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LANDMARKS PRESERVATION

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BRIDGE CAR WASH SITE

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CEQR NO. 90-178K

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT REPORT

1990

Prepared by:

Allee King Rosen & Fleming, Inc. and Historical Perspectives, Inc.

FOREWORD

This archaeological assessment report consists of two parts. Section 1, a development history and disturbance record, summarizes the documentary research performed for the site by Allee King Rosen & Fleming, Inc. It also includes copies of historic maps of the project site. The memorandum concludes that, based on the research, almost all of the project site has been disturbed by development activity. Two lots -- Lots 25 and 26, or 161 and 163 Willoughby Street -- were found to have potentially undisturbed backyard areas.

Section 2 is a memorandum prepared by Historical Perspectives, Inc., summarizing their research into the 19th century occupancy of Lots 25 and 26. The memorandum concludes that there is a low probability of finding cultural resources from 19th century homelots on the project site that could make a significant contribution to the archaeological record. Allee King Rosen & Fleming, Inc.

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SECTION 1

DEVELOPMENT HISTORY AND DISTURBANCE RECORD

BRIDGE CAR WASH SITE, CEQR NO. 90-178K DEVELOPMENT HISTORY AND DISTURBANCE RECORD

This report was prepared in response to the letter from the Department of City Planning to Mr. Anthony Mannarino of the New York City Public Development Corporation, dated October 5, 1990, which indicated that the Bridge Car Wash site may be "archaeologically significant." Our research, detailed below, indicates that much of the site has been disturbed by 20th century construction activity; only two backyard areas -- on Lots 25 and 26 -- remain potentially undisturbed.

The proposed project site is on Brooklyn's <u>Block 2062</u>, which is bounded by Willoughby Street on the south, Flatbush Avenue Extension on the southwest, Prince Street on the west, Fair Street on the north, and Fleet Place on the east (see Figure 1 for site location). The project site -- irregularly shaped because of Flatbush Avenue Extension, which does not follow the street grid -occupies the southwest corner of this block. It includes 275-287 Flatbush Avenue Extension and 159, 161, and 163 Willoughby Street (see Figure 2).

To determine the development history of the project site, the following historic maps were consulted:

- Ratzer, Plan of the Town of Brooklyn and part of Long Island, 1766;
- o Plan of the Battle of Long Island and of the Brooklyn Defenses, 1766, compiled by Henry P. Johnston;
- o British Head Quarters Map, 1782, facsimile by B.F. Stevens, 1900;
- Plan of Fort Greene and Line of Intrenchments [sic], 1814, General Joseph G. Swift;
- o Stoddard, J.F. Map of the City of Brooklyn, 1839;
- F.R. Hassler, Map of New York Bay and Harbor and the Environs, Survey of the Coast of the United States, 1844-1845;
- J.H. Colton, Map of the City of Brooklyn as Laid out by Commissioners, 1849;
- o William Perris, Maps of the City of Brooklyn, 1855;
- o Mathew Dripps, Brooklyn Atlas, 1869;
- o Beers, J.B. Farm Line Map of the City of Brooklyn, 1874;
- o G.W. Bromley, Atlas of the Entire City of Brooklyn, 1880;
- o Robinson, Atlas of the Borough of Brooklyn, 1886;
- o G.W. Bromley, Atlas of the City of Brooklyn, 1893;
- o E. Belcher Hyde Map Co., Atlas of the Borough of Brooklyn, 1904;

- Sanborn Map Company, Insurance Maps of New York, Borough of Brooklyn, 1904;
- Sanborn Map Company, Insurance Maps of New York, Borough of Brooklyn, 1915;
- o E. Belcher Hyde Map Co., Desk Atlas of Brooklyn, 1920;
- o E. Belcher Hyde Map Co., Desk Atlas of Brooklyn, 1929;
- Sanborn Map Company, Insurance Maps of New York, Borough of Brooklyn, 1915, updated to 1939;
- Mayor's Committee on Property Improvements, Downtown Brooklyn Neighborhood Study, 1941; and
- Sanborn Map Company, Insurance Maps of New York, Borough of Brooklyn, 1915, updated to 1951.

In addition, Block and Lot Files at the Brooklyn Department of Buildings were examined for all lots on the project block.

The development history of the project site is summarized below, followed by a lot-by-lot discussion of disturbance. Copies of maps are attached, in chronological order, as Figures 4 through 23. (Also attached, as Figure 3, is a copy of the site plan for the ca. 1970 gasoline station on the site, based on Department of Buildings records.)

Background History of the Site

The project site was once part of Samuel Fleet's farm, just outside the growing town of Brooklyn. The 1767 Ratzer map indicates buildings only along Fulton Street, several present-day blocks to the south of the project site.

During the Revolutionary War, present-day Fort Greene Park was the site of a fortification called Fort Putnam. Related works ran southwest, between present-day Nevins and Bond Streets, and to the north. However, none of the Revolutionary War works ran anywhere near the project site.

By 1839, the street grid had been laid out, and a number of the streets in the area indicated Mr. Fleet's presence: Fleet Place, which is the eastern boundary of the project block, and Fleet Street, running on a diagonal through the street grid to the south and east of the project block, which was once the eastern boundary of the Fleet farm. (The part of Fleet Street to the east of the site was demapped during 20th century urban renewal.)

Rowhouses were built on the project block before 1855. At that time, the southwestern corner of the project block was the right angle formed by the intersection of Prince and Willoughby Streets -- Flatbush Avenue Extension was cut through later, giving the site its irregular shape. At No. 81 Prince Street (which later became No. 163) was a small brick dwelling. Nos. 117 and 119 Willoughby Street, at the corner of Prince Street (later renumbered 155 and 157, and still later demolished for construction of Flatbush Avenue Extension),

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were frame houses. The rest of Willoughby Street was occupied by five brick rowhouses. Three of these -- Nos. 121, 123, and 125 (later, 159, 161, and 163) -- stood on the project site.

The site remained the same until about 1910, when Flatbush Avenue was extended to create a direct route to the Brooklyn and Manhattan Bridges (the proposed route of the new road is indicated by dotted lines on the 1904 Belcher Hyde Atlas). The new road cut off a corner of the project block, requiring demolition of two rowhouses.

In 1917, construction began on a cutlery manufacturing complex that later occupied much of the project block. The factory was owned by a family by the name of Langbein. The first factory building was built in 1917 on the corner of Willoughby Street and Flatbush Avenue Extension, with a related blacksmith shop behind. The house at 161 Willoughby Street contained offices related to the complex.

Soon, the Langbeins owned much or all of the block, including the rowhouses at 161 and 163 Willoughby Street. Other outbuildings were built in the 1920's and 1930's behind these houses. In 1940, the two houses on Prince Street just to the north of the existing factory building were replaced by a second manufacturing building. By the 1950's, the house at 163 Willoughby Street was also used in connection with the factory, as a cutlery warehouse. The factory buildings remained on the site until some time after 1962, still owned by the Langbein family.

It is not clear when the factory buildings were demolished (no demolition permit was found), but in 1970 a gasoline station was built on Flatbush Avenue Extension, occupying all of the project site except 163 Willoughby Street (and also extending several lots north of the project site on Prince Street). (See Figure 3 for a drawing of the gas station site plan, based on Department of Building Records.) It is also not clear how long the gasoline station remained on the site, but it was definitely gone by 1982, when a Transit Authority substation was built just north of the project site at 161 Prince Street, on part of the gas station's former lot.

The two main factory buildings had basements eight and nine feet deep. These basements would have disturbed any former backyard areas that might have remained from 155 and 157 Willoughby Street (already disturbed from the extension of Flatbush Avenue) and about half of the yard behind 159 Willoughby Street. Later, the gasoline station's three 4,000-gallon underground gasoline tanks, connected to two sets of pumps, were located approximately where the backyard of No. 159 Willoughby Street had been (see Figure 3). However, behind Nos. 161 and 163 Willoughby Street, the only disturbances were a blacksmith shop and a storage building, and, later, the gasoline station building. None of these structures had cellars or basements.

Today, the project site is vacant, and being used as a staging area for a construction company involved in the resurfacing of Flatbush Avenue Extension. Just to the north of the site on Prince Street is the Transit Authority substation, built in 1982. (At the northern end of the block, along Fair Street, one of the Langbein factory buildings still remains.) To the east of the site on Willoughby Street are two houses -- Nos. 165 and 167 Willoughby Street -- remaining from the original row on the street.

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Detailed descriptions of development on each building lot on the project site are provided below.

