Berlin

The City That Trees Built: Turning Land and Lumber Into Neighborhoods Berlin, New Hampshire



2015

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Introduction

The following study has been produced for the State of New Hampshire because of the rerouting of NH Route 110 through the Berlin Heights Addition Historic District, known locally as The Avenues, between First Avenue and Wight Street in Berlin, New Hampshire. As a result of the rerouting of the highway by the state, more than thirty houses and garages and one former store were demolished to accommodate the new route along the easterly edge of the neighborhood, adjacent to the railroad. Before their demolition, twenty-six of the residences and three of the garages were documented with photographs and drawings. In-depth research was done on seven of the properties and more general research was done for the others. What is presented here is meant to provide a context for those properties documented but also the Avenues as a whole, with special attention given to land development patterns, building patterns, building types and forms, ownership and occupancy patterns, and use of space by the owners and occupants, both interior and exterior. While the focus is on The Avenues neighborhood, the study also examines all of Berlin's neighborhoods.

The following incorporates previous research done by Preservation Company and others who have studied different features of Berlin's buildings and development over the years (see bibliography) but also features some new research, notably the comparative analysis of residential development and construction in Berlin neighborhoods other than the Avenues/Berlin Heights Addition Historic District and at a more general level in other New England late-nineteenth-century industrial/milling communities. The material includes a discussion of the multifamily building type known locally as the Block and regionally within the French-Canadian community as three-deckers (Morrill 1987).

Over the years many residents of Berlin, too many to specifically name here, but especially the members of the Berlin and Coos County Historical Society, have been very generous with their time, sharing with Preservation Company what they know including their understanding of the city's residential buildings and patterns—how they were built, how they were used, and the use and significance of certain features such as the open porches and exterior stairs. That knowledge and understanding is included in different places throughout what follows.

As to how to use this study, the different sections can be read separately or sequentially. Overall it is intended to provide a comparison of the Avenues/Berlin Heights Addition Historic District with other Berlin neighborhoods, determining if the patterns of development, housing, and occupancy seen in the Avenues are similar or different to those seen in the other parts of Berlin. The first section is an overall background history of the development of the Avenues/Berlin Heights Addition Historic District with a special reference to the development of the city and its mill industry. In many respects it is difficult to separate the history of the Avenues and its residents

¹ This process consisted of documentation of twenty-nine contributing buildings (twenty-six residential, three garages) in the Berlin Heights Addition Historic District. Seven properties have been recorded to Historic American Building Survey (HABS) Standards at Level I (Federal Register Vol. 68, No. 1139, July 21, 2003) as a series of New Hampshire Historic Property Documentation Forms (NHHPDF) by Preservation Company. Those buildings were selected for Level 1 documentation as they illustrate the most complete representations of the eight vernacular property types present among the twenty-six dwelling types being documented for this project. The remaining properties were documented at Level III by Lisa Mausolf, Preservation Consultant.

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from other Berlin neighborhoods as they are intricately linked. The city's development as a whole, especially its pulp and paper making mill history is shared by all the neighborhoods.

Beyond the background history, the focus of the other sections is on the residential landscape in particular—the housing, its builders and occupants, and changes over time. Each section begins with the Avenues/Berlin Heights Addition Historic District (drawing heavily on previous documentation but expanded as a result of the documentation process according to HABS Standards) followed by other Berlin neighborhoods such as the East Side, the Notre Dame School Neighborhood (St. Anne's/School Street), Norwegian Village, the Granite Street/St. Giles Neighborhood, and Berlin Heights. The discussion begins with an identification of patterns for original land purchases and platting and dwelling construction by property owners, speculative developers, and companies. The analysis then covers the composition of single- and multifamily residences as owner-occupied or entirely rental. The spatial elements will be discussed generally regarding the use of interior and exterior spaces by the residents. The comparative analysis then expands further to generally touch upon these same components in other late nineteenth and early twentieth-century neighborhoods in New England industrial/mill cities and towns similar in scale, period of development, and ethnic diversity to Berlin. This section relies extensively on secondary sources though comparatively little research has been done for other New England cities or towns comparable to Berlin.

The predominant themes associated with Berlin and its housing include community planning and development, architecture, ethnic heritage, industry, and social history. Within these broad themes a number of patterns particular to Berlin have been identified for all of the city's neighborhoods and its housing. Much of the housing, including single- and multifamily types, was constructed by and for individual property owners, especially after the 1890s. Multi-generational ownership and occupancy is common in the various neighborhoods, as is ownership of several lots in close proximity by different generations, either sequentially or concurrently. In many instances, family members tended to reside near each other. If an individual developed an additional parcel with housing it was frequently close to his or her place of residence. The subdivision of single-family and two-family houses is common in the more densely settled neighborhoods such as the Avenues/Berlin Heights Addition Historic District, the East Side, the Streets, and Burgess School/Notre Dame High School areas. Construction of blocks, a variant of New England threedeckers and Quebec triplexes, has strong associations with the French-Canadian immigrant community, built in response to the significant demand for housing especially in the 1910s and 1920s. Multiple family members tended to be employed in the wood pulp and paper mills, especially in the late nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth century, during Berlin's greatest period of residential development.

I. General Background History of the Development of Berlin and The Avenues/Berlin Heights Addition Historic District

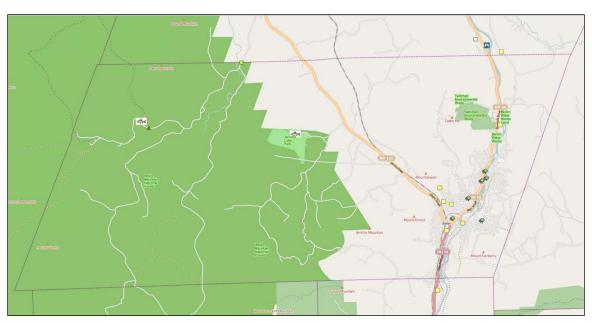
Berlin was first settled in 1821 and incorporated in 1829, at which time there were approximately seventy-three inhabitants (Merrill 1888, 786). Initially known as Maynesborough, the name was changed at the time of incorporation. By the late nineteenth century Berlin had emerged as a major industrial center, remaining so well into the mid-twentieth century. The greatest development was concentrated in the period from the 1870s to the 1920s in conjunction with the emergence and rapid expansion of the wood pulp and paper mills. Between 1900 and 1930 the population of the city swelled to over 20,000 and Berlin grew from a small town to a thriving, bustling metropolis, the largest city in the northern part of New Hampshire.

The Avenues/Berlin Heights Addition District neighborhood (hereafter referred to as The Avenues) is one of a number of neighborhoods in Berlin that were first platted in the early 1890s and steadily developed over the next thirty years with a mix of single-family and multifamily The land was platted by a local land development company established by local businessmen. The majority of housing was built by individuals for their occupancy plus a small amount of speculative development by local businessmen and building craftsmen. With one notable exception, the building types largely resemble those built in urban and industrial New England cities and towns in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This includes gablefront or end houses, foursquares, gable-front two-families, and foursquare two-families. One type in particular, however, the block, is distinctive to Berlin and a handful of other New England communities with large French-Canadian populations who actively participated in the building process. The plans of the housing and particular building characteristics, such as exterior stairs and interior plans with most of the rooms arrayed around the kitchen, often the most important room in the house or flat distinguish this building form. The Avenues was home to many firstand second-generation French-Canadians, but also other ethnic immigrant groups, including Russians, Poles, Irish, and Italians, who created and shaped the appearance of the neighborhood over the decades.

The shape of the City of Berlin, a parallelogram, encompasses a varied landscape.

² As noted previously, sections of this overview draw from, and at times quote nearly verbatim from, two earlier documents prepared by Preservation Company (Kari Laprey, Carol Hooper, and Lynne Emerson Monroe) on the The Avenues/Berlin Heights Addition (see bibliography).

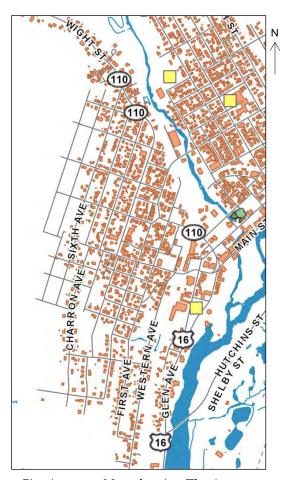
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City of Berlin (www.mapsonline.net/berlinnh)

The topography of the city consists of a relatively flat river valley surrounded by mountainous terrain. The westerly one-half of the city is part of the White Mountain National Forest. Settlement is concentrated in the eastern one-third of the city, straddling the Androscoggin River, at the confluence with the Dead River, a small waterway with little volume. The powerful Androscoggin River measures approximately one-eighth of a mile wide as it flows south through Berlin and falls roughly 200 feet over the course of a mile or 400 feet over the six miles the river passes through the city (Wight 1967, 84). The significantly smaller Dead River, which originates in the White Mountains to the west, forms a series of small pools as it flows southeast towards the Androscoggin. The river powered some small-scale grist and saw mills in the early decades of settlement, but has little volume and consequently was never a major source of water power. Other major waterways within the town, though not near the center of development, include the Upper Ammonoosuc River and the North Branch of the Upper Ammonoosuc River. Northwest of the city center, near the Milan town line is Head Pond, the source of the North Branch of the Upper Ammonoosuc, and historically the largest pond within the town boundary (Merrill 1888, 784; Severance and Lawson 2005, 10). Other named ponds and lakes include Jericho Lake, York Pond, and Godfrey Dam (Severance and Lawson 2005, 10). Numerous small streams and brooks flow through the city, predominantly from west to east and typically draining into either the Dead River or the Androscoggin (Severance and Lawson 2005, 10). Nearby peaks include Mount Carberry to the southeast, Mount Forist to the west, Mount Jasper and Cates Hill to the north, and Mount Success to the east. Rock ledges are present throughout the area and consequently often are present in the basements of most houses.

The Avenues neighborhood is bounded by the Dead River to the northeast and the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad (originally the Atlantic & St. Lawrence [1847-1853], later the Grand Trunk Railway [1853-1923]), to the east, which predated the platting of the neighborhood and served as a defining boundary.



City Assessor Map showing The Avenues

The grade increases as it approaches Mount Forist in the west, which rises precipitously to form the northern boundary of the neighborhood.³ The neighborhood contains two notable topographic features within the grid system, a fifteen-foot drop from Second Avenue to First Avenue between Hamlin and Green streets, and a high rock outcropping at the intersection of Second Avenue and Green Street. Second Avenue curves at this point, breaking the grid, in order to avoid this obstacle. Two additional rock outcroppings are present near the railroad tracks, north of Green Street.

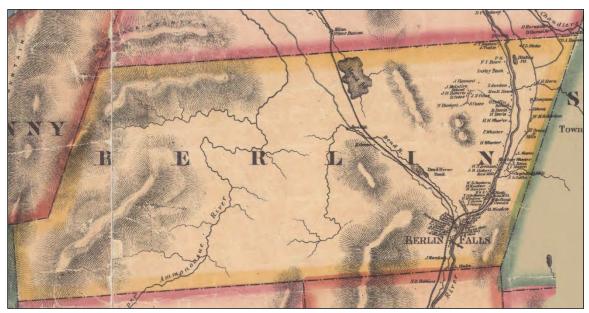
In general, the Avenues has few trees, though some are present in the block interiors, within private yards; trees are absent along the streets as are open park spaces.

Though a road and the railroad along its eastern edge predate the creation of the Avenues, its history largely begins in the 1890s when the area was first platted. However, the history of Berlin begins in the 1820s.

³ Mount Forist is named for Merrill C. Forist (born ca. 1825), a hotel keeper, school-teacher, and prominent early Berlin resident who held a number of political offices including superintendent of schools, representative, and justice of the peace (Merrill 1888, 790).

A. Berlin - General History and Contexts, 1820s-Present

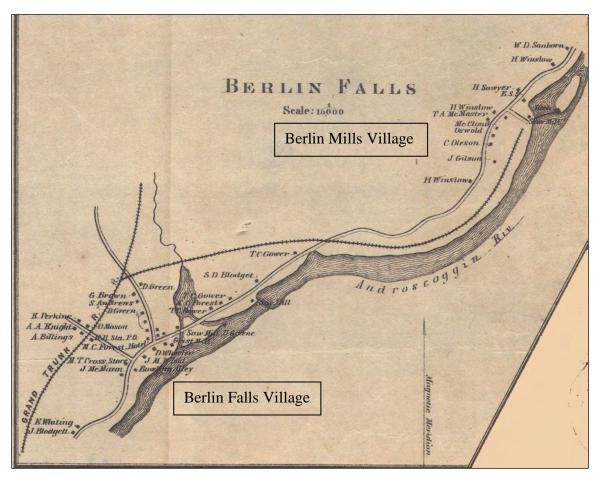
1. 1820s-1870s



Walling, Topographical Map of Coos County, 1861, detail, Berlin

For most of the first fifty-plus years of its history Berlin remained small. Not until 1870 did the population rise above 500 (Bureau of the Census 1830-1870). Settlement was concentrated primarily in two small nodes, both on the west side of the Androscoggin River.

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Walling, Topographical Map of Coos County, 1861, detail, Berlin Falls

The original larger one, Berlin Falls Village, was centered at the confluence of the Androscoggin and Dead rivers. To the north the smaller Berlin Mills Village, emerged around the H. Winslow Sawmill, later Berlin Mills Sawmill (Hurd 1892). In addition, arable land for farming was present in outlying areas, especially on the east side to the north.

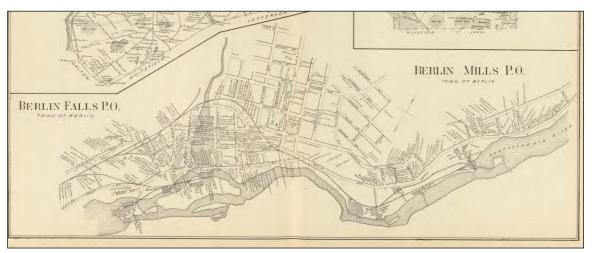
Transportation 1820s-1870s

The construction of the Atlantic & St. Lawrence, later the Grand Trunk Railway (1853-1923), through Berlin in the early 1850s represented a seminal moment in the town's subsequent history, not only economically but also physically. Its presence would later establish the easterly boundary of the Avenues. The vast timber resources of Coos County now became more easily transportable after harvesting (Casella 2001, 13). Chartered in 1845, the Atlantic and St. Lawrence, the first international railroad in the United States, was built to connect Portland, Maine, and Montreal, Canada, establishing an economical means to transport goods between the St. Lawrence waterway and an Atlantic seaport (Casella 2001, 12). Funded by Portland, Maine, businessmen, the towns of Berlin and Lancaster had competed to get the railroad to pass through their town, with the former ultimately the winner. The railroad arrived in Berlin in 1852 and the line north was completed the following year (Casella 2001, 12-13). Soon thereafter the Grand Trunk Railroad (chartered 1851) secured the lease of the fifty-four miles of track through New Hampshire. The northeastern branch, known as the Berlin Mills branch road, was completed in 1856, running from the depot by Green

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Square through what later was developed as Fibreville, crossing Main Street just south of the later site of St. Anne's Church, leading to the H. Winslow & Company saw mills (Casella 2001, 15; Chappell 1991).

The railroad allowed for the expansion of the lumber and milling industry beyond a local market and outside investors established large-scale operations in lumber and wood products. Berlin previously had the means to harvest and produce large volumes of timber products, but was hindered by inefficient and expensive transportation methods, either on the river or overland by teams of animals to get the products to market. The railroad provided an efficient and economical alternative (Merrill 1888:794).



Hurd, Atlas of New Hampshire, detail, 1892. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.

The railroad also had an effect on Berlin's physical layout. Unlike many other industrializing towns, where the arrival of the railroad post-dated much of the street layouts, in Berlin the railroad predated much of the platting of the townscape. Consequently, the railroad provided the boundaries for some of the neighborhoods that were to develop and dictated the type of development that would grow around it (Louis Berger Group 2001, 7). In the Avenues it created the easterly boundary for that neighborhood. Furthermore, in the 1890s and early twentieth century industrial buildings other than paper and pulp mills were located adjacent to the railroad within the Avenues.

At the same time, the river remained a primary means of transporting logs from the northern forests to Berlin for processing by the saw mill and later by the wood pulp and paper making industry.

Industry and Commerce 1820s-1870s

Whereas by the time of the establishment of The Avenues in the 1890s the predominant industry was beginning to change, between the town's initial settlement in 1821 and the 1870s the principal local industry was saw mills that processed the large reserves of timber in the immediate vicinity. At the same time, up to the 1850s, the majority of households identified farming (15) or lumbering (5) as their primary occupation (Bureau of the Census 1850). In the early decades of this period the industry was small scale. One of the town's early and successful residents, in the 1830s was Thomas Green, who ran a small store and a grist mill, and became a significant land holder. He also erected the first sawmill at the head of the falls in 1826, and by 1829 his two sons Daniel and

Amos had established a second mill for shingles and clapboards in the vicinity of their father's mill. In these early decades son Daniel built several mills (often to replace an earlier one lost to fire) on the Upper Ammonoosuc and Dead rivers, and at various locations on the Androscoggin River (Wight 1967, 91, 102). The Green Family acquired substantial tracts of land in these early decades of settlement and would continue to own them until sustained development began in the 1880s and 1890s. Their land holdings included large portions of the Avenues and also of the East Side. A number of other early merchants and mill owners also acquired large parcels of land in the vicinity of the villages of Berlin Falls and Berlin Mills. Not until the 1880s and 1890s were these holdings platted and subsequently developed over the next several decades.

As previously noted, the arrival of the railroad in 1852 represented a significant turning point in the town's industrial growth. Some Portland, Maine, businessmen, notably Josiah Little, president of the Atlantic & St. Lawrence Railroad recognized the link between an economical means of transport and the potential water power of the substantial falls on the Androscoggin, known as Berlin Falls. Little was instrumental in getting the railroad to come through Berlin as he understood the economic significance of a transportation corridor passing by such a major water power resource, still largely unharnessed at that time. Consequently, in concert with the railroad's construction, the Portland businessmen, including Little, purchased the Berlin Falls water rights. Soon thereafter the group erected a dam and large sawmill called H. Winslow & Company (Merrill 1888:124; Bartlett 1985:2). This was the first corporate entity to harness the considerable power of the falls on the Androscoggin River. The mill was located on the west side of the river at the head of the falls, where the seventeen-foot drop provided roughly 20,000 horse power. The mill initially housed one gang and two single saws, able to produce 6 to 8 million feet of lumber per year (Merrill 1888, 124; Bartlett 1985, 2; Nadeau 2008, 7). By that year about 100 men were employed in the three large sawmills, and several smaller ones in town (Wight 1967, 172). Over the years, the complex was expanded with additional saws including the first rotary saw in 1860 and a grist-mill (Merrill 1888, 812-813). About a decade later, in 1866, H. Winslow & Company became the Berlin Mills Company, and two years after that it was purchased by the Brown family of Portland, Maine, who subsequently became the town's predominant employer, operating not only the saw mill but other production facilities (Merrill 1888:124; Bartlett 1985:2 Nadeau 2008, 7). By 1870 nearly 50 percent (101) of the 205 working males sixteen years of age or older worked in the saw mill (Bureau of the Census 1870).

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Saw Mill, 1870, Berlin Mills.
Brown Company Collection, Michael J. Spinelli, Jr. Center for University Archives and Special Collections, Herbert H. Lamson Library and Learning Commons,

Plymouth State University, Item 18930.

In the 1870s other uses for timber harvested in the area were found that would change Berlin forever. The paper industry that would give Berlin names such as "The Paper City" and "The City that Trees Built" began with the founding of the Forest Fibre Company, the first chemical pulp mill in Berlin, in 1877 by Henry H. Furbish. Innovations in the manufacture of paper, notably the use of wood pulp instead of rags for its production, were the genesis of this transformation, along with the manufacturing process itself (Watterson 1997; Smith 1970, 121-187). Ultimately wood pulp and paper mills would replace saw mills as the dominant industry in Berlin, reaching their zenith in the early twentieth century with multiple mills situated along both sides of the river. The first wood pulp mill constructed in Berlin, Mill A, mixed spruce saw mill waste and poplar wood using the soda process (Davis 1897, 92; Merrill 1888, 814). The mill had the capacity to manufacture three tons of wood pulp per day which was soon doubled to nearly six tons per day (Merrill 1888, 826). The demand was such that the company erected a second mill (Mill B) in 1880 with a production capacity of roughly twenty-five tons per day (Merrill 1888, 826). By that time the company was the largest employer in Berlin with 280 employees (Bureau of the Census 1880).

⁴ Furbish established the company with his brother-in-law Robert J. Carpenter of Portland, Maine, who died before the business was fully established. Carpenter's widow Ellen J. continued to be involved with the business for a time after her husband's death (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 12, Page 356). A third party, George H. Hammond, had ended his involvement by 1880 (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 12, Page 356).

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While the one pulp and five lumber and saw mills were the largest employers in town, by 1880, there were other small-scale manufactories. These included two flour and gristmills as well as two shoemakers and a blacksmith (Bureau of the Census 1880).

Population and Demographics 1820s-1870s

In the early decades following incorporation the population of Berlin remained small, numbering fewer than 200 residents as of 1850 (Bureau of the Census 1850; Historical Committee 1929, 19). At that time, the heads of households were all natives of New England, with the majority from either New Hampshire or Maine. Twenty years later not only had the population increased to over 500 but the demographics looked different. Most significantly was the large number of Canadian-born immigrants, from both English- and French-speaking areas. As of 1870, a majority of the 205 males sixteen years of age or older were from Canada (88), Nova Scotia (3), or New Brunswick (3). Also present were small numbers of immigrants from Norway (8) and Ireland (3). The remainder of the male population sixteen years of age or older was from New England, with a majority from nearby Maine (64), half that number from New Hampshire (32), and just two from Massachusetts.

Development and Residential Construction 1820s-1870s

In these early decades of settlement, development and residential construction was predominantly by individuals. Large parcels of land tended not to be plated in advance, but rather subdivided into differently sized lots or parcels over time and developed incrementally by various individuals. One such example, from the 1870s, was 110-112-114 Green Street (see NHHPDF Documentation No. 670). With the ready availability of land, the need to erect housing over two-and-a-half stories was essentially absent. As a result, the housing largely fell into one of two categories, woodframe, single-family dwellings or hotels/boardinghouses. The latter were privately owned and operated, with one well-known exception. H. Winslow and Company had erected a boardinghouse for their workers in the early 1850s (Mausolf 2003, 2). Overall, the residential landscape included owner-occupied and rental housing.

2. 1880s-1930s

In the 1888 Coos County history, the introduction to the chapters on Berlin highlighted the extensive development in the town in the previous decade. Just ten years earlier the town had only two large manufacturing entities, the Berlin Mills Saw Mill (formerly H. Winslow and Company) and the Forest Fibre Company. By the late 1880s, however, the number of mills had increased significantly, dramatically changing the character of the town:

No town in Coos has shown such growth and prosperity during the last decade as the, to that time, comparatively obscure and unimportant town of Berlin. By its rapid development and increase in population and wealth it has astonished the slower towns, assumed an influence equal to any, and stands to-day the admiration and pride of the county (Merrill 1888, 783).

⁵ The census does not distinguish between French and Canadian speaking parts of Canada but some general conclusions about ethnicity could be made with further analysis based on last names.

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By 1888 the town had three pulp and paper mills, in addition to one large saw mill. Over the next forty years the town experienced its most dramatic transformation economically, industrially, demographically, and physically. By the 1920s the town had multiple mills owned by two corporate entities, the Brown Company and the International Paper Company. This rapid industrial development attracted many immigrants and migrants with varying skill levels to the city, to work in the mills, and to provide the commercial and professional services typical of a thriving metropolis. Land on both sides of the river was platted and developed with a mix of frame single-and multifamily dwellings to house the increasing number of new residents.

Transportation 1880s-1930s

The railroad not only remained a primary method of transporting industrial products but also was expanded with sidings and short lines extending to the numerous mills on both sides of the river. While initially they remained concentrated along the western side of the river, the arrival of the Whitefield and Jefferson branch of the Concord and Montreal Railroad, later leased to Boston and Maine, was completed to Gorham and Berlin in 1892.



Railroad Map of New Hampshire Accompanying Report of the Railroad Commissioners, 1894. Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.

The line followed the east bank of the Androscoggin, terminating in the vicinity of the massive paper mill complex on the east side of the city (Casella 2002, 5). The line was intended to extend to Montreal but that portion was never constructed. In 1895 the line was leased to the Boston and Maine Railroad and passenger service continued until 1961, as ridership had declined significantly in the 1950s (Lindsell 2000, 333). A depot was built near the intersection of East Mason and Goebels streets. By 1905, the two-story frame Boston & Maine Hotel fronted on the tracks, opposite the Passenger Station (Sanborn 1905).

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Establishment of a street railway company at the end of the nineteenth century further indicated the extent of Berlin's development. Incorporated in 1899, the Berlin Street Railway Co. was organized by a local group of investors that included Herbert Goss, one of the primary investors of Berlin Heights Addition. Construction was delayed, however, until two outside investors (Frank Ridlon, a Boston street railway supplies wholesaler, and Edward W. Gross of Auburn, Maine) acquired the charter in 1901. By the following year the laying down of tracks had begun. The first two cars were placed on the line in July 1902 and by Labor Day of that year the line was fully operational (Cummings 1965; Wight 1967, 345, 353; Stearns 1908, 1892).



Berlin Street Railway Car #8, 1934 on Glen Avenue opposite the Berlin Street Railway Co. car barn
The car bar on Glen Avenue is behind the photographer.
Note the front porches with exterior stairs on the multifamily housing in the background.
(http://www.trolleymuseum.org/documents/library201204.pdf)

As first proposed, the line was to run between the pumping station of the Berlin Water Company in Berlin Mills Village and the intersection of Main and Exchange streets in Gorham, providing access for the large numbers of mill workers who lived beyond walking distance of the mills at the southern edge of town (NH Railroad Commissioners 1902, 191). As built, the line ran from the northerly end of Main Street, opposite the Berlin Mills Bridge and Eighth Street to Main and Exchange streets in Gorham. In Berlin it ran along the easterly side of the street from Berlin Mills Bridge to the crossing of the Berlin Mills branch of the Grand Trunk Railway. At that point it crossed into the center of the street and continued south through the business district to just south of Green Square/Post Office Square. From there it returned to the easterly side of the street and continued south, running along Glen Avenue and Gorham Road to the town line. In Gorham it generally paralleled present-day NH Route 16 and the river south to Main and Exchange streets in Gorham (Cummings 1965). The still-extant-though-altered car barn is located on Glen Avenue north of Unity Street, near the E.M. Cross Machine Co. The street railway remained in operation until 1938 at which time it was replaced with a bus system (Hilton & Due 1960, 325).

After the turn of the twentieth century, the automobile gained ascendancy, eventually superseding the train as the primary mode of personal transportation. In response New Hampshire began to improve its roads. NH Route 16, which runs through the center of the city, is a primary northsouth state highway that runs north from Portsmouth on the seacoast, passing through the White Mountain region, and ending at the small, mountain community of Errol, approximately thirtyfive miles south of the Canadian border, before passing into Maine. In Berlin it parallels the Androscoggin River, running along Glen Avenue into the central business district along Main Street, and continuing north on River Drive before crossing the city line into Milan. NH Route 16 became a state highway in 1909 as part of an organized effort by the NH State Highway Engineer's office to create and maintain a statewide system of roads. Historically known as the East Side Road and White Mountain Highway, Route 16 was one of three trunk-line roads established in the state in the early twentieth century by an act of the legislature in an effort to improve roads of statewide importance that were under local or county government control. These north-south routes, defined as primary through routes, connected centers of population, industry, and the principal highways of Maine, Massachusetts, and Vermont. Local and county governments were required to expend state-aid appropriations on improving and maintaining roads in this system (Bureau of Public Roads 1927:11-13).

A second route, NH Route 110, passes directly through the northerly end of the Avenues neighborhood. The route, which became a state highway in the 1920s, is now a major trucking route between the White Mountain region and Vermont. The route roughly follows an early historical one, West Milan Road, which ran northwest-southwest, winding its way along the Dead River and the railroad tracks, and predated the platting of the Avenues. Until recently, the state highway began in the heart of the city's central business district, branching northwest from NH Route 16, passing under the railroad tracks and zigzagging through the gridded street pattern of the Avenues, along Green Street, Second Avenue, Madigan Street, Third Avenue, and Wight Street, before continuing northwest on Jericho Road. In the wake of the Route 110 project, the roadway will pass along the westerly side of the railroad tracks, after passing under the bridge, and connect with Wight Street.

Industry and Commerce 1880s-1930s

This period represents Berlin's most dynamic and significant in terms of industrial growth and development. During the peak decades of production, multiple mills operated along the Androscoggin, manufacturing a wide range of wood products.

The 1896 article of Berlin in *The Granite Monthly* nicely captured not only the rapid industrial growth but also the foundation of that growth:

As has already been said, the growth of Berlin has principally taken place within the past few years; and it has also been remarked that that growth has been due to two causes, --her magnificent water power and her proximity to the forests. Berlin's foundation, geographically speaking, is solid rock; but from a commercial standpoint she is founded on wood. Until this year every product of her mills has had its origin in the forests, her pulp and paper as well as her lumber; and it is through her large corporations that advantage

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has been taken of these natural facilities, and to them that she owes whatever of prosperity she has had (Niles 1896, 193-194).

The establishment of the first wood pulp mill in the 1870s in Berlin initiated the town's transformation into a city over the next several decades. By 1880, of the 462 males sixteen years of age or older, a greater number now worked in the pulp mill (101) than in the saw mill (93). Others worked as river drivers (13) or worked in the woods (13), both essential jobs for the lumbering industry. Just over 100 men (104) worked as laborers, the majority likely employed in the mills. One notable increase was in the number of self-identified carpenters now working in the town, numbering over twenty (from just one ten years earlier), and likely kept busy constructing not only the expanding industrial facilities but new housing for the workers and their families flocking to the town (Bureau of the Census 1880). Forty-four men were farmers or farm workers. The remainder worked in a variety of occupations essential to a growing town, providing goods and services, as store owners, physicians, butchers, brick masons, blacksmiths, painters, shoemakers, and barbers to name some (Bureau of the Census 1880). If women were employed they worked overwhelming in domestic trades such as household or hotel servants, laundresses, cooks, or dressmakers (Bureau of the Census 1880).

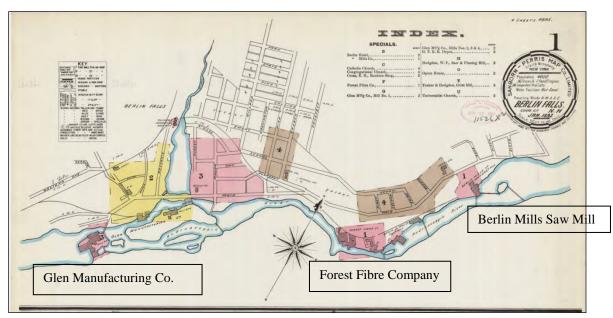
Through the 1880s the *Forest Fibre Company* continued to grow and prosper. By the late 1880s it employed nearly 300 men, was considered to have the largest mill in the United States manufacturing chemical pulp, and shipped its product nationally (Merrill 1888, 826). This success was comparatively short-lived, however, owing to the development of newer manufacturing processes, notably sulphite pulp:

With the invention of the sulphite process of pulp making, the soda process was hard hit. By the sulphite process cheaper wood, spruce and fir [could] be used, with a higher yield of stronger fibre, and with less expense in bleaching (Paine 1926, 10).

As a result, fewer mills used poplar and the soda process (Paine 1926, 10). Partly in lieu of those developments Furbish formed a partnership with J. A. Bacon, a paper manufacturer in Lawrence, Massachusetts. That lasted until 1893 at which time a new corporation, the Berlin Falls Fibre Co, was established. Its product was used primarily for magazines and as "fairly good book paper," uses for which ground pulp was especially suited owing to its lack of fibre (Niles 1896, 196). In spite of plant improvements the plant soon closed. In April 1898 the mill and water privilege were sold to Elias Thomas of Portland. Disaster struck, however, in late December 1898 when a major fire destroyed much of the mill and it was not rebuilt (*Berlin Reporter* 30 December 1898).

Berlin's offer of a ten-year tax exemption to wood pulp companies locating along the Androscoggin River attracted other entities, leading to the establishment of two additional mills by the early 1890s. The second paper mill company in Berlin, the *White Mountain Pulp and Paper Company*, the first of the ground wood mills, opened in 1883 just east of the Avenues (Bunker, Potter and Goodby 1996).

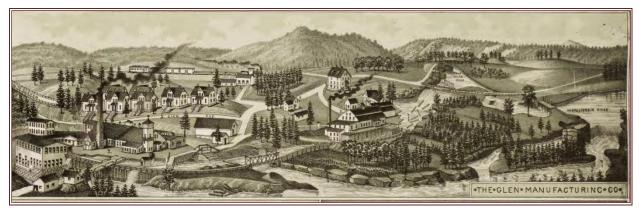
⁶ The low number in 1870 is likely misleading. In all likelihood, many of the men had carpentry skills but did not identify that as their livelihood.



Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, 1892, Sheet 1, detail.

Dartmouth Digital Library Collections.

This entity was later subsumed by the third paper company to establish operations in Berlin, the *Glen Manufacturing Company*. Formed in 1885 by a group of wealthy Massachusetts capitalists, the company opened its new mill the following year on the west side of the Androscoggin River in the southerly part of the town.



Norris, Berlin Falls, NH and Berlin Mills, 1888, detail showing the Glen Manufacturing Company and its company houses. Library of Congress, American Memory Collection.

By the late 1880s the 200-man workforce produced thirty-two tons of ground wood pulp and twenty-four tons of roll paper. The mill supplied print paper to several Boston and New York newspapers and several smaller journals (Merrill 1888, 814; Davis 1897, 93). In 1887 it purchased the White Mountain Pulp and Paper Company, initiating the first of several subsequent consolidations within the industry in Berlin (Merrill 1888, 815). The Glen Manufacturing Company started a Sulphite mill using a newer manufacturing process, notably sulphite pulp in 1893. The mill was located on an island opposite the confluence of the Androscoggin and Dead rivers.



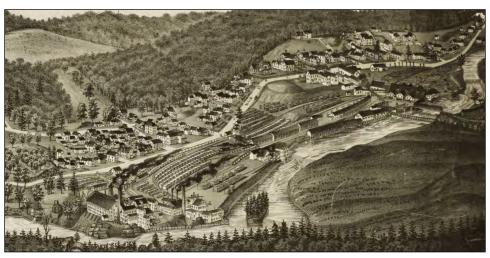
1895 Sanborn, detail of Glen Manufacturing Co. facilities, sheet 1.

Dartmouth Digital Library Collections.

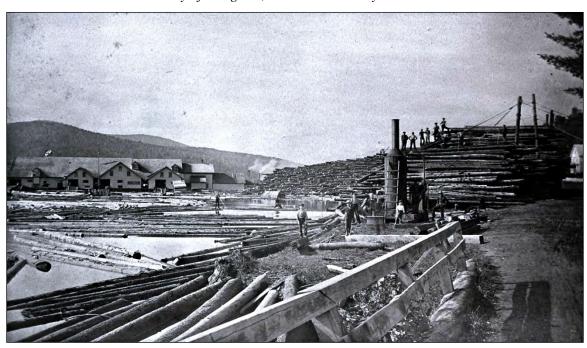
Just over a decade later, in 1898, Glen Manufacturing Company became a part of the newly created *International Paper Company*, formed in January of that year from the union of twenty mills located in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and New York (Smith 1970, 170). International Paper eventually became the largest producer of newsprint in the world with multiple plants nationally (Wight 1967, 343, 390). In 1904 the Boston architect Frank B. Gilbreth (who later gained fame as the father in *Cheaper By the Dozen*) received the contract to build some mills for International Paper in Berlin (*American Architect and Building News* 9 July 1904, viii). Its presence in Berlin, though significant with several mills lasted only into the 1920s when a series of strikes prompted it to halt operations in that city.

An additional paper mill company, the *Burgess Sulphite Fibre Company*, was established in 1892, and by 1896 was the largest paper manufacturer in the United States and possibly internationally, manufacturing 75-80 tons of pulp per day (Watterson 1997). In 1906, the Berlin Mills Company acquired this mill (Wight 1967, 343, 390).

In this period the Berlin Mills Company continued to expand though initially its business continued to be processing timber.



Norris, 1888 Bird's Eye, Detail, Berlin Mills Company Library of Congress, American Memory Collection.



Berlin Mills Company Sawmill, 1890, Aug 1920 of 1890 photo. The pond and north elevation of mill with Main Street on right side of photograph. Brown Company Collection, Michael J. Spinelli, Jr. Center for University Archives and Special Collections, Herbert H. Lamson Library and Learning Commons, Plymouth State University, Item 1333.

By the late 1880s the saw mill was one of the largest in northeastern New England (Merrill 1888, 812-813). In the winter time 300-400 men worked as loggers in the woods up river (Merrill 1888,

⁷ By 1887 mill products included 140,000 of long lumber daily, 30,000 shingles, 10,000 clapboards, 60,000 laths, and 10,000 pickets. Machinery included four circular saws, a gang and a band saw, three shingle machines, two clapboard machines, and lath and picket saw. The work force ranged between 350 and 375 men (Merrill 1888, 813).

813). Fire heavily damaged the mill in 1897 but the Brown family (owners of the Berlin Mills Company) rebuilt the facility (Tardiff, 2013).

By the 1890s, however, the Brown family wholeheartedly entered the wood pulp and paper manufacturing industry. In a span of just ten years, the Company (under W.W. Brown of Portland and other members of the Brown family) constructed large mills along both banks of the Androscoggin. Their combined operations produced wood pulp, bleached and unbleached sulfite pulp, and newsprint, as well as lumber. In addition, they continued operation of their woodworking facilities. The Planing Mill included the Window-frame Mill and the box-shop. These products were shipped nationally but were also available locally for use in the large quantity of new housing constructed in these decades. Typically production slowed in the winter months (*Brown Bulletin* July 1919, 3). Fire destroyed the sawmill again in 1913 but as before it was rebuilt, remaining in operation into the 1930s (*Berlin Annual Report 1915*, 19; Tardiff, 2013).

