STREETS AND STAGES: URBAN RENEWAL AND THE ARTS AFTER WORLD WAR II

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In 1970, just a year after the completion of the final building, Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts in Manhattan began offering programs in the plaza that sat between the Metropolitan Opera, the New York State Theater, and Philharmonic Hall (later known as Avery Fisher Hall). The first productions featured theater companies from Bedford-Stuyvesant in Brooklyn and one from East Harlem; the second, in 1971, included community theater groups from New York City, Washington, D.C., and the Watts neighborhood of Los Angeles. Building on these events, Leonard de Paur, an African American hired to enhance Lincoln Center's community relations, organized the annual Out of Doors Festival, as it came to be known in 1974, which featured performances of Latin American music, street dance, Chinese theater – all set in the vacuum-like hole of the plaza. It began by targeting children and featuring lesser-known New York artists and has expanded to become a long-standing summer tradition with arts groups from around the world.

Place transfigures the perception and structure of the arts. A plaza provides a context of informality while a theater one of grandeur. That certain performances were conducted just outside the newly completed theaters of the largest performing arts complex in the world suggests the framing power of place in experiencing the arts, adding meaning to artworks by where they appear. Marcel Duchamp's signed urinal famously pointed out the social forces embedded in producing and understanding the arts, a conviction that has been pulled, teased, and strung out across the twentieth century. Scholars have followed artists in unraveling and exposing social and political dynamics of the arts; art historians, such as Rosalyn Deutsche and Joshua Shannon, have mapped the intersection between expression and place in specific artworks; and social scientists, such as Sharon Zukin and Janet Abu Lughod, have analyzed both gentrification and the overall economic benefit of the "culture industry," the perspective that now dominates most current defenses of the arts. Looking anew at place – at the institutions, neighborhoods, exhibitions, plazas, and streets upon which the arts occur – offers ways to chart less fixed, more difficult to assess, changing social meanings and import derived from where the arts reside. In between an artwork and an industry lays a place, a moment in time and space that offers a rich and varied experiential view of the arts and their impact.[1]

The development of Lincoln Center and the revitalization of the Brooklyn Academy of Music reveal the complex and uneven effects of post-war urbanization on the arts. As part of the largest urban renewal project in the country, Lincoln Center implanted a large performing arts institution in the middle of the dense

island of Manhattan during a time of enormous demographic shifts; the Brooklyn Academy of Music, on the other hand, was a crumbling anachronistic institution lying fallow as the streets and neighborhoods around it began to teem with a new immigrant population primarily from the Caribbean. These institutions created a pull toward these neighborhoods at a time when people began fleeing cities. Although this essay primarily illuminates the situation of New York City, Manhattan and Brooklyn present quite different city landscapes in terms of national and international visibility, demographic make-up and change, the formation of each respective institution, and the larger societal role of the arts in the post-war world. Bringing streets and stages into the same gaze exposes how these institutions affect their neighborhoods, how their city districts influence them, and with what consequences for the arts, the neighbors, and the cities. It is a commonplace assumption that the arts and cities go together, but it is a twinning that needs not only more historical specificity but also greater consideration of how and in what ways the vitality of the arts and cities depend on one another. As urban renewal altered the physical landscape of the city, the arts were used as compensation for the demolition and re-building of a neighborhood. But they also exposed the more complex social dynamics that underpinned the transformation of the mid-century American city from a segregated to a multi-faceted place.

Lincoln Center

In January 1960 *Look* magazine featured a photograph under the title "Culture City," suggesting a new attribution for Manhattan. Sitting atop the roof of a tenement soon to be torn down, impresarios, stars, and administrators gathered around a model of soon to be built Lincoln Center. The rooftop perch was the stage set for the promotion of the dramatic transformation of the neighborhood known as San Juan Hill by some, Lincoln Square by others, on the west side of Manhattan from 60th to 65th Streets. This neighborhood of two to five-story brownstone buildings, small shops, and local businesses would soon become home to a grand performing arts complex that was the centerpiece of the largest federal urban renewal project ever granted. [Figure 1]

Robert Moses, the overseer of the Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project as it was known officially, originally intended to raze eighteen city blocks and construct a new opera house, concert hall, and theater for dance; 4000 middle-income apartments; two public schools; a shopping center; parking garages; a skyscraper hotel; a high-rise office building; a ten-story fashion center; a midtown campus for Fordham University; and a new headquarters for the national Engineering Societies. Moses called it a cultural district, "a trilogy of education, creative scholarship and performance."[2] The rooftop photograph promoted this new kind of urban renewal: rather than parks and parkways, high culture would supplant so-called blight. The prima ballerina Alicia Markova in a tutu and pointe shoes and the actress Julie Harris in costume for *The Warm Peninsula* bookended the less dramatically dressed but perhaps more powerful gathering of impresarios in the middle, including Rudolf Bing of the Metropolitan Opera, George Judd of the Philharmonic Orchestra, and Reginald Allen, the executive director of Lincoln Center. The feature suggested that whatever social costs the urban renewal project might accrue would be more than compensated for by the crowning artistic achievements of the country's most renown artists, directors,

Figure 1

West 62nd Street, 1940s. The La Guardia and Wagner Archives, La Guardia Community College/ The City University of New York.

and producers. Lincoln Center would be the new capital for the performing arts in the U.S. and showcase "America's cultural maturity."[3]

The goals of Lincoln Center stood as a cultural corollary to political goals of the Cold War and prompted questions about the role of the arts in a democracy. The administrator who oversaw the construction of Lincoln Center articulated this issue as one of "mass vs. class" and firmly declared that Lincoln Center would tip toward "mass." This debate shaped the formation of the complex – in architecture, politics, fundraising, and choosing constituent companies. Critics of Lincoln Center, then and now, often dismiss it as an institution bound to elitist notions of art, perpetuating all the attendant discriminatory practices of class and racial politics in the United States. But this understanding of Lincoln Center fails to grapple with the serious and concerted intention of its developers to expand that notion of the arts.

In 1960, with only one building in progress, Lincoln Center began a promotional campaign. In part, this was a way to advance the steep fundraising campaign; it also demonstrated the centrifugal force of the ideals fueling the project. In this advertisement, the text claimed that Lincoln Center "will be great theater, great music – and great fun," a place "to look, to listen, to think, and to laugh."[4] Lincoln Center promoters envisioned emphasizing mass over class by broadening the audience base for opera, symphony, and theater, not changing what kind of cultural offerings might be included. The grand vision of Lincoln Center called for a populist appeal in a country dedicated to democratic ideals at a time when the Cold War utilized the arsenal of the arts. Cultural programs financed by the State Department went to countries in Africa and Latin America teetering on the edge of communist rule. Featuring jazz by African American musicians and abstract expressionism by visual artists, these programs proclaimed

that art flourished in the individual freedom guaranteed by democracies.[5] Lincoln Center played both sides of the cultural Cold War: first by claiming "high" culture for everyone, bringing beauty to a broader, larger audience; and, secondly, by aiming to best European countries, especially the German and Russian traditions of opera, classical music, and dance.[6]

