### 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 National Headquarters, March	on Washington for Jobs and Freedom mi	ultiple property: no
other names/site number <u>Utopia Children's Hou</u>	use; Sojourner Truth House	· .
2. Location		
street & number 170 West 130th Street		not for publication
city or town New York		vicinity
state New York code 061	county New York code NY	zip code _10027
3. State/Federal Agency Certification		
of Historic Places and meets the procedural and proximeets does not meet the National Regis	he documentation standards for registering properti	ies in the National Register  In my opinion, the property sidered significant
additional comments.		e continuation sheet for
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:)		

March on	Washington	HQ
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Name of Property

### New York, New York County and State

5. Classification				
Ownership of Property	Category of Property	Number of Resources within Property		
(Check as many boxes as apply)	(Check only one box)	(Do not include previously listed resources in the count.)		
private	x building(s)	Contributing Noncontributing		
x public-local	district	1 buildings		
public-State	site	sites		
public-Federal	structure	structures		
	object	objects		
		1 0 Total		
Name of related multiple property (Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a m		Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register		
N/A		_ 0		
6. Function or Use				
Historic Functions (Enter categories from instructions)		Current Functions (Enter categories from instructions)		
DOMESTIC/single dwelling		DOMESTIC/multiple dwelling		
DOMESTIC/institutional housing				
SOCIAL/civic, meeting hall				
7. Description				
Architectural Classification (Enter categories from instructions)		Materials (Enter categories from instructions)		
No style		foundation stone		
		walls stucco		
		roof		
		other		
		Ott let		

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

### March on Washington HQ Name of Property

### New York, New York County and State

8 State	ement of Significance	
(Mark "	able National Register Criteria x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the y for National Register listing.)	Areas of Significance (Enter categories from instructions)
<b>x A</b>	Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.	Social history: civil rights Architecture
В	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.	Period of Significance 1920-1963
D	Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.	Significant Dates 1963
	a considerations x" in all the boxes that apply.)	Significant Person
Proper	ty is:	(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)
A	owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.	
В	removed from its original location.	Cultural Affiliation
c	a birthplace or grave.	
D	a cemetery.	
E	a reconstructed building, object or structure.	Architect/Builder Vertner Woodson Tandy (1928 remodeling)
F	a commemorative property.	
G	less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.	
	ive Statement of Significance  n the significance of the property on one or more continuation	n sheets.)
9. Maj	or Bibliographical References	
	graphy books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this for	m on one or more continuation sheets.)
	us documentation on file (NPS): preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested previously listed in the National Register previously determined eligible by the National Register designated a National Historic Landmark recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #	Primary location of additional data  X State Historic Preservation Office Other State agency Federal agency Local government University Other Name of repository:

March on Washington HQ Name of Property	New York County, NY County and State		
10. Geographical Data	_		
Acreage of property			
UTM References (Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)			
1 18 588924 4518392 Zone Easting Northing 2	<ul> <li>Zone Easting Northing</li> <li>See continuation sheet</li> </ul>		
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 Corinne Engelbert and Andrew Dolkart contact: K	athleen LaFrank, National Register Coordinator		
organization	date August 2019		
street & number 116 Pinehurst Ave, S-11 asd3@columbia.edu	telephone <u>917-750-9163</u>		
city or town New York	state New York zip code 10033		
Additional Documentation			
Submit the following items with the completed form:			
Continuation Sheets			
Maps			
A USGS map (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the p	property's location.		
A <b>Sketch map</b> for historic districts and properties having	ng large acreage or numerous resources.		
Photographs			
Representative <b>black and white photographs</b> of the pr	roperty.		
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 National Headquarters for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom is located at 170 West 130<sup>th</sup> Street in the Harlem neighborhood of New York City. The building is sited on the south side of the street in a block bordered by Adam Clayton Powell Jr. Boulevard on the west and Malcolm X Boulevard on the east, just a few blocks west of the Harlem River. Much of the rest of the block is characterized by an unbroken line of intact late nineteenth century rowhouses in either the Neo-Grec or the Queen Anne style.

#### Exterior

The building at 170 West 130<sup>th</sup> Street was originally built in 1884 as a single-family house in the Queen Anne style. As such, it was three stories tall over a raised basement; its façade was constructed of a combination of brick and rusticated brownstone, and it was characterized by a two-stage stoop with entrance to the parlor floor, a projecting five-part oriel window on the second floor, a decorative cornice, and a recessed parapet with a decorative pedimented gable. In the 1920s, it was completely remodeled by architect Vertner Tandy, an early and important African American architect in New York City. Renovations included removal of the stoop and the creation of a primary entrance at the basement level; the addition of balconies on what was previously the first story (now second story) windows; and the removal of the oriel window, cornice, and pressed-metal pediment. Instead, the façade, now shorn of applied ornament, was re-surfaced in stucco in a highly textured pattern referred to in a 1920s Portland Cement catalog as an English Cottage style. A steeply sloping parapet with asphalt shingles was added at the roofline. On the interior, Tandy altered some partitions to create better flow between rooms. Tandy also brought the interior up to code by removing the wooden stair and replacing it with the fireproof stair that is in the building today.

As it survives today, the building is almost completely intact to Tandy's redesign. It is four stories tall and three bays wide. The facade has an irregular, roughly troweled, stucco finish, known as an English Cottage finish. It is painted rust-brown on the first (formerly basement) story and light brown on the second through fourth stories. The front entrance is located just below ground level, on the left side of the building, set back into the façade. The door is a non-historic, metal replacement door with two glass panels in the upper section, which is reached by a small flight of stairs. To the right of the entrance are two windows protected by metal grills. The windows and door on the first story are surrounded on three sides by smooth, heavy, angular, cement moldings that are painted white.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The building at 164 West 130th Street, constructed as part of the same row, is believed to match the original design of 170.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Portland Cement Association, *Portland Cement Stucco Surfacing*, c.1927, 15.

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The second and third floors each have three rectangular window openings. The second-story windows (which were originally the windows to the parlor floor) are taller than the windows on the other stories and consist of one-over-one sash surmounted by transoms (which appear to be a feature of the original design). Each of the second story openings has a small iron balcony. The fourth story is separated from the lower floors by a stringcourse, which serves as a sill for the fourth story windows. All of the windows have one-over-one sash, like the originals; however, all sash have been replaced with aluminum. The building is terminated by a corbeled frieze, above which is a parapet with asphalt shingles set between two piers. The utilitarian brick rear façade is articulated by simple rectangular windows and a basement level door.

With the exception of the replacement front door and windows and the addition of a fence in front, the facade retains its integrity, closely resembling Vertner Tandy's 1928 design. This is the way it looked in 1963, when it served as the National Headquarters for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Thus the exterior retains integrity to its most important period.

#### Interior

The interior of the building has had three different uses. It was built in 1884 as a single-family residence. In 1928 it was converted for institutional use. It was during its period of institutional use that it was used as the headquarters for planning the March on Washington. In 1974, the building was converted into four apartments. No historic photographs of the interior have been uncovered, but the original drawings and drawings for the 1928 alteration are extant. It is clear from a careful visual analysis of the interiors and from evidence on the drawings that the building retains much of its spatial integrity and many details from its original residential use, its era as an institutional structure, and as the headquarters for planning the March on Washington.

The building was originally a traditional row house with its main entrance on the first floor, reached by a stoop and a secondary entrance to the basement, which would have been located beneath the stoop. The entrance hall and stair were located along the eastern wall of the building. There were two major rooms on each floor. At the basement, the two rooms (a front family room and a rear kitchen) were separated by what appear to have been closets or related storage facilities. On the first story, doors separated the front parlor and dining room. On the second story, dressing rooms separated the L-shaped front and rectangular rear bedrooms and there was a bathroom at the rear along the east side. The third story was divided into two large rooms and two small rooms. Much of the original plan is still evident, with a stair rising on the east side of the building and room divisions evident on each floor.

