INTERROGATING
SAN JUAN HILL

A PRESERVATION LENS ON RESTORATIVE JUSTICE

Historic Preservation Studio II 2023
Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation

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Holly Zinn, Director / Co-Chair of Board

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Monica Blum, President
Ralph Memoli, Executive Vice President

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Christopher Nicols, Digital Archivist

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Dan Brownell, Senior Managing Director
Floretta Hudson, Project Associate and Administrator
Frances Edwards and Pat, Interim President

New York Society for Ethical Culture
Robert C Liebeskind, Executive Director
Richard Koral, Leader
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Sherrise Palomino, Director of Advocacy and Programs

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Sydnie L. Mosley, Artistic Executive Director

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STUDENTS

Estéban Alberty-Cardona
Annie An
Blanca Balbuena
Charlotte Boulanger
Yuan Chen
Drew Citron
Gray Danforth
Naomi Dressler
Madeline Hagan
Sophia Haynes
Pitchaya Kointarangkul,
Cassidy Kraft
Yaozhi Liu
Brooke Marinovich
Daniela Martinez
Eleanor Phetteplace
Andrés Santana-Miranda
Stephanie Snell
Weijie Sun
Roberto Villasante
Esther Wagner
Moisa Wroy
Dingyi Zhang
Jieli Zhao
Di Zhu

TEACHING ASSISTANTS

Adam Brodheim
Michelle Leach

FACULTY

Erica Avrami, PhD,
James Marston Fitch Assistant Professor of Historic Preservation

Shreya Ghoshal,
Adjunct Assistant Professor of Historic Preservation

Chat Travieso,
Adjunct Assistant Professor of Historic Preservation and Urban Design

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INTRODUCTION + METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This studio focused on the area of Manhattan's West Side that is currently occupied by several major institutions and residential complexes, including Lincoln Center, Fordham University, Amsterdam Houses, and Lincoln Towers, as well as a range of other residential, commercial, institutional, and recreational properties.

The neighborhood has been known by many names historically, the most prominent of which is San Juan Hill. While the history of the area is long and complex, the studio intentionally sought to counter narrate mid-twentieth century urban renewal histories by interrogating more deeply the publics and places that defined San Juan Hill before redevelopment and thus shape our experience and understanding of the neighborhood today. The displacement of residents and the loss of a community constitute a profound injustice from a contemporary vantage point.

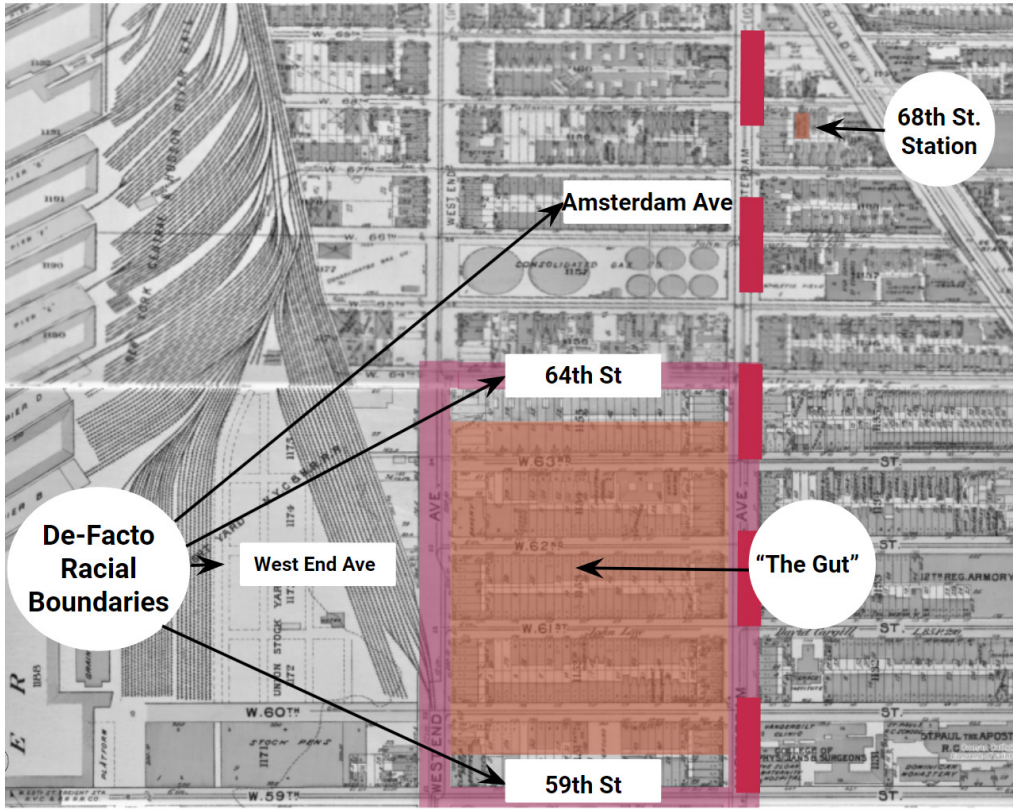
The San Juan Hill neighborhood garnered many monikers over the years, including Skinnerville, Columbus Hill, and more. Once Irish and Black residents moved into the area, its names became much more racialized and typically commented on endemic racial and ethnic violence. Research suggests that the name San Juan Hill originated from the district's reputation as a racial battlefield and its geographic location on a hill, referring to the 1898 Battle of San Juan Hill during the Spanish American War.

This racialized name reflected the geography and demographics of San Juan Hill in the early decades of the twentieth century. Both Irish and Black communities inhabited the neighborhood, but tenements were deeply segregated with White people on avenues and Black people on cross streets. De facto racial boundaries hemmed in the Black community between 64th and 59th Streets, and Amsterdam and West End Avenues. This area, seen in red on the map, was known as "the Gut." Amsterdam Avenue was widely recognized as a critical racial divide, with a predominantly Black community to the west, and a predominantly White community to the east.

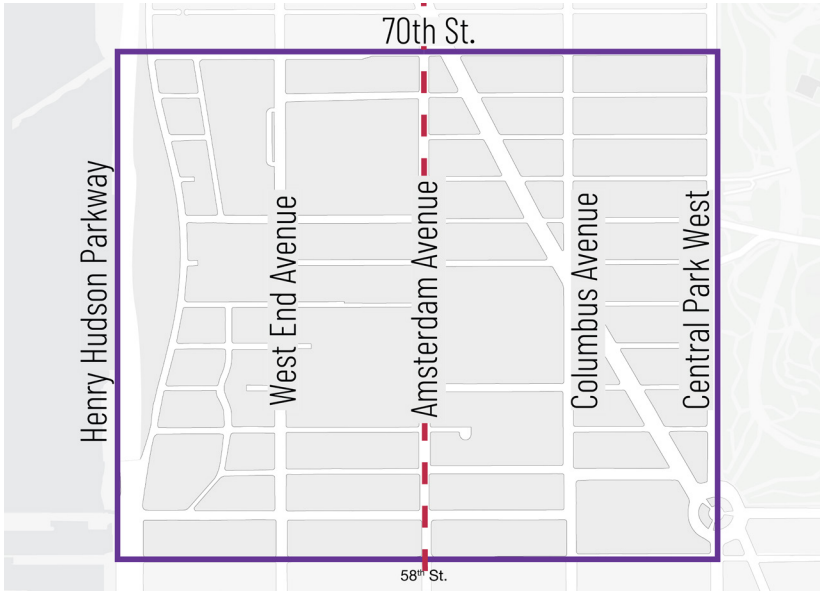
> *By applying a preservation lens, the team explored the area's past to understand histories of change, examined the consequences of those changes for various publics and the built environment, and then sought to intentionally align preservation action with restorative justice.*

Aerial View of Lincoln Center During Construction
Photo by John Rooney (1962), The New York Times

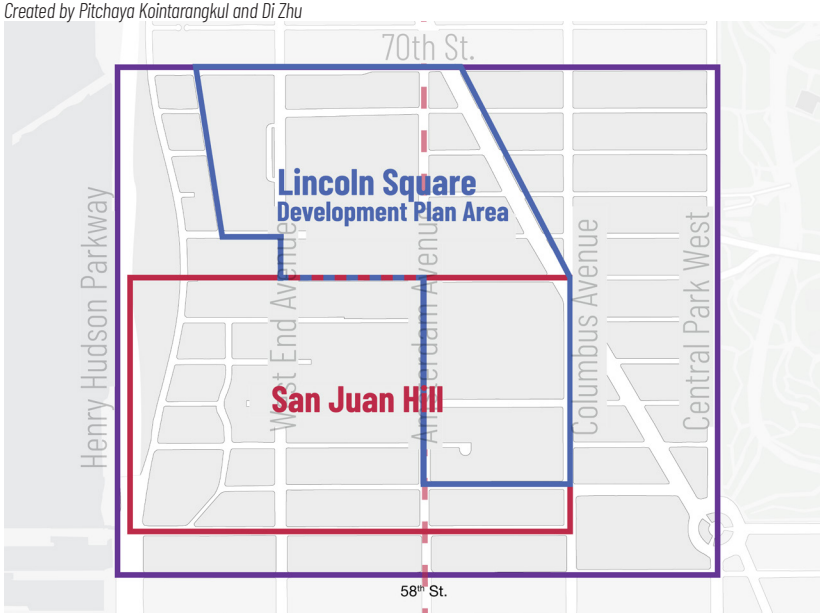
Racialized Origins at San Juan Hill
Collage by Naomi Dressler



Map of Racialized Boundaries in San Juan Hill with "The Gut" and Police Station
Created by Maddie Hagan



Studio Study Area
Created by Pitchaya Kointarangkul and Di Zhu



The Outlines of San Juan Hill, Lincoln Square Development Plan area, and the Lincoln Quadrangle
Created by Di Zhu

STUDY AREA

The physical character of the area's landscape is integral to its history. Much of the neighborhood rests on elevated land; however, there are also valleys that were previously waterways. This uneven topography as well as the disparate quality of land historically influenced occupation of the area and development of the built environment, and reinforced barriers throughout the neighborhood even after the imposition of the street grid.

From its first use at the turn of the twentieth century, the nomenclature "San Juan Hill" described different street boundaries at different times. Studio research concluded that San Juan Hill was generally bounded by 59th and 65th Streets (south-north), and Columbus Avenue and the Hudson River (east-west). Historical reporting of San Juan Hill, especially regarding violence, race, and ethnicity, centered in this area.

In 1906, the New York City Board of Aldermen formally named the area "Lincoln Square," and this name became more utilized in the 1940s, when government entities outlined the Lincoln Square Development Plan area slated for urban renewal. Government interests expanded, and by 1962 "the Lincoln Quadrangle" enlarged the zone of government interest, encompassing San Juan Hill.

Because the influence of redevelopment on the neighborhood was so integral to the studio's inquiry, the study area essentially corresponded to the more expansive Lincoln Quadrangle, bounded by 58th Street and 70th Streets (south-north) and Central Park West and the Henry Hudson Parkway (east-west).

LEGACIES OF REDEVELOPMENT

The physical character of the area's landscape is integral to its history. Much of the neighborhood rests on elevated land; however, there are also valleys that were previously waterways. This uneven topography as well as the disparate quality of land historically influenced occupation of the area and development of the built environment, and reinforced barriers throughout the neighborhood even after the imposition of the street grid.

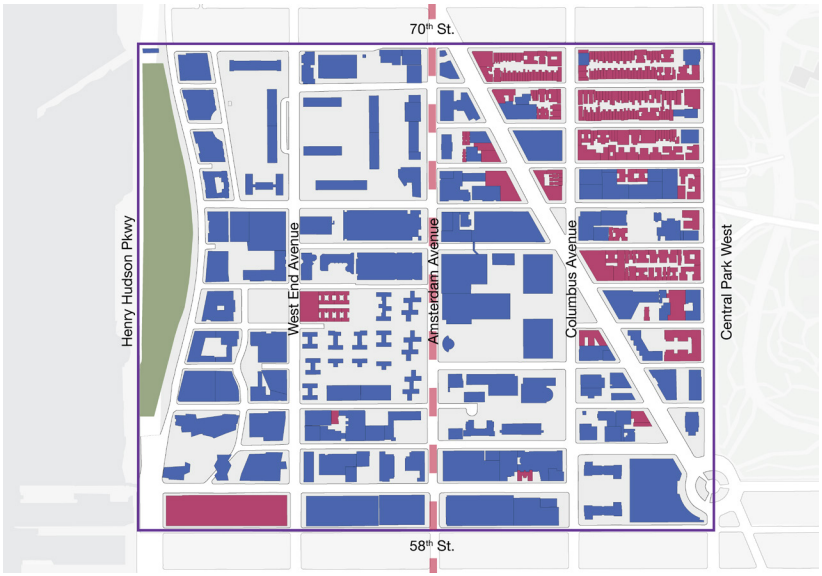
As a consequence of these projects, the built environment of the neighborhood changed dramatically. Few buildings from before the 1930s survive in the study area, and their geographic distribution reflects racial divides. Most are concentrated east of Amsterdam Avenue, within designated historic districts, and few survive west.

San Juan Hill's vulnerability to redevelopment was in large part due to who lived there. San Juan Hill historically was home to communities marginalized by racial segregation, economic necessity, and sociopolitical factors. Facing persistent patterns of discrimination, hostility, and violence, these groups lacked the authority to consistently claim and occupy space in San Juan Hill and through New York City.

Following the occupation of the land by the Lenape people and then Dutch colonization in the seventeenth century, various immigrant communities started to settle in the area in the 1860s. By the 1890s, Black families began to arrive in response to racial hostility in southern areas of Manhattan and as part of the Great Migration from the US South. Facing similar racial hostility, by the mid-1920s, large numbers of Black residents relocated from San Juan Hill to Harlem. The 1940s marked the arrival of Puerto Rican families due to migration from Puerto Rico and overcrowding in East Harlem. By 1960, however, their numbers dwindled due to the Lincoln Square redevelopment project.

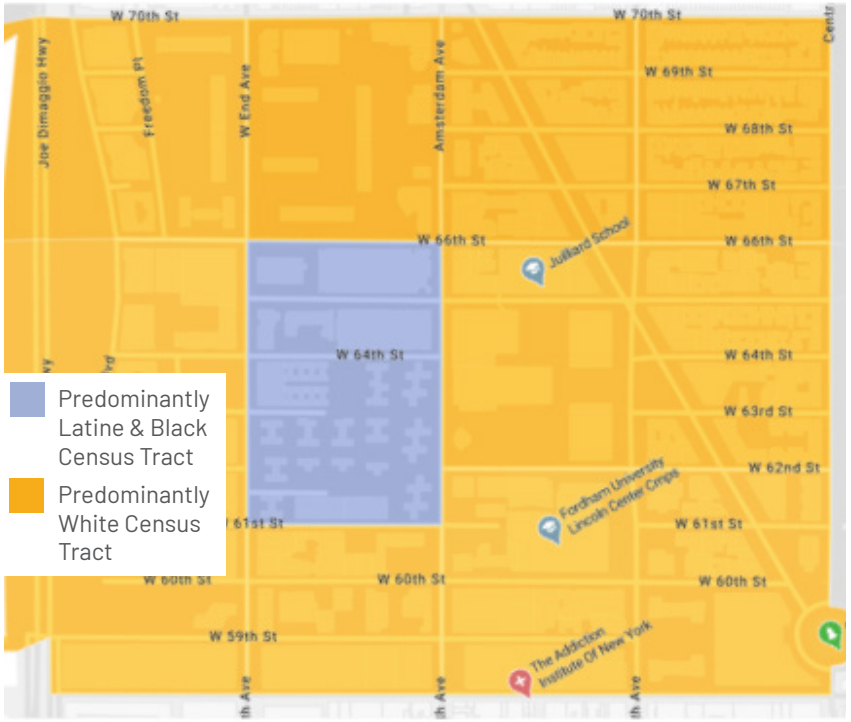
Evidence of racial, social, and economic divides still persist to this day. The area east of Amsterdam Avenue is predominantly White, and Black and Latine communities are concentrated in the area historically known as the Gut. Amsterdam Houses, a New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) development, is at the core of this contemporary socio-economic divide. Seventy-eight percent of Amsterdam Houses residents are Black or Latine; the surrounding area is eighty percent White and Asian.

In 2021, the median adjusted income for households in the Amsterdam Houses was $26,533 versus $184,231 in the surrounding area. These conditions suggest a systemic pattern of disparity deeply rooted in the history of this neighborhood, its diverse publics, and its legacy of redevelopment. This studio sought to interrogate these social and spatial histories, using historic preservation perspectives and methods, as a foundation for activating restorative justice.



Study Area Loss and Survival Since the 1940s
Created by Di Zhu

Racial Demographics, 1910
Created by Andrés Santana-Miranda



Racial Divides Persist in 2020
Created by Gray Danforth

Scope of Redevelopment
Created by Pitchaya Kointarangkul and Di Zhu

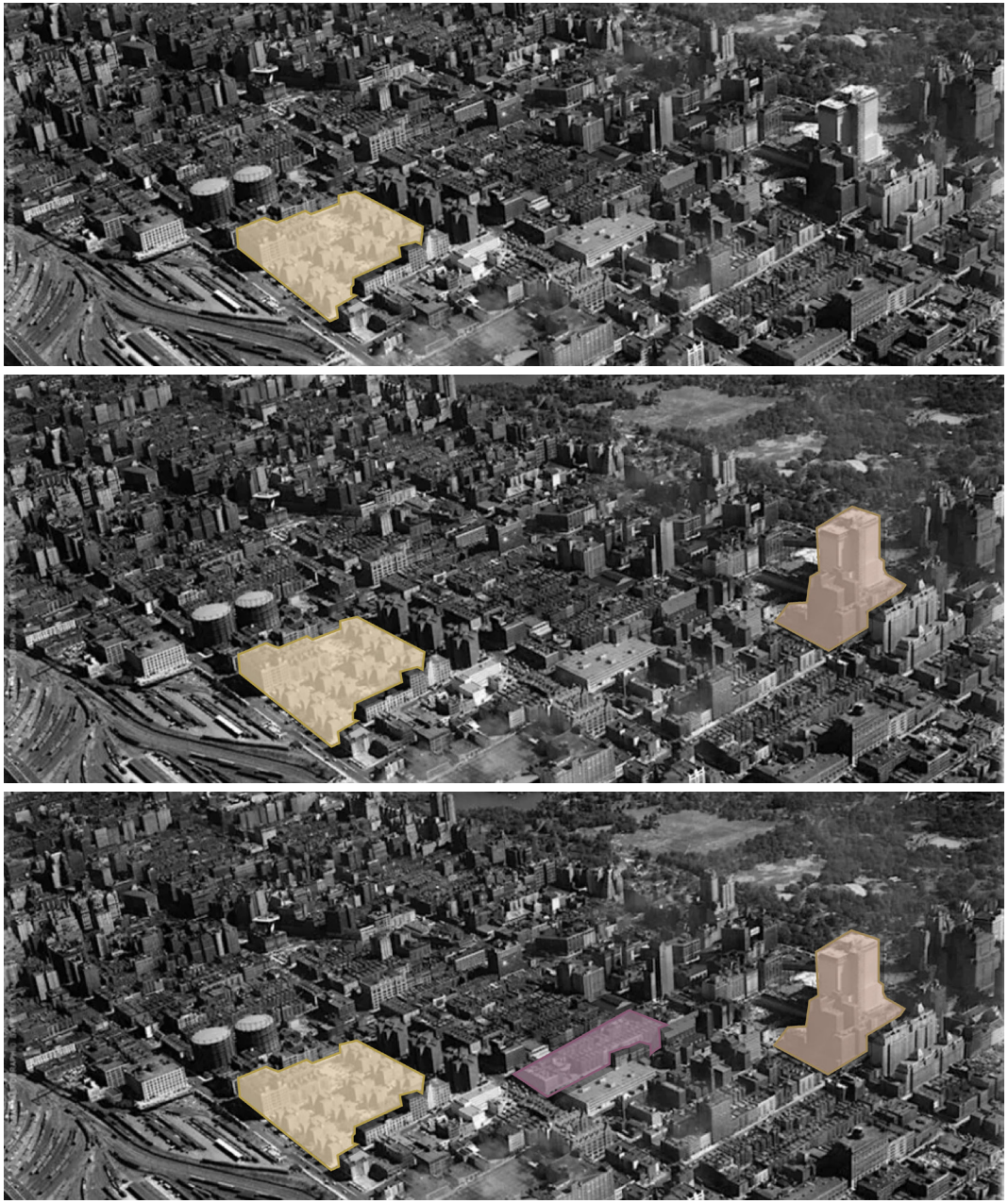
1948
Amsterdam Houses

1952
Coliseum

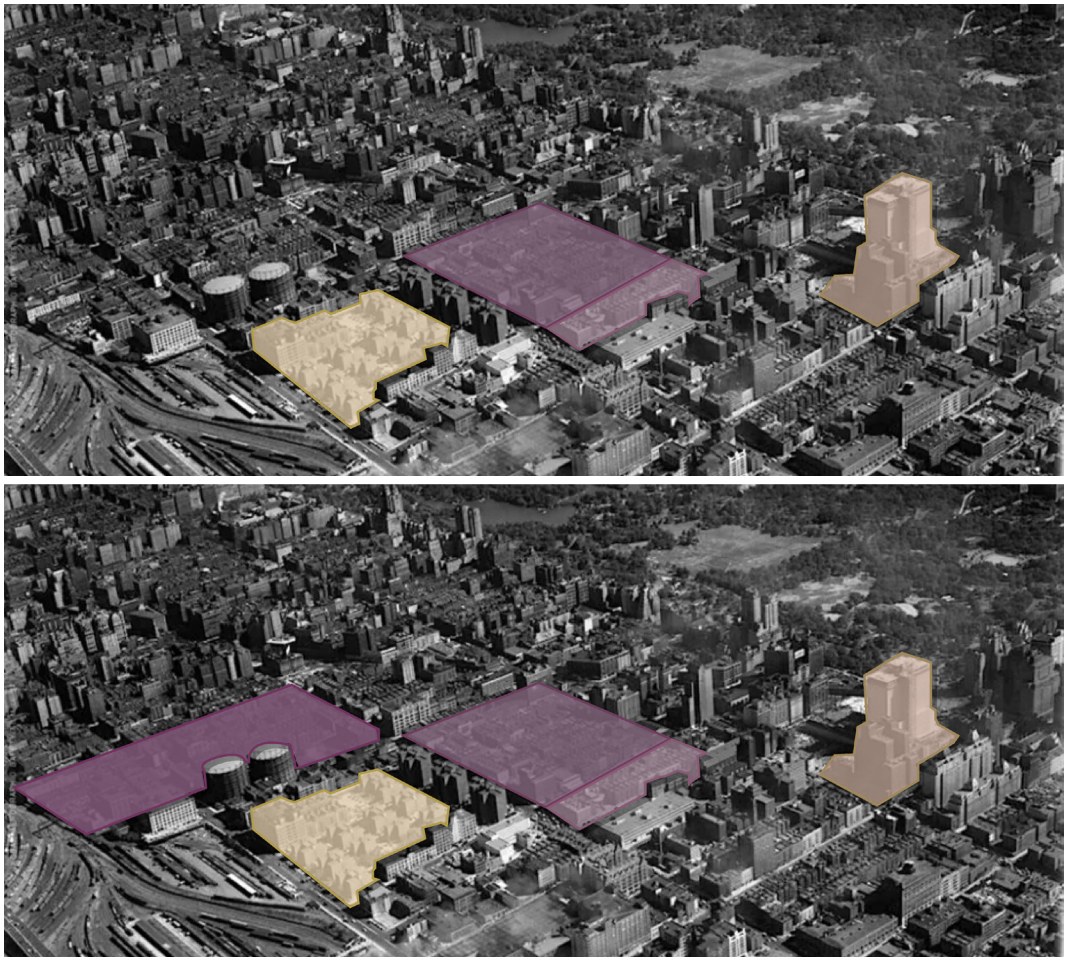
1961
Fordham University

1962
Lincoln Center

1964
Lincoln Towers



Visual Scope of Redevelopment
Created by Charlotte Boulanger



Visual Scope of Redevelopment
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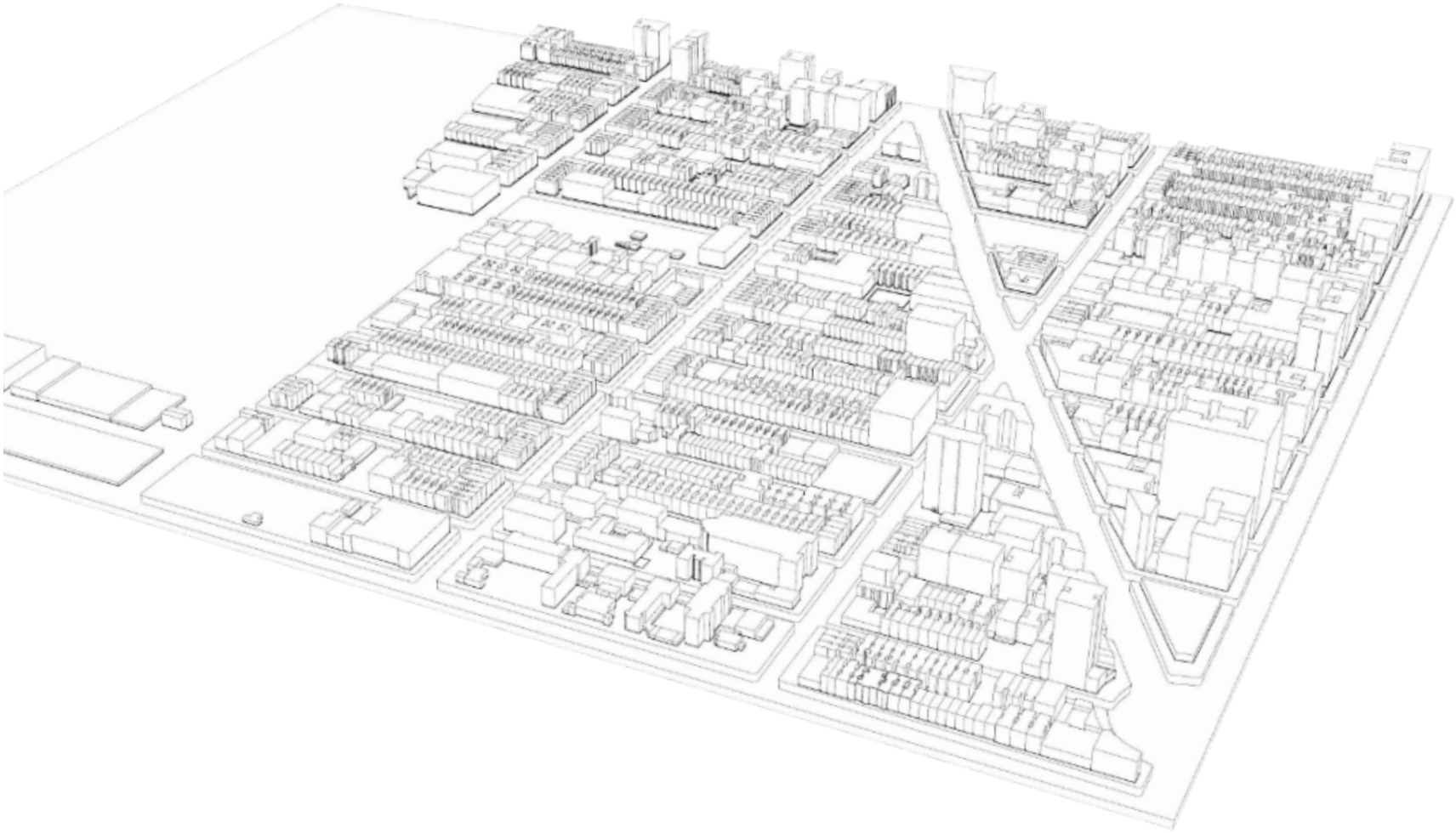
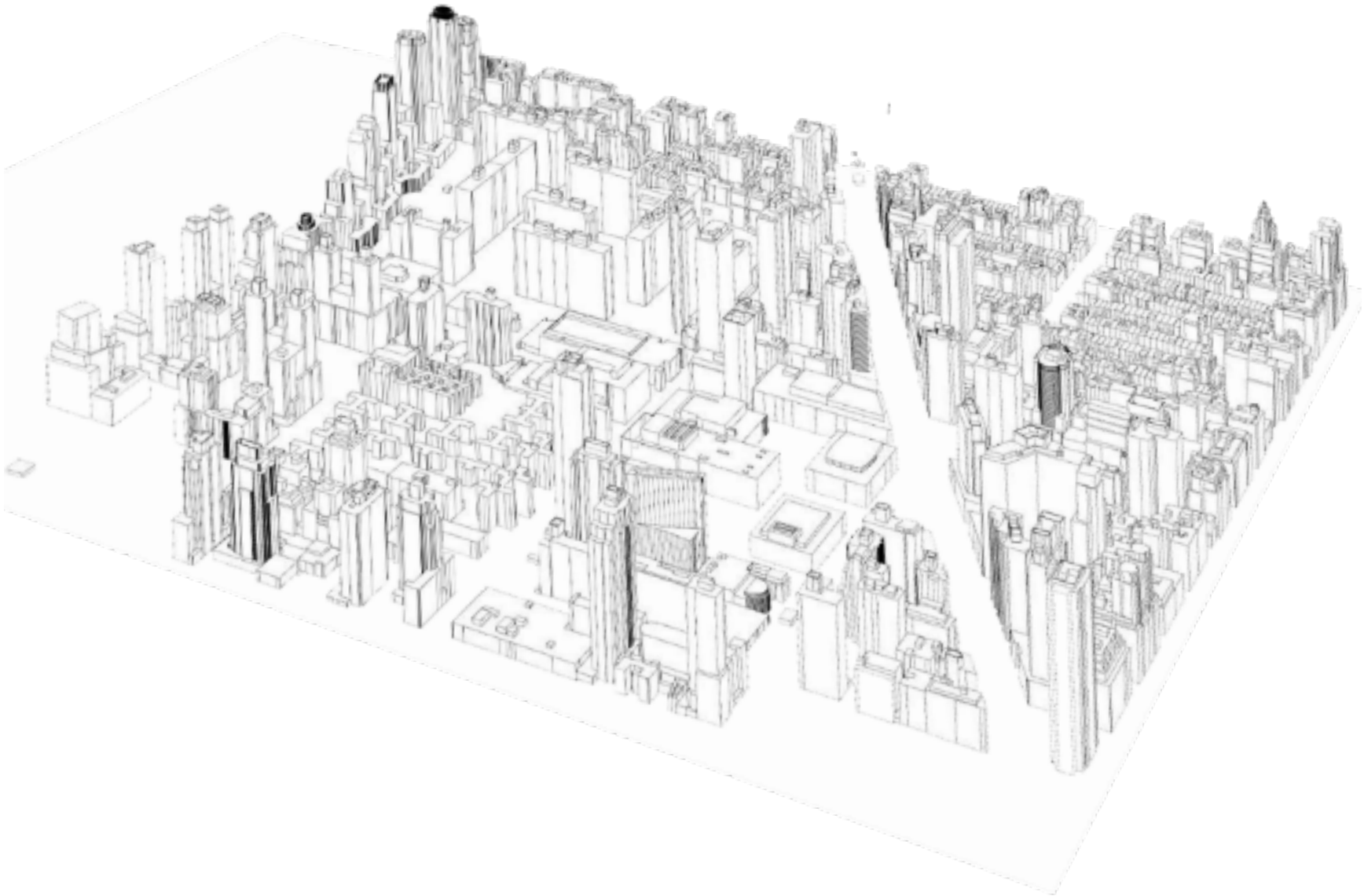


1934 Neighborhood Axonometric
Created by Charlotte Boulanger and Di Zhu



2023 Neighborhood Axonometric
Created by Charlotte Boulanger and Di Zhu

METHODOLOGY

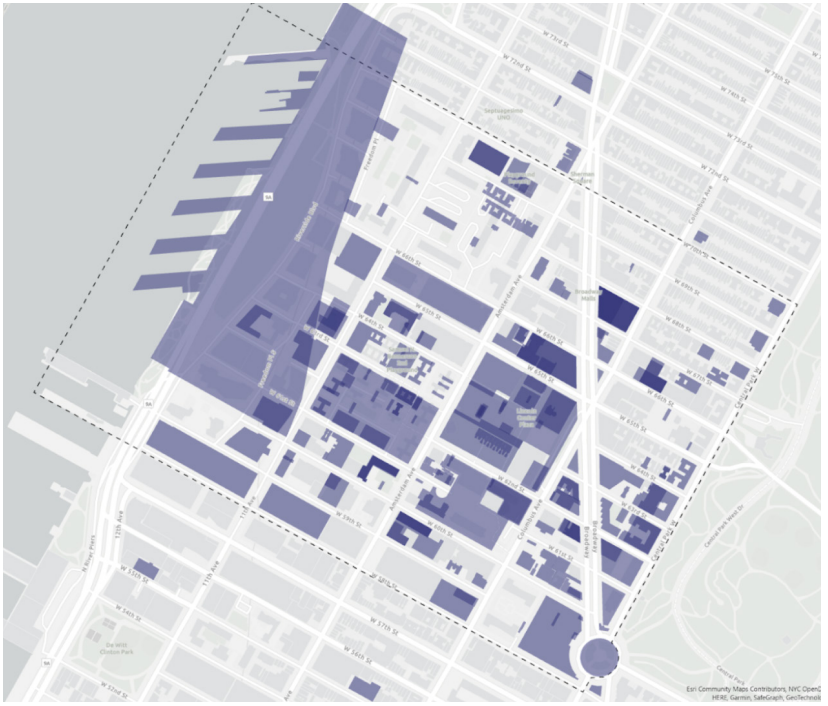
This study is the result of the required Studio II course in the Columbia Historic Preservation Graduate Program. Students interrogate the evolving nature of the urban built environment and the publics who inhabit it, grapple with the political dimensions and negotiated values of land use decision-making, and seek to expand practices of preservation beyond the designation and physical protection of surviving places of significance. To achieve this, Studio II frames an inquiry and a context for open-ended exploration by applying the methodological lens of historic preservation.

This Spring 2023 Studio II focused the preservation lens on questions of restorative justice in the context of San Juan Hill by exploring the following:

HISTORIES: What stories, places, events, works, policies, organizations and entities, individuals, and instances of resistance and resilience characterize, represent, and/or demonstrate evidence of social-spatial injustice?

CONSEQUENCES: How have people and the places they inhabit been affected by these histories over time? How are these histories and their consequences encountered and/or experienced today, if at all?

INTENTIONS: How can the preservation enterprise – through community-engaged research, interpretation, creative expression, innovative policy, physical intervention, etc. – instrumentalize the social and/or spatial evidence of these legacies to promote restorative justice?



Map depicting identified survey assets. Darker blue regions indicate overlapping assets.
Created by Annie An

STUDIO METHODOLOGY

The team embarked on its semester-long study with an examination of the concept of restorative justice, which the studio used as an umbrella term that includes reparations, reconciliation, transformative justice, transitional justice, and more. While the concept of restorative justice is more commonly applied in criminal contexts, this studio employed it as a means of focusing historical research and underpinning preservation action. Central to this work was developing a deep understanding of how patterns of injustice emerged historically, repeat over time, and are embedded in the built environment. Investigating these legacies and their social-spatial dimensions required students to confront historic injustice and racism through research into texts and imagery that can be offensive, unsettling, and triggering. Negotiating how to tell and represent these histories and their implications in ways that are accurate, sensitive, and respectful was challenging.

> *The studio methodology emphasized reckoning with the past to build a more just foundation for the future.*

The team discussed these challenges and sought to reach collective decisions about terms regarding race, ethnicity, social groups, formality, and the name of the site itself in studio discussions. The team chose to redact certain words historically used in media, such as slurs and derogatory terms, as a result.

The studio methodology emphasized reckoning with the past to build a more just foundation for the future. Students launched their research with an interrogation of San Juan Hill's history through the lens of twelve themes identified by faculty, referred to as "historic contexts." Students worked in small groups to research each, using historic maps and imagery, census data, published research, institutional and church archives, media accounts, and oral histories, police records, land use and property records, and more, to develop histories of the neighborhood – its people, places, events, and stories – using the 12 themes as contexts of analysis.

To explore the spatial dimensions of these historic context themes, students identified "historic assets" through archival research – specific places (both surviving and non-surviving) that represent critical dimensions or narratives (positive and negative) related to their respective theme. Students then designed a field survey using ArcGIS Fieldmaps, and went into the neighborhood to ground-truth the archival research and to examine how assets have changed, been replaced, or persisted in the landscape.

Through the historic contexts research, the studio identified 207 assets as being representative of and significant to the histories and publics of San Juan Hill. These were analyzed through the field survey, and the team found that only 114 (or 55%) of these assets are still surviving. It should be noted that many of these surviving assets were built in relation to redevelopment projects in the neighborhood, including Lincoln Center and Fordham's campuses and portions of Amsterdam Houses. Full documentation of these historic contexts and their associated assets can be found in Appendix A, and a table listing all of the historic assets can be found in Appendix B.

The next phase built on this historical evidence to analyze issues of justice— their effects over time and how they echo today. Students identified 75 community-based organizations, educational institutions, and government entities, and requests for interviews were sent to all. The team referred to these as "connector organizations," as they present opportunities for connecting past and present and forging intersections with the work of preserving the diverse stories and spaces of San Juan Hill. They included organizations with multi-scaled impacts and missions, ranging from those historically rooted in the neighborhood to those with a city-wide impact and ties to the study area. Nearly two dozen individuals and organizational representatives provided interviews, which informed students' understanding of contemporary conditions and their historical underpinnings.

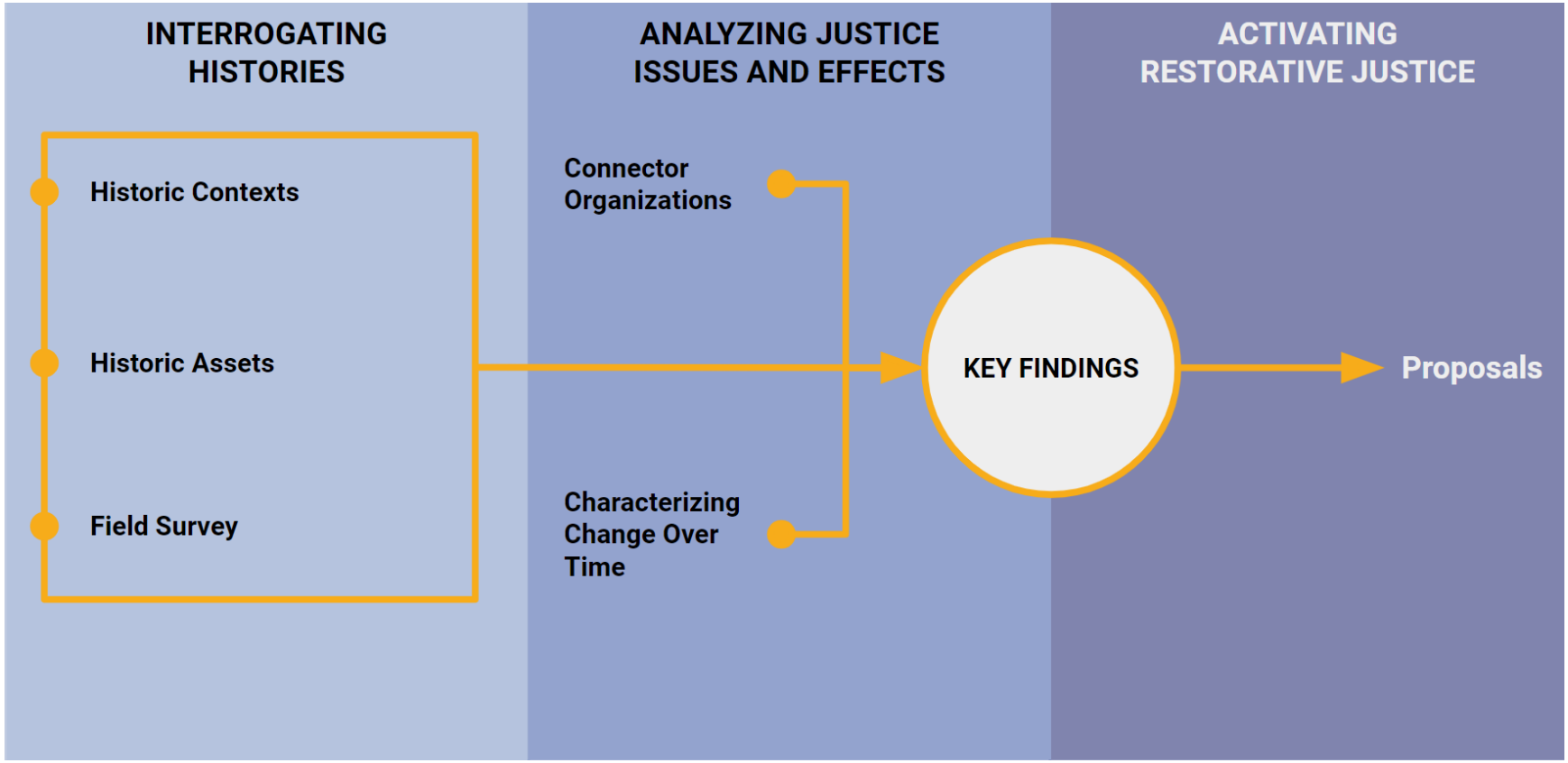


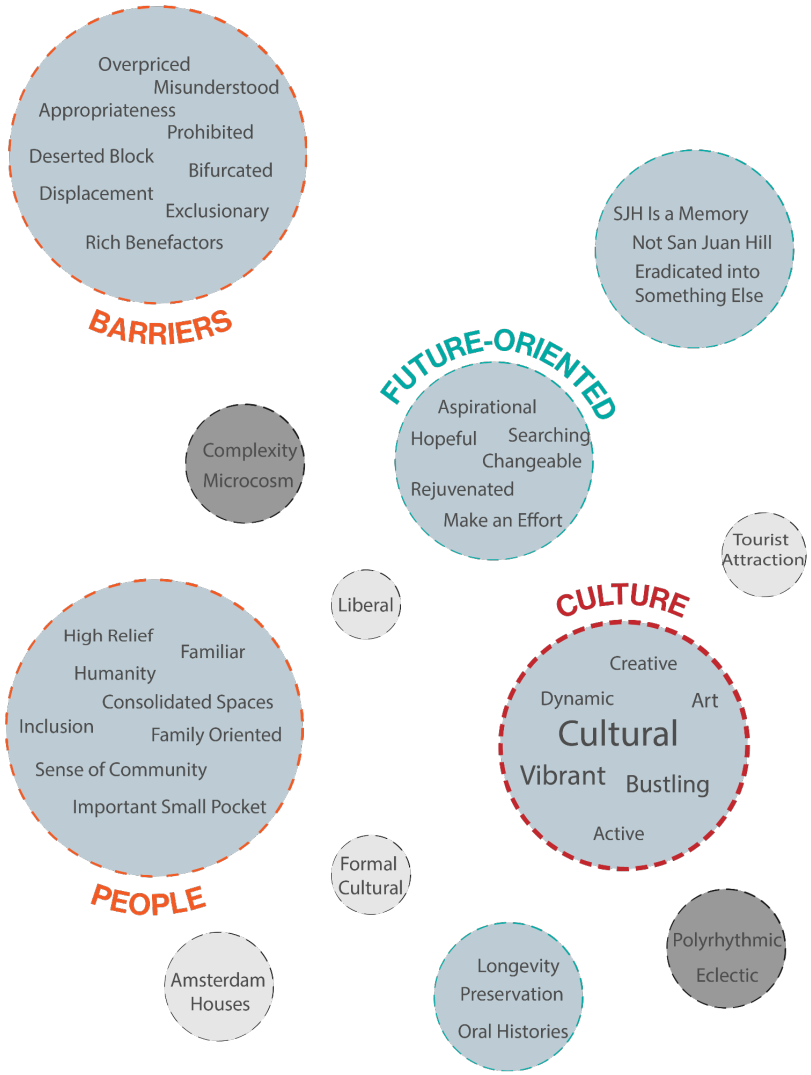
Diagram of Studio Methodology
Created by Andrés Santana-Miranda and Clara Zhao

KEY FINDINGS

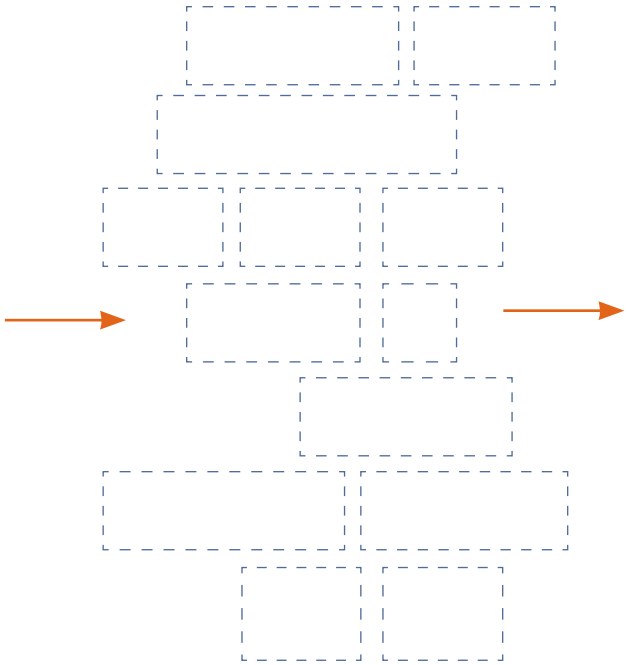
SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

The studio synthesized and analyzed the evidence from the historic contexts, assets, and field survey, to understand the intersections and recurrent issues across all themes. This enabled the team to draw critical conclusions regarding historical injustices and forms of resistance that characterized San Juan Hill over time. Students also sought to connect their inquiry to contemporary issues in the community and to interrogate how historical conditions resonate today.

To gain perspective on contemporary issues, the team identified and reached out to seventy-five organizations within or related to the San Juan Hill community whose missions intersect in various ways with social justice, community heritage, and/or historic preservation. Representatives from nearly two dozen connector organizations agreed to be interviewed by students and to share their individual and/or institutional perspectives.



Words used by interviewees to describe the neighborhood
C. Boulanger

12 HISTORIC CONTEXT THEMES	RESEARCH EVIDENCE	8 KEY FINDINGS
Open Space		Claim to Space
Commerce and Industry		Constructed Vulnerabilities
Redevelopment and Decision-making		Repeated Characteristics and Consequences
Housing		Disparate Power and Influence
Health and Welfare		Social-Spatial Transformation
Religion		Spatial Barriers and Segregation
Music, Movement and Performing Arts		Resistance
Residents and Public		Underrepresented Narratives and Publics
Media		
Racial and Ethnic Conflicts and Solidarity		
Education		
Preservation		

The interviews shed important light on how many historical conditions persist and are challenged today. Ongoing spatial changes through redevelopment and resource disparities continue to characterize the neighborhood. Interviewees repeated concerns over the lack of affordable housing, "out of touch" preservation practices, and access and walkability concerns for the elderly and disabled populations. They mentioned how the disruption of the street grid through the development of superblocks created persistent spatial barriers, and how the neighborhood still suffers from inaccurate representations, new forms and consequences of gentrification, sustained harassment of people of color, and insufficient economic opportunities. The COVID-19 pandemic highlighted the unequal conditions in several of the community's schools, and interviewees discussed their views on how prominent institutions disregarded the community during a time of need. Nonetheless, many interviewees recognized recent efforts made to bridge the gap in resources and representation, appearing hopeful and confident for the future of the neighborhood.

Students asked interviewees to describe the neighborhood using three words. The analysis and regrouping of the responses into thematic categories resulted in four major, distinct clusters that characterize topics observed across all interviews. First, a majority of interviewees used words that affirmed the cultural nature of the area and, overall, this cultural characterization was neutrally expressed, i.e. a seemingly agreed upon fact. Second, the interviews revealed long-standing socio-spatial barriers that inhibit how accessible the neighborhood can be. This category in particular resonates with the studio's historic findings, as they appear to be legacies of the historical power dynamics that have shaped the area. Highlighting the importance of memory was also illuminated by several interviewees. Finally, a majority of answers pointed at the human dimensions of the area, emphasizing the resiliency and adaptability of people. Most of these also allude to community involvement as a major tool for enabling a better future, and underscore the use of history to inform restorative action.

CLAIMS TO SPACE

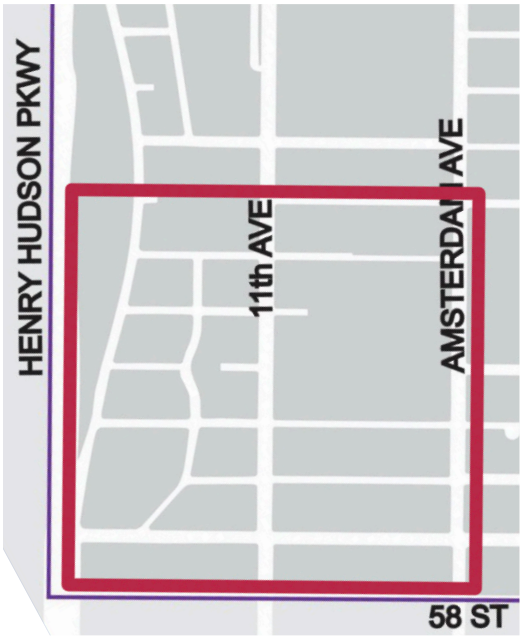
San Juan Hill's underrepresented populations, at times, occupied and exercised agency of space and also lacked the authority to continually occupy it.

These claims to space were influenced by changing demographics in the area over time. The disparity of access to and the quality of open and residential space, in particular, demonstrate the ways that individuals and communities adapted their environs. Governmental institutions' claims to space also largely affected the area and its economic activity, and in many cases perpetuated injustices still visible in the neighborhood today.

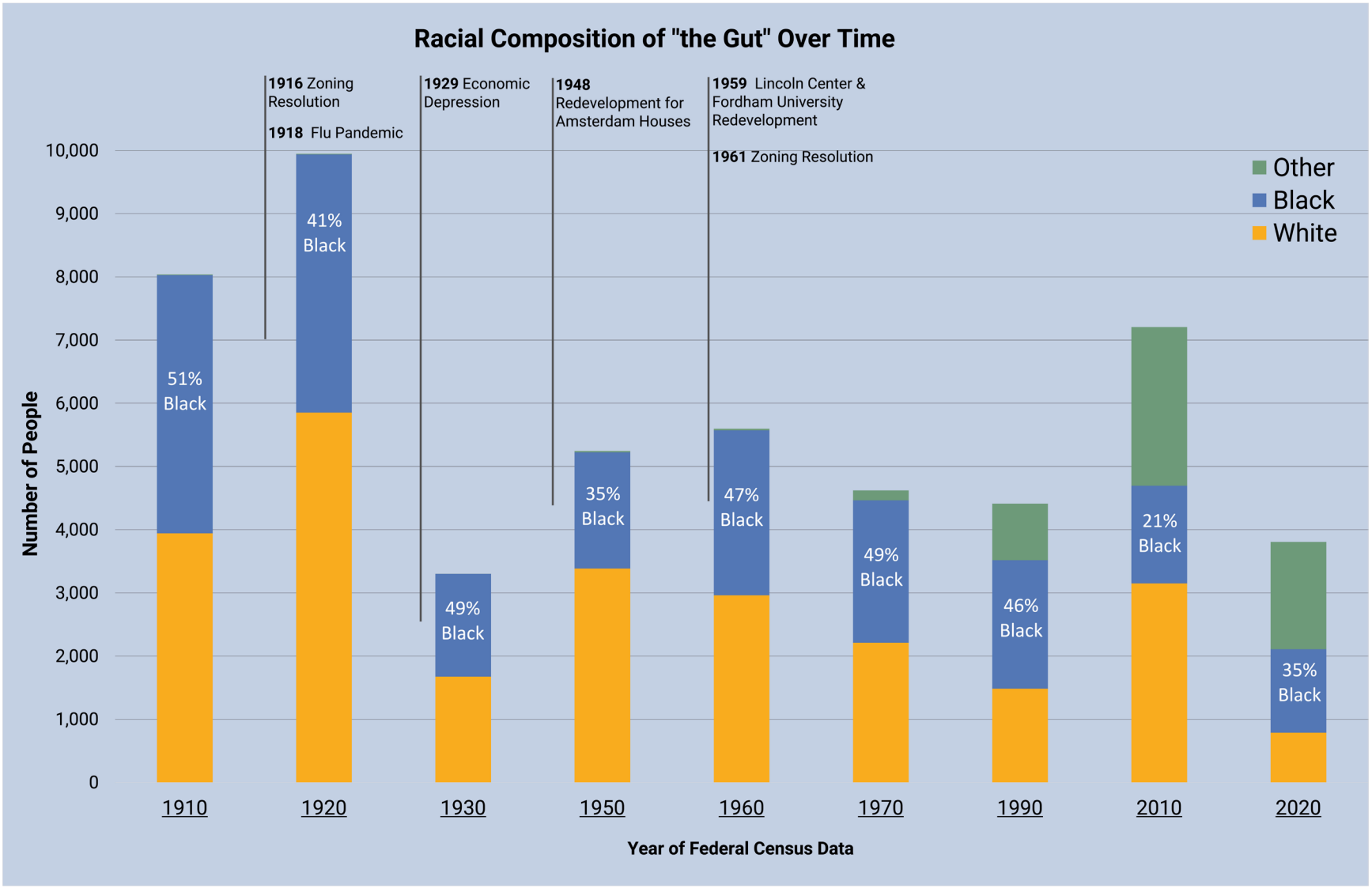
CHANGING PUBLICS

Three populations warrant focus in discussing claims of space in San Juan Hill, including White, Black, and Puerto Rican populations. Unlike the demographics of the entire study area, where the proportion of Black populations was never more than 25 percent, the Black population in the Gut was consistently around 50 percent during the twentieth century (though actual population numbers changed considerably).

Between 1900 and 1910, San Juan Hill had the largest proportion of Manhattan's Black population (Anderson 1982; Larson 2023; Scheiner 1965). The spatialized prominence of this community in San Juan Hill was part of a greater injustice in New York City relating to repeated patterns of northward displacement in response to racial hostility and violence. San Juan Hill's Black population began to move northward to Harlem around 1910. The Puerto Rican population began to arrive in the area in the late 1930s. By the late 1950s, of the six major Puerto Rican population settlements in Manhattan, San Juan Hill was the second least concentrated (Novak 1956, 184-186).



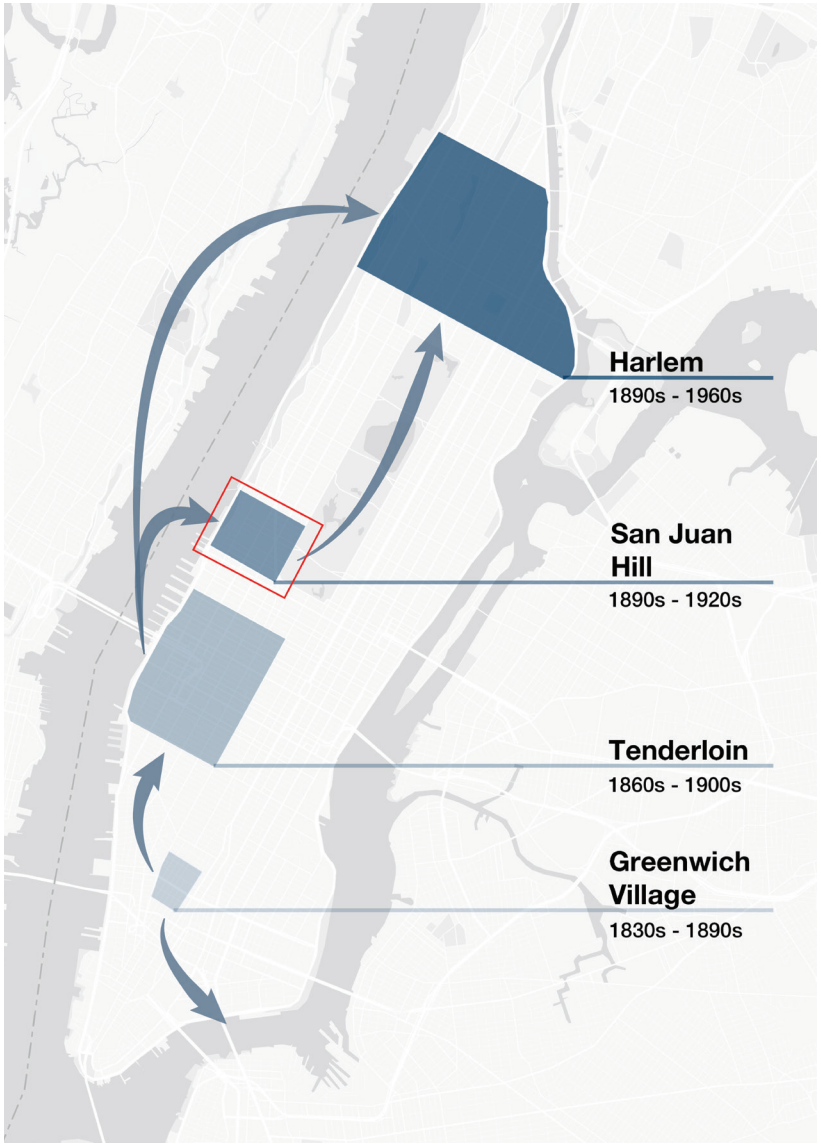
Map of census tract including the Gut



Racial composition of the census tract including the Gut, over time (2023).

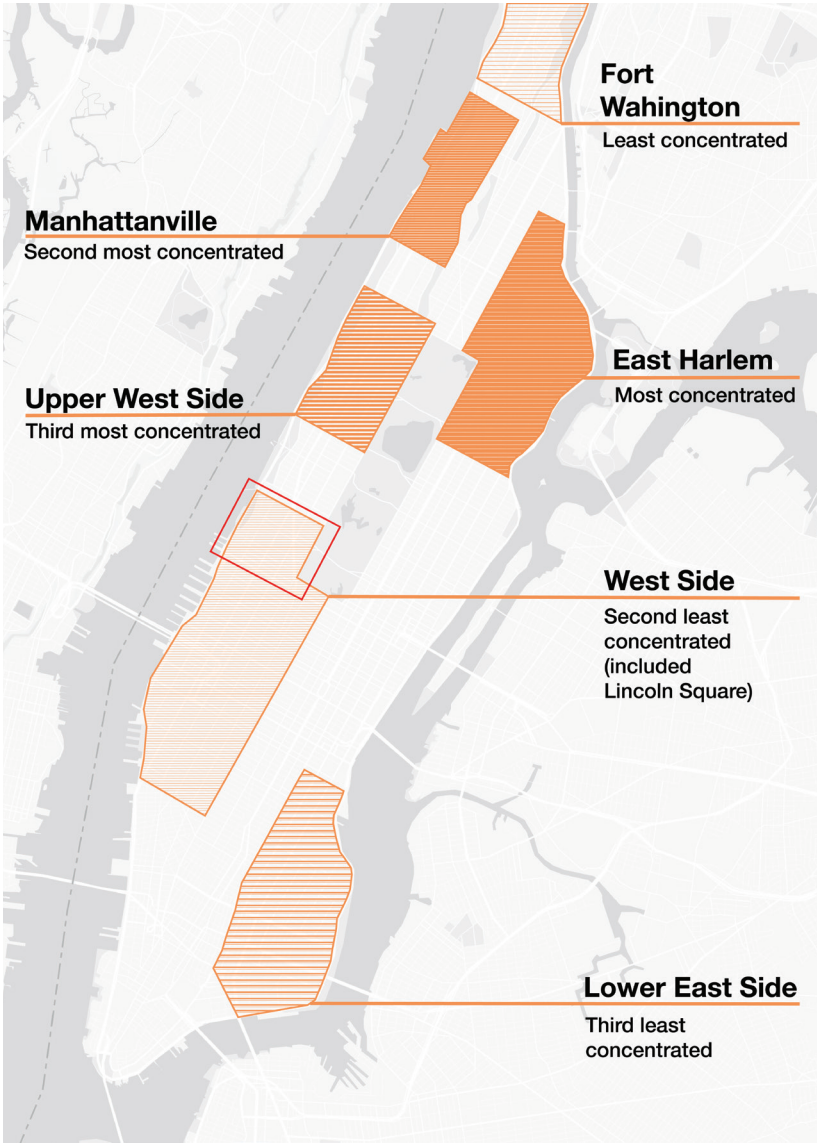
E. Phetteplace. Data Based on 1910, 1920, and 1930 US Federal Census Data, IMPUS NHGIS, and 1950, 1960, 1970, 1990, and 2010 Census Data from Social Explorer.

San Juan Hill (1939).
Lee Sievan (1907-1990). Museum of the City of New York.



Black population's northward migration within Manhattan (2023).
A. Santana-Miranda.

Migrant Puerto Rican family en route to New York.
Courtesy of the Archives of the Puerto Rican Diaspora, Centro de Estudios Puertorriquenos, Hunter College, CUNY.

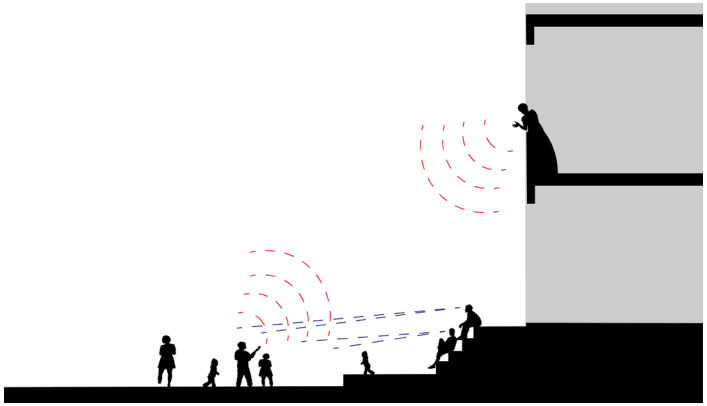


Migrant Puerto Rican family en route to New York (2023).
A. Santana-Miranda.

SPATIAL ADAPTATION

Historical disparities in access to open space and lack of purpose-built open space west of Amsterdam Avenue led residents to adapt the use of streets, sidewalks, and stoops to meet their needs, and further marked Amsterdam Avenue as a racial divide.

Because of the inherent accessibility of these adapted features, all residents claimed these as spaces of critical interaction. Adaptation of these spaces for recreation demonstrates the residents' agency as a response to constructed vulnerabilities in the built environment.



Liminal spaces allowed residents to monitor their neighborhood (2023).
S. Snell.

Adapted

Streets

Vacant Lots

Stoops

Windows

Purpose-Built

Playgrounds

Baths

Green Space

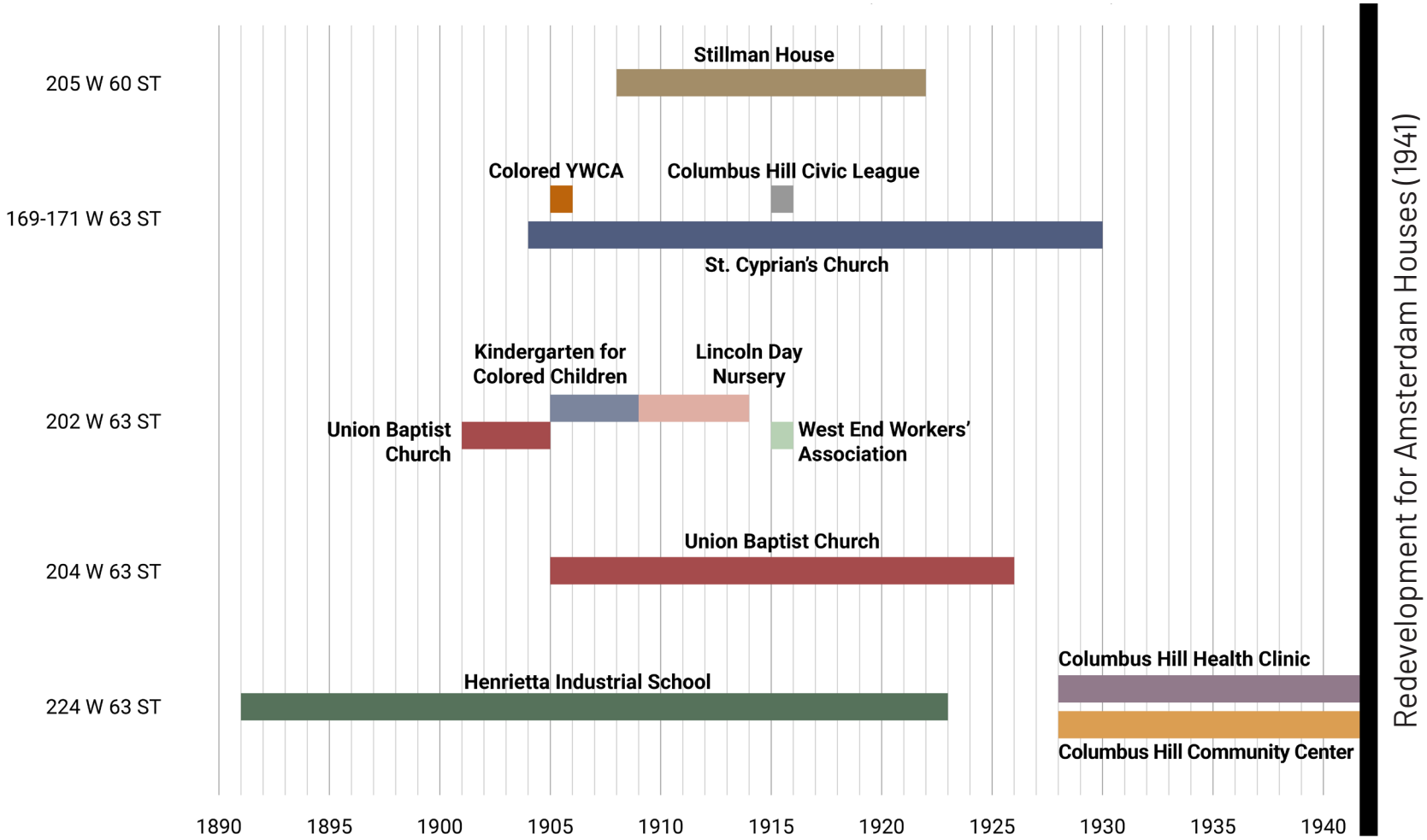
Plazas

Open space typologies in San Juan Hill (2023).
G. Danforth.

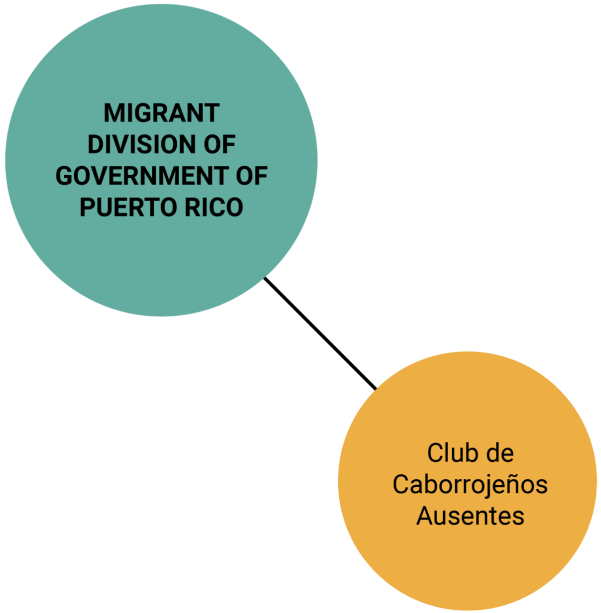
COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS

Community organizations were critical means of claiming space for Black publics in San Juan Hill. The community's success lay in both the use of physical space within the community and the variety of social services offered, focusing on education, healthcare, housing, religion, recreation, or civic assistance, among others (Larson 2020).

Black Organizations Related to Place (1890-1941)



Black organizations related to place over time (2023).
A. Santana-Miranda.

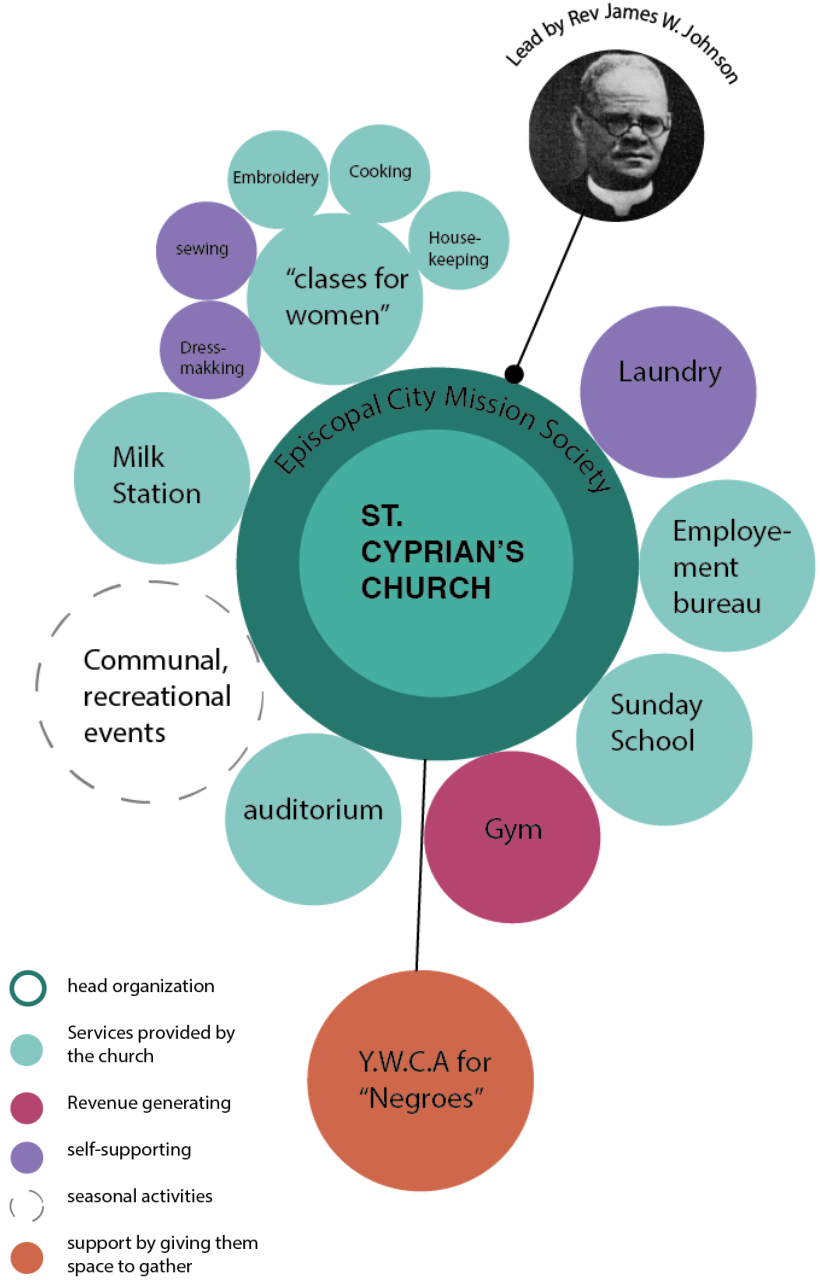


Puerto Rican institutions in San Juan Hill (2023).
D. Martinez.

Two religious institutions, St. Cyprian's Church and Union Baptist Church, were integral in the formation and endurance of the Black community and served as nodes for the community's interconnected network of services.

When the Black community moved from the neighborhood, so did many organizations, although some, like St. Cyprian's, merged with others to subsist. This factor highlights the importance of these institutions for the integration and persistence of the relocated community.

Black and Puerto Rican communities did not have equal claims to space. Factors relating to the presence of the Puerto Rican Migration Division and residents' intentions of returning to Puerto Rico limited the formation of a strong Puerto Rican community (Sánchez Korrol 1983). This, when compared with the earlier Black community, reveals less powerful claims to space for the Puerto Rican population.

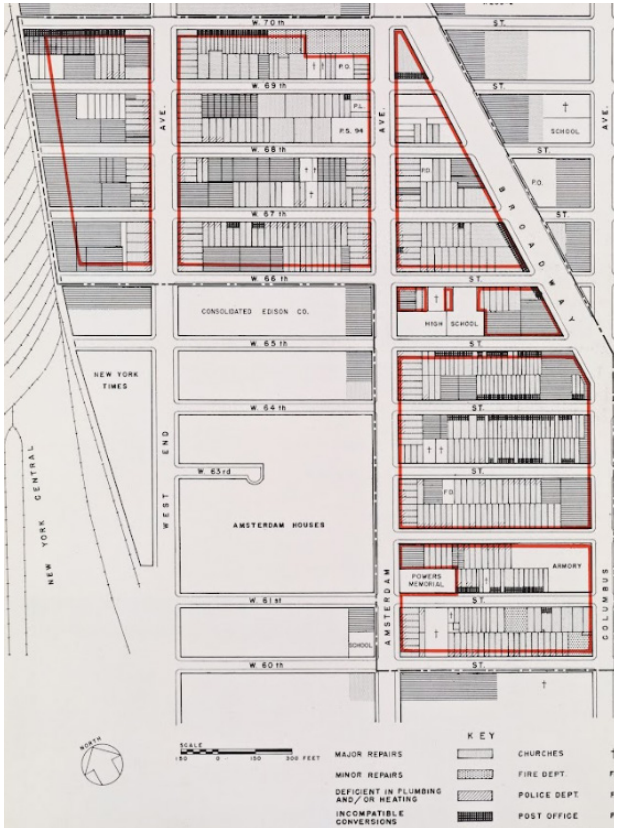


Black religious institutions as community nodes (2023).
D. Martinez.

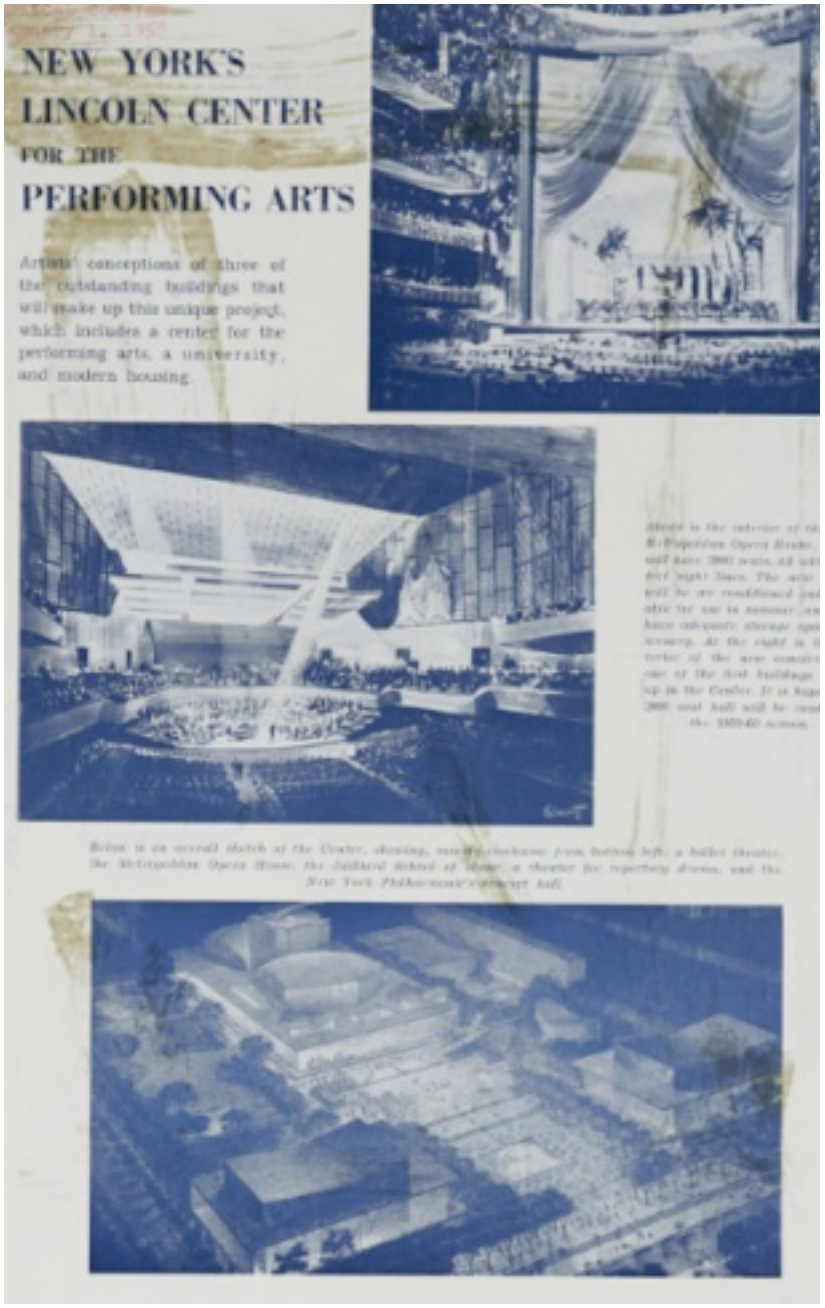
GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

Redevelopment projects critically changed the physical urban form of the neighborhood but also created discordant claims to space. A great deal of the mid-twentieth century redevelopment in San Juan Hill was characterized by decision-making that allowed local government agencies to claim private land through eminent domain for urban renewal projects. The construction of the NYCHA Amsterdam Houses in 1948—precisely where the Gut was located—paved the way for more projects in the area, such as the construction of the Lincoln Center.

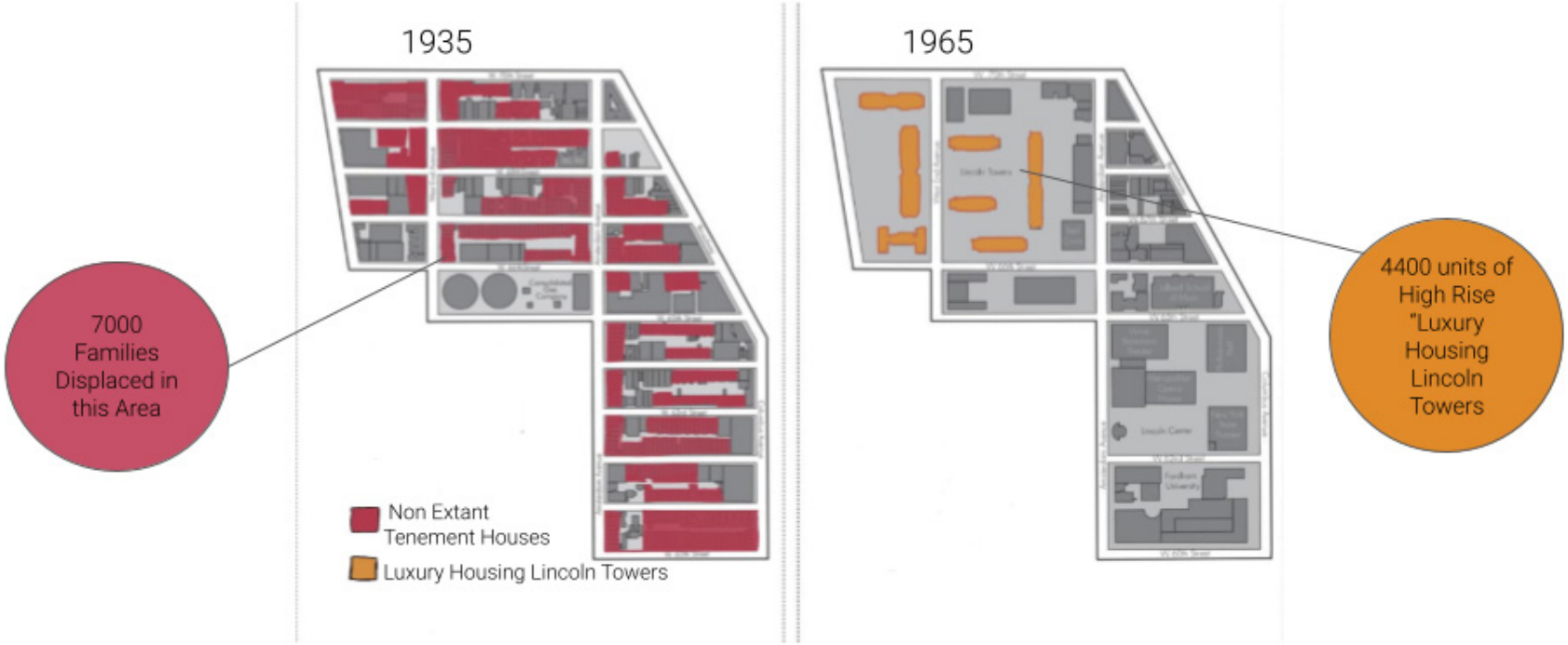
The condemnation of areas deemed "blighted" by decision-makers hid a deeper injustice and targeting of vulnerable populations in the area. Despite legal hurdles, funding challenges, and local civic protests, the Lincoln Center project was executed to wide cultural acclaim, displacing a diversity of residents in the neighborhood.



Areas of redevelopment.
Lincoln Square Title I Report.



Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts (1958).
Musical Courier.

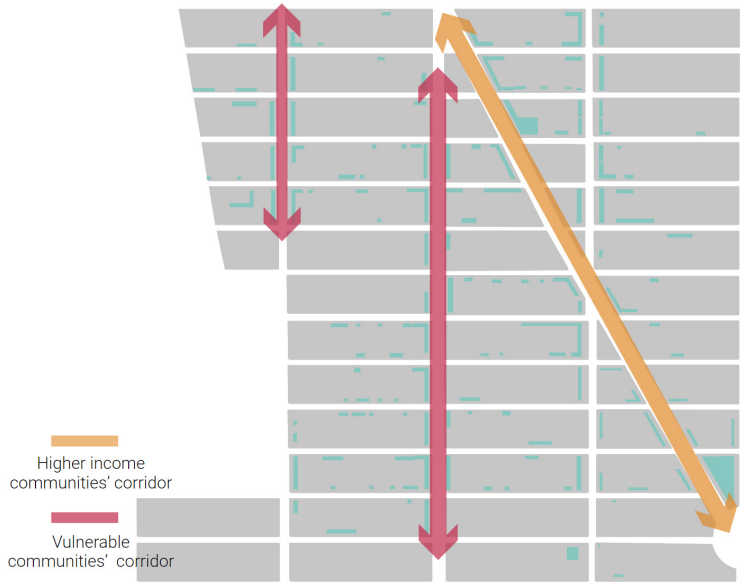


Maps before and after redevelopment demonstrate the extent of the displacement of housing for the Lincoln Towers Project. The red shows the tenements destroyed and displaced, while the orange shows the luxury replacement that the prior residents couldn't afford. Other housing projects also displayed a similar trend. The policy was wide-ranging in its impacts and affected not only housing but also business prospects in the area (2010).
S. Zipp.

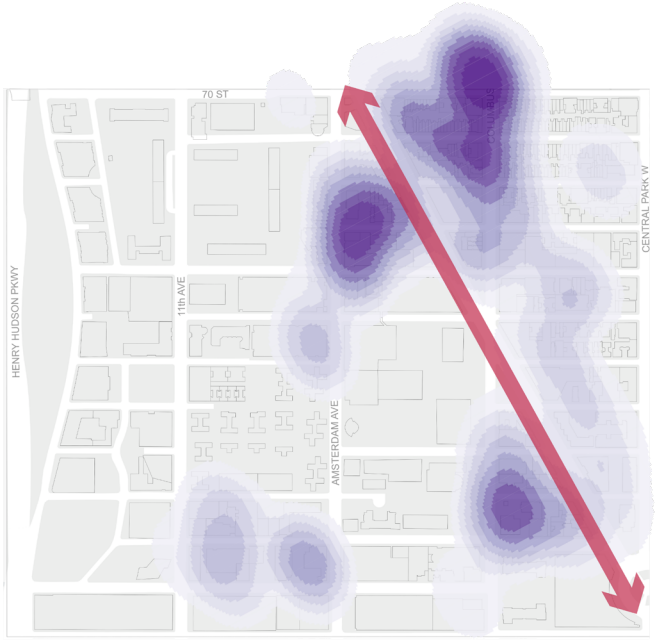
BUSINESS AND ECONOMIC ENTERPRISES

Prior to redevelopment, the commerce in the area peaked in the 1940s and three major commercial corridors formed, which brought economic vitality to underserved neighborhoods.

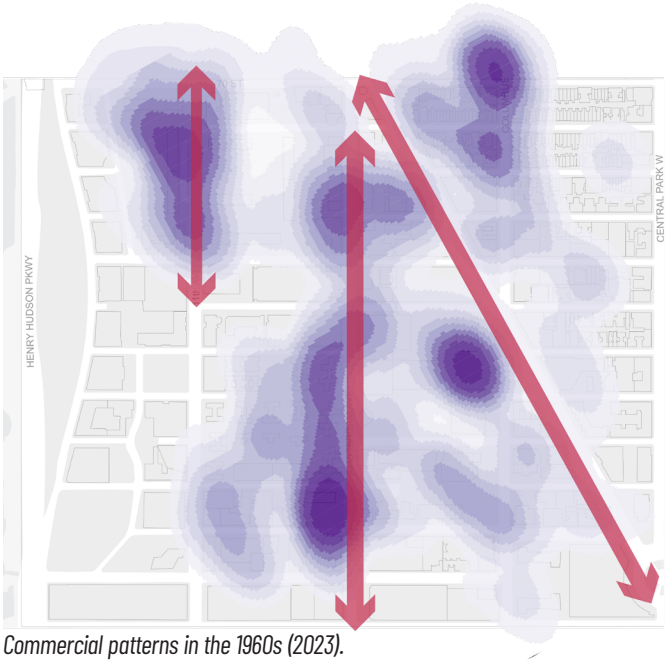
Redevelopment eliminated or displaced the commercial corridor along the Amsterdam Avenue divide, leaving only the Broadway corridor intact. The history and use of the area as an incubator of immigrant and Black storefront businesses were destroyed. Claims to space were thus also shaped by evolutions in land use.



Major commercial corridors in 1940s (2023).
C. Sun.



Commercial patterns in the 1940s (2023).
C. Sun.



Commercial patterns in the 1960s (2023).
C. Sun.

CONSTRUCTED VULNERABILITIES

Constructed vulnerabilities refer to aspects of the built environment, land use, and related public policies that underpinned or exacerbated inequitable living conditions for marginalized publics. Some of these conditions existed in this area since early occupation, and repeated patterns often compounded the vulnerability of already disadvantaged residents as the neighborhood evolved.

LAND VULNERABILITIES

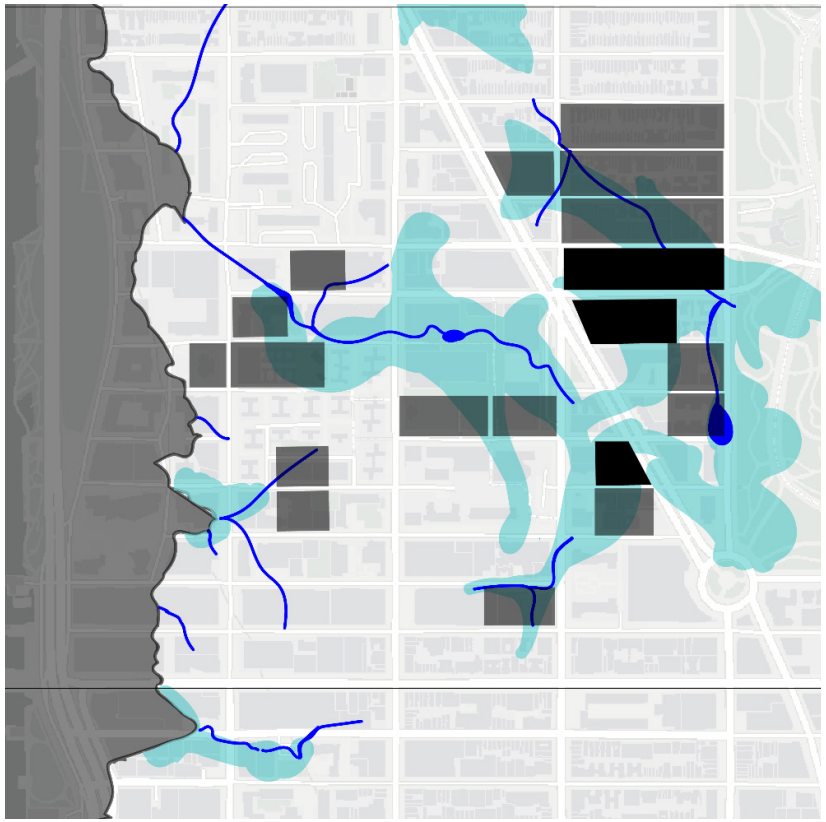
The early topography of San Juan Hill was varied. Natural waterways and marshy land created less desirable building conditions in certain areas. The earliest constructed vulnerabilities came from street grading started in the mid-nineteenth century, which exacerbated the marshy conditions (Viele 1865b).

Egbert Viele's Sanitation and Topography Map shows the pre-development topography and terrain of the study area (1865).
NYPL.

The street grading process obstructed many natural waterways, creating "stagnant ponds" that were associated with outbreaks of illnesses (Viele 1865a). Because construction on this marshy land was difficult, the area was left vacant by developers and became home to those who could not afford to live elsewhere. This led to construction of self-built dwellings, created by improvising with available space and materials.

The Brennan Farmhouse at 82nd St and Broadway showing similar topography (1782).
British Military Headquarters.

Sunken Village at 62nd and Broadway (1896).
New-York Historical Society.

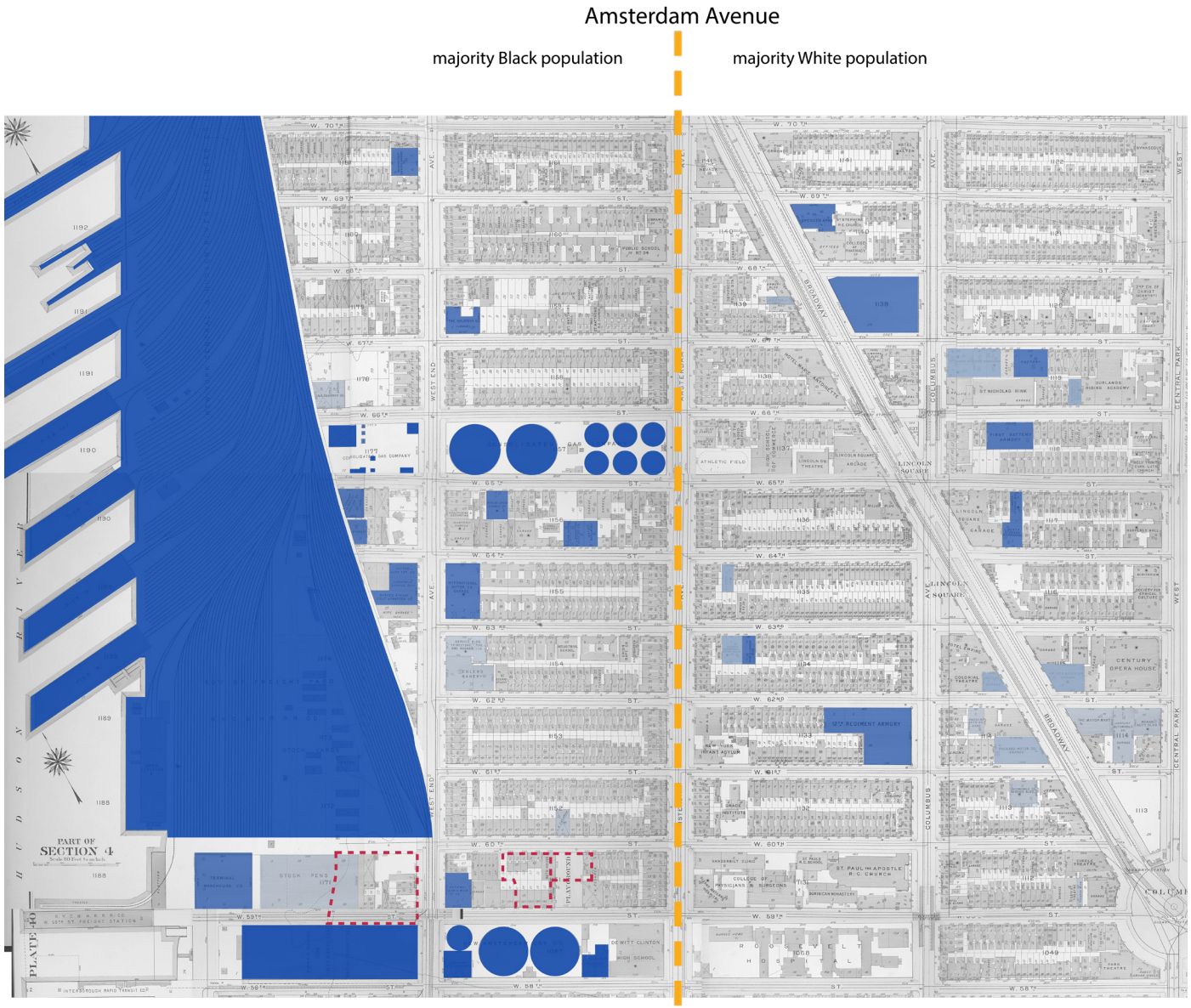


Densest Areas of Improvised Self-built Dwellings (1871-1890) Built in Flooded Land (2023).
G. Danforth.

ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM

In the early 1900s, improvised self-built dwellings were demolished and their communities were displaced when the Ninth Avenue Elevated and the Seventh Avenue IRT made the area more desirable for speculative development (New York Times 1886). That ensuing development helped to forge the Amsterdam Avenue divide and patterns of environmental racism.

To the west, vulnerable residents—including Black people and immigrants—lived in less desirable housing, co-located near heavily-polluting industries (Logan and Weiwei 2015). Fewer and less-polluting industries were sited to the east, where higher-income White residents lived.

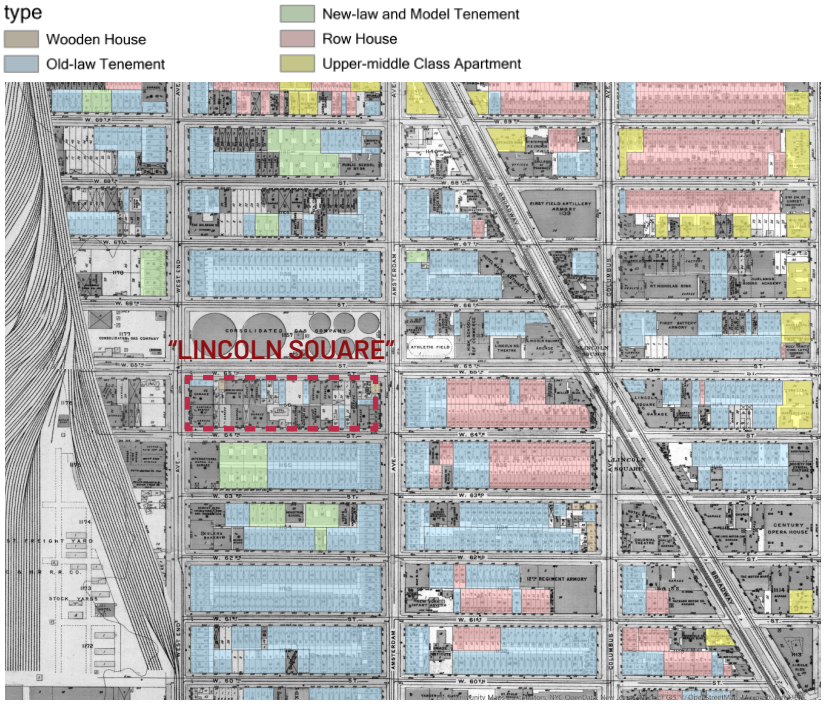


Estimated environmental impact in the 1910s (2023).

C. Sun.

HOUSING AND LIVING CONDITIONS

The primary housing type in San Juan Hill in the early twentieth century consisted of old law tenements, which were built with inadequate access to natural light and ventilation, trapping poorer residents in substandard housing (Plunz 2016, 58).

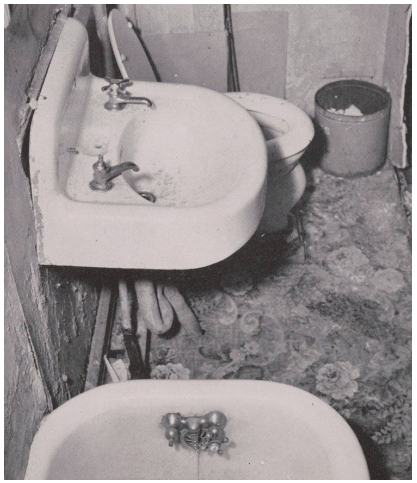


Building types, 1916 (2023).
Y. Liu.

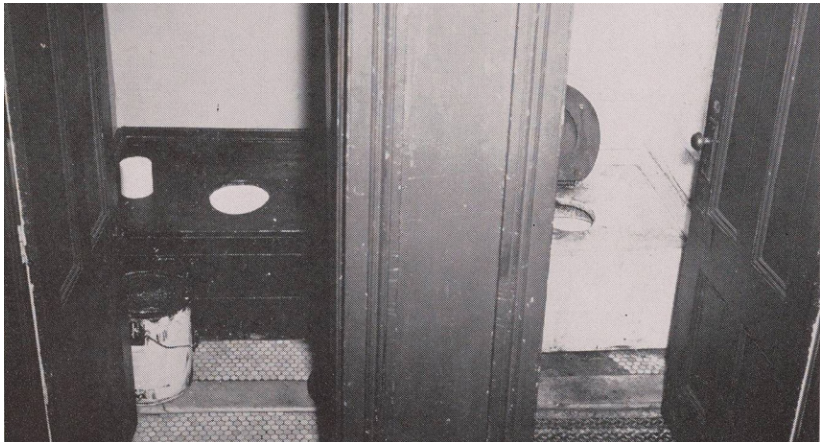
200-250 West 67th Street, 1958 redevelopment photos (2023).
Y. Liu.

Immigrant and Black populations were largely relegated to these buildings. Overcrowding, lack of maintenance, and limited plumbing facilities characterized these residences (DeForest 1900, 6). These conditions also contributed to the spread and exacerbation of disease, causing worse health conditions compared to other areas of New York City.

The dark, dirty, and decorated hallway of a tenement at 209 W 61st Street (1916).
C. Christensen, NYC Department and Information, NYPD and Criminal Prosecution Collection.

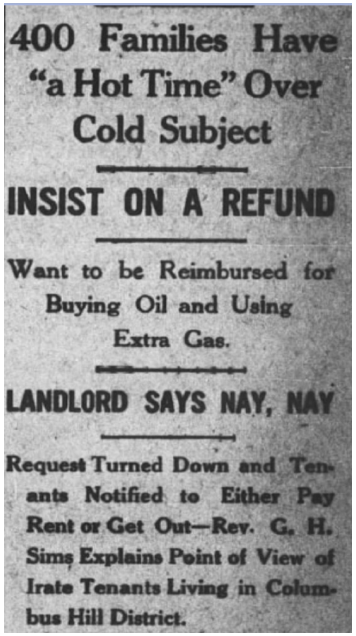


A rare image of a toilet room of a tenement in the San Juan Hill Area.
Slum Clearance Plan, 1955



A common bucket in a tenement hall.
"Lincoln Square" New York Public Library Digital Collections, NYPL.

Reformers tried to address these challenges through the construction of model tenements. In San Juan Hill, 63rd Street saw the construction of five different developments, including the still extant Phipps Houses. However, racial discrepancies were evident even in philanthropic housing. When White residents, in Phipps Houses no.1, complained about not receiving heat, they were refunded, while Black residents in Phipps Houses no. 2 were not (The New York Age 1917).



400 Families Have "a Hot Time" Over Cold Subject

INSIST ON A REFUND

Want to be Reimbursed for Buying Oil and Using Extra Gas.

LANDLORD SAYS NAY, NAY

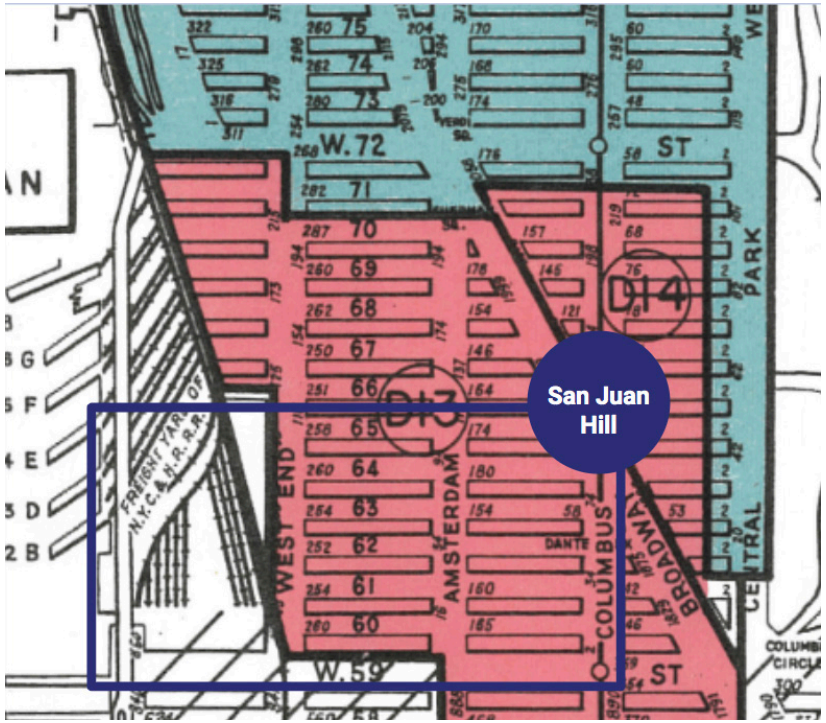
Request Turned Down and Tenants Notified to Either Pay Rent or Get Out—Rev. G. H. Sims Explains Point of View of Irate Tenants Living in Columbus Hill District.

(Top) Phipps Houses no. 2 in 1944 (1944).
Wurts Brothers, Museum of the City of New YorK.

(Left) Racial discrepancies in Phipps Houses (1917).
The New York Age.

DISINVESTMENT

Even as reformers sought to remedy problematic housing conditions, government and financial institutions were reinforcing vulnerabilities by restricting the flow of capital to San Juan Hill (Dreier 1991, 15-23). The practice of redlining, begun in the 1930s, largely prevented both government and private investors from funding mortgages in areas that had higher portions of Black and low-income residents, such as San Juan Hill, ensuring continued disinvestment in the neighborhood and helping to set up the conditions for eventual government intervention.

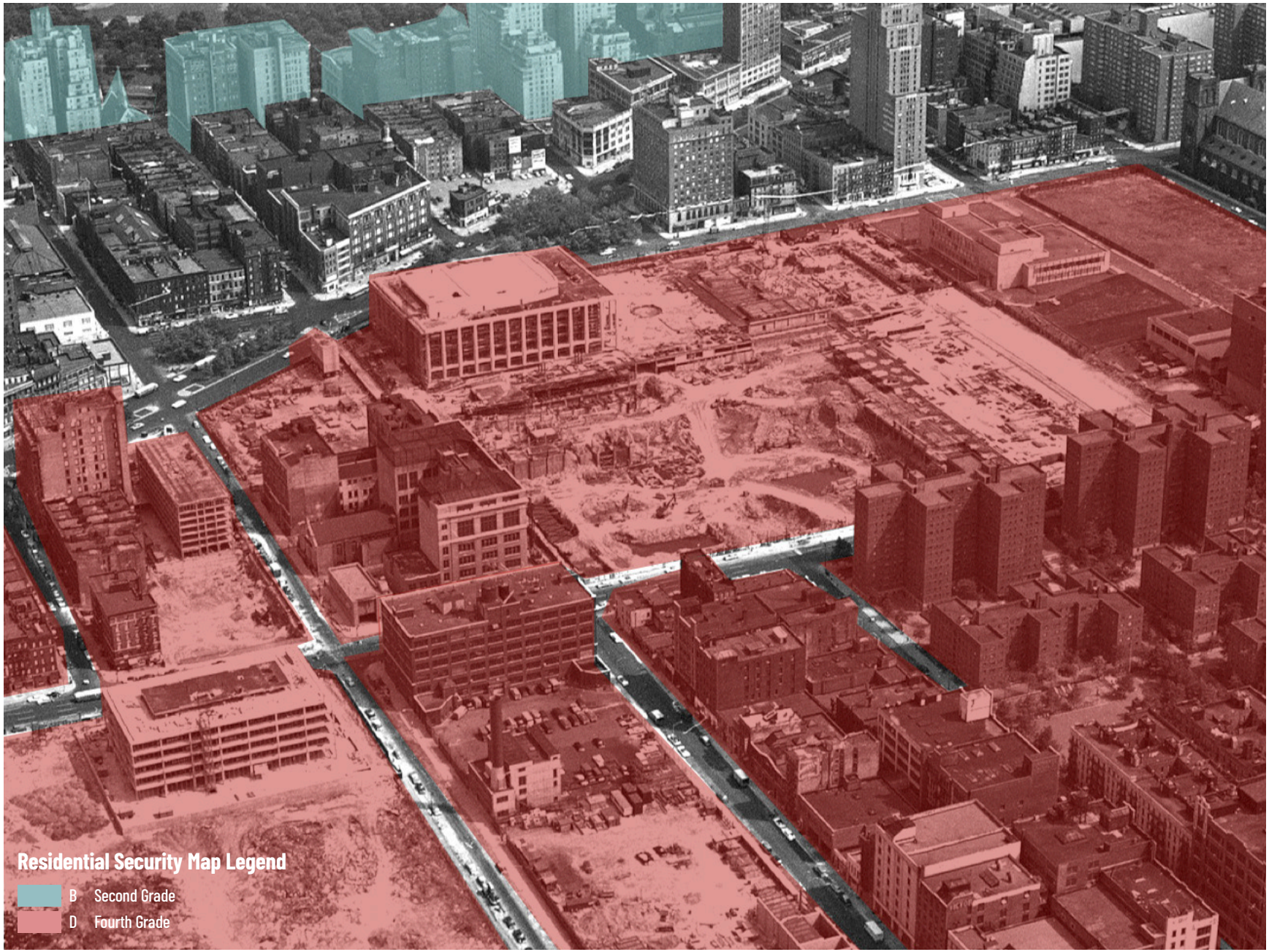


Residential Security Map Legend

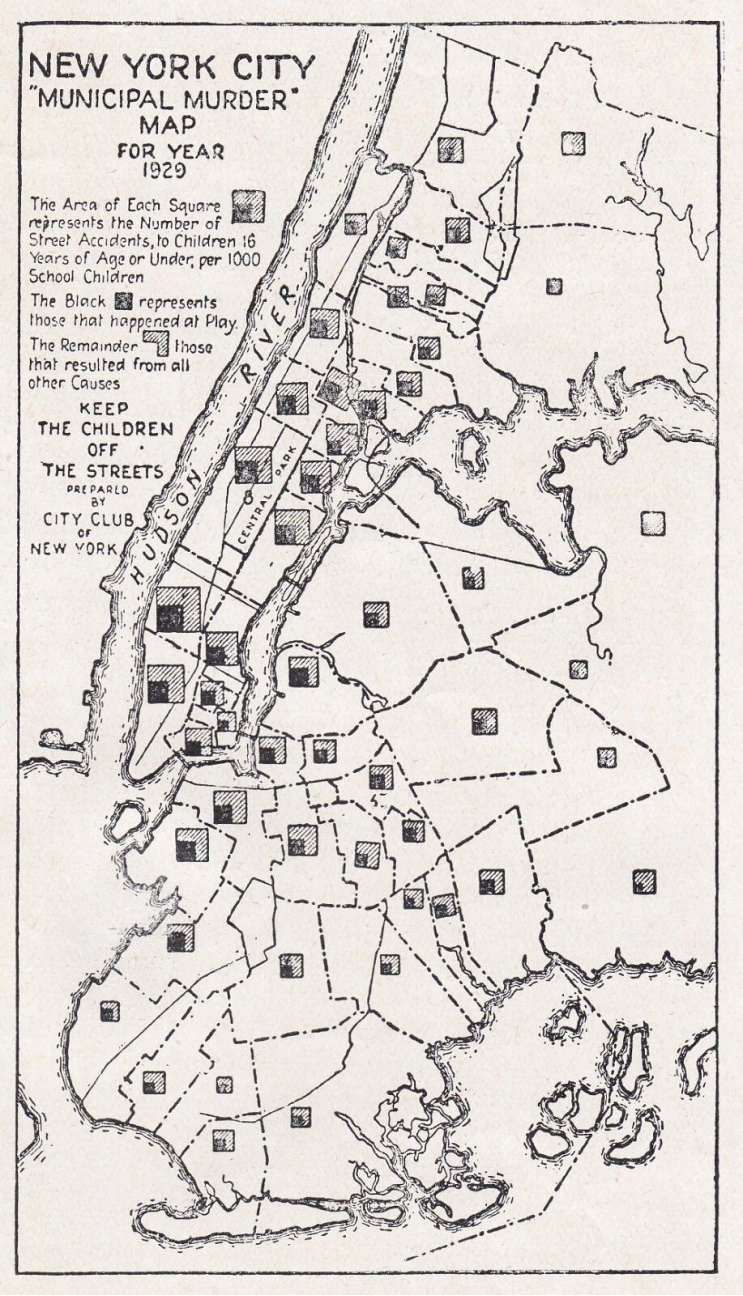
B Second Grade

D Fourth Grade

Redlining Map with San Juan Hill Overlay (1938).
The Home Owners' Loan Corporation Map.



Overlays depicting the influence of devaluation on destruction by the 1938 HOLC Residential Security (redlining) Map between 1939-1970 (2023).
G. Danforth.



Municipal Murder Map (1929).
City Club.

OPEN SPACE

Because of the Amsterdam Avenue racial divide, many residents of San Juan Hill could not safely access public spaces like Central Park. Instead, they adapted streets for recreational use, creating safety risks. For example, cars and trains killed so many children in San Juan Hill that the area tragically was included on the City Club's 1929 Municipal Murder Map which tracked pedestrian fatalities (New York Times 1930).

Police Photo Study of Traffic on 66th Street Reveal Safety Concerns (ca. 1917).
NYC Municipal Archives.

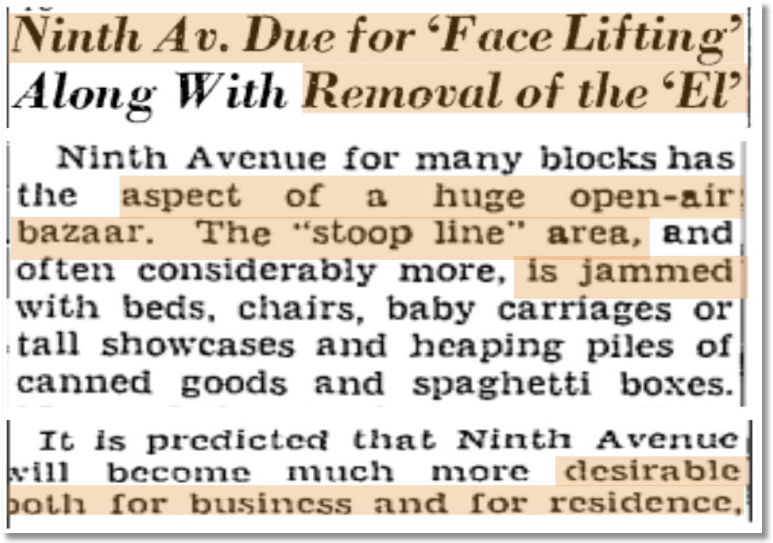
COMMERCIAL RESTRICTIONS

The adapted use of streets and sidewalks also included street businesses and vendors. When the Ninth Avenue Elevated was removed in the late 1930s and city reformers widened Columbus Avenue, property owners along the corridor could no longer rent the space in front of their buildings, displacing a thriving informal economy (New York Herald Tribune 1939, A3).

The limitations placed on the use of streets and sidewalks for commercial activities were particularly problematic in San Juan Hill because Black and immigrant populations faced barriers to accessing desirable storefront properties. Businesses owned by underrepresented populations were often restricted to retail spaces on side streets and only in basements and on the first floor.

WPA workers hired to remove tracks, on site at 66th Street (1936).
NYPL.

Demolition of the Ninth Avenue elevated at 65th Street and Columbus Avenue (1940).
NYPL.

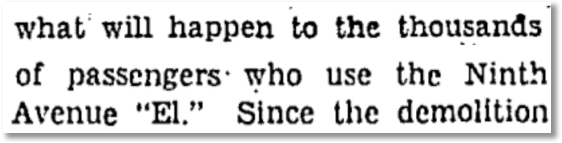


Ninth Av. Due for 'Face Lifting' Along With Removal of the 'El'

Ninth Avenue for many blocks has the aspect of a huge open-air bazaar. The "stoop line" area, and often considerably more, is jammed with beds, chairs, baby carriages or tall showcases and heaping piles of canned goods and spaghetti boxes.

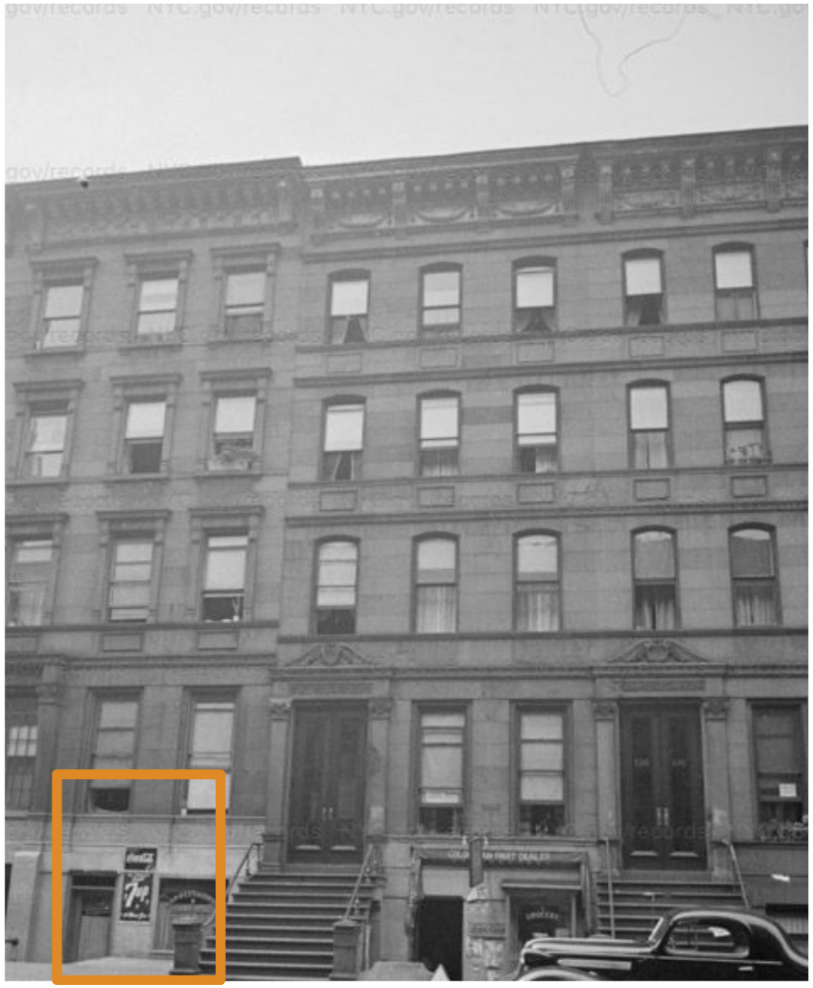
It is predicted that Ninth Avenue will become much more desirable both for business and for residence.

Article detailing the Ninth Avenue "Improvement" Plan (1939).
New York Herald Tribune.



what will happen to the thousands of passengers who use the Ninth Avenue "El." Since the demolition

Letter to the editor asking for a stay of demolition (1939).
New York Herald Tribune.



Basement commercial spaces (2023).
Annotated by C. Sun.

First floor commercial spaces (2023).
Annotated by C. Sun.

Aerial view of Lincoln Center during construction.
Photo by John Rooney (1962), The New York Times

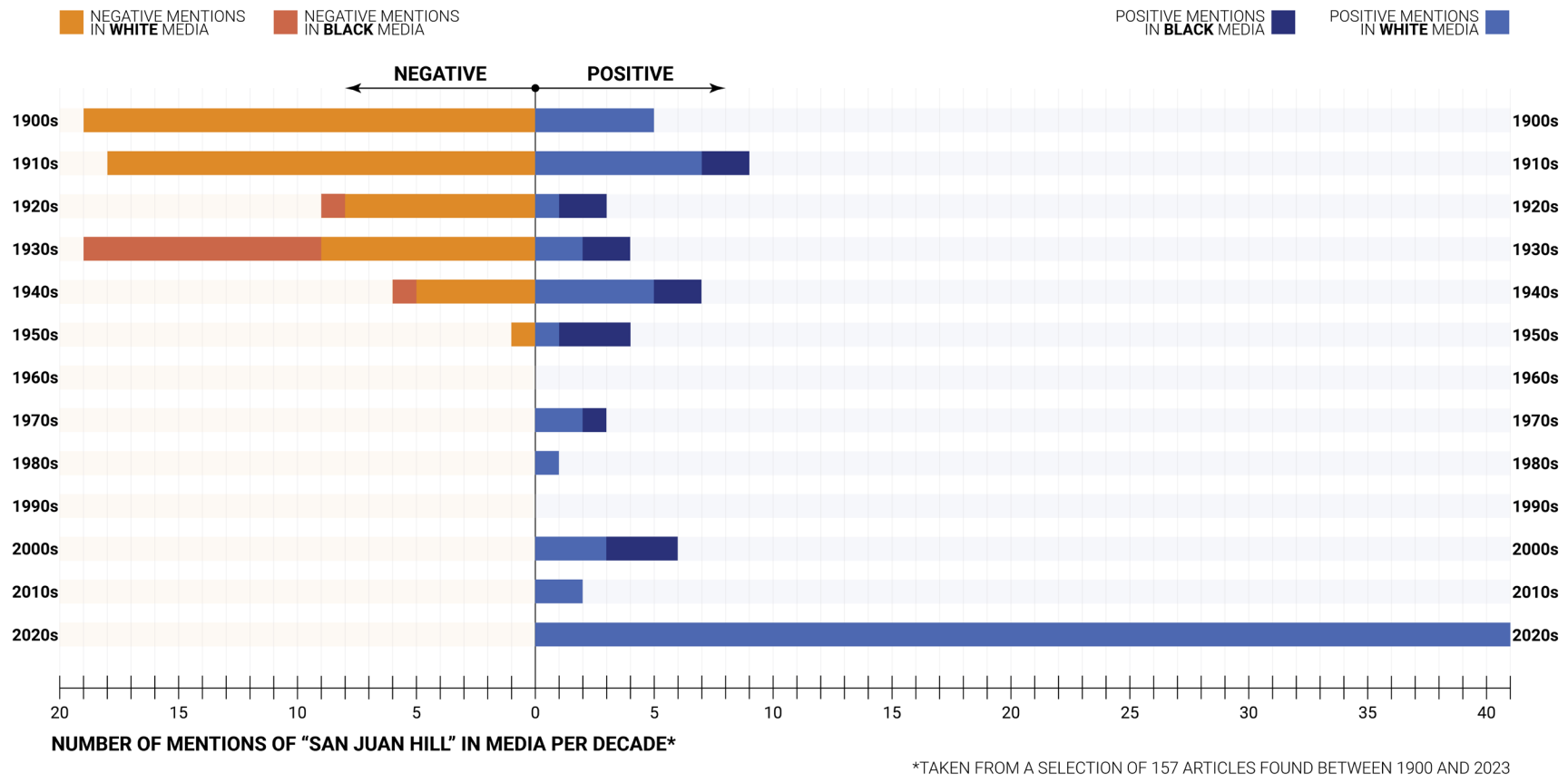
REPEATED CHARACTERIZATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES

Review of archives demonstrate a pattern of negative characterization of the Black, Irish, and Puerto Rican communities repeated again and again in media and reinforced through public perception. This prejudice against the San Juan Hill community exacerbated racial conflicts and led to institutional actions, from over-policing in the area to redevelopment justifications.

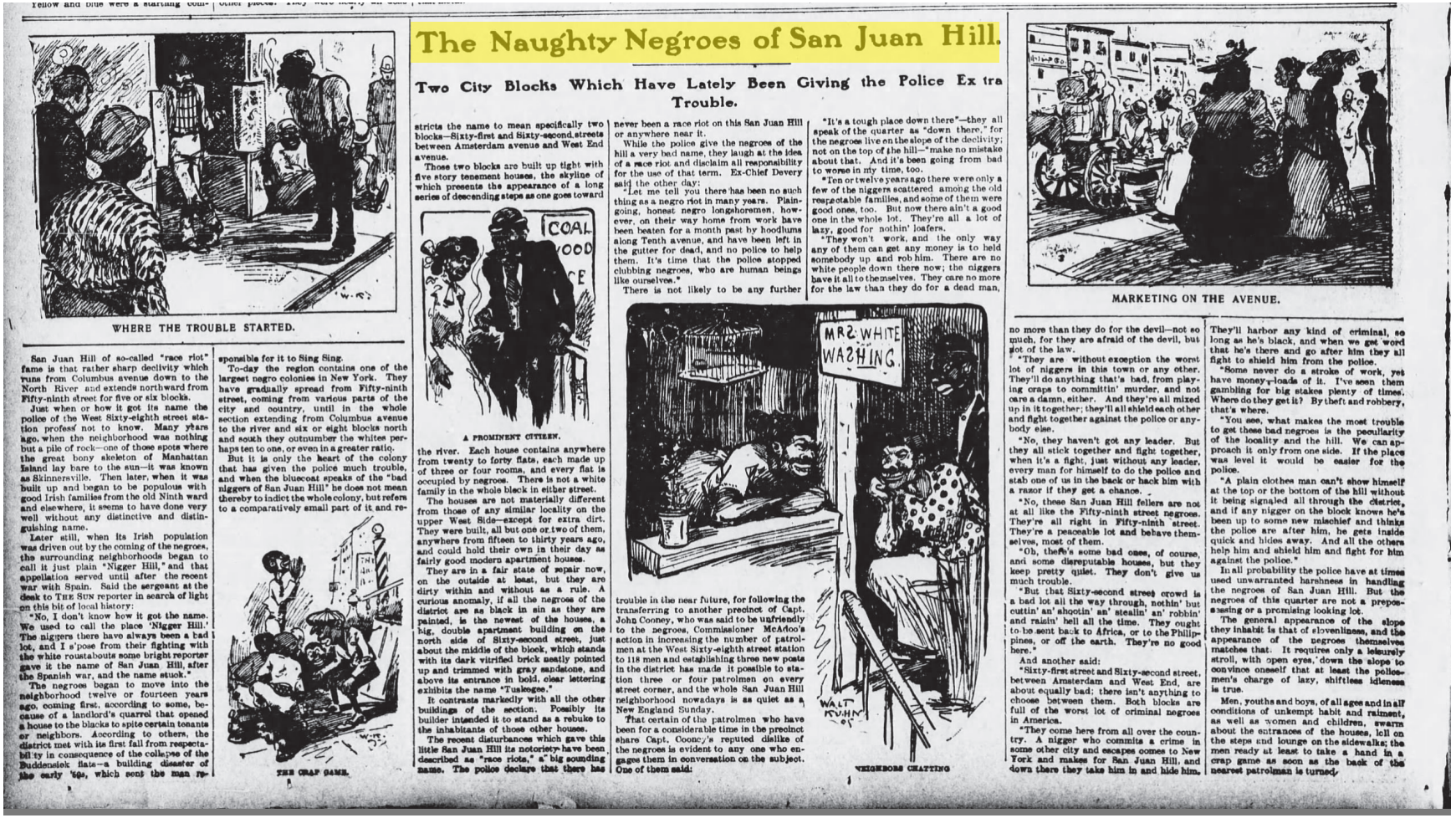
COMMUNITIES ANTAGONIZED IN MEDIA AND PUBLIC PERCEPTION

In the twentieth century, media mentions of San Juan Hill were predominantly negative, focusing on violent crime, riots, and a disorderly population. A survey from 157 articles written between 1900 and 2023 demonstrated that negative reporting in both Black and White media outlets increased in the years building up to the Amsterdam Houses (1948) and Lincoln Center (1962) redevelopment projects. It then largely disappeared from the media after the construction of Lincoln Center in the 1960s as the local population shifted towards a White majority. Save for sporadic mentions in obituaries, it was not until the 2020s that extensive media coverage about unearthing the lost history of San Juan Hill brought it back into the public consciousness, now with a more positive perspective.

"Tin Can Battle, San Juan Hill, New York," 1907 (original in the Sheldon Museum of Art, University of Nebraska, Lincoln)
George Bellow.



Mentions of "San Juan Hill" in media (2023).
R. Villasante & D. Citron.



The Naughty Negroes of San Juan Hill.

Two City Blocks Which Have Lately Been Giving the Police Extra Trouble.

WHERE THE TROUBLE STARTED.

San Juan Hill of so-called "race riot" fame is that rather sharp declivity which runs from Columbus avenue down to the North River and extends northward from Fifty-ninth street for five or six blocks.

Just when or how it got its name the police of the West Sixty-eighth street station profess not to know. Many years ago, when the neighborhood was nothing but a pile of rock—one of those spots where the great bony skeleton of Manhattan Island lay bare to the sun—it was known as Skinnersville. Then later, when it was built up and began to be populous with good Irish families from the old Ninth ward and elsewhere, it seems to have done very well without any distinctive and distinguishing name.

Later still, when its Irish population was driven out by the coming of the negroes, the surrounding neighborhoods began to call it just plain "Nigger Hill," and that appellation served until after the recent war with Spain. Said the sergeant at the desk to THE SUN reporter in search of light on this bit of local history:

"No, I don't know how it got the name. We used to call the place 'Nigger Hill.' The niggers there have always been a bad lot, and I s'pose from their fighting with the white roustabouts some bright reporter gave it the name of San Juan Hill, after the Spanish war, and the name stuck."

The negroes began to move into the neighborhood twelve or fourteen years ago, coming first, according to some, because of a landlord's quarrel that opened a house to the blacks to spite certain tenants or neighbors. According to others, the district met with its first fall from respectability in consequence of the collapse of the Buddensiek flats—a building disaster of the early '90s, which sent the man responsible for it to Sing Sing.

To-day the region contains one of the largest negro colonies in New York. They have gradually spread from Fifty-ninth street, coming from various parts of the city and country, until in the whole section extending from Columbus avenue to the river and six or eight blocks north and south they outnumber the whites perhaps ten to one, or even in a greater ratio.

But it is only the heart of the colony that has given the police much trouble, and when the bluecoat speaks of the "bad niggers of San Juan Hill" he does not mean thereby to indict the whole colony, but refers to a comparatively small part of it and re-

THE CRAP GAME.

stricts the name to mean specifically two blocks—Sixty-first and Sixty-second streets between Amsterdam avenue and West End avenue.

Those two blocks are built up tight with five story tenement houses, the skyline of which presents the appearance of a long series of descending steps as one goes toward

A PROMINENT CITIZEN.

the river. Each house contains anywhere from twenty to forty flats, each made up of three or four rooms, and every flat is occupied by negroes. There is not a white family in the whole block in either street.

The houses are not materially different from those of any similar locality on the upper West Side—except for extra dirt. They were built, all but one or two of them, anywhere from fifteen to thirty years ago, and could hold their own in their day as fairly good modern apartment houses.

They are in a fair state of repair now, on the outside at least, but they are dirty within and without as a rule. A curious anomaly, if all the negroes of the district are as black in sin as they are painted, is the newest of the houses, a big, double apartment building on the north side of Sixty-second street, just about the middle of the block, which stands with its dark vitrified brick neatly pointed up and trimmed with gray sandstone, and above its entrance in bold, clear lettering exhibits the name "Tuskegee."

It contrasts markedly with all the other buildings of the section. Possibly its builder intended it to stand as a rebuke to the inhabitants of those other houses.

The recent disturbances which gave this little San Juan Hill its notoriety have been described as "race riots," a big sounding name. The police declare that there has never been a race riot on this San Juan Hill or anywhere near it.

While the police give the negroes of the hill a very bad name, they laugh at the idea of a race riot and disclaim all responsibility for the use of that term. Ex-Chief Devery said the other day:

"Let me tell you there has been no such thing as a negro riot in many years. Plain-going, honest negro longshoremen, however, on their way home from work have been beaten for a month past by hoodlums along Tenth avenue, and have been left in the gutter for dead, and no police to help them. It's time that the police stopped clubbing negroes, who are human beings like ourselves."

There is not likely to be any further trouble in the near future, for following the transferring to another precinct of Capt. John Cooney, who was said to be unfriendly to the negroes, Commissioner McAdoo's action in increasing the number of patrolmen at the West Sixty-eighth street station to 118 men and establishing three new posts in the district has made it possible to station three or four patrolmen on every street corner, and the whole San Juan Hill neighborhood nowadays is as quiet as a New England Sunday.

That certain of the patrolmen who have been for a considerable time in the precinct share Capt. Cooney's reputed dislike of the negroes is evident to any one who engages them in conversation on the subject. One of them said:

"It's a tough place down there"—they all speak of the quarter as "down there," for the negroes live on the slope of the declivity; not on the top of the hill—"make no mistake about that. And it's been going from bad to worse in my time, too.

"Ten or twelve years ago there were only a few of the niggers scattered among the old respectable families, and some of them were good ones, too. But now there ain't a good one in the whole lot. They're all a lot of lazy, good for nothin' loafers.

"They won't work, and the only way any of them can get any money is to hold somebody up and rob him. There are no white people down there now; the niggers have it all to themselves. They care no more for the law than they do for a dead man, no more than they do for the devil—not so much, for they are afraid of the devil, but got of the law.

"They are without exception the worst lot of niggers in this town or any other. They'll do anything that's bad, from playing craps to committin' murder, and not care a damn, either. And they're all mixed up in it together; they'll all shield each other and fight together against the police or anybody else.

"No, they haven't got any leader. But they all stick together and fight together, when it's a fight, just without any leader, every man for himself to do the police and stab one of us in the back or hack him with a razor if they get a chance.

"No, these San Juan Hill fellers are not at all like the Fifty-ninth street negroes. They're all right in Fifty-ninth street. They're a peaceable lot and behave themselves, most of them.

"Oh, there's some bad ones, of course, and some disreputable houses, but they keep pretty quiet. They don't give us much trouble.

"But that Sixty-second street crowd is a bad lot all the way through, nothin' but cuttin' an' shootin' an' stealin' an' robbin' and raisin' hell all the time. They ought to be sent back to Africa, or to the Philippines, or off the earth. They're no good here."

And another said:

"Sixty-first street and Sixty-second street, between Amsterdam and West End, are about equally bad; there isn't anything to choose between them. Both blocks are full of the worst lot of criminal negroes in America.

"They come here from all over the country. A nigger who commits a crime in some other city and escapes comes to New York and makes for San Juan Hill, and down there they take him in and hide him. They'll harbor any kind of criminal, so long as he's black, and when we get word that he's there and go after him they all fight to shield him from the police.

"Some never do a stroke of work, yet have money-loads of it. I've seen them gambling for big stakes plenty of times. Where do they get it? By theft and robbery, that's where.

"You see, what makes the most trouble to get these bad negroes is the peculiarity of the locality and the hill. We can approach it only from one side. If the place was level it would be easier for the police.

"A plain clothes man can't show himself at the top or the bottom of the hill without it being signaled all through the district, and if any nigger on the block knows he's been up to some new mischief and thinks the police are after him, he gets inside quick and hides away. And all the others help him and shield him and fight for him against the police."

In all probability the police have at times used unwarranted harshness in handling the negroes of San Juan Hill. But the negroes of this quarter are not a prepossessing or a promising looking lot.

The general appearance of the slope they inhabit is that of slovenliness, and the appearance of the negroes themselves matches that. It requires only a leisurely stroll, with open eyes, down the slope to convince oneself that at least the policemen's charge of lazy, shiftless idleness is true.

Men, youths and boys, of all ages and in all conditions of unkempt habit and raiment, as well as women and children, swarm about the entrances of the houses, loll on the steps and lounge on the sidewalks; the men ready at least to take a hand in a crap game as soon as the back of the nearest patrolman is turned.

MARKETING ON THE AVENUE.

NEIGHBORS CHATTING

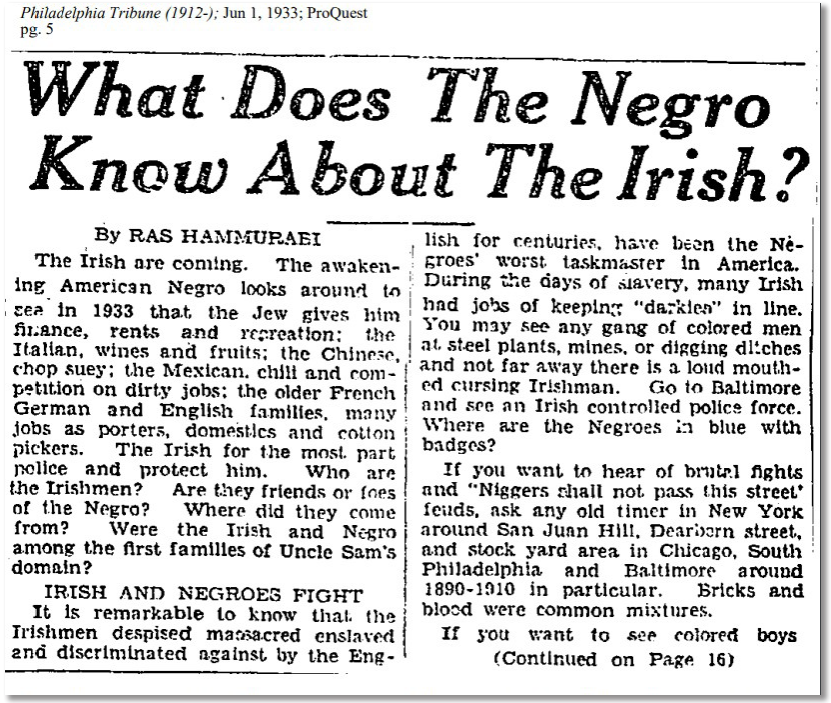
"The Naughty Negroes of San Juan Hill" (1905).
The Sun.

In the early twentieth century, racist trends and patterns of reporting in news media about San Juan Hill characterized the area as a nuisance for the police and the greater public. One such example published in 1905 by The Sun described the neighborhood's residents as "naughty" and the area in which they lived as "giving the police extra trouble" (The Sun 1905). Even in art—as exemplified by George Bellow's "Tin Can Battle"—it was presented as an undesirable neighborhood in which a villainized population resided. As the Black population in both the city and the neighborhood increased, media characterization of Blackness shifted from "benign and buffoonish" to "sinister and dangerous," which reinforced racist tropes and inflamed already existing animosity toward Black citizens (Sacks 2006).

Of the White immigrants living in San Juan Hill and surrounding neighborhoods before 1930, the Irish population was the largest and, according to newspapers at the time, the most volatile. Reporting on Irish residents, like Black residents, was often sensationalized, and focused on gang activity, violence, poor living conditions, and political contention (Osofsky 1961).

Extra-legal activity was an important part, though not all, of San Juan Hill's social fabric. Acts of violence, crimes, and raids on the neighborhood's thriving underground market were one of the negative characterizations that were reported frequently. Newspapers, travel guides, and the police characterized the neighborhood as a lawless area, which became an image of San Juan Hill. A 1931 travel guide on New York, for example, wrote that all they could tell about San Juan Hill was that "here even the police go in twos" (James 1931).

Social activity on sidewalks and stoops were perceived as negative. Characterizations of the problematic use of streetscapes were based on racist stereotypes of Black and Latine street life.



Philadelphia Tribune (1912-); Jun 1, 1933; ProQuest
pg. 5

What Does The Negro Know About The Irish?

By RAS HAMMURABI

The Irish are coming. The awakening American Negro looks around to see in 1933 that the Jew gives him finance, rents and recreation; the Italian, wines and fruits; the Chinese, chop suey; the Mexican, chili and competition on dirty jobs; the older French German and English families, many jobs as porters, domestics and cotton pickers. The Irish for the most part police and protect him. Who are the Irishmen? Are they friends or foes of the Negro? Where did they come from? Were the Irish and Negro among the first families of Uncle Sam's domain?

IRISH AND NEGROES FIGHT

It is remarkable to know that the Irishmen despised massacred enslaved and discriminated against by the English for centuries, have been the Negroes' worst taskmaster in America. During the days of slavery, many Irish had jobs of keeping "darkies" in line. You may see any gang of colored men at steel plants, mines, or digging ditches and not far away there is a loud mouthed cursing Irishman. Go to Baltimore and see an Irish controlled police force. Where are the Negroes in blue with badges?

If you want to hear of brutal fights and "Niggers shall not pass this street' feuds, ask any old timer in New York around San Juan Hill, Dearborn street, and stock yard area in Chicago, South Philadelphia and Baltimore around 1890-1910 in particular. Bricks and blood were common mixtures.

If you want to see colored boys

(Continued on Page 16)

Newspaper article about the relationship between Irish immigrants and Black Americans at the turn of the twentieth century (1933).
Philadelphia Tribune.

Two Rescued By Policeman In Irish Riot

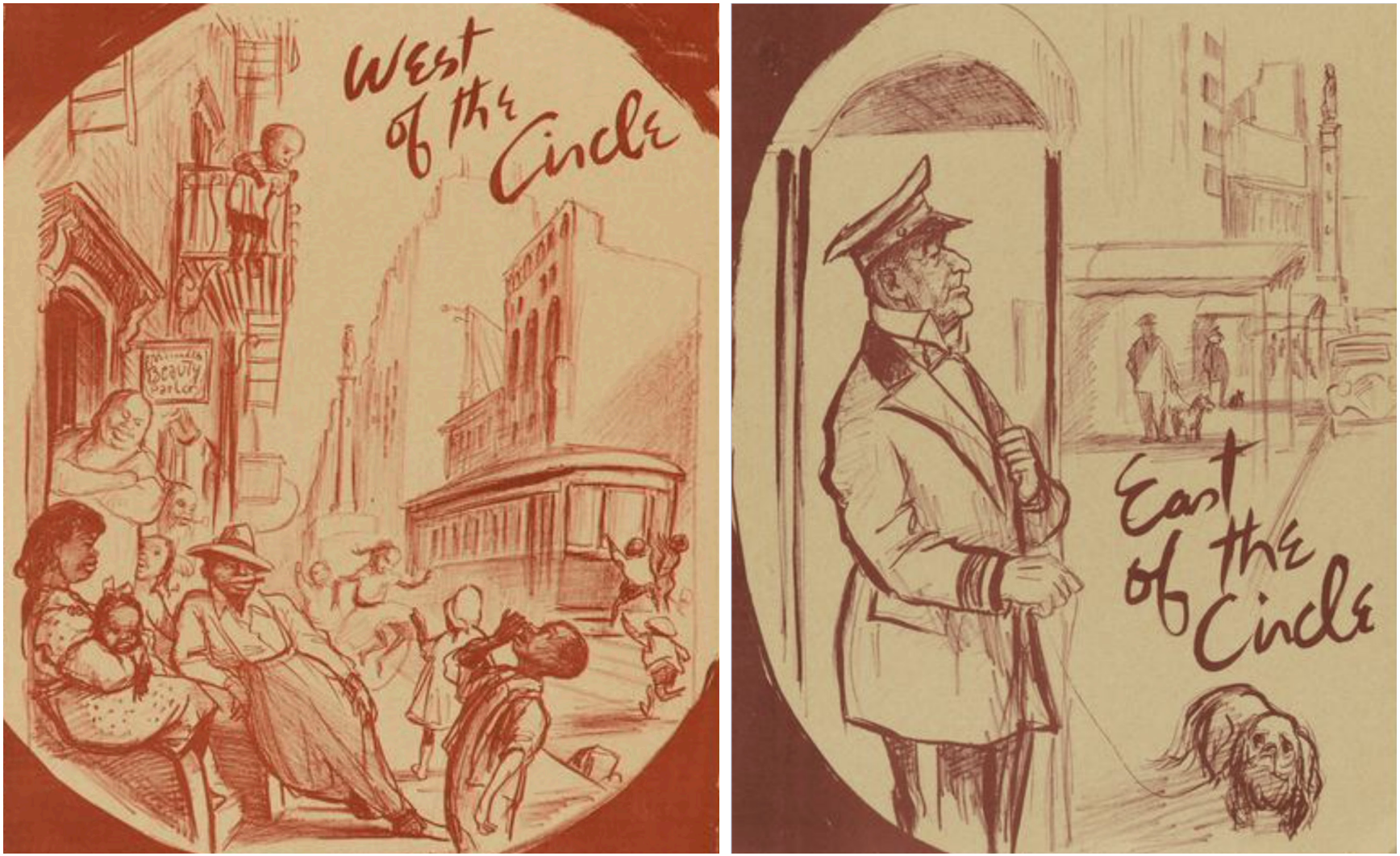
Crowd at Protest Meeting in Columbus Circle Attacks Men When One Drops Remark About Speaker

Speeded Away in Taxi

Battle Rages From Curb to Curb With Traffic Patrolman as Central Figure

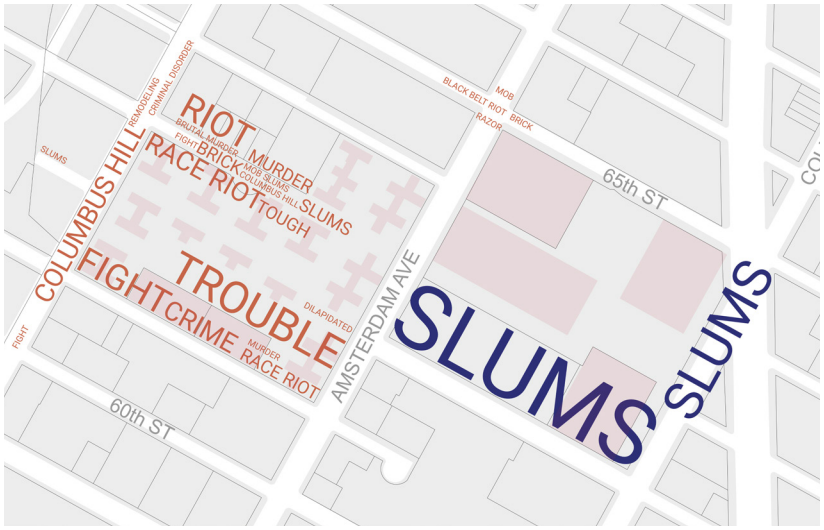
Traffic Patrolman John H. Main rescued two men from a crowd of Irish sympathizers during a riot in Columbus Circle last night. The crowd launched its attack when one of the men dropped a chance remark during the protest meeting of the Farmer-Labor party near the Maine monument.

Newspaper headline about the Irish "Riot" in 1920 (1920).
New York Tribune.



Neighborhood characterizations predicated on racist stereotypes of street life (1941).
Don Freeman.

Mentions of "San Juan Hill" in media. Officers from Emergency Squad # 4 raid an illegal still at 210 West 61st Street on May 20, 1931 during Prohibition (1931).
NYPD & Criminal Prosecution Collection, NYC Municipal Archives.



Spatialized frequency of verbiage (1905-1961).
R. Villasante.

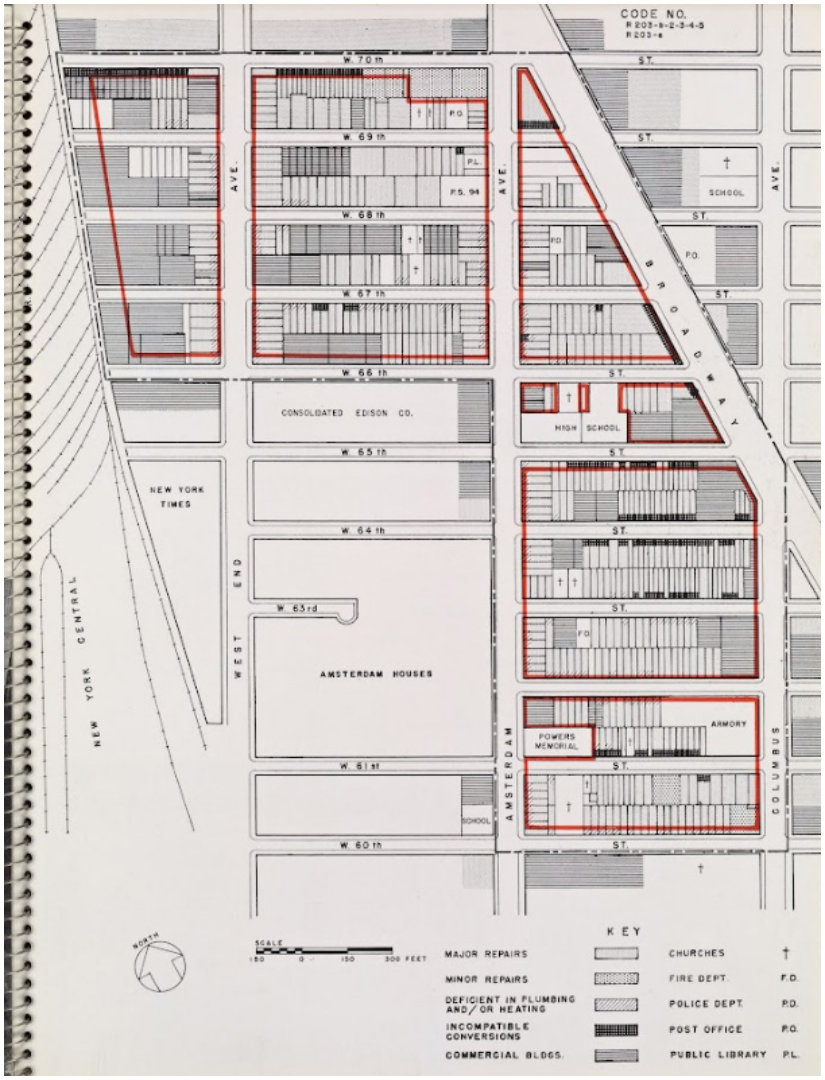
CONSEQUENCES OF NEGATIVE CHARACTERIZATIONS

The negative stereotyping of Black, Irish, and Puerto Rican communities, together with the reinforced undesirable characterization of San Juan Hill as a neighborhood, intensified biased actions in public space. Over-policing on the street, raids, unjust arrests solely based on perceived suspicion, and the vague twentieth-century laws designed to restrict public idleness rendered Blackness in public space "criminal behavior" (Bailey and Green 1999; Flowe 2014). This kind of institutionalized racism exacerbated conflicts, heightened racial tension, and played a role in igniting racial riots in San Juan Hill. Between 1900 and 1915, San Juan Hill saw multiple large-scale riots in any given year, which, again, reinforced the violent image of the neighborhood. This cycle of negative characterization kept repeating itself over and over.

The San Juan Hill neighborhood was referred to by many monikers such as Skinnerville and Columbus Hill. Once Irish and Black residents moved into the area, however, its names became racialized and typically commented on racial and ethnic violence. With this racialized language came negative descriptors such as "slums," which ultimately served as justification for the neighborhood's demolition and redevelopment. The media emphasized terms denoting dilapidation, rioting, and lawlessness to villainize the neighborhood and its residents.

Redevelopment policy was framed as beneficial and needed for the overall improvement of the city, yet the condemnation of areas deemed "blighted" by decision-makers hid a deeper injustice. The very idea of redevelopment for the area bred from a deep prejudice against the population and its living conditions, resulting in a negative outlook towards the community.

One of the most significant pieces of media to influence the modern public's perception of San Juan Hill has been West Side Story. For the last 70 years, the story has promoted an image of life on the West Side as a violence-stricken community of Puerto Rican men always at odds with their non-Hispanic White neighbors, alongside their sassy, virginal female counterparts. The community was simultaneously sterilized, antagonized, and romanticized. And this image persists, although for many it may exist frozen in time.



Areas of redevelopment.
Lincoln Square Title I Report.

Behind the scenes of West Side Story (1961).
The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Astor, Lenox and Tilden.

West Side Story (1961).
L. Jacobs.

DISPARATE POWER AND INFLUENCE

Disparate power and influence on the part of institutional and financial stakeholders intensified resource disparities and compelled marginalized groups to create their own organization to serve community needs.

HEALTH AND WELFARE

Sponsors of the localized medical and welfare services in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century included religious associations, humanitarians, and female patrons who worked to fund organizations addressing resource disparities in the neighborhood.

In the 1870s two powerful and wealthy families were responsible for founding the first health facilities in the neighborhood. James H. Roosevelt founded Roosevelt Hospital, while the College of Physicians and Surgeons was a gift from William Henry Vanderbilt and his family. These facilities' institutional presence and behavior were associated with their founders' social and racial identities.

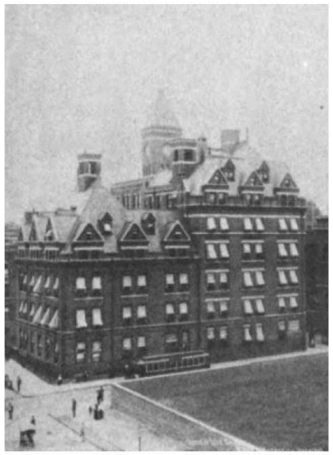
The Black community in San Juan Hill faced significant barriers to accessing these institutions and healthcare in general. The well-endowed hospitals provided some free services to low-income patients, but this policy was abandoned by the early 1900 (New York Times 1904). These disparities compelled Black leaders to establish their own health and welfare organizations to serve the community and compensate for the inequity, such as St. Cyprian's Milk Station.

Such disparate conditions extended beyond healthcare. Philanthropic organizations and Black churches also stepped in to provide education and childcare resources in the San Juan Hill community, such as the Lincoln Day Nursery.

The Lincoln Day Nursery.
National Library of Medicine.

Institutional Services

Roosevelt Hospital
Roosevelt Hospital. *The Roosevelt Hospital: 1871-1957.*



College of P&S
Speert, Harold. *The Sloane Hospital chronicle.*

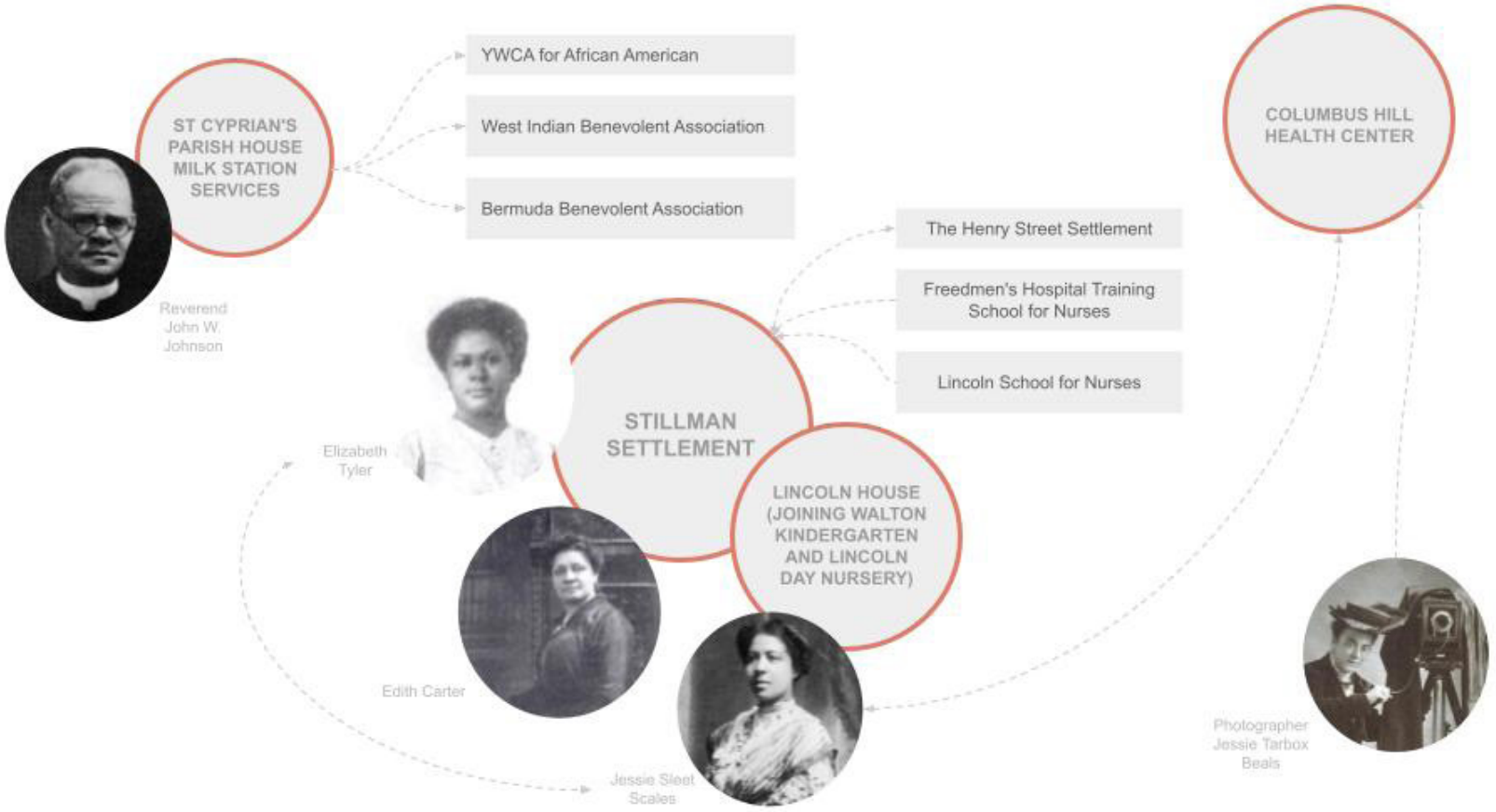
Localized Services

Stillman Settlement
154 W 62 St, Landmark West!

