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Oral History Interview on West Hartford and restrictive covenants, (with video)

Mary Everett

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CS: So I know that you didn't always live here. What was your old home address?

ME: It was 30 Ledgewood Road. It was about a mile from here. [00:00:09]

CS: Okay, 30 Ledgewood Road, and when did you move into this house? Into the 30 Ledgewood?


CS: 1970. And do you remember anything about the day you moved in or the day that you started looking for homes or anything like that?
ME: Well, I know that the day I moved in, my daughter was nine days old. We started looking for a home in February. My husband was in the Air Force and we had decided to move to West Hartford. We could have moved anywhere in the country, but my mother had taught at Plant School during the Depression, and she was the first librarian, and she was here for about two or three years, and I grew up hearing, "Well, at Alfred E. Plant School, this is the way it was done." So I thought, we thought, that this was a... we wanted a small city and we found the house. We were actually only shown houses in the area none further south than Ledgewood and none further north than Fern Street, because that's where we felt... In those days, they did not... there was steering. And so we were never shown any houses in the northern section of town, which it turned out later, was primarily Jewish, or the southern section of town which was primarily Catholic. Webster Hill was sort of in the middle which was probably why there was a restrictive clause in the deed which they told us about when we chose the house. They really wanted us to buy one over in the Duffy section of town. If you're not familiar with West Hartford school districts, this is all a little bit... The house we bought was in the Talcott School district. If we had been a block over, we would have been in the Sedgwick School district. Now, seven years later, I was on the school board and because of declining enrollment in West Hartford... If you've ever looked at the statistics, that the peak population in West Hartford was in 1970, and it dropped about seven or eight thousand... In fact, I actually looked it up today... in the next ten years due primarily to the pill and to the fact that West Hartford... and the area you are looking at is tract housing. I mean, it's not Levittown but it's the same sort of thing. The houses were all built at the same time, pretty much the same architecture, everybody moved in at the same time, the children went to school, they grew up, they left. And so, we were quite happy moving to that, but we discovered that when we closed Talcott School in 1977, the value of my house, immediately went up 5,000 dollars. Not that I had anything to do with it, but to live in the Webster Hill, Sedgwick was a much more fashionable district than the Webster Hill Talcott, which was Elmwood. And so, I mean, that gives you some of the background about the area. [00:04:08]

CS: You mentioned something about steering. What is steering?

ME: Steering is... They met us. We were, well my daughter is the last white Anglo-Saxon Protestant in the family. There are no more. But at the time, that's what we were. Well, I still am. Therefore, we must want to move to Duffy. Now, if we had been Jewish they would probably have sent us over to King Philip. If we were new in the area, somewhat blue collar, they would have sent us to Elmwood. That is, the real estate broker would have chosen for us. It was not our choosing for ourselves. And you don't always know that you are being steered, and they are very strict about that nowadays. You can get any real estate broker can get into a great deal of trouble. They began to address that probably about five years after we moved here. And, of course, after I've lived here a while and I learned that I wasn't... there were other reasons that I wasn't shown houses in other parts of town, not because they weren't available, but they thought probably I wouldn't want them. Whether I had anything to make of the decision or not, I was happy with where I... we ended up, and it was within our price range which... And within a block from the school. It had all of the things we wanted, and we didn't have to pay a tremendous amount because I-84 had just opened. Having moved from an Air Force base with jets flying overhead, the highway was not a major problem. [00:06:10]
CS: And you said you were told about the restrictive clause when you moved in or...?

ME: Yes. They told me in case I was interested in buying it because of the restricted clause that could... maybe I felt that this would make a difference in the resale. And obviously that didn't make any difference to us, but I'm pretty sure that when our attorney, Day, Berry & Howard took care of the closing, they also took care of removing the restrictive covenant, because when I went to look at it, it wasn't there, but I know it had been, and if I had really dug further, I might have been able to find a copy with it. But, in Tracey Wilson's class, we were talking about the development of West Hartford and I just off-hand said, "Well, my house had a restrictive covenant." And then she wanted me to look for it, but she found another house in the same neighborhood, which was on Bentwood, which was Anne Steele's, it had the restrictive covenant right in it, and I didn't look any more because we are in the same neighborhood. So it was... I guess it wasn't uncommon in those days. It sort of surprised me, but it was the Bentwood... I'm sure you've seen it because we had it in class and she showed us a week later the whole area.

