NPS Form 10-900
(Oct. 1990)

OMB No. 1024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

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

1. Name of Property

historic name Church of the Holy Apostles Additional Documentation **multiple property listing:** no

other names/site number

2. Location

street & number 296-300 Ninth Avenue ☐ not for publication

city or town New York ☐ vicinity

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

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

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

Roger Daniel Mowery 1/17/2020
Signature of certifying official/Title Date

SHPO
State or Federal agency and bureau

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

Signature of certifying official/Title Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is: Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

[ ] entered in the National Register.
[ ] See continuation sheet.

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

[ ] determined not eligible for the National Register.

[ ] removed from the National Register.

[ ] other, (explain:)

5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(Check as many boxes as apply)

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

Category of Property
(Check only one box)

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

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

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

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

N/A

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

1

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)

RELIGIOUS/religious facility, church house

Current Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)

RELIGIOUS/religious facility, church house

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions)

Mid-nineteenth century: Early Romanesque; Italianate

Materials
(Enter categories from instructions)

foundation brick
walls brick, stucco
roof slate
other stained glass

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

8 Statement of Significance

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

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

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

Property is:

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

Areas of Significance
(Enter categories from instructions)

Architecture
Social History: LGBT

Period of Significance
1846-1922; 1969-1977

Significant Dates
1846-47; 1854; 1858; 1866-67; 1894; 1908; 1922; 1969-1972; 1977

Significant Person
(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)

Cultural Affiliation

Architect/Builder
Minard Lafever; Richard Upjohn and Son

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

9. Major Bibliographical References

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

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

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

Primary location of additional data

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

Name of repository:

☐ recorded by Historic American Engineering Rec.

Church of the Holy Apostles | **New York, New York**
Name of Property | County and State

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of property .36 acres

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

	Zone	Easting	Northing		Zone	Easting	Northing
1	18	584516	4511407	3			
2				4			

☐ See continuation sheet

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

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

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Jay Shockley and Andrew Dolkart Contact Kathleen LaFrank, Coordinator, NYSHPO

organization NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project date May 2019

street & number 71 West 23rd St, #903 telephone

city or town New York state NY zip code 10010

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps

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

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

Photographs

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

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

Property Owner

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

name

street & number telephone

city or town state zip code

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.470 *et seq.*)

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this from to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Projects (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

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The Church of the Holy Apostle was listed on the National Register in 1972 with a very brief nomination form characteristic of the period. The description, in particular, consisted of only a brief outline listing its notable features and did not describe the parish house, which was within the boundary. This form is being submitted to justify an additional area and period of significance in LGBT history; however, it has also been rewritten to provide a more comprehensive and accurate description, period of significance, and statement of architectural significance. The boundary remains the same.

The Church of the Holy Apostles, which includes the church and its adjacent, attached parish, or mission house is located at 300 Ninth Avenue, on the southeast corner of West 28th Street, in the northern portion of New York City's Chelsea neighborhood, New York County, New York. With the exception of the church's small corner lot, almost all of the large area between Ninth and Tenth Avenues and West 26th and West 29th Streets is occupied by a large-scale urban renewal project known as Penn South. Penn South, which has been determined eligible for NR listing, consists of ten, twenty-two-story towers set within a parklike environment that surrounds the church lot on three sides. Slightly east of the church lot, and part of the Penn South Complex, is the Bayard Rustin Residence, which was listed on the National Register in 2016 for association with the important pacifist, civil rights and LGBT rights leader Bayard Rustin.

The church sits on an L-shaped lot with a grassy area to the west, along Ninth Avenue; the lot is part of the Penn South development and was preserved for church use when Penn South was constructed. Abutting the church on the east is a seven-story apartment building built in c. 2002. This building, which is not associated with or connected to the church in any way, replaced a row house that had been used as the church rectory at one time. The parish house is adjacent to the church on the south side, recessed behind the lawn and shrouded by trees on three sides. The parish house was constructed in 1866-67 as a freestanding building; however, it is somewhat oddly sited. It was constructed only a few feet behind an existing rowhouse (then owned by the church) facing

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Ninth Avenue that was also part of a larger row along Ninth Avenue. The entire row was demolished in the 1950s as part of the Penn South development. The row house and the parish house were never connected; however, since it was not intended to be seen, the parish house has a rather utilitarian façade. The parish house is also less than three feet from the south wall of the church and a one story brick connector that runs behind the south transept has linked the parish house to the church since the time of construction. The church complex occupies most of its lot and shares the parklike environment of Penn South.

To the west, across Ninth Avenue, is Chelsea Park. At the east end of Chelsea Park, immediately across from the church, is what was originally known as the Lower West Side District Health Center (Edwin A. Salmon, architect, 1937). The park is the location of the Chelsea Park Memorial, a World War I memorial erected c. 1920 (Philip Martiny, sculptor; Charles R. Lamb, architect). To the south of the health center is P.S. 33 (Eric Kebbon, architect, 1949-53). To the north of the health center, on Ninth Avenue, between West 28th and West 29th Streets is a low-scale, but massive warehouse structure, the Morgan General Mail Facility, built in the late 1980s, which occupies an entire square block.

The Church of the Holy Apostles was constructed of masonry load bearing walls and faced in red brick laid in stretcher bond with modest trim, originally brownstone. Like most brownstone in New York, all of the original brownstone on the church building has deteriorated and been replaced with a cementitious material tinted to resemble brownstone.[1] The church is cruciform in plan with roof slopes over the nave and transepts. A central tower with spire projects from the center of the nave, with half of its side elevations embraced by the nave. The main entrance to the church is set within the tower. The paired entrance doors (old, but not original), capped by a blind, paneled wooden fanlight and a transom bar ornamented with recessed roundels (both probably original), are recessed within a compound arch, consisting of three round arches. The entrance is reached up three stairs.

[1] All subsequent references to brownstone will reference this replacement material

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National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

The entry arch is flanked by a pair of brownstone label moldings that float on the façade and a brownstone beltcourse runs above the entrance and onto the tower's side facades. On the facade, the beltcourse forms the sill of a tall, compound, round-arch window opening. The window opening is divided by wooden muntins into a pair of round arches topped by a roundel. Above the window are corner label moldings on all four corners of the tower. On the façade, these moldings form the base for narrow, blind, round arches. In the center of the uppermost level of each elevation of the tower is a roundel divided into eight lights by wood muntins. The bracketed copper cornice above the roundels is arched, echoing the shape of the ocular windows. The cornice serves as the base for the belfry.

The base of the belfry slopes inward from the tower cornice. The octagonal belfry rises from this base. A projecting beltcourse separates the low base from the short lowest stage of the belfry. This stage is marked by recessed, compound, semi-circular blind openings topped by another, somewhat shallower beltcourse. The main section of the belfry has a compound, round-arch, louvered opening on each of its four major faces. The belfry is crowned by a bracketed, copper cornice that is arched above the windows, echoing the form of the tower cornice. The slate-covered, octagonal spire rises from the belfry cornice. The spire is crowned by a cross.

Flanking the tower, the façade is articulated by compound side aisle entrances, each with two round arches, reached by two steps. Above each entrance is a compound-arch window, with three round arches and a brownstone sill. At the impost level of these arches are brownstone label moldings that extend across the façade. These sections are crowned by bracketed wooden cornices that continue onto the side elevations. Each side elevation is articulated by four round-arch windows with brownstone sills. The slope of the roof on the side elevations is interrupted by four small shed dormers.

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To the east of the four windows on each elevation are the transepts added to the building two decades after the original construction was completed. The front elevation of the north transept, facing West 28th Street, is divided into three parts. The central section is divided horizontally into two sections separated by a brownstone beltcourse. The lower section has two round-arch windows with brownstone sills. The upper section has a wheel window with a projecting brick surround. The wheel window is divided into twelve tear-drop-shaped panels extending from a small quatrefoil set within a circle. Heavy muntins separate the sections of the window. The central section is flanked by recessed wings with single round-arch windows with raised brick surrounds and brownstone sills. The cornice seen on the main portion of the church continues onto the transepts. Each side elevation of the north transept has a single round-arch window with raised brick surround and brownstone sill, as well as two shed dormers on the sloping roof. To the east of the north transept is a small building section articulated by a small blind arch and a segmental-arched entry that has been bricked up. Above these is a roundel window. The chancel, with its sloping roof and shed dormer, can be seen above this low structure. The south side of the chancel has an upper-level round-arch opening. The south transept is barely visible since the parish house is only a few feet to the south. Its design is similar to that of the north transept except that a later brick connector has been built linking the transept and parish house. On the west elevation of the transept the round-arch opening on the first level is now a door, while the second level has a narrow, round-arch window. With the exception of a roundel on the upper level, most of the east elevation of the transept is blocked by fire exit stairs from the parish house.

