Park, working-class people favored transportation improvements that members of the middle class fiercely opposed. Working-class advocates also supported some of the new spaces, notably the playgrounds, that were intended as alternatives to the street. Some nontransportation activities—street play, loitering, and peddling—survived in immigrant neighborhoods, at the margins of mainstream urban life. The persistence of such street uses allowed people with different cultural and economic backgrounds to preserve a measure of neighborhood autonomy without preventing reformers from bringing more order to the city's main public streets or seriously interfering with the creation of a traffic system. The segregation of public space can be seen in some ways as a compromise that allowed Hartford's diverse population to come to terms with the pluralism that Bushnell had feared.

In the long run, that solution exacted a heavy price. Space within metropolitan Hartford became increasingly segregated and narrowly defined for specific functions. Through the mid-twentieth century, downtown sidewalks maintained a false appearance of liveliness as throngs of pedestrians walked to shops and department stores. But these retail businesses, which had thrived when downtown Hartford was the hub of a regional streetcar system, have not in the longer run survived the shift to automobile transportation. Dying, they have taken with them the remaining life of downtown streets, revealing how limited street life has been for decades. Downtown sidewalks had long since become routes of travel rather than multipurpose social spaces; now many are deserted altogether. The deeply divided metropolitan area, where class segregation is enforced by stringent zoning rules, lacks common public space that can adequately perform socially integrative functions. Interclass contact persists on downtown sidewalks and in Bushnell Park, but it takes the form primarily of uneasy encounters between well-dressed office workers on their way to lunch and vagrants seeking handouts or returnable cans. This is not what the reformers of the Progressive Era wanted, but it is what their well-meaning efforts helped produce.

Notes

The following abbreviations are used consistently in the notes, although the titles of volumes published annually and of newspapers can vary.

ACH Automobile Club of Hartford
BH Annual Report of the Board of Health of the City of Hartford
BPC Annual Report of the Board of Park Commissioners of the City of Hartford
BSC Annual Report of the Board of Street Commissioners of the City of Hartford
CHS Connecticut Historical Society
Courant Hartford Daily Courant or Hartford Courant
CSL Connecticut State Library, Hartford
GAPP George A. Parker Papers, Connecticut Historical Society
HCH Town and City Clerk's vault, Hartford City Hall
HD Geer's Hartford City Directory
HPL Hartford Collection, Hartford Public Library
JBA Journal of the Board of Aldermen of the City of Hartford
JCCB Journal of the Common Council Board of the City of Hartford
JCCC Journal of the Court of Common Council of the City of Hartford
JHS Jewish Historical Society of Greater Hartford, West Hartford
MAS Municipal Art Society Papers, Connecticut State Library
MR Municipal Register of the City of Hartford
NCLC National Child Labor Committee
PDP Parks Department Papers, Hartford Collection, Hartford Public Library
Post Hartford Post or Hartford Evening Post or Evening Post
Times Hartford Daily Times or Hartford Times
WPA Works Progress Administration
Introduction


15. On the 1830s, see Charles Hopkins Clark, "Bushnell the Citizen," in *Bushnell Centenary: Minutes of the General Association of Connecticut at the One Hundred and Ninety-Third Annual Meeting Held in Hartford, June 17, 18, 1902* (Hartford: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1902), 63. On the start of planning see Bushnell to the mayor and Common Council of the city of Hartford, 26 September 1839 [marked "Communication from Horace Bushnell"], drawer marked "Parks: Tabulated Correspondence, 'A' to 'R.'"


24. Bushnell, letter in Hearth and Home, 11. There are enough similarities between the park projects in New York and Hartford to support a suspicion that the simultaneous development of the two was more than coincidence. The mayor of New York made the unprecedented proposal in 1851 that a large park be laid out using public money, and the state senate authorized the city to take a site by eminent domain. Only in 1853 did Bushnell unveil his own proposal to take a park site by eminent domain and improve it with public money (Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, The Park and the People: A History of Central Park [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992], 15–53). Controversies over New York's park site continued until January 1854, and the project received attention in the Hartford press. For example, the Times alluded to the proposals for a park in New York in a 28 July 1853 editorial on the need for a park in Hartford. Nevertheless, it is indisputable that Bushnell formulated his social philosophy for public parks four years before Olmsted even became involved in the Central Park project, let alone wrote his own rationale for the work. Contrary to some accounts, Bushnell's work on the Hartford park was done independently of Olmsted, who at the time was busy farming on Staten Island and then traveling as a journalist in England and the southern states. Claims that Bushnell and Olmsted collaborated on the project have been disproved in John Alexopoulos, "The Creator of Bushnell Park," Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin 47/3 (1982): 65–73. See also Robert L. Edwards, Of Singular Genius, of Singular Grace: A Biography of Horace Bushnell (Cleveland: Pilgrim Press, 1992), 180–82. On the beginnings of Olmsted's career, cf. Rosenzweig and Blackmar, The Park and the People, 127–28. On Olmsted's first articulation of a social philosophy for parks in 1858, David Schuyler, The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 94.


29. "Remarks of Dr. Bushnell." At this time, Connecticut still had two capitals, Hartford and New Haven.

30. Ibid.; "Proposed New Park or Common"; Bushnell, letter in *Heath and Home*, 12. Bushnell's map, a copy of which was once held by the Connecticut State Library, appears to have been lost.


