

# PUBLIC SPACE AND PUBLIC MEMORY IN NEW YORK'S CITY HALL PARK

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**In August 1991**, prior to the construction of a new federal office building, archeologists who were routinely surveying a plot of land on Duane Street between Broadway and Elk Street unearthed a group of human skeletons. The remains were soon identified as those of the city's eighteenth-century black population, who had been laid to rest in a place once known as the "Negro's Burial Ground." The cemetery extended roughly from Duane Street on the north to Chambers on the south and from Centre and Lafayette Streets on the east to Broadway on the west, and it included the northern boundary of Manhattan's City Hall Park. Originally on the city's periphery, it now forms part of an area known as the Civic Center.<sup>1</sup> Historians had known of the burial ground but had assumed that any human remains had been scattered in the nineteenth century during the construction of the area's commercial buildings.

Initially, the rediscovery of the burial ground was treated primarily as an archeological matter. *The New York Times* was enthusiastic about the knowledge the remains might provide about the diets and diseases of the city's early black population. William Diamond, regional director of the General Services Administration (GSA), guaranteed that all exhumed skeletons would be properly cared for. After undergoing archeological investigation, he promised, they would be

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reburied in “an appropriate site.” (The *Times* indicated that Trinity Church Cemetery in Harlem was under consideration.)<sup>2</sup> His attitude was bureaucratic: gather up pertinent information and move on. There was little appreciation of the relationship of the archeological find to the larger physical and cultural setting—to the history of the *place*, constituted as interwoven elements of locale, location, and “sense of place.”<sup>3</sup>

Soon, however, attitudes shifted. African Americans, who held significant positions of power in New York City for the first time in 1990, protested vigorously the GSA’s cavalier attitude toward the skeletons and the site. They lobbied the agency to halt work on one portion of the plot, to reinter all the bodies there, and to create a memorial. After some resistance, the GSA stopped work on part of the building and agreed to sponsor a memorial. A 1993 New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission report recommended that the area encompassing all of City Hall Park and the three blocks north to Pearl Street (a vicinity dominated by municipal and federal courts) be designated the African Burial Ground and Commons Historic District (see Figure 1). The choice of the district’s name, and its subsequent approval, represented a significant reconfiguration of the City Hall Park/Civic Center precinct.<sup>4</sup>

The case of the African Burial Ground highlights the significance of differences regarding the historical boundaries, events, and tales of place. This article will excavate some of those histories—in large shovelfuls—to expose some of the crucial layers and transitions in the area now mapped as City Hall Park. I seek to restore traces of the relationship of human activity to locale, whose significance is lost today. To this end, I will be tracking the park chronologically through a series of thematic phases—those of (1) the original Commons, dating roughly from 1620-1712; (2) bifurcation and privatization, from 1712-1796; enclosure and cultivation, 1796-1860; (3) expansion, from 1860-1875; (4) memory, conflict, and reclamation, 1875-1935; (5) renovation, spanning 1935 and 1990; and (6) reconfiguration, from 1991 to the present. My narrative has several purposes. First, I want to show how the area changed and to highlight in particular its shifting confines and meanings as public space. Second, I want to show how, as the possibilities of memory accreted over time, certain

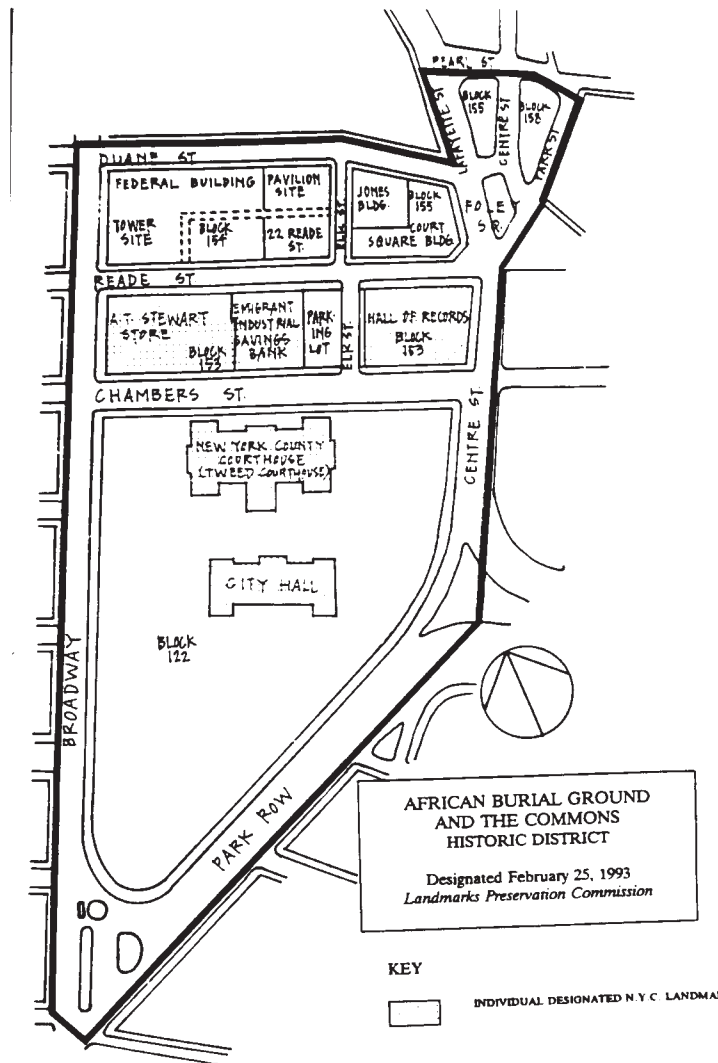
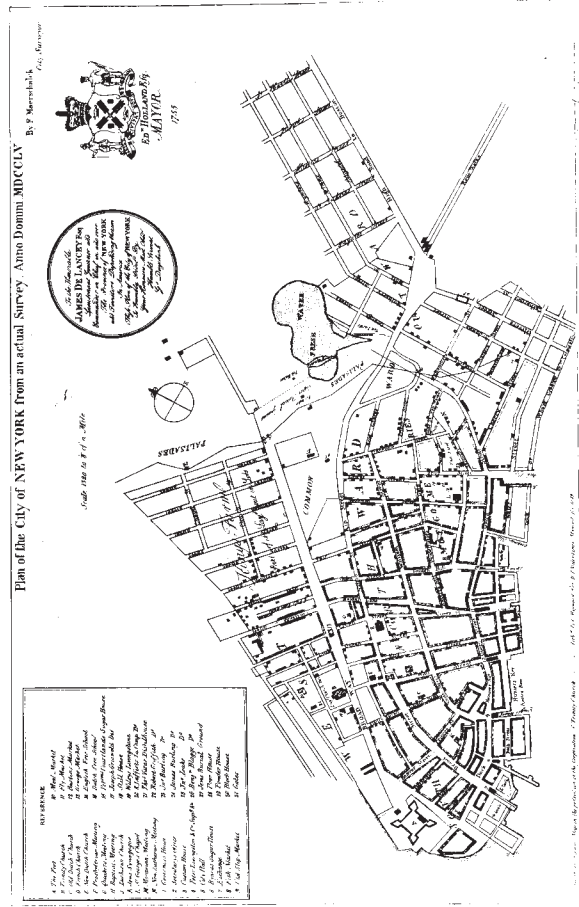


Figure 1: Map of African Burial Ground and the Commons Historic District  
SOURCE: New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, *African Burial Ground and the Commons Historic District Designation Report* (New York, 1993).

