

Division of Public Programs

Sample of a Successful Application

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Project Title: The Joseph and Rachel Moore Tenement Home

Institution: Lower East Side Tenement Museum

Project Director: David Favaloro

Grant Program: Public Humanities Projects: Historic Places Implementation

Lower East Side Tenement Museum
Proposal to the NEH Public Humanities Project Program
Joseph and Rachel Moore Tenement Home

Nature of the Request

The Tenement Museum seeks a \$400,000 Public Humanities Projects implementation grant to complete permanent exhibit fabrication and tour development for the “Joseph and Rachel Moore Tenement Home.” The new permanent exhibit takes the form of a recreated apartment in the Museum’s 97 Orchard Street tenement. Today a National Historic Landmark, the building was home to nearly 7,000 people from 15 different nations between 1863 and 1935. Now the Museum will recreate the tenement home of Joseph and Rachel Moore, a Black family who lived in Lower Manhattan during the 1860s. The exhibit will trace Joseph’s history from his free Black community of Belvidere, New Jersey, through his family’s migration to New York City for economic opportunity, and the community they built in their neighborhoods and workplaces. It will also employ interactive digital storytelling to examine the era’s Black press, contextualizing both the Moores’ story and the Museum’s research. Visitors will experience the exhibit through a new, 60-minute guided tour. It will show how Joseph and Rachel’s lives paralleled and diverged from Joseph and Bridget Moore, Irish immigrants whose stories the Museum tells in an existing exhibit.

The Museum seeks an Implementation award in the Historic Sites category. Grant funds would support the exhibit’s fabrication, including restoration carpentry, furnishings, and installation of interactive technology. The project also includes developing a new tour encompassing the exhibit in consultation with eight scholars with expertise in Black history, im/migration history, and public engagement. The project will take place over 12 months, beginning in May 2022. It builds on research and design that has been underway for over a year.

This project aligns with the NEH’s “A More Perfect Union” initiative and demonstrates compelling ways to engage the public in some of the nation’s most challenging histories. The Museum teaches U.S. im/migration and urban history through guided tours of former tenement residents’ homes. The Joseph and Rachel Moore exhibit will draw on the Museum’s key storytelling strength: rooting visitors in the specificity of an individual family’s home and experiences to understand larger historical transformations. In recreating Joseph and Rachel Moore’s home, the Museum will engage visitors in the complex ways that Black New Yorkers built families and communities as racial violence, industrialization, and mass migration remade the city. By juxtaposing their experiences with those of the Irish Moore family, the Museum will create dialogue about the complex and evolving relationship among national identity, citizenship, and racial justice in the mid-nineteenth century.

Humanities Content

Origins of the Exhibit: A Story of Two Joseph Moores

In 1860, Joseph Moore, a free Black man in his early 20s, left his hometown of Belvidere, New Jersey for New York City. While he had deep roots in Belvidere, contemporary local newspaper accounts describe how “Negro-snatchers” from Delaware had been scouring the area, jeopardizing the freedom of all Black New Jerseyans. New York City’s larger Black community and promise of urban opportunity brought Joseph and his extended family to Manhattan’s Eighth Ward, a tenement district west of the Lower East

Side. There, Black New Yorkers lived alongside German and Irish immigrants. Joseph Moore found work as a waiter, for decades a relatively well-paying occupation for Black New Yorkers. He met and married Rachel Kennedy and set up a home at 17 Laurens Street (present-day West Broadway). They shared the apartment with Rachel's daughter from a previous marriage, an Irish immigrant washerwoman, and a Black teenager. In 1867, Joseph converted to Catholicism at a neighborhood church, accompanied by Irish godparents.

In 1865, Joseph Patrick Moore left Dublin for New York City, settling in a tenement just a few blocks from Joseph Moore of Laurens Street. He found work as a waiter, like many Irish newcomers, and married an Irish immigrant named Bridget Meehan. In 1869, Joseph and Bridget moved to 97 Orchard Street. As only one of two Irish families in the building, the Moores were an English-speaking, Catholic family living among German-speaking Protestants, Jews, and Catholics in a neighborhood then nicknamed "Little Germany."

In 2008, the Tenement Museum recreated Joseph and Bridget Moore's apartment in 97 Orchard Street, adding an Irish story to its permanent exhibits and tours. The "Irish Outsiders" tour shows visitors how Joseph, Bridget, and their children coped with prejudice and poverty, and compares their experiences as outsiders with newcomers today. For years, one primary source in particular captured the attention of Museum educators and visitors alike: an 1869 New York City directory situating Joseph and Bridget Moore at 97 Orchard Street. Above Joseph P. Moore was a listing for another Joseph Moore, also a waiter, with the designation "col'd" next to his name. Visitors regularly inquired: What would tenement life be like for a Black New Yorker during the 1860s? How did the Josephs' lives compare? Their questions led the Museum to pursue Joseph and Rachel Moore's story, reflecting the centrality of visitor dialogue to the Museum's interpretive practice.

Humanities Themes

With this project, the Museum departs from its practice of telling stories only of past residents of its tenements in order to tell a richer and more inclusive story of tenement life. In a 2015 article in the *Journal of American Ethnic History*, the historian Russell Kazal praised the Tenement Museum for its multi-ethnic approach to New York's Lower East Side history. The Museum highlights German, Irish, Jewish, Italian, Puerto Rican, and Chinese family stories through the lens of social history. As Kazal notes, "academic historians have yet to write a history of the Lower East side, from its origins in the 1820s to now, that encompasses its multiethnic and multiracial complexity. For the closest thing to that, I would suggest a day at the Tenement Museum."¹ The Joseph and Rachel Moore exhibit will extend the Museum's nuanced interpretation of tenement life to Black New Yorkers. It will also shed light on the world of collaboration and antagonism in which African Americans and Irish immigrants experienced during the 1860s. The exhibit will highlight the following humanities themes.

BLACK HISTORY AND IMMIGRATION HISTORY IN CONVERSATION

(Consulting Scholars: Leslie Harris, Nancy Foner, Tyler Anbinder, Miriam Nyhan Grey, Hasia Diner)

As the historian Leslie Harris has explained, "We have so mythologized the Ellis Island story, and there is an amazing story to be told. But these immigrants did not come into a blank slate, they came into a nation that was already dealing with issues of race and racism and they had to figure out what that meant for them."¹ This project explores how to weave Black history and immigration history together at

¹ Leslie Harris, interview by Annie Polland for the 2021 Tenement Museum gala, 19 March 2021.

a site of public history. All too often, exhibits, monographs, documentaries, and curricula treat Black history and immigration history as two distinct strands in United States history. Black immigration history of the last few decades brings immigration and Black history together in the twentieth century, but not in a way that sheds light on the nineteenth century. Yet in the nineteenth century, Black New Yorkers and immigrants often found their lives intertwined, even while the legacy of slavery and new structures of racial discrimination impacted Black New Yorkers' communities and lives. Joseph Moore's story will provide the public with an entry point to understand the complexities of race, im/migration, and American identity in nineteenth century New York.

Slavery had long-lasting economic, social, and political implications on American life that can become visible in new ways with an attention to immigration history. For example, the 1869 New York City directory shows that of the many religions, ethnicities, and nationalities represented by nineteenth-century New Yorkers, only one group, Black Americans, had a group designation next to their names ("col'd"). In their collection *Not Just Black and White*, Nancy Foner and George Fredricksen remind us that, when studying immigrant groups of different races, scholars must consider how "a history of special disadvantage—slavery, Jim Crow, ghettoization, and, most recently mass incarceration—made the black experience different in kind from that of other minorities."² Keeping the specificity of Black experiences in mind, Foner and Fredricksen advocate for comparative studies to better understand both individual group experiences as well as American history more broadly.

The exhibit builds on research exploring how Black New Yorkers' lives were entwined with immigrants during this period. The Museum's analysis of the 1869 New York City Directory shows how Black and immigrant New Yorkers shared both city streets and occupations. Historian Leslie Harris's book *In the Shadow of Slavery* shows how the social, economic, and political relationships of Black and white New Yorkers shaped the city in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Tyler Anbinder focuses on a single neighborhood, the Five Points, whose diverse residents shifted over time but also overlapped and interacted in crucial ways.³ In a fine-grained study, Virginia Ferris examines the 1870 census in the Eighth Ward, where Joseph and Rachel lived. Her article demonstrates that Black and Irish residents shared tenement spaces, occupations, and even families: the district had 80 Irish-Black married couples, many with mixed race children.⁴ Recently, historian Jon Butler's monograph *God and Gotham* includes a history of the city's Black churches alongside his study of Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic communities. His book provides a model for comparing groups while maintaining important distinctions.⁵

Comparing the lives of the two Joseph Moores brings the disciplines of Black and immigration history together in a way that better illuminates New York City history. Convening experts in both fields will not only enrich the exhibit, but provide instructive examples for other public history institutions.

THE TENEMENT LANDSCAPE & NEIGHBORHOODS
(Consulting Scholars: Andrew Dolkart, Tyler Anbinder, Leslie Harris)

² Nancy Foner and George M. Fredrickson, editors. *Not Just Black and White: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2005, 8.

