HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

PHASE I CULTURAL RESOURCES STUDY

PROPOSED 28TH STREET SUBSTATION WEST 28TH STREET BETWEEN EIGHTH AND NINTH AVENUES NEW YORK, NEW YORK

PHASE I CULTURAL RESOURCES STUDY
PROPOSED 28TH STREET SUBSTATION
WEST 28TH STREET BETWEEN
EIGHTH AND NINTH AVENUES
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Prepared For:

STV, Inc.
225 Park Avenue South
New York, NY 10003

and

MTA Construction and Development (C&D)
2 Broadway
New York, NY 10004

Prepared By:

Historical Perspectives, Inc.
P.O. Box 529
Westport, CT 06881

Author:
Faline Schneiderman, MA RPA

May 2018
rev. October 2021

MANAGEMENT SUMMARY

SHPO Project Review Number (if available):

Involved State and Federal Agencies:
MTA Construction and Development (C&D)

Phase of Survey: Phase I Cultural Resources Study

Location Information
Location: 28th Street between Eighth and Ninth Avenues
Minor Civil Division: 06101
County: New York

Survey Area
Length: varies
Width: varies
Number of Acres Surveyed: .24 [ca. 10,249 square-foot (SF)]

USGS 7.5 Minute Quadrangle Map: Jersey City, NJ 2013.

Archaeological Survey Overview
Number & Interval of Shovel Tests: N/A
Number & Size of Units: N/A
Width of Plowed Strips: N/A
Surface Survey Transect Interval: N/A

Results of Archaeological Survey
Number & name of precontact sites identified: None
Number & name of historic sites identified: None.
Number & name of sites recommended for Phase II/Avoidance: None

Results of Architectural Survey
Number of buildings/structures/cemeteries within Project Site: None
Number of buildings/structures/cemeteries adjacent to Project Site:
Number of previously determined S/NRHP listed or eligible buildings/structures/cemeteries/districts: None
Number of identified eligible buildings/structures/cemeteries/districts: None

Report Authors(s): Faline Schneiderman, M.A., R.P.A., Historical Perspectives, Inc.

Date of Report: May 2018, rev. October 2021

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Metropolitan Transportation Authority, Construction and Development (MTA C&D) proposes to construct and operate a new power substation that will supply traction power to the Eighth Avenue Line (A/C/E) Subway. The proposed site for the substation is located in the streetbed and the northern sidewalk of 28th Street between Eighth and Ninth Avenues, near Eighth Avenue (Figures 1 and 2a).

MTA C&D, acting as lead state agency for the environmental review, is preparing an Environmental Due Diligence Assessment (EDDA) for the Proposed Project. As part of this EDDA, a cultural resources assessment is being prepared. Because this study is being prepared for both the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (LPC) and the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation (OPRHP), it is addressing both historic (architectural) and archaeological resources as required by the City Environmental Quality Review (CEQR) and the State Environmental Quality Review (SEQR).

Historical Perspectives, Inc. (HPI) has been contracted by STV, Inc. to complete this Phase I cultural resources assessment for the site of the proposed substation. This study was prepared to comply with the standards of the both the OPRHP and the LPC (New York Archaeological Council 1994; OPRHP 2005; LPC 2002; CEQR 2014, revised 2016).

The Area of Potential Effect (APE) includes the location of the proposed substation on the north side of 28th Street, plus a trench for utilities extending from the substation east to Eighth Avenue. Since the precise location of the trench is unknown, the entire streetbed from the westernmost point of proposed excavation for the substation, east to the IND Line beneath Eighth Avenue is included in the APE. While this entire area may not experience subsurface disturbance, establishing this larger APE allows for flexibility in the final placement of the utility trench since all possible locations have been included in this study. The Historic Resources Study Area (Study Area) includes the APE plus a buffer of 400 feet.

Archaeological Resources:

Documentary research has concluded that the project site has no potential for either precontact or historic archaeological resources. The APE was extensively modified historically when 28th Street was originally graded prior to 1850. The APE was then developed with multi-story residential units, all with basements and some with deeper cellars, which post-date the availability of municipal utilities. After these structures were demolished, the site was graded again to allow for the creation of a curving 28th Street within the Penn South complex. The entire APE has experienced extensive subsurface disturbance and, therefore, no further archaeological consideration is warranted.

Historic Resources

The APE lies within the Penn South development, determined S/NRHP-eligible (2015). The Bayard Rustin Apartment, inside the S/NRHP-listed Penn South Building 7, is within 90 feet of the APE. The NYCL and S/NRHP-eligible Lamartine Historic District and the S/NRHP-eligible Former French Hospital at 326-330 West 30th Street are within the 400-foot Study Area, and, also, within the viewshed of the APE on 28th Street. The S/NRHP-listed and NYCL Church of the Apostles is within the 400-foot Study Area, but is not within the viewshed of the APE due to a curve in 28th Street

The New York City Building Code provides some measures of protection for all NYCL properties against accidental damage from adjacent construction by requiring that all buildings, lots, and service facilities adjacent to foundation and earthwork areas be protected and supported. Additional protective measures apply to designated NYC Landmarks and S/NRHP-listed historic buildings located within 90 linear feet of a proposed construction site. For these structures, the New York City Department of Buildings' (DOB) Technical Policy and Procedure Notice (TPPN) #10/88 apply. TPPN #10/88 supplements the standard building protections afforded by the Building Code by requiring, among other things, a monitoring program to reduce the likelihood of construction damage to adjacent S/NRHP or NYCL resources (within 90 feet) and to detect at an early stage the beginnings of damage so that construction procedures can be changed. The S/NRHP Building 7 of the Penn South development is within 90 feet of the construction zone.

Historic resources that are listed in the S/NRHP or that have been found to be S/NRHP-eligible are given a measure of protection from the impacts of federally-sponsored, or federally-assisted projects under Section 106 of the NHPA, and are similarly protected against impacts resulting from state-sponsored or state-assisted projects under the SHPA. Although preservation is not mandated, federal agencies must attempt to avoid adverse impacts on such resources through a notice, review, and consultation process. The construction zone falls within the S/NRHP-eligible Penn South site and adjacent to the S/NRHP Building 7.

Most of the identified historic resources would not experience an impact because substation construction would not introduce new elements that would detract from their current historical contexts. The substation would be entirely below grade, with only minor changes to 28th Street and few outward signs of its presence. These include 1) the widening of the sidewalk by six feet on the north side of 28th Street, and, 2) the installation of up to three access hatches and two sets of grates flush with the surface in the widened sidewalk on the north side of 28th Street.. A review of these features found that none would adversely impact historic resources, either directly or indirectly.

Given the number of historic structures in and around the APE, it is recommended that MTA C&D employ vibration control measures to minimize, as much as possible, the vibration levels in the historic neighborhoods near the construction site. Measures may include developing and implementing a vibration-monitoring program during highly disruptive construction activities, such as pile driving, to ensure that historic structures would not be damaged. Furthermore, the sidewalk reconstruction should be consistent with the extant sidewalk, including the metal curb, and newly introduced elements in the sidewalk should be as unobtrusive as feasible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FIGURES

PHOTOGRAPHS

(see Figures 2a and 2b for Photograph locations)

Photograph 1: Area of Potential Effect on 28th Street in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing northwest from Eighth Avenue. Penn South Building 9 at right and S/NRHP Building 7 at extreme left.

Photograph 2: Area of Potential Effect on 28th Street in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing northwest from just west of Eighth Avenue. NYCL and S/NRHP-eligible Lamartine Place Historic District and S/NRHP-eligible Former French Hospital in background.

Photograph 3: Sidewalk on south side of 28th Street and Area of Potential Effect in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing northwest.

Photograph 4: Area of Potential Effect in 28th Street (foreground) and landscaping between 28th and 29th Streets in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing northeast from sidewalk on south side of 28th Street. Penn South Building 9 at right.

Photograph 5: Area of Potential Effect in 28th Street and landscaped gardens between 28th and 29th Streets in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing north from sidewalk on south side of 28th Street. NYCL and S/NRHP-eligible Lamartine Place Historic District at left and S/NRHP-eligible Former French Hospital at center.

Photograph 6: 28th Street west of the Area of Potential Effect and landscaped garden between 28th and 29th Streets in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing north from sidewalk in front of S/NRHP Penn South Building 7. S/NRHP-eligible Former French Hospital to north on 29th Street.

Photograph 7: NYCL and S/NRHP-eligible Lamartine Place Historic District on north side of 29th Street, facing northwest from sidewalk in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development adjacent to S/NRHP Building 7 on south side of 28th Street. Penn South Building 10 is at left.

Photograph 8: NYCL and S/NRHP-eligible Lamartine Place Historic District on north side of 29th Street, facing north from sidewalk on north side of 28th Street in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development.

Photograph 9: Area of Potential Effect in 28th Street with landscaped garden between 28th and 29th Streets at left in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing east from sidewalk on north side of 28th Street. The S/NRHP Penn South Building 7 is at right, and Penn South Building 9 is at left in background.

Photograph 10: Sidewalk on south side of 28th Street in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing east with the S/NRHP Building 7 at right. Penn South Building 9 is in background.

Photograph 11: Area of Potential Effect and northern sidewalk in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing east. Penn South Building 8 is at right, and Building 9 is at left.

Photograph 12: 28th Street Area of Potential Effect in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing south. S/NRHP Penn South Building 7 is at right, Penn South Building 8 is at left.

Photograph 13: Western end of 28th Street Area of Potential Effect in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing southwest. S/NRHP Penn South Building 7 is at right, Penn South Building 8 is at left.

Photograph 14: Sidewalk on north side of 28th Street in Area of Potential Effect in the NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing northwest.

Photograph 15: S/NRHP and NYCL Church of the Holy Apostles at the southwest intersection of Ninth Avenue and 28th Street, facing southwest from sidewalk on north side of 28th Street in the S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development.

Photograph 16: South sidewalk on 29th Street, landscaped area between 28th and 29th Streets, and 28th Street Area of Potential Effect in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing southwest from center of 29th Street in front of Former French Hospital. S/NRHP Building 7 is at right.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Metropolitan Transportation Authority, Construction and Development (MTA C&D) proposes to construct and operate a new power substation that will supply traction power to the Eighth Avenue Line (A/C/E) Subway. The proposed site for the substation is located beneath the streetbed and the northern sidewalk of 28th Street between Eighth and Ninth Avenues, near Eighth Avenue (Figures 1 and 2a).

MTA C&D, acting as lead state agency for the environmental review, is preparing an Environmental Due Diligence Assessment (EDDA) for the Proposed Project. As part of this EDDA, a cultural resources assessment is being prepared. Because this study is being prepared for both the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (LPC) and the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation (OPRHP), it is addressing both historic (architectural) and archaeological resources as required by the City Environmental Quality Review (CEQR) and the State Environmental Quality Review (SEQR).

Historical Perspectives, Inc. (HPI) has been contracted by STV, Inc. to complete this Phase I cultural resources assessment for the site of the proposed substation. This study was prepared to comply with the standards of the both the OPRHP and the LPC (New York Archaeological Council 1994; OPRHP 2005; LPC 2002; CEQR 2014, revised 2016).

II. METHODOLOGY

Area of Potential Effect

The 2014 (revised 2016) CEQR Technical Manual identifies archaeological sites as a location or place that possesses historic, cultural, or archaeological value, either because a significant event or sequence of events took place there, or because an important building or structure, whether now standing, ruined, or vanished, is or was, located there. A site can be important because of its association with significant historic (or prehistoric) events or activities, buildings, structures, objects, or people, or because of its potential to yield information important in prehistory or history. Examples of sites include a Native American habitation site or a battlefield. As such, the Area of Potential Effect (APE) for the proposed substation is limited to the specific locations where project-related excavation would result in new in-ground disturbance.

The APE includes the location of the proposed substation on the north side of 28th Street, plus a trench for utilities extending from the substation east to Eighth Avenue. Since the precise location of the trench is unknown, the entire streetbed from the westernmost point of proposed excavation for the substation, east to the IND Line beneath Eighth Avenue is included in the APE (Figure 2a). While this entire area may not experience subsurface disturbance, establishing this larger APE allows for flexibility in the final placement of the utility trench since all possible locations have been included in this study.

Historic Resources Study Area

The 2014 CEQR Technical Manual identifies historic resources as districts, buildings, structures, sites, and objects of historical, aesthetic, cultural, and archaeological importance. This includes designated New York City Landmarks (NYCL); properties calendared for consideration as landmarks by the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (LPC); properties listed in the State/National Registers of Historic Places (S/NRHP) or contained within a district listed in or formally determined eligible for S/NRHP listing; and, properties designated by the New York State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) within the Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation (OPRHP) as eligible for listing on the S/NRHP, National Historic Landmarks (NHL), and properties not identified by one of the programs or agencies listed above, but that meet their eligibility requirements. Cultural resources are districts, buildings, structures, sites, and objects of historical, aesthetic, cultural, and archaeological importance. Historic resources and archaeological resources require both distinctly different study locations and evaluation protocols specific to above- and below-grade sensitivity.

The historic resources study area (Study Area) is defined as the footprint to be altered by the substation installation, the APE, plus a 400-foot radius, which is typically adequate for the assessment of historic resources in terms of physical, visual, and historical relationships (Figures 2b). This 400-foot radius accounts for both direct physical impacts and indirect impacts. Direct impacts include demolition of a resource and alterations to a resource that cause

it to become a different visual entity. A resource could also be damaged by adjacent construction activities such as blasting, pile driving, falling objects, subsidence, collapse, or damage from construction machinery unless proper protection measures are put in place. Adjacent construction is defined as any construction activity that would occur within 90 feet of a historic resource, as defined in the NYCDOB TPPN #10/88. Indirect impacts can be contextual impacts and can include the isolation of a property from its surrounding environment, or the introduction of visual, audible, or atmospheric elements that are out of character with a property or that alter its setting.

Documentary Research Tasks

This study entailed a review of various resources to establish the history of the APE, and assess prior disturbances as well as impacts to any potential archaeological and historic resources. Undertaken research is described below.

- Historic maps were reviewed using materials available online through the New York Public Library and various other websites. These maps provided an overview of the topography and a chronology of land usage for the project site.
- Photographs of the site over time were reviewed using the New York Public Library's Digital Gallery and other websites.
- New York City Department of Buildings (DOB) records for the APE were reviewed through NYC DOB BISWeb.
- Selected historic newspapers were searched for information about mid-nineteenth century development in the APE.
- Project plans provided by MTA C&D were reviewed.
- Previous archaeological sites and surveys were reviewed using data available at the OPRHP and LPC.
- The results of soil borings undertaken for this project were reviewed and are included as Appendix A.
- A site file search for all listed and eligible historic sites and districts was undertaken using New York Cultural Resource Information System (NYCRIS).
- Last, site visits were undertaken to assess any obvious or unrecorded subsurface disturbance and establish existing conditions. The site was reviewed by Faline Schneiderman of HPI on March 22, 2018 (Photographs 1-15, Photo Key on Figures 2a and 2b).

III. ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING AND CURRENT CONDITIONS

For the following discussions, the APE and Study Area are referenced as the Project Site due to their proximity. Where information pertains to one location, it is referenced singularly.

Environmental Setting

The history of Manhattan was in part shaped by the topography, ecology, and economic conditions that prevailed at various times. Understanding the city's geologic history aids in understanding the land use history. During the Pleistocene period, ice advanced in North America several times. In the last 50,000 years, the Wisconsonian period, ice was 1,000 feet thick over Manhattan. Gravel and boulders deposited at the melting margins of ice sheets formed Long Island about 15,000 years ago (Kieran 1982). For a brief period, Manhattan was largely covered by a glacial lake. Glacial Lake Flushing occupied broad, low-lying areas when deglaciation of the region produced vast volumes of meltwater. Higher elevations of Manhattan may have been marginal to this lake (Church and Rutsch 1984). By 12,000 years ago, the lake drained and sea levels have gradually risen as glaciers retreated.

Manhattan Island lies within the Hudson Valley region and is considered part of the New England Upland Physiographic Province (Schuberth 1968). The underlying geology is made up of gneiss and mica schist with heavy, intercalated beds of coarse grained, dolomitic marble and a thinner layer of serpentine. During the three known glacial periods, the land surface in the Northeast was carved, scraped, and eroded by advancing and retreating glaciers. With the final retreat during the Post-Pleistocene, glacial debris, a mix of sand, gravel, and clay, formed the many low hills or moraines that constitute the present topography of the New York City area (USDA 2005).

The Project Site is within the embayed section of the Coastal Plain which extends along the Atlantic Coast and ranges from 100 to 200 miles wide. The Manhattan prong, which includes southwestern Connecticut, Westchester County, and New York City, is a small eastern projection of the New England uplands, characterized by 360 million year old

highly metamorphosed bedrock (Schuberth 1968). The Manhattan ridge generally rises in elevation toward the north, and sinks toward the south.

The prevalent gneissoid formation is known as Hudson River metamorphosed rock. The city is characterized by a group of gneissoid islands, separated from each other by depressions which are slightly elevated above the tide and filled with drift and alluvium. Beneath most of the Project Site is the Manhattan schist formation, a highly foliated mica schist known to have once outcropped throughout the island.

Historical development has altered many of the natural topographic features that once characterized Manhattan (Gratacap 1909). Soil within Manhattan is mostly glacial till, clays, sand, gravel, mud, and assorted debris (Kieran 1982). In Manhattan, the glacial till is a mix of sand, silt, clays and random boulders and cobblestones. Glacial lake deposits, a remnant of the Pleistocene period, contain varved silt, clay, and fine sand, often over the gneiss and schist bedrock.

Current Conditions

The Project Site is currently a paved city street that passes through the 1962/63 Mutual Redevelopment Houses complex, an urban residential Co-Op development in the Chelsea neighborhood of Manhattan that is more commonly known as Penn South (Photographs 1-15). The full breadth of the Penn South development is between Eighth and Ninth Avenues, and 23rd and 29th Streets. There are ten residential buildings in all, with each tower having 22 floors. Along 28th Street, Buildings 9 and 10 are situated to the north, and Buildings 7 and 8 lie immediately to the south (Photographs 1-13). Building 7 in Penn South is listed on the S/NRHP due to the presence of the S/NRHP listed Bayard Rustin Apartment, which is also a NYCL. The Penn South development also has been determined eligible for S/NRHP listing (see Bayard Rustin Apartment designation report in Appendix B). The Church of the Holy Apostles, which predates the development, is located at the southeastern intersection of 28th Street and Ninth Avenue, and is both a NYCL and a listed S/NRHP (Photograph 14).

The Penn South development was laid out with lawns and landscaped gardens between buildings and adjacent streets. A line of mature trees flank each side of 28th Street, separated from the public sidewalk by wrought iron fencing that demarcates Penn South's boundaries (Photographs 1-15). Breaking with the standard rectangular grid system that dominates Manhattan north of First Street, both 28th Street and 24th Street within the complex were altered from their original straight configuration and redesigned to gently curve around buildings when the development was erected. Resultantly, between Eighth and Ninth Avenues, 28th Street curves to the north and then back again south. A narrowing of the traffic lanes, which are 70-feet in width, provides for parking spaces on each side.

When the Penn South project was undertaken, preexisting structures on the north and south sides of 28th Street as well as the south side of 29th Street were razed. The realignment of 28th Street between Eighth and Ninth Avenues traverses the location of former city lots that once contained residential structures and yards. No visual evidence of these structures remains. Instead, the north side of 28th Street between buildings has an open landscaped park that provides an expansive view of structures on the north side of 29th Street (Photographs 3-8).

- Soils

A soil study of the metropolitan New York area reported that soils in the Project Site are characterized as Pavement & buildings, till substratum, 0 to 5 percent slopes (New York City Soil Staff 2005). This soil type is described as "Nearly level to gently sloping, highly urbanized areas with more than 80 percent of the surface covered by impervious pavement and buildings, over glacial till, generally located in urban centers" (Ibid.).

A series of soil borings was completed for the proposed project. Seven were planned for each side of 28th Street where the proposed substation would be constructed; some of these were refusals so additional borings were placed in close proximity (ADT 2017; see Appendix A). Boring logs show that there is no distinct difference in subsurface conditions between the north and south sides of 28th Street.

From east to west, eight soil borings were completed on the north side of 28th Street: Borings B1A, B2, B3 and 3A, B4, B5, B6, and B7. In each of these borings, the uppermost five inches were drilled through the poured concrete sidewalk. Beneath this, the upper five to six feet of strata at each location was hand excavated. Notations of the composition of this hand-excavated level are lacking for some borings, but where present they are described as fill

having traces of sand, silt, and brick (e.g., Borings B2, B3, B4, and B5; Appendix A). Machine boring beneath this level reported additional fill levels ranging in depth between eight and twelve feet below grade containing silt, sand, brick fragments, and an occasional fragment of asphalt. Beneath this were levels of sand and gravel, some containing traces of silt. No evidence of a buried natural A horizon or peat levels were reported in any of the boring logs (ADT 2017).

From east to west, eight soil borings were completed on the south side of 28th Street: Borings B8, B14 and 14A, B9, B10, B11, B12, and B13. Like the borings on the north side of the street, all borings were cored through five inches of poured concrete, then hand-excavated to between five and six feet below grade (Appendix A). Hand-excavated levels were generally not described, with the exception being Boring B14A that contained fill with silt, sand, and brick fragments. Beneath the hand-excavated level, borings found fill from roughly ten to 14 feet below grade. Sand and sandy silt with gravel underlay the fill down to bedrock, encountered at roughly 30 feet below grade (ADT 2017).

In summary, none of the borings identified a natural A horizon soil, and found deep levels of disturbance over natural deep subsoils. The former pre-development surface appears to have been eradicated.

- Topography and Hydrology

According to historic maps (e.g. Ratzer 1766-1767, British Headquarters 1782, Randel 1819; Viele 1865, Graether 1898 – see Figures 3 and 4), prior to development the APE was situated on the southeastern slope and possibly the top of an elevated rise located roughly 1000 feet east of the Hudson River shoreline. Several maps (Randel 1819, Viele 1865, Graether 1898) depicted a stream circling the base of the elevated terrace, draining from east to west where it terminated at a salt marsh along the Hudson River (see Figure 4). The stream's closest point to the APE would have been roughly 200 to 300 feet to the east of Eighth Avenue.

- Grading and Regulating Streets

Changes to the natural pre-development topography of streets in and around the APE were reviewed on historical maps and atlases, but no cartographic sources depicted elevations prior to 1850 or before Eighth and Ninth Avenues adjacent to the APE were opened in the 1810s. While 1850 and later maps and atlases do show a minor change in elevation over time, as reported on Table 1, this does not reflect the full extent of land manipulation experienced in and around the streets in the APE.

Table 1: Elevation Changes in Street Intersections Surrounding the Area of Potential Effect

INTERSECTION	ELEVATION* ON 1850 HAYWARD	ELEVATION ON 1865 VIELE	ELEVATION ON 1885 ROBINSON (FIGURE 10)	DIFFERENCE
Eighth Avenue x 28th St.	N/A	23' ASL	24' ASL	+1'
Eighth Avenue x 29th St.	N/A	25' ASL	25.4' ASL	+.4'
Ninth Avenue x 28th St.	23' ASL	22' ASL	22' ASL	-1
Ninth Avenue x 29th St.	27.8' ASL	30' ASL	28' ASL	+2.2'; -2'

* All elevations provided Above Sea Level (ASL)

The minimal increase in elevation between 1865 and 1885 on Eighth Avenue may be the result of a change in the established New York City datum that was in use in 1865, or changes to the surrounding topography as development intensified, and roads were repaved and improved. The minimal decrease in elevation at Ninth Avenue and 28th Street between 1850 and 1865 by one foot suggests grading, while the increase in elevation on Ninth Avenue at 29th Street between 1850 and 1865 by 2.2 feet followed by the reduction in elevation by 2 feet suggests continued attempts to level the steeper slope that once characterized this location.

- IND Eighth Avenue Subway

The IND Eighth Avenue Line, constructed in the late 1920s and opened in 1932, was constructed beneath Eighth Avenue immediately east of the APE. It was the first line of the IND system, and was built using the cut-and-cover method of construction rendering the footprint of Eighth Avenue completely disturbed. This section of the subway line is four tracks wide, with the closest stations located at 34th Street to the north, and 23rd Street to the south.

IV. BACKGROUND RESEARCH/HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Precontact Overview

For this report, the word precontact is used to describe the period prior to the use of formal written records. In the western hemisphere, the precontact period also refers to the time before European exploration and settlement of the New World. Archaeologists and historians gain their knowledge and understanding of precontact Native Americans in the metropolitan New York area from three sources: ethnographic reports, Native American artifact collections, and archaeological investigations.

Based on data from these sources, a precontact cultural chronology has been devised for the New York City area. Scholars generally divide the precontact era into three main periods, the PaleoIndian (c. 14,000-9,500 years ago), the Archaic (c. 9,500-3,000 years ago), and the Woodland (c. 3,000-500 years ago). The Archaic and Woodland periods are further divided into Early, Middle, and Late substages. The Woodland was followed by the Contact Period (c. 500-300 years ago). Artifacts, settlement, subsistence, and cultural systems changed through time with each of these stages. Characteristics of these temporal periods have been well documented elsewhere, and in keeping with guidelines issued by the OPRHP (2005), will not be fully reiterated here.

Scholars often characterize precontact sites by their close proximity to a fresh water source, available game, and exploitable natural resources (i.e., plants, raw materials for stone tools, clay veins, etc.). These sites are often separated into three categories: primary (campsites or villages), secondary (tool manufacturing, food processing), and isolated finds (a single or very few artifacts either lost or discarded). Primary sites are often situated in locales that are easily defended against both nature (weather) and enemies. Secondary sites are often found in the location of exploitable resources (e.g., shellfish, lithic raw materials).

A review of maps and atlases from the historical period indicates that the APE sloped uphill from southeast to northwest where there was an elevated knoll. Surrounding three sides of the knoll was a stream that drained into the Hudson River to the west. Native Americans would have been drawn to this elevated land in proximity to fresh water, and possibly to the sloping terrain that may have offered a small degree of protection from winds coming south down the Hudson River.

Historical Period Overview

Historic documents and maps (e.g. Ratzer 1766-1767 [Figure 3], Montresor 1766, British Headquarters 1782, Viele 1865) identify the APE as being in a section of New York that was sparsely developed through the mid-19th century. What is now the 28th Street roadbed was once part of historic Block 752 that was within the Weylandt Patent, but later became part of the van Orden Farm (the northeast section of the block near Eighth Avenue) and the Franklin and Robinson Farm (the remainder of the block). The Weylandt patent encompassed 300 acres from the Hudson River east .6 miles (Stokes 1915:153). At the north end of the patent was Clapboard Valley, a small semi-circular meadow between 28th and 30th Streets, with a minor stream snaking northwesterly through it, terminating at a bay of the Hudson River at roughly 29th Street. The meadow may have been fenced with staves or "clap-boards," hence the derivation of the name (Ibid.).

Governor Nicolls granted the Weylandt tract to Cornelys[sic] Van Royven, Allard Anthony, and Paulus Leenderts in 1668 (Stokes 1915:153). Lots 1 and 2 of the Weylandt patent, including the project site, went to Anthony, who sold them to Cornelius van Borsum in 1678, although Stokes notes that the date of this deed must have been much earlier and speculates that it was made in 1668 and recorded in 1678 (Ibid.). Stokes also notes that in 1670s, there is the recordation of a suit brought by Johannes van Couwenhoven against van Borsum that may have involved this tract. Regardless, by 1675 van Couwenhoven owned land in the project site. Van Couwenhoven leased one lot in his pastureland to his eldest son Jacob to use for a period of ten years through 1685 with the provision that he build and house with a fence around the lot (Ibid.).

Lot 1 and a portion of Lot 2 were later inherited by Jacomyntje van Orden, daughter of Johannes van Couwenhoven, and her husband Wessel Pietersen van Orden, thus it became known as the van Orden Farm. Wessel and his wife became owners of a large portion of van Couwenhoven's property in the Weylandt patent, plus additional land designated as Common Land (Stokes 1915:152). Their son, Jacobus, acquired the tract upon his father's death. He married Christina Sabrasco in 1730 and when he died ca. 1780 (after his wife), he passed all land to his son Jacobus.

When the younger Jacobus died in testate, he passed the land to his two surviving sisters and the children of his deceased sisters, so that property went to a number of relatives with the surnames of Shultz, Dawson, Warner, and O'Brien (Ibid.). The Fitzroy Road, also known as the Old Road to Greenwich, crossed 28th Street just west of Eighth Avenue, and served as the western boundary for much of the van Orden farm, which later became the Cornelius Ray Farm (Figure 3). This road purportedly followed an earlier Native American trail (Stokes 1918:999-1000, 1928:164).

Lot 2 of the Weylandt patent, including the project site west of the former route of Fitzroy Road, contained land that was part of Casper Caster's ground-brief of 1692, and all of the northerly one half of the easterly parcel of the Remsen patent granted in 1680 (Stokes 1915:83). John Morin Scott appeared to have purchased the Weylandt Lot from the heirs of Van Couwenhoven. When he died in 1784, he bequeathed twelve acres at the southwest corner of his farm to his daughter, Mary MacKnight, which became part of the Clarke estate, south of the project site. The rest of the farm was sold in 1792 by Lewis and Julianna Scott to Samuel Franklin and William T, Robinson. This tract later became known as the Franklin and Robinson Farm, and included the project site. When the 1766/67 Ratzer map was created, it showed the project site vacant and on elevated terrain between the J. M. Scott house and farm to the north, and the Thomas Clarke house and farm to the south (Figure 3). In 1782, the APE was likewise devoid of any development (British Headquarters Map 1782).

At some point in the late eighteenth century, Cornelius Ray, the president of the first United States Bank in New York City, acquired several tracts of land for an estate just north of the land of Clement Clarke Moore, grandson of Thomas Clarke, bounded generally by Eighth Avenue on the east and the Hudson River on the west, including the project site. The northern border of their 40-acre estate ran somewhat north of 30th Street and the southern boundary ran roughly between 27th and 28th Streets. Although Ray lived on Broadway in lower Manhattan in 1799, he built his estate house to the east of what is now Ninth Avenue and 28th Street, immediately northwest of the project site (Wilson 1893:151; Randel 1819, Figure 4). Upon his death in 1827, Ray bequeathed the tract to his sons Robert and Richard Ray and his daughter Mary King. Philip Hone, writing in his diary, described an 1834 dinner party at the Robert Ray house as follows:

> Mr. Ray has the finest house in New York, and it is furnished and fitted up in a style of the utmost magnificence—painted ceilings, gilded moldings, rich satin ottomans, curtains in the last Parisian taste, and splendid mirrors, which reflect and multiply all the rays, great and small. On this occasion, all the science of all the accomplished artistes was put in requisition; decorators, cooks, and confectioners vied with each other, and each in his vocation seemed to have produced the ne plus ultra; and unlike other entertainments of the kind, the spirit of jealousy and emulation cannot be excited to an inconvenient degree, for ... no person possesses such a house and very few the means to show it off in the same style. (Hone 1927:111)

By the early nineteenth century, the city grid had been established on paper and plans were being made to lay out streets and avenues. When the APE was surveyed in the 1810s, no structures stood in it, but the Ray house was mapped immediately northwest (Randel 1819, Figure 4). Between 28th and 29th Streets, Ninth Avenue was first opened between 1815 and 1816, and was regulated, graded, and macadamized by 1830. Eighth Avenue was opened by 1815 and macadamized by 1836, and the Fitzroy Road, which ran through the APE, was officially closed in 1832 (Stokes 1915). By 1837, the 60-foot wide 28th Street had been regulated and opened from Third Avenue through the project site and west to the Hudson River (City of New York 1917). With the grid of city blocks established, the Ray descendants capitalized on their landholdings and began subdividing their tract in 1833 (Holmes 1873; Kurshan and Noonan 2009). The Block between Eighth and Ninth Avenues, the original route of 28th Street and 29th Street, became City Block 752.

Cartographic research found that in 1836 the project site was still vacant with the Ray house adjacent to its northwestern corner (Colton 1836; Figure 5). In 1850, the project site was still vacant but the Ray house was gone (Perris and Hutchinson 1849/1850). After burning down in the mid-1840s, and was rebuilt at the northwestern corner of Ninth Avenue and 28th Street, northwest of the project site. By the 1850s, between Eighth and Ninth Avenues, 28th Street in the project site was called "Fitzroy Place" and 29th Street was named "Lamartine Place" (Perris and Hutchinson 1849/1850).

"Lamartine Place" was the name given to 29th Street in 1846 by developers William Torrey and Cyrus Mason, who were hoping to give their new development project on the north side of 29th Street an identity distinct from the Manhattan street grid (Kurshan and Noonan 2009). As part of their efforts, Torrey and Mason also created a lush

park on the north and south sides of 29th Street, including the east end of Block 752 in the APE. They were also developing Block 752 in the APE as the fashionable "Fitzroy Place." The park was designed to enhance the desirability of the townhouses as homes, and was described as having a symmetrical, formal design featuring a central fountain and eight walkways approaching it from the perimeter (Gray 1998; Kurshan and Noonan 2009). By 1854, the formal gardens of Lamartine Park and the individual building lots for Fitzroy Place, all vacant, had been established (Dripps 1854; Perris 1854; Figure 6). Outside of the APE, the park encompassed a florist, greenhouse, and several brick buildings. Also by this time, the Church of the Holy Apostles had been constructed at Ninth Avenue and 28th Street, with the corner-stone laid in 1846 (Stokes 1915). The church was started in the neighborhood to serve the growing population of immigrants originating from the British Isles who were settling in the area (Kurshan and Noonan 2009).

The 1850s saw the first development in the project site on Block 752. Between 1854 and 1857, the block had been subdivided into individual narrow building lots and developed rows of like-sized brick buildings fronting onto both 28th and 29th Street, all with vacant rear yards (Perris 1857; Figure 7). At that time the APE crossed 13 individual city lots with structures, including the rear yards of eight individual lots, seven associated with buildings fronting onto 28th Street and one fronting onto 29th Street.

Sewer and water records indicate that the streets surrounding Block 752 had these municipal utilities laid in them by at least the 1840s and 1850s, prior to development. In 1850, 28th and 29th Streets, Eighth and Ninth Avenues all contained water pipes that were installed at some prior date (Map of the Croton Water Pipes with the Stop Cocks 1850). An additional 30-inch water pipe was laid in Eighth Avenue in 1855, while an additional 24-inch pipe was laid in Ninth Avenue in 1858 (Croton Aqueduct Department 1857, 1858). A new 20-inch water pipe was installed in 29th Street 1857, likely in conjunction with the development of the block by Torrey and Mason (Croton Aqueduct Department 1857, 1858; Kurshan and Noonan 2009). In 1856 a 4-foot by 2-foot 8-inch sewer pipe was installed in 28th Street from Eighth Avenue to a point four hundred feet west in the APE, also likely to ready the adjacent block for development (Croton Aqueduct Department 1851, 1857), while 29th Street had sewer pipes installed in 1848 (Croton Aqueduct Department 1857). Both Eighth and Ninth Avenues had large circular sewers installed in 1845. Table 2 provides a summary of known sewer and water installation dates in and around the APE:

Table 2: Summary of Water and Sewer Installation In and Around APE

Location	Sewer Installed	Water Installed
28th Street, 8th-9th Avenue	1856 (4'x2'8" from 8th Ave. to a point 400' west)	pre 1850
29th Street, 8th-9th Avenue	1848 (3' x 4' elliptical)	pre 1850, 1858 (20" pipe)
Eighth Avenue 28-29th Street	1845 (6'4" circular)	pre 1850, 1855 (30" pipe)
Ninth Avenue 28th-29th Street	1845 (5' circular)	pre-1850, 1858 (24" pipe)

Source: Croton Aqueduct Department Reports 1851-1860 (1857 Schedule 22 provides pre-1850 sewer dates)

From the 1850s through the 1950s, the APE appeared virtually unchanged other than minor wooden additions constructed on the back of buildings, none of which covered the entirety of any rear yard (Harrison 1867, Bromley 1879, Robinson 1885, Sanborn 1890, 1904, 1911, Bromley 1920, 1956; Figures 7 through 15). Historical photographs of the block taken in 1919 show that the buildings on both sides of the street were uniform row houses with front porches (Figure 16).

Through the late nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century, the neighborhood character changed dramatically as industries were drawn to inexpensive real estate in what is now Chelsea. A review of Certificates of Occupancy for the former structures that stood on Block 752 in the APE revealed that the row houses, likely built as single-family dwellings, were modified and became mixed-use apartment buildings in the early 1900s. Later, many were modified again to become Single Room Occupancy (SRO) residences (e.g., C/O #1725, 1920; #15745, 1920; #15743, 1929; #18675, 1932, #23604, 1937; #1083604, 1948; #42663, 1954). All buildings were demolished prior to the construction of the 1962/63 Penn South development, and 28th Street was shifted north across their former locations.

Previously Identified Archaeological Sites within a One Mile Radius of the APE

Research conducted using data from the OPRHP, the LPC, and the library of HPI revealed no archaeological sites within the APE or Study Area. Furthermore, only two historic sites have been documented within a one-mile radius of the APE.

Table 3: Previously Identified Archaeological Sites within a One Mile Radius of the Project Site

NYSM or OPRHP Site No.	Site Name/Description	Location	Site Type and S/NRHP / LPC Designation
06101.019225	Hudson River Bulkhead	Hudson River shoreline	Historic (S/NRHP-Eligible)
06101.009530	Bernard M. Baruch College Site B	East 25th Street and Lexington Avenue	Historic (S/NRHP-not eligible)

While the Hudson River Bulkhead on the shoreline was determined S/NRHP-Eligible, Site B at Baruch College was not. . The only documented Native American habitation site in the vicinity is Sapohanikan Point, which was reportedly located in what is now Greenwich Village, south of the APE (Bolton 1934: 53; Stokes 1928:655). Bolton reports that Sapohanikan was probably a landing place for canoes arriving from and departing to cross the Hudson River (Bolton 1934:53). However, Skinner states that Sapohanikan was an Indian village probably located near the block bounded by Gansevoort, Little West 12th, West, and Washington Streets - just under a mile south of the APE - and that there was an Indian settlement there as late as 1661 (Skinner 1961:52). He also notes that the name may have been applied to the general vicinity. A NYCRIS search found no NYSM or OPRHP Site Number assigned to the site.

Previously Inventoried Historic Sites and Districts in the APE and Study Area

The APE is limited to the footprint of disturbance in 28th Street, while the Study Area encompasses a 400-foot radius out from the APE (Figures 2a and 2b). Table 4 below lists designated and eligible structures and districts within both the APE and the larger Study Area. These sites are keyed to numbers shown on Figure 17.

Table 4: S/NRHP Listed and LPC Designated Structures and Districts in the Study Area

# ON FIG. 17	STREET ADDRESS	USN and/or S/NRHP NUMBER	S/NRHP	NYCL	S/NR District	NYCL District	In APE	Within 90 Feet of APE	In 400 Foot Study Area
1	355 West 29th St				Not Eligible	X			X
2	353 West 29th St	06101.017005			Eligible	X			X
3	351 West 29th St	06101.017004			Eligible	X			X
4	349 West 29th St	06101.017003			Eligible	X			X
5	347 West 29th St	06101.017002			Eligible	X			X
6	345 West 29th St	06101.017001			Eligible	X			X
7	343 West 29th St	06101.017000			Eligible	X			X
8	341 West 29th St	06101.016999			Eligible	X			X
9	339 West 29th St	06101.016998			Eligible	X			X
10	337 West 29th St	06101.016997			Eligible	X			X

# ON FIG. 17	STREET ADDRESS	USN and/or S/NRHP NUMBER	S/NRHP	NYCL	S/NR District	NYCL District	In APE	Within 90 Feet of APE	In 400 Foot Study Area
11	335 West 29th St	06101.016996			Eligible	X			X
12	333 West 29th St	01101.016995			Eligible	X			X
13	Former French Hospital - 326-330 West 30th St	06101.013310	Eligible						X
14	Bayard Rustin Apartment - 340 West 28th Street (Bldg. 7B Penn South)	06101.019080 15NR00130	X					X	
15	Penn South Complex 23rd-29th Streets, Eighth-Ninth Aves.		Eligible				X		
16	Church of the Holy Apostles 298/300 Ninth Aves.	90NR00686 LP-00231	X	X					X
17	330 West 28th Street (Bldg. 7A Penn South)	06101.018815	X						X
18	345 Eighth Ave. (Bldg. 8A Penn South)	06101.018816	Eligible						X
19	355 Eighth Ave. (Bldg. 8B Penn South)	06101.018817	Eligible					X	
20	305 West 28th Street (Bldg. 9 Penn South)	06101.018818	Eligible					X	
21	365 West 28th Street (Bldg. 10 Penn South)	06101.018819	Eligible						X
22	Art Deco Loft, 249-251 West 29th Street	06101.013241	Eligible						X

For Table 4, X indicates "Yes"

Only one of the S/NRHP-listed sites, the Bayard Rustin Apartment in Building 7 of the Penn South development at 340 West 28th Street, falls within 90 feet of the APE construction zone. The S/NRHP nomination for the apartment specifically includes the entirety of Building 7 since S/NRHP designation does not allow for only a portion of a structure to be nominated (see Photographs 12 and 13). The designation boundaries are the sidewalks surrounding Building 7 within the larger Penn South development. Furthermore, the entire Penn South complex has been determined S/NRHP-eligible (see S/NRHP Bayard Rustin Residence Designation Form 2015 in Appendix B). The APE is a city street, but it passes through the Penn South complex and its meandering route was designed, specifically, as part of the 1962/63 development. Two buildings within the complex, Buildings 8B and 9, lie within 90 feet of the APE. In summary, the S/NRHP-listed Building 7 is within 90 feet of the APE, S/NRHP-eligible Penn South Buildings 8B and 9 are within 90 feet of the APE, and the APE lies within the S/NRHP-eligible Penn South complex. Three buildings within the Penn South complex, Buildings 7A, 8A, and 10, also lie within 400 feet of the APE as does the Art Deco Loft at 249-251 West 29th Street. Views to and from the Art Deco Loft are obscured by multiple buildings on the south side of 29th Street.

The Lamartine Place Historic District, a NYCL district encompassing twelve structures on the north side of 29th Street, is more than 90 feet from the APE, but lies within the 400-foot Study Area (Figure 17, Photographs 5-6, and Appendix B). The district is also S/NRHP-eligible, except for the building at 355 West 29th Street, which was determined ineligible for S/NRHP designation. The district is visible from the APE in 28th Street, but is elevated

above 28th Street and separated by a landscaped park (Photographs 4-8). From 29th Street, the 28th Street APE is obscured, in part, by mature trees and plantings (Photograph 17).

The 1846 Church of the Holy Apostles, a S/NRHP-listed and NYCL-designated church at 298/300 Ninth Avenue, lies more than 90-feet from the APE, but falls within the greater 400-foot Study Area (Photograph 15, Appendix B), as does the S/NRHP-eligible Former French Hospital at 326-330 West 30th Street, which extends south onto 29th Street (Figure 17, Photographs 5-6; see designations and determinations in Appendix B.)

V. SUMMARY OF POTENTIAL RESOURCES AND POTENTIAL IMPACTS

Archaeological Resources

The new power substation, which is proposed to supply traction power to the Eighth Avenue Subway Line (A/C/E), has no potential for precontact archaeological resources in the APE. A review of maps and atlases from the historical period indicates that the APE was once a slope, later intensively developed with ca.1854/1857 row houses, and is now level, hence it has experienced extensive subsurface disturbance. Soil borings taken in the APE show fill levels from the surface down to depths of between eight and fourteen feet below grade containing silt, sand, brick fragments, and an occasional fragment of asphalt. Beneath this were levels of sand and gravel, some containing traces of silt. No evidence of a buried natural A horizon or peat levels were reported in any of the boring logs (ADT 2017). Therefore, there is no potential for an undisturbed precontact deposit in the APE and construction would cause no impacts.

There is also no sensitivity for historical period archaeological resources in the APE due to lack of deposition and the degree of nineteenth-century disturbance. Although the Ray house (ca. 1800 - 1847) once stood immediately northwest of the APE, any potential subsurface features that may have once been associated with it were likely in the rear yard, north of the APE. Furthermore, any features would have been subjected to post depositional disturbances by grading the hill, the construction of row houses with basements and cellars, and the leveling of 28th Street over the former location of the row houses. Therefore, there is no sensitivity in the APE for intact archaeological deposits related to this early nineteenth-century dwelling.

The earliest development in the APE, a row of houses that dated from ca.1857 through ca.1962, post-dates the availability of both public water and sewer in adjacent and surrounding roadbeds (see Table 2 of this report). Since piped city water and sewer were present since their inception, houses would not have needed the typical historical features found associated with earlier structures that lacked accessibility to public utilities, such as wells, privies, and cisterns. The upscale development designed by Torrey and Mason was marketed to the upper middle class with refined tastes. Structures would have donned indoor plumbing and water closets. There would have been no need for cisterns due to the supply of water from the Croton Aqueduct. Furthermore, any yard deposits would have been extensively disturbed by post-depositional demolition, grading, and clearing for the current alignment of 28th Street. Therefore, the APE does not have historic period archaeological potential, so construction of the substation would cause no impacts.

Historic Resources

The APE lies within the Penn South development, determined S/NRHP-eligible. The Bayard Rustin Apartment, inside the S/NRHP-listed Penn South Building 7B, is within 90 feet of the APE, as are the S/NRHP-eligible Buildings 8B and 9. The NYCL and S/NRHP-eligible Lamartine Historic District and the S/NRHP-eligible Former French Hospital at 326-330 West 30th Street are within the 400-foot Study Area, and, also, within the viewshed of the APE on 29th Street. The S/NRHP-listed and NYCL Church of the Apostles is within the 400-foot Study Area, but is not within the viewshed of the APE due to a curve in 28th Street. Likewise, S/NRHP-eligible Buildings 7A, 8A, and 10, also lie within 400 feet of the APE (Figure 17).

Construction of the substation would potentially include the use of excavators, pile drivers, jackhammers, air compressors, hand tools, pile drivers, and similar machinery. Construction would begin in January 2022 and is expected to continue for 39 months through 2025. Dump trucks and concrete trucks are expected to frequent the substation site for various actions during this construction period. The southern lane of 28th Street would remain open.

Most of the identified historic resources would not experience an impact because substation construction would not introduce new elements that would detract from their current historical contexts. The substation would be entirely below grade, with only minor changes to 28th Street and few outward signs of its presence. These include 1) the widening of the sidewalk by six feet on the north side of 28th Street, and 2) the installation of up to three access hatches and two sets of grates flush with the surface in the widened sidewalk on the north side of 28th Street (see Figure 2a).

The sidewalk widening will not impact the cohesiveness or the context of the S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development or the S/NRHP Building 7 since there are already wide public sidewalks without landscaping along both sides of 28th Street (Photographs 3, 9-14). The proposed bump out will be accomplished by creating a gentle transition from the existing sidewalk to expand its breadth by six feet, while virtually maintaining the geometry of 28th Street and remaining parallel to the sidewalk on the south side of the street. Sidewalk widening for the length of the substation, plus an additional tapered width for 65 feet to the east and west, would serve to create additional pedestrian space that borders the landscaped garden on the north side of 28th Street. Sidewalk widening would also serve to provide a larger visual and physical buffer between vehicular traffic and the landscaped garden, and would only cause a minor reduction to the width of 28th Street. Most importantly, the widening of the sidewalk would not detract from any of the architectural and contextual features that define this S/NRHP-eligible mid-twentieth century development.

The new hatches and grates on the north side of 28th Street would be located in the sidewalk, which is already punctuated by light poles, signposts, fire hydrants, mailboxes, and bollards (Photographs 3, 9-14). Since the hatches and grates would be flush with the surface of the sidewalk, they would be minimally visually intrusive in the S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development and to the S/NRHP Building 7. Eighth Avenue bordering the east side of the development currently has sidewalk grates that serve to vent the 1932 IND subway that predates the development by roughly 30 years, and sidewalks throughout the area are frequently modified with new elements necessary for the urban infrastructure. These new elements are extant throughout the city and are typical within the urban context. Furthermore, they will not be readily visible from other identified historic resources in the 400-foot study area, including the NYCL and S/NRHP-eligible Lamartine Place Historic District or the S/NRHP-eligible Former French Hospital on 29th Street. Specifically, these proposed grade-level features would be obscured from the resources on 29th Street by the mature garden and trees bordering the north side of 28th Street and by the angle of sight (see Photograph 16).

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

Archaeological Resources

Documentary research has concluded that the project site has no potential for either precontact or historic archaeological resources. The APE was extensively modified historically when 28th Street was originally graded prior to 1850. The APE was then developed with multi-story residential units, all with basements and some with deeper cellars, which post-date the availability of municipal utilities. After these structures were demolished, the site was graded again to allow for the creation of a curving 28th Street within the Penn South complex. The entire APE has experienced extensive subsurface disturbance and, therefore, no further archaeological consideration is warranted.

Historic Resources

The New York City Building Code provides some measures of protection for all NYCL properties against accidental damage from adjacent construction by requiring that all buildings, lots, and service facilities adjacent to foundation and earthwork areas be protected and supported. Additional protective measures apply to designated NYC Landmarks and S/NRHP-listed historic buildings located within 90 linear feet of a proposed construction site. For these structures, the New York City Department of Buildings' (DOB) Technical Policy and Procedure Notice (TPPN) #10/88 apply. TPPN #10/88 supplements the standard building protections afforded by the Building Code by requiring, among other things, a monitoring program to reduce the likelihood of construction damage to adjacent S/NRHP or NYCL resources (within 90 feet) and to detect at an early stage the beginnings of damage so that construction procedures can be changed. The S/NRHP-listed Bayard Rustin Apartment in Building 7 of Penn South is within 90 feet of the construction zone.

Historic resources that are listed in the S/NRHP or that have been found to be S/NRHP-eligible are given a measure of protection from the impacts of federally-sponsored, or federally-assisted projects under Section 106 of the NHPA, and are similarly protected against impacts resulting from state-sponsored or state-assisted projects under the SHPA. Although preservation is not mandated, federal agencies must attempt to avoid adverse impacts on such resources through a notice, review, and consultation process. The construction zone falls within the S/NRHP-eligible Penn South site and adjacent to the S/NRHP Building 7.

Given the number of historic structures in and around the APE, it is recommended that MTA C&D employ vibration control measures to minimize, as much as possible, the vibration levels in the historic neighborhoods near the construction site. Measures may include developing and implementing a vibration-monitoring program during highly disruptive construction activities, such as pile driving, to ensure that historic structures would not be damaged. Furthermore, the sidewalk reconstruction should be consistent with the extant sidewalk, including the metal curb, and newly introduced elements in the sidewalk should be as unobtrusive as feasible.

VII. REFERENCES

Aquifer Drilling and Testing Inc. (ADT)
2017 *Final Drawings for Contract C-39013.* Prepared for NYCTA. Aquifer Drilling and Testing, Inc., Mineola, New York.

Bolton, Reginald Pelham
1934 *Indian Life of Long Ago in the City of New York.* Joseph Graham, New York.

British Headquarters Map
1782 *British Headquarters Map.* National Archives.

Bromley, George W. and Company
1920 *Atlas of the city of New York, borough of Manhattan (Volume Two - 14th Street to 59th Street) - from actual surveys and official plans.* G. W. Bromley and Company, New York.

1956 *Manhattan land book of the city of New York.* G. W. Bromley and Company, New York.

Bromley, George W. and Edward Robinson
1879 *Atlas of the City of New York.* George W. Bromley and Edward Robinson Company, New York.

City Environmental Quality Review (CEQR)
2014 *City Environmental Quality Review Technical Manual (Revised 2016).* City of New York, Mayor's Office of Environmental Coordination.

City of New York
1917 *Farm Histories.* On Microfilm, City of New York, Municipal Archives.

2018 *NYCMap.* Available at: http://maps.nyc.gov/doitt/nycitymap.

Colton, John H.
1836 *City and County Of New - York.* J. H. Colton and Company, New York.

Croton Aqueduct Department
1853-1865 *Report of the Croton Aqueduct Department Made to the Common Council.* McSpedon & Baker, New York.

Dripps, Matthew
1854 *Topographical map of New York City, County and vicinity : showing old farm lines &c.* New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed April 6, 2018. http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/66597e80-f261-f037-e040-e00a180673dc.

Graether, Leonard F.
1898 *Geologic map and sections of Manhattan Island, State of New York.* New York.

Gray, Christopher
1998 *Lamartine Place, and Women Running Elevators.* New York Times, June 7, 1998.

Harrison, John F.
1867 *Map of the city of New-York extending northward to Fiftieth St.* Surveyed and drawn by John F. Harrison, C.E., New York.

Hayward, George B.
1850 *Profile of the twelve avenues in the city of New York : from 24th to 161st Sts., shewing the elevations at the streets.* New York.

Holmes, J.B.
1873 *Map of the Glass House Farm Also the Schroepple, Ray, and other Estates Down to the Franklin & Robinson and the Widow Mary Clarke and Thomas B. Clarke.* J.B. Holmes, New York.

Hone, Philip
1927 *The Diary of Philip Hone 1828 to 1851.* Dodd, Mead and Company, New York.

Kurshan, Virginia and Theresa Noonan
2009 *Lamartine Place Historic District Designation Report.* Prepared for the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission.

Landmarks Preservation Commission (NYCL)
2002 *Landmarks Preservation Commission Guidelines for Archaeological Work in New York City*.

Map of the Croton Water Pipes with the Stop Cocks
1850 *Map of the Croton Water Pipes with the Stop Cocks.* Lith. Of N. Currier, N.Y.

Montresor, John
1766 *A Plan of the City of New-York & its Environs to Greenwich on the North or Hudson River...Surveyed in the Winter, 1766*. Mary Ann Rocque, London.

New York Archaeological Council (NYAC)
1994 *Standards for Cultural Resource Investigations and the Curation of Archaeological Collections.* New York Archaeological Council.

New York City Soil Survey Staff
2005 *New York City Reconnaissance Soil Survey.* United States Department of Agriculture, Natural Resources Conservation Service, Staten Island, NY.

New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation (OPRHP)
2005 *Phase I Archaeological Report Format Requirements.*

Perris, William
1854 *Maps of the City of New York, Volume 5.* William Perris, New York.

1857 *Maps of the City of New York, Volume 5.* William Perris, New York.

Perris and Hutchinson
1849/1850 *Map of the City of New York.* Perris and Hutchinson, New York.

Randel, John Jr.
1819 *Farm Maps.* Available at the New-York Historical Society.

Ratzer, Bernard
1766-7 *Plan of the City of New York, In North America, Surveyed in the Years 1766 and 1767*. Faden and Jeffries, London.

Robinson, E. and R. H. Pidgeon.
1885 *Atlas of the city of New York: embracing all territory within its corporate limits from official records, private plans & actual surveys*. E. Robinson & R.H. Pidgeon.

Sanborn Map Company
1890 *Insurance Maps of the City of New York: Borough of Manhattan*. Sanborn Map Company, New York.

1904 *Insurance Maps of the City of New York: Borough of Manhattan*. Sanborn Map Company, New York.

1911 *Insurance Maps of the City of New York: Borough of Manhattan*. Sanborn Map Company, New York.

1976 *Insurance Maps of the City of New York: Borough of Manhattan*. Sanborn Map Company, New York.

Schuberth, Christopher J.
1968 *The Geology of New York City and Environs.* Natural History Press, Garden City, New York.

State Environmental Quality Review (SEQR)
2017 *Official compilation of codes, rules and regulations of the State of New York, Title 6. Department of Environmental Conservation Chapter VI. General regulations Part 617.* State Environmental Quality Review. Updated through August 31, 2017. Available at: www.govt.westlaw.com/nycrr/Document/I4ec3a764cd1711dda432a117e6e0f345?viewType=FullText&originationContext=documenttoc&transitionType=CategoryPageItem&contextData=%28sc.Default%29. Site accessed November 9, 2017.

Stokes, Isaac Newton Phelps
1915-1928 *The Iconography of Manhattan.* Volumes 1-6. Robert H. Dodd, New York.

Skinner, Alonson
1961 *The Indians of Manhattan Island and vicinity.* American Museum of Natural History, Guide Leaflet Series No. 41.