Millyard operations were supported by gristmills, stables, a company store, and blacksmith and machine shops (Davis 1897). In the early twentieth century, the Berlin Mills Company employed between 600 and 800 in the summer, up to 1200 men in logging camps during the winter, and 450 river drivers in the spring (Wight 1967, 338). Nine miles of railroad track, with bridges over the Androscoggin, linked all sections of the Berlin Mills complex. In addition, wood pulp was moved between mills in large pipes. The entire complex was lit by electricity that the mill produced itself (Davis 1897, 81; Bunker, Potter and Goodby 1996).

The winter of 1918-1919 was particularly slow

on account of unsettled industrial conditions, but the building boom, which is so noticeable in our little city, seems to be general throughout the country and the mill is now running at its full capacity, with orders coming in every day (*Brown Bulletin July* 1919, 3).

Ultimately the Berlin Falls Company (renamed the Brown Company in 1917 to avoid associations with Germany) became the town's predominant employer with its different mills dominating the local industries into the 1940s. Mills included the Riverside Mill, Sulphite Fibre Mill, and Tube Mill.

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Panorama, looking south from log piles of Brown Co. mills, 1928.

Brown Company Collection, Michael J. Spinelli, Jr. Center for University Archives and Special Collections, Herbert H. Lamson Library and Learning Commons, Plymouth State University, Item 11226.

Most of the offices were located at the northerly end of Main Street but the mills and large wood piles lined both sides of the river from Berlin Falls down to the Gorham town line. Development of the Berlin Mills Company culminated in the construction of the Cascade Mill on the Berlin-Gorham town line in 1904 (Anonymous 1929, 41). At that time, it was the largest self-contained paper-making operation in the world and was equipped with the world's largest chemical pulp mill and paper machines (Anonymous 1929, 41-42; Wight 1967, 354). Housing was built nearby for workers, creating a small mill village known as Cascade (Wight 1967, 356).

In the early twentieth century, uses for byproducts of chemical pulp manufacturing were discovered and product lines expanded. The company, a leader in these developments, built a research facility on upper Main Street, where 100 people were employed.

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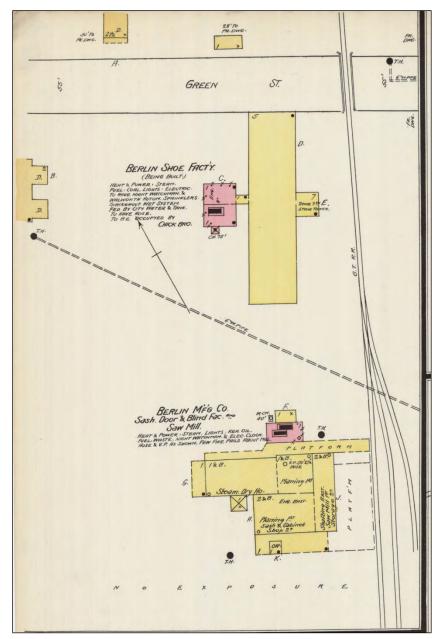
View from atop main office building, looking north-northeast with Main St at left, research building in middle ground, and the Bermico mill at right, August 1956.

Brown Company Collection, Michael J. Spinelli, Jr. Center for University Archives and Special Collections, Herbert H. Lamson Library and Learning Commons, Plymouth State University, Item 27853.

By the late 1910s, the company manufactured a range of wood, wood pulp, and paper products including clapboards, fibre tubes, druo wrappers, sheathing paper, general merchandise, pulp screenings, house plumbing, kream krisp (later Crisco), shingles, lumber, book paper, kraft paper, bond paper, blinds, kraft pulp, sash, chloroform, doors, bleach liquor, lignine, and bleached sulphite pulp (*Brown Bulletin July* 1919, 1).

The mills in Berlin, and in turn the city as a whole, were severely affected by labor strikes beginning in the 1920s, followed by the Depression. By the early 1920s, Berlin's pulp and paper industry employed nearly 4,000 people. In 1930, that number had dropped dramatically to less than 2,500. This was due in part to the fact that the International Paper Company, which never recovered from the labor strikes of 1921, ceased operation in 1930 (Wight 1967, 449, 460). International Paper went as far as demolishing its buildings along the river. That same year, the Brown Company reduced their number of plants by closing the Cascade Mill. By 1932, the remaining pulp and paper mills employed approximately 1,400 people. In many mills, the work week was limited to two days during the 1930s (Wight 1967, 460-461; 466). Throughout the early part of the 1930s the State and City helped the Brown Company finance their logging operation, but they nevertheless declared bankruptcy in 1935.

Though wood pulp, paper making, and lumbering operations dominated the local economy in the early decades of this period, several other industries also manufactured goods. In 1895 the Berlin Shoe Factory, leased by the Chick Brothers of Haverhill, Massachusetts, established operations. The new large five-story wood building (200' x 50') was located on Gilbert Street in the Avenues, near the railroad (Bureau of Labor Report, 1896, 18, 341).



1895 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, detail, sheet 5

showing the Berlin Shoe Factory (under construction) and the Berlin Manufacturing Co., a sash, door & blind factory and saw mill.

Dartmouth Digital Library Collections.

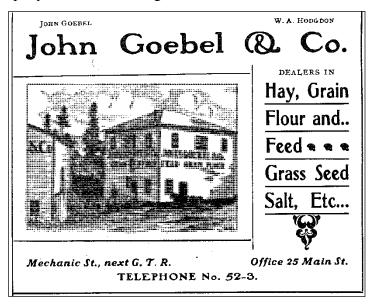
In January 1897 the lasters went on strike for higher wages but it lasted just two days. This was the city's first experience with a strike (Bureau of Labor Report 1898, 20). In the first week of January 1898, the shoe factory shipped 20,000 pairs of shoes (Bureau of Labor Report 1898, 20). In the late 1890s the local paper had a regular feature, "Shoe Factory Notes" and as of 1900 shoemaking was a prevalent occupation for many residents of the Avenues. The factory, however, had closed by 1905.

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In the 1890s the Berlin Manufacturing Company, a sawmill and sash, door and blind maker, was located off Gilbert Street adjacent the tracks. Luther Buber and Sons sawmill, woodworking, building supplies was located east of the tracks, south of Green Street (Sanborn 1895, 1901).

On the East Side, on Goebel Street near the Boston & Maine railroad tracks, was the Berlin Foundry and Machine Company. Established in 1901 on Burgess Street as the Berlin Iron & Brass Foundry Company by George Harkins and John Maherns, it erected new buildings on Goebel Street in 1904 (Directory 1905). By the following year the establishment included a two-story machine shop, the one-story foundry, and a coal shed; some of the buildings remain in use today (Sanborn 1905).

Other small-scale manufactories included the John C. Goebel Grist Mill, powered by the Dead River and located just southeast of the Grand Trunk Railroad trestle over the river. In addition, Builders Supply Company did woodworking at the Goebel Grist Mill.



Advertisement, 1903 City Directory, p. 128

The E.M. Cross Foundry & Machine Shop, on Glen Avenue near the former Berlin Railway Car Barn, remains in operation.

The first city directory was published in 1903. The business directory listings readily capture the extent of the city's vitality just after the turn of the twentieth century, and the range of essential goods and services available in such a thriving metropolis. Six apothecaries are listed, all located in the downtown area. The city hosted four banks. Services were provided by five insurance agents, twelve physicians, and nine lawyers. Items ranging from boots and shoes, cigars and tobacco, clothing, crockery, china, and glassware, dry and fancy goods, furniture, house furnishing goods, jewelers, hardware, stationary, toilet articles and perfumery, upholstery, and wallpaper

⁸ The facility, including the lumber mills, cabinet factory, grist mills, and lumber were destroyed by fire on 20 September 1896 (*Fitchburg Sentinel*, 21 September 1896). As the company had decided to not rebuild, A.N. Gilbert "bid off the real estate of the Berlin Manufacturing Company at the auction sale…for \$3,500. The brick and machinery was purchased by G. W. Blanchard for \$91" (*Berlin Reporter* 29 March 1899, 8).

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could be obtained not only at the several large establishments such as Berlin Dry Goods and the Berlin Mills Store but also from the smaller individualized establishments located in the storefronts lining Main Street. In addition to the clothing stores, there were multiple dressmakers in town (mostly located in the neighborhoods), milliners and millinery, merchant tailors, shoe repairers, and tailors.

The rapid growth created a significant demand for building construction, including housing, which in turn created a need for skilled building craftsmen—carpenters, masons, painters—capable of constructing residential, commercial and industrial buildings. At least five builders and contractors, an additional seven carpenters, at least six house and sign painters, and several plumbers are listed in the 1903 directory. Suppliers to the building trades included two stores providing builders' hardware and two purveyors of paints, oils, and glass. In addition, A. I. Lawrence, a successful New Hampshire architect in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, had offices in the city. For a time in the 1890s he was in partnership with Lyman U. Cole (1862-1938), a carpenter. Known work by the pair includes an 1894 shingle-style residence for Edward Cullen Niles, a Harvard-trained lawyer who practiced in Berlin from 1892-1896 (Berlin Independent 1 August 1894; Stearns 1908, v. 2:520-521). In that same year they also designed a Colonial Revival style house for the lawyer James E. Marimer (*Berlin Independent* 20 June 1894). In 1904 Lawrence formed a co-partnership with Howland C. Bates and they maintained an office in Berlin (Brickbuilder 1904, 86). In addition to designing many of the city's more substantial buildings he designed buildings especially in northern New Hampshire including Lancaster and Woodsville (Berlin Reporter 31 March 1899, 19 April 1899). 9

Since horses remained the primary means of transport at this time, the city had at least nine stables, two purveyors of harness and horse furnishings, two harness makers, two carriage providers and three carriage makers and repairers, and several carriage painters. At the same time at least sixteen men were listed under trucking, providing transportation services for a variety of goods.

Foodstuff was readily available from the four bakers, three fish markets, seven fruit and confectionery stores, teas, coffee, and spices purveyors, nearly all located on Main Street. At least eight suppliers of milk were located mostly on West Milan Road or in other outlying areas. In addition, small groceries were located not only on Main Street but in the different neighborhoods. These essential local businesses were often found in buildings at the intersection of two streets. In a number of instances the owners lived in the flat above the store. By the 1920s, if not before then, some of the owners worked in the mills or in some other manufacturing facility while also owning a neighborhood grocery store. Likely other family members, either the wives or children, help staff the store. In the late 1920s, Joseph Devost, who worked in the Burgess Sulfite Mill, also had a small grocery on Willard Street. The family lived nearby on Portland Street (Directory 1928). This dual occupation pattern also suggests that Berlin residents sought secondary sources of income to balance reduced hours at the mills and as a strategy for increasing the family income.

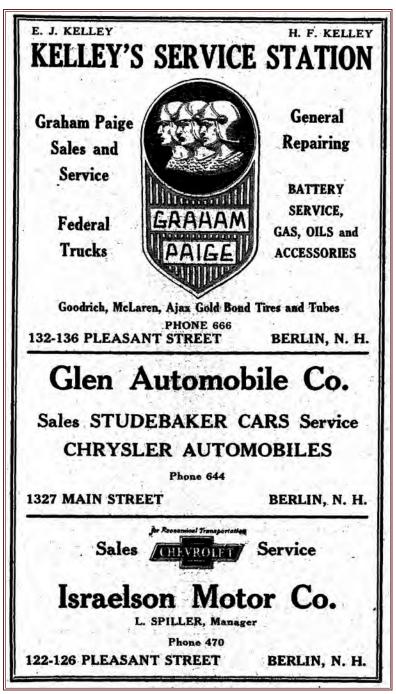
By 1930 one of the most noticeable changes was the rise of the automobile and the many commercial establishments associated with that means of transport. The 1930 business directory listings for automobile-related businesses, including automobile accessories, dealers, garages, and

⁹ For additional information on Lawrence see St. Anne's Neighborhood entry on the Berlin and Coos County Historical Society website, Historic Neighborhoods.

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repairing, automobile dealerships, tire stores, towing and road services, and of course, gas stations, spanned four pages. Most of the establishments were located in the downtown area or along the two state highways.



1930 Berlin City Directory, p. 4

In other ways, the businesses and services resembled those present nearly thirty years earlier, characteristic of a thriving city. The city was now home to six banks. Services were provided by twelve insurance agents and eleven insurance companies. In addition to the St. Louis Hospital on Main Street (established 1905), city residents could be treated by fifteen physicians. The number

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of lawyers had remained relatively steady, with ten men listed in the Classified Business Directory. Many of the same goods available at the turn of the century were now sold in several larger local and national establishments such as the Brown Company Store, Stahl-Clarke Co., Woolworths, and J.C. Penney, but also from many small, local, specialized stores, mostly located in the brick buildings now lining Main Street in the central business district. Persons involved in the building industry, including skilled building craftsmen such as contractors, carpenters, and masons, remained in significant numbers in addition to the many other tradesmen involved in building construction such as plumbers and roofers, along with purveyors of building supplies. The 1930 Business Directory listings included twenty-two contractors and builders and eight mason contractors, six builders' supplies businesses, in addition to the four hardware stores and three lumber dealers

Demographics and Settlement Patterns 1880s-1930s

A major theme for the city of Berlin is the dramatic population increase during this period, and the resulting ethnic diversity of the workforce in the wake of that increase. Through immigration and migration the size of the population swelled from just 1,144 in 1880 to more than 20,000 by 1930. The greatest period of growth occurred between 1900 and 1930 when the population increased from 8,886 to 20,018 (Bureau of the Census 1880-1930). By the mid-1890s, Berlin, with a population of 6,000, was the largest town in New Hampshire, smaller only than the cities of Manchester, Concord, and Keene in the southern part of the state. By the time Berlin became a city in 1897, it was only the fourth one in the state. In the period 1880 to 1890, the population of Berlin increased 134 percent (Bureau of the Census 1880, 1890). People flocked to Berlin, attracted by employment opportunities in the wood and pulp and paper mills, bringing with them specific skills or trades in demand by the mills or essential for a growing metropolis.

Over the course of this period the immigrant population was diverse but French Canadians comprised the largest percentage. ¹⁰ In 1880 the French-Canadian population totaled 423 but by 1900 it had increased to 3,000 (Roby 2004, 24). Continuing a pattern present by 1870, both English- and French-speaking Canadians made up the largest percentage of the immigrant population in 1880. In that year, of the 462 males sixteen years of age and older, the majority were Canadian-born, totaling 244. An additional seventeen men were natives of the Maritimes, including ten from New Brunswick, three from Prince Edward Island, three from Nova Scotia, and one from Cape Breton. As in the 1870 Census, no distinction was made between the Anglophones and Francophones. Forty-seven are assumed to be English-speaking because one or both parents had emigrated from Ireland (36), England (5), or Scotland (6) (Bureau of the Census 1880). An additional 166 of the men sixteen years of age or older were born in one of the New England states, with the largest number from Maine (95), followed by New Hampshire (62), and considerably smaller numbers from Vermont (6), Massachusetts (2), and Rhode Island (1) (Bureau of the Census 1880). Two of the men were natives of New York. The small numbers of other foreign-born men came from Scandinavian countries (Norway [13], Sweden [1], Finland [1]) or the British Isles (Ireland [13], England [3], and Scotland [3]) (Bureau of the Census 1880).

¹⁰ The numbers would be even higher if the ancestry of one or both parents is taken into account, especially after the turn of the twentieth century.

By 1910, Berlin's population had increased to 11,780 and the ethnic diversity had significantly increased though French Canadians remained the largest group of foreign born (3,026). As in previous decades other Canadians also comprised a large group (1,128). The numbers for other immigrant populations, though considerably smaller by comparison, included 345 Scandinavians (Norway [269], Denmark [11], Finland [15], and Sweden [50]), England (81), Scotland (50), Italians (131), Irish (63) (both Northern Ireland and Free Ireland), Germans (33), and small numbers of Poles, Russians, Russian Jews, and Syrians and Turks (Bureau of the Census 1910).

Twenty years later, those patterns remained similar. For the city as a whole the foreign-born population totaled 6,184, out of the total population of 20,018. The largest foreign-born group remained the French-Canadians (4,435), comprising 72 percent of the city's foreign-born population and 22 percent of its total population. If those with one foreign-born parent are included the total increases to 6,802. The other sizeable foreign-born populations in Berlin included those from other parts of Canada except Newfoundland (947), the Scandinavian countries (156) with the largest number from Norway (105); Poland (129); Italy (127); and Russia (98) (Bureau of the Census 1930).

As Berlin expanded in this period, different sections of the city developed into distinguishable neighborhoods, identified as such by their physical characteristics, socio-economic composition, and housing. The several large neighborhoods typically are physically defined by geological features, waterways, and major vehicular and rail transportation corridors. In addition, the prevalence of particular ethnicities contributed to the neighborhood characteristics (see the Berlin and Coos County Historical Society website, Historic Neighborhoods). As a result, areas historically known as Irish Acres, Little Canada, Russian Hill, and Norwegian Village emerged in the early twentieth century as a result of higher concentrations of those ethnic groups along the streets within those loosely defined areas. Over the decades, the French-Canadians settled in most Berlin neighborhoods, with the greatest numbers in the East Side, the Avenues, the Streets, St. Giles/Granite Street area, and the St. Anne's Church/School Street area. The East Side, in particular, had an especially large concentration (Nadeau 2008, 23). Many of the first- and secondgeneration Scandinavians settled within the Streets, the area north of Berlin Mill Village historically known as Norwegian Village, and after the 1950s Halvorson Terrace. A number of Germans settled on the East Side along Goebel Street. The Italians often resided on the East Side or at the southern end of town near the Cascade Mill.

A summary of the heads of household, derived from the 1930 Census and 1930 City Directory Street listings, captures the social and physical character of the city at the peak of its population size and densest level of development in the urban core and loosely confirms those associations of particular ethnicities with different neighborhoods.

Ethnicity by Neighborhood, 1930

	THE AVENUES	BERLIN HEIGHTS	BERLIN MILLS VILLAGE	CASCADE	EAST SIDE	FORBUSH	LIBERTY PARK	NAPERT	NORWEGIAN VILLAGE	ST. ANNE'S	ST. GILES/ GRANITE	WESTERN AVE/GLEN AVE	Totals
Austria					2				1				3
Czechoslovakia					4							1	5
English Canada	86	111	7	6	48	1	10		12	2	12	20	315
France		1											1
French Canada	209	331	46	4	383	118	14	8	11	32	164	54	1374
Germany/ Bavaria		2			4							1	7
Great Britain (England, Scotland, Wales)	8	9	2	1	2				7			2	31
Greece		2			1								3
Ireland	5	3	1					1	3				13
Italy	5	3		5	28	5		1				9	56
Maritimes & Islands	19	11	3		23	1			5	4	1		67
Miscellaneous Other (China,									1				1
New Hampshire	161	223	29	8	140	18	20	8	71	13	41	17	749
Other New England States (ME, MA, CT, RI, VT)	104	146	16	23	67	12	24	1	24	6	26	20	469
Poland	19	3		1	1							8	32
Russia	15	5			2						3	2	27
Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden)	1		7		2		7		68				85

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	THE AVENUES	BERLIN HEIGHTS	BERLIN MILLS VILLAGE	CASCADE	EAST SIDE	FORBUSH PARK	LIBERTY PARK	NAPERT VILLAGE	NORWEGIAN VILLAGE	ST. ANNE'S	ST. GILES/ GRANITE	WESTERN AVE/GLEN AVE	Totals
Syria	2	3											5
United States Eastern (NY, PA, NJ	5	21	1	1	10	1	1		3	1	1	2	47
United States Midwest	5	12		1	4	2			4	1			29
United StatesOther (FL, WV, CA, AL)	1	1					1		1			1	5
United StatesWest		1											1
Unknown/at sea	1	1		1		4							7
TOTALS	646	889	112	51	721	162	77	19	211	59	248	137	3332

The town's religious institutions acted as important sacred and social centers for the different groups and congregants often lived in the vicinity of their parish. These religious institutions, many of which included not only churches but also parish halls and schools, were important landmarks and key focal points within the different neighborhoods. The Catholic institutions included St. Anne's, serving the French-Canadian population, and St. Patrick's, serving the Irish population, both on the west side of the river, and Guardian Angel Church serving the French-Canadian and Italian population on the East Side (for discussions of some of the catholic parishes, notably St. Anne's, St. Patrick's, and Guardian Angel Church and their associated parish buildings see the Berlin and Coos County Historical Society website, Historic Neighborhoods). The "Holy Resurrection Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church" (now Holy Resurrection Orthodox Church), sited high on a hillside at the foot of Mt. Forist in the Avenues neighborhood, was erected due to the presence of a group of Russian immigrants.

Many of the city's Russian and German Jews, one of Berlin's smallest minority groups, settled just south of the Russian neighborhood in the Avenues. At one time, there were fifty Jewish families but by the 1940s there were half as many. Although there were differences between the more established German Jewish community and the Russian Jews, they joined together to purchase an old Congregational church in 1920 and held Orthodox services there until the mid-1980s (Eno 1989, 8-9).

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Development and Residential Construction, 1880s-1930s¹¹

The considerable population increase in this period initiated the greatest amount of development and residential construction in Berlin. The 1913 *Illustrated Industrial Edition of Busy Berlin*, a publication endorsed by the Berlin Board of Trade, noted the reason for this:

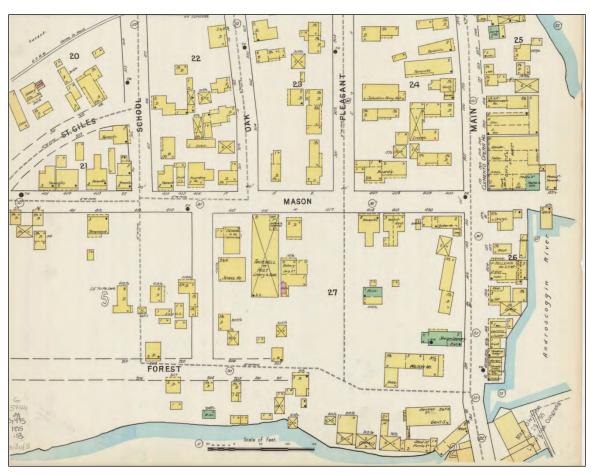
With the erection of the paper mills came an instant demand for labor, and with the advent of labor came an insistent demand for shelter. Houses for rent or for sale there were none, and it became necessary to provide for the sudden influx.

Owners of land became aware of the value of real property and put fabulous prices on their holdings in the immediate vicinity of the mills. Speculators were few because there was no property in the market. A few men made small fortunes by building cheap tenements and renting them at profitable rates (Anonymous 1913, [3]).

The publication mentions one individual who erected twenty houses in one season at a handsome profit, though this has not been substantiated (Anonymous 1913, [3]). The same publication also characterized the development of the St. Giles area as irregular with housing constructed in an irregular pattern on open land and of materials easily procured at a minimal cost (Anonymous 1913, [3]). Some sense of that density, with housing constructed behind other housing fronting on the street, can be seen in the 1895 Sanborn map of the St. Giles area:

PRESERVATION COMPANY

¹¹ See Section II for a fuller discussion of these processes. For a broad overview of the most prevalent building types and characteristics of dwellings in Berlin, especially in the Avenues, see Preservation Company 2008, A-11 to A-15.



1895 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, detail, sheet 3. Dartmouth Digital Library Collections.

Construction of these houses and outbuildings pre-dates the formalized building process enacted in 1897 when Berlin became a city. An 1890 publication noted that F. C. Stevens, partner of Stevens & LePage Livery and Boarding Stable, was "extensively engaged in the real estate business, he having twenty-three tenements for rental," all located in Berlin Falls Village (Bacon 1890, 83).

By 1916, though the demand for housing remained high, other factors had limited building activity:

On account of the scarcity of labor and high price of materials there has been but little building in Berlin this year and the condition existing as to scarcity of rents is viewed with alarm by business men. There are no rents to be had and the demand is increasing daily. Many families have been kept from moving into the city owing to the lack of housing accommodations and as a result the merchant and business man is losing his part of their trade (*Berlin Reporter* 5 October 1916).

Throughout this period, the majority of single- and multifamily house forms and characteristics resemble those found in many urban New England cities and towns, with one notable exception. In many New England cities and towns the three-decker, a regional multifamily dwelling

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characterized by a rectangular footprint with one living unit per floor, a linear plan, a shared interior entry, and rear porches, became the prevalent multifamily house form. In Berlin, however, the block, a three-decker hybrid, constructed with a squarer footprint, three-story porches with exterior entries to each of the flats, and an adjacent-room plan predominated as the multifamily house form (see The Avenues Section IIB for a greater discussion of this house form). The "block," however, is relatively distinctive to Berlin and a handful of other urban New England cities and towns with large French-Canadian populations and comparable development conditions and periods (see Section III for a general discussion of this form in other New England communities).

In addition, there is a long-standing tradition in the twentieth century in Berlin of subdividing existing residential buildings, both single-family houses and two-families, also likely in response to increased housing demand. Frequently with these subdivisions, residents utilized certain features characteristic not only of blocks but also of urban Quebec Province housing: addition of an exterior stair to the second-floor unit (Hanna 1986; Wegmann 2006).

At the same time boarding remained a common housing option, either with private families or in boardinghouses (some purpose built, others converted single- or multifamily houses). By the turn of the twentieth century, some of the Jewish families were able to invest in property and run boarding houses where Russian, Lithuanian, and Polish immigrants working in the mills and as lumberjacks roomed (Eno 1989, 8).

City Infrastructure and Local Government Building Activities, 1880s-1930s

In the same year Berlin became a city (1897), a new city hall was completed on Mechanic Street, a two-and-a-half-story frame building with a hall on the second floor (Sanborn 1901). That building was replaced less than twenty years later with a more substantial building, the current City Hall, on the corner of Main and Mason streets, more befitting of such a thriving city. Completed in 1914, the two-story yellow building was designed by H. C. Bates in the Georgian Revival style (*Berlin Annual Report 1914*, 199). The mayor noted, in his inaugural address, a few months before the completion of the building that

[o]ur new City Building is fast nearing completion, and when finished will be a distinct artistic ornament to our City, a credit to her citizens, a monument to their civic pride... (*Berlin Annual Report 1915*, 16).

The town and later the city was responsible for constructing much of the infrastructure though several individuals including Henry H. Furbish played significant roles in bringing electricity to the town. By the late 1870s, he had overseen the installation of fourteen streetlights along Main Street (Berlin Heritage Trail Partnership 1997, 2). Many houses built beginning in the 1890s were probably electrified from the start, as Berlin had electricity early on.

Water was provided by one of the aqueduct companies or from springs and wells on the property. One aqueduct company, part of the Green family interests, piped spring water to customers (Hengen 2010c, 7). Houses had indoor flush "water closets" and were connected to early

¹² Bates also designed the Brown School in that same year (*Annual Report 1914*, 198). The builders were the Gilbert Brothers (John B. and A. N.).

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sewer systems (with outlets in the rivers) (*Berlin Indep*endent 8/10/1898). The sewer system was largely constructed in 1892, with expansion as the town/city continued to develop (*Berlin Annual Report* 1893, 28-30). An ordinance relating to sewers specified that all house sewer connections, drains, and plumbing work to the city's sewer system had to be by professionals licensed by the sewer committee. The ordinance also elaborated on various forms of plumbing (*Berlin Annual Report 1898*, 32-36).

The first report by the city engineer after the town's establishment as a city highlights the efforts to standardize and regularize the landscape, with the surveying of streets and identification of previous plans of the town. His summary highlights the partial nature and occasional inaccuracies of those plans done at different times by different surveyors. He noted the large expense of doing a full survey of the city and so recommended doing it in stages over several years. In the meantime he proposed not only locating the street lines but also naming streets and numbering buildings, both of which were incomplete at the time (*Berlin Annual Report 1898*, 69-71).

The city also implemented building codes from an early date. In August 1898 the City established an ordinance requiring all buildings being erected or altered be examined by the building inspector (*Berlin Annual Report 1902*, 36-38).

The first of the two-span Mason Street bridges was completed in 1892, constructed of iron, crossing to the Tondreau Peninsula, historically the site of part of the International Paper Company Mill. One impetus for the construction of the bridge was to provide access to the Concord and Montreal Railroad on the east side (*Annual Report* 1893). It also paved the way for the development of the East Side which up until that time remained largely inaccessible from Berlin center. Those bridges were replaced in 1907 with a pair of steel bridges (Nadeau 2008, 20-21).

In 1913, the city was divided into four wards. Ward One included the Avenues and beyond, such as part of Main Street, older residences along West Milan, the International Paper Co. Mills, and tenement or multifamily housing for Russian, Italian, and French-Canadian communities. Ward Two encompassed Berlin Heights, the more exclusive neighborhood in the city, the earliest French-Canadian community beginning in the 1860s, and the block or two comprising "Irish Acres." Ward Three included the Brown Company mills, the "Streets," and Norwegian Village. The "East Side" was Ward Four, home to a substantial and a somewhat self-contained French-Canadian population, in addition to some German and Italian immigrants (Nadeau 2008, 23).

3. 1940s-Present

During this period, Berlin underwent another dramatic transformation, especially in the last quarter of the twentieth century. In the early decades of this period, the wood and pulp making industry operated on a much-reduced scale from its peak years in the 1910s and 1920s, though they continued to employ sufficient numbers of Berlin residents though the 1960s. At the same time several other industries had emerged as efforts were made to diversify the local economy, but they never employed the numbers seen in the early twentieth century. As a result the population, though still ethnically diverse, declined over the decades with many moving away, usually to other parts of New England. Housing construction leveled off, especially in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Instead, property owners continued the pattern established in the previous period, subdividing existing single- and two-family houses. In the 1960s, like many cities throughout New England, the center underwent urban renewal, resulting in the demolition of multiple blocks. While the predominantly residential neighborhoods remained intact, there was loss of buildings

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over time. Also in the last several decades of the twentieth century, many local businesses shuttered their doors. A number of the larger mixed-use buildings lining Main Street were vacated and some were lost to fire. The City has been selectively demolishing or rehabilitating buildings in the past decade as they have been abandoned or taken by the city. The local economy has changed dramatically, with the closure and demolition of all but one mill, actually located just over the border in neighboring Gorham. A new state prison opened in the northeast part of the city, bringing many new jobs. Yet in spite of the setbacks in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, the city retains a strong and vibrant core community while also making great strides at developing new economic avenues.

Transportation, 1940s-Present

During this period automobile and truck traffic increased along the state highways running through the center of the business district and the Avenues. NH Route 110 in particular experienced increased volume as it was the primary route north for trucks. This created friction as it traveled through the center of a predominantly residential neighborhood. After many studies and in consultation with the residents of Berlin, the New Hampshire Department of Transportation began a major rerouting of NH Route 110 through the Avenues neighborhood in 2013.

In the late 1940s the Berlin Airport was established just north of the town line in Milan. Passenger rail service ended in the late 1950s, though the line continued to be used by the mills.

Industry and Commerce, 1940s-Present

Berlin tried to recover from the devastating decline suffered during the Depression. Throughout the middle and second half of the twentieth century, the economy of the city remained dependent on the timber and paper industries. Some of the companies recovered slowly but never to their previous levels of production and employment. Diversification was important for the city's prosperity and recuperation in the twentieth century. By 1940 the Brown Company was no longer operating under a trusteeship and opened the mills they had closed previously. However, three years later, the Cascade Mill was closed again and all sulphite production was done at the Burgess Mill (Wight 1967, 474-475).

In the mid-twentieth century the Brown Company was the state's largest employer with nine mills in the Berlin-Gorham area, and some 2,500 workers. During the 1960s Berlin began to change and try to diversify its industrial base. The last river drive on the Androscoggin River was in 1964. Thereafter all wood cut in the North Country was transported by truck (Wight 1967, 487). The New Hampshire Vocation Technical College opened on Route 16 north of the downtown in 1966. Also in that year, the Brown Company opened a new "kraft" pulp factory. The second largest business, the Granite State Rubber Company, employed 800 in its Converse Shoe Factory located on Wight Street, within the Avenues. Another 125 people worked at the Ware Knitters factory (Bartlett 1985, 3; Hans Klunder Associates 1964; Coos County Rural Areas Development Committee 1964, 85).

In 1968, the Brown Company became part of the conglomerate of Gulf and Western Industries, and in 1980, James River Corporation assumed control. In the late 1990s the Burgess Pulp Mill and Cascade Paper Mill, which were connected by a pipeline through which the pulp passed, were operated by Crown Vantage paper, a spin-off of James River. The company owned 8,772 acres of

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forest in Berlin and managed a total of 95,000 acres in the region. At that time the factory employed a quarter of Berlin's work force (Monroe et al. 1998).

American Tissue, Inc., the parent company to Pulp and Paper of America, closed operation of the mills in August 2001. The shutdown of the mills resulted in nearly fourteen percent unemployment recorded in Berlin. However, Nexfor Inc., a forest products company headquartered in Toronto, Ontario, purchased the Burgess Pulp Mill and Cascade Paper Mill in June 2002. Restarting of the pulp mill began in April 2003. At full production, 700 employees were to be hired and the company had negotiated six-year contracts through the local union (Preservation Company 2003). In 2004 Nexfor spun off Fraser Paper Co. as a public company that operated the Berlin facilities. In 2006, however, Fraser Paper Company closed the pulp mill which employed roughly 250 employees (http://www.paperage.com/2006news/03_08_2006fraser.html); the Cascade Mill located across the border in Gorham, however, remained in operation, manufacturing finished paper. In the fall of 2010, however, operations were halted at this facility. That mill, however, was sold and subsequently reopened in May 2011 and now operates as Gorham Paper and Tissue, manufacturing specialty papers with over 200 employees (http://www.gorhampt.com/AboutGorham/OurStory.aspx).

Population, Ethnicity, and Settlement Patterns, 1940s-Present

Over the course of this period, the population of Berlin declined, especially in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Though it remained generally stable during the 1930s, between 1940 and 1950 it declined from 19,084 to 16,615 and then increased slightly to 17,821 by 1960. Over the next forty years, the population declined by roughly 1,500 every decade to 10,331 in 2000. In the following decade, however, the population has remained relatively stable, totaling 10,051 in 2010.

While the ancestry of most Berlin residents during this period remained quite diverse, with a high percentage of second, third, or fourth generation French-Canadians, the number of immigrants steadily declined. As a result by 1990, 77.7 percent of the population was New Hampshire natives and only 6.6 percent were foreign born. Ten years later the New Hampshire native-born population had increased even more to 95.4 percent while the foreign-born population had declined further to just 4.6 percent of the total population (Berlin Master Plan 2010, 3-9).

For much of this period, the East Side retained its strong association with the French-Canadian community, though that has diminished somewhat in more recent decades. Into at least the 1960s or 1970s the neighborhood north of the Streets, historically known as Norwegian Village or Norwegianville, was home to many of Scandinavian ancestry, though by no means exclusively.

Development and Residential Construction, 1940s-Present

Because much of central Berlin was fully developed by the 1940s, the majority of development and residential construction occurred on the periphery of existing neighborhoods or in entirely new developments. The patterns of development also differed slightly from earlier periods. Not only were the lots generally larger but the developments had building restrictions in terms of the size, type, and number of stories for the single-family dwellings, in addition to set-back requirements. The two primary developments were Highland Park and Halvorson Terrace, both on the west side of the river to the north of the older neighborhoods.

II. Comparative Analysis of Single-Family And Multifamily Residential Units

A. THE AVENUES/BERLIN HEIGHTS ADDITION HISTORIC DISTRICT

1. Original Land Purchase and Platting in the Avenues/Berlin Heights Addition Historic District, 1890s-1910s¹³

The land on the west side of the Grand Trunk Railroad tracks was sparsely settled prior to the platting activity between 1892 and 1893 by Berlin Heights Addition (BHA) (Plans D through G). The terrain between the railroad tracks and Mount Forist was comparatively flat and it was located less than 1.5 miles from the mills. The existing roads included Green Street and West Milan Road. The area contained approximately seven dwellings, occupied by small-scale farmers, mill laborers, woodsmen, and teamsters (Hurd 1892, Bureau of the Census 1870, 1880). There were one or two houses on Green Street just west of the railroad, with a long unsettled stretch up the road to the north. What is now Mt. Forist Street went west from the railroad depot up into the hills. On the west side of the railroad, south of Mt. Forist Street, Western Avenue was a dead-end side street. There was a cluster of houses at the upper end of Western Avenue and one on Mt. Forist west of the railroad tracks. The outlying land west of the railroad and the river was in large tracts, which had been created out of the original Proprietor's Lots of the town.

Large portions of what became the Avenues/Berlin Heights Addition Historic District had long been owned by the Green family. The Greens had settled in Berlin in the 1820s and had accumulated extensive land holdings that later proved lucrative in the wake of the arrival of the wood, pulp, and paper mills. Daniel Green (1808-1892) came to Berlin in 1826 with his father Thomas. After reaching adulthood he engaged in multiple business endeavors but as noted in an 1896 article in *The Granite Monthly*:

in his later years dealt quite largely in real estate, both water privileges and land; almost all the land which has formed the stock in trade of the various land companies organized within the past five years having been purchased from him or his heirs (Niles 1896, 191).

In August 1891, Catherine E. Green (1841-1925), the daughter-in-law of Daniel Green and widow of his son Sullivan D. (1832-1889), became a stockholder in the **Berlin Heights Addition Corporation (BHAC)**, which had previously platted three areas on the north side of the Dead River. At the same time BHA purchased a large tract of land from Mrs. Green. The total acreage of the transaction is unknown, but the sale price was \$10,000 (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 58, Page 174). In December 1891, Berlin Heights Addition purchased an additional 18.25 acres from Daniel Green for just over \$5,000 (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 61, Page 22).

Within a few months BHA began subdividing the property into blocks and lots and laying out a grid of streets, as was typically done in Berlin. Although there were physical constraints including rocky outcroppings, the Grand Trunk Railroad to the east, and Mt. Forist to the west, this area was a desirable location for building, including speculative construction. Over the next fourteen

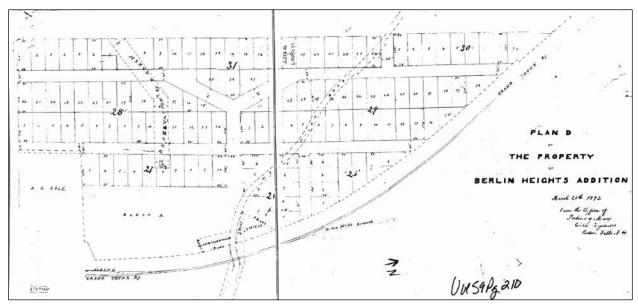
¹³ Portions of the following are extracted from Preservation Company 2002, 33-48.