The main entrance to the Church of the Holy Apostles leads into a small vestibule with heavy moldings. Between the vestibule and the narthex is a screen with double doors flanked by pairs of leaded, round-arches filled with clear, colored, and bottle glass; a single, similar, rectangular window is located above each pair. On the narthex side, the double doors are crowned by a segmental arch. The narthex has a mosaic tile floor dating from the early twentieth century. The floor has a white tile field bordered by a green outline, green Greek

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crosses, and yellow lines. Double doors, set within a heavy molding, are ornamented by a roundel with a Greek cross and capped by a segmental-arch pediment leading into the church. The body of the church has a central nave separated from side aisles by a four-bay arcade with Tuscan columns set on high bases. The round arches, each with a projecting molding, spring directly from the column capitals. Above each arch is a round-arch, stained-glass clerestory window with a projecting surround and heavy sill. These windows are not evident on the exterior, but are lit by the shed dormers on the roof. The arcades are interrupted by the openings for the transepts, but they continue into the transepts for two bays. Two final arcade bays denote the area of the chancel (the easternmost of these bays on either side is narrower than the others). The east wall of the chancel has a recessed blind arch with a central cross. At the rear (west end) of the church is the original organ loft, with a round-arch opening into the tower, a groin-vaulted ceiling in the tower, and a balcony, with round-arch arcade, projecting into the sanctuary. The balcony is supported by four large brackets with pendants. The nave is crowned by a groin-vaulted ceiling (rebuilt following a 1990 fire), with the groins supported by molded corbels. The groin-vaulted side aisles are lit by stained-glass windows, six of which were designed by John Bolton. [Four more were moved to the transept.] Each window has three roundels, each set within a framework of colored glass. The wheel windows in the transepts have brightly colored stained glass with wood muntins dividing it into teardrop-shaped divisions with a central roundel. Each teardrop-shaped panel has a teardrop-shaped stained-glass section and a round section. The south transept has a central door leading into the parish house. A window on the second level of the south side of the chancel was installed in 1993 and commemorates both the establishment of Holy Apostles' soup kitchen in 1982 and the rehabilitation of the church after the fire. The fire seriously damaged the interior, destroying original details and decorations, and a decision was made to create a flexible space that could be used for services and for the church's daily soup kitchen. Thus an open floor plan without pews was created and several non-historic features were added, including the clay tile floor of the nave and the raised chancel with its black and white marble floors. Nevertheless, the character-defining features of La Fever's design and Upjohn's alterations survive. These include the original basilica form of the

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church with transept additions, shallow chancel, groin-vaulted ceiling, Tuscan arcades, clerestory windows, and the fully restored stained-glass windows

The three-story parish house, or mission house, is several feet north of the church. It has a utilitarian character due to the fact that it was built behind an earlier structure and its west elevation, which now faces the street, was never meant to be seen. This elevation became the street facade when the front building was demolished in the late 1950s. The front elevation of the mission house, facing Ninth Avenue, has two round-arch windows on the first and second stories and two pairs of smaller round-arch windows on the third story. On the south elevation, the building has similar round-arch windows on the lower two stories and paired windows above. The north elevation has the building's entrance, reached up a non-historic accessible ramp. The non-historic door is crowned by a fanlight divided by three wood muntins. Above the entrance, on the second story, are a pair of round-arch windows, with a roundel window on the third story. This portion of the north elevation is a full three stories. To the rear, the third floor slopes back creating a mansard-like effect. The north elevation is articulated by round-arch openings, some of which are only barely visible because of the addition of non-historic ventilating equipment for the kitchen that now occupies most of the first floor. The rear, or east elevation, has two round-arch openings (now doors) on the first floor, two round-arch windows on the second story, and two pairs of round-arch windows on three. The parish house is connected to the church by a one-story brick structure that is now articulated by a single rectangular door (probably not original). The connector begins at the chancel and runs along the east face of the south transept. A non-historic, dogleg fire escape extends from the east end of the north façade of the parish house, landing on the ground to the east of the building. On the interior, the building retains some of its historic features, notably on the second floor where community meetings and meetings by organizations that rented space took place. These rooms have wood floors, windows with heavy moldings, and original cast-iron ventilator grilles.

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Introduction

The Church of the Holy Apostles, at 300 Ninth Avenue in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City, was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1972 for its architectural significance as an important work of architect Minard Lefever in the period 1846-48. The nomination was extremely brief, as was typical of the period. The new nomination, which has been undertaken as part of the New York SHPO's Underrepresented Communities Grant for LGBT Sites in New York City, includes additional documentation that recognizes the role of this church in the formation and support of many early LGBT social, political, and religious organizations. In addition, because of the poor quality of the 1972 form, which had an incomplete description, an inaccurate period of significance, inadequate justification of criteria, and because new information has come to light since, a new nomination has been prepared to current standards. The description and significance statements have been expanded and updated and the original period of significance clarified; an additional area and period of significance have been added. The boundary remains unchanged.

Summary

The Church of the Holy Apostles is significant under criterion A in social history in the period 1969-1977 for its early and significant association with a number of important LGBT political, social, and religious organizations founded in the decade after Stonewall, the June 1969 uprising by patrons at the Stonewall Inn (National Register listed; National Historic Landmark), a Greenwich Village gay bar, that was a key turning point in the history of the LGBT rights movement. From 1969 to 1977, the Church of the Holy Apostles, with a congregation that welcomed members of the LGBT community, essentially served as New York City's first LBGT community center, hosting meetings of the West Side Discussion Group, the Gay Liberation Front, and the Gay Activists Alliance, among the city's earliest and most important activist organizations in the fight for LGBT civil rights. Holy Apostles also provided space, between 1970 and 1975, for three early LGBT religious congregations that were founded there: the Church of the Beloved Disciple, the Metropolitan Community Church of New York,

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and Congregation Beth (Beit) Simchat Torah, the first permanent LGBT synagogue on the East Coast. Meetings by these LGBT organizations took place in both the church and the adjacent, attached parish house. One singularly significant event was the January 1977 ordination as a priest of Ellen M. Barrett by Bishop Paul M. Moore. She was one of the first American women to be ordained (and one of the first in the Diocese of New York) and was also the very first openly lesbian or gay Episcopal priest. The establishment of places where groups of gay men and lesbians could meet openly and/or worship the religion of their choice in an era of open hostility toward them was important because these places served as sources of comfort, community and stability for people who often lacked families or other sources of support.

Under criterion C, Holy Apostles is significant as an important church designed by Minard Lafever, one of the most important architects in the New York City area during the 1840s and an important figure in the professionalization of architecture in America. The brick church, dating from 1846-48, with its stone trim and a prominent tower and spire, reflects the eclecticism of Lafever's work, combining early Romanesque Revival, or *Rundbogenstil* design, with Italianate, Gothic, and Georgian features. This combination of stylistic motifs was unusual in Lafever's work and in American architecture in general at the time. The east end of the building was expanded by Lafever in 1854, particularly to enlarge the size of the chancel. Transepts were added in 1858 in a complementary design by another prominent architect of the era, Richard Upjohn & Co. (The actual design is attributed to Charles Babcock, an architect who was working in Upjohn's office at the time.) The church is also significant under criterion C in art for its stained-glass windows by William Jay Bolton, the pioneering American stained-glass designer. The significance of these windows was noted in the 1972 National Register nomination, and, although some of them were damaged in a fire that ravaged the church in the early 1990s, all of them have since been restored. Despite the fire, the restored church retains its integrity to a high degree on the exterior and its character defining features on the interior and remains a vital, socially active presence in the Chelsea neighborhood. The period of significance under architecture has been identified as 1846-1922 to encompass the initial construction of the church, the addition of the transepts, the construction of the parish

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house and all other significant alterations up until 1922, when the church underwent its final alterations in the historic period.

Church of the Holy Apostles: Architectural Significance

The roots of the Episcopal congregation that became the Church of the Holy Apostles extends back to the establishment of a Sunday school for children in the northern portion of Chelsea, the neighborhood extending from approximately West 14th Street to West 30th Street, west of Sixth Avenue, on July 11, 1836.[1] Known as the Eighth Avenue Sunday School, it met in several locations before a small frame building was erected slightly to the north, on the north side of West 36th Street between Eighth and Ninth Avenues, in 1837.[2] At this time, the area north of West 23rd Street, between Sixth Avenue and the Hudson River, was largely undeveloped, with scattered housing. Large-scale development had begun in Chelsea in 1834, when Clement Clarke Moore began selling his property, largely located on and just south of 23rd Street, with covenants that restricted new construction in order to ensure that the area would become a residential community with affluent residents.[3] The Episcopalian residents of Chelsea were served by St. Peter's Church (1836-38; National Register listed in the Chelsea Historic District), on West 20th Street between Eighth and Ninth Avenues, built on land donated by Moore. By the 1840s, the population north of 23rd Street was increasing and the need was seen for a new parish. Thus, in November 1844, the Church of the Holy Apostles was founded. In 1845 a site was offered to the new parish, a gift from parishioner Robert Ray, encompassing four lots on the southeast corner of Ninth Avenue and

[1] Much of the history of the Church of the Holy Apostles is based on Lucius A. Edelbute, *The History of the Church of The Holy Apostles (Protestant Episcopal) 1844-1944* (New York: Church of the Holy Apostles, 1949). For the boundaries of Chelsea, see Hilda Regier, "Chelsea," in Kenneth T. Jackson, ed., *The Encyclopedia of New York* City, 2nd edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 234.
[2] Edelbute, *The History of the Church of The Holy Apostles*, 16-17.
[3] For the development of Chelsea, see New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, *Chelsea Historic District Designation Report* (New York: Landmarks Preservation Commission, 1970).

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West 28th Street.[4] This offer was accepted and the new parish formed a committee to meet with architects and choose a design. Minard Lafever was selected as architect for the new church.[5]

Minard Lafever (1798-1854) was among the most influential architects in America from the 1830s until his death. Lafever was born near Morristown, New Jersey, grew up in the Finger Lakes region of New York State, and lived for much of his professional career in the Williamsburgh section of Brooklyn. Lafever (often spelled Le Fever during his lifetime) trained as a carpenter and a builder but began calling himself an architect at least as early as 1829, when he referred to himself as "architect and practical builder" on the title page of his first book, *The Young Builder's General Instructor*.[6] He listed himself as a carpenter/builder in New York City directories until 1831-32 but as an architect in later volumes.[7] This transformation from carpenter/builder to architect was not uncommon in an era before codified architectural education. Lafever had a major influence on spreading the Greek Revival style in America through the publication of three pattern books that illustrated features of this style: *The Young Builders' General Instructor* (1829), *The Modern Builders' Guide* (1833), and *The Beauties of Modern Architecture* (1835). His proficiency in using the Greek Revival is evident in one of the masterpieces of the style, the central building and flanking pavilions at Sailors' Snug Harbor on Staten Island (1831-1841; National Register listed; National Historic Landmark), as well as at the First Reformed Church, Brooklyn (1834-35; demolished).[8]

[4] James Grant Wilson, ed., *The Centennial History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York 1785*-1885 (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1996), 295.
[5] The only other architect who has been identified as submitting a proposal was Alexander Jackson Davis; see Jacob Landy, *The Architecture of Minard Lafever* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 149.
[6] Landy, T*he Architecture of Minard Lafever*, 12.
[7] Jacob Landy, "Minard Lafever," in Jackson, ed., *Encyclopedia*, 599.
[8] For Sailors Snug Harbor, see Barnett Shepherd, "Sailors Snug Harbor Reattributed to Minard Lafever," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 35 (May 1976): 108-123; for the First Reformed Dutch Church, see Landy, *The Architecture of Minard Lafever*, 54-61.