[00:07:58]

CS: So you said you lived on 30 Ledgewood, right?

ME: 30 Ledgewood, which... I checked your site and 30 Ledgewood, was not where you found it. 30 Ledgewood is on the corner of Ledgewood and Overbrook. [00:08:18]

CS: Okay, we don't have those cross streets here.

ME: Yes. But 30 Ledgewood is down here [pointing to map: screenshot from "Race Restrictive Covenants in Property Deeds, Hartford area, 1940s," interactive map from UConn MAGIC, http://magic.lib.uconn.edu/otl/doclink_covenant.html] because I-84 is here and 1-28 was never built. So when you go on GPS to see where 30 Ledgewood Road is, it takes you to 50 because the GPS assumes that 1-28 was built and it never was. But they did not renumber the houses because I'm not sure whether I-84 was... I assume that at the time they mapped out the area which would have probably been... oh, since the house was built in 1950, I would probably say two or three years before that, they figured out what they were going to build and numbered the houses. But the GPS system does not know that. So, whenever you do research with the GPS system, you need to drive around and see if it actually is the case because, I mean, if you're... I don't know whether you are driving or whether you're... took a bus, but if you go down Overbrook and go all the way to Ledgewood, it's on the corner. And people, all of a sudden, people started calling me once GPS went in "Where is your house?" And I thought "This is very strange because my house is very easy to find." And it used to be a rest stop, for the kids in college. They'd drop off my kids, get some supper and continue on their way. It was not difficult to find. And then it was my friends having problems. It was people who suddenly were using the GPS which, if you use... I think it's improving, and I haven't looked my house on GPS in the last... I did after you... After they showed 50 Ledgewood Road, I thought "What on earth is this?" When they had slides, because Tracey [Wilson] went and took a picture of the house. Or somebody did, and then it wasn't mine. And I realized right then that 50 must be where it shows. But even now, if you go on MapQuest and ask for directions to some place, the directions aren't ever the ones that you would probably take. It assumes that you go a very strange way and the Google Maps, you can actually move it, the route, so that you can get it started right. But that's
just something that you have to be careful about when you use any kind of satellite stuff for research because maybe it’s right and maybe it’s not. [00:11:42]

CS: Well, when we looked through the public records in the town hall of West Hartford, we discovered some property deeds as you know, that had that racially restrictive covenant written into it that prevented nonwhite residents from living in those developments. And so, while we just found out that we just couldn’t exactly find it for exactly your home, this is what... These flags mark different places in West Hartford where we found a significant amount of restrictive covenants written into property deeds. [shows screenshot from "University of Connecticut Libraries Map and Geographic Information Center - MAGIC. (2011).Race Restrictive Covenants in Property Deeds, Hartford area, circa 1940. Retrieved from http://magic.lib.uconn.edu/otl/doclinkl_covenant.html."]

ME: Yeah, I... Well, of course, Ledgewood and Bentwood... Albany Avenue and Asylum, surprised me. Were they all... Did they all say the same? [00:12:32]

CS: Would you like to see a copy of the... This is the language for the High Ledge Homes development. [Shows sample document from University of Connecticut Libraries Map and Geographic Information Center - MAGIC. (2011).Race Restrictive Covenants in Property Deeds, Hartford area, circa 1940. Retrieved from http://magic.lib.uconn.edu/otl/doclinkl_covenant.html.] And that would be near Ledgewood.

ME: Oh, I see. [reading] "Except the white race." Okay, why would the... okay. And were the... Was the ones Albany Avenue, worded the same way? [00:12:54]

JD: They all have either a non-white or a non-Caucasian restriction. We've heard that there may be others by religion.

ME: That's what I was asking about. [00:13:07]

JD: Yes, and I'm still... we're still looking for any leads about those, but we haven’t' found any yet, if they exist, but we've heard other people talk about them maybe.