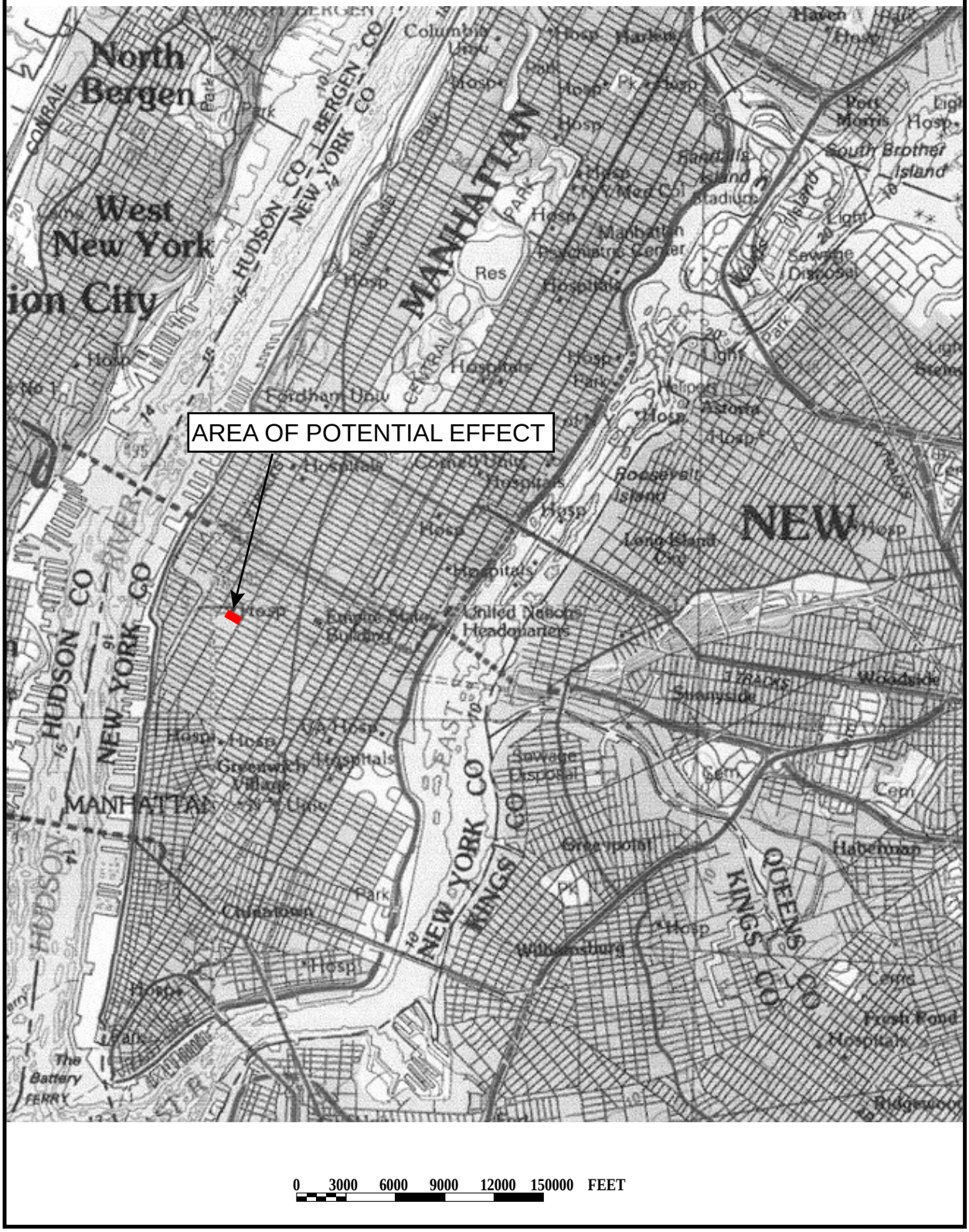
U.S. Department of the Interior
2017 *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties, with Guidelines For Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring & Reconstructing Historic Buildings*. Revised by Anne E. Grimmer. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service Technical Preservation Services, Washington, D.C.

U.S.G.S.
2013 *Brooklyn, New York* 7.5 Minute Quadrangle.

2013 *Jersey City, New Jersey-New York* 7.5 Minute Quadrangle.

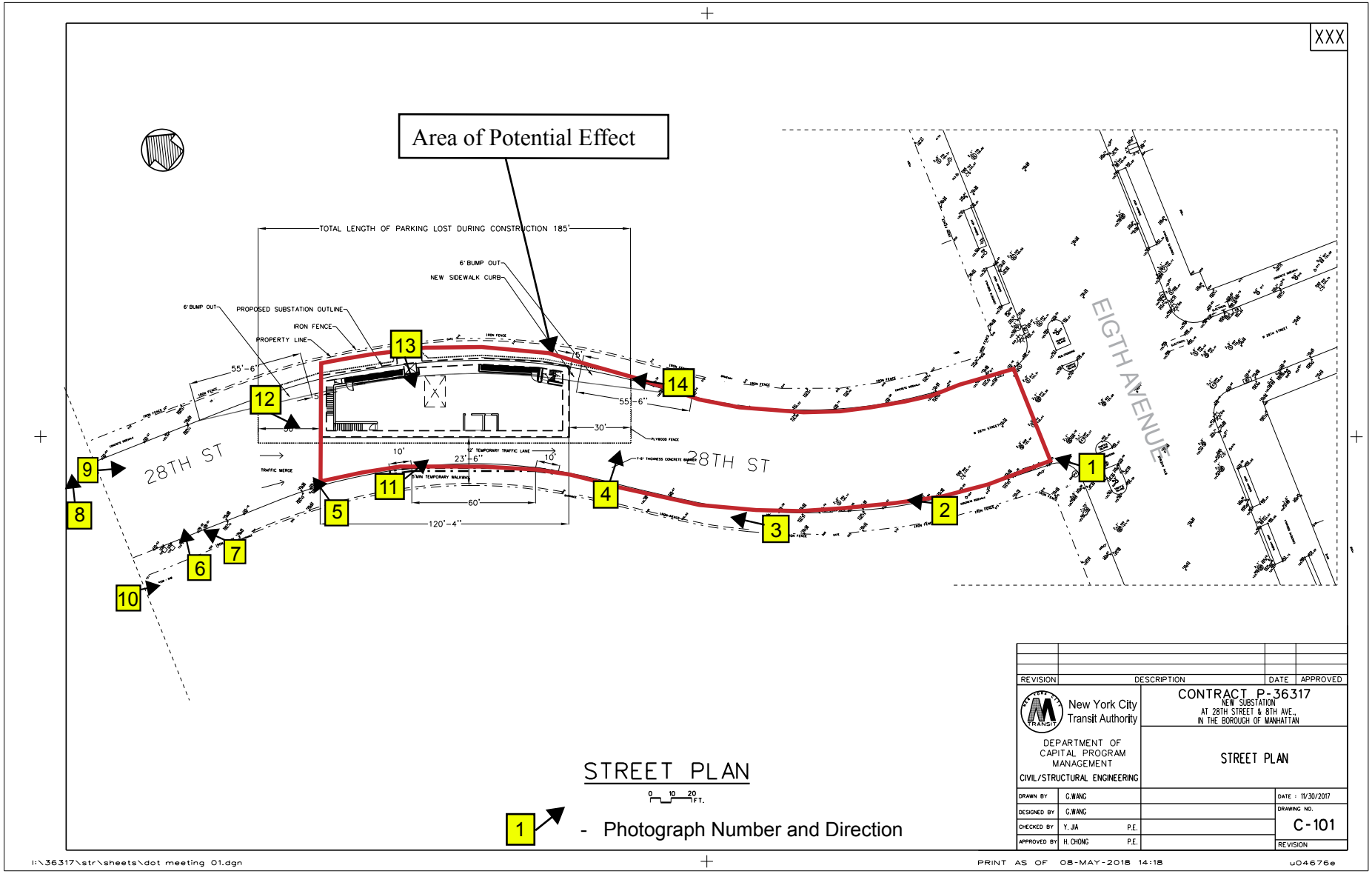
Viele, Edger L
1865 *Sanitary and Topographical Map of the City and Island of New York.* Ferd. Mayer & Co., New York.

Wilson, James Grant (ed.)
1893 *The Memorial History of the City of New-York: From Its First Settlement to the Year 1892, Volume 3.* New-York History Company, New York.



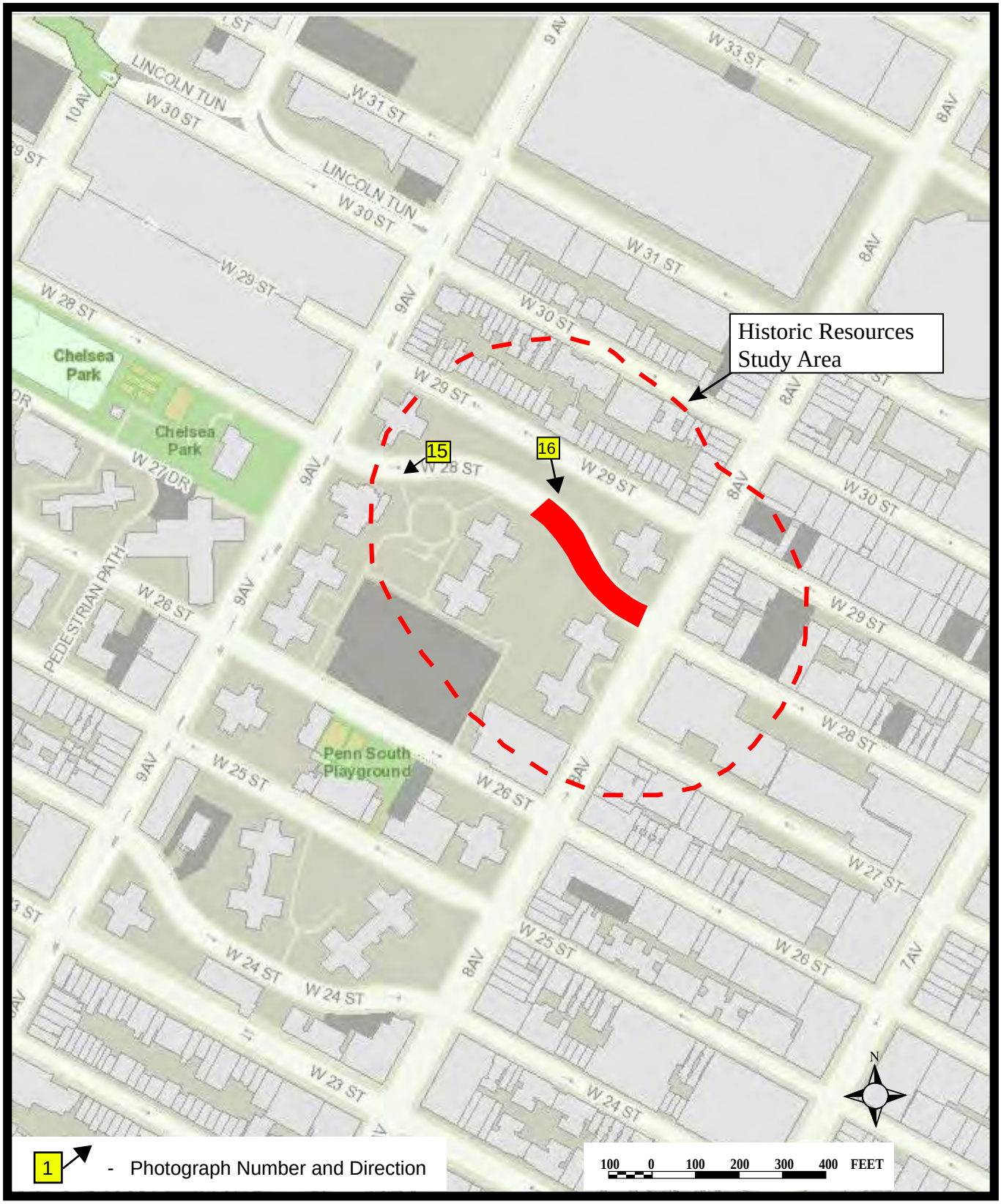
PHASE I CULTURAL RESOURCES STUDY
PROPOSED 28th STREET SUBSTATION
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Figure 1: Area of Potential Effect on USGS *Central Park, NY* and *Brooklyn, NY* topographic quadrangles (U.S.G.S. 2013).



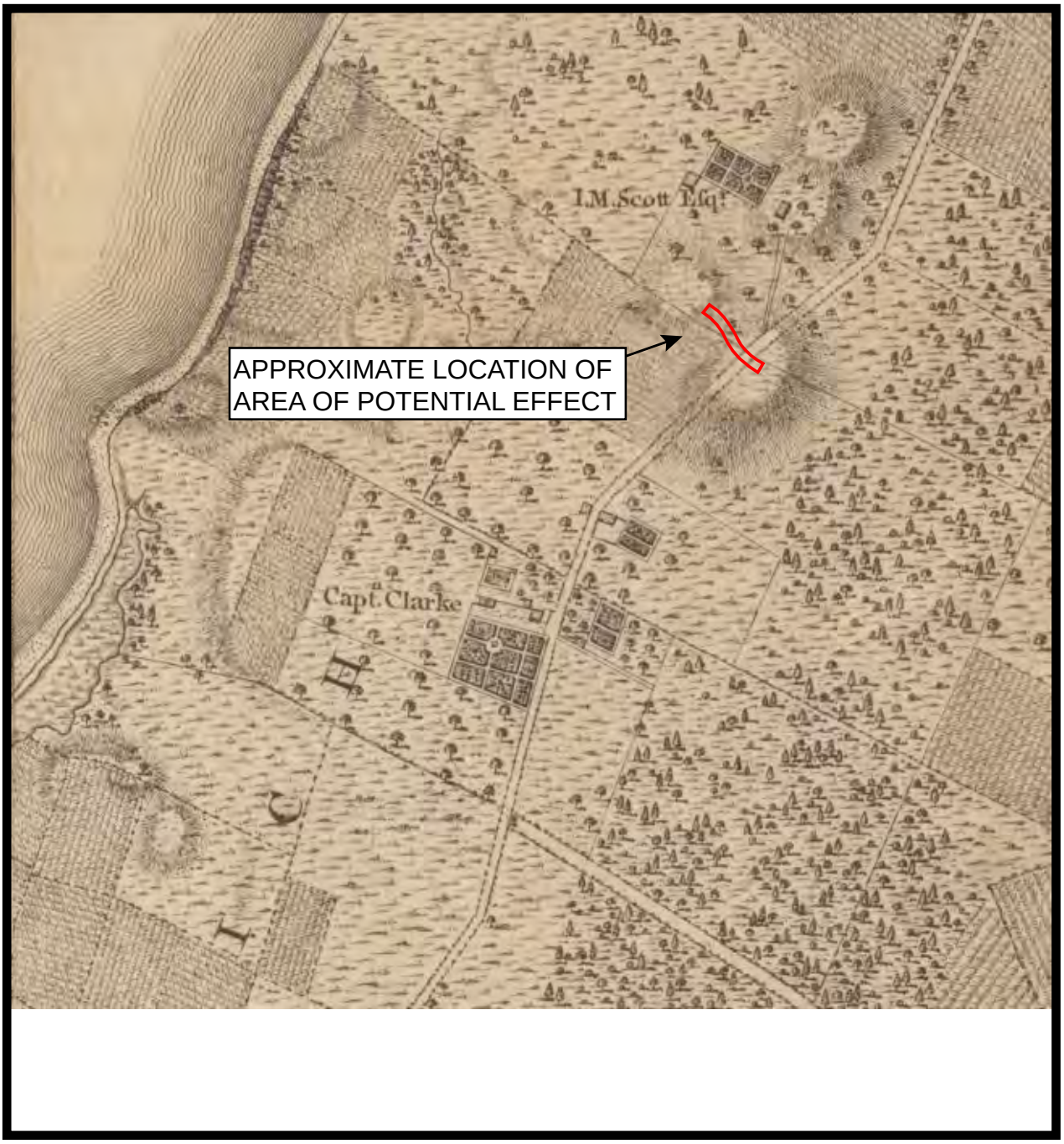
PHASE I CULTURAL RESOURCES STUDY
PROPOSED 28th STREET SUBSTATION
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Figure 2a: Area of Potential Effect and Photo Key on Site Plan (New York City MetropolitanTransit Authority 2018 and HPI 2018).



PHASE I CULTURAL RESOURCES STUDY
PROPOSED 28th STREET SUBSTATION
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Figure 2b: Historic Resources Study Area and Photo Key on NYCityMap (City of New York 2018).



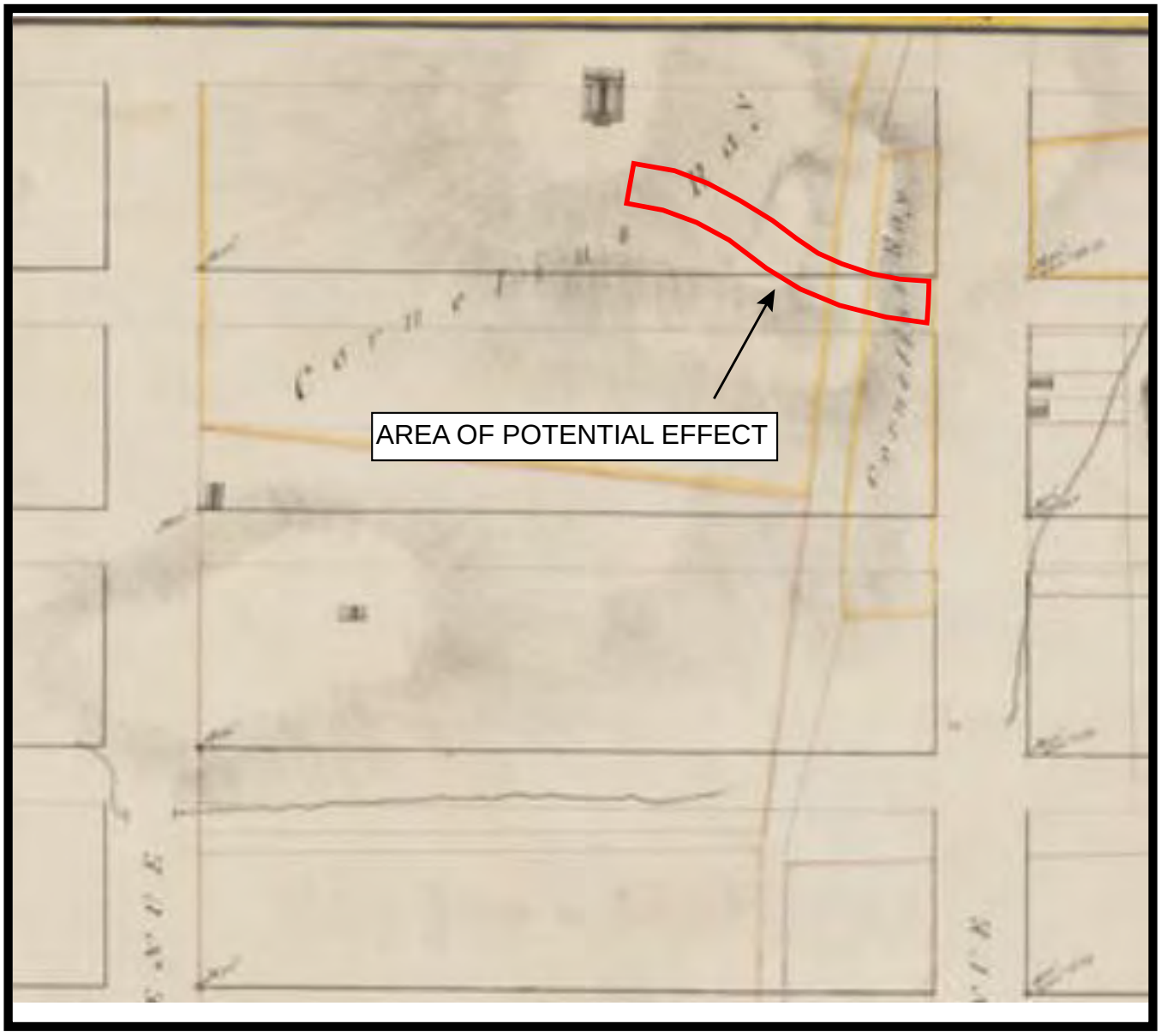
PHASE I CULTURAL RESOURCES STUDY
PROPOSED 28th STREET SUBSTATION
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

N

HP

Figure 3: Area of Potential Effect on *Plan of the City of New York, in North America, Surveyed in the Years 1766 and 1767* (Ratzer 1766-7).

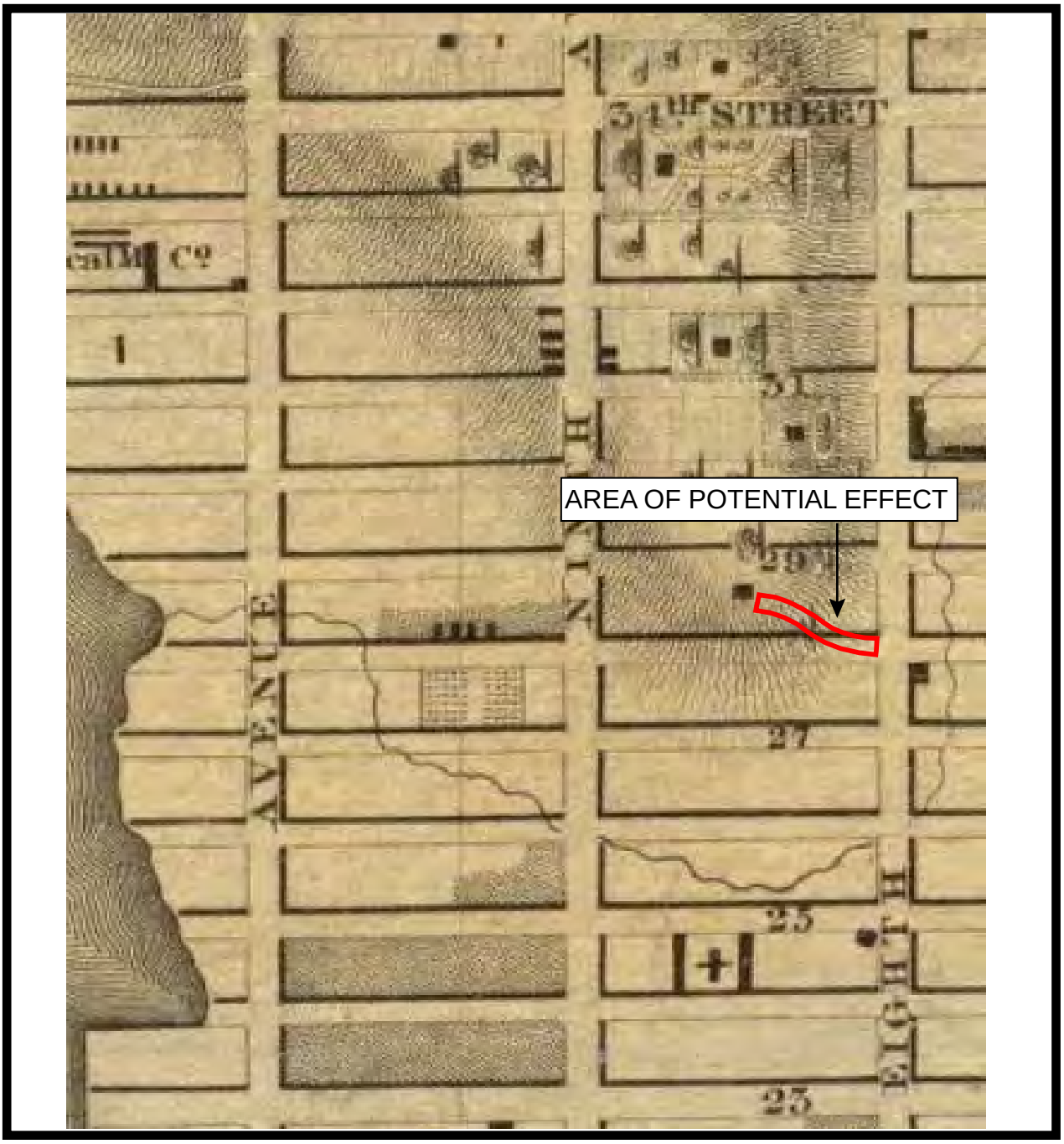
0 250 500 750 1000 1250 FEET



PHASE I CULTURAL RESOURCES STUDY
PROPOSED 28th STREET SUBSTATION
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Figure 4: Area of Potential Effect on *The City of New York as Laid out by the Commissioners (commonly known as the Randel Farm Maps), Map 13* (Randel 1819).

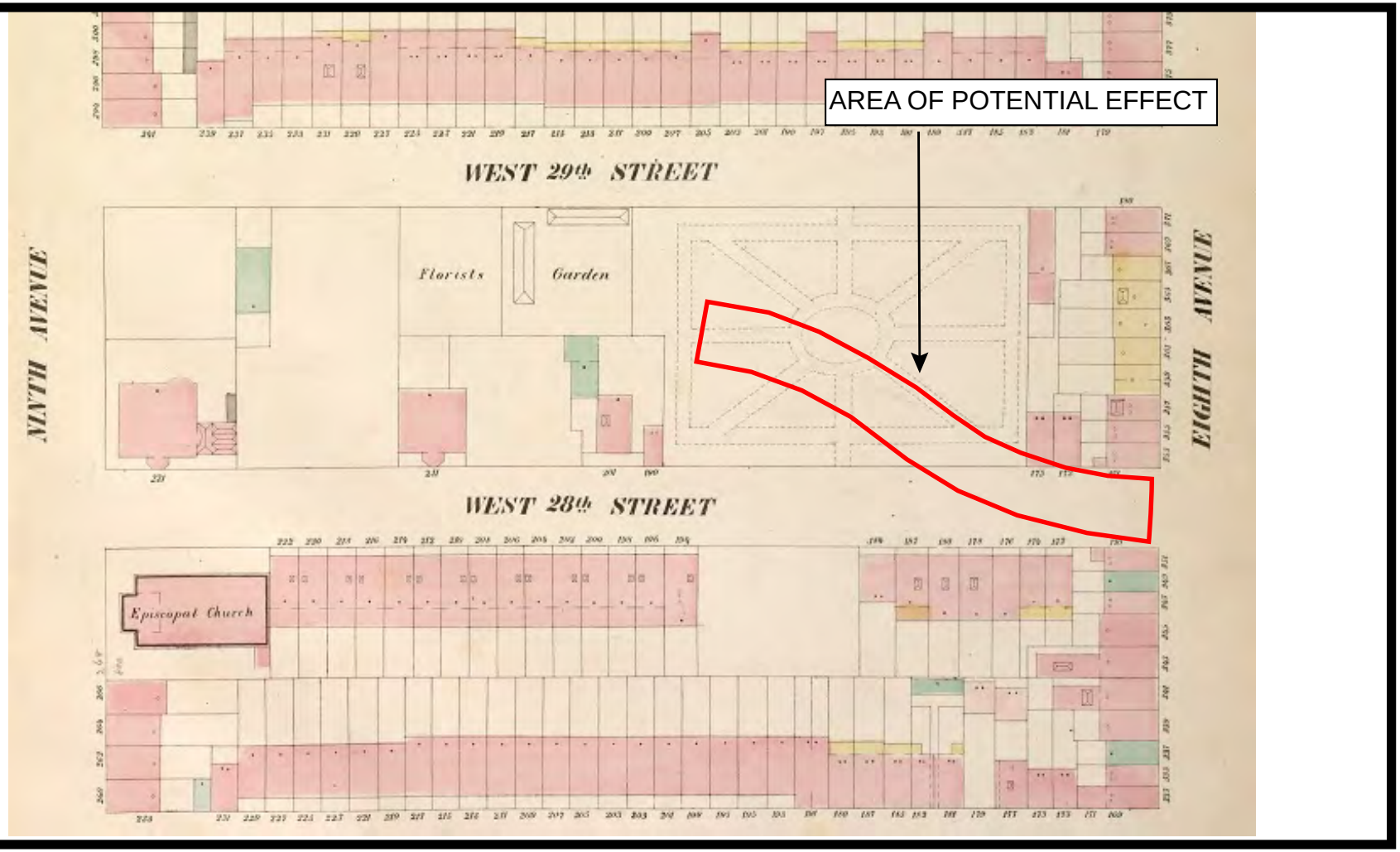
0 100 200 300 400 500 FEET



PHASE I CULTURAL RESOURCES STUDY
PROPOSED 28th STREET SUBSTATION
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Figure 5: Area of Potential Effect on T*opographical Map of the City and County of New-York and the Adjacent Country* (Colton 1836).

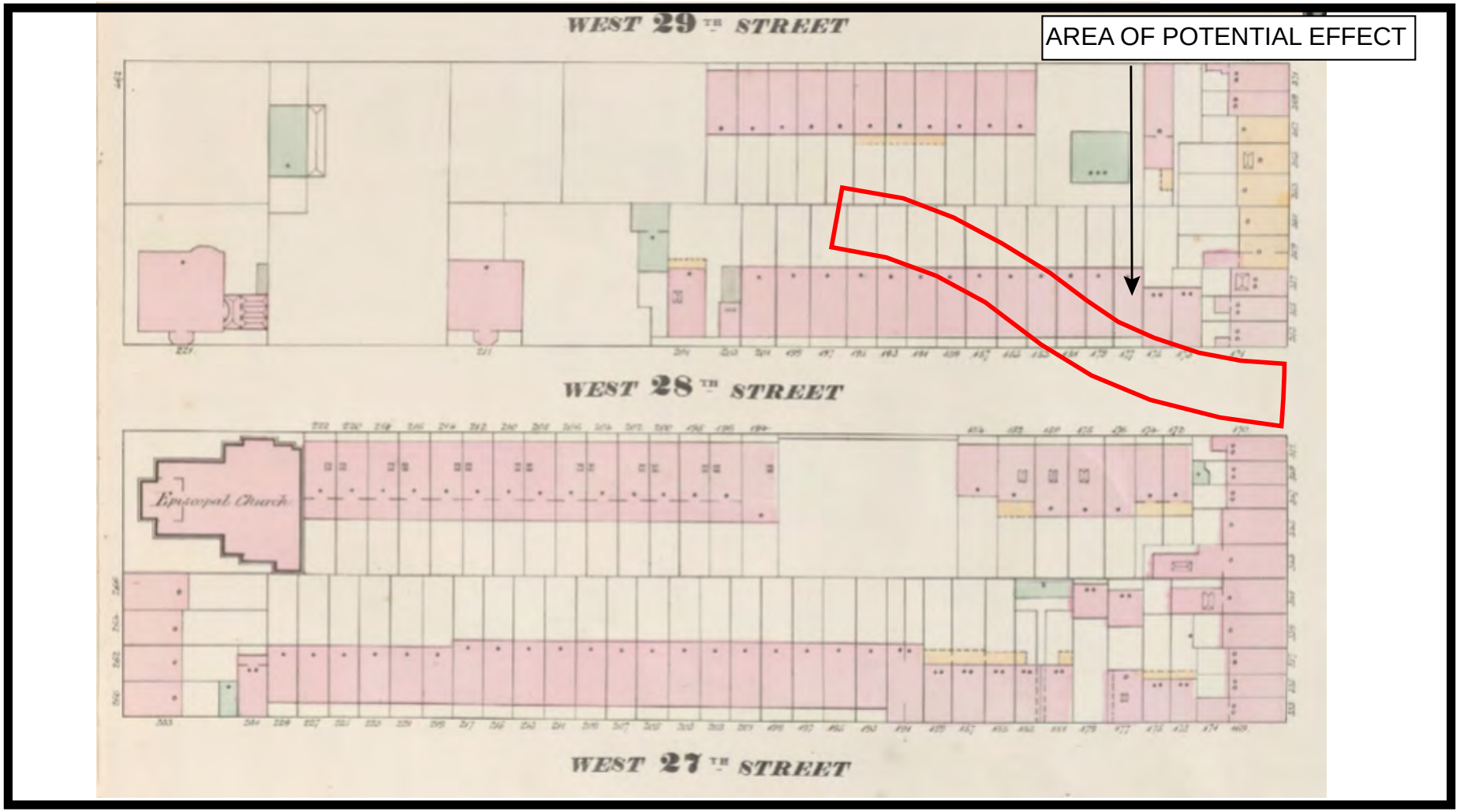
0 500 1000 1500 2000 2500 FEET



PHASE I CULTURAL RESOURCES STUDY
PROPOSED 28th STREET SUBSTATION
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Figure 6: Area of Potential Effect on *Maps of the City of New York* (Perris 1854).

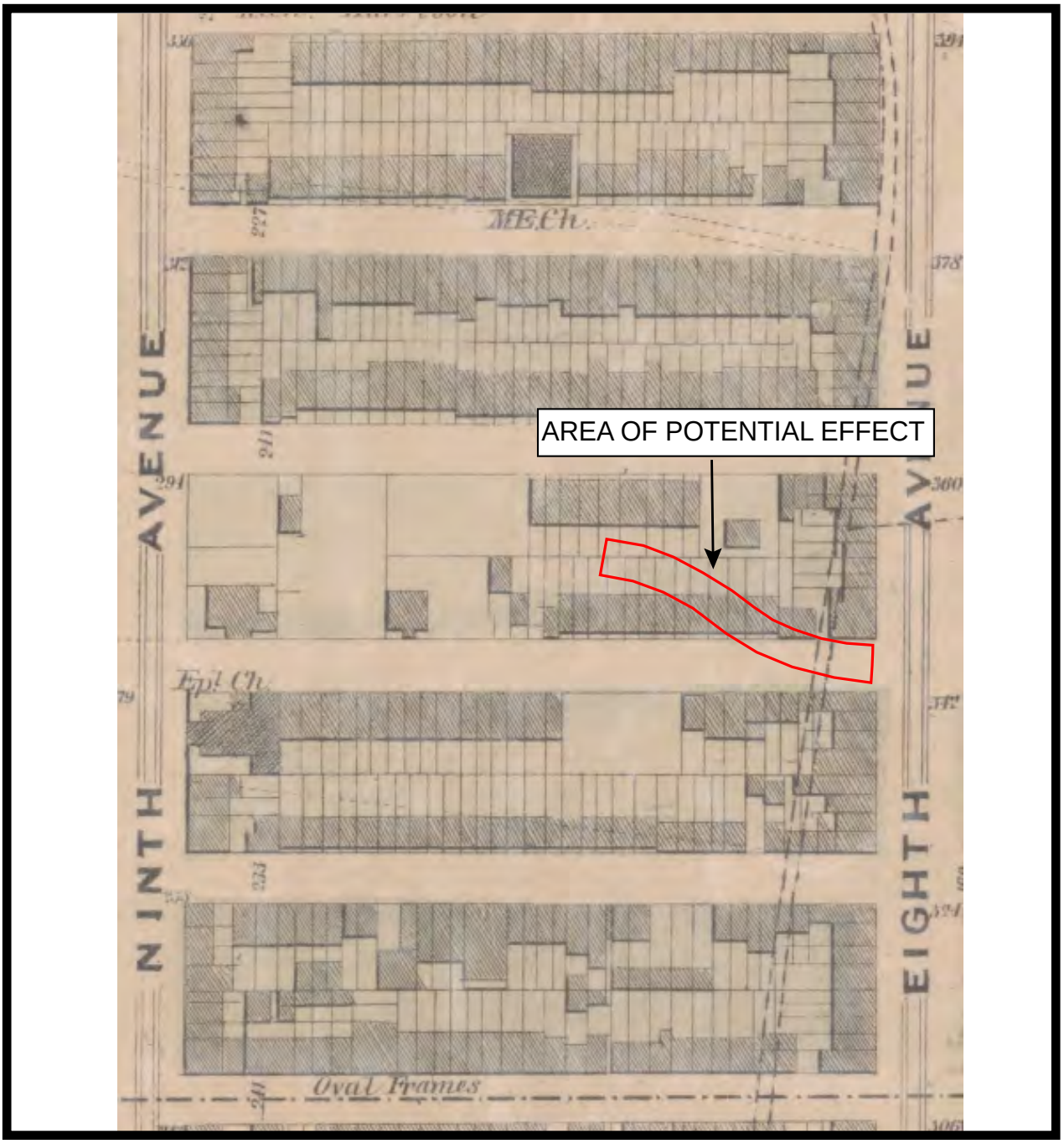
0 100 200 300 400 500 FEET



PHASE I CULTURAL RESOURCES STUDY
PROPOSED 28th STREET SUBSTATION
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Figure 7: Area of Potential Effect on *Maps of the City of New York* (Perris 1857).

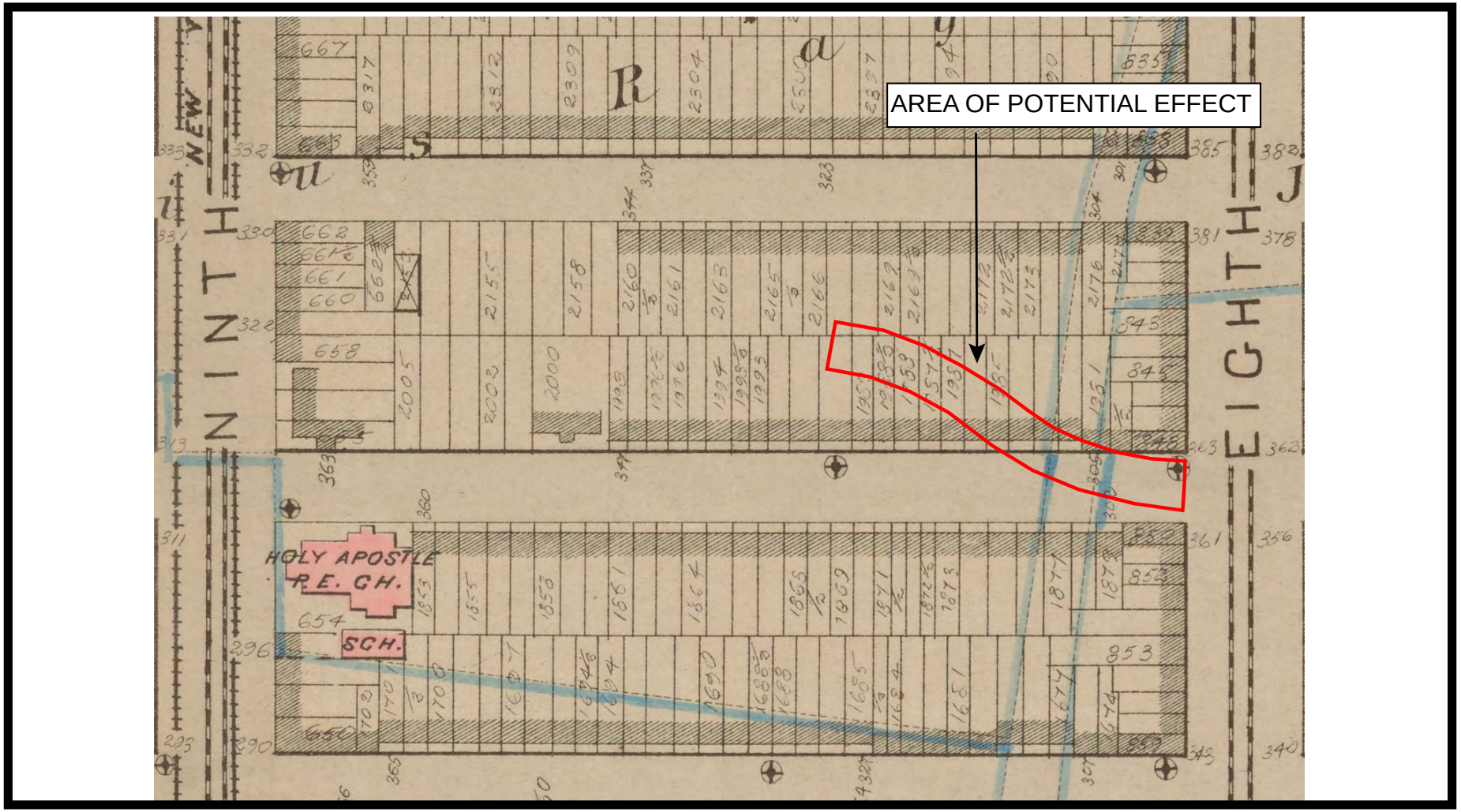
0 100 200 300 400 500 FEET



PHASE I CULTURAL RESOURCES STUDY
PROPOSED 28th STREET SUBSTATION
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Figure 8: Area of Potential Effect on *Plan of New York City from the Battery to Spuyten Duyvil Creek* (Harrison 1867).

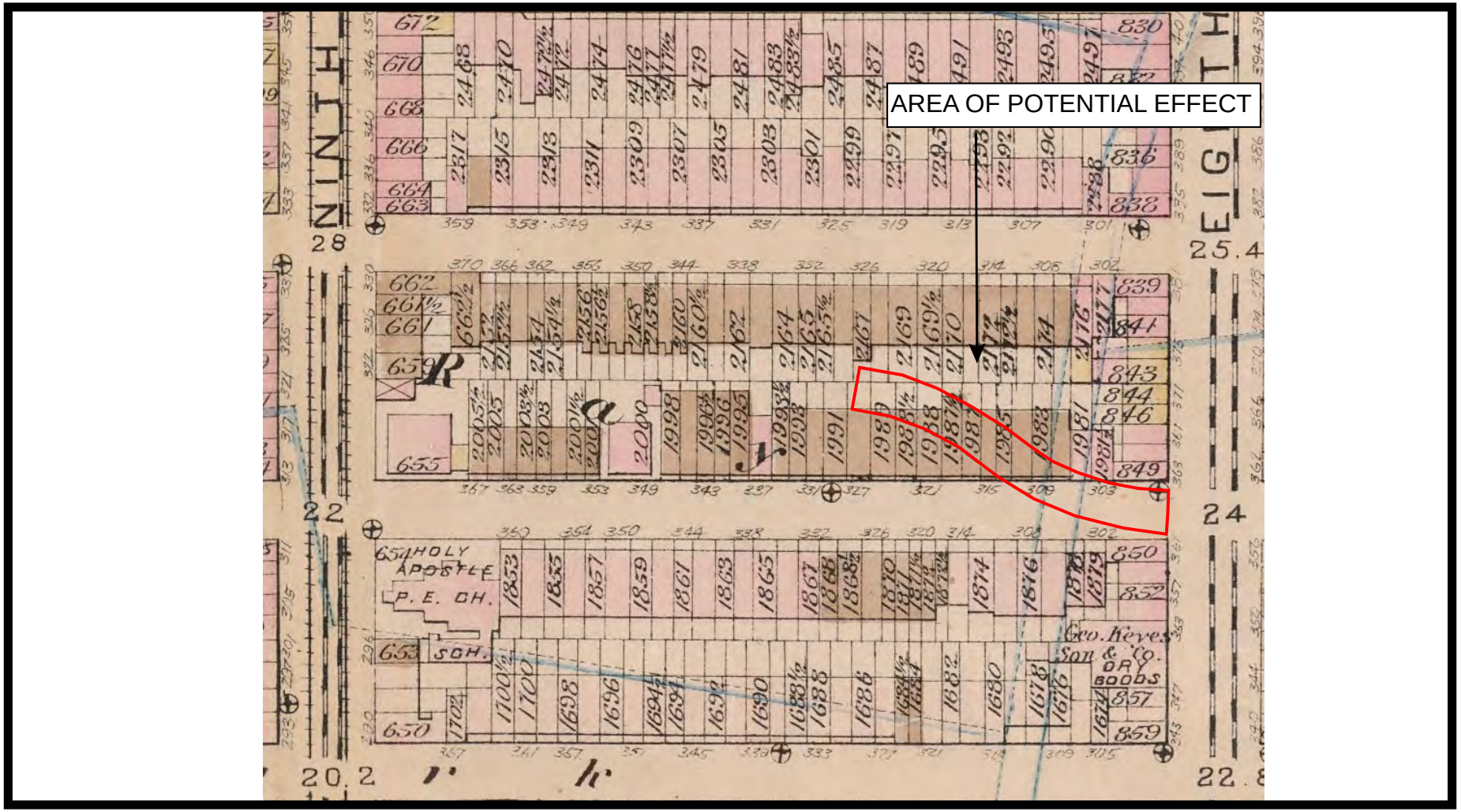
0 100 200 300 400 500 FEET



PHASE I CULTURAL RESOURCES STUDY
PROPOSED 28th STREET SUBSTATION
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Figure 9: Area of Potential Effect on *Atlas of the Entire City of New York...* (Bromley 1879).

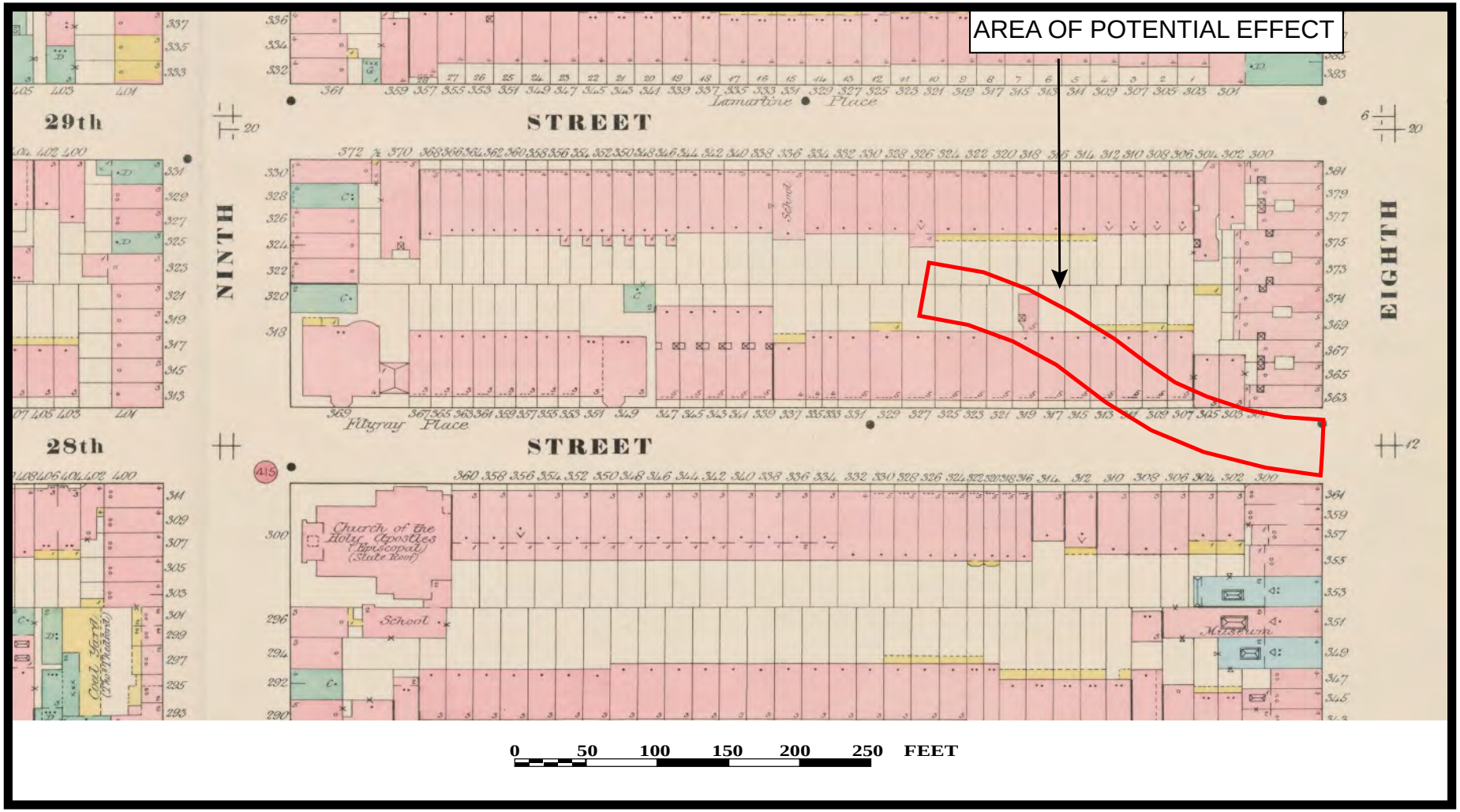
0 100 200 300 400 500 FEET



PHASE I CULTURAL RESOURCES STUDY
PROPOSED 28th STREET SUBSTATION
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

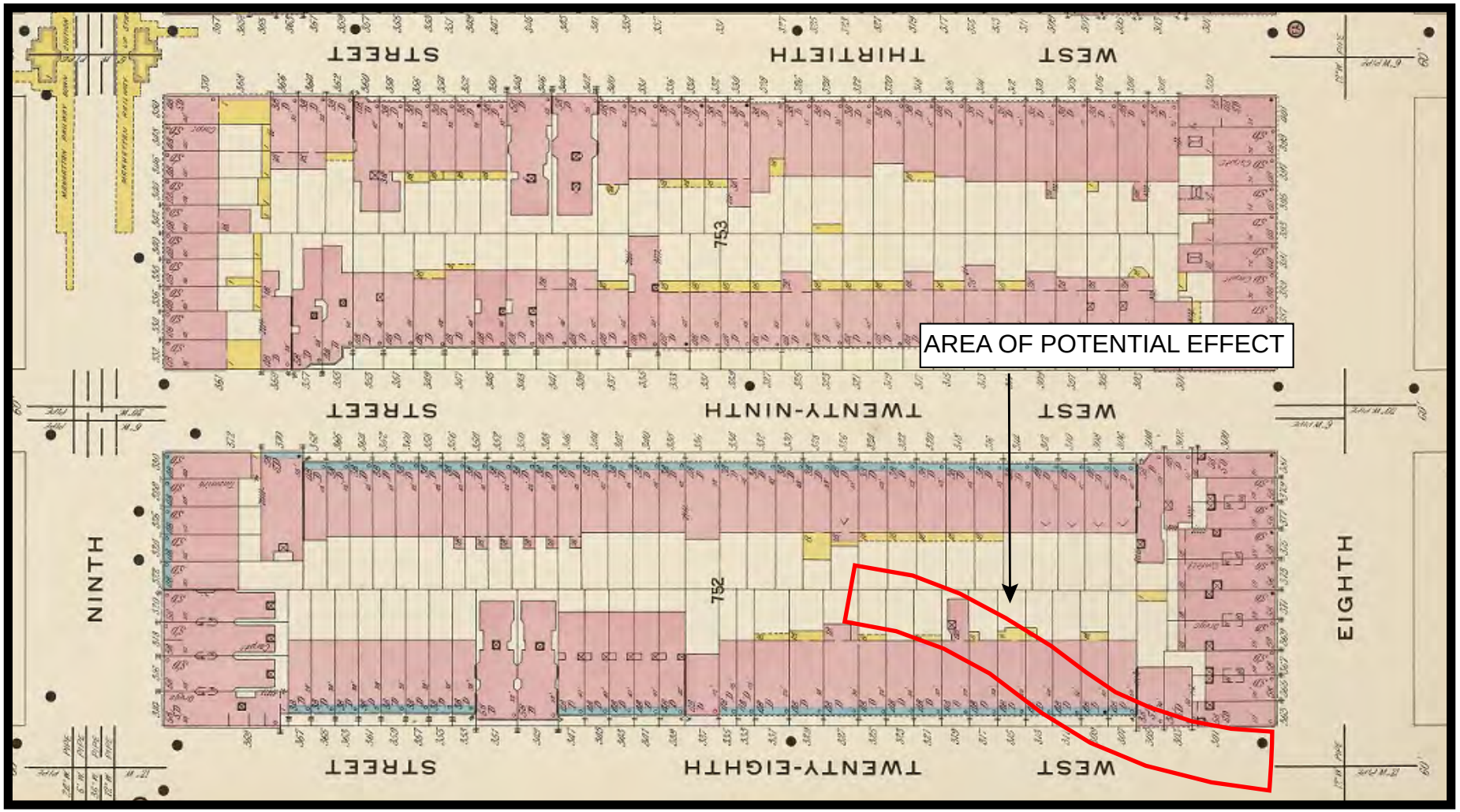
Figure 10: Area of Potential Effect on *Atlas of the City of New York* (Robinson 1885).

0 100 200 300 400 500 FEET



PHASE I CULTURAL RESOURCES STUDY
PROPOSED 28th STREET SUBSTATION
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

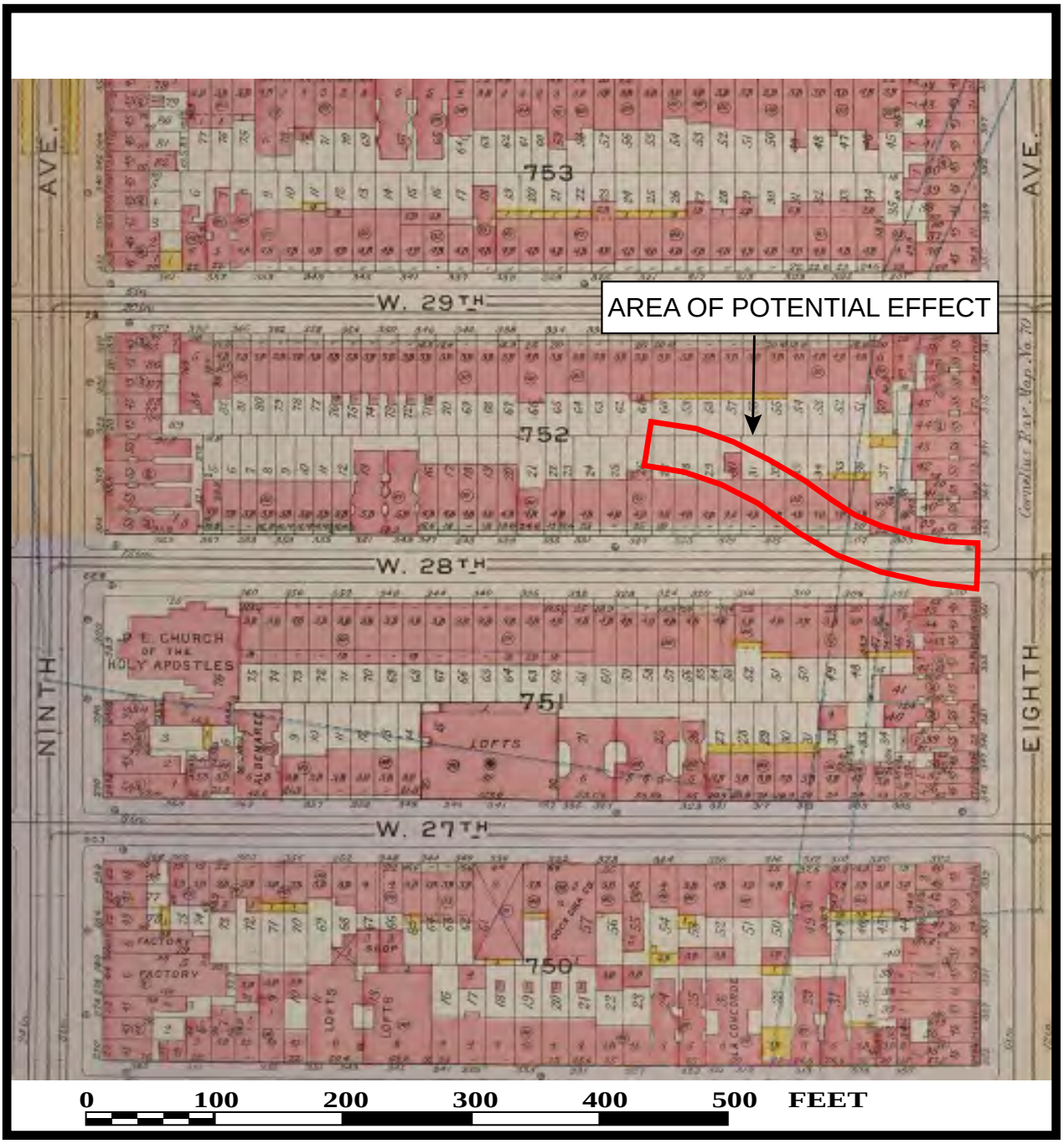
Figure 11: Area of Potential Effect on *Insurance Maps of the City of New York* (Sanborn 1890).



PHASE I CULTURAL RESOURCES STUDY
PROPOSED 28th STREET SUBSTATION
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

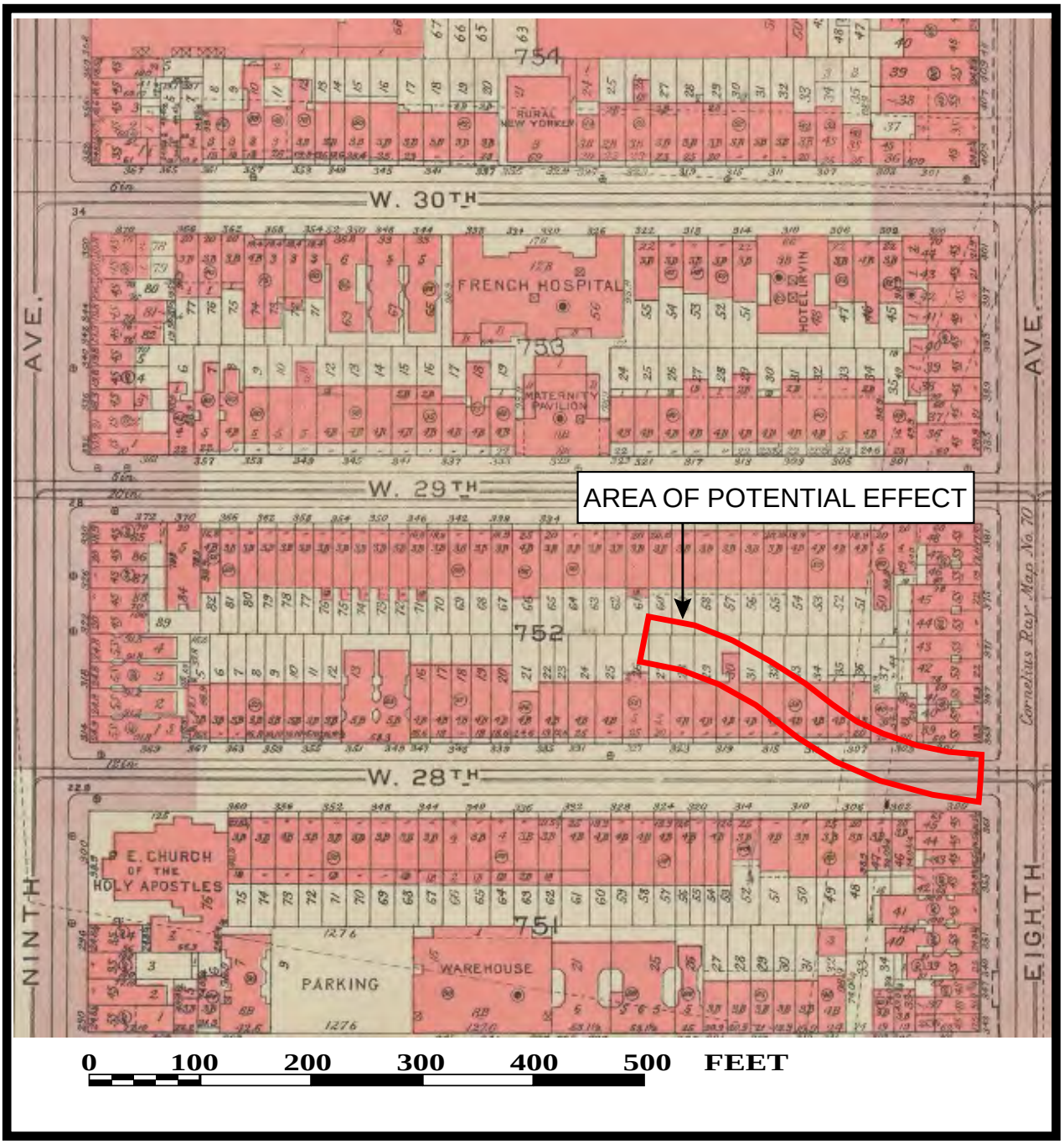
0 50 100 150 200 250 FEET

Figure 12: Area of Potential Effect on *Insurance Maps of the City of New York* (Sanborn 1911).