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In 1928, the building was converted for institutional use by the Utopia Children's House, with two apartments on the top floor. As part of this alteration the original exterior stoop was removed. The former basement entrance became the main entrance to the building. On the interior, the 1928 alteration entailed the removal of the wood stair and its replacement by the fireproof cast-iron, wrought-iron, and stone stair still extant. This stair was installed by the West Farms Iron Works of the Bronx. The tile walls in the hall on the lower floor may also date from 1928. At the basement level (now first floor), the storage area between the two rooms was removed, but otherwise the original plan was largely untouched. The front room at this level became a dining room, still retaining an ornate wooden mantel, and the rear retained its historic use as a kitchen. The plans of the first and second floors remained largely as originally designed, with new uses on the first story (the front room was now a reception room and the rear a reading room) and upgrades to the utilities. The upper floors continued to be used as bedrooms, at least temporarily. Room uses changed as organizations used the building in different ways. This was the character of the building when it was the headquarters for the March on Washington.

In 1974, the building became the property of New York City and was converted into a small city-owned apartment house, with four apartments (one per floor). Earlier bathrooms and kitchens were removed and newer facilities added, but the general arrangement of spaces was partially retained and the earlier layouts are evident. The 1928 stair is extant. The basement is still two large rooms and, as noted, the front room retains an original mantelpiece. The first floor apartment is still clearly divided into a front and rear room. A pressed-metal ceiling in the front room appears to date from the nineteenth or early twentieth century. The second floor is also basically two large rooms, although the dressing rooms that had been located in the center of the floor have been removed. Original 1880s moldings are extant around portals, but some of this woodwork may have been relocated from the dressing room entrances. Partitions appear to have been removed on the third floor to create larger living spaces. Thus the interior also retains its basic character from the period when it served as headquarters for the March on Washington.

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#### **Summary**

The building at 170 West 130th Street is significant under criterion A for its important associations with the social and political history of Harlem and the nation, most notably for its association with the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963. For much of its history, the rowhouse was home to various organizations attempting to better the lives of African Americans. The building was originally constructed in 1884 as a single-family residence; however, its long social history began in the 1920s, when it was converted into a home for troubled African-American girls. A few years later, it became the Utopia Children's House, a day care center, having been purchased by a group of African American women who sought to provide a safe environment off the streets for the neighborhood's children. One of the children served by the Utopia Children's House was noted African American artist Jacob Armstead Lawrence, who received his earliest artistic education here. The building is most significant for its association with the theme of African American civil rights during the summer of 1963, when it served as the National Headquarters for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, which took place on August 28, 1963. This epic event, which brought out more than a quarter million, primarily African American, citizens from all walks of life, was the largest civil rights demonstration to date. The march, which focused on goals such as economic inequality and equal access to public accommodations, housing, education and jobs, was supported by a collaboration of major civil rights organizations, labor and religious leaders, including A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Martin Luther King Jr., of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Whitney Young of the National Urban League, James Farmer of the Congress on Racial Equality, John Lewis of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers, and Joachim Prinz of the American Jewish Congress. Although many politicians feared that the large gathering would lead to violence and thus set back the cause of Civil Rights, the day was entirely peaceful and was remembered for the massive gathering of a plaintive people asking for the basic rights of citizenship, as well as for Martin Luther King Jr.'s most famous and inspirational speech, "I have a dream," which culminated the assembly. The march inspired citizens across the country and is credited with helping to spur passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Among the reasons for its success was the meticulous planning of its organizers, who began gathering at the Harlem headquarters several months prior to the march. The idea for the march was credited to A. Philip Randolph, who had been contemplating a march since the 1940s and who served as its director. However, the organizational genius behind it was Bayard Rustin, a gay pacifist, civil rights activist, and a genius planner of non-violent protests who worked out of the Harlem rowhouse for months on nearly every one of the complicated details that made the march a success. The work of Rustin and others in this building proved crucial to the success of the march.

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Rustin trained marshals in techniques of crowd control using non-violent methods, arranged for the sound system, coordinated a large staff of activists and organizers to publicize the event and recruit marchers, organized churches to raise money, chartered busses and trains, planned first aid stations, calculated the number of port-a-potties needed, arranged for volunteers to make and sell box lunches, and figured out the logistics of providing water fountains and water storage trucks. Eleanor Holmes Norton, an SNCC activist, called Rustin the "quintessential organizer and strategist," saying that she "did not believe that there was another person involved in the movement who could have organized that march." Despite Rustin's essential role planning every facet of the march, he was asked to remain behind the scenes because other civil rights leaders feared repercussions from his past communist associations and his acknowledged homosexuality. Other movement leaders who worked with Rustin at the building on West 130th Street included Randolph, Cleveland Robinson, Anna Arnold Hedgeman, and Roy Wilkins. Although it lasted only a few months, the organizational activity that took place on West 130th Street was intrinsically linked to the history and significance of the march itself.

The building is also significant under criterion C for its 1928 redesign by Vertner Tandy, the first African American architect registered in New York State. The redesign, which was characterized by removal of the exterior Queen Anne style decoration, the application of a uniform stucco façade coating, and the relocation of the main entrance to the ground floor, reflects a popular period typology in New York City, where many nineteenth-century rowhouses were redesigned in this "modern" form in the early twentieth century. The West 130<sup>th</sup> Street building is the only known example of this idiom in Harlem and it is also a rare surviving example of Tandy's work. The exterior of the building maintains a high degree of integrity to the 1928 remodeling and to its appearance in 1963, when it was the National Headquarters for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Its interior retains its basic plan and division into spaces with very few alterations.

### Foulst History

#### **Early History**

Construction and Early Inhabitants (1884-1920)

For most of New York City's early history, Harlem remained undeveloped farmland. It was not until the 1880s that the extension of elevated rail lines prompted major real estate development in Harlem. The resulting architecture was primarily speculative row houses, erected by builders seeking to attract middle and upper-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/oral-history-march-washington-180953863/#OhR1xtxZPOeGRHMz.99;

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middle class buyers.<sup>2</sup> The building at 170 West 130<sup>th</sup> Street was part of this early wave of development. On May 28, 1884, the builder and architect William J. Merritt purchased the property at 170 West 130<sup>th</sup> Street, in addition to two adjacent lots, from Francis M. Jencks.<sup>3</sup> Known largely for his work on Manhattan's Upper West Side, William J. Merritt subdivided the lots into four plots and began construction on a row of four houses in 1884. The houses were completed in March of 1885. The house at 170 West 130<sup>th</sup> Street was originally designed in the Queen Anne style. It appears to have been identical to the design of the row house at 164 West 130<sup>th</sup> Street, which exists largely unaltered today.<sup>4</sup>

On July 10, 1884, Michael Wooley purchased the house from William J. Merritt and his wife, Armitha. The 1900 census shows Wooley residing at 170 West 130<sup>th</sup> Street and employed at Washington Market, the largest produce exchange in North America.<sup>5</sup> At the time, he lived in the house with what appears to have been three boarders and a servant. All of the boarders were white, working class, and born in the United States.<sup>6</sup>

Michael Wooley owned the house for thirty-five years. During this time Harlem underwent an immense transformation, from a white neighborhood to a predominately black neighborhood. This was due in part to the proposed addition of a subway route to Harlem in the late 1890s, which led to over speculation in the real estate market. Inadequate demand and low real estate prices encouraged white owners to lease and rent property to African Americans. This, coupled with the displacement of African Americans due to the redevelopment of Pennsylvania Station and other projects in the Tenderloin District, an area in Midtown Manhattan, and later black immigration from the Caribbean and the American South, transformed Harlem into a predominately black neighborhood. By 1925 most of the city's 250,000 black residents were living in Harlem.<sup>7</sup>

The transformation of the neighborhood is reflected in the change in occupancy of 170 West 130<sup>th</sup> Street. In 1920, Michael Wooley sold the house to Katherine B. Davis. A social advocate, Katherine B. Davis helped to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Andrew Dolkart and Gretchen Sorin, *Touring Historic Harlem: Four in Northern Manhattan* (New York: New York Landmarks Conservancy, 1999), 7-11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> New York City Department of Finance, Conveyance Records, block 1914, lots 58-60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> New York City Department of Buildings, New Building Permit #695-1884; New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, "Central Harlem – West 130th-132nd Streets Historic District," designation report (2018), 101.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> "Markets," New York Food Museum, accessed January 19, 2015, http://www.nyfoodmuseum.org/market.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> United States Census, 1900, Enumeration District 872, Sheet No. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, "St. Philip's Protestant Episcopal Church," designation report (1993), 2; Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto: Negro New York*, *1890-1930* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 92-93; Dolkart and Gretchen Sorin, 11-13.

