Discussed at New Haven Hearing," told the story.²⁰¹ At a hearing before the Connecticut Public Utilities Commission, which regulated the freight rates charged by the Connecticut Company, J.M. Hamilton, one of the company's general agents, testified that over the

²⁰⁰ See Connecticut Transit, "'J' Kimberly Avenue Bus Schedule Effective August 24, 2014," at [http://www.cttransit.com/Uploads_RTMaps/nh_Jkimberly_map\(21\).pdf](http://www.cttransit.com/Uploads_RTMaps/nh_Jkimberly_map(21).pdf); Connecticut Transit, "'B' Congress Avenue Bus Schedule Effective April 13, 2014," at [http://www.cttransit.com/Uploads_RTMaps/nh_Bcongress_map\(10\).pdf](http://www.cttransit.com/Uploads_RTMaps/nh_Bcongress_map(10).pdf).

²⁰¹ "Cost of Electric Freight Service Discussed at New Haven Hearing," *ELECTRIC RAIL JOURNAL* (July 28, 1917), at 142, *in* Box 6, William B. Young Collection, Thomas J. Dodd Research Ctr, University of Connecticut.

past year it had “lost 75 per cent of its short-haul business to motor trucks. About half the cars sent out from the New Haven station return empty.”²⁰²

Assuming that Hamilton was providing truthful testimony to the Commission, we can safely surmise that freight operators by 1917 already knew the score: short-haul freight carriage by truck was the future, and electric railways could not possibly hope to keep up. But did this change in how freight was hauled change the way land uses were coordinated in West Haven in the 1920s?

The evidence from the 1924 Sanborn maps suggests that it hadn't. Instead, as we've already seen in Part I, industrial and commercial uses in West Haven continued to follow the same basic pattern that one would expect them to, absent the truck, with light manufacturing still clustered adjacent to the New York, New Haven & Hartford heavy rail line, and commercial uses clustered along Campbell Avenue and other streets served by the trolley routes. Of course, it is possible that the seven- to eight-year lag between the rise of truck transit and the creation of the 1924 Sanborn maps was not a sufficient duration for land use patterns to have changed in response to changed transportation options. But it is also possible that the introduction of the truck simply had no effect on land uses in West Haven. In any case, there is little evidence from West Haven that any kind of causal link connected the rise of the motor truck and the introduction of zoning controls.

²⁰² *Id.*

Part IV: Beggar Thy Neighbor—The Rise of the Homevoter

So far a satisfactory explanation for the rise of zoning in West Haven has proven elusive. The 1924 Sanborn maps of West Haven reveal few “market failures” before the advent of zoning; instead, prices and social custom tended to efficiently allocate land uses and building patterns. Racial or ethnic segregation likewise appears to be an unlikely impetus for the adoption of zoning policy: West Haven (and Connecticut more broadly) had very few nonwhites to exclude, and the foreign-born population it *did* have was largely integrated into the community. That foreign-born population was also more enthusiastic for homeownership than any other class of residents. The desire to segregate economic classes also seems a poor fit: market forces had accomplished this class segregation long before zoning came around. Nor can the rise of the automobile and the decline of rail transportation adequately explain developments in West Haven. As noted in the last Part, the timing is all wrong: most streetcars in West Haven and New Haven weren’t replaced by buses until the end of World War II, long after West Haven and New Haven had adopted zoning; and the movement of freight by truck, which appears to have taken hold in the 1910s, had not affected the placement of noxious or unattractive uses in West Haven by 1924. Although any of these factors may have decisively contributed to the rise of zoning in other communities, a more compelling answer is needed for West Haven. The beginnings of an answer rooted in political economy may be found in two pieces of data from the 1930 Census: first, the town’s real property price-to-rent ratio; second, its rate of homeownership.

A. Creating Superstar Suburbs through Controls on Supply

As was briefly mentioned in Part II, West Haven in 1930 presented an oddly bifurcated housing market: the median West Haven rent was relatively high (134% of the median in New

Haven County), but West Haven homeowners reported a relatively low median home value (96% of the median in New Haven County).

One possible explanation for this divergence is that the quality of rental housing stock in West Haven was superior to the rental housing stock in other communities, while the quality of the owner-occupied housing stock in West Haven was inferior to owner-occupied housing elsewhere. But the block-by-block Census examination of the Washington Strip attached at Appendix II shows that rental housing and owner-occupied housing in West Haven were scattered relatively randomly throughout the city's single-family residential neighborhoods. Because rentals and owner-occupied homes tended to share the same neighborhood amenities, and often shared similar or identical building forms, the hedonic use value of the rentals and the owner-occupied homes should have been roughly equivalent.

Nevertheless, West Haven's relative price-to-rent ratio might have been skewed by *other* communities—namely, the quality of rentals in other communities (especially a more urban community like New Haven) might have been markedly lower than the quality of rentals in West Haven. Indeed, as was discussed above, West Haven's housing stock was heavily weighted toward single-family housing. It would not be hard to believe that single-family rental housing in West Haven commanded a premium vis-à-vis apartment rentals in New Haven, even as West Haven's owner-occupied single-family homes were priced below owner-occupied homes in New Haven or Hartford. An analysis of West Haven's price-to-rent ratio should proceed by measuring that ratio against price-to-rent ratios in other communities whose housing stock was in 1930 roughly comparable to West Haven's.

Table 4 provides just such a comparison.²⁰³ In this table, West Haven’s price-to-rent ratio is compared with the price-to-rent ratio in those other Connecticut towns with more than 10,000 residents, 75% of whose housing stock, or more, was composed of single-family homes.

Table 4: Price-to-Rent Ratios in Midsized Connecticut Towns, 1930

	Derby	Middle-town	Naugatuck	Shelton	Stratford	Torrington	West Hartford	West Haven
Single-family homes as share of housing stock	0.7574	0.8131	0.7843	0.8815	0.9307	0.8099	0.8043	0.8854
Median Value Owner-Occupied Housing	6737	6442	5492	5634	5542	7354	14393	6851
Median Rent	24.52	27.21	21.27	23.85	27.91	26.53	52.68	39.06
Median Value Owner-Occupied Housing/Median Rent	274.76	236.75	258.20	236.23	198.57	277.20	273.22	175.40

Table 4 strongly suggests that residential property in West Haven was substantially underpriced vis-à-vis other towns with similar housing stock profiles in 1930. Although the median use-value of West Haven’s rental properties was higher than in any other town in this sample, save West Hartford, this high use-value was not reflected in the capital value of West Haven’s housing stock. What was happening here?

Thinking about the problem requires putting oneself in the shoes of a prospective renter and a prospective homebuyer. A renter is close to a pure consumer—he shops for a home in roughly the same way he would shop for food or for clothes, first looking for something within his price range, and then picking the good that is most attractive and useful for his *current* needs and tastes. The value of the good (in this case, let’s say a year-long lease) is entirely consumed after a short time; at the end of that time, the renter evaluates whether he would like to consume the same good again, or whether he would like to move on to more attractive pastures.

²⁰³ Data for Table 4 was taken from 6 POPULATION 1930 CENSUS, *supra* note 110, at 233-34.

The 1930 Census median rent data show that West Haven was considered a very attractive pasture as communities in Connecticut went. What wasn't to like? West Haven provided rapid and convenient transportation into what was then one of the nation's most vibrant cities, but allowed its residents to live at a remove from the jostling crowds and noise of New Haven. A number of light industrial uses were located in West Haven, providing even more local job opportunities. But these industrial uses were where they were supposed to be, clustered together and close to rail links with the wider world, and generally away from the peace and quiet of single-family homes—pigs in the barnyard instead of the parlor, as Justice Sutherland might say.²⁰⁴ So too did West Haven offer a compact central business district with an array of useful shops, located at a respectable distance from the privacy of home. Space, light, greenery, and the Long Island Sound's pleasant breezes were always close at hand. West Haven's rental homes commanded a steep price for good reason.

West Haven offered all the same goods to prospective homebuyers, too. So why were those market players so bearish on the suburb? The homebuyer is a hybrid of consumer and investor. Like the renter, he's looking for a place to rest his head at night, and so he fundamentally cares about the same set of homey amenities as the renter. But unlike the renter, the good the homebuyer purchases is an asset, not a consumable. The homebuyer thus seeks the benefit of the home's use-value *and* the benefit of its eventual resale. For that reason, his home-shopping criteria will incorporate not only those factors relating to a home's immediate use-value, but also those factors contributing to its long-term exchange value.

The meaning of the price-to-rent ratio thus comes into focus: the higher the ratio, the greater the divergence between a home's current use-value and its long-term expected resale

²⁰⁴ Cf. *Village of Euclid v. Ambler Realty Co.*, 272 U.S. 365, 388 (1926) (“A nuisance may be merely a right thing in the wrong place — like a pig in the parlor instead of the barnyard.”).

value. We may alternatively say that the price-to-rent ratio reflects a housing market's speculative value: indeed, it is for this reason that sharp increases in the price-to-rent ratio may be associated with housing bubbles.²⁰⁵ A comparison of West Haven's price-to-rent ratio with price-to-rent ratios in similar towns therefore indicates that the *speculative value* (if not the use-value) of housing in West Haven was relatively low.

What causes price-to-rent ratios to rise? In observing a cluster of American “superstar” cities and suburbs where price-to-rent ratios have persistently outpaced average price-to-rent ratios,²⁰⁶ economists Joseph Gyourko, Christopher Mayer and Todd Sinai posited that “[t]wo traits are critical to a location being a superstar. There must be some inelasticity to its supply of housing. And, it must be preferred by a large enough share of the population that it has excess demand.”²⁰⁷ They concluded that the “elasticity of housing supply . . . is a key determinant” of the magnitude of the superstar effect.²⁰⁸ The more inelastic the housing supply—that is, the more difficult it is to build a house—the higher the price-to-rent ratio in desirable communities will be driven up.

It is important at this juncture to focus on the timing of the 1930 Census in the context of land use regulatory developments in West Haven. Critically, the 1930 Census gauged rents and home values in West Haven after the town had agreed by ordinance to adopt zoning in principle, but *before* it had adopted a zoning map or code that would identify the precise contours of

²⁰⁵ See Karl E. Case & Robert J. Shiller, *Is There A Bubble in the Housing Market?*, 2003 BROOKINGS PAPERS ON ECONOMIC ACTIVITY 299, 360 (noting the interest of economists Alan Blinder and Alan Auerbach in comparing price-to-rent ratios for determining whether or not rising housing prices reflect “more than what the economic fundamentals justify”), http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/brookings_papers_on_economic_activity/v2003/2003.2case.pdf; *Bubble-hunting*, THE ECONOMIST (June 8, 2013) (measuring price-to-rent ratios as indicia of housing bubbles), <http://www.economist.com/news/united-states/21579030-recovering-prices-have-yet-inflate-any-big-cities-bubble-hunting>.

²⁰⁶ See Joseph Gyourko, Christopher Mayer, and Todd Sinai, *Superstar Cities*, 5 AM. ECON. J.: ECON. POL'Y 164, 187-88 (2013) (finding that price-to-rent ratios in localities they labeled “superstar suburbs” were 26 percent higher than price-to-rent ratios in other Census-designated places and analogizing superstar housing markets to “growth stocks in the equity investment universe”).

²⁰⁷ *Id.* at 169-70.

²⁰⁸ *Id.* at 170.

regulatory restrictions on development. Because at the time of the Census these contours were unknowable, the value of the newly adopted zoning ordinance had not yet been priced into the value of individual owner-occupied homes. The price-to-rent ratio captured by the 1930 Census in West Haven thus neatly captured the pre-zoning hedonic value of West Haven housing and its pre-zoning speculative value—and it captured these values on the very cusp of the town’s transition to a zoning regime.

Among Connecticut suburbs, West Haven was something of a latecomer to zoning controls. Other major cities and towns in the state had already begun to adopt zoning policies in the mid-1920s, before such ordinances had received the constitutional blessing of the United States and Connecticut supreme courts.²⁰⁹ Zoning was adopted with special enthusiasm among the cities and suburban towns of Fairfield County.²¹⁰ Bridgeport’s 1926 zoning ordinance was the object of the constitutional test case for zoning in Connecticut;²¹¹ Darien and Greenwich jumped into the zoning game even before the Supreme Court authorized it in *Euclid*.²¹² Even these towns were beat to the punch, however, by West Hartford, which was the first community in the state to adopt a zoning ordinance.²¹³

²⁰⁹ See *Town of Darien v. Webb*, 162 A. 690, 691 (Conn. 1932) (noting Darien’s adoption of zoning regulations in 1925); *Thayer v. Bd. of Appeals*, 157 A. 273, 273 (Conn. 1931) (noting Hartford’s adoption of a zoning ordinance in 1926); *Katz v. Higson*, 156 A. 507, 507-08 (Conn. 1931) (finding that by August 1929, Danbury had adopted a zoning code and map); *Coombs v. Larson*, 152 A. 297, 298 (Conn. 1930) (reciting West Hartford’s appointment of a zoning commission in 1923 and filing of a zoning map in 1924); *Lathrop v. Town of Norwich*, 151 A. 183, 184 (Conn. 1930) (observing Norwich’s adoption of a zoning ordinance in February 1927); *Fitzgerald v. Merard Holding Co.*, 147 A. 513, 514 (Conn. 1929) (discussing the appointment of a zoning commission in Greenwich in January 1925, and the appointment thereafter of H.S. Swan to “prepare such regulations and a zoning map”); *State v. Hillman*, 147 A. 294, 296 (Conn. 1929) (upholding the constitutionality of Bridgeport’s zoning ordinance, which was put into force in 1926); *City of New Britain v. Kilbourne*, 147 A. 124, 125 (Conn. 1929) (mentioning the adoption of a zoning code in New Britain in 1925).

²¹⁰ See FAIRFIELD COUNTY PLANNING COMM’N, FAIRFIELD: FIRST PLANNED COUNTY IN NEW ENGLAND (1933).

²¹¹ See *Hillman*, 147 A. at 296.

²¹² See *Webb*, 162 A. at 691; *Merard Holding Co.*, 147 A. at 514.

²¹³ See “Zoning Maps of West Hartford, Connecticut, 1924 to Present,” UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT LIBRARIES (“In 1924 . . . West Harford became the first Connecticut municipality to enact zoning regulations . . .”), http://magic.lib.uconn.edu/otl/dualcontrol_zoning_westhartford.html (accessed Oct. 22, 2014); see also ROBERT

Not all towns jumped on the planning and zoning bandwagon immediately, however. Among those that waited was the town of Stratford, which did not get around to adopting a town plan until 1936.²¹⁴ Stratford, tucked into the eastern edge of Fairfield County, roughly equidistant between Darien and New Haven, bore many similarities to both West Haven and West Hartford in 1930. The three towns were, respectively, the three principal suburbs of the three largest cities in the state: Bridgeport, New Haven, and Hartford. As Table 5²¹⁵ below shows, each of these suburbs had unusually high rates of homeownership; each had populations that were more homogenously white and native-born than the state average; and the great bulk of the housing stock in all three towns was single-family housing. Yet for all the fundamental similarities of their housing markets and civic profiles, when it came to their price-to-rent ratios in 1930, Stratford and West Haven diverged markedly from West Hartford.

Table 5: Household Data in Three Connecticut Suburbs, 1930

	Rate of Homeownership Among Nonfarm Households	White Households as Share of All Households	Foreign-Born Households as Share of All Households	Single-Family Housing as Share of Housing Stock	Price-Rent Ratio
Stratford	0.6551	0.9884	0.4165	0.9307	198.57
West Hartford	0.5998	0.9981	0.2867	0.8043	273.22
West Haven	0.5282	0.9935	0.2948	0.8854	175.40
Connecticut	0.4238	0.9809	0.4238	0.7649	246.85

In accordance with the findings of Gyurko et al., I contend that this divergence was at least partly the result of the market’s evaluation of the comparative elasticity of housing supply in the three towns. Such elasticity, in turn, was mostly a function of regulatory controls on

WHITTEN, WEST HARTFORD ZONING: REPORT TO THE ZONING COMMISSION ON THE ZONING OF WEST HARTFORD (1924).

²¹⁴ See A REPORT FROM THE TOWN PLAN OF STRATFORD, CONNECTICUT (1936).

²¹⁵ Data for Table 5 was taken from 6 POPULATION 1930 CENSUS, *supra* note 110, at 231-32, 234.

residential development. In other words, the staggered introduction of zoning controls in suburban Connecticut helped to shape the relative attractiveness of various suburbs to homebuyers. The price-to-rent ratio data, though admittedly sketchy, suggest that by 1930 the introduction of zoning controls in certain places may have already turned these localities into prototypical “superstar suburbs”; home values in places like West Haven and Stratford, which were slower to adopt zoning controls, were left behind. I further contend that *it was this relative decline in home prices that spurred the citizens of West Haven to adopt a zoning code that would “stabilize” those prices.*

Again, the data to support this hypothesis are rather limited, and I hope that this analysis will merely mark the beginning of further research along these lines. But what data there are in the case of West Haven strongly suggest that West Haven (and other towns like it) was driven into the adoption of zoning by an effort to keep up with neighboring “superstars” to which homebuyers had flocked in search of speculative gains.

Such evidence as exists is somewhat indirect: there is not, so far as I have found, any record of town debate over the introduction of a zoning ordinance, no *Federalist Papers* of zoning in West Haven. The primary historical record of local government in West Haven lies in the city’s yearly report, which is perfectly cryptic regarding the reasons why the town’s selectman had, in 1929, appointed a Zoning Commission and appropriated to that commission \$5,000: this was done, the selectmen noted in their studiously anodyne way, “due to the fact that it is felt that same will be a benefit to the Town.”²¹⁶

But if town officials were tight-lipped about their reasons for undertaking zoning, the man they hired to execute the job was not. The town’s 1931 report noted that West Haven had hired Herbert S. Swan of New York to “act as Zoning Consultant to assist the Commission in the

²¹⁶ ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TOWN OF WEST HAVEN, YEAR ENDING APRIL 30TH, 1930, at 7.

preliminary work and in drafting the zoning regulations and map for the Town of West Haven.”²¹⁷ Swan was easily the region’s foremost suburban zoning consultant, having already prepared zoning ordinances for Hoboken, Montclair, Newark, and Paterson, New Jersey and White Plains and Yonkers, New York;²¹⁸ he had also devised zoning codes and/or comprehensive town plans for East Hartford, Glastonbury, Greenwich, Hartford, New London, Stamford, and Wethersfield, Connecticut.²¹⁹ The zoning expert had earlier cut his teeth as an assistant to George Burdett Ford, who had designed New York City’s zoning plan.²²⁰

We may infer something about what West Haven officials believed they were getting when they hired Swan, from what Swan had to say about the purpose and utility of zoning. Why did Swan believe that zoning would be “a benefit to the Town,” and how did he pitch his zoning plans to the town citizenry? Although these questions shed only a little light on the deliberative process undergirding zoning, they provide some crucial historical context for understanding the influences that made zoning an attractive option to communities like West Haven.

Swan’s position as the region’s foremost zoning consultant allowed for certain economies of scale: his general recommendations to the communities that hired him, embodied in published town plans, employed text that was frequently cut word-for-word from planning documents provided for other cities and towns. The theme that ties these documents together is a rationale

²¹⁷ ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TOWN OF WEST HAVEN, YEAR ENDING APRIL 30TH, 1931, at 90.

²¹⁸ See Charles B. Ball, *The Status of Zoning in Cities of the United States*, City Club Bull. (Sept. 19, 1921), at 156, available at <http://perma.cc/4VEW-R7H9>.

²¹⁹ See *Fitzgerald v. Merard Holding Co.*, 147 A. 513, 514 (Conn. 1929); HERBERT S. SWAN, THE EAST HARTFORD TOWN PLAN (1927); HERBERT S. SWAN, THE NEW LONDON PLAN (1928); HERBERT S. SWAN & TOWN PLAN COMMISSION, PLAN OF A METROPOLITAN SUBURB: STAMFORD, CONNECTICUT (1929); HERBERT S. SWAN & TOWN PLAN COMMISSION, PLAN OF A RESIDENCE SUBURB: WETHERSFIELD, CONNECTICUT (1928).

²²⁰ See GEORGE BURDETT FORD, BUILDING ZONES (1917). Prior to launching a career as a zoning consultant, Swan served as a staff member of the City Plan Committee of New York City, then as an advisor to the Tenement House Committee of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, where he authored a critical analysis of housing density in Brooklyn. See THE PROGRESS OF HOUSING REFORM IN BROOKLYN 16-17 (1916). He also served as Secretary of New York’s Zoning Committee. See Herbert S. Swan, *Capitalizing Vacant Land Values*, N.Y. TIMES (Jan. 9, 1921), at 106.

for zoning that rests on the behavior of neighboring towns, not the intrinsic interests of the towns themselves.

Swan's 1929 plan for Stamford, Connecticut is representative. Its section on zoning—which notes that “[f]or Stamford, zoning is an integral part of the Stamford plan; it is more than that: it is the very groundwork of the plan”²²¹—provides two *raisons d’etre* for zoning in Stamford: “Orderliness in Development” and “Zoning in the Metropolitan Area.” On the first point, Swan recounts the standard argument for zoning in two brief paragraphs, urging that “[t]he whole purpose of zoning is to encourage the erection of the right building in the right place.”²²² But this banality is unsupported by any reference to deficient use-coordination in Stamford. Instead, Swan generalizes broadly: “In what city can we not find gas tanks next to parks, garages next to schools, boiler shops next to hospitals, stables next to churches or funeral establishments next to dwellings?”²²³

Swan quickly drops this line of argument in favor of another—“Zoning in the Metropolitan Area.” Here he speaks quite directly to the town’s pressing economic needs. The argument is worth reproducing here in full:

The time has come when Stamford can no longer afford to do without zoning. The day was, when, though we did nothing, we were no worse off than other places because they, too, did nothing. But now this has all been changed. Other cities are ambitiously planning for the future. Stamford today is one of the few unzoned communities within the metropolitan area. This fact is beginning to tell upon its development.

The prospective home buyer is more and more often asking himself the question “Why should I buy my home in an unzoned town, where my house may at any moment be flanked with apartments, factories or garages, and its value seriously impaired when for the same price I can buy just as good a house in a town that thinks enough of its homes to protect them with the strong arm of the law against injurious neighbors?” The mortgage lender, too, is with

²²¹ HERBERT S. SWAN & TOWN PLAN COMMISSION, PLAN OF A METROPOLITAN SUBURB: STAMFORD, CONNECTICUT 116 (1929).

²²² *Id.* at 110.

²²³ *Id.*

increasing frequency asking himself, “Why should I lend my money on property which may at any time have its value so depreciated through the construction of objectionable neighboring buildings that I may be forced to institute foreclosure proceedings and buy the property myself, in order to protect my equity, when in an adjoining suburb I can invest my money in real estate mortgages with the community itself guaranteeing the value of the property against premature depreciation through precipitate and unwarranted changes in the building’s environment, by preventing the intrusion of undesirable development in the neighborhood.”

The practical effect of these considerations is most interesting. The zoned localities are not only absorbing the better grades of development at the expense of the unzoned suburbs, but they are forcing the undesirable types of development into the unzoned towns. The builders, architects and real estate owners in the unzoned suburbs near New York are with increasing persistence urging their municipal governments to adopt zoning so that they may have as good a sales proposition to make to prospective clients as competing builders, architects and real estate owners in the zoned towns. An occasional sale lost now and then to a rival in a zoned suburb and the increasing reluctance on the part of lending interests to make loans on unprotected property, or if making loans, their discrimination in favor of protected localities with reference to both the interest rate charged and the amount loaned—*considerations like these are proving more powerful than words in actually stirring unzoned towns to action.*

Though these communities have done nothing to adopt zoning, it is not quite exact to say that they are unzoned. The adoption of zoning by neighboring communities has in a sense already zoned them. Without their knowing it, they have been placed, as it were, in the position of unrestricted districts to their neighbors. Though they themselves have not moved, their neighbors have. To-day, therefore, they are not at all in the position they were years ago when building was unregulated [sic] everywhere. Then, due to the universal lack of control, they stood on a par with their neighbors—ownership of property within their boundaries was accompanied by neither privileges nor handicaps not accompanying it elsewhere. But now this has all been changed. The fact that property is protected elsewhere makes its ownership in those places more desirable; that it is not protected in Stamford makes its ownership locally less attractive. To permit our neighbors’ garages and factories to locate indiscriminately in our residence districts, while they exclude ours, can have but one result—it destroys the marketability of our residence property at the same time that it makes our competitors’ more desirable.²²⁴

²²⁴ *Id.* at 110-11 (emphasis added). *Id.* at 110-11 (emphasis added). The paragraph beginning with, “The practical effect of these considerations . . .” appears also to have been recycled for a speech delivered by Swan in 1922 at a convention of the New York State Association of Real Estate Boards in Albany. “Zoning makes for steadier realty values,” Swan told the convention. “Just as a speculative bond, even though its yield is high, is worth less than a low yield backed up by undoubted security, so a parcel of land protected for a certain use is worth more” See *Zoning Has Had Effect of Boosting Real Estate Values*, N.Y. TRIBUNE (Oct. 22, 1922), at B2.

From Swan's point of view, of course, there is a delicious subtext to this argument: if zoning had become an arms race among communities, then Swan found himself in the profitable position of arms dealer. But Swan was not new to this role, and his prisoner's-dilemma argument was not reserved for the mere "mopping up" of latecomers to zoning.

At the dawn of the decade, when zoning was still new and legally untested, Swan was hitting Paterson, New Jersey with an identical line of reasoning, from which the language in the Stamford town plan was taken nearly word-for-word.²²⁵ In his 1921 plan for Paterson, Swan did not, and could not plausibly, tell the town's denizens that they were latecomers to zoning; indeed, the day when the state's voters authorized zoning ordinances by constitutional amendment over the objection of the state supreme court was still six years in the future.²²⁶ But Swan could, and did, warn them about the looming battle that lay ahead:

Other cities are ambitiously planning for the future. The competitive strength of a city in domestic and foreign markets is conditioned quite as much by the health, comfort and contentment of its people as by the availability of raw materials, to as great an extent by the arrangement of the industries and the facilities afforded them within its borders as by the proximity of a consuming public.

As one city after another proceeds to improve its physical plan to facilitate a more economic conduct of industry and promote the well-being of its inhabitants, it becomes all the more important to every other city which wishes to consider itself in the race for industrial supremacy to look after its own plan.²²⁷

Swan went on to ominously counsel Paterson, as he later did Stamford, that homebuyers and mortgage lenders would increasingly favor zoned cities and discriminate against unzoned neighborhoods. The message was clear: suburban towns and property values would either ride

²²⁵ See HERBERT S. SWAN, ZONING: THE FIRST STEP IN PLANNING PATERSON 7-9 (1921).

²²⁶ See *Ignaciunas v. Town of Nutley*, 125 A. 121 (N.J. 1924) (unanimously striking down a 1922 zoning enabling statute adopted as laying outside the police power); see also *Lumund v. Bd. of Adjustment*, 73 A.2d 545, 549 (N.J. 1950) (recounting the legal history of zoning in New Jersey, including the 1927 adoption of a state constitutional amendment authorizing municipal zoning and overriding prior decisions of the state supreme court).

²²⁷ SWAN, *supra* note 225, at 7-8.

the wave of zoning or be swallowed by it. Early adopters would find themselves in the most advantageous position vis-à-vis their neighbors. Like an arms race, the logic of the new zoning game would encourage and reward those municipalities willing to take the most drastic measures for “industrial supremacy.”

I have hypothesized above, consistent with modern trends among “superstar suburbs,” that price-to-rent ratios documented by the 1930 Census provide evidence of a divergence in home values among Connecticut towns, and that this divergence is at least partly explained by the relative elasticity of housing supply in those towns. The town planning documents prepared by Swan provide some supporting evidence that zoning policy was, as early as 1921, seen and sold as a mechanism for protecting residential real estate values against competition from other towns with zoning policies already in place.

But discussion so far has remained in the realm of the abstract: what does it really mean for a zoning code to reduce the elasticity of housing supply? And, more challengingly for the “superstar suburbs” theory, couldn’t it be the case that rising home values in zoned towns merely reflected zoning’s effect on consumer *demand* for housing; that is, could higher prices reflect the added security against “objectionable neighboring buildings” that zoning provided?²²⁸

Taking the latter question first will help to illuminate the answer to the former. The latter question may be formulated as, “What was driving the correlation between zoning and home values?” or more simply, “What was the value of zoning to residential real estate?” Answering that question requires a brief review of the kind of regulatory controls that came with the first zoning policies in West Haven and other Connecticut suburbs.

Many of the first zoning ordinances shared three basic features: first, the establishment of building lines; second, the segregation and allocation of land uses; and third, the establishment of

²²⁸ SWAN, *supra* note 221, at 110.

residential density restrictions. We can analyze the amenity value of zoning by assessing each of these regulatory functions in turn.

1. Building Lines. We might at first see building lines as a strong source of potential value to prospective homeowners. Swan argues that “in the absence of any general obligation binding all the owners within the block to observe a minimum set-back line, each owner feels it necessary to build his house on the street line. His own self-protection demands this. If he does not erect his house on the sidewalk, his neighbors on either side may. . . . Countless owners trusting to the comity of their neighbors have had their values ruined by themselves observing the amenities of the district.”²²⁹ But we can be fairly certain that, as regards West Haven, building lines were not a critical component of zoning’s value: a decade before West Haven undertook a zoning ordinance, town officials had already begun assiduously laying building lines to regulate front-yard setbacks and maintain “the good appearances and uniformity of our streets.”²³⁰ By the autumn of 1921, building lines had been established on forty streets throughout the town, and the municipal government had imposed uniform setback requirements on all new development.²³¹

Whether even these measures were truly necessary is debatable: as was seen above in the analysis of front yards and side yards on Washington Manor Avenue, developed in the 1910s, neighborly comity—and self-interest—had prevailed in ensuring that homes were evenly spaced from the street and from each other. No matter the merits, though, it’s clear that West Haven did not adopt zoning (and its homes were not undervalued) because it needed more uniform building lines. Some other factor had to have predominated.

²²⁹ *Id.* at 114.

²³⁰ ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TOWN OF WEST HAVEN, YEAR ENDING SEPT. 17, 1921, at 6-7.