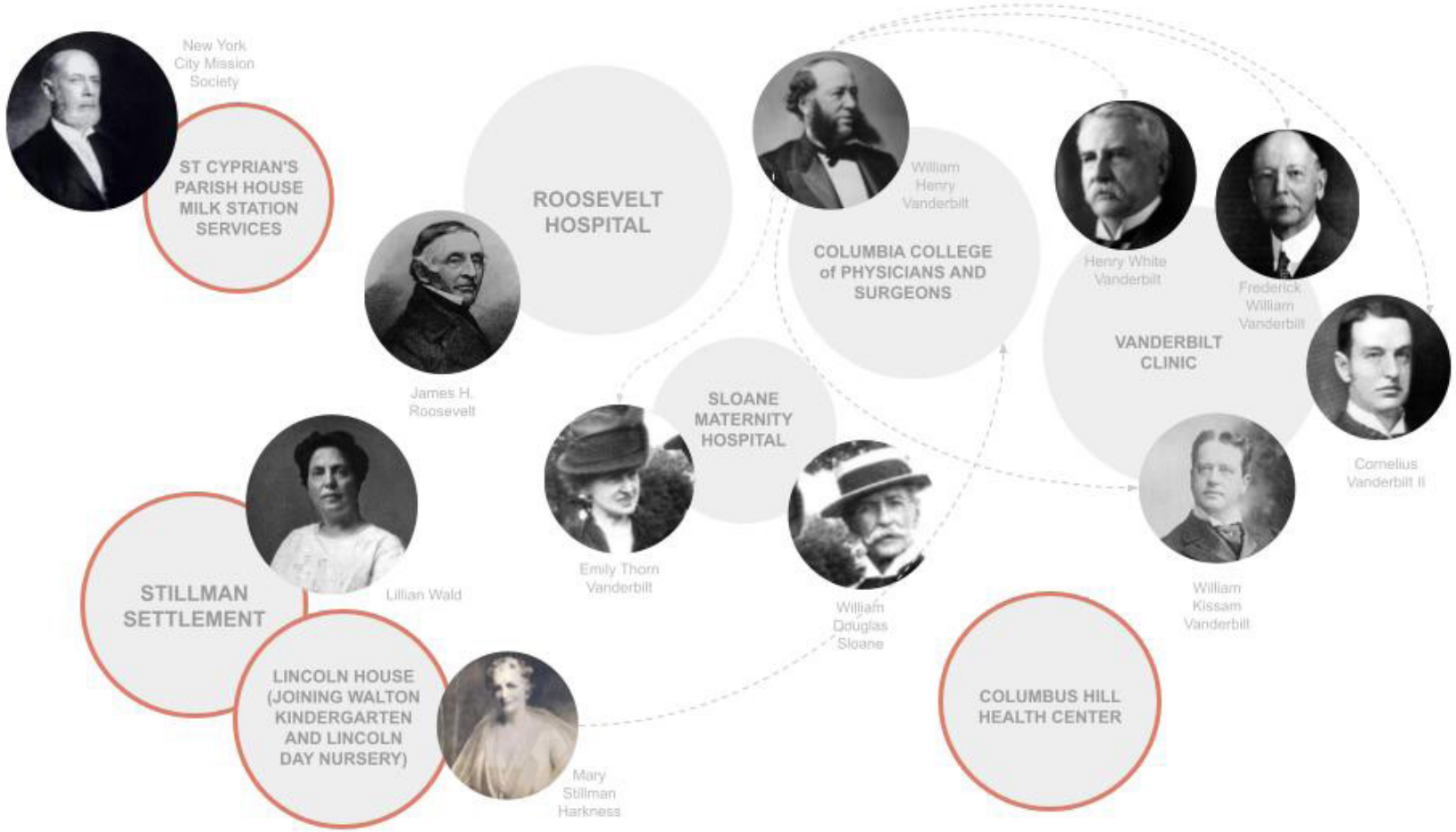
St. Cyprian's Milk Station
1940s Tax Photos,
NY Municipal Archives.

Columbus Hill Health Center
1940s Tax Photos,
NY Municipal Archives.

Disparate healthcare resources (2023).
C.Zhao.



Individuals in leadership positions are recorded in official records.
C. Zhao.



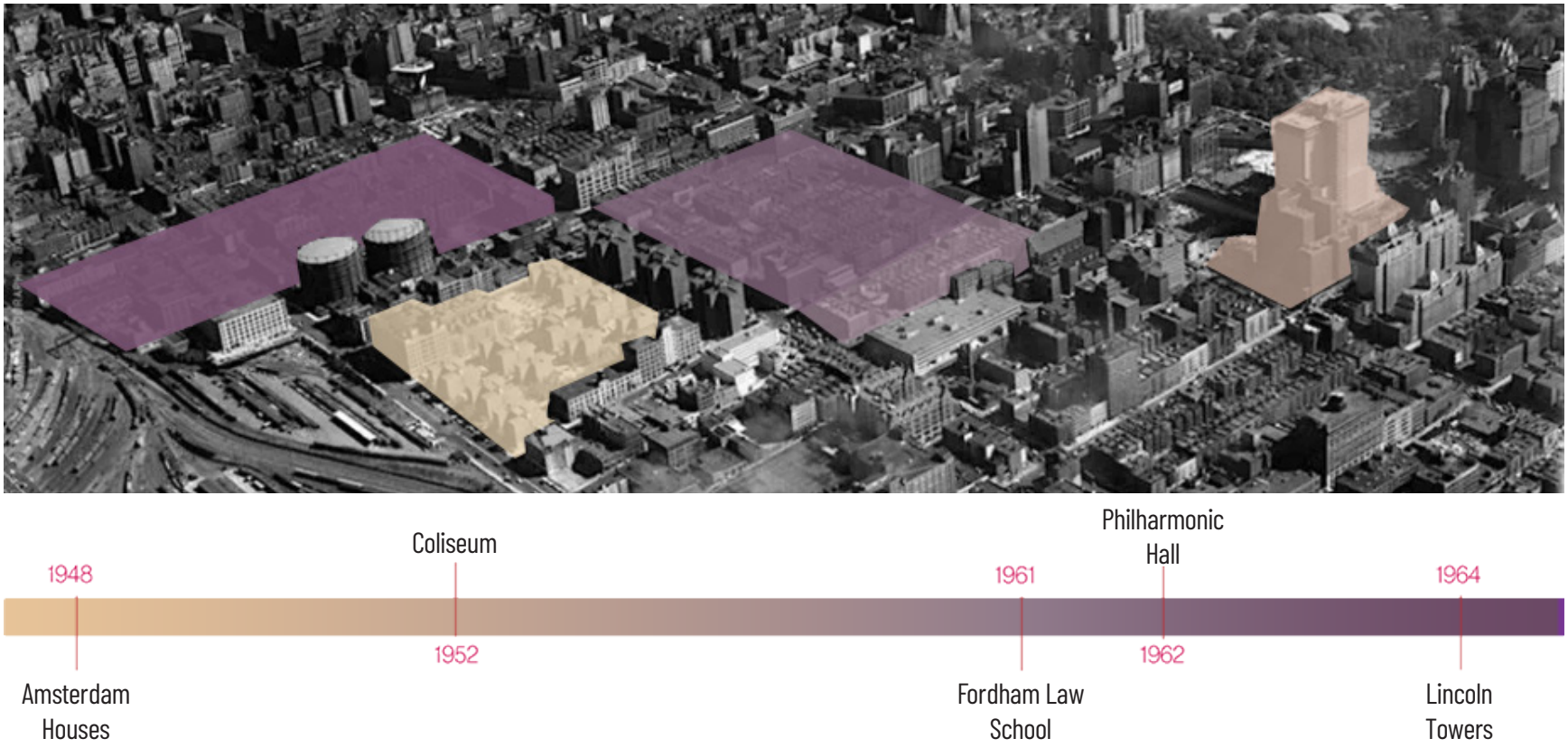
Patrons of localized medical and social welfare organizations.
C. Zhao.

REDEVELOPMENT AND DISPLACED PUBLICS

Government-driven interests redefined power dynamics in San Juan Hill through large-scale redevelopment projects. Beginning with Amsterdam Houses, planned before World War II and completed in 1948, replaced the so-called "blighted" tenements that once occupied four blocks of the Gut, with a promise that the former 1,400 residents would be able to return upon its completion (Zipp 2010). Instead, priority was given to veterans and their families and only a fraction of the previous tenants were able to return. Municipal and state government agencies, further empowered by urban renewal legislation, continued to drive large-scale redevelopment projects in the neighborhood (Ballon et al 2007: Zipp 2009, 2010; N.Y.C Slum Clearance Committee 1956; Communications/Public Relations Records Collection 1963).

Robert Moses enlisted upper class powerbrokers, government agencies, and private institutions to help realize his vision for a redevelopment of "Lincoln Square." Local community organizations had little power in the decision-making process and in the fight against the impending displacement.

Redevelopment efforts also engaged wealthy philanthropists to fund Lincoln Center Plaza and affiliated buildings, which garnered upper class attention and promulgated Eurocentric ideals of the performing arts, rather than bolstering the artistic legacy of San Juan Hill. Funders such as John Rockefeller III and the Rockefeller Foundation were among the most generous and notable donors, seeking to bolster New York City's international profile as a cultural center.



Redevelopment influence in the study area (2023).
C. Boulanger.

Financial Stakeholders

Philanthropists

John D. Rockefeller 3rd

Charles M. Spofford

Vivian Beaumont Allen

Arthur A. Houghton Jr.

Reverend L. McGinley

James Stillman Rockefeller

Original Property Owners

New York Times

Consolidated Edison Company of New York, Inc.

Investors

William Zeckondorf
Webb & Knapp

Community Organizations

Lincoln Square Residents' Committee

Lincoln Square Businessmen's Committee

Government Agencies

New York State Government

New York City Government

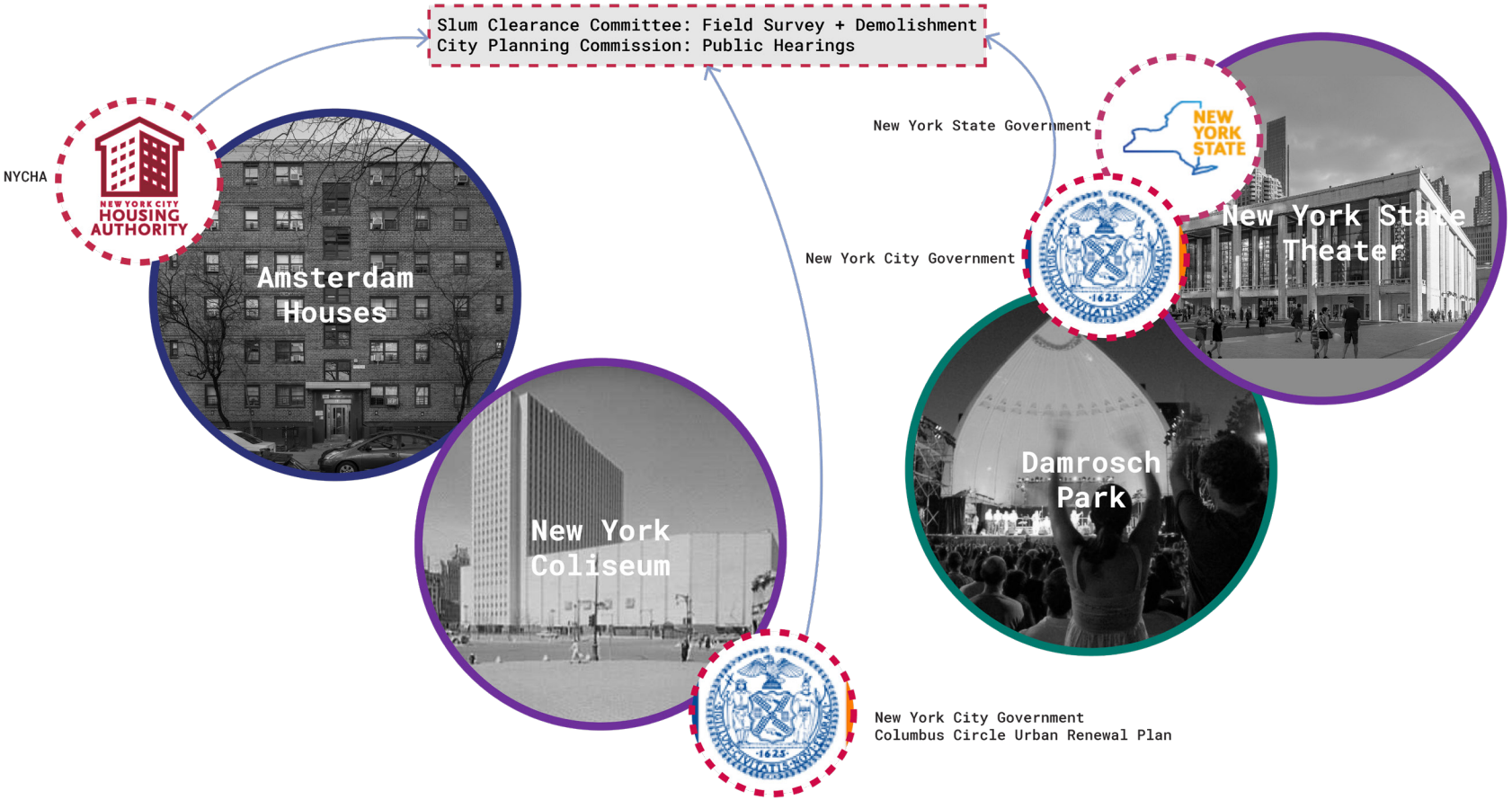
NYCHA

Anchor Institutions

American Red Cross

Fordham University

Key actors in the Lincoln Square redevelopment project (2023).
D. Zhu.



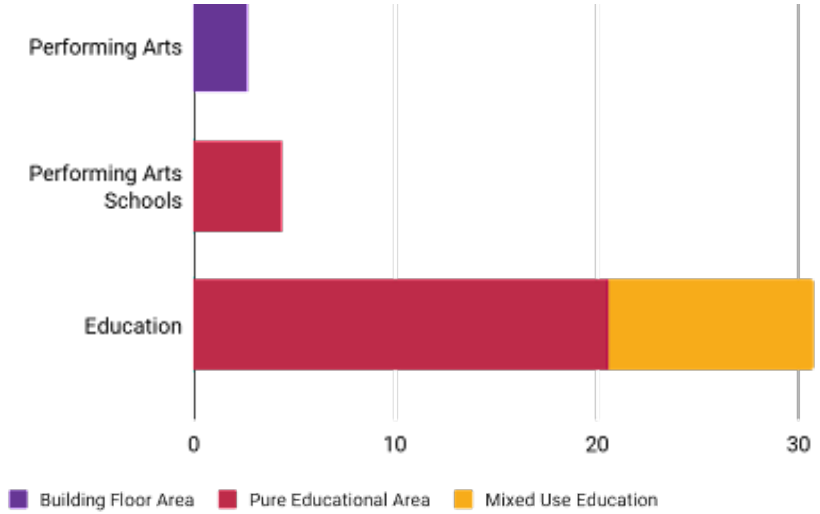
Government drivers of projects (2023).
D. Zhu.

Financial stakeholders and philanthropists (2023).
D. Zhu.

Public and private actors reshaped the form and use of the neighborhood, in large part around this concept of a performing arts complex, and Lincoln Center became a defining feature of the neighborhood. However educational institutions were a critical dimension of the redevelopment plans and now occupy over eight times more floor area than performing arts spaces, shedding new light on institutional power and agency within the neighborhood.

As illustrated in the graph to the right, the outsized role of educational institutions was initially forged at the time of redevelopment, when Robert Moses offered up a sizable area of land, seized through eminent domain, to the President of Fordham University at a cost lower than what the city paid for it. Community groups waged a 3-year legal battle claiming that the land transfer constituted a government subsidy to a religious organization, since Fordham University is a Jesuit institution. Despite "the lawsuit, protests, and public hearings," area residents and community organizations could not thwart or redirect redevelopment and displacement (Jaiswal 2020).

Even housing planned as part of the redevelopment caused displacement and privileged powerful stakeholder interests. Lincoln Towers replaced many low-scale affordable tenements and other residential buildings. The six high-rise apartment structures provided only half the number of housing units that were destroyed, and most were luxury units. The complex brought a new verticality to the area, fundamentally altering its urban form.



Prevalence of educational space vs. performing arts space in the study area (2023).
Y. Chen.

Lincoln Square Businessmen's Committee

Lincoln Square Residents' Committee

Community protesters had little leverage against the powers of redevelopment (2023).
D. Zhu.

John D. Rockefeller III and the architects of Lincoln Center (1959).
Arnold Newman

SOCIO-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION

Multiple phases of redevelopment in San Juan Hill caused significant transformations in the community, from the neighborhood scale to that of individual buildings, triggering social and demographic changes as well. Displaced residents and business owners had minimal leverage against the power holders, including government agencies, institutions, and wealthy families.

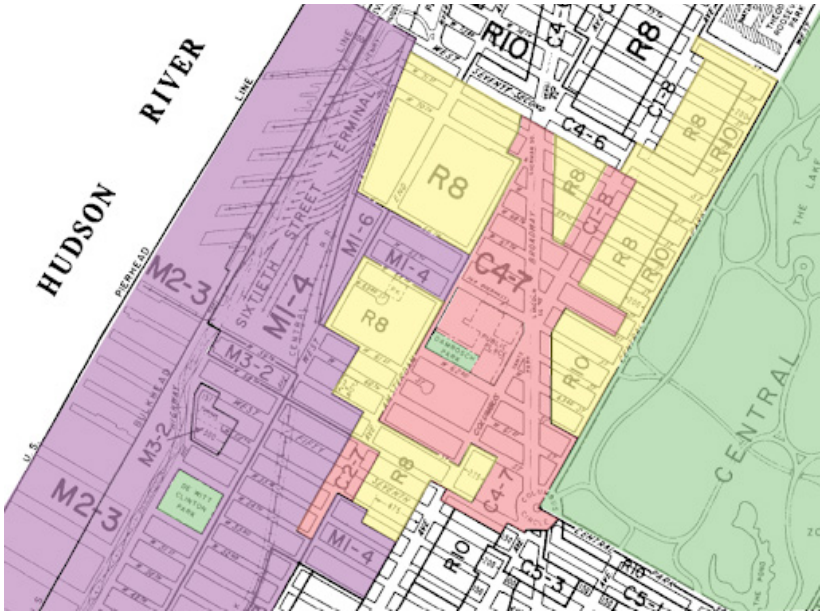
CHANGES IN URBAN FORM

In 1934, most of the San Juan Hill neighborhood was low-rise, mainly serving lower- and lower-middle-income families, with early high-rise apartments concentrated around Columbus Circle and Broadway. In comparison, the current massing demonstrates that the landscape has drastically changed, with a prevalence of high-rise complexes serving upper-middle-income families and barely any tenements left. The urban renewal shows the displacement of the lower-income population.

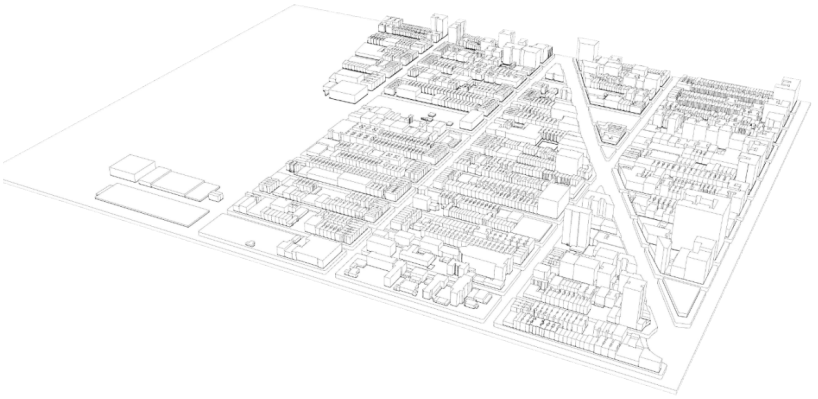
Despite the prominent role of institutions in the study area, properties in the neighborhood are still largely privately-owned, with a majority of owners being real-estate investor companies. These have strengthened their hold on the real estate market and continue to strive to transform the neighborhood into a luxury area. The second largest owner is the city of New York, with land claimed largely through eminent domain; therefore, the stakeholders and decision-makers of today repeat a pattern established through urban renewal.

When Lincoln Center was in planning and design, changes to the NYC Zoning Code were under discussion (and eventually codified in 1961). The Lincoln Square urban renewal project capitalized on this regulatory transition, enabling redevelopment that did not match allowed land uses and height restrictions.

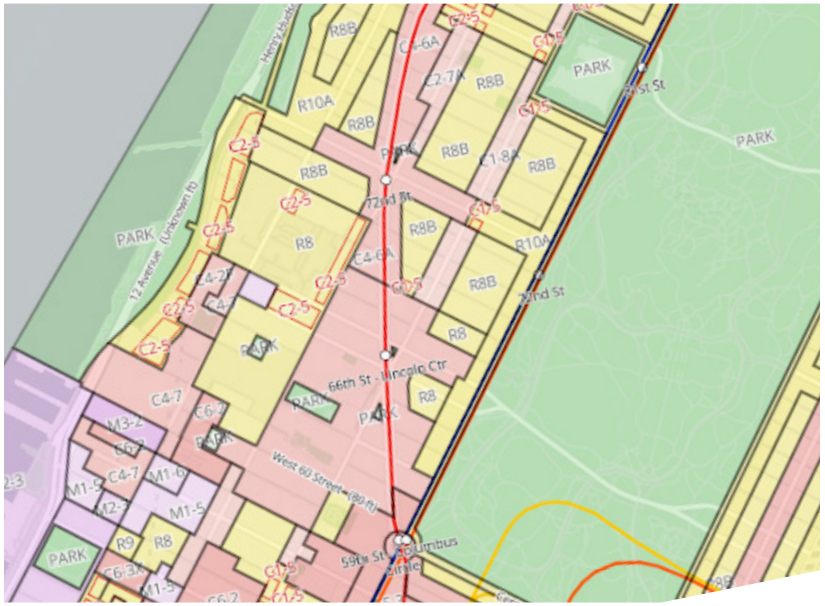
Much of the neighborhood's residential architecture has since been replaced by higher-scale, upper-middle-income apartments, altering the urban form of the community and diminishing affordable housing options.



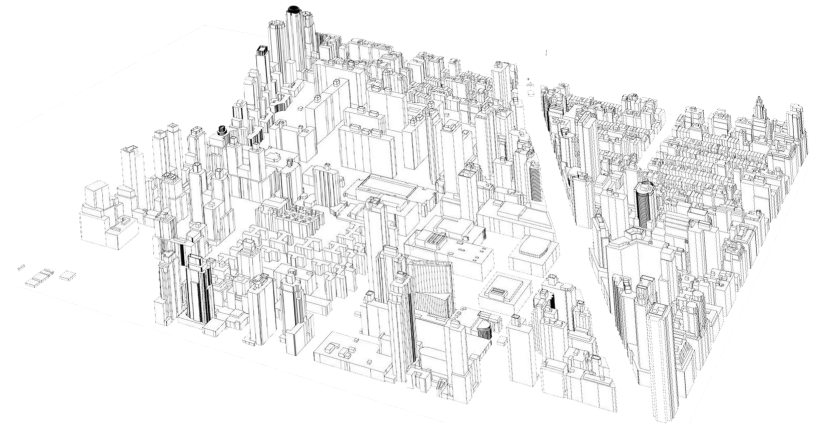
Zoning map, December 15, 1961.
New York City Planning Commission.



1934 massing of the study area (2023).
C. Boulanger and D. Zhu.



Current zoning regulations (2023).
ZOLA.



2017 massing of the study area.
NYC City Planning.

3-D visualization of residential buildings in the neighborhood illustrates how post-war housing development, as well as institutions, dramatically influenced changes in urban form (2023).
D. Zhang.

Map of ownership, 2019 (2023).
C. Boulanger.

CHANGES IN SOCIAL FABRIC AND STREET LIFE

The NYCHA Amsterdam Houses survive in the neighborhood as an affordable housing development. Originally intended for the Black community of San Juan Hill, at the time of its opening in 1948, only 23 percent of tenants were Black residents, and it is estimated that only 4 percent were residents who had been displaced from their San Juan Hill homes due to the project (Umbach 2016, 104).

These new developments also changed the nature of open space and therefore the nature of social interaction. Post-war developments, like Lincoln Center, harnessed the natural topography to create an exclusionary design with intentional "closed" open spaces, to isolate purpose-built space from the area around. Gone were the adapted and liminal spaces of residential stoops and sidewalks.

1920s Aerial view (1924).
The City of New York.

2023 Aerial view (2023).
S. Haynes.

As noted previously, the 1960s urban renewal saw the demolition of commercial corridors characterized by street-level storefronts on West End Avenue and Amsterdam Avenue.

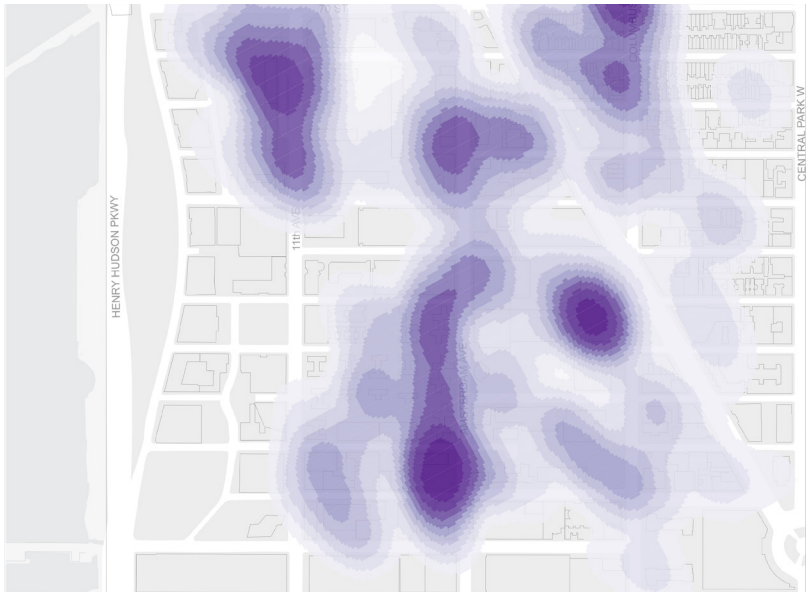
Businesses on side streets—generally operated by proprietors who were lower-income, immigrant, and/or persons of color—were wiped out completely. Along Amsterdam Avenue, the increase in scale reflected the displacement of local businesses. These large-scale mixed-use spaces are not suitable and affordable for smaller-scale businesses and those operated by marginalized publics.

Before Lincoln Center became a cultural hub of New York City, San Juan Hill was an enclave of local and diverse performing arts. As publics migrated north to Harlem and were displaced due to redevelopment, smaller performance spaces like cabarets, night clubs, dance halls, and theaters disappeared, most notably the vibrant San Juan Hill corridor known as "the Jungles." This transformed the nature of night life within the neighborhood, concentrating social interaction within and immediately surrounding the Lincoln Center campus and changing the demographics of patrons.

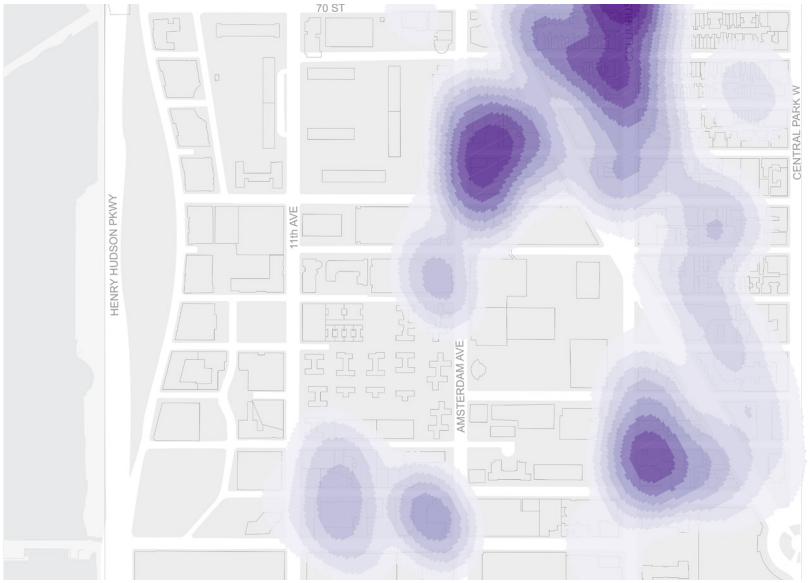
Josie Robertson Plaza (2007).
T. Rosen.

Columbus Avenue (1941).
NYPL.

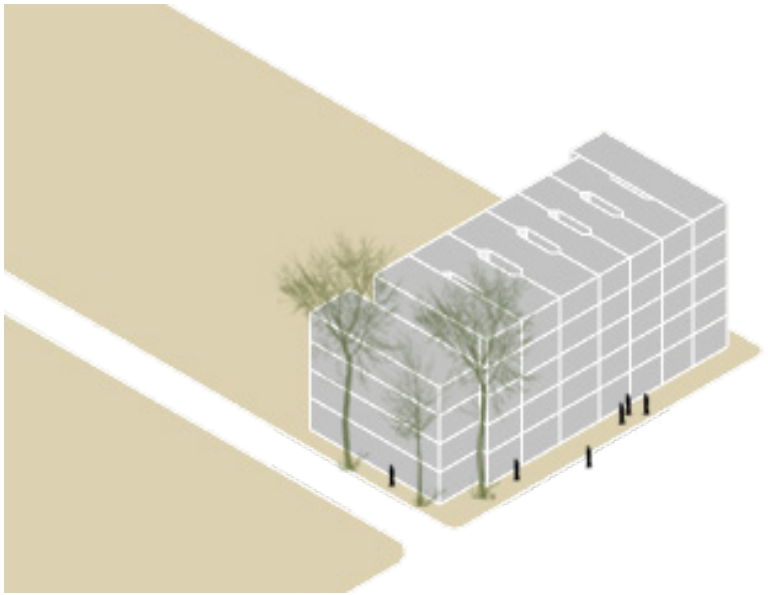
New educational organizations and spaces, realized through redevelopment, have likewise transformed the social dynamics of the neighborhood. While the neighborhood historically was home to several trade schools for underserved populations, it now hosts a significant number of high schools and higher education institutions. Due to these changes in land use, the neighborhood experiences a significant shift in demographics on a temporal scale—students are now a prevalent day time population, largely absent during the summer.



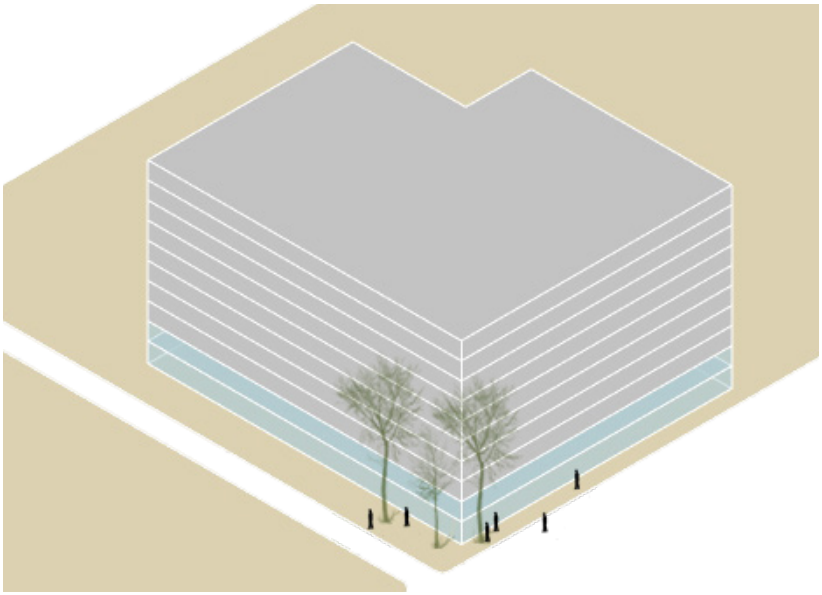
The commercial pattern in the 1940s (2023).
C. Sun.



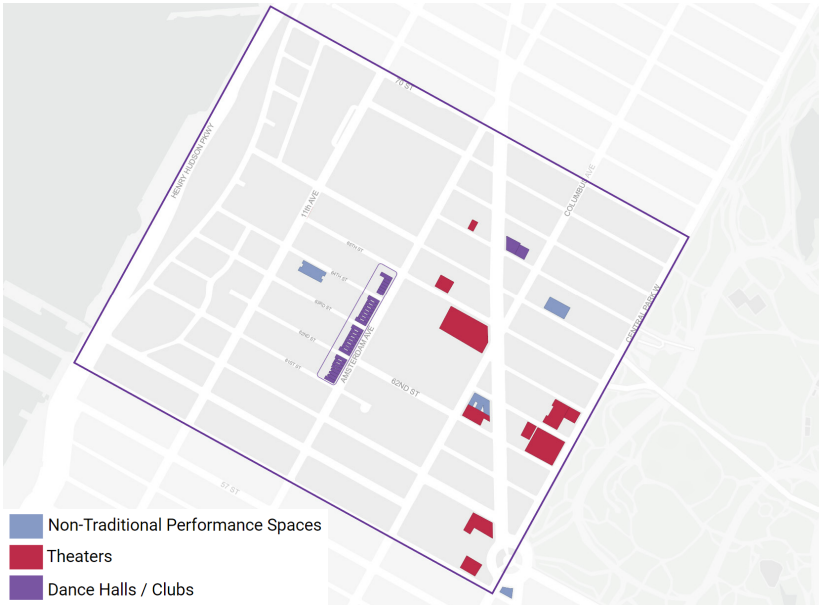
The commercial pattern in the 1960s (2023).
C. Sun.



Streetscape of West 60th Street in the 1940s (2023).
C. Sun.

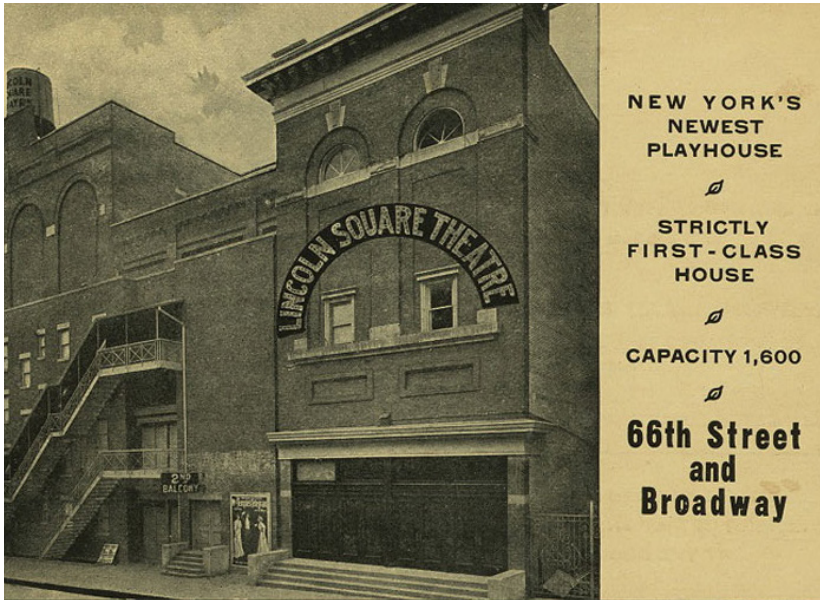


Streetscape of West 60th Street at present (2023).
C. Sun.



Performance spaces in 1915 (2023).
M. Wroy.

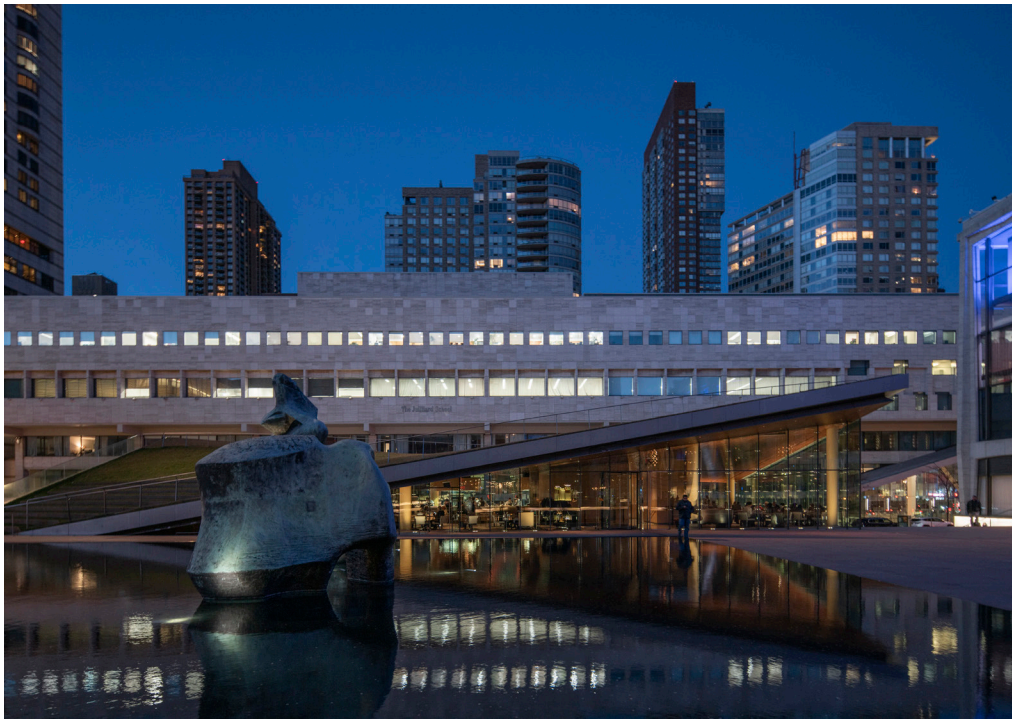
Current performance spaces (2023).
M. Wroy.



Lincoln Square theater.
NYPL.

Metropolitan Opera House (2023).
Y. Liu.

Industrial School, 224 W 63rd Street.
1940 Tax Photo, Municipal Archives.



The Juilliard School (2023).
Y. Liu.

Hearst Plaza (2007).
Trix Rosen

SPATIAL BARRIERS AND SEGREGATION

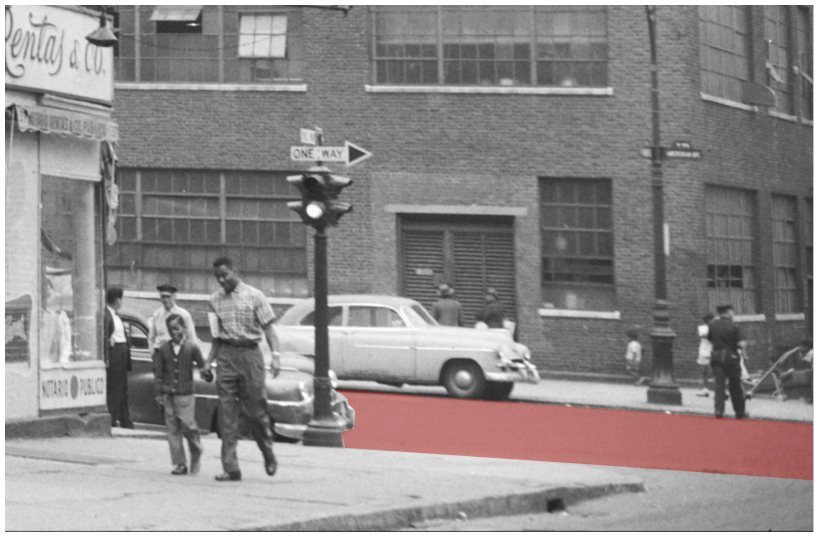
This studio's collective investigation found repeated patterns of segregation and spatial barriers in San Juan Hill's social and built fabric. The aforementioned Amsterdam Avenue divide, especially, alienated vulnerable publics from critical resources; this division was perpetuated by violence, policy, and institutions and was later cemented with physical barriers that continue social exclusion to this day.

AMSTERDAM AVENUE AS A DIVIDE

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, violence and racial hostility critically defined San Juan Hill's boundaries. Large-scale instances of violence, described in newspapers as "race riots" broke out between Black and White residents. These incidents were often catalyzed when the neighborhood's racial boundaries were crossed by residents or White police officers.

By 1910,as contemporaries such as Mary White Ovington widely noted the most prominent racial divide in San Juan Hill was Amsterdam Avenue, separating predominantly Black and White communities. (Ovington 1911, 120). As noted previously, redlining exacerbated racial divides and trapped San Juan Hill in a cycle of disinvestment and deterioration, thus greasing the wheels for designations of "blight," seizure by eminent domain, and the construction of urban renewal superblocks.

The legacy of these historic spatial barriers and segregationist practices pervades the modern landscape by inhibiting equitable access. Recent census data reveal similar patterns persisting today; Amsterdam Houses, a predominantly low-income Black and Latine community, still occupies the same geographic footprint as the predominantly Black community of San Juan Hill over a century ago, and are similarly surrounded by a predominantly White demographic. In 2020, median income in the census tracts that encircle Amsterdam Houses was almost seven times higher than that of the Amsterdam Houses tracts (US Census 2020).



The Amsterdam divide was the most prominent racial division in San Juan Hill (1958).
Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project Photographs.

The Amsterdam Divide (2023).
D. Zhu.

OPEN SPACE ACCESS

Historically, the majority of purpose-built open space in the study area was located east of Amsterdam Avenue and was largely inaccessible to residents of San Juan Hill, particularly those residing west of Amsterdam Avenue (Chan 2008). Redevelopment physically exacerbated that inaccessibility, and even though Riverside Park to the west was extended in 2001, topography makes access challenging. In interviews, the studio found that access to green space for low-income communities is currently a major advocacy issue. Public parks are underfunded, with just .6 percent of the city budget allotted (New Yorkers for Parks 2023).

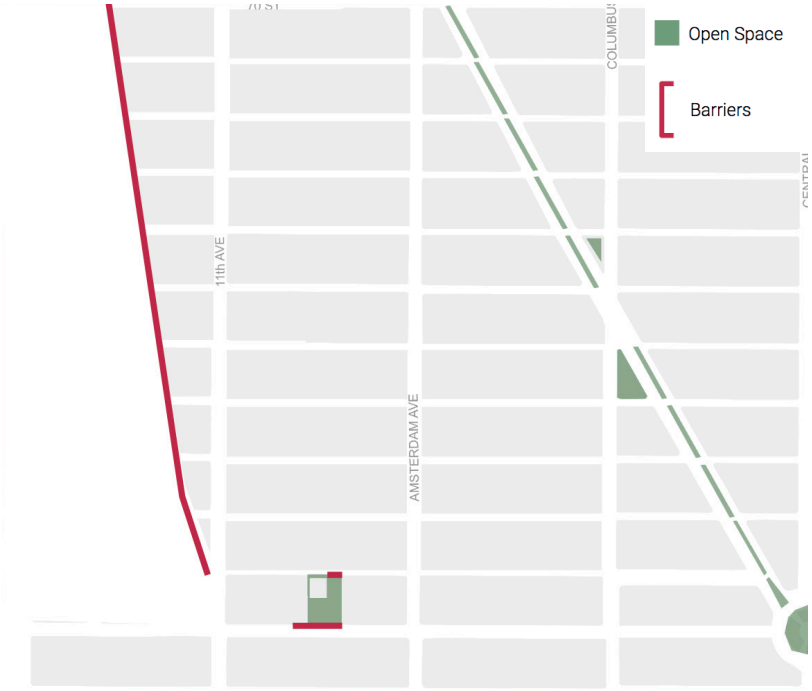
Physical barriers to access largely take the shape of fences and walls. Some of the most prominent barriers are around Amsterdam Houses, one of the many superblocks in the area, and though its original purpose was to separate residents from traffic, it acts as a clear and definitive separation from passersby and fractures the community.

The wall on the western edge of Lincoln Center further separates the community into distinct sections through physical barriers. Not only is the white wall visually arresting, as a deviation from the materials seen west of Amsterdam Avenue, but it also closes off Lincoln Center to a large portion of the area's residents. The length of this wall, spanning from 62nd to 65th street, restricts the movement of residents and their ease of access to destinations east of Amsterdam, including entry to Lincoln Center and the subway station.

Redevelopment removed the adapted open spaces of stoops and sidewalks in the neighborhood with the promise of increasing publically-accessible green spaces and plazas, but the design and use of replacement open spaces counteract those intentions. For example, Damrosch Park, a public park, has only gated entrances from Amsterdam Avenue and is currently blocked off by physical barriers. In 2013, area residents and park advocates sued the City of New York and Lincoln Center for utilizing Damrosch Park for Fashion Week and the Big Apple Circus (Pogrebin 2013), which constituted "alienation" or the taking of parkland for non-park use.

A vertical barrier on Amsterdam Houses' western end (2023).
G. Danforth.

The Lincoln Center Wall (2023).
G. Danforth.



Open space in study area, 1910 (2023).
G. Danforth.

Open space in the study area, 2021 (2023).
G. Danforth.

INSTITUTIONAL ACCESS

Urban geographies of exclusion, through the aforementioned social and physical barriers, were exacerbated at the level of institutions. Many public facilities, such as the West 60th Street Bathhouse, had explicitly enforced use limitations based on race (New York Times 1911).

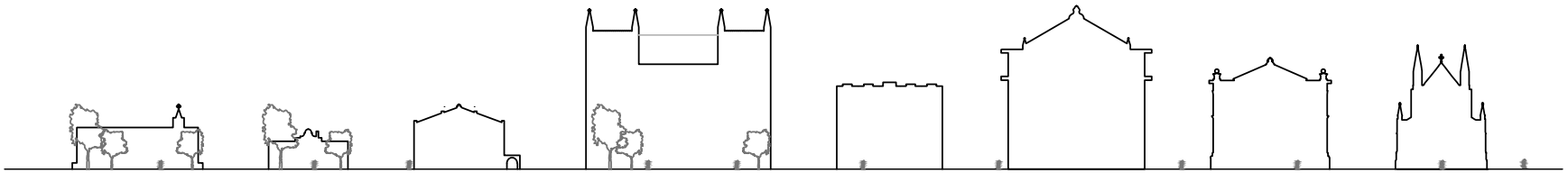
Religious institutions also enforced segregationist policies, requiring Black congregations to form their own churches. As Black residents migrated to San Juan Hill around the turn of the twentieth century, two of the most important Black churches in the neighborhood were established: the Union Baptist Church in 1901 and St. Cyprian's in 1904. Although these Black churches had a massive social and religious impact on the community, segregation limited the availability of resources and access to space: the square footage of these buildings was only 8 percent of the footprint of their White contemporaries.

The exterior of the public bathhouse (n.d.)
Jerry Spearman.

"Free Public Baths" at the West 60th Street Bathhouse (ca. 1920).
NYPL.

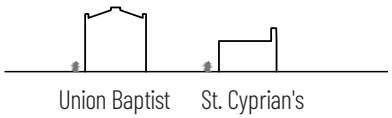
Places of Worship Serving White Communities

> 82,000 sq. ft.



Places of Worship Serving Black Communities

< 7,000 sq. ft.



Scaled profiles of the places of worship in the neighborhood showing the differences between structures that served Black and White communities (2023).
D. Martinez.

RESISTANCE

Despite the many injustices suffered by the publics who historically occupied San Juan Hill, there are important stories and illustrations of how the community—the Black community especially—countered marginalization through creative expression and self-determination. This underpinned the establishment of community-based institutions and enabled the neighborhood to serve as an incubator for businesses and the performing arts.

BLACK CULTURE AND PERFORMING ARTS

Newspaper articles, oral history summaries, and tax photos show evidence that the incubator role of the neighborhood resulted from a successful economy around Black culture and food businesses in San Juan Hill. This material agency existed in a feedback loop with support for creative expression in the community. Performing spaces drew foot traffic and Black-owned businesses activated side streets. Civic organizations also supported Black workers through advocacy. In addition, the performing arts scene was deeply influential in shaping individualized artistic expressions that would later gain global popularity as music and dance trends.

The Jungle Corridor map (2023).
M. Wroy.

Dancing "down in The Jungles" in San Juan Hill (1922).
New York Public Library Digital Collections.

The San Juan Hill community was filled with diverse performers. Due to racist limitations on employment at the time, arts and music not only allowed for freedom of expression, creative escape, and uplift but they served as a platform to counter offensive stereotypes around the intellect and artistic sensibility of Black people—one of the great creative expressions being The Charleston (Sullivan 2016).

The Charleston permeated underground nightclubs in San Juan Hill, in the area known as The Jungles along Amsterdam Avenue. This is where many Black artists and citizens felt invigorated to both practice and play their own genres of stylistic "ideals" and creative expressions (Jasen 2002, 70). Arguably the most influential and contagious dance movement of its time, music for The Charleston was developed in the Gut and would later evolve into a global phenomenon.

Black institutions like theaters and nightclubs were vehicles for claiming space in San Juan Hill. The neighborhood was a cradle for garnering further creative expression and self-determination in other neighborhoods, such as Harlem (Bruno 2011).

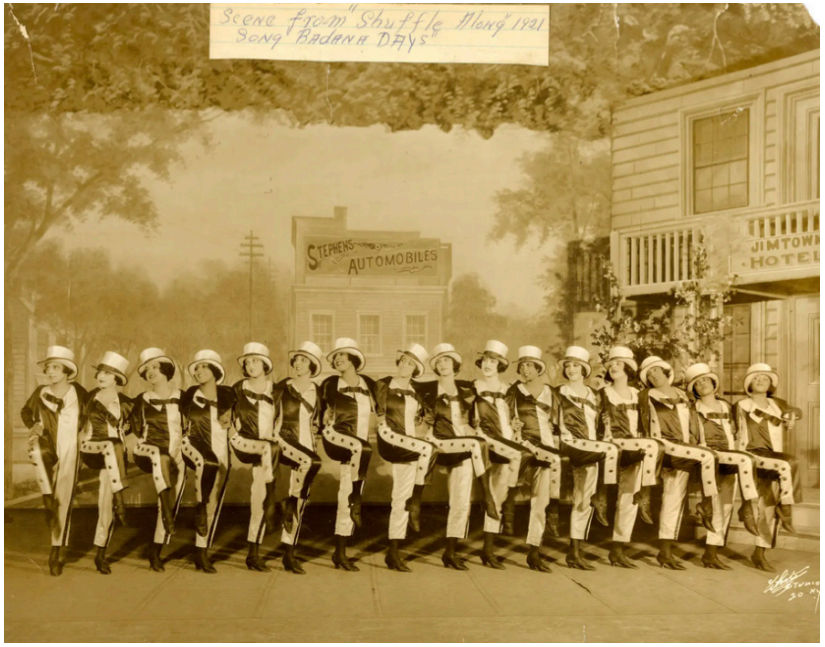
James P. Johnson.
Blackpast.

Thelonious Monk.
Blackpast.

Shuffle Along's composers Noble Sissle & Eubie Blake.
National Public Radio.

One of the paramount contributions was the musical Shuffle Along, which opened at the 63rd Street Theater in 1921. The cast and crew being entirely Black shifted the status quo of American musical theater. Despite the initial disinvestment of White producers, the show was catapulted to success due to rave reviews, proving its broad audience appeal and that there was business to be made with Black musical comedies (Bruno 2011). But this proved to be a double-edged sword. Upon seeing the success of Shuffle Along, White producers entered a "field formerly dominated by Black theater owners and producers," which prompted a decline of Black-owned theater companies like New York's Lafayette Players (Smith 1996).

Appropriation of Black musical theater influenced the decline of performing arts spaces in the neighborhood.
Public Domain.



Dancers in Shuffle Along performing "Bandanna Days."
Eubie Blake Photograph Collection/Maryland Historical Society.

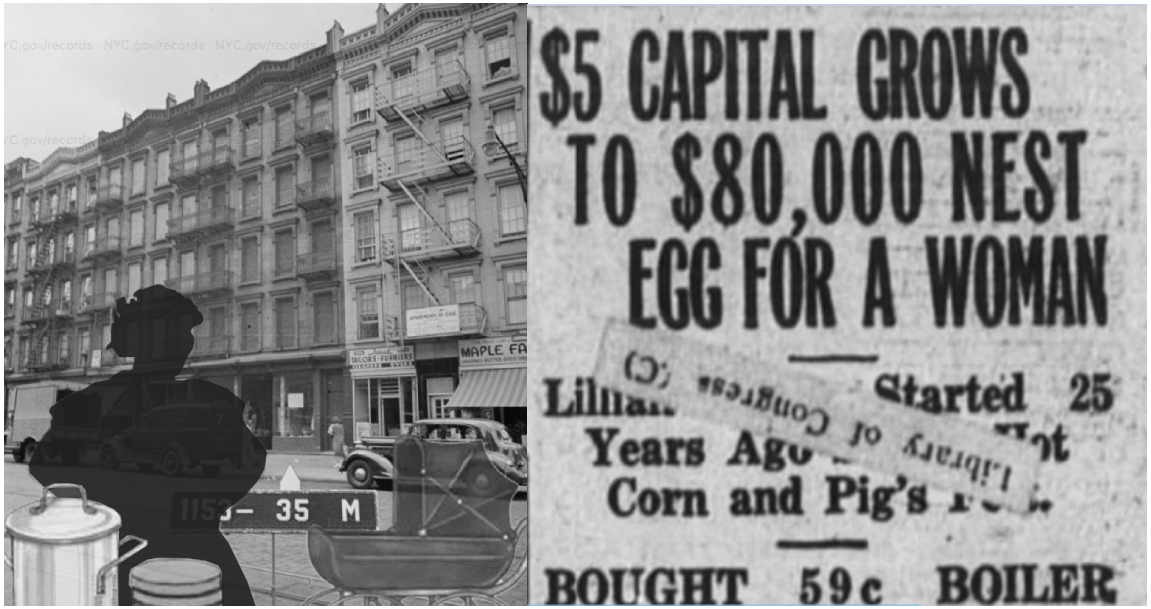
INCUBATING ENTERPRISE

Before urban migration to Harlem, many of the Black-owned businesses in San Juan Hill were food-related. Confirmed Black-owned businesses in the 1910s organized in two clusters—one west of Amsterdam Avenue, the Gut, and a secondary one around Columbus Circle on 59th. West Indian immigrant grocers and street food vending proved to be a resilient business models. Lillian Harris Dean is an example of leveraging street vending to build a business. She sold fried pigfoot for eleven years in the Gut. Her success allowed her to become a "real estate agent" upon moving to Harlem.

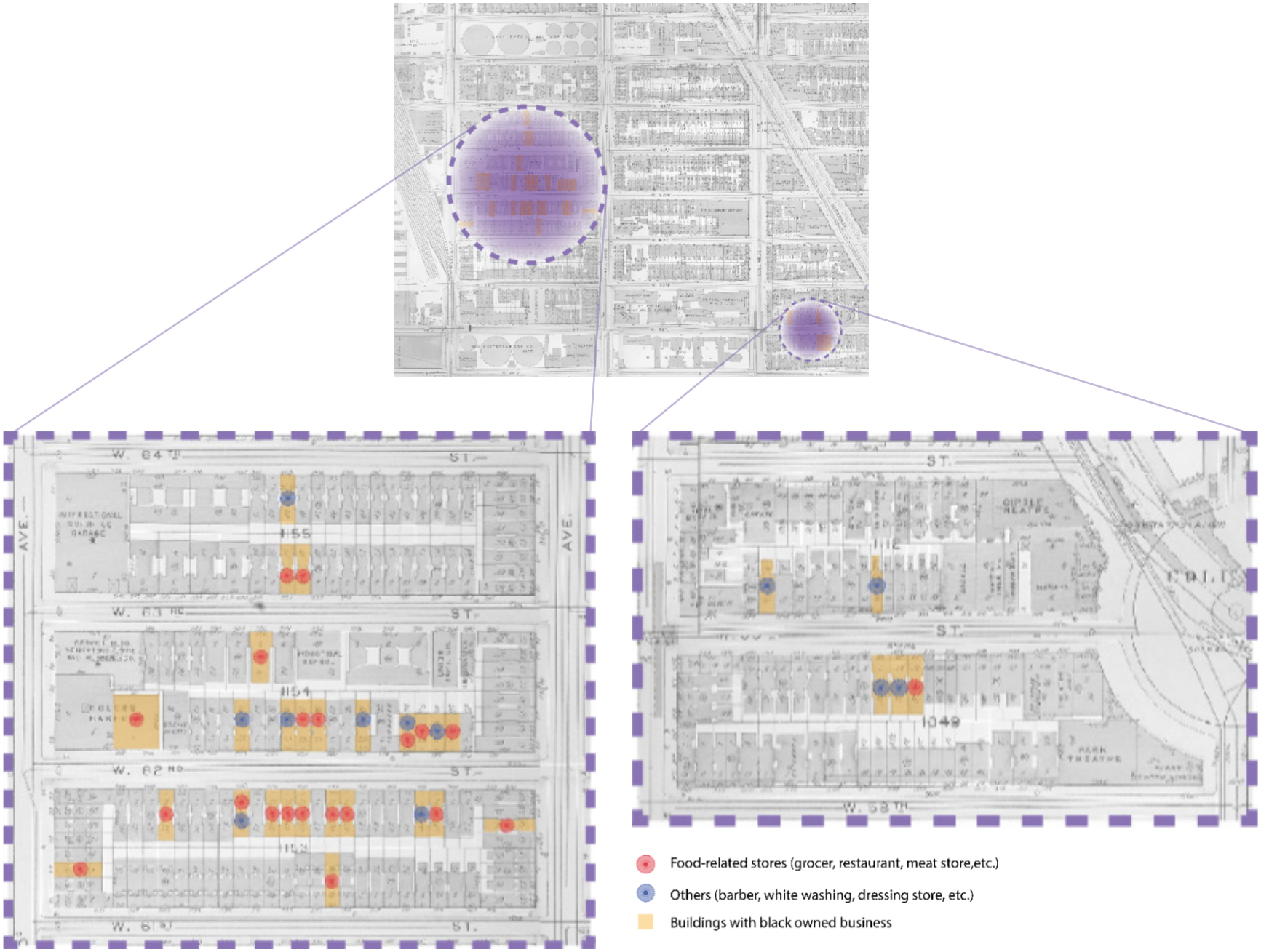
Today, street vending remains a critical incubator for fledgling entrepreneurs in the city, especially immigrants. Ongoing tensions over the presence of street vendors in the neighborhood suggest that this tradition of enterprise still survives in the area, and poses new challenges for how and if it will evolve.

Interior of a Black-Owned Corner Shop, 133 West 67th, c. 1940s.
LaGuardia & Wagner Archive, CUNY.

Interior of a Black-owned candy story at 208 West 62nd Street, 1941
LaGuardia & Wagner Archive, CUNY.



Lillian D. Harris, known as "Pigfoot Mary," sold corn and fried pigs feet in the Gut for 11 years, earning her enough money to invest in real estate in Harlem.
Left: 1940s tax photo augmented with an interpretive image of Harris by C. Sun; Right: The Lionel Pincus & Princess Firyal Map Division, NYPL, 1923

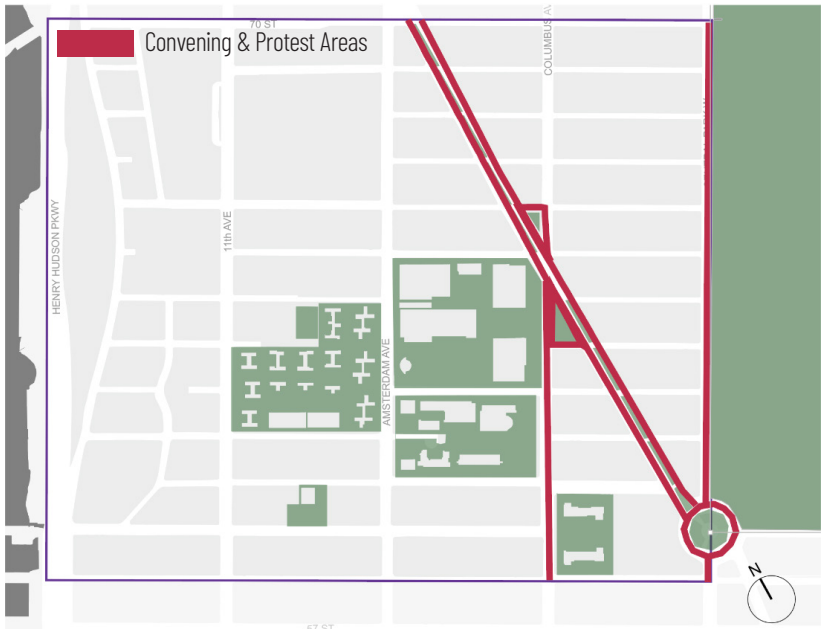


Confirmed Black-Owned Business Clusters, 1910s (2023).
C. Sun.

SPACES OF RESISTANCE

The media itself proved to be a critical space of resistance. The Black newspaper, The New York Amsterdam News, was founded in San Juan Hill in 1909, and then relocated to Harlem. As early as 1915, there was pushback from Black media against the name "San Juan Hill," as it connoted violence and rioting (New York Herald 1919). The attempt at rebranding the neighborhood as "Columbus Hill" indicates that residents sought to resist negative portrayals through self-identification, and used the media as a vehicle. However, these efforts were not picked up by White media and the name "San Juan Hill" still persists today.

Mid-twentieth century redevelopment in many ways fractured the vital social and economic fabric of San Juan Hill. However, it created new spaces of civic activism and galvanized pre-existing ones along Broadway and Central Park. A history of protests at Columbus Circle cemented it as an important platform of participatory citizenship, that continues today. Opposition to the Lincoln Square redevelopment included protests along Broadway. And Damrosch Park, part of the Lincoln Center complex, served as the starting point for the first AIDS walk in 1986.



Critical Convening & Protest Areas, ca. 1970 (2023).
G. Danforth.

REMODELING A NEIGHBORHOOD

How a New York City West Side Neighborhood Got Rid of an Unsavory Reputation

SAN JUAN NOW COLUMBUS HILL

Refining Influence of Various Agencies, Including Churches and Lincoln House Settlement, Has Wrought Great Change.

ALSO CALLED HELL'S KITCHEN

The New York Age, 1917.

COLUMBUS HILL IS NAME WANTED FOR WEST SIDE

Old Name, San Juan Hill, Reflection upon Worthy Name and People

INTERESTING EXHIBITS

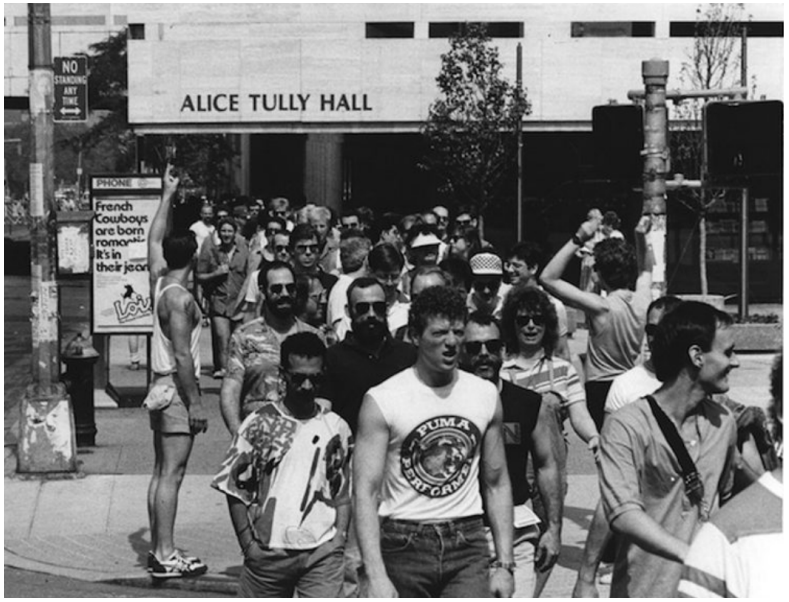
Three Days' Exhibit of Social and Industrial Activities of District Residents at Lincoln House and Neighboring Churches, February 18-20.

The New York Age, 1915.

Protesters gathered against the Lincoln Square redevelopment.
CNU NYC.

Laying of the Cornerstone at Columbus Circle, 1892 (1892).
P. MacGahan.

Father Coughlin Leading a Demonstration against Christian Radio Station WMCA at Columbus Circle (1939).
F. Bauman.



The First AIDS Walk in 1986 Began in Damrosch Park (1986).
Gay Men's Health Crisis.

Visualizations Depicting "Guerrilla" Use of Tenement Space During "Riots" (2023). Tenements, especially basement tunnels and roofs, were strategic and familiar sites of resistance for residents confronting or evading the police. Newspapers from 1900 to 1930 describe bottles and bricks being thrown at police from the roofs, the latter sourced directly from the chimneys.
N. Dressler.

UNDERREPRESENTED NARRATIVES AND PUBLICS

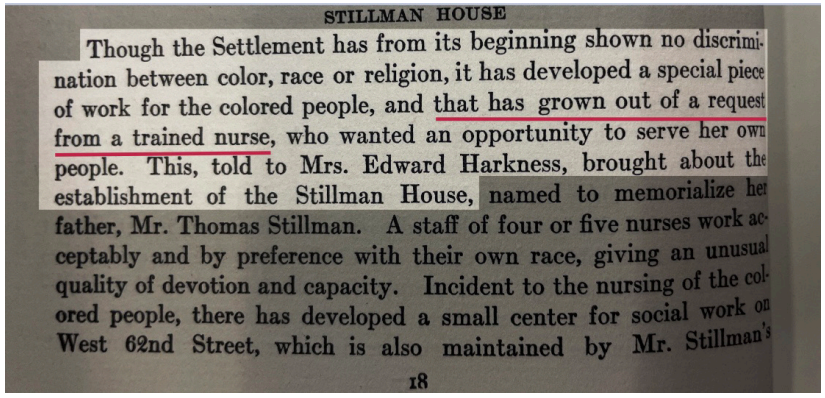
In investigating the narratives and publics of San Juan Jill, the studio found that many groups have been historically underrepresented and disadvantaged in the media, archives, academia, the built environment, and in preservation. This lack of representation has led to an exclusionary history of place.

HISTORICAL ARCHIVES AND RESEARCH

A massive influx of Puerto Rican immigrants to New York City occurred in the years surrounding World War II (Korrol 2017), and a number settled in San Juan Hill. Limitations in past census data collection presents challenges in undertaking accurate demographic analyses of Puerto Rican populations in the neighborhood. And because large-scale redevelopment and displacement was already afoot, and anti-Puerto Rican bias was promulgated by media, the Puerto Rican community had limited opportunity to exercise claims to space. There are still many blanks left in the Puerto Rican story in San Juan Hill. The lack of documentary evidence on this community and their experiences is telling, and likewise to the question of restorative justice in the neighborhood.

Other publics were also marginalized in the archival record. For example, newspaper reporting and official records of local hospitals and health facilities omitted information about San Juan Hill workers and institutions due to social status and race. Stillman House, a pioneering settlement house that provided health care and education to San Juan Hill's Black residents, is largely absent from historical records, whereas the legacies of White healthcare institutions in the neighborhood are well documented.

The limited surviving photographs of healthcare workers and nurses at Stillman Settlement and the few words scribbled on them are the only source for the studio to understand the individuals who worked in San Juan Hill.



STILLMAN HOUSE

Though the Settlement has from its beginning shown no discrimination between color, race or religion, it has developed a special piece of work for the colored people, and that has grown out of a request from a trained nurse, who wanted an opportunity to serve her own people. This, told to Mrs. Edward Harkness, brought about the establishment of the Stillman House, named to memorialize her father, Mr. Thomas Stillman. A staff of four or five nurses work acceptably and by preference with their own race, giving an unusual quality of devotion and capacity. Incident to the nursing of the colored people, there has developed a small center for social work on West 62nd Street, which is also maintained by Mr. Stillman's

18

The negligence against Black women nurses was incredibly severe and even official records and publications ignored them due to their social status and race (Henry Street Settlement 1919, 18).

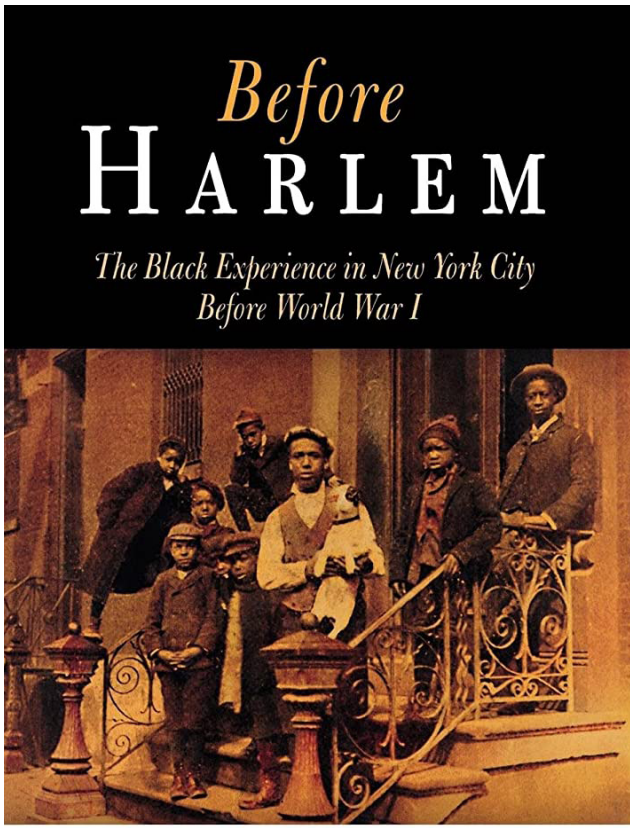
The Stillman Branch, The Baby Contest.
Visiting Nurse Service of New York Archives

The unidentified individuals highlight a void in archival material for the women who devoted their careers to advancing the health and welfare services of San Juan Hill. Only a very few women, the founders, were mentioned in official records, whereas the male doctors and interns are well documented in institutional records. All the studio found is "a trained nurse" for these women in San Juan Hill. In addition to race, it is impossible to ignore the disparity between the named men and the unnamed women.

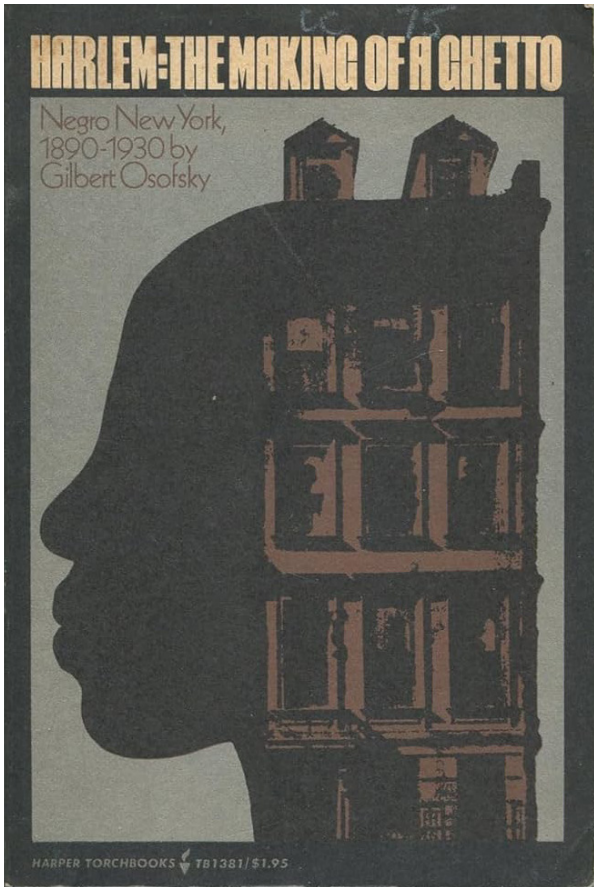
Unnamed female nurses who worked at Stillman (2023).
C. Zhao.

Left: White, male medical professionals, even interns, were recorded by name in hospital records and archives; right: trained female nurses were largely unnamed and unrecognized (2023).
C. Zhao.

Turning to the arts, San Juan Hill served as a home and as an inspiration to a vast amount of well-known performers and artists. One of the most distinctive elements of the arts community was collaboration. These artists developed and honed their skills and styles because of their surroundings and peers. Their stylistic ideas were groundbreaking because they developed through this unique space. After redevelopment, these artists were nearly non-existent within the community, wiped out by the fundamentally White ideals of Lincoln Center. No longer rooted in a sense of community, place, and people, Black artists were invited to opportunity to perform on the main stages, but it was a very specific type of performing that served primarily White audiences (Sullivan 2016). This is an issue that Lincoln Center is still grappling with and aiming to rectify.



Few books in the last twenty years mention San Juan Hill before Harlem.



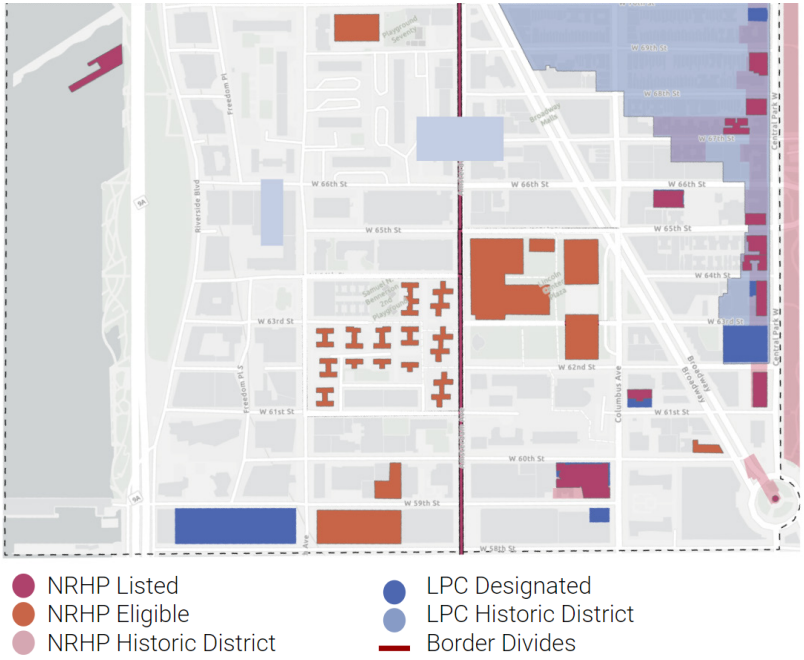
Book Review of Gilbert Osofsky's book Harlem: Making of a Ghetto (1966).
S. Redding.

Likely due to the lack of archival sources, especially before the digitization of newspapers, few academic works studied the history of San Juan Hill's early years. Historian Gilbert Osofsky (1966) included research on San Juan Hill in support of his Harlem-focused publications; however, it did not involve comprehensive study. In more recent years, scholars have similarly included San Juan Hill in encompassing New York histories. Even still, most books only mention San Juan Hill pre-development in passing, adding to the problem of underrepresentation.

PRESERVATION AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Today, investigating the existing landscape of San Juan Hill gives valuable insight into how preservation narratives and designations have, over time, influenced perceptions of the neighborhood and its history. The study area's preserved properties are largely valued for their architectural significance, while many socially significant spaces have been physically removed and underserved in the narrative through demolition, redlining, and other constructed vulnerabilities.

Preservation priorities in San Juan Hill have historically favored narratives of Whiteness. In looking at the documentation for National Register listings and eligibility, as well as Landmarks Preservation Commission designations in the neighborhood, aesthetic values predominate over social histories and associative values. Additionally, of the total surveyed buildings in the studio's study area, every building found to be both listed and designated was designed by a White male architect.



Map of National Register-listed and LPC-designated properties and districts. The correlation of historic districts and properties (which only began to be recognized in the 1960s) to areas deemed "still desirable" in the 1938 NYC HOLC map suggests the influence of redlining practices over time (2023).
A. An.

Development Policies and Practices such as Redlining Enforce Segregation (1938).
The Home Owners' Loan Corporation Map.

Limited physical and spatial evidence of the diverse racial, ethnic, and working-class communities who historically called San Juan Hill home survives or is historically recognized or protected. Nor do recognized buildings adequately represent the histories of injustice that so characterized this community and continue to resonate in its built environment. These findings ultimately underscore the need to orient preservation action toward restorative justice.

Architects of National Register/Landmarks Preservation Commission Listed and Designated Buildings in San Juan Hill.
A. An.

The Stillman Branch, The Baby Contest.
Visiting Nurse Service of New York Archives

PROPOSALS

PROPOSALS

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Throughout this semester, the studio interrogated how to restore justice to a neighborhood no longer extant, and whose publics were displaced. This prompted the team to look at how the histories and needs of particular communities shaped contemporary inequities expressed in urban form, access and memory.

The following proposals range from design interventions in different scales and methods—be it parks, archives, museums or plaques—to policy and education initiatives. They build on the documented history of San Juan Hill's residents outmaneuvering, but also being restricted, by legal and social segregation, discriminatory language and policy, and economic stressors faced by Black, West Indian, and Latine residents.

The interviews with connector organizations were also instrumental in defining the scope of the proposals. They allowed the studio to contextualize historical vulnerabilities within the contemporary needs and shortcomings of actors endowed with the operational capacity to potentially implement the proposals. While these consultations shared important insights, the proposals are the work of students. The proposals are not endorsed by any organization and are simply intended to provoke creative thinking and potential action.

By interpreting how inequities are built into cities and into history, the proposals hope to increase engagement of publics with the life stories of past communities in San Juan Hill and to understand their displacement. The variety of approaches responds to the aggregating constraints imposed on San Juan Hill that urban renewal projects purposely sought to sweep under the rug—when improvement meant disappearance. The studio endeavored to counter this tendency both in methodology and in the following restorative justice proposals.

SAN JUAN HILL PUBLICS' HISTORY AND ART MUSEUM

Ellie Phetteplace and Andrés Santana-Miranda

Historical research of the publics that lived in San Juan Hill before the area's major redevelopment revealed histories of vibrant communities that continually faced patterns of discrimination and lack of agency over space. Today, the narratives of these publics, specifically those of the Black and Puerto Rican populations, go largely untold and underrepresented in the built environment due to demolition for redevelopment. Inspired by the arts community that occupied the area before redevelopment, the San Juan Hill Public's History and Art Museum offers a physical space for Black, Afro-Latine, and Latine artists that engage in recognition of injustices in the built environment. This proposal pursues restorative justice through various means, including:

- Recognizing the artistic heritage and history of these underrepresented and displaced communities,
- Bringing visibility to the narratives of these public,
- Reclaiming space in the built environment that has otherwise been demolished,
- Forcing institutions, visitors, and residents to confront the histories of San Juan Hill.

While visualizing the commonly underrepresented and erased narratives of the neighborhood's population, the proposal also responds to the displacement of historical art forms. By disrupting the architectural hegemony of Lincoln Center's Josie Robertson Plaza with the installation of the Museum, the proposal claims space, supports actionable justice toward the community, and brings light to the legacies of San Juan Hill.

KEY FINDINGS ADDRESSED

- » CLAIM TO SPACE
- » CONSTRUCTED VULNERABILITIES
- » REPEATED CHARACTERIZATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES
- » DISPARATE POWER AND INFLUENCE
- » SOCIAL-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION
- » SPATIAL BARRIERS AND SEGREGATION
- » RESISTANCE THROUGH CREATIVE EXPRESSION AND SELF-DETERMINATION
- » UNDERREPRESENTED NARRATIVES AND PUBLICS

HISTORICAL ARCHIVES AND RESEARCH

As discussed previously throughout the report, San Juan Hill was home to many prominent Black musicians, dancers, and performers in the early part of the twentieth century, forming a community with an impressive artistic legacy. Following redevelopment, however, the representation of Black performing artists in Lincoln Center's programming was more limited. Today, some of these legacies are reflected in the new exhibition of San Juan Hill in Lincoln Center's David Geffen Hall and other programming. However, considering the extensive neighborhood history, it is brief.

The Lincoln Center campus was a significant beneficiary of the Lincoln Square Redevelopment Project. In place of the culturally rich and diverse San Juan Hill neighborhood, some spaces recognize wealthy donors related to Lincoln Center, such as the Josie Robertson Plaza. Named after Josie Robertson due to a $25 million donation by her husband, the monumental public space and its naming emerge as a symbol of a certain history over the community that once occupied the neighborhood.

Even if Lincoln Center has begun recognizing the history of San Juan Hill and the institution's role in the community's displacement, space for more explicit and actionable proposals remains. This proposal engages with the neighborhood's past by prioritizing the visibility of those displaced by the Redevelopment in an exceptionally provocative location. The proposal permanently confronts the plaza in an effort to remind the different stakeholders of the displaced publics.

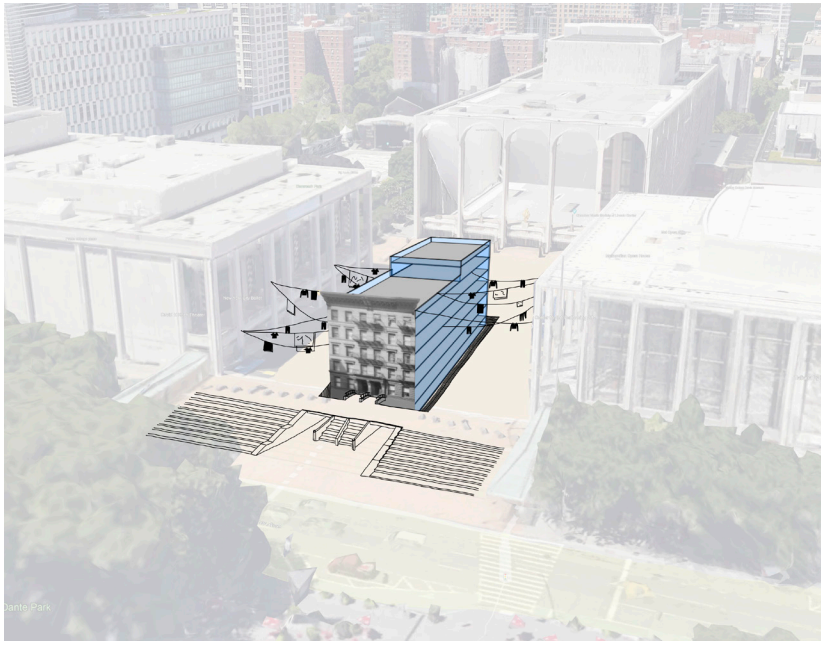
The power of this proposal is drawn from the juxtaposition of style, form, scale, and materiality. By disrupting the imposing and exclusionary architecture of the Josie Robertson Plaza for the San Juan Hill Publics' History and Art Museum, the proposal juxtaposes the existing architecture of Lincoln Center with an image of what existed before. The location was also chosen due to the high utilization of the Columbus Avenue steps as a primary entrance to campus, thus drawing from the high visitorship in order to have the most significant visual impact and maximize visitor interaction with the embodiment of otherwise unrecognized histories of the neighborhood. In choosing this location, it is vital to recognize its impact on existing barriers at the campus' "rear" along Amsterdam Avenue. While this proposal does not physically seek to disrupt the Lincoln Center wall against Amsterdam Avenue, the Museum is programmed to foster a space for community, both for the area's residents and the artists-in-residence, disrupting existing social barriers embedded in Lincoln Center. The San Juan Hill Publics' History and Art Museum posits that addressing the injustices faced by the historical and existing communities offers significant steps towards bringing light to the legacies of San Juan Hill writ large.

Current exhibition about the history of San Juan Hill inside David Geffen Hall at Lincoln Center (2023).
P. Kointarangkul.

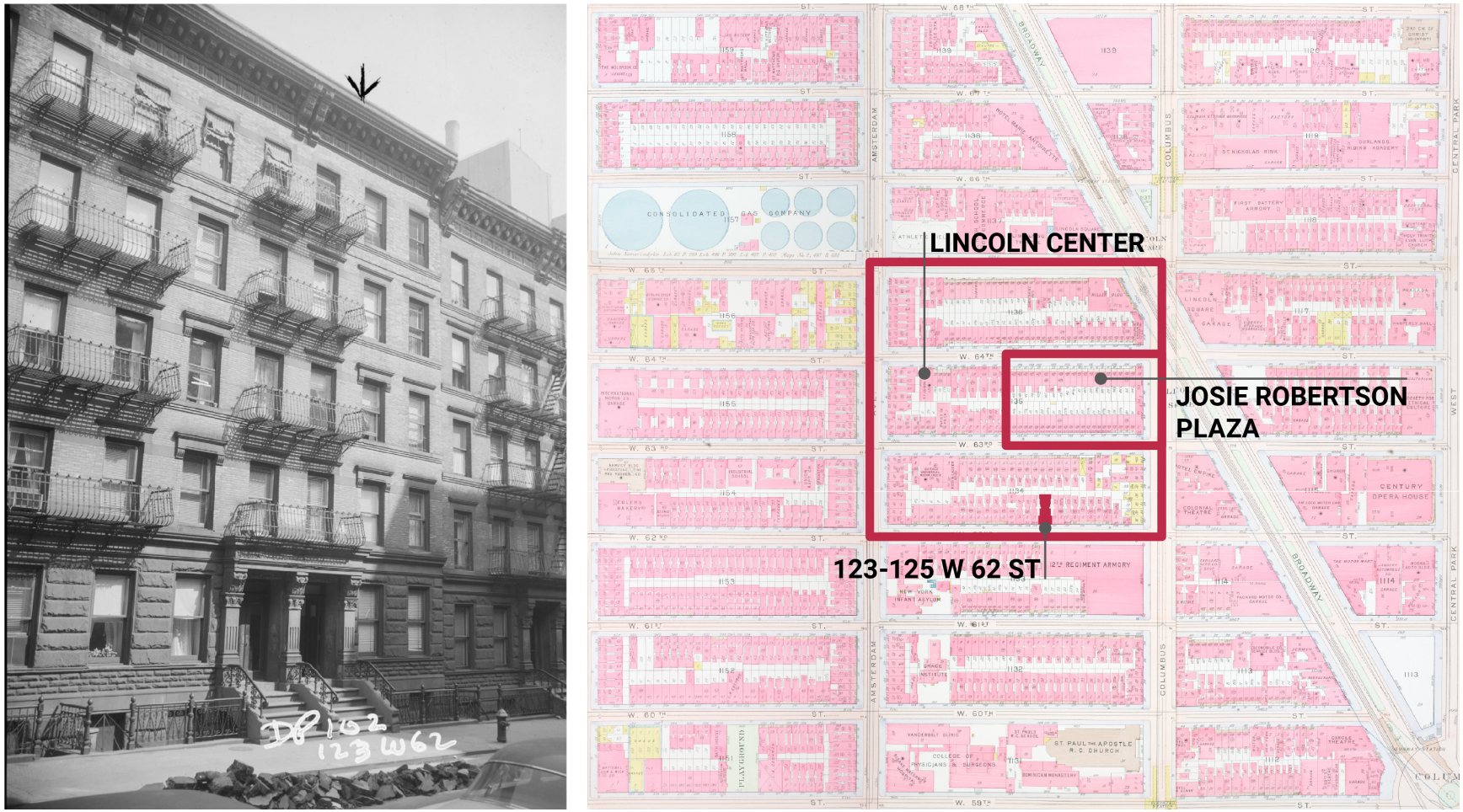
PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Building Design and Narrative

This proposal attempts to critically and spatially expand upon the efforts put forth by Lincoln Center to acknowledge the legacies of San Juan Hill. The project forces Lincoln Center and its visitors to face, center, and interact with the invisible histories and displaced communities of San Juan Hill. The museum is intended to bring visibility to neighborhood's past publics and provide creative space to reflect and respond to injustices. The museum contains an artist-in-residence program, black box theaters, exhibition areas, and community space. The juxtaposition of the existing Lincoln Center campus and the proposed new building embraces confrontation and disruption of the plaza's architectural harmony while introducing that which has been displaced.



Aerial view of the Josie Robertson Plaza at Lincoln Center with the proposed San Juan Hill Public's History and Art Museum drawn into the plaza. The view includes the clotheslines and intervention of the stairs (2023).
A. Santana-Miranda.



The old-law tenement at 123-125 West 62nd Street, shown on the left, existed within the current boundaries of the Lincoln Center, shown on the right image (2023).
E. Phetteplace and A. Santana-Miranda.

The aerial view shows the proposed San Juan Hill Public's History and Art Museum during the day, portraying the reflection of David Geffen Hall (2023).
A. Santana-Miranda.

The aerial view shows the proposed building illuminate from the inside at night (2023).
A. Santana-Miranda.

The 50 by 200-foot building replicates the 123-125 West 62nd Street facade, an old-law tenement close to the site demolished for Lincoln Center's construction. By replicating that facade as a representation of what existed before, the proposal reinserts the displaced architectural typologies of the neighborhood. The reconstructed facade could be assembled using discarded materials and elements of other old-law tenements throughout the city to further reinforce the community's dislocation. The building is rectangular in plan, and the interior space would be outfitted with contemporary building configurations and systems. This proposal eschews authentic tenement reconstruction in order to avoid reinforcing or perpetuating unfavorable living conditions for historically marginalized communities. The proposed museum is sunken at street level compared to surrounding buildings, further emphasizing the building type that occupied the space before demolition.

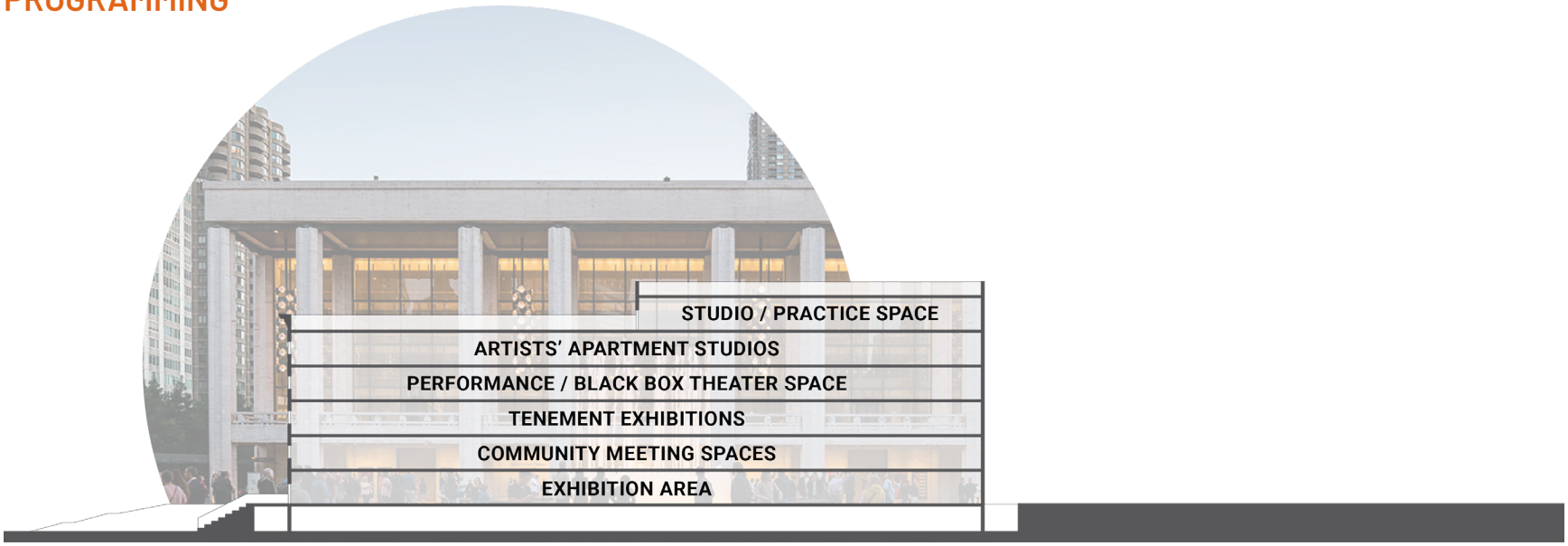
The side and rear walls would be constructed of translucent material that reflects the surrounding building facades during the day and illuminates the interior during the night. Both instances position the project intending to illuminate invisible histories and confront what erased them. This material choice challenges some of the proposed programming and adaptability of space for artists-in-residence. Thus, an interior shade system would be installed for user control of interior lighting.

Key historic, character-defining neighborhood features are re-inserted into the space to directly address their erasure. The Plaza's stairs are redesigned to include a reconstructed stoop—a feature imperative to the critical interactions of San Juan Hill's residents. Clotheslines are installed to purposefully disrupt the plaza's harmony and sterile aesthetic by physically reinserting these remnant tokens of San Juan Hill's preceding everyday life.

Clotheslines running between tenements (1956).
Committee on Slum Clearance.

The image demonstrates the stoops as critical spaces of interaction for communities (1957-1958).
Committee on Slum Clearance.

PROGRAMMING



The section illustrates the proposed program for the building, where the first three floors focus on community use and exhibition areas, while the top three floors are dedicated spaces for the artists in residence (2023).
A. Santana-Miranda.

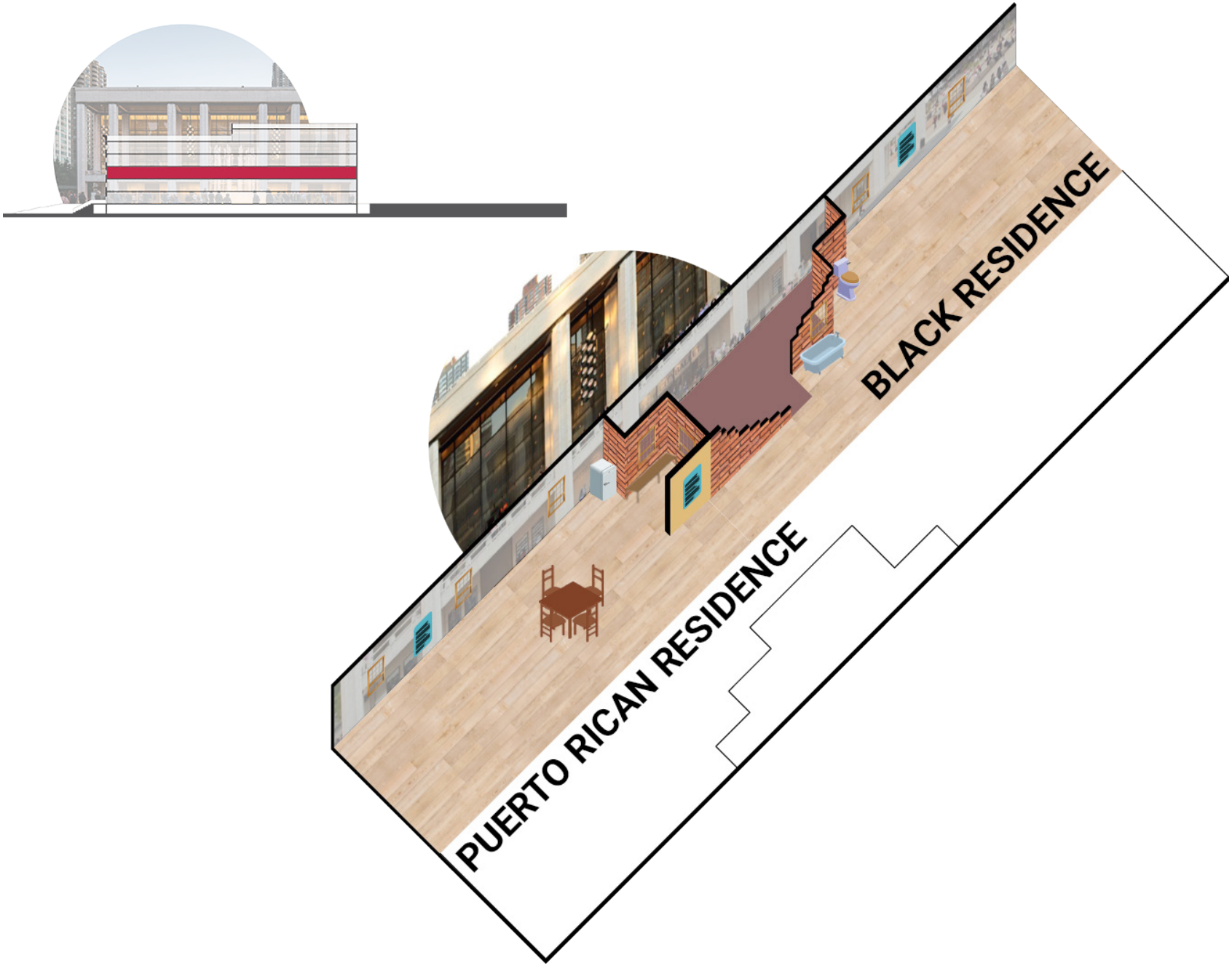
The museum's programming is organized in a public-to-private gradient, from bottom to top. The first three floors are designed for community engagement and as a neighborhood history museum. The top three floors are dedicated to supporting the work of the artists participating in the residency program.

The programming is designed to accommodate numerous different visitor types to increase accessibility to the various spaces of the museum and thus increase audience, visitorship, impact, and reach of information presented in the museum. A visitor could spend a minimal amount of time preceding or following a show on campus and establishing a baseline understanding of the publics of historic San Juan Hill. Conversely, someone might visit Lincoln Center solely for the museum and would be able to spend a day exploring the museum offerings. The community-centered programming is intended to create the opportunity for residents to visit Lincoln Center for reasons other than engaging with campus performances.

Each floor of the proposed building caters to different uses, but all confront, visualize, and spatialize the narratives of San Juan Hill. The first floor hosts an exhibition about the history of San Juan Hill from its establishment into the present day; the second floor holds various meeting and co-working spaces for community use. The entire building includes Wi-Fi connectivity for both residents and visitors.

Another exhibition space tenement life in the twentieth century, highlighting the disparities in available data regarding the Black and Puerto Rican populations. This exhibit, located on the third floor of the building, would display side-by-side depictions of Black and Puerto Rican families in tenements. While the half dedicated to the Black residents would hold interpretative panels and exhibits, the Puerto Rican side would be blank to call attention to the dearth of scholarship about the community in San Juan Hill. It is the goal for this exhibit to adapt over time as more research is compiled.

The remaining three floors respond to the needs of the artists-in-residence. The fourth floor holds performance and black-box theater space; the sixth floor provides a practice space for the artists to utilize during their residency. The fifth floor includes the studio apartments for the artists-in-residence. A total of six studios (around 1,200 square feet for each apartment) would be offered, with a communal area for the residents.



The section portrays the contrast between the side-by-side exhibits on the third floor of the building (2023).
E. Phetteplace and A. Santana-Miranda.

IMPLEMENTATION

Connector Organizations

This proposal has identified the Henry Street Settlement as the primary affiliate due to their existing residency program through the Abrons Arts Center—a performing arts venue with residency programs belonging to the organization. The different residencies offered by the Henry Street Settlement support New York City-based artists of different backgrounds and for various purposes (Abrons Arts Center n.d.). Between Henry Street Settlement's participation in providing services for the neighborhood during the early twentieth century and Lincoln Center's role in the displacement of communities and their histories, these organizations stand as critical participants in this proposal.

Fellowship Selection Process and Criteria

The fellowship program hosts a proposed cohort of six fellows for a two-year residency in Lincoln Center to foster community among the artists. To ensure an approach that recognizes and counters past injustices, the selection process would engage representation from Lincoln Center and other active community organizations in the area. It would prioritize artists that explore and subvert topics relating to social injustices in history, the built environment, or the history of San Juan Hill through dance, music, or performance.

Project Funding

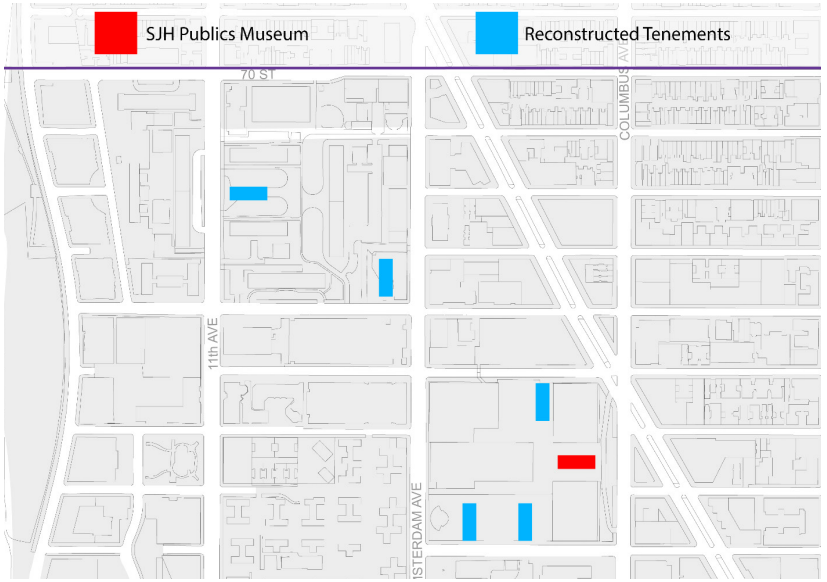
For this proposal and the residency program to take shape, a possible funding source could be utilizing a transfer of Lincoln Center's unused air rights. According to the Accidental Skyline initiative by the Municipal Art Society of New York (n.d.), the Lincoln Center superblock contains approximately 4.5 million square feet of unused development rights. The financial gain from the transfer of development rights could thus be used to create a fund to sponsor this project in perpetuity. Precedence for this proposed financing was established by the Theater Subdistrict Fund in Broadway, which employed a system where transferable development rights are used to support the production of new shows and the diversification of artists on Broadway (Hershberg 2022).

Zoning Changes

Since the area occupied by Lincoln Center is regulated as a commercial zone under current zoning regulations, this proposal would likely trigger a Uniform Land Use Review Procedure under the New York City Charter. Some of the connector organizations, specifically Manhattan Community Board 7 and Lincoln Center, would be required to participate in this process and could advocate on behalf of the proposal.

Further Applications

If constructed, this project would create an opportunity and precedence for similar facade reconstructions in numerous other redevelopment locations. Buildings would be programmed to meet additional community needs, namely community centers, areas of recreation, or affordable housing. These additional soft sites, as pictured, could be located at other sites from the Lincoln Square Development Project to meet housing and community needs. Moreover, as confirmed by connector organizations, the provision of purposeful community programming in underutilized spaces could better serve the existing neighborhood.



The map demonstrates the different possible soft sites for reconstructed old-law tenements that adapt to community needs (2023).
E. Phetteplace and A. Santana-Miranda.

Proposal in construction site for Lincoln Center to confront the displacement of the previous typology of the area (2023).
A. Santana-Miranda.

The San Juan Hill Public's History and Art Museum stands to remedy past injustices and confront the erasure of San Juan Hill's built environment and embedded social fabric. By opposing the Lincoln Square Development Project's legacies of discrimination and displacement, the museum reclaims space, upholds actionable justice toward the community, supports underrepresented artists, and brings light to the legacies of San Juan Hill.

(RE)MEMBERING SAN JUAN HILL

Blanca Balbuena and Daniela Martínez

Membering San Juan Hill is a proposal for a temporary installation that inspires collective participation through a dialogue between the past and the present of the neighborhood, where the public can learn about the displaced community and the places they inhabited while exploring the current identity of Lincoln Square, its neighbors, and their organizations

The proposed intervention consists of a conceptual model of the buildings that once existed on West 63rd Street. The piece encourages the general public and neighborhood residents to engage with one another and their surroundings, generating a creative space for conversation and expression. Information about San Juan Hill is provided through different resources, and collective activities are carried out through collaboration with local organizations. Participants enter into a physical connection with the installation, creating a collective mural. In the project's final phase, the installation would be dismantled and divided among different Lincoln Center organizations, transforming it into a permanent exhibition.

KEY FINDINGS ADDRESSED

- CLAIM TO SPACE
- CONSTRUCTED VULNERABILITIES
- **REPEATED CHARACTERIZATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES**
- **DISPARATE POWER AND INFLUENCE**
- SOCIAL-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION
- **SPATIAL BARRIERS AND SEGREGATION**
- RESISTANCE THROUGH CREATIVE EXPRESSION AND SELF-DETERMINATION
- UNDERREPRESENTED NARRATIVES AND PUBLICS

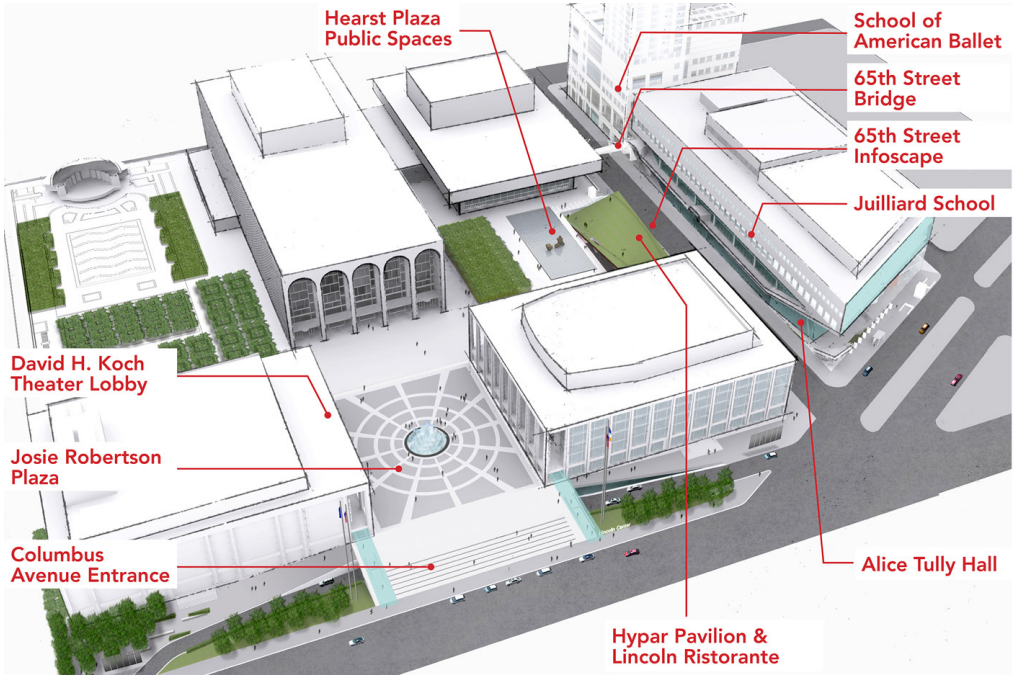
BACKGROUND AND SIGNIFICANCE

Josie Robertson Plaza, part of the Lincoln Square Renewal Project, was designed by Philip Johnson, Wallace K. Harrison, and Max Abramovitz and was opened in 1962 on the site of the 1135 block of West 63rd Street.

Before this urban renewal project, West 63rd Street had many residential and commercial buildings mainly for the Black community. Due to segregation and racial tensions in the area, this community, together with different leaders, decided to claim the space for the founding of organizations that would ensure the integration of residents into different basic services. Specifically, in block 1135, St. Cyprian's was founded, a Protestant Episcopal Church that offered many civic services and was attended by hundreds of people a week, promoting the street as a main axis and essential for community life.

Due to the Urban Renewal Plan of 1950—planned under what was deemed a "slum clearance" strategy—the neighbors of West 63rd Street and thousands of Lincoln Square residents were displaced and dispossessed of their homes resulting in a significant loss of the essence of the territory.

Today, Josie Robertson Plaza, with the Revson Fountain in the center, serves as the entrance to Lincoln Center, between Columbus Avenue and West 64th Street. Surrounding the plaza are the Metropolitan Opera, the David H. Koch Theater, and David Geffen Hall. Over the years, the plaza has established itself as an open space for numerous activities. This place has been used for participatory art installations, live broadcasts of different productions of the Metropolitan Opera, to celebrate National Dance Day—where people are invited to participate around the fountain—and for group singing, among other events.



Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts.
Mies Crown Hall Americas Prize.

Considering all of the above, (Re) Membering San Juan Hill proposes constructing a temporary memorial in the Josie Robertson Plaza to create a space of remembrance through collective participation, serving as an element of reconciliation with the past. The place has been chosen due to the loss suffered in the past and the possibilities of exposure that shows the space for its physical characteristics.

Among the different works that have inspired *(Re) Membering San Juan Hill*, the following stand out:

- The installation *Ghost Structures*, created by Venturi, Rauch, and Scott Brown, inside the Franklin Court complex in Philadelphia. The work was developed to recreate, through tubular steel, the outline of Benjamin Franklin's house and printing press, after extensive research and archaeological excavations (Balkin Bach 1992). This *"Ghost Structure"* approach, which has inspired many other public works worldwide, was adapted in *(Re) Membering San Juan Hill* to create a symbolic model of the West 63rd Street housing.
- The project *Before I Die* by Candy Chang. In her initial work, the artist sought to create an enjoyable space to pay tribute to a person who had passed away, encouraging neighbors to reflect on death and life while sharing their personal aspirations (Chang 2017). In (Re) Membering San Juan Hill, these concepts have been absorbed, creating a space of tribute for the displaced community, where the public can creatively express their experience after visiting the exhibition, their learning or their personal ideas about the neighborhood.

RATIONALE

As a starting point, the proposal is an abstraction of the whole San Juan Hill neighborhood represented in the portion of 63rd Street that was demolished to create the superblock where Lincoln Center is located today. For that reason, the installation is placed in the middle of Lincoln Center's Josie Robertson Plaza; it is symbolically claiming the space of the whole neighborhood, translated into the recreation of a portion of the street.

Additionally, in San Juan Hill, due to the lack of access to recreational and communal spaces for the most marginalized communities, the street became a vibrant communal space that also was wiped out by redevelopment. The installation responds to that constructed vulnerability by celebrating the street's noise, color, and vibrancy, bringing it back to Lincoln's Center's calm and solemnity.

On the other hand, as a product of redevelopment and the already existing inequities, the Lincoln Square area has undergone massive social change and population shifts. The proposal acknowledges the neighborhood's social-spatial transformation by creating a dialogue between the voices from the past and those from the present. The voices from the past are represented in projected images, recorded testimonies from San Juan Hill's former residents, and live music and dance performances. These elements seek to educate people about the neighborhood's underrepresented narratives and how San Juan Hill's resilient communities resisted the systemic oppression and neglect through creative expression and self-determination. The voices from the present would be current residents writing about their experience with San Juan Hill stories, the impact learning about them had, and the neighborhood's present condition. It is anticipated that some people might write negative or offensive messages; however, that manifests societal calls for change and serves as a challenge to reach a better, more inclusive future.

At the conclusion of the exhibition, the installation will be dismantled and pieces will be distributed to the buildings involved in the area's redevelopment. This secondary installation will give visibility to San Juan Hill's histories and symbolically preserve a piece of what was destroyed for the present community to exist.

The proposal seeks to activate restorative justice for communities that had to overcome inequity, oppression, institutional neglect, and resource disparities. The goal of this project is to promote dialogue and acknowledge marginalized communities' voices and histories in a way that celebrates their resilience and reckons with the past. Additionally, by partnering with organizations currently operating in the neighborhood, the aim is to create critical connections to fight for a better future for the community, nurtured with the knowledge of and reconciliation with its history.

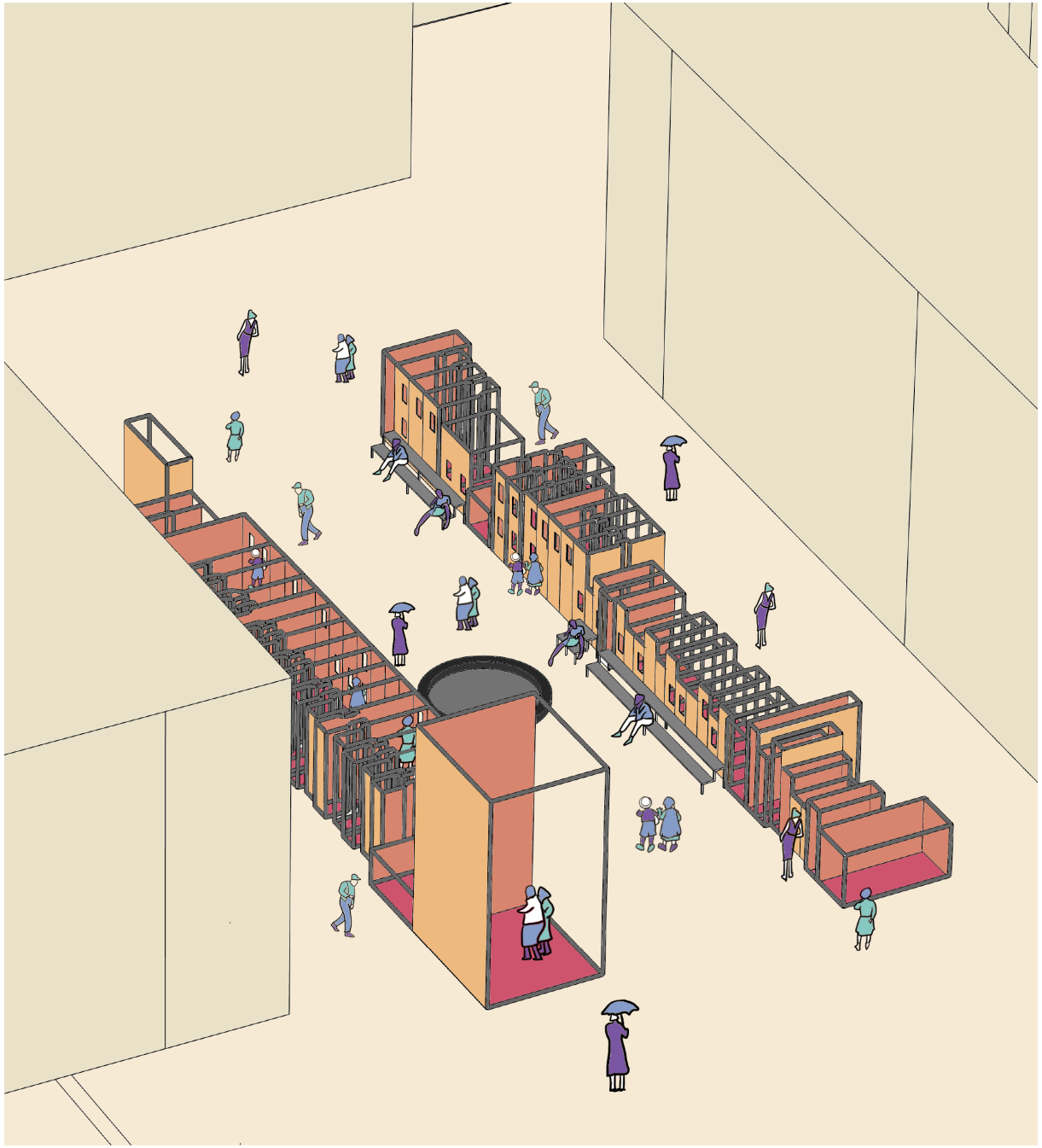
PROJECT DESCRIPTION

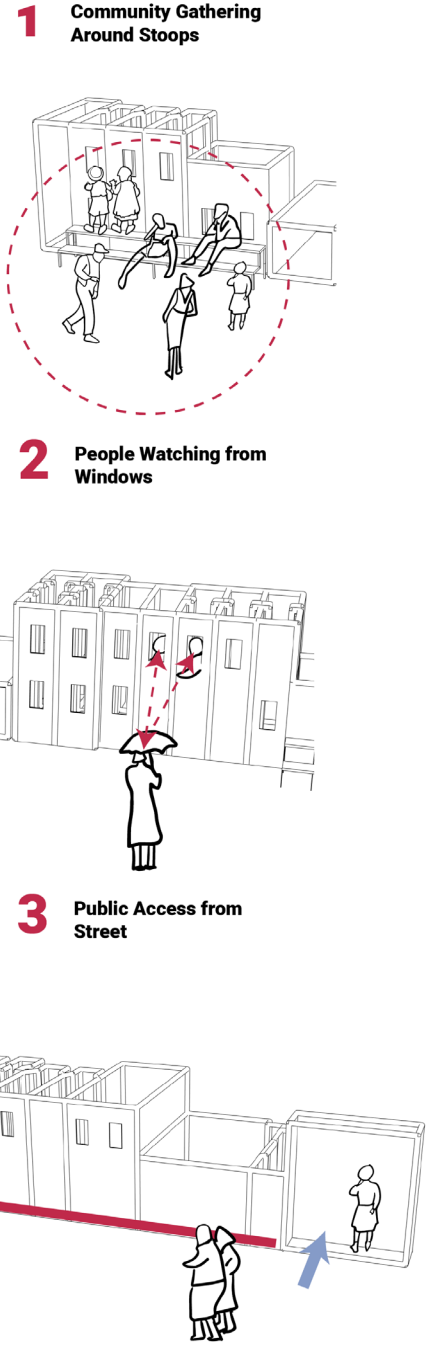
As stated above, the proposal is an abstraction of San Juan Hill represented in a portion of 63rd Street. Thus, instead of replicating particular buildings, the idea is to recreate some of the relations that used to exist in the neighborhood between residents, architecture, and the street.

The project draws its general lines from the fire-insurance maps of 1930, used to determine each structure's height and general massing. However, since the installation would be placed in the middle of the Lincoln Center's Josie Robertson Plaza and have an essential participatory component, the scale of the structures is reduced to five to one. Therefore, the tallest building on the block, which had twelve stories, will have the height of two-and-a-half stories in the installation.

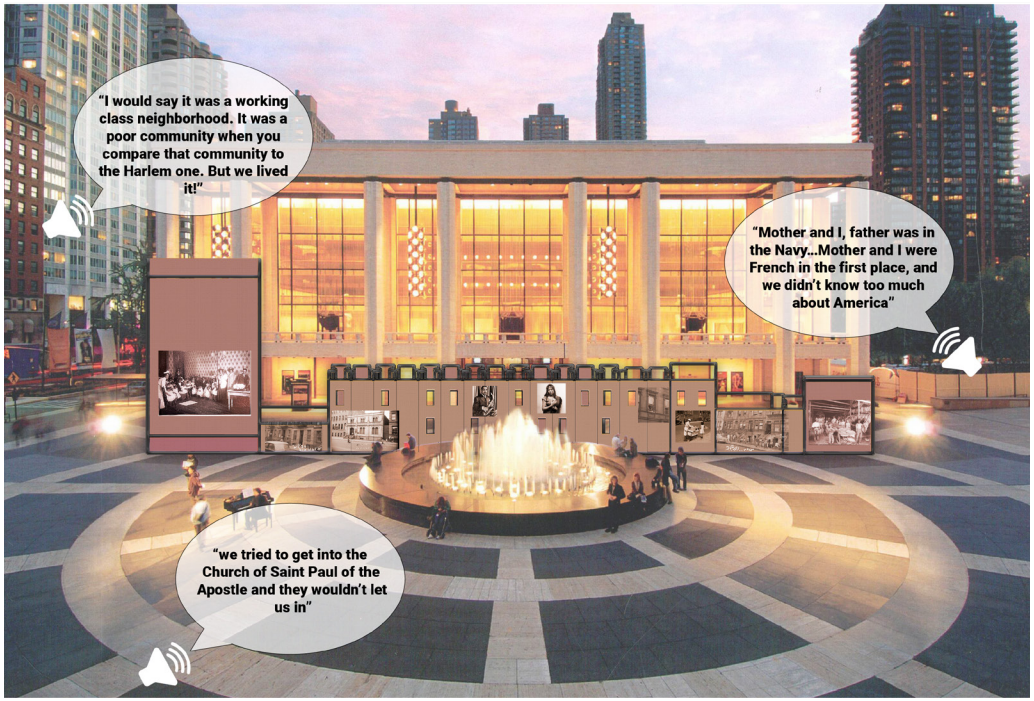
The project comprises two lines of structurally independent blocks made of steel and wooden panels facing each other, which creates the street's space. It mainly focuses on three relations with the street: stoops as community gathering spaces, people looking out of and into the windows, and public access to commercial buildings from the street. To recreate the first one, steel benches are placed in front of the structures that, based on the fire insurance maps of 1930, had stoops. The second is achieved by placing openings over the wooden panels so people could walk in the structure and lean over the aperture. Thus, people could have the experience of watching and being watched while on the street. The 1930s fire insurance maps also helped determine the public access to commercial buildings from the pavement. To recreate that relation, a wooden panel is placed to limit the entry to the structures where there were no commercial fronts, creating a street wall, or was left open when it corresponds with a building with commercial fronts.

A vital project component involves watching and hearing the underrepresented voices from San Juan Hill to give people a sense of who inhabited the neighborhood and to celebrate their life experiences. Photographs, tax photos, and newspaper headlines will be projected over the wooden panels. Additionally, recorded oral testimonies from its former residents will be played, telling us about their life experiences in San Juan Hill, and live music and dances will be performed on the recreated street, which people can watch from the stoops. This will be complemented by current residents writing over the wooden panels about their experience with San Juan Hill stories and the neighborhood's present.



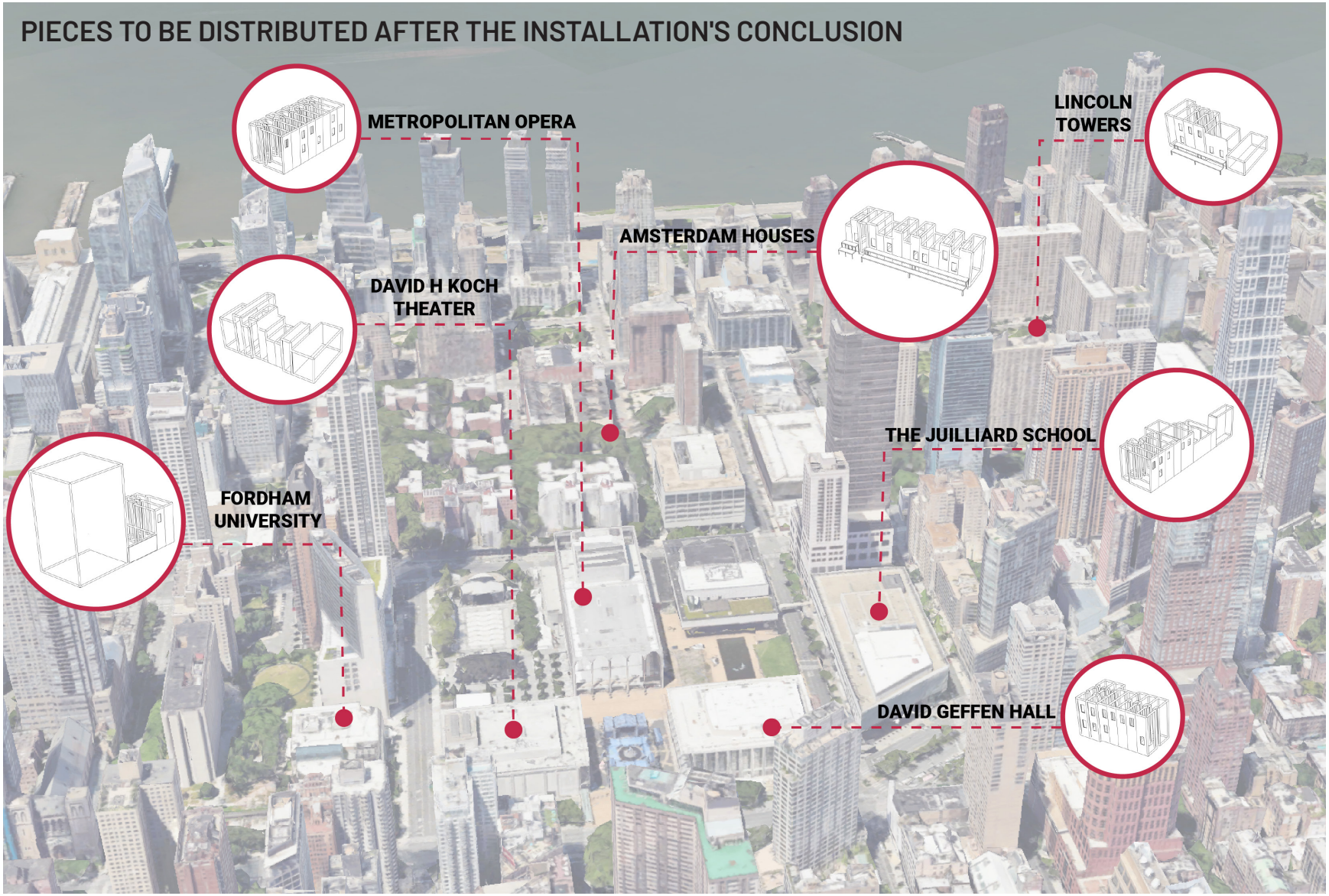


Left: General project view (2023). Right: Recreated relations with the street in the installation (2023).
D. Martinez.

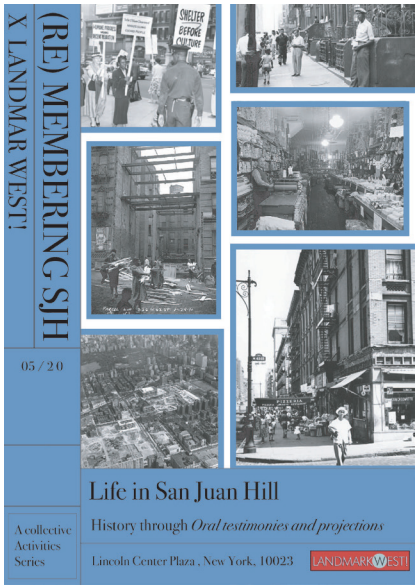


Projected images and recorded testimonies from San Juan Hill former residents (2023).
D. Martinez.

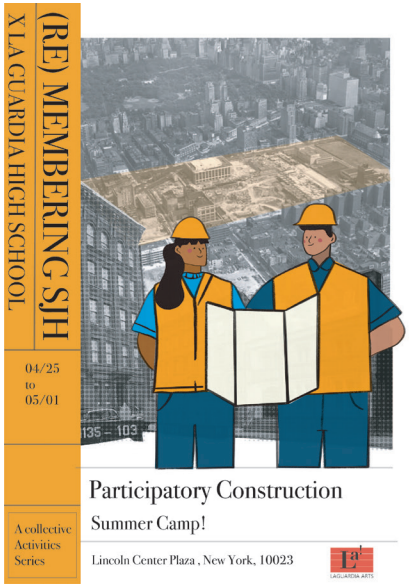
Installation's participatory component (2023).
D. Martinez.


PIECES TO BE DISTRIBUTED AFTER THE INSTALLATION'S CONCLUSION
METROPOLITAN OPERA
LINCOLN TOWERS
AMSTERDAM HOUSES
DAVID H KOCH THEATER
THE JUILLIARD SCHOOL
FORDHAM UNIVERSITY
DAVID GEFFEN HALL

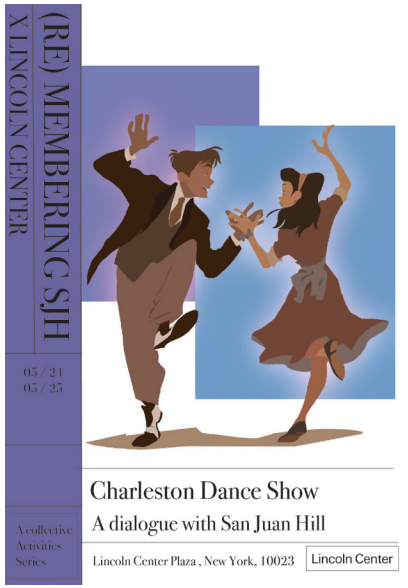
D. Martinez.



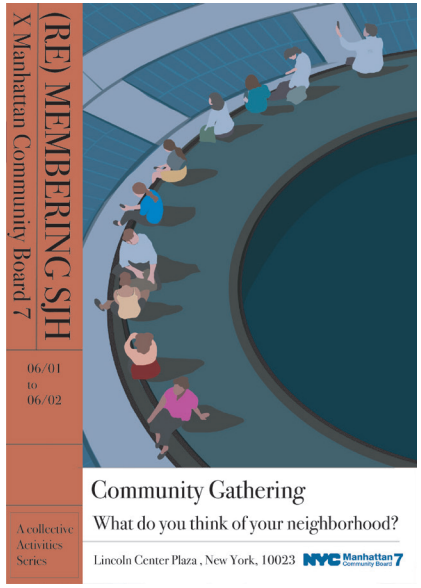
Connector organization collective activities: Landmark West! partnership (2023).
B. Balbuena.



Connector organization collective activities: LaGuardia High School partnership (2023).
B. Balbuena.



Connector organization collective activities: Lincoln Center partnership (2023).
B. Balbuena.



Connector organization collective activities: Community Board 7 Partnership (2023).
B. Balbuena.

IMPLEMENTATION

For the proper implementation of the project, numerous neighborhood organizations will need to be part of the process, serving as assets for action to achieve the objectives of the installation. Through data collection after conducting interviews, several connector organizations have been identified that are believed to share values with (Re) Membering San Juan Hill. In this way, it is hoped that their participation in the process will serve to create a project that is appropriate, accessible, historically consistent, and effective with the public.

The construction of the installation will be done in collaboration with students from LaGuardia High School, a public high school specializing in the performing and visual arts. By conducting a summer school, students would learn about San Juan Hill while directly collaborating in the installation process and making decisions about the museography. The main goal of this collaboration is to connect with Lincoln Square's younger populations.

When creating a project about an historic event, it is essential to have accurate historical records, so this proposal recommends a collaboration with LandMark West, to decide how and what stories would be told in the installation.

One of the indispensable organizations for the development of the exhibition is Lincoln Center. This entity must give permission for the installation's construction in Josie Robertson Plaza and collaborate to ensure public accessibility. In addition, through artistic performances, such as Charleston Shows, the public can enjoy outdoor exhibits designed to commemorate and teach about the culture of San Juan Hill. The public will also be able to participate by writing about their experiences after the show in the installation or by adding a commemorative element.

Finally, this proposal recognizes the need for support from Manhattan Community Board 7, which can help encourage Lincoln Square neighbors to participate in the installation, fulfilling the goal of connecting the past stories with the present stories of the neighborhood and creating a space for reconciliation.

Satellite image of Lincoln Center (2022).
Google Earth

ABOVE BARRIERS: LINCOLN CENTER PLAZA AS SKY PARK

Dingyi Zhang

This proposal recommends the construction of a new double-decker platform over Lincoln Center's outdoor plazas. It would serve as open space for nearby residents and tourists.

KEY FINDINGS ADDRESSED

- CLAIM TO SPACE
- CONSTRUCTED VULNERABILITIES
- **REPEATED CHARACTERIZATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES**
- DISPARATE POWER AND INFLUENCE
- SOCIAL-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION
- SPATIAL BARRIERS AND SEGREGATION
- **RESISTANCE THROUGH CREATIVE EXPRESSION AND SELF-DETERMINATION**
- **UNDERREPRESENTED NARRATIVES AND PUBLICS**

BACKGROUND, SIGNIFICANCE, AND RATIONALE

The proposal aims to address insufficient access to the Lincoln Center campus, thus promoting the realization of restorative justice. Residents of Amsterdam Houses cannot directly access Lincoln Center Plaza—despite it being only one street away—due to both physical and invisible barriers caused by long-standing inequality between the east and west sides of Amsterdam Avenue.

Secondly, the proposal aims to focus on people, especially the residents of Amsterdam Houses, who are currently the most vulnerable population in the study area. The median annual income in the community is only $26,533 -- much lower than the surrounding areas. Nearly half of the residents are elderly people and children. In addition, the poor maintenance of the community's houses, historic and ongoing racial discrimination, and other factors have contributed to their relatively vulnerable situation.

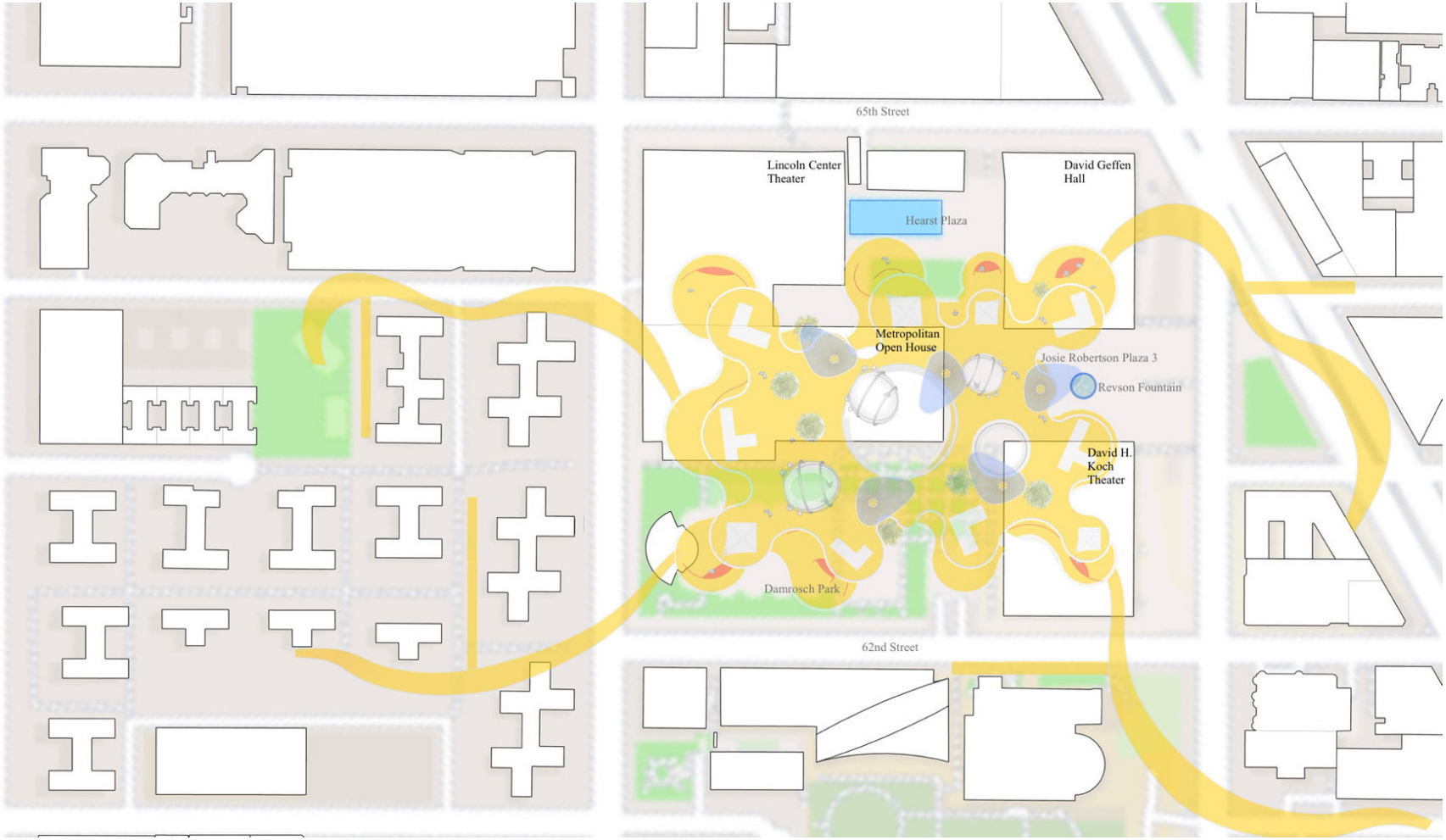
Thirdly, the proposal presents the history of San Juan Hill throughout the new public spaces, rather than simply removing barriers from the neighborhood or organizing exhibitions within the existing buildings of Lincoln Center. It seeks a permanent, rather than short-term or temporary, form of restorative justice that seeks deep interpretation of the neighborhood's history and re-activation of space.

DESIGN DESCRIPTION

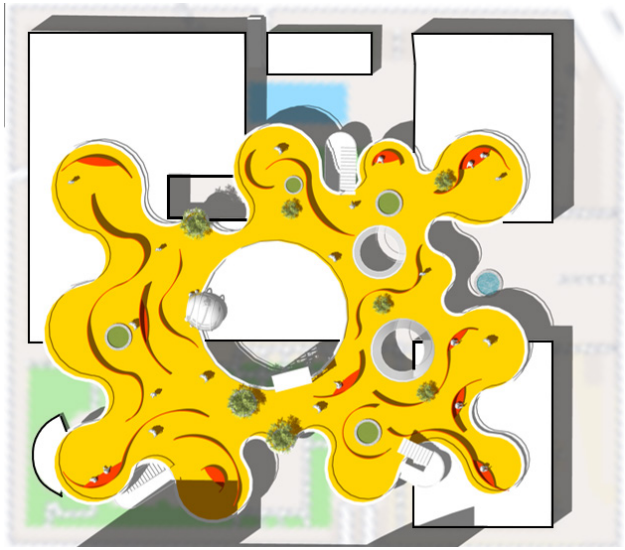
The design adopts the form of a double-layer platform resting on the original Lincoln Center architecture. In order to remove barriers while engaging with the lower-income residents of Amsterdam Houses, the design's aerial walkways begin at street-level, bridging both sides of Amsterdam Avenue.

Due to its dual deck platform, the new sky park could have different programming per level. The ground floor would be a leisure space with green plants, jogging trails, and benches.

The second floor is a space for temporary exhibitions interpreting San Juan Hill's history orienting the public to the legacy of the historic neighborhood. It is also equipped with sufficient greenery and rest areas.

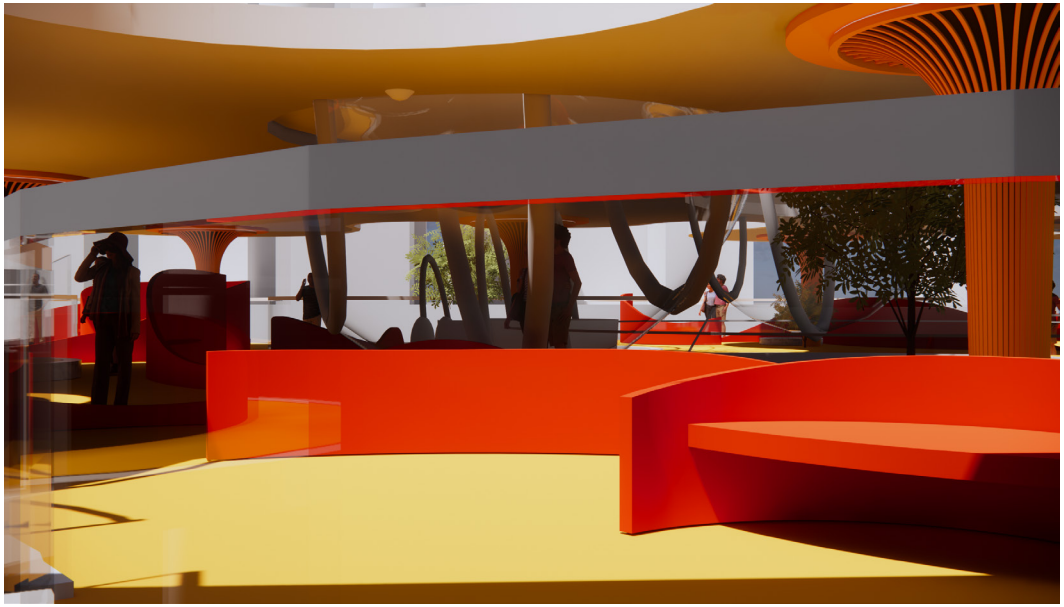


Master Plan: Breaking Through the Barrier (2023).
D. Zhang.

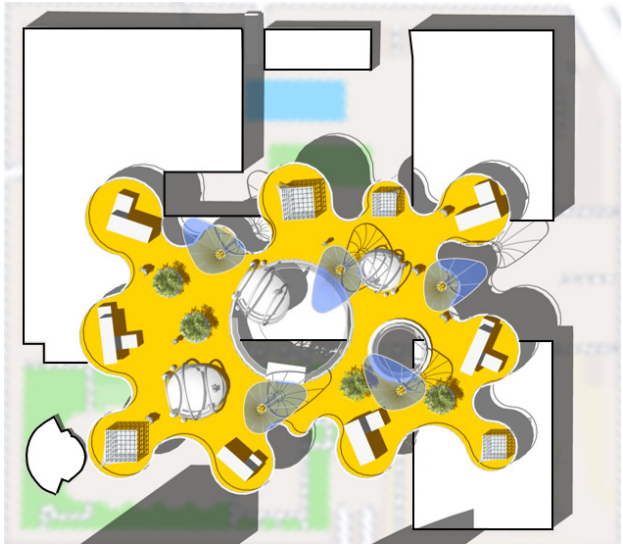


First Floor Plan (2023).
D. Zhang.

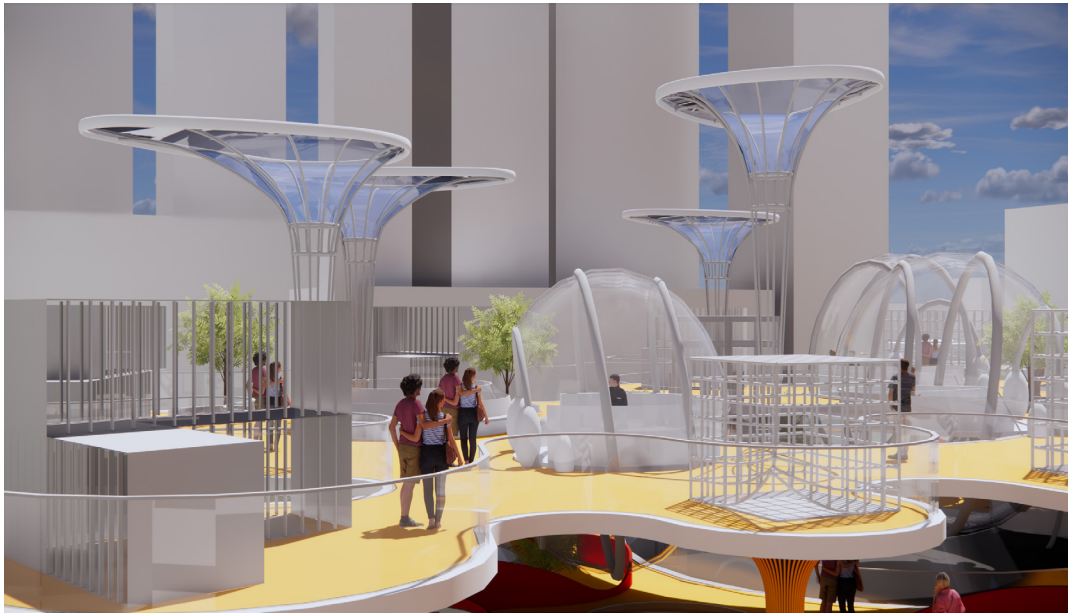
First Floor Plan: Leisure Space 1 (2023).
D. Zhang.



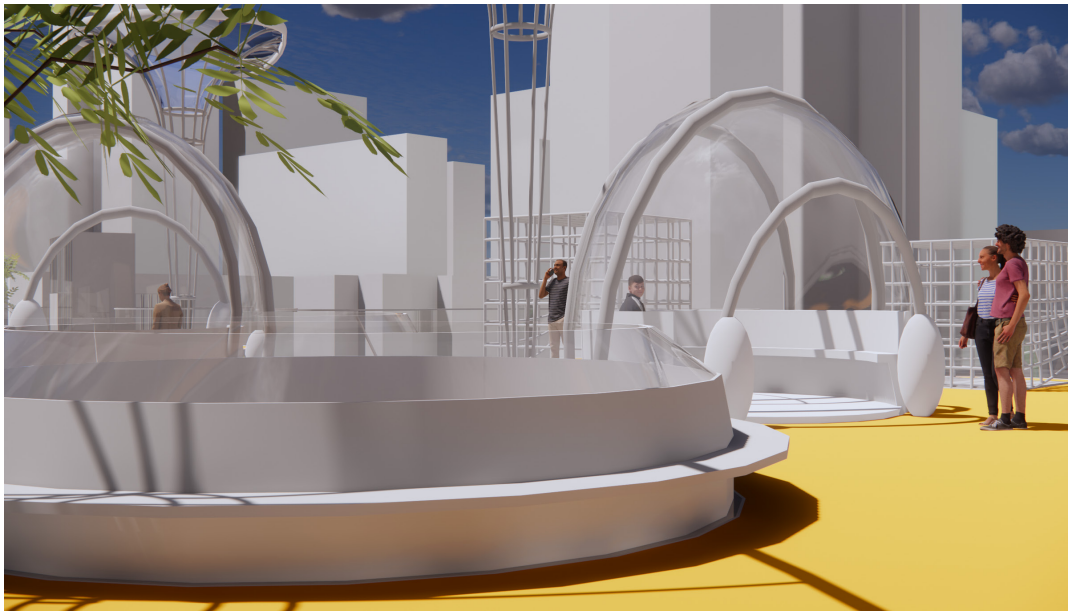
First Floor Plan: Leisure Space 2 (2023).
D. Zhang.



Second Floor Plan (2023).
D. Zhang.



Second Floor Plan: Leisure Space 1 (2023).
D. Zhang.

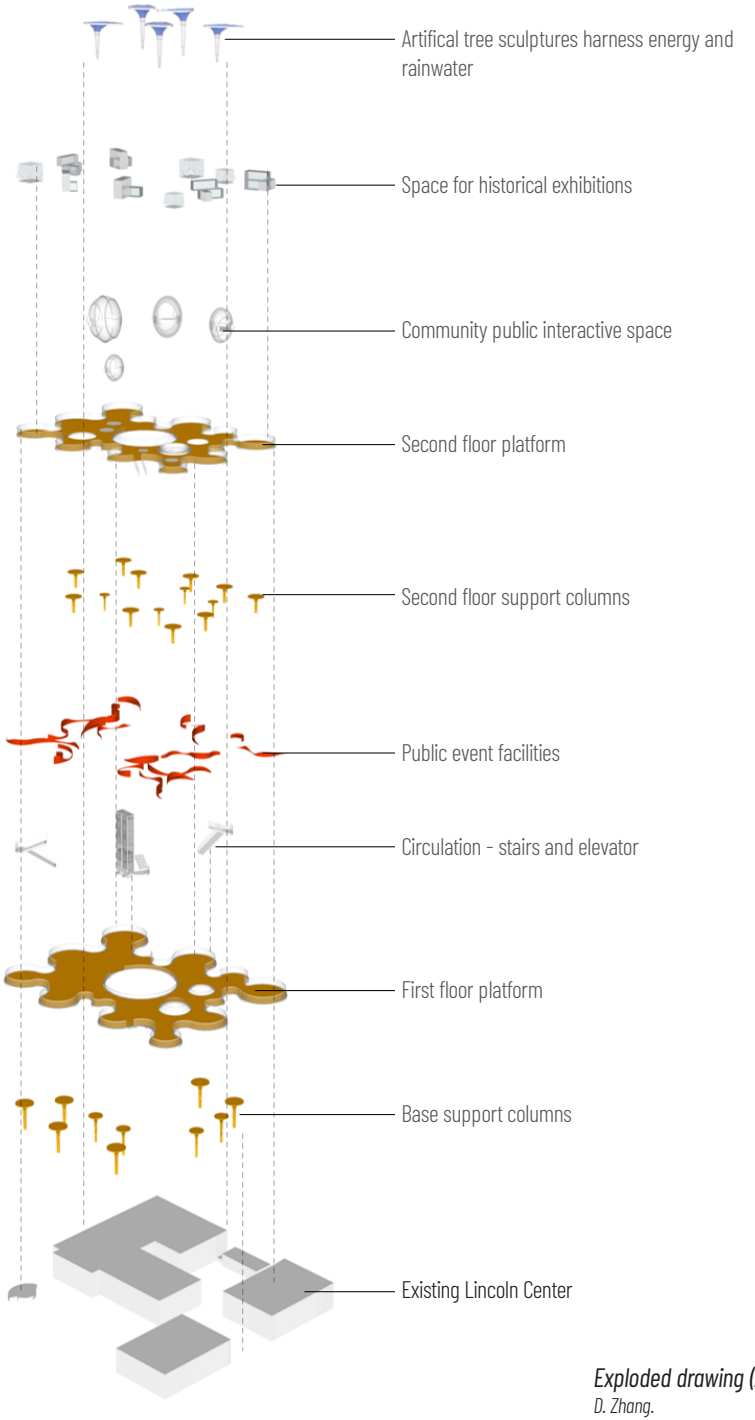


Second Floor Plan: Leisure Space 2 (2023).
D. Zhang.

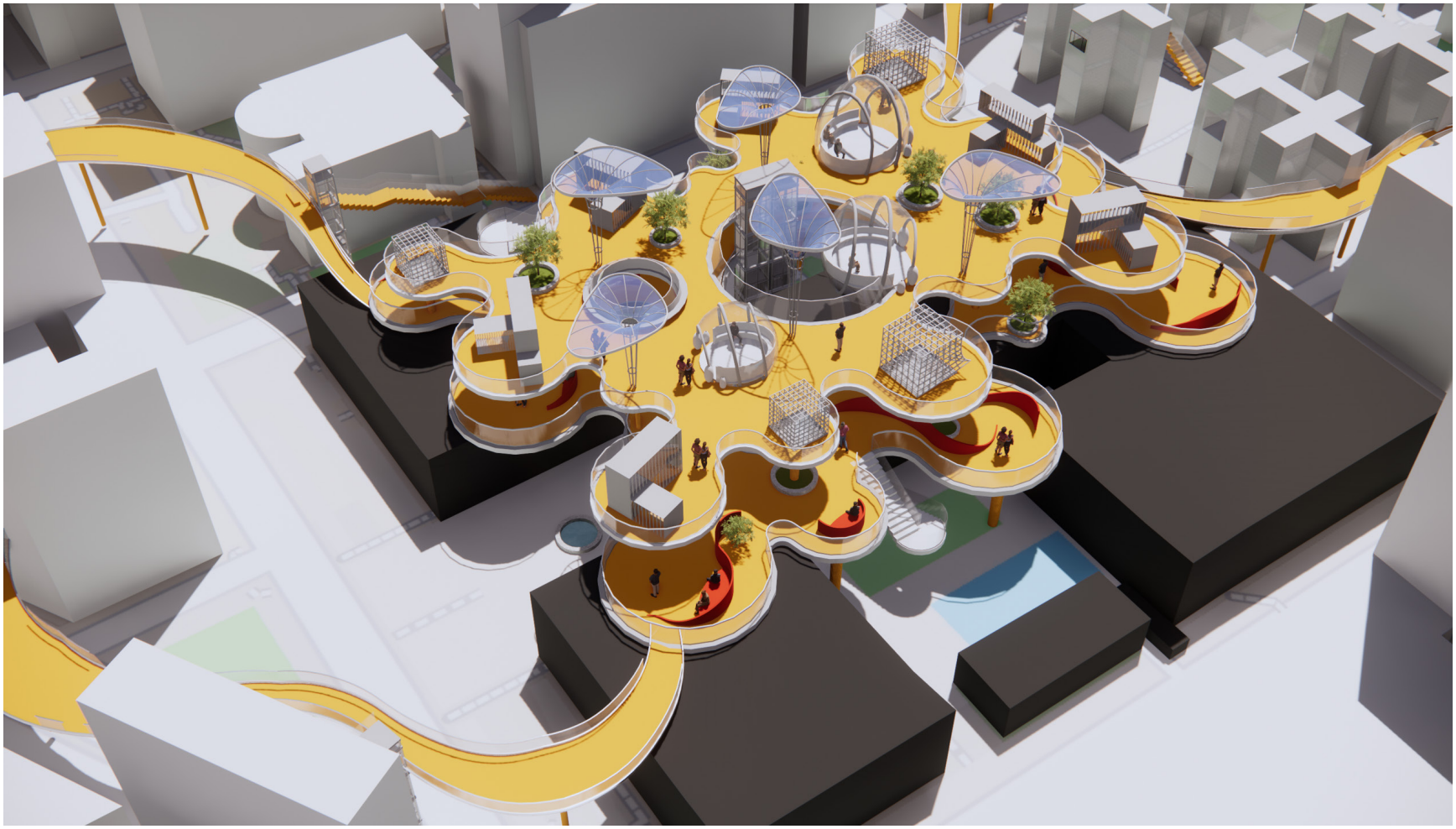
The exploded axon diagram explains the design's proposed structure. Each floor plate is supported by columns. Having both stairs and elevators for vertical circulation makes the sky park physically accessible for all visitors. The relationship between public facilities and exhibition space is also shown, as well as some new technologies.

The proposal respects and highlights iconic architecture from the original campus, such as the Revson Fountain, by designing without obstacles to lighting and ventilation.

This proposal focuses on reimagining Lincoln Center Plaza. There would be a committee meeting in which all stakeholders could participate, including city government, NYC Parks, NYCHA and its residents, energy efficiency experts, community board members, and Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts.

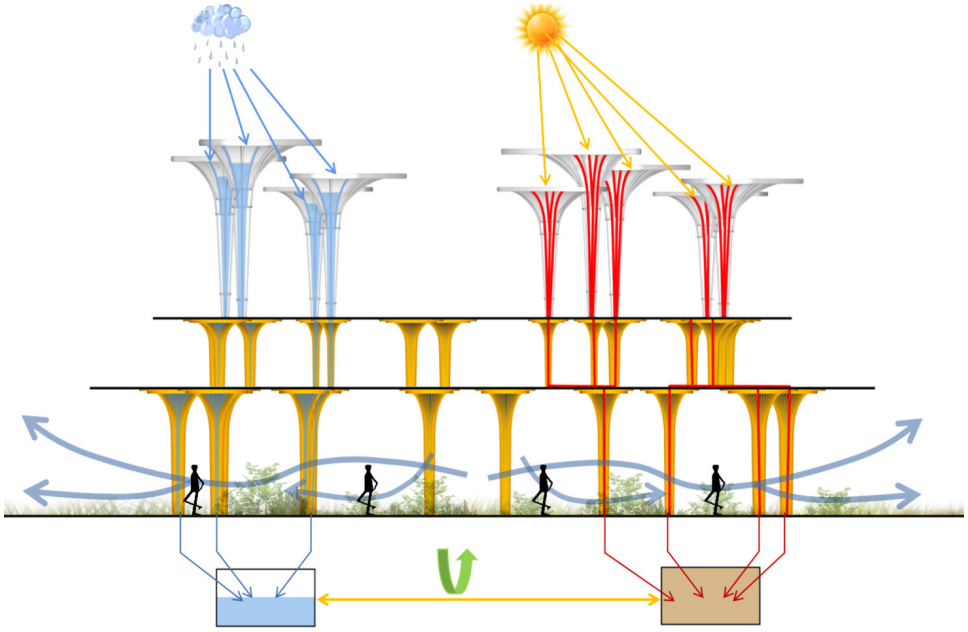


Exploded drawing (2023).
D. Zhang.



