1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: St. Bartholomew's Church and Community House

Other Name/Site Number:

Designated a National Historic Landmark by the Secretary of the Interior on October 16, 2016.

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: 325 Park Avenue (previous mailing address: 109 East 50th Street) Not for publication:

City/Town: New York Vicinity:

State: New York County: New York Code: 061 Zip Code: 10022

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property	Category of Property
Private: X	Building(s): X
Public-Local:	District:
Public-State:	Site:
Public-Federal:	Structure:
	Object:

Number of Resources within Property

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

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 2

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing:

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register
___ Determined eligible for the National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
___ Removed from the National Register

___ Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	Religion	Sub: Religious facility
Current:	Religion	Sub: Religious facility
	Recreation and Culture	Music facility, Sports facility

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Period Revivals: Romanesque

MATERIALS:

Foundation:	Rough-cut stone with mortar
Walls:	Brick, limestone over concrete
Roof:	Terra Cotta; Granite, Limestone, Marble and Terra Cotta (Dome)
Other:	Bronze, Marble, Limestone (Entrance Portal)
	Stone (Terrace and Steps)

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

Summary

Founded in 1835 in New York City, St. Bartholomew's Church has been situated in three locations, beginning downtown in the then fashionable Bowery, moving to a second location on Madison Avenue and 44th Street in 1872, and to its current location on Park Avenue between 50th and 51st Streets in 1918. Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, one of America's foremost architects widely known for his ecclesiastical structures, was commissioned in 1914 to design the building at the third site. One design requirement was to incorporate the triple portal and bronze doors designed by Stanford White of McKim, Mead and White for the Madison Avenue building, the portal a memorial to former Vestryman, Cornelius Vanderbilt II. The Romanesque style of the portal, carefully dismantled and re-erected on the new site, informed the architecture of the new church building, enabling Goodhue to experiment, effectively combining Romanesque and Byzantine features, highlighted by rich sculptural ornamentation. The foundation stone of Goodhue's original design, a vast, unified barrel-vaulted space with a greatly reduced transept was laid in May 1917 and the church was open for worship in 1918. A review in "The Year in Architecture," *The New International Year Book, A Compendium of the World's Progress for the Year 1918*, described it as follows: "Probably the most important and interesting building completed during the year—at least sufficiently advanced to be occupied for worship—is St. Bartholomew's Church in New York, by Bertram G. Goodhue, in a free version of the Romanesque, based primarily on the fine triple portal transferred from the old church."[1]

With Goodhue's sudden death in 1924, his office associates in partnership as Mayers, Murray and Phillip, constructed the adjoining terraced Community House in 1928, continuing with the same exterior materials as the church's, subtly variegated salmon and cream-colored bricks and creamy Indiana limestone. Clad in polychrome mosaic and enclosing a Guastavino tile interior dome, the "Great Dome", as it is called, was completed in 1930. Together with its complex tapestry of brick, stone, mosaic and tile, and rich iconographic programs, St. Bartholomew's is undeniably a premier architectural icon in New York City and holds national significance as one of Goodhue's masterpieces. Central to the aesthetic power implicit in Goodhue's best work are the contributions of his artistic collaborators, including architectural sculptor Lee Lawrie, and mosaicist and muralist Hildreth Meiere, whose works are defining features of St. Bartholomew's.

Recognizing the building's architectural and historical significance and the importance of the Bertram Goodhue, St. Bartholomew's was designated a New York City landmark in 1967 and was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1980.

Site and Setting

St. Bartholomew's Church and Community House occupy a block-long site on Park Avenue between 50th and 51st Streets in midtown Manhattan. The majority of buildings along Park Avenue are multi-story office towers constructed in the mid-to-late twentieth century. The street is a wide boulevard divided by a narrow median of grass and trees. Park Avenue's unusual (140-foot) width, and the fact that the north-south axis of the site occupies an entire city block, enhances its architectural setting in an otherwise dense urban environment. To the south and east are two other City of New York landmark buildings: The 1929 Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, and the 1931 General Electric (originally RCA Victor) Building. The latter was designed by Cross & Cross to harmonize with St. Bartholomew's salmon-colored brick and limestone ornamentation and provides an important backdrop to the church. RCA's Bartholomew Building Corporation, established in 1929 to create the

[1] Frank Moore Colby, (ed.), "Architecture", *The New International Year Book, A Compendium of the World's Progress for the Year 1918.* New York, Dodd, Mead and Company, 1919, 46, 47.

new Cross & Cross building, was so named in deference to the block's already much-admired occupant, St. Bartholomew's Church.[2]

Exterior of the Church

The church, constructed of reinforced concrete in the form of a Latin cross, features an exterior of brick with Indiana limestone. The brick is not a uniform size, and is different shades of earth tones, common in Italy, that produces a rich, warm exterior. Brick is also employed as ornament in geometric and foliated patterns, along with marble tessera and carved stone figures set in the wall. This treatment harmonizes with the more prominent limestone trim and architectural sculpture to create the intricate human-scaled exterior for which the church is so admired. The main entrances at the head of a short flight of steps are entered through a one-story limestone narthex extending across the west façade. A one-story chapel fills the southwest intersection of the nave and the transept with its own exterior entrance on Park Avenue through a limestone vestibule adjacent to the narthex. Joined to the south side of the church, set well back from Park Avenue, is the six-story community house, constructed of steel frame with brick and limestone exterior stone. The community house is not only set back from Park Avenue, but the building itself is stepped in three principal segments, creating roof terraces. This design also serves to help minimize the architectural presence of the community house in relation to the church.

The open space between the south side of the church and the west façade of the community house is occupied by the so-called "Great Terrace," a red quarry tile and bluestone *piazzetta* which serves as the roof of the community house athletic facilities below grade and today is the home of an outdoor restaurant that the New York Landmarks Conservancy has celebrated for its creative use of an historic urban space. The bluestone steps from Park Avenue up to the Great Terrace are flanked by gardens, which date from 1927 and have been lovingly maintained by generations of volunteers. On the north side of the church there is also a small evergreen garden known as the "Cheatham Garden." Designed by Landscape Architect Paschall Campbell (1930-2003) in collaboration with the architectural firm Hamby, Kennerly, Slomanson & Smith, it was given by Owen Robertson Cheatham in memory of his mother, Sallie Franklin Cheatham and completed in 1972.[3] A series of evergreen planted platforms originally with water flowing through now gravel-filled channels, it surrounds the north transept entrance to the church, which Goodhue designed as a way for the aged and handicapped to enter the building and access the communion rail without climbing a single stair.[4] Although none of the gardens was actually designed by Goodhue, they are consistent with his view that St. Bartholomew's "should not be elbowed and jostled by [in his day] great apartment houses, but should rise through the greenery of trees and flowers."[5] Today, the gardens provide oases of beauty and calm adjacent to the heavily trafficked Park Avenue sidewalk.

The main Park Avenue entrance to St. Bartholomew's Church is through a limestone structure, known as the "Triple Portal" that was moved to the site from the congregation's previous church on Madison Avenue and 44th Street. Made of white limestone and subtly-hued Cippolino marble, the Triple Portal forms the façade of a seventy-five foot long narthex, providing a monumental base for the tall pierced screen of the church's west window rising above it. The iconography of the portal's sculptural program centers on the life, passion and resurrection of Jesus Christ, juxtaposed against a series of Old Testament pre-figurations and prophecies. Each individual portal also frames a tall bronze door depicting episodes from the Old and New Testaments in *bas*

[2] "General Electric Building", Report of the New York City Landmark Preservation Commission. July 9, 1985, 2.

[3] The St. Bartholomew's gardens have received several awards. The Great Terrace gardens were singled out for an award at the Sixth Annual Bryant Park Flower Show in 1974. Two years earlier, the Cheatham Garden received awards from the Fifth Avenue Association, the American Society of Landscape Architects, and the New York Society of Architects, the last a Certificate of Excellence for Design. *St. Bartholomew's Archives*, 1972, 1974.

[4] Bertram G. Goodhue, "The Proposed New St. Bartholomew's Church," January 16, 1915, *St. Bartholomew's Archives,* 1915. Reprinted in Christine Smith, *St. Bartholomew's Church in the City of New York.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 199-201. The North Transept entrance is surely one of the first and arguably *the* first purpose-built handicapped entrance in New York City.

[5] Goodhue, "The Proposed New St. Bartholomew's Church", reprinted in Smith, *St. Bartholomew's Church*, 201.

relief. The sculptural work was divided among four prominent artists: The large central doors, the central tympanum and lintel, and the two large flanking friezes were by Andrew O'Connor with oversight from Daniel Chester French. On the right, the doors, tympanum and lintel were by Philip Martiny, while those on the left were by Herbert Adams. As Goodhue himself wrote, "the Triple Portal is universally regarded by architects and public alike, as one of the most beautiful things, perhaps the most beautiful thing of its kind in America."[6]

Indeed, it seems not too much to say that Stanford White's Triple Portal gave Goodhue the freedom to engage in stylistic experimentation. Moreover, like White, who introduced an Italian aesthetic into his reinterpretation of the portals of Saint-Giles-du-Gard, France, it seems fair to say that for Goodhue also, eclecticism was often the handmaiden of truly creative design. One sees this clearly in the iconographic program for St. Bartholomew's exterior sculptural ornamentation, which dramatically illustrates Goodhue's willingness to draw on a variety of historical sources, ranging from Venetian Romanesque to English Gothic, all the while incorporating rearranged decorative elements from St. Bartholomew's previous Madison Avenue location. In the program, there is great variety as well in the materials used and in the alternation between freestanding sculptures and *bas reliefs*, but all occurring within the unifying context of a liturgically coherent iconographic program.[7]

The upper part of the west façade, for example, is brick with limestone framing the windows and buttresses, while the single grand arch of the west window frames five lights, beneath the lunette, separated by four sculptures of, respectively, St. Paul, St. Francis of Assisi, Martin Luther and Phillips Brooks.[8] The tracery, meanwhile, incorporates symbols of the Old Testament and atop the buttresses flanking the west façade are the coats of arms of Canterbury and the Episcopal Diocese of New York. At the center is a medallion with three knives, the symbol of St. Bartholomew who, according to legend, was flayed alive. Below the low broad dwarf gallery, which runs around the entire exterior of the church, are symbols of events in the life of Christ.

The large gallery windows along the north and south walls repeat—with subtle variations—the dominant theme of the west façade. Each of the six tall windows (three on each side) contains three lights and a semicircular tracery lunette. The tympanum over the north transept entrance illustrates Christ healing the sick. The 51st Street entrance to the below stairs Memorial Chapel and Columbarium is adorned with symbols of paradise (peacock) and resurrection (phoenix). Carved in relief over the window of the choir practice room is St. Cecilia at her organ.

The north transept wall features a large cross in relief with a central medallion depicting the "Lamb of God" (*Agnus Dei*) surrounded by symbols of the four Evangelists and flanked by symbols of two sacraments: Baptism (font and dove) and Holy Eucharist (chalice). Like the west façade, each transept wall is crowned by a gable and small colonnade. The central feature of the south transept wall is an enormous "wheel" window framed by two statues of St. Bartholomew and St. Philip. Symbolic representations of Christian virtues in marble adorn the arcade, while below the window are emblems of sin and salvation, the attributes, respectively, of Adam and Christ (the "second Adam").