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Lafever was not wed to the use of a single style and as fashions in architecture changed, he was able to design important buildings in a variety of architectural modes, sometimes combining elements of various styles in an original and eclectic manner. Architectural historian Talbot Hamlin noted that the 1840s was an era of eclectic design, reflecting on the efforts of "many of the best architects (especially -- in New York -- Lafever, Davis, and Upjohn) to design freely beyond the limitations of the then-dominant Greek and Gothic manners."[9] Jacob Landy, who undertook extensive research on the architect, states that Lafever was significant as "one of the pioneer eclectics in New York," with works in "various revival styles, particularly Gothic, which prevailed in the pre-Civil War period."[10] Unlike Davis and Upjohn, whose eclectic designs generally grew from a single stylistic model, Lafever often combined aspects of various, unrelated styles into a single unified work. For example, in 1844, the year before he received the commission for the Church of the Holy Apostles, Lafever designed the First Presbyterian Church, Sag Harbor, New York (popularly known as the Old Whalers' Church; National Register listed; National Historic Landmark) in an Egyptian Revival style, with a Greek Revival tower (no longer extant) and interior.[11]

Lafever is best known, however, for a series of Gothic Revival churches that he designed in the mid-1840s and early 1850s that use Gothic motifs in a free and original manner. These works were designed and built contemporaneously with those of Richard Upjohn and James Renwick, and together they helped to establish the Gothic Revival as an important style for religious buildings in America. Lafever's Gothic Revival designs contrast with the more doctrinaire Gothic Revival of architects such as Upjohn, Frank Wills, and Henry Dudley, which were associated with the rise of ecclesiology, the idea, imported from England, of reviving the architecture of the rural parish churches of medieval England. This movement began in earnest with the design of Richard Upjohn's Trinity Church, at Broadway and Wall Street (1939-1846; National Register listed;

[9] Talbot Hamlin, "The Rise of Eclecticism in New York," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 11 (May 1952): 4.
[10] Landy, "Minard Lafever," 598.
[11] Landy, *The Architecture of Minard Lafever*, 225-35.

National Historic Landmark).[12] Lafever's Gothic Revival churches include the extant First Unitarian Church, Church of the Saviour (1843-44; National Register listed in the Brooklyn Heights Historic District) with its plaster walls tinted in imitation of stone; Holy Trinity Episcopal Church (now St. Ann and the Holy Trinity, 1844-47; National Register listed in the Brooklyn Heights Historic District; National Historic Landmark), with its flamboyant plaster vaulting; Strong Place Baptist Church (1851-52; now apartments; National Register listed in the Cobble Hill Historic District); and the Rutgers Presbyterian Church (1843; now St. Teresa of Avila Roman Catholic Church), on Rutgers Street on the Lower East Side of Manhattan.

Lafever's impact is summarized in the National Historic Landmark report for his First Dutch Reformed Church, Kingston, New York (1851-52):

> Lafever's contribution to antebellum architecture is considerable—as a designer of churches; a primary distributor of Greek Revival ideas through his pattern books; as a skilled practitioner in the various eclectic modes defining the buildings of the age; as a gifted inventor of decoration and architectural detail; and as an architect taking part in that field's nascent professionalism.[13]

The commission for the Church of the Holy Apostles came to Lafever in 1845, at a time when he was primarily employing a freely conceived Gothic Revival in his church designs. However, for the Holy Apostles project, Lafever designed a church with a complex and eclectic merging of architectural features from disparate stylistic realms. The church is often referred to as having been designed in the "Italian" or "Italianate" style or as being "Tuscan."[14] For this design, Lafever did employ Italianate features, just coming into fashion at the time the church was designed. With the exception of the deep bracketed cornice, most of the Italian Renaissance-inspired

[12] For ecclesiology in America, see Phoebe Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840-1856* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968).
[13] William E. Krattinger, "First Reformed Dutch Church, Kingston, New York," National Historic Landmark report (2006): 14.
[14] The original National Register nomination for the Church of the Holy Apostles refers to "a vocabulary inspired by the Italian Renaissance" (1972) and the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission's designation report for the church refers to the "classic Italian elements of the exterior and the interior [that] displays a Tuscan order" (New York: Landmarks Preservation

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features are on the interior. On the exterior, the dominant style is a use of the *Rundbogenstil*, or Early Romanesque Revival, which had been introduced in the United States in 1844 at architect Richard Upjohn's Church of the Pilgrims in Brooklyn Heights, only a few blocks from several of Lafever's Brooklyn Heights projects.[15] This style, denoted by its use of round-arch forms, often modeled on those of Italian Romanesque buildings, was largely imported to America by German architects who were familiar with the popularity of the style in Germany, especially in the Munich area. Upjohn's design for the Church of the Pilgrims and the almost contemporaneous Bowdoin College Chapel, in Brunswick, Maine, were the work of the German-immigrant architect Otto Blesch, who was employed in the Upjohn office at the time. The use of the *Rundbogenstil* is most evident at the Church of the Holy Apostles in the compound brick arches at the entrance and at the windows, notably in the tall window above the main entrance, which is divided into two arched lights capped by a roundel, perhaps the most popular motif of the style in America.[16]

In addition to the Italianate and Romanesque features of the exterior, the centrally placed square tower with tall spire projecting from the front façade is reminiscent of eighteenth-century, Colonial-era churches modeled after those of Christopher Wren and James Gibbs, such as Old North Church in Boston, Massachusetts, or St Paul's Chapel in New York City (both National Register listed and National Historic Landmarks). The tower at Holy Apostles, however, is unusual in that it is capped by a segmental arch in the cornice on each side, creating a graceful transition between the tower and belfry, and the belfry has a similar arched cornice providing a transition to the spire. This motif appears again in Lafever's work at the First Dutch Reformed Church, Kingston, New York, and a tower with this motif was published posthumously in Lafever's *The Architectural*

Commission, 1966). Landy also refers to the church as Italian Renaissance. Edelbute, *The History of the Church of The Holy Apostles* quotes the vestry minutes of December 17, 1845 as referring to "a church on the Tuscan order" (45).

[15] The major source for the *Rundbogenstil* is Kathleen Curran *Romanesque Revival: Religion, Politics, and Transitional Exchange* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003); also see, Kathleen Curran, "The German Rundbogenstil and Reflections on the American Round-Arched Style," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 47 (December 1988): 351-373.

[16] The paired round arches capped by a roundel, all set within a larger round arch, can also be seen in New York at the Astor Library (now the Public Theater; Alexander Saeltzer, 1849-53, with later additions) and at Cooper Union (Frederick A. Petersen, 1853-59).

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Instructor of 1856.[17] This arched motif was borrowed from churches by Christopher Wren, James Gibbs and their followers, such as Wren's St. Paul's Cathedral, and Gibbs's St. Martin in the Fields and St. Mary-le-Strand, all in London.[18] However, in all of these English examples the arch appears above a round clock face, while at Holy Apostles ocular windows substitute for the clocks. The tower at Holy Apostles rises to a height of 160 feet and is crowned by a cross.

In plan, the Church of the Holy Apostles was built as a rectangular basilica, with a central aisle and two side aisles. It originally measured fifty feet wide by eight-nine feet deep. Although Holy Apostles was a high church Episcopal congregation, it did not have the deep chancel that was considered important to carrying out the liturgy at high church congregations (there was no room on the lot for a deep chancel).[19] Lafever divided the interior with Italian Renaissance-inspired arcades supported by Tuscan columns, with the arches springing immediately from the column capitals, with no entablatures. These arcades led the vestry to refer to the building as a "church on the Tuscan order."[20] There were no galleries around the church, although there was an organ gallery above the entrance. Unlike most earlier basilican churches in the United States, such as those designed in the Wren/Gibbs tradition, which had barrel vaults, the Church of the Holy Apostles has a groin-vaulted, Gothic-inspired ceiling.[21] The church did have a shallow raised chancel, apparently embellished with a large painting of the Ascension by Thomas Rossiter, an important but little-known American artist who was close friends with better-known members of the Hudson River School of painting. The painting is no longer extant.

[17] Minard Lafever, *The Architectural Instructor* (New York: G. P. Putnam & Co., 1856): plates xcviii-xcix.
[18] Lafever, *The Architecture of Minard Lafever*, 156.
[19] Edelbute, *The History of the Church of The Holy Apostles*, 60, notes that Holy Apostles was a high church congregation.
[20] Edelbute, *The History of the Church of The Holy Apostles*, 45. Landy, *The Architecture of Minard Lafever* analyzes the possible Italian antecedents (155).
[21] Frederich von Gärtner's Ludwigskirche in Munich (1828-44), a key building in the development of the *Rundbogenstil*, has a groin vaulted nave, but it is not clear that Lafever would have known this building

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Initially, Lafever submitted plans for a stone church that would have cost $18,000 without a spire, or $22,000 with a spire. The style of this early proposal is not known. This was too expensive for the new congregation and Lafever revised the designs, creating the brick church with modest stone trim that was erected. The cornerstone for the new church was laid on March 31, 1846. The builders of the church were William S. Hunt and Lorenzo Moses. It was paid for by donations, a loan from Trinity Church, Wall Street firms, and a mortgage.[22] The church opened for services on February 21, 1848. *The Churchman*, a journal of the Episcopal Church, commented that the new church was "a neat brick structure, and, with its nave and arches, and clerestory windows inside, its raised chancel and marble altar, it has an exceedingly churchlike appearance."[23]

At its opening, the church was embellished with a series of important stained-glass windows that were the work of William Jay Bolton (1816-1884), the first stained-glass artist in America. Bolton was born in Bath, England. Although the family was of English extraction, Bolton's father was a prominent merchant from Savannah, Georgia, who later became an ordained priest in the Episcopal Church, presiding over Christ Church, Pelham, New York. Bolton grew up in England, where he became familiar with medieval stained glass. In 1836, he moved with his family to Pelham. After traveling in Italy in 1841-42, Bolton began experimenting with the creation of painted scenes on colored glass. His first major window was the Adoration of the Magi (1843), for his father's church. In 1845, Bolton received the commission for a series of sixty large windows on Biblical themes for Minard Lafever's Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn Heights, generally considered the earliest major windows created in America. After completing these windows in 1847, Lafever commissioned Bolton to design ten large windows for the nave of the Church of the Holy Apostles, five on each side. Since the Chelsea congregation did not have a wealthy benefactor, as had been the case at the Brooklyn Heights church, the design of these windows is more standardized. Bolton historian Willene B. Clark describes the Holy Apostle windows: each window consists "of 3 roundels painted in grisaille and silver-stain, and set in a single light among white

[22] Edelbute, *The History of the Church of The Holy Apostles*, 46.

acanthus leaves, lilies, and colored flowers; an angel fills the head of each window. The subjects of the roundels form two cycles: an abbreviated Life of Christ in 4 windows, 12 roundels, stressing the final events; and the principal acts of the Apostles in 6 windows, 18 roundels."[24] Clark also notes that Bolton "achieved a remarkable harmony in these windows by his combination of grisaille and color."[25]

In 1845, the Church of the Holy Apostles purchased a lot on West 28th Street, immediately east of the site of the church. The intention was to build a rectory on this lot. However, in 1854 a decision was made to extend the east end of the church onto this lot, adding twenty-five feet to the length of the church. Lafever provided the design for an enlarged chancel and robing room. At this time the roof of the original church was clad in slate, new pews and gas fixtures were added, and four stained-glass windows by Sharp & Steel were installed.[26] This was among Lafever's final commissions, since he died in 1854.