²³¹ *Id.*

2. *Separation of Uses*. Swan's planning documents also trumpet the separation of uses as zoning's integral contribution to property values. "Why should I buy my home in an unzoned town, where my house may at any moment be flanked with apartments, factories or garages[?]" Swan asks rhetorically.²³² But this passing rhetoric bears little resemblance to the reality of pre-zoning West Haven, where incompatible uses rarely abutted each other. The pattern of commercial and industrial development in West Haven in the mid-1920s, as we've already seen, was strikingly predictable: commercial uses were concentrated along Campbell Avenue and in the Savin Rock area, adjacent to street-car lines, and usually on street corners; industrial uses were clustered along the heavy rail lines provided by the New York, New Haven & Hartford, and around the Connecticut Company car barn at the corner of Campbell Avenue and Brown Street.²³³ Multifamily housing tended to follow the pattern of commercial development, too. Prospective homebuyers in the market for quiet single-family housing would have little trouble figuring out where they might build away from such developments.

The lack of any real problems with use-coordination on the block level in pre-zoning West Haven (and perhaps other suburbs of its kind) may be why Swan devoted such little attention to the topic in the reports he prepared for municipal governments. Reading carefully, one notices from the full excerpt of Swan's Stamford plan, quoted above,²³⁴ that the main concern isn't block-by-block use-coordination, but rather *town-by-town* use-coordination:

To permit our neighbors' garages and factories to locate indiscriminately in our residence districts, while they exclude ours, can have but one result—it destroys the marketability of our residence property at the same time that it makes our competitors' more desirable.

²³² SWAN, *supra* note 221, at 110.

²³³ See text accompanying notes TK-TK, *supra*.

²³⁴ See *supra* note 224 and accompanying text.

On one hand, this is something of an odd statement. We might ask: why would one town locate its garages among its neighboring town's homes? Surely such an arrangement would make retrieving one's car inconvenient. But when we consider the broader implication of Swan's position, we see that he's arguing that not only will the exclusion of industry from residential districts in zoned towns make those residential districts comparatively superior to residential districts in unzoned towns, but also that industry will begin locating away from zoned towns and toward unzoned towns ("our *neighbors*' . . . factories . . . in *our* residence districts"). This could only be the case if Swan assumes that suburban towns engaging in zoning will tend to systematically under-allocate land for industrial uses, driving up the price of industrial land in zoned towns, and incentivizing new industrial land users to locate in unzoned towns, where these noxious neighbors can access cheaper (*laissez-faire* market rate) land. Whether or not that precise assumption is true is perhaps less interesting than its overall recognition that zoning would affect not just the composition of uses within towns, but would affect the availability (in absolute terms) of various uses town-to-town. Depending on its prerogatives, a town might move to shut out industry, commercial uses, or multifamily homes. Such exclusion, Swan predicts, will surely have metropolitan spillover effects. This exclusion is not a function of the separation of uses block by block: instead, what is critical is the *overall allocation* of uses to available land within the zoned town.

We can understand Swan's warning by examining the allocation of undeveloped land in newly zoned Connecticut towns. West Hartford, the archetypal early adopter of zoning in Connecticut, provides an instructive example. There the 1924 plan made clear that its general design "assume[d] a single family development throughout the entire area" of heretofore

unsubdivided land.²³⁵ This was to be accomplished by zoning nearly all of that land into either “A” or “B” residential districts—that is, districts whose regulations would be drawn such that two-family homes would be made “uneconomic” and the erection of multifamily homes made impossible.²³⁶ West Hartford, in other words, would only accommodate (to a limited extent) duplexes, apartments, shops and manufacturing concerns where they already existed; all future development would consist almost entirely of single-family housing.²³⁷ It was evidently envisioned that as the town grew, other uses would be shunted off to adjoining municipalities in the Hartford metropolitan area.²³⁸

West Haven followed a similar pattern in its allocation of uses on undeveloped land. This pattern remains evident in the town’s zoning map even down to today: east of Campbell Avenue, in the areas already developed prior to zoning’s advent, residential neighborhoods are almost all zoned “R3” and “R4,” permitting duplexes and multifamily residences.²³⁹ West of Campbell Avenue and south of the Metro North rail line—the old New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad—all residential areas (with the exception of a small area close to Savin Rock) are zoned for the single-family “R1” and “R2” single-family homes.²⁴⁰ The restrictive pattern of zoning

²³⁵ WHITTEN, WEST HARTFORD ZONING, *supra* note 213, at 14.

²³⁶ *Id.* at 10, 14.

²³⁷ *But cf. id.* at 14 (noting that developers might still obtain authorization from the zoning commission to build new business districts or multifamily housing, but that such development would depend upon the submission and approval of a “complete development plan”).

²³⁸ *See id.* at 11 (“In West Hartford industrial development is practically limited to area [sic] near the railroad in the southeast part of town. While in West Hartford the area that can reasonably be set aside for industrial purposes, represents a comparatively small proportion of the total area of the town, it will be seen on examination of the regional map showing the surrounding area in the Hartford metropolitan district that industrial expansion in this region will have ample opportunity along the various railroad lines radiating in all directions from Hartford. The location of West Hartford with reference to the metropolitan district is such that the appropriate use for most of its land is clearly that of housing the people who will work or do business in Hartford.”).

²³⁹ CITY OF WEST HAVEN, CT ZONING DISTRICTS (Aug. 19, 2013), *available at* http://www.cityofwesthaven.com/pdfs%5Cplanningdevelopment%5Czoning_2013_24x36.pdf.

²⁴⁰ *Id.*

allocations for land developed after the advent of zoning continues to make its mark in West Haven even at present.

So we can see that Swan was on to something when he described the prisoner's dilemma faced by suburbs in the era of zoning; we can also see that this dilemma had less to do with the separation of uses within towns, and more to do with the general exclusion of most uses (save for the valuable single-family home) from new development in the suburbs.²⁴¹ Zoned suburbs were "absorbing the better grades of development" and pushing out the "undesirable types of development"²⁴² on to unzoned towns through strict controls that put a hard limit on the quantity of "undesirable" development that might occur within their borders. A purpose distinct from the purpose of segregating uses inter se thus emerges. Zoning's value derives at least in part through the *constraints it imposes on the absolute supply of certain land uses*. This principle helps to explain the most important land-use change worked by zoning: the introduction of residential density restrictions.

3. *Residential Density Restrictions*. Increasingly common to the zoning ordinances introduced in this period were density restrictions expressly limiting the number of households allowed in a given area of land. West Hartford incorporated density restrictions into its inaugural zoning ordinance, requiring lot sizes of 9000 square feet (roughly one-fifth of an acre) and 6000 square feet (roughly one-seventh of an acre) for single-family houses in "A" and "B" districts, respectively.²⁴³ Swan's Stamford plan similarly imposed a limit of five households per acre in its

²⁴¹ See Forbush, *supra* note 15, at 58 (noting that New Haven's first zoning ordinance protected existing industry even as it prohibited new heavy industry from locating in the city).

²⁴² SWAN, *supra* note 221, at 110.

²⁴³ WHITTEN, WEST HARTFORD ZONING, *supra* note 213, at 10. The acreage requirements in West Hartford have only grown with time. Today most of the town is zoned at the R-10 level or above, meaning that lots must be at least 10,500 square feet (around a quarter-acre). A sizeable portion of the town is zoned R-20 and R-40 (one half-acre and one acre lot requirements, respectively). Compare "Zoning Maps of West Hartford, Connecticut, 1924 to Present," *supra* note 213, with West Hartford Code § 177-3(A)(1)(b).

“A” districts and nine households per acre in its “B” districts.²⁴⁴ These restrictions were somewhat more demanding on average than those imposed by Swan on developers in Paterson, where single-family homes were limited to nine per acre.²⁴⁵

Several purposes may have been behind these restrictions,²⁴⁶ but their most critical intended effect was to raise land values where they were imposed. The economics of this situation are straightforward and intuitive: once a suburb has zoned all of its land and assigned a density restriction to the zoned land, a hard cap has been set on the supply of housing in that suburb. The more demand there is for housing in that suburb, the higher prices will go.

This was not a side effect of zoning density restrictions. It was an animating purpose. As Swan noted in his 1921 plan for Paterson:

Objection has been raised to limiting the number of families to the acre on the score that reducing the density of population will require the subdivision and improvement of a larger superficial land area. . . . [But the] aggregate increment in values through a city will not be lessened by limiting in a reasonable manner the number of families that may be housed on a given unit of land. *On the contrary, it will be increased, given a broader base and made more stable.* And who would deny that, viewed in every way, it is more desirable that this increment should be shared by a large number of owners than by a mere handful?²⁴⁷

²⁴⁴ SWAN, *supra* note 221, at 112.

²⁴⁵ SWAN, *supra* note 225, at 21.

²⁴⁶ Swan posited that density restrictions entailed certain under-specified public health and civic benefits: “Though certain areas have already exhibited a tendency toward undue congestion, Paterson is, on the whole, remarkably free from land-overcrowding. Compared with neighboring cities, there are relatively few large tenements in the city. The fact that a large part of the population resides either in private homes or small multifamily houses constitutes one of our chief social and industrial advantages. People residing in small houses not only take a keener interest in civic affairs but are more contented and efficient. . . . One cannot raise healthy human beings without sunshine and pure air any more than one can healthy and vigorous plants.” *Id.* at 19. This language was copied word for word in the town plan Swan devised for Stamford. See SWAN, *supra* note 221, at 113. West Hartford’s planners did not allege any such health or civic benefits, noting, “Most of the residents of West Hartford have gone there either to get away from the increasing congestion in Hartford or because they were attracted by the comfort and beauty of the open residential sections there existing. This constitutes West Haven’s chief attraction and asset. It is only by zoning that it can be permanently preserved.” WHITTEN, WEST HARTFORD ZONING, *supra* note 213, at 6.

²⁴⁷ SWAN, *supra* note 225, at 21 (emphasis added).

This was a point that Swan was not shy about reiterating time and again. The same year Swan prepared Paterson’s city zoning plan, he published identical op-eds in the *New York Times* and *New-York Tribune* making the argument that New York City’s zoning law—which at the time only imposed height, area and bulk restrictions—should also incorporate density caps.²⁴⁸

Bemoaning that restrictions on form had “effected higher sanitary standards in the environment surrounding our homes, but . . . ha[d] not checked the ever increasing concentration of population,” Swan criticized the fact that “[t]here is nothing in our local zoning ordinance which checks congestion . . . from spreading to every part of the city where tenements are permitted.”²⁴⁹

Caps on housing density would be the only way to guarantee against this crowding. Swan’s principal policy justification for such caps, reflected in the *Times* headline, “Capitalizing Vacant Land Value,” was that they would benefit the owners of the city’s vacant land:

What is ultimately going to be the effect upon real estate values if land-overcrowding to the nth degree is not only permitted but practiced wherever tenements are permitted in the greater city? There are 329 square miles in the five boroughs. Most of this area of 200,000 acres is vacant.

If the tens and tens of thousands of acres of unimproved land upon which the height and area regulations of the zoning law permit tenements to be erected are to be developed with buildings having a population of between 800 and 1,600 persons to the acre, when—when will the owners of unimproved lots in the city be able to get out from under their “investments.” We are reasonably certain that all the people in the United States will never live in New York. Then, why develop the land as if they should?

* * *

In the last two years half a dozen cities have limited the number of families that may be housed to the acre. Newark was the first in the United States to do so. Others are rapidly following her example. New York might well learn from Newark.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ See Herbert S. Swan, *Limit Size of Tenement to Prevent Overcrowding*, N.Y. TRIBUNE (Apr. 17, 1921), at A14; Herbert S. Swan, *Capitalizing Vacant Land Values*, N.Y. TIMES (Jan. 9, 1921), at 106.

²⁴⁹ Swan, *Capitalizing Vacant Land Values*, *supra* note 248, at 106.

²⁵⁰ *Id.*

Swan, it will be remembered, designed the zoning regulations in Newark.²⁵¹ In West Haven, as in Stamford and Newark and Paterson, Swan had the opportunity to implement what he had preached for New York. What he was preaching was the suppression of density for the benefit of real property owners, whose lands would be more profitably colonized by a uniformity of single-family homes than by apartments.

And so we see in Swan's writings evidence for the true value of zoning vis-à-vis residential real estate prices. Simply stated, this value derived in principal part from the creation of an artificial scarcity of land for persons to live upon. By zoning the bulk of undeveloped land for single-family residences, and then capping the number of homes that could be built on that land through explicit density ceilings, Swan aimed to bring the elasticity of housing supply in suburbs like West Haven down near 0. By firmly setting the town's housing supply, Swan's density restrictions could virtually guarantee that the average value of the land upon which the homes sat would rise, so long as demand for housing in West Haven (or Stamford or Montclair, NJ) remained constant or rose. Those towns in which demand was strongest would emerge as "superstar suburbs," like West Hartford; but even in those towns experiencing weaker demand, current investors in real estate would see their investments "stabilized."

B. Credit to the People: The Changing Contours of Homeownership

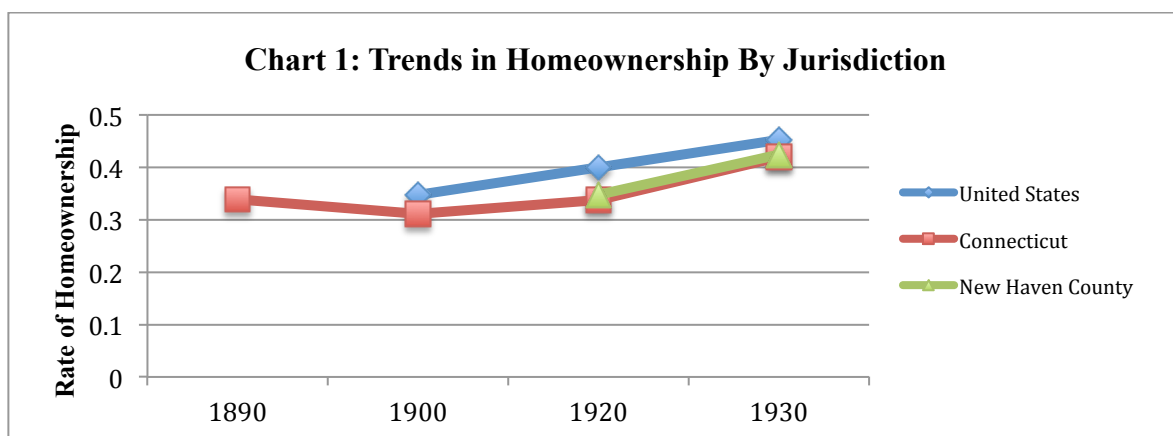
So far the data on price-to-rent ratios and the writings of city planner and zoning consultant Herbert Swan have provided some evidence that West Haven may have been drawn to zoning principally by a certain kind of prisoner's dilemma: the advent of zoning (read: controls on housing supply) in one desirable community drove up the value of that community's real estate; communities without zoning controls suffered concomitant declines in the relative value of their real estate. Communities like West Haven undertook to "stabilize" home prices by

²⁵¹ See Ball, *supra* note 218.

adopting zoning codes that would similarly restrict housing supply and drive up home prices. Yet as a story of the reasons for zoning’s origins, this narrative is still incomplete.

A looming question remains: why did zoning take root *when* it did? Fischel offered a clever hypothesis by tying together two roughly contemporaneous developments—the rise of the internal combustion engine and the legalization and spread of zoning controls. But as we’ve already seen, this explanation raises more questions than it answers in the case of West Haven.

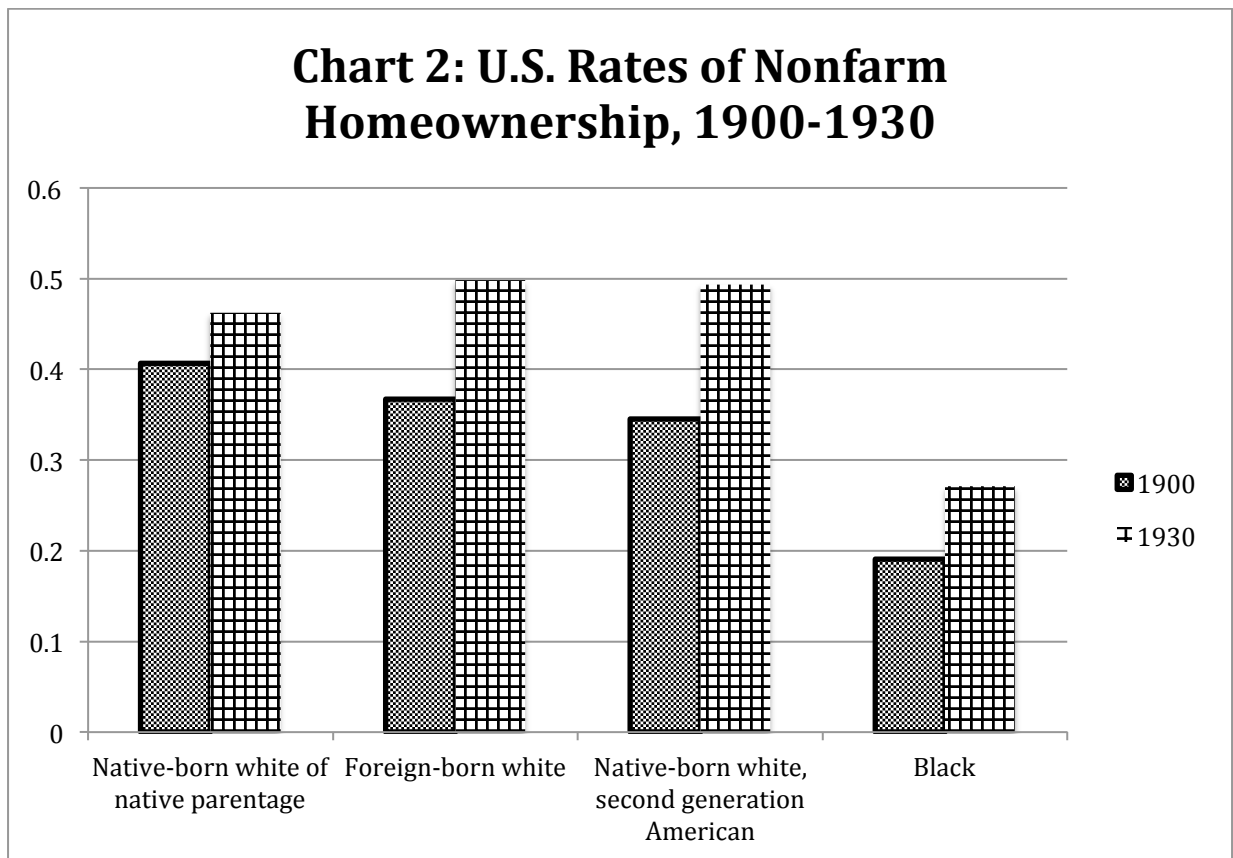
I contend that the beginnings of another hypothesis may be found in data regarding the rate of homeownership in West Haven and New Haven County in 1930. These data show that as West Haven stood on the cusp of adopting a formal zoning code and map, a very slight majority (52.8%) of its homes were occupied by their owners.²⁵² Unfortunately, because the 1920 Census did not recognize West Haven as a distinct entity, and did not provide statistical information on homeownership in Orange, it is difficult to know how recently homeowners had come to form a majority of households in West Haven. If West Haven was typical of New Haven County and Connecticut at large, however, then we can surmise that between 1920 and 1930, the rate of homeownership in West Haven was on the rise.²⁵³



²⁵² See Appendix TK, *infra*.

²⁵³ Data for Chart 1 is taken from 6 POPULATION 1930 CENSUS, *supra* note 110, at 12, 217, 231; and 2 CENSUS 1920, at 1304.

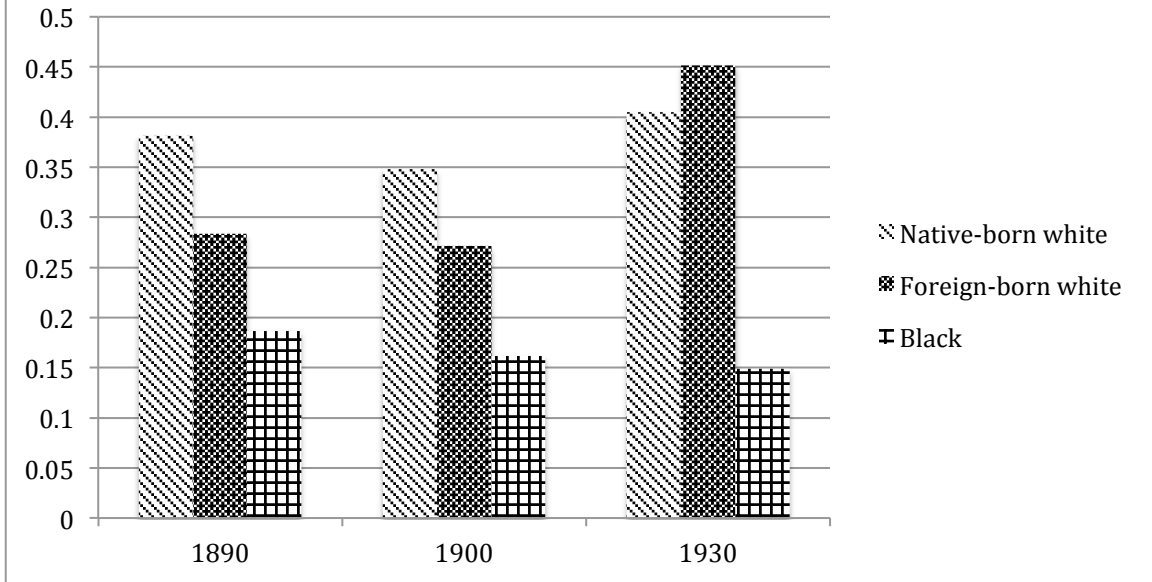
Disaggregating the data somewhat, one of the striking features of this uptick in homeownership is how much it was generated by new Americans: while homeownership rates among native-born whites born to native-born parents increased only slightly in Connecticut and across the United States between 1900 and 1930, homeownership rates for households headed by foreign-born persons and second-generation immigrants soared over the same period. Chart 2²⁵⁴ and Chart 3²⁵⁵ tell the story of this wave of immigrant home-buying.



²⁵⁴ Data for Chart 2 are taken from 6 POPULATION 1930 CENSUS, *supra* note 110, at 12 tbl.17.

²⁵⁵ Data for Chart 3 are taken from *id.* at 217 tbl.3.

Chart 3: Connecticut Rates of Nonfarm Homeownership, 1890-1930



Thus, although rates of homeownership shot up among all Census groups nationwide, foreign-born and second-generation Americans displayed a greater enthusiasm for home ownership during the first quarter of the twentieth century, such that by 1930 the homeownership rate among foreign-born and second-generation American households exceeded the homeownership rate among households headed by persons born to native-born parents.²⁵⁶ This basic trend was consistent from the national level all the way down through the state, county, and municipal levels: in 1930, homeownership rates among foreign-born households exceeded those of native-born households in Connecticut, in New Haven County, and in West Haven. As Table 6 shows, the more local you got, the more pronounced the trend became; and the trend was slightly more pronounced in suburban West Haven than in urban New Haven.

²⁵⁶ See *id.* at 12 tbl.17.

Table 6: Rates of Homeownership, 1930

	Connecticut	New Haven County	West Haven	City of New Haven
Overall Rate of Homeownership	0.44509	0.42473	0.52817	0.31197
Among Native-Born Whites	0.43088	0.40405	0.46857	0.27068
Among Foreign-Born Whites	0.47684	0.46379	0.66753	0.37252

These Census data give a rough indication that by that 1930 in the New Haven area, homeownership had become a more central component of the American Dream for immigrants and their children than for non-immigrants.²⁵⁷ This was a remarkable change in the composition of American homeowners. It was also a remarkable change for streetcar suburbs like West Haven; Warner reports that as late as 1900, only 25 percent of suburban families owned their own homes.²⁵⁸

What enabled this expansion of the homeowner class among America’s immigrants? In particular, why do we see a major jump in the rate of homeownership between 1920 and 1930? A major part of the answer may be found in the changing ways that Americans were financing the purchase of homes. As economist Eugene White has noted, at the turn of the century, “[n]on-institutional lending—friends, family and private local individuals . . . accounted for over half

²⁵⁷ Strong demand for mortgages among immigrants apparently weakened in the last quarter of the twentieth century. See George J. Borjas, *Homeownership in the Immigrant Population*, 52 J. URB. ECON. 448 (2002). But one recent study, prepared for the Mortgage Bankers Association, noted that although the homeownership rate among foreign-born Americans lags behind than that of native-born Americans, “[g]rowth in housing demand in recent decades has been more stable among foreign-born than native-born households.” DOWELL MYERS & JOHN PITKIN, IMMIGRANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO HOUSING DEMAND IN THE UNITED STATES: A COMPARISON OF RECENT DECADES AND PROJECTIONS TO 2020 FOR THE STATES AND NATION 1 (2013). See also Mitchell Hartman, *Immigrants Closing Gap on Homeownership*, MARKETPLACE (Aug. 28, 2014), <http://www.marketplace.org/topics/economy/immigrants-closing-gap-homeownership>; Miriam Jordan, *Immigrants Buoy the Housing Market*, WALL ST. J. (Mar. 6, 2013), at A6 (reporting that although foreign-born households were stimulating demand for owner-occupied housing, post-Recession rates of “underwater” mortgages were twice as high in Latino community as in the general population).

²⁵⁸ See WARNER, *supra* note 1, at 120.

the market” in mortgage finance.²⁵⁹ By 1924, the primacy of these informal financiers had been demolished, their place having been taken by an array of “aggressive lenders,” such as savings and loan associations, commercial banks, and insurance companies.²⁶⁰ Urban communities and suburban communities like West Haven in 1930 were served by an “urban mortgage banking industry [that] had been fundamentally changed by three decades of growth and development.”²⁶¹

Among the most prominent of these new institutions was the savings and loan association, known back then as a “Building & Loan” or “B&L.” By 1926, this species of financial institution accounted for close to a quarter (23.2 percent) of the mortgage lending market.²⁶² B&Ls focused exclusively on home mortgages and offered borrowers the chance to join and invest in a lending cooperative.²⁶³ In an age when more traditional lenders offered extremely conservative terms on mortgages, including a standard 50 percent down-payment, B&Ls filled the gap for capital-poor borrowers with financial products like the “Philadelphia

²⁵⁹ Eugene N. White, “Lessons from the Great American Real Estate Boom and Bust of the 1920s,” NBER Working Paper No. 15573, at 25 (December 2009), *available at* <http://www.nber.org/papers/w15573.pdf>. *See also* KENNETH A. SNOWDEN, *MORTGAGE BANKING IN THE UNITED STATES, 1870-1940*, at 56 tbl.18 (2014) (showing that between 1896 and 1930 the contribution of non-institutional lenders to the nonfarm mortgage markets had declined from 59.3 percent to 45.3 percent of debt issued).

²⁶⁰ White, *supra* note 259, at 25-26.

²⁶¹ SNOWDEN, *supra* note 259, at 71.

²⁶² *See* White, *supra* note 259, at 25-26. *See also* Kenneth A. Snowden, “The Anatomy of a Residential Mortgage Crisis: A Look Back to the 1930s,” NBER Working Paper No. 16244, at 8 (July 2010), *available at* <http://www.nber.org/papers/w16244.pdf>.

²⁶³ *See* SNOWDEN, *supra* note 259, at 56. American building-and-loans had German forerunners in mutual credit associations like the Berliner Pfandbriefinstitut, which advanced mortgages to city-dwellers beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. *See* D.M. Frederiksen, *Mortgage Banking in Germany*, 9 Q.J. ECON. 47, 54-58 (1894). Together with traditional mortgage banks, these institutions “furthered the growth of the German cities from 1860 to 1870,” *id.* at 72, by “facilitat[ing] and cheapen[ing] building operations.” *Id.* at 75. By the mid-1890s, there was “no doubt that it [was] a prevailing practice in Germany to encumber property, and for a relatively high proportion of its value.” *Id.* at 75. Perhaps not coincidentally, zoning contemporaneously emerged as a powerful urban regulatory tool in Germany. *See generally* Thomas H. Logan, *The Americanization of German Zoning*, 42 J. AM. INST. PLANNERS 377, 378-81 (1976). The principal objective of nineteenth-century German zoning codes was the promotion of low-density single-family residential housing. *Id.* at 381. American mortgage financing during this period was more localized and less mature, with the result that prevailing interest rates in the U.S. were higher than those in Germany. *See* D.M. Frederiksen, *Mortgage Banking in America*, 2 J. POL. ECON. 203, 239 (1894) (“A greater supply of capital for mortgage loans would facilitate . . . building operations in the cities . . .”).

Plan,” where a B&L would issue a second amortized mortgage for 30 percent of the value of the home after the borrower had first secured a traditional mortgage.²⁶⁴

In the 1920s, with the market heating up, these new lenders let loose an avalanche of mortgage credit to Americans.²⁶⁵ In 1912, mortgage financing had accounted for under half the funding of new housing construction in the United States, contributing about \$700 million (in 1911 dollars) in funding that year. By 1925, mortgage financing was pouring nearly \$2 billion yearly (in 1911 dollars) into the U.S. housing market.²⁶⁶ In nominal terms, outstanding nonfarm mortgage debt in 1920 (\$13.516 billion) was more than double what it had been in 1910 (\$6.806 billion), but that dramatic expansion of lending looked downright paltry by the lights of the Roaring Twenties: in 1930, outstanding nonfarm mortgage debt stood at \$37.726 billion—almost three times what it had been in 1920.²⁶⁷ This sustained raft of credit, which led to at least a “modest drop in lending standards”²⁶⁸ was enough to lift millions of Americans into the world of homeownership.

Concomitant with the rise in new forms of lending, this period also witnessed the growth of a major secondary market in mortgages, as financial intermediaries pioneered various ways of “repackag[ing] mortgage loans into safe, convenient and liquid investments for both institutional and individual investors.”²⁶⁹ These innovative new mortgage-backed securities appealed to a broad set of speculators. By 1910, a New York real estate expert could write that “the title

²⁶⁴ See White, *supra* note 259, at 27.

²⁶⁵ See White, *supra* note 259, at 24 fig.11.

²⁶⁶ *Id.*

²⁶⁷ See SNOWDEN, *supra* note 259, at 56 tbl.18.

²⁶⁸ White, *supra* note 259, at 24.

