Chapter 2

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

A. OVERVIEW: THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF PATERSON'S URBAN ARCHITECTURE AND LANDSCAPE

The City of Paterson is located in southeastern Passaic County with most of its area south of a great bend in the Passaic River. This bend occurs where the Passaic cuts through the First Watchung Mountain, also known locally as Garrett Mountain, a basaltic ridge stretching some 48 miles southwest-to-northeast across northern New Jersey. In Paterson, the initially northeasterly flowing Passaic, trapped west of the mountain, passes through the ridge and over the 77-foot-high Great Falls before turning southeast, flowing more gently and heading for tidewater, ultimately emptying into Newark Bay. Downtown Paterson, including the Dublin neighborhood, is located on the lower eastern slope of Garrett Mountain between the ridge and the river. Underlying this slope are layers of tilted sandstone and shale. The reddish-brown sandstone, commonly called brownstone, was quarried and used as a building material. In the Dublin neighborhood, the most prominent use of brownstone is St. John's Roman Catholic Cathedral, dedicated in 1870.[1]

The development of Paterson as a city is usually dated from 1791 when "Paterson town" was chartered by the State of New Jersey as a planned manufacturing center under the auspices of the Society for the Establishment of Useful Manufactures (S.U.M.). The S.U.M. was attracted to the Great Falls as a virtually unlimited source of waterpower for energizing the new technology of textile mills. Up to that time, the Great Falls had been primarily thought of as a natural attraction, capturing the attention of tourists, including Alexander Hamilton who visited the falls during the American Revolution in July 1778 in company of General George Washington. Some 13 years later, Hamilton, by now U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, was among the driving forces behind the establishment of the S.U.M. Unusual for its time, the S.U.M. was a state-chartered corporation for manufacturing specifically exempt from county and local taxes.[2]

The area around the Great Falls prior to the creation of Paterson was rural, agrarian and sparsely populated. The Great Falls had been in the northern part of Acquackanonk Township in Essex County since the establishment of the township in 1693.[3] A large part of the township's colonial population was Dutch or of Dutch descent, although there were also English and a smattering of Scots-Irish. Rural Acquackanonk prior to the S.U.M. is illustrated by two maps produced during the American Revolution, Martin's *Plan General des Operations de L'Armee Britannique* of 1779 (Figure 2.1) and Hills's *A Sketch of the Northern Parts of New Jersey* of 1781 (Figure 2.2). Both illustrate the prominent geographical features of Paterson – the First Watchung Mountain, the bend in the Passaic River, the location of the Great Falls – as well as a pattern of early roads. Prominent in Paterson is the Y-intersection of two roads, both headed from their intersection north to crossings of the Passaic. The western of the roads corresponds with modern-day Main Street, then the main road from Acquackonank village (later City of Passaic) to Pompton, passing along the east side of what would eventually become the South Dublin neighborhood. The more easterly road corresponds roughly with modern-day Madison Avenue.[4]

The history of Paterson's early industrial development has been documented elsewhere.[5] The S.U.M.'s plans were for their time technologically ambitious

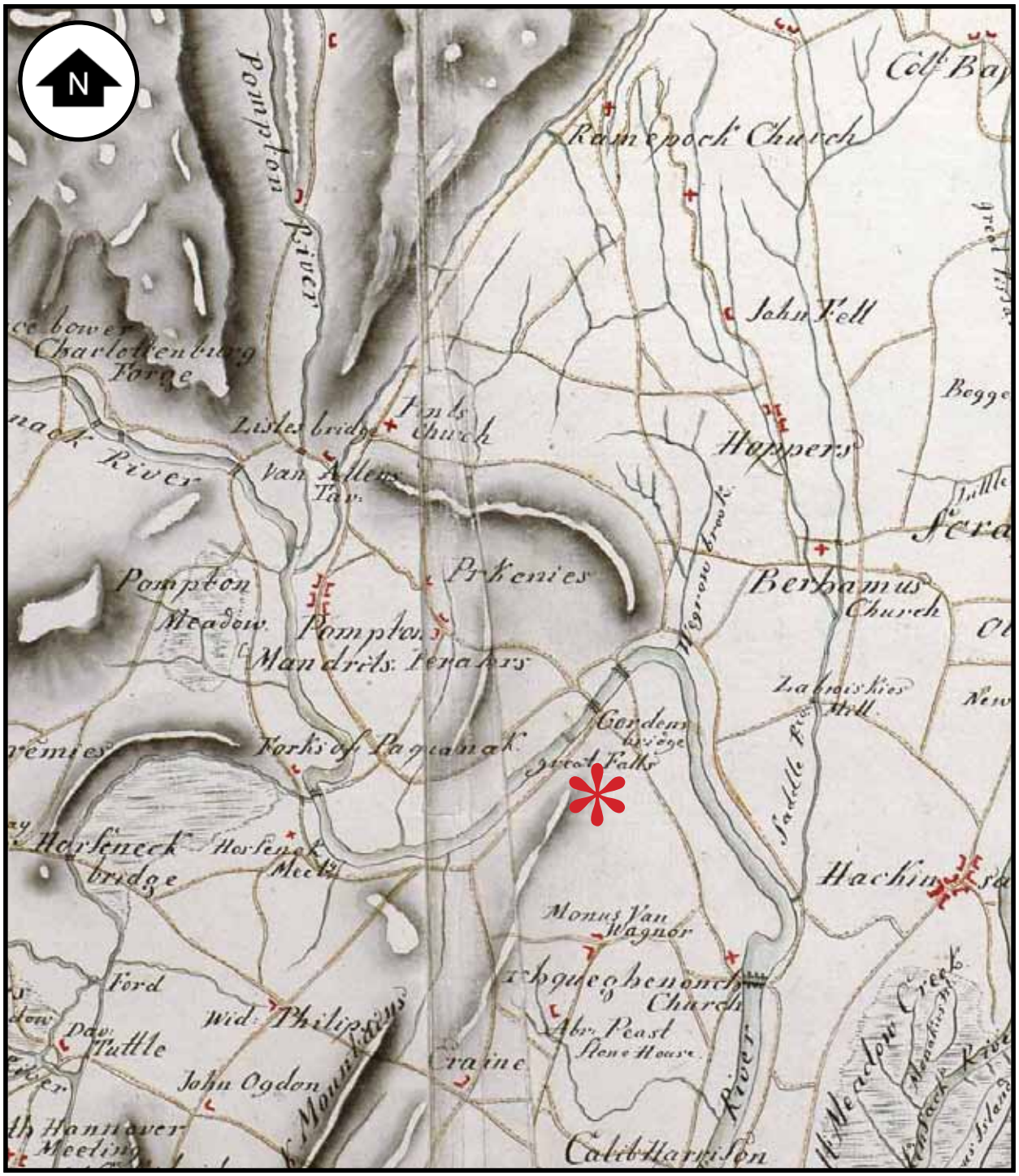


Figure 2.1. Martin, Capitaine. Plan General des Operations de L'Armée Britannique contre les Rebelles dans L'Amerique depuis L'Arrivée des Troupes Hessoises. Project site indicated with an asterisk. 1779. Scale: 1 inch = 3 miles (approximately).

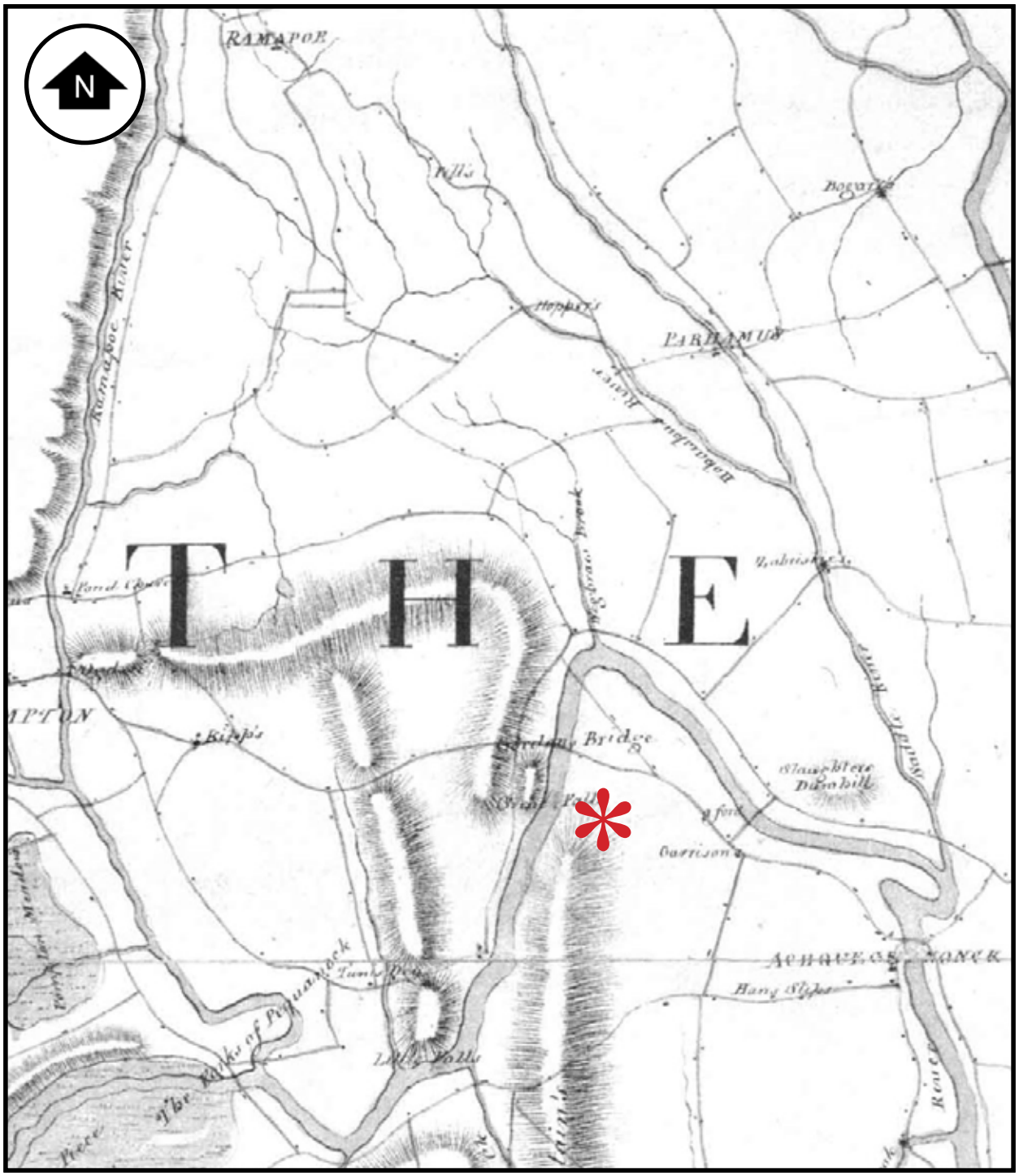


Figure 2.2. Hills, John. A Sketch of the Northern Parts of New Jersey. 1781. Project site indicated with an asterisk. Scale: 1 inch = 2 miles (approximately). Source: Guthorn 1976.

and capital-intensive, intended to bring into operation one of America's earliest cotton spinning mills. The S.U.M. purchased the land that what would support downtown Paterson, started development of a planned industrial city, and then found that it had overextended its finances, in part due to mismanagement and in part due to underestimating costs. In 1797, the S.U.M. ceased cotton production for the first of several times and then limped along until 1807 when the cotton mill burned leaving the organization with no income and relatively little in the way of financial assets. At this juncture, Roswell Colt, who had lived in Paterson in the company of his father, Peter Colt, the S.U.M.'s superintendent of works, during the mid-1790s, began buying up S.U.M. shares at discount prices. Industrial growth was revived under the younger Colt's guidance, in large part stimulated by the Embargo Act of 1807 and the War of 1812, which limited competition from British textiles. Colt reinvigorated industrial Paterson, expanded the raceway system and attracted investors in more than a dozen new mills by leasing water rights at generous terms. Colt also sold off lots to prospective residents – mill owners and workers alike – mostly in an area that was soon known as Paterson's Dublin neighborhood. By the early 1830s, Paterson had grown into an industrial town with a population of over 9,000.[6]

Transportation improvements also aided Paterson's growth while shaping the landscape around the Dublin neighborhood. In 1816, the Paterson and Hamburg Turnpike Company extended its route southeastward from Paterson to Hoboken via a wood-plank road following the modern-day route of Main Street in Paterson. This road was credited with reducing the travel time of freight between Paterson and New York harbor from two days to one day.[7] The turnpike was followed a decade later by the Morris Canal, completed in 1829 between Phillipsburg, New Jersey on the Delaware River and Newark, and eventually extended in the 1830s to Jersey City and the west side of New York Harbor. In Paterson, the canal followed a level skirting Garrett Mountain with the canal's earthen berm establishing what would become Dublin's southern edge. The Watson *Map of the State of New Jersey* of 1812 (Figure 2.3) and the Gordon *Map of the State of New Jersey* of 1833 (Figure 2.4) illustrate the transportation changes that occurred during the time in which Paterson emerged from nascent industrial village into a full-fledged and vibrant industrial town on its way to becoming a leading American city. In 1851, a new charter elevated Paterson from the status of town to that of city, and by 1860 the city's population was almost 20,000, making it the second most populous city in New Jersey (only behind Jersey City with a population of 29,000) and the forty-sixth most populous city in the United States.[8]

The spectacular growth of Paterson placed pressure on the community's physical infrastructure. Historians have placed the greatest emphasis on the expansion of the mills. Naturally, industrial activities concentrated along the raceways near the Great Falls since the mills were absolutely reliant on falling water to power machinery. Mill architecture took on a characteristic form literally driven by the demands of producing and distributing mechanical energy. The distinctive, heavily built, multi-story, timber-framed, masonry-walled mills centered on waterwheels that delivered power to rows of machines connected by vertical and horizontal shafts, gears and pulleys. The most efficient means to deliver power was upward and then down the long axes of the mills' floors, resulting in tall, long and relatively thin buildings. The S.U.M. and Roswell Colt paid particular attention to mill architecture and the layout of the raceways, establishing mill "leases" logically arranged along a three-tier raceway system. The industrial architecture and landscape at the heart of the Paterson city plan was not left to chance and is a hallmark of Paterson's industrial heritage.[9]

There has been somewhat less historical attention paid to how the S.U.M. and Colt planned for the development of the rest of Paterson to support the

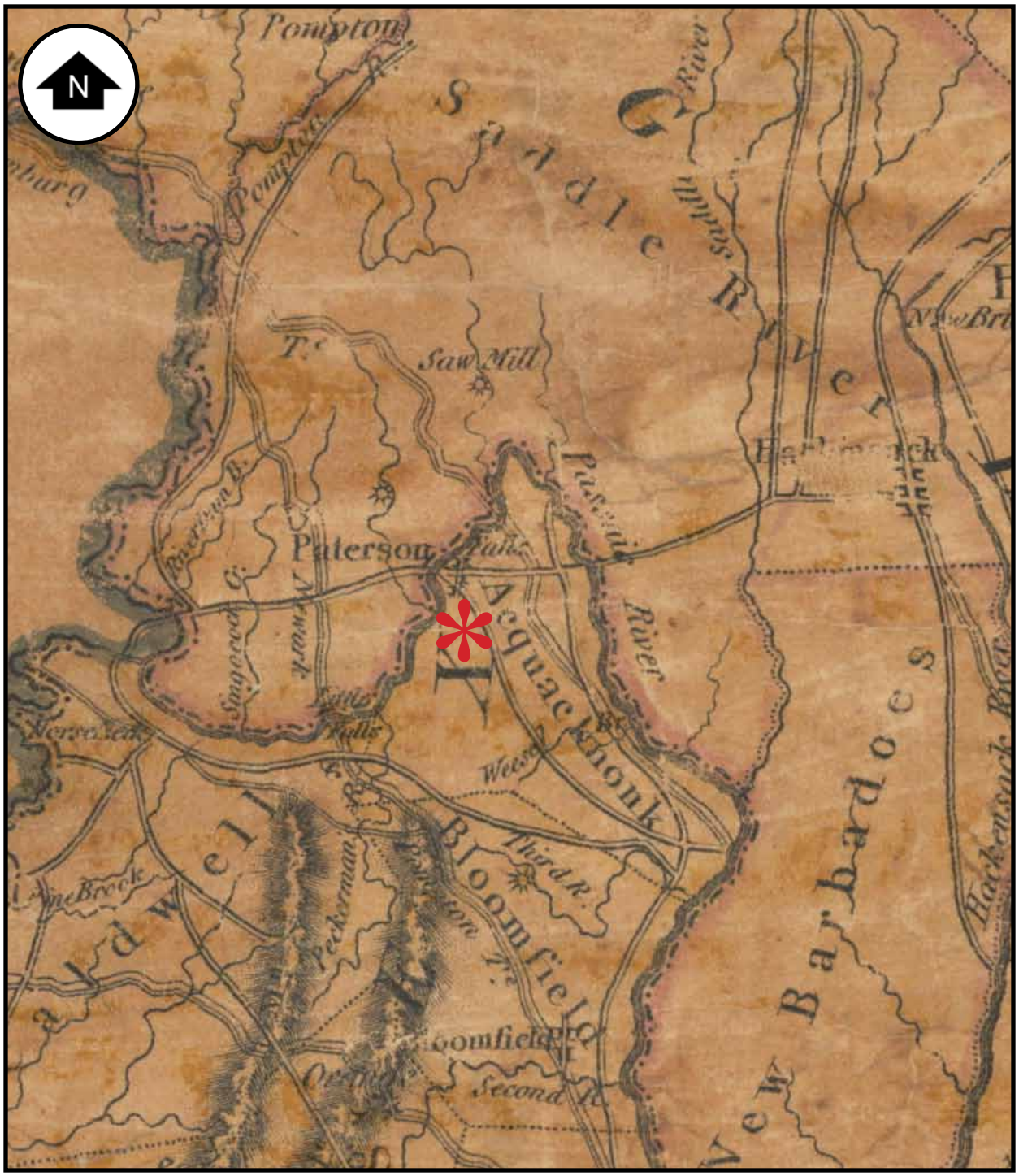


Figure 2.3. Watson, William. *A Map of the State of New Jersey* (detail). 1812. Project site indicated with an asterisk. Scale: 1 inch = 2 miles (approximately).