aspects of memory became crucial to the representation and politics of the park as public space. Those politics articulated visions—a genteel-historic ideal and a civic-presentist image—that alternately competed and converged. These tensions, which emerged in the wake of an apparent consolidation of the park's geographic parameters circa 1800, were ongoing for some two hundred years. This issue motivates my final concern, which is to highlight how the meaning of place depends on its boundaries; the case of City Hall Park shows the degree to which boundaries and meanings were subject to negotiation.<sup>5</sup>

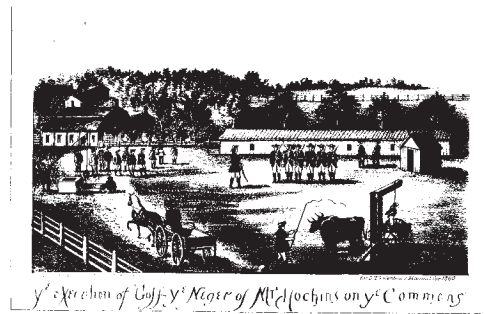
Early histories speculated that present-day City Hall Park was once the site of an Indian village, but the first physical documentation comes from the period of Dutch rule in the seventeenth century. During this time, the area formed part of what was known as the Commons (*Vlackte*—or Flat, in Dutch): vacant, unpatented land used as a pasturage and essentially open for the use of all comers.<sup>6</sup> What is now City Hall Park was a sod and scrub-covered plateau, which terminated in a ravine just above present-day Chambers Street (see Figure 2). From there, the land sloped down east-northeast toward a large, two-sectioned pond called the Collect, from whose northwest and southeast corners streams flowed toward the Hudson and East rivers. The streams, Collect Pond, Potbakers Hill (between present-day Reade and Duane, west of Centre), and Catiemuts Hill (at present-day Park Row and Duane) established a natural barrier that separated the town from the countryside to the north. All lands between the hills, the Collect, and the plateau area down to about Fulton Street were part of this public Commons and remained so even after the British conquest of New Amsterdam in 1664.<sup>7</sup>

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries saw an emerging distinction between the area to the north and the southern Commons. The southern portion remained as open public space and increasingly acquired an identity as a site for display of imperial power over the lives of colonial subjects. Both the Dutch (during their brief return to power) and the English used the Commons as a parade ground.<sup>8</sup> British construction of a barracks, jail, debtor's prison, and almshouse articulated imperial authority in more tangible, durable fashion, as did the area's use for public executions. It also became a defense site with the construction of a powder magazine and palisade,



**Figure 2: Plan of the City of New York from an Actual Survey Anno Domini M,DCC,LV (The Maerschalck or Duyckinck Plan), 1755, Depicting 1754**

SOURCE: Map Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.



**Figure 3: Execution of Goff Ye Neger of Mt. Clochins on ye Commons** (lithograph by G. Hayward for *Valentine's Manual*, 1860)  
SOURCE: Museum of the City of New York.

roughly along the path of the future Chambers Street in 1745 (see Figures 3 and 4). The site visibly linked defense, charity, and control of crime, the major state functions in the eighteenth century.<sup>9</sup>

The late eighteenth century was the canonical moment for the Commons. It served as a site of resistance for opponents of British rule. Following the 1765 passage of the Stamp Act, and on several occasions thereafter, liberty poles became symbolic markers of clashes over the control and definition of the Commons as public space. During the War of Independence, the British military, billeted on the Commons, imprisoned Americans in the Bridewell (a prison, built 1775) under appalling conditions. Hence, the commons space south of Chambers acquired a new, symbolic, emotional, and nationalist dimension. From that point onward, but especially at the turn of the twentieth century, City Hall Park would be closely identified with the memory of its historical role as a place of revolutionary sacrifice, popular resistance, and heroic great men.<sup>10</sup>

Some sixty years prior to that revolutionary moment, however, the southern Commons had also begun to function as an index of racial boundaries. Sometime around 1712, part of the northern sector of the

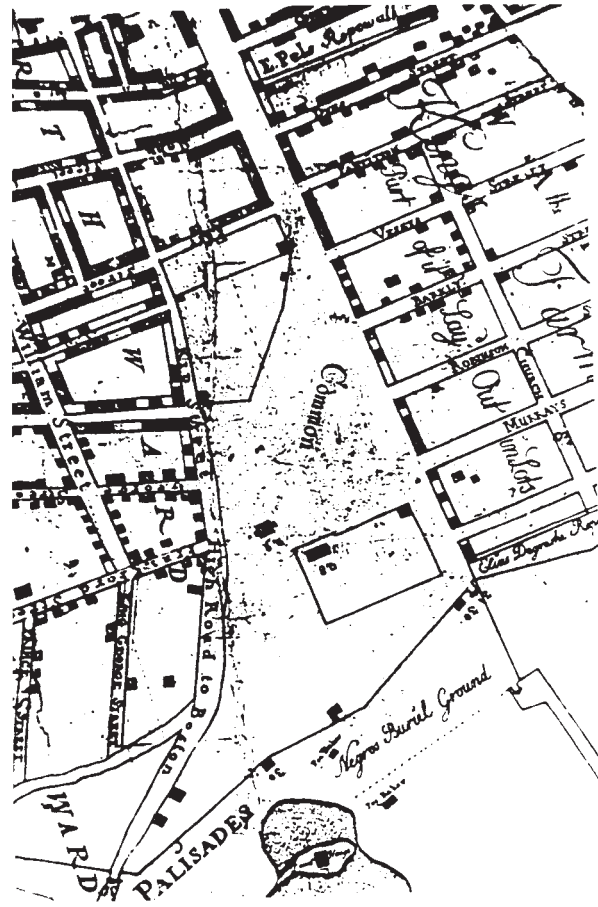


Figure 4: Detail Showing First Almshouse (no. 28), Powder Magazine on the Commons (no. 29), Palisade and Blockhouses (no. 30), from Plan of the City of New York from an Actual Survey Anno Domini M,DDC,LV (The Maerschalc or Duyckinck Plan), 1755, Depicting 1754  
SOURCE: New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, *African Burial Ground and the Commons Historic District Designation Report* (New York, 1993).

Commons became a “Negros’ Burial Ground” (see Figure 4).<sup>11</sup> This division resulted from a combination of the topographical differences and legal ambiguities. In 1673, during a brief return of Dutch rule, the governor awarded a northern section of the Commons (Chambers to