²⁶⁹ SNOWDEN, *supra* note 259, at 57.

companies, the savings banks, insurance companies and a multitude of estates and individuals, represented by attorneys or agents, are constantly looking for [mortgage] investments.”²⁷⁰

All of this brings us back to Herbert Swan, West Haven’s zoning consultant. Near the end of his career, in 1949, Swan contributed an essay on the “Economic and Social Aspects of Zoning and City Planning” to the *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*.²⁷¹ The essay was one of a collection meant to honor the 86th birthday of Lawson Purdy, a New York lawyer and tax reformer²⁷² who had led the legal battle to bring zoning to New York City through a state enabling act to amend the city’s charter.²⁷³ As he waxed reminiscent about zoning’s early development, Swan noted:

[The bill to amend the New York city charter to allow zoning], though laying down social goals, was no starry-eyed, radical program to destroy the forces which had built the city. No, far from it; on the contrary, it was a common-sense measure for the conservation of property values.

What even its most sanguine supporters had never dared to hope became a mass movement in favor of zoning; home owners, builders, developers, mortgage lenders, insurance companies, savings banks, merchants, investors in income-producing real estate, gave their united support to zoning. . . . The unanimity with which property owners backed the movement may be suggested by a single fact: a petition presented to the governing body urging the immediate adoption of the plan was signed by owners and representatives of institutions having a stake of more than \$8 billion in the real estate values of the city.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰ *Id.* (quoting Richard G. Davis, *Mortgage Loans on Real Estate*, in PRACTICAL REAL ESTATE METHODS 182, 185 (1910)).

²⁷¹ Herbert S. Swan, *Economic and Social Aspects of Zoning and City Planning*, 9 AM. J. ECON. & SOC. 45 (1949).

²⁷² See Ajay K. Mehrotra, MAKING THE MODERN AMERICAN FISCAL STATE: LAW, POLITICS, AND THE RISE OF PROGRESSIVE TAXATION, 1877-1921, at 214 (2013).

²⁷³ Swan, *Economic and Social Aspects of Zoning*, *supra* note 271, at 45.

²⁷⁴ *Id.* at 45-46. For further evidence of the early city planners’ basic collaboration with real estate speculation in New York City, see GEORGE BURDETT FORD, BUILDING ZONES (1919). Ford (who was assisted by Swan in the writing of the book) begins the very first line of his introduction to the book with the acknowledgment that “[t]he zoning law was framed to stabilize and conserve property values” *Id.* at 1. It was published by the Lawyers Mortgage Company, the business of which was helpfully noted in an advertising frontispiece: “The Lawyers Mortgage Company was founded in 1894 for the purpose of supplying conservative investors with Guaranteed First Mortgages on New York City property. . . . No investor in Guaranteed Mortgages has ever lost a dollar. The Lawyers Mortgage Company lends money direct, having its own appraisers and examiners and restricting its loans to improved income-producing business or residence property in the most desirable sections of New York City. . . . The Building Zone restrictions, recently enacted into law in the City of New York . . . should stabilize values in New York City and strengthen the real estate security for mortgage loans.” *Id.* at iii. By the number of mortgages held and

The political economy of the first zoning laws now comes fully into view. The same constellation of interests that had formed around the explosion of credit—not only the lenders and borrowers, but also the many individuals and institutions who had invested in primitive mortgage-backed securities—was the same constellation of interests that, in Swan’s account, made the decisive push for zoning controls in community after community.²⁷⁵ These interests saw zoning as an effective way to ensure a stable return on their investments.

What was essential, however, was not just that there was money to be made through zoning, but that the speculative profits arising therefrom would be spread broadly.²⁷⁶ It wasn’t just a handful of large land-holders who would be blessed with the extra value that zoning would bring; all of the investors in mortgage-backed securities, including “doctors, school teachers, and trades-people (brick layers, carpenters, mechanics, etc.) [who] are the ones who usually buy small mortgages”²⁷⁷ would also profit; and so too would a broad upstart class of homeowners, many of them new to the United States, eager to settle in single-family homes.²⁷⁸ The democratization of credit thus guaranteed sufficient popular support for zoning that it wouldn’t be turned away at the ballot box.²⁷⁹

the size of its asset sheet, Lawyers Mortgage Company was the biggest mortgage guarantee company in New York in 1920. *See* SNOWDEN, *supra* note 259, at 61 tbl.19.

²⁷⁵ Among the most active participants in the New Haven zoning debate was a representative of the Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Company of Hartford, Lewis Welch. *See* Forbush, *supra* note 15, at 22 n.97, 30.

²⁷⁶ At the 1911 National Planning Conference, Progressive reformer Lawrence Veiller criticized the “German policy, the zone system of districting cities” and noted that “the prevailing opinion seems to be that, though it may come in the future, it is as yet too undemocratic, savors too much of class-consciousness, to be popular in America.” PEARL JANET DAVIES, *REAL ESTATE IN AMERICAN HISTORY* 78 (1958).

²⁷⁷ SNOWDEN, *supra* note 259, at 57 (quoting Marcus A. Parker, *Creating a Local Market for Small Mortgages*, 4 *REAL ESTATE FINANCE* 119, 119 (1925)).

²⁷⁸ *Cf.* Forbush, *supra* note 15, at 38 (noting that the final drafts of New Haven’s first zoning ordinance “focused on real estate values, which was bound to please businessmen in any town”).

²⁷⁹ The regulatory force that most threatened to strangle zoning in its cradle was the judicial power of the states and the United States. Swan’s writings evince a deep concern for this possibility, and he paid close attention to the development of the courts’ treatment of zoning doctrine. *See, e.g.*, HERBERT S. SWAN, *THE LAW OF ZONING* (1921); Swan, *Economic and Social Aspects of Zoning*, *supra* note 271, at 47 (“Because zoning in 1916 was, frankly, an

This political economy hypothesis may also help to explain the disparate racial impact of Chicago's first zoning code, uncovered by Shertzer et al.²⁸⁰ Recall that their study found that zoning in Chicago reified trends toward greater housing density in black neighborhoods, even as the code pushed immigrant neighborhoods toward lower densities. Although it's certainly possible that such decisions reflected racial discrimination, the hypothesis described here would suggest that zoning's disparate racial impact simply reflected differences in homeownership trends: in black neighborhoods, where only a small minority (less than one-third of households) of homes were owner-occupied, land-use regulation favored renters by zoning for high-density housing; in immigrant neighborhoods, where new systems of mortgage finance had helped to create an emerging majority of homeowners, the regulatory scheme imposed new density restrictions to protect those fragile investments.

experiment, and most of all because it had to be approved both by the highest court of the state and by that of the nation, the approach to all problems relating to zoning was deliberately conservative.”).

²⁸⁰ See notes 52-57 and accompanying text.

Conclusion

The hypothesis offered here is hardly conclusive—it would be foolish to draw many general conclusions from the study of a single town—but it provides some new fodder for answering the question of why American towns and cities of every size moved in the first half of the twentieth century from a system of decentralized land-use decisions, made neighbor-by-neighbor, to a system of centralized planning and zoning. Although the link between credit expansion, homeownership, and the advent of zoning is historically novel, it is merely the logical extension back in time of the Homevoter Hypothesis, and of the understanding that local politics are driven by the needs of a voting majority most interested in protecting individual home values. The growth of that interested majority—the sudden appearance of a critical mass of homevoters in the early years of the twentieth century—paved the way for local land-use policy oriented around protecting these new homeowners’ investments.

Under this new regime, the old streetcar suburbs like West Haven were bound to be left behind. The politics of zoning favored low-density development of a kind that had never been practiced in West Haven or any other urban or suburban area. The winners of the zoning game would be those outlying farming towns, like West Haven’s erstwhile partner Orange, that only developed as suburbs after they had begun practicing the density restrictions that Swan and others promoted. By carefully controlling the supply of land on which people could live, towns like Orange could assure the maintenance of high property values and triumph in the contest of “industrial supremacy” between municipalities that Swan had foreseen, increasing the wealth of the town government and incumbent residents. The balance of the social costs or benefits of this revolution is unclear, but whatever those costs and benefits were, they surely came at the

expense of West Haven and towns like it. The era of homeownership and zoning had begun; the age of the streetcar suburb was past.

Appendix I: Land-Use and Building
Coordination in the Washington Avenue Strip

Table 1: Commercial Structures in the Washington Avenue Strip

**Highlighted cells indicate a location within West Haven's central business district*

Location	Corner Lot	Adjacent to Corner Lot	Street Interior
825 Campbell Ave.	1		
763-769 Campbell Ave.	1		
760 Washington Ave.	1		
71 N. Union Ave.			1 (mixed use)
742 Campbell Ave	1		
740 Campbell Ave	1		
734-36 Campbell Ave		1	
724-26 Campbell Ave		1	
206 Wood St. (Hoey's Tavern)		1	
202 Wood St.	1		
264 Union Ave. (bakeshop)	1		
712A Washington Ave.	1		
672 Washington Ave.			1
668-670 Washington Ave.			1
664 Washington Ave.			1
245-47 Elm St.	1		
18 1/2 George St.		1	
277 Elm St.			1 (mixed use)
630 Campbell Ave		1	
563A Campbell Ave	1		

553-563 Campbell Ave		1	
543-551 Campbell Ave			1
544-46 Campbell Ave			1
548 Campbell Ave			1
536 Campbell Ave			1
521-29 Campbell Ave	1		
345-41 Main St.	1		
342A Main St.		1	
511 Campbell Ave	1		
497-503 Campbell Ave			1
489-495 Campbell Ave			1
487 Campbell Ave			1
485 Campbell Ave			1
481-83 Campbell Ave			1
479 Campbell Ave			1
473-75 Campbell Ave		1	
471 Campbell Ave	1		
457 Campbell Ave	1		
451 Campbell Ave			1
431-35 Campbell Ave	1		
421A Campbell Ave			1
421 Campbell Ave			1
419 Campbell Ave			1
417 Campbell Ave			1
415 Campbell Ave		1	

411-413 Campbell Ave	1		
405-09 Campbell Ave	1		
403 Campbell Ave		1	
401 Campbell Ave			1
399 Campbell Ave			1
391-95 Campbell Ave			1
385-89 Campbell Ave			1
356-70 Campbell Ave	1		
379-381 Washington Ave	1		
280 Campbell Ave	1		
260 Campbell Ave		1	
253-55 Campbell Ave	1		
250 Campbell Ave	1		
224 Campbell Ave	1		
241 Campbell Ave		1	
217-19 Campbell Ave	1		
189-91 Campbell Ave	1		
185-87 Campbell Ave		1	
174-182 Campbell Ave	1		
268 Washington Ave			1 (mixed use)
227 Washington Ave	1		
179-81 Washington Ave	1		

170 Washington Ave	1 (mixed use)		
100-02 Washington Ave	1		
82-80 William St	1		
117 Noble St	1		
126 Peck Ave		1	
180 Noble St		1	
154 Park St			1
140-42 Campbell Ave	1		
138A Campbell Ave	1		
132-36 Campbell Ave		1	
131-36 Campbell Ave	1 (mixed use)		
111-13 Campbell Ave	1 (mixed use)		
104-08 Campbell Ave	1		
80-90 Campbell Ave	1		
77-83 Campbell Ave	1 (mixed use)		
72 Campbell Ave	1		
69 Campbell Ave	1		
68 Campbell Ave			1
37A-39 Campbell Ave			1
36 Campbell Ave			1
34 Campbell Ave			1
32 Campbell Ave			1
28 Campbell Ave			1
26 Campbell Ave			1

22A Campbell Ave			1
21 Campbell Ave	1		
417 Beach St	1		
411 Beach St			1
54 Washington Ave	1 (mixed use)		

Table 2: Industrial Structures in the Washington Avenue Strip

Street Address	Use	Sanborn Map section
5(?) Bishop St.	Second Hand Lumber Yard	437
Corner of Washington & Elm	10-car garage	435
742 Washington Ave.	West Haven Buckle Co.	433
267 Elm St.	West Haven Surgical & Maternity Hospital	433
277 1/2 Center St	Backyard Candy Manufacturing Operation	429
678 Campbell Ave	Hall Organ Co.	452
Corner of Campbell & Brown	Conn. Company Car Barn	421
Corner of Campbell & Brown	Fiberlock Leather Co.	422
Corner of Campbell & Brown	Wm Hecht Cigar Mfg.	416
Corner of Washington & Brown	New England Tube & Stamping Co.	416
Brown between Washington & Campbell	R.H. Brown Co.	416
301 Campbell	Town Wagon Shed	416
291 Campbell	American Buckle Co.	416
210 1/2 Washington Ave	Backyard Carpenter Shop	414
59 1/2 Campbell Ave	Auto Repair Shop	405
34 1/2 Campbell Ave	Auto Repair Shop	405
Across from 26 New Street	Blacksmith	422

Table 3: Land Uses on Residential Side Streets

Street	Block	One-family	Two-family	Multi-family	Commercial	Industrial	Civic (Schools, Churches, etc.)
Beach	Peck to Washington	6	0	0	0	0	0
Beach	Washington to Campbell	16	4	2	3	0	0
California	Peck to Washington	7	1	0	0	0	0
California	Washington to Campbell	30	2	0	1	0	0
Thomas	Peck to Washington	6	4	0	0	0	0
Thomas	Washington to Campbell	11	9	0	0	0	0
Park	Peck to Washington	0	3	0	0	0	0
Park	Washington to Campbell	13	7	1	0	0	0
Noble	Peck to Washington	8	4	0	1	0	0
Noble	Washington to Campbell	4	5	1	1	0	0
Blohm	Peck to Washington	5	8	0	0	0	0
Blohm	Washington to Campbell	8	8	0	0	0	0
William	Peck to Washington	5	6	0	1	0	0
William	Washington to Campbell	8	5	0	0	0	0
Leete	Peck to Washington	6	1	1	0	0	0
Leete	Washington to Campbell	10	7	0	0	0	0
Atwater	Peck to Washington	6	1	0	0	0	0

Atwater	Washington to Campbell	5	4	0	0	0	0
Brown	Peck to Washington	7	2	0	0	0	0
Brown	Washington to Campbell	3	0	0	0	3	0
Court	Martin to Washington	11	2	0	0	0	0
Court	Washington to Campbell	14	1	0	0	0	0
Washington Manor	n/a	25	0	0	0	0	0
New	Washington to Campbell	7	1	0	0	1	0
Main	Union to Washington	12	0	0	0	1	2
Main	Washington to Campbell	5	1	0	1	0	0
Center	Union to Washington	10	1	0	0	0	1
Center	Washington to Campbell	6	3	0	0	0	0
Smith	Union to Washington	11	6	0	0	0	0
Ward/Ashburton	Connecting Elm & Campbell	19	2	1	0	0	0
Elm	Union to Washington	7	2	0	1	0	0
Elm	Washington to Campbell	8	6	0	1	0	1 hospital
George	Washington to Campbell	10	3	0	0	1 (backyard bake shop)	0
Wood	Union to Washington	0	0	0	2	0	0
Bishop	N. Union to Washington	0	0	0	0	1 (2nd Hand Lumber Yard w/ sawmill)	0

Bishop	Washington to Campbell	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wharton	Washington to Campbell	15	0	0	0	0	0
Richards	N. Union to Washington	14	0	0	0	0	0
Richards	Washington to Campbell	16	2	0	0	0	0
Bassett	dead-end from richards	3	1	0	0	0	0
Hall	Washington to Campbell	13	2	0	0	0	0

Table 4: Land Uses on Washington Avenue

Street	Block	One-family	Two-family	Multi-family	Commercial	Industrial
Washington	Beach to California	1	1	0	0	0
Washington	California to Thomas	6	1	0	0	0
Washington	Thomas to Park	3	3	0	1	0
Washington	Park to Noble	1	10	0	0	0
Washington	Noble to Blohm	6	2	0	0	0
Washington	Blohm to William	5	6	0	1	0
Washington	William to Leete	5	8	0	0	0
Washington	Leete to Atwater	5	8	0	1	0
Washington	Atwater to Brown	7	6	0	2	1
Washington	Brown to Court	3	1	0	1	0
Washington	Court to Main	18	6	1	0	0
Washington	Main to Center	9	1	0	0	0
Washington	Center to Smith	10	0	0	0	0
Washington	Smith to Elm	7	6	0	0	0
Washington	Elm to Wood/Bishop/ NYNH&H R.R.	10	3	0	3	3
Washington	Bishop to Richards	12	1	0	1	0
Washington	Richards to Oak Grove Cemetery	16	3	0	0	0

Table 5: Land Uses on Campbell Avenue

Street	Block	One-family	Two-family	Multi-family	Commercial	Industrial
Campbell	Beach to California	4	0	0	1	0
Campbell	California to Thomas	11	0	0	9	1
Campbell	Thomas to Park	2	3	1	2	0
Campbell	Park to Noble	4	4	1	2	0
Campbell	Noble to Blohm	4	4	0	1	0
Campbell	Blohm to William	2	1	0	3	0
Campbell	William to Leete	7	5	0	1	0
Campbell	Leete to Atwater	4	5	0	3	0
Campbell	Atwater to Brown	11	5	0	4	2
Campbell	Brown to Court	0	0	1	1 (long row of shops)	2 (Conn. Company Car Barns and Fiberlock Leather Co.)
Campbell	Court to New	1	0	0	8	0
Campbell	New to Curtiss	1	1	0	2	0
Campbell	Curtiss to Main	0	0	0	9	0
Campbell	Main to Center	1	0	0	7	0
Campbell	Center to Ashburton	1	2	0	0	0
Campbell	Ashburton to Elm	4	1	0	1	0
Campbell	Elm to Depot (NYNY&H R.R.)	6	1	0	0	1 (Hall Organ Co.)
Campbell	Bishop to Wharton	5	2	0	2	0
Campbell	Wharton to Richards	11	0	0	2	0
Campbell	Richards to Hall	9	4	0	1	0

Table 6: Land Uses on Peck, Martin, Union, and North Union Avenues

Street	Block	One-family	Two-family	Multi-family	Commercial	Industrial
Peck	Beach to California	1	0	2	0	0
Peck	California to Thomas	7	1	0	0	0
Peck	Thomas to Park	3	3	0	0	0
Peck	Park to Noble	6	4	0	1	0
Peck	Noble to Blohm	13	0	0	0	0
Peck	Blohm to William	2	9	0	0	0
Peck	William to Leete	2	3	0	0	0
Peck	Leete to Atwater	8	0	0	0	0
Peck	Atwater to Brown	13	0	0	0	0
Martin	Brown to Main	25	1	0	0	0
Union	Main to Center	9	1	0	0	0
Union	Center to Elm	7	1	0	1	0
Union	Elm to Wood	21	5	0	0	0
N. Union	Bishop to Richards	8	1	0	1	1
N. Union	Richards to Penn	3	0	0	0	0

Table 7: Building Heights on Residential Side Streets

Street	Block	1 Story	1.5 Stories	2 Stories	2.5 Stories	3 Stories	3.5+ Stories
Beach	Peck to Washington			4	2		
Beach	Washington to Campbell	2		9	12	2	
California	Peck to Washington			6	4		
California	Washington to Campbell	8		14	9		
Thomas	Peck to Washington		1	8	3		
Thomas	Washington to Campbell			11	10		
Park	Peck to Washington			1	4		
Park	Washington to Campbell			13	8		
Noble	Peck to Washington			8	7	1	
Noble	Washington to Campbell		1	7	5	1	
Blohm	Peck to Washington			7	10		
Blohm	Washington to Campbell		1	10	7		
William	Peck to Washington			3	11		
William	Washington to Campbell		1	6	9	1	
Leete	Peck to Washington	1	2	4	4	1	
Leete	Washington to Campbell		1	8	11	1	
Atwater	Peck to Washington	2		5	4		
Atwater	Washington to Campbell			7	5		

Brown	Peck to Washington			4	6		
Brown	Washington to Campbell	1		3	1		
Court	Martin to Washington			8	8		
Court	Washington to Campbell	2		15		1	
Washington Manor	n/a			19	6		
New	Washington to Campbell	2		9	1	1	
Main	Union to Washington		1	11	2		
Main	Washington to Campbell	1		2	5	2	
Center	Union to Washington	1		12	2		
Center	Washington to Campbell	1		2	9		
Smith	Union to Washington		1	11	8		
Ward/Ashburton	Connecting Elm & Campbell			13	12	1	
Elm	Union to Washington	1	1	7	1		
Elm	Washington to Campbell	1		10	7		
George	Washington to Campbell		3	9	1		
Wood	Union to Washington	1		1	1		
Bishop	N. Union to Washington	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Bishop	Washington to Campbell	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Wharton	Washington to Campbell		3	14	1		

Richards	N. Union to Washington	1	2	7	4		
Richards	Washington to Campbell	2		17			
Bassett	Dead-end from Richards			4			
Hall	Washington to Campbell		7	5	6		

Table 8: Building Heights on Washington Avenue

Street	Block	1 Story	1.5 Stories	2 Stories	2.5 Stories	3 Stories	3.5+ Stories
Washington	Beach to California			2	2		
Washington	California to Thomas			3	5		
Washington	Thomas to Park			6	3		
Washington	Park to Noble			2	9		
Washington	Noble to Blohm			5	5		
Washington	Blohm to William		3		10		
Washington	William to Leete			1	12		
Washington	Leete to Atwater	1		7	6		
Washington	Atwater to Brown	1	2	7	7		
Washington	Brown to Court			5	1		
Washington	Court to Main		1	5	20	1	
Washington	Main to Center			5	6		
Washington	Center to Smith			6	4		
Washington	Smith to Elm	1	1	4	9		
Washington	Elm to Wood/Bishop/NY NH&H R.R.	4	1	14	2		
Washington	Bishop to Richards		1	13	2		
Washington	Richards to Oak Grove Cemetery	1	1	6	14		

Table 9: Building Heights on Campbell Avenue

Street	Block	1 Story	1.5 Stories	2 Stories	2.5 Stories	3 Stories	3.5+ Stories
Campbell	Beach to California	2		4			
Campbell	California to Thomas	6	1	5	4		
Campbell	Thomas to Park	3		1	2	2	
Campbell	Park to Noble			4	7		
Campbell	Noble to Blohm	1		4	4	1	
Campbell	Blohm to William	1		3	1	1	
Campbell	William to Leete			3	9	1	
Campbell	Leete to Atwater	2		2	7	1	
Campbell	Atwater to Brown	2	4	13	4		
Campbell	Brown to Court	3		3		1	
Campbell	Court to New	6		3			
Campbell	New to Curtiss			3	1		
Campbell	Curtiss to Main	3		3	1	3	
Campbell	Main to Center	4		3		2	
Campbell	Center to Ashburton			1	2		
Campbell	Ashburton to Elm	1	1	2	3		
Campbell	Elm to Depot (NYNY&H R.R.)		1	4	3	1	
Campbell	Bishop to Wharton	1	1	6	2		
Campbell	Wharton to Richards	2		7	2	1	
Campbell	Richards to Hall			11	3	1	

Table 10: Building Heights on Peck, Martin, Union and North Union

Street	Block	1 Story	1.5 Stories	2 Stories	2.5 Stories	3 Stories	3.5+ Stories
Peck	Beach to California		1	2	1		
Peck	California to Thomas			6	1		
Peck	Thomas to Park		1	4	2		
Peck	Park to Noble	1		5	5		
Peck	Noble to Blohm			12	1	1	
Peck	Blohm to William			7	5		
Peck	William to Leete			2	3		
Peck	Leete to Atwater			5	3		
Peck	Atwater to Brown			13			
Martin	Brown to Main		9	14	7		
Union	Main to Center	1		8	6		
Union	Center to Elm	1		11			
Union	Elm to Wood	1	1	22	5		
N. Union	Bishop to Richards		1	7	2		
N. Union	Richards to Penn	1	1	3			

Appendix II: 1930 Census Data on
Households in the Washington Avenue Strip

Street	House Number	Name	# in Household	Tenancy	Rent/Home Value	Race	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Occupation	Employer	Other Data
Beach Street	294	Vincent Apicelli	5	Renter		35 White	Italy	Italy	none		
Beach Street	343	William Carroll	3	Renter		200 White	Pennsylvania	Irish Free State	Hotel manager		
Beach Street	347	Frank Lupio	6	Owner		10000 White	Connecticut	Italy	Chauffeur	Undertakers	
Beach Street	349	Patrick Burns	2	Owner		8500 White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	Rubber worker	Rubber shop	
Beach Street	370	Joseph Desantis	7	Renter		30 White	Italy	Italy	Waiter	hotel	
Beach Street	370	Jannie Destafano	3			White	Italy	Italy	none		
Beach Street	371	Walter Button	3	Renter		35 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Machinist	Car Barn	
Beach Street	375	Willoughby Horrocks	3	Renter		40 White	Pennsylvania	England	Steam fitter	Public building	
Beach Street	377	Alfred Johnson	3	Renter		30 White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Machine operator	Clock Shop	
Beach Street	377	Henry Smith	2	Renter		30 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Messenger	Express Company	
Beach Street	379	Charles Darby	7	Renter		30 White	Connecticut	England	Fireman	Fire Department	
Beach Street	379	Frank Hopkins	3	Owner		12000 White	Pennsylvania	Maryland	Accountant	Railroad Office	
Beach Street	385	George Gifford	3	Renter		35 White	Connecticut	English Canada	Carpenter	house	
Beach Street	385	Charles Wallerson	3	Renter		35 White	Connecticut	Sweden	Edger	Machine shop	
Beach Street	386	Charles Collier	2			White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Electrician	general	
Beach Street	386	Harriet Hofmaster	5	Renter		30 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	none		
Beach Street	390	James Reaffaello	3			White	Italy	Italy	Proprietor	Lunch stand	
Beach Street	390	George Spencer	2			White	England	England	Waiter	restaurant	
Beach Street	390	Michale Loretto	4			White	New York	Italy	Salesman	novelty stand	
Beach Street	394	Vito Pinaglia	4	Renter		40 White	Italy	Italy	none		
Beach Street	394	Orlando Pinaglia	5	Renter		25 White	Italy	Italy	House Painter		
Beach Street	420	Lucas De Francisco	3	Owner		10000 White	Italy	Italy	Cook	restaurant	
Beach Street	447	Ralph Nastri	6	Owner		15000 White	Italy	Italy	Cook	restaurant	
Beach Street	496	Joseph Draper	2	Owner		16000 White	Pennsylvania	England	Proprietor	bathing [beach?]	
California Street	29	Ernest Plitt	8	Owner		6000 White	Maryland	Germany	Cigarmaker	Cigar shop	
California Street	64	John Pickell	4	Owner		5500 White	Lithuania	Lithuania	Cook	restaurant	
California Street	67	John Bandel	5	Owner		5000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Electrician	Electric plant	
California Street	70	George Burstrom	2	Owner		5000 White	Connecticut	Sweden	Repairman	Telephone co.	
California Street	72	Telesforo Santy	6	Owner		7000 White	Italy	Italy	Tool maker	Tool shop	
California Street	75	Dennis Riordan	9	Owner		7000 White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	none		
California Street	76	Howard Kirck	9	Renter		40 White	New York	New York	Waiter	restaurant	
California Street	77	John Gilman	4	Owner		4500 White	Vermont	New Hampshire	none		
California Street	80	Augustus Campbell	6	Owner		7500 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Mechanic	Ford autos	
California Street	102	Daniel Gilhuly	9	Renter		28 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Conductor	Steam Railroad	
California Street	104	Luke Brady	6	Owner		8000 White	Connecticut	Northern Ireland	Switchman	Steam Railroad	
California Street	105	Charles Shewbrooks	3	Owner		5000 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	drop forger	ammunition plant	
California Street	106	Harry Elmer	3	Owner		5000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Carpenter	house	
California Street	107	Edward Stone	2	Owner		6000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Tool maker	Saw shop	
California Street	107	Harvey Brone	4	Renter		26 White	New York	New York	packer	[indecipherable]	
California Street	108	William La Voo	2	Renter		35 White	Missouri	France	Brakeman	Steam Railroad	
California Street	110	Harry Slater	2	Owner		4000 White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	Foreman	Machine shop	
California Street	111	Arba Fiske	2	Owner		5800 White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Rubber worker	Rubber shop	
California Street	112	John Mitchel	2	Renter		40 White	Maryland	Maryland	Printer	News office	
California Street	114	Joseph Grab	6	Owner		4000 White	Connecticut	Germany	Tool maker	Machine shop	
California Street	117	Elizabeth Layton	3	Renter		35 White	England	England	Boarding house keeper		
California Street	117 1/2	Harry Ricard	2	Renter		25 White	French Canada	France	Machinist	Wire shop	
California Street	118	George Pedlow	5	Renter		30 White	Connecticut	New York	Janitor	Church	
California Street	121	Roy Greenspun	4	Owner		5600 White	Connecticut	New York	Laborer	general	
California Street	121 1/2	George Collins	3	Renter		26 White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	Clerk	fruit store	
California Street	123	Jennie Pinney	2	Owner		10000 White	Massachusetts	New York	Lodging house keeper		
California Street	123	Darvis La Joie	2	Renter		32 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Machinist	auto shop	

