Neighborhood Briefing Document

• MORTON-NORFOLK •

A PARTNERSHIP OF:
Emmanuel Gospel Center • Black Ministerial Alliance of Greater Boston
Boston TenPoint Coalition • High Risk Youth Network
United Way of Massachusetts Bay and Merrimack Valley

PRODUCED FOR THE
Youth Violence Prevention Funder Learning Collaborative
The Youth Violence Systems Project (YVSP) partnered with members of three high-violence neighborhoods in Boston to understand their view of the dynamics of youth violence. This community understanding was combined with research and criminal, demographic and economic data we received from public sources, Harvard School of Public Health, Harvard’s Department of Health Policy and Management, Northeastern University and Children’s Hospital. This information was used to create a computer model that will help everyone from neighborhood youth to policy makers to evaluate and better understand the effectiveness of various youth violence intervention strategies. Our goal is to enable a higher quality of dialogue about these strategies. To learn more, or to sign up for free training and access to the model, contact Jin Min Lee at jinmin@aes-egc.org.

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HISTORY

The area of Mattapan and southern Dorchester of today was originally the territory of the Neponsett tribe of the Massachusetts confederation of Native Americans. The Neponsett grew much of their food, but were also active in fishing, trapping and hunting along the Neponset Estuary and River and in the Blue Hills. Epidemics swept through the Native American tribes in 1617-1619 and again in 1633. When the Neponsett sachem, Chickataubut, died in the latter epidemic; his successor, Cutchamakin, brought the remaining members of the tribe from Squantum to settle a village on the north side of the Neponset River near the present Ventura Street and park. For the next 25 years, they remained in this village not far from Mattapan, until they moved to Ponkapoag in the spring of 1658.¹ The Neponsett Tribe called the Upper Falls section near the present Mattapan Square, Unquetyquisset. It was also later called Upper Mills.

In June 1630 when the Dorchester Company of settlers arrived in the ship John and Mary, they set out from Nantasket to find the best place to settle. After some exploration, they found an area the Native Americans called Mattapan, which they thought would be a good place to pasture their cattle. This area was not specifically the present site of Mattapan Square, but rather Dorchester and Dorchester Neck in general. For the first several months, the Dorchester Company’s settlement was called Mattapan. Then in September 1630, a meeting of the Court decided that Trimountaine would be called Boston, and Mattapan would be called Dorchester.

For the next two hundred years the area remained quite rural with only a village center near Mattapan Square, mills along the Neponset River, and country estates. One of the few vestiges of the 18th century is the 1780 house of the old Clark Farm on Norfolk Street. An old Native American trail along the river became what is now River Street.² Before 1800 Mattapan

² River Street was established in 1661. Norfolk Street was also based on a Native American trail and was a very early road.
Square was a country crossroads at the intersection of Norfolk Street and River Street, which were the main roads between Dorchester and Quincy on the east, and Canton and Dedham to the southwest. A bridge across the Neponset River was built near there in 1733.

In general, the later 18th and early 19th century saw the growth of many mills along the Charles River and the Neponset River (and its tributary Mother Brook). James Boies, an early resident of Mattapan Square, operated a paper mill on the Neponset River with John McLean. In 1760 Boies had revived the first paper mill in New England, which had been authorized in 1728. This mill was at Lower Mills. Boies and McLean also purchased the Old Gillespie Mill located at the site of the present MBTA station. In 1778 they turned this former fulling and snuff mill into a chocolate mill. Across the river from Mattapan Square there was an old slitting mill which was used to produce cut nails. James Boise and Richard Clark bought this mill in 1764. It was later purchased by Tileston and Hollingsworth and became one of the major sites of their large paper mill company throughout the 19th century. This firm was established in 1801 by Mark Hollingsworth and Edmund Tileston when they bought Jeremiah Smith Boies’ paper mill on the Mattapan side of the Neponset River between the Lower and Upper Falls. This papermaking industry was an important influence on the area, and the Tileston and Hollingsworth families were influential members of the Mattapan community, who owned much of the property around Mattapan Square at one time.

Between 1805 and 1809, the Brush Hill Turnpike Corporation built a new road connecting Mattapan Square to Grove Hall and Roxbury. This was a toll road, but regulations stipulated than many people could travel on it for free. As a business it was not very successful, and the road eventually became public in 1856. In 1870 it was renamed Blue Hill Avenue. That was the same year Dorchester, including Mattapan, was annexed to Boston. Eventually, this street became the main artery of Mattapan.


The Old Colony Railroad was established in 1844 and by 1846 had begun constructing its three-mile Dorchester and Milton Branch from Port Norfolk to Mattapan Square. This line opened in December 1847. As early as 1845, the Methodists held preaching services in Mattapan, although their church building on Norfolk Street near Fremont Street was not dedicated until 1875. In 1848 the Mattapan Library Association was formed. By that year Mattapan’s population was 461, mostly residents of English, Scotch and Irish descent. The Mattapan Bank opened in Harrison Square in 1849, and a Savings Bank started nearby in 1853. In 1855 the Midlands Railroad (N.Y. & New England R.R.) opened through Dorchester and Mattapan providing additional transportation with its station on Blue Hill Avenue. The fare was five cents for five miles or less.

An example of housing built about this time was Joshua P. Thompson’s house at approximately 249 River Street, which later became part of the Conness family estate and then the superintendent’s house of the Boston Sanitorium. John Conness, who lived there after 1870, had been a U.S. senator and a friend of Abraham Lincoln.

There were two other estates which occupied much of the land between the residential settlement around Lower Mills and Mattapan Square. To the east of the Conness estate was John Capen’s land, and to the west was the large mansion and estate of the Liversidge family. The mansion was built by Stephen Liversidge in the 1830s, and was passed down to his son Thomas who established the Liversidge Institute there. This “institution of industry” used the mansion and estate beginning in 1881 as a home and job training school for poor, neglected, and orphaned boys aged seven to fourteen. Thus the Liversidge Institute was one of the earliest social institutions serving youth in Mattapan.

Up to 50 boys at a time were trained in “industrial pursuits, especially for agriculture and the mechanic arts.” Julius Clark Tibbets was the superintendent of the institute for a number of years. The Liversidge mansion burned in 1943.

In 1868 the Tileston School was built, named for Edmund P. Tileston, who

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had become head of his father’s paper mill business in 1831. By 1893 the school had over 200 pupils.9 The Thetford Street Primary School was built in 1875, and another primary school was located at Morton and Norfolk Streets by the 1890s. In 1902 the city completed the large Roger Walcott Grammar School also at Norfolk and Morton Street. This school had 18 classrooms, a library and a gymnasium.

In his late 19th century guide, Edwin Bacon describes the village as still rural. “At Mattapan there are no mills on the Dorchester side. It is a pleasant, rural hamlet, not far distant from a place where may be found pussy willows, wild roses, huckleberries, barberries, and hickory nuts.”

Annie Lawrence Lamb, who founded the Church of the Holy Spirit, in 1886 also described Mattapan Square: “One must picture a little group of buildings, most important among them, Burt’s Carpenter Shop. Between Mattapan and my house we drove—no automobiles then—over a shady and usually muddy road, more in the nature of a lane, and very pretty with the brook and big willow trees.”10

Lamb, the granddaughter of diplomat Abbot Lawrence,12 funded the building of the Church of the Holy Spirit, and had her brother, Arthur Rotch, at the Rotch and Tilden architectural firm, design the notable Gothic Revival building. The famous architect Ralph Adams Cram, who worked in the office, made the first drawing of the church and later designed the parish house addition.13

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9 William Dana Orcutt, Good Old Dorchester: A Narrative History of the Town, 1630-1893 (Cambridge: John Wilson, University Press, 1893), 349.
10 Edwin Munroe Bacon and George Edward Ellis, Bacon’s Dictionary of Boston (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1886), 133.
12 The Abott Lawrence family owned a large amount of property on both sides of Walk Hill Street south of Wellington Hill.
13 Lamb, 11.
Next to the Church of the Holy Spirit, Oakland Hall served as a community meeting place and for a time hosted the library. In the 1880s the Postal Service used part of the building, but in 1889 the new Bartlett Block was built on the corner of River Street and Blue Hill Avenue, providing a new and larger space for the post office, along with several stores (the postmaster was Jonathan Bartlett).