These appeals to mass over class occurred at a time of dramatic change in demographics in the city's population when the middle classes began leaving the city after World War II. The class shift to the suburbs mirrored a racial and ethnic shift in the city's demographics as well. In 1950, the population of Puerto Ricans was 245,000; African Americans 728,000; and whites 6,891,000; by 1960 the population of Puerto Ricans had more than doubled to 613,000; the African American population had grown to just over a million; and the white population had begun to decrease, to 6,052,000. By 1970, the change was even more significant between African Americans and whites, with a fifty percent increase in the African American population, now just over a million and a half (1,526,000), the Puerto Rican population increased as well to 847,000, and the white population decreased to just below five million (4,973,000).[7] The Lincoln Center streets, however, experienced a reverse trend, going from blocks of eighteen percent non-white population in 1950 to less than two percent in 1970. Even more telling, the 1970 census showed that almost forty-five percent of the population in the immediate area of the new Lincoln Center moved in from 1965 to 1970.[8]

Those living in the area recognized the displacement that would ensue from the plans and disagreed with the claim that demolishing 7000 low-income apartments would be losses that could be compensated for by operas and ballets. "We believe that before we need culture by second rate actors we need decent housing and decent space for small businesses. We suppose that Bob Moses and Bob Wagner will do a ballet for the peasants, or some kind of striptease with the taxpayers being stripped. I thought New York City already had a cultural center – Tammany Hall," another local businessman claimed.[9] The outrage about housing had merit: out of the 4400 apartments planned, 4000 of them were to be middle-class or luxury apartments. Additionally, one building that housed artists, the Lincoln Arcade building, exposed the question of just what constituted support for the arts, a theme taken up in the painting by Raphael Soyer entitled *Farewell to Lincoln Square* (1959). Even as the opposition lost in the face of city, state, and national support for the project, the clamor continued: whose good was being served?

The architecture of Lincoln Center best dramatized the complicated goal of democratizing the arts. [Figure 2] Three large theaters face in to a plaza that was supposed to resemble the Piazza San Marco in Venice but has had much less success in drawing the public to it.[10] The complex sits up on a kind of pedestal, with steps leading up to it from the street. Walking to it requires persistence in crossing up to eight lanes of traffic, including a lane for taxis and chauffeured cars at the front of the plaza. This design favors those arriving in cars, either in the lane at the front or the garage directly underneath. A "pedestrian island in a sea of cars," one writer called it in 1962, prescient at the completion of the first building. The pedestal floats on cars, too, sitting atop a garage for 700 vehicles and one level to which the patrons of taxis and "private cars" have "sheltered access" to the theaters.[11] (It is hard to imagine even more accommodation to cars, but the Metropolitan Opera insisted for some time that cars be allowed on to

Figure 2

Construction of Lincoln Center with one building (Philharmonic Hall) near completion (1962-63). Photograph by Bob Serating.

the plaza so that its patrons could get out directly in front of its theater. It finally backed down on this.) Although the complex opens up to the intersection of Broadway and Columbus Avenues, it is closed off at its back and presents a cold, high wall to Amsterdam Avenue and the housing projects across the street from it. The box-like shapes of the theaters, covered in travertine marble that unifies their facades, offers little warmth and invitation.

In many ways, Lincoln Center represented the endpoint of high modernism in architecture and was similar to the corporate modernist architecture deployed in embassies and hotels worldwide during the same period.[12] Much as those buildings prompted attacks from critics and architects of the emerging school of postmodernism, so too did Lincoln Center. Even as early as 1958, Jane Jacobs ridiculed the design, claiming that Lincoln Center "is planned entirely on the assumption that the logical neighbor of a hall is another hall. Nonsense. . . . It is a piece of built-in rigor mortis." She thought that the theaters would be better served by being surrounded by restaurants, bars, florist shops, and that the city would be better served if cultural institutions were dispersed, spreading improvement in a variety of neighborhoods.[13] If the only improvement judged was the value of real estate, many agreed that Lincoln Center would likely increase those standards of the neighborhood. But seeing betterment in the dynamism of the action on the streets and diverse participation in the institution, others emphasized that Lincoln Center's imposing architecture was as out-of-place as its traditional programming. The architecture of Lincoln Center was a

better harbinger of the idea of what culture should be rather than culture itself, or impressive in scale rather in content. Primarily the architecture indicated its place in a global marketplace of elites rather than on specific streets on the west side of Manhattan.

Lincoln Center's status as a monument – beckoning worldwide attention to the cultural aspirations of the U.S. – overwhelmed its neighborhood. As an urban renewal project, Lincoln Center incurred the social costs of many other such projects, demolishing homes and livelihoods of lower income people. The relocation process stirred some controversy, but less than other projects of greater magnitude, such as the Cross Bronx expressway, a six-lane highway that cut across the Bronx to connect New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut, severing communities along its eight-mile path. While the center paid some attention to its surrounding neighbors, repairing an arch of a church nearby, for instance, its primary focus lay beyond the neighborhood. No local, community people sat on its board; the very few representatives of the city on its committees were those with broader political power. Lincoln Center's audiences only occasionally encompassed the people removed from the site or those that remained nearby in low-income housing; focus on the international dignitaries and visitors to New York attending a performance and the necessities of car-owners coming from New Jersey overshadowed the more local efforts largely aimed at schools.

The first week's performances of Philharmonic Hall, the initial building completed, offer some indication that grandiosity, American-style, ruled the stages as well as the architecture. Opening night featured First Lady Jackie Kennedy and the New York Philharmonic playing a world-premiere of Aaron Copland's *Connotations* in addition to Beethoven's *Gloria* and the first movement of Mahler's *8th Symphony*. But the Philharmonic also broadcast the performance live on television to millions of viewers across the country. The week progressed with the appearances of the Philadelphia, Cleveland, and Boston symphonies, all featuring work by contemporary American artists in addition to classic European ones.

If the contradictions of Lincoln Center surfaced in the first conversations – vague characterizations of mass and class – the performances only continued the trend. Programming ranged from contemporary trends in the arts to well-known classics and community favorites. Handel's *Hallelujah* sung by a choir from Juilliard accompanied the groundbreaking of Lincoln Center; *Connotations*, a newly commissioned piece by Aaron Copland opened up Philharmonic Hall; and *Antony and Cleopatra*, a new opera by the American composer Samuel Barber, inaugurated the moving of the Metropolitan Opera into its new home in 1966. While neither newly commissioned piece has endured as particular successes, they did assert the talent and prominence of U.S. composers in these arts. In both the groundbreaking and these opening performances the symbolic link between urban renewal and high culture could not have been better manufactured: culture as compensation for physical destruction and social dislocation.

But neither the stage nor the audience was as homogenous as the traditional programming suggests. The African American opera singer Leontyne Price starred with Justino Diaz from Puerto Rico in Barber's *Antony and Cleopatra*, with choreography by Alvin Ailey; and the premiere performance of the New York City Ballet in 1964 featured Arthur Mitchell, its first African American principal dancer. Educational programs appeared throughout the year, aimed at

young people, and offering productions at reasonable prices. Christmas featured a week-long engagement of a gospel song-play by Langston Hughes, entitled *Black Nativity*. More enduring was the beginning of summertime concerts that went beyond the typical classical music fare, including three weeks of American artists in piano recitals, modern dance, chamber music, and jazz. The first year ended with the debut of the New York Film Festival, which included the screening of more international films than domestic ones.