Only four years later, in 1858, the congregation again decided to expand the church, with the addition of transepts, creating a church with the cruciform plan more typical of Episcopal churches of the period. With Lafever no longer available, the congregation turned to Richard Upjohn & Co. for a design. Upjohn (1802-1878) was born in England and came to America in 1829, settling in New York in 1839. Trinity Church, Wall Street was his first major building. Its prominence helped establish the popularity of the Gothic Revival in America. By 1858, Upjohn was one of the most respected and active architects in America, having already designed many important churches. The actual design of the transepts has been attributed to Charles Babcock, Upjohn's son-in-law, who had become a junior partner in the firm (along with Upjohn's son, R. M. Upjohn) in 1851.[27] For the

[23] Quoted in the *New York Daily Tribune*, March 4, 1848, 1 and in Landy, *The Architecture of Minard Lafever*, 149.
[24] Willene B. Clark, *The Stained Glass Art of William Jay Bolton* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992), 111-12.
[25] Clark, *Stained Glass Art*, 113.
[26] Edelbute, *The History of the Church of The Holy Apostles*, 70. For Henry Sharp, see http://college.holycross.edu/RaguinStainedGlassInAmerica/Anglo_American_2/Anglo_American_2.html
[27] New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, "Church of the Holy Apostles Designation Report" (New York: Landmarks Preservation Commission, 1966); "Church of the Holy Apostles National Register Nomination" (1971); Landy, *The Architecture of*

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transepts, the Upjohn firm used a similar brick to that on the main church and articulated the arms with round-arch windows. Each of the transept ends is embellished with a beautifully proportioned wheel window. The masonry and carpentry work for the transepts was done by the firm of Chapin & Daymond and four new stained-glass windows were by Sharp & Steel. The transepts provided Holy Apostles with 240 new seats, for a total seating capacity of 830 people. The construction of the transepts displaced four of the Bolton windows, which were relocated into the west side of each transept.

Father Lucius A. Edelbute, who was the reverend of the church from 1918-1949 and who wrote a detailed history of the congregation, summed up the early history of the church: "Throughout these years, too, Holy Apostles was one of the few churches in the city that possessed a large marble altar, a religious painting over its altar, stained glass windows with scenes of religious subjects in them, and a lofty spire topped by a cross.. . . Undoubtedly, the general aspect of its services was one of dignity, reverence, and devotion."[28]

In 1866, the church expanded its site, purchasing an extant residential building with commercial ground floor immediately to the south, at 296 Ninth Avenue.[29] In 1866-67, a second building was erected only a few feet behind the first one; the new building was often referred to as the mission house. Although it was not attached to the building in front of it of Ninth Avenue, the new parish house was attached to the church via a one-story brick connector that ran behind the south transept. Because of its subordinate location and the fact that it was not expected to be seen, the mission house had a utilitarian look to it. The earlier building, which was part of a row, was demolished as part of the Penn South urban renewal project, leaving the mission house exposed.

Minard Lafever, 150; Everard M. Upjohn, *Richard Upjohn: Architect and Churchman* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 105.

[28] Edelbute, *The History of the Church of The Holy Apostles*, 83.

[29] The building was probably erected in the 1840s, at the time the area was undergoing major development.

The 1860s were the peak period of prosperity for the Church of the Holy Apostles. In that decade the character of the neighborhood began to change dramatically, as the old, American-born families who resided in nearby row houses began moving to newer neighborhoods and immigrants began to move into row houses that had been converted into multiple dwellings or into new tenements. As Edelbute recounts, "South Irish immigrants had changed the neighborhood as an Episcopal field. The old, wealthy, American families had gone, and their disappearance was reflected in the social, financial, and general reorientation of the church."[30] Not only did the physical and ethnic character of the neighborhood change and the congregation decline in numbers, but the setting was marred in the late 1870s when the Ninth Avenue elevated railroad was constructed in front of the building, creating noise and dirt that was especially problematic in the summer when the church windows were open.

In the latter decades of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century, a number of changes and additions were made to the church. In the summer of 1877 the church underwent "thorough and extensive repairs" that included repainting on the interior and exterior, new carpeting and chandeliers, and a new stained-glass window by Sharp & Colgate installed in the front of the church.[31] In 1889, a vestry room and a baptistery were added to the south side of the church.[32] The spire was a perpetual problem for the church and there was some consideration given to its removal in 1894, but members of the congregation felt that it was a defining element of the church and resolved to maintain it. Instead, in that year the spire was covered in slate with copper trim. In 1903, it was damaged in a storm and repaired and then, in 1908, it was repaired and strengthened at the base and the belfry was covered in copper. Again, in 1917, a gale damaged the steeple and it had to be repaired. In 1922, a fire damaged the sanctuary and chancel and, as part of the restoration, the interior was rearranged and "beautified" under the guidance of architect W. Kerr Rainsford. As part of this work, new

[30] Edelbute, *The History of the Church of The Holy Apostles*, 91.
[31] *Churchman*, 36 (September 29, 1877): 344.
[32] Landy, *The Architecture of Minard Lafever*, 152.

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electric chandeliers were added and the stained glass was re-leaded by J. & R. Lamb.[33] Another major restoration of the windows occurred in 1967.[34]

The character of the neighborhood surrounding the church changed radically in the 1940s and 1950s. The Ninth Avenue el was demolished in 1940, making the church and its steeple a highly visible landmark in the neighborhood again. In 1957, the area to the south and east of the church became the site of a large-scale urban renewal project known as Penn Station South (now known as Penn South), stretching from 23rd Street to 28th Street, between Eighth and Ninth Avenues. The church and the mission house were among the few buildings within the urban renewal boundaries that were not demolished for the tower-in-the-park apartment project.[35]

In 1982, Holy Apostles opened a soup kitchen that has grown into the largest in New York City, serving over one thousand people a day. A large, professional kitchen had been installed in the rear of the parish house and volunteers served meals, offered social services, and played the church's grand piano during lunch. The church was hit by a second major fire in 1990. This occurred as a restoration of the building was nearing completion.[36] The fire severely damaged the interior, steeple, and some of the stained-glass windows.[37] A restoration was undertaken under the direction of project manager Ed Kemper and was developed so that as much work could be done in house, in order to keep costs down. According to Kemper:

[33] Edelbute, *The History of the Church of The Holy Apostles*, 205-207; "$10,000 Fire Damages Church of Apostles," *New York Times*, February 14, 1922, 7.
[34] "1848 Stained Glass Endangered," *New York Times*, October 13, 1966, 47; "Bank Loan Saves Church Windows," *New York Times*, January 9, 1967, 32.
[35] "34 Million Co-op Housing Planned Near Penn Station," *New York Times*, August 19, 1957, 1; 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: Monacelli Press, 1995), 311.
[36] David W. Dunlap, "Parish Forced Out of Fragile Church," *New York Times*, May 15, 1989, B1; "Church Burns as Renovation Nears End," *New York Times*, April 10, 1990, B1.
[37] Clark, *The Stained Glass Art*, 114-17 details the condition of each Bolton window; "Phoenix Rising," *Historic Preservation*, 44 (May/June 1892): 11. The Sharp & Steel window in the east transept was destroyed.

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> Immediately after the fire I retained the structural engineer, Anthony M. Giudice, PE to stabilize the building and prepare drawings for the structural rebuilding of the fire damaged church, restore the copper and slate steeple and install a new state roof.
>
> Prior to demolition of the fire damaged interior I retained a Columbia University grad student to document plaster details and prepare a reflected ceiling drawing that documented the original plasterwork design and detail location. The firm of Mottola Rini Engineers was retained to redesign and upgraded all plumbing, electrical and heating systems. At the completion of the interior demolition phase and structural rebuilding I retained Li/Saltzman Architects to prepare drawings and specifications to accurately replicate the original plaster finishes, accompanying wood furring plaster support system, and to prepare drawings and a schedule to replicate damaged and missing doors, upgraded door hardware and replicate the wood column bases. An in-house program consisting of carpenters and apprentices was put in place to replicate and restore wood window frames, rose window tracery and restore all of the exterior woodwork. . . . The new chancel layout and interior church design was prepared by Terry Byrd Eason Design. . . . I retained Mr. Ray Clagnan who was the previous director of stained glass at Rambusch Studios and we set up an in-house stained glass studio in the church. We also retained stained glass artists and a number of apprentices.[38]

The restoration of the stained glass was a major concern for the congregation. As soon as volunteers could enter the church after the fire they collected all of the pieces of glass to use in the restoration. In addition to restoring those windows that had broken during the fire, the restoration sought to repair a perennial problem with the Bolton windows – his poorly executed application of paint to the glass that resulted in extensive peeling. Ray Clagnan and Ed Klemper developed a new technique for adhering the historic paint to the glass surface, thus stabilizing the historic windows.[39] In addition to restoring historic features of the building, the interior was reconstructed in a flexible manner, without pews, so that the soup kitchen could be moved from its cramped

[38] Ed Klemper to Roz Li and Andrew Dolkart, email communication, January 2, 2020.