Lot-by-Lot Development History

163 Prince Street/275 Flatbush Avenue Extension -- Lot 1

This lot housed a small three-story dwelling (with a basement), built some time before 1855. The extension of Flatbush Avenue past the site ca. 1910 truncated the southwestern corner of the block, including a few feet at the front of this lot. A 1915 map indicates this building as a 3^{1} -story store or church, and a 1939 map indicates that it is a store. Both maps show a onestory extension on the building, so that the structure occupies the entire depth of its lot. The lot appears to have been about 25 feet wide, like the other lots on this block, and a little less than 45 feet deep, about half as deep as the 85-foot-long lot immediately to its north. This structure and the house immediately to its north at 161 Prince Street were demolished together in 1940 (Demolition Permit No. 775, 1940).

In 1940, after demolition of the store, a new factory building was constructed on this lot and the one immediately to its north (New Building Permit No. 2304, 1940). Construction was completed in 1941. This new building was part of the growing factory complex on the block owned by Albern Realty Corp. (run by the Langbein family), at 161 Willoughby Street. The building measured 51'4½' wide and 48'6" deep, with an eight-foot-deep cellar. It occupied all of the lot where 163 Prince Street once stood. Therefore, all of 163 Prince Street's building lot was likely disturbed by the new building's basement.

155 Willoughby Street -- Lot 27

Before construction of the Flatbush Avenue Extension, 155 Willoughby Street was a three-story frame building, with a store on the ground floor, at the corner of Willoughby and Prince Streets. The house was built before 1855. However, with the extension of Flatbush Avenue ca. 1910, this building was demolished. All of this lot and most of neighboring 157 Willoughby Street were truncated to become part of the new road (see 1904 Belcher Hyde Atlas for proposed route of Flatbush Avenue Extension).

157 Willoughby Street -- Lot 27

Before construction of the Flatbush Avenue Extension, 157 Willoughby Street housed a 2¹/₂-story frame dwelling (with a basement). The structure was demolished to make room for the new road (see the 1904 Belcher Hyde Atlas), but its former backyard remained on the block.

In 1917, a new factory building was constructed on the triangular site bounded by 163 Prince Street, Flatbush Avenue Extension, and 159 Willoughby Street (New Building Permit No. 3186, 1917). Constructed for the Langbein Holding Co. of 226 Henry Street, it was a two-story cutlery manufacturing plant, with a cellar. Its foundation was nine feet below curb level. This building most likely destroyed any remains of the former backyard at 157 Willoughby Street. In 1970, a Gulf gasoline station was constructed on most of the project site (New Building Permit No. 213, 1969). The underground storage tanks (and their connections to the pumps) further disturbed the former backyard area of 157 Willoughby Street.

159 Willoughby Street -- Lot 27

The house at 159 Willoughby Street was one of a row of five similar threestory brick residences (with basements), built before 1855, that ran to the corner of Fleet Place.

The house was demolished in 1917 for construction of a new factory building (New Building Permit No. 3186, 1917 -- see description of 157 Willoughby Street, above). This factory occupied all of the building lot at 159 Willoughby Street except the rear of the backyard -- a square area about 25' by 25.' On this portion of the yard was a blacksmith shop related to the Langbein factory and built at the same time (1917). The blacksmith shop was constructed on a concrete slab, without a cellar or a basement.

In 1970, a Gulf gasoline station was constructed on most of the project site (New Building Permit No. 213, 1969). The underground storage tanks (and their connections to the pumps) were buried approximately where 159 Willoughby Street's backyard had been (see Figure 3). These tanks most likely destroyed any remains of the backyard.

161 Willoughby Street -- Lot 26

The house at 161 Willoughby Street was a three-story brick structure with a basement, built before 1855, like its neighbors on either side. It had a small rear extension, also three stories with a basement. This house apparently became the headquarters of the Langbein factory complex, since it is given as the mailing address for the company in building permits after 1917. In the rear of the backyard area, an extension to the factory's blacksmith shop was built in 1926. This portion of the shop also had no cellar or basement.

In 1970, a gasoline station was built on almost all of the project site (New Building Permit No. 213, 1969). The gas station building, containing storage and sales space, was located in the rear of No. 161's former backyard, in approximately the same location as the former blacksmith shop extension. The gas station structure was also built on a concrete slab, with no cellar or basement. Therefore, this backyard area may not have been disturbed.

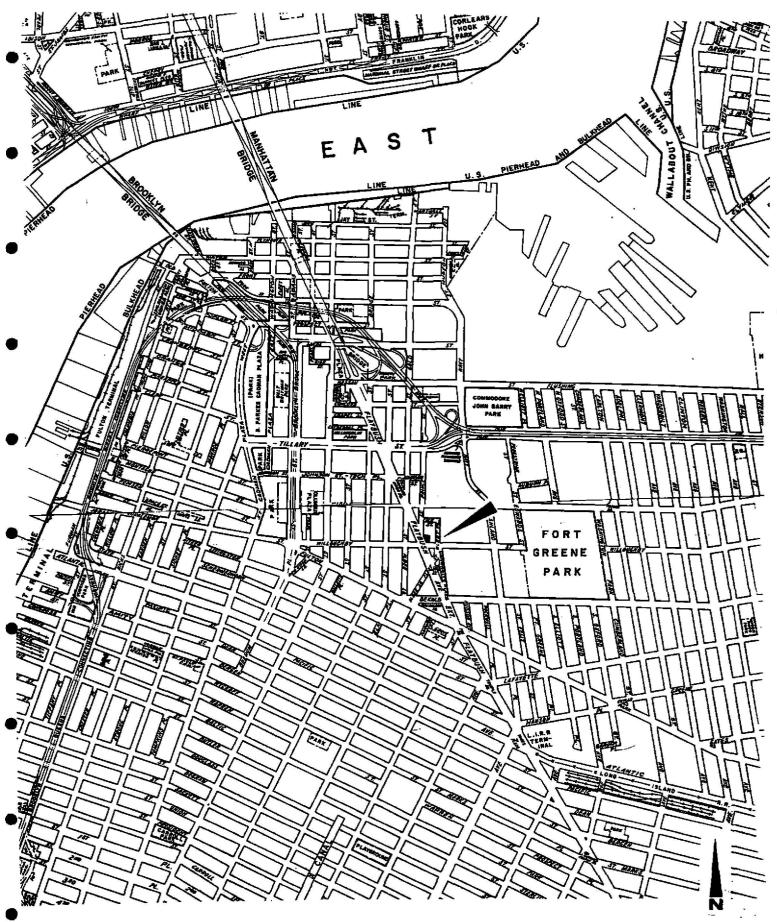
163 Willoughby Street -- Lot 25

The house at 163 Willoughby Street, like Nos. 159 and 161 to its west and 165 and 167 to its east, was a three-story brick structure with a basement, built before 1855. It had a one-story extension with a basement. Like much of the rest of the block, this lot was owned by the Langbein family, and, by 1950, the house was being used as part of the factory complex. Behind the house, a one-story shed for the storage of metal related to the manufacturing complex was built ca. 1930. Although no building permits were located for this structure, no basement was indicated for this building on the maps.

Conclusions

According to our research, only two lots on the project site are relatively undisturbed, and therefore could have potential archaeological sensitivity. These are the former backyard areas behind Nos. 161 and 163 Willoughby Street, Lots 26 and 25. The other lots on the site (163 Prince Street, and 155, 157, and 159 Willoughby Street) have been disturbed by extension of Flatbush Avenue ca. 1910, by two 20th century factory buildings with eight- and nine-feet-deep basements, and by a ca. 1970 gasoline station with buried gas tanks connected to two sets of pumps.