If the homogeneity of the offerings was not quite so purely traditional, neither was the audience. Ralph Ellison described a visit to the area of San Juan Hill in the late 1930s, seeking signers for a petition, during which he interrupted a vehement argument between African American workingmen about the merits of two divas of the Metropolitan Opera. "Strip us fellows down and give us some costumes and we make about the finest damn bunch of Egyptians you ever seen. Hell, we been down there wearing leopard skins and carrying spears or waving things like palm leafs and ostrich-tail fans for *years*!," one of the workers explained.[14] Continuing that, the painter Ademola Olugebelofa and his brother, Harold Thomas, who grew up in the Amsterdam Houses behind Lincoln Center in the 1950s and '60s, remembered the complex as "a treat. . . . We had cultural activities where we were involved. There was never a lack of something."[15] While Olugebelofa affirmed the opportunities Lincoln Center afforded, he noted the losses that accompanied the change as well, such as bebop played in a club called Lincoln Square Center on West 66th Street between Central Park West and Columbus Avenue. Lincoln Center replaced but did not fully erase the previous neighborhood, incorporating some of the social mixture as well as some of the arts, even if in limited ways.

These instances indicated ways in which some African Americans began to claim material and cultural space on the stages and in the audience of Lincoln Center. So too did the expressions arising from the streets. The Hungarian scholar András Tokaji has put forth a provocative argument connecting the development of Lincoln Center to the streets of New York through the figure of Robert Moses. Moses's undertakings, particularly the building of the Cross-Bronx Expressway, forced a dislocation amongst poor African Americans and Latinos that pushed them from intimate neighborhoods razed for highways into high-rise housing projects, the breeding grounds of gangs, violence, and further isolation. Breakdancing, graffiti, and hip hop emerged from this environment and Tokaji argues that the spontaneity, urgency, and liveliness of those art forms heightened the contrast with the aging, ossification, and growing irrelevancy of the art forms presented at Lincoln Center.[16]

While Tokaji's argument has a comfortable coherency, the relocation of people was not as neat as he describes nor was the contrast between the streets and stages so stark. Reports from the relocation agency for the Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Project indicate that just over half the families moved to other sites in Manhattan (55.8%) and, of those, nearly 60% (59.62%) settled into areas nearby to Lincoln Square. The second largest group migrated to the Bronx, but it was a substantially lower percentage of the total (10.8%).[17] The contrast of the streets and the stages in Tokaji's argument highlights much of what Lincoln Center lacked, in its divorce from the streets with its buildings on a pedestal, cold and empty plaza, and fortress-like wall presented to the housing projects at its back. But it also glosses over the ways in which the streets found a place at Lincoln Center, albeit one framed in a particular way. The occasional performances of

various minorities, of jazz and modern dance, were some examples of the ways in which the street punctured the sanctity of — and was appropriated by — the high arts.

The enduring institutional examples were the performances in the Fountain Plaza of Lincoln Center, begun in 1970, which evolved into the Lincoln Center Out of Doors Festival in August 1974 and continues today. The performances featured a wider variety of people and art, from Latin American popular music to community-based organizations and youth groups, first from around New York City, then around the country, and now the world. Even more important, given Tokaji's argument, this festival served as the first major formal performance venue for hip hop, featuring a competition of breakdancers in August 1981 that turned into a real fistfight on Broadway, in front of Lincoln Center, immediately after because the contest did not have a clear winner. Teams and supporters, divided between Manhattan and the Bronx versus Queens and Brooklyn, came from all around the city to Lincoln Center to watch the breakdancing battle, surrounding and cheering on the dancers, just as they did when competitions took place on the streets or in the park. The flock of young people prevented those sitting in seats from seeing much of the dancing on stage, although many witnessed the later action on Broadway, such as kicking over a hot dog vendor's cart. This event (perhaps its street battle as well as its stage one) gave new visibility to hip hop – as one participant said, "all of the sudden, it became mainstream!" – and contributed to its rapid spread around the nation and the world.[18] The Out of Doors Festival brought the street and the neighborhood into the complex, although in spaces that have remained largely outside of the theaters themselves. From its beginnings, Lincoln Center served as destination and symbol, but one with many stages that delimited what was seen, raising questions about the social factors involved in determining aesthetic value even as the institutional complex hosted a variety of productions.

Brooklyn Academy of Music

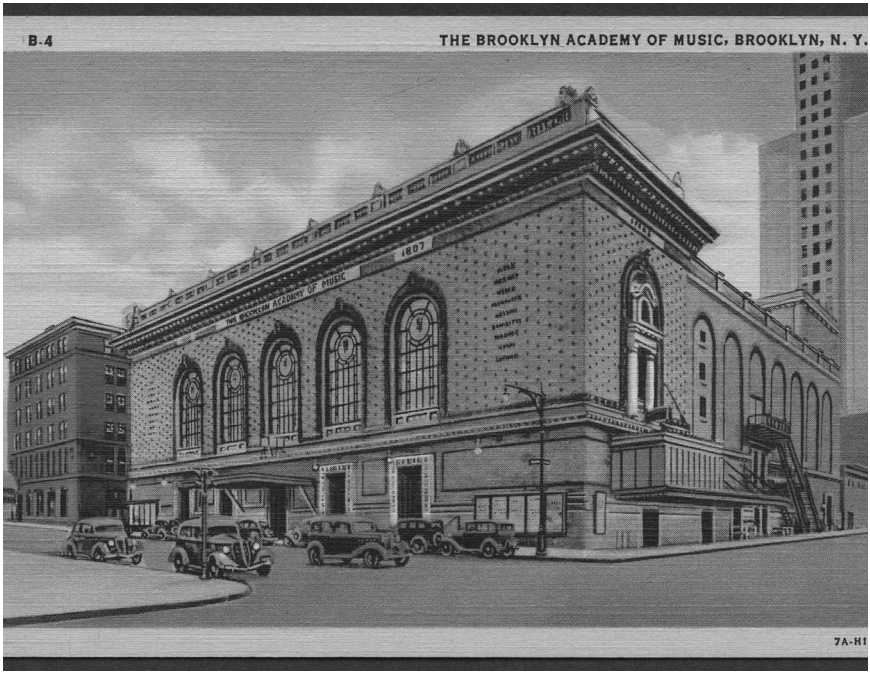
Just as the final buildings of Lincoln Center were being completed in the late 1960s, the revitalization of the Brooklyn Academy of Music began. Unlike Lincoln Center, BAM was not newly constructed during this period but already part of the Fort Greene neighborhood near downtown Brooklyn. Its revitalization was not a part of a master plan for the city. Instead, it hinged on the vision of two men who felt that the institution – and Brooklyn – could have a new role in the city. Seth Faison, a Wall Street banker and Brooklyn resident and chairman of the Academy's board, looked for a person with a similar passion and found Harvey Lichtenstein, a young arts administrator most well-known for organizing a successful subscription series for the New York City Ballet and New York City Opera, companies that moved into Lincoln Center from City Center in the mid-1960s. Together, Lichtenstein and Faison determined to turn around the "cultural mausoleum and social dodo," as the critic Clive Barnes called BAM, and to make both the institution and Brooklyn a major force in the arts.[19]