The Burtt Block of buildings was constructed in 1893 in Mattapan Square by the owner of the contracting and building company that was already established there. By the 1890s electric trolleys were serving Mattapan, replacing horse drawn streetcars. The trolleys continued to run until the 1950s.

An 1894 Dorchester map shows that Hannah F. C. Holbrook and George and Hilliard Goodale owned most of what would become Wellington Hill, which was still undeveloped. By 1918 Wellington Holbrook was beginning to develop the area, although houses were only built on Wellington Hill Street and a few other places. In 1894 there were still not very many houses and buildings along Morton Street from Blue Hill Avenue to the train tracks, although some other streets were beginning to develop. Many houses had been built in the areas surrounding Dorchester Train Station at the intersection of what is now Woodrow Avenue and Norfolk Street.

The prominent St. Angela’s Catholic Church has roots back to early masses conducted at Oakland Hall. The parish was established on December 28, 1907, and in 1909 Father Francis J. O’Ryan began building the brick Roman style church which still stands on Blue Hill Avenue at Fremont Street. The upper church, which seats 1,100, was designed by architects Maginnis and Walsh. They also designed the

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Gothic-style St. Paul’s Presbyterian Church, which was founded in 1911. In eastern Mattapan, the cornerstone for St. Matthew’s Catholic Church was dedicated in 1910. Father John A. Donnelly oversaw the construction of this Roman Renaissance style building on Stanton Street.

In 1906 the city of Boston purchased the Conness estate of 51 acres on River Street to construct the Boston Sanitorium to serve terminally ill tuberculosis patients. The main building, which is now the Foley Senior Residences, was built in two stages in 1910 and 1928. The facility, which was administered by the Boston City Hospital, continued to expand the scope of its services and the number of buildings over the years. It was later renamed the Boston Specialty Rehabilitation Hospital.

As land was subdivided and new housing was built from 1900 to 1930, more and more Jewish people moved into the area as the Jewish community to the north in Grove Hall, Dorchester and Elm Hill expanded. The 1918 Dorchester map shows significant numbers of Jewish homeowners mixed in with residents of Irish, English and Scottish ancestry.

Jewish businesses also expanded south along Blue Hill Avenue over the next twenty years. The legendary G. & G. Delicatessen of 1106 Blue Hill Avenue opened in 1929. This was not merely a restaurant, but a central social, cultural, and political hub of the Jewish community. Levine and Harmon describe the G. & G. well: “One wall of the deli consisted of glass display cases and steam tables resplendent with smoked meats and kosher-style prepared dishes over which the customers shouted orders to aproned countermen. The booths hugging the walls were favored for business lunches. The tables in the open space at the deli’s center were popular with tradesmen, cops and cabbies …. A small private dining room tucked in the back was available for lodge meetings and officer installations …. The delicatessen enjoyed the greatest drawing power of any institution in the Jewish community.” Simco’s, another well-known eatery, began in 1935, and still continues to serve up hot dogs on Blue Hill Avenue.
The Oriental Theater, another business central to the social life of Mattapan, opened about 1930 in Mattapan Square. This grand, “atmospheric” theater seating over 2,000 people featured an elaborate Chinese décor recreating the Street Gate of Tsinanfu and the façade of the Wan Shou Tsu Temple. Special projectors created the “atmospheric effects” of moving clouds and twinkling stars on the ceiling while the colorful eyes of Buddha statues glowed along the walls. The theater also had a large Wurlitzer organ with over 1,400 pipes. For decades the Oriental Theater showed movies for generations of families in Mattapan until it closed in 1971 showing “Diamonds are Forever.”

Although the area was not changing racially between 1940 and 1960, there was some socio-economic change happening. Significant numbers of middle- and upper-middleclass Jews were moving to the suburbs of Brookline and Newton. This was a migration of both leadership and financial resources, which weakened the support and commitment to the Jewish institutions in Roxbury, Dorchester and Mattapan. Many of the Jewish residents who remained were lower-income and working class people struggling to make ends meet and to support the synagogues and schools.

In 1950 there were about 70,000 Jews in Roxbury, Dorchester, and Mattapan. Even though some families had moved to Brookline and Newton, this was still the largest Jewish community in New England. However, in the 1950s Hebrew College and four Jewish schools closed, as well as several synagogues. This was the beginning of a wave of change in Roxbury and Dorchester that would spread to Mattapan. One intermediate effect was that many eastern European Jews moved farther south into Mattapan from Roxbury during the 1950s. In central and southern Mattapan the number of Russian Jews almost doubled from 4,588 to 8,326, and in the southern most census tract the number quadrupled.

Racial change in the northern part of Mattapan began in the 1960s in census tracts 1002 and 1011.01 and 1011.02 (1011 was at that time combined). The Lewenberg Junior High School, located in the latter area on Wellington Hill, became a leading edge of change as

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open enrollment policies allowed African American students access. Between the 1964-65 school year and the 1968-69 school year, the percentage of black students at the Lewenberg increased from 10% to 76%. Many white residents around the school moved out by the end of the sixties. Real estate brokers were promoting panic selling, which only hastened the movement to the suburbs which had already started. In the summer of 1968, the Boston Banks Urban Renewal Group (BBURG) was established to make available home mortgage funds to low-income black families within a designated area whose southern boundary included Wellington Hill and the part of Mattapan north of Norfolk Street on the east. The BBURG program may have hastened the pace of racial change in these areas, but the transition had already begun before 1968 and would continue beyond the BBURG boundaries.

Gerald Gamm argues in his book, *Urban Exodus*, that racial change took place more rapidly in Jewish neighborhoods than in Catholic neighborhoods because the synagogues were not deeply rooted in a geographic area like Catholic parishes, the members were not required to live within the local neighborhood, and the synagogue congregations could make autonomous decisions to change or leave.\(^\text{22}\) He also argues convincingly that the BBURG program was not the primary cause of the demise of the Jewish community in Mattapan, Roxbury and Dorchester, as Hillel Levine and Lawrence Harmon had alleged in their book, *The Death of an American Jewish Community.*\(^\text{23}\) In the summer of 1967, The Mattapan Organization was formed under the sponsorship of the Jewish Community Council of Greater Boston. It sought to stabilize and achieve a quality, ethnically integrated neighborhood. However, by 1969 it had dissolved. Probably, the period of most rapid racial change took place between 1967 and 1972.

The areas farther south in Mattapan also experienced rapid racial change, but it took place mostly between 1970 and 1980. During this period there was an increase in violent street crimes such as robberies and aggravated assaults; however, property crimes and residential burglaries were lower in Mattapan than in Boston as a whole. The overall offense rate was actually lower in Mattapan than in Boston.\(^\text{24}\) Yona Ginsberg interviewed 100 Jewish residents in the neighborhood in 1972. She found a lack of inter-cultural relationships common, but there were exceptions. An eighty-year-old Jewish man said his black neighbor invited him to a house blessing party, and “then they helped me cut the grass when the gardener stopped


coming. I bought them presents for Christmas. After the first snow storm, they came and shoveled the snow.” Another Jewish woman said of her new black neighbors, “The next door neighbors are very nice ... She started to say hello to me, and when I was sick, she offered to do the shopping for me. She is a biochemist.”\textsuperscript{25}

During the 1980s an increasing number of Haitians moved into Mattapan, eventually making this area one of the most important centers of Haitian cultural, social, and political life. Both social and religious organizations formed to address the needs of the Haitian, West Indian and African American community. Many significant churches moved into the area or started here. St. Angela’s and the former St. Leo’s churches adapted to serve the Haitian community. Jubilee Christian Church (formerly New Covenant Christian Center), founded in 1982, later moved to Blue Hill Avenue and grew to become Boston’s largest Protestant church. Morning-star Baptist Church, founded in 1965, has also grown over the years to become an important community institution. Two of the largest Haitian churches are not located in this area, but nevertheless serve many people in Mattapan: the First Haitian Baptist Church and the Boston Missionary Baptist Church.