FIGURE 1 SITE LOCATION



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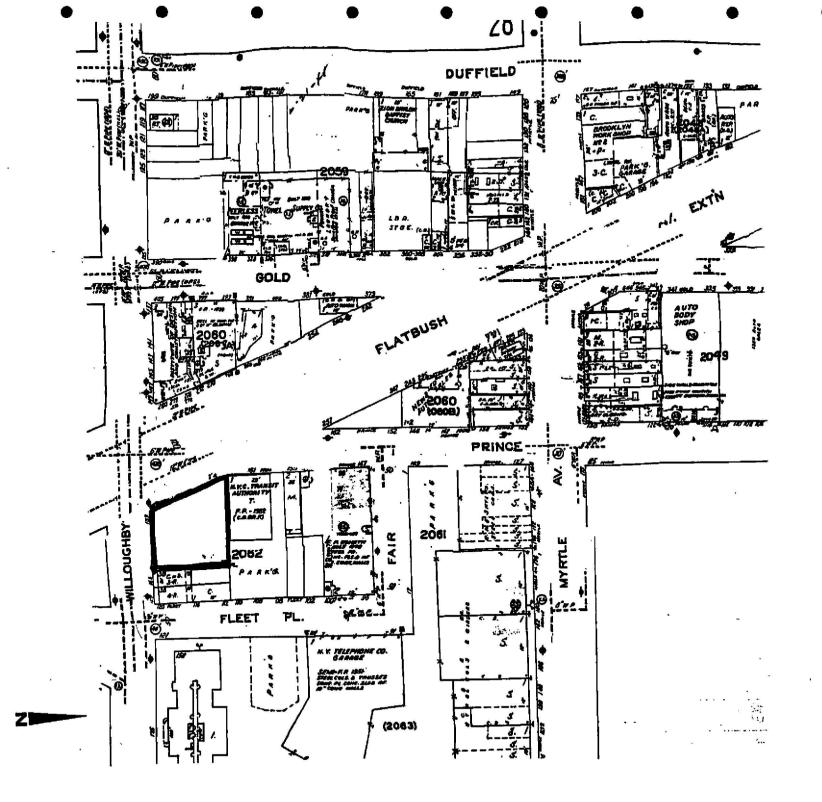


FIGURE 2 PROJECT SITE

FIGURE 3 GASOLINE STATION SITE PLAN, BASED ON DEPARTMENT OF BUILDINGS PLANS

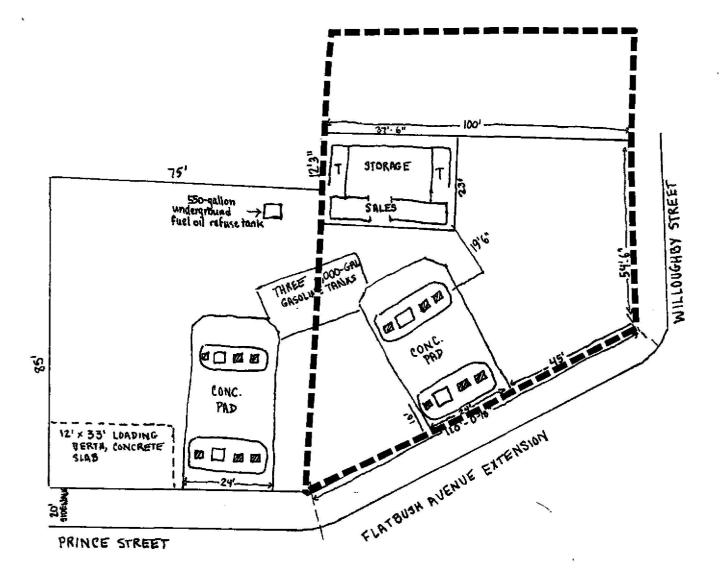
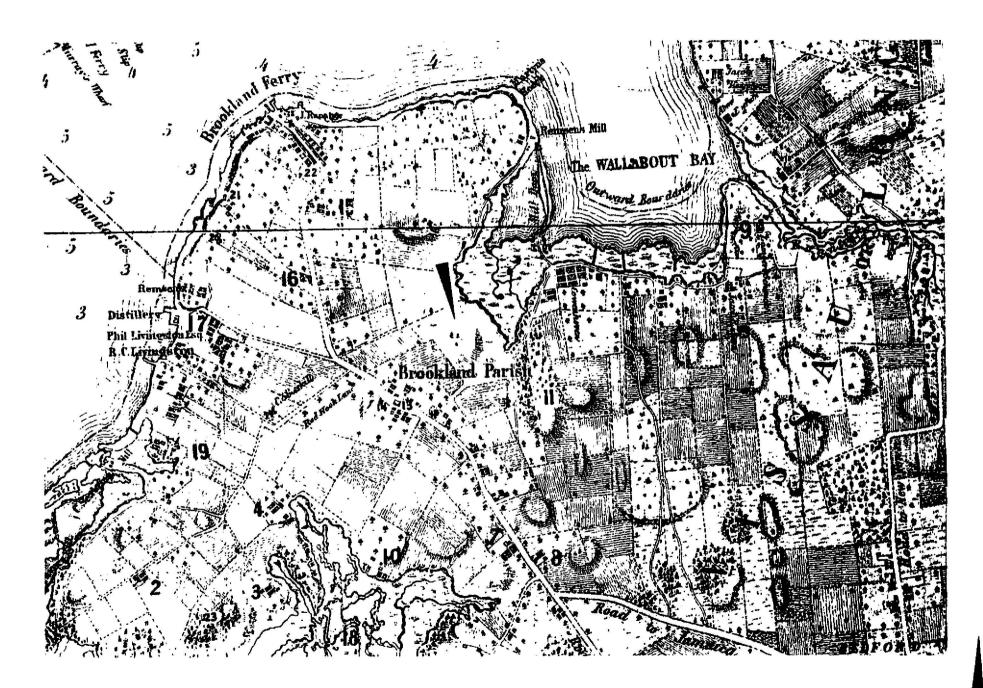
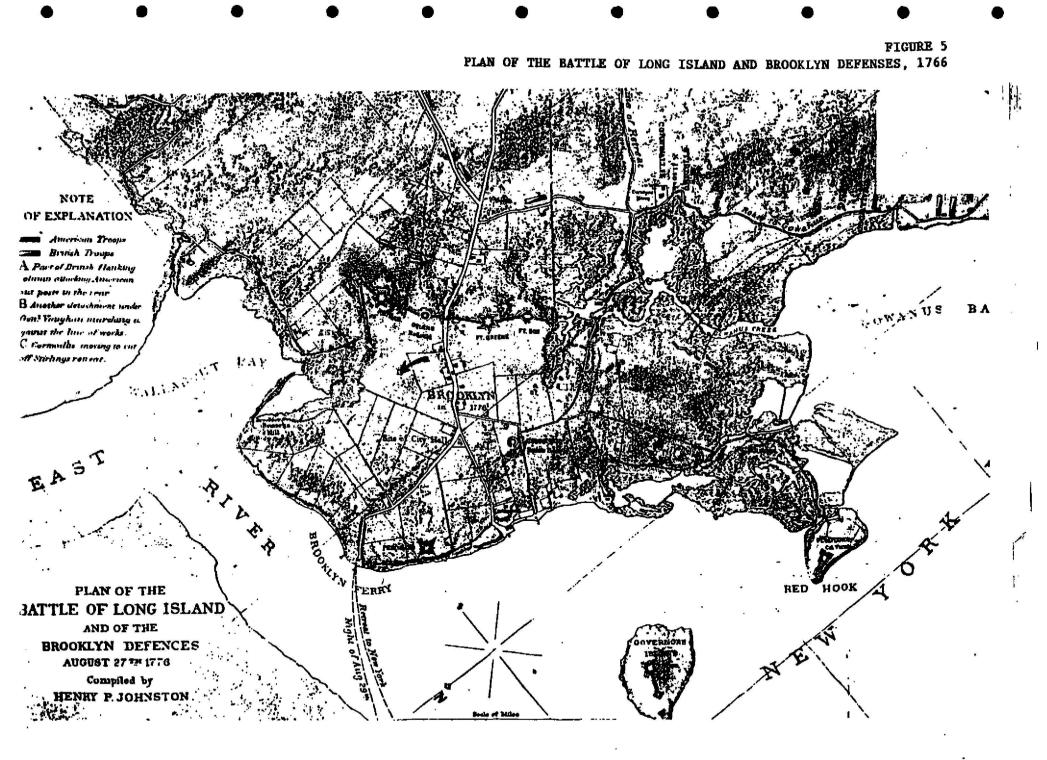


