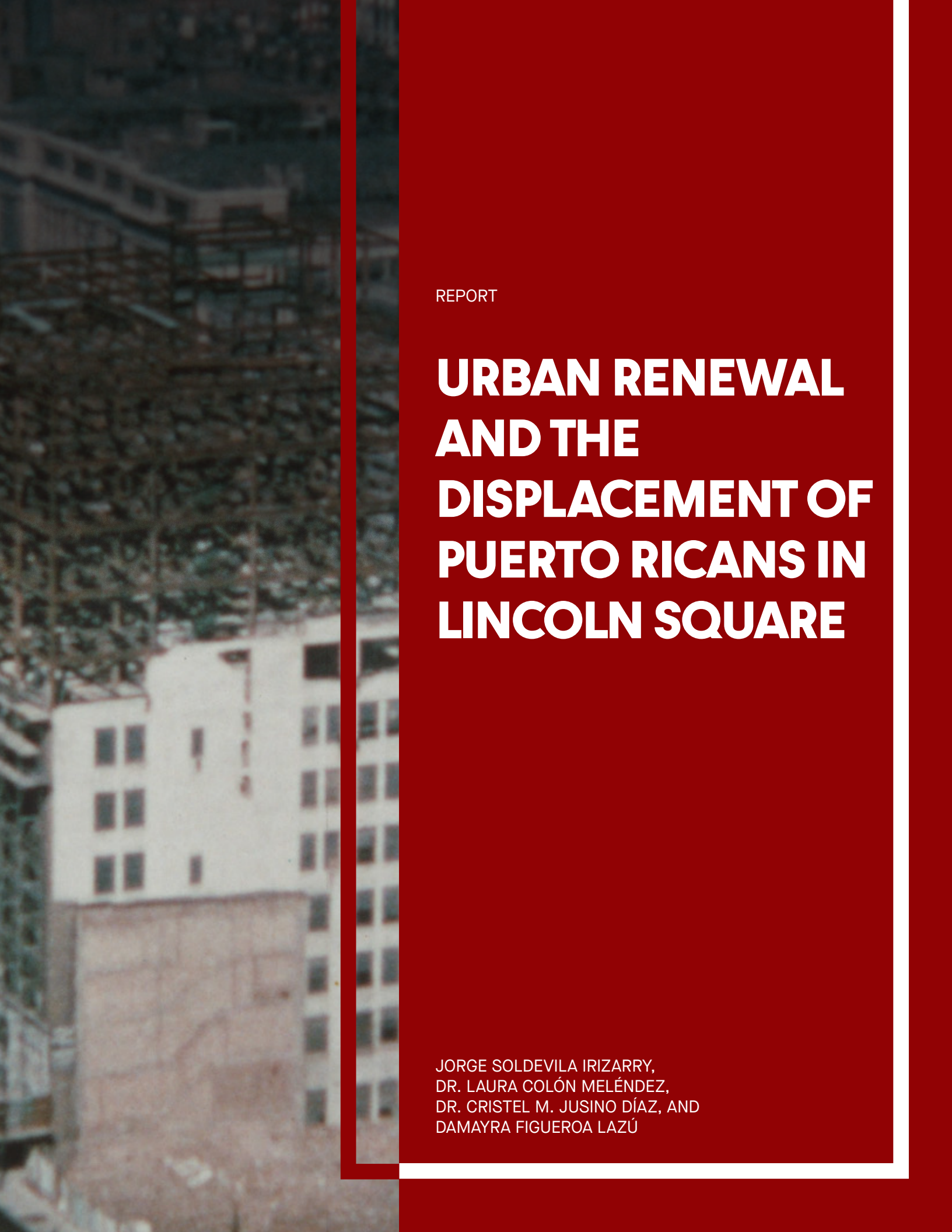


An aerial photograph of a city, likely New York City, showing a large building under construction with a complex network of scaffolding. A prominent red vertical bar runs down the right side of the image, partially obscuring the building. The background shows other city buildings and greenery.

REPORT

URBAN RENEWAL AND THE DISPLACEMENT OF PUERTO RICANS IN LINCOLN SQUARE

JORGE SOLDEVILA IRIZARRY,
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**CEN
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INTRODUCTION¹

In December 1958, *El Diario* published a full-page article titled "En Lincoln Square, se está muriendo una barriada puertorriqueña de 2,000 familias."² The newspaper, the oldest Spanish language daily in New York City, had spent much of that year covering the planned demolition of a long-standing neighborhood to make way for the construction of the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts and a new Fordham University campus. These two institutions would serve as the center pieces of the Lincoln Square urban renewal project, which spanned between 60th Street and Columbus Avenue and 70th Street and West End Avenue. The history of Puerto Ricans in New York City has largely focused on the communities they were shunted to, not the communities they were displaced from. This is partly due to the fact that many of these communities were targeted by urban renewal projects during the 1950s and 1960s. One such overlooked community was Lincoln Square in Manhattan's Upper West Side, where more than 3,000 Puerto Ricans lived. The prevailing stories are those that center slum-like living conditions and blight - neighborhood decay and poor housing conditions. For many, the only knowledge of Puerto Rican communities in the Upper West Side comes from the infamous conflict between the Jets and the Sharks, as depicted in the 1957 Broadway musical and subsequent 1961 film adaptation, *West Side Story*. While not an outright endorsement of urban renewal, *West Side Story* reinforced the notion that these neighborhoods were greatly afflicted by poverty, violence, and disease.

En Lincoln Square Se Barriada Puertorriqueña

Por Ismael

(Especial para "EL DIARIO")

La una vez floreciente barriada puertorriqueña de Lincoln Square ha desaparecido para todos los fines prácticos, y solo quedan en el céntrico vecindario unas cuantas bodegas del centenar y tantas que hasta hace pocos meses estuvieron sirviendo a las 2,000 familias boricuas de la barriada.

Las brigadas de demolición se han apoderado del área, tumbando edificios a derecha e izquierda para hacer sitio al tan anunciado centro de arte y viviendas de lujo del proyecto de renovación urbana que será levantado a un costo casi total de \$300,000,000 en un período de tres años.

De las lavanderías, peluquerías, talleres de reparación de radios y televisión, "candy stores", restaurantes, bodegas y otros establecimientos hispanos del solar, ya quedan solo unos cuantos que tienen sus días contados para caer pronto bajo el impacto destructor de las cuadrillas demoledoras.

Vecinos que por años cultivaron una mutua amistad y que hacían causa común de sus alegrías y vicisitudes, han visto deshecha una relación casi familiar porque tienen que dejarle paso al proyecto para embellecer los alrededores del costoso Coliseo construido frente a la estatua de Colón en la calle 59 y Broadway.

El antiguo edificio que ocupaba la Oficina de Puerto Rico, donde tantos boricuas acudieron en los últi-



UNO DE TANTOS: José Hernández es uno de los demás en el vecindario, está condenada a residencias de lujo y el centro de arte neoyor-

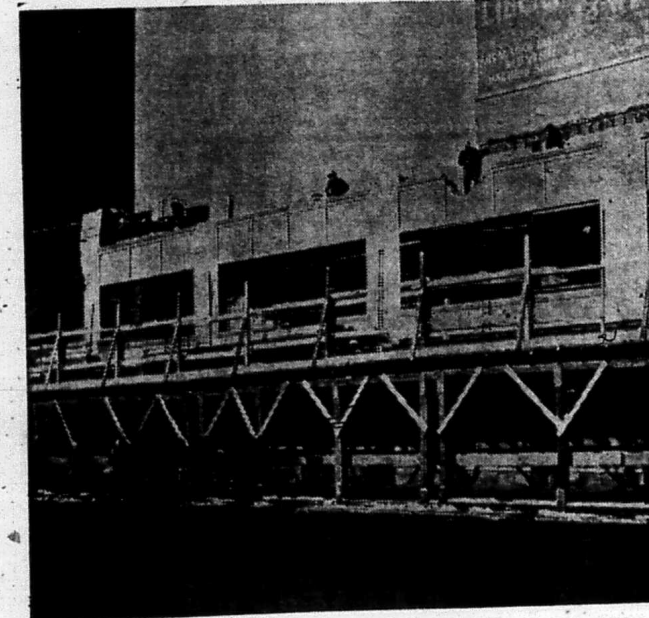
mos años en la esperanza de obtener alguna orientación y ayuda, dejó de existir. En todo el trecho desde la calle 63 hasta la 65, frente a Broadway, solo queda un edificio en uso: el Teatro Studio, al que le quedan pocos días.

En muchísimos edificios "condenados" a desaparecer, los pocos inquilinos que esperan a mudarse o ser mudados, carecen de los elementales servicios de agua

caliente y c protegerse de no que ya tros

Las empre raíces a qu ciadores de proyectos qu actuales co Lincoln Squ ningún inte proveer esos

Sin embar nós tienen pagando rel



CONOCIMOS EL SITIO: Aquí estaban las oficinas de migración del Gobierno —en el centro de Lincoln Square— donde millares de boricuas fueron a buscar la barriada era una floreciente comunidad con más de 2,000 familias puertor-

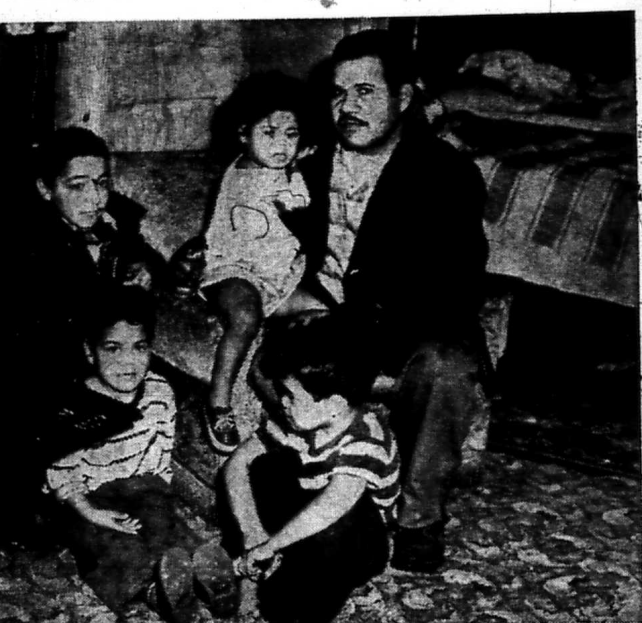
1 The authors would like to acknowledge the invaluable work done by our data entry and research team: Monique Young, Camila Juarbe Toledo, Maya Borg, and Arianna Meneses.

2 Ismael Fernández, "En Lincoln Square se está muriendo una barriada puertorriqueña de 2,000 familias." *El Diario de Nueva York*, December 14, 1958: 22. Microfilm Collection. Center for Puerto Rican Studies Library & Archives, Hunter College, CUNY: 65.

Está "Muriendo" Una ñ de 2,000 Familias

Fernández

IO DE NUEVA YORK")



Las pocas familias boricuas que aún quedan en Lincoln Square. Su casa, como todas las que se van a demoler, caerá al impacto de las cuadrillas de demolición que dejarán el solar limpio para el quino, incluidos en el programa de renovación urbana del área. (Foto: por Nuredin).

alefacción para el crudo invierno está con nosotros. Los distintos tipos de viviendas que se sustituirán las instrucciones de construcción de las casas no tienen un estándar especial en los servicios. Pero, los inquilinos que continúan viviendo en las

rentas si quieren evitar los riesgos de un desahucio y la pérdida de sus derechos de relocalización y la compensación que esperan si se mudan por su propio esfuerzo.

Cuando por una u otra razón el inquilino se toma demasiado tiempo en pagar su renta, la notita avisándole de que está atrasado y previniéndole del desahucio no se hace esperar.

Las familias más afectadas en toda esta situación son las de muchos hijos. A estas les es muy difícil conseguir donde mudarse por su cuenta, y tampoco a las agencias contradas para la relocalización les resulta fácil conseguir donde mudarse.

Mientras tanto, las ratas emigran de una casa desocupada a otra donde aún quedan inquilinos para aprovechar la presencia de estos y conseguir que comen; las cucarachas se multiplican por millares y nada ni nadie las detiene en sus ataques contra las pobres despensas del área porque no hay servicio de fumigación para tratar de contener su multiplicación.

En algunos sectores de Lincoln Square se dispone aún de tiempo suficiente para mudarse, pero los vecinos no han querido dejar esta cuestión inaplazable para última hora y han optado por irse. Los que no sintieron urgencia ahora tienen prisa, pero las vacantes han quedado copadas y

se les hace difícil encontrar.

La situación de Lincoln Square se ha reflejado en los vecindarios inmediatos.

Los caseros, prevenidos de que sus propiedades están en turno para ser absorbidas en el afán de embellecimiento y renovación del área, no se toman mucho interés en pintar sus casas y atender con prontitud a las quejas de sus inquilinos. La actitud, según comentó el jefe de una familia boricua, es de indiferencia, algo así como "sacarle el jugo a la casa" aprovechando todo lo que pueda dar.

Además, muchos caseros no se preocupan por los niveles de escrupulosidad que habían mantenido para escoger sus inquilinos hasta que surgió el proyecto de Lincoln Square.

Desde luego, los que viven en el futuro centro de arte neoyorquino tienen tiempo, en ley, para mudarse, pero cuanto antes lo hagan mejor porque ello se refleja en la eficiencia de los llamados programas de "relocalización" de familias desplazadas.

Quizás por eso, una vecina dijo que al despertar una reciente mañana notó con sorpresa que en el pasillo había bolsas llenas de comida en estado de descomposición, lo que para que las ratas engordaran y con su presencia convencieran a los más lentos que lo mejor es mudarse... y mudarse pronto.

In 2021, coinciding with the release of Steven Spielberg's updated *West Side Story* film, as well as the inauguration of the remodeled David Geffen Concert Hall, the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts spearheaded the *Legacies of San Juan Hill* project. The initiative aimed to "uplift the complex history, communities, and cultural legacy of this area through artistic programming, commissions, discussions, scholarship, and education."³ As part of this initiative, the Lincoln Center archives offered CENTRO's Data Hub access to 2,130 digitized site occupation records pertaining to 165 distinct addresses of tenants residing within the site of what would become the city's premier performance center. These records invite a necessary retrospective reassessment and reframing of the scripts that bolstered dispossession of vulnerable populations in the name of development across mid-20th-century New York City.

Urban renewal projects, like the one implemented in Lincoln Square were considered essential for the public good. The records and data analyzed in this report raise the question of how exactly "public good" is defined. Who is the public benefitting from slum clearance and displacement? In marketing materials documenting the construction of Lincoln Center, proponents of the project exalt the value of having a state of the art performing arts center in the middle of Manhattan.⁴ However, by accepting the displacement of racialized, working class people as collateral for this progress, they are essentially excluding poor Puerto Ricans, Blacks, and other ethnic minorities from the "public" that will benefit as a result of urban renewal projects. By delving into the lived experiences of the community's residents, this report highlights the impact of urban renewal projects on Puerto Rican communities in New York City as well as maps the scope and geography of community displacement.

3 "About-Legacies of San Juan Hill." Accessed May 29, 2025.

<https://www.lincolncenter.org/feature/legacies-of-san-juan-hill/a/about>.

4 See the 1958 fundraising brochure "Facts on Lincoln Center" and *Lincoln Center: The Legend Is Born*, a public relations tool created by Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, 1959.

no de Puerto Rico
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riqueñas. (Nuredin).

SHIFTING DEMOGRAPHICS AND THE ARRIVAL OF PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK CITY

TABLE 1. Puerto Ricans in Continental United States, New York State, and New York City: 1910 to 1950

Census year and generation	Continental United States		New York State		New York City	
	Number	Percent of increase	Number	Percent of total	Number	Percent of total
Puerto Rican birth:						
1950.....	226,110	223.2	191,305	84.6	187,420	82.9
1940.....	69,967	32.6	63,281	90.4	61,463	87.8
1930.....	52,774	346.8	45,973	87.1	(²)	...
1920.....	11,811	680.6	7,719	65.4	7,364	62.4
1910.....	1,513	...	641	42.4	554	36.3
Puerto Rican parentage:¹						
1950.....	72,265	...	(²)	...	58,460	77.7

¹ Born in continental United States² Not available

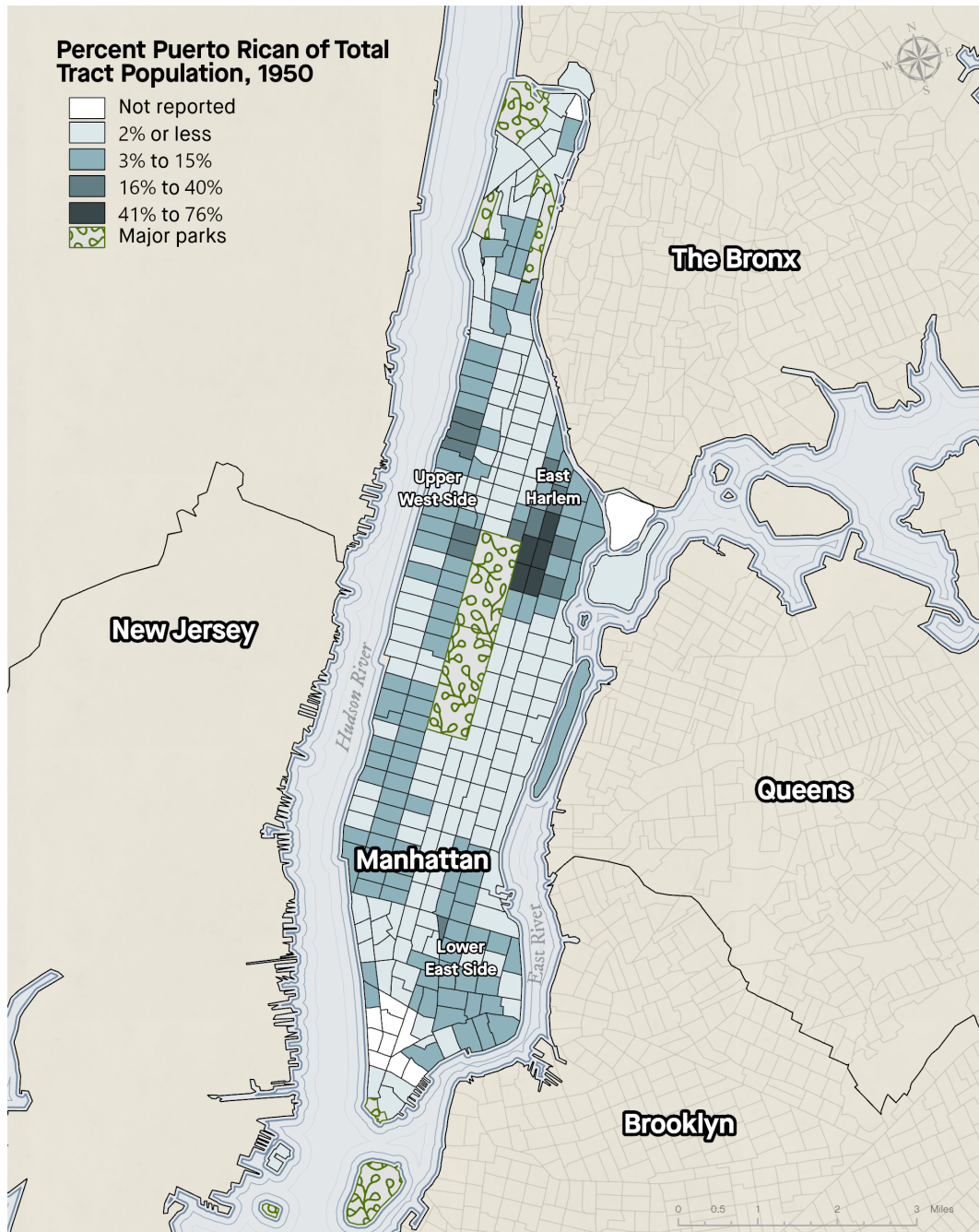
Source: U.S. Census Bureau Special Reports Puerto Ricans in Continental United States, 1950.

During the mid 20th century, New York City was experiencing significant population and demographic changes.⁵ After the Great Depression, Black migration from the South had resurged.⁶ White residents slowly began abandoning urban centers for new suburban neighborhoods. This process was further accelerated between 1950 and 1960, when nearly half a million White individuals left New York City. During this same time the Puerto Rican population became ever more noticeable. By 1940, there were nearly 70,000 Puerto Ricans in the U.S. In the

aftermath of World War II, Puerto Rican migration regained its exponential growth after having waned during the Great Depression.⁷ This wave of migrants was fostered by the ushering in of a new economic model in Puerto Rico: *Operation Bootstrap*, which substituted agriculture production for manufacturing.⁸ The Puerto Rican population in the U.S. grew from 69,967 in 1940 to 226,110 in 1950, a growth of over 200%. In New York City the population grew from 61,463 in 1940 to 187,420 in 1950, slightly over 200% growth (Table 1).