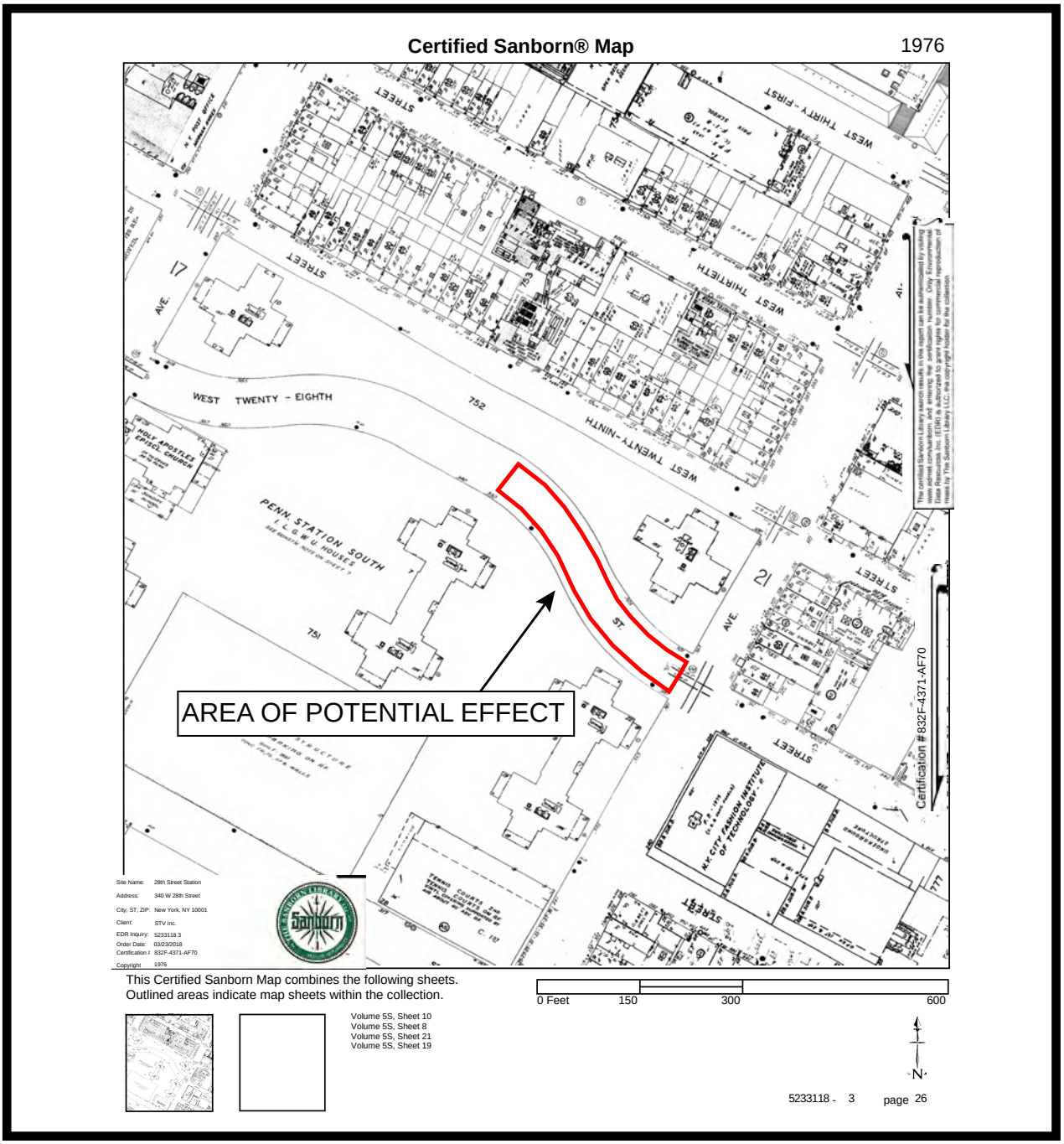
PHASE I CULTURAL RESOURCES STUDY
PROPOSED 28th STREET SUBSTATION
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Figure 13: Area of Potential Effect on *Atlas of the city of New York, borough of Manhattan* (Bromley 1920).



PHASE I CULTURAL RESOURCES STUDY
PROPOSED 28th STREET SUBSTATION
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Figure 14: Area of Potential Effect on *Manhattan Land Book of the City of New York* (Bromley 1956).



PHASE I CULTURAL RESOURCES STUDY
PROPOSED 28th STREET SUBSTATION
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Figure 15: Area of Potential Effect on *Insurance Maps of the City of New York* (Sanborn 1976).

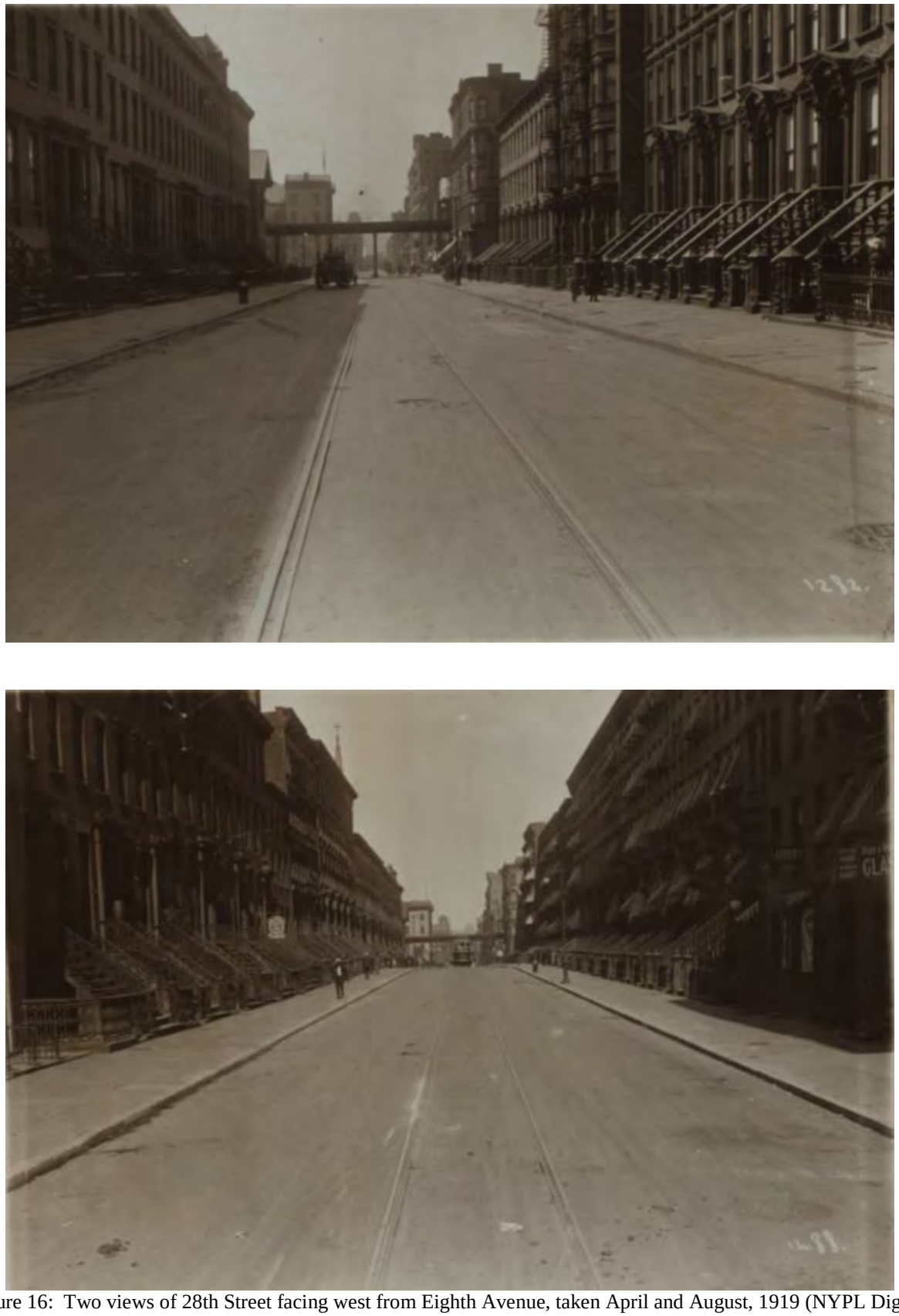
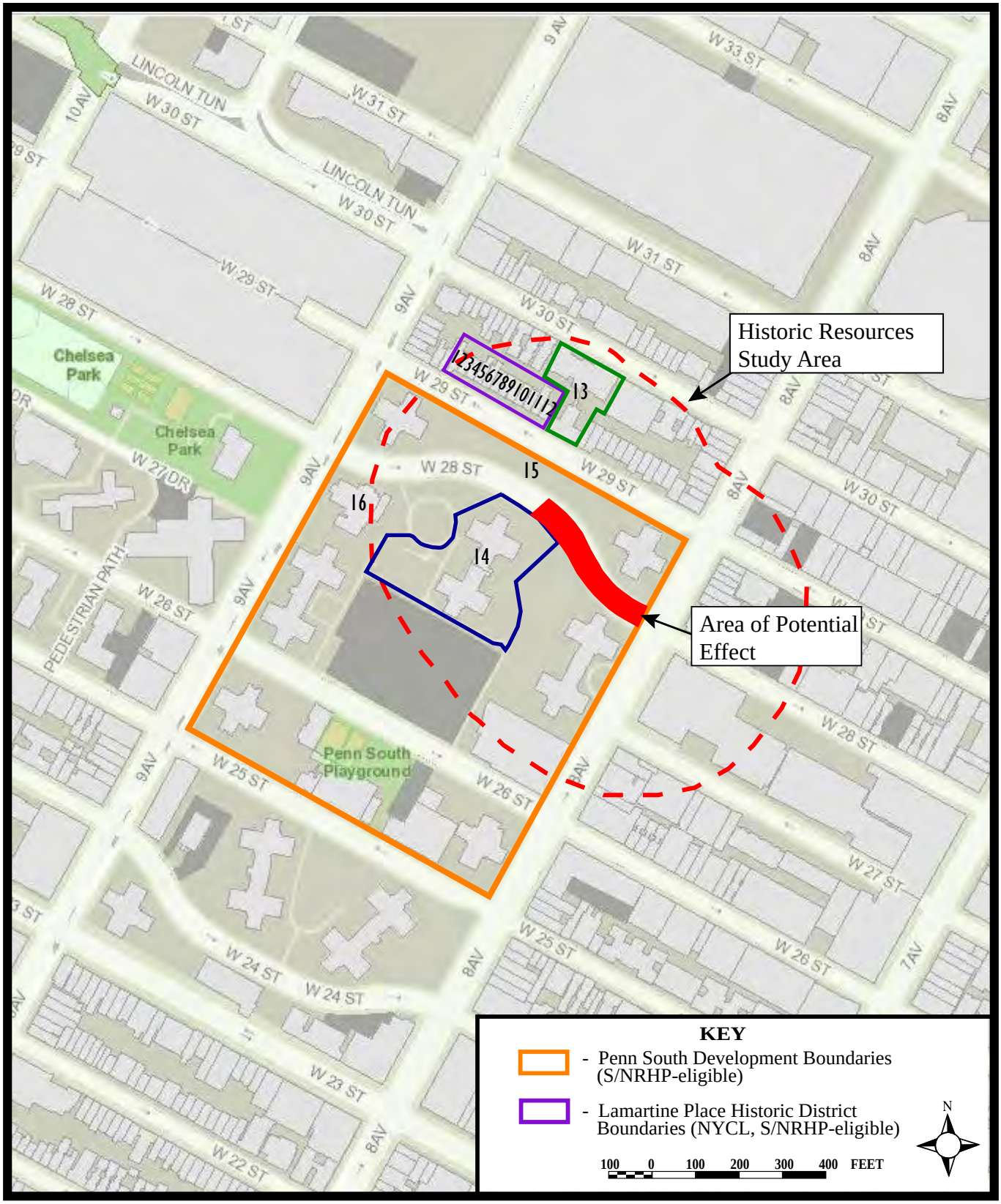


Figure 16: Two views of 28th Street facing west from Eighth Avenue, taken April and August, 1919 (NYPL Digital Images).



PHASE I CULTURAL RESOURCES STUDY
PROPOSED 28th STREET SUBSTATION
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Figure 17: Historic Resources Study Area, Individual Historic Sites, and Historic Districts on NYCityMap (City of New York 2018). Numbers are keyed to Table 4 in report.

Photograph 1: Area of Potential Effect on 28th Street in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing northwest from Eighth Avenue. Penn South Building 9 at right and S/NRHP Building 7 at extreme left.

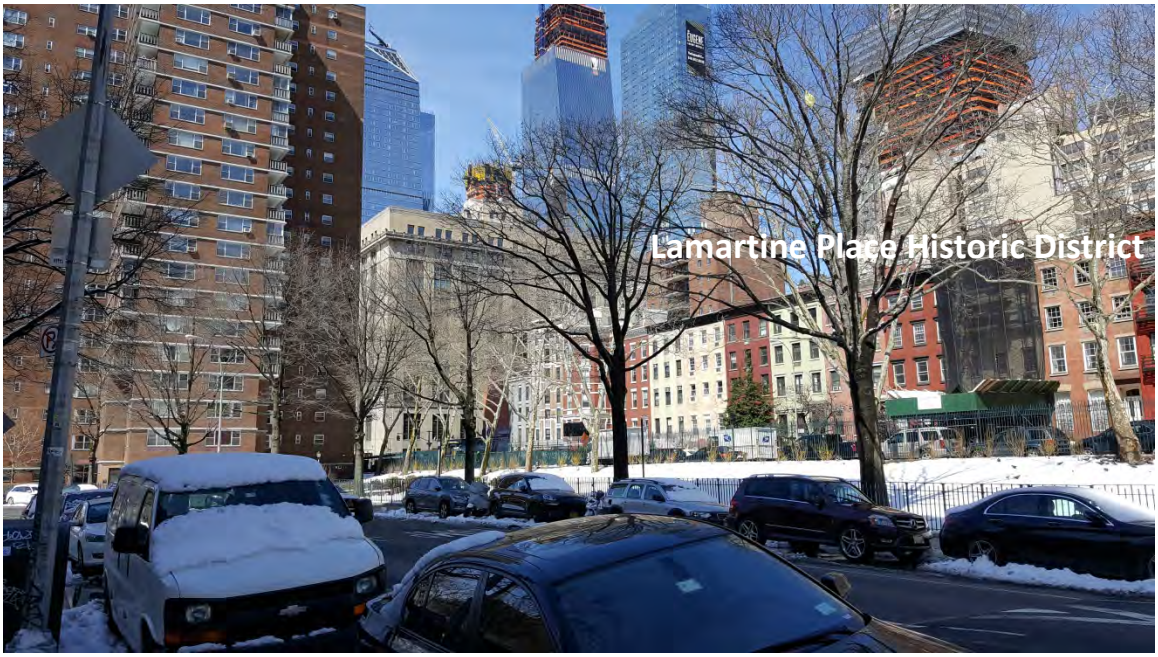
Photograph 2: Area of Potential Effect on 28th Street in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing northwest from just west of Eighth Avenue. NYCL and S/NRHP-eligible Lamartine Place Historic District and S/NRHP-eligible Former French Hospital in background.

Photograph 3: Sidewalk on south side of 28th Street and Area of Potential Effect in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing northwest.

Photograph 4: Area of Potential Effect in 28th Street (foreground) and landscaping between 28th and 29th Streets in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing northeast from sidewalk on south side of 28th Street. Penn South Building 9 at at right.

Photograph 5: Area of Potential Effect in 28th Street and landscaped gardens between 28th and 29th Streets in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing north from sidewalk on south side of 28th Street. NYCL and S/NRHP-eligible Lamartine Place Historic District at left and S/NRHP-eligible Former French Hospital at center.

Photograph 6: 28th Street west of the Area of Potential Effect and landscaped garden between 28th and 29th Streets in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing north from sidewalk in front of S/NRHP Penn South Building 7. S/NRHP-eligible Former French Hospital to north on 29th Street.



Photograph 7: NYCL and S/NRHP-eligible Lamartine Place Historic District on north side of 29th Street, facing northwest from sidewalk in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development adjacent to S/NRHP Building 7 on south side of 28th Street. Penn South Building 10 is at left.

Photograph 8: NYCL and S/NRHP-eligible Lamartine Place Historic District on north side of 29th Street, facing north from sidewalk on north side of 28th Street in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development.


Photograph 9: Area of Potential Effect in 28th Street with landscaped garden between 28th and 29th Streets at left in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing east from sidewalk on north side of 28th Street. The S/NRHP Penn South Building 7 is at right, and Penn South Building 9 is at left in background.

Photograph 10: Sidewalk on south side of 28th Street in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing east with the S/NRHP Building 7 at right. Penn South Building 9 is in background.

Photograph 11: Area of Potential Effect and northern sidewalk in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing east. Penn South Building 8 is at right, and Building 9 is at left.

Photograph 12: 28th Street Area of Potential Effect in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing south. S/NRHP Penn South Building 7 is at right, Penn South Building 8 is at left.

Photograph 13: Western end of 28th Street Area of Potential Effect in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing southwest. S/NRHP Penn South Building 7 is at right, Penn South Building 8 is at left.

Photograph 14: Sidewalk on north side of 28th Street in Area of Potential Effect in the NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing northwest.

Photograph 15: S/NRHP and NYCL Church of the Holy Apostles at the southwest intersection of Ninth Avenue and 28th Street, facing southwest from sidewalk on north side of 28th Street in the S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development.

Photograph 16: South sidewalk on 29th Street, landscaped area between 28th and 29th Streets, and 28th Street Area of Potential Effect in S/NRHP-eligible Penn South development, facing southwest from center of 29th Street in front of Former French Hospital. S/NRHP Building 7 is at right.

APPENDIX A:

Soil Boring Locations and Logs and Geotechnical Report

Aquifer Drilling & Testing, Inc.
75 East 2nd Street, Mineola NY 11501
ph: 516.616.6026, fax: 516.616.6194

November 20, 2017

Mr. Sadrul Hussain, P.E.
Resident Engineer
New York City Transit Authority
2 Broadway, 7th Floor
New York NY 10004

Dear Mr. Hussain,

Enclosed please find one mylar and 2 paper copies the final drawings for Contract C-39013, PSE 36317 34th St. Substation, Borough of Manhattan.

Respectfully yours,

Michael Greenman, CPG
Geotechnical Services Manager
Aquifer Drilling & Testing, Inc.

Enc. Final Drawings

New York City Transit

Memorandum

Date: November 22, 2017

To: Renel Pointdujour, P.E., Design Manager

From: Sadrul Hussain, P.E., Project Engineer

Subject: Contract P-36317 for New 34th Street Substation, 8th Ave Line, Manhattan.

Re: Test Borings

Please refer to your request under reference for the subject contract. Enclosed are the following for your use and suitable action:

( ) Test Boring Logs ( ) Conc. Cores log ( )Test Pit Sketch ( ) FCPT Data ( )

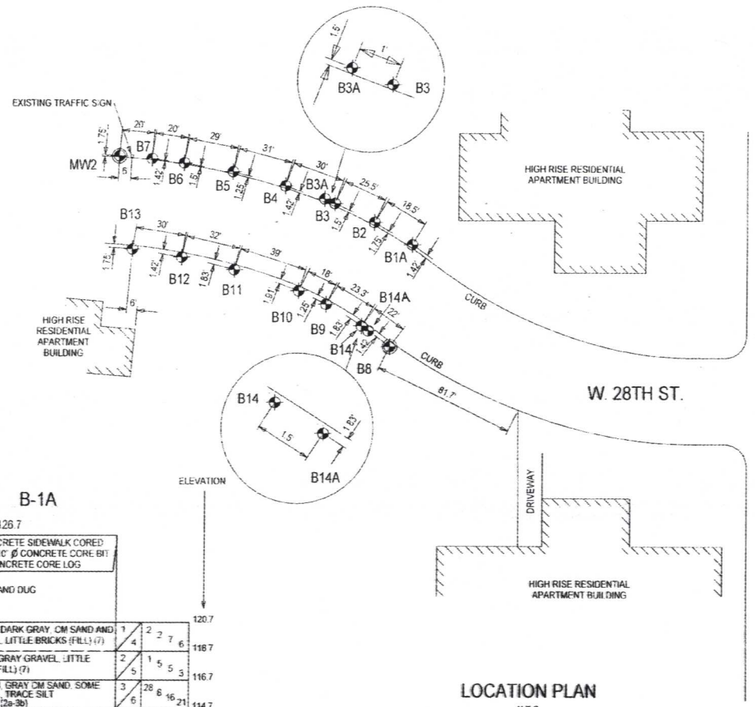
(x) Drawings for your inclusion as part of the contract document (x) Test Boring ( ) Conc. Cores

(x) Total 4 Drawing(s) on Mylar attached Dwg. # ADT13-10

( ) Total ____ Sheets for Test Pit/ Boring #

(X) Comments: Attached please find Mylar for subject contract for your use

C.C. Jia Young, P.E., w/o attachments

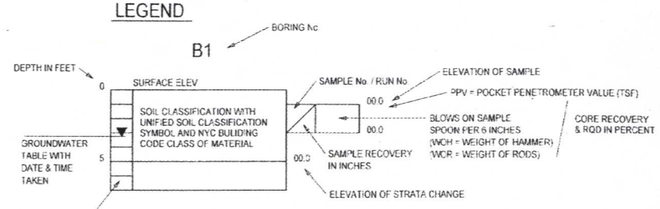


LOCATION PLAN

N.T.S.

BORING LOCATION	NORTHING	EASTING	EXISTING GROUND EL.
B1	212123.65	985164.12	126.49
B2	212157.70	985147.83	127.06
B3	212179.41	985134.90	127.17
B4	212202.48	985117.90	127.31
B5	212225.25	985097.62	126.88
B6	212244.86	985076.49	126.63
B7	212257.37	985060.98	126.60
B8	212098.26	985117.83	126.85
B9	212139.89	985097.27	126.96
B10	212155.06	985087.64	126.98
B11	212185.61	985062.40	126.62
B12	212207.77	985038.97	126.71
B13	212225.38	985014.93	126.53
B14	212117.82	985108.53	126.84
MW2	212259.18	985045.07	126.43
B1A	212141.14	985156.12	126.70
B3A	212180.18	985134.00	127.17
B14A	212116.49	985108.53	126.84

LEGEND



DEFINITION OF TERMS IDENTIFYING THE GRADATION OF GRANULAR COMPONENTS		
GRADATION DESIGNATION		DEFINING PROPORTION
AS WRITTEN	SYMBOL	
COARSE, MEDIUM TO FINE	CMF	ALL FRACTIONS GREATER THAN 10% OF COMPONENT
COARSE TO MEDIUM	CM	LESS THAN 10% FINE
MEDIUM TO FINE	MF	LESS THAN 10% COARSE
MEDIUM	M	LESS THAN 10% COARSE & FINE
FINE	F	LESS THAN 10% COARSE & MEDIUM

QUANTITATIVE ESTIMATE

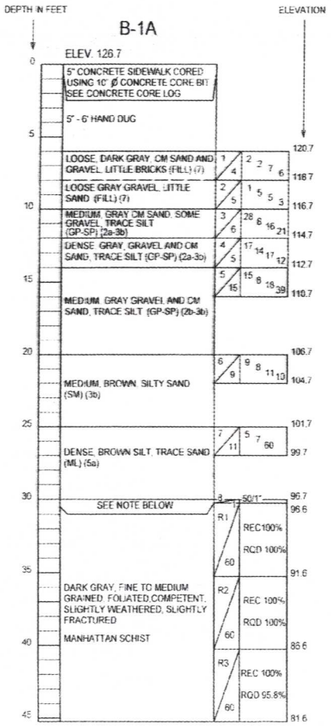
PROPORTION TERMS SECONDARY COMPONENTS *	PERCENTAGE RANGE BY WEIGHT
AND	35 - 50
SOME	20 - 35
LITTLE	10 - 20
TRACE	< 10

* PROPORTIONS REFER TO PERCENTAGES OF THE SOIL FINER THAN AND COARSER THAN THE PRINCIPAL COMPONENT.

TEST BORING

TEST BORING WITH OBSERVATION WELL

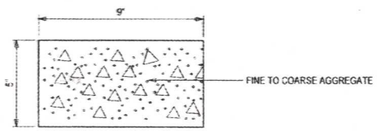
B-1A



DATE STARTED: 10/2/17
DATE FINISHED: 10/3/17
4" ø CASING TO: 12'
3" ø CASING TO: 30.1'

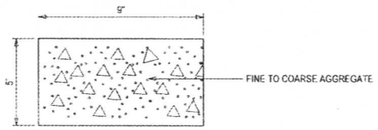
NOTE: DENSE, GRAY GRAVEL AND SAND, TRACE SILT (GP-SP) (2a-3a) SPLIT SPOON REFUSAL AT 30.1'. ROLLER BIT TO 30.1'. BEGAN CORING ROCK AT 30.1' BELOW GRADE.

CC OF LOG B-1A



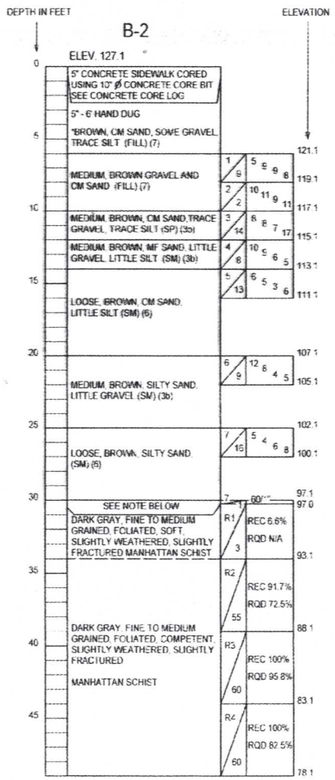
CORE WAS RETRIEVED IN ONE PIECE. CORE CONSISTS OF FINE TO COARSE AGGREGATE IN A GRAYISH MATRIX. CORE HAS NOTICEABLE AIR CAVITIES AND PINHOLES.

CC OF LOG B-2



CORE WAS RETRIEVED IN ONE PIECE. CORE CONSISTS OF FINE TO COARSE AGGREGATE IN A GRAYISH MATRIX. CORE HAS NOTICEABLE AIR CAVITIES AND PINHOLES.

B-2



DATE STARTED: 9/28/17
DATE FINISHED: 10/2/17
4" ø CASING TO: 15'
3" ø CASING TO: 30.2'

NOTE: DENSE, DARK GRAY GRAVEL, TRACE SILT (GP) (2a). ROLLER BIT REFUSAL AT 30.2'. BEGAN CORING ROCK AT 30.2' BELOW GRADE.

* GRAB SOIL FROM HAND CLEAR FOR UTILITIES

GENERAL NOTES:

1. GENERAL LAYOUT WAS OBTAINED FROM DRAWINGS PREPARED BY NEW YORK CITY TRANSIT AUTHORITY, CONTRACT C-39013, ENTITLED "TEST BORINGS FOR CONTRACT P-36317 NEW 34TH STREET SUBSTATION, 8TH AVENUE LINE IN THE BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN DRAWING No.B-2 DATED SEPTEMBER 27, 2017. BORING LOCATIONS SHOWN ON THIS PLAN, PREPARED BY AQUIFER DRILLING & TESTING, INC. ARE AS DRILLED IN FIELD.
2. TEST BORINGS WERE PERFORMED BY AQUIFER DRILLING & TESTING, INC.
3. 140 LB AUTOMATIC HAMMER WITH 30 INCH DROP USED TO DRIVE 2" O.D. SAMPLE SPOON.
4. 140 LB. AUTOMATIC HAMMER WITH 30" DROP USED TO DRIVE 4" I.D. CASING.
5. 2a, 2b, 6 ETC. REFER TO CLASS OF MATERIAL DESCRIBED IN CHAPTER 18, TABLE 1804.1 OF THE BUILDING CODE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.
6. (SP), (ML), ETC. REFER TO THE UNIFIED SOIL CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM DESCRIBED IN CHAPTER 18, TABLE 1804.1, OF THE BUILDING CODE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.
7. DENSE, MEDIUM, LOOSE, STIFF, ETC. REFER TO THE DENSITY AND CONSISTENCY OF SOIL DESCRIBED IN CHAPTER 18, TABLE 1804.1 OF THE BUILDING CODE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.
8. DRILLERS: R. RIOS & E. FELICIANO
9. ELEVATIONS ARE BASED ON TRANSIT AUTHORITY DATUM WHERE ELEVATION 100.00 IS 2.653 FEET ABOVE MEAN SEA LEVEL AT SANDY HOOK, U.S. COAST & GEODETIC SURVEY DATUM.
10. SOIL DESCRIPTIONS ARE BY VISUAL EXAMINATION OF SAMPLES RECOVERED DURING DRILLING OPERATIONS. BORINGS WERE ADVANCED TO DEPTHS SHOWN, AND TO THE BEST KNOWLEDGE, IDENTIFICATIONS, DESCRIPTIONS AND CLASSIFICATION OF SOIL ARE TRUE FOR SAMPLES RECOVERED, AT LEVELS INDICATED. THE SAMPLES ARE REPRESENTATIVE OF SUBSURFACE CONDITIONS, BUT MAY NOT NECESSARILY SHOW ACTUAL CONDITIONS BETWEEN BORINGS.
11. BOULDERS AND ROCK IF DRILLED WERE DRILLED WITH AN NX DOUBLE TUBED CORE BARREL UNLESS OTHERWISE STATED IN THE LOG.
12. GROUNDWATER TABLE READINGS ARE RECORDED ONLY AT LOCATIONS WHERE WELLPOINTS ARE INSTALLED.
13. ROLLER BIT WAS USED TO ADVANCE BORING BETWEEN SAMPLE DEPTHS.
14. ORIENTED CORE WERE TAKEN IN borings B-7 and B-8 BY USING A DOWN HOLE CAMERA.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT I HAVE EXAMINED THE SAMPLES & REVIEWED DRILLER'S LOGS & THAT THE INFORMATION SHOWN ON THIS DRAWING CONFIRMS THEREWITH.

REVISION	DESCRIPTION	DATE	APPROVED

IT IS A VIOLATION OF THE PROFESSIONAL LICENSE LAW FOR ANY PERSON TO ALTER THIS DRAWING IN ANY WAY, UNLESS ACTING UNDER THE DIRECTION OF A LICENSED PROFESSIONAL ENGINEER/ ARCHITECT. THE ALTERING ENGINEER/ARCHITECT SHALL AFFIX HIS OR HER SEAL AND THE NOTATION "ALTERED BY" FOLLOWED BY HIS OR HER SIGNATURE AND DATE OF ALTERATION.

New York City Transit Authority

CONTRACT No. C-39013
TEST BORINGS FOR CONTRACT P-36317
NEW 34TH STRTEET SUBSTATION
8TH AVENUE LINE IN THE BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN

Aquifer Drilling & Testing, Inc.
150 Nassau Terminal Road
New Hyde Park, NY 11040

BORING LOCATION PLAN & LOGS

DRAWN BY M. GREENMAN		COORDINATED BY		DATE NOVEMBER 19, 2017
DESIGNED BY		RECOMMENDED BY		DRAWING No. **ADT13-10** SHEET 1 OF 4
CHECKED BY T. HEBERT	TH	APPROVED BY D. MAYER		REVISION

B-3

ELEV. 127.2

DEPTH			ELEVATION
0	5" CONCRETE SIDEWALK CORED USING 10" ⌀ CONCRETE CORE BIT SEE CONCRETE CORE LOG		
	5" - 6" HAND DUG		
5	*GRAY, CM SAND, LITTLE GRAVEL, TRACE BRICKS, TRACE SILT (FILL) (7)		121.2
	MEDIUM, REDDISH BROWN, CM SAND, LITTLE GRAVEL, TRACE SILT (FILL) (7)	1/13 5 7 5 6	119.2
	MEDIUM, BROWN, CM SAND AND GRAVEL (FILL) (7)	2/12 10 11 11 10	117.2
10	SEE NOTE A BELOW	3/13 7 26 10 6	115.2
	DENSE, BROWN GRAVEL AND SAND, LITTLE SILT (GP-SP) (2a-3a)	4/16 8 25 13 16	113.2
15	DENSE, REDDISH, CM SAND, TRACE GRAVEL, LITTLE SILT (SM) (3a)	5/14 11 24 20 14	111.2
	LOOSE, BROWN, SILTY SAND, SOME GRAVEL (SM) (6)	6/12 6 5 4 4	109.2
	MEDIUM, BROWN, SILTY SAND, LITTLE GRAVEL (SM) (3b)	7/17 7 8 10 14	107.2
20	DENSE, MOTTLED GRAVEL, TRACE SAND, TRACE SILT (GP) (2a)	8/4 15 23 24 11	105.2
25			102.2
	MEDIUM, BROWN SILT, LITTLE F SAND (ML) (3b)	9/17 4 7 6 7	100.7
30	MEDIUM, BROWN, CLAYEY SILT, SOME GRAVEL, LITTLE SAND (CL-ML) (5b)	10/21 5 8 8 10	97.2
	DENSE, BROWN, CLAYEY SILT, SOME GRAVEL, LITTLE SAND (CL-ML) (5a)	11/24 5 12 26 24	95.2
35	DENSE, BROWN GRAVEL AND SILTY SAND (GP-SM) (2a-3a)	12/12 21 39 20 28	93.2
	SEE NOTE B BELOW	13 54/5"	90.2
		13 REC 8"	89.2
40	DARK GRAY, FINE TO MEDIUM GRAINED, FOLIATED, WEATHERED FRACTURED MANHATTAN SCHIST AND PEGMATITE	R2 REC 51.9% RQD 11.11%	86.6
		28	83.6

DATE STARTED: 9/25/17
DATE FINISHED: 9/27/17
4" ⌀ CASING TO: 10'
3" ⌀ CASING TO: 38.6'

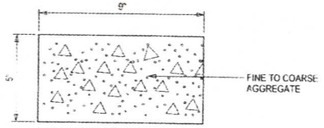
NOTE A: @ S3: TOP 6" DENSE, REDDISH BROWN SILTY SAND, @ BOTTOM 6", DENSE, GRAY GRAVEL AND CM SAND (GP-SP) (2a-3a)

S4, S5, AND S6 - 6" LENSES OF REDDISH BROWN SILT (BULLS LIVER)

NOTE B: S13 - DENSE, MOTTLED, GRAVEL, LITTLE SAND, TRACE SILT (GP) (2a)
SPLIT SPOON REFUSAL AT 38.42'
ROLLER BIT TO 38.6 (TOP OF RUCK)
BEGAN CORING ROCK AT 38.6' BELOW GRADE

* GRAB SOIL FROM HAND CLEAR FOR UTILITIES

CC OF LOG B-3



CORE WAS RETRIEVED IN ONE PIECE.
CORE CONSISTS OF FINE TO COARSE AGGREGATE IN A GRAYISH MATRIX.
CORE HAS NOTICEABLE AIR CAVITIES AND PINHOLES.

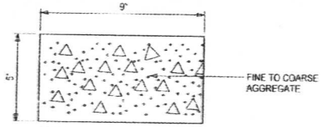
B-3A

ELEV. 127.2

DEPTH			ELEVATION
0	5" CONCRETE SIDEWALK CORED USING 10" ⌀ CONCRETE CORE BIT SEE CONCRETE CORE LOG		
5	5" - 6" HAND DUG		
40	ROLLER BIT TO 40.2'		87.0
45	DARK GRAY, FINE TO MEDIUM GRAINED, COMPETENT, SLIGHTLY WEATHERED, SLIGHTLY FRACTURED MANHATTAN SCHIST	R1 REC 100% RQD 84.2% 60	82.0
		R2 REC 100% RQD 96.7% 80	77.0
50			

DATE STARTED: 10/10/17
DATE FINISHED: 10/16/17
3" ⌀ CASING TO: 40'

CC OF LOG B-3A



CORE WAS RETRIEVED IN ONE PIECE.
CORE CONSISTS OF FINE TO COARSE AGGREGATE IN A GRAYISH MATRIX.
CORE HAS NOTICEABLE AIR CAVITIES AND PINHOLES.

B-4

ELEV. 127.0

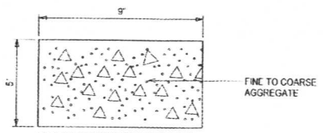
DEPTH			ELEVATION
0	5" CONCRETE SIDEWALK CORED USING 10" ⌀ CONCRETE CORE BIT SEE CONCRETE CORE LOG		
	5" - 6" HAND DUG		
5	* BROWN GRAVEL, LITTLE MF SAND, TRACE SILT, TRACE BRICKS (FILL) (7)		121.0
	LOOSE, BROWN, CMF SAND, SOME GRAVEL, TRACE SILT (FILL) (7)	1/16 2 4 4 2	119.0
	LOOSE, BROWN, CMF SAND, TRACE GRAVEL (FILL) (7)	2/16 4 5 5 6	117.0
10	MEDIUM, BROWN GRAVEL, LITTLE CMF SAND, TRACE SILT (GP) (2b)	3/16 8 8 13 12	115.0
		4/3 17 7 8 8	113.0
15	MEDIUM, BROWN, CLAYEY SILT, LITTLE F SAND (ML) (5b)	5/18 13 13 15 12	111.0
20	DENSE, BROWN, CLAYEY SILT, LITTLE F SAND (ML) (5a)	6/11 20 30 34 29	107.0
			105.0
25	MEDIUM, BROWN, CLAYEY SILT, LITTLE F SAND (ML) (5b)	7/20 3 5 13 17	102.0
			100.0
30	DENSE, BROWN, MF SAND, SOME GRAVEL, TRACE SILT (SP) (3a)	8/9 22 7/4"	97.0
	SEE NOTE A BELOW		96.2
35		R1 REC 32% RQD 17% 32	92.0
		R2 REC 100% RQD 100% 45	87.3
40	MANHATTAN SCHIST	R3 REC 100% RQD 92.5% 100	83.5
45		R4 REC 93.3% RQD 93.3% 56	78.5
50			73.5

DATE STARTED: 9/28/17
DATE FINISHED: 9/29/17
4" ⌀ CASING TO: 20'
3" ⌀ CASING TO: 36'

NOTE A: S9 NO RECOVERY. SPLIT SPOON REFUSAL AT 35'. START CORING ROCK AT 35' BELOW GRADE.

* GRAB SOIL FROM HAND CLEAR FOR UTILITIES

CC OF LOG B-4



CORE WAS RETRIEVED IN ONE PIECE.
CORE CONSISTS OF FINE TO COARSE AGGREGATE IN A GRAYISH MATRIX.
CORE HAS NOTICEABLE AIR CAVITIES AND PINHOLES.

B-5

ELEV. 126.9

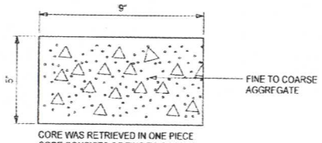
DEPTH			ELEVATION
0	5" CONCRETE SIDEWALK CORED USING 10" ⌀ CONCRETE CORE BIT SEE CONCRETE CORE LOG		
	5" - 6" HAND DUG		
5	* BROWN, MF SAND, LITTLE GRAVEL, (FILL) (7)		120.9
	MEDIUM, BROWN BRICKS, LITTLE GRAVEL, TRACE SILT (FILL) (7)	1/24 10 8 7 4	118.9
	DENSE, GRAY GRAVEL, LITTLE MF SAND, TRACE BRICKS (FILL) (7)	2/14 6 20 50 50	116.9
10	DENSE, GRAY, MF SAND, SOME GRAVEL, TRACE SILT (SP) (3a)	3/10 60/3" 27 28 35	114.9
		4/9 4 13 45 35	112.9
15		5/10 5 4 4 6	110.9
20	LOOSE, BROWN, CLAYEY SILT LITTLE F SAND (ML) (5b)	6/14 2 4 6 6	108.9
			104.9
25	SEE NOTE A BELOW		101.9
		R1 REC 86.7% RQD 55.8% 52	96.9
30		R2 REC 76.7% RQD 44.2% 46	91.9
	MANHATTAN SCHIST	R3 REC 100% RQD 25% 54	87.4
40		R4 REC 93.3% RQD 76.3% 56	82.4
45		R5 REC 100% RQD 53% 60	77.4

DATE STARTED: 10/2/17
DATE FINISHED: 10/3/17
4" ⌀ CASING TO: 15'
3" ⌀ CASING TO: 25'

NOTE A: SPLIT SPOON REFUSAL AT 25'. BEGAN CORING ROCK AT 25' BELOW GRADE

* GRAB SOIL FROM HAND CLEAR FOR UTILITIES

CC OF LOG B-5



CORE WAS RETRIEVED IN ONE PIECE.
CORE CONSISTS OF FINE TO COARSE AGGREGATE IN A GRAYISH MATRIX.
CORE HAS NOTICEABLE AIR CAVITIES AND PINHOLES.

I HAVE EXAMINED THE SAMPLES & REVIEWED DRILLER'S LOGS & THAT THE INFORMATION SHOWN ON THIS DRAWING CONFIRMS THEREWITH.

B-6

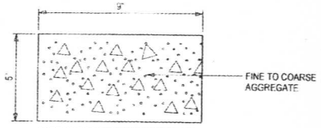
ELEV. 126.6

DEPTH			ELEVATION
0	5" CONCRETE SIDEWALK CORED USING 10" ⌀ CONCRETE CORE BIT SEE CONCRETE CORE LOG		
	5" - 6" HAND DUG		
5	DENSE, GRAY/BROWN GRAVEL, LITTLE MF SAND, TRACE BRICKS (FILL) (7)	1/11 7 8 24 24	120.6
	DENSE, GRAY/BROWN GRAVEL, TRACE MF SAND, TRACE BRICKS (FILL) (7)	2/5 33 30 20 21	118.6
10	MEDIUM BROWN, MF SAND, SOME GRAVEL, TRACE SILT (SP) (3b)	3/6 27 13 14 11	116.6
		4/16 4 5 6 6	114.6
15	MEDIUM, BROWN, CLAYEY SILT, SOME F SAND (ML) (5b)		111.6
		5/13 4 6 6 13	106.6
20	SEE NOTE A BELOW		104.6
		R1 REC 56% RQD 59.2% 60	102.3
25		R2 REC 75% RQD 33% 45	97.3
	MANHATTAN SCHIST	R3 REC 95% RQD 91.7% 57	92.3
35		R4 REC 76.7% RQD 50% 46	87.3
40		R5 REC 88.6% RQD 29.2% 53.5	82.3
45		R6 REC 100% RQD 94.2% 60	77.3
50			72.3

DATE STARTED: 10/16/17
DATE FINISHED: 10/18/17
4" ⌀ CASING TO: 10'
3" ⌀ CASING TO: 24.25'

NOTE A: SPLIT SPOON REFUSAL AT 24'. BEGAN CORING ROCK AT 24.25' BELOW GRADE.

CC OF LOG B-6



CORE WAS RETRIEVED IN ONE PIECE.
CORE CONSISTS OF FINE TO COARSE AGGREGATE IN A GRAYISH MATRIX.
CORE HAS NOTICEABLE AIR CAVITIES AND PINHOLES.

REVISION	DESCRIPTION	DATE	APPROVED

New York City Transit Authority

Aquifer Drilling & Testing, Inc.
150 Nassau Terminal Road
New Hyde Park, NY 11040

CONTRACT No. C-39013
TEST BORINGS FOR CONTRACT P-363179
NEW 34TH STRTEET SUBSTATION
8TH AVENUE LINE IN THE BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN

BORING LOCATION PLAN & LOGS

DRAWN BY M. GREENMAN		COORDINATED BY		DATE NOVEMBER 19, 2017
DESIGNED BY		RECOMMENDED BY		DRAWING No. ADT13-10
CHECKED BY T. HEBERT	TH	APPROVED BY D. MAYER	DM	SHEET 2 OF 4
				REVISION

B-7

ELEV. 126.6

5" CONCRETE SIDEWALK CORED USING 10" ø CONCRETE CORE BIT SEE CONCRETE CORE LOG

5' - 6' HAND DUG

MEDIUM BROWN, GRAVEL, TRACE SAND, (FILL) (7) — 120.6

DENSE, BROWN, CMF SAND, LITTLE GRAVEL, TRACE SILT (SP) (3a) — 118.6

DENSE, BROWN GRAVEL, LITTLE SAND, TRACE SILT (GP) (2a) — 116.6

LOOSE, BROWN, CMF SAND, TRACE GRAVEL, TRACE SILT (SP) (6) — 114.6 / 111.6

MEDIUM, BROWN, SILTY SAND (SM) (3b) — 109.6 / 106.6

DENSE, GRAY, MICACEOUS SAND (SP) (3a) — 104.6 / 103.6

SEE NOTE A BELOW — 102.5 / 102.4

DARK GRAY, FINE TO MEDIUM GRAINED, FOLIATED, COMPETENT, SLIGHTLY WEATHERED, SLIGHTLY FRACTURED MANAHATTAN SCHIST

R1: REC 100%, RQD 64.2% — 97.4

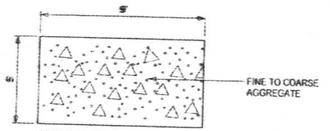
R2: REC 100%, RQD 87.7% — 92.4

R3: REC 100%, RQD 98.3% — 87.4

DATE STARTED: 10/12/17
DATE FINISHED: 10/13/17
4" ø CASING TO: 24.2'

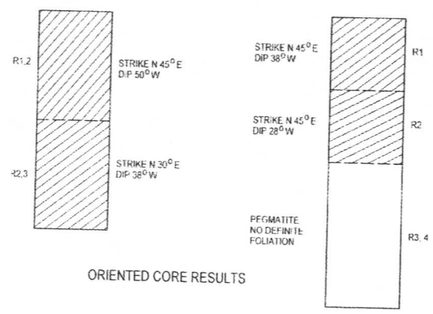
NOTE A: SPLIT SPOON REFUSAL AT 23.08' ROLLER BIT REFUSAL AT 24.2' (TOP OF COMPETENT ROCK) BEGAN CORING ROCK AT 24.2' BELOW GRADE

CC OF LOG B-7



CORE WAS RETRIEVED IN ONE PIECE
CORE CONSISTS OF FINE TO COARSE AGGREGATE IN A GRAYISH MATRIX
CORE HAS NOTICEABLE AIR CAVITIES AND PINHOLES.

B-7 / B-8 ORIENTED CORE RESULTS



ORIENTED CORE RESULTS

B-8

ELEV. 126.9

5" CONCRETE SIDEWALK CORED USING 10" ø CONCRETE CORE BIT SEE CONCRETE CORE LOG

5' - 6' HAND DUG

LOOSE, RED BRICKS, TRACE SAND, TRACE SILT (FILL) (7) — 102.9

MEDIUM, DARK GRAY BRICKS, SOME SAND, LITTLE ASPHALT (FILL) (7) — 118.9

TOP 6": MEDIUM, DARK GRAY BRICKS
BOTTOM 6": MEDIUM, BROWN, MF SAND, TRACE GRAVEL, TRACE BRICKS (FILL) (7) — 116.9 / 114.9

11/1/17 11:04 AM
113.25

MEDIUM, BROWN,SILTY SAND (SM) (3b) — 111.9 / 109.9

MEDIUM, BROWN, SANDY SILT, LITTLE CLAY (ML) (5b) — 105.9 / 104.9

DENSE, BROWN, CMF SAND, SOME GRAVEL, TRACE SILT (SP) (3a) — 101.9 / 101.2

SEE NOTE A BELOW — 95.4

DARK GRAY, FINE TO MEDIUM GRAINED, FOLIATED, COMPETENT, SLIGHTLY WEATHERED, SLIGHTLY FRACTURED MANHATTAN SCHIST

R1: REC 100%, RQD 78.3% — 94.4

R2: REC 100%, RQD 56.2% — 89.4

R3: REC 100%, RQD 40.8% — 84.4

PEGMATITE

R4: REC 100%, RQD 75.8% — 79.4

DATE STARTED: 10/11/17
DATE FINISHED: 10/13/17
4" ø CASING TO: 26'

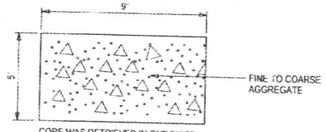
NOTE A: SPLIT SPOON REFUSAL AT 25.75' (TOP OF COMPETENT ROCK) BEGAN CORING ROCK AT 27.5' BELOW GRADE

WELLPOINT INSTALLED @ 25'
2" ø - 20' SCREEN
2" ø - 5' RISER

GROUNDWATER TABLE READINGS

DATE	TIME	ELEV
10/18/17	12:05 PM	112.9
11/01/17	11:04 AM	113.25

CCOF LOG B-8



CORE WAS RETRIEVED IN ONE PIECE
CORE CONSISTS OF FINE TO COARSE AGGREGATE IN A GRAYISH MATRIX
CORE HAS NOTICEABLE AIR CAVITIES AND PINHOLES.

B-9

ELEV. 127.0

5" CONCRETE SIDEWALK CORED USING 10" ø CONCRETE CORE BIT SEE CONCRETE CORE LOG

5' - 6' HAND DUG

NO RECOVERY — 121.0

LOOSE, GRAY GRAVEL, TRACE SAND, TRACE BRICK (FILL) (7) — 119.0

MEDIUM, GRAY GRAVEL, TRACE SAND, TRACE BRICK, TRACE SILT (FILL) (7) — 117.0 / 115.0

DENSE, BROWN GRAVEL, LITTLE MF SAND, TRACE SILT (GP) (2a) — 113.0 / 111.0

MEDIUM, BROWN, CLAYEY SILT, TRACE F SAND (ML) (5b) — 107.0 / 105.0 / 102.0 / 100.0

MEDIUM, BROWN, MF SAND, SOME CLAYEY SILT (SM) (3b) — 97.0 / 95.0

SEE NOTE A BELOW — 93.8

MANHATTAN SCHIST

R1: REC 100%, RQD 75% — 88.8

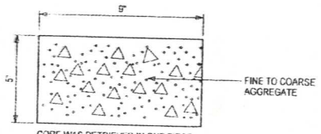
R2: REC 100%, RQD 89.2% — 83.8

R3: REC 100%, RQD 78.3% — 78.8

DATE STARTED: 10/4/17
DATE FINISHED: 10/11/17
4" ø CASING TO: 23'
3" ø CASING TO: 33.2'

NOTE A: ROLLER BIT REFUSAL AT 33.2' (TOP OF COMPETENT ROCK) BEGAN CORING ROCK AT 33.23' BELOW GRADE

CC OF LOG B-9



CORE WAS RETRIEVED IN ONE PIECE
CORE CONSISTS OF FINE TO COARSE AGGREGATE IN A GRAYISH MATRIX
CORE HAS NOTICEABLE AIR CAVITIES AND PINHOLES.

B-10

ELEV. 127.0

5" CONCRETE SIDEWALK CORED USING 10" ø CONCRETE CORE BIT SEE CONCRETE CORE LOG

5' - 6' HAND DUG

*RED BROWN BRICKS AND MF SAND, TRACE SILT (FILL) (7) — 121.0

LOOSE, RED BRICKS, LITTLE SAND, TRACE SILT (FILL) (7) — 119.0

LOOSE, GRAY GRAVEL, LITTLE SAND, LITTLE BRICKS (FILL) (7) — 117.0

DENSE, RED-BROWN BRICKS, AND SAND (FILL) (7) — 115.0

MEDIUM, BROWN, SILTY SAND, LITTLE GRAVEL (SM) (3b) — 113.0

MEDIUM, GRAY, SILTY SAND, SLIGHT HYDROCARBON LIKE ODOR (SM) (3b) — 111.0

DENSE, GRAY, SILTY SAND, LITTLE GRAVEL, SLIGHT HYDRO-CARBON LIKE ODOR (SM) (3a) — 110.1

MEDIUM, MOTTLED GRAVEL, TRACE SILT (GP) (2b) — 107.0 / 105.0

LOOSE, BROWN SILT (ML) (6) — 102.0 / 100.0 / 97.0 / 95.0

SEE NOTE A BELOW — 92.0 / 90.5

DARK GRAY, FINE TO MEDIUM GRAINED, FOLIATED, COMPETENT, SLIGHTLY WEATHERED, SLIGHTLY FRACTURED MANHATTAN SCHIST

R1: REC 91.7%, RQD 63.3% — 90.8

R2: REC 93.3%, RQD 25% — 85.8

R3: REC 73%, RQD 36.5% — 80.8

R4: REC 100%, RQD 40.6% — 75.8

R5: REC 95%, RQD 77.5% — 71.8

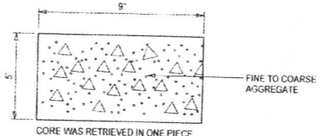
66.8

DATE STARTED: 9/19/17
DATE FINISHED: 9/21/17
4" ø CASING TO: 20'
3" ø CASING TO: 36'

* GRAB SOIL FROM HAND CLEAR FOR UTILITIES

NOTE A: S10 DENSE, BLACK GRAVEL, LITTLE SAND, LITTLE SILT (GP-GM) (2a)
ROLLER BIT REFUSAL AT 36.2' (TOP OF COMPETENT ROCK) BEGAN CORING ROCK AT 36.2' BELOW GRADE

CC OF LOG B-10



CORE WAS RETRIEVED IN ONE PIECE
CORE CONSISTS OF FINE TO COARSE AGGREGATE IN A GRAYISH MATRIX
CORE HAS NOTICEABLE AIR CAVITIES AND PINHOLES

B-11

ELEV. 126.6

5" CONCRETE SIDEWALK CORED USING 10" ø CONCRETE CORE BIT SEE CONCRETE CORE LOG

5' - 6' HAND DUG

LOOSE, BROWN BRICKS, LITTLE GRAVEL, TRACE SILT (FILL) (7) — 120.6

MEDIUM, GRAY GRAVEL, LITTLE MF SAND, TRACE BRICKS (FILL) (7) — 118.6 / 116.6

DENSE, GRAY, MF SAND, SOME GRAVEL, TRACE SILT (SP) (3a) — 114.6 / 113.5 / 111.6

MEDIUM, BROWN, CLAYEY SILT, LITTLE, F SAND (ML) (5b) — 106.6 / 104.6

DENSE, BROWN, MF SAND, SOME GRAVEL, TRACE SILT (SP) (3a) — 101.6 / 99.6 / 96.6 / 94.6

SPLIT SPOON REFUSAL, AT 35' BEGAN CORING ROCK AT 35' BELOW GRADE — 91.6

MANHATTAN SCHIST

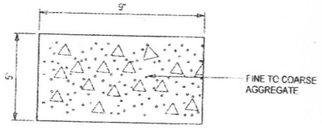
R1: REC 83.3%, RQD 70% — 86.6

R2: REC 100%, RQD 94.2% — 81.6

R3: REC 100%, RQD 58% — 76.9

DATE STARTED: 10/3/17
DATE FINISHED: 10/4/17
4" ø CASING TO 20'
3" ø CASING TO: 35'

CC OF LOG B-11



CORE WAS RETRIEVED IN ONE PIECE
CORE CONSISTS OF FINE TO COARSE AGGREGATE IN A GRAYISH MATRIX
CORE HAS NOTICEABLE AIR CAVITIES AND PINHOLES.