FIGURE 4 RATZER, PLAN OF THE TOWN OF BROOKLYN, 1766



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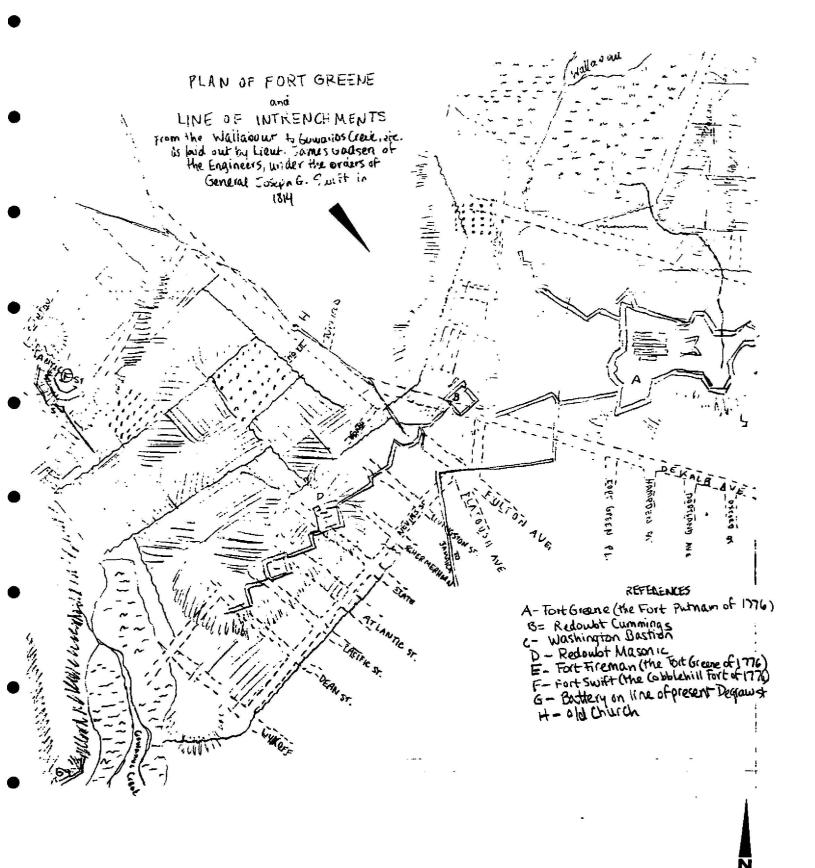


BRITISH HEAD QUARTERS MAP, 1782

FIGURE 6

FIGURE 7

PLAN OF FORT GREENE, 1814



STODDARD, MAP OF THE CITY OF BROOKLYN, 1839

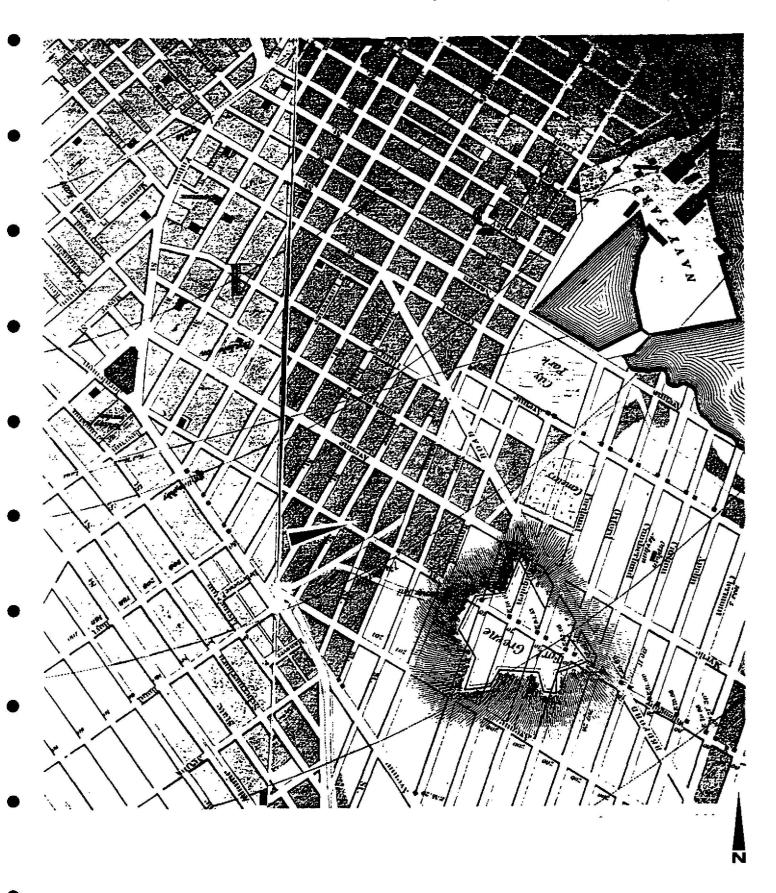
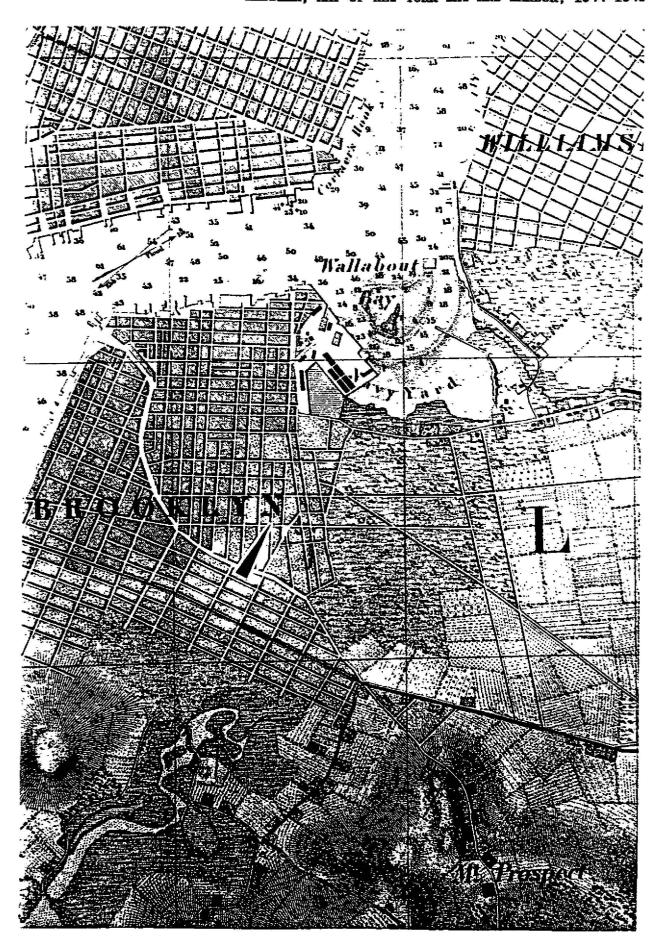
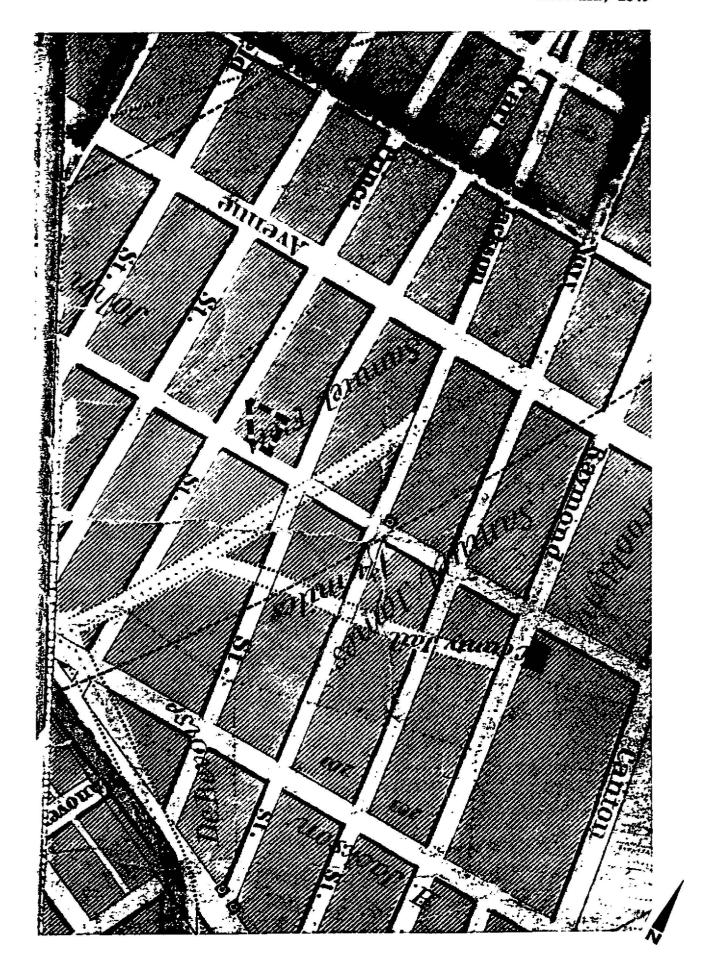