⁵ See Appendix 1, 2, 3, and 4.⁶ Between 1910 and 1970, millions of Black Americans from the South moved North to places like New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, significantly affecting the distribution of Black persons across the nation. See: William J. Collins, "The Great Migration of Black Americans from the US South: A guide and interpretation," *Explorations in Economic History* 80 (2021); John R. Logan, Weiwei Zhang, and Miao David Chunyu, "Emergent Ghettos: Black Neighborhoods in New York and Chicago, 1880-1940," *American Journal of Sociology* 120, no. 4 (2015); William Collins and Marianne Wanamaker, "The Great Migration in Black and White: New Evidence on the Selection and Sorting of Southern Migrants," *The Journal of Economic History* 75, no. 4 (2015).⁷ Virginia Sánchez-Korrol, *From colonia to community: the history of Puerto Ricans in New York City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).⁸ During the post war period Puerto Rico experienced political, economic, and societal transformations. During that time a new economic model, Operation Bootstrap, was ushered in, transforming Puerto Rico's economy from agrarian to one of manufacturing and exportation. The swift evolution of the archipelago's economic model left many people, particularly in the rural areas, unemployed. Lack of economic opportunities triggered first the migration of rural dwellers to city centers in Puerto Rico, and later the migration of thousands of Puerto Ricans to urban centers in the U.S., such as New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia. See: José Vázquez Calzada, *La Población de Puerto Rico y Trayectoria Histórica*, (Escuela de Salud Pública Recinto de Ciencias Médicas Universidad de Puerto Rico), <https://rcm1.rcm.upr.edu/demografia/wp-content/uploads/sites/30/2020/04/Vazquez-Calzada-Jose-1978-La-poblacin-de-Puerto-Rico-y-su-trayectoria.pdf>.

FIGURE 1. Distribution of Puerto Ricans on Manhattan Island in 1950



Source: Novak, "Distribution of Puerto Ricans in Manhattan Island", 185.

In the years following 1950, the Puerto Rican population in New York City grew from 275,200 in 1950 to 326,300 in 1951, 382,900 in 1952, and 455,000 in 1953.⁹ According to a report from the Research Bureau at the Welfare and Health Council of New York City titled *Population of Puerto Ricans*, in 1950 the majority of Puerto Ricans in New York City lived in Manhattan (138,507), followed by The Bronx

(61,924), Brooklyn (40,299), Queens (4,835), and Staten Island (740).¹⁰ According to the same report, a large portion of Puerto Ricans were concentrated in "El Barrio", a long-established Hispanic neighborhood in East Harlem. Other pockets of concentration can be seen across the Lower East Side and across the Upper West Side of Manhattan (Figure 1).

9 Robert T. Novak, "Distribution of Puerto Ricans on Manhattan Island," *Geographical Review* 46, no. 2 (1956), 183.

10 Novak, "Distribution", 183.

One such neighborhood on the Upper West Side was San Juan Hill, where between 1940 and 1950 the Puerto Rican population grew from 212 to 1,512. Administratively considered as part of the Lincoln Square neighborhood—and later described by Robert Moses, architect of urban renewal in New York City, as “the worst slum in New York”—San Juan Hill had been a Black enclave since at least 1880. Many Black and Afro-Caribbean people had settled in and around the area between 59th and 65th Street, bounded by Amsterdam Avenue, and West End Avenue since the late 1800s. In 1910, it was the neighborhood with the largest Black population in New York City, hosting close to 12,500 Black persons.¹¹ Since then, the Black population in the neighborhood experienced a steady decline, and by 1950, approximately 3,500 Black persons lived in the neighborhood. Development and racial discrimination led to the demographic reconfiguration of San Juan Hill. For most of the 20th century, Amsterdam Avenue served as a racial barrier between White and Black residents, with the latter concentrating towards the west of Amsterdam Avenue. Enforcement of segregation policies in and around Midtown and other issues led many Black residents of San

Juan Hill to move north into Harlem during the 1930s and 1940s. The displacement of Black people allowed many poor and foreign-born White individuals, along with a growing number of Puerto Ricans, to occupy spaces that were becoming available.

Between 1951 and 1958, an average of 45,734 Puerto Ricans migrated annually from Puerto Rico to the U.S. This is more than double than the average for the previous decade where Puerto Ricans were migrating at a rate of 18,794 per year (Figure 2).¹² The arrival of Puerto Ricans in New York City coincided with serious housing shortages as well as efforts by local officials to clear and rebuild large portions of the city. Data from the U.S. Census Bureau suggests that in 1950, just 1% of dwelling units in New York City were vacant and available for rent or purchase. Low vacancy rates in New York City have persisted, and since 1960, the city has been in a “Housing Emergency”, where vacancy rates have not surpassed the 5% threshold established by the New York State Legislature.¹³ Quickly deemed a “problem” for New York society, Puerto Ricans were relegated to the worst housing in New York City, ultimately destined to face the federal bulldozers of “urban renewal.”

FIGURE 2. Rate of Puerto Rican Migration 1946 - 1958

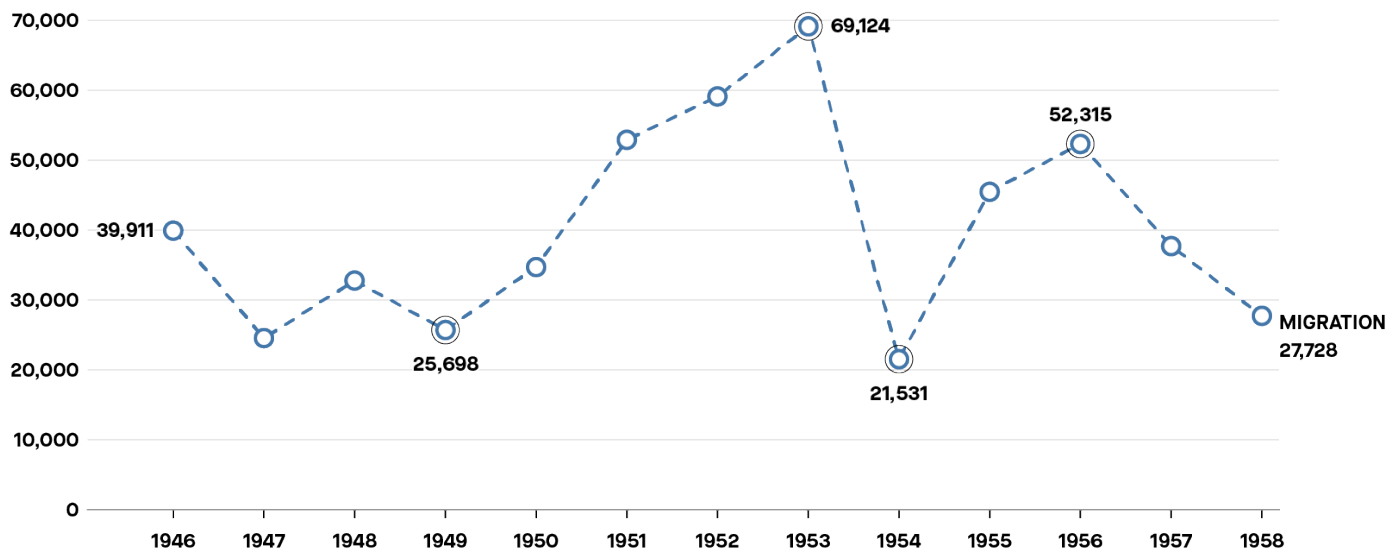


Chart: Laura Colón-Meléndez • Source: Commonwealth of Puerto Rico Migration Division, Department of Labor, January 1959

11 Logan, Zhang, and Chunyu, “Emergent Ghettos”, 1075.

12 Office of Migration Division, *A Summary in Facts and Figures* (New York: Commonwealth of Puerto Rico Migration Division, Department of Labor 1959), 15. <https://rcm1.rcm.upr.edu/demografia/wp-content/uploads/sites/30/2020/04/ELA-1959-A-summary-in-facts-figures-progress-in-Puerto-Ricomigration.pdf>.

13 “A declaration of emergency may be made as to any class of housing accommodations if the vacancy rate for the housing accommodations in such class within such municipality is not in excess of five percent and a declaration of emergency may be made as to all housing accommodations if the vacancy rate for the housing accommodations within such municipality is not in excess of five percent”. See: Emergency Tenant Protection Act, N.Y. Unconsolidated. Law Ch. 249-B, § 3, <https://www.nysenate.gov/legislation/laws/ETP/3>; NYC Charter Revision Commission, “The Housing Crisis and New York City”. <https://edc.nyc/housing-crisis-and-new-york-city>.

PUERTO RICANS IN THE ERA OF URBAN RENEWAL AND THE CASE OF LINCOLN SQUARE

In the aftermath of WWII, the U.S. faced a critical shortage of available and decent housing. Estimates from the federal government showed that over six million non-farm dwellings failed to meet adequate housing standards and that the nation required at least two million new housing units to house veterans and non-veteran families.¹⁴ The nation was still reeling from the effects of the Great Depression, when housing values plummeted, property-owning families were forced into foreclosure, and construction of new housing came to a standstill.¹⁵ This led the federal government to create the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) in 1933 and the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) in 1934. Through both institutions, the federal government intervened in the housing market, spurring the construction of new housing, mostly single family homes in suburban communities, and increasing racial segregation across metropolitan and urban areas.¹⁶ Both HOLC and the FHA developed maps that outlined neighborhoods and classified them in terms of risk of mortgage foreclosure. The resulting maps consistently classified majority Black and low-income neighborhoods as having the highest risks of foreclosure, and therefore ineligible for mortgage insurance—a process generally referred to now as redlining.¹⁷ This practice affected mostly urban areas inhabited by Black Americans and other peoples of color. In the post-war period, the continued racial bias in federal and institutional mortgage and loan lending policies, coupled with new Department of Veterans Affairs' programs offering low-interest mortgages to returning veterans and the FHA's predilection for suburban investment,

fueled rapid suburban growth.¹⁸ The longstanding disinvestment in urban areas and racial bias among lending institutions facilitated the rapid movement of Whites into suburban neighborhoods while trapping Black and low-income home seekers in poor housing conditions.¹⁹

In 1949, Congress approved the Housing Act of 1949, which established guidelines for providing federal aid to “assist slum-clearance projects and low rent public-housing projects.”²⁰ The Housing Act declared that the general welfare of the people, and the serious housing shortage in the nation, required “the elimination of substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, and the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family.”²¹ Under Title 1 of the Housing Act, guidelines were established for local governments to purchase, with federal funds, areas they determined to be suitable for slum clearance. The Housing Act placed many restrictions on public housing and only required that those being relocated did so to “decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings” at affordable rents or prices. Dissatisfaction with relocation practices soon yielded further congressional action.²² In 1954, Congress amended the 1949 Housing Act to provide funding for rehabilitation of deteriorating areas, shifting the focus from slum clearance to “urban renewal.”

Urban renewal was seen by many local officials as an opportunity to change city land-use patterns to favor middle-class residents they wanted to retain in cities, creating private residential units beyond the reach of those displaced. What

14 Forest, “Effect of Title I”, 727.; Tobey, Ronald C. *Technology as Freedom: The New Deal and the Electrical Modernization of the American Home* (Berkeley: University California Press).

15 Tom Nicholas and Anna Scherbina, “Real Estate Prices During the Roaring Twenties and the Great Depression,” *Real Estate Economics* 41, no. 2 (2013); Rothstein, *The Color of Law*.

16 Peter Mieszkowski and Edwin S. Mills, “The Causes of Metropolitan Suburbanization,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7, no. 3 (1993): 135-147; Douglass S. Massey and Jonathan Tannen, “Suburbanization and Segregation in the United States: 1970-2010,” *Ethn Racial Stud* 41, no. 9 (2018): 1594-161; John R. Logan et al., “The Role of Suburbanization in Metropolitan Segregation After 1940,” *Demography* 60, no. 1 (2023): 281-301.

17 Amy E. Hillier, “Spatial Analysis of Historical Redlining: A Methodological Exploration,” *Journal of Housing Research* 14, no. 1 (2003): 137-167.

18 Gibbons, “Linking U.S. government-sponsored redlining”; Logan, “The Role of Suburbanization”; Rothstein, *The Color of Law*.

19 Leonard Wallock, “The Myth of the Master Builder: Robert Moses, New York, and the Dynamics of Metropolitan Development Since World War II,” *Journal of Urban History* 17, no. 4 (1991): 339-362; William Frey, “Central City White Flight: Racial and Nonracial Causes,” *American Sociological Review* 44, no. 3 (1979): 425-448.

20 U.S. Congress. *Housing Act of 1949*, Public Law 171, 81st Cong., 63 Stat. 432 (1949). Hereinafter known as “the Housing Act”.

21 Although the Housing Act targeted blighted or slum areas as points of interest for improving housing conditions for the nation, it did not provide a definition for what constitutes a blighted neighborhood. Commonly understood as referring to spaces with vacant lots and deteriorating housing, definitions of blight have evolved over time to provide legal precedent for tax abatement. In a separate House Resolution in 1949, Congress defined slums as areas that fostered crime and evidenced wastes of humans. See: The Housing Act; Steven C. Forest, “The Effect of Title I of the 1949 Federal Housing Act on New York City Cooperative and Condominium Conversion Plans,” *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 13, no. 3 (1985); Colin Gordon, “Blighting the Way: Urban Renewal, Economic Development, and the Elusive Definition of Blight,” *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 31, no. 2 (2004); Joseph Schilling & Jimena Pinzón, “The Basics of Blight: Recent Research on Its Drivers, Impacts, and Interventions,” VPRN Research and Policy Brief no. 3 (2016).

22 Chester W. Hartman, “The Housing of Relocated Families,” in *Urban renewal: people, politics, and planning*, ed. Jewel Belush and Murray Hausknecht (Garden City, N.Y.: Arden Books, 1967), 315-353.

they viewed as desirable for the public good effectively altered the character of the targeted neighborhoods.²³ For many, improving the welfare of cities equaled dismantling impoverished and racially mixed neighborhoods, supplanting them with modern, less affordable housing. Areas targeted by urban renewal tended to be working class neighborhoods where Black migrants from the South and recently arrived Puerto Ricans found available and affordable housing.²⁴ An estimated 2,500 neighborhoods, the majority of which were Black American communities, were bulldozed across 993 cities between 1950 and 1974.²⁵ Estimates from 1963 suggest that more than 600,000 people, two-thirds of which were racial minorities, had been displaced by urban renewal projects.²⁶ In New York City, by 1956, over 15,000 people had been displaced by Title I operations, more than half of which were Black or Puerto Rican.²⁷ What resulted was what James Baldwin would later refer to as “negro removal,” or the targeting and displacement of majority Black, and increasingly Puerto Rican, neighborhoods to construct what appointed officials considered desirable for the city.²⁸

The arrival of Puerto Rican migrants to New York City in numbers was met with bigoted animosity. Puerto Ricans were viewed as “wretched and destitute, uneducated and unhealthy, alien to American culture and values, inclined to leftist ideologies and politics, and moving to the mainland to exploit its welfare system.”²⁹ This perception of Puerto Ricans yielded a campaign that soon became known across New York City and Puerto Rico as the “Puerto Rican problem.” Discourse characterizing Puerto Rican migrants soon mirrored language used to describe slums and blighted

areas. Slums, like Puerto Ricans, were synonymous with the illnesses that afflicted the city. Puerto Ricans were accused of bringing diseases from Puerto Rico and of spreading contagious diseases like tuberculosis across the city.³⁰ In an op-ed in *The Atlantic*, Robert Moses wrote: “With this sketchy diagnosis of the origin of the disease, let me go on to the happier discussion of the cure. It is safe to say that almost no city needs to tolerate slums.”³¹ Puerto Rican’s lack of economic means and shortages in the city’s housing stock facilitated their housing in windowless basements and, often illegal, single room apartments.³² Overcrowding produced by these practices and lack of maintenance caused slum conditions to form in areas that would normally not be considered as such.³³ Thus, Puerto Rican families in New York City were forced into poorly maintained structures, with inadequate heating, usually in overcrowded conditions, lacking private bath and toilet facilities, and paying higher rents than White and Black families.³⁴ To cure the city of “overcrowded slums that breed disease, delinquency, and crime,” the governmental prescribers established that thousands of families had to be uprooted from their homes.³⁵

Of particular interest to city officials, tasked with “curing” the city of blight, was the Upper West Side (UWS) of Manhattan. After WWII, the UWS was in decline. A once affluent neighborhood had been abandoned by upper class White residents and replaced by low-income Puerto Ricans and Black Americans.³⁶ One of the initial slum clearance projects in the neighborhood was Morningside Gardens, which attempted to wall off Black Harlem from Morningside Heights and surrounding areas to Columbia University

23 Martin Anderson, “The Federal Bulldozer,” in *Urban renewal: people, politics, and planning*, ed. Jewel Belush and Murray Hausknecht (Garden City, N.Y.: Arden Books, 1967), 390-400.

24 See Samuel Zipp, *Manhattan Projects: The Rise and Fall of Urban Renewal in Cold War New York* (Oxford University Press, 2010); Themis Chronopoulos, *Spatial Regulation in New York City: From Urban Renewal to Zero Tolerance* (London: Routledge, 2013); Samuel Zipp, “The Roots and Routes of Urban Renewal,” *Journal of Urban History* 39, no. 3 (2012): 366-391; Jeffrey Brown, “A Tale of Two Visions: Harland Bartholomew, Robert Moses, and the Development of the American Freeway,” *Journal of Planning History* 4, no. 1 (2005): 3-32; Ying Shi, et al., “The effects of the Great Migration on urban renewal,” *Journal of Public Economics* 209 (2022).

25 Derek S. Hyra, “Conceptualizing the New Urban Renewal: Comparing the Past to the Present,” *Urban Affairs Review* 48, no. 4 (2012): 503.

26 Hyra, “Conceptualizing New Urban Renewal,” 503.

27 Zipp, *Manhattan Projects*, 211.

28 “A Conversation With James Baldwin,” 1963-06-24, WGBH, American Archive of Public Broadcasting (GBH and the Library of Congress), Boston, MA and Washington, DC, accessed July 1, 2025, <http://americanarchive.org/catalog/cpb-aacip-15-0v89g5gf5r>.

29 Edgardo Meléndez, *The “Puerto Rican Problem” in Postwar New York City* (Rutgers University Press, 2022), p. 3.

30 Meléndez, *Puerto Rican Problem*, 48.

31 Robert Moses, “Slum and City Planning,” *The Atlantic*, January 1, 1945, quoted in Kayla Leong, “The Puerto Rican (Slum) Problem”: Crises in Race, Citizenship, and Housing in Postwar New York” (BA thesis, Columbia University, 2022), 46, <https://history.barnard.edu/sites/default/files/inline-files/final%20%28ish%29%20april%2013%20v%202.pdf>.

32 Chronopoulos, *Spatial Regulation*, 10; Leong, “Puerto Rican (Slum),” 30.

33 Rosalind Tough and Gordon D. Mac Donald, “Manhattan’s Real Property Values and the Migrant Puerto Ricans,” *Land Economics* 34, no. 1 (1958): 10.

34 Tough and Mac Donalds, “Manhattan’s Real Property,” 13-15.

35 “A Film on the Lincoln Center Relocation Program,” January 28, 1959, 1; Edgar B. Young papers; Lincoln Center, Inc., Series 1; Public Relations, Subseries 10; Rockefeller Archive Center; <https://dimes.rockarch.org/objects/Q3VPNq7EdWdX8NPv4ed6jP>.

36 Chronopoulos, *Spatial Regulation*, 21.

FIGURE 3. Urban Renewal Projects in Manhattan's Upper West Side



NOTE: Boundaries for the urban renewal projects in the UWS were obtained from Themis Chronopoulos, *Spatial Regulation in New York City: From Urban Renewal to Zero Tolerance* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 10.

