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The Role of American Elites in the New Courthouse Building Project: Progressive-era Ideologies in the Vieux Carre

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The Role of American Elites in the New Courthouse Building Project:
Progressive-era Ideologies in the Vieux Carré

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
University of New Orleans
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Urban and Regional Planning
Historic Preservation concentration

by

Kelly Shutt Cottrell

B.A. Art History, Louisiana State University, 2006

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for Justin

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Abstract

At the turn of the twentieth century, City Beautiful principles manifested themselves in the historic core of New Orleans: the Vieux Carré. City and state officials determined that the Cabildo and Presbytere were no longer suitable sites for the Louisiana Supreme Courts, and set about erecting a monumental, Beaux Arts-style courthouse amid the dense, vernacular built environment of the French Quarter. Two hundred fifty-one individuals were displaced as a result of the expropriation and demolition of forty-one structures occupying the square bounded Royal, Chartres, Conti and St. Louis streets.

While significant scholarly research has interpreted the motives and visions of Progressive-era urban reformers, few studies have addressed issues of power in shaping these narratives and in silencing the past. Through its analysis of the planning processes surrounding the Louisiana Supreme Court Building, this thesis acknowledges these silences and raises questions about those most impacted: the displaced.

New Courthouse Building, New Orleans, Vieux Carré, City Beautiful, Progressive era, urban reform, displaced, Louisiana Supreme Court Building, silences, valuing of place, construction of memories, Creoles and Americans.

Introduction

To preservationists and the urban-minded, New Orleans' most covetable assets are its wealth of historic architecture and organic spatial development patterns. While destructive projects associated with Progressive-era urban reform movements have had extensive and detrimental impacts on the fabrics of many other early American cities, New Orleans managed to preserve a myriad of its nineteenth-century built environment and vestiges of its "ethnic geographies" throughout this period.ⁱ The city was not exempt from such reform efforts; rather, their manifestations took the form of piecemeal improvements and smaller-scale projects.

Focusing on the historic center of New Orleans, this investigation tells the story of one of these projects—the New Courthouse Building Project in the Vieux Carré—and traces the local circumstances that shaped the planning process. By expropriating and demolishing forty-one vernacular structures occupying the square bounded by Royal, Conti, Chartres and St. Louis Streets, and erecting a commanding, marble-clad Supreme Courts Building in the Beaux Arts style (see Figure 1 below) at the site, city and state officials implemented the City Beautiful

i. In his book, *Geographies of New Orleans: Urban Fabrics before the Storm*, Richard Campanella uses the term "ethnic geographies" in reference to settlement patterns as manifestations of the city's diverse peoples.

principles (as exemplified in Figure 2 below) prevalent among urban Progressives during the period.

Figure 1. The Louisiana Supreme Court Building, 2010.



Source: author's own

Figure 2. Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, 1893.



Source: Smithsonian Institution Archives

An investigation of this manifestation of the City Beautiful movement during the late Victorian era in New Orleans illuminates three principal themes. First, in comparing and contrasting this particular episode with those in other urbanizing American cities, we find that an anomalous, inverse cultural interplay between native and newcomer emerged. Next, we argue that the actors constructed historic memories, either to validate endangered places or to elevate a vanishing culture. And finally, we acknowledge that while the New Courthouse Building Project was an incremental exercise in lofty City Beautiful principles, the comprehensive visions of Progressive-era urban reformers were often implemented through such feasible manifestations.

While substantial scholarly research has analyzed and critiqued these visions and the motives behind City Beautiful projects, few studies have addressed issues of power in shaping these narratives and in silencing the past. More specifically, scholars have failed to give a voice to those individuals most profoundly affected: the displaced. How were these groups affected? Were relocation efforts conceived, and if so, were they successfully realized? Did demolitions and expropriations change the views of inhabitants toward America and its institutions? Did any form of resistance materialize? The purpose of the current investigation is to address this gap.