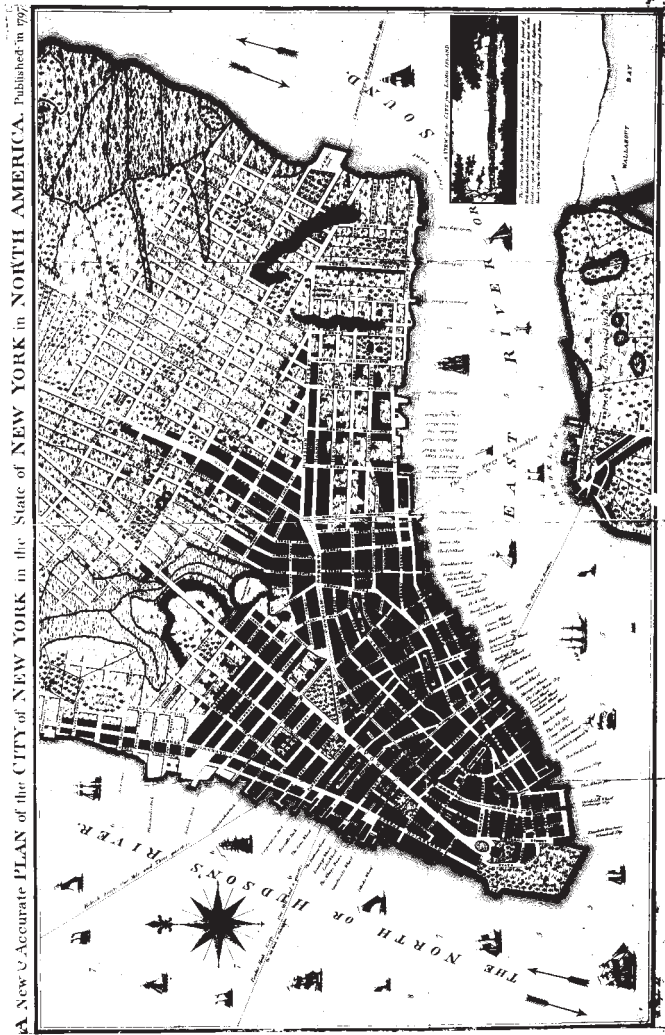
Duane, Broadway to Centre) to one Cornelius Van Borsum. The British government later confirmed that patent, but a dispute among heirs and executors left the legal status of the property in limbo. From 1696 to 1796, it was unclear whether the Van Borsum patent was private property or commons; significantly, the city's Common Council considered it still public.<sup>12</sup>

The area's remoteness and uncertain status proved crucial for eighteenth-century New York City's free and enslaved Africans, important contributors to the city's prosperity. Barred by race from burying their dead in the city's Trinity churchyard, they began, sometime around 1710, to appropriate "public" land—part of the Van Borsum patent—for their private use as a burial ground. Some four hundred people were interred in the area between 1712 and 1796.<sup>13</sup>

Historians of landmarks have emphasized the cultural and geographical connections between the northern and southern areas of the old Commons. But, in fact, the burial ground was a space of bifurcation, marked by the ravine. As those same historians have demonstrated, the ravine's slope enabled Africans' cultural practices to remain invisible, safe from white intervention. That remoteness was underscored all the more during the mid-eighteenth century, when, from 1747 to 1765 (the period spanning the War of Jenkin's Ear to the Peace of Paris), a palisade physically severed the space of the burial ground from the rest of New York.<sup>14</sup> The areas developed distinctly from then on.

If the period from 1710 to 1796 was marked by a process of gradual and unplanned bifurcation and privatization, the following period, from 1796 to 1860, was one of enclosure and cultivation. The turn of the nineteenth century saw a reassertion of the meaning of the "white" Commons in newly privatized terms that completely redefined the northern "black" sector. The legal uncertainties of the Van Borsum patent were resolved in 1796, and the heirs released the land to the city. The city filled the ravine, laid out Chambers Street, and divided the area north into lots, thus obliterating all traces of the African Burial Ground (see Figure 5).<sup>15</sup> With the enclosure of the burial ground, the memory of that place and of the African presence there disappeared. The privatization of this locale and the continuing disempowerment of African Americans sharpened even more the boundaries and public-





**Figure 5:** Taylor Map, *A New and Accurate Plan of the City of New York, 1797*  
SOURCE: Map Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.



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**Figure 6: Postcard View of City Hall before 1913**  
SOURCE: Author's collection.

private distinctions between the Commons (now called the Fields) to the south and the area north.

Enclosure, used in the legal sense, occurred literally in the northern sector, with wealthy and powerful merchants and landowners displacing the marginals who had previously laid claim to the property. In the south, enclosure occurred more metaphorically. The area just south of Chambers remained in public hands, but its public character differed from before. It evolved into an increasingly formalized and refined civic center, with the tone set by Mangin and McComb's elegant new Franco-Georgian city hall, erected on the site of the old almshouse (see Figure 6). The 1792-1794 enclosure of the Commons south of Chambers with a picket fence was a harbinger of this shift toward refinement. By 1821, an elegant English iron railing surrounded the area, now landscaped with elms, planes, willows, and catalpas and rechristened "The Park" (see Figure 7).<sup>16</sup>

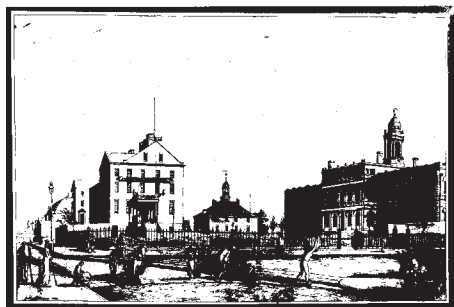
Park improvements, part of a larger transformation in the city's social geography, were a consequence of the acquisition of land on the



**Figure 7: The Park and City Hall, New York, circa 1835, Steel Plate Engraving, William Henry Bartlett, del. John Archer, eng.**

SOURCE: Collection of The New-York Historical Society.

periphery by the wealthiest merchants and gentlemen investors. The Park, a pleasant, uncongested area convenient to merchant houses and wharves but safe from the threat of malaria, was an ideal locality in which to build elegant townhouses. As Elizabeth Blackmar and Richard Bushman have shown, the place thus took on new significance as valuable open space, the centerpiece of a new urban neighborhood, whose identity hinged on the gentility of its wealthy inhabitants, rising property values, and clearly defined separation from artisan and wage-earning households. In reinforcing the aura of refinement, such developments would also limit the sight and access of the poor, present since the days of the Commons. A range of small, mostly relief-oriented buildings were built at the turn of the nineteenth century, but the charitable and penal institutions occupying the park were gradually supplanted by more refined municipal and cultural organizations geared toward a more upscale clientele (see Figure 8).<sup>17</sup> By 1850, there were two conjoined, yet distinctive sectors of The Park: buildings and



**Figure 8:** Arthur J. Stansbury, *City Hall Park from Northwest Corner of Broadway and Chambers Street, circa 1825*

SOURCE: Museum of the City of New York.

NOTE: This view depicts (from left) the Rotunda, the American Museum, and the Gaol (center).

landscaped park. Both areas were regarded as public, but the arrangements presumed a narrow, genteel constituency.

The Croton Water Fountain and its depictions (see Figure 9) exemplified the new civic vision and the new constriction of public space that accompanied it. Constructed in 1842 on completion of the Croton Aqueduct, the fountain was a monument to the beneficence of the genteel merchants and public servants whose contributions had brought clean water to the city. Its explosive sprays celebrated the power of technology to harness the forces of nature, advance the health and welfare of the population, and alleviate the ills of urban concentration and poverty.

Representations of the Croton fountain emphasized its uplifting influence. Many downplayed the artificial and the technological implications of the fountain and rendered it as a wondrous, “natural” landscape feature. Such representations were consistent with the tendency, which accelerated at midcentury, to depict the park as an idyllic cultivated place. As the wealthy moved northward, and as traffic, immigra-



*The Park Fountain of City Hall, New York*

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**Figure 9: *The Park Fountain of City Hall, New York*, Drawn and Engraved by James Smillie**

SOURCE: Museum of the City of New York.

NOTE: This view, circa 1842, renders the park as an urban oasis and picturesque garden fantasy, with Kew-like pagoda tower and the cupola of city hall serving as oversized "follies." The fountain's geyser-like spray signified the wonders of nature tapped for the health and well-being of urbanites. Published in guidebooks and almanacs, images like these were meant to reassure polite society and out-of-town visitors that New York was, in fact, a highly civilized place; it could offer a salubrious, invigorating, and even pastoral experience.

tion, class tensions (exemplified by the February 1837 Flour Riot), and commercial development put pressure on the area, such pictures, often retrospective, sought to fix the image of the park as a genteel place of refuge.<sup>18</sup> Other images, such as those commemorating the fountain's dedication, highlighted its importance as a civic symbol, as a focal point for democratic, participatory ritual. Together, these images served as a cautionary reminder—to politicians and upright citizens—of what public civic space ought to be and of what it was no longer. The same images continued to serve as documentation, as a decisive form of memory that shaped the park's historical identity during the early twentieth century.