¹⁴ Catherine Green had married Daniel Green's son, Sullivan, in 1866 (Merrill 1888, 820).

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months a series of five plats of the area were created, by the engineering firm of Perkins and Macy, later Pike, Perkins, and Macy. West of the railroad tracks, Plans D, E, E revised, and F are located north of Mt. Forist Street. Plan G was to the south in the southwest corner of the area. The plans made maximum use of the available land, establishing a densely settled neighborhood comprised of a grid of eight north-south avenues paralleling the railroad tracks, intersecting with east-west streets at regular intervals.

This first plat covered land from the west side of the railroad tracks to the rear lot lines of those properties fronting Second Avenue.



Plan D of the Property of Berlin Heights Addition. Perkins & Macy, 25 March 1892. Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 59, Page 210.

The southerly terminus was Mt. Forist Street. It superseded the older, meandering path of West Milan Street (now Wight Street, Third Avenue, and NH Route 110), that ran roughly northwest-southeast through the Avenues. The streets were unnamed on the plan. The north-south running avenues were indicated but only two of the existing intermediary east-west streets, known today as Roderick and Madigan Streets, were originally included. The area was divided into seven numbered blocks (25-31), each block then divided into individual building lots, and numbered 1-8 or 1-26, as space warranted. Lot sizes were almost always uniformly 50' wide and between 100' and 125' deep. Deed research demonstrated purchasers acquiring individual lots or small numbers of lots.

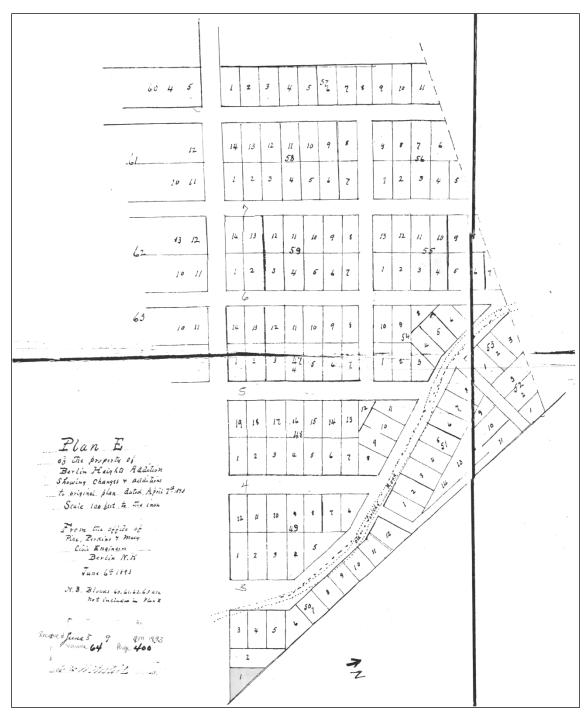
Nearly one year after Plan D was laid out Plan E was added in April 1893.



Plan E of the Property of Berlin Heights Addition, Showing Part of Plan D with Changes.
Pike, Perkins, and Macy, 7 April, 1893.
Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 64, Page 295.

The area extended from present-day Second Avenue to the rear lot lines of properties fronting on Fifth Avenue. The southern terminus was Mt. Forist Street and the northern terminus was present day Wight Street. Like the previous plan, this one was divided into twenty-one blocks (30-50), each with individual and uniform rectangular lots, where space would allow. The plan included Third Avenue, and though not to scale, it is noticeably wider than the other avenues. The reason for this is unknown. Third Avenue is the only "grand boulevard" in the city, and is often referred to as Broad Street on maps of the area. Although they were not all built as planned or at the same time, this plan indicates that the intermediary east-west streets such as Jolbert, Sessions, Madigan, Mannering, and Hinchey streets were initially laid out in 1893. An order to build Jolbert Street was included in the 1898 city annual report. Deed research shows individuals tended to purchase a greater number of lots (five or more) or even entire blocks. For instance, Cyril Brooks, a wood dealer, purchased nine lots at the corner of present-day Hinchey Street and Third Avenue (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 69, Page 24). A man named John Mitchell purchased all of Block 48, bounded by Fourth and Fifth avenues, Hinchey Street, and Wight Avenue (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 69, Page 41).

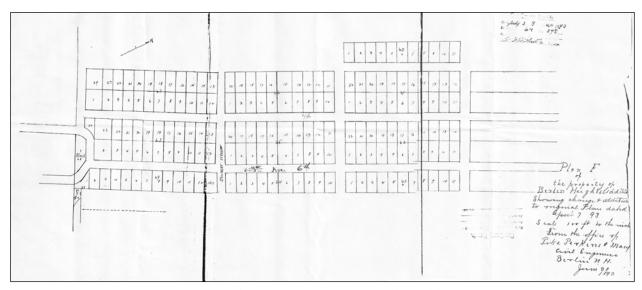
In June 1893 Plan E was expanded and modified to include thirteen more blocks (nos. 47-59), encompassing the numbered avenues from Third to Eighth Avenue (Seventh and Eighth avenues were never constructed).



Plan E of the Property of Berlin Heights Addition, Showing Changes & Additions to Original Plan Dated April 7, 1893. Pike, Perkins, and Macy, 6 June, 1893. Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 64, Page 400.

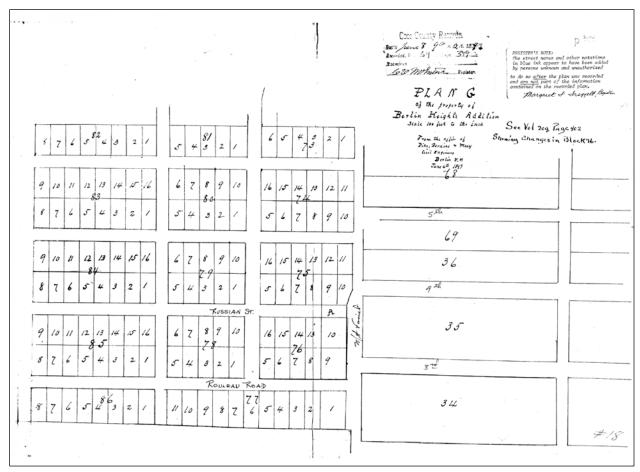
Deed research shows John Mitchell purchased all of Blocks 48, 54, and 59 (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 69, Page 41). J. Howard Wight, a lawyer, was also a major landholder in this area; he purchased four lots in Block 50, and all of Blocks 51, 52, and 53 (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 69, Page 2).

Two additional plans, for the Avenues, Plans F and G, were filed in 1893, covering the areas south and west of Plan E.



Plan F of the Property of Berlin Heights Addition, Showing Change and Additions to Original Plan dated April 7 1893 Pike, Perkins, & Macy, 30 June 1893. Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 64, Page 398.

Berlin, NH



Plan G of the Property of Berlin Heights Addition Pike, Perkins, and Macy, 6 June 1893. Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 64, Page 399.

Geography and population pressures influenced the pace, character, and concentration of development in the neighborhood. It proceeded generally in a westerly direction from First Avenue and its adjoining cross-streets, closest to the railroad tracks. The lots on First and Second avenues were completely developed by ca. 1909 while Third Avenue and above filled in more slowly and in a less dense fashion, with primarily single-family houses and almost no commercial development. Wight Street extended beyond the Avenues grid system to the north, accessing a more rural area of the city and the location of the few farms that continued to operate in the early decades of the twentieth century. Initially, that stretch was lightly developed, but came to acquire the same level of density as the grid system by the late 1920s (Sanborn 1928-1950).

As in other parts of the city, the grid system of streets and one-quarter-acre or less lots, laid out by the BHAC, created the neighborhood's original density. In a pattern found to some extent in other parts of the city, many of the early residents of the neighborhood purchased more than one lot, or part of a lot. Initially owners used the lots to create a buffer between properties, or reserved them to sell at a later date. This pattern ended by ca, 1900 in response to population and housing pressures (Sanborn 1901-1910). Less desirable building lots that had remained unimproved began to be developed. The flat floor of the deep ravine between First and Second avenues, for example, was developed by ca. 1900 with houses constructed behind those fronting on First Avenue,

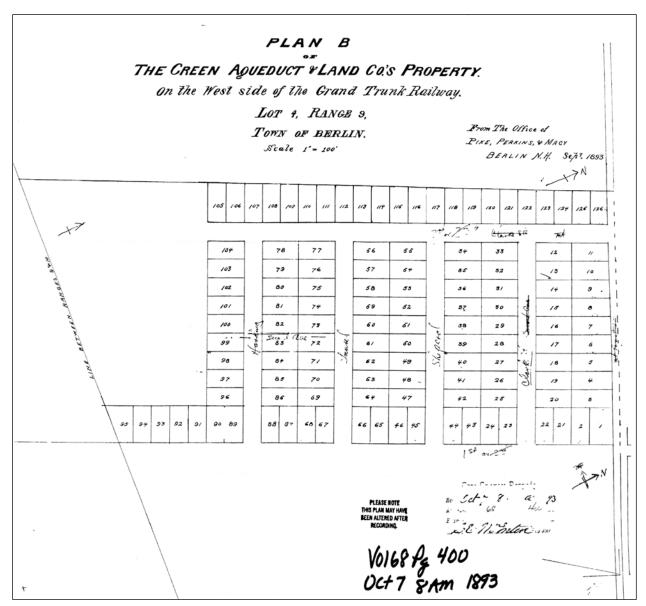
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accessed by a small, unnamed drive. The dramatic population increase especially after 1910 spurred residential construction in the Avenues even further, resulting in the sale and development of many of the still unimproved lots. Development on the steep, upper edge of the ravine on Second Avenue did not occur until necessity dictated ca. 1930 (Bureau of the Census 1900-1930).

At exactly the same time as the BHA tracts, adjacent parcels south of Mt. Forist Street and Berlin Heights Addition plan G were also laid out but by the **Green Aqueduct and Land Company (GALC)**. The land, like most other property in Berlin on the west side of the river platted in the 1890s, was developed by a group of local businessmen. This included Abraham Stahl, President, and John B. Noyes, Treasurer. They had acquired the land from the estate of Daniel Green (1808-1892) not long after his death. At the southwest edge of the parcel were the springs and reservoirs of the Green Aqueduct Company, established in 1886 by Daniel Green and A.H. Gerrish and serving about a hundred families. Abraham Stahl (1854-1941) was a German immigrant who owned a dry goods store in Berlin from 1878. He was also in the lumber business, investing in woodland through the Sinclair-Stahl Lumber Company. Like a number of others in Berlin, Stahl also engaged in land development on the East Side. He was the first president of the Berlin Bank and Savings, opened in 1891 (Wight 1967, 549). His partner was the previously mentioned John B. Noyes (1853-1946) who had been a long-time neighbor of the Green family on Green Street. Noyes was the chief of police and sheriff, and later served as bank president (Bureau of the Census 1880, 1900, 1920).

GALC used the same pattern of north-south avenues and grid of cross streets as in the BHAC plats, with house lots of the same 50' x 100' size, creating a continuous neighborhood, although with a slight jog at one point. This may be due to the fact that there was overlap along the property line between the Green Aqueduct land and Berlin Heights Addition Plan G, which may not have been settled until after construction began in the field.

The land was platted in two phases. The first plat was done in September 1893, also by the local engineering firm Pike, Perkins, and Macy.



Plan B of The Green Aqueduct & Land Co.'s Property, West side of the Grand Trunk Railway
Pike, Perkins, and Macy, September 1893.
Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 68, Page 400.

The majority of the 126 lots fronted on the initially unlabeled short east-west streets; the others front on First or Third avenues. At the time Second Avenue did not extend beyond Mt. Forist Street.

Nine months later a much smaller parcel, location between the railroad and GALC Plan B included just thirty-eight lots. The lots fronted on First Avenue or Gerrish Street that ascended from Western Avenue. Because of the varied topography the lots tended to be shallower than in the earlier plat. Later development altered the original lots configuration, perhaps because of the topography.

2. Dwelling Construction By Property Owners, Speculative Enterprises, and Company-Owned Land in the Avenues/Berlin Heights Addition Historic District

Dwelling Construction in The Avenues, 1890s-1930s

Between 1900 and 1910 as many as seventy-eight houses were constructed in the Berlin Heights Addition area (Bureau of the Census 1910). By 1910, six new streets had been developed, including north-south running Gilbert Street and Sixth Avenue. Sixth Avenue and its inhabitants were listed in the 1903-04 city directory. Fifth Avenue was built and extended easterly from Madigan Street about 200 feet in 1901 and Fourth Avenue and Mt. Forist Street between First and Third avenues were rebuilt, laid with coal cinders (1902 Annual Report, 57-59). Other streets in the area with principal repair done in 1901 included Clarke Street from First Avenue to the C.S. Clarke residence, First Avenue from Mt. Forist to the residence of R. McGown, Third Avenue between Mt. Forist and Jolbert Street, and Jolbert Street between Second and Third avenues (1902 Annual Report, 59). Gilbert Street was constructed or named as such around 1905 (Sanborn 1905; Anonymous 1906). New east-west intermediary streets were Hamlin, Sessions, and Mannering streets. They were laid out but not named as of 1905 (Sanborn 1905). They first appeared (Session Street as Jewell Street) in the city directory of 1909-10 (Anonymous 1909-10). West Milan or Old Jericho Road, (NH Route 110) was now called Wight Street in the 1909-10 city directory. The upper part was known as Wight Street, and the lower end, near Third Avenue was called Wight Avenue.

The 1910s were the period of greatest growth in the Avenues area. This mirrors the period of greatest citywide population growth in the twentieth century.

As of 1920, the residents of the Avenues lived predominantly in single-family dwellings. The number of two-family dwellings had only increased slightly, from forty-eight to fifty-six. However, there were some twenty three-family dwellings, more than double the previous figure. The number of four-family dwellings increased only slightly; however, their distribution was broader with this type of dwelling to be found on First, Second, and Third Avenues, as well as on Gilbert Street. For the first time, the number of buildings owned by residents outnumbered those fully occupied by renters (Bureau of the Census 1920).

Individual Property Owners as Developers in the Avenues/Berlin Heights Addition Historic District, 1890s-1930s

Sale of the first lots in Berlin Heights Addition began immediately after its initial platting. In some instances multiple lots were purchased, typically for investment purposes. Many of the initial land investors later sold the lots undeveloped, speculatively building on only a few. Building craftsmen who acquired lots erected houses for rentals and for individual property owners. In many instances, however, lots were purchased directly from the Berlin Heights Addition Corporation by individuals who commissioned a house for their occupancy. The most rapid sale of lots took place in 1892-1894, but the Berlin Heights Addition Corporation continued to steadily sell additional lots through the early 1900s.

Within a few days of the platting of the land for Plan D, one entire block, Block A (adjacent to the railroad track and south of Green Street), was sold to the carpenter Lyman U. Cole (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 61, Page 260). The 1892 plan shows the block as a large parcel, not

subdivided into house lots. This land was later developed with two industrial buildings, the shoe factory, and a woodworking manufacturer (Sanborn 1895). Cole had previously acquired lots in other neighborhoods, including Berlin Heights Land Association (BHLA) (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 56, Page 136). Approximately sixteen sales were recorded in 1892. Sometimes, as in the case of Fred Stevens, people purchased several contiguous lots. Other times, they bought individual lots in different blocks, such as T. H. Madigan, Jr. did.

The first construction in the area began in August 1892. Local papers published accounts that Fred Stevens, W. C. Perkins, and Frank Colby, two of whom were officers of BHA, were building rental units in this area and by the end of the year seven residences were complete (*Berlin Independent* October 12, 1892). Fred Stevens, a native of Shelburne, New Hampshire, was a proprietor in Stevens & LePage Livery and Boarding Stable, founded in 1885. Stevens also engaged in real estate and in 1890 was attributed with owning twenty-three tenements in Berlin (Bacon 1890, 83). In addition to building rental properties, Perkins acquired lots for investment purposes, later selling them unimproved to different individuals (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 58, Page 188; Book 58, Page 215).

Successful development and realization of the subdivision plans of The Avenues was not immediate. Deed records indicate that in the first few years after the platting of what became the Avenues there was a steady increase in sales by the corporation from thirteen in 1891 to fifty in 1892. Sales by the corporation peaked in 1893 with approximately 114 transactions. The following year, there was only half as many and the rate never regained the same level. After the turn of the twentieth century, annual sales of any remaining corporation-owned lots dropped into the single digits, with limited sales continuing through the 1930s, and none by the corporation after 1941. The exact date of dissolution of the corporation is unknown.

Residential construction and settlement of the Avenues was gradual. Overall, it appears that people who purchased multiple lots at once later sold a majority of the lots undeveloped, speculatively building on only a few. Cyril Brooks, who purchased multiple parcels in the Avenues in 1893, sold most of his undeveloped lots that same year or the following year. By 1897, however, he was selling houses (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 90, Page 177). While many of the initial purchasers appear to be Berlin residents, investing in land and buildings, the development potential also attracted persons from other New Hampshire towns and from Maine, on occasion, especially in later years. One such person was Bell (or Belle) C. Foy Seekins, about whom little is known. Seekins purchased in 1907 two adjoining lots in Block 29 of BHA Plan D (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 135, Page 141; Book 137, Page 243). At the time of the purchase she was a resident of Berlin but she later moved to Lewiston, Maine (Maine Marriages). Seekins developed lot 16 presumably with 840 Second Avenue (NH State No. 693) but Lot 17 remained undeveloped. In 1912 she sold the pair of lots (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 160, Page 30).

As with other neighborhoods, some residents developed rental properties not far from their places of residence. The roofing contractor Stephen Boulay, who lived on Wight Avenue (now Boulay Street) at the north end of the Avenues, is known to have built at least four blocks in the Avenues, including the well-known pair on Third Avenue (nos. 844 and 848) (*Annual Reports 1922, 1923, 1926, 1927*; NH State Documentation No. 675).

As in other Berlin neighborhoods, there are multiple examples of individuals remaining in the same neighborhood for much of their lives, though not necessarily in the same house. Louis A.

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Morin (1875-1927), a mill foreman, first built a house for himself and family in 1915 on Laurel Street (*Annual Report 1916*; Directory 1920; Census 1920). The house, 26 Laurel Avenue, was a foursquare, a popular house type locally, regionally, and nationally especially in the 1910s. Just seven years later, Morin built a new house nearby on the corner of Second Avenue and Harding Street.



489 Second Avenue, built 1922, by Louis A. Morin. Photograph by City of Berlin Assessor.

The slightly larger new house, also with a square footprint and a pyramid roof, had picture windows flanking the center entry. The property included outbuildings that predated the construction of the house (Sanborn 1920).

Speculative Developers, Real Estate Agents, and Building Craftsmen in the Avenues/Berlin Heights Addition Historic District, 1890s-1930s

Many of those who purchased large amounts of land in the Avenues were employed in the building trades or closely related fields. Augustine N. Gilbert (ca. 1857-1923) was a prominent contractor and builder who had established himself in the building trades upon settling in Berlin in 1885. He is known to have constructed some of Berlin's larger commercial and institutional buildings including the Berlin National Bank, the Berlin Savings Bank and Trust Company building, the Superior Courthouse, and several private residences. In the Avenues he purchased a group of building lots along Second Avenue across from its intersection with Green Street in 1896, which he subsequently developed in partnership with Gershon P. Bickford (Preservation Company 2002, 21; Preservation Company 2008, A-104). Gilbert owned multiple properties in Berlin including 207 and 211 Main Street and 717, 723 and 729 Second Avenue. At the end of his life he still owned twenty-two Berlin Heights Addition lots in Blocks 35 and 36 at the lower end of Fifth Avenue north of Mt. Forist (Probate 1923).

Building craftsmen who purchased lots in the Avenues included the carpenter W. Lyman McGivney and Charles Jolbert, a mason and lime and cement dealer.

By 1904, four out of the seven carpenters in the Berlin city directory lived in The Avenues. Charles Bridges lived on the lower end of First Avenue next door to the Mt. Forist Street

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Methodist Church; W. Lyman McGivney also lived on First, south of Mt. Forist Street. Masons residing in the Avenues included George Jolbert on Jolbert Street and Charles Jolbert on Green Street. The general contractor and mason John Stewart lived on Fourth Avenue.



John Stewart's business advertisement from the 1905-06 Berlin Directory.

He also dealt in stone according to his business directory listing (Directory 1904). For a time had partnered with the contractor and builder Robert Snodgrass (Directory 1909-10).

Builder and lumber dealer and Luther S. Buber (1867-1916) lived on Jolbert Street. Buber, a New Brunswick native, had emigrated as a young adult. After his marriage to Ellen Urquhart (1869-1962) in 1892 in Portland, Maine, Buber established himself as a building contractor in Berlin. The couple would have three sons, Harry Randolph (1894-1952), Lawrence Luther (1895-1927), and Willard Daniel (1897-1984), two of whom would maintain the family lumber business for many decades. Following Luther's early death, the family continued in the building and contracting business, partnering with Peter A. Brideau. They also continued to operate the lumber business, remaining in operation on Union Street, adjacent to the railroad tracks, into the 1960s. They also expanded their operations to include hardware and furniture (Directories 1920-1962). Properties Buber is known to have developed in the Avenues, all after the turn of the twentieth century, sometimes with New Brunswick-born carpenter W. Lyman McGivney, include 145-147 Green Street, 102 Mannering Street, 790 Third Avenue, and 810 Avenue (Preservation Company 2008). In addition, in 1911 Buber filed a pair of building permits, each for a two-story house on First Avenue (*Annual Report* 1912, 44).

Other known examples of speculative building in the Avenues include a pair of houses commissioned by the lawyer and land developer Herbert I. Goss. In 1911 he filed building permits

¹⁵ In the 1890s and early 1900s the couple may have traveled between Berlin and New Brunswick as their middle son was born in New Brunswick and they do not appear in the 1900 Census (Bureau of the Census 1900).

PRESERVATION COMPANY

for a pair of one-and-a-half story houses on Jolbert Street in the Avenues, likely 171 and 175 Jolbert Street (*Annual Report* 1912, 43). In that same year Louis Lapointe, who dealt in real estate and owned a number of properties in the Avenues, filed building permits for four one-and-a-half story houses on Mt. Forist Street (*Annual Report* 1912, 43; Preservation Company 2008). John D. Lary, born in Dummer, New Hampshire, in 1850, had several businesses in Berlin at various times including a stage route between Berlin and Milan, an ice business, a livery, and a soda water bottling company. A biographical sketch noted that he was an "active speculator in real estate and has realized good profits" (Anonymous 1902, 356).

Some developers or real estate agents owned lots in multiple subdivisions. Napoleon Rouleau acquired lots in Berlin Heights Addition Plans D, F and G, and in the Green Aqueduct Land. Rouleau was a tobacconist and real estate agent who lived on Main Street (Census 1900). He was a sometimes partner of Cyril Brooks, the wood dealer who owned multiple tracks in Berlin Heights Addition as well. By the 1910s, however, Rouleau was living in the Avenues. He filed a building permit in 1916 for a two-story house on the corner of Fourth Avenue and Mt. Forist Street that the family later lived in (*Annual Report 1917*; Directory 1920). In 1921, Rouleau filed another permit, this time for a one-a-half story house on Fourth Avenue. Though the house has not been specifically identified, it was likely in the block between Mt. Forist and Jolbert streets, as at least two one-and-a-half story houses were built in that block between 1920 and 1928 (*Annual Report 1922*; Sanborn 1920, 1928). Other purchasers of multiple lots included Ernest McCourt Macy, the civil engineer and city engineer in 1898; John Campbell, a grocer; and Alfred Buckley who owned a billiards and pool hall to name several.

As development surged in the 1890s, real estate agents emerged as important players in the development of housing. The land companies used these individuals to help market and sell their lots. Some of the agents also engaged in speculative development on their own or with a partner. Gershon P. Bickford (1873-1962), during his nearly twenty years in Berlin, played a significant role in the development of Berlin's residential landscape, as a real estate agent and speculative builder, but he was not a building craftsman; his role was as salesman, developer, and financier. He was active in many of Berlin's newly developing neighborhoods in the 1890s and first decade of the twentieth century, including The Avenues, Berlin Heights, and the East Side. He was one of the developers along with other local businessmen of the Green Aqueduct and Land Company subdivision and served as Berlin Mills' company agent for their lots on the East Side. He maintained an office in the Stahl Block on Main Street, at the corner of Mechanic Street in the center of Berlin. He regularly advertised in the newspaper, listing houses for sale or rent. In addition Bickford also played a major role in transforming the area around the Dead River, thus significantly transforming the central core of Berlin's landscape. He purchased the Dead River Pond and drew off the water, leaving him with seven acres of desirable building land (Moses 1893, 457). This allowed for the creation of new streets, including Pleasant Street.

Bickford was born in New York but raised in Washington, D.C., where his father worked as a clerk (Census 1880). His father Nathan was a native of New Hampshire; his mother was from Georgia, where Gershon's older brother was born (Census 1880). Bickford had moved to Berlin in the early 1890s, when just seventeen years of age, likely attracted by the building boom in Berlin at that time. By 1900 prior to his marriage Bickford was one of three lodgers living with John B. Noyes, one of the developers of the Green Aqueduct land (as was Bickford), and his family (Census 1900). After his marriage ca. 1900 Bickford and his wife Lula Buck, a Maine native, and their soon growing family lived in the Avenues at 739 Second Avenue. Four children

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were born between 1902 and 1909 (Preservation Company 2008, A-101). In 1909 Bickford returned to the Washington, D. C., area where he continued as a real estate agent (Census 1910; *Washington Post* 1909). He opened an office in Takoma Park, the only one in that town at the time, where he handled "a general line of real estate properties, loans and insurance" (*Washington Post*, 7 November 1909). At the time of his death Bickford was survived by his second wife, three children, seven grandchildren, and eight great-grandchildren (*Washington Post*, 22 March 1962).

Over the nearly twenty years Bickford lived in Berlin he would acquire multiple properties in many Berlin neighborhoods, developing some of them either as speculative housing or for rental purposes. Most of the houses Bickford is known to have built are in forms and styles common to the period (see Preservation Company 2008 for examples). He also resold unimproved lots, providing mortgages to those buyers. The number of entries under Bickford's name in the Coos County grantor and grantee indexes demonstrates the extent of his involvement in real estate development in Berlin between 1893 and 1909. Just for the period 1893 to 1900 he is involved in nearly 300 transactions. For instance, in May 1899 Bickford sold a property with a double house on the corner of Jolbert Street and Second Avenue to Thomas Sullivan, then of Gorham (*Berlin Reporter* 19 May 1899, 8).

A 1906 profile noted:

Mr. Bickford offers house lots on the most favorable terms, also builds cottages and sells them at advantageous prices on the installment plan. He also issues mortgage loans on real estate and does a general real estate business (*Berlin Souvenir* 1906, 27).

For instance, for a one-and-a-half story house with six rooms in the Avenues, Bickford's listing touted its flush closet [toilet] and connection to sewer and water (Berlin Independent 1 August 1907). In the 1890s he partnered with several different building craftsmen, possibly simultaneously. In all likelihood, he provided the funding for the land while they provided the skills to develop the lots with housing. For instance in September 1893 Bickford and W. Lyman McGivney, a carpenter who worked with various others, including Luther S. Buber (see below), acquired two lots in Block 9 of the Berlin Mills Addition Plan 1 on the East Side. In January 1894 the pair sold one of the lots, now developed, on Burgess Street between Grafton and Mason (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 69, Page 391; Book 70, Page 124). 16 Several months later, in April 1894, the pair sold the second lot, also with a building (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 70, Page 344). In the mid-1890s Bickford also partnered with the well-known and highly successful building contractor Augustine N. Gilbert (see below). Together they developed a number of properties especially in the Avenues, including Bickford's house on Second Avenue. In several instances, he developed the property and continued to own it for several years before selling it. This was the case with a trio of identical houses (unusual for Berlin) he commissioned on First Avenue (see Level 1 and Level III HABS Documentation, 779, 785, and 789 First Avenue).

¹⁶ The property was developed with a two-story house that was replaced in the 1920s with a three-story building with six units (566 Burgess Street) (Sanborn Maps 1920, 1927).

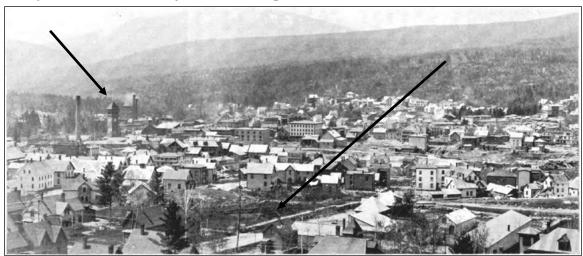
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Dwelling Construction, The Avenues/Berlin Heights Addition Historic District, 1940s-present

New housing construction in the Avenues in this period was considerably reduced compared to the previous period. This was due in large part to the absence of open lots available for construction. When it did occur in the Avenues, it typically replaced an earlier building, as was the case with 128 Green Street, a split-level ranch house built in the 1970s that replaced a ca. 1900 three-unit residence, or occurred on the edges of the neighborhood, further up the hillsides. A rare example of new construction in the Post-War period in the Avenues on a previously undeveloped lot is the Simpson House, 756 First Avenue, built ca. 1945 (see Level III HABS Documentation, NH State No. 685). In less than a decade later, however, it was converted to two apartments with added exterior stairs leading to the upper unit.

Instead of new construction, the primary building activity in the Avenues in this period was the subdivision and alteration of existing buildings, a pattern first established in the 1930s but which became increasingly common in the 1940s and 1950s. Single-family and multifamily residences were subdivided and expanded to house additional apartments. Numerous examples of this process are present throughout the neighborhood (see Preservation Company 2008).

3. Single vs. Multifamily Housing/Tenements (Owner-occupied vs. Rental) in the Avenues/Berlin Heights Addition Historic District



View from Berlin Heights, looking southeast, towards the Avenues. The Glen Manufacturing Co. clock tower opposite the terminus of the Dead River is visible at the left. The open area in the mid-ground is the Dead River, not yet filled in. The view shows the density of development and the irregular placement of some of the buildings on the lots, in The Granite Monthly 20 (1896), p. 202.

Builders and homeowners in the Avenues overwhelmingly embraced the model of a freestanding, wood-frame building on each house lot, with air, light, and a small amount of land on all sides. By the turn of the twentieth century, most builders, homebuyers, and local governments preferred freestanding dwellings with some measurable space between each. ¹⁷ For the social reformers of

¹⁷ This concept is rooted in the writings of landscape architects such as Andrew Jackson Downing, who in the 1830s put forth the pastoral garden suburb as a serene respite from the crowded, multifamily conditions then found in most urban environments.

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the late nineteenth century who railed against the health and moral risks they associated with the crowded living spaces of some large multifamily dwellings, the freestanding, single-family house became the ideal (Preservation Company 2004, 8). The concept took hold among the shapers of American urban areas by the late nineteenth century, and even under the increased pressure and potential for profit, most builders and buyers hesitated to connect buildings and thus forgo the perceived health and social benefits available with the freestanding form (Heath 2001, 125). In Berlin the pressures of density of development were less than in large cities owing to the relative availability of land in proximity to the mills and central business district. Berlin's population surge and rapid development only beginning in the last decade of the nineteenth century contributed to the absence of development pressure present in New Hampshire cities and towns urbanized earlier in the century, such as Manchester and Nashua. By the time Berlin underwent its dramatic growth parties involved in residential development, including land developers, property owners, builders, and city planners, established a modest density level of development.

Despite the considerable increase in population and high demand for housing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, single-family houses historically made up the majority of dwellings within the Avenues. While the single-family house has been found to be the dominant method for housing urban residents nationwide during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, regardless of class, it is somewhat unusual for the Northeast, where a regional pattern of two- and three-family houses is commonly found in urban centers (Raub 1990, 3). Similarly, the urban areas of Quebec had a tradition of duplex and triplex housing (where flats are stacked one atop the other) though many of the emigrants from the French-speaking parts of Canada came from the more rural areas where single-family farmsteads were the common building type. 18 preponderance of single-family houses in the Avenues may have been due in part to the type of residents who initially settled the neighborhood: a class of moderately skilled workers, including shoemakers, mill engineers, papermakers, carpenters, contractors, and others. The relatively high wages paid by the wood and paper mills in Berlin allowed many families to build and/or purchase their own homes. Renters initially outnumbered homeowners between 1900 and 1920; after that date, the ratio was nearly equal (Bureau of the Census 1900-1930). The large, unskilled labor force generally associated with large multifamily housing forms was certainly present in the Avenues, but was not the majority demographically. Single-family houses may also outnumber multifamily housing because local builders were able to keep up with the demand for housing. Single-family housing is less efficient than multifamily housing in the use of building labor and capital. If time or money were of the essence in housing production, it is reasonable to assume that a higher percentage of purpose-built multifamily housing would have been constructed in the Avenues. Though Berlin experienced rapid bursts of population growth at different times in its history, it appears from federal census information that between 1900 and 1920, the average number of families per dwelling in the city never rose above 1.5 (Bureau of the Census 1900-1920). This figure indicates that there was sufficient housing stock constructed across the city in order to accommodate the population at a relatively low level of density (Raub 1990, 8).

¹⁸ In contrast with the United States, the term duplex is used in Quebec to describe a building with two flats or apartments, one on top of the other. In the United States the term typically means two adjoining units, or what the English refer to as a semi-detached house.

Although single-family housing dominated in the Avenues and several other nearby neighborhoods, the area does include a notable variety of multifamily dwellings. Some were built as such, and others were converted later as the neighborhood population increased and developable land was greatly reduced. Multifamily housing was attractive to builders, buyers, and renters because the form made more efficient use of land, labor, and materials and served several important social functions. Rental income from the additional unit(s) in the building helped provide economic stability or increased the standard of living for the homeowner. For immigrant families, which made up between forty and fifty percent of the population in the Avenues, multifamily housing allowed extended family to live under one roof and facilitated the preservation of ethnic traditions and lifestyles (Raub 1990, 13-14). Many multifamily dwellings in the neighborhood were constructed between 1910 and 1920, a period which coincides with a sixty percent rise in the population in the neighborhood and a thirty-two percent rise in overall population within the city (Sanborn 1901-1950, Bureau of the Census 1900-1930). Multifamily dwellings within The Avenues are almost exclusively two- or three-family structures arranged with a single living unit on each floor. There are only limited instances of dwellings with four or more units.

Approximately 122 houses were constructed between the initial development of the neighborhood in 1892 and 1900 (Bureau of the Census 1900). By 1900 Third Avenue was the most populated street in the neighborhood with approximately 246 residents living in thirty-six dwellings (an average of 6.8 people per dwelling). Fifth Avenue was the least populated with approximately thirty-five residents. As a whole, the building stock was largely single family. There were approximately twenty two-family houses, and only a few three- or four-family dwellings. There were more renters than homeowners listed in the census, suggesting that at this time a majority of the housing had been built for rental purposes, to accommodate the burgeoning work force (Preservation Company 2004, 43).

Between 1900 and 1910 as many as seventy-eight houses were constructed in the Avenues (Bureau of the Census 1910). Single-family dwellings were still the most popular housing types. However the numbers of two-, three-, and four or more-family housing types also increased. In 1910 there were at least nine three-family dwellings, four of them on Third Avenue. There were four four-family dwellings on First Avenue. The number of rented dwellings outnumbered owner-occupied dwellings (Preservation Company 2004, 44).

As of 1920, the residents of The Avenues lived predominantly in single-family dwellings. The number of two-family dwellings had only increased slightly, from forty-eight to fifty-six. However, there were some twenty three-family dwellings, more than double the previous figure. The number of four-family dwellings increased only slightly; however, their distribution was broader with this type of dwelling to be found on First, Second, and Third Avenues, as well as on Gilbert Street. For the first time, the number of buildings owned by residents outnumbered those occupied by renters, suggesting owner-occupancy of single-family and multifamily housing (Bureau of the Census 1920).

By 1930, the majority of people living in the Avenues resided in single-family dwellings, and there was only a slight increase in the number of two-family dwellings. The total number of buildings housing three families did not change between 1920 and 1930, though there was some new construction of purpose-built multifamily houses including at least five blocks. In addition to the pair of well-known Boulay Blocks on Third Avenue (844 and 848 Third Avenue), other new blocks

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built in the 1920s in the Avenues included 706 Fourth Avenue (built 1928-1929 for and occupied by Dominic Develin), 724 Third Avenue (built 1922-24 for and occupied by Herman Gosselin), and 124 Wight (built 1927-1928 also by Stephen Boulay and later occupied by his son Alfred) (Directories 1920-1930; *Annual Reports* 1920-1929; Sanborns 1920, 1928). The distribution of multifamily houses did change. Whereas nearly one-third of the three-family houses were located on First Avenue in 1920, there were none counted in 1930. Half of the three-family houses counted in 1930 were on Third Avenue. There was only a slight increase in the number of four-family dwellings in that decade. Renting surpassed homeownership again in 1930 (242 to 232). Only a marginal increase in the total number of houses was recorded, from 304 in 1920 to 345 (Bureau of the Census 1930).

Other Relevant Housing Patterns of single-family vs. multifamily, owner-occupied vs. rentals in the Avenues/Berlin Heights Addition Historic District

A common pattern is the tendency of residents to stay in the same neighborhood in which they grew up. Numerous instances can be found throughout the Avenues of individuals who grew up in the neighborhood, remaining there to raise their own families. Robert Rodrique, Sr. (born 1930) grew up in the Avenues. After getting married, he bought a house in the Avenues, where he and his wife raised their family (Rodrique 2009, 1). 732 First Avenue was owned by two-generations of the Bouchard family from the time of its construction ca. 1900 until the mid-1970s. As the surviving parent aged, one of the adult married children continued to live in one of the flats. The other flat was subdivided into two units, of which one was occupied by the parent (see Preservation Company, New Hampshire Historic Property Documentation, 732 First Avenue, NH State No. 672).