The Brooklyn Academy of Music arose in 1861 in Brooklyn Heights, the section of Brooklyn that bordered the East River and was its most populous part at that time; it was resurrected inland in 1908 after a fire.[20] BAM's location near downtown Brooklyn at the beginning of the 20th century demonstrated the

continued growth of the borough, moving south and east from the East River, and its determination to remain vibrant and independent after the consolidation of Greater New York in 1898. The site on Lafayette Avenue was adjacent to the commercial center, residential neighborhoods, Flatbush Avenue (the main artery through Brooklyn and to Manhattan), and public transportation (trolley lines and the soon to be completed terminal for a subway station and the Long Island Railroad). The location was ideal for a grand public building and, even before the building's completion, leaders hailed it as part of making Brooklyn into a "city beautiful."[21]

Designed by Herts & Tallant, an architecture firm noted for its theater work, the building housed three theaters – an opera house with 2200 seats, a music hall with 1500, and a lecture hall for 400 – in addition to a ballroom, classrooms, and offices. [Figure 3] The large building sits close to its surrounding streets, like a block rising on three sides, with its back stopping at about half of the square made by four streets. Carriages dropped off patrons on the two sides of the building and the front on Lafayette Avenue rises up from a narrow sidewalk with a few stairs to five brass doors, each topped by a grand, arched window. The crowning element of the glazed brick façade in Italian Renaissance style is the cornice, made of terra cotta and – more daringly – colored, making BAM one of the first buildings in the U.S. to use polychromatic terra cotta. (The lion heads on the cornice are brown-

Figure 3



Brooklyn Academy of Music, [1930s?], Brooklyn Public Library – Brooklyn Collection.

yellow with red tongues.) Unlike other theaters of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Academy held multiple stages in one building and the main entrances and spacious lobby served all the separate parts.[22]

For the first few decades of the twentieth century, BAM featured the stars of opera, music, and dance, such as Enrico Caruso, Arturo Toscanini, and Martha Graham, while also hosting some of the most illustrious speakers, such as Frank Lloyd Wright, Amelia Earhart, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. The depression of the 1930s, however, precipitated a decline in funding and audience. After a proposal from Long Island University to buy the building and convert it into a gymnasium in the early 1950s, the city bought the building and leased it back to the Brooklyn Institute, an organization that also oversaw the Brooklyn Museum and Children's Museum, to run for one dollar per year. This did little to stave off the decline, however. While performances continued throughout the 1950s and '60s, the Academy survived by renting out its facilities to various organizations and featuring travelogues and adventure films, which drew the largest audiences; people also came to watch feature films, a series of children's shows, and attend a lecture series on the "World Today." The popularity of musical concerts and theatrical plays lagged behind these other events.[23] Because of dwindling attendance, the New York Philharmonic retreated across the river and the Boston Symphony Orchestra curtailed the number of its concerts, eventually performing only at the newly opened Philharmonic Hall in Lincoln Center.[24] Appeals in the 1950s mimicked those of banks by attracting new subscribers with free gifts ranging from an electric frying pan or hair dryer to a small oven, with better gifts for those who recruited other new members. These appeals did little to stem the waning of the institution.[25]

During this period, Brooklyn's demographic changes were even more dramatic than Manhattan's. The neighborhoods of Fort Greene and Bedford-Stuyvesant surrounding BAM had changed from Irish, Italian, and Scandinavian families to more than half African American, Puerto Rican, and Caribbean families.[26] While the African American population in Brooklyn grew from 7.6% of the total population in the borough in 1950 to 32% in 1980, the increase in African American and Puerto Rican residents on the streets directly around BAM was even more divergent, becoming close to sixty percent of the population there by 1970.[27] A member of the City Planning Commission envisioned a bleak future for Brooklyn if these trends continued. Speaking to an audience of around one-hundred "mostly middle-class white homeowners" at BAM, Elinor Guggenheimer claimed that the borough was on its way to becoming a "lower-income bedroom, a desert of urban renewal projects, and a vast concentration of unsolvable racial segregation." Brooklyn needed culture; "put spark and uniqueness into the drab programs of the Academy of Music," she exhorted.[28]

Seth Faison, anointed chairman of the Academy's board in the mid-1960s took on the challenge, determined to look anew at the institution and reconcile its fate to its place. Faison began by hosting a day-long "Conference on New Directions" in August 1966 with sixteen participants from Brooklyn's business, community, and arts leaders, from a concert singer to a rector and real estate executive. They all agreed on the main problem: the Academy was "invisible" to those who lived right next to it; for most in the neighborhood, the Academy "just does not exist." "There is still a feeling that the Brooklyn Academy is not for us," specified Rev. Henson Jacobs of nearby Bedford-Stuyvesant. Others noted that

"Lincoln Center is in the same fix" regarding the homogeneity of its audience. The conference participants identified the more general problem that African Americans did not "relate to" an "all-white show." Perhaps, too, like Lincoln Center, the grand style of the building conveyed a barrier to the residents nearby. The task that lay before BAM was to connect to local institutions, neighbors, organizations, and schools by reaching out to young people and changing programming with the local constituents in mind. "The elements, you might say, are lying around," concluded one participant.[29]

Faison chose Harvey Lichtenstein to take on the challenge. When Lichtenstein began as the new director of BAM in February 1967, he came to what most considered was a school. As the institution began to suffer from increasing debt in the mid-1950s, it rented the ballroom space to the Brooklyn Academy School, a private school for African Americans, and the penthouse space to a karate school; leases for both schools lasted until the early '70s. These were groups with ties to the community, although not in the arts, and it was the arts that were Lichtenstein's primary concern. Both Faison and Lichtenstein, though, recognized that BAM could not compete with Manhattan, particularly Carnegie Hall and the soon to be completed Lincoln Center. "It can't be just a showcase for companies that also play Manhattan," Faison commented; "[t]he opportunity here is for a different program."[30]

One obvious strategy was to change the content of programming, moving beyond the institution's white, aging, Protestant membership to contend with its younger, more racially and ethnically varied neighbors. Lichtenstein added to the offerings in the European traditions that of African Americans and peoples of the African diaspora; the new programming featured less Puccini and Beethoven and more jazz and calypso. Different from Lincoln Center which generally offered traditional programming in a formal venue (classical music at Philharmonic Hall) and current, popular genres in an informal place (jazz in the plaza by the fountain), Lichtenstein forged new connections in differing traditions. The series Jazz/Rock/Bach, for example, featured "new and old patterns in sound counterpointing the classic and the contemporary." The first program looked at improvisation from Handel to jazz; another presented the Swingle Sisters, vocal instrumentalists who brought together Bach and 20th century Spanish music.[31]

Artistic ties to the surrounding communities followed this integration in programming. The academy sponsored professional actors and dancers to go into the local schools for workshops and it hosted productions of local youth groups on its stages. To implement these initiatives, Lichtenstein hired Lloyd Hezekiah, originally from Trinidad and active already in the neighborhood as the leader of the theater program of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Youth in Action, an anti-poverty agency. Hezekiah started a concert series featuring young black artists and a Saturday afternoon program for youth; invited Alvin Ailey to teach dance for 25cents/lesson; and distributed thousands of free tickets to non-profit organizations in the neighborhood, including schools, tenant organizations, and anti-poverty programs.[32]