Initially, Goodhue envisaged a tall tower enclosing a dome (a combination he referred to as a "Ciborium") rising above the crossing. Early on, however, the Vestry rejected that idea because of its projected cost. In fact, a shortage of funds delayed completing both buildings until 1929-1930. Meanwhile, Goodhue died (in 1924) with the result that the definitive design for St. Bartholomew's "Great Dome," replacing Goodhue's (drawn but

[6] Ibid.

[7] According to Smith, Goodhue's willingness to use the Triple Portal as a point of departure in his design reflects his strong desire for the commission. Smith, *St. Bartholomew's Church*, 51.

[8] Phillips Brooks (1835-1893) was an Episcopal clergyman and bishop whose many accomplishments included writing the lyrics for "O Little Town of Bethlehem." He was the minister for whom H. H. Richardson designed Trinity Church in Boston.

still considered too expensive) Ciborium, was furnished by his Goodhue Associates successors. Based on Goodhue's design for the dome of the California State Building, Panama-California Exposition, San Diego, 1911-1915, it is placed atop a square base built with the body of the church and is actually two domes, one inside the other, the inner structure being made of relatively lightweight tile. Its eight exterior planes are decorated with colored marble, granite and terra cotta tile and crowned with a gilded cross.

Interior

The plan of St. Bartholomew's is centered on a crossing space, which is encompassed by four stone arches resting on large square reinforced concrete piers faced with stone. Emanating from the crossing are a short three-bay nave, an apsidal choir, and two shallow transepts, all covered with barrel vaults of Rumford tile. Just as stylistic eclecticism flourishes in the exterior design and decoration of St. Bartholomew's, the church interior has numerous historical and artistic referents. These range from Hildreth Meiere's (1892-1961) vibrant modernistic mosaics reminiscent of Ravenna's Sant' Appolinare Nuovo, to echoes of Venice's San Marco Basilica filtered through the lens of Heins & La Farge's design for the choir bay of St. John the Divine.[9]

Entering the church through any one of the Triple Portal doors, the visitor first encounters the narthex, an architectural element typical of early Christian and Byzantine basilicas and churches. Although designed by Goodhue, its interior was not finished until 1930 when the walls and windows received marble ornamentation and Hildreth Meiere-designed mosaics were installed. On the narthex capitals are heads of eleven famous men and one woman—preachers, reformers, and modern examples of Christian virtues. In the ceiling are five domes decorated with mosaics illustrating the Creation with the events from Genesis arranged hierarchically so that the Creation of Man appears in the center, over the central portal.

Beyond the narthex, the church's interior plan is the traditional cruciform one: A Latin cross with a longer nave and shorter transept arms forming a broad crossing. It is cathedral length (250 feet long), with a nave span of 44 feet; in fact, it appears much longer owing to the dramatic contrast between the relatively shallow narthex and the pervasive openness of the unified interior. Four pairs of piers along the nave axis constitute the essential supports. The slender columns at the corners of the piers soften the edges and emphasize their verticality. Alternating with these massive primary supports are smaller rectangular piers with addorsed columns. From the gallery, between the pier buttresses, suffused light filters into the nave. The internal buttresses also provide a two-tiered elevation in which the low broad arches below contrast with the gallery's tall, narrow ones. Side aisles and galleries run behind this place within the width of the piers. White limestone and brown Guastavino acoustic tile on the lower part of the wall evolve into a darker, softer brick at the top. Gold and colored tiles and gold mortar beds are blended with the brick to enliven the otherwise somber vaults. The church floor is terra cotta tile.

Viewed from the nave, the west window appears to be recessed behind the intervening gallery and framed by a barrel vault. The wooden organ loft is a carved screen resting on columns, the capitals of which represent musicians playing instruments; along its upper edge are freestanding musicians. The sixteen historiated double columns of the nave depict scenes from the Old Testament to the north and the New Testament to the south. Thus, *Creation* is paired across the Nave with *The Nativity*; the *Temptation and Fall of Man* is paired with the unsuccessful *Temptation of Christ*, and so on, in keeping with the medieval tradition of concordances between the Old and New Testaments. Relief panels set in the crossing piers depict scenes from the life of St. Bartholomew.

The width of the apse, a great semi-domed finale rising to the level of the vaults, reinforces the impression of an interior space of monumental proportions. The marble revetment wall, large fields of colored marble separated

[9] Smith, *St. Bartholomew's Church*, 87.

by vertical strips of geometric ornament, was installed in 1929, again because of the earlier shortage of funds. The design follows the Byzantine theme established by Goodhue in his redesign of the chancel pavement, imported from the earlier church. The apse culminates in a crowning mosaic depicting *The Transfiguration,* a New Testament mystery in which Christ reveals himself in his full glory flanked by Moses and Elijah, while the apostles Peter, James and John witness the event. The apse pavement contains marble inlays representing Hagia Sophia, Canterbury Cathedral and St. Peter's in Rome, symbols of the Orthodox, Anglican and Roman Catholic churches. Both the lectern to the north and the pulpit to the south are pieces sculpted by Lee Lawrie (1877-1963) in yellow Siena marble. The lectern capital bears the symbols of the four Evangelists. Above the capital is an eagle standing on a sphere (symbols of the soaring ascendancy and universality of the gospel message). The Evangelistic symbols (angel, lion, ox and eagle for Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, respectively,) are repeated on the capitals of the columns on which the pulpit rests. Sculptures of the great Biblical preachers (Moses, St. John the Baptist and Isaiah) adorn the pulpit.

The dark color of the interior vaulting of the Great Dome high above the crossing evokes an aura of sublime mystery at the uppermost spatial zone. The vaulting is ingeniously constructed of gilded wooden boxes imitating an interlaced dome of Islamic design. Beneath the Great Dome, the sanctuary houses an Aeolian-Skinner organ that was built in phases over several decades. The oldest pipework dates from 1893 and was brought from the previous St. Bartholomew's Church. Today it is the largest church organ in New York City and the fifth largest in the Western Hemisphere.

To the left of the sanctuary, the baptistry is reached through a door in the east wall of the north transept. The old reredos from the earlier Madison Avenue Church, a free copy in Caen stone of Leonardo's *Last Supper* by Victorio Ciani (1858-1908), adorns the altar. The font, a marble angel by James Redfern (1838-1876), was also brought from the earlier church.

The chapel is contained within the church building but may be entered through a separate Park Avenue entrance with its own set of bronze doors, modeled by British born sculptor Albert Stewart (1900-1965). The simplicity of this entrance is in marked contrast to the entrance to the church proper. The chapel vestibule contains two side doors, the left leading into the church narthex and the right into what was originally the "Bride's Room". The pair of carved mahogany doors opening onto the center aisle of the chapel is decorated with six medallions illustrating the life of Jesus. Photographs of the interior of the chapel were published in a 1920 architectural journal as the early finishing of this space provided a complete representation of the architect's intentions for it.[10]

The chapel ceiling is of trussed timber, painted and gilded like the Italian Romanesque Church of San Miniato al Monte in Florence. Various Biblical quotations are painted along the cornice. Fourteen cast-bronze and silver-plated chandeliers illuminate the room. Granite columns and partial columns flank the nave, forming a blank arcade along the north side but standing free along the south side to form a second aisle. Goodhue intended the children of the parish to worship in the chapel, and so designed pews smaller than those in the main church. Also, much of the chapel decoration is devoted to the childhood of Jesus and of other Biblical heroes. Thus, the capital of the first column on the north side depicts Moses found in the bulrushes by Pharaoh's daughter and Moses' mother brought to be his nurse. The corresponding column on the south side depicts Mary and Joseph going to Bethlehem and Jesus in the manger.

The chapel's altar is white marble. A nineteenth century copper-gilt replica of a fifteenth century Barcelona cross sits on the altar, which is flanked by a pair of tall wooden candelabra. Marble columns on either side support an inscribed stone arch, within which hangs a painting, *The Adoration of the Magi,* by Ethel Parsons

[10] Matlack Price, "Two Recent New York Churches." *The Architectural Forum*, 32, No. 3 (February 1920),110.

Paullin (1888-1971). The mural, done *al secco* surrounding the arch and the chancel, was painted by Telford Paullin (1885-1933), Ethel Paullin's husband. The thirteen medallions depict scenes from the childhood of Jesus while the upper part of the north wall illustrates *The Flight into Egypt*.

The bays along the south side contain six stained glass windows representing events in the life of a Christian: Baptism, Confirmation, Holy Communion and Marriage, plus the Resurrection and a window devoted to Joan of Arc. The small windows in the clerestory depict a heavenly choir of angels. Reynolds, Francis & Rohnstock designed all the chapel windows.

The Community House

Set back from Park Avenue along 50th Street is the six-story community house joined to the church on the latter's south side. Constructed in 1926-1928, this brick building with limestone trim features a polychromatic façade and entrance pavilion that reflects the design of the church. Designed as a cluster of stepped cubes with flat roofs, the community house is Art Deco in form, with Byzantine-inspired ornament of the sort employed on the church. This building was a stylistic change from the concept sketched by Goodhue in his 1916 presentation drawing, which featured a gable roof building in the style of a vernacular Italian farmhouse joined to the church via a cloister that partially survives in the passage between the church and community house.

When Goodhue was commissioned to design a new church on Park Avenue, the parish had for several decades operated a large parish house at 206 East 42nd Street. This facility was the site of a wide array of programs directed toward the people who lived in the immediate neighborhood, many of them recent immigrants. Hence, there was no need for a large facility next to the church Goodhue was asked to plan on Park Avenue. Rather, he designed a modest structure to provide Sunday school classrooms, offices and the like. Goodhue also designed a large cloister to connect the church with the Sunday school. However, for cost reasons only a portion of the cloister was built overlooking a small courtyard now wedged in between the church and community house.

In 1926, the Vestry determined that changes in the neighborhood surrounding the 42nd Street parish house had rendered the programs it offered obsolete. At the same time, the decision was made to refocus the parish's outreach ministry to a different population cohort. In the words of the Rev. Robert Norwood, who became rector in 1925:

> We are concerned in this great city with…the splendid young men and women here living on slender salaries and having a hard time to make ends meet. Most of them are eager, enthusiastic and readily responsive to a definite appeal. They have a college background; they are highly intelligent and fine and love good things but they are forced by their economic situation to a limited life. They are cut off from many things, which otherwise they would enjoy. They make a definite contribution to the community and a definite response to something different than the ordinary popular appeal.

Norwood's vision was to make the community house serve as a home-away-from-home for those young people by creating within it a deluxe "Community Club" they could join for a small fee per annum.[11]

Bertram Goodhue Associates (Goodhue's successor firm) went to some pains to harmonize the community house with the church. They faced the six-story steel-frame building with the same ochre-colored brick accented with limestone trim. Some decorative elements are included in the brickwork; yet the community house is clearly a subsidiary structure. Its design is basically a group of cubes; it is not in the least Romanesque and does

[11] Lester Riley, "A New Type of Cultural Centre: St. Bartholomew's Community House," *The Churchman* (Nov. 26, 1927), 10-12.

not compete with the church. However, to underscore its ecclesiastical purpose, the entrances are embellished with biblical carvings. The tympanum over the door leading into the auditorium depicts Christ surrounded by saints. The arch above includes a number of biblical symbols. The doorway giving access to 50th Street also has a tympanum with a carving of Christ. The commandment, "I give unto you, that ye love one another" is in the lintel. The community house is set back at both the third and fifth floors to afford a better view of the church's south transept with its "wheel" window and to provide space for the Great Terrace between it and Park Avenue.