(Figure 3). Approximately 22% of those displaced by the project were Spanish-speaking (mostly Puerto Rican) and 27% were Black.³⁷ Residents and other community members from the area organized against the project and created the Save Our Homes Committee. Save Our Homes argued that, contrary to claims by Morningside Heights, Inc., a non-profit redevelopment company created by powerful local institutions including Columbia University, those being displaced “lived in decent housing in a successful racially mixed community.”³⁸ Despite efforts to curtail the project, Morningside Gardens succeeded in displacing an

“undesirable” population and creating a buffer between the poor in Black Harlem and the affluent White community of Morningside Heights. Projects like Manhattantown, between West 96th and West 100th Street and Central Park West and Amsterdam Avenue, the Frederick Douglass Houses, between West 100th and West 104th Street and Columbus and Manhattan Avenues, and Columbus Circle soon sprawled throughout the UWS. Most of these projects faced opposition from residents and local organizations, including Save Our Homes. The targeting of Black Americans and Puerto Ricans quickly became evident. According to Save Our Homes, the relocation projects of Manhattantown and Morningside Heights were 50% non-White and the North Harlem site was 100% non-White. They also claimed that 16% of residents from Morningside Heights and 34% in Manhattantown were Puerto Rican.³⁹

Arguably, the most well-known of the UWS urban renewal projects was the Lincoln Square urban renewal project. With the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts as its centerpiece, the project ushered the city into “its role as the capital of modernity and bulwark in the Cold War.”⁴⁰ The proposed project would see the city government raze more than 50 acres, displacing over 5,000 families, and 600 businesses in and around the San Juan Hill and Lincoln Square neighborhoods. The project would transform what had once been a center of Black American culture and, at the moment, a growing Puerto Rican enclave into a modern site with “a college campus; a Center of Musical Arts, including an Opera House and a symphony concert hall; theaters; parks;... moderate income housing for 4,000 - 5,000 families, together with hotel... and shopping centers.”⁴¹

Proponents of the project, which included top city officials such as Robert Moses and some of New York City’s richest individuals, including John D. Rockefeller III, urged city officials for approval, arguing that the plan represented a “significant step in the City’s efforts to ‘renew’ itself.”⁴² The project served as a continuation of “a general program to help check the spread of blight and deterioration in the

37 Chronopoulos, *Spatial Regulation*, 14.

38 Chronopoulos, *Spatial Regulation*, 14.

39 Zipp, *Manhattan Projects*, 200-207.

40 Zipp, *Manhattan Projects*, 172.

41 Committee on Slum Clearance, *Lincoln Square Preliminary Project Report* (New York: Committee on Slum Clearance, 1956), iii, https://ia902909.us.archive.org/2/items/preliminaryrepor00newy_0/preliminaryrepor00newy_0.pdf. Accessed April 10, 2025.

42 Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Plan & Project, October 2, 1957, 9, Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project - Reports, Committee on Slum Clearance, City Planning Commission, July 1957-1958; Edgar B. Young papers; Lincoln Center, Inc., Series 1; Planning and Construction, Subseries 9; Rockefeller Archive Center; <https://dimes.rockarch.org/objects/PCS9CqpHXPqQuwKc9Vj7T6>.

Upper West Side", which spanned from Columbus Circle to West 125th St.⁴³ A preliminary report prepared by the Slum Clearance Committee in 1956 described the project area as "one of the finest locations for residential, cultural, civic and other uses in the metropolitan region."⁴⁴ The area, with its numerous transportation facilities and closeness to Central Park and central business and entertainment districts in Manhattan, was too "valuable to the city of New York to be permitted to remain as a blighted area of deteriorated and obsolescent structures."⁴⁵ The vision of the Slum Clearance Committee was clear: not only was it "mandatory" to stop the spread of blight, but it was also necessary to "free" the area of its "outmoded and deteriorated structures," replacing them with "uses more in accord with the needs of the City."⁴⁶ These apparently were: a performance center, a university, and 4,000 new high middle-income rental apartments, which the majority of tenants being displaced could not afford.

Reports for the Lincoln Square urban renewal project stated that the area was mostly residential, consisting of Old Law tenements—structures built prior to 1901—many lacking proper heating and plumbing facilities. A survey of the area proposed for redevelopment, commissioned by the Committee on Slum Clearance, suggested that 96% of the 4,605 dwelling units, excluding rooming houses, suffered from serious disrepair and inadequate original construction, while lacking adequate sanitary conditions.⁴⁷ Similarly, in a Preliminary Report for the Lincoln Square project, submitted in July of 1956, the Committee on Slum Clearance reported that 478 of the 482 (99%) dwelling structures and 79 out of the 85 (93%) non-residential

structures needed major repairs.⁴⁸ Surveys of the population in the area indicated that 76% of the population to be displaced was White, 18% was Puerto Rican, 4% was Black, and 2% was Other (most likely Asian).⁴⁹ The resulting data from surveys commissioned by the Slum Clearance Committee helped cement their proposal: Lincoln Square was unequivocally a slum, and tearing it down was the only solution. The problem was that data was accurate only through the discourse and manipulation of the numbers represented. For example, over half of the residential buildings in the area had complete bathrooms and central heat, although the area was referred to as having a "high percentage" of deficiencies in these characteristics.⁵⁰ Additionally, organized tenant groups estimated the population in the area to be closer to 7,000, although the number of people in the area could have been as high as 15,000.⁵¹ Furthermore, contrary to the Slum Clearance Committee's claim that the overcrowded conditions led to the deterioration of the neighborhood, decay of the housing conditions in the area was a result of the lack of investment, particularly due to redlining 20 years prior.⁵²

No matter how speculative the data used was, the project was approved, and in March of 1958, the relocation of tenants and demolition began. By June of 1959, almost 90% of residential tenants in the Lincoln Center site had been relocated and over half of the buildings had been demolished or were prepared for demolition.⁵³ According to reports, close to 6,000 people were displaced from the Lincoln Center site alone.⁵⁴ In just a year and a half, what had once been a mecca of Black culture in New York City and a growing Puerto Rican enclave had been demolished.

43 Lincoln Square Urban, 13, Edgar B. Young papers

44 Committee on Slum Clearance, *Lincoln Square*, 4.

45 Committee on Slum Clearance, *Lincoln Square*, 9.

46 Committee on Slum Clearance, *Lincoln Square*, 4.

47 Lincoln Square Urban, 10, Edgar B. Young papers.

48 Committee on Slum Clearance, *Lincoln Square*, 3.

49 Committee on Slum Clearance, *Lincoln Square*, 13.

50 Samuel Zipp, "The battle of Lincoln Square: neighborhood culture and the rise of resistance to urban renewal," *Planning Perspectives* 24, no. 4 (2009), 419.

51 Zipp, *Battle of Lincoln Square*, 418.

52 Zipp, *Battle of Lincoln Square*, 419.

53 Progress Report, June, 1959, Box 61, Folder 780, Annual Reports, 1959-1963; Edgar B. Young papers; Lincoln Center, Inc., Series 1; Public Relations, Subseries 10; Rockefeller Archive Center; <https://dimes.rockarch.org/objects/EMsV36sijedrQDkVxvMCL3>.

54 Relocation - Brailin, Porter & Wheelock - The Schorr Report, November 30, 1959; Edgar B. Young papers; Lincoln Center, Inc., Series 1; Planning and Construction, Subseries 9; Rockefeller Archive Center; <https://dimes.rockarch.org/objects/DPrhRNL3g4CiNpXfWkdKJq>.

LINCOLN CENTER URBAN RENEWAL RECORDS

Management of the displacement and dispossession of dwellers in neighborhoods classified as slums required documentation of the processes and tenants in the area. The Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts hired real estate company Braislin, Porter, and Wheelock (BPW) to manage the relocation process at the site. While external documents, such as press releases, lauded BPW's experience, their selection for this project only came about because a prior candidate, the Nassau Management Company, was accused of investment fraud by the State of New York in January 1958.⁵⁵ By February of that same year, BPW had assumed control of the relocation process, establishing an office at 175 West 63rd Street, managed by Phillip Schorr, with approximately 30 employees, in addition to maintenance staff that responded to building complaints. Representatives from the New York Bureau of Real Estate Slum Clearance Project Office and the New York City Housing Authority also shared the office space.

BPW was tasked with managing the relocation of tenants and generating progress reports for the project. In a report on the relocation of the first 500 families, BPW included copies of letters previously distributed to all tenants, notifying them that the land their buildings were on had been purchased and that they would need to vacate their homes as soon as possible.⁵⁶ Recognizing that Lincoln Square housed a significant Puerto Rican—and therefore Spanish-speaking—population, BPW made sure that the initial notice letters were distributed in both English and Spanish. While BPW insisted, in letters, midpoint and final reports delivered to the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts Board, that they were carrying out a humane relocation process, the first notice letters tell a different story. Although BPW prided themselves on distributing the letters in both English and Spanish, the Spanish translations were direct and literal, with little attention to grammatical accuracy or clarity for readers. In both versions, BPW adopted a cold, sterile, and bureaucratic

attitude towards the relocation process, diminishing the fact that people were about to lose their homes. In both English and Spanish versions, for example, the relocation process was referred to as a “problem” – “Our relocation office is prepared to assist you in solving your relocation problem; each family's problem will be considered on an individual basis” – standing in the way of modernity and progress.⁵⁷

Today, urban renewal records offer valuable insights into the mechanisms and consequences of displacement on the communities uprooted and replaced by these projects.⁵⁸ The 1949 Housing Act established a framework of guidelines and regulations for slum clearance and urban renewal, granting local governments ample autonomy to plan and execute urban renewal projects. As a result, the materials, documents, and records needed to construct a nuanced and empirically grounded history of urban renewal are fragmented across public and private institutional archives. Although some of these records have been preserved, the task of locating, organizing, and examining their contents remains.

In 2023, the Center for Puerto Rican Studies obtained access to digital images of 2,130 site occupation records from the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts. The Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts was one of several private sponsors of the Lincoln Square urban renewal project, which, in February of 1958, was deeded a site of three and a half blocks of land spanning from 62nd Street to 66th Street between Columbus Avenue and Amsterdam Avenue, where it currently lies (Figure 4). The 2,130 site relocation records belonged to tenants in apartment and rooming houses at 165 distinct addresses within the Lincoln Center site. These records were collected by BPW employees who interviewed tenants and collected information to manage their relocation process.⁵⁹ Interviews were conducted promptly to organize the swift relocation of tenants, which facilitated the demolition of old structures and the construction of new buildings.

55 Robinson, Layhmond. “Investing Fraud of up to 5 million is laid to 4 here,” January 23, 1958, Box 61, Folder 789, Clippings, December 1957-February 1958; Edgar B. Young papers; Lincoln Center, Inc., Series 1; Public Relations, Subseries 10; Rockefeller Archive Center; <https://dimes.rockarch.org/objects/9cpvF3FUUUh9FZE6NEpbcA>.

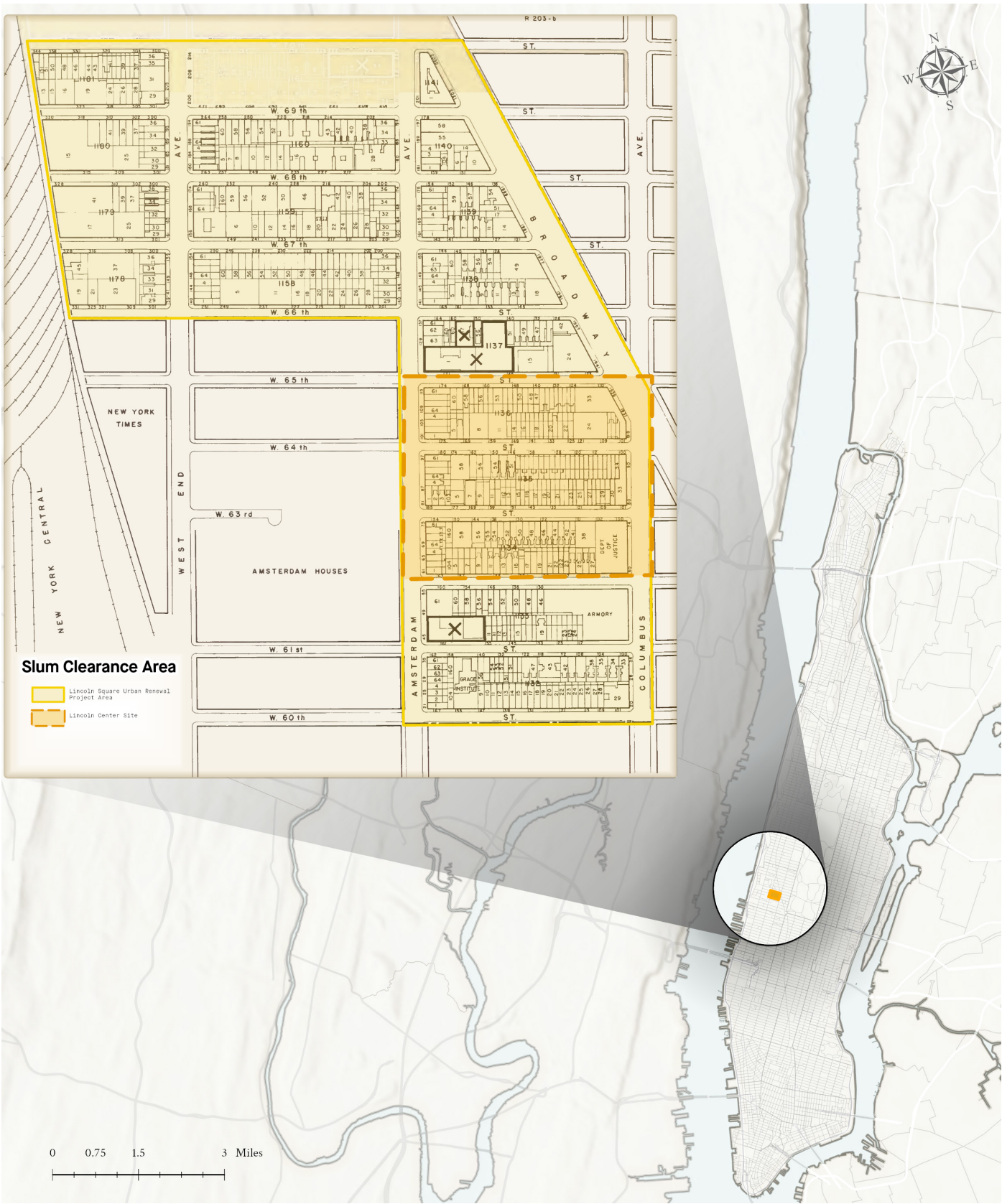
56 Braislin, Porter, and Wheelock, Inc., The First 500 Families: a relocation analysis, October 1, 1958, Rose Hill-Walsh Library, Fordham University; [https://fdhm.ent.sirsi.net/client/en_US/default/search/detailnonmodal/ent:S002fS002fSD_ILS\\$002fS002fSD_ILS:2479169/one](https://fdhm.ent.sirsi.net/client/en_US/default/search/detailnonmodal/ent:S002fS002fSD_ILS$002fS002fSD_ILS:2479169/one).

57 BPW, The First 500.

58 Ann Pfau, et al., “Using Urban Renewal Records to Advance Reparative Justice,” *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* 10, no. 2 (2024), 113-131.

59 In a letter dated February 7th, 1958 sent to the executive director of the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, General Otto L. Nelson, Jr., BPW indicated they hired around a dozen hourly workers, “12 to 14 young college men”, to collect information in the site occupation records. Letter to General Otto L. Nelson Jr., February 7th, 1958, Relocation - Braislin, Porter & Wheelock - General Files, January-May 1958 (1971); Edgar B. Young papers; Lincoln Center, Inc., Series 1; Planning and Construction, Subseries 9; Rockefeller Archive Center; <https://dimes.rockarch.org/objects/o5xug73SiXn9dpe7LAfrij>.

FIGURE 4. Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project Area



Source: Committee on Slum Clearance, Lincoln Square Preliminary Project Report, p. 13.

The site occupation records contain different sections to capture basic demographic and economic information about the tenants who were to be relocated, as well as their living conditions on-site and at their new living quarters (Figure 5). The front of the records collected household related information such as rent paid, utilities, the number of rooms, and where in the building the apartment was located. The front of the records also captured information about the tenants' family composition, economic status, including information such as income and employment source, details about living quarters, time spent in the city and at the site, and preferred relocation areas. The back of the records included information about where the tenants were relocated to and whether tenants received any financial assistance through the relocation process. The back of the cards also included a large section meant to compare housing conditions at the old site and their new addresses. Presumably, this information would be used to ascertain whether the tenants' new living arrangements were decent, safe, and sanitary, in accordance with the Housing Act. In the rest of this report, unless explicitly stated, when we refer to the site or data from site occupation records, we are referring to the information obtained from the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts records of tenants at the Lincoln Center site.

In their final report to the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, BPW reported that the Lincoln Center became landlords to 1,647 families at the site.⁶⁰ The materials granted to CENTRO contained 2,130 residential site occupation records belonging to addresses at the Lincoln Center site. There is a discrepancy between the number of families reported by BPW in their final report and the number of residential site occupation records we were given access to. Communication with the Lincoln Center indicated to us that these were in fact residential site occupation records. The information within the site occupation records was handwritten by those performing the interviews and managing the relocation of the household. We assumed each different record corresponded to a different household and decided not to exclude any of the 2,130 records from the analysis of residents in the Lincoln Center site.

All available information within the records was collected for each one of the 2,130 records and organized into tabular format to create a database of the site occupation records. To adhere to archival privacy standards, the names of family members (many of whom are alive today) and all signatures were concealed. The information in the records was handwritten, mostly in cursive, sometimes by multiple people, and was often unintelligible. Lack of data standards in how information was collected by all different interviewers affected our ability to analyze the data and provide a clearer picture of the living conditions of those displaced. Not one single card of the 2,130 records had all sections filled out, neither front or back. The records contain an abundance of missing or concealed (i.e., redacted, blacked-out) data, particularly how members of a household were related, the family relocation plan, and that which compares material housing conditions before and after relocation.⁶¹

A clear indication that there was no implemented data standard for this data collection was the family relocation plan section, which described where displaced tenants desired to be relocated. One of the most vital components to the site occupation records, had a sparsity ratio of 55%. In other words, this section is mostly composed of missing values. For three of the four elements within the family relocation plan, over half were missing data. 60% of households did not have information related to their desired rent range nor did 60% of households have information indicating the area they desired to be relocated to. If the goal of the relocation process was to be considerate of the displaced tenants relocation desires, complete data for each and every household would drastically increase the likelihood of reaching said goal.

Another notable indication of the lack of data standards was the housing condition on site and relocated section. This section provided information and details to bath and toilet, cooking & refrigeration, heat and hot water facilities, and other apartment characteristics such as adequate light and ventilation for where the tenants were originally living and then their relocation sites. For the bath & toilet facilities element, 1,248 records had missing data for the on site column while the relocated column had 1,902 records of missing data out of 2,130 records. For the cooking and

60 Braislin, Porter and Wheelock, Inc. 1959. [Final Report of Operations of Management and Relocation Office for Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, Inc., Fordham University].

61 The majority of households in the 2,130 site occupation records we analyzed were single family households. The front of the cards contained a section titled "Family Composition" where the relationship of all household members was supposed to be written. Many records lacked this information. Moreover, the lack of standardization in how interviewers input the different kinds of relationships amongst household members made it cumbersome to analyze whether some households contained more than one family unit. In this report, we use the terms *household* and *family* interchangeably, notwithstanding this caveat.

refrigeration facilities element, 1,267 records had missing data for the on site column while the relocated column had a considerably higher amount at 1,897 records missing data. The same can be said with the heat & hot water facilities element, with 1,245 records missing data for the on site column while the relocated column had 1,889 records of missing data. Overall, variables pertaining to the relocated site were sparser than on-site for all records.

The information within the housing condition on site and relocation section was vital, particularly in the relocated portion, for the tenant's new housing to be certified by the Bureau of Real Estate (BRE) as standard or substandard, a requirement of federal law. According to background information provided by the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts' archives, BPW visited the new residences to ensure they were suitable for the displaced tenants. The site occupation records indicated whether the relocated sites had been BRE certified or not. In turn, this information was used by BPW to hand out relocation bonuses to qualifying tenants. However, only 396 out of 2,130 records indicated BRE certification on them, therefore we are only aware that 19% of those households were relocated to livable homes. It is concerning how BPW claimed that they did the relocation process as humanely as possible yet allowed their block managers to provide incomplete site occupation records to the Bureau of Real Estate with so many vital sections that allow us to know if the displaced tenants were at the very least relocated to livable homes per their own standards.

Race data was also occluded in the site occupation records, although it is unknown by whom, why or when this information was attempted to be covered from the site relocation records. Although the race was discernible in many site occupation records and was recorded in our database, missing and inaccurate data limited our capacity to obtain a full panel of the Puerto Rican population. Of the 2,130 site occupation records, 878 had no answer, or no discernible answer, for race, therefore preventing us from being able to determine race information of 41% of the households that were displaced.