As the Haitian community grew in the area, many Haitians started small businesses. Marilyn Halter describes this entrepreneurial spirit in her book, \textit{New Migrants in the Marketplace}: “The decade of the 1980s saw a dramatic increase in the number of Haitian immigrants settling in the Boston metropolitan area, arrivals who came to take advantage of the then booming economy in the region .... With this influx came a proliferation of small business ventures, initiated primarily to serve the needs of co-ethnics .... In conjunction with the community service sector and the many radio and television outlets in the area featuring Haitian programming, these enterprises become a critical site for social networking, political organizing and debate, information exchange, and the maintenance of Haitian cultural forms. The entrepreneurs, community leaders, and those involved in the Haitian media combine and overlap to form the nexus of the immigrant settlement in Boston.”\textsuperscript{26}

Just as the G.& G. Deli and other Jewish businesses of an earlier era provided centers for social and political discussion, so now the Haitian barbershops and businesses serve similar purposes in addition to goods and services.

In recent years the community has gained a voice in government with elected Haitian political representatives and has seen a number of public improvements. Several local organizations have also successfully improved the well being of the community. Recently a beautiful new public library opened on Blue Hill Avenue, making possible a number of valuable services to both adults and youth. Also, the state-of-the-art Mildred Avenue Community Center and school is a valuable, new addition to the neighborhood. The Mattapan Economic Develop-

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{25} Ibid., 161.
\item \textsuperscript{26} Marilyn Halter, ed., \textit{New Migrants in the Marketplace: Boston’s Ethnic Entrepreneurs} (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 161-162.
\end{itemize}
ment Initiative has also brought together community leaders to work on physical improvements. The Mattapan Community Development Corporation has developed new housing and provided economic empowerment through job training and other efforts. The development of the Foley Senior Residences has also made a positive improvement to an underused and prominent property. Although the community still faces the challenges of crime and violence, it has experienced considerable revitalization and improvement in recent years, and has many assets for an even better future.
For the purposes of this study we will primarily use five census tracts to compile and analyze demographic data. These census tracts are numbers 1002, 1003, 1010.02, 1011.01, and 1011.02. In earlier censuses the additional census tract 1010.01 was combined with 1010.02 as X-6B or 1010. This area is west of Blue Hill Avenue in southern Mattapan. Also, census tracts 1011.01 and 1011.02 were previously combined as X-6A or 1011. This part of the city was in the past considered a part of Dorchester and specifically South Dorchester. Mattapan Square and the immediately surrounding area were seen as a village center and later as one of Dorchester’s commercial centers.

The city planning department began to identify Mattapan as a separate neighborhood initially including southern Mattapan, but later expanded to include Franklin Field, census tracts 1001 and part of 924. On the southeast, parts of census tract 1009 were also included in the Boston Redevelopment Authority’s definition of Mattapan. This study focuses on the central part of Mattapan as defined by the BRA.
OVERALL POPULATION TRENDS

The area around Mattapan Square grew quite slowly in the 19th Century. When the Brush Hill Turnpike was completed between Milton and Grove Hall in 1809, better transportation became available. However, train service and the electric trolleys later had more influence on the development of housing in the neighborhood.

In recent decades the population increased between 1960 and 1970 and then declined during the transition period of 1970 to 1980. It increased again slightly between 1980 and 1990 and has remained fairly steady since then.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POPULATION TRENDS BY CENSUS TRACTS*</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1010 or X-6B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1002 or X-5B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1003 or X-5C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1011 or X-6A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL TRACTS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOTAL POPULATION OF THE AREA FROM 1950 TO 2000*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
More than three-quarters of the population in each census tract in this area is black or African American. Census tracts 1002 and 1011.01 are 90 percent or more black. The area as a whole is over 82% black. About eight percent of the population of the area is Hispanic or Latino. The two tracts with higher proportions of Hispanics are tracts 1003 (12%) and 1010.02 (10%). Although the Hispanic population of Mattapan has grown over the past several decades, it is still a smaller proportion of the population than in Boston as a whole (14% in 2000). The 2000 census showed that less than two percent of the population of the area was non-Hispanic white. The Asian and Native American populations of this area are also very small. About 6.5% of the population indicated in the 2000 census that they were of two or more races. This area’s transition from a white Jewish population to a mostly nonwhite population took place primarily in the 1960s and 1970s. However, the white population continued to decline from 1980 to 2000.

From the following graphs one can see that the major part of the racial transition was rapid in all four census tracts. In census tract 1002, which is closest to Grove Hall, the majority of the white population had moved out between 1960 and 1970 and 3,000 African Americans had moved in. Between 1970 and 1980 the overall population declined sharply as the rest of the white population left and some new black homeowners faced foreclosures.

*Data for the charts on pages 12-15 as well as for the map on the previous page are from five U.S. Census reports as follows: 1) U.S. Census 1950, Table 1, “Characteristics of the Population, by Census Tracts,” Boston; U.S. Census 1960, Table P-1, "General Characteristics of the Population by Census Tracts”; 2) Social Facts by Census Tracts from the 1970 U.S. Census, Research Dept., United Community Services, Boston; 3) Social Facts by Census Tracts from the 1980 U.S. Census, Research Dept., United Community Planning Corporation, Boston; 4) U.S. Census 1990, P.L. 94-171 data by Census Tract; and 5) U.S. Census 2000, Summary File 1 (SF-1), Table DP-1; Summary File 3(SF-3),Tables QT-P13 Ancestry
Census Tract 1011. In census tract 1011, which includes Wellington Hill and some areas farther south, the transition began between 1960 and 1970, resulting in nearly equal numbers of blacks and whites in this area by 1970. By 1980 all but 164 of the 9,194 whites had moved out. More specifically, probably most of this transition took place between 1967 and 1972.

Ethnic Trends in Census Tract 1011 from 1950 to 2000*

Census Tract 1003. Farther east and south in census tract 1003, the transition had only just started by 1970. However, in the ten years between 1970 and 1980, the racial change was almost fully complete. As in the other census tracts, the overall population remained relatively stable after 1980.

Ethnic Trends in Census Tract 1003 from 1950 to 2000*
Census Tract 1010. In southern Mattapan, in census tract 1010, the population was increasing significantly between 1950 and 1970, as new homes were built and some of the Jewish population of Roxbury moved down into this area. By 1970 there was only a small amount of racial change. Most of the transition took place between 1970 and 1980, with a significant number of whites remaining even after that. The overall population in this area never declined, in contrast to the other census tracts which all dipped between 1970 and 1980.

As evidence of changing demographics, this former Jewish synagogue on Woodrow Avenue is now the home of Temple Salem des Adventistes du 7ème Jour, a Haitian Protestant congregation.

*Data for the charts on pages 12-15 are from five U.S. Census reports as follows: 1) U.S. Census 1950, Table 1, "Characteristics of the Population, by Census Tracts," Boston; U.S. Census 1960, Table P-1, "General Characteristics of the Population by Census Tracts"; 2) Social Facts by Census Tracts from the 1970 U.S. Census, Research Dept., United Community Services, Boston; 3) Social Facts by Census Tracts from the 1980 U.S. Census, Research Dept., United Community Planning Corporation, Boston; 4) U.S. Census 1990, P.L. 94-171 data by Census Tract; and 5) U.S. Census 2000, Summary File 1 (SF-1), Table DP-1; Summary File 3(SF-3),Tables QT-P13 Ancestry.
### CHANGES IN MAJOR ETHNIC POPULATION TOTALS IN MATTAPAN
**BY CENSUS TRACT FROM 1950 TO 2000***