37. Pet. of W. H. Green + Others de Public Square + Lafayette St., 27 July 1853, drawer marked "Parks: Tabulated Correspondence 'S' to 'Z,' Miscellaneous Parks, Playgrounds," HCH; *HD* 16 (1853–54): 53, 89, 118, 135, 158.


46. Ibid., 323.
47. Ibid., 335–36, at 336.

Chapter 2

9. 7th Annual Meeting of the Hartford Board of Trade, January 8, 1895 (Hartford: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1895), 9.


19. 8th Annual Meeting of the Board of Trade, Hartford, January 14, 1896 (Hartford: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1896), 20.


24. On the middle class's loss of its monopoly on political and economic power, see Cluette, "Getting Their Share," 106–12, 209–12.

25. Angel Kwolek-Polland, Engendering Business: Men and Women in the Corporate Office, 1870–1930 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 120, 123, 188, 191. See also E. Anthony Rotundo, American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 250. The historian Daniel M. Bluestone argues that the corporate skyscraper functioned as an internalized and sanitized replacement for the street, one in which genteel decorum prevailed and from which the rowdy lower classes were excluded (Daniel M. Bluestone, "Landscape and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Chicago" [Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1984], 234–35.)

26. Memorial Service to Mrs. Dotha Bushnell Hillyer (program dated 1 January 1933), CSH. Her rank in age can be determined from Mary Bushnell Cheney, Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1880), 104, which indicates that in 1842 Bushnell already had two daughters (see also 175, 353); on Bushnell's views of his mother, see 26–34; on Bushnell as a father, 452–69. Quotations are from Cheney, Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell, 140–43.


31. Mackenzie, "Dotha Bushnell Hillyer," 3, 6. "The Civic Club: Writer Notes Mrs. Hillyer's Influence upon It," Courant, 31 December 1932. The club member quoted added: "It was Mrs. Hillyer who was the inspiration of the Club, and yet it was not a 'one woman' organization. There were committees on streets, health, schools, art and library, parks, domestic science, and for each of these there was an active chairman diligently working with her committee members to create public opinion and produce results based on intelligent understanding. Behind all these committees stood Mrs. Hillyer, as friend and active helper. It was her custom to scan the leading newspapers and to make clippings bearing on the interests of the club. What enthusiasm resulted in a committee meeting when, with a handful of clippings, she would suggest new ideas or ways to get more light upon old ones! It was an unusual club. It held a remarkable position in the community. Its advice was sought because it was known that none would be given without study and proper appreciation of all the factors entering into a balanced judgment."


36. Rothman, Woman’s Proper Place, 93.


60. “Hide Billboards at Certain Angles,” Courant, 24 April 1908. Anonymous to H. Leonard Beadle, 8 June 1908, box 4, MAS. Dickinson, “Civic Improvement!”; “War against Billboards”; MR 1911, 843–45. Minutes of 26 Oc-
Chapter 3


6. Thayer, "Supplementary Report."


11. For a discussion of such "rescue homes" in a broader context, see Peggy Pascoe, Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874–1939 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), chapter 2.


13. Tenth Annual Report of the Woman's Aid Society of Hartford (Hartford: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1888), 11, 12; Fourth Annual Report, Woman's Aid Society of Hartford (Hartford: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1882), 12–14. The middle-class character of the organization can be seen by comparing the membership listed in Fourth Annual Report against individual listings in HD 44 (1881).


17. Biennial Report, 1926–27, of the Woman's Aid Society of Hartford (n.p.).

18. The Shelter for Women, 1897 (n.p.). The generalization about the leadership is based on a comparison of names listed in this document against HD 60 (1897).

19. Shelter for Women. "The Police Court," Courant, 16 June 1899. That the shelter was slightly less condescending than the Woman's Aid Society can be seen from the reason it gave for charging nominal fees for lodging and clothing: to help clients maintain their self-respect. Such a goal was foreign to the Woman's Aid Society, which wanted prostitutes humbly to acknowledge their depravity as a step toward conversion. Compare Shelter for Women with Ninth Annual Report of the Woman's Aid Society (Hartford: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1887), 11.


22. Petition of Andrew Heubel et al., presented 12 January 1880, drawer marked "Grand Avenue, Glendale Avenue, Gold Street," HCH. U.S. Census schedules for 1880 show a mix of Irish and black residents on Gold Street.


25. George Leon Walker, Old Hartford Burying Ground (Hartford: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1895), 28–30. The overwhelmingly middle-class character of the membership can be seen by checking the members' names given in Daughters of the American Revolution, Ruth Wyllys Chapter records, 1: 51–74. CSL, against listings in HD 57 (1894).


30. Federation of Churches to Henney.

31. From Henney to Rankin: 25 Years of Municipal Politics, No. 3,” Times, December 3, 1931. See also chapter 9.


35. "Breach between Ministers and the Prosecutor."


37. "Honest Effort to Wipe out Vice"; "Clear Evil Resorts From East Side," Post, 8 July 1907.

38. "Tidy Sum Netted to Police Funds by Sudden Raid," Times, 10 July 1909.

39. "Breach between Ministers and the Prosecutor."