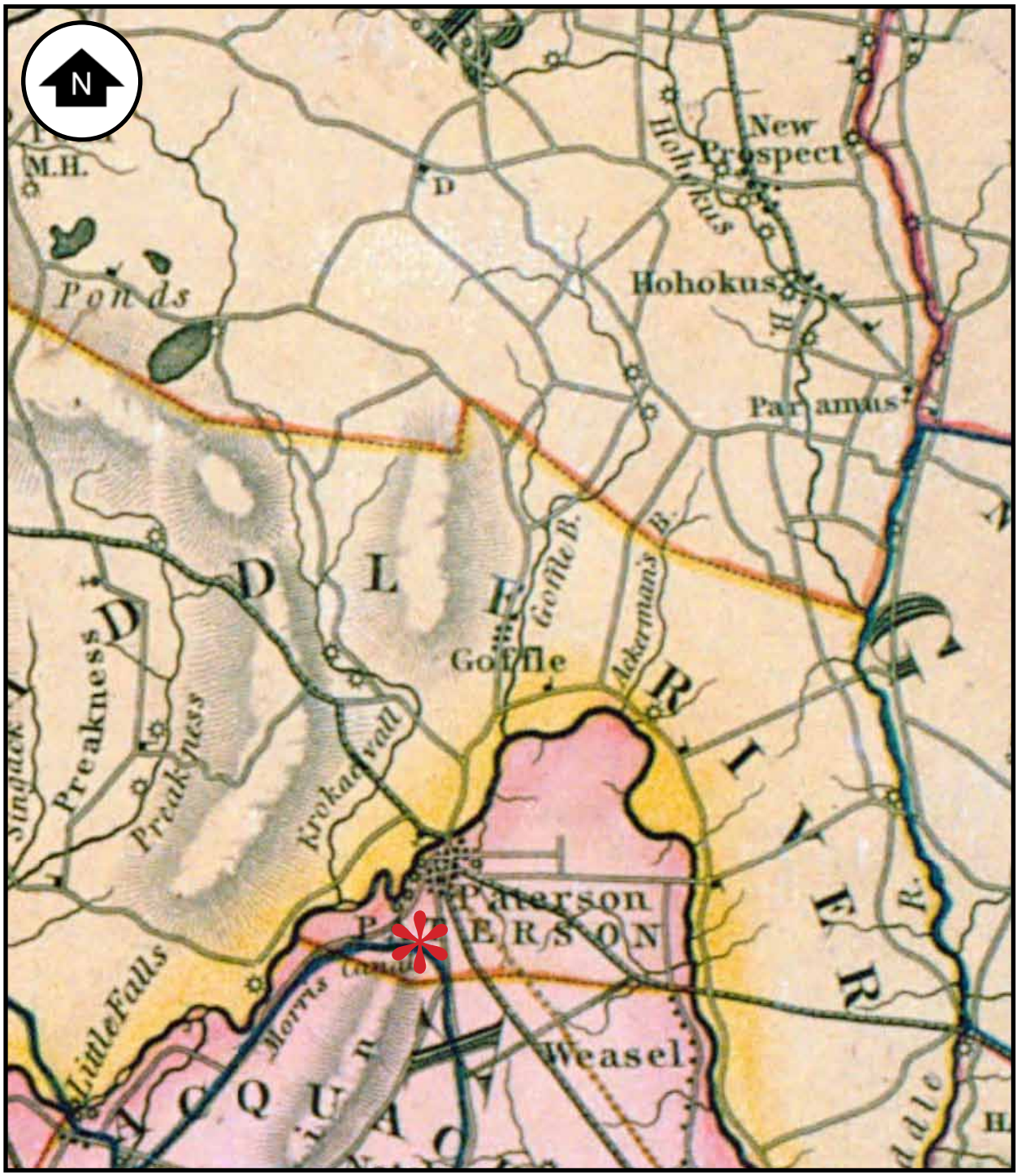


Figure 2.4. Gordon, Thomas. *A Map of the State of New Jersey* (detail). 1833. Project site indicated with an asterisk. Scale: 1 inch = 1.5 miles (approximately).

everyday needs of its population. In 1792 during the very earliest days of the S.U.M., Alexander Hamilton engaged Pierre Charles L'Enfant, fresh from planning the new capital city of Washington, District of Columbia. L'Enfant's tenure with the S.U.M. lasted barely nine months, during which most of his efforts were engaged with making the raceway system a reality, but he also seems to have sketched a town plan that consisted of radiating avenues, similar to that which he had planned for Washington. Although evidence is sketchy, there is at least one firsthand account from John Colt that L'Enfant planned the hub of the radiating avenues to be the "Dublin Spring," a natural spring that flowed from the base of Garrett Mountain, a short distance south of the Great Falls.[10] Whether any of Paterson's present-day street patterns follow the L'Enfant plan is debatable but it does seem clear that both L'Enfant and the Colts considered what became the Dublin area to be the population center of a future industrial city.

The starting point of Dublin's street grid was not the spring but the corner of Mill and Van Houten Streets in what became the northwest corner of Dublin. Mill Street is parallel and adjacent to the Middle Raceway and Van Houten Street is parallel and adjacent to the Lower Raceway. These streets were historically the dividing lines between the mill district, located to the west and north of the raceways, and the Dublin residential area to their east and south. All other streets in Dublin run parallel to Mill and Van Houten with the exception of Main Street, the old colonial throughroad from Passaic to Pompton and the route of the old Paterson and Hamburg Turnpike, which diverges in a northerly direction from the street grid. The streets of the Dublin grid are the north-to-south streets of Spruce, Jersey, Mill, Marshall and Cross (now Cianci) and the east-to-west streets of Van Houten, Ellison, Passaic, Market, Elm, Ward, Oliver, Grand and Slater. Among the virtues of the neighborhood were proximity to several freshwater springs, including the Dublin Spring, also known as the Big Spring, near the intersection of Mill and Oliver Streets, and proximity to the mills, since workers put in long hours and were not expected to walk long distances between home and work.[11]

B. THE DUBLIN NEIGHBORHOOD

Tradition has it that the Dublin neighborhood took its name from the Dublin Spring, which was named after Irish workers who dwelled near it. There is probably some truth to this. Irish workers were present in Paterson by the early 19th century, usually recruited as common laborers. Their numbers expanded during the construction of the Morris Canal. There is ample evidence that the first workers' houses built in Paterson were in North Dublin in the area of Mill and Van Houten Streets, but prejudices of the time might well have relegated the Irish to what was then the southern edge of the town near the spring at Oliver and Mill Streets. At least one account suggests that an Irish stonemason named Dan Curry built stone steps leading six feet below ground level to a bubbling spring fed by groundwater from Garrett Mountain. Generations of mill hands and their families drank from the spring, even using wood carts with barrels to deliver fresh water to the mills several times a day. By the 1890s, however, concern for public health, particularly the spread of typhoid by untreated water, led to the closing of the spring. Defiant residents seem to have repeatedly re-opened it. In 1930, the Dublin Spring Association was formed to memorialize Paterson's famous spring, and the association commissioned local Italian sculptor Gaetano Federici to create a monument. Federici chose to portray a "water boy" carrying a wood cask of spring water to the mills, while being watched whimsically by a thirsty dog. This monument stood at the intersection of Mill and Oliver Streets until the mid-1990s when it was relocated to a new parklet east of Oliver Street and Marshall Street due to the construction of the Oliver/Ward Street Connector.[12]

The progress of Dublin's physical growth as a workers' community is charted by historical maps. Among the key cartographic sources are a series of maps dating from the 1830s to the 1860s beginning with Bouton's *Map of 400 Valuable Lots in the town of Paterson* of 1835 (Figure 2.5) and Freeman's *Map of the Town of Paterson,* also of 1835 (Figure 2.6). These maps appear to be based on the same survey data, but Bouton's is essentially an advertisement of the S.U.M.'s plan to make available 400 new building lots in the southern and western sections of Dublin, probably in response to the mill's need to attract and retain ever greater numbers of workers. These maps are particularly useful because they show housing construction prior to 1835 concentrated in the blocks to the north of Grand Street and the planned expansion of Dublin south of and along Grand Street to the west. What is important to note is that while there is an S.U.M.-surveyed street plan and plat, there is no S.U.M. corporate plan to build houses for workers, or any indication that mill operators intended to build housing for their workers. Company housing was relatively rare in Paterson with the most notable example a single row of housing that the Barbour Company built for workers it recruited from Great Britain in the 1870s. Rather, the S.U.M. seems to have undertaken an open effort to attract mechanics, artisans and common laborers in part by giving them opportunities to acquire land on which to build their own houses. That these lots were sold by the S.U.M. to workers is borne out by a sampling of the chains of title in archaeological studies conducted by De Cunzo in 1983 and John Milner Associates in 1999.[13] Somewhat startling is evidence that seventy percent of all Paterson workers may have been living in houses that they owned as late as the 1870s. There does not seem to be much evidence that land speculators acquired Dublin lots in order to develop properties that could be sold or leased for profit. To date, scholarship has not critically explored this aspect of Paterson's history, but it may support the thesis put forward by labor historians such as Herbert Gutman that Paterson had an unusually high rate of upward mobility among its workforce. House ownership may have eventually provided workers with small levels of capital.[14]

The Sidney *Map of Paterson* of 1850 (Figure 2.7) offers a snapshot of Dublin's growth 15 years after the offering of the "400 valuable lots" in 1835. During this time, development had spread south from Grand Street to the south side of Slater Street. Development had also spread northward along Mill and Marshall Streets from the Morris Canal. The western section of Dublin along Spruce Street had also been occupied. Another observation from the Sidney map is that housing patterns were becoming denser. Houses were built on lots of the size established by the S.U.M., typically 25 feet wide by 100 foot long. By the 1840s and 1850s, vacant lots between houses were built upon to create nearly continuous architectural streetscapes. House builders and owners, however, did not necessarily construct dwellings of uniform size, plan or setback as evidenced in a panoramic view of 1858 (Figure 2.8). In 1860, there remained within Dublin some undeveloped lots, particularly south of Slater Street, as shown in the Bevan *Map of Paterson from Actual Surveys* (Figure 2.9).[15]

The 1860s were an economically prosperous decade for Paterson, in part driven by the mill's wartime profits. Dublin reached its greatest geographic extent of full build out confined to the north and west by the Great Falls mill district, to the east by Main Street and the Erie Railroad corridor, and to the south by the Morris Canal. The Hyde *Map of Passaic County* (Figures 10a-b), published in 1877, shows nearly every 25-foot-wide lot in Dublin occupied by a house while larger lots along the Morris Canal at the southern edge of the neighborhood were mostly taken up by coal and lumber sheds.

The mid-19th-century workers' houses were usually two-story, three-bay, gable roof, side-hall wood-frame vernacular buildings with some limited expressions

Figure 2.5. Bouton, R. M. Detail of a *Map of 400 Valuable Lots in the town of Paterson N.J for Sale by Franklin & Jenkins*. 1835. Scale: 1 inch = 350 feet (approximately). Location of study area outlined in red.

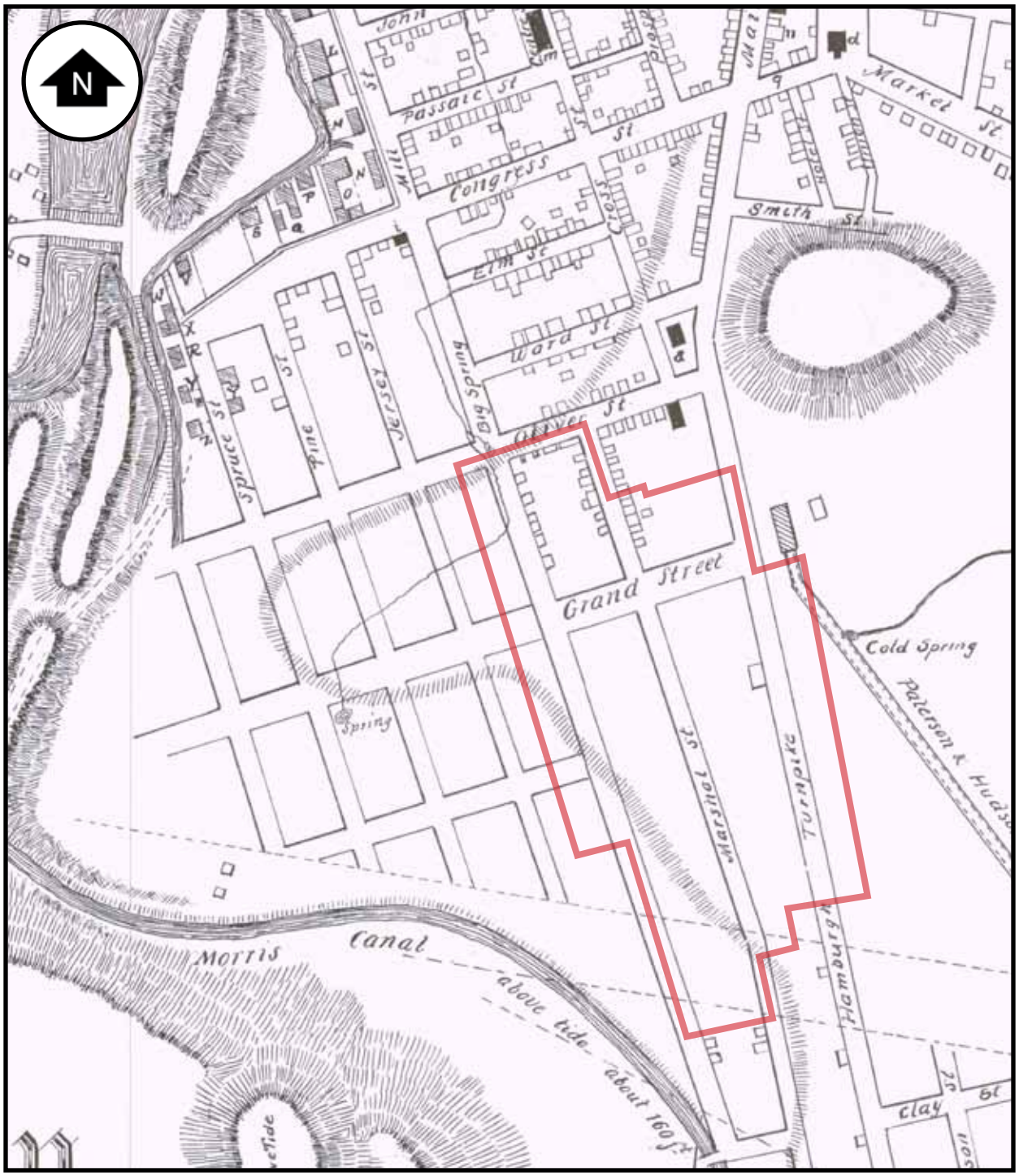


Figure 2.6. Freeman, U.W. Detail of *Map of the Town of Paterson N.J.* 1835. Scale: 1 inch = 525 feet (approximately). Location of study area outlined in red.