The building's interior arrangements were designed to provide the spaces needed for the type of club Dr. Norwood envisioned. In the basement, there is a sixty-foot swimming pool, a gymnasium, a basketball court and locker rooms. An auditorium with a capacity of 700 is at the same level as the Great Terrace. This room would be used for dramatic productions, lectures, poetry readings, art exhibits and recitals. Dr. Norwood thought it important that the congregation reach out to young artists, poets, and musicians to be "a laboratory for the unfolding of their creative efforts." On the floors above were a library, a grill serving light meals, a billiard room, a lounge and offices. Space for a kindergarten was provided at the uppermost floor. When it opened, it was said of the community house, "[I]t rises before your eyes as a dream structure, winsome yet tangible and substantial.[12]

Although the exterior of the community house remains much the same as it was in 1927, there have been changes to the interior uses. The old grill is gone, and a commercial restaurant now uses the Great Terrace and auditorium with a new institutional-grade kitchen in what was the women's locker room. The St. Bartholomew's Pre-School occupies the two upper floors of the building and its playground is on the roof. The old Community Club, which lasted almost eighty years, is now defunct, a victim, it is said, of the commercial gyms so numerous in New York City today. The pool and gymnasium are still used, primarily by fee-paying outside groups. Although completely resurfaced in 2011, and in warm weather occupied by an outdoor restaurant, the Great Terrace looks the same as it did in 1927.

Integrity and the Evolution of Goodhue's Design

As soon as the construction of St. Bartholomew's began, Parks and the Art Committee worked out the iconographic programs for the church, making recommendations to Goodhue in regard to the subjects for the interior and exterior sculpture and for the inscriptions to be incised into the stone. The program was approved on May 14, 1917. Taken together, the iconographic programs of St. Bartholomew's are remarkable for their encyclopedic content, skillful placement in relation to the architectural setting, and appropriateness to the aims and functions of this church. Although much of the content is due to the erudition of Parks, the intelligence and imagination with which the iconography is adapted to its architectural setting is Goodhue's. It is one of Goodhue's most impressive achievements that, by drawing on his extensive knowledge of the vast repertory of iconographic imagery and on his considerable familiarity with sacred and secular literature, he was able to invent iconographic programs that spoke to the modern world. The challenge of designing such programs was rarely, if ever, so brilliantly resolved as in Goodhue's works.[13]

Goodhue's death in 1924 occurred before important elements had been completed, notably the apse, the great dome, the stained glass, and the community house constructed under the guidance of his successor firm in consultation with a committee established by the Vestry in 1927. Nonetheless, St. Bartholomew's is essentially the work of Bertram Goodhue. The church was completed by the team of architects and artists he had assembled and worked with during his career including the architects in his firm, and notably, architectural

[12] Ibid.
[13] Smith, *St. Bartholomew's Church*, 202, 204.

sculptor Lee Lawrie, and mosaicist and muralist Hildreth Meiere.[14] Goodhue often talked of the "designing triumvirate", a collaboration of architect, sculptor and painter as free and equal designers.[15] This was in the spirit of Goodhue's ideal, expressed in a letter to the architect Paul Cret, in which he said, "I should like to be merely one of three people to produce a building, i.e., architect, painter and sculptor. You see what I mean: I should like to do the plan and the massing of the building, then I should like to turn the ornament (whether sculpture or not makes no difference) over to a perfectly qualified sculptor, and the color and surface direction (mural picture or not as the case may be) to an equally qualified painter."[16]

The walls of the St. Bartholomew's apse are covered by slabs of brightly colored marble separated by vertical strips of inlaid geometric ornament rising to a crowning mosaic depicting *The Transfiguration*. When Bertram Goodhue died, he had not firmly settled on a decorative program for the apse. That task fell to a specially formed "Arts Committee" appointed by the Vestry in 1927.[17] The committee initially reviewed Goodhue's original proposal with nonfigurative geometric designs, but invited the successor firm, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue Associates, (Francis S. Mayers, Oscar H. Murray, and Hardie Phillip) to furnish new sketches. The committee decided to adopt the Byzantine style of mosaics and engaged Goodhue Associates, in cooperation with Hildreth Meiere, to submit the preliminary designs and agreed that Meiere would receive the commission. While not part of Goodhue's original plan, the apse mosaics bear the imprint of architects and artisans long associated with Goodhue.[18]

Otherwise, except for capping the deep crossing with a broad dome rather than a tower and installing stained glass windows where Goodhue had specified tinted clear glass (plus, to be thorough, converting the chapel's "Bride's Room" into an all-purpose restroom and in 2008, accepting the extraordinary gift of a digital organ console),[19] St. Bartholomew's Church remains substantially Goodhue's work. This is not to say that it is exactly as Goodhue originally envisaged it since designing the church was a complicated process involving a great amount of negotiating with the Vestry that had opinions of its own and, most importantly, controlled the budget and purse strings.[20] The matter of the stained glass windows is a case in point. Despite Goodhue's desire not to use them, stained glass continued to be proposed by parishioners even while the church was being constructed. The six so-called *Te Deum* windows along the north aisle were actually designed in 1920 by Henry Wynd Young (1874-1923) but not installed at that time.

During the immediately ensuing decades, the stained glass window issue surfaced frequently. The windows under the balcony in the north transept, and on the balcony under the "wheel" window in the south transept, were designed in the 1930's by John Gordon Guthrie (1874-1961). To accommodate parishioners wanting to memorialize loved ones by the gift of a window, the parish, beginning in the 1940's, consulted with the noted Princeton medievalist, Albert M. Friend, Jr., and later with the Rev. Edward N. West, Canon Sacrist of the Cathedral Church of St. John The Divine, to draw up an iconographic program for the six large gallery windows

[14] Goodhue first worked with Lawrie on the public library in Pawtucket, Rhode Island (1898-1902). Meire's first major work with Goodhue was the dome of the National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C. (1923).

[15] John Edwards, *The Lincoln Star*, Lincoln, Nebraska, Thursday, Dec. 3, 1931, 6.

[16] Cited in Charles Whitaker ed., *Bertram Grosvernor Goodhue, Architect and Master of Many Arts.* New York: Press of the American Institute of Architects, 1925, 26.

[17] At the time, the Arts Committee was chaired by Alvin Krech who, in 1914, recommended that the Vestry choose Goodhue. Smith, *St. Bartholomew's Church*, 26.

[18] Catherine Coleman Brower and Kathleen Skolnik Murphy, *The Art Deco Murals of Hildreth Meiere*. New York: Andrea Monfried Editions, 2014, 90.

[19] In 2007, in memory of Wall Street Executive Robert H. Brimberg, St. Bartholomew's Church was given a new digital organ console by Brimberg's widow and a group of his friends. For many years prior to his death in 1994, Brimberg had been a neighbor and close friend of St. Bartholomew's rector, Thomas Bowers. The organ console's intricate marquetry includes a Star of David and a Menorah.

[20] Smith, *St. Bartholomew's Church*, 163, 176.

in the nave. Eventually, four of those windows were executed by Hildreth Meiere and two by Allyn Cox (1896-1982). The three windows on the north side depict canticles associated with the service of Morning Prayer: the *Benedicite*, *Venite*, and *Benedictus es, Domine*. Those on the south side Evening Prayer: the *Magnificat*, *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*, and *Nunc Demittis*.

The glory of the south transept is considered by many today to be its colorful "wheel" window. Again, Goodhue's original design specified clear tinted glass, harking back to the alabaster panes illuminating the Basilica of Sant' Apollinare in Classe outside Ravenna. Nonetheless, in 1943 stained glass specialists Reynolds, Francis and Rohnstock were commissioned to replace Goodhue's preferred glass with rich "medieval" stained glass using images derived from the *Sanctus*, a hymn of praise.

As previously described, the continuing evolution of the community house is a departure from Goodhue's original conception. Today, the community house contains the congregation's administrative offices as well as meeting rooms for parish activities and community service groups, plus the swimming pool, basketball court, and gym. Although installed in the 1930's for the benefit of young adults who were paying members of the non-denominational "Community Club" (1927-2007), the athletic facilities now have a more eclectic group of users, including a pre-school and a summer camp. The community house auditorium and Great Terrace, installed as part of the pool and basketball court construction, are now a picturesque restaurant bordered by gardens and patronized, especially in warm weather, by New Yorkers, tourists and groups from nearby corporate offices and hotels.

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

Nationally: X Statewide:___ Locally:___

Applicable National Register Criteria: A__ B__ C X D__

Criteria Consideration (Exceptions): A X B__ C__ D__ E__ F__ G__

NHL Criteria: 4

NHL Criteria Exceptions: 1

NHL Theme(s): III. Expressing Cultural Values
5. Architecture, landscape architecture, and urban design

Areas of Significance: Architecture and Art

Period(s) of Significance: 1914–1930

Significant Dates: 1919 (church), 1928-1929 (community house), 1930 (dome)

Significant Person(s): N/A

Cultural Affiliation: N/A

Architect: Goodhue, Bertram Grosvenor (Church)
White, Stanford (Triple Portal)
Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue Associates (Community House and Church Dome)

Builders: Marc Eidlitz and Son (Church)
James Baird Construction Company (Dome)
Cauldwell-Wingate Company (Community House)

Artists / Craftsmen: French, Daniel Chester (Triple Portal)
Adams, Herbert (North Bronze Door, Lintel and Tympanum)
O'Connor, Andrew (Center Bronze Door, Lintel, Tympanum, Great Frieze)
Martiny, Philip (South Bronze Door, Lintel, Tympanum, Four Old Testament Statues)
Lawrie, Lee (Pulpit, Lectern, Altar, Altar Rail)
Meiere, Hildreth (Mosaics, Stained Glass)
Cox, Allyn (Stained Glass)
Guthrie, John Gordon (Stained Glass)

Young, Henry Wynd (Stained Glass)
Ciani, Victorio (Baptistry Reredos)
Redfern, James (Baptistry Font)
Reynolds, Frances & Rohnstock (Stained Glass)
Paullin, Ethel Parsons (Painting)
Paullin, Telford (Mural)
Lathrop, Francis Augustus (Painting)
Piccirilli Brothers (Carving Throughout Church)
Aeolian-Skinner Organ Company

Historic Contexts: XVI. Architecture
M. Period Revivals (1870-1940)
Essays on Modern Architecture

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

Summary Statement

St. Bartholomew's Church is nationally significant under NHL Criterion 4 as a pivotal example of the work of Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue (1869-1924) and an outstanding example of early twentieth century ecclesiastical architecture in the United States. Although important elements of St. Bartholomew's were completed after Goodhue's death, the significance of the design includes the work of architects and artists who collaborated with him over the course of his career and on all of his major late projects that he did not live to see completed, including the Nebraska State Capitol (1920-1930, NHL 1976).

Goodhue was one of the leading architects of his generation, a group of designers that includes Frank Lloyd Wright, Irving Gill, Bernard Maybeck, and the Greene Brothers, all of whom developed their own distinctive interpretations of traditional architectural styles in the early twentieth century. Prior to St. Bartholomew's, Goodhue's forte was the Gothic Revival, a style he reinterpreted in a modern manner, particularly in the design of one of his major works, the Church of the Intercession in New York (1912-1915). In the words of his biographer, Goodhue was "strikingly romantic and individualistic in his attitudes, standing outside the mainstream," while he "searched for an architecture that embraced modern materials, invention, and ideas."[21] Built at a time when the Gothic Revival was the standard style for ecclesiastical buildings among wealthy congregations, St. Bartholomew's employed a colorful palette of Romanesque and Byzantine eclecticism. His design for St. Bartholomew's was especially significant within his body of work in that it presaged his transition to the final stage of his artistic expression, embodied in the Art Deco style Nebraska State Capitol.