Alongside Hezekiah's community efforts, Lichtenstein began a more radical transformation of the programming by targeting avant-garde dance and theater companies who found it hard to book Manhattan venues. Lichtenstein's own experience as a dancer and working for the New York City Ballet and New York City Opera made him particularly sympathetic to dance, but he also recognized

the gap BAM could fill. In Lichtenstein's second year, BAM hosted the first full New York City season of the Merce Cunningham company and the only New York performances of The Living Theatre, an experimental troupe run by Julian Beck and Judith Malina who defined their work as "the theatre and the revolution."[33] From 1968-69, BAM put on the first comprehensive modern dance series that included performances by all the major companies of the day – Martha Graham, Anna Sokolow, Paul Taylor, Erick Hawkins, Cunningham, Ailey, José Limón, and Alwin Nikolais. By 1969, Lichtenstein had persuaded the Chelsea Theater Center to relocate to BAM and, soon thereafter, it presented the first production of Amiri Baraka's play *Slave Ship* (1967). Perhaps most telling of the new approach, the choreographer Twyla Tharp's initial performance at BAM sat the audience on the stage. In a program called "Works for an Open Space," Tharp played to empty seats in the opera house, instead seating audience members at opposite ends of the stage. One piece, *Group Activities* (1969), featured two groups of dancers doing roughly the same movement, highlighting the role of perception in seeing and meaning, a conception symbolic of the turn-around of BAM that Lichtenstein sought.[34]

But did this spatial change in audience location reflect a change in audience composition? Although that is notably difficult to measure, audience composition shifted at least in numbers: audiences increased dramatically, from both Manhattan and Brooklyn. From 1967 to 1976, the audience grew 600%, with the majority of the subscription tickets bought by Brooklyn residents.[35] Buses ferrying people to and from BAM began in October 1968 and aided this increase in numbers, first servicing both Manhattan and Staten Island (following the wave of Brooklynites who had moved there) and then, by January 1969, only Manhattan with stops on the east and west sides.[36] While the bus service increased the numbers, it did little to alleviate the gap between stage and street that had come to characterize the institution. The dance critic Walter Terry described the bus service as a concessionary effort to those "city folks" unwilling to trek to Brooklyn, even to "see some of the best dancing to be found not only in America but, indeed, in the world." The buses helped make those "fearful of traveling our subways…feel reasonably secure," but BAM's location still presented an "almost insurmountable hurdle," he concluded. While bus-traveling audience members avoided the streets of Brooklyn as much as possible, so too did the performing dancers, who were told "what streets *not* to take when heading for the subway in Brooklyn."[37] Houses were boarded up on neighboring St. Felix street and, directly across from the Opera House, the Hotel Granada served primarily as a single-room-occupancy residency. There were plenty of indications that the neighborhood was unsafe. Rumors abounded that members of BAM's own Board of Directors were mugged coming to and from meetings. In 1974, BAM held a Crime Prevention Exposition for two days; it also pushed the city to clean up a nearby block by asking the fire department to check for code violations in buildings that housed prostitutes and pimps.[38] The bus service helped allay fears but it also roused complaints from Brooklyn residents who lived further out in the borough and wanted the offerings of the Academy to come more easily to them as well, either in the form of buses for theatrical or community events held at BAM or programs or speakers from BAM that would come to their neighborhoods.[39] "Let's take those buses that pick up people in New York and go out into Bedford-Stuyvesant and Fort Greene and bring the people of Brooklyn in," Alvin Ailey argued.[40] Another Brooklyn-based

critic charged that the change in the Academy was not better art, just more arty crowds.[41]

Lichtenstein announced on the occasion of a large grant bestowed by the Rockefeller Foundation in October 1969 that BAM had "two distinct responsibilities": "one is to Brooklyn and the other to contemporary performing arts."[42] Initially, these two directions of the institution had only a few links between them. BAM attempted to serve the immediately surrounding community in what were essentially local efforts – youth programs and hosting community events, for instance. It also wanted to lift the aesthetic merit of the programming, primarily by attracting Manhattan artists, companies, and audiences to Brooklyn. The occasional crossings of these two efforts were in the occasional production of an African American artist, such as Alvin Ailey or Amiri Baraka, the dance lessons offered by Ailey, the featuring of Puerto Rican and African American artists in the Young Artist Series, and the establishment of a stagehand apprentice program for minorities funded by the Ford Foundation. This pattern continued throughout the 1970s, although with more intersections in programming, such as a 1971-72 Afro-Asian festival that included performances from troupes from Sierra Leone, Cambodia, Senegal, Morocco, Turkey, and India, most of which had never appeared in New York. While the world came to these Brooklyn

Figure 4

Brooklyn Academy of Music, 30 May 1978. Photograph by Dinanda Nooney. Photography Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

stages, the community itself began appearing at BAM as well: the Black Theater Alliance coordinated three weeks of performances of sixteen different theater groups in the city in 1973 and a "Back to Brooklyn" Gala in December 1972 featured famous Brooklyn-born performers, such as Beverly Sills, Woody Allen, and Sam Levenson, with proceeds to go to BAM's Performance and Children's Program Funds.

This varied programming along with community outreach and audience development began to tie the Academy back to the neighborhood. [Figure 4] But perhaps most important in this effort was BAM's involvement in area development. From the 1960s, downtown Brooklyn was a focus of development efforts, from the Cinderella Project of Brooklyn Union Gas that helped revitalize neighborhoods to federal government initiatives such as the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation, which had its initial offices just down the street from BAM. Lichtenstein immediately involved BAM more directly in such efforts. The Academy provided in-kind donations such as space for meetings, copying, and postage for the Fort Greene Non-Profit Improvement Corp., for example, which attempted to direct urban renewal monies to a nearby subway and railroad terminal. In October 1969, Mayor Lindsay announced a $500 million 15-year development plan for downtown Brooklyn that would have radically changed the scope and feel of the area by planning to build rows of chunky high-rise boxes. (The plan was never realized.) BAM and Lichtenstein supported these changes and contributed to the razing of so-called blight by tearing down buildings across from it for a parking lot. With a watchman and "high-intensity lighting and several supergraphics to dramatize the Academy's location," the parking lot better served BAM's patrons and opened up the Opera House to full view from Flatbush Avenue.[43] BAM then utilized the parking lot the next fall for flea markets, replete with "ethnic foods and entertainment," charging a dollar for admission with proceeds to benefit the institution. A Fabulous Flatbush Avenue Festival in October 1974 ended with an "annual sanitation-men's 'picnic' – this year in the form of a square dance at the BAM." These festivities culminated in the formation of Atlantic Antic, an ongoing street festival that began in September 1975 featuring sidewalk sales of the many antique shops nearby to BAM. Much of the festival's success came from the expertise and labor of BAM's press and marketing director. Perhaps most long lasting, BAM worked to achieve historic district designations for both Fort Greene and the area immediately surrounding BAM, both of which were granted in 1978.[44]

Attempts to re-make the surrounding neighborhood mirrored attempts to re-make the indoor spaces of BAM, turning it from a school back into a performance-only venue. Primarily financed by city monies, the old ballroom became the focus of the first major renovation in the early 1970s as a U.S. home for the European theater company of Peter Brook. The renovated ballroom space, which was eventually named the Lepercq Space for the primary donor of the renovation, also served as a community room for meetings and receptions in addition to a rehearsal and performance space for dance and theater. [45] Even the lack of restaurants nearby prompted the invention of roaming food carts in the lobby, providing "everything from Quiche Lorraine to beer," and, in the best marketing gloss, making "every visit to the Academy a gala event." Such ingenuities may have contributed to the restoration of the grandeur of the building but they also

kept the theater-going activities inside rather than on the unsafe streets just outside.[46]