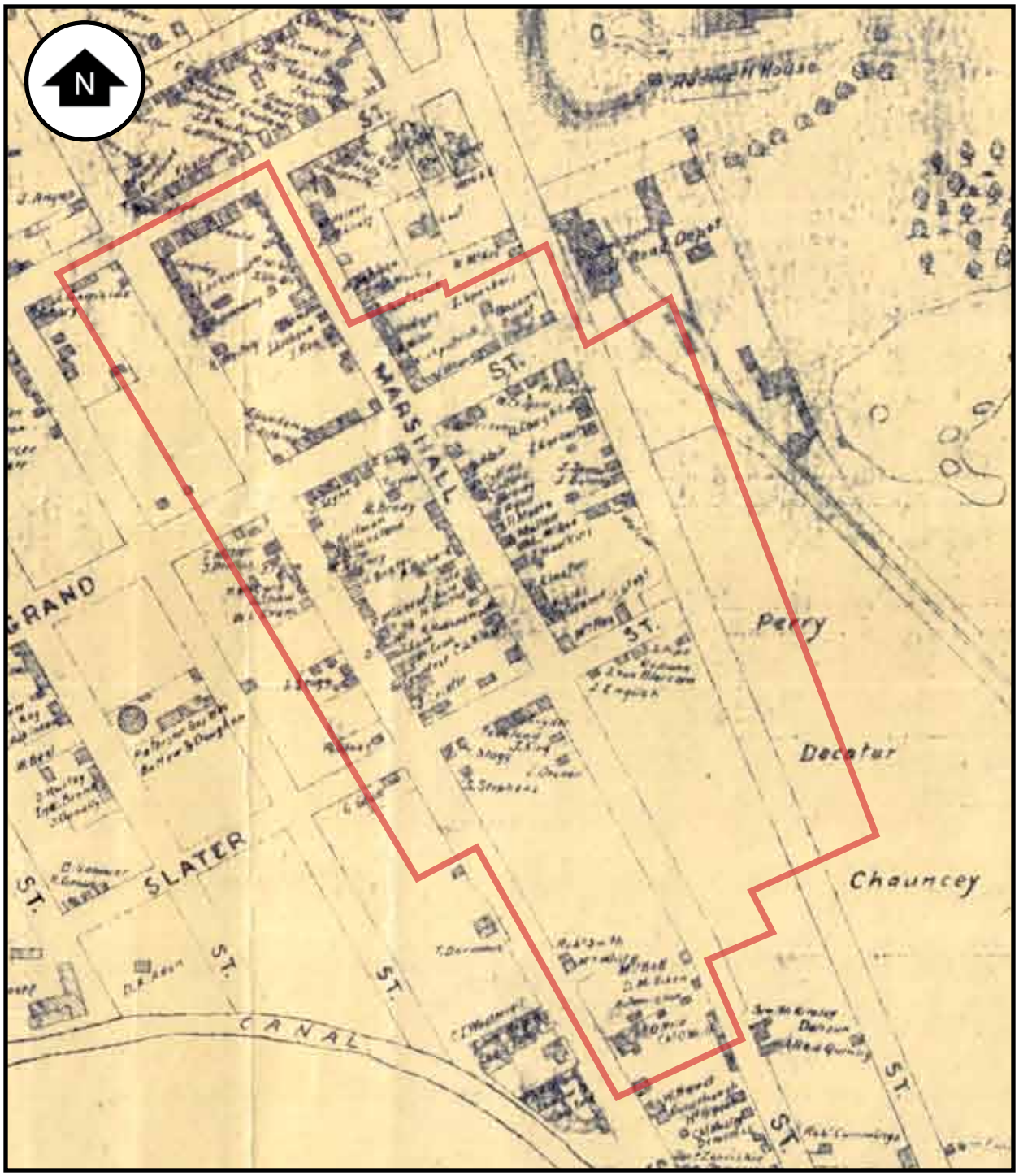


Figure 2.7. Sidney, J.C. Detail of *Map of Paterson from Actual Surveys*. 1850. Scale: 1 inch = 325 feet (approximately). Location of study area outlined in red.

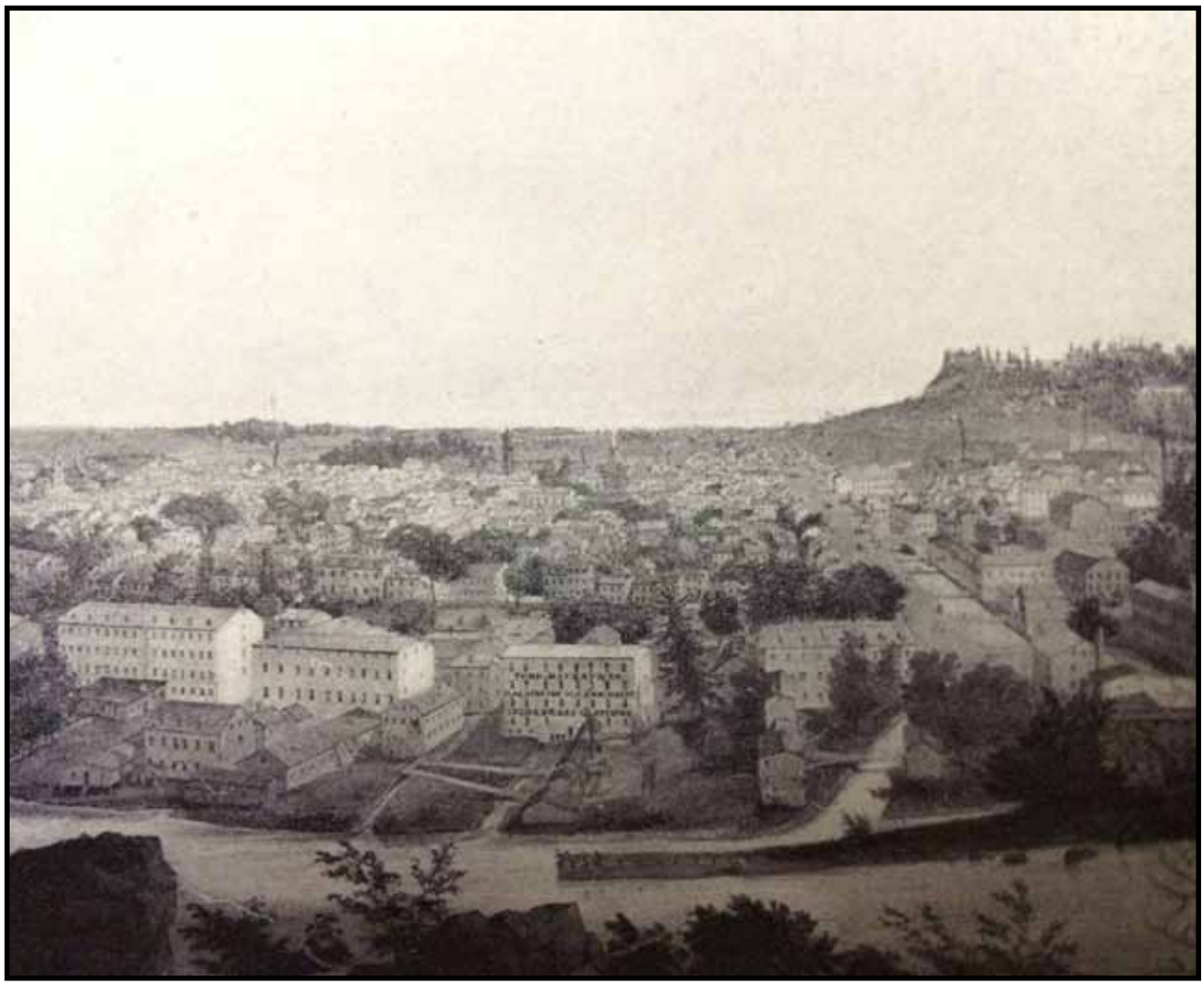


Figure 2.8. Panorama View of Paterson. 1858. This view looking south from the Passaic River shows the Dublin neighborhood in the background of the mills. Source: Kline, *Paterson, New Jersey*. 1915.

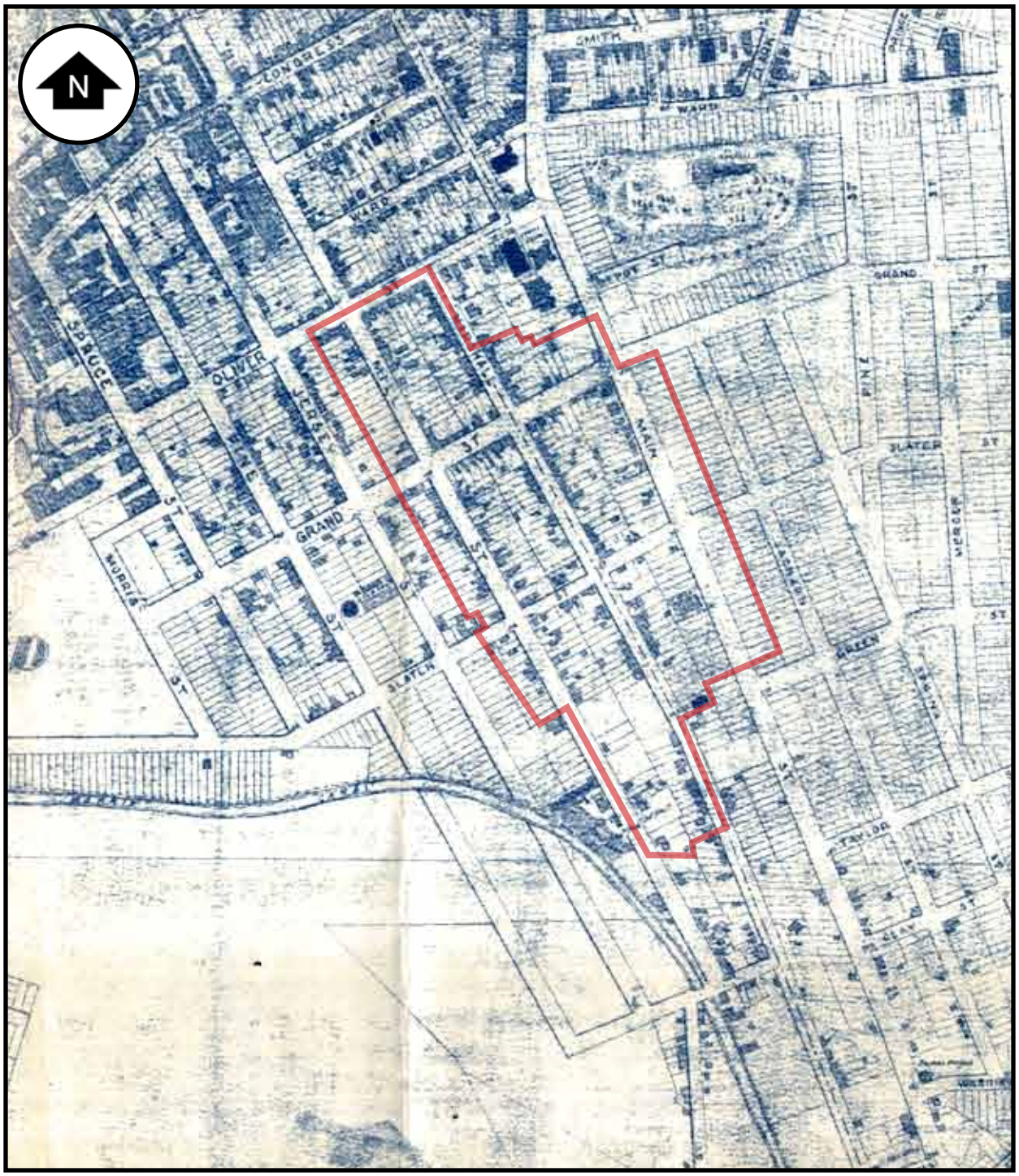


Figure 2.9. Beran, J. Detail of *Map of Paterson from Actual Surveys.* 1860. Scale: 1 inch = 525 feet (approximately). Location of study area outllined in red.

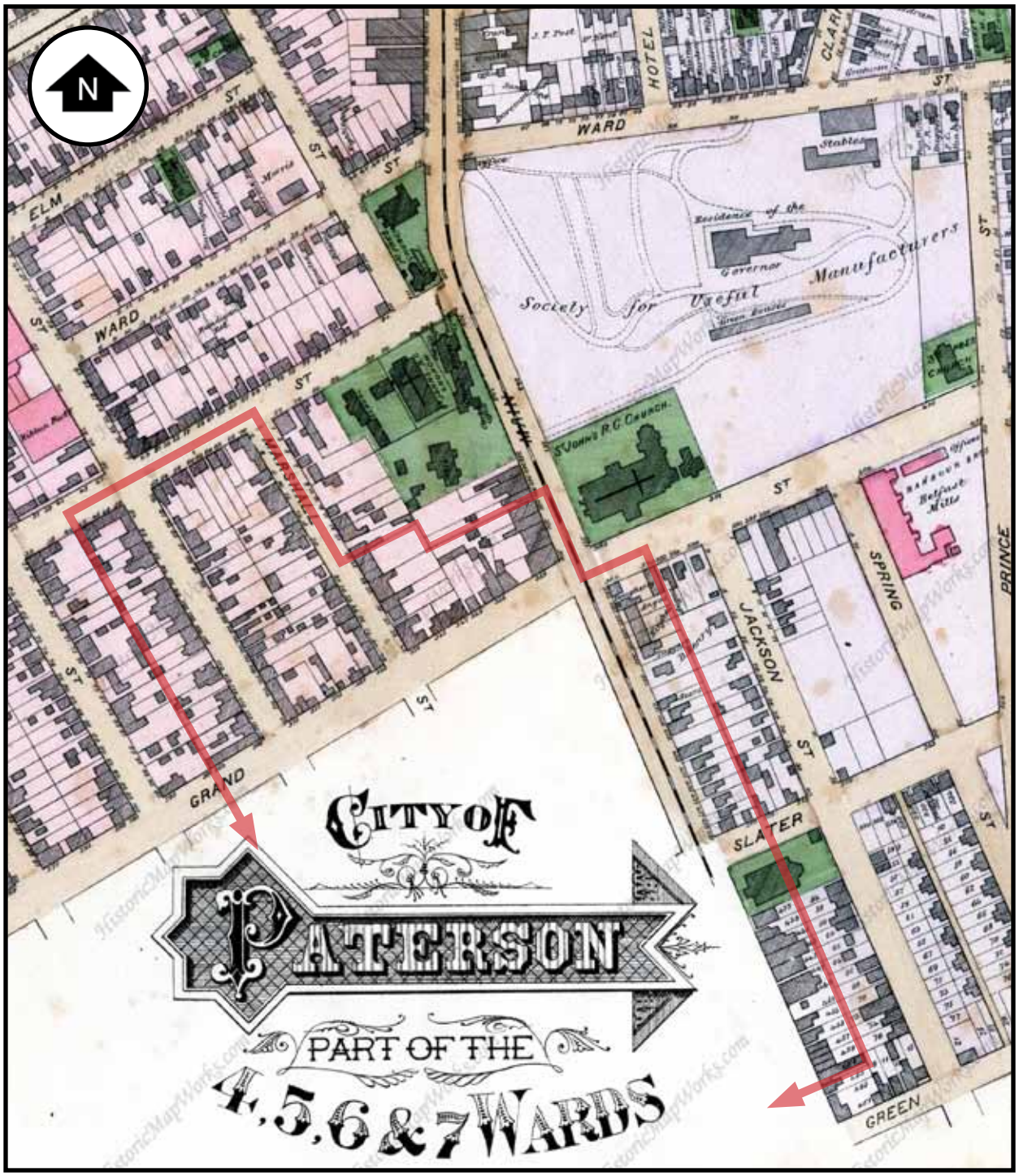


Figure 2.10a. Hyde, E.B. Detail of Plate 24, *Map of Passaic County New Jersey*. 1877. Scale: 1 inch = 300 feet (approximately). Location of study area oultined in red.

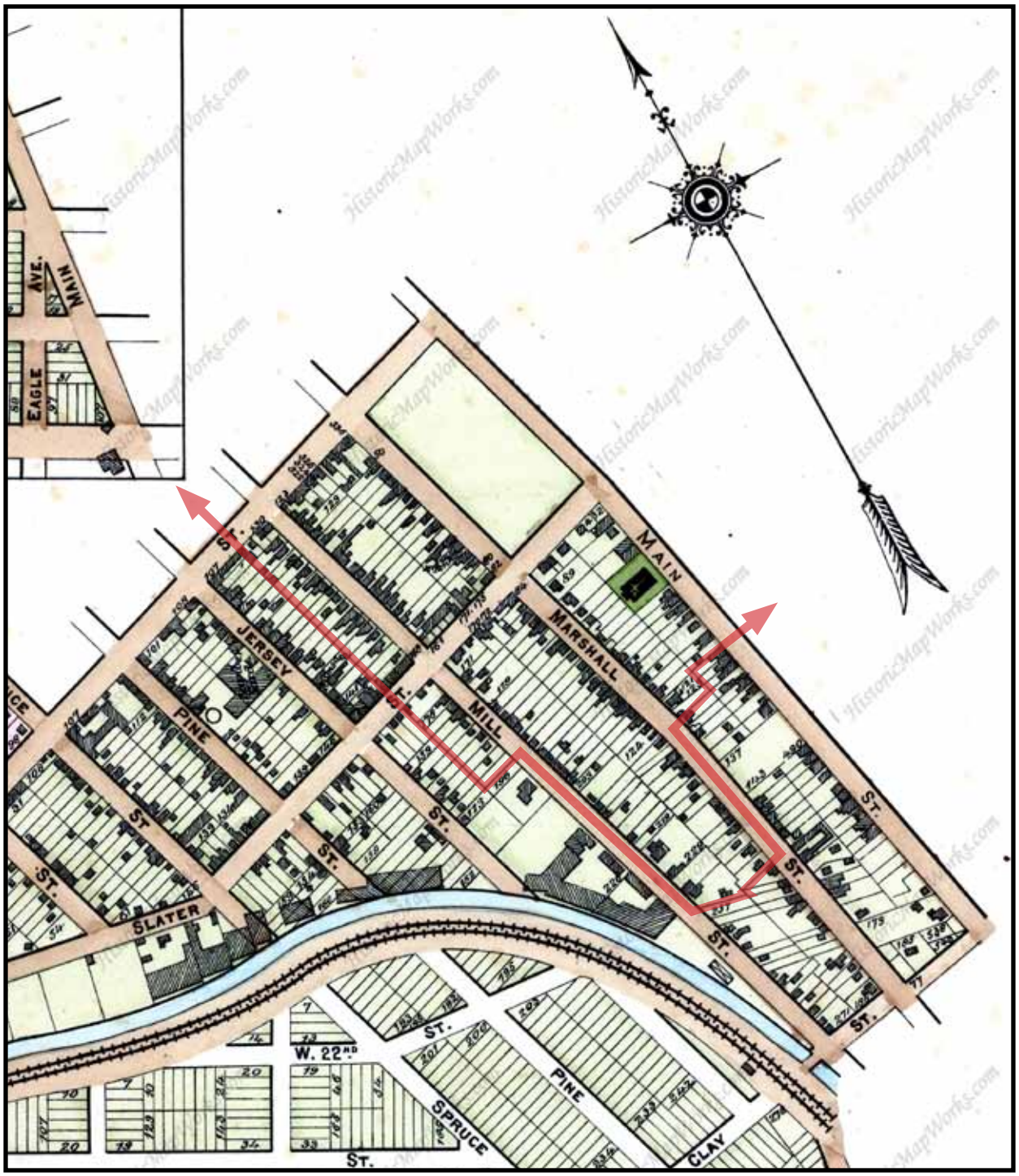


Figure 2.10b. Hyde, E.B. Detail of Plate 53, *Map of Passaic County New Jersey*. 1877. Scale: 1 inch = 425 feet (approximately). Location of study area outlined in red.