<table>
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<td>1,596</td>
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<td>355</td>
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<td>725</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>–</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2,719</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black or African American</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2,990</td>
<td>2,332</td>
<td>2,503</td>
<td>2,303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other race</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>1,146</td>
<td>1,699</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total population</strong> 1011 or X6-A</td>
<td>10,603</td>
<td>9,204</td>
<td>9,428</td>
<td>7,204</td>
<td>8,122</td>
<td>8,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>10,589</td>
<td>9,194</td>
<td>4,736</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black or African American</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4,539</td>
<td>6,805</td>
<td>7,706</td>
<td>7,207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other race</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>2,629</td>
<td>4,306</td>
<td>1,434</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Haitians and West Indians.** In the 1980s many Haitian and West Indian immigrants began settling in Mattapan in greater numbers. In the Greater Boston metropolitan area, it is estimated that there are 70,000 to 80,000 Haitians. Generally the U.S. census has undercounted the Haitian population. In these five census tracts alone, there at least 6,000 West Indians.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOTALS OF WEST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS AND SUBSAHARAN AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS IN STUDY AREA BY CENSUS TRACT</th>
<th>TRACT 1002</th>
<th>TRACT 1003</th>
<th>TRACT 1010.02</th>
<th>TRACT 1011.01</th>
<th>TRACT 1011.02</th>
<th>AREA TOTALS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WEST INDIAN TOTAL (non-Hispanic)</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>959</td>
<td>1,740</td>
<td>943</td>
<td>1,719</td>
<td>6,001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haitian</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>881</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>1,046</td>
<td>3,046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbadian</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British West Indian</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaican</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>1,504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidadian or Tobagonian</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. S. Virgin Islander</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indian (general)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other West Indian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBSAHARAN AFRICAN TOTAL</th>
<th>128</th>
<th>160</th>
<th>241</th>
<th>100</th>
<th>126</th>
<th>755</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African (general)</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Verdean</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigerian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leonean</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Data for the table on page 16 are from five U.S. Census reports as follows: 1) U.S. Census 1950, Table 1, “Characteristics of the Population, by Census Tracts,” Boston; U.S. Census 1960, Table P-1, “General Characteristics of the Population by Census Tracts”; 2) Social Facts by Census Tracts from the 1970 U.S. Census, Research Dept., United Community Services, Boston; 3) Social Facts by Census Tracts from the 1980 U.S. Census, Research Dept., United Community Planning Corporation, Boston; 4) U.S. Census 1990, P.L. 94-171 data by Census Tract; and 5) U.S. Census 2000, Summary File 1 (SF-1), Table DP-1; Summary File 3(SF-3),Tables QT-P13 Ancestry.*
AGE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION

To determine the demographic information for this study area, we utilized data from the 2000 U.S. Census for census tracts 1002, 1003, 1010.02, 1011.01, and 1011.02. A higher percentage of the population is between the ages of five and 18 in this area (26%) than in the city of Boston overall (16%), in the state, and in the nation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Youth aged 10-19 years</th>
<th>3,498</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Males aged 10-19 years)</td>
<td>1,769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Females aged 10-19 years)</td>
<td>1,729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth aged 12-18 years</td>
<td>2,438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth aged 15-24 years</td>
<td>3,054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth aged 20-24 years</td>
<td>1,459</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The 10-19 year old group makes up 17.6% of the total population of the study area (compared to 14% nationally, 13% statewide, and 13% in the city of Boston).
- The 12-18 year old group makes up 12.3% of the total population of the study area (compared to 10% nationally, 9% statewide, and 8% in the city of Boston).
- The 15-24 year old group makes up 15.4% of the total population of the study area (compared to 14% nationally, 13% statewide, and 19% in the city of Boston).
- The 20-24 year old group makes up 7.3% of the total population of the study area (compared to 7% nationally, 6% statewide, and 12% in the city of Boston).
- The 5-18 year old group makes up 26.1% of the total population of the study area (compared to 20% nationally, 19% statewide, and 16% in the city of Boston).

| PERCENTAGES OF VARIOUS AGE RANGES OF YOUTH IN STUDY AREA |
|----------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
|                 | 10-19 YEARS | 12-18 YEARS | 15-24 YEARS | 20-24 YEARS | 5-18 YEARS |
| United States   | 14%       | 10%      | 14%      | 7%       | 20%      |
| Massachusetts   | 13%       | 9%       | 13%      | 6%       | 19%      |
| Boston          | 13%       | 8%       | 19%      | 12%      | 16%      |
| Census Tract 1002 | 21%   | 15%      | 17%      | 8%       | 29%      |
| Census Tract 1003 | 18%   | 13%      | 15%      | 7%       | 28%      |
| Census Tract 1010.02 | 15%   | 11%      | 14%      | 7%       | 23%      |
| Census Tract 1011.01 | 17%   | 12%      | 16%      | 7%       | 26%      |
| Census Tract 1011.02 | 18%   | 12%      | 16%      | 8%       | 26%      |

Census 2000 Summary File 1 (SF 1), Table QT-P2, Single Years of Age under 30 Years
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER OF YOUTH BY AGE IN STUDY AREA FOR EACH CENSUS TRACT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TRACT 1002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total all ages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 10-19 yrs. | 564 | 667 | 821 | 558 | 888 |
| 12-18 yrs. | 386 | 480 | 563 | 386 | 623 |
| 15-24 yrs. | 451 | 553 | 761 | 501 | 788 |
| 20-24 yrs. | 199 | 257 | 368 | 234 | 401 |
| 5-18 yrs. | 783 | 1008 | 1253 | 835 | 1308 |

Census 2000 Summary File 1 (SF 1), Table QT-P2, Single Years of Age Under 30 Years
**Median Age of the Population.** The median ages of the census tracts in this area are younger than the median age of the city of Boston’s population except for tract 1010.02. The higher median age of 34.7 years among females is noteworthy. In Block Group 2 alone, there are 100 women over the age of 70. Since the 2000 Census, the Foley Senior Residences with 98 housing units also opened in Census Tract 1010.02, located in Block Group 2. While the median age for females in this area as a whole is almost the same as Boston’s female median age, the median age of men in this area is younger than for Boston. In particular, the male median age in tract 1002 is significantly lower at 24.3 years, which is also more than 10 years younger than the median age of men in Massachusetts. The median ages of the census tracts in this area are all younger than the median ages of the state and the nation. It is interesting to note that the median age of the white population in Mattapan increased from 34.6 years in 1950 to 44.6 years in 1970 while the median age of the new black population was a very low 20 years. This indicates that new residents moving into the neighborhood during that period were young families, while many of the remaining Jewish and Catholic residents were elderly.

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LANGUAGE USE

Since this area has a large Haitian population, as expected, many people use Haitian Creole and French in the home. Haitian Creole is the most common language used other than English, with over 2,900 people using it at home. For more than 1,400 people, Spanish is the language used in the home. To a much lesser extent, Portuguese, Portuguese Creole, or African languages are also used in some homes. The two census tracts with the largest number of people speaking a language other than English are census tracts 1010.02 and 1011.02. These two tracts also have by far the largest number of people who use French Creole. Of the Spanish speaking households in the study area, 153 are linguistically isolated. In addition, 285 other Indo-European language households (probably mostly French Creole and French speaking) are linguistically isolated. Linguistically isolated households are ones where all members 14 years old and over have at least some difficulty with English.

28 Haitian Creole is the most common of the "French Creoles" as the census terms it, but there may be some West Indian residents who speak other variations of French Creole.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBERS OF PEOPLE SPEAKING VARIOUS LANGUAGES IN STUDY AREA BY CENSUS TRACT</th>
<th>TRACT 1002</th>
<th>TRACT 1003</th>
<th>TRACT 1010.02</th>
<th>TRACT 1011.01</th>
<th>TRACT 1011.02</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population 5 years old and over</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak only English</td>
<td>2,418</td>
<td>3,424</td>
<td>4,980</td>
<td>2,937</td>
<td>4,528</td>
<td>18,287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak a language other than English</td>
<td>1,886</td>
<td>2,522</td>
<td>3,315</td>
<td>2,219</td>
<td>3,091</td>
<td>13,033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish or Spanish Creole</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>1,431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Creole</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>722</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>1,107</td>
<td>2,937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese or Portuguese Creole</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African languages</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

U.S. Census 2000, Summary File 3 (SF 3), Table QT-P16. Sample Data. Haitian Creole is the most common of the "French Creoles" as the census terms it, but there may be some West Indian residents who speak other variations of French Creole.
ECONOMICS & INCOME

Poverty rates in the Morton-Norfolk study area are higher than the national and state rates of poverty and similar to the poverty rates in the city of Boston overall. The general poverty rate of 19% for this area is slightly lower than Boston's rate of 20%, while the poverty rate of youth under 18 and teenagers 12-17 is 27%, which is slightly higher than the poverty rate for youth in Boston. The poverty rates for this area are significantly higher than the national rates and more than double the poverty rate in Massachusetts both for youth and for the general population. A higher percentage of youth are living below the poverty level than the general population. The highest rates of poverty among youth are in census tracts 1011.01 and 1011.02 which includes Wellington Hill and the area on the opposite side of Blue Hill Avenue between Morton Street and the railroad tracks. In census tract 1011.02, the poverty rate for youth under 18 years is 37% which is almost double the general poverty rate for the overall area.