[39] Klemper to Li and Dolkart. According to Klemper, "Once all of the windows were dismantled and cleaned we developed a technique of air brushing a flux material to the glass surface to re-adhere the original paints thus stabilizing the original painted surfaces. I researched various scientific institutions and retained the Center of Ceramic Research at Rutgers University. Ray prepared numerous samples of various method to apply the flux and control samples. The samples were reviewed via energy dispersive X-ray analysis and scanning electron micrograph."

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quarters in the parish house into the main sanctuary. The congregation returned to the restored building for services on April 23, 1994; "it's sort of a miracle," opined associate rector Elizabeth G. Maxwell.[40]

Church of the Holy Apostles: Social History/ LGBT Significance

Civil Rights Organizations

The Church of the Holy Apostles in Chelsea was one of the most important meeting places in New York City for organizations of the early post-Stonewall gay rights movement, particularly from 1969 to 1973. As a result, the church essentially served as New York City's first LGBT community center. This was vitally important, since at the time there were severely limited opportunities for LGBT individuals or organizations to lease or share spaces. The Episcopal rector at Holy Apostles, Father Robert Oliver Weeks (1926-2013), was instrumental in allowing this to happen. The congregation welcomed members of the LGBT community but was quite small and financially strapped and thus needed the rental income that other groups could provide. For instance, the Chelsea Theater Center, established in 1965, used the church as its performance venue until it moved to the Brooklyn Academy of Music in November 1968.[41] Weeks had the consent of the church's vestry and diocesan officials in allowing Holy Apostles to host LGBT groups. Interestingly, Weeks wrote a letter to Bishop Paul M. Moore in April 1971 in which he stated "As a result of our opening Holy Apostles…to homosexual people and groups almost every group in the City has sought facility usage from Holy Apostles."[42]

Ordained as a deacon in 1959 and as a priest in 1960, Weeks had been involved in the black civil rights movement – he accompanied activist James Meredith during his 1966 Mississippi "March Against Fear" when

[40] Douglas Martin, "Church's Comeback 'Like a Miracle,'" *New York Times*, April 24, 1994, 38. At the time, the article reports that the Church of the Holy Apostles had the largest soap kitchen in the city.
[41] "Chelsea Theater Center Moving to Brooklyn Academy of Music." *New York Times)*, Nov. 6, 1968, 34.
[42] Robert O. Weeks to Bishop Paul M. Moore (April 21, 1971), Church of the Holy Apostles Archives, cited by Heather White in Religion in America Workshop notes on the Church of the Holy Apostles, Oct. 13, 2014.

Meredith was shot.[43] In November 1967, Weeks was one of ninety Episcopal priests to participate in a symposium on homosexuality sponsored by the Episcopal Dioceses of New York, Connecticut, Long Island, and Newark at the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine, This body set forth one of the first religious declarations that homosexuality should be classified as morally neutral.[44] Weeks served as the rector at Holy Apostles from June 1968 to 1975.[45]

The earliest known LGBT event held at Holy Apostles was the January 29, 1969, meeting to organize a New York chapter of the Council on Religion and the Homosexual. This initiative, formed at Glide Memorial Church in San Francisco in 1964, was begun by a gay United Church of Christ minister, the Rev. Robert Wood, who was also the author of the seminal book *Christ and the Homosexual* (1960). The Rev. Weeks was on the planning committee.[46]

Another early LGBT event that took place in the Holy Apostles parish house was the First New York City All-College Gay Mixer on May 2, 1969, sponsored by Columbia University's Student Homophile League (SHL). This event occurred two months prior to the Stonewall uprising. In 1966, Columbia University had become the first collegiate institution in the United States, and possibly the first in the world, with an LGBT student group. In the fall of that year, sophomore Robert Martin (using the pseudonym Stephen Donaldson) founded the SHL. The small student group had the support of the university chaplain and gained space in Earl Hall (National Register listed for its association with LGBT history), the center of student religious life. The university officially recognized the group in April 1967 with the stipulation that it not organize social events on campus.

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[43] Maureen O'Donnell, "Sherwood Ross, Ex-Chicago Reporter Who Marched with James Meredith, Dead at 85," *Chicago Sun Times*, June 29, 2018.
[44] Edward B. Fiske, "Episcopal Clergymen Here Call Homosexuality Morally Neutral," *New York Times*, Nov. 29,1967, 1, 39.
[45] "Ex-Broker is Ordained as Deacon," *New York Times*, June 12, 1959, 11; "Bank Loan Saves Church Windows," *New York Times*, Jan. 9, 1967, 32; Church of the Holy Apostles, *Parish Profile* (2017), 25; Daniel Hurewitz, *Stepping Out: Nine Walks Through New York City's Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997), 132-133; St. Paul's School, Robert Oliver Weeks obituary, *Alumni Horae* (Spring 2013).

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Holding a dance at Holy Apostles fell in line with this stipulation. The newspaper *Gay* reported that the Holy Apostles dance attracted an overflow crowd, with people coming from as far as California.[47]

The first LGBT group to meet at Holy Apostles regularly, from August 1969 to 1971, was the West Side Discussion Group (WSDG), which held its weekly meetings and dances here. The vestry of Holy Apostles specifically requested that these activities not take place in the church sanctuary, so they were held in the parish house. WSDG was initially part of the Mattachine Society of New York. Founded in Los Angeles in 1950, the Mattachine Society was an early and leading American homophile group, mostly for men. The term "homophile" was then in common use for gay and lesbian organizations. In the conservative post-World War II era it was considered quite radical to campaign for the rights of gay men to simply exist openly in society without fear of arrest or persecution. The Mattachine Society of New York was formed in December 1955. One of its activities was sponsoring neighborhood discussion groups. WSDG became a separate organization in 1956. It dropped its affiliation with Mattachine entirely in 1965 after more politically active leaders took over Mattachine. WSDG thus became an older and less political group, mostly a social club for men, within the homophile movement. Mattachine activist Randy Wicker reminisced that "They held socials once a week (Wednesday nights) where people could meet and mingle in a setting quite different from a gay bar. Ironically, WSDG survived for years and years after the Mattachine Society had disappeared."[48] WSDG was the first of the groups at Holy Apostles whose regular dances provided a rare opportunity for LGBT people to openly dance together.[49]

[46]"Agenda for an exploratory meeting to consider the establishment for a Council on Religion and the Homosexual" (January 29, 1969), Barbara Gittings Collection, New York Public Library.
[47] Andrew S. Dolkart, "Earl Hall National Register Nomination," 2018; Hurewitz; Student Homophile League, "First NYC All-College Gay Mixer" ad, *Columbia Spectator*, May 1, 1969; "Students Seek Spot for Gay Dance," *Gay*, Dec. 15, 1969, 10.
[48] "Randolfe Wicker: From Pot to the Days of Wine and Cloning," interview by Raj Ayyar, *Gay Today*, *Oct. 1, 2002*, bit.ly/2gyf6up.
[49] *The West Sider* (1968-87); John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 166-168.; David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004), 24.

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Historian David Carter provided the context for this period, when LGBT people desperately needed social spaces in which to meet each other and form a community, when he wrote:

> It was only a few decades ago – a very short time in historical terms – that the situation of gay men and lesbians was radically different from what it is today. At the end of the 1960s, homosexual sex was illegal in every state but Illinois. Not one law – federal, state, or local – protected gay men or women from being fired or denied housing. There were no openly gay politicians. No television show had any identifiably gay characters. When Hollywood made a film with a major gay character, the character was either killed or killed himself. There were no openly gay policemen, public school teachers, doctors, or lawyers. And no political party had a gay caucus.[50]

The LGBT community in New York City faced constant harassment, oppression, discrimination, bias, censorship, and social control through the combined forces of the police, government, organized religion, moral crusaders, censors, criminals, psychiatric professionals, and families. And despite the emergence of bars as the few relatively safe-space havens for gay men and lesbians, after Prohibition there was the added factor of the Mafia's heavy presence in the bar scene.

From June 28 to July 3, 1969, LGBT patrons of the Stonewall Inn (National Register listed; National Historic Landmark) and members of the local Greenwich Village community took the unusual action of fighting back during a routine police raid at the bar. The events during that six-day period, known as the Stonewall uprising, are seen as a key turning point in the history of LGBT rights, dramatically changing the nearly two-decade-old movement. It inspired LGBT people throughout the country to assertively organize on a broader scale. In the following years, hundreds of new organizations were formed in cities and on campuses across the country, as a younger generation of activists demanded full and equal rights.

[50] Carter, 1-2.

Marc Stein summarized the immediate impact of Stonewall and the change in LGBT political organization:

> The LGBT movement experienced mass mobilization and political radicalization in the weeks and months following the Stonewall Riots. In a short period of time, a movement that had consisted of dozens of organizations and hundreds of active participants was transformed by the formation of hundreds (and then thousands) of organizations with thousands (and then tens of thousands) of active participants. Older groups such as the Mattachine Society, Daughters of Bilitis, Erickson Educational Foundation, and the Society of Individual Rights were challenged. Recently created organizations such as the Homophile Action League, Student Homophile League, and the Committee on Homosexual Freedom welcomed the energy and enthusiasm. A new generation of LGBT groups emerged with different names, agendas, and visions. These included the Gay Liberation Front…Queens Liberation Front, Gay Activists Alliance, Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries, Radicalesbians, and Third World Gay Revolution. Post-Stonewall LGBT activism was colorful and diverse. In some ways, the movement picked up where the pre-Stonewall movement left off; in other ways, it was profoundly different. The movement's ideologies and philosophies were affected by the riots, but there were other influences at work and LGBT activism continued to change in the early 1970s. … [These included] the influences of anticolonialism politics, antiwar protest, black radicalism, countercultural activism, and women's liberation.[51]

The very first LGBT activist organization formed in response to Stonewall was the Gay Liberation Front (GLF), in July 1969. GLF was started at Alternate U., a free counterculture school and leftist political organizing center at 69 West 14th Street in Greenwich Village.[52] GLF's February 1970 newsletter stated the New Leftist nature of the group: "The Gay Liberation Front is a militant coalition of radical and revolutionary homosexual men and women committed to fight the oppression of the homosexual as a minority group and to demand the right to the self-determination of our own bodies."[53] *Gay Flames*, a GLF publication, observed that "Gay Liberation is

[51] Marc Stein, *The Stonewall Riots: a Documentary History* (New York: New York University Press, 2019), 187.
[52] Federal Bureau of Investigation, GLF files; D'Emilio, 232-235; Carter, 217-221.
[53] Gay Liberation Front (GLF), newsletter, February 1970.

trying to build an alternative to the bars/baths/cruising scene which has become a way of life for so many homosexuals, particularly homosexual males."[54]

While GLF continued to use Alternate U. for classes and activities through December 1970, its general meetings were held weekly on Sundays at the parish house of the Church of the Holy Apostles, from December 1969 to December 1970. Gay Youth, founded in 1970 by Mark Segal for members under the age of 21, also had its social meetings at the church until 1972. This group served a critical need for gay and lesbian youth in this period since they could not go to bars. Dances just for GLF women held here were among the earliest such events. Radicalesbians spun off from the male-dominated GLF in May 1970. This new lesbian group and GLF held a joint news conference at the church on August 30, 1970, following a recent LGBT community protest march in Greenwich Village, in which protestors and police clashed. The subject of the news conference was police harassment against the LGBT community.[55] At the very end of 1970, GLF moved to the Gay Community Center, at 130 West 3rd Street, which it had co-founded as an exclusively LGBT space and which only operated through 1971.