of Greek Revival or Italianate styling, usually found in the cornice treatment or door surrounds. While the gabled two-story side-hall house was the most common of Dublin's workers' houses prior to the 1860s, a flat-roof, three-story, three-bay house, made its appearance in the 1840s and continued to be popular into the later decades of the 19th century. Some of these flat-roof three-story buildings were single-family houses but many appear to have been conceived as, or converted early on, into residential flats with families occupying each floor and perhaps sharing communal kitchen space. These buildings usually exhibited vernacular Italianate townhouse influences; they were rarely built as attached row houses, as was common in some other northern New Jersey cities such as Hoboken, Jersey City and Newark. In Paterson's Dublin, these houses were almost always detached with narrow walkways and alleys separating them from buildings on adjacent lots, a pattern still found throughout Dublin.[16]

Between 1824 and 1832, the Reverend Samuel Fisher, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, undertook a street-by-street census of the city, which provides some useful insights into Dublin's social structure in its early years, as well as what the Reverend Fisher thought useful information to collect. The census of 1825, for example, counted 849 families living in 486 dwellings, indicating that most houses contained multiple families. Fisher was particularly interested in religious affiliation. Presbyterians and Dutch Reformed were the most numerous, accounting for about half of the families, with the remainder about equally divided among Methodists and Roman Catholics. Considering that the Irish were most likely to be Roman Catholic, it suggests that the Irish population was not the dominant one in the 1820s and that the Dublin neighborhood name may only have been applied initially to a small area. Interestingly, African Americans accounted for about two percent of the total population of slightly over 5,000 although other races and ethnicities were not counted by Fisher. In 1827, Fisher counted not just people but looms. These were divided into powered looms in factories (281 looms), hand looms in factories (50 looms) and hand looms in dwellings (389). Why Fisher counted looms can only be speculated, but it presages a transition that was happening in Paterson and elsewhere in the textile industry. Power looms, although known since the late 18th century, had proven ineffective at making anything but relatively course cloth, so most textile cities in Europe employed traditional hand weavers for producing finer weaves. Counter-intuitively, the number of hand weavers increased greatly during the early years of mechanization because spinning mills turned out more yarn and thread than could have ever been produced previously by hand spinning. The large number of hand looms in Paterson were scattered mostly in ones and twos among hand weavers, usually men, who worked from home, suggesting that in many of Dublin's early houses a room or shed was likely set aside for weaving activities.[17]

Dublin was a neighborhood of small craft shops, stores, bakeries and saloons interspersed within the primarily residential setting. Many dwellings had a small business located on the first floor. The larger enterprises tended to be located at or near street corners, but they also naturally concentrated on streets that emerged over time as heavily trafficked corridors, better to draw in business from passersby. In the South Dublin neighborhood, these more commercial corridors were the east-to-west Grand Street and the north-to-south Main Street, while in the North Dublin neighborhood the east-to-west Market Street was the most heavily commercial. Grand Street carried cross-town traffic between the Erie Railroad and the mills of the Great Falls district. The Paterson and Hudson River Railroad (later Erie) arrive in Paterson in 1833 with a depot at the northeast corner of Grand and Main Streets on the eastern edge of Dublin. After the depot was relocated several blocks to the northeast, the S.U.M. sold the former to St. John's Roman Catholic

Parish for construction of a cathedral. Completed in 1870, St. John's was closely associated with Dublin's Irish.

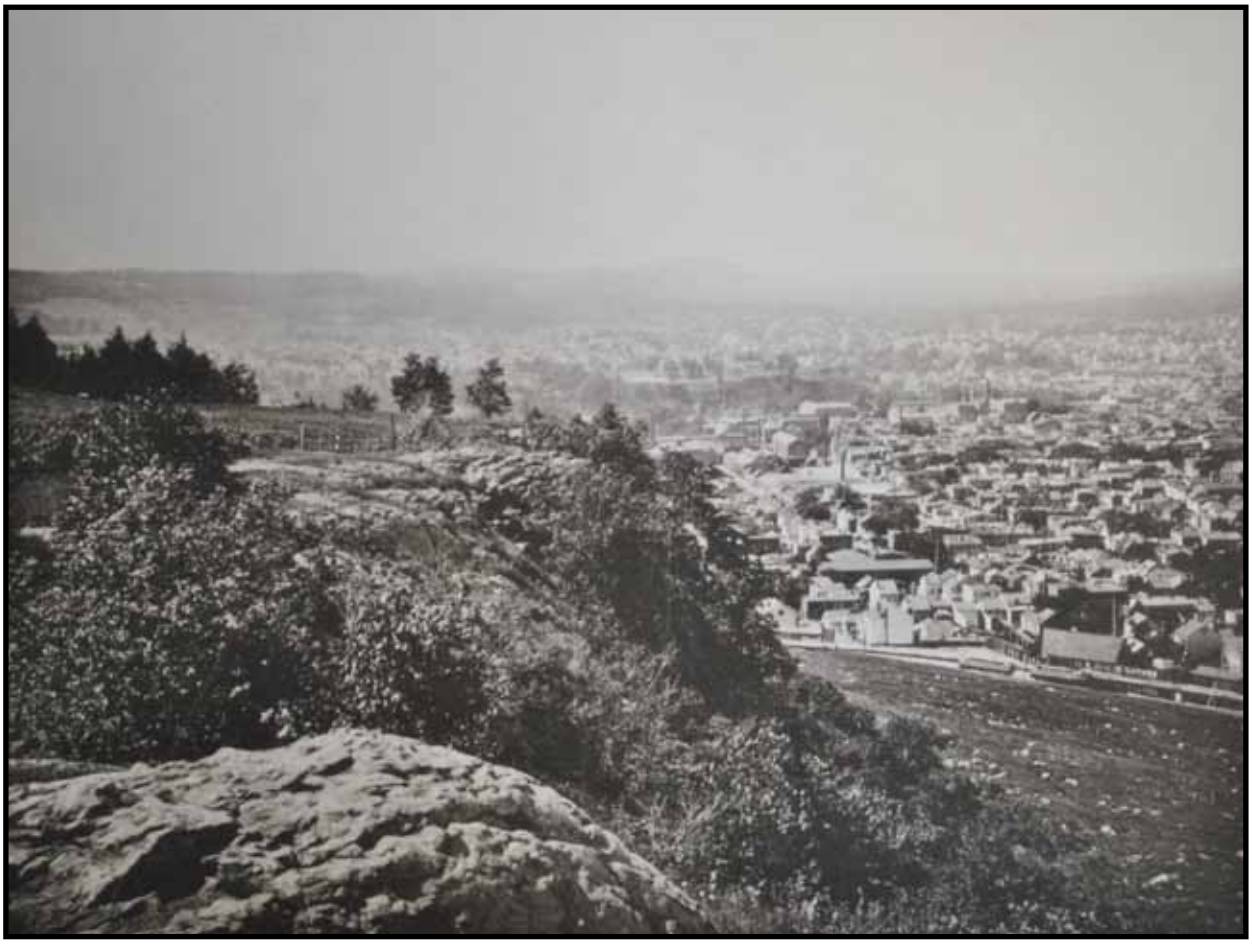
After 1870, development on the arterial Grand and Main Streets tended toward larger and taller commercial buildings, although still rarely over three stories and almost always with upper floors that could be rented out as offices or flats. The still largely horizontal two- to three-story city, with the exception of the mills and churches, is well illustrated by Packard & Butler *Bird's Eye View of Paterson* of 1880 (Figure 2.11). From the 1870s to the 1920s, Grand and Main Streets gradually transitioned in character as earlier workers' dwellings were replaced by mostly three-story commercial storefronts. Some of these later commercial buildings aspired to higher status with elaborate late Victorian architectural treatments, including ornate cast-iron storefronts and classicizing pressed-metal or wood cornices. Although wood-frame construction still predominated, a few of the commercial buildings were brick. The more residential streets of Marshall, Mill, Oliver and Slater tended to retain a pre-Civil War architectural character, although some three and four-story residential flats were constructed (Figures 2.12-2.16; Photographs 2.1-2.5).

Dublin was Paterson's most important workers' neighborhood until the 1860s when the city began expanding rapidly to the north, east and south, driven principally by the rapid growth of the silk and silk-dyeing industries. The use of steam power allowed the city's manufacturers to break free of the geographical confinement of waterpower since a steam engine and boiler house permitted a factory to build almost anywhere in the city.[18] The workers followed the factories, while middle and upper-class citizens sought out more exclusive addresses and neighborhoods on the city's margins. Quickly, the post-Civil War neighborhoods developed identities separate from Dublin's. There were the upscale homes of Eastside Park and the Italian working-class tenements of the East River Section. Every Patersonian eventually came to appreciate the geographic, ethnic and socio-economic distinctions that identified someone as from South Paterson, Totowa Section, Westside Park, Sandy Hill, Northside, Wrigley Park, People's Park, Hillcrest, Lakeview or Dublin. These neighborhoods remain distinctive today, although the demographics have changed over the course of the 19th, 20th and early 21st centuries.

Sources for understanding the historic context of Dublin's social history are numerous, although often difficult to synthesize. They include deeds, census schedules, city directories, tax records, newspapers, probate records and genealogies; personal letters, diaries or other papers that would provide a subjective first-person point of view have not been located to date. The most fruitful research so far on Dublin's social structure has been undertaken in support of archaeological investigations in which the researchers have reconstructed household histories related specifically to the sites being dug. These have provided the basic information on individuals – age, ethnicity, occupation, education and household structure – although the nature of the information poses problems of bias and accuracy since it has been borne out that it cannot be assumed that data are complete or correct in all respects. That said, these studies have confirmed some general trends about Dublin's social structure.[19]

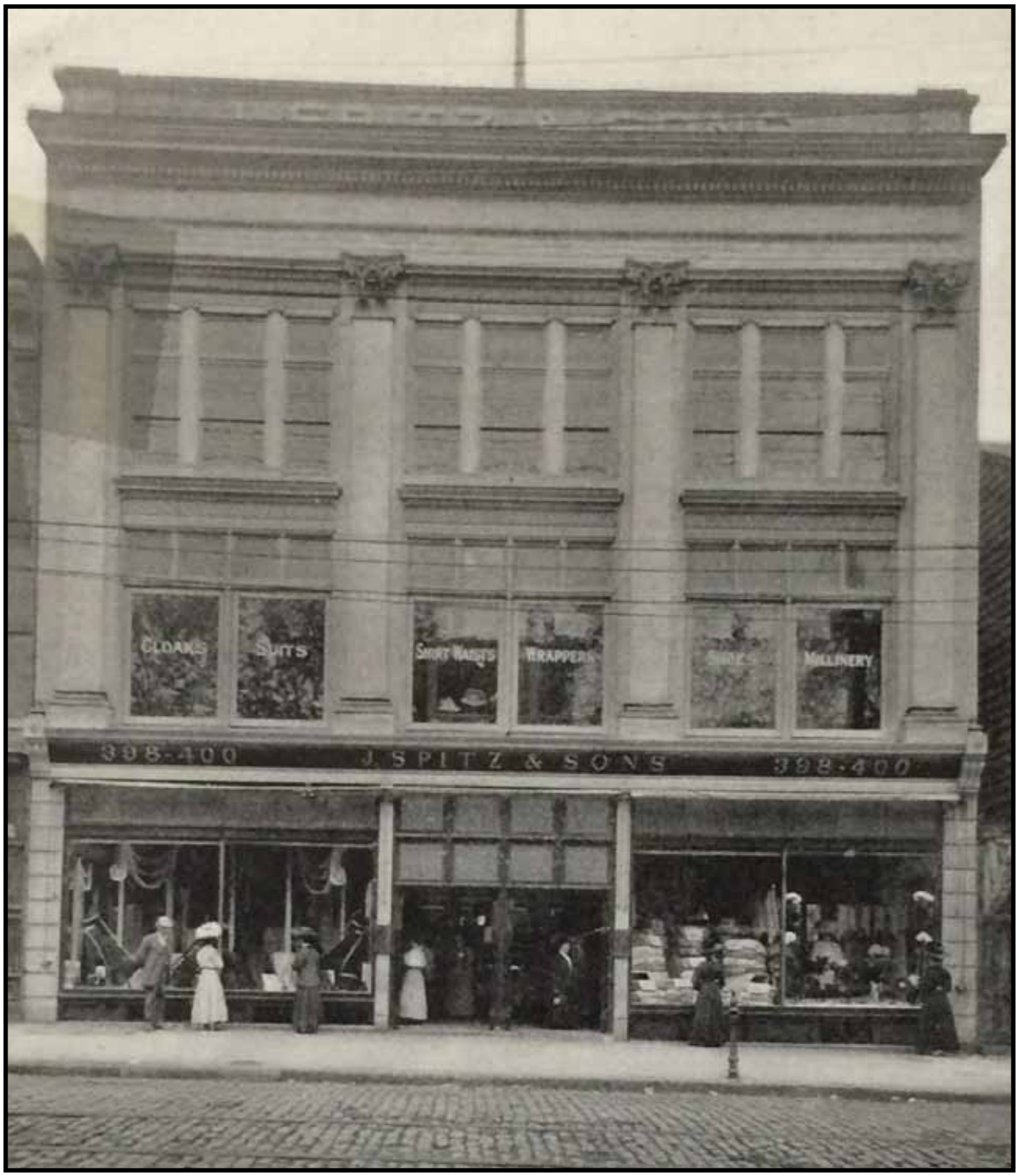
The nativity and ethnicity of Dublin residents evolved with time but the patterns appear to have been far from uniform and may have varied from street to street or even block to block. One study of nine households in North Dublin found that through the 19th century native-born Americans actually outnumbered foreign born, and that the largest immigrant group was English. Another study, undertaken of ten households in South Dublin over the course of the same period, found that Irish-born or second generation outnumbered all other ethnic groups prior to 1870, but that in the late 1870s there was a transition to

Figure 2.11. Packard & Butler. *Bird's Eye View of Paterson, N.J.* 1880. This view looking north from Garrett Mountain shows the Dublin neighborhood stretching out across the image beyond the Morris Canal.



Photograph 2.1. View looking north from Garrett Mountain. The Dublin neighborhood is shown right, just beyond the Morris Canal. *Circa* 1880. Source: Passaic County Historical Society.

Photograph 2.2. View looking east on Grand Street toward the Dublin neighborhood with the Morris Canal at right. *Circa* 1880. Source: Passaic County Historical Society.



Photograph 2.3. Building of J. Spitz & Sons. Source: Kline, *Paterson, New Jersey.* 1915.

Photograph 2.4. Corner of Main and Grand Streets, looking northeast with St. John's Cathedral at right. *Circa* 1925. Source: Paterson Museum.

Photograph 2.5. Marshall Street looking north toward the Oliver Street intersection. 1932. Source: Paterson Museum.

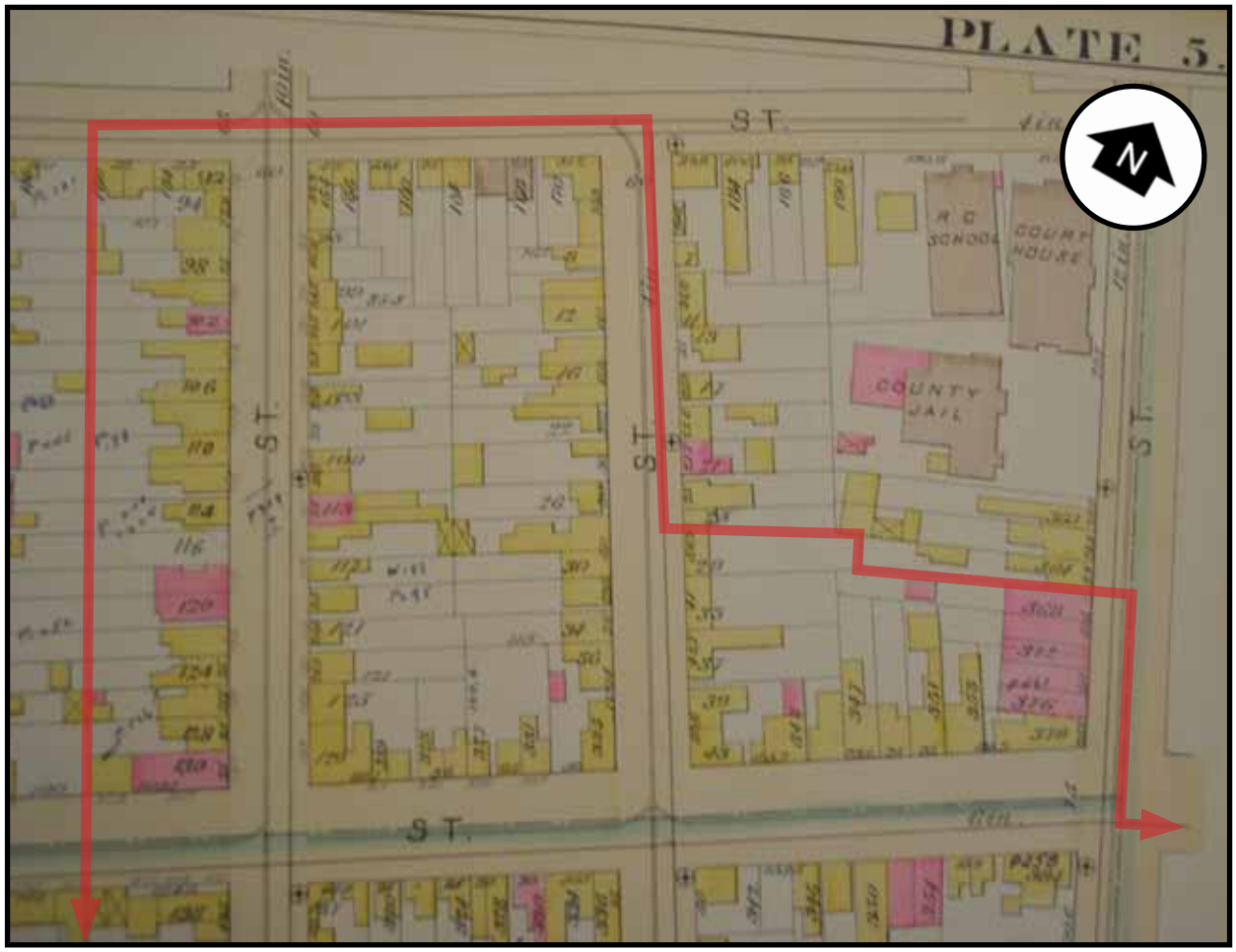


Figure 2.12a Robinson, E. Detail of Plate 5, *Atlas of the City of Paterson.* 1884. Scale: 1 inch = 150 feet (approximately). Location of study area oultined in red.