| PERCENTAGES OF PEOPLE LIVING BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL IN STUDY AREA BY CENSUS TRACT, COMPARED TO U.S., MASS., AND BOSTON |
|--------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| POPULATION LIVING BELOW POVERTY LEVEL | YOUTH UNDER AGE 18 LIVING BELOW POVERTY LEVEL | YOUTH AGES 12-17 LIVING BELOW POVERTY LEVEL |
| United States | 12% | 17% | 15% |
| Massachusetts | 9% | 12% | 11% |
| City of Boston | 20% | 26% | 25% |
| Census Tract 1002 | 19% | 23% | 23% |
| Census Tract 1003 | 20% | 22% | 27% |
| Census Tract 1010.02 | 16% | 25% | 27% |
| Census Tract 1011.01 | 20% | 30% | 29% |
| Census Tract 1011.02 | 21% | 37% | 31% |
| Study Area Totals | 19% | 27% | 27% |

U.S. Census 2000, Summary File 3 (SF 3), Table P 87, Poverty Status by Age, Universe: Population for whom poverty status is determined. Note: Due to sampling error, the number of 6-11 year olds above the poverty level in Tract 1003 seems overcounted.
FAMILY STRUCTURE

**Single Parent Households.** The Morton-Norfolk area has a high percentage of family households which are single-parent households with children under 18. Of the approximately 2,800 family households with children, more than 58% are headed by single parents. In Tract 1011.01 the percentage is 62.5%. The study area has 1,180 married couple families with children under 18 years, compared with 1,656 single parent households with children under 18.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tract 1002</th>
<th>Total Family Households</th>
<th>Family Households with Children under 18</th>
<th>Female-Headed Households with Children under 18</th>
<th>Single Parent Households with Children under 18</th>
<th>% of Households with Children under 18 that are Single Parent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>631</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>61.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tract 1003</td>
<td>934</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>59.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tract 1010.02</td>
<td>1,380</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>55.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tract 1011.01</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tract 1011.02</td>
<td>1,201</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>56.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study Area Totals</td>
<td>4,960</td>
<td>2,836</td>
<td>1,520</td>
<td>1,656</td>
<td>58.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

U.S. Census 2000, Summary File 3 (SF 3), Table P10, Household Size by Household Type by Presence of own children under 18 Years. Last column: Percentage of family households with children under 18 which are single-parent family households.

**Living Arrangements for Children.** In each of the census tracts in this area, the percentage of children living with grandparents or other relatives is higher than in the city of Boston, in the state or in the nation. About 81 percent of the children under 18 years live with at least one biological parent, a figure which is significantly lower than the statewide percentage (93%). In the study area, approximately 12 percent of children live with a grandparent, four percent live with other relatives, and two percent live with non-relatives. The proportion of children living with adults other than their parents is highest in census tracts 1003 and 1011.01, where nearly 14 percent live with a grandparent. Given the large Haitian population in the area and the earthquake in Haiti in the winter of 2010, it is probable that a significant number of additional children have come here and now live with their extended families.
Average Household Size. The average household size in each of the five census tracts in this area is considerably higher than the average household size in the city of Boston. Except for tract 1010.02, there are at least 3.1 persons on the average per household in each of the five tracts, whereas there are only 2.3 persons per household on average in Boston as a whole. The average household size in this area is also larger than in the state and the nation.
HOUSING

This study area has 2,244 owner-occupied housing units, accounting for about 34 percent of the housing, while 66 percent of the units (4,273) are renter occupied. This area has a much lower home ownership rate than the U.S. average of 66.2 percent. At the time of the 2000 U.S. Census, the vacancy rate for this area was quite low at only five percent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBERS AND TYPES OF HOUSING UNITS IN STUDY AREA BY CENSUS TRACT</th>
<th>TRACT 1002</th>
<th>TRACT 1003</th>
<th>TRACT 1010.02</th>
<th>TRACT 1011.01</th>
<th>TRACT 1011.02</th>
<th>AREA TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of housing units</td>
<td>916</td>
<td>1,234</td>
<td>1,951</td>
<td>1,111</td>
<td>1,664</td>
<td>6876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of occupied units</td>
<td>848</td>
<td>1,171</td>
<td>1,896</td>
<td>1,041</td>
<td>1,561</td>
<td>6517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of units occupied</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of vacant units</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of units vacant</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of housing units owner occupied</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>2244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of units owner occupied</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of housing units renter occupied</td>
<td>577</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>1,212</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>1,145</td>
<td>4273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of units renter occupied</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

U.S. Census 2000, Summary File One (SF 1), Table H14, Tenure by Race of Householder (Universe: Occupied housing units) Table H5, Vacancy Status (Universe: Vacant housing units). Note: the majority of the vacant units were for sale or rent rather than abandoned. Percentages of owner occupied and renter occupied are based on total occupied units.
The northern part of Mattapan has a much higher percentage of triple-deckers or housing structures with three or four units, than the southern section of Mattapan. Many of these were built between 1910 and 1930. Census tracts 1011.02 and 1002 have 55.4% and 44.4% respectively, while areas in southern Mattapan have only eight or nine percent of the housing in triple-deckers. Tract 1010.02 has 25.7% detached single-family homes, and west of Blue Hill Avenue the percentage is over 32%, while the northern census tracts have 10% or less. The Wellington Hill section has the highest percentage of two-unit housing structures. Southern Mattapan also has several larger apartment house complexes. The age of the housing units also varies significantly between the northern census tracts and the southern part of Mattapan. The southern sections have had considerably more new housing built after 1950 than the northern parts.

According to the 2000 Census, about 60 to 65 percent of the housing units in the northern tracts of 1002, 1011.01, and 1011.02 were built prior to 1950. In the southern census tracts of 1010.01 and 1010.02, only 40 to 45 percent of the housing units were built before 1950. However, it is still true that the very earliest buildings were originally clustered mostly around Mattapan Square.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHURCHES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Antioch Missionary Baptist Church**  
1082 Blue Hill Ave., Boston, MA 02124  
617-288-6559 |
| **Bethel Church of God (Seventh Day)**  
1026 Blue Hill Ave., Boston, MA 02124  
508-877-2689; 617-288-2045  
Donald Gouldbourne, Lay Pastor  
www.bethelcogseven.com/bostonhome.html |
| **Bethlehem Haitian Baptist Church**  
281 Norfolk Street, Boston, MA 02124  
617-282-2854 |
| **Blue Hill Church of Christ**  
1505 Blue Hill Ave., Mattapan, MA 02126  
617-296-5882  
Rev. Herschel Walker, Pastor |
| **Blue Hill Missionary Baptist Church**  
1258 Blue Hill Ave., Mattapan, MA 02126  
617-298-9471 |
| **Cambridge Church of God**  
23 Edgewater Drive, Mattapan, MA 02126 |
| **Children of St. Ann’s Spiritual Baptist Church**  
162-164 Woodrow Ave., Boston, MA 02124  
617-436-4512  
Bishop Peter E. Doyle, Pastor  
Rev. Mother Cecilia Mayhew |
| **Christ Tabernacle Church**  
403 Norfolk St., Dorchester, MA 02124  
Rev. Sam Brown, Pastor |
| **Church of the Holy Spirit**  
525 River St., Mattapan, MA 02126  
617-298-0577  
mattapanchs@aol.com  
Rev. Zenetta M. Armstrong, Rector |
| **Community Cornerstone Church, Inc.**  
130 River St., Mattapan, MA 02126 |
| **Deeper Life Revival Center**  
1078A Blue Hill Ave., Boston, MA 02124 |
| **Ebenezer Community Worship Center**  
170 Woodrow Ave., Dorchester, MA 02124  
Elder Albert Rice, Pastor  
Elder Mary Rice, First Lady |
| **Eglise Chretienne par la Foi**  
1206 Blue Hill Ave., Mattapan, MA 02126 |
| **Eglise de Dieu D’Humility**  
1102 Blue Hill Ave., Boston, MA 02124 |
| **Eglise Evangelique Bethel le Rocher**  
403 Norfolk St., Dorchester, MA 02124  
774-444-4580  
Rev. Jean T. Joassaint, Pastor |
| **Faithful Ministries**  
235 Woodrow Ave., Boston, MA 02124  
617-436-4543  
Bishop Hurshel Langham, Pastor |
| **Gladtidings Pentecostal Assembly**  
573 Norfolk St., Mattapan, MA 02126  
617-296-6718  
Rev Hezron Farrell, Bishop  
Rev. Gwendolyn Farrell, Pastor |
Greater Victory Temple of Apostolic Faith
1218 Blue Hill Ave., Mattapan, MA 02126
617-296-2251
Elder Darnell Williams, Pastor
George Swain, Bishop