REVISION	DESCRIPTION	DATE	APPROVED

IT IS A VIOLATION OF THE PROFESSIONAL LICENSE LAW FOR ANY PERSON TO ALTER THIS DRAWING IN ANY WAY, UNLESS ACTING UNDER THE DIRECTION OF A LICENSED PROFESSIONAL ENGINEER/ ARCHITECT. THE ALTERING ENGINEER/ARCHITECT SHALL AFFIX HIS OR HER SEAL AND THE NOTATION "ALTERED BY" FOLLOWED BY HIS OR HER SIGNATURE AND DATE OF ALTERATION.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT I HAVE EXAMINED THE SAMPLES & REVIEWED DRILLER'S LOGS & THAT THE INFORMATION SHOWN ON THIS DRAWING CONFIRMS THEREWITH

New York City Transit Authority

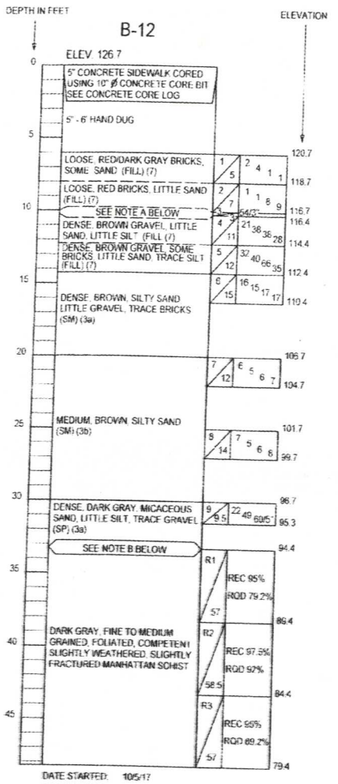
Aquifer Drilling & Testing, Inc.
150 Nassau Terminal Road
New Hyde Park, NY 11040

CONTRACT No. C-39013
TEST BORINGS FOR CONTRACT P-36317
NEW 34TH STRTEET SUBSTATION
8TH AVENUE LINE IN THE BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN

BORING LOCATION PLAN & LOGS

DRAWN BY: M. GREENMAN		COORDINATED BY:	DATE: NOVEMBER 19, 2017
DESIGNED BY:		RECOMMENDED BY:	DRAWING No. ADT13-10
CHECKED BY: T. HEBERT	TH	APPROVED BY: D. MAYER	SHEET 3 OF 4
			REVISION

B-12

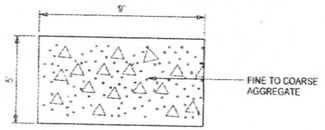


DATE STARTED: 10/5/17
DATE FINISHED: 10/6/17
4" Ø CASING TO: 12'
3" Ø CASING TO: 30.5'

NOTE A: S3 - DENSE, RED-DARK GRAY BRICKS, LITTLE SAND, TRACE SILT (FILL) (7)

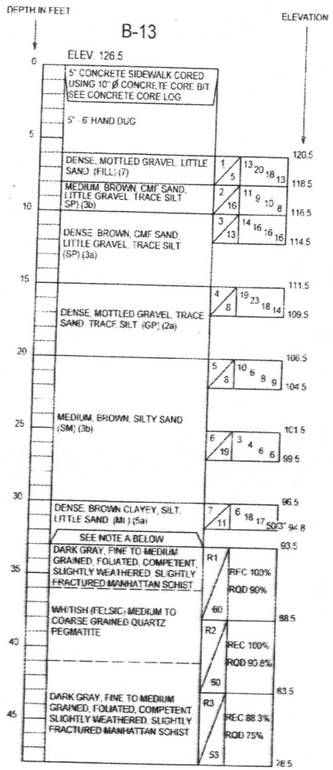
NOTE B: SPLIT SPOON REFUSAL AT 31.42' ROLLER BIT REFUSAL AT 33.25' (TOP OF COMPETENT ROCK) BEGAN CORING ROCK AT 33.25' BELOW GRADE

CC OF LOG B-12



CORE WAS RETRIEVED IN ONE PIECE. CORE CONSISTS OF FINE TO COARSE AGGREGATE IN A GRAYISH MATRIX. CORE HAS NOTICEABLE AIR CAVITIES AND PINHOLES.

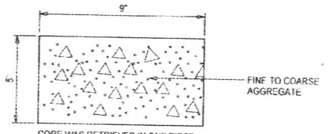
B-13



DATE STARTED: 10/3/17
DATE FINISHED: 10/4/17
4" Ø CASING TO: 10'
3" Ø CASING TO: 35'

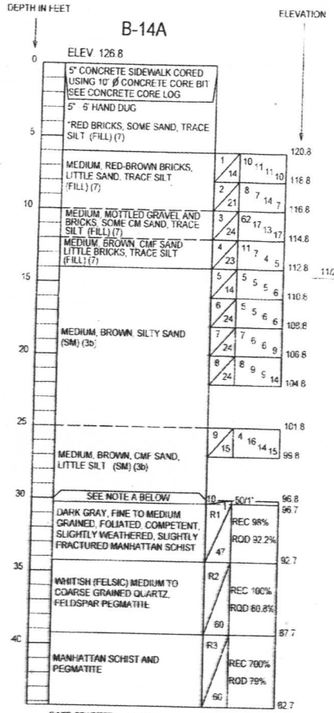
NOTE A: SPLIT SPOON REFUSAL AT 31.75' ROLLER BIT REFUSAL AT 33' (TOP OF COMPETENT ROCK). BEGAN CORING ROCK AT 33' BELOW GRADE

CC OF LOG B-13



CORE WAS RETRIEVED IN ONE PIECE. CORE CONSISTS OF FINE TO COARSE AGGREGATE IN A GRAYISH MATRIX. CORE HAS NOTICEABLE AIR CAVITIES AND PINHOLES.

B-14A

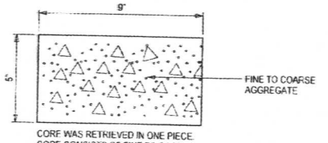


DATE STARTED: 9/21/17
DATE FINISHED: 9/26/17
4" Ø CASING TO: 20'
3" Ø CASING TO: 30.1'

* GRAB SOIL FROM HAND CLEAR FOR UTILITIES

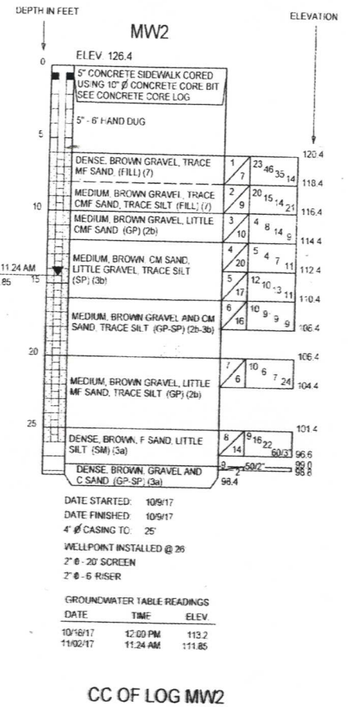
NOTE A: S10 - DENSE BLACK GRAVEL (GP) (2a) SPLIT SPOON REFUSAL AT 30.1' (TOP OF COMPETENT ROCK) BEGAN CORING ROCK AT 30.1' BELOW GRADE

CC OF LOG B-14A



CORE WAS RETRIEVED IN ONE PIECE. CORE CONSISTS OF FINE TO COARSE AGGREGATE IN A GRAYISH MATRIX. CORE HAS NOTICEABLE AIR CAVITIES AND PINHOLES.

MW2



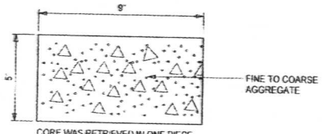
DATE STARTED: 10/9/17
DATE FINISHED: 10/9/17
4" Ø CASING TO: 25'

WELLPOINT INSTALLED @ 26
2" Ø - 20' SCREEN
2" Ø - 6' RISER

GROUNDWATER TABLE READINGS

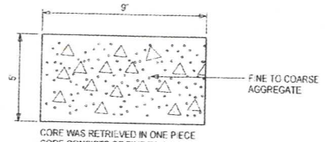
DATE	TIME	ELEV.
10/16/17	12:00 PM	113.2
11/02/17	11:24 AM	111.85

CC OF LOG MW2



CORE WAS RETRIEVED IN ONE PIECE. CORE CONSISTS OF FINE TO COARSE AGGREGATE IN A GRAYISH MATRIX. CORE HAS NOTICEABLE AIR CAVITIES AND PINHOLES.

CC-OF LOG B-14



CORE WAS RETRIEVED IN ONE PIECE CORE CONSISTS OF FINE TO COARSE AGGREGATE IN A GRAYISH MATRIX CORE HAS NOTICEABLE AIR CAVITIES AND PINHOLES.

BORING 14 ENCOUNTERED A 2" O STEEL PIPE 2' BELOW GRADE WHILE HAND DIGGING. RELOCATED BORING TO B-14A

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT I HAVE EXAMINED THE SAMPLES & REVIEWED DRILLER'S LOGS & THAT THE INFORMATION SHOWN ON THIS DRAWING CONFIRMS THEREWITH

REVISION	DESCRIPTION	DATE	APPROVED

IT IS A VIOLATION OF THE PROFESSIONAL LICENSE LAW FOR ANY PERSON TO ALTER THIS DRAWING IN ANY WAY, UNLESS ACTING UNDER THE DIRECTION OF A LICENSED PROFESSIONAL ENGINEER/ ARCHITECT. THE ALTERING ENGINEER/ARCHITECT SHALL AFFIX HIS OR HER SEAL AND THE NOTATION "ALTERED BY" FOLLOWED BY HIS OR HER SIGNATURE AND DATE OF ALTERATION

New York City Transit Authority

Aquifer Drilling & Testing, Inc.
150 Nassau Terminal Road
New Hyde Park, NY 11040

CONTRACT No. C-39013
TEST BORINGS FOR CONTRACT P-36317
NEW 34TH STRTEET SUBSTATION
8TH AVENUE LINE IN THE BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN

BORING LOCATION PLAN & LOGS

DRAWN BY: M. GREENVAN		COORDINATED BY	DATE: NOVEMBER 19, 2017
DESIGNED BY		RECOMMENDED BY	DRAWING No. ADT13-10 SHEET 4 OF 4
CHECKED BY: T. HEBERT	TH	APPROVED BY: D. MAYER	REVISION

APPENDIX B:

S/NRHP Nomination Bayard Rustin Apartment
S/NRHP Nomination Church of the Holy Apostles (cover sheet; full nomination not digitized)
NYCL Designation Church of the Holy Apostles
NYCL Lamartine Place Historic District Designation Report
OPRHP Lamartine Place Historic District Determination of Eligibility

NPS Form 10-900
(Oct. 1990)

OMB No. 1024-0018

RECEIVED 2280

JAN 22 2016

Nat. Register of Historic Places
National Park Service

12

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form* (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories listed in the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items

1. Name of Property

historic name Bayard Rustin Residence

other names/site number Apartment 9J, Building 7, Penn South, Mutual Redevelopment Houses

2. Location

street & number 340 West 28th Street ☐ not for publication

city or town New York ☐ vicinity

state New York code NY county New York code 061 zip code 10001

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I certify that this [x] nomination [ ] request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property [x] meets [ ] does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant [x] nationally [ ] statewide [ ] locally. [ ] See continuation sheet for additional comments.

Signature of certifying official/Title — Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property [ ] meets [ ] does not meet the National Register criteria. [ ] See continuation sheet for additional comments.

Signature of certifying official/Title — Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

Signature of the Keeper — Date of Action

[x] entered in the National Register. [ ] See continuation sheet. — 3/8/16

[ ] determined eligible for the National Register. [ ] See continuation sheet.

[ ] determined not eligible for the National Register.

[ ] removed from the National Register.

[ ] other, (explain:) _____

5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(Check as many boxes as apply)

- [x] private
- [ ] public-local
- [ ] public-State
- [ ] public-Federal

Category of Property
(Check only one box)

- [x] building(s)
- [ ] district
- [ ] site
- [ ] structure
- [ ] object

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not include previously listed resources in the count.)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
1	0	buildings
0	0	sites
0	0	structures
0	0	objects
1	0	Total

Name of related multiple property listing
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.)

N/A

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

0

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)

DOMESTIC/multiple dwelling

Current Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)

DOMESTIC/multiple dwelling

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions)

Modern

Materials
(Enter categories from instructions)

foundation concrete

walls brick

roof

other

Narrative Description
(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

8 Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria
(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- [ ] **A** Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- [x] **B** Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- [ ] **C** Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- [ ] **D** Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria considerations
(mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

- [ ] **A** owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- [ ] **B** removed from its original location.
- [ ] **C** a birthplace or grave.
- [ ] **D** a cemetery.
- [ ] **E** a reconstructed building, object or structure.
- [ ] **F** a commemorative property.
- [x] **G** less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance
(Enter categories from instructions)

Social History

Period of Significance
1962-1987

Significant Dates
na

Significant Person
(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)

Bayard Rustin

Cultural Affiliation
na

Architect/Builder
Herman Jessor

Narrative Statement of Significance
(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography
(cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- [ ] preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- [ ] previously listed in the National Register
- [ ] previously determined eligible by the National Register
- [ ] designated a National Historic Landmark
- [ ] recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- [ ] recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

Primary location of additional data

- [x] State Historic Preservation Office
- [ ] Other State agency
- [ ] Federal agency
- [ ] Local government
- [ ] University
- [ ] Other

Name of repository:

Bayard Rustin Residence | **New York County, New York**
Name of Property | County and State

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of property Less than one acre

UTM References
(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)

	Zone	Easting	Northing		Zone	Easting	Northing
1	18	584630	4511357	3			
2				4			

☐ See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description
(Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

Boundary Justification
(Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Mark Meinke, Consultant (significance), and Kathleen LaFrank, National Register Coordinator (description)

organization New York State Historic Preservation Office date September 2015

street & number Peebles Island State Park, Box 189 telephone 518-268-2165

city or town Waterford state New York zip code 12188

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps

A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.

A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs

Representative **black and white photographs** of the property.

Additional items
(Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

(Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)

name _____

street & number _____ telephone _____

city or town _____ state _____ zip code _____

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number 7 Page 1

The nomination encompasses the Bayard Rustin Residence, which is Apartment 9J in Building 7B of the Penn South complex. Because National Register regulations preclude nomination of a portion of a building, the nomination includes Building 7 in its entirely, and the nomination boundary is defined by the sidewalks surrounding it, which define its site with the larger development. Building 7 is part of a ten-building complex built by the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union and the United Housing Foundation and known as the Mutual Redevelopment Houses, Inc. It is commonly known as Penn South. The Penn South complex, completed in 1962-1963 and designed by architect Herman Jessor, has been determined eligible for National Register listing. The complex is located between West 23rd and West 29th Streets and between Eighth and Ninth Avenues in Manhattan's Chelsea neighborhood. West 25th and West 26th Streets traverse the center of the complex, following the grid, while West 24th and West 28th Streets also bisect the complex, on the south and north ends, but follow a curving path. The incorporation of curved streets within the site plan made it possible to orient all of the building east to west, thus providing for maximum light.[1] Building 7 is located in the north-central part of the campus, south of West 28th Street. It is flanked by recreation areas and garden spaces.

The complex includes five single-core residential buildings with cruciform plans and five double-core buildings, each with two cruciforms. Each of the ten buildings is twenty-two stories tall and nearly identical in design. The complex includes 2,820 units. In addition to the residential towers, the complex also includes low-scale shopping centers, a theater, a power house, recreation facilities, a parking facility, gardens and other open, green spaces. The redevelopment site provided by the city excluded several existing buildings, including a residential building on West 23rd Street, four churches and a school, all of which are within the boundaries of the complex. The site also contains a city playground.

[1] *The Story of the ILGWU Cooperative Houses* (New York: United Housing Federation, n.d.), 4.

☐ See continuation sheet

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Building 7 is one of the five double-core buildings and features a double cruciform plan. It was constructed of steel-reinforced poured concrete and encased in red brick walls. It is characterized by regular fenestration and a series of recessed and projecting balconies with flat balustrades and slight setbacks at the top of the towers. Windows are metal and of several different types which repeat in regular patterns: main living areas have picture windows flanked by one-over-one double-hung sash; dining areas feature paired or single one-over-one double-hung sash; there are narrower sash in the bathrooms and shorter sash in kitchens and bedrooms. In 1995, windows were replaced with double-panel thermal windows, primarily in the same style as the originals, except for the bathroom windows, where casements were replaced with double-hung sash. Balconies are bordered by aluminum railings and some balconies have been enclosed.

A wide, curving sidewalk leads to the main entrance, which is located on the first floor in the center pavilion of the building, facing West 28th Street. The entrance is sheltered by a broad portico that extends across eight bays and extends out over the wide central bay that contains the door. Entrance is through double glass doors surmounted by a glass transom. The doors are flanked by large, floor-to-ceiling glass panels. Tan colored brick around the entrance provides a contrast to the red brick walls of the building. At each end of the portico the brick is perforated as screening. The entrance leads to two lateral hallways, one to the A side of the building and the other to the B side. Elevator banks are at the end of the halls. The building features plaster walls throughout. Lobby walls have always been concealed by decorative wall coverings. Lobby floors are terrazzo and hallways have painted plaster walls and ceilings. The lobby is furnished with planters, benches and mirrors. These furnishing have been routinely updated.

Building 7 features apartments in the wide center bank of the building flanked by apartments in each of the cruciform sections. Those in the broad center section lack balconies, as do those in the end pavilions (except for the top few floors, which are stepped back. The four pavilions that give the building an “H” shape feature

☐ See continuation sheet

balconies for every apartment. The upper floors of those pavilions are also stepped back, similar to the end pavilions. Above the lobby, the two cruciform sections are not connected. Instead, elevators in each of the end sections provide access to cross axial halls that lead to each apartment entrance on their respective sides. Hallways above the lobby have painted plaster walls and ceilings and vinyl flooring. Floorplans were standard but varied based on the size of the apartment. Apartments have hollow core steel entrance doors and plaster walls and ceilings. The only moldings are baseboards.

Rustin Apartment

The Bayard Rustin apartment, 9J, is located in the northeastern corner of the ninth floor. The apartment features a living room, galley kitchen, bathroom and two bedrooms. [see floorplan] It features plaster walls and ceilings, baseboard moldings. parquet floors in the living areas, original small gray and white tiles in the bathroom, and black and white linoleum tile blocks in the kitchen. The linoleum was installed by Rustin. Rustin also put up a thin plywood wall in the kitchen to create a separate dining area.[2] The kitchen features the original stove. A narrow rectangular deck is located adjacent to the living room. The Rustin apartment retains an outstanding level of integrity and is virtually unchanged since the time of Rustin's residence. The original plan and all finishes to Rustin's period survive. In addition Rustin's partner, Walter Naegle, still resides in Apartment 9J. He has retained many of Rustin's furnishings and historic and contemporary photos can be compared to show the same items.

[2] Walter Naegle, email message to Mario Mazzoni, 14 December 2015.

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number 8 Page 1

SUMMARY

The Bayard Rustin Residence is significant as the most important resource associated with Bayard Rustin (1912-1987), a person of great importance in American political and social history. Born in West Chester, Pennsylvania, Rustin lived a peripatetic life as a social activist and organizer, living intermittently in a number of different homes. In 1962, Rustin purchased apartment 9J in Building 7 of the new Penn South Complex in the West Chelsea section of Manhattan. This was his longest and most permanent place of residence as an adult. He lived there from September 11, 1962 until his death in 1987. In 1977, Bayard's partner, Walter Naegle, moved into the apartment; Naegle continues to reside there, preserving the apartment almost exactly as Rustin left it.

Bayard Rustin, a gay African American Quaker, civil rights advocate, proponent of non-violence, and campaigner for social and economic justice, had an impact on many of the nation's social justice achievements since the 1930s. Over his long life, he worked on important campaigns in non-violence, pacifism, civil rights, economic injustice, human rights, and LGBT civil rights. In the course of his quarter-century residence in Penn South, Rustin organized and led the August 28, 1963 March for Jobs and Freedom in Washington DC. He helped create and led for many years the A. Philip Randolph Institute, an organization which became central to creating jobs and justice for trade unionists. He became a restless world traveler for Freedom House, a Human Rights and voting rights advocacy organization, and for the International Rescue Committee, supporting refugee resettlement and support. In the mid-1980s he recognized the struggle for Lesbian and Gay civil rights and lobbied the New York City government to support the lesbian and gay rights bill. Rustin testified at city council meetings against efforts to attach amendments to the bill, writing Mayor Koch that the lesson he had learned in fifty years of fighting for human rights was that "no group is ultimately safe from prejudice, bigotry, and harassment so long as any group is subject to special negative treatment."[1]

[1] Michael G. Long, *I Must Resist: Bayard Rustin's Life in Letters* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2012), p.461.

☐ See continuation sheet

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

The fact that he lived as an openly gay man in the 1950s and 60s (and in fact was arrested on a morals charge in 1953) meant that Rustin had to relinquish credit for much of his work and/or forgo leadership roles. Some of the most well-known proponents of non-violence and civil rights, including the Fellowship of Reconciliation, American Friends Service Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Council, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at various times shunned him, refused his assistance, or employed him without recognition. These episodes, along with his earlier membership in the Young Communist League, refusal to be drafted into the army during WWII (for which he served a prison sentence), and later willingness to be arrested as part of non-violent civil rights protests (which led to 30 days on a chain gang) testify to his integrity, as well as to his continual outsider status from many of the groups within which he might have found shelter. More than once he stepped aside or worked behind the scenes in order to achieve a major social goal, thus exemplifying the indignities imposed on lesbian and gay Americans in the decades before the Stonewall riots of 1969.

Much of Rustin's work was grounded in the basic Quaker tenets – simplicity, peace, integrity, community, equality and stewardship – that he had learned from his grandmother, Julia Davis Rustin, a devout Quaker. In a 1986 letter replying to essayist Joseph Beam, Rustin wrote

> My activism did not spring from my being gay, or, for that matter, from my being black. Rather, it is rooted fundamentally in my Quaker upbringing and the values that were instilled in me by my grandparents who reared me. Those values are based on the concept of a single human family and the belief that all members of that family are equal.... The racial injustice that was present in this country during my youth was a challenge to my belief in the oneness of the human family. It demanded my involvement in the struggle to achieve interracial democracy, but it is very likely that I would have been involved had I been a white person with the same philosophy. Needless to say, I worked side-by-side with many white people who held these same values, some of whom gave as much, if not more, to the struggle than myself.[2]

[2] Ibid., p.460.

"THE PROOF THAT ONE TRULY BELIEVES IS IN ACTION."
--BAYARD RUSTIN

PACIFISM AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Bayard Rustin was born in 1912 and raised by his grandparents, Janifer and Julia Rustin, in West Chester, Pennsylvania. As a young man, Rustin became a firm believer in pacifism and learned Quaker values. His grandmother's family had lived as free African Americans in Pennsylvanians for several generations and had close relations with Quaker families. His grandfather and uncle had been born into slavery in Charles County, Maryland. The name given to him, Bayard Taylor Rustin, clearly linked him to West Chester Quakers through his namesake, Bayard Taylor, a Quaker diplomat, poet and writer with strong connections to West Chester.

Rustin's first ventures in nonviolent action came while he was still in high school, from which he graduated in 1934, when he led friends and teammates (he was a popular high school track and football athlete) in breaching the segregation of southern Pennsylvania by refusing to sit in the segregated balcony at the cinema and organizing his teammates to insist on integrated housing for African Americans on high school teams and at away games.[3] In a speech many years later he recounted one of his high school protests:

> I went into the little restaurant next to the Warner Theatre and can you believe it there was absolute consternation. Can you believe it? That was the first time I knew West Chester {PA} had three police cars! … I purposely got arrested. Then I made an appeal that all the black people, and white people that were decent minded, give ten cents to get me out of jail[4]

[3] Daniel Levine, *Bayard Rustin ad the Civil Rights Movement* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000), p. 12. Levine records Rustin's resistance to segregated housing for high school athletes at away events. John D'Emilio, *Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin(* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 19, records the many recollections of local West Chester residents after Rustin's death of his refusal to sit in the segregated cinema balcony and his insistence on seeking service in segregated town restaurants. Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen* (New York: Harper Collins, 1997), p. 27 records Rustin's organization of a revolt by the high school's black football players against segregated housing at an away game in Media, PA.
[4] Bennett Singer and Nancy Kates, Independent Television Service, *Brother Outsider: The Life of Bayard Rustin*, 2003, at 0:06:20 to 0:07:06.

☐ See continuation sheet

Later, in his career teaching nonviolence and direct action, Rustin declared

> We need in every community a group of angelic troublemakers. Our power is in our ability to make things unworkable. The only weapon we have is our bodies, and we need to tuck them in places so wheels don't turn.[5]

In high school, Bayard Rustin was already an "angelic troublemaker."

In college, on scholarship at Wilberforce University in Ohio and at Cheyney State College in West Chester, Rustin continued to delve into nonviolent social protest, whether against the quality of the food at Wilberforce University or other aspects of segregation.[6] James Dumpson, a fellow student at Cheyney recalled, "At Cheyney [Rustin] was always looking around for social causes in which to involve himself."[7] He left both schools without a degree but returned to Cheyney in the spring of 1937 for his first training as a peace volunteer in a two-week program run by the American Friends Service Committee, an organization with which he would long be involved.[8] Rustin was one of 160 college student peace volunteers who trained for two weeks before going to small towns in the north to speak publicly and teach.[9]

That year he moved to New York, living with his Aunt Bessie in Harlem. He worked odd jobs, singing (he was a gifted tenor) and joined the Society of Friends' Fifteenth Street Meeting, formalizing a Quaker connection that he had felt since childhood. He also enrolled at City College of New York, where he became active in the Young Communists League (YCL) because of its opposition to racial injustice. Rustin travelled for the YCL, organizing chapters of the American Student Union.[10] In 1941 he was used to lead a campaign against segregation in the armed forces for YCL, a project which YCL abandoned when Hitler's forces attacked the

[5] Ibid., at 0:02:30.
[6] Anderson, p. 35.
[7] Ibid., p. 39.
[8] Long, p. 115.
[9] Levine, p. 15.

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Soviet Union. Rustin's growing disillusionment with the YCL and communism led him to leave the organization. He commented in an October 17, 1943 lecture for the March on Washington Movement that the movement should remain all black and be wary because "good-thinking whites will come to meetings but it will be the Communists that will bore into the movement and control it."[11] Rustin's involvement with the Young Communists League would bedevil him politically for years to come.

In 1941, Rustin began an association with two important leaders, A. Philip Randolph and A. J. Muste, who would shape his contributions to the civil rights and pacifist movements over the next three decades. Both also became valued friends and mentors. These contacts also brought him onto the national stage in both pacifism and civil rights advocacy. In the wake of his resignation from the YCL, Rustin first renewed an acquaintance with A. Philip Randolph, who became Rustin's friend and supporter and remained so until Randolph's death in 1979. With Randolph, Rustin would achieve great strides in African American civil rights and campaigns for economic justice. Rustin's renewed acquaintance in June of 1941 involved him in Randolph's 1941 plans to march on Washington in opposition to federal policies that excluded African Americans from defense industry jobs. Ruskin joined in eagerly, was assigned to the organization's youth movement, and began organizing march activities.[12] However, the planned march was called off by Randolph when President Franklin Delano Roosevelt issued an executive order banning discrimination in defense hiring. The cancellation marked the end of Ruskin's logistical planning for the march.

Having already been moderately involved in peace work, Rustin moved full time into the pacifist movement in 1941 and began working with his second mentor, A. J. Mustee, at the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), one of the nation's leading pacifist organizations. At the September 1941 annual meeting, Muste introduced Rustin

[10] D'Emilio, p. 35.
[11] Levine, p. 20. Long, p. 9-10. See also D'Emilio, pp. 34-36 for an account of Rustin's activities in the Young Communist League.
[12] Anderson, pp. 38-39.

as FOR's secretary for student and general affairs, in tandem with George Houser, secretary for youth affairs, and James Farmer, secretary for race relations. Muste and the three new secretaries were also Gandhians and ardent followers of Shridharani's exposition of Gandhian strategies and nonviolent direct action tactics in *War Without Violence*.[13] Muste had called Shridharani's work the "most important explication" of Gandhian principles and Rustin himself called it "our gospel, our bible."[14]

Over the next thirteen years, Rustin worked for the Fellowship of Reconciliation, speaking across the country and internationally on behalf of pacifism and nonviolent social activism, organizing new pacifist groups and making the case for Gandhian nonviolent social activism. Muste supported Rustin's involvement in racial justice causes as part of his work at FOR and on his national speaking tours, linking pacifist causes with African American civil rights activities.

In 1942 Rustin and Farmer were seconded by Muste to support Randolph's newly planned March on Washington Movement, with which Muste hoped to continue the momentum generated by the march on Washington organizers the previous year. Muste wrote to congratulate Randolph and added that FOR would "be glad to render any help possible in the achievement of your goal."[15] FOR injected Gandhian tactics into the civil rights struggle. In a 1942 report to FOR following a lecture and organizing tour, Rustin wrote "In the face of this tension and conflict, our responsibility is to put the technique of nonviolent direct action into the hands of the black masses …"[16]

[13] Anderson, pp.69-71. Anderson notes the creation of a study group of Muste, Randolph, and John Haynes Holmes who met to discuss the book.
[14] Ibid., p. 69. Levine, pp. 26-27.
[15] Anderson, p. 83.
[16] Long, p. 7, a September 12, 1942 report to the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

☐ See continuation sheet

James Farmer, in April 1942, speaking in Columbus OH, called for a Congress of Racially Equality (CORE) to support African American civil rights with pacifist nonviolent methods. Rustin and George Houser, as FOR staffers, were authorized to dedicate their activities to race relations. Rustin, Farmer and Houser worked to establish CORE chapters as well as support for Fellowship of Reconciliation activities. [17]

In November 1943, Rustin's work for the Fellowship of Reconciliation and CORE was interrupted when he received a draft notice to report for induction into the army. As a staunch pacifist, he refused to report or conform to the conscription laws. He was subsequently arrested, convicted and sentenced to three years in prison. In his letter to Local Board No. 63, he explained

> … The Conscription Act denies brotherhood – the most basic New Testament teaching. Its design and purpose is to set men apart … that ends justify means that from unfriendly acts a new and friendly world can emerge.[18]

He was incarcerated from 1944 to 1946 in federal penitentiaries in Kentucky and Pennsylvania, where he launched civil disobedience campaigns over segregation in the prison facilities. In the segregated prison in Ashland, KY, Rustin led a hunger strike protesting segregation in the prison from shortly after his arrival in early 1944 until his transfer to Lewisburg prison in Pennsylvania in August 1945. While in Ashland, Rustin worked to explain to the warden his concerns and his nonviolent direct action strategies. At Lewisburg, Rustin continued to lead protests against segregation.[19]

On release from prison in late 1946, after serving 28 months, Rustin returned to work for the Fellowship of Reconciliation and for CORE as a travelling lecturer and inspirational leader. During Rustin's imprisonment,

[17] Long, p. 8. D'Emilio, pp. 53-56 regarding the fact that "the young crusaders at the center of CORE made nonviolence a spiritual road to follow."
[18] Long, pp. 10-12.
[19] Scott H. Bennett, *Radical Pacifism: The War Resisters League and Gandhian Nonviolence in America, 1915-1963 (*Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004), pp. 124-125.

FOR's Muste and Farmer had frequently discussed the link between nonviolence and racial justice, a topic that Rustin earnestly pursued on his release. At CORE, George Houser continued nonviolent actions that pressed the segregationist color line across the nation.[20] Rustin himself had articulated his understanding of nonviolent direct action to the warden while organizing protests during his Ashland imprisonment for draft resistance:

> 4. Nonviolent resistance does not mean any one kind of action but a variety of methods in which ends and means are consistent. Thus, nonviolent resistance may first and most effectively be education, or when such an approach fails, direct action.
> 5. The chief aim of such methods of dealing with social change is to so behave that the attitude of those who believe in a system which creates injustice shall be challenged, and over a period change their feeling, which in turn affects their ideas and their outward behavior. This is often a slow process and requires deft hands and a wide and considerate spirit.[21]

In explaining the performance of nonviolence to those in his audiences and training groups, Rustin maintained

> There are three ways to deal with injustice. One is to accept it slavishly, or one can resist it with violence, or one can use nonviolence. The man who believes in nonviolence is prepared to be harmed, to be crushed, but he will never crush others.[22]

Muste ensured that Rustin was free to work on civil rights issues as well as pacifist concerns and encouraged him to work with Houser. Together Houser and Rustin travelled the country offering race relations training institutes with a focus on nonviolent activism.

In the late 1940s, CORE planned a campaign of civil disobedience against interstate bus travel in the southern interstate bus system. Named the "Journey of Reconciliation," it was supported in 1947 by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, which released Rustin and others to work on the project. The Journey of Reconciliation was co-led by Bayard Rustin and George Houser. Rustin led the working group that planned the action and organized

[20] Anderson, pp. 68-69.
[21] Long, p. 16. From a March 30, 1944 letter to Warden R P Hagerman at Ashland Federal Correctional Institution in Kentucky.
[22] Singer and Kates, 0:14:40 to 0:15:07.

the travel from Washington DC. Rustin and Houser trained sixteen interracial riders in nonviolent resistance before the Journey of Reconciliation set out on April 9th. There were arrests, Rustin's in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, among them. Despite appeals, Rustin was sentenced to thirty days on a North Carolina chain gang, an experience about which he lectured following his release in 1949.

Though the Journey of Reconciliation brought no major victories in the battle against segregation, it did demonstrate the possibility of nonviolent civil disobedience in the South, on which basis much would be achieved in the next two decades. It ensured that nonviolent direct action could be an integral part of the American civil rights struggle.

An April 1948 Fellowship of Reconciliation conference in Chicago planned a revolutionary and disciplined pacifist activity and led to the creation of Peacemakers. Peacemakers was envisioned as a group formed to resist peacetime conscription into the military. Rustin saw Peacemakers as a more aggressive pacifist organization, using extreme nonviolent resistance as a preface to engagement and a recruitment tool. He proposed that "Peacemakers call upon some church and labor leaders etc. to do something *rash* now to try to raise to the surface some Christian, ethical or moral concern." Increasingly he saw racial issues as a conflict in which FOR should be active.[23] Historian and biographer John D'Emilio has noted, "He viewed apostles of nonviolence as roving champions of changes, always searching for the places of friction in society where their message might have the most compelling appeals."[24]

That same year also found Rustin working closely with A. Philip Randolph's campaign to end segregation in the military by endorsing resistance to national peacetime conscription. Passage of a peacetime conscription law in

[23] Long, pp. 127-129, in a February 2, 1950 letter to A. J. Muste and John D'Emilio pp. 128-129.
[24] D'Emilio, page 197.

☐ See continuation sheet

June without an end to military discrimination led to pressure from Randolph on President Truman to end discrimination by executive order.[25] In support of the campaign, Rustin and Houser organized an independent League for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience to encourage African American resistance to conscription. Rustin postponed a planned trip to India to work on the new project. The league organized protest demonstrations, one of the largest occurring in Harlem in July 1948. Rustin and George Houser drafted memoranda for potential draft resisters, noting in *Memorandum on Penalties Contained in the Draft Law as Applied to Persons Who Are Conscientiously Unwilling to Serve in a Jim Crow Military Program* that

> Civil disobedience today is not an easy course, but it is necessary as a means to lead our nation to abandon Jim Crow in military establishments.[26]

On July 26, 1948 Truman issued an executive order that "there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin. This policy shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible …"[27]

In the initial uncertainty over implementation, Rustin continued the League for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience's resistance campaign, at odds with Randolph, and organized continued picketing at Harlem draft registration sites. Arrested in New York and sentenced to 15 days, Rustin was effectively removed from the civil disobedience campaign.[28] Nonetheless, the anti-draft campaign had raised important tactical issues regarding compromise and strategy that would inform later campaigns. It had also caused a rift with Randolph that would last several years. Rustin recalled years later

> It was nearly three years before I dared to see Mr. Randolph again, after the terrible thing I had done to him … But I and my colleagues were young and radical in the 1940s.[29]

[25] Levine pp. 56-58.
[26] Long, p. 114.
[27] Long, p. 115.
[28] D'Emilio, pp: 157-160.
[29] Anderson, p. 128.

In October 1948, Rustin left on his postponed trip to India, with stops in Europe en route and on return. It was Rustin's opportunity to study nonviolence and peaceful civil disobedience with the world's leaders in nonviolent strategy and tactics. The American Friends Service Committee pressed for Rustin to be one of the four invited Americans to attend a Gandhian conference on nonviolence near Calcutta and provided much of the funding. In India, Rustin lectured on nonviolence and pacifism but found that pacifism and nonviolence were not fully embraced. He advised his colleagues that

> We should reevaluate the Gandhian movement. We have overlooked its negative aspects. It was nonviolent in its means, but essentially violent in its ends, which was nationalism.[30]

Rustin's desire to prolong his visit to India was supported by others on the scene, including Muriel Lester, a British supporter of Gandhi, who wrote both Muste and others arguing that "it was a perfect example of God's providence" to have him there. A Gandhian movement member in south India also wrote "He can do a job here that no white westerner can do at the moment.[31] Muste, however, was urging his return. The question was settled when Rustin was called to serve his term on the North Carolinian chain gang in March 1949. Rustin had no choice but to return and serve his sentence. Rustin's twenty-eight days on the North Carolina chain gang was a lesson in brutality, which he related in detail in a lecture at Chapel Hill immediately following his release. The account, which he wrote up and sent to media, prompted a review and reform of practices in the North Carolinian penal system's disciplinary procedures and led to appointment of a civilian watchdog committee. In his published report, *Twenty-Two Days on a Chain Gang* (1949), he wrote

> Such unquestioning obedience may appear to be good and logical in theory, but in experience authoritarianism destroys the inner resourcefulness, creativity and responsibility of the prisoner and creates, in wardens and prisoners alike, an attitude that life is cheap… We must bear in mind that one result of the authoritarian system is to develop in the prisoners

[30] D'Emilio, pp. 166-167.
[31] Anderson, pp. 132-133.

> many of the same attitudes they themselves decry in the officials.[32]

He added that

> To me the most degrading condition of the job was the feeling that 'I am not a person; I am a thing to be used.' The men who worked us had the same attitude toward us as toward the tools we used.[33]

With the advent of military events in Korea, Rustin returned to the road for the Fellowship of Reconciliation, lecturing on pacifism and training others in nonviolence. In the gloomy atmosphere of the period, he particularly resented the capitulations of some pacifists to the anti-Communist rhetoric of the times. In a November 1950 memorandum sent to Fellowship of Reconciliation staffers, Rustin noted that

> … the members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation have never, according to my view been more confused than they are at present. I find any number of liberals in the FOR … who are going along with the present action in Korea and who, indeed, are in several places offering the most valuable support to the Administration's program …[34]

In 1952, journeying to attend the World Conference of Friends in Oxford, England, Rustin added a trip to Africa, his first experience in reaching out to anticolonial movements on the continent with a message of nonviolent resistance. Much of his August 1952 African visit was spent in Ghana and Nigeria, with Kwame Nkrumah and Nnamdi Azikiwe, in discussion of anticolonial movements and nonviolent resistance. His fall speaking tour for AFSC would include a number of Africa-connected titles. In late 1952 and early 1953, Rustin worked within FOR to build support for a "servants of Africa" program, an outreach to Africa and training in nonviolence. The plan was approved and Rustin looked forward to returning to Africa to help in the decolonization efforts there. In a November 30, 1952 letter to A.J. Muste, Rustin wrote

[32] Devon W. Carbado and Donald Weise, eds., *Time on Two Crosses: The Collected Writings of Bayard Rustin* (San Francisco: Cleis Press, 2003), pp: 46-47.
[33] Ibid., p. 51.
[34] Long, pp. 134-135.

☐ See continuation sheet

> I trust that you will relay to the Council the deep sense of a calling I have to the issue of African freedom … There is to my mind nothing that will help the cause of nonviolence in this country so much as our helping to raise in Africa further examples of the power of nonviolence against groups that are more formidable than the British were in India.[35]

The Africa project and Rustin's career in the Fellowship of Reconciliation were abruptly curtailed by his arrest in Pasadena, CA, on a charge of lewd vagrancy and his conviction and sentence to sixty days in jail. In the climate of postwar homophobia, Rustin's 1953 conviction for homosexual activity was close to a career-ender and, like his earlier flirtation with communism, would haunt his career for years to come. The immediate outcome was his resignation from the Fellowship of Reconciliation and a total breach of his relationship with A J Muste. In announcing FOR's termination of Rustin, Muste wrote,

> To our great sorrow Bayard Rustin was convicted on a 'morals charge' (homosexual) and sentenced to 60 days in the Los Angeles County Jail on January 23, 1953. As of that date, and at his own suggestion, his service as an FOR staff member terminated ….[36]

Muste also noted in his statement that the AFSC announced the cancellation of Rustin's speaking engagements on its behalf. The perception that a leading proponent of nonviolent action was a "sexual pervert" dogged his relationship with the civil rights movement till his death, ensuring that Rustin would be, as the title of Nancy Kates and Bennet Singer's 2003 film biography *Brother Outsider* described him, an activist on the fringe of recognition. As historian John D'Emilio has commented,

> When measured against the norms of the era, [Rustin] appeared rather comfortable with his sexuality and unusually open about it. But his chosen profession left little room for constructing a gay-centered personal life.[37]

[35] Long, p.144.
[36] Long, p. 151-152.

FROM PACIFISM TO CIVIL RIGHTS

In the spring of 1953, his sentence in California served, Rustin returned to New York. By the autumn, he had found a place with fellow radical pacifists in the War Resisters League (WRL). Rustin already served on WRL's board and many of his fellow draft objectors from World War II days were involved with the organization. Rustin had tendered his resignation to the WRL board after the Pasadena conviction, but the league turned it down. The league hired him in August to help plan its annual meeting. That autumn, a divided board hired Rustin as its program director; within a year he was executive secretary and began a twelve-year career with WRL.

The year 1955 saw the War Resisters League and Rustin involved in resistance to federal civil defense programs and the creation of *Liberation*, a new magazine of leftist independents on whose board Rustin served and for which he would write. New York pacifists resisted the government's planned June 15 Operation Alert practice for a nuclear attack. Twenty-nine pacifists, including Rustin, demonstrated in City Hall Park, while the rest of the country was in hiding. They were all arrested. Rustin sought amnesty for those arrested as well as all violators of the Selective Service Act. In late 1955, WRL and Rustin organized a December 10th demonstration at the White House in support of a Christmas amnesty. The demonstration was ignored.[38]

Liberation appeared in April 1956 with strong financial backing from the WRL under Bayard Rustin.[39] A.J. Muste, renewing his relationship with Rustin, was a major proponent of the magazine and joined its editorial committee.[40] The magazine became a proponent of nonviolence, democratic participation and a forum for transmitting ideas and experience to the emerging New Left of the 1960s. It became a platform not only for

[37] D'Emilio, p. 197.
[38] Long, 162-163.
[39] D'Emilio, pp. 213-215.
[40] Ibid., p. 216.

☐ See continuation sheet

Dorothy Day and A.J. Muste but for emerging critics such as Paul Goodman and Michael Harrington. Rustin raised funds, wrote for the magazine, and shaped its outreach. It also provided him an opportunity to work again with Muste. He, Muste, David Dellinger, and WRL board chair Roy Finch met each week to discuss the next issue of *Liberation.*

Another opportunity to express his personal and political philosophy came in the mid-1950s, when Rustin joined an American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) project to write a principled dissent from current American policy. The group included, besides Rustin, Steve Cary of AFSC as chair, Norman Whitney, who had long been a spiritual mentor to Rustin, Robert Gilmore, the New York AFSC secretary, Jim Bristol an activist Quaker, and A.J. Muste.[41] Together they drafted AFSC's dynamic *Speak Truth to Power: A Quaker Search for an Alternative to Violence* manifesto, addressing the liability of a permanent military and advocating a nonviolent approach to international affairs and political struggle. Rustin's role in the creation was hidden by his omission from the list of authors at his own request, because of sensitivities over his homosexuality.[42] However, the fourth section of the manifesto, *An Alternative to Violence*, is markedly Rustinian and presents practical applications of nonviolent response to injustice:

> At its heart, it is the effort to maintain unity among men. It seeks to knit the break in the sense of community whose fracture is both a cause and a result of human conflict. It relies upon love rather than hate, and though it involves a willingness to accept rather than inflict suffering, it is neither passive nor cowardly. It offers a way of meeting evil without relying on the ability to cause pain to the human being through whom evil is expressed. It seeks to change the attitude of the opponent rather than to force his submission through violence. It is, in short, the practical effort to overcome evil with good … It appears to us tragic that even though the present violent method of resolving conflict is widely acknowledged to be bankrupt, so many of the most creative people of our time still direct their total energies to the preparation

[41] In 2010, the American Friends Service Committee added a note to *Speak Truth to Power* acknowledging Rustin's role in the creation of the manifesto.
[42] Long, p. 160-161. In a December 17, 1954 letter to Steve Cary Rustin wrote "I feel that my being listed might very well lead to some new attack …"

☐ See continuation sheet

of weapons for war and the development of policies of intimidation.[43]

Participating in the drafting of the manifesto helped repair Rustin's relations with the AFSC, which had turned away from him following the Pasadena conviction. As Rustin noted in his December 17, 1954 letter to Steve Cary, who chaired the work group, "It was a wonderful opportunity to work with such a tremendous group."[44] In Rustin's centennial year, 2012, the AFSC issued a new edition of *Speak Truth to Power* that included an explanation of Rustin's role and why his name had been omitted. But it was the War Resisters League which continued to be his 'home' over the next ten years.

Following Randolph's 1948 campaign to integrate the military, Rustin had been only marginally involved in efforts to promote racial justice. He followed, of course, developments in the South, particularly in the wake of the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education decision.[45] He noted with concern the spread of the white Citizens' Council movement in the south, whose members he termed "the KKK in gray flannel suits."[46]

In late 1955, he joined with Ella Baker and Stanley Levinson, with support from Randolph, to create a new group, "In Friendship," to support Southern black activists economically. In Friendship launched in 1956 and raised funds for activists but also for those who suffered because of their activism. These included farmers whose credit had been cut off and those in need of emergency funds for food and clothing. From offices donated by Stanley Levinson on East 57th Street in New York, Rustin and his two staff members organized

[43] American Friends Service Committee, *Speak Truth to Power: A Quaker Search for an Alternative to Violence* (Philadelphia, n.p., 1955), pp. 35-36.
[44] Long, p. 161. Also, D'Emilio pp. 219-222.
[45] D'Emilio, pp. 223-224.
[46] D'Emilio, p. 224. See also Rustin's 1956 article "New South … Old Politics" in Carbado and Weise where he notes. "The White Citizens Council—the KKK in gray flannel suits—are well aware that organized labor is part and parcel of the racial and economic progressive forces they loathe.", p. 99.

operations. The new organization drew support and funding from labor organizations such as the State, County and Municipal Workers Union, the American Jewish Congress, and the Jewish Labor Committee.[47]

As it happened, concurrent with the formation of In Friendship came a major racial justice challenge in Montgomery, where a citywide bus boycott had led to the bombing of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s home and the home of E. D. Nixon. The Fellowship of Reconciliation and the War Resisters League both sought to support the black bus boycott in Montgomery. A meeting of Randolph, Farmer, Bill Worthy, and Jerry Wurf, a union leader, looked to send a leader well-experienced with nonviolent techniques to support the boycott. The choice was Bayard Rustin.[48] James Farmer recalled that at the meeting

> We decided that somebody should be sent by this group down to Montgomery. Somebody who had more experience with nonviolent technique. We decided by consensus that Bayard should be sent.[49]

Rustin arrived on February 21st, the day leaders of the bus boycott were indicted by a grand jury. Among his first actions were drafting speaking points on nonviolence and organizing a startling (to white supremacists) mass surrender of those indicted. The journey to Montgomery brought Rustin together with the third man who would prove influential in Rustin's social justice career and life, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Within days of his arrival, Rustin began meeting with Dr. King and other leaders. In those initial meetings, Rustin and King and other local leaders discussed nonviolent direct action and the meaning and theology of nonviolence.[50] In his Montgomery diary Rustin recorded that a meeting of the Montgomery Improvement Association approved three recommendations:

1. The movement will always be called a nonviolent protest rather than a boycott in
2. order to keep its fundamental character uppermost.

[47] D'Emilio, pp. 224.226. Levine, pp. 84, 87. Anderson, pp. 194-195.
[48] Long, pp. 168-173.
[49] D'Emilio, p.227. Levine, pp. 78-79.
[50] Levine, p. 79.

3. A pin should be designed for all those who do not ride the buses to wear as a symbol of unity, encouragement and mutual support.
4. The slogan for the movement will be "Victory Without Violence."[51]

From Montgomery, Rustin moved to Birmingham, where he met other African American civil rights leaders. When King travelled to New York in April 1956, Rustin arranged that he meet with Randolph, Muste and Farmer. As FOR had done in earlier years, WRL gave Rustin a two-month leave to work on supporting the protests and organizations in Alabama. Rustin was back in the center of racial equality and nonviolent organizing. In his articles "Fear in the Delta" and "New South … Old Politics" in 1956, Rustin documented the climate of fear and repression in Alabama and Mississippi, remarking that "Few areas in the world are witnessing such a drastic and far-reaching transformation as is under way in the South today."[52]

Working from New York but travelling frequently to the South, particularly Alabama, Rustin marshalled resources and funds to support the Southern black boycotts and nonviolent resistance. Through In Fellowship and other connections in the labor movement, funds began to move to support the Montgomery Improvement Association. One of the first to contribute was New York's United Packinghouse Workers.[53] In a February 1956 letter to Arthur Bowen and Ralph Gia (of WRL), Rustin remarked,

> How complicated things become in the heat of a struggle – searching for nonviolent answers in a society that accepts so many assumptions of violence presents problems indeed.[54]

He called on pacifist organizations to fund the work of nonviolence in the South. To Bowen and Gia he wrote that "This is an effort to avoid war = race war -- but war nonetheless." In a March 1956 memo detailing discussions with Dr. King, Rustin outlined the three services that

[51] Carbado and Weise, pp. 58-65.
[52] Ibid., pp. 66-101.
[53] Levine, p. 84

those of us who believe in nonviolence can offer. They are:
1. Suggestions and plans for nonviolent education functionally applied to the bus protest.
2. Techniques for fortifying the will to resist Montgomery by nonviolent means.
3. Overall education to spread the ideas of nonviolent resistance.[55]

The In Friendship group organized a fundraising concert and *Liberation* put together a special issue commemorating the anniversary of the Montgomery bus boycott. In the autumn of 1956, In Friendship began organizing the fundraising concert in New York at which Dr., King's wife, Coretta, would perform. A December 1956 institute on nonviolence in Alabama drew 3,000 participants, among them ministers from elsewhere in the South, and demonstrated the enthusiasm for nonviolent action. Ella Baker and Rustin, co-founders of In Friendship, began thinking about a mass movement to come out of the Alabama protests. Both sought ways to organize and channel grassroots support. Baker recalled, "We began to talk about the need for developing in the South a mass force that would somewhat become a counterbalance, let's call it, to the NAACP."[56]

The times seemed appropriate for a national movement to emerge from the boycott. From his first meetings with King, Rustin had raised the prospect of a permanent organization.[57] Dr. King issued a call for a January 1957 meeting in Atlanta at Ebenezer Baptist Church. Rustin prepared background for King, who then asked Rustin to help prepare for the upcoming Atlanta meeting. On December 23, 1956, Rustin forwarded three papers (including *The Negroes Struggle for Freedom* and *Memo*) reviewed with Stanley Levinson, to King. The sixth point in Rustin's *Memo* advocated

> The next stage [in the racial justice movement] must see the development of a strategy group of national leaders who will be able to guide spontaneous manifestations into

.[54] Long, pp. 168-173.
[55] Long, p. 175
[56] D'Emilio, p. 245.
[57] Ibid.

> organized channels. They will be able to analyze where concentration of effort will be fruitful and, while not discouraging any effort, be mobile enough to throw resources and support to areas where a breakthrough is achievable …[58]

At a preparatory meeting in Baltimore, King charged Rustin with preparing the working papers for the Atlanta meeting. Rustin's work sketched the historical and economic context, assessed ways of managing the white power structure, and focused in depth on the importance of a mass movement in the South to knit together the isolated instances of racial equality protests. He wrote that

> Historically, the major emphasis in our struggle to obtain civil rights has been legal and legislative....The center of gravity has shifted from the courts to community action … Law will be very important in this process but something new must be added …We must recognize in this new period that direct action is our most potent political weapon.[59]

At the Atlanta meeting some sixty ministers approved the project. A follow-up meeting in New Orleans furthered the project. The year 1957 saw the birth of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Rustin continued his lecture tours for the War Resisters League and the AFSC during this period of emerging racial justice actions. He explained to varied audiences the challenges and progress in the South and reinforced the relevance of nonviolent resistance. In his 1957 article, *Even In the Face of Death,* Rustin recounted the January 1957 meeting that created the SCLC:

> The final meeting of the conference may go down in history as one of the most important meetings that have taken place in the United States. Sixty beleaguered Negro leaders from across the South voted to establish a permanent southern Negro Leaders Conference on Nonviolent Integration. This was the beginning of a region-wide nonviolent resistance campaign against all segregation.[60]

[58] Long, p. 182.
[59] D'Emilio, p. 248.
[60] Carbado and Weise, pp. 102-107.

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

In the peace movement in 1957, growing antipathy to nuclear testing was galvanizing the pacifist community, and WRL, of which Rustin was a leader, worked with other organizations in planning a campaign against such testing. An April 1957 meeting of peace organizations in Philadelphia resolved to campaign against nuclear testing. Rustin and WRL worked with representatives from Catholic Worker, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and AFSC on applying nonviolent direct action in this campaign.

The organization that emerged was the Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA). Rustin served on the executive committee of the newly formed Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA), which coordinated antinuclear testing demonstrations. CNVA began organizing protests at testing sites in order to disrupt future tests at sites in the US and other territories. One group headed for the Pacific. Rustin was part of the European group headed for Moscow. In April 1958, he also joined the British antinuclear movement's march to Aldermaston, a nuclear weapons facility. Rustin's Moscow-bound group got only as far as Helsinki, where it became clear that the Soviets would not grant entry visas.[61] CNVA members also tried to shut down US sites, including construction of the first intercontinental ballistic missile site in Cheyenne, Wyoming. Other site protests followed, precipitating dissension in the peace movement over tactics.

Rustin continued to be active in Southern racial justice issues during this period. King and the SCLC called on Rustin to organize a Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington to press for federal support of African American civil rights. Planned for May 1957 at the Lincoln Memorial, the pilgrimage's organization was once again the primary responsibility of Bayard Rustin, aided by Ella Baker and Stanley Levinson. In a 1957 memo (otherwise undated but likely after April) signed by Rustin, Baker and Levinson, moral and spiritual, organizational, political, and psychological goals of the Prayer Pilgrimage were listed and the event was tied to the early 1957

[61] D'Emilio, 99. 255-261.

conference that established SCLC and to President Eisenhower's "failure to come South to speak out for law and order.[62]

Supported by the NAACP and In Friendship, the project drew strong support nationally. Rustin worked out of NAACP's New York office preparing for the event, which was directed at the Congress, where legislation was pending. The Prayer Pilgrimage drew a crowd estimated at 15,000 to 25,000.[63] Organizing the event at the memorial was, in effect, practice for the much more remarkable event in the same location six years later.

Rustin's dual involvements with WRL and the peace movement on the one hand and with SCLC and the racial justice movement on the other hand helped revive the peace movement. The SCLC's adoption of nonviolent resistance brought renewed attention to pacifist organizations, particularly the War Resisters League, which Rustin continued to lead. But Rustin's involvement with SCLC (he was put on its payroll) meant that he was less available to WRL.

The Prayer Pilgrimage gave SCLC new prominence nationally, as it coordinated involvement by longstanding civil rights organizations as well as in Southern communities.[64] It also involved the SCLC in the national debate over civil rights legislation in Congress.[65] In 1958, SCLC launched a Crusade for Citizenship, essentially a voting registration drive, led by Ella Baker because many of the ministers in SCLC objected to Rustin's sexuality and radical views.[66] Rustin worked on the project in the autumn, designing training along the lines of earlier race relations institutes he and George Houser had led years earlier. The crusade was not a success but it did spur subsequent voting registration drives.

[62] Long, p 190.
[63] D'Emilio, pp. 262-265.
[64] D'Emilio, pp. 262-263. The Prayer Pilgrimage proved a great success and drew favorable press coverage.
[65] Ibid., p.269.
[66] Ibid., p. 270.

☐ See continuation sheet

In September, at Rustin's urging, A. Philip Randolph called for a youth rally against segregationist actions in the South, particularly as recently seen in Little Rock, and asked Rustin to organize it. Rustin worked from the New York offices of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters preparing for a September 19th kickoff in Harlem. The October 1958 youth rally was so successful that there were calls for a second in April 1959. WRL grudgingly released Rustin again to help with the spring march, which galvanized labor and student organizations across the country to support the second march. [67] Rustin convened a meeting of major labor leaders (including the Transport Workers Union and the Central Labor Council) to support the second youth march and won the support of the National Student Association for circulation of petitions. The second march drew busloads (more than three hundred) of students and youth to Washington, where Harry Belafonte, Tom Mboya of Kenya, and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. addressed the students. A delegation of students was received at the White House by presidential staffers.[68]

The peace movement drew Rustin back again in 1959, as France announced its intention to test nuclear weapons in Africa. The French developed a test site deep in the Algerian desert. British antinuclear activists proposed an international direct action against the tests which drew the attention of the Committee on Nonviolent Action. Initial African support and a breakdown in organization in the UK led Rustin to take a hand when he arrived in London in October 1959 to support the project. As he wrote to colleague Rachelle Horowitz in October 1959,

> I have been here almost two weeks and have been fruitfully engaged in … trying to bring this Sahara Project off. It has not been easy as the whole affair of protesting the announced test ban has got … involved in the struggle between … forces for power in the cabinet.[69]

He managed to secure the support of African leaders in London and set about organizing the group's protest march through the Sahara to the testing site.[70] Travelling to Ghana, Rustin used the opportunity to visit again

[67] D'Emilio, p. 274.
[68] Levine, pp. 112-114
[69] Long, p. 215.

with Kwame Nkrumah, whom he had last seen in 1952. He travelled the country speaking to groups and meeting the leaders of the anticolonial movement. Rustin saw the support of Africans against nuclear testing as a major opportunity for the peace movement. Writing on November 5, 1959 to George Willoughby of CNVA, Rustin insisted that "You must bear in mind that this [the African campaign] is one of the most potentially important projects that the pacifist movement has been associated with."[71] On the scene in Africa, he foresaw that a longer stay in Africa might be necessary to help the fledgling peace movement there.