The property was designated a New York City landmark in 1967 and listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1980. The New York City landmark designation occurred shortly after the destruction of Pennsylvania Station and the establishment of the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission in 1965. In its designation, the Landmarks Commission found that "among its important qualities, St. Bartholomew's Church and Community House are handsome modern versions of Romanesque and Byzantine architecture, that the unusual use of polychromy in their building materials make them outstanding in New York, that their decorations include significant works of art, and that the church and community house are outstanding examples of this style of architecture in the United States."[22]

American Church Architecture and the Development of Goodhue's Ecclesiastical Architecture

By the early 1900s most modern churches were being designed either in traditional historical styles, north Italian Romanesque, Colonial Revival and Gothic Revival being the most prevalent. There were certainly important exceptions, particularly Stanford White's Madison Square Presbyterian Church, built 1903-1906 in a Roman neo-classicism and in the shape of a Greek cross, as well as examples of Spanish Colonial Revival. Regardless of style, churches typically conformed to a standard ecclesiastical typology with long naves leading to the chancel, often with an intervening transept. A bell tower was often included, either at one corner or over the central entrance. This popular concept of how a church should be designed was illustrated just before St. Bartholomew's was begun in a two-volume work, *American Churches* published by the journal, *The American Architect* in 1915. The first volume featured contemporary work of nineteen architects. Volume two was

[21] Richard Oliver, "Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue" in *The Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects.* Adolf K. Placzek (ed). New York, the Free Press, 1982, 2-229.

[22] "St. Bartholomew's Church and Community House", Report of the Landmarks Preservation Commission. New York, March 16, 1967, No. 1.

devoted to the work of Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, nationally recognized by their peers as one of the most important firms in the area of ecclesiastical design.[23]

The main Park Avenue entrance to St. Bartholomew's Church is through architect Stanford White's much-celebrated Triple Portal moved to the site from the congregation's previous church on Madison Avenue and 44th Street. Made of white limestone and subtly hued Cippolino marble, the Triple Portal forms the façade of a seventy-five foot long narthex, providing a monumental base for the tall pierced screen of the Church's west window rising above it. Sometimes referred to as 'The Vanderbilt Portal," the Triple Portal is one of White's last works and was commissioned by the widow of Cornelius Vanderbilt II as a memorial to her husband. Its design recalls the entrance to the Abbey Church of St. Gilles-du-Gard in Provence (ca. 1170), which Stanford White (1853-1908) had visited and sketched as a young man. According to Goodhue, the need to incorporate the Triple Portal into his own design meant that "the architectural style of the new building determined itself."[24]

"The new building," he wrote,

> is Romanesque of the Italian type…. For although the triple portal found its original inspiration in the one at St. Gilles, in the South of France, it is in no sense a replica. Both the detail and the sentiment of the sculpture and the carving, which is essentially Provencal in the original, gave way in the modern example to something far more Italianate.[25]

Much has been written about Goodhue's eclectic appreciation of the Italianate aesthetic inasmuch as the term can, and for him did, encompass architectural and artistic influences as diverse as Lombard Gothic and Byzantine Romanesque. Suffice it to say that in fulfilling his firm's St. Bartholomew's commission, Bertram Goodhue set out to design a new church effectively combining Romanesque and Byzantine features highlighted by rich sculptural ornament but employing modern materials.

For Bertram Goodhue, the need to insert Stanford White's Triple Portal into his design for the new church was in a sense fortuitous as it presented an opportunity to design an American Protestant church of an entirely new stripe.[26] For several decades, American architects and architectural critics had been discussing whether some architectural styles were more appropriate for church architecture than others, and particularly whether the highly popular "neo-Gothic" or "Gothic Revival" style, of which Goodhue was an acknowledged master, adequately served the needs of congregations whose liturgical practices focused more on the pulpit than the altar; that is, on preaching more than on sacramental rite. The debate struck a responsive chord within the American Episcopal Church where the liturgical practices of "Anglican Catholics" could differ noticeably from those of so-called "Low Church," or more self-consciously "Protestant" congregations. In this regard a major church that influenced St. Bartholomew's is Trinity Church in Boston, built in 1873-1879 and designed by H. H. Richardson (1838-1886). Richardson's famous Romanesque design featured a cruciform plan with a large central tower over the crossing (as was intended for St. Bartholomew's). Designed for a famous speaking preacher, the Reverend Phillips Brooks, Trinity Church provided a grand interior space that is at once intimate

[23] The Madison Square Presbyterian Church, with its striking polychromatic terra cotta, may have influenced Goodhue. However, that remarkable building, unwisely built in a rapidly changing neighborhood, was demolished in 1919. Its unconventional design is probably why it was not included in the 1915 compilation of American churches. *American Churches, Volume I, A series of authoritative articles on designing, planning, heating, ventilating, lighting and general equipment of churches as demonstrated by the best practice in the United States; Volume II, Illustrated by the work of the New York Office of Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson.* The American Architect: New York, 1915. Another even more unconventional contemporary church is Frank Lloyd Wright's Unity Temple in Chicago of 1905-1908.

[24] Cited in Smith, *St. Bartholomew's Church,* 199-201.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

for the congregation, concentrated as they are under the crossing with a minimum of structural impediments to the view, and lavishly decorated with the work of leading artists to create a mystical ambiance.

The national debate over church design came sharply into focus during the competition, launched in 1888, for the commission to design and build the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine in New York City. The firm of George Heins (1860-1907) and Christopher La Farge (1862-1938) won that competition with a design whose underlying concept reached back through fourteenth century Ely Cathedral's famous "octagon tower" built on a square base, to the unobstructed sight lines and remarkable acoustical properties of the grandiosely domed Hagia Sophia.[27] As architectural historian Christine Smith explains:

> At St. John the Divine…the problem of Romanesque or Gothic style was, most profoundly, a problem of function and dramatized a conflict about the nature of the Episcopal liturgy. In the end, the question was which current of faith should have its beliefs expressed in stone.[28]

Moreover, almost all of the entries proposed "an extremely large—sometimes disproportionate" crossing area because, in a church designed to satisfy the potentially conflicting aims of seeing the altar and of seeing and hearing the preacher, the crossing, combined with broad but shallow transepts, made an ideal auditorium-like seating space,[29] albeit one which, depending on its height, could present challenging acoustical problems. As Smith observes, this was particularly so at St. John the Divine as most of the submitted designs envisaged a cavernous tower over the crossing. The genius of Heins and La Farge's winning design was that while they proposed a crossing tower, they placed a dome within it.

> On the interior, the covering had to be fairly low, for acoustic reasons, but on the exterior, as the focus of all the massing, the crossing element had to balance the combined volumes of nave, transepts, and east end. These conflicting needs could best be harmonized by using a double-shell structure: an exterior tower and interior dome.[30]

The partnership produced many major designs, mostly Gothic churches and Tudor houses. Goodhue was keenly aware of the controversy surrounding late nineteenth and early twentieth century American religious architecture, and also of the issues presented by the St. John the Divine competition. In 1888, he was a young apprentice at one of the competing firms, Renwick, Aspinwall & Russell, and later, having become Ralph Adams Cram's (1863-1942) partner, at Cram & Goodhue in Boston, he witnessed Cram's assumption of responsibility for overseeing construction of St. John the Divine, in the course of which, being a devout Anglican, Cram "Gothicized" Heins and La Farge's design for it.

Goodhue's relationship with Cram appears to have begun to fray during the firm's rebuilding of St. Thomas Episcopal Church (Fifth Avenue at 53rd Street), a commission received after that church burned in 1905. Hence, shortly after the St. Thomas project was completed, Goodhue left to found his own firm, Goodhue Associates. New church commissions quickly followed, among them the Chapel of the Intercession on Broadway at 155th Street (an Anglican-Catholic congregation), and the Church of St. Vincent Ferrer on Lexington Avenue at 68th Street (a Roman Catholic congregation). Stylistically, the Chapel, constructed of local fieldstone, is restrained Gothic, influenced by the English churches in and around Norfolk. Its powerful nave with rough-textured walls reaching up to a polychrome, wooden-trussed ceiling is a single great light-filled hall. St. Vincent Ferrer, also commissioned in 1914, is neo-Gothic as well but boasts a revolutionary structural scheme in its interior: The

[27] Smith, *St. Bartholomew's Church*, 85, 87.
[28] Ibid, 82.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid, 84.

ribs of the vault and the shaft of the walls are one, creating a sense of soaring unsupported space. Every detail of that church also reveals Goodhue's profound knowledge of church architecture.

St. Bartholomew's Church

St. Bartholomew's Church was founded in 1835. Its first location was at the corner of Great Jones and Lafayette Streets in the Bowery. Its second was on the southwest corner of Madison Avenue at 44th Street, completed in 1872 to the designs of the firm Renwick and Sands. A combination of Romanesque and High Victorian Gothic, the second St. Bartholomew's most distinguishing feature was the new entrances, the Triple Portal, for the three doors framed by round arches linked by a colonnade, designed by Stanford White in 1903. Donated by Alice Gwynne Vanderbilt in memory of her husband, Cornelius, this feature was an admired addition to a church that was otherwise architecturally undistinguished.[31] The St. Bartholomew's Triple Portal is the final flourishing of White's love affair with the Romanesque architecture of southern France. He first saw the style in the innumerable photographs that his first employer, H. H. Richardson, had in his office and studios in Brookline, Massachusetts. The Romanesque was a primary source of inspiration for Richardson, whose work launched the "Richardson Romanesque" style in America. White had been the architect in charge of Richardson's Trinity Church in Boston in the 1870s, a masterpiece of Romanesque Revival. He would have a chance to see the real thing in July 1878 when he went on a pilgrimage to Provence with Charles McKim and Augustus St. Gaudens. There he came across the abbey in the village of St. Gilles-du-Gard, which would be the inspiration for the Triple Portal.

White's design, grafted on the first story façade of the second St. Bartholomew's, is constructed of different marbles and limestone, stained to create a more uniform appearance with the brownstone church. As would happen with Goodhue, Stanford White's skill as an architect included an ability to work with important artists, prominent architectural sculptors of the day, to harmonize the entire composition. In this case, the central bronze doors, framed by tympanum, lintel and friezes, are the work of Daniel Chester French (1850-1931) and Andrew O'Connor (1874-1941). The entrance to the right is the work of Philip Martiny (1858-1927), while that on the left was done by Herbert Adams (1858-1945).

The Vanderbilt donation of this elaborate architectural frontispiece suggests that it was not anticipated that the congregation would move in the near future. By 1914, however, structural problems with the church building, along with the changes in its Madison Avenue neighborhood from residential to commercial, encouraged the vestry to build on a new site. A lot on Park Avenue was considered desirable, both because it was closer to many parishioners and the newly completed (1913) Grand Central Station, and because the extra width of the street and the lot selected would mitigate against loss of light and air from later development. As it was, the choice required some vision as an old brewery and power-house was then an immediate neighbor.[32]

Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue

Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue was born in 1869 in Pomfret, Connecticut. Both the Grosvenors and the Goodhues were old and distinguished Connecticut families, but by the time of Bertram Goodhue's birth, they were reduced to farming a small plot of land. He was educated at home and was fortunate to have a neighbor who was an artist who taught him how to draw. Drawing was one of his most important talents when he reached his teens. By that time, there was not enough money in the family to send him to college.