Jubilee Christian Church
1500 Blue Hill Ave., Mattapan, MA 02126
617-296-5683 (church)
info@jubileeboston.org
www.jubileeboston.org
Bishop Gideon A. Thompson, Pastor
Michael J. Thompson, Youth Pastor
617-786-3193 (youth ministry)
revolution143@jubileeboston.org
Axiom Recording studios and Sanctuary Bookstore

Jubilee Christian Church
1500 Blue Hill Ave., Mattapan, MA 02126
617-296-5683 (church)
info@jubileeboston.org
www.jubileeboston.org
Bishop Gideon A. Thompson, Pastor
Michael J. Thompson, Youth Pastor
617-786-3193 (youth ministry)
revolution143@jubileeboston.org
Axiom Recording studios and Sanctuary Bookstore

L’Eglise Restauration de la Trinité
1272 Blue Hill Ave., Mattapan, MA 02126

La Nouvelle Eglise de Dieu de la Pentecôte
82 Babson St., Mattapan, MA 02126
617-296-5998
Rev. Jean Prime, Pastor
Rev. Elenor Lavals, Pastor
Mr. Dieufort Fleurissaint, Youth Director

Lily of the Valley Baptist Church
1248 Blue Hill Ave., Mattapan, MA 02126
617-296-9737
Rev. Marshall Dixon, Pastor

Mercy and Grace Ministries
1598 Blue Hill Ave., Mattapan, MA 02126
617-436-0352

Metropolitan Baptist Church
393 Norfolk St., Dorchester, MA 02124
617-436-0479
admin@mbcboston.com
http://metro-baptist-church.org
www.mbcboston.org
Rev. Dr. John H. Womack, Sr., Pastor
Sister Shedasha Ellis, Youth ministry leader
Youth program and afterschool program

Morning Star Baptist Church
1257 Blue Hill Ave., Mattapan, MA 02126
617-298-0278
www.msbcbos.org
Rev. Dr. John M. Borders, III, Senior Pastor

Mount Olive Kingdom Builders Worship Center
234 Norfolk St., Boston, MA 02124
617-474-9871
www.thekingdomchurch.com
Bishop Robert C. Perry, II, Pastor
Minister Jason LaPlanche, Director of Youth Ministries
Youth Ministry: S.T.O.M.P. seeks to develop youth through discipleship, respect, demonstrating character, accountability, taking responsibility, worship, encountering God.

Mount Sinai Baptist Church
156 Wellington St., Mattapan, MA 02126
617-298-0480
Rev. Eduardo Yarde, Pastor

New Jerusalem Church of God
1268 Blue Hill Ave., Mattapan, MA 02126
617-298-2626
Rev. Florine Raymond, Pastor

New Jerusalem Evangelical Baptist Church
183 Norfolk St., Boston, MA 02124
617-265-0300
Rev. Tony Kebreau, Pastor
Philadelphia Haitian Baptist Church
510 River St., Mattapan, MA 02126
617-298-0270
Rev. Frank Accime, Pastor

Powerful Living Church
844 Morton Street, Mattapan, MA 02126
617-282-0514
Janet Langaigne, Pastor

Regent Street Church of God in Christ
16 Fessenden St., Mattapan, MA 02126
617-298-9524
Bishop L.C. Young, Pastor

Resurrection Community Baptist Church
1355 Blue Hill Ave., Mattapan, MA 02126
617-296-6411
Rev. Earl Carrick, Pastor

Revival Deliverance Edification Center
471 River St., Mattapan, MA 02126
617-296-1824
Dr. Bishop Jennifer Hightower, Pastor

St. Angela Catholic Church
1540 Blue Hill Ave., Mattapan, MA 02126
617-298-0080

St. Luke Christian AME Zion Church
1099 Blue Hill Ave., Boston, MA 02124
617-825-6399

St. Matthew’s Catholic Church
39 Stanton St., Boston, MA 02124
617-436-590

Strait Gate Church of our Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith
1-5 Nelson St., Dorchester, MA 02124
617-282-0260
District Elder Simon Turner, Pastor
Elder Tenzer Cunningham, Founder

Temple Salem des Adventistes du 7eme Jour
222 Woodrow Ave., Boston, MA 02124
617-288-8845

Unity Tabernacle of Holiness Church
2 Greendale Road, Mattapan, MA 02126

Way of the Cross Holy Church
65 Ashton St., Boston, MA 02124
617-265-8449
Bishop Frank Kelley, Pastor

Zion Temple Holy Church
79 Stanton St., Boston, MA 02124
617-825-9165
SCHOOLS & EDUCATION

Berea Seventh Day Adventist Academy
800 Morton Street, Mattapan, MA 02126
617-436-8301
On Morton St. between Wildwood and Nor-
ton

Boston Adult Technical Academy
(High School)
429 Norfolk St., Dorchester, MA 02124
617-635-1542
adultacad@bostonpublicschools.org
Sheila Azores, Headmaster
For ages 20-22 yrs.

Boston International High School
100 Maxwell St., Dorchester, MA 02124
617-635-9373
bihs@bostonpublicschools.org
Dr. Oscar Santos, Headmaster

James J. Chittick Elementary School
154 Ruskindale Road, Mattapan, MA 02126
617-635-8652
chittick@bostonpublicschools.org
Michelle Burnett-Herndon, Principal
Ruskindale Road between Radcliffe Rd. &
Roseberry Rd.

Ellison/Parks Early Education
School
108 Babson St, Mattapan, MA 02126
617-635-7680
ellison-parks@bostonpublicschools.org
Nora Toney, Principal

Sarah Greenwood School
189 Glenway St., Dorchester, MA 02121
617-635-8710
Isabel Mendez, Principal
sgreenwood@bostonpublicschools.org

Lee Academy Pilot School
155 Talbot Avenue, Dorchester, MA 02124
617-635-6619
leeacademy@bostonpublicschools.org
K-4th grade
Talbot St. at Bernard St. (north of the area)

Lee School
155 Talbot Avenue, Dorchester, MA 02124
617-635-8687
lee@bostonpublicschools.org
Kimberly E. Curtis, Principal

Matthunt Elementary School
100 Hebron Street, Mattapan, MA 02126
617-635-8792
mattahunt@bostonpublicschools.org
Ruby Abacio-Fernandez, Principal
On Hebron St. near Harvard St. and Cummins
Highway

Mildred Ave. K-8 School
5 Mildred Avenue, Mattapan, MA 02126
617-635-1642
mildredave@bostonpublicschools.org
Kris Taylor, Principal
Located at Mildred Ave. at Babson St.

Newcomers Academy (High School)
100 Maxwell St., Dorchester, MA 02124
617-635-7993
newcomers@boston.k12.ma.us
Dr. Eric Johnson, Interim Program Director
Former Thompson Middle School building
Same facility as Boston International High School
SCHOOLS IN THE MORTON-NORFOLK AREA

1. Berea Seventh Day Adventist Academy
2. Boston International High School
3. James J. Chittick Elementary School
4. Ellison/Parks Early Education School
5. Sarah Greenwood School
6. Lee Academy Pilot School
7. Lee School
8. Matthunt Elementary School
10. Newcomers Academy (High School)
11. Pope John Paul II Academy, Mattapan Square Campus
12. Taylor Elementary School
13. TechBoston Academy
14. Young Achievers Science and Math Pilot K-8
**Pope John Paul II Academy, Mattapan Square Campus**
120 Babson Street, Dorchester, MA 02126
617 296-1161
Lou Ann Melino, Principal
louann.melino@popejp2catholicacademy.org
Mrs. Carol Murphy, Administrative Assistant
617-265-0019 x 7202
carol.murphy@popejp2catholicacademy.org
Elementary (PreK-8); on Babson St. near Fremont St. (at the former St. Angela’s School)

**TechBoston Academy**
18 Crofsland Ave., Dorchester, MA 02124
617-635-1615
tbainfo@techboston.org
Mary Skipper, Headmaster
Former Wilson Middle School; Now grades 6-12; Across Washington Street, but relatively close to the area. A Pilot School which also uses the Dorchester Educational Complex (Grades 10-12).