A peculiarity of the way tenants were asked about their race is that "Puerto Rican" was included as a separate racial

category. The remaining categories as they appear in the records included "White," "Negro" (*sic*), and "Oriental" (*sic*), and a catch-all category of "Other" with a space to fill in the blank. The racial categories present in the site occupation records represent the language used at the time the interviews were carried out (1958). Since then, racial terminology has evolved to represent more acceptable forms of referring to particular racial or ethnic groups. This is accentuated in the case of *Negroes (sic)* and *Oriental (sic)*, which at a time were accepted terms and that today are understood as disparaging. Throughout this report we have referred to, and will continue to refer to, persons who trace their origins to any of the Black racial groups as *Black*, indistinguishable if the source of the information used outdated terminology or not. In some cases the term *Black American* has been implemented if the distinction between Black populations is deemed necessary. A similar approach has been taken for the Asian population.⁶² On the other hand, "Puerto Rican" became a local administrative demographic category for New York City agencies to handle the growing Puerto Rican population. Although the Census at the time did not have a separate race or ethnicity category for Puerto Ricans, categorizing Puerto Ricans as separate allowed for the differentiation of Puerto Ricans as a distinct population group. To classify a household as Puerto Rican, we utilized the answers to the place of birth of family members and household race so that we could evaluate the condition of Puerto Ricans living at the Lincoln Center site and compare to the overall population of tenants. If the household race was selected as Puerto Rican or if one of the family members was born in Puerto Rico, the site occupation record was considered to belong to a Puerto Rican household. Notwithstanding the aforementioned limitations, the site occupation records allowed us to understand some characteristics of this small, incipient community of Puerto Ricans in New York City, whose growth was thwarted by urban renewal. The existing communities at the Lincoln Center site, Puerto Ricans included, were not invited to participate in the "modernization" of the place they inhabited, or were even considered as the population that would come to enjoy the prospective resources of these "renewed" spaces.

62 On the evolution of racial categories in the U.S. see: Kenneth Prewitt, "Racial Classification in America: where do we go from here?," *Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 134, no. 1 (2005), 5-17; Lee, "Racial Classification".

FIGURE 5. Site Occupation Records

AREA _____ BRAISLIN, PORTER & WHELOCK, INC. ROOMING HOUSE 4-28-58
 CODE NO. _____ SITE OCCUPANT RECORD M.O. 887 DATE
 NW _____

Name _____ Address 151 W 64th _____ Apartment House _____ Room No. _____ Parcel No. 213
 Floor 2 No. of Rooms 2 Telephone No. _____ Monthly Rental 20.96 - Semi Mo
 Rent Includes _____
 Heat _____ Hot Water _____
 Gas _____ Electricity _____
 Average Monthly Cost of Utilities Not Included in Rent _____
 Welfare Assistance _____
 Amount Received per Month _____
 Case Number HR 1645431
 Welfare Center _____
 Investigator's Name _____
 Family Relocation Plan _____
 Number of Rooms Required _____
 Rent Range _____
 Area Desired _____
 Private Apartment _____ Purchase Home _____
 Public Housing _____ Furnished Room _____
 Date of First Interview 4-28-58

NAME	Relationship	Year of Birth	Place of Birth	Income, W/Mo	Annual Income
HEAD		1925	PR	Unemp.	
WIFE		1929	PR	125.00	Semi Mo
SON		1947	PR	Sch	
D.		1950	PR	Sch	
D.		1953	U.S.	Unemp.	
D.		1954			
S.		1958			
D.		1956			
S.		1958			

Income Source _____ Veteran _____ Marital Status _____ Length of Residence _____
 Own Business _____ Yes _____ Wid. Div. Sep. _____
 Employed _____ No _____ Legally Wed _____ No. Yrs. Site 54
 Pension _____ Citizen _____ Nat Legally Wed _____ No. Yrs. City 1958
 Retired _____ Yes _____ O. W. Child _____ Date Moved In 1953
 Welfare _____ No _____ Other _____

EMPLOYMENT DATA
 OCCUPATION AND INDUSTRY _____ EMPLOYER'S NAME AND ADDRESS _____

M.O. 887 MOVE-OUT DATA
 New Address 825 Monroe St Bklyn Move Out Date 11-28-58
 Apartment Number _____ Monthly Rent 130 + 1/2 heat Number Rooms 7

RELOCATED TO: _____
 Private Rental Housing _____ Sponsor Found _____ Tenant Found _____
 Public Housing _____ Purchased Home _____ Temporary Location _____
 Whereabouts Unknown _____ Furnished Room _____ Sharing Apt. _____

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE
 Cash Payment _____
 Finders Fee _____
 Moving Expense _____
 Painting _____
 Rent _____
 Total _____

HOUSING CONDITION ON SITE AND RELOCATED									
Bath & Toilet Facilities		Cooking & Refrig. Facilities		Heat & Hot Water Facilities		Apartment Characteristics			
On Site	Relocated	On Site	Relocated	On Site	Relocated	On Site	Relocated	On Site	Relocated
Complete Bathrooms Private		Gas or Elec. Range		Central Heat		Gross Rent			
Complete Bathrooms Shared		Coal Stove		Individual Apt. Heat		Number of Rooms			
Separate Toilet Private		No Cooking Facility		No Heat		Overcrowded			
Separate Toilet Shared		Gas or Elec. Refrig.		Central Hot Water		Interior Rooms			
Outside Facilities Private		Ice Box		Individual Apt. Hot Water		Adequate Light & Ventil.			
Outside Facilities Shared		No Refrig. Facility		No Hot Water		Needs Major Repairs			

Appliances _____ Tenant Owned _____ Landlord Owned _____ Date Informational Letter Served _____
 Gas Refrigerator _____ Date Notice to Vacate Served _____
 Electric Refrigerator _____ Date to Vacate Notice Expires _____
 Gas Stove _____ Date of Court Proceedings _____
 Coal Stove _____ Date Court Order Effective _____

Additional Information 11/28/58 Monroe 40 BSE Cak.
 BSE Cak OK 12/3/58

BEFORE EVERYTHING CAME DOWN, PEOPLE LIVED HERE

Before Puerto Ricans began establishing a community in the neighborhood, the site of the Lincoln Center and Lincoln Square urban renewal project had been home to a significant Black community. Although many of the institutional documents refer to the project area as Lincoln Square, many residents knew it as San Juan Hill. They did so in reference to what had been a long established Black neighborhood between 60th and 70th St, to the West of Amsterdam Avenue. San Juan Hill had been a Black enclave since at least 1880. The displacement of Black people further north allowed many poor and Foreign-born Whites, along with a growing number of Puerto Ricans to occupy spaces that were becoming available. Between 1940 and 1950 the Puerto Rican population in San Juan Hill grew from 212 to 1,512. Within the boundaries of the Lincoln Center site, there were 94 Puerto Ricans living in 1940. By 1950, there were 865 Puerto Ricans living in the area.⁶³ Puerto Ricans in the Lincoln Center site represented nearly two-thirds (57%) of the Puerto Rican population in Lincoln Square. Such was the growth of Puerto Ricans in the area that in 1948, Offices of the Government of Puerto Rico in the United States (OGPRUS) saw fit to open the first Department of Labor Migration Division offices in the neighborhood (Figure 6).⁶⁴

The staggering growth of Puerto Ricans in San Juan Hill highlights the continued population and demographic changes of the neighborhood. However, the exact number of people living in the area at the time the relocation commenced is difficult to estimate. Table 4 of the final report prepared by BPW indicates that a total of 1,647 families were relocated

63 The number of Puerto Ricans in the Lincoln Center site were obtained by counting individuals whose place of birth was Puerto Rico in the Enumeration Districts that corresponded with the site based on the U.S. Census Population Schedule records for 1940 and 1950.

64 Offices of the Government of Puerto Rico in the United States. Identification and Documentation Program Records. Migration Division (1948-1989). Archives of the Puerto Rican Diaspora, Center for Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College, CUNY.





DP170
88 Columbus Ave

FIGURE 6. First Office of the Migration Division on 88th and Columbus Avenue
SOURCE: 88 Columbus Ave., Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project photographs, 1957-1958, Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.35241427>.

from the Lincoln Center site.⁶⁵ The table also indicates the distribution of family size, which when combined with the total families suggests that 5,808 people were relocated from the area. However, according to our analysis of the site occupation records, there were at least 1,874 households in the Lincoln Square site. These are records in which information was provided for at least one of the household members. From these records we estimate that the total population in the area was 6,177, a difference of 369 from the suggested 5,808 from the BPW final report. The size of the population in the Lincoln Center site alone evidenced the miscalculations in reports produced by city officials, which suggested that between 4,000 and 5,000 people would be relocated from the entire project area. Both BPW’s final report and our estimates surpass those projections in just three of the 14 blocks destined for demolition.

Of all the projects on the Upper West Side, Lincoln Square was the only project where Black and Puerto Rican people accounted for less than half of the population.⁶⁶ If we consider the place of birth of tenants in the Lincoln Center

site (n =1,643 records), 47% were born in the U.S.A. while 40% were born in Puerto Rico. The total people that indicated their place of birth as Puerto Rico was 2,236 across 745 records. This is more than double the population that reported their place of birth as Puerto Rico in that area in the 1950 Census. Puerto Ricans were initially estimated to represent 18% of the total population being relocated from the whole Lincoln Square project area.⁶⁷ That over 40% of tenants at the Lincoln Center site were Puerto Rican born points to a dense concentration of Puerto Ricans in the four block area that would be the site of the city’s premier performance center. The large presence of Puerto Ricans also highlighted the poor conditions of the neighborhood that initially allowed them to move in. As we have discussed before, Puerto Ricans, like Black Americans, had been pushed into disinvested neighborhoods. The area was also home to Hispanics from Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and South America. The majority of individuals that were not born in the U.S.A. or P.R. were Europeans, mainly from Ireland, Greece, Spain, and Italy (Figure 7).

FIGURE 7. Top 10 Places of Birth for Tenants in Lincoln Center Site

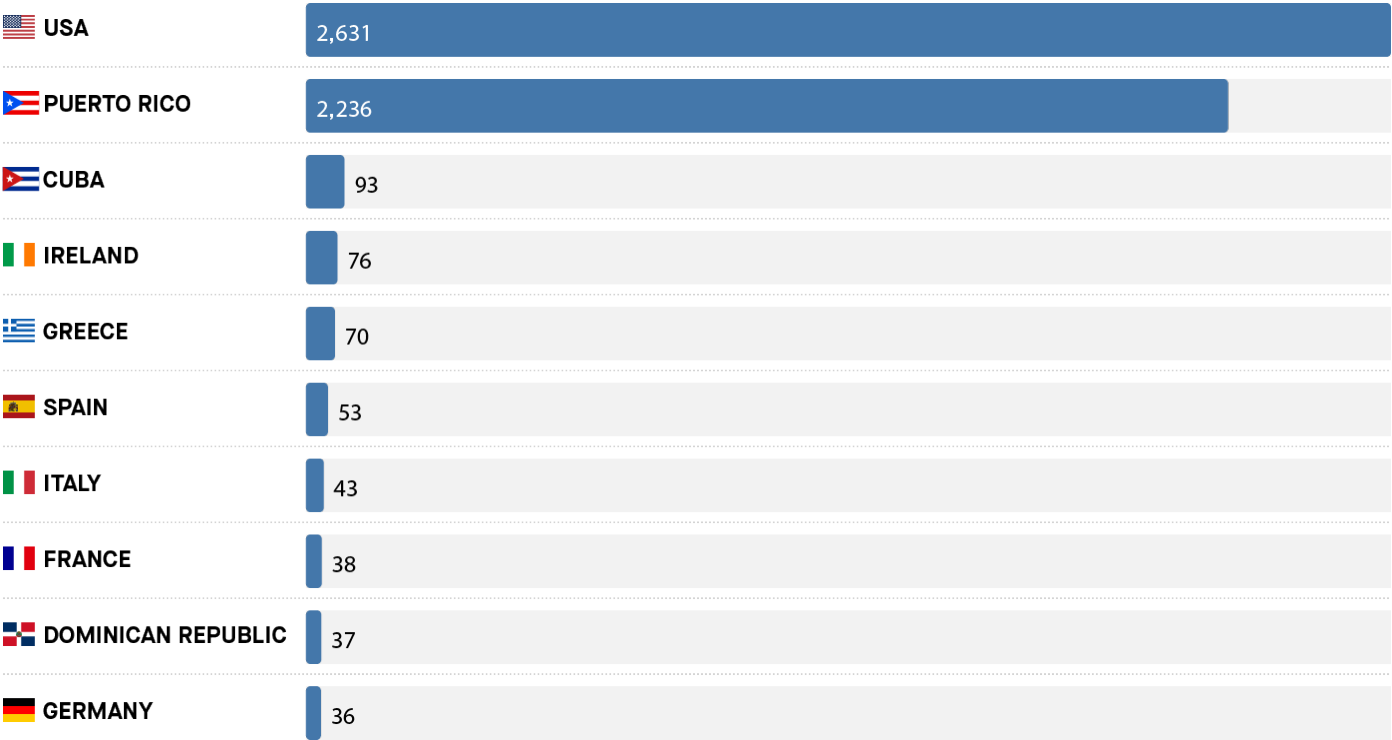


CHART: Laura Colón-Meléndez, Damayra Figueroa-Lazu • Source: Braislin, Porter & Wheelock site occupation records, 1958

65 Braislin, Porter and Wheelock, Inc. 1959. Final Report, p. 22.
66 Chronopoulos, *Spatial Regulation*, 30.
67 Committee on Slum Clearance, *Lincoln Square*, 13

As discussed above, information related to the race of tenants was often obscured or inconsistently recorded. Race information was collected for five categories: White, Black, Puerto Rican, Asian, and Other. Inclusion of “Puerto Rican” as a racial category in the site occupation records of the site, at a time when most Hispanics were categorized as White, showcases the growing presence of Puerto Ricans in spaces that were destined for displacement. Additionally, race was collected as a characteristic of the household rather than for each member, which hinders analysis of the racial breakdown, particularly of Puerto Ricans and other Hispanic populations. In cases where race was identifiable ($n = 1,252$), 45% of the households in the Lincoln Center site identified as White and 44% identified as Puerto Rican (Figure 8). Black households represented only 8% of the population, although this was almost double what they represented for the whole Lincoln Square area.⁶⁸ Only 94 records indicated residents’ race to be Black, which totaled just 314 individuals. Only 15 households indicated their race to be Asian representing just 1% of the population.⁶⁹

FIGURE 8. Percent of Population in Lincoln Center Site by Race

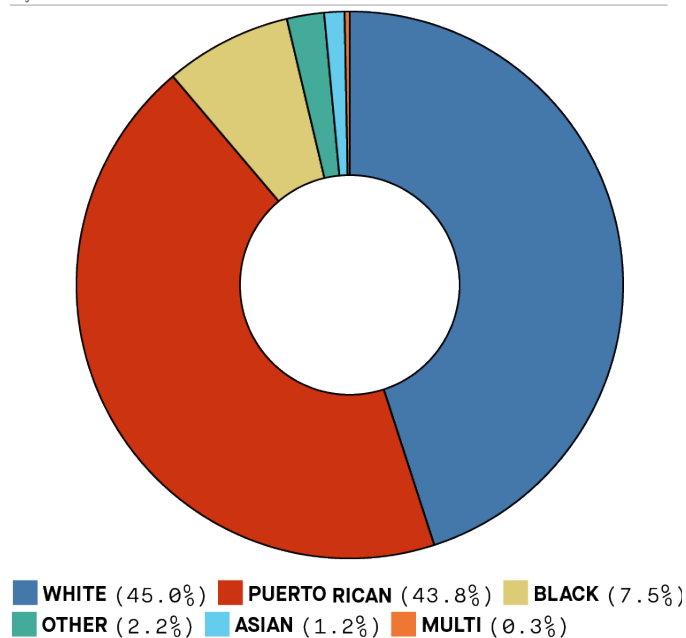


CHART: Damayra Figueroa-Lazu • Source: Braislin, Porter & Wheelock site occupation records, 1958

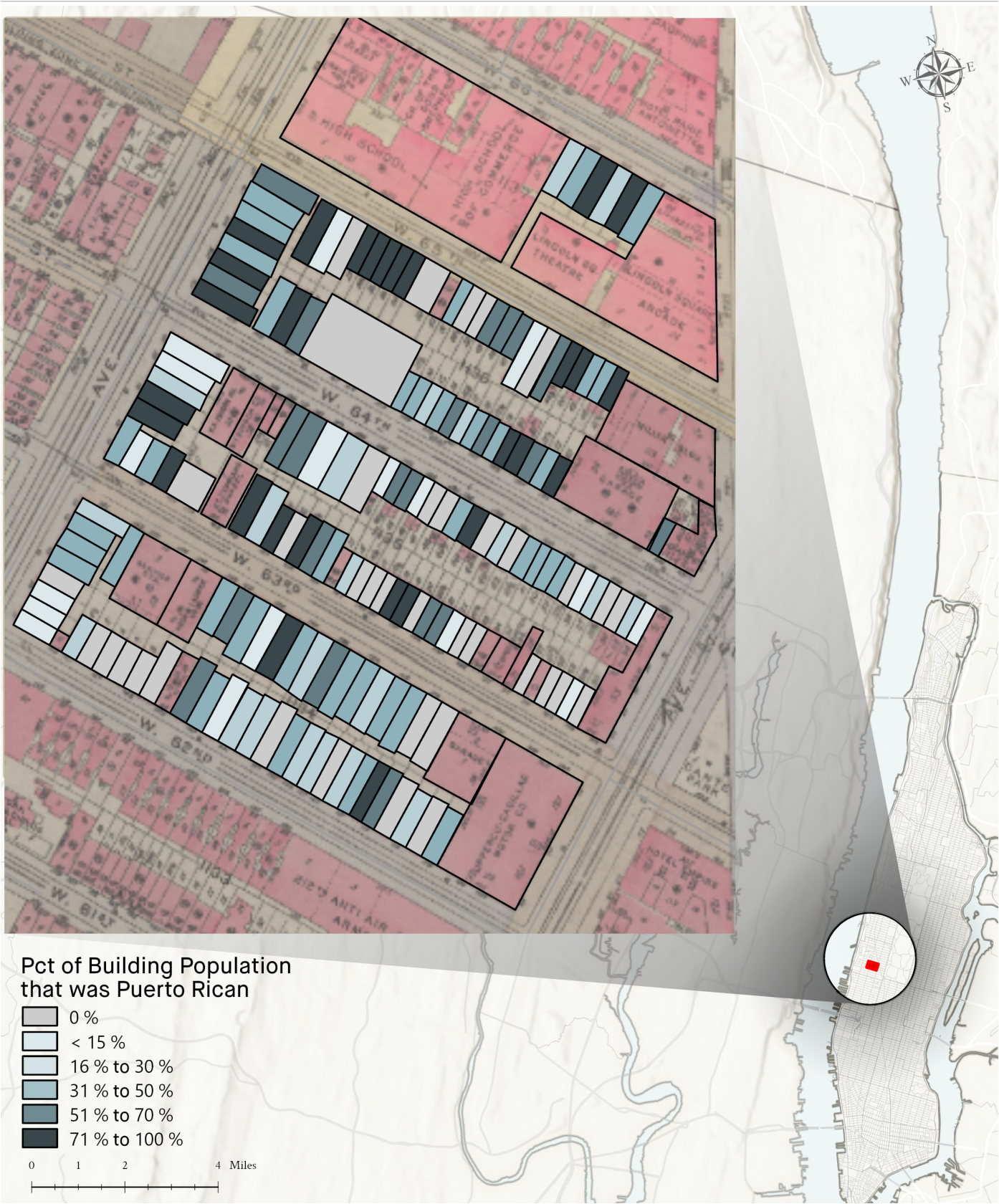
The inaccuracies and lack of standards for data collection by BPW led to many cases where tenants indicated Puerto Rico as place of birth, but no race information was recorded, or vice versa, where race was indicated as Puerto Rican but place of birth was not recorded. Moreover, the records show that in some households where race was indicated as Puerto Rican, some members had actually been born in Europe. Only 8 cases were recorded where multiple races were indicated in combination with Puerto Rican. These racially mixed realities were obscured by the methods of data collection by BPW. It is uncertain whether tenants were self-reporting race information, or if it was recorded by block managers based on their perceptions of the tenants’ race. It is evident by the inclusion of Puerto Rican as a racial category and other responses given to the race question that pointed to the nationality of tenants, that there was no clear guideline for what constituted race among those collecting information. Additionally, missing and inaccurate data limited our capacity to obtain a full panel of the Puerto Rican population. Because of this, we created the “Puerto Rican household” category, which encompasses all households where at least one member was born in Puerto Rico or where the race was indicated to be Puerto Rican. A total of 771 records were classified as Puerto Rican households. According to this definition, 3,311 individuals lived in Puerto Rican households. Moreover, this implies that over half of the population at the Lincoln Center site was Puerto Rican or related to Puerto Ricans.