41. On programs at theaters, see advertisements in the Courant, 20 April 1907, 27 May 1907, 28 May 1907 (advertisement for concert and dance). On dancing and drinking, "Report of the Public Dance Hall Committee" (3 April 1914), attached to p. 332, "Secretary's Book. "What the Social Service Survey Did," Courant, 16 January 1912. On the presence and location of dozens of downtown and East Side saloons, HD 69 (1906–7). Dent and Kelsey were both anxious to limit the evil effects of commercial amusement. Dent, the pastor of the South Park Methodist Church, led a successful campaign around 1909 to prohibit the showing of movies on Sunday. "Both Merciful and Necessary," Times, 21 February 1914. Kelsey, the pastor of the Fourth (Congregational) Church, had led a similar attempt in 1905, "Secretary's Book," 105. (Kelsey had come to Fourth Church, which was devoted to serving the poor of Hartford's central neighborhoods, in 1888 as associate pastor under the Rev. Graham Taylor (Charles Trumbull Russ, "The Hartford Years of Graham Taylor, 1880–1892:}
With Special Emphasis on His Association with the Fourth Church and the Hartford Theological Seminary" [master's thesis, Hartford Theological Seminary], 1960, 52).

42. "Breach between Ministers and the Prosecutor."


45. Hepburn was the mother of the famous actress.


47. The suffragists were part of a broad trend of feminist thought that has been called "cultural feminism," in which women sought victory over male values instead of greater access to male privileges. Josephine Donovan, *Feminist Theory: The Intellectual Traditions of American Feminism* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1985), chapter 2.


66. JCCB 1913–14, 473, 546. On 11 August 1913, the Common Council Board voted 24 to 5 to postpone indefinitely a resolution praising the policy of suppressing vice. The five councilmen who voted against the resolution were solidsly middle class. A slight majority of those voting for it were working class, even though middle-class men held the majority of seats on the council. But it would be inaccurate to describe the vote as a class issue, as most middle-class men either favored the motion or abstained. The class composition of the board can be seen by comparing the roster of councilmen in MR 1914, 14–16, with listings in HD 76 (1913). Remember also that, as noted above, labor leaders supported the closing of the red light district.


Chapter 4

On the fact that most newsies obtained the required licenses, "Investigation of the Street-Sales-for-Children Ordinance" and "Report of the Committee on the Enforcement of the Street-Trade Ordinance," box 3, folder 36, CLC; Christine J. Haas, president of the Council of Jewish Women, to Mary Cromwell Welles, 2 June 1914, box 3, folder 36, CLC.


10. Hine, NCLC photo caption 595. Testimony of E. W. Lord, "Stenographer's Notes," 55. The "last paper" rule was common in other cities as well; Clopper, Child Labor, 64. "Newsboys Out All Night," Courant, 27 August 1895.

11. On the first appearance of newsboys, see "Facts in Case vs. Sentiment," Times, 9 February 1905. On the fact that most newsboys were Jewish, see also testimony of Mary G. Jones, 16 March 1909, "Stenographer's Notes," 65; see also "Times' Newsboys," Times, 10 March 1894. On descriptions of newsboy behavior: "Protect the Little Girls," Courant, 11 March 1895; "The Newsboys," Courant, 10 May 1895; "The News-Girls," Courant, 11 March 1895. Hine met one Hartford newsboy who was reported to have an even fouler mouth than the newsboys; Hine, NCLC photo caption 597. On reasons for late-night sales, see untitled editorial, Courant, 11 May 1895.


16. [Mary Hall], untitled article, *Good Will Star* 10/2 (May 1913), in scrapbook no. 12, Mary Hall Papers. *Historical Sketch of the Good Will Club, 1880–1889*. For further information about the Good Will Club, see chapter 5.


30. "Facts in Case vs. Sentiment." The Times denounced the calls for feminine seclusion as reflecting "what may be called the Mohammedan view of the presence of women on the streets." ("The Morbid View," Times, 22 February 1905).


34. The Consumers' League of Hartford and the Consumers' League of Connecticut were separate but affiliated organizations, with some overlap in leadership. The statewide organization appears to have been dominated by Hartford residents. The Rev. Rockwell Harmon Potter of Center Church presided over the Hartford group from 1911 to 1913, then assumed the presidency of the statewide group. On the leadership of the Consumers' League of Hartford, see HD 73 (1910–11): 1128; HD 74 (1911–12): 1129; HD 75 (1912–13): 1129; HD 76 (1913–14): 1358; HD 77 (1914–15): 1526. For the leadership of the Consumers' League of Connecticut, see letterhead for 1910–19, box 2, folder 22, CLC. On the work that the CLC did on child labor and working conditions for women, see "Pioneer Work in Connecticut for Women and Children in Industry," n.d. [1924?], box 2, folder 9, CLC.


38. "Report of the Executive Committee for the Year 1910," 28 February 1911, box 1, folder 3, CLC.


40. JCCB 1910–11, 540, 728.

41. Clopper, Child Labor, 197–98.


44. Testimony of Mary Welles and Oscar Phelps, 16 March 1909, "Stenographer's Notes," 59, 62.

45. "Child Street Sales Permit," box 3, folder 36, CLC.

46. "Report of the General Secretary for the Quarter Ending January 19, 1912," box 2, folder 10, CLC.

47. "Report of the Ordinance Committee, June 1, 1912," box 2, folder 10, CLC.

48. "Comments of Some Hartford Newboys on the License and the Badge," box 3, folder 36, CLC. Small notebook kept by Mary C. Welles, box 3, folder 36, CLC.


54. “A Poor Family,” Times, 7 December 1914.