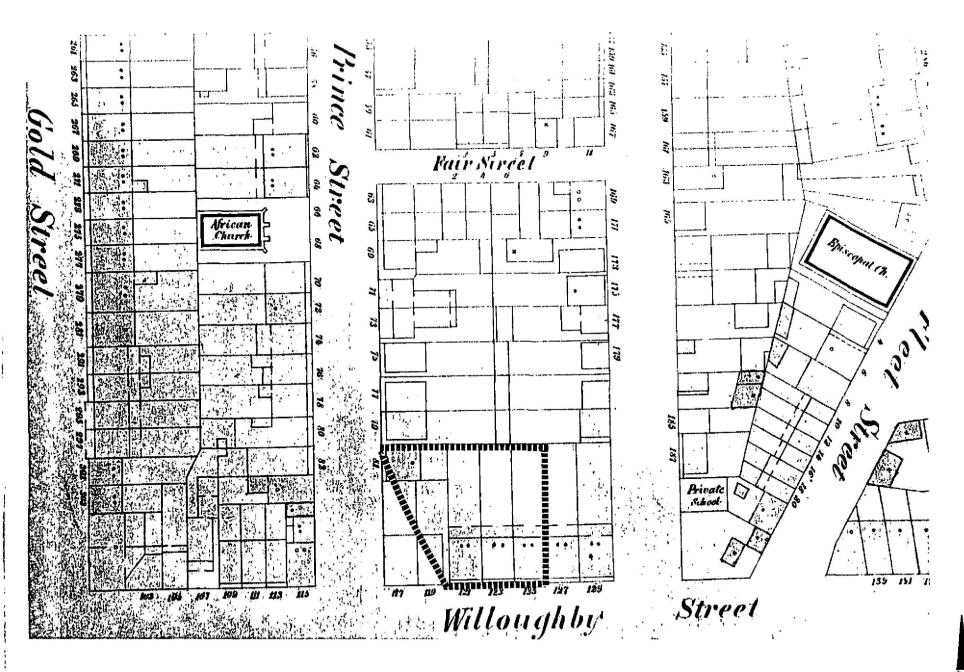
FIGURE 9 HASSLER, MAP OF NEW YORK BAY AND HARBOR, 1844-1845



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FIGURE 12

BEERS, FARM LINE MAP, 1874

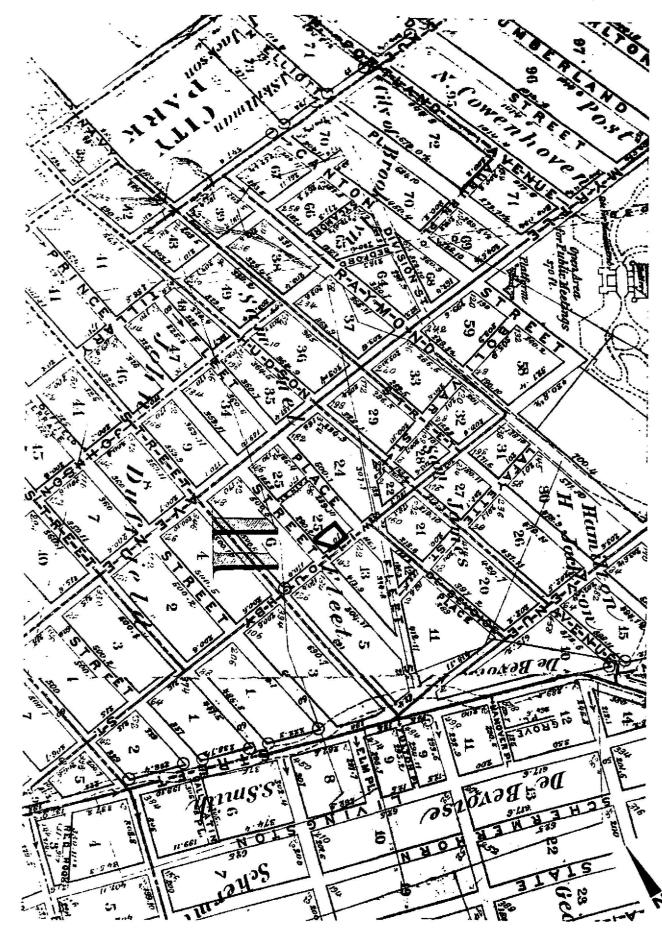
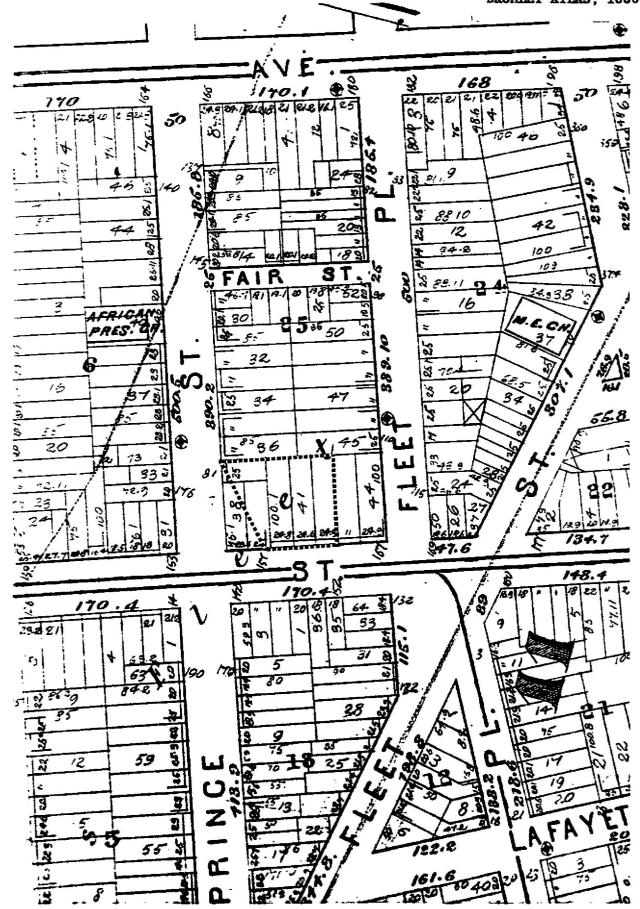


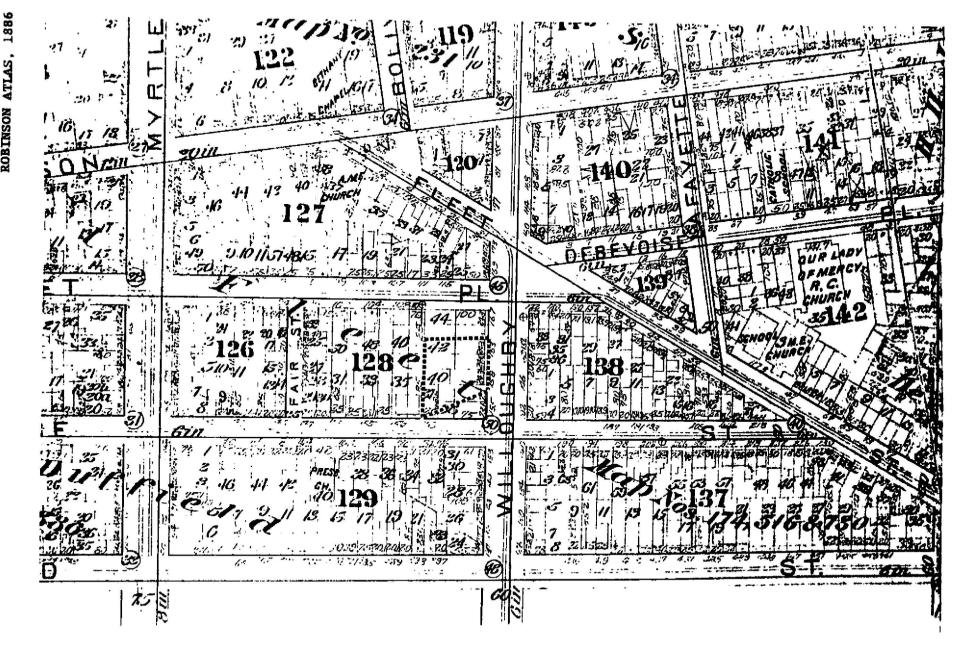
FIGURE 14

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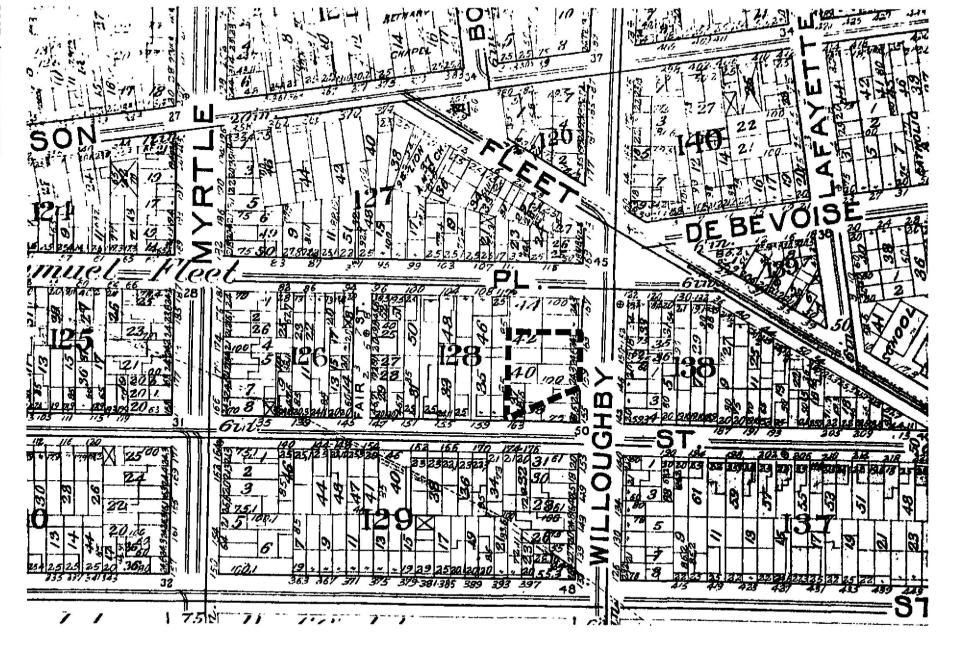