California Street	123 1/2	Albert Bachant	2	Renter	32	White	Connecticut	French Canada	Chauffeur	Gasoline truck	
California Street	125	John Rivali	7	Renter	30	White	Italy	Italy	Carpenter	house	
California Street	126	Frederick Hill	3	Renter	35	White	New York	New York	Retail merchant	Fruits	
California Street	126	Arthur Difabio	4	Renter	20	White	Italy	Italy	Laborer	street	
California Street	127	Henry Burek	8	Renter	30	White	New York	England	Cook	restaurant	
California Street	128	James Damico	5	Owner	10000	White	Italy	Italy	Laborer	street	
California Street	130	Otto Ruckson	2	Renter	20	White	New York	Germany	Woodworker	Clock Shop	
California Street	130	Richard Markart	2	Owner	7000	White	Germany	Germany	Retail merchant	Groceries	
California Street	135	Ervin Korbor	6	Owner	6000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	House Painter		
California Street	137	Millie Covey	2	Owner	6000	White	English Canada	England	Lodging house keeper		Black live-in servant, Viola Sisco
California Street	138	Arthur Wilson	2	Renter	20	White	Connecticut	New York	Auto mechanic	Garage	
California Street	140	Alanson Ganning	1	Owner	5000	White	New York	New York	Carpenter	house	
California Street	141	Margert Behler	2	Owner	4500	White	New York	New York	None		
California Street	147	Alfred Doerler	3	Owner	5000	White	New Jersey	France	Electrician	general	
Thomas Street	79	Earl Ackert	5	Renter	35	White	New York	New York	Auto mechanic	Garage	
Thomas Street	81	Henry Korber	4	Renter	25	White	Connecticut	England	Manager	Gas station	
Thomas Street	81	Ernest Fotiadis	3	Renter	30	White	Greece	Greece	Restaurant-keeper	Restaurant	
Thomas Street	83	Henry Smith	5	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	Denmark	Foreman	Steam Railroad	
Thomas Street	85	Arthur Evans	6	Renter	35	White	Wales	Wales	Electric-Type	Type Office	
Thomas Street	85	William Weinberger	7	Renter	25	White	Hungary	Hungary	Cigarmaker	shop	
Thomas Street	87	Irving Bassett	4	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Decorator	shop	
Thomas Street	89	Charles Zastro	5	Owner	10000	White	Connecticut	Germany	Machinist	Steam Railroad	
Thomas Street	89	John Weingerber	1	Renter	20	White	Germany	Germany	Brass Tuner	Clock Compay	
Thomas Street	91	Adel Scham	3	Owner	8000	White	Poland	Poland	none		
Thomas Street	94	Herman Dorman	9	Owner	7000	White	Lithuania	Lithuania	Plumber	Own shop	Native language is Hebrew
Thomas Street	102	Arthur Davey	4	Owner	6000	White	England	England	Plumber	Water company	
Thomas Street	115	Michael Bohan	4	Owner	12000	White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	Watchman	Storehouse	
Thomas Street	117	John Knudson	2	Renter	35	White	Denmark	Denmark	Draftsman	Gun shop	
Thomas Street	117	Earl Britney	4	Renter	25	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Chauffeur	Trucking	
Thomas Street	119	Marie Owen	4	Owner	7500	White	Connecticut	Denmark	none		
Thomas Street	121	Frank Lyons	3	Renter	25	White	Connecticut	Ireland	Timer	Clock Shop	
Thomas Street	121	Engelbert Nordman	2	Owner	7000	White	New York	Germany	none		
Thomas Street	124	Clarence Gammons	5	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Moulder	Rubber shop	
Thomas Street	141	Jane Pierpoint	3	Owner	10000	White	England	England	none		
Thomas Street	142	Thomas Donaghan	3	Renter	32	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Electrician	Dairy	
Thomas Street	142	Raymond Burns	2	Renter	32	White	Iowa	Connecticut	Foreman	service station	
Thomas Street	144	Charles Funk	4	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Germany	Brakeman	Steam Railroad	
Thomas Street	151	Henry Waizeneger	2	Owner	6000	White	Connecticut	Germany	Concessionist	Popcorn Stand	
Thomas Street	152	Catherine Byrne	3	Owner	8000	White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	none		
Thomas Street	154	Clarence Mitchell	5	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Police officer		
Thomas Street	157	Frank Cavallaro	9	Owner	7000	White	Italy	Italy	Wholesale Fruit	Fruit	
Thomas Street	158	John Macier	4	Renter	40	White	New York	Vermont	Trucking	general	
Thomas Street	160	Walter Guckin	5	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Mechanic	general	
Thomas Street	160	Margaret Koechler	1	Owner	9000	White	Germany	France	None		
Thomas Street	161	Ralph Ciascuola	4	Owner	12000	White	Italy	Italy	Birdcage Shop		
Thomas Street	163	Michael Onofrio	3	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Italy	Turntable Operator	Steam Railroad	
Thomas Street	164	Solomon Wolfe	2	Owner	9000	White	Connecticut	France	Messenger	Court of Common Pleas	
Thomas Street	165	Elizabeth Weston	3	Renter	26	White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	housework	private family	
Thomas Street	165	James Forsyth	5	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Scotland	Machinist	Hardware Shop	
Thomas Street	166	Thomas Darrigan	3	Renter	40	White	Massachusetts	New York	Engineer	Steam Railroad	
Thomas Street	167	Kenneth Logan	3	Renter	35	White	Scotland	Scotland	Plumber		
Thomas Street	169	Kenneth Stevens	6	Renter	34	White	New York	New York	Truck driver		

Thomas Street	171	James Smith	5 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Mail carrier		
Thomas Street	171	Samuel Caplan	7 Renter	30 White	Russia	Russia	Shoemaker	Own shop	Native language is Hebrew
Thomas Street	172	James Carros	2 Renter	35 White	Greece	Greece	Waiter	restaurant	
Thomas Street	172	Charles Sholuns	4 Owner	10000 White	Lithuania	Lithuania	Adjuster	Gun shop	
Thomas Street	173	Henry Hayes	3 Renter	25 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Varnisher	Wire mill	
Thomas Street	173	Mary Smith	2 Renter	35 White	New York	Irish Free State	none		
Thomas Street	175	Walter Beardsley	3 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	New York	Electrician		
Thomas Street	176	Alice Batt	9 Owner	12000 White	Connecticut	Northern Ireland	none		
Thomas Street	180	John Anderson	6 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Sweden	Conductor	Trolley Co.	
Thomas Street	181	Henry Burns	9 Renter	40 White	Virginia	Virginia	Laborer	Dairy	
Thomas Street	181	Nelson Boardman	2	White	Connecticut	Vermont	Chauffeur	Express Company	
Thomas Street	182	Ralph Oheto	5 Owner	7000 White	Italy	Italy	none		
Thomas Street	184	Cecil Stage	6 Owner	10000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Electrician	general	
Thomas Street	185	Alice Tuttle	2 Owner	5000 White	Connecticut	Germany	none		
Thomas Street	187	William Coit	2 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Tool maker	Gun shop	
Thomas Street	189	Peter LaFrance	9 Owner	18000 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Foreman	Carpentry	
Thomas Street	192	Charles Willet	3 Renter	30 White	Vermont	Vermont	Mechanical engineer	Brokerage office	
Thomas Street	192	Richard Govoll	3 Renter	30 White	Italy	Italy	Laborer	Steam Railroad	
Thomas Street	193	Henry Winston	4 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	England	Electric welder	Saw shop	
Thomas Street	194	Samuel Lester	2 Owner	6000 White	New York	Connecticut	none		
Thomas Street	195	Joseph Conte	7 Renter	35 White	Italy	Italy	Chauffeur	private family	
Thomas Street	197	William Hughes	4 Renter	25 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Brakeman	Steam Railroad	
Thomas Street	197	Francis Farrell	2 Renter	25 White	Connecticut	Ireland	Movie operator		
Thomas Street	199	Carrie White	4 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	New York	Dressmaking	general	
Thomas Street	199	William Whittington	4 Renter	20 White	Connecticut	England	Millwright	Belts	
Thomas Street	201	Daniel Gallagher	4 Renter	20 White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	Wire drawer	Wire shop	
Thomas Street	201	Bernard Cutler	4 Renter	25 White	Russia	Russia	Fruit retailer		Native language is Hebrew
Thomas Street	98 (95?)	George Schlichting	3 Renter	40 White	Missouri	Missouri	Salesman	[indcipherable]	
Park Street	112	Thomas Hannon	7 Owner	5000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Plumber		
Park Street	116	Jennie Gray	1 Owner	5000 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	None		
Park Street	118	Adolph Kremer	6 Owner	5000 White	Germany	Germany	Welder	[?] works	
Park Street	120	Louis Medley	2 Owner	5100 White	Lithuania	Lithuania	Operator	Steel shop	
Park Street	122	Hubert Canadine	2 Owner	5300 White	England	England	Machinist	Gun shop	
Park Street	147	Joseph Roy	6 Renter	35 White	Massachusetts	French Canada	Carpenter		
Park Street	152	Salvatore De Mayo	4 Owner	10000 White	Italy	Italy	Laborer	Foundry	
Park Street	152	Angelo Delecca	5 Owner	5000 White	Italy	Italy	Welder	Steam Railroad	
Park Street	153	Edward Armann	2 Owner	6000 White	New York	France	Assistant manager	Gas station	
Park Street	154	Victor Carrozola	3 Renter	27 White	Connecticut	Italy	Cook	nightclub	
Park Street	154	Salvatore Fuoco	10 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	Italy	None		
Park Street	156	Ernest Di Palma	7 Owner	5500 White	Italy	Italy	Painter		
Park Street	156	Peter Andreola	6 Renter	30 White	Italy	Italy	Waiter	hotel	
Park Street	159	Henry Buck	2 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Household collector		
Park Street	160	Lillian Gutman	3 Owner	6400 White	New York	New York	None		
Park Street	160	Charlotte Saeger	2 Renter	22 White	New York	England	Clerk	dispensary	
Park Street	161	William Saville	2 Owner	8450 White	Connecticut	England	Tool maker	Hardware Shop	
Park Street	163	John La France	8 Renter	35 White	Massachusetts	French Canada	Carpenter		
Park Street	163	Ernest Fudge	5 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Chauffeur	Carpenter shop	
Park Street	165	John Stockonas	3 Renter	18 White	Lithuania	Lithuania	Carpenter		
Park Street	165	Peter Gellen	4 Owner	4500 White	Lithuania	Lithuania	Laborer	Gun shop	
Park Street	168	Everett Cooley	3 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Barber	Own shop	
Park Street	169	August Dunning	1 Owner	6000 White	Connecticut	Germany	Carpenter	Construction	
Park Street	170	James Keleher	5 Renter	25 White	Connecticut	Ireland	Clerk	Steam Railroad	

Park Street	174	Fred Johnson	3 Renter	26 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Machinist	Saw shop	
Park Street	174	Margaret Sullivan	3 Renter	26 White	Connecticut	Ireland	Inspector	[sabber] shop?	
Park Street	177	William Appleton	2 Renter	26 White	New Jersey	Scotland	Machinist	Screw shop	
Park Street	177	Mary Hawkins	2 Renter	26 White	New York	Ireland	Boarding house keeper		
Park Street	179	Louis Colombo	5 Renter	26 White	Italy	Italy	Auto mechanic	Garage	
Park Street	179	Theodore Davey	4 Renter	26 White	Connecticut	England	Painter	general	
Park Street	180	Delia Flower	2 Renter	32 White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	none		
Park Street	181	Berton Fudge	5 Renter	33 White	Connecticut	England	Mason	general	
Park Street	185	Edwin Abbott	7 Renter	36 White	New York	Maine	Express business proprietor		
Park Street	186	Jensie Simmons	3 Renter	35 White	New York	New York	Carpenter	Construction	
Park Street	187	Leona Harris	3 Renter	25 White	Massachusetts	French Canada	none		
Park Street	189	Josephine Dillon	1 Owner	8000 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	?		
Park Street	191	Catherine Kelly	8 Renter	30 White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	none		
Park Street	192	Edward England	3 Renter	30 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Salesman	Cracker Company	
Park Street	192	Otto Brill	2 Owner	6000 White	Connecticut	Germany	Carpenter	Construction	
Park Street	193	Harry Richmond	2 Renter	25 White	New York	New York	Motorman	Streetcar	
Park Street	193	Emma Benoit	1 Owner	18000 White	Vermont	France	None		
Park Street	198	Phillip Unger	4 Renter	35 White	Hungary	Hungary	Tailor	Tailor store	
Park Street	198	Arther Peeble	2 Renter	35 White	New Jersey	United States	Salesman	Tires	
Park Street	200	William La Fontaine	3 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	New York	Brakeman	Steam Railroad	
Noble Street	119	Edward Tatro	4 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	English Canada	Auto mechanic	Garage	
Noble Street	119	John Kelkel	3 Renter	31 White	Germany	Germany	Candy-maker	Candy shop	
Noble Street	119	Joseph Schlitt	3 Owner	13000 White	Russia	Russia	Grocery store proprietor		Native language is Yiddish
Noble Street	123	Patrick Hopkins	3 Owner	6000 White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	Salesman	Paper company	
Noble Street	125	Thomas Cullen	4 Owner	6000 White	Rhode Island	Rhode Island	Buyer	Shoes	
Noble Street	131	Leon Welch	4 Owner	6500 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Foreman	Telephone co.	
Noble Street	132	Stanley Wajnowski	4 Owner	5000 White	Poland	Poland	None		
Noble Street	132	Francis Contois	5 Renter	80 White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	Welder	Iron worker	
Noble Street	133	John Holtz	4 Renter	32 White	New York	New York	Real estate salesman		
Noble Street	134	Herbert Dobson	4 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	England	Chauffeur	Gas Truck	
Noble Street	134	George Parker	4 Renter	28 White	Connecticut	Scotland	Conductor	Streetcar	
Noble Street	135	George Finkle	3 Renter	33 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Engineer	Steam Railroad	
Noble Street	136	Bertha Benson	6 Owner	12000 White	England	Germany	Housekeeper		
Noble Street	138	John Eskola	4 Renter	30 White	Massachusetts	Finland	Clerk	Hardware Shop	
Noble Street	138	Eva Wacherer	1 Owner	7000 White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	none		
Noble Street	140	Albert Archbald	3 Renter	33 White	England	England	Printer	newspaper	
Noble Street	140	Joseph Porto	2 Owner	5500 White	Connecticut	Italy	Proprietor	Game-stand	
Noble Street	141	William Boudreau	5 Renter	15 White	Massachusetts	French Canada	Chauffeur	Road-work	
Noble Street	142	Daniel Diennan	5 Owner	7000 White	Pennsylvania	Ireland	Foreman	Steam Railroad	
Noble Street	144	Frederick Otto	3 Owner	5000 White	Germany	Germany	none		
Noble Street	145	Augusta Breton	3 Owner	7000 White	French Canada	French Canada	Buyer	Dry goods store	
Noble Street	147	Owen Smith	4 Owner	8000 White	Northern Ireland	Northern Ireland	Conductor	Streetcar	
Noble Street	149	George Brown	4 Renter	3650 White	England	England	Accountant	Steam Railroad	
Noble Street	178	Jennie Pettie	1 Renter	37 White	Italy	Italy	Waitress	Restaurant	
Noble Street	180	Jack De Martin	3 Renter	37 White	Connecticut	Italy	Electrician	Telephone co.	
Noble Street	182	Daniel Callahan	2 Renter	38 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Clerk	Post office	
Noble Street	183	Frank Hitchcock	7 Owner	8500 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Finisher	Furniture	
Noble Street	183 1/2	Henry Stevens	6 Renter	25 White	New York	New York	Marble worker		
Noble Street	184	Lewis Elliot	6 Owner	White	English Canada	Canada	Clerk	Steam Railroad	
Noble Street	186	George Catlin	5 Renter	28 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Concessionist	Shore stand	
Noble Street	188	Herbert Johnson	5 Renter	26 White	Connecticut	Sweden	Roofer		
Noble Street	190	Patrick Reardon	5 Owner	10000 White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	Polisher	Rubber shop	

Noble Street	192	Henry Byrne	4	Renter	36	White	Connecticut	Ireland	Assistant foreman	Gun shop	
Noble Street	194	Catherine Moran	6	Owner	7000	White	Ireland	Ireland	Housework	private family	
Noble Street	196	Michael Minnix	6	Renter	65	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Clerk	Steam Railroad	
Noble Street	198	Ralph Brannan	4	Renter	20	White	Connecticut	New York	Machinist	Auto shop	
Noble Street	200	Bertram Coburn	5	Renter	30	White	Vermont	Vermont	Chaufeur	Express Company	
Noble Street	202	Arnold Lilquist	4	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	Finland	Signal foreman	Steam Railroad	
Noble Street	204	William Boyce	3	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Inspector	Gun shop	
Noble Street	206	Daniel Walls	3	Owner	8500	White	Delaware	Delaware	Sea captain		
Noble Street	210	Herbert Hayford	2	Owner	5600	White	Maine	Maine	Real estate salesman		
Blohm Street	251	Louis Podowitz	4	Owner	10000	White	Lithuania	Lithuania	Salesman	Paper merchandise	Wife's native language is Yiddish
Blohm Street	253	Felix Sciana	7	Renter	40	White	Italy	Italy	Filer	Windshield	
Blohm Street	254	Raymond Brasile	4	Owner	6500	White	Italy	Italy	Fishmonger		
Blohm Street	257	Frances Long	9	Renter	40	White	Massachusetts	English Canada	None		
Blohm Street	258	James Bartarmi	7	Owner	6400	White	Italy	Italy	Laborer	Road-work	
Blohm Street	259	Roy King	6	Renter	38	White	Connecticut	New Jersey	Baggage-master	Steam Railroad	
Blohm Street	261	Eugene Osson	3	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Sweden	Assistant manager	Bakery	
Blohm Street	262	Peter Wendelbue	3	Owner	6500	White	Denmark	Denmark	Mail carrier	U.S. Post Office	
Blohm Street	265	Henry Grace	6	Renter	35	White	New York	England	Conductor	Steam Railroad	
Blohm Street	267	Frank Schneller	4	Renter	38	White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Clerk	Steam Railroad	
Blohm Street	268	Anthony Ardito	5	Owner	6000	White	Italy	Italy	Polisher	Hardware Shop	
Blohm Street	269	Hebert Griffiths	5	Renter	38	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Night watchman	Auto parts	
Blohm Street	270	John Dixon	5	Renter	45	White	Indiana	Missouri	Tool maker	Rubber shop	
Blohm Street	271	John Coy	4	Renter	35	White	Bulgaria	Bulgaria	Conductor	Streetcar	
Blohm Street	273	Edward Broderick	6	Renter	35	White	New York	Ireland	Salesman	Lumber yard	
Blohm Street	274	Joseph Ferrante	5	Owner	10000	White	Italy	Italy	Steam-shoveler	Road-work	
Blohm Street	275	John Collier	5	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	Lineman	Electric Co.	
Blohm Street	277	Anthony Dell Asselva	5	Owner	8500	White	Connecticut	Italy	Salesman	Tobacco	
Blohm Street	331	James Bohan	4	Renter	25	White	Connecticut	Ireland	Motorman	Streetcar	
Blohm Street	333	Emma Jonathan	2	Renter	25	White	Connecticut	Ireland	Mangle	Laundry	
Blohm Street	335	Henry Smith	3	Owner	7000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Fords	
Blohm Street	337	Frank Smith	2	Renter	45	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Broker	Investment office	
Blohm Street	347	Dominic Lisa	10	Renter	30	White	Italy	Italy	Repairman	Garage	
Blohm Street	348	Edward Clark	3	Renter	25	White	Connecticut	United States	Concessionist	Shore stand	
Blohm Street	352	Paul Spitenner	4	Renter		White	Germany	Germany	Carpenter		
Blohm Street	353	Kenneth Stuntz	5	Renter	43	White	Connecticut	New York	None		
Blohm Street	354	George Cooper	4	Owner	8500	White	Connecticut	England	none		
Blohm Street	356	Goronwae Owens	4	Renter	40	White	New York	Wales	Sketch artist	Sign co	
Blohm Street	358	Elizabeth Frye	4	Renter	40	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	none		
Blohm Street	359	Patrick Grady	6	Owner	8000	White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	Conductor	Streetcar	
Blohm Street	361	Nellie Meagher	2	Renter	25	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Nurse	Private home	
Blohm Street	361	Andrew Butler	3	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	New York	Salesman	Autos	
Blohm Street	363	Samuel Condon	4	Renter	35	White	Massachusetts	English Canada	Tool maker	Perfume shop	
William Street	78	Anna Supowitz	6	Owner	15000	White	Russia	Russia	Grocery store proprietor		Native language is Yiddish
William Street	84	Austin Schleicher	4	Owner	8000	White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Brakeman	Steam Railroad	
William Street	86	Cornelius Creegan	5	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Postal clerk	U.S. Post Office	
William Street	87	Murney Schwartz	2	Owner	5000	White	New Jersey	New York	Salesman	Autos	
William Street	88	Elizabeth Young	5	Renter	35	White	Ireland	Ireland	None		
William Street	89	Charles Sheldon	2	Renter	35	White	New York	New York	Salesman	Autos	
William Street	90	Edward Kelly	3	Renter	85	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Rubber worker	Rubber shop	
William Street	92	Edward Porter	3	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Bakery	
William Street	93	Hilda Swanson	3	Owner	5000	White	Sweden	Sweden	None		
William Street	94	Carl Krebs	4	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Germany	None		

William Street	95	John Braacken	1 Renter	25 White	Germany	Germany	Carpenter	
William Street	96	Samuel Harrison	3 Renter	35 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	None	
William Street	97	Harvey Swanson	2 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Sweden	Laborer	College
William Street	98	Arthur Larrivee	4 Renter	38 White	New York	Germany	None	
William Street	102	Mattison Finkle	7 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Conductor	Steam Railroad
William Street	102	Curt Otto	3 Owner	5000 White	English Canada	English Canada	None	
William Street	104	Marion Thrall	2 Renter	38 White	New York	England	Manager	Cleaners
William Street	107	Arthur Ferrucci	4 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Italy	Bell captain	hotel
William Street	107	Sarah Boerum	3 Owner	7000 White	New York	New York	None	
William Street	110	Helen Early	3 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Rhode Island	Corset Maker	Corset shop
William Street	111	Frances Cole	9 Owner	6000 White	New York	New York	None	
William Street	112	Fred Maier	7 Renter	35 White	New York	Germany	[?]	Pipe [?]
William Street	142	Abraham Weil	2 Owner	4000 White	Connecticut	Germany	Salesman	Auto-service
William Street	143	Ralph Manson	4 Renter	35 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Salesman	Musical instruments
William Street	145	Gustave Basner	4 Owner	8500 White	New York	Germany	Wood pattern maker	Wire shop
William Street	146	Peter Lobner	6 Owner	7000 White	Denmark	Denmark	Mason	
William Street	147	George Hartwick	2 Renter	35 White	Norway	Norway	Shipping Clerk	Freight yard
William Street	149	Ernest Hearnes	2 Renter	34 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Rubber worker	Tire shop
William Street	150	Herman Kruger	4 Owner	5000 White	Germany	Germany	Carpenter	boats
William Street	151	Mark Hill	6 Renter	33 White	Connecticut	New York	Salesman	Weather strips
William Street	152	George Trowbridge	4 Renter	27 White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	Foreman	Screw shop
William Street	153	William Ransome	2 Owner	8000 White	Ireland	Ireland	Carpenter	
William Street	153	Victor Carbonera	3 Renter	23 White	New York	Italy	Presser	Cleaners
William Street	154	John Trowbridge	2 Owner	8000 White	Massachusetts	Connecticut	Sexton	Masonic Temple
William Street	157	Elizabeth Fowler	4 Owner	10000 White	Germany	Germany	Seamstress	Draperies
William Street	158	Henry Porter	2 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Sheet-metal work	Plumbing supplies
William Street	159	Alexander Kruger	3 Renter	35 White	Germany	Germany	Watchmaker	Own shop
William Street	160	Henry Knodel	3 Renter	32 White	Connecticut	Germany	Draftsman	Machinery
William Street	161	Bailey Sprague	4 Owner	7000 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Locomotive engineer	Steam Railroad
William Street	162	Ida Gerhardt	4 Renter	38 White	Germany	Germany	None	
William Street	163	Gustave Jassi	3 Renter	30 White	Germany	Germany	Woodworker	Own shop
William Street	165	Charles Bunnell	3 Owner	6200 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Adjuster	Insurance
William Street	166	Irving Taylor	2 Owner	7500 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	
William Street	166	Ida Brennan	2 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	New York	None	
William Street	169	Annie Britney	2 Owner	4000 White	Connecticut	England	None	
William Street	170	Thomas Nugent	4 Owner	8500 White	Connecticut	Ireland	None	
Leete Street	15	Herbert Cassidy	6 Owner	6500 White	English Canada	English Canada	Salesman	Bookkeeping
Leete Street	23	William Murphy	7 Renter	25 White	Northern Ireland	Northern Ireland	Motorman	Streetcar
Leete Street	24	Forrest Engler	4 Owner	6000 White	Connecticut	New York	Planner	general
Leete Street	25	Frederick Shine	3 Renter	25 White	Connecticut	Ireland	Truckman	Coal
Leete Street	27	Sarah De Mott	2 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	Northern Ireland	None	
Leete Street	28	Fred Engler	2 Owner	5000 White	New York	Scotland	Carpenter	
Leete Street	31	Salvadore Orio	11 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	Italy	House Painter	
Leete Street	32	Amelia Krueger	1 Owner	3500 White	Germany	Germany	None	
Leete Street	36	Jacob Jacobson	4 Owner	10000 White	Russia	Russia	Case-maker	Jewelry
Leete Street	36	Walter Elliott	4 Renter	22 White	Connecticut	England	Painter	[cards?]
Leete Street	38	Arthur Manzy	2 Renter	33 White	Connecticut	Italy	Repairman	Telephone co.
Leete Street	68	Thomas Kavanaugh	5 Renter	25 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Electrician	oil furnace
Leete Street	69	Theodore Tellier	4 Renter	30 White	New Hampshire	English Canada	Electrician	
Leete Street	71	Elworth Bradley	4 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Locomotive engineer	Steam Railroad
Leete Street	72	Rutherford Johnson	2 Renter	25 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Assistant Buyer	department store
Leete Street	73	Mary Mitchell	7 Owner	7000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Housework	Private home

Native language is Hebrew

Leete Street	73 1/2	Frank Buehler	5	Renter	25	White	Connecticut	Germany	Tool maker	Rubber shop	
Leete Street	74	Anthony Bradley	2	Owner	7000	White	Michigan	England	Carpenter		
Leete Street	75	Patrick English	2	Owner	6500	White	Connecticut	Ireland	Foreman	Steam Railroad	
Leete Street	78	Henry Johnson	2	Owner	5500	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Tinsmith	Dairy	
Leete Street	79	Charles Reinwald	5	Renter	27	White	Connecticut	Germany	Clerk	Steam Railroad	
Leete Street	80	William Robbins	2	Owner	6500	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Electrical fixtures	
Leete Street	81	Henry Rothchid	2	Renter	35	White	Massachusetts	Poland	Salesman	Jewelry	
Leete Street	81	John Stephens	3	Owner	8720	White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Machinist	Ice House	
Leete Street	82	Frederick Schiffardecker	7	Owner	6800	White	Connecticut	Germany	Grinder	Gun shop	
Leete Street	83	Arther Yahmig	3	Renter	40	White	Massachusetts	Germany	Grocery store proprietor		
Leete Street	84	Carl Hasse	5	Owner	6000	White	Bohemia	Austria	Foreman	Steam Railroad	
Leete Street	85	John Sayers	4	Owner	6850	White	Connecticut	Ireland	Inspector	Streetcar	
Leete Street	88	Edward Ehle	3	Owner	8650	White	Connecticut	Germany	Manager	Hardware Shop	
Leete Street	89	Thomas Ebbitt	4	Renter	35	White	Ireland	Ireland	Auto mechanic	Garage	
Leete Street	90	Robert Desmond	3	Renter	32	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Conductor	Streetcar	
Leete Street	92	William McCarthy	2	Renter	40	White	New York	Ireland	Salesman	Furniture	
Leete Street	93	Frederick Hugindubel	4	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	New York	Clerk	Western Union	
Leete Street	94	Herbert Johnson	4	Renter	45	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Electrical engineer	United Illuminating Co	
Leete Street	95	Leslye Johnson	3	Renter	30	White	New York	New York	Manager	Steel warehouse	
Leete Street	96	Benjamin Sloane	3	Owner	7500	White	Connecticut	England	Price Clerk	Plumbing supplies	
Leete Street	98	Edwin Bassett	3	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Shipping Clerk	Hardware wholesale	
Leete Street	100	John Cassella	5	Renter	25	White	Italy	Italy	None		
Leete Street	100	Theresa Mount	1	Renter	25	White	New York	New York	None		
Leete Street	100	Lauran Hanson	2	Renter	25	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Cable-splicing	Telephone co.	
Atwater Street	18	Matthew Lawson	4	Renter	25	White	Denmark	Denmark	Motorman	Streetcar	
Atwater Street	19	Marian Parker	7	Renter	26	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	None		
Atwater Street	21	Julius Gancy	3	Renter	31	White	Connecticut	Hungary	Adjuster	Sewing machines	
Atwater Street	22	John Moore	6	Owner	5000	Black	Virginia	Virginia	Mail carrier	U.S. Post Office	Lives with his wife, three daughters, and one son (John Jr.)
Atwater Street	23	James Reynolds	8	Owner	6000	White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	Watchman	Steam Railroad	
Atwater Street	26	Chester Tudge	4	Owner	5250	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Carpenter		
Atwater Street	29	Joseph Lock	2	Owner	5000	White	Germany	Germany	Painter	Steam Railroad	
Atwater Street	30	Howard Leslie	6	Owner	8000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Machine operator	Screw shop	
Atwater Street	65	Harvey Lagassey	5	Owner	6000	White	Connecticut	Vermont	Engineer	Gun shop	
Atwater Street	68	Edward Donovan	6	Renter	25	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Machinist	Buckle shop	
Atwater Street	69	Earl Schontag	6	Owner	6000	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	None		
Atwater Street	72	Fred Teneyck	4	Renter	32	White	New York	New York	Clerk	Steam Railroad	
Atwater Street	72	Henry Thibeault	4	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	French Canada	Repairman	Streetcar	
Atwater Street	73	John Anderson	3	Owner	6000	White	Sweden	Sweden	Brass molder	Hardware Shop	
Atwater Street	74	Pearlie Harris	3	Renter	35	White	South Carolina	South Carolina	Telegraph operator	Steam Railroad	
Atwater Street	74	Frank Hawley	4	Owner	8000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Mechanical Foreman	Bird-cage shop	
Atwater Street	77	Levi Le Blanc	2	Renter	20	White	French Canada	French Canada	Woodworker	Carriage shop	
Atwater Street	77	Mary Wilson	2	Owner	9000	White	Delaware	Delaware	Orderly	Hospital	
Atwater Street	78	Foster Hall	4	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Fireman	Steam Railroad	
Atwater Street	79	Ernest Rich	5	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Maine	Salesman		
Atwater Street	82	Peter Moran	4	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Ireland	Supervisor	Steam Railroad	
Atwater Street	82	Harvey Prussog	2	Owner	7000	White	Connecticut	Germany	Salesman	Wrapping paper	
Atwater Street	83	Bernard Cutler	5	Renter	40	White	Russia	Russia	Advertiser	own business	Native language is Yiddish
Atwater Street	85	William Hoff	2	Owner	10500	White	New York	New York	Painter	Decorator	
Atwater Street	86	Clarence Ratliff	3	Owner	6500	White	Mississippi	Mississippi	Garage proprietor		
Atwater Street	87	Henry Martin	7	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Pennsylvania	Clockmaker	Clock shop	
Atwater Street	89	Ammiel Dill	4	Renter	25	White	Connecticut	Germany	Machine operator	Screw shop	
Atwater Street	89	Sylvester Burns	9	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Ireland	Police	Town	