Figure 2.12b Robinson, E. Detail of Plate 5, *Atlas of the City of Paterson*. 1884. Scale: 1 inch = 175 feet (approximately). Location of study area oultined in red.

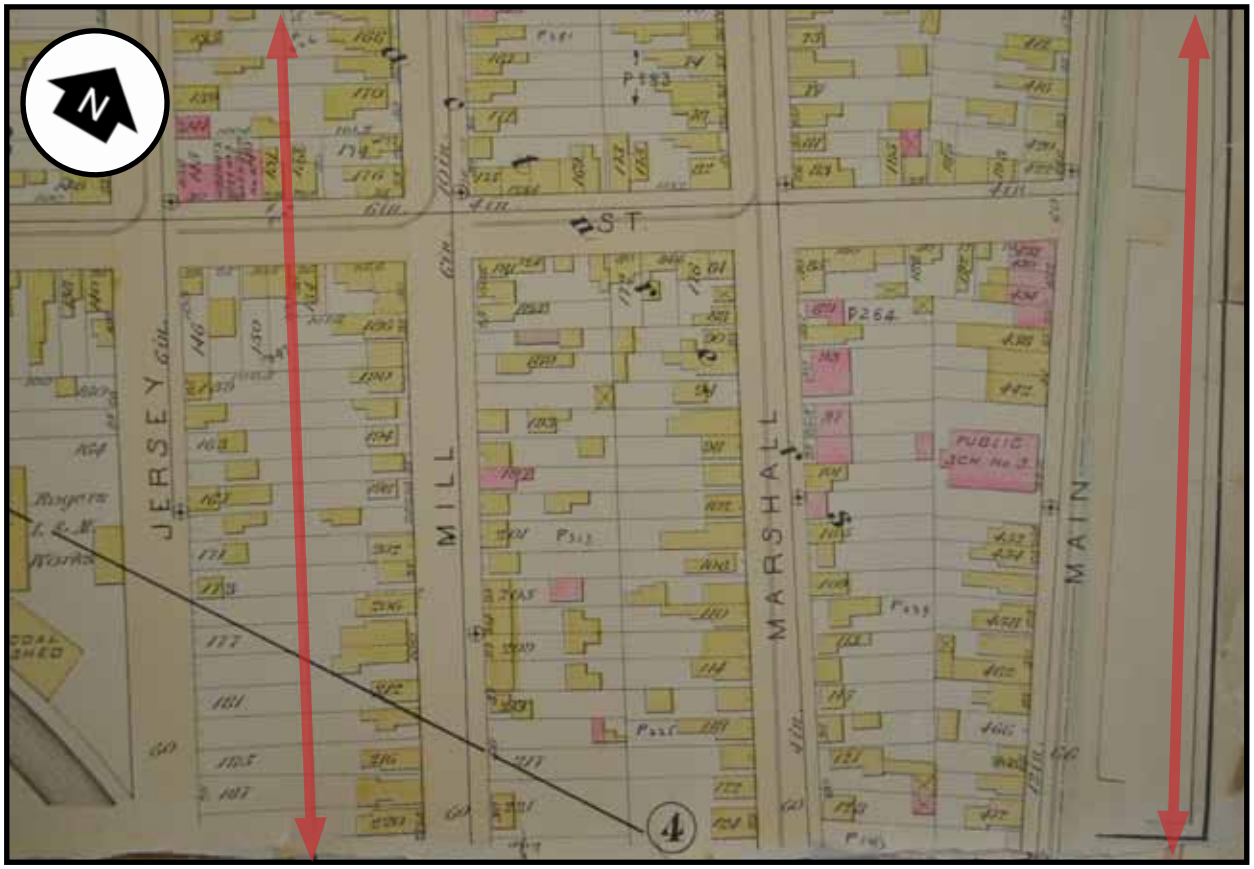


Figure 2.12c Robinson, E. Detail of Plate 4, *Atlas of the City of Paterson*. 1884. Scale: 1 inch = 175 feet (approximately). Location of study area oultined in red.

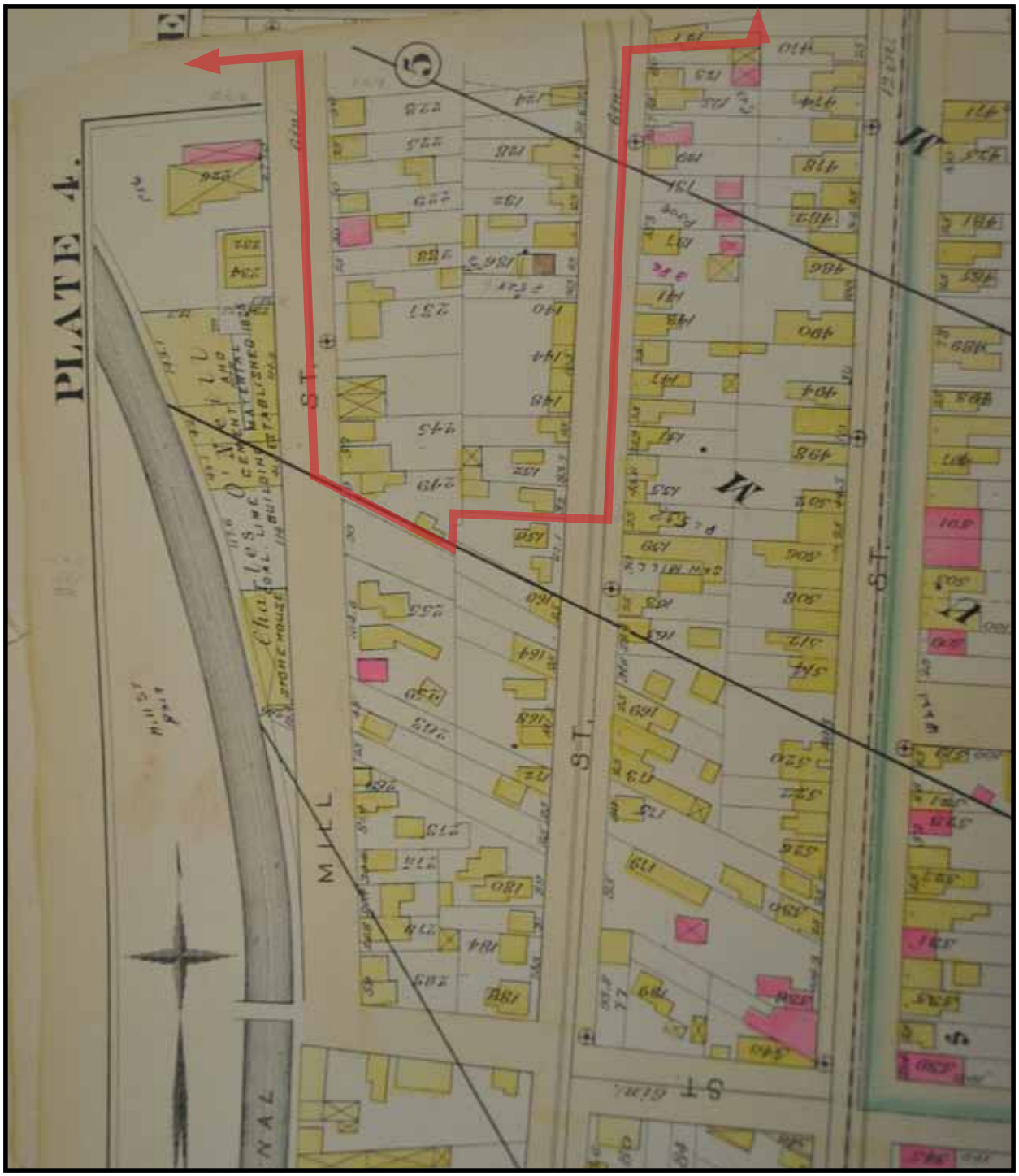


Figure 2.12d Robinson, E. Detail of Plate 4, *Atlas of the City of Paterson*. 1884. Scale: 1 inch = 175 feet (approximately). Location of study area outlined in red.

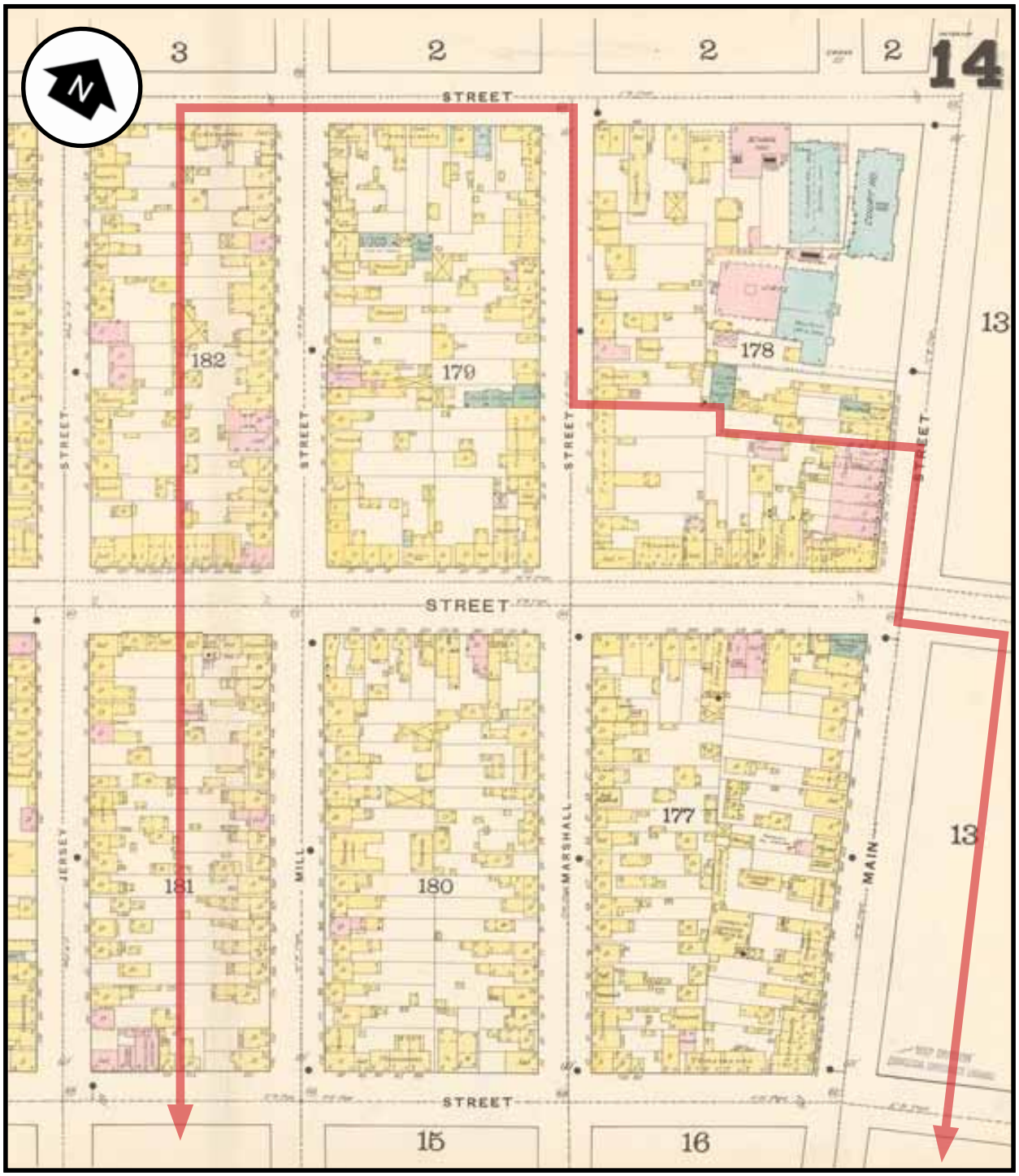


Figure 2.13a. Sanborn Map and Publishing Company. Detail of Plate 14, *Insurance Maps of Paterson New Jersey*. 1887. Scale: 1 inch = 175 feet (approximately). Location of study area oultined in red.

Figure 2.13b. Sanborn Map and Publishing Company. Detail of Plate 16, *Insurance Maps of Paterson New Jersey*. 1887. Scale: 1 inch = 150 feet (approximately). Location of study area outlined in red.

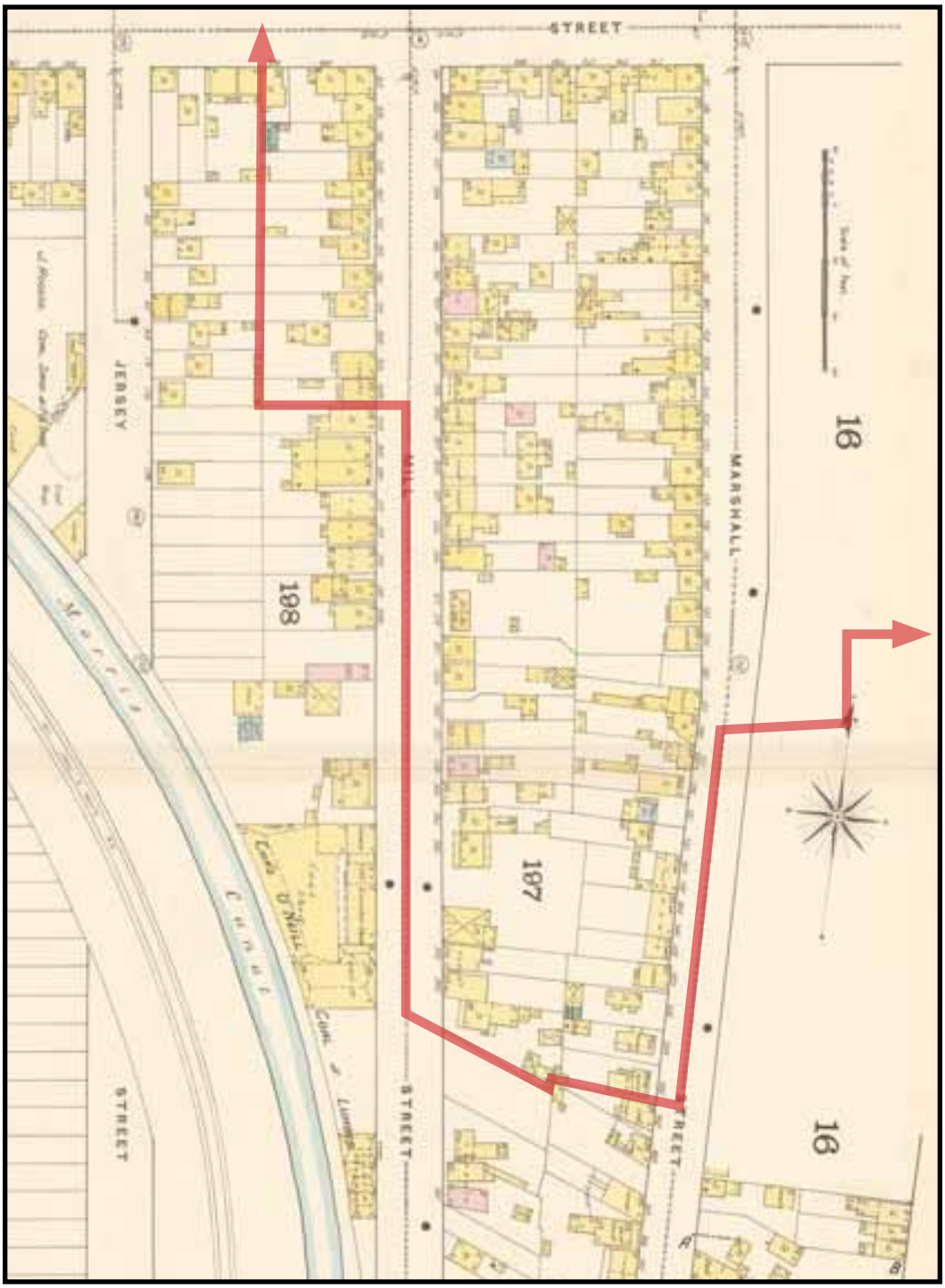


Figure 2.13c. . Sanborn Map and Publishing Company. Detail of Plate 15, *Insurance Maps of Paterson New Jersey*. 1887. Scale: 1 inch = 175 feet (approximately). Location of study area outlined in red.