ROBINSON ATLAS,



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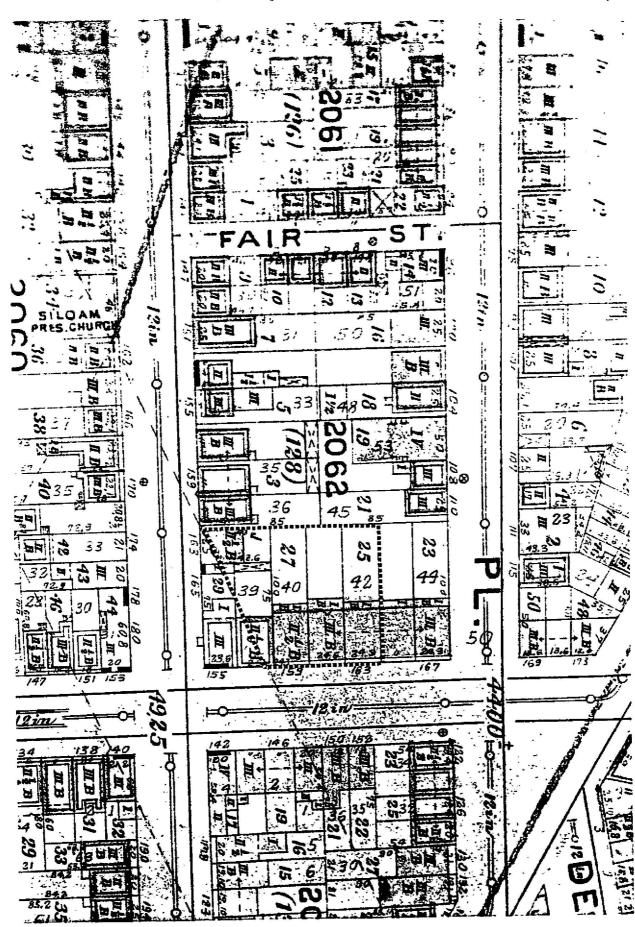
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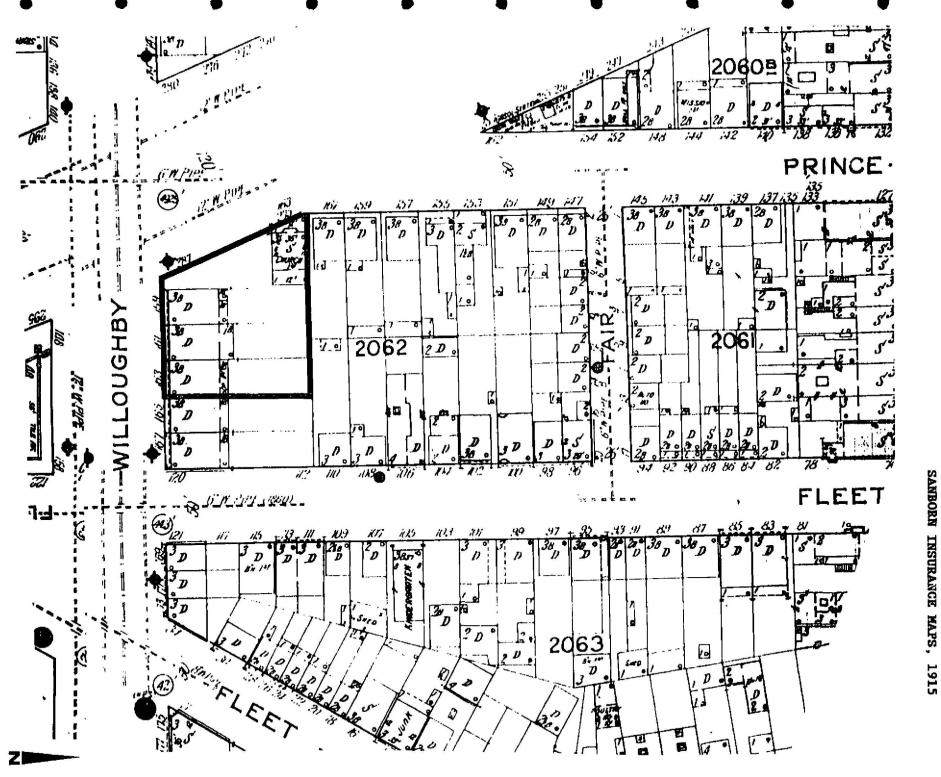
FIGURE 17

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E. BELCHER HYDE ATLAS, 1904

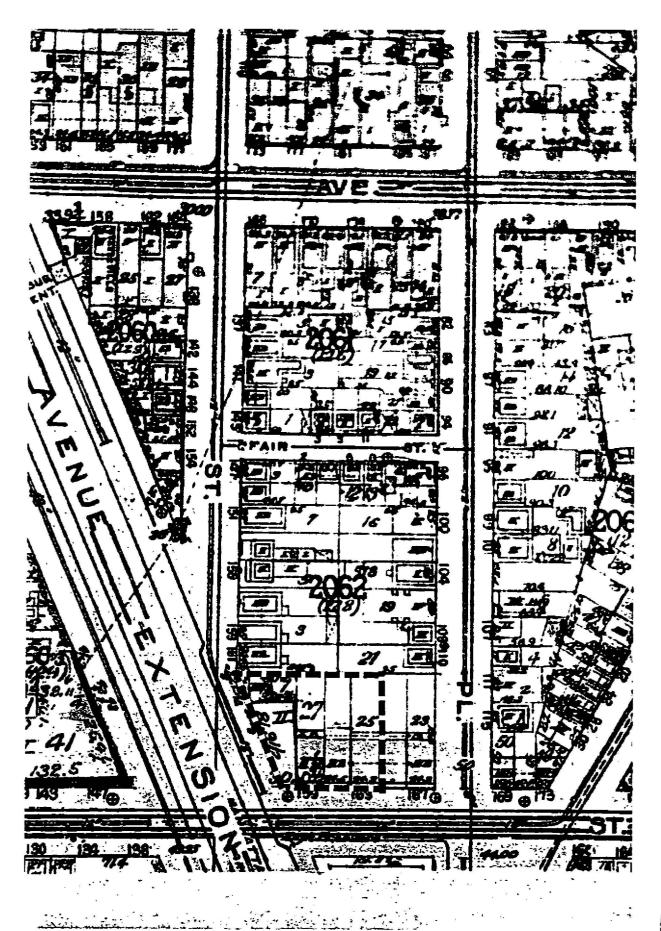
(Shows planned route of Flatbush Avenue Extension)