4. Use of Interior, Exterior Spaces By Residents in the Avenues/Berlin Heights Addition Historic District

For much of the nineteenth century in urban New England areas, the number of rooms per story in single-family houses remained relatively constant and comparable to those in the eighteenth century in each class of housing—two rooms per floor for the lowest class and three rooms for the middle class (Driemeyer 2006, 220). This standard of roughly six rooms per house for the small house remained consistent well into the 1930s, with the square footage measuring between 650 and 1,100 by 1920 (Doucet and Weaver 1991, 233-238). The number of rooms in many two-families and three-families was generally comparable in number and type of rooms but just confined to a single floor per unit. By the 1890s in Boston, flats in apartment houses generally had six or seven rooms, in contrast with tenements that often just had three or four rooms. By the end of the decade increasing numbers of tenements in the Boston area had six rooms (Jacobsohn 2004, 26, 42). ¹⁹

Some of the housing in the Avenues features plans and exterior elements that represent French-Canadian housing influences. These characteristics can be found in single-family and multifamily houses. In addition, housing stock that has been subdivided to accommodate additional living units often incorporates these features. As is common in smaller-scaled housing, whether single-

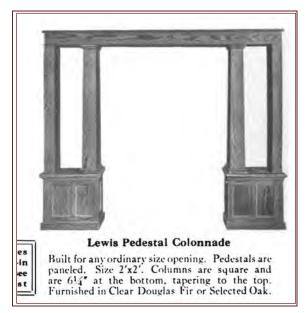
¹⁹ An additional invaluable discussion of spaces in multifamily housing is Elizabeth Collins Cromley, *Alone Together: A History of New York's Early Apartments* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990).

family or multifamily, the main rooms of the houses or flats tend to be bedrooms and a kitchen or "living room," which was the main social or living space, used for cooking but also as a sitting space (Jacobsohn 2004, 30). Frequently smaller-scaled housing in Berlin lacks formal spaces such as dining rooms and to a lesser extent parlors or living rooms. The primary entry is frequently into the kitchen, often the largest room in the dwelling and commonly the primary social space, where family and friends gathered for all occasions, whether it is a single-family dwelling, two-family, Block, or subdivided dwelling. This characteristic and the adjacent-room plan where all the other rooms radiate off from the kitchen are two of the primary interior features most indicative of the French-Canadian influence. Such a feature is characteristic of plans of rural nineteenth-century housing in Quebec (Ennals and Holdsworth 1998, 64-70; Lessard and Marquis 1972, 287-297).

The adjacent room plan is common not only in Blocks but also other types of housing and even in buildings that have been subdivided into additional apartments. For instance, the Goudreau House, 851 Second Avenue and its neighbor 855 Second Avenue, a one-and-a-half-story gable-front house both have this plan, with entry into the kitchen (see Mausolf, New Hampshire Historic Property Documentation Nos. 694 and 695). The Boulay Block, 848 Third Avenue, had this plan as did all three apartments in the Bouchard Two-family, 732 First Avenue. The Simpson House, 756 First Avenue, was built as a single-family but subdivided horizontally into two flats within a few years. The plan for the first-floor apartment featured an adjacent room plan with all the rooms radiating off of the kitchen, the largest room in the apartment (Preservation Company 2008, A-92) (see Mausolf, New Hampshire Historic Property Documentation No. 685).

In addition an apparent preference for several other features common to the block, notably multistory porches or piazzas, and exterior stairs providing access to each flat, is evidenced by their presence on other Berlin housing converted to multifamily use. Especially in the post-World War II period housing in the central neighborhoods including the Avenues was frequently subdivided into additional flats or apartments. An apparent preference for several features common to the block including the adjacent-room plan or layout, porches, and exterior stairs, is evidenced by its use in other Berlin housing converted to multifamily use, a common practice especially in the post-World War II period. The Bouchard House (732 First Avenue) was built ca. 1900 as a gable-front two-family, with additional massing elements including a one-and-a-halfstory rear ell (see Preservation Company, New Hampshire Historic Property Documentation, 732 First Avenue, NH State No. 672). The original owner, a French-Canadian carpenter, made several alterations over a roughly fifteen-year period, including the addition of a two-story porch spanning the façade, raising the ell to two stories, and adding a two-story porch with exterior stairs along the ell. The final significant alteration was the conversion of the building to a three family in the 1940s by the second-generation of the Bouchard family with the subdivision of the first floor into two flats and the third occupying the upper two stories. In all three units, the primary entry was into the kitchen, with the second-story one accessed by exterior stairs on a side porch (Driemeyer 2013, 8-9).

At the same time, other plans in housing in the Avenues resemble those of single-family and multifamily houses found throughout New England. For instance, the Bergeron Two-family, 138-140 Green Street as first built, featured two flats, with the second floor unit accessed by an interior stair (see Preservation Company, New Hampshire Historic Property Documentation, 732 First Avenue, NH State No. 680). Each flat featured a double-parlor with a wide opening between the two front rooms, flanked by columns on pedestals, a detailing popular in the 1910s.



Lewis Pedestal Colonnade, from Lewis Manufacturing Co., Homes of Character, p. 138

The trio of single-family houses built by Gershon Bickford as speculative housing in the 1890s on First Avenue, similarly employed a plan found in many small houses of the period. The side-gable houses had a large front room, entered directly through the front door, with the kitchen in the rear ell. Several small bedrooms were on the second floor, accessed by a stair between the main block and rear ell. As one Berlin resident who grew up on First Avenue recalled, the family housed five boarders and so he and his brother shared rooms with them; some even slept in the cellar. In addition, because of the boarders, the house had no dining or living room (Kovalik 2009, 2, 10).

In addition, as is commonly found in working-class housing, the residents frequently used some of the spaces for purposes other than originally intended. This, however, appears to occur to a lesser degree because much of the housing was built by local builders with an understanding of how space was used by residents. As a result, rather than using idealized plans that featured rooms not likely to be used by the residents for those original purposes, such as a parlor, the housing tended to incorporate spaces that would be most useful. In most if not all instances, construction was for the individual property owner as had long been the pattern in the Avenues.

The prevalence of multi-story porches on much of the housing in Berlin, especially the multifamily houses provided not only the primary means of access to the flats but also easy access to some outdoor space for the residents. The porches were used by the residents for multiple purposes, including sitting outside on hot summer days or nights, chatting with passersby on the street below, a place to dry laundry, and as a protected place for the children to play not far from the watchful eye of a parent or older sibling. Responsibility for cleaning the stairs might rest with the tenant who used the stairway or in some cases the tenant and owner alternated washing the stairs (Hooper and Dubois, 2008-2012).

In the Avenues, some of the houses on the periphery sat on lots that had sufficient land for gardens to grow vegetables. The Kovalik family who lived on First Avenue just south of Harding, had large vegetable garden (Kovalik 2009, 10).

B. BERLIN NEIGHBORHOODS OTHER THAN THE AVENUES

1. Summary

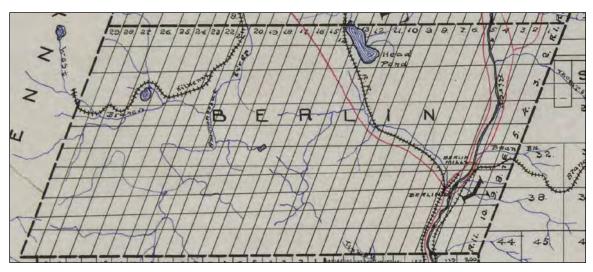
Many of the neighborhoods ringing the original Berlin settlement first began to be platted and developed in the same decade as the Avenues, the 1890s. The geography was one limiting factor in the selection of land for development in the late nineteenth century. As with the Avenues, most of the residential areas are laid out on gently sloping topography rising east and west from the Androscoggin River. The height of platting large sections of Berlin's land on both sides of the river occurred primarily between 1890 and 1910, with the greatest amount concentrated in the 1890s. The processes of platting and laying out roads was done primarily by local real estate corporations organized by local businessmen (a number of them participated in more than one company), by the city's largest saw mill and pulp and paper manufacturer, Berlin Mills (later Brown Company) and on occasion by individual property owners (including heirs of long-time land owners). In general, these entities only platted the land, which consisted of subdividing large parcels into house lots, typically urban in character (50' x 100'), and mapping and laying out most 50'-wide streets (though for the most part not paving them). A grid pattern was used consistently, with few concessions to the varied terrain. This process created the residential landscape that remains today on both sides of the river. In only one small section, the Berlin Land and Building Company plat of 1890, did the original platting include alleys, situated between the lots paralleling Park and State streets.

The process of platting the land was largely separate from the development of the newly created house lots; that process was handled by a cross-section of individuals and entities, which is discussed in Section IIB (Dwelling Construction by Property Owners, Speculative Enterprises, and Company-Owned Land).

2. Original Land Purchase and Platting, 1820s-1870s

In the early decades of Berlin's settlement, land development was highly individualized, with a number of Berlin's more successful early residents such as the Green family and Ira Mason, acquiring large undeveloped parcels. The town of Berlin, like most Coos County towns, had been platted into ranges and lots, regardless of the topography.

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Detail from Map of the Timber Lands in Oxford and Franklin County Maine, Coos County, New Hampshire, Showing the Different Townships with their Allotments.

Augustus M. Carter, Berlin Mills Company, 1899.

Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division.

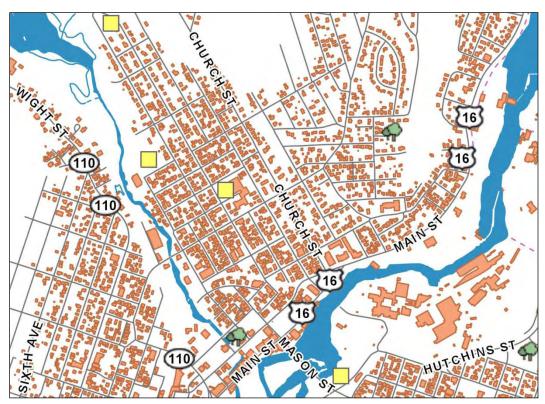
The range lines run east-west while the lot lines run north-south. Berlin land was sold based on these divisions, which over time were divided and sold with some individuals accumulating parcels that traversed the lot and range lines. Little formal platting had occurred by the end of the period; generally parcels or house lots were subdivided from a landholder's larger parcel and developed individually, not always along an existing street.

As previously mentioned Daniel Green was a major landowner, who had operated early sawmills, and at one time owned much of the waterpower on the Androscoggin (Tardiff 2003, 181). Green laid out and sold many building lots in the city (Merrill 1888, 820). His land on the hillside west of the railroad tracks, in what later became the Avenues, remained largely undeveloped until the 1890s.

Original Land Purchase and Platting, Neighborhoods Other Than the Avenues

North of the Avenues, to the north of the Dead River a series of neighborhoods were laid out extending north from the west side of Main Street and River Road. Most were laid out in the 1890s.

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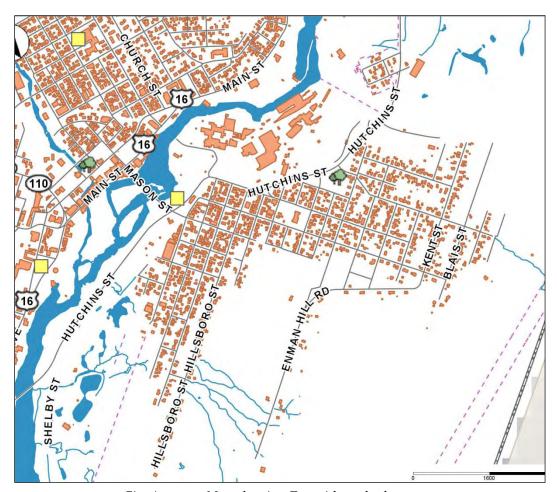
City Assessor Map showing areas north of Avenues

The areas closest to the river are comparatively level but the grade increases especially in the blocks northeast of High Street. Moving in a southerly to a northerly direction, areas or neighborhoods include Granite Street/St. Giles, Fibreville, Irish Acres, School Street/Notre Dame High School, the Heights, the "Streets," Norwegian Village, and Halvorson Terrace. The boundaries of a number of these areas are indistinct with some more clearly defined than others due to building types or the association with a religious or educational institution. The terrain is flatter on the streets closest to Dead River but it begins to rise quickly up the bottom slopes of Mount Jasper and Cates Hills to the west and north. The grid pattern is largely laid over the topography without adjustment for changing grades other than roughly paralleling the ridge lines. A group of short streets, also originally named by number and known locally as the "Streets" (distinguishing them from the later "Avenues") are laid perpendicular to the Androscoggin. North of the "Streets" is Norwegian Village, also platted in a grid pattern on some of the more level land in the developed area of the city. This neighborhood lacks any major geological features or significant grade changes between the streets.

The East Side is bounded by the Concord & Montreal Railroad (later Boston and Maine Railroad) to the west and Forbush Park and Additions area and Emman Hill Road to the east.

-

²⁰ This group of streets was renamed in 2005 as part of the 911 Street Name Changes.



City Assessor Map showing East side and other areas

The grade increases from west to east with the longest streets paralleling the ascending ridges lines. To the north are several small neighborhoods developed predominantly in the 1920s. From north to south these include Liberty Park, Napert Village, and Forbush Park, the latter of which directly abuts the East Side neighborhood (Preservation Company 1998).

In general, as with the Avenues, the East Side neighborhood has few trees, though some are present in the block interiors, within private yards; trees are not planted along the streets nor were there originally open park spaces. Since the demolition of the mills, some parks have been created along the river. Other neighborhoods, especially the Heights and Norwegian Village, have more mature trees planted on individual house lots but also lack sidewalk shade trees and parks.

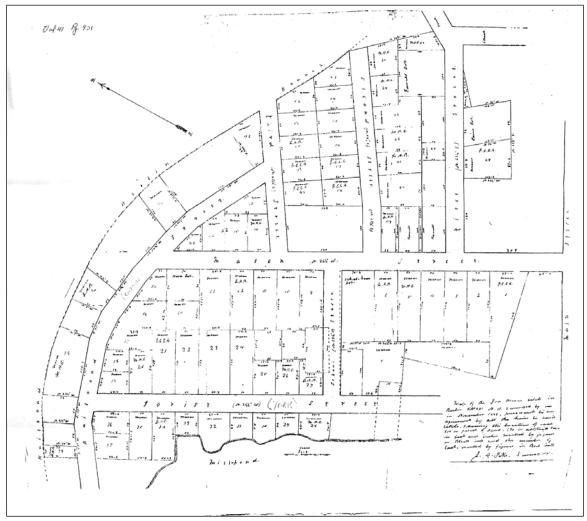
Original Land Purchase and Platting, Neighborhoods Other Than the Avenues, 1880s-1930s

The greatest amount of platting and development occurred in the several decades before and after the turn of the twentieth century with much of it concentrated in the twenty-year period 1890-1910. During that time large areas of land in the easterly one-third of Berlin, along both sides of the river were platted with a grid pattern of streets and urban lots, as in the Avenues. The process was first concentrated on the west side of the river in the vicinity of the Berlin Falls and Berlin Mills villages. Platting of the east side did not occur until the first decade of the twentieth century, owing to the absence of a bridge to provide easy access. A few of the subdivisions included

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building restrictions in an effort to control the type of housing erected in the newly platted areas. As in the Avenues, the lots were predominantly urban in character, with street frontages typically measuring 50', while the depths were commonly 100' deep. The grid pattern generally did not take into account the varied topography or rising hillsides, other than to sometimes parallel a ridge line.

As in the Avenues, the earliest efforts involved the subdivision of large parcels predominantly owned by long-time, major landholding families such as the Greens and the Masons. In some locations, these families sold to developers who financed the platting of land. In other instances, the families directly or indirectly oversaw the platting of the land. In at least one instance, the heirs of a long-time landholder initiated the platting process.



Map of the Ira Mason Estate in Berlin Village.... Surveyed by J.A. Pike, November 1888. Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 41, Page 401.

This was the case with Ira Mason (1828-1883), a successful dry-goods merchant, who had substantial land holdings in the vicinity of what later became the St. Giles/Granite Street neighborhood (Hengen 2009, 6).

An 1896 profile of Berlin in *Granite Monthly* described Mason as

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a prominent man in the commercial and political life of the town. He was a successful merchant, and owned land which he had the sagacity to retain, and which the rapid growth of the town in later years has made exceedingly valuable (Niles 1896, 189).

Some of his land included a triangular parcel bounded on the north by a curvilinear embankment surmounted by the Berlin Mills Railroad Branch and on the east by Main Street. An arcing street paralleled the rail line; short east-west and north-south cross streets provided access to the nearly seventy variously sized rectangular urban lots. The area also included a school lot on the northwest corner of School and Mason streets.



Detail, View of Mason Land; the school is in the center of the image (arrow) 1888 Bird's Eye of Berlin Falls and Berlin Mills, N.H. by George E. Norris. Boston Public Library, Norman B. Leventhal Center Collection.

At the time of the platting the Mason area already contained frame houses and multifamilies, especially along Railroad Street (later St. Giles and now Granite), as shown above in the 1888 Bird's Eye. The presence of existing buildings explains the irregular lots in some locations.

In addition to owning much of what later became the Avenues, the Greens had considerable landholdings in other parts of Berlin, on both sides of the river. They sold much of those on the east side to Berlin Mills Company, with the exception of one parcel along the Concord & Montreal Railroad (later Boston and Maine Railroad) which they retained and platted in 1893 (see discussion of platting of East Side, below).

In general the mills confined themselves to platting and selling land, and not the erection of housing for the workers. One notable early exception, however, was the Forest Fibre Company, whose activities in land development were contemporary with but strikingly different from the Mason Estate endeavors. In the wake of the establishment and success of the Forest Fibre Company, its founder Henry H. Furbish purchased in 1880 at least two large parcels of land for future development, east of Main Street (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 26, Page 117; Book 26, Page 116). One, an area later known as **Fibreville**, ran along Main Street from the Narrows south to the Railroad Crossing, then along the railroad to the "Irish crossing" and then west including the west side of Emery to "Howard Parker's residence," then over the hill to about a point opposite the Burgess School on School Street, then back to the Narrows. It was a contiguous parcel except for the land already occupied by the Cascade House/St. Regis School and

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St. Anne Church (Paine 1926, 9). This appears to have been the parcel Furbish acquired from Ira Mason but that has not been fully researched (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 26, Page 117). Furbish laid out building lots, graded streets, and added electric lights (Merrill 1888, 827). Willard Street was named after his son and Emery for his wife's maiden name (Paine 1926, 10).

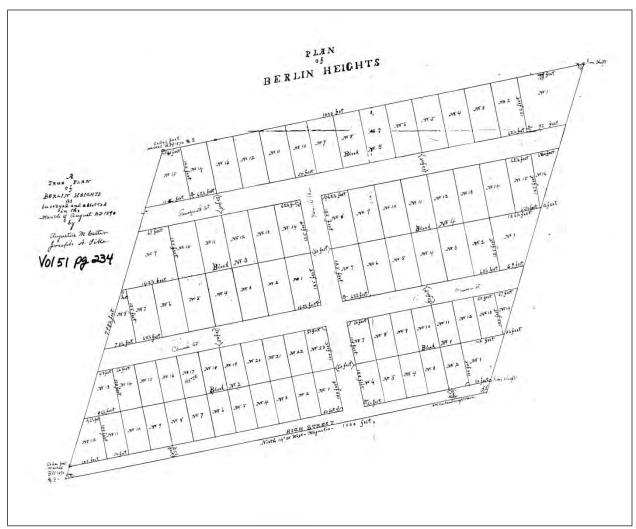
By contrast, Berlin Mills Company, run by the Brown family, profited from their large landholdings but generally played no role in residential development aside from platting the land and selling the unimproved lots to private and, to a lesser extent, speculative builders. The company had accumulated multiple large parcels on both sides of the river, for their mills but also potentially for residential development. Some of the land had been acquired initially by the H. Winslow Company which the Brown family subsequently acquired. Berlin Mills concentrated initially on developments on the west side of the river, closest to the saw mill and other operations. This included land between First and Fifth streets. They had also acquired two large tracts on the east side of the river from the Greens which they subsequently platted in 1893-1894. They sold the unimproved lots roughly over the next two decades, with the greatest number of sales concentrated in the 1890s and first decade of the twentieth century. As the mills expanded at a rapid rate, land speculation and development became a primary interest of Berlin businessmen and a range of other residents.

In the early 1890s, before its incorporation as a city, several real estate and development-related corporations were established. These newly established entities purchased large amounts of land, often from long-time landowners and subdivided the land for sale, as in the Avenues. organizers of these entities were local professionals who hoped to capitalize on Berlin's rapid growth, and oftentimes the same individuals were involved. The first of these entities, the Berlin Heights Land Association (BHLA) was established by Frank A. Colby, a physician, and Herbert I. Goss, an attorney. Of the pair, Goss was the most involved developer. Born in Waterford, Vermont, in 1857, Goss resided in Minneapolis, Minnesota, for a number of years before returning east to practice law, and eventually settled in Berlin in 1888 (Herndon 1898, 55). Biographical sketches of Goss state that the growth that he witnessed in Minneapolis taught him that the value of land accrued as development of an area progressed. He took this knowledge and partnered with others to encourage and profit from land transactions in Berlin in the wake of the emergence of the pulp and paper making industry (Stearns 1908, 1892). Among Goss's other endeavors in the development of Berlin, he helped organize the Berlin Aqueduct Company in 1892, served as director of the People's Building and Loan Association and the Berlin Savings and Trust Company (two local enterprises actively involved in providing mortgages to new property owners), and was one of the organizers of the Berlin Heights Addition Corporation, a much larger Berlin land development corporation that later platted large areas of land including what became the Avenues. In 1902 he was instrumental in organizing the Berlin Street Railway Company (Stearns 1908, $1892).^{21}$

²¹ Frank A. Colby (1852-1896), was born in Colebrook, New Hampshire, but raised in Lancaster. The graduate of Dartmouth Medical College practiced initially in Lancaster and ran a drug company with a partner. He subsequently sold his share in the company and settled in Berlin where in addition to maintaining a medical practice he invested in various corporate entities, such as the Berlin Savings and Loan Corporation, in addition to the land development corporations (*Granite Monthly* 1896, v. 21, 123 [necrology] August 1896; Somers 1899, 478).

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The Berlin Heights Land Association development, located northwest of downtown, was advertised as "an addition to Fibreville, with its level and smooth streets, excellent drainage and water supply. . ." (Bacon 1890, 86). Subsequently known as the "The Heights," the area was promoted for development by and for mill executives and professionals (Bacon 1890, 86; Voluntary Corporations Volume 5, Page 172). The original developers were also involved in the construction of a small number of speculative houses (Bacon 1890, 86).



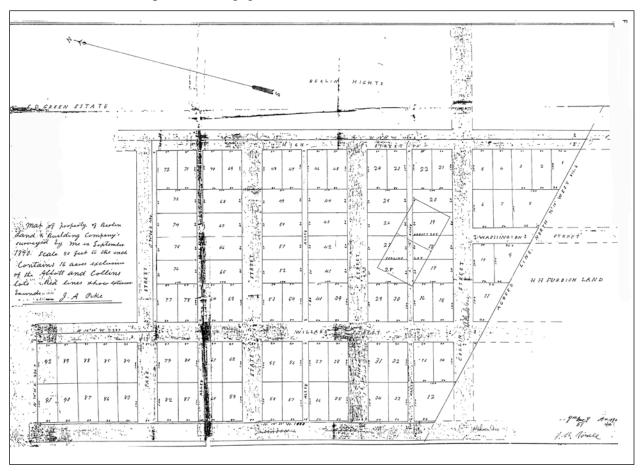
"Plan of Berlin Heights," August 1890, by Augustus M. Carter and Joseph A. Pike. Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 51, Page 234.

The original five-block area, along portions of High, Church, and Prospects streets and Hillside Avenue, contained eighty-two lots. Those between High and Church streets measured 50' x 100' whereas those between Church and Prospect were slightly larger, measuring 62.5' x 125'. In an effort to control the quality of housing along these streets, the deeds of sale included building restrictions, notably a 15' or 20' set back from the street for buildings and no tenement housing (buildings housing more than three units).

Contemporary with and abutting Berlin Heights was a different development, created by another corporation, the **Berlin Land and Building Company (BLBC)**. As established, this entity was

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to also be a lender and builder of houses and other buildings, in addition to platting the land (Voluntary Corporations Volume 6, Page 54). Provision of mortgages appears to be an activity all or most of the land corporations engaged in to some extent.



"Map of property of Berlin Land & Building Company." Surveyed by J.A. Pike, September 1890. Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 51, Page 400.

The L-shaped plat included portions of Madison, Willard, High, Park, and State streets, and contained fifty-eight lots. Those located between Madison and Willard measured 50' x 100' while those along State and Park east of Willard measured 60' x 100'. This area contained one distinctive feature not found anywhere else in Berlin. The original plat featured alleys between the lots, paralleling Park and State streets. This feature allowed for the construction of garages to the rear of houses, fronting on the alleys. This area also featured building restrictions, matching those specified in Berlin Heights.

The first large development in the town, known as the **Berlin Heights Addition (BHA)**, comprised multiple plats extending north and south from Berlin Heights, with the majority located south, in what became the Avenues, ultimately reaching down to Harding Street. The name was intended to differentiate it from the earlier developments. As with the BHLA and the BLBC, the founders of BHA were local professionals. In fact, several of the same individuals were involved. One year after Colby and Goss had established the BHLA, they organized in partnership with the surveyor and engineer William C. Perkins the BHA corporation (established August 1891), for the purpose of buying and selling real estate (Voluntary Corporations Vol. 7, Page 65). Perkins, president of

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the corporation, was also responsible for the layout of the town's water and sewer system as well as the first accurate map of the town.

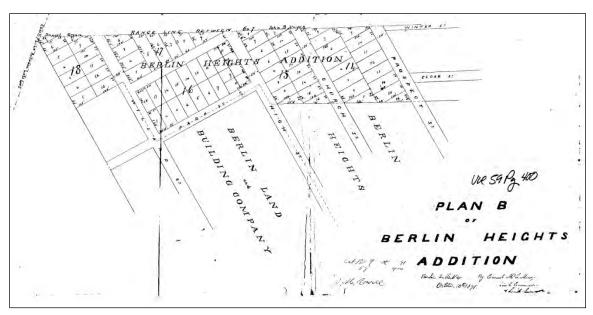
Between August 1891 and June 1893 more than six plats (Plans A through F), some with later revisions, were made by BHA. The first three plats, Plans A-C, covered land north of the Dead River and the Railroad tracks, and adjacent to the earlier plats by BHLA and BLBC. The other BHA plats developed land south of the Dead River in the area now known as the Avenues. In contrast with the BHLA and BLBC developments, no restrictions or setbacks were included in the deeds. The first area was platted in August 1891.



Plan A of the Property of the Berlin Heights Addition. By Ernest McM. Macy, 28 August 1891. Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 55, Page 399.

The area spanned the steep hillside west and north of the original high school lot on School Street (now occupied by the Burgess School/Notre Dame High School) and northeast of Prospect and School streets. The 40' and 50'-wide streets included Spring, Maple, Elm, Spruce, Cedar, Summer streets, and Hillside Avenue. As originally laid out, the area abutted a park at the northeast corner, a portion of which is now Ramsey Hill Park. The inclusion of park space was uncommon in Berlin. The more than 150 lots typically measured 50' x 100'.

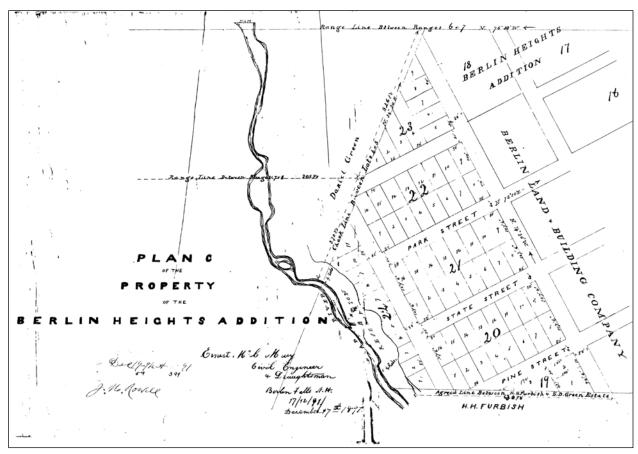
A few months later, Plan B was filed with the Registry of Deeds, covering additional land northeast of the Dead River.



Plan B of Berlin Heights Addition. By Ernest McM. Macy, 10 October 1891. Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 59, Page 400.

Smaller in size than Plan A, the area abutted both Berlin Heights and BLBC to the south and contained over seventy lots, most measuring 50' x 100'. The area included extensions of Willard, High, Church, and Prospect streets and blocks along Park and Portland streets.

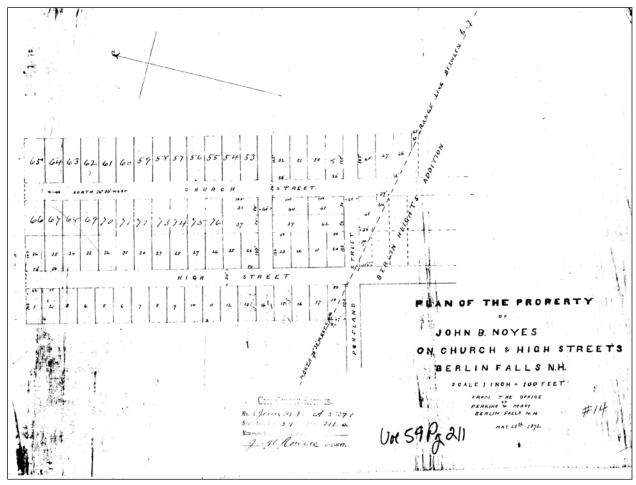
A third section, located between the Dead River and BLBC property, was platted two months later.



Plan C of the Property of the Berlin Heights Addition, December 1891 By Ernest McC. Macy. Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 59, Page 399.

Plan C of the Berlin Heights Addition consisted of three rectangular blocks with sixteen (16) lots each, and two smaller, triangular blocks (one with three asymmetrical lots and a second with nine lots of different sizes), and one block adjacent to the river with eleven lots of different depths and 50' street frontages. The 50'-wide streets were largely extensions of existing streets, such as Madison, Willow, Pine, State, Park, and Portland. Block twenty-three was never developed with housing but rather became Memorial Field Annex.

John B. Noyes, who was involved in multiple corporate land development projects in the 1890s, also developed a parcel of land he owned individually in the Heights on Church and High streets in 1892.



Plan of the Property of John B. Noyes on Church & High Streets, Berlin Falls NH, 25 May 1892 By Perkins & Macy.

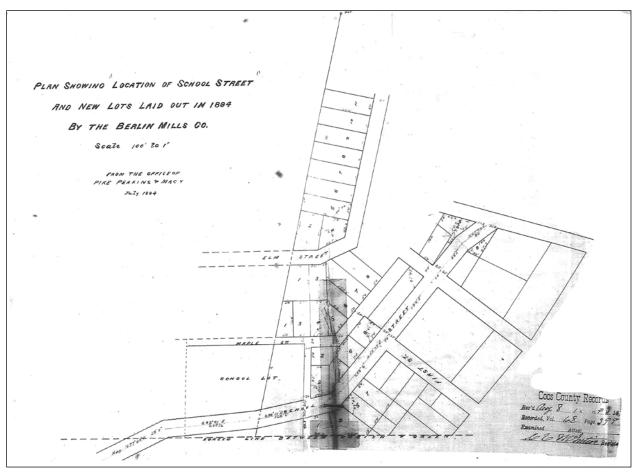
Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 59, Page 211.

The plat extended northwest from the Berlin Heights Addition Plan B, along two blocks abutting the northwest side of Portland Street. The seventy-six lots extended along Church and High streets and like many of the other developments in Berlin, measured 50' x 100'. The area, however, remained sparsely developed until after the turn of the century.

As previously noted, the most substantial development by the Berlin Heights Addition began with the platting of land southwest of the Dead River. This area, ultimately known as the Avenues, was first platted in March 1892 (Plan D). Over the next eighteen months an additional three plats were made, encompassing hundreds of lots and the majority of streets that now make up the Avenues (see above for a fuller description of those different plans).

Various entities platted other parcels north of the Heights areas. In July 1894 Berlin Mills laid out additional lots along School Street to the northeast of the then high school lot, and along Elm Street.

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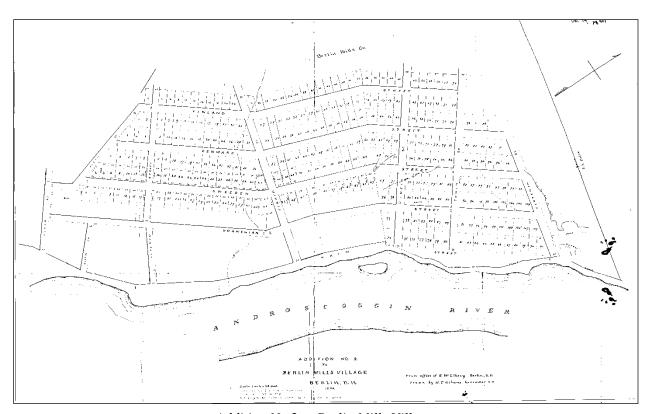


Plan Showing Location of School Street and New Lots Laid out in 1894 by the Berlin Mills Co. By Pike, Perkins, and Macy, July 1894. Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 68, Page 398.

This small, asymmetrical subdivision contained just over twenty-five lots. It demonstrates a willingness to lay out lots regardless of the steep terrain, as was present on Elm Street in particular.

The largest of the Berlin Mills Company expansions on the west side, however, was **Addition No. 2 to Berlin Mills Village**.

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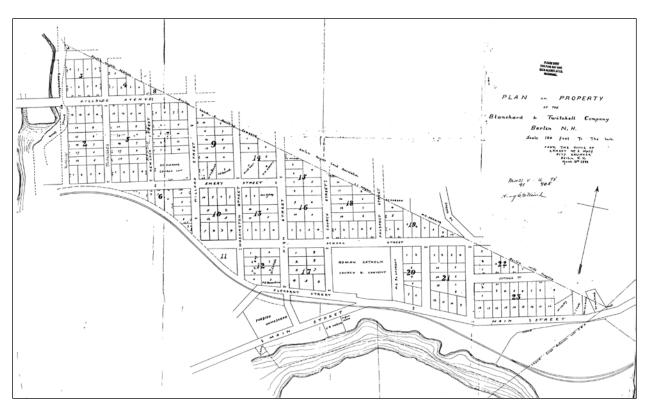


Addition No.2 to Berlin Mills Village By E. McC. Macy, 1896. Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 79, Page 401.

Containing several hundred lots, the twelve-block plat ran from Fifth to Eleventh streets and included Sweden, Denmark, and Finland streets (names all added later), in addition to some along Main Street. As in other developments in this decade, the lots typically measured 50' x 100'. The streets measured 50' in width. Also characteristically of the area, Berlin Mills Company sold the unimproved lots primarily to individuals who subsequently constructed housing on the lot or held the property for investment purposes, before selling it unimproved. The area developed gradually over the next several decades. The deeds of sale included building restrictions limiting improvement of the lot to only a dwelling house and necessary outbuildings and prohibiting construction of commercial buildings and banned the sale of liquor (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 732, Page 753).

By 1896, **Blanchard & Twitchell Company** had acquired Furbush's undeveloped lots in Fibreville (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 89, Page 398). Two years later the firm had a plan done of these extensive land holdings, extending north from Pleasant and Main streets, between the Dead River and to beyond present-day Cambridge Street.

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Plan of Property of the Blanchard & Twitchell Company, Berlin NH By Ernest McC. Macy, 18 March 1898. Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 91, Page 405.

The plan shows the names of owners of some of the lots already purchased, some of which were already developed, including with the town's two Catholic churches, St. Kieran's and St. Anne's, developed before Blanchard & Twitchell had acquired the property.

As with the other major land development companies active in Berlin in the 1890s, Blanchard & Twitchell Company was owned by local businessmen, albeit originally from neighboring Milan. George W. Blanchard (1851-1906) and Cassius M. C. Twitchell (1852-1904) had accumulated vast timber lands in the town of Success, New Hampshire, to the east of Berlin. They established a logging railroad, known initially as the Blanchard and Twitchell Railroad (later Success Pond Railroad), that connected with the Concord and Montreal division of the Boston and Maine Railroad just north of Berlin Mills (Casella 2002, 4). By 1897 the company employed 400 to 500 men and had constructed several railroad-related buildings just east of Berlin Mills, off presentday Hutchins Street (Casella 2002, 5). They supplied local mills, including Berlin Falls Fibre Company, and the Brown Lumber Company of Whitefield (Tardiff 2005, 104; Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 89, Page 391). For instance, in July 1894 they signed an agreement with J. A. Bacon and H. H. Furbish of the Berlin Falls Fibre Company, to supply the company in the fall and winter with 2,500 to 3,000 cords of peeled poplar wood for manufacturing chemical fiber (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 89, Page 391). Payment included a tract of land containing twenty-two lots along School, High, Willard, and Emery streets (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 89, Page 391). Twitchell sold his interest in the business in 1901 and the name was changed to George W. Blanchard and Son Company (Tardiff 2005, 104). Railroad operations had been halted by 1907 (Casella 2002, 5). Twitchell's other business endeavors included livery stables,

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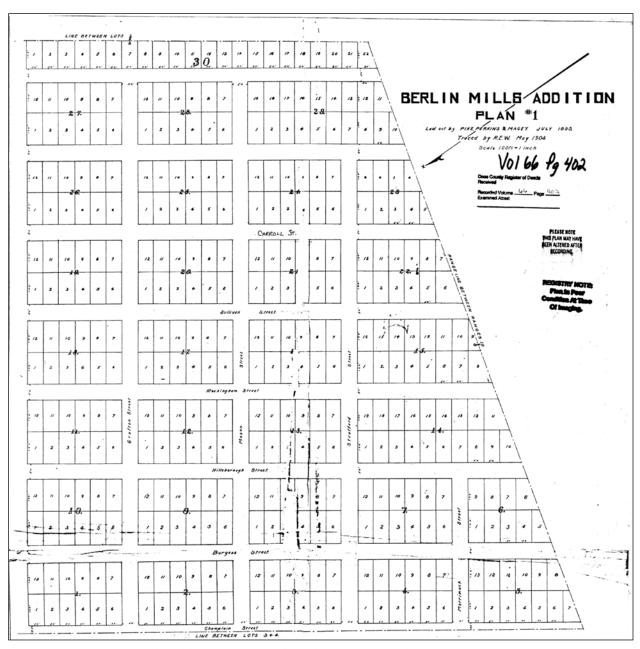
including one in Berlin, named Twitchell & Holt. Under that name he engaged in some real estate business. Like most others engaged in real estate, the company sold unimproved lots to individuals, and on occasion provided mortgages to the purchaser. For instance, in May 1898 Alex Bouchard had acquired lot 3 in Block 10 shown on the 1898 Plan of Blanchard and Twitchell land. That same day he mortgaged the property to the company in order to "secure a part of the purchase money" (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 82, Page 255).