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establish the Sojourner Truth House, a temporary home for troubled African American girls. The Sojourner Truth House was the first of many nonprofits that would come to occupy 170 West 130<sup>th</sup> Street.

#### Nonprofit Use

The Sojourner Truth House (1920-1924)

Founded in October 1915, the Sojourner Truth House was established as a temporary home for "delinquent colored girls." The charity, which had been years in the making, was an attempt to fulfill the need for temporary housing for African American girls who appeared before the Children's Court.

The 1914 New York Conference of Charities and Correction, established that, in 1910, 1,719 girls were brought before the Children's Court of Manhattan and The Bronx. Of these, ninety-three were "colored girls," many of whom, through no fault of their own, were charged with improper guardianship. At the conference, Mrs. Albert S. Reed, a member of the executive board of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, explained a major deficiency in the corrections process. The homes for delinquent white girls object to taking colored girls because they do not believe in mixing white and colored girls, for in their blind prejudice they believe that even a delinquent white person is better than any colored person. As a result, girls of color were only welcome at three New York institutions, including the New York State Training School for Girls, where only the most hardened cases were generally sent.

The establishment of the Sojourner Truth House was an attempt to fulfill this very important need. Its first contribution came in the form of \$1,068, which was raised by the Utopia Neighborhood Club, an organization made up of African American working women. The home, which appears to have initially opened at 15 West 131st Street, had enough room to accommodate fourteen girls. In 1920, the organization joined forces with the Katy Ferguson House, which specialized in providing shelter to young pregnant and unmarried mothers. The two charities were run by a joint board, which was headed by Dr. Katherine B. Davis. 13

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races, September, 1915, 217.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> New York Conference of Charities and Corrections, *Proceedings*, Vol. 5, 1914, 185.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> New York Conference, *Proceedings*, 190-191.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> New York Conference, *Proceedings*, 191.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Directory of Social and Health Agencies of New York City, Volume 28, 300.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> "Refuge Homes for Colored Girls Have Formal Openings," *New York Times*, October 16, 1920, 5; "How the Katy Ferguson Home for Girls Started," *New York Amsterdam News*, December 10, 1949, 38.

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Dr. Katherine Bement Davis was a prison reform advocate and a social pioneer. Davis was born in Buffalo, New York, in 1860. She attended Vassar College and, in 1894, she became involved in a settlement house operation in Philadelphia. The settlement house operation was a multi-city program established by a group of women's colleges in the northeast that enabled students to gain postgraduate training in social work. The College Settlement in Philadelphia that Davis was involved in served a district of poor blacks and Russian immigrants. While in Philadelphia, Katherine Davis joined forces with Susan Parrish Wharton to conduct a landmark study of blacks in urban America. One of the researchers in the study was W.E.B. Du Bois. Several years later, upon Du Bois's publication of *The Black Philadelphia Negro*, Davis praised his work and denounced "the prejudice of whites' and their denial of job and housing opportunities to blacks." <sup>15</sup>

In 1901, Katherine Davis became the first superintendent of the New York State Reformatory for Women at Bedford Hills. <sup>16</sup> Through her work there, she became known as a strong advocate for prison reform. <sup>17</sup> In 1914, she became the first woman to be appointed to head a New York City agency when she was appointed to head the Correction Commission. Her appointment was "a breathtaking development in the midst of the suffrage struggle then taking place." <sup>18</sup> In office, she advocated the benefits of teaching female inmates trades to help them become industrious members of society, as opposed to the tradition of prolonged confinement. <sup>19</sup>

Some of her most controversial work was done while she was head of the Bureau of Social Hygiene, a position she was appointed to in 1918. It was during this time that she conducted revolutionary research on women's sexuality, culminating in the 1929 publication of *Factors in the Sex Life of Twenty-Two Hundred Women*.<sup>20</sup> Her research established that homoerotic and autoerotic experiences were common among "normal women."<sup>21</sup> Her

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> "Davis, Katherine Bement (1860-1935)," in *The Crystal Reference Encyclopedia* (West Chiltington: Crystal Semantics, 2005).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Thomas C. McCarthy, *New York City's Suffragist Commissioner: Correction's Katherine Bement Davis*, New York City Department of Corrections, 1997.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Jason Sample, "Katherine Bement Davis – Bicentennial Biography No. 195," McClurg Mansion and Museum, October 7, 2011, http://mcclurgmuseum.org/blog/2011/10/07/katherine-bement-davis-bicentennial-biography-no-195/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> "To Make Punishment Fit the Criminal, Not the Crime," New York Times, September 1, 1912, sec. 5, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Thomas C. McCarthy, New York City's Suffragist Commissioner: Correction's Katherine Bement Davis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> "First Woman In That Office," Boston Daily Globe, Jan 11, 1914, 144.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Bonnie Zimmerman, ed., Lesbian Histories and Cultures: An Encyclopedia, vol. 1 (New York: Routledge, 1999), 226.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Jennifer Terry, An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1999), 134.

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research was so radical for the time that upon publication she was cut off from funding and forced into an early retirement.<sup>22</sup>

In 1920, Katherine Davis purchased the property at 170 West 130 Street, before immediately transferring it to the Katy Ferguson-Sojourner Truth Board.<sup>23</sup> The new home of the Sojourner Truth House provided temporary care for up to twenty girls, ages 8-16, who were coming from probation officers of the Children's Court and other social workers.<sup>24</sup> The organization operated out of 170 West 130<sup>th</sup> Street for four years until the property was sold to the Utopia Neighborhood Club in 1924.

#### The Utopia Neighborhood Club and the Beginnings of the Utopia Children's House

The Utopia Neighborhood Club was established in 1911 by Mrs. Daisy C. Reid to improve delinquency rates among black children in New York.<sup>25</sup> The organization was made up of African American women and had an active membership of seventy-five.<sup>26</sup> The organization was closely involved in the establishment of the Sojourner Truth House and continued to aid the charity until 1918, when it opened a Child Welfare and Recreation Center in Harlem. With additional funds from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Utopia Neighborhood Club purchased the house at 170 West 130<sup>th</sup> Street from the Katy Ferguson-Sojourner Truth Board Inc. on June 25, 1924 with the intent of establishing the Utopia Children's House, a day care center.<sup>27</sup> An article from the *New York Amsterdam News* from March 7, 1953 claims that this was the first building to be purchased by any group of "negro women."<sup>28</sup>

#### 1920s Redesign by Vertner Tandy

Prior to opening its doors as the Utopia Neighborhood House, the building at 170 West 130<sup>th</sup> Street underwent extensive renovations. The new design was the work of Vertner Woodson Tandy. Vertner Tandy was born in Lexington, Kentucky, in 1885. He began his education in architecture in 1904 at the Tuskegee Institute. One year later, he transferred to Cornell University's School of Architecture, where he graduated in 1908. Upon

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Zimmerman, Lesbian Histories, 226.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> New York City Department of Finance, Conveyance Records, Block 1914, Lot 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> "Refuge Homes for Colored Girls Have Formal Openings," *New York Times*, October 16, 1920, 5; New York Urban League, *Annual Report*, 1921, 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> "Utopia to Carry Style-Conscious Females Back Through Years," New York Amsterdam News, Mar 7, 1953, 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> "Utopia Neighborhood Club Makes its Annual Report," Afro-American, Jun 28, 1913, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> New York City Department of Finance; "Utopia to Carry Style-Conscious Females," 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> "Utopia to Carry Style-Conscious Females," 22.