³ Tyler Anbinder. *Five Points: The 19th Century New York City Neighborhood that Invented Tap Dance, Stole Elections, and Became the World's Most Notorious Slum*. New York: Plume, 2002.

⁴ Virginia Ferris. "Inside of the Family Circle": Irish and African American Interracial Marriage in New York City's Eighth Ward, 1870." *American Journal of Irish Studies*. 9 (2012): 151-177.

⁵ Jon Butler. *God in Gotham: The Miracle of Religion in Modern Manhattan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020.

The fact that the two Moore families lived in different tenements and in different neighborhoods allows the Museum to more broadly and comparatively portray tenement life beyond its home on the Lower East Side. A more expansive view of New York's built environment reveals how immigrants and Black New Yorkers shared spaces. At the same time, social hierarchies originating in the era of slavery still demarcated neighborhoods and even interior tenement spaces. Whether one was Black or white could determine which floor one lived on; Black New Yorkers tended to be relegated to cellars. Race often determined the likelihood of moving from older tenements to a neighborhood with newer construction.

Comparing 97 Orchard Street with Joseph and Rachel Moore's tenement at 17 Laurens Street shows how when tenements were built, as well as their placement on the lot, shaped residents' experiences. During the mid-nineteenth century, investors built tenements—technically apartment buildings that housed at least three families, each with their own kitchens—across large swaths of Lower Manhattan. But tenements and tenement lots were not uniform. At any given moment, the city had older and newer tenements, offering differing levels of accommodation. In 1869, six-year-old 97 Orchard Street had a lot that accessed the city's sewer system, creating a “salubrious” environment, according to a health inspector.⁶ At the same time, Joseph and Rachel Moore's rear tenement had been standing for decades. It occupied the back portion of a lot, and a tenement directly in front of it limited its access to sunlight. In between the two structures, privies lacked access to the sewer system. These differences had tremendous health implications for residents.

This project will explore why so few Black New Yorkers moved to Lower East Side and the larger forces that encouraged some groups to move to certain neighborhoods and others to stay in place. In recreating Joseph and Rachel Moore's home inside 97 Orchard Street, the tour will directly address Black New Yorkers' absence from the Lower East Side. In the 1840s and 1850s, Black and Irish New Yorkers shared tenement rooms, social halls, and rear yards in the Five Points neighborhood and in the adjacent Eighth Ward. As the area's Irish and German populations increased, they tended to resettle in neighborhoods like the Lower East Side, which had more commodious and “salubrious” tenements and yards. Having arrived with more urban skills, Germans moved up the socioeconomic ladder more rapidly than Irish immigrants. Yet some Irish, including Joseph and Bridget Moore, did move from the Five Points to the Lower East Side. However, few Black New Yorkers moved to the neighborhood. One reason Black New Yorkers stayed in the Eighth Ward might have been that they were not welcome in the newer neighborhoods. The Black population was not increasing as fast as immigrant groups, and did not need additional neighborhoods. Black New Yorkers also had an incentive to stay together in a neighborhood with significant Black institutions, including churches, mutual aid societies, schools, and political clubs.

WAITERS & WASHERWOMEN: BLACK AND IRISH LABOR IN NEW YORK CITY

(Consulting Scholars: Leslie Harris, Miriam Nyhan Grey, Hasia Diner, Craig Wilder, Tyler Anbinder)

Nineteenth-century New York City held different promises of freedom to different groups of arrivals. Even as the Civil War and the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments promised freedom, Black New Yorkers' severe underemployment hindered their opportunities.

Although African Americans as a group preceded the Irish and had higher literacy rates, racism chipped away at long-held occupations. As historian Leslie Harris shows, by the 1830s being a waiter was the second most common occupation for Black men in the city and one of the highest paid jobs available to

⁶ J.T. Kennedy, quoted in *Report of the Citizens' Association of New York Upon the Sanitary Conditions of the City*. 1865.

them. But Irish immigrants' entrance into the waiting profession fundamentally changed Black men's prospects. The profession could bring Irish and Black New Yorkers together; Harris shows how Black and Irish waiters formed a union in 1853. But most unions did not accept Black workers, and the gradual replacement of Black men by the Irish eclipsed this collaboration. As W.E.B. Du Bois explained, "before the Civil War the Negro was certainly as efficient a workman as the raw immigrant from Ireland and Germany. But whereas the Irishman found economic opportunity wide and clearly growing wider, the Negro found public opinion determined to keep him in his place."⁷

An 1862 newspaper article detailed how New York City restaurants and hotels had begun to dismiss their Black waiters to "gratify the prejudices" of their white clientele.⁸ While it is unknown whether Joseph Moore was affected by these firings, he surely would have heard about this trend and feared for his job security. Over the course of the 1860s, available evidence listed him alternately as a coachman or a waiter, suggesting inconsistent employment and a need to try new opportunities. However, Joseph Patrick Moore remained a waiter or bartender for decades.

Just as Black and Irish men's limited job prospects put them in competition over the waiting profession, Black women and Irish women similarly competed for jobs as domestic servants and washerwomen. Census records describe both Rachel Moore and Bridget Moore as housewives once married. However, it is reasonable to assume that they worked as either domestic servants or washerwomen, both prior to marriage and perhaps occasionally during marriage to supplement household income. The 1870 Census also lists Rose Brown, an Irish woman who shared Joseph and Rachel's apartment, as a washerwoman. Additionally, Joseph's mother, Rachel Huff Moore, lived a few blocks away on Crosby Street, where she worked as a laundress. While the two groups shared these occupations, the arrival of Irish immigrants gradually pushed Black women out of these jobs.

Labor, caregiving, and the needs of neighboring families also connected Black and Irish families. Women comprised more than half of both New York's Irish and Black populations, and women shared challenges balancing their work and families. Occupations held by some in the community created opportunities for others. For example, women who worked as domestic servants often resided in their employers' homes, leaving children with friends or former neighbors. As washerwomen worked in the home, they could also care for neighbors' or relatives' children. Thus, in Joseph and Rachel's tenement, and in tenements in their neighborhood, Irish and Black families competed for the same jobs, but they also shared households and cared for each other's children.

COMMUNITY TIES

(Consulting Scholars: Leslie Harris, Craig Wilder, Hasia Diner, Daryl Scott, Tyler Anbinder, Miriam Nyhan Grey, Nancy Foner)

Labor, communal life, and politics were inextricably connected both for Irish immigrants and Black New Yorkers. Irish men benefitted from access to the political system. In contrast, an 1822 state law required Black men have \$250 in order to vote. While discussions of freedom, the Civil War, and the eventual passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments heightened hopes for and ultimately granted suffrage for Black men, the economic disadvantages that Black men and women faced severely

⁷ W.E.B. Du Bois. *W.E.B. Du Bois on Sociology and the Black Community*. Edited by Dan S. Green and Edwin D. Driver. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013, 144.

⁸ "Trouble Among Colored Waiters." *Centinel of Freedom*. September 9, 1862.

hampered their daily lives. As Leslie Harris has written, over time, many Black New Yorkers felt that they faced a “losing battle for survival, much less equality.”

The 1863 Draft Riots, the worst uprising in the city’s history, demonstrated this struggle in horrific fashion. The Riots were nominally in response to the perceived unfairness of conscription during the Civil War. Drafted men could avoid the draft by paying \$300 to buy themselves out of service. However, class tensions exploded into racial hatred and violence. For four days, white rioters, many Irish, terrorized and murdered Black New Yorkers. The violence drove many Black New Yorkers to leave the city. In 1865, New York’s Black population was 9,945; down from 12,414 in 1860. Many of the remaining Black New Yorkers fled to northern Manhattan. The Draft Riots will provide a crucial backdrop to the exhibit. 97 Orchard Street was built that same year.

Yet Joseph Moore’s story shows another side to the city’s racial relations that highlights the importance of community ties, both within the Black community and between the Black and Irish communities. First, Joseph Moore stayed in New York for almost twenty years after the Draft Riots. There were no attacks in the Eighth Ward where he lived, suggesting that Black and Irish tenement dwellers had found community, homes, and stability alongside one another. Many other Black residents also remained, some in mixed Black/Irish households. Sharing tenements may have helped informal acts of community building. Joseph Moore converted to Catholicism during the 1860s and had Irish Godparents, the Livingstons. Perhaps they were neighbors; Moore was baptized at St. Alphonsus Church on Thompson Street, just around the corner from his home.

Though Joseph Moore had ties with Irish neighbors, he and Rachel likely partook in a vibrant Black communal life. As Harris explained, “...blacks lived on the margins of the growing New York City economy. But despite these hardships, New York City, with large numbers of blacks in close proximity, provided unparalleled opportunities for community, freedom, and political activism for blacks, particularly for those escaping the isolation of rural areas.”⁹ One can imagine how this communal life attracted Joseph Moore from rural Belvidere, New Jersey. His extended family remained an important part of his life; his mother, stepfather, and several siblings lived within blocks of one another in the Eighth Ward. Constricted by how racism shaped both economic and political opportunities, Black New Yorkers created a vibrant communal structure, with schools, mutual aid associations, churches, political clubs, and a Black Press.