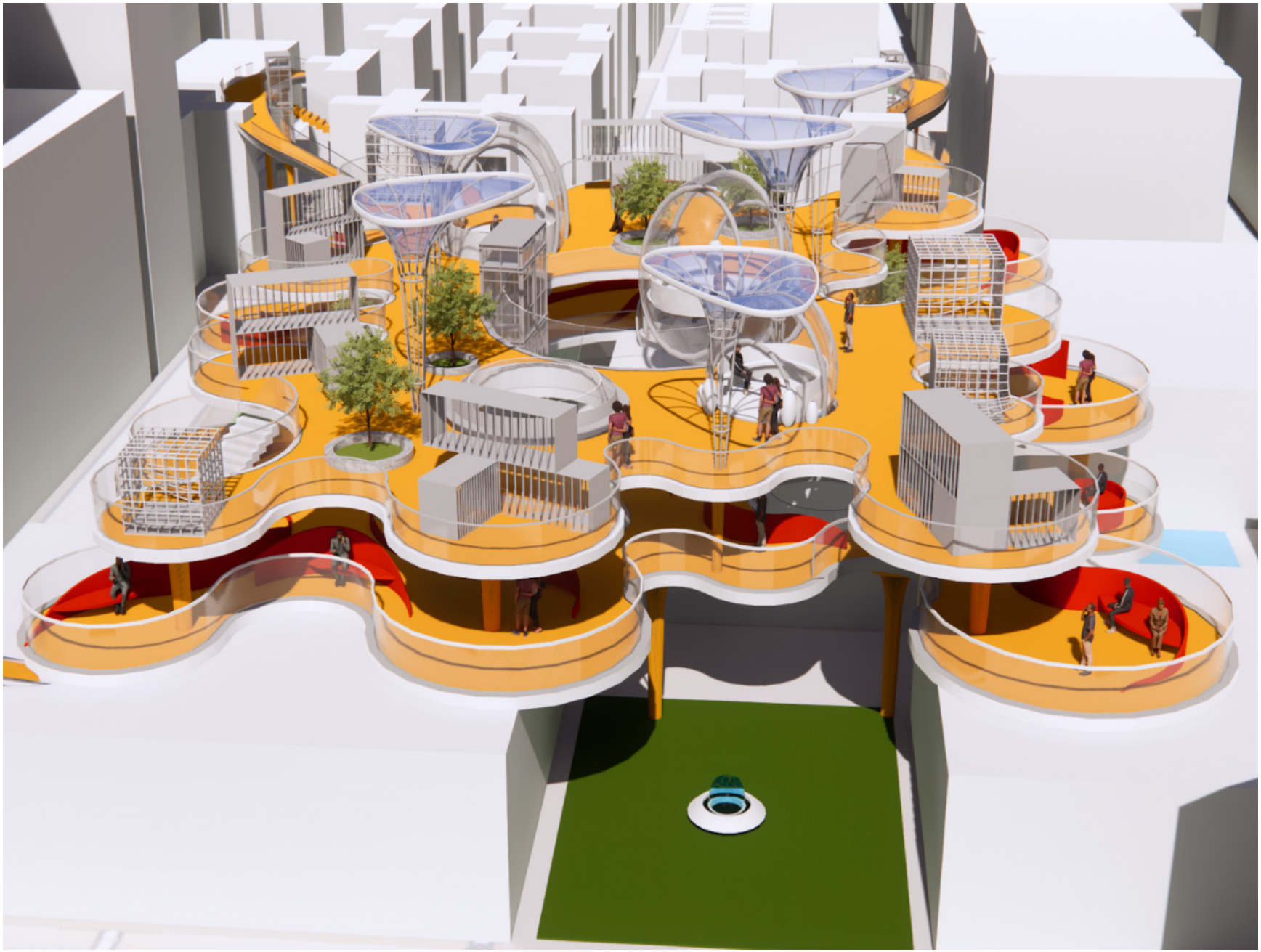
Aerial view (2023).
D. Zhang.

The aerial perspective reflects the relationships between the design object and the original architecture, the upper and lower platforms, and the general orientation and height of the aerial walkways. The design respects the buildings' heights and places lightwells throughout to prevent the platforms from feeling oppressive for pedestrians below.



Conceptual design of energy recovery device (2023).
D. Zhang.

Perspective of platform overlooking Amsterdam Houses (2023).
D. Zhang.



Minimizing the impact on the original Josie Robertson Plaza (2023).
D. Zhang.

THE SPACE BETWEEN: AN INTEGRATION OF LINCOLN CENTER WITH AMSTERDAM HOUSES

Drew Citron and Brooke Marinovich

The Space Between: An Integration of Lincoln Center with Amsterdam Houses is an architectural response to the spatial barriers created by the Lincoln Center campus, particularly along Amsterdam Avenue. This proposal addresses claims to space, constructed vulnerabilities, and social-spatial transformation by acknowledging Lincoln Center's complicity in the historic exclusion of their neighbors west of Amsterdam Avenue. The key finding of spatial barriers and segregation is addressed by creating a more open and inviting space on the west side of the campus. This is achieved by physically removing the walls surrounding Lincoln Center's campus, opening traffic and integrating the landscape along Amsterdam Avenue, and reorienting the Metropolitan Opera House entrance to face Amsterdam Houses to the west. Finally, the project responds to the key finding of underrepresented narratives and publics by displacing the Revson Fountain to where the Guggenheim bandshell currently sits, and replacing it with a San Juan Hill Memorial Pool.

KEY FINDINGS ADDRESSED

- » CLAIM TO SPACE
- » CONSTRUCTED VULNERABILITIES
- » **REPEATED CHARACTERIZATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES**
- » **DISPARATE POWER AND INFLUENCE**
- » SOCIAL-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION
- » SPATIAL BARRIERS AND SEGREGATION
- » **RESISTANCE THROUGH CREATIVE EXPRESSION AND SELF-DETERMINATION**
- » UNDERREPRESENTED NARRATIVES AND PUBLICS

RATIONALE

Lincoln Center's ability to look beyond their doorstep to include adjoining, underrepresented communities is the first step toward restorative justice and reckoning with the memory of what was once San Juan Hill.

The wall behind Lincoln Center is a major spatial and architectural hurdle to inclusion. Lincoln Center's campus faces east, providing much easier access via Columbus Avenue. Along Amsterdam to the west, Lincoln Center is gated and walled, in certain areas over a height of twenty feet.

The wall behind Lincoln Center is a reminder of the neighborhood's racially segregated past within public institutions as well as early twentieth century racial violence along Amsterdam Avenue. The wall is also an unnecessary, socially detrimental relic from the days of urban renewal. When approaching from the west on foot, the stark contrast of the abrupt travertine wall visually, figuratively and literally represents this continued divide. The topography of the hillside is inherently a hurdle for Amsterdam Houses residents' access to public transportation on Broadway; this wall only exacerbates that inaccessibility. Furthermore, the "shortcut" to the subway station is through the Lincoln Center parking garage, and it is an unwelcoming pedestrian experience.

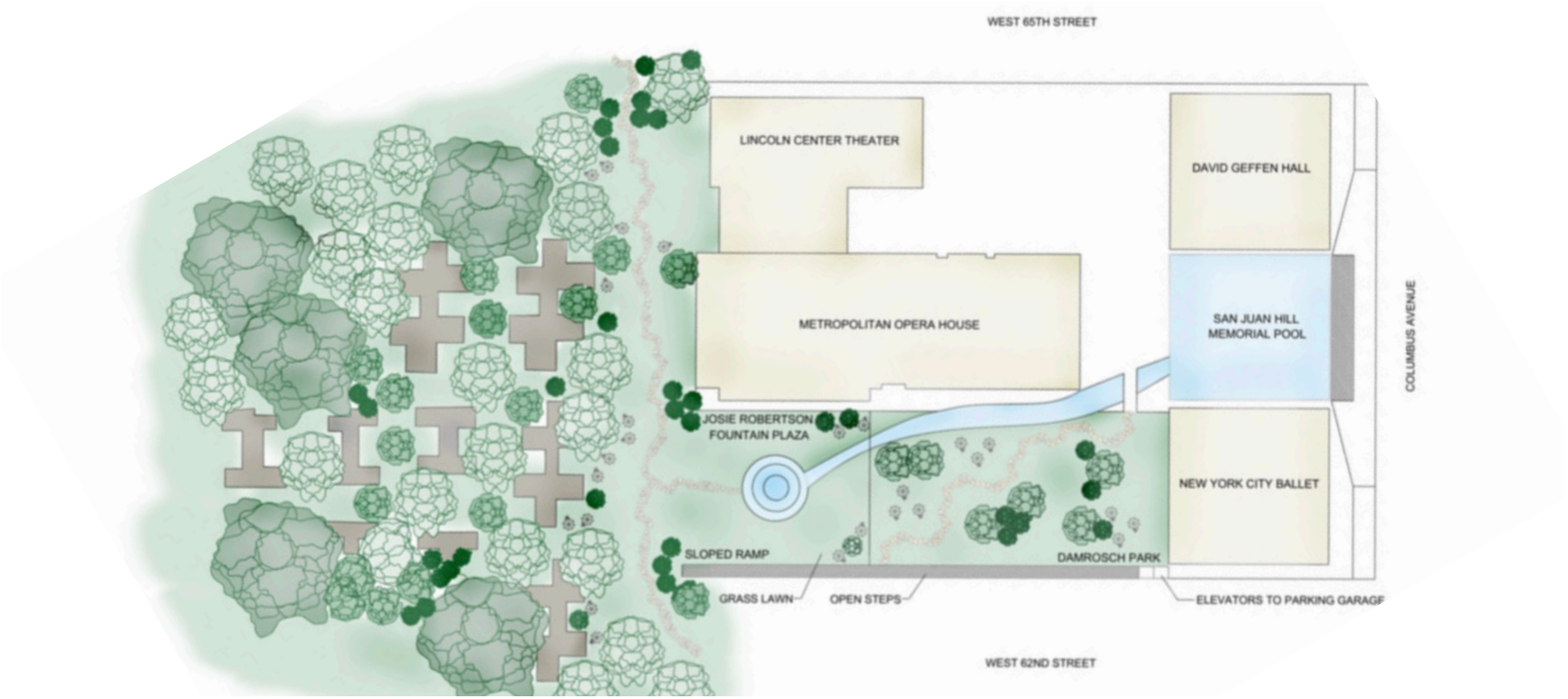
This proposal seeks to rectify this exclusivity. By displacing the iconic Revson Fountain, reorienting the entrance of the Metropolitan Opera House and removing the wall, the project spatially honors Lincoln Center's cultural significance while subverting its original design.

The "front" and "back" of Lincoln Center (2023).
D. Citron.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

This project attempts to ignite an initiative to no longer ignore the legacy of discrimination in this space. It aims to reorient the campus in a direction that centers the historically marginalized communities west of Amsterdam Avenue. A defining feature of Lincoln Center is the Revson Fountain in the Josie Robertson Plaza. The proposal calls for the displacement of this fountain to the Amsterdam Avenue side of campus, and replacing it with a San Juan Hill Memorial Pool. This intervention recognizes the legacy of San Juan Hill and challenges visitors' understanding of this site's history. The project also proposes to remove the Guggenheim Bandshell completely, integrating the new fountain with a long sloped lawn, and extending Damrosch Park to be a completely ADA accessible, enormous public space. The public spaces within Amsterdam Houses will become incorporated and integrated along Amsterdam Avenue, and continue uphill to infiltrate the Lincoln Center campus.

The Revson fountain will be relocated to where the Guggenheim Bandshell currently resides. This pattern of displacement and relocation is representative of what the residents of San Juan Hill experienced and endured. By decentering the narrative of an iconic, celebratory fountain, and replacing it with one of reflection and contemplation, the project allows the emergence of underrepresented narratives and the reclamation of space. This recessed monument would honor the countless artists who lived and performed in San Juan Hill prior to its redevelopment. Columbus Avenue brings in a large amount of foot traffic, and visitors would be confronted by the memory and acknowledgment of the artistic vibrancy and significance of the neighborhood that existed before. Artists such as Florence Mills, Eubie Blake, Fletcher Henderson, and Thelonious Monk would be enshrined and celebrated directly on the site of the San Juan Hill residents' historic displacement, sparking education about these artists' contributions to popular music and theater, and encouraging more diverse programming at Lincoln Center today.



Site Plan: Integration between Amsterdam Houses and Lincoln Center (2023).
B. Marinovich and D. Citron.

Although the project prompts a spatial redesign, its idea is not just about preserving place, but preserving people -- giving a voice to those who have been unheard in the past, and giving this space back to the community. With Lincoln Center's participation in programming monthly, if not weekly, events and communicating with the residents of Amsterdam Houses, it will galvanize a much stronger relationship. While it is hoped this draws in many people from the neighborhood and beyond, the target audience is the residents of Amsterdam Houses. By creating a space for fusion between these two developments, the project seeks to encourage physical inclusivity and promote programmatic diversity and uplift.

Architecturally and visually, Lincoln Center is a character-defining feature of the neighborhood and New York City as a whole. Much of the difficulty in working toward inclusivity and restorative spatial justice at Lincoln Center is the fact that the campus itself holds powerful cultural caché, history and significance. This proposal asserts that Lincoln Center holds tremendous power to rectify these spatial and social injustices, and while they are currently making strides to open up their campus, an architectural redesign along Amsterdam would certainly bolster these efforts. NYCHA, Community Board 7, and the YMCA are several other community stakeholders that might be able to offer assistance in accomplishing the proposed redesign and social programming.

Metropolitan Opera House (2023).
Y. Liu.

BREAK THE CONTAINER: A TOOLKIT FOR ACTIVATING SPATIAL AGENCY

Charlotte Boulanger, Gray Danforth, and Di Zhu

Break the Container promotes restorative justice by acknowledging the historical lack of public participation in decision-making about the Lincoln Square redevelopment, which ultimately "constrained" or "restrained" the tenants of Amsterdam Houses through exclusionary design. At its core, Break the Container embraces the belief that design endeavors for residents cannot happen without residents. This toolkit and participatory process will hence provide residents with the data to support negotiations, thereby driving spatial agency.

KEY FINDINGS ADDRESSED

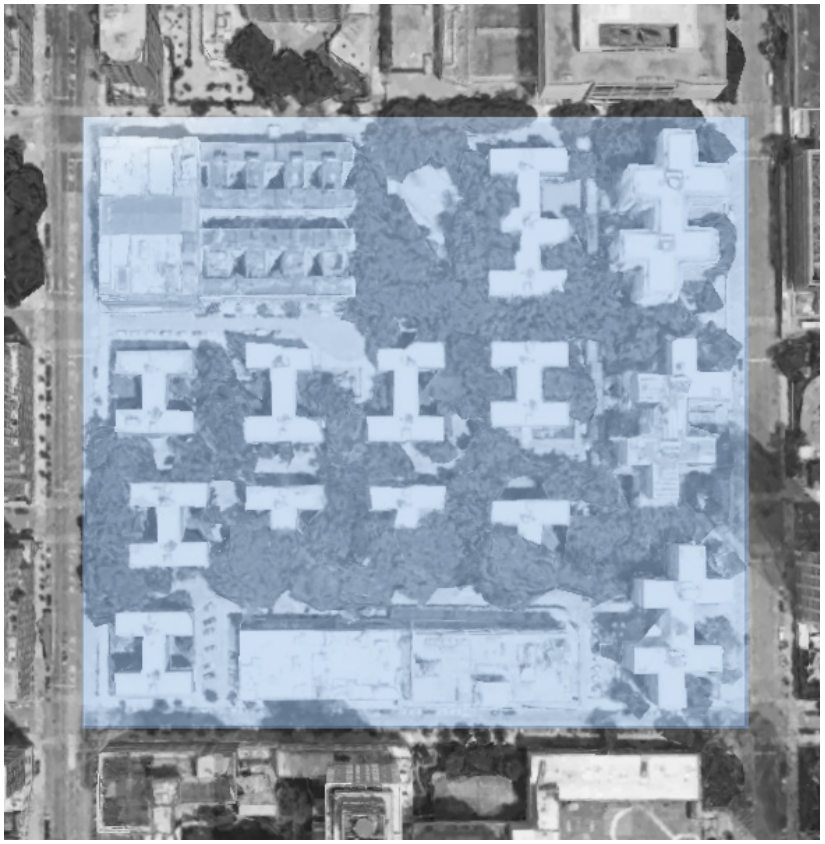
- » CLAIM TO SPACE
- » CONSTRUCTED VULNERABILITIES
- » **REPEATED CHARACTERIZATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES**
- » **DISPARATE POWER AND INFLUENCE**
- » SOCIAL-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION
- » SPATIAL BARRIERS AND SEGREGATION
- » **RESISTANCE THROUGH CREATIVE EXPRESSION AND SELF-DETERMINATION**
- » UNDERREPRESENTED NARRATIVES AND PUBLICS

BACKGROUND, SIGNIFICANCE, AND RATIONALE

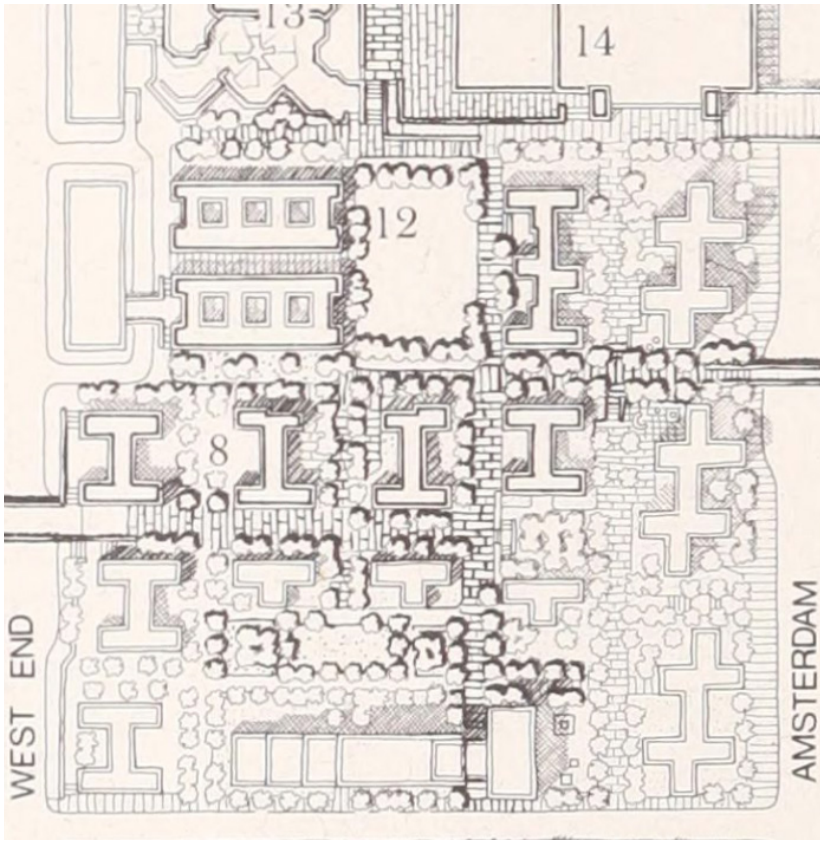
> *"Design is the process by which the politics of one world become the constraints on another."*
>
> *— Fred Turner*

"Break the Container" is a project that not only deals with rigid spatial barriers, but also invisible social barriers, referred to here as "the container." This proposal consists of a participatory design process to empower residents of Amsterdam Houses to shape the space around them and challenge existing power dynamics. Harnessing advances in augmented reality (AR) and virtual reality (VR) spatial visualization technology, this program would generate an accessible digital platform and database for Amsterdam Houses residents to voice their wants, needs, and visions for their neighborhood.

This proposal regards restorative justice as a forward-looking dialogue during which experts are facilitators and providers of resources and guidance. This project is purposefully flexible and may evolve based on the changing needs and desires of residents over time. The proposal introduces, rather than prescribes, innovative forms of community engagement that deliberately break away from traditional practices.



Aerial view of Amsterdam Houses (2023).
C. Boulanger.



Lincoln Square Community Action Plan (1970).
Lincoln Square Community Council.

The current economic, racial, and social isolation of Amsterdam Houses is deeply rooted in the historical patterns of exclusion and violence that defined San Juan Hill. Today, the socio-economic composition of Amsterdam Houses is 33.1 percent Black and 51.9 percent Latine (or Hispanic, per US Census terminology), with an adjusted median income of $26,533. The surrounding population, however, is 80 percent White and Asian, with an adjusted median income of $184,231–almost seven times the median income of Amsterdam Houses (US Census 2020).

This economic disparity exacerbates exclusion from essential services, such as affordable food vendors and grocery stores, and is underscored by findings from the Urban Displacement Project in 2016: the area west of Amsterdam Houses was reported as an area of "Super Gentrification or Exclusion" while the areas surrounding it were classified as "Stable Exclusion" and "At Risk" of Exclusion (Urban Displacement Project 2016; Berkeley News 2019). Speculative real estate activity alienates residents in low-income brackets from their own neighborhoods. While this is an ongoing issue faced by many NYCHA communities, media attention has largely focused on gentrification and displacement in Brooklyn and Queens neighborhoods (Berkeley News 2019). While this attention is well deserved, residents of Amsterdam Houses, impacted by speculative development for the past sixty years, have largely been excluded from the conversation.

Historically, the residents of Amsterdam Houses had little agency in the design of the space or the isolation imposed upon them by developers and officials. Early neighborhood-specific efforts tried to address latent socio-spatial gaps. For example, the 1970 Lincoln Square Community Action Plan devised four primary axes for action in order to encourage community interactions (Lincoln Square Community Council 1970). However, those attempts fell short due to the lack of community engagement opportunities and existing socio-economic divides within the larger neighborhood. Amsterdam Houses were more of an afterthought than a main concern in this broader plan. Successive waves of luxury developments in the 1980s and 2000s further exacerbated the inequity in the area and continue to negatively affect residents' quality of life today.

Displacement and Gentrification Census Tract Typologies	
Typology (tract income level)	**Typology Criteria**
Not Losing Low-Income Households (Low Income)	• Pop in 2000>500 • Low Income Tract in 2016 • Not classified as At Risk or Ongoing Gentrification or Displacement
At Risk of Gentrification (Low Income)	• Pop in 2016 > 500 • Low Income Tract in 2016 • Vulnerable in 2016 (Defined in Appendix) • "Hot market" from 2000 to 2016 • Not currently undergoing displacement or ongoing gentrification
Ongoing Displacement of Low-Income Households (Low Income)	• Pop in 2000 > 500 • Low Income Tract in 2016 • Loss of LI households 2000-2016 (absolute loss) • Few signs of gentrification occurring
Ongoing Gentrification (Low Income)	• Pop in 2000 or 2016 > 500 • Low Income Tract in 2016 • Gentrified in 1990-2000 or 2000-2016 (Defined in Appendix)
Advanced Gentrification (Moderate to High Income)	• Pop in 2000 or 2016 > 500 • Moderate to High Income Tract in 2015 • Gentrified in 1990-2000 or 2000-2016 (Defined by Appendix)
Stable Exclusion (Moderate to High Income)	• Pop in 2000>500 • Moderate to High Income Tract in 2016 • Not classified as Ongoing Exclusion
Ongoing Exclusion (Moderate to High Income)	• Pop in 2000 > 500 • Moderate to High Income Tract in 2016 • Loss of LI households 2000-2016 (absolute loss) • LI migration rate (percent of all migration to tract that was LI) in 2016 < in 2009
Super Gentrification or Exclusion (Very High Income)	• Pop in 2000 > 500 • Median household income > 200% of regional median in 2016 • Indicators of Gentrification or Exclusion

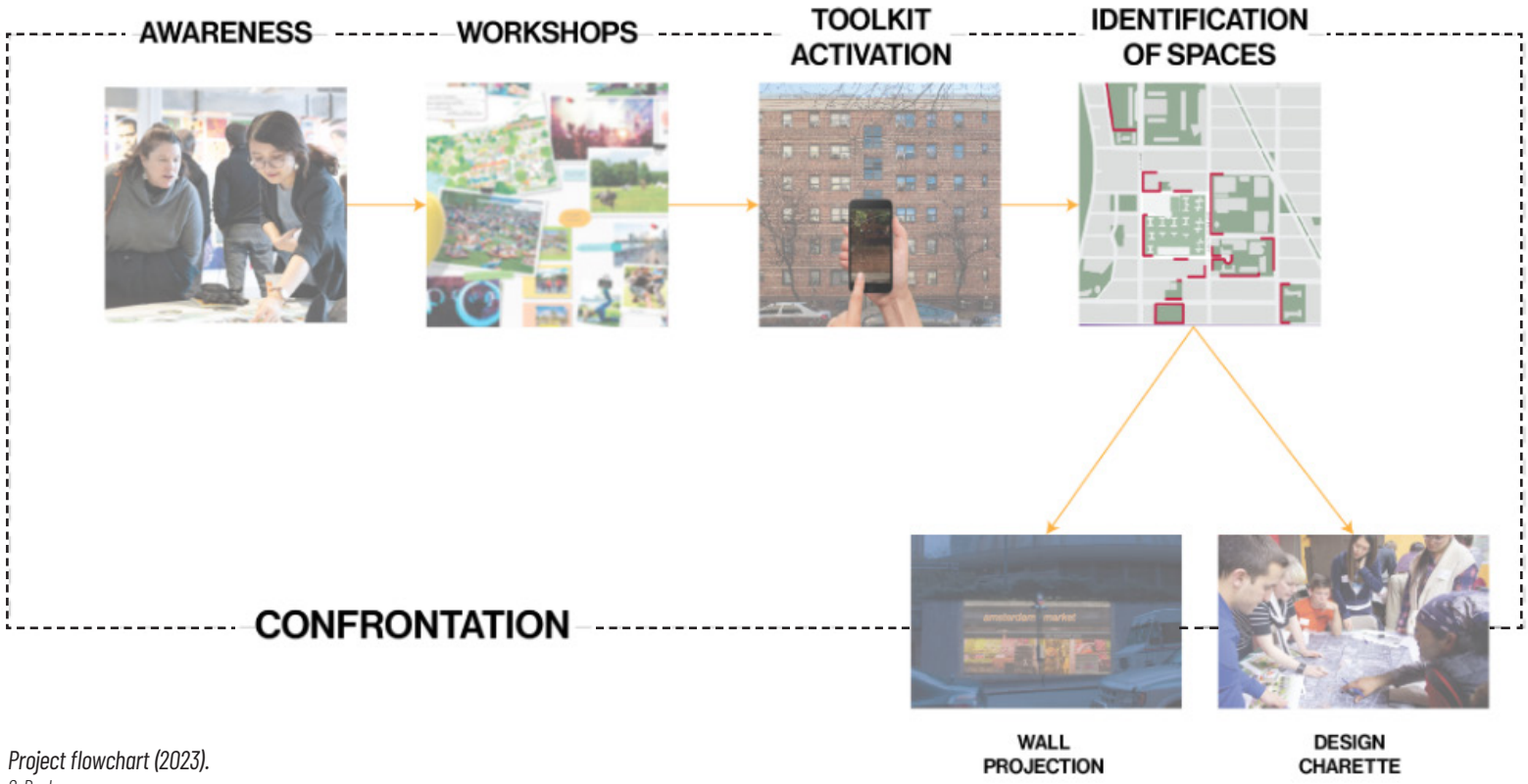
The findings of Urban Displacement Project's research, superimposed over the study area, underscore patterns of socio-economic exclusion surrounding Amsterdam Houses. Red areas are indicative of "Super Exclusion" and purple areas show tracts categorized as "At Risk of Gentrification" areas (outlined in Blue) (2023).
G. Danforth.

NYCHA has made recent attempts to implement justice-oriented approaches in its' Open Space Master Plan. Published in October 2021, the Master Plan proposes a comprehensive re-evaluation and renovation of NYCHA's open spaces, offering potential avenues for community engagement and input at each of NYCHA's 133 campuses (NYCHA 2021). This Master Plan was intended as a tool to guide the implementation of the new Public Housing Preservation Trust's funding programs, which oversee repairs and renovations through private-public arrangements, such as Section 8 conversions and the transfer of facilities management to private companies. This has raised reasonable fears over privatization and evictions among residents (Human Rights Watch 2022).

This proposal aims to diversify methods of involvement to ensure that participation does not become restrained, overly complicated, or burdensome. This increasing accessibility will therefore expand the reach and engagement of the conversation.

Recent studies on the use of augmented reality (AR) and virtual reality (VR) for participatory design projects have shown these virtual visualization tools provided participants with a "higher level of spatial comprehension" and a more precise understanding of the design than participants viewing the design through traditional design representations such as two-dimensional architectural drawings and renderings, leading to conclusions that VR and AR have the potential to improve community insight in the participatory design process (Lee et al 2023; Loyola et al 2019).

Moreover, a 2015 municipal study reported that more than 80 percent of New York residents with incomes less than $30,000 own smartphones (NYC Consumer Affairs 2015, 7). That number was higher for respondents between the ages of 18 and 44 years old, as more than 90 percent in this age bracket owned smartphones (NYC Consumer Affairs 2015, 7). In 2020, the American Community Survey (ACS) similarly concluded that within the census tract that includes Amsterdam Houses, 80.75 percent of residents had access to a smartphone (U.S. Census 2020). The accessibility and ease of using the AR smartphone experience wouldl expand the reach and engagement of the conversations beyond in-person events. Furthermore, recent municipal efforts to bridge the technology gap, such as the Big Apple Connect initiative to provide free internet access to NYCHA residents, will further assist in increasing the accessibility of the visualization tools.



Project flowchart (2023).
C. Boulanger.

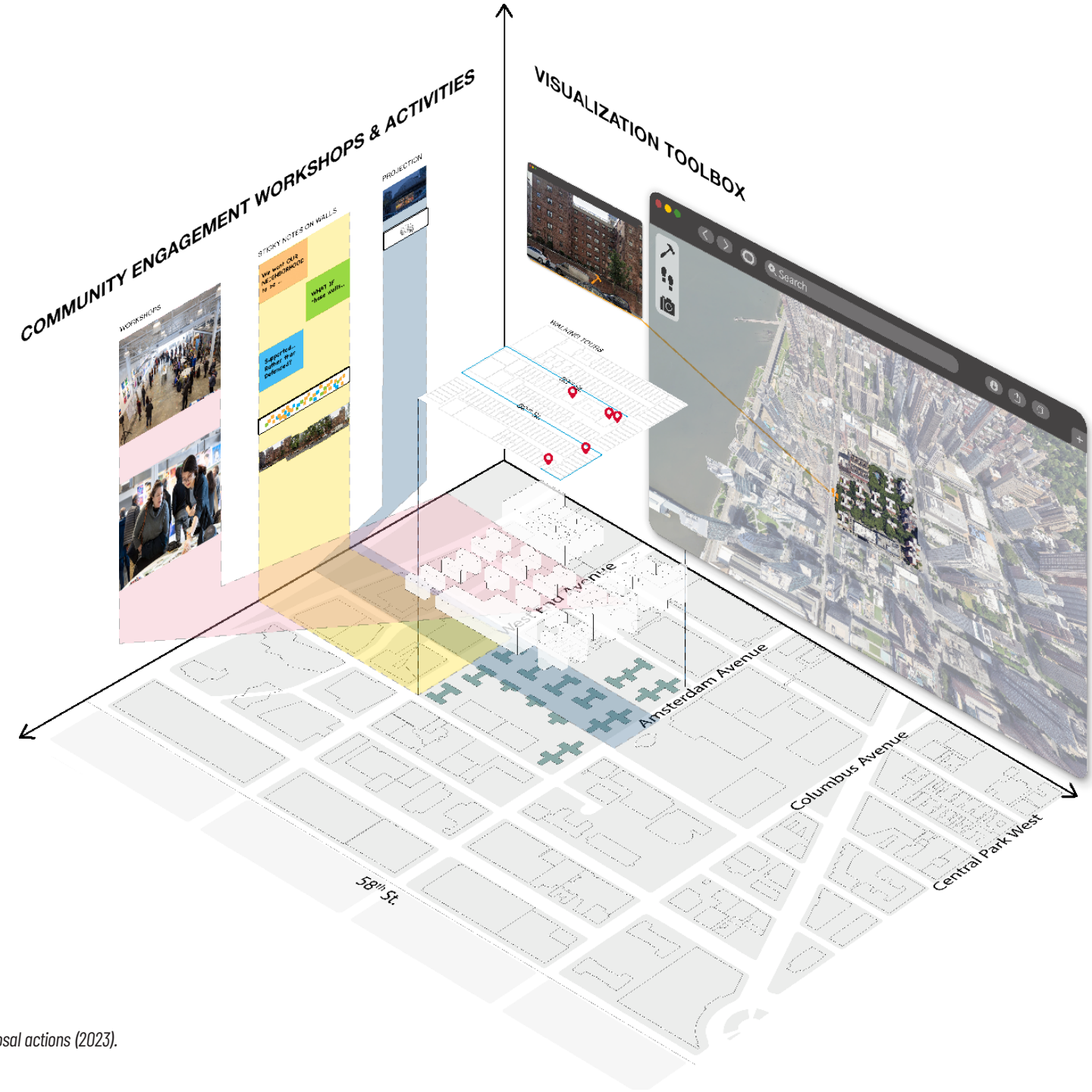
PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Our project aims to facilitate actionable change based on forms of participatory community involvement that are more dynamic and less prone to top-down impositions. Because of the direct impact of repeated patterns of segregation and ongoing exclusion, the residents of Amsterdam Houses are the core audience for this proposal.

A fundamental feature of this proposal is its iterative and flexible approach to community design. One iteration, as shown above, begins its activation through listening and engaging with the residents, and concludes with additional avenues for further discussions and confrontations. In keeping with such ethos, this proposal stresses the importance of meaningfully collaborating with neighborhood organizations such as Goddard Riverside or the Amsterdam Houses Tenants Association in order to strengthen the residents' spatial claims. Confronting surrounding fortress-like institutions entails cementing a collective voice and finding avenues to amplify demands to ultimately assert legitimacy. More importantly, connection both within the community and with surrounding organizations aims at the successful implementation and solving of these confrontations.

Trust cannot be rushed. Therefore the time-frame of this community-building exercise is loosely structured, with trimonthly progress check-ins. After a year, resident leaders, partner organizations, and facilitators will assess progress and devise the next steps.

This project's goal is to probe the residents of the Amsterdam Houses to develop ways to reconnect with their home through time and space. Reconnecting is the first step to awareness of space, leading to robust claims to spaces.



Proposal actions (2023).
D. Zhu.

Building Connections

Community outreach would be done through fliers advertising the program written in both English and Spanish, and close partnerships with neighborhood groups and organizations such as local recreational teams and the Amsterdam Houses Tenants Association. These connections are prioritized, as implementation should not be extractive and should emerge from within the community itself. Additionally, such collaboration would allow for the various programs to accommodate a large variety of schedules.

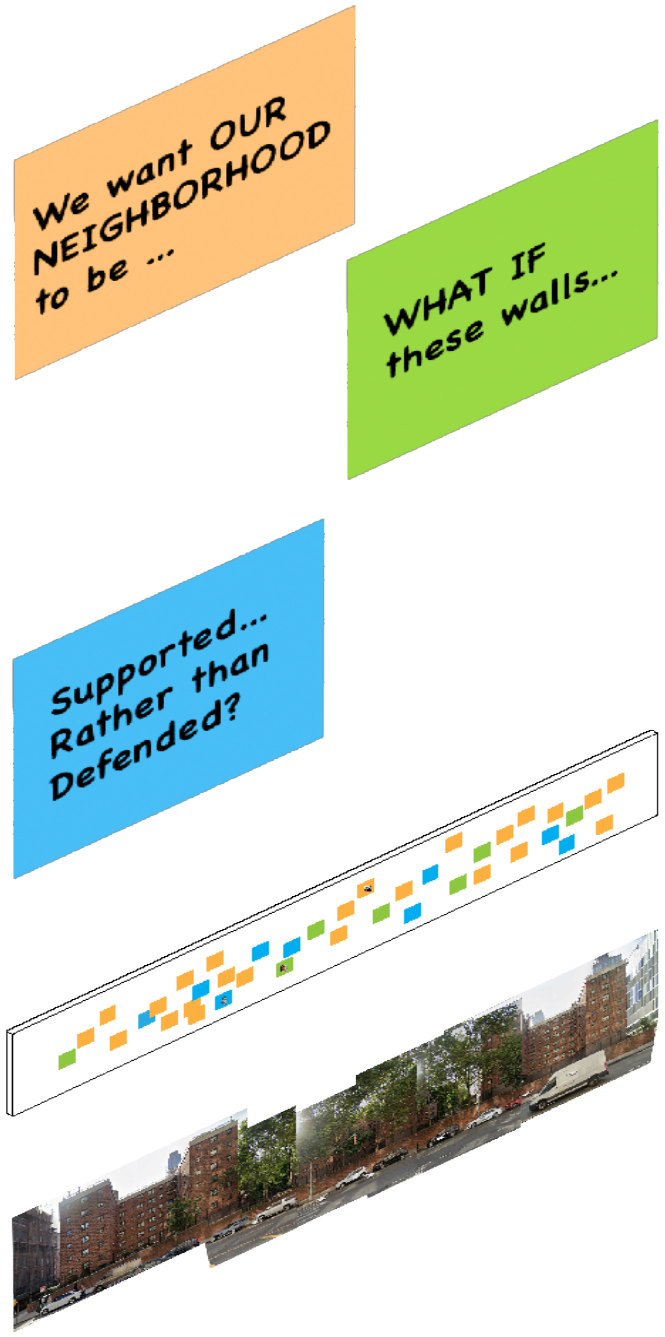
The first phase of the program purposely omits technological tools, and instead makes full use of direct social interactions and dialogues. This phase is intended to consolidate awareness and interest in order to expand the reach and use of the tools developed in the second phase. Activities include community-building games, asset-identifying workshops, and walking tours. Initial exercises would help residents develop a list of community values and goals, which would be made available to residents to vote on and amend. After these values and goals are established, walking tours would be organized during which residents would use sticky notes to identify assets important to them and places and features they would like to see change. This would prime participants for the AR activity.

Activating Connections

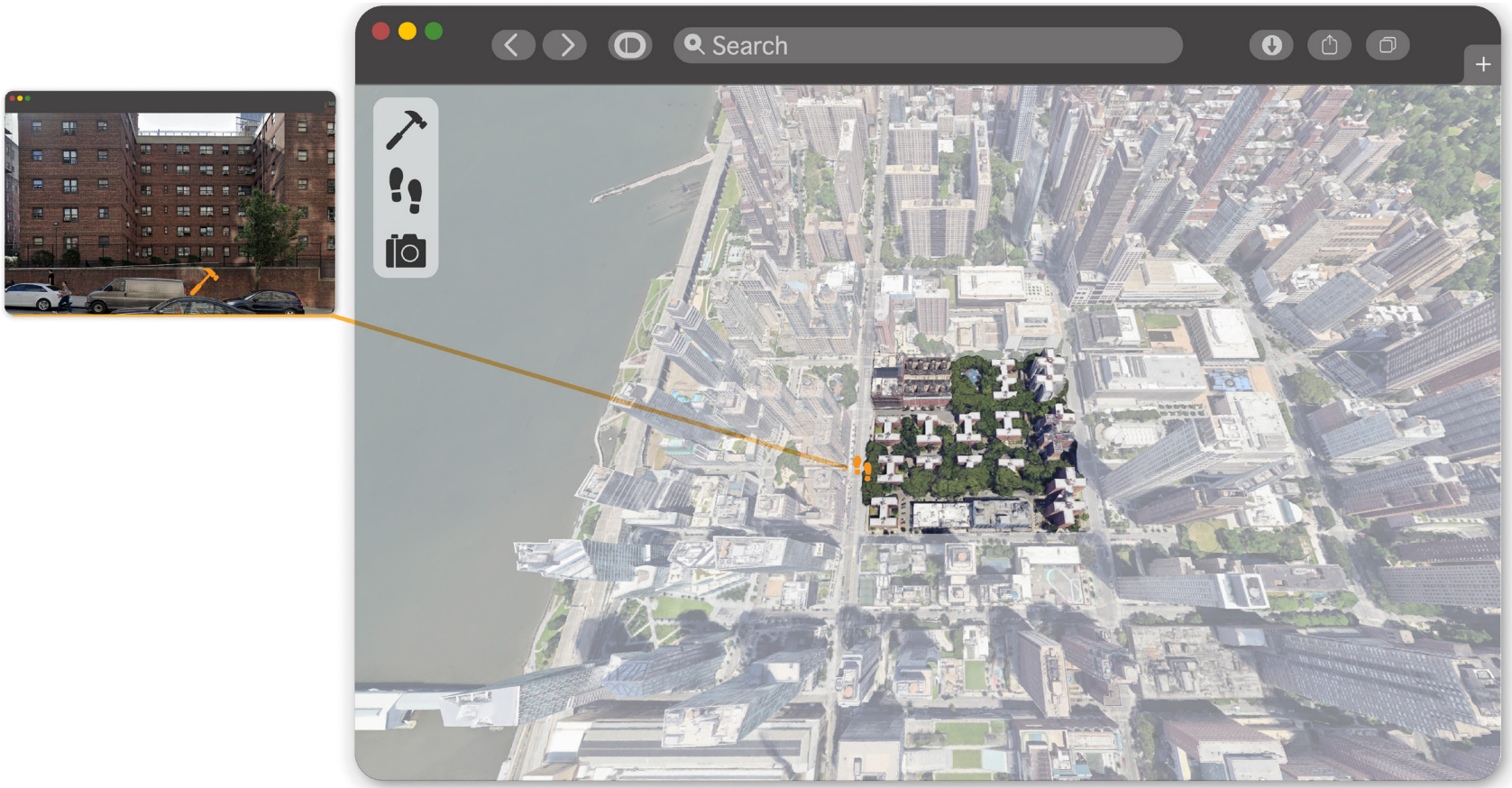
Once initial connections have been made, the project would slowly introduce technological tools as participatory design methods. After the various in-person workshops, the adoption of innovative visual tools, such as AR and VR, offers a unique immersive experience for residents to engage with the built environment and visualize desired changes.

The VR experience, to be hosted in the Lincoln Square Community Center, offers enhanced spatial comprehension of proposed design changes. Inside the VR simulation, residents could actively deconstruct and reconstruct the space in and around Amsterdam Houses, and virtually walk around the neighborhood. Not only does this enhance spatial comprehension, but also extends access to participation beyond traditional walking tour methods to include residents with disabilities or limited mobility.

The AR app would extend the reach of participation to residents outside of the workshops, creating an accessible and easily navigable user interface for residents to deploy on-the-fly and outside of the confines of the workshop. For example, when residents encounter spatial barriers on their daily commute, they can open the app and "break" the obstacle within a matter of seconds, with the option to "redesign" the space. The redesign option would offer two ways to re-envision the space, through



Visualization through physical notes (2023).
D. Zhu.



Visualization toolbox (2023).
C. Boulanger.

an open-ended feedback text field for written responses ("I wish this space were a...") or through the visual interface, where users could insert spatial elements (benches, restrooms, vendors, etc.) to fill the gap. This would build data to help identify the most limiting aspects of the "container" as they are experienced, generating timetables and heatmaps of exclusion. Residents have the option to identify themselves or submit their responses anonymously, and no personal data would be collected or stored without explicit permission.

AR and VR offer a truly experiential participatory design process, giving residents complete reign over the design process. This expands resident's architectural and spatial agency beyond that offered by traditional approaches, flipping the traditional paradigm of participatory design, where designers and planners are the arbiters of spatial potential.

Sustaining Connections

The involvement of organizations such as the Amsterdam Houses Tenant Association and Goddard Riverside are essential to the process of "Break the Container." The tenants association might serve as a liaison to community organizations such as the Positive Influence Basketball Team and directly aid in coordination of residents, activities, and meetings.

Goddard Riverside provides advocacy and legal assistance for tenants, mental health aid, and services for a range of publics: children, youth and families, unhoused individuals, and older adults. Such a broad network, with outreach that spans much of the Upper West Side, is essential to engaging a diversity of residents. Additionally, partnership with Goddard Riverside would offer a venue for meetings and workshops at the Lincoln Square Community Center.

This proposal could build upon and amplify the success of Hood Code and the Design Trust for Public Space's past and ongoing projects with NYCHA residents. Hood Code conducts free after-school and summer coding courses for NYCHA children to promote equity in tech and "close the socioeconomic gap" for NYCHA families (NYCHA Journal 2022). Partnership with Hood Code would create new AR and VR coding opportunities, utilizing the AR and VR applications, resident-generated designs, and data as a teaching tool. This collaboration would provide mutual benefit, aiding with the implementation of the Break the Container project and connecting youth in Amsterdam Houses to opportunities in tech.

Additionally, the Design Trust has notable experience with participatory design processes and community outreach, and would be invaluable to the facilitation of workshops and activities (Design Trust for Public Space 2023). Because of the Design Trust's experience in partnering with NYCHA and NYCHA residents for their ongoing Green Space Connections project (2022), this organization could assist in navigating negotiations with NYCHA to implement changes on Amsterdam Houses' property and in securing funding through grant applications.

Implementation

A core aspect of this proposal is enhancing the agency and ensuring the protection of the residents of Amsterdam Houses. Digital data would be stored within a resident-owned cloud, and managed by a resident-elected data-keeper. Additionally, one to two residents would be selected as resident connectors. All liaisons would be provided with grant-funded monetary compensation for their role.

The culmination of the research would be a community art show, where participants can showcase their designs for the space. This would both inspire other residents to participate and provide a forum for community members to discuss the next step in the process: a light projection installation cast upon the surrounding physical "container." The use of light would allow for the temporary manifestation of historical and contemporary evidence, to both confront and engage with the fortress-like institutions of Fordham University and Lincoln Center. Breaking the Container establishes a process of data collection that can be used to envision and support more permanent change in the built environment, but the use of light provides an intermediary means of creating spatial encounters with both the past and potential futures.

NYCHA Open Space Master Plan (2023).
G. Danforth.

A mockup of a spatial encounter that draws upon the resident-generated AR/VR database, to express the wants and needs of Amsterdam Houses residents (2023).
G. Danforth.

A mockup of a spatial intervention using historical imagery to support "breaking the container" (2023).
G. Danforth.

Satellite view of the Amsterdam Houses for visualization toolbox (2023).
C. Boulanger / Google Earth

AMSTERDAM HOUSES: REACTIVATING THE OPEN SPACES

Cassidy Kraft

Amsterdam Houses: Reactivating the Open Spaces empowers the residents of Amsterdam Houses residents to reimagine the open spaces intended for them. This proposal addresses constructed vulnerabilities by centering the needs and aspirations of the historically marginalized Black and Latine community who predominantly reside in this NYCHA development. This project seeks to give these residents agency to adapt the physical open spaces of the Amsterdam Houses to fit their needs and take control of the narrative surrounding their home.

KEY FINDINGS ADDRESSED

- CLAIM TO SPACE
- CONSTRUCTED VULNERABILITIES
- **REPEATED CHARACTERIZATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES**
- DISPARATE POWER AND INFLUENCE
- SOCIAL-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION
- **SPATIAL BARRIERS AND SEGREGATION**
- RESISTANCE THROUGH CREATIVE EXPRESSION AND SELF-DETERMINATION
- UNDERREPRESENTED NARRATIVES AND PUBLICS

BACKGROUND, SIGNIFICANCE, AND RATIONALE

The residents of the Amsterdam Houses are a predominantly Black and Latine population located in the middle of the predominantly White Lincoln Square neighborhood (U.S. Census Bureau 2020). White-led narratives have historically characterized and controlled the redevelopment projects in the area, and redressing that injustice is critical.

Prior to the Amsterdam Houses redevelopment project, adapted spaces including streets, vacant lots, stoops, sidewalks, and windows were plentiful in the area, acting as spaces for kids to play, people to interact with each other, and communities to form. These spaces were especially important to the Black and Latine community in the area, as purpose-built spaces such as playgrounds, green spaces, and recreation centers were inaccessible (Jacobs 1961). These adapted forms of open spaces were destroyed when the Amsterdam Houses were constructed, leaving residents with limited access to the spaces they previously constructed, leaving residents with limited access to the spaces they previously relied on to form social connections. There is a playground adjacent to the Amsterdam Houses that is managed by the NYC Department of Parks and Recreation and the Amsterdam Houses contains several green spaces within its grounds. However, no effort has been made to reinstate any of the adapted spatial typologies that were lost when the complex was built (Amsterdam 2021).

While NYCHA has focused its efforts on updating the facades of buildings across the Amsterdam Houses complex, other spaces have been neglected and left in disrepair. Critical spaces for leisure and recreation have been underserved, and its residents have not been afforded the resources to thrive in or control their environment. This proposal aims to redress this issue, looking at the open spaces along West 61st Drive.

Currently, the area is in a state of neglect. Benches are very rundown and have peeling paint and missing boards, and there is a lack of safety precautions considering the torn up pavement and piles of debris. While the space is designed for passive recreation, its current deteriorated condition does not make it safe or inviting for residents.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION AND IMPLEMENTATION

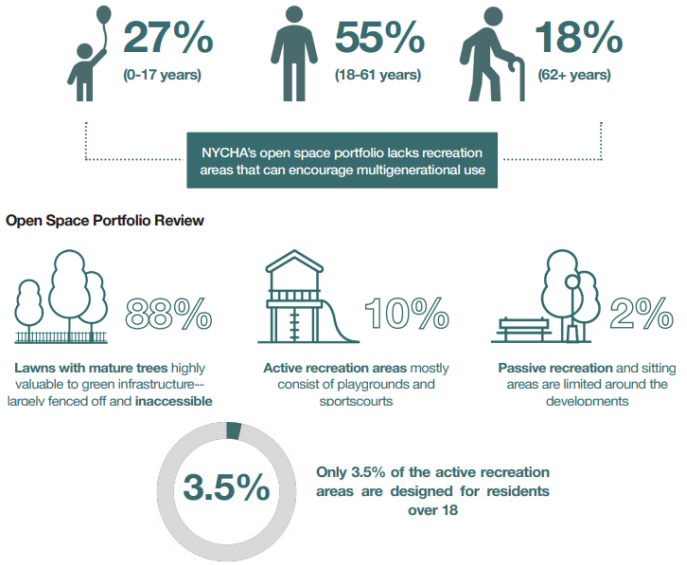
The NYCHA must be involved in the implementation of this project. Based on their 2021 Open Space master plan, the NYCHA seeks to involve local communities in the redesign of their open spaces and to include outside organizations into the process, like New Yorkers for Parks. Their report focused on diversifying the open spaces, as only a very small portion of the recreation areas are designed for adults, who make up the majority of NYCHA residents. The report also emphasized making sure open spaces are tailored to the specific needs of each development (NYCHA 2021).

Amsterdam Houses: Reactivating the Open Spaces would give residents of the Amsterdam Houses the ability to choose what happens with the open spaces on the property, giving the community a voice in the decision making process. This would be a collaborative initiative between Amsterdam Houses residents and the NYCHA, and could possibly function as a pilot project for applying similar approaches in other developments across the city.

CONNECTOR ORGANIZATIONS

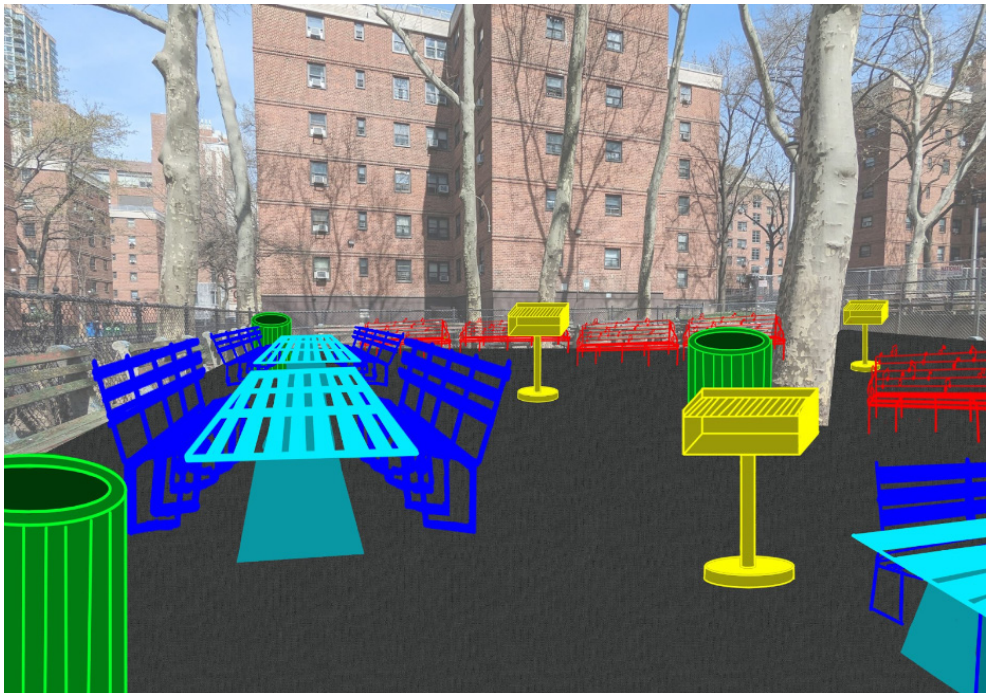
This project would be carried out by the NYCHA in collaboration with Amsterdam residents through the Amsterdam Houses Tenant Association. New Yorkers for Parks would also be included in this project, as their organization is geared towards increasing and improving open spaces across the city (New Yorkers for Parks n.d.). Together these organizations would carry out the reactivation of the open spaces of the Amsterdam Houses.

Map of the Amsterdam Houses within the boundaries of NYCHA property (2008).
NYCHA.



Breakdown of age of NYCHA residents and the intended audience of existing open spaces (2010).
NYCHA.

View of open spaces at the Amsterdam Houses (2023).
C. Kraft.



Example design for the open spaces of the Amsterdam Houses (2023).
C. Kraft.

Site of Amsterdam Houses (1940).
NYCHA.

STREET LIFE REIMAGINED

Annie An

The historic racial divide of Amsterdam Avenue made open spaces like Central Park inaccessible to the San Juan Hill population. Instead, Black residents often relied on adapted typologies-- which took the form of streets and vacant lots, as well as liminal places such as stoops, sidewalks, and windows-- for social activities. As the demolition of San Juan Hill befell the neighborhood, this adapted and vibrant use of space in the public realm became history.

This proposal seeks to address multiple historical injustices by providing a dedicated and safe space for informal interaction for youth who reside and attend school in the neighborhood. Histories of over-policing Black and Latine youths, the lack of access to open space, and the barriers created by the Amsterdam divide established patterns of physical exclusion. These were exacerbated by post-war developments, like Lincoln Center, which harnessed the natural topography to create intentionally "closed" open spaces, to isolate formal space from the surrounding area. This transformation of the built environment changed the nature of open space and therefore the nature of social interaction. This proposal formally acknowledges the special form of street interaction amongst youth, found to be common in historic San Juan Hill.

KEY FINDINGS ADDRESSED

- » CLAIM TO SPACE
- » CONSTRUCTED VULNERABILITIES
- » REPEATED CHARACTERIZATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES
- » **DISPARATE POWER AND INFLUENCE**
- » SOCIAL-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION
- » SPATIAL BARRIERS AND SEGREGATION
- » **RESISTANCE THROUGH CREATIVE EXPRESSION AND SELF-DETERMINATION**
- » **UNDERREPRESENTED NARRATIVES AND PUBLICS**

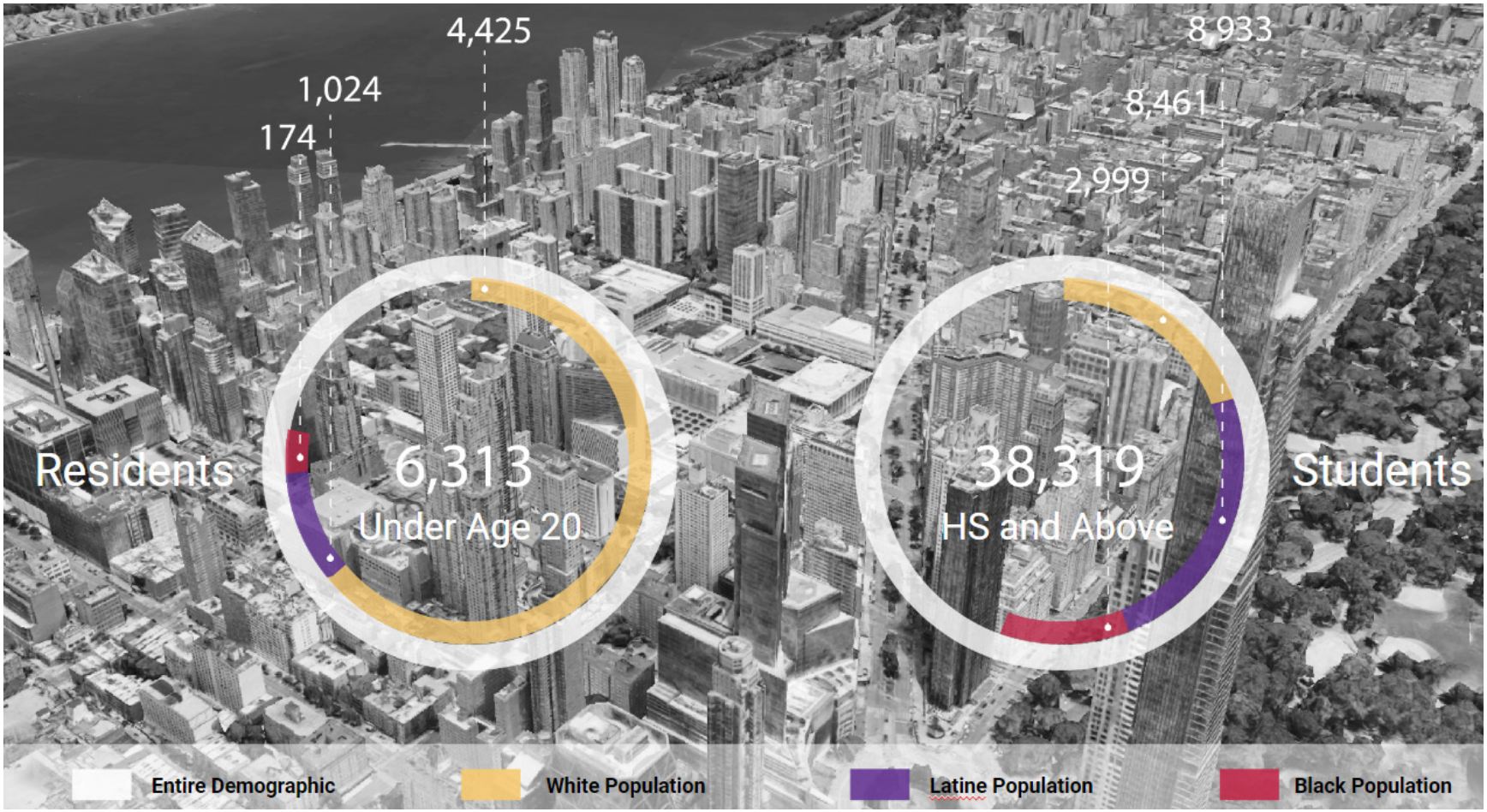
PROJECT DESCRIPTION AND IMPLEMENTATION

This proposal suggests the closure of West 65th Street, West 59th Street (both about 1640 feet long), and Amsterdam Avenue between West 65th Street and West 59th Street (also about 1640 feet long) for use by high school to undergraduate students who reside in the area or attend schools within the study area. As the project progresses, the intended demographic will include both younger and older neighborhood populations, as well as graduate-level students from nearby colleges and general pedestrians passing by.

The present day Lincoln Square community is primarily made up of an older, White demographic. This proposal instead highlights the significance of the number of young Black and Latine residents under the age of twenty in the area. The densely populated array of schools in the area offers an alternative layer of demographics of youth under the age of twenty occupying this neighborhood at specific times of the day and week. Three high schools— Fiorello H. LaGuardia High School, Martin Luther King High School (composed of seven different high schools operating within its building) and West End Secondary High School—had approximately nine hundred Black students and two thousand Latine students enrolled in the year of 2021-2022. The three colleges— Fordham University, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, and the Juilliard School— had more than two thousand Black students and seven thousand Latine students enrolled in the same year. The area hosts at least forty-four thousand young people during the school season, not including elementary and middle school students.

Present day policing after school hours (2023).
A. An.

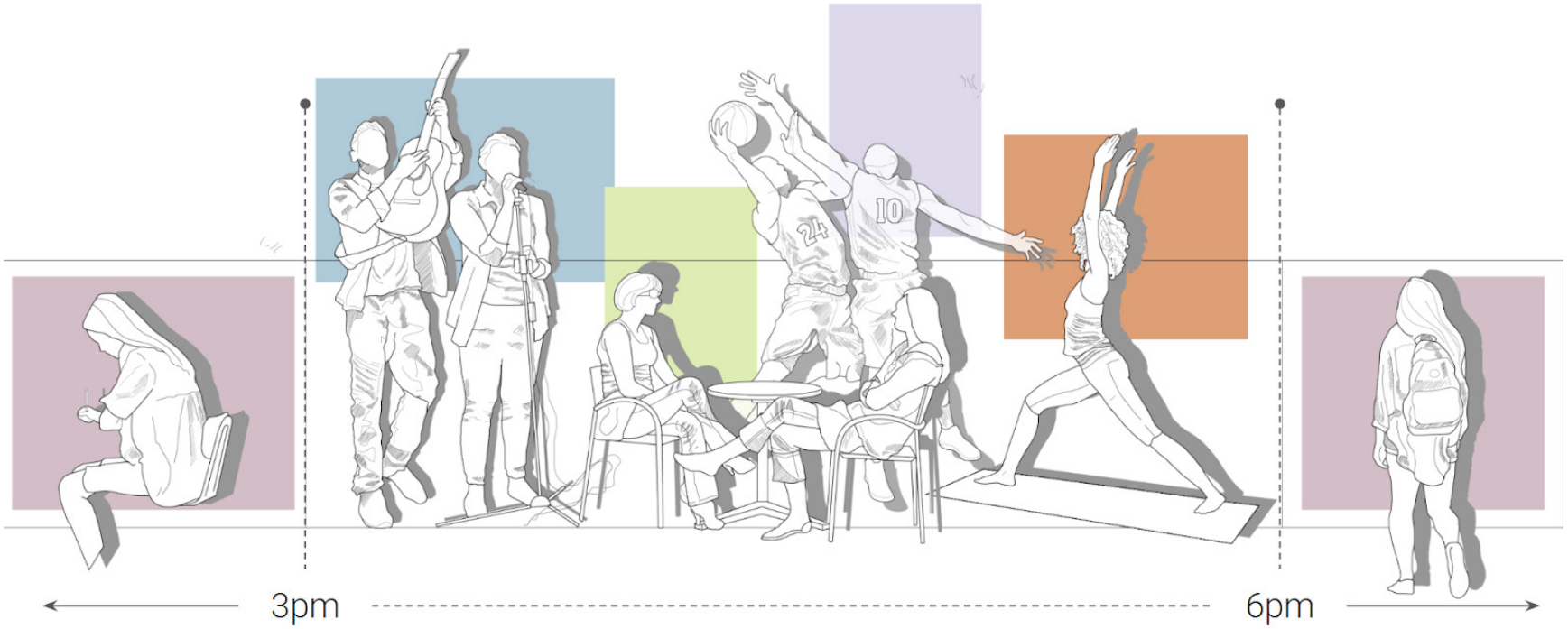
Areas of occupation: Amsterdam Avene, Wes 65th Street, and West 59th Street (2023).
A. An.

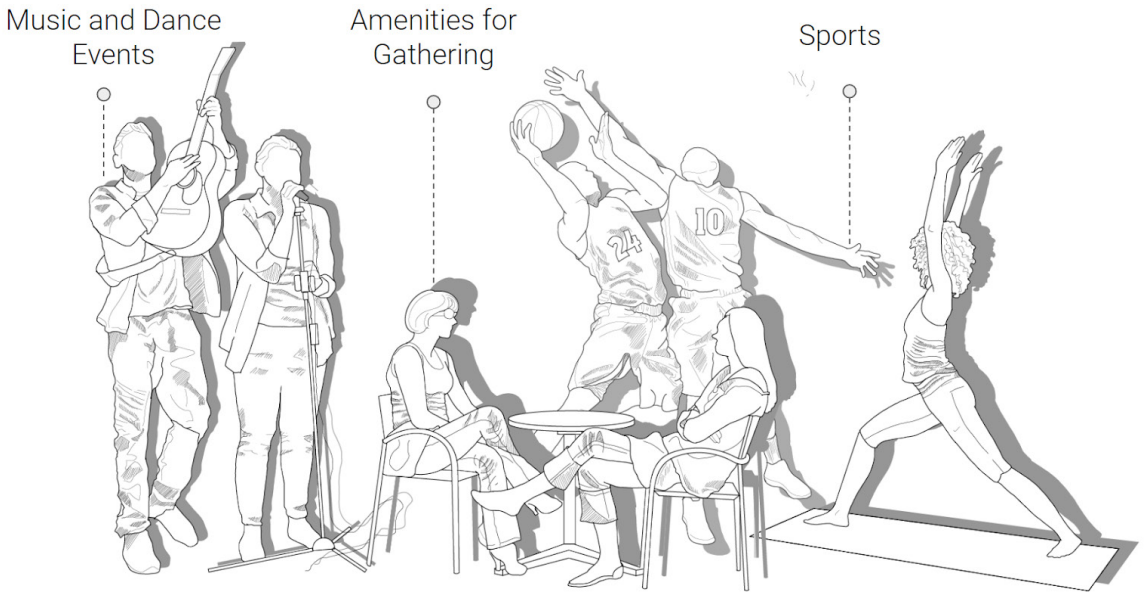


Demographics (2023).
A. An.

As part of this proposal, after school programming would be introduced to kickstart the project. This could take form of organized games of basketball, soccer, or stickball—a sport played on the streets during the early twentieth century and especially on the streets of San Juan Hill. The first phase—the very first street closure—would be initiated by a basketball game on the street; it would be self-directed as residents and students gain a better understanding of the street closure schedules. Nearby schools may donate sport equipment such as basketballs, basketball nets, etc. As the project moves forward, students may want to direct the use of the space themselves. A system of registration and "booking" the streets could be established to sign up for specific locations or areas by date and time.

The first phase of street closures would occur weekly on Fridays between 3 to 6pm. Not all three streets would close at once, but instead function on a rotating basis that considers the proximity, respectively, of West 65th and West 59th to certain schools, with Amsterdam Avenue easily accessible by all the schools. A rotation cycle could be as follows: first week West 65th, second week Amsterdam Avenue, third week West 59th, and fourth week back to Amsterdam Avenue, followed by the fifth week back on West 65th.





Time of occupation (2023). (Above)
A. An.

Programming (2023). (Left)
A. An.

Vision of the project underway (2023).
A. An.

Vision of reimagined street life along West 65th Street (2023).
A. An.

CONFRONTING HISTORIES OF VIOLENCE AND RESISTANCE: VISIBILITY, EDUCATION, AND MOSAIC ART IN LINCOLN SQUARE

Naomi Dressler, Maddie Hagan, and Sophia Haynes

At the core of Confronting Histories of Violence and Resistance: Visibility, Education, and Mosaic Art in Lincoln Square is a desire to make visible the history of racial violence and resistance that largely defined the San Juan Hill neighborhood in its early years. The proposal focuses on ten significant moments of violence that occurred throughout San Juan Hill between 1900 and 1917.

The moments of violence the project highlights are also stories of resistance in which residents used their space to actively rebel against oppressive forces. In these incidents, neighborhood residents' spatial and material surroundings became the sites of guerilla conflict and creative resistance. Contemporary historical newspapers reported that tenement occupants in the neighborhood stockpiled materials like bricks, bottles, flower pots, and plates on roofs to be used as projectiles when violence inevitably erupted. This guerilla use of space is a critical example of a complex history that has been lost through underrepresentation in media, archives, academia and more.

In addressing this lost history, and uncovering underrepresented narratives that involve historic claims to space and resistance through creative expression and self determination, the project recognizes and reckons with a complex past. By doing so, it seeks to spark justice-oriented learning and conversations about histories and realities of race, immigration-status, and socio-economic caste in the Lincoln Square neighborhood, and broadly facilitate a fuller understanding of the historic fabric.

KEY FINDINGS ADDRESSED

- CLAIM TO SPACE
- CONSTRUCTED VULNERABILITIES
- **REPEATED CHARACTERIZATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES**
- **DISPARATE POWER AND INFLUENCE**
- **SOCIAL-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION**
- **SPATIAL BARRIERS AND SEGREGATION**
- RESISTANCE THROUGH CREATIVE EXPRESSION AND SELF-DETERMINATION
- UNDERREPRESENTED NARRATIVES AND PUBLICS

BRICK AND BOTTLE VOLLEY.

Some One Wastes San Juan Hill Ammunition on a Parade.

BULLETS AND BRICKS FLY IN RACE RIOT

Torrents of missiles were hurled from roofs and windows.

Bricks and Flower Pots Hurled Down From Tenement Roofs.

HURL BRICKS FROM ROOFS

Detectives Have to Hold Prisoners Under Shed for Protection —Raid Follows Complaints.

Throwing of a Brick Causes Renewal of Race Riot in the San Juan Hill District.

Newspaper articles detailing "missiles" used during "riots" (2023).
M. Hagan. Source: New York Times, New York Tribune, The Baltimore Sun, New York Amsterdam News.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION AND PHASING

Phase 1: Markers

In phase one, the project takes the form of historical markers which commemorate moments of violence including major riots in San Juan Hill. Ten locations have been chosen, such as 241 W 60th Street, which represent some of the most important instances of violence. As can be seen in the renderings, these markers would be inlaid into the cement sidewalk blocks in front of their respective locations. They will have a brief description of what happened at the site and when. Surrounding the markers would be shards of salvaged brick, glassware, and pottery found around New York City. These material fragments would evoke the feeling that they were thrown from above and landed haphazardly around the plaque below, a visual representation of how Black residents defended themselves against White violence.

1. **213 W 62nd St. (Tuskegee Apartments)**
   Booker T. Washington Assaulted by White Man
2. **236 W 62nd St.**
   1905 "Riot" Breaks Out
3. **West End Ave. Between 62nd & 63rd St.**
   1900 "Riot" Breaks Out
4. **247 W 61st St.**
   1907 "Riot" Breaks Out After Woman Pours Pail of Water from Roof
5. **241 W 60th St.**
   Home of Thomas Jefferson Who Survived Attempted Lynching
6. **334 W 59th St.**
   James "Gimp" Parhan Shot and Killed by Police
7. **Corner of Amsterdam Ave. & 62nd St.**
   Projectiles Thrown onto White Political Club
8. **Corner of 65th & Amsterdam Ave.**
   Benjamin Hamilton Escapes Bar & 1917 Riot Breaks Out
9. **150-52 W 68th St.**
   Original Location of the 68th St. Police Station
10. **238 W 62nd St.**
    Home of Arthur Moody, Killed by Police in 1905 "Riot"

Marker sites map (2023).
M. Hagan and S. Haynes.

Example of marker text (241 W 60th Street)

241 West 60th Street: The home of an African American man named Thomas Jefferson who, on May 21, 1906, came close to being lynched in San Juan Hill. Jefferson was arrested and taken to the police station following a skirmish with two women inside of his San Juan Hill home. When the police car reached the station steps, Jefferson attempted to run south with police in pursuit. He was stopped by a White crowd who beat him to the ground, attempted to grab ropes and called for him to be lynched (New York Times 1906).

5 **241 W 60th St.**
Home of Thomas Jefferson Who Survived Attempted Lynching in 1906

Rendering of inlaid historical marker, 241 W 60th Street (2023). (Top-right)
N. Dressler.

Marker sites and walking tour route (2023).
M. Hagan.

Phase 2: Educational Program

Phase two, the educational program, is where connector organizations become involved. P.S. 199, who is directly included in the proposal, the West Side YMCA, and Manhattan Community Board 7s education branch could help make this proposal a reality.

This part of the project involves a two-day educational program with students from local school P.S. 199, working off of a pre-designed lesson plan that would be digitized and made public. Day one would consist of a general survey of San Juan Hill's history, and reading and discussion of primary source material, and excerpts from academic sources. A walking tour would then be conducted, seen on the map, to the locations of the markers, giving students the ability to spatialize the history. After the tour, there would be a facilitated discussion with questions like "Why do you think this history has largely been forgotten?" Students would be asked to ruminate on the first day's material before returning the next day for the mosaics.

LESSON PLAN COMPONENTS	
1. Historical Survey of San Juan Hill	Brief powerpoint presentation on the history of San Juan Hill which describes key details – see "Racial and Ethnic Conflict and Interracial Solidarity" in Appendix A, Historic Context Report
2. Selected Readings	Students would read two selected newspaper articles and excerpts from one selected secondary source.
3. Pre-Tour Discussion Questions	Example Questions for Discussion: • Why do you think this history has largely been forgotten? • What other histories does the history of San Juan Hill remind you of? • Why does knowing the history of racial violence in San Juan Hill matter, if at all?
4. Walking Tour	Students would be led on a tour in the neighborhood, going to different marker sites and spatializing the history they learned in Lesson Plan parts 1, 2, & 3. See Walking Tour Map.
5. Post-Tour Discussion Questions	Example Questions for Discussion: • How did walking to the sites, with the history you learned in mind, change how you view the neighborhood? • Do you think it is important to be able to see history?

Phase 3: Craft and Exhibition

After synthesizing the information they learned overnight, the students would be able to experience the materials in a hands-on way.

In phase three, students would have the opportunity to create a mosaic tile that represents their connection to and understanding of the history they learned. Looking at the example tile that was created, which depicts a tenement building, students would apply materials to their own tiles in a safe, controlled environment. After they are completed, the tiles would be added to the Amsterdam Avenue wall at Lincoln Center. In the center of these tiles would be an informational panel which discusses the project, as well as a map which would show where the historical markers are placed throughout the neighborhood. Connecting these two phases, visitors would be encouraged to walk through the neighborhood to visit the mapped locations.

Rendering of Lincoln Center's Amsterdam Ave wall with students' tiles (2023).
M. Hagan.

IMPLEMENTATION

In phase one, the project takes the form of historical markers which commemorate moments of violence including major riots in San Juan Hill. Ten locations have been chosen, such as 241 W 60th Street, which represent some of the most important instances of violence. As can be seen in the renderings, these markers would be inlaid into the cement sidewalk blocks in front of their respective locations. They will have a brief description of what happened at the site and when. Surrounding the markers would be shards of salvaged brick, glassware, and pottery found around New York City. These material fragments would evoke the feeling that they were thrown from above and landed haphazardly around the plaque below, a visual representation of how Black residents defended themselves against White violence.

Mosaic tile example–artistic interpretation of tenement (2023).
N. Dressler.

PROTOTYPE TESTING

To fully understand the process at hand, a model of a marker was created as a prototype, using salvaged materials and concrete.

First, material fragments were found in various locations around New York City. In order to foster a sense of authenticity to historical narrative, salvaged materials were constrained to glass, pottery, and brick.

Next, a box was constructed to serve as a mold for the sidewalk marker model. Due to weight and material limitations, the model that uses smaller dimensions. In application, this model would take up one individual segment of the sidewalk.

Concrete was then mixed and poured into the mold, using tools to ensure surface smoothness and even distribution.

Finally, material fragments were laid out and fixed into the wet concrete. In the center, a piece of sheet metal was placed to represent the historic marker.

After the pieces are inlaid into the concrete sidewalk, they would be smoothed over by pouring another concrete layer to ensure that the surface is even and that it does not pose any accessibility issues.

ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES AND RATIONALE

Looking to the future, the installation would have a semi-permanent approach. The product of phase one, the historical markers, would become a permanent part of the streetscape of the current Lincoln Square neighborhood. It is anticipated that phase three, the Amsterdam wall tiles, would stay up for a year.

Although historic markers have always been part of the preservation toolbox, the intention is that this creative application would allow for the full story of San Juan Hill to have a permanent place within Lincoln Square and draw a wider audience. The project seeks to fill a lacuna—the absence of early San Juan Hill history, especially the history of violence and resistance— in the neighborhood.

Closeup of material fragments (2023).
N. Dressler.

Collection of material fragments (2023).
N. Dressler.

Pouring concrete (2023).
N. Dressler.

Smoothing concrete (2023).
M. Hagan.

Final model (2023).
N. Dressler.

Mosaic tile prototype model (2023).
N. Dressler.

TAKE OVER THE STOOP

Stephanie Snell

Take over the Stoop proposes to reintroduce historic architectural features from the San Juan Hill era to activate the Lincoln Square neighborhood streetscape and reconcile the public-private divide. This proposal addresses the studio's key findings of claims to space and social-spatial transformation by blurring public-private spaces through stoop placement.

Historically, parks, recreation centers, and formal leisure space in the San Juan Hill area were not easily accessible to residents; therefore, residents relied on adapted typologies, which took the form of recreation spaces such as streets and vacant lots, and liminal places such as stoops, sidewalks, and windows for social activities. Later progressive-era purpose built typologies, such as the West 60th Street Bathhouse and 66th Street Playgrounds, aimed to improve previous issues of open space access for residents in tenement buildings..

The use of spaces such as streets, sidewalks, and stoops for recreation demonstrated residents' authority to adapt the area's space to their needs, such as playing games like stickball on streets. These activities and spaces were erased during the area's redevelopment, taking away residents' claim to space as well. In response to this history, Take Over the Stoop proposes recreating the destroyed stoops and reimagining them in new ways.

KEY FINDINGS ADDRESSED

- CLAIM TO SPACE
- CONSTRUCTED VULNERABILITIES
- REPEATED CHARACTERIZATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES
- DISPARATE POWER AND INFLUENCE
- SOCIAL-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION
- SPATIAL BARRIERS AND SEGREGATION
- RESISTANCE THROUGH CREATIVE EXPRESSION AND SELF-DETERMINATION
- UNDERREPRESENTED NARRATIVES AND PUBLICS

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

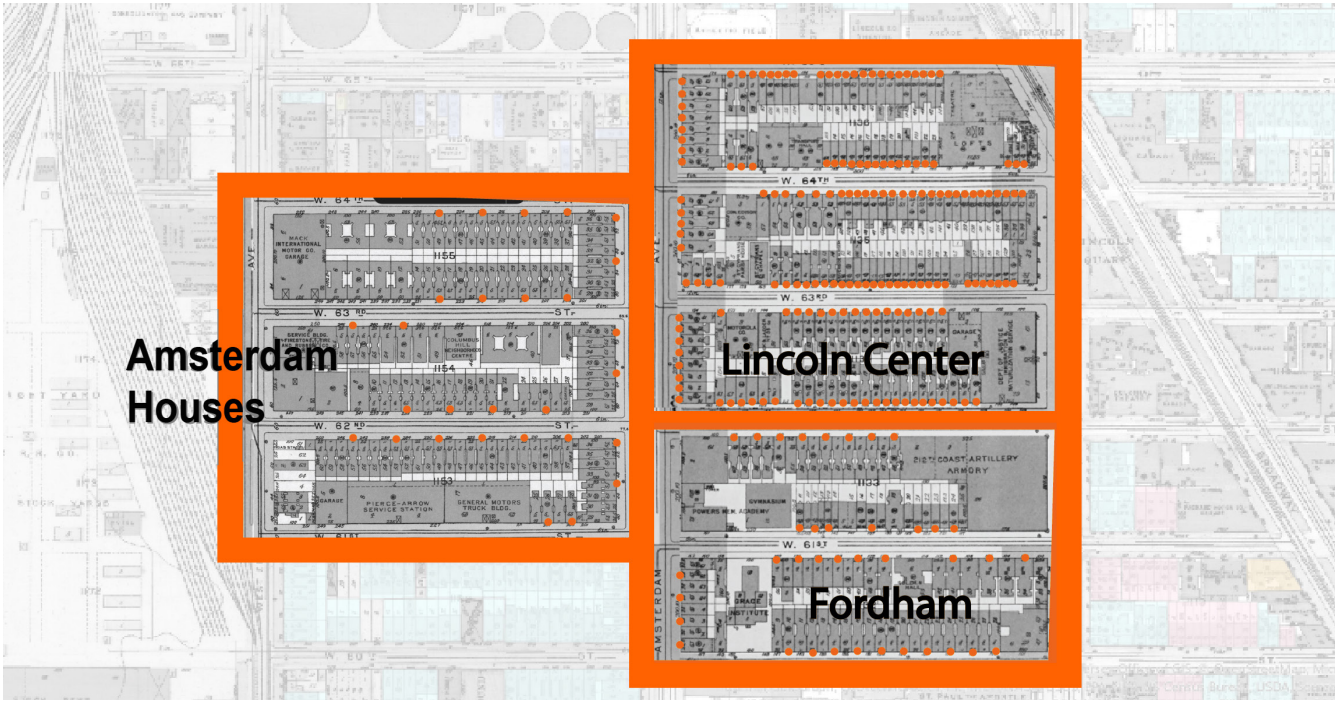
The focus area for this proposal is the superblocks: Lincoln Center, Amsterdam Houses, and Fordham University. Because the stoops were demolished as part of redevelopment, this proposal for restorative justice aims to recreate the stoops that were destroyed, placing them in the exact spots where they once stood, whether that be in contemporary interior or exterior contexts, blurring public-private barriers.

The stoops on Lincoln Center's and Fordham University's campuses would be tall, made of cast stone in order to imitate brownstone or brick. The stoops would match the original historic material and have protective railings. The stoops at the Amsterdam houses would still be made of cast stone and brick, but would look a bit more modern, giving the community more flexibility and symbolizing the future instead of the past.

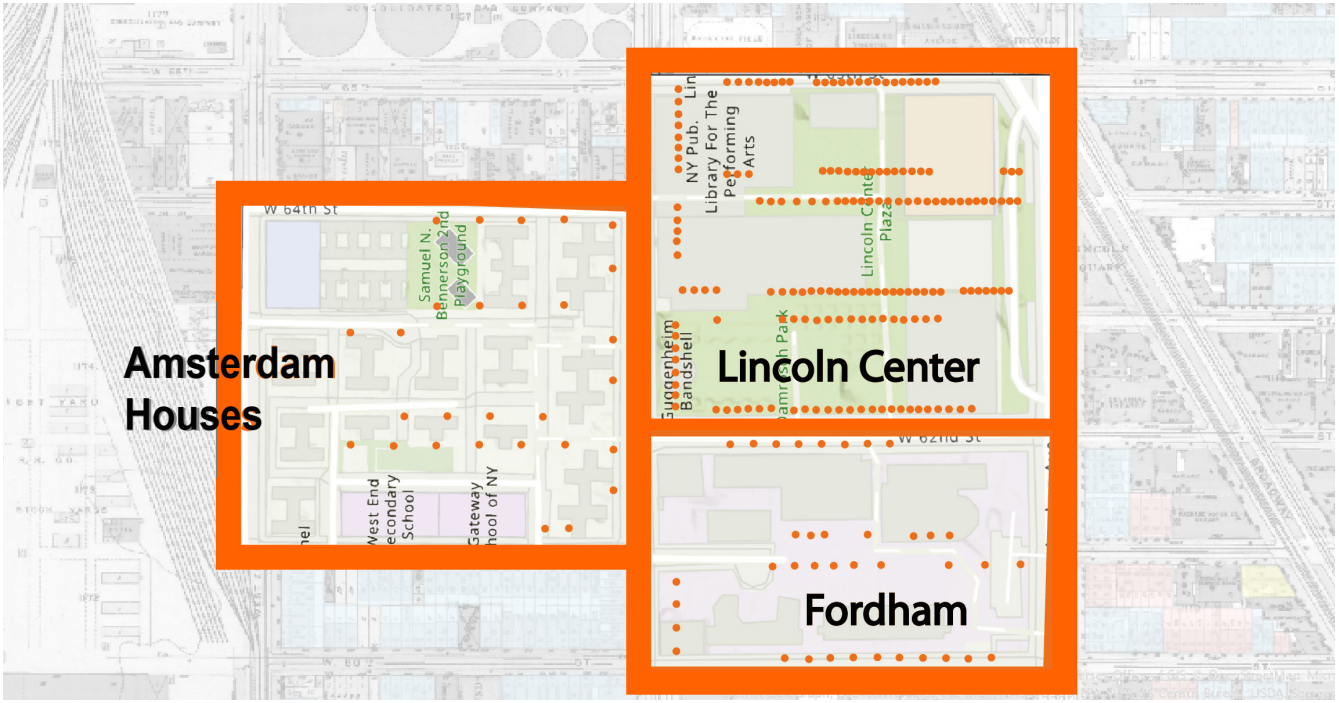
PHASING AND PLACEMENT

There would be two phases to this proposal. Initially, only 10 percent of the original stoops would be placed at Lincoln center, Amsterdam Houses and Fordham University. Over the next eighteen months, the number of stoops would increase until all stoops are in place. During this process, workshops would be held at Fordham University, educating the community of San Juan Hill's history and explaining why these stoops are being built. After another eighteen months, all stoops would be removed.

Please refer to the accompanying map of where stoops would be placed, once all phases of the proposal are complete.



Stoops destroyed by redevelopment, 1934 (2023).
S. Snell.



Stoop locations (2023).
S. Snell.

Lincoln Center

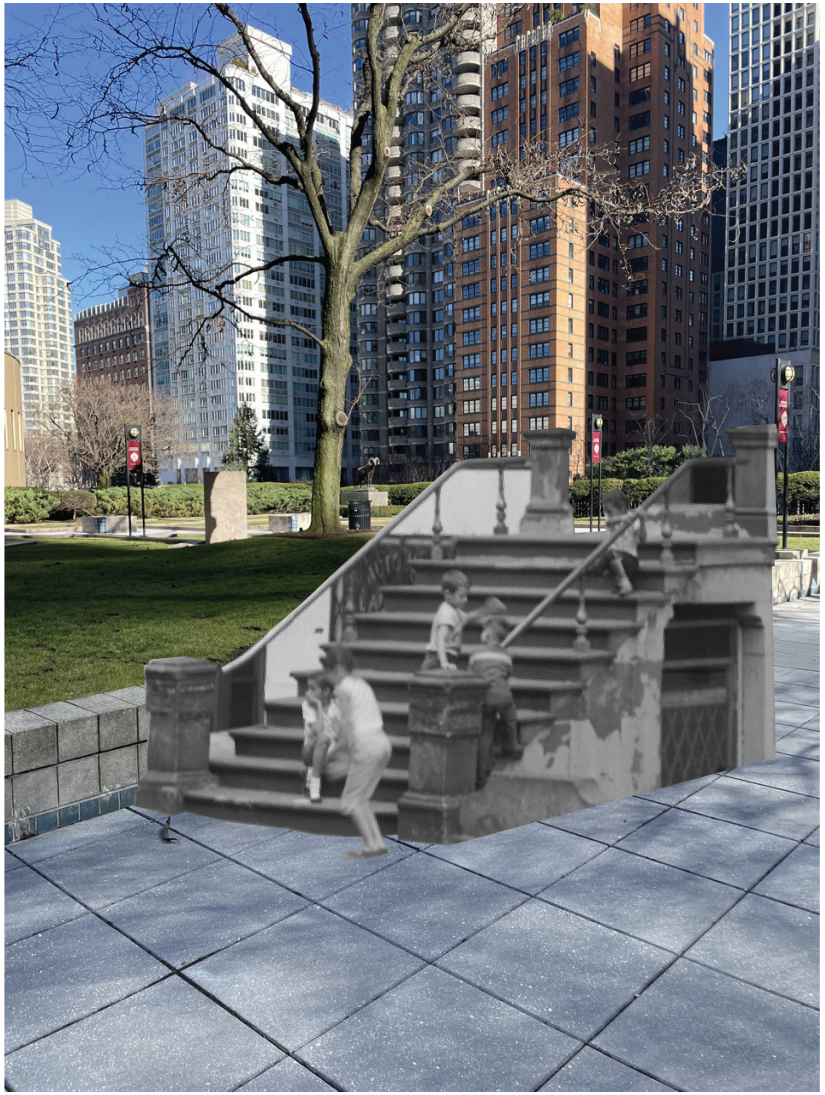
All stoops original to the pre-redevelopment architecture within present-day Lincoln Center's geography would be recreated and placed where each red dot is marked in the accompanying figure. The stoops are meant to be confrontational in this space, spurring engagement with the Lincoln Center community and purposefully creating a stark contrast between the historic gray stoops and the cream travertine buildings. The stoops would be intentionally placed inside the Metropolitan Opera House, the ballet theater, the underground parking garage, plazas, and even water features. The stoops are meant to function as public space and thus blur the lines between what is public and private.

Fordham University

At Fordham University, half of the original stoops will be placed on campus, in buildings, and ON the green plaza that sits above street level. These stoops are meant to engage students as a teaching tool, and acknowledge the past harms enacted in the community.

Amsterdam Houses

A quarter of the original stoops would be placed on the Amsterdam Houses grounds. Placing the stoops at the Amsterdam Houses is meant to commemorate the tenements and the people displaced from the neighborhood. This phase would involve a participatory survey to see whether residents desire stoop placement; should they agree, the stoops would be a place for gathering and creating community art. The stoops are initially meant to blend into the surrounding context, materially matching the Amsterdam Houses materials. But, over time, the community could take over the stoops, making it their own. Artists of all kinds could be invited to use the stoops as they wish, to host concerts and transform them into pieces of art for the community. So as artists literally "take over the stoop," they might evolve into something new.



Stoops at Fordham (2023).
S. Snell.

Stoops as community interaction spaces (1957-1958).
Committee on Slum Clearance.

FOLLOW THE LINE!

Pitchaya Kointarangkul

Follow the Line aims to ignite the public's awareness of the absence of San Juan Hill's history in the built environment . Since most of the spatial evidence of San Juan Hill has been gone since the 1960s, the project began with two questions: how might passersby know or even have a clue that this place was once the home of a historically multi-racial neighborhood with disproportionately Black residents who initiated a number of highly influential creative expressions and actions? Even though there are some current on-site exhibitions about San Juan Hill, how can such small and limited displays portray diverse stories of the entire community that happened within all of the buildings that disappeared when the Amsterdam Houses were built and when urban renewal projects took place?

Instead of presenting a straightforward narrative of San Juan Hill, this proposal encourages its audience members to move through the entire neighborhood to experience some frustration and confusion when they learn that some underrepresented narratives and publics were once here but have since been forgotten by many, some evidence of creative expression and self-determination once existed in this place but have since been erased, and some institutional claims to space did have great social impact but have no physical trace today.

KEY FINDINGS ADDRESSED

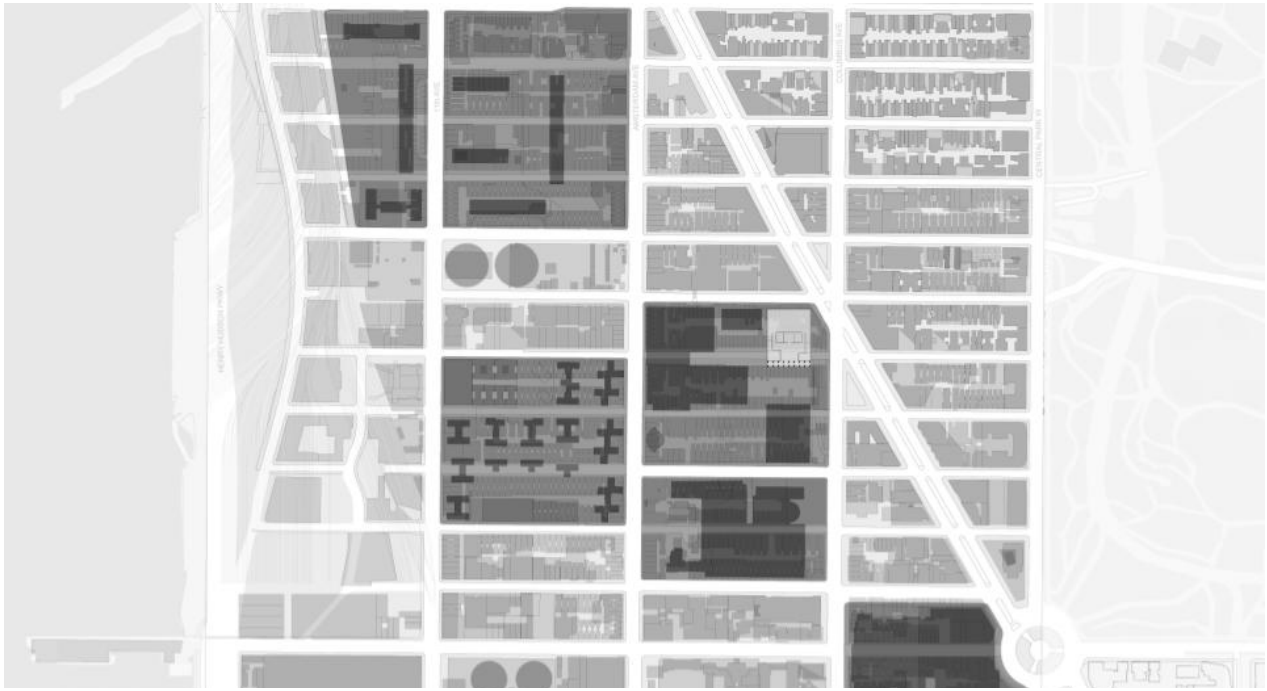
- » CLAIM TO SPACE
- » CONSTRUCTED VULNERABILITIES
- » REPEATED CHARACTERIZATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES
- » DISPARATE POWER AND INFLUENCE
- » SOCIAL-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION
- » SPATIAL BARRIERS AND SEGREGATION
- » RESISTANCE THROUGH CREATIVE EXPRESSION AND SELF-DETERMINATION
- » UNDERREPRESENTED NARRATIVES AND PUBLICS

BACKGROUND, SIGNIFICANCE, AND RATIONALE

The intention of this proposal is to address the fact that it is impossible to experience the history of San Juan Hill in today's neighborhood since there is almost no remaining evidence of the historical community, and there is barely an acknowledgment on the site. With a belief that it is neither historian nor preservationist, but the public who is the most suitable for identifying what should be preserved and remembered, this proposal decides to say nothing, since addressing something is to signify that this is worth remembering over something else. This proposal's aim is to generate discussion in order to inspire people to consider and decide what should be remembered.

Of all the buildings that were identified by the studio as spatial evidence of Black creative expression and self-determination—shops, local health organizations, churches, and homes—only one site survives, 242-244 West 61st Street. The urban renewal projects, new investors, and the migration out of the neighborhood led to the removal of most buildings, and the social and spatial fabric of the area drastically changed. Therefore, this proposal overlays the imaginary layer of the historic neighborhood onto the area today, generating a path through which audiences could experience the absence of all the spatial evidence mentioned above, and the transformation of the neighborhood's urban fabric.

Lincoln Center area today (2023).
P. Kointarangkul.



San Juan Hill and urban renewal projects (2023).
P. Kointarangkul.

242-244 West 61st Street, the only remaining spatial evidence of San Juan Hill's Black residents (2023).
P. Kointarangkul.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Positioning itself as a dialogue generator, this proposal's goal is to address the absence of spatial evidence of San Juan Hill with a light-touch approach. In order to do so, one single line is drawn throughout the neighborhood. This thin line, made of blackened bronze and embedded in the ground, begins in front of the Lincoln Center with the words "Follow to learn more about the history of this area prior to the construction of Lincoln Center." It runs up the stairs, cuts through the plaza, enters David Geffen Hall, and leads to the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts Archive's exhibition of San Juan Hill. By stopping at this modest exhibit near the beginning of the route, the project aims to encourage audience members to notice and question the general lack of acknowledgment of the former neighborhood in the area. Gradually leading the audience backwards chronologically, the line leaves Lincoln Center, running along the historical road to visit the site of urban renewal projects—Fordham University and the site of the Coliseum (now The Shops at Columbus Circle)—before cutting through the middle of Amsterdam Avenue, a once-defined racial divide, to emphasize the exclusionary experience of Black residents of the past. Here is the only location where the audience cannot literally "follow the line," they need to keep an eye on the line on the road while walking on the sidewalk of the west side of Amsterdam Avenue. Reaching the Amsterdam Houses, the line then explores the area that was once called "The Gut." It continues into the complex, and, since it follows what was once 62nd and 63rd Streets, it sometimes runs directly into buildings.

Back to Amsterdam Avenue, the line leaves the complex, turns right to 61st Street, and suddenly stops. Here, the audiences find themselves in front of the only remaining spatial evidence of the Black residents from the past: 242 and 244, the old law tenement on the West of Amsterdam Avenue. Along the route, the line passes by sites of two Black churches, one Black newspapers office, one theater, five Black-run health organizations, thirty Black-owned businesses, thirty-four basement clubs in "The Jungles," and more than a hundred tenements—however, only one building survives.

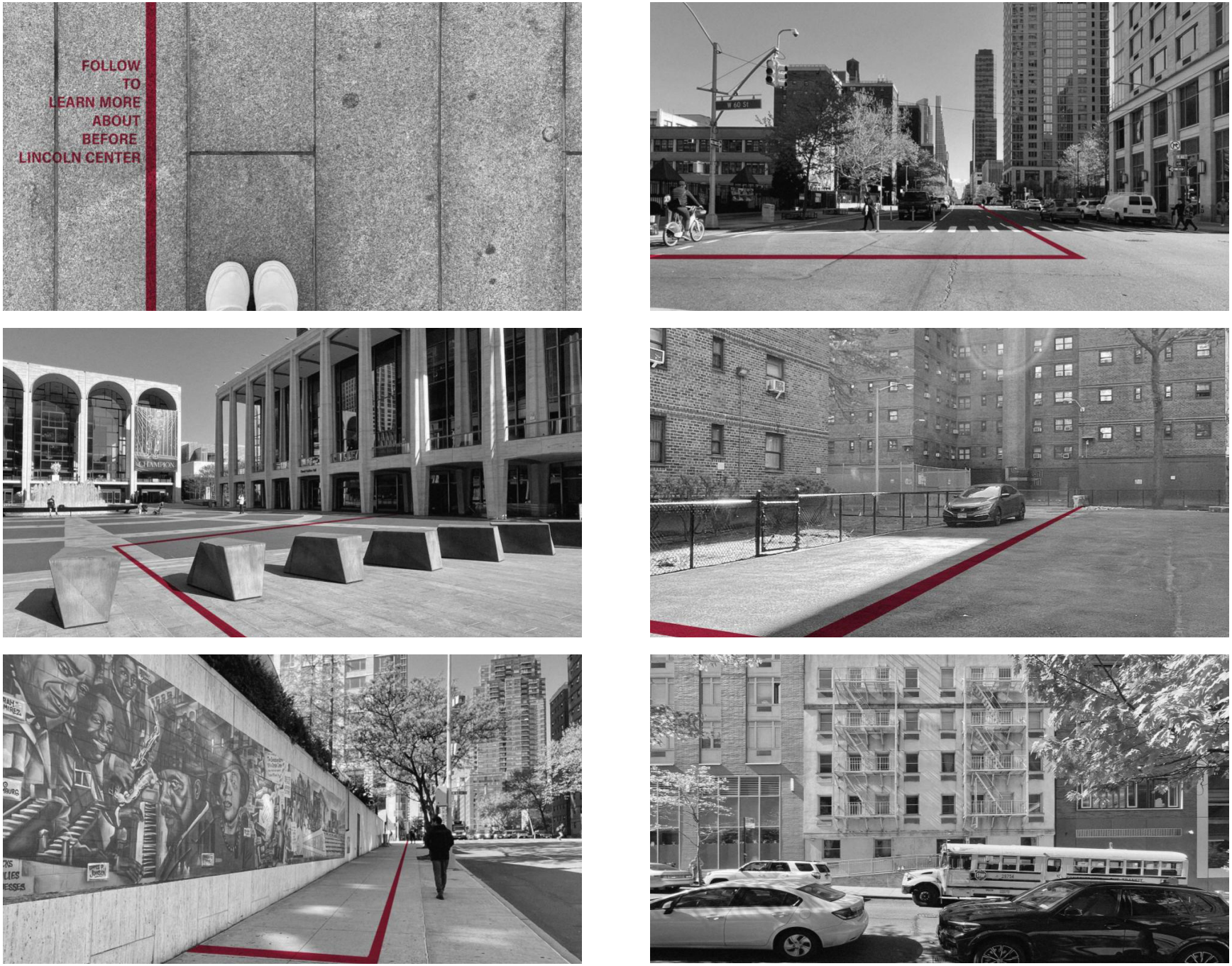
With the line, the invisibility of the history of San Juan Hill is addressed. The frustration and confusion the audience experiences, after following the line for miles and learning that—with only one remaining piece of evidence—that there is nothing here to be learned about San Juan Hill, will ignite questions that lead to a more thorough approach to the history of San Juan Hill. Rather than asking "what was here?" with the acknowledgment of the absence of history, a bigger question is brought to the table: what was here and why is it no longer here?

The first step in restoring justice is to create an acknowledgment of the erasure. Once the dialogue emerges, the people of this and pursuant generations would decide what should be acknowledged and remembered. This belief in highlighting the invisibility is expressed through the material of the line, blackened bronze, which is dark but polishable. The more people step on and follow the line, or in other words, the more people acknowledge the absence of history, the more this invisibility becomes visible.

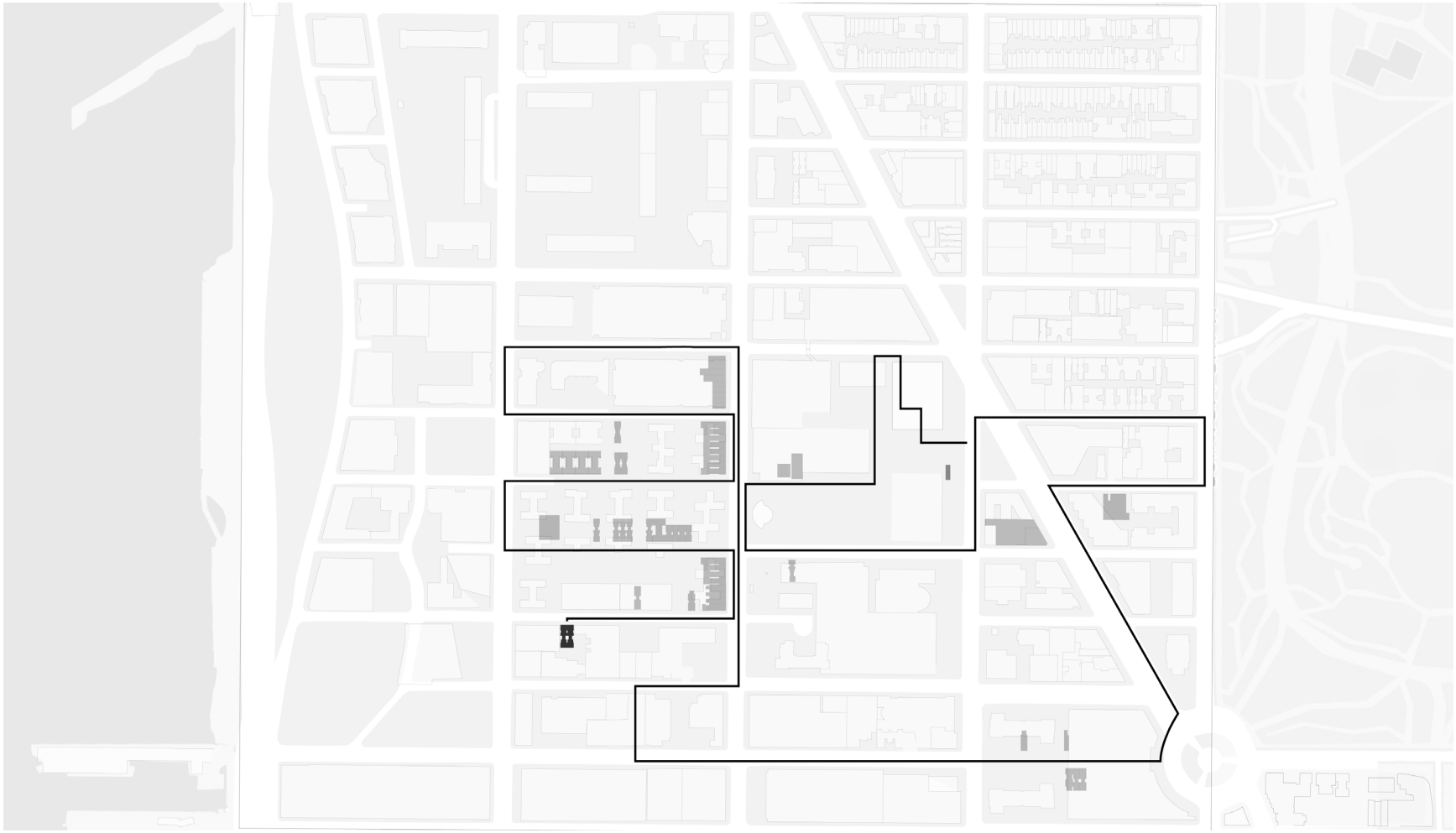
IMPLEMENTATION

While the movement through and the experience of the invisible history of the neighborhood are the main focus of the proposal, generating a dialogue, is another significant component that this proposal aims to achieve. Therefore, there are two components supporting each other in this proposal: one, the line that leads the audience to experience the absence of spatial evidence of San Juan Hill, and two, a webpage with a very brief description of San Juan Hill that functions as a window to access some history of the neighborhood. The online web page provides a link to an organization that is currently working on unearthing the long-lost story of San Juan Hill, Landmark West! With these two components, the audience acknowledges the invisibility of history and finds a connection to engage in a dialogue with the history of San Juan Hill.

Online site with a connector organization (2023).
P. Kointarangkul.



Follow the Line! (2023) Clockwise from top-left: Typical tag; Amsterdam Ave (2); 242-244 West 61 Street; Fordham University; Lincoln Center
P. Kointarangkul.



Route and assets (2023).
P. Kointarangkul.

Lincoln Center with Follow the Line! (2023).
P. Kointarangkul.

OFF THE PLANNER'S PAVEMENT: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF DESIRE PATHS IN REJECTION OF THE SUPERBLOCK

Esther Wagner

This proposal seeks to encourage residents of the Lincoln Square neighborhood to walk through areas otherwise off-limits, whether that barrier be perceived or actual. This would be achieved by knocking down the physical barriers that separate passersby and residents from open spaces.

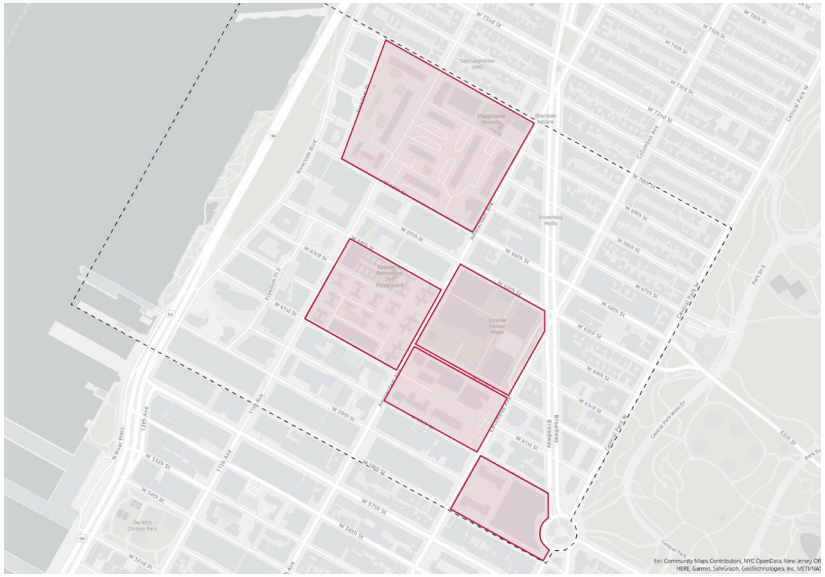
The redevelopment project for Lincoln Square was planned and enacted by urban planners and policy makers who did not represent the publics they were displacing, nor did those decision makers adequately address the potential consequences of urban renewal. The project was a clear misalignment of urban planning and neighborhood preservation and this proposal seeks to rectify this imbalance by restoring decision-making power to current residents.

The addition of three superblocks during the redevelopment stage irrevocably changed the footprint of the neighborhood, which once had short and narrow streets demonstrative of an easily accessible neighborhood. The superblocks, and the physical barriers they impose, heavily restrict access to open space and create long, roundabout walkways.

This proposal specifically uses methodologies that require the active and creative input of residents and workers in the study area, a courtesy not given to those residents the Lincoln Square Urban Renewal plan displaced.

KEY FINDINGS ADDRESSED

- » CLAIM TO SPACE
- » CONSTRUCTED VULNERABILITIES
- » REPEATED CHARACTERIZATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES
- » DISPARATE POWER AND INFLUENCE
- » SOCIAL-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION
- » SPATIAL BARRIERS AND SEGREGATION
- » RESISTANCE THROUGH CREATIVE EXPRESSION AND SELF-DETERMINATION
- » UNDERREPRESENTED NARRATIVES AND PUBLICS



Map of current superblocks in the study area (2023).
E. Wagner

BACKGROUND, SIGNIFICANCE, AND RATIONALE

The Lincoln Square Developement Project is a fascinating example of exclusionary urban planning. It targeted so-called blighted areas where marginalized populations, such as those in San Juan Hill, made their home before Robert Moses and other wealthy philanthropists proposed the Lincoln Center and Lincoln Towers projects. The plan razed swaths of the neighborhood, building instead a beacon of luxury and cultural refinement with Lincoln Center as a lure for middle- to upper-income residents. In reality, these redevelopment projects replaced a functioning and active neighborhood

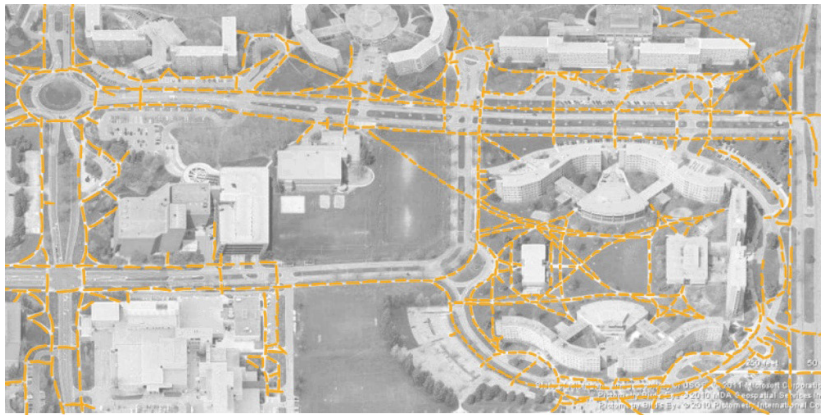
with a collection of superblocks and physical barriers, reinforcing income segregation and economic drivers of "community" building.

The sociological benefits ascribed through Jane Jacobs' neighborhood philosophy insist that healthy, thriving cities are the product of messy, sometimes chaotic, evolution (King 2013). These were some of the defining attributes of San Juan Hill and contributed to its highly social atmosphere. "The positioning of doors, paths, and common spaces has been shown to predict social contact" and stipulates that proximity of these spaces to one another is directly proportional to the perceived "neighborliness" of a community (Michelson 1970). The footprint of San Juan Hill was consistently taken advantage of by community members, establishing informal meetings spaces and social gatherings and significantly contributed to the neighborhood's liveliness.

The addition of four superblocks and the fences and walls introduced during Lincoln Square's redevelopment not only displaced San Juan Hill's residents and business owners, but also ensured the newly built environment would not engage with an active neighborhood outside the enclosure of Lincoln Center's theaters. The new physical layout of the study area is simply not conducive to the sociological benefits San Juan Hill once afforded. Not only are the socio-economic barriers clear injustices underpinning in the neighborhood, but these superblocks greatly restrict ease of physical access, especially for those west of Amsterdam Avenue.

BACKGROUND, SIGNIFICANCE, AND RATIONALE

The nature of "desire paths" is a rejection of the pavement laid out by the planners—in essence, a rejection of the attempts to manipulate a neighborhood into something fabricated and machined. They illustrate the evolving relationship between people and place and bring to the surface a small yet noticeable retroactive resistance to the urban renewal plans. Desire paths also demonstrate the efforts of a community working together, rather than planners working against a community. A few desire paths have already been established in the Lincoln Square neighborhood, specifically to find shortcuts through Lincoln Center. The use of Lincoln Center's garage–a dimly lit, uninspired parking structure directly under the center–can be used to cut across the superblock to and from the 66th Street/Lincoln Center Subway station. This demonstrates a need and desire for shortcuts. This proposal seeks to build upon those attempts, and resurface the needs and determination of the neighborhood. The implementation of desire paths would give voice and choice back to residents of the area.



Michigan State University map of desire paths (2023).
E. Wagner

This proposal draws inspiration from the successful implementation of desire paths at Michigan State University. University architects and planners left the 123-acre campus grounds unpaved (aside from roadways) with the explicit expectation that students and staff would define the most efficient paths to their destinations. Before long, dozens of desire paths were formed, and these were later paved into official walkways. Michigan State University has often been referenced as an innovative and favorable execution of landscape planning, and students, faculty, staff, and community members seem to agree. The application of desire paths, especially in areas with large amounts of open space, has been determined to be undeniably successful and creates a unique and inclusive environment.

For this proposal, the people who would be treading the actual desire paths would be the most common users of the area, as desire paths are formed by the repetitive walking patterns of people:

- **Residents of the neighborhood.** This would most likely include residents of the Amsterdam Houses, as their open greenspace and walkways would be reopened, residents of Lincoln Towers, students of Fordham University or John Jay College dorming in the area, and residents of other apartment complexes immediately surrounding the mapped open space.
- **Workers,** who may not reside locally but commute to the area.

IMPLEMENTATION

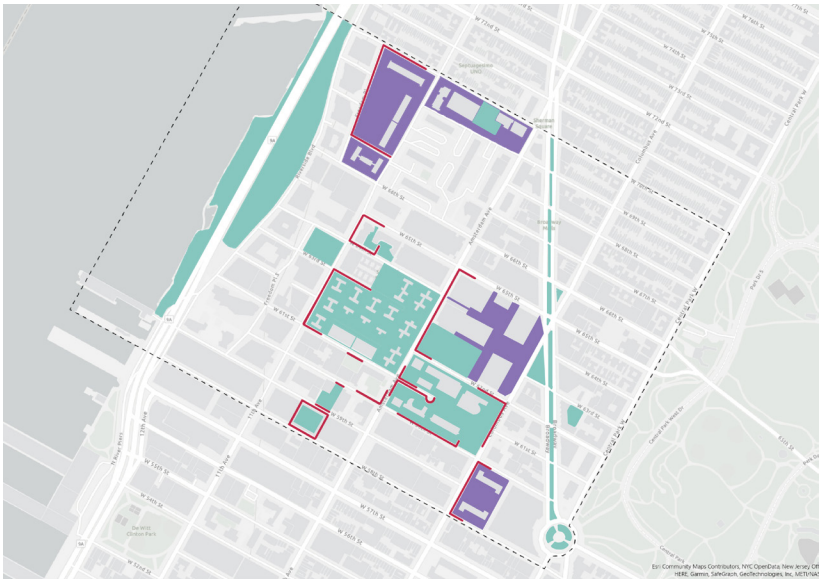
Phase 1: Knock Down the Wall

The walls and fences identified in the accompanying map have been determined as hindrances to efficient foot traffic as well as physical barriers between communities within the study area. These barriers would either be removed or altered in order to facilitate the use of open space.

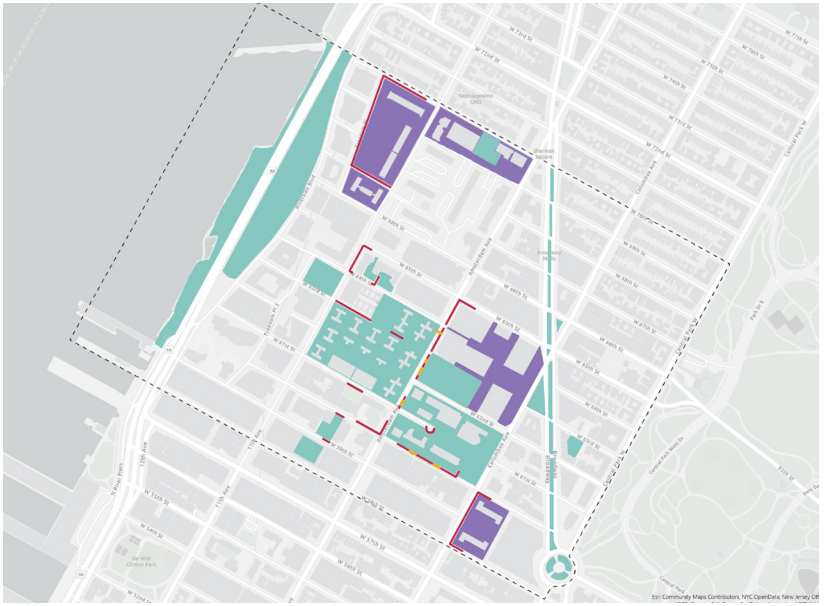
The main entry points proposed are those of Lincoln Center and Fordham University. Fordham University currently has many areas of greenspace that are closed off to the public by large fences and gates. Many of these green spaces are within street view, but only accessible through the private buildings of the University, therefore completely off-limits without some form of Fordham University identification. These gates would be taken down, allowing entry from the street.

The Lincoln Center wall along Amsterdam Avenue, which stretches from 62nd to 65th Street, is a blatant example of division in the community. Because this wall is structural, and there is a parking garage directly underneath the center, demolishing it entirely seems unfeasible. Therefore, two additional points of entry would be added to the wall: one near the corner of 62nd Street, leading directly into Damrosch Park, and another closer to 65th Street, allowing access to the raised platform of Lincoln Center near the Library for Performing Arts. The entrance to Damrosch Park would be a grand staircase with an attached ramp for accessibility. The entrance would be wide and brightly colored, drawing attention to itself and highlighting the injustice of the wall. Landscaping within Damrosch Park would accommodate this new entrance, ensuring that it does not look like a mere backdoor entry point.

A skybridge would be added to the entrance near 65th Street, based on the design of the 2012 skybridge connecting Lincoln Center with Julliard. This would create architectural continuity between Lincoln Center and the Amsterdam Houses, as their current design and materials are in stark contrast to one another. The skybridge would also be brightly colored, again drawing attention to itself and ensuring it is noticeable as a point of entry to Lincoln Center. On the west side of Amsterdam Avenue, the entrance to the skybridge would be on the sidewalk, with stairs and an elevator leading to the platform.



Map of spatial barriers currently in study area. The purple space is privately owned open space (2023).
E. Wagner



Map of proposed alterations to barriers in the study area (2023).
E. Wagner

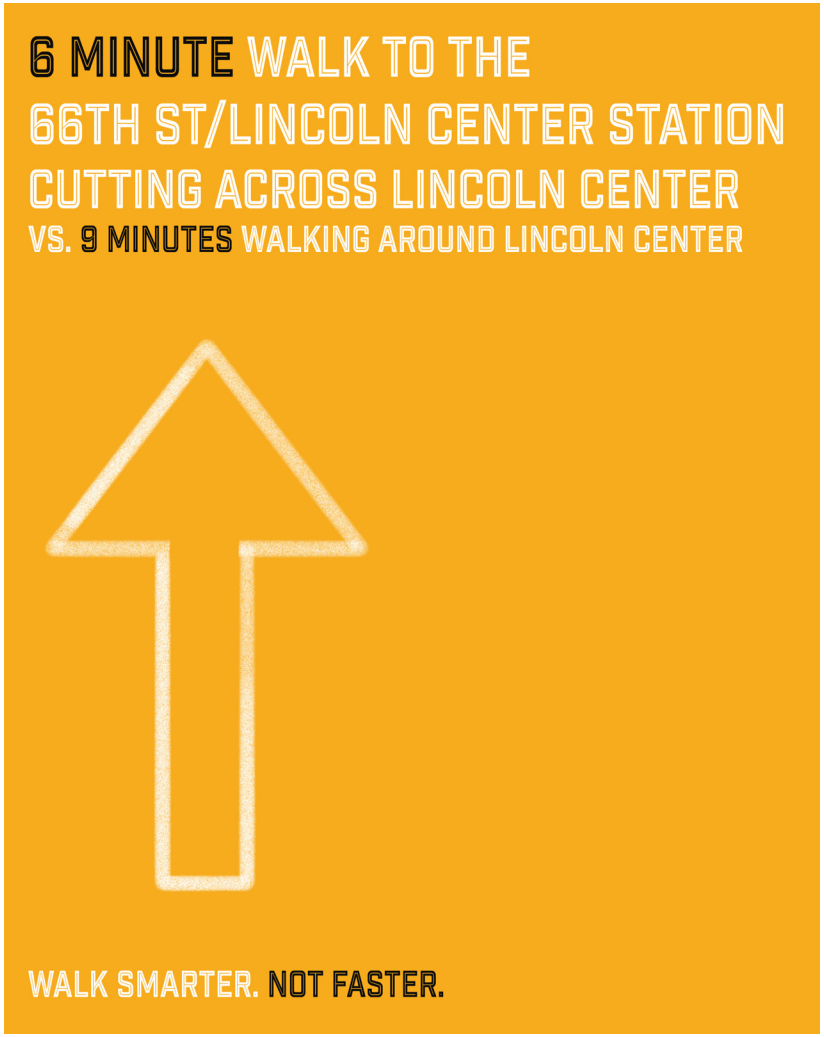
Sketch of proposed Damrosch Park entry stairs (not drawn to scale) (2023).
E. Wagner

Sketch of Skybridge connecting the west of Amsterdam Avenue to Lincoln Center (2023).
E. Wagner

Phase 2: Provide Wayfinding Signage for New Shortcuts

Removing walls and fences may not be enough incentive to bring publics into open spaces that have been restricted for many decades. The second phase of the proposal would attempt to ensure open space is welcoming, informative, and utilized, even by those who have been historically excluded from accessing these spaces since their construction. To accomplish this, graphic wayfinding signage would be posted throughout the neighborhood to direct foot traffic through possible alternative routes off the paved paths. The signs would depict comparative time data collected from the newly acquired shortcuts and the former roundabout routes, emphasizing the time saved. The accompanying wayfinding sign example explains a shortcut through one of the new entrances to Lincoln Center via Amsterdam Ave.

The signs would be installed semi-permanently, as once the desire paths are paved, wayfinding may no longer be a necessity.



Potential wayfinding sign to be posted around the study area for several different destinations and data points (2023).
E. Wagner

Phase 3: Let the People Do Their Thing

The project would then allow community members and commuters to use the newly accessible open space and walkways as they see fit, creating their own desire paths. This phase is expected to last approximately three months before the paths start becoming visible. However, it may take longer or shorter, depending on the status of certain permits or on the visibility of the paths.

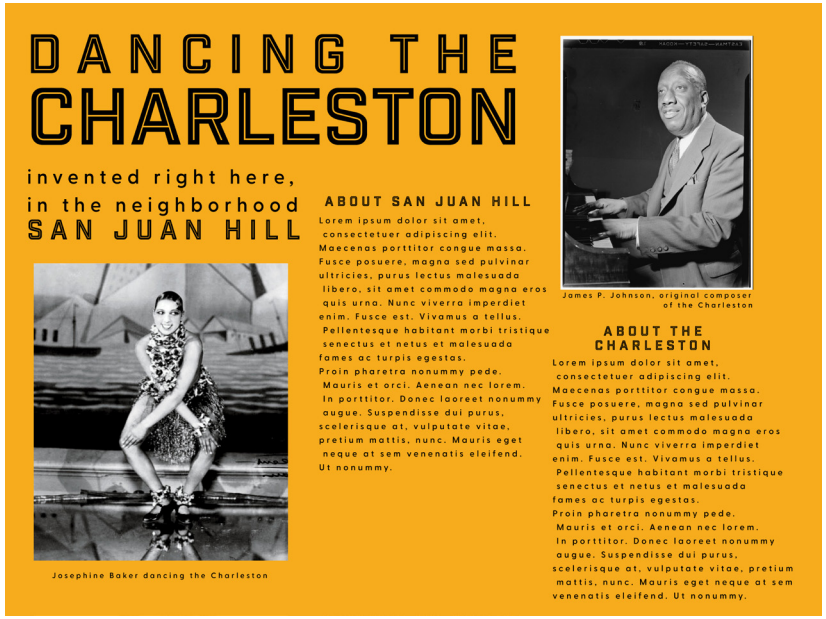
Phase 4: Pave the New Way

The final phase would be paving or demarcating the desire paths formed by residents and publics of the Lincoln Square neighborhood, to reinforce the permanence of a plan enacted by the neighborhood and not policy makers. Ideally, the desire paths would demonstrate the paths of least resistance for multiple demographics throughout the area, but specifically, residents or daily commuters of the area who have traveled the paths over and over and left their ephemeral footprints.

The paved paths themselves would be incorporated into a permanent tribute to the previous neighborhood of San Juan Hill and the cultural contributions the community made. The different paths and newly installed entry ways would be brightly colored, standing out from the architectural landscape, especially the stark white walls of Lincoln Center and brick barriers and black gates/fences of Amsterdam Houses and Fordham University.

The new pathways would be accompanied by permanent infographics, complimenting the graphics exhibited on the pavement. While not everyone may stop to read such infographics, it nevertheless makes the information available to all who walk by. And use of the new pavement in effect constitutes a rejection of histories of prescriptive planning.

Proposed infographic style and type to newly paved desire paths, the history of the Charleston dance highlighted in this particular example (2023).
E. Wagner



Design for permanent infographics accompanying the newly paved desire paths. This example recounts the history of the Charleston dance and its significance in the San Juan Hill neighborhood (2023).
E. Wagner

POTENTIAL PARTNER ORGANIZATIONS

Lincoln Center - Lincoln Center would have to give permission for the structural changes to the Amsterdam Avenue wall, but they would also be a resource for archival research and community engagement. Their own employees and visitors would be participants in and may also benefit from this proposal.

Amsterdam Houses - Similar to Lincoln Center, the Amsterdam Houses would be undergoing construction and pavement changes to accommodate new desire paths; and the input of their residents, like the employees of Lincoln Center, would determine where these new paths lead.

Community Board 7- The community board could play a role in assisting with permits, community hearings, and ensuring safety is accounted for with the development of the desire paths, such as implementing appropriate lighting.

NYC Department of Parks and Recreation - The Parks Department would act as a government body, assisting with permitting and legalees, especially in reference to the changes made to Damrosch Park.

New Yorkers for Parks - New Yorker for Parks shares a very similar mission to that of this proposal, and could provide invaluable insight to the process of ensuring safe, accessible open space within the study area, as well as aid in raising awareness and funding for the project.

Paved desire path within Amsterdam Houses (2023).
E. Wagner

HISTORIC NARRATIVES KIOSK

Roberro E. Villasante

Until recently, much of the history of San Juan Hill was largely unknown to the general public and to the current Lincoln Square neighborhood's now predominantly White residents. Even if known, the dominant narratives of the last century have been largely biased and skewed against the Black, Puerto Rican, and immigrant populations that called this place home. In seeking to activate restorative justice in the neighborhood, this proposal seeks to counternarrate these negative histories and educate current residents about the lives that once characterized their neighborhood. This proposal addresses and highlights underrepresented narratives and publics, to counteract the repeated and reinforced characterizations told throughout history, and to engage the local community in specific sites of significance.

KEY FINDINGS ADDRESSED

- » CLAIM TO SPACE
- » CONSTRUCTED VULNERABILITIES
- » REPEATED CHARACTERIZATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES
- » DISPARATE POWER AND INFLUENCE
- » SOCIAL-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION
- » SPATIAL BARRIERS AND SEGREGATION
- » RESISTANCE THROUGH CREATIVE EXPRESSION AND SELF-DETERMINATION
- » UNDERREPRESENTED NARRATIVES AND PUBLICS

BACKGROUND, SIGNIFICANCE, AND RATIONALE

The proposed spatial intervention draws inspiration from Lizania Cruz's "We the News" project. Her work took the form of "a traveling newsstand that documents, publishes, and distributes the stories of Black im/migrants and first-generation Black Americans." (Cruz n.d.) In a similar vein, this proposal is intended to travel throughout what was once San Juan Hill—and its surrounding neighborhood—and tell the story of the people and places that once inhabited the area. The goal is to approach restorative justice in a manner that is not static, but rather evolving and growing as the neighborhood has evolved and grown. By creating an object in space that moves from location to location, individuals are given an opportunity to engage with various sites in a new way while also preventing the urban camouflaging that may result from its continued presence.

DESCRIPTION

This proposal would involve the installation of a Historic Narratives Kiosk in locations relevant to San Juan Hill's history. Envisioned as a project under Landmark West's "The Many Lives of San Juan Hill," this kiosk would provide an opportunity for individuals, particularly the current residents of the neighborhood, to engage with the history of a given site and learn about San Juan Hill as a whole through various narratives. It would serve as an opportunity for this now predominantly White, privileged populace to confront the histories of their neighborhood and the disenfranchisement of its former residents.

The kiosk would house several pamphlets centered around its current site of interest and a narrative relevant to it. One pamphlet, for example, would show a comparative analysis of what was once there and what exists now, highlighting the forgotten histories of a given site. Another would serve as a curated discussion of broader topics which are thematically rooted in the site's history. Additionally, a section dedicated to where the kiosk would be next would also give individuals the opportunity to submit questions or stories pertaining to the next site and help generate curatorial topics. This would serve as an expansion of Landmark West's current submission section on their webpage dedicated to San Juan Hill.

Kiosk Front Elevation (2023).
R.E. Villasante.

Mockup of New York Amsterdam News pamphlet layout (2023).
R.E. Villasante.

The kiosk would also provide a brief introduction to San Juan Hill and its surrounding neighborhood, envisioned to be a condensed version of this report. This would be a permanent element of the kiosk as it moves throughout the neighborhood, giving individuals an opportunity to understand the broader history of San Juan Hill.

WHAT WAS SAN JUAN HILL?

ABOUT

San Juan Hill was a neighborhood located in the West 60s of Manhattan. Loosely defined as being between 59th and 66th Streets and Twelfth and Columbus Avenues, this neighborhood has largely been lost to time. For the past half-century, there has been little acknowledgment of it outside of references to "West Side Story." The eastern and northern boundaries shift. The demographics are generalized. And various accounts describe this neighborhood of tenements and factories as "Hells Kitchen North," "Battle Row," "10th Ave. Hill," "Clinton Hill," "The Tenderloin," a "Red Light District," (among even less flattering names), and most commonly, "Slum."

Regardless of the reality, the last epithet is the one that stuck because after being designated a slum, the City of New York was allowed to take possession under the 1949 Housing Act. This maneuver displaced thousands of families in exchange for several internationally-renowned institutions. Our growing body of research explores the full history, but Landmark West has identified July 1, 1968, when a judge ruled the neighborhood a slum sealing its destruction as the period of significance.

RESIDENTS + PUBLICS

Before the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts occupied its current location, the area housed various historically marginalized communities, including the Black and Puerto Rican populations. The presence of these vulnerable communities responded to racial displacement, economic necessity, and sociopolitical factors, among others. San Juan Hill's characterization by the media for their race and economic status, shaped public perceptions of these populations and ultimately reinforced, justified, and catalyzed efforts of redevelopment in San Juan Hill. Facing persistent patterns of racial discrimination, hostility, and violence, these groups lacked the authority to claim and occupy space in the city, and more specifically, San Juan Hill. However, the Black and Puerto Rican populations countered the discrimination in varied forms of resilience and strength established through their communities. The movement of these populations to San Juan Hill also reflects migration and settlement patterns seen throughout Manhattan. While differing in the approach of attempting to occupy space, the Black and Puerto Rican population –along with other foreign-born groups in the area– demonstrated how networks of aid can further develop the goals and aspirations of a community. The spaces and institutions that characterized these networks, in the forms of healthcare, educational, recreational, and civic organizations, are critical to understanding the formed strength and sense of community in the San Juan Hill neighborhood. Even after the redevelopment of Lincoln Center, some of these vulnerable communities remained, although with limited representation; their presence, however, cement the histories and narratives of resilience and oppression well beyond the displacement patterns from San Juan Hill.

RACIAL + ETHNIC TENSION

Manhattan's San Juan Hill district, described in a 1908 article as a "sharp declivity" containing "one of the largest negro colonies in New York," was the site of racial violence, criminal activity, and police brutality in the early to mid-twentieth century. From about 1890 to 1930, Black and White residents were consistently in tension, leading to violence and strife that earned the neighborhood its name. Observers argued that the filled area was a constant battlefield that hosted climactic "riots," particularly in the densest Black section labeled "the gut" on 61st, 62nd, and 63rd Streets between Amsterdam and West End Avenues. Racial prejudice and infighting was exasperated by class politics, police abuses, organized crime, and an informal segregation of space that created racialized boundaries that were not to be crossed. While San Juan Hill's history is a story of immense struggle, White supremacy, and violence, it was also a place that birthed spaces of Black culture, advocacy, and joy. As racial dynamics changed in the 1930s with Black people moving to Harlem and Puerto Rican people moving to San Juan Hill, new racial dynamics were explored, though the fundamental lack of historical documentation or reporting on the Puerto Rican community is indicative of subtle racism and institutional discrimination.

HOUSING

Housing in the San Juan Hill Lincoln Square area was ever changing between the typology of the housing, the tenements that lived inside, the fluctuating rents and weary conditions. The evolving residential character changes in pre- and post- development of Lincoln Square. The housing quality of old law tenements were unsanitary and inhumane and created a movement for model tenements which were not much better. Projects like Amsterdam Houses and Phipps Houses tried to create affordable housing at two different points of time but still caused unjust actions against the Black people who lived there. Lincoln Center destroyed a large section of San Juan Hill in an unjust plan because of the racist use of the word "slum" and Blight, when the poor were not being helped. There were disparities in racial treatment of certain tenements, affordability, and there was a lot of housing discrimination for Black and Latine residents.

OPEN SPACE + TOPOGRAPHY

Throughout San Juan Hill's history, topography and open space were critical to the development of the neighborhood's identity and built landscape, significantly influencing the everyday life of its residents. Whether used for leisure or recreation, as a venue for street-vending or soap-boxing, open spaces served as a venue for social, physical, and economic interaction and conflict. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the construction of the Commissioners' Plan's street-grid exacerbated land vulnerabilities within the western portion of San Juan Hill. To build graded and paved streets over the area's uneven topography, rocky hills were slightly leveled and waterways and valleys were filled in, leaving a smoother yet still varied elevation. The infilling of waterways created areas of saturated earth along Central Park West; these land vulnerabilities rendered sought-after parkside real-estate unsuitable for development and depreciated their value. The lack of economic interest in the area, and thus lack of traditional development, allowed for the rise of improvised, self-built dwellings from the 1860s through to the early 1900s. The extension of the IRT subway line to Columbus Circle in 1904 brought the development of expensive apartment buildings, displacing economically vulnerable residents and establishing an economic divide that persists today.

As wealthy residents moved into the parkside area, the predominantly Black, immigrant, and low-income communities in the western bounds became increasingly harassed in by over-policing of open space, racial violence between residents, and concerns over traffic and pedestrian safety. These racial and physical barriers largely precluded San Juan Hill residents from accessing open spaces, such as Central Park, that were concentrated in the eastern portion of the study area. The lack of designated open space available prompted residents to adapt everyday for social interaction, leisure, and active recreation.; On stoops and sidewalks, in streets and empty lots, and from windows, residents created adapted open spaces to fill their needs. Although they were created by residents who did not have accessible purpose-built alternatives, adapted spaces were vilified as problematic to public safety and hygiene by police, city officials, and developers. Arguments for urban renewal leveraged negative perceptions of San Juan Hill's spatial use and Black and Latine residents to bolster the rationale of superblock developments.

COMMERCE + INDUSTRY

Housing discrimination and explosive population growth shaped the conditions of San Juan Hill's Black business community. Caribbean West Indies immigrants carved out a space in the grocery business, while Spanish speaking Caribbean islanders were unique in their political literacy. The development of its docks and railyards triggered rapid industrial clustering whose distribution corresponded with racial segregation. Heavy-polluting industries were located west of Amsterdam Avenue, where there was a higher concentration of Black residents, and lesser-polluting industries gathered near less diverse and more affluent Central Park West. This reinforced the existing environmental racism patent in Black renters being legally restricted to an industry area facing the highly polluted waters of the Hudson River. Sustained domestic migration and waves of unprecedented European immigration created a diverse but extremely fraught social environment. Black residents were particularly disadvantaged by racist discrimination and violence. Food related businesses were an opportunity industry before urban renewal. The high involvement of West Indian immigrants with groceries, contemporary sources attribute to the popularity of Black food, and the lack of private kitchens made access to inexpensive food indispensable to daily life. Informal economic activities in basement clubs and rent parties created additional cash flow and safe spaces for this community. Puerto Ricans would begin to arrive as Black New Yorkers fled to Harlem avoiding housing discrimination. The mixed-use buildings that housed the small scale businesses that minorities could own (often of West Indian Caribbean descent) were either demolished or replaced by buildings of a larger scale that served more affluent residents. During the area's "urban renewal", the scale of buildings increased and the previous business typologies were lost as commercial corridors were wiped out except on Broadway.

RELIGION

An analysis of religious institutions in the San Juan Hill area is essential to understand the changes in the urban space of the site, pre- and post-urban renewal. The religious pluralism, composed of Roman Catholic, Baptist, Episcopalian, and Judaism, is a clear example of the demographic diversity in the area, but also of the segregation of the public that attended each institution, where black communities were excluded from white organizations.

A relevant factor when studying these institutions is their functionality within the neighborhood. This functionality was not limited to spiritual care but played a fundamental role in the well-being of the most disadvantaged and segregated communities, being an enabler of changes that responded to the needs of citizens within a social, educational, health, and economic context. Thanks to the efforts of many of these organizations, led by personalities who were truly important and loved by the community, there was a significant improvement in San Juan Hill's most marginalized quality of life. Together, they created a safety net and a resilient community while fighting inequality, regardless of their religious affiliations.

Although many of these institutions were displaced from San Juan Hill due to last century's aggressive redevelopment policies and population shifts, today, some remain active and still serve their community that thrived in other areas of New York despite the injustice that they had to overcome.

HEALTH + WELFARE

During the first half of the 20th century, San Juan Hill was considered one of the most densely occupied residential areas in New York City. High rates of poverty, infectious diseases, and high mortality rates for women and children troubled the Black residents in the neighborhood. This drew the attention of medical workers, philanthropists, and institutions. Medical services in San Juan Hill could be categorized into institutional services and localized services. Large institutions were equipped with the most advanced treatment technology as well as renowned doctors, but the racial and economic barriers limited their access to some groups of local residents. Despite the operation of these organizations, uneven city-wide distribution of medical resources, gaps in access to institutional health services, and the existence of racial bias in medical practices distressed the largely Black population in the early 20th century. Localized services were clinics and settlements that operated on a smaller scale. With active outreach and local doctors and nurses, they served as the primary health service providers of the people of San Juan Hill. San Juan Hill also saw the emergence of maternity medical services and infant care funded by prominent women in New York society. This suggests women's active participation in health and social welfare through patronage. Services funded by female patrons encouraged women's employment by establishing kindergartens and daycare, giving the mothers more flexibility in their schedules and more control over their families' finances. Many female medical workers also played a vital role in clinics and settlements. Black female medical pioneers like Elizabeth Tyler, Edith Carter, and Jessie Sleet Scales were key figures who worked in San Juan Hill in the early 1900s. They were the ones that reached out to residents and treated patients with infectious diseases in the pre-antibiotic age. Their contribution to the San Juan Hill community also meant dispelling concerns and barriers between medical workers and patients when so many African Americans were abused by institutional medical treatment and research.

EDUCATION + CHILDCARE

In San Juan Hill, education has been linked to religion and economics, both of which have played a large part in how educational resources have changed since the early 1900s. Over time, the variety of educational resources available to the public has improved, with programs from libraries, schools, and community centers providing learning opportunities for people of all ages and backgrounds. Educators used several approaches to bring educational resources to the African American and Puerto Rican communities, utilizing resources from both public and private organizations to help those in need. From the early emphasis on trade schools, which focused on educating children for work in manual labor and service trades, to the post-redevelopment focus on higher education, the available educational resources have shown how San Juan Hill has changed over time. Throughout the multiple phases of redevelopment in the area, education has come to be and remained a priority in the San Juan Hill neighborhood.

MUSIC, MOVEMENT, + PERFORMING ARTS

Long before the development of Lincoln Center, and its ideas of appropriate art forms, San Juan Hill was a booming artistic community, deeply rooted in its diversified and eclectic culture stemming from its residents' origins. Integral forms of creative expression within the community were often manifested through music, movement, and the performing arts. These types of artistic statements were exhibited in both formal and informal spaces throughout San Juan Hill's built environment, such as dance halls, nightclubs, theaters, and apartments, also known as "rent parties". San Juan Hill, and a significant number of the theaters that birthed these everlasting art forms, would inevitably be razed and redeveloped into what is widely now known as Lincoln Center, a highly formalized cultural institution that showcases specific euro-centric types of arts. However, due to the extensive artistic assertions developed within the community, all that is gone is not entirely lost.

MEDIA + REPRESENTATION

In the early twentieth century, racist trends and patterns of reporting in news media about the San Juan Hill neighborhood led to the success of urban renewal projects and the construction of Lincoln Center. The repeated use of negative media portrayals, such as verbiage characterizing the neighborhood as a "slum," were used as justification for the demolition and redevelopment of the architectural fabric of the area and displacement of its residents. At the same time, Black news media was thriving in the form of The New York Amsterdam News, which got its start in San Juan Hill, and The New York Age. These periodicals discussed racial inequity, everyday goings-on in the lives of Black New Yorkers, as well as in-depth analyses of current affairs with an eye toward broader social and political change and police reform.

Preservation is a privilege; the relative dearth of archival material about San Juan Hill is evidence of the disenfranchisement and inaccessibility of the community to preserve and archive their heritage in their own terms. Racism and exclusion in media representation over time are in large part responsible. Community organizations, theaters, churches, schools and career training institutes were all razed in the 1940s and 1950s to make way for Lincoln Center and Amsterdam Houses. By uncovering the voices of the media from the community of San Juan Hill and attempts to archive their stories in their own words, we can start to piece together a restorative media slant, one which celebrates and honors the Black, Puerto Rican, Latine, immigrant and lower income communities who were displaced. By highlighting the racist media trends from mainstream news sources inherent throughout the early and mid-twentieth century, we can thread the story of endorsed and repeated media patterns which led to San Juan Hill's demise.

REDEVELOPMENT + DECISION-MAKING DRIVERS

The redevelopment of San Juan Hill is often associated with the construction of the multi-million dollar Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts from 1955 to 1969. As a core illustration of outwardly successful urban renewal, it stands as a colossal cultural complex spread across three blocks and hosting renowned institutions such as the Juilliard School of Music and the New York Philharmonic. Opened in 1962, following the wishes of John D. Rockefeller III, the center is cited in literature as being the trigger for most redevelopment in the larger surrounding area.

Although the project was central in crafting a new socio-cultural vision for the neighborhood with long-lasting impacts to this day, it is crucial to recontextualize such development as being a part of a larger process of targeted incremental urban changes during the post-war period, starting with the construction of the Amsterdam Houses in 1948. In the context of New York City, redevelopment projects were presented as undertaking necessary 'site improvements'. However, under the guise of turning the city into a world capital, 'slum clearance' projects instead demolished entire multicultural neighborhoods, such as San Juan Hill, and instead replaced them with White-oriented urban centers.

Spatial claims over the neighborhood were blatant expressions of power imbalances that disempowered local communities. Decision-makers such as the Slum Clearance Committee and stakeholders such as John Rockefeller III found ways to gain the upper hand in regulating the land-use of the neighborhood. Such an overtly unilateral process led to the sweeping displacement of former communities, who remained unheard throughout the various redevelopment endeavors in the neighborhood.

PRESERVATION

The sense of cultural superiority which directed the construction of Lincoln Center was a pervasive component in efforts, or lack thereof, to preserve the neighborhood of San Juan Hill during the time of the redevelopment and for the following several decades. The actualization of shifts in political thinking in regards to landmarks and the historical integrity of the city, almost immediately following San Juan Hill's urban renewal, were still overwhelmingly concerned with conserving the ideology of Lincoln Square, a neighborhood of luxury and refinement, which replaced the "slums" of San Juan Hill. Trends which will become evident in the National Register of Historic Places and New York City Landmarks designations illustrate considerable neglect for the culture of San Juan Hill, in favor of buildings and centers more aligned with the specific socio-cultural ideologies of urban renewal and modern luxury, oversights which greatly contributed to the near total erasure of San Juan Hill from the collective memory of New York. However, in the last decade, interest in the pre-Lincoln Center history of the neighborhood has surged and have brought to the forefront stories, voices, and buildings that have been disregarded. Lincoln Center itself has begun programming rich with cultural diversity and sensitivity for the inequality faced by the residents displaced by the Lincoln Square urban renewal. While many of these projects to uncover the history and life in San Juan Hill are socio-cultural in scope, there is still an overwhelming emphasis on the materiality of sites in regards to periods of significance for landmarking, thus unduly steering the historic narratives of the Upper West Side away from San Juan Hill. Methodology which critically examines how heritage and culture cannot be divorced from space, whether the community is past or presently extant, has informed efforts for restorative justice and reexamining the narrative of the Upper West Side.

Pamphlet mockup: About San Juan Hill (2023).
R.E. Villasante.

Pamphlet cover design: About the Project (2023).
R.E. Villasante.

Another permanent element would be a pamphlet explaining the project and its goals. This pamphlet may change to include a map of where the kiosk has been and any locations that have been selected to come next. The primary aim of this section of the kiosk is to introduce visitors to the bigger picture of what they are seeing, and help them understand that this is an ongoing project seeking to uncover a larger, hidden history. In other words, the goal is to answer the question many passersby may have: "What am I looking at?"

IMPLEMENTATION

As the kiosk is being installed in a given location, an event would be held by Landmark West! in collaboration with relevant local organizations, such as the New York Society for Ethical Culture, the West Side YMCA, or Lincoln Center, as a way to invite local community members to engage with the kiosk and to educate them on the histories being told. This would include presentations that would be available to view online. The goal of these events would be to bring the current residents of the neighborhood into the discussion of these histories and to serve as a method of advertising the kiosk's new location.

Conceptual kiosk event hosted by New York Society for Ethical Culture (2023).
R.E. Villasante.

Pamphlet mockup: David Geffen Hall on Lincoln Center's Campus (2023).
R.E. Villasante.

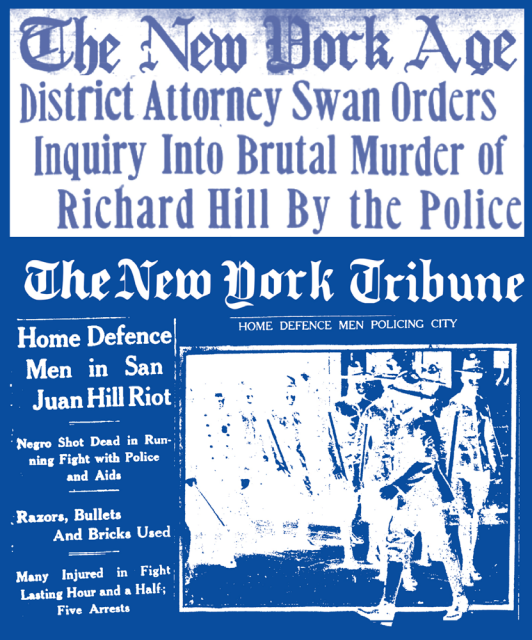
Photograph of 134 West 65th Street with birthplace of New York Amsterdam News (130 W 65th Street) visible beside it (1940).
NYC Tax Department.

Among the sites selected would be the birthplace of the New York Amsterdam News, now the site of Geffen Hall on Lincoln Center's Campus. Here, the kiosk would tell the story of the still-prominent Black media outlet and use it as a vehicle through which a curator may disseminate information regarding the racially divided media bias leading up to the area's redevelopment.

HOW MEDIA BIAS SHAPED SAN JUAN HILL

By Drew Citron & Roberto E. Villasante

In the early twentieth century, factors including The Great Migration, racial prejudice, quality housing shortages and rental increases in the African American neighborhoods of Greenwich Village and the Tenderloin, caused many Black New Yorkers to push northward to an area between 59th and 70th Streets, bounded by Central Park West and the Hudson River. This square became known as "**San Juan Hill**," a derogatory moniker harkening to the Buffalo Soldiers in Cuba during the Spanish War. This name drew from rumors of constant racial violence in the area, common between the Black and Irish immigrant communities living on either side of Amsterdam Avenue. The name "**San Juan Hill**" in and of itself belies a negative trend in media and representation of the area—one which was counteracted by Black news media at the time. There were multiple attempts by **The New York Age**, for instance, to rename the neighborhood "Columbus Hill," efforts which were ignored by White news media. The White news media, as represented by **The New York Times, NY Herald Tribune, Newsday** and others, did the majority of their reporting about S**an Juan Hill** through the lens of violent crime, disorder, and poor, unsanitary housing conditions. There was ample discussion in both the White and Black news media about the need for improved tenant conditions and housing quality; whether or not the tenants themselves or the landlords were to blame depended on the media source. To celebrate the opening of Amsterdam Houses in 1941, **The New York Amsterdam News** ran a story titled "Saying Goodbye to Slums," noting singing, dancing and celebrating from "both races." As evidenced in both the Black and White news media, repeated coverage relating to slum conditions in **San Juan Hill** directly correlated to the general public's view of the area, and the subsequent success of urban renewal schemes such as The Amsterdam Houses and Lincoln Center redevelopments.


The New York Age

District Attorney Swan Orders Inquiry Into Brutal Murder of Richard Hill By the Police

The New York Tribune

Home Defence Men in San Juan Hill Riot

Negro Shot Dead in Running Fight with Police and Aids

Razors, Bullets And Bricks Used

Many Injured in Fight Lasting Hour and a Half; Five Arrests

HOME DEFENCE MEN POLICING CITY

In reporting local events, particularly acts of violence between constituents and police, **The New York Age** and **New York Amsterdam News** reported the facts as they happened and presented the public with names and locations of victims and perpetrators. For instance, in the case of Richard Hill's murder by a police officer during the melee of a race riot in 1917, the **NY Tribune** reports mainly about the need for order and a bolstered Federal guard presence. The persistent focus in reporting on the difficulties of a White police force attempting to quell a riotous population are a constant theme in the White news media of the time.

The New York Age's coverage of this same incident focuses instead on the political implications of police violence and the need for District Attorney Swan to address and punish such heinous acts. Publishing, writing and disseminating information were all important modes of dissent and community-building among Black New Yorkers in the early part of the twentieth century. **San Juan Hill** was a seminal place for this work. And although crime reporting in particular may have been more unbiased in the Black papers, the sheer volume of terms in all media sources characterizing **San Juan Hill** as a neighborhood riddled with violence undoubtedly influenced public perceptions of the neighborhood.

One of the most notable occurrences to affect the physical and social character of **San Juan Hill** was the redevelopment project of the early half of the twentieth century and the construction of Lincoln Center. The reception to this redevelopment in its contemporary era was mixed, with some praising the erasure of these local "slums" in favor of performing arts centers and others criticizing the demolition of a vibrant neighborhood. This mixed reception often split along racial lines with respect to media coverage.

The narratives that were promoted by the White media publications during this period continue to persist today through curatorial archival work. An example of this can be found on the New York Philharmonic's website. The performance entity has a page dedicated to a freely accessible scan of a scrapbook from their archives. This scrapbook is made up of numerous newspaper clippings which feature articles discussing the Lincoln Center project between 1957 and 1958. Across these clippings, the articles are largely positive and exclusively pulled from White publications. Among the clippings can be found writings primarily pulled from the **New York Times, New York Herald Tribune**, and **Daily News**. Not one article was written by authors at the **New York Age** or **New York Amsterdam News**, two very prominent Black periodicals of that era.

The scrapbook presents a narrative in which public disdain served as an initial thorn for Lincoln Square but, soon after, the sentiment shifted towards a positive one. Although there is clearly a large presence of articles discussing the pleas of the public against the project, the curation of the scrapbook presents them as colorful elements of a happy story. This is further exacerbated by the exclusion of Black publications, presenting a singular lens through which one can look into this history. And it is not as if articles from this small date range of 1958-1959 do not exist within Black media. An article in the **New York Age** titled "The Theater, Old and New is Exhibition's Theme..." published on January 24, 1959, for example, mentions how a preview of the Lincoln Center project will be showcased alongside pieces relating to Black theater history in an exhibition at the Museum of the City of New York. This is just one simple—and even positive—example of how Lincoln Center was being advertised to the public and forming a connection to Black theater culture which would certainly be relevant to the scrapbook's narrative.

Two more examples that speak more directly to the Lincoln Center project can be found in the April 19, 1958 issue of the **New York Amsterdam News**. The first, entitled "Promise Tenants Fair Treatment," discusses how many Black and Puerto Rican tenants will need to vacate their homes in order to construct Lincoln Center and how they will be forced out of their homes contingent on a Court of Appeals ruling on a suit brought forward by said tenants. The second, entitled "Negro Supervises Project Relocation," discusses the "scandal ridden" Bureau of Real Estate's decision to appoint a Black real estate manager to supervise relocation and demolition for the Lincoln Center project as a rally was simultaneously held in protest of the subsidy being granted to Fordham University as part of the Lincoln Center project. The exclusion of these articles, and any of similar publications, hurts the historical reading of these events and perpetuates a White narrative of triumph. Or, at the very least, it excludes the voices of the community that were being directly affected.

Pamphlet mockup: New York Amsterdam News Narrative (2023).
R.E. Villasante.

Pamphlet mockup: Here Stood the New York Amsterdam News (2023).
R.E. Villasante.

Kiosk at former location of the New York Amsterdam News (2023).
R.E. Villasante.

30 Lincoln Plaza (2023).
R.E. Villasante.

Front façade of Daly's 63rd Street Theatre (1940).
NYC Tax Department.

Another site would be that of Daly's 63rd Street theater, now an open plaza for an apartment complex. Here the kiosk would tell the story of Shuffle Along—one of the first musicals written, directed, and performed entirely by African-American artists that debuted at the theater—and discuss the legacy of Black performance arts in San Juan Hill.

SHUFFLE ALONG AND THE GREAT WHITE WAY

BY MOISA WROY & BROOKE MARINOVICH

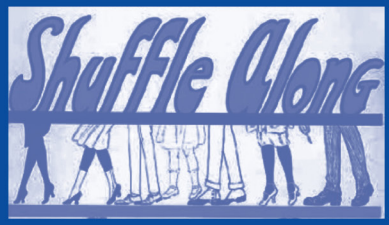
Before Johnson's Runnin' Wild took the stage, another monumental success happened within the community of **San Juan Hill**: the creation of the famed Broadway musical, **Shuffle Along** in 1921. A phenomenon in its day, it was one of the first musicals written, directed, and performed entirely by African American artists. Composed and written by the prolific duo, Eubie Blake and Noble Sissle, **Shuffle Along** is a landmark in musical theater.