Atwater Street	91	Walter Mitchell	2	Owner	6500	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Proprietor	Spring water
Atwater Street	94	Michael Huber	5	Owner	6900	White	New York	Germany	Cigarmaker	Cigar shop
Brown Street	87	Albert Davis	3	Renter	50	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Salesman	Lumber Co.
Brown Street	89	Frederick Steehrman	2	Renter	50	White	Connecticut	Germany	Operator	Telephone Co.
Brown Street	91	Francis Mullen	4	Owner	7500	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Traveling Salesman	Auto Co.
Brown Street	93	James Sullivan	2	Owner	6800	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Salesman	School Equipment
Brown Street	95	John Meaney	4	Owner	7000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Steam Fitter	Heating Co.
Brown Street	128	Russell Cooper	3	Renter	26	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Lineman	Western Union
Brown Street	128	George Boschen	11	Owner	8000	White	Germany	Germany	Carpenter	
Brown Street	129	Timothy McCarthy	3	Owner	5000	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Finisher	Furniture Co.
Brown Street	132	Lemon Du Bois	3	Owner	7500	White	New York	New York	Clerk	Steam Railroad
Brown Street	132	Dorothy Boswell	4			White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Brown Street	133	Sarah Fox	1	Owner	3500	White	Connecticut	England	None	
Brown Street	137	Jacob Juncker	4	Owner	4000	White	Germany	Germany	None	
Brown Street	143	Frank Almquist	4	Owner	7000	White	Connecticut	Sweden	Merchant	Retail Store
Brown Street	145	Louis Judd	2	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Manager	Grocery Store
Brown Street	147	William Stapleton	7	Owner	6000	White	Massachusetts	Irish Free State	Editor	Newspaper
Brown Street	153	Harold Hawkins	2	Renter	20	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Clerk	Plumbing Co.
Brown Street	155	Fred Reckless	3	Owner	7000	White	Germany	Germany	Dancing Teacher	
Brown Street	187	Richard Vaughan	3	Owner	5000	White	England	England	Painter	Auto Co.
Brown Street	191	John Smith	4	Owner	6000	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Mail Carrier	Government
Brown Street	195	Charles Bailey	2	Owner	8000	White	Massachusetts	England	Carpenter	
Brown Street	199	Vincent Nitido	7	Owner	8000	White	Italy	Italy	Candy Maker	Candy Co.
Brown Street	203	Frank Ponnone	6	Renter	65	White	Italy	Italy	Building Contractor	
Brown Street	208	Lorenzo Du Bois	3	Renter	50	White	Connecticut	New York	Real estate	own business
Court Street	1	William Burbaum	6	Owner	6000	White	Connecticut	Germany	Fireman	Contractor
Court Street	2	Harry Bailey	6	Renter	50	White	New York	Connecticut	None	
Court Street	6	William LeMoine	7	Renter	40	White	Massachusetts	English Canada	None	
Court Street	7	Cecil Lockrow	3	Renter	45	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Teller	Bank
Court Street	9	Joseph Shaw	2	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Clerk	Streetcar
Court Street	10	John Kibbler	4	Owner	5000	White	England	England	Packer	Electric Manufacturing
Court Street	14	Thomas McDermott	4	Owner	4000	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Express Co. Proprietor	
Court Street	15	Richard Lyon	2	Owner	6000	White	England	England	Carpenter	
Court Street	18	Walter Warmingham	4	Owner	6000	White	England	England	Assembler	Gun Co.
Court Street	19	James Coyne	4	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Sexton	Church
Court Street	21	Harry Morrison	3	Renter	35	White	Rhode Island	Rhode Island	Lineman	United Illuminating
Court Street	22	John Dwyer	7	Owner	5000	White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	Laborer	Streetcar
Court Street	28	Henry Aberg	4	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	Sweden	Manager	Grocery Store
Court Street	30	Alexander Huston	6	Renter	30	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Trainman	Railroad
Court Street	32	August Ball	4	Owner	6000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Publisher	Printing Co.
Court Street	34	Percy Saunders	4	Owner		White	New Jersey	England	Manager	Hotel
Court Street	36	Charles Samuelson	4	Owner	6000	White	Sweden	Sweden	Fitter	Gun Co.
Court Street	40	Jacob Olsen	6	Owner	9500	White	Norway	Norway	Contractor	Flooring
Court Street	41	Harry Franklin	3	Owner	6000	White	New York	Connecticut	None	
Court Street	42	Leo Mathews	3	Owner	10000	White	New York	New York	Clerk	Broker
Court Street	44	Pierce Corden	3	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	Michigan	Florist	Own Business
Court Street	46	Thomas Gammon	6	Renter	44	White	Connecticut	France	Manager	Coal Co.
Court Street	48	Louis Hamelin	7	Renter	40	White	Illinois	French Canada	Lineman	Railroad
Court Street	50	Grace Morse	3	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Court Street	52	Thomas Chilipala	2	Owner	12000	White	Poland	Poland	Restaurant Owner	
Court Street	70	Edwin Gilbert	4	Renter	5000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Machinist	Gun Shop
Court Street	74	George Rogers	1	Renter	40	White	Massachusetts	New York	Mechanic	Auto Co.

Court Street	77 Paul Hausman	3 Owner	6500 White	Germany	Germany	Machinist	Gun Shop
Court Street	78 John Ward	4 Owner	5500 White	England	Irish Free State	Tool Maker	Chain Works
Court Street	82 Maurice Quigley	6 Owner	5000 White	Connecticut	New York	Merchant	Billiards
Court Street	85 Eugene Fraser	5 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	French Canada	Foreman	Railroad
Court Street	86 John Bowditch	5 Renter	35 White	New York	New York	Manager	Electric Co.
Court Street	90 Edward Parmelee	2 Owner	5000 White	Connecticut	New York	Diesinker	Manufacturing Co.
Court Street	93 Robert Warren	4 Owner	7000 White	Connecticut	New York	House Painter	
Court Street	94 Caroline Forbes	2 Owner	5000 White	Denmark	Denmark	None	
Court Street	94 Clara Holdwright	3 Renter	20 White	Denmark	Denmark	Clerk	Wholesale Clothing
Court Street	101 John Belcher	1 Owner	5000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Court Street	102 Albert Smith	2 Owner	4800 White	Massachusetts	Connecticut	Music Teacher	Private
Court Street	108 Philippine Stegman	2 Owner	8000 White	France	Sweden	None	
Court Street	109 Clarence Smith	4 Owner	10000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	College Student	
Court Street	109 William Sause	2 Renter	28 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Packer	Wholesale Store
Court Street	113 Gilbert Roland	3 Renter	28 White	Connecticut	New York	Fishing Guide	
Court Street	114 Edwin Lanouette	6 Renter	46 White	Connecticut	French Canada	Clerk	Hotel
Court Street	148 Mary Eldridge	3 Renter	35 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	None	
Court Street	150 Antonia Fomanto	5 Owner	9000 White	Italy	Italy	Shoemaker	Shop
Court Street	156 Vense McVey	2 Renter	30 White	North Dakota	New York	Mechanic	Gun Shop
Court Street	156 Adelaide Dean	3 Owner	8000 White	English Canada	English Canada	None	
Court Street	160 Charles Robinson	3 Owner	7500 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
New Street	15 Harold Hinson	5 Renter	45 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Foreman	Telephone Co.
New Street	17 John Madigan	2 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	New York	Salesman	
New Street	17 Erminio Grillo	3 Owner	8000 White	Italy	Italy	Painter	Own Business
New Street	24 Harry Thomas	9 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Piano Tuner	Music Co.
New Street	30 John Farrell	7 Owner	4000 White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Sheet Metal Worker	Private
New Street	34 Alonzo Hadder	4 Owner	4500 White	New Jersey	French Canada	Fireman	Town
New Street	38 Frank Salzmann	2 Owner	4000 White	Connecticut	Austria	Salesman	Retail Store
New Street	46 Gottfried Miller	2 Owner	4500 White	Connecticut	Germany	Motorman	Streetcar
New Street	48 Roy Drumm	3 Owner	4600 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Locomotive Engineer	Railroad
New Street	50 Andrew Rothery	3 Renter	25 White	Connecticut	England	Machinist	Gun Shop
Washington Manor	5 Frank Goldman	4 Owner	10000 White	Indiana	Indiana	Lawyer	Law firm
Washington Manor	8 Joseph Collins	5 Owner	9500 White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Supervisor	Telephone Co.
Washington Manor	14 William Clarke	3 Owner	10000 White	Georgia	Pennsylvania	Manager	Billiard Parlor
Washington Manor	15 Harry Tuttle	4 Owner	8700 White	Connecticut	New York	Chief of Police	Town
Washington Manor	17 Wililam Crowe	3 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Fuel Inspector	Railroad
Washington Manor	18 Dwight Snow	2 Owner	9000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Superintendent	Burying Ground
Washington Manor	21 David Clarke	3 Owner	8600 White	Rhode Island	Rhode Island	None	
Washington Manor	22 Milton Nettelton	3 Owner	9000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Purchasing Agent	Wholesale Jobbers
Washington Manor	25 Nina Hutchings	2 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Operator	Tie Factory
Washington Manor	26 Harry Conway	3 Owner	9000 White	New Hampshire	New Hampshire	Press Representative	Telephone Co.
Washington Manor	26 Russell Smith	3 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Tobacco Co.
Washington Manor	29 Helen Stoddard	5 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Clerk	Fraternal Org.
Washington Manor	30 James Farrell	6 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Haberdasher	Own Business
Washington Manor	33 Thomas Downs	5 Owner	8700 White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	Superintendent	Construction
Washington Manor	34 John Shuttleworth	6 Renter	40 White	New York	New York	Engineer	Coal Co.
Washington Manor	35 William Morell	2 Owner	8000 White	New York	Connecticut	Clerk	Bank
Washington Manor	37 Edward Everett	3 Owner	6000 White	New York	New York	Grocer	Own Business
Washington Manor	38 George Dunkbase	4 Renter	40 White	New York	Germany	Foreman	Railroad
Washington Manor	38 Stella Manning	3 Owner	10000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Washington Manor	42 James Horan	6 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Station Employee	Railroad
Washington Manor	45 Roy Taylor	2 Owner	10000 White	Maine	Maine	Electrical Engineer	Railroad

Washington Manor	46 Alfred Down	3 Owner	8000 White	New York	England	Auditor	Railroad
Washington Manor	50 George Warren	2 Owner	8100 White	Connecticut	New York	Master Mechanic	Silver Co.
Washington Manor	53 Adolph Rempfer	4 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	Germany	Barber	Own Business
Washington Manor	54 Frank Miles	3 Owner	8200 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Washington Manor	57 James Nixon	4 Owner	8000 White	New York	New York	Electrical Engineer	Telephone Co.
Washington Manor	60 William Killion	6 Owner	10000 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Civil Engineer	Asbestos Co.
Washington Manor	61 Thomas Bradley	4 Owner	7200 White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Clerk	Railroad
Washington Manor	62 Joseph Patry	5 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	French Canada	Banker	Bank
Washington Manor	65 James Doody	5 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Office Supplies
Washington Manor	71 William Gleue	2 Owner	8000 White	Germany	Germany	None	
Martin Street	4 Louis Dest	5 Owner	9000 White	Connecticut	Italy	Dealer	Autos
Martin Street	8 Roger Anderson	4 Renter	30 White	Massachusetts	Sweden	Clerk	Auto Co.
Martin Street	8 William Brown	4 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Foreman	Telephone Co.
Martin Street	19 Charles Haury	6 Owner	9000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Traveling Salesman	Milk Products
Martin Street	21 August Carlson	7 Owner	8000 White	New York	Sweden	Wire Chief	Telephone Co.
Martin Street	27 James Gleason	3 Owner	9500 White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Clerk	Railroad
Martin Street	29 Jacob Jacobs	3 Owner	9500 White	Connecticut	Poland	Postmaster	U.S. Government
Martin Street	33 Frank Delahanty	4 Owner	8500 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Wholesale
Martin Street	35 Emery Gray	5 Renter	45 White	Maine	Maine	Electrician	Electric Contractor
Martin Street	37 Eugene Redfield	4 Owner	8500 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Operator	Motion Picture
Martin Street	41 Henry Young	4 Renter	35 White	New Hampshire	French Canada	Switchman	Railroad
Martin Street	42 Herbert Brooks	3 Owner	6300 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Martin Street	43 Mary Hannan	2 Owner	14000 White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	None	
Martin Street	44 Jarvis Blatchley	4 Owner	8000 White	New York	New York	Painter	Own Business
Martin Street	49 Jemima Hale	1 Owner	5000 White	Northern Ireland	England	None	
Martin Street	51 James White	4 Owner	7000 White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	Motorman	Streetcar
Martin Street	59 Benajah Smith	3 Owner	9000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Manager	Club
Martin Street	60 Gretchen Leavitt	2 Owner	7000 White	Ohio	Germany	None	
Martin Street	61 Charles Dow	3 Owner	10000 White	Vermont	Vermont	Foreman	Telephone Co.
Martin Street	66 Raymond Warner	2 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Pharmacist	Retail Store
Martin Street	70 John Cahill	4 Owner	6500 White	Connecticut	New York	Clerk	Railroad
Martin Street	71 Henry Carleton	6 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Collector	Express Co.
Martin Street	75 William Swift	2 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	England	Manager	Retail Store
Martin Street	76 Daniel Webster	3 Owner	4500 White	New York	Connecticut	Salesman	Coal Co.
Martin Street	79 Frank McDonough	5 Owner	10000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Civil Engineer	Telephone Co.
Martin Street	80 Ernest Carreer	4 Owner	5700 White	Connecticut	England	Chief Clerk	Railroad
Martin Street	83 Earl Shutter	4 Owner	9500 White	Connecticut	New York	Manager	Foundry
Martin Street	84 Pauline Juelich	2 Owner	5000 White	Connecticut	Illinois	Clerk	Town
Martin Street	88 Harry Lohse	4 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	Germany	Salesman	Gypsum Co.
Martin Street	92 Elle Ihne	3 Owner	6000 White	Connecticut	Germany	Operator	Telephone Co.
Martin Street	93 Frank Harlan	3 Owner	10000 White	Connecticut	Pennsylvania	Manager	Streetcar
Martin Street	97 Henry Stevenson	2 Owner	10000 White	Connecticut	Scotland	Court reporter	
Martin Street	100 George Somerset	2 Owner	6000 White	English Canada	England	Sprayer	Clock Co.
Martin Street	101 Walter Harrison	5 Owner	11500 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Accountant	Railroad
Martin Street	104 Charles Wyant	3 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Mechanical Engineer	Railroad
Martin Street	105 Tracey Caldwell	5 Owner	10000 White	Connecticut	Scotland	Photographer	Store
Martin Street	106 Alice Lawson	1 Renter	40 White	Massachusetts	Sweden	Teacher	Public School
Martin Street	106 John Wilkins	2 Renter	65 White	New Jersey	England	Engineer	Signal Co.
Martin Street	106 Caroline Jordan	1 Renter	40 White	Maine	Maine	Social Worker	State
Martin Street	106 John Owens	2 Renter	66 White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Sales Engineer	Refrigeration
Martin Street	106 Maria Pardee	1 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Martin Street	108 Albert Schwolow	2 Renter	56 White	Connecticut	Germany	Salesman	Electrical

Martin Street	108 Peter Crosson	2 Renter	56 White	Connecticut	Italy	Foreman	Telephone Co.
Martin Street	108 Frank Pomeroy	2 Renter	58 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Locomotive Engineer	Railroad
Martin Street	108 Mary Armour	3 Renter	56 White	French Canada	French Canada	None	
Martin Street	108 Herbert Schmith	2 Renter	57 White	Ohio	Ohio	Manager	Sewing Machine Co.
Martin Street	111 Geraldine Hull	2 Renter	55 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Martin Street	111 Edward North	2 Renter	58 White	Connecticut	England	Superintendent	Organ Co.
Martin Street	111 Chester Hulst	2 Renter	47 White	New York	New York	Student	College
Martin Street	111 Minnie Wallace	1 Renter	53 White	Connecticut	Germany	None	
Martin Street	111 Frederick Sweeney	2 Renter	58 White	Massachusetts	Irish Free State	Salesman	Rubber Co.
Martin Street	111 Donald Adair	2 Renter	50 White	Pennsylvania	New York	Salesman	Cement
Martin Street	111 Harriett Sandmeyer	2 Renter	33 White	Connecticut	New York	None	
Martin Street	111 Edward Hill	2 Renter	50 White	England	England	Secretary	Saw Mill
Martin Street	111 Willis Ailing	2 Renter	65 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Physician	
Martin Street	111 Raul Molleur	2 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	French Canada	Laundry Proprietor	
Martin Street	111 Mary Main	2 Renter	48 White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	None	
Curtiss Place	2 Walter Moulthrop	3 Owner	5000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Clerk	Store
Curtiss Place	4 August Gebel	6 Owner	4500 White	Connecticut	Germany	Janitor	Office Building
Curtiss Place	6 Levi Stottard	2 Owner	5000 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Wood Turner	Clock Shop
Main Street	222 Robert Osmond	3 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	England	Engineer	Railroad
Main Street	228 Richard Russell	3 Renter	60 White	Connecticut	New Jersey	Baker	Retail Store
Main Street	228 Ernest Stenson	4 Renter	55 White	Connecticut	England	Mechanic	Typewriter Co.
Main Street	228 William Rowell	2 Renter	50 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Foreman	Telephone Co.
Main Street	228 Neil Kautz	3 Renter	50 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Main Street	228 James Merwin	3 Renter	53 White	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Clerk	Building Co.
Main Street	228 Bradford Thompson	2 Renter	60 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Civil Engineer	Railroad
Main Street	228 Joseph Caggiano	3 Renter	60 White	Italy	Italy	Manager	Tailoring Co.
Main Street	228 Albert Treat	2 Renter	60 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Trucking	Cereals
Main Street	232 Eugene Comisky	3 Renter	45 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Foreman	Telephone Co.
Main Street	232 George Drakeley	3 Renter	60 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Office Equipment
Main Street	232 William O'Connor	5 Renter	65 White	New York	New York	Salesman	Soda Fountains
Main Street	232 Warren Grutting	3 Renter	65 White	New Jersey	New Jersey	Salesman	Stocks & Bonds
Main Street	232 Henry Maher	2 Renter	50 White	Connecticut	New York	Foreman	Garage
Main Street	232 Ester Barnett	2 Renter	38 White	Massachusetts	Russia	Teacher	Public School
Main Street	232 John Gaynor	2 Renter	65 White	New York	Irish Free State	Proprietor	Brass Shop
Main Street	233 Enphesia Mannery	Convent	n/a	n/a			
Main Street	240 Morris Zipken	3 Renter	63 White	Connecticut	Russia	News Dealer	Newspaper
Main Street	240 Christine Stevenson	1 Renter	58 White	Scotland	Scotland	None	
Main Street	240 William Bortell	2 Renter	58 White	New York	New York	Surgical Appliances Manufacturer	
Main Street	240 Elsworth Renaud	2 Renter	53 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Soda Supplies
Main Street	240 Charles Barrett	2 Renter	58 White	New York	Ohio	Trainman	Railroad
Main Street	240 Joseph Kispert	3 Renter	58 White	Austria	Germany	Salesman	Corset Co.
Main Street	241 James Hermance	3 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Main Street	241 John Stevenson	2 Owner	15565 White	Connecticut	Scotland	Pharmacist	Drug Store
Main Street	254 Charles Cole	3 Renter	58 White	Russia	Russia	Salesman	Produce
Main Street	254 Otto Luring	3 Renter	58 White	India	Germany	Salesman	Clothing
Main Street	254 Robert Driscoll	2 Renter	58 White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	District Manager	Oil Co.
Main Street	254 Clarke Hewlett	2 Renter	60 White	Connecticut	New York	Salesman	Vacuum Cleaner
Main Street	254 Frank Brown	2 Renter	60 White	New Hampshire	Maine	Salesman	Oil Co.
Main Street	254 Roy Kaville	2 Renter	56 White	Connecticut	English Canada	Carpenter	
Main Street	285 Gustave Mager	3 Renter	60 White	Connecticut	New York	Traveling Salesman	Tools
Main Street	285 Merton Thayer	2 Renter	55 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Sales Manager	Office Equipment
Main Street	285 Randolph Lurgeon	2 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Purchasing Agent	Electric Light Co.

Native language is Yiddish

Main Street	289	Isadore Podheiner	5	Owner	19000	White	Poland	Poland	Treasurer	Wrecking Co.	
Main Street	289	John Montgomery	2	Renter	55	White	Connecticut	Oregon	Assistant Manager	Buckles Co.	
Main Street	289	John Grava	2	Renter	45	White	Connecticut	Italy	Manager		
Main Street	294	Albert Bradley	3	Owner	12000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Traveling Salesman	Auto Trucks	
Main Street	294	William Fanslowe	2	Renter	45	White	Connecticut	United States	Dentist		
Main Street	295	James Kauffman	4	Owner	15000	White	Connecticut	Poland	Real Estate & Insurance	Own Business	
Main Street	299	Albert Scranton	3	Renter	45	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Manager	Grocery	
Main Street	299	Ella Wilkinson	1	Owner	12000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None		
Main Street	299	Nicholas Biever	3	Owner	25000	White	Illinois	Germany	Auto Dealership	Own Business	
Main Street	300	Richard Donnelly	3	Renter	65	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Plumber	Own Business	
Main Street	300	Howard Ross	3	Renter	65	White	New York	New York	Salesman	Coal Co.	
Main Street	300	Wilbur Hough	3	Renter	72	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Jewelry Co.	
Main Street	307	Gartner Carlton	3	Renter	75	White	Massachusetts	England	Superintendent	Electrical Shop	
Main Street	308	Frank Ploehn	3	Renter	50	White	Connecticut	Germany	Shipping Clerk	Hardware Co.	
Main Street	308	Charles Wood	2	Renter	45	White	New York	New York	Investment	Brokerage House	
Main Street	308	John Daley	2	Renter	45	White	Connecticut	New York	Mechanical Engineer	Railroad	
Main Street	308	Thomas Fogarty	2	Renter	45	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Clerk	Railroad	
Main Street	308	Cassandra Aldrich	1	Renter	35	White	New Hampshire	New Hampshire	Teacher	Public School	
Main Street	308	Arthur Jungden	2	Renter	50	White	Connecticut	Sweden	Mechanic	Auto Co.	
Main Street	308	Harry Kesses	2	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Printer	Newspaper	
Main Street	308	Herman Weidig	2	Renter	45	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Station Employee	Railroad	
Main Street	308	Carl Weber	2	Renter	50	White	Connecticut	Germany	Clerk	Gas Co.	
Main Street	308	Herbert Johnson	2	Renter	50	White	Massachusetts	United States	Lineman	Telephone Co.	
Main Street	308	Dorothy Smith	1	Renter	48	White	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Teacher	Public School	
Main Street	308	Dorothea Buzzell	1	Renter	48	White	Maine	Maine	Teacher	Public School	
Main Street	308	Nellie Sparks	4	Renter	38	White	Connecticut	England	Bookkeeper	Bank	
Main Street	308	Sarah Jones	1	Renter	40	White	Massachusetts	Maine	Teacher	Public School	
Main Street	308	Mrs. Charles Smith	1	Renter	40	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	None		
Main Street	308	Edward Kuraj	1	Renter	38	White	Turkey	Turkey	Cleaner	Store	Native language is Armenian
Main Street	322	Herman Horwitz	4	Owner	15000	White	Russia	Russia	Lawyer		Native language is Yiddish
Main Street	322	Walter Maliff	1	Renter	38	White	Connecticut	New York	Manager	Drug Store	
Main Street	322	Elmer Blake	3	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Studio Artist		
Main Street	323	Walter Main	7	Owner	10000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Real Estate & Insurance	Own Business	
Main Street	328	Charles Kaufman	7	Owner	18000	White	South Dakota	Germany	Physician		Resident black servant, Katherine Taylor
Main Street	334	Benjamin Thompson	2	Renter	60	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Owner	Confectionary	
Main Street	336	John Gilmore	3	Renter	60	White	New York	Irish Free State	Physician		
Main Street	337	Lester Crissey	11	Renter	50	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Rubber Worker	Rubber Co.	
Main Street	343	Florence Young	2	Renter	65	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Servant	Rooming House	
Main Street	345	Edgar Stiles	2	Renter	60	White	Connecticut	New Jersey	Superintendent	Schools	
Center Street	175	Belle Anderson	2	Renter	55	White	Vermont	New York	Teacher	Public School	
Center Street	175	Harry Chamberlain	2	Renter	60	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Mechanical Engineer	Hardware	
Center Street	175	John Wicks	2	Renter	55	White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Mechanic	Bookkeeping Machine	
Center Street	175	George Davis	2	Renter	55	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Assistant Manager	Whale Meat	
Center Street	183	Irving Thomas	5	Owner	9000	White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	Cashier		
Center Street	187	Carl Anderson	2	Owner	10000	White	Sweden	Sweden	Carpenter		
Center Street	187	John Avery	3	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Teacher	Public School	
Center Street	191	Howard Harr	3	Owner	12000	White	Massachusetts	Vermont	Inspector	Elevators	
Center Street	192	Harold Minor	6	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Wholesale merchant	Eggs	
Center Street	192	John Griffin	2	Renter	35	White	English Canada	Irish Free State	None		
Center Street	196	Franklin Robinson	5	Renter	60	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Building Superintendent	Telephone Co.	
Center Street	198	Spencer Ensign	3	Renter	55	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Clerk	Hardware	
Center Street	201	Minnie Smith	2	Owner	15000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Principal	Elementary School	

Center Street	202 Fred Ford	3 Owner	15000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Coal
Center Street	205 William Husted	4 Owner	8400 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Clerk	Hardware
Center Street	208 Robert Hall	4 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	New York	Secretary	Board of Education
Center Street	211 Katherine Mansfield	1 Renter	15 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Center Street	211 Arthur Russell	3 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Assistant Manager	Whale Meat
Center Street	212 Frank Smith	3 Owner	10000 White	Connecticut	New York	Funeral Director	Own Business
Center Street	245 Thomas Higgins	4 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Electrician	Electric Light Co.
Center Street	245 Terrance Higgins	4 Owner	8800 White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Collector	
Center Street	246 Harry Smith	4 Owner	7500 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Chauffeur	Private family
Center Street	250 Thomas Brett	8 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	Maryland	Architectural Engineer	Iron Co.
Center Street	251 Nicholas Bates	5 Renter	40 White	White	Greece	Restaurant	Own Business
Center Street	255 Grey Curtiss	3 Renter	65 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	City Engineer	City of New Haven
Center Street	256 Carrie Jencks	2 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Center Street	258 Frank Carey	2 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Electrician	Electric Light Co.
Center Street	258 James Campbell	2 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	District of Columbia	Accountant	Bonding Co.
Center Street	260 Edwin Berlin	4 Renter	45 White	Sweden	Sweden	Salesman	Clothing
Center Street	260 Elizabeth Hadden	1 Owner	13000 White	New York	Irish Free State	Nurse	Public School
Center Street	262 Virginia Moseley	3 Owner	12000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Center Street	262 Frederick Mulvey	2 Renter	50 White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Mail Clerk	Railroad
Center Street	262 Frederick Barnett	5 Renter	45 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	State Inspector	
Center Street	266 William Silver	4 Owner	25000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Pharmacist	Drug Store
Center Street	266 William Cox	3 Renter	45 White	New Jersey	England	Salesman	Toys
Center Street	272 James McCabe	2 Renter	55 White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	General Foreman	Rubber Co.
Center Street	272 Ralph Hart	2 Renter	53 White	New Jersey	New York	Supervisor	Railroad
Center Street	272 Clifton Gorton	3 Renter	53 White	Rhode Island	New Hampshire	Salesman	Printing
Center Street	272 Robert McCarter	2 Renter	55 White	Connecticut	Pennsylvania	Representative	Finance Co.
Center Street	272 Frank Smith	2 Renter	55 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Center Street	272 Russell Davis	2 Renter	55 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Assistant Treasurer	Bank
Center Street	275 Forrest Conklin	2 Renter	43 White	Missouri	New York	Salesman	
Center Street	275 Harold Littlefield	2 Renter	55 White	Maine	Maine	Salesman	Cement
Center Street	275 Stanley Roberts	2 Renter	55 White	Massachusetts	Ohio	Traveling Salesman	Printing
Center Street	275 Lewis Deal	2 Renter	53 White	Minnesota	Michigan	Medical	Railroad
Smith Street	67 Anna Cullen	6 Owner	10000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Graduate Nurse	Own Business
Smith Street	70 Harry Parmelee	6 Owner	9000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Rate clerk	Railroad
Smith Street	74 Georgia Beckwith	3 Owner	7000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Smith Street	75 Augustine Lennon	5 Renter	40 White	Massachusetts	Irish Free State	Accountant	Railroad
Smith Street	77 John Hanlon	4 Renter	45 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Postal Clerk	Railroad Mail
Smith Street	78 John Britt	2 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Splicer Helper	Telephone Co.
Smith Street	78 William Johnson	4 Renter	50 White	Massachusetts	New Jersey	Local Manager	[Ferti?]
Smith Street	81 Christopher Brown	4 Renter	45 White	Massachusetts	Connecticut	Salesman	Autos
Smith Street	83 Lettie Whitten	3 Renter	40 White	New York	New York	None	
Smith Street	83 Daniel Cosgrove	3 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	None	
Smith Street	84 Carrie Gallup	2 Owner	11000 White	New York	New York	None	
Smith Street	85 Edward McDonald	5 Renter	40 White	Massachusetts	Irish Free State	Assistant Treasurer	Rubber Co.
Smith Street	87 Glendon Jencks	2 Renter	45 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Public Representative	Telephone Co.
Smith Street	87 John Dodan	2 Owner	10000 White	Pennsylvania	France	Trainmaster	Railroad
Smith Street	90 Joseph McMahon	6 Owner	15000 White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Salesman	Newspaper
Smith Street	91 Nelson Coe	2 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Clerk	Railroad
Smith Street	93 Charles Aldrich	2 Renter	40 White	New York	New York	Salesman	Tea & Coffee
Smith Street	94 Joseph Graham	3 Renter	60 White	New York	New York	Industrial Engineer	
Smith Street	95 Clark Drayton	4 Renter	45 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Production Supervisor	Railroad
Smith Street	97 George Shepard	5 Owner	12000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Trainman	Railroad