THE BLACK PRESS

(Consulting Scholars: Craig Wilder, Leslie Harris, Hasia Diner, Tyler Anbinder)

Historian Craig Steven Wilder describes Manhattan as “the birthplace of black journalism.”¹⁰ The exhibit will draw upon the city’s Black newspapers to better understand Black tenement life and to educate the public about how historians address biases and gaps in their source material. Given the paucity of first-hand accounts of Black tenement life, the Black press is a crucial source of Black perspectives on daily life, labor, and politics in nineteenth-century New York. Articles often speak directly to mischaracterizations of Black people in the mainstream press. As Wilder quotes from *Freedom’s Journal*,

⁹ Harris, 133.

¹⁰ Craig Steven Wilder. *A Covenant with Color: Race and Social Power in Brooklyn*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000, 147.

the nation's first Black newspaper: "Daily slandered, we think that there ought to be some channel of communication between us and the public..."¹¹

The Black press also illuminates biases and inaccuracies of other available primary sources. For example, an 1860 article from *The Weekly Anglo-African* criticizes the mainstream press—which it dubs the "satanic press"—for misreporting the city's Black population. The article blasts how a white newspaper unquestioningly drew upon census data, asking "what interest had they in accurately counting the blacks? In one section of the city, to our own knowledge, where scores of colored people resided not one colored person resided, not one colored person was reported. So much for the census."¹²

The exhibit will use digital storytelling to juxtapose examples of how Black and white publications portrayed Black tenement communities. A central feature of the Museum's storytelling style is explaining its research process and inviting visitors to analyze and discuss primary sources during tours. Visitors will gain an understanding of what researchers of Black history encounter when they study available primary sources. Historian Jennifer Morgan, writing about archives of slavery, explains that "for many scholars [of Black history] the problem is not to weed through an overabundance of sources but to endure the absences, erasures, and mischaracterizations of radicalized subjects."¹³

Saidiya Hartman's *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments* provides a powerful example about how to read white-authored sources about Black tenement life. Even as she studied unsympathetic accounts from court transcripts, rent collectors, and social workers, she crafted what she describes as a "counter-narrative" that "yields a richer picture of the social upheaval that transformed black social life in the twentieth century."¹⁴ While Hartman focuses on 1890–1930, her approach to reading sources can also help us understand newspapers that depicted Laurens Street as a site of corruption, gambling, and crime.

Project Formats

The Joseph and Rachel Moore exhibit will occupy two 325-square foot apartments on 97 Orchard Street's fifth floor. The climb to the exhibit will immerse visitors in the tenement building: its darkened hallway, the surprising intricacy of the wall decorations, the original mahogany stair banister, and the mismatched patterns of pressed metal layered on the ceilings. Entering Joseph and Rachel Moore's recreated 1869 apartment (just one flight above Joseph and Bridget's Moore's home), visitors will quickly observe the darker and more cramped spaces that were typical of the rear tenement in which they lived on Laurens Street. Yet visitors will also clearly see how Joseph and Rachel created a home. Furnishings and objects of daily life—including books, cooking utensils, a wash bucket, dressmaking materials, and a portrait of Abraham Lincoln—will animate the room. Perhaps most importantly, just as Joseph and Bridget's exhibit displays a copy of the newspaper *The Irish-American*, Joseph and Rachel's home will have an issue of *The Weekly Anglo-African*, a Black newspaper.

The copy of *The Weekly Anglo-African* will serve as an entry into the exhibit's second space: a "ruin" apartment in which the Museum has stabilized, but not restored, the decay of its historic fabric,

¹¹ Wilder, 147.

¹² "Last Gun from the Satanic Press" *The Anglo-African*. April 14, 1860.

¹³ Jennifer L. Morgan. "Archives and Histories of Racial Capitalism: An Afterword." *Social Text*. 125 (2015): 155.

¹⁴ Saidiya Hartman. *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Riotous Black Girls, Troublesome Women, and Queer Radicals*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2020.

revealing layers of paint, plaster, and other features. There, the tour will step back from the particularities of Joseph and Rachel’s story and explore the contemporary Black press through digital storytelling. The Museum educator will use a tablet to select a theme or event that their group would like to explore. The tablet will trigger projection of images, headlines, animations, and quotes onto the walls of the darkened room, creating a 360-degree immersive experience. Directional sound design will make visitors feel like they are stepping into the story while they listen to recordings of actors reading excerpts from the sources. The exhibit technology will allow Museum educators to make the room itself an active part of the storytelling experience.

Digital storytelling will help visitors understand not only how the Museum pieced together the Moores’ story, but also the issues historians confront when researching Black history and the impact of bias in reporting. A central feature of the Museum’s storytelling style is explaining its research process. Sharing these primary sources will encourage visitors to ask questions that help propel the narrative forward. This experience will show the newspapers’ editorial voices, which point out the ways in which the mainstream press misunderstood and misrepresented Black experiences.

A 60-minute tour, *The Moores: Two New York Families*, will encompass both the Joseph and Rachel Moore exhibit and the Joseph and Bridget Moore home. The tour will compare these two families through their domestic lives, occupations, and relationships with neighbors and community institutions. See Attachment 2: Walkthrough for an exploration of “The Moores” and the Joseph and Rachel Moore exhibit.

In addition to the onsite tour, the Museum will create two virtual tours featuring exhibit content. One tour will tell the stories of the two Moore families. The other will examine the era’s Black press and study articles and other primary sources within the larger historical context. Over the past two years, virtual tours have become a permanent part of the Museum’s programming and serve a national audience. The 60-minute tours will use 360 degree-films of the Joseph and Rachel Moore exhibit, images, and digitized primary sources. Two Museum educators will staff each tour, increasing interactivity. The primary educator will share program content. The secondary educator will integrate visitor comments from the chat into the conversation, inviting more dialogue than the typical Zoom program. The virtual tours will be available both as public virtual tours and virtual tours designed for grades K-12. These virtual tours will both allow a national audience to experience the exhibit and provide public programming possibilities if future social distancing requirements limit public gatherings.

Project Resources

Reconstructing the Moores’ lives and tenement community necessitates broad research in government, religious, legal, and news sources. Like other working-class Black New Yorkers in the nineteenth century, no single archive houses the detailed records necessary to recreate their lives. However, the past year of exhibit research has pieced together their story through local and national censuses, marriages records, a court case, and a baptismal certificate. Maps, prints, and manuscripts in the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture (New York Public Library) provided documentation for reconstructing the Moores’ rear tenement home. The collections will also provide visual aids that will help visitors understand living conditions on Lauren Street, a street which no longer exists. Its tenements, particularly its rear tenements, were very different from the Museum’s home on Orchard Street.

Primary and secondary sources help situate the world in which the Moores lived. The exhibit will contextualize the Moores’ lives through the bodies of scholarship outlined in the “Humanities Content”

section. The Moores' apartment will display a copy of 1848 *Hotel Keepers, Head Waiters, and Housekeepers Guide*. Written by Tunis G. Campbell, a reformer and head waiter who formed the United Association of Colored Waiters, the guidebook reveals the intricacies of the waiter profession. The book shows the deft management and sophisticated choreography needed to succeed, and the investment Black men like Campbell had made in developing the profession over time. Maritcha Rémond Lyons's memoir *Memories of Yesterday: All of Which I Saw and Part of Which I Was* (1928) provides a first-hand account of the terror inflicted upon Black homes and business during the Draft Riots.

The era's Black and white press will play a crucial role in the exhibits as well as the project's pedagogy. Contemporary Black newspapers are essential to reconstructing how Black New Yorkers understood their tenement communities, workplaces, families, and neighbors. They frequently speak back to stereotypes, generalizations, and inaccuracies in the white press, and reveal political divisions in the community. To date, the Museum's research has drawn upon *The Weekly Anglo African*, *Centinel of Freedom*, *The Colored American*, *Christian Recorder*, and *Frederick Douglass' Paper*. Juxtaposing these sources with the white press provides a powerful opportunity to teach visitors about how race shaped New Yorkers' worldview as well as how historians must read sources against the grain.

Primary sources that the Museum will feature in the exhibit and tour are all in the public domain.

Project History

The project's intellectual origin was the 2008 launch of the Museum's "Irish Outsiders" exhibit. Staff and visitors began posing questions about the two Joseph Moores and Black New Yorkers' conspicuous absence from the Lower East Side during the 1860s. Historians, including Leslie Harris and Craig Wilder, came to the Museum and taught educator staff about Black history, and the Museum updated the "Irish Outsiders" tour content. In 2018, research began for "Reclaiming Black Spaces." The tour shows how Black and African Americans have shaped Lower Manhattan since the seventeenth century, making homes, businesses, and communities.

In 2019, the Museum had the opportunity to start integrating research from the walking tour and the Joseph Moore story into a permanent exhibit. Preparations had begun for a major preservation and stabilization project throughout 97 Orchard Street that would not only mitigate wear and tear caused by over 200,000 visitors annually, but would also stabilize the tenement's fifth floor. Stabilization would make the floor publicly accessible for the first time, providing space for the recreation of Joseph and Rachel Moore's tenement apartment. The preservation project is now scheduled for early 2022.