As previously mentioned, 18% of the population in the Lincoln Square urban renewal project area was estimated to be Puerto Rican. Considering that 53% of tenants in the Lincoln Center site were living in Puerto Rican households highlights the existence of a Puerto Rican enclave in the future site of the city’s premier performance center. Of the population in Puerto Rican households, 70% were born in Puerto Rico while 29% were born in the U.S.A. The remaining percentage included people born in the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Italy, Germany, and others. In terms of racial composition, race information was missing for 211 Puerto Rican households. The overwhelming majority of Puerto Rican household records (548 records out of 771) indicated their race as Puerto Rican, while 11 reported it as White. That one third of the records for

⁶⁸ Committee on Slum Clearance, *Lincoln Square*, 13

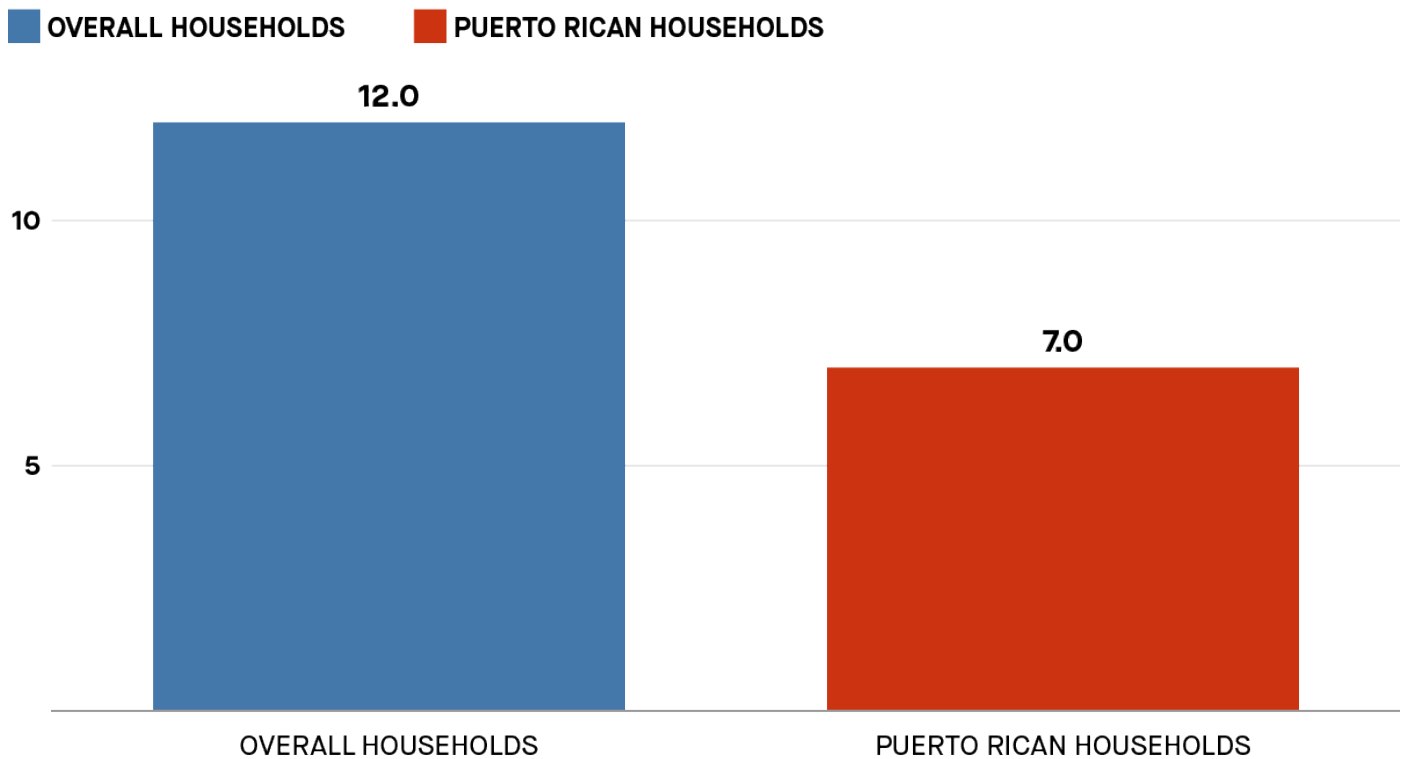
⁶⁹ Moreover, because of inconsistencies with how the data was collected, we created a variable to compile cases where multiple races were indicated. These records represented 0.3% of the total population.

FIGURE 9. Percent of Tenants that were in Puerto Rican Households by Address



NOTE: Basemap created based on images from the Land Book of the Borough of Manhattan, City of New York, Desk and Library ed. 1930, The Lionel Pincus & Princess Firyal Map Division, NYPL. Images were georectified by Julian Boilen: <https://mapwarper.net/layers/1194>.

FIGURE 10. Median Years Spent in the City for Puerto Rican Households



Puerto Rican households were missing race data when sufficient information exists to classify the tenants highlights the inconsistencies of the block managers when recording information.

As of 1950, Puerto Ricans in the Lincoln Center site were present through all the blocks in the area, although over half of them (52%) concentrated between 63rd Street and Columbus Avenue and 64th Street and Amsterdam Avenue. Data recorded from the site occupation records prepared by BPW block managers indicated that tenants were relocated from 165 unique addresses in the Lincoln Center site. Puerto Rican households were present in 127 of the 165 unique addresses (77%). The presence of Puerto Ricans in over three-quarters of the total addresses from which tenants were relocated shows that the growth of Puerto Ricans in the area had led to a wider spread throughout the site. Between 1950 and 1958, the distribution of Puerto Ricans throughout the site changed. According to information recorded in the site occupation records, by 1958 Puerto Ricans were more concentrated between 64th and 65th Street, particularly along Amsterdam Avenue (Figure 9). At the time BPW block managers commenced carrying out initial interviews with tenants that would be displaced from the site, there were almost as many Puerto Ricans living between 64th and 65th Street (1,433) as there were Puerto

Ricans in the entire Lincoln Center site in 1950 (1,512). A significant portion of these Puerto Rican households were relatively new to New York City. Over half of the Puerto Rican households that indicated time spent in the city had been in New York City for 7 years or less (Figure 10).

Recently arrived Puerto Ricans in New York City tended to be very young. Not surprisingly, 53% of the Puerto Rican household population was under 18 years of age (Figure 11). Moreover, 45% of the Puerto Rican household population under 18 were 5 years or younger. In fact, the whole population in the Lincoln Center site was relatively young. According to our estimates, 41% of the overall population was under 18 years of age. The second largest group was those between the ages of 25 and 34. This was true for all groups except Asians, for which those between the ages of 35 and 44 had the second largest share. Among Black persons, the age distribution was similar to Puerto Rican households, while Whites had a much more even distribution across age groups. For Puerto Rican households in the Lincoln Center site, 80% were 35 years of age or younger. The political and economic changes of the post-World War II era led to an exodus of young Puerto Ricans, mainly from rural areas, who had no place in the modern Puerto Rico. Those that arrived at the Lincoln Center site did so at a very young age. Many had started families back

FIGURE 11. Age Distribution for Puerto Rican Households in Lincoln Center Site

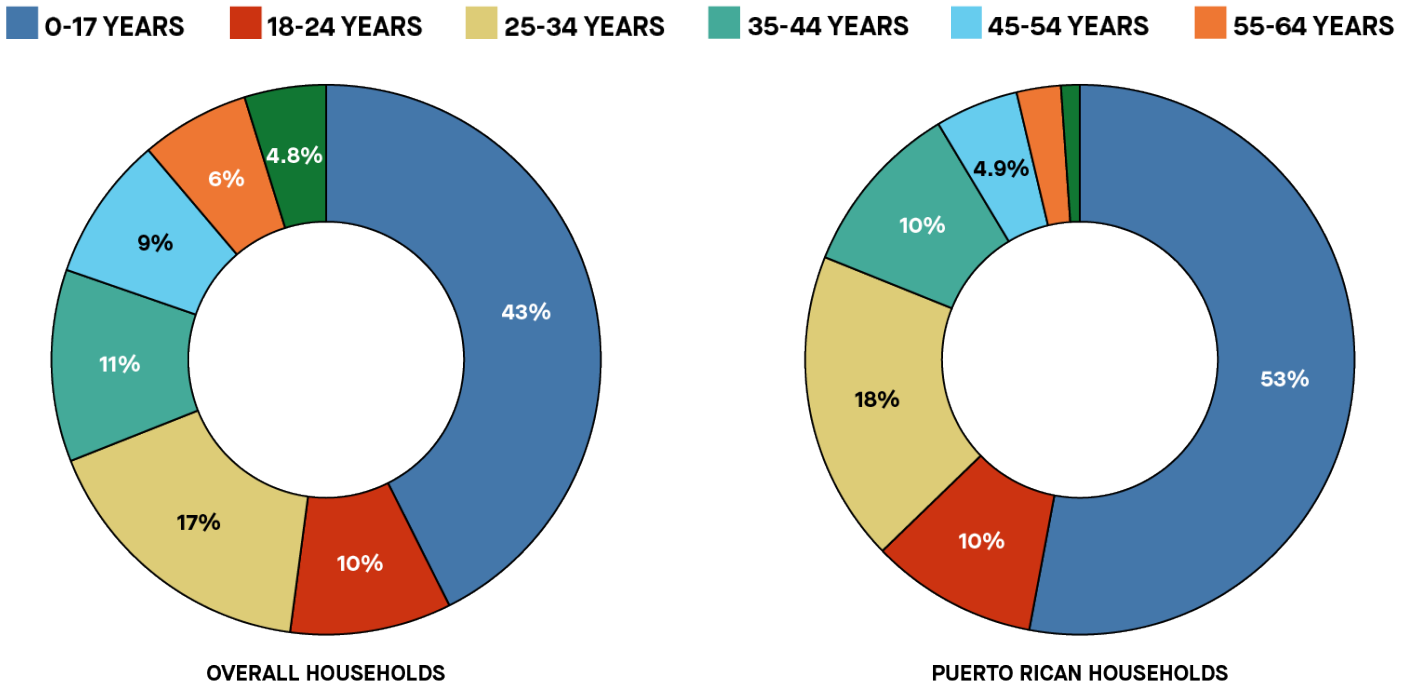


CHART: Damayra Figueroa-Lazu • Source: Braislin, Porter & Wheelock site occupation records, 1958

home and slowly brought them to New York. Others began their families once they had settled in the metropolis. The hope for better economic and living conditions had brought them the future site of the city's premier performance center. Very few actually found what they set out looking for.

Puerto Ricans were poorer than the rest of the population in the Lincoln Center site (Figure 12 and 13). The median household income for Puerto Rican households was \$2,860, compared to \$3,224 for the overall population at the site. Considering that the median family income in the U.S. in 1958 was \$5,100, it is evident that tenants at the Lincoln Center site, and Puerto Ricans more so than any other group, were living in extremely poor conditions.⁷⁰ Estimates suggest that 67% of Puerto Rican households indicated some type of employment as the household income source. This is slightly less than the overall population in the Lincoln Center site, 71% of which indicated employment as the main income source. Puerto Rican households also reported receiving income from

welfare at high levels relative to the overall population. Close to 28% of Puerto Rican households indicated receiving some type of welfare, nearly double that of the overall population (16%). Moreover, Puerto Ricans represented 76% of households that indicated receiving welfare for which race information was available. Poverty for the Puerto Rican population was further aggravated by the high rents they were paying. Recently arrived Puerto Ricans in Manhattan were found to be paying higher rents than Whites and Blacks, and at least a third of them dedicated more than 20% of their income towards rent.⁷¹ Overall, households at the Lincoln Center site paid an average of \$46.86 in monthly rent. Puerto Rican households, on average, paid \$52.66 in monthly rent, 12% more than the overall average monthly rent. Contrary to what researchers had found across multiple neighborhoods in Manhattan, we found that Puerto Rican households were not the cohort paying the highest monthly rent in the Lincoln Center site: Black households paid on average \$61.82 in monthly rent

⁷⁰ The point of comparison made here between median household income and median family income stems from the methods used by the U.S. Census Bureau at the time to calculate income statistics and the nature of the data on the site occupation records. Household income statistics were introduced by the Census Bureau in 1967. Prior to this, the Census Bureau generated family level income statistics, where family was defined "as two or more people living in a household who are related by birth, marriage, or adoption". As discussed in previous sections, legibility and inconsistency of the data contained in the site occupation records prevented, among other things, generating statistics that were consistent with the ones being generated at the time. See: Arloc Sherman, Danilo Trisi, and Josephine Cureton, "A Guide to Statistics on Historical Trends in Income Inequality," Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. December 11, 2024. <https://www.cbpp.org/research/poverty-and-inequality/a-guide-to-statistics-on-historical-trends-in-income-inequality>; U.S. Department of Commerce and Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports: Consumer Income Series P-60 No. 33* (Washington, D.C., 1960), 1. <https://www2.census.gov/prod2/popscan/p60-033.pdf>. Accessed 07/28/2025.

⁷¹ Tough and Mac Donals, "Manhattan's Real Property", 15-16.

FIGURE 12. Median Household Income

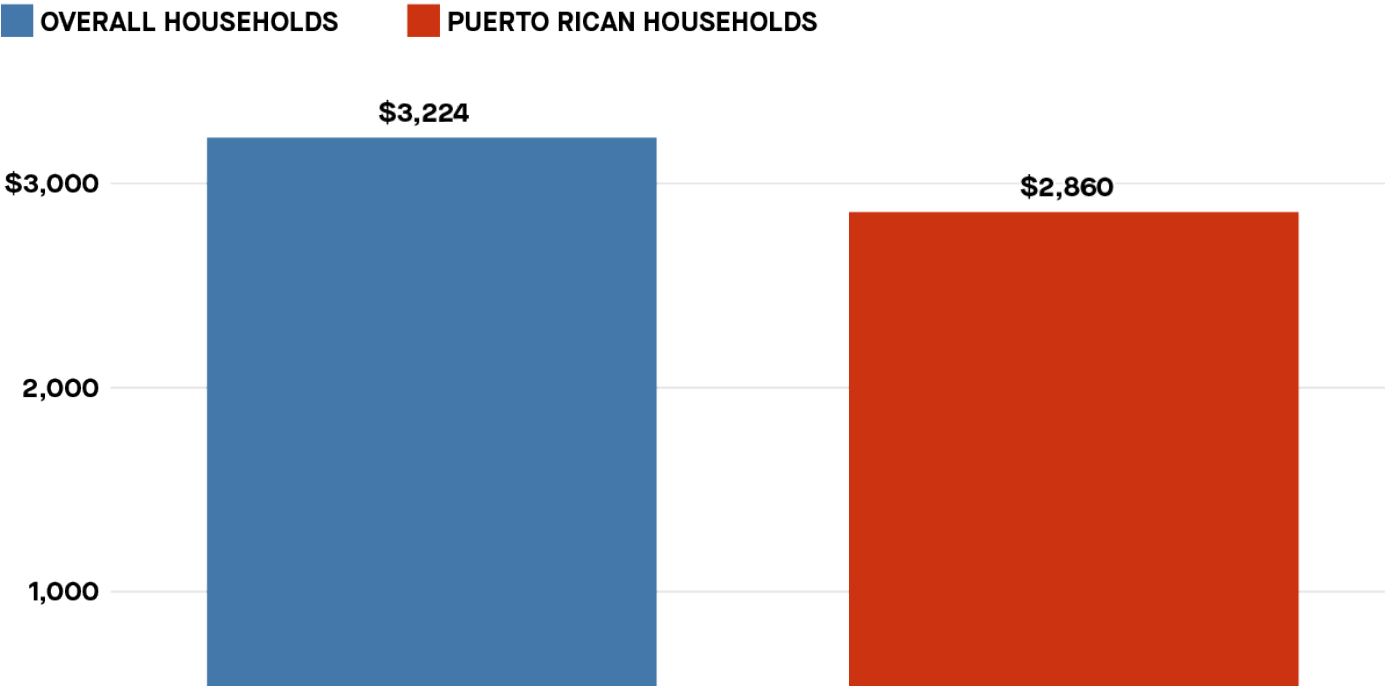


CHART: Damayra Figueroa-Lazu • Source: Braislin, Porter & Wheelock site occupation records, 1958

FIGURE 13. Monthly Rent

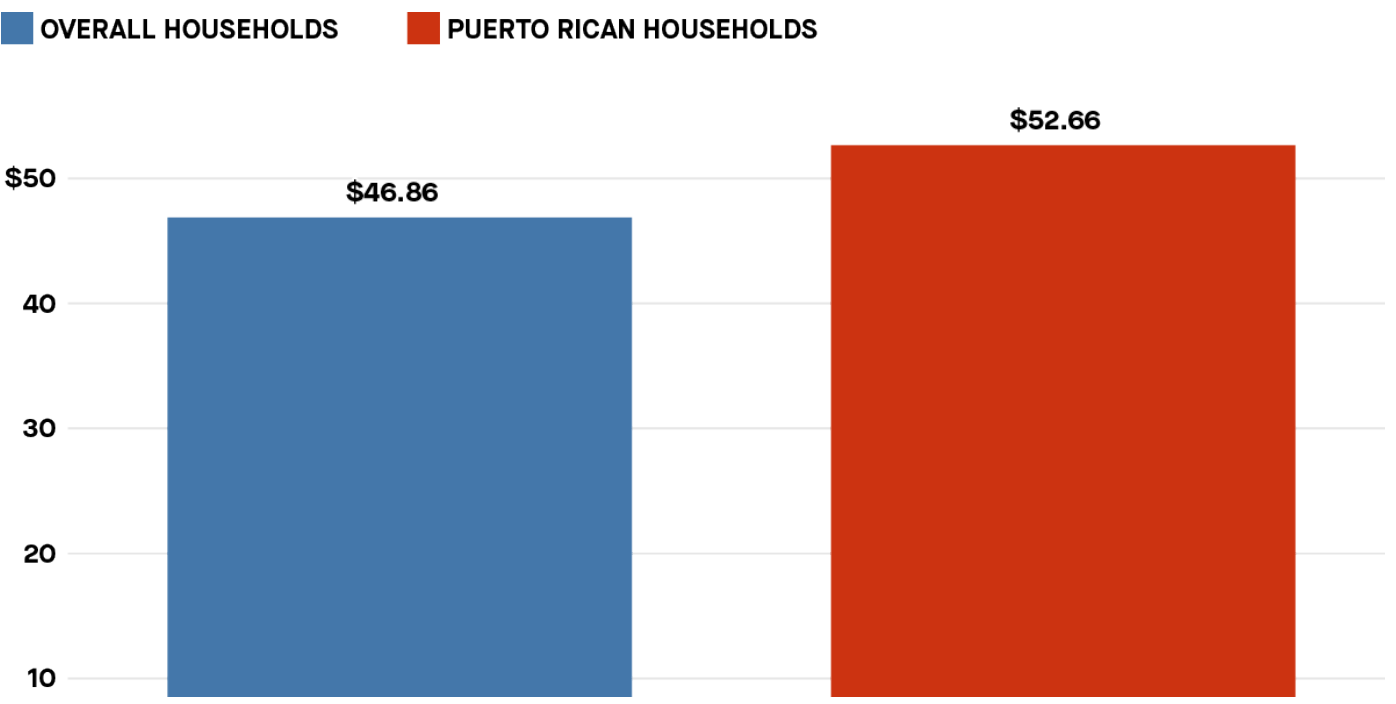


CHART: Damayra Figueroa-Lazu • Source: Braislin, Porter & Wheelock site occupation records, 1958

FIGURE 14. Housing Type on Lincoln Center Site

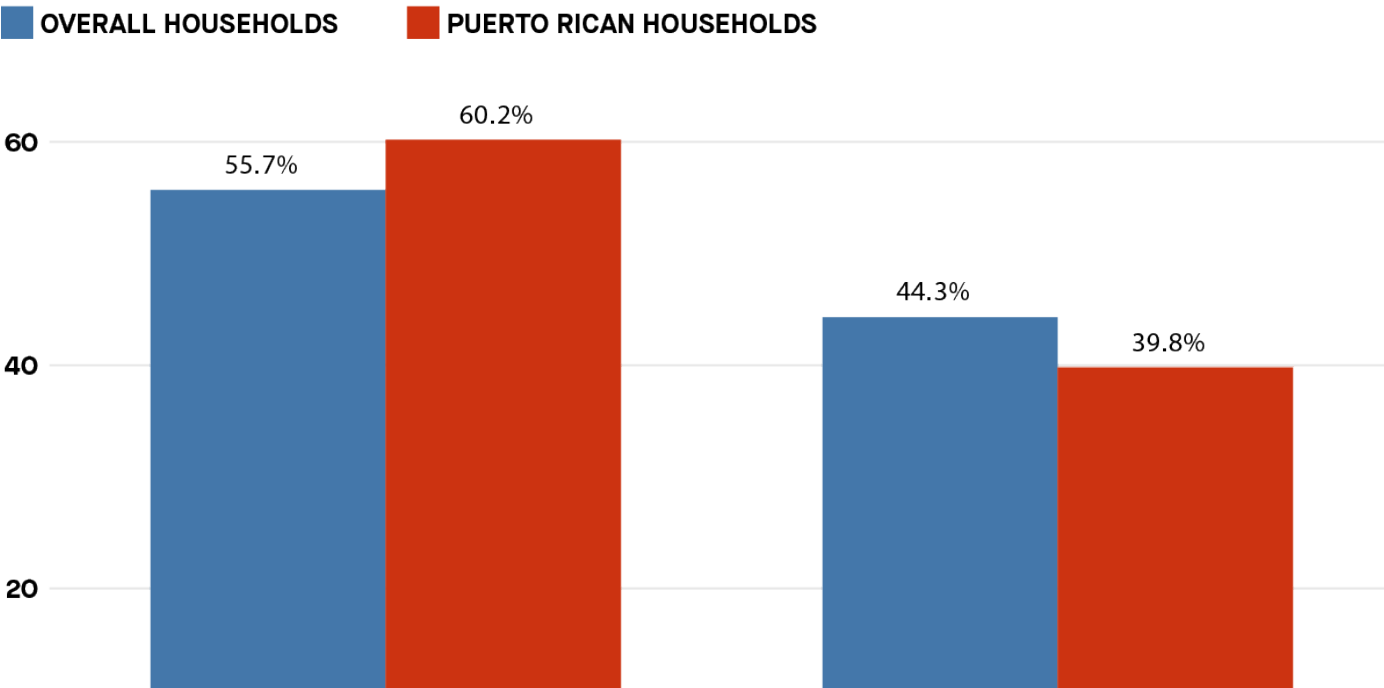


CHART: Damayra Figueroa-Lazu • Source: Braislin, Porter & Wheelock site occupation records, 1958

(32% over the average monthly rent for all households) and Asian households paid \$54.32 (16% over the average). On the other hand, White households paid significantly less monthly rent than all other groups (\$41.20, or 12% under the average for all households).