When the show was first proposed, White theater owners had expected **Shuffle Along** to be a fast flop and furthermore, purposefully denied it a Times Square theater location. The soon-to-be hit musical was relegated to the less fashionable **Daly's 63rd Street Theatre**, right in the heart of **San Juan Hill**. Caseen Gaines, who wrote Footnotes: The Black Artists Who Rewrote the Rules of the Great White Way, states, "**Shuffle Along** is an amazing moment in our history. You can draw a horizontal line to what musical theatre sounded like before 1921 and after". Due to the contagious music by Blake and Sissle, energetic and unprecedented movements, and overall clever comedic relief, **Shuffle Along** was quickly recognized as a monumental production that would lead to significant leverage and momentum within the Black arts community. Despite the preliminary limitations and injustices set against the Black artists developing this production, such as the denied Times Square location, lack of proper orchestral space at **Daly's**, and the overall conditions of theaters proposed for the show's location, this showcases a direct correlation to the influence that Black artists imposed on the performing arts community. Their influences and artistic brilliance would ascend well beyond the boundaries of San Juan Hill.

Daly's 63rd Street Theatre, around the same time as **Shuffle Along**, had been known for its risque plays, such as "Red Dust," "White Cargo," and most notably "Sex," a 1926 play written by and starring Mae West, who used the pen name "Jane Mast" at the time. The play only received bad reviews, and was eventually shut down by the NYPD due to obscenity and the main actress was arrested momentarily due to the impropriety. It was perceived that **Daly's** was not Broadway, potentially because of the risque work that was not seen as a proper artform and thus, Shuffle Along being relegated to this theater by extension may show how black artists were associated with a less than proper style of theater. **Shuffle Along** debuted in 1921 with an all-Black creative team and cast that introduced jazz, The Charleston, and African American performers to the Broadway stage. It became a phenomenon among the community and soon was opened to mixed-race audiences as White Americans flocked to see the show. While it was considered to be a Broadway musical, it was distanced from the other various Broadway theaters.

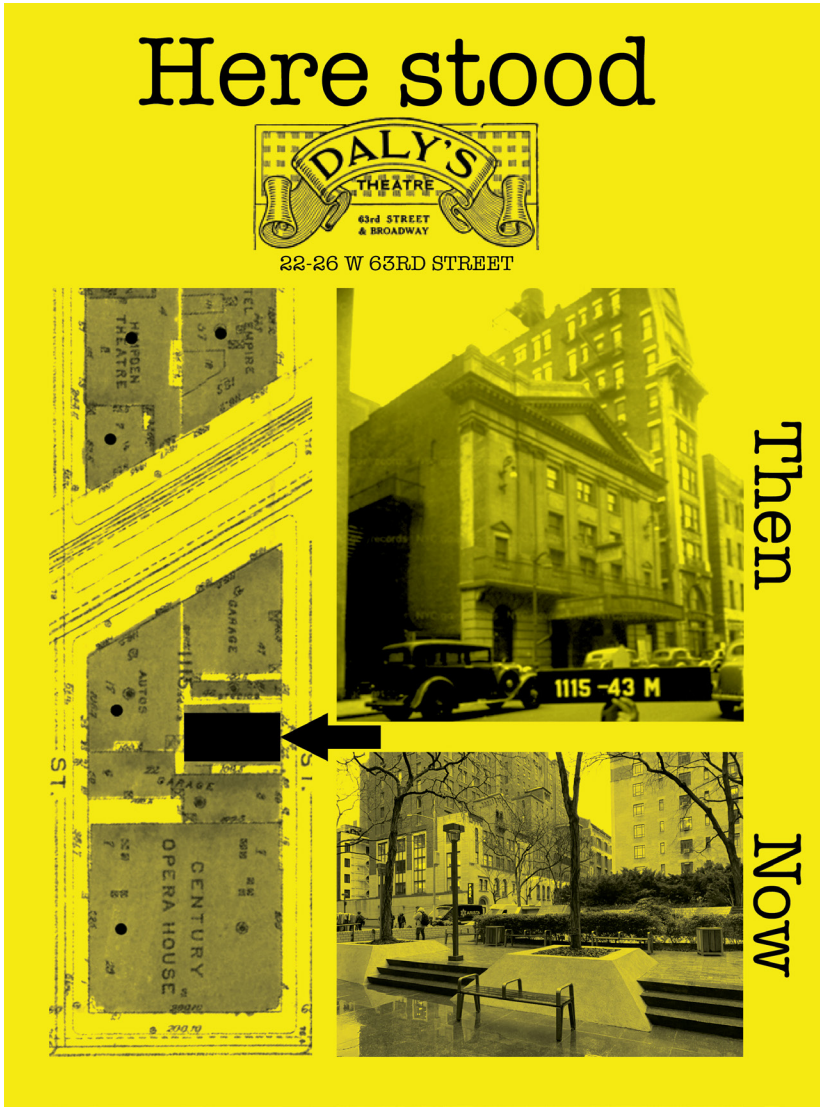
The success and acclaim of **Shuffle Along** proved that White audiences would pay to see Black musical comedies on Broadway. This pivotal moment paved the way for the continuation of the desegregation of theaters, particularly theaters within close proximity to Times Square. Not only were Black audiences permitted to sit in orchestra seats rather than being relegated to the balcony, but this also gave many Black actors their first chance to appear on Broadway. The undeniable popularity of **Shuffle Along** played a key role in black creativity and the continuation of art forms grounded in cultural influences. Langston Hughes, the renowned poet and author, once proclaimed, "the show helped to advance African Americans' social status through the excellence of arts."

While **Shuffle Along** continued to be an all encompassing success when it first opened in 1921, many critics have vocalized that it would not be nearly as successful in today's society. The endless racial tones exhibited throughout the musical, along with the inclusion of blackface performed by the actors, would not be well received by the public. However, one of the paramount components of **Shuffle Along** are the blackface characters, performed by Black actors. Originally perceived as degrading and entirely racist in itself, a majority of the Black actors performing this weighted task viewed this as somewhat of a resolution and a strategy for taking power back from the White audiences, even if only momentarily. "They could hide their blackness behind a darker blackness, a false one, a safe one." While the element of performing holds a certain power, the performer who appears on stage couldn't help but participate in this power struggle. By wearing blackface:



"They wouldn't be claiming power. By mocking themselves, their own race, they were giving it up. Except never completely. There lay the charge. Part of it was the physical elevation. To be sitting below a Black man or woman, looking up, that made many Whites uncomfortable. But what those audiences would allow, would sit for – not easily at first, not without controversy and disdain, but gradually, and soon overwhelmingly – was the appearance of white men who had painted their faces to look black."

Pamphlet mockup: Daly's 63rd Street Theatre Narrative (2023).
R.E. Villasante.



Pamphlet mockup: Here Stood Daly's 63rd Street Theatre (2023).
R.E. Villasante.

Kiosk at former location of Daly's 63rd Street Theatre (2023).
R.E. Villasante.

1881 Broadway present day (2023).
Photograph edited by R.E. Villasante.

Photograph of building that housed the Offices of the Migration Division of Puerto Rican Labor (1940).
NYC Tax Department.

HOW THE PUERTO RICAN DIASPORA FOUND COMMUNITY IN SAN JUAN HILL

By Andrés Santana-Miranda & Eleanor Phetteplace

While many Puerto Ricans occupied areas in East Harlem or South Bronx, many relocated to San Juan Hill due to being "pushed out of their old neighborhoods by rising rents and deteriorating housing stock and overcrowded schools." The majority, however, were recent migrants to the city as part of the postwar migration. As Puerto Ricans faced constant xenophobia as a result of the ongoing influx of migrants, "many landlords turned away would-be renters whose accented English or 'Latin' names betrayed their origins." Therefore, San Juan Hill and the area south of Columbus Circle offered much needed housing services for the growing Puerto Rican population across the city. The increase in population is further explored by Dodson when analyzing two public schools nearby San Juan Hill, noting that in two years, the schools' Puerto Rican students increased from 8% to 42% in P.S. 58, and 7% to 24% in P.S. 141.

Due to the rise in Puerto Rican migration to New York City in the late 1940s, the Government of Puerto Rico passed a law in December 1947 for the creation of a Bureau of Employment & Migration with offices in Puerto Rico and New York to provide orientation and aid to Puerto Ricans migrating to the U.S. The first office held services at 21 West 60th Street (Thomas 2023) and, during the same timeframe, another office was located at 1881 Broadway Avenue. Later renamed Migration Division of the Puerto Rican Department of Labor, a third office was located at 88 Columbus Avenue in the early 1950s until August 1, 1958. This third location also served as a meeting place for other organizations, such as the Council of Spanish-American Organizations of New York.

The existence of the Migration Division, however, might highlight the lack of Puerto Rican community organizations in San Juan Hill and throughout the city between the 1940s and 1950s. Some scholars argued that the establishment of the Migration Division duplicated and eventually eradicated many groups that provided social services, mainly from the understanding that government officials held about the lack of community organizations in the city. However, evidence exists of community organizations throughout the City, and San Juan Hill, since before World War II.

Despite the lack of a vast network like the Black community, the Caborrojeños Ausentes were located on the second floor at 105 West 63rd Street around the late 1950s. Although its involvement with the community in San Juan Hill is unknown, the organization provided civic, cultural, and recreational activities for its members and collaborated with other organizations and government agencies from Puerto Rico and New York City. Founded in 1922 and named after the southwestern Puerto Rican town of Cabo Rojo, the organization was a prototype of the hometown clubs in New York City that provided migrants with a safe space within the hostilities of the city.

In the report prepared by the Committee on Slum Clearance, the report identified 76% of the redevelopment site as White, 18% as Puerto Rican, 4% as Black, and 2% as Asian families. When dividing between White and non-White families, the Committee decided to count Puerto Rican families in the White category, while Black and Asian families composed the non-White category, for a total of 94% White and 6% Non-White families in the project area. Once the plans for Lincoln Center were notified to Puerto Ricans and the other underrepresented groups living in the area in the spring of 1955, the population faced the doubt about where to go next.

By November and December 1955, columns and editorials in El Diario de Nueva York presented concerns about the lack of housing alternatives and economic limitations of the around 5,000 Latin American families living in the San Juan Hill area. Harris L. Present, a lawyer who acted as advisor to residents and small business owners in the area, took the mantle of ally to these communities. Present frequently advocated for better representation and amplification of the Puerto Rican population's voice when, for example, he "decried the fact that the [Committee for Better Housing] of ninety-six members did not include a single Puerto Rican representative."

CÓMO LOS PUERTORRIQUEÑOS DE 'SAN JUAN HILL' ENCONTRARON SU COMUNIDAD

Escrito Por Andrés Santana-Miranda y Eleanor Phetteplace

Si bien muchos puertorriqueños ocuparon áreas en East Harlem o South Bronx, muchos se mudaron a San Juan Hill debido a que fueron "expulsados de sus antiguos vecindarios por el aumento de los alquileres y el deterioro de las viviendas y las escuelas superpobladas". La mayoría, sin embargo, eran inmigrantes recientes a la ciudad como parte de la migración de posguerra. Mientras los puertorriqueños enfrentaban una xenofobia constante como resultado de la afluencia continua de inmigrantes, "muchos propietarios rechazaron a los posibles inquilinos cuyos nombres con acento inglés o 'latin' traicionaban sus orígenes". Por lo tanto, San Juan Hill y el área al sur de Columbus Circle ofrecieron servicios de vivienda muy necesarios para la creciente población puertorriqueña en toda la ciudad. Dodson explora aún más el aumento de la población al analizar dos escuelas públicas cercanas a San Juan Hill, y señala que en dos años, los estudiantes puertorriqueños de las escuelas aumentaron del 8% al 42% en P.S. 58, y 7% a 24% en P.S. 141.

Debido al aumento de la migración puertorriqueña a la ciudad de Nueva York a fines de la década de 1940, el Gobierno de Puerto Rico aprobó una ley en diciembre de 1947 para la creación de una Oficina de Empleo y Migración con oficinas en Puerto Rico y Nueva York para brindar orientación y ayuda a los puertorriqueños que migran a los EE. UU. La primera oficina brindó servicios en 21 West 60th Street (Thomas 2023) y, durante el mismo período, se ubicó otra oficina en 1881 Broadway Avenue. Más tarde rebautizada como División de Migración del Departamento del Trabajo de Puerto Rico, una tercera oficina se ubicó en el 88 de la Avenida Colón a principios de la década de 1950 hasta el 1 de agosto de 1958. Esta tercera ubicación también sirvió como lugar de reunión para otras organizaciones, como el Consejo de Hispanos. -Organizaciones Americanas de Nueva York.

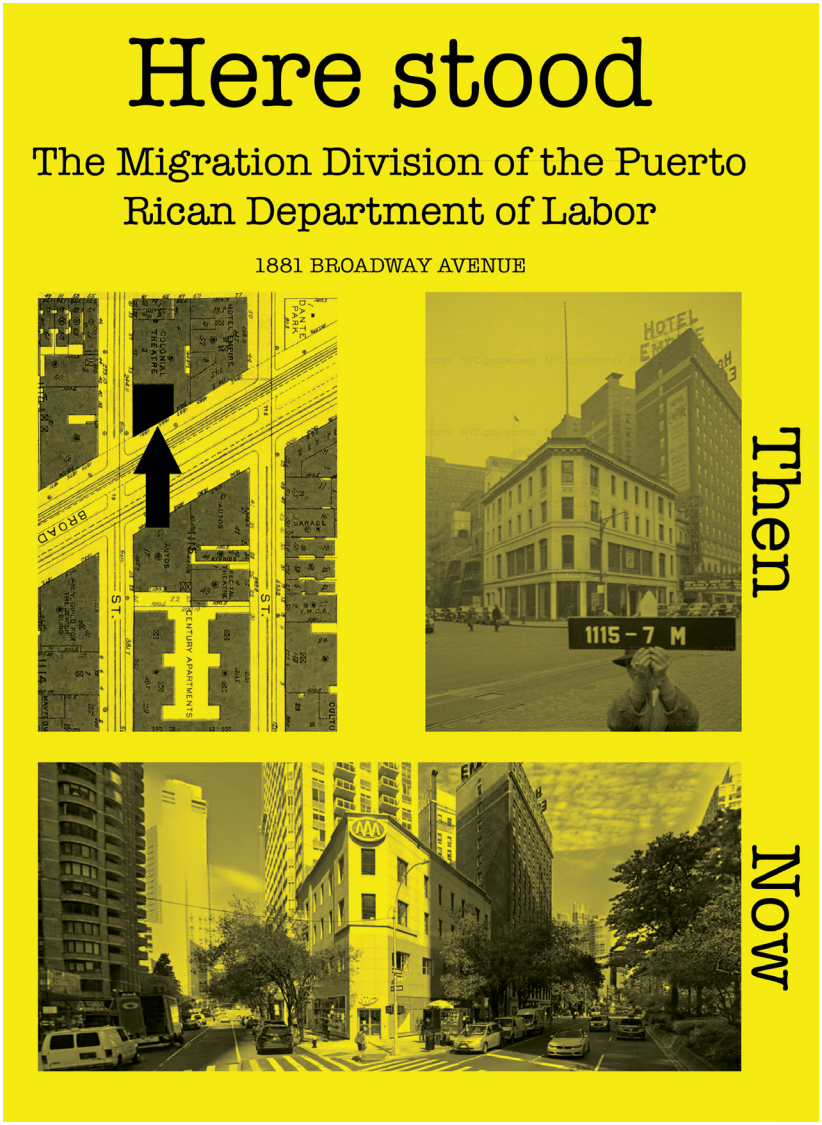
Sin embargo, la existencia de la División de Migración podría resaltar la falta de organizaciones comunitarias puertorriqueñas en el Cerro San Juan y en toda la ciudad entre las décadas de 1940 y 1950. Algunos académicos argumentaron que el establecimiento de la División de Migración duplicó y eventualmente erradicó a muchos grupos que brindaban servicios sociales, principalmente por el entendimiento que tenían los funcionarios gubernamentales sobre la falta de organizaciones comunitarias en la ciudad. Sin embargo, existe evidencia de organizaciones comunitarias en toda la Ciudad y el Cerro San Juan, desde antes de la Segunda Guerra Mundial.

A pesar de la falta de una red amplia como la comunidad negra, los Caborrojeños Ausentes estaban ubicados en el segundo piso en 105 West 63rd Street a fines de la década de 1950. Aunque se desconoce su participación en la comunidad de San Juan Hill, la organización brindó actividades cívicas, culturales y recreativas para sus miembros y colaboró con otras organizaciones y agencias gubernamentales de Puerto Rico y la ciudad de Nueva York. Fundada en 1922 y nombrada en honor a la ciudad de Cabo Rojo, en el suroeste de Puerto Rico, la organización fue un prototipo de los clubes locales en la ciudad de Nueva York que brindaban a los inmigrantes un espacio seguro dentro de las hostilidades de la ciudad.

En el informe preparado por el Comité de Limpieza de Barrios Marginales, el informe identificó al 76 % del sitio de reurbanización como familias blancas, el 18 % puertorriqueñas, el 4 % negras y el 2 % asiáticas. Al dividir entre familias blancas y no blancas, el Comité decidió contar a las familias puertorriqueñas en la categoría blanca, mientras que las familias negras y asiáticas componían la categoría no blanca, para un total de 94% de familias blancas y 6% de familias no blancas en el área del proyecto. Una vez que los planes para el Lincoln Center fueron notificados a los puertorriqueños y otros grupos subrepresentados que vivían en el área en la primavera de 1955, la población se enfrentó a la duda sobre adónde ir a continuación.

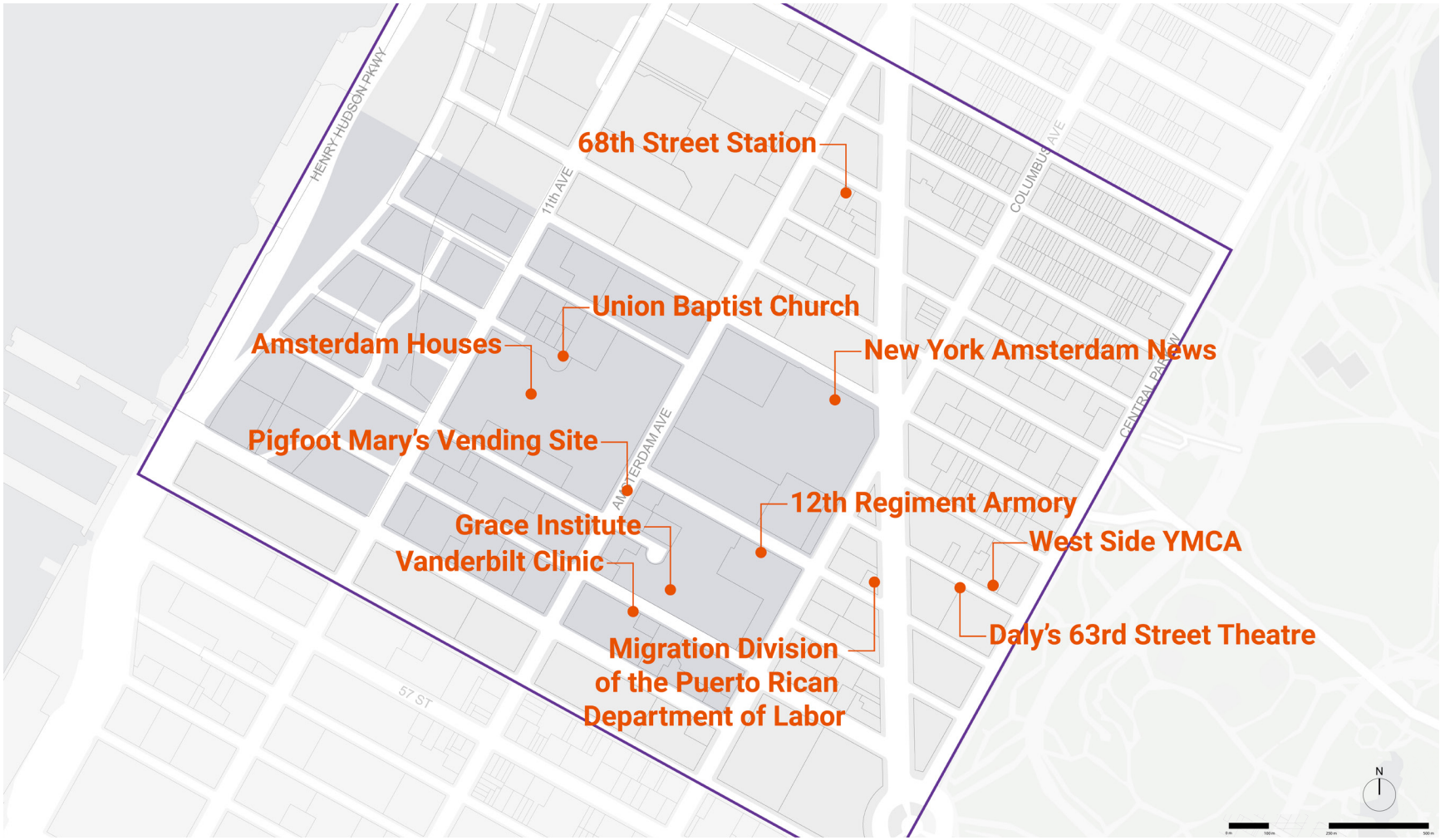
En noviembre y diciembre de 1955, las columnas y editoriales de El Diario de Nueva York presentaban preocupaciones sobre la falta de alternativas de vivienda y las limitaciones económicas de las alrededor de 5.000 familias latinoamericanas que vivían en el área de San Juan Hill. Harris L. Present, un abogado que actuó como asesor de los residentes y propietarios de pequeñas empresas en el área, asumió el rol de aliado de estas comunidades. Presente frecuentemente abogó por una mejor representación y amplificación de la voz de la población puertorriqueña cuando, por ejemplo, "denunció el hecho de que el [Comité para una Mejor Vivienda] de noventa y seis miembros no incluía un solo representante puertorriqueño".

Pamphlet mockup: The Offices of the Migration Division of Puerto Rican Labor Narrative (2023).
R.E. Villasante.



Pamphlet mockup: Here Stood the Offices of the Migration Division of Puerto Rican Labor (2023).
R.E. Villasante.

Kiosk at former location of the Offices of the Migration Division of Puerto Rican Labor (2023).
R.E. Villasante.



Map of potential sites of interest for the kiosk installation (2023).
R.E. Villasante.

As the kiosk moves from site to site, the information provided and the stories and questions collected throughout its journey would find their way into both a physical and digital collection for the continued access to these histories. Closely tied to Landmark West's existing webpage, this collection would allow for individuals to continue to learn about these sites long after the kiosk has moved elsewhere. The goal is for this project to continuously evolve and move throughout the neighborhood, disseminating the history of San Juan Hill and relating it to its current context and population. The kiosk can continuously move to various sites and tell an array of historic narratives, from the Amsterdam Houses to the 68th Street Police Station to the West Side YMCA to Pigfoot Mary's frequent vending site. It can discuss redevelopment, police brutality, the formation of communities, and the stories of small business ventures. As the years go on, it may eventually find its way back to its original starting point, telling a new story and enriching the understanding of this neighborhood's history.

David Geffen Hall on Lincoln Center's Campus (2023).
R.E. Villasante.

SAN JUAN HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT

Yaozhi Liu

This project proposed a fictional National Register of Historic Places Historic District of the demolished buildings in San Juan Hill. The fictional San Juan Hill Historic District covers from West 61st Street to West 64th Street, and some buildings east of Amsterdam Avenue to West End Avenue, roughly the same area as "the Gut."

The pattern of landmarks and National Register-listed and -eligible sites is unbalanced and centralized in the northeast corner of the study area, mostly in the Central Park West Historic District. As the NY State Historic Preservation Office CRIS map shows, almost all row houses, tenements and apartments are eligible for the National Register, and the luxury apartments along Central Park West Avenue are already listed. However, no listed National Register sites exist in historic San Juan Hill. Even eligible sites are rare—including Lincoln Center, Amsterdam Houses, PS. 191, and West 60th Street Public Bath Hall; of these, only the public bath was built prior to the 1940s. Hundreds of buildings and the memories they carried were demolished. Lincoln Center and Amsterdam Houses are architecturally significant, and they are also eligible for the National Register, but what about the buildings they replaced? If row houses and tenements located between Columbus Avenue and Central Park West Avenue are eligible for the National Register, might the now-demolished buildings in San Juan Hill have been eligible as well?

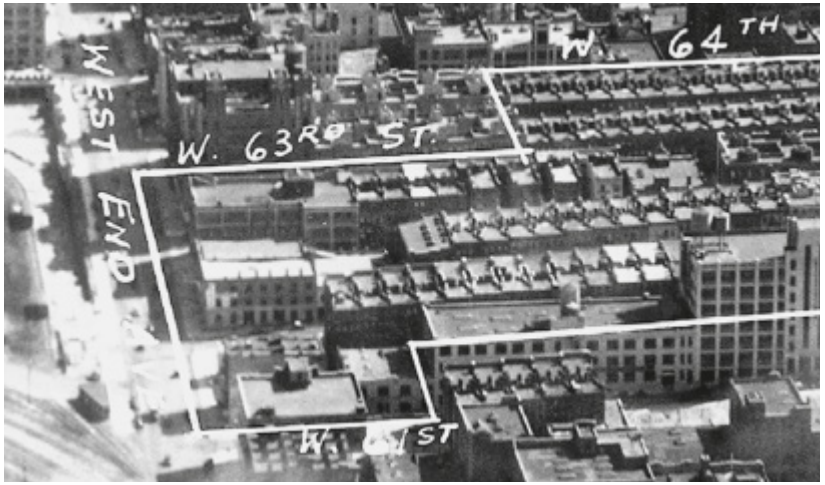
KEY FINDINGS ADDRESSED

- » CLAIM TO SPACE
- » CONSTRUCTED VULNERABILITIES
- » **REPEATED CHARACTERIZATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES**
- » **DISPARATE POWER AND INFLUENCE**
- » SOCIAL-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION
- » **SPATIAL BARRIERS AND SEGREGATION**
- » **RESISTANCE THROUGH CREATIVE EXPRESSION AND SELF-DETERMINATION**
- » UNDERREPRESENTED NARRATIVES AND PUBLICS

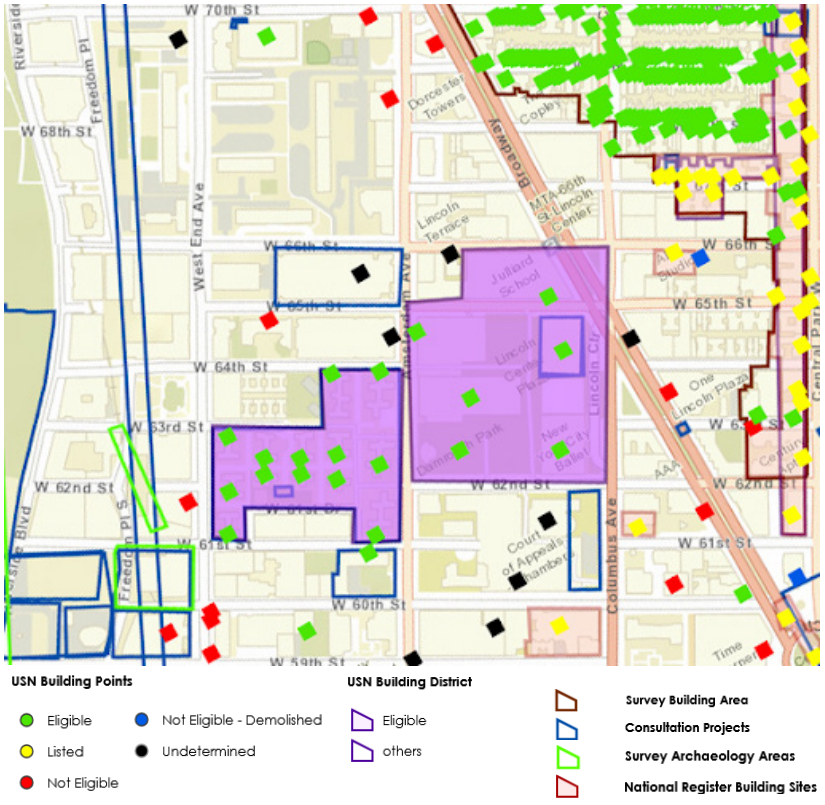
AN ALTERNATIVE HISTORY

Imagine an alternative history in which the redevelopment never happened. In this scenario, NYCHA and Robert Moses never put their sights on San Juan Hill. The Amsterdam Houses, Lincoln Center and Fordham University were not built. Only a few of the automobile factories and garages moved in the neighborhood from West 61st Street to West 64th Street. Generally, the surviving buildings remained similar to the early 1920s era. The industrial buildings and the ConEdison gas tanks between West 64th to West 66th Street were demolished in the 1960s to 1970s, consistent with history, and were replaced by the Martin Luther King, Jr. High School and some post-war residential developments. The campus of LaGuardia High School was also built, but without Lincoln Center, it is more likely to be an alternative version of P.S. 452 nearby, instead of a high school of music and performing arts. Lincoln Towers was not built either; the tenements and apartments remained. The railroad yard was demolished and some new housing projects were constructed west of West End Avenue.

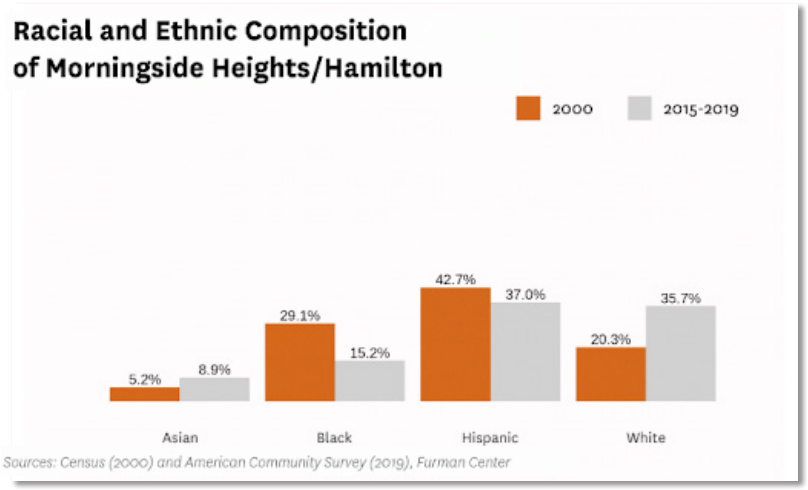
Demographically, the Black population of San Juan Hill still migrated to Harlem due to high population density and poor living conditions, but many of them stayed. Many community organizations like the Union Baptist Church operated in both neighborhoods into the present day. The Puerto Rican population still moved into San Juan Hill in the 1930s to 1960s, but no one was forcibly displaced. Today, this fictional San Juan Hill might have a similar ethnic composition to West Harlem or Hamilton Heights.



Site of Amsterdam Houses (1940).
NYCHA.



CRIS map of the study area (2023).
New York State CRIS.

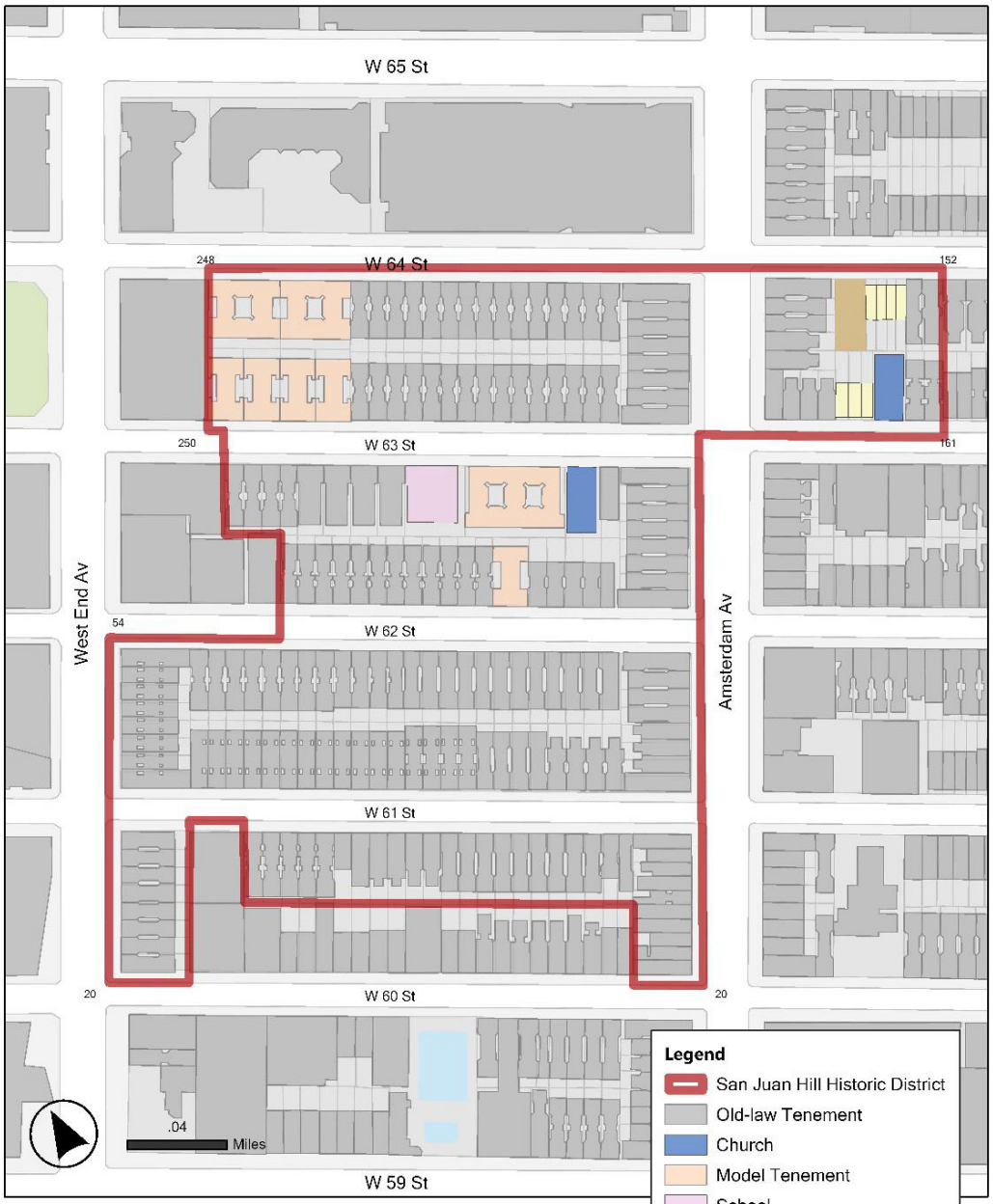


Ethnic composition of Morningside/Hamilton Heights, 2021.
NYU Furman Center.

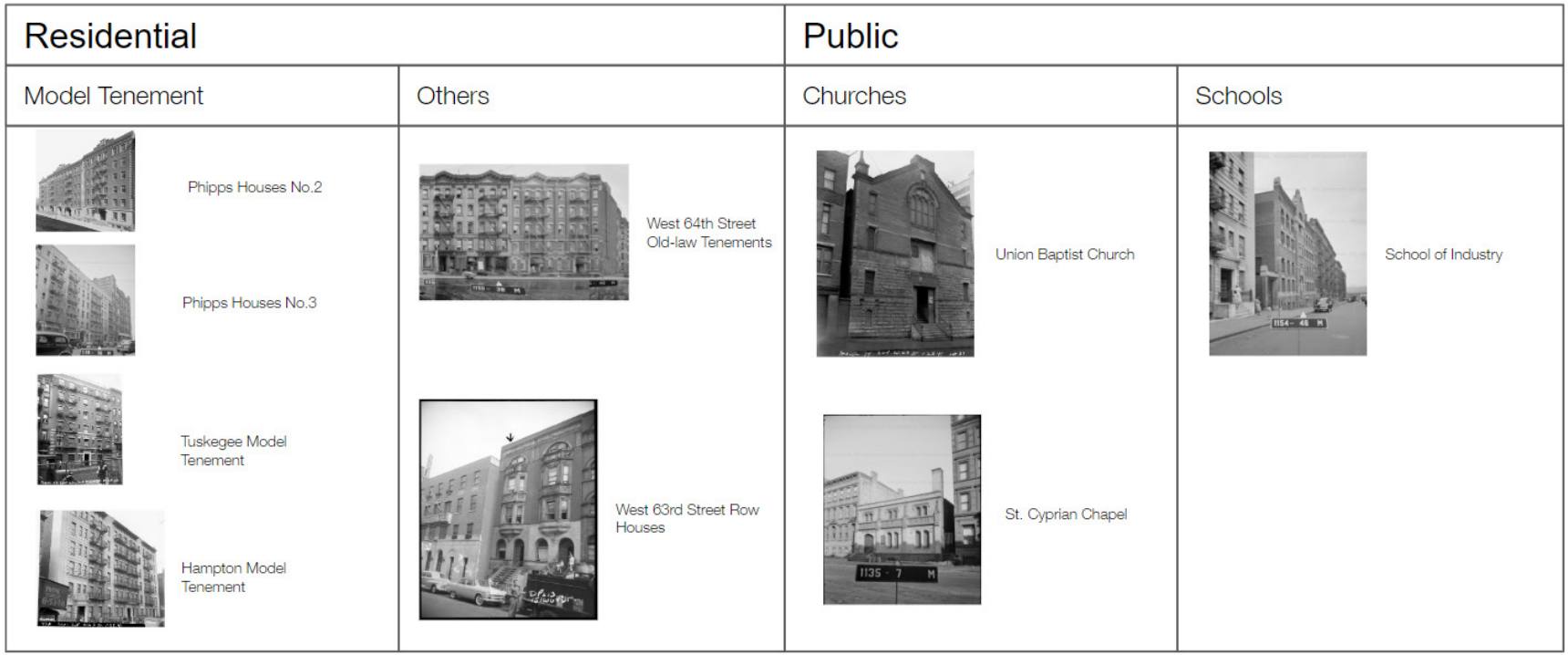
DEFINING THE SAN JUAN HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT

The fictional San Juan Hill Historic District is bound by West 60th Street, from 20 Amsterdam Avenue to 20 West End Avenue, to West 64th Street, from 152 West 64 Street to 248 West 64 Street. The San Juan Hill Historic District satisfies the National Register of Historic Places Criteria A and C, which are "associated with a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history," and "embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period and method of construction" due to their significance to New York City's Black and Puerto Rican cultural communities, to performing arts-related histories, as well as to historically notable architecture, including old-law tenements, model tenements, and other public buildings associated with the community.

There are 182 old-law tenements, four model tenements, four new-law tenements, seven row houses, two churches, one school and one commercial building that could be eligible for the National Register. The old-law tenement block between West 61 and 62 Streets documents the vulnerability and substandard conditions suffered by residents. Phipps Houses No.2 and No.3, Tuskegee Model Tenement, and Hampton Model Tenement, developed by Phipps Houses and City and Suburban Homes Company, were built especially for Black residents in San Juan Hill from the 1900s to 1910s. A trade school, School of Industrial, and later, the Columbus Hill Neighborhood Center, is located at West 224 West 63rd Street. The neighborhood also has two churches, Union Baptist Church and St. Cyprian Chapel, which are closely associated and have served the community for decades.



"San Juan Hill Historic District" building list (2023).
Y. Liu.

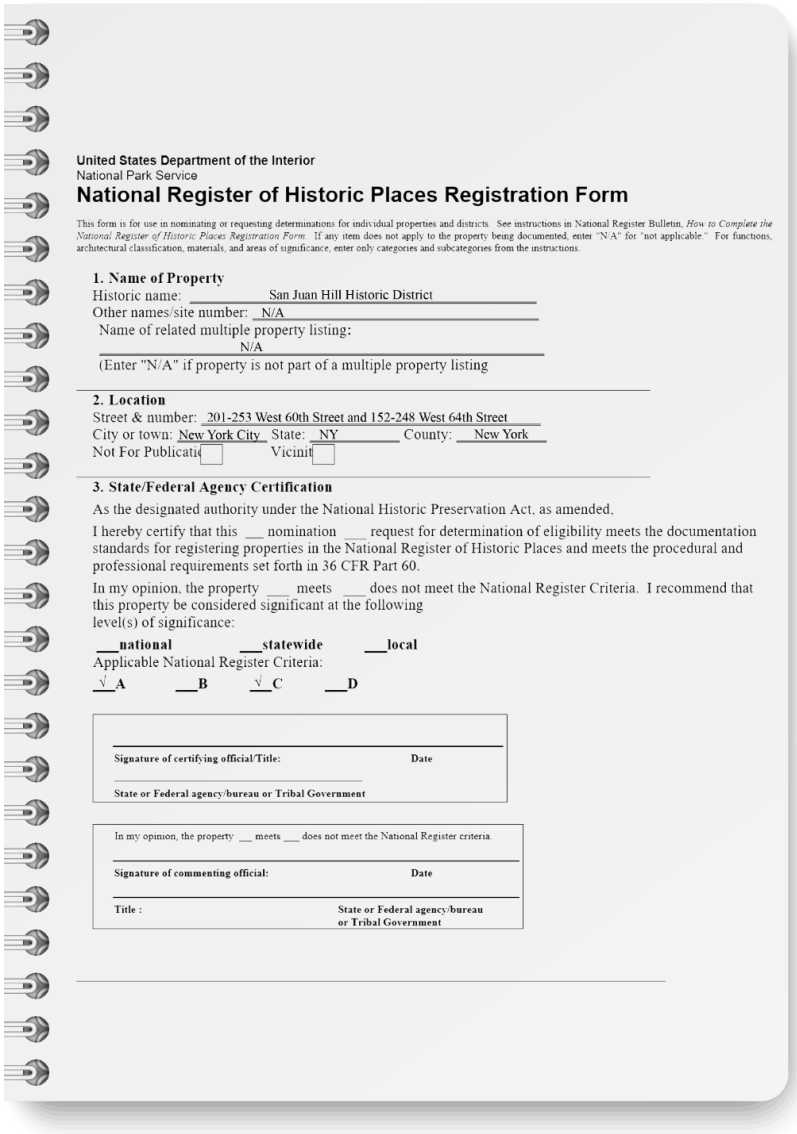


Significant buildings in the proposed San Juan Hill Historic District (2023).
Y. Liu.

PRESENTING THE SAN JUAN HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT

The final presentation of this project would be an artist book. The book is designed to be read in two directions. Spiral binding makes the book flexible enough to flip, and a small 5x7 inch size makes it easy for readers to rotate the book frequently. The fictional nomination form is printed on one side of the book with the same format and content as a formal document, including statements of significance, building list and descriptions, and maps and historic photographs. Then, interpretive information, including the analysis presented in this studio report, facts and descriptions about Amsterdam Houses and Lincoln Center, drawings and photos of the present day's San Juan Hill, are printed in the reverse direction. Related content would be printed on the facing pages. The readers could turn the book around to see interpretations of the fictional listings.

The project would also be a work of performance art. By collaborating with Landmark West!, a fictional submission process and exhibitions could be proposed to expose this work to a broader audience. The connection with community organizations like Goddard Riverside and Community Board 7 could be beneficial to collect the untold stories from the residents who experienced historic San Juan Hill.



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 for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any 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 from the instructions.

1. Name of Property
Historic name: San Juan Hill Historic District
Other names/site number: N/A
Name of related multiple property listing:
N/A
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing

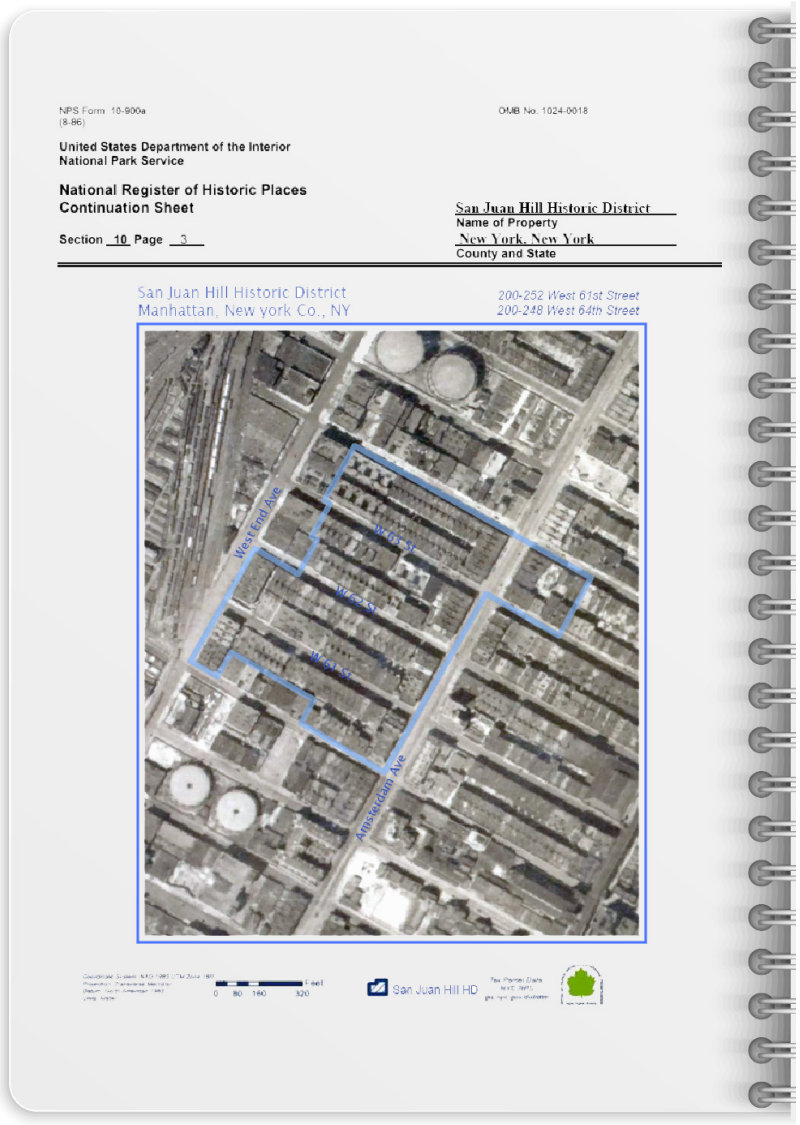
2. Location
Street & number: 201-253 West 60th Street and 152-248 West 64th Street
City or town: New York City State: NY County: New York
Not For Publicati ☐ Vicinit ☐

3. State/Federal Agency Certification
As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,
I hereby certify that this ___ 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 ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:
___national ___statewide ___local
Applicable National Register Criteria:
√ A ___B √ C ___D

Signature of certifying official/Title: Date
State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register criteria.
Signature of commenting official: Date
Title : State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

Front cover of the book (2023).
Y. Liu.



NPS Form 10-900a
(8-86)
OMB No. 1024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Section 10 Page 3

San Juan Hill Historic District
Name of Property
New York, New York
County and State

San Juan Hill Historic District
Manhattan, New york Co., NY

200-252 West 61st Street
200-248 West 64th Street

West End Ave
W 61st St
W 62nd St
W 63rd St
Amsterdam Ave

Feet
0 80 160 320

San Juan Hill HD

Interior of the artist book (2023).
Y. Liu.

Inside

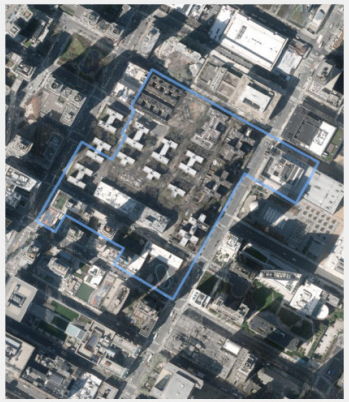
San Juan Hill

Historic District

Back cover of the book (2023).
Y. Liu.

As the book is mean to be read in two directions, the reader would flip it for this fictionalized historict district nomination, intended to prompt consideration of alternative narratives.

Amsterdam Houses



Basic Facts

Architect: Grosvenor Atterbury, Harvey Wiley Corbett, and Arthur C. Holden

Built: 1947 (Addition 1974). Built following World War II by the New York Housing Authority under the Veteran's Emergency Housing Act

Location: 61st St. to 64th St/Amsterdam Avenue to West End Avenue

Physical Layout: 13 buildings, 6 to 13 stories high on 9.49 acres, 1,080 apartments- houses 2,282 people. More than 50% of population is 65 or older

Significance: The Amsterdam Houses, designed by Grosvenor Atterbury, were built following WWII by the New York City Housing Authority under the Veteran's Emergency Housing Act. Though the project was not completed until 1948, the city had developed plans for the "San Juan Hill" area as early as 1942 in anticipation of the end of the war. The project's significant for its history as an ethnically diverse public housing project, its demonstration of Grosvenor Atterbury's ideas on public housing, and its success as a locally geared urban renewal effort. The architecture of the Amsterdam Houses stands out among other such housing projects for its classically inspired site plan that features a central landscaped axis running towards the Hudson River, and its uncommon and subtle masonry detailing.

Timeline:

1945
Emergency Committee on Housing formed under Moses- timeline for construction of AH created

1965
Lincoln Center Completed

1974
Addition by Oppenheimer Brady & Lehrecke completed. Lincoln Square Neighborhood Center moves to the addition

1943
Atterbury Designs Precast Concrete Design fro AH- never implemented

1947
Construction completed of AH houses- Lincoln Square Neighborhood Center opened as Settlement house

Interior of the artist book (2023).
Y. Liu.

THE TRAVELING ARCHIVE

Clara Zhao

Health and Welfare Services in San Juan Hill can be categorized as institutional or localized services. While institutional health services like Roosevelt Hospital claimed blocks of the neighborhood and sustained their narratives through detailed archives, localized services were embedded within the existing built environment. Their physical space and narrative have been mostly erased, with limited clues for us to trace today. For example, the Stillman Settlement had to constantly relocate within San Juan Hill after its founding in 1906 due to changes in funding, patronage, and operations. A rented apartment, a small storefront, and a repurposed rowhouse were among the spaces it temporarily occupied (Stillman 1907). Today, all of these physical traces have been erased and replaced with institutions and housing complexes.

Apart from the erasure of physical spaces, the disparity between institutional and localized records is extremely evident as well. In the archives of the institutional services, the names of attendings and even interns were documented; the localized services only briefly mentioned a few founders in their official records. However, disparities in formal records encouraged alternative ways of archiving the lives of these women who worked as medical service providers, including interviews with Stillman nurses, transcripts of radio interviews with the Visiting Nurses Service, and a particularly interesting diary-style record "My 900 and 99 Foolish Questions" by the settlement's switchboard operator Santa Carolina.

KEY FINDINGS ADDRESSED

- CLAIM TO SPACE
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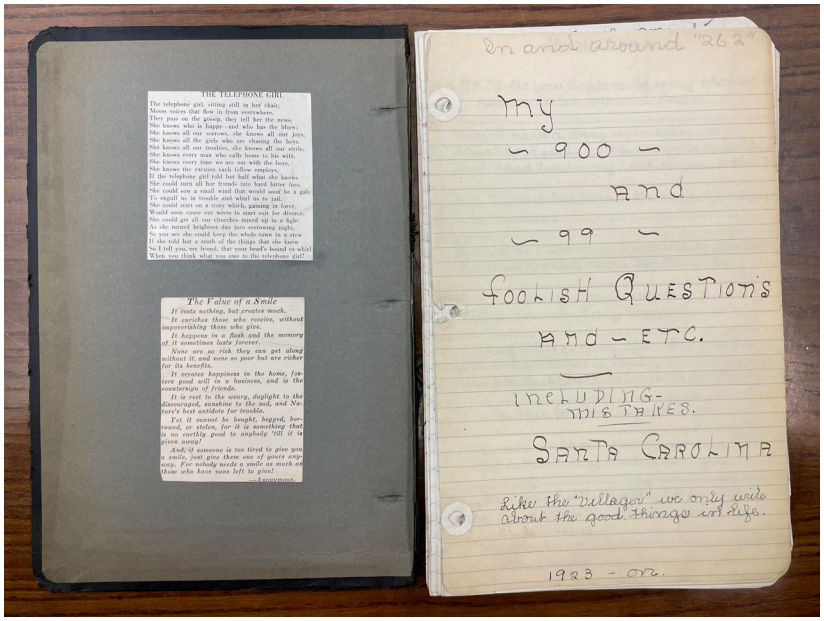
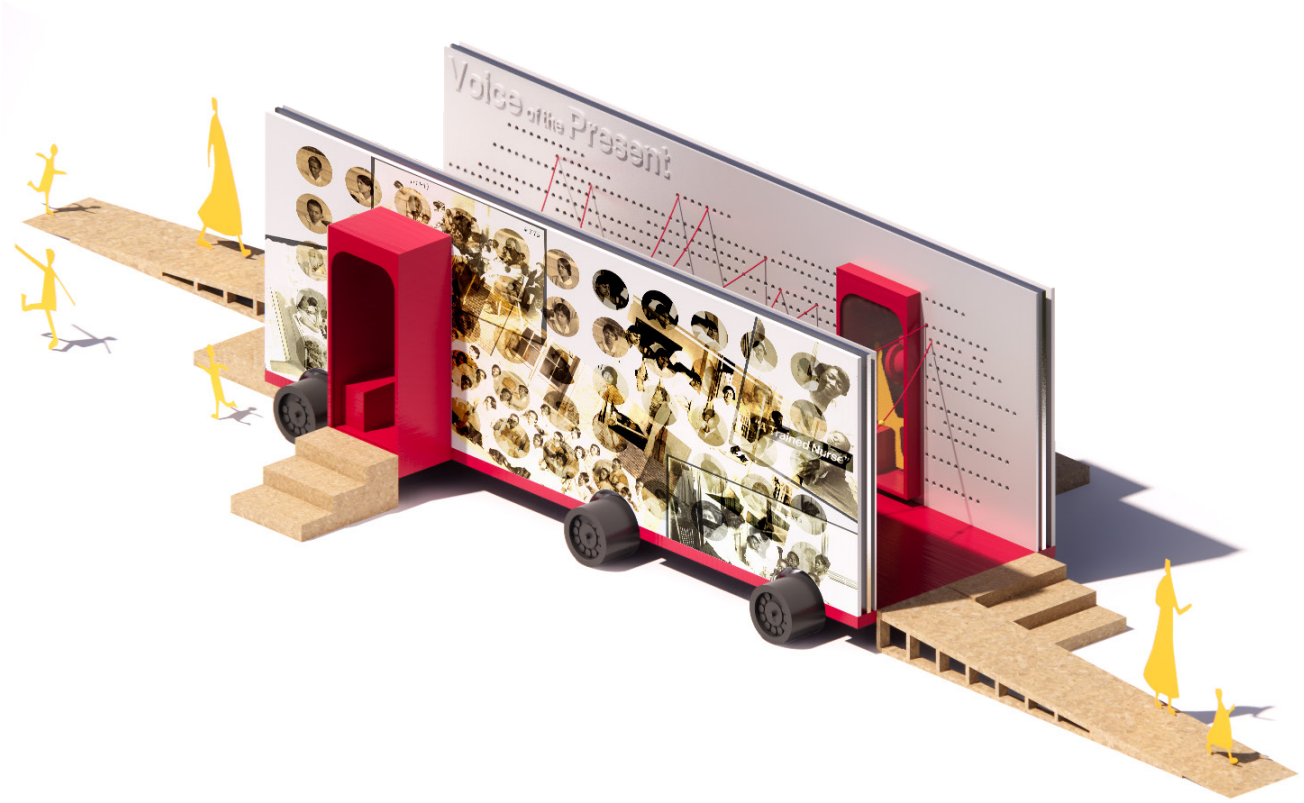
- SPATIAL BARRIERS AND SEGREGATION
- RESISTANCE THROUGH CREATIVE EXPRESSION AND SELF-DETERMINATION
- UNDERREPRESENTED NARRATIVES AND PUBLICS



"My 900 and 99 Foolish Questions etc." (1923).
S. Carolina.



The Traveling Archive (2023).
C. Zhao.

DESCRIPTION

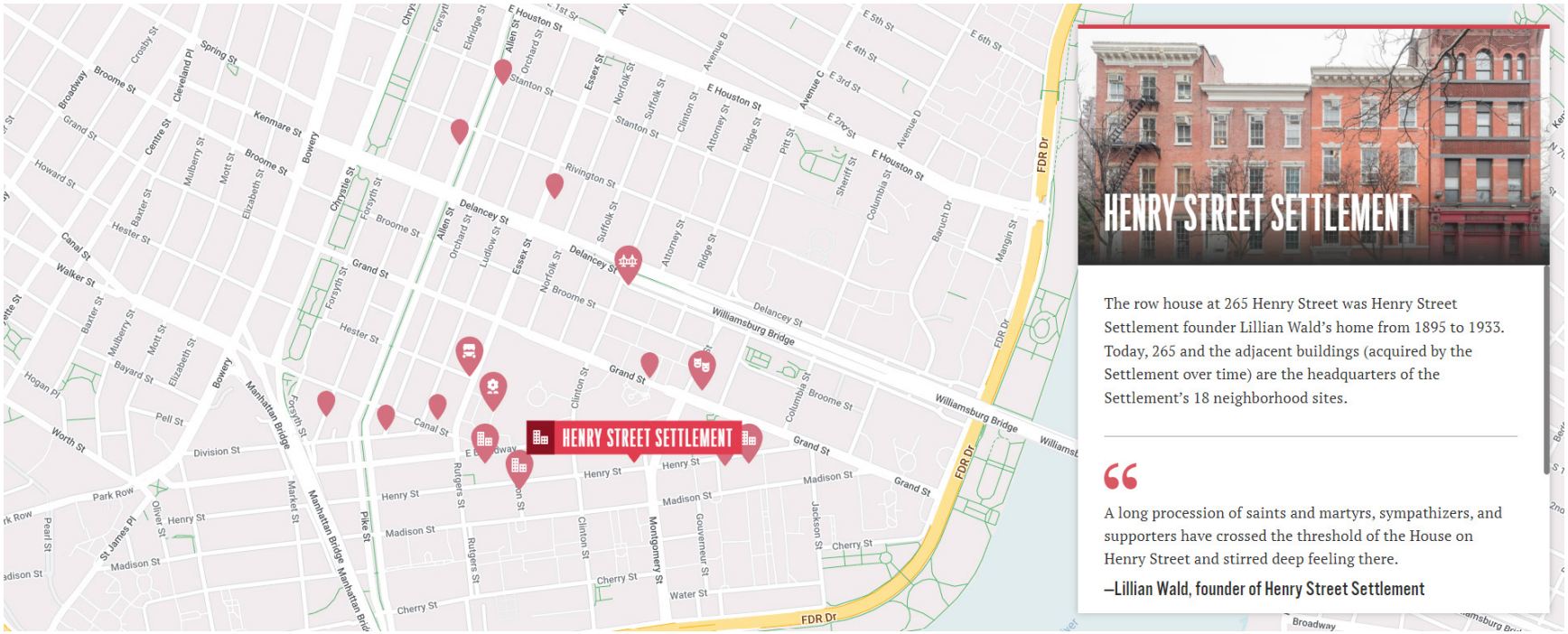
This proposal identifies this gap in the archive and erasure of space. It allows the underrepresented voices of the women of San Juan Hill to appear again in the narratives of the Lincoln Square area, and seeks to connect to related organizations still in operation today in the city. The Traveling Archive is an installation vehicle that includes interactive displays, recorded archive audio experience, and oral history recording booths. The programming of an archive also challenges the following questions: What is an archive? Who can be considered an archivist? What does the act of archiving stand for? How can a collaborative archive encourage the growth of unheard community voice networks? Can the archive be mobile?

The first component is "The Archive of the Past," constructed as one side of the vehicle. The outer panel is where existing photographs and text on the nurses and social workers in San Juan Hill can be displayed. The inner panel called the voice of the past holds the output portals for audio records of the textual content.

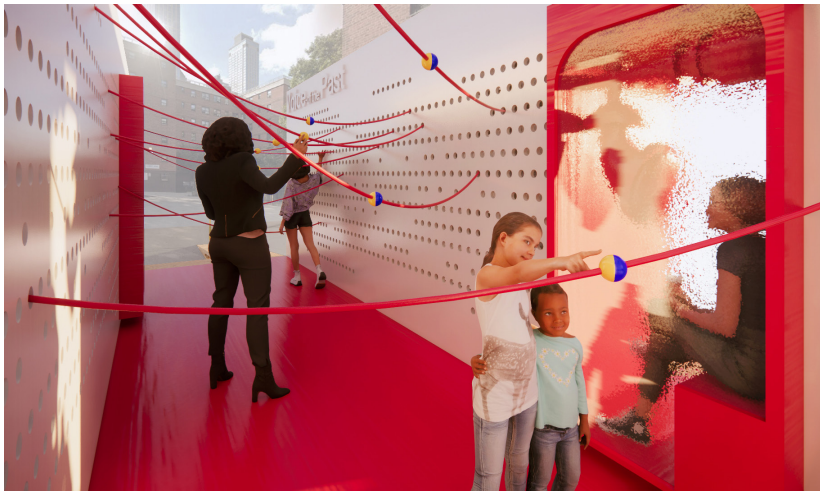
The other side of the vehicle is the second component, "The Archive of the Present." Recent photos and articles of women in healthcare can be displayed on the outer panel. The inner panel called the voice of the present is an audio output portal of recently recorded oral history. The content for display will change periodically or be curated as a response to a certain topic.

The third component is "The Archive of the Future," which are two oral history recording booths that can be inserted into the side panels of the vehicle. Inspired by switchboard operation, the receiver not only acts as the recording device but also as a formal icon for the traveling archive. While its vibrant color attracts users during day time, the backlit lighting effect calls attention at night.

"The Archive of the Future" oral history recording booth (2023).
C. Zhao.



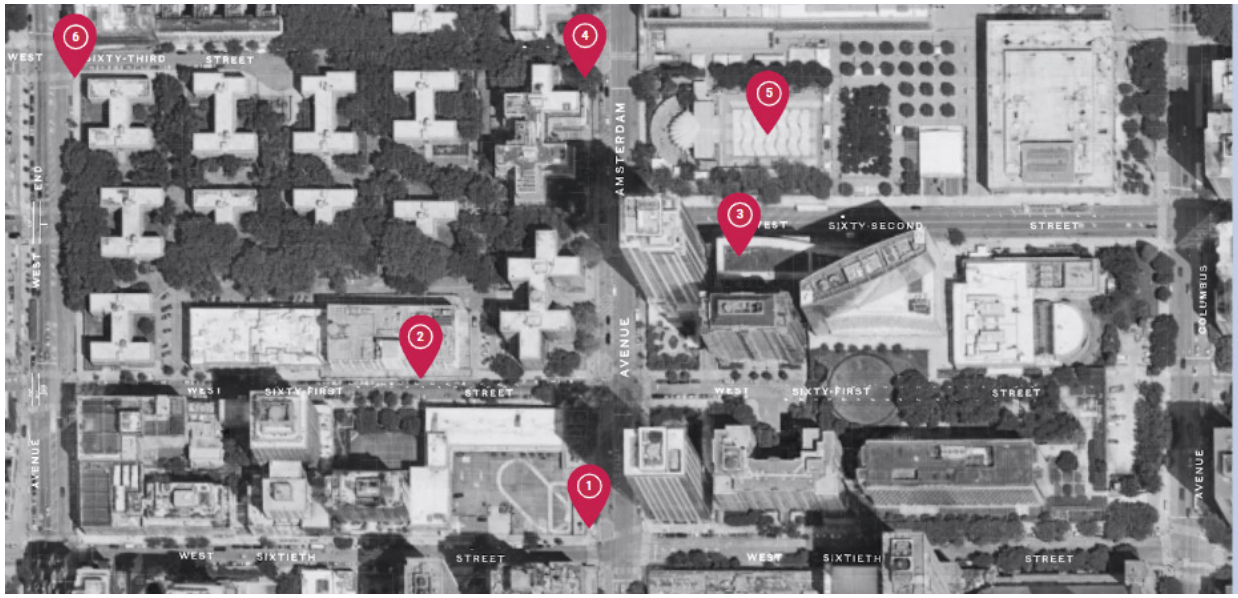
The House on Henry Street walking tour, Henry Street Settlement (2023).
C. Zhao.



"The In Between" space audio experience (2023).
C. Zhao.

The last component is the audio experience that connects the voice of the present and the voice of the past audio output panels, "The In Between." Again drawing inspiration from the switchboard operation, the participants can plug in the red wires on either side of the past and present panels to listen to the recordings. But for the full experience, one can connect the red wires on both sides through the spherical yellow and blue connectors to link the voice of the past and the present.

Although the locations of these local services no longer exist in the Lincoln Square area today, the traveling archive can act as the embodiment of the memories of these services and keep the narratives alive, both within the neighborhood and beyond. As the parent organization of Stillman Settlement, Henry Street Settlement is still actively providing comprehensive social service programs for the Lower East Side. They would be the ideal partner to operate the traveling archive. The Lincoln Square stations can also be combined with the locations covered in Henry Street Settlement's Walking Tour. Creating a route for the archive to travel between Lincoln Square and the Lower East Side neighborhood. The vehicle can also add more stations along the route in response to the display at the moment.



Stations in Lincoln Square Area

1. PS 452
2. AMDA
3. Fordham University
4. Amsterdam Houses & Amsterdam Ave.
5. Lincoln Center
6. Amsterdam Houses & West End Ave.

Traveling stations in Lincoln Square neighborhood (2023).
C. Zhao.

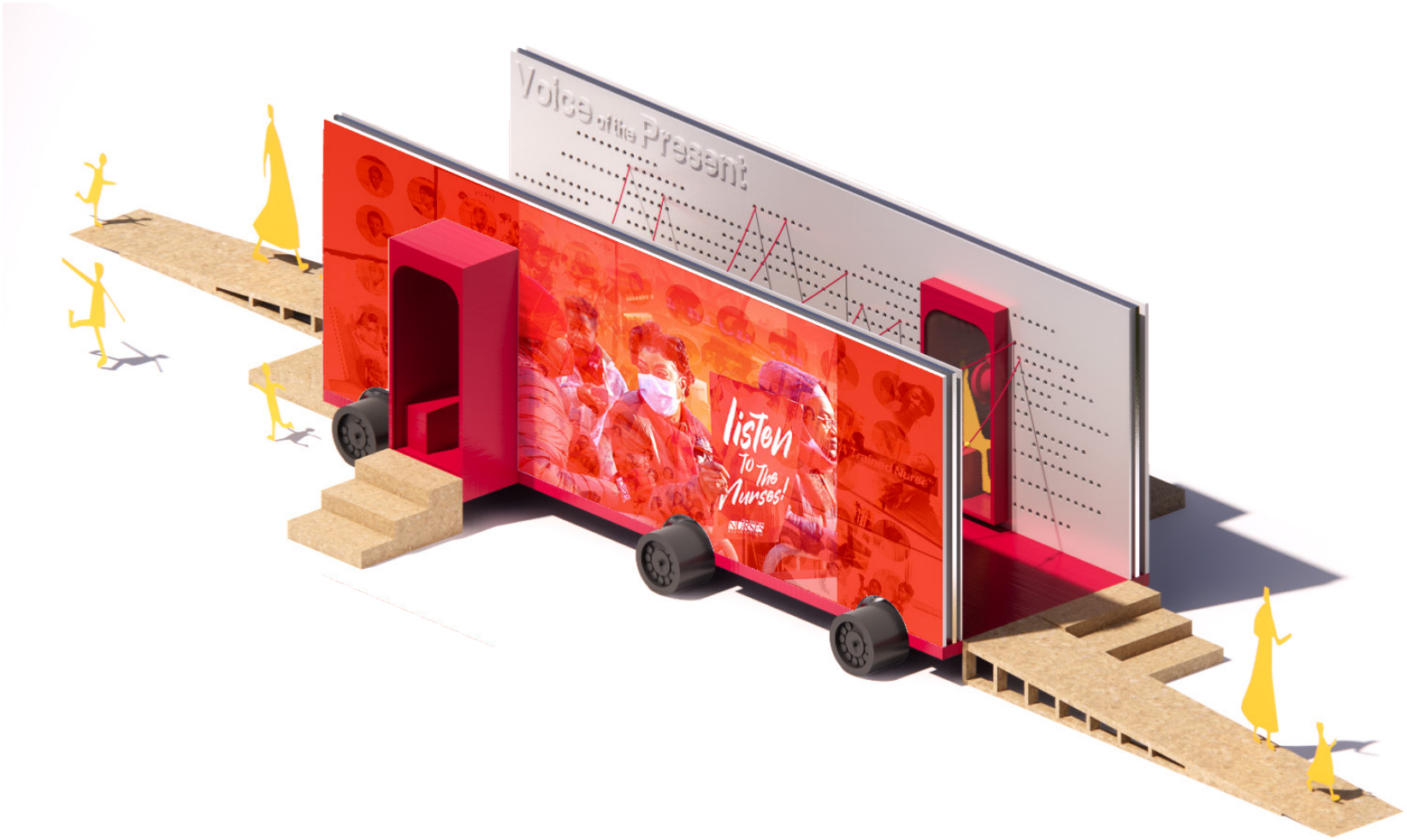
Previous Stillman Locations

1. 205 W 60th Street
2. W 61st Street
3. 154 W 62nd Street
4. 202 W 63st Street

Previous SJH Services

5. 173-177 W 63rd Street (St. Cyprian's Milk Station)
6. 224 W 63rd Street (Columbus Hill Health Center)

Erased locations of localized services in San Juan Hill (2023).
C. Zhao.



The Travelling Archive responding to the 2023 Nurses' Strike in NYC (2023).
C. Zhao.

The future of The Traveling Archive could have the potential to be more than an alternative form of archiving or acknowledging pioneering individuals. It could also act as an initiative that can be used in calls for fair contracts and safe staffing for women in healthcare.

EDUCATION THROUGH THE PERFORMING ARTS

Moisa Wroy

This proposal focuses on creating a San Juan Hill History module that can be implemented into current music and dance courses at performing arts high schools with an after school program opportunity to teach the music and dance development to students.

Voices and stories from San Juan Hill's performing arts community have had limited representation in the post-redevelopment Lincoln Square neighborhood. The vibrancy of the arts has been changed and sanitized, and the hubs for these artists no longer remain. This proposal seeks to honor their presence and remember their legacy. The Jungles was one of the most vibrant parts of the San Juan Hill community, located along Amsterdam Avenue. This street housed many Black nightclubs, which contributed to the growth of The Charleston. The street was also home to many popular musicians, such as James P. Johnson and Thelonious Monk. The neighborhood is commonly acknowledged for the performing arts that Lincoln Center provides today, but there is little mention of artists that first established this neighborhood as a cultural hub and as the incubator of many music genres and dance styles.

KEY FINDINGS ADDRESSED

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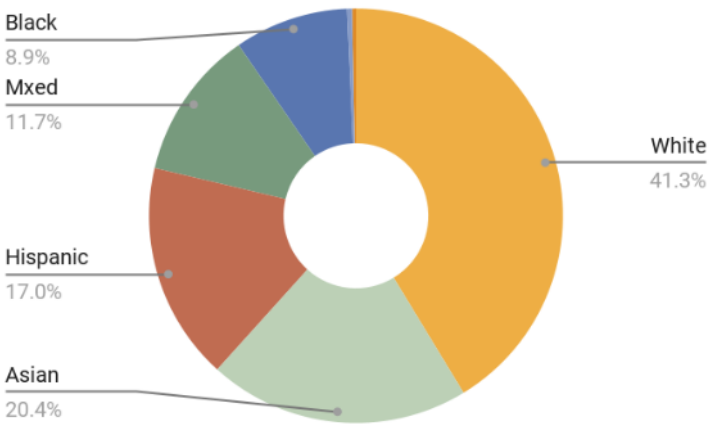
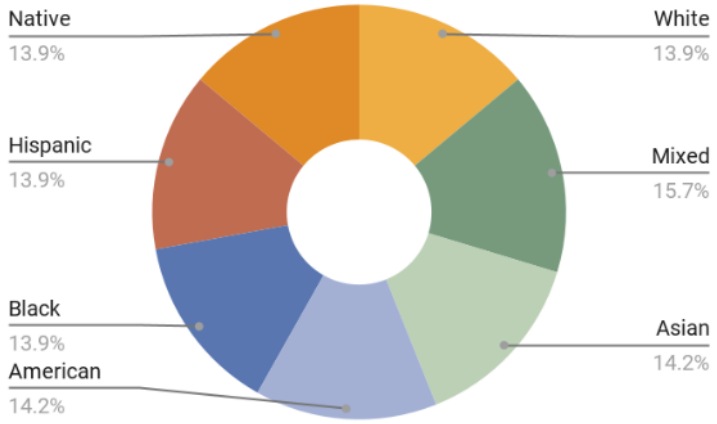
RATIONALE

Based on spatial analyses conducted through this studio, this proposal focuses on the Lincoln Square neighborhood as an education hub, with a specific focus on performing arts. Engaging younger generations, particularly those enrolled in the performing arts schools in the area, could help to create spaces for San Juan Hill's performing arts history to return to the neighborhood. This proposal focuses on these particular students because they learn and perform in this neighborhood, but many do not have a deep understanding of what predated Lincoln Square and Lincoln Center. The initial audience engaged in this proposal would be the high school demographic, which currently is predominantly White, Asian, and Hispanic. Neither York Preparatory or LaGuardia High School have a large Black student population. Working with the performing arts history of San Juan Hill can better serve to acknowledge Black artistry in the neighborhood.

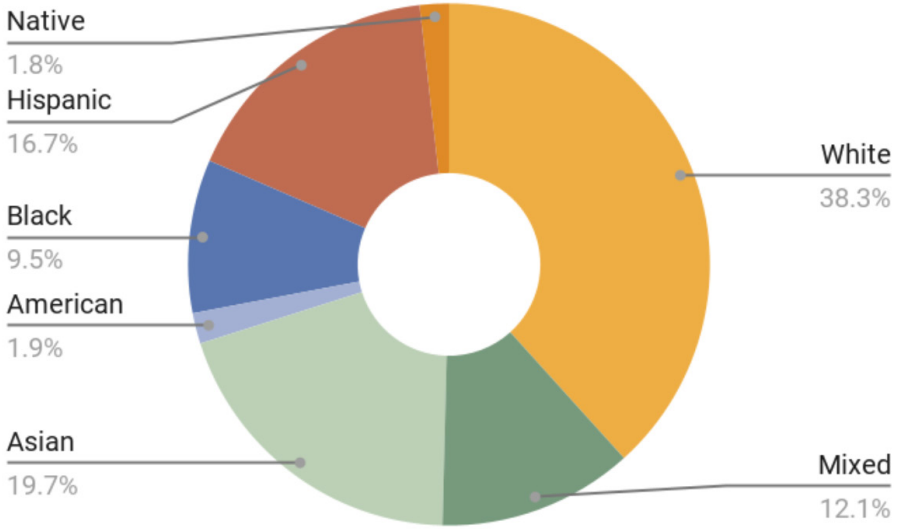
The mission of the NYC performing arts education standard, established in 2017, relies on performing arts education as a way to strengthen and enhance arts education so that students can graduate as artistically literate citizens, ready for their future careers. Including the San Juan Hill history as part of this teaching can help to bolster and restore histories of dance and music styles still taught at these schools today, while placing them within the context of what was happening in the arts at the time they emerged.



LaGuardia High School



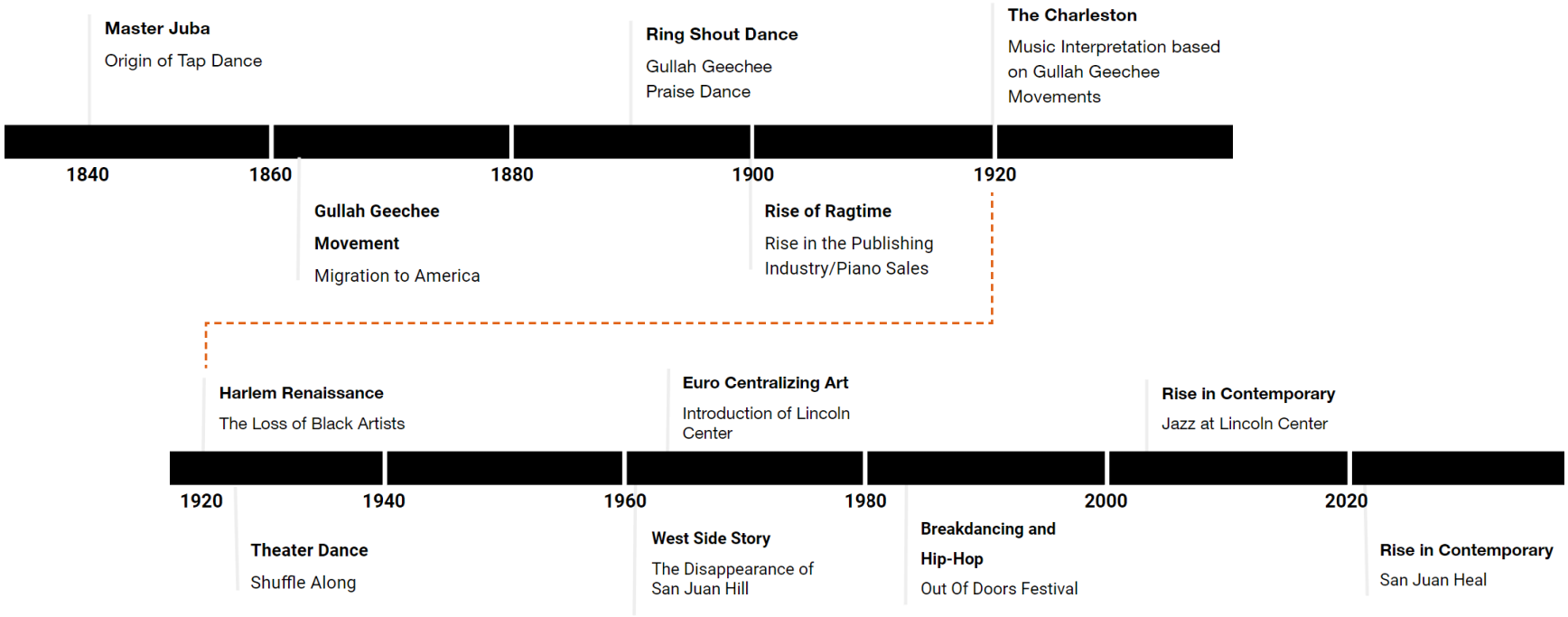
York Preparatory



Overall Data

Based on Data of 3,085 students

Demographics of Lincoln Square high schools (2023).
M. Wroy.



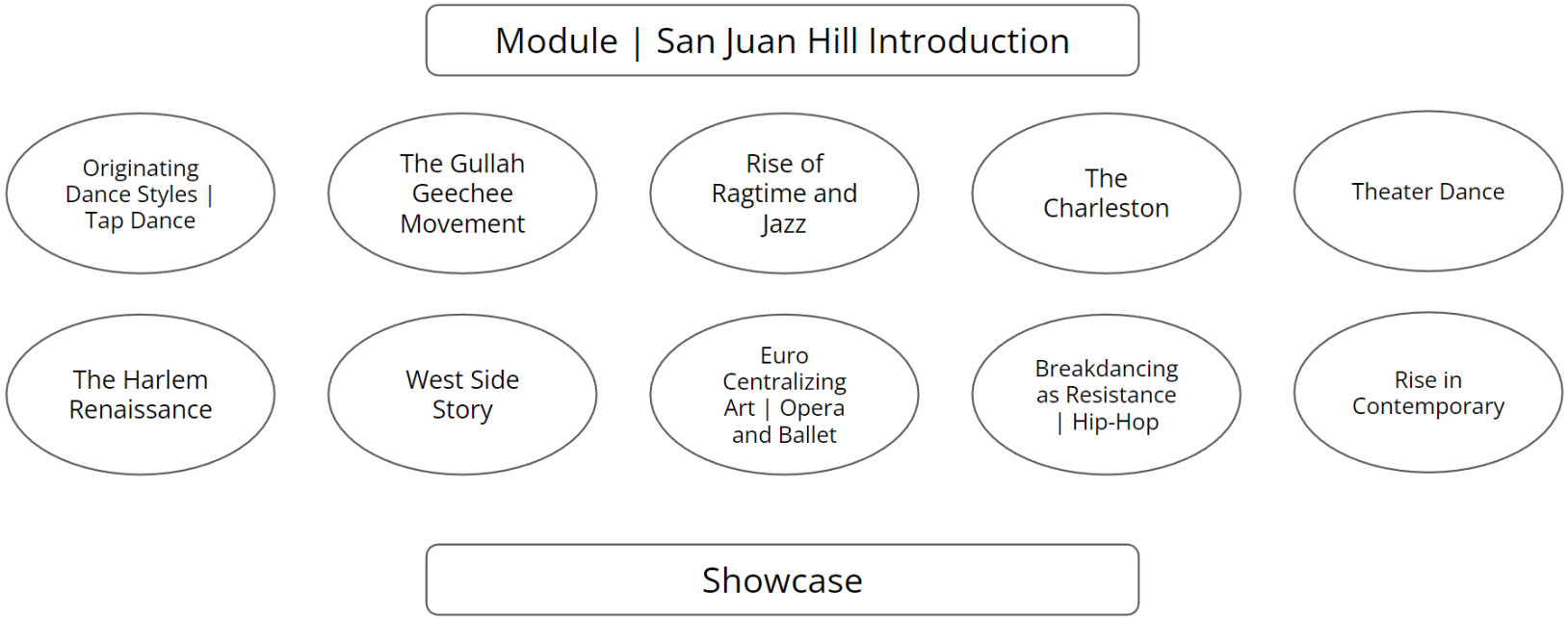
Example of an in-class module and after school program timeline (2023).
M. Wroy.

DESCRIPTION

This program would have a movement-focused component where students would learn the steps to some of these original dances, and how music became incorporated into dance. Students would learn of dances that originated from a formerly enslaved Black man, who is recognized as Master Juba, known as the father of tap dance today. This would create a foundation for understanding the migration of dance to New York City through the movement of Gullah Geechee people. The migration of dance northward culminated in many styles including: Carolina Shout and the widely popular Charleston, which was put to music by James P. Johnson who played syncopated rhythms to match the dancers feet.

The Charleston pervaded the theater dance scene during the emergence of Ragtime, another widely popular dance style by the 1920s. These lessons can serve as important reminders that these popular dances could not have evolved without the music culture of San Juan Hill and the no longer extant theaters in the neighborhood.

The next portion of the program would examine the ebb and flowof Black artistry until the first Lincoln Center Out Of Doors Festival, where Breaking was performed in the neighborhood. This could spur dialogue about the introduction of Hip-Hop as a form of resistance and expression for the Black community that was consistently displaced in New York City. During this era, many San Juan Hill musicians worked to have their music recognized by the newly formed institutions coming out of the Lincoln Square Redevelopment Project. This portion of the syllabus could further students' ability to grapple with improvisation, which was seen as a skill of the best musicians in San Juan Hill's heyday.



Example of an in-class module and after school program timeline (2023).
M. Wroy.

Today the arts community in the neighborhood is slowly working to bring back stories of San Juan Hill. This program would aid in activating those histories. The program would culminate in a showcase for students, who would have the creative freedom to take what they have learned and express it through dance and music. The showcase would give the students an outlet to share with the community what they have learned of the legacy of San Juan Hill and interpret that through artistic expression. The showcase would be held in front of the schools, as the streets and sidewalks were historically a dynamic part of San Juan Hill. The first showcase would be hosted along Amsterdam Avenue, where LaGuardia High School sits, on the historic corridor known as The Jungles.

IMPLEMENTATION

Potential partners for this project would be the performing arts institutions that now occupy San Juan Hill. Lincoln Center and Juilliard could initiate this work, as they have currently been making efforts to bring back this history through installations, but this partnership would afford a new dimension to reclaiming the San Juan Hill art space. This proposal also seeks to partner with traditionally Black performing companies and schools, such as Alvin Ailey and Dance Theater of Harlem, to introduce these styles of traditional Black dance and their historical roots to those beyond the neighborhood as well.

This proposal could expand its program to universities with potential implementation of a full-semester San Juan Hill Performing Arts History course, which could further learning about the nuances of the arts in the community.

Street activation diagram (2023).
M. Wroy.

University-level course (2023).
M. Wroy.

If developed into a university-level course, the class could delve into more specific pieces of music and dance in the neighborhood. This could allow for the course to expand past simply Black music and dance history, but also into the less-researched Puerto Rican community. The course could also highlight the double standards of accepted art forms before the Harlem Renaissance and redevelopment.

The curriculum could highlight what was once a vibrant cultural hub for the Black artist community and how it was erased from the narrative, both through redevelopment and when West Side Story debuted and redefined the neighborhood in the public eye. This film was such a success that the powers-that-be worked to bring it to the Lincoln Center stage in 1968, as the artistic legacies of San Juan Hill faded and were replaced with classical White theater, opera, and ballet.

Implementation of the course, whether with high school students or expanded to universities, could lead to an increase in neighborhood activation. Street performance showcases could reinvigorate the former San Juan Hill streetscapes with the vibrance and culture that was lost—not only acknowledging this underrepresented past, but also celebrating the arts that exist today.

REMOVING ACCESS BARRIERS TO STREET VENDING: HISTORIC INCUBATOR MODEL

Esteban Alberty Cardona

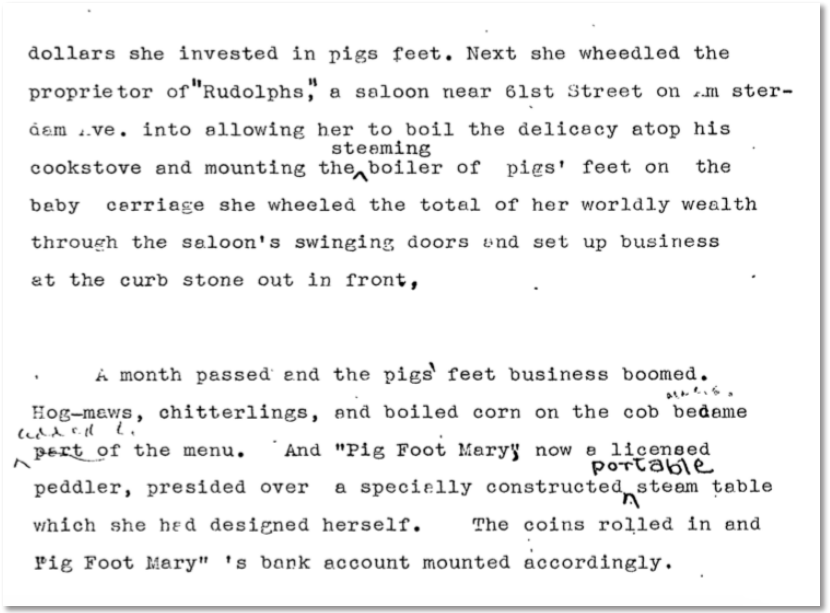
San Juan Hill was home to several of New York's oldest professions, one being food vending in public space. Lillian D. Harris sold fried pigfoot and chitterlings in "The Gut" before becoming a successful real estate agent in Harlem. This proposal would answer how her first business was incubated and its relevance for restoring justice today. "Pigfoot Mary" did not prepare her signature dish in a pushcart—she did it in the kitchen of a saloon. The access barrier posed by initial operating expenses was removed thanks to a larger partner who facilitated a fully equipped kitchen, a space she could not afford at the time.

Similarly, connector organizations like the Lincoln Square Business Improvement District and Lincoln Center could help street vendors grow into brick and mortar shops per the incubating model identified for Lillian D. Harris. This proposal builds on a historically sourced incubator format with the objective of ensuring access to a time-proven business model. By reducing compliance costs and facilitating space Lillian D. Harris' incubator model is updated in response to needs of mobile food vendors today.

While this proposal is applicable city wide, it is historically pertinent to the studio study area because San Juan Hill originated a model for incubating Black owned businesses at a time of widespread systemic limitations on anyone who was not White. In spite of the decades of Black, Latine, and labor activism, street food vendors continue to be vulnerable. 51 percent of vendors in the US are immigrants, 62 percent are racialized, and 35 percent are of Latine ethnicity (Carpenter 2015). Specifically in New York, over-policing of this population continues in spite of public declarations by the Mayor's office.

KEY FINDINGS ADDRESSED

- » CLAIM TO SPACE
- » CONSTRUCTED VULNERABILITIES
- » **REPEATED CHARACTERIZATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES**
- » DISPARATE POWER AND INFLUENCE
- » **SOCIAL-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION**
- » **SPATIAL BARRIERS AND SEGREGATION**
- » RESISTANCE THROUGH CREATIVE EXPRESSION AND SELF-DETERMINATION
- » UNDERREPRESENTED NARRATIVES AND PUBLICS



dollars she invested in pigs feet. Next she wheedled the proprietor of "Rudolphs," a saloon near 61st Street on Amsterdam Ave. into allowing her to boil the delicacy atop his cookstove and mounting the steeming boiler of pigs' feet on the baby carriage she wheeled the total of her worldly wealth through the saloon's swinging doors and set up business at the curb stone out in front,

A month passed and the pigs' feet business boomed. Hog-maws, chitterlings, and boiled corn on the cob became part of the menu. And "Pig Foot Mary", now a licensed peddler, presided over a specially constructed portable steam table which she had designed herself. The coins rolled in and Pig Foot Mary" 's bank account mounted accordingly.

Rudolphs, a saloon near 61st Street on Amsterdam Avenue, provided Lillian D. Harris with a cooking space (1901).
Negroes of New York Collection - NYPL.

RATIONALE

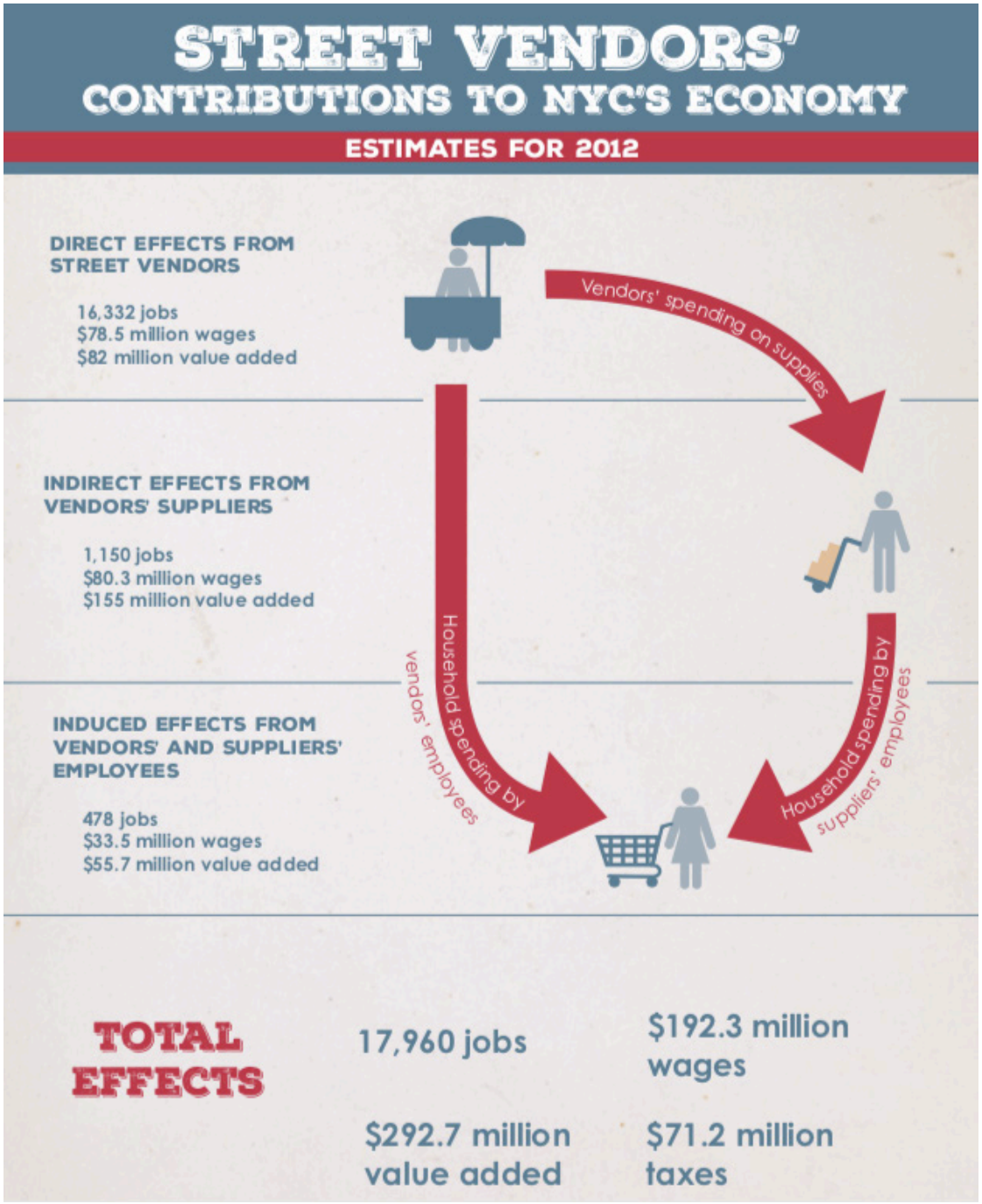
The restorative rationale of this proposal seeks to offset the constructed vulnerability created by City Hall not releasing enough permits through Local Law 18, and to build on efforts by street vendors already organizing into the Street Vendor Project. AdditionQallWy, it is a conciliatory policy proposal in that it seeks to leverage the disparate influence of Lincoln Center and the Lincoln Square Business Improvement District (BID). An informal photo survey on April 26, 2023, revealed no less than twenty-two carts active in the study area.

One would be forgiven for thinking mobile food vendors face no barriers if you judge New York City's mobile vendor policy by walking west of Amsterdam Avenue. The repeated presence of mobile food vendors from Columbus Circle to 67th Street risks misrepresenting the current policy framework as permissive, and food vendors as supported. Food street vendors in New York City spend approximately $500 in monthly grocery supplies and $338 in fuel, per a 2012 survey adjusted for inflation (Carpenter 2015). In fact, "in 2012, vendors' contributions to the New York City economy totaled an estimated 17,960 jobs, $192.3 million in wages and $292.7 million in value added," (Carpenter 2015).

Lobbying on behalf of mobile food vendors would amplify the efforts of the Street Vendor Project, the connector organization whose efforts to address an overly complicated license and permit scheme shaped this proposal. This concentration of mobile food vendors is due to licenses being released for specific locations, which nullifies one of the advantages of mobile food vending--itinerant locations.

Mobile food vendors in New York City are up against a veritable patchwork of state and city regulations. On one hand, General Vendorlicenses are issued by the city's Department of Consumer and Worker Protection. Permits and licenses specific to mobile food vending, however, are the responsibility of the Department of Health and Mental Hygiene. If a vendor cannot meet grocery costs in a given month, selling non-food items is forbidden in spite of already having a vending-type license. Permitted business hours, locations, and precise placement on sidewalks are additional restrictions. To make matters worse, regulation unresponsive to the high demand for mobile food vending has produced a highly competitive underground market where licenses are sold for $20,000 and veterans are "rented" due to their privileged access to them (González 2021; Li 2023).

One of the sources of this investigative article in "The Guardian", María Falcón, was handcuffed for selling mangoes in a subway station in 2022 (2022),
The Guardian.



Mobile food vendors contribute to NYC, a benefit disproportionate to the government support they receive, more so considering the stressors of over-policing and immigration status (2015).
Justice Project.

Twenty-two mobile food vendors were counted, please note that the area west of Amsterdam Avenue corresponds with the historical pattern of racial segregation (2023).
E. Alberty Cardona, Map: A. An.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

This is not a proposal for a perfect outcome, it is considering the existing policy paths for action. Local Law 18 not only stipulates issuing 445 licenses every year, it also created the Office of Street Vendor Enforcement (OSVE) and the Street Vendor Advisory Board, tasked with making recommendations that must achieve consensus amongst all ten board members. Three representatives from one of the studio's identified connector organizations, Street Vendor Project, already serve on the board: Executive Director Mohamed Attia, street vendor representative Sonia Perez, and Legal Director Matthew Shapiro.

One of the past recommendations of the board is highly compatible with the remote sales license program proposal, that of "Community Vending Marketplaces." Legislation could be introduced to modify the Community Vending Marketplaces (CVM) model meant to support nutrition in underserved neighborhoods to create entrepreneurial opportunities in high income neighborhoods, like the current Lincoln Square area, where street vendors cannot afford to rent venues.

According to a 2022 report from the Street Vendor Advisory Board, part of its mandate is to review and evaluate these regulations, but also make recommendations for designated community spaces for vendors, locations for food trucks and commissary space, as well as new geographic and location restrictions. The board must also make an annual recommendation on expanding, restricting, or altering the Department of Health and Mental Hygiene's authority to issue supervisory licenses for Mobile Food Vendors (SVAB 2022). This is where the disparate influence of both Lincoln Center and Lincoln Square BID come in for shifting the balance towards restorative justice.

This is not the first time students at Columbia-GSAPP have focused a critical lens on the quasi-governmental influence of business improvement districts. BIDs can improve green open spaces and wayfinding signage that are critical to businesses. However, in 2011, students "conducted a geographical information systems study using the boundaries of BIDs within Manhattan alongside street restrictions" and found that there was "a correlation between BIDs and the prevalence of street restrictions" that constrain mobile food vendors to pre-approved areas (Browne et al 2011).

It should come as no surprise that the "majority of street regulations fall within BID boundaries." In fact, vending street restrictions "within the Downtown Alliance, Madison Avenue, and Times Square BIDs almost exclusively fall into their respective BID boundaries," suggesting that BIDs are making choices that impact mobile food vendors without serious inclusion processes going beyond appeasement. Students concluded at that time that the spatial trend was due to "street closure requests by BIDs" being integrated in the rule books drafted by the Street Vendor Review Panel, prior to the creation of the Street Vendor Advisory Board (Browne et al 2011).

The particular relationship between Lincoln Center and the Lincoln Square BID creates additional disparities. As interviewee Monica Blum notes,

> *"The Lincoln Square BID was established in 1996 through the leadership and commitment of major property owners, including Lincoln Center, which was a founding member. Although Lincoln Center lies within the BID's boundaries...nonprofit institutions are exempt from real property taxation. This longstanding exemption remains highly relevant. Today, Lincoln Center occupies over 1.6 million square feet and includes significant revenue-generating commercial uses—such as restaurants, retail, and parking facilities—that are not subject to the BID assessment. In contrast, all other businesses and garages in the district contribute to the BID. While Lincoln Center does provide in-kind services and a modest financial contribution, its overall resources are substantially greater."*

IMPLEMENTATION

This proposal contemplates two possible ways to remove those access barriers and constructed vulnerabilities while addressing sanitation concerns that came up during our interviews (Blum, Memoli 2023). The first is lobbying for the outright removal of the license cap. This would enlist the aid of Lincoln Center and the Lincoln Square BID for covering the costs of a historically informed visual campaign of interventions in historic San Juan Hill street vending locations, though the disparities cited above regarding the respective resources of Lincoln Center and the BID would need to be considered. This visual campaign takes inspiration from the Oscar López Rivera liberation campaign in Puerto Rico and the Street Ghosts art project.

These two locations on West 65th and West 67th Streets were identified as past street vending locales. The decals would have different scales to engage the public through surprise, but also to underline the proportional importance of these small businesses for tax revenues. For reference, the seventy-six BIDs invest around $163 million annually in their districts. Street vendors contribute an estimated $71.2 million to tax coffers—an amount equivalent to the City Council's entire budget for Funded Discretionary Projects (SVAB 2022). Thus, they proportionally generate more revenue for the city. This raises the question of whether organizations that represent them should be entitled, as BIDs are, to receive funding from the NYC Department of Finance.

Persuading institutional actors by building on existing policy paths is the second element of this proposal. The Street Vendor Advisory Board has recommended expanding "Community Vending Marketplaces" which are meant to support nutrition in underserved neighborhoods. Legislation could be introduced to expand the CVMs to create entrepreneurial opportunities in high income neighborhoods where street vendors cannot afford rent of venues but can expect higher earnings (SVAB 2022). This would increase their profit margin and is compatible with a remote sales license program in which their licenses would be covered by the NYC Department of Finance if they agree to a program fee calculated in inverse proportion to out-of-district orders sold, reducing the amount of trash in the district—addressing a sanitation concern shared by all parties (Blum, Memoli 2023; Li 2023).

This proposal not only leverages the disparate influence of Lincoln Square BID and Lincoln Center, it honors the contribution of vendors by taking how they exercised agency as a model for implementable policy with historical relevance. It seeks to offset the constructed vulnerability around City Hall not releasing enough permits, as well as increase the profit margin of mobile food vendors, ease the transition to brick and mortar shops, and help the BID by creating new potentially paying members that would compensate for the loss of businesses to e-retail growth (Blum and Memoli 2023). Lastly, it acknowledges mobile food vendors as the contemporary continuation of SJH streetscape and as the possible inheritors of a Black business woman's incubator model.

Oscar López Rivera liberation campaign (2013).
T. Canino, 32 x Oscar Association.

Street Ghosts, street portraits sourced from Google Maps (2012-2017)
P. Cirio.

Artistic rendition of proposed decal on the facade of Elinor Bunin Munroe Film Center, W 65th St (2023).
E. Alberty-Cardona.

Artistic rendition of proposed decal next to emergency exit of Kaufman Music Center, W 67th St (2023).
E. Alberty-Cardona.

RECLAIMING THE LEGACY

Yuan Chen and Christina Sun

The industrial history of the New York Central Railroad Freight Yard at West 60th Street and the Terminal Waterfront represent the study area's deep industrial history, which began in the early twentieth century and declined after redevelopment. Today—apart from the extant 69th Street Transfer Bridge site—railyards and other constructed elements associated with the industrial waterfront history have been erased.

To date, preservation efforts in this area include multiple landmark designations and National Register listings. Riverside Park and Drive are listed on the National Register due to the significance of its design and landscape and the presence of notable sculptures within its bounds (Kurshan 1983). The park is also designated as a scenic landmark by the NYC Landmarks Preservation Commission (Cromley and Guillet 1980). However, both designation reports only acknowledge the significance of the landscape design and not the previous significance of the area as an industrial waterfront.

The current preservation efforts in the area are insufficient, and have resulted in the erasure of the significant contributions of Black workers who played a vital role in the development of the 60th Street Yard and Terminal. Through a restorative justice approach, this project seeks to give due recognition to the neglected history of these Black workers by redesigning the underutilized section between 66th and 70th streets. The project would commemorate the Black workers' history, educate visitors, and improve the area's connectivity and functionality.

KEY FINDINGS ADDRESSED

- » CLAIM TO SPACE
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- » UNDERREPRESENTED NARRATIVES AND PUBLICS

BACKGROUND, SIGNIFICANCE, AND RATIONALE

The 69th Street Transfer Bridge, part of the Central Railroad Freight Yard, is separately recognized for its engineering significance (Howe 2003). However, the contribution of the numerous Black workers who toiled on this waterfront remains unmentioned in the designation report. Furthermore, these industrial ruins face the looming threat of demolition by neglect. Despite the lack of investment in this remaining infrastructure, some local artists have found a creative outlet by adorning the ruins with their art installations (Israel 2018). Stories of people were projected onto the structure, but these stories were unrelated to the industrial history and the history of Black dockworkers who worked on this waterfront.

Another important location that presents the industrial waterfront history is the Locomotive Lawn. It is a park situated between the Hudson River Greenway and West 62nd Street and houses a retired train locomotive. The deteriorated locomotive from the Brooklyn waterfront may remind people of the industrial past, but it is not related to San Juan Hill's industrial history (Atlas Obscura 2023).

Riverside Park South is located close to the 69th Transfer Bridge site, and on the original site of the New York Central Railroad 60th Street Yard and Terminal. Despite its meaningful location, the park only emphasizes its scenic charm.

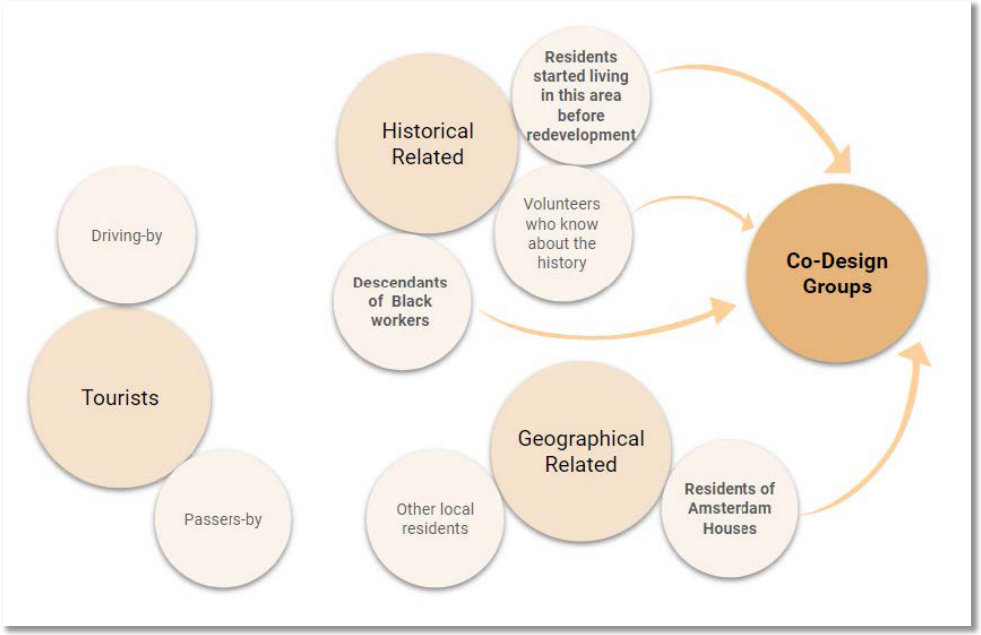


Diagram of the current historic value recognition of Riverside Park and Riverside Drive (2023).
C. Sun.

Locomotive Lawn (2023).
Atlas Obscura.

DESCRIPTION AND IMPLEMENTATION

Primary Audiences

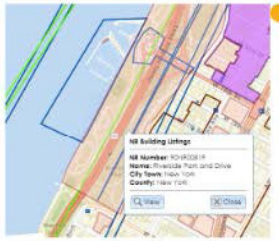
The primary audiences for this proposal can be categorized into history-related, geography-related, and tourists. The co-design process would involve the participation of:

- descendants of Black workers,
- residents who lived in the area prior to redvelopment,
- residents of the Amsterdam Houses, and
- volunteers with knowledge of the history.

Connector Organizations

Implementation of this proposal would happen in collaboration with:

- the NYC Department of Parks and Recreation to execute the final design,
- Goddard Riverside to support engagement with community members by organizing a co-design workshop, and
- the New York City Municipal Archives to support historical research.



National Register (1983)

Significance:

landscape architecture;
Sculpture;

"A significant landscape design by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux"

Riverside Park and Riverside Drive
Based on the Map from Google Earth

LPC Designation (1980)

Significance:
New York City Scenic Landmark

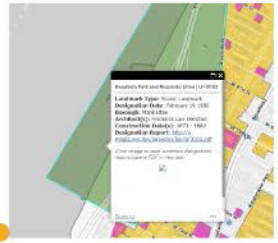


Diagram of the current historic value recognition of Riverside Park and Riverside Drive (2023).
C. Sun.

National Register (2003)

Significance:

This historic engineering landmark is one of the most significant marine structures remaining in New York City.

69th Street Transfer Bridge
Based on the Map from Google Earth

"Stories Projected In Light on the Old Transfer Bridge, and Two Other Local Art Installations" (2018).
West Side Rag.

Design Methodology

The first phase of the proposal includes the preliminary schedule planning and site design for the underutilized section by connector organizations and professionals. At the preliminary design stage, the paths and plantings would follow the historical railroad geometry to create accessible routes to ensure inclusivity, incorporating exhibition platforms and recreational spaces along the way.

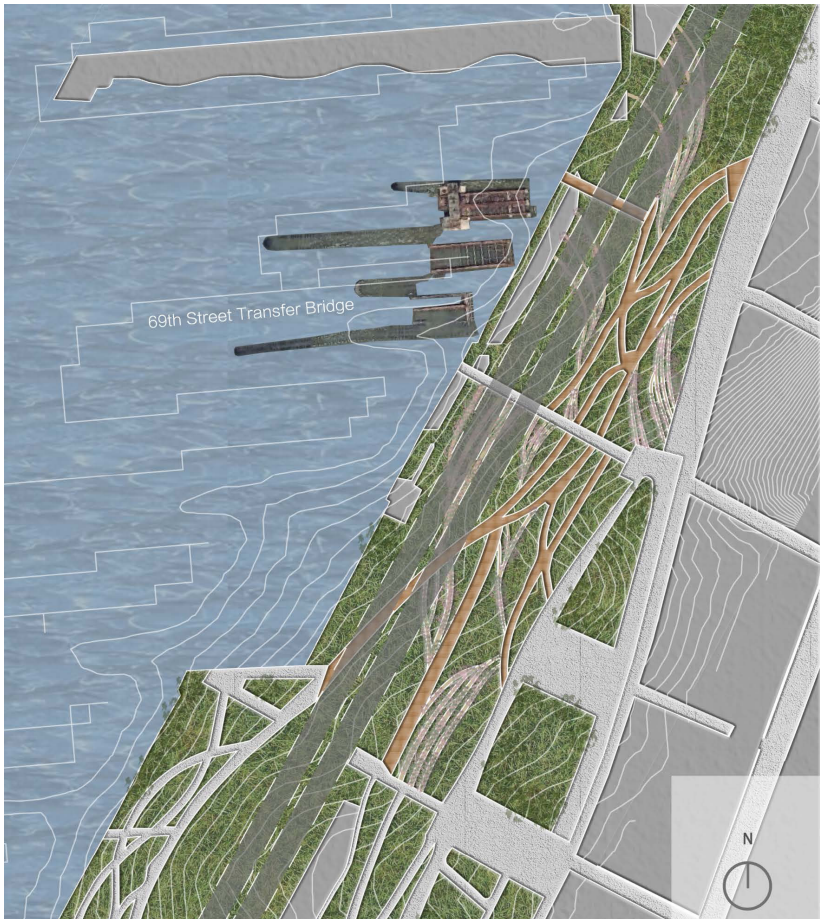
The second phase is the core of the proposal. This phase involves a participatory design process, which would foster creative expression and self-determination among co-design groups. After setting the theme, professionals would call for stories of Black workers and engage with related communities. In addition, they would identify descendants of Black workers, using the lists of Black employees in the New York Central Railroad Company archives.

The archives of the Central Railroad Company includes a company anniversary handbook covering the period from 1826 to 1926, as well as various records from 1900 to 1930 regarding the 60th Street waterfront operations (Carter 1917). Black dockworker information can also be found in the Pennsylvania Railroad Company archives, as the company merged with the Central Railroad Company at a later date (New York Public Library 2023).

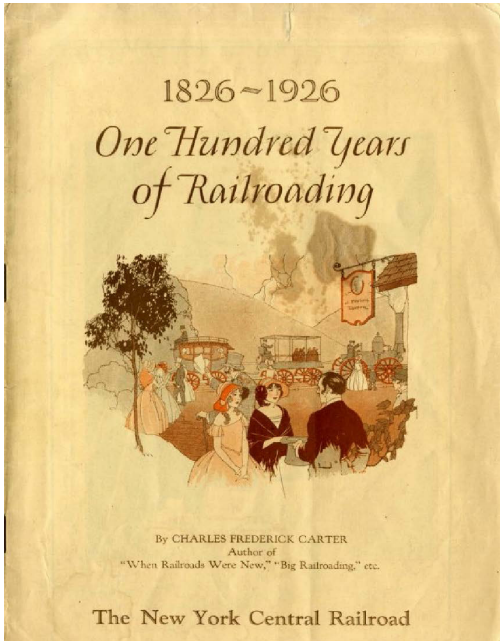
The family information of Black workers can be found by searching census records on Ancestry.com, in order to locate their descendants. Furthermore, the names of Black workers can be found by searching the newspaper archives in the New York area for relevant information on the Central Railroad 60th Street Yard and workers. Historical information would be collected through oral histories, photographs, and paper archives from local residents and categorized for workshops. Co-design groups will decide how to exhibit the stories and create recreational spaces with pre-made prototypes with professional assistance.

The third phase focuses on construction and executing design. The designs would feature pallets as an architectural element that speaks to the historic industrial scene. They would be used as materials for pathways, exhibition panels and tables, viewing platforms, and recreational facilities. After construction is completed, the site would require management and maintenance by NYC Parks and volunteers.

New York Central's 60th Street Terminal waterfront in 1926 (2023).
Annotated by Y. Chen.



Pre-design site plan (2023).
C. Sun.



Booklet of 1826-1926 One Hundred Years Anniversary of Railroading.
Adirondack Experience Vertical Files Collection.

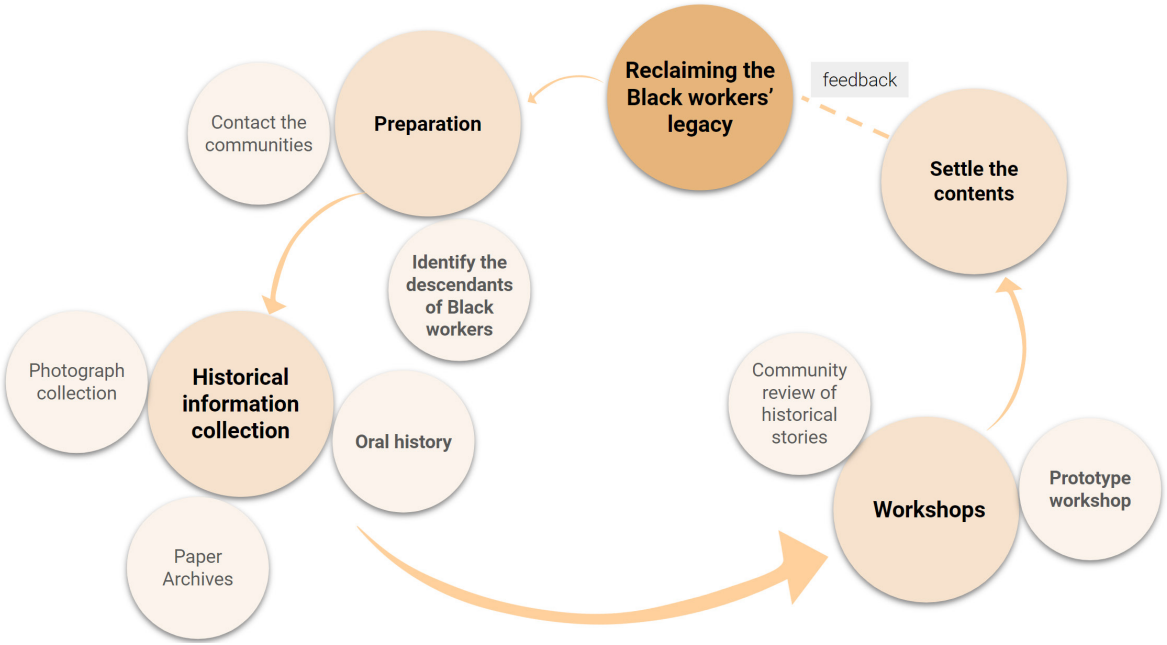


Diagram of the participatory design process (2023).
C. Sun.

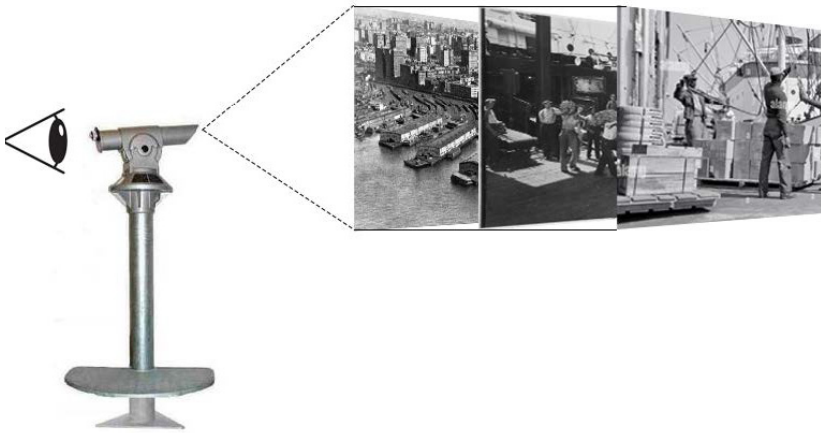
Node Design

The exhibition platforms along the path serve several purposes. They provide visitors with information about the history of the Black workers in the waterfront industry. Additionally, they feature interactive elements such as telescopes that allow visitors to engage with the history and culture of the area in a direct and meaningful way.

Three types of nodes would be implemented on the platforms, responding to the issues addressed in the key findings from this studio report. An example of the first type of node is the platforms on the corridors beneath the highway that connect the park and the waterfront, forging connections that responded to the constructed vulnerability key finding.

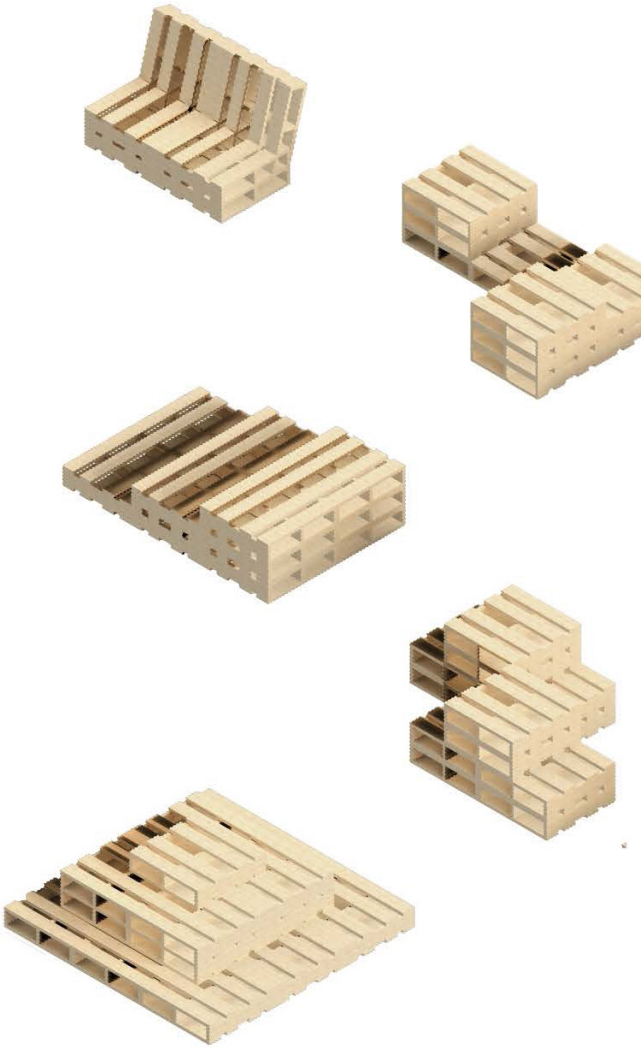
The second type of node responds to the underrepresented narratives and publics from San Juan Hill. The platform, designed to re-interpret historical scenes, would feature accessible viewing platforms equipped with telescopes for observing the 69th street transfer bridge ruins. Historical photographs of Black workers at the waterfront will be pre-installed in the telescopes, and as people view through them, the photos will continuously loop in the frames.

The third type of node is the platforms for recreation spaces in the park. Facilities such as seatings and playground elements are the products of the co-design workshops. The prototypes are created using small modular blocks with multiple iterations.



Telescope diagram (2023).
Y. Chen and C. Sun.

Through the incorporation of physical elements such as pathways and platforms, this proposal serves as a means of rectifying the insufficient acknowledgement of the marginalized history of Black workers, highlighting the legacy of this underrepresented labor group in historic San Juan Hill.



Prototype examples (2023).
Y. Chen and C. Sun.

Node Type I: Corridor between the park and waterfront (2023).
Y. Chen and C. Sun.

Node Type II: Platform for re-imagining and viewing (2023).
Y. Chen and C. Sun.

Node Type III: Platform for recreation rendering (2023).
Y. Chen and C. Sun.

Aerial view of Lincoln Center.
Iñaki Vinaixa

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APPENDIX A: HISTORIC CONTEXTS

HISTORIC CONTEXTS

The development of historic context statements, as the starting point for examining the concerns and histories of San Juan Hill, involved researching the history of the area and period of significance to define important events, individuals, publics, stories, associations, institutions, and patterns in development. This interrogation of San Juan Hill's history, through the lens of twelve intersecting themes, provided evidence from which the team collectively derived key findings. The studio expanded on traditional approaches to historic contexts, in an exploration of multidimensional inquiries, including but not limited to:

- How does this theme demonstrate injustice?
- Who/what has benefitted / is benefitting from this injustice?
- Who has been directly/disproportionately impacted/hurt? Who has been indirectly affected?
- How have community members organized and fought against the injustice(s) related to this theme? What are some instances of resilience and resistance?

In keeping with the studio's theme of restorative justice, students were asked to focus on publics who historically have been marginalized, including by the preservation enterprise. Faculty sought to facilitate student learning of concepts and methodologies, and their application to people-focused inquiries of social-spatial dynamics, by concentrating context research on Black and Puerto Rican publics in San Juan Hill. This is not intended to be exclusionary, as San Juan Hill's history included a significant White population as well, many of whom were unjustly displaced through urban renewal. The studio's methods of inquiry could be applied to additional publics who were integral to San Juan Hill's history, but the studio's scope was purposefully limited due to the constraints of a semester-long course and the underrepresentation of Black and Latine heritage in preservation canons.

Residents and Publics A-6

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Preservation A-174

Lively stoops, windows, and ground-floor businesses on 65th Street between Amsterdam Avenue and Columbus Avenu (1958).
Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project Photographs Collection, 1958.

RESIDENTS AND PUBLICS

Ellie Phetteplace and Andrés Santana-Miranda

Before the urban renewal era, the study area housed various historically marginalized communities, including—among others—Black and Puerto Rican populations. Facing persistent patterns of racial discrimination, hostility, and violence, these groups often lacked the authority to claim and occupy space in the city. However, Black and Puerto Rican residents countered the discrimination in varied forms of resilience and strength reflected in San Juan Hill's history, demonstrating how networks of mutual aid could work to realize the goals and aspirations of a community. The spaces and institutions that characterized these networks, in the forms of healthcare, educational, recreational, and civic organizations, are critical to understanding the formed strength and sense of community in the San Juan Hill neighborhood. Even after the redevelopment of Lincoln Center, some of these vulnerable populations remained, although with limited representation. Their presence, however, cemented the histories and narratives of resilience and oppression well beyond the displacement patterns from San Juan Hill.

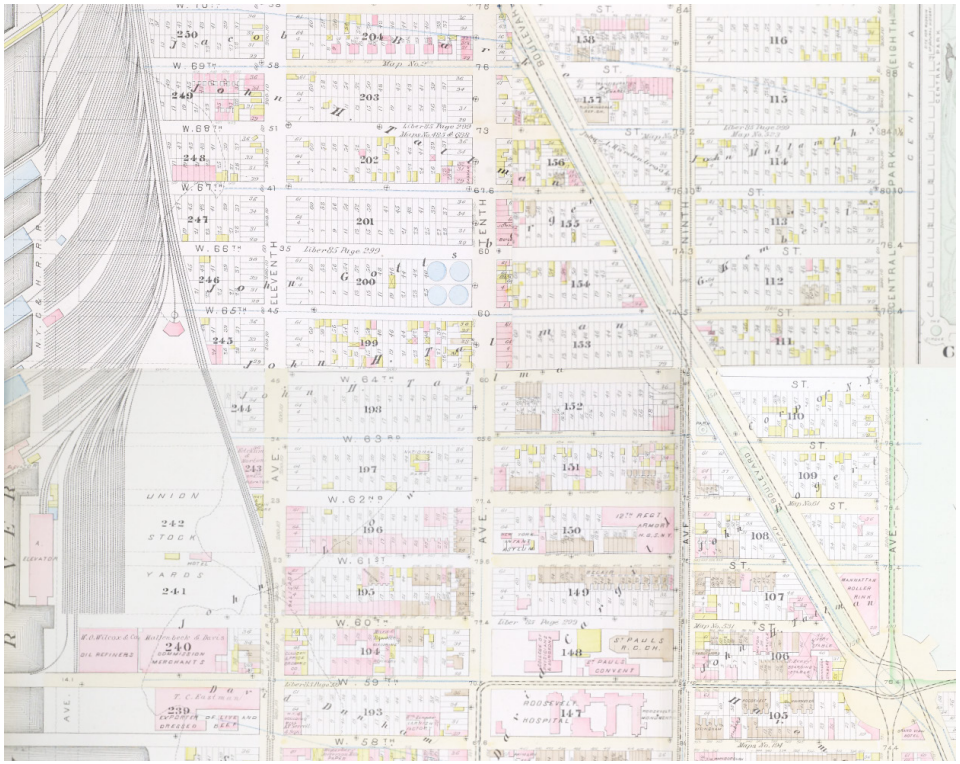
POPULATION OVERVIEW

By the seventeenth century, Dutch farmers occupied a portion of the land of the Lenape people, which they named Bloomingdale (McCarthy 1928; Mott 1908). Today's Columbus Circle, which once stood as part of the Somerindyck farm, was acquired after the American Revolution (Mott 1908, 10-11). However, it was not until the 1860s that more dense settlement and development began west of Central Park, between 58th and 70th Streets.

According to John Clyde (1898, 3), the general migration of marginalized communities up the West Side generally began first with the German population, followed by Irish groups; however, in the case of San Juan Hill, Irish immigrants were the first to settle in the area. In 1868, the Board of Health evicted Manhattan and Brooklyn residents from cellar dwellings, the least expensive form of housing, due to unsafe and excessively unsanitary living conditions. These evictions caused the creation of "squatter populations" in various locations throughout Manhattan, including a shanty settlement west of Central Park between 60th and 80th Streets (Duffy 1974, 223-225). This shantytown in the area that would come to be known as San Juan Hill catalyzed development in the area. According to Robert A. M. Stern, the area's development began in the 1870s with "a predominantly Irish middle- and lower-middle class residential neighborhood that constituted, in effect, an extension of Hell's Kitchen to the south" (Stern 1995, 674). By 1885, urban development was evolving in the form of brick and stone Old Law tenement buildings and timber structures.

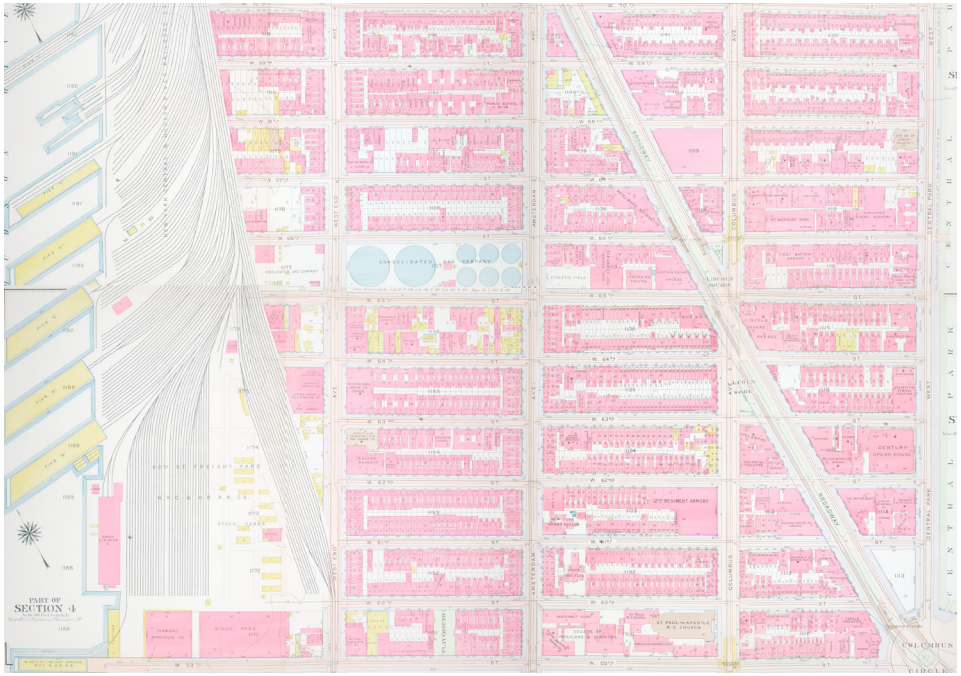
In the late 1890s, Black families began to arrive in the San Juan Hill area, in part due to racial hostility in other areas of Manhattan and the Great Migration. Some Irish residents of the neighborhood consequently moved northward, driven in part by racial intolerance (*New York Age* 1905a). However, many remained, and these different communities concentrated in and occupied separate pockets within the neighborhood. In less than three decades, the area was entirely developed with brick tenement buildings and some industries surrounding the neighborhoods.

By 1910, the total population of San Juan Hill was 47,004; 80 percent identified as White, while 20 percent identified as Black. In the 1930 census, San Juan Hill experienced a drop in population to 36,087, likely due to the Depression, the Immigration Act of 1924, and the migration of Black residents from San Juan Hill to Harlem. By 1950, following the construction of Amsterdam Houses, there was an uptick in population, but a decade later, largely due to redevelopment, the population was half what it was in 1910. After 1960, though, the total population has steadily increased.



Demonstration of slow development in the area of San Juan Hill by 1885. According to the atlas, pink buildings are made of brick; brown buildings, of stone; and yellow buildings, of wood.

E. Robinson and R. H. Pidgeon, Atlas of the City of New York (New York: E. Robinson, 1885).



By 1914, blocks were composed almost entirely of brick buildings.

George W. Bromley and Walter S. Bromley, Atlas of the City of New York (Philadelphia: G. W. Bromley & Co., 1914).

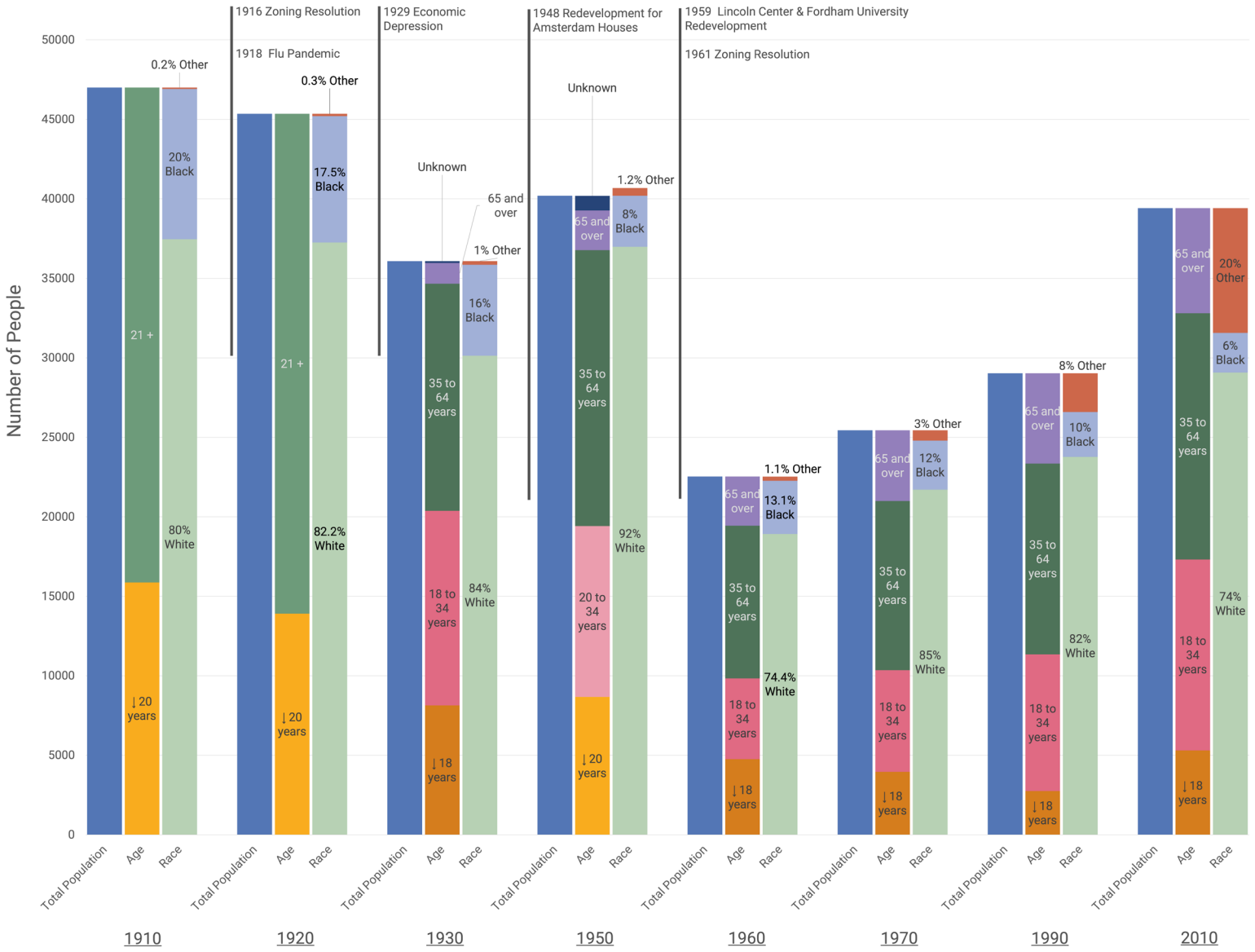
This studio's analysis of demographics in San Juan Hill over time centers on Black and Puerto Rican populations, to contextualize the neighborhood's racial stigmas. The San Juan Hill neighborhood was historically characterized through the lens of slum blight and the prominence of the Black community in the first portion of the twentieth century. However, it is essential to note that the Black population never reached more than 25 percent of the total population in the studio's bounded study area, and relative to the White population, has proportionally decreased over time. However, relative to the overall number of Black people in Manhattan in the early twentieth century, it represents a high concentration of Black population and thus was considered a Black neighborhood.

Although this demographic research focused on Black and Puerto Rican populations due to the historical perception and stigma surrounding these communities, other foreign-born and immigrant populations should be acknowledged. Some of the underrepresented nationalities and communities identified in the research include Irish, Italian, Cuban, British, and Polish populations. Although the history of each community will not be explored in this research, they immigrated mostly during the nineteenth century and to some extent into the twentieth century (Caroline Zachry Institute for Human Development 1950).

Throughout the twentieth century, most immigrants arrived from Europe. During the first half of the twentieth century, the Irish population significantly outnumbered immigrants from other countries and regions, but decreased in the 1930s. The same trend occurred for the Italian, German, Cuban, and English populations. None of these specific immigrant groups ever reached a majority (more than fifty percent) of the overall foreign-born population. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, however, most immigration was from Asia. The general foreign-born population dropped drastically in the 1970s, reflecting the effect of redevelopment.

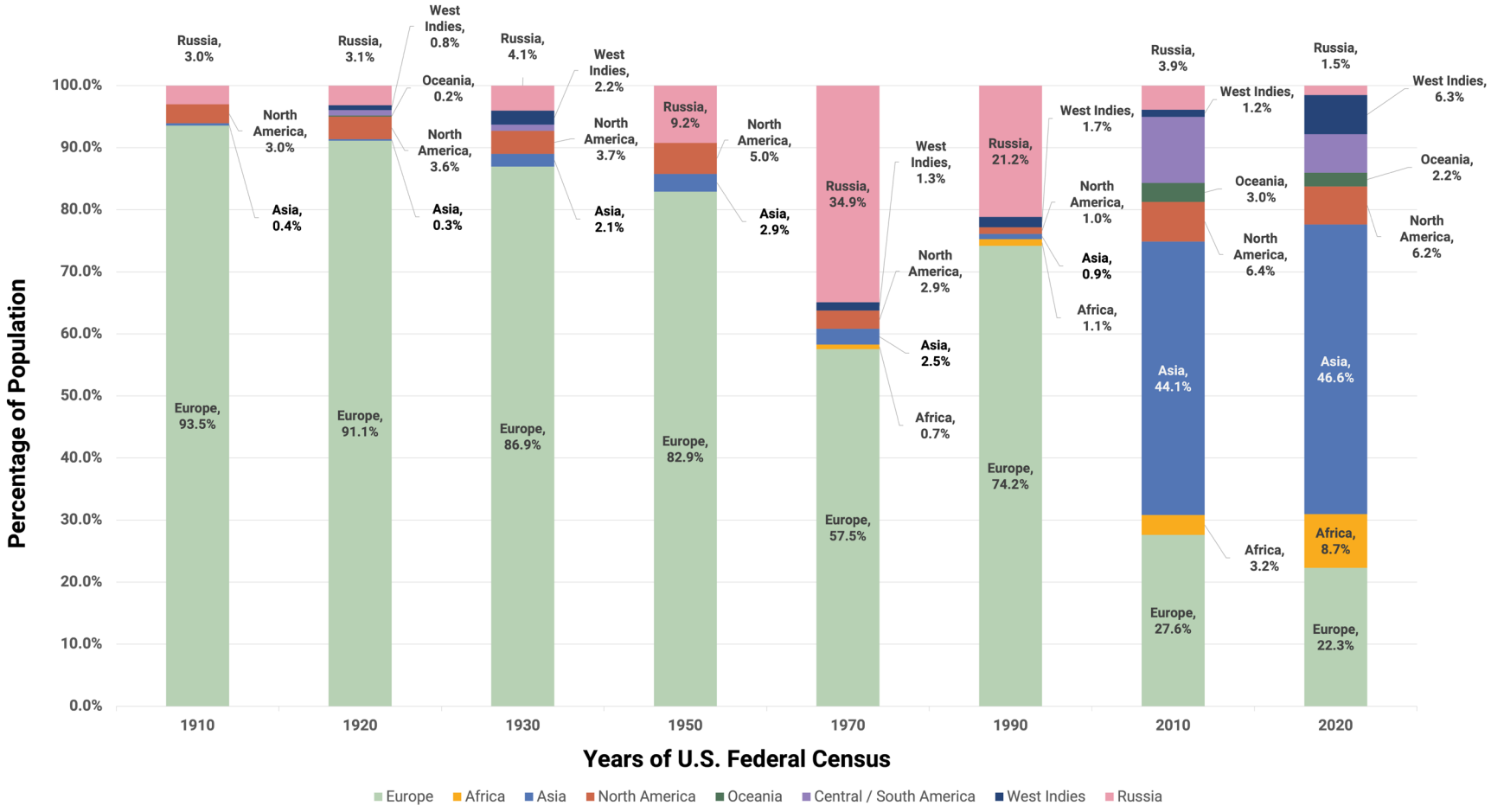
In researching and determining demographic data, the focus was placed on the racial and ethnic compositions of the San Juan Hill neighborhood to understand the vulnerabilities of these populations due to racialized characterizations and public perceptions. As a result, the research does not delve into a discussion regarding vulnerabilities relating to income and economic stability of the communities in the area. These vulnerabilities, such as income disparities and the overall socioeconomic standing of the population in the area, are also crucial in evaluating justice, though they were unable to be explored. Likewise, further information about education and employment of the families was not included in the following discussion, though again, they are essential elements when evaluating justice.

Population, Age, and Race Demographics of San Juan Hill Over Time per the US Federal Census

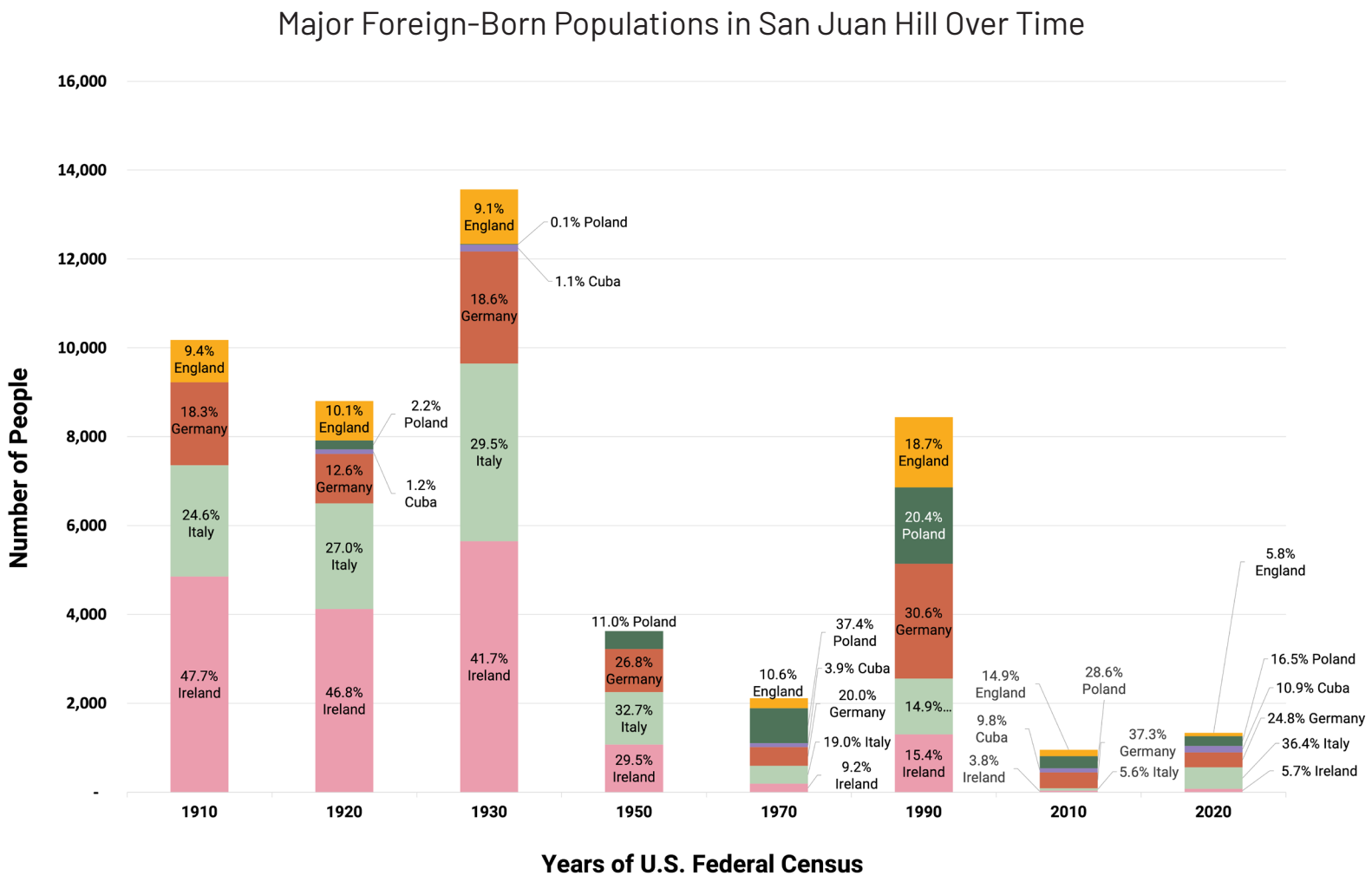


Population, Age, and Race Demographics of San Juan Hill Over Time per the US Federal Census (2023).

E. Phetteplace based on US Federal Census data: 1910, 1920, and 1930 census data from IMPUS NHGIS; 1950, 1970, 1990, 2010, and 2020 census data from Social Explorer.



Foreign-born populations by regions in San Juan Hill between 1910 and 2020 (2023).
A. Santana-Miranda based on US Federal Census data: 1910, 1920, and 1930 census data from IMPUS NHGIS; 1950, 1970, 1990, 2010, and 2020 census data from Social Explorer.



Foreign-born populations by regions in San Juan Hill between 1910 and 2020 (2023).

A. Santana-Miranda based on US Federal Census data: 1910, 1920, and 1930 census data from IMPUS NHGIS; 1950, 1970, 1990, 2010, and 2020 census data from Social Explorer.

THE BLACK POPULATION

Migration and Displacement

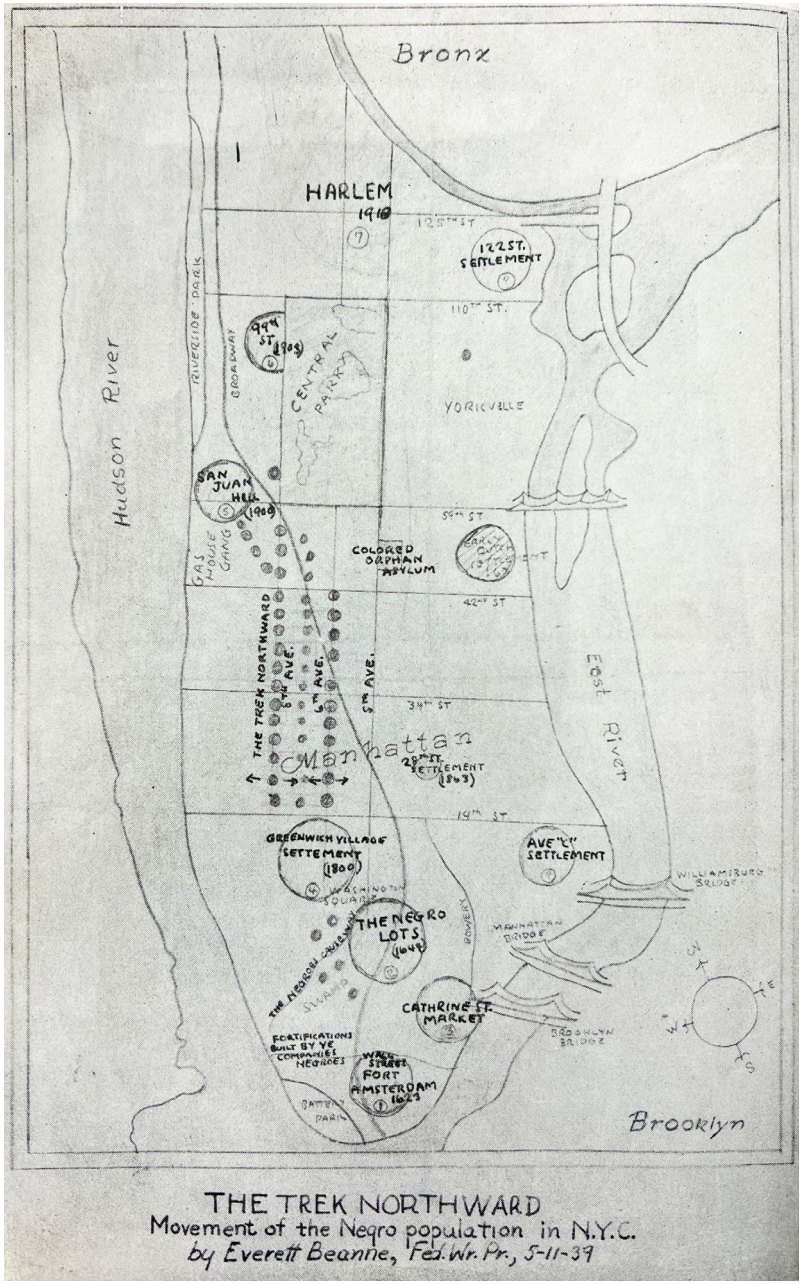
In Manhattan, the Black population was continuously and progressively displaced, forcing Black migration northward.

The first Black population of New York formed in 1626 when eleven indentured servants were brought to the Dutch settlement of New Amsterdam. In 1664, the indentured servants were enslaved when the Dutch surrendered to the English, and New Amsterdam became New York. Though earlier emancipation laws afforded freedom to some in New York State, slavery was not abolished in New York until 1827. By 1830, there were 13,976 Black people reported in the census (Anderson 1982, 4-5). While the Black population was distributed throughout the city (Johnson 1930, 58), a significant number settled within "Little Africa" in the Greenwich Village area (diZerega Wall, Rothschild and Copeland 2008, 99). The mid-nineteenth century saw an increase in immigration of foreign-born Black settlers to New York from Cuba, the Virgin Islands, the West Indies, the Philippines, and West Africa (Ottley 1967, 190). Black populations were driven from "Little Africa" in large part due to the 1860s Draft Riots and increased levels of targeted racial violence (diZerega Wall, Rothschild, and Copeland 2008; Scheiner 1965).

Many Black residents of "Little Africa" relocated to the "Tenderloin District." More wealthy people moved from Manhattan to Brooklyn, while others moved further north in Manhattan (Anderson 1982, 3: Wintz and Finkelman 2004, 473). By the 1890s, most Black people settled on the West Side, from the Twenties through the low Sixties, including the San Juan Hill District (Larson 2023; Scheiner 1965).

Intra-city transportation developments also influenced migration of multiple publics; construction caused residential displacement and at the same time new lines made commuting easier. The construction of elevated lines, for example, pushed White families to leave "these avenues because of the resultant noise and loss of sunlight" (Scheiner 1965, 22). The opening of the Lenox Avenue elevated subway line increased transportation accessibility, allowing them to live further from where they work and commute (Larson 2023).

In the early twentieth century, Manhattan was also experiencing increased immigration of Black people from the West Indies. According to Maddox (2022, 492-4), San Juan Hill became "a popular neighborhood for Caribbean immigrants living in Manhattan prior to 1915." As noted by Anderson (1982, 26-7), the communities from the West Indies included educated and "ambitious men and women, full of the energy and determination of the immigrant who means to attain to prominence in his new home." This included the West Indian labor leader, Hubert Henry Harrison, and the Afro-Puerto Rican archivist



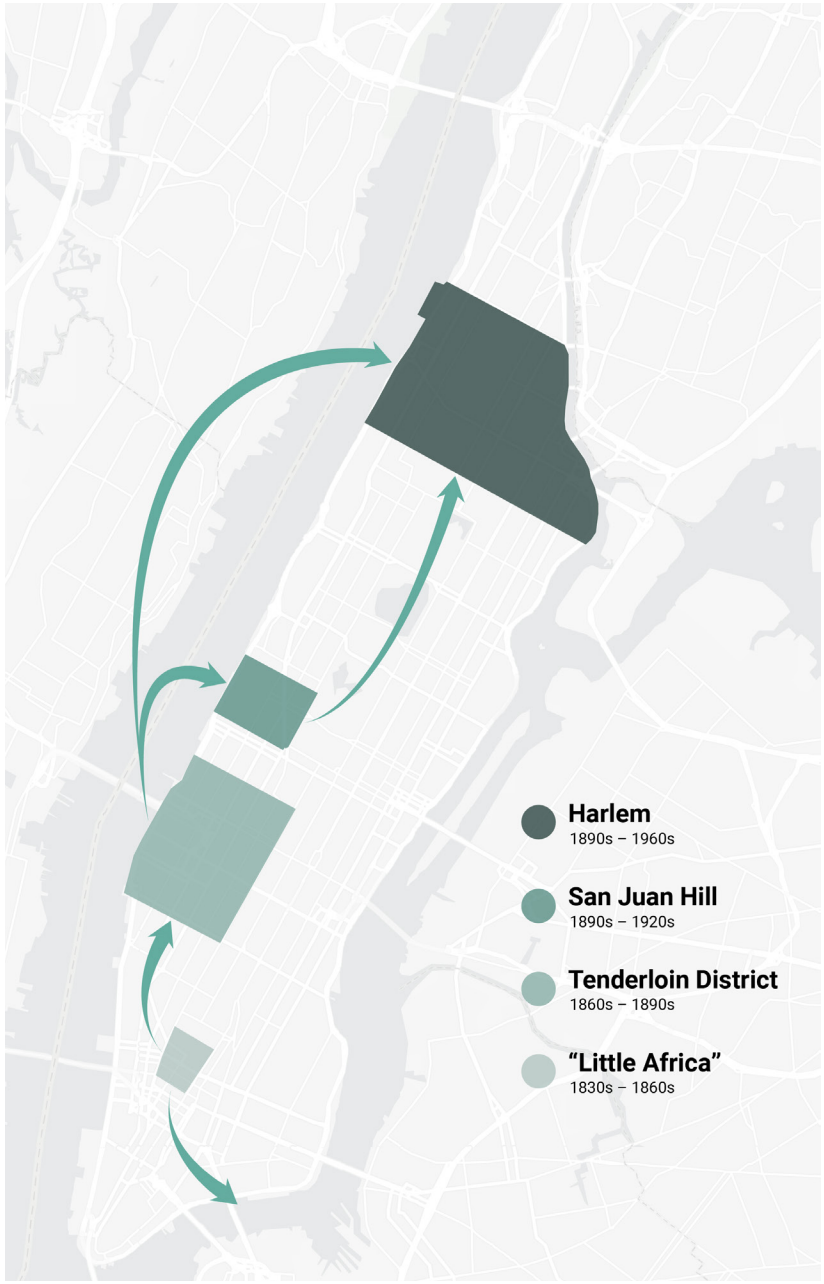
Infographic map of the Northward movement of the Manhattan Black Population.
Everett Beanne in 1939. Source: Roi Ottley and William J. Weatherby, eds. 1967. The Negro in New York: An Informal Social History. New York: New York Public Library, ii.

Arturo Alfonso Schomburg, who lived on West 62nd Street within San Juan Hill from the 1890s until the 1910s (Martínez Sanabria 2023). Eventually, both Harrison and Schomburg relocated to Harlem, as did most of the West Indian population (Maddox 2022, 494).

In addition to relocation within Manhattan and immigration from beyond the United States, the Great Migration of the early twentieth century fueled Black migration from the US South to New York City (Scheiner 1965, 22). The Great Migration involved a plethora of socio-political and economic factors, including unemployment, low wages, World War I labor shortages, lack of educational opportunities, poverty, legal inequality, as well as the racial terror imposed by Jim Crow laws (Scott 1920; Office of the Historian 2016; US National Archives 2021; Massey and Denton 1993; Wilkerson 2016).