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graduation, he became the first African American to become a registered architect in New York State.<sup>29</sup> His significant works include St. Philip's Protestant Episcopal Church at 214 East 134th Street, designed for the oldest African American Episcopal congregation in New York City; the Ivey Delph Apartments, 19 Hamilton Terrace (National Register listed in the Hamilton Heights Historic District); Villa Lewaro in Irvington, New York, home of Madam C.J. Walker, the cosmetics entrepreneur who was the first black woman millionaire in America (National Historic Landmark); and Club Small's Paradise at 2294 Seventh Avenue in Harlem (demolished).<sup>30</sup>

The exterior renovations at 170 West 130<sup>th</sup> Street included the removal of the stoop and the creation of a primary entrance at the basement level; the addition of balconies on what was previously the first story; and the removal of the oriel window, the cornice, and the pressed-metal pediment. The building was surfaced in stucco in a highly textured pattern referred to in a 1920s Portland Cement catalog as an English Cottage style.<sup>31</sup> A steeply sloping parapet with asphalt shingles was added at the roofline. The renovation brought the exterior of the building very close to its current appearance.

Extensive remodeling of row houses was common in New York in the second and third decade of the twentieth century.<sup>32</sup> Existing row houses were seen as outdated and it became popular to redesign them. Elements such as stoops, cornices, and projecting ornament were often removed and the facades were frequently stuccoed.<sup>33</sup> Such redesigns were extremely popular in downtown neighborhoods, such as Greenwich Village, Gramercy Park, East Midtown, and the East 60s east of Park Avenue. It is not clear exactly who hired Tandy to complete the renovations on the building or why; however, this is the only known example of a row house redesigned in this manner in Harlem. On the interior, Tandy altered some partitions to create a better flow between rooms and make it more efficient for institutional use. Tandy also brought the interior up to code by removing the wooden stair and replacing it with a fireproof stair manufactured by a Bronx firm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Victor Okocha, "Tandy, Vertner Woodson (1885-1949)," The Black Past, accessed March 02, 2015, http://www.blackpast.org/aah/tandy-vertner-woodson-1885-1949.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Will Haygood, *Sweet Thunder: The Life and Times of Sugar Ray Robinson* (New York: Alred A. Knopf, 2009), 127, https://books.google.com/books?id=Q\_nfLUMzlM0C&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\_ge\_summary\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Portland Cement Association, Portland Cement Stucco Surfacing, c.1927, 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Andrew Dolkart, *The Row House Reborn: Architecture and Neighborhoods in New York City, 1909-1929* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Dolkart, The Row House Reborn, 3.

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#### Utopia Children's House (1928-1954)

The house opened its doors at 170 West 130<sup>th</sup> Street in 1928.<sup>34</sup> In addition to financial help from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Utopia Children's House received money from the Children's Aid Society, which it partnered with in 1928.<sup>35</sup> The Utopia Children's House drew children from as far south as 112<sup>th</sup> street and as far north as 146<sup>th</sup> street. In addition to providing childcare, the organization provided free health care, which was administered by a nurse, dentists and dental hygienists. Another neighborhood resource was the Mother's Club, which organized lectures for parents on proper dietary and sanitation habits.<sup>36</sup>

By 1933, the Utopia Children's House was serving between 250 and 300 Harlem children a day.<sup>37</sup> One of these early students was Jacob Armstead Lawrence (1917-2000), an artist who became famous for portraying African American neighborhoods and African American historical narratives on multi-paneled works, most notably on the sixty panels of the Migration Series, painted in 1940-41.<sup>38</sup> In 1930, at the age of thirteen, Lawrence studied arts and crafts under the African American artist and educator Charles Alston.<sup>39</sup> Alston was an important figure in the Harlem Renaissance and sought to empower African Americans through cultural enrichment and artistic growth.<sup>40</sup> At the Utopia Children's House, Alston introduced Lawrence to soap carving, metalwork, woodwork, and painting, thereby developing his interest in art.<sup>41</sup>

In 1944, the Utopia House underwent an interior renovation and reopened to provide the first all day daycare center in Harlem for school-aged boys and girls. The Utopia Children's House operated with the assistance of the Utopia Neighborhood Club, the New York Branch of the National Association of College Women, the Play Schools Association, and the Mayor's Committee on the Wartime Care of Children.<sup>42</sup> In addition to its recreational programs, the center provided the children with meals as well as educational and health programs. Two-thirds of the operational funding came from the Mayor's Committee on the Wartime Care of Children.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life, National Urban League, Vol. 10-11, 1932.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Jamie Wilson, *Building a Healthy Black Harlem: Health Politics in Harlem, New York, From the Jazz Age to the Great Depression* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2009), 92-93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Wilson, Building a Healthy Black Harlem, 92-93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> "Daisy C. Reed Quits 2 Jobs," The New York Amsterdam News, Dec 6, 1933, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Aberjhani and Sandra L. West, *Encyclopedia of the Harlem Renaissance* (New York: Checkmark Books, 2003), 194.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> "Timeline," The Jacob and Gwen Knight Lawrence Virtual Resource Center, 2001, Jan 19, 2015, <a href="http://www.jacobandgwenlawrence.org/artandlife02.html">http://www.jacobandgwenlawrence.org/artandlife02.html</a>.

<sup>40 &</sup>quot;Charles Henry Alston," The Johnson Collection, Jan 9, 2015, http://thejohnsoncollection.org/charles-henry-alston/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Patricia Hills, Painting Harlem Modern: The Art of Jacob Lawrence, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 11-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> "Harlem Gains a New Center," New York Amsterdam News, Jan 29, 1944, 6A.

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while the final third came from fees that were based on a parent's ability to pay. <sup>43</sup> In 1954, the organization outgrew the building and Utopia House moved to the newly erected St. Nicholas Housing Project, where it became known as The Utopia Day Care Center. <sup>44</sup>

After the day care moved, the Utopia Neighborhood Club continued to own the building at 170 West 130<sup>th</sup> Street and the space was rented to various social organizations, including the Harriet Tubman Clinic for Children, House of Friendship Community Center, the Harlem Cultural Council, and the New York Urban League Neighborhood Youth League. By the 1960s, the building's last occupant was apparently the House of Friendship Community Center, which was the nonprofit organization associated with the Reverend Thomas Kilgore's Friendship Baptist Church. In the summer of 1963, the organizers of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom rented space in the building from the Utopia Neighborhood Club to serve as the national headquarters for the March on Washington. After the Tandy renovation, only small changes had been made to the building by its various social service tenants. Some walls on the first floor had been removed but the top two floors remained as Tandy left them. This was the condition of the building when it was rented by March on Washington organizers in the summer of 1963.

#### Context for the March on Washington

The planning of a massive economic and civil rights march on Washington D.C. had been years in the making. In 1941, A. Philip Randolph, a prominent civil rights and labor leader who was founder and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a labor union organized by African Americans, decided to plan a mass protest called the Negro March on Washington, in the hopes of ending racial discrimination in the military and defense industry. The threat of a massive civil rights protest led the Roosevelt administration to issue Executive Order 8802, which restricted racial discrimination, in return for cancellation of the march.<sup>45</sup>

The idea for a new march on Washington several decades later emerged out of a discussion between A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin in the winter of 1962 about how to commemorate the upcoming centenary of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> The New York Age, Jan 29, 1944, 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> "Utopia Club Marks Forty-Seventh Year," New York Amsterdam News, Feb 22, 1958, 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Lucy Barber, *Marching on Washington: The Forging of an American Tradition*, California Scholarship Online: March 2012, 109-110.

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Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. They felt that a march would bring national attention to unfulfilled promises of social and economic equality. <sup>46</sup> Bayard Rustin was tasked with organizing it.