It is not surprising that Black and Puerto Rican households paid considerably more rent than White ones. As discussed before, predatory and discriminatory practices by landlords forced Black and Puerto Rican households into single occupancy rooms in rooming houses, which tended to have higher rents. Rooming houses were generally living spaces where single tenants would rent individual rooms for a short period of time. Nevertheless, in many instances entire families would be living in single room apartments or renting multiple single room apartments as long-term housing. The average rent paid in rooming houses in the Lincoln Square site was \$49.46 while the average rent for apartments was \$43.73. Our estimates suggest that 71% of housing units on site were identified as apartments while 21% were identified as rooming houses. Just over 75% of Black families lived in rooming houses, while for Puerto Rican households it was 40%. Nevertheless, there were only 64 records where race was indicated as Black that also indicated living in rooming houses. There were 255 Puerto Rican households living in rooming houses (Figure 14).

The prevalence of Puerto Ricans in rooming houses and single room apartments also meant Puerto Ricans were living in overcrowded conditions. Puerto Ricans, on average, had larger family sizes than the overall population, which in many instances included family members outside the “nuclear” family. Amongst Puerto Rican households, 61% were overcrowded, or had more than one person living per room. This was more than 20% higher than the overall population. Moreover, 40% of Puerto Rican households experienced severe overcrowding (over 1.5 persons per room), compared to 24% for the overall population. Such were the overcrowded conditions of Puerto Rican households that they represented 71% of all severely overcrowded households. Puerto Ricans often were blamed for causing such overcrowding, which in the minds of city officials led to the blighted conditions they yearned to rid the city of. In Lincoln Square, like in many other parts of the city, systemic disinvestment had led Puerto Ricans and other poor Black and brown residents to live in precarious conditions. The conditions were set for private investment to take over, but first these communities needed to be displaced.

WHERE DO WE GO NOW?

In December of 1958, BPW organized a Christmas dinner for their on-site employees and members of the Lincoln Center Board.⁷² The celebration included a theatrical performance that narrated the relocation process and described, rather mockingly, the people they were relocating. The play, titled “A Day at Lincoln Square” by Charles D. Atkinson, showcases in its show art a violin juxtaposed over a pick, similar to the hammer and sickle used by Communist parties. Contrary to the solidarity symbolized in the Communist image, it is evident from the text of the play that the violin represents the modern operatic entertainment of the bourgeoisie, keen on displacing the “bar and grills” of working-class residents. The play goes on to describe a “typical” interaction with the tenants of Lincoln Square. It satirizes these interactions, describing a tenant with an asthmatic dog that cannot climb stairs while mocking the many reasons why most tenants did not want to move to any of the boroughs outside of Manhattan. Moreover, the play seems to mock the desire of tenants to stay close to where they currently resided - “I will move anywhere, anywhere, anywhere, Fifties, The Sixties, The Seventies indeed... A home like my old one is just what I need” - claims the tenant in the play. To which the chorus, who plays the role of the relocation agent, replies: “He will move anywhere, anywhere, anywhere, Fifties, The Sixties, The Seventies indeed, his dog has asthma, won’t let him climb a stair – A home like his old one is not what he needs!!”.⁷³ The exchange between tenant and landlord highlights the tenants’ desires and the blatant disregard for their wishes and needs by BPW.

For old and new tenants, Lincoln Square was a place they called home, and they wanted to remain nearby. Among those who indicated a desired relocation area, the overwhelming majority (78%) wanted to stay in Manhattan. Many of these even reported wanting to stay in the “neighborhood” or even in the “60s, 70s, and 80s” along Manhattan’s west side. Attachment to the neighborhood

was evident across all race groups. Over 73% of White families indicated a preference for remaining in Manhattan, while 87% of Black families also wanted to stay close by. Among Puerto Rican households, less than half responded to the desired area question. Of those who did, 83% indicated a preference for remaining in Manhattan. Income did not seem to be a deterrent to remaining in Manhattan. The median household income (MHI) for those desiring to remain in the borough was \$3,380, while those that preferred moving to The Bronx or Queens had MHIs of \$3,526 and \$4,600 respectively. Overall, only about 7% of tenants desired a move to the Bronx - the percentage was closer to 10% for Puerto Ricans - and about 5% desired a move to Queens.

As urban renewal projects sprawled across the country, the effects on those being relocated became evident. In Springfield, Massachusetts for example, analysts found that 40% of families relocated had moved again within 4 years of having been relocated.⁷⁴ Not surprisingly, a larger share of Black families compared to Whites (51% and 22%, respectively) found the need to move again. For Puerto Ricans, 72% (10 out of 14) had found the need to move after their initial relocation. Tenants that found themselves having to relocate again cited inadequate housing conditions (overcrowding, rodents, poor sanitary conditions), high rents, and social pressures as reasons for moving.⁷⁵ Reviews of the conditions of tenants displaced by urban renewal in Kansas and Missouri also pointed towards substandard housing and lack of relocation assistance.⁷⁶ Reports that evaluated the relocation process for urban renewal projects across the country indicated a general failure to ameliorate overcrowding conditions, alluded to higher living costs, and insisted that discrimination hindered the relocation of non-Whites leading to worse housing conditions.⁷⁷ Another issue was the number of tenants that had moved to unknown addresses. The New York City Planning Commission

72 Charles D. Atkinson, *A Day at Lincoln Square*, Box 59, Folder 757, Relocation - Braislin, Porter & Wheelock - General Files, June-December 1958 (1971); Edgar B. Young papers; Lincoln Center, Inc., Series I; Planning and Construction, Subseries 9; Rockefeller Archive Center; <https://dimes.rockarch.org/objects/n3hTeWSr2qBigFU3oZdutE>.

73 Atkinson, *A day at Lincoln Square*. Emphasis in the original.

74 Michael W. Pozen, Arthur R. Goshin, and Lowell Eliezer Bellin, “Evaluation of Housing Standards of Families Within Four Years of Relocation by Urban Renewal,” *American Journal of Public Health* 58, no. 7 (1968): 3.

75 Pozen, Goshin, and Bellin, “Evaluation,” 3.

76 Comptroller General of the United States, “Report to the Congress of the United States: Inadequate Relocation Assistance to Families Displaced from Certain Urban Renewal Projects in Kansas and Missouri Administered by Fort Worth Regional Office,” Housing and Home Finance Agency, (June 1964), <https://www.gao.gov/products/b-118754>. Accessed April 28, 2025.

77 Hartman, “Housing Relocated,” 322-336.

FIGURE 15. Relocation of all tenants from Lincoln Center Site



reported that between 1946 and 1952, they did not have a relocation address for 43% of tenants relocated from Public Housing units.⁷⁸ In Springfield, 13% of tenants that received economic assistance from the Springfield Redevelopment Authority (SRA) were reported lost.⁷⁹

Many of these issues were present during the relocation process for the Lincoln Center site. Of the 2,130 records provided by the Lincoln Center for Performing Arts, 186 did not include a relocation address. An additional 213 records indicated the relocation address to be “unknown”. That is, 10% of records in the Lincoln Center site were “lost” or had an unknown address. If we combine those with missing and “unknown” addresses, almost 20% of records were, in some sense, “lost”. An additional set of records contained insufficient or illegible relocation information, which impeded any attempt to track their relocation destination. In total, 454 (21%) records did not contain any, or sufficient, relocation information for analysis.

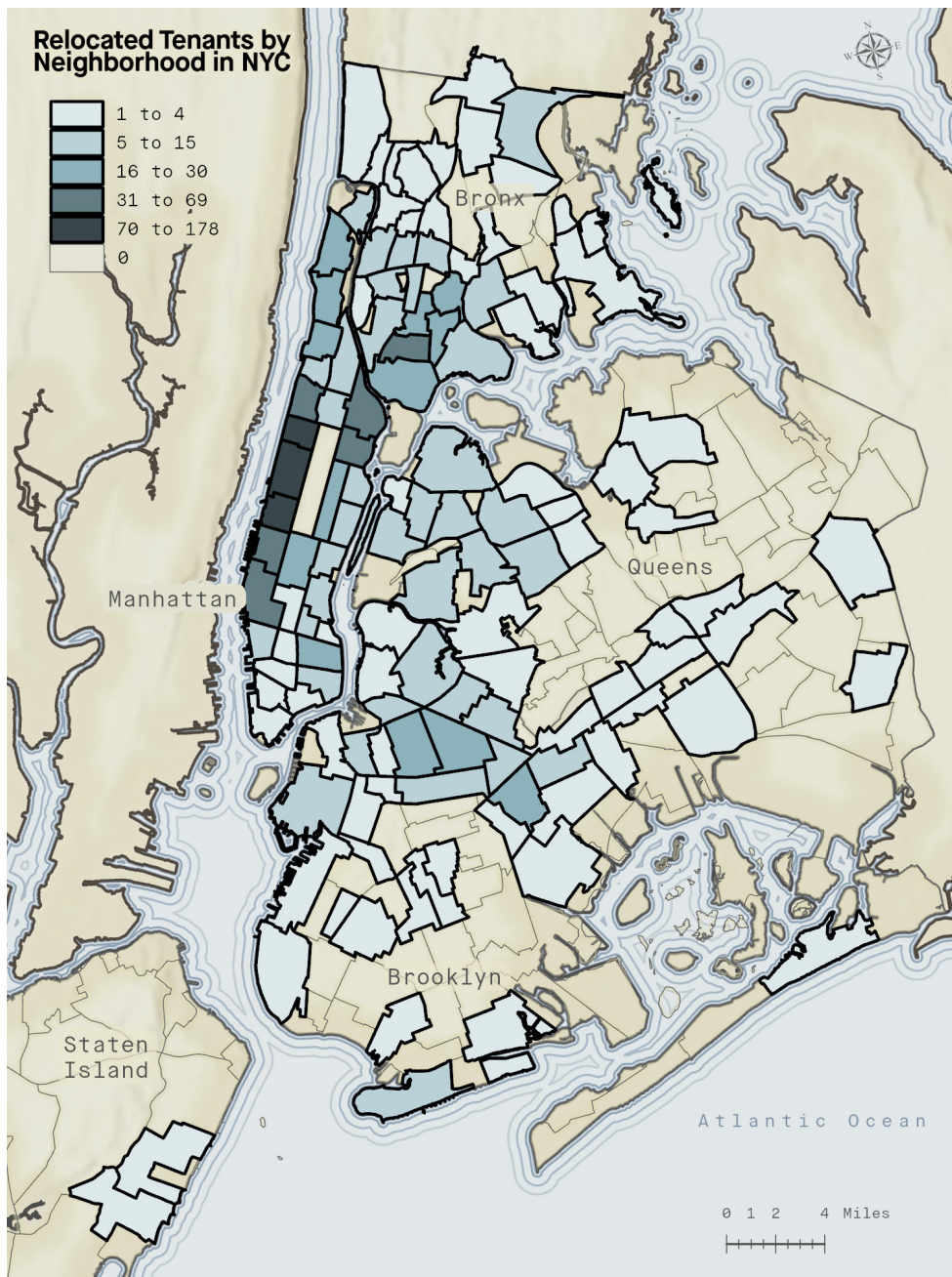
Of the 1,676 records that contained valid relocation addresses, 1,666 relocated within the U.S. and Puerto Rico. That some tenants were relocated outside the U.S., and into distinct regions of the world, not only showcases the ethnic

diversity of the Lincoln Center Site, but also points to broader impacts of the relocation process (Figure 15). At least one case is confirmed of the tenant being deported to Greece. Hardly any information was recorded for this household, only that they lived in a 3-bedroom apartment on the top floor and their monthly rent was \$36.00. Two other households were relocated to Greece. One, a single elderly individual and the other an elderly couple where the husband was born in Greece and the wife was born in the U.S. Three households were relocated to Canada and another two were relocated to Cuba. Additionally, one household was relocated to Italy and one to Spain. Although only one of these tenants was deported, that relocation through urban renewal could lead to deportation is an added pressure to a process that already dispossessed people from their homes and livelihoods. Relocation records from the Lincoln Center site show that some tenants had indicated a willingness to move to their native countries. They did so at a time when nations were experiencing political revolutions or were in the process of rebuilding after prolonged civil wars and political disturbance in the aftermath of WWII.

⁷⁸ Hartman, “Housing Relocated,” 329.

⁷⁹ Pozen, Goshin, and Bellin, “Evaluation,” 4.

FIGURE 16. Distribution of tenants relocated in New York City by Neighborhood



However absurd BPW considered it, the desires of tenants to remain close to their on site locations prevailed. The overwhelming majority of those that were relocated within the U.S. did so within the state of New York (1,532). Moreover, 1,503, slightly over 98%, of those relocated within New York State did so within New York City. The majority of those relocated within New York City did so in Manhattan (64.4%). The Bronx received the second largest share of relocated households, 242 (16.1%). Another 182

(12.1%) households were relocated to Brooklyn and 107 (7.12%) were relocated to Queens. If we analyze records for which a desired area was specified, 51% were relocated within their desired area. Of those that were not relocated to their desired area, 58% did so within New York City.

The neighborhood distribution of tenant relocation points to large concentrations of relocations along the western part of Manhattan (Figure 16). More than a third (35%) of those relocated within New York City did so

between Hell's Kitchen and Manhattan Valley (between West 40th and West 110th Street). If we extend this to include West Village and West Harlem, slightly over 40% of tenants were relocated within this area. The large volume of tenants relocated near the Lincoln Square neighborhood highlights their desires to remain close to "home," be it because of employment or strong safety nets and sense of community. Besides the apparent interest of tenants to remain close to their original neighborhood, the availability of vacant housing in the area determined where many of the tenants were relocated to. According to data from the 1950 U.S. Census, of the vacant dwelling units available for rent or sale in New York City in 1950, 17% were in Manhattan. Of this 17%, slightly over a quarter (27%) were located between Hell's Kitchen and Manhattan Valley, between 40th Street and 110th Street along the West side of Manhattan.

Tenants relocated from the Lincoln Center site to neighborhoods in NYC, moved into 476 unique census tracts. These tracts contained close to 25% of the total vacant dwelling units available for rent or sale in NYC at the time. In Manhattan, where most tenants relocated to, they moved to census tracts that contained 84% of vacant units available for rent or purchase. By 1960 the number of dwelling units available for rent or purchase in New York City had almost doubled. In Manhattan, available units for rent or purchase increased from 4,830 to 17,409. Tenants from the Lincoln Center relocation site were relocated to tracts that, in 1960, accounted for nearly 40% of New York City's available vacant housing.

Many of these areas, particularly in and around the Upper West Side, Upper East Side, and Lower East Side of Manhattan, were areas densely populated by White individuals up until the 1950s. Between 1940 and 1950 the racial and demographic compositions of these neighborhoods shifted as White residents moved to suburban neighborhoods in the outskirts of the city. Although the total White population in the city continued to grow, changes were not equal across boroughs. Between 1940 and 1950 the White population slightly decreased in the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Manhattan, while increasing in more suburban boroughs—Queens (18%) and Staten Island (9%). The biggest changes came between 1950 and 1960. During that period the White population in New York

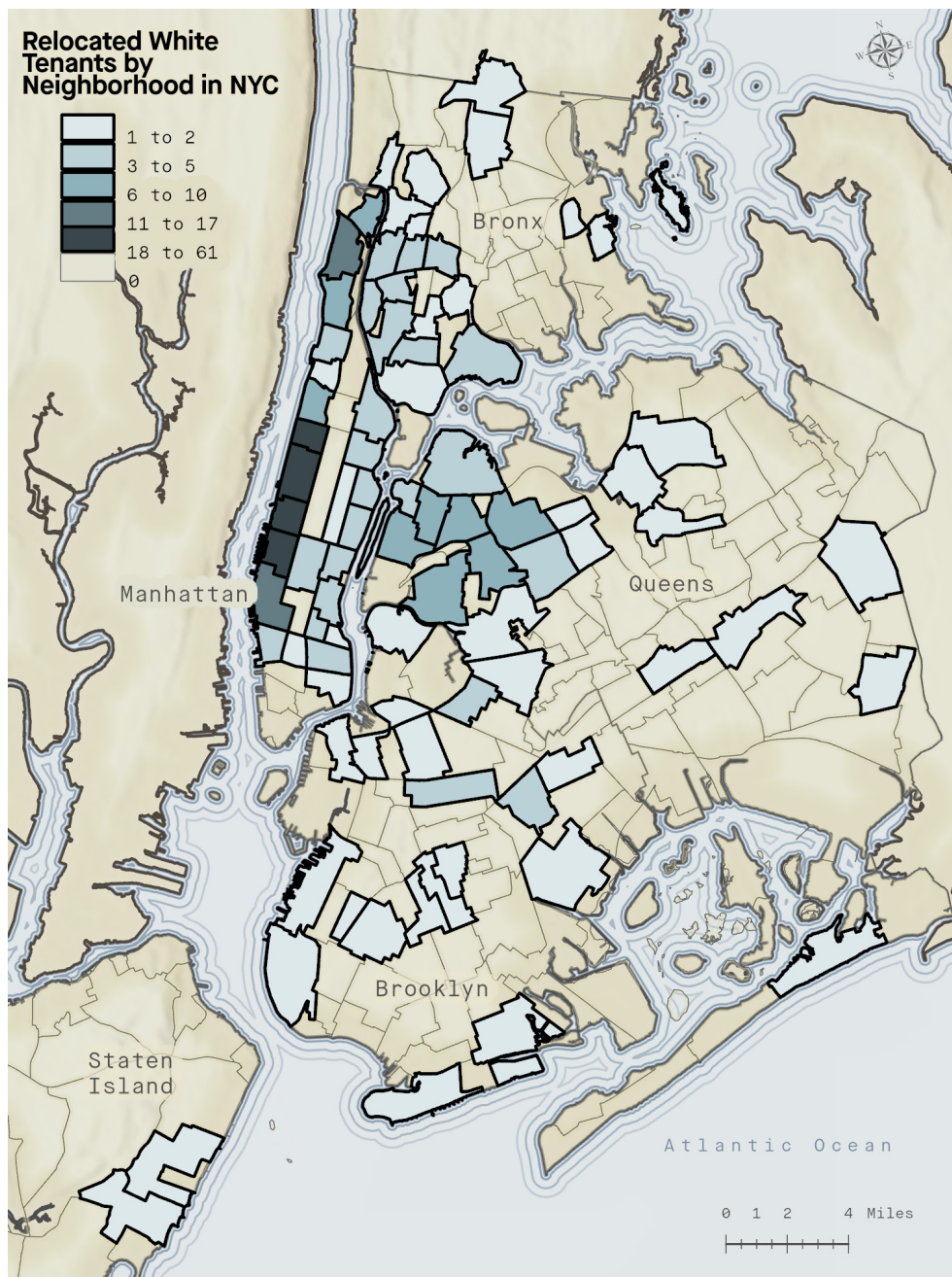
City decreased by 7%, although Staten Island (14%) and Queens (11%) continue to experience a growth in the White population. Large losses in the White population occurred in Manhattan and Brooklyn where approximately 280,000 White individuals left each borough between 1950 and 1960.