The years circa 1860-1875, dominated by William Marcy Tweed, corroborated earlier intimations that The Park was undergoing transformation. These years saw substantial contraction of the open, landscaped, public space and a marked expansion and assertion of the park's civic and political functions but in the service of "private" gain. Two major public works projects—the infamous Italianate/Romanesque Tweed Courthouse and the gargantuan, opulent Second Empire-style post office (see Figures 10, 11, and 12)—exemplified these developments. In the case of the post office, the city actually sold off public park land to the federal government, in part to build Tweed connections.<sup>19</sup> A symbol of Tweed finagling and of federal control of and indifference to the lives of the citizens of New York City, it was a thorn in the side of city officials from the 1880s onward. The Tweed Courthouse is a better known boondoggle, costing the city some \$12 million over the twenty-year period in which it was built. In the case of both buildings, Tweed officials exploited the park land's value as municipal property to produce private profit. These actions shaped the identity and memory of the park in crucial ways: The memory of Tweed corruption and the desire to obliterate that memory significantly motivated the representations and politics of the park as well as its built environment.<sup>20</sup>

Tweed alterations broadened City Hall Park's role as a civic center in the late nineteenth century. A new public transportation system, combined with monumental new office buildings on the park's borders, transformed the area into a modern political, communications, financial, and traffic hub (see Figures 10 and 11). Construction of the IRT subway tore up the landscape, redone under Tweed; thousands milled daily through the space. Within this context of expansion and transformation, turn-of-the-century politicians, developers, civic art activists, architects, and park advocates engaged in struggles to control definitions and uses of this increasingly precious open space.

Architecture became a focal point of competing representations of the park as civic, historic, and/or leisure space. The controversies arose from the immediate context of municipal government expansion. Between 1888 and 1911, the need for more office and court space led to repeated attempts to build a large new building in City Hall Park. The first effort, in the late 1880s and early 1890s, proposed a new city



**Figure 10: City Hall Park, Looking North from Park Row, circa 1900**

SOURCE: The Byron Collection, Museum of the City of New York (93.1.1.1922).

NOTE: The New York County Courthouse (Tweed Courthouse, John Kellum, architect) stands behind City Hall. The old Gaol, transformed into the Hall of Records (demolished 1903), stands immediately to the right of City Hall. The small structure immediately to the right of the county courthouse was a city courthouse (demolished 1928); to its right stands a firehouse (demolished 1906). Park Row was renowned as "Newspaper Row." This photograph shows the buildings that housed the *World* (tall domed building), the *New York Daily Tribune* (with campanile), and the *Staats-Zeitung* (second Empire-style structure immediately to the left of the *World* building).

hall on the site of the old one; the second one, between 1909 and 1911, sought to construct a new courthouse elsewhere in the park. Civic and arts groups protested these plans on all occasions. An intricate set of controversies over the park and its built environment ensued, but the essential debates may be mapped out as follows, relatively summarily.<sup>21</sup>

Several perspectives came into play. What I want to spotlight here is the intensified role that memory played in the process. After the



**Figure 11: Postcard View of City Hall Park, J. B. Mullet, U.S. Post Office, circa 1920**  
SOURCE: Author's collection.

elimination of the African Burial Ground, its memory had faded. City Hall, the Tweed Courthouse, and the post office, by remaining visibly on the premises, served as reminders of the issues at stake. The memories of both the Tweed Courthouse and City Hall were very much on the minds of Democratic mayors Abram S. Hewitt, Thomas F. Gilroy, Hugh Grant, and (later) William J. Gaynor, who favored retaining a park identity as civic space, narrowly conceived as municipal property. Distancing themselves from the memory of Tweed corruption and extravagance and hoping to avoid the lengthy condemnation procedures that would obstruct the immediate dispensation of patronage, they professed frugality as the principal reason for building in the park.<sup>22</sup> Tearing down the old city hall posed no problem (at least not prior to 1900)—from the Tammany perspective, the building, a relic of old WASP hegemony, was clearly dispensable.

Preservationists called on a different version of memory. For them, the park and the old city hall were public sites of retrospection. Old “gems” like City Hall, linked to the city’s early heritage, had to be preserved. On the other hand, buildings like the Tweed Courthouse and





**Figure 12: Jait and Hoy Map, *The City of New York, Detail of Lower Manhattan, 1879***  
SOURCE: Map Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.  
NOTE: This 1879 map shows vividly the reduction of park space, the result of the construction of the new courthouse and post office.

the post office, tainted by the memory of more recent corruption and ethnic politics, could well be eliminated and not replaced.<sup>23</sup> But if more architecture in the park was inappropriate, statues that underscored the park's glory days as the cradle of liberty were certainly desirable. The Sons of the Revolution's 1893 unveiling of Frederick MacMonnies's statue of Nathan Hale (see Figures 13 and 14), a memorial to individual sacrifices in the name of American liberty, lent additional symbolic clout to the efforts to sacralize the park and thereby prevent construction.<sup>24</sup>

A third perspective, accommodationist, pragmatic, and aesthetic, favored preserving City Hall and incorporating it and the park into a larger, architecturally unified civic center (see Figure 15). These architects, planners, and politicians urged the city to buy up land north of Chambers street to facilitate the realization of this long-term vision.<sup>25</sup> The parameters of the proposed municipal center approximated those of the Commons of two hundred years earlier, but there is no indication that the memory of that place was a motivating factor in the planning process.

Nor, apparently, was the memory or the presence of the poor or other outsiders a high priority in the turn-of-the-century debates over the park. In limited cases, when expedient, those fighting encroachments offered humanitarian and medical reasons for preserving open park space as the "lungs" of the poor.<sup>26</sup> In fact, although pictured only rarely, the poor were present, especially immigrant children. They played street games like cat, hawked newspapers, shined shoes, slept on benches, and drank free milk dispensed from a depot, erected each summer (see Figure 16). Moreover, the park's comfort stations, situated near the area's cheap transient lodging houses, were notorious rendezvous spots for gay men at the turn of the century.<sup>27</sup> Efforts to clean up City Hall Park were clearly responding to the reality that the park was indeed a more broadly public area than many would have preferred. Later on, in the 1920s, the installation of the gargantuan and universally ridiculed fountain *Civic Virtue* (see Figure 17)—by the same Frederick MacMonnies whose earlier *Nathan Hale* had worked to sanctify the park—would further underscore this fact. Evidently regarding *Civic Virtue* as an elitist, partisan affront, Democratic mayors Hylan and Walker allowed neighborhood children to frolic in the

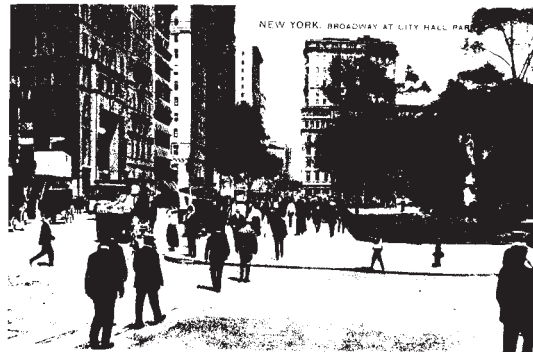
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**Figure 13: Frederick MacMonnies, *Nathan Hale*, Postcard View, circa 1908**

SOURCE: Author's collection.