#### **Bayard Rustin**

Bayard Rustin was born in 1912 in West Chester, Pennsylvania. He was raised by his Quaker grandparents, Julia and Janifer Rustin. Their religious beliefs and teachings had a profound influence in shaping his notions on civil rights and nonviolent social protest. In 1937, he moved to New York City, where he would largely remain for the rest of his life.<sup>47</sup> In 1938, he joined the Young Communist League (YCL), while he was a student at City College of New York. He was drawn to the Communist Party because of its peaceful stance against the U.S. intervention in World War II and its support of civil rights.<sup>48</sup> In 1941, Rustin met A. Philip Randolph when the former entered the offices of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in search of work. A few months later, Rustin broke ties with the Communist Party when it terminated the Committee Against Discrimination to focus on the war. At the request of Randolph, Rustin joined the planning committee for the first March on Washington for Negro Americans. He was extremely disappointed when Randolph decided to call off the march.<sup>49</sup>

Later that year, Rustin became the youth secretary for the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), the leading pacifist organization in America. <sup>50</sup> In 1943, his refusal to adhere to the Selective Service Act resulted in a three-year prison sentence. Upon his release in 1947, he became involved in the Journey of Reconciliation, a series of interracial "freedom rides" through the upper south. His work with the FOR led to his international recognition as a pacifist. On January 21, 1953, during a lecture trip to California, Rustin was arrested and charged with lewd vagrancy for engaging in sexual activity with two men. While Rustin had always been open about his homosexuality, his arrest made it public knowledge and he was forced to resign from the FOR. <sup>51</sup>

Rustin continued to remain active and played a pivotal role in the Civil Rights movement, but his sexuality and past membership in the Communist Party made him a liability to most groups and meant that he did most of his work from the sideline, frequently unacknowledged. Randolph, however, remained a solid ally. Later that year,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Jervis Anderson, Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen, (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1997), 239.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Bayard Rustin's Apartment at Penn South in Manhattan has been listed on the National Register for its association with his life and work.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Bayard Rustin, Time on Two Crosses: The Collected Writings of Bayard Rustin, Cleis Press, 2003, XIII

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Rustin, Time on Two Crosses, XV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Rustin, Time on Two Crosses, XV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> John D'Emilio, Lost Prophet: the Life and Times of Bayard Rustin (New York: Free Press, 2003), 191-193.

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looking to involve black northerners in the struggle for civil rights in the south, Randolph chose to dispatch Rustin as an emissary to meet with southern leaders, including Martin Luther King Jr. Rustin's arrival in Montgomery and his meetings with King played a pivotal role in shaping King's views on nonviolence. <sup>52</sup> In 1956, Rustin cofounded the organization "In Friendship" to rally northern support behind the southern bus boycotts, which sought to end racial segregation on public transit. The founders of In Friendship also provided working papers that served as the basis for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), launched in part by King, to "redeem the soul of America" through nonviolent direct action. <sup>53</sup>

#### Organizing the March

In January of 1963, after turning his attention to the proposed March on Washington, Rustin presented Randolph with a proposal for two days of nonviolent direct action that would conclude with a rally at the Lincoln Memorial, where their demands would be presented to the nation.<sup>54</sup> With the approval of the Negro American Labor Council, Rustin and Randolph turned their attention to building a coalition. The leaders of the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) immediately agreed to participate; however, Dr. King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) were harder to convince. King was considering his own march on Washington that would be planned below the Mason-Dixon line, as opposed to in New York, and one where civil rights rather than economic issues would be the chief concern. To accommodate King's concerns and ensure his participation, Randolph renamed the event a March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.<sup>55</sup> Together, they recruited other key participants including the National Urban League and the NAACP. The participation of the NAACP and the National Urban League had a significant impact on the march, as both organizations made their participation conditional on the cancelation of any plans for civil disobedience.<sup>56</sup>

On June 22, 1963, President Kennedy invited the entire march leadership, which consisted of A. Philip Randolph, Martin Luther King Jr., Roy Wilkins, John Lewis, James Farmer, and Whitney M. Young to a conference at the White House, which resulted in the president's endorsement. One of the significant discussions about the march occurred on July 2, when Bayard Rustin's role as de facto chief organizer of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Rustin, Time on Two Crosses, XXI-XXII.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Rustin, Time on Two Crosses, XXIV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 240.

<sup>55</sup> Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 240.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 241.

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march was discussed. Wilkins objected to Rustin taking on such a public role given his communist past, his time in prison as a conscientious objector, and his sexual orientation, fearing that it would be used as ammunition against the march. A compromise was reached, in which Randolph would be named director of the march and could then appoint his own deputy—Bayard Rustin.<sup>57</sup> Thus, despite forfeiting the title, Rustin nevertheless became the chief organizer of the march.

With only fifty-seven days left until the scheduled date for the march, Rustin was tasked with mobilizing at least 100,000 people. By mid-July, Rustin and a combination of staff and volunteers had a fully functioning headquarters at 170 West 130<sup>th</sup> Street.<sup>58</sup> The space was rented from the Reverend Thomas Kilgore's Friendship Baptist Church for two months at a rate of \$350 a month. It seems likely that the organizers were using space previously occupied by the House of Friendship Community Center, which was the nonprofit organization associated with the Friendship Baptist Church. Money was budgeted for a caretaker, a night watchman, and office materials and supplies, which included tables, typewriters, lamps, and furnishings.<sup>59</sup>

The building on 130<sup>th</sup> Street became an advertisement for the organizers' cause. A massive banner was hung between the second and third stories that stated "NATIONAL HEADQUARERS: MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM: WED., AUG. 28<sup>TH</sup>". <sup>60</sup> While a sign directed people to the march's offices on the second floor, it appears that organizers used at least the first and second floors of the building. Rustin had his own office in a small room just off the hallway on the first floor. <sup>61</sup> From the headquarters, Rustin was involved in planning the route of the march, participating in news conferences, and overseeing transportation and fundraising. <sup>62</sup>

In addition to Bayard Rustin, there were seven salaried individuals, including Carl Maynard, a bookkeeper; Pat Morris, a receptionist; Peter Graham, a mailman; Tom Kahn, Bayard Rustin's assistant; Sandy Leigh, a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 247-248.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 249.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Image of "March Budget" on "Planning the March," National Museum of American History, accessed October 21, 2019, https://americanhistory.si.edu/changing-america-emancipation-proclamation-1863-and-march-washington-1963/1963/planning-march. <sup>60</sup> Orlando Fernandez, *Cleveland Robinson, Full-length Portrait, Facing Front, Standing on Second Floor Balcony of the National Headquarters of the March on Washington in Harlem, with His Arm Lifted up toward Banner Announcing the March*, 1963, *Library of Congress*, Web, 20 Jan. 2015, <a href="http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/97519573/">http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/97519573/</a>>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> It is not clear which room on the first floor of the building Rustin may have occupied; "Part 2: Into the Day," in Charles Euchner, *Nobody Turn Me Around: A People's History of the 1963 March on Washington* (Boston: Beacon Press), Kindle edition. <sup>62</sup> Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 249.

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stenographer; Evelyn Fosu, a typist; and Ted Brown, who worked out of the D.C. offices.<sup>63</sup> The salaries of the staff ranged from \$33 to \$135 per week with employment ranging from four to ten weeks. From the beginning, they planned to cover the expenses of five volunteers.<sup>64</sup>

For the two-month period preceding the march, at least forty people were typically in the offices at 170 West 130<sup>th</sup> Street at a given time, and at times that number swelled to over 100. The headquarters were busy each day from ten in the morning until well after midnight. First hand accounts recall the noise of typewriters, phones, mimeograph machines, and, of course, the organizers, who were shouting up and down the stairs. <sup>65</sup> A copy of a draft budget provides insight into the scale and expenses associated with planning the event. A total of \$7,000 was allotted for telephone calls, \$6,000 for postage, \$10,000 for printing manuals etc., and \$7,000 for signs.