Not surprisingly then, a larger proportion of Whites were relocated outside the city than any other racial or ethnic group. Within New York City over half the White residents relocated from the Lincoln Square area did so within the West side of Manhattan. Relocation patterns for Whites in Manhattan followed available vacant dwellings, with most concentrating in the Upper West Side, Upper East Side, and Lower East Side (Figure 17). Outside of Manhattan, Whites relocated to parts of North-eastern Queens, which by the 1960s had become a prime destination for Greek and Eastern European immigrants. In The Bronx, Whites relocated in and around Hunts Point, Claremont, and Mount Hope. Outside of New York City, in the state of New York Whites were relocated mainly to Nassau and Suffolk Counties and Westchester County. Outside the New York State, most of the remaining White households relocated to New Jersey, particularly in and around Union City in Hudson County, with a smaller group relocating to Connecticut.

While many White tenants may have had the means or opportunity to relocate outside New York City, and into suburban neighborhoods, racial and economic barriers limited relocation options for other racial groups. Black individuals and families were particularly excluded from suburban neighborhoods by federal redlining policies that were used to negate mortgages to residents of those areas, and by other discriminatory and institutional policies in the real estate and banking industries.⁸⁰ Of the 84 Black families for whom a valid relocation address was provided, only one relocated outside New York State. In New York State only one did so outside of New York City. Over two-thirds (64%) of these families relocated within Manhattan, 40% of which did so in and around the Lincoln Square neighborhood. Black families also moved into areas that hosted large enclaves of Black population in New York City, particularly in Harlem, and around the Bedford-Stuyvesant area (Figure 18). Outside of these enclaves, relocation of Blacks followed much of the available vacant housing in the city, particularly in lower Manhattan and in the Bronx.

80 Douglas S. Massey and Jonathan Tannen, "Suburbanization and Segregation in the United States: 1970-2010," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41, no. 9 (2018).

FIGURE 17. Relocated White Tenants by Neighborhood

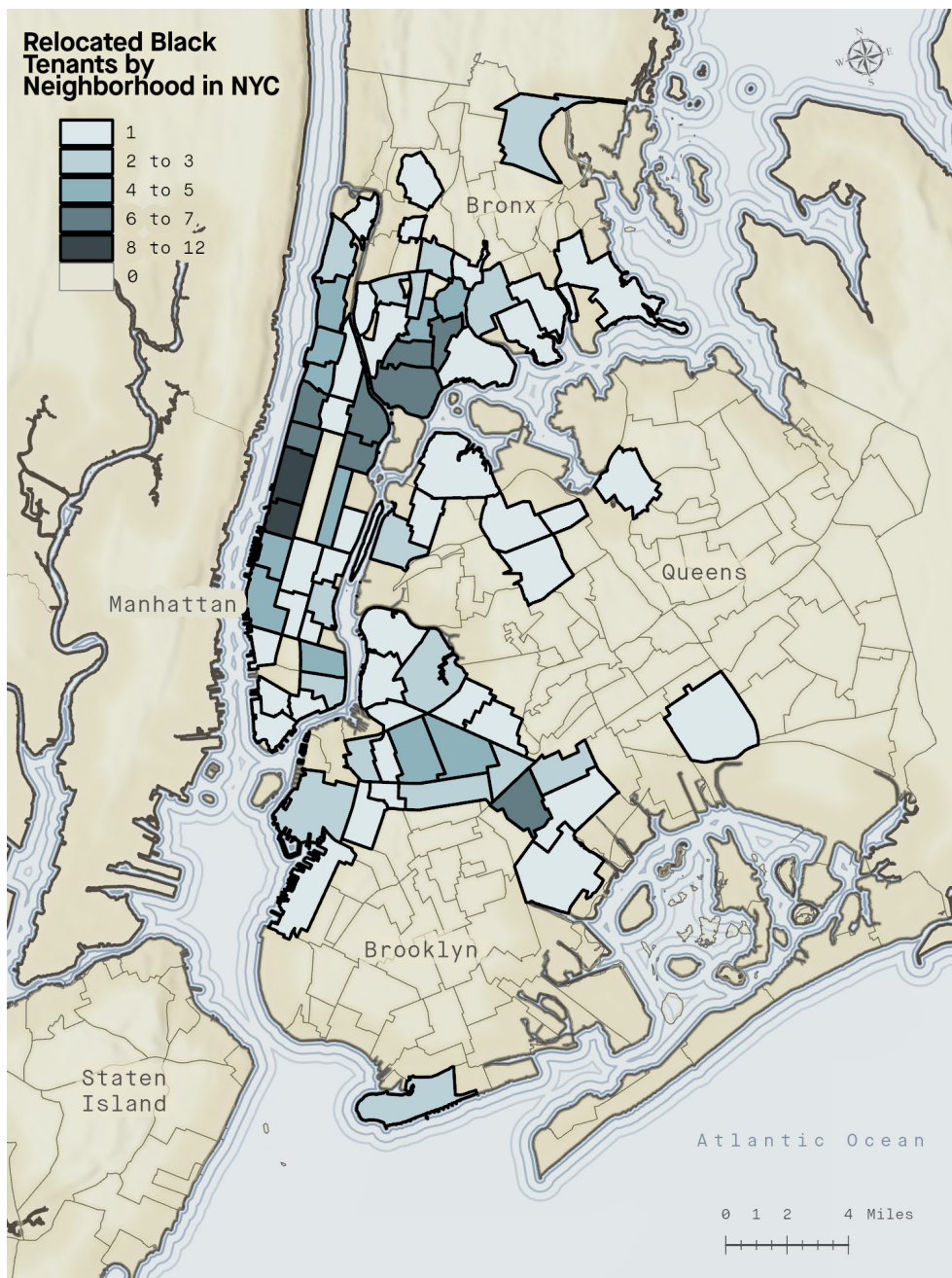


Puerto Ricans accounted for the largest share of records with a valid relocation address (39%) compared to other racial groups (31% for Whites and 5% for Blacks). Of the 661 Puerto Rican households for which a relocation address was provided, 617 (93%) were relocated within New York State. Of those, only one was relocated outside of New York City. This household presents an interesting scenario because, although the address indicated in the relocation card implies the relocation address as located in the Bronx, it is actually in Yonkers, in Westchester County, just across

the Street from the northern edge of Van Cortlandt Park, which marks the northern border of The Bronx. Hence, 616 of the 617 Puerto Rican households relocated within New York State did so within New York City.

Puerto Rican households, similar to other racial groups, were relocated to their desired areas. Nearly two-thirds of Puerto Rican households were relocated in Manhattan, particularly in and around the Lincoln Square neighborhood. A significant number of Puerto Rican households were relocated to The Bronx (23%), most of them to

FIGURE 18. Relocated Black Tenants by Neighborhood

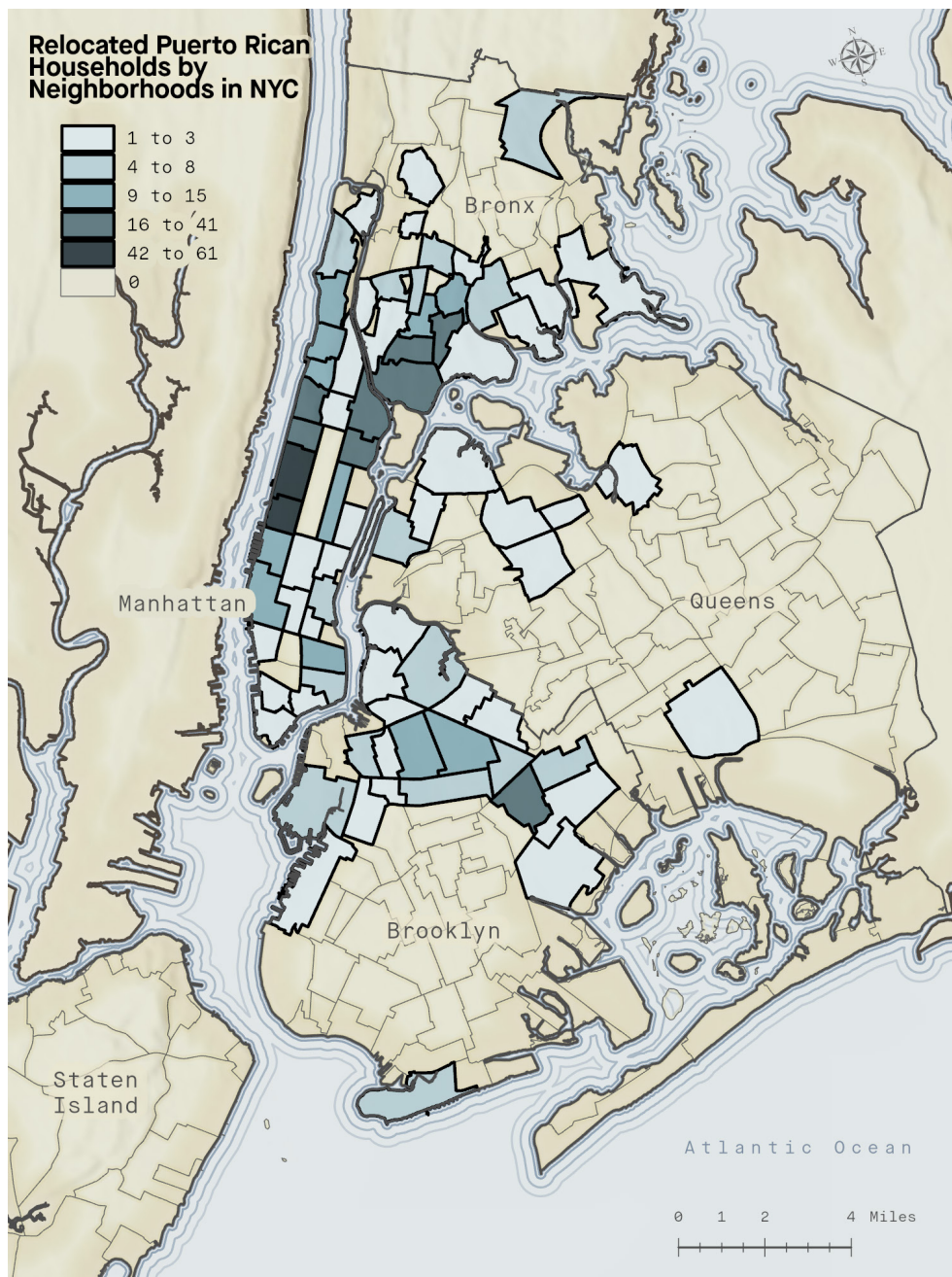


neighborhoods in the South Bronx, such as Mott Haven, Melrose, and Longwood. Another notable portion of Puerto Rican households were relocated to Brooklyn (16%), particularly around the Bedford-Stuyvesant area. Very few Puerto Rican households were relocated to Queens (2%) and none were relocated to Staten Island.

Puerto Rican households were also relocated to areas where vacant housing was available. Some of these neighborhoods had long-established Puerto Rican

communities (Figure 19). Approximately 10% of Puerto Rican households were relocated to East Harlem, a long established Puerto Rican enclave. Chelsea, where Puerto Ricans had settled in the early 20th century around the cigar industry, also had an influx of relocated Puerto Rican households. As did the Lower East Side, which was becoming an ever more Puerto Rican neighborhood. In Brooklyn, few Puerto Ricans were relocated within traditional settlements, particularly along Williamsburg. Instead, the largest

FIGURE 19. Relocated Puerto Rican Tenants by Neighborhood



concentration of relocated Puerto Rican households was in Brownsville, away from traditional enclaves in Brooklyn. Within New York City, Puerto Rican households were relocated closer to each other than any other racial groups. Although the relocation pattern for Puerto Ricans followed some of the same trends as other groups, they were more likely to be relocated into neighborhoods with strong Puerto Rican presence or close to each other, sprawling new and smaller Puerto Rican enclaves.

Decisions about relocation were also driven by available Public Housing apartments. According to our analysis, approximately 14% of the total households relocated from the Lincoln Center site were relocated to Public Housing (Figure 20). Puerto Ricans were overrepresented in the population that was relocated to Public Housing. Of the Puerto Rican households relocated in New York City, 22% did so to Public Housing. For the White families, 14% were relocated to Public Housing while only 8% of the Black

families did so. A large portion of Puerto Rican households that responded to the desired housing question during their first interview (43%) indicated a preference for Public Housing. Amongst White families, the percentage that indicated a preference for Public Housing was about 14%, similar to the percentage that was actually relocated to Public Housing. For Black families, almost 20% indicated Public Housing as a preferred destination during the first interview, which is more than double the percentage that was actually relocated to Public Housing (7%). Of the 204 Puerto Rican households that indicated Public Housing as a one of the preferred relocation destinations, 55 (27%) were actually relocated to Public Housing. Only 18 White families that indicated Public Housing as a desired area were relocated to Public Housing units, and none of the Black families relocated to Public Housing had indicated a desire to do so.

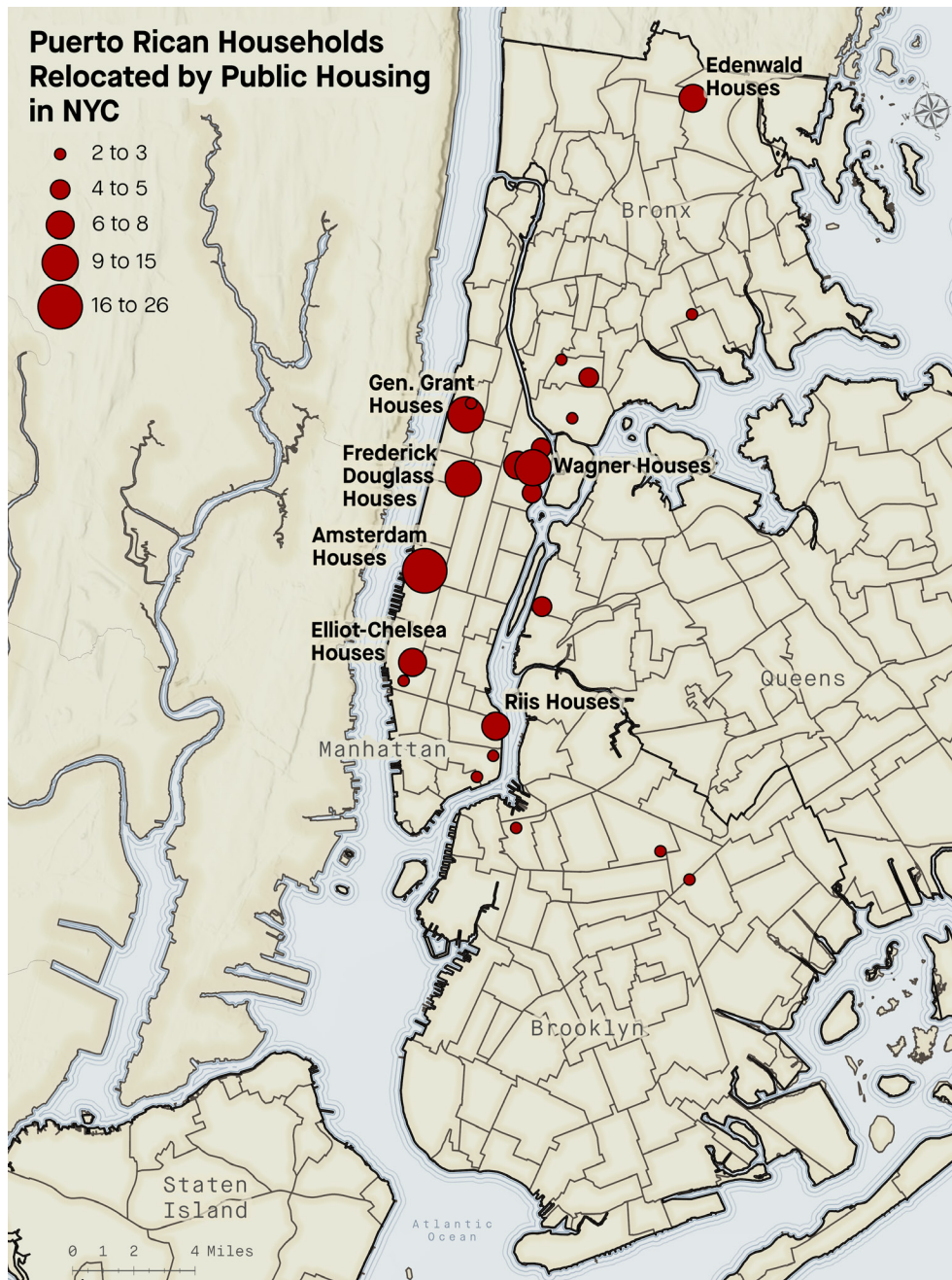
Moreover, 9 of the 10 neighborhoods with the highest number of relocated Puerto Ricans contained at least one public housing unit. The public housing units that received the largest number of Puerto Rican households were: Amsterdam Houses (26), located between 61st Street and 64th Street and between Amsterdam Avenue and West End Avenue, just west of the Lincoln Center for Performing Arts site; the Frederick Douglass Houses (14), between 100th Street and 104th Street and between Amsterdam Avenue and Manhattan Avenue; and the Gen. Grant Houses, between 123rd Street and 125th Street and between Morningside Avenue and Broadway Avenue. In Morningside Heights, where the Grant Houses are located, Puerto Rican households relocated to public housing accounted for 65% of all Puerto Rican households relocated to the neighborhood. In the Lincoln Square neighborhood, where the Amsterdam houses are located, the percentage was 46%. In Chelsea, Puerto Rican households relocated to public housing accounted for 53% of the relocated Puerto Rican households to that neighborhood. Meanwhile, in neighborhoods around the Lower East Side, Puerto Rican households relocated to public housing ranged between 37% and 66% of the total Puerto Rican households relocated to those neighborhoods. In other neighborhoods, such as Queensbridge-Ravenswood, Eastchester-Edenwald, and Canarsie, 100% of Puerto Rican households relocated to those neighborhoods did so to public housing. The prevalence of Puerto Ricans relocated to public housing is both symptomatic of the crisis of affordable housing in the

city and a conscientious effort by city officials to place them in exclusionary spaces.

Outside of New York City, Puerto Rico received the largest share of relocated Puerto Rican households from the Lincoln Square site (Figure 21). Thirty-two Puerto Rican households were relocated to Puerto Rico. Those households were scattered across the island, although close to a third were relocated to the San Juan metropolitan area. For six of these households, no specific address was provided beyond the indication that they had moved to Puerto Rico. Additionally, another four tenants relocated to Puerto Rico that did not contain enough information to be considered Puerto Rican households. Households relocated to Puerto Rico generally had similar characteristics than the overall Puerto Rican population relocated from the Lincoln Center site. Although, for some, their removal had come shortly after they had settled in the neighborhood. At least 6 of the 32 Puerto Rican households relocated to Puerto Rico had spent less than a year in the Lincoln Center site. One family was relocated to Fajardo after having migrated to New York the year prior and only moving to the Lincoln Center site six months prior to being relocated. Another Puerto Rican family had moved to their apartment in the Lincoln Center site just two weeks before they were relocated. Aside from Puerto Rico, Puerto Rican households were also relocated to New Jersey (5), Massachusetts (2), Florida (1), Illinois (1), North Carolina (1), Connecticut (1), and Pennsylvania (1), almost all to urban neighborhoods.

Displacement of Puerto Rican tenants into deteriorating neighborhoods that would later be subjected to urban renewal projects was not the only negative effect of the Lincoln Square urban renewal project. Like other relocation processes, tenants from the Lincoln Center site faced increasing rent prices with little improvements to their housing conditions. The average monthly rent paid by tenants in the Lincoln Center site increased from \$43.33 to \$60.00 at their relocated sites. For records that contained both on site and relocated site rent data ($n = 1,242$), being relocated presented an average increase in rent paid of \$17.66. This is close to a 40% increase from their previous location. Increase in rent was mostly driven by White families. On average, monthly rent for White families increased by \$26.59. Changes in rent paid by Puerto Rican households was slightly lower (\$10.53). And for Black families it was considerably lower (\$3.40).