Smith Street	98	Patrick King	8	Owner	12000	White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	Foreman Carpenter	Railroad
Smith Street	99	Elizabeth Saunders	5	Owner	8000	White	New York	New York	Visiting Nurse	City
Smith Street	100	Fred Winterhalder	7	Owner	6500	White	Massachusetts	Germany	Assistant Chief Clerk	Railroad
Ashburton Place	2	Joseph McGrath	6	Owner	8500	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Dentist	Own Business
Ashburton Place	8	Peter Hartmann	3	Owner	8500	White	France	France	None	
Ashburton Place	14	Russell Rowland	3	Renter	35	White	New York	New York	Meat Cutter	Meat Store
Ashburton Place	14	Anthony Sweeney	2	Renter	30	White	England	Irish Free State	Laborer	Hack Saw
Ashburton Place	15	Robert Ferguson	2	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Repairman	Telephone Co.
Ashburton Place	15	Frederick Jarsek	3	Renter	40	White	Pennsylvania	Germany	Assistant Manager	Music Store
Ashburton Place	17	Walter Hofer	3	Owner	9000	White	Connecticut	New York	Driver	
Ashburton Place	17	George Nonemacher	2	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Germany	Florist	Greenhouse
Ward Place	5	George Foster	4	Owner	10000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Electrician	Streetcar
Ward Place	6	Thomas Keogh	6	Owner	8900	White	Massachusetts	Irish Free State	Foreman	Paper Box Co.
Ward Place	8	Fanny Clements	1	Owner	12000	White	England	England	None	
Ward Place	9	Arthur Hurlburt	3	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Accountant	Transportation Co.
Ward Place	11	Frank Foote	2	Owner	10000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Clerk	Fish Store
Ward Place	12	Edward Phillips	5	Owner	5600	White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Train Dispatcher	Railroad
Ward Place	15	Alan Moore	5	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	Realtor	
Ward Place	16	Margaret Cullum	2	Owner	4000	White	England	England	None	
Ward Place	16	Robert Griffith	3	Renter	50	White	New York	England	Salesman	Refrigerator
Ward Place	18	Charles Fentn	2	Owner	4500	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Foreman	Hardware
Ward Place	20	William Hyddman	2	Owner	4400	White	Connecticut	Pennsylvania	None	
Ward Place	21	Walter Camp	3	Owner	6000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Ship's Captain	
Ward Place	22	Henry Lamberton	4	Owner	5000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Conductor	Railroad
Ward Place	24	Franklin Hart	5	Renter	38	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Chauffeur	Laundry
Ward Place	24	Margaret Carroll	1	Owner	4500	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Inspector	Rubber Co.
Ward Place	28	Clifford Thayer	6	Owner	5500	White	Massachusetts	Pennsylvania	Painting	Garage
Ward Place	29	Walter Phelps	4	Owner	6300	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Designer	Webbing
Ward Place	30	Olaf Anderson	3	Owner	6500	White	Sweden	Sweden	Woodmaker	
Elm Street	191	Hugh Connolly	8	Owner	16500	White	Northern Ireland	Northern Ireland	None	
Elm Street	195	Murdoch Dingwall	2	Renter	45	White	Connecticut	Scotland	Automobile Repairman	Garage
Elm Street	195	John Curran	2	Renter	58	White	Massachusetts	Ireland	Superintendent	?
Elm Street	197	Clifton Green	3	Renter	60	White	Massachusetts	Vermont	Water Superintendent	Streetcar
Elm Street	199	James Graham	2	Owner	12000	White	Connecticut	New York	Watchman	Hardware Factory
Elm Street	199	Herbert Warner	5	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Locomotive Engineer	Railroad
Elm Street	214	John Putnam	3	Owner	10000	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	None	
Elm Street	227	James Toller	3	Owner	n/a	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Teller	National Bank
Elm Street	228	Platt Rogers	4	Owner	22000	White	New York	New York	Doctor	Own Business
Elm Street	232	Frank Carmoda	6	Renter	50	White	Italy	Italy	Foreman	Necktie Shop
Elm Street	232	Ralph Cuomo	4	Owner	12000	White	Italy	Italy	Realtor	Own Business
Elm Street	233	Evelyn Putnam	7	Renter	80	White	New York	Germany	Proprietor	Inn
Elm Street	234	David Krimer	2	Owner	12000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Elm Street	238	William Leaten	7	Renter	38	White	Connecticut	Pennsylvania	Proprietor	Grocery store
Elm Street	238	Albert Johnson	4	Renter	38	White	Connecticut	Sweden	Proprietor	Drug Store
Elm Street	248	John Grillo	4	Owner	9500	White	Italy	Italy	Salesman	Used cars
Elm Street	251	Isaac Wadsworth	2	Owner	9000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Elm Street	252	Harriett Squires	2	Renter	40	White	New York	New York	Corsetier	Corsets
Elm Street	252	Dennis McNamara	1	Renter	55	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Trainman	Railroad
Elm Street	254	John Barry	6	Owner	11500	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Clerk	Express Co.
Elm Street	254	Porter Lyke	4	Renter	50	White	Connecticut	New York	Chauffeur	Taxi Co.
Elm Street	255	Mary Bowers	5	Renter	35	White	Northern Ireland	Ireland	None	
Elm Street	258	Samuel Liebman	2	Renter	45	White	Connecticut	Russia	Beverages	Own Business

Elm Street	259	Frank McHill	2	Owner	6500	White	Connecticut	Ireland	Claim Agent	Streetcar
Elm Street	259	Hollis Coyle	2	Renter	38	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Statistician	Railroad
Elm Street	260	Albert Bowen	3	Owner	11500	White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	None	
Elm Street	262	Frank Butter	4	Renter	45	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Superintendent	Office Building
Elm Street	263	Linus Crane	3	Owner	9000	White	New Jersey	New Jersey	Office Clerk	Coal Co.
Elm Street	263	William Wiley	4	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Taxi Driver	Commercial Taxi Co.
Elm Street	264	Dominic Cofrances	3	Renter	45	White	Italy	Italy	Clerk	Drug Store
Elm Street	266	John Mahoney	3	Owner	9900	White	Massachusetts	New York	Conductor	Railroad
Elm Street	271	Samuel Phalheimer	2	Renter	57	White	Connecticut	Germany	Commercial Salesman	Tobacco Co.
Elm Street	276	Graydon Freeman	2	Renter	38	White	Montana	New York	Research Fellow	Yale University Press
Elm Street	276	Edwin Simpson	2	Renter	45	White	Connecticut	England	Superintendent	Wire machinery
Elm Street	278	James Ossi	3	Owner	18000	White	Italy	Italy	Restaurant	Own Business
Elm Street	280	Edward Boatwick	3	Owner	16000	White	New York	English Canada	Trainman	Railroad
Elm Street	280	Arthur Gates	2	Renter	48	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	[?]	State Department
Elm Street	282	Albert Spette	5	Renter	48	White	New York	New York	Clerk	Railroad
Elm Street	292	Patrick Dillow	2	Renter	60	White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	President	Casket Co.
Elm Street	292	Lillian Westcott	4	Renter	60	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Artist	Own Business
Elm Street	294	Julia Dunn	2	Renter	50	White	New York	Northern Ireland	None	
Elm Street	294	Frederick Wager	2	Renter	50	White	Connecticut	Germany	Chief Clerk	Railroad
Elm Street	294	Bertha Moore	1	Renter	50	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Elm Street	295	Helen Summers	3	Owner	15000	White	Vermont	Vermont	None	
Elm Street	296	Albert Pierson	2	Renter	60	White	Connecticut	Sweden	Accountant	Railroad
Elm Street	296	Franklin Condon	3	Owner	15000	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Carpenter	Railroad
Elm Street	296	Thomas Gannon	2	Renter	60	White	New York	New York	?	?
Elm Street	300	Lewis Thomas	4	Owner	18000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Carpenter	
Elm Street	312	William O'Connell	3	Renter	55	White	New York	New York	Physician	Own Business
George Street	12	Robert Goodrich	4	Renter	35	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	?	Railroad
George Street	13	Ivy Lord	1	Renter	20	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
George Street	13	Clare Lord	1	Owner	7000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
George Street	13	Dennis Hatch	2	Renter	15	White	Connecticut	Ireland	Elevator Operator	Bank
George Street	18	Raymond Thomas	4	Owner		White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Electrician	Own Business
George Street	18	Walter Pietoyski	5	Owner	14000	White	Poland	Poland	Sawyer	Saw Mill
George Street	21	Josephine Beck	1	Owner	6000	White	Germany	Germany	None	
George Street	23	Harold Terhune	3	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	New Jersey	Maintenance Man	Organ Co.
George Street	24	Herbert Bradley	3	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Electrician	Electrical Construction
George Street	24	Clarence Stevens	3	Owner	10000	White	New York	New York	Electrician	Railroad
George Street	25	Ira Orr	3	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Collector	Magazine Co.
George Street	27	Alfred DeMore	3	Owner	3000	White	Vermont	French Canada	Carpenter	
George Street	28	Russell Crane	4	Owner	8000	White	Connecticut	New York	Chief Clerk	Telephone Co.
George Street	31	Russell Curtis	3	Owner	4500	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Pattern maker	Hardware Factory
George Street	32	Herbert Thomas	3	Owner	6000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Printer	Own Business
George Street	33	Victor Dahlgard	3	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	Denmark	Commercial Salesman	Sporting Goods
George Street	35	Henry Beck	2	Owner	7300	White	Connecticut	Germany	Woodworker	
George Street	37	James Beime	4	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Ireland	Conductor	Streetcar
George Street	38	Walter Mather	4	Renter	38	White	Pennsylvania	Connecticut	Brakeman	Railroad
George Street	38	Arno Linke	3	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Germany	Bricklayer	Contractor
George Street	41	Elizabeth Brennan	5	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	Ireland	None	
George Street	42	William Cane	3	Renter	55	White	Connecticut	England	Mail Clerk	Post Office
George Street	44	John Long	5	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Ireland	Driver	Laundry
George Street	45	Ernest Anderson	3	Owner	6000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Store clerk	Railroad
George Street	46	Edmund Metcalf	5	Renter	45	White	Massachusetts	Ireland	Commercial Salesman	
George Street	48	Carl Giffin	3	Renter	45	White	Ohio	Ohio	?	Carl Registry Co.

George Street	50 Harry Smith	7 Renter	45 White	England	England	Sign Painter	Commercial Painter
Wood Street	198 Peter Compton	2 Renter	40 White	Scotland	Scotland	Flagman	Railroad
Wood Street	206 Michael Foley	4 Renter	65 White	Northern Ireland	Northern Ireland	Proprietor	Rooming House
Bishop Street	8 Theodore Miller	10 Renter	18 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Staple Jack	Contractor
Wharton Street	17 George Wooster	4 Owner	3500 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Proprietor	Ice Co.
Wharton Street	21 John Bonvini	5 Owner	5000 White	Italy	Italy	Oiler	Railroad
Wharton Street	22 Olive Dibble	4 Owner	4200 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Wharton Street	22 Thomas McMinn	5 Renter	20 White	New York	New York	Painter	Painting Contractor
Wharton Street	24 William Brainard	2 Owner	5000 White	Connecticut	Italy	Locomotive Engineer	Railroad
Wharton Street	25 Thomas Nolan	4 Owner	4000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Conductor	Railroad
Wharton Street	29 Warren May	2 Owner	4500 White	New York	Connecticut	Clerk	Railroad
Wharton Street	34 Louis Dion	2 Owner	8000 White	French Canada	French Canada	Carpenter	Own Business
Wharton Street	34 Anthony Romano	5 Renter	20 White	Italy	Italy	Inspector	Clock Factory
Wharton Street	35 Alfred Divine	2 Owner	4500 White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	Conductor	Railroad
Wharton Street	40 John Henley	6 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	New York	Conductor	Railroad
Wharton Street	43 Elliott Hitchcock	6 Owner	30 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Painter	Contractor
Wharton Street	47 Clare Schofield	2 Renter	20 White	England	England	None	
Wharton Street	48 Constance Anderson	3 Owner	4000 White	Sweden	Sweden	None	
Wharton Street	50 Mario Scotti	2 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Italy	Proprietor	Trucking Co.
Wharton Street	50 Phillip Ryan	4 Owner	6000 White	English Canada	English Canada	Brakeman	Railroad
Wharton Street	51 Arrilla Russell	2 Owner	4000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Wharton Street	52 Raymond Vece	9 Renter	50 White	Connecticut	Italy	Proprietor	Construction
Wharton Street	54 Harry Clark	6 Renter	30 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Carpenter	
Richards Street	100 Desire Baker	8 Renter	45 White	Maine	French Canada	Weather stripper	Furniture Store
Richards Street	108 Sanford Hatchlair	3 Renter	50 White	Connecticut	New York	Commercial Salesman	Life Insurance
Richards Street	116 Bror Sandberg	3 Owner	3500 White	Sweden	Sweden	Chauffeur	Private Home
Richards Street	119 Elmer Knapp	2 Renter	45 White	New York	New York	Locomotive Engineer	Railroad
Richards Street	124 Michael Connally	2 Owner	5000 White	Northern Ireland	Northern Ireland	None	
Richards Street	124 David Dwyer	3 Renter	16 White	Connecticut	New York	Clerk	Post Office
Richards Street	128 Ferdinand Fredericks	2 Owner	3500 White	Germany	Germany	None	
Richards Street	138 Edgar Long	3 Renter	45 White	England	England	[?] Manager	Rubber Co.
Richards Street	140 Michael Moran	2 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	Northern Ireland	Mail Carrier	Post Office
Richards Street	154 Alice Carr	2 Owner	7000 White	New York	New York	None	
Richards Street	155 Ernest Schlachster	3 Owner	8000 White	New York	Germany	Superintendent	Cemetery
Richards Street	156 Annie Marchant	3 Owner	5000 White	England	England	Nurse	Private Home
Richards Street	157 Samuel Close	4 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Mechanical Inspector	Railroad
Richards Street	157 Harry Werne	2 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Sweden	Office Clerk	Electrical Utility Co.
Richards Street	158 Ellsworth Bichon	4 Owner	5000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Richards Street	160 John Cull	10 Owner	4000 White	Connecticut	Ireland	Mechanical Foreman	Railroad
Richards Street	162 Frank Torello	4 Owner	5000 White	Connecticut	Italy	Proprietor	Machine Shop
Richards Street	164 Alfred Luicke	4 Owner	5000 White	Connecticut	Germany	Foreman	Bird Cage Factory
Richards Street	166 Frederick Rockwell	2 Owner	4000 White	Connecticut	New York	Shipping Clerk	Wire Factory
Richards Street	168 Dwight Murphy	2 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	Ireland	Bricklayer	Building Contractor
Richards Street	179 Frank Beckwith	3 Owner	5400 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	?	
Richards Street	180 Herman Callenburg	2 Owner	10000 White	New York	Denmark	Painter	Own Business
Richards Street	182 Herman Frickenhauser	3 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Germany	Commercial Salesman	Barber Supply Co.
Richards Street	185 Robert Rothe	3 Owner	6000 White	Germany	Germany	Building Contractor	Own Business
Richards Street	186 John McClusky	6 Owner	5000 White	Connecticut	Germany	Accountant	Railroad
Richards Street	190 Gines Merle	4 Owner	White	New Jersey	Italy	Salesman	Vegetables
Richards Street	191 Natale Shada	3 Owner	9000 White	Italy	Italy	Cook	Private Chef
Richards Street	195 Warren May	4 Renter	30 White	New York	New York	None	
Richards Street	195 John Melbourne	3 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	England	Machinist	Machine Shop

Hall Street	2	Frederick Wieland	4	Owner	6000	White	New York	Germany	Musician	Self-employed	
Hall Street	6	John Guetrus	3	Owner	5000	White	Germany	Germany	Proprietor	Radio Shop	
Hall Street	9	Frederick Schmitt	2	Owner	6800	White	Connecticut	Germany	Carpenter	Building Contractor	
Hall Street	10	Burtin Hewitt	3	Owner	6000	White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Conductor	Railroad	
Hall Street	11	Ernest Klebe	4	Owner	7500	White	New York	Germany	Commercial Salesman		
Hall Street	14	Gerald McMillen	4	Owner	6000	White	Massachusetts	Ireland	Trust Officer	Bank	
Hall Street	15	John Coombs	4	Owner	8000	White	Connecticut	Maine	Electrician	Electrical Factory	
Hall Street	16	John George	4	Owner	6500	White	Connecticut	Italy	Wire Chief	Telephone Co.	
Hall Street	18	Sylvester McNerny	5	Owner	8500	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Fire Captain	City Fire Department	
Hall Street	19	Harold Harris	6	Renter	50	White	Massachusetts	Maine	Manager	Paper Warehouse	
Hall Street	20	John Hobarsky	4	Owner	7500	White	Connecticut	New York	Proprietor	Trucking Co.	
Hall Street	20	George Wheeler	2	Owner	8000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None		
Hall Street	24	David Hageardy	4	Owner	7500	White	Connecticut	Pennsylvania	Commercial Salesman	Investment Co.	
Hall Street	25	Martha Moore	2	Owner	7500	White	England	England	None		
Hall Street	26	Louise Adkins	2	Owner	7000	White	Northern Ireland	Northern Ireland	None		
Hall Street	27	George Smith	3	Renter	33	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Toolmaker	Screw Factory	
Hall Street	28	John Gutteun	2	Owner	7000	White	Belgium	Belgium	Cigar Maker	Tobacco Co.	
Hall Street	29	Eugene Breyer	2	Renter	30	White	Massachusetts	New York	[?]	Paper Factory	
Hall Street	30	Frederick Steele	3	Owner	8000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Pattern maker	Hardware Factory	
Hall Street	31	Joshua Mayer-Oaks	3	Renter	43	White	England	England	Dental Mechanic	Dentist	
Hall Street	31	Charles Gulliver	3	Renter	28	White	New York	Connecticut	Truck Driver	Oil Co.	
Hall Street	33	Charles Florian	5	Owner	10000	White	New York	Germany	Carpenter	Building Contractor	
Hall Street	34	William Robbins	2	Owner	8000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Locomotive Engineer	Railroad	
Hall Street	35	Robert Donlan	3	Owner	8200	White	Northern Ireland	Northern Ireland	Laborer	Fertilizer Co.	
Hall Street	38	Samuel Braman	5	Owner	5000	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Brakeman	Railroad	
Hall Street	39	Jeremy Sullivan	5	Owner	7800	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Agent	Life Insurance	
Campbell Avenue	31	Dora Epstein	1	Owner	8000	White	Russia	Russia	Seamstress	shop	
Campbell Avenue	31	Herman Domish	2	Renter	16	White	New York	Russia	Concessionist	shore	
Campbell Avenue	31	Antony Pasqualino	10	Renter	25	White	Italy	Italy	Carpenter	house	
Campbell Avenue	35	Arthur Quillen	3	Renter	35	White	Kansas	Missouri	Electrician	Railroad	
Campbell Avenue	55	John Priest	2	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Toolmaker		
Campbell Avenue	59	Gennaro Farano	12	Owner	10000	White	Italy	Italy	Laborer	odd jobs	
Campbell Avenue	83	Charles Ludington	10	Renter	28	White	New York	New York	Painter	general	
Campbell Avenue	83	Howard Ward	5	Renter	28	White	Connecticut	United States	Toolmaker	Lamp shop	
Campbell Avenue	83	Olaf Olsen	2	Renter	26	White	Denmark	Denmark	Foreman	Rubber shop	
Campbell Avenue	85	Clifford Burns	8	Renter	82	White	Iowa	Connecticut	Foreman	Construction	
Campbell Avenue	91	Lester Brooks	5	Renter	26	White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	Driller	Automatic signals	
Campbell Avenue	91	Herman Kohler	10	Renter	25	White	Connecticut	Germany	Taxi driver		
Campbell Avenue	91	John Massari	4	Renter	12	White	Connecticut	Italy	Building foundations	Construction	
Campbell Avenue	91	Mae Hansman	2	Renter	15	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Presser	Buckle shop	
Campbell Avenue	115	Bridget Lenehan	2	Owner	7000	White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	None		
Campbell Avenue	115	John Holleran	3	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Passenger trainsman	Steam Railroad	
Campbell Avenue	117	Vincent Lee	2	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Millhand	Steam Railroad	
Campbell Avenue	119	Adam Klemmer	2	Renter	30	White	Germany	Germany	Machinist	Rubber shop	
Campbell Avenue	121	Barney Komman	4	Owner	14000	White	Russia	Russia	Dry goods store proprietor		Native language is Yiddish
Campbell Avenue	121	Mary Ryan	3	Renter	40	White	New York	New York	Boarding house keeper		
Campbell Avenue	125	James McNulty	2	Renter	28	White	Ireland	Ireland	Salesman	Shoes	
Campbell Avenue	127	George Brill	4	Owner	8700	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Appraiser	Steel shop	
Campbell Avenue	129	Thomas Sullivan	2	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Mensware store proprietor		
Campbell Avenue	129	Richard Karthous	3	Renter	25	White	Germany	Germany	Machinist	Steel shop	
Campbell Avenue	133	Mildred Slocum	5	Renter	22	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Dressmaking		
Campbell Avenue	135	Samuel Gitlin	3	Renter	40	White	Russia	Russia	Shoestore Proprietor		Native language is Yiddish

Campbell Avenue	143	Sarah Patterson	2	Owner	26000	White	New York	Scotland	none		
Campbell Avenue	144	Susan Simpson	2			White	Connecticut	Connecticut	none		
Campbell Avenue	153	Thomas Nugent	3	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	crab yard proprietor		
Campbell Avenue	155	Nellie Barzae	2	Renter	25	White	Massachusetts	Scotland	elevator operator	department store	
Campbell Avenue	155	Charles Kernbach	2	Renter	35	White	Pennsylvania	Germany	printer	printing business	
Campbell Avenue	159	John Elliott	2	Renter	47	White	England	England	printer		
Campbell Avenue	161	William Brannan	4	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Salesman	Furniture	
Campbell Avenue	165	Frank Hawley	6	Renter	42.5	White	Massachusetts	New York	none		
Campbell Avenue	167	Charles Spreyer	5	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Germany	Insurance agent		
Campbell Avenue	198	Arthur Twichell	3	Owner	15000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Machinery	
Campbell Avenue	201	Herbert French	6	Owner	8000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Insurance	
Campbell Avenue	203	Joseph Galligan	7	Renter	25	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Bookkeeper	Plumbing shop	
Campbell Avenue	203	Mary Reynolds	1	Owner	8000	White	Connecticut	Ireland	Bookkeeper	Binding House	
Campbell Avenue	209	James Hugheson	4	Owner	8800	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	None		
Campbell Avenue	211	Daniel Tolles	3	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Janitor	Public school	
Campbell Avenue	213	Lillian Cooke	6	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None		
Campbell Avenue	215	Edward Hilde	3	Renter	35	White	Pennsylvania	Germany	Repairman	Streetcar	
Campbell Avenue	215	Daniel Martin	4	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Truckman	own business	
Campbell Avenue	225	Etta Hopkins	5	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	None		
Campbell Avenue	225	Agnes Thomas	2	Owner	12000	White	Germany	Germany	None		
Campbell Avenue	225	Harry Norton	3	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Painter	Decorator	
Campbell Avenue	227	Frank McCabe	4	Renter	30	White	New York	Ireland	Salesman	Household	
Campbell Avenue	229	Gustave Aberg	2	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	Sweden	Clerk	Grocery store	
Campbell Avenue	231	Edwin Harvey	3	Renter	35	White	New York	New York	Stenographer	Steam Railroad	
Campbell Avenue	233	Charles Rollman	3	Renter	35	White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Instructor	Steam Railroad	
Campbell Avenue	237	Thomas Miller	8	Renter	43	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Movie operator	Movie house	
Campbell Avenue	244	Christine Endriss	1	Renter	20	White	Connecticut	Denmark	Salesman	Corset shop	
Campbell Avenue	253	Rebecca Miller	2	Renter	30	White	New York	New York	None		
Campbell Avenue	253	Robert Ives	2	Owner	7400	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Brass molder	Foundry	
Campbell Avenue	257	Herman Ertelt	3	Renter	35	White	Germany	Germany	Steel engraver	Steel shop	
Campbell Avenue	257	Walter Ellis	4	Owner	7000	White	Michigan	Michigan	Passenger trainsman	Steam Railroad	
Campbell Avenue	261	Herman Penn	2	Owner	9000	White	Germany	Germany	Real estate	own business	
Campbell Avenue	267	Giro De Capra	8	Owner	8500	White	Italy	Italy	Grocery store proprietor		
Campbell Avenue	269	Augustus Wallace	5	Renter	37	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Clerk	Groceries	
Campbell Avenue	273	Mark Burns	8	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Rhode Island	Agent	Insurance	
Campbell Avenue	283	Gustave Lundin	3	Renter	30	White	Sweden	Sweden	Fireman	Buckle shop	
Campbell Avenue	336	Clementine Mader	7			White	Czechoslovakia	Czechoslovakia	Servant	Private Family	
Campbell Avenue	381	Charles Varmo	5	Renter	25	White	Italy	Italy	Studio Artist		
Campbell Avenue	419	Gust Meateos	1	Renter	50	White	Greece	Greece	Chef	Restaurant	
Campbell Avenue	419	John Makarevich	3	Renter	25	White	Lithuania	Lithuania	Servant	Restaurant	
Campbell Avenue	432	John Kennedy	7	Owner	5100	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	None		
Campbell Avenue	445	Quong Lee	1	Renter	40	Chinese	China	China	Laundry	Laundry	68-year old whose marital status is "married"
Campbell Avenue	451	Jennie Graham	4	Renter	25	White	Connecticut	Denmark	None		
Campbell Avenue	455	Clarence Bissell	4	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Steward	Club	
Campbell Avenue	477	Oliver Thomas	2	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Conductor	Railroad	
Campbell Avenue	485	Maxwell Davis	4	Renter	40	White	Illinois	Michigan	Electrician	Construction	
Campbell Avenue	485	Phillip Arons	4	Renter	45	White	Russia	Russia	Merchant	Retail Store	Native language is Yiddish
Campbell Avenue	485	James Anderson	4	Renter	23	White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	Supervisor	Electric Co.	
Campbell Avenue	487	Albian Emerson	3	Renter	40	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Merchant	Retail Store	
Campbell Avenue	489	Morris Krall	4	Owner	4200	White	Russia	Russia	Merchant	Retail Store	
Campbell Avenue	525	Charles Williams	5	Renter	60	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Clerk	Gas Co.	
Campbell Avenue	527	John Butler	2	Renter	65	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Driver	Bakery	

Campbell Avenue	536 Frederick Kr	6 Renter	35 White	New York	New York	Photographer	Own Business	
Campbell Avenue	547 Saul Alderman	5 Owner	4000 White	Poland	Poland	Salesman	Automobiles	
Campbell Avenue	547 James Pendergast	2 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Polisher	Polishing	
Campbell Avenue	573 Daniel Maloney	5 Renter	45 White	Massachusetts	Irish Free State	Engineer	Coke-Boat	
Campbell Avenue	573 Thomas O'Brien	2 Renter	58 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Sheet Metal Worker	Sheet Metal	
Campbell Avenue	573 Edward Patenaud	2 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	French Canada	Mechanic	Garage	
Campbell Avenue	573 Armand Fontaine	3 Renter	45 White	Connecticut	English Canada	Operator	Motion Pictures	
Campbell Avenue	590 John Scripp	4 Renter	50 White	Pennsylvania	Austria	Chief Pharmacist's Mate	U.S. Navy	
Campbell Avenue	590 Raymond Trotta	4 Renter	68 White	Italy	Italy	Musician	Theater Orchestra	
Campbell Avenue	590 William Schofield	2 Renter	50 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Machinist	Rubber Co.	
Campbell Avenue	590 Graydon Wagner	3 Renter	65 White	Connecticut	Wisconsin	Teacher	High School	
Campbell Avenue	592 Jessie Latta	5 Renter	75 White	Iowa	Indiana	Manager	Theater	
Campbell Avenue	592 Harry DeVorka	3 Renter	60 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Advertising	
Campbell Avenue	592 Thomas Croughin	6 Renter	70 White	Iowa	Irish Free State	Salesman	Rugs	
Campbell Avenue	593 Ernest Hulbert	5 Renter	60 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Sales Manager	Electrical	
Campbell Avenue	594 John Peters	4 Renter	48 White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Agent	Express Co.	
Campbell Avenue	596 Catherine Leary	1 Renter	48 White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	Pharmacist	Drug Store	
Campbell Avenue	596 Henry Burckbuchler	3 Renter	50 White	New York	Germany	Surgical Technician	Hospital	
Campbell Avenue	596 Cress McBeth	3 Renter	75 White	Illinois	Scotland	Contractor	Construction	
Campbell Avenue	597 Victor Kowalski	6 Owner	2000 White	Connecticut	Poland	Surgeon		
Campbell Avenue	598 William Buckley	2 Renter	45 White	Rhode Island	Rhode Island	Branch Manager	Electrical	
Campbell Avenue	598 Joseph Foy	4 Renter	60 White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	Salesman	Clothing Store	
Campbell Avenue	598 Frank Smith	2 Renter	50 White	New Hampshire	New Hampshire	Salesman		
Campbell Avenue	598 Albert Marcy	2 Renter	70 White	New York	New York	Salesman	Automobiles	
Campbell Avenue	600 Thomas Thomas	3 Renter	55 White	Connecticut	England	Proprietor	[?]	
Campbell Avenue	600 Robert Goechler	3 Renter	60 White	Connecticut	Germany	Organ Builder	Organ Shop	
Campbell Avenue	602 Joseph Luft	2 Renter	45 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Stereotyper	Newspaper	
Campbell Avenue	602 Howard Cummings	4 Renter	45 White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	Foreman	Band Saws	
Campbell Avenue	602 Cornelius Hines	2 Renter	45 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Plumbing Suppings	
Campbell Avenue	602 Nathan Bober	2 Renter	45 White	Russia	Russia	Salesman	Used cars	Native language is Yiddish
Campbell Avenue	604 Andrew Avigne	2 Renter	45 White	Connecticut	Italy	None		
Campbell Avenue	604 Lawrence Ott	3 Renter	45 White	Ohio	Germany	Physicist	School	
Campbell Avenue	604 Clifford North	3 Renter	45 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Organ Co.	
Campbell Avenue	604 Earl McCormick	3 Renter	45 White	Connecticut	New Jersey	Draftsman	Organ Co.	
Campbell Avenue	606 Percy Sellers	3 Renter	45 White	Massachusetts	English Canada	Accountant	Railroad	
Campbell Avenue	606 Norman Wisley	2 Renter	45 White	Connecticut	Vermont	State Representative		
Campbell Avenue	606 Elizabeth Kairney	2 Renter	45 White	New York	Irish Free State	None		
Campbell Avenue	608 Donald Schaperow	3 Renter	55 White	Connecticut	Russia	Salesman	Drug	
Campbell Avenue	608 John Tierney	3 Renter	60 White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Plumber		
Campbell Avenue	609 Alfred Zeender	7 Renter	45 White	Maine	Switzerland	Policeman	Railroad	
Campbell Avenue	609 Georg Knollmeyer	3 Renter	45 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Property Accountant	Streetcar	
Campbell Avenue	611 Martin Quinn	5 Renter	40 White	New York	Irish Free State	Foreman	Bricklayer	
Campbell Avenue	611 Laura Thompson	3 Renter	45 White	Colorado	French Canada	None		
Campbell Avenue	618 Roger Vosburgh	5 Owner	15000 White	New York	New York	Proprietor	Morning & Express	
Campbell Avenue	618 Mary Hotchkiss	2 Renter	45 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None		
Campbell Avenue	619 Alexander Monko	3 Renter	53 White	Pennsylvania	Austria	Mechanic	Shoe Machinery	
Campbell Avenue	619 William Dorking	1 Renter	48 White	England	England	Gun Worker	Gun Shop	
Campbell Avenue	619 William Leach	2 Renter	48 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Traveling Salesman	Tea Co.	
Campbell Avenue	621 Alfred Meloy	2 Renter	48 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Console Builder	Organ Co.	
Campbell Avenue	621 Gilbert Waterbury	3 Renter	48 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Hustler	Railroad	
Campbell Avenue	621 Cyrus Merritt	4 Renter	48 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Electrician	Construction	
Campbell Avenue	622 John Loomis	3 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	Clerk	Police Department	