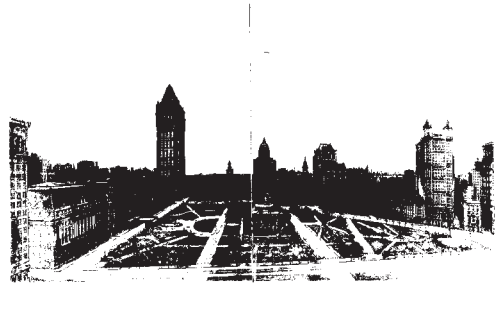
NOTE: The four-hundred-member Sons of the Revolution, whose membership primarily was composed of descendants of old patrician families, commissioned the statue. On the occasion of its unveiling, New York City newspapers, many of whose offices abutted the park, lamented the failure of the monument to foster an adequate memory of the Revolutionary War and the significance of its lessons for the present. They mocked young Italian newsboys' and bootblacks' unfamiliarity with the great American patriot. And they expressed wry disapproval of local beggars' efforts to use the commemorative occasion merely for entrepreneurial exploits, such as providing unsolicited tours of the statue, offering misreadings of revolutionary history, then extracting money.



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**Figure 14: Postcard View of City Hall Park and Broadway, circa 1905, Showing *Nathan Hale* in the background**  
SOURCE: Author's collection.

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**Figure 15: Henry Hornbostel and George B. Post, "Proposed Layout of City Hall Park in Connection with the New York Terminal of the Brooklyn Bridge, Showing the Campanile and Municipal Buildings on the Left"**  
SOURCE: *Architecture* 8 (August 1903): 105, plate LXII. (Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University in the City of New York.)



**Figure 16: Straus Milk Pavilion**

SOURCE: The Byron Collection, Museum of the City of New York (93.1.1.2164).

NOTE: The contemporary caption for this photograph read, "Where ice cold sterilized milk is sold to the public at 1 cent per glass. This scheme does not pay, so it is semi charitable, conceived and carried out by Nathan Strauss [sic] of the firm of R. H. Macy and Co., New York." Byron's 1906 image depicts a child (evidently responding to some loud noise) who has presumably just availed himself of free milk. It is one of the exceptional views of poor children who occupied the park. Funded by Macy's magnate Nathan Straus, the milk depots were erected each summer in this park, and several others, over a twenty-year period. The picturesque gothic style kiosk, with clapboard siding and gingerbread bargeboards, was meant to evoke the purity of milk and countryside. Byron's image sets up a contrast between the old-fashioned, human scale, "countrified" philanthropic enterprise within the park and the powerful forces of modern commerce and communications on the park's periphery, exemplified by the *World* building. Seen together, however, both kiosk and skyscraper are indicative, first, of the importance of the Jewish presence (Straus and Pulitzer) in New York City, in its varying manifestations; and second, of the less obvious but nonetheless tangible roles of commercial institutions and of the poor in shaping the culture and built environment of City Hall Park.

fountain in summer. Such events spotlighted the park's disorderly character (notice the garbage in Figure 17) and complicated perceptions of it as a refined historic space.<sup>28</sup>

The expansion of the civic realm and the responses to that expansion involved a heightened emphasis on select aspects of memory as integral to park identity. The force of those memories maintained the status quo for the most part. Several decrepit old buildings were torn down with subway construction at the turn of the century, but the Tweed Courthouse, the post office, and the City Hall were not touched, and no new buildings went up. Antiquarians in the 1910s and 1920s pressed the city to restore the mythical vision of the idyllic park, modeled on mid-nineteenth-century prints (see Figure 7). Federal authorities, who had long refused to cooperate with efforts to demolish the old post office, finally struck a deal with the city in 1938, thus paving the way for a possible restoration.<sup>29</sup> But the efforts to reclaim a genteel-historic vision of the park did not succeed any better than had efforts to build it up.

The forces of memory were not sufficiently great to triumph over the revitalized aspirations to the civic that were epitomized by newly appointed Parks Commissioner Robert Moses and the post-World War II generation of city planners. A man of power, not memory, Moses developed plans to renovate the park as a white-collar leisure space. What emerged was a formal landscape aesthetic with lots of concrete, very different from what preservationists had in mind (see Figure 18). But Moses's concern was renovation, not restoration. His priorities were to facilitate the free flow of traffic and to revitalize Lower Manhattan and its property values through urban renewal and the construction of a civic center. The park's principle value within this framework was as undeveloped open space that enhanced the value of properties surrounding it. The park was a low priority, and he never pushed hard to complete the renovation.<sup>30</sup>

From the 1940s through the 1960s, the park's identity continued to be articulated in utilitarian terms, along lines set forth by Moses and other city planners, as a feature of Lower Manhattan development. The themes of memory, so central to the park's identity at the turn of the century, were largely absent from this discourse, which focused on more pressing concerns, like underground parking. Urban planners



**Figure 17: Neighborhood Children Taking Advantage of Water Surrounding *Civic Virtue*, August 10, 1926**

SOURCE: Photographic Views of New York City file. (U.S. History, Local History and Genealogy Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.)

NOTE: Unveiled in the park in 1922 but commissioned some thirteen years earlier, the Michelangelesque image of Virtue overcoming two monstrous female Vices, was meant to symbolize progressive, republican ideals of honest good government. Its production generated tensions among different sectors of city government, regarding jurisdiction over the design and uses of the park space. The statue's massive scale was especially galling to beautifiers and preservationists, engaged at that very moment in trying to reclaim and clear out the park; they regarded *Civic Virtue* as an encroachment that competed with City Hall—the park's *raison d'être*. Ostensibly, its presence reinforced the park's significance as the seat of government, as civic space. But the imagery backfired. *Civic Virtue* heightened consciousness of the power of art, in conjunction with place, to reinforce gender and class inequalities. Its iconography offended women and pundits of all stripes. To the extent that the park's importance for some hinged on myths of orderliness, refinement, and social homogeneity associated with the New York of earlier days, *Civic Virtue* undermined those representations.

did, however, follow historical precedent, integrating the park into several evolving plans for a civic center.<sup>31</sup> The final plan, the 1965 design of Edward Durrell Stone and Associates, with its convergence of the corporate and the public civic, recast anew the relationship between public and private space. Stone and Associates planned a mas-



**Figure 18: City Hall Park as Photographed Northeastward from the 24th Floor of New York Telephone and Telegraph Building, before 1941 (circa 1939-1941)**

SOURCE: Photographic Views of New York City file. (U.S. History, Local History and Genealogy Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.)

sive municipal building (see Figure 19)—virtually identical to Stone's General Motors building, then going up at 59th Street and Fifth Avenue—for a superblock north of City Hall. City Hall Park was to serve as a forecourt plaza and sunken shopping concourse, as exemplar of the fine effects achievable from the new 1961 zoning law





**Figure 19: Edward Durrell Stone and Associates, Municipal Building, 1969**

SOURCE: Collection of the Art Commission of the City of New York, Exhibition File No. 3449.

NOTE: The proposed municipal building and mall were to be situated on an 8.63-acre site (13.63 acres including City Hall Park). The Municipal Tower, pictured here, was to stand 766 feet, 6 inches tall from plaza level. The architects planned for a concourse level below, with shops, restaurants, theaters, and other amenities. The underground concourse, modeled on that of Rockefeller Center, would connect with the new and old municipal buildings and with City Hall.