57. The Hartford Club for Child Welfare and the Juvenile Commission both advocated a curfew for children in the early 1910s. The city did impose a weak, partial curfew in 1924 that forbade children under fourteen from loitering on the streets or near theaters after 9 p.m. (but permitted them to be out later as long as they did not loiter). This anti-loitering measure received unanimous approval from the Common Council, drew little or no public comment, and was virtually ignored by the press. “Report of the Hartford Club for Child Welfare ... to the Juvenile Commission, Jan. 1914” (letter from Bertha H. MacDonald to William S. Hamensley), in letterbox marked “Reports 1914,” PDP. Second Annual Report of the Juvenile Commission to the Mayor and Court of Common Council of the City of Hartford, Conn., for the Year Ending April 30, 1911 (Hartford: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1911), 13. JCCC 1923–24, 526, 614–15, 668. “Curfew May Yet Ring Again Here,” Courant, 13 November 1923.

Chapter 5

1. George A. Parker, “To the Honorable Court of Common Council,” n.d., letterbox marked “1911–1912. Reports typewritten,” PDP. In another version of the same metaphor, Parker had the expert taking in one hand the street archbin of the slums and in the other the overburdened banker and business man.” George A. Parker, “Greater Use of the Parks,” n.d., ibid.


3. City of Hartford Mayor's Address to the Court of Common Council, City Government and Reports . . . (Hartford: Calhoun Printing, 1860), 10 (italics original).


5. “Park Commissioners [illegible] Submitted April 2, 1861,” drawer marked “Park Department, Annual Reports, Miscellaneous, 1827 to 1874,” HCH.


8. “Veto of Acting Mayor of Resolution, Granting Permission to Use Park for Public Mass Meeting,” 18 August 1884, in drawer labeled “Parks: Tabulated Correspondence, A to R,” HCH. Though Kellogg's view later prevailed, the council in this instance overrode his veto (“Resolution: Mass Meeting Traces Union Bushnell Park,” ibid.). “Report of the Park Commissioner upon the Petition of
George Sargent," 13 October 1884, drawer labeled "Park Department. Annual Reports, Miscellaneous, 1875 to 1905,“ HCH. See also "Petition of the Women's Christian Temperance Union for Leave to Hold Meetings on West Park," ibid., JCCB 1891–92, 220.


10. "Report of the Board of Street Commissioners on Renonstrance of John Shortell et al. Against Proposed Layout of South [sic] Front St. Park," 11 August 1873; Petition by John Shortell et al., to Court of Common Council, 29 March 1873; Petition by Anthony Donovan et al., 15 November 1873; Petition by John Shortell et al., 22 December 1873; "Petition for the Lay Out of North Front Street Park," 31 July 1876. "Report of the Park Commission on the Lay Out of North Front St. Park," 11 February 1878 (the original petition appears to be missing). All documents referred to are in the drawer labeled "Parks: Tabulated Correspondence, 'A' to 'R'," HCH.

11. The historian Robin L. Einhorn, in a study of Chicago, has described a change in municipal polity in the post–Civil War era from ward-based, segmented government to the "new public interest," in which the city as a whole paid for improvements in individual neighborhoods. Initially this change worked mainly to the benefit of the elite, but it helped set up an infrastructure of general benefit and was the precursor to greater democratic control of the city (Einhorn, Property Rules: Political Economy in Chicago, 1833–1872 [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991]).


22. There appear to be few surviving records of this committee’s work. Warner’s personal papers at the Watkinson Library at Trinity College contain nothing on the subject. There is only limited material in the parks department papers.


24. J. C. Olmsted to William DeLoss Love, president of the park commissioners, 20 June 1905, letterbox marked “Copies, Board of Park Commrs from Jan. 1 1905 to Jan. 1 1906,” PDP.


27. “Report of the Committee on Highways through Pope Park,” in folder marked “Reports of Standing Committees,” MAS.


32. Charles E. Gross, president of the Board of Park Commissioners, to Cornelius Ryan, chief of police, 21 July 1904, in envelope marked “Bushnell Park,” PDP. Charles E. Gross to J. G. Calhoun, prosecuting attorney, 14 July 1905, and Board of Park Commissioners to Court of Common Council, 3 August 1905, both in letterbox marked “Copies, Board of Park Commrs from Jan. 1 1905 to Jan. 1 1906,” PDP; BPC 35 (1895): 11–12. H. C. Loemis, undated letter, in bound volume of minutes, 14 June 1904–17 October 1905, box 1, MAS.

33. City of Hartford Mayor’s Address and City Government for 1866; and the Annual Reports of the Several Departments of the City Government (Hartford: Calhoun Printing, 1866), 29. MR 1885, 197. MR 1889, 234. On later vandalism at Bushnell Park, “A Resident” to George A. Parker, 3 February 1908, letterbox marked “Park letters, 1908,” PDP.

Park, on Recorded Vandalism in Pope Park for Year Ending Apr. 1, 1912," binder marked "Reports and Memorandums 1912," PDP.


37. George A. Parker, "Report to Finance Committee, January 20, 1910," scrapbook marked "Papers—Park Affairs—1908," PDP. George A. Parker to Board of Park Commissioners, 1 April 1912, in binder marked "Reports and Memorandums," PDP.