[31] "The façade of St. Bartholomew's church has been improved by the addition of costly sculpture in memory of Cornelius Vanderbilt", *New York Tribune Illustrated Supplement,* January 18, 1903, 8-9. "The New Entrances of St. Bartholomew's Church", *House and Garden*, 5, No. 3, (March 1904),133-138.

[32] Smith, *St. Bartholomew's Church*, 49-50.

At the age of fifteen Goodhue decided to become an architect. He travelled to New York, where he was apprenticed to James Renwick, the architect of such Gothic monuments as Grace Church and St. Patrick's Cathedral. Goodhue quickly revealed his talents in the Renwick office, moving up from office boy to the important post of "delineator," a key position in a nineteenth century architectural firm. While in Renwick's office, Goodhue also exhibited his extraordinary artistic abilities by designing a complete typeface, "Cheltenham", still widely used. He was soon designing entire books, such as an exquisite edition of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Sonnets from the Portuguese*. By the 1890's, however, Goodhue was ready to move on and set his sights on Boston.

The firm of Cram & Wentworth hired him almost immediately and after a very short period the firm was renamed Cram, Wentworth & Goodhue. Shortly after that Wentworth died. Goodhue always claimed that he was not religious, but there is no doubt that his neo-Gothic architecture was profoundly influenced by Ralph Adams Cram's exuberant Anglo-Catholicism. He was also inspired by the architectural ferment in Boston, which produced H. H. Richardson's magnificent Romanesque Revival Trinity Church and McKim, Mead & White's Renaissance-inspired Boston Public Library. Yet Cram & Goodhue's real love at the time was the small English parish church; the office was filled with sketches of them. Their chance to build a proper English parish church in New England came with All Saints, Ashmont in the Dorchester neighborhood of Boston, completed in 1892. Here was a structure that turned its back on the Colonial Revival style made popular by Congregationalists and Unitarians. All Saints is a stone church, with a powerful square tower and an interior that is unmistakably Anglican-Catholic, its focus on an elaborate high church altar.

All Saints would be the opening chapter of the stunning Cram-Goodhue *oeuvre*. It also prepared them for an extraordinary opportunity that awaited them. On June 28, 1902, Congress appropriated more than five million dollars to improve the military academy at West Point, which had become run down and shabby. Nine architectural firms vied for the commission, including McKim, Mead & White, who wanted a classical military academy. Goodhue's proposal for a robust Gothic Revival campus won. His Cadet Chapel is one of America's supreme Gothic Revival structures and exemplifies Goodhue's concept of a Gothic that is simplified and massive. He employed steel and did away with false frills, such as flying buttresses for stylistic effect. The chapel's 200-foot long nave with soaring walls topped by Guastavino tiles is stunningly magnificent.

The success of the West Point Chapel led to another sensational commission. In 1905, St. Thomas Episcopal Church on New York's Fifth Avenue burned. The tower and portions of the structure had survived, and there was a serious proposal to rebuild it as it had been. The rector, however, encouraged by Cram & Goodhue, opted for something different and grander. What they produced, *The Herald* commented, "…was the most splendid church in New York." Goodhue vigorously objected to Cram's acquiescence to the rector's request that services continue in a kind of temporary tabernacle constructed amidst the ruins. Goodhue felt that this prevented good site planning and constricted the final result. This was the beginning of the breakup of the partnership. Yet Goodhue's genius flashed out in the ninety-five-foot high interior. Goodhue saved the interior from dreariness by the magnificent reredos he designed to fill the entire chancel wall. Working with the sculptor Lee Lawrie, they produced a composition that celebrates the entire history of Christianity and includes, among its sixty figures, not only saints but George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and other secular figures.

Upon completing St. Thomas, Goodhue felt it was time to end his partnership with Cram and set up his own architectural firm. His motivation was clearly to design in new directions on his own.[33] Beginning in 1914, Bertram Goodhue's structures would vividly reveal his dazzling brilliance and striking innovations. The first religious edifice he completed on his own was the Chapel of the Intercession at Broadway and 155th Street. Constructed of local fieldstone, it is stylistically restrained Gothic, influenced by the English churches of

[33] Richard Oliver, *Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1983), 122-123.

Norfolk. Here he was free to plan in a logical manner, combining the church, parish house and vicarage in a tight, cubistic composition. The Chapel's powerful nave with its rough-textured plaster walls reaching up to a polychrome, wooden-trussed ceiling is a single great light-filled hall.

That same year, 1914, Goodhue was commissioned to design and build the Church of St. Vincent Ferrer on Lexington Avenue. This Roman Catholic Church, under the Dominican Fathers, boasts a revolutionary structural scheme in its interior. The ribs of the vault and the shaft of the walls are one. They give to St. Vincent's magnificent nave (130 feet long, seventy-seven feet high, and forty feet wide) the sense of a soaring, unsupported space. Every detail of the church reveals Goodhue's profound knowledge of the history of church architecture. This is evident everywhere: In the Stations of the Cross, consisting of paintings he had purchased on various trips to Europe; in the lock on the Baptismal Font, which is in the form of a small ship; and in the Friars' Chapel with its rare hanging pyx made to hold the consecrated host. St. Vincent's cradles its treasures within Goodhue's powerfully soaring walls of Plymouth granite.

Stylistically, though, Goodhue was now ready to make a break with the Gothic. This was articulated in a letter to a draftsman who was applying for a job. Goodhue stated: "Unfortunately, or at least unfortunately from my point of view, modern architecture as largely practiced and as necessarily taught in the schools is a matter of copying more or less closely the buildings of classical antiquity." He concluded by stating, "This is the sort of thing I don't like and that I can't see any excuse for on the part of an architect of genuine artistic ability. One that is born for the job and for no other. And this is why I prefer the freer styles, those less hampered by rules."[34] His chance would come with the decision to build a new St. Bartholomew's on Park Avenue. Goodhue's striving for a more pure architectural style culminated in the Nebraska State Capitol, but a critical milestone was the design for St. Bartholomew's.

The St. Bartholomew's commission came toward the end of 1914. Goodhue's client, the St. Bartholomew's Vestry, was then led by The Reverend Leighton Parks. "Like Cram, Parks preferred the aesthetic qualities of Gothic (and neo-Gothic) architecture…But Parks' conception of the Episcopal faith was radically different from Cram's. While Cram believed that Luther killed art, Parks believed that Luther had been one of the great reformers, and had his image carved on the west elevation of St. Bartholomew's. For the High Church Cram, the focus on divine service was at the altar, while for the Low Church Parks, the Episcopal Church should be first of all a preaching space."[35] For this reason, Goodhue developed a design that centered on a preaching space that allowed the worshiping congregation to sit close to and view the altar, as well as hear the minister. This is why Trinity Church in Boston, and St. John the Divine in New York were important. Another influence was Liverpool Cathedral in England begun in 1904, which Goodhue visited and greatly admired.[36]

Along with these major works of ecclesiastical architecture, one must also consider the relationship between architect and client, as Leighton Parks and Bertram Goodhue "had remarkably similar views about church building making their collaboration a fruitful though not always happy one."[37] Both were creative thinkers, but Parks also needed to maintain his vestry's support and confidence.

For a Protestant liberal such as Parks, "…heaven, or eternal bliss in union with God, was to be attained not after death, but within the context of life on earth." Thus, "ethical action aimed at realizing the kingdom of God in the here and now…was of necessity socially oriented," it's most immediate and palpable expression being

[34] Goodhue to unidentified draftsman, quoted in Whitaker, *Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue*, 13.
[35] Smith, *St. Bartholomew's Church*, 98-99.
[36] Ibid., 94-96.
[37] Ibid., 13.

steadfast, energetic commitment to serving the poor and displaced.[38] As we have seen, Parks also believed in powerful preaching that all present could see and hear, and that church architecture, like preaching, should serve to link past with present. From the last, it followed that the new Park Avenue St. Bartholomew's should proclaim both a spiritual message and an aesthetic message. Parks observed that train stations, houses, and even commercial buildings "rival in their towers the cathedrals of old!" He concluded that, "If the Church . . . falls below the artistic demand of the community it will fail to do the work that it desires to do."[39]

Moreover, this moral dimension of Parks' architectural vision also saw the new church as performing a "ministry of beauty," dedicated to "stimulating the urban imagination" and "giving joy and peace and comfort to those who pass by."[40] This manifested itself in various ways. In the first instance, Parks "conceived the role of the new church as embracing a congregation larger and more varied than its regular parishioners at that time." The poor and needy served by the various welfare and health centers operated by the parish were to be welcomed along with tourists staying in midtown hotels and commuters whose point of entry to and exit from the city was (the recently completed) Grand Central Terminal.[41]

For Parks also, the "location of St. Bartholomew's on a broad avenue, forming a visual pendant to the monumental Grand Central Terminal, and surrounded by buildings that averaged twelve stories in height," demanded "design on a grand scale." Otherwise, the new church would not be able to "hold its own in the urban environment." Clearly Parks wanted the church to "make a visual impact on the city, and even on the country. Thus, the seating capacity, physical relationship with the neighborhood, and symbolic intent of St. Bartholomew's are associated with cathedrals, not parish churches." In a sermon preached on February 27, 1916, Parks drew attention to the scale and opulence of contemporary building in New York City, noting that there were now "private houses like Italian palaces." Being no longer "content with the useful," he continued, "[w]e are insisting that in banks, insurance companies, stores, railroads, libraries, private houses there be some expression of the beauty which underlies our somewhat sordid life." In such an urban environment, he concluded, the church must not fall "below the artistic demand of the community [lest it] fail to do the work it desires to do."[42]

Parks could also be eloquent on the "moral significance" of the chosen Romanesque style. In his view, the round arch, inherited from Roman architecture, signified

> human brotherhood and acceptance of life, as contrasted with the desire to escape this life and strive upward toward heaven, symbolized by the Gothic pointed arch. Thus it [the Romanesque] was appropriate for a parish dedicated to community service and the realization of a moral ideal in every person's life.[43]

Likewise, the "apsidal chancel recalls the equality between bishop and clergy in the early church," while the dome "traces its origins back to the tents used for Hebrew worship" and signifies "not the transcendence but the immanence of God," that is "God dwelling amongst his people." In sum, for Parks, Romanesque was "the style of democracy," because it allows all congregants to "participate in brotherhood beneath the unifying dome," be "equally illuminated by the clear light of grace, and…free to seek perfection in their earthly lives." As the style

[38] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, New York Episcopal parishes, such as Grace Church, St. George's, and St. Bartholomew's were leaders in providing social services to the poor and immigrant populations. By 1903, St. Bartholomew's ran six Sunday schools in five languages, trade schools, guilds, clubs, kindergartens, a medical clinic, and other social services. Ibid., 12.

[39] Cited in Smith, *St. Bartholomew's Church*, 18.

[40] Ibid., 17.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Leighton Parks, "The House of Martha and Mary," February 27, 1916, *St. Bartholomew's Archives.* Cited in Smith, *St. Bartholomew's Church,* 180-183.