Margot Wellington, the Vice-President of the Downtown Brooklyn Development Association, an organization in which BAM and Lichtenstein were influential forces, recognized the effect BAM was having on the neighborhood in a 1973 letter to Lichtenstein that spoke of both the opening of the new Lepercq space and a community event that followed:

> The BAM Space opening was splendid. The feeling of a varied community gathered together, the rough-hewn elegance of the space itself, the appealing presence of Paul Leperq [sic], and the voyage of Peter Brooks [sic] to be there, all emphasized the distance that you have travelled [sic] in broadening the relation of BAM to the world and to its Brooklyn constituency.
>
> The Brooklyn Brownstone Conference Ball on Saturday night was also a solid community occasion. It brought many more people, some of them new to BAM, together in the kind of festivity that is becoming symbolic of the 'New Brooklyn' towards which we are all working. It was significant to me that on the same night in the lobby, crepes and soup were being prepared by Ruth and Martin Goldstein, brownstone renovators of nearby Fort Greene, and all kinds of Brooklyn residents and people employed in the area's institutions could be observed taking short breaks from the 12-hr performance of *Joseph Stalin* in the Opera House.[47]

Wellington described solidifying connections between development, forces of gentrification, and avant-garde programming. Absent in the scenario she described was BAM's relations to the nearby African American and Puerto Rican residents who were not a significant part of the wave of Brooklyn brownstone renovators.[48] BAM's commitment to avant-garde programming and to local development in the 1970s drew the most obvious support.

Although the institution continued to run programs to strengthen the importance of the institution to its neighbors – especially focused on education and youth – that part of BAM's mission grew less visible. Partly this was due to the increasing prominence and success of BAM's aesthetic agenda. The establishment of the Next Wave festival in 1983 that featured new and experimental arts catapulted BAM to the forefront of the avant-garde, in New York City and Europe. The festival built on two years of programming that featured unconventional productions and evolved into a series that became the home for such artists as the German choreographer Pina Bausch, the theater directors Peter Brook and Robert Wilson, and musician Laurie Anderson. It gave particular support to productions that crossed genres, such as the postmodern choreographer Trisha Brown's *Set and Reset*, with a score by Laurie Anderson and a set design by Robert Rauschenberg. Long running-times were common, including Philip Glass and Robert Wilson's collaboration *Einstein on the Beach* (1984), which ran for five hours with no intermissions. These productions demanded and expected familiarity and knowledge, and they promoted a kind of membership that quickly translated to exclusivity. The notoriety the festival accrued reinforced the gap between BAM's notably eccentric programming and its culturally, economically, and ethnically diverse neighbors.

BAM's growing success also made it less patient with the remaining vestiges of a distressed neighborhood, particularly that of the Granada Hotel across the

street. Re-named the Brooklyn Arms Hotel in the 1980s, it housed two hundred homeless families. "We can't say we're against the homeless," said the managing director of the Academy, but getting rid of the hotel was "the linchpin, the keystone" to full transformation of the area. Children living in the hotel played on the steps of the Opera House and threw rocks at the marquee sign on Flatbush Avenue. A dance critic ended a review by noting that she had barely avoided being hit by a bottle thrown from the hotel. And visiting troupes from Europe stayed in Manhattan, to the "embarrassment" of the Academy's managing director. "You have to remove the obstacles to people coming here and the main obstacle is fear," she argued in defense of BAM's push to close the welfare hotel.[49]

Although the Next Wave festival exacerbated the gaps between the Academy and the neighborhood, another festival suggests a more nuanced story. DanceAfrica, conceived in 1977 and continuing thirty years later, is a three-day extravaganza with performances and activities that spill out from the stages into the streets. [Figure 5] The choreographer Chuck Davis gave two performances in the Lepercq Space in early 1977 that drew the audience "into the action."[50] A year later, it evolved into a festival that included performances by five companies, a bazaar selling African food, clothing, and goods, and free classes before each performance by each company. The final performance included all companies, over seventy performers, on the stage of the Opera House.[51] This combination of performances, a street bazaar, and free classes became a set pattern as the festival grew from year to year, becoming both more beloved and more broad. In addition to presenting companies directly from Africa, the festival revived works from early African American pioneers, such as Katherine Dunham and Pearl Primus, and the latest social dances. In 1983, DanceAfrica incorporated into its production a "gymnastic South Bronx street dance called 'breaking.'"[52]

Figure 5

DanceAfrica, 1986. Courtesy of the Brooklyn Academy of Music.

DanceAfrica literally moved between the streets of Brooklyn and the stages of BAM, gathering accolades and an increasing number of devotees that traversed the same spaces. It was not the only event by BAM that did so but the most successful one in the midst of increasing criticism from community members as the New Wave Festival became BAM's signature in the arts world. Partly in response to the success of both festivals, Lichtenstein helped establish 651 Arts, an independent organization with the intention of developing multicultural programming. BAM offered back-office services to the organization and office space in its newly renovated theater of an old movie palace a block away from the Opera House. 651 Arts promoted the arts of the African diaspora and provided an educational role for programming; its first performances aimed to spark community involvement, such as a Savoy Ballroom series that celebrated the Big Band era. The organization did not propose to be a funnel for productions at BAM itself, but those expectations lingered.[53] The result was separate audiences and a growing sense of separate missions, with 651 Arts seen as a kind of appeasement to the local community. Even though 651 Arts has provided key support for artists both local and worldwide, its proximity to BAM made the divide between "elite" and "ethnic" arts clear to the surrounding community. Like the separation between Lincoln Center's stages and plazas, the differing institutions in Brooklyn raised questions of aesthetic value that arose from what appeared where.

In this revivification of a moribund institution, dance highlighted the bifurcated roles of BAM and its place in Brooklyn. The marginality of modern dance and Brooklyn gave BAM a unique role as modern dance's sponsor, a mutually beneficial relationship that aided the growth and prominence of both. And the identification and importance of dance to the African American community and arts of the African diaspora made dance a logical and popular offering in the programming directed to the dominant population nearby. Although the discriminatory perception between "ethnic" and "elite" persists, it is perhaps these views of dance – and the racialized bodies that it featured – that allowed BAM to traverse between the avant-garde and the popular, between the static, ossified image of the elite arts and the dynamic, more spontaneous performances of the streets.[54] "Part of being in Brooklyn is being what you call street smart," Lichtenstein once declared.[55] Perhaps the crucial demonstration of Lichtenstein's street smarts was to feature dance that revealed a neighborhood and institution in flux but also an active, if contentious, tie between its streets and stages.

Streets and Stages

BAM has been a part of a neighborhood that thrived in the early part of the 20th century, declined at mid-century, and has surged again in the last forty years. Although not built anew, it transformed itself from the inside out, creating internationally renowned theaters while also focusing on development plans immediately outside its doors. The crucial element in the revitalization of BAM was the change in orientation back to the neighborhood, looking externally from the building around it rather than remaining focused inward on a nostalgic vision of the arts. The view from the Opera House has encompassed local residents and those across the East River and the Atlantic Ocean. That expansive view has aroused protest, much of which continues today, but BAM serves as an example of an institution that has changed what it is in response to where it lives. It

sought out an unusual theatrical fare because of the competition from Manhattan and it offered programming for its neighbors nearby. Although its efforts may still be two-pronged – one focused on an international community of the avant-garde and the other on the local neighborhood – its overall success comes from a reckoning with the diversity of the neighborhood, creating a mix of programming, being centrally involved in local development issues, and acknowledging and participating in the constant tense debate about its place in the neighborhood.