Exhibit research began in 2020 and remains ongoing. Lauren O'Brien, who previously served as Lead Researcher for the "Reclaiming Black Spaces" walking tour, conducted formative exhibit and tour research. She will become the Museum's full-time Research and Interpretation Manager in October 2021, once she has completed her Ph.D. O'Brien's research has provided the historic context for the exhibit's themes of Black tenement life, Black and Irish labor in New York City, the 1863 Draft Riots, and region's nineteenth-century Black press. She uncovered key primary sources, including the newspaper articles that will be featured in the exhibit's digital storytelling space.

Nick Sheedy, a genealogist and research historian, conducted initial genealogical research into Joseph Moore and his family. Sheedy examined vital and census records from New York and New Jersey. He profiled Joseph Moore, his parents, and grandparents, and conducted limited research on Joseph's siblings and other relatives. His research uncovered fifty primary source documents. A second professional genealogist, Pamela Vittorio, conducted research in newspapers, court records, and

religious records. She uncovered additional information about Joseph’s family, his conversion to Catholicism (including his Irish godparents), and his moves into and out of Manhattan. Currently, additional genealogists are researching Joseph Moore’s descendants.

While the Museum prepares to fabricate the exhibit next year, education staff are already sharing research about Joseph and Rachel Moore with visitors. In the summer of 2021, staff updated the “Irish Outsiders” tour to add a digital storytelling component that highlights primary sources connected to Joseph and Rachel Moore. The tour’s digital storytelling component takes place in an interactive exhibit space temporarily repurposed from another tour.

While all academic disciplines have moved to center race in their analyses, few museums put the fields of Black and im/migration history into direct conversation. This project uses a particular set of stories—the two Moore families—and a particular site of public history—97 Orchard Street—to explore the intersection of Black and immigration history as experienced in nineteenth-century New York. In responding to questions long raised by visitors, scholars will support the Museum in creating a content-rich tour and exhibit where the public can learn the stories of an “ordinary” Black family and Irish family, relate to their family’s struggles, and have conversations about race and identity in the United States today.

Audience, Marketing, and Promotion

When the tour becomes part of the Museum’s public schedule, it will serve approximately 40,000 visitors per year, including school groups visiting the Museum on field trips. (This number reflects historic attendance figures for other tours in 97 Orchard Street when social distancing was not required.) The exhibit’s virtual tours will serve an additional 5,000 students annually. Unlike building tours, which are capped at 12 people, virtual tours can support up to 100 participants. Since virtual tours do not take place inside the exhibit, both building and virtual tours may happen simultaneously.

The Museum has already begun building awareness of the project with media, visitors, and supporters. On April 29, 2021, the Museum held a virtual gala that highlighted exhibit development. The 45-minute program featured previews of exhibit content and interviews with advising scholars, including Leslie Harris. Over 2,000 people livestreamed the event. The marketing team has shared the project with media contacts during development. As a result, the *New York Times* published a June 9, 2021 article “Tenement Museum Makes Room for Black History.”¹⁵ The piece previewed exhibit development and discussed the humanities questions raised by the development process. Beginning in summer 2021, the Museum’s “Irish Outsiders” tour will incorporate stories and primary sources about Joseph and Rachel Moore and raise awareness of the new exhibit.

The Museum will publicize the exhibit’s launch with a media outreach campaign. Partnerships with the Alliance for the Arts and NYC & Company, the City of New York’s official destination marketing organization, will amplify the Museum’s messaging. The Museum and its tours have received press coverage in national outlets such as *PBS Newshour*, *CBS News*, and *NBC News*. The Museum will also reach out to international publications that have previously identified the Museum as a top New York City tourist destination. When the exhibit launches, the Museum will hold a series of press launch events. Members of the press will take preview tours and speak with Museum staff and scholars. For

¹⁵ Jennifer Schuessler. “Tenement Museum Makes Room for Black History.” *New York Times*. 9 June 2021. <<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/09/arts/design/tenement-museum-black-history.html>>

twelve months, the Museum will conduct a targeted social media campaign on Facebook and Instagram. Posts will amplify press coverage and provide sneak peaks at the exhibit through video and images.

The Museum will also promote the tour in its ongoing marketing to educators, school groups, and virtual audiences. In August 2021, the Museum began a national promotional campaign for its virtual field trip program. It builds on strong partnerships with the NYC Department of Education, teachers' unions, national social studies organizations, and English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) teachers' groups. The Museum regularly provides resources and program updates to educators through its teacher e-newsletter, which has over 4,900 subscribers. The Museum's main e-newsletter has an additional 103,000 subscribers.

Evaluation of the Project's Impact

NEH support will enable the Museum to comprehensively evaluate the Joseph and Rachel Moore exhibit and tour throughout development. Evaluation will take place both through Zoom and onsite. Kate Haley Goldman, principal of the evaluation firm HG&Co, will direct the exhibit evaluation over 12 months. Evaluation will begin with concept testing, which will have two formats. For the first, Museum visitors will be asked to participate in an online discussion session about the exhibit. Museum staff will present selected exhibit content while the evaluators facilitate discussion. Session results will include questions asked, misconceptions around the themes, and where themes resonate. HG&Co will conduct four testing cycles. Each cycle will consist of 4-5 groups of 8-12 individuals. The second format will be similar to the first, but the discussions will take place on site. Participants will include current visitors, scholars, and individuals recruited from community organizations. This approach will allow the team to hear from people who may not already be Museum visitors. The team will conduct 7-8 sessions of these sessions at the Museum.

After the exhibit opens, HG&Co will work with the Museum to examine how visitors understand its themes and how those themes resonate in their lives. Prior evaluations have demonstrated that visitors continue to reflect on their Tenement Museum visit weeks and months later. The evaluation team will use a two-part methodology. First, the team will conduct a short exit survey, triggered by QR code. This survey will run on a rolling basis for three to four months after the exhibit opens. It will focus on closed-ended attitude, knowledge, and change-in-perception questions, along with which aspects of the tour visitors identified with and/or appreciated the most. The survey will collect, at minimum, 300 responses. From those responses, the team will gather a sample of individuals who are willing to further discuss their visit via telephone. The team will interview 75 individuals, including subsamples of different demographic groups. This multi-method approach mixes quantitative data collection with the qualitative interviews, an approach which has previously produced detailed evidence of impact.

During development, Janeen Bryant, a specialist in museums and equity, will evaluate and advise how Museum educators can facilitate discussions about race. When the Museum develops programs, it uses terms employed by scholars. Tours refer to individuals of the past with the names and terms they used to describe themselves. However, there is no current scholarly consensus about many terms about race and identity that might reflect Joseph and Rachel Moore's experiences. With the national conversation on race rapidly evolving, and given the Museum's international audience, visitors will come to the tour with different vocabularies. How can the Museum best use its immersive spaces and guided tours to create substantive conversations about the historical phenomena that led to terms like "white supremacy" and "structural racism" so that visitors and the Museum's educators can have the most productive conversations and learning experiences possible?

Bryant will help the project team determine when contemporary terminology can help visitors understand the past, and how Museum educators can contextualize unfamiliar terms so that all visitors can understand the stories told. Bryant will observe both onsite tours as well as virtual tours for school groups held over Zoom, paying particular attention to both educators' and visitors' use of language and how it impacts visitor engagement. Based on her observations, she will lead trainings for Museum educators about language and effectively engaging visitors in discussions of race.

When the exhibit opens to the public, tours there will become part of the Museum's regular system for evaluating programs and the visitor experience. Managers in the Education Department regularly observe and offer feedback to staff members who lead in-person and virtual tours. Visitors receive an electronic survey via email following both in-person and virtual tours. The Education department also administers post-program surveys to teachers for both in-person and virtual field trips. These surveys ask teachers to assess their students' engagement with the tour and how content connects to material students are learning in school.

Organizational Profile

The Museum teaches U.S. history through the personal experiences of the newcomers who built lives on Manhattan's Lower East Side, one of the nation's iconic immigrant neighborhoods. Its founders sought to create a museum honoring the nation's working-class immigrants. In 1988, they discovered 97 Orchard Street, a five-story brick tenement built in 1863, during New York City's first wave of tenement construction. The last residents were evicted in 1935, leaving the building's historic fabric remarkably intact. Today, the Museum consists of two tenements: 97 Orchard Street, now a National Historic Landmark, and 103 Orchard Street, a National Historic Site. The two buildings housed nearly 15,000 newcomers from 20 nations between 1863 and 2014.

The Museum's tenements are only accessible by guided tour. Highly-trained Museum educators lead small groups of visitors through recreated tenement homes, telling stories of former residents and how the Museum researched their lives. For example, the "Hard Times: 1880s" tour takes visitors into the lives of two German immigrant families living in 97 Orchard Street: the apartment of Natalie Gumpertz and her daughters, and the saloon run in the building's basement by John and Caroline Schneider. The tour examines how economic downturns, husband desertion, and the growth and decline of a German community on the Lower East Side challenged families and businesses.

Telling Joseph and Rachel Moore's story has led the Museum to strengthen its interpretation of race across all its programs. With support from a private funder, the Museum is updating its existing tours to directly address im/migrants' racialized experiences in New York. A team of twelve leading scholars in the fields of Black and im/migration history will advise this process. (This scholar team is separate from the one the Museum will convene for exhibit development.) For 12 months, scholars will observe current tours, write essays for tour content guides, and provide trainings for Museum educators. The scholars and staff will work iteratively, discussing how new content could enrich tours and responding to visitors' questions.