ME: Well, the reason I am suspicious about that is that I was on the school board when had to... We closed a lot of schools and had to redistrict and we redistricted... We set out all these criteria which is a good way of doing things but they don't always work the way you want it. And it turns out that we had to redistrict and using the criteria that... you could not use religion as a criteria. But the criteria we used took virtually every Jewish child out of Morley School and moved them over to King Philip. Now, I think all of that has loosened up now, because I was on the school board in the late '70s, early '80s where we redistricted and closed... we closed five schools. And I would say that... that's why I would continue looking at that possibility because I am looking at Albany and Asylum Avenue and that's near where the highest percentage of Jewish families moved in the... I would say probably in the '50s and '60s. Now, after World War II, with our military housing in Elmwood along Mayflower Street... in fact, some of it is still there... and I think that that was lower cost housing, and I think that may have precipitated the restrictive covenant in the Ledgewood Bentwood area. I don't know that, but I moved here in '70 and I
would say in the late '60s, Project Concern... Do you know what Project Concern is? It was a program where inner-city students from Hartford could go to suburban schools and Webster Hill School, which is smack in the middle of the area we're looking at, was one of the first schools. And there was a big fight against it at that time. We moved here a couple of years later and then a few years after that, Elmwood School closed and then the districts merged, but... So I think that may have been why they... when they built those houses in the '50s, that they may have put it in there, but I am just guessing. It just sort of surprised me, and it actually surprised my mother, who had... Well, she had lived... She was a teacher and they lived around in those days. She lived on Four Mile Road. Because there never was a... there was not substantial minority population in those days, not even at Webster Hill, even after Project Concern, outside of Project Concern, because... I would say the first fairly substantial group would be in the Piper Brook area. I actually had a foster child who was Haitian who had lived there and then stayed with me for a couple of years, when my daughter was in high school. But I think the minority population has been fairly distributed among Asians and sections of town have different populations. Over in Astronaut Village, which is down near Westfarms, there is a substantial Portuguese population. And, of course, the Russian population is along Farmington Avenue, and that's new. I mean, relatively new. And there's been a fairly good size Asian population which came after Vietnam. [00:17:54]

CS: I'm curious to know your reaction or your thoughts about this language here, and if you could, would you mind reading that out loud? [screenshot with text from "Race Restrictive Covenants in Property Deeds, Hartford area, 1940s," interactive map from UConn MAGIC, http://magic.lib.uconn.edu/otl/doclink_covenant.html]

ME: Sure. [reading from document] "No persons of any race except the white race shall use or occupy any building on any lot except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race employed by an owner or tenant." This says High Ledge, which is by South Main Street. I was surprised, but this isn't... Of course, in 1921. It was... I'm reading at the bottom now, I'm curious. [Reading from the page again] "In 1921, the Supreme Court affirmed the right of property owners to insert these restrictions, but later ruled in 1948 that Shelley v. Kraemer..." So it may have been an issue about 1948 and maybe, actually, that may have had something to do with precipitating putting the clause in, because to me, this looks like a pretty canned clause. Not one specifically written for this neighborhood. For one thing, you don't have much space in these houses to have occupancy by domestic servants and this... oh this is 19... Property 1940. Well our house probably would be big enough to have domestic servants, but if you go down the street... I'm assuming that's upper Ledgewood, I'm sort of guessing there. If you go along South Main Street, those houses are bigger, and you come down to the standard three bedroom, one and a half bath house. But looking at the 1948, I wouldn't be surprise if it sort of could have been an issue then like the New London issue with eminent domain of private property, that sort of thing. I may have had some publicity about it, and they could have thought it was a selling feature. I shouldn't have thought so, but it's... Well, yeah, I can see why it might have been, thinking of the people who actually lived there. This is a side note, but I moved there in 1950 and I went to a funeral on Monday, which was the last person who lived in the area when we moved in. It takes about 40 years, it will be 42 years, for a whole neighborhood to turn over. It was just, it was just, all of a sudden it donned on me the other day that there's absolutely nobody left in the entire two blocks. [00:21:31]
CS: That was there when you were there, or...?

ME: That was there when I moved in. [00:21:37]

JD: In 1970?