GLF was largely superseded by the less radical Gay Activists Alliance (GAA), which formed in December 1969 when a number of GLF members, led by James ("Jim") W. Owles, Martin Robinson, and Arthur Evans, broke away from the earlier group. Unlike GLF, the exclusive purpose of GAA, which became the leading and largest American gay liberation political activist organization of the early 1970s, was to advance gay and lesbian civil and social rights. It lobbied for the passage of local civil rights laws, banning police entrapment and harassment, the creation of fair employment and housing legislation, and the repeal of sodomy and solicitation laws. GAA was the first group to adopt the lambda as a gay symbol in 1970. GAA had its Thursday evening meetings and its dances at Holy Apostles between January 1970 and May 1971. According to Fred Orlansky, one of the

[54] *Gay Flames*, issue 4 (1970).
[55] C. Gerald Fraser, "'Gay Ghettos' Seen as Police Targets," *New York Times*, Aug. 31, 1970, 28.

founders of GAA, meetings were held on the ground story of the parish house.[56] GAA then moved into a former firehouse at 99 Wooster Street in SoHo, which became New York's most important LGBT political and cultural community center until 1974.[57]

One extremely important event occurred during the period when both GLF and GAA were meeting at Holy Apostles. On March 8, 1970, less than a year after Stonewall, the police raided the Snake Pit after-hours bar, located in Greenwich Village, and detained some 167 men at the local police station. An Argentinian immigrant, Diego Vinales, attempted to escape and was impaled on a fence below. GAA and GLF quickly assembled a protest march and vigil of over 500 people, the results of which demonstrated the strength of the recently formed gay rights organizations and inspired many more people to become politically active. Weeks, who had attended meetings of these LGBT groups at Holy Apostles, participated in the Snake Pit protest and also prayed for the severely injured Vinales at St. Vincent's Hospital in Greenwich Village (Vinales survived). The Snake Pit protest inspired what emerged as GAA's most famous tactic -- the "zap," a direct, public confrontation with political figures regarding gay rights, designed to gain media attention.[58]

Holy Apostles continued, however, as the location of LGBT events and organizations, even after GLF and GAA left. In December 1971, the Liberation House Collective held a film festival here with the aim of raising funds to create a "Liberation House."[59] Liberation House, at 247 West 11th Street, became an early post-Stonewall community center that provided health services to the LGBT community. It was the first home of the influential Gay Men's Health Project as well as the Gay Switchboard. The May-June 1972 GAA newsletter reported that the Daughters of Bilitis (the first lesbian group in the city, founded in 1958) would be holding their general

[56] Fred Orlansky, telephone interview with NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, Dec. 7, 2018.
[57] Lillian Faderman, *The Gay Revolution: The Story of the Struggle* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015), 216; Carter, 236-238; Gay Activists Alliance, "What is Gay Activists Alliance?" flyer (1970), Foster Gunnison, Jr. Collection, University of Connecticut.
[58] Hurewitz; Carter, 238-243.
[59] "Liberation House," *Gay Activist: The Newsletter of the Gay Activist Alliance* (Dec. 1971-Jan. 1972), 22.

meeting at Holy Apostles on Thursday evenings.[60] Lesbian Liberation, a women's group that spun off from GAA in 1972, held a dance at Holy Apostles on June 24, 1972.[61] At the end of 1972, the basement of Holy Apostles was the first location of Identity House, a walk-in counseling center "overseen by licensed therapists, [that] would allow gays and lesbians to counsel their peers in a more intimate, non-medical setting." It had been founded in 1971 by Charles Silverstein, Lee Zevy, Lucy Ianniciello and others, and it remained here until 1973. Identity House today is considered the "oldest continuously operating, all-volunteer LGBT organization" in New York.[62] By 1973, the Eulenspiegel Society, a sado-masochism group, was meeting on Sunday evenings at the church.[63]

In summary, the Church of the Holy Apostles in Chelsea was one of the most important meeting places in New York City for a number of the organizations of the early post-Stonewall movement that greatly advanced the cause of LGBT civil rights in the United States, particularly from 1969 to 1973. These groups greatly needed welcoming and affordable spaces in which to form and meet, and Holy Apostles both served as an incubator and functioned as New York City's first LGBT community center. This was vitally important, since at the time there were severely limited opportunities for LGBT individuals or organizations to lease or share spaces. That it was a church that accommodated this need was unusual at a time when there was a mutual hostility between the LGBT community and organized religion. In New York City, perhaps only the progressive, activist Judson Memorial Church on Washington Square in Greenwich Village was as welcoming. Under the leadership of the Reverend Howard Moody (1957 to 1992) and openly gay Associate Minister Al Carmines (1962 to 1981), Judson become a home to avant-garde arts groups.[64] However, the Church of the Holy Apostles is particularly significant from a

[60] "New York City Gay Groups," *Gay Activist: The Newsletter of the Gay Activist Alliance* (May-June 1972), back cover.
[61] Lesbian Liberation, flyer for dance on June 24, 1972, Columbia University Archives.
[62] Sam Spokony, "Identity House: A Half-Century of Love," *Chelsea Now*, Feb. 12, 2013.
[63] "Sexual Freedom," *Echo of Sappho*, no. 4, 1973, p. 13; Eulenspiegel advertisement, *Gay*, vol. 4, no. 95, 1973, p. 17.
[64] The arts groups included the Judson Poets Theater, among the early Off-Off-Broadway theater groups, and the Judson Dance Theater; both included many LGBT artists.

political standpoint because it provided regular meeting space for three of the most impactful LGBT groups of the early post-Stonewall era. It is especially significant from a religious standpoint for allowing for the formation and/or growth of three LGBT-specific congregations, two of which still exist today. The Church of the Holy Apostles, therefore, set an example for other congregations in New York to be supportive of the LGBT community in the 1970s, sometimes under the leadership of openly gay clergy. Additionally, some of the facilities that followed in the footsteps of Holy Apostles housed LGBT organizations as well. These included Washington Square United Methodist Church and Metropolitan-Duane United Methodist Church, Manhattan; and Spencer Memorial Church, Brooklyn Heights, Brooklyn.

Religious Congregations[65]

Between 1970 and 1975, the Church of the Holy Apostles also provided space for three early LGBT religious congregations: the Church of the Beloved Disciple, the first congregation for LGBT people in New York City; the Metropolitan Community Church of New York, a branch of a church established in Los Angeles; and Congregation Beth (Beit) Simchat Torah, the first permanent LGBT synagogue on the East Coast. The synagogue returned to Holy Apostles for Friday services between 1998 and 2016. This makes the Church of the Holy Apostles extremely rare, if not unique in the history of the LGBT rights movement in New York City and a national leader, particularly in an era when all American religions were struggling with the question of exclusion or acceptance of LGBT people. At the same time, many, if not the majority of LGBT activists were hostile to organized religion, which they saw

[65] Heather R. White has studied the LGBT religious history of the Church of the Holy Apostles. Heather R. White, "Homosexuality, Gay Communities, and American Churches: A History of a Changing Religious Ethic, 1946-1977 (Princeton University dissertation, 2007); Religion in America Workshop notes on the Church of the Holy Apostles, Oct. 13, 2014; "Gay Rites and Religious Rights: New York's First Same-Sex Marriage Controversy," in Kathleen T. Talvacchia, Michael F. Pettinger, and Mark Larrimore, eds., *Queer Christianities: Lived Religion in Transgressive Forms* (New York: NYU Press, 2015); "The Church of the Holy Apostles" notes prepared for the NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016 and February 2019; telephone interview with the NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, January 31, 2018.

as one of the leading forces of oppression against their community. For LGBT people who were religiously inclined, however, these three early congregations provided welcoming and LGBT-centric spiritual experiences.