The Museum's tours serve sizable onsite and virtual audiences. In 2019, 278,209 people visited the Museum, including over 31,000 grade K-12 students taking field trips. Visitors came from all 50 U.S. states and 46 countries. During the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic, the Museum reached over 180,000 visitors through guided virtual tours as well as digital exhibits, livestreamed book talks, and interactive family programming.

The Museum currently employs 45 full-time and 35 part-time staff members. Staffing will increase throughout the Museum's fiscal year 2022 (ends 6/30/22) to grow program capacity. The FY22 operating budget is \$6,740,000.

Project Team

The Museum's President, Dr. Annie Polland, will oversee the project. In January 2021, she became the Museum's president. She previously served as its Executive Vice President for Programs and Interpretation from 2009 to 2018. During that time, she oversaw development of the NEH-funded "Shop Life" and "Under One Roof" exhibits, the first Museum exhibits to incorporate digital storytelling. Most recently, she served as the executive director of the American Jewish Historical Society. There, she spearheaded an initiative on Emma Lazarus that included a national poetry competition, curriculum, and an exhibit. She is the co-author, with Daniel Soyer, of *Emerging Metropolis: New York Jews in the Age of Immigration*, winner of the 2012 National Jewish Book Award. She received her Ph.D. in History from Columbia University, and served as Vice President of Education at the Museum at Eldridge Street, where she wrote *Landmark of the Spirit* (Yale University).

David Favalaro, the Museum's Senior Director of Curatorial Affairs, will direct the project and manage its timeline, budget, and consultants. He has overseen the Museum's preservation projects and exhibit development since 2008. He holds a MA in American History and an Advanced Certificate in Public History from the University of Massachusetts-Amherst.

Lauren O'Brien will lead exhibit research and content development. Over the past two years, she served as Lead Project Researcher for the Museum's "Reclaiming Black Spaces" walking tour, which launched in June 2021. More recently, she has conducted initial research for the Joseph and Rachel Moore exhibit. She has also worked as a curriculum writer for the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. She will join the Tenement Museum's full-time staff in October 2021 as the Research and Interpretation Manager. In August, O'Brien will receive her Ph.D. in American Studies, with a specialty in African American history, from Rutgers University.

Chelsea Bracci, Director of Digital Projects, will manage digital content creation. Her Tenement Museum accomplishments include the interactive auction shop counter in the "Shop Life" exhibit, the Museum's virtual tour program pilot, and design for the "Your Story, Our Story" digital storytelling project. She first joined the Museum's education department in 2017 as the Education Specialist for Digital Media & Program. Bracci worked as the Director of Operations & Programs at the American Jewish Historical Society from 2019 through 2021. She holds a BA in History and Art History from the College of William and Mary and an MA in Museum Studies from Johns Hopkins University.

Kathryn Lloyd, Senior Director of Programs, will oversee tour design and staff training. She led the teams that developed the "Reclaiming Black Spaces" walking tour and the virtual tour program for grades K-12. Prior to joining the Tenement Museum, she worked in education at the Brooklyn Historical Society and taught English as a Second Language. She holds an MA in Psychology from the University of St Andrews.

Alexandra Gaylord, Director of Executive Projects, will coordinate exhibit fabrication and development. Along with Favalaro, she co-manages the 97 Orchard Street preservation project, including its contractors, construction permits, and funding agreements. She manages planning and implementation of the museum's strategic initiatives, including capital projects and the museum's pandemic recovery. Gaylord holds a bachelor's degree in anthropology from Fordham University and a master's degree in museum studies from New York University.

The Museum's 35 part-time Educators lead its tours. Most hold bachelor's degrees in subjects such as history, education, and American studies, and many hold advanced degrees. Educators will convene for trainings and conversations with the project team and scholars. They will play a crucial role in the exhibit and tour's iterative development process. Scholars and evaluators will observe and learn from the Educators' tours. Dialogue among the Educators, project team, and consultants will refine tour content and pedagogy.

Humanities Scholars and Consultants

Eight leading scholars in the fields of Black and im/migration history will advise exhibit development. The scholar team will convene twice all together at the Museum to evaluate the exhibit and tour and to train Museum education staff, and will also individually work with educators and the project team on their respective areas of specialty throughout the grant period. The scholar team consists of:

Dr. Tyler Anbinder (Professor of History, George Washington University) is a specialist in nineteenth-century American politics and the history of immigration and ethnicity in American life. His most recent book, *City of Dreams* (2016), is a history of immigrant life in New York City from the early 1600s to the present. In 2001, he published *Five Points*, a history of nineteenth-century America's most infamous immigrant slum which focused on tenement life, inter-ethnic relations, and ethnic politics.

Dr. Hasia Diner (Professor of American Jewish History, New York University) is a specialist in the fields of immigration history, American women' history, and American Jewish history. Her publications include *In the Almost Promised Land: American Jews and Blacks, 1915–1935* (1977, reissued, 1995); *Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century* (1984), and *Lower East Side Memories: The Jewish Place in America* (2000).

Professor Andrew Dolkart (Professor of Historic Preservation, Columbia University) is the author of numerous books on the architecture and urban development of New York City. His work focuses on the city's everyday building types. His publications include *Morningside Heights: A History of Its Architecture and Development* (1998), *Biography of a Tenement House in New York City: An Architectural History of 97 Orchard Street* (2006), and *The Row House Reborn: Architecture and Neighborhoods in New York City 1908-1929* (2009). Dolkart is a co-founder of NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project.

Dr. Nancy Foner (Distinguished Professor of Sociology, Hunter College) specializes in the comparative study of immigration. She has written extensively on immigration to New York City, past and present, as well as Jamaican migration to New York and London. She is the author or editor of 19 books, including *From Ellis Island to JFK: New York's Two Great Waves of Immigration* (2000); *In a New Land: A Comparative View of Immigration* (2005); and *Not Just Black and White: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in the United States* (2004).

Dr. Leslie Harris (Professor of History, Northwestern University) is a specialist in pre–Civil War African American history. She is the author of *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863* (2003) and co-editor of *Slavery in New York* (2005). She has led or advised numerous public history initiatives, including the New-York Historical Society's "Slavery in New York" exhibit and the Tenement Museum's "Reclaiming Black Spaces" tour.

Dr. Miriam Nyhan Grey (Director of Graduate Studies, Irish and Irish-American Studies, New York University) studies immigrant and ethnic experiences in comparative frameworks. She is the author of *Ireland's Allies: America and the 1916 Easter Rising* (2016). She has recorded oral histories in Ireland,

Britain, and the United States for over two decades. She hosts the weekly *This Irish American Life* public radio hour. In 2018, Miriam initiated the Black, Brown and Green Voices project to amplify the voices of Black and Brown Irish Americans. She sits on the board of the African American Irish Diaspora Network.

Dr. Daryl Scott (Professor of History, Howard University) researches and writes on American intellectual history, nationalism in the United States, and convict slavery since 1615. He is the author of *Contempt and Pity: Social Policy and the Image of the Damaged Black Psyche, 1880-1996* (1997). He served on the Executive Council of the Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH) from 2003 through 2015, where he established and directed the ASALH Press.

Dr. Craig Wilder (Professor of History, Massachusetts Institute of Technology) is a historian of American institutions and ideas. He is the author of *A Covenant with Color: Race and Social Power in Brooklyn* (2000) and *In the Company of Black Men: The African Influence on African American Culture in New York City* (2001). He is a senior fellow at the Bard Prison Initiative and a board member of the Lapidus Center for the Historical Analysis of Transatlantic Slavery at the Schomburg Center, New York Public Library.

The Museum will work with several longtime consultants. Kevin Groves, a restoration carpenter, will build the Joseph and Rachel Moore exhibit. He was responsible for exhibit carpentry in previous Museum exhibits such as “Irish Outsiders” and “Under One Roof.” Pamela Keech, a historic furnishings curator, will design, source, and install the exhibit’s furnishings and decorative objects. She has researched and staged all the Museum’s previous recreated apartments.

The interactive design firm Potion Design will create and install interactive exhibit technologies. They previously worked on the “Under One Roof” and “Shop Life” exhibits, winning an American Alliance of Museums MUSE award for the latter project. Potion provides a range of research, design, and technical services, from user research and design through software development and physical installation.

Kate Haley Goldman, principal of HG&Co, will direct the Joseph and Rachel Moore exhibit and tour evaluation. Her nationally-known firm has previously evaluated several of the Museum’s exhibits and programs, including the “Under One Roof” tour and the “Your Story, Our Story” digital storytelling project. Her firm works with cultural organizations to study audiences, evaluate programs and exhibits, and conduct needs assessments.

Janeen Bryant, a specialist on museums and equity, will observe exhibit development and train the Museum’s educators on best practices for facilitating conversations about race on tours. Bryant serves as a community engagement specialist serving schools, nonprofits, and museums. She has consulted for a range of cultural institutions, among them Eastern State Penitentiary, The Gates Foundation Museum, Minnesota Institute of Art, and the Nina Simone Childhood Homesite.