Rustin and his team kept three- and four-page lists of tasks, which included various people to call, press releases that needed to be written, and questions that needed to resolved. For any conceivable concern, a solution needed to be found. Rustin knew that the success of the march depended on nothing going wrong.<sup>67</sup> One example of the proactive nature of the planning was the signage. Concerned about the negative impact crude signs and slogans would have on the image of the march, organizers in the headquarters came up with lists of possible slogans. Rustin had the slogans edited and approved.<sup>68</sup> The approved slogans were preprinted on signs that were to be distributed at the Washington Monument.

Celebrities visited the headquarters to show their support. They included Ossie Davis, Bob Dylan, and John Lewis. <sup>69</sup> Other significant figures who appear in images taken at the National Headquarters include A. Philip Randolph, director of the march, Cleveland Robinson, chairman of the march, Anna Arnold Hedgeman, coordinator of special events for the Commission of Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches, and Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP and later Presidential Medal of Freedom recipient. At the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> The committee maintained a smaller office in Washington DC in the Statler Hilton Hotel [now the Capital Hilton]. This was used mostly for political operations and meetings of organizers when they were in the Washington area and it became more important in the week before the march, as most of the organizing committee stayed in that hotel immediately prior to the march.

<sup>64</sup> Image of "March Budget."

<sup>65 &</sup>quot;Part 2: Into the Day," in Euchner, Nobody Turn Me Around.

<sup>66</sup> Image of "March Budget."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> "Part 2: Into the Day" in Euchner, *Nobody Turn Me Around*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> "Congregation," in Euchner, Nobody Turn Me Around.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> "Part 2: Into the Day," in Euchner, Nobody Turn Me Around.

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end of every evening Rustin conveyed a staff meeting to which everyone was invited. The day's accomplishments were discussed. Norm Hill, an organizer, describes everyone living those couple of months as if every single day were their last.<sup>70</sup>

The official reasons and demands for the march were highlighted in the second and final organizing manual, written by Bayard Rustin.<sup>71</sup> The manual invited all Americans, regardless of race, to participate in the march that would "demand an end to the twin evils of racism and economic degradation" and help send a powerful message to all of Congress.<sup>72</sup> Their specific demands were:

- 1. Comprehensive and effective civil rights legislation from the present Congress—without compromise or filibuster—to guarantee all Americans access to all public accommodations, decent housing, adequate and integrated education and the right to vote.
- 2. Withholding of Federal funds from all programs in which discrimination exists.
- 3. Desegregation of all school districts in 1963.
- 4. Enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment–reducing Congressional representation of states where citizens are disfranchised.
- 5. A new Executive Order banning discrimination in all housing supported by federal funds.
- 6. Authority for the Attorney General to institute injunctive suits when any constitutional right is violated.
- 7. A massive federal program to train and place all unemployed workers–Negro and white–on meaningful and dignified jobs at decent wages.
- 8. A national minimum wage act that will give all Americans a decent standard of living.
- 9. A broadened Fair Labor Standards Act to include all areas of employment which are presently excluded.
- 10. A federal Fair Employment Practices Act barring discrimination by federal, state and municipal governments, and by employers, contractors, employment agencies, and trade unions.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> "Part 2: Into the Day," in Euchner, *Nobody Turn Me Around*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> "Final Plans for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom," *Organizing Manual No.* 2, 1963, Jan 19, 2015, http://rustin.org/wp-content/uploads/centennial/1963%20March%20on%20Washington%20Manual%202.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> "Final Plans for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom," 6.

<sup>73 &</sup>quot;Final Plans for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom."

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Excitement over the proposed march built quickly as projections on its attendance came to exceed 100,000; however, there were plenty of skeptics. <sup>74</sup> A writer for the *National Guardian* wrote, "How do you move [that] many people into a crowded, unfamiliar city–by rail, bus, plane, and private car–making certain that they arrive no earlier than 6 a.m. and no later than 10 a.m.? What do you do with them once they have arrived? How do you feed the hungry, refresh the thirsty, care for the sick, discipline the undisciplined?"<sup>75</sup> The answer lay in Rustin's scrupulous planning that accounted for all of these things. "We planned out precisely the number of toilets that would be needed for a quarter of a million people," Rustin recalled. "How many blankets we would need for the people who were coming in early… how many doctors, how many first aid stations, what people should bring with them to eat in their lunches." "We anticipated all problems." <sup>76</sup>

Despite the meticulous planning, not everything went smoothly. The \$16,000 state-of-the-art sound system, which Rustin had insisted on, was sabotaged the night before the march. The Army Signal Corps of Engineers spend the night dismantling and rebuilding it. <sup>77</sup> Other individuals who worked through the night were the 300 volunteers of the Church World Service. They showed up at Riverside Church in New York the night prior to the march to prepare 80,000 bag lunches. Each bagged lunch included a cheese sandwich, an apple, and a slice of pound cake. <sup>78</sup>

On the morning of August 28, 1963, more than two thousand buses, twenty-one special trains, ten chartered aircraft, and untold cars descended on Washington. While most protesters paid their own way, organizers set aside \$25,000 to enable the unemployed and poor to attend the march. Around noon the protesters carrying picket signs began the parade from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial. There were 250,000 marchers according to police estimates. It took approximately three hours for a quarter of a million people to walk the fourth-fifths of a mile. Many of the protesters carried signs, which featured such slogans as "There Is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> "Washington March is being Mapped in House in Harlem," *Chicago Daily Defender*, Aug 5, 1963, A9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 249.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> John D'Emilio, Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2004), 341.

<sup>77 &</sup>quot;Part 1: Night unto Dawn," in Euchner, Nobody Turn Me Around.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> "Planning the March on Washington," *Newsweek*, posted January 19, 2015, https://www.newsweek.com/planning-march-washington-300305.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> "The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom," *History and Timeline*, Nov 30, 2014, 6, http://www.crmvet.org/info/mow.pdf.

<sup>80</sup> Image of "March Budget."

<sup>81</sup> Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 259.

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No Halfway House on the Road to Freedom."<sup>82</sup> Another read "Equal Rights and Jobs NOW."<sup>83</sup> At times, the marchers moved silently, and at others they sang and chanted slogans.

The official Lincoln Memorial Program began with the National Anthem led by Camilla Williams and an invocation delivered by the Reverend Patrick O'Boyle, archbishop of Washington. A Philip Randolph, director of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, delivered the opening remarks. Program speakers included John Lewis, national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and Dr. King, who concluded the program with his "I have a dream" speech. After all the remarks were delivered, Bayard Rustin read the ten demands of the march organizers to the crowd. Rustin and Randolph ended by leading the crowd to pledge to "return home to carry on the revolution" and commit to the struggle for jobs and freedom for Americans.<sup>84</sup>

In addition to formal speakers, music was a significant component of the day. Singers included Mahalia Jackson singing "How I Got Over" and "I've Been 'Buked and I've Been Scorned"; Marian Anderson singing "He's Got The Whole World In His Hands"; Joan Baez leading the crowd in "We Shall Overcome"; Bob Dylan singing "The Times They Are A-Changin"; and Peter, Paul and Mary singing "Blowin' in the Wind."<sup>85</sup>

The formal programming associated with the event ended a little after 4 pm. Following the conclusion of the march, the speakers went to the White House to speak with President Kennedy and Vice President Lyndon Johnson to discuss the need of bipartisan civil rights legislation.<sup>86</sup> In the meantime, protesters began to leave by car, bus, and train. By six-thirty, the protesters had left the capital without any incident of violence.<sup>87</sup>

https://www.jfklibrary.org/learn/education/teachers/curricular-resources/elementary-school-curricular-resources/they-had-a-dream. <sup>87</sup> Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 262.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> "Planning the March on Washington," *Newsweek*, posted January 19, 2015. <a href="https://www.newsweek.com/planning-march-washington-300305">https://www.newsweek.com/planning-march-washington-300305</a>

<sup>83 &</sup>quot;The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, *History and Timeline*, Nov 30, 2014, 6. <a href="http://www.crmvet.org/info/mow.pdf">http://www.crmvet.org/info/mow.pdf</a>
84 "Official Program for the March on Washington," Our Documents, accessed October 26, 2019,
<a href="https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=96">https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=96</a>; "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom; Part 8 of 17," Open Vault, accessed October 26, 2019, <a href="https://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/A\_27BB06E300874F279030125D1216C8B5#at\_13.451\_s">https://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/A\_27BB06E300874F279030125D1216C8B5#at\_13.451\_s</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> "Dream Songs: The Music of the March on Washington," *The New Yorker*, accessed October 23, 2019, https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/dream-songs-the-music-of-the-march-on-washington.