Lincoln Center represents a more conventional example of an institution that matches its neighborhood in terms of wealth, property value, homogeneity, and bourgeois ideals of the arts. It achieved that symmetry with its place predominantly by its method of implementation: razing blocks to create a super-structure that dramatically changed the physical and economic workings of the neighborhood. Conservative programming mirrored the grandiose architecture. Although there have been ways in which the local streets have impacted the arts at Lincoln Center – mainly in performances in the outdoor spaces – its traditional approach to and enjoyment of the arts dominates. Much of the current architectural renovation and new direction of Lincoln Center, however, follows principles that BAM helped formulate: connect to the streets physically, economically, and culturally; draw the streets into the stages. The current decade-long renovation of Lincoln Center includes a reduction of the traffic lanes on the surrounding streets, removal of the pedestrian bridge over 65th Street, widening of the sidewalks, creating entrances to the institutions directly from the street, and opening up retail and restaurants at street-level. Other changes involve a more direct entrance up to the main plaza, one that gives pedestrians the right of way over cars by sinking the lane for cars dropping off concert-goers to underneath steps into the plaza. [56] In programming, the Metropolitan Opera now beams its concerts live to movie theaters around the nation, including one of the movie screens at BAM. And the umbrella company, Lincoln Center, Inc., has enlivened its plaza not only by re-design but by featuring art installations, such as the performer David Blaine who spent a week in a sphere-like tank on the center plaza. As BAM's current president Karen Brooks Hopkins said recently, Lincoln Center – in its programming, rhetoric, and new design – looks more and more like BAM.[57] The growing similarity between BAM and Lincoln Center may have more to do with the ways in which BAM is becoming like Lincoln Center rather than the other way around, however. BAM has helped transform its neighborhood into one of the wealthiest sections of Brooklyn. This trend is set to escalate as the largest development plan in the city's history was approved in 2005 to place sixteen skyscrapers and a sports arena only two blocks away from BAM's Opera House.[58]

One epithet that Lincoln Center first inspired was "Athens on the Subway," an evocation of its anachronistic design in a modern city. But the epithet can also be a call for performing arts institutions to balance a commitment to the high arts with service as a public forum. As the streets around these institutions have gentrified, it has been easier to make connections between their streets and stages by relying on conventional programming, whether it be classical or avant-garde. But it is perhaps the objections and protests of neighbors that are key to stimulating the arts and tying these institutions to the city. It is not only the diversity of the audience that matters but the diversity of the productions on stage, whether that be defined in social or aesthetic terms. One of the reasons

that the avant-garde choice worked for BAM was that it represented risk – the very risk of an arts institution struggling to determine its worth in the midst of a neighborhood and city torn by crisis, poverty, and inequality. The challenge remains whether the stages of Lincoln Center and BAM can find the innovation and confrontation for enlivenment and risk on the gentrified streets that now surround them.

Bachelor's Program
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ENDNOTES

1. Dolores Hayden's *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, 1995) lays out the possibilities of this approach; Rosalyn Deutsche in *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998) explores provocative instances of the consequences for art and urban space when they intersect, such as in Krzysztof Wodiczko's *The Homeless Projection* (1986-87), which inserts images on monuments in Union Square that assert the presence of those who have been replaced in gentrification. See also Joshua A. Shannon, "Claes Oldenburg's "The Street" and Urban Renewal in Greenwich Village, 1960," *The Art Bulletin* 86 (2004): 136-161, for a rich, detailed analysis of a particular artwork and its place; Suzanne Smith's *Dancing in the Street: Motown and the Cultural Politics of Detroit* (Cambridge, 2001) makes the tie between place and cultural production explicit. On the economic impact of the arts, see Sharon Zukin, *The Cultures of Cities* (Oxford, 1996) and Janet Abu-Lughod, *From Urban Village to East Village: The Battle for New York's Lower East Side* (Oxford, 1995). For more on the societal role of the arts, see, for example, Jane Kramer, *Whose Art is It?* (Durham, 1994); Casey Nelson Blake, ed., *The Arts of Democracy: Arts, Public Culture, and the State* (Philadelphia, 2007); Michele H. Bogart, *The Politics of Urban Beauty: New York and its Art Commission* (Chicago, 2006); and Michael Kammen, *Visual Shock: A History of Art Controversies in American Culture* (New York, 2006).

2. Moses quoted in Hilary M. Ballon, "How the Arts Transformed an Urban Landscape," *New York Times* (8 June 2003). For comprehensive narratives of the building of Lincoln Center, see Edgar B. Young, *Lincoln Center: The Building of an Institution* (New York, 1980) and Robert A.M. Stern, Thomas Mellins, David Fishman, *New York 1960: Architecture and Urbanism between the Second World War and the Bicentennial* (New York, 1995). Stephen Stamas and Sharon Zane's *Lincoln Center: A Promise Realized 1979-2006* (Hoboken, 2007) updates the story. For a broader view of Lincoln Center, see William B. Scott and Peter B. Rutkoff, *New York Modern: The Arts and the City* (Baltimore, 1999), 351-361, and Samuel Zipp, *"Manhattan Projects: The Rise and Fall of Urban Renewal in Cold War New York* (New York, 2010). For a more in-depth discussion of Lincoln Center and the spatial dynamics at play, see my "The Other West Side Story: Urbanization and the Arts Meet at Lincoln Center," *Amerikastudien* 52 (2007): 227-247.

3. *Look* (19 January 1960): 40-42.

4. *New York Times* (11 January 1960). On the point of not tying the complex to "any form of exclusiveness," see, for example, Fred Palmer to General Taylor, 11 March 1961, Rockefeller Family, RG 17B, Box 62, Folder 799, Rockefeller Archive Center [hereafter RAC].

5. A number of recent books address this phenomenon: Michael Krenn, *Fall-Out Shelters for the Human Spirit* (Chapel Hill, 2005); Jed Perl, *New Art City: Manhattan at Mid-Century* (New York, 2005);

Penny von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, 2004); David Caute, *The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy during the Cold War* (New York, 2003); Frances Stoner Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York, 2001); Taylor Littleton and Maltby Sykes, *Advancing American Art: Painting, Politics, and Cultural Confrontation at Mid-Century* (Tuscaloosa, 1999).

6.. For a more extended analysis of the Cold War factors embedded in Lincoln Center, see my "'A Mighty Influence': Lincoln Center in the World," forthcoming.

7. Population figures are drawn from *The Encyclopedia of New York City*, ed. Kenneth Jackson (New Haven, 1995): 920, 923.

8. Census data on New York City from City Hall Library, New York City.

9. William Longgood, "Don't Say Art to Lincoln Sq. Merchant," *World Telegram & Sun* (7 July 1958). See also Fern Marja, "Lincoln Sq. —A Dream for the Future But a Nightmare for Present Tenants," *New York Post* (8 July 1958).

10. A picture of the architects at work shows two photos on the wall behind them that served as inspiration: 1) Piazza San Marco in Venice, and 2) a sketch of the site that used ideas from a 1537 design by Michelangelo of the Piazza del Campidoglio in Rome. I have not found the original picture, but a copy of the picture is in the appendix of Wesley R. Janz, *Building Nations by Designing Buildings: Corporatism, Eero Saarinen, and the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts* (Madison, 1995).