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FIGURE 18



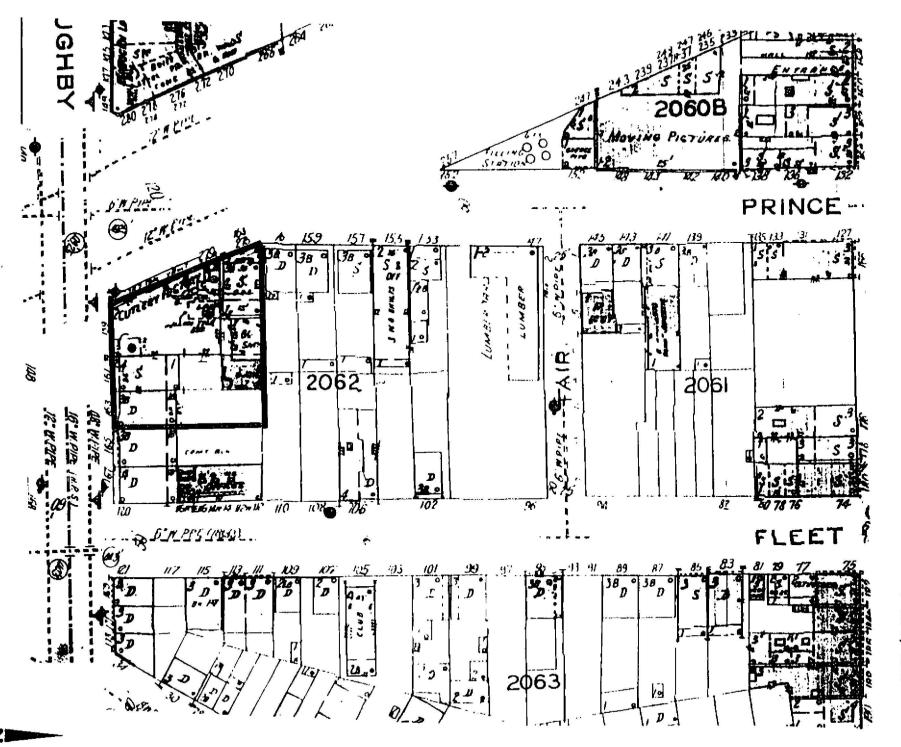
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BELCHER HYDE ATLAS, 1929

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FIGURE 20

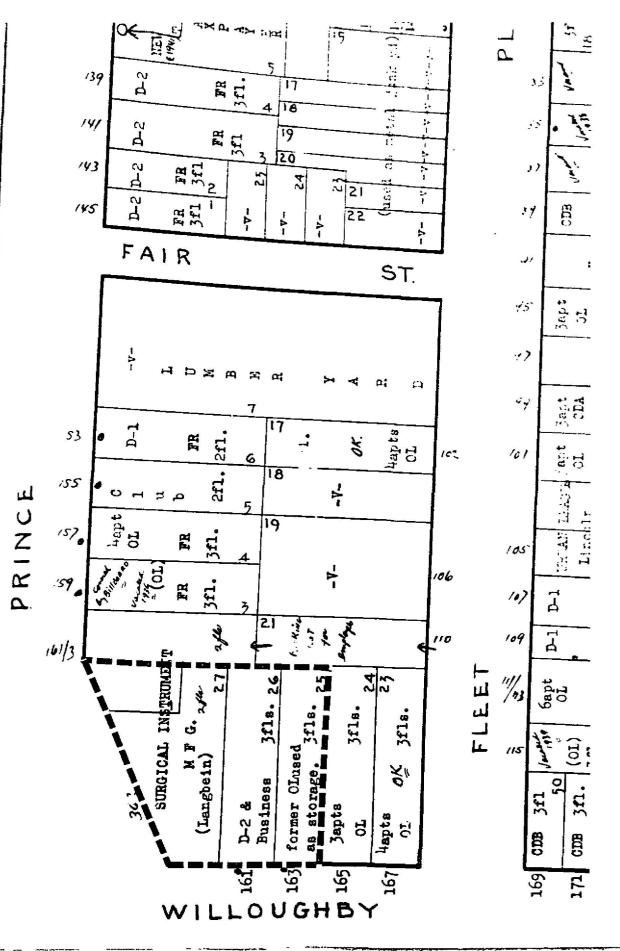


SANBORN INSURANCE MAPS, 1939

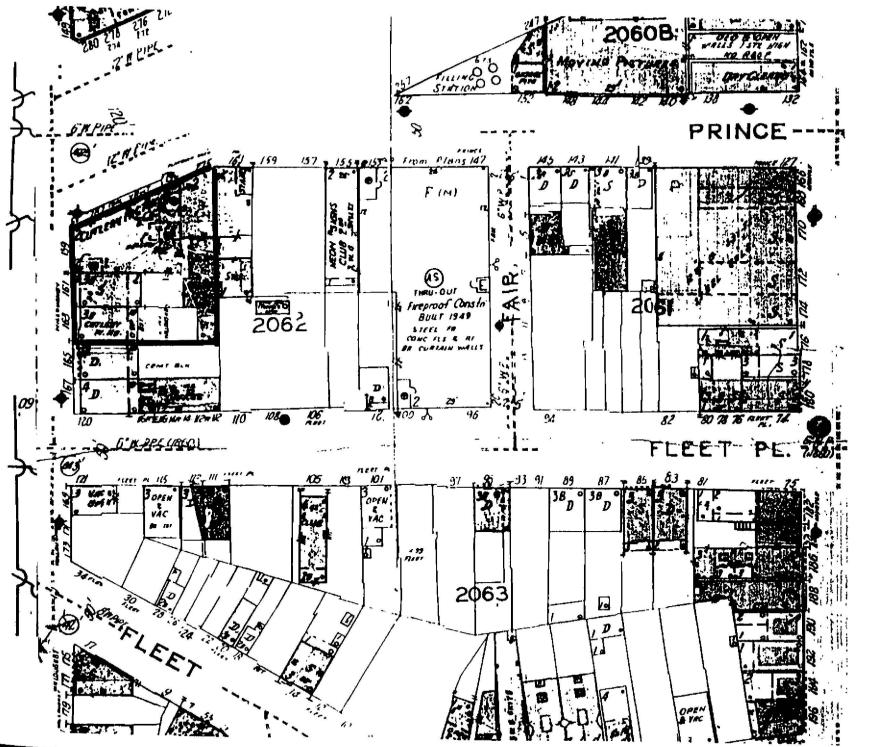
FIGURE 21

FIGURE 22

DOWNTOWN BROOKLYN NEIGHBORHOOD STUDY, 1941



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INSURANCE MAPS, 1951

SANBORN

FIGURE 23

SECTION 2

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT OF LOTS 25 AND 26,

161 AND 163 WILLOUGHBY STREET, BROOKLYN



P.O. Box 331 Riverside, Connecticut 06878

Bridge Car Wash Site, CEQR No. 90-178-K

This memorandum was prepared by Historical Perspectives, Inc. at the request of Allee King Rosen & Fleming, Inc., in order to address concerns expressed by the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission regarding the existence of possible 19th century archaeological resources on the project site (personal communication, Daniel Pagano to Betsy Kearns, 11-27-90). The building record of the site revealed that all but two of the lots -Lots 25 and 26 (163 and 161 Willoughby Street) - have been so disturbed that the possibility of recovering intact archaeological remains is remote. Therefore, the following research is limited to those two lots.

Information was obtained from a variety of sources. The principal sources included census records, the BROOKLYN DAILY EAGLE newspaper clippings file, property transaction records, Stiles' A HISTORY OF BROOKLYN, city and business directories, property tax records, and Brooklyn Historical Society's block summaries files.

The Bridge Car Wash site is approximately two blocks south and four blocks east of the Metrotech and Polytechnic sites for which archaeological studies have recently been conducted. For those sites the archaeologists' reasoning that "although it is possible that the project site was used as farmland and hunting grounds by aboriginal peoples, the site has no notable characteristics (e.g. proximity to streams) that would make it a likely location for such use" was accepted (Metrotech FEIS:III-171). During the prehistoric period the ecology and topography of the three sites would have been quite similar. Therefore, the determination that prehistoric resources are not an archaeological consideration applies to the Bridge Car Wash site as well.

The area known as Brooklyn was settled as early as c.1646, and the village of Brooklyn was established by 1746. The principal thoroughfare was Fulton Street which led from the East River ferry landing westward to the village of Jamaica in Queens. The description of the Metrotech and Polytechnic project area during the century after the village was founded applies as well to the Bridge Car Wash project area:

The earliest Colonial-period map that shows structures is the Ratzer Map of 1767. [Figure 4] On this map the buildings cluster along Fulton Street and extend no farther than 400 feet past the street line. They do not extend onto the project site, which appears to have consisted only of fields and farmland...It is not certain that there were no colonial-period structures on the project site, since outbuildings are not likely to have been depicted on early maps, but the probability of substantial early structures is low. The project site did not figure prominently in the Battle of Long Island, the only Revolution[ary] battle fought in Brooklyn. The Brooklyn fortifications extended in an arc from Prospect Park to Fort Greene Park. At the nearest point, the fortifications were approximately [six] blocks from the eastern boundary of the project site. Retreating from Long Island, Washington's troops traveled northwest along Red Hook Lane, west of the project site, to Fulton Ferry (at the site of the Brooklyn Bridge). The retreating army may have crossed the Johnson lands, but the probability of major deposits from the Revolution in the area is slight.

(Metrotech FEIS:III-175)

Figures 5, 6, and 7 show the project area in relation to the fortifications.