In July 1970, Father Robert Oliver Weeks turned over the sanctuary of Holy Apostles for Sunday afternoon services to the pioneering Church of the Beloved Disciple, "a church for gay people" and the first such congregation in New York City. Beloved Disciple was an Independent Catholic church, founded by Father Robert Mary Clement, ordained in 1948 and a former priest in the Polish National Catholic Church. The name of the new church was a homoerotic biblical reference to John, the disciple who was loved by Jesus. Clement had already begun to form a parish and was directly inspired by the Stonewall uprising to establish it in a church building. He openly participated as a gay priest in the first Gay Pride March (then the Christopher Street Liberation Day March) in June 1970 with his lover, John Darcy Noble, with a sign that read "Gay People this is Your Church." In fact, this was an announcement of the formation of Beloved Disciple, and its first service at Holy Apostles was two weeks later. WSDG members were also closely connected with Beloved Disciple. A year after its founding, the congregation had some 600 members, some attracted by the church's elaborate worship services, which mixed traditional religious elements with aspects of gay liberation. Beloved Disciple's congregation, in fact, greatly outnumbered that of its host church.[66]

Clement began to publicly officiate over same-sex "holy union" ceremonies in July 1970. These began to attract notice. The union of a Latina and African-American female couple, Bobbi Jean Sanchez and Joan Kearse, at Holy Apostles in April 1971 was covered in stories by the *New York Post* and *Jet*, a magazine marketed to African-American readers.[67] Clement and Noble themselves were joined in a "holy union" ceremony at the Performing Garage, 33 Wooster Street, on July 18, 1971, officiated by the Reverend Troy Perry. Perry had

[66] Erin L. Nissley, "Local NEPA Priest Started LGBT Church in 1970s," *The Times-Tribune*, July 12, 2015, bit.ly/2gKge0W; "Rev. Robert Mary Clement Profile," lgbtqreligiousarchives.org (Sept. 2004); White; Hurewitz: Laurie Johnston, "Religious Order Founded Here By One-Year-Old Gay Church, *NYT*, July 19, 1971, 32.
[67] Barbara Trecker, "Two Women Are Joined in 'Holy Union' at Church," *New York Post*, April 19, 1971, 3, 47; "New York Pastor Joins Two Women in 'Holy Union'," *Jet*, May 13, 1971, 17.

founded the Metropolitan Community Church in Los Angeles in October 1968 to minister to the spiritual needs of the LGBT community, at a time when most Protestant churches did not welcome openly gay members. Weeks and a Catholic priest, Father Steven Marion, assisted in the Clement-Noble ceremony.[68] The post-wedding reception for Clement and Noble was held in the Holy Apostles parish house, even though they were not allowed to marry in the church itself. Weeks himself also presided over a number of early same-sex ceremonies at Holy Apostles; he called them "services of friendship." New York's City Clerk Herman Katz, incensed at all these so-called "illegal marriages" by Clement and Weeks, threatened arrest. GAA held one of its most famous and creative "zaps" at Katz's office in the Municipal Building in lower Manhattan – a June 4, 1971, engagement party for two same-sex couples, complete with wedding cake.[69] Episcopal Bishop Paul M. Moore, in the face of substantial criticism, defended the right of both Clement and Weeks to perform their ceremonies, which were not civil "marriages," as well as the right of Holy Apostles to host them.[70] Moore did ask, however, that the ceremonies not be covered in the press.[71] After a mutual falling out with Weeks, Beloved Disciple left Holy Apostles around the fall of 1972.[72]

From June 1972 to 1974, the Metropolitan Community Church of New York (MCCNY), an ecumenical Protestant church, held Sunday evening services at Holy Apostles. It was first led by Howard Wells (1944-1987), who had started the Metropolitan Community Church of San Francisco in April 1970. Wells had previously attended the original MCC church, founded in Los Angeles in 1968 by the Rev. Troy Perry. The Board of Elders of the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches sent Wells as a "missionary" to New York City, where several people were interested in possibly starting a branch of the church. Wells led

[68] Ron Frehm, Associated Press photograph of the Clement-Noble wedding, July 18 1971, performed by Father Troy Perry, assisted by Father Robert Weeks and Father Steven Marion.
[69] Pete Fisher, "Gay Couples Celebrate Engagement at Marriage Licensing Bureau," *Gay*, July 5, 1971.
[70] A daughter revealed after his death that Moore was bisexual. "A Bishop Unveiled God's Secrets While Keeping His Own," *New York Times,* March 3, 2008.
[71] White.
[72] Rev. Robert Clements interview, August 18, 2007, lgbtqreligiousarchives.org.

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MCCNY until the fall of 1973, when he left to obtain formal theological education. He became the first openly gay student at Union Theological Seminary. Today the denomination has congregations in countries all over the world.[73]

On November 6, 1970, at Spencer Memorial Church in Brooklyn Heights, a service was held for the House of David and Jonathan, "America's first homosexual Jewish congregation," according to the newspaper *Gay*. This congregation only met for six weeks, however, as it became apparent that the "rabbi," Herbert Katz, who turned out to have a questionable past, held views that did not align with those of the congregants. Some of the members then turned to participation in Beloved Disciple at Holy Apostles, which at least was an existing gay-oriented religious congregation.[74] In 1973, a group of gay Jewish friends, inspired by MCCNY, decided to see if there was interest in an LGBT synagogue in Manhattan. Jacob Gubbay, a gay Jewish man from India, placed a newspaper advertisement for a Shabbat service in the *Village Voice*.[75] This took place at Holy Apostles' original rectory (the one on West 28th Street, which was later demolished) on February 9, 1973, attended by fifteen people. A closeted Orthodox man saw a later ad and attended a Passover Seder service, becoming the unofficial rabbi known as Reb Pinchas. The group obtained permission to use space at Holy Apostles on a regular basis and met in the ground story of the surviving parish house.[76] The synagogue was incorporated on December 5, 1973 and officially named Congregation Beth (later Beit) Simchat Torah ("The House of Joy"). To the congregation's knowledge, this was the first permanent LGBT synagogue on the East Coast and only the second in the United States, after Temple Beth Chayim Chadashim, formed in Los Angeles on June 9, 1972.[77] Beth Simchat Torah grew to one hundred members within a year and had an attendance of some five hundred people

[73] "MCCNY History," Metropolitan Community Church of New York, https://bit.ly/2XjvQL4; "Rev. Howard Wells Profile," LGBTQ Religious Archives Network (Sept. 2010), bit.ly/2ghaMPN.
[74] "Rabbi Conducts Jewish Gay Service," *Gay*, Dec. 21, 1970, 1, 3; "America's First Gay Synagogue Short-Lived," *Jewish Post & Opinion*, Aug. 27, 1971.
[75] "Gay Synagogue" ad, *Village Voice*, for Feb. 9, 1973 service.
[76] Michael Levine, telephone interview with NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, Dec. 10, 2018.
[77] Beth Chayim Chadashim, "History," http://bcc-la.org/about/history/ website (Dec. 2018).

at High Holy Day services in 1974. It held Friday evening and holiday services at Holy Apostles until it found a home in Westbeth Artists' Housing (National Register listed) in July 1975. By 1998, the congregation was so large, however, that its heavily attended Friday services returned to Holy Apostles, this time in the sanctuary. CBST worshipped at both Westbeth and Holy Apostles until 2016, when it moved to a building of its own at 130 West 30th Street. It claims to be the largest LGBT synagogue in the world.[78]

By 1974, Weeks's religious views had begun to change when he had a "born again" experience, and he began a direct outreach ministry to the LGBT community, which had not especially participated in Holy Apostles' own Episcopal religious services and activities. This included "bar evangelism" – going to area gay bars. He then ended the church's policy of leasing space to LGBT organizations. The lay leadership of Holy Apostles, which had already judged Weeks's stewardship as erratic and divisive for several years, engendered his resignation in 1975.[79]

Weeks had already set in motion, however, one other significant event in the LGBT religious history of the church. In 1972, he had recommended Ellen Marie Barrett, an "avowed lesbian," to Bishop Paul Moore for ordination. She was quite active in the LGBT and Holy Apostles-related communities. She had served as a co-chairwoman of Daughters of Bilitis, New York, and a moderator of Gay Students Liberation at New York University, was a member of Radicalesbians of GLF, and attended GAA meetings at Holy Apostles. She had participated in the congregations of Holy Apostles, MCC, and Beloved Disciple; she had written for MCCNY's newsletter, *The Gay Christian,* and was acting administrator of the Church of the Beloved Disciple's religious

[78] Moshe Shokeid, *A Gay Synagogue in New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995); "Our History," Congregation Beit Simchat Torah, bit.ly/2f5NhNh; Congregation Beth Simchat Torah, "The Gay Synagogue Beth Simchat Torah" flyer (c. 1974) and "Beth Simchat Torah – the New York Gay Synagogue" flyer (June 1975), Foster Gunnison, Jr. Collection, University of Connecticut; Marcia Chambers, "A Homosexual Temple Holds Rites on West Side," *NYT*, Dec. 23, 1973, 21; Nadine Brozan, "Sole Gay Synagogue Finds Itself Robust at 25," *New York Times*, Dec. 21, 1998, B5.
[79] White, "The Church of the Holy Apostles;" Church of the Holy Apostles, "Vestry – Communication" file (1952-76).

order. In March 1972, she was one of the organizers of an Episcopal gay mission within Holy Apostles.[80] The Episcopal denomination, however, did not at that time permit the ordination of women. Despite this barrier, Barrett attended General Theological Seminary and, upon graduation, the faculty highly recommended her ordination. In December 1975, she was ordained first as a deacon, and on January 10, 1977, at Holy Apostles, Barrett was ordained as a priest by Bishop Moore. She was one of the first American women to be ordained, the very first openly LGBT Episcopal priest, and one of the first openly LGBT Americans accepted into the ministry of a Christian church.[81] Her ordination, however, created a firestorm within the national Episcopal Church, and a resolution was passed at the General Convention in 1979 that "it is not appropriate for this Church to ordain a practicing homosexual."[82]

The Church of the Holy Apostles holds a singular position in the history of the LGBT rights movement in New York City, particularly in an era when all American religions were struggling with the question of exclusion or acceptance of LGBT people. From 1969 to 1973, in the immediate aftermath of the Stonewall uprising, it was one of the most important meeting places in New York City for several early and significant organizations of the gay civil rights movement. Equally important, between 1970 and 1975 it provided space for three notable early LGBT religious congregations, and in 1977 it was the site of the ordination of the very first openly LGBT Episcopal priest.

[80] "Gay Episcopal Group Forming," Metropolitan Community Church New York newsletter (April 1972).
[81] White; "Rev. Ellen Barrett Profile," LGBTQ Religious Archives Network website (Aug. 2009); "Thirty-five Years Ago Today: Integrity Celebrates Thirty Five Years of Ministry of the Reverend Dr. Ellen Barrett," *Walking with Integrity* Blog (January 9, 2012), bit.ly/2gsSGgB; Ellen Barrett, "Open Theology," *The Gay Christian* (Sept, 1972), 2-4; Kenneth A. Briggs, "Bishop Moore Ordains a Lesbian in the Episcopal Church," *NYT*, Jan. 11, 1977, 34; Caroline J. Addington Hall, *A Thorn in the Flesh: How Gay Sexuality is Changing the Episcopal Church* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013), 52-53.
[82] R.W. Holmen, *Queer Clergy: A History of Gay and Lesbian Ministry in American Protestantism* (Cleveland: The Pilgrim Press, 2013), chapter 11.