<sup>86 &</sup>quot;They Had a Dream," John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, accessed October 23, 2019,

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#### National Headquarters, March on Washington New York County, New York

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First hand accounts from protesters highlight how momentous the event was for those who attended it. "The air was palpably full of hope, and of excitement" observed one participant. Of particular note to most of the attendees was the power of King's speech. Another participant recalled "When he started to speak, there was silence. Thousands and thousands of people, and not a word. And then when he finished, it was an uproar, a crescendo, and this joyous noise." For many, the event had a lasting impact on their lives. Robert Boyd was a New York City firefighter who was assigned to act as a guard at the Lincoln Memorial. "In retrospect, that speech and that one moment in time really changed my life, the direction of my life." Following the event he became president of the Flushing N.A.A.C.P. 88

By any measure, the March on Washington was a huge success. As the nation's largest political rally for human rights to date, the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom helped bring about monumental change. <sup>89</sup> It helped propel the federal government to pass major legislation on civil rights, beginning with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which outlawed discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, and followed by the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which prohibited racial discrimination in voting. <sup>90</sup> This was the most sweeping civil rights legislation that had been passed since Reconstruction and marked a turning point in the struggle for civil rights. <sup>91</sup> The march demonstrated to all Americans the power of mass nonviolent demonstrations. It is also almost universally remembered for Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I have a dream" speech, the "most influential speech of Dr. King's career." <sup>92</sup> Today, despite many subsequent, highly significant, marches, the 1963 March on Washington is frequently referred to as the Great March on Washington. Subsequent nonviolent marches that have fought for equal rights and access to opportunities regardless of race, gender, ethnicity, religion, age, sexual orientation, or disabilities have emulated the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. <sup>93</sup>

<sup>93</sup> "Legacy and Impact of the March," Smithsonian.

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<sup>88 &</sup>quot;Witnesses to History, 50 Years Later," New York Times, August 23, 2013,

http://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/interactive/2013/08/23/us/march-on-washington-anniversary-memories.html.

<sup>89 &</sup>quot;Official Program for the March on Washington (1963)," Our Documents, January 20, 2014,

http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=96#.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> "The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom," National Park Service, January 20, 2015, http://www.nps.gov/nama/mow-history.htm.

<sup>91 &</sup>quot;Civil Rights Act (1964)," Our Documents, Jan 19, 2015, http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> "Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the 'I Have a Dream Speech,'" National Archives, January 19, 2015, http://www.archives.gov/nyc/exhibit/mlk.html; "Legacy and Impact of the March," Smithsonian, Jan 19, 2015, http://americanhistory.si.edu/changing-america-emancipation-proclamation-1863-and-march-washington-1963/1963/legacy-and-impact.

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United States Department of the Interior National Park Service

National Headquarters, March on Washington New York County, New York

## National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

The success of the march can be largely credited to the staff and volunteers who worked in the offices of 170 West 130<sup>th</sup> Street in Harlem, New York, under the direction of Bayard Rustin. In a long life of many achievements, Rustin's work on the March on Washington may have been his greatest. He referred to the march as "the most exciting project I've ever worked on." Rustin brought to the march invaluable organizational skills and experience. Under his direction, "the movement peacefully coalesced for the first time ever, articulating its demands for economic empowerment and civil rights with one voice." The march was, according to Cleveland Robinson, "the biggest task of our lives, both for Rustin and myself, and my only comment on this is that I know that it left the Negro standing ten feet taller."

The building at West 130<sup>th</sup> street was occupied by organizers of the march for some months after the event.<sup>97</sup> While money was still coming in and bills were being settled, a small group of staff was maintained to help fight the anticipated filibuster on President Kennedy's civil rights program in Congress.<sup>98</sup>

In 1974, the Utopia Neighborhood Club sold the building. Four years later, in 1978, the property entered foreclosure and became the property of the City of New York. The interior spaces were remodeled into four apartments, one per floor. This primarily meant updating kitchens and bathrooms while preserving the basic two-room division of spaces on each floor.

The exterior of the building retains near pristine integrity from 1963 and the interior retains general integrity of plan and spatial divisions, as well as some finishes. The building at 130 West 130<sup>th</sup> Street well illustrates its important associations with American Civil Rights history.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Rustin, Time on Two Crosses, XXXI.

<sup>95</sup> Rustin, Time on Two Crosses, XXX.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> James Booker, "They are Still at Work on the 'March," New York Amsterdam News, Sep 7, 1963, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> The exact date organizers moved out is not yet known.

<sup>98</sup> Booker, "They are Still at Work on the 'March."

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**United States Department of the Interior National Park Service** 

National Headquarters, March on Washington New York County, New York

## **National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet**

#### Verbal Boundary Description

The boundary is indicated by a heavy line on the enclosed map with scale.

#### **Boundary Justification**

The boundary was drawn to include the original and current parcel associated with this building.

See	contin	uation	sheet

National Headquarters, March on Washington New York County, New York

## **National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet**

Section number historic Page 1

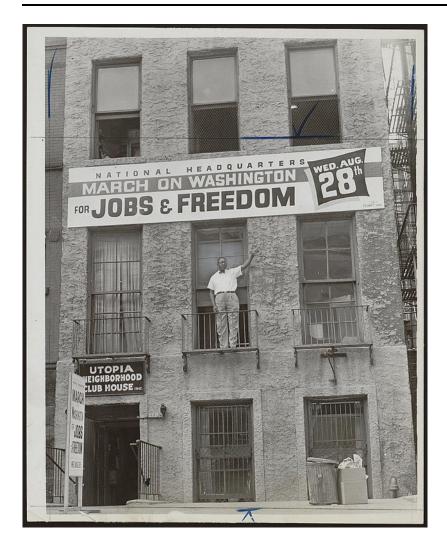


Bayard Rustin in front of HQ building, 1963

National Headquarters, March on Washington New York County, New York

## **National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet**

Section number historic Page 2

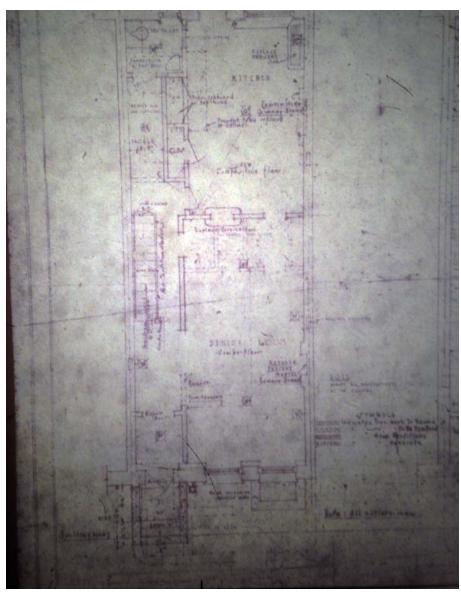


March on Washington HQ - 1963

National Headquarters, March on Washington New York County, New York

## **National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet**

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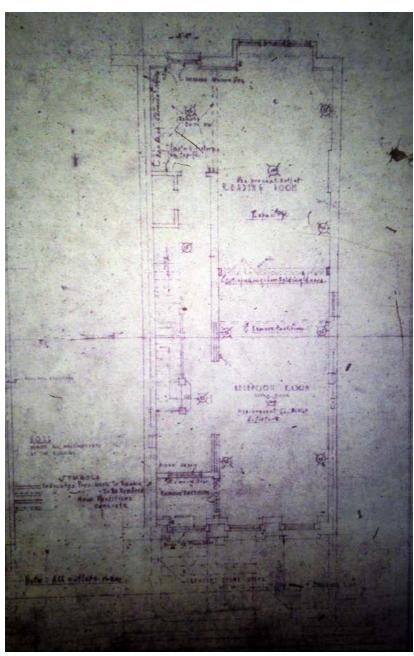