At home, though, there was consternation over the prospect of Rustin's continued absence. Randolph and King both awaited his return. A November 11, 1959 cable to Rustin in Africa expressed feelings in the United States

> Randolph expressed firm view civil rights struggle paramount … Your indispensable role in domestic actions requires return which should not be regarded as desertion of responsibilities but assuming more effective role for both. Randolph … maintained view that only correct conclusion was necessity to be back by the end of the year. A J Muste holds that Africa project potentially more important, capable of major contribution to civil rights struggle here as well as struggle against new nuclear colonialism and war which is primary War Resisters concern.[72]

In the meantime Rustin continued fundraising and media outreach for the Sahara project. In December the international peace brigade set out from Ghana and was turned back three times. Though they didn't reach the test site, the enormous publicity the Sahara project garnered underpinned a growing international protest movement against atmospheric testing.[73]

[70] Anderson, pp. 219-221.
[71] Long., p. 222.
[72] Ibid., pp. 223-224.

PURGING RUSTIN

On returning to the United States, Rustin was confronted with dual projects: a position on King's and the SCLC's staff and also preparation for protests at the 1960 political conventions. At a meeting of the SCLC leadership board in late 1959, Dr. King had proposed, and the board accepted, inviting Rustin to become associate director and administrative assistant to Dr. King. King felt that Rustin's administrative help would free King to devote more time to building the SCLC into a mass organization.[74]

Shortly after his January 1960 return from Africa, Rustin began work on the project to organize demonstrations at both party conventions that summer. He immediately began assembling a staff and organizing for the conventions.[75] The planning of demonstrations for the 1960 Republican and Democratic conventions was originally an A. Philip Randolph project. The need to organize was one of the reasons that Randolph had awaited Rustin's return from abroad.

National events in 1960 interrupted planning as a sit-in movement exploded across the South, with youth taking their lessons from nonviolent action training and from the examples of Montgomery's bus boycott and other voting rights actions. Nonviolent students were demanding service and challenging segregationist regulations at lunch counters and public facilities across the South. At the same time, in Alabama, Dr. King was indicted on tax evasion and perjury charges.

Rustin formed the Committee to Defend Martin Luther King and drew on his network of activists to raise funds for King's defense and for the SCLC. Enlisting Harry Belafonte to organize support in the entertainment industry, Rustin saw several fundraising events planned. On March 29, 1960, the Committee to Defend Martin

[73] Levine, pp. 16-118.
[74] Anderson, pp. 222.223.
[75] Ibid., p. 225.

Luther King ran a full page ad, written by Lorraine Hansberry, in the *New York Times*. The ad stated "The defense of Martin Luther King, spiritual leader of the student sit-in movement, clearly therefore, is an integral part of the total struggle for freedom in the South."[76] The ad precipitated libel suits from Alabama against not only the committee but also against leaders of the SCLC. This considerably agitated sentiment against Rustin, even though it was recognized that he had not written the ad.

The campaign to support King's defense drew widespread support. In an April 1960 fundraising letter, Rustin wrote:

> … as the student sit-ins and voting crusade struggle on with grim determination, a vicious attack was directed at Martin Luther King Jr. With calculation the State of Alabama indicted the leader of the historic Montgomery Bus Protest on obviously false charges of perjury.
>
> What is the purpose of this sinister indictment? It seeks to destroy leaders indigenous to the South to whom the students are looking for support and guidance, and to cripple the voting crusade now under way.[77]

An April conference in Raleigh, NC, sponsored by the SCLC and organized by Ella Baker, drew Southern student activists together and led to organization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a newly militant Southern civil rights movement. While working on the plans for the 1960 political conventions, Rustin also began helping SNCC plan its own convention strategies.

In June 1960, in the midst of fundraising for the King defense and planning for the convention demonstrations, Rustin himself became an issue between Dr. King, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and Congressman Adam Clayton Powell. Initially Powell charged that King was "under undue influences ever since Bayard Rustin …

[76] D'Emilio, p. 292.
[77] Long, pp. 232-233. The letter appealed for support and was signed by Ralph Abernathy, Bernard Lee, Nat King Cole, Harry Belafonte, A Philip Randolph, and Fred Shuttleworth.

went to Alabama to help in the bus boycott."[78] Powell criticized King and Randolph for not consulting Wilkins of the NAACP before a June 9th press conference announcing planned demonstrations at the Republican and Democratic party conventions. Powell ratcheted up the pressure on King in mid-summer by quietly threatening to charge that King and Rustin were having a homosexual affair.

Pressure against Rustin had been building internally within the SCLC since January 1960, and King had appointed an internal committee. As historian Taylor Branch describes it,

> King finally appointed an SCLC committee under Rev. Thomas Kilgore – Ella Baker's pastor and one of King's preaching mentors in New York – and Kilgore, with King's blessing, informed Rustin of the committee's conclusion that Rustin should break off contact with King … [Rustin] resigned from the Committee to Defend Martin Luther King. Fundraising for the *New York Times* libel cases fell off drastically as a result.[79]

Rustin resigned from his SCLC position and abandoned the 1960 convention project and all of his racial justice activities. In a February 6, 1961 letter to *Harper's Magazine*, responding to an article by James Baldwin on Martin Luther King Jr. in which Baldwin had addressed Rustin's resignation from the SCLC, Rustin quoted from his resignation statement:

> Congressman Powell has suggested that I am an obstacle to his giving full, enthusiastic support to Dr. King. I want now to remove that obstacle. I have resigned as Dr. King's special assistant and severed relations with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
>
> Mr. Powell has stated that the only thing that can stop the forward march of the Negro is a 'lack of unity, or division, within his ranks.'
>
> I sincerely hope that in the light of my resignation Mr. Powell will now see his way clear to lend his special talents to the building of such a movement and to the support of Dr. King and the other leaders in the South who are on the firing line.[80]

[78] Quoted in Long, p. 237.
[79] Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963* (New York: Touchstone - Simon and Schuster, 1989), p. 329.

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

The purge from the civil rights movement was devastating to Rustin personally; however, it also weakened fundraising for Dr. King's defense and the execution of the political conventions campaign.[81] Subsequently, Rustin's relations with Dr. King and the Southern Christian Leadership Council went into hiatus for the next three years. Rustin's chief aides --Rachelle Horowitz, Tom Kahn, and Norman Hill—moved on to other positions.[82] Rustin's invitation to address the October 1960 SNCC conference in Atlanta was withdrawn after the AFL-CIO threatened to withdraw funding if Rustin appeared.[83]

Rustin was again the "brother outsider" in the movement for racial justice. Bayard Rustin had never been closeted about his same sex attractions, although he believed it a personal matter. He was at pains to explain, when asked, that he did not blame Dr. King for his purge from SCLC and the racial justice movement. In a 1987 interview with Redvers Jeanmarie, Rustin explained that

> My being gay was not a problem for Dr. King but a problem for the movement … I told Dr. King that if advisors closest to him felt I was a burden, then rather than put him in a position that he had to say leave, I would go.[84]

Writing years later, in answer to Joseph Beam's invitation to contribute to *In The Life: A Black Gay Anthology*, Rustin wrote on April 21, 1986

> I did not 'come out of the closet' voluntarily—circumstances forced me out. While I have no problem with being publicly identified as a homosexual, it would be dishonest of me to present myself as one who was in the forefront of the struggle for gay rights … While I support full equality, under law, for homosexuals, I fundamentally consider sexual orientation to be a private matter.[85]

[80] Long, p. 243.
[81] D'Emilio, pp. 296-300. See also Anderson pp. 236-237 and Long, pp: 237 -241 for details of the Rustin purge.
[82] Anderson, p. 231
[83] Branch, p. 345. Indeed the Rustin issue became a major internal issue at SNCC's conference.
[84] Carbado and Weise, pp. 292-293.
[85] Long, p. 460.

☐ See continuation sheet

In an interview with Peg Byron for *Southern Exposure* magazine the following year, in 1987, Rustin went farther, arguing that being open was better:

> … I want as many young gay people to declare themselves. Although it's going to make problems, those problems are not so dangerous as the problems of lying to yourself, to your friends, and missing many opportunities.[86]

Following Rustin's resignation from SCLC and racial justice activities, he continued as a leader at the War Resisters League and in the pacifist movement. Rustin resumed participating in Committee on Nonviolent Action (CNVA) meetings and prepared to attend the War Resisters International meeting in India in 1961. With his knowledge of the international peace movement from earlier travels to India, Europe and Africa, Rustin confronted the problems inherent in building an international movement that would bridge the divergent national views. As he wrote to A.J. Muste in a letter May 10, 1961,

> We made the tragic mistake (in all goodwill) of promising to clear the [CNVA] leaflet with all European communities. Of course, we really had no choice, since they insisted.[87]

Norman Whitney, one of his early mentors in the pacifist community, and others embraced Rustin as a speaker for the new umbrella organization for peace and internationalist groups, Turn Toward Peace (TTP). Whitney noted, "I know few speakers whose depth of conviction, breadth of experience and penetrating understanding match Bayard's. Moreover, he is not only a clear and competent speaker, easy to listen to, he reaches his hearers at spiritual levels." Rustin served on TTP's steering committee[88]

The conference in India brought out resentments over colonialism and economic domination that were met by European distrust of Indian militarism. For the first time, the War Resisters International embraced nonviolence

[86] Peg Byron, "No More Back Seat," *Southern Exposure* Volume 16, number 3 (Fall 1988) pp. 45-46.
[87] Long, p. 245.
[88] Long, pp. 247-248.

for social justice as well as peace; Asian and African delegates were preoccupied with using nonviolence in opposition to imperialism.[89]

On the return home, transiting through London, Rustin was drafted into representing CNVA in organizing the San Francisco-to-Moscow peace walk. CNVA leaders had a European representative, April Carter, to handle European logistics but needed another CNVA representative to "be in Europe to work for a protracted period with April Carter." Rustin was chosen for the task.[90] Unfortunately, Rustin's involvement in the peace walk was truncated by visa issues in the United Kingdom that necessitated his departure before the march was launched.

Rustin's time in Europe had revived his interest in African decolonization and bringing nonviolent action to that struggle. He saw parallels between the American peace struggle and the anticolonial liberation movements. As he wrote in his 1961 African proposal, Rustin felt that

> … there was a very close connection between the anti-war movement in the West and the African and Asian uncommitted nations who stood for neutralism and independence in the Cold War.[91]

With support from Julius Nyerere in Tanganyika, he proposed a nonviolent training center in Dar es-Salaam. The War Resisters League endorsed the plan, and Rustin was on his way by February to Addis Ababa for the Pan African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa conference, where he presented the case for nonviolent action. In the US between international commitments, Rustin continued to fundraise for WRL and to speak around the country, frequently on college campuses.

[89] D'Emilio, pp. 304-305.
[90] D'Emilio, p. 307.
[91] D'Emilio, p. 317.

Still sidelined from much of the US civil rights movement following the purge in the summer of 1960, Rustin maintained relationships as best he could, particularly with youth and SNCC. SNCC's New York office was then hosted in space at the War Resisters League offices, where Bayard Rustin had his office. In 1961 and 1962 he engaged in a series of public debates with Malcolm X in New York, Chicago, and Washington, DC that drew large audiences and kept Rustin in the civil rights headlights if not the spotlights.[92]

Most importantly, he continued to be in close contact with A. Philip Randolph. A December 1962 visit to Randolph turned to discussion of the upcoming Emancipation Proclamation centennial and then to the possibility of a major march on Washington. He recalled that he was "… deeply involved emotionally. … I knew [Randolph] always had a hankering for a march and my emotional commitment was … to bring about what had always been one of his dreams."[93]

Early in 1963, with Tom Kahn, Rachelle Horowitz and Norman Hill, Rustin began outlining plans for a march that would target economics as well as civil rights. They suggested that a two-day event in June should be linked with the centennial of the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation. Plans initially called for a Friday of lobbying Congress "to flood all congressmen with a staggered series of labor, church, civil rights delegations from their own states" and a delegation to the White House followed by a Saturday "with the two-fold purpose of projecting our concrete 'Emancipation Program' on the nation and of reporting to the assemblage the response of the President and Congress to the action of the previous day."[94] The point of the march and lobbying effort was to combat "fundamental economic inequality along racial lines" and call for action by the President and Congress.[95]

[92] D'Emilio, p. 324; Anderson, p.237.
[93] D'Emilio, p. 327.
[94] Long, p. 257.
[95] Ibid.

As discussions progressed, Rustin's connections with SNCC and CORE brought them on board for the march on Washington. Randolph's Negro American Labor Council, formed in 1960 to work against discrimination in the labor movement, signed on as the first national organization in support of the march. This was a position other national organizations, such as the NAACP, could not afford to ignore. At a March 1963 institute on nonviolence for 50 key SCLC leaders, led by Rustin, A.J. Muste and Glen Smiley, they built further support for the proposed march. However by May, when Randolph announced a march, the NAACP was still not on board and the SCLC remained undecided.[96]

But then Bull Connor and the televised police repression of protests in Birmingham horrified the nation and ignited support for the march. King was now ready for a mass mobilization. In a June 1, 1963 conference call with Stanley Levinson and Clarence Jones to discuss President Kennedy's refusal to meet with him and to discuss the recent events in the South, King said "We are on a breakthrough. We need a mass protest."[97] The Kennedy administration's proposed civil rights legislation, announced June 11th, provided yet another reason for a public showing. Planning of broad policy was put in the hands of A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, Jim Farmer, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and John Lewis, collectively known as the "Group of Six."

By July 2nd, the march still did not have a director to organize it. Rustin was the obvious choice, but some civil rights leaders opposed a role for him. Roy Wilkins of the NAACP informed Rustin beforehand that he would oppose naming him director of the march. Rep. John Lewis recalls

> There was a discussion about whether Bayard Rustin should be the director of the march. And there was a caucus that took place between James Farmer, Dr. King, and me, because two of the so-called Big Six, Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young, thought that because of Rustin's sexual orientation, members of the Senate, especially Southerners would try to smear the march. We caucused and we came to a conclusion … we would select A. Philip Randolph and let

[96] Anderson, pp. 241-243.
[97] Branch, p. 816.

> Mr. Randolph select his own deputy. We all knew that he would select Bayard Rustin because they were that close.[98]

Randolph did take on the official role himself and then deputized Rustin to assist him. Rustin took official charge of the mass protest he had proposed the previous December. In New York, Rustin worked from offices at 170 West 130th Street in Harlem donated by the Friendship Baptist Church, as well as from his home at 340 West 28th Street in the Penn South complex. Several workers at the march's national office in New York also resided in Penn South, including Eleanor Holmes (now Rep. Eleanor Holmes Norton), Rachelle Horowitz, and sisters Joyce and Dorie Ladner, so the day's work would often spill over into evening meetings at Rustin's home.[99] As the credibility of the civil rights movement became identified with the prospects for the march, the participating organizations worked harder for it.

Randolph and Rustin saw the march as a demand for economic justice as well as civil rights, as noted in the draft plans drawn up by Rustin, Kahn, Horowitz and Hill in late 1962. This was recognized in the name of the action, March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.[100] By drawing in labor and religious leaders, the scope broadened and the acerbity of demands ameliorated. Confronting establishment fears of violence during the march, Rustin created a force of out of uniformed black officers from East Coast cities to serve as march marshals and police the march. Hundreds volunteered. Similarly Rustin organized a massive clean-up crew to leave the Mall and the Memorial as clean as they had found it.

In Congress, Senator Strom Thurmond attacked the march and the civil rights movement. On August 2nd and 13th, Thurmond railed about communist influence in the projected march, including references to Rustin's radical involvement. Thurmond placed negative information about Rustin in circulation. He put into the

[98] Long, p. 261.
[99] Communication from Walter Naegle, Rustin's heir and partner, September 14, 2015.
[100] Long, pp. 254-258.

Congressional Record materials about Rustin's 1953 Pasadena arrest and conviction two weeks before the date of the march.[101] Contrary to Thurmond's expectations, the attack by the white supremacist galvanized the senior leadership of the march. At a press conference in New York on August 16th, A. Philip Randolph spoke for the march organizers in saying

> I am sure that I speak for the combined Negro leadership voicing my complete confidence in Bayard Rustin's character … I am dismayed that there are in this country men who, wrapping themselves in the mantle of Christian morality, would mutilate the most elementary conceptions of human decency, privacy, and humility in order to persecute other men.[102]

Rustin himself wrote to the press on August 14th, that

> I am not the first of my race to be falsely attacked by spokesmen of the Confederacy. But even from them a minimal affection for the facts should be expected.[103]

Roy Wilkins and Dr. King rallied to Rustin's defense, which quelled the opposition.[104]

The morning of the march, up at dawn, Norman Hill and Rachelle Horowitz watched as Rustin was questioned by a journalist on the Mall who, seeing so few people, wondered if everything was going all right. Pulling a pocket watch and a piece of paper from his pocket, he looked at both of them and turned to the reporter and said everything was on schedule. The piece of paper was blank.[105] As history has shown, the day went exceedingly well and the numbers attending met or exceeded the organizers' fondest dreams. City police put attendance at 250,000 people. A week after the event, *Life Magazine* profiled Randolph and Rustin on the magazine's cover. More importantly, the march showed the strength of mass nonviolent protest and underscored the black civil rights movement's determination to demand and receive redress. As A. Philip Randolph declared in the keynote address,

[101] D'Emilio, pp. 346-350.
[102] Long, p. 267. D'Emilio, p. 349. Levine, p. 142.
[103] Long, pp. 264-266.
[104] Long, p. 263.
[105] D'Emilio, p. 354. Anderson, p. 255.

> We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom … But this civil rights demonstration is not confined to the Negro; nor is it confined to civil rights; for our white allies know that they cannot be free while we are not … Those who deplore our militancy, who exhort patience in the name of a false peace, are in fact supporting segregation and exploitation.[106]

For Rustin, on the stage at the Lincoln Memorial, it seemed that "the day belonged to him as much as it did to King. A decade earlier, Rustin had been unemployed and shunned, a convicted "sex offender" fresh out of jail … He would never return to the shadows, not after this day."[107]

Though many consider the 1963 March on Washington to be Rustin's principal achievement, his career did not end on August 29, 1963. When he returned home to Apt. 9J at 340 West 28th Street in New York (where the FBI began tapping his phones on November 15, 1963) there was more to do. [108] Rustin urged the leaders of the March on Washington to maintain the organization, arguing, particularly in the wake of the September Birmingham church bombing,

> The dissolution of the movement can injure the morale at a critical stage in the civil rights revolution. … Continuation of the movement can provide us with the moral and material strength to meet the current counter offensive.[109]

Despite his momentous achievement in organizing the march, Rustin still did not have a secure position in the civil rights movement, nor a 'bully pulpit' from which to advocate. The continuing March on Washington organization, without continuing support from the civil rights movement, was scheduled to wind up at the end of the year, despite the ongoing bombings in Birmingham.

---

[106] Anderson, p. 257.
[107] Jerald Poldair, *Bayard Rustin: American Dreamer* (Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield, 2009), p. 66.
[108] D'Emilio, p. 365. See also Long, p. 279-280 for J. Edgar Hoover's October 28, 1963 letter to AG Robert Kennedy requesting a phone tap on Rustin's phone.

In early 1964, yet another controversy scuttled prospects for a New York position for Rustin with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, this time over his and Randolph's February 1964 meeting with a peace group at the Soviet Embassy. FBI reports led to print media coverage of the meeting at the Soviet Embassy to the UN and undermined what support there was within SCLC for a staff position.[110] SCLC did give Rustin a position on Dr. King's Research Committee, but it was not a leadership position.

As a campaign for pressing desegregation in the New York City schools progressed in early 1964, Rustin joined the effort of the grassroots coalition of community organizers that were working with NAACP and CORE for a February 3rd boycott of the city schools. He put his logistical and organizing abilities at the service of the boycott. Rustin proposed alternative "freedom schools" for the children not attending on that day, but the relatively new United Federation of Teachers declined to cooperate. The boycott was inconclusive in its results and the coalition of concerned groups did not hold. Competing demands of labor and civil rights undermined the protest, demonstrating again the importance of building firm coalitions in support of campaigns.

In the mid-1960s, Rustin's attention was drawn to President Lyndon Johnson's commitment to marshalling civil rights legislation through a recalcitrant Congress and to his attention to economic issues. As Rustin replied by letter October 13, 1964 to questions from Jack Heyman about his support for Johnson who was expanding the Vietnam intervention, he explained he would

> … vote for Johnson not because he is perfect, but because he is for civil rights, Medicare, and the poverty program, and because he is for progress. … I, secondly, want Johnson to know that the Negroes, liberals, intellectuals, students and the labor movement are giving him his majority—for I want him to be more dependent on us.[111]

[109] D'Emilio, p.361.
[110] D'Emilio, p. 370-371.
[111] Long, p. 297-298. See also D'Emilio, pp. 376-379 for discussion of Rustin's views of Johnson and his commitment to civil rights.

☐ See continuation sheet

Rustin became more deeply involved in Democratic Party politics as the decade wore on. In the controversy over seating of a dissident Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) delegation to the Democratic Party Convention in Atlantic City in place of the white segregationist delegation, Rustin ultimately supported Johnson's plan to admit a token two MFDP members as part of the state delegation (in the expectation that the white supremacists would walk out if required to take a loyalty oath and if Negroes were seated with them).[112] Other civil rights leaders were appalled at Rustin's support and at a stormy meeting at Atlantic City's Union Temple Baptist Church he was publicly denounced as a traitor by one of the SNCC members for arguing that Negroes needed allies and that pressing the MFDP claim wasn't going to help.[113]

NEW VISIONS AND BROADER MISSIONS

Further underscoring the growing differences between Rustin and his colleagues at CORE, SNCC, and SCLC over his growing vision of a pragmatic politics of coalition building to tackle issues of economic as well as racial justice, Rustin published an articulate and prescient account of his evolving philosophy in an article in *Commentary* in February 1965 entitled "From Protest to Politics: The future of the Civil Rights Movement." Rustin paid tribute to the period from 1954 to 1964 as "the period in which the legal foundations of racism in America were destroyed" and in which direct action tactics were instrumental. But he saw a growing need to address issues of economic inequality,

> The very decade which has witnessed the decline of legal Jim Crow has also seen the rise of *de facto* segregation in our most fundamental socioeconomic institutions. More Negroes are unemployed today than in 1954, and the unemployment gap between the races is wider. The median income of Negroes has dropped from 57 percent to 54 percent of that of whites … These are the facts of life which generate frustration in the Negro community and challenge the civil rights movement.[114]

[112] Levine, pp. 166-168.
[113] Ibid., p. 168.
[114] Carbado and Weise, p. 118.

☐ See continuation sheet

He saw the civil rights movement "compelled to expand its vision beyond race relations to economic relations, including the role of education …"[115]

Outlining the interrelated nature of problems, Rustin underscored the important role of government, and therefore politics, in moving those solutions forward. He noted that in Mississippi, protest was moving toward political action.

> A conscious bid for political power is being made, and in the course of that effort a tactical shift is being effected: direct-action techniques are being subordinated to a strategy calling for the building of community institutions or power bases… What began as a protest movement is being challenged to translate itself into a political movement.[116]

It was a struggle that he termed 'revolutionary' in its emphasis on transforming social, political, and economic institutions. Rustin asserted that Negroes could not do this alone.

> Neither [the civil rights movement] nor the country's twenty million black people can win political power alone. We need allies. The future of the Negro struggle depends on whether the contradictions of this society can be resolved by a coalition of progressive forces which becomes the effective political majority in the United States … Negroes, trade unionists, liberals, and religious groups.[117]

He firmly believed that the civil rights movement awaited transformation into a political force:

> The civil rights movement is evolving from a protest movement into a full-fledged *social movement*—an evolution calling its very name into question. … I believe that the Negro's struggle for equality in America is essentially revolutionary. … The revolutionary character of the Negro's struggle is manifest in the fact that this struggle may have done more to democratize life for whites than for Negroes. … the term 'revolutionary,' as I am using it, does not connote violence; it refers to the qualitative transformation of fundamental institutions, more or less rapidly, to the point where the

[115] Ibid., pp. 116-129.
[116] Ibid., p. 117.
[117] Ibid., p. 125.

> social and economic structure which they comprised can no longer be said to be the same.[118]

But the transformation could not be carried out by the Negro alone. Rustin argued that in arriving at political decisions, numbers and organizations are key. Therefore, the transforming civil rights movement must seek allies and build coalitions.

> There are those who argue that a coalition strategy would force the Negro to surrender his political independence to white liberals, that he would be neutralized, deprived of his cutting edge, absorbed into the Establishment. … the Negro vote will grow in importance in the coming years. … But we must remember that the effectiveness of a swing vote depends solely on other votes. It derives its power from them. In that sense, it can never be independent, but must opt for one candidate or the other, even if by default. Thus coalitions are inescapable, however tentative they may be.[119]

Still without a platform to articulate his evolving philosophy, it became important for Rustin to find a new leadership role. With support from Randolph and from the labor movement, the A. Philip Randolph Institute (APRI) was created in March 1965 with Bayard Rustin at its helm. The AFL-CIO was among major contributors to APRI. APRI was created to continue the struggle for social, political and economic justice for all working Americans. APRI was envisioned as an organization of black trade unionists to fight for racial equality and economic justice. APRI would be Rustin's institutional home until the end of his life. Rustin started at a modest salary of $10,000 at APRI's first office at 217 West 125th Street in New York, the offices of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

As antiwar sentiment grew among leftists in the US, Rustin found himself somewhat estranged from the peace movement. He resigned from the War Resisters League following the founding of APRI and dropped out of the Committee for Non-Violent Action.[120] He did maintain his ties with Turn Toward Peace and the World

[118] Ibid., pp. 121-125.
[119] Ibid., pp. 125-126.
[120] Anderson, p. 291-293.

Without War Council. For a time he continued with the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) but leaned towards the moderate pacifist groups. In a letter to the *New York Times* in 1967, he wrote that no effective peace movement could "win influence with the American people, which becomes publicly identified with groups that want not peace but a Viet Cong victory."[121]

Staughton Lynd, a prominent opponent of the Vietnam War and former colleague wrote Rustin directly accusing him of apostasy:

> Why Bayard? You must know in your heart that your position betrays the essential moralism which you have taught myself and others over the years. The lesson of your apostasy on Vietnam appears to be that the gains for the American Negroes that you advise them to seek through coalition politics within the Democratic Party come only at a price."[122]

In the wake of a stinging follow-up article by Lynd attacking him in the June 1965 issue of *Liberation*, he severed his ties to the magazine, writing to A.J. Muste in November 1965, that "I reluctantly feel that the only responsible thing for me to do now is to resign from the editorial board.[123]

Rustin concentrated his initial work at APRI on linking civil rights and economic justice, particularly with support for Johnson's War on Poverty. As he had noted in his February article in *Commentary*, economic justice could not be separated from the advancement of civil rights. In a June 1965 address at Howard University, President Johnson linked racial justice to an expansive agenda like the one that Rustin was advocating for the civil rights movement; Johnson pledged that "we will increase, and we will accelerate, and we will broaden this attack" on "inherited gateless poverty."[124]

[121] Ibid., p 293.
[122] Long, pp. 301-302, letter of Staughton Lynd to Bayard Rustin, April 19, 1965.
[123] D'Emilio, p. 416.
[124] Ibid., p. 417.

As Johnson planned a major White House conference for the autumn, particularly in the wake of disturbances in Watts in Los Angeles, Rustin became deeply involved in shaping the direction of that conference and in urging civil rights organizations to take it seriously. Johnson had named A Philip Randolph honorary chairman of the conference and Randolph delegated Rustin as his representative. Rustin wrote to the civil rights organizations in October "that the success or failure of the conference will depend on the attention and work expended by the major civil rights organizations."[125]

The planning did not go well, due to participants' expectations being at odds and an absence of concrete proposals. It did provide Rustin with an opportunity to raise APRI's proposed Freedom Budget, a plan to greatly expand the War on Poverty by committing $100 billion over ten years to economic justice issues. The actual conference did focus on issues of economic security and development and brought together some 2,000 participants: civil rights leaders as well as business, government, labor, higher education, foundations, and religious organizations.

The civil rights scene veered towards issues of black power, such as James Meredith's June 1966 March Against Fear in Mississippi, interrupted when he was shot, but continued as a massive unifying march of civil rights organizations unfolded in Mississippi. It was in the last days of the march that Stokely Carmichael introduced the slogan and concept "Black Power!" SNCC and CORE turned more confrontational and isolationist. As other organizations backed away from the march, King invited Rustin to get involved, but Rustin preferred to concentrate on APRI's Freedom Budget in 1966. On a conference call with King and his advisers, Rustin said "it might degenerate into a black nationalist thing."[126]

[125] Ibid. p. 422.
[126] Ibid., p. 427.

By the end of the summer, Rustin had more than 600 endorsements of the plan, including those of labor leaders and activist liberal organizations, evocative of the Negro-labor-liberal alliance he sought to build. The Freedom budget was formally unveiled in October 1966 at a press conference in Harlem. Initially well-received, it ran afoul of antiwar sentiments because it found defense spending to be a side issue. In a letter to Irving Howe, Rustin did assert that "I believe further that the Freedom Budget is the first major domestic program to present a meaningful alternative to expanded and increased defense spending."[127] He and Randolph fervently believed that payment for the war should not fall on the poor, as he wrote to sociologist Herbert Gans in late 1966:

> Mr. Randolph and I emphasized that we believe the poor should not pay for the war when we spoke before the Ribicoff Subcommittee.[128]

The Freedom Budget, announced to much approbation, did not fare well. Within a year the crumbling of the liberal coalition undermined it. By late 1967, pre-occupation with the war and an increasingly strong turn towards conservative, and Republican, solutions further undermined the budget's prospects. As the war came to dominate domestic politics, the civil rights movement and liberals were focusing on other issues. Foreign policy issues came to divide Americans in new and disturbing ways. Rustin's strategy of building a new coalition became the victim of these unforeseen challenges. If Rustin and Randolph's strategy was not wholly unsuccessful, they did redirect much civil rights focus to economic issues. As John D'Emilio noted,

> The mainstream civil rights movement did come to see its core mission as including more than a commitment to legal equality … Minimum wage legislation, protecting the right of workers to bargain collectively and to strike when necessary, expanding access to welfare for those who could not work, and campaigning for full employment … came to be the agenda of organizations like the NAACP, the National Urban League and the Leadership Council on Civil Rights.[129]

[127] Long, p. 322.
[128] Ibid., p. 323.
[129] D'Emilio, p. 345.

Rustin's relationship with King endured, though he did not endorse King's public antiwar stance. In 1967, as King planned the Poor People's Campaign, in which King appeared to move toward the coalition politics Rustin advocated, Rustin offered his help.[130] He drafted a memorandum which he presented to King's Research Committee on January 29, 1968 in which he tried to more narrowly focus the aims of the campaign and in which he warned that massive disruption could lead to backlash:

> A failure to achieve some major victories in the nation's capital at this time will, I believe, cause frustration nationally. Thus, demands should be broad enough to insure some of them being won soon. Given the mood in congress, given the increasing backlash across the nation, given the fact that this is an election year, and given the high visibility of a protest movement in the nation's capital, I feel that any effort to disrupt transportation, government buildings, etc., can only lead in this atmosphere to further backlash and repression.[131]

The murder of Dr. King in Memphis in April 1968 stunned the racial and social justice communities, setting back planning for the Poor People's Campaign. Rustin flew to Memphis to lead the second march there, which King had planned to lead. As planning for the Poor People's Campaign faltered, Ralph Abernathy, who had succeeded Dr. King, turned to Rustin for help with organizing the planned Solidarity Day at the end of May (rescheduled for June 19th).

Rustin took over organizational details and began setting plans in motion. On May 24, 1968 he issued a press release announcing that "I have assumed the task of national coordinator for the forthcoming Washington Mobilization in support of SCLC's Poor People's Campaign."[132] In early June he issued a Call to Americans of Goodwill to Join a National Mobilization in Support of the Poor People's Campaign. The anti-Rustin faction of

[130] Anderson, pp. 305-311.
[131] Long, pp. 341-343.
[132] Ibid., p. 347-348.

the SCLC resisted Rustin's plans and caused his withdrawal from the campaign after only three weeks, on June 8th. The Poor People's Campaign descended into a disarray in which Rustin had no hand.[133]

In the fall of 1968, long simmering disputes within the New York City school system and with the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) came to a head over transfer of white teachers out of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville experimental community-controlled district. Community control issues had arisen out of the longstanding segregation of the school system.[134] As the school year opened, the UFT went on strike over issues of due process for teachers transferred out of the district. The largely white teachers union became a target of racial rivalry.

Rustin and APRI warned that the decentralization of control should not be allowed to entrench segregation. Community control could be an innovation strengthening democratic control or it could be a Trojan horse for separation and stratification. Rustin supported due process for the teachers and warned against community control becoming a means of opposing racial justice. Publicly he framed the strike in terms of collective bargaining rights and due process. In an October 9, 1968 letter to his friend Bob Currin, Rustin wrote

> I think that democratic rights, due process, defined and well-established procedures are crucial to Negro advancement in this country. A minority can only be protected by legal safeguards. … I am very disturbed by the deterioration of democratic principles among our young Negroes, and quite frankly don't know what to do about it.[135]

Rustin's position was attacked by a variety of his leftist colleagues. One letter (Thelma Griffith to Bayard Rustin) pointedly reminded him that "you were black before you were a trade unionist," while others used more

[133] D'Emilio, pp. 463-465.
[134] Levine, pp. 207-2215.
[135] Long, pp. 354-355.

inflamed language including the term "house nigger."[136] The polarizing effect of the strike lingered on into the new year.

Nixon's advent in 1969 marked an end to much of the liberal and leftist coalition of the 1950s and 1960s. Rustin was still the "brother outsider" only more so. The strategies of coalition building and the move from protest to a political movement that he had championed in the middle of the decade lost ground as Republicans and the forces of conservatism advanced. Just as he had opposed in 1968 the tendencies towards separatism offered by community control of the schools, so Rustin opposed the growing popularity of black separatism and of black studies. In his 1969 article on *The Myth of Black Studies*, he closed by stressing

> I want to conclude by emphasizing that I am opposed to any program in Black Studies that separates the contribution of black men from the study of American history and society. Racist textbooks and historians have played this game too long for black people to add to the damage that has already been done. The magnificent contribution of black people to America must be recognized and recorded, not only by black people, but also by whites who can benefit at least as much from such knowledge.[137]

He characterized black separatism as a form of escape and withdrawal from a world with which its adherents would rather not have to deal. Writing in 1970 on *The Failure of Black Separatism*, he remarked "… the failure of America to respond to the demands of Negroes has fostered in the minds of the latter a sense of futility and has thus seemed to legitimize a strategy of withdrawal and violence. … Such actions constitute a politics of escape rooted in hopelessness and further reinforced by government inaction. … ordinary Negroes will be the victims of its powerlessness to work any genuine change in their condition."[138]

[136] Anderson, pp. 331-332; D'Emilio, pp. 470.
[137] Carbado and Weise, pp. 214-216.
[138] Ibid., pp. 217-221.

In October 1971, Rustin suffered a heart attack which sidelined him for the rest of the year. Returning to APRI in early 1972, he relinquished leadership of the A. Philip Randolph Institute to Norman Hill. He agreed to serve as chairman, a ceremonial title, of the Social Democrats USA, following a split in the Socialist Party in 1972. In the 1970s Rustin turned more and more to issues of international human rights. Walter Naegle, Rustin's partner and heir, observed that

> In the last years of his life he was returning to where he had started: the belief that we are all members of one human family.[139]

Rustin's humanitarian concerns, already well demonstrated in his African journeys, were turning still more internationalist. Rustin championed the Jewish community in the Soviet Union. In 1966 he had chaired the Committee on the Rights of Soviet Jewry in New York and presided at the first hearing on the plight of Jews. As Moshe Decter, a convener of the committee remarked, "Bayard moved from the far left to somewhere else and that somewhere else is not easy to define … He remained a social democrat but it didn't matter to him what labels were. He was sensible to all the party lines."[140]

In 1970, Rustin and APRI invited prominent African Americans to join in a newspaper advertisement supporting the dispatch of US arms to Israel. Two years later, he was the sole African American leader to attend a memorial service for the victims of the 1972 Munich attack on Israeli athletes. He similarly chaired the Committee on Conscience of the Holocaust Memorial Council. His support of the Jewish community was in keeping with the breadth of his concern and in many ways reflected his Quaker upbringing and the Quaker injunction to see that of God in everyone. In a 1969 letter to Maryann Greenstone, who had suggested Rustin underestimated anti-Semitism in the African American community, he wrote

> My best friends, closest associates, and colleagues-in-arms have been beaten and assassinated.

[139] Singer and Kates, 1:18:47.
[140] Anderson, p. 326.

> Yet, to remain human and to fulfill my commitment to a just society, I must continue to fight for the liberation of all men. There will be times when each of us will have doubts. But I trust that neither of us will desert our great cause."[141]

The Jewish community recognized his support, even creating a scholarship in his name at Hebrew University in 1976.

From the early 1970s, Rustin became a roving ambassador for the Freedom House, an organization created in 1941 to support democratic elections and human rights. He also became a strong supporter and advocate of refugee rights through the International Rescue Committee (IRC), similarly established in the 1940s. Rustin became vice chairman of the International Rescue Committee. The IRC's original work had been with Jewish refugees, a cause with which Rustin was already identified. Rustin became an advocate for Southeast Asian refugees, Ugandan refugees, and refugees in East Asia and Central Asia. Following the US exit from Southeast Asia, Rustin made four trips to the refugee camps in Thailand and returned to lobby for greater and greater acceptance of refugees into the US. He managed to enlist the AFL-CIO in support of his resettlement projects.

For Freedom House, of which he chaired the Executive Committee, Rustin served as an election observer, initially in the Dominican Republic, but subsequently in Zimbabwe, El Salvador, Lebanon, South Africa, and Barbados. In 1981, Rustin and Charles Bloomstein visited Poland to advise the Solidarity movement on democratic nonviolent resistance. For Freedom House, Rustin visited South Africa three times between 1983 and 1986. He resisted calls for complete sanctions against South Africa for fear that they would devastate the economy to such a degree that they would paralyze moves toward a non-racial democracy.

Writing in November 1983 to Rep. Steven Solarz following a trip to South Africa, Rustin reported that

[141] Long, p.361.

> All of the liberal and progressive elements with whom we met saw the effort to strengthen the Sullivan Principles [six guidelines for the equal treatment of black workers in South Africa] as a positive step. Recognizing that fundamental change must ultimately come from within the South African community, they questioned the effect that the principles or, for that matter, any outside pressure could have. Nevertheless, they saw the value in strengthening and implementing the Sullivan Principles, particularly if they were made mandatory, were more stringently monitored, and provided for sanctions on those not abiding by them."[142]

Project South Africa, which Rustin designed, was aimed at creating financial support for South African grassroots social organizations that would provide education in democratic decision-making processes.[143] As Rustin saw it,

> The fundamental issue is democracy. You could destroy apartheid without achieving democracy. Whenever it comes to the question of human rights, democracy is the place to begin.[144]

Rustin's involvement with labor issues and his championship of the working man's rights and due process, which had landed him in controversy over the UFT strike in the late sixties, brought him one of his final arrests (he himself counted a career of 24 arrests), when he supported striking Yale clerical workers in September 1984. Seeking answers, he wrote to the Yale administration, which had recently conferred on him an honorary degree. He directed his letter to Bart Giamatti, president of Yale, with six questions regarding the strike, noting that

> It would be very helpful if you could take the time to provide me with answers to these questions. I can then decide whether the union is justified in the charges it makes …[145]

Receiving no answer, he joined a silent protest on October 26, 1984.

[142] Ibid., pp. 440-441.
[143] Levine, pp.242-243.
[144] Anderson, p. 326.
[145] Long, pp.. 446-447

In the mid-1980s, Rustin, never a closeted gay man, became increasingly involved with gay community issues, particularly as AIDS began to devastate the gay male community. Having seen his own career stymied and attacked at times because of his homosexuality, he was acutely aware of the effects of homophobia. Rustin's partner, Walter Naegle, whom he had met in 1977, attuned Rustin to the nuances of the LGBTQ political and social landscape. In 1985 and 1986, Rustin lobbied Mayor Ed Koch of New York and the city council to support the lesbian and gay rights bill. Rustin testified at city council meetings against efforts to attach amendments to the bill, writing Mayor Koch that the lesson he had learned in fifty years of fighting for human rights was that "no group is ultimately safe from prejudice, bigotry, and harassment so long as any group is subject to special negative treatment."[146]

Indeed, Rustin granted several interviews to gay historians and publications in which he discussed his own homosexuality and the plight of homosexuals in a hostile and polarized society. It was clear to Rustin that homosexuals had become the new focus of oppression in America, in the same way that African Americans had been. He ended a 1987 interview with the magazine *Open Hands* with the statement that "… gay men and lesbians have now become the barometer and the litmus test of human rights attitudes and social change." [147]

In July 1987, Rustin and Naegle left on what would be Ruskin's last mission for Freedom House. With Bruce McColm of Freedom House they journeyed to Haiti to study prospects for democratic elections in that country. Naegle had accompanied Rustin on earlier journeys to South Africa and India. The prospects for democratic elections were dim, they found, and the country's poverty was appalling.

[146] Ibid., p.461.
[147] Carbado and Weise, p. 291.

Returning to New York, Rustin fell ill with what appeared to be an infection acquired in Haiti but which proved to be a perforated appendix. Admitted to Lenox Hill Hospital, doctors performed emergency surgery on Friday, August 21st. Over the weekend Naegle spent most of his time at the hospital. On the 23rd, Rustin's condition worsened and Naegle was recalled to the hospital. Late in the evening of the same day, Rustin went into cardiac arrest and he died shortly after midnight on August 24, 1987.

ASSESSING RUSTIN

The first biography of Bayard Rustin didn't appear until a decade after his passing. Though those who lived through the struggles for racial and social justice of the 1940s, 50s, 60s, and 70s certainly knew Rustin, his significance and contributions were not academically considered until the early years of this century in connection with the centennial of his birth in 2012 and the 50th anniversary of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 2013. At present there are four book length biographies of Rustin: by Anderson (1997), Levine (2000), D'Emilio (2003), Podair (2009) and the biographical film *Brother Outsider* (2003).

As historian Henry Louis Gates Jr. wrote in 2013,

> If you had been a bus captain *en route* to the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in August 1963, you would have known who its organizing genius was, and you wouldn't have been surprised to see his picture on the cover of *Life* magazine a week later. Yet of all the leaders of the civil rights movement, Bayard Rustin lived and worked in the deepest shadows, not because he was a closeted gay man but because he wasn't trying to hide who he was. That, combined with his former ties to the Communist Party, was considered to be a liability.
>
> Still, whatever his detractors said, there would always be that perfect day of the march, that beautiful, concentrated expression of Rustin's decades of commitment to vociferous, but always nonviolent, protest. It was, as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., said, the "greatest demonstration for freedom" in American history. And it is why, on this 50th anniversary [of the 1963 March] I ask that if you teach children one new name from the heroes of black

☐ See continuation sheet

history, please let it be Bayard Rustin.[148]

President Barack Obama, in awarding the Medal of Freedom to Bayard Rustin (posthumously) on August 8, 2013, remarked

> Bayard Rustin was an unyielding activist for civil rights, dignity, and equality for all. An advisor to the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., he promoted nonviolent resistance, participated in one of the first Freedom Rides, organized the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, and fought tirelessly for marginalized communities at home and abroad. As an openly gay African American, Mr. Rustin stood at the intersection of several of the fights for equal rights."[149]

In its coverage of Rustin beginning with wiretapping at his West 28th street residence, the FBI paid inadvertent tribute to Rustin in an internal memo in 1963:

> Rustin is a very competent individual who is widely known in the rights field. He is personally familiar with numerous individuals with communist backgrounds. As one of Martin Luther King's closest advisers, he is in a position to wield considerable influence on King's activities.[150]

John D'Emilio, author of a major biography of Rustin and a historian of the LGBTQ experience, wrote

> [Rustin] deserves a place in our national memory as one of the key figures of his time. More than anyone else, Rustin brought the message and methods of Gandhi to the United States. He insinuated nonviolence into the heart of the black freedom struggle. He presided over the transformation of direct action tactics from the cherished possession of a few initiates to its embrace by millions of Americans. He resurrected mass peaceful protest from the graveyard in which cold war anticommunism had buried it and made it once again a vibrant expression of citizen rights in a free society.
>
> Rustin was a visionary. … Rustin was smart. … Rustin was inspirational to the many thousands

[148] Henry Louis Gates Jr., "Who Designed the March on Washington," *The Root* http://www.theroot.com/articles/history/2013/08/march_on_washington_meet_bayard_rustin_its_architect.2.html.
[149] White House citation, https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/08/08/president-obama-names-presidential-medal-freedom-recipients
[150] Anderson, p. 267.

who knew him. … Rustin was also wildly controversial in his lifetime.[151]

Perhaps the best considerations of Rustin's historic role in pacifism, racial justice, social justice, and refugee support comes from those who worked with him.

The late Julian Bond, co-founder of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and later of the Southern Poverty Law Center, was a colleague of Rustin's in the 1960s in the civil rights movement. In a 2013 interview with Amy Goodman of "Democracy Now" on public radio, Bond commented about Rustin's affect on Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.:

> But his significance with King is King really had a very, very limited idea about nonviolence. It is Bayard Rustin who really tutored him, who said, "This is what you have to do." And King —Rustin was horrified to see these pistols in King's home, you know, and these armed guards around King's home, because it just went against everything he believed in about nonviolence. If it hadn't been for Bayard Rustin, Dr. King wouldn't have had any understanding, I don't think, of nonviolence. And Rustin tutored him and made him into the person we know he became.[152]

Leo Cherne, chairman of the International Rescue Committee, wrote that Rustin

> … had a remarkable gift for injecting reason, for reconciling a group of people who were at each other's throats. When he worked within a group, he was not interested in satisfying his sense of political importance. He was concerned mainly with the practical and useful results of his work. That was a sign of his talent at welding coalitions. I have never known another human being who possessed that attribute to the degree that Rustin did.[153]

Actress Liv Ullmann, who worked with Rustin on many refugee support and resettlement projects for the International Rescue Committee, said at the October 1987 celebration of his life that

> I wish I could list all those to whom he devoted his efforts and to whom he invariably brought

[151] D'Emilio, p. 1-3.
[152] Amy Goodman, "Democracy Now," August 22, 2013, http://www.democracynow.org/blog/2013/8/12/part_2_civil_rights_leader_bayard_rustins_role_in_organizing_the_march_on_washington
[153] D'Emilio., p. 345.

> help and hope, whether they were in flight from Ethiopia or denied freedom in Afghanistan or human rights in South Africa. He helped the Jews who sought release from imprisonment in the Soviet Union, the Lech Walesas of Poland, those seeking a safe and peaceful future even as they were being uprooted in Salvador, and the victims of total dictatorship in Haiti … Bayard, you never showed fatigue … You believed that there is no freedom which is not freedom for all … You gave your life in the pursuit of the highest purposes that are encompassed in the word 'human .'[154]

CONCLUSION

A letter of support received from the War Resisters League notes that the nomination of Bayard Rustin's Residence is important because

> future generations need to know that ordinary citizens living simply among us could and did simply stand up – proud as a Black man, proud as a gay man – and change the course of history. They may not all know the name Bayard Rustin, working as he did outside of the main limelight of the civil rights movement. But walking the streets of the City, young people should know that it was not up in some university tower, or just down south in a well-preserved church pulpit, but in an urban housing complex here in New York that plotting and planning led to widespread acceptance of the human rights of lesbians and gays, of people of African descent and all people.[155]

Professor D'Emilio concludes: "despite Rustin's extraordinary accomplishments, his life and work remain unfamiliar to most Americans. Placing his residence on the National Register will be an important and welcome step in giving more recognition and visibility to this extraordinary life"[156]

[154] Long, pp: 476-477.
[155] Ware Resisters League to Colleagues, 3 December 2015.
[156] D"Emilio to National Park Service, 1 December 2015.

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

American Friends Service Committee. *Speak Truth to Power: A Quaker Search for an Alternative to Violence.* Philadelphia, 1955.

Anderson, Jervis. *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen.* New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1997.

Bennett, Scott H. *Radical Pacifism: The War Resisters League and Gandhian Nonviolence in America, 1915-1963*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004

Branch, Taylor. *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963*. New York: Touchstone Books – Simon & Schuster, 1988.

Byron, Peg. "No More Back Seat." *Southern Exposure*. Volume 16, number 3 (Fall 1988), pp. 45-46.

Carbado, Devon W. and Donald Weise, editors. *Time on Two Crosses: The Collected Writings of Bayard Rustin.* San Francisco: Cleis Press, 2003.

D'Emilio, John. *Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003.

____ "Listening to Rustin: Lessons from an Agitator for Justice. " *In a New Century: Essays on Queer History, Politics and Community Life.* Madison, WI, University of Wisconsin Press, 2014.

Gates, Henry Louis Jr. "Who Designed the March on Washington." *The Root*
http://www.theroot.com/articles/history/2013/08/march_on_washington_meet_bayard_rustin_its_architect.2.html

Goodman, Amy. *Democracy Now.*, August 22, 2013.
http://www.democracynow.org/blog/2013/8/12/part_2_civil_rights_leader_bayard_rustins_role_in_organizing_the_march_on_washington

☐ See continuation sheet

Haskins, James. *Bayard Rustin: Behind the Scenes of the Civil Rights Movement.* New York: Hyperion, 1997.

Long, Michael, editor, (2012). *I Must Resist: Bayard Rustin's Life in Letters*. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2012.

Naegle, Walter. "Bayard Rustin: Nonviolent Activist for Civil Rights, Democracy and Human Rights World Wide." https://docs.google.com/viewer?url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.fgcquaker.org%2Fsites%2Fwww.fgcquaker.org%2Ffiles%2Fattachments%2FBayard%2520Rustin.pdf , undated.

_____" A Closer Look at Bayard Rustin. http://rustin.org/?page_id=11

Nicholson, Christopher. "A stark lesson in racism. A trip to a restaurant with Bayard Rustin in 1946 opened one Quaker's eyes." **http://articles.philly.com/2003-02-21/news/25450530_1_bayard-rustin-quaker-west-chester, February 21, 2003.**

Podair, Jerald E. *Bayard Rustin: American Dreamer*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Pub., 2009.

Rustin, Bayard. *Down the Line: The Collected Writings of Bayard Rustin.* Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971.

----------. *Watts 'Manifesto' and the McCone Report*. New York: League for Industrial Democracy, 1967.

----------. *From Protest to Politics: the Future of the Civil Rights Movement*. New York: League for Industrial Democracy, 1965.

----------. *Strategies for Freedom: the Changing Pattern of Black Protest.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1976

----------.*The Lessons of the Long Hot Summer*. New York: A Philip Randolph Institute, 1967.

☐ See continuation sheet

----------. C. Vann Woodward and Paul Feldman. *Civil Rights: the Movement Re-examined*. New York: A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, 1967

.

Singer, Bennett and Nancy Kates, Independent Television Service. *Brother Outsider: The Life of Bayard Rustin*, 2003.

White House Citation, https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/08/08/president-obama-names-presidential-medal-freedom-recipients.

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number 10 Page 1

Verbal Boundary Description
The boundary is indicated by a heavy line on the attached map

Boundary Justification
The nomination recognizes Apartment 9J, the residence of Bayard Rustin. Because the National Register cannot list portions of buildings, the nomination boundary includes Building 7 in its entirety. Building 7 is located within Penn South, a housing complex that has been determined eligible for National Register listing. The boundary was drawn following the sidewalks that surround Building 7 and define its site within the community.

☐ See continuation sheet

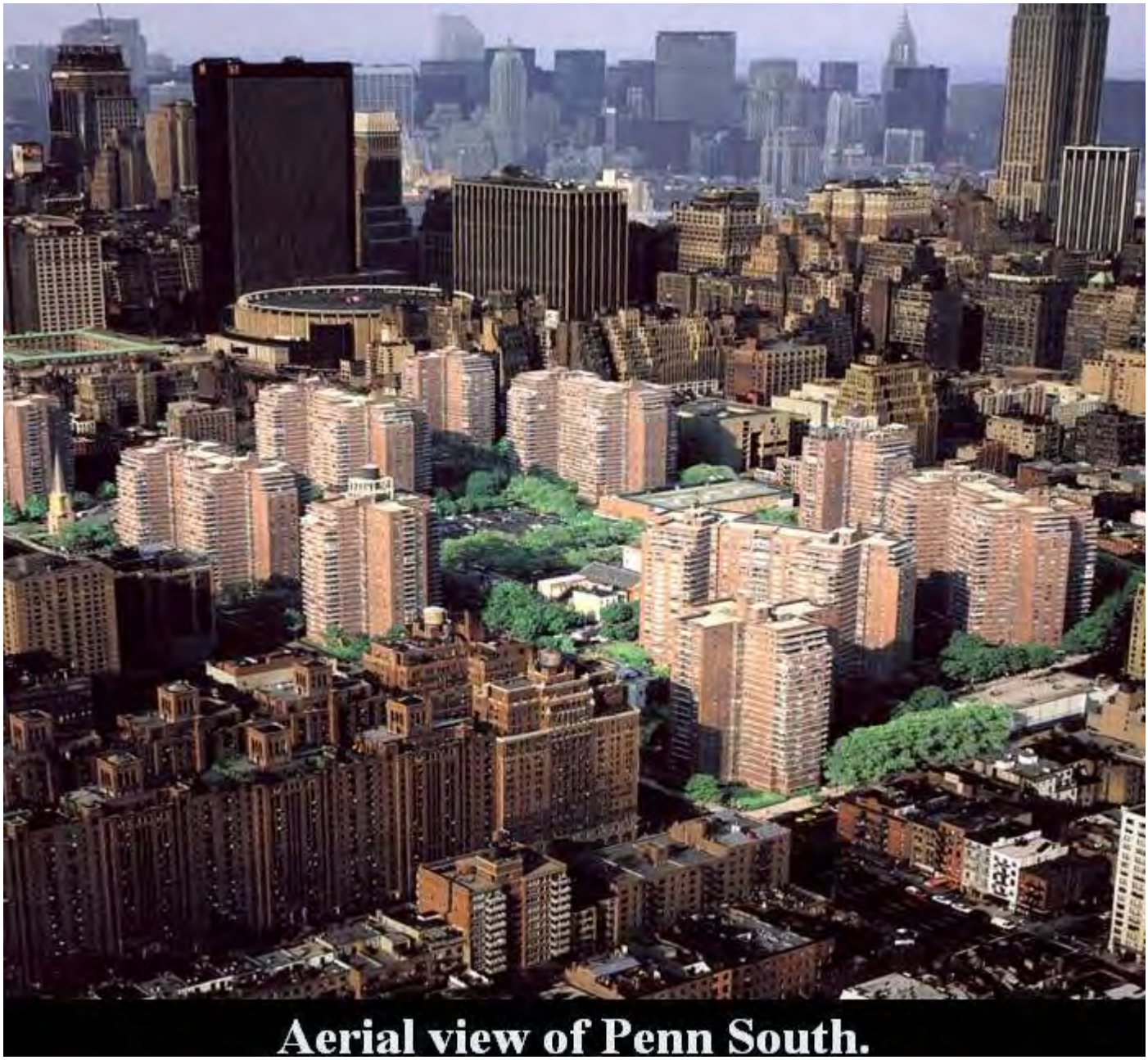
National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number add inf Page 1

Penn South
Construction Photo

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number add inf Page 2

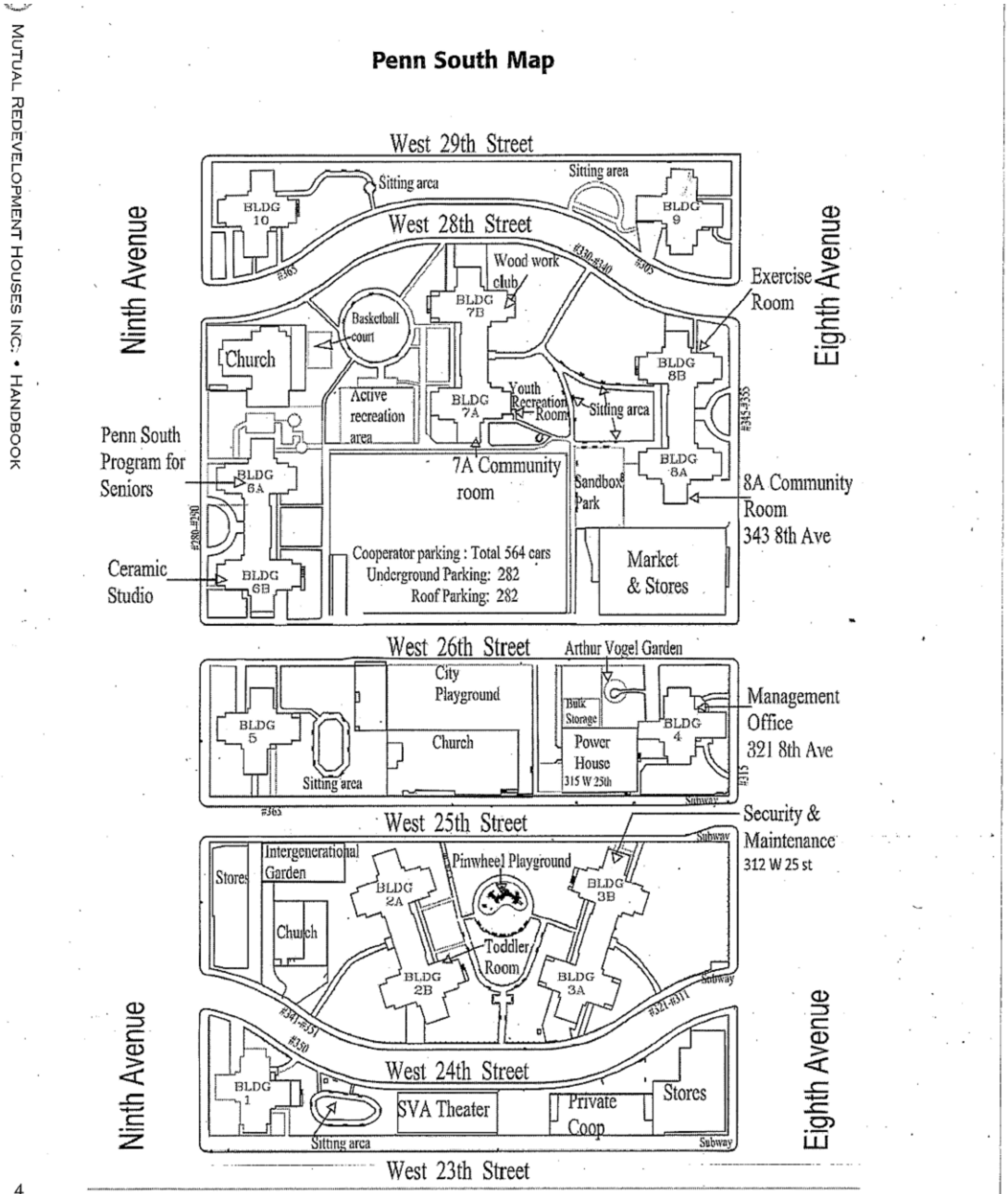


Aerial view of Penn South.