[43] Leighton Parks, "The Spiritual Significance of the Romanesque," Sermon preached on May 6, 1923, *St. Bartholomew's Archives*.

that embodied the guiding principles of American life, Romanesque was the correct style for modern architecture, and the Episcopal Church had a duty to make this known."[44]

Although claiming not to be a religious person, and "silent on the philosophical merits of Romanesque and Byzantine architecture,"[45] Bertram Goodhue shared Leighton Parks' interest in reconciling historic values with modern needs. In Goodhue's case this took the form of disdaining formal architectural education (what he called teaching students to copy buildings and memorize rules), along with an abiding conviction that contemporary architecture employing modern materials should be "honest." "It would not do," for example, "for the visible support system of a building to differ in character from the actual structure."[46] This was evident as early as 1903, when, in designing the "neo-Gothic" Cadet Chapel at West Point, Goodhue employed structural steel and Guastavino tiles while doing away with false frills, such as flying buttresses supporting nothing.

By the time the St. Bartholomew's commission materialized, it also appears that he had begun to tire of working in the Gothic idiom. In a 1918 letter to Paul Cret, he wrote:

> Contrary to what I suppose is the generally accepted view, I hold no brief for Gothic as opposed to any other style. Gothic seems to be the generally accepted spirit in which churches should be built; also I find its forms attractive, and therefore a good deal of Gothic work must be laid at my door; but I assure you that I dream of something very much bigger and finer and more suited to our present-day civilization than any Gothic church could possibly be.[47]

In architectural terms, Goodhue's solution to the problem of reconciling tradition and progress in the new St. Bartholomew's was to choose "architectural models and precedents in which revetted piers and vaults constitute the vocabulary of structure. As Christine Smith comments,

> The pier from San Marco was an ideal model for St. Bartholomew's, since its planar, blocky character minimizes the visual suggestion that a weight-support dynamic is at work…. Further, the pier form at St. Bartholomew's, while almost identical in design to that of San Marco, is just as much the logical consequence of its steel core. Quite literally, the steel core was coated with concrete and faced with acoustic tile without significant alteration in shape.[48]

According to Smith, for the leading architects of Goodhue's generation, "the problem of architectural unity, as distinct from architectural purity, was important. The complexity and multiplicity of modern needs could best be met by drawing on several traditions." Moreover, "Goodhue did not regard the history of architecture as the history of style, but as the history of functional and structural types." Thus, "St. Bartholomew's, despite its apparent eclecticism, is a coherent, carefully thought-out building. Its style is modern because, despite the historical references of its formal vocabulary, the functions that determined its form and the structure by which that form is realized are modern."[49]

Or put another way, Goodhue, whose Gothic Revival work with Cram was archaeologically correct, strove for effect in ways that were non-traditional. In a letter to George Horsfield, Goodhue described St. Bartholomew's as looking "more like Arabian Nights or the last act of 'Parsifal' than any Christian Church."[50] The design that

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[44] Ibid.
[45] Smith, *St Bartholomew's Church*, 36.
[46] Ibid., 43.
[47] Goodhue to Paul Cret, (n.d.) cited in Whitaker, *Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue*, 27.
[48] Smith, *St Bartholomew's Church*, 43.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Goodhue to George Horsfield, February 16, 1919, cited in Smith, *St. Bartholomew's Church,* 37.

was accepted in 1914, however, evolved due to cost constraints. While the vestry had committed to a scheme that consisted of a church and community house, cost estimates led to significant revisions. As originally conceived, the church was to have a polygonal multi-stage tower inspired by Italian precedents. Early concerns about the cost of the church led Goodhue to revise the design in 1916 so that the square base for the tower could be constructed with no resolution for the dome, a problem that was resolved after Goodhue's death. Also eliminated were many decorative finishes for the interior. Not sacrificed was the use of acoustical Guastavino tiles, a product also known for its beauty.

With her tribute to be made part of the new building, Alice Vanderbilt paid for its transfer to the St. Bartholomew's site on Park Avenue. The Romanesque style of White's Triple Portal would inform the architecture of the entire new church. Goodhue had the freedom to engage in the stylistic experimentation he had always sought and now abandoned all of his Gothic vocabulary. It was a revolutionary move. The exterior is boldly austere with enormous cubistic massing in the elevations. Lee Lawrie's statues of St. Paul, St. Francis Assisi, Martin Luther and Phillips Brooks reveal a nascent Art Deco manner, which would reach full bloom in Goodhue's design for the Nebraska State Capitol. At St. Bartholomew's, Goodhue also abandoned the limestone and fieldstone of his earlier buildings, using varying shades of ochre-colored brick.

Upon entering the church through the narthex, with its multiple domes decorated with mosaics by Hildreth Meiere depicting the Creation, it immediately becomes clear how far Goodhue had come from the St. Thomas commission. The narthex is a perfect preamble to the nave, where Goodhue's fertile imagination created an awesome space of rhythmical barrel vaulting leading to a vast domed crossing. The walls are of umber-shaded tile trimmed with stone. The aesthetic simplicity of the nave makes all the more glorious the chancel with its rich marbles laid in thin sheets in a style common in Venice and Constantinople. Just how far Goodhue was moving away from Gothic into a new ecclesiastical language is also strikingly evident in the golden Sienese marble pulpit and stairs with its stylized figures and the eagle mounted on the lectern suggesting Assyrian and Egyptian influences by Lee Lawrie.

The basic structure of the church was completed between May and June 1917. The Triple Portal was transferred in March 1918. Other material salvaged from the old church included some stained glass, marble paving for the chancel, the chancel rail and choir stalls. On October 20, 1918 the first service was held in the new church, but the building was not consecrated until May 1, 1923. Because of Goodhue's death in 1924, the final work on the church was completed by his successor firm. First came the community house, dedicated in November 1927. The small building with a garden setting conceived by Goodhue was replaced by a larger building that better met the needs of the congregation. Next came the uncompleted interior finishes. The designs for the apse were based upon the architect's reconfiguration of the chancel pavement, as well as surviving Goodhue sketches as interpreted by his artist collaborator Lee Lawrie. Other work was developed by Goodhue Associates under the direction of Alvin Krech, chair of the vestry-appointed arts committee, who encouraged a more Byzantine character. Finally, the dome was decided upon as a suitable replacement for Goodhue's tower. The vestry commissioned from Goodhue's successor firm, a dome design modeled on Goodhue's California State Building at the Panama-California Exposition in San Diego (1911-1915). This was finished, along with the remaining interior finishes, in December 1930.[51]

Bertram Goodhue's final two projects reveal his evolution toward classical Art Deco. The Los Angeles Public Library (with its striking pyramid-topped tower), and the monumental Nebraska State Capitol comprise a fitting conclusion to his extraordinary career. In 1919, a competition was announced for a new state capitol in Lincoln, Nebraska. Some forty firms entered, and Goodhue's design was chosen. His productivity at the time was prodigious. The firm had designed the National Academy of Sciences in Washington, D.C., a new library at

[51] Smith, *St. Bartholomew's Church,* 70-71.

Yale, and numerous buildings for Rice Institute in Houston, and for California Institute of Technical Technology.

The Nebraska Capitol appears to break from all the classically inspired capitols that are the norm for most American states. The reality, though, is it is very much influenced by the Neo-Classical Style promoted by the École des Beaux-Arts. Goodhue played with the style, using it as a basis to create a building that is at once traditional in inspiration and boldly new in appearance. The capitol was planned with a base seventy-nine feet square with a tower 400 feet tall at its center. Crowning the tower is a tiled dome topped by Lee Lawrie's statue *The Sower*. The exterior is richly embellished by sculpture, also by Lawrie, relating to the history and geography of Nebraska, including powerful buffalo and Plains Indians. There are also stunning statues of subjects appropriate to a capitol, like wisdom and justice, which seem to grow out of the stones themselves. Goodhue had experimented with this style at St. Vincent Ferrer. The Nebraska State Capitol, however, uses narrative sculpture by Lawrie, mosaics by Hildreth Meiere, and mural paintings by Augustus V. Tack to create an artistic tribute to the land, the products, and the people of the state. The capitol's vestibule features superb images of the gifts of nature, depicting cattle and sheep and pigs and corn and wheat and waving fields of grass. This is a perfect transition to the awe-inspiring rotunda. Here are colorful, glazed ceramic figures representing the virtues: Charity, Hope, Courage and Justice, all in the Deco-inspired style. This majestic edifice that belongs to the epoch that produced New York's Chrysler Building would not be completed until 1932, after Goodhue's death.

There is a subtle similarity between the Nebraska capitol and St. Bartholomew's Church. The figures by Lawrie on the exteriors of the Nebraska State Capitol and some of the sculptures on the exterior of St. Bartholomew's display a striking resemblance. The richly decorated narthex of St. Bartholomew's is unmistakably echoed in the richness of the mosaics in Lincoln. Finally, the dome high atop the Nebraska tower bears a familial likeness to St. Bartholomew's dome, completed by Goodhue Associates (Mayers, Murray & Phillip). Goodhue's wondrously creative spirit informs these two structures so different in their purpose, but so similar in their life-enhancing beauty.

With the completion of the interior of the church in the summer of 1930, a rededication ceremony was held in December.[52] Appreciation of the significance of St. Bartholomew's grew over the years and the esteem in which it was held, was signified by its designation as a New York City landmark in 1967, as well as the public controversy over plans to demolish the community house to allow construction of a tall office tower in its place. Widespread support for preserving the community house as integral to the landmarked church included many leading architects who refused to be considered for designing a new building on the site.[53]

In 1914, when Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue was commissioned to design a new Park Avenue location for St. Bartholomew's Church, the rector, Leighton Parks, preached a sermon presenting his vision of a "ministry of beauty" dedicated to stimulating the urban imagination. Dr. Parks appealed to his congregation to consider "the needs of others before their own," arguing that it was "a privilege to place at the beginning of a new avenue a thing of beauty which will give joy and peace and comfort to those who pass by." Park Avenue, once Fourth Avenue, lined with breweries and a coal-fired power plant bordering an open railroad pit, was about to change. "Grand Central Terminal had been built astride Park Avenue between 1908 and 1913, and it was clear that this area would undergo significant improvement in the coming years. The new church claimed a place as one of the first structures to define [the locus of that] development."[54] A 1918 headline, "Remarkable Rise of Park

[52] St. Bartholomew's to be rededicated". *The New York Times*, December 7, 1930, 36.
[53] Carter Wiseman, Cityscape: "Drawing the Line on St. Bart's", *New York Magazine*, May 4, 1981, 86, 87.
[54] Smith, *St. Bartholomew's Church*, 18.

Avenue" followed with "St. Bartholomew's magnificent church presents a striking object lesson of the transformation, which has remade the greater part of that wide thoroughfare."[55]

Nine decades later, St. Bartholomew's still plays a defining civic role. Although the elegant apartment buildings planted around it in the 1920's are gone, replaced by soaring steel and glass office towers, its iconic Great Dome, its colorful façades and undulating roof tiles, its airy terraces and bright gardens still offer aesthetic pleasure and comfort to the passerby, as well as testimony to pivotal moments both in the city's growth and development and in the remarkable career of its principal architect, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue.

The St. Bartholomew's Conservancy (formerly the Preservation Foundation), an independent non-profit organization, was established in 1992 for the express purpose of helping preserve the historic character and architectural significance of the St. Bartholomew's site. The Conservancy is dedicated to raising funds on a regional and national basis for the site's long-term preservation and restoration and is currently focused on the Church and Community House exteriors. Through these activities the Conservancy aspires to promote community awareness and public appreciation of the importance of preserving historic buildings in the urban environment.

St. Bartholomew's is both a celebrated New York City landmark and a cherished destination for visitors from across the country and around the world.