East Side Development

The East Side, or East Berlin as it was initially called, though platted in 1893 remained largely undeveloped until the early twentieth century. The absence of a bridge providing easy access to that side of the river had restricted development. As previously noted, the construction of the two-span Mason Street Bridge and the arrival of the Concord and Montreal Railroad changed that. While the west side was largely developed by local land companies, large portions of the east side were first platted by the town's predominant corporate entity, Berlin Mills Company, which had been acquired from the Green family who had owned much of the East Side since the 1830s (Hengen and Richards 2010c, 7).

In 1893, not long after completion of the bridge, the company had significant portions of the land platted in two parts. In most other aspects, the development process resembled that on the west side of the river including the Avenues, with a grid-pattern laid over the varied topography. The terrain consisted of fairly level land near the river but increasingly steep hillsides to the east. The lot sizes resembled those in other platted areas of Berlin in this decade. Improvement of the lots with construction predominantly of housing occurred over a thirty-plus-year period. In some sections Berlin Mills retained ownership and instead used the land to expand mill operations.

Plan No. 1, plated in July 1893, included thirty blocks.

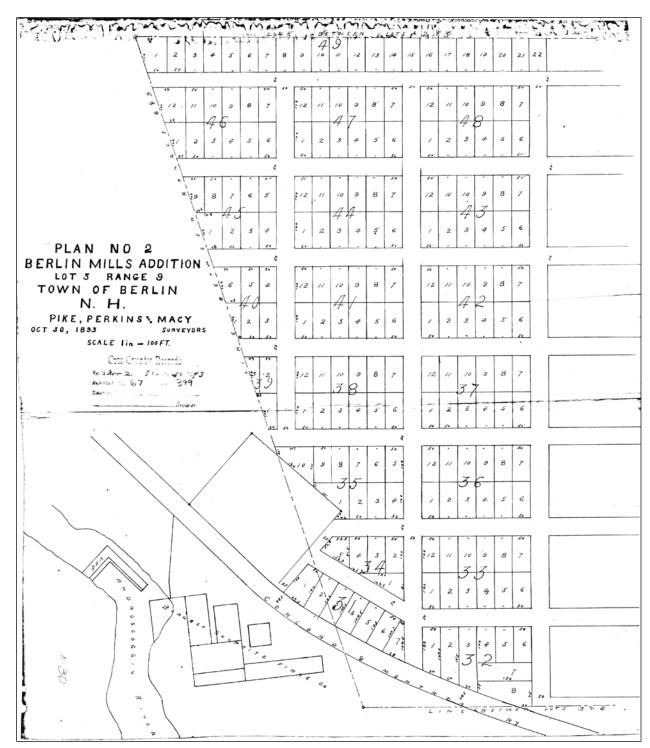


"Berlin Mills Addition Plan #1," by Pike, Perkins, and Macey [sic], July 1893. Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 66, Page 402.

Most blocks contained twelve 50' x 100' lots, though this varied slightly at the edges of the area. The 50'-wide streets, named for different New Hampshire counties, consisted of three principal east-west streets (Grafton, Mason, and Strafford) and eight north-south streets (Champlain, Burgess, Hillsborough, Rockingham, Sullivan, and three unlabeled ones). In contrast with Berlin Mills Company land on the west side, these lots appear not to have had building restrictions. This may explain the greater diversity of the housing stock on the East Side and the presence of purposebuilt buildings with storefronts on the first floor and living space above.

Berlin Mills Company platted an additional area adjacent to the north side of the first Berlin Mills Addition just three months later.

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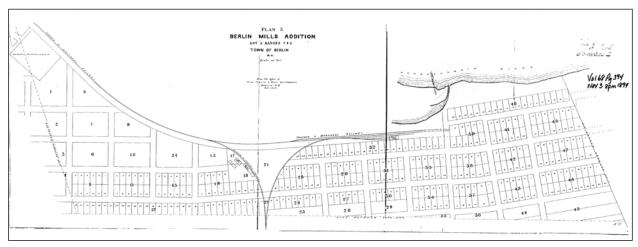
"Plan No. 2, Berlin Mills Addition," by Pike, Perkins, & Macy, 30 October 1893. Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 67, Page 399.

Plan No. 2 contained an additional nineteen blocks, most with twelve lots each. The area roughly corresponds to present-day portions of blocks between Coos and Belknap streets and land east from Rockingham Street. A portion of the plat was later developed with industrial buildings, rather

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than housing, as a result of the continued growth of Berlin Mills Company/Brown Company in the twentieth century.

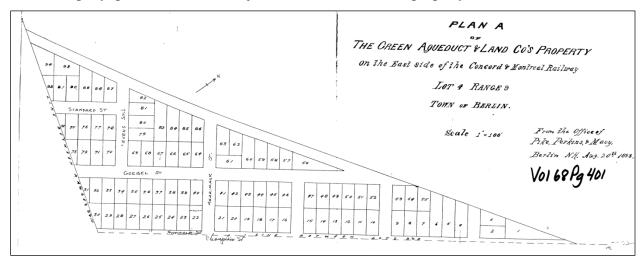
The following October, the company platted a third large parcel on the East Side, extending northerly from Plan No. 2, Berlin Mills Addition.



"Plan 3, Berlin Mills Addition," by Pike, Perkins, & Macy Town of Berlin, October 1894. Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 68, Page 394.

The narrow, rectangular parcel paralleled the river and the Concord and Montreal Railroad. Comparatively few of these lots were ever developed with housing.

Other land on the East Side remained in the hands of the Green family. At the same time as the Berlin Mills Addition plans, the corporate entity created by the Greens, the Green Aqueduct & Land Company, platted some land adjacent to the Berlin Mills property.



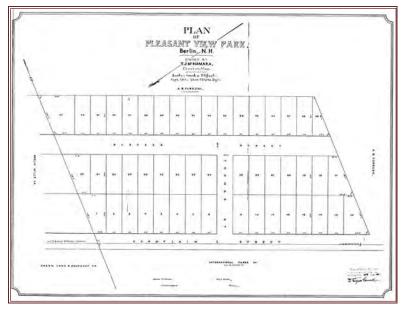
Plan A of the Green Aqueduct & Land Co's Property, on the East Side of the Concord & Montreal Railway

By Pike, Perkins, & Macy, 20 August 1893. Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 68, Page 401.

Also a grid pattern, the plat extended the streets to the west between the Berlin Mills Addition Plan No. 1 and the Concord & Montreal Railroad.

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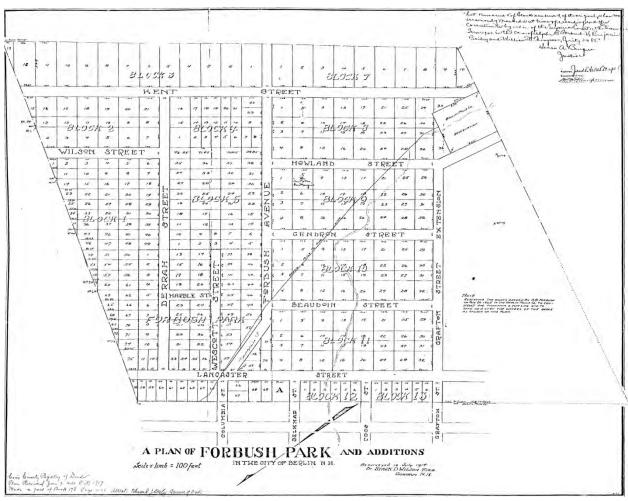
The remainder of the east side was platted in the early twentieth century. Pleasant View Park, platted in 1901, consisted of forty-nine lots, most measuring 40' x 100', along both sides of Burgess Street and the easterly side of Champlain Street.



Plan of Pleasant View Park
By Edwin S. Bryant, September 1901.
Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 180, Page 401.

Thomas J. McNamara (871-1926), a real estate agent, from Clinton, Massachusetts, had acquired the parcel from Alpha B. Forbush in October 1901 (Deed 1901 106/96; U.S. City Directories, Clinton MA, 1905). This area was slow to develop, in part because the land rises steeply.

Forbush, who had acquired lands on the East Side in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century subsequently developed the area known as Forbush Park. The original section and its additions were platted initially in 1905 and evidently redone with an expanded section in 1914 (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 178, Page 401).



A Plan of Forbush Park and Additions. Surveyed by Stark D. Wilson, July 1914. Coos County Registry of Deeds, Plan Book 178, Page 401.

The plat contained thirteen differently sized blocks. While the northerly half contained the characteristic 50' x 100' rectangular lots, those in the southerly half were larger and squarer, measuring 100' x 100', except for a group of 50' x 100' lots on the interior of each block, with no street frontage. In the latter case, most lots were ultimately developed as 50' x 150' lots rather than as first platted. Many of those along both sides of Forbush Avenue, however, were developed as double lots with 100' frontages. This differed from most other areas in Berlin, where for the most part the original lot size was maintained. In addition, Coos Street was extended east through the original plat, further changing its original design.

Platting of additional areas, beyond the central core continued in the twentieth century. Early ones included Liberty Park and Napert Village (see the Berlin and Coos County Historical Society website, Historic Neighborhoods).

Original Land Purchase and Platting, Neighborhoods Other than the Avenues, 1940s-1960s

The patterns for land purchase and platting first established in the 1890s continued in this period though on a greatly reduced scale. Less than a handful of new developments appeared in this period, as much of the land radiating out from Berlin's business core within the river valley had

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already been platted or was already developed. The few new developments were located predominantly north of the central neighborhoods. Halvorsen Terrace, north of Eleventh Street and the Scandinavian/Norwegian Village, was developed by Alf H. Halvorsen beginning in the 1950s. In the mid-1950s Highland Park, located west of Ramsey Hill Park, was developed by Brown Company (for further discussion of these two neighborhoods see the Berlin and Coos County Historical Society website, Historic Neighborhoods). On the East Side, Leo Pepin developed Green Acres, a small area north of Liberty Park in the mid-1950s (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 415, Page 396). Building restrictions specified lots could only be developed with single-family houses with a maximum allowable height and minimal size limit and setback (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 801, Page 543).

3. Dwelling Construction By Property Owners, Speculative Enterprises, and Company-Owned Land

Summary

Throughout the history of Berlin's development, many individuals and corporate entities have participated in the construction of housing. The range included individual property owners, real estate developers, building craftsmen, speculative developers, and to a lesser extent the pulp and paper mill companies and St. Patrick's Church. This diverse body of participants provided the capital and the labor to create the residential landscape as it arose along both sides of the river and up the hillsides. Some of the participants only had involvement with one property; others played multiple roles, including commissioning, building, financing, and owning the housing. In the early decades the number and diversity of participants would have been small. In the period from the 1890s through the 1910s the diversity was the greatest, coinciding with the height of residential construction. The numbers decreased in subsequent decades into the 1960s as new construction slowed. By the last quarter of the twentieth century when new house construction occurred in greatly reduced numbers and was concentrated outside the central neighborhoods, the diversity of participants was more circumscribed as the building process became more standardized. In the past decade the participation of governmental agencies has increased with the focus on rehabilitating and maintaining the existing housing stock created by Berlin's many residents over the years.

The real estate development companies provided the initial layer of design, by platting the land into streets and house lots. After sale of the lots, sometimes at auction where individuals acquired multiple lots or even entire blocks, contractors, building craftsmen, and individual property owners added the second layer of design. The steady construction of residential, commercial, mixed-use, and industrial buildings occurred over several decades from the 1890s through the 1920s. The development of the neighborhoods over those decades and by many individuals and entities helped create diverse rather than repetitive streetscapes within each.

Dwelling Construction in Neighborhoods Other Than the Avenues, 1880s-1930s

Company-Built Housing 1880s

In contrast with many textile manufacturing towns and cities in New England, comparatively little company housing was constructed by Berlin's wood pulp and paper manufacturers. The little that was dates to the 1880s, the early years of the establishment of the industry. Henry H. Furbish, owner of the Forest Fibre Co., commissioned the Portland, Maine, architect F.R. Fassett, to design

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some housing in the area known as Fibreville on Church and School streets. Designed by John Calvin Stevens, then working in Fassett's office as an assistant but who later became a well-known Maine architect, the group included Queen Anne/Stick Style cottages and back-to-back duplexes.



"Cottages for The Forest Fibre Company and R.C. Church at Berlin Falls, N.H," in American Architect and Building News (4 December 1880), 258.

Collection of Berlin and Coos County Historical Society.

Furbish intended to build twenty-five houses but only sixteen or eighteen were ever built (Hayes 1926, 16; Merrill 1888, 827). Extant examples include 47 Church Street and 257 and 263 School Street.

The Glen Manufacturing Company built some housing for its workers in 1886 (Merrill 1888, 814).

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Glen Manufacturing Co. Duplexes, built 1886. Photo 1897. http://berlinhistory.weebly.com/industry.html.

The seven Stick-Styled two-story duplexes were located west of the mill on Glen Avenue. The designer has not been identified.

In the mid-1890s a third collection of corporate housing was commissioned, this time by the priest of St. Kieran Church, the Irish-Catholic Church built around the same time. In an area subsequently known as "Irish Acres," Father Mackey commissioned six houses on land the church had purchased in 1894 along Madison Avenue and Willard Street. The original six houses were one-and-a-half story gable-front houses with additional massing elements and some Shingle and Stick styling. The church rented the houses to parishioners with the rent going towards their ultimate purchase. Four years later, the church purchased additional land in the vicinity for construction of some more houses, similarly to be rented and purchased by parishioners (see the Berlin and Coos County Historical Society Website, Historic Neighborhoods).

Individual Property Owners as Builders, Neighborhoods Other Than the Avenues, 1880s-1930s Beginning in 1912, the Report of the Building Inspector in the City's *Annual Report* lists the building permit applications granted in the previous year. ²² Roughly 740 building permits were filed by nearly 630 different individuals or partnerships between 1911 and 1928 for buildings of more than one story outside the fire district. The lists give the filer's name, the number of stories for the building, and the street name. This information allows for the identification of some of the many individuals involved in the development of Berlin's residential landscape in that period,

²² The actual permits, which would contain more detailed information, do not appear to have survived, or at least have not been located to date. Permits for one-story buildings have been removed from the totals in the following discussion as the majority is presumed to be for garages, with only a small number for houses or stores. The number of permits for one-story buildings totaled nearly 850 between 1911 and 1928.

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during some of the city's greatest building activity. Of the individuals listed, the overwhelming majority filed only one permit.²³

It appears the majority of the permits were for housing to be occupied by the filer, including single-family, two-family, and blocks. Typically, an individual purchased an undeveloped lot and then hired a contractor to build the house, selecting from one of several designs proposed by the builder. This was process for much of the housing erected in Berlin in this period, whether it was a single-family house, two-family, or block (Nadeau and Leclerc 2015).

An early example is one filed by Herman Hansen (1867-1939) in 1913. The permit was for a one-and-a-half story house on Norwegian Street (now Norway Street).



319 Norway Street, built ca. 1914 by Herman Hansen. Photograph by City of Berlin Assessor.

By 1915 Hansen, an employee of Berlin Mill Co., and his family lived in the house. The gable-front house is characteristic of many single-family houses built in many of the central neighborhoods in the early twentieth century. Hansen's heirs and descendants continued to own and occupy the house until 2013 (Directory 1915; Census 1930; Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 1389, Page 694; Deed 1998, Book 899, Page 232).

More than ten years after Hansen built his house on Norway Street, John J. O'Connell, an assistant treasurer at Guaranty Trust filed a permit in 1925 for a two-story house on Champlain Street.

²³ A database was created listing the permits. Addresses for the permit filers were then located in the directories allowing for the identification of some of the properties. Deed research would be necessary to identify those properties where the filer did not live after completion of the building. In a few instances some permits appear to be for the same building. For instance, Joseph McGinnis filed a permit for a two-story brick building on the corner of Burgess and

PRESERVATION COMPANY

Merrimack streets in 1922 and 1923.

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O'Connell House, Champlain Street, built 1925-1926 by John J. O'Connell. Photograph by Laura B. Driemeyer, April 2012.

It was completed by the following year and O'Connell, his wife, and children moved in, living there until the 1940s. The house, a foursquare, is a popular 1920s house type not only in Berlin but also regionally and nationally. Before building the house, the O'Connells had lived elsewhere on the East Side, on Goebel Street (*Annual Report* 1926; Directory 1924, 1927; Census 1930).

In 1927 Frank P. Albert (1886-1972) filed a building permit for a two-and-a-half story house on Burgess Street.



Albert Two-family, Burgess Street, built 1927-28 by Frank P. Albert. Photograph by Laura B. Driemeyer, July 2011.

By 1930 the two-family (later three-family) was completed and occupied by the Albert family. The Albert two-family illustrates multiple patterns common to most of Berlin's central neighborhoods. It was constructed by an individual owner for their occupancy. The other unit was rented to a family member. As of 1930, the second unit was occupied by Michael Albert, a house carpenter, and likely older sibling of Frank P. Albert, a millwright with Brown Company. Given that both of the Alberts had carpentry skills, they likely built the two-family or at least assisted in its construction. The property would be owned and occupied by two generations of the Albert family. Frank P. and his wife Anna M. would raise their family in the two-family. Their first three children had been born in Caraquet, New Brunswick, before the family emigrated ca. 1917. Afterwards, the couple had nine more children, including a set of twins (Census 1920, 1930, 1940; NH Death and Disinterment Records, 1929). Like many families in Berlin, some of the adult children continued to live with their parents for a time (Census 1940). By 1941 the building had a third apartment, a common alteration in the 1930s and 1940s, to single- and two-family houses in those decades. The couple's son Raymond J. (born ca. 1931) acquired the property in 1971 from his parents, shortly before his father's death (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 538, Page 222; SSDI). Raymond Albert continued to live in the two-family until 2002 when the property was sold out of family hands (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 990, Page 659).

Less than ten years before building 415 Burgess Street, Albert had filed a building permit for a two-story house also on Burgess Street (*Annual Report 1920*). This was likely the two-family that once stood on the adjoining lot to the north, 421 Burgess Street where in the 1920s up to the time of completion of 415 Burgess Street, the family lived in one of the two apartments (Directory

1923, 1927). It appears Albert sold the other property once 415 Burgess had been completed (Census 1930).

Real Estate Agents and Speculative Developers, Neighborhoods Other than the Avenues, 1880s-1930s

Speculative development, while not the prevalent form of housing development in Berlin, occurred most frequently in the 1890s and 1900s, in part perhaps because of the great demand for housing. A range of individuals and groups participated in speculative development including local businessmen, real estate agents, builders and contractors, and building craftsmen. The only group unlikely to participate in this facet of land development was individual property owners.

When a Berlin builder or contractor engaged in speculative building, it was done as just one or occasionally two buildings per year. This pattern is characteristic of smaller New England cities and towns by the late nineteenth century (Warner 1978, 128). Consequently, while the housing stock in Berlin generally employs the common forms and styles of the period, each building features individual characteristics, and is distinguishable from its neighbors. Rows of housing, such as were erected in the mid-nineteenth century in large urban New England areas such as Charlestown, Massachusetts, the South End of Boston, or in sections of downtown Manchester, New Hampshire, near the mills, were not built in Berlin. Similarly, the streetscapes of nearly identical three-deckers such as were constructed in Bedford or Worcester, Massachusetts, in the early twentieth century, never appeared in Berlin.

Given that the earliest neighborhoods such as the Heights restricted the construction of tenements (housing of more than three units), and that the boarding houses could not accommodate the increasing numbers of immigrants who settled in Berlin to work in the mills, a number of local entrepreneurs, including some of the land corporation partners, but also local businessmen (such as the previously mentioned F. C. Stevens, partner of Stevens & LePage Livery and Boarding Stable) took the opportunity to build multifamily buildings or tenements and to a lesser degree single-family speculative housing. In the early years of Berlin's building boom, two areas in particular were the focus of such development. One was the numbered streets, northeast of Fibreville and almost directly across from the Berlin Mills. A second area was concentrated west of Main Street, along Mechanic, Mason, and Green streets (*Berlin Independent* 1888, 1891). Period sources described the newly constructed housing in these areas as consisting predominantly of three-story, six-unit tenements with a few single-family units being expanded to include a rental unit in the ell, a pattern that persisted well into the twentieth century (*Berlin Independent* May 20, 1891).

At the same time, some less formal development occurred especially in the Berlin Falls Village area, in the decade before formalized platting of undeveloped land emerged. A 1913 publication, looking back to the late 1870s and 1880s, noted

A few men made small fortunes by building cheap tenements and renting them at profitable rates. Many of the newcomers adopted the 'squatter' idea of securing a dwelling place and built wherever they could find a vacant spot with such material as could be procured at little cost. The irregularity and lack of design even now apparent in the 'St. Giles' district are a memory of the 'squatter' idea (Anonymous 1913, 7).

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Obviously, the somewhat negative description is a reflection of the writer's biases towards these areas and their irregular development.

Before developing properties in the Avenues, the previously mentioned real estate agent and speculative builder Gershon Bickford had developed properties in sections of the Berlin Heights Addition north of the Dead River (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 68, Page 78). One of Bickford's first land purchases after moving to Berlin was all the lots in Block Twenty of the Berlin Heights Addition, Plan C, bounded by Madison, Pine, Willow, and State streets. As a result of his young age his father initially had to hold in trust his son's land purchases (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 68, Page 78). Bickford appears to have developed some of the lots soon after the 1892 purchase. In April 1894 he sold lot 10, now developed with a house, to Narcisse Poliquin, likely 162 Willow Street, a one-story, gable-front house (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 70, Page 308). That same month he sold an undeveloped lot just up the street at 126 State Street to Arthur J. Beaulac (1850-1925), who worked in the paper mills. The lot was soon developed with a one-and-a-half story side gable house with a facade gable.



126 State Street, built ca. 1895. Photograph by City of Berlin Assessor.

A ca. 1900 photograph on Ancestry.com shows Arthur and Adelia (Delia) Beaulac and some of their children standing in front of the house which remained in Beaulac family hands until 1946 when son Omer sold it (Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 859, Page 441). The house strongly resembles the trio of houses Bickford commissioned on First Avenue, raising the distinct possibility that the same contractor that built those houses for Bickford also built 126 State Street

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for Beaulac, using the same house type. Individual examples of this house type are also present in the East Side, raising the possibility Bickford developed those properties also.²⁴

Bickford's advertisements in the *Berlin Reporter* in the late 1890s and 1900s demonstrate the range of housing he sold throughout Berlin. For instance, in 1898 G. P. Bickford's real estate listings included a cottage house for rent on Fourth Avenue. It had five rooms, water in the house, and a good cellar. Rent was \$7 a month. He also advertised a house for sale (street not specified) with eight rooms, a bath, pantry, shed, and cellar, finished in hardwood throughout. The house had hot and cold water and a sewer connection. The advertised sale price was \$1,825 (*Berlin Independent* 10 August 1898).

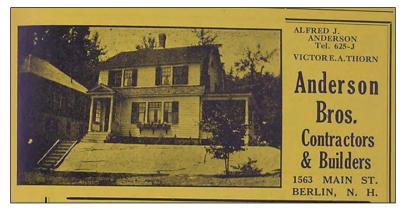
In 1907 Bickford advertised properties that ranged from a one-and-a-half story house with six rooms on Park Street near the High School to a two-story, two-tenement house with four rooms each on the East Side. He listed properties for sale on Mason Street, Norwegian Street, Cascades, lots on High Street, and lots on the East Side ranging from \$100 to \$200 with monthly payments of \$5.00. The housing stock included not only single-family dwellings but buildings suitable for use as boarding houses (*Berlin Independent* 1 August 1907).

Bickford was one of the more active speculative developers of this period but a number of others are known to have engaged in speculative building but on a smaller scale. Nineteen of the individuals or business partners who filed more than one building permit between 1911 and 1928 were actively engaged in the building trades or real estate. It is assumed that in most instances, the housing was intended to be speculative development or rental property. The majority of these permits were for buildings in the Avenues or the Heights, with smaller numbers for buildings in the East Side or Norwegian Village. **Fred H. Blanchard** (ca. 1855-1926), filed four permits, one in each year from 1912 through 1915. Blanchard, younger brother of George W. Blanchard (of Blanchard and Twitchell), had taken over the family store in Milan and later Berlin. Blanchard and his second wife Annie lived on Church Street (Directory 1915). By the mid-1910s, however, he became active in real estate, including speculative development. Each of the permits was for a two-story house in the Heights: three on Hillside Avenue and one on Washington Street (*Berlin Annual Reports*, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916).²⁵

The Anderson Brothers was one of the building and contractor firms who also engaged in some speculative development, seemingly primarily or entirely in the Norwegian Village neighborhood.

²⁴ Deed research of these properties would establish if Bickford was involved with their construction. The East Side examples include 524 and 629 Burgess Street and 430 Goebel Street.

²⁵ Deed research is necessary to identify these houses.



Advertisement, Anderson Bros., Contractors and Builders. 1934 Berlin City Directory, p. 15.

The Anderson Brothers were active in Berlin in the building trades by the first decade of the twentieth century. Family members appear to have emigrated from Sweden at different times beginning in the late 1880s with the oldest brother Herman (1868-1948) arriving in 1887, followed two years later by the next oldest brother Alfred J. (1871-1950) in 1889. The youngest brother Victor E. A. Thorn (1882-1961) arrived in 1890 and their parents Anders (1826-1904) and Brita (1833-1917) and two more brothers, Gustav A. (1873-1949) and Carl T. (1876-1947) arrived the following year. The family settled in the Norwegian Village neighborhood, living initially on Sweden Street (Bureau of the Census 1900; Ancestry.com, Barber Family Tree). Over the years, three of the brothers (Herman, Alfred, and Victor), all houses carpenters, were involved in the business. Carl, also a house carpenter, may have been involved with the family business at times but by 1920 he worked for Brown Company. For a time Herman moved to Dummer to be a poultry farmer but later returned to Berlin, joining his brothers again in the building business. By the 1920s the business was located at 1563 Main Street, in the Norwegian Village neighborhood (Directories 1903-1930).

Between 1913 and 1924 Alfred J. Anderson of Anderson Brothers filed seven permits for one-and-a-half story or two-story wooden houses on Main Street, Highway Street, and Norway Street. These were for houses they resided in but also some appear to have been speculative development (or they sold the land unimproved and were hired by the buyer to build a house). Carl T. purchased multiple lots in the block bounded by Main, Tenth, Norway, and Eleventh streets. One of the lots on Main Street was developed with a gambrel end house, likely the house for which he filed a permit in 1914 (Bureau of the Census 1940).

²⁶ Most of the brothers used the old Nordic tradition of patronymic/matronymic names (Anderson) but two, Victor and Gustav did not, instead using the family surname, Thorn.

²⁷ These houses have not been identified with deed research.



1673 Main Street, built ca. 1915 by Carl T. Anderson. Photograph by City of Berlin Assessor.

After Carl's death in 1947 his widow Jennie ran Anderson's Tourist Home at this location until the early 1960s (Directory 1950, 1961, 1969-70).

In 1919 Carl had sold the lot adjoining his to his brother Herman who promptly built a house on the lot after filing a permit that same year.

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1665 Main Street, built 1919 by Herman Anderson. Photograph by City of Berlin Assessor.

The house continued to be owned by the family until 1995. After Herman's death three of his children (Carl O., Ada E., and Lillian) lived in the house until their deaths (Deed 842/524; Directory 1950; SSDI).

The youngest brother Victor Thorn built a one-and-a-half story Queen Anne house on Sweden Street in 1921 for his occupancy (*Annual Report* 1922).²⁸

²⁸ Ancestry.com, Batchelder Family Tree. It is the only house for which he filed a building permit, suggesting that he and his brother primarily were hired by others and did not engage in speculative development.



135 Sweden Street, built by Victor E. A. Thorn. Photograph by City of Berlin Assessor.

Like the other houses built by Anderson family members, the nicely detailed house would have served as an advertisement for their abilities as builders.

The contractor and carpenter **Peter Edward Lemieux** (1860-1931) developed several properties in the Heights, beginning with a house for himself on Church Street (not extant) in 1913. Between 1916 and 1927 he then developed four more properties, on different streets in the Heights (*Annual Reports* 1917, 1918, 1920, 1928). Lemieux, the son of a carpenter, was born in Sherbrook, Quebec. He emigrated in the mid-1880s or 1890s and lived in Berlin for thirty-three years until his death at age 71 (Death Certificate 1931, Ancestry.com).

A second successful general contractor, **Robert Snodgrass** (1862-1929), had settled in Berlin by the early 1890s. Snodgrass had emigrated from New Brunswick in the mid-1880s. Initially he worked as a carpenter before establishing a general contracting business, hired by others to build houses. One of his better known projects (done with the previously mentioned Berlin mason and contractor John Stewart) was the J. Fred Bell Block, a large, three-story brick building on the corner of Pleasant and Mechanic streets, designed by the Berlin architect H. C. Bates and begun in 1906 (Tardiff 2011, 4). He is known to have owned rental properties, including at least one in the Avenues (Preservation Company 2008, A-84). In addition, he built at least two speculative houses, including one in 1919 in the Avenues and a second in 1923 on Glen Avenue (*Annual Reports* 1920, 1924).

Contractors and Builders, Neighborhoods Other than the Avenues, 1880s-1930s

A second important group that helped create the residential landscape was contractors and builders. While a few engaged in small-scale speculative development on occasion as noted above, far more common was the hiring by individual property owners to build new housing (Nadeau and Leclerc 2015).

By 1903, at least eight men listed themselves as builders and/or contractors in the business directory or in the individual listings: Philippe Brassard, Luther S. Buber, Samuel Descoteau, Augustin N. Gilbert, Napoleon McCready, James M. Monahan, Louis S. Rodrique (also spelled Rodrick), the aforementioned John Stewart, Alfred Thibeault, and Ward Brothers and Company. Many more men had masonry or carpentry skills that would have allowed them to develop lots, either for clients, for their own occupancy, as rental property, or for speculative development purposes. The businesses were located in all the Berlin neighborhoods; this would continue to be the case through the 1930s.

By 1909-10, the numbers remained roughly the same, with some new names and some familiar names. The latter included Buber, McGivney, Rodrick, John Stewart (now partnering with Robert Snodgrass), and Forest Ward. New names included John Corbett, the Jolbert brothers George F. and William E., Peter E. Lemieux, Thomas Maguire, Joseph F. Michaud, Frank W. Rowell, and Hiram C. Rowell.

A decade later the numbers of building craftsmen who identified themselves as contractors and/or builders in the city directory had increased, with thirteen men listed in the business directory as such. At least five had established themselves as such in the 1910s though many had been active in the building trades for longer than that. Just over half of them were first- or second-generation French Canadians. Those listed in the business directory included the Anderson Brothers, Emile Boiselle, Luther Buber & Sons Co., George F. Jolbert, William E. Jolbert, George L. Lafleur, George Lebreton, Peter E. Lemieux, W. Lyman McGivney, Ferdinand Michaud, Hiram C. Rowell, Robert Snodgrass, and Telesphore Trahan. Hundreds of others listed their occupation as carpenter, or stone or brick mason (Directory 1920).

By 1930, those listed in the business directory as builder and/or contractor had increased significantly to twenty-two and many of those were newly listed as such. A majority or eleven of the men active as of 1920 were no longer listed for this occupation, because they had retired, died, or moved elsewhere. Fourteen of the men had not been working as building craftsmen in Berlin ten years earlier, either because they lived elsewhere or were too young. As in 1920, a majority of those listed were of French Canadian descent or French Canadian immigrants. The men or businesses listed in the business directory as contractor, carpenter, or builder included the Anderson Brothers, Antonio Bosa, Napoleon Bouley, James E. Byron, Albert Demers, Herman Edberg, Ozman W. Fernald, L. Paul Gagne, Adelard Garneau, Victor C. Jolbert, the son of William E. Jolbert; Louis Lambert; Richard T. Linell; Peter E. Lemieux; Arthur E. Mortin; Arthur P. Morel; U.H. Reid & Son; Ernest Richards; Joseph P. Richards; Raney T. Richards; Richards & Lessard; Alfred Routhier; and Irene E. St. Pierre. Irene E. St. Pierre's advertisement characterized his business as "From the Ground to the Roof" and U.H. Reid advertised "House Building a Specialty" (Directory 1930, 21).



Business Advertisements, Contractors. 1930 Berlin Directory, p. 21.

As in 1920, hundreds of other individuals listed carpenter, brick mason, or stone mason as their occupation or trade.

Not surprisingly, by 1940, the number of individuals or businesses listed as contractors, carpenters, or builders in the business listings had decreased to fifteen. The reduction is likely due in large part to the Depression, which significantly curtailed building activity and paralleled the city's population decrease as families moved away in search of work elsewhere. Eight of those individuals or businesses had been listed ten years earlier. As in previous decades, there is still a significant percentage of contractors or builders of French Canadian descent. Names from ten years earlier included Alfred J. Anderson, Antonio Bosa, Victor C. Jolbert, Arthur P. Morel, U.H. Reid & Son, Joseph P. Richard, Rene T. Richards, and Alfred Routhier & Son. New names included Francis L. Brennan, Roland J. Brideau, Albert J. Charbonneau, Laury LeBlanc, Wilfred Lessard, and Alfred Morency (Directory 1940).

Dwelling Construction, 1940s-present

New housing construction in this period in the central neighborhoods decreased significantly compared to the previous period. This was due in large part to the absence of open lots available for construction in these areas. When it did occur in the central neighborhoods it typically replaced an earlier building or occurred on the edges of a neighborhood, further up the hillsides. The greatest concentration of new construction, largely single-family housing, arose in new neighborhoods on the outer edges of the city, such as Highland Park and Halvorson Terrace on the west side or on the periphery of Forbush Park and in Liberty Park on the east side. As in the previous period, housing construction was done by multiple parties, but primarily by individual property owners. One exception was Green Acres, developed in the mid-1950s. Normand "Huskey" Poirier was the builder of the houses that numbered roughly twenty-five. The Cape-

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Cod style houses had two bedrooms on the first floor and an unfinished second floor, which was often later finished by the owners when they needed the additional space. The house designs came from the Federal Housing Authority (Poirier 2009, 7-8).

In the 1960s multiple blocks between Green Square and the railroad tracks, along Pleasant Street underwent urban redevelopment. In particular, the area between the tracks and Pleasant Street comprised of densely placed mixed-use frame buildings were replaced with lower-density, low-rise, elderly housing and some institutional buildings. Some new commercial buildings were erected along Pleasant Street.

The primary building activity in the central neighborhoods in this period, with the possible exception of the Norwegian Village neighborhood, was the subdivision and alteration of existing buildings, a pattern first established in the 1930s but which became increasingly common in the 1940s and 1950s. Many residences were subdivided and expanded to accommodate additional apartments. This included subdividing flats into two units, finishing the top floors to add a new apartment, often accessed by exterior stairs, or subdivision of a single-family into two or more flats, often with the raising of the roof. Alterations to single-family and multifamily residences can be found in all of Berlin's central neighborhoods.

On the East Side, 583 Rockingham was built ca. 1910 as a one-and-a-half-story house and occupied as a single family. Sometime after 1950 the building was converted to a two-story, two-family with a flat roof and exterior stairs to the second-floor flat (Sanborn 1928 updated to 1950; Directory 1961, 1969-70; Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 1296, Page 383).



583 Rockingham Street. Photograph by City of Berlin Assessor.

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As was common in Berlin the alteration was done by the family that had owned the building since its construction. The building remained in the Tremblay family until the early 1970s and may have been done to allow two generations to live in the building (Directory 1961; Coos County Registry of Deeds, Book 1296, Page 383). The conversion employed a number of common features found in Berlin multifamily houses, including exterior stairs to the upper apartment.

In the Notre Dame High School area, 52 Ottawa Street, built between 1909 and 1914, underwent three alterations, from a single-family to a two-family to a three-family.



52 Ottawa Street, built 1909-1914. Photograph by Laura B. Driemeyer, April 2012.

As first built the single-family house had a two-story front porch (Sanborns 1909, 1914). The first identified owner and occupant and likely builder was Joseph Doyer, who lived in the house for roughly forty years. Doyer converted the house to a two-family in the mid-1920s with the addition of a third story (Sanborns 1920, 1928, Directories 1923, 1927). In the late 1930s it was converted to a three-family and the front porch was extended to three stories (Sanborn 1950, Directory 1936, 1939).

Only in the event of a loss of a building through fire or demolition might new construction occur on a lot first developed by the early twentieth century.

4. Single vs. Multifamily Housing/Tenements (Owner Occupied vs. Rental), Neighborhoods Other than the Avenues

Summary

For much of Berlin's history, housing has been a mix of owner-occupied and rental properties. This mix occurred not only with single-family dwellings but all scales of multifamilies, from the two-family to the four or more unit buildings, historically called tenements (meaning more than three residential units in a building). The mix of single-family and multifamily housing can be found in all of Berlin's central neighborhoods, as can the mix of owner-occupied and rental dwellings. In particular, two-family housing, frequently owner-occupied, was a popular housing type constructed in all Berlin neighborhoods. Smaller numbers of purpose-built housing with three to six units, known locally as Blocks, were built in all central neighborhoods, except for Norwegian Village, and the original section of the Heights.

Comparison of Blocks in all Berlin Neighborhoods

Similar house forms and types were constructed in most of the central neighborhoods of Berlin. An overview of Berlin's common housing forms and characteristics was previously presented in Preservation Company's "(The Avenues)/Berlin Heights Addition Historic District" prepared in 2008 (Preservation Company 2008, A11-A15).

One multifamily house type, however, known locally as the Block and distinctive to Berlin and a handful of other New England cities and town has been examined more thoroughly since that time.²⁹

A sample of sixty-nine blocks constructed in Berlin between the 1880s and 1930s, nearly all the extant examples as of 2004 when the study of the Avenues/Berlin Heights Addition began, have been analyzed, with a focus on building features and plans and patterns of ownership and occupancy by the predominantly French-Canadian owners and tenants (Driemeyer 2013, 1).