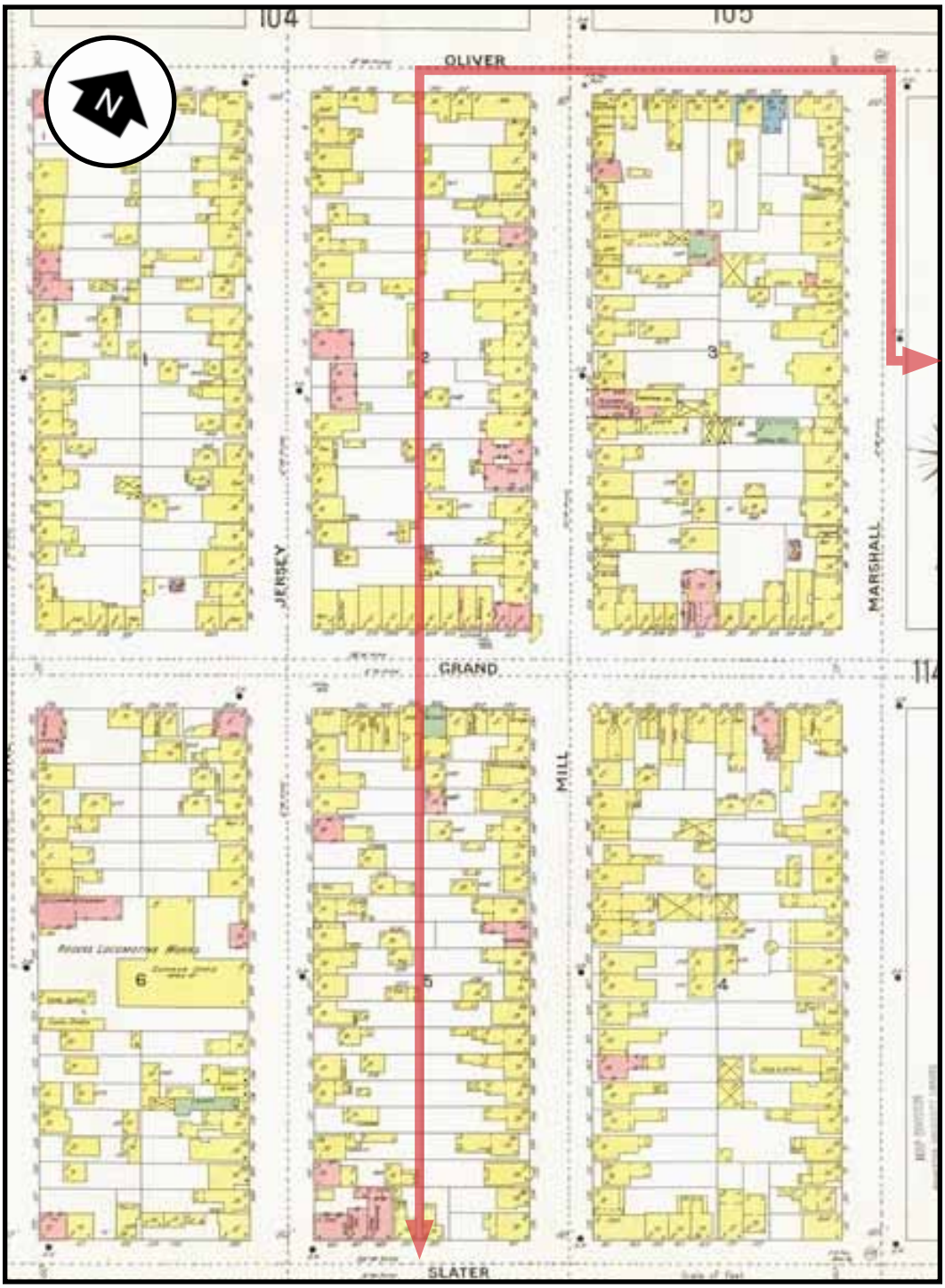


Figure 2.14a. Sanborn-Perris Map Company. Detail of Plate 113, *Insurance Maps of Paterson New Jersey*. 1899. Scale: 1 inch = 175 feet (approximately). Location of study area outlined in red.

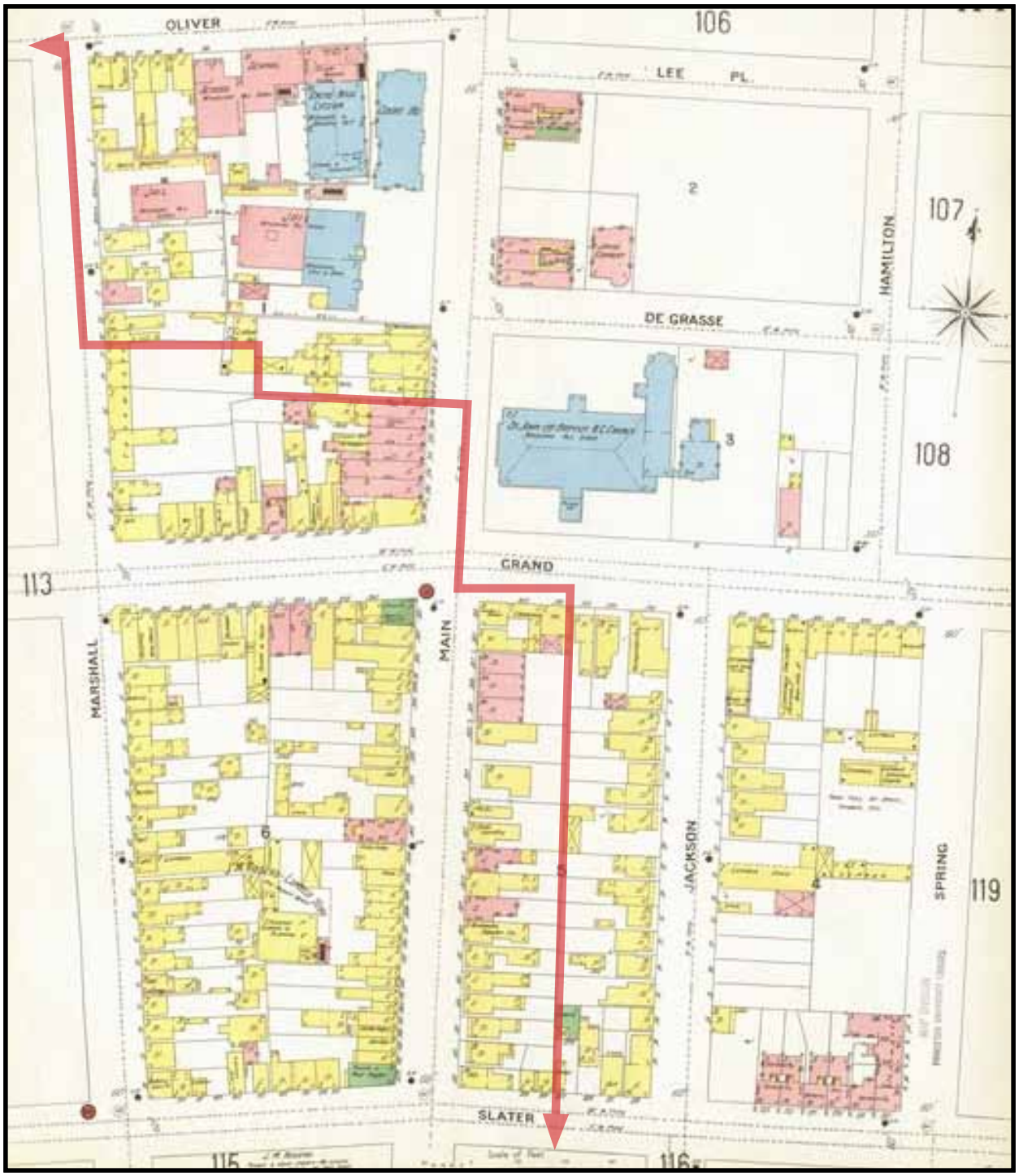


Figure 2.14b. Sanborn-Perris Map Company. Detail of Plate 114, *Insurance Maps of Paterson New Jersey*. 1899. Scale: 1 inch = 175 feet (approximately). Location of study area oultined in red.

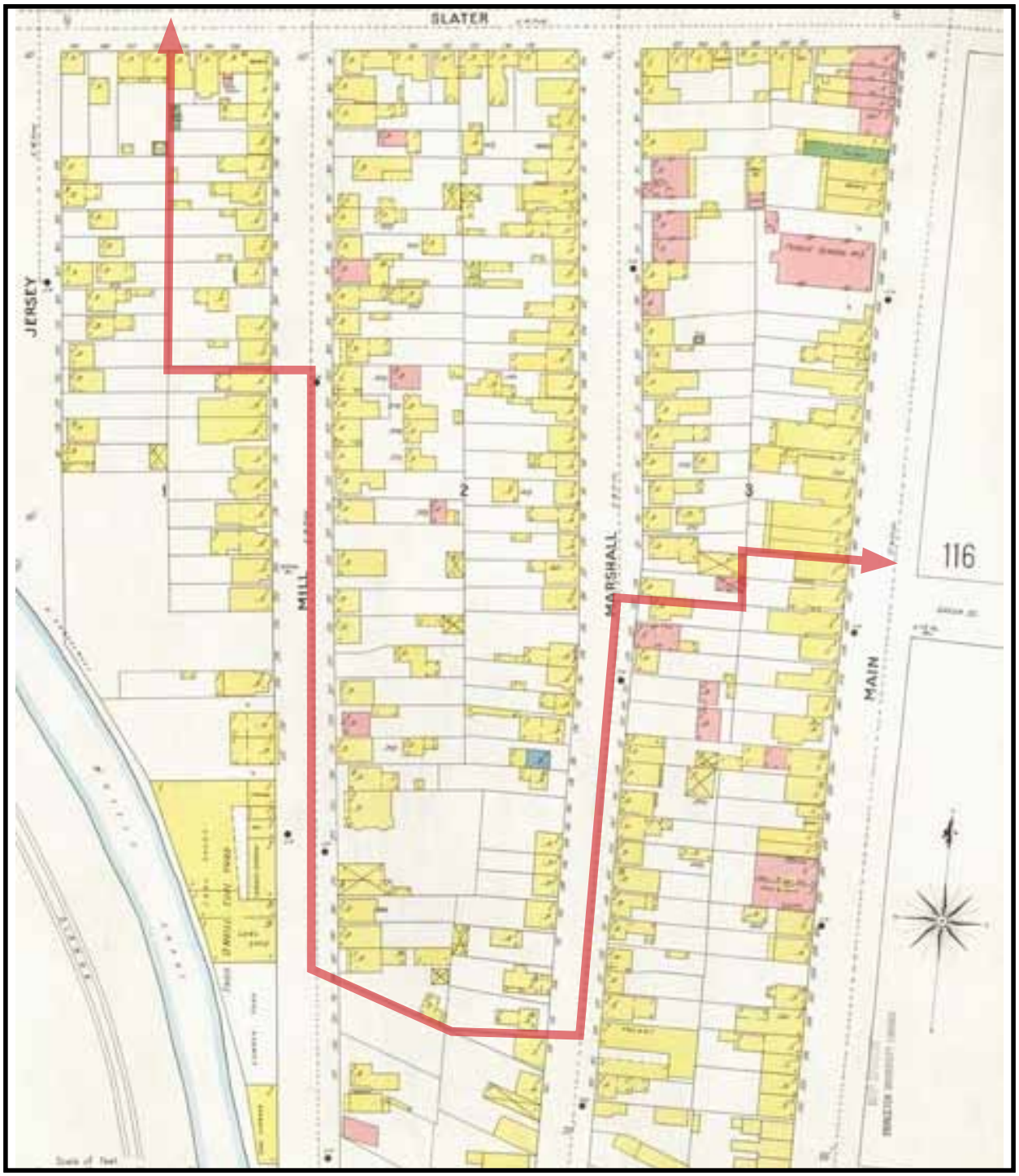


Figure 2.14c. Sanborn-Perris Map Company. Detail of Plate 115, *Insurance Maps of Paterson New Jersey*. 1899. Scale: 1 inch = 150 feet (approximately). Location of study area outlined in red.

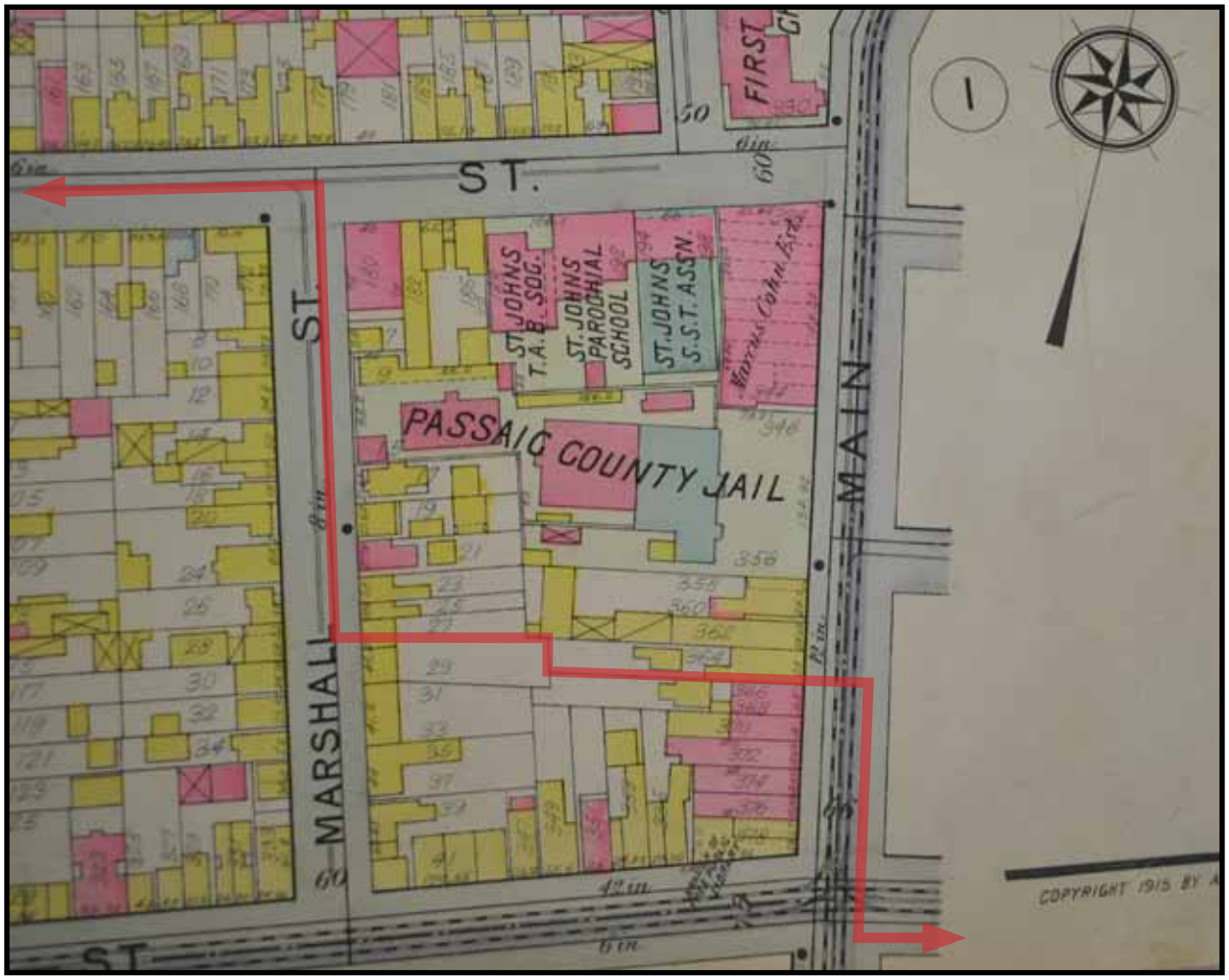


Figure 2.15a. Mueller, A.H. Detail of Plate 2, *Atlas of the City of Paterson New Jersey*. 1915. Scale: 1 inch = 125 feet (approximately). Location of study area outlined in red.