The Black exodus to the North was often met with uneasiness and contempt. First- and second-generation White immigrants often "reaffirmed their own 'Whiteness' by oppressing a people that was even lower in the racial hierarchy" (Massey and Denton 1993, 28-30). The White apprehension toward the Black migration was met with the development of various policies to deny access to housing and mortgages, such as sundown towns, restrictive covenants, or redlining. These standards acted as "the pillars of a residential caste system in the North that calcified segregation and wealth inequality over generations" (Wilkerson 2016). As Wilkerson illustrates through the example of Black author Richard Wright. Wright relocated several times in his quest for other suns, fleeing Mississippi for Memphis and Memphis for Chicago and Chicago for New York, where, living in Greenwich Village, barbers refused to serve him and some restaurants refused to seat him. In 1946, near the height of the Great Migration, he came to the disheartening recognition that, wherever he went, he faced hostility (Wilkerson 2016).

Even in Manhattan, Black residents suffered discrimination and disparate conditions, forcing them to repeatedly migrate to other areas of the city in an effort to claim space and build a community. Reflecting this history, the Black community of San Juan Hill stands as a testament to both resilience and oppression.



Infographic map of the Northward movement of the Manhattan Black Population over time (2023).
A. Santana-Miranda based on information from Scheiner (1965).

Migrant Streams of the Great Migration, 1910-1930 (2020).

G. Gilmore "The Great Migration," in "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness," Chapter 10.14, The Bill of Rights Institute/OpenStax. (https://cnx.org/contents/NgBFhmUc@14.3:_TrXiRgs@6/10-14- percentF0 percent9F percent94 percent8E-The-Great-Migration)

Networks of Self-Reliance

The arrival of the Black community to San Juan Hill in the 1890s—from the South, from the Caribbean, and from within New York City—was not without challenges. The discrimination and lack of services, housing, and more contributed to the creation of networks that enabled self-reliance within the Black community of San Juan Hill. This history stands as a testament to both resilience and oppression, fostering a solid network of civic organizations that led to a stronger sense of community and claim to space in San Juan Hill.

Throughout the beginning of the twentieth century, the Black population established various organizations on West 63rd Street, many of which cooperated with each other to address poverty issues, poor living conditions, and a desire to help the population and the children. The building at 202 West 63rd Street, commissioned by Union Baptist Church, housed various community organizations after the church moved to 204 West 63rd Street. By the early 1900s, the New York Free Kindergarten Association for Colored Children moved into 202 West 63rd Street due to the need for space while Phipps House No. 2 underwent construction some blocks above (Larson 2023). Attending children five years old and under, the organization proved the need in the community. According to the 1910 US Federal Census, 5,426 children under the age of six lived in the entire neighborhood; in other words, around 11.5 percent of the total population of San Juan Hill (US Census 1910). Even after Phipps House No. 2 finished construction, the kindergarten stayed in 202 and was renamed Mary F. Walden Kindergarten for Colored Children in 1906 (Larson 2023).

By 1908, an external institution arrived in the area. The Henry Street Settlement on the Lower East Side established a branch at 202, called Lincoln House, to provide healthcare services to the community (Larson 2023). According to Larson (2023), around 314 out of 1,000 babies in San Juan Hill died during their first year, thus solidifying the need for additional healthcare services in the community. Therefore, in 1909, the Henry Street Settlement absorbed the Walden Kindergarten into the Lincoln Day Nursery. Besides being a financial incentive to Union Baptist Church, the services focused on children and nursery work (Larson 2023).

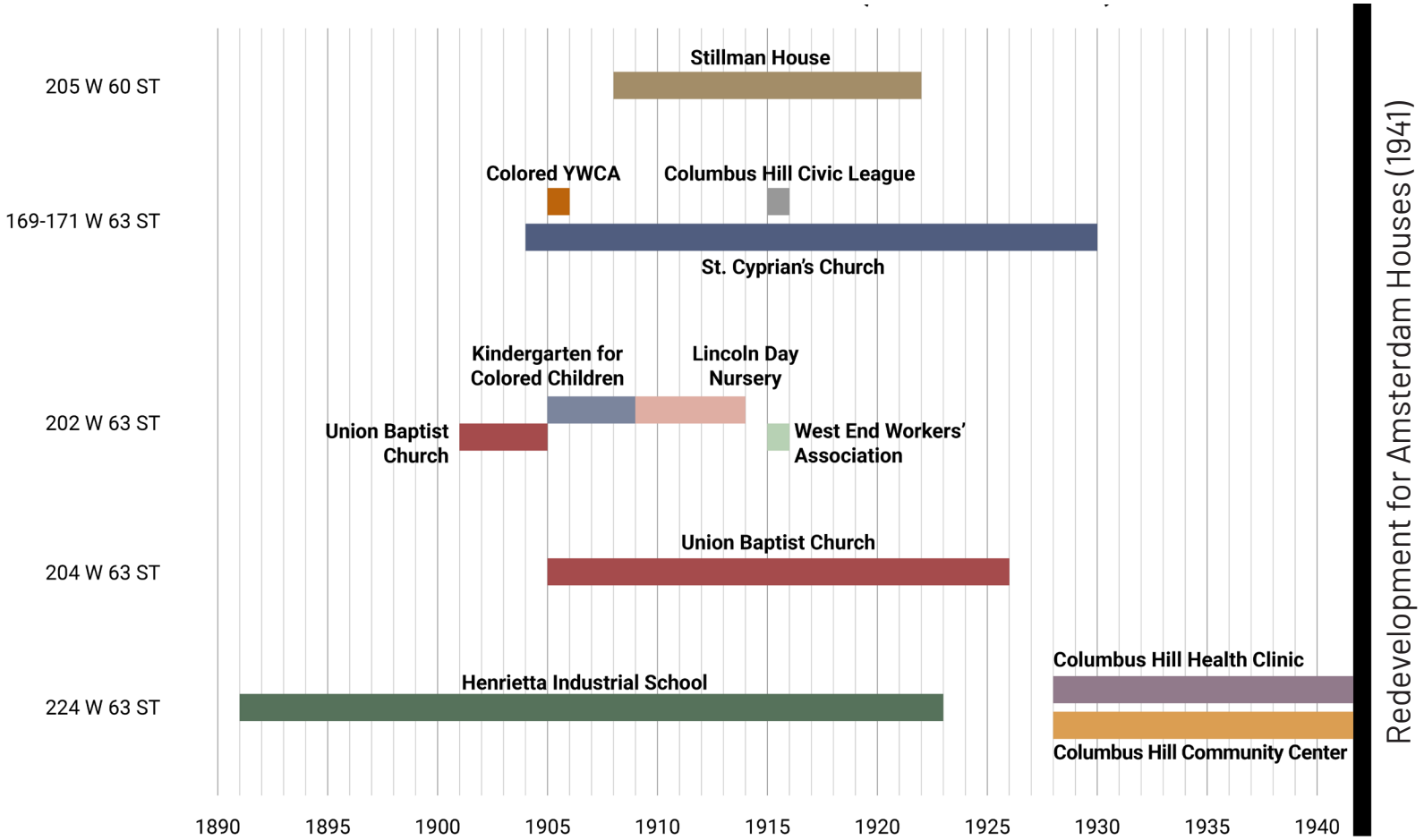
Nevertheless, these services lasted only briefly at 202 West 63rd Street. The Lincoln Day Nursery discounted its services in 1914 due to expensive fees and hesitancy among mothers about using the facilities. The nursery's spaces were adapted into adolescent industrial training rooms (Larson 2023). The building hosted, however, several organizations in the neighborhood, such as the West End Workers' Association, the Music School Settlement, the Kindergarten Mothers' Club, the Working Girls' Club, and others (*New York Age* 1915a; Larson 2023; *New York Age* 1912; Scheiner 1965, 148).

Besides 202 and 204, another building down 63rd Street included various uses since the late nineteenth century: 224 West 63rd Street. Occupied by the Children's Aid Society in 1892, the organization turned it into the Henrietta Industrial School. Entirely White-run, the institution was dedicated to instructing and preparing Black children in San Juan Hill for work in manual labor and fields. By 1909, the administration established the Henrietta Evening Trade School for [Black] Adults, mainly to serve the growing West Indian population, which included coursework on dressmaking, homemaking, restaurant cooking, and janitorial work (Scheiner 1965, 147). While the school's administration fell out during the 1920s, the building housed other uses in later years (Larson 2023). By 1928, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. donated $72,000 to create the Columbus Hill Community Center. The building, which also housed the Columbus Hill Health Center, run by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor (AICP), aimed to cater "to the recreational needs and provide hot lunches for the children of the section" (*New York Amsterdam News* 1928). Between May and September 1930, services stopped due to budget issues but later reopened due to protests from community members (*New York Herald Tribune* 1930a).

Another institution on West 63rd Street, although on a different block, was St. Cyprian's Church. While Larson (2023) explained that much of their initial assistance to the community remained unknown, the Episcopal church began services at 175-177 West 63rd Street in 1904. In the meantime, the church's administration rented the rowhouse at 169 West 63rd Street to the first Colored YWCA since October 1905; however, the YWCA's stay only lasted sixteen months at the site. Even though the lease had a year left, the church evicted the Colored YWCA to demolish the rowhouses from 169 to 173 West 63rd Street to build a new temple. Their brand new facilities at 169-171 West 63rd Street included outdoor space for drying laundry and a printing press that employed men from the West Indies (Larson 2023). As a matter of fact, Sacks (2023) underscored how the Episcopal church historically appealed to the Caribbean worshippers living in the San Juan Hill neighborhood.

However, within the network of aid existing in San Juan Hill, an informal event distinguishes the sense of community beyond the borders of institutional services: rent

Black Organizations Related to Place (1890-1941)



Infographic timeline representing how Black organizations claimed and shared space in San Juan Hill between the 1900s to 1940s.
Andrés Santana-Miranda, based on information from Larson 2023.

parties. Originated by Black families in the rural South, rent parties in the North became one of many creative ways for Black families to supplement their low incomes and collect enough money to pay the landlord since "their wages were insufficient to meet the cost of housing and food" (Wintz and Finkelman 2004, 465). While mostly prevalent in Harlem due to the high rents in the area, Black households in other neighborhoods employed this mechanism to meet the demands of landlords without further compromising their economic limitations. An article from December 1926 illustrates the occurrence of rent parties in San Juan Hill (*New York Age* 1926). By the 1920s, most of the San Juan Hill's Black population was comprised of poor and working-class families that could not afford the high rents of other areas, such as Harlem (Woolner 2015).

LGBTQ+ PRESENCE

Wintz and Finkelman (2004, 909) describe rent parties as one of many social spaces where Black queer people could create and extend their social network. However, one event tragically concluded with a murder:

> *One of these rent parties a few weeks ago was the scene of a tragic crime, in which one jealous woman cut the throat of another, because the two were rivals for the affections of a third woman. The whole situation was on par with the recent Broadway play, imported from Paris, although the underworld tragedy took place on Columbus Hill. That the story of "The Captive" should have found its parallel in this locality, is a revelation of the fact that the frailties of human nature are much alike, whether in Paris or New York, regardless of complexions. In the meantime, the combination of bad gin, jealous women, a carving knife and a rent party is dangerous to the health of all connected.* (*New York Age* 1926)

In addition to the economic factors of rent parties and the portrayal of the tragedy, the article is evidence of LGBTQ+ presence in San Juan Hill. While this is an isolated event and sample of an assumed sizable population, it allows the introduction of alternate narratives about other publics often overlooked in history and preservation.

These organizations and countless other societies and institutions described in the historic context analyses to follow demonstrated how strongly the Black community asserted their claim to and authority of space in San Juan Hill through systems of self-reliance and centers for the community. The organizations' nodal role was often tied to the multiplicity of services within a single building and to the building's physical location within a community to promote accessibility. However, this reasoning should not cloud the oppressive realities that the Black community faced as they attempted to claim the authority of space, leading them to leave San Juan Hill in the 1910s. Even if the sense of community and network of organizations moved with the population, it was motivated by the constant patterns of racial hostility that initially drove them to San Juan Hill.

The Move to Harlem

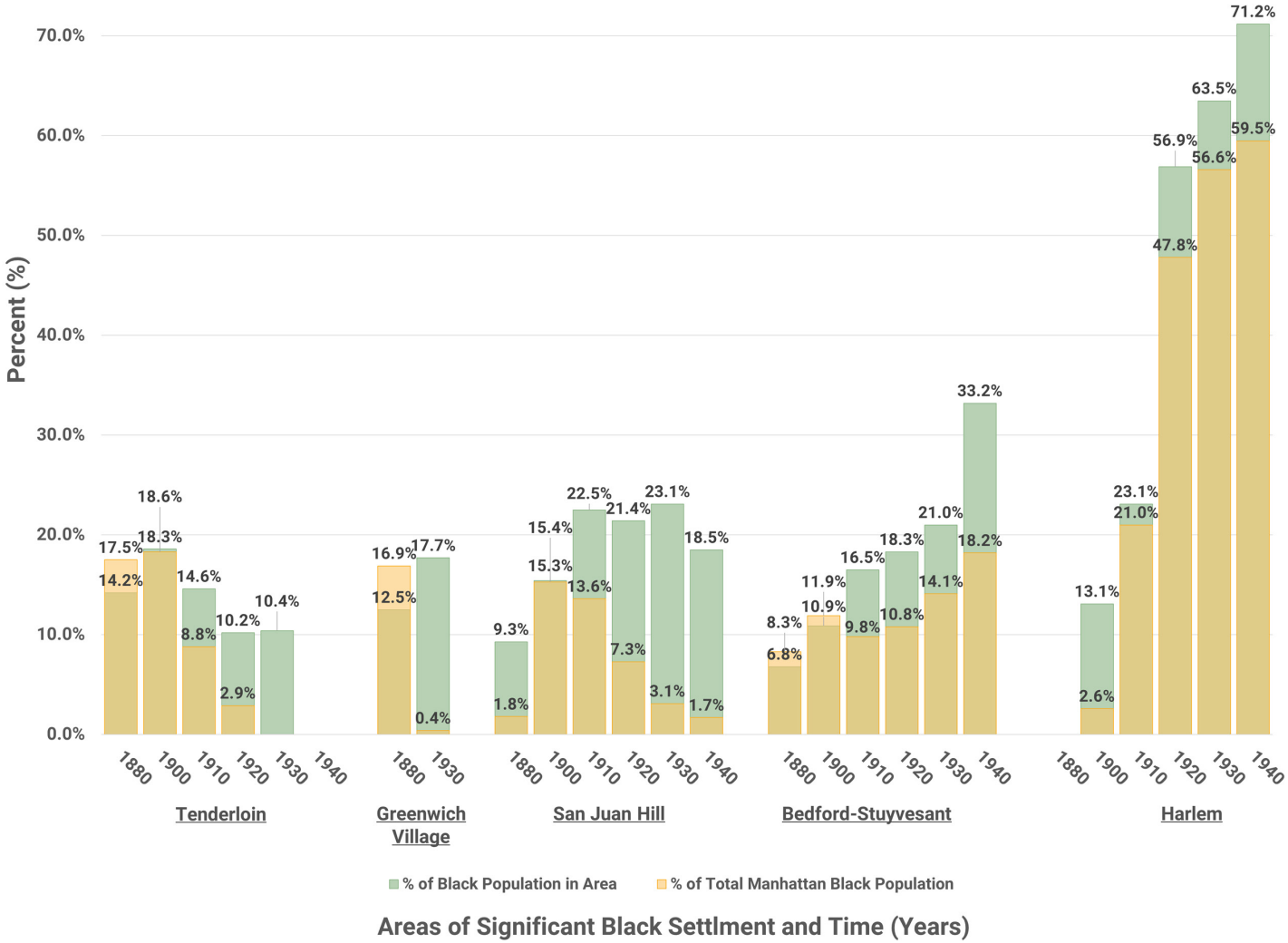
Movement to Harlem began as early as the 1890s, once migration from the Tenderloin District started (Scheiner 1965). Still, a more significant exodus occurred in the following ten years when racial intolerance grew too great and housing prospects of superior quality, as compared to overcrowded and compromised tenements of San Juan Hill, were available in Harlem.

They were satisfied just to have found themselves a refuge, away from the violence and the horrid tenement conditions of the West Side. The higher rents in Harlem and the hostility of its white residents were prices worth paying for the chance to live in a quiet attractive neighborhood and in apartments as nice as the ones to be found up there (Anderson 1982, 3).

At first attracted by better housing prospects, by 1914, much of the Black population was migrating to Harlem because they were priced out of other neighborhoods or were overcharged for substandard housing. Even places such as Brooklyn, which only higher-income Black people could afford, were no longer viable (Anderson 1982, 3). The Afro-American Realty Company, founded by Philip A. Payton, Jr. and one of several Black realty companies at the beginning of the 1900s, started to acquire buildings in Harlem to facilitate housing opportunities for Black families. At some point in the 1910s, Harlem was considered the area where the best housing facilities in Manhattan could be found (Scheiner 1965, 34-6). As community members moved uptown, many community organizations and services moved as well, following their members. Harlem, with the migration of the Black population and its churches from the West Side, shifted from a White community into a predominantly Black area once White families left. As Anderson notes:

> *From what had occurred in the past when [B]lack had moved from one neighborhood to another, they could be sure that the churches would not be moving now unless their leaders had concluded that Harlem would be a future center of Manhattan's [B]lack population. (Anderson 1982, 3)*

Churches and other organizations reacted to the uptown migration to Harlem, taking their services and recipients. For example, the Union Baptist Church moved from 204 West 63rd Street in San Juan Hill to 240 West 145th Street in Harlem. Others, like St. Cyprian's Church, followed suit (Larson 2023). As explained by Maddox (2022, 494), the movement included the West Indian population, who had already set up various organizations in the Harlem area some years prior.



Percent Change of Black Populations Compared to the Percent Change of the Total Manhattan Black Population in Manhattan Areas of Significant Black Settlement Over Time (2023).

E. Phetteplace based on information from Logan, Zhang, and Chunyu (2015, 1076).

From the preceding graph, the settlements of the Black population in Manhattan and Brooklyn can further be understood, particularly as they relate to the Black population of San Juan Hill. Population data for Brooklyn's Black residents were included to indicate how changes in Manhattan's population related to Black residents relocating to Brooklyn. Before 1900, most of Manhattan's Black population was in the Tenderloin District and Greenwich Village. The percentage of San Juan Hill's Black population never exceeded 25 percent, and approximately the same percentage of the area's population was maintained over time. Additionally, Harlem did not become the most substantial Black community until 1910. In comparing the percentage of the Black population within the total population, it is clear that at some point between 1900 and 1910, San Juan Hill was the predominant Black population in Manhattan. In the years following, however, the percentage of Manhattan and Brooklyn's total Black population in San Juan Hill significantly decreased.

Demographic Analysis of Illustrative Blocks (1900 – 1930)

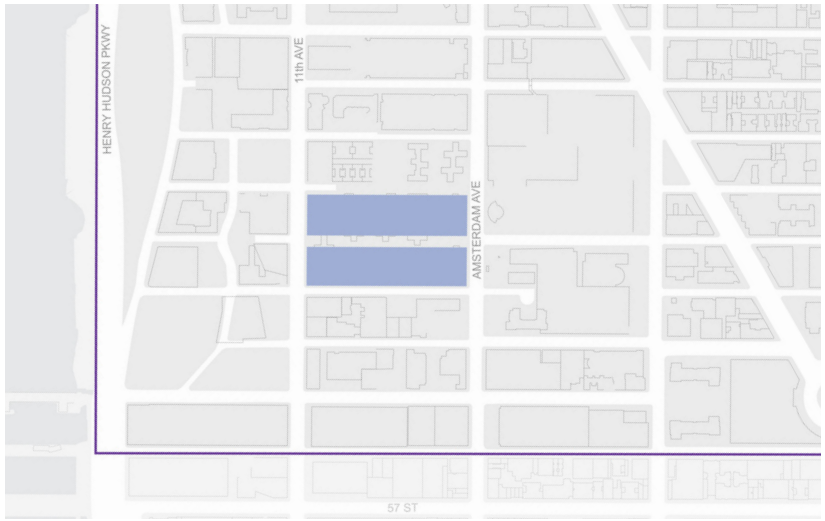
Two illustrative blocks were selected to analyze the repetitive narratives regarding density and neighborhood demographics. West End and Amsterdam Avenues, and 61st and 63rd Streets, bound these blocks. Through the first half of the twentieth century, these blocks had a reputation in contemporary newspapers as having extreme population density, poor living conditions, poverty, and crime. Media commentaries repeatedly reported and propelled narratives about the neighborhood that were solely focused on negative aspects of the area, excluding occurrences of success, joy, resilience, and community development. Conversely, in 1908, Mary White Ovington, a White woman and housing reformer, lived in San Juan Hill for six months to observe the social interactions of the neighborhood. The following are two of her accounts of San Juan Hill, which acknowledge the densely population living conditions, but also celebrate the energy of San Juan Hill:

> *The apartments [were] human beehives, honeycombed with little rooms thick with human beings* (cited in Hartman 2019, 240).

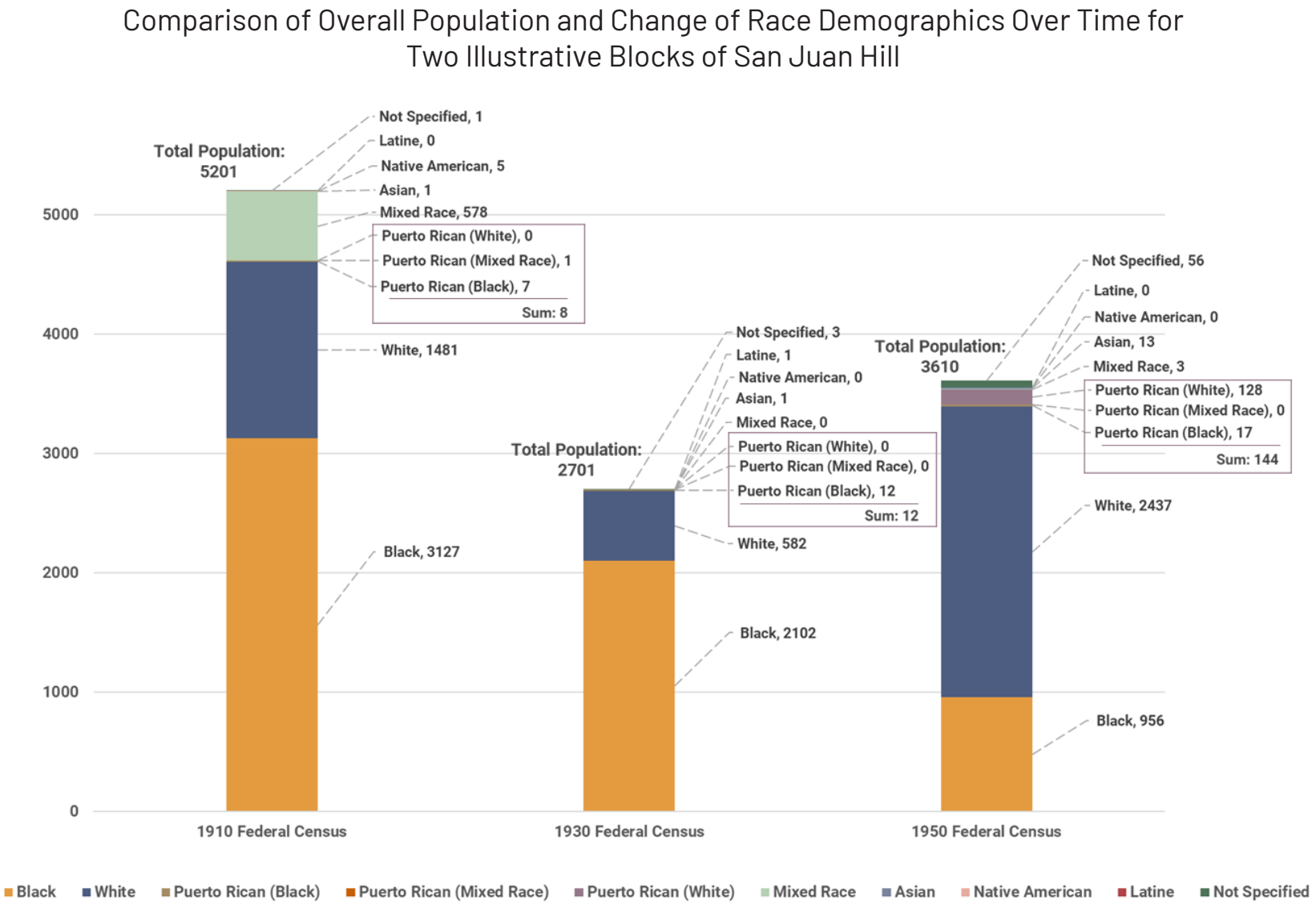
> *The laughter of men and women returning from the theatre, or some dance that last[ed] until dawn. Light and intermittent noises, the heat of the long day climbing up from the pavement, this [was] the night at San Juan Hill* (cited in Hartman 2019, 244).

Nonetheless, early media reports surrounding race-related events at the turn of the twentieth century were accelerants of negative public perceptions. The illustrative blocks, with largely Black residents, were reported in contemporary news accounts as overpopulated, dangerous, and dense. In contrast, similarly dense blocks of White residents, close in proximity, were not similarly characterized.

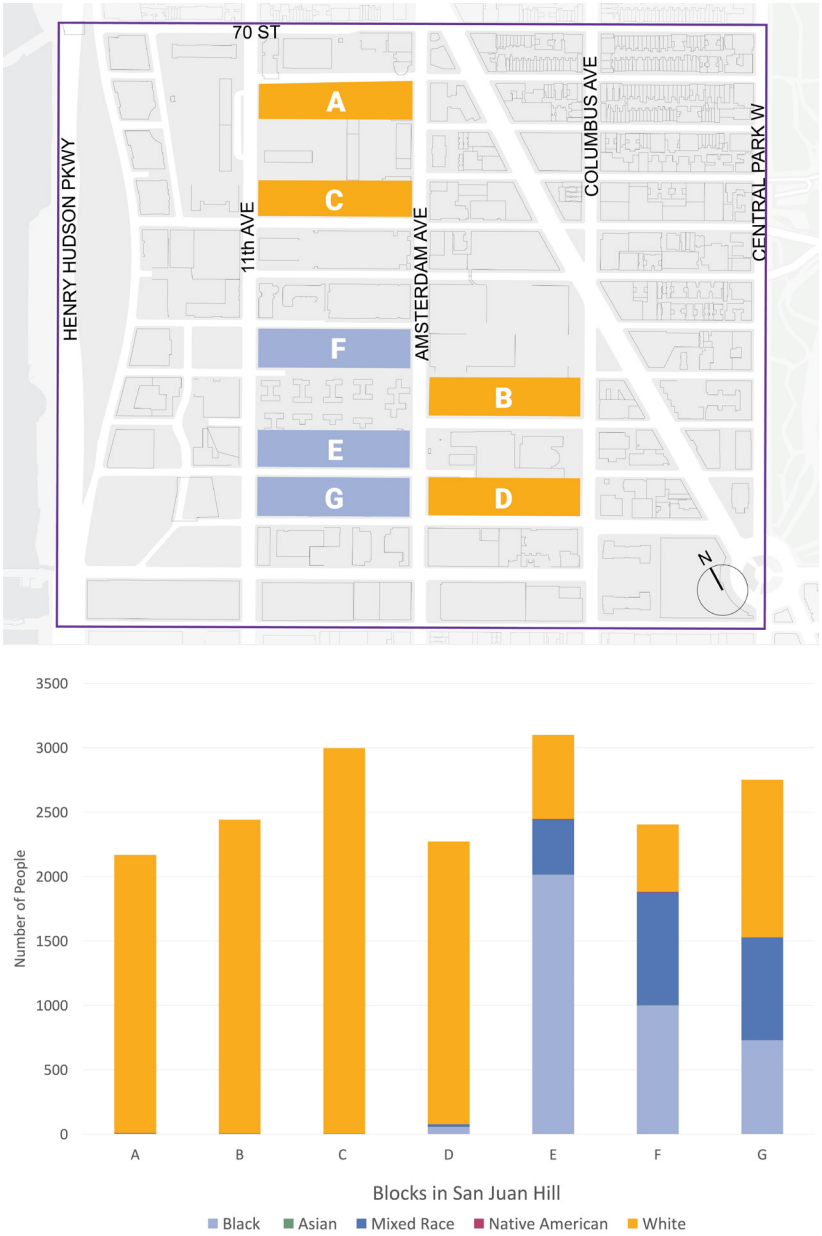
Additionally, patterns noted previously regarding a diminishing Black population and an increasing Puerto Rican population can be observed by evaluating the population of these illustrative blocks over time.



Map identifying the location of illustrative blocks for demographic analysis. West End and Amsterdam Avenues, and 61st and 63rd Streets, bound the illustrative blocks.
Andrés Santana-Miranda.



Comparison of Overall Population and Change of Race Demographics Over Time for Two Illustrative Blocks of San Juan Hill.
Eleanor Phetteplace, based on information from the 1910, 1930, and 1950 US Census.



Race Demographics and Total Population per Block of San Juan Hill. Block E, identified as one of the densest Black blocks, is followed by Block C, predominantly White and never detailed as a dense block in San Juan Hill (2023).
E. Phetteplace, based on information from Mapping Historic New York.

THE PUERTO RICAN POPULATION

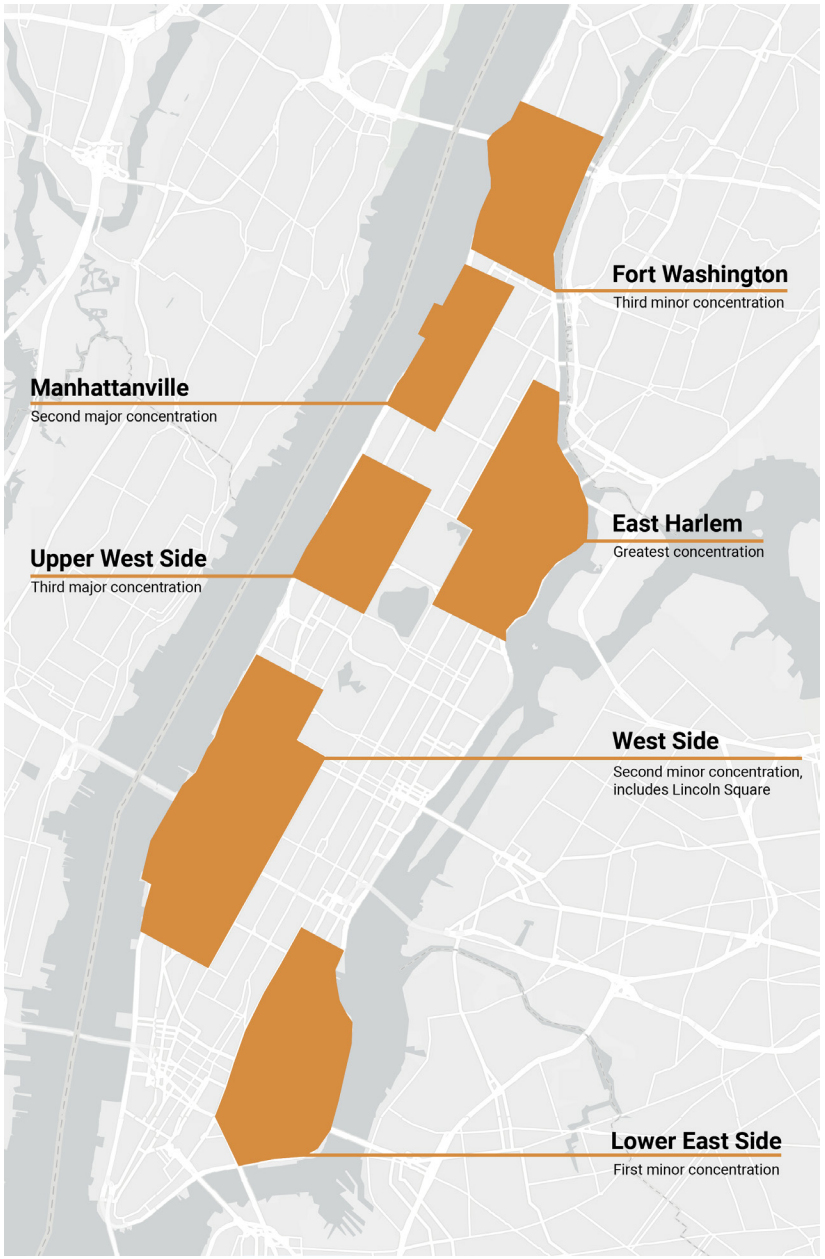
Diverse factors characterized the second marginalized public of San Juan Hill studied in this studio. On the one hand, the Black population and services' flight to Harlem contributed to the decrease in population in the area. Nevertheless, Puerto Ricans arrived in Manhattan in droves. Their arrival followed the slum clearance of two blocks between Amsterdam and West End Avenues, where most Black-led organizations were located, to allow the construction of the Amsterdam Houses in the 1940s.

Migration and Displacement

Puerto Rican migration to New York City traces back to the late nineteenth century. While Puerto Rico was a colony of the Spanish Crown, many political exiles and agricultural workers migrated to different regions of the United States. In the late 1860s, various Puerto Rican exiles relocated to New York amid political tension in the archipelago (Sánchez Korrol 2017a; Thomas and Lauria Santiago 2019, 7).

The Spanish-Cuban-American War of 1898, however, changed the circumstances. As a result of the conflict, the Spanish Crown transferred Puerto Rico to the US government. Around 7,394 Puerto Ricans emigrated to the United States between 1909 and 1916 as the Puerto Rican economy crippled (Sánchez Korrol 2017b). These first migrations, however, indicate citizenship difficulties for Puerto Rican families: an individual that lived at 62nd street in San Juan Hill in 1910 was listed as "Alien" under the naturalization category of the census, reflecting a citizenship and political problem (US Census Bureau 1910). After Congress extended US. citizenship to Puerto Ricans via the Jones-Shafroth Act of 1917, migration peaked at 10,812 that same year: citizenship facilitated movement, and the economic boom after World War I facilitated employment (Sánchez Korrol 2017b; Thomas and Lauria Santiago 2019, 7). In less than a few decades, however, the numbers increased dramatically.

By 1940, more than 62,000 Puerto Ricans lived in New York City, and the aftermath of World War II spurred additional migration from Puerto Rico to the US. By 1950, more than 187,000 Puerto Ricans made New York their home (Thomas and Lauria Santiago 2019, 8). The rapid industrialization and modernization of the Puerto Rican economy in 1948 contributed to this post-war boom. The process, commonly called Operación Manos a la Obra (Operation Bootstrap), contributed to the decline of the agriculture industry. The Puerto Rican government could not support the population's accelerated growth, which led to the establishment of shantytowns throughout San Juan, and many migrated to the United States (Rodríguez 2011, 167-8; Román 2022; Sánchez Korrol 2017c).



Infographic map of the Puerto Rican settlements in Manhattan, based on information from Novak (1956) (2023).

A. Santana-Miranda, based on information from Robert T. Novak, "Distribution of Puerto Ricans on Manhattan Island," Geographical Review 46 (2): 185.

In his study regarding the distribution of Puerto Ricans throughout Manhattan, Robert T. Novak (1956, 184-186) defined six significant areas of Puerto Rican concentration in Manhattan, where the first three areas stand out for their high numbers and the other three, although in minor concentrations, do contain significant representation.

Agency of Puerto Ricans in San Juan Hill

Puerto Ricans occupied areas in East Harlem or South Bronx, and many relocated to San Juan Hill due to being "pushed out of their old neighborhoods by rising rents and deteriorating housing stock and overcrowded schools" (Thomas 2023). The majority in San Juan Hill, however, were recent migrants to the city as part of the postwar migration. As Puerto Ricans faced constant xenophobia due to the ongoing influx of migrants, "many landlords turned away would-be renters whose accented English or 'Latin' names betrayed their origins" (Thomas 2023). Therefore, San Juan Hill and the area south of Columbus Circle offered much-needed housing services for the growing Puerto Rican population across the city. The increase in population is further explored by Dodson (1952, 10) when analyzing two public schools nearby San Juan Hill (P.S. 58 and 141), noting that in two years, the schools' Puerto Rican students increased from 8 percent to 42 percent in P.S. 58, and 7 percent to 24 percent in P.S. 141.

Due to the rise in Puerto Rican migration to New York City in the late 1940s, the Government of Puerto Rico passed a law on December 1947 for the creation of a Bureau of Employment and Migration, with offices in Puerto Rico and New York, to provide orientation and aid to Puerto Ricans migrating to the US (Gobierno de Puerto Rico 1947, 4). The first office was at 21 West 60th Street (Thomas 2023) and, during the same timeframe, another office was located at 1881 Broadway Avenue (*New York Times* 1948). Later renamed Migration Division of the Puerto Rican Department of Labor, a third office was located at 88 Columbus Avenue in the early 1950s until August 1, 1958 (Migration Division 1958; Thomas 2023). This third location also served as a meeting place for other organizations, such as the Council of Spanish-American Organizations of New York (Consejo de Organizaciones Hispanoamericanas 1957).

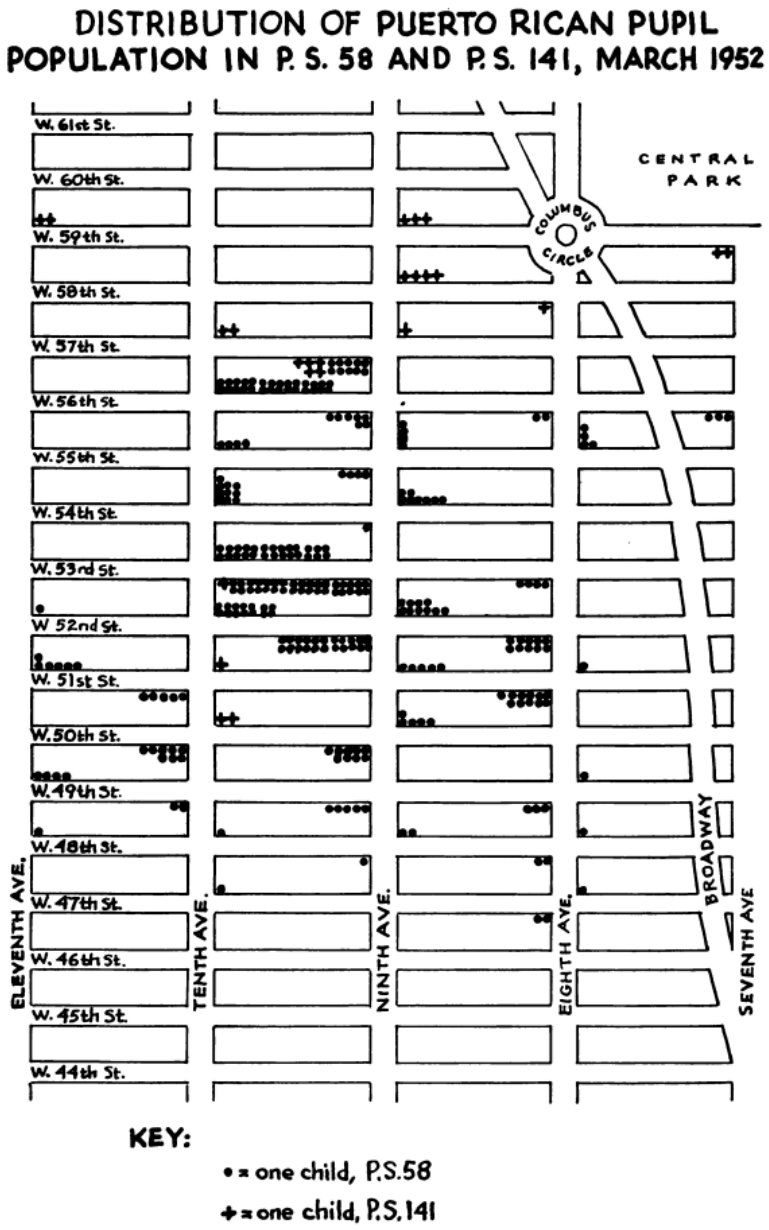
The existence of the Migration Division, however, might highlight the lack of Puerto Rican community organizations in San Juan Hill and throughout the city between the 1940s and 1950s. Some scholars argued that the establishment of the Migration Division duplicated and eventually eradicated many groups that provided social services, mainly from the understanding that government officials held about the lack of community organizations in the city (Meléndez 2023, 121; Sánchez Korrol 1983, 162). However, evidence exists of community organizations throughout the city, and San Juan Hill, since before World War II.

Despite lacking a vast network like the Black community, the Caborrojeños Ausentes were located on the second floor at 105 West 63rd Street around the late 1950s. Although its involvement with the community in San Juan Hill is unknown, the organization provided civic, cultural, and recreational activities for its members and collaborated with other organizations and government agencies from Puerto Rico and New York City. Founded in 1922 and named after the southwestern Puerto Rican town of Cabo Rojo, the organization was a prototype of the hometown clubs in New York City that provided migrants with a safe space within the hostilities of the city (Duany 2012; Sánchez Korrol 1983).

In the 1956 report prepared by the Committee on Slum Clearance, 76 percent of the redevelopment site population was identified as White, 18 percent as Puerto Rican, 4 percent as Black, and 2 percent as Asian families. When dividing White and non-White families, the Committee counted Puerto Rican families in the White category. In contrast, Black and Asian families composed the non-White category, with 94 percent White and 6 percent Non-White families in the project area (Committee on Slum Clearance 1956). Once the plans for Lincoln Center were communicated to Puerto Ricans and the

88 Columbus Avenue, one of the Migrant Division's locations in the early 1950s. No signage related to the office can be found in the image.

88 Columbus Avenue, New York, NY, Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project photographs 1957-1958 Collection, Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, https://library.artstor.org/#/asset/28299755;prevRouteTS=1677649411287.



Distribution of Puerto Rican pupil population in P.S. 58 and P.S. 141 (March 1952).

D.W. Dodson, Between Hell's Kitchen and San Juan Hill: A Survey (New York: Human Relations Studies, Inc., 1952): 12.

105 West 63rd Street, identified with an arrow. On the second floor, a sign for the Caborrojeños Ausentes stands in the middle window, along with a promotion for a lawyer's office (1957-1958).
105 West 63rd Street, New York, NY, Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project photographs 1957-1958 Collection, Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, https://library.artstor.org/#/asset/28299754;prevRouteTS=1677649212507.

other underrepresented groups living in the area in the spring of 1955, the population questioned where to go next.

By November and December 1955, columns and editorials in *El Diario de Nueva York* presented concerns about the lack of housing alternatives and economic limitations of the approximately 5,000 Latin American families living in the San Juan Hill area (*El Diario* 1955; Salgado 1955). Harris L. Present, a lawyer who advised residents and small business owners in the area, took the mantle of an ally to these communities. Present frequently advocated for better representation and amplification of the Puerto Rican population's voice when, for example, he "decried the fact that the [Committee for Better Housing] of ninety-six members did not include a single Puerto Rican representative" (Thomas 2023).

Up until the 1950s, right before the redevelopment project of Lincoln Center, the Black and Puerto Rican populations represented the majority of the minority populations; even if represented as "predominant" populations in media or other resources, the available population data demonstrates otherwise. However, this analysis reveals specific differences in the communities' interaction and claim to space. Anderson notes regarding the migration Northward that,

> *In a sense, they were not just on the move but on the run. They stayed in certain neighborhoods as long as they were able to and abandoned them when one circumstance or another - pressure from incoming white groups, the expansion of commerce and industry, or their own desire for better housing- propelled them into new territory.* (Anderson 1982, 5)

The idea of northward movement as a reaction and response to events, resulting in the need to "run," highlights the injustice relating to the authority of space afforded different populations. Under this consideration, the community strength formed in San Juan Hill facilitated an environment that sustained a network of organizations. These organizations promoted collective civic success by fostering creativity, health, and well-being; the strength of the Black community in San Juan Hill quickly demonstrates the perseverance of these historically displaced communities. It is important to note that this perseverance is a forced response to the repetitive patterns of racial oppression. The forced resiliency is also evident in the maintained strength and continuation of most organizations and resources of the Black community as the population relocated to Harlem.

The emergence of the Black community in San Juan Hill is also engaging when viewed conversely to the less documented formation of the Puerto Rican community in this same area in later years. The services offered by the Migration Division of the Government of Puerto Rico limited the need for community organizations and services in San Juan Hill while augmenting efforts in the area made by existing groups located elsewhere in the city. Additionally, since most Puerto Rican individuals saw their migration as temporary, intending to make money and move back to Puerto Rico, there was no necessity to develop the community to the level achieved by the Black populations in prior years.

COMMUNITY FORMATION OF PUERTO RICAN POPULATIONS IN SAN JUAN HILL

Certain limitations generally arise when analyzing the diasporic Puerto Rican population in the United States and the understanding of their claim to space. Throughout the research, these informative restraints stood out:

1. The Puerto Rican population is not covered under a distinct classification in the US Census until 1980 due to not counting as foreign-born, thus complicating the analysis of demographic data;
2. Different tabulation processes vary in their approach to including first-, second-, and third-generation Puerto Ricans across the United States, therefore offering shifting numbers on Puerto Rican population in the states;
3. According to various scholars (Abe 2006; Duany 2002; Franco Ortiz and Antonetty Lebrón 2019; Lloréns 2017; Vargas-Ramos 2005), Puerto Rican communities racially identify differently than the US population because of historical narratives regarding race, sociocultural differences, and local government decisions. These differences between the US and Puerto Rico challenge historical demographic patterns when it comes to race;
4. Due to the disproportion of available information, population changes and migration patterns must rely upon analyzing narratives and oral histories beyond quantifiable data.

We cannot understand the extent of the historical marginalization of the Puerto Rican community due to a lack of standardization of data collection in US history. These analytical limitations and gaps in information about how Puerto Ricans claimed space during and after migration emphasize the historical marginalization and struggles of the population while accentuating their positionality as second-class citizens of the United States.

Historically, patterns of racial displacement, economic necessity, socio-political differences, and redevelopment constantly affected the stability and security of vulnerable communities throughout New York City. As evidenced, San Juan Hill was not the exception to these processes. While facing these challenges, however, the Black and Puerto Rican communities and other underrepresented nationalities in the neighborhood countered the discrimination in varied forms of resilience and strength established through their communities. The spaces and institutions that characterized their networks of aid showcase the interconnectedness of the community to achieve civic goals among different fronts and services. Despite limited representation and diminished numbers as a consequence of redevelopment, the remaining minority communities in San Juan Hill still highlight the histories and narratives of oppression hidden after the constant patterns of displacement in the city.

HISTORIC ASSETS AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Black Community Organizations (1900s – 1940s)

New York Free Kindergarten Association for Colored Children

Later named Mary F. Walden Kindergarten for Colored Children in 1906, the New York Free Kindergarten Association for Colored Children settled in one of Union Baptist Church's buildings at 202 West 63rd Street. The institution began as a service for the Phipps Houses but ended up serving the San Juan Hill children population, specifically children five years old and under. Around 5,426 children under the age of six lived in San Juan Hill, proving that around 11 percent of the total population of the neighborhood qualified for the services provided by the institution.

Lincoln House and Lincoln Day Nursery

Satellites of the Henry Street Settlement at the Lower East Side, Lincoln House was established at 202 West 63rd Street to provide healthcare services to the community. The branch absorbed the services of the Walden Kindergarten into the Lincoln Day Nursery, focusing on childcare and nursery work for the community. The infant mortality rates solidified the need for healthcare services in the community until 1914.

Henrietta Industrial School

Founded by the Children's Aid Society in 1892 at 224 West 63rd Street, the Henrietta Industrial School offered coursework to San Juan Hill Black children on manual labor and fields. By 1909, the administration expanded the services into the Henrietta Evening Trade School for [Black] Adults to serve the growing West Indian population with additional trade training.

Columbus Hill Community Center

After the Henrietta Industrial School administration fell out during the 1920s, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. donated large sums of money to fund the creation of the Columbus Hill Community Center at 224 West 63rd Street. In coordination with the Columbus Hill Health Center, the organization aimed to cater to the recreational and health needs of the children in San Juan Hill.

St. Cyprian's Church

Since the early 1900s, St. Cyprian's Church reached the San Juan Hill community. By May 1908, the church's administration opened a new building with facilities that included outdoor space for drying laundry and a printing press that employed men from the West Indies. Most of the Episcopal church's congregation traced back to West Indian immigration, further appealing to a growing San Juan Hill neighborhood population.

New York Society for Ethical Culture

Although not much information about the involvement of the New York Society for Ethical Culture with the historically Black community of San Juan Hill has been identified, it is a longstanding institution in the area. Founded in 1876, the institution is a semi-religious organization that led and supported efforts to address critical social and political issues, such as the creation of educational institutions, social causes, and housing reforms. The organization also founded the Ethical Culture School, which provided free tuition for most students.

YMCA

While the branch opened in 1896, the West Side YMCA's current location opened in 1930. Considered another historical institution in the San Juan Hill neighborhood, the branch offered educational services, programs for children and adults, and athletic groups. Although not directly linked to the San Juan Hill community members, the branch was the epicenter of a protest organized by the Gay Activists Alliance against homophobic policies in the summer of 1971.

Puerto Rican Community Organizations (1940s – 1960s)

Caborrojeños Ausentes

Although little is known about their relationship with the San Juan Hill population, the Caborrojeños Ausentes were located at 105 West 63rd Street. An organization named after the town of Cabo Rojo in Puerto Rico, it provided civic, cultural, and recreational activities for its members and served as a safe space for Puerto Rican migrants from the hostilities of the city.

Offices of the Migration Division

Due to the rise in Puerto Rican migration, the Government of Puerto Rico approved the creation of offices for the Migration Division of the Puerto Rican Department of Labor. With varying locations across the San Juan Hill neighborhood, the Migration Division provided orientation, consultation, adaptation services and aid to Puerto Rican citizens who just arrived in New York City.

Community Organizations from Other Underrepresented Populations

Research demonstrated that other underrepresented communities developed institutions and services in the San Juan Hill neighborhood. This section briefly introduces some of these additional organizations based on the most significant foreign-born populations in San Juan Hill and some of the other marginalized groups identified throughout the historical narrative. The guide prepared by the Caroline Zachry Institute of Human Development in 1950 served as the primary source for identifying organizations, with supplemental information as necessary.

Irish Organizations

One of New York City's earliest immigrants arrived from Ireland during the nineteenth century, already by the 1940s reaching third- and fourth-generations. Noted as living in all parts of the city, the 1940 Census identified 2,416,060 people born in or of Irish descent, while 375,440 hailed from Northern Ireland. Some Irish organizations identified include the American Irish Association at Broadway and 63rd Street and the United Irish Counties Bureau at 353 West 57th Street (Caroline Zachry Institute 1950, 42-4). The United Irish Counties Bureau provided advice and aid about citizenship, education, and employment to Irish immigrants in New York City (*Times Union* 1933).

Polish Organizations

While most Polish organizations centered in Chicago and held branches in New York, the Polish Jewish newspaper Nasza Tribuna (*Our Tribune*) published at 200 West 72nd Street, near the boundaries of the San Juan Hill neighborhood (Caroline Zachry Institute 1950, 60).

Latin American and Spanish Organizations

While this research has attempted to distinguish Latin American communities from each other and from Spain, the Caroline Zachry Institute for Human Development (1950, 67-70) grouped all –except for Puerto Rico– under "Spanish and Spanish-speaking Groups." Immigration from many Spanish-speaking groups rapidly incremented during the early twentieth century, even if their movement began in the nineteenth century. The Mexican community and other Latin American groups increased during and after World War II due to the labor shortage in the United States. In contrast, the Spanish population surged because of the Civil War during the late 1930s. The Caroline Zachry Institute for Human Development (1950, 68) described Spanish-speaking press as trying "to serve all these varied sectors and often [carrying] special pages or columns dealing with activities among particular nationality groups." This distinction might also be true for community organizations.

The Caroline Zachry Institute for Human Development does not identify any community organizations within the San Juan Hill neighborhood, but the Casa Galicia, a location for the Galician population from Spain, was identified during the research.

West Indian Organizations

While the West Indian population was primarily established in Harlem along with the Black community, many West Indians (from the American, British, French, and Dutch West Indies) initially settled in the San Juan Hill neighborhood. Although no organizations were identified in the study area, many of the islands had liaisons with clubs in Harlem (Caroline Zachry Institute 1950, 75-6).

Casa Galicia, 153 West 64th Street, New York, NY.
153 West 64th Street, New York, NY, Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project photographs 1957-1958 Collection, Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library,

RACIAL AND ETHNIC TENSION AND SOLIDARITY

Naomi Dressler and Maddie Hagan

Manhattan's San Juan Hill district, described in a 1905 article as a "sharp declivity" containing "one of the largest negro colonies in New York," was the site of significant racial terror, criminal activity, and police brutality in the early to mid-twentieth century (*The Sun*, 1905a). Observers argued that the hilled area was a constant battlefield of climactic "riots," particularly in the densest Black section labeled "The Gut" on 61st, 62nd, and 63rd Streets between Amsterdam and West End Avenues. Racial tensions were exacerbated by class politics, abuses of authority, organized crime, and an informal segregation of space that created racialized boundaries that were not to be crossed. While San Juan Hill's history is a story of immense struggle, White supremacy, and violence, it was also a place that birthed spaces of Black culture, advocacy, and joy. As Black people moving to Harlem and Puerto Rican people moved to San Juan Hill, new racial dynamics emerged, though the pervasive lack of historical documentation or reporting on the Puerto Rican community is itself indicative of subtle racism and institutional discrimination. This context analysis explores how racial and ethnic conflict metastasized in San Juan Hill, and how people resisted that conflict through interracial cooperation, intimate uses of space, and the experience of Black and Brown agency and joy.

SAN JUAN HILL AND THE NAMING OF A "BATTLE-FIELD"

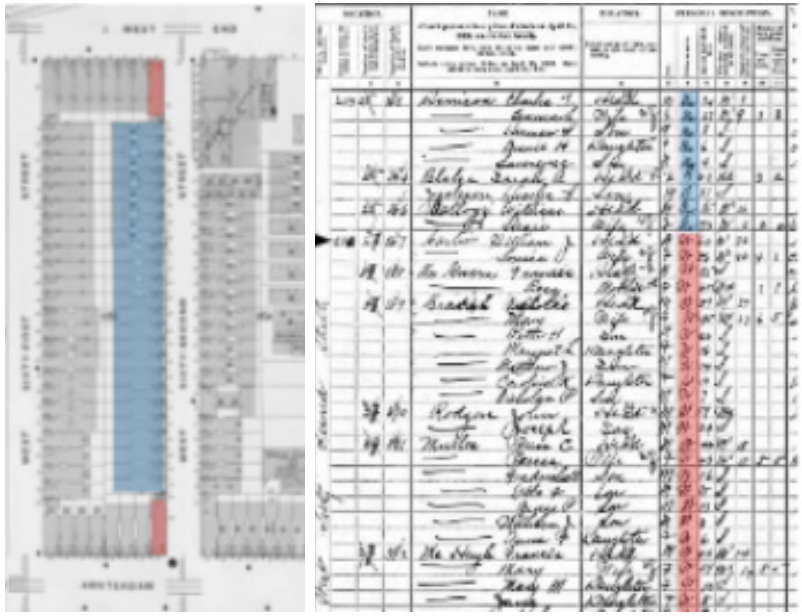
Running from 59th Street to about 65th Street between Columbus Avenue and the Hudson River, San Juan Hill developed out of "nothing but a pile of rock–one of those spots where the great bony skeleton of Manhattan Island lay bare to the sun" (*The Sun* 1905b). This pile of rocks was referred to as Skinnerville, the first known name for the area. The name purportedly became lost as Irish immigrants began building up the neighborhood in the late-nineteenth century, and was often referred to as the West Sixties (*New York Herald Tribune* 1937). Soon after, Black residents began settling in the neighborhood, taking advantage of the cheap tenements and its proximity to the railroad industry on the Hudson (Osofsky 1965, 45). One article reflected that some believed Black migration into the area was due to a "landlord's quarrel" rumored to have "opened a house to [Black people] to spite certain tenants and neighbors" (*The Sun* 1905a). Still, others believed that Black settlement in the neighborhood was one of a series of events that marked its precipitous decline; Black settlement was contemporaneous with the collapse of the Buddensiek flats, a tenement infamous for its rotting wood and decrepit conditions (*New York Times* 1885).

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the Black population rivaled the White population and the area began attracting new names. Surrounding White neighborhoods referred to it as "N–r Hill" until the colloquialism "San Juan hill took hold" (*The Sun* 1905a). Though there are differing accounts on just how the "San Juan Hill" monicker became commonplace, it was universally assumed that it originated from the district's reputation as a racial battlefield and its geographic location on a hill, referencing the 1898 Battle of San Juan Hill during the Spanish-American War (Ovington 1909). Until the development of Lincoln Center in the 1950s, San Juan Hill was the most in-use name, though other names like "Columbus Hill" and "10th Avenue Hill" were used because of the proximity to Columbus Circle and 10th Avenue's centrality to the neighborhood. Racialized nick-names were also referenced, including the "Black and Tan," "Cuckoo Row," "Battle Row," and the "Black Belt" (*New York Herald* 1919; *The Baltimore Sun* 1900; *New York Tribune* 1900; *New York Herald Tribune* 1917). Jacob Riis noted the informality of the neighborhood's names and the tensions therein, writing "the local street nomenclature, in which the directory has no hand,–N–r Row, Mixed Ale Flats, etc.,–indicates the hostile camps with unerring accuracy" (Riis 1902). The hostile camps in question were the Irish and Black denizens of San Juan Hill.

Names for San Juan Hill (2023).
N. Dressler

THE IRISH: EARLY WHITE RESIDENTS

Of the White immigrants living in San Juan Hill and surrounding neighborhoods before 1930, the Irish population was the largest and, according to newspapers at the time, the most volatile (Davenport 1921). Throughout the nineteenth century, Irish immigrants began arriving in New York in record numbers and often formed large communities in certain parts of the city. Hell's Kitchen was the Irish center of the West Side with San Juan Hill just to the North (Varga 2013). Given the racialized settlement patterns of the neighborhood, working class Irish people tended to live on the avenues, particularly West End and Amsterdam, instead of streets like 61st, 62nd, or 63rd. If there were Irish families living in the largely Black section of the neighborhood, they tended to reside in segregated, all-White tenements. Reporting on Irish residents of San Juan Hill, like reporting on Black residents, was often sensationalized, and focused on gang activity, violence, poor living conditions, and political contention (Osofsky 1961). One prominent Irish leader in the neighborhood was James J. Hagan, a Tammany Democrat who founded and ran the Amsterdam Democratic Club on 61st and Amsterdam Avenue (*The Sun* 1913).



Left: 61st, 62nd and 63rd Streets between West End Avenue and Amsterdam Ave from a 1907 Sanborn Map. The blue indicates all-Black tenements while the red indicates all-White tenements. Right: 204 and 205 62nd Street, 1910 US Census. No. 204 is highlighted in blue because it is an all-Black tenement. No. 205 is red because it is all-White (2023).
M. Hagan using information from a 1907 Sanborn Map and 1910 US Census

THE BLACK COMMUNITY

In the early half of the twentieth century, the Black community in San Juan Hill was one of the key defining features of the neighborhood. At the turn of the century, New York (like many other Northern cities), experienced a major influx of African Americans from the South. At the same time, there was also a rush in immigration from the West Indies. New York City's Black population tripled between 1880 and 1910, rapidly increasing from 30,000 to 90,000 (Sacks 2006). New York City schools were desegregated by 1884, public discrimination was banned in 1895, and charities and social institutions helping Black families sprung up around the city (Sacks 2006). The reality of the situation, however, was that even with legal rulings and charitable organizations, discrimination remained a major factor of socialization between White and Black citizens. In areas like San Juan Hill, the Black population saw these issues at the forefront of their daily lives.

Before expanding into San Juan Hill, the "Tenderloin," a district situated between Fifth and Seventh Avenues and 23rd Street through 57th Street, housed a significant Black community (Scheiner 1964). The San Juan Hill neighborhood was seen as a good alternative to the violence and dilapidated conditions of the Tenderloin. It was not long, however, until San Juan Hill came to be viewed in the same way.

Discrimination in San Juan Hill was magnified due to the complex racial and ethnic makeup of the neighborhood. As previously mentioned, a large portion of the area's population was considered to be working class, White immigrants from countries such as Italy and Ireland (Scheiner 1964). As these groups squeezed together into the tenements of the neighborhood, the White immigrant populations feared that Black workers would limit their job prospects. The resulting attitude was a feeling of "direct economic and residential competition," which quickly led to increased feelings of racial discrimination (Sacks 2006). As San Juan Hill was a working class neighborhood for the most part, the jobs available to White and Black residents were primarily the same. The negative opinions towards Black people that arose from these feelings created a vicious cycle of racism and violence. Although New York City's Black population certainly had suffered from racial discrimination in the past, this turn-of-the-twentieth-century influx created more fixed, negative attitudes and stereotypes (Sacks 2006). The characterization of Blackness switched from "benign and buffoonish" to "sinister and dangerous," leading to increased racism in the city as the Black population increased (Sacks 2006). The Black community was blamed for the deterioration of neighborhoods such as San Juan Hill and the moral corruption of the city in general. Ultimately, these feelings of hatred towards the Black community in San Juan Hill led to the violent attacks and "riots" that will be detailed next.

Black women, in particular, suffered from a perceived lack of morality. While the number of moral and charitable organizations increased during this era, many reformers believed that White immigrants were more deserving than their Black counterparts. They claimed that Black citizens did not have the "innate capacity" to learn and benefit from such social-uplift programs (Sacks 2005). This was particularly true when dealing with the issue of prostitution before World War I; the way that White prostitutes were characterized in comparison to their Black counterparts was vastly different. These social-uplift groups saw White female sex-workers as unwilling captives of the industry. In contrast, Black women were framed as having a "native lewdness" that caused them to naturally prefer prostitution as a way to make a living over partaking in more traditionally "hard working" jobs such as working in kitchens (Sacks 2005). In neighborhoods like San Juan Hill, these characterizations were especially rampant. Whereas White prostitutes were unwilling victims of evil men, Black prostitutes posed a threat to the corruption of the "unsuspecting White man" (Sacks 2005). While most of the stories of violence in San Juan Hill told below center around violent attacks involving Black men, Black women faced equal discrimination in the neighborhood during this period.

Due to the rough nature of the neighborhood, drug trafficking was also an important part of Black history within San Juan Hill. In the 1930s, police raids were particularly prevalent in the neighborhood. Federal narcotics officers often spent time in the neighborhood conducting investigations, which led to a handful of arrests throughout the early 30s (*Baltimore Afro-American* 1934). In contrast to the "riots" that often used rooftop advantage as a guerilla tactic, much of the drug peddling activity that occurred within San Juan Hill took place below ground. After a two-year investigation that culminated in February 1939, up to 30 men were arrested in a drug raid conducted by Treasury agents known as the "T-men" (*The News Journal* 1939). The men were discovered in an underground series of tunnels and catacombs linking together at least 12 different tenements on West 62nd Street. Upon the mass arrest, the agents described the street as a "tunnel infested refuge for criminals rivaling nineteenth century Chinatown" (*The News Journal* 1939). Because much of the Black population of San Juan Hill had begun to shift up to Harlem by this point, the tenements involved were abandoned. In the two years preceding the raid, Chief of the Treasury narcotics agents stated that his team had made over 100 drug-related arrests in San Juan Hill (*The News Journal* 1939). Ultimately, crime and violence in San Juan Hill were an undeniable part of the Black experience in the neighborhood, as time and time again the community was targeted by police and other officials.

POLICE PRESENCE: THE WEST 68TH STREET STATION

Though not characterized as a racial or ethnic group, the police officers who ruled and regulated San Juan Hill are a demographic that is essential to understanding group dynamics within the neighborhood. Until 1911, San Juan Hill's major police precinct, the 68th Street Station, comprised an entirely White police force (Boyd 2015). Its officers served the neighborhood's African American and West Indian communities to the west of Amsterdam Avenue and the predominantly Irish, German, and Italian residents to its east (Miller 2023).

Though the "race riots," as they were described in the newspapers, were not one sided, it appears that the police's "reputed dislike of negroes" led them to disproportionately target 61st, 62nd, and 63rd Streets between Amsterdam Avenue and West End Avenue, an area known as "The Gut," where the Black population was densest (*The Baltimore Sun* 1905). Police officers who reported to scenes here generally treated any African Americans involved in scuffles with overt brutality and aggression. The officers of 68th Street Station were aware of many direct attacks perpetrated by White residents against their Black neighbors across the Avenue, but refused to intercede on behalf of Black victims (Sacks 2005). Typically, these officers would only take to the scene when there was perceived danger for the Irish, Italian, or any other White immigrants, often based on racial bias.

"View of 68th street station house from the north" (1940).
NYC Municipal Archives

Overall, the Black population faced significantly heavier policing than White residents. In 1905, a reporter interviewed a police officer who described the Black inhabitants of the neighborhood as "the worst lot of criminal negroes in America," advocating that "this particular crowd" should be "sent back to Africa, or to the Philippines, or off the earth." The reporter observed that nearly all the police at the 68th Street station in San Juan Hill shared a "reputed dislike of negroes," that was clearly "evident to anyone who engages them in conversation on the subject" (*The Sun* 1905b).

"West 62nd Street" (1940).
NYC Municipal Archives

In 1911, Manhattan hired its first Black police officer, Samuel Jesse Battle (Boyd 2015). Upon his induction into the force, Battle was assigned to the West 68th Street Precinct, as it was believed that his presence would help temper the neighborhood's Black community. Despite the fact that he was a fellow policeman, the White officers of 68th Street treated Battle almost as poorly as they did the rest of the Black community. In his early career at the Station, fellow officers neither spoke to nor acknowledged him. When the Black community migrated northward to Harlem in later years, Battle's assignment followed (Boyd 2015). Ultimately, the racism of San Juan Hill's police force during this period symbolically represents both the under- and over-policing of African Americans in San Juan Hill by an oppressively and predominantly White institution. The omnipresence of White officers meant a state of constant fear for non-White residents of the community, heightening anxieties within an already volatile atmosphere.

Portrait of Officer Samuel Jesse Battle (n.d.).
Sun Journal

RACE, CRIME, AND SPACE

In a 1931 "intimate" travel guide on New York, author Rian James wrote that "all we can tell you about [San Juan Hill] is that here even the police go in twos!" (James 1931). James, like others, observed San Juan Hill from a distance, wary of the crime and violence seemingly endemic to the district. And while San Juan Hill should not be defined solely by its bellicosity, extra-legal activity was an important part of its social fabric. Historian Douglas Flowe writes in his book, *Uncontrollable Blackness*, that when we observe "the streets of New York City through a historical periscope, parts of the landscape are obscured by time," but "insurgent heterogeneous street scenes rife with racial boundaries" can still be detected (2014, 29). Throughout the Black history of Manhattan, racial boundaries – legal, spatial, social, and more – have forced Black populations to fight for a claim to space. As Flowe observes, White violence, legal inadequacies, and police brutality caused Black men to face "threats to their corporal existence by innovatively asserting their presence and physically resisting controversial deployments of police power." He continues, writing that "deprived of the lawful protections and opportunities enjoyed by White ethnics, and baptized in the blood of frequent attacks, Blacks literally fought for their claim on public space" (30).

Writing in the 1960s, another account of the historical effect of White supremacy on the Black denizens of San Juan Hill comes from historian Gilbert Osofksy, who commented on the propensity for racial violence in working-class districts that featured heavy immigration (1965). Osofsky looks particularly at the relationship between Irish and Black communities, explaining that "the antagonism between these two peoples was undoubtedly one of the harshest intergroup hatreds in American history" (1965, 45). Irish immigrants in America were characterized by both Anglo-Saxon White and Black individuals as "the scum of European society," and yet, as Black writers like John E. Bruce lamented, their white skin earned them privileges and liberties not afforded to Black and Brown people. Bruce wrote in 1882 that the Irish "can come and enjoy the fullest social and political privileges, the Native Born American with woolly hair and dark complexion is made the Victim of Social Ostracism " (Gilbert 1971, 121). Alongside vocalized disdain for Irish immigrants, Osofsky quotes a 1909 Black academic who mused that "Pat O'Flannagan does not have the least thing in the world against Jim from Dixie but it didn't take Pat long after passing the Statue of Liberty to learn that it is popular to give Jim a whack" (1965, 45). Both Osofsky and Flowe identify San Juan Hill as one of the most racially contentious areas of Manhattan, a place in which the Irish and Black working class navigated a racist, classist, and deeply flawed socio-political ecosystem that often led to violence.

San Juan Hill was home to both acute moments of infighting, dubbed by contemporary newspapers as "riots," and everyday, regularized criminal and extra-legal activity,

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON BEATEN AND ARRESTED

On March 19, 1911, Black reformer and educator Booker T. Washington was assaulted by a White man named Albert Ulrich at 11 ½ West 63rd Street. Washington was in New York on a speaking tour, and sought to visit D.E. Smith, who worked as an auditor for the Tuskegee Apartments, a model tenement on West 62nd. Smith, who was White, resided at 11 ½ West 63rd Street, an all-White building on the east side of Amsterdam close to Central Park West. Washington, through unsuccessful attempts to locate his friend, had walked up and down 63rd Street and waited in the lobby of the apartment house. Ulrich, Washington's assailant, exited his apartment with a club and began beating Washington, claiming that Washington had smiled at Ulrich's wife when she took their dog out for a walk and falsely accused him of peering through keyholes. They struggled in the street before Washington was able to break away and run east on 63rd Street and south on Central Park West, with Ulrich chasing after him and screaming for police assistance. Eventually, police arrived, catching and arresting both Washington and Ulrich. Washington was not held, rather he was taken to Flower Hospital on the East Side for treatment which, according to his attorney, consisted of eleven wounds, sixteen stitches in his scalp, and a "serious hemorrhage of the ear" (*Intelligencer Journal* 1911; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* 1911; *Indianapolis Star* 1911; *Warren Times Mirror*, 1911; *Topeka Journal* 1911).

What happened to Booker T. Washington at 11 ½ W 63rd Street was only exceptional given the victim's status as one of the most prominent and influential Black people in America, a fact which Ulrich didn't know. Washington, unknowingly, had crossed the racialized boundaries of San Juan Hill, entering into a section of the neighborhood that residents of The Gut would not visit, especially at night. This story, reported nationally, illustrates the volatility of San Juan Hill, and how Black people were constantly hemmed in by invisible boundaries, restricting access to public space and freedom.

USES CLUB ON HEAD
OF NEGRO EDUCATOR

Headline about the attack on Booker T. Washington. "Uses Club on Head of Negro Educator" (1911).
The Indianapolis Star, March 20, 1911 2.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON
Was Beaten by Man Who Claimed He Insulted His Wife.

Newspaper clipping discussing Washington's assault and arrest (1911).
"Negro Educator is Assaulted," Warren Times, March 20, 1911.

including physical assault, prostitution, drug and liquor peddling, murder, robbery, and more. "Crime," defined loosely to encompass activity that was illegal or punishable by law, was seen by many Black and working class New Yorkers as a solution to unmet needs and overt inequity. Not only were Black residents of San Juan Hill facing physical violence from White people, they also had to contend with de facto segregation, which led to lower wages, lack of work, poor living conditions, and, ultimately, desperation (Flowe 2020, 18).

Gangs, often segregated racially, in New York City loomed large throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and were formed, in part, to remediate that desperation. According to an 1898 edition of *Broadway Magazine*, the area that would become known as San Juan Hill was home to many notable gangs including the "'Gas House,' 'Slaughter House,' 'Black Eyes,' and 'We Want,' gangs." The neighborhood was also the stomping grounds for the "West Side Butchers" and the "Cuckoo Kids" (Crane 1898, 286). Though most of the gangs claiming territory in San Juan Hill were White, some Black men joined White gangs, and others organized all-Black groups (Guichard 1986). Many singular instances of violence in the neighborhood were facilitated by gang affiliation, though plenty of crime was executed by individuals as individuals.

During the 1920s and 1930s, San Juan Hill supported a thriving illicit drug market, facilitated by both Black and White patrons as well as proprietors operating out of illegal saloons and, most notably, tenements. Substance prohibition, one historian writes, was part and parcel of American Progressives "hellbent on reforming individuals and society with puritanical moralism and classist judgements of social behaviors of the underclass" (Flowe 2020). As the progressives observed, one of the most significant examples of extra-legal activity and the underground economy in America during this era was the peddling of illegal substances that included, among others, cocaine, heroin, marijuana, and alcohol. In San Juan Hill, this led to an increase in the frequency of raids.

Given the sensational and dramatic nature of New York's underground world, many newspapers reported on crime and policing in San Juan Hill. In March 1930, forty-two year old Balderine Moriale was murdered and disposed of in a rubbish pile in the rear lot behind 229 West 63rd Street. Moriale, once known as "The Merchant" had been a "drug czar" of San Juan Hill, but had left for four years and was subsequently murdered upon his return when he tried to re-establish himself as the leader of the San Juan Hill trade. As one newspaper reported, "his successors in supplying addicts of the neighborhood, almost exclusively colored, came upon him in a dark hallway, beat him to death…and then cast him and his finery on the rubbish heap where his body was found" (Davidson 1930). Moriale's story exemplifies the racial factionalism in the drug trade, the violence therein, and the fact that crime operated within tenements that people called home.

Officers from Emergency Squad # 4 raid an illegal still at 210 West 61st Street on May 20, 1931 during Prohibition. "Still, 210 W 61st St.," (May 20, 1931).
NYPD & Criminal Prosecution Collection, NYC Municipal Archives, nypd_es_0251b.

In February of 1939, federal narcotic agents arrested over a hundred people, most of them Black, in San Juan Hill who had been operating out of tenements between West End and Amsterdam Avenues. They were part of a "Dope Ring" that extended nationwide, supposedly centering around a White physician in Asheville, North Carolina. Twelve Black men, captured on 62nd Street, were held by police for questioning as "leaders of the most vicious and largest concentration of narcotic dealers in the Western hemisphere" (*News Journal* 1939). Interestingly, the narcotics raid revealed an intricate network of tunnels, which newspapers often described as "catacombs," which connected tenements up and down The Gut, exemplifying, like Moriale's death, the use of tenements for more than just living (Burley 1939).

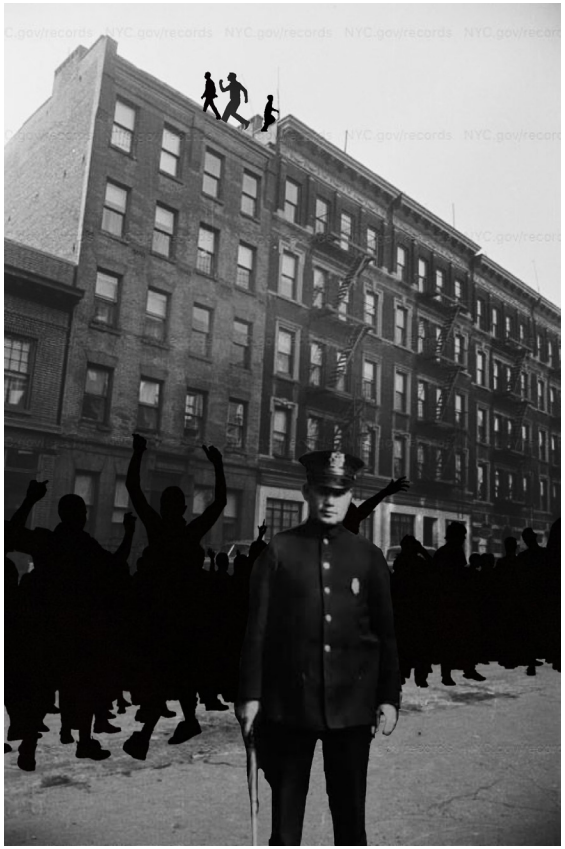
Exterior of 210 West 61st Street (second building from left).
New York City 1940s Tax Photos, NYC Municipal Archives.

Photograph of "Police examining the body of Balderine Moriale (circle) as it lay where it was found amid these drab surroundings in the rear of 229 West 63rd St." "Find Ex-Drug Czar Slain on Tenement Rubbish Pile," (1930)
Daily News 1930, 301.

"Raiding G-Men" at 229 West 62nd street during a 1939 dope ring raid.
D. Burley, "Raiding on San Juan Hill," New York Amsterdam News, February 11, 1939, 12.

"RACE RIOTS"

The physical and spatial violation that characterized San Juan Hill's racial history further played out in its residential spaces. As strife between Black and White neighbors in the area occurred, small yet heated interactions often erupted into full-blown neighborhood "riots," which could last for days. The most significant of these occurred in 1900, 1905, 1907, and 1917. The spaces that served as battlegrounds for this kind of guerilla warfare were often row houses and tenements. Both residents and police made use of features such as connecting roofs, residential streets, and the aforementioned tunnels, in order to set up attacks and counterattacks. The African American residents of these tenements in The Gut used their buildings defensively, inciting aggression against police officers and White immigrants as a way to protect themselves, while police officers often entered these homes on the offensive.



"Riot" Visualization (2023).
N. Dressler

1900

The "riots" that occurred in 1900 were memorialized among the worst in the history of the neighborhood. In August 1900, a young White boy named John Brennan was shot by a Black man, John Davis, who was known by the alias "Lamplighter." Trouble began with Lamplighter and his White friends harassing Davis (*Chicago Daily Tribune* 1900). Lamplighter responded with bullets, and "riots" quickly broke out all over the neighborhood as throngs of White men wandered the neighborhood beating any Black men they encountered. The White groups not only attacked innocents who they passed on the street, they targeted Black tenements as well. At a tenement on 60th Street, every window on the façade was completely shattered, consequently causing bodily harm to many of the building's tenants (*Chicago Daily Tribune* 1900). While the White perpetrators were arrested by the police, the arrest of a few Black men perpetuated the conflict. Due to the fear and hatred broiling beneath the surface of the neighborhood, all it took was one interaction to send the community up in arms. The White immigrants, especially, portrayed racial aggression as an act of civic duty. Frank McPyke, the young White man who led the assault on the 60th Street tenement, publicly exclaimed to reporters during the "riots" of 1900 that he would "do his fair share of annihilating the Negro population of New York" (*Chicago Daily Tribune* 1900).

MORE RIOTING
IN NEW YORK.

Shooting of a Boy by a Negro Starts Race Trouble Again.

Headline about the 1900 "riots." "More Rioting in New York," (1900).
Chicago Daily Tribune, August 27, 1900.

1905

The notorious 1905 "riots" began on the streets of West 62nd Street when a Black resident, Henry Williams, attempted to help a White resident known as "George the Ragman" cross through the area without any trouble (*Daily Press* 1905). As a result, Williams was attacked by Irish immigrant Edward Connelly (*Daily Press* 1905). Connelly was taken into custody by police officers who attempted to bring him to the 68th Street Police Precinct when they were pursued by a mob of Connelly's friends. The Irishmen hurled showers of stones, bottles, and other missiles. "Riot" erupted as members from each community joined in to defend their kin. When station reserves arrived on the scene to make further arrests, the fighting only amplified. More than a thousand men, boys, and women, both Black and White, were engaged in furious combat (*The Hartford Courant* 1905). Much of the battle was fought from the rooftops and windows of tenements on 62nd Street, with residents firing bricks down at the policemen on the streets below. In the streets, stones were thrown, shots fired, and windows smashed (*Daily Press* 1905).

BLACK AND WHITE WAR IN A CROWDED DISTRICT

West Side Blocks Under Night-Stick Law for Hours.

McADOO TAKES COMMAND

Battle Ground Filled with Police—Shooting and Stoning Started When Negro Helped a Ragman.

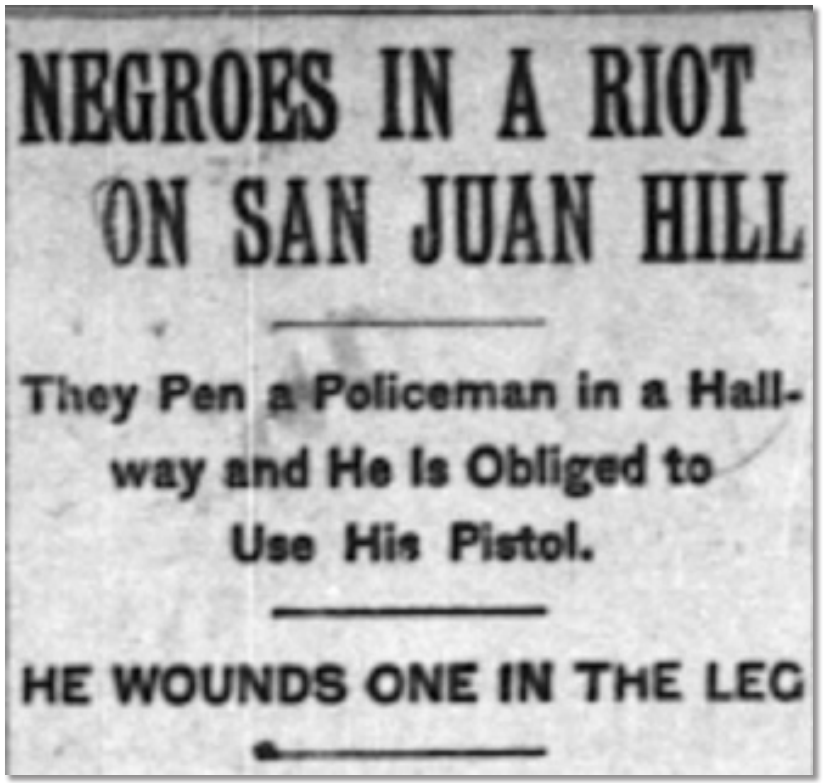
Headline about the 1905 "riots". "Black and White war in a crowded district," (1905).
New York Times, July 15, 1905a.

As bricks showered down on the crowds and police officers on 62nd Street during July 1905, officers forcibly entered an apartment located at 238 West 62nd Street (Sacks 2005). They brutally shot and beat African American resident Arthur Moody, who later succumbed to his injuries. Although police claimed that Moody had personally been throwing bricks, witnesses attested to the falsity of the accusations. The fate of Arthur Moody spurred the first stirrings of police reform in San Juan Hill after the case was taken to the District Attorney's office. The police evaded any major punishment, and the resulting changes were not majorly significant, but the event showed an inkling of racial justice within San Juan Hill (Sacks 2005).

1907

The Gut persisted as a vessel of racial violence as two significant "riots" occurred in 1907. In July 1907, a bucket of water was thrown from the roof of 247 West 61st Street onto a group of Italian boys who were making too much noise in the neighborhood on a quiet Sunday morning (*The Sun* 1907). Throngs of people on both the Italian and the African American side joined in to attack one another senselessly, and many from around the neighborhood threw themselves into the mix despite having no connection to the original conflict. Others joined in via rooftop attack. Police from three other station reserves on the West Side were soon called to the scene to "beat the combatants into submission," and search cellars of other tenements on the block looking for bodies (*The Hartford Courant* 1907). Word had spread that a young Black man in a Naval uniform had been killed and dragged into a cellar on 61st Street, but police were unable to locate his body. All three men arrested by the end of the "riot" were Black. Five serious hospitalizations occurred, with one fatality.

Only a few months later, in November 1907, a heated chase started at the corner of Amsterdam and 62nd Street. This conflict began after a 68th Street Station officer attempted to arrest an African American man, Melvin Johnson, on a "drunk and disorderly" charge (*New York Tribune* 1907). The story was highly sensationalized in the media as the police officer, Edward Finn, who was known for his petite stature, chased a 300-plus-pound Johnson through the neighborhood. Johnson and his associates took off down 62nd Street before ducking into a tenement basement for cover. As Finn followed him through the basement entrance, he was pelted with bricks, cans, and flower pots flying from the roof and windows (*The Hartford Courant* 1907). Upon entry into the building, a crowd of Black men allegedly rushed Finn, brandishing pistols and revolvers. Backup soon arrived on the scene, and Johnson was finally found on the roof of the tenement and taken in for resisting arrest.



NEGROES IN A RIOT
ON SAN JUAN HILL

They Pen a Policeman in a Hall-way and He Is Obliged to Use His Pistol.

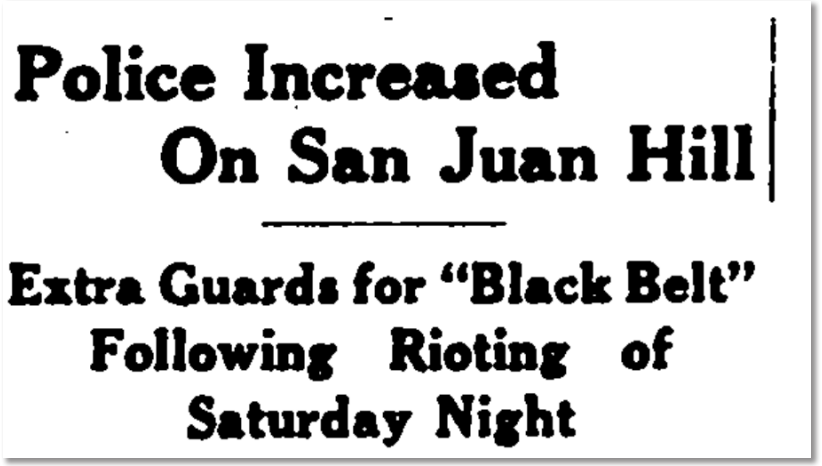
HE WOUNDS ONE IN THE LEG

Headline about the 1907 "riots." "Negroes in a riot on San Juan Hill," (1900).
New York Times, November 29 1900.

1917

Even when the violence was not instigated in The Gut, it often ended there. The streets of San Juan Hill served as a major stage for a heated race "riot" in 1917, this time beginning at a saloon on the corner of Amsterdam and West 65th Street. When San Juan Hill resident Benjamin Hamilton passed the "Black Belt" of his neighborhood and entered a White saloon, he mistakenly crossed an invisible racial divide (*New York Tribune* 1917a). Hamilton had brought a White friend from out of town with him and was simply looking to show his guest around the San Juan Hill neighborhood. Unfortunately, the White patrons and workers inside of the bar were more aware of this unspoken divide. As a result, the bartender acknowledged Hamilton and his guest coolly and proceeded to overcharge the two men for their lemon and seltzers. Hamilton, who was at this point aware that he was being mistreated in front of his White friend, spoke back. When tensions between Hamilton and the bartender got physical, the saloon's other patrons promptly removed Hamilton from the premises (*New York Tribune* 1917a). As Hamilton was chased down to The Gut, Black residents poured into the streets where the groups began to clash.

The resulting "riot" lasted around an hour and a half, finishing with one African American man murdered and scores of injuries on both sides. Benjamin Hamilton was arrested along with four other Black men. The battle did not quell until police reserves were called in from three separate stations, in addition to detectives and members of the Home Defense League. As overt brawling seemed to dissipate, police drove through The Gut shining spotlights onto tenement roofs in search of snipers. Only after these patrols were met with silence was the "riot" called to an end. Generally, by 1917, racial conflicts in the area were less frequent, as many African Americans moved north towards Harlem (*New York Tribune* 1917a). However, with one dead and many injured, the "riots" evoked the spirit of those ten years before, with the use of many of the same guerilla tactics of San Juan Hill's past.



Police Increased
On San Juan Hill

Extra Guards for "Black Belt"
Following Rioting of
Saturday Night

Headline about the 1917 riots. "Police Increased on San Juan Hill," New York Tribune, May 28, 1917.
New York Tribune 1917b

POLICING OF INTIMATE SPACE

As Douglas Fowler argues, Black Manhattanites "sought means to deny complete constraint by committing subsistence and pleasure crimes in alleys, hallways, and rooftops, or taking control of public space through force" (2014, 30). For San Juan Hill's Black denizens, tenements offered relative privacy from the watchful eyes of White people and local police. Tenements also served as strategic sites. Almost every newspaper reporting on "riots" from 1900 to 1930 describes bottles and bricks being thrown from tenement roofs, the bricks often sourced directly from the buildings' chimneys (*New York Times* 1907). Methods for escaping police were also strategically designed to the specifics of the built infrastructure. Those trying to escape police most often lived in San Juan Hill and were thus intimately familiar with the roofs, hallways, alleys, and tunnels that made for efficient evasion (Casey 1939). One article in 1903 chronicles the attempted arrest by Policeman Connor of William Johnson on 62nd Street:

> *The policeman secured his prisoner after a sharp fight and was dragging him to the station house when he was assailed by a mob and volleys of bricks and stones were hurled at him from the roofs of adjoining tenements. On the arrival of two other policemen, Connor opened fire on a negro on a roof and the shots were returned from windows of the house. The reserves cleared the streets and chased the rioters over the roofs, making several arrests and finally restored order.* (*Atlanta Constitution* 1903)

Here, it is clear not only how the community operated in support of one another, but the extent to which the layout of tenements lent itself to guerilla tactics.

INTEGRATED ACTIVISM AND SPACES OF BLACK RESISTANCE

One of the founding members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and frequent contributor to the NAACP's *The Crisis* magazine, Mary White Ovington, lived in the Tuskegee Apartments from 1907-1908, and was self-described as a "white girl in a colored world" (Ovington 1951). Ovington, born to a hotel magnate in Brooklyn, became interested in housing and settlement projects in the early twentieth century and soon became devoted to the cause of racial equality and radical politics. Much of her activism was born on the streets of San Juan Hill and through her interactions with the people there, like her good friend Reverend George Sims of the Union Baptist Church (Ovington 1951). That radical integrated racial activism, which came out of San Juan Hill, exemplifies the importance of the neighborhood to the politics of race in the early-twentieth century.

Tuskegee Apartments, 213 W. 62nd Street between Amsterdam and West End (1940).
NYC Municipal Archives, 1940.

Despite the decades-long string of "riots" and racial attacks that the Black population faced in San Juan Hill in the first half of the twentieth century, the community found ways to uplift and support one another, flourishing in safe spaces of their own. The creation of model tenements and housing, such as Phipps Houses (see "Housing"), was one way in which positive spaces were created to serve the community. For the most part, these organizations were established by White philanthropists in order to help the Black community.

Although it is important to credit how the Black community in San Juan Hill benefited from White philanthropic intervention, it is essential to simultaneously acknowledge the existence of Black-orchestrated spaces in the community. The New York Free Kindergarten Association for Colored Children (NYFKACC), founded in 1895, was a notable example of this. Although it was founded and run by both Black and White educators, it was noteworthy in its prioritization of the "Black women's perspectives on childcare" (Larson 2020). When the NYFKACC moved into Phipps Houses No. 2, significant emphasis was placed on the notion of maintaining the principles of the NYFKACC. Because of the institutional racism that Black members of the community were so accustomed to, there was a large distrust towards White social work organizations (Larson 2020). Executive Secretary of the NAACP, Frances Blascoer, noted that small, Black-run charitable organizations such as the NYFKACC were significantly more helpful and comfortable to the community than "large, impersonal white organizations" (Larson 2020).

Phipps Houses No. 2 (1944).
Museum of the City of New York, 1944.

Exterior of Saint Cyprian's on West 63rd Street, Christ and Saint Stephen's Episcopal Church, n.d.
Christ and Saint Stephen's Episcopal Church, n.d.

In addition to charitable efforts spearheaded by members of their own community, the Black residents of San Juan Hill also created thriving cultural spaces of their own. *The New York Amsterdam News*, a Black newspaper that would become one of the biggest and most influential Black owned businesses, was created out of founder James H. Anderson's home at 132 W 65th Street (*Amsterdam News* n.d.). Black music flourished in spaces such as the Jungle Casino on West 62nd Street, which would result in the career of Thelonious Monk as well as the creation of the dance "the Charleston."

The Black population in San Juan Hill also relied on religious spaces to foster feelings of community. Union Baptist Church, built in 1901, was one of these spaces. It also included daycare and play space for children, incorporating social causes into its religious practices (Larson 2020). Saint Cyprian's church provided another important community for San Juan Hill's Black residents. Despite being located across the invisible racial divide in the neighborhood, it was especially beloved by those of West Indian descent (Apmann 2022). Although documentation of these spaces of Black joy and celebration is limited, it is known that within San Juan Hill there existed various saloons, clubs, and businesses which provided safe spaces to the neighborhood's Black residents. The story of San Juan Hill is not just one of violence, but also of resilience and cultural joy.

202 West 63rd Street with Union Baptist to the right (1927).
New York Public Library, 1927.

HISTORICAL ERASURE OF PUERTO RICANS

Though the early days of racial tension in San Juan Hill primarily involved conflict between Black residents and White people of European descent, shifting demographics toward the middle of the twentieth century led to significant changes in the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood. San Juan Hill changed rapidly in the years surrounding World War II. By the mid-1940s, a significant majority of the Black population in the neighborhood had shifted north to Harlem. In the decade following the war, it is estimated that over 4,200 Puerto Ricans were arriving in the United States each year, with 85 percent settling in New York City (Korrol 2017).

In the tenements of San Juan Hill, like the African American community before them, Puerto Rican people experienced struggles with education, employment, and sanitary housing conditions. The status of Puerto Ricans in New York City, and the United States in general, was often classified as "the Puerto Rican problem," and many White New Yorkers voiced their fears at the sudden "takeover" of migrants into the city (Leong 2022). Their substandard living conditions only further perpetuated negative stereotypes. As they settled into tenements left vacant due to the migration of the Black community towards Harlem, the accepted narrative was that they were to blame for the blighted conditions. In a neighborhood in which racial discrimination had become such a deeply ingrained aspect of daily life, the White residents of San Juan Hill were predisposed to treating the Puerto Ricans as "other" (Leong 2022).

Although less documentation and media coverage exists on the Puerto Rican community than on the Black community, it is clear that they experienced much of the same violence and discrimination. Puerto Rican "youth gangs" in the neighborhood (such as one referred to as the "Dragons") were blamed for engaging in violent brawls with local White neighbors (Estrin 1959). More often than not, in reported instances of violence between Puerto Rican and White groups, the Puerto Rican gangs were framed as the aggressors rather than the reverse. In the area's schools, integration issues were known to be prevalent as well. Some, such as the High School of Commerce, had to bring in extra police enforcement in order to reign in ethnic conflict within the walls of the school (Kaplan 1958). Although there were not all-out "race riots," such as those between the Black and White residents in preceding decades, more subtle traces of discrimination and aggression certainly remained.

There is an undeniable void of documentation and understanding of Puerto Rican life in the neighborhood during this period of in-migration. The lack of documentary evidence itself represents historical exclusion suffered by the Puerto Rican community, and the barriers faced in establishing attendant enterprises and institutions. Many of the community-based organizations that Black citizens had forged relocated to Harlem, and new, Puerto Rican institutions did not have the time or resources to establish roots before the onset of urban renewal.

HISTORIC ASSETS

68th Street Police Station

68th Street Station was emblematic of the oppression and violence within San Juan Hill. The officers stationed here were primarily White and were ruled to treat the neighborhood's Black residents with disproportionate aggression. The officers of 68th Street Station would often refuse to intercede when Black residents were harmed and harassed by their White neighbors.

The Gut – 61st and 62nd

"The Gut" was the area which spanned between 61st and 62nd streets and Amsterdam and West End Avenues. This area was predominantly populated by Black families. Because racial clashes often resulted in Black residents retreating to their homes in order to fight and defend themselves, most of the violence within the neighborhood occurred in The Gut.

238 W 62nd Street

238 W 62nd Street was the residence of Arthur Moody, an African American man. Located in The Gut, the home served as the stage for a pivotal point in the 1905 "riots" when Moody was shot and beaten to death by police. As witnesses attested that Moody was innocent of the crime that had spurred this police assault, the instance sparked early stirrings of racial justice and police reform in San Juan Hill after the case was taken to the District Attorney.

247 W 61st Street

247 W 61st Street was the site at which the July 1907 "riot" was sparked. When a group of rowdy young Italian boys was making too much noise in the street on a quiet Sunday morning, an older woman living at 247 W 61st Street threw a bucket of water onto them from her window. This miniscule incident quickly led to a full-scale "riot" as Italians and African Americans joined in.

Henrietta Industrial School

Located at 224 W 63rd, the Henrietta Industrial School was a mixed-race (but primarily Black) school that many children in San Juan Hill attended. Although nearby schools such as P.S. 141 and P.S. 69 were integrated, they were located across White territory. Henrietta Industrial School provided Black children with a more trade-oriented education than traditional schools provided, but for many parents this was the safest choice for their children's education.

11 ½ W 63rd

African American activist and educator Booker T. Washington was assaulted at 11 ½ W 63rd Street on March 20, 1911. Washington had gone to the address to meet the auditor of the Tuskegee institute. Having difficulty finding the auditor, Washington lingered inside of the building in search of an apartment under the name Smith. After Mrs. Ulrich told her husband, Albert Ulrich, that the man was loitering in the hallway, Ulrich chased and beat Washington, accusing him of peering through keyholes. Both men were taken to 68th Street Station.

Public Baths

Located at 533 W 59th Street, San Juan Hill's Public Baths were an example of an integrated space within the neighborhood. It is important to note that although the Baths did allow Black patrons, the use of the space remained highly racially separated. Black and White residents continued to use the Public Baths during different hours and in general, the integrated space meant that it would serve as a prevalent location for racial clashes.

12 West End Ave

The headquarters of the Original Donkey Club were located at 12 West End Ave. A political organization which was composed entirely of White members, the group was known to terrorize the Black residents of San Juan Hill. In some instances, these members of the nearby Black community would throw bricks at them from the roofs above.

334 W 59th Street

In 1933, "dope peddler" James "gimp" Parhan was shot and killed at this address after Federal Narcotics Agents invaded the San Juan Hill neighborhood. Federal agent Edward J. Oliver entered the address when Parhan claimed that he had an ounce of heroin to offer. When Parhan instead shot Oliver in the leg, Oliver drew his revolver and killed Parhan. Parhan was a known drug dealer in the area.

229 W 62nd Street

On February 11, 1939, 105 residents of San Juan Hill were rounded up by the United States Treasury Department after a 2-year long attempt to uncover a major New York City heroin supply. The drug ring had been operating out of "catacombs" underneath the tenements of The Gut.

241 W 60th Street

241 West 60th Street is the home of an African American man named Thomas Jefferson who, on May 21, 1906, came close to being lynched in San Juan Hill. Jefferson was arrested and taken to the police station following a skirmish with two women inside of his San Juan Hill home. When the police car reached the station steps, Jefferson attempted to run South with police in pursuit. He was stopped by a White crowd who beat him to the ground, attempting to grab ropes and calling for him to be lynched.

Bureau of Employment and Migration (later renamed Migration Division of the Puerto Rican Department of Labor)

The Bureau of Employment and Migration began as an agency in San Juan, Puerto Rico. In 1948 a new wing of the bureau opened in New York City in order to help Puerto Ricans migrating to the United States. It was created with the goal of integration, by and for the Puerto Rican government.

HOUSING

Sophia Hanyes, Yaozhi Liu, and Dingyi Zhang

The evolving residential character of the studio study area has changed dramatically over the past century. Throughout San Juan Hill's history, there have been systematic race and class disparities in the treatment of tenants, maintenance of apartment buildings, cost of housing, and access to certain neighborhoods and services. The housing quality of Old Law tenements was unsanitary and inhumane, leading to a movement to implement model tenements and affordable housing, which often exacerbated racial exclusion. The development of Lincoln Center and Fordham transformed the residential landscape of San Juan Hill, codifying histories of spatial segregation and contributing to its ongoing vulnerability to redevelopment.

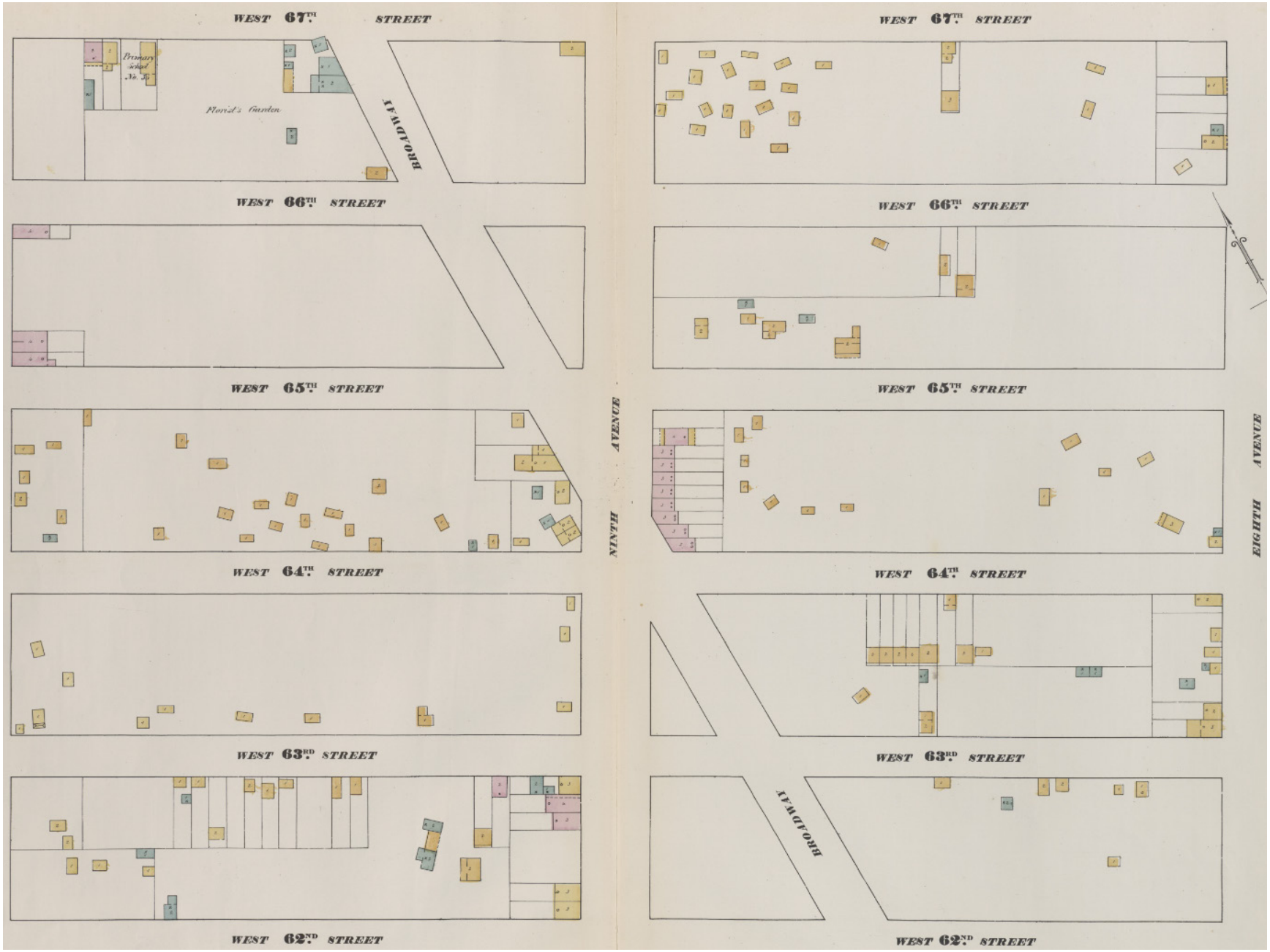
HOUSING TYPOLOGIES

From the late nineteenth century to the post-war age, the housing typologies in New York City changed significantly. The studio study area shared this evolution of housing types but showed higher population density than average. Based on different time periods, the housing types in this area fall into eight categories: timber-frame houses, row houses, old law tenements, model tenements, new law tenements, early middle/upper-class apartments, public housing (NYCHA), and post-war apartments. Old law tenements were the most common housing type in this area before the Lincoln Center project. The overcrowded tenement buildings shaped the history of San Juan Hill, and included some of the most densely populated blocks in New York City during the early twentieth century.

Timber-Frame Houses

Timber-frame houses were prevalent in upper Manhattan in the mid-nineteenth century, and the San Juan Hill area was still mostly farm land until the 1860s. Two major "shanty towns," largely made up of wooden structures, were located in the areas from West 60th Street to West 70th Street between Central Park West Avenue and West End Avenue (Plunz 2016). Most of the wooden structures were demolished in the following few decades, but a few of them still existed until the 1930s. The real estate development of row houses and tenements in the 1880s gradually replaced the timber-frame houses near Central Park West, with the wooden structures near the Hudson River surviving longer. The remaining timber-frame structures were mostly located in the block of 64th Street and 65th Street between West End Avenue and Amsterdam Avenue, and several blocks west of West End Avenue.

In the twentieth century, many remaining timber structures were used commercially as warehouses, stables, or garages, though historic images suggest that some timber-frame structures were still used as housing in the 1920s and 1930s. In the 1930s, another shantytown, known as Camp Thomas Paine, developed at the border of San Juan Hill. The camp was located at the riverfront from West 70th Street to West 80th Street. The residents were largely veterans without housing due to the Great Depression.



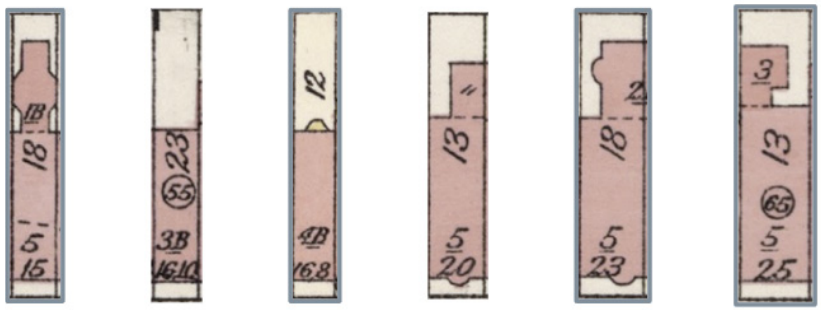
Map of the City of New York 1857-1862, West 62nd Street to West 67 Street.
Accessed from NYPL.

Photo showing a timber-framed house bound by 63rd Street and Columbus Avenue. Tenement buildings can be seen behind a small wooden cottage with fence and garden at West 62nd or 64th Street near Boulevard (1890s).
New York Historical Society Archive.

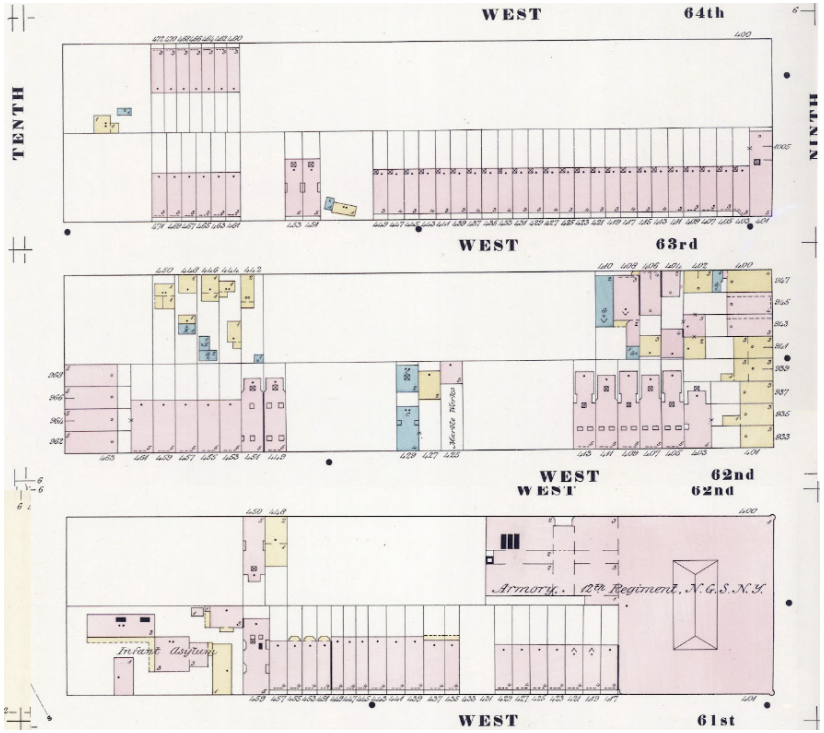
George Hayward, junction of Broadway and Eighth Avenue, N.Y. 1862.
Accessed from NYPL.

Row Houses

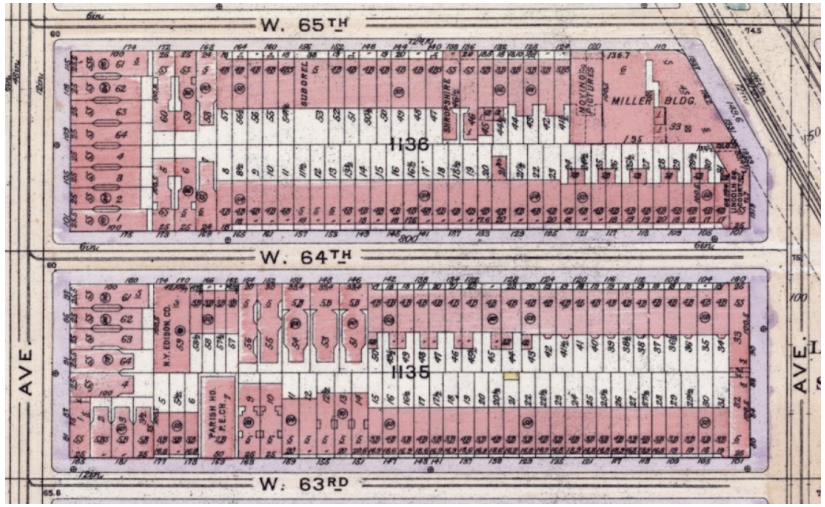
The construction of row houses started in the 1880s. In San Juan Hill, row houses were built east of Amsterdam Avenue as middle class housing, generally with three to four stories and a brownstone façade. By the turn of the century, some of the row houses occupied 25x100 lots, but most of them were built in smaller lots that were less than 20 feet wide, occupying most of the lot. Lighting and ventilation could be problems, and they were characterized as "not better than tenements" (Plunz 2016). Row houses were designed for single family housing. However, according to historic photos, many row houses were used commercially and were converted to multifamily dwellings. Block 1135 and 1136 between 63rd Street and 65th Street were two early row house blocks in this area, but were demolished to build Lincoln Center. Most row houses between Central Park West and Columbus Avenue survive today.



Typology of row houses at differing widths (2023).
Y. Liu



Atlas of the City of New York (1885).
Library of Congress

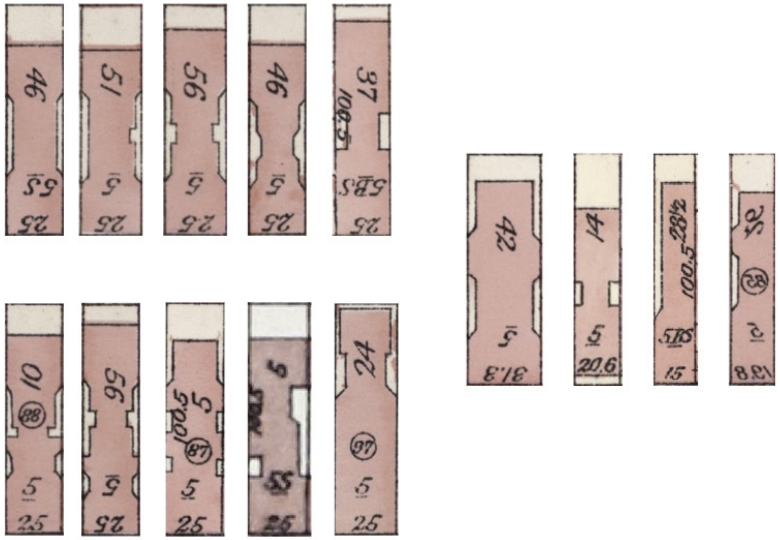


New York City Landbook 1916, 63rd to 65th Street (1916).
Library of Congress

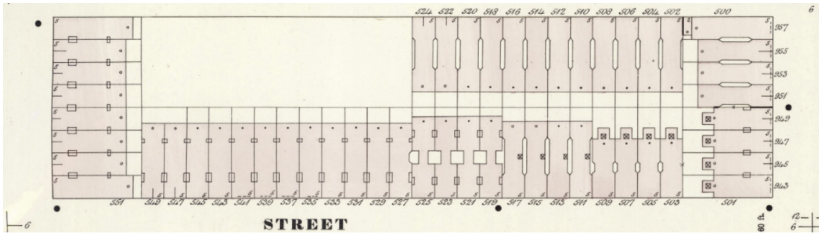
Old-Law Tenements

Old Law tenements were the most common housing type in historic San Juan Hill, and contributed to unjust living conditions. The earliest tenement buildings in the area are present on the 1885 and 1892 fire insurance maps, with some blocks already fully occupied by tenements. Most of the Old Law tenements were five stories with stone or brick façades. Dumbbell shapes were the most common plan , with staircases and shared toilets generally located at the central narrow part of the dumbbell. Many of these tenement buildings were not designed by architects, and construction quality was substandard (Plunz 2016). A 1885 newspaper report shows that a tenement building on West 64th Street collapsed during its construction (*The Sun* 1885). Although the dumbbell plan provided air shafts, the lighting and ventilation in the lower floors were still inadequate, and living conditions were exacerbated by the overcrowding of interior spaces and lack of washing facilities (DeForest 1900).

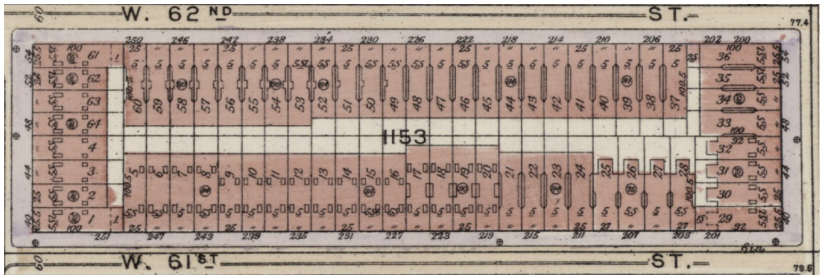
Very few Old Law tenement buildings survive in the study area today. To the west of Amsterdam Avenue, only one was identified by the studio: 242 West 61st Street. It was significantly modified, combining two Old Law tenement buildings, around the 2010s, but the fire escape and dumbbell footprint are still visible. Other Old Law tenement buildings can be seen in the blocks between West 66th Street to West 70th Street and Columbus Avenue to Amsterdam Avenue. Some of them have been modernized and some of them retain the original façades.



Different types of Old Law tenement footprints in San Juan Hill: 25-foot wide lots, left, and other widths, right (2023).
Y. Liu

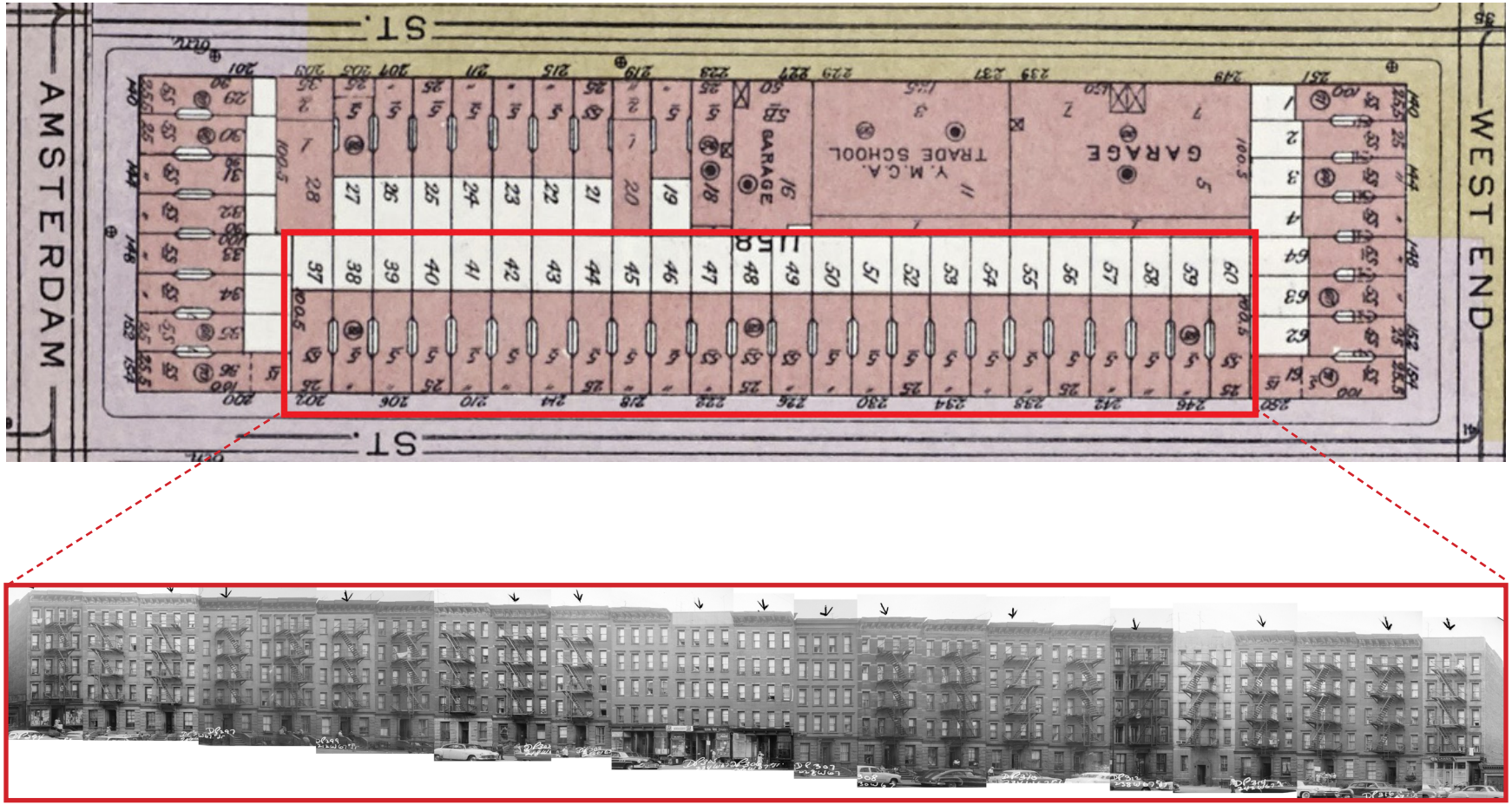


1885



1916

One of the earliest and most dense tenement blocks in San Juan Hill (1916).
Insurance Maps of the City of New York, Volume 6 1885, block 1153, New York City Landbook 1916, block 1153, Library of Congress

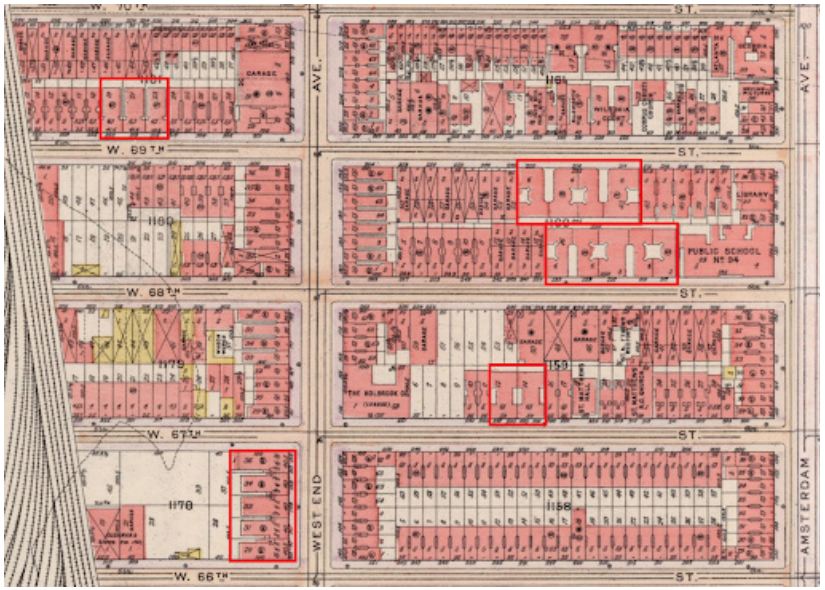


Panoramic view of south side of West 67th Street, which characterized by a streetwall of Old Law tenement (2023).

Source: Resources accessed from Avery Library, Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project photographs, 1957-1958. Map accessed from Fire Insurance Map of Manhattan, 1955, Library of Congress
Graphic: Y Liu.

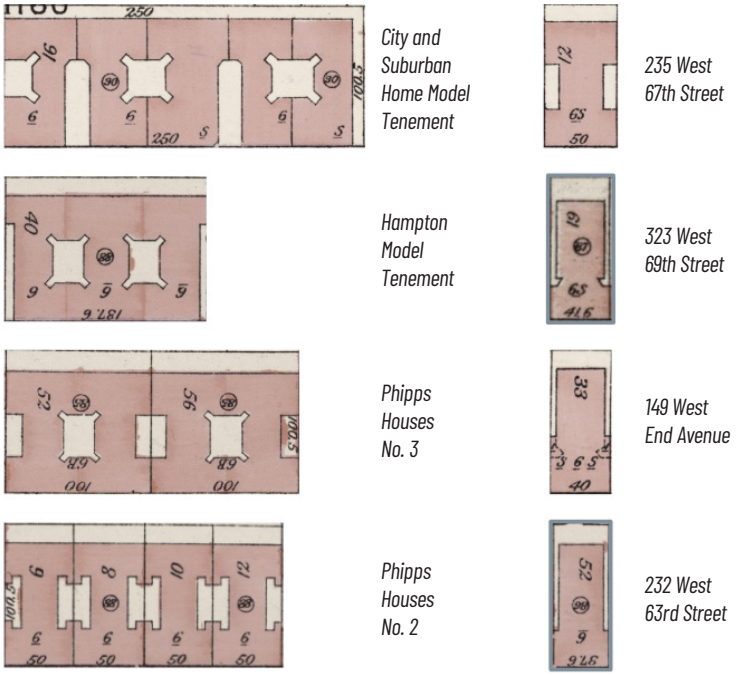
Model Tenements and New Law Tenements

In the late nineteenth century, the crowded and unhealthy conditions of Old Law tenements fueled efforts to improve living conditions for the economically disadvantaged. Progressive tenement housing built before or around the time of the 1901 Tenement Law had upgraded features, including better ventilation and lighting, in-unit bathrooms and toilets, and larger rooms already. As one of the most crowded communities in New York City around the 1900s, San Juan Hill was the location of several "model tenements" designed for lower income residents. The most famous and the only surviving model tenements in the study area are Phipps Houses No.2 and No.3.. From 1898 to 1912, City and Suburban Homes Company constructed three model tenement buildings in San Juan Hill, but they have been demolished. New Law tenements were rare in the study area, given when the neighborhood developed, and the studio only identified five examples, of which only one survives at 153 Amsterdam Avenue.



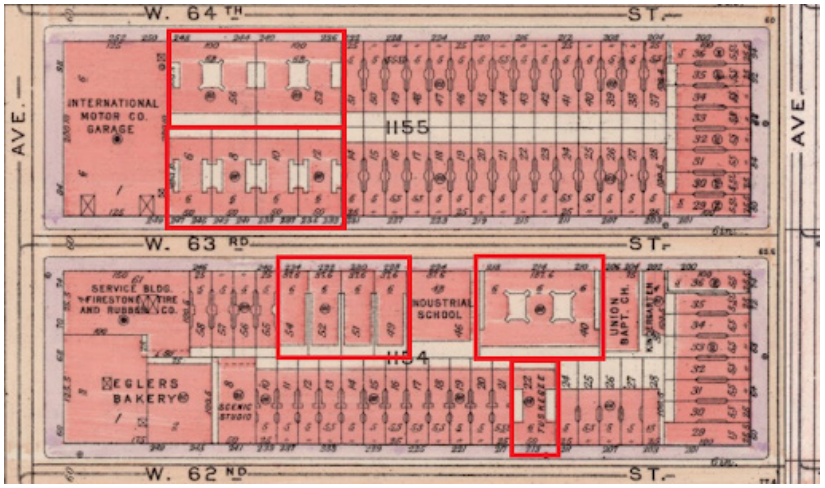
66th to 70ths Streets, between the Hudson River and Amsterdam Avenue (1916). From north to south: 315-323 West 69th Street (New Law Tenement); Community Court Apartments (City and Suburban Home Company Model Tenement); 231-237 West 67th Street (New Law Tenement); 139-159 West End Avenue (New Law Tenement)

Manhattan Land book 1916, accessed from Library of Congress



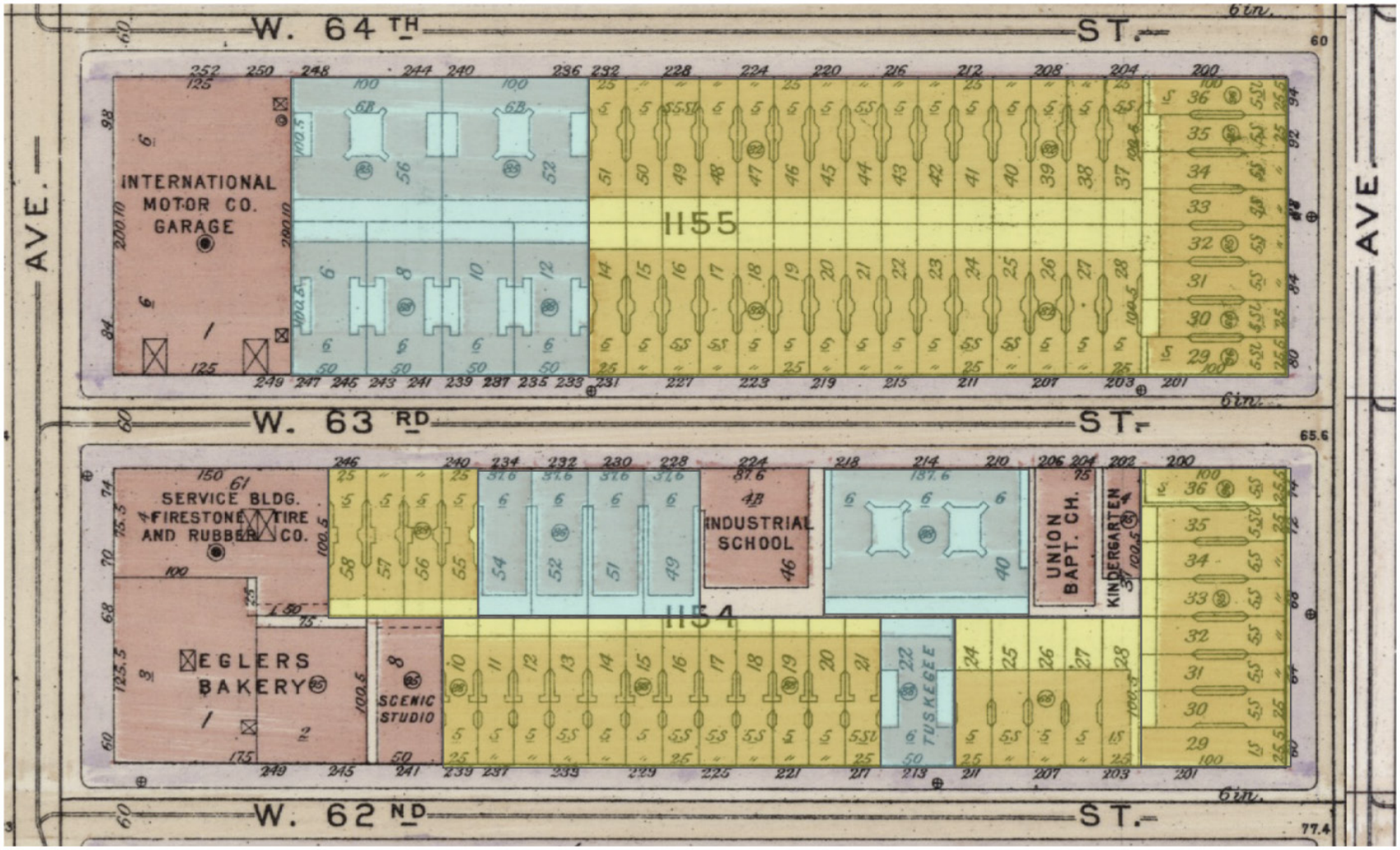
Typology of Model and New-Law Tenements (2023).

Y. Liu



62nd to 64th Streets, between West End and Amsterdam Avenues (1916). From north to south: Phipps Houses No.3; Phipps Houses No.2; 228-234 West 63rd Street (New Law Tenement); The Hampton Model Tenement; The Tuskegee Model Tenement

Manhattan Land book 1916, accessed from Library of Congress



Manhattan Land book 1916, yellow color as Old Law tenements, blue as New Law or model tenements. The footprints show larger open courts provided by new buildings (2023).
Y. Liu

COMMUNITY COURT APARTMENT

(City and Suburban Home Company Model Tenement or Clark Building)
217-233 West 68th Street and 214-220 West 69th Street

Designed by Ernest Flagg, the City and Suburban Homes Company Model Tenement was completed in 1898, and was based on Flagg's award-winning entry in the 1894 Tenement House Design Competition.

The design, with its large central light courts and corner stairs, was commonly called the "Flagg-type plan" (Plunz 2016). This building was the first Flagg-type complex ever built and also was the first City and Suburban Homes Company development, with only slight modifications from his 1894 competition-winning design.

The six-story building had a brick façade and cast iron balconies. The complex provided 373 apartments from one bedroom to three bedrooms. The residents were primarily White and working class (City and Suburban 1902). The building was demolished in 1959-1960 for the construction of the Lincoln Tower apartments.

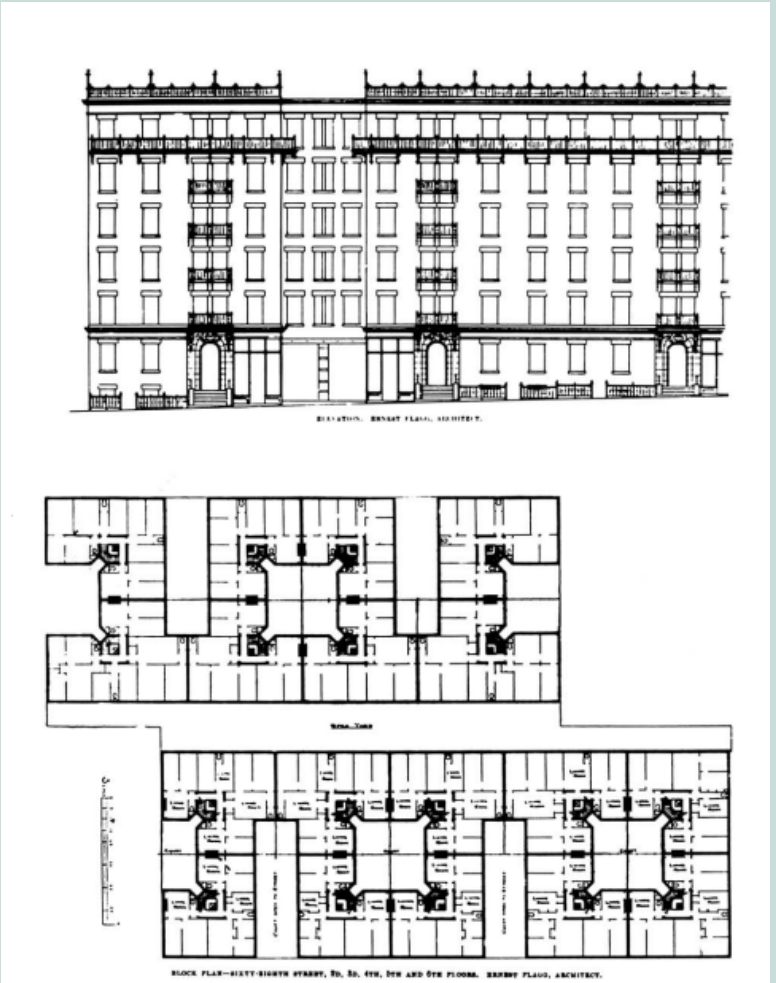


Figure 4.14. Ernest Flagg. The Clark Buildings, the first philanthropic project to be built by the City and Suburban Homes Company, and the first realization of the Flagg-type plan; completed in 1898.

Elevation and floor plan of the Clark Building
Richard Plunz, A History of Housing in New York, (2016), p.99

TUSKEGEE MODEL TENEMENT AND HAMPTON MODEL TENEMENT

In 1901, philanthropists Olivia Phelps Stokes and Caroline Phelps Stokes funded the City and Suburban Homes Company to build a "model tenement for colored people." In 1902, the company hired their nephew's firm, Howells and Stokes, to design a tenement building on a 50-foot wide lot at 213 West 62nd Street, which was located on one of the most densely populated blocks in San Juan Hill.

The footprint of Tuskegee shows that it was similar to a six-story I-shaped New Law tenement. Tuskegee was designed with private toilets, steam heating, and laundry facilities for their residents. The new building provided 46 apartments from 2 rooms to 6 rooms (City and Suburban 1902). According to the company's 1908 annual report, they claimed that the building was a successful project and planned to provide more model tenement for the African American population in San Juan Hill.

In 1912, the company hired Howells and Stokes again to design a larger development on West 63rd Street. The new building was located at 210-218 West 63rd Street and occupied three 50-foot lots. The building was six stories and had two large central courts with corner staircases, which was similar to the company's earlier development, the Clark Building. This building was called the Hampton Model Tenement and provided 128 apartments with features similar to the Tuskegee as well as telephone service. The Tuskegee and the Hampton were demolished in the 1940s for the construction of Amsterdam Houses.

Tuskegee Model Tenement, unknown date and unknown photographer.
LaGuardia and Wagner Archives

Hampton Model Tenement, unknown date and unknown photographer
LaGuardia and Wagner Archives

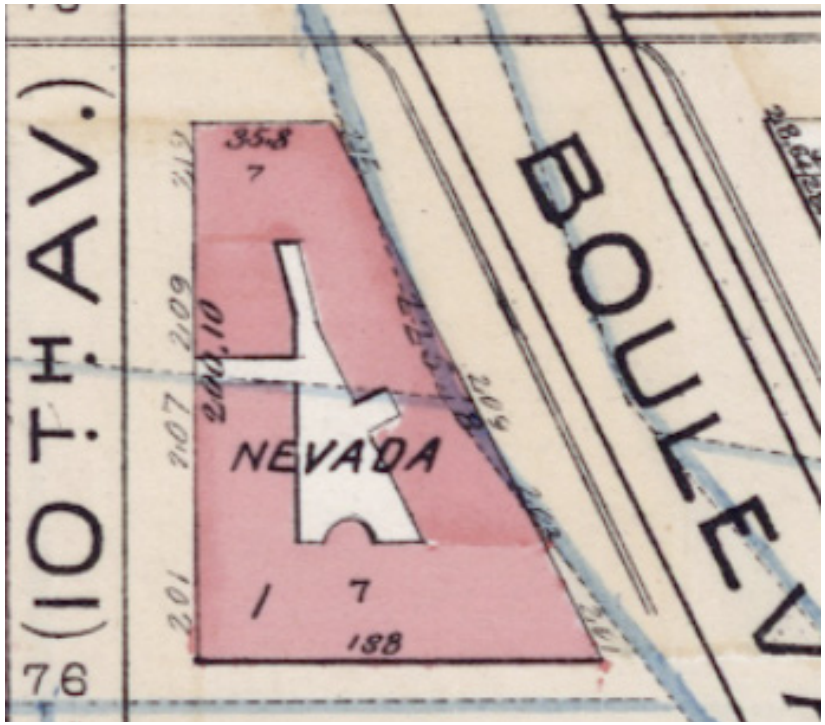
Middle- and Upper-Income Apartments

Middle- and upper-income apartments were mostly located to the east of Amsterdam Avenue, close to Central Park West. The construction of "luxury apartments" started as early as tenements in this area from the 1880s, when the early luxury apartments were still called "French Flats." These "early flats," as noted below, are generally pre-1900 apartments, and "middle and upper-income apartments" characterize the post-1900 apartments.

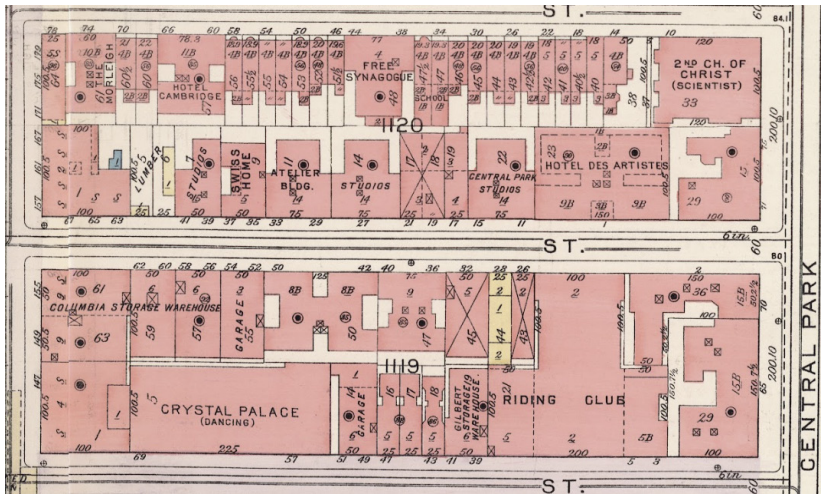
Middle-class New Yorkers did not fully accept the concept of apartments until the 1880s. Apartment living, influenced by the bourgeois from Paris and the development of better technologies such as elevators and steam heating, gradually replaced row houses, becoming fashionable to the middle and upper classes in New York (Plunz 2016). The Dakota Apartments on West 72nd Street inspired many developers to invest in the Upper West Side. The construction of flats began in the 1880s, primarily between Amsterdam Avenue and Central Park West. The building footprints of the 1880s flats may not be easy to distinguish from tenements. Most of them were built on 25 to 30 foot lots with dumbbell shapes. However, their floor plans were more spacious: a 25-foot wide early flat may have had only one or two units per floor. Developers also avoided using the term "tenement" to attract middle class tenants (Miller n.d.).

By the 1890s, larger, luxury apartments were cropping up in the Lincoln Square area, some of which occupied multiple lots. The Nevada Apartments, for example, was a seven-story, fire-proof building opened in 1891, located in a triangle block at the corner of Columbus Avenue and Broadway, from West 69th Street to West 70th Street. The apartment units started from six rooms with two bathrooms and were advertised as "unusually large space" (*The Sun* 1911).

In 1904, the opening of the IRT subway brought more middle- and upper-income residents to the Upper West Side. "Dutchtown," a shantytown located on Central Park West, disappeared by the late 1890s, and was replaced with many luxury apartment houses. An interesting block is West 67th Street between Central Park West and Columbus Avenue, which is called "Artist Row" or the "Artist Colony" on the National Register (National Park Service 1984). Five high-rise "studio buildings" were located on this street, which housed many great artists including Marcel Duchamp. The studio buildings were designed to accommodate work and residential spaces for artists of means. These buildings are currently luxury co-op apartments.

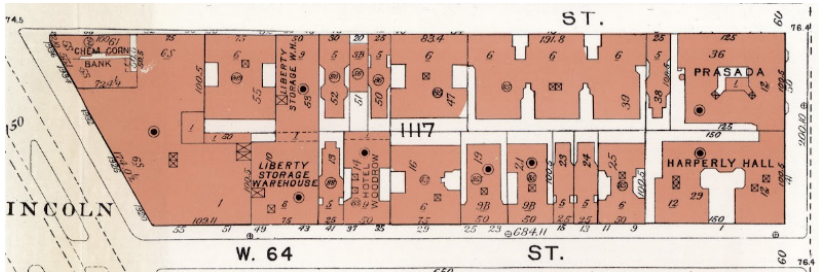


The Nevada Apartments shown on 1894 map.
Library of Congress

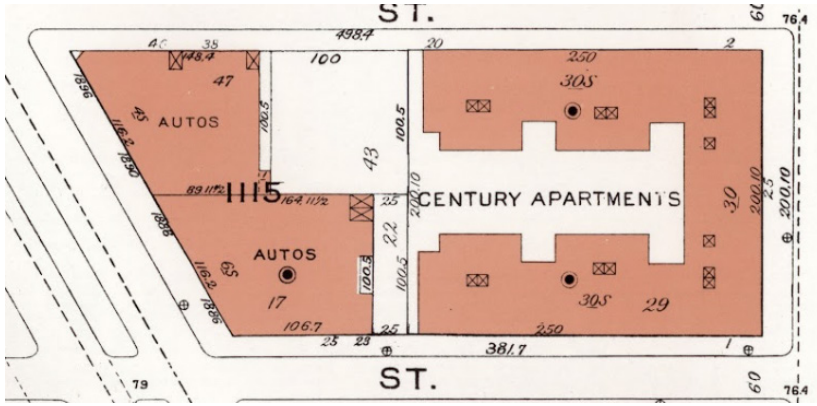


Fire Insurance Map of Manhattan 1930, West 67th Street, "Artists' Colony (1930).
Library of Congress

Most of the middle- and upper-income apartments were developed in the 1920s. They were high-rise buildings with steel-frame structures and heavily ornamented with stone and terra cotta blocks. The Great Depression slowed down the speed of real estate development, but there were still several middle-class apartments constructed in the 1930s, mostly on West 65th and 64th Streets. They were all featured as six-story, mid-rise buildings with brick façade and art-deco style ornaments. Fire escapes can be found on their front façades. They only provided floor plans from studio to 2 bedroom apartments, without the spacious and luxurious features as the 1910s and 1920s luxury buildings. The only exception is the Century Apartment that was opened in 1931. This 30-stories art-deco twin towers provided different floor plans for both middle and upper class residents, from studio to ten rooms duplex with terrace (NYCLPC 1985).



Fire Insurance Map of Manhattan 1960, block 1117, shows the 1930s Art-Deco apartments.
Library of Congress



The Century Apartments shown on 1960 map.
Library of Congress

Post-War Apartments

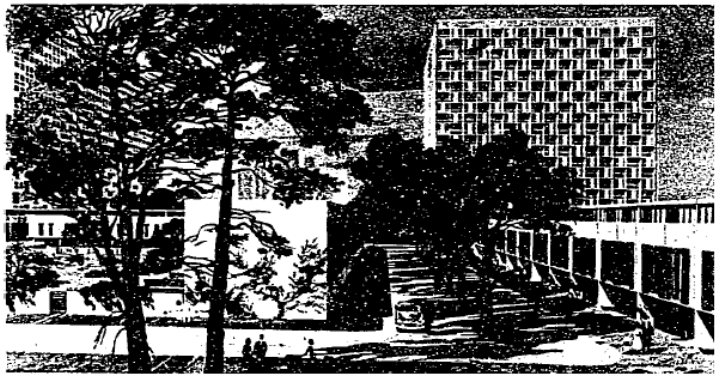
All post-war housing developments will be discussed into this section, including the NYCHA public housing, large-scale super block developments and modern tower apartments. The earliest post-war housing development in San Juan Hill is NYCHA's Amsterdam Houses. Originally planned in 1940, the construction of Amsterdam Hoses was delayed by WWII. Also, Amsterdam Houses was the first superblock in San Juan Hill. This apartment complex included ten 6-story buildings and three 13-stories towers, located from West 61st Street and West 64th Street, to Amsterdam Avenue and West End Avenue. Although constructed post-war, the Amsterdam Houses were designed in a style reminiscent of the 1930s NYCHA garden apartments. The buildings had red brick façades and were surrounded by gardens and playgrounds. A 27-story additional building was completed in 1974 (NYCHA n.d.).

From the late 1940s, Robert Moses planned to use the Title I of the Federal Housing Act to redevelop San Juan Hill and Lincoln Square in the name of "slum clearance." Lincoln Center and Lincoln Towers were the core of this study, but it should be noted that the first housing development under this "slum clearance" was the Coliseum Apartments. Funded by the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority and planned by Moses, the Coliseum, an office building and a middle-income housing project (which was necessary to fulfill the Title I requirement) were constructed on a superblock from West 58th Street to West 60th Street, and Broadway to Columbus Avenue (Gray 1987). The apartment complex occupied the west half of the superblock, including two 15-stories red brick façade buildings that were surrounded by 2 acres of gardens (Minn n.d.). Robert Moses was likely influenced by the Tower in the Park concept of Le Corbusier, as most of New York City's post-war superblock housing developments adopted this idea. In San Juan Hill, this also includes Lincoln Towers.

In the late 1950s, the Moses' Lincoln Square redevelopment plan was finally approved and the demolition of these city blocks began in 1959. In 1957, I.M. Pei designed a plan of a high-rise apartment building with 400 middle-income families (*New York Times* 1958). However, Pei's plan was replaced by the plan from S.J. Kessler & Sons (Ballon 2007). The final plan of the Lincoln Towers Apartments had six large 28 to 29 stories buildings with brick and concrete façades. There were 3800 units and more than 20 acres of open spaces in this complex. However, Lincoln Towers became luxury rentals, at almost triple the original price proposed in the 1956 Redevelopment Plan (Ballon 2007). In response to criticism, in 1958 Moses added a middle-income housing project in the west-south corner of Lincoln Towers. This 20-story building became a co-op and is known as Lincoln Guild today.

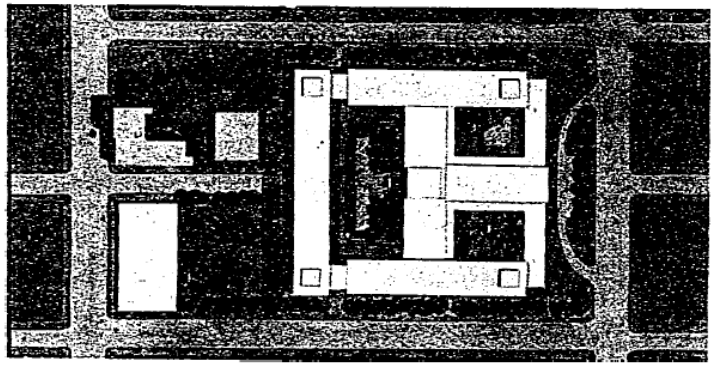
New Center On the West Side

The $205,000,000 Lincoln Square redevelopment project, bringing together a unique center for the performing arts, a university, and modern housing in an area now considered substandard, is moving closer to fulfillment. Following the approval of the project by New York's Board of Estimate recently, condemnation proceedings are expected to start within a few days. Financed jointly by the Federal Government, the city and private developers, the Lincoln Square project should be completed in five years. Shown on these pages are artists' conceptions for some of the oustanding buildings to be erected in the area.



I. M. Pei & Associates for Webb & Knapp

DWELLINGS—New housing, to accommodate 5,000 middle-income families, will feature 400 one-family residences as well as apartment buildings. There will be parks and play areas.



Voorhees Walker Smith & Smith

UNIVERSITY—A ground plan of the campus where Fordham will locate its schools of law, business, social service and education. School buildings will be three or four stories high.

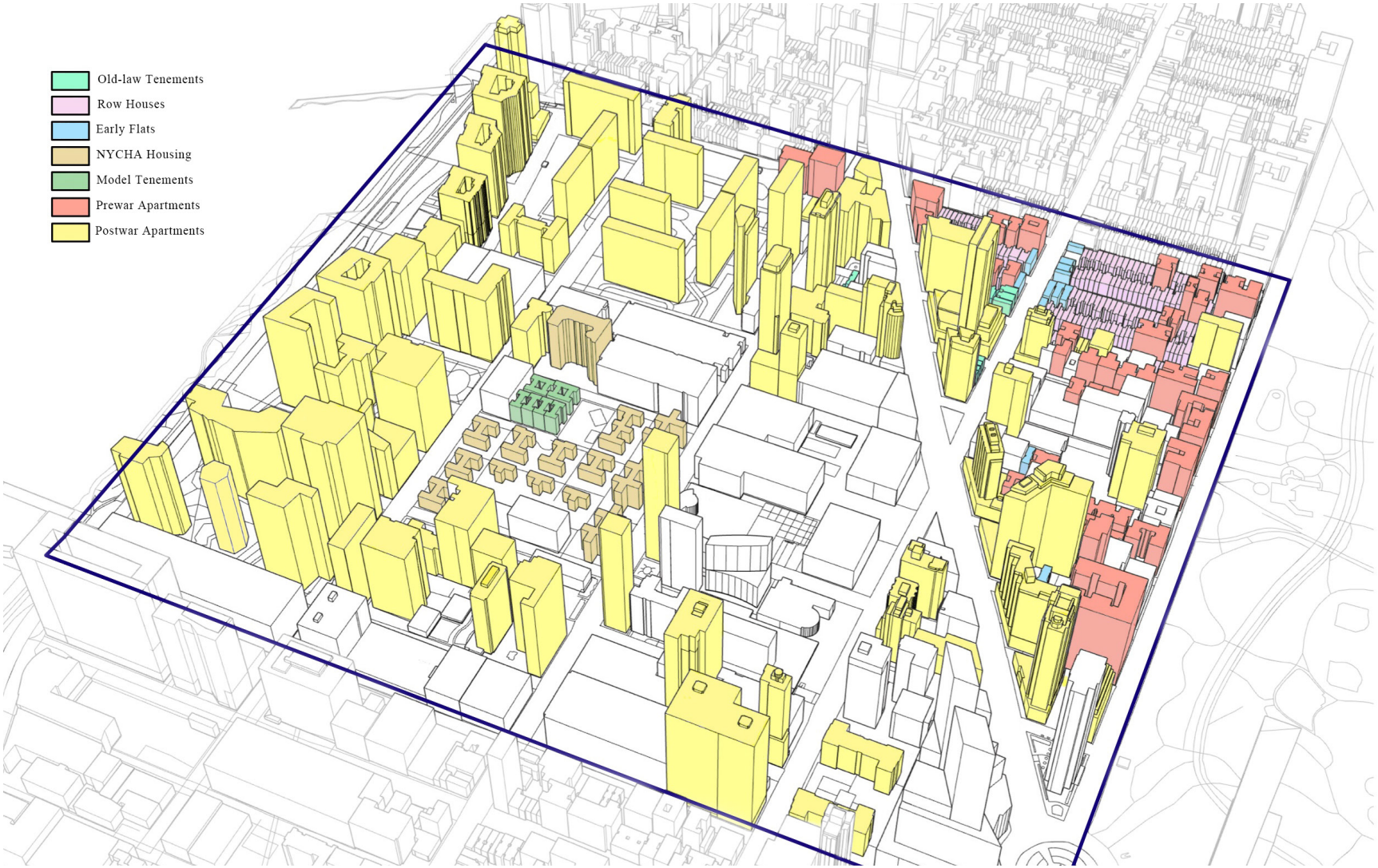
I. M. Pei.'s concept of Lincoln Center Housing Projects (1958).
New York Times, Dec 8th 1958

Recent housing developments in the studio study area include Riverside South. The land was formerly the New York Central Railroad yard. In 1974, Donald Trump bought this land, when the railroad company went bankrupt. However, Trump failed to develop the land in the following decades. In 1994, a group of Asian investors purchased the property and started to construct seven residential buildings, and through 2004 they sold the buildings to different property management companies (*New York Times* 2012). These buildings are 30-40 stories high without many green spaces. Development in Riverside South continued in recent years. Waterline Square, another superblock housing project between West 59th Street and West 61st Street, opened in 2022 and includes three post-modern style glass curtain-wall buildings.

Changing Urban Form

As the image on the following page shows, existing housing typologies vary geographically, with the western region having been replaced by large post-war high-rise apartments. Amsterdam Houses and Phipps houses are located among tall buildings, while the historic districts to the east still have various housing types, with row houses as a typical example, and a large number of pre-war apartments. Only a few of the tenements remain and are scattered. This pattern of housing types may reflect the injustice from the "Amsterdam Barrier." The accompanying photographs show the comparison from the 1940s and 1950s to 2023 in specific locations.

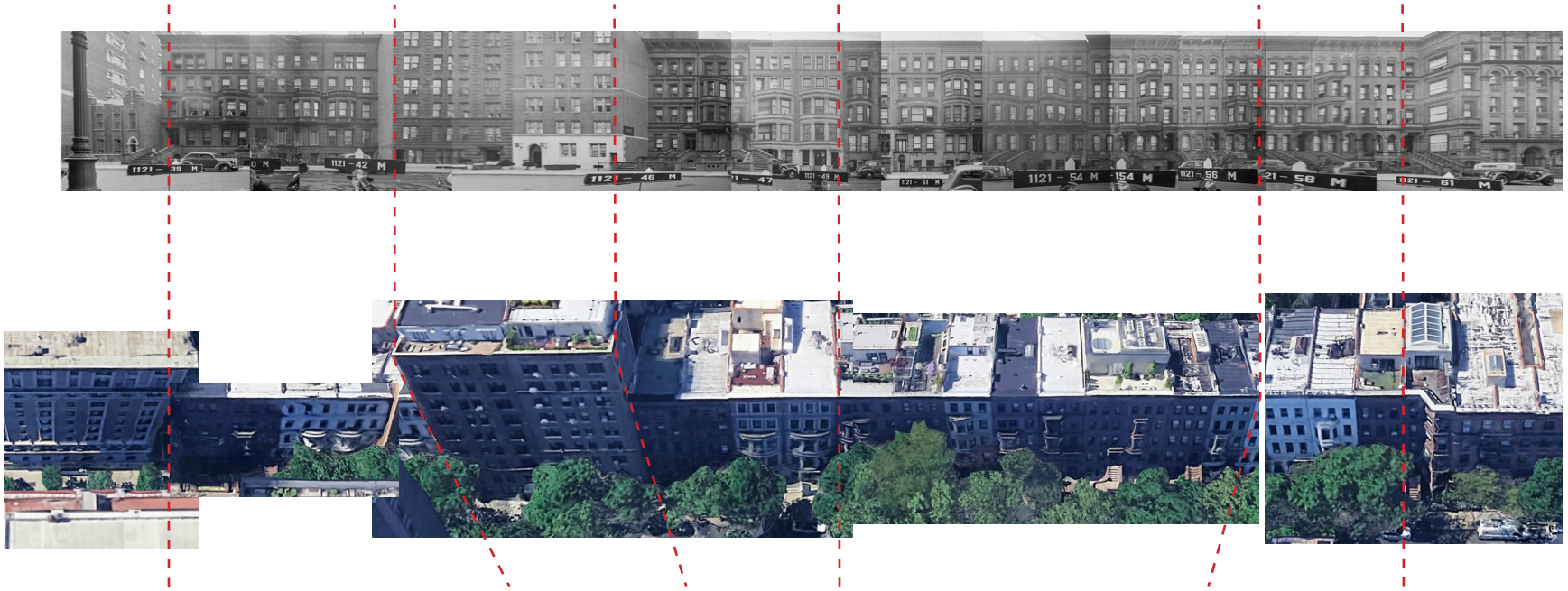
Housing Typology in 2023



Housing Typology in 2023 (2023).
D. Zhang.

Comparison between 139-159 West End Avenue in 1940, including Lincoln Guild Apartments and New Law tenements, and 2025, including Lincoln Towers (2025).
Y. Liu; NYC Municipal Archives (top), Google Earth (bottom)

Comparison between the same location, 204-210 West 64th Street in 1940 (left) and Amsterdam Houses in 2023 (right) (2023).
Y. Liu.