The sample can be loosely sorted chronologically, though with some overlap of characteristics between periods. Ten of the buildings date to the period 1880 to 1910. This early group can be divided into two categories but both typically feature hip or mansard roofs and have exterior stairs rising through the three-story porches spanning the wide façade (Driemeyer 2013, 3).

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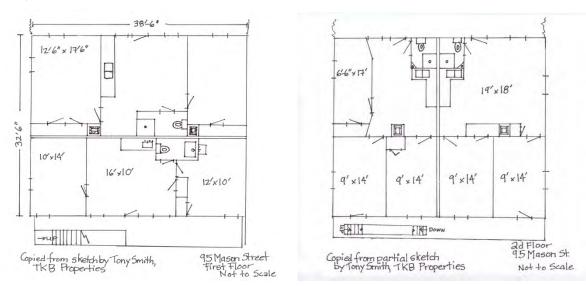
²⁹ The following is taken from a paper prepared by Laura B. Driemeyer and delivered at the annual meeting of the Vernacular Architecture Forum held in Gaspe, Quebec, Canada, in June 2013. The research for that paper was done in connection with the preparation of this document.





95 Mason Street, built 1892-1895, front and rear elevations Photographs by Tim Columbe, TKB Properties, 2005

The majority (six) are tenement blocks and not flats as they have two units per story, with each unit containing three or four rooms, consisting of a kitchen and two or three bedrooms (Driemeyer 2013, 3).



95 Mason Street, first- and second-floor plans. Not to scale. Copied from partial sketches by Tony Smith, TKB Properties.

This example, 95 Mason Street, varied the plan between floors with back-to-back units on the first floor and side-by-side units on the upper two floors.

The other four from this period are flats, and thus early examples of what would ultimately develop into the mature block (Driemeyer 2013, 3-4).





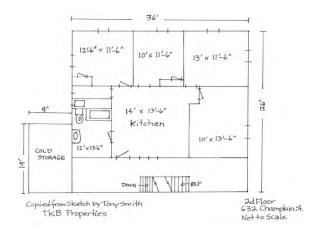
425 High Street (built 1905-1909) and 307 High Street, built by 1905. Photographs by City of Berlin Assessor.

They share some of the exterior characteristics of the six-unit tenement blocks but have one living unit per floor. This type would continue to be built over the next twenty-plus years (Driemeyer 2013, 3-4).

The plan, as shown in the 1920s example below, features the primary characteristics of most blocks, regardless of the type. The adjacent-room plan consisted of the primary entry into the kitchen with the other three or four rooms accessible from that space.



632 Champlain Street (built 1921-1922), façade and west elevation. Photograph by Tim Columbe, TKB Properties, 2009



632 Champlain Street, second floor plan. Redrawn from sketch by Tony Smith, TKB Properties.

Usage of the other rooms was fluid but the most common use was as bedrooms as the kitchen was the central social or gathering space (Driemeyer 2013, 4).

In the 1910s, Berlin builders constructed increasing numbers of three-flat buildings and twenty of the buildings in the sample date to that decade. This group includes earlier types but also some new variations. Some generally resemble the classic three-decker first popularized in other urban New England areas. In Berlin, however, the form tends to have a somewhat squarer footprint, is just two rooms deep, and has some local characteristics (Driemeyer 2013, 4).



569 Champlain Street, built 1915-1916 by Joseph Therrien, building carpenter and private contractor.

Photograph by Laura B. Driemeyer, April 2012.

These include front and rear porches, exterior stairs providing primary access to the upper two flats, and an unheated storage room at one end of the rear porch at each story. The majority features a hip roof but a few have a flat roof (Driemeyer 2013, 4).

Also in this decade a more localized version develops, with a deeper footprint. Access to the upper two flats is now from three-story porches with exterior stairs along the side elevation (Driemeyer 2013, 4).

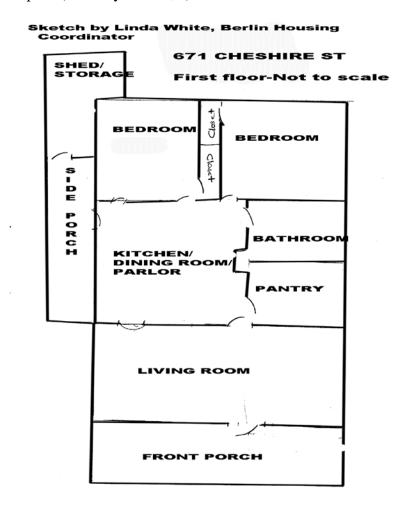


671 Cheshire Street, built 1927-28. Photograph by Linda White, June 2013.

The side porches, set back from the façade at roughly the second pile, also provide the only access to each flat's unheated storage space located at the rear of the porch, often projecting beyond the rear elevation of the block. In some instances, exterior stairs also rise through the front porches

(Driemeyer 2013, 4). As one resident recalled, it was often the owner's choice as to whether to have one or two sets of stairs (Daigle 2013).

On the interior, as shown in the plan below, these buildings typically featured an adjacent-room plan with entry into the kitchen with the other rooms, often all used as bedrooms, arrayed off that utilitarian and social space (Driemeyer 2013, 4).



671 Cheshire Street, first-floor plan. Sketch courtesy of Linda White, Berlin Housing Coordinator.

The interior trim becomes somewhat standardized, with readily available, locally produced stock trim of the period. The varnished trim could be side and head casings with a lower bead and bed molding and cap or stuck molding and corner blocks. Edge-and-center bead boarding is prevalent, used for wainscoting, cabinetry, and even on walls and ceilings on occasion (Driemeyer 2013, 4-5).

While decorative detailing is typically minimal on the exterior, the cottage window, in one or both front windows becomes a common feature.



617 Rockingham St., detail for front windows. Photograph by Laura B. Driemeyer, April 2012.

Popularized in the early twentieth century nationally and readily available in Berlin owing to local production, this window type could denote the parlor or living room in a range of house types including Berlin's blocks. Oral history, however, has shown the fluid usage of these front rooms, including use as the parent's bedroom. The cottage window also served a utilitarian function, increasing the amount of light to a front room screened by the front porch (Driemeyer 2013, 5).

The greatest number of blocks in the sample, thirty nine, built during the height of construction of this housing type, date to the 1920s and early 1930s. During this period the mature form, like the examples below and the Boulay Block, first appeared (see Preservation Company, New Hampshire Historic Property Documentation, 848 Third Avenue, 2013).



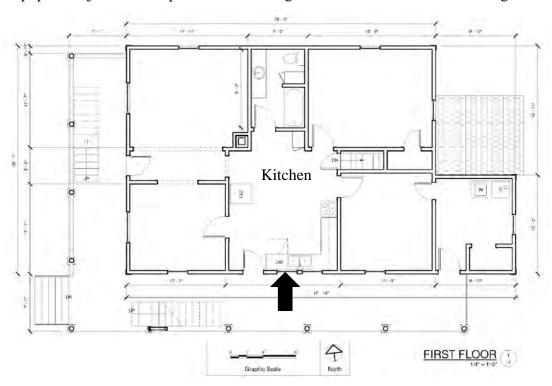
174 Blanchard Street, built 1927 for Joseph Belanger. Photograph by Laura B. Driemeyer, April 2012.



620 Cheshire Street, built 1922-1923 for Emile Martineau. Photograph by Laura B. Driemeyer, April 2012.

The largest of the block types, it most fully displays the defining features of the hybrid form, characterized by three-story, wrap-around porches spanning the façade and extending the depth of a side elevation. Exterior stairs rise through the side porches, providing access to each of the upper flats. As in the 1910s, an unheated storage room, accessible only from the porch is located at the rear of each side porch. Though some examples, like the Boulay Block, had a second entry on the façade at each story, the commonly used entry was the side one leading into the kitchen. It is possible the second entry allowed access to one of the front rooms that may have been rented by a boarder, thus giving them their own private entry (Driemeyer 2013, 5).

The popular adjacent-room plan included a large kitchen with bedrooms radiating off of that space.

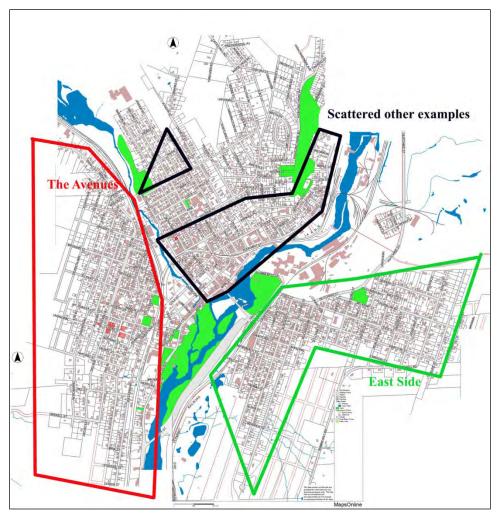


Boulay Block, 848 Third Avenue, built 1926-1927 by Stephen Boulay. Drawing by Existing Conditions Survey Inc.

The larger size of the mature block also allowed for a third bedroom in some instances. In the Boulay Blocks, the front pile had an open plan with wide doorways off a short central hall. Over time, the smaller front room in each flat was converted to a bedroom by filling the opening with a narrower doorway and door to create privacy (Driemeyer 2013, 5).³⁰

Blocks were constructed throughout Berlin except in two residential neighborhoods where deed restrictions limited their construction.

³⁰ Walter Nadeau, 2012. This pattern of converting the parlor to a bedroom occurred in Woonsocket also (RIHPC 1976: 39). Kingston Heath, in his study of New Bedford three-deckers, discussed how owners and occupants modified intended room uses and that this changed over time as the family size changed (Heath 2001).



The neighborhoods where Blocks were constructed in Berlin with the greatest numbers in the East Side.

The greatest concentration was in the East Side, home of many French-Canadians, where more than thirty-five were built. On the West side they are present in most neighborhoods within walking distance of the mills. These include nine in the Avenues and smaller numbers in the areas closest to the downtown area and the mills (Driemeyer 2013, 6).

The block form is an example of French-Canadian immigrants in Berlin and selected other New England communities adapting and modifying several urban and rural Quebec building traditions to the New England three-decker. One, from rural vernacular housing was a large kitchen used as the primary social and utilitarian space and often the only heated space. Exterior stairs for access to the upper flats is an urban Quebec building feature, commonly used on urban Quebec attached triplexes. In New England, this feature was adapted to the wood-frame, free-standing, New England three-decker form. The precedence for multifamily housing and rental tenure were well established in urban Quebec areas such as Montreal by the mid-nineteenth century, as Francois Dufaux demonstrated in his study of nineteenth-century Montreal housing. Those conditions applied to all classes, and addressed the requirements of both the suppliers, notably the large number of "small builders" responsible for their construction, and the users who occupied them (Dufaux 2007, 100-101). French-Canadian immigrants to Berlin, though often from rural areas of Quebec would have known of those traditions (Driemeyer 2013, 6-7).

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Ownership and occupancy patterns highlight the strong associations of this housing subtype with the French-Canadian community. In 1930, thirty-six of the buildings in the sample were owner-occupied and thirty-three of the owners were first- or second-generation French Canadian; the other three were first-generation Italians. Deed research is necessary to establish ownership of the tenant-only blocks but at least ten of them are known to have been built for French-Canadian owners. Occupancy patterns reinforce the strong French-Canadian relationship where the overwhelming majority of the tenants in all the blocks were first-, second-, or third-generation French Canadians. In some instances, the tenants were adult children or family relations of the owners, a pattern that became more prevalent after 1930 (Bureau of the Census 1880-1940). While income levels may have been a factor in who owned and occupied this type of housing, these high numbers suggest the characteristics and plan nevertheless met the needs of the French-Canadians owners and tenants (Driemeyer 2013, 7).

Older owners tended to occupy the first-floor flat, a pattern that Janice Lee Morrill also identified in her study of French-Canadian three-deckers in Southbridge, Massachusetts (Hooper 2008; Morrill 1987; Nadeau and Leclerc 2015). This location permitted them to observe who was coming and going to the upper flats. As one former resident humorously noted "People in Berlin are nosy!" (Hooper 2008). Occupancy of the first-floor flat suited the owner's monitoring needs but could mean slightly reduced rental income. In fully-tenanted blocks, the first-floor flat often commanded a slightly higher monthly rent because of its ease of access (Leclerc, Nadeau, and Nadeau 2011; Bureau of the Census 1930; Driemeyer 2013, 7). For this reason younger or new owners were more likely to occupy the top floor, in order to collect the higher rents for the lower flats and thus help pay off the mortgage (Nadeau and Leclerc 2015).

For owners, blocks served multiple purposes, representing an avenue for home ownership, additional income (or a means to pay the mortgage), increased sociability, and in some instances in later decades housing and/or an investment for adult children. These reasons duplicate those identified by scholars of classic three-deckers. For owner-occupants, they facilitated a means of home ownership, with a convenient plan suited to their daily lives and adequate to accommodate their family, which at times might include more than five children in addition to a boarder or two or additional family members. For tenants, they similarly provided such desired living features. Multifamilies represented an income-producing investment for owners, providing additional income beyond the family's daily wages. Blocks also provided a multi-generational strategy for affordable housing and an avenue to house successive generations over time. In a number of instances a flat in a block housed an owner's child once they reached adulthood and often newly married. A young couple could rent a flat and also have their own living space in a block owned by a family member, while saving money to hopefully acquire their own property in the future (Driemeyer 2013, 7-8).

At the same time, the block form provided additional benefits, specific to the local community. In the absence of yards or readily accessible green space, the wrap-around porches provided outdoor space for each flat and its occupants that could be used for any number of purposes including sitting outside on hot summer days or nights, chatting with passersby on the street below, a place to dry laundry, and as a protected place for the children to play not far from the watchful eye of a parent or older sibling (Driemeyer 2013, 8).

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The construction of the blocks occurred during a period of dynamic social change. Three overlapping circumstances appear to foster or enable the construction of this building form in selected New England cities and towns: initial concentrated development of the industrial town beginning in the late nineteenth century, the presence of large numbers of French-Canadian immigrants, and most significantly, the presence of French-Canadian builders. As of 1920 at least fifty percent of the house carpenters and contractors listed in the Berlin business directory are firstor second-generation French Canadians, and they represent only a fraction of the French Canadians with carpentry skills capable of altering or expanding existing structures (City Directory1920; Bureau of the Census 1920, 1930). A few scholars have documented or noted blocks in other New England cities or towns with large French-Canadian populations and concentrated development in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, including Southbridge and Fitchburg, Massachusetts, and Augusta, Maine.³¹ The features of the blocks in each of those places differ slightly but the majority of the builders of the blocks were French Canadians. In other New England communities with sizable French-Canadian populations, such as Manchester, New Hampshire, to name just one, the block subtype was rarely or infrequently constructed. While largely unstudied, it appears that the multifamilies in those places often have an internal stairwell providing primary access to the flats, and a different footprint and plan. These cities had an established building community comprised predominantly of native-born craftsmen, limiting the opportunities for French Canadians to dominate the building trades to the extent they did in Berlin, Southbridge, Fitchburg, or Augusta, where the block was built in significant numbers (Driemeyer 2013, 9-10).

The French-Canadian influence is more than simply the ethnicity of the owners and occupants of these buildings. The characteristics are apparent in several overlapping ways that create this hybrid form. The most visible elements are the three-story porches with exterior stairs providing the only access to the upper flats, features that are prevalent on many multifamily types in Berlin. This feature is present on many late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century attached triplexes in Montreal and Quebec City. These buildings, however, not surprisingly display some differences from the Berlin forms, aside from the obvious ones of being attached buildings of brick construction. In those Quebec cities the stairs, usually of metal construction, typically only rise two stories, with the upper balcony providing access to a pair of entries on the second floor leading to the second- and third-floor flats (Dufaux 2007; Wegmann 2006). Consequently they likely provided different social functions. In Berlin, the larger porches and highly visible points of egress, provided outdoor space for each tenant and acted as a venue for sociability, allowing interactions with neighbors and people passing by on the street, or as play space for small children. An additional benefit was the ability to monitor foot traffic and visitors by the owner-occupants and the other residents, not to mention passers-by on the street (Hooper 2008; Driemeyer 2013, 9-10).

These multifamily buildings addressed a need for affordable family housing that also provided income for the predominantly French-Canadian owners, be they occupants or simply landlords living nearby. The construction of these free-standing, wood-frame buildings partially drew upon established New England building traditions, notably the three-decker, with one flat per floor but

³¹ This includes Janice Lee Morrill's work in Southbridge, Massachusetts, Anthony Taylor's in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, Zachary Violette's in Augusta, Maine, and RIHPC in Woonsocket, Rhode Island.

³² For a discussion of select Canadian housing forms see Ennals and Holdsworth 1998.

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with elements of a free-standing single-family dwelling, such as fully illuminated interior spaces. The block also incorporated several common Quebec building traditions, notably exterior entries to each flat and an adjacent-room plan, with a kitchen as the primary utilitarian and social space. In addition the French-Canadian immigrants drew upon a well-established precedence in urban Quebec of multifamily housing and rental tenure. The French Canadians also had a tradition of adaption and modification. As Lessard and Marquis noted in their 1972 volume on the Quebec house, nineteenth-century Quebec builders benefited from the experiences of earlier building craftsmen, drawing upon not only the exchange of ideas but also modifying and adapting earlier forms to accommodate current conditions (Lessard and Marquis 1972, 250-251). These traditions were clearly expressed in Berlin's built environment by the many French-Canadian owners and occupants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and in the block, a three-decker subtype, in particular.

As previously noted, a number of the characteristics found in the blocks are frequently present on two-family houses and on subdivided housing. These include multi-story porches, exterior stairs providing access to the upper flat (or flats), adjacent-room plans, and kitchens as the primary social and utilitarian space (see, for instance, Level 1 Documentation for 732 First Avenue and Level III Documentation for 756 First Avenue).

Housing, 1820s-1870s

From the time of initial settlement until the 1870s housing overwhelmingly consisted of single-family houses, tenements, boardinghouses, and hotels or taverns. Because the population remained small, any demand for housing could be accommodated by the boardinghouses until other housing could be constructed. This type of shared housing also addressed the needs of the fluctuating seasonal work force. By 1870 four large boarding houses or hotels had opened to house many of the mill workers (Bureau of the Census 1870).

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Boarding House, Main St, 1880.

Brown Company Collection, Michael J. Spinelli, Jr. Center for University Archives and Special Collections, Herbert H. Lamson Library and Learning Commons, Plymouth State University, Item 245.

These included the Berlin Mills House managed by Jonathan Fairbrother with more than thirty boarders, Samuel E. Paine's with more than twenty boarders, one run by John C. Anderson with more than ten boarders, Henry Hotchkiss' with ten boarders, and the Mt. Forist House (a hotel) (Bureau of the Census 1870). Single-family house construction would have been predominantly by individual property owners; some tenement construction also occurred but that process is less well documented. For instance, the Coos County history mentioned that the various business interests of Daniel Green included real estate. The history noted "[h]e owns and rents two stores and numerous tenements and dwellings. He has laid out and sold more building lots in Berlin Falls than any other person (Merrill 1888, 820)."

Single-family vs. Multifamily (Owner-occupied vs. Rental), other neighborhoods, 1880s-1930s

By the 1880s, the urban-sized lots dictated the scale and orientation of housing even though many different individuals owned and developed the lots. For the most part, housing occupied single lots or even parts of lots; in a few instances individuals maintained double lots but that was the exception rather than the rule. As in the Avenues, the overwhelming majority of the housing is detached or free-standing. Small numbers of semi-detached or side-by-side duplexes, such as those built by Glen Manufacturing in the 1880s, were erected but few of those appear to remain. No row housing is known to have been built in any of the neighborhoods. In contrast with other large New Hampshire cities, such as Manchester and Nashua, to name just two, land was not at a premium to the same extent, so the density of development though still urban in character did not dictate attached or row housing or housing above four stories. In neighborhoods where setbacks were not specified in the deeds, individual builders and homeowners chose somewhat different placement for each building. Though some developments, such as in the Heights, proscribed

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setbacks in the deeds, there was no known citywide standard for setback until well after the development of most neighborhoods. Nevertheless there is general uniformity with some notable exceptions.



Cheshire Street, block between Belknap and Coos streets, looking south. Photograph by Marion Post Wolcott, March 1939 or March 1940, Farm Security Administration - Office of War Information, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

The addition and removal of front porch structures over time and the fencing of front yards have also affected the setback for many individual buildings. These factors may disrupt the visual rhythm of streetscapes where setback was fairly consistent.

As in the Avenues, multifamily dwellings in the three other central neighborhoods are almost exclusively two- or three-family structures initially arranged with a single living unit on each floor. There are only limited instances of dwellings with four or more units, with the greatest number historically present in the East Side. Some general numbers have been established for three neighborhoods platted around the same time as the Avenues, based on census records. Beginning

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in 1900 the census takers recorded whether a resident owned or rented the property. The numbers are approximate but nevertheless illustrate patterns not only for single- and multifamily housing but within the different neighborhoods. There is no way to easily determine, however, if the multifamily houses, especially the two- and three-families were built as such or altered to accommodate more apartments or flats. The neighborhoods examined were Berlin Heights, Norwegian Village, and the East Side.³³

While the majority of housing consisted of a single, freestanding, wood-frame building on each house lot, with air, light, and a small amount of land on all sides, in the late nineteenth century there were instances of the property owner developing parcels with as many as three houses. A visitor to Berlin in the early 1890s noted:

...it being comparatively common for an owner to put three houses on an ordinary lot. His own residence, facing the street in the usual way, a tenement—often a large one—directly back of it, within a few feet facing the driveway, while a third, useful if not ornamental tenement occupied the end of the driveway, meekly facing the street at a respectful distance (*Berlin Reporter* 26 August 1894).

Alternatively, houses could be relocated to accommodate additional ones on the lot. In 1899 James T. Sheridan, a truckman, built a new residence on Green Street east of the railroad aqueduct, on the site of his old house which he moved to a lot in the rear (*Berlin Reporter* 28 July 1899; Directory 1903). Such density of development largely predated the extensive house lot platting in the 1890s noted previously. By the early twentieth century, however, one building, either a single-or multifamily house tended to be built on each lot.

Berlin had more than 3,700 residents by 1890 living in the more than 360 dwellings that accommodated the more than 700 families. Evidence for the ratios of owner-occupied vs. rental housing in the 1880s and 1890s is not readily available. From local period sources and deeds, some general conclusions can be drawn but total quantities remain unknown. As in the earlier period, some Berlin residents erected tenements or multifamily housing to house the increasing numbers of immigrants and migrants settling in Berlin to work in the mills. These buildings would likely have been almost entirely incoming-producing properties for their owners who would have resided elsewhere in Berlin. Some of the smaller multifamilies may have been owner-occupied as this was a pattern that is clearly present after 1900. Over the thirty-year period 1900 to 1930 the majority of housing was rented and not owned, with the ratio narrowing over the decades (Bureau of the Census 1900-1930).

³³ The following discussion of dwelling numbers by neighborhood is intended to illustrate general patterns within and between the neighborhoods. The numbers are approximations and should not be considered to be exact. The census takers missed dwellings and at times were unclear or incorrect in their identification of a dwelling as a single or multifamily residence. At times they incorrectly identified the street on which a building was located. Street addresses are not consistently included until the 1920 Census and even then the numbers sometimes differ from the city directory listings (which also, at times, are incorrect).

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Housing Totals in 1900

As of 1900, for the population of just over 8,885, the city had just over 1,180 dwellings housing 1,706 families. Of those, nearly 575 were owned, 1,077 were rented, with an additional twenty-one of unknown tenure (Bureau of the Census 1900).

In 1900 the very broadly defined Berlin Heights neighborhood contained more than 250 dwellings with probably at least fifty percent erected since the early 1890s (Bureau of the Census 1900). ³⁴ For the neighborhood as a whole, the majority or nearly 190 of the dwellings were single family. Just over fifty of the dwellings housed two families and just over ten housed three or more families (Bureau of the Census 1900). High Street was the most densely developed of the streets with nearly sixty dwellings, of which almost two-thirds were single-family houses. Nearly an additional one-third was two-families, with just three three-family dwellings comprising the remainder of dwellings along High Street by 1900. School Street, the second most densely developed of the streets in the neighborhood, with just over forty dwellings, contained similar proportions of housing types. For the area as a whole, nearly two-thirds of the dwellings, including some of the multifamily ones, were owner-occupied. The rental properties included not only multifamily dwellings but single-family houses. On High Street, more than fifty percent of the single-family houses were rentals, a pattern similar to that found in the Avenues in this period (Bureau of the Census 1900).

North of the original Berlin Mills Village and the "Streets" neighborhood, was the neighborhood known as "Norwegian Village" or "Norwegianville" as many of its residents were Scandinavian immigrants.³⁵ The eventual street names reflected this association. Still sparsely developed in 1900, having just been platted in 1896, the neighborhood contained nearly fifty dwellings along the streets other than Main Street. The neighborhood overwhelmingly contained single-family dwellings with fewer than ten consisting of two-family residences. No dwellings with three or more units appeared to be present. In addition, over ninety percent of the housing was owner-occupied (Bureau of the Census 1900).

The East Side was similarly less developed as of 1900 with just over seventy dwellings built between the platting of the area in 1893 and 1900.³⁶ Single-family houses comprised the majority of dwellings, numbering roughly forty-five. Of the multifamily housing, two-families predominated, totaling roughly twenty-five. In contrast with how the neighborhood would develop in later years, it contained less than a handful of larger multifamily dwellings. More than three-quarters of the housing was owner-occupied, as in most other neighborhoods examined for the period (Bureau of the Census 1900).

³⁴ For the purposes of this discussion the broadly defined Heights area includes not only the streets in the Berlin Heights 1890 plan but also the 1890 Berlin Land and Building Co. plan, the Berlin Heights Addition plans A, B, and C, plus the areas historically called Fibreville, "Irish Acres," "Little Canada, and School and Spring streets, in part because their boundaries were fluid.

³⁵ For the purposes of this discussion, the neighborhood includes the following streets: Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, and the numbered street Seventh through Tenth. Dwellings along Main Street were not included in the count for this discussion because of the absence of street numbers. By this time there was likely an additional ten to twenty houses on Main Street adjacent to the other streets that comprise this neighborhood.

³⁶ For the purposes of this discussion, the East Side neighborhood generally includes the streets contained in the Berlin Mills Addition Plans No. 1 and 2 and the Green Aqueduct & Land Co, East Side plan.

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Housing Totals in 1910

Citywide, the first decade of the twentieth century was the period of greatest growth in housing when the number of dwellings nearly doubled to just over 2,300, housing 11,780 residents. Of those, the majority or 1,390 were rented, just over 990 were owned, with the status unknown for an additional twenty (Bureau of the Census 1910). As in the Avenues, the other neighborhoods also first platted in the 1890s underwent notable development in the ten-year period 1900-1910. In contrast with the city as a whole, the majority of the housing was owner-occupied in the neighborhoods sampled. This difference is likely due to the high level of rentals in the densely developed older neighborhoods such as the St. Giles area.

The number of dwellings in the broadly defined Heights neighborhood had increased by more than 100 from ten years earlier, to more than 350. The increase included nearly sixty single-family houses, over twenty two-families house, more than ten three-family houses, and more than ten dwellings with four or more units. The increase was almost entirely in owner-occupied housing such that more than seventy-five percent of the housing was owner-occupied, for all scales of housing As in 1900, single-family houses predominated, totaling over 240. Just over seventy of the dwellings were two-families. The remainder included nearly twenty-five three families and just over ten dwellings with four or more units. High Street still contained the greatest number of dwellings, totaling over sixty, with Church Street, the second of the most fully developed streets in the neighborhood containing nearly forty dwellings (Bureau of the Census 1920).

The Norwegian Village neighborhood similarly underwent significant development in the ten-year period between 1900 and 1910. The number of dwellings in the area roughly doubled to more than ninety.³⁷ The overwhelming majority of the housing was single-family, totaling nearly eighty. The neighborhood had fewer than fifteen two- or three-family dwellings. Roughly seventy-five percent of the housing was owner-occupied (Bureau of the Census 1910).

In 1910 the number of dwellings in the East Side neighborhood had more than doubled from ten years earlier to roughly 160. Single-family houses still outnumbered other dwelling types by almost two one, totaling over 100. Of the multifamily houses, two-family houses remained the dominant type, numbering just over forty but there was an increase in the percentage of three-family and four-or-more unit dwellings from 1900. The neighborhood now had more than ten three-family dwellings and approximately four dwellings with four or more units. At this point, the greatest amount of development was along Burgess, Champlain, and Goebel streets. The majority of all housing types remained owner-occupied by more than two to one (Bureau of the Census 1910).

Housing Totals in 1920

The 1910s also saw significant residential development though overall not as much as in the previous decade. In that ten-year period the city gained an additional 813 dwellings, bringing the total to roughly 3,115. Of that total, rental properties still outnumbered owner-occupied, though the difference was greatly reduced from ten years earlier. Whereas more than 1,655 of the dwellings were rented, more than 1,400 were owned, a difference of just 249, compared to 498 ten years earlier. This shift is due in large part to the increased development in neighborhoods

³⁷ The increase would be even greater if the houses along Main Street between Seventh and Tenth streets had been included in the tabulations.

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including The Avenues, the East Side, and Norwegian Village, where a high proportion of the dwellings, whether single-family or multifamily were owner-occupied.

In the broadly defined area of Berlin Heights, dwelling construction continued in the 1910s, bringing the total to more than 520. This represented an increase of perhaps as many as 160-plus buildings, along nearly all the streets in the area. Many of the blocks were now fully developed. For instance, whereas in 1909, the westerly side of Church Street between School and Hillside had just three houses, by 1920 nearly every lot on that side of the street had been developed (Sanborn 1909, 1920). As in previous decades, the majority of the housing was single-family dwellings, totally more than 340, though two-family dwellings had increased, by roughly fifty. That increase, however, may have included the conversion of single-family houses to two-unit buildings. The number of three-family dwellings had increased slightly to nearly forty. Dwellings with four or more units remained uncommon in the neighborhood, numbering roughly the same as ten years earlier. Owner-occupied dwellings, of all types outnumbered rental properties by roughly four to one. Rental properties included not only some of the blocks but also some of the fashionable duplexes, such as the pair of brick ones on Hillside Avenue between Madison Avenue and Willard Street (Bureau of the Census 1920).

The Norwegian Village neighborhood also continued to experience an increase in dwellings, with houses present as far north as Tenth Street. By 1920, dwellings in the neighborhood numbered approximately 135, an increase of nearly fifty dwellings during the 1910s. As in previous decades, single-family housing remained the dominant type, totaling nearly 110, or roughly eighty percent. Multifamily housing consisted predominantly of two-family dwellings, totaling just over twenty, with just over five three-family dwellings. Norway Street is the most densely developed of the streets, with approximately forty-five dwellings; Sweden Street is a close second with nearly forty dwellings. Of the nearly 110 dwellings for which the information is known, nearly ninety are owner-occupied while fewer than twenty are rental properties (Bureau of the Census 1920).

The East Side also continued to experience significant development in the 1910s, with an increase of more than ninety dwellings. East Mason Street included a number of buildings that contained stores on the ground story with living quarters or housing on the upper story or stories. Like the Avenues, though the majority of dwellings remained single-family houses, the neighborhood included appreciable numbers of two-, three- and four-or-more family dwellings. The most significant growth was in three-family dwellings, with an increase of roughly forty buildings including at least thirteen blocks. 38 The number of two-family dwellings more than doubled from ten years earlier to nearly ninety. The number of dwellings with four or more units, though still small, also doubled in the ten-year period to nearly ten (Bureau of the Census 1920). Development was concentrated on the long more westerly streets, such as Burgess and Champlain streets but nearly all the streets in the neighborhood saw new construction. Both single-family and different scales of multifamily dwellings were constructed along the streets in the neighborhood with each lot containing a different type of dwelling. The 1920 Directory noted at least twelve new dwellings under construction and three newly completed ones that were not yet occupied (Directory 1920). For the dwellings for which the information is known, owner-occupied dwellings still outnumbered rental properties by nearly three to one (Bureau of the Census 1920).

³⁸ This number is based on the sample examined for this study using existing blocks and establishing general dates of construction from Sanborn maps and directories.

Housing Totals, 1930

Citywide, 3,000 dwellings were counted in 1930. Fifty percent of the population lived in single-family houses, one-quarter in two-family houses, and the remaining quarter in multifamilies including blocks that averaged four families (Arsdel 1934, 9). The table below shows the general breakdown of single-family and multifamily houses for all of Berlin's central neighborhoods:

	THE AVENUES	BERLIN HEIGHTS	BERLIN MILLS VILLAGE/TH E STREETS	CASCADE	EAST SIDE	FORBUSH PARK	LIBERTY PARK	NAPERT VILLAGE	NORWEGIA N VILLAGE	ST. ANNE'S	ST. GILES/ GRANITE	Totals
SINGLE FAMILY	295	385	27	38	203	104	67	9	146	14	40	1328
TWO FAMILY	133	165	23	6	110	15	6	0	35	13	38	544
THREE FAMILY	31	61	2	0	75	3	0	0	3	8	15	198
FOUR OR MORE UNITS	16	20	12	1	28	2	0	0	0	0	23	102
TOTALS	475	631	64	45	416	124	73	9	184	35	116	2172

Approximate numbers of house types in 1930 in the central neighborhoods of Berlin Source: 1930 Census and 1930 City Directory. The numbers are approximate but nevertheless provide sufficient evidence to draw some conclusions about ownership and rental patterns in the different neighborhoods.

While the majority of the housing in Berlin is single-family dwellings, several neighborhoods had significant numbers of multifamily housing notably The Avenues, the very expansively defined Berlin Heights, and the East Side.

As in previous years, the majority of housing (roughly 61 percent) built by 1930 consisted of single-family houses. Within the different neighborhoods other than the Avenues, the highest percentages of single-family housing were present in the more outlying neighborhoods, notably Cascade, Forbush Park, Liberty Park, Napert Village, and Norwegian Village. More than fifty percent of the housing in the two largest neighborhoods, The Avenues and the East Side, also consisted of single-family houses. Roughly twenty-five percent of the housing consisted of two-family dwellings, either purpose-built or subdivided single-family houses. The greatest number of two-families was present in the Avenues, the expansive Berlin Heights, and the East Side. Three-family dwellings compromised roughly nine percent of the total housing and just about five percent consisted of housing with four or more units. The Avenues and the East Side also contained the greatest numbers of three-family houses. These include not only purpose-built types such as the blocks or gable-front types but also subdivided single-family and two-family houses.

The building permits filed between 1911 and 1928 further help to illustrate the degree of building within the different Berlin neighborhoods over that nearly two-decade period that coincides with some of the city's most significant residential construction.

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	THE AVENUES	BERLIN HEIGHTS	BERLIN MILLS VILLAGE	CASCADE	EAST SIDE	FORBUSH PARK	LIBERTY PARK	NAPERT VILLAGE	NORWEGI AN VILLAGE	ST. ANNE'S	ST. GILES/ GRANITE	OTHER	Totals
1.5 story	58	55	2	2	56	30	11	1	42	4		32	293
2.0 story	67	119	3	1	82	13	7		21	6	2	25	346
2.5 story	7	7			12	1			2		1	2	32
3.0 story	8	9			34	2				2	4	2	61
4.0 story					4	1							5
TOTALS	140	190	5	3	188	47	18	1	65	12	7	61	737

Building permits filed between 1911 and 1928, showing the breakdown by story in the different neighborhoods. City of Berlin Annual Reports 1912-1929.

The building permit information listed in the City Annual Reports does not distinguish between single-family houses and multifamily houses. The only information provided is the number of stories. While it is likely that the majority of one-and-a-half story houses are single-family houses and the houses of three stories or more are likely multifamily houses, there is no way to easily determine whether the two-story and two-and-a-half story buildings are single- or multifamily houses.

The following table, based on an analysis of the 1930 Census and the 1930 Directory, provides some general information about owner-occupancy vs. rentals for the different neighborhoods.

	SINGLE FAMILY			TWO-FAMILY			THREE-FAMILY			FOUR OR MORE UNITS			
1930	own	RENTAL	UNKNOWN	own	RENTAL	UNKNOWN	own	RENTAL	UNKNOWN	own	RENTAL	UNKNOWN	Totals
THE AVENUES	237	39	19	94	30	9	20	10	1	6	10	0	475
BERLIN HEIGHTS	328	40	17	126	31	8	40	19	2	6	14	0	631
BERLIN MILLS VILLAGE	22	3	2	14	6	3	1	0	1	3	8	1	64
CASCADE	29	7	2	1	4	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	45
EAST SIDE	167	29	7	85	18	7	46	29	0	12	16	0	416
FORBUSH PARK	89	12	3	10	3	2	1	2	0	2	0	0	124
LIBERTY PARK	63	4	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	73
NAPERT VILLAGE	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
NORWEGIAN VILLAGE	125	16	5	21	11	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	184
ST. ANNE'S	10	3	1	8	5	0	6	2	0	0	0	0	35
ST. GILES/ GRANITE	22	16	2	23	10	5	6	9	0	13	9	1	116
TOTAL\$	1101	169	58	387	119	38	121	73	4	43	57	2	2172

Ownership-Occupancy General Totals for Berlin's Central Neighborhoods in 1930 Source: 1930 Census and 1930 City Directory. The numbers are approximate but nevertheless provide sufficient evidence to draw some conclusions about ownership and rental patterns in the different neighborhoods.

As of 1930, the majority of housing in all of Berlin's central neighborhoods was owner-occupied, totaling roughly eighty percent of the housing stock in those neighborhoods at that time. Just twenty percent was fully rented, but as was shown in the previous section often times the property owner lived nearby. In addition, owner-occupancy predominated for most scales of housing, with the exception of four or more unit buildings.