42. Henry Roberts to Board of Park Commissioners, 29 April 1903, letterbox marked "Letters to Board of Park Commissioners from 1900 to 1903, inclusive," PDP. Morgan Johnson et al. to George A. Parker, 17 July 1913, letterbox marked "Letters, File 3, 1913," PDP.

43. Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Adair to F. H. Whitmore, 15 June 1913, and John E. Zetter to Thos. S. Weaver, 15 June 1913, both in letterbox marked "Letters, Board of Park Commissioners, January 1, 1912 to January 1, 1915," PDP. On the working-class desire for Sunday baseball, see JCCB 1901—02, 209—10.


47. George A. Parker to Commission on Country Life, 4 December 1908,


49. BPC 45 (1908): 48.


56. BPC 50 (1910): 43. See also BPC 54 (1914): 39.


64. BPC 55 (1915): 37–38.


Chapter 6

1. Informant No. 1 [Morton Tonken], Peoples of Connecticut Ethnic Heritage, WPA Writers' Project, University of Connecticut Archives, box 61, 157: 1e, "Jews in Hartford: Interviews."


6. Historians have discussed play reform primarily in the context of reformers' attempts to impose social control or apply new ideas of child development. See Joseph P. Kett, Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present (New York: Basic Books, 1977); Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820–1920 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); Cavallo, Muscles and Morals; Donald J. Mizerek, "The Natural Limits of Unstructured Play, 1880–1914," in Hard at Play: Leisure in America, 1840–1940, ed. Kathryn Grover (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 210–26. These historiographical themes are analyzed in Stephen Hardy and Alan G. Ingham, "Games, Structures, and Agency: Historians on the American Play Movement," Journal of Social History 17 (1983): 255–301. Historians may have treated the geography of play as a matter of secondary importance, but they have not ignored it. Though Cary Goodman emphasizes a middle-class effort at social control, he considers the control of space as part of this effort (Cary Goodman, Choosing Sides: Playground and Street Life on the Lower East Side [New York: Schocken, 1979]). Boyer emphasizes that play reformers' attempts at social control were based on a belief in "positive environmentalism"—that by creating alternative play environments, they could manufacture better citizens. Two historians who assert that the working class successfully resisted this form of social control, Stephen Hardy and Roy Rosenzweig, describe the dispute over the playground movement as in part a struggle for the control of urban space (Stephen Hardy, How Boston Played: Sport, Recreation, and Community [Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1982]; Roy Rosenzweig, Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870–1920 [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983]).


15. Morris N. Cohen, transcript of 30 May 1988 interview, JHS.


32. MR 1902, 722, 724, 726, 735. "Records Park Commission Vol. II," 282–83. Civic Club members maintained their influence for a few years after the city took control by serving on the committee that supervised the program and by providing additional funds.

33. MR 1902, 723.

34. Ibid.


36. MR 1902, 722–24, 726–27. Minutes of 1 July 1901 meeting in "Records: Park Commission Vol. II," PDP. On Gunshahan, "J. F. Gunshahan Dies; Poe of Tuberculosis," *Courant*, 4 August 1930; "John F. Gunshahan," *Times*, 5 August 1930. Gunshahan, the son of a local expressman, was a leading advocate of anti-tuberculosis measures and had established the Workingmen's Free Reading Room Association and the West Side Workingmen's Club. These organizations sought to improve interclass understanding and advocated such public improvements as public bathhouses, public comfort stations, and might trolley service.


42. George A. Parker, text of speech to the Educational Club, 22 January 1909, in brown canvas-covered binder marked "Duplicates—1909 + 1910," PDP.


47. Parker, text of speech to the Educational Club, 22 January 1909, in
brown canvas-covered binder marked “Duplicates—1909 + 1910,” PDP. Fourth

Report of the Juvenile Commission, 25. Parker hoped that park and recreation
officials would soon “formulate a science of Child Life in cities.” He floundered
around for data and conceptual tools that might help, estimating available hours
of leisure time in Hartford, calculating how they were spent, and hoping that his
information would somehow help him develop “experience tables” that could
better guide the provision of recreation (Parker, “The City and Its Young People”
and “Memoranda for a Park Syllabus”).


50. “Children Dance at Keney Park,” Courant, 16 May 1914. See also
“Goodwin Park June Fete Is Fine Success,” Times, 4 June 1913; “Seventeen
Hundred School Children in May Day Fete in Keney Park,” Times, 30 May
1913. “Maypole Dance of South District Girls at Goodwin Park,” Times, 12 June
1919. In 1913 the North Street Settlement staged an even more organized,
though smaller, pageant complete with costumes (“Park Transformed into Fairy
Domain”), Courant, 22 May 1913.

51. On the physical form of playgrounds, photograph album marked “Book
4,” 90, 96, 98, HPL. On fences, see also BPC 57 (1916–17): 35; BPC 64 (1923–
Public playground workers in Hartford were mainly women. “Playground
Workers,” Times, 23 June 1914.