Like the Polytech and Metrotecth sites, the project site was owned by the Johnson family. According to Block Summaries in the Brooklyn Historical Society, Samuel Fleet began to acquire property including the project site from the Johnson estate in 1823. Fleet, once a farmer, made money during the War of 1812 and became a wealthy landowner. His mansion stood at the corner of the present Duffield and Fulton Streets (Henry Reed Stiles, A HISTORY OF THE CITY OF BROOKLYN, 1867, Vol.I:133). Fleet sold some of his property which included the project site to Clarence D. Sackett who sold it to William B. Cooper in 1837. The Willoughby Street footage of Block 2062 (old Blocks 25 and 128) which contains the project site is first noted as lotted in the Block Summaries in 1838. At this time it comprised seven lots which were purchased by Cooper, a merchant who worked in Manhattan and lived on 5th Avenue and 1st Street.

The first cartographic representation of the new street grid is the 1839 Stoddard Map (Figure 8). However, in the 1841-42 Lain's City Directory of Brooklyn, the notation under the listing for Willoughby Street is "east from Fulton open to Duffield." Duffield Street is two blocks west of the project block and there are no residents listed for any portion of the street east of Duffield Street toward Prince Street. By this time, Cooper had already begun to sell off his holdings. Specifically, he sold Lot 260 (now Lot 26, #161 Willoughby Street) to Garetta Johnson in 1837 who sold it to John J. Moore in 1845. In 1839 Cooper sold the adjacent lot 261 (now Lot 25, #163 Willoughby) to Catherine Moore, wife of John J. Moore. Other property in the project block also was purchased by John Moore and Henry Barclay. Apparently these two men, who lived in Queens, were partners in various real estate ventures in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and Queens according to Barclay's will (Liber 700, page 1). It is certain that they never occupied the houses built on their property by 1855 (see Figure 11, the

Perris 1855 Atlas), which presumably furnished them with rental income. Property tax lists, available beginning in 1866, corroborate this assumption:

Block 128 (now 2062) - Starting at corner of Willoughby and Prince and moving east along Willoughby:

<u>1866-1873</u>		<u>1873–1887</u>
#117	Wickers and Lash	#155 (old #117) D. Dowd
#119	Henry Matthews	#157 Henry Matthews
#121	John Barclay*	#159 James Barclay*
#123	John J. Moore	#161 John J. Moore
#125	John J. Moore	#163 John J. Moore
#127	John J. Moore	#165 John J. Moore
#129	Henry Barclay	#167 Fanny Constable

From 1887 to 1894, John Moore and Henry Barclay's heirs (*James, John, and Sackett Barclay) owned the same lots as above. In 1894 the heirs of Barclay and Moore sold several lots to Justin Wells (Liber 2249,p.174 and Liber 2249,p.175). In the same year Wells sold #161 Willoughby Street to Antonis Kozicki (Liber 2264,p.376) and #163 Willoughby to Johanna Durward (Liber 2268,p.69).

Having established that the two lots being investigated were rental properties belonging to absentee owners, the next step was to try to ascertain who the residents were during the 19th century after buildings were erected on the lots c.1850. These first structures would have had to rely on cisterns, wells and privies for water supply and human waste removal. Backyard shaft features such as these often contain valuable archaeological resources. It was not until 1857 that sewers were built in the first, third, and sixth wards of Brooklyn (the project site was in the eleventh ward), and they were for draining heavy water rather than house waste (Stiles, A HISTORY OF THE CITY OF BROOKLYN, 1867, Vol.1:591). The Ridgewood reservoir, which brought the first piped water supply to Brooklyn was opened in 1858 (BROOKLYN DAILY EAGLE, Vol.1:191) after the dwellings were built. In 1883 there were 275 wells still in use although they were scheduled to be filled in 1884 (Stiles, Ibid.)

Therefore, the early homelots at #161 and #163 Willoughby Street would have made use of privies, wells, or cisterns. Once these services were provided by the city, the shafts, no longer in use for their original purposes, would be quickly filled with refuse, providing a valuable time capsule of stratified deposits. A key factor in determining the significance of such deposits located on former dwelling lots lies in documenting some kind of continuous occupation for a fairly lengthy period of time. Identification of continuous occupation is necessary in order to provide an interpretive context for the archaeological remains. In other words, if there was a high turnover in who occupied a site over time, there will be no way to identify who was responsible for the deposit of the material resources. On other New York City projects, NYCLPC's guidelines about homelot resources has required that research must identify one decade of continuous occupancy by a special affinity group about whom data is scarce - such as a Black or Oriental family. Another criterion for further investigation is residency by a single family for at least twenty years.

The 1875 Kings County Census is a valuable research tool because it is one of the few (and the earliest) to list inhabitants by block and street number. For that year, the buildings along the Prince Street side of Block 2062 all housed more than one family and/or boarders. About half of them were resident-owned. The framed houses were worth between three and five thousand dollars. The vast majority of people listed were American-born. They were laboring class, and included, for example, a carpenter, a blacksmith, a sailor, a bookkeeper, and a bricklayer. Around the corner on Willoughby Street, the situation was similar. At #155 Willoughby, the were three families (one family of five lived in the basement). Only one family of five persons lived next door at #157, and Henry Matthews owned his home. Number 159 Willoughby was a brick building housing three families and a boarder.

For the two lots specifically researched, the residents in the two-family brick dwelling at #161, worth nine thousand dollars, were:

Jerome W. Merritt, age 42, a bookkeeper born in Massachusetts. Frances Merritt, age 36, his wife M--? Haywood, a niece, age 16, born in Ulster Ira Smith, age 48, a ferryboat pilot born in Suffolk County Susan Smith, age 31, his wife born in Kings County Luther Smith, age 8, their son born in Kings County

At #163, also a brick building worth seven thousand dollars, the inhabitants were:

Joseph Lejune, age 25, a produce m__?, born in France Martha Lejune, age 25, his wife born in New Jersey Olive Lejune, age 2, their daughter born in Kings County Alexander Lejune, age 58, the father born in France Estelle Herrings, age 27, a sister born in France Alexander Walsh, age 29, a musician born in Kings County Mary Walsh, age 26, his wife born in New York Nellie Walsh, age 4, their daughter born in Kings County Charles Walsh, age 8, their son born in Kings County George Hutton, age 16, a boarder born in Kings County Emma Dillon, age 16, a servant born in England

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Next door at #165 Willoughby, likewise a brick building worth seven thousand dollars, there were two families as well as two boarders.

Beginning in 1877, Lains "Elite Directories" were published which were organized by street. Information from this directory was compared with the 1875 census data. There was no entry for #155 and for the other lots on Willoughby the residents were as follows:

#157 Henry Matthews
#159 Mrs. Eliza Reed
#161 Albert Sherwood
#163 Samuel H. Mildenbery
#165 Sydney M. Tyler
#167 Benj. S. Van Zile, M.D.

Only Henry Matthews, who was the sole owner-resident, was listed in both sources. The two lists of names for #161 and #163 were combined and searched for in alphabetical city directories both backward and forward in time. None could be associated with the Willoughby Street addresses for more than a few years.

Thus definitive evidence about who lived at #161 and #163 Willoughby Street from c.1850 to c.1875 was not obtainable. Tax lists showed only owners who, in this case, were not residents. Census records before 1875 list dwellings and families in chronological order of visit rather than by street name and number or by block and lot designation, so that even if the researcher has names, it is almost impossible to find them. Similarly, city directories are alphabetical, so one must have names to look up. There is a reverse directory for 1841-2, but no residents are listed in the project block on Willoughby Street. The names that appeared in property records were searched for in the directories for years prior to c. 1875, but none could be found for the correct addresses.

In order to substantiate the multi-family occupation pattern evident in the 1875 census, the 1905 census was reviewed. Along the Prince Street portion of the block, all of the buildings were peopled by several families. Most of them were laborers and most were American born. In the Willoughby Street houses, only one, #165, contained a single family. At #163 there were two families totaling six persons, and in #161 there were seventeen people! The owner was Anthony Kosicke, a Russian immigrant, who bought the property in 1894.

In summary, while there are gaps in the documentary record, there is enough data to make certain interpolations. The three story buildings at #161 and #163 Willoughby Street seem to have been built as rental property usually housing several families and boarders of the laboring class who were generally American born.

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There was probably a high degree of turn-over of tenants. There may be extant backyard features such as privies and cisterns which were used by these residents over the years before municipal services were installed. However, in the absence of a known, stable residency pattern, there would be no historical context with which to associate recovered deposits and information gained would be difficult to evaluate and very generalized.

It can be concluded that there is a low probability of finding cultural resources from 19th century homelots on the Bridge Car Wash site that could make a significant contribution to the archaeological record.