(which permitted developers to build more floor space in exchange for a public plaza). The grand civic vision faltered again, however, when the city's financial problems forced cancellation of the project five years later.<sup>32</sup>

With the demise of the Stone plan, the park was left as a discrete geographical unit. Individual buildings within the park were sacral-

ized through official landmark designation, with traces of the genteel-historic vision now encompassing the Tweed Courthouse. But the identity of the park overall remained bound up more with the immediacy of political protest than with veneration and memory, although protest was always an integral aspect of its historical identity. (In 1995, for example, the park was especially popular with students and educators, protesting budget cuts proposed by the governor, George Pataki [R].) The civic center developed in scattershot fashion. The north-south divisions, there since 1796, remained in place.

The excavation of the African Burial Ground altered the situation. Unearthing forgotten and very painful memories, it upset assumptions about the identity and meaning of place. It resulted in yet another reconfiguration of common ground and a significant reprioritization of who and what was central to that place. The designation of the African Burial Ground and Commons Historic District renegotiated the boundaries of public terrain as it embraced old, conflicting political/historical conceptions and added a new “privatized” dimension, linked to the limited identity claims of African Americans. The excavation restored the old Commons area to public consciousness as a place bounded through history, defined in terms much more geographically and socially inclusive than had been the case previously. Expanding on memories, it showed the mutability of memory. The excavation has also shown that the contingencies of a single archeological discovery can play as important a role in shaping place, memory, and public space as ideological tensions, economics, politics, and landmarks.

## NOTES

1. New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, *African Burial Ground and the Commons Historic District Designation Report*, prepared by Gale Harris, Jean Howson, Betsy Bradley; edited by Marjorie Pearson (New York, February 1993), 17 (hereafter New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, *African Burial Ground and Commons Designation Report*); The African Burial Ground Competition Coalition, *Reclaiming Our Past, Honoring Our Ancestors: New York's 18th Century African Burial Ground and the Memorial Competition* (New York, 1994), 14-5.

2. “New York Digs Unearths Early Cemetery for Blacks,” *The New York Times*, October 9, 1991, B5; March 30, 1991, I21; “The Rediscovery of the African Burial Ground,” in *Reclaiming*

*Our Past*, 14-21. On August 15, 1995, CBS television news and National Public Radio reported that activist Sonny Carson was demanding that twenty-three boxes of burial ground remains, currently at Howard University, be returned to Ghana for reinterment. Director of the African American Burial Ground Information Center Sherrill Wilson stated that this did not make sense, since it was unclear whether all the remains were actually those of Africans; some, she indicated, might be those of impoverished white residents of the almshouse and the city jail, who were buried in the area. Carson demanded that the city test the remains, at a cost of \$10,000. The city rejected this idea.

3. John Agnew, "Representing Space," in John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan, eds., *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations* (Boston, 1989), 263.

4. David Dunlap, "Mistake Disturbs Graves at Black Burial Ground," *The New York Times*, February 21, 1992, B3; "Coffins Plundered at Black Cemetery," *The New York Times*, March 9, 1992, B3; James Barron, "Dinkins Seeks to Halt Work at Site of a Black Cemetery," *The New York Times*, July 21, 1992, B3; James Barron, "U.S. Rejects Dinkins Plea for Old Burial Site," *The New York Times*, July 24, 1992, B4; Alan Finder, "U.S. Suspends Digging at Site of Cemetery," *The New York Times*, July 30, 1992, B1; Alan Finder, "Dinkins Permanently Halts Digging at Cemetery Site," *The New York Times*, July 11, 1992, B3; E. R. Sharpe, "Black Burial Ground Yields Wealth of History," *The New York Times*, August 9, 1992, I41; David Dunlap, "African Burial Ground Made Historic Site," *The New York Times*, February 26, 1993, B3; September 12, 1993, I21; Landmarks Preservation Commission, *African Burial Ground and Commons Designation Report*.

5. My thinking on this subject has been stimulated by Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (Ithaca, 1992), 3-8; Elizabeth Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent, 1785-1850* (Ithaca, 1989); John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven, 1984); James Duncan and David Ley, *Place/Culture/Representation* (New York, 1993); Kent C. Ryden, *Mapping the Invisible Landscape* (Iowa City, 1993), ch. 1, 2; David Glassberg, "Place and Placelessness in American History," (unpublished paper delivered at the Organization of American Historians meeting, March 30, 1995).

6. Edward Hagan Hall, "An Historical Sketch of City Hall Park," in American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, *Fifteenth Annual Report (1910)*, 385-6, 409; Landmarks Preservation Commission, *African Burial Ground and Commons Designation Report* 3, 5-6.

7. Under the 1686 Dongan Charter and the Montgomerie Charter of 1730, the title to vacant, unappropriated land was vested in the municipal government as the Commons of the City of New York. The Commons were still used as pasturage, but in 1660, a windmill was put up near Broadway, south of the present-day City Hall. It was one of only two serving New Amsterdam farmers. Hall, "An Historical Sketch of City Hall Park," 385; Landmarks Preservation Commission, *African Burial Ground and Designation Report*, 5-6.

8. Hall, "An Historical Sketch of City Hall Park," 409-10; New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, *African Burial Ground and Commons Designation Report*, 3, 5-6.

9. The first almshouse was constructed in 1736; the Gaol, in 1757; and the Bridewell, a prison for profligates, in 1775. Beginning around the 1720s, gallows were located to the north, near the Collect, and to the south, near present-day Park Row; they were constructed and removed at different intervals. In 1784, the city moved the gallows to an enclosed building between the almshouse and the Gaol. Hall, "An Historical Sketch of City Hall Park," 387-94, 410-2; New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, *African Burial Ground and Commons Designation Report*, 7-8, 33; Raymond A. Mohl, *Poverty in New York, 1783-1825* (New York, 1971), 32, 44, 82. On the almshouse, see also Sherene Baugher, "Introduction," and Robert W. Venables, "The History of the Almshouse," in New York City Landmarks Preservation Commis-

sion, *The Archeological Investigation of the City Hall Park Site, Manhattan*, June 1990, 1-14, 32-3, 74-103; Joel W. Grossman, "The Buried History of City Hall Park: The Initial Archeological Identification, Definition, and Documentation of Well-Preserved 18th Century Deposits and the Possible Structural Remains of New York City's First Almshouse." Report prepared by Grossman and Associates for the New York City Department of General Services (1991), 11-4. On the almshouse in the early nineteenth century, see also Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860* (Urbana, 1982), 8, 17-8, 32-35.

10. Henry B. Dawson, "The Park and Its Vicinity," in *Valentine's Manual* (1856), 433-71; Frank Warren Crane, "City Hall Park and Vicinity" (paper read before the New-York Historical Society, October 4, 1904, Manuscript Collections, New-York Historical Society); Hall, "An Historical Sketch of City Hall Park," 389-94, 411-20; New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, *African Burial Ground and Commons Designation Report*, 12-5; Henry Collins Brown, "A Plea for the Restoration of City Hall Park to Its Colonial Aspect," *Valentine's Manual of Old New York* (New York, 1919), 5-14.

11. *Plan of the City of New York from an Actual Survey Anno Domini M, DDC, LV* (The Maerschalcck or Duyckinck Plan) 1755 is also reproduced in I. N. Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909*, 6 vols. (New York, 1915) I: Plate 34.

12. The governor awarded the patent in recognition of services rendered by Van Borsum's wife as an interpreter during peace negotiations with the Esopus Indians. Dutch colonial administrators commonly awarded large grants as a means of currying favor and attaining political influence. English administrators continued this practice. On the Van Borsum Patent, see New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, *African Burial Ground and Commons Designation Report*, 7, 19-21. On the broader practices, see Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent*, 14-21.