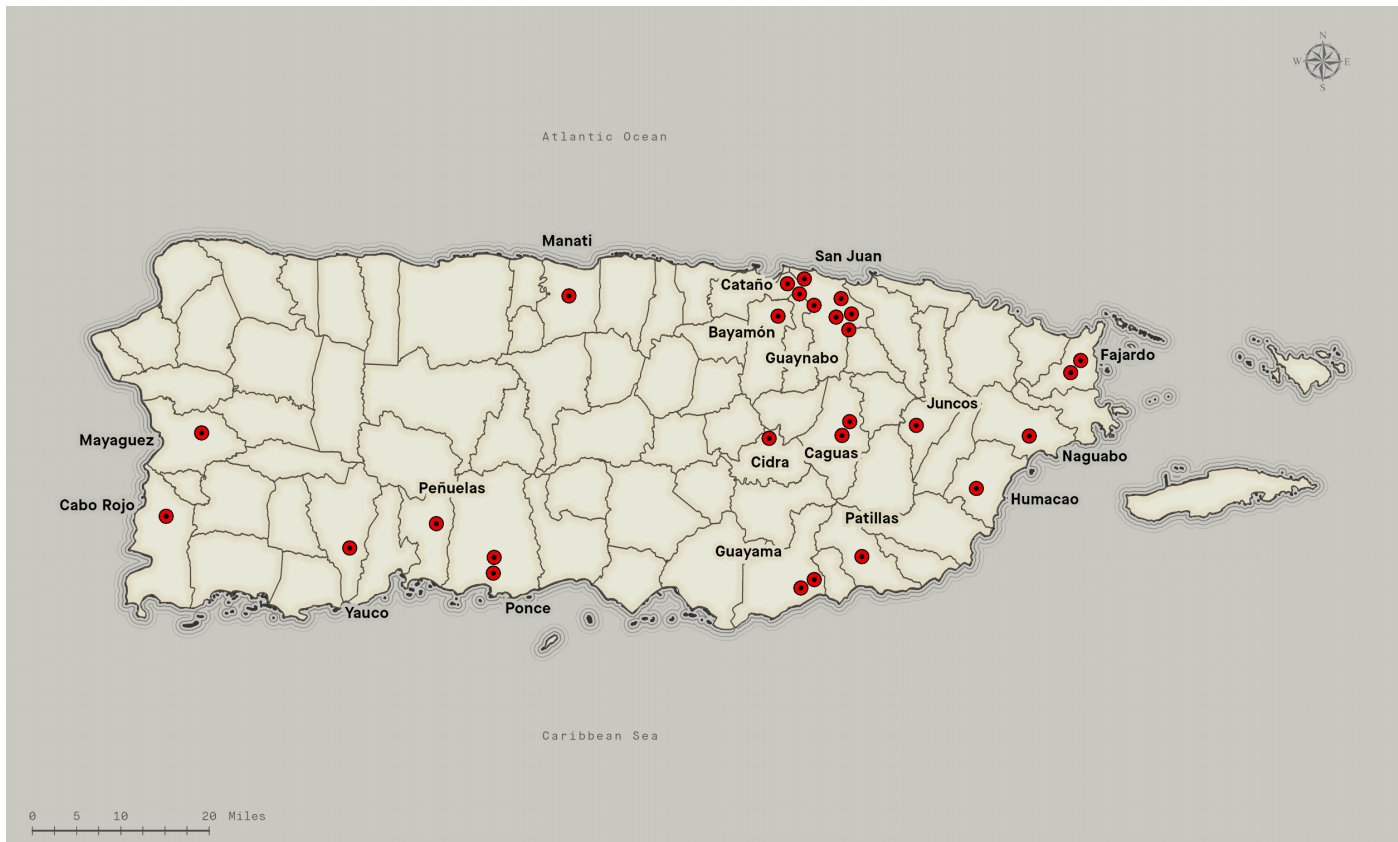
FIGURE 20. Puerto Rican Households Relocated by Public Housing



These differences are partly due to the percentage of Puerto Rican households and Black families relocated to public housing. The average change in monthly rent for tenants relocated to public housing was \$6.81. Although the average change for Puerto Rican households in public housing was \$2.30, and for the few Black families that were relocated to public housing, their rent had decreased. More importantly, differences in rent changes after relocation are a product of white flight and discriminatory housing

policies. As mentioned before, while Whites were granted access to “desirable” neighborhoods and developing suburbs, Puerto Rican households and Black families were pushed into deteriorating neighborhoods. In 1960, almost 40% of all dwellings in census tracts where Puerto Rican households and Black families had been relocated to were either deteriorating or depleted, according to the Census. For tracts where Whites had been relocated, it was 25%.

FIGURE 21. Puerto Rican households relocated to Puerto Rico



NOTE: Not presented here are 5 households that were relocated to Puerto Rico but no address was given.

Relocation to redlined and deteriorated neighborhoods set forth a cycle of displacement and dispossession for many communities. Neighborhoods where Puerto Ricans from the Lincoln Center site were relocated to, were the target of urban renewal projects in the coming decades. Among these was the West Side Urban Renewal Area (WSURA) project, which proposed building 7,800 new housing units between West 87th and West 97th, 1,000 of which would be reserved for low-income tenants.⁸¹ The project was met with opposition from neighboring tenants who organized a squatters' campaign called "Operation Move-in". From the activities of this movement emerged El Comité. Initially a grassroots organization active in the housing reclamation movement, it soon became a radical socialist organization associated with working-class struggles and strong advocacy for Puerto Rican independence.

The relocation of Puerto Ricans into public housing and traditional settlements in New York City, and into urban spaces in other states was not accidental. Like most Black persons, Puerto Ricans were excluded from accessing determined spaces and were forcefully integrated into others.⁸² Public housing became one of the main tools to deal with the "Puerto Rican problem." With backing from the Mayor's Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs (MCPRA), Puerto Ricans were systematically integrated into exclusionary spaces, like public housing, in New York City.⁸³ By 1960, Puerto Ricans came to represent 18% of the total Public Housing population in New York City, although they represented just 8% of the city's overall population.⁸⁴ Slum clearance projects became part of the efforts to drive Puerto Ricans into public housing. According to some reports, 46% of Puerto Ricans relocated by urban renewal projects did so

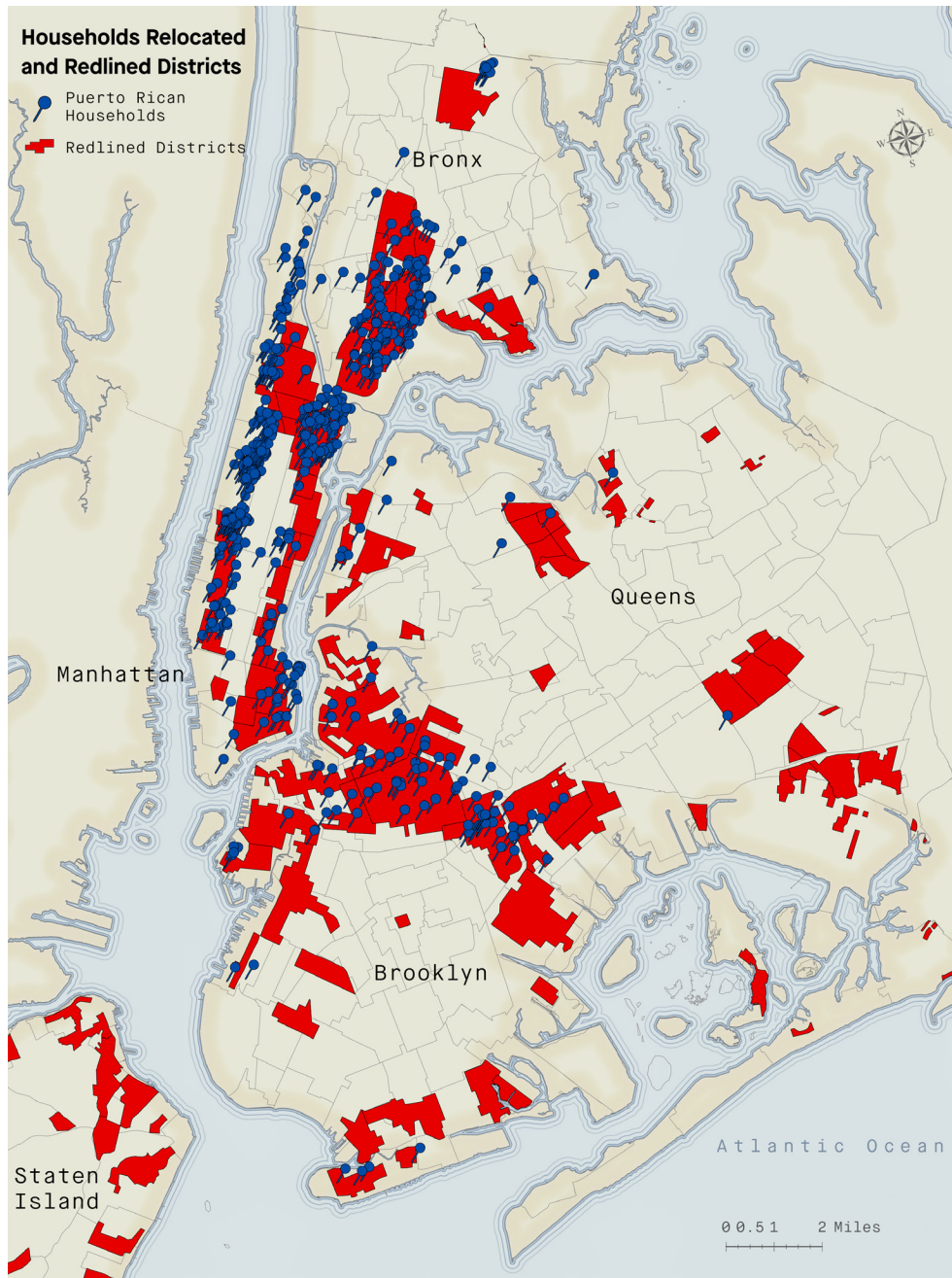
81 Rose Muzio, "The struggle against 'urban renewal' in Manhattan's Upper West Side and the emergence of El Comité," *Centro Journal* 21, no. 2 (2009).

82 Vanessa Rosa, "14. Colonial Projects: Public Housing and the Management of Puerto Ricans in New York City, 1945-1970." In *Critical Dialogues in Latinx Studies: A Reader*, ed. Ana Y. Ramos-Zayas and Mérida M. Rúa (New York: New York University Press, 2021), 186-196.

83 Rosa, "Public Housing," 193.

84 Rosa, "Public Housing," 189.

FIGURE 22. Map of Puerto Rican relocation and red lining



to public housing.⁸⁵ The displacement of Puerto Ricans into exclusionary zones was not only driven by their inclusion into public housing. Many Puerto Rican households were also pushed into neighborhoods located within redlined districts. Over half of the Puerto Rican households relocated from the Lincoln Center site were sent to redlined districts, which were subject to both contemporary and future private and public disinvestment (Figure 22). The net effect

of urban renewal relocation practices in New York City was the displacement of Puerto Ricans into public housing and already overcrowded Puerto Rican neighborhoods with deteriorating housing conditions—neighborhoods that would later become prime real estate for urban renewal projects, thus exacerbating the continued displacement and removal of Puerto Rican people.

85 Rosa, "Public Housing," 190.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the records provided by the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, complemented by extensive archival research, paints a clear picture of how a burgeoning Puerto Rican community was displaced. The city's premier performing arts center was built in the wake of organized abandonment, bringing with it the erasure of the lives and histories of the people who lived in the neighborhood. Our approach, which applies a data analysis framework to these archival records, not only has allowed us to uncover these histories but also shows the lack of care and standards when tenant information was acquired. The lack of standards in data collection by BPW is evidence of the disregard afforded to the community who lived there: a collective of people who were dehumanized and treated as disposable by local officials, capitalist investors, and those they retained to provide services. Nevertheless, by leveraging archival materials with records from the Lincoln Square urban renewal project, this report shines light on the Puerto Rican community that had made Lincoln Square their home and were subsequently removed from it.

Over 3,000 Puerto Ricans resided in just the three-and-a-half blocks where the Lincoln Center for Performing Arts lays today when relocation commenced in 1958. As documented in the site occupation records, many did not wish to leave but instead yearned for better living conditions. Our analysis showcases the poor housing

conditions tenants at the Lincoln Center site experienced, and also highlights the fact that many did not find improved conditions after relocation. Moreover, our analysis shows that Puerto Rican and Black tenants were systematically relocated to neighborhoods that had long experienced disinvestment by local and federal governments, thus perpetuating the cycle of disinvestment and dispossession affecting these communities. Puerto Rican and Black communities to this day continue to be targets of displacement, segregation, and gentrification throughout urban environments.

To complement this report, we have also curated an exhibit, *Afterlives of San Juan Hill*, which combines data analysis with archival documents, visual storytelling, and oral histories to offer a community centered perspective on this crucial period in U.S. urban history. At the center of this exhibit are the experiences of the Ramírez Zapata family: María Zapata and her four children—Gustavo, Magdalena, Harry, and Miguel Ramírez Zapata—one of thousands of families displaced in the name of urban development. These histories of dispossession and erasure are as crucial today as they were in the 1950s, and we are honored to illuminate an untold aspect of New York City history through the lens and stories of those who were directly affected.

APPENDIX 1. Total Population in NYC by Race and Nativity, 1930-1960

1930						
	Total	White	Black	Other	U.S.-born White	Foreign-born White
Bronx	1,265,258	1,251,747	12,930	581	774,405	477,342
Brooklyn	2,560,401	2,488,448	68,921	3,032	1,619,678	868,770
Manhattan	1,867,312	1,631,756	224,670	10,886	990,138	641,618
Queens	1,079,129	1,059,680	18,609	840	793,530	266,150
Staten Island	158,346	155,594	2,576	176	116,074	39,520
New York City	6,930,446	6,587,225	327,706	15,515	4,293,825	2,293,400
1940						
	Total	White	Black	Other	U.S.-born White	Foreign-born White
Bronx	1,394,711	1,370,319	23,529	863	909,843	460,476
Brooklyn	2,698,285	2,587,951	107,263	3,071	1,820,313	767,638
Manhattan	1,889,924	1,577,625	298,365	13,934	1,037,428	540,197
Queens	1,297,634	1,270,731	25,890	1,013	994,143	276,588
Staten Island	174,441	170,875	3,397	169	135,754	35,121
New York City	7,454,995	6,977,501	458,444	19,050	4,897,481	2,080,020
1950						
	Total	White	Black	Other	U.S.-born White	Foreign-born White
Bronx	1,451,277	1,351,662	97,752	1,863	977,768	373,894
Brooklyn	2,738,175	2,525,118	208,478	4,579	1,894,592	630,526
Manhattan	1,960,101	1,556,599	384,482	19,020	1,095,497	461,102
Queens	1,550,849	1,497,126	51,524	2,199	1,208,929	288,197
Staten Island	191,555	185,936	5,372	247	155,449	30,487
New York City	7,891,957	7,116,441	747,608	27,908	5,332,235	1,784,206
1960						
	Total	White	Black	Other	U.S.-born White	Foreign-born White
Bronx	1,424,815	1,256,284	163,896	4,635	-	-
Brooklyn	2,627,319	2,245,859	371,405	10,055	-	-
Manhattan	1,698,281	1,271,822	397,101	29,358	-	-
Queens	1,809,578	1,654,959	145,855	8,764	-	-
Staten Island	221,991	211,738	9,674	579	-	-
New York City	7,781,984	6,640,662	1,087,931	53,391	-	-

Source: IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota, www.nhgis.org

-: Nativity by race data was unavailable

APPENDIX 2. Percent of Total Population for NYC by Race and Nativity, 1930-1960

1930					
	White	Black	Other	U.S.-born White	Foreign-born White
Bronx	98.9%	1.0%	0.0%	61.2%	37.7%
Brooklyn	97.2%	2.7%	0.1%	63.3%	33.9%
Manhattan	87.4%	12.0%	0.6%	53.0%	34.4%
Queens	98.2%	1.7%	0.1%	73.5%	24.7%
Staten Island	98.3%	1.6%	0.1%	73.3%	25.0%
New York City	95.0%	4.7%	0.2%	62.0%	33.1%
1940					
	White	Black	Other	U.S.-born White	Foreign-born White
Bronx	98.3%	1.7%	0.1%	65.2%	33.0%
Brooklyn	95.9%	4.0%	0.1%	67.5%	28.4%
Manhattan	83.5%	15.8%	0.7%	54.9%	28.6%
Queens	97.9%	2.0%	0.1%	76.6%	21.3%
Staten Island	98.0%	1.9%	0.1%	77.8%	20.1%
New York City	93.6%	6.1%	0.3%	65.7%	27.9%
1950					
	White	Black	Other	U.S.-born White	Foreign-born White
Bronx	93.1%	6.7%	0.1%	67.4%	25.8%
Brooklyn	92.2%	7.6%	0.2%	69.2%	23.0%
Manhattan	79.4%	19.6%	1.0%	55.9%	23.5%
Queens	96.5%	3.3%	0.1%	78.0%	18.6%
Staten Island	97.1%	2.8%	0.1%	81.2%	15.9%
New York City	90.2%	9.5%	0.4%	67.6%	22.6%
1960					
	White	Black	Other	U.S.-born White	Foreign-born White
Bronx	88.2%	11.5%	0.3%	-	-
Brooklyn	85.5%	14.1%	0.4%	-	-
Manhattan	74.9%	23.4%	1.7%	-	-
Queens	91.5%	8.1%	0.5%	-	-
Staten Island	95.4%	4.4%	0.3%	-	-
New York City	85.3%	14.0%	0.7%	-	-

Source: IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota, www.nhgis.org

-: Nativity by race data was unavailable

APPENDIX 3. Percent Change of Total Population for NYC by Race and Nativity, 1930-1960

1930-1940						
	White	Black	Other	U.S.-born White	Foreign-born White	Total Pop
Bronx	9.5%	82.0%	48.5%	17.5%	-3.5%	10.2%
Brooklyn	4.0%	55.6%	1.3%	12.4%	-11.6%	5.4%
Manhattan	-3.3%	32.8%	28.0%	4.8%	-15.8%	1.2%
Queens	19.9%	39.1%	20.6%	25.3%	3.9%	20.2%
Staten Island	9.8%	31.9%	-4.0%	17.0%	-11.1%	10.2%
New York City	5.9%	39.9%	22.8%	14.1%	-9.3%	7.6%
1940-1950						
	White	Black	Other	U.S.-born White	Foreign-born White	Total Pop
Bronx	-1.4%	315.5%	115.9%	7.5%	-18.8%	4.1%
Brooklyn	-2.4%	94.4%	49.1%	4.1%	-17.9%	1.5%
Manhattan	-1.3%	28.9%	36.5%	5.6%	-14.6%	3.7%
Queens	17.8%	99.0%	117.1%	21.6%	4.2%	19.5%
Staten Island	8.8%	58.1%	46.2%	14.5%	-13.2%	9.8%
New York City	2.0%	63.1%	46.5%	8.9%	-14.2%	5.9%
1950-1960						
	White	Black	Other	U.S.-born White	Foreign-born White	Total Pop
Bronx	-7.1%	67.7%	148.8%	-	-	-1.8%
Brooklyn	-11.1%	78.2%	119.6%	-	-	-4.0%
Manhattan	-18.3%	3.3%	54.4%	-	-	-13.4%
Queens	10.5%	183.1%	298.5%	-	-	16.7%
Staten Island	13.9%	80.1%	134.4%	-	-	15.9%
New York City	-6.7%	45.5%	91.3%	-	-	-1.4%

Source: IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota, www.nhgis.org

-: Nativity by race data was unavailable

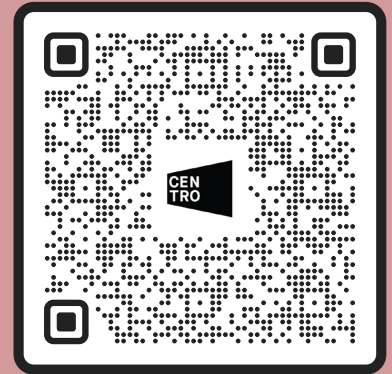
APPENDIX 4. Absolute Change in Total Population for NYC by Race and Nativity, 1930-1960

1930-1940						
	White	Black	Other	U.S.-born White	Foreign-born White	Total Pop
Bronx	118,572	10,599	282	135,438	-16,866	129,453
Brooklyn	99,503	38,342	39	200,635	-101,132	137,884
Manhattan	-54,131	73,695	3,048	47,290	-101,421	22,612
Queens	211,051	7,281	173	200,613	10,438	218,505
Staten Island	15,281	821	-7	19,680	-4,399	16,095
New York City	390,276	130,738	3,535	603,656	-213,380	524,549
1940-1950						
	White	Black	Other	U.S.-born White	Foreign-born White	Total Pop
Bronx	-18,657	74,223	1,000	67,925	-86,582	56,566
Brooklyn	-62,833	101,215	1,508	74,279	-137,112	39,890
Manhattan	-21,026	86,117	5,086	58,069	-79,095	70,177
Queens	226,395	25,634	1,186	214,786	11,609	253,215
Staten Island	15,061	1,975	78	19,695	-4,634	17,114
New York City	138,940	289,164	8,858	434,754	-295,814	436,962
1950-1960						
	White	Black	Other	U.S.-born White	Foreign-born White	Total Pop
Bronx	-95,378	66,144	2,772	-	-	-26,462
Brooklyn	-279,259	162,927	5,476	-	-	-110,856
Manhattan	-284,777	12,619	10,338	-	-	-261,820
Queens	157,833	94,331	6,565	-	-	258,729
Staten Island	25,802	4,302	332	-	-	30,436
New York City	-475,779	340,323	25,483	-	-	-109,973

Source: IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota, www.nhgis.org

-: Nativity by race data was unavailable

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