KEY	<i>Project Team: Annie Polland (President), Dave Favaloro (Senior Director, Curatorial Affairs & Project Director), Lauren O'Brien (Research & Interpretation Manager), Chelsea Bracci (Director, Digital Projects), Kathryn Lloyd (Senior Director, Programs), Alex Gaylord (Director, Executive Projects), 35 Museum educators</i>					
<i>Scholar team: Tyler Anbinder, Hasia Diner, Andrew Dolkart, Nancy Foner, Leslie Harris, Miriam Nyhan, Daryl Scott, Craig Wilder</i>	<i>KHG= Kate Haley Goldman, evaluation consultant</i>					
<i>KG= Kevin Groves, exhibit carpenter</i>	<i>PD= Potion Design, exhibit technology consultant</i>					
<i>JB= Janeen Bryant, museum equity consultant</i>						
<i>PK= Pamela Keech, historic furnishings consultant</i>						
Activities	May/June 2022	July/Aug 2022	Sept/Oct 2022	Nov/Dec 2022	Jan/Feb 2023	Mar/Apr 2023
KG fabricates the <i>Joseph and Rachel Moore Tenement Home</i> exhibit.						
Project Team sends tour content to consulting scholar team for review. Scholars write memos and meet with project team to discuss. Scholars and Project Team identify topics for each scholar's lecture with educators.						
Scholar team also meets to review assets for Black Press digital experience.						
Scholars meet with educators for monthly trainings and discussions.						
KHG meets with Project Team for input designing visitor questionnaires and focus groups.						
KHG begins formative evaluation, administering visitor questionnaires and leading visitor and staff focus groups. Formative evaluation takes place on-site through adapted tour routes as well as on zoom.						
Project team begins exhibit marketing. A yearlong social media campaign highlights exhibit fabrication, primary sources, and tour launch.						
PK finishes sourcing historic furnishings and installs the exhibit's historic furnishings and decorative objects.						
Project Team works with PD on concept design for the exhibit's digital storytelling component.						
PD creates initial exhibit design and software.						
Scholars visit the Museum to consult with the Project Team, view the exhibit, train Museum educators, and write critiques.						
KHG writes formative evaluation report, analyzing responses from questionnaires and focus groups.						
Project Team reviews KHG report and scholar critiques. The team discusses revisions to exhibit and/or tour content prior to the public launch.						
PD tests the exhibit's interactive technologies with visitors and refines design and software based on feedback.						
PD installs interactive exhibit technologies and trains the Project Team and Museum educators to use the technologies.						
<i>The Joseph and Rachel Moore Tenement Home</i> opens to the public. The onsite tour launches.						
Virtual tours launch for schools and the public.						

Activities	May/Jun 2022	July/Aug 2022	Sept/Oct 2022	Nov/Dec 2022	Jan/Feb 2023	Mar/Apr 2023
Project team organizes press launch events, inviting members of the press and digital media to take the tour and meet with the project team and consultants.						
Project team and KHG determine research questions for summative evaluation.						
KHG observes tours, conducts visitor and staff focus groups, and distributes questionnaires to visitors.						
JB observes tours and holds focus groups designed to find moments when visitors have questions about race, historically and today.						
To ensure quality control, Project Team members evaluate Museum educators leading the onsite and virtual tours.						
JB observes onsite and virtual tours. JB meets with the Project Team and Museum educators to discuss observations.						
JB provides training to Museum educators based on work with focus groups, scholars, and the Project Team.						
Scholar team returns to the Museum to consult with the Project Team, train Museum educators, observe the exhibit and tour, and discuss issues that have emerged since tour launch.						
Project Team revises the tour content to reflect suggestions from scholars, focus groups, and JB.						
PD makes updates to interactive exhibit technology.						
Project team trains Museum educators in tour and technology updates.						
KHG produces summative evaluation report.						

WALKTHROUGH: The Moores: Two New York Families

The following document provides a walkthrough for the *The Moores: Two New York Families* as a building tour at the Tenement Museum physical site. This content will be also be configured as a virtual tour over Zoom. Due to space limitations for the document, we're providing condensed, sample content for the stops on the physical tour. For more of a complete narrative, this [link](#) provides a short documentary with lead scholar Dr. Leslie Harris, researcher Lauren O'Brien, and members of the Museum project team focusing on Joseph and Rachel Moore's story; and attached is the full Irish Moores tour. This walkthrough takes the visitor through the main spaces, providing sample content [with more emphasis on the Joseph & Rachel Moore apartment]. The walkthrough also includes a look at the digital storytelling component on the Black press. Again, the walkthrough only includes sample content. Throughout the implementation period, we will continue to design and test the content and the interactives with scholars and focus groups. Our formative evaluation --observation of pilot tours-- will help streamline, pinpoint areas for more scholarly input, and identify "hot spots" for discussion on our educator-led tours. Taken together, the following walkthrough and the accompanying video offers a sense of the method through which features will be combined and presented.

Tour Description:

In the 1860s, Joseph Peter and Bridget Moore (nee Meehan) joined tens of thousands of Irish immigrants who immigrated to New York City. By 1869 Joseph and Bridget created a home at 97 Orchard Street. That year's city directory reveals another Joseph Moore, also a waiter, living in a nearby tenement, and listed as "col'd." Born a free black in Belvidere, New Jersey, Joseph and his wife Rachel also sought opportunity in the metropolis. How did these two Josephs, both waiters, carve out new lives in the tenement districts of New York City? The conclusion of the Civil War strengthened the promise of freedom; at the same time the legacy of the July 1863 Draft Riots showed the city's vicious class and racial conflict. By exploring the Moores' family homes, we can see how two families made their way through a rapidly changing city at a crucial point in the nation's history.

[Visitors who register for the tour will gather with fellow visitors (up to 12 people) and their educator at 103 Orchard, the Museum shop. The educator guides them to the rear yard of 97 Orchard, setting the stage for the tenement world of the late 1860s as it played out not only on this lot, but across Lower Manhattan.]



FIRST STOP: REAR YARD

In the 1860s an aerial view of a city block would reveal a ring of buildings and a rectangular core composed of rear yards like this. These rear yards served as a vital extension of the building's households and the only places to collect water and to use the privies. The rear yards were liminal spaces, somewhere between public and private, and were essential communal working spaces for the families.

German tailor Lucas Glockner built 97 Orchard Street in 1863, a tumultuous year for both the city and the nation. Two decades of large-scale immigration had transformed New York City, with thousands of German-speaking and Irish immigrants arriving in search of economic opportunity in the industrializing metropolis. Indeed, by the mid-19th century, the Irish-born comprised nearly 25% of the city's population and the German-born, nearly another 25%. Immigration created a housing demand, and construction followed suit. While the early newcomers had

Storytelling Techniques: The Rear Yard



Leaving the exteriors of the doors untouched, we will explore using the inside of the privy doors to create large scale visuals that allow for group exploration of primary sources such as a map of the neighborhood, images of rear yards circa 1860's, and music from the time period.

found homes in an earlier generation of housing stock, typically in the Sixth (known as Five Points) and the adjacent Eighth Ward, by the 1860s immigrants sought new areas to build purpose-built tenements like 97 Orchard here in the 10th ward.

For decades, New York had been home to a diverse Black community, the roots of which lay in the arrival of enslaved residents during the 17th and 18th centuries and the long struggle to attain freedom and equality. Black New Yorkers similarly lived in tenements, first in the Sixth Ward and by the 1850s and 1860s, in the adjacent Eighth Ward. But even as Germans and Irish sought new tenement neighborhoods due to burgeoning populations, Black New Yorkers typically remained rooted in the Eighth Ward.

Moore Joseph, laborer, h 631 Eleventh av.
Moore Joseph, shoes, 143 Varick
Moore Joseph (col'd), waiter, h r 17 Laurens
Moore Joseph P. waiter, h 97 Orchard
Moore Joseph R. E. broker, 87 Gold

This tour traces the trajectories of two men named Joseph Moore. One Joseph Moore immigrated from Dublin, Ireland and started his New York life with his wife Bridget in the Sixth Ward (Five Points), while the other Joseph Moore left Belvidere, New Jersey for New York. He and his wife Rachel lived a few blocks away from the Irish Moores in the Eighth Ward. In the late 1860s both men are approximately the same age, worked as waiters, and both lived in tenements with rear yards. Joseph P Moore, moved to this tenement, in the 10th ward, by 1869. When we look at the city directory for that year, we see Joseph P Moore listed as living at 97 Orchard.

And we also see a second Joseph Moore, listed as colored, living on Laurens Street in the Eighth Ward. We'll visit the recreated home of Joseph and Bridget Moore who lived here, one of only two Irish families in this mostly German tenement and neighborhood. We'll also visit the apartment of Joseph and Rachel Moore, who lived in the Eighth Ward, among other Black New Yorkers and Irish immigrants, that the Museum has recreated here at 97 Orchard.

Before we go inside to their homes, we'll use this outside space to think about the greater issues in New York City across tenement districts and even beyond the tenement districts. Immigrants entered a city that had moved beyond slavery, but not beyond the racism that relegated Black New Yorkers to certain neighborhoods, housing, and jobs and dramatically limited their access to the vote. Immigrants likewise experienced discrimination---and we'll learn specifically about the discrimination Irish immigrants faced when we visit Joseph and Bridget's apartment. But the discrimination they encountered paled in comparison to that faced by the City's Black community. Over time, immigrants benefited from better jobs, housing, not to mention access to voting rights, all predicated on the perception of their relative whiteness.