11. John Molleson, "Island for Pedestrians: Traffic," *Musical America* 82 (1962): 50. The entire issue is devoted to the opening of Philharmonic Hall, the first building finished at Lincoln Center.

12. Annabel Wharton, *Building the Cold War: Hilton International Hotels and Modern Architecture* (Chicago, 2001); Reinhold Martin, *The Organizational Complex: Architecture, Media, and Corporate Space* (Cambridge, 2003).

13. Jane Jacobs, typescript of talk given 20 April 1958 at The New School for Social Research, Rockefeller Family, RG 2, OMR Cultural Interests, Box 37, Folder 380, RAC.

14. Ralph Ellison, "The Little Man at Chehaw Station," from *Going to the Territory* (1986), reprinted in *The Collected Essays of Ralph Ellison* (New York, 2003): 523.

15. *New York Times* (1 February 2008).

16. András Tokaji, "The Meeting of Sacred and Profane in New York's Music: Robert Moses, Lincoln Center, and Hip-hop," *Journal of American Studies* 29 (1995): 97-103.

17. Statistics from the relocation agency, Braislin, Porter & Wheelock, Inc. Final Report, p. 29; Rockefeller Family, RG 2, OMR Cultural Interests, Box 43, Folder 428, RAC.

18. Martha Cooper, *Hip-Hop Files: Photographs 1979-1984* (New York, 2004): 90-97.

19. *New York Times* (2 November 1969).

20. The most thorough investigation of BAM is Marlyn V. Baum, "The Brooklyn Academy of Music: A Case Study of the Rebirth of an Urban Cultural Center," Ph.D. dissertation, CUNY (1983). See also Barbara Parisi and Robert Singer, *The History of Brooklyn's Three Major Performing Arts Institutions* (Lanham, MD, 2003); Geoffrey Cahn, "Rebirth, Struggle, and Revival: The Brooklyn Academy of Music, 1908-Present," *Long Island Historical Journal* 2 (1990): 251-264; Carol Lopate, *Education and*

Culture in Brooklyn: A History of Ten Institutions (Brooklyn, 1979); Martha McGowan, *Growing Up in Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Academy of Music: Mirror of a Changing Borough* (Brooklyn, 1983).

21. *New York Times* (3 May 1908).

22. For a detailed narrative of the architectural details of the building, see BAM's application to be on the National Register of Historic Places, 2005, Archives of the Brooklyn Academy of Music [hereafter BAM].

23. *Daily News* (17 June 1960).

24. *World-Telegram* (11 September 1961) and *World-Telegram* undated [1964?], Clippings File, BAM 1960-69, Brooklyn Collection, Brooklyn Public Library [hereafter BPL].

25. *New York Times* (19 September 1960); advertisement of gifts, 1964-65 season, Clippings File, BAM 1960-69, BPL.

26. *New York Times* (18 August 1967).

27. Census data by county found on Social Explorer website, www.socialexplorer.com, accessed 15 March 2007, and census data about New York City from City Hall Library, New York City.

28. *Brooklyn World-Telegram* (30 November 1965).

29. Summary of conference, Clippings File, BAM 1960-69, BPL.

30. *Ibid*.

31. Subscription brochure, 1968-69, Clippings File, BAM 1960-69, BPL.

32. *New York Times* (11 July 1967; 18 August 1967; 5 January 1969).

33. *Brooklyn Heights Press* (6 March 1969).

34. *New York Times* (25 February 1969).

35. Brendan Gill, "BAM Grows in Brooklyn," *New York Times* (24 October 1976). The subscription grew from zero in 1957 to 40,000 in 1976 and attendance figures for performances went from a few thousand in 1967 to 300,000 in 1976; *Sunday News* (26 September 1976), Clippings File, BAM 1976, BPL.

36. *Daily News* (15 October 1968).

37. Walter Terry, "World of Dance," *Saturday Review* (4 January 1969): 97.

38. A two-part article entitled "Here's the Pleasant Side of Brooklyn…And This Shows the Seamy Side of Brooklyn," in the *Sunday News*, 22 February 1970, features Lefferts Manor as the "pleasant side" and the stretch of Flatbush Avenue directly by BAM as the "seamy side," with descriptions of prostitution and drugs as "rampant in this area."

39. *Canarsie Digest* (18 October 1969).

40. Ailey quoted in "I Want to Be a Father Figure," n.p., n.d. [1969?], Clippings File, BAM (undated articles), BPL.

41. Charles Reichenthal, "Underlites," *Bay News* (Bay Ridge, Brooklyn), 11 October 1969.

42. Lichtenstein quoted in "Rockefeller Grant to Brooklyn Academy," *Tablet* (Brooklyn, NY), 13 November 1969.

43. Downtown Brooklyn Development Association newsletter, September 1972, H. Dickson McKenna collection, ArMs1994.001, Box 2, Folder. "Downtown Brooklyn Development Association Publications 1972-76," Brooklyn Historical Society.

44. Material throughout folders titled "Historical Information and Press from 1970s" and "Downtown Brooklyn Development Association," BAM.

45. Description of renovation attached to letter from Bernard Friedberg to Harvey Lichtenstein, 1 August 1972, as part of the development of a fundraising brochure; Folder "Historical Information and Press from 1970s," BAM.

46. Promotion for subscription series [1974?], Clippings File, BAM 1974-5, BPL.

47. Margot Wellington to Harvey Lichtenstein, 18 December 1973, Folder "Downtown Brooklyn Development Association," BAM.

48. The trend of "brownstoners" from the 1950s to 1980s provides an important corrective to the dominant narrative of crises and flight that has characterized post-war U.S. urban history. For a provocative view of the Brooklyn brownstone revival, see Suleiman Osman, "The Birth of Postmodern New York: Gentrification, Postindustrialization, and Race in South Brooklyn, 1950-1980," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University (2006).

49. *New York Times* (7 December 1986).

50. *Phoenix* (3 March 1977).

51. *Phoenix* (1 June 1978).

52. *Daily News* (22 April 1983).

53. Interview with Mikki Shepherd, founder of 651 Arts, 4 January 2007.

54. For more on the racialized elements in the history of dance, see my *Modern Bodies: Dance and American Modernism from Martha Graham to Alvin Ailey* (Chapel Hill, 2002); Susan Manning, *Modern Dance Negro Dance: Race in Motion* (Minneapolis, 2004); and Brenda Dixon Gottschild, *The Black Dancing Body: A Geography from Coon to Cool* (New York, 2005).

55. Lichtenstein quoted in Amy Virshup, "BAM Goes Boom: An Avant-Garde Powerhouse Grows in Brooklyn," *New York* (12 Oct 1987): 43.

56. See lincolncenter.org for a visual presentation of the renovation.

57. Interview with Karen Brooks Hopkins, 15 December 2006.

58. The development has been dogged by lawsuits over eminent domain and the state review of environmental impact. The recent recession has prompted Forest City Ratner, the developer, to take the famous architect Frank Gehry off the project as well as reduce the overall development scheme, concentrating on the arena and an office tower and eschewing until some time in the next twenty years to make good on promises of low-income housing and public amenities and infrastructure.