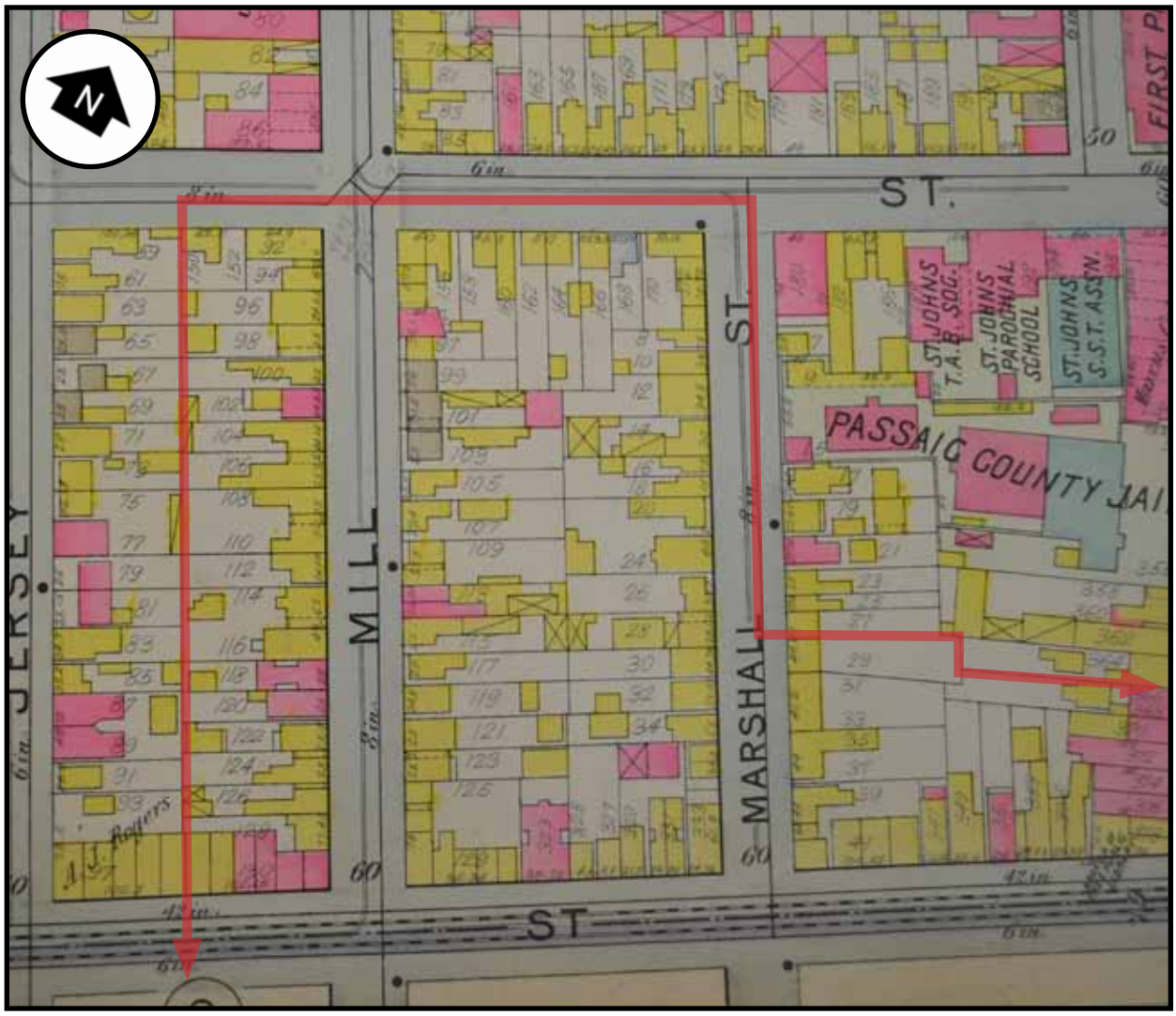


Figure 2.15b. Mueller, A.H. Detail of Plate 2, *Atlas of the City of Paterson New Jersey.* 1915. Scale: 1 inch = 125 feet (approximately). Location of study area outlined in red.

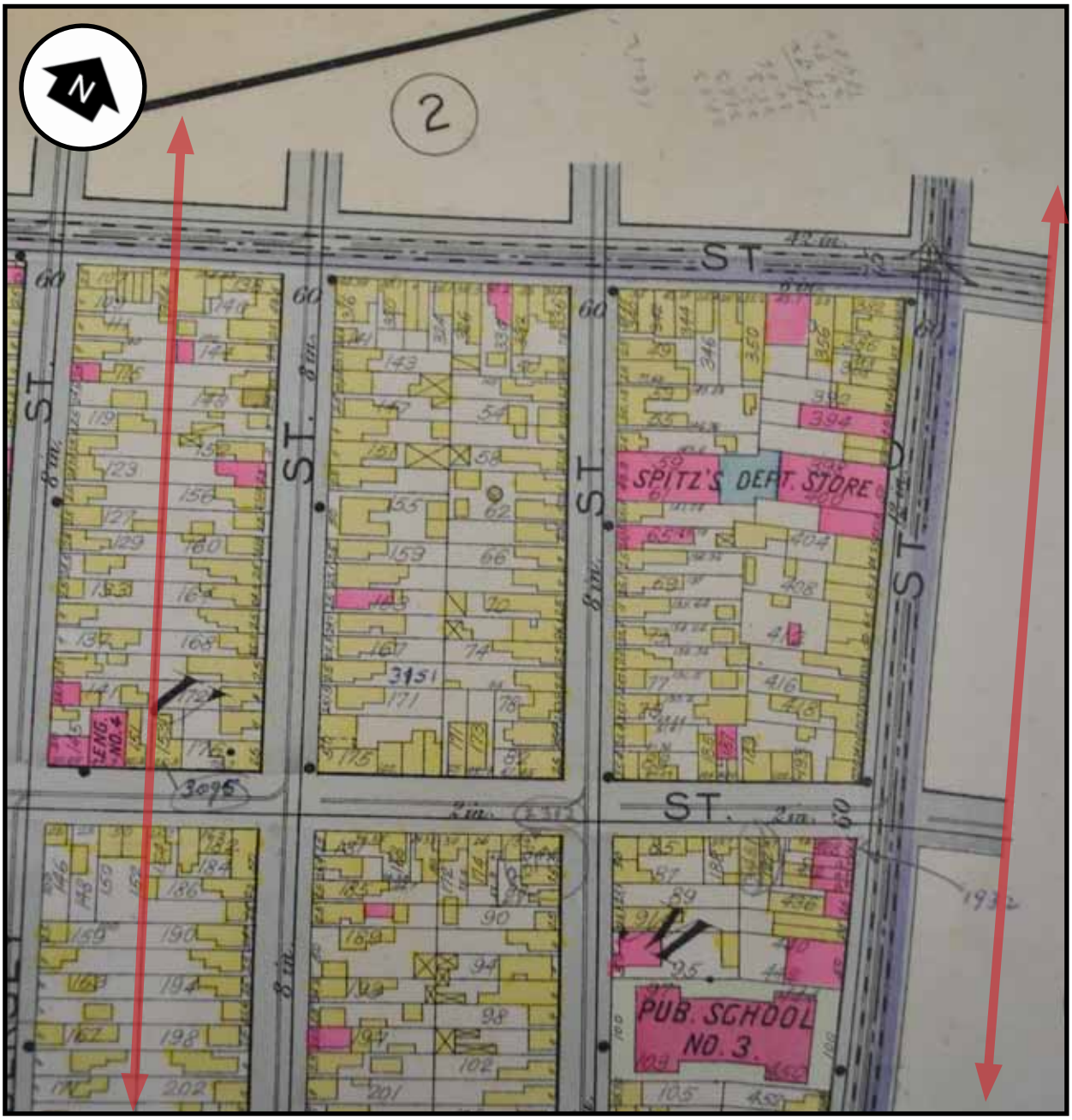


Figure 2.15c. Mueller, A.H. Detail of Plate 9, *Atlas of the City of Paterson New Jersey*. 1915. Scale: 1 inch = 175 feet (approximately). Location of study area outlined in red.

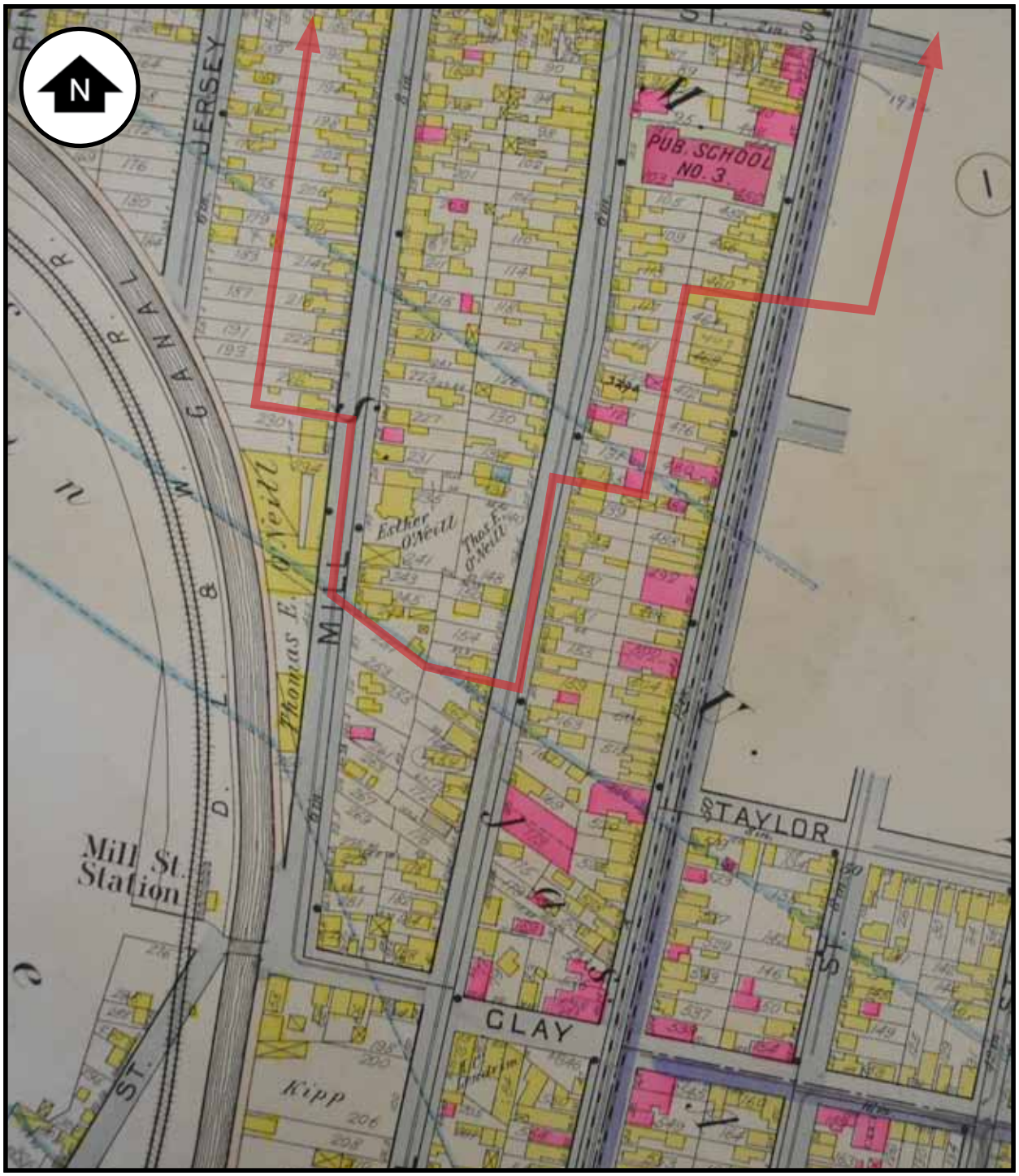


Figure 2.15d. Mueller, A.H. Detail of Plate 9, *Atlas of the City of Paterson New Jersey*. 1915. Scale: 1 inch = 250 feet (approximately). Location of study area outlined in red.

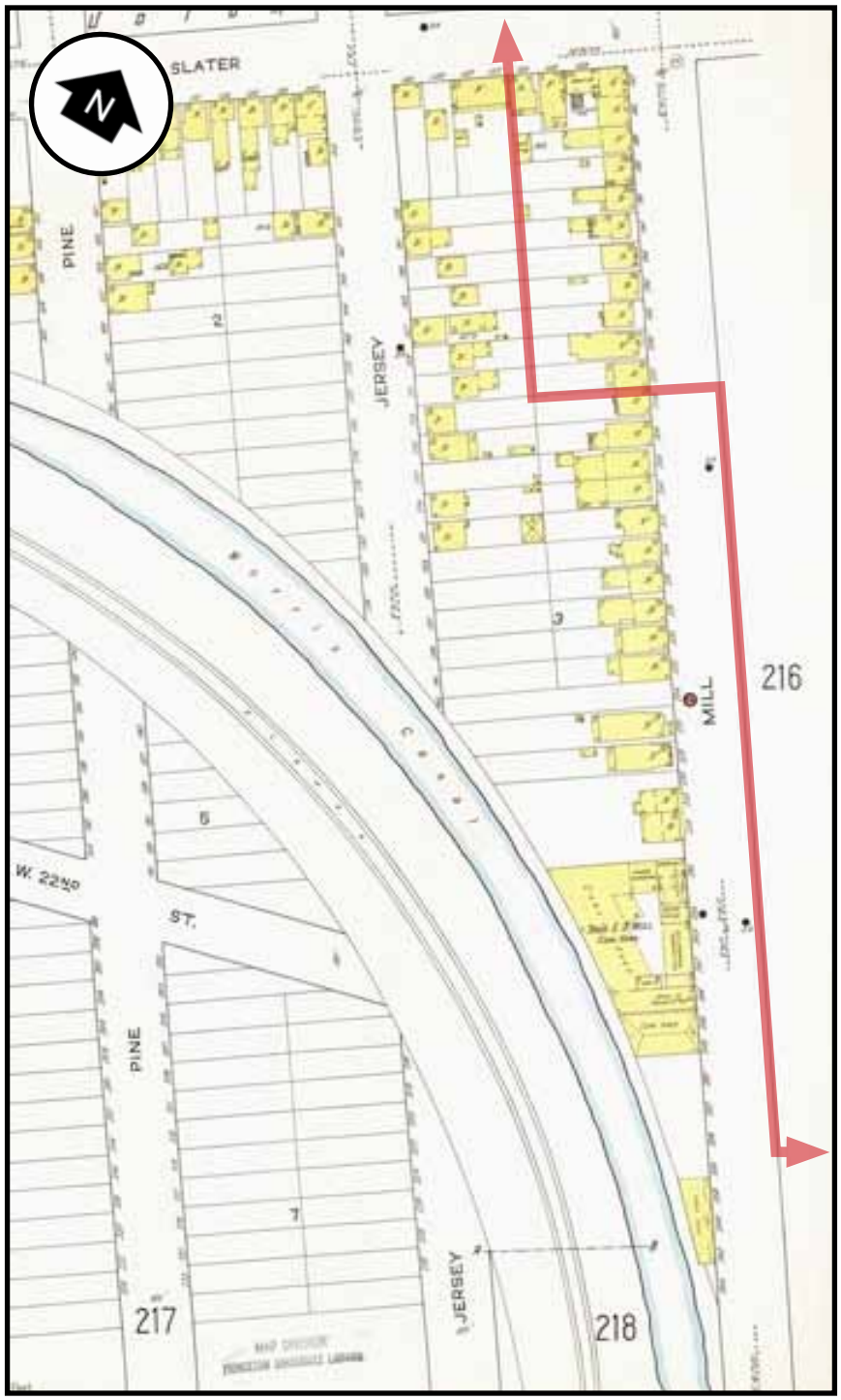


Figure 2.16a. Sanborn Map Company. Detail of Plate 215, *Insurance Maps of Paterson New Jersey*. 1915. Scale: 1 inch = 150 feet (approximately). Location of study area outlined in red.

Figure 2.16b. Sanborn Map Company. Detail of Plate 216, *Insurance Maps of Paterson New Jersey*. 1915. Scale: 1 inch = 175 feet (approximately). Location of study area outlined in red.

Figure 2.16c. Sanborn Map Company. Detail of Plate 11, *Insurance Maps of Paterson New Jersey*. 1915. Scale: 1 inch = 150 feet (approximately). Location of study area outlined in red.

Figure 2.16d. Sanborn Map Company. Detail of Plate 12, *Insurance Maps of Paterson New Jersey.* 1915. Scale: 1 inch = 150 feet (approximately). Location of study area outlined in red.

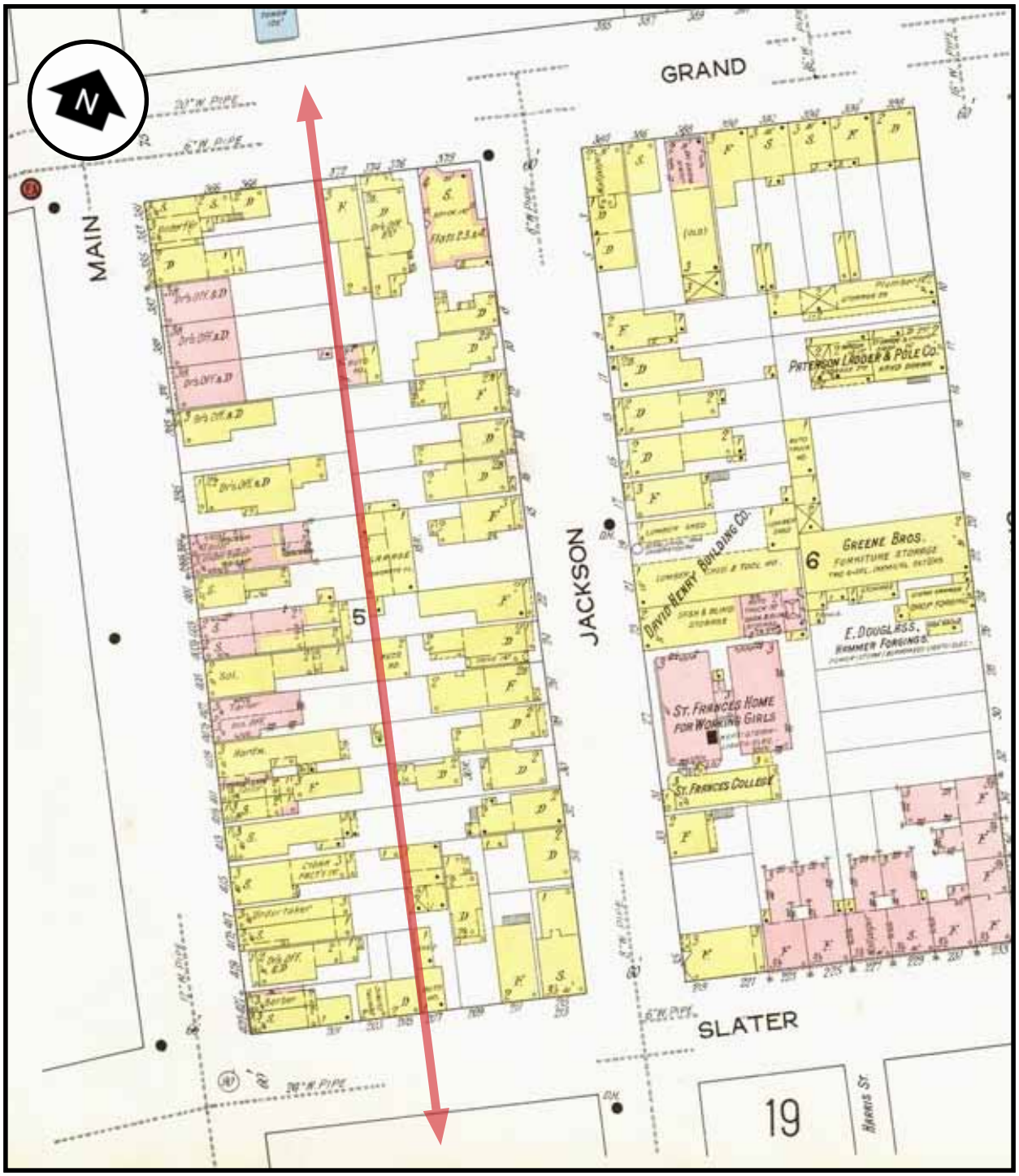


Figure 2.16e. Sanborn Map Company. Detail of Plate 17, *Insurance Maps of Paterson New Jersey*. 1915. Scale: 1 inch = 100 feet (approximately). Location of study area outlined in red.