The same year this tenement was built, in 1863, a series of mob actions best known as "the Draft Riots" ravaged New York City. The riots began on Monday, July 13th as a violent protest to the enactment of the nation's first military draft; only military intervention quelled the riots on July 17. From the initial attack on the draft offices at 3rd Avenue and 47th Street, the mob violence became a racist massacre, as white-working class New Yorkers, both immigrant and native born, targeted the city's Black

communities and allies. For four days mobs assaulted, tortured, and killed Black New Yorkers in the streets and targeted their homes, businesses, and churches for destruction. They also attacked abolitionist and pro-Union newspapers, organizations, and politicians. Mobs killed at least 120 people, injured over 2,000 and displaced an estimated 25% of the City's Black population.

Though many of the rioters were Irish, not all Irish rioted. And in some cases, relationships forged between Irish and Black tenement residents in rear yards like these might have played a role in the fact that in some cases white residents stopped acts of destruction and violence from happening. While many Black New Yorkers left the city, many stayed, and our Joseph Moore was among them.



In the tenements along Laurens Street Irish and Black New Yorkers created homes and families together. The 1870 Census records 80 Irish-Black households – often with a Black man married to an Irish woman. Here, Joseph Moore and his second wife, Rachel, lived in mixed-race household and amid neighbors living in defiance of the racial conventions of the period, particularly given that many of these households included mixed race children.

Before they moved here, Joseph and Bridget Moore spent time in Five Points, and also experienced shared spaces. Tenement residents from different backgrounds might encounter one another while living out their days together. The lyrics from McNally's Row of Flats shows how these rear yards--illustrated here---created a "great conglomeration of men from every nation." Of course perhaps the most interaction in the rear yards would be among the women and children of these many nations, who relied on the space for their work taking care of their

tenement homes but also, their work bringing in money for the family. Both Irish women and Black women worked as laundresses and washerwomen.

City neighborhoods offer a range of physical and sanitary conditions. As we compare the neighborhoods and the rear yards, and analyze housing patterns and mobility patterns for the city's Irish, German and Black residents, and as we compare the trajectories of the two Joseph Moores and their families, it's important to analyze how discrimination and prejudice shape the options that Irish and Black families had when it came to deciding whether to raise their families in "salubrious" or "insalubrious" conditions. What, ultimately, enabled Joseph and Bridget Moore to leave the Five Points and find better living conditions among the German-speaking immigrants of Kleindeutschland? What prevented Joseph and Rachel Moore from leaving the Eighth Ward and moving here? To explore these questions, we will enter the recreated apartments of the two Moore families.



Stop Two: Joseph & Bridget Moore apartment, 1869.

Bridget and Joseph Moore lived here at 97 Orchard for a brief period of time in the late 1860s. Moving here from the Five Points neighborhood was a step upwards. The less crowded streets, the salubrious conditions of the rear yard, and a newly-constructed building offered an improved quality of life. At the same time, as one of only two Irish families in a majority German tenement, the Moores might have experienced feelings of being outsiders. As

their daughters grew, they would have to determine how to pass on their Irish culture to their American-born children. Further, although the sanitary conditions improved, they were not immune to health issues that continued to plague all tenement dwellers.

Irish women played an extremely important role in the Irish immigration, often in the majority of the new arrivals. Typically arriving as young, single women, they entered the workforce and sent remittances back to their families in Ireland. The potato famine and the economic devastation it caused, combined with the political struggle for an independent Ireland, impelled families to separate, with some making their way to the New World and others remaining behind. Bridget arrived when she was just 17, having said goodbye to parents, family she might never see again. By the time she makes it to this apartment, she will start her own family. How she sets up the apartment is likely influenced by memories from Ireland, but more impacted by experience Irish women had as domestics in middle-class homes.

At the time of Bridget's arrival, over 50% of employed Irish women worked as domestic servants, and 80% of domestic servants in New York were Irish. Even if Bridget was not a domestic servant, this was a major strand in the Irish-American experience and she would have experienced it at least indirectly through friends, relatives, neighbors, and fellow parishioners. Once married, Irish women typically retired from domestic service and factory work, though they might continue to take-in garment work—needlework, sewing, piecework, and laundering. Entering the middle-class households required not only labor, but cultural adjustment. What was it like for an Irish domestic to be a Catholic in a Protestant household? How did Irish domestics compete with Black women seeking jobs in the same industry, and how did that shape their understanding of race in the 19th century? What would it be like for a

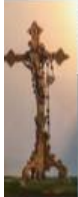
domestic who had maybe shared tenement space with Black New Yorkers in a tenement, to move into middle class homes and encounter possible negative views of Black New Yorkers?

Joseph arrived in New York by 1865. The close of the Civil War in 1865 spurred a building boom, resulting in a demand for laborers. Whereas Irish women entered domestic service, Irish men typically found jobs in manual labor (52%). German immigrants often arrived with urban skills, while Irish men's

As a young married couple, Bridget and Joseph are tasked with raising American-born children. What are the ways they might instill an Irish-American identity in children who have never set foot in Ireland? Storytelling, music, reading the letters aloud, attending church—all of these activities might have come into play on a family level.

CROSS & CHURCH: In 1869, St. Patrick's was located less than 10 blocks from this apartment, on the corner of Mott and Prince Streets. Bridget and Joseph had their third daughter, Agnes baptized there. In general, Irish women had a strong relationship to the church. Living in a tenement with a majority of non-Catholics, Bridget might have found more community while attending mass at St. Patrick's.

NEWSPAPER & TOP HAT: The March 13th edition of the *Irish American* newspaper on the table brings home the communal plans for the Saint Patrick's Day Parade. In the 1860s the popularity of the St. Patrick's Day parade had grown tremendously, and perhaps that was the day that the Irish seemed like "insiders." They had a day of pride that displayed their increasing organizational power, and the city's highest elected officials publicly paid homage to them. Their voting power was harnessed by Tammany Hall which came to play an important role in the parade.



FIDDLE & SONG BOOK: In general, music-writing and songwriting became a way for the Irish to reengage and strengthen their identity once in New York City. The Irish brought a rich musical tradition to New York, and balladeers adapted traditional songs to tell stories in America that reflected their new shared experiences.



TOBACCO & PIPE: In 1865 Joseph is working as a waiter and bartender. Saloons in general served as town halls. As a waiter privy to the social interactions and political activity taking place in the saloons, Joseph would have had an insider's view on his local community and of New York at large.



LETTERS & MAP: Bridget and Joseph probably had friends and relatives from Ireland with whom they could share memories of the old country. They might write letters to family members in Ireland, and also perhaps affirm their connection by sending remittances. They might also use the map to show their children where they grew up and where friends and family lived, where they were sending the letters.

experience in agriculture did not translate readily into the urban economy. By 1855, Irish immigrants constituted 87% of the city's unskilled workers. Despite controversy surrounding the existence of "No Irish Need Apply Signs," historians show that these sentiments appeared in newspaper advertisements and were part of the lived experience of Irish immigrants. As a waiter and bartender, Joseph might be more likely to seek a job in an Irish establishment.

As a waiter and bartender, Joseph won't make much more than a manual laborer, probably \$5 a week, but the status is higher and the work is not as physically demanding. Many who worked in saloons hoped one day to own their own. Saloons in general served as town halls, with saloon keepers accorded considerable respect- many of them extending the use of their back rooms to fraternal societies and political groups. They understood the needs of their regular patrons and thus their community at large. As such, saloon owners were crucial figures in the machine politics that dominated the period from 1870-1920. Saloons often served as voting booths during elections. Joseph naturalizes in 1873, after moving from 97 Orchard, but given how the political machine encouraged fraudulent voting among the Irish working class, it is possible he voted beforehand. In other words, the political machine facilitated and sometimes accelerated Irish men's access to the vote. While we cannot know for certain whether Joseph voted before 1873, as a waiter and bartender, he would be well aware of how the political machine embraced Irish newcomers.

Bridget and Joseph only spent a short period of time at 97 Orchard Street. The death of their infant daughter Agnes likely prompted them to relocate to 224 Elizabeth Street, a few blocks away but in a decidedly more Irish neighborhood. But the pattern of health issues, and the tenement struggle for existence led to more misfortune. In the next dozen years, Joseph and Bridget will have five more children and lose three of them. By the 1880 census, the older daughters go to work to help the family economy and just two years later Bridget died. She was 36 years old and had given birth to eight children, four of whom had predeceased her. In such poor conditions it was common for infants to die, but to have lost this many children and to have died at such a young age indicates that Bridget herself probably suffered from illness. Joseph never remarried, and lived with his daughters who continued to work.