Comparison between a block of rowhouses on W 69th St, 1940 and 2025.
Y. Liu and B. Nguyen; NYC Municipal Archives (top), Google Earth (bottom)

DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES AND PHILANTHROPY

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, San Juan Hill was home to many African American displaced from other sections of the city, such as the Tenderloin (Scheiner 1964, 304-315). The area was characterized by substandard living conditions, including overcrowding, inadequate sanitation, and lack of access to essential amenities such as water and electricity. Most importantly, housing problems were linked to race. Beginning in the early 1900s, racial tensions increased throughout the area. Real estate agents would frequently employ fear tactics to persuade White residents to sell their houses at a lower price, allowing African American families to come in. As a result, the majority of renters in the neighborhood were in the lowest income brackets. This approach led to a fast transition in the neighborhood's demographics, which exacerbated racial tensions.

By the 1920s, San Juan Hill had become a significant African-American neighborhood, and its poor housing conditions an increasing problem. The neighborhood was characterized by overcrowded tenement buildings. In 1928, the New York City Commission on Housing Problems published a report, "The Housing Problem in New York City: A Summary of Conditions and Causes," on the quality of housing in the city that emphasized the dismal circumstances in San Juan Hill and other African American neighborhoods (New York City Commission on Housing Problems 1928, n.d.). Inadequate trash collection and sewage disposal contributed to the spread of disease in the community, according to the research, identifying a lack of sanitation services as a major issue. Particularly concerning was the prevalence of tuberculosis, with the report stating that San Juan Hill had the greatest death rate from the disease of any neighborhood in the city.

Housing conditions in San Juan Hill were further exacerbated by the Federal Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) efforts, which was established in 1933 as part of the New Deal, with the goal of providing mortgage relief to homeowners impacted by the Great Depression. HOLC's field report for San Juan Hill, which was completed in 1937, described the area as follows:

1. The neighborhood was predominantly African American and Puerto Rican.
2. The area was characterized as "deteriorating," with many substandard buildings and overcrowded living conditions.
3. The report described the neighborhood's commercial activity as "meager," with few opportunities for economic development.
4. The report noted the presence of several social service institutions in the area, including a YMCA and a community center, but also highlighted concerns about crime and delinquency.
5. The field report recommended that San Juan Hill be classified as a Type D (red) neighborhood, which effectively prevented residents from accessing mortgage loans and other forms of financial assistance.

Black people who grew up on San Juan Hill during the 1920s and 1930s recalled that straying beyond their block onto Amsterdam Avenue might result in an exchange of furious words or fist with White store owners (Kelley 2009, 16-20). Meanwhile, banks and insurance companies denied loans, mortgages, and insurance to people living in these neighborhoods, often based on racial or ethnic demographics (Dreier 1991, 15-23). Although redlining was declared illegal by the Fair Housing Act of 1968, its effects continue to be felt in many communities even today.

Predevelopment Density

The area of San Juan Hill between 58th and 69th Street housed thousands of working class and poor Black residents for decades (Gray 2003). Not being able to afford much, the Black residents of San Juan Hill had no other choice but to have lodgers and boarders, and some even had to switch beds in shifts coming to and from work (Speed 1900). There were no restrictions on tenements that were "the worst type which the city affords," according to historian Marcy Sacks (2006). Conditions of these tenements became a large concern as they were crowded, severe fire hazards, and unsafe living. Decent housing was exclusive, expensive, and limited for Black people especially in this area.

Early-Twentieth-Century Philanthropists

Certain philanthropists and reformers of the early 1900s were concerned with the quality of life of San Juan Hill residents, including Mary White Ovington, Henry Phipps, and John E. Millholland. Basic reforms that Ovington called for were proper housing for poor and lower class African American residents, as well as open playgrounds for children, and breaking the color barrier in housing and job opportunities. Ovington and Millholland were said to have influenced the wealthy Henry Phipps into creating model tenements in New York City (*New York Times* 2003). Ovington and Millholland were both White reformers who later helped found the NAACP in 1915 along with W.E.B. Du Bois. Ovington had experience with advocating for affordable housing; she had created settlement housing in Brooklyn and Manhattan and wanted to incorporate better amenities and rooms for settlement work (Ovington 1916). John E. Milholland was a writer and editor for the New York Tribune in his early days, he became more interested in investing and business (Gray 2003). It was said that Ovington and Milholland met at a Sunday supper at the Greenwich House in Manhattan, where Ovington had expressed her interest in developing low-income housing. It is assumed that Milholand introduced Phipps and Ovington, to help create the Phipps Houses in San Juan Hill (Larson 2022).

Henry Phipps was a successful steel magnate who had actually grown up in a tenement home in Pennsylvania. He was the money behind these model tenements since he acquired millions of dollars (billions today) from selling his shares in Carnegie Steel in the early 1900s. He then became a renowned philanthropist who helped the African American community in New York City as well as others, where he created the first quality model tenements for low-income families in NYC and only took a 4 percent return on his investment (*New York Times* 2003). Phipps claimed:

> *I propose to organize a society for the purpose of building tenement houses in the city of New York, preferably in the borough of Manhattan, if it can be done advantageously, but if land be found too high, or if building conditions are such as to threaten undue cost of construction or unreasonable delay, then in the other boroughs of the city or elsewhere. " I propose to give one million dollars for this purpose. I expect the tenements to be so planned as to earn about four per cent on their cost, after allowing a proper amount for their maintenance and repairs. I intend to have the earnings accumulate and to be used from time to time in erecting more tenements. (Ford 1909, 167)*

The City and Suburban Company would run these apartments as affordable housing. When creating these quality model tenements, Phipps also created The Phipps Houses group. The Phipps Houses group began with the incorporation of Phipps Houses in 1905. Still in existence today, it is one of the oldest and largest not-for-profit developers, owners, and managers of affordable housing in New York City. They created a social services affiliate, Phipps Neighborhood, which provides children, youth, and families in low-income neighborhoods with the opportunities they need (Museum of the City of New York 2015). Historically, Phipps House Number 2 rented out space for a kindergarten, which was an important aspect of model tenements.

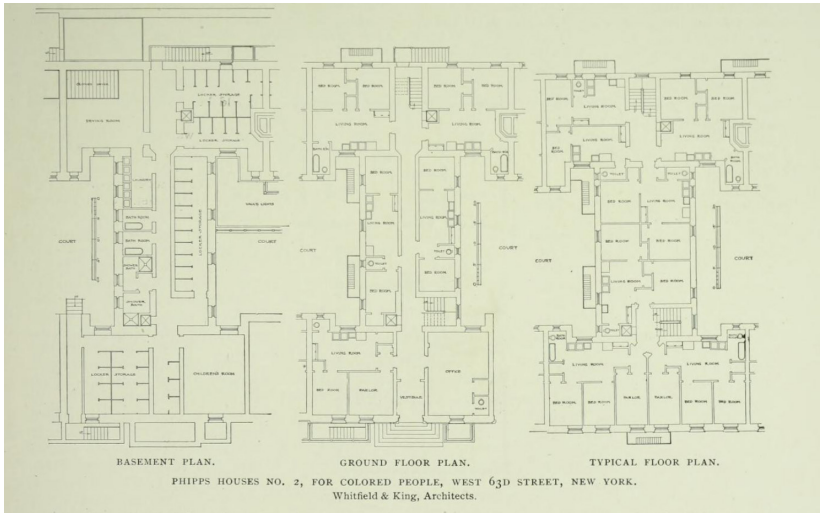
Model Tenements

Model tenements were new law tenements that had access to light, better sanitary conditions, fire escapes and fireproofing; they were categorized as a better quality of life (Ford 1909). Many people who created these tenements took a small return similar to Henry Phipps, which allowed rents to stay low but owners made a modest profit. The first Phipps House was on East 31st Street, and it was intended for low-income White immigrants. The two that followed, and which stand today in San Juan Hill are Phipps Houses Nos. 2 and 3. These two model tenements were intended for the underserved Black residents of San Juan Hill and gave them an opportunity at quality and healthy living. Both Phipps Houses Nos. 2 and 3 were constructed at similar times, opening only a couple months apart. Phipps No.2 was one of the highest quality model tenements for the African American residents at the time of its completion in 1905. Steam heat, bathrooms, and bathtubs were just some of the amenities provided as a reasonable rent. As seen in the accompanying plan, each apartment contains a toilet, basic plumbing, and largely spaced rooms. The corridors in the back of the houses provided light and air, to prevent illnesses such as tuberculosis that riddled New York City. Ovington herself lived in the Phipps Model Tenements No.2 for around 8 months (Ovington 1916).

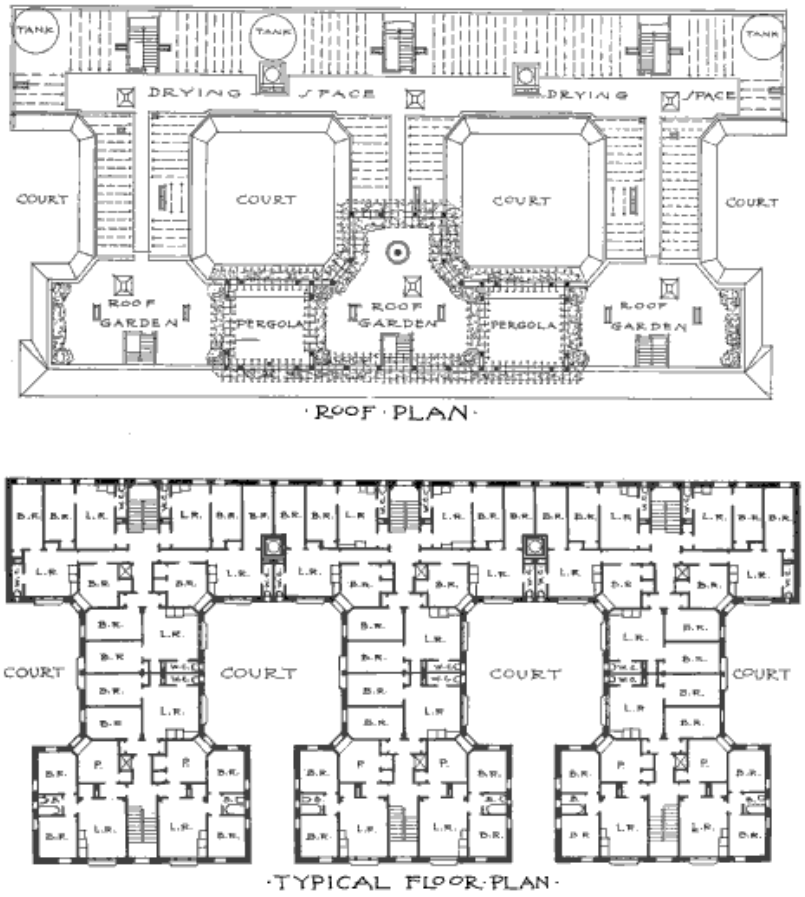
In the 1940s, the surrounding area was often characterized as a "slum" and neighboring row homes were demolished for the construction of the Amsterdam Houses, but Phipps No.2 and 3 survive today. In the 1960s, the buildings were sold to a private realtor and now are rental apartments. The primary significance of these apartments is that they represent the early history of creating better quality, affordable housing for Black people and their families who were heavily discriminated against. However, their design was largely based on perceived notions of how Black residents *should* live, as Jessica Larson notes, "The building's units made clear the expectation that the residents would be respectable nuclear families; the designs of these units replicated, in condensed form, the layouts of middle-class white homes" (2020).

There are notable disparities between model tenements intended for Black residents versus the ones intended for White residents. The large selling point of the First Phipps House No. 1, besides the beautiful exterior and large archway entrances, was its rooftop garden, visible from the street. Descriptions of the property emphasized the need for such a roof, its educational purposes and possible use as a place to sleep in the sweltering heat (Ford 1909, 166). Bathroom amenities differed, as No. 1 included a tub with a shower, whereas Nos. 2 and 3 did not (Ford 1909, 66). There was also no rooftop garden on Nos. 2 and 3.

Black tenants were also treated differently than White tenants in these model tenements. *The New York Age* reported that tenants had to buy their own heating oil because the tenement's heat was turned off (*New York Age* 1917b). Almost 400 families petitioned for rent reductions as reimbursement for when the heating system was not functioning, to no avail. Reverend George H. Sims of Union Baptist Church spoke up for his fellow residents and passed on the message to City and Suburban company that the residents of the San Juan Hill district know that "the white tenants of the company who live on the east side were allowed ten cents a day to purchase fuel on account of a coal shortage, the sum to be deducted from the weekly rent. But when the tenants of Columbus Hill district asked for a refund the request was refused" (*New York Age* 1917b).



Basement plan, ground floor plan and typical floor plan in Phipps House No. 2 (1907).
The Brickbuilder Vol. 18 (Jan.-Dec. 1909): 101.



Floor Plans for Phipps Houses No 1 and 2 Included in The Brickbuilder Vol. 18 (Jan.-Dec. 1909): 101.
The Brickbuilder Vol. 18 (Jan.-Dec. 1909): 101.

Poor Conditions Persist

While model tenements provided some degree of relief to the housing conditions in San Juan Hill, they did not flourish as a housing model. Increasing rent, greedy landlords, and low paying jobs often made housing unaffordable. Households that had extra rooms rented them out, and even some to transient lodger to help pay rent (Payne 1923, 210).

Most housing in the neighborhood had smaller rooms, lacked plumbing, and had common "toilets" in the hallways (*New York Age* 1916a). Accounts of the Black tenements are also described in the *Howard Review*, noting that "dilapidated and rusty mail boxes, broken bells, ruined tiles, disfigured walls and general dirtiness, were once the scene of a higher plane of living… Landlords have watched the general decay without any effort at rehabilitation, while gleaning rents from their Tenants" (Payne 1923, 222).

The Dark decorated hallway of a tenement: Interior Hallway at 209 W 61st Street (December 1916).
C. Christensen.

Slum Clearance

NYCHA eventually laid claim to the area between 61st and 64th Streets (near the Phipps Houses) for Amsterdam Houses, a public housing project. Amsterdam Houses was a "low-rent island in a high-rent sea" (Lasner 2016). Plans were initiated before World War II, but construction was delayed until after the war. The project was originally intended to be interracial and primarily for the Black residents that resided in the tenements that were demolished, but in the post-war housing dearth, Veterans got first choice (Fritz 2016, 104). The initial population of the Amsterdam Houses was only 23 percent Black residents, and only 4 percent of them were displaced site tenants (Fritz 2016, 104).

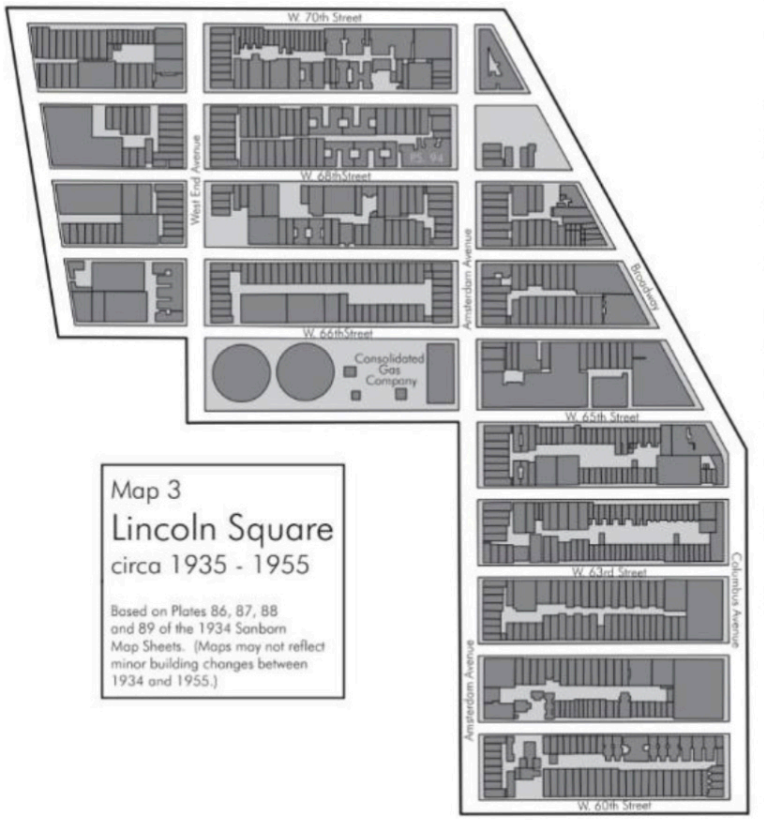
Claims of "slums" and "blight" reverberated with the Lincoln Square redevelopment project, helping to justify displacement of residents. Lincoln Towers, the largest "slum clearance" at the time (1955) displaced 7000 families (Zipp 2010, 213).

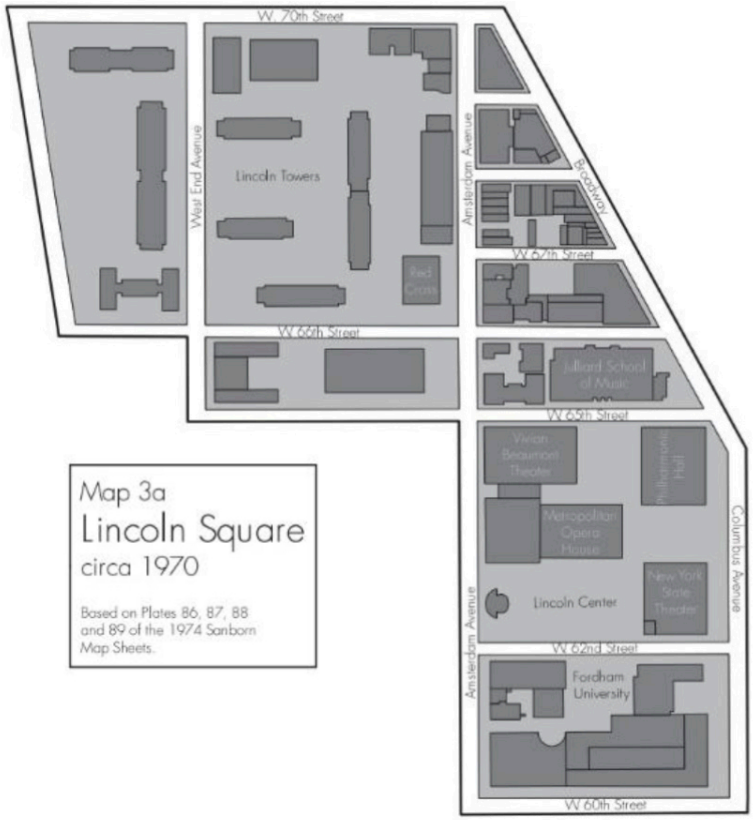
As Robert A. Caro wrote, "Moses was not even making a pretense of creating new homes for the families displaced" (Caro 1975, 58-60). A large number of tenement houses on the west of Amsterdam Avenue were demolished in urban renewal, and the total number of housing units decreased from 5206 to 2164 from 1950 to 1960. At the same time, many new post-war towers were built, which brought huge demographic changes. The proportion of White people in San Juan Hill has risen from 22 percent 20 years ago to 70 percent, and rents and other housing metrics have changed notably.

A toilet in the hallway of a tenement.
Slum Clearance Plan, 1955

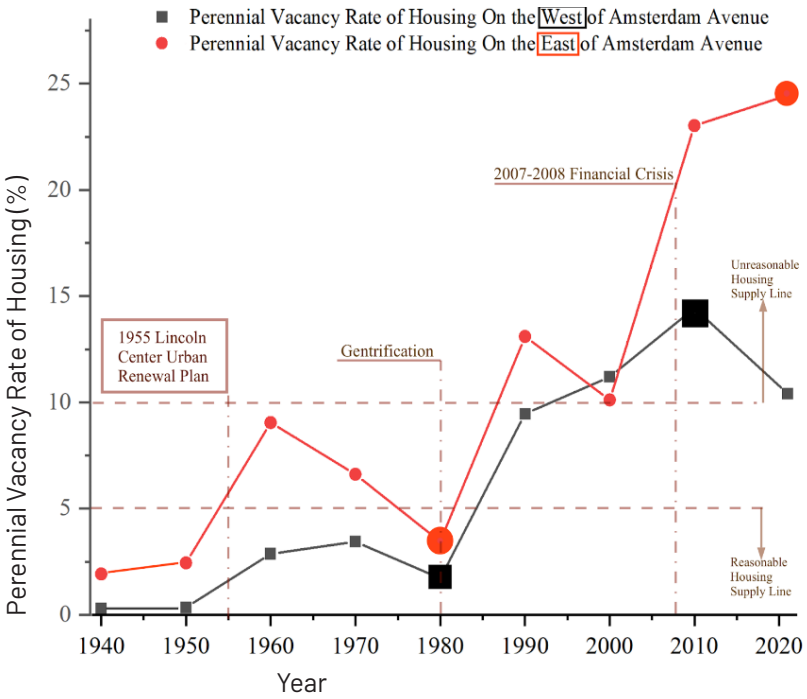
A dark room with limited light access in a tenement.
Slum Clearance Plan, 1955

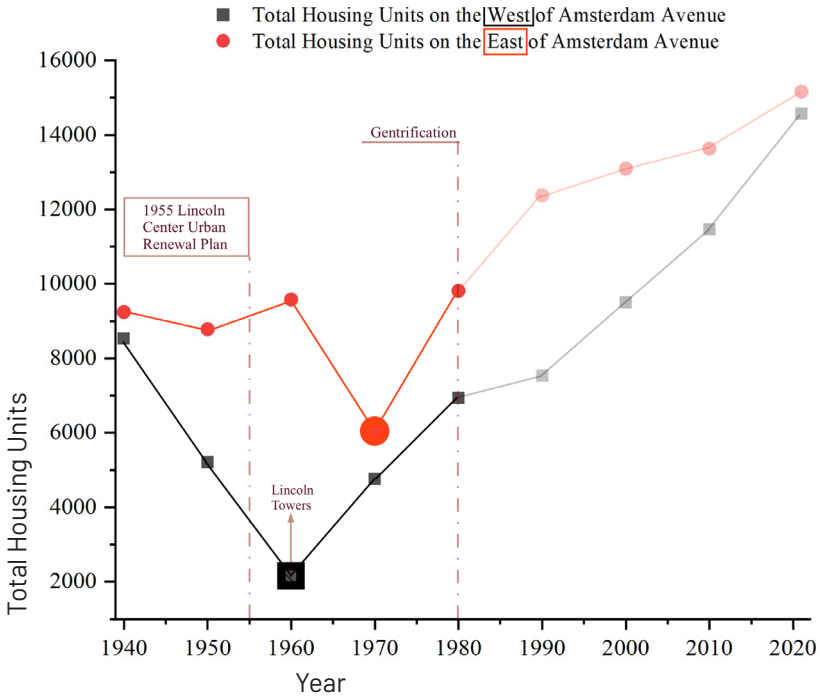
A rare image of a toilet room of a tenement in the San Juan Hill Area.
Slum Clearance Plan, 1955

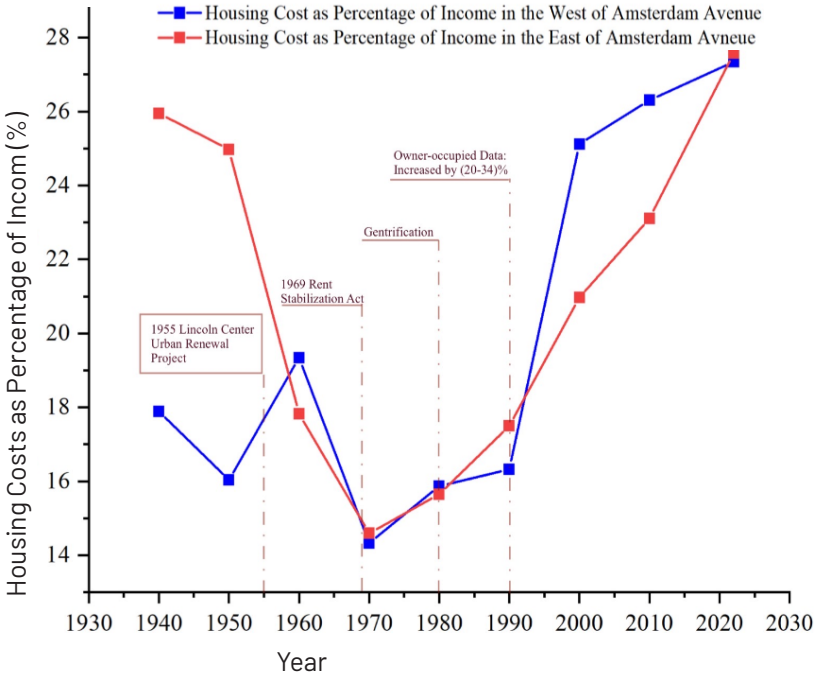




Moses' Plan included 4400 units of housing but 4000 of these were "luxury" and the new Lincoln Towers barely made up for the almost 7000 low income apartments lost.
S. Haynes







(Top-left)
Perennial Vacancy Rate of Housing from 1940 to 2022 (2023).

(Top-right)
Total Housing Units from 1940 to 2022 (2023).

(Bottom-left)
Housing Cost as Percentage of Income from 1940 to 2022 (2023).

Graphics by D. Zhang

HISTORIC ASSETS

254 West 65th Street

254-256 West 65th Street (c. 1910-1921).
New York Historical Society

254 West 65th Street was a three story timber house. It was built before 1880 when it first appeared on the 1880 Atlas of the City of New York. It was demolished at some point between 1921 and 1930 when it was replaced by a brick garage building on the 1930 map.

112-114 Amsterdam Avenue - 64th Street timber frame houses

112-114 Amsterdam Avenue (1937).
NYPL Photo Archive, 1940 Tax photo, Municipal Archive

Located at the corner of Amsterdam Avenue and 64th Street, the two timber-frame houses were two of the last wood structures in this area. The house at the street corner with a white stucco façade was built no later than 1862, as it was first seen on the 1862 insurance map. The house on the left side first appears on the 1874 insurance map. Although these buildings were used commercially, the iron balcony and fire escape indicates that the upper floors may also be used as housing. They were demolished at a point between 1941 to 1955.

142 West 65th Street

142 West 65th Street (1957-1958).
Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project photographs, 1957-1958; Avery Library

142 West 65th Street was a four story row house with a basement floor. The front façade was built of stone and heavily ornamented. Large arched windows opened at the second and fourth floor. Fire escapes were found on the third and fourth floor. According to the photo, the basement and first floor probably were rented out as a storefront.

120-122 West 61st Street

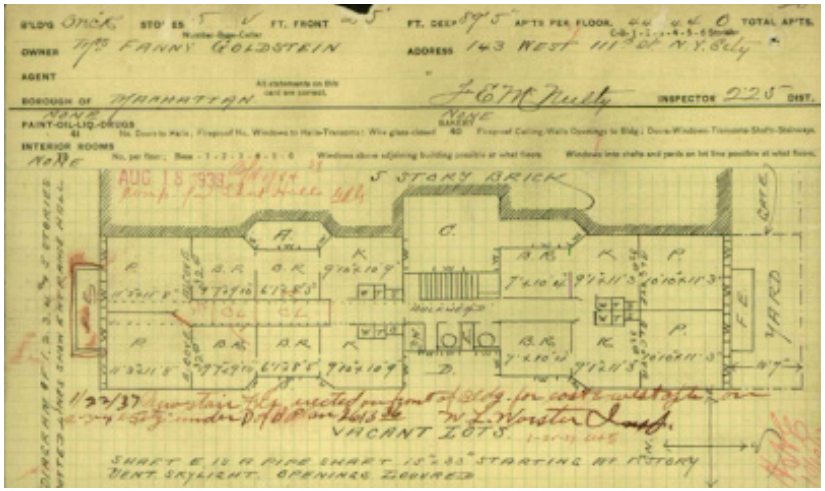
122 West 61st Street.
1940 Tax photo, Municipal Archive

120 and 122 West 61st Street were two row houses that were modified to tenements or apartments. According to *The Row House Reborn*, this type of modification may have happened in the 1920s to 1930s. The original brownstones were changed to simple stucco façades (Dolkart 2009). This kind of modification was rare in the Lincoln Square area. These buildings were demolished in 1960 as part of the Lincoln Scquare Development Plan.

242-244 West 61st Street

242-244 West 61st Street.
1940 Tax photo, Municipal Archive

242-244 West 61st Street.
M. Minn 2008, michaelminn.net



122 West 61st Street I-card floor plan.
NYC-DOB

242 and 244 West 61st are the only two Old Law tenement buildings west of Amsterdam Avenue that survive today. It had a modified dumbbell shape with a typical Old Law floor plan, and housed four units per floor. Two shared toilets were located in the central hall. At some point around 2010, these two buildings were modernized and combined into one apartment building.

153 West 63rd Street

153 West 63rd Street (1957-1958).
Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project photographs, 1957-1958, Avery Library.

Similar to 120-122 West 61st Street, 149-155 West 63rd were four Old Law tenement buildings that were possibly modified in the 1920s with white stucco façades.

139-159 West End Avenue

139-159 West End Avenue elevation drawings (2023)
D. Zhang.

139-159 West End Avenue were five New Law tenement buildings on 40 foot wide lots. They were demolished in 1959 for the construction of Lincoln Guild Apartments.

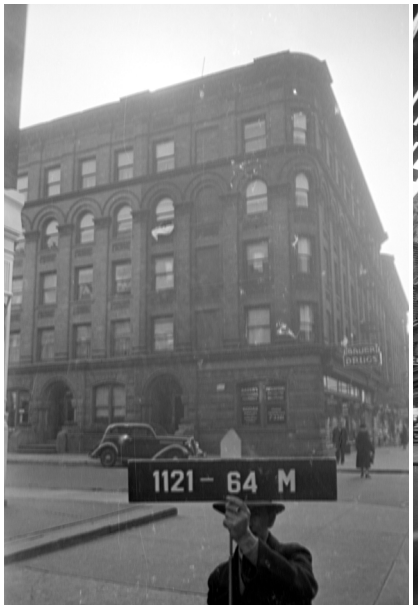
The Nevada Apartment, 2025 Broadway

2025 Broadway (1940).
1940 Tax Photos, New York City Municipal Archive

33 West 63rd Street

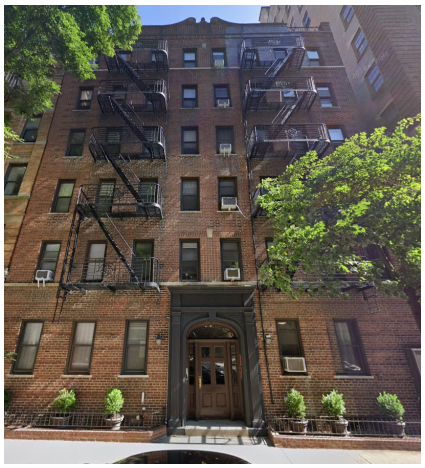
33 West 63rd Street with One Lincoln Plaza in the background (2010).
Marilynn K. Yee. The New York Times.

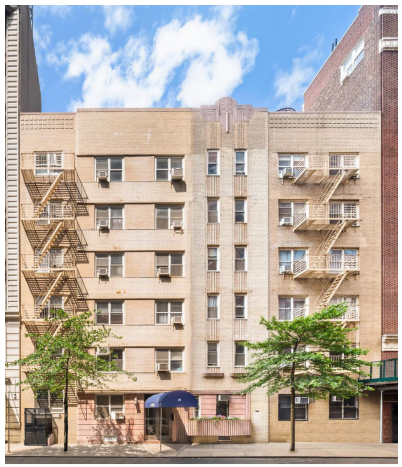
76 West 69th and 77 West 68th Street



76 West 69th Street (left) and 77 West 68th Street (right) in the 1940s.
NYC Municipal Archives

9 West 64th Street and 29 West 64th Street (The Tristan Apartments)





Two examples of the 1930s Art-Deco 6-stories middle class apartments: 9 West 64th (left) and 29 West 64th (Tristan Apartments, right)
Google Earth; Compass Real Estate

Amsterdam Houses

Amsterdam Houses (2023)
Y. Liu.

The Amsterdam Houses were arguably the most important precedent to the larger redevelopment of the area. It set the stage for block merger and introduced the notion of needing modern and affordable housing solutions. The housing project was completed in 1948, one year prior to Title I and the formalization of various "slum clearance" programs.

Lincoln Towers Apartments

Lincoln Towers Apartments (2023)
Y. Liu.

The Lincoln Towers were first conceived as a rent-controlled, middle-class housing project occupying a superblock north of Lincoln Center. It was also the biggest Title I program in the United States at the time (Ballon et al 2007). With its six high-rise towers, the Lincoln Towers visually and socio-economically marked a change in the area. Although the project should have theoretically been used to rehouse the displaced families affected by the demolition of buildings on the site, very few former residents ended up benefiting from the newly built infrastructure. With new buildings came a new population despite the public rhetoric. The complex was turned into a cooperative in the 1980s and is now a luxury housing complex.

Bachelor Apartments (Wilsonia Court Apartment)

225 West 69th Street Roosevelt Court Apartments (Bachelor Apartments) (1910).
Museum of City of New York Archive

Bachelor Apartments, 225-229 West 69th Street Plan of first floor Plan of upper floors (1908).
NYPL Digital Collection

A rare example of a middle-class apartment building that was built at the edge of San Juan Hill. This six-story building was constructed in 1908 and had a brick façade with stone and terracotta ornaments. This property changed owners many times, from Bachelor Apartments to Roosevelt Court Apartments then to Wilsonia Court Apartments. The building was demolished in the 1950s.

Lincoln Amsterdam Houses 110 West End Avenue and Amsterdam Houses Addition

Lincoln Amsterdam Houses (2026).
Google Street View

Built in 1976, the 25-stories Lincoln Amsterdam Houses is the only Mitchell-Lama development in this area.

153 Amsterdam Avenue

Above: 153 Amsterdam Ave, 1940 Tax photo; Below: 153 Amsterdam Ave (2023)
1940 Tax photo, Municipal Archive; Y. Liu.

153 Amsterdam Ave is a New Law tenement that was built around 1903 to 1906. It is the only surviving New Law tenement in the study area. The cornice was removed around 2010.

A timber-framed house in the 1890s, bound by 63rd Street and Columbus Avenue.
New York Historical Society Archive.

OPEN SPACE AND TOPOGRAPHY

Gray Danforth and Stephanie Snell

Open Space and topography formed, mediated, and inhibited critical venues for convening, exchange, and conflict in twentieth century San Juan Hill. The area's uneven terrain informed urban identity, constructed vulnerabilities, and the settlement of early low-income residents. Early purpose-built open spaces, such as Central Park, were concentrated East of Broadway–far from Black, immigrant, and low-income communities living west of Columbus Avenue in San Juan Hill; racial violence and vehicular traffic formed barriers that impeded access to these open spaces, thus prompting San Juan Hill residents to adapt everyday spaces, such as stoops, sidewalks, streets and empty lots, to address their needs.

Although these adapted spaces fostered culture, social life, economic agency, and safety, they were over-policed and vilified as problematic to public safety and hygiene by police, city officials, and developers; adapted spaces were consequently used to bolster arguments for superblock developments replete with parks, plazas, and greenspace, to introduce light, air, and public space into San Juan Hill. Beginning in 1947 with Amsterdam Houses, superblock developments closed public thoroughfares in the name of pedestrian safety, constructing purpose-built spaces on leveled plateaus to harness the natural westward slope and separate the open space from the street below. These topographical barriers disproportionately disrupted movement and access of open spaces for Black, Latine, and low-income residents, perpetuating pre-existing patterns of racial and economic segregation. This research examines the physical and political origins of opens spaces in San Juan Hill and the lives that unfolded within them, exploring how purpose-built space exacerbated and engendered exclusion and violence, how agency and resiliency flourished in adapted spaces, and how promises to ameliorate San Juan Hill's inequitable access to these resources ultimately led to the community's destruction.

LAND VULNERABILITY AND EARLY SETTLEMENT

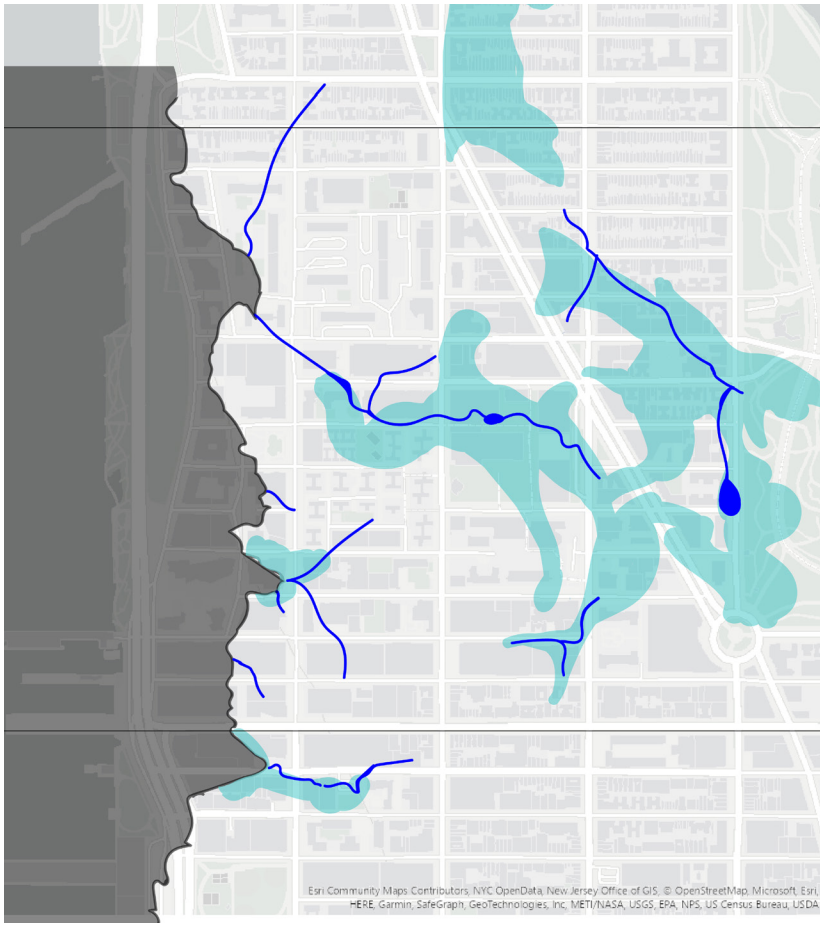
Topography

Vulnerabilities in the land in San Juan Hill shaped the development of later social-spatial networks. As suggested in its name, San Juan Hill is closely linked to the topography upon which it sat. Dutch colonial settlers established farms in this area by the early eighteenth century, referring to the Upper West Side as Bloomingdale Village, a name derived from Dutch words meaning "Flower" and "Vale," a reference to the lush vegetation of the farms settled in the valleys between West 59th Street and 110th Street (Mott 1908). Here, a small community of Dutch farms and homesteads traveling and trading between the Village and lower Manhattan carved a winding trail between the areas undulating hills and valleys known as Bloomingdale Road—the precursor to modern-day Broadway (McCarthy 1928; Stevens 1900; Mott 1908).

Geology

The unique subsurface geology in the southwest portion of the study area, where disruptive construction of below grade railroads, infrastructure, and foundations occurred over the course of the last 150 years, raises environmental health concerns for early twentieth century residents. The bedrock underlying this area from Sixty-second to Fifty-fifth streets between Eleventh Avenue and Tenth Avenue is primarily composed of gneiss and serpentinite. Serpentinite is a magnesium-rich rock and is a naturally-occurring source of one of the most common naturally-occurring forms of asbestos, chrysotile (Baskerville 1994; Puffer 1994; Puffer 1996; Merguerian and Moss 2007). Studies have found that the chrysotile content is typically 15-40 percent of the volume of New York City serpentinite, the most well-known of which is the Staten Island body where the first American asbestos mine opened in 1858 (Puffer 1994; Germine and Puffer 2021).

In the late twentieth century, concerns about asbestos exposure among occupational workers began to emerge as medical data surfaced, linking the manufacturing of asbestos products to lung cancer and asbestosis or mesothelioma (Maresca 1984; Puffer 1994; Germane and Puffer 2021). Historical construction, such as the grading of the streets in the 1860s, the construction of a below grade train line in the 1930s, and the later erection of skyscrapers, suggest a probable disturbance of the serpentinite bedrock, however, there is no available research or data to support naturally occurring asbestos exposure among San Juan Hill residents.



Map of exacerbated conditions resulting from disturbance or infill of water courses during streetgrading (2023).
G. Danforth.

Efforts to develop the neighborhood were complicated by the area's topography. Historic maps, such as engineer Egbert L. Viele's 1865 sanitary and topographic map, reveal the unevenness of the area's terrain, with rolling hills and marshy headwaters (Viele 1865a; Stevens 1900).

Viele wrote of the issues engendered by street-grading in the Upper West Side, an area he described as topographically "intricate" with "higher hills and more extensive valleys," where "the water-courses increase in magnitude" (Viele 1865b, 9). As Viele explained, the process of street-grading, prescribed by the 1811 Commissioners Plan as part of

Children play in an excavated lot on the corner of West End Ave and 61st Street, where there is a known body of serpentinite (1921).
New York Public Library, 1921.

large-scale construction of the street grid on Manhattan's undeveloped land, obstructed waterways and caused flooding. At 62nd Street between Broadway and Eighth Avenue, street-grading resulted in the formation of a stagnant pond, which, according to Viele, "emitt[ed] the most noxious odors." Despite developers' best attempts at infill "to bring the lots into market," Viele noted that the ground remained "as full of water as a sponge" (Viele 1865b, 9). Viele further identified the stagnant water as the source of "fever and ague, from which a large portion of the population of that section of the city are at the present time suffering" (Viele 1865b, 9). Because of the difficulties of construction and associated environmental nuisances of the marshy landscape, this area was less desirable for development and became home to later vulnerable communities.

Self-Constructed Settlements

From 1850 to the turn of the twentieth century, a number of factors contributed to an increase in unregulated housing development on the West Side between 60th Street and 80th Street, including immigration booms, the displacement of low-income residents due to Central Park's construction, and widespread evictions resulting from Board of Health housing renovations (Duffy 1974; Billings 1894). These settlements

Sunken Village at the corner of 61st Street and Broadway, being demolished in 1905.
E. L. Armbruster, Center for Brooklyn History, 1905.

formed consistently along Central Park's margins, cropping up in undeveloped blocks such as 67th Street and 8th Avenue, 69th Street and Amsterdam, and between 62nd Street and 64th Street along Broadway, as well as within the Park's boundaries—with many others appearing along the edge of 8th Avenue in Viele's 1853 survey of the park (Viele 1853; Mott 1908).

Near the "spongy" area at 62nd Street and Broadway identified by Viele, a community called "Sunken Village" formed beginning in the 1870s. Similar to neighboring settlements, Sunken Village consisted primarily of improvised residential construction—described by contemporaries as "shanties" or "homesteads"—sitting several feet below grade (Democrat and Chronicle 1898; *New York Times* 1900a). Inside, tenants led lives not too dissimilarly from neighbors in adjacent flats—many married, started families, and even died in Sunken Village (Smith 1938; Evening World 1900). Unlike tenement apartments, self-built communities had ample space for livestock and open space. Despite these similarities to and advantages over tenements, contemporaries characterized the formation of these self-reliant communities in open spaces as "shanties" that were "rudely constructed" on "piles of refuse" (Duffy 1974).

The introduction of transit, beginning in 1879, brought higher accessibility to the area (*Evening World* 1902). The 1904 construction of the electrified Interborough Rapid Transit rail line (IRT) beneath Columbus Circle brought unprecedented real estate growth as speculative developers sought to transform the area into a theater and entertainment district (*New York Times* 1906d). Facing eviction, the residents of Sunken Village, reported to be the last "holdouts" of the Upper West Side's "shantytowns," moved out in early October 1904; later that month, the IRT opened its doors (*New-York Tribune* 1904; *The Sun* 1904).

OPEN SPACE AND THE SHAPING OF COMMUNITY (1890–1935)

Before construction of Amsterdam Houses in the 1940s, which included a playground, the few intentional or *purpose-built* open spaces that existed near San Juan Hill were predominantly concentrated along a wealthy residential area stretching from Broadway to Central Park West.

To the east of San Juan Hill, past many high-trafficked intersections, sat Central Park; to the west was Riverside Park. Riverside Park, which stretched along the Hudson river from 72nd Street northward, was, for most early-twentieth-century residents of San Juan Hill, the closest available open space. When the New York Central Rail Company submitted plans for improvement of its tracks along the Hudson River, Mrs. James M. Stewart, vice president of the Women's League for the Protection of Riverside Park, said, "In summer, it is used constantly, both day and night… [and] is filled with persons from San Juan Hill, in the sixties, one of the most thickly populated parts of New York, and also one where the death rate is high" (*New York Times* 1916). Stewart went on to note the single playground at DeWitt Clinton High School was used daily by boys, leaving no playgrounds for the girls of San Juan Hill (*New York Times* 1916).

This disparity in access to open space was especially stark when viewed in contrast to the neighborhoods east of San Juan Hill. There, a tree-lined mall along Broadway delineated an early barrier between San Juan Hill to the west and wealthy residents in parkside apartments to the east *(New York Times* 1896; Page 2001). The trees in the Broadway mall were planted under the pretense of helping "poor tenement dwellers" and purifying air, water, and soil, but those who advocated for their planting were, as historian Max Page explains, "primarily interested in planting trees along avenues and in wealthier residential areas" (2001, 199). East of the Broadway mall, residents enjoyed easy access to Central Park, as well as the smaller Dante and Richard Tucker parks (then known as Empire North and South) where Broadway meets Columbus Avenue. However, west of Broadway, traffic and racial divisions throughout the neighborhood created social and physical barriers between existing parks and Black and immigrant populations in San Juan Hill, thus limiting these residents' access (Ovington 1911; New York City Police Department 1917; *New York Times* 1916).

Adapted Space and the Right to the City

San Juan Hill residents' limited access to Riverside Park and Central Park necessitated the improvisation of adapted spaces. Adapted spaces, such as sidewalks, stoops, and windows, gave agency to vulnerable communities to shape their social space. San Juan Hill's working-class and Black communities, predominantly located between Eleventh Avenue and Broadway, used these types of spatial constructions for leisure, recreation, and participatory citizenship. Within adapted spaces, form *third places*—social environments that exist outside of home or work (Jacobs 1961; Henderson and Jefferson-Jones 2020).

Photographic documentation of the blocks demolished from the construction of Lincoln Center captures the vibrant social fabric that unfolded within these adapted spaces. On 65th Street between Broadway and Amsterdam Avenue, a basement-level business served as the anchor to this social space, providing the backdrop for the community's social network.

Liminal spaces, such as windows and stoops, served as social nexuses of the community. Tenement stoops served as a gathering space, replete with their own built-in seating. Not only were stoops a social hub, but a child-safe recreation space, where children could play on the railings and stairs within earshot of their parents' windows. From windows, residents could also converse with neighbors, dry their laundry, and tend to plants on their fire escape.

Local children used empty lots, sidewalks, and streets for games such as stickball. A staple of twentieth-century street culture, stickball is a modifiable street game modeled after baseball (Steinberg 1976). Though stickball is largely played as a pick-up game without purposefully organized teams, two local teams who were active in the 1940s, the West 66th Street Boys and the West 60th Street Boys, are recognized by the Stickball Hall of Fame (Stickball Hall of Fame 2023).

Adapted

Streets

Vacant Lots

Stoops

Windows

Purpose-Built

Playgrounds

Baths

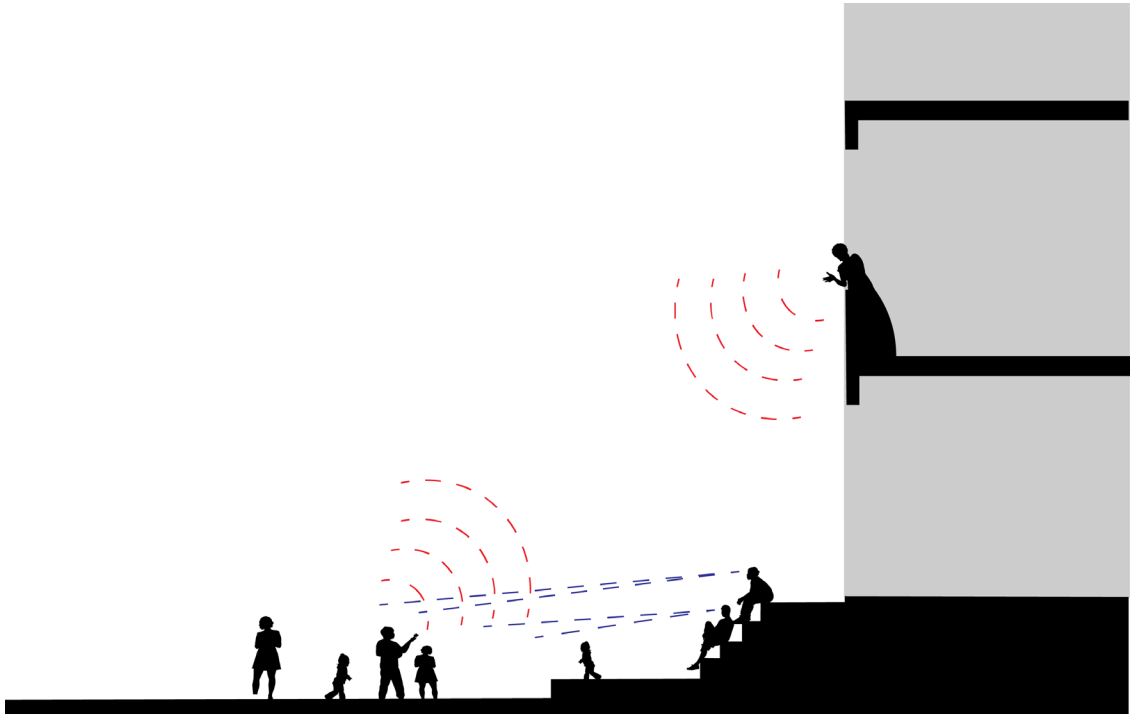
Green Space

Plazas

Typologies of open spaces in San Juan Hill before urban renewal (2023).
G. Danforth.

Neighbors chat between apartments at 73 Amsterdam Avenue (1958).
Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project Photographs Collection, 1958.

Stoops, such as this particularly lively example on 65th Street between Amsterdam Avenue and Columbus Avenue, were bustling social hubs for the community that offered interface between neighbors on the street and from within their apartments. Ground-floor businesses increased the activation of the space, as shown here (1958).
Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project Photographs Collection, 1958.



Sightline diagram showing social connection across adapted spaces in San Juan Hill circa 1900 (2023).
S. Snell.

Windows also served as extensions of the domestic sphere, where residents could have a few extra square inches for laundry and gardening (1958).
Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project Photographs Collection, 1958.

Stickball Hall-of-Famer Billy Burney, of the West Side 60th Street Boys Team, plays on his home turf (1947).
Stickball Hall of Fame, 1947.

Children playing a street game outside of St. Cyprians (1958).
Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project Photographs Collection, 1958.

Adapted spaces were not as ephemeral as streetscapes were; some spaces, such as an "improvised park" on West 61st Street, became regular and locally recognized spaces for community. Between 1917 and 1919, empty lots spanning from 231 through 243 West 61st Street were converted by nearby residents into an "improvised park" for use by the local children (*New York Herald* 1919). The tenements that originally stood here were built by Charles Buddensiek, a contractor notorious for illegal construction methods, such as using "mud" as mortar in laying bricks (*New York Herald* 1919). Buddensiek served six and a half years after eight Buddensiek five-story tenement buildings, only a block away on West 62nd Street, collapsed during construction, killing one carpenter and wounding 13 others (*New York Times* 1901).

The West 61st Street block was frequently the site of police vice raids, violent altercations, and tragedy. A "race riot" in July of 1907 ignited between Italian residents on West End Avenue and Black residents of these tenements on 61st Street (*New York Times* 1907). A report of heat deaths in the first week of June of 1911 showed that living conditions were poor, with at least one tenement resident dying of causes relating to heat (*Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 1911). In 1919, the Standard Steel Concrete Company purchased this lot with plans to develop it into a garage and service station for Orteig motors (*New York Tribune* 1919). Although parents protested the demolition of this playground, construction soon began. Despite its short lifetime, this improvised park carved a space of joy for local residents from a site scarred by violence, over-policing, and municipal neglect (*New York Times* 1919).

Criminalization of Blackness in Open Spaces

In *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jane Jacobs identified adapted open spaces, such as stoops, sidewalks, and windows, as integral "third places" responsible for crime prevention and the self-regulation of a neighborhood by placing "eyes on the street" (Jacobs 1961). This theory, that populated streetscapes lower the risk of crime, eschews the historical reality faced by Black communities in San Juan Hill whose adapted spaces were disproportionately exposed to racist violence and harassment from citizens and police officers—regardless of the presence of "eyes" on the street (Flowe 2014). For Black residents of San Juan Hill, open spaces were subject to heavy police monitoring and harassment (Bailey and Green 1999). The verbiage behind laws designed to restrict public idleness was vague enough to enable unjust arrests based on "suspiciousness" alone, effectively rendering Blackness in public space "criminal behavior" (Bailey and Green 1999; Flowe 2014).

For Black residents, simply the act of occupying public space came with potentially life-threatening risks. In May of 1904, John Patterson, a Black resident and a night watchman at a construction site, was fatally shot by Officer Frank McLaughlin outside his workplace at 247 West 62nd Street (Flowe 2014; *Evening World* 1905). During McLaughlin's 1905 trial for Patterson's murder, the dialogue on the criminalization of Blackness in San Juan Hill's open spaces was first broached. The officer alleged in his testimony that his actions were justified because a crowd of Black residents, whom he claimed were "shouting and singing, and using indecent language" outside of a "notorious dive" on 62nd Street, attacked him after he attempted to disperse them (Flowe 2014, 38; *New York Tribune* 1905a). McLaughlin's lawyers further attempted to establish West 62nd Street residents as members of an "evil neighborhood," by leveraging prejudicial stereotypes of Black communities' adapted open spaces, and interrogating character witnesses to establish residents' behavior in streets and on stoops as depraved, lewd, and violent (Flowe 2014, 40).

Though McLaughlin and his lawyers played upon prevalent racist fears of Black "third places," they could not discredit the testimonies of residents who witnessed the murder. Because of the prevalence of police harassment, the capability of locals to monitor their neighborhood—the *eyes on the street*—was especially important for Black residents of San Juan Hill for reasons of both safety *and* the pursuit of justice. Prosecuting attorney Charles Nott asserted that the warmth of the night drew neighbors out to the street for relief, and therefore he argued, "the block was not deserted. There were women sitting on stoops, there were women in the windows, and men sitting on stoops and conversing with each other" (Flowe 2014, 45). With testimonies from various residents who witnessed the crime from stoops, windows, and roofs, Nott was able to successfully convince an all-White jury of McLaughlin's guilt. Furthermore, in requesting that the jury members disregard their own racial biases in decision-making, Nott argued for the right of Black San Juan Hill residents to use adapted space, saying "if what they are doing does not disturb that neighborhood, and no complaint is made, they have the right to be there" and further stating that "police have no right to drive them into their houses and club them" (Flowe 2014, 45).

McLaughlin was convicted. His verdict, however, only removed one violent White policeman from the area and did little to curb future racist violence incurred by Black San Juan Hill residents. While the 62nd Street community's use of adapted open space enabled them to refute McLaughlin's story, it nevertheless underscores the limits of "eyes on the street" in the face of police brutality and the criminalization of Blackness in open spaces. While the "eyes" on 62nd Street provided witness counternarratives to police statements and the ability to demonstrate and publicize their outrage, spurring

nationwide protests, it could not ultimately prevent these egregious crimes against residents.

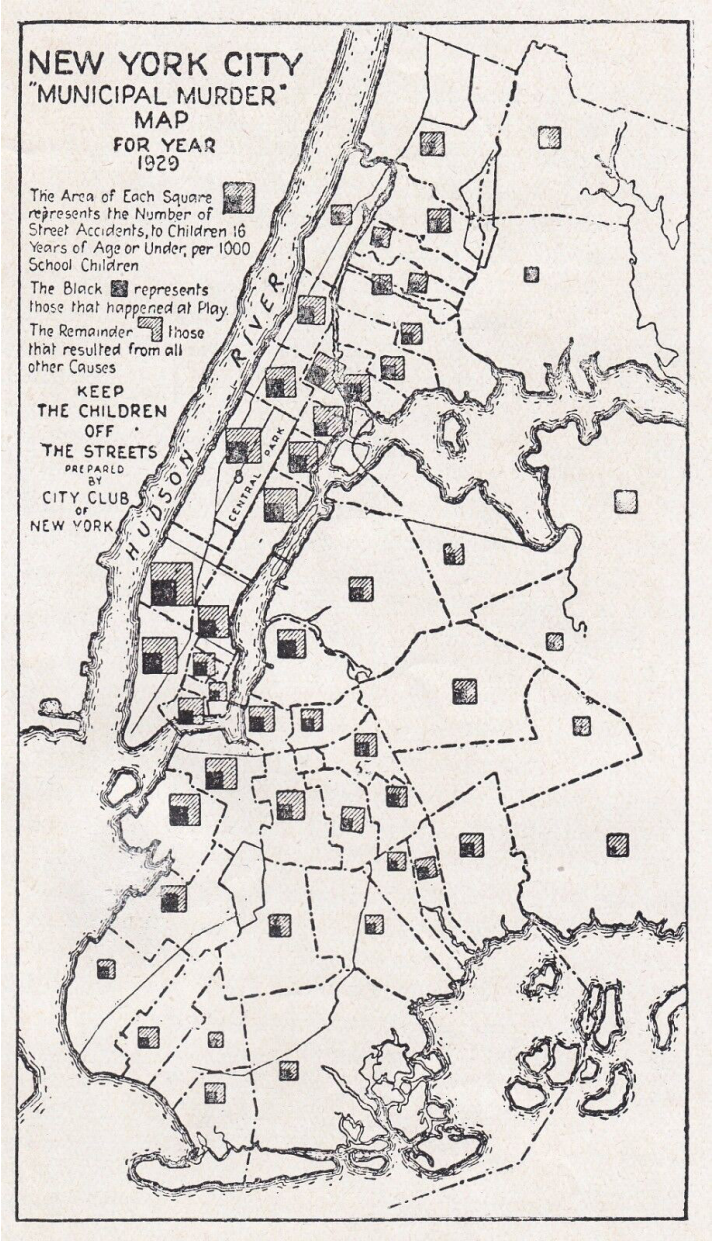
Children as Influential Placemakers

Perhaps the most prolific shapers of adapted open spaces were local children and teenagers. Children carved ballparks from paved streetscapes, practiced drawing and writing on stoop canvases, and navigated the socially intricate landscape of the neighborhood.

While street games played an influential role in how local children used San Juan Hill's streets well into the mid-twentieth century, constant threats to pedestrian safety from rising train and car traffic led to calls to regulate and reform adapted play space. Vehicular deaths in San Juan Hill were prevalent, largely due to the busy intersections of Broadway and the 66th Street Transverse that offered one of the few points of cross-town road access through Central park (*New York Times* 1930b; NYPD 1917). This busy intersection likely contributed to the Upper West Side's inclusion on the City Club's "Municipal Murder Map," which mapped the occurrence of play-related deaths of children to advocate for the construction of playgrounds (*New York Times* 1930b).

Issues of traffic were not new to San Juan Hill, and emerged well before the 1890s (*New York Times* 1930b; NYPD 1917). For decades, the New York Central Rail Company's tracks, which ran in the middle of 11th Avenue, caused such a significant number of deaths that the thoroughfare was nicknamed "Death Avenue" (*New York Times* 1892a, 1908). The trains, which originated from the 60th Street rail yard, caused the deaths of children and civilians throughout the city, leading to calls for their removal as early as 1892 (*The World* 1892).

Advocacy for the removal of the Death Avenue tracks intensified after the 1908 death of seven-year-old Seth Low Hascamp near West 44th Street, who was thrown from a train while climbing across it (*New York Times* 1908). A plan to separate the grade of the street and the train tracks took many years of negotiation and millions of dollars to complete and resulted in the tracks being lowered beneath the road level near the West 60th Street Rail yard. By the time this plan was completed in 1937, cars already eclipsed trains in usage and vehicular accidents with pedestrians persisted (NYPD 1917; Sparkes 1922; Walsh 1937).



The City Club's Municipal Murder Map argues that roughly 50 percent of deaths of Upper West Side children occurred at play, and argues to "keep the children off the streets" (1930).
New York Times, 1930b.

This photo from the NYPD Photo depicted what was seen as hazardous traffic conditions on West 66th Street (n.d.).
NYC Municipal Archives, n.d.

Early Purpose-Built Open Space

San Juan Hill's first purpose-built spaces resulted from pedestrian safety and hygiene concerns. From the 1890s to the 1920s, philanthropically-minded individuals and groups drew attention to the poor living conditions and safety hazards in low-income tenement neighborhoods, which resulted from decades of industrialization and increased urbanization. Reformers' arguments hinged around the experience of children, their access to light and air, their hygiene, and the safety of their recreation spaces (Cavallo 1981). In San Juan Hill, this resulted in the construction of purpose-built open spaces, such as playstreets and a converted empty-lot playground on 67th Street.

Designated areas of recreation began appearing in San Juan Hill by the late 1910s. These spaces were the product of collaborative efforts between volunteer organizations, the police department, and local landowners. In 1917, the NYPD released a report documenting the large proportion of vehicular accidents involving children in New York City. The report proposed programs to provide alternative play space to ameliorate safety hazards to New York City children, such as playstreets, which are sanctioned and supervised street closures for summertime recreation, and the development of playgrounds from vacant lots and tenement yards. (NYPD 1917). Despite the seeming promise of these new accommodations, the police report cautioned that the efforts of the Police Department and associated organizations would not be substantial enough to impart significant change and advised that "[s]omething radical and extensive must be done to provide children with wholesome play in safe places." (NYPD 1917).

These early playstreets and converted-lot-playgrounds found success in that they used the existing play spaces but lacked recreational equipment and had limited distribution and availability. Playstreets ran only in the summer and only ran one or two days out of the week. The empty lot playgrounds, like the 66th street lot behind St. Matthew's Church, provided more availability than playstreets but were out of sight from parents and guardians. Moreover, there were only a few sanctioned, lot-style playgrounds, and they were primarily located in White neighborhoods above 65th Street, making them inaccessible to many Black children (Parris 1986). Securing approval for these conversions of vacant lots for playgrounds was described by local open space advocates as "almost impossible" (*New York Times* 1916).

The 67th Street Playground, before its demolition (1957-1958).
Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, 1957-1958. Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project photographs.

Racial Exclusion

Although urban reformers' attempts to bring open spaces to San Juan Hill were intended to alleviate safety and health concerns by improving access to light, air, and sanitation facilities in tenement districts, they often limited accessibility to non-White residents. While some spaces like the 66th Street playground limited access in an unwritten capacity with threats of violent confrontation, others spaces, such as bathhouses, had explicit accessibility restrictions based on race and gender (*The Sun* 1906; Werner and Winthrop 1906; *New York Times* 1911; Renner 2008). The West 60th Street Interior Public Baths (Now, the Gertrude Ederle Recreation Center), for example, sat along a recognized racial division and, though it intended to serve all residents of San Juan Hill with one facility, it expressly limited Black residents access through segregated hours of use (*The Sun* 1906).

The Public Baths' entrance on 60th Street (1925).
E. Kopf, ca. 1925. Museum of the City of New York.

The facility was the seventh municipal bath constructed in Manhattan and was the largest undertaking yet. It could, in theory, accommodate 230 bathers at one time, and over a thousand bathers per day, though, in reality, its numbers were seldom so high (Bureau of City Betterment 1906; Gray 2014). The baths and the abutting recreation center held restricted timeframes for Black residents to access the facility (*The Sun* 1906; *New York Times* 1911; Werner and Winthrop 1906). It was soon reported, however, that the baths were not as popular among Black San Juan Hill residents as planners initially thought, with one report remarking that "it is rare to see one person of color there" (*The Sun* 1906). Even architects Harold Werner and Arthur Winthrop remarked concern that the placement of the baths on a racial divide would hinder the bath's success (Werner and Winthrop 1906).

The public baths were constructed with public money to provide a service to low-income families living without access to bathing facilities. Though the state government required cities of greater than 50,000 persons to construct free public baths to mitigate disease and improve health and living conditions, they largely excluded Black New Yorkers from access to sanitary facilities and relief from the heat in the warmer months (NYCPB 1897; Renner 2008).

Instead of public baths, many Black San Juan Hill residents frequented the Hudson River for baths and recreation. Guichard Parris, co-founder of the Urban League and former San Juan Hill resident, explained that safety concerns for black children limited the playable streetscape to the areas between 59th Street and 64th Street and west of Amsterdam Avenue (Parris 1986). Instead of risking violent confrontation in White spaces, Parris and his friends would instead venture past West End Avenue, down the hill to swim and fish in the river and play stickball on the shores. The Hudson River at this time was polluted with industrial and human waste, unlike the West 60th Street baths, which were routinely sanitized and filled with water from the Croton Reservoir (Werner and Winthrop 1906; Renner 2008).

OPEN SPACE AS A TOOL FOR INEQUITABLE DEVELOPMENT (POST-1940)

By the 1920s, public space reform became enmeshed with tenement reform. Because access to light and air were primary concerns for philanthropically-minded reformers, early twentieth-century advocates introduced open space as a necessity for low-income housing and paved the way for the more efficient use of floor area through model tenements, like the Phipps houses and the Clarke Estate buildings. These values of humane access to air and light were codified in the Tenement House act of 1901 (Plunz 2016). In San Juan Hill, these reforms mainly took shape in the form of light courts, such as those in the Phipps Houses, or in alley-courts such as that of the City and Suburban Home Company's Corning Clark Estates. The construction of Amsterdam Houses ushered in a new era of open space development for San Juan Hill.

Amsterdam Houses proposed the demolition of three blocks of tenements in a predominantly Black area for the erection of a tower-in-the-park complex. The inclusion of open space as a central feature was a reaction against the lack of open space available in Old Law tenement blocks. Wide open play recreation spaces were planned, replete with benches, slides, and swing sets.

Aerial photo featuring Amsterdam Houses playground (1964).
Housing Preservation and Development, NYC Municipal Records, 1964.

Red-lines depict Barriers around present-day open spaces and superblock developments in the study area. These barriers isolate residents of Amsterdam Houses, disrupt pedestrian flows, and inhibit use of public space (2023).
G. Danforth.

Planners and architects made attempts to preserve the residential spatial dynamic of the area, placing special consideration on building and pathway placement so as not to disrupt the grid flow (City Planning Commission 1941, 146). However, the new spatial arrangements were incompatible with former social dynamics, as was the case across many early NYCHA developments (Plunz 2016).

By setting the western end on a leveled plateau and placing the towers inwards and away from West End Avenue, city planners and architects hoped to harness the "unusual topography," which dropped sharply between Amsterdam Avenue and West End Avenue, to fracture the community from a highly trafficked thoroughfare and the industrial rail yard (City Planning Commission 1941). Though this was reportedly done to maximize commercial opportunities and comply with housing laws restricting new residential construction from lining busy streets, it ultimately crafted a "psychological dislocation," which fostered alienation and exclusion from the "public" parts of the city (Mogilevich, 2020). Additionally, the reconfiguration of residential buildings and provision of recreation and leisure spaces confined on the margins of the complex, ruptured sightlines from

Parents watch as children play on Amsterdam Houses' monkey bars (1952).
B. Radzik Englett, 1952.

Aerial of Lincoln Center, looking northwest from Dante Park (n.d.).
Trix Rosen

parents to children which existed between the liminal and adapted spaces of tenements.

The development of the Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project, initiated after the passing of the Title I Housing act in 1949, hoped to leverage the same success as Amsterdam Houses' open-space predicated plan. Planners, politicians, developers, and financiers played on misperceptions of adapted space, harping on both safety concerns *and* racist stereotypes to argue for the social necessity of their demolition and replacement with urban renewal superblocks, as evident in the 1956 Lincoln Square Slum Clearance Plan's portrayal of recreational activity in empty lots (Committee on Slum Clearance 1956). While city officials, planners, and developers vilified existing adapted open spaces as disorderly, unsafe, and unsanitary, San Juan Hill business owners felt differently about the proposed clearance of San Juan Hill; fire extinguisher salesman Michael Walpin saw the development's "wide open spaces" as harbingers of "death and destruction of the hundreds of what were once real live and profitable business establishments," adding "Lincoln Center shall ever remain their tombstone" (Zipp 2010, 246).

The Lincoln Square Urban Renewal campaign demolished 18 blocks of housing, commerce, and industry and displaced over 7,000 residents, fracturing the social and economic fabric of the neighborhood, with the promise of creating open space for the public (Janz 1997). The construction of superblock developments removed not only social spaces but also thoroughfares for cars. By 1970, three major points of traffic congestion formed within the area: Columbus Circle, the "bowtie" at 65th to 66th Streets at Columbus Avenue, and 72nd Street at Amsterdam Avenue (Lincoln Square Community Council 1970).

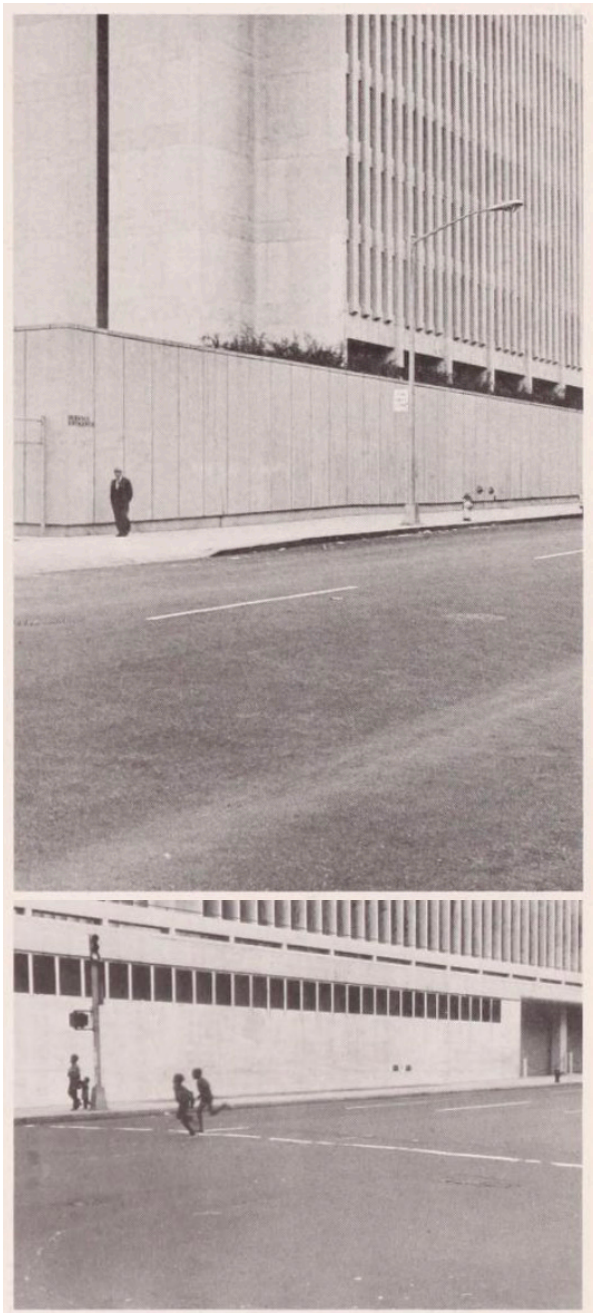
In the place of adapted spaces, which served as a public commons for residents, institutions constructed fortressed campuses whose buildings, open spaces, and access routes faced east to Columbus Avenue. As architectural historian Wesley Janz (1997) explained, access to Lincoln Center was explicitly designed to be restricted from the very outset of site planning (234). Official summaries of deliberations between Lincoln Center's architects underscore the depth of this intentional isolation:

> *With the realization that for the arts and for music one needs to get out of the maelstrom and into a quiet place, the consultants were unanimous in agreeing that the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts be an area isolated from the hubbub of New York City. The Center will be a special place, concentrated upon an inner space and inward-looking.* (Janz 1997, 233)

The architect's summary then quoted the project's acoustics consultant, Hope Bengal, saying "a home for the Muses today must be a fortress." (Janz 1997, 233).

Children pose for a photo outside of 80 Amsterdam, with Lincoln Center's Amsterdam wall visible in the background (n.d.).
I. Donovan.

The architects agreed upon a "closed program," as noted in the meeting minutes from the Building Committee, centered around a central plaza and opening towards Central Park (Abramowitz 1958). The westward facing site plan emphasized the previous social, racial, and economic divides separating families in low-income neighborhoods and Black, Latine, and immigrant communities west of Amsterdam Avenue from public resources. Lincoln Center's looming 25' travertine walls, which line the sloping elevation along Amsterdam Avenue, soon proved problematic for pedestrian access, as bridging these barriers with pedestrian walks through the remnants of 63rd Street soon became a central point of reform in the Lincoln Square Community Action Plan (Lincoln Square Community Council 1970).



Lincoln Center's Amsterdam wall (1970).
Lincoln Square Community Council

OPEN SPACE AS VENUES OF ACTIVISM

Lincoln Center was not the sole perpetrator of cordoning off supposedly public space with barriers; by the 1980s, Amsterdam Houses was surrounded by walls—from Fordham University's fortified plaza to the elevated parks in front of Martin Luther King Jr. School. Despite the hostility imposed by these spaces, the residents of Amsterdam Houses, to whom the new superblocks turned their backs, found ways to reformulate and adapt these barren modern spaces for their own uses. Local children and young adults led the charge, engaging in activities sponsored by the Lincoln Square Community Center throughout the new spaces of the neighborhood. Photos, shared online amongst former residents, show the community's resilience to the exclusionary design of surrounding developments and highlight their continual adaptation of open space.

Both before and after redevelopment, open spaces along Broadway and Central Park West were vibrant sites of socioeconomic activity and participatory citizenship. Because of the visibility lent by the area's active economic fabric and the travel hubs at Columbus Circle, these thoroughfares were a frequent site of early twentieth century activists, "hot gospelers," protests, parades, and celebrations (Driscoll 1938). Contemporary accounts attest to the prevalence of "hot gospelers" and "soapbox" culture along the circle, with a nationally syndicated report in 1938 deeming it a "soapbox paradise" and "recognized haven for free speech" (Driscoll 1938).

Neighborhood players participate in an "all-star" baseball game in PS 191's school yard, hosted by the Lincoln Square Community Center (1976).
R. "Tica" Mendoza.

A flute player and resident at Amsterdam Houses plays in the Complex's playground (n.d.).
I. Donovan

A crowd of residents and neighbors gather to hear the flute (n.d.).
I. Donovan

Father Coughlin leading a demonstration against Christian radio station WMCA at Columbus Circle, (1939).
F. Bauman.

While the Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project fractured much of the neighborhood's existing social and spatial dynamics, it simultaneously enhanced the media visibility of the area, which was already rife with participatory citizenship. From the religious soapboxers in 1933 to the first AIDS walk at Damrosch Park in 1986 to the Black Lives Matter demonstrations in 2020 and 2021, Broadway from Columbus Circle to 70th Street remains a stage for New Yorkers to engage in social, political, religious dialogue (Star Gazette 1970; Goodman 1982; *New York Times* 1987; *New York Times* 2020.)

Caricature of a soapbox scene at Columbus Circle (1941)..
D. Freeman. Don Freeman's Newsstand. New York, NY.

First AIDS walk outside of Alice Tully Hall (1986).
R. "Tica" Mendoza.

HISTORIC ASSETS

Plan showing Lincoln Center open spaces.
Courtesy of Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts.

West 60th Interior Baths

The West 60th Street Interior Baths were constructed in 1906 to help alleviate hygiene and heat safety concerns in the tenement district of San Juan Hill. It offered showers and a large interior swimming pool filled with clean water. It sat along a racial divide and had limited hours during which Black residents could use it. The Baths were a popular destination for local Jewish, Irish, and Italian children.

West 60th Street Railyard & Hudson River

The West 60th Street Railyard was a critical open space for many San Juan Hill children for recreation and access to the Hudson River. For many Black Residents in the early 1900s, purpose-built recreation areas, such as the Baths, were unwelcoming due to segregated hours and the possibility of violence when crossing into White areas. The West 60th Street Railyard and Hudson River spaces were therefore adapted by Black children for recreation and comfort (Parris 1987).

Improvised Playground 231 to 243 West 61st Street

In 1919, residents protested the development of a vehicle garage and service station in the empty lots between 231 and 243 West 61st Street, where neighborhood children improvised a playground (*New York Times* 1919). At this site formerly sat a row of 'flimsy tenement houses', constructed by a contractor notorious for his dangerous buildings, where police frequently raided, violent conflict ensued between the predominantly Black tenants on 61st Street and the Italian residents on West End Avenue, and tenants perished due to inadequate ventilation and sanitation. In 1919, the Standard Steel Concrete Company purchased this lot with plans to develop it into a garage and service station for Orteig motors (*New York Tribune* 1919). In 1996, the then-vacant factory was leased to Beacon High School (*Daily News* 1996). Despite its short lifetime, this improvised park carved a space of joy for local residents from a site scarred by violence, over-policing, and municipal neglect.

Amsterdam Houses & Playground

Amsterdam Houses marked a turning point in superblock development and the inclusion of open space in residential buildings in the study area. The racially integrated development included playgrounds and sitting areas. For Amsterdam Houses residents, open spaces were activated through recreation and events, which the Lincoln Square Community Center often hosted. The Amsterdam Houses Playground was renamed in the 1970s after Samuel N. Bennerson II, a prominent figure in the local community. Samuel Noughton Bennerson II was raised in the Phipps Houses by parents from the Virgin Islands. Bennerson was an assistant director of films, such as the early "Blaxploitation" film *Cotton Comes to Harlem* (*Daily News* 1970), and founded the first basketball team at the playground, the Betterment League (Gregory 2014). The Betterment League was the first iteration in a long line of Amsterdam Houses' Basketball Teams that continue today, such as Positive Influence Basketball.

Broadway Mall

The tree-lined Broadway mall delineated the socio-economic divide between the wealthy park-side neighborhood to the east and San Juan Hill and other low-income neighborhoods. Although trees were planted throughout New York to alleviate poor air conditions in the city and lessen the severity of heat waves, only the wealthy seemed to benefit from their existence (Page 2001). These trees did not reach the residents in San Juan Hill's tenements, who were severely impacted by heat (*Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 1911). Broadway Mall therefore mainly served as a visual barrier between San Juan Hill and Park West neighborhoods and was used as a tool for speculative real estate.

Columbus Circle

Columbus Circle is an essential venue of commerce, transportation, and activism within the study area. The Circle's proximity to Central Park and existence as a primary node for transport contributed to its heightened visibility and importance as a site of participatory citizenship. Both before and after redevelopment, Columbus Circle was the site of protests, soap boxes, and parades. In 1892, the monument to Christopher Columbus was installed at the Circle's center to commemorate the Italian navigators landing in the Americas (*New York Times* 1892b).

Beneath the circle in the early 1900s, the IRT subway service was extended to the area, which further improved access to the area, which was a burgeoning theater district. The increasing traffic in 1905 warranted the creation of a traffic circle, thus leading to the adoption of its current name.

Dante Park and Richard Tucker Square

Around the turn of the century, this triangular park south of the intersection of 64th Street with Broadway and Columbus Avenue came into existence. Before the park became "Dante Park," it was first known as "Empire Park," as it sat out front of the Empire Hotel. This hotel became incredibly popular due to its proximity to the growing theater district along Broadway and eventually the area became known as Empire Square, later encompassing the present-day Richard Tucker Park, then known as "Empire Park North" (*New York Times* 1906d).

In 1910, New York City Italian Immigrants and Italian-Americans raised $8,000 to commission a statue of Dante Alighieri, the Italian Poet. This was the second monument erected by Italian New Yorkers along Broadway, with the first being at Columbus Circle. Contemporary Black newspapers compared the Italian monuments to the "balls and picnics" of Black New Yorkers, arguing that the Dante and Columbus Statues served as a more effective "lesson in pride of race" (*New York Age* 1910).

Richard Tucker Square was rededicated in memory of the eponymous opera singer, Richard Tucker, in 1980. Tucker, a celebrated operatic tenor who sang under contract for the Metropolitan Opera at Lincoln Center, died of a heart attack in 1975 (*Newsday* 2001). Dante Park and Richard Tucker Square, along with Columbus Circle, stand as visual and spatial markers of wealth and influence of both the Italian American and the Arts community. Along with Broadway malls, these two parks historically influenced speculative development and negotiated social capital and power of local publics and institutions in the public eye.

Josie Robertson Plaza and Hearst Plaza

Josie Robertson Plaza is the central plaza of Lincoln Center, along which the Metropolitan Opera House, State Theatre, and Philharmonic Hall sit. Within this plaza is the large Revson fountain, donated by the Revson Foundation. In 1998, Julian H. Robertson Jr. donated twenty-five million dollars to the Lincoln Center to rename the plaza after his wife, Josie (Blumenthal 1998, 75). The second Plaza within Lincoln Center is the Hearst Plaza. This quiet plaza to the northwest of the Metropolitan Opera is distinguished by the large rectangular water feature named the Paul Milstein Pool, which surrounds a sculpture by celebrated sculptor Henry Moore. Lincoln Center's private ownership of these plazas prevents them from being truly "public" open space and renders them subject to use restrictions and limitations.

Damrosch Park

Damrosch Park, located within the southwestern corner of Lincoln Center's campus, is a public New York City Park built in 1969 which is maintained and operated by Lincoln Center. In 1986, it hosted the first-ever AIDS walk, which quickly became one of the most prominent AIDS fundraising events in the United States (Davis 2019). The park contains the Guggenheim Bandshell. Access to a large part of this park is restricted in the winter months, and through the summer months, it is filled with events organized by Lincoln Center. More recently, there has been controversy over the private use of this public park by events such as Big Apple Circus and New York Fashion Week, which residents felt precluded their use.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

Esteban Alberty-Cardona and Christina Sun

Housing discrimination, new technologies, and explosive population growth shaped San Juan Hill's business community from the 1890s to 1930s. West Indies immigrants carved out a space in the grocery business, while Latine Caribbean tobacco workers were unique in their political literacy. The development of San Juan Hill docks and railyards triggered rapid industrial clustering, the location of which contributed to racial segregation.

Heavy-polluting industries were located west of Amsterdam Avenue, which had a higher concentration of Black residents. This reinforced the existing patterns of racism, as many Black renters could only find housing near the industrial area near the highly contaminated Hudson River.

While Black residents were particularly disadvantaged by environmental injustice, discrimination, and violence, they developed commercial opportunities in the San Juan Hill neighborhood, especially those related to food. The high involvement of West Indian immigrants with the grocery industry and the lack of private kitchens made food being key to San Juan Hill's economic fabric. Unsanctioned businesses in basement clubs and rent parties created additional cash flow and safe spaces for this community. Puerto Rican immigrants would begin to arrive as Black New Yorkers fled for Harlem to avoid housing discrimination. Black churches drew their congregations there and the contraction of the natural ice industry—upon which many food-related businesses depended—exacerbated this trend to the north.

Businesses operated by and serving Black, West Indian, and Caribbean Latine publics were largely limited to side streets and to residential buildings with ground floor retail and basement commercial spaces. Most were demolished as part of the construction of Amsterdam Houses and Lincoln Center. Development wiped out all commercial corridors and their respective typology varieties, except on Broadway. The scale of buildings increased as plots were consolidated into superblocks with larger stores. In spite of these changes, White-owned businesses continued to dominate store frontage in the avenues framing San Juan Hill.

EVOLUTION OF INDUSTRIES IN SAN JUAN HILL (LATE 1880S–1950S)

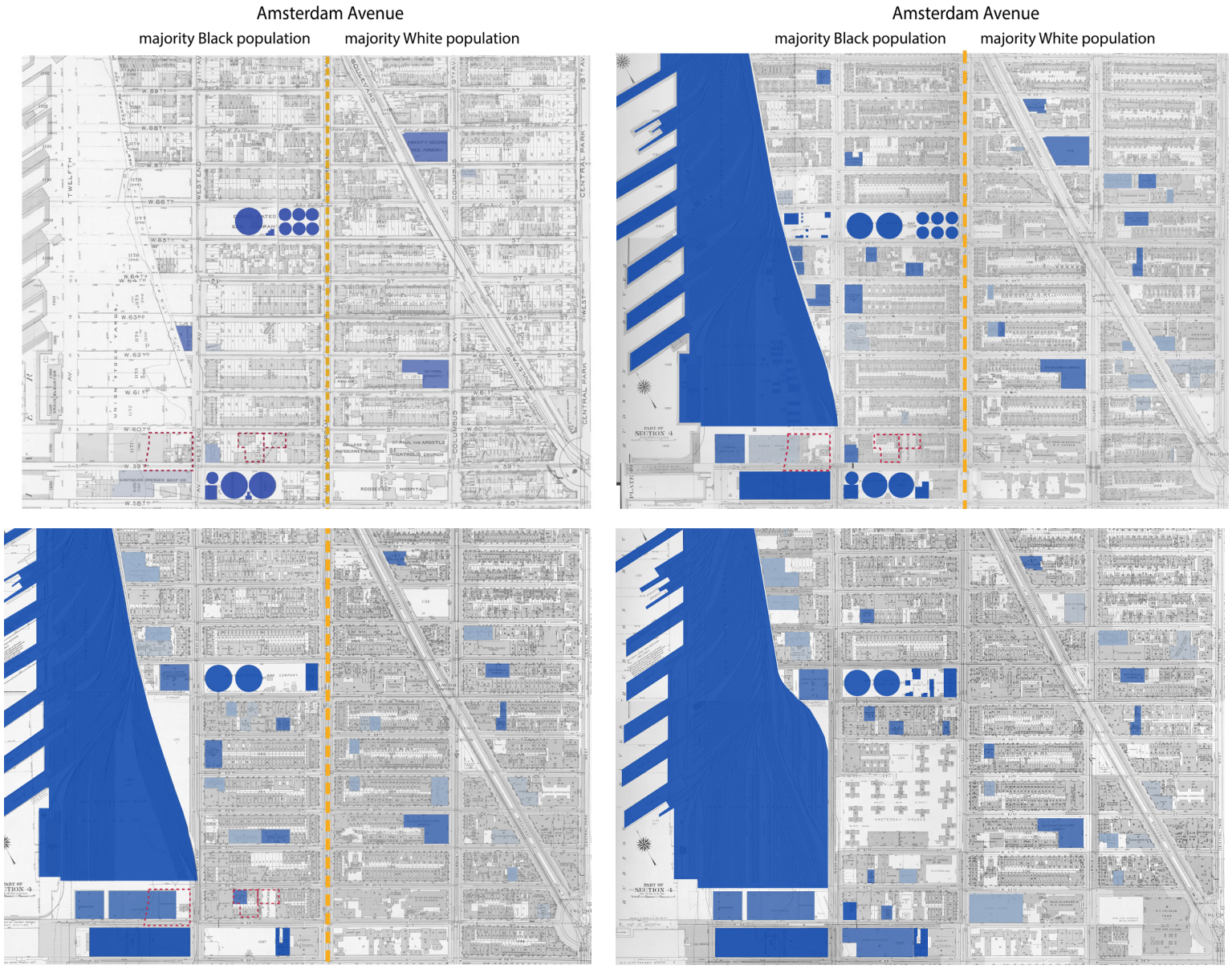
In 1890, the network of train tracks along the Hudson waterfront was already active. Industry revolved around receiving cargo at the docks and reloading it into freight trains for further shipping. By 1915, all plots surrounding the docks and railyard had been developed into a heavy industry zone, including gas tanks, internal combustion engine manufacturing, armory warehouses, and bottling. These enterprises located their service warehouses at convenient distances from the piers; this was the articulation of maritime shipping to commercial distribution on land. The proximity of the railyard also attracted industries dealing with perishable goods, such as bakeries and dairies, and thus heavily relied on expedient shipping.

Restrictions on where Black New Yorkers could rent meant they found themselves confined to an industrial area north of 59th Street and west of Amsterdam Avenue. San Juan Hill's Black population peaked in 1910, at a time the industrial distribution pattern heavily corresponded with this spatial segregation (Logan and Weiwei 2015, 1076). This reinforced the existing environmental racism caused by the proximity of the seriously contaminated Hudson River. The heavy-polluting industries were located west of Amsterdam Avenue, where there was a higher concentration of Black residents, and lesser-polluting industries gathered near predominantly White and more affluent Central Park West.

As one would walk from the industrial waterfront toward upscale Central Park West, the commerce in the area would transition away from natural gas and shipping to more consumer-driven needs, such as car garages, theaters, restaurants, and even clubs.

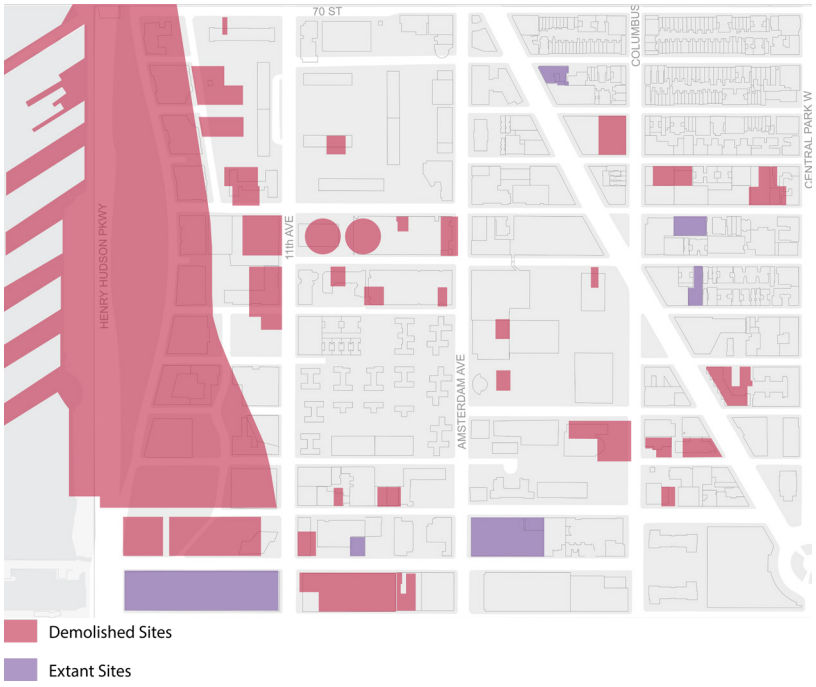
Car manufacturers, in particular, would choose this area for dealers and workshops due to the ease of access to the San Juan Hill shipping waterfront. The high operational value of these plots for manufacturing is evidenced by The Locomobile Company of America moving its operations in 1912 from Broadway and 76th Street to a new address on 61st Street, and had its warehouses built near the rail freight yard (Miller 2019). In tandem, the manufacturing industry that had started with disparate products, such as pianos and car motors, would fully mature by the 1930s into more sophisticated components with multiple applications across industries, such as spark plugs for both radios and car ignitions. There was some presence of the chemical industry in the area at time, a highly polluting industry—specifically Zinsser & Company's garment dyes plant (Shepard 1974).

Estimated Environmental Impact Evolution, late 1800s to 1930s



Estimated environmental impact evolution through time, clockwise from top-left: late 19th c. , 1910s, 1930s, and 1950s (2023).
C. Sun.

The Locomobile Company of America´s Broadway and 76th Street building as photographed in 1912.
Photographer unknown.



Current state of historic industrial assets (2023).
C. Sun.

New facilities built at 61st Street (1914).
Automobile Topics, January 31, 1914.

Daily life in San Juan Hill differed from the upper class, White-owned, commercial axis that existed already in the 1910s along Broadway and radiated from Columbus Circle. Around this time, Black renters had reached a considerable density west of Amsterdam Avenue. Upon cross-referencing Sanborn's Fire Insurance Maps of 1914 with New York City's Tax Department 1940s photographic documentation, it is confirmed that the main routes towards Central Park remained profitable over various decades, as the first floor commercial space of numerous residential spaces retained the same businesses over this period of time. The same sources were consulted for 1930s-1940s, where a spatial trend emerged in which most buildings with first floor retail clustered in the northeast of a grid defined by Central Park West Avenue to the east, West End Ave to the west, 59th street to the south and 73rd street to the north.

Street-facing shops lined the commercial corridors of Columbus and Amsterdam Avenues. More modest retail and food spaces dotted the side-streets connected to these avenues. The north-south axis had more clearly defined corridors than the side streets with east-west direction; formal businesses favored ground floors facing said avenues, while informal businesses on side streets made up the residential streetscape. A higher variety of services, from dentists to insurers, was distributed along Amsterdam Avenue. In a marked difference from wealthier White residents' experience of scale on Broadway Avenue, the Black community formed compact and walkable commercial side streets that supported high-density living in row houses.

COMMERCIAL SPACE TYPOLOGIES

From 1915 to 1930, in the area between 59th and 63rd street, commercial spaces could be classified into four types: a) large department stores near Columbus Circle and Central Park, b) residential buildings with ground floor retail, c) upper floor commercial spaces and, d) basement commercial spaces. Because White-owned businesses dominated store frontage in the avenues, Black-owned businesses were largely limited to typologies (b) and (d) on side streets.

a. Commercial Buildings between 59th Street and 63rd Street

Buildings, usually two to three stories high, would sell assorted goods, often food. French sash windows and large advertisement signboards are visible on them in tax photos dating to 1930. They usually had a large footprint and sometimes even covered half blocks.

b. Residential Buildings with Ground Floor Retail

The second type consists of residential buildings, mostly three to five stories, with ground floor retail. Registered commercial spaces, more common in the avenues' vertical axes, would attract more customers by installing large-framed glass storefronts advertising their products to passersby. Tax photos from 1940 show these first floor shops favored hanging small sign boards putting posters up identifying their business.

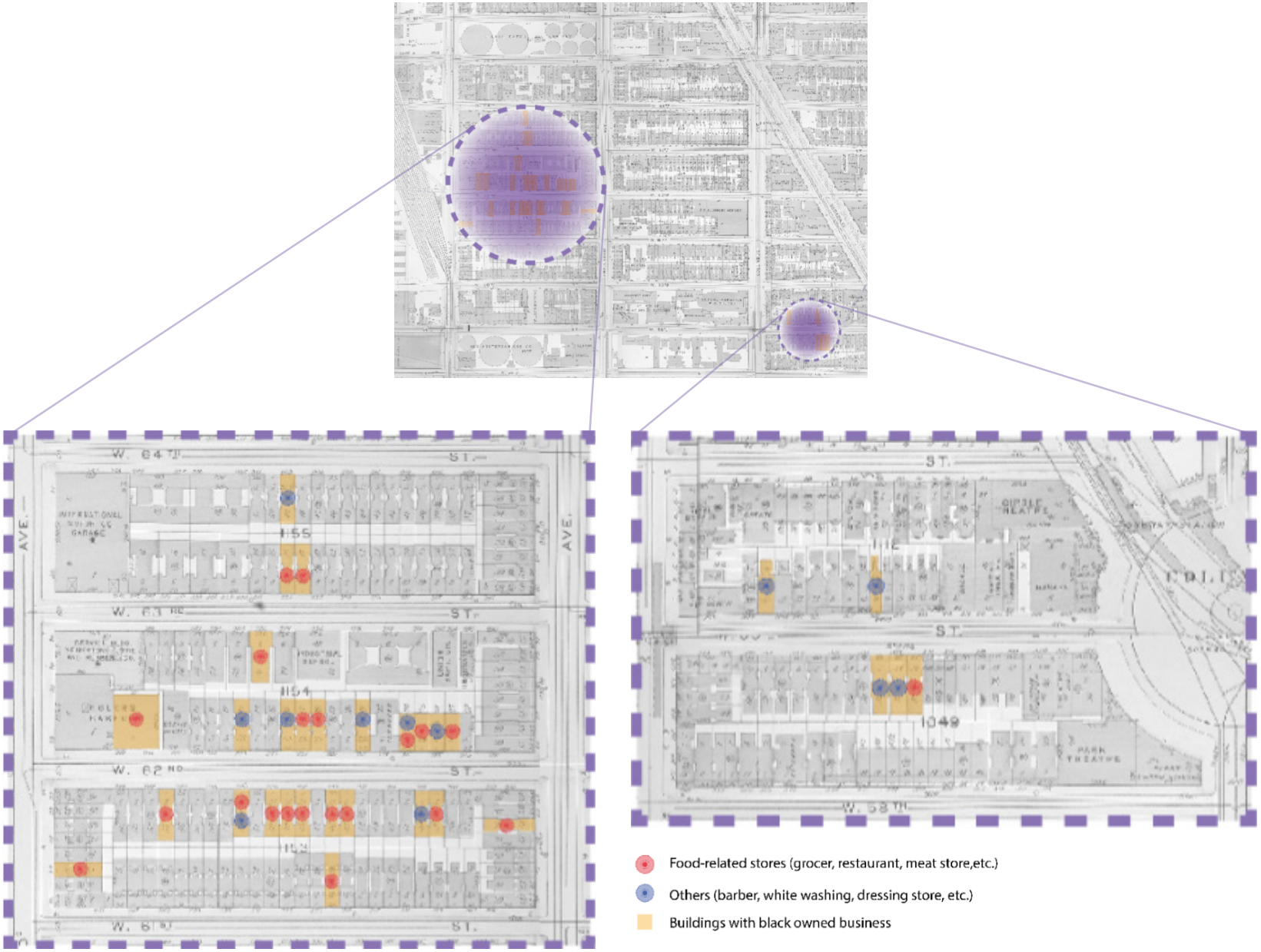
c. Upper-Floor Commercial Spaces in Mixed-Use Buildings

Upper-floor commerce was usually in mixed-use buildings. The window panes would often have the business' name painted on, or have signs in order to be easily spotted by customers at street level. Access to the upper floors was important for these businesses, and thus mixed-use buildings were often at street corners.

d. Commercial Use of Row House Basements

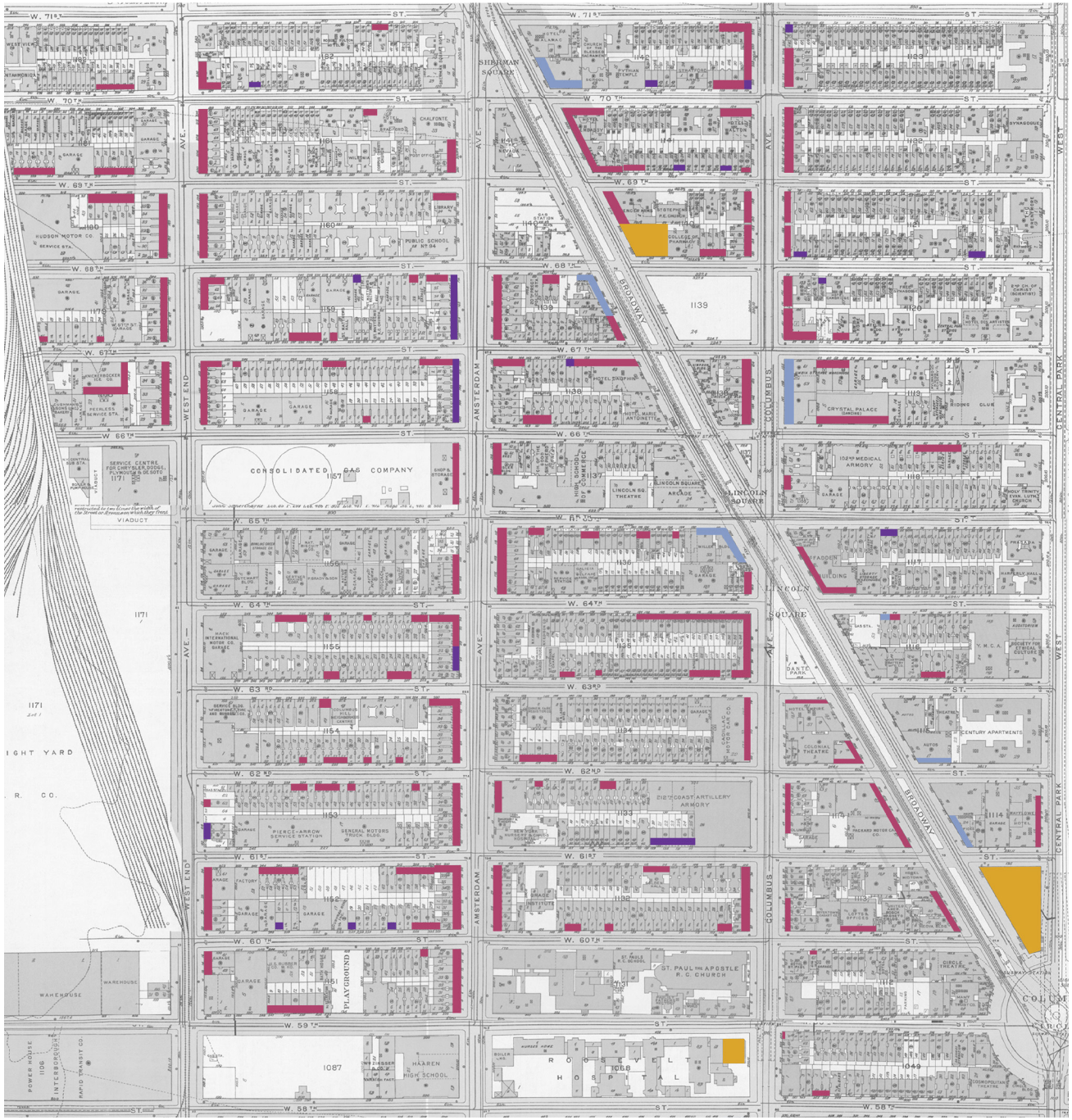
Row houses in this area had a flight of entry steps that raised the first floor above street level, allowing for ample basements where pool venues and bars were sometimes located. These basement commercial spaces were partially hidden from the street's view. However, evidence such as canopies, posters on the walls and paintings on the window drew passersby attention to businesses inside. Nightlife, clubs, casinos, pool venues, bars—business types that overlapped with informal economic activity—favored these spaces.

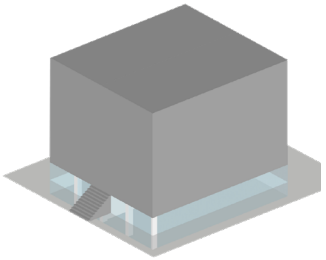
Map of Confirmed Black-Owned Business Clusters, 1910s



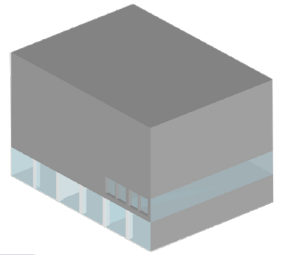
Confirmed Black-Owned Business Clusters, 1910s (2023).
C. Sun.

Map of Distribution of Business Typologies, 1940s

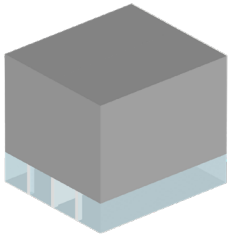




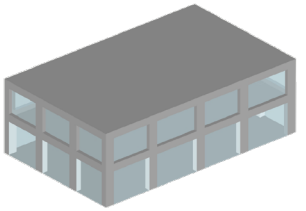
Basement Commercial Spaces



Upper Floor Commercial Spaces



First Floor Retail



Department Stores

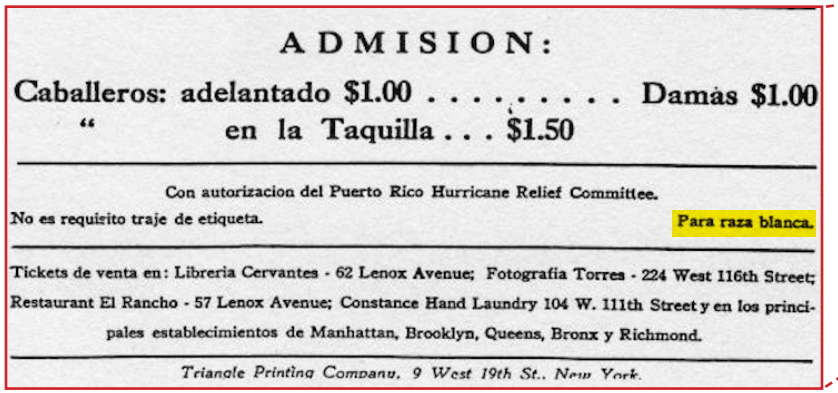
Map of distribution of business typologies in the 1940s (2023).
C. Sun.

LABOR AND RACE RELATIONS PRIOR TO URBAN RENEWAL

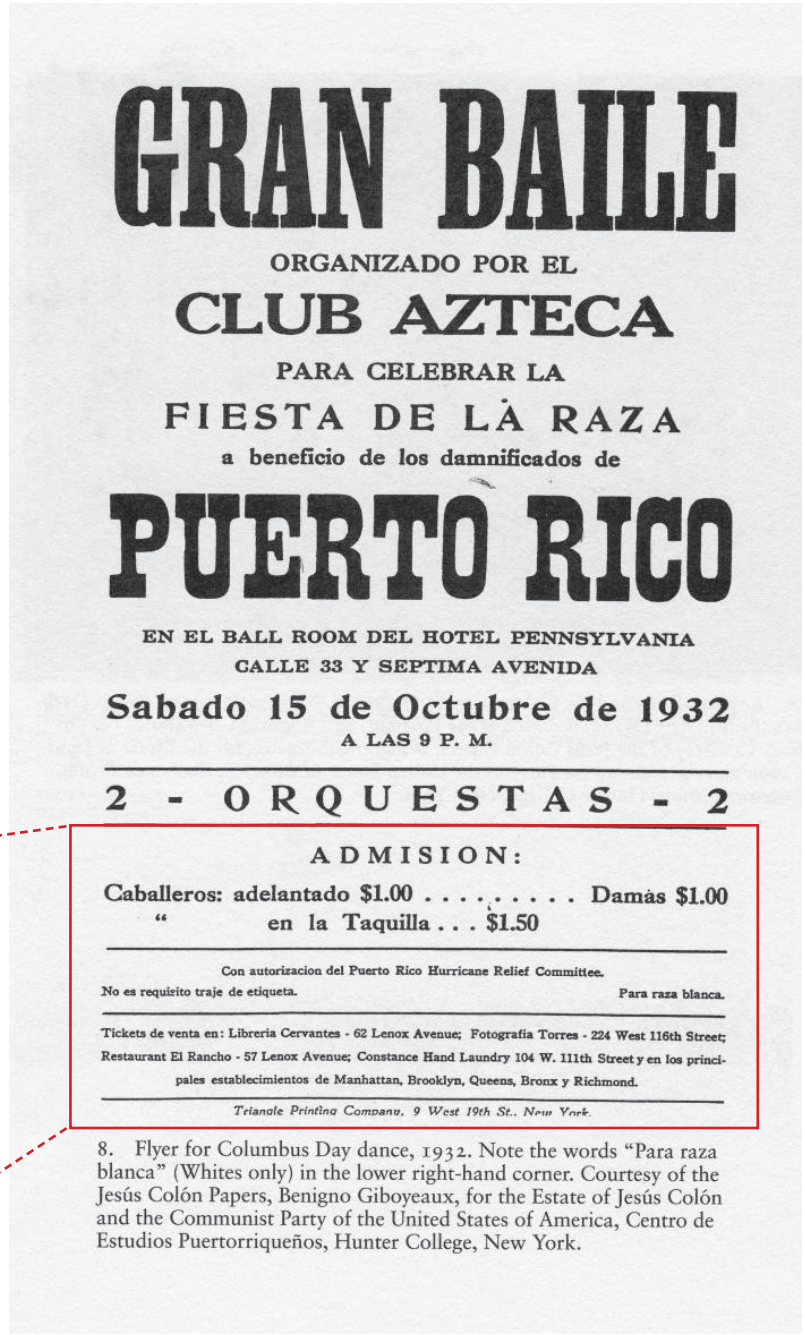
Fashionable hotels, mere blocks away from San Juan Hill, such as the Hotel Maceo and Hotel Marshall, both Black-owned, provided the more respectable face of the economic corridors' night-life, whose side streets featured basement casinos with live Jazz music from 53rd Street to 67th Street. In an oral history account from 1936, a Black interviewee states that at least Hotel Maceo (which was named for a famous Black Cuban) had an integrated patronage with "many white people" and served as the "headquarters for all Negro professional men" (Bryan 1936). However, segregation still persisted. In the case of the Latine population, a 1932 fund-raising ball for Puerto Rico's damage from the San Cipriano hurricane clearly states that it is meant only for "the white race," as noted in the accompanying image. The irony of Club Azteca, the sponsor of the event, simultaneously exhibiting anti-Blackness and solidarity with Caribbean islanders signals that Latine organizations were aware of their fiscal power, but not necessarily cognizant of how racism disparaged them as well.

Labor and race relations prior to the urban migration to Harlem "early in the twentieth century" are summarized in L.B Bryan's account of Jerome B. Peterson's recollection:

> *[...] the Negro settlement was located in the area of West 53rd Street. Although there were quite a large number of prominent Negroes who lived in this section, in comparison with the entire Negro population, yet there were not as many Negro businesses in proportion to the number of Negroes.* (Bryan 1936)



(Above and right) Segregated Latine fundraiser organized by Mexican organization Club Azteca (1932), noting "para raza blanca" (for White race).
Center for Puerto Rican Studies-Hunter College.



8. Flyer for Columbus Day dance, 1932. Note the words "Para raza blanca" (Whites only) in the lower right-hand corner. Courtesy of the Jesús Colón Papers, Benigno Giboyeaux, for the Estate of Jesús Colón and the Communist Party of the United States of America, Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Hunter College, New York.

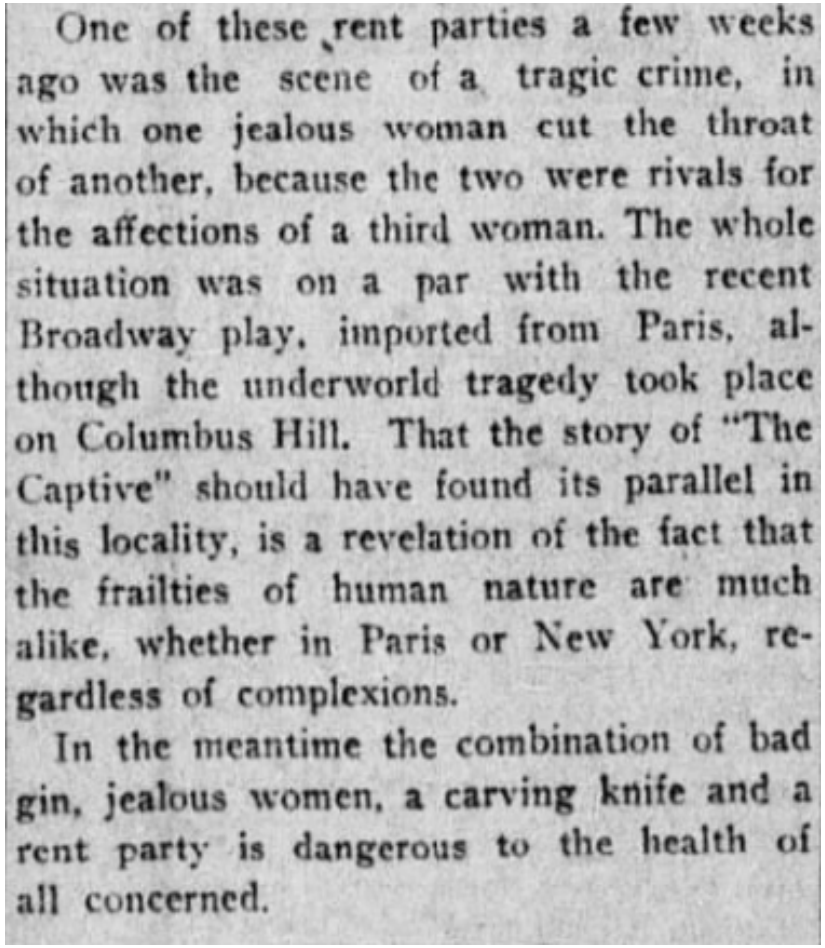
He goes on to credit the "friendly relationship that existed between the white and Negro races in this City at that time" to a lack of Black-owned businesses, a perception that, evidently, was also apparent to Black New Yorkers themselves (Bryan 1936). Per this same account, it was "the large influx" of Southern rural Black migrants which produced the critical demographic conditions that made it "compulsory for the Negro to enter into every field of business as is perceptibly noticeable today" (Bryan 1936). A 1916 article in *The New York Age* partially corroborates this underrepresentation, and the characterization from said Black newspaper is revealing, "In looking over the enterprises in operation it is noticed that there is only one colored man dealing in ice, coal, and wood. He must compete with five white men in the same line" (*The New York Age* 1926, 5).

Peterson's account of a measure of urban racial integration where work and leisure overlapped, is supported by *The American Colored Magazine*'s chronicle of an integrated 1902 meeting on the obstacles faced by Black workers. It was called by William H. Baldwin at St. Mark's Church and attended by "several men of prominence of both races" whose opinion of what should be the focus for "the betterment of the condition" of the city's Black population "differed widely." Their differences are left undiscussed by the magazine, focusing instead on the success of trade schools eventually organized by them (Schieffelin 1907). From 1906 onwards, the Committee of Public Meetings and its subcommittees would take it upon themselves to provide professional training to Black workers in Public School no. 80 in the following areas: millinery, waist-making, shirt making, embroidery, dress making, domestic science, cooking, bookkeeping, type writing, stenography, carpentry, electricians, boiler technicians, "janitor-engineers," steamfitters, as well as mechanical and architectural drawing (Schieffelin 1907, 61-65).

Significantly reduced employment opportunities due to anti-Blackness resulted in difficulties paying rents. Events with a cover charge called "rent parties" were not unusual, even with negative coverage from Black newspapers. These were fundraising evenings, where food and drinks would be sold at affordable prices in order to subsidize the month's rental cost (*The New York Age* 1934). Since having a private kitchen was uncommon at the time, rent parties provided a mutually beneficial arrangement during which attendees could enjoy food in a social setting.

Vere E. Johns, reporting on culture for Black newspaper *The New York Age*, wrote in 1933 that "...the reason for these [rent] parties is because the Negro is given brutal treatment in the employment field (city and private) and is forced to these measures to keep from starving to death" (Johns 1933, 6). Black Manhattanites in particular, but not exclusively, "creatively morphed the rural chitlin strut tradition" into the urban fundraising format of rent parties with dancing and drinks (Miller 2014).

One such event is recorded in 1926 as taking place in "Columbus Hill"—another accepted nomenclature for San Juan Hill. The decade's moral anxieties are laid bare with the article highlighting the dangerous presence of alcohol—while mentioning in passing the same-sex relationships behind the dispute.



One of these rent parties a few weeks ago was the scene of a tragic crime, in which one jealous woman cut the throat of another, because the two were rivals for the affections of a third woman. The whole situation was on a par with the recent Broadway play, imported from Paris, although the underworld tragedy took place on Columbus Hill. That the story of "The Captive" should have found its parallel in this locality, is a revelation of the fact that the frailties of human nature are much alike, whether in Paris or New York, regardless of complexions.

In the meantime the combination of bad gin, jealous women, a carving knife and a rent party is dangerous to the health of all concerned.

Detail of "A Rent Party Tragedy" (1926).
The New York Age, December 1926

Street vendors visible in 1940's tax photos at bottom right corner (1940).
Manhattan 1939-1940 Tax Department Photos - New York Municipal Archives.

The informal economy of San Juan Hill thus operated as an escape valve for the economic constraints brought about by broad anti-Blackness. Agricultural and other food industry imports arriving to New York would actually trickle to the informal economy in the form of these impromptu fund raisers.

The compounding effect of wage disparity, wage depression, and speculative housing rentals would produce intense economic vulnerability for Black residents, particularly women. Both domestic and open spaces became potential sites for cash flow. Black sex workers of San Juan Hill in the late nineteenth century had to evade intense surveillance by police agents. Very rarely did a Black sex worker amass the capital to stop working in open space, effectively reinforcing the notion that Black bodies were part of consumption in public spaces. Well-known Black madam Hattie Ross was the exception, operating a brothel in San Juan Hill "employing only white women." Contrastingly, any Black woman perceived to be a sex worker risked arrest if thought to have been accompanying a man to a private room. Charges under vagrancy laws were a commonplace legal instrument for criminalizing Black individuals' presence in public space and curtailing their freedom of movement (Johnson 1930). This meant that the street was the space for all manner of informal economic activity for which there are no tax photographs; however, there are some examples pointing to daily street life that otherwise goes largely undocumented.

Loss of Black Population and Increased Community Organizing

The area's Black population decreased between 1915-1926, as noted in other historic contexts, in part due to the migration of people and institutions northward to Harlem. An additional factor may have contributed: the decrease in number of cargo ships docking at San Juan Hill's piers to unload natural ice for refrigeration purposes, after the advent of electric refrigeration in 1915 (Roller 1927, 1-9). A decade after its introduction, the phasing out of natural ice by electric refrigeration was so clear to manufacturers of the key ammonia compressors that industry publications at the time claimed, "Refrigerating engineers may look forward to the record of the next ten years with optimistic interest" (Neeson 1917).

Natural ice had no way "to meet the demand for a machine having the lowest number of moving parts and requiring the least attention consistent with dependable and safe operation." Not only did the combined fleet of ships and "well insulated cars" of companies like Knickerbocker Ice consume more fuel, the natural ice industry had made no technological improvements to compete with the upgrading of 1915 compressors, which could be brought "up to date at very little expense, by installing a modern piston and the newer valve types" (Roller 1927, 1-9). Thus, sustained improvement to electric

Node map of grocers and "cateresses" on West 62nd (2023).
C. Sun.

refrigeration's efficiency between 1915-1926 placed increased pressure on natural ice distributors. Grocers, street vendors, and restaurants had been important employment opportunities for Black workers, and this dramatic change in refrigeration reduced job opportunities connected to distribution. In 1930, only five residents of San Juan Hill still worked distributing ice (US Census Bureau 1930).

Another factor pertains to the movement of churches out of San Juan Hill, discussed in more detail in the next Historic Context on Religion. This reduced the time available for Black parents and guardians to search for jobs, attend training, and work, as it implied the loss of child care services facilitated by these parishes (*New York Age* 1915b). Census data from 1910 provides visualization of the trips that Black "cateresses" had to take to gather ingredients, painting a general idea of the time and effort exerted even when working from home (US Census Bureau 1910).

The Black population of San Juan Hill had been largely confined to working at the docks, the food industry, and hospitality, due to the "strongest prejudice" being "evident in the mechanical trades" (*The Colored American Magazine* 1907, 459-464). In response to how discrimination limited employment, the Sub Committee of Employment under the Committee of Public Meetings started in 1906-1907 to lobby large employers on behalf of Black workers: "[...] owners and managers of department stores and kindred places are being appealed to by this committee." The objective was to pierce "the solid wall" that kept Black workers out of "the trades and industries of the city" (*The Colored American Magazine* 1907, 459-464).

In the previous decades, the American League of Colored Laborers (founded in 1850) had worked to organize said workers for support and collective bargaining following a notable increase in racist violence (Sacks 2006, 27). Part of the function of this association was to support the creation of other Black organizations, including the initial funding for the Mutual Savings Bank, a Black financial institution that lent to Black clients. By 1915, Black-owned businesses had reached enough of a critical mass to successfully organize into the Men's Civic and Business League, which would hold its foundational meeting at the Union Baptist Church at 204-06 West 63rd St (*New York Age* 1915b).

Racial terror that had driven Black rural immigrants north was not limited to the US south, and Black workers in general would be met with anti-Black discrimination from Irish and Italian immigrants in San Juan Hill. Tensions would become even more fraught as the historic volume of European arrivals between 1840-1910 triggered a wage depression (Jordan 1938, 1-3). These newcomers had no choice but to accept lower compensation in order to secure employment, further complicating labor conditions for non-White people.

In parallel, rural South migration grew New York's Black population from approximately 66,000 to 80,000 between 1900 and 1907. The "huge pressure on the housing supply in the North" and segregation laws in housing put Black migrants at high risk of homelessness (Johnson 2010). This prompted the formation of civic organizations that believed easing Black workers' employment choice restrictions would in turn improve housing security. (*The Colored American Magazine* 1907). Their efforts, however, could not stop the tensions between mostly Irish immigrants and Black workers, who were both often confined to working as dock workers and hotel waiters (Johnson 1930).

Reduction in employment opportunities and decrease in wages thus made unsanctioned businesses in San Juan Hill an important element for achieving housing security. Residents living in high density tenements made up the neighborhood's social fabric, and commercial spaces in side streets revolved around their local needs.

Cigar Factories and Puerto Rican Political Literacy

Puerto Ricans were arriving in San Juan Hill during the same decades that the Black population started moving northward to Harlem. This Caribbean migration was spurred out of economic need up to 1948, when a Migration Division was set up in New York City (Schwab 1958). Lured by the promise of superior opportunities in the United States by their own government, 85 percent of the New York-bound Puerto Rican migrants left paying jobs behind (Schwab 1958). While wealthy Caribbean Islanders could generally afford to obtain US diplomas, the vast majority of less educated Puerto Rican immigrants settling in San Juan Hill worked in the garment industry, service and hospitality, restaurants, and related fields. In spite of the business corridor disintegration caused by urban renewal in San Juan Hill, in 1958 the New York Puerto Rican community operated approximately 4,000 grocery stores, hundreds of barber shops, and over fifty drug stores citywide (Schwab 1958).

In contrast to the New York Black community in the early twentieth century, Puerto Rican immigrants had certain advantages, including a significant network for union organizing beyond the United States, and both Spanish-speaking and Caribbean-specific labor practices that built their political literacy (Colón 1982, 19-26; Abreu 1977, 40-45). Additionally, they would receive some labor support from the Migration Division of the Government of Puerto Rico in the 1950s, which worked as an employment liaison in New York, the Midwest, and Lake Erie. Women, in particular, were employed in the garment industry (OGPRUS 1957).

The story of Puerto Ricans in the United States is often "dismissed, misunderstood, or homogenized into the more generic Latino experience," glossing over the significant role that political exiles and workers played in regional struggles, such as Antillean liberation and supporting tobacco workers. Cigar sales, in particular, generated income that was reinvested "in the Floridian cities of Tampa and Key West [which] comprised a pivotal triangle of revolutionary action" with New York Puerto Rican communities as early as 1892 to 1898 (Colón 1982, 19-26).

In the late nineteenth century, over five-hundred Latine-owned cigar factories were active in New York City, out of a 3,000 estimated total. It was the "cigar factory" of the US and an important center in shaping labor organizing for Latine communities, as most employees were Puerto Rican and Cuban immigrants. By 1917, the mechanization of cigar manufacturing had brought factories down to under a hundred, but the social and gendered practices Puerto Ricans engaged with in the tobacco industry had remained stable. Two of these stand out: firstly, the segregation of tobacco workers into all-male *torcedores* (cigar rollers) spaces and all-female *despalilladoras* (stem cutters) factory floors.

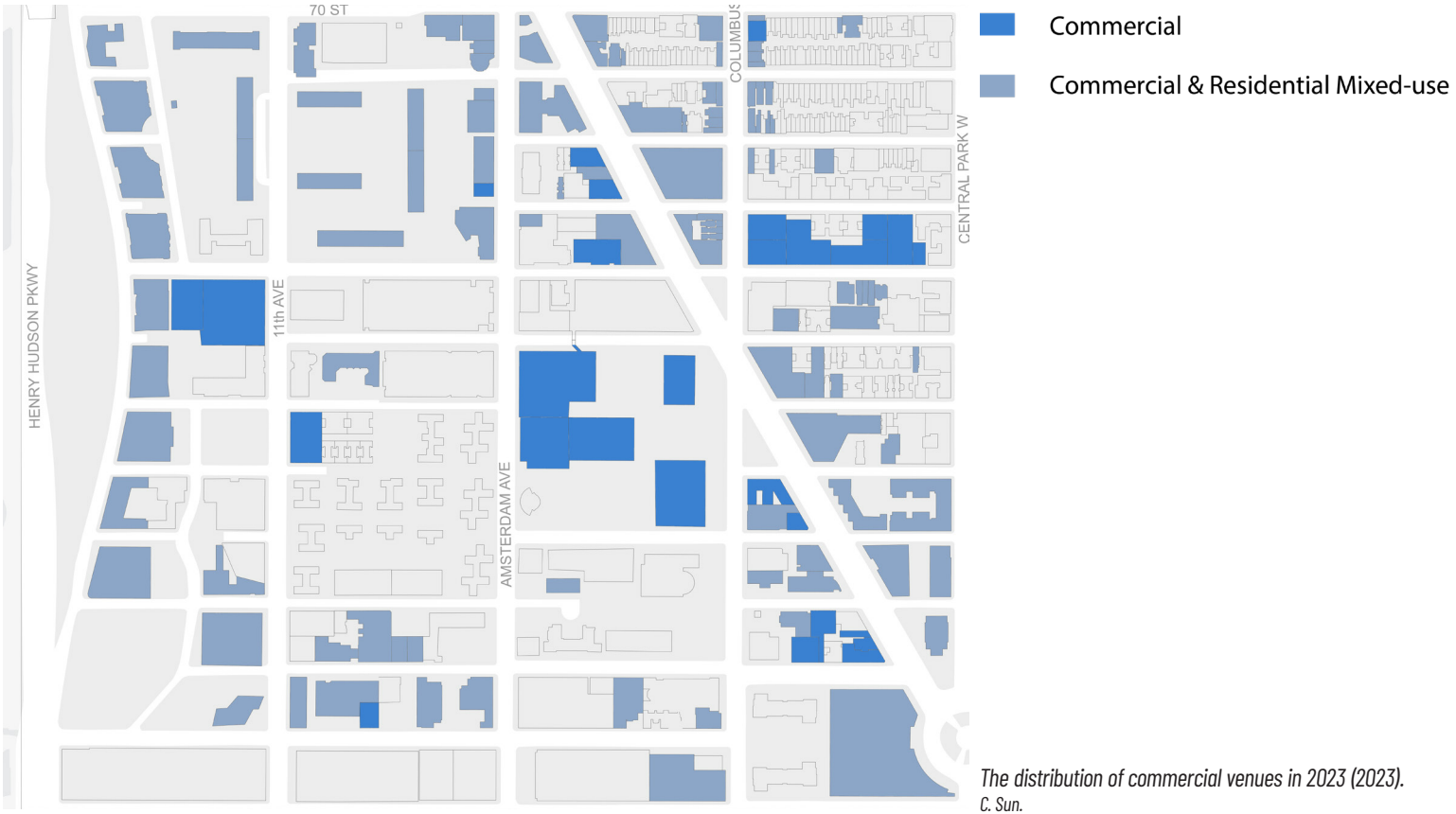
The second is the high mediatization of the tobacco factory environment. Both torcedores and despalilladoras toiled while hearing lectores (professional readers) read aloud newspapers, novels, political books, and often poetry: "They might not have had much formal education, but through the medium of the lector, the Hispanic cigar-rollers were surely the most well informed members of the American labor movement and, they were known as the 'intellectual proletariat'" (Andreu 1977, 40-45).

ANALYSIS OF CHANGE TO COMMERCIAL CORRIDORS

Separated by over forty years, the Zoning Resolutions of 1916 and 1961 represented two different views of city involvement in neighborhoods. The first "was based on the principle of higher and lower uses" in which industrial areas, such as San Juan Hill, received little priority in city services in comparison to zoned residential or business areas. The "low status" of industrial clusters is credited with prompting "the flight of industry away from the central city to the suburbs" (Tough 1965, 41-48).

Areas as zoned by the 1916 ordinance.
New York Board of Estimate and Apportionment

Map of Distribution of Commercial Venues, 2023



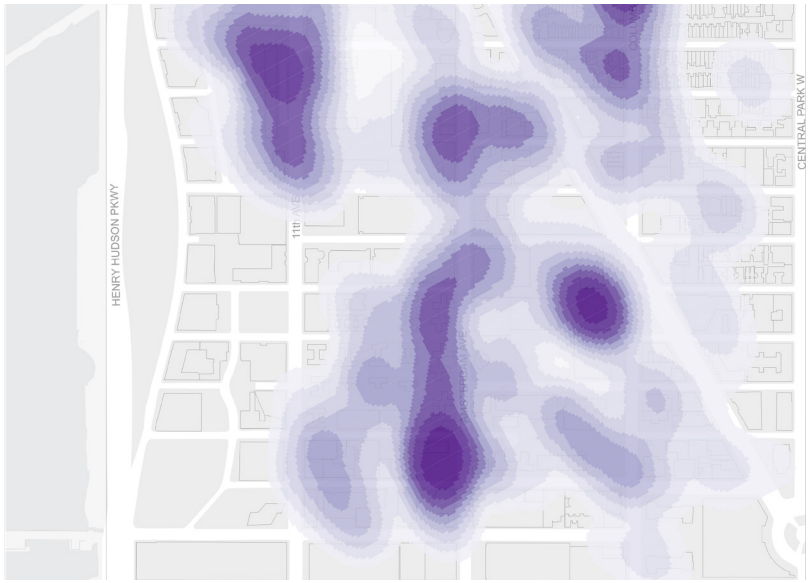
The distribution of commercial venues in 2023 (2023).
C. Sun.

It is telling that, in San Juan Hill's case, these areas should coincide with those approved for housing of racialized New Yorkers, and later targeted for urban renewal with all manner of "value-laden terms" such as "creation of open space" or "neighborhood improvement" (Taylor 2014, 147-191). Mapping the distribution of Black-owned commercial clusters prior to the 1961 overhaul of the 1916 Zoning Act, reveals that the changes did little but legally endorse the ongoing disarticulation of the San Juan Hill business network.

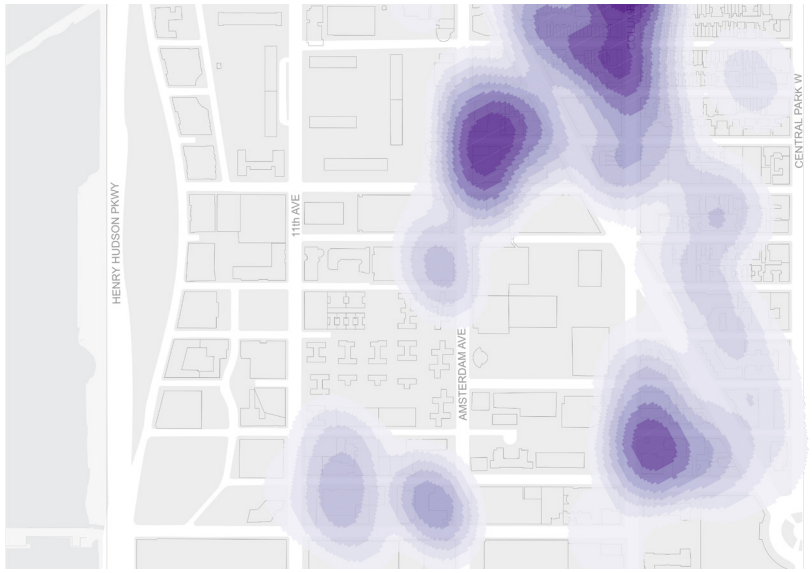
The displacement that was inherent to urban renewal was not an isolated phenomenon (Taylor 2014, 147-191). In San Juan Hill's case it had the utility of curtailing the further development of a minority business community; by the 1960s only a fraction of the commercial clusters remained.

The rationale for zoning at the time was "the segregation of dangerous uses from residential areas." Blocks where Black, West Indian and Caribbean Latine businesses had historically been intensely mixed-use and housed different business types were rezoned to prohibit heterogeneity of use. The Zoning Resolution of 1961 only thus spared what was then a majority White commercial cluster, as both commerce and industry overlapped west of Amsterdam Avenue, an area indicated in the 1916 Zoning Resolution as "unrestricted"(Shenkel 1964, 260). Interestingly, the 2023 commercial profile is predominantly mixed use.

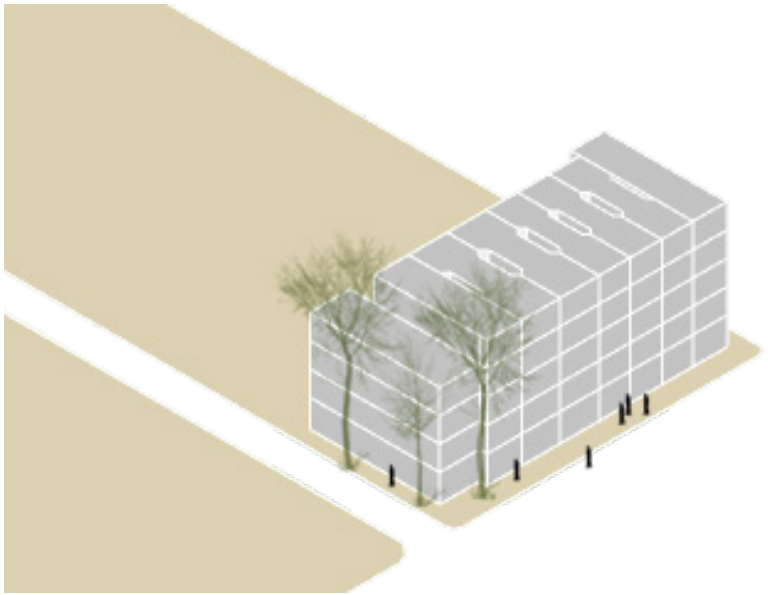
The 2023 condition also reflects change in the street wall, with buildings of a larger scale replacing the historic variety of building typologies. As entire blocks were cleared, the consolidated plots gave way to a dramatic increase in the scales of pedestrian and streetscape experience, thus influencing commercial activity and its respective built environment.



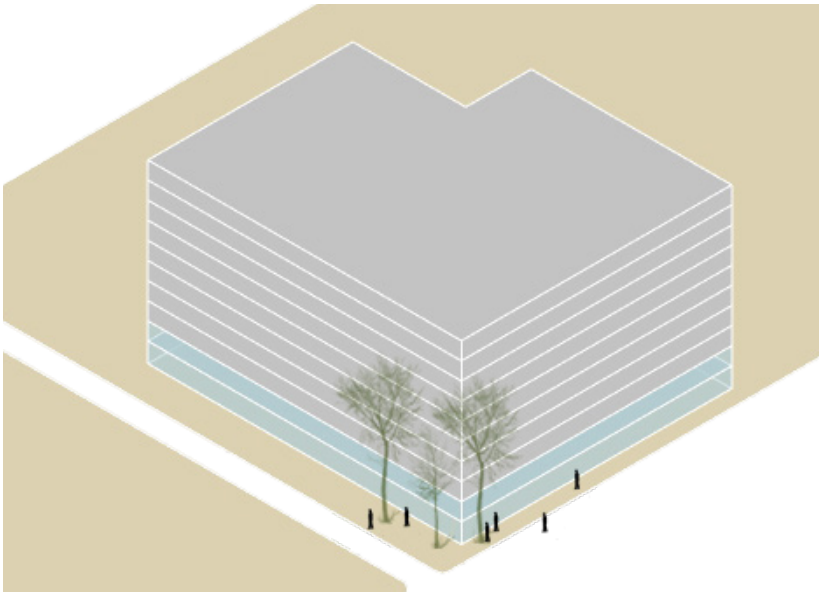
The commercial pattern in the 1940s (2023).
C. Sun.



The commercial pattern had shrunk by the 1960s (2023).
C. Sun.



Scale increase in representative building and block, before "urban renewal" (2023).
C. Sun.



Scale increase in representative building and block, after "urban renewal" (2023).
C. Sun.

Street view from the intersection at West 62nd Street and Amsterdam Avenue in the late 1930s. Current streetscape (right) has retained none of the historic assets in these photographs.
The Lionel Pincus & Princess Firyal Map Division - New York Public Library.

Street view today. Note the wall cutting off Amsterdam Houses and fencing low-income residents (2023).
C. Sun

RELIGION

Blanca Balbuena and Daniela Martinez

An analysis of religious institutions in the San Juan Hill area is essential for understanding neighborhood changes pre- and post-urban renewal. The religious pluralism, composed primarily of Roman Catholic, Baptist, Episcopalian, and Judaism institutions, is further evidence of the demographic diversity in the area. But analysis also indicates segregation of the publics that attended each institution, as Black communities were purposefully and systematically excluded from White organizations.

Religious institutions' function within San Juan Hill was an important factor when conducting research into the justice-oriented questions in the neighborhood. Their missions were not limited to spiritual care; they also played a fundamental role in the well-being of the most disadvantaged and segregated communities, as an enabler of changes that responded to the needs of citizens within a social, educational, health, and economic context. Thanks to the efforts of many of these organizations, led by people who were truly important and beloved by the community, there was a notable improvement in San Juan Hill's most marginalized communities' quality of life. Together, these religious institutions created a safety net and built a resilient community while fighting inequality—regardless of their religious affiliations.

Although many of these institutions were displaced from San Juan Hill due to shifting populations and successive urban renewal projects of the 1940s-1960s , some still remain active and serve their communities in other areas of New York.

THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

Religious institutions of San Juan Hill between the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries were primarily Roman Catholic, with a smaller group of Episcopalian and Jewish institutions (Larson 2020). However, a growing Black community began to settle within a mainly White neighborhood, which led to racial tensions that increased the segregation of the community in multiple spaces—specifically in places of worship. Due to this segregation and lack of sufficient space to house the entire community led the Black population, primarily Episcopalian and Baptist congregations, to seek places of worship outside San Juan Hill. Much of the community decided to attend churches in neighboring Hell's Kitchen. From the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries, they mostly went to one of three churches: St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal (n.d), Mt. Oliver Baptist (N/A) and St. Benedict the Moor Church (1869).

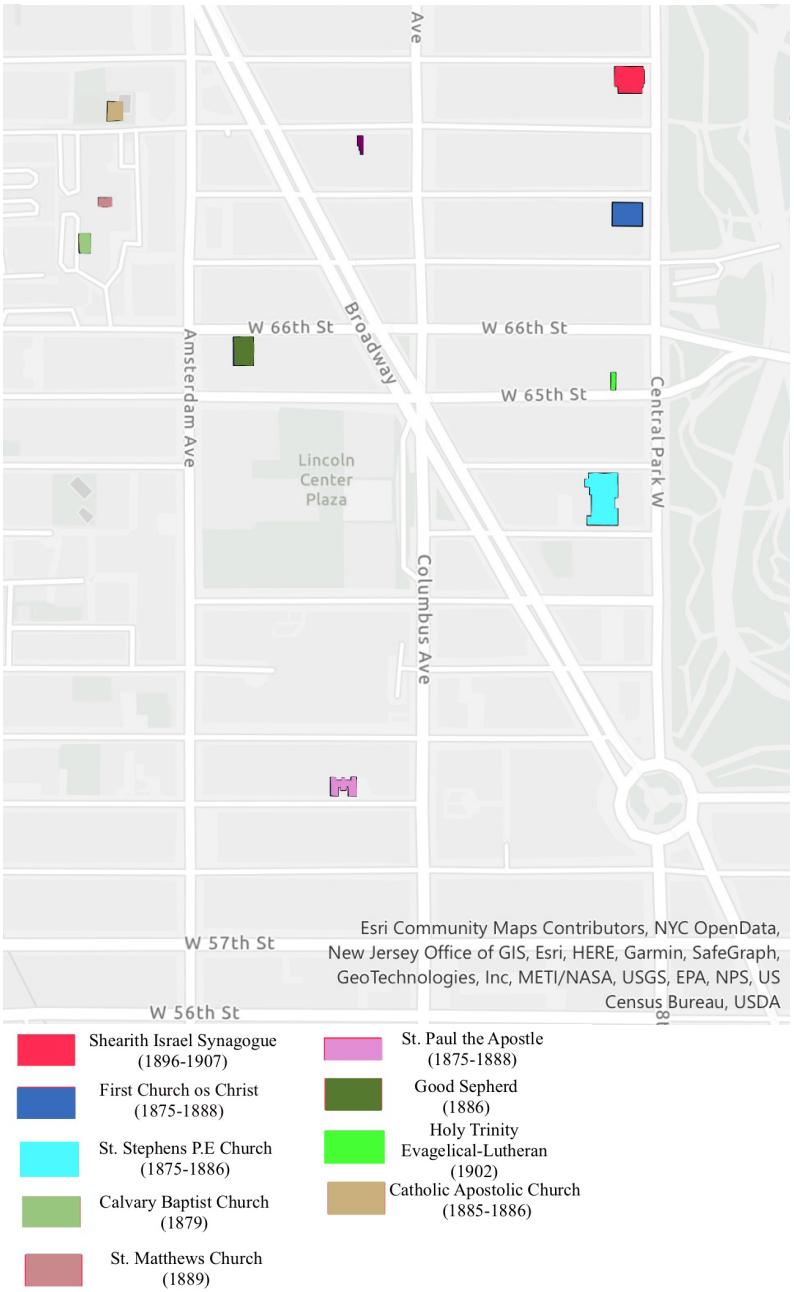
In response to the absence of religious institutions serving the entire San Juan Hill community, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Black community began to create several spaces to improve quality of life and fight against inequality. This lead to the creation of two of the most prominent Black religious institutions in the neighborhood, the Union Baptist Church and St. Cyprian's Church (Larson 2020).

Segregated Worship

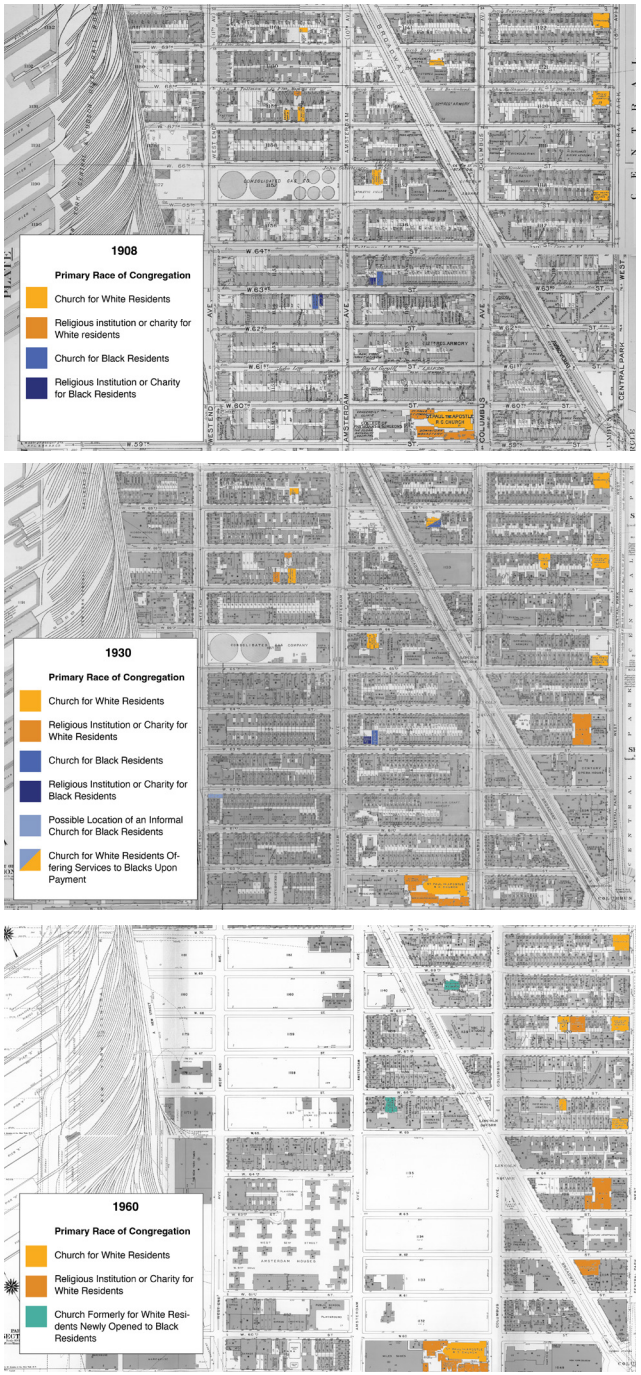
By the turn of the twentieth century, as the Black population in New York City grew, so did racial prejudices and tensions, to the point of completely segregated spaces of worship for Black and White residents. This marked a shift from previous policies, during the last decades of the nineteenth century, when some predominantly White churches allowed a small number of Black congregants to attend services (Osofsky 1961). Nevertheless, as racial tensions grew, they decided to close their services completely to Black congregants or, as Zion Episcopal Church on West 57th Street did in 1884, hold a separate service for the Black community (Griffen 1960). During the last decades of the 1800s, Zion was the closest church that San Juan Hill's Black community could attend.

Despite the relatively high number of Black residents in the neighborhood by the early twentieth century, San Juan Hill had minimal worship spaces where Black people were allowed. That spatial inequality prompted the establishment of two of the most important religious institutions in the neighborhood, the Union Baptist Church in 1901 and St. Cyprian's Church in 1904, which acted as true backbones for San Juan Hill's Black community.

San Juan Hill Religious Organizations, 1870-1902



San Juan Hill Religious institutions from 1870 to 1902 (2023).
B. Balbuena



Annotated fire insurance maps of San Juan Hill showing religious buildings and institutions in the area in 1908 (top), 1930 (middle), and 1960 (bottom) (2023).
D. Martinez

However, despite the large impact these institutions had on the community, there was still not enough worship space for the whole community. Combined, Union Baptist Church and St. Cyprian's totaled about 6,700 square feet of worship area to house over 15,000 people. This means that there was less than half of a square foot of worship area per person. Compared to the large quantity and diversity of religious buildings for White residents in the neighborhood, the spatial injustice is undeniable.

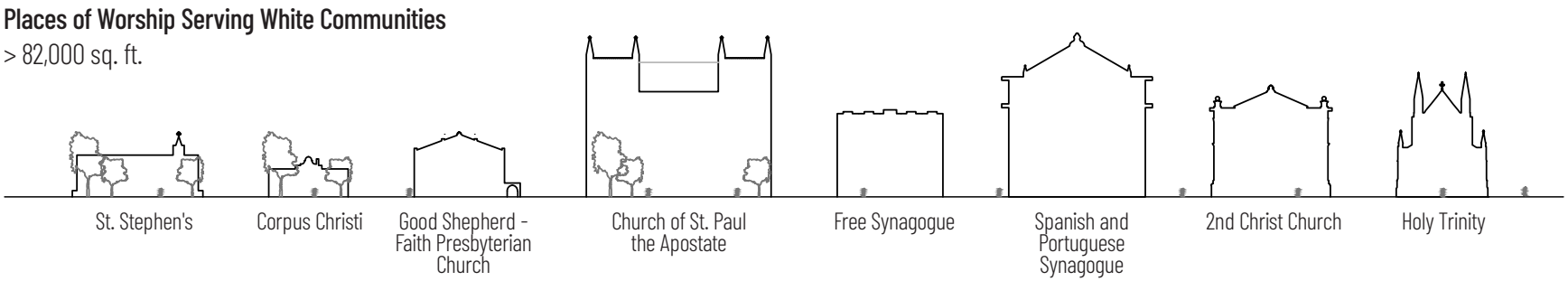
However, based on testimony from a former resident of San Juan Hill, Rosanna Weston, there is evidence that some informal churches existed in the neighborhood (Weston 1986). These religious institutions often inhabited storefronts in the neighborhood, and were a direct response to the spatial inequity that existed in San Juan Hill.

It is also important to note that, before the redevelopment in the mid-twentieth century, no churches in the neighborhood offered services in Spanish, as taken from the "church services" section in the New York Times. This points to a lack of services for the growing Puerto Rican population in the neighborhood. St. John The Divine Cathedral in 110th and Amsterdam was the closest option, with a Spanish service occasionally offered during the morning.

After redevelopment triggered residential displacement, some churches in the neighborhood, previously only for White people, decided to eliminate the segregation of worship, as in the Good Shepherd - Faith Presbyterian Church and St. Stephen's Episcopal Church.

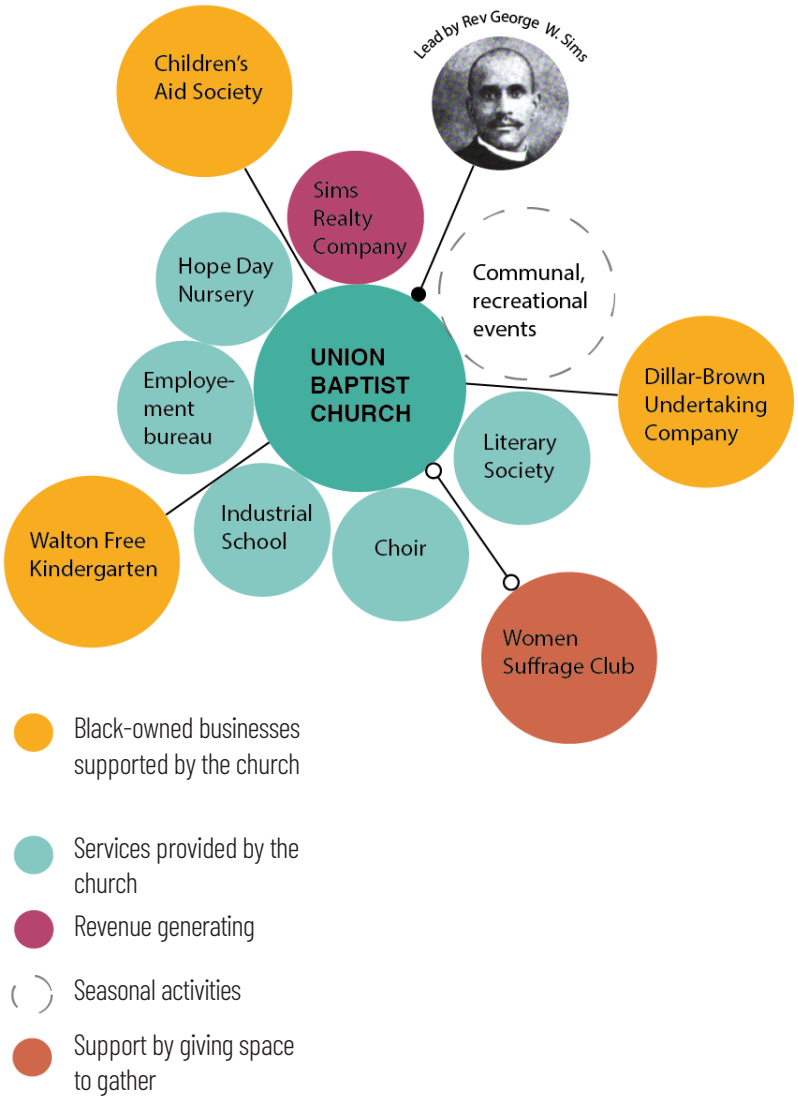
Black Churches as Community Nodes

One of the first Black religious institutions that brought about great social change and influenced later San Juan Hill organizations was St. Mark's United Methodist Church, from its first location in the Tenderloin (139W 48rd Street) in 1900. Numerous instances of police violence in the late-1890s against the Black community forced various community leaders to demand compensation for the families affected by the riots through protests (*New York Daily Tribune*, 1913). One of the key figures in the organization of demonstrations was Reverend Dr. W. H. Brooks of St. Marks, who, after the events previously mentioned, began extraordinary social work through the founding of National Urban League (NAACP), a fundamental organization in the struggle for civil rights. Reverend Brooks established a socially-oriented church and ties with San Juan Hill by moving his parish to 231 West 53rd Street (now St. John's Methodist) until his final move in 1926 to St. Nicholas Avenue in Harlem. Among the services created by the Reverend was the creation of a major educational program for all ages.



Scaled profiles of the places of worship in the neighborhood showing the differences between structures that served Black and White communities (2023).
D. Martinez.

Black Religious Institutions as Community Nodes: Union Baptist Church

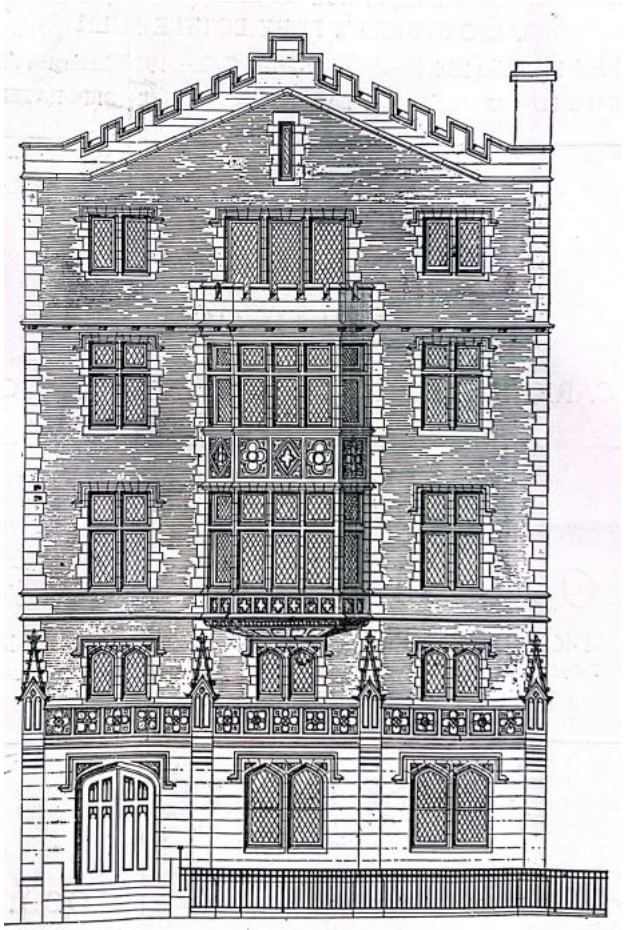


St. Cyprians community services and interconnected spaces (2023).
D. Martinez.

Second and first buildings of the Union Baptist Church located at 204 and 202 west 63rd Street (1927).
P. Loomis Sperr

Shortly after the establishment of St. Marks on 53rd Street, Union Baptist Church, with Reverend George Sims at its head, opened its doors in 1901 at 202 West 63rd Street and, in 1905, expanded to 204 West 63rd Street. The institution's role in San Juan Hill was crucial to the Black community, offering a wide variety of charitable and religious services, in which the community participated and followed with fervor. Reverend Sims and his wife, Mary, coordinated the creation of various places for the local community. The established social activities - mainly in building number 202 - were the Hope Day Nursery for children with parents who had to work most of the time, an industrial school, a religious and literary society, and an employment bureau. In 1906, the Reverend founded The Sims Union Realty Company, with the goal of serving as a real estate alternative to White, absentee landlords who were renting their neglected properties to Black tenants (Larson 2020). The company decided to purchase four buildings on West 64th Street and West 61st Street, where each floor had three bedrooms. Members of the community could also purchase a share in the Company for $5. The company was successful and, with the subsequent move of the church to Harlem, became part of Philip Payton's influential real estate company, known for growing Black Harlem (McGruder 2021).