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National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

White, Heather R. "Gay Rites and Religious Rights: New York's First Same-Sex Marriage Controversy." in Kathleen T. Talvacchia, Michael F. Pettinger, and Mark Larrimore, eds. *Queer Christianities: Lived Religion in Transgressive Forms*. New York: NYU Press, 2015.

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number 10 Page 1

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

Boundary Justification
The boundary has been drawn to include the parcel originally nominated, which was that owned by the church at the time of the original nomination.

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number photos Page 1

Photographer, Photos 1- 2; 5-10 Andrew Dolkart
NYCLGBT Historic Sites Project
71 West 23rd Street, #903
New York, NY 10010

Date: October 2016 (photos 1-2); March 2019 (photos 5-10)

Photographer, photos 3-4 : Jay Shockley
NYCLGBT Historic Sites Project
71 West 23rd Street, #903
New York, NY 10010

Date: January 2020

Tiff Files: CD-R of .tiff files on file at
National Park Service
Washington, D.C.
and
New York State Historic Preservation Office
Waterford, NY 12188

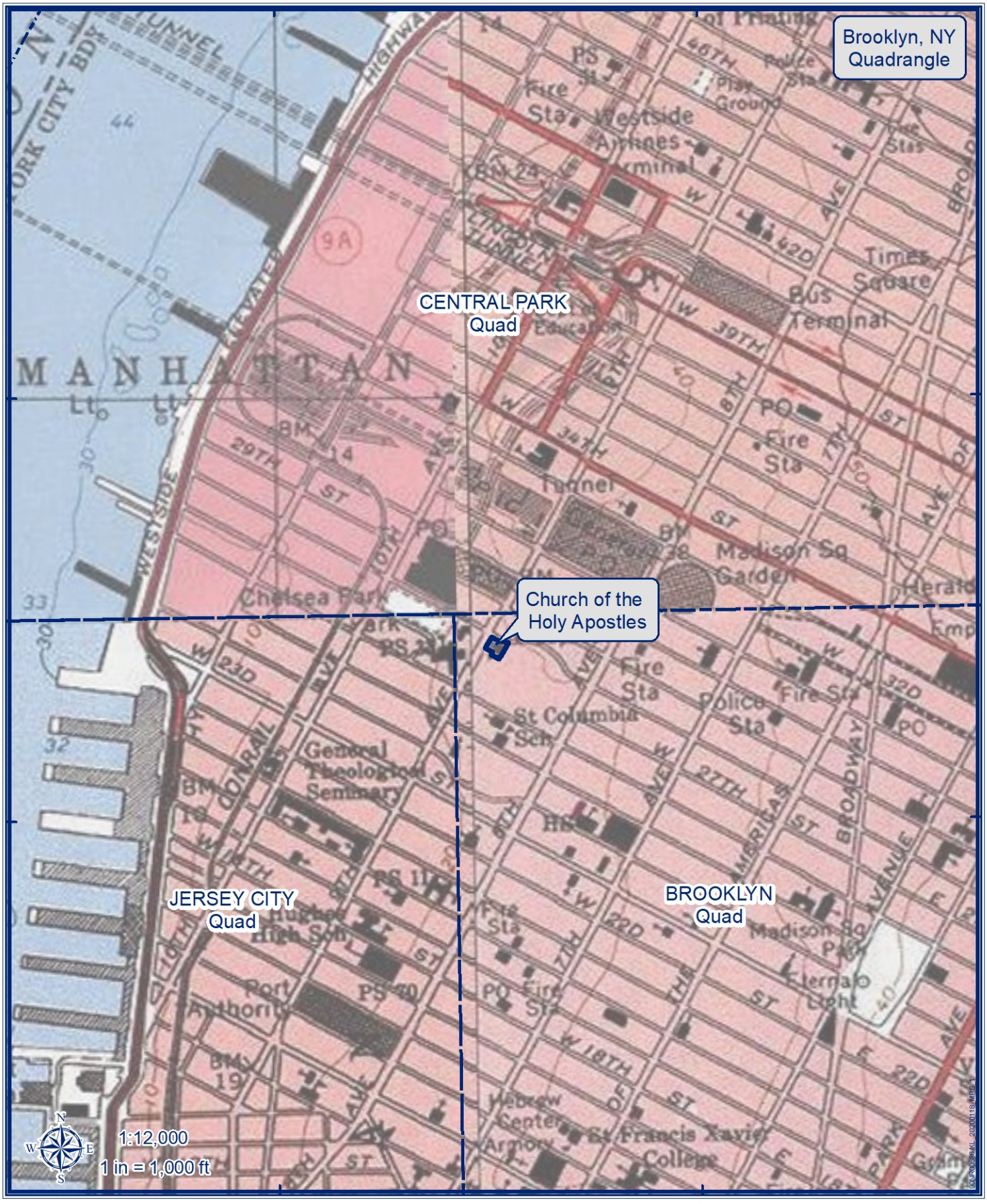
Views:

0001. Church, façade, west elevation
0002. Church, façade and north elevation
0003. Parish House, north and west elevations, south transept of church to the left
0004. Parish House, west and south elevations
0005. Parish House, south and east elevations, showing rear of church to the right
0006. Church, interior, vestibule
0007. Church, interior, looking east toward the chancel
0008. Church, interior, looking toward north transept
0009. Church, interior, looking west toward choir loft
0010. Parish House, interior, second floor meeting room

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Church of the Holy Apostles
New York, New York Co., NY

296-300 Ninth Avenue
New York, NY 10001



Coordinate System: NAD 1983 UTM Zone 18N
Projection: Transverse Mercator
Datum: North American 1983
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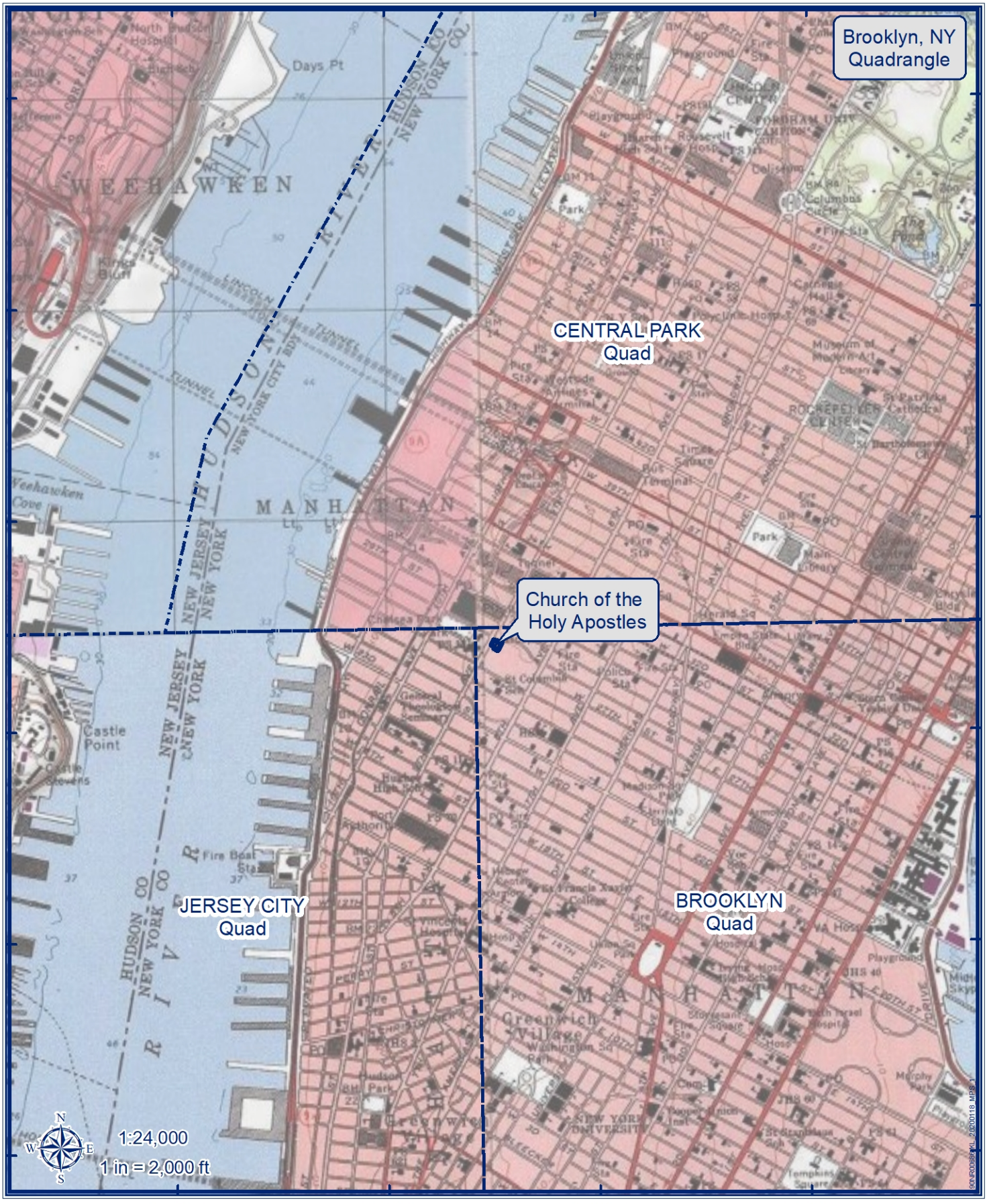
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Churcrh of the Holy Apostles

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

Church of the Holy Apostles
New York, New York Co., NY

296-300 Ninth Avenue
New York, NY 10001



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Churcrh of the Holy Apostles

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

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296-300 Ninth Avenue
New York, NY 10001



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296-300 Ninth Avenue
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Churcrh of the Holy Apostles

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




ONE WAY
Bike Path


296 NINTH AVE






FARM
TRAY
Church of the Holy Apostles
We Welcome
YOUR SUPPORT CHANGES LIVES AND STRENGTHENS COMMUNITIES




EXIT


Church of the Holy Apostles
Chelsea
NYC
There shall be no outcasts
in the Episcopal Church
EXIT