Housing Totals in 1940

While the numbers for the different neighborhoods have not been established as of 1940, they are known for the city as a whole. In that year, Berlin contained nearly 4,560 dwelling units. The greatest number was single-family houses, totaling 1,580. The next largest quantity of house types was two-families, numbering nearly 1,070. Just over 100 more of the residential structures were two-family, side-by-side structures or duplexes. Three-family houses numbered 765 and would have included purposes-built types including blocks and gable-front ones but also other residential buildings later converted to three-families. Four-families totaled 280. Just over 530 of the residential structures housed five to nine families. The remaining residential structures numbered

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just over 200 and included one- to four-family buildings with businesses and ten to nineteen family living quarters (Bureau of the Census 1940).³⁹

Other relevant housing patterns of single-family vs. multifamily, owner-occupied vs. rentals in Neighborhoods other than Avenues

Over the nearly 100 years from the time of Berlin's initial concentrated development up through at least the 1970s, the nature of Berlin's dwellings whether single-family or multifamily and whether owner-occupied or rental, was fluid and changed over time. Factors that contributed to these changes and alterations included the changing local economy, the changing nature of the families as parents aged and as children grew up and established their own families. This fluidity is present not only in the Avenues but in most of the neighborhoods contemporary with its initial development including the broadly defined Heights, the East Side, and Norwegian Village. Over the decades, buildings were subdivided, converting them from single-family to multifamily housing or from two-families to three or more unit housing. Alternatively a previously unfinished attic or third-floor space might be finished off for use as a small apartment. In addition, other changes incorporated newer technologies especially in the bathrooms or kitchens or to upgrade the heating from a wood-burning stove in the kitchen to kerosene heat in the kitchen to a boiler in the basement heated by oil (Nadeau 2011). For instance, in the Heights, during the 1950s, threegenerations of the Donnelly family lived in a house on Willard Street originally built by the older Donnelly in 1908 as a single-family. By the 1950s, however, the second-story had been converted to a separate flat, to house a now married son, daughter-in-law, and grandchild (Young 2009, 1).

By the 1960s and 1970s the small apartments, often on the third floor of a building, continued to be rented, often by newlyweds (MacKay 2009). Then, as their financial resources increased, they would move to a larger apartment. When children arrived or reached school age the family then might acquire a single-family house, as was the case with the MacKay family (MacKay 2009).

Throughout Berlin there are examples of successive generations owning and occupying a property. On the East Side, two generations of the Dion family lived in the block built ca. 1929 by Alfred Dion (born 1886) on Lancaster Street.

PRESERVATION COMPANY

³⁹ Owner-occupancy was calculated by living unit rather than building so this information cannot be compared with previous decades.

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677 Lancaster, built ca. 1929 for Alfred Dion. Photograph by City of Berlin Assessor.



Alfred Dion at his retirement from Brown Company, October 1954. Brown Company Collection, Michael J. Spinelli, Jr. Center for University Archives and Special Collections, Herbert H. Lamson Library and Learning Commons, Plymouth State University, Item 34076.

Dion, who was a millwright at the Sulphite Mill, lived in one of the flats with his family until his death in the late 1950s. Dion's widow continued to live in the building after her husband's death. Initially a Dion relation and his family lived in one of the flats. As of 1950, two of Dion's now married daughters lived in the other two flats. By 1961 the couple's youngest daughter was married and living in one of the flats (*Annual Report* 1928; Bureau of the Census 1930, 1940; Directory 1930, 1950, 1961).

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Similarly, two generations of the Turmel family resided in the block built in 1920 by Arthur Turmel (1881-1948) on Ottawa Street in the broadly defined Heights neighborhood.



Group of blocks on Ottawa Street (17, 21, and 39). Photograph by Laura B. Driemeyer, April 2012.

By the 1950s, after Turmel's death, two of his sons lived in two of the flats, with one remaining there until at least the mid-1970s (*Berlin Annual Report* 1921; Directory 1920, 1930, 1956, 1975; Bureau of the Census 1920, 1930, 1940).

A common pattern is the tendency of residents to stay in the same neighborhood in which they grew up. Joseph A. Lessard (1900-1994), a second-generation French Canadian and local merchant, filed a permit in 1928 for a three-story building. The new block, on Spring Street, was completed by the following year on land Lessard acquired from his father Archille (Archie) Lessard shortly before construction began (Deed 1928 248:284; *Berlin Annual Report* 1929, 118). Lessard, the oldest surviving child of Archille F. (ca. 1864-1929) and Margaret (Gilbert) Lessard and one of seven surviving children, grew up just across the street on the corner of School and Spring streets (Census 1910, 1920; Directory 1909-10, 1920). After the completion of the Lessard Block, he and his family lived in one of the apartments for roughly thirty years (Preservation Company 2012, 6-7).

A second common pattern in Berlin neighborhoods is that of residents constructing a rental property in close proximity to their place of residence. Some of the building permits filed between 1911 and 1928 were for construction of such housing, typically two or three-family dwellings. Construction of such housing, which initially required some capital to cover the costs of purchasing the land and building the rental housing, ultimately provided additional income for the family and additional housing options once the children reached adulthood. Instances of this occurred in most Berlin central neighborhoods, with the fewest instances in Norwegian Village. One architecturally distinctive example is the brick-and-concrete three-family on Elm Street (No. 72), built ca. 1927 for William Ouelette (born ca. 1871), a blacksmith employed by the Brown Company (*Annual Report* 1928; Directory 1927; Bureau of the Census 1930).



72 Elm Street, built ca. 1927 by William Ouelette Photograph by City of Berlin Assessor.

Ouelette lived next door, at 76 Elm Street, in a one-and-a-half story end house. In 1930 his oldest son Orrel (born ca. 1900) lived in one of the flats of the three family (1930 Directory; Bureau of the Census 1920, 1930).

This pattern seems to be especially common in the East Side neighborhood. Joseph McGinnis (born ca. 1885), a millwright employed in the Cascade Mill in the early 1920s, lived on Merrimack Street in a one-and-a-half story gable-front house (113 Merrimack, now altered to a two-family).





467 Burgess Street, built 1923-1924 by Joseph McGinnis. Photographs by Laura B. Driemeyer, July 2011, April 2012.

In 1923-1924 he built a substantial two-story building on the easterly half of his house lot, at the corner of Burgess and Merrimack streets. The building originally included a storefront in the northerly half of the first floor with residential units in the southerly half. For several years after its completion, McGinnis' brother-in-law Amedee (1886-1938), a chemical engineer at the paper mill, and Emily Dugas (nee Alphonsine McGinnis) maintained a neighborhood grocery in the storefront and lived in the apartment above the store for several years (Directory 1924, 1927; Sanborn 1928). By 1930, Alban S. LeBlanc operated the grocery and by 1936, McGinnis had moved into the building and the grocery was gone (Directory 1930, 1937).

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5. Use of Interior, Exterior Spaces By Residents

The use of interior and exterior spaces by residents in neighborhoods other than the Avenues is largely the same as in the Avenues owing to the similarity of the housing stock and its main characteristics. These include both the adjacent-room plan in the housing strongly associated with the French-Canadian population and multi-story porches with exterior stairs providing access to each of the upper units.

As is in the Avenues, the main rooms of the houses or flats tend to be bedrooms and a kitchen. Frequently they lack formal spaces such as dining rooms and to a lesser extent parlors or living rooms. The primary entry is frequently into the kitchen, often the largest room in the dwelling and commonly the primary social space, where family and friends gathered for all occasions, whether it is a single-family dwelling, two-family, Block, or subdivided dwelling. This characteristic and the adjacent-room plan where all the other rooms radiate off from the kitchen are two of the primary interior features most indicative of the French-Canadian influence. Usage of the other rooms was fluid over time, depending on how many of the rooms were used as bedrooms or whether one could be used as a sitting room or living room. At times, rooms that had a wide doorway but no door were used as bedrooms, often by the parents; a curtain was simply hung in the doorway to provide some privacy (W. Nadeau 2011).

Whereas the porches or piazzas, as first constructed were open, by the 1950s residents began to enclose them for a variety of reasons. Enclosing took on different variations. Some were winterized, thus providing additional usable interior space. Others were simply enclosed to keep out the elements, including the snow and ice off the stairs, and soot from the coal-heated furnaces off the laundry that was frequently hung on the porches to dry (Leclerc, July 2014).

In 1918, as part of the National School Garden movement, Berlin school children were encouraged to use land for home gardening purposes. As the Superintendent noted in his annual report for that year

Berlin offers few attractions for the gardener and large gardens and heavy crops were not expected. The chief objects in view were to provide opportunity for the children to have a part in the important matter of food production, and to give them some idea of the fundamentals of garden preparation and care (*Annual Report* 1919, 91).

In the end, a total of 635 gardens were completed in 1918, in spite of severe frosts in the late spring and early fall (*Annual Report* 1919, 91). Two years later, however, owing to more favorable weather conditions, the students had considerably more success (*Annual Report* 1921, 68). The school home gardens continued into the 1920s.

Like many children who grew up in the twentieth century, many Berlin residents remember playing games in the streets, especially hockey in the winter time. This was particularly true when they were still in grade school, before they started playing at the hockey arena. Hockey was the main sport played by many of the boys all the way through high school and even beyond. One resident who was born in 1929 and grew up on Burgess Street on the East Side remembers how because the city did not use plows but rather rolled the snow in the street, it more or less created a skating rink for the kids (Poirier 2009, 2). Another resident, who also grew up on the East Side a generation later, remembers the family built a rink in the backyard in the winter time for the grade-school age kids to play on (D. Carrier 2009, 7). While hockey was the dominant sports activity

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during the winter months, in better weather stickball was also played in the streets by the boys, if they were not playing baseball on the ball fields by the Community Club (Morin 2009, 10; Nolin 2009, 1).

III. Late Nineteenth- and Early-Twentieth-Century Neighborhoods in other New England Industrial/Milling Cities and Towns

Information on late nineteenth and early twentieth-century neighborhoods in other New England industrial/milling cities and towns—specifically land development patterns, building patterns, building types, ownership and occupancy patterns, and use of space by the owners and occupants, both interior and exterior—is dispersed and piecemeal. Consequently what follows here is selective, with scattered information for just six communities. The following text draws heavily from secondary sources and is by no means complete or comprehensive. 40 The six communities selected share with Berlin one or more of its three key characteristics. One is a large French-Canadian immigrant population, with a significant wave beginning in the 1880s and continuing into the 1920s. The second is the presence of three-deckers and/or blocks. The third is the type of industry, notably pulp and paper manufacturing, including timber processing. The selected places are Manchester, New Hampshire; Augusta, Maine; Fitchburg, New Bedford, and Southbridge, Massachusetts; and Woonsocket, Rhode Island. Papermaking centers are present throughout New England, with the majority in western Massachusetts including Springfield, Holyoke, Chicopee Falls, and Fitchburg. Many had their origins prior to the introduction of pulp manufacturing. Their residential landscapes, except Fitchburg's, are almost entirely a mix of classic New England single- and multifamily housing. Augusta, Maine, had some paper manufacturing and timber processing industries contemporary with those in Berlin, but not exclusively so. Cotton textile manufacturing was the city's most significant industry. Similarly, in Manchester, New Bedford, and Woonsocket textile manufacturing was the predominant industry whereas in Southbridge it was lenses and glasses.

In the mid-nineteenth century large numbers of French Canadians began migrating to the numerous flourishing industrial centers of New England. Between 1860 and 1900, "roughly 600,000 French Canadians emigrated," finding employment especially in the textile and paper mills from Maine to Rhode Island (Early 1979, iii). As of 1900 in five of the six New England states more than fifty cities and towns were home to French-Canadian populations numbering 1,500 or more (Brault 1986, 185-186). For the state of New Hampshire as a whole up to 1900, in contrast with Berlin, the most significant immigration of French Canadians occurred in the 1880s, totaling roughly 18,800; for the following decade it decreased to roughly 16,400 (Brault 1986, 192). This differs from what occurred in Berlin where the greatest in-migration occurred in the two decades after 1900. By contrast, in those two decades in many other parts of New England French-Canadian immigrant numbers, though still significant, leveled off from earlier decades. Whereas in the last decade of the nineteenth century the number of French Canadians living in the United States increased by more than 90,000, in the following decade the numbers decreased by more than 9,000 (Podea 1950, 368). Also in contrast with Berlin, in many other New England towns and cities, the

⁴⁰ The discussion, in particular, of the French-Canadian three-deckers and their builders, owners, and occupants in three communities draws extensively from the work of others. For Southbridge, Massachusetts, Janice Lee Morrill's invaluable master's thesis "The French-Canadian Three-Deckers of Southbridge, Massachusetts" was the source of much of the information (see bibliography). Similarly, the discussion of the Fitchburg buildings draws heavily from Anthony R. Taylor's invaluable study *Fitchburg Building Traditions* (see bibliography). For Augusta, much of the information derives from Zach Violette's on-going work in that community, of which he was kind enough to share with Preservation Company (see bibliography).

majority of the French Canadians worked in textile mills, such that by 1900 the number working in that industry totaled more than 60,000 (Podea 1950, 369).

In most New England industrialized urban centers, the grid pattern predominated for the residential landscape. As in Berlin, development arose around one or more major waterways that provided the power for the mills. Streets lined with mostly frame single-family and multifamily dwellings but also some brick ones rose up along streets extending out from or paralleling the mill sites. Generally in the nineteenth and even early twentieth century this housing tended to be within walking distance for the workers (Warner 1978). Railroad lines created additional major boundary markers in many of these cities and towns, essential for transporting raw materials to the mills to be processed and transporting the manufactured goods away from the mills to customers. As in Berlin, the oldest center sections of a community tended to be more densely developed and the streets followed the varying topography to a greater degree. On the periphery of the historic cores of these cities and towns, however, large, previously undeveloped parcels were platted, mostly in grid patterns laid down without too much concern for varied topography. Exceptions to the grid pattern might be areas that were initially established as villages and later absorbed as part of the expanding urbanization process. This occurs in the eastern part of Manchester with Janesville and in Southbridge when development connected Globe Village and Centre Village (Mausolf 1991a, 4; Ceccacci et. al. 1989, 8:13). As in Berlin, entities involved in the platting of the land tended to be locally based. They included long-time property owners (or the heirs of long-time owners), newly established real estate development companies created by local merchants who had recently acquired the land in the wake of the increasing demands for housing, individual entrepreneurs or professionals with the capital to participate in and benefit from the real estate boom, and to varying degrees mill owners.

Many of New England's industrial cities and towns differ from Berlin in that they were well developed by the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Though many also underwent rapid development at the end of the century they were well established by mid-century and thus have a different development chronology. As a result, the land development patterns and participants in housing development for those places differ to some extent. In the early and middle decades mill ownership frequently erected housing for the mill workers.

In the middle decades of the nineteenth century, workers' housing typically fell into one of three primary patterns. For female textiles workers it was mill-girl boardinghouses. In factory villages, the mills erected company-owned housing that ranged in size from duplexes to as many as eight of more units for workers and their families. They also erected some single-family housing, often for supervisors. In large cities, speculative builders constructed the majority of housing for workers, though some mill companies did erect small amounts of row and semi-detached housing in urban areas (Candee and Hardwicke 1987, 47). In the largest cities, tenement blocks were built to house the workers, often in densely congested areas. This variety of housing can be found in places from Rhode Island to New Hampshire, and is most common in textile manufacturing communities.

By the end of the century, corporate involvement in the process was greatly reduced throughout much of New England except in a few notable places, such as Hopedale, Massachusetts, or Rumford, Maine. The latter town, a paper manufacturing community located downstream from Berlin on the Androscoggin River, shares several characteristics with Berlin, notably the type of industry and timing of its development. However, it differs greatly in that its pattern of

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development was almost entirely controlled by the paper company, which planned a thirty-acre site, Strathglass Park.



Gilbert produced five designs for brick duplexes.

A total of fifty-one which were built, each with slight differences in detailing.

The company housing was designed by the American architect Charles Pierrepont H. Gilbert (1863-1952) in 1900.

In these company towns, common characteristics included a development with curvilinear streets and single-family houses and duplexes scaled to the worker with stylistic elements applied in accordance with hierarchy of the house. Whereas the duplex might only have a modicum of ornament around the entry and on the edges of the building, a superintendent's house might have trim around the windows, doors, and at the eaves, along with additional massing elements such as bay windows (Dempsey 1991).

In most communities, however, as in Berlin, mill company involvement by this period was typically restricted predominantly to land platting and sales to real estate agents, building speculators, contractors and builders, and individual property owners. That diverse group, in turn, developed the land with a range of housing, including single-family and multifamily, for themselves or as speculative development for the individuals working in the mills and their families. Some was owner-occupied and some was fully tenanted.

In places where the land development process was well established, such as Manchester, New Hampshire, or New Bedford, Massachusetts, it appears there is less (or no) incorporation of French-Canadian building characteristics in multifamily housing, such as wrap-around porches with exterior stairs and the adjacent-room plan. In New Bedford, Massachusetts, where by 1910 when French-Canadian immigrant numbers reached their highest point, numbering nearly 12,250, the newly erected housing stock largely lacks features found in some of Berlin's housing associated with French-Canadian builders and owners. By contrast, in Southbridge, Massachusetts, where by 1900, sixty percent of the population was French speaking, French Canadians made up a significant proportion of the builders (Morrill 1987, 32). For French

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Canadians in Southbridge, and also in Fitchburg, and Augusta, Maine, the block or French-Canadian three-decker "proved especially useful, not only as a means of home ownership but as an object of enterprise for budding contractors and landlords" in particular (Morrill 1987, n.p.; Taylor 1980, 2). ⁴¹ It is in those places where some of the character-defining features of housing associated with French Canadians can be also be found, such as the multistory porches, exterior stairs, and adjacent-room plan. In particular, these features are present in housing in Fitchburg and Southbridge, Massachusetts; Augusta, Maine; and to a lesser extent Woonsocket, Rhode Island. The role of French Canadians in the housing market has only been generally examined in New England towns and cities, with the general exception of the above mentioned communities. Most of these communities differ from Berlin in terms of the type of industry, notably textile manufacturing, and the period of initial major development, typically in the several decades before and after 1850. It appears that only in communities that did not have well established or entrenched builders and developers were the French Canadians able to actively develop building forms that combined characteristics of New England and French Canadian housing and in multifamily housing in particular.

The specifics of occupancy and usage of interior and exterior spaces by residents vary from household to household, from community to community. There are local variations in the form and plan of French-Canadian three-deckers. General similarities include some type of porch with exterior stairs and an adjacent-room plan. The location and size of the porch varies and the presence of a bay on the front (either square or polygonal), as is common on the classic threedecker, is common in some places but was never (or rarely) employed in Berlin. Similarly, there are local variations of the classic three-decker, including roof form, use of polygonal bays on the front and/or side elevations, and even in plan to some extent, though still linear in nature. Nevertheless, some general patterns are shared, with the most common one being the fluidity of space over time, not only on a daily basis, but also over the course of a family's occupancy as the household size changed. As has been noted by various scholars of and residents of housing, the interior plans and intended use of the space by the designer (be it an architect, builder/contractor, or original home owner) is often modified almost as soon as the building is completed. In addition, room usage changed over time, as family sizes and needs shifted with the increase and decrease in the number of family members living under the same roof. It also could even change over the course of the day. This is true not only for interior spaces but also exterior spaces. The latter are an especially important space for residents of multifamily housing, where interior space is limited. Exterior space includes not only porches or piazzas but also the small yards, occasionally in front, but more commonly to the rear.

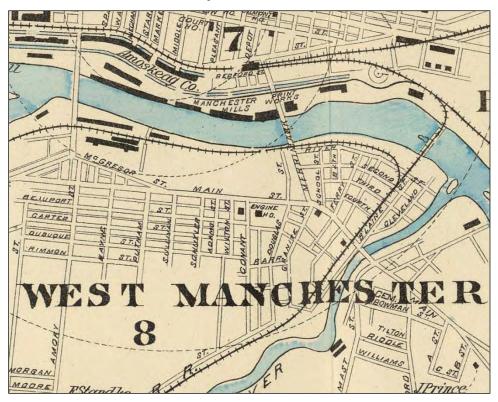
⁴¹ For the purposes of the following discussion, the term "French-Canadian three-decker" will be used to refer to the three-deckers with characteristics identified with French Canadians, notably the porches and exterior stairs and the adjacent-room plan. In contrast with some Berlin residents, the residents of Southbridge called these buildings three-deckers. This also allows for a distinction between these three-deckers and the more classic three-decker, with front and rear porches, an interior stairwell, and a linear plan.

A. Manchester, New Hampshire

1. Original Land Purchase and Platting in Manchester

In Manchester, large portions of the land that was developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century had initially been acquired by the Amoskeag Company in the 1820s and 1830s. Consequently, the company developed it in phases, platting the land and often in the early decades developing the lots (Mayer 1994, 77). This began to change by the end of the nineteenth century. The Company still platted the land but then increasingly sold it to private individuals or small-scale speculative developers, who subsequently developed the lots, creating a varied landscape of single-family and multifamily dwellings along the grid-patterned streets.

The west side of Manchester became a major area of settlement for French Canadians.



Manchester, detail, looking east, Hurd, Atlas of New Hampshire, pp. 48-49. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.

Amoskeag Corporation first platted a portion of West Manchester in 1880, with Amory Street, a major east-west artery, and north-south streets including Beauport, Carter, Dubuque, and Rimmon. The grid pattern consisted of 50' x 100' lots with fifty-foot-wide streets and narrower twenty-foot-wide alleyways in the center of each block. Indicative of Amoskeag Company's intentions for the development of this section of the city, the deeds for the lots contained building restrictions, limiting the lot to one single-family dwelling, for a period of twenty-five years from the time of the plan. Consequently the earliest development was single-family housing along the streets closest to the river. Once the twenty-five-year period lapsed, however, development of the area surged. Much of the housing constructed over the next ten to fifteen years was multifamily housing, predominantly three- or six-unit buildings.

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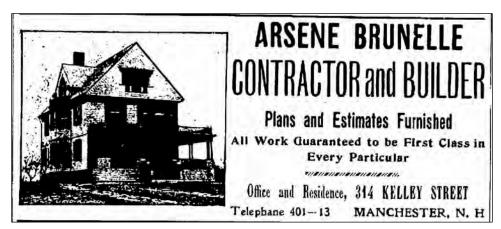
In the areas of the city that developed as villages separately from Amoskeag oversight, a later grid pattern incorporates the earlier existing irregular road patterns, creating some triangular lots on occasion. Consequently, in these areas, such as Janesville, the lots can be less regular in shape and size (Mausolf 1991a, 4).

2. Dwelling Construction by Property Owners, Speculative Enterprises, and Company-Owned Land in Manchester

By the late nineteenth century, the majority of housing was being constructed by individual property owners or by local builders as speculative development. For the most part, especially on the west side of town, the development created streetscapes of similarly scaled, wood-frame, single- and multifamily dwellings on individual lots with similar setbacks. The east side contains greater variability in lot size, set back, and style and type of housing, in part because it spans a longer period of construction. Throughout the city the three-deckers are in a form and style common to Manchester.

If the housing was speculative development or for rental purposes only, the number of buildings erected at one time was small, no more than five at a time, at least in newly developing areas on the west side of the river. Even in areas such as Janesville, in the vicinity of Our Lady of Perpetual Help Infant Asylum on Concord Street, the high-end multifamily housing and apartments is individually developed.

Because of its size, there were numerous small-scale builders and contractors active throughout the city. Arsene Brunelle (born ca. 1863) was one successful French-Canadian builder and contractor who engaged in small-scale speculative development and contracting for individual clients. A native of Straford, Quebec, Brunelle was active in the Manchester building trades from ca. 1905 until the 1940s. A long-time resident of the west side neighborhood, he lived on the southwest corner of Kelley and Alsace streets, where he also maintained his office (314 Kelley Street).



Arsene Brunelle Advertisement, 1907 Manchester City Directory, p. 804.

An early building project for a client was a three-decker nearby on Rimmon Street. Other known building projects include several apartment blocks on the east side of the city. In the fall of 1915, Brunelle acquired a multi-acre parcel on the corner of Concord and Dutton streets. At the time, a one-and-a-half-story gable-front or end house (still extant but altered) occupied the property (Hillsborough County Deed Book 737, Page 531; Sanborn 1915). He then subdivided the land into four parcels (Hillsborough County Plan 314). He sold one parcel on the corner and was hired

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by the buyer to construct a fifteen-unit apartment building designed by the local architect J. N. Guertin (297-299 Concord Street/30-32 Dutton Street) (*American Contractor* 1916, 51). On another of the subdivided lots he constructed 285 Concord Street, a three-story apartment block with eighteen apartments (Directory 1920). The St. Jean Baptiste Parish school chapel, on the corner of Kelly and Alsace streets, is also attributed to Brunelle (*Guide Franco-Americain 1921*, 138).

3. Use of Single vs. Multifamily Housing/Tenements (Owner Occupied vs. Rental) in Manchester

Some of the greatest concentrations of French Canadians resided on the west side of the city. They include neighborhoods such as McGregorville/Notre Dame and Kelley Street/Rock Rimmon. The prevalence of multifamily housing has long been recognized as the dominant residential type for much of Manchester's working class in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The 1991 Historic Resource Survey and Urban Design Study of Manchester highlighted its pervasiveness and recommended a multiple properties listing for this building type. Because of the reconnaissance nature of the survey, the discussion emphasized style over form with an emphasis on the more elaborately decorated ones. It was beyond the scope of the project to examine owner-occupancy vs. rental patterns or to draw distinctions about the variations that might be associated with the ethnicity of the owners, occupants, and/or buildings (OZ Architecture et. al. 1991, 24).

A selective sampling of two blocks for this study, one on the west side and one on the east, however, allows for some very general conclusions about owner-occupancy vs. rental patterns in the more densely settled parts of the city. For the west side, one block of Hevey Street, between Kelley and Bremmer streets was selected.



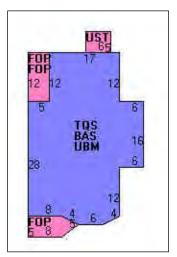
Aerial of a section of McGregorville/Notre Dame neighborhood, with Rimmon Street between Kelley and Bremer streets in center, looking west. Arrows point to Hevey Street (upper arrow) and 602 Rimmon Street (lower arrow). Bing Maps.

The block contains nearly twenty frame residential buildings consisting of single-family houses, two-family houses created from subdivided single-family houses, purpose-built two-family

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houses, gable-front three-family houses, and Manchester-variation three-deckers. Nearly all had been built by 1915 (Sanborn 1915). As of 1930, four of the five single-family houses were owner-occupied as were four of the six two-families.





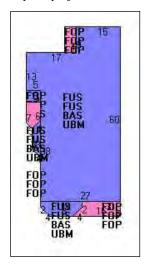
592 Hevey Street, Manchester, New Hampshire, built ca. 1908. Photograph by City of Manchester Assessor.

Of the nine three-family houses, four were owner-occupied, a slightly lower percentage than in Berlin. An overwhelming majority of the heads of households on this block are primarily first- or second-generation French Canadians (Manchester City Directory 1930; Bureau of the Census 1930).

In general, on the exterior, the Manchester three-deckers appear to generally resemble the classic New England three-decker. The footprint is generally rectangular, though with more additional massing elements in addition to the commonly used polygonal bay on the façade adjacent to the single or paired entries. Polygonal bays are frequently present on the side elevation at the second pile and a rear stairwell bay also projects from the side elevation. Oftentimes, porches at each story span the space between the two side bays. The plan is presumed to be linear with the public rooms and kitchen on one side and a tier of rooms behind the front stairwell on the other side but more research is necessary to confirm this. A representative example of the Manchester three-decker on the west side is the Bouvier Three-decker, built ca. 1914, on Rimmon Street, just one street east of Hevey Street.



Bouvier Three-decker, 602 Rimmon Street, Manchester, New Hampshire, built ca. 1914. Photograph by City of Manchester Assessor.



Plan from Assessor's records

In addition, its history duplicates many of the patterns seen in other New England cities and towns with substantial French-Canadian populations. The three-decker was built by the previously mentioned local builder Arsene Brunelle, sometime between 1912 and 1916 and was owned and occupied by two generations of the Bouvier family for over eighty years, from 1916 until the first decade of the twenty-first century (Hillsborough County Deeds; Manchester City Directories; Bureau of the Census 1920, 1930, 1940).

On the east side, in the Hallsville neighborhood, one block of Summer Street between Wilson and Hall streets was randomly selected. As of 1930 most of the heads of household are first- or second-generation Irish or Polish plus one French-Canadian family. A number of the residents on the block worked in the nearby shoe factory. The block contains just over ten residential buildings, with a higher proportion of single-family dwellings than in the Hevey Street sample. The group includes characteristic Manchester three-deckers, several gable-front three-families, and a purpose-built two-family, in addition to single-family houses (a mix of forms). Two of the buildings were present by 1897 with all but one of the others built by 1915 (Sanborns 1897, 1915). All of the single-family houses were owner-occupied. Some have since been subdivided into two families. Three of the five three-families were owner-occupied as was one of the two families (Manchester City Directory 1930; Bureau of the Census 1930).

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As in Berlin, in some instances relatives of the owners might reside in one of the upper units (Morrill 1987, 6). In the two, admittedly small samples, the majority of tenants in the owner-occupied multifamilies did not appear to be relatives of the owners but this conclusion is based solely on last names. It was beyond the scope of this project to try to establish familial relationships between the occupants.

4. Use of Interior and Exterior Spaces By Residents in Manchester

Few or no secondary resources appear to exist on this topic for Manchester so further research beyond the scope of this project is necessary to address this question.

For the three-deckers, the Manchester variation appears largely to resemble the classic New England three-deckers with only a few differences. The three-family characteristics include a deep rectangular main footprint, flat roofs, polygonal bays adjacent to the entry bay on the façade, a square bay on one side elevation with the rear stairwell. The plan of each apartment appears to be predominantly a linear one (though more research is necessary to gather a larger sample) with a hallway with rooms to either side, the more public ones on one side and two or three bedrooms on the other side. The façade often has two entries, one for the first-floor flat, and the other to a stairwell leading to the upper two flats. Also popular in Manchester are six-families, in essence double three-families, with flat roofs, and six-bay façades with a center entry. Particular to the Manchester buildings, however, is the presence of recessed porches on the long or side elevations flanking the rooms between the front and rear piles rather than the wrap-around porches commonly seen in Augusta, Berlin, Fitchburg, and Southbridge.



214 Kelley Street, Manchester, New Hampshire. Photograph by City of Manchester Assessor.

In most cases the side porches lack exterior stairs but rather are "private" porches for each flat with an entry not only from one of the public rooms of the flat but also to the shared rear stairwell, such

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as this example on Kelley Street, at the corner of Montgomery Street. As a result, their use likely differs to some extent than on the French-Canadian three-deckers. While they may still have been used to dry laundry, a different social dynamic was created by their placement along the side of the building and frequent placement within the building footprint. While users might converse with neighbors in the adjoining building, they would be less likely to converse with passersby on the street because of the set back. More research, however, is necessary to flesh out how the porches and interior spaces were used by the residents of the multifamilies in Manchester.

Scattered examples are present, primarily in the west part of the city, that do feature porches with exterior stairs providing access to the upper flats.



374 Amory Street, Manchester, New Hampshire. Photograph by City of Manchester Assessor.

374 Amory Street in the Kelly Street/Rock Rimmon area is one example, but they are comparatively rare compared to in several of the other communities included in this discussion or in Berlin.

In addition to an abundance of three-deckers is a large collection of apartment blocks, largely on the east side of town, in neighborhoods such as Janesville. The apartment blocks, known as "French Flat Apartment Houses," first emerged in Manchester in the 1890s and appear to have been mostly privately developed. A group of them stand on the southerly side of Concord Street between Dutton and Maple streets. The previously mentioned builder and contractor Arsene Brunelle built one ca. 1916.



285 Concord Street, Manchester, New Hampshire, built ca. 1916 by Arsene Brunelle. Photograph by City of Manchester Assessor.

One feature that generally resembles French-Canadian three-deckers is the recessed porches on both side elevations, beginning after the third pile. The early residents of this building tended to be store clerks or store proprietors, superintendents in mills, several widows, or salesmen (Bureau of the Census 1920; Directory 1920).

B. Augusta, Maine

This city underwent a significant building boom in the mid-1840s and included one major section, Sand Hill (later known as Cushnoc Heights), in the north end of the town. One family had owned most of the land in the area and it remained undeveloped until that time. To finance construction of a substantial new cotton mill, a group of investors purchased a large Sand Hill parcel, subdivided it into fifty 50' x 100' lots, and sold them to individuals and speculative builders for development. Single-family housing was constructed on the lots (Violette 2001, 3). Development of adjoining lands within Sand Hill continued through the nineteenth century, mostly with single-family dwellings. These developments occurred prior to the arrival of the second significant wave of French Canadian immigration to Augusta in the very late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It was this latter group of immigrants that appear to introduce French-Canadian building characteristics to some of the newly constructed housing, especially late in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Their arrival and the demand for housing contributed to a building boom, with the scale and type of housing changing in this neighborhood. Increasing numbers of more modest single-family houses, such as bungalows and foursquares, were built. At the same time, an increasing amount of multifamily housing was constructed, most notably some French-Canadian three-deckers, mostly late in the first quarter of the twentieth century (Violette 2001).

The three- and six-unit multifamily housing erected in the Sand Hill neighborhood is similar to that found in Berlin. In contrast with Berlin, however, greater numbers were consequently built along a street, on adjoining lots. Consequently in some portions of Sand Hill, an entire streetscape consists of French-Canadian three-deckers. Examples include groups along Boothby Street and Northern Avenue. The land along what became Boothby Street was first subdivided in 1929 by the land's owner, Edwards Manufacturing Company.



Group of Blocks along Boothby Street (originally Royal Park), Augusta, Maine. Bing Maps.

⁴² For the most part, the interiors of these buildings have not been systematically examined so at this time little is known about them. Zachary Violette is beginning a study of French-Canadian housing in Maine (Violette 2014). Much of the following derives from his work to date (see bibliography).

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Construction appears to have occurred almost immediately making them slightly later than the majority of blocks built in Berlin (Violette 2001, 13-16; Augusta City Directory 1931, 246).





9 Boothby Street, Lagueux Block, built ca. 1930 at left and 7 Boothby Street, Soucie Block, built ca. 1930 at right. From Violette 2001, 14.⁴³



5 Boothby Street, Boucher Block, built ca. 1930. From Violette 2001, 14.

The buildings include not only variations like those built in Berlin in the 1910s and 1920s (7 and 9 Boothby) but also a variation similar to what was commonly built in Southbridge in those decades. In that variation, the front porch extends across only a portion of the façade, to a projecting square bay which contains an extra or larger room.

The interiors apparently resemble those such as Berlin's Boulay block, with an adjacent-room plan. This type of plan also was used in French-Canadian three-deckers in other Maine cities with significant French-Canadian populations such as Lewiston and Biddeford, and even in some single-family residences in some of these communities (Violette 2014).

The four earliest examples erected along Boothby Street (originally Royal Park), nos. 5, 7, 11, and 15 were all commissioned by French Canadians for their occupancy (Violette 2001, 13-16).

As in Berlin, beginning in the 1930s increasing numbers of large, older houses were subdivided into multifamily housing. The exterior alterations largely resembled those made in Berlin, such as the addition of porches and exterior stairs and dormers to increase light and ventilation for the top floor apartment (Violette 2001, 5).

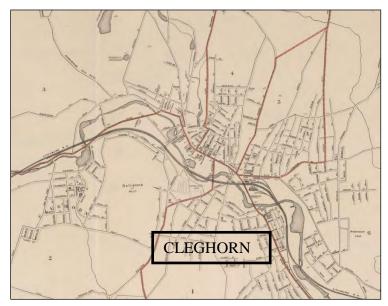
⁴³ These historic photographs in the Collection of the Kennebec Historical Society are 1938 WPA tax photographs of all Augusta properties at that time.

C. Fitchburg, New Bedford, and Southbridge, Massachusetts

Each of these three Massachusetts cities emerged as important industrial centers beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, a process that ultimately attracted large numbers of immigrants, especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century including many French Canadians, in addition to Irish, Italians, and Eastern Europeans.

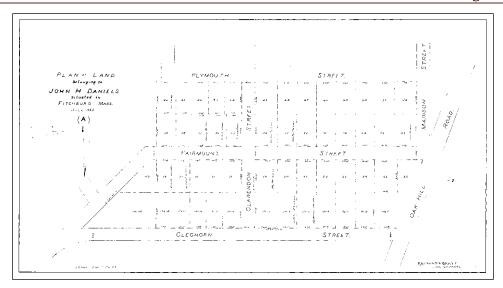
1. Original Land Purchase and Platting in Fitchburg, New Bedford, and Southbridge

The major period of growth in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, occurred primarily in the second half of the nineteenth century (Taylor 1980, 2). Its topography resembles Berlin's with a flat river valley and flanking hillsides. The largely commercial downtown core and mill sites were concentrated in the flat area along both sides of the Nashua River with residential streets radiating out from there, mostly in a grid pattern, lined with single and multifamily housing (Taylor 1980, 1). Like Berlin, different parts of the city are associated with different ethnic groups—French Canadians, Finnish, Irish, and Italians—but owing to its greater size those associations may have been more pronounced. Cleghorn, on the south side of the river, west of Rollstone Hill, is the neighborhood most associated with the French Canadians.



Fitchburg, Massachusetts, detail, Walker, Atlas of Massachusetts, 1891. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.

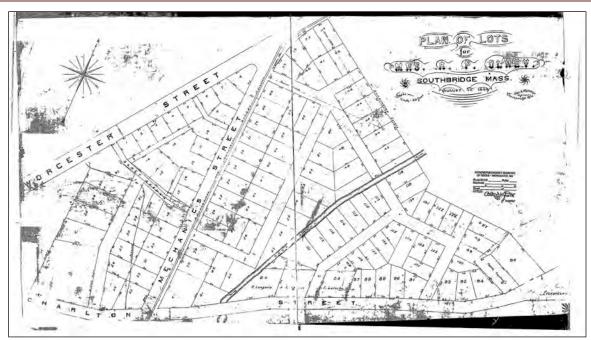
The area remained largely undeveloped until the mid-1880s (in part because of its distance from the city center) when two of the long-time land owners in the area (the Pratt family and John H. Daniels) subdivided it for development, after the establishment of several mills along the river.



Plan of Land belonging to John H. Daniels...July 1885. Northern Worcester County Registry of Deeds, Plan Book 1, Page 3.

They laid out the streets and made other improvements before selling the lots to individual property owners for development (History of Cleghorn District). The lots varied in size but typically measured 50' x 100'.