[55] "Remarkable Rise of Park Avenue". *The New York Times*, December 1, 1918, 42.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
_X_ Previously Listed in the National Register. NR#80002719, Listed 4/16/1980.
__ 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:

__ State Historic Preservation Office
__ Other State Agency
__ Federal Agency
_X_ Local Government (New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission)
_X_ University (Avery Fine Art and Architectural Library, Columbia University)
_X_ Other: The New-York Historical Society (McKim, Mead & White Collection)
Museum of the City of New York (Gottscho-Schleisner Collection)
Parish Archives, St. Bartholomew's Church.

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 1.09 acres

UTM References:	**Zone**	**Easting**	**Northing**
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Verbal Boundary Description: The boundaries are equivalent to the Borough of Manhattan tax parcel, Block 1305, Lot 1 and described in the deed as, "All those certain lots, pieces or parcels of land, with the buildings and improvements thereon erected, situate, lying and being in the Borough of Manhattan of the City of New York, in the County and State of New York, bounded and described as follows: BEGINNING at a point on the northerly side of Fiftieth Street, distant 180 feet westerly from the corner formed by the intersection of the said northerly line of Fiftieth Street with the westerly side of Lexington Avenue; and running thence northerly and parallel with the westerly side of Lexington Avenue 100 feet 5 inches to the centre line of the block between Fiftieth and Fifty-first Streets; thence easterly and along the said centre line of the block and parallel with the said northerly side of Fiftieth Street 25 feet; thence northerly and again parallel with the westerly side of Lexington Avenue 100 feet 5 inches to a point in the southerly side of Fifty-first Street distant 155 feet westerly from the corner formed by the intersection of the southerly side of Fifty-first Street with the westerly side of Lexington Avenue; and running thence westerly along the said southerly side of Fifty-first Street 250 feet to the corner formed by the intersection of said southerly side of Fifty-first Street with the easterly side of Park Avenue; thence southerly and along the said easterly side of Park Avenue 200 feet and 10 inches to the corner formed by the intersection of the said easterly side of Park Avenue with the northerly side of Fiftieth Street; running thence easterly and along the said northerly side of Fiftieth Street 225 feet to the point or place of beginning, be the said several distances and dimensions more or less."

Boundary Justification: The boundary includes the church and attached community house and the entire lot that has historically comprised St. Bartholomew's Church as originally constructed.

11. FORM PREPARED BY

Name/Title: Percy Preston, Jr., Honorary Warden
Carole Bailey French, President, St. Bartholomew's Conservancy, Inc.
David Garrard Lowe, Consultant
Constance Evans, Executive Director, St. Bartholomew's Conservancy, Inc.

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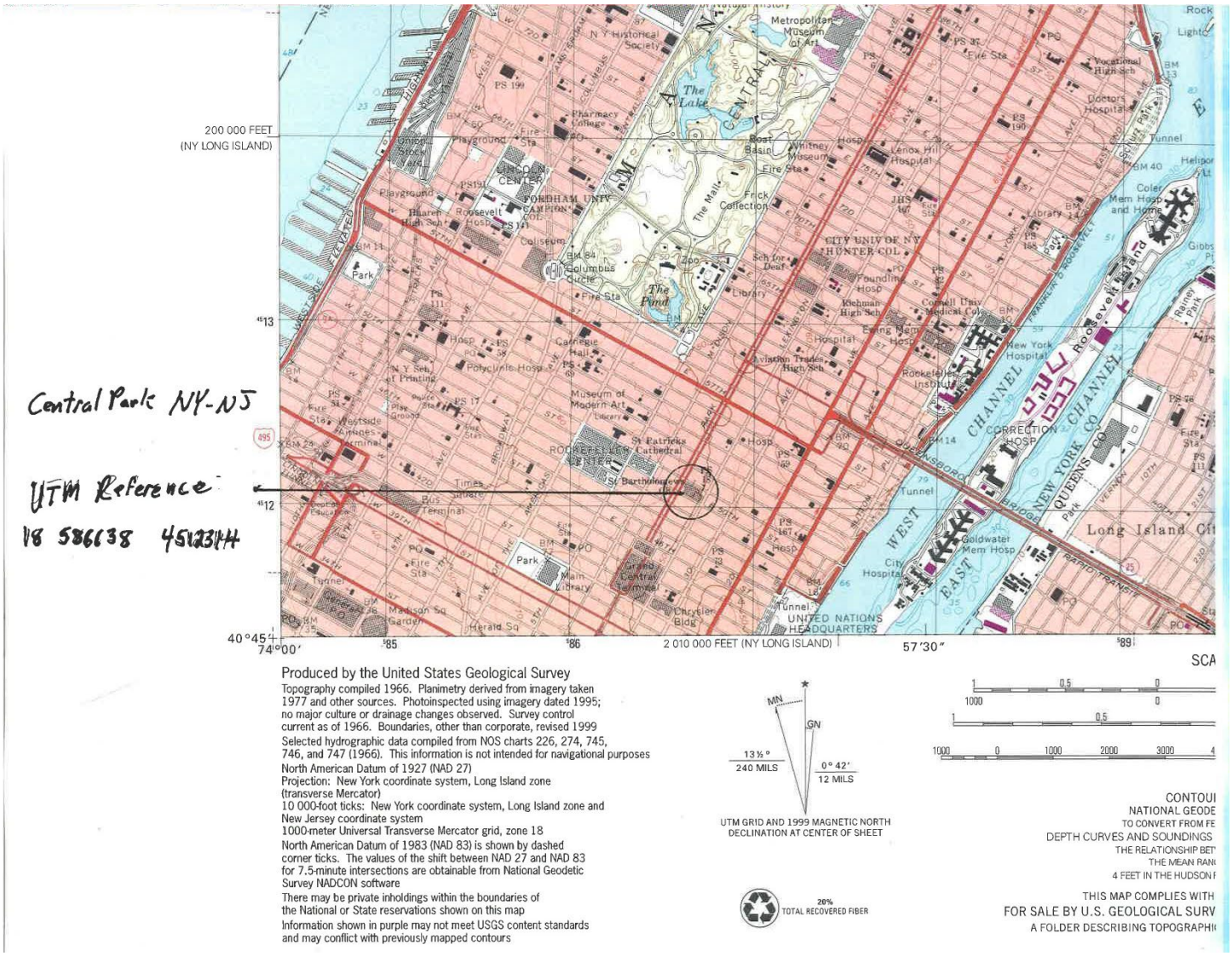
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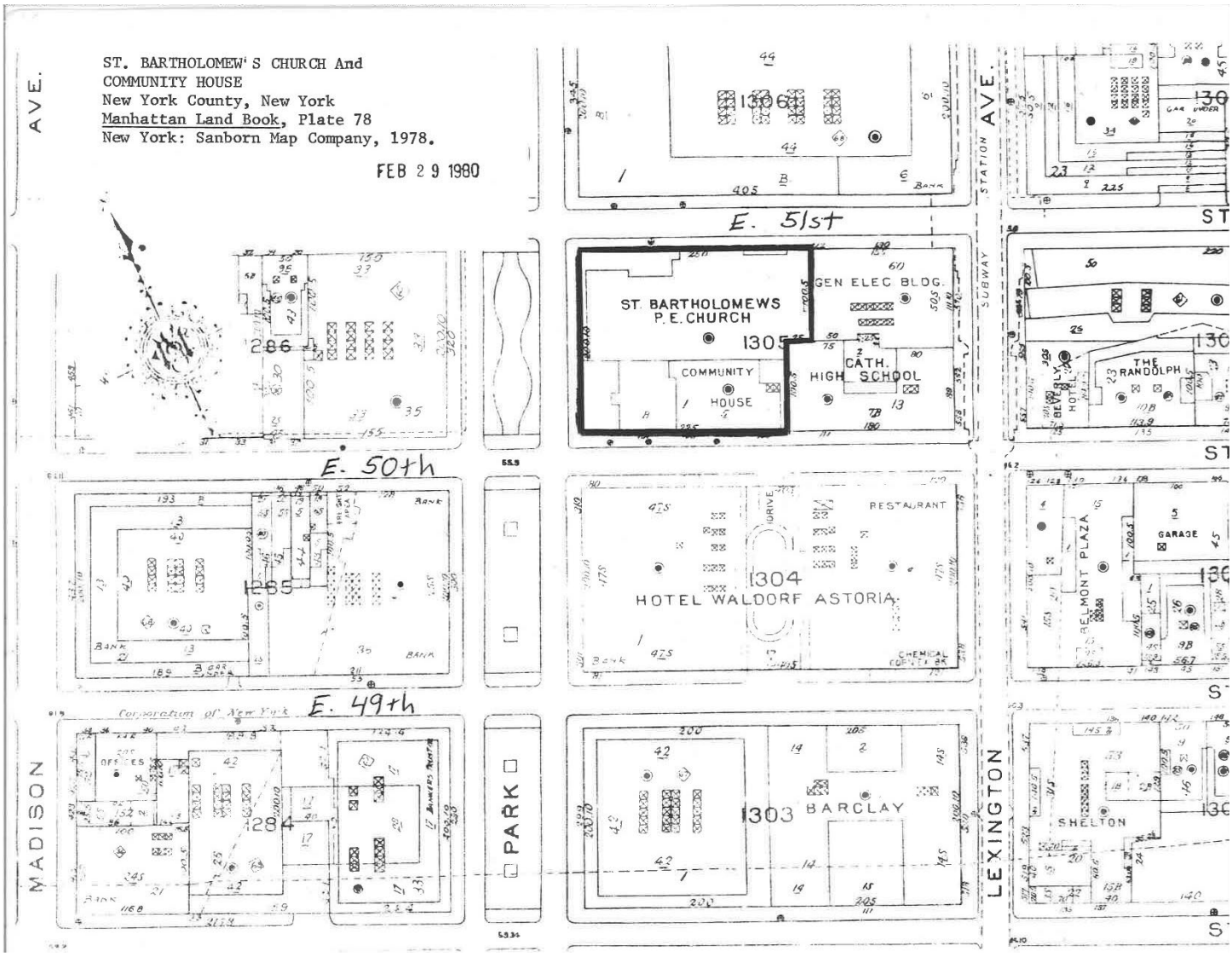
Date: July 24, 2014

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NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM


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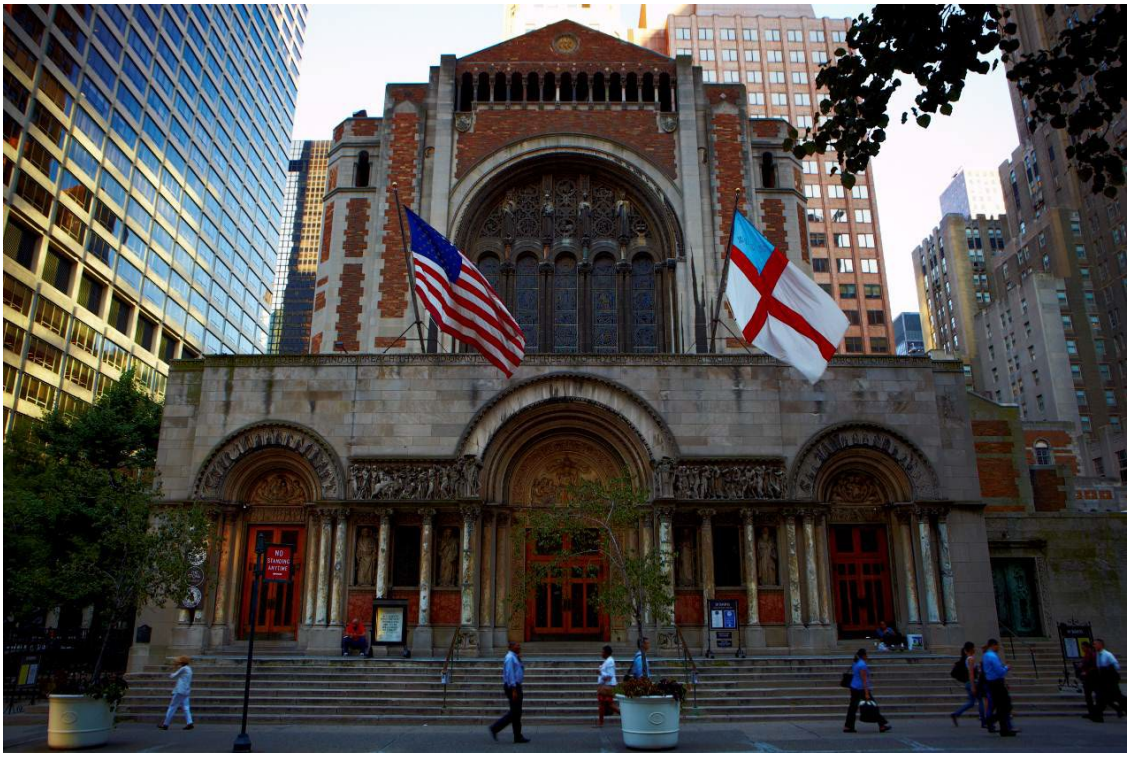
St. Bartholomew's Church and Community House, looking northeast.
James Salzano, photographer, 2013.