If we look at the Moore story over the course of generations we can see how Jane, Bridget and Joseph's second daughter, achieved important elements of the American Dream. Jane married Roger Hanrahan, also the child of Irish immigrants, and set up home in an Irish neighborhood in Queens. Here they are pictured in their backyard. How did she get here? What was happening to the descendants of Irish tenement dwellers? What role did race and ideas about whiteness play in creating such opportunities for Irish-Americans? Whereas their immigrant forebears worked as manual laborers or in-service positions, the sons and grandsons of the pioneer Irish community become clerks, firemen, policemen, politicians, and storekeepers. Joseph Moore was a waiter and his grandchildren became nurses, office workers, and teachers. As we shift focus to the other Joseph Moore, we will look at the conditions that shaped his tenement life and the hopes he might have had for his descendants.

Stop Three: Joseph & Rachel Moore's Apartment

By 1869, Joseph and Rachel Moore formed a household at 17 Laurens Street. The Eighth Ward, where Laurens Street is situated, is the second largest Black neighborhood in the city; it is also a neighborhood that is shared with Irish immigrants. As we look at the map, we can see the Black communal institutions: churches, schools, mutual aid associations that testify to the strong Black communal life. This likely not only attracted Joseph to the neighborhood in the first place, but served to keep him and his family rooted for the duration of their time in New York City.



The census shows us that Joseph and Rachel shared their tenement apartment with Rose Brown, an Irish washerwoman, and Louis Munday, a Black teenager. Households in the tenement wards reflected the substandard housing's bad health conditions as well as their relatively high rent that made it hard for single families to afford one unit.

Just as Bridget and Joseph experienced death and mourning in their household, so too would Joseph and Rachel. In fact, they were married in late 1864, after their respective first spouses had died from disease. Death also took away

Rachel's children from her first marriage in 1864 and 1868. One consolation, and form of help, in their grief, came from the fact that Joseph had extended family nearby. Joseph's mother Rachel Huff Moore lived a few blocks away with Joseph's younger brother, Theodore, and younger sister, Emeline, and her family. Another brother, James, lived with his family also on Crosby Street. In tough times, the families might have come together to offer support; they also might have helped care for the children when they had fallen ill.



“Negro-Stealers in New Jersey. On Monday evening last, three persons visited Belvidere, for the purpose of identifying certain negroes, (four in number,) resident in this neighborhood, who were suspected to have escaped from the patriarchal bondage of the South. Finding their papers to be defective and informal, they were compelled to return on Tuesday morning for further vouchers. In the meantime, the suspected fugitives got wind of the danger, and fled to a place of safety. Among these fugitives from home and friends was an old and respected negro, who has resided in Belvidere for thirty-seven years, gathering around him a family, and acquiring considerable property, and being a worthy and respected member of the Methodist Church in this place.”

What brought Joseph and his extended family to New York? Born in 1837 in Belvidere, New Jersey to a free Black family, Joseph sought the opportunities of a larger city. New Jersey lagged behind New York in wholly banning slavery and did not do this until 1866. Though Joseph was born free and the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 technically applied only to the enslaved, “slave catchers” demanded that one show manumission papers to escape their grip. Those born free, of course, did not have manumission papers. This particularly pernicious practice came home to Belvidere in 1857, when the arrival of “Negro snatchers” from Delaware forced a long-established Black communal leader into hiding. If someone as

respectable and established as that individual could be in trouble, no one could be safe. This might have been the tipping point that led Belvidere Blacks, including Joseph and his family, to consider moving to New York City. While the Fugitive Slave Act encompassed New York City, the larger Black community there offered more protection.

At the time, Black communal leadership and newspapers recommended that Black families seek out livelihoods in more rural places than New York City. The City, they warned, actually had deleterious effect on one's health. Editorials in Black newspapers also worried about the city's vice. More broadly, editorials warned of the city's racism that relegated Black people to certain jobs and hindered social, political and economic advancement.

Had Joseph read this article, or even heard others discussing it, he might have noted the disadvantages but might have been more convinced and attracted to the advantages that the city offered. The very fact that a Black community had a newspaper and an editorial voice---even if they were dissuading others to come---might have appealed to Joseph. New York after all was the birthplace of the Black press, and that ability to read of community, politics from a Black perspective must have been incredibly exciting.

Whatever the reasoning, the Moores had relocated to New York City over the course of the 1860, branching out to find work in the typical trades available to Black men and women, forming and reforming households, contending with inadequate health conditions, high rents, but also finding community. In the Eighth Ward, community was formed through Black mutual aid societies, political clubs and schools. As well, community could bring Black and Irish communities together. In 1868, Joseph converted to Catholicism, and his baptism record at St. Adolphus's church shows that he had Irish Godparents. These communities and these spaces helped the Moores deal with the hardships and the hopes of the 1860s. As we look around the front room, we see signs of their livelihoods, the religion that they practiced, as well as their hopes for the future.

Even though Joseph Moore had long worked as a waiter and even though this was an occupation that Black men had professionalized over decades, the arrival of new immigrants created competition. More alarming, racist ideas among New Yorkers had started to turn employers against their own Black employees. In 1862, the *Centinal of Freedom* reported that multiple hotels and restaurants had fired their Black waiters, with managers citing that white customers no longer wanted to be served by them. Waiters quickly mobilized to provide financial support to one another, but the reporter worried that "Other places are likely to follow, to gratify the prejudice of the poor white race." While we can't say for sure that Joseph read the following article in the *Centinal*, there is no question as the 1860s progressed that he would hear conversations that referenced this shift.

The Civil War brought longstanding currents of racism to the fore, reaching an apex in the racial violence and destruction of the Draft Riots to New York City. Yet the bonds that Joseph and Rachel had in the Eighth Ward led them to stay. After the War, the hope of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendment signaled change. While we can look back and say that these hopes would be disappointed, it's important to understand from Rachel and Joseph's perspective that they proved strong at the time, strong enough to make them have hope in New York City, despite all the disadvantages they encountered.

CROSS & BAPTISM: In 1868, Joseph converted to Catholicism, and his baptism record at St. Adolphus's church shows that he had Irish Godparents.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN: Through court records we learned a portrait of Abraham Lincoln hung in Joseph's home later in life. For many, Lincoln represented a strong hope and belief in the future of the United States as it rebuilt after the Civil War.



WASHING: Rose Brown, who lived with the Moores, worked as a washerwoman; we know too that Joseph Moore's mother Rachel Huff Moore worked as a laundress. This work was done in the apartments, but also in the rear yards. Because this work was done at home, washerwoman often watched the children of neighbors during the day, and we can imagine that she kept toys to entertain kids while she did the wash.



BLACK PRESS: The Black press grew out of a strong communal presence. The very fact that a Black community had a newspaper and an editorial voice, even if they were dissuading others to come, might have appealed to Joseph. New York after all was the birthplace of the Black press, and that ability to read of community, politics from a Black perspective must have been incredibly exciting.

TUNIS CAMPBELL'S MANUAL: Joseph arrived in 1858 and worked as a waiter. It's possible that this is a skill he acquired in Belvidere, as he might have worked at the Belvidere hotel. Or, this was a job he was encouraged to pursue once arriving in NYC as it had been a longstanding profession for Black New Yorkers. With his book *The Manual for Hotels and Housekeepers*, Tunis Campbell helped professionalize waiters with routines and techniques for high-quality service. Black waiters often took pride in their skill, and advocated higher pay accordingly.



Stop Four: Media Ruin

The conversations in the Moore parlor will show the couple's connection to broader communal trends. In this culminating section of the tour, the copy of *The Anglo-African* found in the Moore parlor will serve as an entry into a multi-media in the round immersive digital experience situated in a ruin apartment. There, the tour will step back from the particularities of Joseph and Rachel's story and explore the contemporary Black press through digital storytelling, helping visitors understand the sociocultural environment in which Joseph and Rachel lived and directly engage with primary sources.



Visitors enter an empty ruin apartment where the Museum educator will return to questions and themes visitors have explored in the previous room. Selected articles and editorials from the 1860s will be projected on the ruin’s walls. Using a tablet, an educator can select a theme or event that highlights the voices of the past. Newspaper articles will be selected that help illustrate deeper themes, and show differences between the perspectives of the “mainstream press” and the Black Press on particular issue. Most importantly a directional sound system will allow visitors to experience the 1860s from the perspective and voices of Black New Yorkers. Recordings of actors will breathe life into the communal issues of the past.

A central feature of the Museum’s storytelling style is explaining its research process. Digital storytelling will help visitors understand not only how the Museum pieced together the Moores’ story, but also the issues historians confront when researching Black history and the impact of bias in reporting. Sharing these primary sources will encourage visitors to ask questions that help propel the narrative forward.

Finally, the educator will use the room to project the family tree of Joseph Moore and show descendants up to the present – adding branches over the years. The Museum has found no record of children from Joseph’s marriages to Amelia and to Rachel. But in the 1880s, after he moved back to New Jersey with his extended family, he married a third time, to Frances Morgan. This marriage produced children, named after Joseph’s grandparents and family, and the museum is in the process of tracing their descendants so that we can look at the twists and turns of this family, much as we do for Bridget and Joseph’s Moore’s descendants. How did race and racism shape access to opportunity, social mobility, and the “American Dream” for the descendants of these families? In the 1860s, despite significant differences, Irish and Black New Yorkers shared enough common ground---in some case households. What were the hopes they had for their children and grandchildren? How can learning about these hopes, as well as the different paths each family took, and the differing obstacles in their way, help us understand American history better, and our own families’ place within it?