Union Baptist Church, in addition to offering its own services, was an active collaborator with other institutions that supported the Black community, such as Walton Free Kindergarten, Dillar-Brown Undertaking Company, or the Children's Aid Society. It also housed the Women Suffrage Club, which held regular meetings with active personalities such as Mary White Ovington. Ovington was a White civil rights leader who lived at the Phipps Houses in San Juan Hill from January 1908 to August 1908 and helped to mitigate injustices within the Black community through her role in NAACP. She was also a close friend of Reverend Sims and often came to his events to help out with the organization.

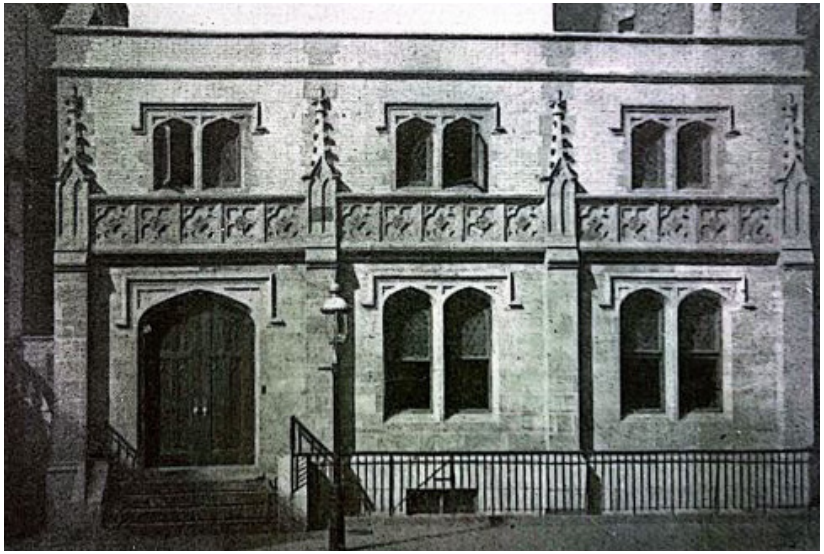


Initial proposal for St. Cyprian Parish House, projected elevation (1911).
New York Mission Society.

St. Cyprian's Church was a New York City Mission Society project to create a Protestant Episcopal parish for Caribbean immigrants who came to San Juan Hill and were repudiated by the White community, and therefore unable to attend the existing Episcopal churches. The institution opened its doors in 1904 and occupied the row houses at 175-177 West 63rd Street and, in 1907, added a new parsonage at 169-171 West 63rd Street (Apmann 2022). From the very beginning, it aimed to eliminate segregation in worship, unite and solve problems between the communities of West Indian immigrants and southern Black immigrants as well as provide social services for those in need (Apmann 2022).

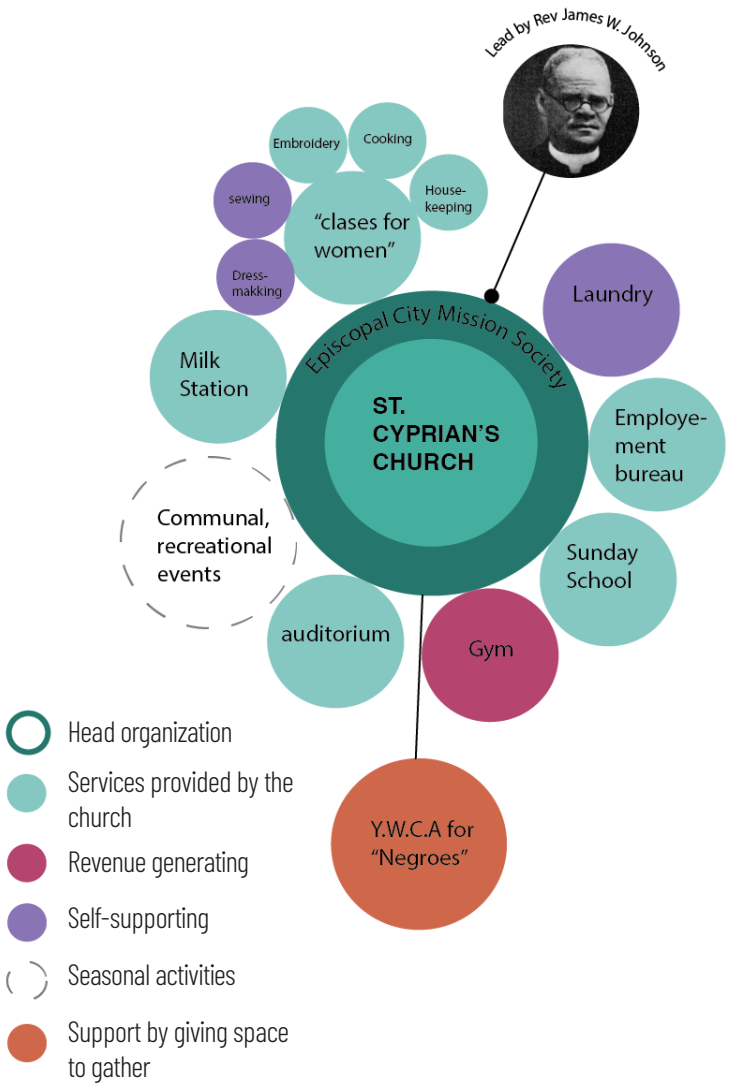
The church was led by Reverend John Wesley Johnson, who, like Reverend Sims at Union Baptist Church, proved to be a much-remarked-upon and beloved figure in the Black community. In these early years, Johnson, along with his wife Harriet, built a place of religious congregation with a growing number of congregants, as well as a space for social work (Apmann 2022).

Analysis of St. Cyprian's services and collaborations with other institutions through reports published by the New York Mission Society revealed two types of social activities: events organized by the Church itself and external activities and recreational activities without a fixed calendar. On occasion, they carried out these activities in collaboration with Union Baptist Church.



St. Cyprian Parish House as built, due to financial problems, (1911)
New York Mission Society.

Black Religious Institutions as Community Nodes: St. Cyprian's Church



St. Cyprians community services and interconnected spaces (2023).
D. Martinez.

The following activities organized by the Church did not generate profits, and were usually financed by external parishes belonging to the New York Mission Society: a women's school or "model flat" where young women and girls learned tasks related to housekeeping or making textiles, a practice which they would be paid for; an employment office that generated, on average, 15 to 20 jobs a week; St. Cyprian Benevolent Society to provide palliative care for the seriously ill; a laundry for women "who could not sew" (New York Mission Society 1911) to work part-time (which was located in three rooms in the basement of the old houses at 175-177); and an auditorium. One of the parish's great accomplishments was to create a Milk Station or Babies Dairy, in association with the New York Milk Committee, where Black doctors and nurses, such as Dr. Roberts, volunteered to modify unpasteurized milk and offer it free to families with infants and children. The Committee would also offer classes at the St. Cyprian's milk station to mothers on how to safely and economically modify their own whole milk at home. These actions significantly contributed to reducing infant mortality in the neighborhood.

A Class for Colored Mothers
MOTHERS ARE EAGER TO LEARN

Picture taken inside St. Cyprians Milk Station. The New York Milk Committee. "Infants' Milk Depots and Their Relation to Infant Mortality," (1909).
Columbia University Libraries.

The only revenue generated (other than church donations) was from the gymnasium for boxers and basketball players. Every day, from 8 p.m. to 10 p.m., the local basketball team trained at St. Cyprian's and won several victories in New York. Although not directly funded by St. Cyprian's, the New York Mission Society rented the space next door to the YWCA (173 West 63rd Street), which served as a temporary shelter for young Caribbean immigrant women (Apmann 2022). This facility lasted only eight months.

Responding to Population Shifts

During the 1920s and 30s, St. Cyprian's and Union Baptist Church saw a significant decrease in their attendance due to the Black population in San Juan Hill migrating to Harlem. In 1921, St. Cyprian's reported aggregate attendance was 25,676 people, but seven years later, in 1928, its aggregate attendance almost halved to 13,463 people. These shifts urged the churches to follow their community and keep doing their social work uptown; however, the two institutions responded differently.

Even though the Union Baptist Church community grew to have over 1,500 active members, in 1916, Reverend Sims, aware of the population shifts, decided to move to a house on West 131 Street, where he, as advertised in the *New York Age*, officiated wedding ceremonies in his "spacious parlors." Sims kept operating in both neighborhoods during the next decade, ultimately moving to a new location on West 145 Street in 1927, where the Union Baptist Church stands until today. St. Cyprian's case was different since the chapel was affiliated with the Protestant Episcopal Mission Society, backed by a more extensive network, and could support its congregation in Harlem while continuing its work in San Juan Hill, which, according to The Episcopal Mission Society in the 1930s, was still home to about 8,000 Black people.

During the years before 1927, St. Jude's, a now demolished chapel located on West 99th Street, took over some of St. Cyprian's congregation who were migrating uptown. However, the Black community was moving in more significant numbers to Harlem. For that reason, in 1927, the City Mission Society purchased the former Trinity Church, which had been severely damaged by fire the year before and, after some renovation work, became St. Martin's chapel. Additionally, to have leadership continuity, the Mission Society named Reverend Johnson's son as vicar, as he previously preached alongside his father in San Juan Hill. St. Martin's chapel proliferated, and like St. Cyprian's, it became an important institution for its Harlem-based community. In fact, the church's aggregate attendance during its first ten months was 21,209 people, surpassing St. Cyprian's whole year.

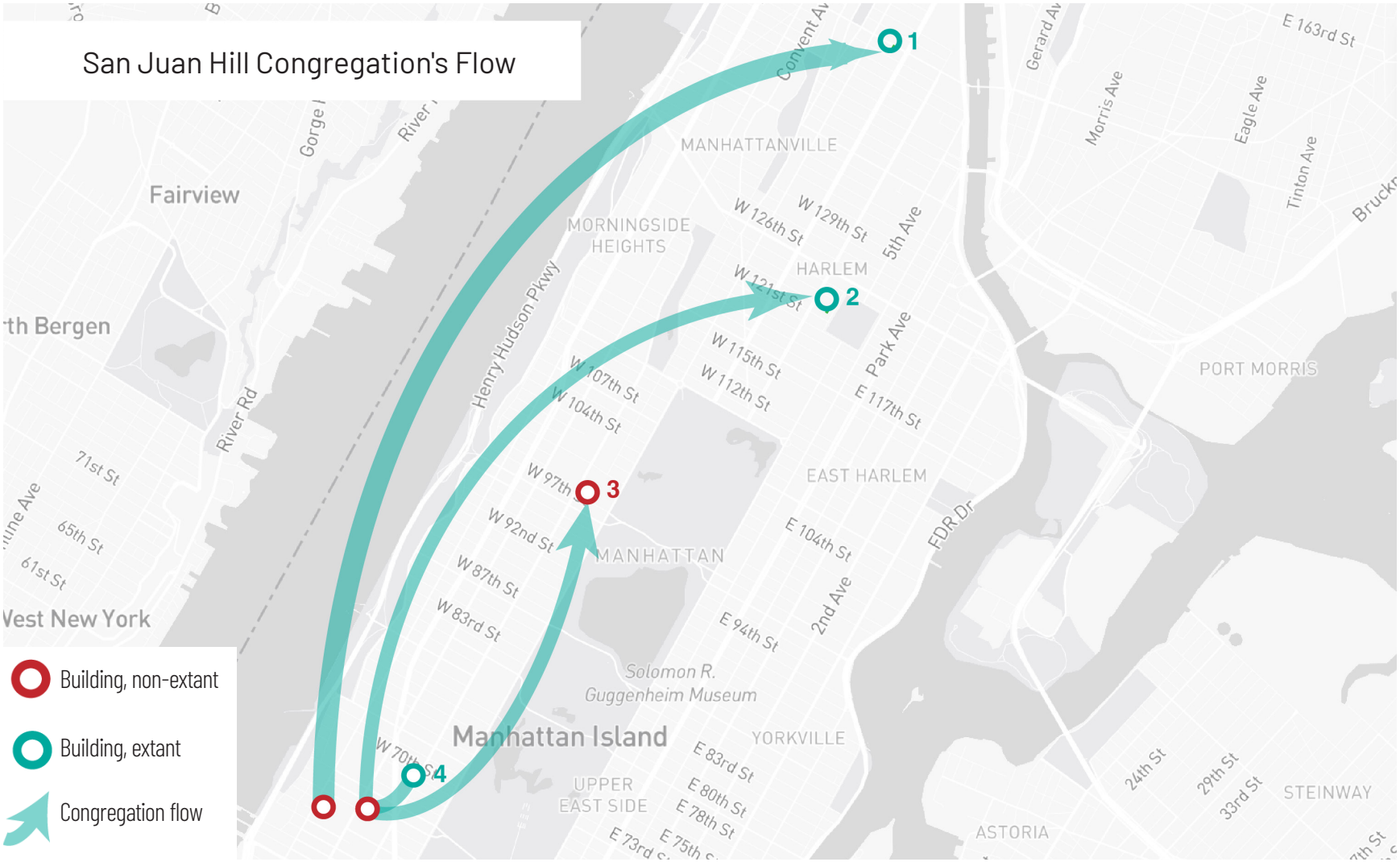
1 UNION BAPTIST CURCH - 240 W. 145ST.

2 ST. MARTIN'S CURCH - 230 LENOX AVE.

3 ST. JUDE'S - 19 W. 99 ST.

4 ST. STEPHEN'S CURCH - 120 W. 69 ST.

Four churches inhabitated by a migrating congregation, 1920s-30s (2023). Congregation flow diagram on following page.
D. Martinez



San Juan Hill Congregations flow (2023).
D. Martinez

HISTORIC ASSETS

Union Baptist Church

Union Baptist Church was one of the most influential churches in the neighborhood. It drew the largest number of Black congregants from San Juan Hill and provided key services for Black residents and families. The central figure linked to the church was its pastor, George Sims. Sims was born in Virginia to previously enslaved parents and migrated to New York with the mission of helping the African American community in the city. The pastor decided to establish the Union Baptist Church in San Juan Hill because he had identified that the area had a substantial African American population and was attracting many people who had recently migrated from the American South. He felt these residents needed help and a community to welcome them since they were being excluded by the existing religious institutions in the City. Union Baptist Church built a community based on cooperation and support for those in need and was a true backbone for the Black community in San Juan Hill.

St. Cyprian

St. Cyprian's Church opened its doors in 1904, at 175-177 West 63rd Street, as a project that connected the prototypical religious services of Episcopal churches with expanded charity services, offering events related to social work. The New York City Mission Society spearheaded the project, and its religious leader was the Reverend John Wesley Johnson. In 1907 the St. Cyprian's built a new building designed by James Riely Gordon at 169-171 West 63rd Street dedicated to its growing social and community-based activities. This new project could not be fully completed due to lack of funds. In 1930, St. Cyprian's disappeared, and its parishioners were integrated in St. Martin's Episcopal Church, run by Reverend Johnson's son, in the building at 169-171 West 63rd Street.

Evangelical Tents

In important religious event was held during the summer of 1906 on 11th Avenue and 60th Street. The New York Tent Campaign, as described in The Churchman, involved ten temporary tents, the southernmost installed at Canal and West Street and the northernmost at 150th Street near 7th Avenue. The Evangelistic Committee of New York promoted the campaign in cooperation with the city's organized Christianity and was funded by businessmen such as The Brokers' Association. According to newspaper articles, the tent arrived at San Juan Hill and attracted over 3,000 people, initially, mainly Irish and Italians but later, also the Black population who prayed and sang together with the White attendees. As a 1906 *New York Times* article reported, "The Tent was jammed, and the audience and religious workers were mixed Black and White. (...) When the meeting got underway, negroes knelt to plead for white souls, and white women cried over the shoulders of negro women and men" (*New York Times* 1906a). It was a remarkable event as mixed services were uncommon during this time. It demonstrates efforts towards racial integration undertaken by some religious institutions in the neighborhood, who pioneered fighting against injustice.

Evangelistic tent installed at San Juan Hill during the summer of 1906 (1876).
The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs.

Good Shepherd - Faith Presbyterian Church

Originally a Presbyterian mission, it became a church for underserved White immigrants. During the first decades of the twentieth century, its congregation was mainly Irish and Scottish and interacted minimally with San Juan Hill's Black community. During the 1950s, during and after the extensive redevelopment in the area, the church opened up to the Black and Latine community who remained in the neighborhood after the church lost most of its White congregants. In 1959, the church included an 11 a.m. Sunday service in English in the main sanctuary and Spanish in the basement, evidence of the Church's attempts to provide more inclusive services for residents in the area. This structure is one of the only remaining buildings from the historic San Juan Hill era of the neighborhood. Today, the church still focuses on immigrants inhabiting the area and engages the community through events integrating different publics in the neighborhood.

View of the Good Shepherd - Faith Presbyterian Church, Manhattan 1940s Tax Photos. (1940).
NYC Municipal Archives.

YMCA

YMCA West Side opened its doors in 1928 with the intention of being the largest YMCA facility in the United States, replacing 3-11 West 63rd Street and 8-12 West 64th Street. The institution had thirteen floors, three gymnasiums, a library, a theater, educational facilities, and 600 dormitories. Although the project was indeed important, it was intended for White men only, despite sharing a location with social institutions for the Black population. The structure still remains as part of the Central Park West portion of the study area.

St. Stephens and Christ Church

Before the 1950s, St. Stephens Church and Christ Church were two separate Episcopalian congregations, mainly composed of middle-class, White New Yorkers. However, due to the redevelopment in the neighborhood, they lost most of their congregation, having a Sunday service attendance of as little as forty people. As a result, the two churches decided to merge and welcomed a bigger, more diverse audience, much like as St. Cyprian's, also part of the Episcopalian Diocese of New York.

View of St. Stephens Church. Manhattan 1940s Tax Photos (1940).
NYC Municipal Archives.

HEALTH AND WELFARE

Pitchaya Kointarangkul and Clara Zhao

High rates of poverty, infectious diseases, and mortality for women and children troubled the Black residents in San Juan Hill during the first half of the twentieth century, which drew the attention of medical workers, philanthropists, and institutions. Medical services in San Juan Hill could be categorized into institutional services and localized services. Large institutions in the neighborhood were equipped with the most advanced treatment technology as well as renowned doctors, but the racial and economic barriers limited their access to some groups of local residents. Uneven city-wide distribution of medical resources, gaps in access to institutional health services, and the existence of racial bias in medical practices also contributed to injustices experienced largely by the Black population in the early 20th century. Localized services like clinics and settlements operated on a smaller scale. With active outreach and local doctors and nurses, they served as the primary health service providers for the Black population of San Juan Hill.

San Juan Hill also saw the emergence of maternity medical services and infant care funded by prominent women in New York society, which created opportunities for other residents in the neighborhood. Services funded by female patrons encouraged women's employment by establishing kindergartens and daycare, giving the mothers more flexibility in their schedules and more control over their family's finances.

Many female medical workers also played a vital role in clinics and settlements. Black women like Elizabeth Tyler, Edith Carter, and Jessie Sleet Scales were medical pioneers who worked in San Juan Hill in the early 1900s. Their contribution to the San Juan Hill community helped dispel concerns and barriers between medical workers and patients when so many Black people were historically abused by institutional medical treatment and research.

HEALTHCARE INSTITUTIONS

Two major institutions were established to provide medical services in the San Juan Hill area in the late 1870s: Roosevelt Hospital and Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons. Both of the institutional health centers initially intended to provide their patients with "free care," which later turned out to be unfeasible and they needed to begin charging their patients by the end of the 1800s. It was evident that, whether resulting from charging medical fees or not, these institutional hospitals were unable to respond to the demand for medical care in San Juan Hill, as the neighborhood was troubled by many critical health problems. According to the New York City 1915 mortality study, the infant mortality rate of Black infants in this neighborhood was significantly higher than in the average population (Hart 2015, 138). Death in newborns was one of the most serious – if not the most serious – issues in New York City at the end of the nineteenth century (Duffy 1974, 208). The Black community was also disproportionately affected by tuberculosis. Both of these serious health-related injustices were closely connected to poor housing conditions and a lack of basic sanitation infrastructure.

According to Bailey B. Burritt, the general director of the New York Association for Improving Condition of the Poor (AICP), the problem with the high infant mortality rate in San Juan Hill was that the community, even though there are two major hospitals in the area, "had no specifically colored health facilities" (Hart 2015, 138). And, during the early 1900s, Black doctors and nurses with full training and appropriate credentials were refused by both White and Black patients (Evans 2020). Racialization of public health and healthcare led to the emergence of localized medical service providers and social welfare organizations outside of the existing Roosevelt Hospital and Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons. Prominent examples in this category include Stillman Settlement (later Lincoln House), Columbus Hill Health Center, and St. Cyprian's Parish House Milk Station Services.

During the early 1900s, it was widely believed that contaminated and improperly pasteurized milk was among the main causes of the high infant mortality rate in the city, thus St. Cyprian's milk station was equipped with some of the most advanced appliances for modifying the milk to be safe for children to consume. The station was established in partnership with the New York Milk Committee. There were also classes and instructions on breastfeeding, infant care, and how to self-prepare pasteurized milk formula from unmodified milk at home.

Collaboration between institutions and local services also helped to make these public health resources more accessible for the diverse population of San Juan Hill. In 1917, in response to the high infant mortality rate in San Juan Hill, the AICP instituted a nurse service with two nurses and a doctor who coordinated their nursing work with Stillman Settlement in the basement of the Vanderbilt Clinic (Hart 2015, 151). In cooperation

with the Settlement, the AICP cared for pregnant Black women, encouraged hospital deliveries, and provided postnatal care by forwarding them to nurses and volunteers at local milk stations for additional training (Hart 2015, 152-154).

The establishment of this neighborhood service helped precipitate a dramatic fall in the African American population's infant mortality rate in the area. Although many services and programs aimed to provide as much welfare programming effort as possible, the lack of trust between the residents and medical services due to generations of injustices, unethical experimentation, and exploitation of Black populations in medicine was a difficult barrier to overcome. This could only be bridged through extensive outreach on an individual basis, as well as understanding the real-life concerns of the families in distress—but residents' perspectives and healthcare professionals' methods were often at odds.

As the reformers brought services to the neighborhood, they sometimes believed they were entitled to further inspect and supervise all aspects of the residents' lives. Press media and some organization workers portrayed the mothers of San Juan Hill as poor and ignorant, which revealed bias and insensitivity, and sheds light on the residents' resistance. An article about Saint Cyprian's Milk Station in The *New York Age* expressed the workers' "frustration" about the "ignorant" mother who "believes that she can far better care for her child, even in poverty, than can the most modern equipment provided by scientific development" (*New York Age* 1916d). The article also recorded the following story:

> *A group of little children taken to the country was given baths. One little chap expressed objection. Questioning brought out the fact that the boy was frightened. He had never had a bath in a bathtub. Asked how his mother bathed him, he said, "When she does, it is in the sink." He was given his first bath in a bathtub.* (*New York Age* 1916d)

Although this record might present the reality at that moment, it only presented a flattened version of the narrative. These examples exhibit clear injustices around residents' abilities to advocate for basic sanitation services and fixtures as well as significant financial, racial, and social barriers between institutions and local service providers and the community.

HISTORIC ASSETS

Roosevelt Hospital (later Mount Sinai West, 1871-present)

Following the will of James H. Roosevelt to establish "a hospital for the reception and relief of sick and diseased persons," Roosevelt Hospital, with Medical and Surgical Divisions, opened on November 2, 1871, on the block of land between 58th and 59th Streets and Ninth and Tenth Avenues (Mount Sinai 2021). Initially, the hospital aimed to reserve a number of funds to support poor patients, but this charity model led to the hospital's financial problems, resulting in wards closure in 1904 (*New York Times* 1904b). By the 1930s, Roosevelt Hospital had already established the Gynecological Division, Pediatrics Division, Out-Patient Dispensary, and many other pioneering medical technologies, including the surgical operating theater and the new pathological and bacteriological laboratories (Mount Sinai 2021).

The hospital was expanded with many new buildings and departments over the years and, in 1958, the Administration Building, which is the last original building, was demolished and replaced by the new Garrard Winston Memorial Building. Since 2013, Roosevelt Hospital has carried the name "Mount Sinai West," and the only remaining building of Roosevelt Hospital is William J. Syms Operating Theater, which is designated as a New York City landmark by New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission.

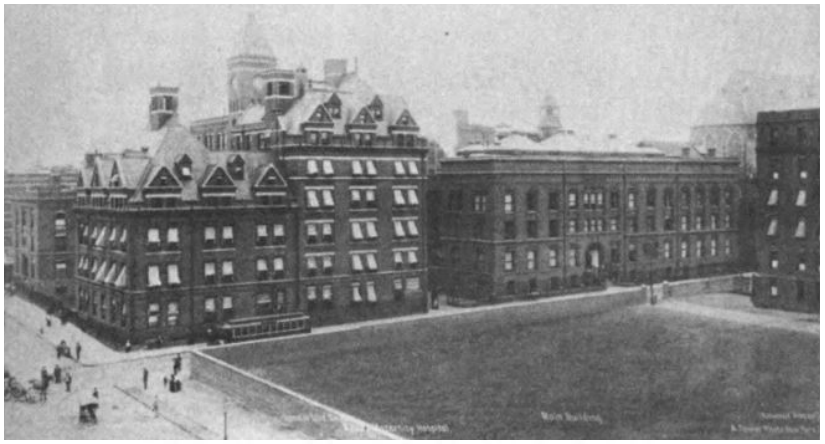
Roosevelt Hospital (1871)
Mt. Sinai West.

Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons, Vanderbilt Clinic, and Sloane Maternity Hospital (1878-1928)

A medical facility of Columbia University – known as King's College at that time – was founded in 1767 (Vagelos College of Physicians and Surgeons, n.d.). In 1807, the medical school merged with the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and a new campus was constructed on Robinson Street (Shrady 1903, 32). The campus was relocated several times and finally settled at 59th Street across from Roosevelt Hospital in 1887 (Mount Sinai 2021). This land and a fund for building construction was a gift from William H. Vanderbilt. In the same year, Vanderbilt Clinic and Sloane Maternity Hospital were constructed on the college grounds (Dalton 1888, 21-23).

Vanderbilt Clinic was a gift from William H. Vanderbilt's four sons (Dalton 1888, 23). The clinic was, according to the college records, "a fully equipped dispensary service for the sick poor," and "each department had rooms for the treatment of patients and a classroom for small groups of students" (Shrady 1903, 210-211).

Sloane Maternity Hospital, a gift from Emily Thorn Vanderbilt, William H. Vanderbilt's daughter, and her husband, William Douglas Sloane, was established with the donors' aim to afford instruction for students of medicine in the practice of obstetrics (Dalton 1888, 23). The hospital initially contained six wards with 28 beds and one delivery room, but the rapidly increasing number of delivery cases led to the hospital's expansion (Shrady 1903, 217). Similar to Roosevelt Hospital, the Sloane Maternity Hospital and the Vanderbilt Clinic was initially intended to provide free services, but needed to abandon this charitable model by the end of the 1880s (Speert, 105-107). In 1928, Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons, Vanderbilt Clinic, and Sloane Maternity Hospital moved out from the neighborhood to Washington Heights.



The Sloane Maternity Hospital, 1899-1911.
The addition adjoining corner building is seen on the right; at its right, the College of Physicians and Surgeons; at the extreme left, the Vanderbilt Clinic.

College of Physicians and Surgeons, with Sloane Maternity Hospital and Vanderbilt Clinic (1900).
H. Speert.

Sloane Maternity Hospital (1899).
Museum of the City of New York.

Vanderbilt Clinic (1899).
Museum of the City of New York.

St. Cyprian's Parish House Milk Station Services (1907-1930)

St. Cyprian's Parish House Milk Station Services was located in two rooms on the ground floor of the row houses adjacent to St. Cyprian's Church on 63rd Street (Apmann 2016). The front stoops of the row houses were removed and ground-floor doors were added to allow residents and workers easy access to the milk station.

St Cyprian's Parish House (1940).
NYC Municipal Archives

Columbus Hill Health Center (1918-ca.1940)

Columbus Hill Health Center was located on West 63rd Street, between West End Avenue and Amsterdam Avenue. Employing Black nurses and doctors who lived in the neighborhood, the health center had extensive experience treating tuberculosis, syphilis, and infant-related illnesses (Hart 2015, 182). The focus on infant and maternity health also helped establish the Baby Health Station. It is estimated that around the 1940s, before the construction of the New York Housing Authority's Amsterdam Houses in 1948, the Columbus Hill Health Center was closed.

Columbus Hill Health Center Album - Women Teaching Mothers about Clothing (1929)..
Columbia University Libraries.

Stillman Settlement (later Lincoln House, 1915-ca.1924)

Founded by Elizabeth Tyler, an African American nurse hired by the Visiting Nurse Service of New York, with the aid and funding from Lillian Wald, who founded the Henry Street Nursing Settlement, Stillman Settlement was initially located on 62nd Street (Evans 2020). The settlement was relocated to its new building on the same street in the next two years and moved again in 1908 to 60th Street. Tyler's experiences encouraged other African American nurses to join the Stillman Settlement. These nurses acted as bridges between the individuals of the neighborhood and the Settlement, the local clinics, and the Columbus Hill Health Center. Around 1919, Stillman Settlement joined Walton Kindergarten and Lincoln Day Nursery, changing its name to Lincoln House, which was finally merged with Longacre Settlement and terminated its service in San Juan Hill.

Nurses of Stillman Settlement.
Middleton, Daniel J. n.d. "Black Nurses of Stillman House: A Bygone but Not Forgotten Settlement Era," Unique Coloring (blog) n.d.

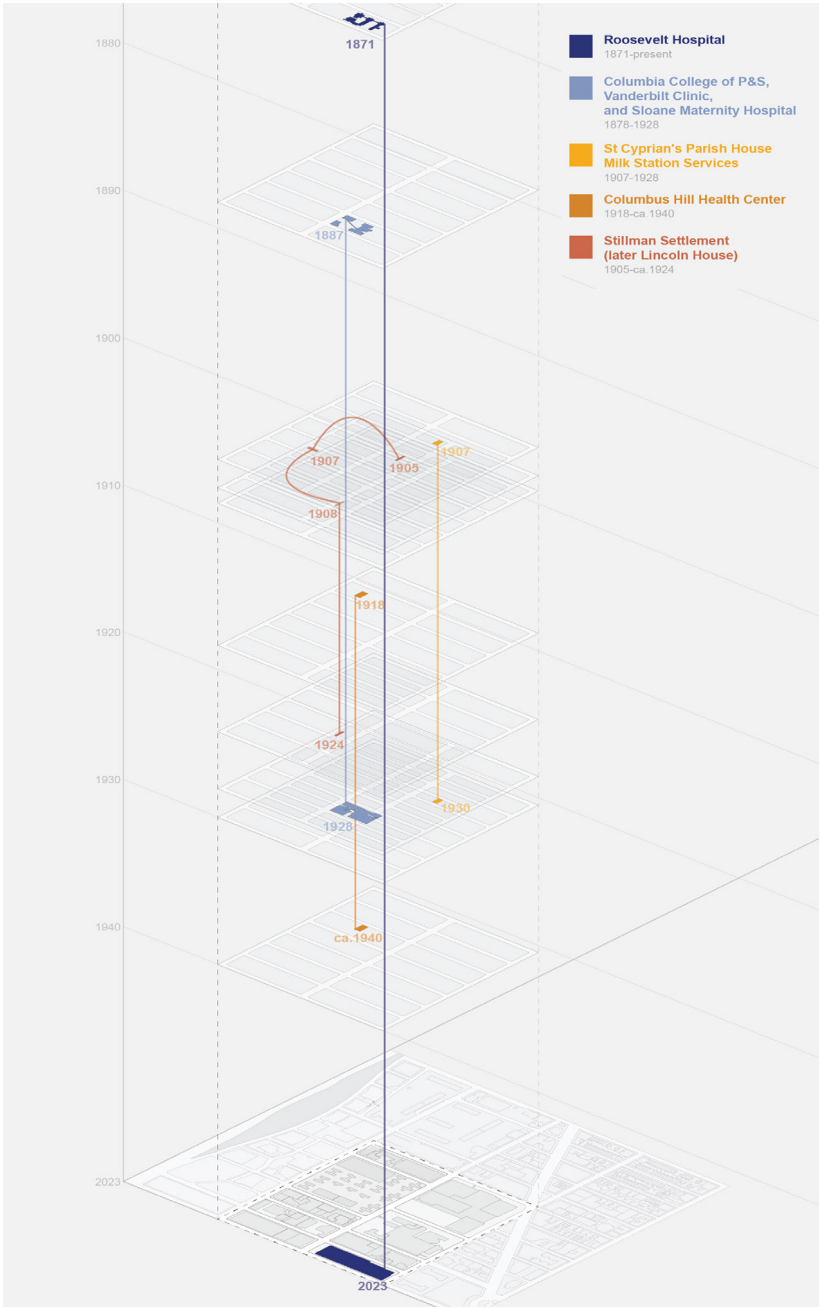
ANALYSIS AND CHARACTERIZATION OF CHANGES AND EFFECTS

As discussed in the previous research, institutional medical services were the first groups established in San Juan Hill around the 1880s. Though these health services were founded with the patrons' intention to provide free health treatments, at the beginning of the 1900s, none of them could manage to run that entire charitable model in which all the financial support relied on the patrons, and these hospitals began charging their patients some fees. Between 1900 and 1940, the time in which the Black population settled in San Juan Hill, there was a significant amount of local health services established in the neighborhood: St Cyprian's Parish House Milk Station Services, Columbus Hill Health Center, and Stillman Settlement.

Unlike the institutional hospitals, which occupied a large plot of land and constructed new buildings, these local organizations were established in existing buildings – a tenement, a church's house, and an industrial school – and modified the space for health services. By the 1940s, when the Black population started to move up north to Harlem, most health service providers were terminated, and only the Roosevelt Hospital remained in the area.

Due to the scale of redevelopment in the neighborhood, first with Amsterdam Houses in 1948 and then the Lincoln Center superblock in the 1950s-60s, the physical traces of these local health services can no longer be found. And while the blocks where Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons and Roosevelt Hospital once located were not included in the clearance area, the only remaining buildings from the time when Black residents lived in the area is the William J. Syms Operating Theater, which was registered as an individual landmark by New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission.

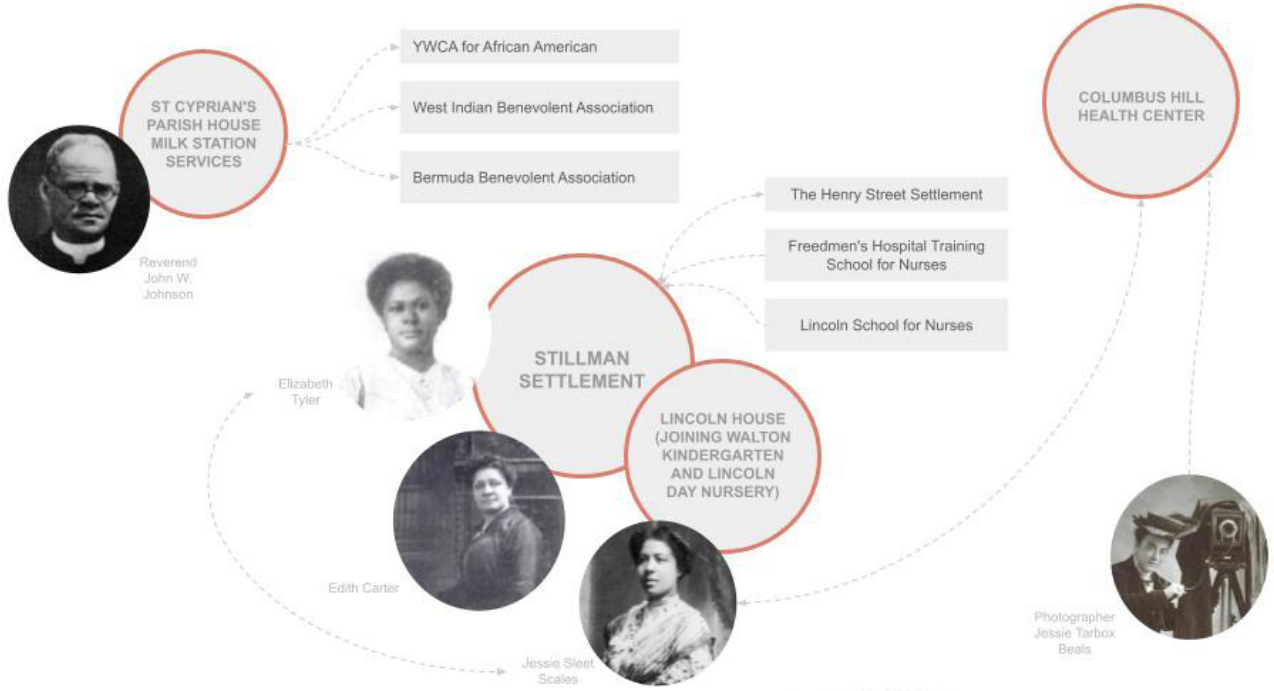
When examining the operation of institutional and localized medical services, it is important to note the individuals and associations in leadership positions versus the workers that supported daily operations. From the network of patrons illustrated by the graphic on the following page, a few prominent families contributed to the funding of the institutional services: Roosevelt Hospital was founded by James H. Roosevelt, and Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons was a gift from William Henry Vanderbilt who died before the school building construction began, and his death inspired his sons and daughter to endow the construction of Sloane Maternity Hospital and Vanderbilt Clinic.



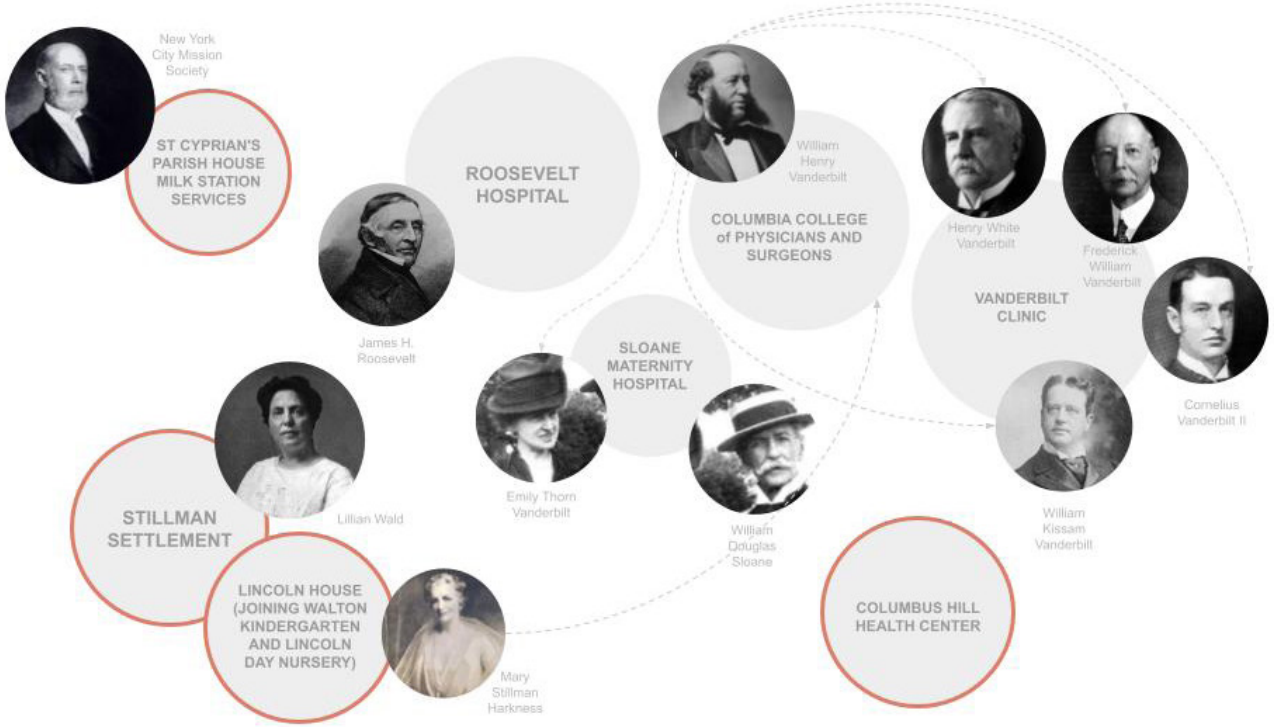
Timeline of Health Services' Establishment and Termination in San Juan Hill (2023).
P. Kointarangkul

For the localized services, religious associations, humanitarians, and individual female patrons were the main fund contributors. Their names are the ones that constantly appear in formal documentation, publications, and news articles, but the names of everyday workers were rarely mentioned.

As the nurse who first moved her operation from Henry Street Settlement to San Juan Hill, Elizabeth Tyler was the reason there was a nursing service in the neighborhood. In surviving records of the Stillman Settlement, her name was rarely mentioned compared to other founders. "[The Stillman Settlement had] developed a special piece of work for the colored people, and that has grown out of a request from a trained nurse, who wanted an opportunity to serve her own people. This, told to Mrs. Edward Harkness, brought about the establishment of the Stillman House" (Henry Street Settlement 1919, 18). As more research was done on Settlements, names like Elizabeth Tyler, Edith Carter, and Jessie Sleet Scales were finally recognized for their pioneering work and contributions to the community of San Juan Hill.



Localized Service Operation leaders and Connector Organizations (2023).
C. Zhao.



Patrons of Institutional services and Patrons of Localized Services (2023).
C. Zhao

Individual female healthcare workers in San Juan Hill (2023).
C. Zhao.

EDUCATION AND CHILDCARE

Yuan Chen and Cassidy Kraft

In San Juan Hill, education has been linked to religion and economics, both of which have played a large part in how educational resources have changed since the early 1900s. Over time, the variety of educational resources available to the public has improved, with programs from libraries, schools, and community centers providing learning opportunities for people of all ages and backgrounds. Educators used several approaches to bring educational resources to the African American and Puerto Rican communities, utilizing resources from both public and private organizations to help those in need. From the early emphasis on trade schools, which focused on educating children for work in manual labor and service trades, to the post-redevelopment focus on higher education, the available educational resources have shown how San Juan Hill has changed over time. Throughout the multiple phases of redevelopment in the area, education has come to be and remained a priority in the San Juan Hill neighborhood.

(Top) Schools in San Juan Hill in 1907; (Bottom) Schools in Lincoln Center in 2023 (2023).
Y. Chen

TRADE SCHOOLS

Trade schools were one of the most prevalent forms of education in San Juan Hill prior to the Lincoln Center redevelopment, preparing students for working class jobs including dressmaking, carpentry, cooking, and chair-caning (Blascoer 1915). The Henrietta Industrial School, which later became the Columbus Hill Health Center, was initially opened in 1869 to provide for the Black population of the neighborhood, and taught both boys and girls. Although the curriculum was based on gender, as boys were taught different trades than girls, both Black and White students were taught together in the same classroom. As trade schools were one of the few options available on the western side of Amsterdam Avenue, Black children often attended the Henrietta Industrial School instead of public or private elementary schools in the neighborhood. Trade schools began to decline in popularity by the 1930s, and the school was renamed the "Columbus Hill Health Center." It expanded its services to include programs for people of all ages and a health station (Larson 2023). Theolonius Monk, a notable jazz musician from San Juan Hill, attended the Columbus Hill Center as a child. (Ake 2011).

As child labor laws and compulsory education laws were implemented, trade schools and industrial schools for children were no longer a viable option, and most of the trade schools in the area were torn down or repurposed. The Lincoln Center redevelopment and the construction of Amsterdam Houses caused the majority of the remaining organizations to close or move out of the neighborhood and focus their resources elsewhere in the city.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Although public education in the San Juan Hill neighborhood has undergone positive changes over time, persistent disparities in access and quality point to the continued existence of educational inequalities that require further attention and reform.

In 1894, New York enacted a Compulsory Education Law requiring education, which stipulated that children aged eight to fourteen must attend school (Stambler 1968, 190). However, the enforcement of the law was problematic. If parents or guardians informed the school that their children were not attending due to their employment, they would not be held accountable, and many utilized this loophole to allow their children to work instead of attending school (Stambler 1968, 195). This situation led to a lack of demand for primary education in the neighborhood at the beginning of the nineteenth century. By 1925, widespread building efforts ensured that primary education, as well as both general and specialized high schools, were reachable to all individuals in New York City (The State Education Department State Archives 1983, 22). The number of public schools in the San Juan Hill area increased from three in 1907 to five in 1955.

Public schools were not always integrated and were deeply segregated proportionally. In 1937, student distribution reports in the San Juan Hill neighborhood showed that the Black student population of every school was less than 20 percent of the whole student enrollment except for P.S. 141 which had 63 percent Black students (NYC Department of Records and Information Services 1937).

White teachers in the public schools held a discriminatory attitude toward Black and Puerto Rican students historically. In P.S. 141, "White teachers in the halls often refer[red] to the Black and Puerto Rican students in derogatory terms" (Mungin 2006, 40). The manifestation of biased attitudes among educators toward certain students has led to disparities in educational experiences, resulting in inequitable learning outcomes for affected students.

Educational institutions that predominantly enrolled students of Black and Hispanic origin in New York City were observed to possess substandard amenities, employ less experienced teachers, and grapple with issues of excessive overcrowding (Khan 2016). In some cases, these schools were so inundated with students that they had to resort to split shifts, which curtailed the length of the school day for pupils to just four hours (Khan 2016). By the 1960s, the discontent regarding the segregation problem in public schools had reached a zenith. In 1964, New York City launched "the most extensive school integration program in history," in which some children were asked to transfer to other schools in order to achieve better "racial balance" (*New York Times* 1964). This program "would be implemented over three years" by "rezoning a small percentage of schools" to enhance educational standards in public schools that catered

A flier advertising the Feb. 3, 1964 school boycott.
Queens College Benjamin S. Rosenthal Library, Department of Special Collections and Archives

to predominantly Black areas. However, some civil rights activists argued that this proposed scheme lacked comprehensiveness (Khan 2016). On February 3, 1964, around 460,000 students in the public school system participated in a peaceful boycott as part of an anti-segregation protest that integration supporters considered a triumph. One of the public schools in San Juan Hill, Haaren High school, located at 59th Street and 10th Avenue, actively participated in this boycott with "1250 out of 1800" pupils absent (*New York Times* 1964).

Due to this integration plan, two schools in San Juan Hill, P.S. 191 and P.S. 199, paired with each other in 1964. Some locals, however, opposed this plan and boycotted the schools (*New York Times* 1964). White parents who opposed pairings and transfers argued that these actions would undermine the idea of a community-based school (*New York Times* 1964). The resistance to improving inequality in public school from the public was vital. The segregation of these two schools existed until the 2016 proposed rezoning plan. In 1964, P.S. 199 had 62 percent White and 38 percent Black and Hispanic students. Nevertheless, after rezoning in 2016, P.S. 199 was still 63 percent White and 37 percent Black and Hispanic students. P.S. 191 was 20 percent White and 80 percent Black (Shapiro 2016).

The High School of Commerce participated in the Puerto Rican Study and had developed its own program for teaching English to Puerto Rican and other non-English speaking pupils (Morrison 1958, 71). The Puerto Rican Study was initiated in October 1953 and developed through the collaboration of nine public schools serving as experimental centers (Morrison 1955, 1). The establishment of this initiative aimed to formulate policies, curricula, and programs tailored to the needs of a growing influx of students from Puerto Rico (Stubbe 2022). This program helped to bring "a level of awareness to the task of assimilating non-English speakers in public school systems" which the Board of Education had never done before (Stubbe 2022). This helped Puerto Rican students to have the same access to the educational resources as other students and reduced the language barrier.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

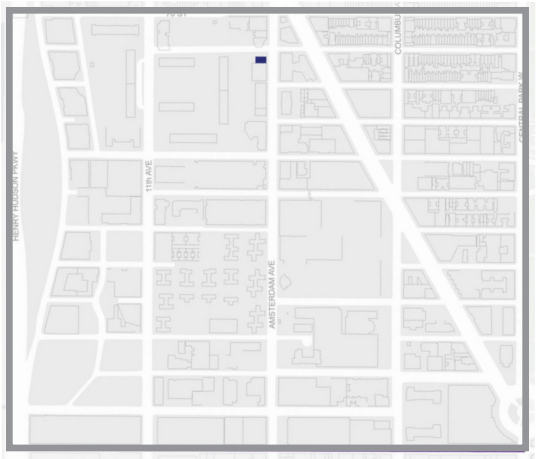
In San Juan Hill, prior to 1955, all of the private elementary and secondary schools identified were Catholic, namely Power Memorial Academy and St. Paul the Apostle School. Religious education offered a variety of courses and curricula, for instance, Power Memorial Academy offered Latin, religion, math, and science classes (McFall 2022, 40). Furthermore, these Catholic schools offered a strong religious foundation and activities for their students which was "not found in public school" (Murray 2005). Catholic schools claimed greater diversity compared to public schools, at least in later years, as Power Memorial Academy had students with "33 percent Hispanic, 21 percent Black, Irish, Italian and Asians making up the rest" as of 1983 (Reel 1983). The gender-based enrollment policies in Catholic schools in the area may have contributed to some inequities. Power Memorial Academy was a "Catholic all boys high school" (Rimer 1983); St. Paul the Apostle school was a mixed gender school, but not all the classes offered were available to the female students (Reel 1983).

As a result of financial insufficiencies, neither Catholic school survived in San Juan Hill. Because of the "declining Mass attendance" and "high interest rate," St. Paul the Apostle School was forced to close (Reel 1974). The decline in Mass attendance could be attributed to the Lincoln Center development, which resulted in the displacement of a substantial portion of the parish community (Stenson 1974). Power Memorial Academy was unable to meet the $3 million needed for necessary renovation of its deteriorating buildings, and likewise had shortfalls in meeting operating expenses (Maeroff 1983, Rimer 1984). The closure of Power Memorial Academy in 1984 was met with dissatisfaction from the community, as evidenced by the convergence of approximately 500 parents, students, teachers, and alumni in protest of the decision (Rimer 1984).

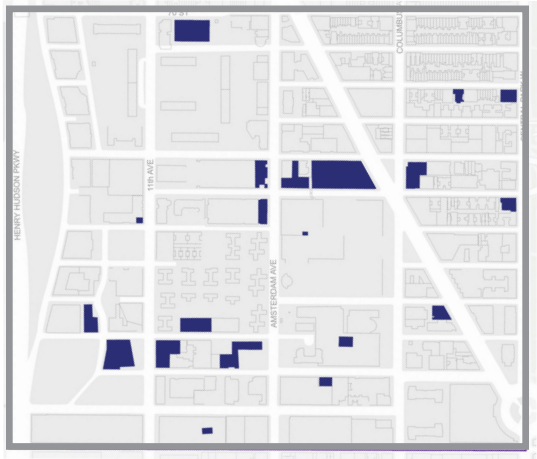
Private schools were not only limited to Catholic schools after the Lincoln Square redevelopment. There are more options and different religious schools in the area such as the Day School at Christ & Saint Stephen's and the Early Childhood Center at Stephen Wise Free Synagogue.

LIBRARIES

The Riverside Library, which was located at 190 Amsterdam Avenue from 1905 until 1992, was one of the first open shelf libraries in New York City, allowing people to freely access the shelves without assistance from a librarian (The New York Public Library n.d.). This system along with bringing books to the Columbus Hill Center allowed more people to be introduced to reading, fostering education in the neighborhood (*New York Age* 1931). The library also offered resources for adult education, as they had partnered with City College in order to provide courses (*New York Age* 1945). A second public library opened in San Juan Hill in 1942 (*New York Times* 1942), and more libraries were incorporated into schools in the neighborhood as a consequence of redevelopment, such as The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts and the Fordham University Quinn Library.



Library condition before the redevelopment (1907).
Y. Chen.



Libraries after the redevelopment (2023).
Y. Chen.

ADULT EDUCATION

Adult educational resources were limited and lacking in the San Juan Hill area prior to the Lincoln Center redevelopment. Classes were offered in the Columbus Hill Center, the Riverside Public Library, and the West Side YMCA. The course offerings were generally career and finance-oriented at West Side YMCA and Riverside Public Library. Classes such as Structural Engineering and Modern Printing and Publishing were offered in West Side YMCA (*New York Times* 1905c). In addition to the West Side YMCA, external adult education programs offered by colleges in New York City were brought into the community in 1945 by Riverside Public Library (*The New York Age* 1945). Columbus Hill Center provided free music lessons for unemployed adults (*Daily News* 1934), and the YMCA West side added some classes in folk dancing (*Daily News* 1964).

Classes were offered by the Puerto Rican Department of Labor's Migration Division to help families learn English all across New York City, with the main office located in San Juan Hill. These classes were offered in the evenings, allowing residents to learn English while also working a day job, with one of the evening schools located in Amsterdam Houses (Migration Division 1956).

CHILDCARE AND NURSERY SCHOOLS

Having a daycare and nursery facility was critical in the San Juan Hill neighborhood; it provided support for Black women to participate in the workforce (*The New York Age* 1911). The daycare and nursery facilities also provided equipment and professionals for supporting women in raising their children.

The New York Free Kindergarten for Colored Children was founded in 1895. It was run under the guidance of the New York Kindergarten Association. It offered a variety of clubs and classes for older girls and boys including music classes and eight clubs, and also sponsored clubs for mothers (*The New York Age* 1913).

The Children's Welfare Association held weekly meetings for mothers to "discuss ways and means to improve their homes and the proper method of rearing their children" (*The New York Age* 1911). However, childcare was often an economic strain, as employment options for Black women were limited and usually low-paid, such as waitresses and cleaners (US Census Bureau 1930). The Lincoln Day Nursery provided care and education for Black children, even into their teen years. However, the nursery charged two times more than typical White nurseries (Blascoer 1915, 51). This made childcare less affordable and accessible, exacerbating racial inequalities. Both of the aforementioned institutions were founded by White people, and they controlled the teaching materials which led to boys being taught differently than girls (*The New York Age* 1911). For example, the Lincoln Day Nursery cared for children from 6 weeks to 6 years (*The New York Age* 1912), but also offered training in housekeeping to girls from age 6 to 15 (*The New York Age* 1911). This potentially limited job advancement for Black women and reinforced gender stereotypes.

HIGHER EDUCATION

While the redevelopment of San Juan Hill displaced marginalized communities, it brought The Juilliard School and Fordham University to the neighborhood, as Juilliard relocated from Morningside Heights and Fordham opened a new campus. Despite these challenges, Fordham University's Black Studies program, which is now known as the African and African American Studies department, opened in 1969, one year after the opening of the Lincoln Center campus of the university (African and American Studies at Fordham 2019). This was notably part of the first wave of Black Studies programs that started in 1968, with similar programs opening up at hundreds of universities across the United States (Rogers 2012). A similar wave was occurring in the field of Latin American Studies, and the Puerto Rican Studies department was created the next year in the fall of 1970 (Stoelker 2017). The first chair of the African and African American Studies program, Edwina C. Johnson, was an activist and educator in the New York Public School system who taught African and African American History. Both the Black Studies and Puerto Rican Studies departments were underfunded until the 1990s, when both departments were expanded and renamed, with the Puerto Rican Studies department now known as the Latin American and Latino Studies Institute (African and American Studies at Fordham 2019).

HISTORIC ASSETS

Henrietta Industrial School/Columbus Hill Health Center

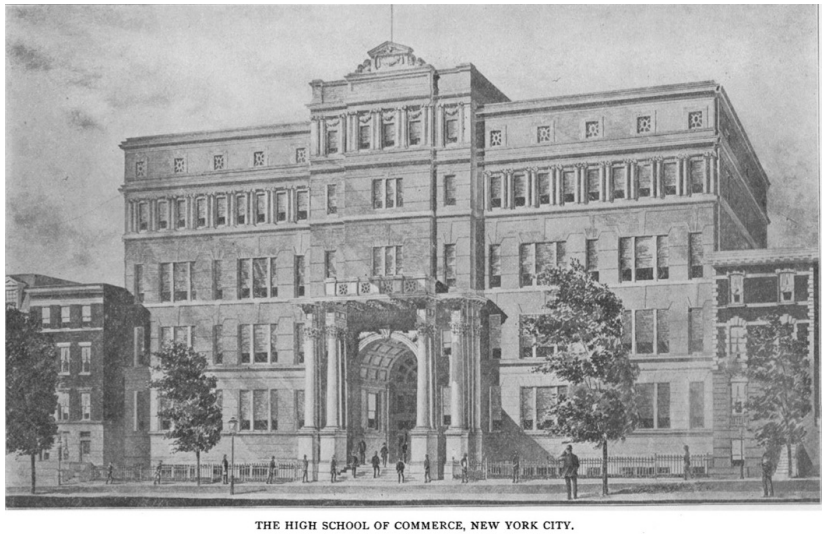
The exterior of the Henrietta Industrial School at 224 W 63rd Street. (n.d.)
J. Larson.

This institution, founded by the Children's Aid Society at 224 West 63rd Street, prepared Black children for working class jobs and provided other resources such as extracurricular activities and some medical care.

Trade and Technical School of the Educational Department/McBurney School:

This trade school for boys, which was run through the West Side YMCA, educated students in mechanical trades such as radio mechanics and automobile mechanics. The school became a college preparatory school in the 1950s, closing down in 1988 (Merriam 2012).

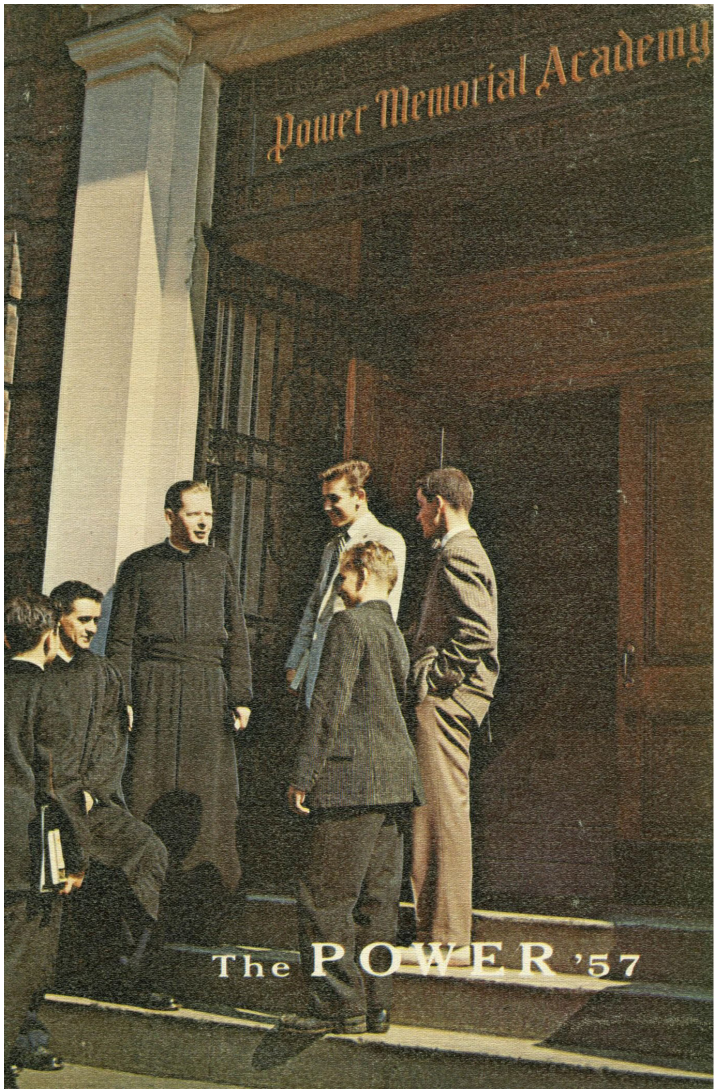
High School of Commerce



The exterior of the High School of Commerce in New York, New York (1903)
G.H. Locke.

The Board of Education appointed 30-year-old Charles B. J. Snyder Superintendent of School Buildings on July 1, 1890. The 1900 High School of Commerce, designed by Snyder, was notable for its architecture and unique pedagogical system (Locke 1903). It offered a five-year curriculum that provided students with a comprehensive education in subjects ranging from biology to bookkeeping to medieval history (Locke 1903).

Power Memorial Academy



The cover of the 1957 yearbook: Power Memorial Academy, New York, New York (1957).
Power Memorial Academy.

Power Memorial Academy was a Catholic all boys high school established by the Congregation of Christian Brothers in 1931 (Rimer 1984). The school location was "a former maternity hospital" (Murray 2005, 714), which was converted into a high school in 1938.

St. Paul the Apostle School

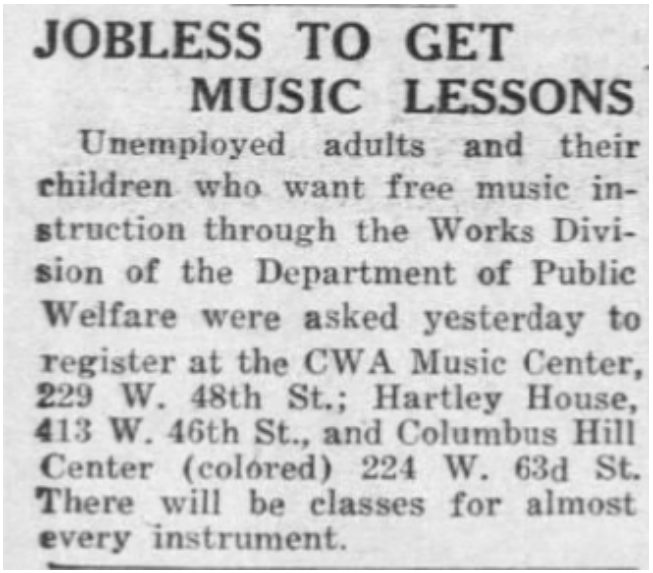
St. Paul the Apostle School was established in 1858 by Paulist fathers (Reel 1974, 7). It was an elementary school with many faculty from The Sisters of the Holy Cross (Murray 2005, 36).

Riverside Branch of the New York Public Library

The Riverside Branch of the New York Public Library at 190 Amsterdam Avenue (n.d.)
Lewis Wickes Hine.

The Riverside branch of the New York Public Library at 190 Amsterdam Avenue provided space and educational resources for people of all ages and races in the neighborhood.

Columbus Hill Center, Riverside Public Library, West Side YMCA



JOBLESS TO GET MUSIC LESSONS

Unemployed adults and their children who want free music instruction through the Works Division of the Department of Public Welfare were asked yesterday to register at the CWA Music Center, 229 W. 48th St.; Hartley House, 413 W. 46th St., and Columbus Hill Center (colored) 224 W. 63d St. There will be classes for almost every instrument.

The newspaper article shows the free music lessons for unemployed adults at Columbus Hill Center (1934).
Daily News.

These three institutions were important to adult education in San Juan Hill. The New York Public Library collaborated with the Adult Education Program of City College and these classes were held in Riverside Public Library (*The New York Age* 1945). West Side YMCA had an adult education department which offered a variety of classes (*New York Times* 1905c).

Lincoln Day Nursery

The Lincoln Daycare was opened in April, 1910. It was the only institution of "the kind established for children of the color that is endowed" (*The New York Age* 1912).

The New York Free Kindergarten for Colored Children

The New York Free Kindergarten for Colored Children was founded in 1895. It was run under the guidance of the New York Kindergarten Association. (*The New York Age* 1913).

Fordham University

The Lincoln Center campus of Fordham University as seen on December 1, 1961 (1961).
Fordham Law Archive of Scholarship and History.

While the creation of this campus let to the demolition of portions of the San Juan Hill neighborhood, The Black Studies and Puerto Rican Studies departments, both of which were located in the Lincoln Center campus of Fordham University, provided resources for Black and Puerto Rican students attending the university as well as teaching students about the history and culture of African, African American, and Puerto Rican people.

MUSIC, MOVEMENT, AND THE PERFORMING ARTS

Brooke Marinovich and Moisa Wroy

Long before the development of Lincoln Center and its ideas of venerable art forms, San Juan Hill was a booming artistic community, deeply rooted in its diverse populations and eclectic cultures. Integral forms of creative expression within the community manifested through music, movement, and the performing arts.

These types of artistic statements were exhibited in both formal and informal spaces throughout San Juan Hill's built environment, such as dancehalls, nightclubs, theaters, and apartments, and also known as "rent parties". San Juan Hill, and a significant number of the theaters that birthed these everlasting art forms, were razed and redeveloped into what is widely now known as Lincoln Center, a highly formalized cultural institution that showcases specific Eurocentric types of arts. However, due to the extensive artistic assertions developedwithin the community, all that is gone is not entirely lost.

EARLY HISTORIES

Prior to Lincoln Center's construction and its popularization of artistic paragons, San Juan Hill was a breeding ground for jazz, music, and performing arts during the early twentieth century. It paved the way and arguably, encouraged distinctive and innovative art forms. While these types of artistic expressions were continuously disregarded by mainstream, mostly White audiences throughout the early-twentieth century, they were significant influences in the arts preceding Lincoln Center and its performing arts platform. The undeniable ingenuity of these artists in San Juan Hill birthed masterpieces such as the well-known Broadway musical *Shuffle Along*, music from the celebrated artists James P. Johnson and Thelonious Monk, and the famed Charleston dance. Therefore, all that is gone is not entirely lost.

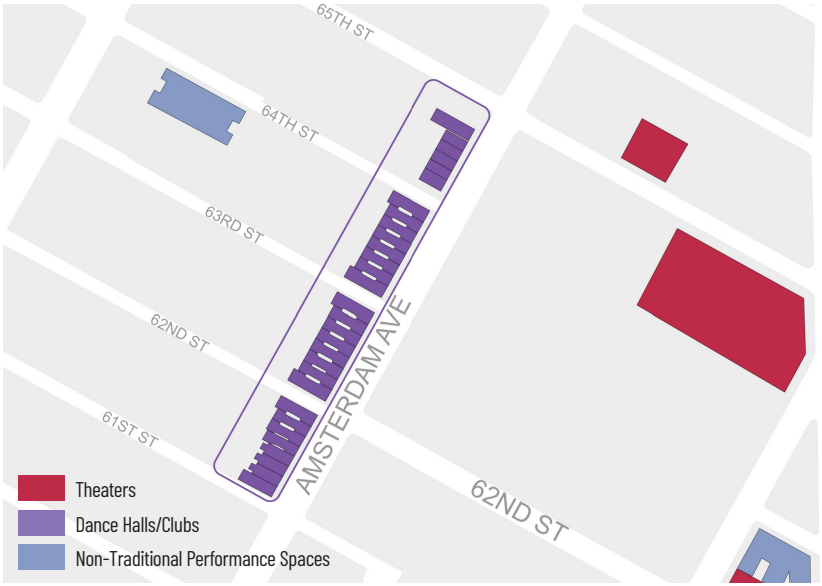
RUNNIN' WILD ABOUT THE CHARLESTON

The Charleston, the highly popularized and recognizable dance step, has roots in the American South and the Great Migration. It can be linked to the Gullah, or Geechee, which were African American groups from the coastal lowlands of Georgia and South Carolina. Since they were typically isolated on large plantations, this type of movement was a result of the preservation of language and cultural forms. This included a type of "Ring Shout" movement that correlates directly to what many perceive today as tap dance (Bruno 2011). The beloved Willie "The Lion" Smith, a famous jazz musician who ran with the esteemed James P. Johnson, recalls the Charleston's birth as such:

> *The Gullahs would start out early in the evening dancing two-steps, waltzes, scottishces; but as the night wore on and the liquor began to work, they would start improvising their own steps and that was when they wanted us to get-in real lowdown.… It was from the improvised dance steps that the Charleston dance originated. All the older folks remember it became a rage during the 1920s and it really amounted to a variation danced at the Jungle Casino and this usually caused the piano player to make up his own musical variation to fit the dancing.* (Brown 2021)

Smith's recollection is aligned with that of James P. Johnson's. As Johnson has described, the Charleston originated with no musical accompaniment. He grew inspired by the dancers' footwork which led him to play piano to syncopated rhythms, in order to ideally match their feet (Brown 2021). The Charleston was informally practiced everywhere, from clubs, homes, and even in the streets throughout San Juan Hill.

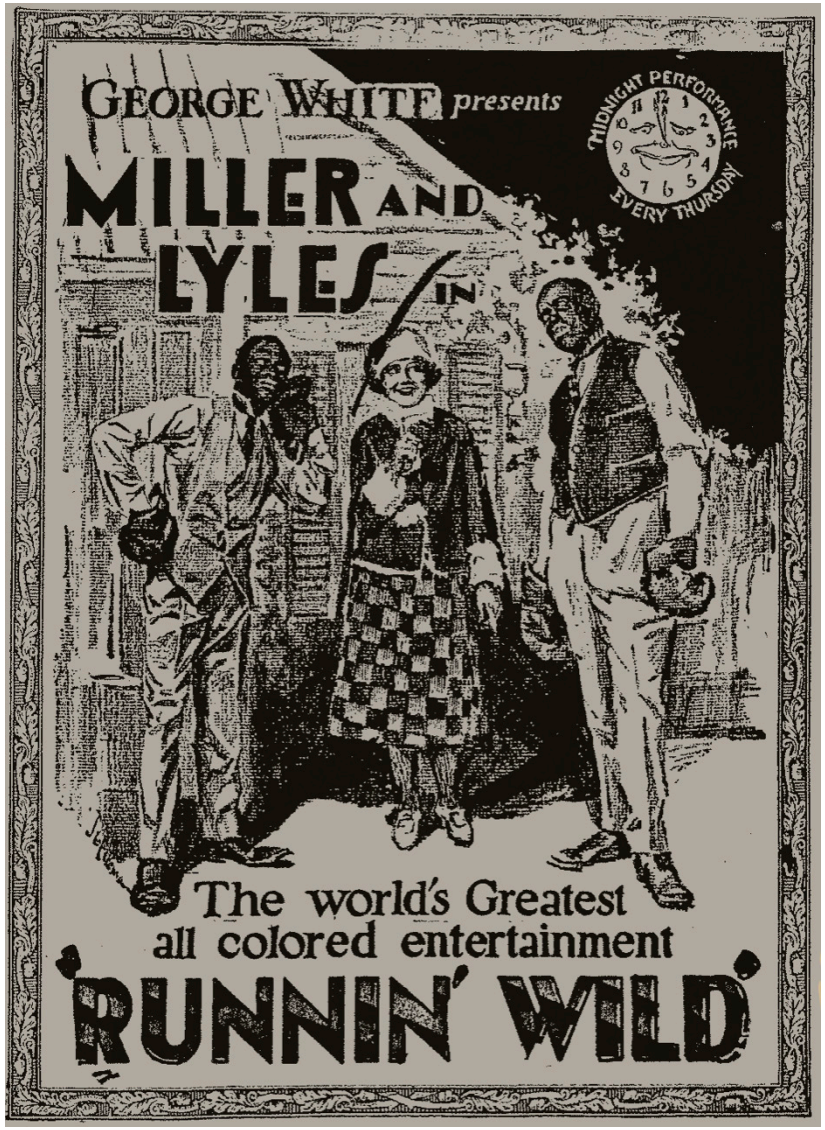
Although Johnson did not personally connect with the Gullah Geechee movement, as his mother Lottie was from Virginia and Johnson was born in New Jersey, he recognized



"The Jungles" noted in purple (2023).
M. Wroy

these "shout" movements and dance-calls from social gatherings with his Southern-born friends and family. "A lot of my music is based on set, cotillion, and other southern dance steps and rhythms…I find I have a strong feeling for these dances that goes way back" (Bruno 2011).

Many popular dance forms today were created and grew in San Juan Hill, where many renowned pianists and composers lived and played. Between 61st and 64th Streets along Amsterdam Avenue, the neighborhood was known as "The Jungles" and held basement nightclubs and dance halls, one being Jungles Casino where music for "The Charleston" was created. The Casino was one of several neighborhood establishments where working-class Black patrons could listen and dance to music. Notable pianists such as Willie the Lion, Luckey Roberts, and Eubie Blake played and improvised tunes at the club, such as rags, blues, and contemporary' pop and show tunes. The venue was a semi-commercial space where they hosted rent parties and occasional brothels. "The dance hall [also] needed to include dance classes as it was easier for establishments to earn educational licenses over dancehall licenses" (Jasen 2002, 70).



Runnin' Wild Program (1923).
C. Mack & F.E. Miller. Black Works Broadway.

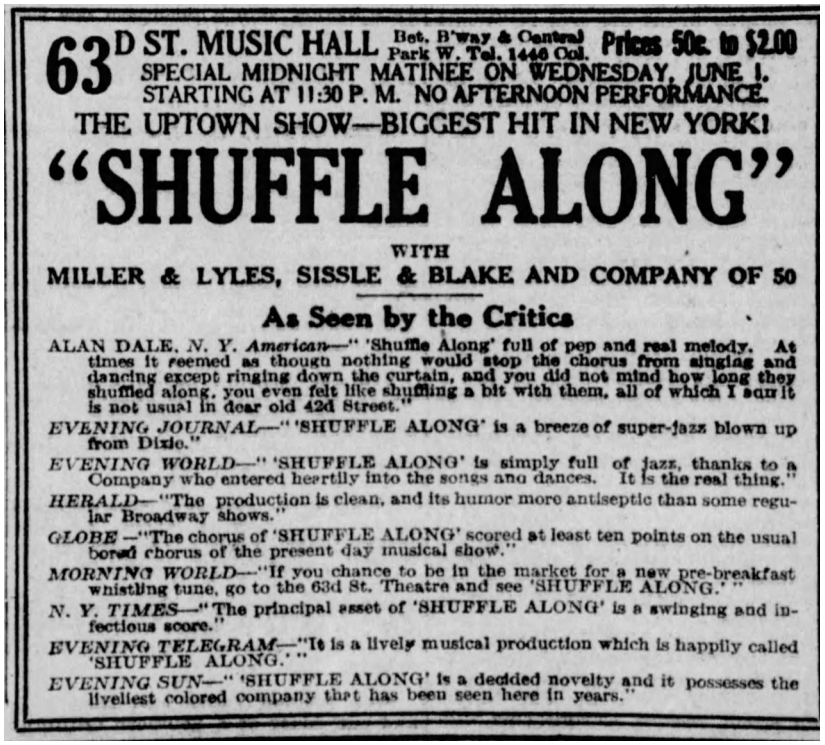
While the Charleston grew increasingly popular within the San Juan Hill community, it was not formalized until Johnson decided to debut it in a new musical he was composing entitled, *Runnin' Wild*, released in 1923. This new production starred an all-African American cast and was composed and choreographed by African Americans; it was featured at the New Colonial Theatre located on Broadway and 62nd Street in San Juan Hill (Bruno 2011).

The theater first opened in 1905 and became known as a venue of African American theater right before the Great Depression. Many of the plays before and after *Runnin' Wild* in 1923 were oriented toward White audiences, written by White composers/authors, and focused on Shakespearean and Classical theater. But the theater drew a more integrated audience with the release of *Runnin' Wild*. The building's location in the The Gut area of San Juan Hill, technically on Broadway but outside of the typical Theater District, likely contributed to the more diverse audience. This location also led to the space available for use by Black artists. Eubie Blake and Noble Sissle were the first African American composers to come to the New Colonial, releasing work such as The Chocolate Dandies. Johnson's *Runnin' Wild* ran simultaneously to *Top-Hole*, an obscure musical geared towards White audiences—further evidence of the diverse range of performances at New Colonial.

Runnin' Wild was one of the first all-Black musicals to propel Black theater into mainstream success in New York. This musical ran for almost a year at the New Colonial Theater, a site noted as one of the leading locations for the increasing and continuous popularity of The Charleston. Unfortunately, after the success of *Runnin' Wild*, the theater began to decline from its momentary popularity, under the management of actor Walter Hampden, an American actor and theater manager, who once focused on premiering various productions of Shakespearean plays and classical dramas.

SHUFFLE ALONG AND THE GREAT WHITE WAY

Before Johnson's *Runnin' Wild* took the stage, another monumental success happened within the community of San Juan Hill – the creation of the famed Broadway musical *Shuffle Along*, in 1921. Composed and written by the prolific duo Eubie Blake and Noble Sissle, *Shuffle Along* is a landmark in musical theater. The musical debuted with an all-Black creative team and cast that introduced jazz, The Charleston, and African American performers to a Broadway stage. It became a phenomenon among the Black community and opened to mixed-race audiences as White Americans flocked to see the show.



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As Seen by the Critics

ALAN DALE, *N. Y. American*—" 'Shuffle Along' full of pep and real melody. At times it seemed as though nothing would stop the chorus from singing and dancing except ringing down the curtain, and you did not mind how long they shuffled along, you even felt like shuffling a bit with them, all of which I saw it is not usual in dear old 42d Street."

EVENING JOURNAL—" 'SHUFFLE ALONG' is a breeze of super-jazz blown up from Dixie."

EVENING WORLD—" 'SHUFFLE ALONG' is simply full of jazz, thanks to a Company who entered heartily into the songs and dances. It is the real thing."

HERALD—"The production is clean, and its humor more antiseptic than some regular Broadway shows."

GLOBE—"The chorus of 'SHUFFLE ALONG' scored at least ten points on the usual bored chorus of the present day musical show."

MORNING WORLD—"If you chance to be in the market for a new pre-breakfast whistling tune, go to the 63d St. Theatre and see 'SHUFFLE ALONG.' "

N. Y. TIMES—"The principal asset of 'SHUFFLE ALONG' is a swinging and infectious score."

EVENING TELEGRAM—"It is a lively musical production which is happily called 'SHUFFLE ALONG.' "

EVENING SUN—" 'SHUFFLE ALONG' is a decided novelty and it possesses the liveliest colored company that has been seen here in years."

Shuffle Along Advertisement (1921).
The New York Herald, May 29, 1921

While it was considered to be a Broadway musical, it was distanced from the other Broadway theaters. When the show was first proposed, White theater owners had expected *Shuffle Along* to be a fast flop and furthermore, purposefully denied it a Times Square theater location (Sullivan 2016). The soon-to-be hit musical was relegated to the less fashionable Daly's 63rd Street Theatre, right in the heart of San Juan Hill. Caseen

Gaines, who wrote *Footnotes: The Black Artists Who Rewrote the Rules of the Great White Way*, states, "*Shuffle Along* is an amazing moment in our history. You can draw a horizontal line to what musical theatre sounded like before 1921 and after" (Lunden 2021). Due to the contagious music by Blake and Sissle, energetic and unprecedented movements, and overall clever comedic relief, *Shuffle Along* was quickly recognized as a monumental production that would lead to significant leverage and momentum within the Black arts community. Despite the preliminary limitations and injustices set against the Black artists developing this production, such as the denied Times Square location, lack of proper orchestral space at Daly's, and the overall conditions of theaters proposed for the show's location, this showcases the influence that Black artists imposed on the performing arts community. Their influences and artistic brilliance would ascend well beyond the boundaries of San Juan Hill.

Daly's 63rd Street Theatre, around the same time as *Shuffle Along*, had been known for more risqué plays, such as *Red Dust*, *White Cargo*, and most notably *Sex*, a 1926 play written by and starring Mae West, who used the pen name "Jane Mast" at the time. The play received overwhelmingly bad reviews, and was eventually shut down by the NYPD due to obscenity, and the main actress was arrested due to impropriety. This serves as documented evidence that Daly's was not mainstream Broadway, and *Shuffle Along* being relegated to this theater demonstrates how Black artists were associated with a "less than proper" style of theater.

The success and acclaim of *Shuffle Along* proved that White audiences would pay to see Black musical comedies on Broadway. This pivotal moment paved the way for the continuation of the desegregation of theaters, particularly theaters within close proximity to Times Square (Sullivan 2016). Not only were Black audiences permitted to sit in orchestra seats rather than being relegated to the balcony, but this also gave many Black actors their first chance to appear on Broadway (Sullivan 2016). The undeniable popularity of *Shuffle Along* played a key role in Black creativity and the continuation of art forms grounded in cultural influences. Langston Hughes, the renowned poet and author, once proclaimed, "the show helped to advance African Americans' social status through the excellence of arts" (Natural Museum of African American History n.d.).

While *Shuffle Along* continued to be an all-encompassing success when it first opened in 1921, many critics have vocalized that it would not be nearly as successful in today's society (Sullivan 2016). The endless racial tones exhibited throughout the musical, along with the use of blackface performed by the actors, would not be well received by the public. However, one of the paramount components of *Shuffle Along* are the blackface characters, performed by Black actors. Originally perceived as degrading and entirely racist in itself, a majority of the Black actors performing this weighted task viewed this as somewhat of a resolution and a strategy for taking power back from the White audiences, even if only momentarily. "They could hide their blackness behind a darker blackness, a false one, a safe one" (Sullivan 2016). While the element of performing holds a certain power, the performer who appears on stage could not help but participate in this power struggle. By wearing blackface:

> *They wouldn't be claiming power. By mocking themselves, their own race, they were giving it up. Except never completely. There lay the charge. Part of it was the physical elevation. To be sitting below a Black man or woman, looking up, that made many Whites uncomfortable. But what those audiences would allow, would sit for – not easily at first, not without controversy and disdain, but gradually, and soon overwhelmingly – was the appearance of white men who had painted their faces to look black* (Sullivan 2016).

STREETS AS PERFORMANCE SPACE

The lack of dedicated performance space within the San Juan Hill community was a continuous problem. This forced residents to adapt other existing spaces for artistic expression, such as basements, rent parties, and even the streets of San Juan Hill. Street dancing not only gave a sense of freedom to artistic pursuits, but it offered endless opportunities for creative expression. "It often gave a 'voice' to underrepresented and invisible communities through the means of music and dance" (Tueth 2016). Although street dancing gained immense popularity within the San Juan Hill neighborhood, it can be traced back to the 1840's with a young Black dancer named Juba.

The story of Juba starts with the infamous Phineas Taylor Barnum, also known as P.T. Barnum, and his Barnum & Bailey Circus spectacular. Barnum hired a young boy, Juba, who was remarked as "the light fantastic" (Sullivan 2016). While Juba's real name remains unknown today, he was regarded as one of the most "brilliant dancers" throughout the nineteenth century (Sullivan 2016). Juba first began performing in the "interracial underworld 'halls' in the Five Points neighborhood of Lower Manhattan, likely where P.T. Barnum discovered him" (Peters 2010). The only apparent issue with Juba was that he was a Black man. Barnum feared that not only would this make spectators uncomfortable, but furthermore, the law would not permit it, as Black artists were not allowed to perform on stage at this time. Before Juba graced the stage, he would

Performance Spaces of the 1920s (2023).
M. Wroy.

The Jenkins Orphanage Band, (1910).
Jenkins Institute.

perform throughout Manhattan in competitions. Bystanders would gamble and watch for entertainment and pure fascination. "He was an artist, not just an athlete – and he was the first Black entertainer to perform before large crowds of Whites in a context that transcended the informal. He began performing onstage. The explosiveness of his new 'tap' style allowed him to cross over and quickly become widely known as the greatest dancer they'd ever witnessed" (Sullivan 2016). Because of Juba's contributions, street performing widely swept over certain neighborhoods in New York City: San Juan Hill, Harlem, and the Five Points neighborhoods, to name a few.

The Jenkins Orphanage, now recognized as the Jenkins Institute For Children, was established in 1891 by Reverend Daniel Joseph Jenkins in Charleston, South Carolina (Hutchisson 2016). Jenkins was a Baptist minister who decided to organize an orphanage for young Black boys in the neighborhood. The tool that Jenkins used for education throughout the orphanage was music. The idea of "uplifting the race through music and performing arts" became a recurring theme for many Black artists throughout the twentieth century (Granshaw 2010). Jenkins formed the first band of eleven to twelve boys in 1892. He hired local musicians in Charleston to teach them to read music and the boys quickly became "highly proficient at playing the instruments needed; this included the clarinet, obo, bell, drums, and the coronet" (Hutchisson 2016). Throughout the early-twentieth century, the Jenkins Orphanage Band began with performances on the streets of Charleston, which eventually grew to traveling North during the summer months along the Atlantic port cities, one of these cities being New York City, including the San Juan Hill neighborhood (Hutchisson 2016).

At these street and club performances, the Jenkins band would start performing Gullah Geechee dance steps and the audience would often remark, "Hey, Charleston, do your Geechee dance!" (Hutchisson 2016). Although many White businesses did not want the band's patronage, "Whites flocked to the concerts in droves" (Hutchisson 2016). Because of the band's popularity, there were often two, three, or sometimes four bands simultaneously performing in order to fulfill the public's demands. As one band member recalled, 'on the street corners, it was every kid doing his own thing. All you needed to know was the melody, and then you'd take off from there'" (Hutchisson 2016).

THE INTRODUCTION OF LINCOLN CENTER

Lincoln Center was built between 1962 and 1969 with the motivation of creating a space for cultural appreciation and leisure. Lincoln Center was inspired by the idea of the Eurocentric theater and strived to create a space for classical arts in the United States. Robert Moses, the developer behind Lincoln Center, sought out to create a monumental space that could compete with the lavish institutions of Europe.

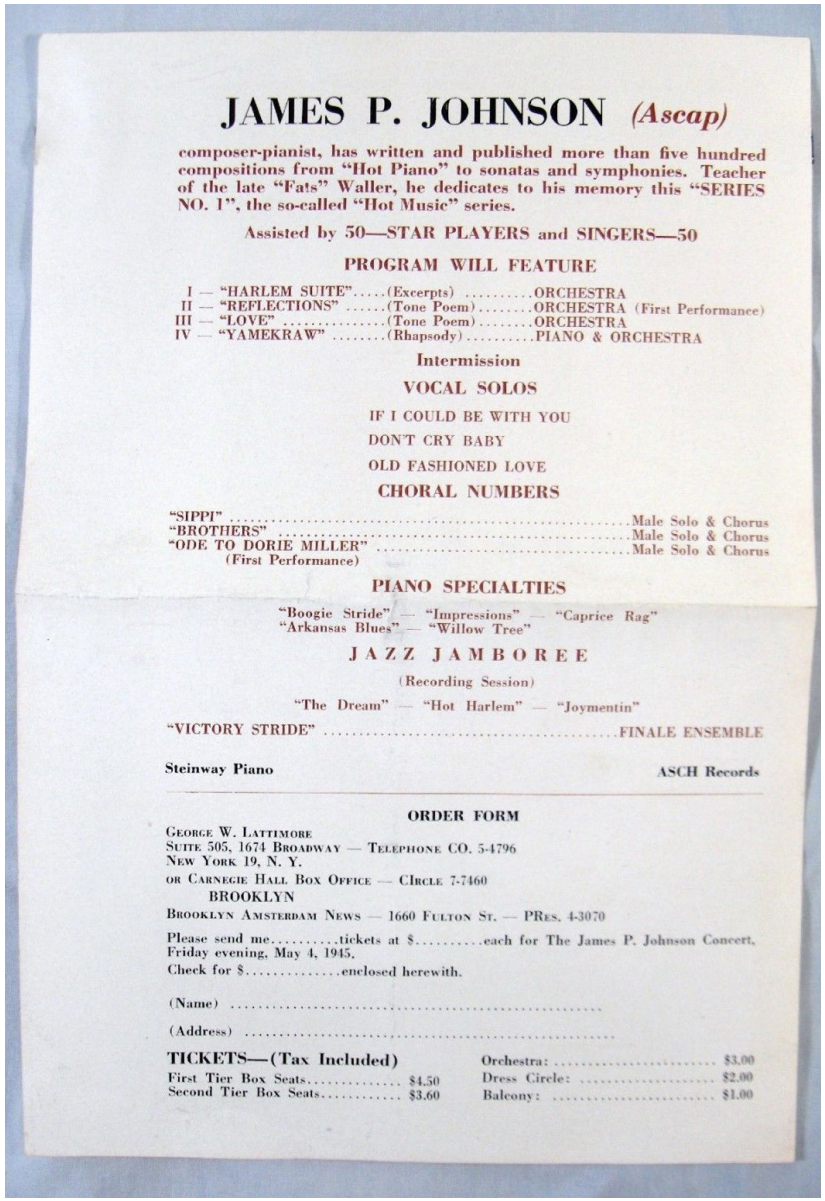
To show good faith to the pre-existing San Juan Hill Residents, Rockefeller made a promise that Lincoln Center would be affordable to the community and, in its first year, Lincoln Center brought two Juilliard graduates and Black performers to the stage: Arthur Mitchell and Leontyne Price (Foulkes, 2007). Arthur Mitchell became the first African American male ballet dancer to join the New York City Ballet, and Leontyne Price became an international name, touring around the world and displaying her operatic skills. In its first year of operation, Lincoln Center had lower ticket prices, educational programming for the youth, and religious plays catering to the previous community members (Foulkes, 2007).

ILLUMINATING THE HISTORIES OF SAN JUAN HILL

Today, Lincoln Center is regarded as one of the cultural epicenters of the world. It serves as a home to the finest repertoire in the country including the Metropolitan Opera House, the New York City Ballet and the New York Philharmonic.

During Lincoln Center's conception, John D. Rockefeller stated, "The arts are not for the privileged few, but for the many." Lack of affordable ticket prices, the lack of acknowledgment surrounding the pivotal figures, performers, and artistic landscape drawn from San Juan Hill, and the physical design of campus all contribute to the contrary.

Recently, there has been a resurgence and strong desire to understand the complex histories behind Lincoln Center. In fact, an integral part of Lincoln Center's programming is now focused on inclusion, particularly outreach efforts to the surrounding community. The COVID-19 pandemic was one catalyst for this conversation, though it had begun earlier. Outdoor concerts were organized, community involvement was integrated into programming, along with the reexamination of Lincoln Center's past and present impacts.



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James P Johnson Carnegie Hall Earnings (1945).
Jazz Lives

A monumental moment in the unveiling of San Juan Hill's history was a collaborative effort between the New York Philharmonic and artist, musician, and composer, Etienne Charles. With the reopening of David Geffen Hall in the Fall of 2022, "San Juan Hill: A New York Story," displayed an "immersive multimedia work that transports the audience via music, visuals and original first-person accounts of the history of San Juan the Hill neighborhood and the indigenous and immigrant communities that populated the land in and around where Lincoln Center resides" (Lincoln Center 2022). The show exhibited an array of musical elements, including "Ragtime, Jazz, Stride piano, Swing, Blues, Mambo, Paseo, Antillean Waltz, Calypso, Funk, Disco, and Hip Hop" (Lincoln Center 2022). All of these elements are intertwined with historical footage that "showcase the myriad of musical styles and culture that were brought to New York by migrants from the south and the Caribbean" (Lincoln Center 2022). Charles aimed to combine the past with the present in order to contribute to the future generations. In addition, Lincoln Center and the New York Philharmonic held a series of workshops that delved into the "preservation and transformation of culture, gentrification, community activism as well as resilience in resistance to adversity" (Lincoln Center 2022). In addition to Charles' well-received performance, Nina Chanel Abney's "San Juan Heal" installation across the façade of David Geffen Hall and West 65th Street seeks to pay homage to the once existing neighborhood.

Abney's constellation of figures, words, shapes, and symbols reflects the thriving community that lived here" (Lincoln Center 2022). Familiar faces such as James P, Johnson, dynamic duo Eubie Blake and Noble Sissle, and the beloved Charleston are illustrated throughout the mural. "Reclaiming this important history in her bold and vibrant style, Abney aims to spark curiosity and inspire a more inclusive future (Lincoln Center 2022).

These types of restorative justice exhibitions and programs are becoming a significantly important force in regards to Lincoln Center's ideals for their future, along with the community. Afterall, how can communities move forward with inclusionary intent without understanding and acknowledging their exclusionary past?

Current Performance Spaces (2023).
M. Wroy.

Nina Chanel Abney's "San Juan Heal" at David Geffen Hall, Lincoln Center, 2022.
Lincoln Center.

HISTORIC ASSETS

Jungle Casino (Drake's Dancing Class) | James P Johnson

Jungles Casino, was a basement dance-hall — legally named Drake's Dancing Class — on West 62nd Street. The Casino earned its name from the community, as they called the area "The Jungle." The Casino was one of several neighborhood establishments where working-class Black patrons could listen and dance to music. Pianists such as Willie the Lion, Luckey Roberts and Eubie Blake played and improvised tunes at the club, such as rags, blues, and "current" pop and show tunes. The venue was a semi-commercial space where they hosted rent parties and occasional brothels, and also included dance classes in order to maintain a licit use. This building is also notably known as the birthplace of James P Johnson's creation of The Charleston.

Daly's 63rd Street Theatre | Shuffle Along

Daly's 63rd Street Theatre, located on 22 West 63rd Street debuted *Shuffle Along* in 1921. It was an all-Black show with an all-Black creative team that introduced jazz, and the Charleston, to the Broadway stage. It became a phenomenon among the community and soon was opened to mixed-race audiences as white Americans flocked to see the show. It ran on Broadway for over five-hundred performances, despite many White theater owners anticipating it to be a fast flop. While it was considered to be a Broadway musical, it was distanced from the other various Broadway theaters.

New Colonial Theater | Runnin' Wild

The New Colonial Theater, located on Broadway and 62nd first opened in 1905 and became a venue of African American theater. The theater housed the work of Eubie Blake, Noble Sissle, and later, James P Johnson as he was introducing the Charleston to the New York scene. Almost 20 years after its opening, the theater released Runnin' Wild, one of the first all-Black musicals to propel Black theater to mainstream success in New York. This musical ran for almost a year and was noted as one of the leading locations that sparked the popularity of the Charleston. The theater later went on to cater to more European audiences, premiering various productions of Shakespearean plays and classical dramas, until it was converted into a movie theater briefly.

Lincoln Center Campus

Lincoln Center was built between 1962-1969 with the motivation of creating a space for cultural appreciation and leisure, particularly aimed at those with disposable incomes in New York City.. Robert Moses, the developer behind Lincoln Center, sought out to create a monumental space that could compete with the lavish institutions of Europe.

MEDIA AND REPRESENTATION

Drew Citron and Roberto E. Villasante

In the early twentieth century, racist trends and patterns of reporting in news media about the San Juan Hill neighborhood contributed to the success of urban renewal projects and the construction of Lincoln Center. The repeated use of negative media portrayals, such as verbiage characterizing the neighborhood as a "slum," were used as justification for the demolition and redevelopment of the architectural fabric of the area and displacement of its residents. At the same time, Black news media was thriving in the form of *The New York Amsterdam News*, which got its start in San Juan Hill, and *The New York Age*. These periodicals discussed racial inequity, everyday goings-on in the lives of Black New Yorkers, and in-depth analyses of current affairs with an eye toward broader social and political change and police reform.

Preservation is a privilege; the relative dearth of archival material about San Juan Hill is evidence of the disenfranchisement and inaccessibility of the community to preserve and archive their heritage on their own terms. Racism and exclusion in media representation over time are in large part responsible. Community organizations, theaters, churches, schools and career training institutions were all razed in the 1940s and 1950s to make way for Lincoln Center and Amsterdam Houses. By uncovering the voices of the media from the community of San Juan Hill and attempting to archive their stories in their own words, we can start to piece together a restorative media approach, one that celebrates and honors the Black, Puerto Rican, Latine, immigrant, and lower income communities who were displaced. By highlighting the racist media trends from mainstream news sources inherent throughout the early and mid-twentieth century, we can thread the story of endorsed and repeated media patterns which led to San Juan Hill's demise.

EARLY REPORTING

In the early twentieth century, factors including The Great Migration, racial prejudice, quality housing shortages, and rental increases in the African American neighborhoods of Greenwich Village and the Tenderloin, caused many Black New Yorkers to push northward to San Juan Hill. The name "San Juan Hill" in and of itself belies a negative trend in media and representation of the area—one that was countered by Black news media at the time. There were multiple attempts by *The New York Age*, for instance, to rename the neighborhood "Columbus Hill," (*New York Age* 1916c), efforts which were ignored by White news media.

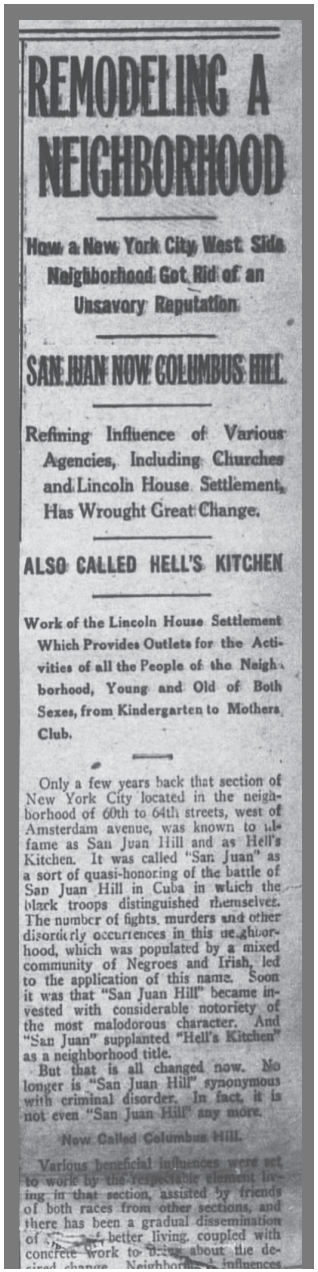
The White news media, as represented by *The New York Times*, *NY Herald Tribune*, *Newsday* and others, did the majority of their reporting about San Juan Hill through the lens of violent crime, disorder, and poor, unsanitary housing conditions. There was ample discussion in both the White and Black news media about the need for improved tenant conditions and housing quality; whether or not the tenants themselves or the landlords were to blame depended on the media source. To celebrate the project launch of Amsterdam Houses in 1941, *The New York Amsterdam News* ran a story titled "Saying Goodbye to Slums," noting singing, dancing and celebrating from "both races" (*New York Amsterdam News* 1941b).

As evidenced in both the Black and White news media, repeated coverage relating to slum conditions in San Juan Hill directly correlated to the general public's view of the area, and the subsequent success of urban renewal schemes such as The Amsterdam Houses and Lincoln Center redevelopments.

DIFFERENT MEDIA OUTLETS

From 1901 until the early 1930s, San Juan Hill was a vibrant, mixed income community of African Americans, West Indian, Irish and Eastern European immigrants with local access to several newsreel theaters, papers, magazines and entertainment venues.

Though largely based in Harlem and the financial district, New York City's Black periodicals circulated in San Juan Hill and mentioned prominent residents and goings-on of the community there, as well as presenting acts of violence and riots with a slant toward police reform and political change. *The New York Age*, *New York Amsterdam News* (which got its start in San Juan Hill), and W.E.B. Du Bois' *The Crisis* (located downtown at 26 Vesey Street), all published stories relevant to goings-on in San Juan Hill. Throughout this time period, San Juan Hill was a bustling hotbed of music and culture, a neighborhood which gave birth to the Charleston dance, Thelonious Monk, and *Shuffle Along*, a Broadway musical that opened on West Sixty-Third Street in 1921, attracting a majority White audience and selling tickets at the same price as other Broadway shows.



REMODELING A NEIGHBORHOOD

How a New York City West Side Neighborhood Got Rid of an Unsavory Reputation

SAN JUAN NOW COLUMBUS HILL

Refining Influence of Various Agencies, Including Churches and Lincoln House Settlement, Has Wrought Great Change.

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Work of the Lincoln House Settlement Which Provides Outlets for the Activities of all the People of the Neighborhood, Young and Old of Both Sexes, from Kindergarten to Mothers' Club.

Only a few years back that section of New York City located in the neighborhood of 60th to 64th streets, west of Amsterdam avenue, was known to ill-fame as San Juan Hill and as Hell's Kitchen. It was called "San Juan" as a sort of quasi-honoring of the battle of San Juan Hill in Cuba in which the black troops distinguished themselves. The number of fights, murders and other disorderly occurrences in this neighborhood, which was populated by a mixed community of Negroes and Irish, led to the application of this name. Soon it was that "San Juan Hill" became invested with considerable notoriety of the most malodorous character. And "San Juan" supplanted "Hell's Kitchen" as a neighborhood title.

But that is all changed now. No longer is "San Juan Hill" synonymous with criminal disorder. In fact, it is not even "San Juan Hill" any more.

Now Called Columbus Hill.

Various beneficial influences were set to work by the respectable element living in that section, assisted by friends of both races from other sections, and there has been a gradual dissemination of [illegible] better living, coupled with concrete work to bring about the desired change. Neighborhood influences which have had immense effect in bringing about better conditions are to be found in the work of the Lincoln House Settlement, of which Miss Morgan was formerly the head, but which is now directed by Miss Byrdie H. Haynes and Miss Louise Latimer; the St. Cyprian's Chapel (Protestant Episcopal), the Rev. John W. Johnson, priest in charge, with its various instrumentalities of activity among both young and old; the Union Baptist Church, the Rev. George H. Sims, pastor, some of the work of which was told of in last week's Age; and the erection of decent apartment houses for colored people by the City & Suburban Homes Co., familiarly known as the Phipp's Apartments.

All of these factors have had potent effect in changing the complexion of conditions in this neighborhood, making it possible to change the name to Columbus Hill, and thus remove some of the opprobrium attaching to the former titles. Included also must be the work of the Lincoln Day Nursery, now discontinued, of which Mrs. Emma Greene was the superintendent for several years, which organization was made possible by the philanthropy of a wealthy merchant, who contributed anonymously, and who is now dead.

The Lincoln House.

In a most direct way does the work of the Lincoln House Settlement reach into the homes of the neighborhood. The activities begin with the kindergarten and various organizations are used to cater to the interest and need of every age up to the oldest in the home.

The kindergarten is in charge of Miss Maesing, with Miss Taggart as her assistant. The tiny tots are in school five days in the week, and with a total enrollment of fifty-five, an average attendance of fifty is maintained. This work is called the Walton Kindergarten, in honor of the mother of Miss Elizabeth Walton, who has actively concerned herself with its development and perpetuation. It is under the direction of the New York Kindergarten Association, which body furnishes the instructors.

Lincoln House provides an outlet for the activities of all classes. The boys and girls of all ages are provided for, the young folks are looked after and the adults have organizations which meet their needs. For the boys a director is provided: George R. Ralston, formerly of St. Christopher's basketball team, and identified with the boys' work at St. Philip's Church, has been selected to take charge of this work. He is of DeWitt Clinton High School and was recently awarded a gold medal by the St. Philip's organization for his boys' work. Gymnasium classes for boys are held every afternoon and evening, and a club of boys from 14 to 16 years old holds a meeting every Tuesday evening from 7 to 9. On Wednesday evenings at 8 p. m., a debating club, composed of

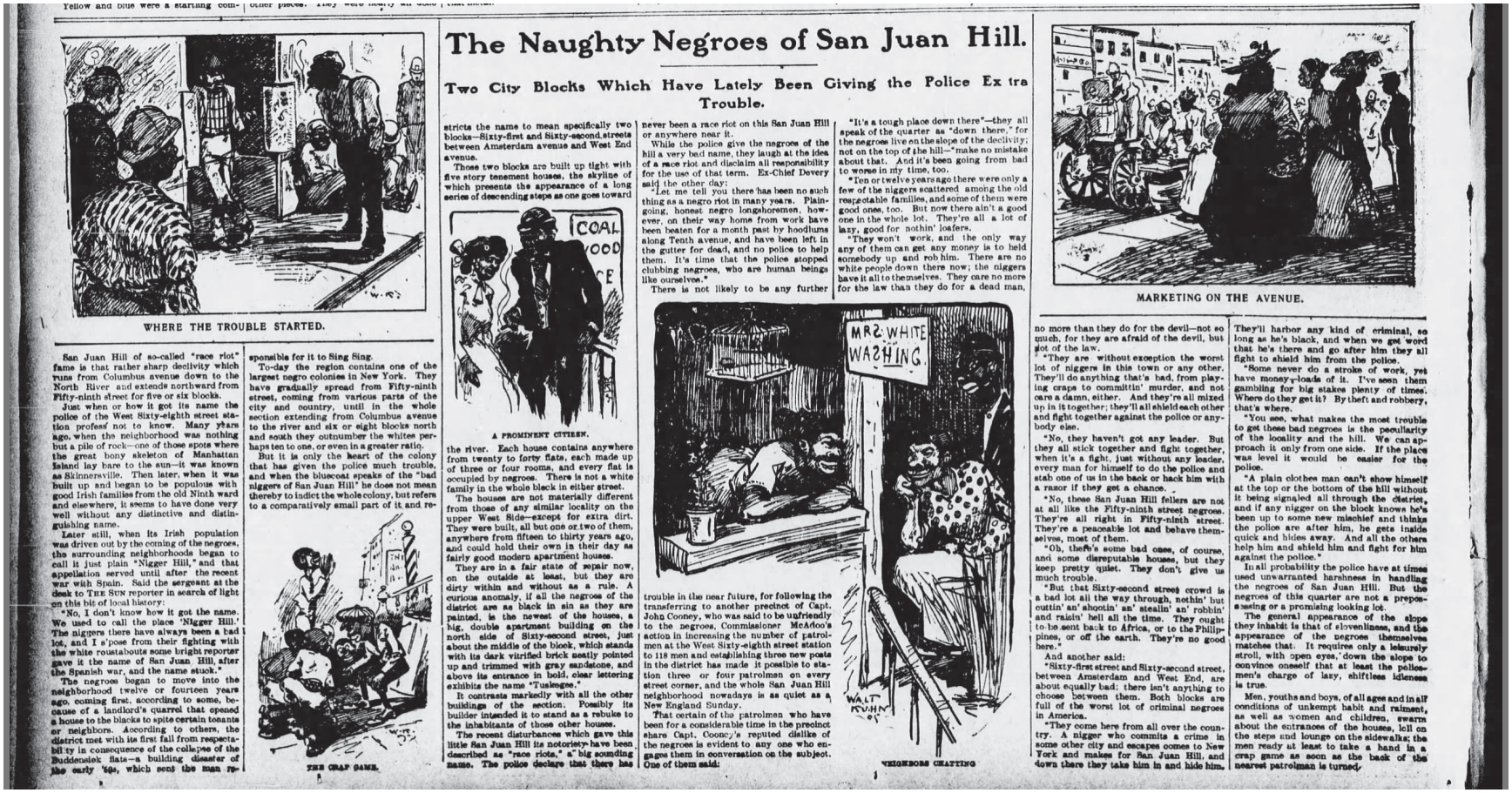
New York Age article about the new verbiage of "Columbus Hill" and changing the stigma around the neighborhood (1916).
New York Age.

Saying 'Goodbye' to Slums
New York Amsterdam Star-News (1941-1943); Oct 18, 1941; ProQuest
pg. 5

Saying 'Goodbye' to Slums

As both races sang "farewell to slums" in the San Juan Hill section. Gerard Swope, chairman of the New York City Housing Authority, is shown addressing the group which sang and danced last Friday night in celebration of the opening of a new housing development. Colored lights and streamers added to the festive atmosphere in the 63rd Street block, between Amsterdam and Eleventh Avenues, where demolition of old tenements was begun. The party was jointly sponsored by the Lincoln Square Tenants League in cooperation with the local housing authority. It was in this same area, forty years ago, that a group of public-spirited people, acting through the city and suburban homes, built the first experiment in the field of low cost housing. The project, known as Tuskegee Apartments, was for Negroes, and was the first decent houses made available to the thousands who were then migrating from the South and settling on the West Side.

Gerard Swope, Chairman of NYCHA, addresses a crowd (1941).
New York Amsterdam Star-News.



The Naughty Negroes of San Juan Hill.

Two City Blocks Which Have Lately Been Giving the Police Ex tra Trouble.

WHERE THE TROUBLE STARTED.

San Juan Hill of so-called "race riot" fame is that rather sharp declivity which runs from Columbus avenue down to the North River and extends northward from Fifty-ninth street for five or six blocks.

Just when or how it got its name the police of the West Sixty-eighth street station profess not to know. Many years ago, when the neighborhood was nothing but a pile of rock—one of those spots where the great bony skeleton of Manhattan Island lay bare to the sun—it was known as Skinnersville. Then later, when it was built up and began to be populous with good Irish families from the old Ninth ward and elsewhere, it seems to have done very well without any distinctive and distinguishing name.

Later still, when its Irish population was driven out by the coming of the negroes, the surrounding neighborhoods began to call it just plain "Nigger Hill," and that appellation served until after the recent war with Spain. Said the sergeant at the desk to THE SUN reporter in search of light on this bit of local history:

"No, I don't know how it got the name. We used to call the place 'Nigger Hill.' The niggers there have always been a bad lot, and I s'pose from their fighting with the white roustabouts some bright reporter gave it the name of San Juan Hill, after the Spanish war, and the name stuck."

The negroes began to move into the neighborhood twelve or fourteen years ago, coming first, according to some, because of a landlord's quarrel that opened a house to the blacks to spite certain tenants or neighbors. According to others, the district met with its first fall from respectability in consequence of the collapse of the Buddensiek flats—a building disaster of the early '90s, which sent the man responsible for it to Sing Sing.

To-day the region contains one of the largest negro colonies in New York. They have gradually spread from Fifty-ninth street, coming from various parts of the city and country, until in the whole section extending from Columbus avenue to the river and six or eight blocks north and south they outnumber the whites perhaps ten to one, or even in a greater ratio.

But it is only the heart of the colony that has given the police much trouble, and when the bluecoat speaks of the "bad niggers of San Juan Hill" he does not mean thereby to indict the whole colony, but refers to a comparatively small part of it and restricts the name to mean specifically two blocks—Sixty-first and Sixty-second streets between Amsterdam avenue and West End avenue.

THE CRAP GAME.

Those two blocks are built up tight with five story tenement houses, the skyline of which presents the appearance of a long series of descending steps as one goes toward the river. Each house contains anywhere from twenty to forty flats, each made up of three or four rooms, and every flat is occupied by negroes. There is not a white family in the whole block in either street.

A PROMINENT CITIZEN.

The houses are not materially different from those of any similar locality on the upper West Side—except for extra dirt. They were built, all but one or two of them, anywhere from fifteen to thirty years ago, and could hold their own in their day as fairly good modern apartment houses.

They are in a fair state of repair now, on the outside at least, but they are dirty within and without as a rule. A curious anomaly, if all the negroes of the district are as black in sin as they are painted, is the newest of the houses, a big, double apartment building on the north side of Sixty-second street, just about the middle of the block, which stands with its dark vitrified brick neatly pointed up and trimmed with gray sandstone, and above its entrance in bold, clear lettering exhibits the name "Tuskegee."

It contrasts markedly with all the other buildings of the section. Possibly its builder intended it to stand as a rebuke to the inhabitants of those other houses.

The recent disturbances which gave this little San Juan Hill its notoriety have been described as "race riots," a big sounding name. The police declare that there has never been a race riot on this San Juan Hill or anywhere near it.

While the police give the negroes of the hill a very bad name, they laugh at the idea of a race riot and disclaim all responsibility for the use of that term. Ex-Chief Devery said the other day:

"Let me tell you there has been no such thing as a negro riot in many years. Plain-going, honest negro longshoremen, however, on their way home from work have been beaten for a month past by hoodlums along Tenth avenue, and have been left in the gutter for dead, and no police to help them. It's time that the police stopped clubbing negroes, who are human beings like ourselves."

There is not likely to be any further trouble in the near future, for following the transferring to another precinct of Capt. John Cooney, who was said to be unfriendly to the negroes, Commissioner McAdoo's action in increasing the number of patrolmen at the West Sixty-eighth street station to 118 men and establishing three new posts in the district has made it possible to station three or four patrolmen on every street corner, and the whole San Juan Hill neighborhood nowadays is as quiet as a New England Sunday.

That certain of the patrolmen who have been for a considerable time in the precinct share Capt. Cooney's reputed dislike of the negroes is evident to any one who engages them in conversation on the subject. One of them said:

"It's a tough place down there"—they all speak of the quarter as "down there," for the negroes live on the slope of the declivity; not on the top of the hill—"make no mistake about that. And it's been going from bad to worse in my time, too.

"Ten or twelve years ago there were only a few of the niggers scattered among the old respectable families, and some of them were good ones, too. But now there ain't a good one in the whole lot. They're all a lot of lazy, good for nothin' loafers.

"They won't work, and the only way any of them can get any money is to hold somebody up and rob him. There are no white people down there now; the niggers have it all to themselves. They care no more for the law than they do for a dead man, no more than they do for the devil—not so much, for they are afraid of the devil, but not of the law.

NEIGHBORS CHATTING

MARKETING ON THE AVENUE.

"They are without exception the worst lot of niggers in this town or any other. They'll do anything that's bad, from playing craps to committin' murder, and not care a damn, either. And they're all mixed up in it together; they'll all shield each other and fight together against the police or anybody else.

"No, they haven't got any leader. But they all stick together and fight together, when it's a fight, just without any leader, every man for himself to do the police and stab one of us in the back or hack him with a razor if they get a chance.

"No, these San Juan Hill fellers are not at all like the Fifty-ninth street negroes. They're all right in Fifty-ninth street. They're a peaceable lot and behave themselves, most of them.

"Oh, there's some bad ones, of course, and some disreputable houses, but they keep pretty quiet. They don't give us much trouble.

"But that Sixty-second street crowd is a bad lot all the way through, nothin' but cuttin' an' shootin' an' stealin' an' robbin' and raisin' hell all the time. They ought to be sent back to Africa, or to the Philippines, or off the earth. They're no good here."

And another said:

"Sixty-first street and Sixty-second street, between Amsterdam and West End, are about equally bad; there isn't anything to choose between them. Both blocks are full of the worst lot of criminal negroes in America.

"They come here from all over the country. A nigger who commits a crime in some other city and escapes comes to New York and makes for San Juan Hill, and down there they take him in and hide him. They'll harbor any kind of criminal, so long as he's black, and when we get word that he's there and go after him they all fight to shield him from the police.

"Some never do a stroke of work, yet have money-loads of it. I've seen them gambling for big stakes plenty of times. Where do they get it? By theft and robbery, that's where.

"You see, what makes the most trouble to get these bad negroes is the peculiarity of the locality and the hill. We can approach it only from one side. If the place was level it would be easier for the police.

"A plain clothes man can't show himself at the top or the bottom of the hill without it being signaled all through the district, and if any nigger on the block knows he's been up to some new mischief and thinks the police are after him, he gets inside quick and hides away. And all the others help him and shield him and fight for him against the police."

In all probability the police have at times used unwarranted harshness in handling the negroes of San Juan Hill. But the negroes of this quarter are not a prepossessing or a promising looking lot.

The general appearance of the slope they inhabit is that of slovenliness, and the appearance of the negroes themselves matches that. It requires only a leisurely stroll, with open eyes, down the slope to convince oneself that at least the policemen's charge of lazy, shiftless idleness is true.

Men, youths and boys, of all ages and in all conditions of unkempt habit and raiment, as well as women and children, swarm about the entrances of the houses, loll on the steps and lounge on the sidewalks; the men ready at least to take a hand in a crap game as soon as the back of the nearest patrolman is turned.

Racist tropes and misrepresentation in print media of San Juan Hill residents (1905).
The Sun 1905a.

Nonetheless, in the White news media at large, the neighborhood was portrayed as dirty, poor and riddled with violence. One such newspaper article, "The Naughty Negroes of San Juan Hill," appeared in the Sunday issue of *The Sun* on August 5th, 1905.

Replete with racist caricatures of lazy men gambling on a street and laundresses moonlighting as prostitutes, this article classifies African American migration to the area as insidious and disease-like, pushing the White community out. The quality of the architecture is mentioned as well, "The houses are not materially different from those of any similar locality on the upper West Side - except for more dirt... They are in a fair state of repair now, on the outside at least, but they are dirty within and without as a rule," (*The Sun* 1905a). Whether the reporter had ever set foot inside one of these old law tenement buildings is questionable; whether he furthered a racist agenda by printing these baseless observations is certain. Systemic villainization of San Juan Hill in the mainstream media persisted for decades to follow, influencing public perceptions of the area and allowing for the erasure of the population who once resided there.

Offices of The New York American Newspaper, W. 60th & Broadway (n.d.).
L.L. Strauss

The question of who owned the mainstream news outlets in the early part of the twentieth century comes to the fore when paralleled alongside the political agenda encouraging slum clearance in the 1940s and 1950s. *The New York American* was a morning circular owned by William Randolph Hearst and printed in Lincoln Square just north of Columbus Circle.

Hearst's publication, as well as Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*, were known for sensationalist and factually inaccurate headlines intended to sell as many papers as possible—what is considered today as "yellow journalism" (Davis 1921).

COMPARATIVE COVERAGE OF VIOLENCE

In reporting local events, particularly acts of violence between constituents and police, *The New York Age* and *New York Amsterdam News* reported the facts as they happened and presented the public with names and locations of victims and perpetrators. The persistent focus in reporting on the difficulties of a White police force attempting to quell a riotous population are, contrarily, a constant theme in the White news media of the time. In the case of Richard Hill's murder by a police officer during the melee of a race riot in 1917, *The New York Tribune* reports mainly about the need for order and a bolstered Federal guard presence (*New York Tribune* 1917a).

The New York Age's coverage of this same incident focuses instead on the political implications of police violence and the need for District Attorney Swan to address and punish such heinous acts (*New York Age* 1917a).

Publishing, writing and disseminating information were all important modes of dissent and community-building among Black New Yorkers in the early part of the twentieth century. San Juan Hill was a seminal place for this work. And although crime reporting in particular may have been more unbiased in the Black papers, the sheer volume of terms in all media sources characterizing San Juan Hill as a neighborhood riddled with violence undoubtedly influenced public perceptions.

Home Defence Men in San Juan Hill Riot: Negro Shot Dead in Running ...
New - York Tribune (1911-1922); May 27, 1917; ProQuest
pg. 18

Home Defence Men in San Juan Hill Riot

Negro Shot Dead in Running Fight with Police and Aids

Razors, Bullets And Bricks Used

Many Injured in Fight Lasting Hour and a Half; Five Arrests

San Juan Hill broke loose last night as it has not since the blacks barricaded themselves in their stronghold ten years ago and defied the whole Police Department. Bullets, bricks and razors, the accustomed weapons of the negroes in that militant warren, flew with all the oldtime lack of precision, and while some policemen and Home Defence League members were among the injured, those most seriously hurt were bystanders.

One negro was shot and killed by a policeman, two others were hit by bullets, but not seriously wounded, a patrolman had a finger almost cut off by a razor, a member of the Home Defence League, learning the duties of a policeman, stopped a brick with his nose, and a dozen others, blacks and whites, were patched up by ambulance surgeons. Many more, negroes for the most part, are nursing their injuries in the fastnesses of their tenement citadels.

Four negroes were arrested, charged with inciting a riot, and another, Benjamin Hamilton, who is said to have been the innocent cause of it all, is charged with assault.

Battle Lasts Hour and Half

It was 7 o'clock when the stoop-gossipping, sordid looking streets of the neighborhood that slope from Amsterdam Avenue to the Hudson, suddenly poured forth a horde of frantic black men, whose sole mission was to hit, slash or shoot a white man. Lights still shone yellow in the afterglow, the neighborhood had not yet taken on the sinister aspect that comes with darkness, and the outbreak was the more appalling for that reason.

Not until 8:30 when the reserves from three stations, Home Defence Leaguers, who went on post throughout the city yesterday for the first time, and detectives from the 4th Branch, had fought for an hour and a half, did the police dare to hope that the trouble was quelled. At that hour a police automobile mounting a searchlight patrolled the streets of San Juan Hill, throwing suspicious beams at housetops, where snipers might be posted with piles of bricks culled from convenient chimneys. It found no sign of trouble.

Two lemon and seltzers which were never drunk started the whole affair. They were ordered by Benjamin Hamilton, who was out to show a white friend the sights of San Juan Hill. The trouble was that Benjamin, in the exuberance of his hospitality, forgot that he had passed the unmarked limits of the black belt when he entered a saloon at Sixty-fifth Street and Amsterdam Avenue.

The bartender, who remembered where the black belt ended if Benjamin did not, eyed the negro with a frosty aloofness as he and his friend put sociable feet on the brass rail.

How the Trouble Started

"It'll be a quarter a drink," said he in chilling accents when they ordered their modest refreshments, and there was that in his eye which reminded Benjamin of the black belt frontier. It was a reminder which would have been unwelcome at any time, and was intensely so when he had a white friend at his elbow. Benjamin spoke back right sharply.

The bartender retorted. White loungers in the barroom slouched to points of vantage. Benjamin, on his mettle, hurled the ineffable insult. The bartender reached beneath the counter. Benjamin, it is alleged, took time by the forelock and the bartender by the ear. The next instant a dozen indignant feet, all white or born to that estate, propelled Benjamin with violence from the front door of the saloon. The crowd followed, yelling.

Benjamin lit running, and he kept right on. The frontier that he had passed unnoticed now loomed ahead like a sanctuary, a bare two blocks to the south.

Gabrielo Gilotti, a member of the Home Defence League, had been an amazed witness of Benjamin's projection from the saloon. The crowd which followed pell-mell on the negro's heels with yells of vengeance which might easily be taken for cries of "Stop, thief!" convinced him that his duty confronted him.

Answering yells came from the crowded streets of San Juan Hill; negroes in incredible numbers poured from the side streets into Amsterdam Avenue and surged northward. Gilotti faced the onrush undaunted and retained his grip. Patrolman Michael Mirglia, old in the lore of San Juan Hill, ran to his aid, his nightstick rattling an alarm.

In a moment the policeman and the Home Defence League man were in the thick of it. The blacks centred their attention on the blue uniform, familiar through old battles, and the dogged Gilotti, though receiving what he deemed his share of kicks and cuffs, clung to his prisoner.

He was still clinging to him, though dazed and bleeding and with his nose ripped to the bone by a brick, when the reserves from the West Sixty-eighth Street station arrived. Mirglia, ringed by frenzied blacks, was swinging his nightstick from the vantage point of a building wall several score feet away.

Reserves Plunge Into Mob

After seeing Gilotti and his prisoner to the patrol wagon the reserves ploughed through the mob to Mirglia and then charged back against their opponents. A big negro in the van pulled a revolver and levelled it at the advancing line of blue.

Patrolman Leo Hoy leaped forward from the charging line and got a grip on the negro's coat sleeve. The negro twisted and ran, leaving the sleeve in Hoy's grasp, but retaining the revolver. Hoy pursued him to Sixty-second Street, where the fugitive dodged into a saloon, emerging by the side door and bumping into Philip Minkenbeck, another Home Defence man, who was on post there. Minkenbeck grappled with the armed negro, who tore loose after a struggle and escaped.

Hoy running back to Sixty-third Street in the belief that the negro had scampered across back fences, was set upon by blacks who were rushing to the fight, and was down on his back on the pavement when the reserves from West Forty-seventh Street charged through the street and rescued him.

As the battle progressed white men not in uniform, some of whom earlier in the affray had aligned themselves against the forces of law and order, fell upon the negroes and strove with makeshift weapons to drive them eastward from their stronghold. The fate of the contest still hung in the balance when the reserves from the West 100th Street stations and detectives from the Fourth Branch, under Captain Cooper, added their weight to the struggle.

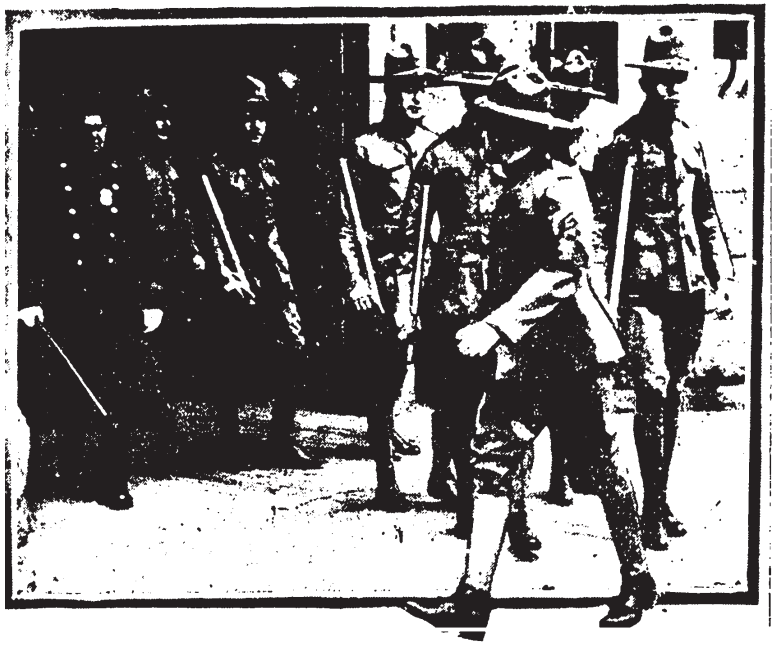
From that time on it was a running fight, the blacks resisting just long enough to assure themselves of a line of retreat. Occasional shots and shattering windows proclaimed that peace had not yet come, but the main conflict was over.

Patrolman Edward Hanson of the West Sixty-eighth Street station, the only policeman seriously hurt, went to Polyclinic Hospital. The third finger of his right hand had almost been severed by a razor. Richard Hill, a negro, of 210 West Sixty-fourth Street, was shot in the neck by Patrolman Francis Meade of the West Sixty-eighth Street station. He was rushed to Roosevelt Hospital in a taxicab, but was dead on arrival.

Another bullet shattered the window of a grocery store on West Sixty-second Street and struck Dorothy Graves, thirteen years old, a negress, in the right thigh. She was attended by an ambulance surgeon, and went to her home, at 235 West Sixty-third Street. Eustace Graves, a negro, of 280 West Sixty-third Street, who was shot in the leg, also went home.

William Chadwick, white, of 105 West Fifty-third Street, who was found on the second floor of 222 West Sixty-

HOME DEFENCE MEN POLICING CITY



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Members of the league leaving Twenty-third Precinct Police Station to do patrol duty while the regular patrolmen were off post taking the examination for promotion to sergeant.

New York Tribune's coverage of a race riot in which civilian Richard Hill was shot and killed by police (1917)
New York Tribune 1917a

The New York Age
IS CLEAN. ONCE IT BECOMES A MEMBER OF THE FAMILY IT IS ALWAYS LOOKED FOR AND WELCOMED.

The New York Age

The New York Age
IS RELIABLE. WHEN YOU SEE IT IN "THE AGE" YOU CAN DEPEND UPON IT. NEWS THAT IS INFORMING.

VOL. XXX No. 36 THURSDAY, MAY 31, 1917 PRICE FIVE CENTS

District Attorney Swan Orders Inquiry Into Brutal Murder of Richard Hill By the Police

(Special to The New York Age)

As the result of a race riot in the "San Juan Hill" District Saturday evening, in which the police, instead of maintaining order and protecting citizens, lost their heads and went on a rampage, Richard Hill, 30 years old, residing at 210 West Sixty-fourth Street, was murdered in cold blood; E. Greaves, a grocer at 227 West Sixty-third street, was shot in the leg, and his niece, Dorothy, wounded in the thigh. All the victims were Negroes, and the offenses committed by police officers who have no more right to be entrusted with fire-arms than a child.

The ruthless killing of Richard Hill and the amateurish manner in which officers sworn to protect the law acted last Saturday evening when scores of offensive colored citizens were assaulted by white toughs, aided and encouraged by the police, have provoked a storm of condemnation from the colored people throughout Manhattan.

In the Columbus Hill District, formerly known as "San Juan Hill," a committee of Negroes has been organized and the shooting of Hill by the police put before District Attorney Swann. Tuesday a delegation from that section called on the District Attorney, presented the facts in the case and demanded that the guilty policemen be indicted for murder. Members of the committee were assured by Mr. Swann that an investigation of the shooting would be conducted at once.

The committee is made up of the Rev. George H. Sims, pastor of Union Baptist Church; the Rev. John Wesley Johnson, pastor of St. Cyprian's Chapel; Fred R. Moore, Dr. St. Clair Jones, William G. Rabain, John E. Gaine, Alfred Smith, S. H. Gunn, Isiah Travers, J. J. Stokes, John Joseph, Geo. Smith, Isiah Patrick, Charles Small, Luther Hudson, William H. Thomas, Page Monroe, Jessie Derous, Williams Gaskin, Richard Green, L. L. Vann, Philip Jones, James Tynes, D. E. Tynes, Jordan V. Tucker, George Smallwood, David C. Outlaw and J. E. Wiggins.

Most Disgraceful of Riots.

During the past fourteen years there have been a number of race riots in the "San Juan Hill" section, but that of last Saturday is said to have been the most uncalled for as well as the most disgraceful, made so by reason of the attention displayed by the police, who vied with the toughs of the "Gas Tank District" in doing Negroes bodily harm without rhyme or reason.

The police were rebuffed for their undue activity in the Fifty-fourth Street Police Court Monday morning when Benjamin Hamilton, who was the cause of the riot, was dismissed for disorderly conduct, as were two other men. Two defendants were fined $10 each.

An interesting feature of the riot and the unenviable part played by the police was brought out in court by Counselor David C. Outlaw, who showed that while white and colored people were engaged in fighting not a white person was arrested, although the district is notorious for its white ruffians.

It was also brought to light that although the race riot occurred on Amsterdam avenue, from Sixty-first street to Sixty-fifth street, the police did all the killing and injuring on Sixty-third street, which is occupied by Negroes.

Richard Hill had nothing to do with the riot, according to eye witnesses, but because he ran down the street, a police officer, who had just alighted from a car, pulled out his revolver and shot him through the neck. The man was killed in front of 227 W. Sixty-third street, where E. Greaves and his niece were waiting on customers. Why the police shot into the store and injured Greaves and niece is mystery which only can be explained by the officers themselves.

Refused Drink in Saloon.

When Benjamin Hamilton and a white friend went into a saloon at Sixty-fifty street and Amsterdam avenue, and ordered two drinks of lemon seltzer, they were told the drinks would cost fifty cents each. Hamilton told his friend not to buy the drinks and left the saloon.

The toughs in the saloon, said to have been in bad humor all day because many of the members of the Home Guard were Negroes and had been doing duty all Saturday in the place of the regular police, went outside and knocked Hamilton down, beating and kicking him.

He regained his feet and began to run for his life in the direction of Sixty-first street, several hundred white persons giving chase. The mob then started to assault every colored person seen on the streets. At Sixty-third street and Amsterdam avenue the police entered the saloon and ordered every Negro out, threatening to shoot. Then one of the officer fired a shot.

The colored men rushed out of the saloon and were met by a mob. It was out of this saloon that Richard Hill ran, continuing west on Sixty-third street with three officers less than fifteen feet behind him. Although at on time a good distance from Hill the police began shooting and it was in front of 227 W. Sixty-third street that he threw up his hands, having been shot three times.

Members of the committee have witnesses who, when produced in court, will prove that during all the time Hill ran from the corner of Sixty-third street and Amsterdam avenue to 227 W. Sixty-third street there was not a white person in the block except those engaged in business; that there were no colored men threatening to assault the police; that there was not a brick or bottle thrown by a person in the Sixty-third street block, but that bricks and bottles were thrown from white people on Amsterdam avenue.

Funeral services were held over the remains of Richard Hill Wednesday evening from the undertaking establishment of William G. Rabain, 212 W. Sixty-first street, the Rev. John Wesley Johnson, officiating. The murdered man leaves a widow and two brothers.

After having been shot by the police, Mr. Greaves was arrested and held a prisoner at Bellevue Hospital as a material witness, the police making an effort to cover up their recklessness.

Several organizations have offered to co-operate with the Columbus Hill Committee in its efforts to see that the police who took part in the shooting are severely punished.

TAKE LAW IN OWN HANDS IN E. ST. LOUIS

(Special to The New York Age)

East St. Louis, Ill.—Three white men, members of a mob which attacked Negroes in East St. Louis, Ill., Thursday night, were shot and probably fatally wounded in a continuation of the race riots which began Monday night, in which many Negroes were shot and injured by ruffians. Negroes, armed with shotguns, rifles and revolvers, massed in their sections of the city and several clashes occurred.

Early in the evening three Negroes were shot, one probably fatally. One of the colored men shot was on his way to work when he was accosted by a white man, who demanded to know his destination. He refused to answer and the white man shot him. A few minutes later another Negro was shot by a mob of whites when it was learned that he had declared the blacks would "put up a fight" if any trouble broke out.

Two white men were taken to St. Mary's Hospital in a serious condition as a result of gunshot wounds. Their identity has not been established. They were unarmed.

The race riots began shortly after a committee from the labor unions met with members of the City Council to protest against further importation of Negroes from the South to work in the stockyards and packing plants.

ROCHESTER ELKS BUY IN LIBERTY BONDS

(Special to The New York Age)

Rochester, N. Y.—Flower City Lodge No. 91, Independent Protective Order of Elks of the World, last night authorized a subscription for one hundred dollars to the bonds of the Liberty Loan, recently authorized by Congress to carry on the war. The action of the lodge reflects credit on the race in this city and will likely point the way for other organizations to prove their patriotism.

TWO BOSTON SOLDIERS KILLED BY TRAIN

(Special to The New York Age)

Portsmouth, N. H.—Privates Edward O. Walton and J. A. Smith of Company L, Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, were instantly killed by an express train on the Boston & Maine Railroad, while guarding a bridge near the town of Newmarket, 10 miles north of here, last Friday. Private Smith had returned but a few hours from Boston, where he had been called to the bedside of his sick wife.

$10 REWARD!

For evidence furnished The New York Age securing the first conviction under the Anti-Dodger Bill. The new law provides that any person or persons commiting any act or acts whereby any race of citizens is held up to contempt or ridicule is guilty of a misdemeanor. See bill on page 6.

WHITES ROB NEGROES SAYS SOUTHERN MAYOR

(Special to The New York Age)

Montgomery, Ala.—The State of Alabama has lost over 50,000 Negroes since the great migration movement, and many white people have become greatly alarmed over the loss of so many colored people from this section.

The following startling charge has been made against the white people of the South by Mayor W. T. Robertson in speaking of the unfair treatment to which Negroes have been subjected since the Civil War:

"There is money in farming, lots of it, but the Negro farmer has been systematically robbed by the white man since the close of the Civil War. They haven't been treated right and no one can blame them for quitting the soil. If the Negro farmers would be returned all the interest in excess of 8 per cent. charged them for money advanced them, they would today be living in brownstone mansions, just as the rich white advancers do. How the Negro has been treated is borne out by an instance which happened last week. An old Negro came to me and asked me if I could 'advance' him this year. I asked him if he had a 'falling out' with his white folks. He replied that his white folks, who had been making money off him for way to work when he was accosted by a white man, who demanded to know his destination. He refused to answer and the white man shot him. A few minutes later another Negro was shot by a mob of whites when it was learned that he had declared the blacks would "put up a fight" if any trouble broke out.

Two white men were taken to St. Mary's Hospital in a serious condition as a result of gunshot wounds. Their identity has not been established. They were unarmed.

The race riots began shortly after a committee from the labor unions met with members of the City Council to protest against further importation of Negroes from the South to work in the stockyards and packing plants.

NOW DOCTORS REFUSE TO MEET AT MEMPHIS

(Special to The New York Age)

Memphis, Tenn.—The meeting of the National Medical Association, which was to have been held in this city August 28 to 30, has been changed and the session will be held in Philadelphia or Atlantic City on the same dates. The immediate reason for this change of place of meeting is the savage and barbarous acts perpetrated in connection with the race riot here on the night of the Negro, Persons, in the vicinity of Memphis.

To cap the climax of this barbority, the recent meeting of the Tri-State Medical Association was interrupted by members of the mob of lynchers, bringing the head of the tortured man and throwing it into the midst of the delegates while in session. The local committee has therefore requested that the meeting place be changed.

CHIEF SAM'S VICTIMS WANT TO RETURN HOME

(Special to The New York Age)

Washington, D. C.—With dreams of wealth unrealized and faith in promises destroyed, homesick American Negroes have petitioned the Acting Governor of the Gold Coast Colony in Africa to send them back to Texas, which they left in 1914 under the sway of the arguments of "Chief Sam," who pictured lives of ease.

They turned over to "Chief Sam" varying sums of money, with the understanding that he would land them on the Gold Coast, where they would receive titles to their own land.

Ambassador Spring-Rice has notified the State Department that the indications are that "Chief Sam" greatly misled the immigrants and finally deserted them, leaving many in destitution. Whether any governmental assistance will be given to the Negroes so they may return to the cotton fields of Texas is not announced.

The Industrial "Door of Opportunity."

1250 TO BE ENROLLED AT FORT DES MOINES

(Special to The New York Age)

Washington, D. C.—[illegible] General H. P. McCain of the War Department has given out the following information regarding the selection for training camps for Negroes:

The training camp at Fort Des Moines, Ia., under Section 84, National Defense Act, and the regulations prescribed for present training camps, except as modified herein and hereafter. The Camp is under the control of the Department Commander, Central Department, who will prepare and conduct the same. The total attendance will be twelve hundred fifty, of whom two hundred fifty will be non-commissioned officers of colored regiments of the Regular Army, to be sent on detached service status, and one thousand citizens either enlisted under Section 54, National Defense Act for three months beginning June 15th, with agreement to accept appointment tendered, or members National Guard whose status will be as in the case of National Guardsmen now in training camps.

The contingents of citizens and National Guardsmen from the various departments is as follows: Northeastern Department 40, Eastern Department 240, Southeastern Department 430; Central Department 180, Southern Department 70 plus contingent from Twenty-fourth Infantry 34 and Tenth Cavalry 37, Western Department 30.

As far as consistent with the character of applicants, it is desired that men selected shall be not less than 26 years of age. Local distribution as between various states and cities and between citizens and National Guardsmen is left to the discretion of the Department Commanders. From all applicants Department Commanders will select their contingents and their definite notice to proceed to the training camps may be given the selected men not later than June 5. The training camps will be ready to receive the non-commissioned officers of the Regular Army June 5, and all others June 15. The course of instruction begins June 5.

In addition to the contingents mentioned above, eighty-four men will be sent to the Twenty-fifth Infantry in Hawaii and twenty-five men from the Ninth Cavalry in the Philippines.

Applications should be addressed to the Commanding Generals of Departments as follows: Northeastern Department, Boston, Mass.; Eastern Department, Governor's Island, N. Y.; Southeastern Department, Charleston, S. C.; Southern Department, Fort Sam Houston, Texas; Central Department, Chicago, Ill.; Western Department, San Francisco, Cal.

EXAMINE APPLICANTS FOR FORT DES MOINES

In pursuance to an order issued by the War Department for the establishment of a colored officers training camp at Fort Des Moines, Ia., candidates between the ages of 21 and 44 will be examined by Lieut. Col. Eugene J. Steese, U. S. A., and Capt. Fifty-third street, Capt. William N. Haskell of Governor's Island in charge. Examinations will be held at the Y. M. C. A. until June 6.

New York State comes under the Eastern Division, which also embraces Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington. Fifty men, not including those already identified with military organizations, will be sent from New York.

The transportation will be furnished to Fort Des Moines at the rate of 3½ cents per mile. Subsistence will be furnished at the camp. Necessary uniforms will be provided at the camp, but it is recommended that those notified as selected secure a uniform before their departure. On arrival at the camp the men will be required to enlist for a period of three months.

FIFTEENTH REGIMENT IS BACK FROM PEEKSKILL

The Fifteenth Regiment, just from a two weeks and a half stay at the State Rifle Range, Peekskill, made an excellent showing in the Decoration Day parade, and was repeatedly cheered. Nearly 1,200 strong, the regiment passed the reviewing stand occupied by Gov. Whitman and Mayor Mitchel, the men acting like veterans.

The Fifteenth reached New York from Peekskill Wednesday morning at 4 o'clock, detrained at Eleventh avenue and Sixtieth street. Col. Hayward and his men at once marched to Riverside Drive and took their place in line.

At Ninety-sixth street and Riverside drive the Fifteenth proceeded east on Ninety-sixth to Central Park West, thence north to 125th street, thence east on 125th street to the Harlem River Canton, which is being used as regimental headquarters.

Both officers and enlisted men profited greatly by their training at Peekskill. Last Friday the regiment was reviewed by Gov. Whitman and staff, and the State's chief executive expressed himself as being very much pleased with the showing the colored soldiers made. The Governor's party remained at camp from 3 o'clock in the afternoon until 9 o'clock at night.

Clef Club Manhattan Casino 155th St. and 5th Ave.
Friday, June 8th

General Admission ..... 50 Cents
Boxes, Not Including Admission $5.00
Loges, Including Admission $5.00

Dancing will begin at 10 o'clock sharp.
THE "RIGHT QUINTETTE"
will entertain between twelve and one.

(Continued on Page 8)

30 YEARS FIGHT FOR SUFFRAGAN BISHOP

Election of Archdeacon Russell Marks First Fruits of Struggle by Colored Churchmen.

BEGAN THEIR FIGHT IN 1887

First Negro Suffragan Bishop Was Born in Mecklenburg County, Virginia, in 1857—Established St. Paul's Industrial School, Lawrenceville, Virginia in 1888.

(Special to The New York Age.)

Baltimore, Md.—The election of Archdeacon Russell as suffragan bishop by the diocese of Arkansas marks the first fruits of a struggle on the part of the colored churchmen that has been carried on in the Episcopal Church for more than a quarter of a century. The demand for representation in the episcopate was first formally voiced at the convocation of church workers among the colored people, when the late Dr. Alexander Crummell was regarded as the logical candidate for the position.

When the position of suffragan bishop was first authorized by the general convention of the church, there was a decided reluctance to extend its benefits to the race for whom it was ostensibly adopted. The first suffragans chosen were white clergy designated to assist the bishops of certain dioceses in their work. The Diocese of Arkansas has been the first diocese to carry out the original purpose of the innovation.

The Rev. James S. Russell, the first clergyman of the race to whom this honor has fallen, was born in Mecklenburg County, Va., in 1857. He attended Hampton School and Bishop Payne Divinity School. He was ordained a deacon in 1882 and as priest in 1887, by the late Bishop Whittle. In 1888 he established St. Paul's Industrial School at Lawrenceville, Va., where his work has won great commendation, both in and out of the church.

Commenting upon the appointment, Archdeacon George F. Bragg, Jr., one of the leaders in the movement to secure racial representation in the episcopate, said in the *Church Advocate*:

"Why should we not rejoice? But a few months after our ordination to the diaconate, in 1887, when we were far below the requisite age to be made a priest, we set up our banner for 'Negro Bishops.' It one will consult the files of the New York *Churchman*, June or July, 1887, he will there find our maiden proposition, suggesting a division of the Southern States into four missionary jurisdictions and the election of as many Negro bishops. No one could have accused us of 'ambition' seeing that we could not in any way be benefited by the adoption of the suggestion. From that time to the present, under all circumstances, and in the face of all kinds of opposition, we have blazed away according to the early 'vision' vouchsafed us. The chief opponent of this 'vision' was a warm personal friend. In his early seminary days, the same roof covered us both. Our own beloved mother, in Paradise, 'mothered' him, as well as us. We attended school together, and we studied together. We were born in adjoining states, and adjoining counties. The same priest presented us both for confirmation, and the same good bishop laid his hands upon our heads. But it seemed to be our destiny to be leaders of a contest on opposite sides. Both of us seem to have won. We have won our contention, not, however, in its fulness; he has won the 'fruit,' and will assume the responsibility of giving interpretation to the 'vision.'

"While our great warfare is over, and we feel deep down in our heart that we have been faithful to the trust, and that we sustain the love and affection of our brethren of the black priesthood, who, all these years, constituted us their special representative of the cause, we would be less than human if we were not minded to watch with much anxiety the quality and strength of interpretation given to the *Leadership of the Racial Episcopate*. We ap-

COOPER GOES TO BETHEL CHURCH

Succeeds the Rev. B. W. Arnett Who Is Transferred to the New England Conference.

N. Y. ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Interesting Session Held at Jamaica, L. I., Bishop Tyree Presiding—Rev. C. P. Cole Made Presiding Elder of Long Island District—List of Appointments.

The New York Annual Conference of the A. M. E. Church closed its session in Jamaica, N. Y., Sunday after an interesting meeting. Bishop Evans Tyree presided. The Rev. C. E. Wilson, pastor of the A. M. E. Church at Jamaica, and the members of the congregation did what they could to make the stay of the visitors enjoyable.

A number of changes were made in the assignment of ministers, the most important being the sending of the Rev. A. R. Cooper, who has been Presiding Elder of the Albany District, to Bethel A. M. E. Church, New York City, succeeding the Rev. B. W. Arnett, who has been transferred to the New England Conference. The Rev. C. P. Cole has been made Presiding Elder of the Long Island District, being succeeded at Bridge Street A. M. E. Church, Brooklyn, by the Rev. W. S. Carpenter.

The ordination sermon was delivered by the Rev. J. C. Beckett, pastor of Mt. Pisgah Church, Philadelphia. Many visitors and delegates were present.

Among the visitors attending the conference were Bishop J. A. Johnson, of Philadelphia; the Rev. J. W. Rankin, Secretary of Missions; the Rev. R. C. Ransom, editor of the *A. M. E. Review*; Bishop W. J. Lee and P. A. Wallace of A. M. E. Zion Church; Dr. Roland Johnson of Philadelphia and a large delegation from Philadelphia and New York.

The total amount of money raised was $2,061.25—an increase of $201.35; number of conversions, 450; raised for missions, $57.75; for education, $650.

The next session of the conference will be held at Bethel, N. Y., May, 1918.

Assignment of Ministers.

Following is the list of appointments:

Long Island District—C. P. Cole, presiding elder. Bridge St., Brooklyn, W. S. Carpenter; Union Bethel, Brooklyn, S. H. V. Combs; Huntington, J. M. Proctor; Bayshore, W. J. Decatur; Amityville, W. H. Williams; Glen Cove, T. H. Lawrence; St. John, Brooklyn, R. B. Doval; Metropolitan, New York, W. M. Mason; Far Rockaway, J. W. Mayo; Douglaston, L. W. Diebolds; Grace, Brooklyn, C. M. Payne; Payne Memorial, Brooklyn, W. L. McKay; Flushing, C. E. Wilson; Elmhurst, C. H. Collins; Roslyn, J. D. Shepherd; Thompkinsville, G. H. Hall; Rossville, S. W. Overton; Babylon, H. H. Harris; Port Washington, Jas. Sterling; Setauket, David Kelly; Port Jefferson and Smithtown, W. J. Stewart; Northport, R. Squires; Jamaica, A. W. Pierce; Westbury, W. F. Coffer; Rockville Centre, H. Irons; Freeport, W. O. Hall.

Albany District, J. J. Walters, Presiding Elder—Chatham, J. E. Pearson; Albany, P. E. Paul; Bethel Church, New York, A. R. Cooper; Kinderhook, Garcia; Buffalo, A. L. Wilson; Niagara Falls, L. B. Langford; Lockport, W. H. Jones; Medina, J. R. Malloy; Albion, J. E. Bastaney; Elmira, R. M. Perrin; Owego, R. C. Ransom, Jr.; Binghamton, G. A. Jones; Derrick Memorial, N. Y., Wm. Edwards; Simon Cyrene, New York, T. G. Clark; New Rochelle, J. H. Thomas; Bronx, G. W. Carrington; Middletown, T. C. Sands.

Transferred to Philadelphia Conference, P. W. Laws.

GETS PLACE ON HONOR ROLL AT AUBURN HIGH

(Special to The New York Age.)

Auburn, N. Y.—Miss Vivian Carter is one of the six members of this year's graduating class to receive a place on the honor roll. To qualify for the honor roll at the Auburn High School the student must maintain a scholarship average of 85 per cent. or over for four consecutive years. Miss Carter has made an excellent record while in High School.

PLAINFIELD GIRLS TAG $15 FOR HOSPITAL

(Special to The New York Age.)

Plainfield, N. J.—Over thirty-five dollars was the amount turned in by five young girls of the race, as a result of their work as beggars last Saturday. The occasion was known as red, white and blue tag day for Muhlenbergh Hospital, for the benefit of the free patient's department. The girls, who were attired as trained nurses, included Misses Stores, Cobbs, Gretna, Haggerties and Lorena Bishop.

New York Age's coverage of the same race riot in which civilian Richard Hill was shot and killed by police (1917).
New York Age 1917a

BLACK LITERACY AND MEDIA ACCESS

To commune about racial inequality and struggle in America, and to celebrate achievements in the community, residents of San Juan Hill could turn to *The New York Age*, *The New York Amsterdam News*, *The Crisis*, *Colored American Magazine*, *Chicago Defender* and *Freedom*. In these publications, there are several instances celebrating local accomplishments and milestones, particularly in weekend editions of *The New York Amsterdam News*.

In the relatively short, several-decade lifespan of a Black community in San Juan Hill, these seemingly trivial weekend pictorials carry a larger significance. They highlight the everyday lives of the local citizens and celebrate a community that would soon need to migrate once more, to Harlem and points beyond. With the advent of hindsight, one can appreciate the seemingly trivial articles about the local population of the neighborhood. They become incredibly meaningful artifacts of the lives and livelihoods of an under-represented community.

Though it began in San Juan Hill, *The New York Amsterdam News* moved to Harlem in 1910; in its heyday in the 1930s and 1940s, it had a readership of 100,000 (African American Registry 2023). According to the 1930 Federal Census, the blocks bounded by West 61st Street, West 63rd Street, Amsterdam and West End Avenues had a total literacy rate of 90 percent, and literacy amongst the Black population reaching 92.4 percent (US Census Bureau 1930). The national Black literacy rate in 1930 was 85 percent (Margo 1990). This statistic supports evidence that the Black residents of San Juan Hill were more literate on the whole than the national average, with access to newspapers and media coverage of their neighborhood from multiple sources.

Photo Standalone 50 -- No Title
New York Amsterdam News (1943-1961); Nov 20, 1948; ProQuest
pg. 30

". . . JUST LIKE A MELODY . . ."—It's not what you'd call Bathing-Suit-Time, but one must admit that, no matter the weather, Milady always makes an attractive photo. Hence, we go into our photo files and present Anna Hill, Terry Richardson, Sylvia Chevannes, Jean Bryant, Doris Watson, Marguerite Simms, Denise Hanson, Alice Cohen and Gloria Barnes, l to r, respectively, who were among the contestants who took part in Long Island's First Sepia Bathing Beauty Contest held on Labor Day of this year at the Lincoln Square Center at 43 West 66th Street. Now, do you agree with that line in that song which says "A Pretty Girl Is Just Like A Melody?"

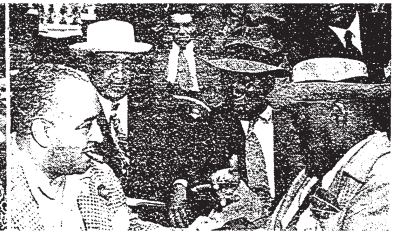
Photo from a beauty contest at the Lincoln Square Center (1948).
New York Amsterdam News.

Highlights of a Week's News In Pictures
New York Amsterdam Star-News (1941-1943); Jun 6, 1942; ProQuest
pg. 12

• • Highlights of a Week's News In Pictures • •

NOTHING LIKE BASEBALL to bring the folks out and nothing like a camera to get closeups of those who make up the crowds. For example, our photographer visited Yankee Stadium Sunday to do the above pictures of the crowd at the Newark-Cubans.

Baltimore-Philadelphia four team doubleheader. Left to right: Willie Wells, called by many greatest shortstop of all time, receives plaudits of fans. He's managing Newark's Eagles. Center, a striking view of the glamorous diva, Caterina Jarboro. At right:



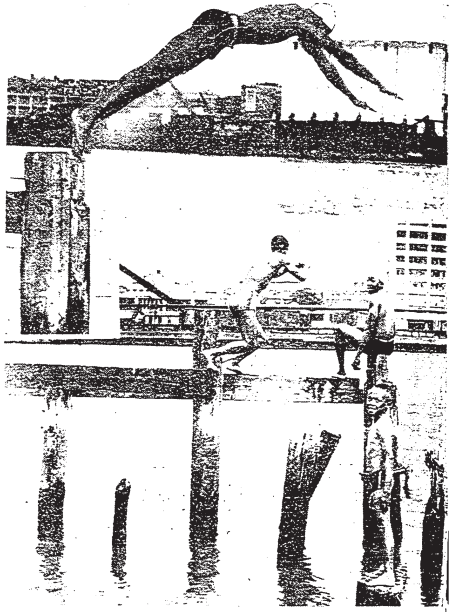
Mal Frazier, Harlem businessman, Commissioner Ferdinand Q. Morton, former high commissioner of Negro baseball, and Dr. Clarence (Shaz) Hogans, look over Jerry Preston's gasoline X-ration card.

KENNETH JAMES, EMPLOYEE at the Raritan Arsenal, Metuchen, N. J., is shown telling Star-News editorial secretary, Gwendolyn Barclay, about "terrorism" at the Government plant two weeks ago. James said he was kicked by a police lieutenant as he watched four other officers manhandle another worker.

THIS YOUTH'S BODY was discovered on a roof at 102 W. 115th St., last Saturday, by Conrad Holder, a tenant. Police attributed death to a knife or bullet wound in the left temple, reporting at the same time that it looked like suicide. Neighbors later identified him as Milton Manville, 20, of 1878 Seventh Ave. Detectives investigating the tragedy this week revealed that they believed young Manville was murdered.

MANY CELEBS saw the Yankee Stadium games last Sunday, among them rounders Harlemites who forsook travel by automobile out of town to save gas and came to see the Cubans, Eagles, Elites and Stars play.

At right: Panama Al Linton, secretary, holds scorecard as boss, Ray (Sugar) Robinson, autographs for a fan. Standing is the world featherweight champion, Chalky Wright. At left, Mrs. Fannie (Little Bo) Ronson, just back from five-week stay in California, talks of trip with Ralph Cooper, popular emcee.



SUMMER IS HERE, or so it seems, with these aquatic enthusiasts taking to the water with such eagerness. Some class that fellow at the top is showing, don't you think? The youngster about to take off from the lower board is a little less graceful, but appears "in there" nevertheless. Scene: East River at 142d Street.