52. Parker to Charles A. Whittle, 5 September 1906, folder marked “Office
Regarding Additional Playgrounds during July and August,” typescript, 11
September 1912, vertical file marked “1912” and “1912 R + M,” PDP. “Joy,
Untrammelled and Supreme, in Children’s Playgrounds,” Courant, 22 July 1917.
“Breathing Place on East Side,” Courant, 30 June 1919. The quotation is from
Parker, “How Hartford Is Making Use of Its Public Parks as Play Centers,” Har-

53. On school employees as supervisors, Annual Report of the Hartford Board
of Education (Hartford: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1918), 7. “Plan Reorienta-
ton for Hartford Women,” Courant, 4 February 1919. In 1915, for instance,
there were 143 paid employees at the playgrounds and recreation centers, not
counting caretakers. Of the 143, 130 were school employees, all but four of them
women (”Playground and Recreation Centers,” typescript, letterbox marked
“Minutes—City Plan Commission also letters + reports. Mr. Parker. Some Ge-
neral Correspondence,” PDP). On directed play and free play, “Joy, Untrammelled
and Supreme, in Children’s Playgrounds”; “Breathing Place” on East Side.”

“Recreation and Play Grounds of Hartford,” Courant, 5 October 1913. “Play-
ground to Be Opened Today,” Courant, 13 November 1916. “Playground Rules
and Regulations—1920,” typescript, letterbox marked “Misc. Notes, Letters,
1915–1922,” PDP. On hours, see, e.g., BPC 61 (1920–21): 55; “Playground to Be
Opened Today.” Dominick Cavallo, remarking on the promotion of cooperative
behavior and team sports, describes Progressive-Era playground advocates as
seeking to train young people away from the extreme individualism that they
associated with unregulated entrepreneurial capitalism. Instead they wished to
inculcate behavioral patterns appropriate to a more organized, bureaucratic, and
 corporate society (Cavallo, Muses and Morals, 3, 7–8).

54. Parker, “Report Regarding Additional Playgrounds during July and Au-
gust,” BPC 55 (1914–15): 36; “School Gardens to Open Today”; “Playground to
Be Opened Today”; BPC 52 (1911–12): 36.

and Regulations,” letterbox marked “Memorandum From 1911,” PDP. BPC 61

56. “A East Side Resident” to George L. [sic] Parker, 15 April 1911, letterbox
marked “Letters. 1911.” PDP. Summary of the Work of the Juvenile Commis-
sion to the Mayor and Court of Common Council of the City of Hartford, Conn.,

57. Horace Bushnell, Christian Nurture (New York: Charles Scribner, 1861),
338, 344. “Pastor Pless for the Children,” Courant, 10 June 1907.

58. Third Annual Report of the Juvenile Commission to the Mayor and Court
of Common Council of the City of Hartford, Conn., for the Year Ending April 30,
1912 (Hartford: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1912), 8. Fourth Annual Report
of the Juvenile Commission, 7. Parker, “Report Regarding Additional Playgrounds
during July and August.” ICC 1912–13, 139.

59. Parker, “Report Regarding Additional Playgrounds during July and Au-
gust.” [Parker], Superintendent, to W. Francis Hyde, Supervisor of Parks, Wor-
Side.” Ninth Annual Report of the Juvenile Commission to the Mayor and Court
of Common Council of the City of Hartford, Conn. (Hartford: Case, Lockwood
and Brainard, 1918), 9–10, 28. BPC 61 (1920–21): 55; BPC 63 (1922–23): 77;
BPC 68 (1927–28): 40; BPC 70 (1929–30): 42. The two social settlements also
opened playgrounds. See “Hartford Social Settlement Association” [annual re-
port for 1915–16], letterbox marked “Letters, Associations, XI, 1916–1917,”
PDP. “Children Seesaw, Swing and Slide While Trains Thunder by New Spruce
Street Playground,” Courant, 23 August 1919.


63. Parker, speech to Education Club, 22 January 1909.

64. Fifth Annual Report of the Juvenile Commission, 94–95.


73. Garrett J. Farrell, "Cooperation between Public School and Traffic Officials," American City Magazine 31/6 (1924): 551. Efforts to discipline childjaywalkers had begun earlier at the Washington Street School, where the principal in 1920 had begun using Boy Scouts to reprimand children who crossed in the middle of the block and to record their names for further punitive action by school authorities. "School Pupils Are Shown Dangers of 'Jay Walking,'" Times, 20 September 1921. (For the moral impeachment of a child who experienced the safety education efforts, see Armando T. Perretta's semi-autobiographical novel of life on the East Side, Take a Number [New York: William Morrow, 1957], 103.) More police were stationed at crossing guards at major intersections used by students going to and from school, but not every intersection could be watched, and children continued to be hit at unguarded crossings (Farrell, "Annual Report of Police Department for Year Ending March 31, 1924," 33). Danner marked "Police Department, Annual and Quarterly Reports, 1915 to 1939," HCH. Report of the Juvenile Commission to the Mayor and Court of Common Council of the City of Hartford, Conn., 1926–1927 (Hartford: Fyne Printery [1927]), 15–16.