170 W. 130<sup>th</sup> St. – 1928 plan – basement

National Headquarters, March on Washington New York County, New York

# **National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet**

Section number historic Page 4



170 W. 130<sup>th</sup> St. 1928 plan – first floor

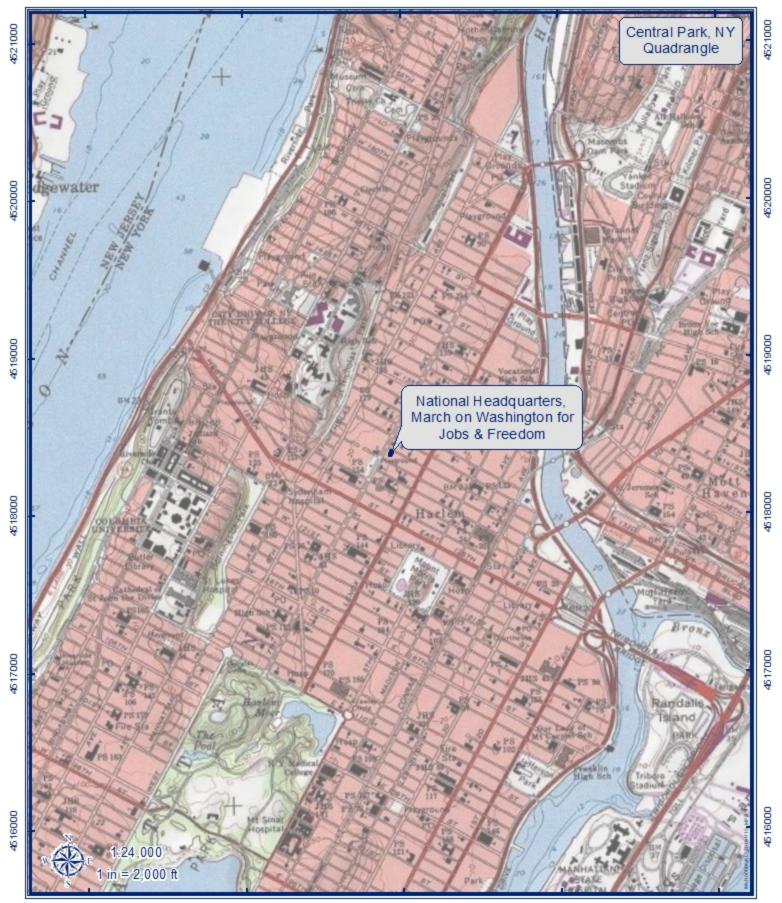


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National Headquarters, March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom



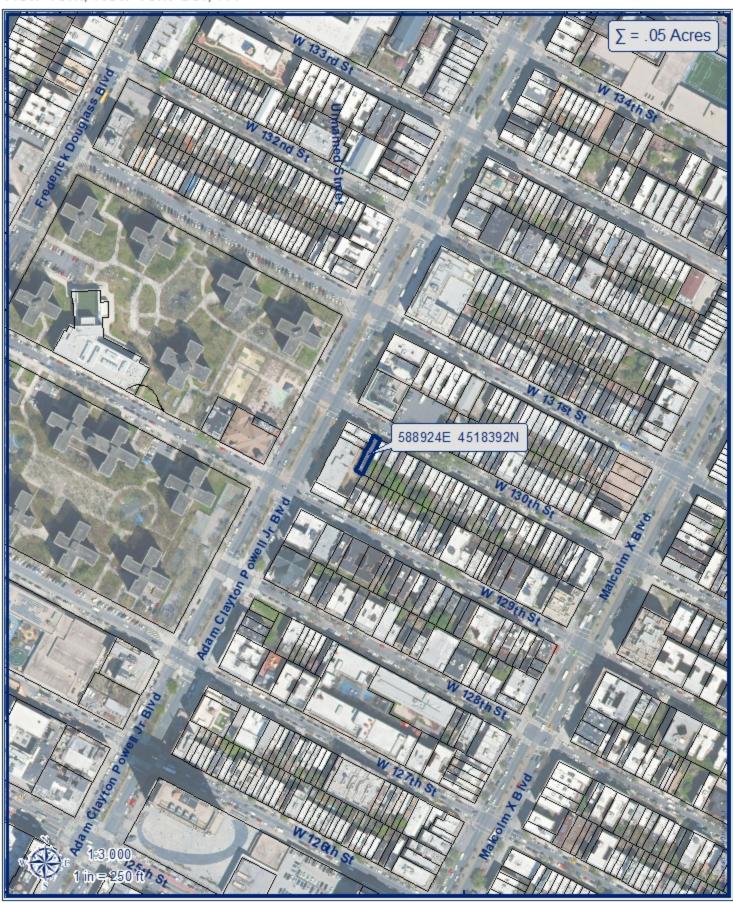
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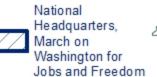
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National Headquarters, March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom











#### City of New York DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING PRESERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT 100 GOLD STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10038 nyc.gov/hpd

LOUISE CARROLL Commissioner

> Field Services Bureau Division for Historic Preservation State and National Registers of Historic Places Program NY State office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation Peebles Island, P.O. Box 189 Waterford, NY 12188

To whom it may concern,

I am pleased to express support on behalf of the New York City Department of Housing Preservation and Development, current owner of 170 W. 130<sup>th</sup> St. in Manhattan, for consideration and inclusion of this property in the State and National Registers of Historic Places. As the National Headquarters of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963, this building is significant in the history of New York City and the country.

This building is in HPD's Multifamily Preservation Loan Program (MPLP), and is tentatively scheduled to be transferred to Genesis Companies in 2020 for rehabilitation and management as affordable housing. Genesis has expressed their support for this listing as well.

Please feel free to contact Lacey Tauber with any necessary follow-up at ltauber@hpd.nyc.gov or 212-863-7029.

Sincerely,

Louise Carroll Commissioner

(212) 863-6100





DEC 4 - 2019

Kate Lemos McHale Director of Research November 26, 2019

MISTORY PRESERVATION

1 Centre Street 9<sup>th</sup> Floor North New York, NY 10007

New York, NY 1000 212 669 7902 tel

212 669 7797 fax

R. Daniel Mackay
Deputy Commissioner for Historic Preservation
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer
New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation

P.O. Box 189

Waterford, NY 12188-0189

Re:

National Headquarters, March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, 170 West 130th Street, Manhattan (Block 1914, Lot 60)

**Dear Deputy Commissioner Mackay:** 

I am writing on behalf of Chair Sarah Carroll in response to your request for comment on the eligibility of the National Headquarters of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, located at 170 West 130th Street in Manhattan, for the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

The agency has reviewed the materials you submitted and has determined the National Headquarters of the March on Washington meets the criteria for inclusion on the State and National Registers of Historic Places, and the Commission strongly supports its nomination. On May 29th, 2018, the Landmarks Preservation Commission voted to designate the *Central Harlem — West 130-132nd Street Historic District*, which includes this building. The highly intact historic district illustrates not only the architectural development of Harlem, but the rich social, cultural, and political life of Harlem's African American population in the 20th century. The building at 170 West 130th Street also has national significance as the planning headquarters for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963, which remains the nation's largest political demonstration, and was instrumental in spurring the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Sincerely,

Kate Lemos McHale

klemosmchale@lpc.nyc.gov