TWENTY-EIGHT YEARS OF ARMY SERVICE was climaxed this week at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, when captain's bars were pinned on the shoulders of Master Sergeant Ora E. Saunders by his former first sergeant, D. C. Carpenter. Headquarters Battery, 349th Field Artillery Regiment. Because of his many years of administrative work as regimental sergeant-major, Captain Saunders was commissioned in the Medical Administration Corps. Center picture shows first colored soldiers to receive commissions

SCENE AT THE GRAVE of the Rev. James E. Rose, late pastor of Mount Olivet Baptist Church, Rochester, N. Y., with the Rev. Father Frank L. Brown offering prayer. Among the close friends and relatives of the deceased is shown Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, Washington, D. C., second from the extreme right, with opened prayer book. The Rev. Mr. Rose died on May 14 and was buried in Mt. Hope Cemetery on the 18th.

VICTOR GARCIA, SHIP DESIGNER, puts the finishing on a model he built at his home, 248 West 64th Street. A mechanic at Phipps Co., Garcia spent two years and nine months on this miniature ship. A seaman for 20 years, Garcia excels in deep sea diving, ship rigging and sail making. He is married and has two daughters, one attending Hunter College and the other a June graduate from high school.

as 2nd lieutenants in the Armored Force are these nine men, shown in front of Armored Force Officer Candidate School Headquarters at Ft. Knox, Ky. Left to right: Leon C. Hayes, Boston, Mass.; Victor A. Moore, Waukegan, Ill.; Theodore E. McClain, Jamaica Plain, Mass.; Othello Dixon, Marion, Ind.; Frederick D. Coleman, Little Rock, Ark.; William F. Bivens, Garrier Mills, Ill.; John H. Eiland, Washington, D. C.; Henry T. Morgan, Pittsburgh, Pa.; William L. Jones, Cincinnati, Ohio, and right, Lt.

DR. O. CLAY MAXWELL, JR., distributed first aid cards Friday morning to Blumstein employes who had completed and passed the American Red Cross First Aid Course. This group is just part of a completely trained organization of Blumstein employes who will take over control of the store, its employes and its customers in time of emergency. Shown in picture, from left to right, standing: Irving Nasaw, building control director of L. M. Blumstein; Misses Tinnie Friedman, Birdie Samish, May Griffin, Thelma Havlock, Frances Tesher, Helen Rapoli, Eugenie Spencer Jones, Julia Jones, Eva D. Fischer, Myrtle Penn and Dr. Maxwell. Seated: Misses Edna Kraus, Mabel Osterle, Eleanor Yolowitz, Evaiene Henderson and Jane Di Pasquale.

"FUZZY KING SOL" a real New York lad, who is organizing a new cooperative band. A virtuoso, his musical career began at the age of 8 with his mother, and wound up Les Hite's orchestra. He's a graduate of the Martin-Smith Music School. He's shown above playing a few chords from his new number, "Katherine." His real name is Solomon Moore.

HARLEM'S VICTORY SERVICE CLUB entertained at a presentation supper to the soldiers and sailors at the USO Center, 2248 Seventh Avenue, May 28. These young ladies presented $26.80 to Mr. Alexander, head of the Center, and to Tom Brown, who is on the athletic division for athletic equipment for the Center. Entertainment was voluntarily given by Luckeyth Roberts, Eddie Green, Miss Savannah Churchill, Billy Bodkin, and Clement Reid. In picture, left to right, Theresa Sherrod, A. Ford, Corp. B. Forrest, Dorothy Walton, presenting check to C. L. Alexander. Seated, Fred Washington and Asa Schederman.

William L. Jones, Cincinnati, Ohio, one of the first nine colored soldiers to receive commissions as 2nd lieutenants in the Armored Force, is congratulated by Maj. Gen. Jacob L. Devers, Chief of Armored Force, during graduation exercises held at Fort Knox, Ky., in the post's $100,000 field house. Lt. Jones, along with seven of his classmates, will report to the 758th Tank Battalion, a colored unit.

Highlights from life around the city; notably Victor Garcia, a ship designer from 248 West 64th Street (1942).
New York Amsterdam Star-News.

THE PUERTO RICAN DIASPORA

After the end of the Second World War, a significant wave of Puerto Rican migration began to alter the demographic makeup of New York City (Thomas and Lauria-Santiago 2019). This growing population of migrants settled into various neighborhoods of Manhattan, including San Juan Hill, which would eventually become more closely associated with the Puerto Rican community than any other ethnic or racial group. Unlike the Black community that resided in this area, the Puerto Rican diaspora of San Juan Hill did not establish a media presence within their neighborhood. Or, rather, they did not have any newspapers or media outlets that were headquartered in the West Sixties. Instead, Spanish-language periodicals such as *El Diario/La Prensa*, *Artes y Letras*, *La Voz*, *Eco Antillano*, *Pueblos Hispanos*, and *Liberación* found their footings in other neighborhoods and other boroughs. *El Diario/La Prensa* in particular—which today has the honor of being the longest running daily Spanish-language newspaper in the nation (Kanellos and Martell 2000)—began in Lower Manhattan and eventually operated out of Brooklyn for much of its continued history (*El Diario* n.d.). Although not every publication began with a Puerto Rican focus, the post-war shift towards Puerto Ricans representing the largest Hispanic group in the city led these publications to adapt to this key demographic (Kanellos and Martell 2000).

The Spanish-language periodicals of the early half of the twentieth century in New York City tended to focus on broader topics afflicting the nation or abroad as they relate to the Puerto Rican and Hispanic communities of the city. They operated like typical immigrant press, with a need to interpret events from a particular racial, ethnic, or nationalist point of view and to further nationalism (Kanellos and Martell 2000). Thus, unlike Black news publications such as *The New York Age* and *The New York Amsterdam News*, the archived articles that are available for the historic Spanish-language periodicals highlight little to no reporting on events and stories specific to San Juan Hill. Although it is possible there were articles published that addressed the neighborhood being discussed, the lack of evidence to that point results in an inability to form a counternarrative through the lens of the Puerto Rican diaspora. Thus, much of the story of the Puerto Rican presence in San Juan Hill is told through the lens of non-Hispanic White media outlets. The few references to this neighborhood that can be found, however, largely focus on the construction of Lincoln Center and the displacement it caused. This can be seen in a Broadway-focused column written by Jorge Hermida in *El Diario* on November 28, 1955, which discusses the Metropolitan Opera's move to a new and improved building (Hermida 1955). An editorial published in the same paper on the following day criticized how the NYC government approached relocation without considering housing alternatives for affected families (*El Diario* 1955). And an opinion piece written December of that same year criticized the author of the first column mentioned for the omission of the approximately 5,000 "Hispanic" families living in the area who had no housing alternatives in that moment (Salgado 1955).

REDEVELOPMENT AND MEDIA COVERAGE

One of the most notable occurrences to affect the physical and social character of San Juan Hill was the construction of Lincoln Center. The reception to this redevelopment in its contemporary era was mixed, with some praising the erasure of these local "slums" in favor of performing arts centers and others criticizing the demolition of a vibrant neighborhood. This mixed reception often split along racial lines with respect to media coverage.

The narratives that were promoted by the White media publications during this period continue to persist today through curatorial archival work. An example of this can be found on The New York Philharmonic's website. The performance entity has a page dedicated to a freely accessible scan of a scrapbook from their archives.

This scrapbook is made up of numerous newspaper clippings that feature articles discussing the Lincoln Center project between 1957 and 1958 (Communications/Public Relations Records 1958). Across these clippings, the articles are largely positive and exclusively pulled from White publications. Among the clippings can be found writings primarily pulled from *The New York Times*, *New York Herald Tribune*, and *Daily News*. Not one article was written by authors at *The New York Age* or *New York Amsterdam News*, two very prominent Black periodicals of that era. The scrapbook presents a narrative in which public disdain served as an initial thorn for Lincoln Square but, soon after, the sentiment shifted towards a positive one. Incidents of backlash are juxtaposed with headlines denoting the millions of dollars in funding being provided for Lincoln center and performing arts as a whole. Moments of tension, such as Robert Moses being met with protest on his way to be honored for the Lincoln Center project, ultimately culminate in moments of triumph, showcasing things such as an article claiming the "battle" to be "over" and that the work to build Lincoln Center may begin.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Wednesday, October 9, 1957

Lincoln Square Project: 'Big, Bold, and Beautiful'

New York Imagination Stirs

By Frederick W. Roeckelkamp

Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York

New Metropolitan Opera House—Preliminary Design

On and Off Broadway

Rockefeller Retraces Plans

By John Beaufort

Fine Arts Drama Critic of The Christian Science Monitor

New York

Blueprints Look Promising

Plans Begin to Take Shape

Philharmonic Orchestra Building—Preliminary Sketch

Fund Campaign Seeks $75 Million

New U.S. Talent Emerges

Lincoln Square Redevelopment Project

Broken white lines show areas included in project

THE New York Times

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1957

LINCOLN SQ. PLAN BRINGS HONOR TO 5

West Side Group Praises Men Who Waged Campaign for Big Cultural Center

MAYOR PROMISES ACTION

Says Estimate Board Will Vote on Project Soon—Pockets Stage Protest

By MURRAY SCHUMACH

Moses Meets Criticism of Project on Way to Be Honored for Same

MY LIFE SAVINGS WILL BE GONE TOO

Robert Moses, chairman of Mayor's Committee on Slum Clearance, is greeted at Essex House by pickets protesting slanted colored and housing project in Lincoln Square

Morningside Sets Model for Lincoln Sq.

Board of Estimate Can Study Massive Relocation Project

Board Holds Final Hearing On Lincoln Sq.

Lincoln Sq. Battle is Lull

Lincoln Sq. Fighters Put On War Dance

Opposition Dramatized At City Hall

By GENE GLEASON and FRED J. COOK

New York Post

Battle of Lincoln Square

NEW YORK, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1957

Board of Estimate Puts Off Lincoln Sq. Action Till Nov. 21

Lincoln Sq. OK Put Off

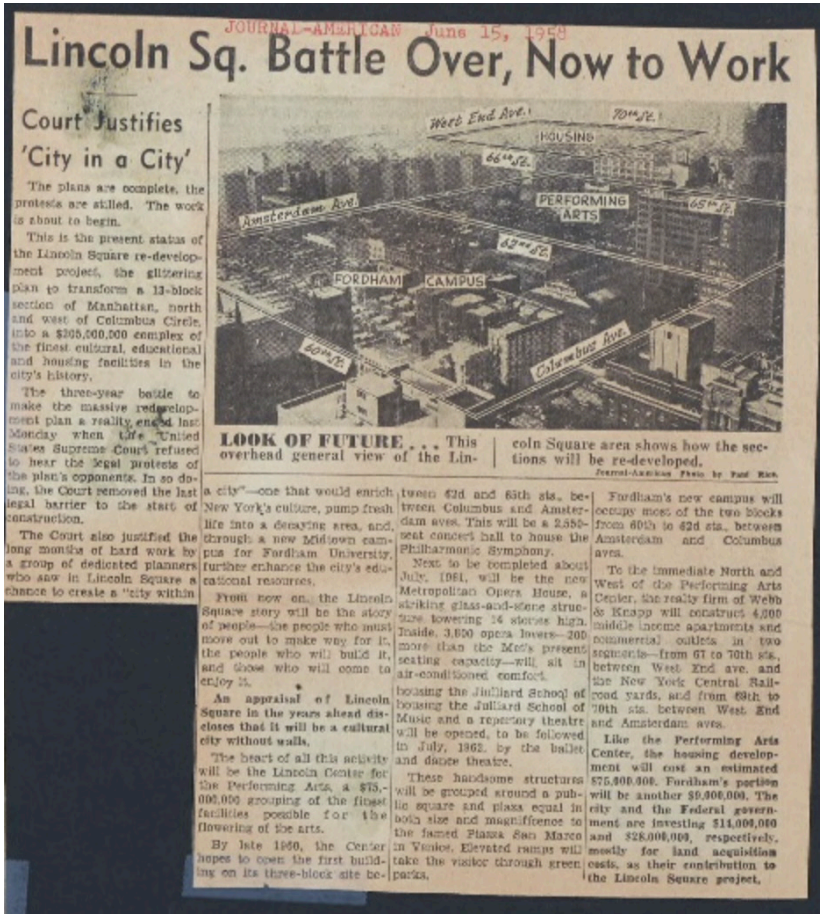
Dear Editor

First Homes, Then Culture

MARION CITRIN

New York Philharmonic 1957-58 Lincoln Square Construction Scrapbook (1957-58).
New York Philharmonic Digital Archives.

Protest of Robert Moses walking to a hearing (1957).
New York Times.


JOURNAL-AMERICAN June 15, 1958

Lincoln Sq. Battle Over, Now to Work

Court Justifies 'City in a City'

The plans are complete, the protests are stilled. The work is about to begin.

This is the present status of the Lincoln Square re-development project, the glittering plan to transform a 13-block section of Manhattan, north and west of Columbus Circle, into a $205,000,000 complex of the finest cultural, educational and housing facilities in the city's history.

The three-year battle to make the massive redevelopment plan a reality ended last Monday when the United States Supreme Court refused to hear the legal protests of the plan's opponents. In so doing, the Court removed the last legal barrier to the start of construction.

The Court also justified the long months of hard work by a group of dedicated planners who saw in Lincoln Square a chance to create a "city within a city"—one that would enrich New York's culture, pump fresh life into a decaying area, and, through a new Midtown campus for Fordham University, further enhance the city's educational resources.

From now on, the Lincoln Square story will be the story of people—the people who must move out to make way for it, the people who will build it, and those who will come to enjoy it.

An appraisal of Lincoln Square in the years ahead discloses that it will be a cultural city without walls.

The heart of all this activity will be the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, a $75,000,000 grouping of the finest facilities possible for the flowering of the arts.

By late 1960, the Center hopes to open the first building on its three-block site between 62d and 65th sts., between Columbus and Amsterdam aves. This will be a 2,550-seat concert hall to house the Philharmonic Symphony.

Next to be completed about July, 1961, will be the new Metropolitan Opera House, a striking glass-and-stone structure towering 14 stories high. Inside, 3,800 opera lovers—200 more than the Met's present seating capacity—will sit in air-conditioned comfort.

Housing the Juilliard School of Music and a repertory theatre will be opened, to be followed in July, 1962, by the ballet and dance theatre.

These handsome structures will be grouped around a public square and plaza equal in both size and magnificence to the famed Piazza San Marco in Venice. Elevated ramps will take the visitor through green parks.

Fordham's new campus will occupy most of the two blocks from 60th to 62d sts., between Amsterdam and Columbus aves.

To the immediate North and West of the Performing Arts Center, the realty firm of Webb & Knapp will construct 4,000 middle income apartments and commercial outlets in two segments—from 67 to 70th sts., between West End ave. and the New York Central Railroad yards, and from 60th to 70th sts. between West End and Amsterdam aves.

Like the Performing Arts Center, the housing development will cost an estimated $75,000,000. Fordham's portion will be another $9,000,000. The city and the Federal government are investing $14,000,000 and $28,000,000, respectively, mostly for land acquisition costs, as their contribution to the Lincoln Square project.

LOOK OF FUTURE . . . This overhead general view of the Lincoln Square area shows how the sections will be re-developed.

Journal-American Photo by Paul Rios.

New York Journal: "Lincoln Sq. Battle Over, Now to Work" (1958).
New York Journal-American.

The project, in this reading, becomes a focal point for local economies and culture. It appears as though Lincoln center is a triumphant hero with an "imposing" opera house that defeats its "foes" who continue to seek a new deal to no avail, ultimately resulting in all being "square in Lincoln Square" (New York Philharmonic Digital Archives n.d.).

Although there is clearly a large presence of articles discussing the pleas of the public against the project, the curation of the scrapbook presents them as colorful elements of a happy story. This is further exacerbated by the exclusion of Black publications, presenting a singular lens through which one can look into this history. And it is not as if articles from this small date range of 1958-1959 do not exist within Black media. An

article in *The New York Age* titled "The Theater, Old and New is Exhibition's Theme..." published on January 24, 1959, for example, mentions how a preview of the Lincoln Center project will be showcased alongside pieces relating to Black theater history in an exhibition at the Museum of the City of New York (*New York Age* 1959). This is just one simple—and even positive—example of how Lincoln Center was being advertised to the public and forming a connection to Black theater culture, which would certainly be relevant to the scrapbook's narrative.

Two more examples that speak more directly to the Lincoln Center project can be found in the April 19, 1958, issue of *The New York Amsterdam News*. The first, entitled "Promise Tenants Fair Treatment," discusses how many Black and Puerto Rican tenants will need to vacate their homes in order to construct Lincoln Center and how they will be forced out of their homes contingent on a Court of Appeals ruling on a suit brought forward by said tenants (*New York Amsterdam News* 1958b). The second, entitled "Negro Supervises Project Relocation," discusses the "scandal ridden" Bureau of Real Estate's decision to appoint a Black real estate manager to supervise relocation and demolition for the Lincoln Center project as a rally was simultaneously held in protest of the subsidy being granted to Fordham University as part of the Lincoln Center project (*New York Amsterdam News* 1958a). The exclusion of these articles, and any of similar publications, harms the historical reading of these events and perpetuates a White narrative of triumph. Or, at the very least, it excludes the voices of the community that were being directly affected.

FRAMING OF LINCOLN CENTER AS A CULTURAL BEACON

Despite several complex legal hurdles toward federal and donor funding and much local civic protest, the Lincoln Center redevelopment project was executed to wide cultural acclaim in the years between slum clearance approval in 1955 and groundbreaking by President Eisenhower in 1959. With the launching of three gorgeous travertine-clad giants designed by Phillip Johnson, Max Abromovitz, and Wallace K. Harrison respectively, the Ballet, the Philharmonic, and the New York Metropolitan Opera finally had one cohesive campus.

Musical Courier: NY's Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts (n.d.).
Musical Courier.

In the words of a July 1958 *London Times* article about Lincoln Center's construction, "at times the best of services to the arts is to give them a home," (*Times-London* 1958). In particular, the rescue and relocation northward of the Metropolitan Opera from its previous, architecturally cramped theater on 39th Street and Broadway was seen as an important symbol of New York City's cultural values. Fordham University and Juilliard, as well as a museum and new restaurant were also part of Lincoln Center's campus plan, providing housing and education facilities for students who desired the best musical and artistic education Rockefeller's millions could provide.

Lincoln Center's economic and cultural boon to the West Side was felt locally and abroad, as evidenced by the widespread media coverage of the cultural centers' launch. *The New York Times* in particular printed many editorials lauding the construction of the cultural center, stoking public excitement about its construction: "as New Yorkers pass the Lincoln Center site, it stands as the daily growing symbol of what is the first step in the grandest cultural project ever conceived in America - or, very likely, in all history," (Schonberg 1960). *The New York Amsterdam News* also praised the center's launch, promoting a benefit concert by Benny Goodman and $1.00 tickets on opening weekend in 1962 (*New York Amsterdam News* 1962a). Columnist Perdita Duncan offered resoundingly positive reviews for the Philharmonic's performance on opening night (New York Amsterdam News 1962b), and Sanford Allen was celebrated as the first Black violinist to appear in Leonard Bernstein's Philharmonic (*New York Amsterdam News* 1962b).

Interestingly, in an oral history interview with WNYC's "Neighborhood Voices" program, Thelonious Monk, Jr. recalls his childhood in San Juan Hill. While denouncing the "urban removal" that occurred, he simultaneously reflects and appreciates Lincoln Center's location:

> *[...] then something happened: I recall it was urban renewal. We in the community called it 'urban removal.' Of course, they moved everyone out, and they told everyone they're going to refurbish the neighborhood and everyone's going to move back. Of course, no one ever moved back and the rents went sky high, and Lincoln Center came in. But that was a good thing, because I think it was an appropriate location for a place like Lincoln Center to be. (New York City Municipal Archives 2019)*

Although the tape ends there, Mr. Monk, Jr. may be alluding to the fact that San Juan Hill had historically been such a rich location for arts, dance and culture, and that Lincoln Center's placement thereon continues the neighborhood's legacy.

POP CULTURE AND THE COLLECTIVE PSYCHE

Throughout the 95-year history of the Academy Awards, there have only ever been two Latinas to win an acting Oscar. The two awards were granted exactly sixty years apart in the same category for the same role in the same story. Rita Moreno received the Best Supporting Actress award for her role as Anita in the 1961 film *West Side Story* and sixty years later, Ariana DeBose received the same award for her role as Anita in the 2021 film *West Side Story* (Davis 2022). This not only showcases the lasting legacy of *West Side Story* in the cultural landscape, but it also pulls into focus what kind of Hispanic/Latine/Puerto Rican stories and storytellers are deemed palatable to the broader public.

Decades after the original stage production, West Side Story has continued to promote an image of life on the West Side as a violence-striken community of Puerto Rican men always at odds with their non-Hispanic White neighbors alongside their sassy, virginal female counterparts (Negron-Muntaner 2000). Through both the stage production and the two film adaptations, this area became almost fictional; a place where the Jets and the Sharks would snap on beat, sing about their woes, and break out into fights. Characters like Anita sang about the American dream and their lives in New York City. The community was simultaneously sterilized, antagonized, and romanticized. And this image persists, although for many it may exist frozen in time.

The original film shot on location in/near the San Juan Hill area around West Sixty-Eighth Street between West End and Amsterdam Avenues (Barrios and Turner Classic Movies 2020). The story, written by Jewish men with no particular ties to this area, largely pushed this idea of the violent Puerto Rican community on the West Side. It was, and continues to be, a stereotype whose story was chosen to be topical for the contemporary age (Negron-Muntaner 2000). Furthermore, its promotion of the West Side as a Puerto Rican epicenter has scrubbed the history of Black Broadway and all that San Juan Hill was from the collective cultural psyche.

When one is not thinking about the West Side as a Puerto Rican slum trapped in time, the image depicted of what is now Lincoln Square is that of the aspirational arts. Films such as *Fame* (1980), *Center Stage* (2000), and *Black Swan* (2010) have drawn attention to this neighborhood as the home of the arts, with The New York City Ballet and Juilliard—and their fictionalized counterparts—often serving as focal points. These depictions often feel detached from what could once be considered Black Broadway. Although a diversity of individuals exists, the stories depicted largely favor the White protagonists over their non-White counterparts, whether in terms of economic struggles, traumatic backstories, severity of personal strife, or the satisfaction of their conclusions. Elements of Black joy seem to have been omitted for many years or negated by elements of Black trauma and strife.

MOVEMENT TO UNCOVER LOST HISTORIES IN SAN JUAN HILL

In recent news, the history of San Juan Hill has become topical and its resurfacing is germane to understandings of Lincoln Center's legacy and the cultural heritage of the neighborhood. Using music, public art, and press coverage in traditional media outlets, Lincoln Center has begun to uncover the lost story of the neighborhood that existed before as a bridge toward inclusion and reckoning with the past in order to understand the future. Since its inception, Lincoln Center has had a motto of "Art for All;" then-President William Schuman promptly launched the Mostly Mozart Festival in 1966 - a ploy to keep Lincoln Center's doors open in July and August, while bringing in low cost ticket buyers and employing local New York City musicians (*New York Times* 1991). Even the first Philharmonic concert in 1962 had a ticket price range of $1.00-$100 (*New York Amsterdam News* 1962b). Recent reinterpretation of what "art for all" means and closer examination of the populations Lincoln Center serves, have become even more integral to Lincoln Center's programming.

In a 2017 *New York Times* article, Keith Williams discussed the Title I eminent domain laws that made slum clearance possible in Lincoln Square, and chronicles the displacement of more than seven thousand low income families and eight hundred local businesses (*New York Times* 2017). This time period before the pandemic was instrumental in Lincoln Center's movement to uncover the lost history of the neighborhood and develop ways in which to engage their neighbors. During the pandemic, Lincoln Center utilized their resources and open spaces on campus to program outdoor events for families, to offer memorial services for those lost to COVID-19, stream concerts online, and to open the doors generally to the local community (Lincoln Center 2021). It was this confluence of dire changes in access to live events, dark stages and time for philosophical reorganization, as well as shifts in the national cultural zeitgeist toward racial justice, which most likely led to Lincoln Center's interest in such programming.

On October 8th, 2022, after major renovations to David Geffen Hall, the inaugural performance in the space was a composition by Etienne Charles & Creole Soul with the collaboration of the New York Philharmonic titled "San Juan Hill: A New York Story," (Lincoln Center 2022). The show combined "a multitude of musical elements—from Ragtime, Jazz, Stride piano, Swing, Blues, Mambo, Paseo, Antillean Waltz, Calypso, Funk, Disco, and Hip Hop—are woven together with historical film and present-day interviews to showcase the myriad musical styles and culture that were brought to New York by migrants from the south and the Caribbean," (Lincoln Center 2022). This performance was presented with a "Choose-What-You-Pay" ticket model, evincing a more accessible theater-going experience for all local residents. The structuring of the piece places Creole Soul at the center: "the ensemble grooved alone onstage for the first half-hour of the roughly eighty-minute piece; then the New York Philharmonic entered, acting almost as interlopers in an already thriving culture," (Heinrich 2022). According to Mr. Charles, "this piece is about showing the magic of the culture that was created when these people came together here. Gullah dance here, paseo rhythm there, Antillean waltz here, Sicilian folk chant there, Irish drunk song there," (NPR 2022). The site specificity of this piece was powerful in that it showcased a blendship of genres and styles from displaced immigrant and migrant communities on the very stage which displaced them.

Concurrent to this live show was Jacolby Satterwhite and Nina Chanel Abney's "San Juan Heal" installation, commissioned by Lincoln Center, the Public Art Fund and the Studio Museum in Harlem (*New York Times* 2022).

Satterwhite's video art looped on the four-hundred-foot lobby wall of Geffen Hall, and Abney's thirty-five large, vinyl squares ornamented most of the building's northern façade. These works, as well as Etienne Charles' musical piece, highlighted and celebrated the history of San Juan Hill, while also acknowledging Lincoln Center's complicity in the area's dark, urban renewal story. The media acclaim was unanimous; according to *The New York Times*, the bold colors and easy legibility of the work was inviting, joyous and welcoming, while confronting difficult issues (*New York Times* 2022). Restorative justice programming at Lincoln Center is important because it can utilize large resources, space and an international platform to highlight the historic arts and culture of San Juan Hill, while encouraging visitorship and patronage from the current nearby residents. In this way, the very same media strategies which were used as a vehicle to dehumanize and villainize the denizens of San Juan Hill can be used to resurrect their lost histories.

There are several instances of media which explore the relationship of Lincoln Center and nearby Amsterdam Houses. *The Westside Rag* published one oral history from a resident of Amsterdam Houses last year: Alton Johnson chronicled his experience living in the housing project during Lincoln Center's construction (*Westside Rag* 2022). The aforementioned "Neighborhood Voices" program on WNYC was another such effort to capture the stories of the old neighborhood. And Landmark West!, a preservation advocacy group on Manhattan's west side, launched a community-engaged San Juan Hill remembrance project, "The Many Lives of San Juan Hill," in the summer of 2022 (*Landmark West!* 2022).

There is, however, an inherent convenience to this recent media coverage. To address

"San Juan Heal" at Lincoln Center (2022).
N. Chanel Abney.

the lost, racially charged history in San Juan Hill through various media formats at this juncture in time, when there is no longer an inconvenient "slum" to be cleared, is poignant. The media sources examining this juxtaposition are severely lacking as well. Large-scale, mainstream coverage of this history is threadbare. *The New York Times*, for instance, has published just one op-ed discussing Amsterdam Houses in relation to Lincoln Center (*New York Times* 2022). There is little modern acknowledgment of the lasting, generational effects of discriminatory media practices about San Juan Hill and the reality of the persisting bias and narrative exclusion of low income, immigrant, migrant and communities of color in the Lincoln Square neighborhood. Lincoln Center's renewed engagement with inclusion of their neighbors—opening doors for cheaper events, programming Spanish-language and/or Afro-Caribbean musical works, and distributing flyers door-to-door with event announcements at Amsterdam Houses—is a step in a restorative direction.

HISTORIC ASSETS

New York Amsterdam News Birthplace
Address: 132 West 65th Street

Brick row house with stone front, sitting on an eighteen-foot-wide lot. This was the first location of James H. Anderson's *New York Amsterdam News*, established in 1909, which would move to Harlem and become one of the most widely circulated Black-owned newspapers in the country. Originally, the paper sold for two cents a copy.

The Alexander Press
Addresses: 219 West 62nd Street; 114-116 West 27th Street

First address: Five-story new law tenement building, on the current site of Amsterdam Houses. This was the home of George A. Smallwood, who started *The Alexander Press*, a small Black-owned newspaper and publishing company. He started the paper in his home, two doors down from the Tuskegee Model Tenement.

Second address: Relocated office of *The Alexander Press* in 1908.

The American Circle Building
Address: 7 Central Park West

The American Circle Building housed the Bureau of Employment and Migration (later renamed Migration Division of the Puerto Rican Department of Labor). It began as an agency in San Juan, Puerto Rico. In 1948, this new branch of the bureau opened in New York City to help Puerto Ricans migrating to the United States. It was created with the goal of integration, by and for the Puerto Rican government. The Circle Building also housed *The New York American* newspaper. It was a two-story masonry building covering the entire "flatiron" block between Central Park West, Broadway, 60th and 61st streets. A Hearst company, it was a morning newspaper that eventually combined with the *Evening Journal* to become the *New York American-Journal*. It is now the site of Trump Tower.

The West Side Herald
Address: 1841 Broadway

The Cova Building was the headquarters of the *West Side Herald*, a semi-weekly underground Communist newspaper formed to sway the 1944 election.

CBS Broadcast Center
Address: 524 W 57th Street

Extant today, this building was purchased from Sheffield Farms Dairy by the CBS Broadcasting Corporation in 1952 and began steady television broadcasting by 1963. One of the nation's first "in-house" television and radio production studios.

WOR-TV Station
Address: 101 West 67th Street.

In 1951, this building was known as "9 Television Square," due to the large number of broadcasting studios and companies operating in the vicinity. Originally an ABC affiliate, this building was leased in the late 1950s to NBC.

REDEVELOPMENT AND DECISION-MAKING

Charlotte Boulanger and Di Zhu

The redevelopment of San Juan Hill is most often associated with the construction of the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts between 1955 to 1969. Touted as an illustration of successful urban renewal, it stands as a colossal cultural complex spread across three blocks and hosting renowned performing arts, music, and dance institutions.

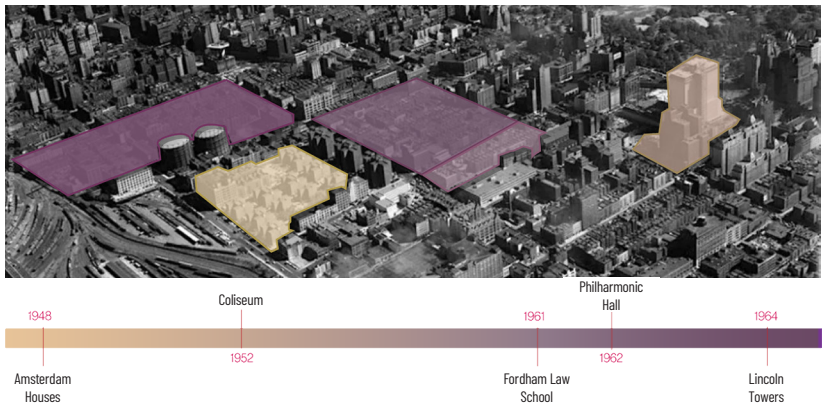
After opening in 1962, following the wishes of John D. Rockefeller III, the center has been cited in literature as being the trigger for most redevelopment in the larger surrounding area. Although the project was central in crafting a new socio-cultural vision for the neighborhood, it is crucial to recontextualize such development as part of a larger process of targeted incremental urban changes during the post-war period, starting with the construction of the Amsterdam Houses in 1948. In the context of New York City, redevelopment projects were presented as undertaking necessary 'site improvements'. However, under the guise of turning the city into a world capital, 'slum clearance' projects instead demolished entire neighborhoods, such as diverse and culturally rich San Juan Hill, and replaced them with White-oriented urban centers.

Decision-makers such as the Slum Clearance Committee and stakeholders such as John Rockefeller III found ways to gain the upper hand in regulating the land-use of the neighborhood. Such spatial claims over the neighborhood were blatant expressions of power imbalances that disempowered local communities. This overtly unilateral process led to the sweeping displacement of entire communities, who remained underrepresented throughout the various redevelopment endeavors in the neighborhood.

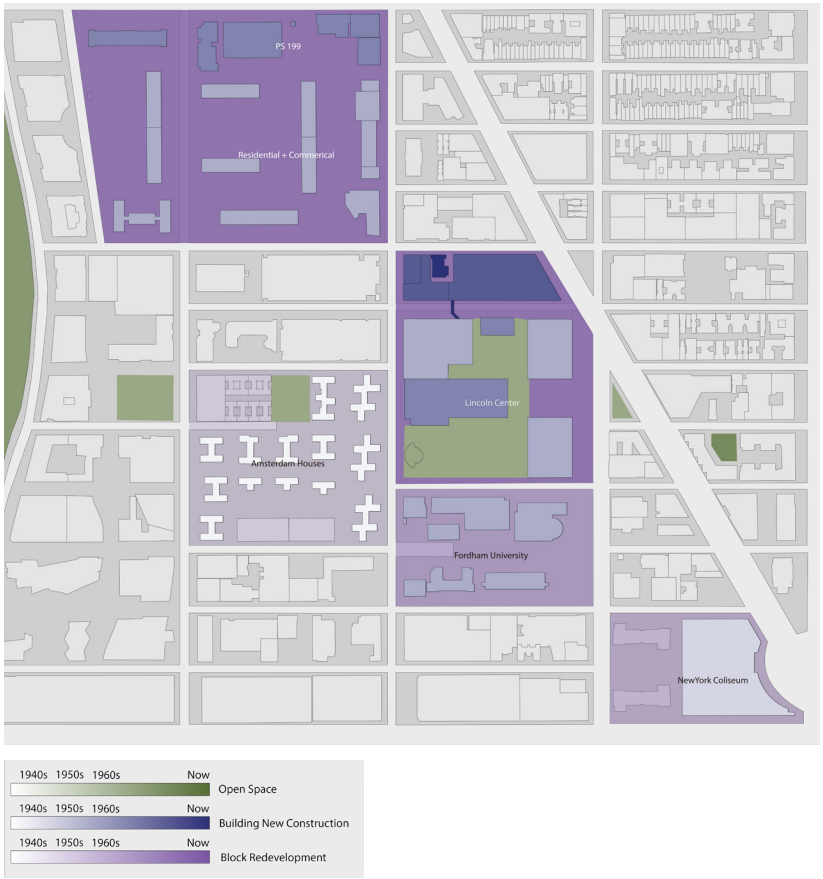
A COMPLEX NEXUS OF REDEVELOPMENT(S)

Understanding the redevelopment of San Juan Hill entails adopting a broad lens, one that covers a series of smaller incremental changes in the neighborhood and culminates in the construction of the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts and its first building, the David Geffen Hall, home of the New York Philharmonic. Prior to the World War II, high-rise residential and office buildings had already started appearing in the defined area between Columbus Circle and Broadway, but a new impetus for construction arose from the post-war need to accommodate changing demographics.

The construction of the Amsterdam Houses between 61st and 64th Street in 1948 was arguably the seed that started larger redevelopment prospects in the area. Not only did it start introducing the idea of improved living conditions through newly built affordable housing projects in the area, it also showed the potential of merging blocks for larger complexes through multi-lot acquisition. Beyond its form, it furthermore started incorporating more high-density buildings in the neighborhood. A few years later, in 1952, the redevelopment of Columbus Circle was launched under Robert Moses' supervision, which further rooted discourses of widespread redevelopment of the West Side of Central Park. Under this redevelopment, the Coliseum convention center was built alongside large new office spaces to accommodate the bustling activities of the city. In many ways, one could see the Lincoln Square redevelopment as the logical continuation of the Coliseum. The redevelopment timeline of the project strikes as geographically targeted and intentional. Starting with Amsterdam Houses, redevelopment moved to Columbus Circle and then kept going up along Broadway with the Manhattan campus of Fordham University, Lincoln Center, and shortly after, the Lincoln Towers in 1963.



Aerial View of Major Government-Sponsored Redevelopment Projects, 1948 -1972 (2023).
C. Boulanger.



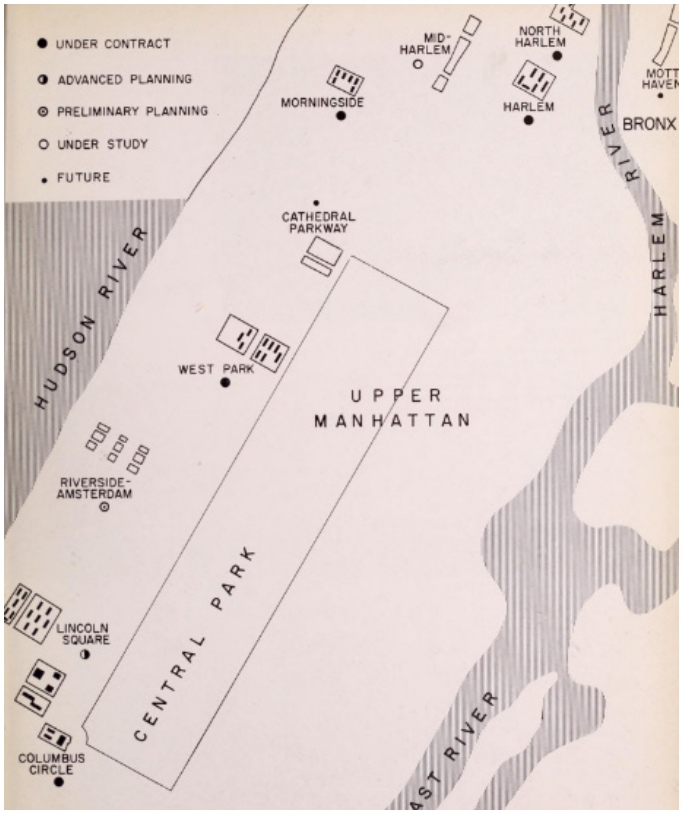
Main redevelopments of the study area between 1948 and 1972 (2023).
D. Zhu

The redevelopment site was thoroughly thought-out by its main stakeholders. While news outlets reported that San Juan Hill was an "ideal candidate" for urban renewal with no further justification, there were several intricate layers at play hiding a larger prescriptive vision for New York City. Undeniably rooted in the perceived supremacy of European culture being the highest form of art and life for a global New York, the careful negative characterization of the area and its residents for decades by White-owned news outlets had cemented the "blight" that the neighborhood was said to suffer from. Although we now know that this was blatantly racist rhetoric, under the curated public justification for urban renewal, the diverse area of San Juan Hill was an easy target, and decision-makers found ways to use loose policy frameworks in order to forcefully clear out populations.

Policy Framework

The redevelopment of San Juan Hill was enabled by a policy framework that allowed the project's main stakeholders to game the legislation for their own benefit. Previous "slum clearance" projects had been completed in the city, and Title I of the Federal Housing Act of 1949 facilitated redevelopment by enabling governmental actors to claim private land through eminent domain for future public use, such as with the case of Lincoln Square (Polisi 2022). Title I hence gave legitimacy to the gargantuan redevelopment of areas deemed blighted by granting federal subsidies to land clearance actions. The subsidies would be used to offset the costs of buying the land and demolishing buildings. The rationale behind such legislation was rather straightforward: remove over-congested and rundown buildings to provide new modern, livable amenities (Zipp 2009). More than simply funding a part of the redevelopment costs, Title I assumed that demolition was a money-wasting part of the process that many developers were not willing to cover. One 1957 report presented by the Slum Clearance Committee overtly recognizes that Federal subsidies were used to cover the "cost of buildings which must be torn down and have no value to developers" (Committee on Slum Clearance 1957). New York greatly benefited from Title I and proportionately received more funding than any other major city. It was reported that in 1955, out of the additional $500 million in grant authorizations, New York City was allocated $39 million, or almost 8 percent of the total budget (Committee on Slum Clearance 1957).

Title I came with some prerequisites that helped to publicly justify urban renewal projects. For one, funding would only be granted following both local and federal approval of each project's comprehensive redevelopment plan. In theory, this provision was meant to ensure the smooth management of redevelopment, and allow some form of accountability towards the public (Zipp 2010). By setting expectations, the plan would dictate infrastructure types, zoning, and land-use. Further, Title I required the construction of new middle-class housing to accommodate both former and prospective residents. While this provision sounds positive on paper, the goals of Moses were widely different and profit-oriented, which led him to use the law as a façade to build larger complexes beyond housing (Caro 1975). The words of Title I were ambiguous at best, as the program targeted "predominantly residential" areas, yet there were no provisions ensuring that former residential areas would be redeveloped as residential spaces (Zipp 2010). This was further complicated by the complex relationship between public and private actors in the redevelopment process.



Slum Clearance Progress: Title I, NYC (1957).
New York (N.Y.). Committee on Slum Clearance.

270 West 70th Street between Amsterdam and West End Avenue (Public School 199) (2022).
Landmark West!

Urban Form and Land Use

"Patching out hopeless worn-out buildings on a temporary or minimum basis presents the possible result of slum preservation rather than slum clearance."

(The Housing Act of 1949)

Perhaps the most visible manifestations of the sweeping changes brought about by the San Juan Hill Urban Renewal program can be identified by looking at the landscape and organization of spaces. The definitive and normative vision of redevelopment carried by the Slum Clearance Committee involved a great deal of demolition and block/lot mergers, with a heavy emphasis on what is now known as the "superblock." Typologically, redevelopment under Urban Renewal programs featured three key characteristics: large-scale clearance, re-planning, and private development (Ballon et al. 2007). It should also be noted that such redevelopment was multifaceted and not restricted to a single construction type.

From the perspective of modern urbanists and architects like Le Corbusier, the traditional grid pattern of the urban environment could trigger unhealthy living conditions, such as high population density and land coverage, depriving people of basic human needs like open space, light, air, and sanitation. A single block's slum clearance could not change a neighborhood's "decaying" character. Therefore, there was a need to aggregate the original small blocks, clear "inhuman" properties, and rebuild new edifices (Krieg 1989). The superblock character of the Lincoln Square redevelopment project was shaped by multiple projects that imposed their influence on urban form, including the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, Inc., Lincoln Towers Apartments, Fordham University, and the Julliard School. They changed the original street grid and transit, the relationships of buildings to the street, and the distribution of building heights and open space.

Beyond its form, changes in use were also brought about by urban renewal through the introduction of institutions. For example, P.S. 199, a public school located on 270 West 70th Street, was initially devised as an institution for the neighborhood.

The Red Cross and Fordham University also invested as part of the renewed vision for the neighborhood, benefiting from complex—and often opaque—relationships between government and collaborating institutions.

URBAN SHAPING AS AN EXPRESSION OF POWER

Government Agencies

Different government agencies were involved in the multi-project redevelopment project of the Lincoln Square area, including the 1948 Amsterdam Houses, the 1952 New York Coliseum, and the Lincoln Square Title I program. The New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA), a public development company providing public housing in New York City, directed the Amsterdam Houses project. NYCHA was responsible for the demolition of the area between 61st and 64th Streets on Amsterdam Avenue. The project created the neighborhood's first superblock and incurred the first largescale displacement of residents (Ballon et al 2007).

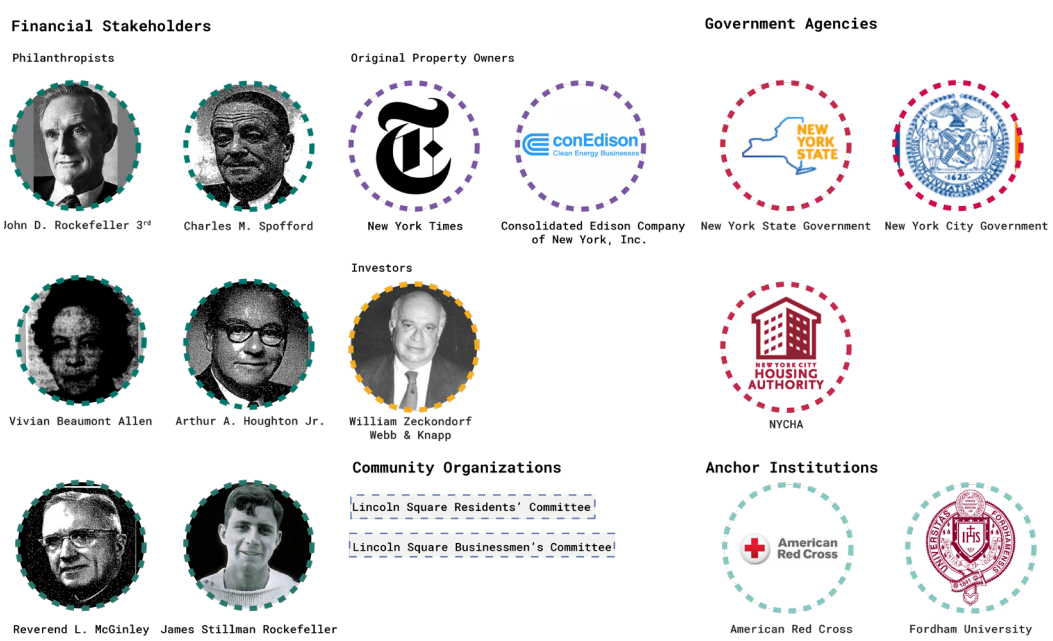
The government agencies involved in the Title I projects in New York City were assembled as the Slum Clearance Committee, headed by Robert Moses. Six sub-committees existed within it: the City Planning Commission, the City Housing Authority, the Board of Estimate, the Department of Buildings, the Comptroller, and the Corporation Counsel. These six departments were responsible for information collection and decision-making. The aim of the Slum Clearance Committee was to "clear unprofitable or rundown buildings near downtowns, and find local real estate and business interests to build new, modern housing and commercial structures in place of so-called 'slum' and 'blight'" (Zipp 2010). In the Title I projects, the government agencies mainly focused on the approval or denial of the state subsidies for the slum clearance and tax abatement.

The committee was also responsible for field surveys. In the Lincoln Square project, it conducted house-to-house research on the conditions of the neighborhood. It concluded that the area suffered an irretrievable decline and physical deterioration. In the report, the data showed that 62.6 percent of the families living in the site earned less than $4000 a year, and about 53 percent earned less than the city median income of $3526 a year. In terms of demographics, about a quarter of the families were minorities. Among them, Puerto Rican residents comprised 18 percent, 4 percent were Black residents, and 2 percent were listed as "Others" (N.Y.C. Slum Clearance Committee 1956). The living conditions in the neighborhood were described as suffering from "over congestion, disease, delinquency, crime, and other attendant ills of a cramped and scrambled population" (Zipp 2009). This pointedly negative characterization of the neighborhood was a means of justifying redevelopment.

The City Planning Commission held public hearings to offer a platform for residents and community organizations to have conversations with the project's advocates, such as John D. Rockefeller III (Zipp 2009). Though the voice of the local community was still underrepresented, the way the agency organized stakeholders with different perspectives suggested that they were attempting a fair process. The report and voting conditions of the public hearings would in theory influence the final decision made by the Board of Estimate.

The West 64th St. Façade of the Amsterdam Houses in 2023 (above), owned and managed by NYCHA. The same streetscape in 1940 (below).
Y. Liu.

Additionally, the New York City Department of Parks was responsible for the construction and management of public areas, like the two plazas at Lincoln Center, Damrosch Park, the pedestrian bridge across 65th Street, the underground concourse connecting all the buildings, and a 732-car garage. The funds mainly came from the federal and municipal government (Finance & Personnel Records 1963). This indicates the active engagement of the government and their oversight of open space.



Overview of the Key Redevelopment Stakeholders (2023).
D. Zhu

The Lincoln Center groundbreaking was attended by such notable guests as President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Robert Moses, John D. Rockefeller III, and Max Abramovitz. The ceremony was relayed extensively by media outlets.
Communications/Public Relations Records Collection. New York Philharmonic Shelby White & Leon Levy Digital Archives, New York, NY. 1963. Printed Booklets - Philharmonic Hall and Lincoln Center, 1 Jan 1963 - 31 Dec 1963. Folder 023-06-11.

Financial Stakeholders and Funding as Leverage

The supporters of the urban renewal project varied from the "highest echelons of Manhattan's financial, corporate, legal, and cultural communities," to foreign governments (Twentieth Century Fund and Mayer 1970). These supporters expected that the project could make the west side of Central Park an international cultural center. For the Lincoln Square Title I project, there were three different types of financial stakeholders, including philanthropic patrons, the stipulated project investors, and the original property owners who benefited from the value increase by the redevelopment plans.

In order to attract funding and justify the project to the public, Robert Moses used the influence of major White newspapers, like *The New York Times*. A 1959 article described the San Juan Hill neighborhood as "barren urban waste" where "tenements stand, blowsy and run-down, in silent shoulder to shoulder misery, full of filth and vermin" (*New York Times* 1959). The New York Times Company owned a printing plant on West End Avenue and 64th Street, within the redevelopment area, and the New York Times Foundation pursuantly was one of the major corporate donors to the Lincoln Center project. Consolidated Edison Company of New York, Inc., and the General Motors Corporation also held properties in the Lincoln Square area (Lincoln Center Publication 1964). The potential profits to be made from the redevelopment incentivized property owners to back the urban renewal projects.

In addition to property owners, the redevelopment plan also attracted new investors. For example, one of New York City's largest real estate developers, William Zeckendorf, invested in the Lincoln Towers project, a six building superblocks from 66th to 70th Street, between West End Avenue and Amsterdam Avenues. The target residents of the Lincoln Towers were the luxury class, who could afford the $130 studios and $272 two-bedroom apartments (high rents for the time). This particular project was also the biggest Title I program in the United States at the time (Ballon et al 2007). With its six high-rise towers, the Lincoln Towers physically and socio-economically marked a change in the area. Although the project should have theoretically been used to rehouse the displaced families affected by the demolition of buildings on the site, very few former residents ended up benefiting from the newly built infrastructure. The complex was turned into a cooperative in the 1980s and is now a luxury housing complex.

Through its "Commemorative Gift Opportunities" advertisements in the Lincoln Center newsletter, Lincoln Center attracted many individuals' and foundations' funding. The non-profit corporation welcomed all types of donors, ranging from foundations to corporations to individuals. Gifts and memorial opportunities for donors ranging from $1,000 to $5 million were listed for the New Metropolitan Opera House, Philharmonic Hall, Juilliard School, and other associated buildings. The board insisted that permanent

New York Times Printing Plant in the Lincoln Square Area (1940).
NYC Municipal Archives, 1940s Tax Photos.

Courtyard View of Lincoln Towers Apartment (2023). The housing was developed by William Zeckendorf.
Y. Liu.

plaques with donors' names was the best way to represent these contributions (Communications/Public Relations Records Collection 1959-1964). Among the individual donors, Mrs. Vivian Beaumont, a famous actress, was the most generous and donated $3 million to the project resulting in a theater being named after her. Among all the foundations, the Rockefeller Foundation was the biggest gift-giver, and donated $15 million to the project between 1959 and 1964 ("Philharmonic Hall and Lincoln Center", 1963).

Aside from individuals, corporations, and foundations, even foreign governments were involved in the fundraising program. The Federal Republic of Germany (at that time West Germany) donated $2.5 million to Lincoln Center. The Board of Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, Inc. advertised the donation from West Germany as a successful diplomacy strategy to form a positive figure of America to the world. Even Clifford Coombs, Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, reflected, "I regard this international co-operation in the arts as akin to what is going on in the economic and political field to build common markets and common bonds among free nations. The 'common market' in the arts is as strong as any in the political or economic field" (Communications/Public Relations Records Collection 1959-1964).

Anchor Institutions

The logic behind inviting international organizations and not-for-profit institutions is quite similar. The introduction of the International Red Cross to Lincoln Square was mutually beneficial for both the Red Cross and the city. The city gained an international reputation for hosting its non-profit headquarters, and conversely the organization got the opportunity to have a new headquarters and potential profits (Zipp 2010). The chairman of the Red Cross's building development committee was James Stillman Rockefeller, the president of National City Bank and cousin of the Lincoln Center chairman. The Red Cross bought the site in 1958 for $350,000 and sold it in 2004 for $72.3 million (Ballon et al 2007).

Fordham University initially reached out to Robert Moses as a bridge to the municipal government, in an effort to rent space in the New York Coliseum to accommodate about five-thousand students. However, the university's proposal was not approved. Instead, the university was invited to the Lincoln Square project because it matched the city's goal of advancing higher education in the future cultural center, allowing the university to acquire land at a lower price in the name of a public good (Committee on Slum Clearance 1956).

American Red Cross Headquarters in New York City (1980).
1980s Tax Photo, NYC Municipal Archives.

The Entrance of Fordham University.
Fordham University.

Closed-Door Decision-Making Process

Robert Moses played a role not only as a bridge between the private sector and public agencies, but also as the project face. With his position as the chairman of the Slum Clearance Committee of New York City, Moses enabled the financial stakeholders to get a "pre-negotiated" price for land and transferred the government's responsibilities for the relocation of original residents to private sponsors (Ballon et al 2007). As such, Moses established a non-zero-sum game for the project's backers and the government.

Pre-Negotiated Sales and Land Appraisals Based on Future Use

According to the federal procedures for public-private partnerships and urban renewal projects, the city should first deal with site choice, tenant relocation, and site clearance. With the land becoming vacant, private actors can participate in the land auction and ultimately the redevelopment project. During the land auction, any potential and interested sponsors can theoretically bid. However, the Slum Clearance Committee reset the game in New York City. Right after a site was chosen for slum clearance, the city made contact with prospective sponsors at the outset of the administrative process (Ballon et al. 2007). The "auction" was not an open bid, but rather a highly negotiated process.

In order to attract sponsors to invest in the Lincoln Square Title I project, the Slum Clearance Committee shaped a profitable deal, including the future increase in land value, the plan for dwelling units to meet the requirements for government approval and subsidies, as well as possible tax abatements. Moses hired Richard C. Guthridge, a design company, to design a Lincoln Square redevelopment plan brochure with graphics, prospective images, detailed plans, construction schedules, and financial calculations (Committee on Slum Clearance 1956). All the potential investors, patrons, and government agencies could have a general idea of the plan and make their own cost-benefit analysis using this basic data. In the brochure, Moses justified the slum clearance project as a public good that could revitalize the economy and improve living conditions.

Moses used a new type of write-down to help private sectors negotiate a better price with the government, noting "quasi-public institutions serving the common good should not pay market value for the land" (Ballon et al 2007). He stressed that values should be based on the prospective use of the land (Krieg 1989). In this way, the anchor institutions could get a lower price for the land in the name of public good. In doing so, he skirted Title I requirements that intended redevelopment to focus on affordable housing, and made sponsors co-benefactors of his multi-use economic development vision.

Relocation and Clearance

According to the federal guidelines on resident relocation and slum clearance, it was the municipal government's responsibility to help residents relocate and to clear the site, after which the land sale could proceed. However, the case of the Lincoln Square Title I project upended the sequence and transferred the responsibility to the private sector (Ballon et al. 2007). In the Agreement between the City of New York and Lincoln Center for Performing Arts, Inc., Article III mandated the sponsors' role to "relocate and remove, at the cost and expense of the Sponsor" (Max Abramovitz Architectural Records and Papers 1958). By August 1961, all the relocation and demolition work had been completed by the private sector, though coordinated with the Slum Clearance Committee, and several new constructions were completed at the same time (Max Abramovitz Architectural Records and Papers 1958).

During the demolition of the planned Fordham University superblock and relocation of its residents, for example, Fordham gave residential property owners $500 grants and added bonuses for self-relocators, ranging from $250 to $500 according to the apartment size (Ballon et al 2007). However, according to the Housing Act of 1949, the tenants were not supposed to receive compensation, and it was not until the Housing Act of 1956 that commercial property owners could receive up to $2000 replacement compensation.

UNDERREPRESENTED VOICES

Community Organizations

The Lincoln Square Title I project faced resistance from local communities. In the initial planning stage, they were hopeful and believed the urban renewal project could provide affordable housing for working-class people all while building a multicultural enclave. Right after the announcement of the Lincoln Square Title I plans in 1955, a group of female residents established the Lincoln Square Residents' Committee, and small business owners founded the Lincoln Square Businessmen's Committee to defend their homes and neighborhood. They were representative of the working-class residents of all races, inclusive of the White European immigrants, Black residents, and the growing Puerto Rican population. However, White and Anglo members were the majority of the membership. The two committees collaborated with the Save Our Home activists, who sought to prevent urban renewal and preserve existing housing stock, and the Riverside Community House, a local agency helping to advance improvements in the neighborhood. Riverside Community House gave space to the committees, to set up their headquarters and host meetings. Unlike their allies, the Residents' Committee was

initially in favor of the idea of slum clearance. In a letter addressed to City Councilman Stanley Isaacs, the organization wrote, "Our program does not oppose slum clearance." However, they had precise requirements for the Title I project: "clearance of a site should be accompanied by the building of low-cost housing for the tenants" (Zipp 2009).

Harris L. Present was hired by the two committees as a lawyer. With his previous experience in fighting for the rights of underserved communities, especially Puerto Ricans, in New York City, he soon became the face of the campaign against the slum clearance project in Lincoln Square (Jaiswal 2020). Under his counsel, the community organizations evolved their goal from better relocation plans to the complete shut-down of the project.

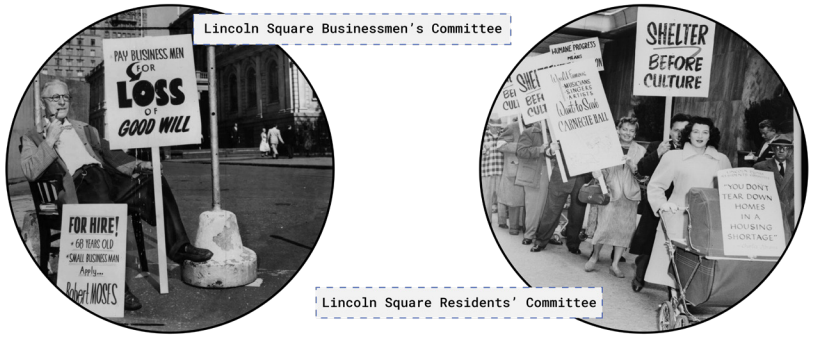
Public Decision-Making Process: Conflicts Initiated by Local Community

The community organizations tried many methods to pursue their rights and engage in the decision-making process. They contacted Mayor Robert Wagner in the hope that he would side with the community and postpone the project. They collected 1,800 signatures from local people, filed a petition for a meeting with the mayor, and organized protests. As a consequence of their efforts, Moses altered the original proposal with a 420-unit middle-income housing project and made promises about building more public housing (Jaiswal 2020). To their dismay, those promises fell through and the alteration was never pursued, causing them to shift their course of action.

They also initiated a lawsuit against Fordham University because the funds the university used to purchase the land included a religious subsidy, violating the constitutional separation of church and state (Ballon et al 2007). However, the New York Court of Appeals pointed out, "the 'wall of separation' between church and State is defined as a reasonable line of demarcation between friends and not an 'iron curtain' as between foes" ("64th St. Residences v. City of N.Y" n.d.). This implies that the subsidy for religion was approved. While the lawsuit failed, it helped delay the project for three years (Zipp 2009).

The community attended the City Planning Commission's public hearings on the Lincoln Square Slum Clearance Project to defend their homes. In the hearings, they argued that the humanistic and universal values of arts and culture should not overshadow the basic daily life of human beings and should not ignore local values. They made connections between the small businesses in the area and the residential units to show their multitudinous bonds. Though there were more votes against the project than those for the project, the residents of Lincoln Square were still displaced (Jaiswal 2020).

In conclusion, though the community tried almost every method available to them to be engaged in the decision-making process, they still failed to alter the project and make their voices heard. Analyzing the interactions and power differentials among actors allows for a better understanding of how early redevelopments set the stage for later urban programs in the neighborhood.



The Connection between the Community and the Redevelopment Projects (2023).
D. Zhu

SETTING MULTIPLE PRECEDENTS

Remnants of Zoning Regulations and Land Use

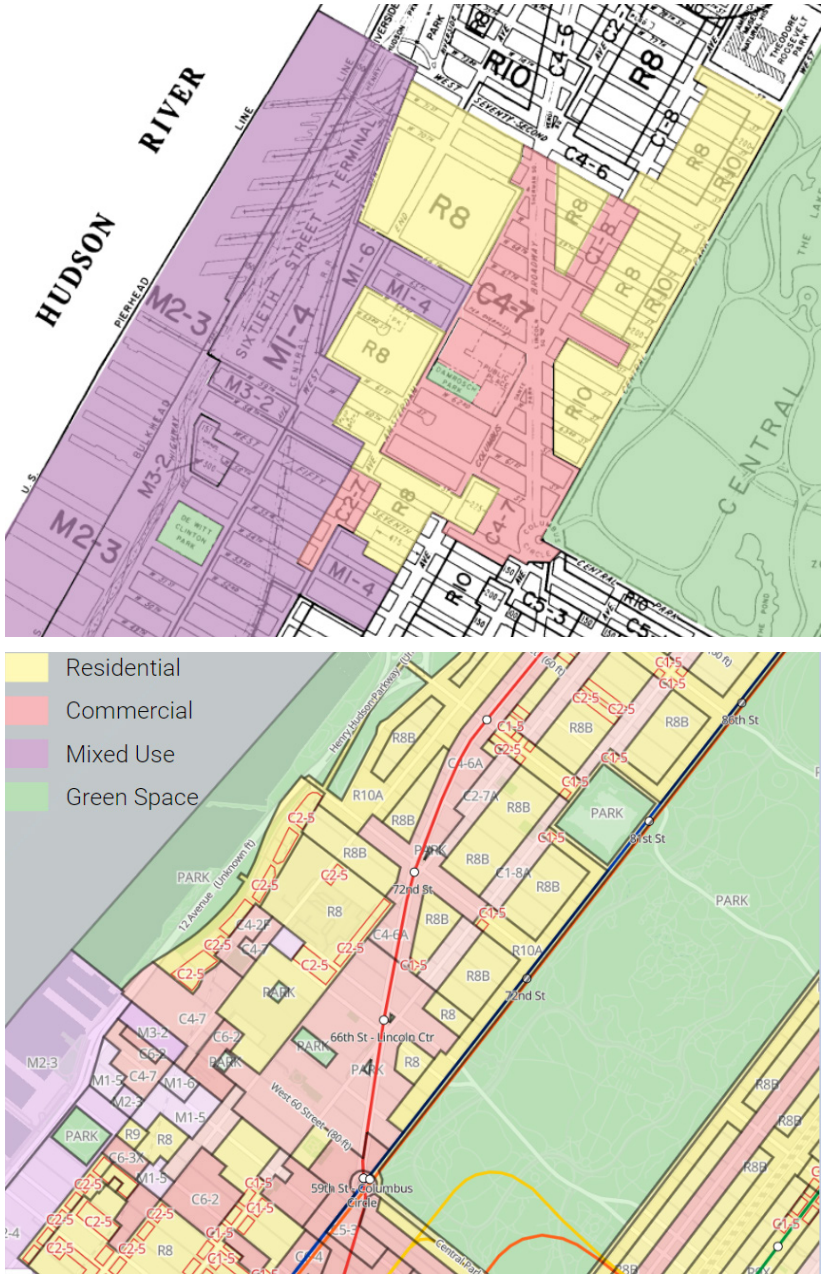
Intentional land-shaping for the various redevelopment projects in the area can be contextualized within broader city-wide land use regulations. The year 1961 marked a distinct shift in land use in the city, introducing a "mandate for a New City" through a new zoning ordinance (City Planning Commission 1961). Changes in land use in the Lincoln Square area included the loss of manufacturing and the increase in open space and commercial zones. The area was imagined to reflect the interests of a growing White middle-class, which created a precedent and imaginaries for subsequent redevelopment projects.

Notably, one can see how influential the construction of Lincoln Center was. The construction took advantage of a transitional period for zoning and successfully built a cultural complex in a C- commercial area. If not for previous negotiations and the new zoning law being implemented after construction had started, Lincoln Center might not have benefited from such an exemption (New York Committee on Slum Clearance 1956).

Otherwise put, urban renewal projects shaped the interests that led to new zoning maps across New York City. What followed the mid-century redevelopment of the area was an increase in high-density residential districts, which are expressed through the sustained construction of high-rise apartment complexes. The vision set forth by urban renewal set unspoken standards regarding what the neighborhood ought to look like, and today construction trends still heavily mirror those of the 1960s.

Outsized Power Dynamics in Decision-Making and the Current Need for Restorative Justice

The tales of the redevelopment of San Juan Hill highlight the importance of agency imbalances. While communities tried their best to fight back and prevent their displacement, governmental and private stakeholders gained the upper hand through skillful use of power and incentives. Robert Moses was the figurehead, in reality hiding a larger network of private investors and officials working towards the razing of the area (Caro 1975). Urban renewal was justified as a public good and a necessity to revive a "blighted" neighborhood but, in actuality, hid a White- serving project and display of influence.



(Top) Annotated 1961 Zoning Map; (Bottom) Current Zoning in NYC (2023).
C. Boulanger / Zola.

Map of ownership types (2023).
C. Boulanger.

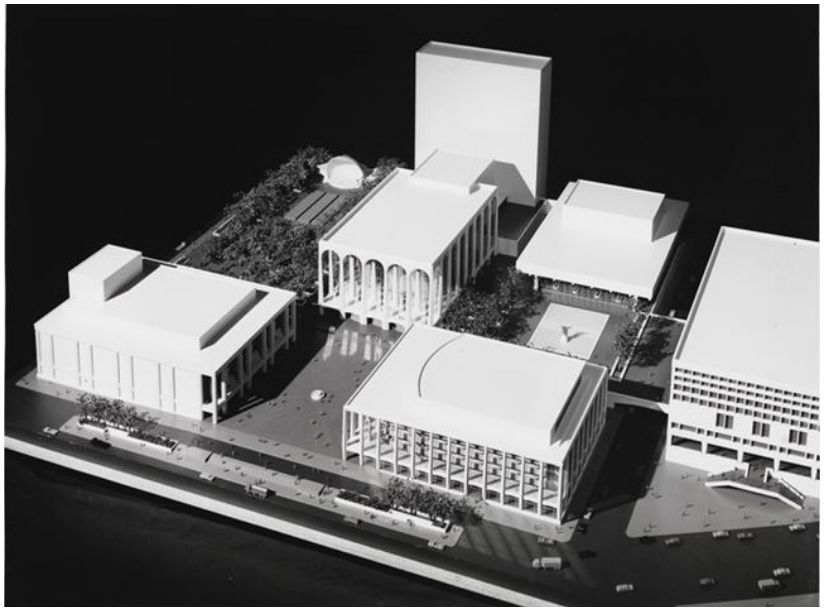
Not exclusive to San Juan Hill, mid-twentieth century urban renewal programs in New York City allowed for unchecked expressions of power through the built environment, targeting the living spaces of vulnerable populations. This redevelopment trend continued well into the 1980s and early 1990s, with programs building on the legacy of projects such as the Lincoln Square Urban Renewal (Zipp 2010). Interestingly, stakeholders remain largely similar to the 1950s, with a prevalence of private stakeholders controlling the real estate market.

Today, the history of San Juan Hill is becoming increasingly reappraised, and the displacement of thousands of families for redevelopment projects publicly reckoned with (Vanasco 2021). With a great number of local organizations in the neighborhood, it appears that community voices have gained more momentum and a better representation within the decision-making process. Lincoln Center, for example, is displaying a mural entitled San Juan Heal by addressing the history of San Juan Hill for all passersby to inquire about. However, there are still blatant imbalances and scars from the Urban Redevelopment period. The area is now heavily gentrified and similar dynamics are still at play between promoters and residents. Notably, the area has one of the highest ratios of unoccupied office spaces in Manhattan.

HISTORIC ASSETS

The following assets represent significant places resulting from the redevelopment of San Juan Hill, but also speak to the shifts in power dynamics ensuing from the transformation of the built environment, and the outsized role of institutional stakeholders.

The Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts



"Model of Lincoln Center" source from Preliminary Report Lincoln Square (1956).
Committee on Slum Clearance. 1956. Preliminary Report Lincoln Square Project

As the core project from the urban renewal program, The Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts stands as a colossal cultural complex spread across three blocks and hosting renowned institutions such as the Juilliard School of Music and the New York Philharmonic. Opened in 1962 following the wishes of John D. Rockefeller III, the center was arguably the trigger for most redevelopment of the larger surrounding area. As questions of accessibility and transportation led to widened roads and more open spaces, the nature of surrounding facilities and infrastructures followed the model vision set by the Lincoln Center Committee. The center is key to understanding issues of injustice tied to the urban redevelopment of the area, as most public contestations emerged as a direct response to its planning.

Amsterdam Houses

Amsterdam Houses looking along Amsterdam Avenue (2008).
Michael Minn.

The Amsterdam Houses were arguably the most important precedent to the larger redevelopment of the area. It set the stage for block merger and introduced the notion of needing modern and affordable housing solutions. The housing project was completed in 1948, one year prior to Title I and the formalization of various "slum clearance" programs.

Lincoln Towers Apartments

Courtyard View of Lincoln Towers Apartment (2023). The housing was developed by William Zeckendorf.
Y. Liu.

The Lincoln Towers were first conceived as a rent-controlled, middle-class housing project occupying a superblock north of Lincoln Center. It was also the biggest Title I program in the United States at the time (Ballon et al 2007). With its six high-rise towers, the Lincoln Towers visually and socio-economically marked a change in the area. Although the project should have theoretically been used to rehouse the displaced families affected by the demolition of buildings on the site, very few former residents ended up benefiting from the newly built infrastructure. With new buildings came a new population despite the public rhetoric. The complex was turned into a cooperative in the 1980s and is now a luxury housing complex.

Fordham University

The Entrance of Fordham University.
Fordham University.

With its main campus located in the Bronx, then President Laurence J. McGinley sought to extend his institution's reach to Manhattan, and was thus highly interested in the redevelopment of San Juan Hill. Fordham University is a Catholic institution, and the establishment of a midtown campus in San Juan Hill was controversial because of the blatant political affiliations of stakeholders, resulting in a civil lawsuit from residents against the institution. In the early 2000s, a new extension of 2.35 million square feet of additional gross floor area was proposed for the campus, including high-rise dormitories and additional faculties, but opposed by many local residents. Of interest is the rationale developed by the institution to justify the extension, which was undeniably influenced by the initial Lincoln Center redevelopment. The rebuttal of public concerns was rooted in the idea that the campus' superblock already existed, hence the damage had already been done.

Red Cross Headquarters

American Red Cross Headquarters in New York City (1980).
1980s Tax Photo, NYC Municipal Archives.

Among the anchor institutions in the redevelopment project was the Red Cross, which had historical ties to the Rockefeller Foundation. This suggests that the relocation of its headquarters to the project sites was not coincidental. Red Cross bought the site in 1958 for $350,000 and sold it in 2004 for $72.3 million (Ballon et al., 2007).

New York Times Office

New York Times Printing Plant in the Lincoln Square Area (1940).
NYC Municipal Archives, 1940s Tax Photos.

The New York Times opened a new facility near Riverside as part of the urban renewal of San Juan Hill. The New York Times had undeniable ties with some of the Lincoln Center's main stakeholders such as the Rockefellers, and the publication was a key player in positively covering the construction of Lincoln Center. The New York Times office is another example of how intertwined the stakes and decision makers of San Juan Hill's redevelopment were.

P.S. 199

270 West 70th Street between Amsterdam and West End Avenue (Public School 199) (2022).
Landmark West!

P.S. 199, the Jessie Isador Straus School, is a public school located on 270 West 70th Street, sitting within the site of the Lincoln Towers housing project. Initially devised as an institution for the existing neighborhood residents, in reality the school served the new population brought by the redevelopment. Now a coveted institution for families, the school was threatened by demolition back in 2013, as the city explored new zoning laws and redevelopment opportunities.

Courtyard View of Lincoln Towers Apartment (2023).
Y. Liu.

PRESERVATION

Annie An and Esther Wagner

The sense of cultural superiority that underpinned the construction of Lincoln Center was a factor in efforts, or lack thereof, to preserve the neighborhood of San Juan Hill during the time of the redevelopment and for the following several decades. The actualization of shifts in political thinking in regards to landmarks and the historical integrity of the city, almost immediately following San Juan Hill's urban renewal, were still overwhelmingly concerned with conserving the ideology of Lincoln Square, a neighborhood of luxury and refinement that replaced the "slums" of San Juan Hill. Historic listing and landmark designations in the area do not adequately represent the culture of San Juan Hill, instead favoring buildings and centers more aligned with the specific socio-cultural ideologies of urban renewal and modern luxury, which greatly contributed to the near total erasure of San Juan Hill from the collective memory of New York.

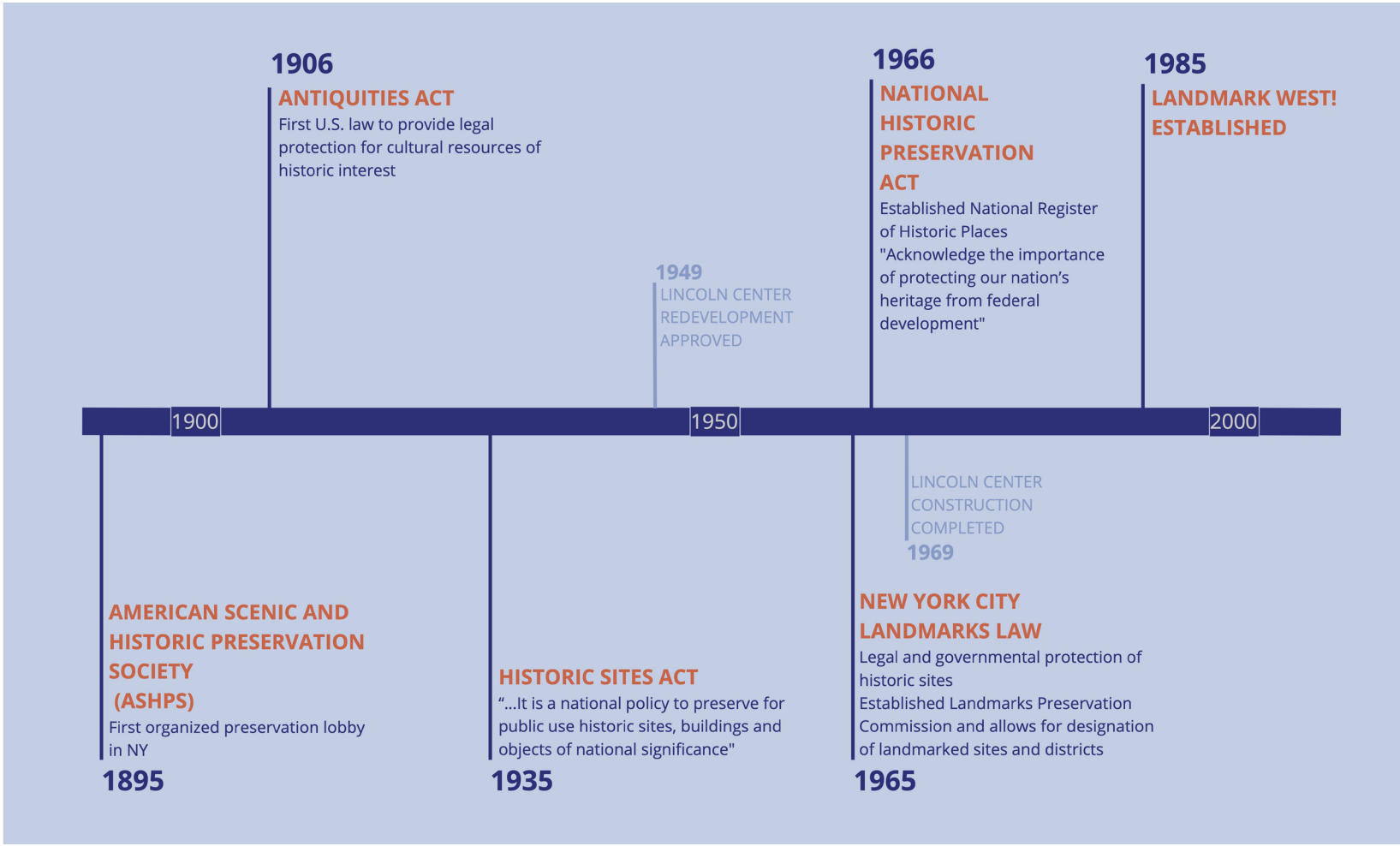
However, in the last decade, interest in the pre-Lincoln Center history of the neighborhood has surged, bringing stories, voices, and buildings previously disregarded to the fore. Lincoln Center itself has begun programming reflecting the rich cultural diversity of the neighborhood and with sensitivity for the inequality faced by the residents displaced by the Lincoln Square urban renewal. While many of these projects to uncover the history and life in San Juan Hill are socio-cultural in scope, there is still an overwhelming emphasis on the materiality of sites in regard to periods of significance for landmarking, thus unduly steering the historic narratives of the Upper West Side away from San Juan Hill. Methodology that critically examines how heritage and culture cannot be divorced from space, whether the community is past or presently extant, has informed efforts for restorative justice and reexamining the narrative of the Upper West Side.

INTRODUCTION AND EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY PRESERVATION

The San Juan Hill community occupied several city blocks of the Upper West Side, between 58th and 70th street and Columbus and West End Avenue (Vanasco 2021). As will become evident in the following research, patterns of preservation tend to follow trends of social and political opinion, and this influences the representation of San Juan Hill on the National Register and among New York City landmarks. New York City's first preservation law was enacted in 1965, establishing a list of historic places protected from the growing concerns of redevelopment (NYPAP n.d.). The period of examination in this historic context assessment follows the timeline of pre- and post-landmark law establishment, through analysis of informal and later formal policies that have existed to preserve individual sites, buildings, and neighborhoods – and the inequity they demonstrated. Not only was San Juan Hill bound by the specificity of its cultural contributions to Manhattan, it was also home to an underrepresented demographic, factors which placed its preservation at a low priority for leading New York preservationists in the early twentieth-century.

Founded in 1895, the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society (ASHPS) was "New York's first organized preservation lobby," established on the patriotic beautification principles of parks conservation (NYPAP n.d.). While there was a range of preservation advocacy groups and individuals sprouting up in New York, the ASHPS was the leading authority in New York City and their perspective on preservation, as a public good, was primarily concerned with the "improvement" of cities and "stabilization of political institutions" (Mason 2003, 71). While the "improvement of cities" is a subjective and broadly defined goal, it can be deduced from successful projects spearheaded by the ASHPS that it often went hand-in-hand with urban development and city beautification, a clear misalignment with preserving San Juan Hill. The district was branded a slum, and would fall victim to Title I of the 1949 Housing Act and elitist urban policy. Robert Moses, an American Urban Planner, had a controversial vision for the city – one of efficiency and delineation of use, clearing away the chaos of slums like San Juan Hill – which was, in some cases, shared by the ASHPS.

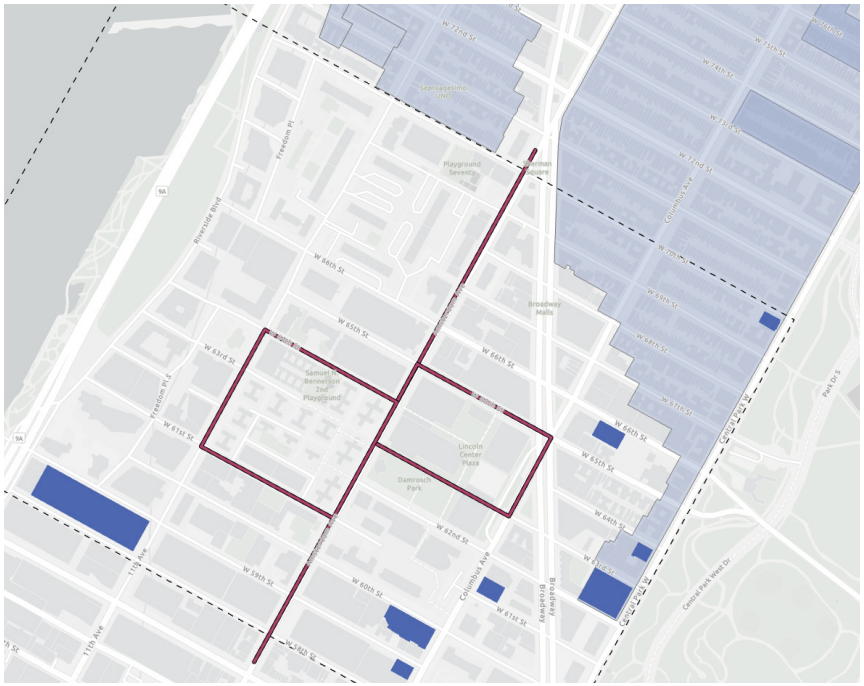
Mid-twentieth-century America was experiencing a change in priorities. Focus was moving away from the machine of economy and adjusting to a more humanist perspective. Social sciences were steadily challenging prevailing authority, calling much needed attention to human ecology and condition (Gratz 2010). As will be evidenced by most designated buildings and districts in the area, "the idea that the character of the physical environment – its beauty, cleanliness, historical associations – directly shaped individual and social behavior" was the basis for most preservation efforts in early twentieth-century New York (Mason 2003, 76). Additional groups who valued preservation,



Timeline of Preservation Policy and Associated Organizations (2023).
E. Wagner.

despite it not being their foremost mission, like the Architectural League of New York and the Parks Department, were more concerned with achieving these progressive ideals of social wellbeing through enhancing aesthetic older buildings and curbing disorder (Mason 2003, 74). San Juan Hill, thought by many to be a chaotic slum, would be uplifted by bringing such art as the ballet, opera, and orchestra to the neighborhood. To make room for "improvements," San Juan Hill lost much of its original character, though some historic community buildings and examples of housing survived the slum clearance and still stand today. Additionally, examination of designation reports, existing landmarks, and census data reveal a geographically-based racial divide of the study area, which is thought to influence preservation advocacy well into the late twentieth-century, establishing a significant period of disregard for the residents of San Juan Hill, their stories, and their claim to space-based memory.

Listed and eligible properties and districts on the National Register of Historic Places within the study area (2023).
A. An.

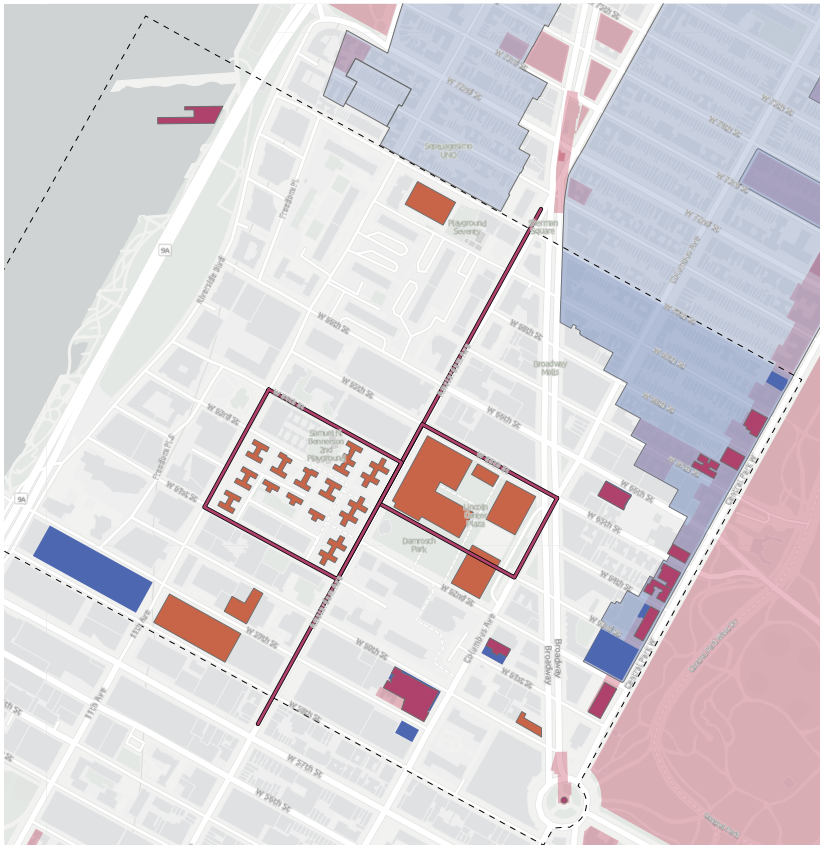


Landmarks Preservation Commission designated properties and districts (2023).
A. An.

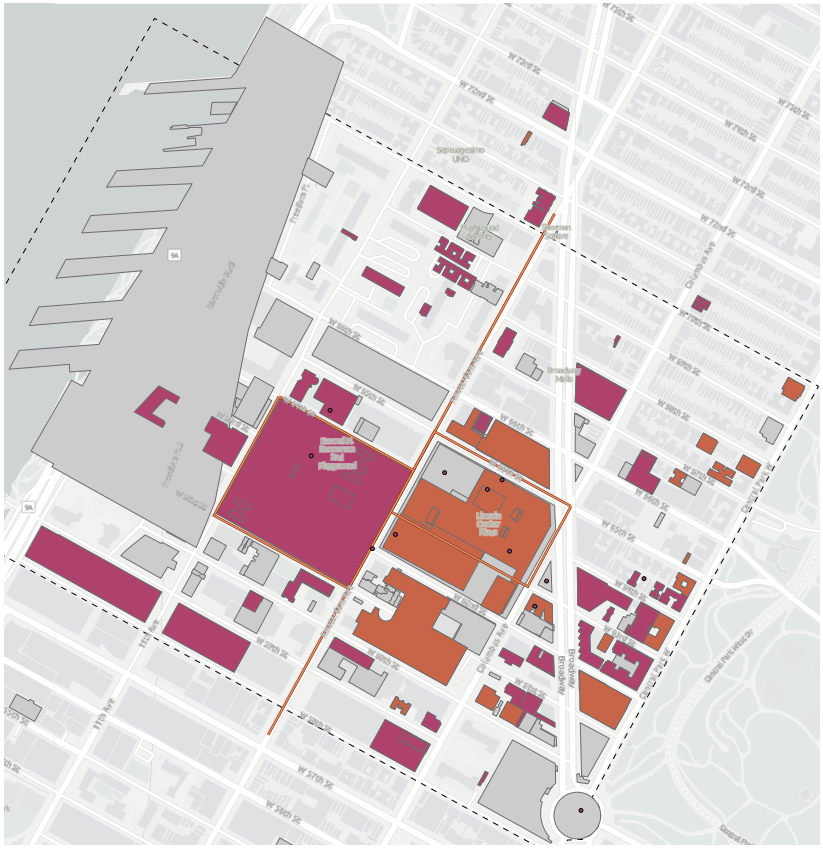
AMSTERDAM AVENUE DIVIDE

According to 1910 and 1930 New York Census data, Amsterdam Avenue acted as a divide separating the Black and Puerto Rican residents to the west of the Avenue from Irish Immigrants and the Upper West Side middle- to upper-class to the east. Pronounced differences between the east and west of the avenue present themselves in the division of façade materials, represented in the graphics below, and through stated significance of the sites. This divide is also evidenced through mentions of the San Juan Hill area in designation reports. The distinction has persisted in the existing built environment, with nearly all of the registered buildings and districts sitting east of Amsterdam Avenue as illustrated in the maps below.

Throughout the following research of site-specific and district preservation, the prevalence of this divide in preservation and designation decisions cannot be understated. Not only does it demonstrate the racial tensions of the neighborhood during and directly prior to the redevelopment, but it also emphasizes how preservationists, represented by groups such as the ASHPS and the Architectural League of New York in the first half of the twentieth-century, and later the Landmarks Preservation Commission (shortened to LPC), have perpetuated an injustice towards the former residents of San Juan Hill by continuously leaving them out of New York City's place-based historical narrative.



Amsterdam Avenue Divide. "Amsterdam serves as a division line between the "upper middle development" and the "slum," the segregation is visible even in listed sites (2023).
E. Wagner.



"Amsterdam Avenue Divide." Similar division can be seen in the use of primary façade material – all masonry buildings (orange) are located on the east Amsterdam, all brick (pink) are located on the west. (Grey are other materials for assets collected) (2023).
E. Wagner.

NEIGHBORHOOD PRESERVATION IN AND FOR SAN JUAN HILL, 1945 – 1957

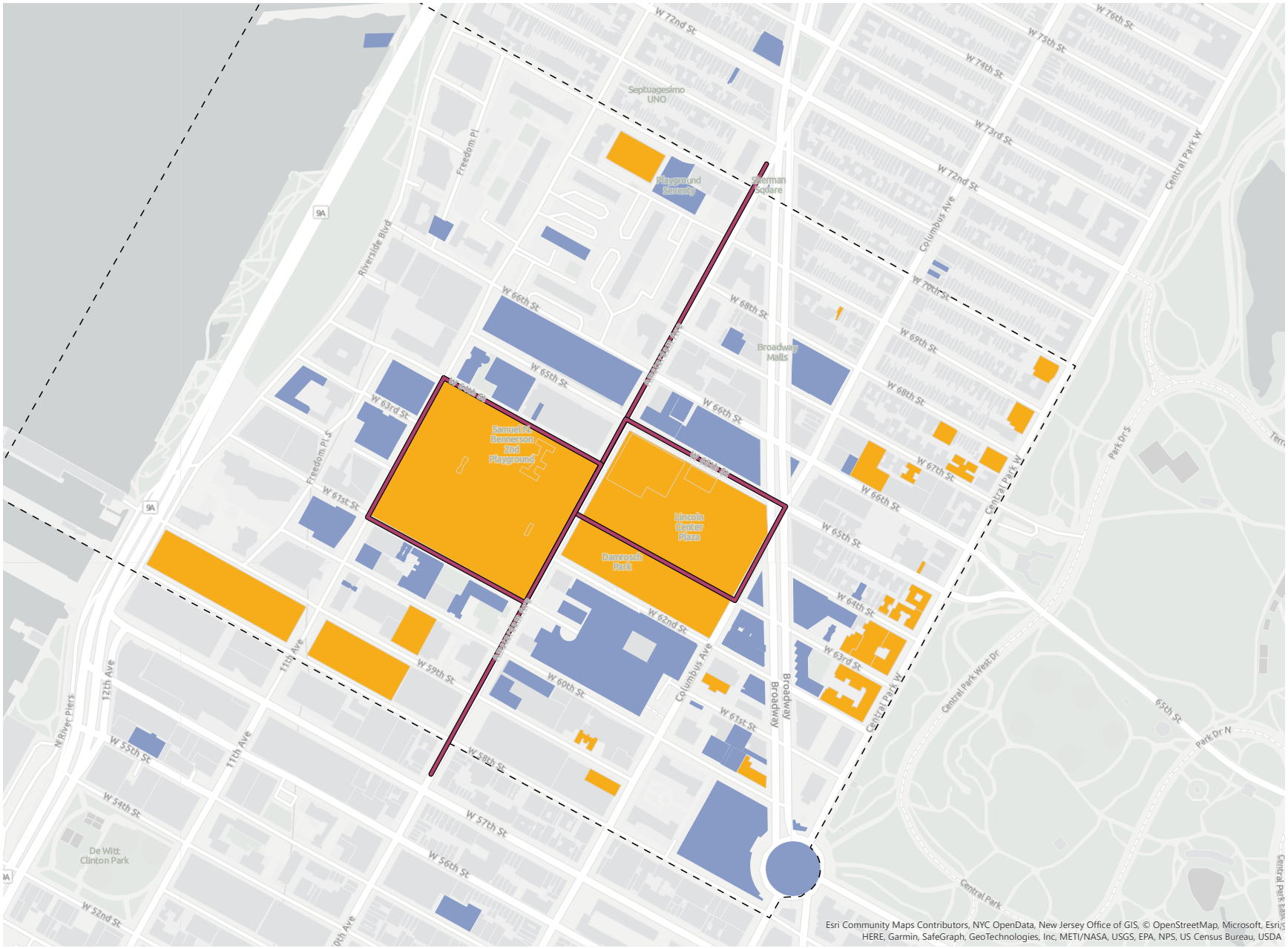
The redevelopment of San Juan Hill into Lincoln Square precedes the establishment of any preservation policy or law in New York City that would legally protect the area as a site of cultural heritage or architectural significance. Preservation organizations that did lobby and enact change were not looking at the architecture of San Juan Hill as a subject of preservation advocacy. The residents and business owners of San Juan Hill were thus left to their own devices to pursue neighborhood preservation to the best of their ability. However, it should be noted that the level of resistance organized by San Juan Hill residents was a drastic shift from prior patterns of migration in the face of redevelopment (Grutzner 1956). While there are no definitive guidelines as to what "neighborhood preservation" is or entails, it was popularized by Jane Jacobs, whose activism and journalism in the mid-twentieth-century had immense influence over urban planning and philosophy. She believed a successful neighborhood had four key attributes: densely populated, short and narrow streets, mixed use of space, and buildings that have been erected throughout history (Jacobs 1958). All these characteristics were evident in the San Juan Hill neighborhood and were directly threatened by its redevelopment into Lincoln Square. Jacobs's theory for the necessity of these four attributes were in direct opposition to Moses' plans for an orderly, organized city, as well as ASHPS' mission for aesthetically pleasing preservation.

Neighborhood preservation as demanded by the San Juan Hill community in the late-1940's and 1950's was not as concerned with saving the authentic fabric of their neighborhood, but rather claiming their right to the space they had made home over several decades. As a primary source of resistance, thousands signed petitions asking the Board of Estimate to vote against the Lincoln Square redevelopment project and attended as large scale protests at City Planning meetings. Individual residents and local businesses in the area gathered to rally against Moses' slum clearance plan, their protestations citing inadequate relocations from previous redevelopment projects and in defense of their right to stay in their homes (Grutzner 1956). While ultimately unsuccessful, the immense resistance to Lincoln Square from San Juan Hill residents, local businesses, and supporters stood as a testament to changing urban philosophy (Zipp 2009). Interestingly, it is this same humanistic ethos of neighborhood preservation which would lead to the downfall of Moses and his "technocratic" policies, and the rise of evolving preservation ethics, paving the way for current advocacy groups to highlight the injustice of past urban renewal endeavors. The Lincoln Square redevelopment was approved in 1957 and though the protests and petitions on behalf of San Juan Hill did not cease all at once, there was a noticeable shift away from demands for neighborhood preservation towards advocacy for adequate and equitable relocation.

The dichotomy between neighborhood preservation and the preservation undertaken by professional organizations such as the ASHPS in 1950's New York is staggering. Around the same time San Juan Hill residents were gathering in protests to save their homes from redevelopment, the ASHPS and New York Historical Society were fighting Moses downtown to save the historic 1812 Castle Clinton from demolition (NYPAP n.d.). Two diverging lines of preservation campaigns, originating from similar threats of redevelopment, were snaking through New York City, the failures and successes of which reverberated throughout the following decades as the 1965 New York City Landmarks Law and the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 regulated and systematized preservation processes.

PRESERVATION OF SITES WITHIN AND WITHOUT SAN JUAN HILL

Few individual sites representative of the residents of San Juan Hill survive today, however, of the ones that remain, some are designated New York Landmarks and/or are included on the National Register of Historic Places. During the redevelopment, it is unsurprising that the following assets were the ones to remain, as their contributions to the city reach far beyond and around San Juan Hill and fulfill the unofficial guidelines set forth by the leading preservation advocates of the late 1950's and early-1960's. Overwhelmingly, the buildings deemed deserving of governmental preservation contribute to the portrayal of an orderly, beautiful New York. An examination of their designation reports as well as related articles and research reveal exactly how little San Juan Hill was considered in these sites' historic significance despite clear associations with its community members. This consistent exclusion of San Juan Hill from relevant building histories not only strips the cityscape of a vital part of its story, but it further marginalizes minority communities.



Representation of San Juan Hill through designation. All colored buildings are extant buildings researched and analyzed by the Studio as having relevant importance to the discussion of San Juan Hill, less than half are listed on and/or designated by the NRHP (blue) or LPC (orange), and of all designated, none have relations to the San Juan Hill community (2023).
A. An.

West Side YMCA Polychrome Terracotta Details (February 2023).
Y. Chen.

The West Side YMCA, with its goal to provide safety and fraternity for any young man in need of it regardless of race, offered more than just recreational activities and became an integral community resource in San Juan Hill (Gray 2002). However, this is not the source of its historic significance according to its designation reports. The structure, built in 1930 and designed by the architect Dwight James Baum, is esteemed for its "near perfect balance between metropolitan scale and suburban charm," with its polychrome terracotta details and Italian-style brickwork (Stern, Gilmartin, and Mellins 1987). The building is part of the Upper West Side/Central Park West LPC historic district, designated in 1990. The 1,678-page report prepared by the LPC includes a 328-page section of essays regarding the history of the area and its significant buildings. The West Side YMCA is listed under the second phase of development in the district along with other institutions, however, the report does not specify why institutional development occurred in this area during the second and third decades of the twentieth century (Bradley et al. 1990, 70). The building has its own short section in which the history of YMCA as a religious and philanthropic institution is discussed as well as its architectural significance, but there is no mention of the population it served as a philanthropic organization (Bradley et al 1990, 87-88). Other institutions noted in this section specify the demographics they served, examples including Irish immigrants and Upper West Side Jewry.

West Side YMCA and Park Laurel Condominiums (2023).
E. Wagner.

In 2000, a 41-story luxury apartment tower, the Park Laurel, was built directly above and adjacent to the historic building, using the air rights bought from the YMCA. The sale has allowed for the expansion of the YMCA facilities into the bottom eleven floors of the new building and helped to cover restoration costs of the structure. The development poses an interesting juxtaposition of luxury redevelopment and historic preservation, and provides an example of how the two can coexist harmoniously. While the apartments continue to solidify Lincoln Square as an upper-class neighborhood, the proceeds from the sale of its air rights contributed significantly to a $30 million campaign to revitalize the historic YMCA building (Gray 2002).

Interborough Rapid Transit Company Powerhouse - 855-869 Eleventh Avenue

Interborough Rapid Transit Company Powerhouse (2023).
A. An.

The Interborough Rapid Transit Company Powerhouse (shortened to IRT Powerhouse) is one of the few buildings designated as a New York City Landmark in 2017 and eligible for the National Register of Historic Places that are west of Amsterdam Avenue. It nonetheless continues the trend of exclusion, meeting eligibility criteria for its architectural significance rather than cultural. However, it is one of the very few reports, prepared by the LPC in 2017 that has directly mentioned the San Juan Hill community, if only for a brief note regarding the surrounding area.

The IRT Powerhouse was built between 1902 and 1905, designed by the architecture firm McKim, Mead and White in the Beaux Arts style. It was the largest powerhouse in the world at the time of its construction and provided electricity to New York City's first subway line (*Landmark West!* 2017). Not only was the powerhouse a feat of technological advancement, but the structure itself was considered "an ornament to the west side… In accordance with City Beautiful precepts, the powerhouse was intended to exert a positive aesthetic influence" (LPC 2017, 7). The designation report continues to link the IRT Powerhouse and its aesthetically pleasing façade to the eventual redevelopment of San Juan Hill, made to complement other "civic improvements" that would move into the area (LPC 2017, 18). In this regard, the mission of pre-development preservationists, such as the ASHPS, is evident, as it was an ally of redevelopment with the goal of an orderly and picturesque city.

Roosevelt Hospital/William J. Syms Operating Theater - 400 West 59th Street

William J. Syms Operating Theater at Roosevelt Hospital, now Mount Sinai West (2023).
E. Wagner.

Roosevelt Hospital was built between 1890 and 1892 and designated as a NYC landmark in 1989 (LPC 1989, 1). The hospital's significance, according to its designation report, largely relates to the William J. Syms Operating Theater, which was the most advanced operating theater in the world at the time of its construction (LPC 1989, 2). The theater's contributions to advancements in professional medical education and improvements in specialized architecture is internationally recognized, however, its significance cannot be plucked from the historical context or geographic location in which the hospital operated. Roosevelt Hospital was established with the explicit goal of caring for the sick regardless of their ability to pay, serving underrepresented and underserved populations including San Juan Hill (Mount Sinai n.d.). The preservation of the hospital, now a small part of Mount Sinai West, is not linked to their service of the San Juan Hill and neighboring communities.

PRIORITIZING LUXURY ARCHITECTURE IN NYC PRESERVATION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF HISTORIC DISTRICTS, 1975 – 1985

The passage of the New York City Landmarks Law in 1965 and the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 was a clear indication of the growing concern with loss of historic buildings and neighborhood characteristics, but the preservation values which disregarded San Juan Hill persisted. The significance of most listed and landmarked sites within the study area are classified by strong representational imagery of City Beautiful success, coinciding with redevelopment goals, especially the skylines that "present a picture of architectural variety unique in New York City" (Bradley et al 2003). While one particular architectural style is not favored over another, there is an overall desire to represent styles at the height of western architectural glory, and the upward development of New York City as a place for the production of rich civilization, culture, and history.

As the Upper West Side community demographic became exponentially wealthier in the latter half of the twentieth-century, developers began making plans for high-rise residential and commercial buildings. These incremental changes would eventually change the face of the neighborhood. Advocacy for neighborhood preservation in the 1970s to 1980s was often characterized as anti-development and focusing on a sense of place and the management of change (Depalma 1987). Aesthetics and architecture history were still at the forefront of the preservation ethos, but began encompassing larger areas—districts—in addition to individual sites. Within the studio boundary there are three historic districts. The criteria for eligibility under which these districts and their associated buildings are designated as well as the timeline of designation reveal a fundamental element of this theme's research – a delineation of shifting preservation ethos in the late-twentieth-century having a direct influence over official designations.

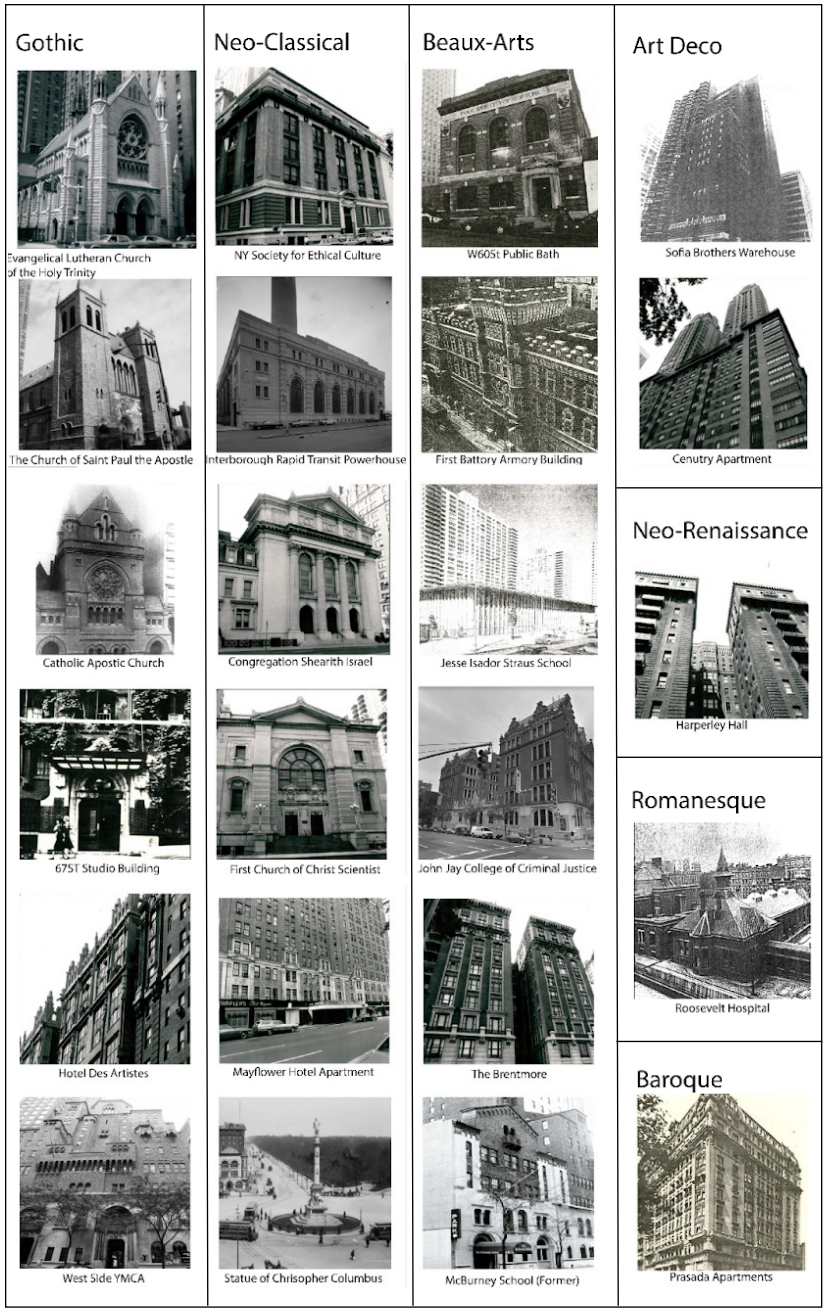
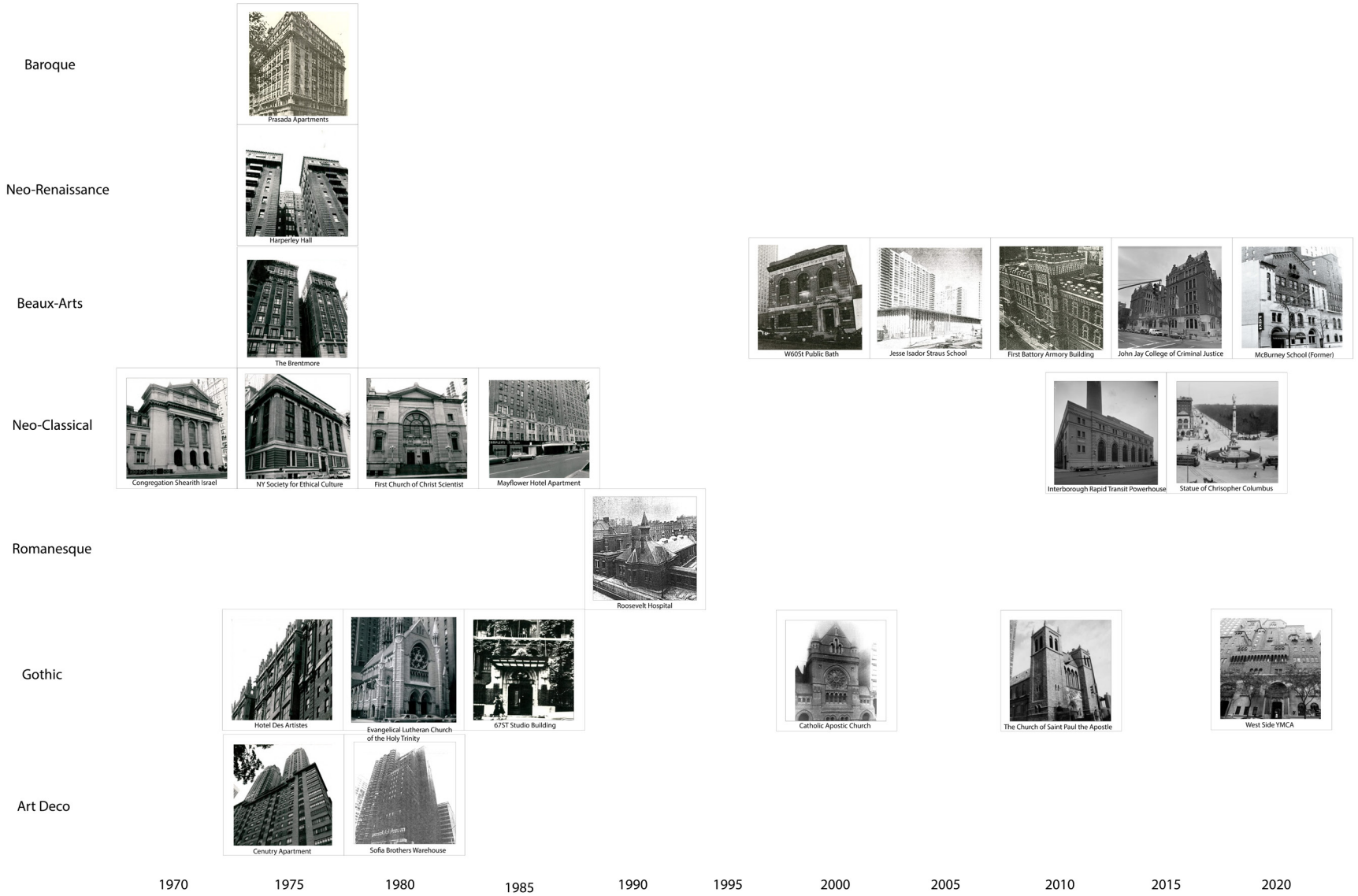


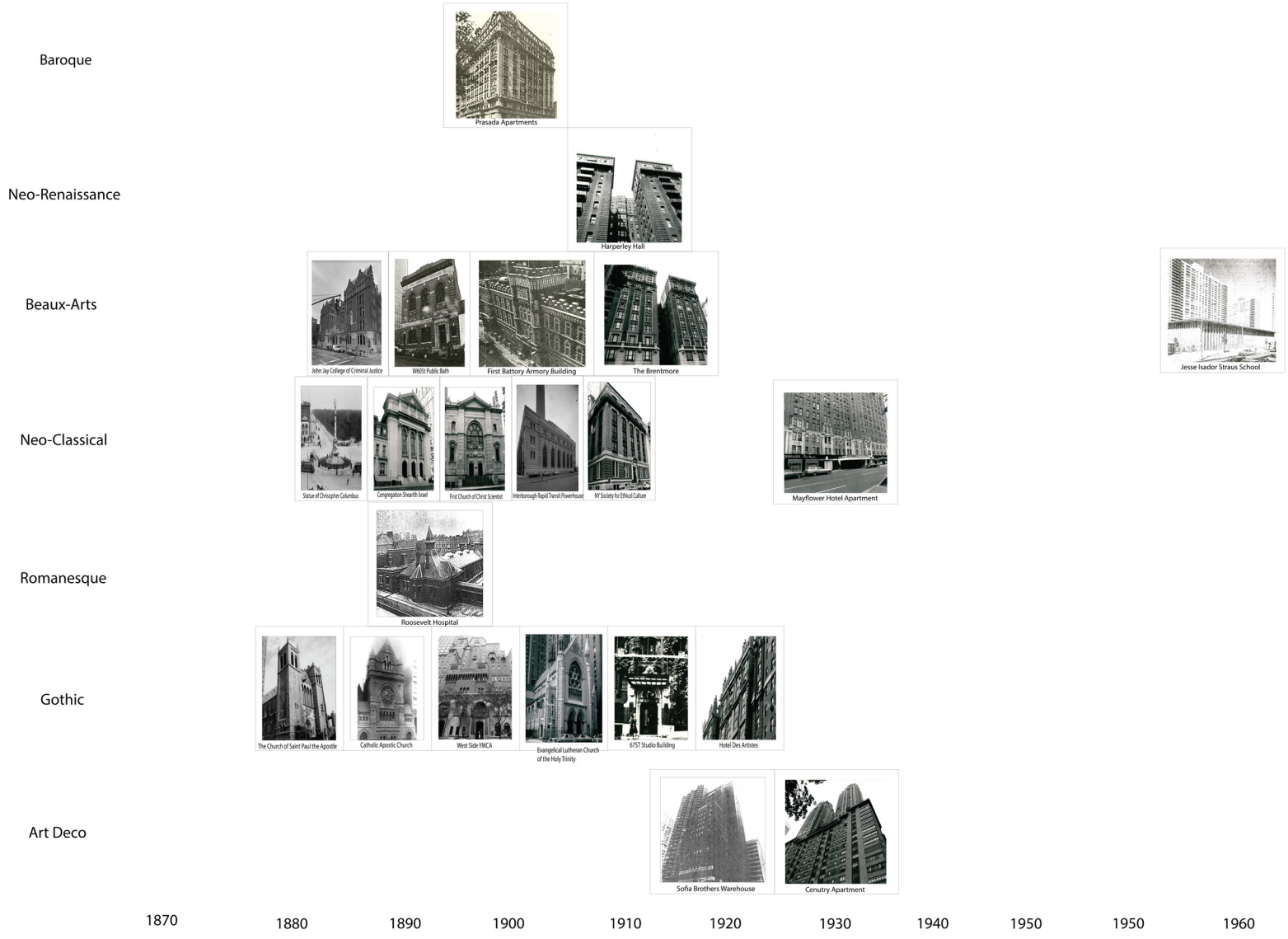
Diagram illustrating architectural styles of designated buildings in the study area (2023).
A. An.

Architecture Style vs. Designation/Listing Date



"Architectural Style v.s Designation Date" (2023).
A. An.

Architecture Style vs. Construction Date

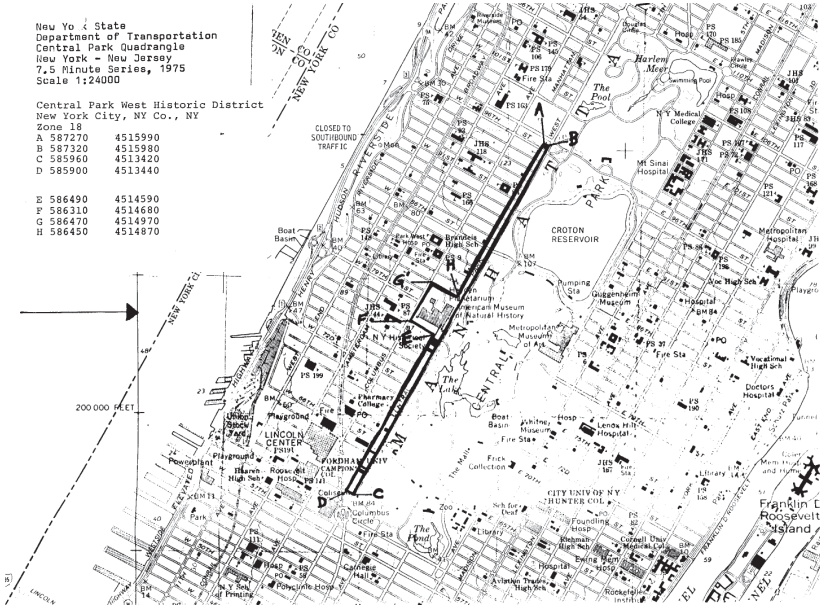


"Architectural Style v.s Construction Date" (2023).
A. An.

Central Park West Historic District - "The desirable place to be"

Luxury apartments built throughout the early-twentieth-century created the Central Park West (shortened to CPW) silhouette between 61st and 96th street. The CPW Historic District was listed on the National Register in 1983, including buildings that were constructed between the years of 1880 to 1940, and designed by famous architects in a variety of architectural styles (Covell 1982, 17). Intertwined with a group of equally "well-dressed" churches and synagogues, the district is deemed as New York City's "finest residential street," with exceptional quality of construction and material use. The area forms Manhattan's "romantic" skyline that "evokes longings for the past (the Old World) while also evokes feelings for a better future to come." The district reflects the urban growth of NYC during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as the social and cultural aspirations of the street's upper-middle class residents. The "important" architectural styles and architects that contributed to the eras in which they were built were also contributing factors. It is, in all, "a desirable, unified neighborhood for upper middle class and professional people, its original, attractive features complemented by the beauty of the park which it faces" (Covell 1982, 19).

Central Park West Historic District (1982).
Nomination Form of the National Register of Historic Places on Central Park West Historic District.

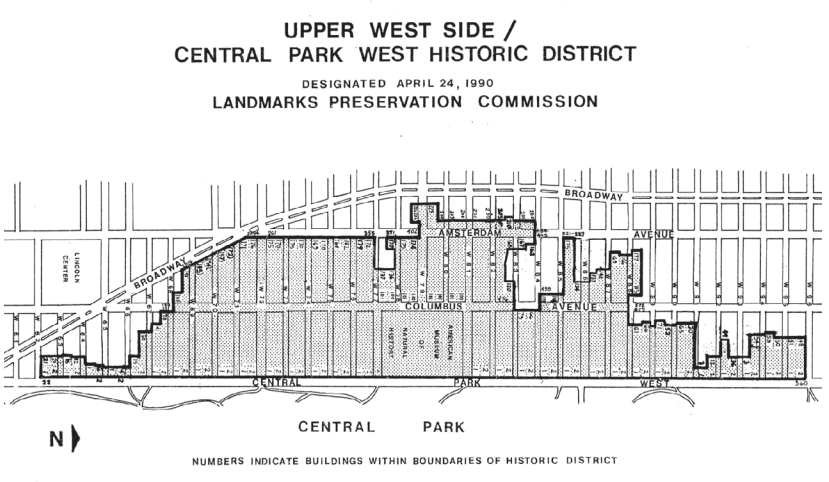


Boundaries of the Central Park West Historic District (1982).
Nomination Form of the National Register of Historic Places on Central Park West Historic District.

Upper West Side Historic District - An age of residential splendor

The LPC-designated Upper West Side (shortened to UWS) Historic District spans a large area from 62nd Street to 96th Street and encompasses approximately 2000 buildings. Field surveys began in 1981 and it was designated in 1985. The neighborhood is architecturally distinct and represents high quality construction, which characterizes the development of the UWS east of Broadway between the 1880s and 1930s (Bradley et al 2003, 5). Along with institutional and commercial buildings, the neighborhood consists largely of three- to five-story row houses designed in harmonious groups (constructed between 1880-1910), as single-family houses were among the first choice for upper middle-class families locating to this area at the time. These row houses mark the final era of single-family construction in Manhattan, as the cost of owning and maintaining private homes became too much for most New Yorkers. Housing typologies increasingly reflected the needs of the developing middle class, who could not afford row houses but desired similar features – apartment hotels, studio buildings, and apartment buildings that also characterize the District. After the amendment of the Tenement House Law in 1919, many of the row houses were converted into multiple-family dwellings beginning in the 1920s. As time passed, the area was continuously redeveloped to meet the new demographic of middle-class families and demand for housing, with many row houses demolished in order to accommodate more apartment buildings. The buildings in this district represent two particular eras in the history of NYC – the era of single-family homes for the upper middle-class and apartment buildings and studios for the increasing middle class after row houses became unaffordable for most. Like the CPW Historic District, the LPC designation highlights the large concentration of architecturally distinct, high quality buildings.

"Upper West Side Historic District" 124, 126, 128, 130, 132 West 75th Street (1982)
"Upper West Side/Central Park West Historic District Report."



Boundaries of the Upper West Side Historic District (1982).
"Upper West Side/Central Park West Historic District Report."

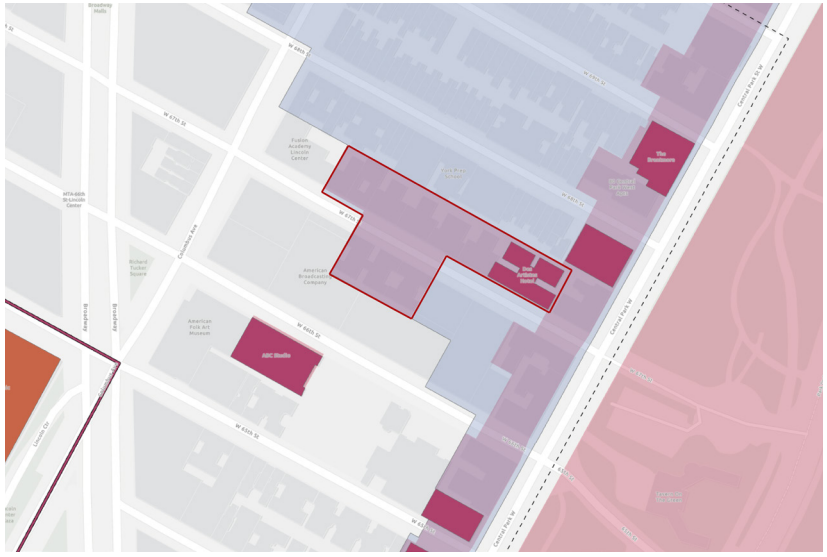
West 67th Street Artists' Colony Historic District - A niche for successful artists

Also included on the National Register is the West 67th Street Artists' Colony Historic District; a total of eight buildings forms the only concentrated artists' studio apartments in Manhattan. All constructed in the first three decades of the twentieth century, the buildings in this district are unified in design yet visually distinct from its surrounding context. The coherent physical appearance is mostly due to the fact that the same architects and artist/developers were responsible for many of these buildings.

The mid-nineteenth century saw rents outpacing the income of many artists who had flocked to NYC. As the city grew, it became harder for artists to find studio space that provided ample light and large areas suitable for painting and the display of work. Those who were successful were often patronized by the elite, which helped to secure spaces in the colony, such as avant-garde artist Marcel Duchamp at the Atelier and the pioneer of modern contemporary dance, Isadora Duncan at the Des Artistes (Dolkart and Gray 1985, 4).

The specially designed work and living spaces in this district represent a particular strand of New York history that celebrated artistic prestige. This particular district was designated for its sense of well-maintained authenticity and uniqueness to serve as "the best of its kind." The area was designed and constructed for a particular group of people, and the architecture shows coherency celebrates the pinnacle of artist endeavors/preeminence in NYC, and is associated with very successful artists of the time.

"Artists' Studios Historic District" (1985).
Nomination Form of the National Register of Historic Places for West 67th Street Artists' Colony Historic District.



"Artists Colony Historic District" (2023).
A. An.

Lincoln Center Building District

Lincoln Center was a large driver of the Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project, and its contributions to the economic and cultural development of the city cannot be ignored. However, the masses of people and cultural institutions that the center displaced are an integral part of the neighborhood's history and require a multi-layered analysis of the site to properly assess its significance. Advocacy groups like Landmark West! are bringing the history of San Juan Hill to the forefront, and Lincoln Center has also begun programming to highlight the culture and arts which emerged from its previous neighborhood. Their San Juan Hill programs and installations are certainly offering a more holistic approach to the history of the neighborhood but the status of the building itself could pose a potential risk to the inclusion of San Juan Hill in the narrative of the Upper West Side.

Lincoln Center, as a district, was deemed eligible for the National Register in 2020, based on a statement of significance from 2000. Its eligibility for inclusion meets Criteria A, as having made a significant contribution to history, and C, for its distinctive architectural characteristics (Howe 2000). San Juan Hill is not directly mentioned in the statement of significance but is referred to indirectly as Lincoln Center was a key "monument to postwar urban renewal," meant to "raise cultural standards" (Howe 2000). Again, the pattern of exclusionary history emerges.

NEIGHBORHOOD PRESERVATION IN AND FOR SAN JUAN HILL, 1999 - 2023

Current preservation advocacy is multifaceted and continues to evolve as new challenges arise. However, a growing concern with interrogating social-spatial relationships and acknowledging how certain histories and cultural advancements cannot be divorced from space has drastically changed the values of preservation in New York City from the time of the San Juan Hill redevelopment.

Landmark West!, an architecture, arts, and culture non-profit established in 1985, has been a pioneer in preserving the historic physical and landscaped space of the West Side of New York City. With a focus on the burden of urban renewal and accumulating research on its longitudinal impacts on minority and low-income communities, Landmark West! has undertaken a massive endeavor to bring the history of San Juan Hill into the spotlight (Apmann 2022). The official project launched in June 2022 in efforts to reestablish the history of San Juan Hill as a significant period in Upper West Side History (Kava 2022). Since its launch, the project has mapped out approximately seven city blocks of San Juan Hill, creating interactive guides of the historic streets that no longer exist. Through first-hand accounts, historic tax photos, census data, and fire code maps, as well as a myriad of other sources, the narrative of the area is beginning to expand (Kava 2022). The project remains ongoing.

After redevelopment, the physical character of the San Juan Hill neighborhood, including its footprint, had drastically changed. Not only did Lincoln Center and Fordham University create more superblocks in addition to the Amsterdam Houses, but buildings became taller and stylistically more modern, a continuing concern for UWS residents even today. The establishment of the historic districts provide some legal protection from redevelopment and alteration, though these still only exist east of Amsterdam Avenue and are primarily concerned with the possible threat of super-talls irrevocably changing the landscape of the UWS/CPW Historic Districts as well as the west side of Central Park. Anti-development rhetoric continues to be entwined with (and often mistaken for) neighborhood preservation in the UWS, at least from the perspective of residents in the area. Reactions to the West Side YMCA/Park Laurel Condominiums project approval in 1999 were particularly concerned with the presence of a building that does not comport with its surroundings, disrupting the cohesive style of the neighborhood (Kilgannon 1999). More recently, after a highly contentious four-year legal battle ended in 2021, 200 Amsterdam Avenue, located on the corner of 70th street and Amsterdam Avenue, became the tallest building on the UWS at 52 stories high (668 feet tall) (Avery 2021). The luxury condominium was built directly outside the bounds of the UPW Historic District and the immense pushback to its construction stalled the project for years. Preservation advocacy and awareness groups such as Landmark West! and the Municipal Art Society of New York saw the tower's purchase of nearly thirty-nine zoning lots as abusing loopholes to increase the height of the lot and enacting irreparable defacement to the UPW and surrounding historic districts (Chen 2020).

The neighborhood is quite noticeably no longer San Juan Hill, culturally and physically, and developers have taken advantage of the changing demographics and increased wealth of the area since the addition of Lincoln Center, erecting towers of matching luxury and modern opulence, such as 200 Amsterdam Avenue and the Park Laurel. Within the boundaries of the study area, preservation efforts have reflected an evolving approach to what can be preserved and why, as the loss of history within a space becomes increasingly poignant and prevalent. The key adjustments to the preservation field have been additive in nature. While the fame of a certain architect or western stylization of a building still sufficient for designation, the scope of significance is diversifying to include sites of historic events and cultural innovations for communities not in the majority and for communities no longer extant. While the change in preservation priorities in the area cannot be definitively attributed to a single source, there is a notable move away from elitist ideals. Inclusivity and accessibility have been two primary concerns for preservation: namely, how a wider public is included in the narrative of a place, and how a wider public can access either the space itself or information regarding it. These discussions are demonstrative of how previous patterns are evolving in response to questions of historical injustice, such as at Lincoln Square. However, as time pushes San Juan Hill further and further into the past, it is important to continue adjusting preservation ethos so that the inequities of slum clearance are acknowledged and assessed, ensuring that what has been lost is not forgotten.

APPENDIX B: HISTORIC ASSETS

Name & Address	Block	Lot	Type	Historic Contexts	Extant	Built Year
1 Lincoln Plaza 1900 Broadway	1116	7501	Building	Preservation	●	1971-1972
12th Regiment Armory 62nd St and Columbus Ave	1132		Buliding	Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making		1887
1871 Broadway 1871 Broadway	1114	7502	Building	Preservation		1905
1919 improvised park after tenement demolition 231-243 W 61st St	1154		Area - Open/ Green	Open Space & Topography		1919
21 West End Avenue 21 West End Ave	11171		Building	Housing	●	2016
22nd Regiment Armory / 104th Field Artillery W 67th St and Broadway	1139	7502	Building	Commerce & Industry		1889-1892
25 West 64th Street 25 W 64th St	1117	19	Building	Housing	●	1923
3-story frame houses 320-326 W 59th St	1068	10	Building	Housing		1892
33 West 63rd Street 33 W 63rd St	1116	18	Building	Housing; Preservation		
5-Story apartment buildings with metal cornices 20 West End Ave	1152	1	Building	Housing; Residents & Publics		
5-story brownstone house 26-28 W 61st St	1113	7501	Building	Housing		
55th Street Playhouse 154 W 55th St	1007	5	Building	Media & Representation		
59th Street Columbus Circle Subway Station 59th St and Columbus Cir			Infrastructure/ Facility	Preservation	●	1904
625 West 59th Street 625 W 59th St	1171	7511	Building	Preservation		
67th Street Studio Buildings 40 W 67th St	1119	47	Building	Preservation; Music, Dance, and Performing Arts; Housing	●	1901-1903

Name & Address	Block	Lot	Type	Historic Contexts	Extant	Built Year
68th Street Studio Buildings 40 W 67th St	1119	47	Building	Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity		1892
80 Amsterdam Avenue 80 Amsterdam Ave	1155	29	Building	Housing; Preservation; Commerce & Industry		
9 West 64th Street 9 W 64th St	1117	26	Building	Housing; Preservation; Education & Childcare	●	1930
Aaron Copland Residence at the Hotel Empire 44 W 63rd St	1115	57	Memorial/ Marker	Music, Dance, and Performing Arts	●	
ABC Studios 77 W 66th St, Ste 13	1119	8	Building	Music, Dance and Performing Arts; Media & Representation	●	1986
Afred Corning Estates/Community Court Apartments W 68th St and Amsterdam Ave	1158	7505	Building	Open Space & Topography; Housing		1896
Alden Theater 1987 Broadway	1139	14	Building	Media & Representation		1931
Alexander Press 219 W 62nd St	1154	20	Building	Media & Representation; Commerce & Industry; Housing		c. 1901
AMC Lincoln Square 13 1998 Broadway	1139	7503	Building	Media & Representation	●	
American Bosch Magneto Building 17-23 W 60th St	1113	13	Building	Commerce & Industry	●	
American Broadcast Television Center 77 W 66th St	1119	8	Building	Preservation; Media & Representation	●	1948
American Red Cross Headquarters 60th St and Amsterdam Ave	1137	7501	Building	Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making		1963
American West Indian Grocery 228 W 63rd St	1155	49	Building	Housing; Commerce & Industry		
Amsterdam Avenue racial divide Amsterdam Ave (through study area)			Street Corridor/Route	Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity; Open Space & Topography; Residents & Publics	●	1901-1903

Name & Address	Block	Lot	Type	Historic Contexts	Extant	Built Year
Amsterdam Democratic Club 60th St and Amsterdam Ave			Building	Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity		
Amsterdam Houses Area bounded by W 61st St, W 64th St, Amsterdam Ave, and West End Ave	1154	101	Area - Open/ Green Space	Open Space & Topography; Preservation; Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making; Religion; Residents & Publics; Music, Dance, and Performing Arts		1904
Amsterdam Houses Addition 240 W 65th St	1156	20	Building	Preservation; Housing	●	1974
Amsterdam Houses - topographical barrier Area bounded by W 61st St, W 64th St, Amsterdam Ave, and West End Ave	1154	101	Area - Natural/ Topography	Open Space & Topography	●	
Arthur Mitchell Marker W 65th and Amsterdam Ave	1134	25	Memorial/ Marker	Music, Dance, and Performing Arts	●	
Arthur Moody Home 238 W 62nd St	1153	54	Building	Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity		
Auto repair building 4-10 West End Ave	1151	7502	Building	Preservation		
Bachelor Apartments 225-229 W 69th St	1141	7502	Building	Housing; Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making		1908
Bee Hive Store 86 Amsterdam Ave	1155	32	Building	Housing; Commerce & Industry		
Berger Cleaners, Picture Frame Glass 225 Columbus St	1123	3	Building	Commerce & Industry	●	
Biograph Cinema 225 W 57th St	1029	14	Building	Media & Representation		
Booker T. Washington assaulted location 11 1/2 W 63rd St	1116		Building			
Boulevard Carroll Entertainment Group 625 W 55th St, Ste 6	1103	15	Building	Music, Dance, and Performing Arts	●	
Boyertown Casket Co. 41 W 60th St	1113	5	Building	Commerce & Industry		

Name & Address	Block	Lot	Type	Historic Contexts	Extant	Built Year
Brentmore Apartments 88 Central Park W	1121	36	Building	Preservation; Housing	●	1909
Bright Horizons Park 345 W 58th St	1171	7508 & 148	Area - Open/ Green Space	Open Space & Topography	●	
Broadway Malls Broadway from Columbus Cir to 110th St			Street Corridor/Route	Open Space & Topography	●	
Burueau of Employment and Migration (Currently the Migration Division of the Puerto Rican Department of Labor) 21 W 60th St	1113	7503	Building	Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity; Residents & Publics		
Calvary Baptist Church 123 W 57th St	1010	15	Building	Religion		1929
Catholic Apostolic Church 417-419 W 57th St	1067	24	Building	Preservation; Religion; Music, Dance, and Performing Arts	●	1885-1886
CBS Broadcast Center 524 W 57th St	1085	1	Building	Media & Representation	●	
Century Apartments 25 Central Park W	1115	7501	Building	Preservation; Housing; Residents & Publics	●	1931
Century Theater W 62nd St and Broadway	1115	29	Building	Music, Dance, and Performing Arts; Commerce & industry		1931
Chaloner Theater 845 9th Ave	1064	29	Building	Media & Representation; Music, Dance, and Performing Arts		1922
Cheerio Bar and Grill 227 Columbus St	1123	4	Building	Commerce & Industry	●	
Chrysler Garage 125 West End Ave	1171	7514	Building	Commerce & Industry; Preservation; Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making	●	1929
Church of Saint Paul the Apostle 405 W 59th St	1131	16	Building	Preservation; Religion; Music, dance, and Performing Arts	●	1875-1885

Name & Address	Block	Lot	Type	Historic Contexts	Extant	Built Year
Cinema Studio 1966 Broadway	1138	7501	Building	Media & Representation		
Circle Theater 1885 Broadway	1115	7	Building	Media & Representation; Music, Dance, and Performing Arts	●	
Civita Colonia Artistica 1633 Broadway	1022	43	Building	Media & Representation		
Club Exit 610 W 56th St	1103	39	Building	Music, Dance, and Performing Arts		1988
College of Physicians and Surgeons 437 W 59th St	1131	1	Building	Education & Childcare; Health & Welfare		1887
Colon Theater 501 Columbus Ave	1198	1	Building	Media & Representation		
Columbus Circle Intersection of Broadway, Central Park W, 8th Ave, and 59th St			Area - Open/ Green Space	Preservation; Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making; Open Space & Topography	●	1857
Columbus Circle Station Post Office 27-29 W 60th St	1113	8	Building	Preservation	●	1922
Columbus Monument Intersection of Broadway, Central Park W, 8th Ave, and 59th St			Memorial/ Marker	Preservation	●	1892
Community Court Apartments 214-220 W 69th St; 217-233 W 68th St	1158		Building	Housing; Redevelopment & Decision-Making		1898
Congregation Habonim 40 W 66th St	1118	47	Building	Religion		1940
Congregation Shearith Israel Synagogue & Rectory 4 W 70th St	1122	36	Building	Preservation; Religion; Music, Dance, and Performing Arts	●	1896-1897
Consolidated Edison Company open space for gas cisterns Area bounded by 65th St, 66th St, Amsterdam Ave, and West End Ave			Infrastructure/ Facility	Open Space & Topography; Commerce & Industry		

Name & Address	Block	Lot	Type	Historic Contexts	Extant	Built Year
Cova Building 1841-1843 Broadway	1113	18	Building	Commerce & Industry; Preservation		1922-1924
Cushman's Son Inc. 331 W 66th St	1178	19, 21	Building	Commerce & Industry		
Daly's 63rd Street Theater 22-26 W 63rd St	1115	17	Building	Music, Dance, and Performing Arts; Media & Representation; Religion		1914
Damrosch Park 61 Lincoln Center Plaza	1134	10	Area - Open/ Green Space	Open Space & Topography	●	
Dante Monument W 63rd St, Broadway, and Columbus Ave	1116	1	Memorial/ Marker	Open Space & Topography	●	1929
Dante Park W 63rd St, Broadway, and Columbus Ave	1116	1	Area - Open/ Green Space	Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making; Open Space & Topography; Preservation	●	1852
Dodge Service Building 211-225 W 61st St	1154	7502	Building	Commerce & Industry; Education & Childcare; Music, Dance, and Performing Arts	●	1928
Drug store 11-12 Columbus Circle	1049	7501	Building	Health & Welfare		
Drug store 175 West End Ave	1179		Building	Health & Welfare		
Drug store 1825 Broadway	1049	7501	Building	Health & Welfare		
Drug store 37 Columbus Ave	1113	1	Building	Health & Welfare		
Drug store 42 Amsterdam Ave	1153	30	Building	Health & Welfare		
Dumbell New Law tenement 210 W 64th St	1155	40	Building	Housing; Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making; Commerce & Industry		1890s
Eglers Bakery 245-249 W 62nd St	1154	1	Building	Commerce & Industry		

Name & Address	Block	Lot	Type	Historic Contexts	Extant	Built Year
Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity 3 W 65th St	1118	28	Building	Preservation; Religion	●	1902
Evangelical Tent of Summer 1906 60th St and West End Ave			Infrastructure/ Facility	Religion		1906
Film at Lincoln Center 70 Lincoln Center Plaza, Ste 4	1137	63	Building	Music, Dance, and Performing Arts	●	1969
Firestone Tire and Rubber Company service building 63rd St and West End Ave	1154	61	Building	Commerce & Industry		
First Battery Armory (Currently ABC Studios) 30 W 67th St	1119	43	Building	Preservation; Health & Welfare	●	1903
First Church of Christ 10 W 68th St	1120	33	Building	Preservation; Religion	●	1898
First YWCA 169 W 63rd St	1135	7	Building	Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity; Residents & Publics		
Fordham University at Lincoln Center 113 W 60th St	1132	20	Building	Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making; Education & Childcare; Open Space & Topography	●	1961
Former Lincoln Plaza Cinemas 1886 Broadway	1115	7503	Building	Media & Representation		
Freedom Place Corridor bounded by 59th St to 64th St, 66th St to 70th St, Riverside Dr, and West End Ave			Street Corridor/Route	Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity	●	1967
G-Men raid on San Juan Hill's famed catacombs location 229 W 62nd St	1154	101	Building	Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity	●	
George's Diner W 59th St and Columbus Cir	1112	17	Building	Commerce & Industry		c. 1940
Gertner Baking Corp. 241 W 64th St	1156	11	Building	Commerce & Industry		

Name & Address	Block	Lot	Type	Historic Contexts	Extant	Built Year
Gertrude Ederle Playground and Recreation Center 533 W 59th St	1151	15	Area - Open/ Green Space	Open Space & Topography	●	1906
Good Shepherd - Faith Presbyterian Church 152 W 66th St	1137	57	Building	Religion	●	1893
Grace Institute 155 W 60th St	1132	20	Building	Education & Childcare	●	1897
Gristede Bros. Supermarket 224 W 72nd St	1163	46	Building	Commerce & Industry	●	
Guggenheim Bandshell 155 W 62nd St	1134	10	Building	Open Space & Topography	●	1969
Guild Theater 2089 Broadway	1164	7501	Building	Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making; Open Space & Topography; Preservation		
The Gut 61st-62nd St between Amsterdam Ave and West End Ave			Street Corridor/Route	Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity		
Hampden Theater 53-57 W 62nd St	1115	7502	Building	Media & Representation	●	
Hampton Model Tenement 210-218 63rd St	1154	40	Building	Housing; Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity; Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making		1908
Harperley Hall Apartments 1 W 64th St	1117	29	Building	Preservation; Housing	●	1909
Hearst Plaza 30 Lincoln Center Plaza	1134	1	Area - Open/ Green Space	Open Space & Topography	●	
Hearst Plaza Fountain (formerly the Paul Milstein Pool and Terrace) 30 Lincoln Center Plaza	1134	1	Public Art	Open Space & Topography	●	
Henrietta Industrial School Building 224 W 63rd St	1154	46	Building	Residents & Publics; Health & Welfare; Education & Childcare		1891
Henry Williams Home 22 W 62nd St	1114		Building	Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity		

Name & Address	Block	Lot	Type	Historic Contexts	Extant	Built Year
High School of Commerce 155 W 65th St	1137	10	Building	Education & Childcare; Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity	●	1902
Hotel Des Artistes 1 W 67th St	1120	23	Building	Preservation; Music, Dance, and Performing Arts; Housing	●	
Hotel Empire 44 W 63rd St	1115	57	Building	Preservation; Housing; Music, Dance, and Performing Arts	●	1922-1923
Hudson Motor Co. 318-330 W 69th St	1180	15	Building	Commerce & Industry		
Hypar Pavillion 30 Lincoln Center Plaza	1134	1	Area - Open/ Green Space	Open Space & Topography	●	
Interborough Rapid Transit Company Powerhouse 669 W 58th St	1106	1	Infrastructure/ Facility	Preservation; Commerce & Industry	●	1902-1905
International Motor Co. Garage 250-252 W 64th St	1155	1	Building	Commerce & Industry		
James "Gimp" Parham shot location 334 W 59th St	1049	54	Building	Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity		
James Felt Memorial Plaza at Amsterdam Houses Extension 240 W 65th St	1156	20	Area - Open/ Green Space	Open Space & Topography	●	1974
James Felt Sculpture 240 W 65th St	1156	20	Memorial/ Marker	Open Space & Topography	●	1974
James O'Connor assaulted location 240 W 63rd St	1154	101		Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity		
Jesse Isador Strauss School (P.S. 199) 270 W 70th St	1158	40	Building	Preservation; Education & Childcare	●	1965
John Jay College of Criminal Justice (Formerly DeWitt Clintoln High School and Haaren High School) 524 W 59th St	1087	5	Building	Preservation; Education & Childcare; Open Space & Topography	●	1903

Name & Address	Block	Lot	Type	Historic Contexts	Extant	Built Year
Josie Robertson Plaza (formerly Revson Fountain) 101 Lincoln Center Plaza	1134	1	Area - Open/ Green Space	Open Space & Topography	●	1969
Julie Miles Theatre 424 W 55th St	1064	44	Building	Preservation	●	1898
Julliard School 60 Lincoln Center Plaza	1137	10	Building	Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making; Music, Dance, and Performing Arts; Education & Childcare	●	1969
Jungle Casino W 62nd St and Amsterdam Ave	1154		Building	Music, Dance, and Performing Arts		1913
Karl Schmautz Bakery 90 Amsterdam Ave	1155	34	Building	Housing; Commerce & Indusry		
Kennedy Building 70 Columbus Ave	1134		Building	Commerce & Industry		1927
Kaufman Music Center 129 W 67th St	1139	8	Building	Music, Dance, and Performing Arts	●	1978
Kent Automatic Parking Garage / Sofia Brothers Warehouse 34-43 W 61st St	1114	7501	Building	Preservation; Commerce & Industry; Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making	●	1920
Knickerbocker Ice Company 306-316 W 67th St	1178	37	Building	Commerce & Industry		
Lincoln Center 10 Lincoln Center Plaza	1134	1	Building	Preservation; Music, Dance, and Performing Arts; Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making	●	1955-1969
Lincoln Center - topographical barrier Area bounded by W 63rd St, W 65th St, Columbus Ave, and Amsterdam Ave			Area - Natural/ Topography	Open Space & Topography	●	
Lincoln Center Fountain 10 Lincoln Center Plaza	1134	1	Public Art	Open Space & Topography		1964
Lincoln Square Community Council 150 W 68th St	1139	1	Building	Residents & Publics	●	

Name & Address	Block	Lot	Type	Historic Contexts	Extant	Built Year
Lincoln Square Mammoth Rally 155 W 65th St			Street Corridor/Route	Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making		1950s
Lincoln Square Neighborhood Center 218 W 64th St	1154	101	Building	Residents & Publics; Music, Dance, and Performing Arts; Housing	●	1948
Lincoln Square Theater 155 W 65th St	1137	15	Building	Music, Dance, and Performing Arts		1905
Lincoln Towers 140 West End Ave	1158	7503	Building	Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making; Housing; Open Space & Topography	●	1961
Little Carnegie Theater 146 W 57th St	1009	7501	Building	Media & Representation		
Locomobile Service Department 91-93 West End Ave	1171	1	Building	Commercial & Industry		
Locomobile Service Department 16-24 W 61st St	1113	51	Building	Commerce & Industry	●	1914
Loew's Lincoln Square 1949 Broadway	1137	10	Building	Media & Representation		
Manhattan Auto Top Co. 217-227 W 64th St	1156	18, 19, 21	Building	Commerce & Industry		
Marjorie S. Deane Little Theater 10W 64th St	1116	24	Building	Music, Dance, and Performing Arts	●	1930
Mat. Biscuit Co. 236 W 65th St	1156	50	Building	Commerce & Industry		
Matthew P. Sapolin Playground 270 W 70th St	1158	40	Area - Open/ Green Space	Open Space & Topography	●	
Mayflower Apartment Hotel 13-20 Central Park W	1114	7503	Building	Housing; Residents & Publics; Commerce & Industry		1926
McBurney School (YMCA) 15 W 63rd St	1116	7502	Building	Preservation; Education & Childcare	●	1931
Meeting House for the New York Society for Ethical Culture 2 W 64th St	1116	29	Building	Residents & Publics	●	1909-1910

Name & Address	Block	Lot	Type	Historic Contexts	Extant	Built Year
Metropolitan Opera House 30 Lincoln Center Plaza	1134	1	Building	Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making; Music, Dance, and Performing Arts	●	1966
Monster Ourdoor Meeting of United Colored Republicans 62nd St and Amsterdam Ave			Area - Open/ Green Space	Residents & Publics; Open Space & Topography	●	1906
Music Theatre International 423 W 55th St	1065	13	Building	Music, Dance, and Performing Arts	●	1952
New Colonial Theater 1887 Broadway	1115	4	Building	Music, Dance, and Performing Arts		1909
New York American 7 Central Park W	1113		Building	Media & Representation; Commerce & Industry		
New York Amsterdam News Birthplace 132 W 65th St	1136	44.5	Building	Media & Representation; Commerce & Industry		1901
New York Central Railroad Freight Yard Area bounded by 59th St, 72nd St, West End Ave, and the Hudson River	1171	1	Area - Open/ Green Space	Open Space & Topography; Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity; Commerce & Industry		c. 1849
New York Philharmonic 10 Lincoln Center Plaza	1134	1	Building	Music, Dance, and Performing Arts	●	
New York Times Building 64th St and West End Ave	1171	71	Building	Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making		
Newspaper Shack 13 W 64th St	1117		Building	Commerce & Industry		
Newsreel Theater 2089 Broadway	1164	7501	Building	Open Space & Topography		
Nurses home 159 W 61st St	1133	9	Building	Health & Welfare		
NY Nursery Dispensary & Laboratory 161-169 W 61st St	1133	2	Building	Health & Welfare		1854
Office of Dr. Jacob Gross 29 Columbus Ave	1113	64	Building	Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity		1876

Name & Address	Block	Lot	Type	Historic Contexts	Extant	Built Year
Old Law tenements 242-244 W 61st St	1152	57	Building	Housing; Preservation		
Original Donkey Club Headquarters 12 West End Ave	1151	63	Building	Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity		1884
P.S. 191 (Original) (Currently P.S. 452) 210 W 61st St	1152	29	Building	Education & Childcare	●	1956
P.S. 191 Riverside School 300 W 61st St	1171	164	Building	Education & Childcare	●	2017
P.S. 199 270 W 70th St	1158	40	Building	Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making	●	1963
P.S. 452 20 Amsterdam Ave	1152	29	Building	Open Space & Topography	●	1957
P.S. 452 Tennis Courts 218 W 61st St	1152	13	Area - Open/ Green Space	Open Space & Topography	●	
P.S. 69 W 54th St			Building	Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity		
P.S. 94 180 Amsterdam Ave	1160	28	Building	Education & Childcare		
Pear McCourt "Amazon" Home / Bawdy House 248 W 62nd St	1153	59	Building	Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity		
Phipps House Number 2 233-247 W 63rd St	1154	156, 158	Building	Housing; Music, Dance, and Performing Arts; Health & Welfare	●	1905
Phipps House Number 3 240 W 64th St	1154	202, 206	Building	Housing; Music, Dance, and Performing Arts; Health & Welfare	●	1906
Picture Frame Glass 225 Columbus Ave	1123	3	Building	Commerce & Industry	●	
Plaza at 110 West End Avenue 110 West End Ave	1156	1	Area - Open/ Green Space	Open Space & Topography		1973
Power Memorial Academy 161 W 61st St	1132	7501	Building	Education & Childcare		1938

Name & Address	Block	Lot	Type	Historic Contexts	Extant	Built Year
Prasada Apartments 50 Central Park W	1117	36	Building	Preservation; Housing	●	1904
R. Simpson Loans 1978 Broadway	1138	40	Building	Commerce & Industry		
Reisenweber's Cafe 58th St, 8th Ave, and Columbus Cir	1030	1	Building	Music, Dance, and Performing Arts		1856
Residential building with delicatessen on ground floor 139 W 64th St	1135	18	Building	Housing; Commerce & Industry		
Residential building with possible basement club 148 W 64th St	1135	53	Building	Housing; Commerce & Industry		
Revson Fountain 10 Lincoln Center Plaza	1134	1	Public Art	Open Space & Topography	●	2009
Richard Hill shot and killed by police location 227 W 63rd St	1154			Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity; Media & Representation	●	1917
Richard Tucker Park 134 Columbus Ave	1137	36	Area - Open/ Green Space	Open Space & Topography	●	
RKO 81st St Theater 81st St and Broadway	49	1	Building	Media & Representation		
RKO Colonial Theatre 1881 Broadway	1115	7	Building	Media & Representation		
Rodney K. Haines Co. 1849 Broadway	1113	46	Building	Commerce & Industry	●	
Roosevelt Hospital 400 W 59th St	1068	10	Building	Preservation; Health & Welfare; Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity	●	1890-1892
Roosevelt Hospital - William J. Syms Operating Theater 400 W 59th St	1068	10	Building	Preservation; Health & Welfare; Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity	●	1890-1892
Row Houses, 101-147 West 63rd Street 101-147 W 63rd St	1135	16-30	Building	Housing; Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making		
Row Houses, 119-123 West 64th Street 119-123 W 64th St	1136		Building	Housing; Residents & Publics		
Row of tenements 333-340 W 59th St	1131	7501	Building	Housing		

Name & Address	Block	Lot	Type	Historic Contexts	Extant	Built Year
Saloon where 1917 race "riot" started 65th and Amsterdam Ave			Building	Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity		
Samuel N. Bennerson Playground 200 W 64th St	1154	164	Area - Open/ Green Space	Open Space & Topography		
Sandwich shop 228 W 64th St	1155	51	Building	Housing; Commerce & Industry		
Second-hand shop 225 W 64th St	1155	17	Building	Commerce & Industry		
Service Station Clot Stratton Co. 87-89 West End Ave	1171	1	Building	Commerce & Industry		
Sheffield Farms Co. 222 W 72nd St	1163	47	Building	Commerce & Industry		
Sherman Park Area bounded by 70th St, 71st St, Broadway, and Amsterdam Ave			Area - Open/ Green Space	Open Space & Topography	●	
Sherman Square Hotel 2049-2059 Amsterdam Ave	1162	33	Building	Commerce & Industry		
Sloane Maternity Hospital 447 W 60th St	1131	1	Building	Health & Welfare		1886
Society for Ethical Culture School / Ethical Culture Fieldston School 33 Central Park W	1116	29	Building	Preservation; Education & Childcare	●	
Soho Imax & Lincoln Square Theaters 1998 Broadway	1139	7503	Building	Media & Representation		
Sophia Condominium 43 W 61st St	1114	7501	Building	Housing; Commerce & Industry; Preservation	●	1930
St. Cyprian's Parish House 169-171 W 63rd St	1154		Building	Religion; Education & Childcare; Health & Welfare		1907
St. Stephens P.E. Church 120 W 69th St	1140	40	Building	Religion; Music, dance, and Performing Arts	●	1876
St. Benedict the Moor Church 342 W 53rd St	1043	51	Area - Open/ Green Space	Religion	●	1869

Name & Address	Block	Lot	Type	Historic Contexts	Extant	Built Year
St. Matthew's Church 215 W 67th St	1158		Building	Religion; Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity		1902-1903
St. Nichols Arena 69 W 66th St	1119	5	Building	Music, Dance, and Performing Arts		1896
Stephen Wise Free Synagogue 30 W 68th St	1120	44	Building	Religoin; Education & Childcare	●	1939
Stillman House 205 W 60th St	1152	29.5	Building	Residents & Publics; Health & Welfare		
Stillman Settlement (1905-1907) 205 W 60th St	1132	20	Building	Health & Welfare		
Stillman Settlement (1907-1908) 252 W 62nd St	1154	101	Building	Health & Welfare		
Stillman Settlement (1908-) 205 W 60th St	1152	29	Building	Health & Welfare		
Telenews Theater 4 W 58th St	1273	44	Building	Media & Representation		
Tenement beside the railway 49 Columbus Ave	1115	57	Building	Residents & Publics; Housing		1923
Terminal 5 610 W 56th St	1103	39	Building	Music, Dance, and Performing Arts	●	2003
Thomas Jefferson Home 241 W 60th St	1152	10	Building	Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity		
Time Warner Center 1 Columbus Cir	1049	7501	Building	Preservation	●	2000-2004
Tuskegee Model Tenement 213-215 W 62nd Ave	1154		Building	Housing; Residents & Publics; Health & Welfare; Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making		1901
Two predominantly Black residential blocks commonly referred to in media for their high population density Blocks bounded by W 61st St, W 63rd St, Amsterdam Ave, and West End Ave	1154		Area - Open/ Green Space	Residents & Publics; Housing; Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity		
Union Baptist Church / Lincoln House 202 W 63rd St	1154	37	Building	Religion; Education & Childcare; Residents & Publics		1901

Name & Address	Block	Lot	Type	Historic Contexts	Extant	Built Year
Union Baptist Church second building 204 W 63rd St	1154		Building	Religion		1905
Upper West Side/Central Park West Historic District			Building	Preservation; Housing	●	
Vanderbilt Clinic 148 W 60th St	1131	1	Building	Health & Welfare		1886
Vetter Auto Top Co. 95-97 West End Ave	1171	1	Building	Commerce & Industry		
Vivian Beaumont Theater 150 W 65th St	1134	25	Building	Redevelopment Drivers & Decision-Making; Music, Dance, and Performing Arts	●	1965
Water bucket on Italians location 247 W 61st St	1153	6	Building	Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity		1882
West 60th Street Public Bath 533 W 59th St	1151	15	Building	Preservation; Health & Welfare; Open Space & Topography	●	1906
West 69th Sreet Transfer Bridge Hudson River at W 69th St			Infrastructure/ Facility	Preservation	●	1911
West End Park 75 W 63rd St	1171	71	Building	Commerce & Industry	●	
West End Towers 75 West End Ave	1171	63	Building	Housing	●	1994
West Side Herald 1841 Broadway	1113	18	Building	Media & Representation		1922
West Side YMCA 5 W 63rd St	1116	24	Building	Preservation; Open Space & Topography	●	1930
Willing Workers Tenants League of Columbus Hill Headquarters 201 W 72nd St	1114	7501	Building	Racial/Ethnic Conflict & Interracial Solidarity		
Wines & Liquors, Daniel & Reeves 229 Columbus Ave	1123	64	Building	Commerce & Industry	●	
W.O.R. TV Studios 67-68th St between Broadway and Columbus Ave	1139	24	Building	Media & Representation		1950
YMCA Headquarters (Central Location of 1971 GAA Protest) 5 W 63rd St	1116	24	Building	Residents & Publics; Preservation	●	1928-1930

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