See continuation sheet

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

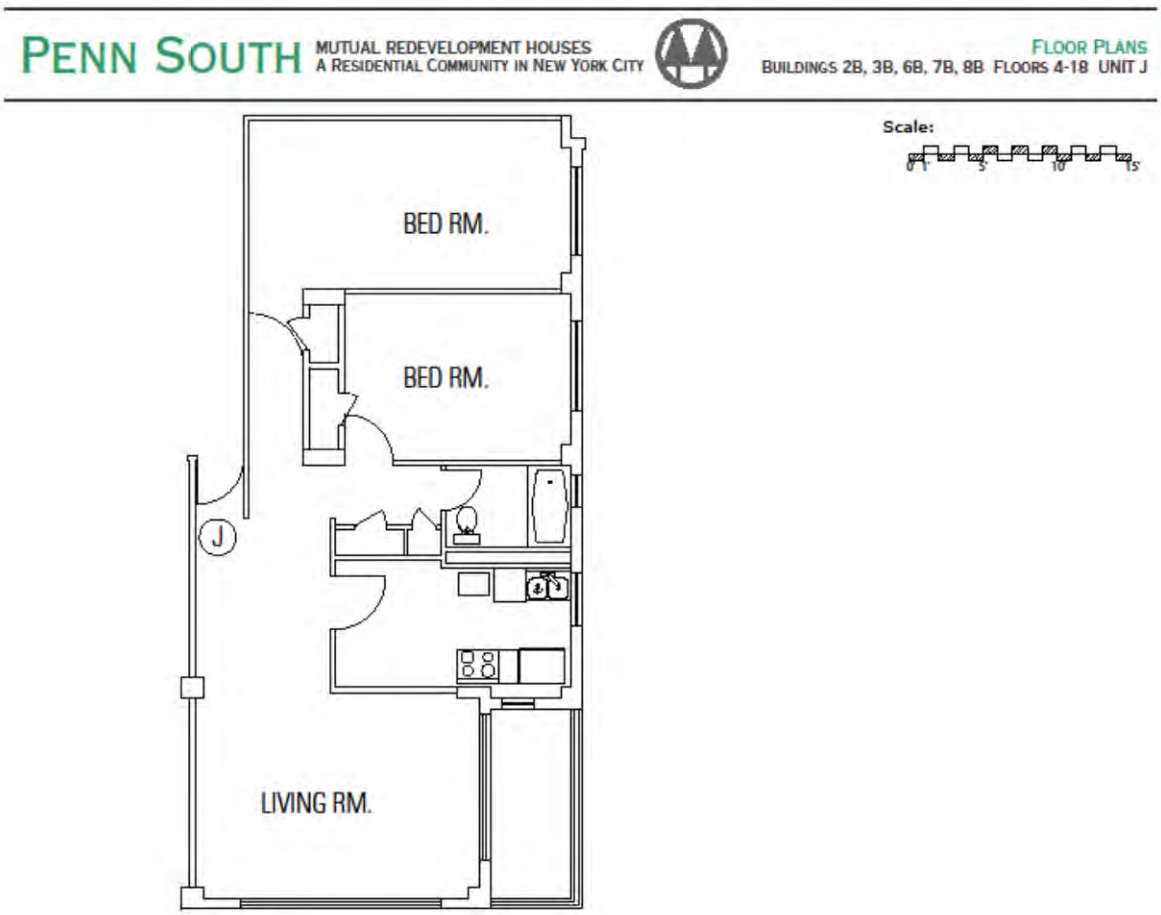
Section number add inf Page 3



See continuation sheet

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number add inf Page 4

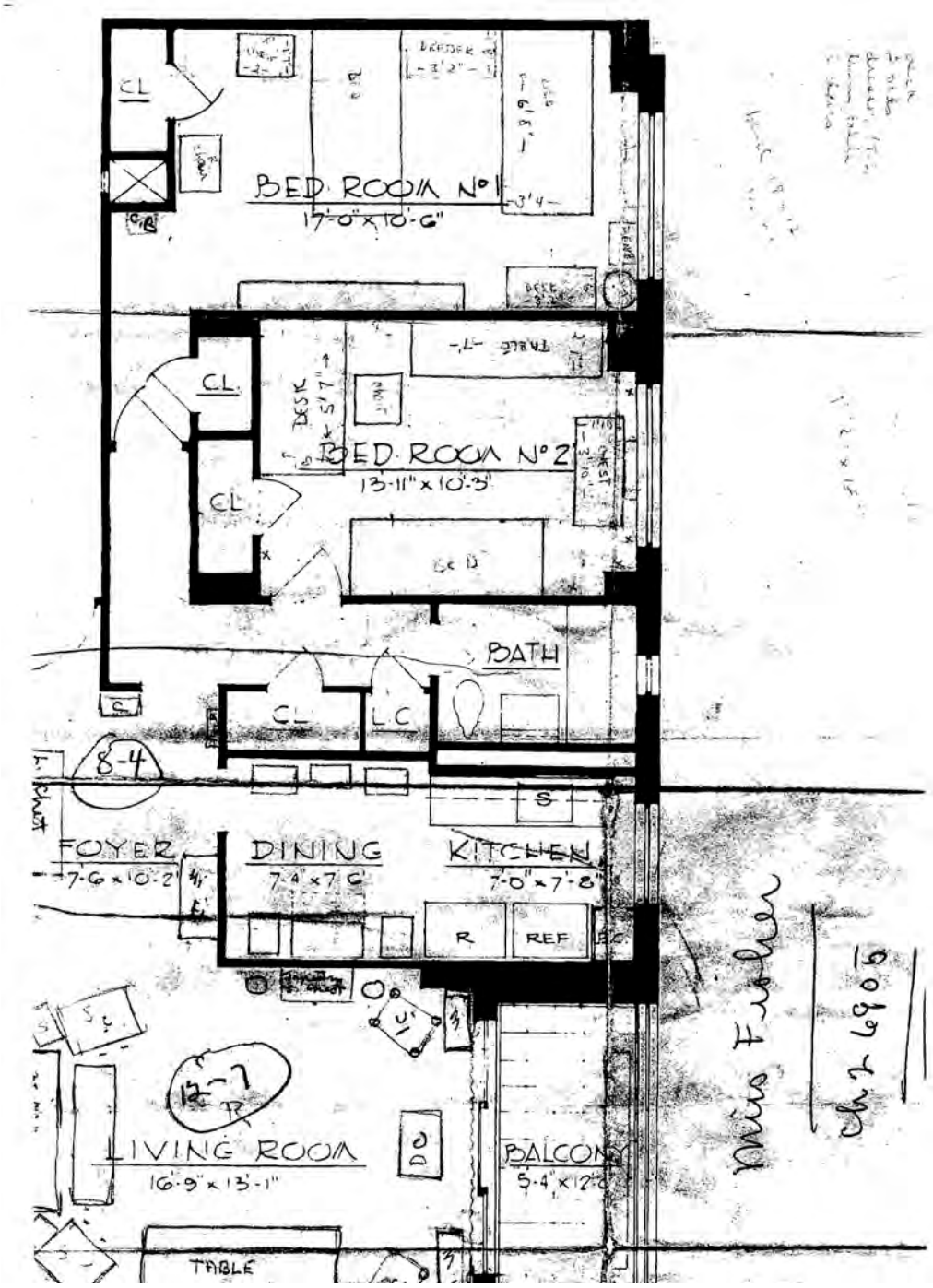


Plan of Rustin Apartment

☐ See continuation sheet

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number add inf Page 5

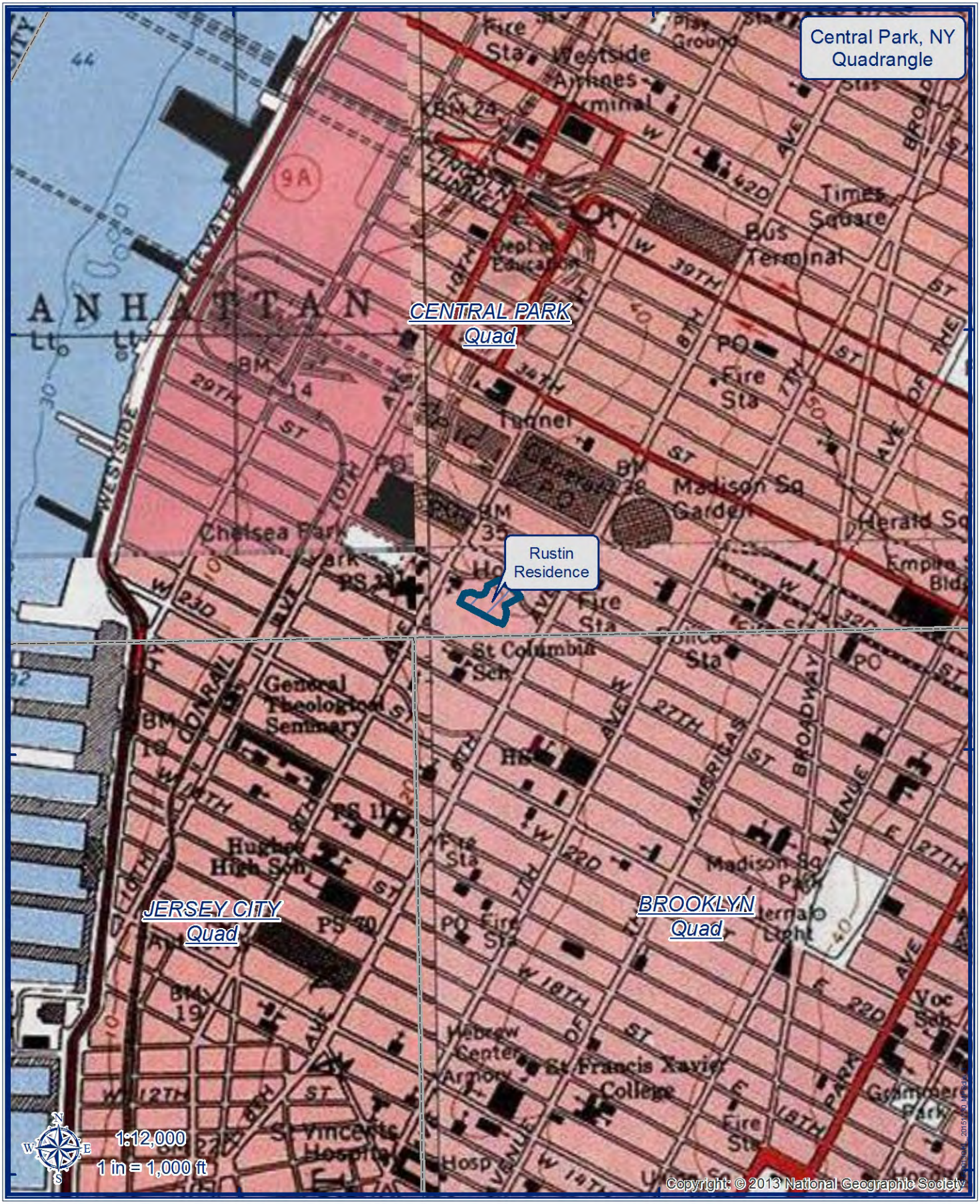


Rustin's marked up plan showing where furniture should go when he moved

☐ See continuation sheet

Bayard Rustin Residence
New York, New York Co., NY

340 W. 28th Street
New York, NY 10001



Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 18N
Projection: Transverse Mercator
Datum: North American 1983
Units: Meter

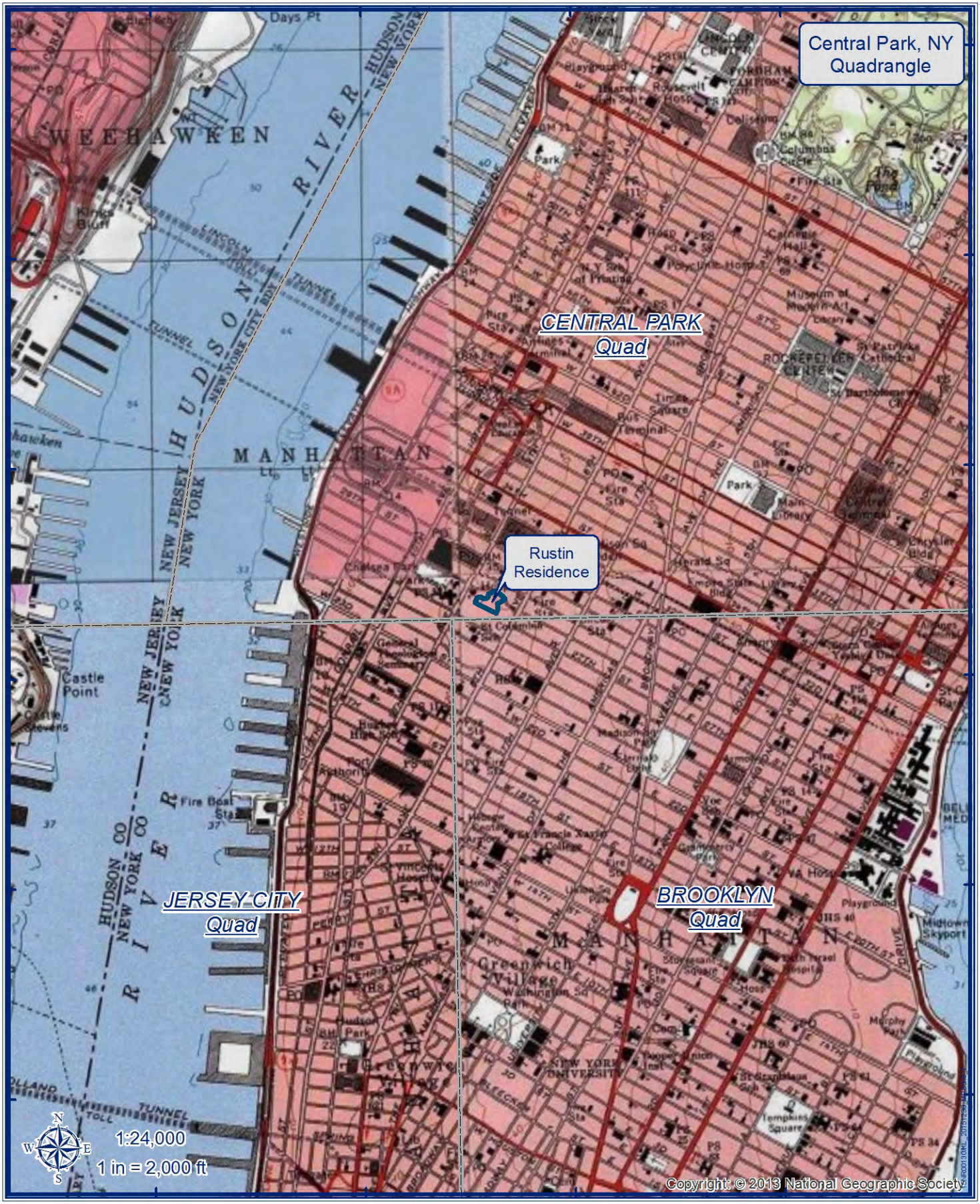
Feet
0 310 620 1,240

Rustin Residence

NEW YORK STATE OF OPPORTUNITY. Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation

Bayard Rustin Residence
New York, New York Co., NY

340 W. 28th Street
New York, NY 10001



4514000 4513000 4512000 4511000 4510000 4509000

583000 584000 585000 586000

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 18N
Projection: Transverse Mercator
Datum: North American 1983
Units: Meter

0 600 1,200 2,400 Feet

Rustin Residence

NEW YORK STATE OF OPPORTUNITY. Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation

Bayard Rustin Residence
New York, New York Co., NY

340 W. 28th Street
New York, NY 10001

Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 18N
Projection: Transverse Mercator
Datum: North American 1983
Units: Meter

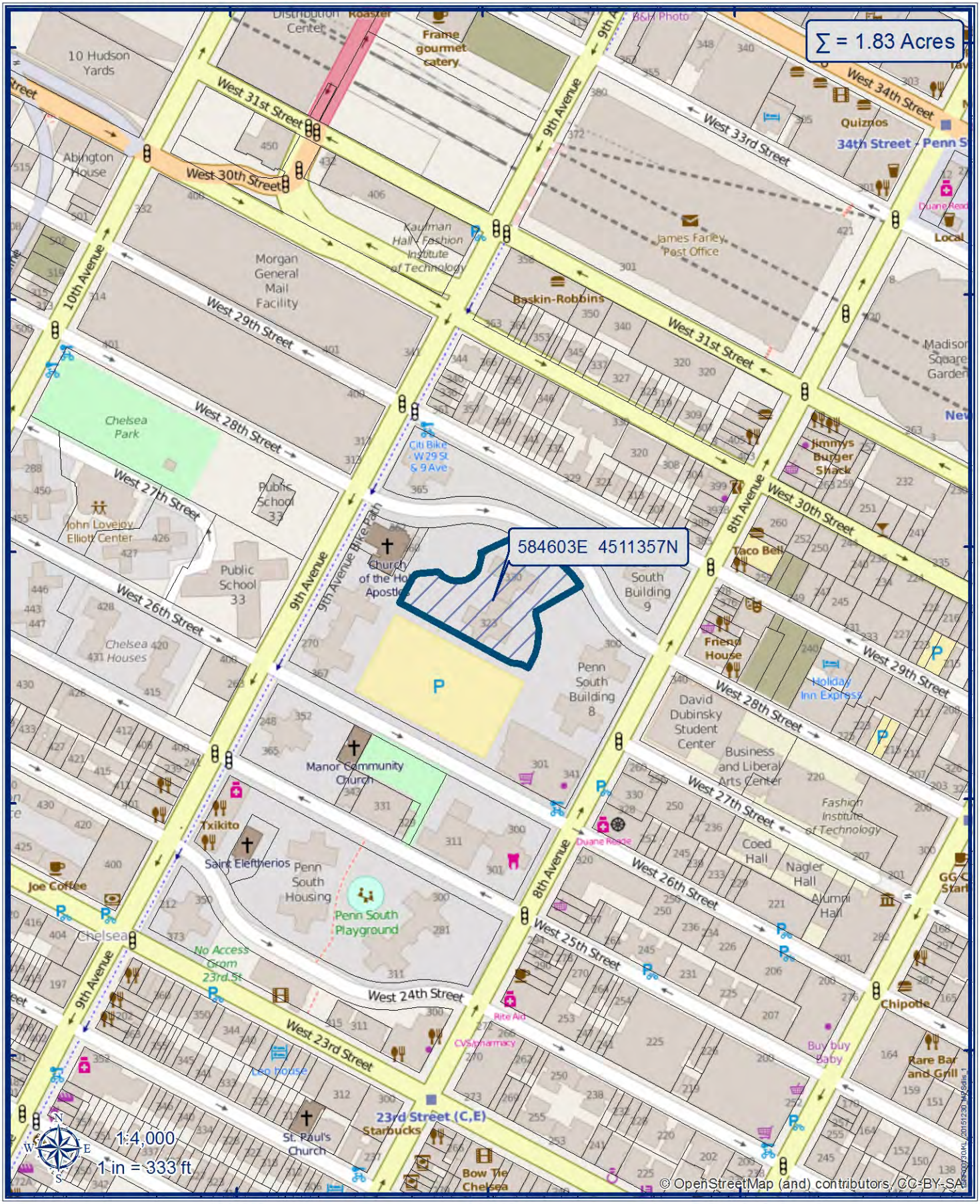
0 100 200 400 Feet

Rustin Residence

NEW YORK STATE OF OPPORTUNITY | Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation

Bayard Rustin Residence
New York, New York Co., NY

340 W. 28th Street
New York, NY 10001



Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 18N
Projection: Transverse Mercator
Datum: North American 1983
Units: Meter

0 100 200 400 Feet

Rustin Residence

NEW YORK STATE OF OPPORTUNITY. Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number photos Page 1

Photographer: photos 1-4

Mario Mazzoni
Director of Education and Communication
Mutual Redevelopment Houses, Inc.
321 8th Ave
New York, New York 10001

Date : 2015

Photographer: photos 5-6

Walter Naegle
340 West 28th Street
Building 7, Apt 9J
New York, New York 10001

Date: 2015

Photographer: photos 7-9

E'Lois Kinnon (Chicago photographer, c1960s)

Date: mid-1960s

Tiff Files: CD-R of .tiff files on file at
National Park Service
Washington DC

and

New York SHPO
PO Box 189
Waterford, NY 12188

☐ See continuation sheet

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number photos Page 2

Photo Views:

0001. Building 7, Penn South, rear (north) elevation
0002. Building 7, Penn South, looking north at façade and (west) side elevation
0003. Building 7, Penn South, looking north, façade
0004. Building 7, Penn South, façade, detail, main entrance
0005. Bayard Rustin Apartment, dining area
0006. Bayard Rustin Apartment, main seating area
0007. Historic photo, c1965, showing Rustin in his apartment; same view as photo 0006
0008. Historic photo, c1965, showing Rustin watering plants in his apartment
0008. Historic photo, c1965, showing Rustin watering plants on his terrace

☐ See continuation sheet

NYC
Landmarks Preservation Commission

Meenakshi Srinivasan
Chair

Sarah Carroll
Executive Director
SCarroll@lpc.nyc.gov

1 Centre Street
9th Floor North
New York, NY 10007

212 669 7902 tel
212 669 7797 fax

November 4, 2015

Ruth Pierpont, Deputy Commissioner
New York State Office of Parks, Recreation
and Historic Preservation
P.O. Box 189
Peebles Island
Waterford, NY 12188-0189

Re: *Bayard Rustin Residence, Building 7, Penn South, Manhattan*

Dear Deputy Commissioner Pierpont:

I write on behalf of Chair Meenakshi Srinivasan in response to your request for comment on the eligibility of the Bayard Rustin Residence, located at 340 West 28th Street in Manhattan, for the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

The New York Landmarks Preservation Commission's Director of Research Mary Beth Betts has reviewed the materials submitted by the Historic Preservation Field Services Bureau and has determined that the Bayard Rustin Residence appears to meet the criteria for inclusion on the State and National Registers of Historic Places. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Sarah Carroll

cc: Meenakshi Srinivasan, Chair
Mary Beth Betts, Director of Research

LaFrank, Kathleen (PARKS)

From: Glenn Josey <gjosey95@gmail.com>
Sent: Monday, November 30, 2015 2:51 PM
To: LaFrank, Kathleen (PARKS)
Cc: Clerk of 15th Street; Julie M. Finch
Subject: Re: Fw: Support letter for Bayard Rustin nomination

Kathleen,

Below is a minute from 15th Street Monthly Meeting approving the meeting acting as a co-sponsor for Bayard Rustin's home.

2015.9.15 Julie Finch of the Peace and Social Justice Committee presents a request for the meeting to co-sponsor the nomination of Bayard Rustin's home, an apartment at 340 West 28th St, New York, NY 10001, as a New York State landmark and as a site on the National Park Service's National Register of Historic Places. Friends approve the request.

Please let me know if you have any questions.

Warmly,

Glenn Josey
917.923.9348 - C

On Mon, Nov 30, 2015 at 2:34 PM, <parkerhead@earthlink.net> wrote:

from Julie

-----Forwarded Message-----
From: Mark Meinke
Sent: Nov 30, 2015 12:12 PM
To: parkerhead@earthlink.net
Subject: Support letter for Bayard Rustin nomination

The Rustin nomination is going before the NY board in early December with a projected nomination to the National Park Service at the end of the month.

I never received a written minute of the Meeting's support. Did you mail it to me or give it Walter Naegle? You may email it to the National Register Coordinator at Kathleen.LaFrank@parks.ny.gov. If you'd like to send it directly to Albany, please direct it to

Kathleen LaFrank

A.J. MUSTE MEMORIAL INSTITUTE

339 Lafayette Street
New York, NY 10012
(212) 533-4335 tel
(212) 228-6193 fax
info@ajmuste.org
www.ajmuste.org

December 3, 2015

To Whom It May Concern,

As the organizational owner of an historic building in Manhattan's NoHo neighborhood, we are well aware of the significance of space, preservation, and remembrance in the context of social movement. Popularly called "the Peace Pentagon" by both activists and nationally-recognized architects and journalists specializing in the field, our institutional home has seen historical figures grace our hallways and office space – from third party presidential candidates to union leaders, from youth activists fleeing apartheid South Africa interviewed in our work space by mainstream media representatives to Occupy Wall Street campaigners camping out in our corridors making their own alternative media. Yet we have not been able to maintain our space – and are soon facing a move after several decades of dedicated work.

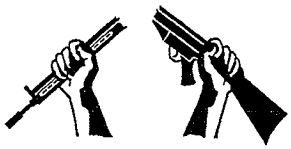
The New York residence of Bayard Rustin is in some ways even more significant than our own long-time home. Bayard, it should be noted, was a student and colleague of our namesake, A.J. Muste – and a friend to a number of our Board members and advisors. His space served as a base of operations for the chief architect of two modern civil rights movements – a place where Rustin could host friends and colleagues for informal conversations that led to the mass campaigns which substantively changed the way both African Americans and LGBT citizens are treated throughout the USA today. In a world often unready to recognize or support a man now considered one of contemporary history's behind-the-scenes giants – a man posthumously awarded the highest honor bestowed upon US citizens – Rustin's New York residence provided refuge and sustenance to this uniquely American and New York hero.

It would be a sad oversight not to have the NYS Board of Historic Preservation or the National Park Service bestow special status upon the residence of the special man who pushed so hard to enable all Americans to feel special enjoyment of our democratic freedoms.

Sincerely,

Matt Meyer
Of behalf of the Board of Directors

Heidi Boghosian
Executive Director



WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

Resisting War at Home & War Abroad since 1923

3 December 2015

Dear colleagues,

As you may be aware, civil rights organizer Bayard Rustin was a member of War Resisters League national staff at the time when he served as coordinator of the March for Jobs and Freedom held in front of Washington DC's Lincoln Memorial in August 1963. Participants heard Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. proclaim a great dream for America on that historic day, but the delicate balancing of all the many speakers and singers, the methodical planning of buses from across the country, the training of peace-keepers to assure that the day ran smoothly, and the follow-up which carried people's hopes, dreams, and freedom struggles to a new phase of political influence was largely designed by Rustin. The oft-forgotten yet enormous and effective one-day schools boycott which swept across New York City the following year was another example of Rustin's special skill at bringing people together to work for a better society.

The space where Rustin could relax and reflect, could plan and review the movements which would push our country to live up to our democratic principles, is now under review for historic preservation status. At War Resisters League, we not only support this initiative because Rustin was one of our own beloved members, not only because – like us – Rustin believed that nonviolent direct action was the best way to force change on sometimes stubborn opposition; we strongly support that special status be bestowed because future generations need to know that ordinary citizens living simply among us could and did simply stand up – proud as a Black man, proud as a gay man – and change the course of history. They may not all know the name Bayard Rustin, working as he did outside of the main limelight of the civil rights movement. But walking the streets of the City, young people should know that it was not up in some university tower, or just down south in a well-preserved church pulpit, but in an urban housing complex here in New York that plotting and planning led to widespread acceptance of the human rights of lesbians and gays, of people of African descent and all people.

War Resisters League still believes that every person can make a difference to make the world a better place, and we are proud of our history with Bayard Rustin and the movements he helped build. In order to help continue this work, we urge the NYS Board to bestow preservation status upon Rustin's New York home – shining a light on Rustin's and New York's often-unknown parts of a history we should all be proud of.

Yours in Peace,

The War Resisters League

WRL National Office|339 Lafayette St.|New York, NY 10012|(212) 228-0450|(212) 228-6193 (fax)|wrl@warresisters.org|www.warresisters.org

WRL New England Regional Office|P.O. Box 1093|Norwich, CT 06360|Staff: Joanne Sheehan|(860) 639-8834 (ph/fax) |joanne@warresisters.org

LaFrank, Kathleen (PARKS)

From: Megan Springate <meganspringate@gmail.com>
Sent: Wednesday, December 02, 2015 1:46 PM
To: LaFrank, Kathleen (PARKS)
Subject: Bayard Rustin NR Nomination

Dear Ms. LaFrank,

I am writing in whole-hearted support of the Bayard Rustin National Register Nomination written by Mr. Mark Meinke. Rustin, a relatively openly gay man, has had an important impact on American history, particularly in his role as advisor to MLK. His importance has been largely overlooked, though his contributions have recently begun to be acknowledged. This National Register nomination is a key piece in recognizing Rustin's role in the Civil Rights movement and twentieth century American history.

I support this nomination moving forward in the process to becoming listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

Best regards,
Megan Springate

UIC COLLEGE OF
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO LIBERAL ARTS & SCIENCES

December 1, 2015

Gender and Women's Studies (MC 360)
Room 1208, University Hall
601 South Morgan Street
Chicago, Illinois 60607-7107

To the National Park Service:

I am writing in support of the application to have the residence of Bayard Rustin included in the National Register of Historic Places. I am Emeritus Professor of History and Gender & Women's Studies at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Among the 10 books that I have written or edited is *Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin*, an award-winning biography that I spent a dozen years researching and writing.

Bayard Rustin was, without question, one of the most important social justice activists of the mid-twentieth century. Based in the United States, his work and influence extended across four continents. Rustin is arguably more responsible than anyone for bringing Gandhian nonviolent methods of activism to the United States. He personally tutored Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in Gandhian methods; created the plans for what became the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and played a key role in strategizing Dr. King's emergence as a national leader. As chief organizer of the 1963 March on Washington, he deserves the credit for its stature as an iconic event in U.S. history. Rustin also organized globally to stop the atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons. He was a key figure in building the movement that created the pressure leading successfully to international treaties to end such a destructive and dangerous practice. Rustin also brought issues of economic equality into the heart of the African American freedom struggle. In the later years of his life, he became a voice for fair and generous treatment of refugees displaced by war in Asia and Africa. And, he accomplished all this as an individual known to be gay during the decades when the oppression of LGBT people was unrelenting.

Rustin lived the last twenty-five years of his life in Apartment 9J of Building 7 of the Penn South Complex in the Chelsea section of Manhattan. Much of his most significant work for a more just and equitable society and world was done while he was living there. The links between his work and his residence are highlighted by the fact that the Penn South Complex was built by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and Rustin was a strong supporter of trade unions and their mission to increase economic equity.

Despite Rustin's extraordinary accomplishments, his life and work remain unfamiliar to most Americans. Placing his residence on the National Register of Historic Places will be an important and welcome step in giving more recognition and visibility to this extraordinary life.

Respectfully yours,

John D'Emilio

John D'Emilio
Emeritus Professor, University of Illinois at Chicago

Mark Meinke
10702 Norman Avenue
Fairfax, VA 22030
Email: mwmeinke@gmail.com

December 1, 2015

New York State Board for Historic Preservation
New York State Historic Preservation Office
P O Box 189
Waterford, NY 12188

Dear Sirs:-

It gives me great pleasure to know that the Board is considering landmark status for the Bayard Rustin home at 430 West 28th Street, New York City, NY. This is a site richly meriting such recognition, as is New York's long-term resident Bayard Taylor Rustin.

Rustin's contribution to social and racial justice movements in New York State and in the United States cannot be overestimated. Though often sidelined at the time of his achievements by those uncomfortable with his homosexuality, Bayard Rustin, gay African American Quaker resident of New York City, is recognized nationally not merely for his role in achieving the 1963 March for Jobs and Freedom in Washington, DC but for his seminal role in bringing a commitment to nonviolent direct action to the national movements for racial and social justice. Rustin is recognized now for his founding role in the Congress for Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the A. Philip Randolph Institute. The 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s would have been a very different landscape without him. Rustin's home on West 28th became his home and in many ways his operational center from 1962 until the end of his life.

On the international stage, Rustin's peace activism involved him in worldwide campaign against atmospheric nuclear testing and in favor of disarmament. He brought nonviolent direct tactics to decolonization campaigns in sub-Saharan Africa and in Asia. He was a tireless campaigner on behalf of refugees worldwide and in support of democratizing initiatives in Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America.

I trust that the Board will grant the recognition the site so richly deserves.

Sincerely,

Mark Meinke
Co-founder Rainbow Heritage
Founder Rainbow History Project, Chair (2000 to 2010)


330/340 West 28th Street

061-01-0439

L

NEW YORK STATE HISTORIC TRUST
STATEWIDE SURVEY OF HISTORIC SITES AND BUILDINGS

1. Name (Common and Historic) Church of the Holy Apostles

Location 2. ~~Manhattan~~ NY (County) 3. _____ (Town) 4. New York (Village or City)

5. Address or Location 300 9th Ave

6. Type Classic Italian 7. Subject or Theme Religious Architecture

8. Date of Construction 1848 9. Architect (If Known) R. Upjohn
Winard LaFevre

10. Builder (If known) _____

11. Original Owner _____

12. Original Use Church

13. Present Owner _____
Name

_____
Address

14. Present Use _____

15. Physical Condition _____

16. Surveys _____

17. Future Action _____

18. Surveyed by _____
Date Surveyed

History and Significance:

Sources of Information: AIA, p 87
N.J. Landmarks, pp 110, 111, 372

Photograph: Date

Direction of View

Map Location:
GS Coordinates

N
↑

Landmarks Preservation Commission
October 19, 1966, Number 3
LP-0231

CHURCH OF THE HOLY APOSTLES, 300 Ninth Avenue at West 28th Street, Borough of Manhattan. Begun 1846, completed 1848; architect Minard Lafever; Transepts, 1858; architect Richard Upjohn & Son.

Landmark Site: Borough of Manhattan Tax Map Block 751, Lot 76.

On April 12, 1966, the Landmarks Preservation Commission held a public hearing on the proposed designation as a Landmark of the Church of the Holy Apostles and the proposed designation of the related Landmark Site. (Item No. 13). The hearing had been duly advertised in accordance with the provisions of law. Four witnesses spoke in favor of designation, including the Reverend Robert M. C. Griswold, pastor of the Church. There were no speakers in opposition to designation.

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

The outstanding feature of the Church of the Holy Apostles is its very handsome spire which is enhanced by unusual detail. In its relatively small size and in the context of its modern environment, the scale of Lafever's tower and spire is particularly fortunate. While being the dominant feature of the Church, it provides a valuable relief and contrast to the large housing units which surround it, and the small Church holds its own among these high apartment buildings. The transition between the square brick tower and the copper clad octagonal steeple is skillfully made by arched pediments. The brick walls of the building provide a handsome wall surface which is enhanced by the round-arched windows. Bull's-eye windows in the tower beneath the arched pediments are a notable detail. The simplicity, boldness and strong rhythm of this composition set off the unusually large steeple to great advantage.

Minard Lafever's work is found elsewhere in New York, and he was especially distinguished in the Greek and Gothic Revival styles. This handsome Church, on the other hand,is interesting for here he introduced classic Italian elements on the exterior and the interior displays a Tuscan order and groin vaults. It is a tribute to Lafever's versatility that this Church, though quite unlike his other buildings in style, has its own impressive quality of elegance.

The cornerstone of the Church was laid in 1846, and the building was initially completed in 1848. However, in 1854 the Church was enlarged by extending it twenty-four feet eastward while retaining its rectangular plan. Further enlargements were made in 1858 when transepts, designed by Charles Babcock of Richard Upjohn & Son, were added. Another major alteration was made in 1908 when the wooden spire was covered with slate and the belfry clad in copper above the square brick tower.

This Church is notable for the distinguished rectors who served it. Robert Shaw Howland, the second rector, founded the Church of the Heavenly Rest on Fifth Avenue, while Robert Lewis Paddock, the liberal rector who served there in the early nineteen hundreds, was destined to leave the Church to become Missionary Bishop of Eastern Oregon. The thiry year rectorship of Lucius A. Edelblute was notable for his consolidation of the Church during trying times and for his writing the definitive history of the Church.

FINDINGS AND DESIGNATIONS

On the basis of a careful consideration of the history, the architecture and other features of this building, the Landmarks Preservation Commission finds that the Church of the Holy Apostles has a special character, special historical and aesthetic interest and value as part of the development, heritage and cultural characteristics of New York City.

The Commission further finds that, among its important qualities, the Church of the Holy Apostles represents an unusual architectural design, produced by a notable architect, at an early period, contemporary with Trinity Church, that it has a handsome Italian Renaissance interior while the exterior displays an original and interesting combination of elements and that it has provided a fitting and dignified home for its congregation for over one hundred years.

Accordingly, pursuant to the provisions of Chapter 8-A of the Charter of the City of New York and Chapter 8-A of the Administrative Code of the City of New York, the Landmarks Preservation Commission designates as a Landmark the Church of the Holy Apostles, 300 Ninth Avenue at West 28th Street, Borough of Manhattan and designates Tax Map Block 751, Lot 76, Borough of Manhattan, as its Landmark Site.

LAMARTINE PLACE HISTORIC DISTRICT

Designation Report

NYC Landmarks Preservation Commission

October 13, 2009

Cover photograph: North side of West 29th Street, Christopher D. Brazee, 2009

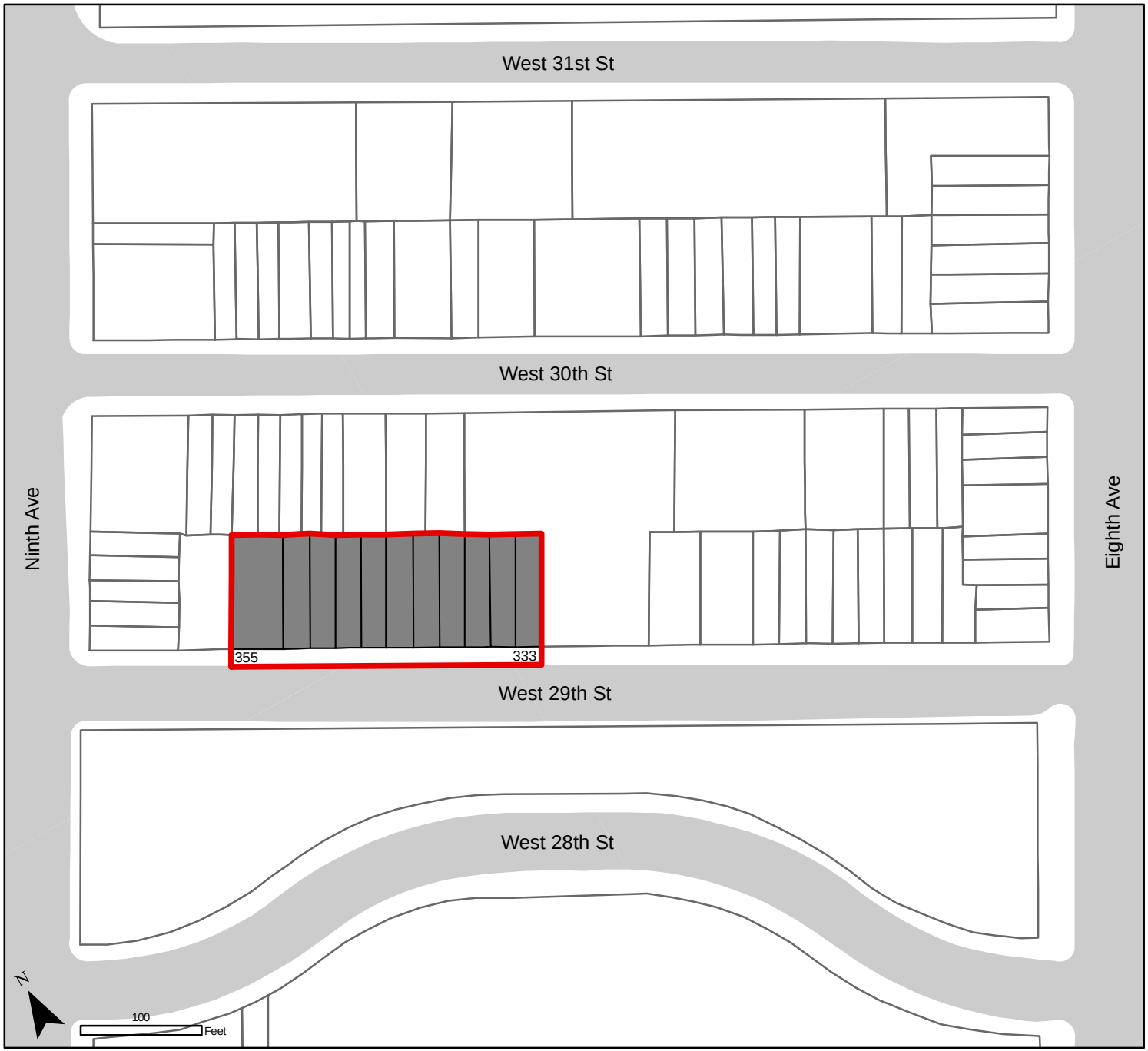
Lamartine Place Historic District
Designation Report

Prepared by Virginia Kurshan and Theresa Noonan

Edited by Mary Beth Betts, Director of Research

Photographs by Christopher D. Brazee
Map by Jennifer L. Most

Lamartine Place Historic District



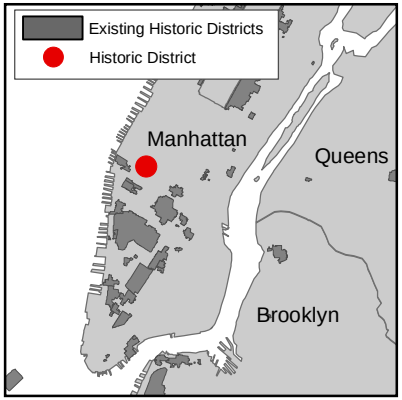
Lamartine Place
Historic District
Borough of Manhattan, NY
Landmarks Preservation Commission

Calendared: December 16, 2008
Public Hearing: January 13, 2009
Designation: October 13, 2009

Boundary of Historic District

Tax Map Lots in Historic District

NYC™
Landmarks Preservation Commission



Graphic Source: MapPLUTO, Edition 06C, 2006. October 15, 2009. OTK.

Landmarks Preservation Commission
October 13, 2009, Designation List 419
LP-2324

LAMARTINE PLACE HISTORIC DISTRICT

Testimony at the Public Hearing

On January 13, 2009 the Landmarks Preservation Commission held a public hearing on the proposed designation of the Lamartine Place Historic District (Item No. 3). The hearing was duly advertised according to the provisions of Law. There were 23 speakers in favor of designation including representatives of Council Speaker Christine Quinn, Borough President Scott Stringer, Assemblyman Richard Gottfried, and numerous individuals and representatives of civic organizations.[1] There were no speakers in opposition. The Commission has also received a statement of support from State Senator Thomas Duane and numerous petitions and letters in support of designation.

Boundary Description

The Lamartine Place Historic District consists of an area bounded by a line beginning at the southeast corner of the lot of No. 333 West 29th Street, extending northerly along the eastern side of the lot to the northern property line of No. 333 West 29th Street, then extending westerly along the northern property lines of No. 333 to No. 355 West 29th Street, then extending southerly along the western property line of No. 355 West 29th Street, to the southern curb line of West 29th Street, then easterly along the southern curb line in front of Nos. 355 to No. 333 West 29th Street, to a point in said curb line formed by a line extending southerly from the eastern property line of No. 333 West 29th Street, then northerly across the sidewalk, to the point of beginning.

[1] Speakers at the public hearing included representatives of Save Chelsea, Friends of Lamartine Place, the Real Estate Board of New York, the Chelsea Reform Democratic Club, the Landmarks Conservancy, Community Board 4, the Metropolitan Chapter of the Victorian Society in America, the Historic Districts Council, the Municipal Art Society, the Four Borough Preservation Alliance, and the Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation. Letters in support of designation were read from the Mt. Morris Park Community Development Corporation, the Society of Friends, 15th Street Meeting, a descendent of Abigail Gibbons, the Society for the Architecture of the City and several individuals.

Summary

The Lamartine Place Historic District, on the north side of West 29th Street between 8th and 9th Avenues is an intact group of twelve buildings that have a strong link to an important and dramatic period of the city's history and also have a close association with several important individuals who had a significant impact on 19th century New York. Constructed in the mid 19th century, these buildings were part of a block-long row created by developers William Torrey and Cyrus Mason. As part of the development they also built a small park on the south side of the street, making the row quite desirable and attracting a number of influential New Yorkers. Among the most prominent were Abby and James Sloan Gibbons. Important abolitionists in the period before the Civil War, their house was used as a meeting place for influential people in the movement and as a documented stop on the Underground Railroad, where they helped escaping slaves get to Canada. The house was attacked and burned during the Draft Riots of 1863. Their house at No. 339 West 29th Street is one of the very few extant sites to be associated with the pivotal events of those days. While this building was the prime target of the rioters on this block, other houses in the row played an important role in these events. Abby Gibbons's sister and her family lived at No. 335 Lamartine Place and members of the Hopper family took refuge there during the attack. Two of Abby and John Gibbons' daughters escaped the fire and mob by climbing over neighboring roofs to a waiting carriage on Ninth Avenue, descending through the house at No. 355. Although the houses in the row have experienced alterations over time, this small group of houses continues to exist as the city changes around them.

Chelsea remained primarily rural until the middle of the 19th century and even after development the character varied widely from block to block. The Gibbons family was perhaps attracted to this area because of the variety of people who lived in the neighborhood. While some streets (such as Lamartine Place) were developed with substantial rowhouses geared toward upwardly striving middle-class families, a block to the west, near the Hudson River, there were factories and tenements for their workers. To the east of Lamartine Place was a small community of free African-Americans who had settled there during the first half of the 19th century. After the Civil War, the area west and north of 23rd Street and Fifth Avenue evolved into an entertainment district, with restaurants, theaters and early nickelodeons. It seems to have attracted bohemians, artists and free-thinkers, and a small French expatriate community developed in the area during the early 20th century.

During much of the 20th century, Chelsea became less desirable. With the construction of Pennsylvania Station just to the north, in the first two decades, more factories and warehouses located nearby and residential units were taken over by less affluent residents. The dilapidated houses south of Lamartine Place were demolished in the early 1960s and replaced by the towers of Penn South, overshadowing the small houses on West 29th Street. In spite of these changes, this district has remained an enclave in the changing city and has survived as a rare extant physical reminder of a dramatic and unfortunate chapter in the city's history.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF LAMARTINE PLACE HISTORIC DISTRICT

Development of Greater Chelsea Neighborhood[2]

Although prior to the arrival of European fur traders and the Dutch West India Company, Manhattan and much of the modern-day tri-state area was populated by bands of Native Americans from the Lenape tribe, there were no indications of Native American habitation in the Chelsea area.[3] In the late 18th century, as the city of New York began to grow northward along the east side of Manhattan, the section that would become Chelsea remained rural, with small farms and large estates providing the only suggestion of future settlement.[4]

Thomas Clarke, who had served the king of England in the French and Indian War was given 94 acres of land on the western side of Manhattan, north of Greenwich Village. He built a large house near what became 9th Avenue and 23rd Street, naming his estate Chelsea, which was an old soldier's retreat in England. After his death, his wife and later his son and then his grandson inherited the property.[5] His grandson, Clement Clarke Moore extended the family holdings as far north as approximately 28th Street[6] and was the owner of the estate when the Commissioners' Plan was unveiled in 1811, laying out the street grid that would promote development and growth throughout Manhattan.

Clement Clarke Moore, whose father (Benjamin Moore) was president of Columbia College, received an advanced degree there in 1801. He inherited the estate in 1809, living the life of the landed gentleman, enjoying his extensive property, and dabbling in politics through the writing of several political pamphlets, as well as the first American-produced lexicon of the Hebrew language. As the owner of a large estate, Moore held slaves at this time. In 1819 he donated the land between 8th and 9th Avenues, 20th and 21st Streets for the construction of a campus for the General Theological Seminary (where he later became a professor of Oriental and Greek literature).[7]

When Moore realized that development would come to his extensive lands whether he wanted it or not, he decided to try to control it. In 1822 he teamed with James N. Wells, whom he had met when the latter was a young carpenter in the neighborhood. Wells helped Moore develop Chelsea, devising property restrictions for Moore's projects that required tree planting and mandated no stables or rear buildings. These details suggest that Moore was trying to create a first-class residential district.[8] A newspaper article in 1846 confirmed this, stating, "The

---

[2] The part of Manhattan that is defined as Chelsea is generally thought to include the area bordered by the Hudson River on the west, 6th Avenue on the east, 14th Street on the south and 30th Street on the north, about one square mile.

[3] Historical Perspectives, Inc. and The Louis Berger Group, *Archaeological Documentary Study No. 7 Line Extension/ Hudson Yards Rezoning* (April 13, 2004), III, A-1-6.

[4] One reason the development moved up the east side earlier was because the East River was salt water and did not freeze, thus allowing shipping all year long.

[5] And rebuilt the house after a fire.

[6] See John Bute Holmes, City Surveyor, Map of the Franklin & Robinson, Janet DeKay, Henry Eckford, Mary Clarke and Clement C. Moore Estates, 1869, New York Public Library Map Collection.

[7] Samuel White Patterson, *The Poet of Christmas Eve, The Life of Clement Clarke Moore* (New York: Morehouse-Gorham, Co., 1956), 44-77.

[8] Christopher Gray, "Home of the Man Who Planned Chelsea," *The New York Times* (Oct. 20, 1996).

arrangements made by the original proprietors of the land in that quarter are such that no building can be erected for any purpose which will make the neighborhood disagreeable, and it is becoming a favorite place of residence."[9]

In 1825, the entire population of New York numbered 166,000 and very few people lived north of 14th Street.[10] Gradually however, the west side of Manhattan began attracting residents, many of them new immigrants looking for less expensive places to live. "By 1830 a community had developed near the General Theological Seminary, around Chelsea Square: many of them tenants of Clement Moore's."[11] There were enough people in the area by 1831 to organize St. Peter's Church, and complete its building by 1836-7.[12]

During the boom years of the early 1830s, development moved north in Manhattan at an unprecedented pace. It was temporarily stopped by the Panic of 1837, but continued again by the early 1840s. The population exploded, due in large part to extensive immigration from Europe. As numerous Irish immigrants moved into the Five Points district in lower Manhattan, that neighborhood's black residents were forced northward. A small African-American community was established west of 6th Avenue, between 26th and 30th Streets.[13] Commercial activity also moved into previously residential areas, forcing residential growth northward. Major development began in Chelsea.

Throughout the city, speculators began to build long rows of townhouses for well-to-do businessmen.[14] The first such development in Chelsea, begun in 1845, was London Terrace, constructed on the north side of 23rd Street between 9th and 10th Avenues. This large-scale, continuous row followed precedents that already existed on the Lower East Side and in Greenwich Village, as developers attempted to emulate the elegant and uniform rows or terraces that had been constructed in London's fashionable neighborhoods since the 18th century, and display New Yorkers' growing wealth and good taste. The first such group in New York was on Bleecker Street, one block south of fashionable Bond Street, between Mercer and Greene Streets. Builder Isaac G. Pearson constructed two rows of fine houses on both sides of the street in1826 and named them for Jacob LeRoy. Built in a simple Federal style with showy granite fronts, these houses were set back a uniform distance from the street and provided with small front yards, making the street feel wider and giving it a sense of grandeur.[15] This development was followed by Depau Row, built in 1829-30 by merchant Francis Depau, and the Greek Revival style Colonnade Row built in 1832-3 and attributed to Seth Greer.[16]

By the 1830s, New Yorkers began to admire the regularity of these developments over the unplanned warren of streets that had previously existed. Wide and straight streets with

---

[9] *Evening Post* (April 2, 1846) reported in I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909* (New York: Robert Dodd, 1928) v. 5, 1797.

[10] Thomas Janvier, *In Old New York* (New York: Harper & Bros. Publ., 1894), 81.

[11] Patterson, 98.

[12] Clement Moore was major contributor to its new building.

[13] Edwin G. Burrows & Mike Wallace, *Gotham, A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 854.

[14] Charles Lockwood, *Bricks and Brownstone, The New York Rowhouse 1783-1929* (New York: Rizzoli Int'l Publ., 2003), 77. In 1847 there were 1,823 row houses completed in New York.

[15] Lockwood, 42.

[16] These houses were called "the most imposing and magnificent" houses in the city. The four surviving houses in the row, also known as LaGrange Terrace, are a designated New York City Landmark.

sidewalks became very desirable. By subordinating the individual house to the unity of the streetscape developers were able to group standard-size houses to create a complex of grand scale. "By the 1850s, the monumental streetscape was a stated goal in fine New York streets."[17]

London Terrace (emulating these existing rows) was a group of 81 houses all set behind small front yards and unified by a double-height colonnade. Designated a "Millionaire's Row," its first residents included merchants,[18] city officials, lawyers, diplomats, doctors, clergy and landed gentry.[19] This row was the first effort of developers William Torrey and Cyrus Mason, who had leased the land from Clement Moore.[20] After this, developers Torrey and Mason did other work in Chelsea, including the Chelsea Cottages on the south side of 24th Street, a group of houses with picturesque bow-fronts providing a "countrified air." These two men were also the initial developers of Franklin Terrace, a group of buildings off 26th Street, near 9th Avenue.[21]

By 1852, the city's population north of 28th Street was about 40,000 people, housed in widely scattered buildings.[22] The character of the developing Chelsea neighborhood seemed to change from block to block. While Torrey and Mason were creating a wealthy enclave on 23rd Street, the Hudson Railroad laid tracks along 10th and 11th Avenues (in 1847), bringing light industry to the area. Factories were locating west of 10th Avenue and those who worked in them settled in tenements nearby. Gradually more and more of the marshy land west of 10th Avenue was filled in, creating more inexpensive land that became home to many of the city's recent immigrants, including a large group of Irish workers. The city's first stagecoach line, begun in 1838, ran up Broadway from South Ferry to 23rd Street and then to 9th Avenue, increasing Chelsea's accessibility. Large estate houses began to give way to smaller homes built along the newly-opened streets. The Episcopal Church of the Holy Apostles was started in the neighborhood to serve the burgeoning population of émigrés from the British Isles who were settling in the area.[23]

Although much of Chelsea was developed with an eye toward wealthy and middle-class families, they did not stay long in the area and less-affluent, often Irish-Catholic families took

---

[17] Lockwood, 79. One of the finest rows was located on the north side of Washington Square, Nos. 1-13 Washington Square North, built as The Row and begun in 1831. This was composed of thirteen rowhouses in the Greek Revival style with fluted Doric columns on front porches and Greek motifs on the continuous iron fences that faced the street. They were very opulent and grand with a continuous cornice line and regularly-spaced doors and windows, creating an impressive streetscape.

[18] Residents included Samuel Lord, who became the senior partner in the dry goods establishment, Lord & Taylor. Patterson, 107.

[19] Robert Baral, *Turn West on 23rd A Toast to New York's Old Chelsea* (New York: Fleet Publ. Co., 1965), 110. While much of Chelsea was in decline, London Terrace remained a desirable residential address. In 1897, one of its residents was Charles de Kay, a former American consul General in Berlin and by then serving as art critic for *The New York Times*. London Terrace continued to be "one of the most outstanding residential areas in New York."

[20] Lucy Gibbons Morse, *Rachel Stanwood, A Story of the Middle of the Nineteenth Century* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1894). The author noted that the setbacks showed Moore's influence on this type of development.

[21] This group of seven houses faced a private street that extended south from 26th Street and was considerably remodeled in 1925 and later demolished to make way for the Penn South Houses in the 1960s. "Old Chelsea District To Have a Pomander Walk," *Real Estate Record & Guide* v. 115 (May 30, 1925), 4; and "Manhattan's Little Streets and Alleys Reminders of Simple and Earlier Days," *New York Times* (Dec. 15, 1912).

[22] Lucius A. Edelblute, M.A., *The History of the Church of the Holy Apostles, 1844-1944* (New York: Rev. Lucius A. Edelblute, 1949), 66.

[23] Edelbute, 11, 15, 44. In 1845 Robert Ray and John King donated land on 28th Street and 9th Avenue to build a permanent home for the church.

their places.[24] A quote from a local newspaper in 1855 stated: "Recent neighborhood changes had not helped make Chelsea the court end of town. Tongues very different from English were heard on its streets."[25]

William Torrey and Cyrus Mason

William Torrey (1789-1891)[26] was born in New York and descended from the Torrey family who came from Somersetshire, England in 1590 and settled in Massachusetts. The developer's father, who served in the Revolutionary War, was also William Torrey. The father acted as agent of the state prison in Greenwich Village and from 1808-11 served as Alderman of New York's 6th District. A younger brother, John Torrey (1796-1873), became a famous botanist who wrote several comprehensive compendia of plants in New York and in North America.