13. New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, *African Burial Ground and Commons Designation Report*, 17-21; Christopher Moore, "New York's Eighteenth Century African Burial Ground in History," in *Reclaiming Our Past*, 4-5; Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent*, 20-1, 56-7; Sherrill D. Wilson, *New York City's African Slaveowners: A Social and Material History* (New York, 1994), 37-48, 57-69; Stansell, *City of Women*, 45.

14. The area cut off included not only the Collect Pond (by 1733 in private hands) but also the municipal gallows and powder house. Ultimately, it was decided that the powder house was too vulnerable outside city walls. It was relocated to the south commons, next to the almshouse. Thus, only the indigent would be subject to any immediate danger were the powder house to explode. A road cut through a hill to the southeast in the 1730s helped make the northern sectors physically less remote. Nonetheless, topographical and psychological divisions remained in place. New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, *African Burial Ground and Commons Designation Report*, 10-2, 18-20, 43; David Valentine, "History of Broadway" in *Manual of the Common Council of the City of New York (Valentine's Manual)* (1865), 567.

15. New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, *African Burial Ground and Commons Designation Report*, 20-1; Hall, "An Historical Sketch of City Hall Park," 387. On Chambers Street, see Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent*, 89-94.

16. Hall, "An Historical Sketch of City Hall Park," 404-7; New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, *African Burial Ground and Commons Designation Report*, 16, 22; Valentine, "History of Broadway," 560. Contrast with Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent*, 84. Enclosure, whereby large landowners procured land previously held in common, or wasteland once considered unfit for cultivation, was a process accelerated by parliamentary policies in eighteenth-century England. See Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860* (Berkeley, 1986), 9-14, 197, n. 2. For implications of enclosure in the United States, see Rosenzweig and Blackmar, *The Park and the People*, 4; Richard Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York, 1992), 354-5. See also Joy Kesten-

baum and Friedman, Walmsley, *City Hall Park, New York. Proposal for Preplanning and Schematic Design* (1984).

17. Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent*, 76-94; Bushman, *The Refinement of America*, 354-5; On the park's new buildings and institutions, see Hall, "An Historical Sketch of City Hall Park," 395-8; Evan W. Cornog, "To Give Character to Our City: New York's City Hall," *New York History* 69 (October 1988), 388-423; Kevin J. Avery and Peter L. Fodera, "John Vanderlyn's Panoramic View of the Palace and Garden of Versailles" (New York, 1988), 19-31; Maybelle Mann, "The New York Gallery of Fine Arts: A Source of Refinement," *American Art Journal* (January 1979), 82; "The City Hall and Its Environs," *New York Daily Advertiser*, May 23, 1833, 2; "City Hall Park as seen in 1834," *The New York Times*, December 12, 1926, XII, 7.

18. On the significance of the *Croton Fountain* and on New York's class and ethnic tensions of the 1840s, see Edward K. Spann, *The New Metropolis* (New York, 1981), 117-20. See also Gerard Koepfel, "A Struggle for Water," *Invention and Technology* (Winter 1994), 19-31. The Flour Riot took place February 12, 1837, during the financial panic of that year. A crowd of New Yorkers that had convened in City Hall Park to protest the rising price of flour, speculative greed, and the plight of the poor moved out of the park and looted the flour warehouse of Hart and Co. on Washington Street, between Dey and Cortland. See Joel Tyler Headley, *The Great Riots of New York, 1712-1873* (Indianapolis, 1970; reprint of New York: E. B. Treat, 1873), 96-110; 129-31; Paul O. Weinbaum, *Mobs and Demagogues: The New York Response to Collective Violence in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Ann Arbor, 1979), 177-87; Paul Gilje, "Riots," in Kenneth T. Jackson, ed., *Encyclopedia of New York* (New Haven, 1995), 1007. Commercial development to the north was epitomized and accelerated by the construction in 1845-1846 of the massive A. T. Stewart dry goods store (Joseph Trench and Co., architects) at Broadway and Chambers; P. T. Barnum's Museum and Matthew Brady's photographic studio were among the numerous commercial establishments at the park's southern tip. See Mona Domosch, *Invented Cities: The Creation of Landscape in Nineteenth-Century New York and Boston* (New Haven, 1996), 44.

19. The post office had been a Tweed pet project since he entered Congress in 1853. In need of a new facility, the city had begun negotiating with the federal government in 1857. Nothing transpired until 1867. The agreement with the federal government stipulated that the deed was valid only insofar as the building was used as a post office. According to park historian Edward Hagaman Hall, a close acquaintance to William Marcy Tweed contended that Tweed arranged for the transfer to bolster his connections and power within federal government circles.

20. On the Tweed Courthouse, see New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, *Tweed Courthouse Designation Report*, prepared by Anthony W. Robins, October 16, 1984; Hall, "An Historical Sketch of City Hall Park," 398-403; Alexander B. Callow, Jr., *The Tweed Ring* (New York, 1966), 198-206; Leo Hershkowitz, *Tweed's New York: Another Look* (New York, 1977), xiv, 41-2; 112-4.

21. For additional discussion of the park within the context of turn-of-the-century historic preservation movements, see Max Page, "The Creative Destruction of New York City: Landscape, Memory, and the Politics of Place, 1900-1930" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1995), 167-205; and Randall Frambes Mason "Civic Memory, 'Improvement,' and the Landscape of Modern New York, 1898-1920," (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1999).

22. See, for example, "Building in City Hall Park," *The New York Times*, December 1, 1887, 4; "What Ought To Have Been Done," *The New York Times*, July 7, 1889, 4; *The New York Times*, February 10, 1889, 4; "For a New Municipal Building," *The New York Times*, March 15, 1891, 3-4; "The Municipal Building Problem," *The New York Times*, March 16, 1891, 4; "The Municipal Building," *The New York Times*, March 28, 1891, 4; "City Hall Site Selected," *The New York Times*, January 12, 1893, 9. Some architects supported the plan as well. See "The City-Hall Mat-

ter in New York," *American Architect and Building News* 39 (March 18, 1893), 167; "City Hall Plans Opened," *The New York Times*, September 13, 1893, 9; "Building Prospects," *Architecture and Building*, January 6, 1894, 1. See also the file titled Municipal Building and New City Hall in Thomas F. Gilroy Mayoral Papers, Box 89-GTF-12, New York City Municipal Archives. On the later debates, see "Newcomb Bill Fixes Court House Site," *The New York Times*, May 2, 1909, 4.

23. "The Municipal Building Problem," *The New York Times*, 4; "Spare the City Hall," *World*, March 17, 1891, 4; undated letter [circa February 1894?], Municipal Building and New City Hall File, Gilroy Papers, Box 89-GTF-12, New York City Municipal Archives; "Let the City Hall Stand," *The New York Times*, February 4, 1894, 4; "The Sentimental Side of City Hall Park," *New York Times Magazine*, March 27, 1910, 10; Memorandum, "A Typical Plan of Development Suggested to Illustrate One of the Possibilities Open to the City at the Present Juncture," attached to letter from Grosvenor Atterbury to William Gaynor, March 16, 1910, William J. Gaynor Mayoral Papers, Box GWJ-83, County Courthouse file, New York City Municipal Archives.

24. On the park's historical associations, see "Many Protests Entered," *The New York Times*, September 19, 1889, 8; Robert A. M. Stern, Gregory Gilmarth, and John Massengale, *New York 1900* (New York, 1983), 64-5. On Nathan Hale, see "Nathan Hale," *Brooklyn Times*, June 5, 1893, fr. 196; "The Nathan Hale Monument," *New York Critic*, December 2, 1893, fr. 137; *World*, November 22, 1893; "Nathan Hale is Popular," *Sun*, November 29, 1893, frs. 204, 206, all in Frederick MacMonnies Scrapbook, reel D245, Archives of American Art.