St. Bartholomew's Church looking southwest.
James Salzano, photographer, 2013.



St. Bartholomew's Church, north transept with polychromatic masonry details.
James Salzano, photographer, 2013.



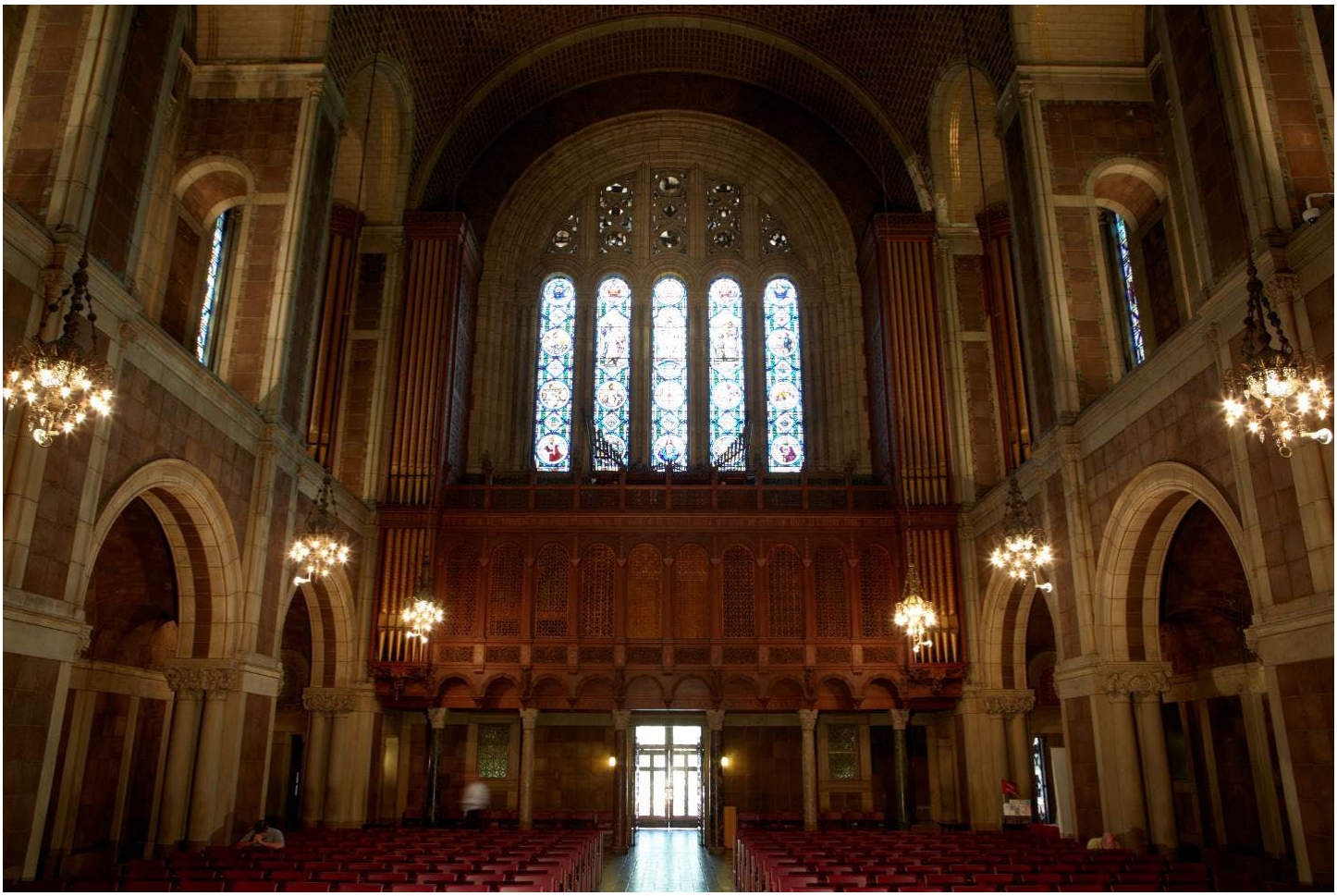
St. Bartholomew's Church, detail of triple portal, looking east.
James Salzano, photographer, 2013.



Detail of bronze door in triple portal, by Philip Martiny, sculptor.
James Salzano, photographer, 2013.



St. Bartholomew's Church, narthex ceiling, Hildreth Meiere, artist.
James Salzano, photographer, 2013.



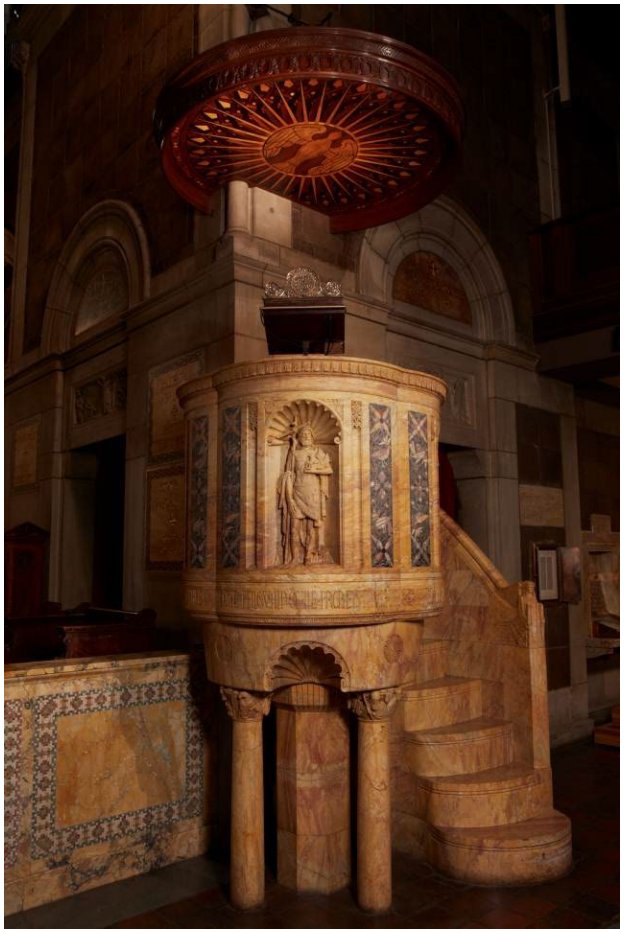
St. Bartholomew's Church nave looking west toward entrance from narthex.
James Salzano, photographer, 2013.



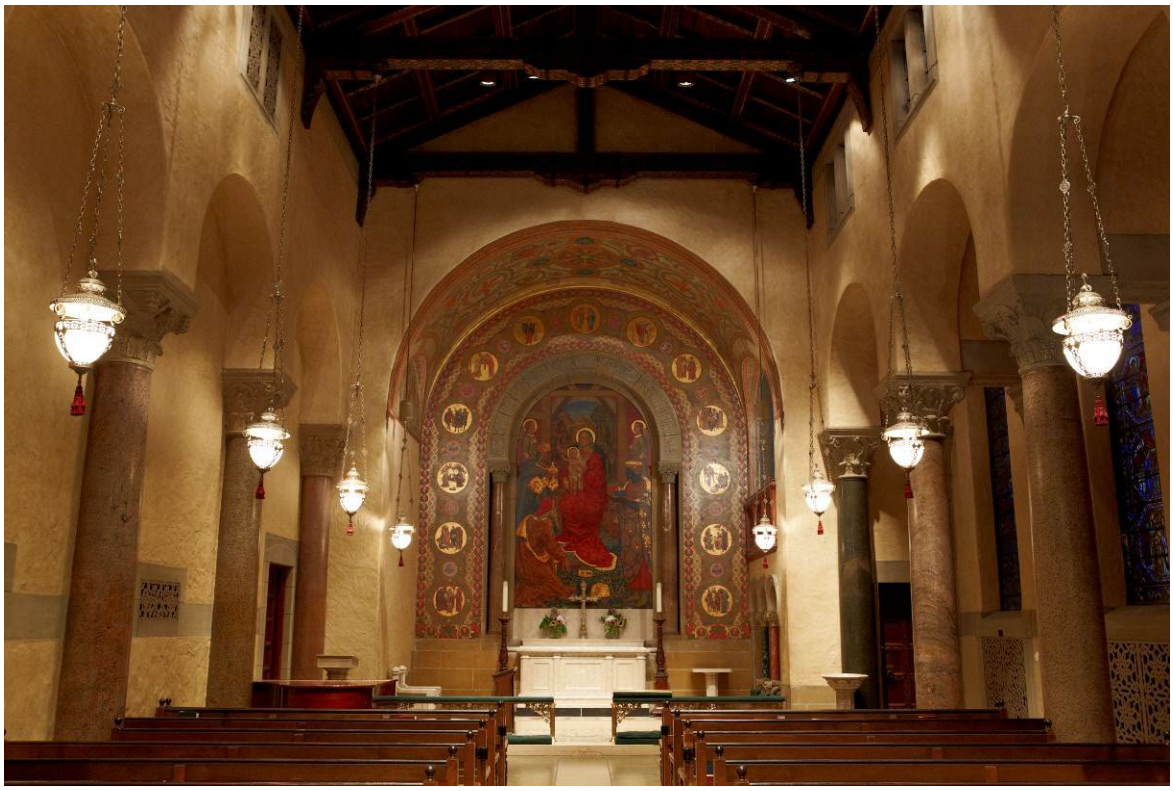
St. Bartholomew's Church, view of chancel and apse looking east.
James Salzano, photographer, 2013.



St. Bartholomew's Church, detail of chancel floor tiles.
James Salzano, photographer, 2013.



St. Bartholomew's Church pulpit, Lee Lawrie, sculptor.
James Salzano, photographer, 2013.



St. Bartholomew's Church Chapel looking east.
James Salzano, photographer, 2013.



Nebraska State Capitol, view of tower looking east.
Samuel H.Gottscho photographer, June, 1934
HABS, Courtesy Library of Congress