In 1821 William Torrey married Adeline Whittemore,[27] whose family owned substantial property near Lakehurst, New Jersey and passed it to him upon their marriage. Torrey's early business ventures included importing hardware with the firm of Gillett & Torrey and later acting as agent for the London financial firm of Timothy Wiggen & Co.

Torrey also purchased a large property near Manchester, New Jersey where he built his family's home and helped develop the town. Since there was iron ore on the property, he used it to form and lay down railroad tracks to connect the area with the coast so that charcoal and timber could be shipped from Tom's River, New Jersey. This railroad became the Raritan and Delaware Bay Railroad Company and was later used to carry Union troops during the Civil War.

Torrey was an active Presbyterian, helping to found several churches, including the West Presbyterian on 42nd Street. It was perhaps this religious connection that led Torrey to Cyrus Mason, an ordained minister who was born and later held a ministry in Rensselaer County.[28] He came to New York to serve the Cedar Street Church where he was the minister between 1826 and 1835.[29] At that time he resigned to become the principal of the Grammar School of New York University. That institution was founded in 1831 as the University of the City of New York by a group of ministers and laymen of Presbyterian and Dutch Reform persuasion (including

---

[24] Edelbute, 97. The Episcopal Church felt their loss and counted only 331 Episcopal residents between 26th and 36th Street, from 8th Avenue west to the river.

[25] Patterson, 155.

[26] Information about William Torrey was compiled from: "William Torrey," *New York Times* (June 17, 1891), 4; William Torrey, "Reminiscences of Old New York," *Adam's Magazine* v.2 (1892) and genealogy data from http://www.johnsteelefordon.com/genealogy/n_0.html, accessed 5/26/2009.

[27] Research has not revealed whether Torrey or his family owned slaves.

[28] Information about Mason's life is unclear. Much of the information in the report comes from his obituary "Death of Prof. Cyrus Mason," *The Daily Picayune* (June 10, 1865), 2. However, B.B. Edwards and W. Cogswell, *The American Quarterly Register* vol. 12 (Boston: Perkins & Marvin, 1840), 270, state that Mason was born in Nassau, NY in 1799 and graduated from Union College. This publication says that he served the Cedar Street Church from 1835 until 1836 and that he resigned because of ill health, but other documents show his association with the church differently. Research has not revealed whether Mason owned slaves.

[29] According to the church history found on the website of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, http://www.fapc.org/index.php/about-us/our-church/history, accessed on June 11, 2009, the Church in Cedar Street was founded at that address in 1808, with Dr. Romeyn serving as its first pastor. Gabriel P. Disosway, A.M., *The Earliest Churches of New York and Its Vicinity* (New York: James G. Gregory, 1865), 161, says that Dr. Romeyn died in 1825 and Mason then became pastor of this church. During his ministry the congregation moved from Cedar Street to an elegant marble church on Duane Street. It was in 1875 that this congregation moved to 55th Street and Fifth Avenue, changing its name to the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church.

Cyrus Mason) who wanted to create an alternative to Columbia College which was an Episcopal stronghold.[30] Mason also served as professor of philosophy and religion at NYU and authored several books about religion, including a well-known volume about the Spanish Inquisition. He was active in various institutions in the city, and served as the treasurer of The New-York Historical Society, vice-president of the American Agricultural Association and secretary of the Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge.[31] According to his obituary, he "took much interest in forwarding the views of Democracy, his talents, learning and industry enabling him to exercise no inconsiderable influence on the public mind."[32]

Development of Lamartine Place

Early in the 19th century, well before development reached the area, Cornelius Ray[33] acquired several tracts of land for an estate, just to the north of the Clement Moore property, bounded generally by 8th Avenue on the east and the Hudson River on the west. The northern border ran somewhat north of West 30th Street and the southern boundary incorporated the northern side of West 28th Street, moving south toward West 27th Street, near 8th Avenue.[34] Ray built an estate house near the west side of 9th Avenue and 28th Street, which was "probably the finest of the private houses along the avenue."[35] Upon his death in 1827, Ray bequeathed the land to his sons Robert and Richard Ray and his daughter Mary King who began to divide it into lots in 1833.

In 1846 developers Cyrus Mason and William Torrey, proceeding from their work farther south in the expanding Chelsea neighborhood, purchased all the lots on the north side of West 29th Street between 8th and 9th Avenues from the Cornelius Ray estate.[36] Their goal was to create a unique and highly desirable neighborhood, and to this end they also acquired leases and development rights to other lots on the south side of West 29th Street and on the northern side of West 28th Street.[37] As they began to build and sell houses along the northern side of West 29th Street they apparently created Lamartine Park, running between 28th and 29th Streets, on the eastern half of the block, facing the houses.[38] The two blocks of West 28th and 29th Streets between 8th and 9th Avenues were given distinctive names to distinguish them from the

[30] Burrows & Wallace, 531; and the New York University Charter, published on the school website, http://www.nyu.edu/about/charter.html accessed 3/18/2009.

[31] *Monthly Literary Bulletin*, v. 14, Feb., 1844, 219 lists his position as Treasurer of the New-York Historical Society, and the *New York Herald* (Feb. 3, 1846) , 6, states that he was elected vice-president of the American Agricultural Association in 1846.

[32] *The Daily Picayune*.

[33] It is likely that, as a wealthy landowner, Ray and his family owned slaves, but this has not been confirmed by the research.

[34] Holmes, Map of the Franklin & Robinson, etc. Estates, New York Public Library.

[35] Edelbute, 115.

[36] Torrey's mortgages were assured by his well-known brother James Torrey.

[37] New York County Office of the Register. Liber deeds and conveyances, various.

[38] Lamartine Park does not appear on any official listing of city parks, indicating that the developers created this amenity themselves, as an attraction for the residents of the new neighborhood. The park appears on the 1849-50 Perris & Hutchinson map and the 1857 Dripps map as a rectangle that runs from West 29th Street through the block to West 28th Street, with a symmetrical, formal design featuring a central fountain and eight walkways approaching it from the perimeter.

numbered street grid.[39] West 28th Street was called Fitzroy Place, named for Fitzroy Road that originally ran north from 14th Street to 42nd Street, near 8th Avenue and followed the course of a Native American trail.[40] West 29th Street was named Lamartine Place. This name seems to have been chosen in honor of the French writer and politician Alphonse de Lamartine who played an active role in the French Revolution of 1848, inspiring its participants with his writings and later running for election as the president of France.[41] These names and the park appear on maps from the late 1840s through 1902.[42] Despite the short time of this official designation, it is clear from directories that these were commonly accepted addresses and residents of the streets continued to use the names (instead of street numbers) as their street addresses for many years.

The developers of Lamartine Place were attempting to create a continuous row or terrace as they had done earlier at London Terrace. Torrey and Mason created strict covenants for Lamartine Place to control the type and use of the buildings built there.[43] Then they began to build similar three-story, Greek revival style brick-front rowhouses with consistent height, stoops, and set-backs with front gardens behind iron fences along the lot lines. The developers were trying to create a solid middle-class neighborhood, despite the mixed industrial and other uses on surrounding blocks. Most of the northern side of the block was constructed by 1849; the seven houses toward the western end of the block, Nos. 347-359, were not completed until c.1852. The houses were purchased by individual families within the next few years, fulfilling the developers' original vision for the area. The park across the street lasted until the late 1850s when it was replaced by individual houses.

Among the early owners of houses on the street was Samuel Sinclair who lived at No. 353 Lamartine Place. His wife was a cousin to the outspoken abolitionist Horace Greeley and Sinclair worked for *The Tribune* newspaper and then served as its publisher for over 10 years. No. 341 and later No. 345 were owned by Theodore Martine, a local businessman and Commissioner of Deeds for the City of New York. Nelson Waterbury a noted lawyer, judge and District Attorney for New York owned No. 351 Lamartine Place from 1860 until 1887.

[39] Most 19th century maps give only the street numbers, indicating that these names were not given officially by the city.

[40] Stokes, 1918, 999-1000.

[41] Given Mason's interest in "spreading Democracy" and the intense and wide-spread American interest in the words and actions of M. Lamartine during the political activities of 1847-48 in France, it seems likely that this was the derivation of the name. Lamartine's writings, speeches and activities were followed closely throughout the United States, as evidenced by articles found in newspapers as far-flung as New Orleans, Memphis, and New York.

[42] The latest map identified that shows the name "Lamartine Place" is the *Sanborn Insurance Map of New York*, 1890-1902, v. 5, plate 89.

[43] These covenants are made clear in the original leases.

Abby and James Gibbons[44]

One of the most well-known families to take up residence during the early years of Lamartine Place was that of Abby Hopper Gibbons and James Sloan Gibbons, who resided first at No. 17 and then at No. 18 Lamartine Place. They were dedicated abolitionists and philanthropists who devoted their lives to improving those of other people.

In her obituary, Abby Hopper Gibbons (1801-1893) was called "one of the most remarkable women of this century." She received a traditional Quaker education in the home of her father, Isaac Hopper of Philadelphia. An active and well-known Quaker, Isaac Hopper became legendary for his success in helping escaping slaves achieve their freedom.[45] The Hopper home was known as a "refuge for escaping slaves."[46] "Many a fugitive has been sheltered and forwarded on his journey by them."[47]

Abby was extremely close to her father and helped with his work, both as she was growing up and as an adult. When Isaac Hopper and his second wife moved to New York in 1829, to manage a Quaker bookstore and help publish a Hicksite Quaker newspaper, Abby followed and took charge of a nearby Quaker girls' school.

In 1833, Abby married James Sloan Gibbons (1810-1892), also a Quaker, who had come to Philadelphia from Delaware. The couple lived in Philadelphia until 1835 when they moved to New York and Abby started a small school for African-American children in her home.[48] James Gibbons was a banker, and first worked for the Bank of the State of New York.[49] Then he helped organize and became "head cashier" (equivalent to CFO) at the Ocean Bank.[50] He wrote several books on banking, including *The Banks of New York, their Dealers, the Clearing House and the Panic of 1857* (1859) and *The Public Debt of the United States (1867*). James Gibbons was also involved with Abolitionist causes and gave financial support to the *Anti-Slavery Standard* newspaper.

Abby Gibbons followed her father's example of working diligently for others, and was an extremely capable organizer and leader. Beyond her abolitionist activities, she started and managed numerous philanthropic organizations during her long, productive life, including the German Industrial School to aid homeless children and teach them trades, and the New York Infant Asylum, a home for unwed mothers and orphans, stressing preventive health care.[51] Following her father's example, Abby Gibbons became very involved with prison reform; she

---

[44] Information about Abby and James Gibbons and Isaac Hopper was compiled from the following sources: *Dictionary of American Biography* v.5 (New York: C. Scribner's Son's, 1933), 224, 237, 242; Margaret Hope Bacon, *Abby Hopper Gibbons, Prison Reformer and Social Activist* (Albany, NY: State Univ. of New York Press, 2000); Amy Curtis, *Stories of the Underground Railroad* (Island Workshop Press, 1941); "Mrs. Abby Hopper Gibbons Dead," *New York Times* (Jan 18, 1893), 8; "James Sloan Gibbons," *New York Times* (Oct. 19, 1892), 4; Letters from the Abby Hopper Gibbons collection at Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College; Sarah Hopper Emerson, ed., *The Life of Abby Hopper Gibbons, Told Chiefly Though Her Correspondence* (1897), microfilm.

[45] Bacon, 7.

[46] Emerson, 243.

[47] Emerson, 244.

[48] Bacon, 40-1.

[49] Bacon, 25-9.

[50] Bacon, 70.

[51] Bacon, 147.

made weekly visits to the Tombs prison and became friends with its matron. Each year before Christmas, she and her friends and family created and collected dolls and other toys and treats for the children who were at the poor house on Randall's Island.

In 1844, Isaac Hopper and other reformers started the Prison Association, an organization formed to help released prisoners re-enter society when they had no money or support.[52] The following year, Abby Gibbons and her friends created a Female Department for this group, because they believed the needs of women prisoners should be addressed separately. They founded the Home for Discharged Female Convicts[53] which became the first such halfway house in the world, housing up to 30 women at a time, most of whom had been in prison for crimes related to poverty or the abuse of alcohol. Their efforts were based on the idea that women needed different treatment because of their different natures, not just to equalize the endeavor.[54] In 1854 the Female Department became a separate organization called The Women's Prison Association and Home. Its incorporation was promoted by Isaac Hopper's personal intervention with the legislature in Albany. The building used as its home was later named the Isaac T. Hopper Home, and Abby Gibbons served in its leadership for many years. (The Isaac Hopper Home on Second Avenue is a designated New York City Landmark.)

After the Civil War, Abby Gibbons helped start a "Labor and Aid Society" for returning soldiers and their families.[55] This effort, which lasted only a few years, involved the creation of a laundry to provide jobs for veterans and a nursery and school for their children. In 1873 she became involved in the establishment of the New York Diet Kitchen Association, intended to furnish healthy, nourishing food for the sick and poor, in connection with area dispensaries. Gibbons also became President of the New York Committee for the Prevention of State Regulation of Vice. She was insistent on education for girls and women, and was an early supporter of women's suffrage. Although she was great friends with many of the women advocating and organizing for women's suffrage, she was a devoted Republican and did not attend suffrage conventions after the first one in 1868 because she did not want to be associated with people and activities of the Democratic Pary.[56]

In 1835, when James and Abby Gibbons moved to New York, they first lived in a house in Chelsea, on West 17th Street. In 1851, James Gibbons purchased lots 17 and 64 (No.18 Lamartine Place, now No. 337 West 29th Street, and No. 342 West 30th Street).[57] No alley-way was allowed between the lots, and it is unclear why the lot on West 30th Street was purchased. The Gibbons family lived at No. 337 for only a year and it was at this house that Abby's father, Isaac Hopper died in May of 1852. Later that year, Gibbons purchased the house and lot next door at No. 19 Lamartine Place (now No. 339 West 29th Street).[58] Gibbons sold his original

---

[52] Bacon, 54-5.

[53] This facility was first located at West 4th Street, near 8th Avenue and then moved to 191 10th Avenue, before the group purchased the building on Second Avenue where it continues to exist today.

[54] Bacon, xii.

[55] Emerson. 249-50.

[56] Bacon, xii.

[57] New York County Office of the Register, Liber 569, p.466, recorded April 26, 1851, James Gibbons from Enoch and Clarinda Mettler. Lot 64 faces 30th Street. Both lots are 22 feet wide and close to 100 ft deep. The total purchase price for both lots was $8,750.

[58] New York County Office of the Register, Liber 608, p. 152, recorded June 4, 1852, James Gibbons from William Young for $8,500.

purchase, lot 17, to Samuel Underhill in 1853[59] and lot 64 to Dervitt Grinnell in 1854.[60] Possibly in response to some financial difficulties, James Gibbons sold lot 16 in 1858, to his brother-in-law John Hopper, Abby's brother.[61] The family continued to live there however, and apparently resumed ownership at some later, unrecorded date.

A few years later, the Gibbons family was joined on West 29th Street by relatives. Abby Gibbons' sister, Rachel Brown, along with her husband Samuel and their young adult children Sarah and Samuel rented the home of Erastus Lyman at No. 17 Lamartine Place for one year, beginning May 12, 1863.[62]

Abby and James Gibbons and the Civil War

In the years before the Civil War, Abby and James Gibbons worked to end slavery and help it victims. Following the example of Isaac Hopper, Abby and James Gibbons made their home an established stop on the Underground Railroad for slaves trying to get to Canada. There were often several escaping slaves in residence, or passing through, and they were given whatever aid they needed. This fact was confirmed by several sources, including a handwritten account of an escaping slave in 1855 that noted, "They were served (?) at the house of J.S. Gibbons."[63] Additionally, several entries from the letters of their family friend Joseph Choate verify this, including this one:

> The house of Mrs. Gibbons was a great resort of abolitionists and extreme antislavery people from all parts of the land, as it was one of the stations of the Underground Railroad by which fugitive slaves found their way from the South to Canada. I have dined with that family in company with William Lloyd Garrison, and sitting at the table with us was a jet-black negro who was on his way to freedom. …[64]

Many years later, one of their daughters, Lucy Gibbons Morse wrote a thinly-disguised novel in which she essentially describes her home and family, likely based on her own experience.

> Ten years or thereabouts before our civil war, in the city of New York, in one of the cross streets between Ninth and Tenth avenues, Twelfth and Twentieth streets, there was a row of six three-story, red brick houses with green blinds, high doorways, and small, neat grass plots in front. The houses were numbered from 264 to 272…There were no other trees on the block, the main part of which was

[59] New York County Office of the Register, Liber 628, p. 551.

[60] New York County Office of the Register, Liber 667, p. 327, recorded August 25, 1854.

[61] New York County Office of the Register, Liber 765, p.314, recorded September 28, 1858. Purchase price was $11,750.

[62] Gibbons collection at Friends Historical Library, Box 3: folder 162. In Julia's letter to her mother, dated April, 1863, she states: "The most interesting news at present is that Uncle Samuel has sold his house and has rented the Lyman's (No. 17 Lamartine Place, now No. 335 West 29th Street) here on this block for one year with the privilege of keeping it for 3 years."

[63] Sydney Howard Gay, *Record of Fugitives* (slaves) v.p. 1855-58, 2 vol. (in bound notebooks in the collection of Columbia University).

[64] Edward Sanford Martin, *The Life of Joseph Hodges Choate, As Gathered Chiefly from his Letters* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), 99.

> occupied by vacant lots and lumber yards. Along Tenth Avenue, where the Hudson River Railroad ran, was a row of irregular buildings with shabby stores on the ground floor. …No. 268 was the home of a Quaker family named Stanwood…They were among the most liberal even of the liberals of the Hicksite Quakers…and principally they were abolitionists. Their house was a regular station on the Underground Railroad, being one of the safest and best refuges in the city for runaway slaves…[65]

Many people active in the anti-slavery movement were frequent guests at the house on Lamartine Place, including (as mentioned above) the outspoken newspaper publisher William Lloyd Garrison, the Grimke sisters, Lydia Child, and Charles Burleigh. During the Anti-Slavery Convention held in New York in 1865, Abby Gibbons extended her well-known hospitality to house as many people as she could, including blacks. The convention participants who stayed with the Gibbons family included African-American leaders Robert and Harriet Purvis.[66] Horace Greeley, the well-known abolitionist and editor of the *Tribune* newspaper, also stayed at the Gibbons home.[67] It is also documented that John Brown spent a morning with Abby Gibbons in October, 1859, and told her of his plans for Harpers Ferry. She sympathized with him, but told no one.[68]

The members of the Gibbons family were staunch Republicans who supported the Civil War as something that needed to happen in order to free the slaves. When President Lincoln sent out a call for 300,000 more soldiers for the Union Army in July, 1862, James Gibbons responded by writing the poem, "Three Hundred Thousand More."[69] This became a song, which begins "We are coming, Father Abraham, Three hundred thousand more…" It was first published in the *Evening Post* on July 16, 1862 and became very popular because of its rhythm and the patriotism it expressed. As a further show of the family's support, when the Emancipation Proclamation was delivered on January 1, 1863, the Gibbons' daughters hung bunting in their windows to celebrate. This led to an attack on their house by opponents of emancipation in New York.[70]

When the war began Abby Gibbons and her oldest daughter Sarah (Sally) went to Washington to visit army hospitals.[71] She and Sarah cooked for the injured soldiers and helped them write letters home. They stayed on for four years, rarely coming home for visits, and followed the troops through a series of different field hospitals. Because of her diplomacy and organizational skills, Gibbons was eventually placed in charge of the hospital at Point Lookout, in the southern tip of Maryland. While there, she organized the hospital and its nurses to run more smoothly and also undertook protection and aid for escaping slaves who had made it that

---

[65] Lucy Gibbons Morse, *Rachel Stanwood, A Story of the Middle of the Nineteenth Century* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflen, & Co., 1894), 1-2.

[66] Bacon, 130.

[67] Bacon, 133.

[68] This fact was noted in both Bacon, 83 and Emerson, 261.

[69] Bacon, 98.

[70] Iver Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots, Their Significance for American Society and Politics in the Age of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1990), 25.

[71] Margaret Hope Bacon, "Abby Hopper Gibbons and Prison Reform," Pendle Hill Lecture, May 14, 2001.

far in their journey.[72] While she was away, James Gibbons remained active in the Freedman's Association.[73]

Draft Riots

In March 1863, Congress passed the "Act for Enrolling and Calling Out the National Forces" (the draft) to increase the federal armed forces that were severely strained because of ongoing fighting and high rates of desertion. It was the first time the United States had attempted national conscription and the law was opposed by many. Responses to the law varied, with one of the most violent coming from New York. A lottery was held in July that led to four days of rioting in which the streets of New York were taken over by mobs of people who sought to destroy the property of wealthy people and those associated with Lincoln's Republican Party and to harm African-Americans and those linked with them or the abolitionist cause.

The lottery was begun in the first of Manhattan's eight draft districts on Third Avenue and 46th Street, on Saturday, July 11, 1863. After more than 1200 names were picked, the offices were closed for the weekend. The chosen names were published in the city's newspapers on Sunday. Discontent grew as it became clear that the wealthy could buy their way out of the draft with a payment of $300. As Monday dawned the city erupted. Large groups of people began to move out of the slums on the Lower East Side, including the notorious Five Points area, home to some of the city's most aggressive gangs. Many historians have alleged that outside agitators stirred up the crowds and led them toward specific targets.[74] They believe that the groups were too well-organized to exist without outside leadership, as they chopped down telegraph poles and tore up railroad tracks to hinder communication and transportation, cut off approaches to the city, and seized armories and arsenals for their munitions. This activity seemed to suggest that men with ties to the south, known as "Copperheads," were leading the charge. As the crowds moved through the city, they were armed with bats, bricks or small firearms. Their first targets "were the industrial firms that had replaced unskilled white labor with blacks."[75] Some people headed toward draft offices or other sites related specifically to the draft. Swarms of people moved up and down the avenues, holding impromptu gatherings and addresses about the injustice of the draft, while other groups seemed to target specific sources of grievances. The crowds were unhindered by police who had only 800 officers available for the entire city as the trouble began.[76] Army troops were not available either, as most had been sent to Gettysburg at Lincoln's request.

The mobs burned and looted draft offices and stores[77] and attacked and killed policemen. Angry groups approached the mayor's residence as well as the offices of the *Tribune* newspaper, because its publisher, Horace Greeley, was known for his outspoken abolitionist views. As the mobs moved around the city, they looted stores, set fires and attacked any unlucky African-American person who happened to be in their sights. Many blacks were injured or murdered, some tortured and hung. One crowd attacked the Colored Orphan Asylum on Fifth Avenue

[72] Bacon, 106.

[73] Bacon, 97.

[74] Edward Robb Ellis, *The Epic of New York City* (New York: Carroll & Gref Publ., 1966), 299.

[75] Selma Berrol, *The Empire City, New York and Its People 1624-1996* (Westport, CN: Praeger, 1997), 67.

[76] Ellis, 301.

[77] Including Brooks Brothers which had produced army uniforms.

between 43rd and 44th Streets, home to more than 200 children. The mob burned the building down, while most of the residents escaped out the back.

The mayhem continued until army troops began arriving on Wednesday evening. They fought with the rioters throughout Wednesday night, breaking down barricades, storming into houses, bayoneting anyone who got in their way. By Thursday evening, with over 6,000 troops in city, it was over. On Friday omnibuses were running again and laborers returned to work, while repairs to telegraph poles and rail lines began to be made.

By the time the violence was quelled, thousands of people were wounded and hundreds killed, more than 100 buildings were burned to the ground, with about 200 others damaged, and property loss was estimated between $1,500,000 and $5,000,000.[78] Many people, including many African-Americans, fled the city, not to return. The black population in New York dropped by 20% so that in 1865 it numbered only 9,945.[79] "The New York City Draft Riots had been the largest single incident of civil disorder in the history of the United States."[80]

The Draft Riots started, ostensibly, in response to a draft lottery in which wealthy individuals could buy their exemptions, however they turned into a free-for-all in which pent-up hostility toward free blacks and their supporters by working class New Yorkers (especially Irish immigrants)[81] was expressed through destruction of property and attacks and murders of individuals. The riots were the result of a combination of social and demographic issues, including a growing lack of popular support for the Civil War, concern about immigration, the abolition of slavery, the economy and a lack of jobs. Many New York businesses had commercial ties to the South and were reluctant to break them for economic reasons. The events of these days were also a test of Federal power, to see whether the Republicans in Washington could impose a national government on a city with strong Democratic (and Southern) ties. The lack of a functional municipal government, including politicians who encouraged the rioters and a shortage of police and other troops also contributed to the strength and duration of the riot.

The Gibbons Home and the Draft Riots[82]

The Gibbons family was well known for its work in favor of abolition and for supporting Lincoln and the war. It was also common knowledge that Horace Greeley, William Lloyd Garrison and other abolitionists had often been guests at the Gibbons' house.

When the draft riots started in New York on Monday morning, only James Gibbons and his daughter Lucy were at home. Abby Gibbons and her oldest daughter Sarah were still serving

---

[78] Ellis, 315.

[79] Alex Blankfein, "The Causes and Effects of the New York Draft Riots of 1863," on the website http://mapsites.net/gotham/es/_alexblanfein_es.htm, accessed 1/13/2009, and Burrows & Wallace, 897.

[80] Burrows & Wallace, 895.

[81] There was heavy Irish immigration during the mid 19th century in New York. Most people came with no skills and were employed in manual labor, in direct competition to the freed blacks who lived in New York at the time.

[82] In addition to the sources already cited, information on the Draft Riots comes from: *New York Herald Tribune* (July 16, 1863), 8 ; "House at No. 19 Lamartine Place Emptied of its Furniture, Tenanted by Mr. Gibbons, Greeley's cousin," *New York Herald Tribune* (July 15, 1863), 1; Lucy Gibbons Morse, "Recollections of the Draft Riots," August 1927, unpublished manuscript; Hyman Bogen, *The Luckiest Orphans : A History of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum of New York* (Urbana, Il: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1992); Barnet Schecter, *The Devil's Own Work* (New York: Walker & Co., 2005).

at the hospital at Point Lookout, Maryland. Another daughter, Julia, had been visiting her uncle John Hopper and his family in Connecticut but was on her way back to New York.[83]

Because of the previous attack on his home, James Gibbons was concerned by the developing events of the riots. By Tuesday, as rumors about an attack on his property began to circulate, James went back and forth to the Fifth Avenue Hotel to try to get information. He reported the rumors to the police and asked for extra protection but they had no officers to spare. Historian Iver Bernstein called what happened next "one of the most concerted and systematic attacks of the riot week."[84]

When a servant brought back news that the crowd planned to attack the Gibbons and Sinclair houses, James and Lucy Gibbons decided to carry some belongings to their Uncle Samuel Brown's house for safekeeping but James Gibbons was concerned that if anyone saw what they were doing, it would endanger their relatives so they did not pursue this.

When Julia Gibbons returned home on Tuesday afternoon, she and her sister Lucy and their cousin began to move some belongings from their home to their uncle's house by way of the rooftops. By late in the afternoon they had brought one load into the attic of their uncle's house when the crowd appeared on 29th Street, led by two men on horseback. Shouting "Greeley! Gibbons! Greeley! Gibbons!" the crowd moved directly to the Gibbons home as the girls watched from the nearby window.[85] Carrying bricks and bats, the mob broke down the door and windows. They ran into the house and ransacked it, destroying or carrying off everything they could, throwing furniture and household effects out of the windows. In less than an hour, soldiers and militiamen arrived, coming from 8th Avenue, and used their clubs and bayonets to break up the mob, killing and wounding several people. They marched around the block and returned to chase the crowds out of the house again and try to disperse the crowd. After the soldiers left, the rioters regrouped and returned to their looting, setting fire to what was left. Some of the neighbors tried to put the fires out to keep them from spreading. One neighbor, Mr. Wilson, tried to stop the crowds in defense of his own home, but they thought he was Horace Greeley and beat him for his efforts.

While these events were taking place, a friend of the Gibbons family, Joseph Choate, saw smoke coming from the vicinity of their house and became concerned. Once he saw the crowds at the Gibbons' house, he made his way inside, searching for members of the family among the rioters. Finding no one, he went to the nearby home of their relatives, and found the two Gibbons daughters. In order to remove them from the dangerous situation, he went to find a carriage and arranged for it to wait around the corner. He then led the two girls over the rooftops, toward 9th Avenue. They descended through the home of Esther & Henry Herrman at No. 355 West 29th Street[86] and the carriage transported them to the Choate home on West 21st Street.[87] The family stayed there for the next several days.

---

[83] Uncle John Hopper and his wife and son lived on 43rd Street, near 6th Avenue but were spending the summer in Milton, Connecticut at the farm of Isaac Sherman, leaving their aunt at home in Manhattan. On Monday, she came to the Gibbons house on 29th Street to report that the crowd was burning the Colored Orphan Asylum.

[84] Bernstein, 25.

[85] It was widely (although falsely) believed that Greeley was related to the Gibbons family and that he was in residence there.

[86] Lot 8 was sold to Esther Herrman in 1852 (Liber 613, page 570) who owned it until 1884 (Liber 1800, page 454).

[87] Martin, 256. In a letter to his mother, dated 15 July, 1863, Joseph Choate gave a detailed account of what happened. "…Our friends the Gibbonses have lost everything and are at our house. At 5 yesterday afternoon their house was sacked. It was reported that they were Horace Greeley's cousins, and that was cause enough… By merest

Julia Gibbons wrote to her mother at Point Lookout the next day describing what had happened and telling her that she need not come home. As soon as they learned about the riot, Abby and Sarah Gibbons returned to New York anyway. The family moved to Abby's brother John Hopper's house.

Abby Gibbons wrote to her daughter Sarah in August from New York stating that she hoped they could settle their claim on the house by October so they could "have a home then"[88] but she spent the winter supervising the rebuilding of the house. In September, Abby wrote to her friend Dr. Walker of her terrible losses, including her father's bookcase that was his "pet piece of furniture" and had been in her family for over one hundred years, more than 2000 books, her father Isaac Hopper's papers, and some of their son Willie's books and belongings that had special meaning.[89] She wrote that she hoped to get a "snug home in the autumn." She also noted, "Because this calamity has overtaken us is no reason why we should sit with folded hands. I hope we are disposed to seek a renewal of strength, and perform cheerfully the labor assigned to us."

She preferred not to live in the house again, but James thought it was the right thing to do. The Gibbons reported the events to the police and some of the rioters were found to be in possession of some of their broken furniture and were eventually tried for their part in the destruction. Joseph Choate took up a collection among his friends and was able to give the Gibbons $2,750 toward their losses.[90] Eventually the City of New York settled the claims of those victimized by the events of those four days. The Gibbons received $8,500 to rebuild and move back into their house. As a result of the settlement, Abby Gibbons wrote in a letter that "It was now possible to prepare to move."[91]

Their friends and family also chose to move away from Lamartine Place. Abby Gibbons' sister and her husband, Rachel and Samuel Brown, gave up their lease to No.17, and Greeley's cousins, the Sinclair family, took an apartment at London Terrace.[92]

By 1865, the Gibbons family was still in residence on Lamartine Place, although the house was up for sale.

It was not until 1866 that the family settled with the Humboldt Fire Insurance Company and the house could be sold.[93] The Gibbons family then moved to a rented house in West 33rd Street. In 1871 they moved to No. 11 West 44th Street, where they stayed for nine years.[94]

After the war James Gibbons immersed himself in banking and branched out to financing railroads. In 1870, he helped finance the Delaware Railroad and then became its President. For

---

accident, I happened to be in that part of the town just before six, on Broadway, and seeing all eyes turned down West 29th St. went down expecting to see trouble in the negro quarters, between Broadway and Lamartine Place. But there was nothing there, and I went on and found the mob just completing the work of destruction."

[88] Gibbons collection at Friends Historical Library. Letter from Abby to Sally [Sarah] in Box 1, Folder 6, dated August 10, 1863. The house did not sell at that time however.

[89] Gibbons collection at Friends Historical Library. Letter from Abby to Dr. Walker in Boston on Sept. 4th, 1863 thanking him for his concern and offer of housing.

[90] Bacon, 116.

[91] Bacon, 121.

[92] Gibbons collection at Friends Historical Library. Letter from Abby dated August 31, 1865.

[93] The property was conveyed to James C. Carter, (Liber 975, p. 639, May 25, 1866). John Gibbons received $11,000 for the property as a result of an auction held on April 27, 1866.

[94] Bacon, 145.

the first time the family became moderately affluent. Throughout the rest of her long life Abby Gibbons continued her philanthropic efforts.[95]

Chelsea After the Draft Riots

By the 1870s, Chelsea, especially the northern part, had begun a significant decline. The elevated train line, powered by noisy and smelly steam engines, was extended from the Battery along 9th Avenue to 30th Street in the 1870s. The noxious fumes from the el helped to foster "the deterioration of the character of the whole neighborhood"[96] and the residential population continued to shrink. In the 1880s tracks were laid along 28th and 29th Street for horse car lines.[97]

Toward the east, the theater district was moving up Broadway from 14th Street and Chelsea became the next northward stop, with theaters, restaurants and accommodations for visitors, artists and entertainers. From the late 1860s through the 1890s, "much of the city's artistic and social life centered in Chelsea."[98] Some of the well-known establishments located there included Edwin Booth's Theater, near 6th Ave, Proctor's 23rd St. Theater, and Pike's Opera House at 23rd and 8th Avenue. The Fifth Avenue Hotel, the Hoffman House, and the Waldorf Astoria, were local hostelries, while patrons could eat at Delmonico's at 26th Street, Wallach's at Broadway and 30th Street, or the Eagle at 6th Ave between 31st and 32nd Street. The Hotel Chelsea was built as an apartment building by Hubert, Pirsson & Co. in 1883 (a designated New York City Landmark). It was converted to a hotel by 1905 and soon became a well-known stopping place for writers and artists including Mark Twain, O. Henry, Sarah Bernhardt, Eugene O'Neill, Tennessee Williams, Jasper Johns, and many others.

Along with legitimate theater, in the 1890s, the neighborhood around West 28th Street and 6th Avenue evolved into a small red-light district, probably because of its proximity to the theaters and other entertainment venues.[99] Peep shows, flickers, two-reelers and nickelodeons took over, as serious theater continued its northward march. Koster & Bial's concert hall at 23rd Street, west of 6th Avenue opened in 1879 as a music and beer hall and then changed to a movie house, showing the first "Vitascope" production in New York. Procter's, with a seating capacity of 2,800, opened in 1889 on West 23rd Street, featuring "refined vaudeville."

Gradually businesses and commercial enterprises began to encroach on 28th, 29th and 30th Streets and residents were able to achieve a rezoning in the late 19th century to restrict the streets to residential development. The wealthy residents never came back however, and more poor people and immigrants moved to the area.

Around the turn of the 20th century, many social service institutions located in the neighborhood.[100] These included the Salvation Army Industrial Home at No. 528 West 30th Street and a woodyard on west 28th Street that provided jobs for the unemployed and was run by the Charity Organization Society. The Hudson Guild on 28th Street, near 9th Avenue was organized to provide classes, clubs and activities for neighborhood children. A Colored Mission

[95] Bacon, 145.

[96] Edelblute, 115.

[97] Edelblute, 98, 114.

[98] Louise P. Mitchell and Amy Hewes, eds., *Chelsea, An Introduction to a Metropolitan Community*. Studies made by students of The Mills School, (1950), 3.

[99] Ibid, 116.

[100] These institutions (plus others) were listed in Dr. William Tolman and Charles Hemstreet, *The Better New York* (New York: The Baker and Taylor Co., 1904), 128-35.

developed at No. 225 West 30th Street, located in the area where the early free black community had developed before the Civil War. By 1946, Elliot Houses (public housing for 608 families) was erected facing Chelsea Park, a public park between 27th and 28th Streets, near 9th Avenue.[101] As the Hudson River waterfront was modernized to accommodate commercial ships, warehouses and distributors for food and other materials were built along the western edge of the area, as well as boarding houses for longshoremen and seamen who came ashore there.

During the early years of the 20th century a small French ex-patriot community developed around West 29th Street with area signs appearing in French.[102] This was centered around a French-run boardinghouse and restaurant[103] and the French Hospital on West 30th Street.[104] (These buildings are located outside the historic district.) To build its maternity wing on West 29th Street, the hospital demolished four of the original Torrey and Mason houses.[105]

By the 1960s, the small houses on the streets south of Lamartine Place had deteriorated significantly and the area between West 26th Street and West 29th Street, between 8th and 9th Avenues was redeveloped as the Penn South Houses, cooperative housing for members of the ILGWU.[106]

Throughout this period, Lamartine Place remained generally quiet and uneventful, although the street never experienced the cachet it attained during the 1850s and 60s. The Lamartine Place name fell out of common usage (in favor of West 29th Street) toward the end of the 19th century. Many of the houses on the north side of the street were updated with contemporary styles, often with an extra story added to the top. The 12 extant houses in the Lamartine Place Historic District continued in the shadow of these large neighbors, remaining mostly intact into the 21st century.

This section written by
Virginia Kurshan
Research Department

---

[101] Edelblute, 227.

[102] Baral, 82.

[103] William Michael Murphy, *Prodigal Father: The Life of John Butler Yeats (1839-1922)*, (Ithaca, Cornell Univ. Press, 1978), 509. The Petitpas boarding house was run between c.1904 and 1920 by three sisters who had come from Brittany, and it was the scene of many a lively evening of discussion. John Butler Yeats, father of William Butler Yeats and himself a well-known artist held court at a table at this restaurant for many years.[103] It was also frequented by John Sloan, a painter of the Ash Can School as well as many other artists and writers.

[104] The hospital was founded in 1881 and supported by the French Benevolent Society. In 1927-9 the hospital constructed its building on 30th Street. C. W. Bromley, *City of Manhattan Insurance Map*, v.2, Plate 15, 1928-61.

[105] This 1929 structure marks the eastern end of the Lamartine Place Historic District.

[106] International Ladies Garment Workers Union.These towers were designed by architect Herman Jesssor according to Le Corbusier's ideas of "towers in the park" surrounded by broad green lawns that were set in their own street pattern, altering the city grid. They provided 2,829 units of moderate income housing for New Yorkers.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF LAMARTINE PLACE

The Lamartine Place Historic District consists of 12 rowhouses set on the northern side of West 29th Street between 8th and 9th Avenues. Designed predominantly in the Greek revival style, the four- and five-story brick buildings were constructed in the late 1840s and early 1850s. They are faced with brick, with stone door enframents, sills and lintels, high stone stoops, stone basements and front garden areaways. The buildings are unified by several details, including a repetition of two basic row house designs; Greek revival style with Renaissance revival style elements, and Renaissance revival style with neo-Grec style elements. Over time there have been alterations to all of the facades, the earliest in 1880. Later alterations raised the roofline a foot or more in some cases. Other alterations include rear extensions, Renaissance-inspired cornices, and the removal of some stoops with relocation of the main entrance to the lower level.

The Evolution of the New York City Row House Design[107]

As the city of New York grew in the period after the Revolution, large plots of land in Manhattan were sold and subdivided for the construction of groups of brick-clad houses. Their architectural style has been called "Federal" after the new republic, but in form and detail they continued the Georgian style of Great Britain. Between the 1790s and 1830s, Federal style houses were constructed from the Battery as far north as 23rd Street. The size of the lot dictated the size of the house: typically each house lot was 20-25 feet wide by 90-100 feet deep, which accorded with the rectilinear grid of New York City, adopted as the Commissioners' Plan in 1811. The rowhouse itself extended for the full width of the lot, and was 35 to 40 feet deep. This allowed for a stoop and small front yard, or areaway, and a fairly spacious rear yard. During the early 19th century, several houses were often constructed together, sharing common party walls, chimneys, and roof timbering to form a continuous group. The houses, of load-bearing masonry or modified timber-frame construction, had brick-clad front facades.

Federal style rowhouses usually had a three-bay wide facade with two full stories over a high basement and an additional half story under a peaked roof with the ridge line running parallel to the front facade. The front facade was usually clad in red brick laid in the Flemish bond pattern, with stone trim, commonly brownstone. The planar quality of the facades was relieved by ornament in the form of lintels, entrances, stoops and areaways with iron railings, cornices, and dormers. The most ornamental feature was the doorway, which was often framed with columns and sidelights and topped with a rectangular transom or fanlight, with a wooden paneled door. The wood-framed sashes were double-hung and multi-light (typically six-over-six). A wooden cornice with a molded fascia extended across the front along the eave. Pedimented or segmentally-arched dormers on the front roof slope usually had decorative wood trim.

The Greek revival style was the first revival style to be introduced to American architecture and lasted several decades. It grew from an interest in Classical antiquities that began in the middle of the 18th century. International sympathy for the Greek War of

[107] Portions of this section adapted from: Charles Lockwood, "Greek Revival Style" in *Bricks and Brownstone*: *the New York Row House 1783-1929* (New York: Rizzoli, 2003), 57-60; New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (LPC), *354 West 11th Street House, Designation Report (LP-2210)* (New York: City of New York, 2007), prepared by Jay Shockley; Ada Louise Huxtable, "Houses With Grecian Graces," in *Classic New York*: *Georgian Gentility to Greek Elegance* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Bks., 1964), 89-107; LPC, *Rowhouse Manual* (n.d.).

Independence from the Turks (1821-24)[108] generated interest in ancient Greek civilization, especially in America, which had just successfully defended American independence in the War of 1812. Architects and government leaders saw in Greek architecture a more "democratic" style than the once highly favored and "British" Federal style architecture. Beginning in the 1820s, rapid population growth and prosperity stimulated construction, and the Greek revival style became fashionable throughout the country. Theaters, churches, institutional and commercial buildings and row houses displayed Greek ornament such as fluted Doric columns at entrances resembling temple porticoes. Examples of Greek revival motifs on commercial structures were found as early as 1825, including Martin E. Thompson's Phoenix Bank on Wall Street and the Church of the Ascension built in 1827-29 on Canal Street (both demolished).

Around 1830, builders in New York City began to incorporate some Greek revival style features on grander Federal style houses, such as the Seabury Treadwell "Old Merchant's" House, No. 29 East 4th Street (1831-32, a designated New York City Landmark). During the early 1830s, more and more fashionable rowhouses were constructed in the Greek revival style. With the increasing availability of pattern books, such as Asher Benjamin's *American Builders Companion* (published in six editions between 1806 and 1827), local builders had access to drawings and instructions for exterior and interior plans and details.[109] Some examples were "high style," such as the nine marble-fronted houses with a continuous Corinthian colonnade known as LaGrange Terrace or Colonnade Row, attributed to Seth Greer (Nos. 428-434 Lafayette Street, 1832-33, a designated New York City Landmark). Many rows of speculatively-built Greek revival style houses were constructed, particularly in the Greenwich Village and Chelsea neighborhoods, during the period of enormous growth and development in New York City during the 1830s and 40s.

Greek revival style rowhouses continued many of the traditions of Federal style houses, including three-bay front facades, brick cladding with brownstone trim, and raised stoops and areaways with iron railings. They differed, however, in stylistic details, such as their emphasis on flat planar surfaces and simple forms, and in scale, being taller and somewhat grander at a full three stories above a basement (with higher ceilings per story). Technological advances in brick making allowed for higher quality, machine-pressed brick. The brick was laid in a bond other than Flemish, such as stretcher bond. Ornamentation was spare, including simple, molded rectangular lintels and a flat roofline capped by a denticulated and molded wooden cornice (sometimes with attic windows). As in Federal style houses, the most ornamental feature was the doorway. The Greek revival style doorway was recessed, with a rectangular transom, sidelights, and a paneled (often a single vertical panel) door. On grander houses, the entrance featured a portico with Doric or Ionic columns flanking the doorway and supporting a prominent entablature. Examples of this type include "The Row" at Nos. 1-13 Washington Square North, part of the Greenwich Village Historic District, and the Samuel Treadwell Skidmore House, No. 37 East 4th Street (1845, a designated New York City Landmark). Greek-inspired rowhouses were not only for the wealthy. Similar, but more modest middle-class brick and brownstone row houses began to be built in the Chelsea and Gramercy Park areas of Manhattan. Featuring brick

[108] The Greek War of Independence, also known as the Greek Revolution of 1821, was a war against the Ottoman Empire for independence. Independence was finally granted by the Treaty of Constantinople in July 1832, when Greece was recognized as a free country. http://www.mlahanas.de/Greece/History/GreekWarOfIndependence.html.

[109] Local builders were influenced by the designs and builder's guides of architects such as Asher Benjamin, Minard Lafever, and Alexander Jackson Davis.

facades with brownstone trim, the entrance to these houses exhibited a brownstone surround with wide pilasters supporting an entablature and brownstone lintels and sills.

The Neo-Grec Style and the Design of the Row Houses[110]

The neo-Grec style, popular until about 1890, is characterized by extremely stylized classical details, angular forms, and incised detailing formed by mechanical stonecutting; high stoops with massive, heavy, angular cast-iron handrails, fences and newels; massive door hoods and enframements with angular decorative elements resting on stylized brackets; double-leaf wood entrance doors with angular ornament; stylized, angular incised window surrounds; projecting angular bays; and projecting cornices resting on angular brackets.

The Renaissance Revival Style and the Design of the Row Houses[111]

The Renaissance revival style came into national prominence during the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. The Exposition played a major role in raising awareness of the grandeur of Renaissance architecture and large-scale planning, and led to a nationwide flurry of classically-inspired buildings on every social level and scale. The white neo-Classical style buildings of the Chicago fair were dubbed "the White City," and throughout the United States public and commercial buildings adopted white marble or limestone façades. The Renaissance revival style (popular from about 1880 to 1910), features lighter colored façades, classical columns, domes and elaborate ornament, including motifs of wreaths, baskets of fruit and garlands of flowers.

The 12 rowhouses on West 29th Street in the Lamartine Place Historic District have combined architectural styles. The predominant building style is the Greek revival style with Renaissance revival style elements. The rowhouses at Nos. 337 to 353 West 29th Street are examples of this type, which is expressed through brick-clad facades, iron fencing, shouldered stone door enframements with broad friezes and simple cornices. An example of the Renaissance revival style with neo-Grec style decorative details can be seen at No. 355 West 29th Street, which has angled bays, egg-and-dart detail above the windows, foliate panels, a molded stone string course, various lintel styles, a dogtooth course below the sills and at the lintel, and a denticulated, modillioned angled cornice with Renaissance-inspired fascia.

This section written by
Theresa Noonan
Research Department

[110] Portions of this section adapted from: LPC, *Prospect Heights Historic District Designation Report (LP-2314)* (New York: City of New York, 2009), prepared by Cynthia Danza.

[111] Portions of this section adapted from: Charles Lockwood, "The New York Row House, 1875-1929" in *Bricks and Brownstone*: *the New York Row House 1783-19* (New York: Rizzoli, 2003), 235-238.

FINDINGS AND DESIGNATION

On the basis of a careful consideration of the history, the architecture, and other features of this area, the Landmarks Preservation Commission finds that the Lamartine Place Historic District contains buildings and other improvements which have a special character and a special historic and aesthetic interest and value and which represent one or more eras in the history of New York city and which cause this area, by reason of these factors, to constitute a distinct section of the city.

The Commission further finds that, among its special qualities, Lamartine Place was developed as a distinctive middle-class enclave in the north Chelsea section of Manhattan in the 1850s; that it was created by William Torrey and Cyrus Mason, who were active developers in the period when Chelsea was evolving from a rural landscape to an urban one; that Lamartine Place attracted middle-class families to the block-long enclave that was originally located across from a small park provided by the developers; that the Lamartine Place Historic District was the site of a significant event on the second day of the New York Draft Riots in 1863, when mobs attacked and burned the home of Abby and James Gibbons; that Abby and James Gibbons were active abolitionists who used their home to help and shelter runaway slaves escaping to Canada, thus making it a documented stop on the Underground Railroad; that Abby and James Gibbons hosted participants in the New York Anti-Slavery Convention, including African-American leaders; that Abby and James Gibbons had become active in this cause because of their Quaker beliefs and the example of Abby's father Isaac Hopper who had been famous in Philadelphia for the help he provided to blacks in that city; that Abby Gibbons and her oldest daughter were working at an army hospital in Maryland when the attack occurred, leaving James Gibbons and their two other daughters at home; that they heard rumors of an attack and began removing certain possessions over the rooftop to the home of relatives, two doors away; that the daughters were at this relative's house when the mobs arrived and they witnessed the activities from a nearby window; that the Gibbons' friend, lawyer Joseph Choate led the daughters to safety over the rooftops of their neighbors; that the group descended through the home of Henry and Esther Herrman, owners of No. 355 West 29th Street to a waiting carriage on 9th Avenue; that West 29th Street was part of the artistic neighborhood that developed in Chelsea during the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries; that No. 339 West 29th Street is one of the few documented underground railroad sites in New York City; that this block of Lamartine Place retains its distinctive sense of place; that the 12 houses in this historic district provide a rare reminder of the dramatic and momentous Draft Riots of 1863 and.

Accordingly, pursuant to Chapter 21 (formerly Chapter 63) of the Charter of the City of New York, and Chapter 8-A of the Administrative Code of the City of New York, the Landmarks Preservation Commission designates as an historic district, the Lamartine Place Historic District, Borough of Manhattan, consisting of the property bounded by a line beginning at the southeast corner of the lot of No. 333 West 29th Street, extending northerly along the eastern side of the lot to the northern property line of No. 333 West 29th Street, then extending westerly along the northern property lines of Nos. 333-355 West 29th Street,

then extending southerly along the western property line of No. 355 West 29th Street, to the southern curb line of West 29th Street, then easterly along the southern curb line in front of Nos. 355-333 West 29th Street, to a point in said curb line formed by a line extending southerly from the eastern property line of No. 333 West 29th Street, then northerly across the sidewalk, to the point of beginning.

Commissioners:
Robert B. Tierney, Chair
Pablo E. Vengoechea, Vice-Chair
Frederick Bland, Diana Chapin, Roberta Brandes Gratz,
Christopher Moore, Margery Perlmutter

BUILDING ENTRIES

NOS. 333 - 355 WEST 29TH STREET BETWEEN EIGHTH AVENUE AND NINTH AVENUE, NORTH SIDE

333 West 29th Street (16 Lamartine Place)
Borough of Manhattan Tax Map Block/Lot: 753/19

Original date of construction: 1846-47
Altered: 1921; architect, Abraham Grossman
Style: Renaissance revival style with alterations
Material: Brick, Stone
Stories: Four and basement

Ownership History to 1950:
1847 Cyrus Mason
1848 Henry Solomon
1849 Thomas Garrison
1878 Isabel Tripler
1892 Arthur L. Davis
1918 Lorenzo Tripler
1920 Theresine Poffet
1921 Giuseppe Perisco
1939 Harry Gerson

History
Lamartine Place was originally part of the Cornelius Ray farm; the area was divided and sold as lots starting in 1833. The brick rowhouses of Lamartine Place were constructed between 1846 and 1847 and were developed by William Torrey in association with Cyrus Mason. In 1848 Mason sold this property to Henry Solomon (Liber 502, p. 538, April 6, 1848).

Description
Three bays; brick; stone base with reconfigured ground floor entry; two one-over-one double-hung windows; main entry, with multi-paned wood-and-glass door; bays are separated by pilasters that extend from the first to the third floors; first floor contains three one-over-one double-hung windows, two with arched stained-glass transoms and metal infill panel below; second through fourth floors contain three one-over-one double-hung windows; stepped parapet wall. **Site features:** stone retaining wall topped with iron fencing. **Alterations:** 1921 alteration (ALT: 857-21, 1921) consisted of the erection of a new roof, raised eight feet, a new parapet, and construction of a rear addition; removal of the stoop with the main entrance moved to ground level; removal of all ornament; façade resurfaced and painted; windows replaced; wrought-iron fire escape installed from second to fourth floors; non-historic electrical conduit and light fixtures; non-historic iron security grill at one basement window.

Significant References
New York City Department of Buildings, Borough of Manhattan, New Buildings (NB) and Alteration Applications. New York County, Office of the Registrar, Deeds and Conveyances.

335 West 29th Street (17 Lamartine Place)
Borough of Manhattan Tax Map Block/Lot: 753/18

Original date of construction: 1846-47
Altered: 1892; architect, C. Powell Karr
Style: Renaissance revival style with alterations
Material: Brick, Stone
Stories: Four and basement

Ownership History to 1950:
1846 Cyrus Mason
1847 Henry Solomon
1848 Margery Dill
1865 Erastus Lyman
1871 Abigail W. Lyman
1903 John H. Woods
1904 Anna F. Bullock
1920 David Cohn
1924 James Davies
1936 Ryson Realty Corp.

History
Lamartine Place was originally part of the Cornelius Ray farm; the area was divided and sold as lots starting in 1833. The brick rowhouses of Lamartine Place were constructed between 1846 and 1847 and were developed by William Torrey in association with Cyrus Mason. The first owner was Henry Solomon who purchased this property in 1847 (Liber 495, p. 340, December 31, 1847). The property was owned by members of the Lyman family between 1865 and 1873 (Liber 926, p. 592, May 2, 1865, and Liber 1263, p. 683, September 23, 1873). Samuel and Rachel (Hopper) Brown (sister of Abby Hopper Gibbons) rented No. 17 Lamartine Place from the Lyman family for a short period. The Gibbons' daughters initially fled to this house during the 1863 Draft Riots.

Description
Similar to 333 West 29th Street; three bays; brick; stone base with reconfigured ground floor entry; two one-over-one double-hung windows; main entry of metal-and-glass door with granite enframents; bays are separated by pilasters that extend from the first to the third floors, topped by a central blind arch flanked by two arched one-over-one double-hung windows. **Site features**: stone retaining wall topped with iron fencing. **Alterations:** Alteration of 1892 raised the roof eight feet; removed the stoop and moved the main entrance to ground level; removed all ornament; brownstone façade resurfaced and painted; granite entablature surrounds non-historic metal-and-glass door; central bay windows infilled from first through fourth floors; through the wall air-conditioners; non-historic iron security grill at basement windows; wrought-iron fire escape, from second to fourth floors; stone retaining wall topped with iron fencing (ALT: 680-92, 1892).

Significant References
New York City Department of Buildings, Borough of Manhattan, New Buildings (NB) and Alteration Applications. New York County, Office of the Registrar, Deeds and Conveyances.

337 West 29th Street (18 Lamartine Place)
Borough of Manhattan Tax Map Block/Lot: 753/17

Original date of construction: 1846-47
Altered: 1903; architect, Joseph Kelly
Style: Greek revival style with Renaissance revival style elements
Material: Brick, Stone
Stories: Four and basement

Ownership History to 1950:
1846 Cyrus Mason
1847 Enoch Mettler
1851 James S. Gibbons
1864 Samuel Underhill
1865 Nancy Dwight
1869 James Pyle
1884 James D. Hall
1892 Thekla Rohe Hall
1893 Elizabeth Woods
1900 John H. Woods
1903 Anna F. Bullock
1918 George Marshall
1921 Camborile Laurent

History
Lamartine Place was originally part of the Cornelius Ray farm; the area was divided and sold as lots starting in 1833. The brick rowhouses of Lamartine Place were constructed between 1846 and 1847 and were developed by William Torrey in association with Cyrus Mason. No. 337 West 29th Street (17 Lamartine Place and lot 64 directly behind at No. 338 West 30th Street) was acquired in 1851 by James S. Gibbons, a banker and financial writer, and supporter of an abolitionist newspaper (Liber 569, p. 466 April 26, 1851). He and his wife Abigail Hopper Gibbons were active in the abolitionist cause.

Description
Three bays; brick-clad facade; raised brownstone stoop with under stair entry, possibly historic railings shouldered stone door enframements with broad frieze, followed by a simple cornice; double-leaf wood-and-glass paneled door, with wood reveal and segmentally-arched transom; brownstone base with two, six-over-six double-hung windows, with iron security grilles; two first floor casement windows with segmentally-arched transoms, with shaped lintels and wrought-iron balconet; six-over-six double-hung windows with molded stone lintels and sills; topped by wood modillioned cornice with raised panel fascia. **Site features:** areaways with possibly historic iron fencing. **Alterations:** 1903 alteration (ALT: 412-03, 1903) raised the roof eight feet; replaced windows; altered lintels at first floor windows; through-the-wall air conditioner openings at second through fourth floors; non historic light fixtures at main entrance and secondary entrance; wood refuse shed in areaway.

Significant References
New York City Department of Buildings, Borough of Manhattan, New Buildings (NB) and Alteration Applications. New York County, Office of the Registrar, Deeds and Conveyances.

339 West 29th Street (19 Lamartine Place)
Borough of Manhattan Tax Map Block/Lot: 753/16

Original date of construction: 1846-47
Altered: 1951 architect: Harry Gerson
Style: Greek revival style with Renaissance revival style elements
Material: Brick stone
Stories: Four and basement

Ownership History to 1950:
1846 Cyrus Mason
1847 Peter McLaughlin
1848 Harrison Jones
1852 James S. Gibbons
1858 John Hopper
1865 James C. Carter
1867 Adolph Werner
1911 Theresa/Maggie Mahon
1950 Granbatlesta Sassarina

History
Lamartine Place was originally part of the Cornelius Ray farm; the area was divided and sold as lots starting in 1833. The brick rowhouses of Lamartine Place were constructed between 1846 and 1847 and were developed by William Torrey in association with Cyrus Mason. In 1852, No. 339 West 29th Street (19 Lamartine Place) was acquired by James S. Gibbons, a banker and financial writer, and supporter of an abolitionist newspaper (Liber 608 p. 152, June 4, 1852). He and his wife Abigail Hopper Gibbons were active in the abolitionist cause. This house was attacked by mobs during the Draft Riots of 1863.