**Taylor Elementary School**
1060 Morton Street, Mattapan, MA 02126
617-635-8731
taylor@bostonpublicschools.org
Elie Jean-Louis, Principal

**Young Achievers Science and Math Pilot K-8**
20 Outlook Road, Mattapan, MA 02126
617-635-6804
youngachievers@bostonpublicschools.org
Virginia Chalmers, Principal
Housed in the former Lewenberg School built in 1930, now closed. A prominent landmark on Wellington Hill. (see photo on page 8.)

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*Tileston School, 1868*
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS & PROGRAMS

ABCD Mattapan Family Service Center
535 River Street, Mattapan MA 02126 • 617-298-2045
www.bostonabcd.org/centers/Mattapan
Director: Lillie Searcy • searcy@bostonabcd.org
The Center offers a senior drop-in center, subsidized full-day childcare, computer classes, Summer-Works applications, career development and counseling, afterschool programs, literacy classes, credit counseling classes, home-buyer workshops, fuel assistance, and foreclosure prevention assistance.

Boston Centers for Youth and Families – Street Workers Program
Area street workers:
Charles White 617-438-0959 Mattapan/Favre
Jerry St. Cloud 617-593-2851 Mattapan/Norfolk
Stephen Powell 617-438-0788 Mattapan/Hyde Park/Roslindale
Shea Kidd 617-593-4313 Franklin Field

Boston Nature Center
500 Walk Hill Street, Mattapan, MA 02126 • 617-983-8500
bnc@massaudubon.org
The Boston Nature Center is close to the neighborhood and offers a summer day camp program with challenging learning experiences in nature. It takes place outdoors on 67 acres of land which consists of trails, meadows, forests, wetlands, and gardens, and indoors in the classrooms at the George Robert White Environmental Conservation Center. The Teen Ambassadors program offers work apprenticeships sponsored by Mellon CityACCESS. The center offers many other learning programs for youth and families throughout the year.

Gallivan Community Center
61 Woodruff Way, Mattapan, MA 02126 • 617–635- 5252
The Osco Study Club Summer program is held here for 50 youth aged 5.5 to 10 years.

Haitian American Public Health Initiative
10 Fairway St., Mattapan, MA 02126 • 617-298-8076 • www.HAPHI.com
Director: Jean Marc Jean-Baptiste • jeanmarc.jnbaptiste@haphi.org
HAPHI is a minority-run, non-profit agency dedicated to providing members of the Haitian-American community in Metro Boston with culturally and linguistically accessible information and services to improve their health and well being. Since its founding in 1989, it has grown to include a comprehensive range of prevention, education, and direct service programs to Haitian Americans from the greater metropolitan area of Boston. HAPHI also produces culturally relevant radio, TV, and multimedia resources to address issues related to physical and mental health.
Youth-related programs include the Haitian Against Drug School Success program, an afterschool program designed to prevent juvenile delinquency, violence, and drug use among Boston’s inner-city youth by preventing school failure and dropout among at-risk middle school students.
ORGANIZATIONS IN THE MORTON-NORFOLK AREA

1. ABCD Mattapan Family Service Center
2. Boston Nature Center
3. Gallivan Community Center
4. Haitian American Public Health Initiative
5. Haitian Multi-Service Center
6. Mattapan Board of Trade
7. Mattapan Community Development Corporation
8. Mattapan Community Health Center
9. Mattapan Economic Development Initiative
10. Mattapan Food and Fitness Coalition
11. Mattapan Public Library
12. Mattahunt Community Center
13. Mildred Avenue Community Center
14. Operation Make A Difference (OMAD)
15. SPARK Center
Youth Development Leadership Project is a youth-led program which seeks to increase Haitian youths' knowledge in leadership development and organizing, and parents' involvement in schools, the community, and HAPHI's programs. The project promotes dialogue between parents and their teenagers.

The Summer Youth Safety Program is designed to provide youth a safe environment during the summer. The program includes violence prevention leadership workshops, field trips, recreation activities, and a community celebration. The Summer Leadership Program also has quarterly parent and youth forums that focus on key ways to form positive relationships with parents and youth in order to promote healthy, effective, honest, and open communication.

**Haitian Multi-Service Center**

185 Columbia Rd., Dorchester, MA 02121 • 617-506-6600

www.ccab.org/locations/metro-boston/haitian-multi-service

The goal of the HMSC is to prepare and assist immigrants in their quest for social and economic self-sufficiency in the U.S. The Center promotes community development through a "Haitians-Serving-Haitians" model in a culturally and linguistically familiar environment. Approximately 4,500 individuals and families are served by the HMSC each year. The Center offers support services, including counseling for children, youth, and families. It also offers counseling related to substance abuse, mental health, and pregnancy. Other support services are for young parents and elders. The Center also offers ESOL classes and career training and job placement. Although the building is not in the study area, it is an important resource for many people from this neighborhood.

**Mattapan Board of Trade**

1613 Blue Hill Ave., Mattapan, MA 02126 • 617-296-4200 • [www.mattapanbot.org](http://www.mattapanbot.org)

President: Stu Rosenberg; Executive Secretary: Steven D. Busby

This small business association, founded in 1933, provides expertise and advice to prospective and existing business people. Its mission is to work for the civic and economic progress of Mattapan. The organization is currently implementing a Green Energy Initiative which will make Mattapan Square businesses more energy efficient and save them energy costs. It also works with the youth of the community to mentor and advise on a potential future for them in a business of their own. The Board of Trade is working to establish a "Main Streets" designation for Mattapan Square.

**Mattapan Community Development Corporation**

221 River St., Suite # 201, Foley Residences Campus, Mattapan, MA 02126 • 617-296-2000

[www.mattapancdc.org](http://www.mattapancdc.org)

Executive Director: Spencer Shields • [sdeshields@mattapancdc.org](mailto:sdeshields@mattapancdc.org)

The Mattapan CDC is dedicated to improving the social and economic conditions of all people who live or work in Mattapan. The organization focuses on improving the housing and economic circumstances of residents of limited means. It has completed residential projects which have built or preserved over 100 units of affordable housing. The current Morton Street Homes development will create 48 new units of affordable housing and 6,000 square feet of commercial space. Its Mattapan Housing Initiative seeks to turn foreclosed or abandoned property into renovated, affordable housing. The CDC offers job training and technical assistance to small businesses. It also collaborates with the Mildred Avenue Community Center on a youth development program using technology.
Mattapan Community Health Center
1425 Blue Hill Avenue, Mattapan, MA 02126 • 617-296-0061 • www.mattapanchc.org
CustomerService@matchc.org
President and CEO: Azzie Young, Ph.D.

The Center's mission is to improve the quality of life for area residents by providing comprehensive, accessible, affordable, and culturally appropriate community health care services. The Center participates in a Vitamin D Awareness initiative and a faith-based, community outreach initiative called Health Care Revival. It is a community partner of the Harvard Youth Violence Prevention Center (The HYVPC representative is Sharon T. Callender, 617-898-9007). In December 2009 the Health Center received $11.5 million in federal funding for expansion. The Center serves about 7,000 patients annually.

Mattapan Economic Development Initiative
Boston Redevelopment Authority • 617-918-4441
Project Manager: Dana Whiteside

This inter-agency collaborative project working with the BRA has sought to improve the business districts of Mattapan Square, Blue Hill Avenue, and the Morton Street Village corridor. A Community Advisory Group and Community Implementation Team have worked to develop and carry out the MEDI Action Agenda. The goals of the initiative have included enhanced commercial districts, job creation, and increased capital investment for the neighborhood.