ME: In 1970, among the original, the original owners. And I would say, I mean, the houses weren't all up on the same day, but 1950. There's absolutely... There's nobody left now, but it took that long, which, of course, when they built all of those schools in town, I don't think they quite realized that when people bought the house, that when their youngest child finished sixth grade, they would... They would not move. And that's why we had to close so many schools. Now it's up again a bit, but I think you are going to see... Now that... West Hartford is an inner suburb. If you ever looked at the Tirozzi Report [by former CT Dept of Education Commissioner Gerald Tirozzi] where they have the inner suburbs and the... I used to be able to know just like that [snaps] all of the labels. But West Hartford was one of the first areas after World War II to be developed. When my... My mother was here in the '30s, this was all farm. And by the time I got to be on the School Board in West Hartford, we were the number one highest per pupil expenditures in the state because we were the first to be developed and the schools grew up and the teachers had seniority and they hadn't begun to roll over. It was something of a problem, but then we had declining enrollment, and then some of the other suburbs, their teachers got more experience and the prices went up and now I think West Hartford is sort of in the middle. But a lot of it depends on demographic trends, but when I was on the School Board there was not a substantial minority population in West Hartford. There were a lot of... quite a lot of minority students, but I would say a number of them... We had a lot of Asians, a lot of people who English was not their... was a second language, but it wasn't concentrated. It tended to be scattered around. A lot of Asian dialectics because it was a major problem then to find people who could translate it because they weren't all the same. [00:24:25]

CS: So you said the first time you remember hearing about that restrictive clause....

ME:... was before I ever moved in. [00:24:36]

CS: ...was before you moved in. And the second time you were talking... well, another time was when you took Tracey Wilson's class or...?

ME: Well, yeah, because something about... something reminded me of it in the class about the building of the housing and I think probably what I was saying it was tract housing because people don't think of West Hartford as tract housing but it really is if you look around. I mean, it's old tract housing but they've all got the same floor plan. I know when I was getting ready to sell my house, I had to go around and look at other people's houses, you know, so I'd know how mine compared, what I needed to do to, you know, make it look like House & Garden [magazine] which was next to impossible. They are all the same layout and there are one or two variations. So where you have tract housing, you have people moving in at the same time, turning over quite a long period of time, but I think when... talking about tract housing as opposed to we were...she was showing slides of people up on Mountain Road and, you know, the
historic houses and the ones along South Main Street and I just happened to mention that our house had had a restrictive clause. I think it must have been, talking about people who moved in sort of thing. [00:26:05]

CS: And among your neighbors, do you remember, you know, that restrictive clause being something popular to talk about or was it something that wasn't really...

ME: I never... the only person I ever heard mention it was Anne Steele. Neither of us would have had... you know, it was just sort of a joke. I mean, as far as we were concerned, that we moved into houses with restrictive clauses. I mean, she was much more liberal than I was and I was quite... certainly very liberal now, but wasn't quite so much at the time, but it made no difference. The... What interested me at the time was it was a walk from the elementary school. I didn't drive. Well, I didn't have a car. I mean, in those days, we didn't have two cars so during the day, I didn't have one. My kids had to walk which they did, as did most of the others. So I don't think people in the neighborhood would have chosen a house because of a restrictive clause. Maybe some of the original, very original people would have. I mean, I can see one or two of them might have, but I think that... I don't think they took it very seriously. I think there wasn't any concern about the neighborhood changing. That I think was more in Bloomfield at the time, as an issue than it was here. When my middle son was five or six... five, just learning to read, they were picketing Ellsworth Grant who was the mayor because he said... there was some complaint because there were no Puerto Ricans in West Hartford or very few. And they were picketing the mayor because he had said that they're welcome to live here if they could afford to buy a house. And they had a sign up in front... I mean, these picketers had a sign saying "Mayor Grant is a Fascist Pig." Well, William was sounding out and... "Fascist... Mayor Grant is a Fascist Pig." And then he goes to choir rehearsal and now this is to the entire, you know, five-year-old choir. He goes "Mayor Grant was a Fascist Pig," and he was very interested in that because we had come to West Hartford from assignment in Puerto Rico for three years, and at that time, he felt he was Puerto Rican and took it very seriously. But I would have said that in actuality what Ellsworth Grant said was true. That I don’t’ think anybody who could afford to buy a house any place in West Hartford would have had a problem doing it. Their next door neighbor might not have been too happy, but, I mean, I don't think... the likelihood of that was relatively rare. However, when I ran for Board of Education it was in the time of... I'm getting old, I can't remember these now... There was a lawsuit for regional education, and this would have been 1977. And I was Chairman of the Education Committee for the League of Women Voters before I ran on the Board of Education. People who lived east of I-84 were very concerned about regionalism. I mean, you still hear it with Sheff v. O'Neill, but this is way before that. Lumpkin v. Meskill. People were very concerned about that and they would call because as a League, we were not dreadfully concerned about regionalism. And people would call me every now and then, wanting to know the status. Then when I was running for Board of Education, and we had district committee meetings, and I went to a district committee meeting in that neighborhood. I went all dressed up because I was running for Board of Education and introduced myself and said "Are there any questions?" It was a one word question. "Regionalism." And I said some answer that I... you know, that... I mean, I wasn't for or against. If you are running for Board of Education, you don't issue a position on that. They knew I was more liberal than they were, and the only thing I could comment was "Don't fall down the stairs," when I left. That they were very concerned, they had worked very hard to move into this neighborhood, to their neighborhood,
and they were concerned about the school system because there were problems in Hartford. There were the same concerns going on at the same time in Bloomfield. So they were worried about it, but I don't think it ever... any actuality that there was ever much change, and if it had been more regionalism, it wouldn't have sent every minority person to Smith or Charter Oak School. In any event, it would have been redistricting all over the town. But that was a major concern then, and I suspect to some degree, it’s a concern now, but I think less so. [00:32:41]