75. "The Italian People Who Live in Hartford," Courant, 29 August 1915. Morris Cohen interview, JHS. "Children without Playground Risk Life and Limb in Temple Street." (Temple Street was a short side street on the East Side and did not warrant such an alarmist caption.) Zelizer claims that the death rate nationally was brought under control only through the "the eviction of children" from the streets, and that "children lost the contest for public space." She argues that "saving child life meant changing the daily activities of city children, pushing them indoors into playrooms and schoolrooms or designing special 'child' public spaces such as playgrounds." The lethal power of the automobile had miraculously given victory to the reformers in the playground movement (Zelizer, Pricing the Priceless Child, 25, 35, 52, 53). Children's recollections of street play at later dates and continued concern among reformers indicate that this is an exaggeration.
Chapter 7


22. “Licensing Street Vendors,” Times, 30 August 1888. Transcript of 21 No-


326 Notes to Chapter 7


39. JCCC 1921–22, 632–34, 754, 842.


46. Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Board of Health, 35. Twenty-Fourth An-

47. JCCC 1922–23, 643.

48. “Pushcarts on Front St. Rozinsky’s. Circa 1920,” unlabeled box, section labeled “Business—jewish owned—no people.” JHS. In contrast, photographs from the 1900s and early 1910s show few if any peddlers, but unfortunately none of the photos appears to have been taken during the summer, when fresh produce was more abundant. For example, “Front Street south of Kilbourne,” 19 November 1905, Thompson Photographs of Hartford (Picture Group 430), no. 42H, CSL; “J. Gorine, grocers, Front St., 4/1/1906,” and “Chas. Kramer Clothing Store, Front St., 4/8/1906,” unlabeled box, section labeled “Business—jewish owned—no people.” JHS. Untitled photograph of the corner of Windsor and North streets, Engineering Dept. photo album marked “5 x 7 construction photos and other photos, 1912–1913, 1914, Hartford, Conn.,” HPL.


51. JCCC 1929, 255–56, 315. JCCC 1929–30, 34. Buell, “Pallotti Wins Long Debate.” A 1926 ordinance forbade selling anything except newspapers on the sidewalks in the center of the city—including the downtown, most of the East Side, and parts of the South Green and Clay Hill neighborhoods, but this ordinance was aimed at controlling begging. It produced very little controversy and apparently had no effect on the pushcart peddlers, whose carts occupied the street itself rather than the sidewalk. JCCC 1926–27, 606–08, 654, 994.


2. Public hearing, 19 March 1914.


4. Though neighborhood opposition to Capitol Avenue improvements diminished after 1914, the trolley company remained reluctant to install tracks there, and the city government found other places that needed asphalt more desperately. The street was not asphalted until 1929, and trolley tracks were never installed at the Main Street end, though the section west of Hudson Street became part of a bus line. “Report of the Board of Street Commissioners, recommending that Capitol Avenue be paved with improved pavement during the season of 1917,” 13 November 1916, and “Report of the Board of Street Commissioners on resolution in re relief of trolley congestion through Capitol Avenue, etc.” 28 May 1917, both drawer marked “Capitol Avenue, 1908 to 1929.” BSC 59 (1930–31); 8, 14. New Map of Hartford and West Hartford, Conn. (Hartford: Hartford Printing, 1928). Pitner’s Map of Hartford, West Hartford, East Hartford and Environs (Washington: Cari Pitner, n.d. [ca. 1930]).


18. “Report of the Board of Street Commissioners Recommending the Paving of Haynes Street, in 1898,” 13 December 1897, drawer marked “Harper Street,” HCH. “Petition de Paving of Hopkins St. with Sheet Asphalt,” 4 October 1897; Laura C. and Lucy S. Williams, to Board of Street Commissioners, n.d.; and “Petition of John J. Dougherty et al. for the resurfacing of order to pave Hopkins Street with Sheet Asphalt,” 13 March 1899, all drawer marked “Holcomb Street,” HCH. Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States (1900), population schedules. See also “Paving Church Street,” Courant, 2 October 1895.


28. Annual reports of the Board of Street Commissioners. In 1902, for example, the city spent $4,981 clearing downtown streets with permanent pavement and $4,828 clearing macadamized streets throughout the city. BSC 31 (for 1902): 55–56. “Blizzard Isolates Hartford as Rail Service Collapses,” Courant, 6 February 1920. On first use of truck-mounted snowplows, BSC 50 (1921–22): 51. In that winter, the city spent $24,032 clearing paved streets and $7,052 clearing macadamized streets (BSC 50: 20–21). “Hartford’s Streets — And the Winter Driver.”


38. Atlas of the City of Hartford (1909), plates 2, 8. Atlas of the City of Hartford (1920), plates 2, 11. "Report of the Board of Street Commissioners, Recommending the paving of Washington St. from Capitol Ave. to Vernon St. with three-inch bituminous pavement laid on existing macadam," and "Minority Re-
42. Maxim, Horseless Carriage Days, 43–45, 49. Hiram Percy Maxim, "Motorizing Sixteen Years Ago," ACH, Bulletin 1/1 (1911). Despite Maxim’s claim, it is uncertain whether really this was the first time a self-propelled vehicle was driven in Hartford. Some historians have claimed that a local inventor, Apollo Kinsey, drove a steam-powered wagon nearly a century earlier, in 1797 (McShane, Down the Asphalt Path, 83). "Automobile Club," Courant, 22 February 1902. "Autos in Hartford," Times, 10 October 1902.
43. McShane, Down the Asphalt Path, 113. For a somewhat different interpretation, see Flink, "Regulating the Motor Vehicle," chapter 6 of America Adopts the Automobile.
44. "Report of the Ordinance Committee upon Petition de Goats Teams," 4 April 1879, and "An Ordinance Relating to Nuisances," 4 April 1879, both box marked "Ordinances to 1884," HCH. The banning of bicycles seems to have been an afterthought, a minor amendment to an ordinance banning the real menace: goat carts, which were children’s toys but which sometimes panicked horses. On bicycles’ growing popularity and cities’ response, see McShane, Down the Asphalt Path, 54, 116. On the dangers of bicycles, see also untitled editorial, Courant, 11 May 1895.
47. "Legislator Ride 40 Miles an Hour!" Times, 11 May 1905. "The Auto Bills as Amended," Courant, 28 June 1905. "Farmers Criticize Highway Commissioner," Courant, 28 July 1905. During the 1900s and 1910s, the Automobile Club of Hartford also lobbied legislators in a successful attempt to shape legisla-
20 March 1921, headed "How women who violated traffic rules were made to obey by police yesterday," and "Back, folks, back up and watch the signal." "Pedestrian Regulation," ACH, Monthly Bulletin 34 (1921): 8.