Southbridge's industrial history emerges in the 1830s in connection with textile manufacturing. Several villages grew up around the mill sites with some worker's housing erected by the mill and by private individuals on lots acquired from the mill (Ceccacci 1989, 26-27). With the establishment of the American Optical Company, the town underwent significant expansion beginning in the last several decades of the nineteenth century and continuing into the 1930s. Development ultimately merged the several villages with the construction of a variety of worker's housing (Ceccacci 1989, 31-32). The area known as the Flats, on the northerly side of the river opposite the Optical Company's Main Works was predominantly French Canadian. A large section of The Flats was platted in 1901, out of land owned by Mrs. A. P. Olney.



Plan of Lots for Mrs. A. P. Olney, Southbridge, Mass., August 15, 1901. Worcester County Registry of Deeds, Plan Book 24, Page 62.

Construction of the second Catholic parish Church, Sacred Heart, on Charlton Street in that neighborhood coincided with its rapid development in the early twentieth century (Ceccacci 1989, 7:12).

New Bedford began as a village of Dartmouth but in the late eighteenth century it was incorporated as its own polity. Over the next several decades, the village grew into a major whaling port, reaching its pinnacle with that industry in the 1850s. Over the middle decades of the nineteenth century, settlement extended out from the village center, mostly along streets generally following a grid pattern. During the height of the whaling industry, a second industry appeared on the New Bedford landscape, that of textile manufacturing. Multiple textile manufacturing corporate entities ultimately would significantly transform the land development process, acquiring and platting large parcels into largely urban residential blocks. In this community, more than in the two other cities in Massachusetts discussed here, the mills had a greater influence not only on the platting of the land but also its subsequent development, at least into the early twentieth century (Heath 2001, 33-57).

2. Dwelling Construction by Property Owners, Speculative Enterprises, and Company-Owned Land in Fitchburg, New Bedford, and Southbridge

In all three of these Massachusetts cities, dwelling construction in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was implemented by a diversity of participants, including individual property owners, local businessmen and entrepreneurs, builders and contractors, and mill ownership.

In Fitchburg, the builders were largely neighborhood contractors rather than speculative builders (Taylor 1980, 2).

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Fitchburg, looking south from the intersection of Pratt, Woodland, and Daniels streets towards 3 Pratt Street and 228 and 234 Daniels Street.

Google Earth Street View, September 2011.

Many of the French Canadians in that city chose to build two- or three-family housing because it provided an improved class of housing over tenements and also represented an affordable means to obtain it (Taylor 1980, 2).

In Southbridge, the mills did erect some workers housing, mostly in the nineteenth century, as in Berlin. A small amount of multifamily housing for the workers was also built in the early twentieth century by American Optical Company in scattered locations including a group of five three-story buildings on North Street and Windsor Court, a short street opposite the Flats on the south side of the river, west of the company's manufacturing buildings (Woodford and Ceccacci 1986; Ceccacci et. al., 1989; Sanborns 1918, 1925).



American Optical Company Housing, Windsor Court, Southbridge, Massachusetts, built ca. 1919. Collection of Jacob Edwards Library, Southbridge, Massachusetts, http://dlib.cwmars.org/cdm4/images/full_size/southbridge/121.jpg.

The atypical gable-front buildings included full-depth shed dormers and small recessed front porches at each story, providing each floor with some outdoor space. While the first-floor unit had its entry from the porch, the upper two units were accessed by a shared stairwell in the left front corner, entered by a doorway adjacent to the front porch. Each unit had five rooms and indoor plumbing, electricity, and steam heat. The company also erected housing on Maple Street for company foreman, and a group of three-family houses on Twinehurst, that also reflected progressive housing ideas (Woodford and Ceccacci 1986).

As in Berlin, however, the majority of the housing erected in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was built by individual property owners, often for their occupancy, or as rental property, or by small-scale speculative builders or building craftsmen. In contrast with Berlin, however, sections of a street block tended to be more homogenous, especially in the Flats neighborhood, with three-deckers, French-Canadian three-deckers, or double three-deckers lining the street. The more homogenous streetscape suggests either a single property owner for the group (as for a group on Green Avenue) or the same builder using the same form but for different property owners (as for those on Henry Street).

In Southbridge, as in Berlin, private individuals acquired lots and commissioned housing for themselves or as rental properties (Morrill 1987, 77). Alphonse Dupuis, a laborer and landscaper, owned and occupied a French-Canadian three-decker he had commissioned (33 Thomas Street) (Morrill 1987, 38). The Normandin family, who owned and occupied a small gable-front cottage on Charlton Street, built a French-Canadian three-decker on an adjoining lot, mostly for rental purposes (27 Charlton).

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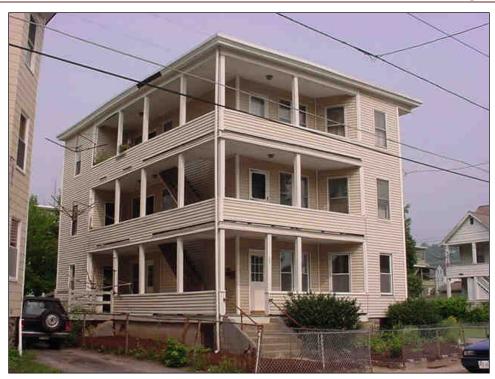


27 Charlton Street, Southbridge, Massachusetts. Photograph by Town of Southbridge Assessor.

For a time, however, the family lived in the three-decker and rented the house to a local doctor (Morrill 1987, 39).

By 1919 in Southbridge, of the nineteen individuals listed in the directory that year as carpenter, contractor, or builder, thirteen of the nineteen names were French (Morrill 1987, 32). Many of the builders of the French-Canadian three-deckers were first or second-generation French Canadians and typically residents of the neighborhood with the largest numbers of French Canadians. Though neither of the two well-known and active builders, Alexis Boyer, Sr. and F. X. Laliberte, lived in the Flats neighborhood they were well-known to all looking to build a house for themselves and their family or as a rental property (Morrill 1987, 34-36). French-Canadian three-deckers were erected generally on 40' x 100' lots that cost roughly \$100 while the building construction cost amounted to roughly \$3,000 (Morrill 1987, 28). Some of the builders, such as Alexis Boyer, Sr., also at times provided the financing for their construction, as long as the individual put some money down (Morrill 1987, 34). In a number of instances, the sons of the French-Canadian builders carried on their father's business, sometimes expanding into institutional and civic construction. They remained active in building construction well into the twentieth century, adapting to changing tastes and styles and scale of housing, both multifamily and single-family housing (Morrill 1987, 104, 106).

At the same time, in contrast with Berlin, some of the blocks were built as a group of rental properties, such as the group of five or six French-Canadian three-deckers on the westerly side of Green Avenue, in the Flats.



57 Green Avenue, Southbridge, Massachusetts, built 1924. Photograph by Town of Southbridge Assessor.

Commissioned by a local tailor who lived nearby on Charlton Street, the group was constructed by Arthur Boyer, active in the early twentieth century, whose family business is known to have built many of the French-Canadian three-deckers. Construction of the group began in the summer of 1924, with the framing up by the fall. The interiors were finished over the winter and by the following summer the group was ready for occupancy (Morrill 1987, 78). Boyer also erected most if not all of the nearly identical French-Canadian three-deckers along Henry Street, most of which date to the 1910s, and generally erected for two different owners.

⁴⁴ Arthur Boyer, whose father Alexis Boyer, Sr. had originally established the family building business was the contractor. Zenon Laliberte was the foreman. Laliberte worked with the Boyer family for many years building a range of houses throughout Southbridge in the early twentieth century (Morrill 1987).

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24 Henry Street, built ca. 1915, and 17 Henry Street, built ca. 1923, Southbridge, Massachusetts.

Photographs by Town of Southbridge Assessor.

A number of the Henry Street French-Canadian three-deckers built in the 1910s were commissioned by Philbert E. Quevillion (1883-1978), who also appears to have commissioned several French-Canadian three-deckers on Fairlawn Avenue. Napoleon Trembley (1884-1951), a plumber and steam fitter with a local hardware store, commissioned the last two built on the street (nos. 17 and 40). Trembley resided at 17 Henry Street from the time of its completion ca. 1923 until his death (Morrill 1987, 78-80; Bureau of the Census 1930, 1940; City Directories 1928-1949; Worcester County Registry of Deeds).

In New Bedford, into the third decade of the nineteenth century, the mills provided some of the housing for the workers. By the 1880s, the process began to change. Some mills, such as Howland Mills, continued to construct workers housing, incorporating progressive ideals about living space and streetscapes (Heath 2001, 94-114). At the same time, increasing numbers of land speculators, developers, and builders began to address the demand for housing (Heath 2001, 78). This resulted in streetscapes with mostly frame multifamilies including three-deckers that generally resembled each other but for minor variations in detailing or additional massing elements.

3. Use of Single vs. Multifamily Housing/Tenements (Owner Occupied vs. Rental) in Fitchburg and Southbridge⁴⁵

In general, the patterns of owner occupied vs. fully tenanted properties in Fitchburg and Southborough generally resemble those in Berlin. From small samples within the predominantly French-Canadian neighborhoods in those two cities, it appears that a majority of the multifamilies are owner-occupied, though further research is necessary to confirm that with a larger sample.

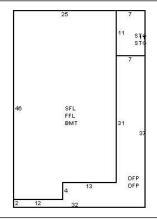
The Cleghorn neighborhood of Fitchburg is historically associated with the French-Canadian community. Though the neighborhood contains a large number of Blocks or French-Canadian three-deckers, it has single-family dwellings and purpose-built two-families with similar characteristics to the three-deckers, such as wrap-around porches and exterior stairs.

⁴⁵ No significant secondary sources exist that address this facet of housing in New Bedford in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Consequently that community is omitted from this section.

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A section of the Cleghorn district that includes a section of Woodland Street between Columbus Street and Pratt Road, several properties along Daniels Street between Woodland and Clarendon streets, and the block of Clarendon Street between Columbus and Daniels streets was investigated to determine owner-occupancy vs. rentals patterns in 1930 for the residential buildings in this area. The sample numbered nearly twenty-five buildings including fifteen blocks or French-Canadian three-deckers. In addition, the sample includes several purpose-built two-families (one, somewhat unusually, of brick construction) with characteristics associated with French-Canadian owners and builders.





129 Woodland Street, Fitchburg, Massachusetts. Photograph and sketch plan by Town of Southbridge Assessor.

Overall, three-quarters of the buildings in the sample were owner-occupied in 1930, including two-thirds of the blocks. A majority of the owners and occupants in the sample were first- or second-generation French Canadian (Fitchburg City Directory 1930, Bureau of the Census 1930).

Beginning in the 1890s an increasing number of immigrants and migrants settled in Southbridge, to work for the various manufacturers in town, the largest of which was the American Optical Company. By 1915, the company employed roughly 4,000 people, which by the late 1920s had increased to roughly 4,500 (Anonymous 1983, 11, 13). The largest immigrant group in the decades before and after the turn of the century was the French Canadians, with increasing numbers of Eastern Europeans settling in Southbridge by 1905 (Anonymous 1983, 10, 12).

This population influx created a demand for housing, leading to the construction of a mix of mostly wood-frame, single-family and multifamily housing. Dwellings were constructed along the streets, some newly plated from the land of former large landholdings that ultimately connected the two early villages on the southerly side of the river: "The Globe," to the west and "Centre Village" to the east, where American Optical Company had established most of its manufacturing facilities. The city's commercial center developed in the vicinity of Centre Village by the early twentieth century.

Many French Canadian, and to a lesser degree Polish, immigrants settled in the "The Flats" neighborhood on the north side of the river less than one-half mile from American Optical Company.



Bird's Eye View of the Flats, looking north. Mechanic Street in the center (top arrow) runs northerly-southerly; Charlton Street runs east-west in the lower third of the image. Bing Maps.

A large number of three-deckers and double three-deckers were constructed in the area.



260-262, 266-268, 270-272, and 276-278 Mechanic Street, built between 1911 and 1918 (Sanborns 1911, 1918). Photograph by Woodford, 1984.

They included French-Canadian three-deckers with wrap-around porches and exterior stairs such as were constructed in Berlin but also the more classic three-deckers and double three-deckers built in many urban New England neighborhoods near manufacturing companies. In general, the majority of the multifamily housing was owner-occupied, especially the French-Canadian three-deckers. Certainly other types, notably the double three-deckers were more likely to be fully tenanted (City Directory 1930; Bureau of the Census 1930). One example is this group of four identical six-unit buildings on Mechanic Street which was fully tenant occupied, mostly by French-Canadians.

Since at least the 1980s, those studying the house forms and styles in Southbridge, Massachusetts, have recognized the association between particular characteristics of some of the three-deckers erected in that city and the French-Canadian community. The typical French-Canadian three-deckers in Southbridge were largely constructed in the first three decades of the twentieth century.

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Just as in Berlin, these features included wrap-around porches with exterior stairs providing access to each flat and an adjacent- room plan on the interior.



65 Charlton Street, Southbridge, Massachusetts. In Morrill, 1987, 6.

The buildings (both French-Canadian three-deckers and double three-deckers) built in the first decade of the twentieth century, in contrast with those in Berlin, tended to employ more elaborate decorative detailing on the porches such as turned posts with scrolled brackets and brackets under the deep eaves (Anonymous 1983, Woodford 1984b, Ceccacci 1989, Morrill 1987). Thomas Street was lined with a mix of three-deckers and double three-deckers, all with wrap-around porches and decorative detailing common to the earlier examples. By the 1920s, however, the use of such elaborately decorative elements was less common and the buildings employed simpler balustrades and posts (Morrill 1987, 77). As in Berlin, the foundations tended to be of stone construction, though more frequently rubble stone than rough-cut stone. By the 1930s, the form was modified and builders omitted the porches along the side elevation as the need for such expansive open space was no longer present. Front porches continued to be built but the balustrades might be closed, so as to provide greater privacy for the users. In time, some residents enclosed the porches, just as in Berlin (Morrill 1987, 67).

In contrast with Berlin, Southbridge's streetscapes in the French-Canadian neighborhoods are more homogeneous, with greater numbers of identical or nearly identical buildings on adjoining lots, than in Berlin. For instance, the previously mentioned Henry Street is lined with nine identical or nearly identical French-Canadian three-deckers built roughly between 1915 and 1920 (Sanborns 1911, 1918, 1925).



23 Henry Street, built ca. 1915, for or by Albert N. Duquette. Photograph by Town of Southbridge Assessor.

The form of the ones on Henry Street, all but one of which were built in the 1910s, varies slightly from those common to Berlin (Sanborns 1911, 1918). The front porch spans two-thirds of the front to a projecting bay that might be square or in some cases polygonal, such as seen on 65 Charlton Street or 11 Henry Street. The wrap-around porch continues along a side elevation to the rear storage room. Additional entries include a front or formal one on the front elevation and a second one that leads directly into the kitchen. Well into the 1960s the majority of the Henry Street three-deckers remained owner-occupied, sometimes by the original owners (Southbridge Directory 1930, 1936, 1965).

Some residents ran small commercial establishments, housed in the block or another building on the property. The most northerly three-decker on Thomas Street (No. 41) included a family-run grocery store whose owners lived above in one of the flats. Another resident supplied coal and wood to the neighborhood, stored in an outbuilding on his property at the corner of Thomas and Charlton, (Morrill 1987, 38). As in Berlin, increasing numbers of residents built garages at the rear of their lots in the 1920s to house their cars (Morrill 1987, 38-39).

Some of the streets in the Flats, such as Fairlawn, more closely resemble The Avenues and the East Side in Berlin, with a mix of single-family and multifamily housing. For instance, Fairlawn Avenue and Harrington Street, both relatively short streets were gradually developed beginning after ca. 1900. The housing comprises single-family, two-family, and French-Canadian three-deckers, including one with a hip roof rather than a flat roof, and French-Canadian double three-deckers. By 1911, Fairlawn Avenue had two gable-roof two-families, a gable-front single-family house, and a double three-decker while Harrington had a double three-decker, a two-decker, and two one-and-a-half-story single-family houses (Sanborn 1911; Southbridge Assessor records). By 1918, several more French-Canadian three-deckers had been built along Fairlawn Avenue but both

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streets retained a number of undeveloped lots until after the mid-1920s (Sanborns 1918, 1925). As in Berlin's French-Canadian neighborhoods, as of 1930, the majority of the buildings on these two streets were owner-occupied though several were fully tenanted (City Directory 1930; Bureau of the Census 1930).

As in Berlin, residents of Southbridge might subdivided an existing single-family into two flats or expand a two-family by finishing the attic story into a new flat, sometimes accessed by exterior stairs.



269 Mechanic Street, Southbridge, Massachusetts. Photograph by Town of Southbridge Assessor.



731-733 First Avenue, Berlin, New Hampshire, altered ca. 1930. Photograph by Preservation Company, 2008.

Both of the above buildings were built as two-family houses and both were converted to three-families with the finishing of the third floor into a flat. While the Berlin example made the added flat accessible by exterior stairs from an added or expanded porch, the Southbridge example appears to have retained the interior stairwell for each flat but added a third-story porch to provide that flat with some outdoor space (Morrill 1987, 64-65). There are numerous examples throughout the more densely settled sections of Southbridge, especially in the Flats but also in the area that developed between the two original villages, where purpose-built single- or two-family houses have been modified to include additional rental units (and thus additional rental income), though often times within the existing building footprint. In some instances, the gable roof might be raised to a flat roof to provide more head room for the new third-floor apartments (Morrill 1987, 89-90).

As in other communities with significant French-Canadian populations, the block represented an important strategy for not only family income but also sociability, where family was nearby to help with child-rearing and to celebrate important occasions. At the same time each family group had their own living quarters. Different generations of the same family or extended members of a family might live in the same building. The first-floor might be occupied by the parents, with a married child on the floor above. The top unit might be rented to a cousin or other family member (Morrill 1987, 6, 35-36). In general, it appears that the individual flats did not also house non-family-member boarders (Bureau of the Census 1930).

The French-Canadian three-decker in Southbridge represented primarily an economic strategy, allowing for ownership of one's own home by providing income to offset the mortgage payments, as was the case not only in Berlin but in many New England communities with three-deckers such as Boston (Morrill 1987, 9; Jacobsohn 2004). The structure itself also represented a form of

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economy with three residential units sharing a foundation and roof and occupying a single lot with light and air on all sides of the building (Morrill 1987, 11). This was the case for the Alphonse Dupuis three-decker. In the first decade of the twentieth century, Dupuis commissioned a French-Canadian three decker (33 Thomas Street) for his family's occupancy.



33 Thomas Street, Dupuis Three-Decker, built ca. 1905. The decorative detailing is no longer extant. In Morrill 1987, 38.

Between the time of the building's completion and the 1990s, it was owned by and home to three generations of the Dupuis family (Morrill 1987, 37). When Dupuis' two sons inherited the three-decker, they were living in it with their young families. Subsequently one son bought out the other and he eventually passed it along to his daughter in the mid-1950s, where she lived after her marriage for the remainder of her life. Over the course of her lifetime, the daughter moved from the third floor where she lived as a child to the second floor and ultimately to the first floor, after she acquired the property. In addition, at times one or two of the apartments might be occupied by recently married family members who were saving money to acquire their own home (Morrill 1987, 9, 43).

As in Berlin, residents often stayed in the same neighborhood for much of their lives, even when they constructed a new building. The Normandin and Dupuis/Gauthier families did this. As some of the family members noted, doing so meant friends and family remained close by, allowing for ease of access and shared responsibilities such as child-care. In addition, many of the first generation resided in their original housing even when they built additional rental properties (Morrill 1987, 39-40, 47).

Familial and cultural connections played an important role in the meaning of this type of housing. The presence of the building's owner living in the building modified the traditional relationship between tenants and landlord. Oftentimes the landlord or resident owner was a family member or else someone known to the tenants through church or work. Consequently the relationships were

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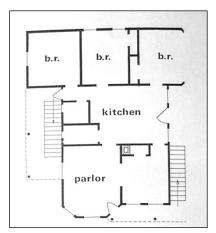
more than business ones but also social and cultural, where all often shared values about the meaning of home (Morrill 1987, 44-46).

4. Use of Interior and Exterior Spaces By Residents in Fitchburg, New Bedford, and Southbridge

Some general research has been done on the use of interior and exterior spaces in three-deckers in these three Massachusetts cities. In Fitchburg, plans for the blocks or three-deckers generally resembled that commonly found in Berlin blocks, with the adjacent-room plan commonly employed, but with some local variation.



3 Pratt Street, Fitchburg, Massachusetts. Photograph by City of Fitchburg Assessor.



Plan, 3 Pratt Street. In Taylor 1980, 33.

The Pratt Street example above differs from Berlin examples in two ways. It includes a bowed bay on the front room, such as is often found on the classic New England three-decker. The Pratt Street building also features not only an entry into the kitchen but also a separate entry from the front porch into the front room plus a third entry, from the shallower side porch into a small back hall adjacent to one of the bedrooms. The presence of these two additional entries would have allowed those rooms to be rented, providing a separate entry for the boarder(s). It is possible, however, they may be later alterations as in 1930 and 1940 each flat was occupied only by a single family, though sometimes including adult children (Bureau of the Census 1930, 1940). The entry directly into the front room could also serve as the one used for formal occasions taking place in the front room if it was used more as a sitting room or parlor. As with much of Berlin's housing with porches and exterior stairs, some of the porches in Fitchburg have also been enclosed, either fully to create new or expanded rooms, or with windows to provide three-season space.

In New Bedford by the middle decades of the twentieth century, large numbers of residents lived in three-deckers. In contrast with the French-Canadian three-decker, the New Bedford three-deckers largely feature a linear plan, with a shared entry on the façade that led to a shared stairwell leading to the entries to each of the flats. The rooms were arrayed in a linear fashion from front to back, sometimes with a short hall in the center, so that one did not have to pass through one room to get to another. Kingston Heath has vividly described the changing use of interior and exterior spaces in the three-decker rented by his grandparents for much of their married life (Heath 2001, 6-23). For much of the time during their occupancy a boarder (a family member) rented the front bedroom, as it had its own entrance from the front stairwell. The original formal dining room was converted to a sitting room/"eating room" that for a time was also the sleeping room for another

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family member. The front parlor was used for formal occasions such as communions, as it was accessible from the front stairs. On a daily basis the family and most visitors used the rear entrance; the front was used only infrequently or only by the boarder. The back porch or piazza, as it was called, provided opportunities for socializing, for watching children playing in the backyard, and as an anchor for hanging laundry, that was hung on a line suspended between it and a pole in the yard (Heath 2001, 6-23). As in Berlin, children not only shared rooms but also shared a bed. This was particularly valuable in the winter time if the flat's only source of heat was in one room (Heath 2001, 16; Kovalik 2009).

In New Bedford, as in most densely developed urban areas, the street was a transitional space, used by many not just for moving through the neighborhood but also as a place for children to play. Basketball was played in the streets, with peach baskets affixed to phone poles serving as hoops (Heath 2001, 9). It was also a place for neighbors to interact with each other, whether passing by each other, or chatting with friends or neighbors out on their porches. Porches allowed for watching activities out on the street but also as a place that could be watched over from inside the flat—whether children playing or couples courting (Heath 2001, 11).

In Southbridge, the density of the buildings along the street helped define and reinforce social relations with the porches playing a major role in this process. They contributed to community interaction, at least in the days when residents regularly walked to places rather than traveled in an automobile (Morrill 1987. 20, 69).



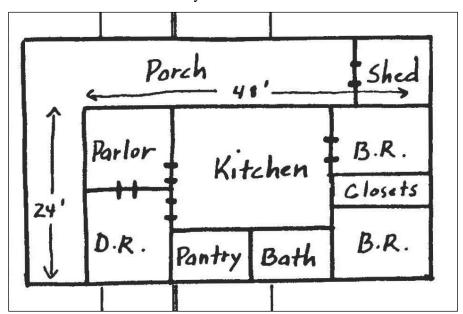
Three-deckers and double three-deckers, Thomas Street, Southbridge, Massachusetts. In Morrill 1987, 2.

The porches, while serving as a means of ingress and egress were also used for hanging laundry to dry (in part due to the absence of back yards, as in New Bedford) but also as a place for socializing with ones neighbors and individuals passing on the street. Morrill, in her discussion of porches, found no conclusive evidence, based on oral history for the popularity of the wrap-around porches and exteriors. Her discussion, based on interviews with local residents, included the negative and positive elements. Their inconvenient and even costly features included exposure to

the elements and need to be regularly painted and kept clear of snow and ice. Positive features included providing a space for controlled meetings with one's neighbors, unlike with interior stairwells, and outdoor space in close proximity to the point entry into one's home. They served as a convenient and accessible place to sit outside and relax on a pleasant afternoon and as a controlled play area for children, as in Berlin (Morrill 1987, 64-66). The stairs also provided individualized access to each apartment and thus a sense of independence and separation for the residents of each of the flats (Morrill 1987, 76).

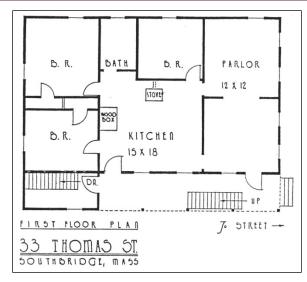
In Southbridge, the porches included driers attached to the porches, though they turned out to be impractical. These were subsequently replaced with swing-out types. In the early part of the twentieth century, the adjoining storage space at the end of the porch might be used to store the wash tub, ringer, and ironing board, all of which might be used out on the porch in good weather. The space also might be used for storing coal and wood (Morrill 1987, 64-66).

The plan of many of Southbridge's three-decker blocks resembles that found in many of Berlin's examples, as shown in this sketch of one by a local builder:



Sketch of standard French-Canadian three-decker plan built in Southbridge, Massachusetts, as drawn by builder Oswald Laliberte. In Morrill, 1987, 18.

As in Berlin, families tended to spend much of their time in the kitchen, the main social space, in part because it tended to be where the woodstove, the primary heat source, was located (Morrill 1987, 40).



33 Thomas Street, Southbridge, Massachusetts. Sketch by A. Taylor. In Morrill, 1987, 41)

Often times the sink and iceboxes were located in the pantry, a walk-in space that provided the cook an area to "prepare meals away from the noise and dust of the 'family room'" (Morrill, 1987, 43).

As in Berlin, in some housing, the parents would occupy the "extra room" while the children occupied the bedrooms (Morrill 1987, 90). Unlike in Berlin, where many residents have enclosed their front and side porches, that is less the case in Southbridge, at least with the two-family houses. Some residents have enclosed the front porch but left the side porch with the stairs open (Morrill 1987, 95).

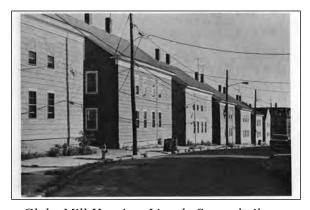
D. Woonsocket, Rhode Island

Woonsocket, the only urban area in northern Rhode Island, was first developed as a significant industrial center in the early nineteenth century. As in numerous New England towns and cities, development initially was scattered between several villages; only later in the century did the villages coalesce into a single urban area (RIHPC 1976, 4, 9-10). "By 1842 there were twenty mills in Woonsocket, most producing cotton fabrics" (RIHPC 1976, 10). The topography is varied but not with high elevations present in Berlin (RIHPC 1976, 4).

In Woonsocket, land was platted at different times, in response to increased need for housing as the mills developed. By the mid-nineteenth century, ownership included individual property owners, some whose families had owned the land for more than one generation, and mill owners who had acquired land around their mills in anticipation of constructing housing for the mill workers (RIHPC 1976, 17). In addition, mill owners subdivided the land and sold off lots. This is what Ariel Ballou did in the 1880s (RIHPC 1976, 33).

The patterns identified in Berlin for its most densely developed central neighborhoods are present in some Woonsocket, Rhode Island, neighborhoods, such as Constitution Hill which was developed beginning in the late nineteenth century. Many of its original residents were French Canadians, employed in the mills or as laborers (RIHPC 1976, 32). The three-deckers erected by the individual property owners were typically for their occupancy, with the other units providing rental income. Oftentimes family members rented one or two of the flats (RIHPC 1976, 32-33, 39). In some instances, the individual constructed two identical buildings next to each other, or built a second one several years after the first. As in Berlin, some residents developed rental properties for investment purposes (RIHPC 1976, 33).

During the middle decades of the nineteenth century, housing ranged from single-family houses to eight-family tenements generally in the form of two-story side-gable buildings (RIHPC 1976, 14, 23). Mill owners built some of the multifamily housing, which tended to be identical in form and character.



Globe Mill Housing, Lincoln Street, built ca. 1865, Woonsocket, Rhode Island. In RIHPC 1976, 15.



Globe Mill Housing, Lincoln Street, Woonsocket, Rhode Island. http://www.woonsocket.org/lincoln.html.

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Individuals also built multifamily housing, ranging in scale from two-families to eight-unit buildings, especially after the Civil War period. Large, eight-unit buildings were rarely built in Berlin, or at least not in such quantities. In addition, by the later nineteenth century, as in Berlin, some of Woonsocket's more successful residents built large, single-family houses in the then popular Queen Anne style. At the same time, many of the multifamily residences were built by individual property owners (RIHPC 1976, 31-32). Because the development predates by less than a decade the great influx of French-Canadians, however, they were predominantly built by Irish immigrants, though soon occupied by French-Canadians within ten years of their construction (RIHPC 1976, 32). Though French Canadians had been recruited to work in the mills as early as the 1840s, the greatest influx only began after the Civil War (RIHPC 1976, 24; http://www.woonsocket.org). By 1900, sixty percent of the city's population was French Canadian, who most worked in the textile mills (http://www.woonsocket.org). The overwhelming multifamily type constructed in Woonsocket was the three-decker (http://www.woonsocket.org).

In Woonsocket, the forms and plans of the multifamily housing appear to be more characteristic of housing found in many New England industrial towns and generally lack the features common to blocks or the French-Canadian three-decker. The plans of the gable-front two families (with a rear ell with two-story porches) built in the 1880s or early 1890s consist of a standardized floor plan: side entry and stair hall, parlor, dining room, kitchen, pantry, and two bedrooms per floor (RIHPC 1976: 33). One possible exception is a two-and-a-half story American Foursquare twofamily on Olo Street in the Constitution Hill neighborhood, an area with a sizable French-Canadian population in the late nineteenth century who played a significant role in its development (RIHPC 1976: 33). In the 1910s and 1920s, the period contemporary with the greatest amount of multifamily residential development in Berlin, the three-decker was the most commonly built type in Woonsocket, even by French-Canadian builders. In terms of occupancy, they were typically owner-occupied and the front room, designed as a parlor, was often used as a bedroom (RIHPC 1976: 39). There may be a small number of French-Canadian three-deckers in Woonsocket, such as 48 Chester Street, but not in the numbers found in Berlin, or Fitchburg and Southbridge, Massachusetts, or in Augusta, Maine. Aside from the three-story, wrap-around porch of the mature phase of Berlin blocks, however, they appear to have slightly different characteristics.



48 Chester Street, Woonsocket, Rhode Island. Google Maps Street View.

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In particular, exterior stairs are largely absent; instead each flat is accessed by an interior stairwell. The plan appears to resemble a New England three-decker rather than the adjacent-room plan found in the Berlin blocks. The interior plans, however, of these and other Woonsocket multifamilies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century remain largely unexamined.

Even when the builder is known to be French Canadian or of French-Canadian descent, they appear to ostensibly use the New England three-decker plan, with the exception of a tier of side rather than rear porches:



73-75 Chester Street, Woonsocket, Rhode Island. Google Maps Street View.

For instance, Jean-Baptiste Lagace built this elaborate concrete-block three-family or three-decker for his daughter and son-in-law in the late 1910s (RIHPC 1976, 40).

IV. Conclusion

The vernacular residential landscape of Berlin, New Hampshire, one of the largest wood pulp and paper manufacturing cities in New England in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, is both exceptional and representative when compared with other industrial cities in New England during the same time period. Local, regional, national and even international conditions informed the multiple actions of the developers, builders, building craftsmen, property owners, businessmen, and tenants who created Berlin's residential built environment.

This study showed that the patterns of development, housing, and occupancy seen in the Avenues generally resemble those in Berlin's other central neighborhoods developed in the 1890s and first two decades of the twentieth century. While the different Berlin neighborhoods came to be loosely associated with specific immigrant groups it was never to the point of exclusion of others. The kinds of participants, the methods of platting the land, the scale of building types and forms and placement on the lots, and the interior and exterior use of space were generally similar. Slight differences in terms of percentages of house forms or ownership vs. tenancy rates or ethnic background varied between the central neighborhoods.

The neighborhoods located in the historic cores of Berlin Mills Village and Berlin Falls Village, whose development generally predated the Avenues, vary the most from the patterns found in the Avenues. Not only was the development process less formalized but it was comprised initially of differently scaled vernacular housing erected on differently sized lots by individual property owners, some of whom erected groups of buildings for speculative purposes or as tenements for rental purposes. Those areas also included the small amount of corporate housing erected in Berlin, be it by the paper mills or the Catholic Church.

In Berlin's central neighborhoods local participants predominated in the platting and building processes. Local land development companies established by local businessmen or by the paper mills platted the large amounts of previously undeveloped land beyond the two historic village cores. Ownership remained local with either the building owner-occupied or owned by someone often residing nearby in the same neighborhood. The building craftsmen often resided in the neighborhoods where they had their greatest number of commissions.

Though the participants were overwhelmingly local, the methods of platting the land and constructing the residences, and the patterns of occupancy were a greater mix of local, regional, and even national patterns. By the late nineteenth century, land development methods had been standardized to a large extent. The property owners, often land development companies, commissioned land surveyors to draw plats illustrating the streets, blocks, and the lots to be sold for development. It varied regionally as to whether the land development companies improved the land prior to its sale, by clearing and leveling the lots and paving the streets. In Berlin, the companies may have done some improvements but the city in the end paved the streets. The plans overwhelmingly featured a grid pattern of streets and blocks subdivided into mostly equally sized lots with only rare concessions to geography. Only in the second half of the twentieth century did one or two land development companies or developers employ slightly curvilinear street patterns.

The extensive development of the vernacular residential landscape in a fairly concentrated period overlapped with a period of a change in the processes of housing construction along with a transformation of residential spaces to a more open interior plan. Building materials including framing members, decorative trim, window types were increasingly mass manufactured rather than hand-crafted and some of these products were manufactured in Berlin's lumber mills.

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Consequently, local builders, craftsmen, and residents had ready access to the latest stylistic details being produced in New Hampshire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The majority of housing was built by individuals for their occupancy or for their ownership as rental property. The comparatively small amount of multiple rental properties and speculative development by local businessmen and building craftsmen was largely concentrated in the 1890s because of the great demand for housing in those years. Strategies found in many New England urban communities with significant immigrant working populations, such as building a multifamily to not only bring in additional income but also provide affordable housing for the next generation as they established themselves, are evident in the Avenues and other Berlin neighborhoods. Such housing often involved several generations living under one roof, though within separate living units.

With the notable exception of the block, the building forms largely resemble those built in urban and industrial New England cities and towns in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The demand for housing, be it single-family or multifamily, was almost entirely for free-standing, wood-frame buildings on individual lots and predominantly developed individually. Company-built housing was the exception in Berlin. Instead the housing was a product of the capitalist economy where property owners, building craftsmen, and developers were the primary participants. As a result, the development of the neighborhoods over those decades and by many individuals and entities helped create diverse rather than repetitive streetscapes within each neighborhood.

Much of the housing stock in Berlin features plans with six or seven rooms originally in a living unit, be it single-family housing or multifamily. The main room usage often consisted of a kitchen, used not only for food preparation and as the dining space but also as the primary social and gathering space, several bedrooms, and possibly a living room or sitting room that at times was converted to an additional bedroom. Usage was fluid over time for some of the rooms, depending on family size and its change over time. Two basic plans predominated in Berlin housing. While many of the residential plans resembled those common to New England housing such as the linear plan (for side-hall buildings) or a center hall flanked by rooms, some builders and owners selected the adjacent-room plan. This plan with the main entry into the kitchen is suggestive of the French-Canadian influence, as is the other distinctive local feature, the exterior stair. Construction of blocks (which feature the adjacent-room plan), a variant of New England three-deckers and Quebec triplexes, has strong associations with the French-Canadian immigrant community, built in response to the significant demand for housing especially in the 1910s and 1920s. The fluidity of room usage, however, and changes over time is characteristic of much New England multifamily housing in industrial cities and towns.

A number of other patterns particular to Berlin have been identified for all of the Berlin's neighborhoods and its housing though some are also present in many New England industrial towns and cities in the same period with comparable neighborhoods. Multi-generational ownership and occupancy is common in the various neighborhoods, as is ownership of several lots in close proximity by different generations, either sequentially or concurrently. In many instances, family members tended to reside near each other. If an individual developed an additional parcel with housing it was frequently close to his or her place of residence. The subdivision of single-family and two-family houses is common in the more densely settled neighborhoods such as the Avenues/Berlin Heights Historic District, the East Side, the Streets, and Burgess School/Notre Dame High School areas. Multiple family members tended to be employed in the wood pulp and

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paper mills, especially in the late nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth century, during Berlin's greatest period of residential development.

In the six New England communities selected for comparison purposes the patterns of land development, building construction, residential building types and forms, ownership and occupancy, and interior and exterior space usage featured local variations, though in general they shared some characteristics with Berlin's patterns. In Southbridge, Massachusetts, where the area was largely settled in the late nineteenth century by a significant percentage of French Canadian immigrants, and to a lesser degree in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, the multi-family buildings blend New England and French-Canadian features and plans, as in Berlin. By contrast, in Manchester, New Hampshire, the land was platted by the mills and the business of builders and craftsmen was well established by the late nineteenth century, limiting access to newly arrived immigrants with those skills. As a result the buildings strongly resemble those seen in most New England towns and cities, with only minimal incorporation of features present in other building cultures. The single-family and multifamily house forms and their placement on individual lots generally resembled those in Berlin. The one exception is the Block which is present in only a few other New England cities and towns, though similarly associated with the French-Canadian immigrant community, but they tend to be constructed in greater numbers and in rows. In places such as Manchester, New Hampshire and Bedford, Massachusetts, where a significant group of building craftsmen was well-established and the industry was older, this form was rare, though some facets of it were incorporated into the characteristic three-decker constructed in Manchester. The specifics of occupancy and usage of interior and exterior spaces by residents vary from household to household and from community to community. Multiple factors, including income levels, ethnic heritage, and family size shape the patterns of ownership, occupancy, and usage. As in Berlin, each of the communities exhibit patterns that reflect local, regional, national, and even international conditions and characteristics.

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