Campbell Avenue	623 Adele Ward	2 Renter	55 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Teacher	Public School	
Campbell Avenue	623 Frank Martin	4 Renter	53 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Accountant	Railroad	
Campbell Avenue	623 Rocco Appa	2 Renter	50 White	Italy		Watchmaker		
Campbell Avenue	623 David Ray	2 n/a	n/a	Black	New York	New York	Superintendent	Apartment
Campbell Avenue	629 Kachador Makakian	6 Renter	35 White	Turkey	Turkey	Shoe Repairer	Own Business	Native language is Armenian
Campbell Avenue	629 Theodore Staplin	4 Renter	28 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Waiter	Inn	
Campbell Avenue	629 Bedros Makakian	4 Renter	30 White	Turkey	Turkey	Chauffeur	Taxi	Native language is Armenian; four years younger than Kachador; likely brothe
Campbell Avenue	642 Theodore Spreyer	2 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Germany	Foreman	Railroad	
Campbell Avenue	644 Charles Phelps	4 Owner	20000 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Surgeon		
Campbell Avenue	665 Alexander Fleming	2 Renter	45 White	Massachusetts	Ireland	Structural Engeineer	Construction Co.	
Campbell Avenue	665 Herman Kemp	2 Owner	27 White	New York	New York	Proprietor	?	
Campbell Avenue	665 William Hecht	2 Owner	10000 White	Connecticut	Germany	Steward	Fraternal Hall	
Campbell Avenue	667 William Rida	4 Owner	8500 White	Connecticut	Germany	Sign Writer	Commercial Sign Co.	
Campbell Avenue	687 Joseph Conner	6 Owner	10000 White	New York	Massachusetts	Proprietor	Garage	
Campbell Avenue	699 Sara Lester	2 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None		
Campbell Avenue	699 Ernest Donald	4 Renter	25 White	England	England	Upholsterer	Antique Dealer	
Campbell Avenue	721 Donald Lewis	3 Renter	30 White	New York	Kentucky	Milk Driver	Dairy Co.	
Campbell Avenue	725 George Shepard	2 Owner	9000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Milk Deliveries	Dairy	
Campbell Avenue	727 Alfred Parritt	4 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Assembler	Electrical Factory	
Campbell Avenue	749 Fannie Sluring	2 Owner	4500 White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	None		
Campbell Avenue	757 Frederic Otis	2 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None		
Campbell Avenue	757 Lily Maisch	1 Renter	25 White	Germany	Germany	None		
Campbell Avenue	757 Howard Brooks	1 Owner	7500 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Florist	Own Business	
Campbell Avenue	761 Emma Johnson	2 Owner	7000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None		
Campbell Avenue	761 William Marshall	3 Renter	24 White	Connecticut	England	Painter	Painting Contractor	
Campbell Avenue	763 Arthur Calverley	2 Owner	7000 White	Massachusetts	England	Tree surgeon	Own Business	
Campbell Avenue	791 Anna Sherry	4 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None		
Campbell Avenue	795 William Ritchie	4 Owner	10000 White	English Canada	English Canada	Movie Operator	Theater	
Campbell Avenue	799 Gustov Dienel	3 Owner	7000 White	Germany	Germany	Stock Clerk	Crockery Co.	
Campbell Avenue	805 Martha Evans	2 Owner	5000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None		
Campbell Avenue	809 Hurbert Potter	8 Renter	45 White	New Hampshire	Connecticut	Car Inspector	Railroad	
Campbell Avenue	813 Amelia Gross	7 Owner	10000 White	Germany	Germany	None		
Campbell Avenue	815 Harry Galoline	3 Renter	36 White	Connecticut	Italy	Engineer	Coal Co.	
Campbell Avenue	817 Adelaide Merritt	7 Renter	38 White	Connecticut	French Canada	Carpenter	Textile Factory	
Campbell Avenue	819 John Barnes	4 Renter	40 White	New York	Germany	Bookkeeper	Fixture Store	
Campbell Avenue	821 William Skinner	5 Owner	10000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Collector	Gas Utility	
Campbell Avenue	823 David Pierce	2 Renter	50 White	New York	New York	Assistant Yardmaster	Railroad	
Campbell Avenue	825 David Budgar	5 Owner	5000 White	Poland	Poland	Proprietor	Grocery Store	
Campbell Avenue	833 Clayton Becker	4 Owner	12000 White	New York	New York	Carpenter	Building Contractor	
Campbell Avenue	835 Edward Blakeslee	3 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Claim Adjuster	Railroad	
Campbell Avenue	835 Earl Rossiter	2 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	New York	Shipping Clerk	Electrical Factory	
Campbell Avenue	839 Adam Schwaegle	3 Owner	6000 White	Germany	Germany	None		
Washington Avenue	23 William McClure	6 Owner	15000 White	New Hampshire	French Canada	[indecipherable]	general	
Washington Avenue	24 Russell Wilde	5 Renter	20 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Motorman	Trolley Co.	
Washington Avenue	24 Clyde Best	4 Renter	25 White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Truck driver	General	
Washington Avenue	29 John Punch	7 Owner	9500 White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	Manager	bowling alley	
Washington Avenue	30 Louis Munson	9 Owner	7500 White	Sweden	Sweden	Watchman	Gas station	
Washington Avenue	34 Angelo Di Chello	6 Owner	6500 White	Italy	Italy	Laborer	odd jobs	
Washington Avenue	35 Lorenzo Gilman	3 Renter	30 White	Massachusetts	Vermont	Plumber	house	
Washington Avenue	36 Charles Demler	4 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Laborer	Laundry	
Washington Avenue	36 James Algeris	3 Owner	White	Greece	Greece	Cook	restaurant	
Washington Avenue	38 Julius Selling	4 Owner	7000 White	Germany	Germany	Salesman	Steel	

Washington Avenue	39	Vincent Cronan	3	Owner	5000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Shipping clerk	Electric manufacturer	
Washington Avenue	43	Joseph Higgins	5	Owner	5000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Electrician	general	
Washington Avenue	50	Ralph French	3	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Bookkeeper	General Office	
Washington Avenue	50	Alonzo Calkins	3	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	United States	Salesman	Groceries	
Washington Avenue	52	Isaac Lellouche	6	Renter	36	White	Africa	France	None		
Washington Avenue	54	John Vanduyck	3	Renter	60	White	Pennsylvania	Belgium	Storekeeper	Groceries	
Washington Avenue	63	Joseph Johnson	3	Renter	25	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Electrician	general	
Washington Avenue	63	Flora Dupee	2	Renter	23	White	Connecticut	French Canada	none		
Washington Avenue	65	Newton Clafin	5	Renter	40	White	Massachusetts	New Hampshire			
Washington Avenue	65	Nathan Lipschatz	3	Renter	30	White	England	Lithuania	Salesman	Sheet music	
Washington Avenue	71	James Bottigliro	12	Owner	10000	White	Italy	Italy	Grocery store proprietor		
Washington Avenue	84	William O'Neil	3	Renter	40	White	New Hampshire	Irish Free State	Café proprietor		
Washington Avenue	86	Daniel Sullivan	3	Owner	12000	White	New Hampshire	Ireland	Salesman	Dry goods store	
Washington Avenue	87	Joseph Bolduc	2	Owner	4000	White	French Canada	French Canada	Millwright	Hardware Shop	
Washington Avenue	90	Eva Anderson	5	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	New York	None		
Washington Avenue	92	John Carroll	3	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Plater	Bird-cage shop	
Washington Avenue	92	Robert Clark	3	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	United States	Carpenter		
Washington Avenue	94	Alfred Barrie	5	Owner	7500	White	New Jersey	Scotland	Machinist	Meat house	
Washington Avenue	96	William Howard	4	Owner	8000	White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	Laborer	Construction	
Washington Avenue	100	Mary Arida	8	Renter	38	White	Syria	Syria	none		
Washington Avenue	102	Raffie Amodio	2	Owner	18000	White	Italy	Italy	Grocery store proprietor		
Washington Avenue	102	Louis Bello	4	Renter	20	White	Italy	Italy	Carpenter	Construction	
Washington Avenue	109	Edwin Raffile	4	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Probation officer	U.S. government	
Washington Avenue	111	Lloyd Mac Bride	5	Renter	36	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Maintenance man	Bakery	
Washington Avenue	111	Lawrence Cruz	2	Renter	28	White	Connecticut	Spain	Repairman	Wire shop	
Washington Avenue	112	Walter Bochat	8	Renter	35	White	New York	France	Salesman	Shoes	
Washington Avenue	117	George Karn	3	Renter	34	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Boiler maker	Boiler shop	
Washington Avenue	117	James Takores	2	Renter	34	White	Connecticut	Lithuania	Stenographer	Bus office	
Washington Avenue	118	George Shields	10	Owner	7200	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Clerk	Steam Railroad	
Washington Avenue	119	Romeo Smith	2	Renter	34	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Electrician	Steam Railroad	
Washington Avenue	119	Anthony Ricstslai	2	Renter	35	White	Italy	Italy	Barber shop proprietor		
Washington Avenue	123	Joseph Barney	4	Owner	6300	White	Connecticut	French Canada	Garage proprietor		
Washington Avenue	125	James Stanford	3	Renter	25	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Finisher	brass shop	
Washington Avenue	127	Isadore Handlin	7	Owner	10000	White	Russia	Russia	Grocery store proprietor		Native language is Hebrew
Washington Avenue	128	William Shaw	4	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	New York	Carpenter		
Washington Avenue	129	Sylvester Burns	4	Renter	25	White	Iowa	Connecticut	Prescription clerk	Drugstore	
Washington Avenue	129	Charles Wiese	3	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Carpenter		
Washington Avenue	130	Carl Wiese	3	Owner	8500	White	Germany	Germany	Carpenter		
Washington Avenue	131	Furman Campbell	10	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Inventor	Glass	
Washington Avenue	132	Robert Cummings	4	Renter	45	White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Cigarmaker	Cigar shop	
Washington Avenue	133	Frank Cheeseman	2	Renter	25	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Inspector	Steam Railroad	
Washington Avenue	133	Napoleon Stanton	4	Renter	35	White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Salesman	Liquor Store	
Washington Avenue	134	Harry Taylor	3	Renter	45	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Tractors	
Washington Avenue	135	William Harris	7	Renter	35	White	New Jersey	New Jersey	Auto mechanic	Garage	
Washington Avenue	138	Joseph Toole	6	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	none		
Washington Avenue	139	Cristopher Troupe	3	Renter	35	White	Denmark	Denmark	Iron worker		
Washington Avenue	139	Charles Terry	2	Renter	25	White	New York	French Canada	Furniture collector		
Washington Avenue	140	Harold Burns	4	Renter	23	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Road laborer		
Washington Avenue	141	Edgar Humphrey	2	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Carpenter		
Washington Avenue	147	Peter Sears	3	Owner	8500	White	Massachusetts	English Canada	Barber	Barber shop	
Washington Avenue	149	Jesse Murray	5	Renter	25	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Electric-typer	Typing house	
Washington Avenue	149	John Shea	3	Owner	10000	White	Connecticut	Ireland	Credit manager	department store	

Washington Avenue	153	Ada Simpson	2 Renter	25 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	none		
Washington Avenue	153	Lina Humphrey	2 Owner	9000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	none		
Washington Avenue	157	Charles Valentine	3 Owner	7800 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Clerk	fish market	
Washington Avenue	158	Daniel Sullivan	2 Renter	35 White	Massachusetts	Irish Free State	Yard-master	Steam Railroad	
Washington Avenue	160	Robert Geissler	3 Renter	35 White	Germany	Germany	Fireman	Steam Railroad	
Washington Avenue	161	Herman Trust	5 Owner	8000 White	New York	Germany	none		
Washington Avenue	167	Frank Bendel	8 Owner	7500 White	Connecticut	Germany	Gas station proprietor		
Washington Avenue	168	Rudolph De Martino	6 Owner	12500 White	Italy	Italy	Barber		
Washington Avenue	168	Joel Field	4 Renter	25 White	New York	New York	Fireman	Steam Railroad	
Washington Avenue	170	Solomon Cohen	5 Renter	35 White	Russia	Russia	Grocery store proprietor		Native language is Yiddish
Washington Avenue	171	Annie Brockamer	6 Renter	30 White	Germany	Germany	Packer	Buckle shop	
Washington Avenue	171	Clarence Finkle	3 Renter	25 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Laborer	Pharmacy supply shop	
Washington Avenue	178	Elliott Clark	7 Owner	5500 White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	Inspector	Telephone co.	
Washington Avenue	179	Thomas McDonough	2 Renter	20 White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Grocery store proprietor		
Washington Avenue	181	Charles Pitman	2 Renter	30 White	New Hampshire	New Hampshire	Call-man	Steam Railroad	
Washington Avenue	184	Lucy Cannon	4 Owner	4800 White	England	England	Dressmaking	Clothing store	
Washington Avenue	187	George Taylor	2 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Machine work	Saw shop	
Washington Avenue	188	Alfred Tripp	7 Owner	12000 White	Illinois	Massachusetts	Salesman	Jewelry	
Washington Avenue	189	Albert Homes	5 Renter	30 White	England	England	Janitor	College	
Washington Avenue	191	Leighton Winnewasser	5 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	Foreman	Steam Railroad	
Washington Avenue	192	Joseph Baldwin	5 Owner	7000 White	Pennsylvania	New York	Brickmaker	Brick yard	
Washington Avenue	193	Charles McGowan	5 Owner	9000 White	Connecticut	Ireland	Locksmith	College	
Washington Avenue	195	Joseph Schneider	3 Renter	40 White	Austria	Austria	Cigarmaker	Cigar shop	
Washington Avenue	196	Charles Wright	3 Owner	12000 White	New York	New York			
Washington Avenue	197	George Brennan	5 Renter	50 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None		
Washington Avenue	199	William Barber	2 Renter	80 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Stock clerk	[?] shop	
Washington Avenue	199	Michael Shea	5 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	Ireland	line of type	Paper company	
Washington Avenue	203	Anna Robertson	4 Renter	40 White	Ireland	Ireland	none		
Washington Avenue	204	Henry Ibelshauser	2	White	Germany	Germany	None		
Washington Avenue	204	Otto Bussmann	3 Owner	9000 White	Connecticut	Germany	Shipping Clerk	Elevator shop	
Washington Avenue	205	James Donaher	5 Renter	38 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Mason		
Washington Avenue	206	Arnt Andrewson	5 Owner	9000 White	Norway	Norway	Floor-layer		
Washington Avenue	207	John McGivary	4 Renter	35 White	Massachusetts	Northern Ireland	Chief clerk	Steam Railroad	
Washington Avenue	208	James Meehan	4 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	Foreman	Hardware Shop	
Washington Avenue	209	Alfred Creamer	3 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Ireland	Foreman	Rubber shop	
Washington Avenue	210	Henry Bernard	3 Owner	9000 White	Pennsylvania	England	Carpenter		
Washington Avenue	211	John Lynn	5 Owner	6000 White	Connecticut	Northern Ireland	Finisher	Piano	
Washington Avenue	212	Arthur Friess	4 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Germany	Auto mechanic	Gas station garage	
Washington Avenue	213	Grace Buckingham	3 Owner	6000 White	Connecticut	Germany	Teacher	Public school	
Washington Avenue	214	Dennis McAuliffe	4 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Police	Steam Railroad	
Washington Avenue	214	Franklin Quirk	3 Renter	27 White	Connecticut	New York	Electrician	Radio	
Washington Avenue	216	Charles Seymour	2 Owner	9200 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Tool maker	Gun shop	
Washington Avenue	217	William Wood	3 Owner	9000 White	Italy	Italy	Salesman	Wholesale groceries	
Washington Avenue	218	Nellie Graves	2 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Pennsylvania	None		
Washington Avenue	219	Edwin Appelton	1 Renter	40 White	New York	England	Machinist	Streetcar	
Washington Avenue	220	Elmer Myers	4 Owner	7800 White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Superintendent	mill	
Washington Avenue	220	Emil Sharpe	3 Renter	28 White	Connecticut	Maine	Tool maker	Hardware Shop	
Washington Avenue	222	Clement Burkhard	5 Renter	38 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Mail carrier	U.S. Post Office	
Washington Avenue	223	George Hoyt	3 Owner	9000 White	New Hampshire	New Hampshire	Clerk	Groceries	
Washington Avenue	225	Agnes Baribault	1 Owner	8000 White	French Canada	French Canada	None		
Washington Avenue	225	Royal Harwood	3 Renter	35 White	Rhode Island	England	Cement mixer	Rubber shop	
Washington Avenue	227	Alexander Paulino	5 Renter	35 White	Italy	Italy	None		

Washington Avenue	229	Leonard Schaffnit	3 Renter	25 White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Switchman	Steam Railroad	
Washington Avenue	230	Charlotte Bruder	2 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Shop work	Sewing machine parts	
Washington Avenue	231	Angus McLeod	7 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Scotland	Conductor	Steam Railroad	great example of three-generation household: parents, kids, and in-laws (and nie
Washington Avenue	232	Ferdinand Rowland	3 Renter	30 White	New York	New York	Grocery store proprietor		
Washington Avenue	233	Frederick Singer	7 Renter	33 White	Massachusetts	Germany	Pipefitter	general	
Washington Avenue	234	Frank Manuguasa	6 Owner	7500 White	Italy	Italy	Shoestore Proprietor		
Washington Avenue	235	Harry Rugg	2 Renter	30 White	Massachusetts	United States	Meatcutter		
Washington Avenue	236	George Sayers	3 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Ireland	Engineer	Rubber shop	
Washington Avenue	238	Joseph O'Keefe	5 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Ireland	Starter	Streetcar	
Washington Avenue	239	Pasquale Amasone	3 Co-owner	7000 White	Italy	Italy	Salesman	mattresses	
Washington Avenue	239	Charles Scavone	5 Co-owner	7000 White	Italy	Italy	Laborer	Electrical fixtures	
Washington Avenue	240	Michael Colandra	6 Owner	8500 White	Italy	Italy	Gardener	Private family	
Washington Avenue	242	Edward Ledene	4 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Sweden	Passenger trainman	Steam Railroad	
Washington Avenue	244	Arthur Wallace	4 Renter	24 White	England	England	Electrician	Steam Railroad	
Washington Avenue	246	William Dillon	6 Renter	24 White	Connecticut	English Canada	[?]	Rubber shop	
Washington Avenue	247	Mary Shaughnessy	3 Owner	8000 White	New Hampshire	Irish Free State	None		
Washington Avenue	247	Theresa Greenstein	3 Renter	30 White	New Jersey	Germany	None		
Washington Avenue	248	Frank Manley	5 Renter	32 White	Vermont	Vermont	Carpenter	Wire mill	
Washington Avenue	250	Edward Bassett	4 Renter	32 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	House Painter		
Washington Avenue	251	Miles Stanish	7 Owner	6000 White	Maine	Maine	Electrician	Steam Railroad	
Washington Avenue	252	Charles Kennedy	3 Owner	6000 White	Connecticut	Ireland	Meatcutter	Groceries	
Washington Avenue	253	Leonard Snowman	4 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	Maine	Clerk	Silver shop	
Washington Avenue	256	Harry Wright	2 Owner	7200 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Clerk	Bank	
Washington Avenue	257	Sam Ricci	3 Owner	4500 White	Italy	Italy	Vegetable salesman	own business	
Washington Avenue	257	Finavanti Mairano	3 Renter	18 White	Italy	Italy	Plater	Wire novelty	
Washington Avenue	258	Andy Cozzolino	3 Owner	7100 White	Italy	Italy	Clerk	Grocery store	
Washington Avenue	259	Thomas Beesley	8 Owner	5000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Conductor	Streetcar	
Washington Avenue	263	Edward Winter	3 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	England	Truck driver	Electric Co.	
Washington Avenue	264	Joseph Biondi	2 Owner	6500 White	Italy	Italy	Upholsterer	Upholstery shop	
Washington Avenue	268	Alfred Huffman	2 Renter	21 White	Massachusetts	Germany	Truckman	Construction	
Washington Avenue	268	Robert Leach	4 Owner	5600 White	Maryland	Massachusetts	Auto mechanic	Garage	
Washington Avenue	299	Napoleon Fournier	9 Owner	8000 White	Massachusetts	French Canada	Painter		
Washington Avenue	299	Mae Newton	2 Renter	20 White	New York	New York	Housework	Private family	
Washington Avenue	299 1/2	Clara Carlsen	2 Renter	15 White	Sweden	Sweden	None		
Washington Avenue	309	Walter Snedeker	5 Owner	10000 White	Connecticut	New York	Painter		
Washington Avenue	309 1/2	Nellie Tracy	3 Renter	20 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None		
Washington Avenue	311	Alfred Simonson	3 Renter	30 White	Massachusetts	New York	Draftsman	Steel structural	
Washington Avenue	311	Kenneth Burnell	2 Renter	25 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Installer	Telephone co.	
Washington Avenue	313	Joseph Youngs	5 Renter	30 White	Ireland	Ireland	Tool maker	Wire shop	
Washington Avenue	315	Albin Anderson	5 Owner	7850 White	Connecticut	Sweden	Machinist	Rubber shop	
Washington Avenue	317	Bertha Hewett	4 Renter	30 White	Rhode Island	England	None		
Washington Avenue	319	Walter Clinton	3 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Machinist	Own shop	
Washington Avenue	321	Herman Angus	5 Renter	28 White	Connecticut	Maine	Clerk	Warehouse	
Washington Avenue	323	Joseph Irons	5 Renter	30 White	Ohio	Ohio	None		
Washington Avenue	325	Charles Davis	5 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Motorman	Streetcar	
Washington Avenue	331	Mary McDermott	1 Owner	6655 White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	Grocery store proprietor		
Washington Avenue	333	Harry McHugh	5 Renter	26 White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Moulder	Gun shop	
Washington Avenue	335	Henry Sarette	5 Renter	26 White	Connecticut	English Canada	Weaver	Velvet shop	
Washington Avenue	339	Vincenzo Maiorano	9 Owner	9000 White	Italy	Italy	Meat market proprietor		
Washington Avenue	343	Herbert Dillman	1 Renter	25 White	Connecticut	Pennsylvania	Plumber		
Washington Avenue	345	Carl Clow	1 Renter	25 White	New Hampshire	English Canada	Telephone operator	Steam Railroad	
Washington Avenue	377	Samuel Sepatin	5 Renter	40 White	Russia	Russia	Manager	Retail Store	Native language is Yiddish

Washington Avenue	382	Katherine Rourke	5	Owner	8600	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Nurse	Hospital	
Washington Avenue	383	George Goelz	2	Owner	9000	White	Germany	Germany	Butcher	Meat Store	
Washington Avenue	385	Timothy Sullivan	4	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Starter	Streetcar	
Washington Avenue	386	Daniel Gleason	5	Owner	14000	White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	Laborer	Box Manufacturing	
Washington Avenue	388	Alfred Owen	2	Renter	45	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Inspector	Government	
Washington Avenue	390	Cora Miller	3	Renter	45	White	New York	New York	None		
Washington Avenue	391	John Robinson	4	Owner	8000	White	Maine	Maine	Carpenter	Railroad	
Washington Avenue	392	Harry Levine	6	Owner	10000	White	Russia	Russia	Salesman	Candy Store	
Washington Avenue	393	John Terzakis	3	Renter	40	White	Greece	Greece	Manager	Confectionary Store	
Washington Avenue	397	William Cooper	9	Owner	8000	White	England	England	Carpenter		
Washington Avenue	399	Alfred Cooper	2	Renter	45	White	New Jersey	England	Clerk	Building Co.	
Washington Avenue	401	William Robinson	3	Renter	45	White	Connecticut	Maine	Salesman	Advertising	
Washington Avenue	403	Stephen Wilson	5	Renter	30	White	New York	New York	Police officer	Town	
Washington Avenue	405	Isadore Weiss	6	Renter	40	White	Russia	Russia	Manager	Candy Store	Native language is Yiddish
Washington Avenue	411	Lyman Byers	2	Renter	35	White	Arizona	Ohio	Fireman	Railroad	
Washington Avenue	412	Frederick Hartlage	5	Renter	55	White	Missouri	Illinois	Foreman	Newspaper	
Washington Avenue	413	Harry Noble	2	Renter	55	White	England	England	Manager	Pictures Corp.	
Washington Avenue	414	Ernest Wade	6	Renter	55	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Merchant	Dry Goods	
Washington Avenue	416	Henry Evring	3	Renter	55	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Official	Railroad	
Washington Avenue	418	Clarence Miller	3	Renter	50	White	Rhode Island	Northern Ireland	Structural Engineer	Railroad	
Washington Avenue	419	William French	3	Renter	25	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Ice Man	Ice Co.	
Washington Avenue	429	Pasquale Damicis	9	Owner	10000	White	Italy	Italy	Laborer	Manufacturing Co.	
Washington Avenue	434	Elizabeth Hilzinger	2	Owner	8500	White	New York	Germany	None		
Washington Avenue	437	Alfred Frazier	3	Renter	45	White	Massachusetts	French Canada	Operator	Moving Pictures	
Washington Avenue	439	Paul Dahlgard	9	Owner	13300	White	West Indies	Denmark	Trucking	Own Business	
Washington Avenue	440	Rose Hunt	9	Owner	8000	White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	None		
Washington Avenue	440	Frank Morrell	3	Renter	35	White	New York	New York	Painter	Construction	
Washington Avenue	445	Katherine Augur	2	Owner	6500	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Housewife		
Washington Avenue	449	William Harrison	4	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Pennsylvania	Mason	Construction	
Washington Avenue	449	Charles Augur	4	Owner	12000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Carpenter		
Washington Avenue	453	Maria Elwell	2	Owner	7000	White	New York	New York	Housewife		
Washington Avenue	458	Patrick Carrigan	3	Owner	8000	White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	None		
Washington Avenue	459	Howard Frost	4	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Foreman	Saw Co.	
Washington Avenue	461	Michael Lane	3	Owner	10000	White	Massachusetts	Irish Free State	Manufacturer	Butchers Hardware	
Washington Avenue	462	Charles Moss	4	Owner	10000	White	England	England	Grocery Store Manager		
Washington Avenue	463	Hattie Smith	4	Owner	10000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None		
Washington Avenue	466	John Thomas	6	Renter	40	White	Wales	Wales	General Manager	Oyster Co.	
Washington Avenue	468	David Blackie	3	Renter	32	White	Scotland	Scotland	Foreman	Gas Co.	
Washington Avenue	469	Harold Johnstone	4	Owner	8000	White	Vermont	New York	Clerk	Railroad	
Washington Avenue	469	Frances Crockett	3	Renter	40	White	New York	New York	None		
Washington Avenue	473	Edward Weber	3	Owner	13000	White	Germany	Germany	Janitor	Public School	
Washington Avenue	474	George Smith	6	Owner	12500	White	English Canada	Maine	Professor	Medical School	
Washington Avenue	475	Charles Richards	3	Renter	45	White	New Jersey	Germany	Foreman	Organ Co.	
Washington Avenue	476	Georges McLaren	2	Owner	8000	White	Scotland	Scotland	Lawyer		
Washington Avenue	480	Irving Tinker	2	Owner	10000	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Real Estate Owner		
Washington Avenue	483	Henry Spencer	2	Owner	12000	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Assistant Foreman		
Washington Avenue	484	William Bullard	7	Owner	11000	White	New Hampshire	Massachusetts	Salesman	Tea & Coffee	
Washington Avenue	485	Alva Chapman	5	Renter	60	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None		
Washington Avenue	485	Percy Hart	3	Renter	60	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Insurance Co.	
Washington Avenue	488	Thomas Stonehouse	4	Owner	10000	White	New York	New York	Salesman	Pen Co.	
Washington Avenue	491	Holly Whay	4	Renter	65	White	Vermont	England	Court Stenographer	County	
Washington Avenue	491	Genevieve Lynch	4	Renter	60	White	North Carolina	Georgia	None		