75. Ibid., 29–34.
76. Ibid., 37.

Chapter 9


27. Carrère and Hastings, A Plan of the City of Hartford: Preliminary Report (Hartford: Case, Lockwood and Brainard for the Commission on the City Plan, 1912), 7–8. On the Progressive-Era metaphor of the city as a machine, see John D. Fairfield, "The Scientific Management of Urban Space: Professional City Planning and the Legacy of Progressive Reform," Journal of Urban History 20/2 (1994): 179–204. Lewis Mumford described the machine metaphor for the city as emphasizing quantitative matters such as "expansion, extension, progress, mechanical multiplication, power," and the organism metaphor as emphasizing qualitative issues of "growth, norms, shapes, inter-relationships, implications, associations, and societies. [By understanding the city in these terms,] we realize that the aim of the social process is not to make men more powerful, but to make them more completely developed, more human, more capable of carrying on the specifically human attributes of culture" (Lewis Mumford, The Culture of Cities [New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938], 303). See also Kevin Lynch, Good City Form (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992), 81–98. On the death of Carrère, see "Car-
30. Ibid., 14–15, 32, 59, 72, 75, 76, 78, 84, map facing 14, photos opposite 40.
38. Commission on the City Plan, minutes of 9 May 1911 meeting, in unlabeled black binder, PDP. See also "Against Sky Scrapers, Municipal Art Society," Times, 28 November 1906.


42. Minutes of Board of Directors' meeting, 2 June 1913, binder containing minutes of meetings, 15 December 1908–29 June 1933, MAS. The society was just one of many organizations nationwide that sought to block the spread of apartments; see Kenneth Baar, "The National Movement to Halt the Spread of Multifamily Housing, 1890–1926," Journal of the American Planning Association 58/1 (1992): 39–48.


44. Toll, Zoned American, 143–87, 193, at 188.


47. "Ex-Mayor Stevens Dies Suddenly," Courant, 13 November 1932. "Reso-


51. For numerous examples of requested changes to zoning rules, see, for example, JCCB 1926–27, index, 204–08. On development to 1941, "Building Zone Map, Hartford, Connecticut," compared against Insurance Maps of Hartford, Connecticut. On present land use, personal observation. On zoning as a blueprint for change, see also Patricia Burgess, Planning for the Private Interest: Land Use Controls and Residential Patterns in Columbus, Ohio, 1900–1970 (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1994), 100.

Chapter 10


3. The sterility of downtown public space was obvious long before the collapse of downtown retailing in the late 1980s and early 1990s. It was one of the main issues explored by the Project for Public Spaces in 1980 in its federally funded study, "Downtown Hartford: Managing for Change," file marked "Community Development," vertical files collection, HPL.

Index

Adams, Sherman, 119, 123–24
African Americans, 19, 21–22, 72, 74
Albany, N.Y., 18
Americanization efforts, 148, 151, 158, 236–37
Ames, Charles, 107
armories, 237–38
Arnold, Herbert, 182
Arsenal neighborhood, 42, 153
Asylum Hill neighborhood: affluence of, 45, 212–13; development of, 19, 153, 252, 255–57; as home of reformers and political leaders, 45, 81, 86, 240; proposed rail tunnel under, 243; reform of public space in, 53, 62; use of public space in, 62, 134, 186. See also Farmington Avenue
athletics: facilities, 117, 122–23, 133–37, 142, 148, 155, 161; in parks, 118, 123, 130, 134, 147, 167–68, 170; separation from other park uses, 123, 137–39; in streets, 154–55; supervision of, 133, 151–52, 158–61, 167–68; viewed as aiding child development, 148, 152, 158–60, 163; viewed as alternative to misbehavior, 144, 148, 159, 163, 170; viewed as disruptions of parks, 119–20, 134, 136–37
automobiles, 213–28, 244, 247, 261–62, 265–66; effect on other uses of public space, 4–5, 149, 175–76, 220, 226, 228–29; effect on real estate development, 202, 213–14; effect on street surfaces, 206–8, 213–14; local manufacturing of, 39, 125; in parks, 125, 128–29; patterns of travel, 207–11; presence in streets, 1, 3–4, 172, 174, 184, 202, 205, 211, 215–27, 225–29; as threat to pedestrians and children, 172–76, 214–15, 218–24; use by elite, 219–20; use for prostitution, 90; use for shopping, 184, 194–95, 199. See also drives; parking; traffic
Baltimore, 204, 252
banking industry, 1, 18, 35, 46
Barry Square neighborhood, 36
bathhouses, 242
Beecher, Catharine, 15
Behind the Rocks neighborhood, 127–29, 245, 248
Bennett, Edward, 181
Bennett, Josephine, 232
Besson, Frank, 207