German immigrants. Both studies, however, identified small numbers of Scots, Swiss, German, French and even Spanish in their investigations. This patterning, although requiring greater investigation, suggests that Dublin may indeed have had slightly different north and south ethnic personalities prior to 1870 with the Irish more numerous in South Dublin near the Dublin Spring and less numerous in other areas. The entire Dublin neighborhood appears to have shifted toward an Italian ethnic composition beginning in the 1890s.

In the areas studied by archaeologists, Italian households accounted for over 90 percent of the households by 1920. Within this period, however, the influx of Italians seems to have taken place at slightly different times on different blocks, with the transition happening quickly once it was under way. Local patterns of Italian settlement may also have been impacted by a shift from northern Italians to southern Italians and Sicilians in the early part of the 20th century. Dublin was widely regarded to have an entirely Italian identity throughout much of the first half of the 20th century as some second or third generation Italian families may have elected to remain in the neighborhood. A gradual change was noted, primarily involving an influx of Puerto Ricans and Peruvians beginning in the 1960s. The center of the Italian neighborhood, sometimes referred to as "Little Italy," was in the Cross, Market and Mill Street areas adjacent to St. Michael's Roman Catholic Church, which was founded in 1901 and began holding services in the old Cross Street Methodist Church in 1903. The present St. Michael's Church was dedicated in 1929. Although recent demographic data was not accessed in the preparation of this report, Dublin's current residents derive from Peru, the Dominican Republic and Serbia. The Italian presence is greatly diminished, although not entirely absent.[20]

From the 19th century to the present day, churches and missions have been among the most significant physical expressions of ethnic and cultural identity in Dublin. Immigrant populations have repeatedly given resources to the construction and maintenance of church buildings, schools and missions to serve the needy. St. John the Baptist Cathedral, constructed from 1865 to 1870, and on the eastern edge of the South Dublin study area, is the largest and most architecturally magnificent of the neighborhood's churches. St. John's was organized in 1822 to serve Dublin's Irish Catholic population. The first church building was erected at the corner of Market and Mill Streets, but it was soon outgrown and replaced by a larger church on Oliver Street in 1833. The parish had grown so large by 1865 that lots were acquired from the S.U.M. for a new and even architecturally grander cathedral at the northeast corner of Grand and Main Streets on the former site of the Paterson and Hudson River Railroad's depot. This large Gothic Revival building was designed by architect Patrick C. Keely, an Irish immigrant architect from Brooklyn who made a specialty in Roman Catholic ecclesiastical architecture. St. John's is considered one of his finest commissions.[21]

Later Catholic parishes adapted to the needs of new immigrant groups. Within the South Dublin study area, the most notable example is St. Boniface Roman Catholic Church, founded as a German parish in 1860. German-language services had been held in the basement of St. John's starting in 1852 by visiting priests. These services eventually evolved into a regular congregation with a full-time priest and the need for a new church. St. Boniface, at the southeast corner of Main and Slater Street, was established in 1860 with the cornerstone of a new church laid that year and completed in 1861. The church filled the needs of a growing German immigrant community, many fleeing the political and social destabilization caused by the Franco-Prussian War and the unification of Germany. In 1871, St. Boniface established a parish school in a building adjacent to the church. This building was replaced by a larger brick school in 1904.[22]

Data are reasonably conclusive that most houses in Dublin were owner-occupied prior to 1880 and that since the early 20th century it has been mostly a neighborhood of renters. This blanket statement has not been checked beyond a small sampling of households in North Dublin, but there is no strong evidence to the contrary. By 1900, a minority of houses were owner-occupied, indicating absentee landlords and renters. The number of owner-occupied houses in Dublin seems to have remained relatively constant throughout the 20th century at about 15 to 20 percent, but again these data have not been systematically reviewed.[23]

Household size can be an indicator of living conditions, as well as economic well-being since poorer households tend to be larger or more crowded. From the 1870s to the 1900s, the number of households living in Dublin increased by about 25 percent as it shifted from home-owning to renting households. This may be reflected in housing stock built during this era which tended toward multi-story flats replacing smaller dwellings. This is also the period when Sanborn maps indicate older dwellings were being converted into multi-family "tenements."[24] Household size and population in Dublin stabilized after 1900 and appear to have been relatively flat over the course of the 20th century and declining somewhat in the late 20th century, suggesting that the inflow and outflow of population has resulted in no net gains or slight losses, probably accounting for the lack of pressure to introduce denser forms of housing. Interestingly, the average household size seems to have been steady at from about five to seven individuals. Even so, individual household size has fluctuated greatly with anywhere from four to ten individuals not being uncommon, often dependent on family life-cycle and whether or not a household took in boarders (a common status for single workers, orphaned children or retired elders).[25]

During the 1810s to 1840s, several attempts were made at starting schools by private subscription in or near the Dublin neighborhood. These included the Paterson Academy, established in 1811, at the corner of Market and Union Streets, and a school that was held in the basement of the Methodist Church on Cross (Cianci) Street starting in 1837. Notwithstanding several earlier attempts to organize a free public school, there was not a public educational institution in the neighborhood until 1848 when a school was built on Ellison Street (on the site of present-day Public School Number 2). After Paterson received a city charter in 1851, public education was placed on a permanent, organized and funded basis. Public School Number 3 was erected on Main Street in South Dublin in the 1850s with the first school building replaced by the present one in 1899. In 1920, Public School Number 3 had 905 students and 16 teachers, for a student/teacher ratio of 56:1.[26]

Immigration to Paterson and the United States declined after restrictive immigration laws were introduced in the aftermath of World War I. The collapse of Paterson's industrial economy began in the 1930s, revived somewhat during World War II, but then entered a painful decline after the war. Symptomatic of the changes that were shaking Paterson, mills were closing or cutting jobs as the once mighty silk industry entered a final collapse. The New Jersey State Highway Department and city planners were laying the groundwork for a system of freeways that would cut across the city. Dublin lay in the crosshairs of freeway building and although the effort to save the Great Falls mill district would eventually stop some of these plans, Interstate 80 and associated ramps led to the destruction of hundreds of houses in the Dublin neighborhood at the southern ends of Main, Marshall and Mill Streets, and western ends of Slater, Grand and Jersey Streets (Figures 2.17-2.19). Before and after photographs taken by the Salvage Archaeology Project in the 1970s illustrate the dramatic changes wrought by freeway building (Photographs 2.6-2.9).

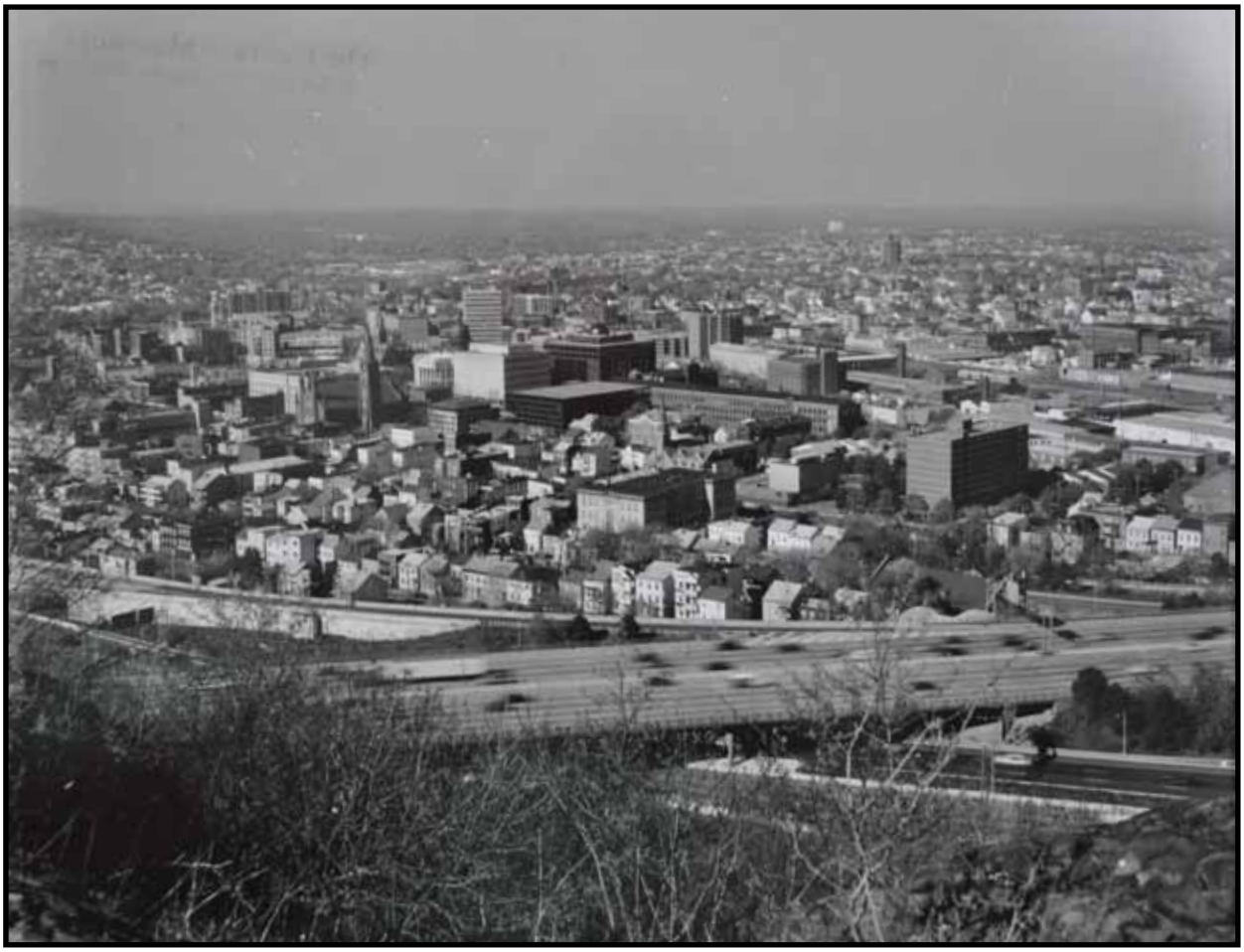
Figure 2.17. Historic Aerials. 1953. Scale: 1 inch = 325 feet (approximately). Location of study area outlined in red..

Figure 2.18. Historic Aerials. 1966. Scale: 1 inch = 325 feet (approximately). Location of study area outlined in red.

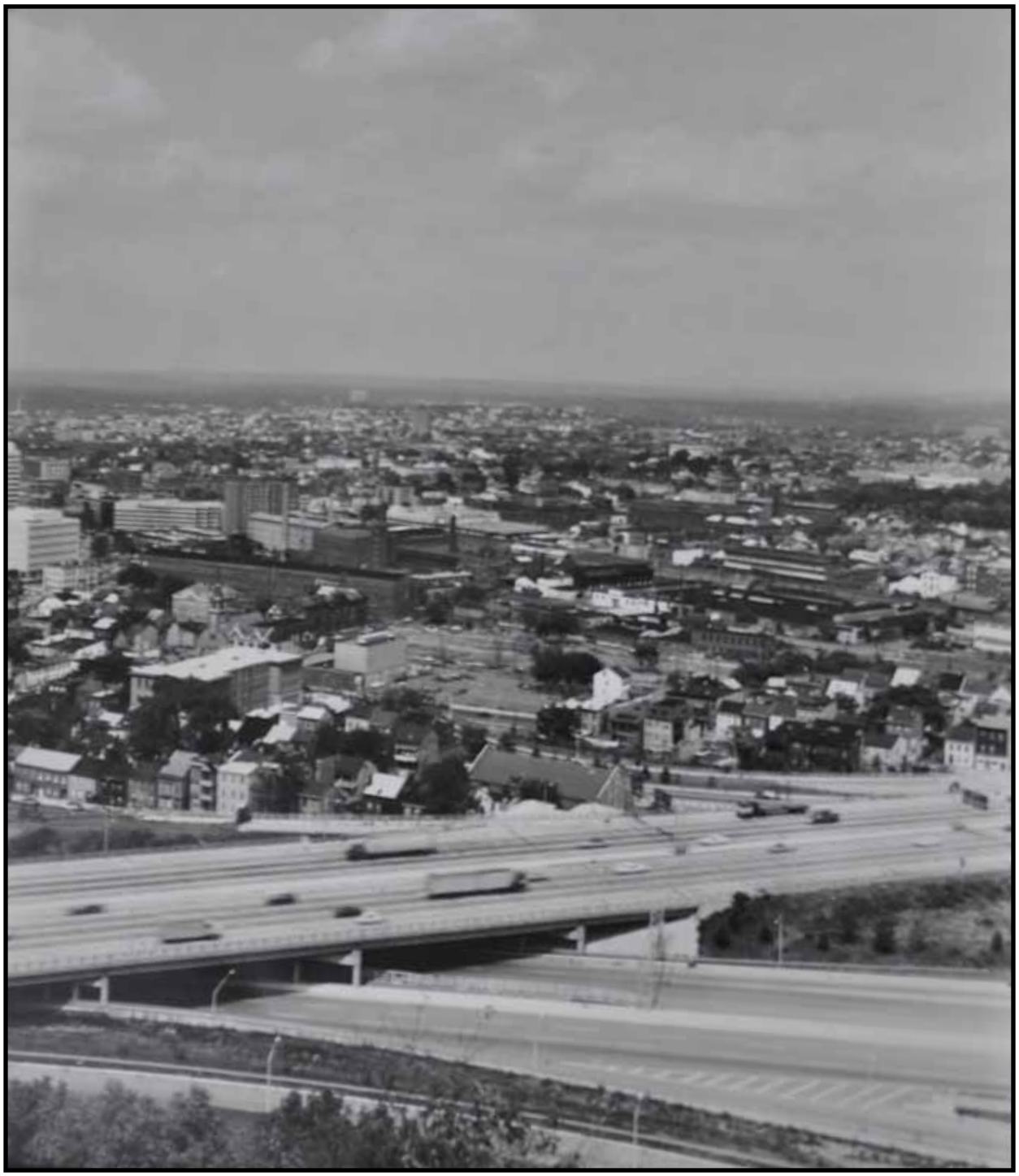
Figure 2.19. Historic Aerials. 1979. Scale: 1 inch = 325 feet (approximately). Location of study area outlined in red.

Photograph 2.6. View from Garrett Mountain looking northeast toward the Dublin neighborhood, prior to I-80 construction. *Circa* 1970. Source: Paterson Museum.

Photograph 2.7. View from Garrett Mountain looking north toward the Dublin neighborhood, prior to I-80 construction. *Circa* 1970. Source: Paterson Museum.



Photograph 2.8. View from Garrett Mountain looking northeast toward the Dublin neighborhood, post I-80 construction. *Circa* 1979. Source: Paterson Museum.



Photograph 2.9. View from Garrett Mountain looking northeast toward the Dublin neighborhood, post I-80 construction. *Circa* 1979. Source: Paterson Museum.

By the 1950s, Paterson was in economic crisis but it was also welcoming new immigrants. As an illustration, parts of Dublin attracted Peruvians who came to the city in the 1950s following jobs in the textile-dyeing industry. As with many immigrant stories, this migration began with a handful of men from Lima's working-class neighborhoods who were recruited by a Paterson textile company that exported cotton goods to Peru. These pioneers later brought their wives and children to the United States, and a chain of migration was soon under way. The textile jobs disappeared in the 1970s, but the Peruvian population persevered and has since continued to attract new migrants and develop institutions such as Peruvian churches, brotherhoods and even soccer leagues. Little Italy, once the location of Italian restaurants and shops, is now sometimes referred to as Little Lima with its own culinary delights and cultural events, including an annual Peruvian parade on the day of national independence. Remarkably, the infrastructure of small houses, apartments, stores and shops established by 19th-century mill workers continues to support the lives of present-day Patersonians who follow very much in their footsteps.[27]

Endnotes

[1] Lubov Drashevska, The Geology of Paterson, New Jersey with a Field Guide (Paterson, New Jersey: The Paterson Museum, 1976).

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[25] Cotz (1974).

[26] Nelson (1920), p. 394-396.

[27] Paerregaard (2010), pp. 61-62.