Description
Obscured by construction netting and scaffolding
Alterations: Previous alterations; (ALT: 3007-34; ALT: 274-51, 1951; ALT 758-58).
At time of designation No. 339 West 29th street was under renovation, ALT: No. 103915694: "Install a new convenience door in the basement leading to the front garden;" ALT: No. 103907337: "Proposed to vertically and horizontally enlarge existing four-story building, add a new penthouse;" ALT: No.104696919: "Proposed replace front façade face brick and install AC sleeves with metal."

Significant References
New York City Department of Buildings, Borough of Manhattan, New Buildings (NB) and Alteration Applications. New York County, Office of the Registrar, Deeds and Conveyances.

341 West 29th Street (20 Lamartine Place)
Borough of Manhattan Tax Map Block/Lot: 753/1001, 1002 (formerly lot 15)

Original date of construction: 1846-47
Altered: 1925; architect, Irving Kudroff
Style: Greek revival style with Renaissance revival style elements
Material: Brick, Stone
Stories: Four and basement

Ownership History to 1950:
1846 Cyrus Mason
1847 John Flannigan
1854 Theodore Martine
1855 Dermann /Gertrude Ornsby
1865 Hannah Smith
1880 Marian T. Fortescue
1884 Edward Johnes
1890 Ascher Weinstein
1891 Michael Curran
1895 Finley Foster
1902 Amelia Olms
1907 Alanson J. Prime
1912 William Olms
1925 Solomon Farlaw
1935 Solan Holding Corp
1938 Louis Wool

History
Lamartine Place was originally part of the Cornelius Ray farm; the area was divided and sold as lots starting in 1833. The brick rowhouses of Lamartine Place were constructed between 1846 and 1847 and were developed by William Torrey in association with Cyrus Mason. The first owner of this property was John Flannigan (Liber 493, p. 604, October 6, 1847). Theodore Martine purchased the property sometime before 1855 when he sold it to Dermann Ornsby, (Liber 699, p. 113, October 31, 1855). He was Commissioner of Deeds for the City of New York. Mr. Martine also owned 345 West 29th Street for several years.

Description
Similar to No. 337 West 29th Street; three bays; brick-clad facade; raised brownstone stoop with under stair entry; possibly historic railings and areaways with non- historic iron fencing; shouldered stone door enframements with broad frieze and decorative garland ornament, capped by a simple cornice; six panel wood door with transom and carved wood side panels; one-over-one double-hung windows with molded stone lintels and sills; denticulated modillioned cornice with Renaissance-inspired fascia. **Site features:** non historic iron fencing. **Alterations:** 1925 alteration raised the roof eight feet; non-historic iron security grilles at basement windows; through the wall air-conditioner units at first floor; non-historic door at main entrance; windows replaced; non-historic light fixtures at main entrance (ALT: 372-25, 1925).

Significant References
New York City Department of Buildings, Borough of Manhattan, New Buildings (NB) and Alteration Application. G.W. Bromley, *Atlas of City of Manhattan* Owners Names 1908, Block 753; New York County, Office of the Registrar, Deeds and Conveyances.

343 West 29th Street (21 Lamartine Place)
Borough of Manhattan Tax Map Block/Lot: 753/14

Original date of construction: 1846-47
Altered: 1893; architect, George W. Greibel
Style: Greek revival style with Renaissance revival style elements
Material: Brick, Stone
Stories: Four and basement

Ownership History to 1950:
1846 Cyrus Mason
1847 Robert Mc Murray
1849 Daniel Wilson
1890 Harvey S. Johnston
1893 William Wilson
1897 Margaret Wilson
1899 Harvey Johnston
1906 William C. Pommerer

History
Lamartine Place was originally part of the Cornelius Ray farm; the area was divided and sold as lots starting in 1833. The brick rowhouses of Lamartine Place were constructed between 1846 and 1847 and were developed by William Torrey in association with Cyrus Mason. The first owner of the property was Robert McMurray (Liber 493, p. 609, October 6, 1847). Daniel Wilson, purchased No. 339 West 29th Street (21 Lamartine Place) from McMurray in 1849 (Liber 531, p. 165, December 5, 1849) and his family owned the property until 1890. Mr. Wilson was attacked by rioters while trying to prevent the burning of the Gibbons' home during the 1863 Draft Riots.

Description
Similar to No. 337 West 29th Street; three bays; brick-clad facade; brownstone base with two one-over-one double-hung windows with iron security grilles; possible historic raised brownstone stoop with under stair entry; shouldered stone door enframements with broad frieze, capped by a simple cornice; possibly historic double-leaf glass-and-wood paneled door; first floor has two, four-over-four double-hung windows with molded stone lintels and sills; second through fourth floors have one-over-one double-hung windows with molded stone lintels and sills; topped by denticulated modillioned cornice with renaissance-inspired fascia. Site features: possibly historic railings. **Site features:** small areaways. **Alterations:** 1893 alteration party wall extension shared with 345 West 29th Street; windows replaced; non-historic light fixtures at main entrance and under stair entrance; non-historic iron fencing, metal refuse box in areaway (ALT: 1062-93, 1893).

Significant References
New York City Department of Buildings, Borough of Manhattan, New Buildings (NB) and Alteration Applications; *Doggett's New York City Directory*, 1849-1850, 457; G.W. Bromley, *Atlas of City of Manhattan* Owners Names, 1897 Block 753; New York County, Office of the Registrar, Deeds and Conveyances.

345 West 29th Street (22 Lamartine Place)
Borough of Manhattan Tax Map Block/Lot: 753/13

Original date of construction: 1846-47
Altered: 1893; architect, George W. Greibel
Style: Greek revival style with Renaissance revival style elements
Material: Brick, Stone
Stories: Four and basement

Ownership History to 1950:
1846 Cyrus Mason
1847 Theodore Martine
1849 Edmund J. Porter
1853 Hamilton Robinson
1873 James L. Hastie
1881 Daniel Halloran
1882 George Vick
1891 David Sharpe
1892 Harvey S. Johnston
1895 Annette G. Young
1902 Finley M. Foster
1912 Lorenzo /Rosa Rosario

History
Lamartine Place was originally part of the Cornelius Ray farm; the area was divided and sold as lots starting in 1833. The brick rowhouses of Lamartine Place were constructed between 1846 and 1847 and were developed by William Torrey in association with Cyrus Mason. Theodore Martine, Commissioner of Deeds, purchased No. 345 West 29th Street (22 Lamartine Place) in 1847 (Liber 493, p. 606, October 6, 1847) and resided there until 1849. Mr. Martine also owned No. 341 West 29th Street for a short time.

Description
Similar to No. 337 West 29th Street; three bays; brick-clad facade; brownstone base with two one-over-one double-hung windows with iron security grilles; raised brownstone stoop with under stair entry, possibly historic railings; shouldered stone door enframements with broad frieze, followed by a simple cornice; possibly historic double-leaf glass-and-wood paneled door with transom; one-over-one double-hung windows with molded stone lintels and sills throughout; topped by denticulated modillioned cornice with Renaissance-inspired fascia. **Site features:** small areaway;

Alterations: 1893, party wall extension shared with No. 343 West 29th Street; façade resurfaced; through-the-wall air conditioner openings at middle bay from base to fourth floors; windows replaced (ALT: 1062-93, 1893).

Significant References
New York City Department of Buildings, Borough of Manhattan, New Buildings (NB) and Alteration Applications. New York County, Office of the Registrar, Deeds and Conveyances.

347 West 29th Street (23 Lamartine Place)
Borough of Manhattan Tax Map Block/Lot: 753/12

Original date of construction: c.1852
Altered: 1903; architect, John H. Kimble
Style: Greek revival style with Renaissance revival style elements
Material: Brick, Stone
Stories: Four and basement

Ownership History to 1950:
1846 Cyrus Mason
1847 Melacanton W. Brown
1853 Albert Horn
1862 Joseph Holden
1864 Judah Abraham
1870 Caroline Adler
1873 Jacob Becker
1890 Louisa Cook
1903 Stanislaus Rosario

History
Lamartine Place was originally part of the Cornelius Ray farm; the area was divided and sold as lots starting in 1833. Although most of the brick rowhouses of Lamartine Place were constructed between 1846 and 1847 by William Torrey and Cyrus Mason, several buildings, including this one, near the western end of the block were constructed later. This property was originally sold to Melacaton W. Brown (Liber 493, p. 218, November 13, 1847).

Description
Similar to No. 337 West 29th Street; three bays; stone base with reconfigured ground floor entry with simple stone enframents; main entry with multi-paned wood-and-glass door; two one-over-one double-hung windows; brick-clad facade; brownstone base with two windows; one-over-one double-hung windows throughout; topped by denticulated modillioned cornice with Renaissance-inspired fascia. **Site features:** stone retaining wall and iron fencing surrounding small areaway **Alterations:** 1903 alteration raised roof nine feet; and shared party wall; stoop removed and main entrance moved to ground level; window opening altered at first floor; façade resurfaced; through-the-wall air conditioner openings at middle bay from base to fourth floors; windows replaced; non-historic light fixtures over main entrance (ALT: 1581-03, 1903).

Significant References
New York City Department of Buildings, Borough of Manhattan, New Buildings (NB) and Alteration Applications. New York County, Office of the Registrar, Deeds and Conveyances.

349 West 29th Street (24 Lamartine Place)
Borough of Manhattan Tax Map Block/Lot: 753/11

Original date of construction: c.1852
Altered: 1924; architect, Van F. Pruitt
Style: Greek revival style with Renaissance revival style elements
Material: Brick, Stone
Stories: Four and basement

Ownership History to 1950:
1846 Cyrus Mason
1847 Ruben Wood
1852 Philo Y. Beebe
1853 Jeremiah Sherwood
1854 Samuel Thompson/ Levi Onderdank
1857 Martha Thomson
1865 Samuel Thomson
1873 Joseph Farrington
1875 Zachariah Acker
1902 Joseph Doehler
1924 David Cohn

History
Lamartine Place was originally part of the Cornelius Ray farm; the area was divided and sold as lots starting in 1833. Although most of the brick rowhouses of Lamartine Place were constructed between 1846 and 1847 by William Torrey and Cyrus Mason, several buildings, including this one, near the western end of the block were constructed later. The first owner of this property was Ruben Wood (Liber 493, p. 216, November 13, 1847).

Description
Similar to No. 337 West 29th Street; three bays; stone base with reconfigured ground floor entry with simple stone enframents; main entry, with multi-paned wood-and-glass door; two six-over-six, double-hung window with cast-iron security grilles; brick-clad facade; six-over-six double-hung windows throughout; topped by denticulated modillioned cornice with Renaissance-inspired fascia. **Site Features:** brick retaining wall and iron fencing surrounding small areaway. **Alterations:** 1924 alteration raised roof 2'6"; rear extension raised 36 feet; stoop removed and main entrance moved to ground level; façade painted; first floor window openings reconfigured to accommodate air-conditioners; through-the-wall air conditioners under windows at second and third floors, in first and third bays; lintels and sills removed; brick enclosed areaway; non-historic light fixtures at main entrance (ALT: 2199-24, 1924).

Significant References
New York City Department of Buildings, Borough of Manhattan, New Buildings (NB) and Alteration Applications. New York County, Office of the Registrar, Deeds and Conveyances.

351 West 29th Street (25 Lamartine Place)
Borough of Manhattan Tax Map Block/Lot: 753/10

Original date of construction: c.1852
Altered: 1888; architect, George B. Pelham
Style: Greek revival style with Renaissance revival style elements
Material: Brick, Stone
Stories: Four and basement

Ownership History to 1950:
1846 William Torrey
1847 Asaher Denman
1848 Thomas Garrison
1849 Sophia Smith
1851 Alexander McGuire
1852 James Boyd
1855 Maria Fash/Phoebe Mariette
1860 Nelson J. Waterbury
1887 William Mulry
1888 Harvey S. Johnston
1890 Alexander Algee
1895 Paul Erhart
1941 New York Savings Bank
1942 Antar Realty Corp

History
Lamartine Place was originally part of the Cornelius Ray farm; the area was divided and sold as lots starting in 1833. Although most of the brick rowhouses of Lamartine Place were constructed between 1846 and 1847 by William Torrey and Cyrus Mason, several buildings, including this one, near the western end of the block were constructed later. The first owner of the property was Asaher Denman (Liber 488 p. 347, April 29, 1847). New York City District Attorney Nelson J. Waterbury purchased No. 351 West 29th Street (25 Lamartine Place) in 1860 (Liber 801 p. 600-02, April 18, 1860) and resided there until 1887.

Description
Similar to No. 337 West 29th Street; three bays; stone base with reconfigured ground floor entry with stone enframents topped by broken pediment; metal-and-glass door; one-over-one double-hung windows throughout; topped by denticulated modillioned cornice with Renaissance-inspired fascia. **Alterations:** 1888 alteration raised roof one foot; stoop removed and main entrance moved to ground level; façade resurfaced and painted; windows reconfigured and stone lintels and sills removed; non-historic light fixture above main entrance; wood planting box serves as fencing; non-historic brass numeral above entrance (ALT: 347-88, 1888).

Significant References
New York City Department of Buildings, Borough of Manhattan, New Buildings (NB) and Alterations Applications; *Phillips Elite Directory Private Addresses and Carriage*, (1874-75), 106; (1875-76), 108-09; New York County, Office of the Registrar, Deeds and Conveyances.

353 West 29th Street (26 Lamartine Place)
Borough of Manhattan Tax Map Block/Lot: 753/8

Original date of construction: c.1852
Altered: 1889; architect, George B. Pelham
Style: Greek revival style with Renaissance revival style elements
Material: Brick, Stone
Stories: Four and basement

Ownership History to 1950:
1846 Cyrus Mason
1847 John Flannigan
1851 Elias H. Day
1853 Samuel Sinclair
1865 Samuel Friedson
1866 Augustus Strause
1889 Harvey S. Johnston
1890 Rudolph Lagai
1926 Leva Schachtel
1929 Louise Gard

History
Lamartine Place was originally part of the Cornelius Ray farm; the area was divided and sold as lots starting in 1833. Although most of the brick rowhouses of Lamartine Place were constructed between 1846 and 1847 by William Torrey and Cyrus Mason, several buildings near the western end of the block were constructed later. No. 353 West 29th Street (26 Lamartine Place) was built c. 1852 and was purchased in 1853 by Samuel Sinclair, a relative of renowned abolitionist Horace Greeley (Liber 626 p.194, February 8, 1853). The Sinclair family resided at the building until 1865.

Description
Similar to No. 337 West 29th Street; three bays; brownstone base with reconfigured ground floor entry with stone door enframements with broad frieze, followed by a simple cornice; base has two, one-over-one double-hung windows with iron security grilles; six-over-one double-hung windows throughout upper floors; topped by denticulated modillioned cornice with Renaissance-inspired fascia. **Alterations:** 1889 alteration raised the roofline to fifty-four feet, removed rear wall for basement extension; stoop removed and main entrance moved to ground level; façade resurfaced and painted; lintels from first through the fourth floors altered; areaway iron fencing removed and replaced by brick fencing with pillars with iron fencing on top (ALT: 300-89, 1889).

Significant References
New York City Department of Buildings, Borough of Manhattan, New Buildings (NB) and Alteration Applications; New York County, Office of the Registrar, Deeds and Conveyances.

355 West 29th Street (27 Lamartine Place)
Borough of Manhattan Tax Map Block/Lot: 753/8

Original date of construction: c.1852
Altered: 1896; architect, M .V. B. Ferdon
Style: Renaissance revival style with neo-Grec elements
Material: Brick, Stone
Stories: Four and basement

Ownership History to 1950:
1846 Cyrus Mason
1847 John Flannigan
1851 Elias H. Day
1852 Ester Herrman
1884 Clara Hellman
1894 Mary Emma Harris
1896 Elizabeth Sorenson
1900 John C. Benham
1903 US Trust Co. of NY
1907 George Doty
1920 Edmund Elsbach
1921 Benjamin Katz
1924 Louise Gard
1929 Artclaude Realty Corp.
1942 Lucy W. Curtis
1943 Viola Warren

History
Lamartine Place was originally part of the Cornelius Ray farm; the area was divided and sold as lots starting in 1833. Although most of the brick rowhouses of Lamartine Place were constructed between 1846 and 1847 by William Torrey and Cyrus Mason, several buildings, including this one, near the western end of the block were constructed later. This property, No. 355 West 29th Street (27 Lamartine Place) was first purchased by John Flannigan (Liber 489 p. 322 May 19, 1847). In 1852 it was sold to the Herrman family (Liber 613 p. 570, October 15, 1852) who resided there until 1884. The Herrmans were instrumental in helping the Gibbons daughters escape during the 1863 riots by providing safe passage through their house so they could reach a waiting carriage.

Description
Four angled, projecting bays; four stories and basement; brick façade; reconfigured ground floor entry with simple stone door enframements; at base, molded stone band runs the width of angled bay with two six-over-one double-hung windows featuring egg-and-dart detail above windows; foliate panels followed by molded stone string course that serve as sills for first floor windows; six-over-one double-hung windows throughout rest of façade with various lintel styles at

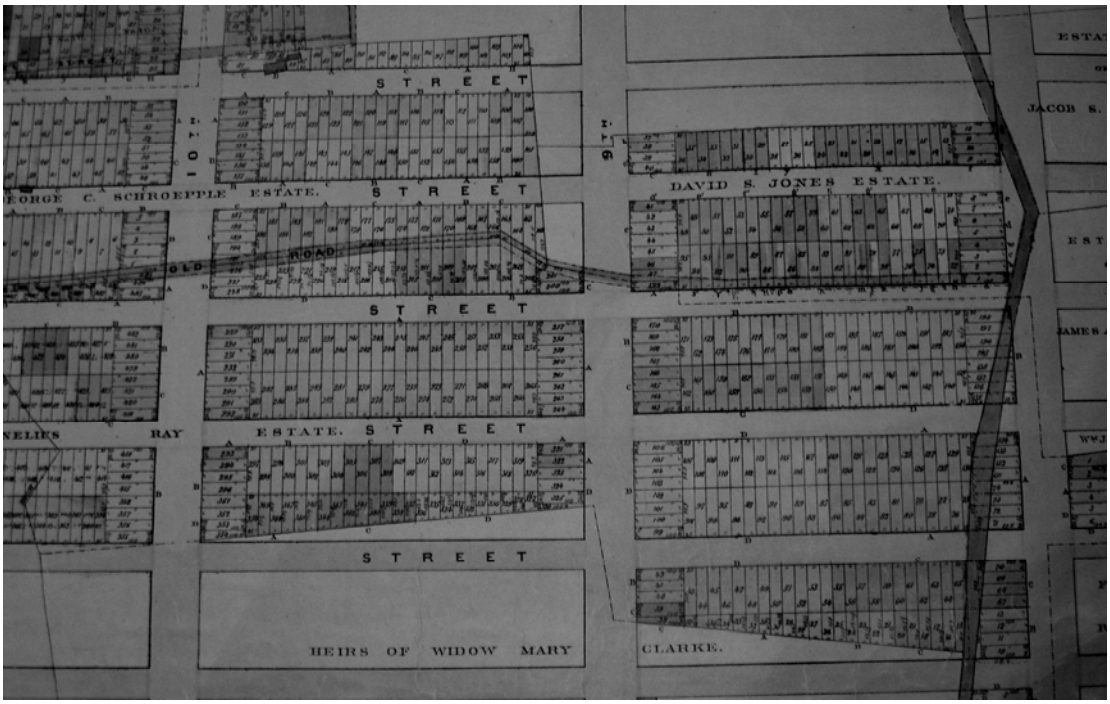
each level; first floor features bracketed, molded stone lintels with segmentally-arched crown topped by a guilloche band and molded stone cornice that runs the width of the building; a foliate stone panel below each window at the second level followed by a molded stone string course that runs the width of the building at each level; third floor lintels feature egg-and-dart detail above window-wide frieze with molded stone lintel; dogtooth course below the sills and at the lintel of the third and fourth stories, panel of dogtooth brickwork just below cornice; denticulated, modillioned angled cornice with Renaissance-inspired fascia. **Alterations:** 1896 alteration raised roofline eight feet; stoop removed and main entrance moved to ground level; façade resurfaced and painted; areaway iron fencing removed and replaced by brick fencing with pillars and iron fencing on top; non-historic light fixtures at main entrance (ALT: 504-96, 1896).

Significant References

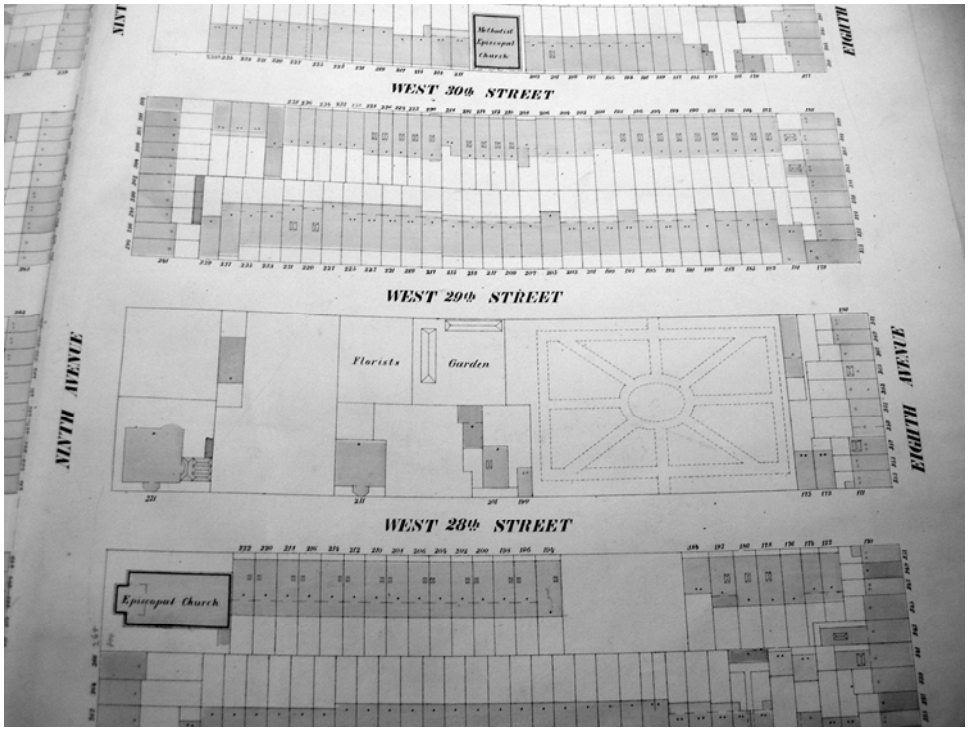
New York City Department of Buildings, Borough of Manhattan, New Buildings (NB) and Alteration Applications. New York County, Office of the Registrar, Deeds and Conveyances.

Lamartine Place, north side of West 29th Street, c. 1930
Photo Courtesy of The New York Public Library

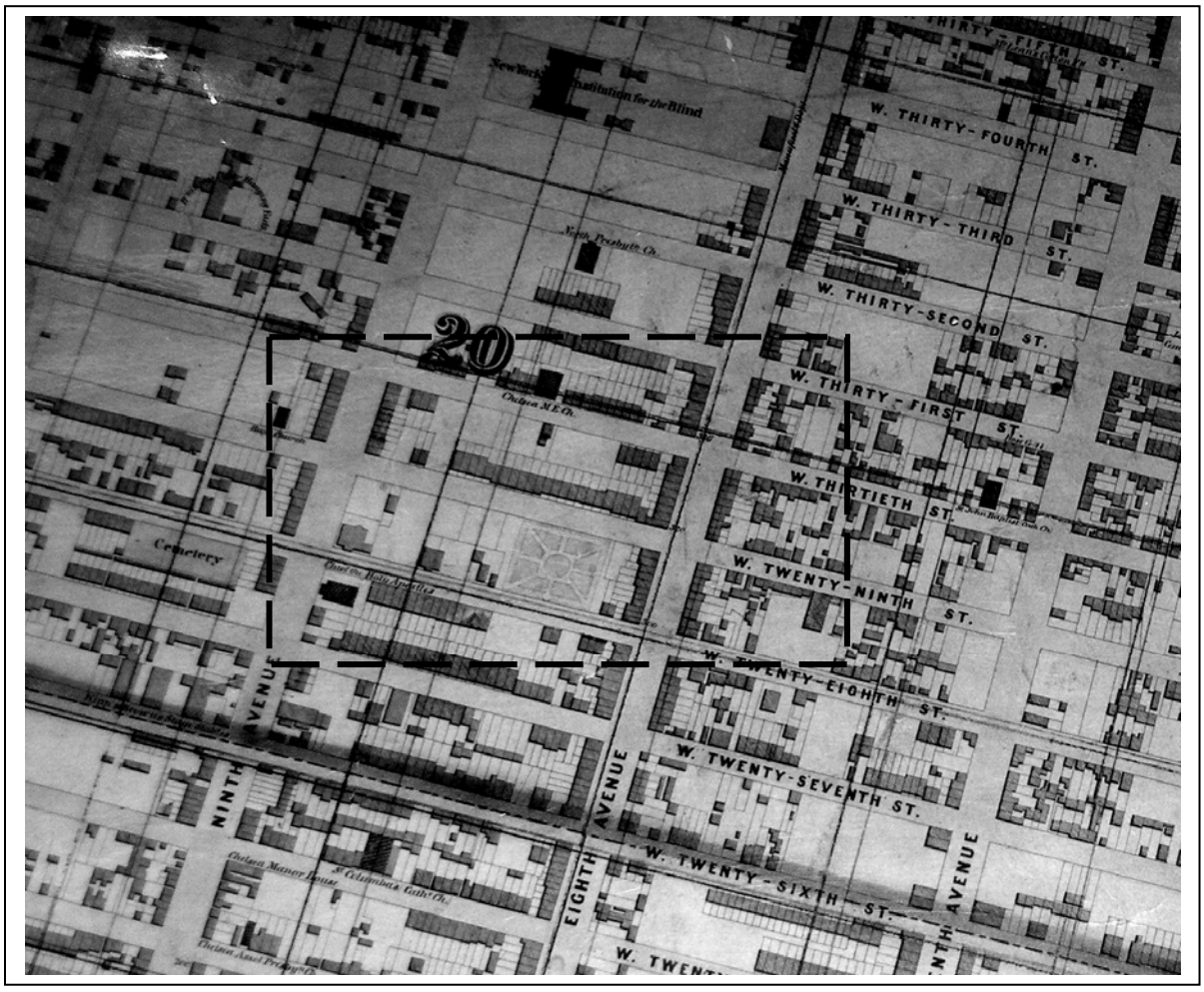
Abby Hopper Gibbons



John Bute Holmes, Map of the Franklin & Robinson, Janet DeKay, Henry Eckford, Mary Clarke, and Clement C. Moore Estates, 1869, Plate 3
Showing original ownership by Cornelius Ray
Map courtesy of The New York Public Library



Perris Map, 1854, plate 91
Showing original development on West 29th Street and Lamartine Park
Map Courtesy of The New York Public Library



M. Dripps, *Map of the City of New York*,
(New York: M. Dripps, 1852), plate 8
Showing the development of Lamartine Place and Lamartine Park
Map Courtesy of The New York Public Library

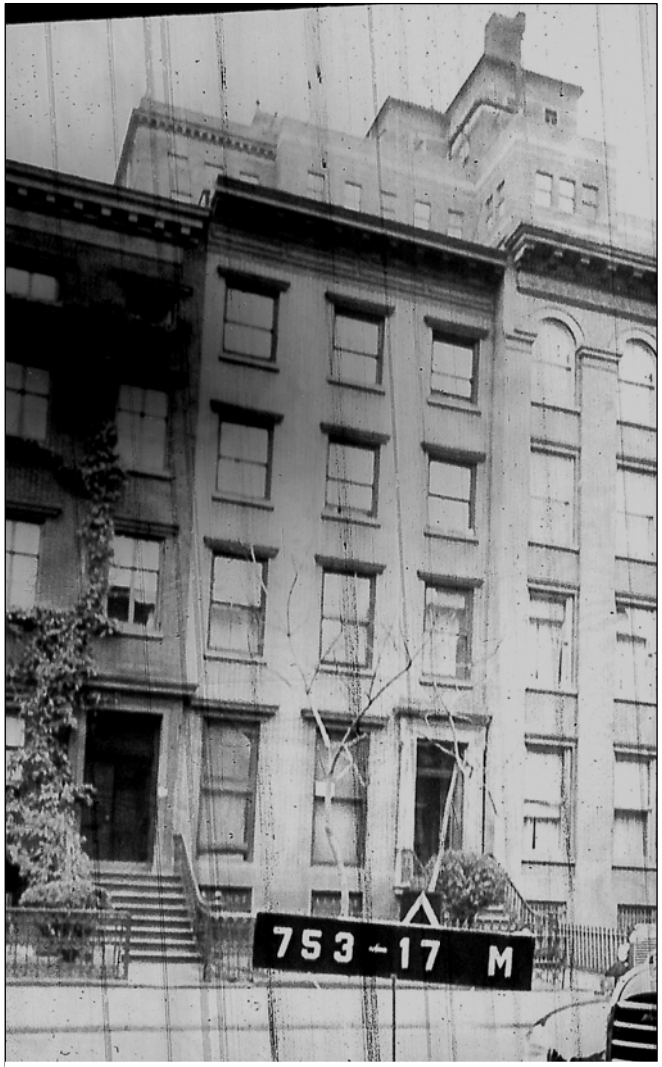
Lamartine Place Historic District
Nos. 333- 355 West 29th Street, north side
Photo: Christopher D. Brazee, 2009

Lamartine Place Historic District
Nos. 333- 355 West 29th Street, north side
Photo: Christopher D. Brazee, 2009

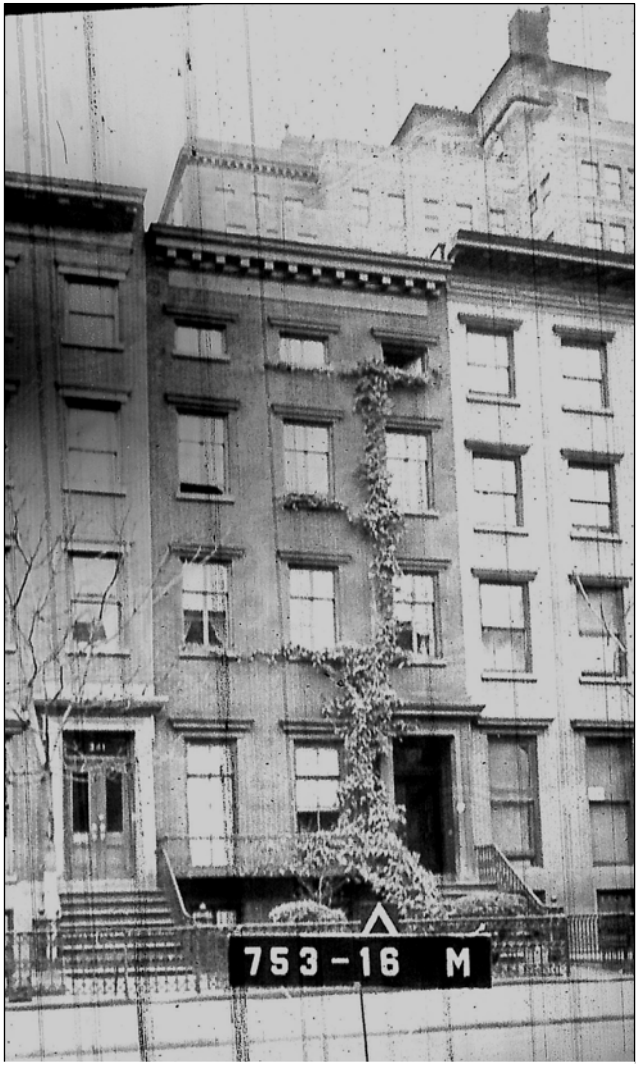
No. 333 West 29th Street

No. 335 West 29th Street

New York City Department of Finance, Tax Photos c.1939-40



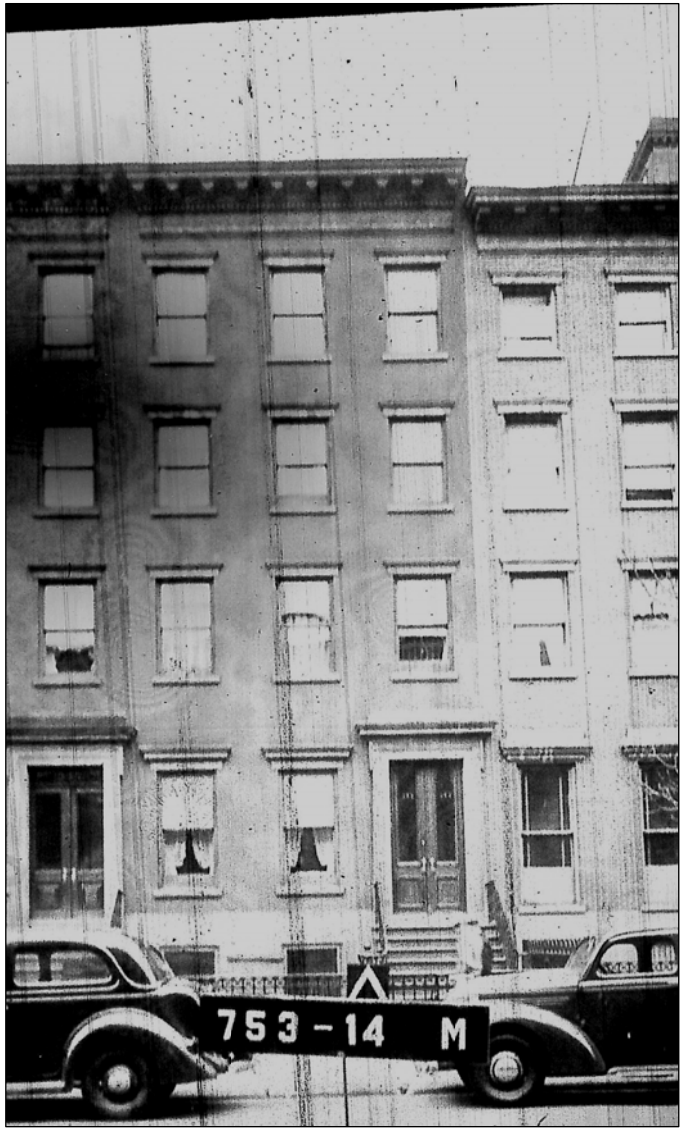
No. 337 West 29th Street



No. 339 West 29th Street

New York City Department of Finance, Tax Photos, c.1939-40

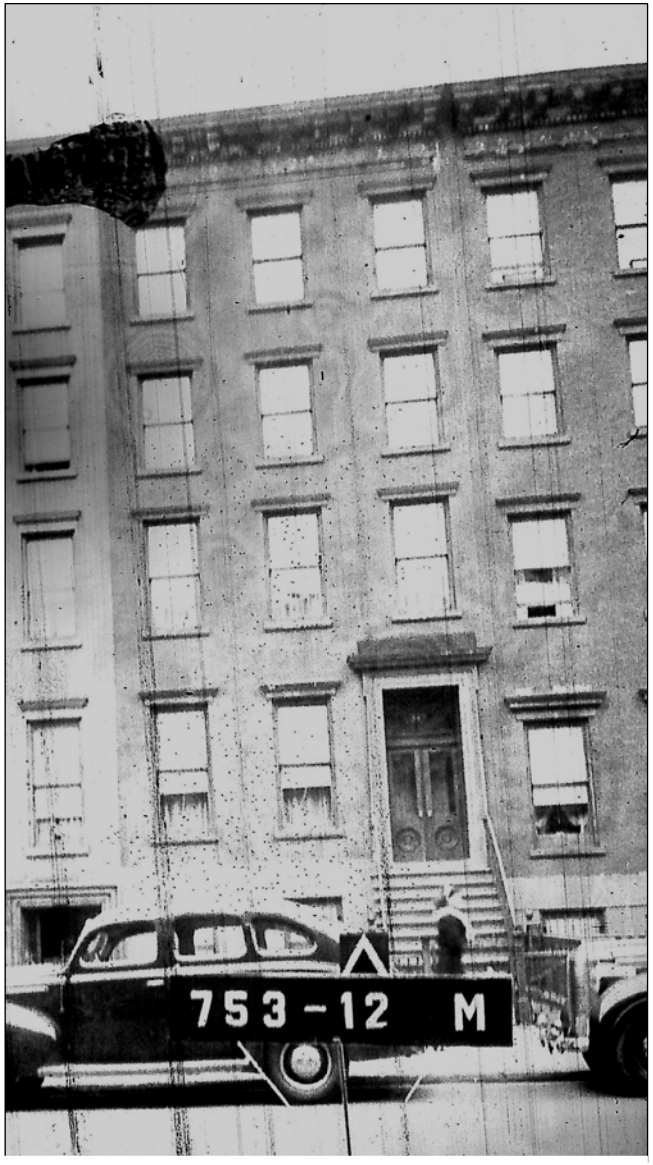
No. 341 West 29th Street



No. 343 West 29th Street

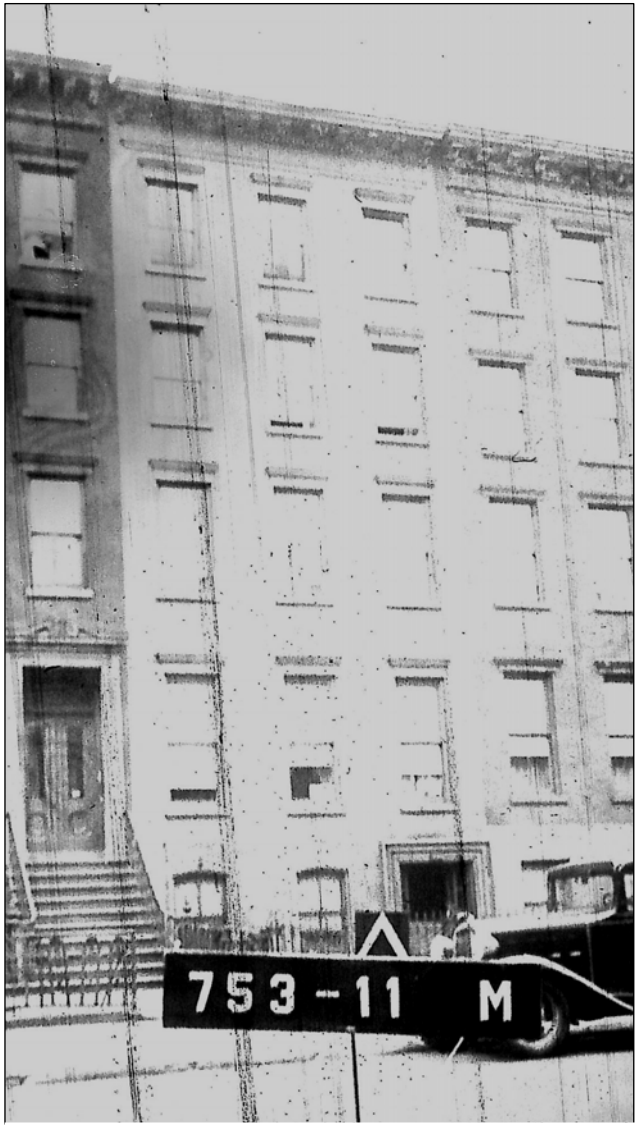
New York City Department of Finance, Tax Photos c. 1939-40

No. 345 West 29th Street

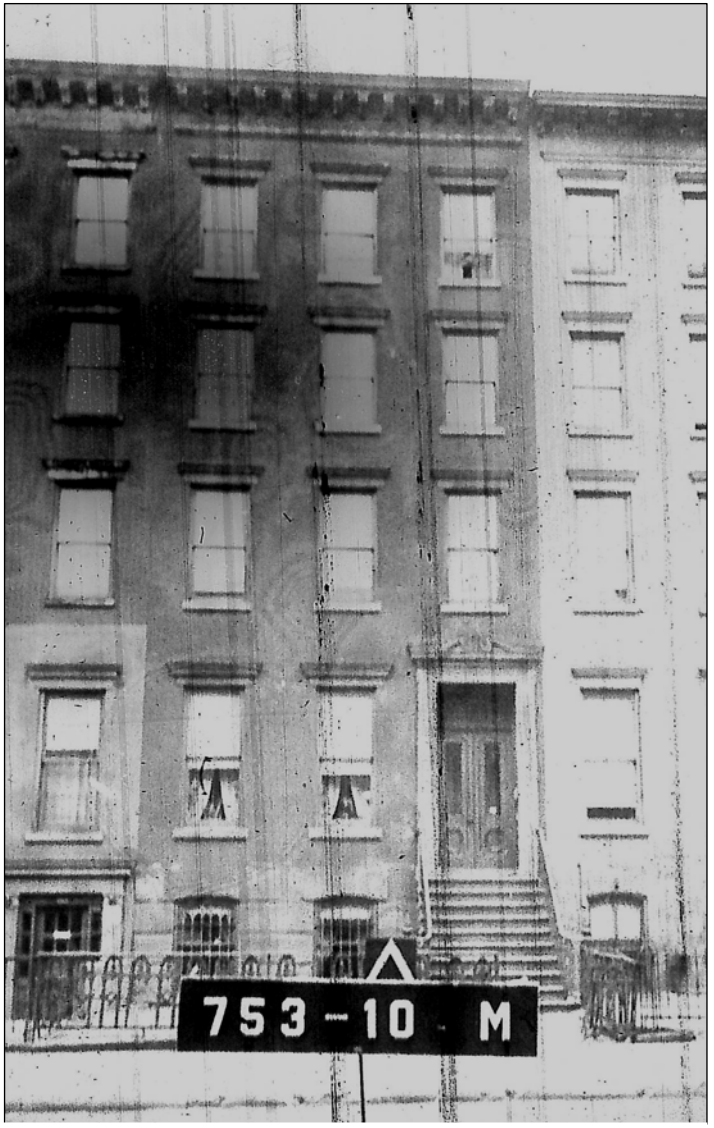


No. 347 West 29th Street

New York City Department of Finance, Tax Photos, c. 1939-40

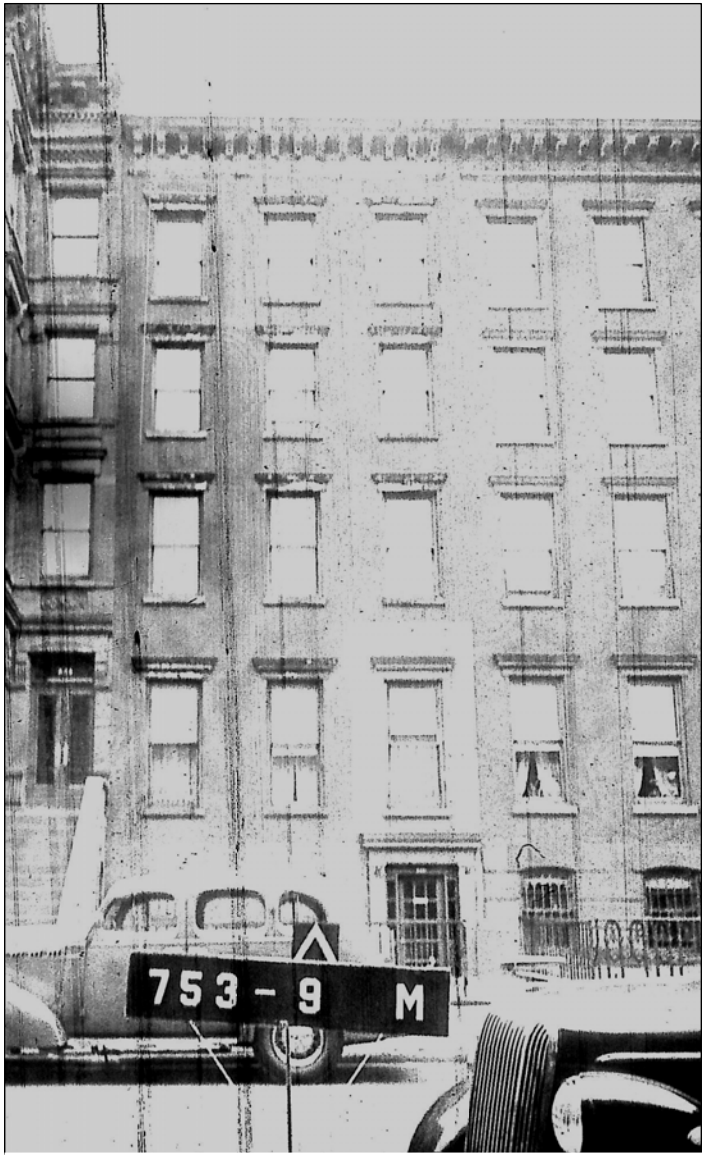


No. 349 West 29th Street

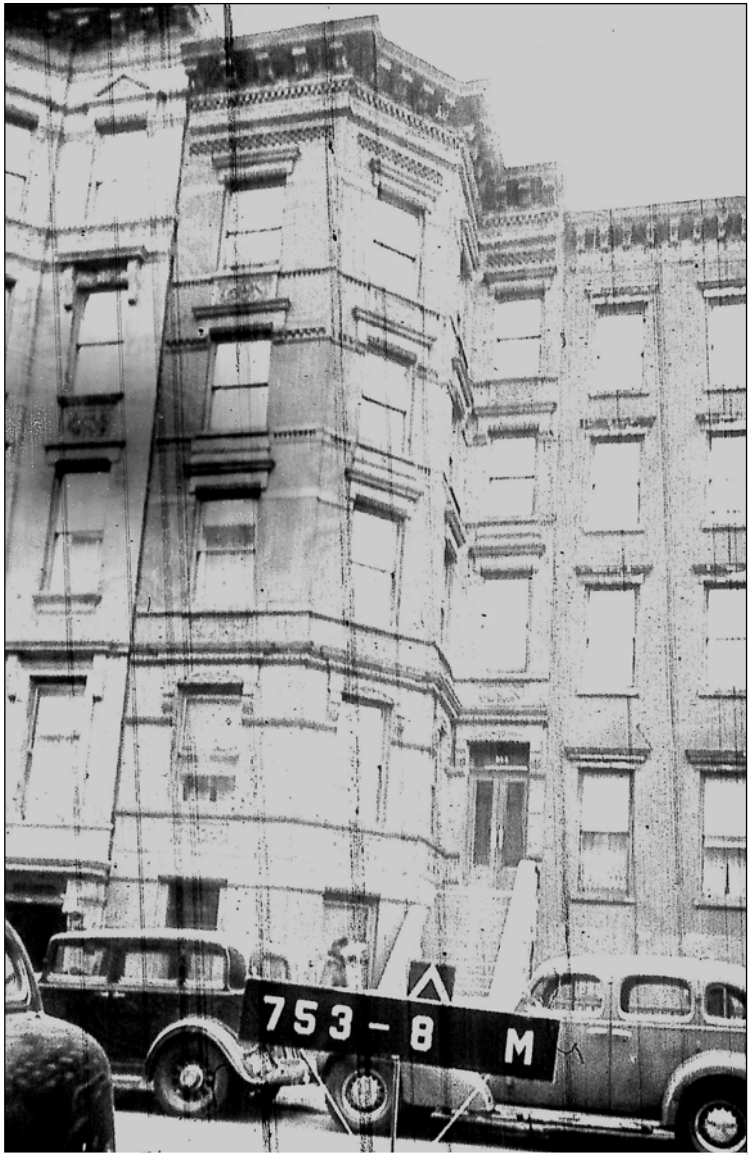


No. 351 West 29th Street

New York City Department of Finance, Tax Photos, c. 1939-40



No. 353 West 29th Street



No. 355 West 29th Street

New York City Department of Finance, Tax Photo c. 1939-40

David A. Paterson
Governor

Carol Ash
Commissioner

New York State Office of Parks,
Recreation and Historic Preservation

Historic Preservation Field Services Bureau • Peebles Island, PO Box 189, Waterford, New York 12188-0189
518-237-8643
www.nysparks.com

RESOURCE EVALUATION

DATE: September 10, 2008

STAFF: Kathy Howe

PROPERTY: Lamartine Place Historic District

MCD: New York

ADDRESS: 333, 335, 337, 339, 341, 343, 345, 347, 349, 351, 353 West 29th Street

COUNTY: New York Co.

USN: 06101.016995 thru ~~06101.017005~~

06101.016996
06101.016997
06101.016998
06101.016999
06101.017000
06101.017001
06101.017002
06101.017003
~~06101~~
06101.017004
06101.017005
(11 USNs)

I. ☐ Property is individually listed on SR/NR:
name of listing:

☐ Property is a contributing component of a SR/NR district:
name of district:

II. ☒ Property meets eligibility criteria.

☐ Property contributes to a district which appears to meet eligibility criteria.

Pre SRB: ☐ Post SRB: ☐ SRB date

Criteria for Inclusion in the National Register:

A. ☒ Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history;

B. ☒ Associated with the lives of persons significant in our past;

C. ☐ Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction; or represents the work of a master; or possess high artistic values; or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction;

D. ☐ Have yielded, or may be likely to yield information important in prehistory or history.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE:

The Lamartine Place Historic District consists of a block of eleven antebellum row houses on the north side of West 29th Street just east of Ninth Avenue (see attached district map). The district meets Criteria A and B for its association with James Sloan Gibbons and Abigail Hopper Gibbons, ardent abolitionists and members of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Their house at no. 339 West 29th Street is significant as one of the few documented Underground Railroad sites in Manhattan. The row houses in the district are remarkable for being among the very few documented surviving buildings and settings associated with the Draft Riots of 1863, a pivotal period in New York City history. The period of significance for the district coincides with the occupancy of the Gibbons family on the street from 1851 to 1868.

Originally constructed between 1846 and 1847, the houses were developed by William Torrey in association with Rev. Dr. Cyrus Mason, a professor at New York University. The block of West 29th Street between Eighth and Ninth avenues was known as Lamartine-Place up until 1898. The four-story brick houses were designed in the Greek Revival style. The houses are set back from the sidewalk with gated gardens in front. Many retain their Greek Revival door surrounds, sills, and stoops. Changes have been made to the houses through the years including the addition of bold Renaissance Revival cornices; removal of some stoops; window and door replacements; and the insertion of through-wall air conditioning units. Despite alterations, the district is a rare surviving row of mid-nineteenth century residences in midtown Manhattan with a distinct sense of place further reinforced by the setback from the street.

The Gibbons family resided at 337 West 29th Street in 1851 until at least the end of 1852 and possibly the beginning of 1853.[1] Isaac Tatem Hopper, father of Abigail and a staunch abolitionist and former treasurer and book agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, died here in May 1852. The Gibbonses had acquired the house next door at 339 West 29th Street in 1851.[2] The family lived at no. 339 West 29th Street from about 1852[3] up until 1868. Joseph Hodges Choate, a lawyer, diplomat, and founding member of the American Museum of Natural History, recalls in his memoirs as a young man dining with the Gibbonses in the company of William Lloyd Garrison, editor of the radical abolitionist newspaper *The Liberator*, and one of the founders of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and a fugitive slave at no. 339 in 1855, specifically citing the house as a stop on the Underground Railroad. Choate noted that many other abolitionists were visitors here including Lucretia Mott, Quaker minister, social reformer, and proponent of women's rights. The Gibbonses invited both black and white guests to stay at their home during the Anti Slavery Convention of 1856. John Brown met with Abigail here in 1859. Newspaper editor and abolitionist Horace Greeley often visited here.

Vandals defaced the front door and door step of the Gibbons' house with coal tar on January 22, 1863 in protest of the family's celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation. The house was attacked again during the Draft Riots of 1863 since it was well known to the rioters that the Gibbonses entertained many prominent abolitionists, particularly Greeley. James Sloan Gibbons, his daughters, and Joseph Hodges Choate escaped the mob which partially torched and looted the house by walking over the rooftops to the Hebrew Orphan Asylum (no. 303 West 29th Street) where Mr. Herrman let them in to safety. A neighbor of the Gibbonses, Daniel Wilson, who lived at no. 343 West 29th Street (formerly no. 21 Lamartine-Place), was beaten when he addressed the angry mob, asking them not to cause further damage to his home or others on the street. No. 353 West 29th Street (formerly no. 26 Lamartine-Place), the home of Samuel Sinclair, publisher of the *New York Tribune*, was also attacked. Sinclair was a relative of Horace Greeley, founder of the paper and well-known abolitionist.

Abigail Hopper Gibbons was very active in fighting for social reforms. In addition to the anti-slavery activities with her husband, Abigail and her father founded the Women's Prison Association of New York City in 1845 lobbying for improved living conditions, the establishment of separate prisons for women, practical skills training, and the hiring of female matrons. She was also a nurse during the Civil War and served as president of a German industrial school for children, among other social causes. When she died in 1893, her obituary in the *New York Times* called Gibbons "one of the most remarkable women of the century."

If you have any questions concerning this Determination of Eligibility, please call Kathy Howe at (518) 237-8643, ext. 3266.

---

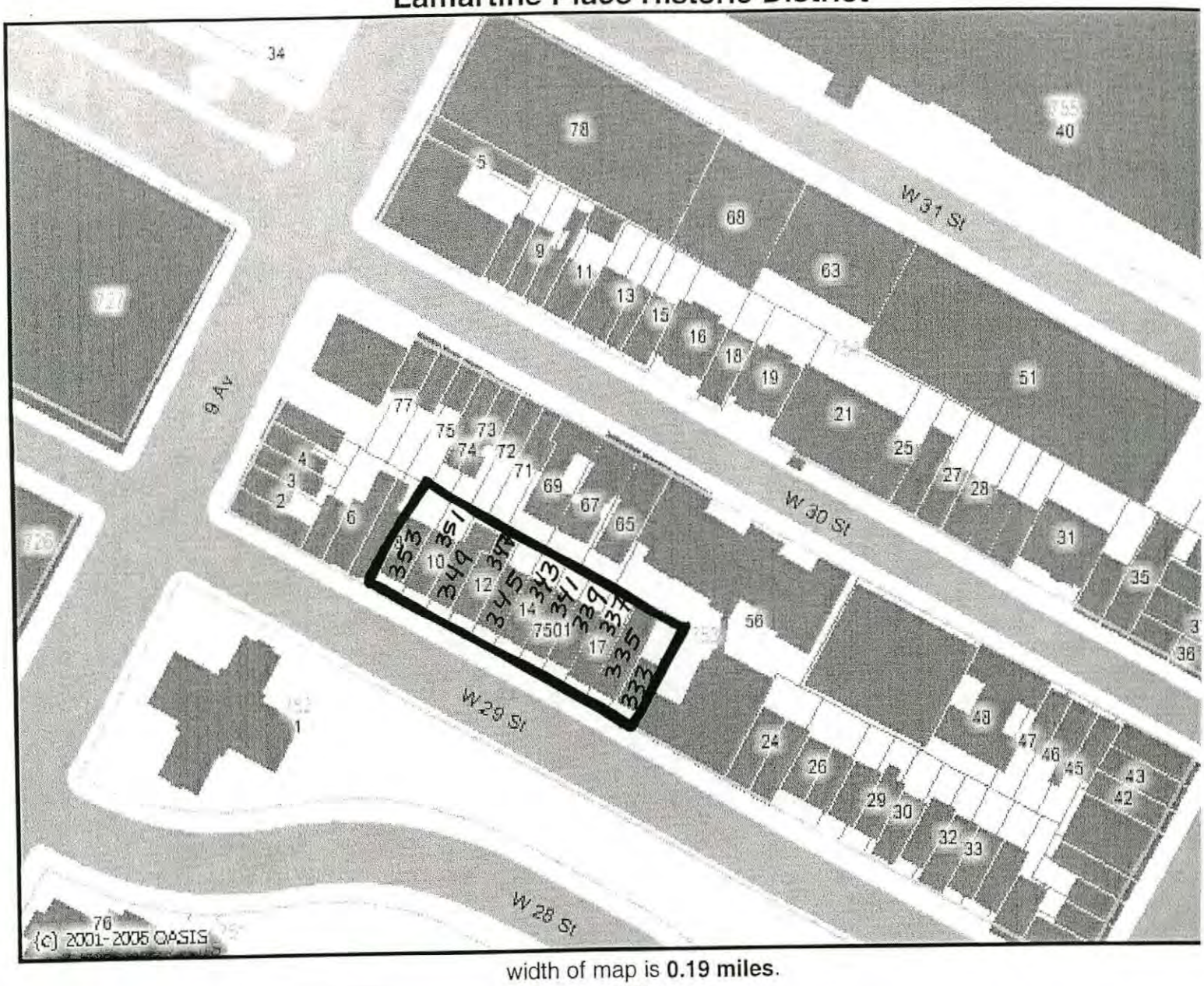
[1] The Gibbons family is registered as living at that address in the 1851-52 and 1852-53 *NYC Directories*; a *New York Times* article of December 2, 1852 states that they were still living there at that date.

[2] Abigail Hopper Gibbons indicated in a letter to her daughter of May 22, 1851 that they were about to move into their home at no. 19 La-Martine Place (today's no. 339 West 29th Street).

[3] The Gibbonses are listed in the 1852-53 *NYC Directory* as being at that address. They may have lived concurrently in both houses in 1851-1853 (possibly due to Isaac Tatem Hopper's stay there at the end of his life from early in the spring of 1852), but tried to sell no. 337 shortly before Isaac died as revealed in an ad in the *New York Times*; one of Abigail's letters indicates that they were unable to sell it at first and owned both for a while.

OASIS Map

Lamartine Place Historic District



width of map is **0.19 miles**.

Streets Block/Lot Boundaries

Buildings

nyc oasis

Map provided by the
Open Accessible Space Information System
(www.OASISnyc.net)
of New York City