Washington Avenue	491 Clyde Skinner	3 Renter	65 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Oil Co.
Washington Avenue	492 William Manierre	5 Renter	60 White	New York	United States	Upholsterer	Own Business
Washington Avenue	537 Richard Plank	2 Owner	10000 White	New York	New York	Salesman	Whale Meat
Washington Avenue	537 Rosabella Wells	2 Renter	56.5 White	Connecticut	Northern Ireland	None	
Washington Avenue	538 Charles Martin	6 Owner	35000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Lawyer	
Washington Avenue	541 Blanche Warner	2 Owner	10000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Washington Avenue	542 John Hart	7 Renter	30 White	New York	New York	None	
Washington Avenue	545 Harry Tolles	4 Owner	15000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Wholesale merchant	Groceries
Washington Avenue	545 Woodruff Smith	6 Owner	18000 White	Connecticut	Pennsylvania	Mechanical Engineer	Iron Fittings
Washington Avenue	546 John Snavely	7 Owner	14000 White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Superintendent	Railroad
Washington Avenue	561 Lewis Gorham	5 Owner	9500 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Washington Avenue	565 Grace Braden	2 Owner	12000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	
Washington Avenue	568 Arthur O'Keefe	8 Owner	22000 White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Lawyer	Black servant named Adel Vaughn
Washington Avenue	569 William Dedrick	3 Owner	12000 White	New York	New York	Electrician	
Washington Avenue	580 Walter Goodwin	3 Owner	8500 White	Massachusetts	Maine	Accountant	Railroad
Washington Avenue	583 Ellsworth Mathias	4 Renter	45 White	New York	New York	None	
Washington Avenue	584 Maude Rowe	3 Owner	7000 White	Connecticut	England	Graduate Nurse	Doctor's Office
Washington Avenue	587 Frank Stevens	3 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Engineer	Power Plant
Washington Avenue	591 George Humphrey	8 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Realtor	Own Business
Washington Avenue	594 Ray Humphrey	2 Owner	8000 White	New York	New York	Carpenter	School
Washington Avenue	598 George Terwillinger	3 Owner	15000 White	New York	New York	Supervisor	Railroad
Washington Avenue	601 Harley Allen	5 Renter	50 White	Ohio	Ohio	Night Superintendent	Rubber Co.
Washington Avenue	606 Thomas Berggren	5 Owner	8000 White	Sweden	Sweden	Cabinet Maker	
Washington Avenue	609 George Neagle	7 Owner	12000 White	Massachusetts	Irish Free State	Superintendent	Life Insurance
Washington Avenue	610 George Bartow	2 Owner	8000 White	New York	England	Salesman	Electric Light Co.
Washington Avenue	612 John Edell	4 Renter	50 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Chief Clerk	Railroad
Washington Avenue	612 Richard Ek	2 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Sweden	Clerk	Hardware
Washington Avenue	613 Melville Wadham	2 Owner	5000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Shipping Clerk	Tools
Washington Avenue	614 Roy Stevens	5 Renter	45 White	Massachusetts	England	Clerk	Railroad
Washington Avenue	618 Hugh Gaffney	2 Owner	10000 White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Gardener	Yale campus
Washington Avenue	622 Michael Taft	2 Owner	4000 White	Germany	Germany	Carpenter	
Washington Avenue	624 William McLoughlin	5 Owner	4000 White	New York	New York	Foreman	Railroad
Washington Avenue	625 Joseph Tickner	2 Owner	9000 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	None	
Washington Avenue	625 Donald Lee	2 Renter	20 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Electrician	Electric Light Co.
Washington Avenue	629 Peter Asid	11 Owner	10000 White	Italy	Italy	Construction	Telephone Co.
Washington Avenue	630 Frank Boylan	4 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Plumber	Own Business
Washington Avenue	630 Chester Lee	2 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Mechanic	Garage
Washington Avenue	634 William Russell	3 Renter	50 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Washington Avenue	635 Ellis Hall	3 Renter	25 White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Clerk	Railroad
Washington Avenue	636 Fred Russell	2 Owner	15000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Electrician	
Washington Avenue	638 William Moreland	6 Renter	40 White	New York	Northern Ireland	[?]	Dry Goods Store
Washington Avenue	638 Frank Dalaski	2 Renter	23 White	Connecticut	Poland	Waiter	Restaurant
Washington Avenue	640 Cedric Hardy	4 Renter	40 White	New York	New York	Route Inspector	Oil Co.
Washington Avenue	665 Robert Greene	3 Owner	15000 White	Connecticut	England	Proprietor	Grocery Store
Washington Avenue	667 John Roskausez	5 Owner	6000 White	Germany	Germany	Tester	Telephone Co.
Washington Avenue	670 Antonio Cassella	2 Renter	12 White	Italy	Italy	Proprietor	Shoe Repair Shop
Washington Avenue	673 Paul Plummer	4 Renter	30 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Electrician	Electical Utility
Washington Avenue	675 Leo Heinrichs	3 Renter	28 White	New York	Germany	Bench Worker	Rubber Co.
Washington Avenue	676 Arthur Jennings	4 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Truck Driver	Wholesale Oil Co.
Washington Avenue	676 James Guilfoil	5 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	Foreman	Wholesale Oil Co.
Washington Avenue	677 John Farrell	1 Renter	25 White	Northern Ireland	Northern Ireland	None	
Washington Avenue	679 Norman Scranton	5 Owner	8500 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Printer	Newspaper

Washington Avenue	680 John Monohan	4 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	Ireland	Chauffeur	Moving Co.	
Washington Avenue	680 Irving Beers	5 Renter	32 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Office Clerk	Grocery Supply House	
Washington Avenue	682 Harry Kellgren	3 Renter	45 White	Pennsylvania	Sweden	Welding Instructor	Railroad	
Washington Avenue	683 Sean Burgin	8 Renter	50 White	Connecticut	Maine	None		
Washington Avenue	684 Raymond Anthony	4 Renter	45 White	Connecticut	English Canada	Manager	Linen Laundry	
Washington Avenue	684 John Anderson	2 Renter	45 White	Sweden	Sweden	Floor layer	Own Business	
Washington Avenue	684 Carl von Allman	2 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Switzerland	Foreman	Tubebending Co.	
Washington Avenue	688 Jean Kelley	4 Renter	45 White	Connecticut	Ireland	None		
Washington Avenue	688 John Coudau	2 Renter	32 White	Connecticut	Ireland	None		
Washington Avenue	689 James Von Valkenburg	2 Renter	25 White	New York	New York	Railroad Clerk	Railroad	
Washington Avenue	690 Nathan Shapiro	8 Owner	15000 White	Poland	Poland	Store clerk	Railroad	Native language is Yiddish
Washington Avenue	695 Charles Drumm	4 Owner	10000 White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	Accounting Clerk	Railroad	
Washington Avenue	695 Owen Kelly	2 Renter	25 White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Stock Clerk	Garage	
Washington Avenue	699 Arvid Johnson	2 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	Sweden	Cutter	Necktie Factory	
Washington Avenue	699 Edith Bradley	3 Owner	9800 White	New Jersey	New Jersey	None		
Washington Avenue	712 Earle Beckwith	2 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Sanitary Inspector	Town	
Washington Avenue	712 Webster Leland	6 Renter	35 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Commercial Salesman	Investment Co.	
Washington Avenue	744 Annie Blount	3 Owner	4500 White	England	England	None		
Washington Avenue	759 Thomas O'Neil	6 Owner	2000 White	Connecticut	Ireland	Millwright	?	
Washington Avenue	760 John Moomjian	6 Owner	12000 White	Turkey	Turkey	Clerk	Grocery Store	Native language is Armenian
Washington Avenue	762 James Rogers	12 Renter	33 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Switchman	Railroad	
Washington Avenue	764 Onette Bullis	3 Owner	5000 White	New York	New York	Solicitor	Advertising Co.	
Washington Avenue	765 Hobart Crews	4 Renter	60 White	Kentucky	Kentucky	Proprietor	Garage	
Washington Avenue	774 Aron Chevalier	10 Renter	36 White	Rhode Island	French Canada	Machinist	Machine Shop	
Washington Avenue	775 Harvey Lynch	6 Owner	5000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Insurance	
Washington Avenue	780 Fred Drury	7 Owner	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Printer	Publishing Co.	
Washington Avenue	780 Frank Lyke	3 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Electrician	Electrical Factory	
Washington Avenue	783 Ralph Cabrelli	4 Owner	10000 White	Italy	Italy	Plasterer	Own Business	
Washington Avenue	783 Edward Frederick	4 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Germany	Conductor	Streetcar	
Washington Avenue	784 Arthur Johnson	4 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Shipping Clerk	Fertilizer Co.	
Washington Avenue	784 Elizabeth Schwauer	784 Owner	5000 White	Germany	Germany	None		
Washington Avenue	785 Robert Southworth	4 Owner	14000 White	New Hampshire	Vermont	Wire Chief	Telephone Co.	
Washington Avenue	786 James Doyle	6 Owner	5600 White	Ireland	Ireland	Bench Worker	Rubber Co.	
Washington Avenue	787 Charles Hatch	2 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Bookkeeper	Sheet Metal Co.	
Washington Avenue	787 Edward Quinn	2 Renter	40 White	Connecticut	Northern Ireland	Iron Mechanic	Ornamental Iron Factory	
Washington Avenue	795 Peter Sorenson	5 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Denmark	?	Building Contractor	
Washington Avenue	795 William Mackey	3 Owner	8000 White	Connecticut	New York	Proprietor	Ice and Coal	
Washington Avenue	795 John Cornelius	3 Renter	15 White	Connecticut	New York	Organ Builder	Organ Co.	
Washington Avenue	809 William Barton	3 Owner	7000 White	New York	Northern Ireland	Draftsman	Railroad	
Washington Avenue	815 Earle Carpenter	7 Owner	6000 White	Vermont	Vermont	Chief Clerk	Rendering Co.	
Washington Avenue	817 William Brown	2 Owner	5500 White	New Jersey	New Jersey	Toolmaker	Tool Factory	
Washington Avenue	818 Frederick Schlachter	5 Owner	9000 White	Connecticut	New York	Sign Painter	Own Business	
Washington Avenue	821 Charles Anderson	5 Owner	7000 White	Sweden	Sweden	Millwright	Hardware Factory	
Washington Avenue	824 George Kirschner	4 Owner	8500 White	Connecticut	Germany	Sales Office Clerk	Hardware Factory	
Washington Avenue	825 Howard Wolven	2 Renter	35 White	New York	New York	Auto mechanic	Telephone Co.	
Washington Avenue	828 Gabe Ferhune	2 Owner	7000 White	New Jersey	New Jersey	Conductor	Railroad	
Washington Avenue	829 Joseph Keeney	5 Owner	7000 White	Northern Ireland	Northern Ireland	[?]	Streetcar	
Washington Avenue	833 Carl Bomberg	5 Owner	10000 White	Sweden	Sweden	Cabinet Maker	Own Business	
Washington Avenue	835 William Ludermann	5 Renter	38 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Manager	Meat Packing Co.	
Washington Avenue	836 William Black	3 Owner	8500 White	Scotland	Scotland	Carpenter	Building Contractor	
Washington Avenue	837 Frank Smith	2 Owner	7000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Cabinet Maker	Rubber Co.	
Washington Avenue	838 Oliver Perry	3 Renter	45 White	South Dakota	Wisconsin	Locomotive Engineer	Railroad	

Washington Avenue	839	Benjamin Inkster	3	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Scotland	None	
Washington Avenue	840	Thomas Murphy	4	Owner	9000	White	Delaware	Pennsylvania	Conductor	Streetcar
Washington Avenue	851	Lewis Dorman	3	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Printer	Railroad
Washington Avenue	851	Henry Schindler	3	Owner	10000	White	Connecticut	Germany	Night watchman	Oil Co.
Washington Avenue	855	Edith LaFramboise	4	Renter	36	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Washington Avenue	859	William McKane	7	Owner		White	New York	Vermont	Steward	Restaurant
Peck Avenue	40	James Still	7	Owner	7000	White	New York	Connecticut	Fishmonger	Own store
Peck Avenue	50	Eugene Friedman	5	Renter	25	White	Connecticut	New Jersey	Mail carrier	Post office
Peck Avenue	62	Harry Wright	4	Owner	7000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Stonemason	odd jobs
Peck Avenue	70	Curt Hoetzel	5	Renter	30	White	Germany	Germany	Welder	Auto garage
Peck Avenue	72	William Clancy	4	Renter	32	White	Connecticut	Ireland	Meter reader	Gas company
Peck Avenue	72	Abraham Rumberg	1	Renter	20	White	Russia	Russia	Peddler	Dry goods
Peck Avenue	80	Joseph Brancato	3	Owner	7000	White	New York	Italy	Garage proprietor	
Peck Avenue	84	Andrew Connolly	8	Owner	7000	White	Scotland	Northern Ireland	Office manager	Dairy
Peck Avenue	86	Frank Zuckorski	3	Owner	6000	White	Poland	Poland	Caretaker	private family
Peck Avenue	102	Lenard Sgalio	2	Owner	10000	White	Italy	Italy	Superintendent of construction	road
Peck Avenue	106	Jennie Bender	3	Owner	8000	White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	none	
Peck Avenue	110	Frank Alsever	4	Owner	5400	White	New York	New York	Train [?]	Steam Railroad
Peck Avenue	114	Harry Rimler	4	Owner	5400	White	New York	Germany	Machinist	Machine shop
Peck Avenue	118	Frank Battista	7	Owner	6500	White	New York	New York	Salesman	Dry goods
Peck Avenue	122	George Richm	4	Renter	"Life use"	White	Poland	Germany	Fireman	Car-barn
Peck Avenue	124	Fritz Carlson	6	Renter	23	White	Sweden	Sweden	Machine operator	Wire mill
Peck Avenue	126	George Richm	2	Owner	4000	White	Connecticut	Poland	Carpenter	
Peck Avenue	128	John Schueler	2	Renter	25	White	New Jersey	Germany	Cigarmaker	Cigar shop
Peck Avenue	128	Margaret Sullivan	5	Renter	32.5	White	Connecticut	Ireland	Manager of school-help	Private college
Peck Avenue	130	Frank Sullivan	7	Renter	32.5	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Receiving clerk	Rubber shop
Peck Avenue	135	Santo Capasso	2	Owner	11000	White	Italy	Italy	None	
Peck Avenue	143	Anthony Zitto	6	Owner	7000	White	Italy	Italy	Gunsmith	Gun shop
Peck Avenue	158	Frank Malinconico	8	Owner	10000	White	Italy	Italy	Tailor	Tailor store
Peck Avenue	158	Michael Cavalier	5	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Italy	Polisher	harness shop
Peck Avenue	158	Fritz Martin	2	Renter	22	White	Poland	Poland	Machine operator	Gun shop
Peck Avenue	164	Theresa Atria	3	Owner	6000	White	Italy	Italy	none	
Peck Avenue	168	Evona Rossi	9	Owner	6000	White	Italy	Italy	Tailor	Clothing store
Peck Avenue	170	Edwin Griffith	9	Renter	43	White	Scotland	Scotland	Engineer	Steam Railroad
Peck Avenue	174	August Fournier	2	Owner	6600	White	French Canada	French Canada	Cook	Restaurant
Peck Avenue	180	Edward Klans	3	Renter	38	White	Hungary	Hungary	Sheet-metal work	heating pipes
Peck Avenue	182	Hugo Weise	1	Owner	4000	White	Germany	Germany	None	
Peck Avenue	182	William Pickus	4	Owner	9000	White	Russia	Russia	Vegetable salesman	
Peck Avenue	186	Grover Davis	5	Renter	30	White	Kansas	South Carolina	Housing engineer	Construction
Peck Avenue	190	John O'Connell	5	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	New York	Salesman	Auto insurance
Peck Avenue	190 1/2	Grace Fogarty	7	Renter	38	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Peck Avenue	192	Abraham Goodrich	6	Owner	12000	White	Russia	Russia	Tailor	Own shop
Peck Avenue	194	Herbert Metcalfe	3	Renter	25	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Carpenter	
Peck Avenue	194	Clarence Reese	4	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	New York	Upholsterer	Furniture
Peck Avenue	232	Frank Gromala	7	Owner	5000	White	Poland	Poland	Laborer	Hardware Shop
Peck Avenue	238	William Jacques	4	Owner	5000	White	Maine	New York	Truckman	own business
Peck Avenue	246	Alphonse Rocheleau	9	Owner	5300	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Foreman	Velvet shop
Peck Avenue	247	Catherine Graham	5	Owner	7000	White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	None	
Peck Avenue	250	William Spencer	5	Owner	5000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Electrician	
Peck Avenue	256	Mary Butler	4	Owner	5000	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	None	
Peck Avenue	260	Charles McElrath	8	Renter	33	White	Connecticut	Scotland	Laundry Proprietor	
Peck Avenue	264	Patrick McDermott	2	Owner	4000	White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	Finisher	Furniture

Native language is Hebrew

Native language is Yiddish

Peck Avenue	268	Nellie Camera	4	Owner	4200	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Checker	Restaurant
Peck Avenue	270	Patrick O'Hara	5	Owner	4000	White	Northern Ireland	Northern Ireland	Repairman	Auto-service
Peck Avenue	274	Caroline Miller	3	Renter	35	White	New York	New York	None	
Union Ave	66	Elmer Ricketson	3	Renter	45	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Auditor	Government
Union Ave	68	Howard Anderton	3	Renter	45	White	Rhode Island	Rhode Island	Sausage Manufacturer	
Union Ave	72	Matthew Lennon	6	Owner	5000	White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	None	
Union Ave	76	Robert Stevenson	4	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Controller	Streetcar
Union Ave	78	Edward Hannon	3	Owner	10000	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	None	
Union Ave	80	Malvin Potts	4	Renter	35	White	New York	United States	Electrical Engineer	Manufacturing Co.
Union Ave	82	John McClure	2	Renter	35	White	Massachusetts	Scotland	Pattern Maker	Manufacturing Co.
Union Ave	84	George Allen	2	Owner	8000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Bakery Store
Union Ave	86	Edward Hannan	4	Owner	7000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Groceries
Union Ave	88	Robert Morton	4	Renter	35	White	English Canada	Scotland	Architect	
Union Ave	90	Frederick Brauer	3	Renter	35	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Engineer	Telephone Co.
Union Ave	93	Walter Bacon	6	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Turner	Silver Co.
Union Ave	96	Arthur Moore	5	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	England	Mechanic	Battery Co.
Union Ave	96	Raymond Hamre	3	Renter	30	White	Connecticut	Norway	Painter	Paint Co.
Union Ave	97	Joseph Cole	3	Owner	7500	White	Vermont	Vermont	Salesman	Wholesale Hardware
Union Ave	99	William Mathews	6	Owner	6000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Chauffeur	Boiler Co.
Union Ave	100	John Linnane	3	Renter	50	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Installer	Telephone Co.
Union Ave	102	Eugene Seeber	3	Renter	45	White	New Jersey	Pennsylvania	Inspector	Telephone Co.
Union Ave	103	Roderick Cushing	6	Owner	6500	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Clerk	Railroad
Union Ave	104	Ray Hall	3	Renter	50	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Salesman	Paint Co.
Union Ave	106	James Ryan	3	Owner	12700	White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	None	
Union Ave	106	Walter Tracey	2	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Clerk	Railroad
Union Ave	107	Frank Weber	5	Owner	5000	White	Massachusetts	Switzerland	Decorator	Retail Store
Union Ave	108	James Conlon	3	Renter	50	White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	Mail Carrier	Government
Union Ave	110	William Maloney	5	Renter	50	White	Pennsylvania	Irish Free State	None	
Union Ave	110	Wendell Paige	2	Renter	35	White	United States	United States	None	
Union Ave	111	Bill Jacob	3	Owner	5000	White	Germany	Germany	Butcher	Retail Store
Union Ave	112	Cecil Cameron	10	Owner	6500	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None	
Union Ave	114	Bartholomey Daley	3	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Trainman	Railroad
Union Ave	115	John Richards	6	Owner	5000	White	English Canada	English Canada	Carpenter	
Union Ave	116	William Cadwell	3	Renter	35	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Druggist	Retail Store
Union Ave	116	William O'Brien	3	Renter	25	White	New York	Irish Free State	Janitor	Hospital
Union Ave	118	Ernest Goodwin	2	Renter		White	Connecticut	England	Salesman	Insurance Co.
Union Ave	119	Max Hines	3	Owner	6000	White	Germany	Germany	Carpenter	
Union Ave	120	Harry Easton	2	Owner	10000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Steam Engineer	Railroad
Union Ave	122	William Driscoll	7	Owner	6000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Truck Driver	Bottling Co.
Union Ave	123	Patrick Curtin	5	Owner	9000	White	Irish Free State	Irish Free State	Bottler	Own Business
Union Ave	126	Fred Hofrichter	2	Renter	30	White	New York	Germany	Painter	Own Business
Union Ave	126	Edward Quinney	2	Renter	20	White	New Hampshire	United States	Clerk	Wholesale Store
Union Ave	127	Arthur Fenoglio	3	Owner	8000	White	New York	French Canada	Civil Engineer	State
Union Ave	130	Burton Alling	4	Owner	4000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Ice Cream Manufacturer	Ice Cream Co.
Union Ave	134	Jule Laralette	2	Owner	5000	White	France	France	Motorman	Streetcar
Union Ave	135	Frederick Ettlinger	4	Owner	5200	White	Rhode Island	New Jersey	Publisher	Printing Co.
Union Ave	139	Arther Bruncau	9	Owner	6000	White	Massachusetts	French Canada	Mechanic	Streetcar
Union Ave	145	Harry Gompert	5	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Clerk	Railroad
Union Ave	146	Thomas Cooney	7	Owner	9000	White	New York	United States	None	
Union Ave	147	Richmond Stone	6	Owner	5000	White	Rhode Island	Rhode Island	Manager	Battery Co.
Union Ave	151	John Jeffers	7	Owner	5000	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Foreman	Hardware Co.
Union Ave	152	Rudolph Ehehalt	4	Owner	9000	White	Connecticut	Germany	Signalman	Railroad

Union Ave	154	John Anderson	4	Renter	40	White	New York	England	Salesman	Retail Store	
Union Ave	155	Timothy O'Connell	5	Owner	6000	White	Connecticut	Italy	Lawyer		
Union Ave	156	Arthur Lillquist	4	Owner	10000	White	Connecticut	Finland	Signalman	Railroad	
Union Ave	165	Alexander Curzi	2	Owner	5000	White	Italy	Italy	Ice Man	Own Business	
Union Ave	166	Harold Reed	2	Owner	12000	White	Connecticut	New York	Salesman	Dist. Equipment	
Union Ave	169	Gregory Morrissey	7	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	New Jersey	Designer	Machine Shop	
Union Ave	170	Charles Haynes	5	Renter	40	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Painter	Own Business	
Union Ave	175	Peter Balucci	9	Owner	11000	White	Italy	Italy	Baker	Own Business	
Union Ave	177	Adolf Weiss	2	Owner	12000	White	Germany	Germany	Manager	Retail Store	
Union Ave	213	Alexander Craigie	6	Renter	33	White	Scotland	Scotland	Construction Supervisor		
Union Ave	213	Agnes Wilson	3	Renter	30	White	Maryland	Scotland	None		
Union Ave	221	Herman Ruthermann	6	Owner	7000	White	Germany	Germany	Manager	Grocery store	
Union Ave	222	Lewis Brough	5	Owner	8000	White	Connecticut	England	Signalman	Streetcar	
Union Ave	222	Martha Nelson	1	Renter	30	White	New York	Scotland	None		
Union Ave	225	Walter Thomas	4	Renter	40	White	England	England		Telephone Co.	
Union Ave	225	John McNeil	6	Owner	7000	White	Connecticut	Irish Free State	Telegraph Operator	Postal Telegram	
Union Ave	226	Isadore Posener	7	Owner	6600	White	England	England	Conductor	Railroad	
Union Ave	231	Frank Perlowski	9	Owner	8000	White	Germany	Germany	Salesman	Tobacco	
Union Ave	235	Frederick Anderson	5	Owner	3750	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Inspector	Railroad	
Union Ave	239	Peter Doland	3	Owner	5300	White	New York	New York	Tire builder	Rubber Co.	
Union Ave	260	Rowland Calkin	3	Renter	50	White	New York	New York	Assistant Engineer	Telephone Co.	
Union Ave	267	Dora Miller	4	Renter	50	White	England	England	Salesman	Food shop	
Union Ave	269	Everitt Jones	3	Owner	9000	White	New York	New York	Employment agency		
Union Ave	283	Walter Penney	1	Owner	10000	White	Connecticut	Maine	Carpenter		
Union Ave	283	Mark Silvertown	3	Renter	45	White	New York	New York	Salesman	Moving Pictures	
Union Ave	287	Charles Victory	3	Owner	9000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	None		
Union Ave	293	William Shortell	5	Owner	8800	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Factory Manager	Tools	
Union Ave	298	James DeBowes	5	Renter	56	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Restaurant Manager	Own Business	Black live-in servant, Rita Bostick
Union Ave	299	Mary French	3	Renter	45	White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	None		
Union Ave	302	Wesley Bradley	4	Owner	6000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Line assigner	Telephone Co.	
Union Ave	304	Hattie Bradley	3	Owner	6000	White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	None		
Union Ave	308	Frederick Dickerman	4	Owner	8000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Painter and Carpenter	Own Business	
Union Ave	342	Holbert Richards	3	Owner	30000	White	Kansas	Connecticut	Lumber Dealer	Own Business	
Union Ave	352	James Tolles	6	Owner	18000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Proprietor	Wholesale Groceries	
Union Ave	353	Oswald Graham	5	Owner	8500	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Assistant Secretary	Hardware Factory	
Union Ave	357	Herbert Merriam	4	Owner	8000	White	Connecticut	Massachusetts	Commercial Salesman	[?] Supply Co.	
Union Ave	363	George Treat	5	Owner	12000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Proprietor	General Contractor	
Union Ave	366	Frank Hyde	3	Owner	12000	White	Connecticut	New York	Commercial Salesman	Plumbing Co.	
Union Ave	367	Orville May	4	Owner	12000	White	Massachusetts	English Canada	Comptroller	Streetcar	
Union Ave	370	Michael Norton	2	Owner	8200	White	Connecticut	Ireland	Chief Conductor	Streetcar	
Union Ave	372	Walter Davies	3	Owner	16000	White	Connecticut	New Jersey	Commercial Salesman	Office Equipment Co.	
Union Ave	373	John Hassett	2	Owner	8500	White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Mechanical Engineer	Railroad	
Union Ave	374	Francis Naury	5	Renter	60	White	New York	Ireland	Inspector	Screw Factory	
Union Ave	379	Willard Law	3	Owner	8500	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Engineer	Railroad	
Union Ave	380	Richard Welch	2	Owner	10000	White	Vermont	Vermont	Meter manager	Water Co.	
Union Ave	383	Annie Hartshorn	1	Owner	6500	White	Maine	Maine	None		
Union Ave	386	Carl Hartshorn	5	Owner	7500	White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Mechanical Engineer	Railroad	
Union Ave	387	Ann Stapleton	3	Owner	7000	White	Connecticut	Ireland	None		
Union Ave	390	William Buhler	3	Owner	7000	White	Connecticut	Germany	Office Clerk	[?]	
Union Ave	391	John Tierney	3	Owner	6500	White	Connecticut	Ireland	Flagman	Railroad	
Union Ave	395	Frank Curry	6	Owner	5000	White	Connecticut	France	Butcher	Own Business	
Union Ave	396	George Travers	2	Owner	7000	White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Insurance Adjuster	Own Business	

Union Ave	399 Mary Curry	1 Owner	5000 White	Germany	Germany	None	
Union Ave	403 John Killman	5 Owner	7800 White	Northern Ireland	Northern Ireland	None	
Union Ave	404 Felrus Ackrill	2 Renter	35 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Commercial Salesman	Packing Co.
Union Ave	406 George Phelps	2 Renter	50 White	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Painter	Own Business
Union Ave	408 William Larash	7 Owner	12000 White	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Lawyer	
Union Ave	409 Henry Haesche	6 Owner	7000 White	Connecticut	Germany	Porter	Express Co.
Union Ave	413 Vincent White	4 Renter	37 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Foreman	Railroad
Union Ave	414 Burnhard Westlund	2 Owner	15000 White	Sweden	Sweden	Bookkeeping Clerk	Railroad
Union Ave	417 Henry Ellis	4 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Truck Driver	Trucking Co.
Union Ave	419 Francis McKernon	7 Owner	4500 White	New York	Ireland	Track Supervisor	Railroad
Union Ave	423 Edward Parshley	3 Owner	6500 White	Maine	Maine	Mechanical Engineer	Railroad
Union Ave	428 August Schwerzmann	3 Owner	7000 White	Germany	Germany	None	
Union Ave	429 Emma Hyde	1 Owner	5000 White	England	England	Secretary	Own Business
Union Ave	432 Arthur Farrar	2 Renter	50 White	Maine	Maine	Proprietor	Radio Shop
Union Ave	435 Arthur Anderson	5 Owner	4000 White	Connecticut	Sweden	Office Clerk	Streetcar
Union Ave	436 Frederick Toelk	4 Renter	33 White	Connecticut	Germany	City Fireman	City Fire Department
North Union Avenue	8 Sarah Mackey	5 Owner	8000 White	England	England	None	
North Union Avenue	12 Anthony Uarus	4 Owner	3000 White	New York	Connecticut	Carpenter	
North Union Avenue	12 Clarence Thayer	2 Renter	18 White	New York	New York	Engineer	Buckle Shop
North Union Avenue	18 David Signore	5	White	Italy	Italy	Moulder	Metale Die Foundry
North Union Avenue	18 Edward Ryan	2 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Ireland	?	Dairy Co.
North Union Avenue	19 Joseph Spork	4 Renter	25 White	New York	Germany	Floor Waxer	Own Business
North Union Avenue	22 Ernest Braggi	2 Owner	5000 White	Connecticut	Italy	Marble Setter	Marble & Tile Contractor
North Union Avenue	23 Frederick Kaercher	4 Renter	30 White	Connecticut	Germany	Pattern maker	Hardware Factory
North Union Avenue	25 Benjamin Barns	4 Owner	6800 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Locomotive Engineer	Railroad
North Union Avenue	29 George Collins	5 Renter	18 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Auto mechanic	Trucking Co.
North Union Avenue	29 Frank Grego	1 Renter	18 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Laborer	Garage
North Union Avenue	67 Joseph Couray	2 Owner	5500 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Compositor	Printing Office
North Union Avenue	73 Darwin Hamilton	4 Renter	28 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Production Clerk	Hardware Factory
North Union Avenue	77 George Freido	3 Owner	6000 White	New Jersey	New Jersey	Commercial Salesman	Coffee Importers
North Union Avenue	83 Merwin Palmer	3 Owner	6000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Maintenance Clerk	Railroad
North Union Avenue	89 Thomas Mill	4 Owner	6000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Commercial Salesman	Wholesale Groceries
North Union Avenue	95 Frank Walters	3 Owner	7000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Tire Maker	Rubber Co.
North Union Avenue	101 William Weiler	10 Owner	6000 White	Connecticut	Connecticut	Toolmaker	Rubber Co.
North Union Avenue	103 George Ball	2 Owner	4200 White	New York	New York	None	