Mattapan Food and Fitness Coalition
www.mattapanfoodandfitness.org
info@mattapanfoodandfitness.org

“The coalition draws on the wonderful ethnic and cultural diversity of the Mattapan community to promote a healthy living environment, with a focus on access to healthy foods and the promotion of physical fitness for all ages.’ Meetings are held on the second Tuesday of every month at 7:00 p.m. at the Mildred Avenue Community Center, 5 Mildred Ave. The coalition sponsors a weekly Farmers’ Market in Mattapan Square, Saturdays, 10:00 a.m. – 2:00 p.m., and an annual Mattapan Moving for Life fitness event.

Mattapan Patriots Football and Cheerleading Organization
PO Box 260790, Mattapan, MA 02126 • 617-654-5509/ 617-756-1319
www.mattapanpatriots.org • mattapanpatriotsregistration@yahoo.com
President: Donald Caisey

This Pop Warner Football program serves 7-15 year olds. In addition to football, the program develops leadership and promotes educational improvement.

Mattapan Public Library
1350 Blue Hill Avenue, Mattapan, MA 02126 • 617-298-9218
Branch Librarian: Maurice Gordon

The library offers a Teen Game Time on Friday afternoons and also a teen movie matinee, teen advisory board, homework assistance, and summer reading program. The library coordinates youth services with the Mildred Avenue Middle School & Community Center.

Mattahunt Community Center
100 Hebron Street, Mattapan, MA 02126 • 617-635-5159

The center provides tutoring, arts and crafts, childcare, athletics, Tae Kwon Do, and swimming. It is associated with the Mattahunt Elementary School
Mildred Avenue Community Center
1-5 Mildred Avenue, Mattapan, MA 02126 • 617-635-1328

The center is a state-of-the-art facility that includes a gym, an exercise studio/weight room, classrooms, a library, a dance studio, community rooms, a computer center, a senior center, a recording studio, a swimming pool, and an auditorium with a stage. The center offers a summer program accommodating 90 young people aged 6-12 years and also provides one of the sites for the Boston Neighborhood Basketball League.

Morton Street Board of Commerce
President and Founder: Danny Hardaway • 617-265-0377

Operation Make A Difference (OMAD)
www.omad.org
Contact person: Emmanuel Daphnis • 617-622-8357 • Mannydaphnis@hotmail.com

Operation Make A Difference is a community youth ministry that began in November of 1992. It started as a means to bring different youth activities together in the Haitian American community, but it has gradually evolved into a comprehensive youth ministry for the Haitian American community. OMAD has sponsored an annual Haitian American Youth Congress since 1993 which have included speakers, workshops, and music to enrich participants lives, provide opportunities for discussion, and combat negative social influences. As many as 3,000 Haitian youth have attended the annual congress.

SPARK Center
255 River St., Mattapan, MA 02126 • 617-534-2050 • www.bmc.org/spark
Executive Director: Martha Vibbert • Martha.Vibbert@bmc.org

The mission of the SPARK Center (Supporting Parents And Resilient Kids) is to help Boston’s highest risk children to build brighter tomorrows. SPARK provides therapeutic, medically specialized programs for children of all ages based on the philosophy that all children are resilient. Its daycare program offers comprehensive, integrated, state-of-the-art services for children and families whose lives are affected by medical, emotional, and/or behavioral challenges. In addition to serving young children, SPARK has an afterschool program for school aged children and teenagers. The Imani Village summer and afterschool program serves young people, most of whom are living with HIV.

Neighborhood Associations
- Colorado Street Neighborhood Association
- Mattapan Street & Neighboring Streets Homeowners Association
- Woodhaven Street Association
PUBLIC SAFETY & CRIME

The Mattapan and Morton and Norton Street areas are part of Boston Police District B-3 which also includes some additional areas beyond the study area. Public data does not yet seem to be summarized for 2009, but a summary of some relevant data from the 2008 Crime Summary report is presented. District B-3 is an active member of the Suffolk County District Attorney’s Anti-Gang Violence Coalition. The district police department also is involved with youth in numerous programs and initiatives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YOUTH ARRESTS 2004-2008 IN POLICE DISTRICT B-3, AGED 16 AND UNDER</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent Crime</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Part I Crime</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aggravated Assault</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
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Source: Boston Police Dept., 2008 Crime Summary Report

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<tr>
<th>YOUTH ARRESTS 2004-2008 IN POLICE DISTRICT B-3, AGED 14-24 YEARS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent Crime</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homicides</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Boston Police Dept., 2008 Crime Summary Report
COMMUNITY NEWSPAPERS & MEDIA

Mattapan Reporter
150 Mount Vernon St., Dorchester, MA 02125 • 617-436-1222
www.mattapanreporter.com
news@mattapanreporter.com

Dorchester Reporter
(see Dorchester Reporter for Mattapan links)
150 Mount Vernon St., Dorchester, MA 02125 • 617-436-1222
www.dotnews.com
newseditor@dotnews.com

Haitian Reporter
150 Mount Vernon St., Dorchester, MA 02125 • 617-436-1222
http://bostonhaitian.com
Published monthly

Haitian Radio Stations and Programs serving the Boston area

• Radio Soleil International, 1620 AM, Brockton
• Radio Union Internationale, WRUI 1680 AM, Boston
• Radio Energy, 1620 AM, Boston
• Radio Continentale, WRCI 102.1 FM, Brockton
• Radio Concorde, WRCB 1580 AM, Boston
• Radio Nouveaute, WRNM 1640 AM
• Radio Creole International, WRCI 1690 AM, Lynn
• Radio Mercure Internationale, 90.5 FM, Hyde Park
• Vwa Lakay, Haitian program, WNTN 1550 AM, Newton
  Mon.-Fri., 11:30 a.m. to sunset; also Sat. 8:30-10:30 a.m.
• Compas sur FM, Haitian music program, WMBR 88.1 FM, Cambridge
  Sun. 6:00- 8:00 a.m. & news, Sun., 8:00-10:00 a.m.
• Echo Evangelique, Haitian evangelical program, WEZE 590 AM, Boston
  Sat. 9:30 p.m.- Sun. 12:30 a.m.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bondi, Laura. “Community Survey of Mattapan, Massachusetts.” 5 May 1959. Typed manuscript. Available at the Boston Public Library, Mattapan Branch.


Harding, David J. The Living Drama: Community, Conflict and Culture Among Inner City Boys. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010. Although this study interviewed youth slightly outside the study area near Franklin Field and Lower Mills, it is still very relevant to the Morton and Norfolk Streets area.


### CREDITS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cover</td>
<td>Photo courtesy Church of the Holy Spirit, Mattapan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii.</td>
<td>“Mattapan, Massachusetts.” bird’s eye view map by O.H. Bailey &amp; Co., 1890 (details from illustrations of buildings on the perimeter of this map are reproduced on the following pages: 2, 4, 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>John Conness Estate on River Street: The Honorable John Conness (1822-1909), a retired U.S. Senator from California, is on the far right; family and friends assist in haying the field in front of the family home. Notice the horse-drawn hayrick on the left with the children standing on its top. Source: Dorchester Atheneum website (<a href="http://www.dorchesteratheneum.org">www.dorchesteratheneum.org</a>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Liversidge Institute, Street view. Half of a stereopticon view with writing in pencil on the back: Liversidge Farm and School, River Street, Mattapan. Source: Dorchester Atheneum website (<a href="http://www.dorchesteratheneum.org">www.dorchesteratheneum.org</a>).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Edward Stern Family and home on Fremont Street 1874. Source: Dorchester Atheneum website (<a href="http://www.dorchesteratheneum.org">www.dorchesteratheneum.org</a>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>former Lewenberg School. Source: Heart of the City website, Rappaport Institute for Greater Boston, <a href="http://ksgaccman.harvard.edu/hotc/DisplayPlace.asp?id=11517">http://ksgaccman.harvard.edu/hotc/DisplayPlace.asp?id=11517</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Tileston School postcard. Description: The Tileston School, erected in 1868 and located on Norfolk Street, Mattapan, was named for the Hon. Edmund P. Tileston, for many years a prominent paper manufacturer in Dorchester. Source: Dorchester Atheneum website (<a href="http://www.dorchesteratheneum.org">www.dorchesteratheneum.org</a>).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Photos by Rudy Mitchell: pp. 1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 15, 28, 29, 30, 31, 36*