25. George B. Post, "The Planning of Cities," Paper No. 3 *Public Improvements* (November 15, 1899), 2: 26-9; "New York Government Building," *Public Improvements* 5 (April 1901), 696-9; Municipal Art Society Minutes, April 27, 1902; "Suggested Changes in the City Hall Park, New York," *American Architect and Building News* (August 16, 1902), 49; John DeWitt Warner, "Civic Centers," *Municipal Affairs* 6 (March 1902), 1-23; "A Civic Center for New York," *Municipal Affairs* 6 (Fall 1902), 478-83; "City Hall Improvement" 7 (October 1902), 159-60; "Uniting to Save City Hall Park," *The New York Times*, March 22, 1910, 10; "Many Sites Urged for Court House," *The New York Times*, March 29, 1910, 5; Gregory F. Gilmartin, *Shaping the City: New York and the Municipal Art Society* (New York, 1995), 68-81.

26. "Many Protests Entered," *The New York Times*, September 19, 1889, 8. Arguments on behalf of the poor were made more vociferously in 1910, when the proposed construction threatened the park rather than a landmark. "The Proposed Encroachment on City Hall Park by New Buildings," *The American Architect* 97 (March 16, 1910), 123; "The Problem of Selecting a Site for the New York County Courthouse," *American Architect* 97 (March 30, 1910), 139.

27. The milk depots were part of a larger, turn-of-the-century reform effort, pushed by medical practitioners, to reduce infant mortality by controlling diet and feeding practices. Doctors generally agreed that cow's milk was the best substitute for breast milk but also believed that such milk was best heated to remove harmful bacteria. They promoted the ideal of bottle feeding as a more healthful alternative to breast-feeding, insisting that such practices were best undertaken under the physician's direction. Hence, the pure milk movement was both a reform enterprise and an effort to augment the authority of medical doctors. Rima D. Apple, *Mothers and Medicine: A Social History of Infant Feeding, 1890-1940* (Madison, 1987), 53-9. One outgrowth of this enterprise was increased calls to regulate the production, handling, and transport of milk. Nathan Straus (1848-1931), R. H. Macy co-owner and a New York City park commissioner (1889-1893), was at the forefront of this effort. In 1892, in an attempt to protect children from diseases he believed to be caused by infected milk, Straus initiated a campaign for the pasteurization of New York's milk supply. He established and funded numerous milk pasteurizing plants in New York City and eventually in other locales, both in the United States and abroad. Determined to prod the city into taking greater responsibility for the protection of poor children and their

milk supply, he used his clout as a businessman and former park official to open milk depots in the city's major parks, slums, and recreation piers. Straus operated the depots at his own expense, distributing pasteurized milk to the poor for free or virtually so. Over a twenty-year period, he lobbied the city extensively, both to take over his philanthropic enterprise and to exert greater legislative control over the milk supply. His efforts met with resistance from the milk industry but did, ultimately, contribute to the establishment of controls at the federal, municipal, and industry levels. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1935), 9, 129-30; Nathan Straus, *Disease in Milk: The Remedy Pasteurization: The Life of Nathan Straus* (New York, 1977; first published 1917), 51-67, 126-7; "Milk Booths in the Park," *The New York Times*, June 4, 1899, 18; "City to Erect Milk Booths," *The New York Times*, June 9, 1899, 14; "The Strauss Milk Depots Are Now Open," *The New York Times*, July 9, 1899, 12; "The Strauss Milk Depots," *The New York Times*, June 20, 1901, 14; "Pasteurized Milk in Parks," *The New York Times*, April 27, 1907, 6; "Ask \$8000 for Milk Booths," *The New York Times*, April 26, 1907, 18; "The Milk Stations," *The New York Times*, January 30, 1909, 8. On the poor in the park, see James L. Miller to Mayor Gilroy, July 6, 1894, Municipal Building and New City Hall file, Box 89-GTF-12, Mayor's Correspondence January-December 1894, New York City Municipal Archives; "Waking of Park Sleepers," *New York Times Magazine*, July 21, 1891, 3. On the use of the park by gay men, see George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World 1890-1940* (New York, 1994), 196.

28. "Acting Mayor Lets Hot Urchins Splash," *The New York Times*, July 2, 1932, 17; "Mayor Aids Young Bathers," *The New York Times*, July 9, 1932, 11.

29. H. I. Brock, "Restoring the City Hall Vista," *New York Times Magazine*, September 11, 1932, 10; "Old Post Office is Down at Last," *The New York Times*, March 12, 1939, sec. 13, 1, 4. *Valentine's Manual of Old New York*; *The New York Times*, February 12, 1939, sec. 13, 1.

30. For Moses park plan, see Folder 1997 A-J, and Folder 1947 AF-AX, Art Commission of the City of New York. See also "A Grove Reemerges" *The New York Times*, August 25, 1939, VII: 11; "Citizens Form Group to Promote Jubilee," *The New York Times*, May 16, 1947, 18; "Planting Is Made in City Hall Park," *The New York Times*, October 8, 1948, 27; "6 Groups Approve Civic Center Plan," *The New York Times*, January 20, 1949, 7. For complaints regarding his plans, see "Curran Opposes a City Hall Mall," *The New York Times*, December 3, 1938, 21; "Don't Look Now, Mr. Curran, but Moses is Bringing That City Hall Stone Back," *The New York Times*, December 5, 1938, 6; "'Prof. Nix' Called to Support Moses," *The New York Times*, December 31, 1938, 17; "City Hall Park Plan Rejected by Board," *The New York Times*, February 10, 1939, 25; "Moses and Curran Exchange New Amenities in Old Row over the City Hall Park Plans," *The New York Times*, February 11, 1939, 32; "Moses Is Upheld on City Hall Park Plan," *The New York Times*, February 18, 1939, 17.

31. "Leaders Discuss Civic Center Plan," *The New York Times*, January 15, 1949, 30; New York (City), Department of City Planning, *Plan for Manhattan Civic Center and Related Improvements* (New York, 1948); "Plan Is Adopted for Civic Center," *The New York Times*, May 19, 1949, 31; "Topics of the Times," *The New York Times*, July 4, 1949, 12; "Architect Scores 'City' Civic Center," *The New York Times*, June 17, 1960, 33; "Architect Urges City Hall Garage," *The New York Times*, August 23, 1960, 37; "Federal Center at Foley Square Will Include 41 Story Building," *The New York Times*, August 25, 1960, 25; "\$86,000 Study Set for Civic Center," *The New York Times*, February 23, 1962, 18; "The 'Civic Center,'" *The New York Times*, March 13, 1962, 34; "Architects Urge Foley Square Delay," *The New York Times*, June 14, 1962, 35; "Civic Center to Cost 165 Million Planned for Civic Hall Area," *The New York Times*, December 8, 1962, 1, 56. The story of the various plans for the Civic Center has been recounted in Robert A.

M. Stern, Thomas Mellins, and David Fishman, *New York 1960: Architecture and Urbanism between the Second World War and the Bicentennial* (New York, 1995), 154-67.

32. "Stone to Design City Civic Center," *The New York Times*, May 30, 1963, 19; "City's Plan Board Calls for \$1.6-Billion Budget," *The New York Times*, December 1, 1970, 54. See also Exhibit 3449, File 3449A-F, Art Commission of the City of New York.