CS: And as far as the language in the restrictive covenant, how does that very local history of racial discrimination make you feel? Do you have any, you know, immediate reactions to that type of language or...?

ME: Well, because I didn't pay any attention to it, I mean, my... I had a Haitian foster child, I mean, it's not a problem that I have ever been terribly concerned about. When the Elmwood School closed, there was a concern because if you had the concentration of minority students in town that's where the largest number was at the time. It was not a great amount. I was President of the Webster Hill PTO and we welcomed everybody there. They made the merger... did it correctly, so that... There's a right way and wrong way to do a merger of schools. They did it the right way so that the kids who had been going to school there had no advantage over the kids that were coming in. They all stayed outside. While the PTA was concerned before they came, I think by October, the concern was all gone. I mean, I think that a lot of... you get people who are, well, I wouldn't quite say Tea Party, but you have some people who are very concerned or fearful about things like that in any neighborhood, and sometimes when it's fait accompli, then all of a sudden, you know, what we were fussing about in the first place? [00:34:34]

CS: So although these restrictions aren't legally enforceable anymore, they still exist in the property deeds. They're just, you know, further and further back. So there's an official trail in the public records. Would you... Do you think that we should kind of get rid of that language in the property deeds and kind of delete them from our public records or do you think that it's more beneficial to leave it?

ME: Well, I'm a... I would hesitate to... I don't know a mass deletion. I mean, it doesn't hurt somebody to know that such a thing existed in the past. I am pretty sure our attorney deleted it, probably before it came to me, because I know I had seen it somewhere, but when I... With the mortgage deed and what I had, I couldn't find it. But I know I had seen it and the question is the expense of doing it. I mean, it's no longer valid. I don't think even the subject comes up any more with the real estate broker. I think it did because it was... with us because it was relatively new at the time that it was... for some reason he was concerned about it and if he hadn't brought it up I don't know as I would have ever known about it. Our lawyer would have. He would have taken care of it, and that would have been it. I suspect that now, most of the people who live in the houses, that have moved there since, in the 40 years, don't know that there's one in there. And it was sort of a peculiar thing for me to... because I am interested in that sort of thing. I mean, I went on work study groups when I was your age with the American Friends Service Committee, I have... Actually, I have lobbied in Washington for just... just Southern Senators. Strom Thurmond on why they ought to integrate the schools, and he was very careful, he was very polite and he introduced himself to each one of us and asked us where we came from and agreed with everything we said because none of us were his constituents, and we were young and we
didn't know any better. It was a good experience. So I had, you know, I had done things like that and so I sort of instinctively was aware of that. So, I mean, to me it was something of a joke. Not a joke that they did it in the first place, but... Okay, I was buying a house with a restrictive clause in it. Anne Steele or Kim Steele bought a restrictive clause in it. We were aware of those problems. It would have made no difference to us. I don't think either of us would have knowingly gone and spent money to have it removed since we knew it was invalid anyway. So while it's an interesting thing that they did that... I think it's an interesting thing historically. I don't think it makes any difference whatsoever now. I mean, it's still not a dreadfully mixed... Well, it is. The people who bought the house behind me are Vietnamese. The people who across the... bought the house diagonally across are Taiwanese. I'm not sure that... Well, of course, it's... I don't think there are any black families on this street, but I don't think it's because nobody would sell it to them. I think they chose not to. There are some in the... They are in the neighborhood and I'm sure that while the people who lived there before the Taiwanese family may have been somewhat pleased to have the restrictive clause. Of course, they were glad when they sold it to the family that bought it, that it wasn't valid. I don't think they were terribly concerned anyway. But it was just... I think that part of the issue is that West Hartford has always considered itself somewhat liberal and then to find that you have these in houses in the town sort of brings a little bit of reality to it because what happens if you move to a suburb is... or anywhere, you find friends who have sort of feel the same way about issues as you do. I mean, I joined the League of Women Voters. People that I had contact with had generally the same views. The PTOs are a little more balanced. It's not like a small town where you have people with all sorts of different viewpoints and you know them all because of the smallness of the population. When you live in a city like West Hartford, you tend to have friends among your neighbors or you don't really know the people that... I wouldn't really know the people, at least when I moved in, who would be strongly supportive of this. After a few years, I knew some people who might. But that's... I don't think it was a selling point of their house, but they might support that anyway, simply because of who they were. But I would say that's not a general characteristic of the town. [00:41:19]

CS: And do you know of any other long term residents of that neighborhood that might know some other things about that time period?

ME: Well, I would have said that Anne Steele would probably be the one. She's the one whose picture and whose copy of the deed was used by Tracey. And they were... She still lives there. She lives on Bentwood. It's 109 maybe, something like that. I'm just guessing at the... But, I mean, we getting old now [laughs]. Mr. Debrue [spelling??] is 93. And I don't think... I think most of the original people would have been that age by now. I mean this is... Fifty years old. By the time you can buy a house in 1950, you must have been well in your 20's at least and... I mean, I lived there for 42 years. But I don't think there's anybody left who would have been influenced by this, which wouldn't be particularly helpful to you, but... [00:42:51]

JD: There's one other, if it's okay... This document here. This is the... I'm curious... This is... I'm curious if this is the one that... You've heard Anne Steele's deed and this is the one I showed you that was for the development [shows sample document for High Ledge Homes from "Race Restrictive Covenants in Property Deeds, Hartford area, 1940s," interactive map from UConn MAGIC, http://magic.lib.uconn.edu/otl/doclink_covenant.html]. Is that what you recall seeing in
class with Tracey Wilson?

ME: Uh, no, there was something with 109. I'm sure that was Anne Steele's house. This is the same thing, but she showed a picture of the house and...[00:43:33]

JD: Because what's interesting here is we're finding them, the clauses, the restrictive covenants put in by developers not... which cover several homes, not put in for a single home. We haven't found those. They could exist, but that's not what we've found so far.

ME: Oh I'm sure it was developers. [00:43:54]

JD: So when... I'll check with Tracey to see what she was showing...

ME: I'm sure she was showing... Well, I know she showed a picture of a house. I may have had... Somewhere I probably have the notes for that class, but I mean, I wasn't... [00:44:10]

JD: We'll check with Tracey, yeah.

ME: But when she showed the house... Kim Steele is at Trinity, or he was, now he's probably long since retired. That's where I assumed that they got it, because once the... I mean, I know this is what it was. It was the same type face. You know, I can remember it. But I am sure that that was the house. We were showed a picture of the house with the number on it and I don't think Tracey knew whose house it was. That's why I assumed that you had been talking about it to Kim Steele, he says "Oh I have a copy." [00:44:54]

JD: Nope, this is new to us.

ME: Because Kim would have been in the social studies or some kind of department like that. He was on the School Board about the time I moved in, so their older than... and so I knew it was there and then when she showed the slides of two houses. One was Anne's and the other was 50 Ledgewood Road, which was not mine. [00:45:19]

CS: You can keep those.

ME: I don't want them. [00:45:21]

CS: Okay.

ME: So that's why I assumed that... but I'm pretty sure it was a developer. I mean that's the kind of thing that probably was in those days boilerplate developer contracts.[00:45:41]

JD: Well, some did it and some did not. Not all developments had it. But yeah.

ME: No, no, no. What I'm saying is, I mean, this is not a... I mean, they are nice house, there are well built houses, they were not fancy houses. I mean, when I bought the house, we paid 32 thousand for it. I don’t know what was initially paid for it, but when you're talking about when...
we bought it, it was 20 years old and the previous owner had added a two-car garage, so, I mean, it was... They're not expensive. They were not expensive houses. It was a good solid development for people who work for insurance companies and you know, had middle class jobs. Quite a lot of the houses, people... It was a starter home for quite a lot of people, and so I think that's... [00:46:40]

JD: Okay, that's good.