An evaluation of primary documentation on the courthouse project and cultural relations between Americans and Creoles (the two ethnic groups who then dominated large portions of the city), with a lens on the displaced, begins to answer these questions. Careful examination of historic newspaper articles, architectural journals, census records, expropriation proceedings and archival photographs uncovers the social, political and economic environment in which this undertaking emerged and illuminates how these forces influenced the outcomes. In addition, a review of existing literature on early reform efforts situates this investigation of the courthouse project within the broader scholarship of Progressive-era urban reform movements. These distinct perspectives on the origins of city planning elucidate many of the motivations, expectations and implications of the planning processes behind the Louisiana

Supreme Court Building. This historiography also illuminates a fundamental tension present in reform efforts: urban elites' simultaneous push for cultural homogeneity and struggle to protect the American capitalist institutions that created such heterogeneous cultural landscapes. As this investigation demonstrates, an anomalous, yet parallel cultural interplay unfolded in New Orleans during this period, wherein American actors amounted to a migrating population that pushed for homogeneity by disrupting the established cultural and economic institutions of the old city. Nonetheless, as we will see, urban elites prevail, regardless of their role in reform efforts.

Overview and Setting

Near the end of the nineteenth century, Americans discovered the squalid conditions plaguing inner-city slums. Lurking beneath the great bourgeois urban centers, disease, poverty and vice proliferated. American cities lacked sufficient infrastructure to support the rapid industrialization, urbanization and immigration experienced during the period, creating desolate living conditions exacerbated by social disorder. Over the following decades of the Progressive era, two distinct periods of reform emerged. The first, dating from approximately 1890-1901, saw the rise of direct intervention in the form of moral coercion, which focused on outlawing “immoral” establishments such as brothels and saloons. Efforts then gradually shifted toward a physically deterministic model from 1901-1915, which subscribed to the belief that material improvements to the built environment would affect positive social change. Despite the disparate approaches, the strategies had shared motives: the assimilation of the immigrant.¹

In Chicago and New York, integrative measures came in the form of charitable organizations such as Jane Addams’ Hull House and the Tenement House Commission in the early stages of Progressive-era urban reform. Figures such as Jacob Riis, a contemporary Danish-American social reformer who documented tenement life in his photography and rhetoric, (see Figure 3 below) exerted profound influence on the widespread acknowledgment

Figure 3. Jacob A. Riis Collection, Museum of the City of New York, "Five Cents a Spot," 1888–89



Source: <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=91981589>

of the need for intervention. In his calls for the reconstruction of tenement housing, Riis was also one of the earliest advocates of the positive environmentalist approach of the following period. The proponents of this reform movement, which came to be known as the City Beautiful, promoted broad, sweeping changes to the design and infrastructure of cities.

Progressive-era optimism inspired the belief that urban problems could be solved by the transformation of urban landscapes. As chief of construction for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, which exhibited Chicago's newly constructed "White City" as the ideal of the City Beautiful, Daniel Burnham emerged as the leader of the movement.² His often-quoted words, through which he articulated his vision, have come to represent his personal character as well:

Make no little plans. They have no magic to stir men's blood and probably will not themselves be realized. Make big plans; aim high in hope and work, remembering that a noble, logical diagram once recorded will never die, but long after we are gone will be a living thing, asserting itself with ever-growing insistency.³

As previously stated, assimilation of the immigrant was the fundamental objective of reform. Urban elites pushed for social harmony in part because of their desire for racial and cultural purity, but also because of their desire to arrest the expansion of poverty and vice that had threatened the existing economic and social structure of great American cities. Ironically, it was this capitalist system that created social disorder. As early American planner, Charles Abrams, points out:

The landlord cannot be blamed; the builder cannot be blamed. They built to meet a market. The market was determined by what the tenant could pay. What the tenant could pay was determined by the wages he received.⁴

A fascinating parallel can be drawn between the relationship of urban elites with the displaced in New Orleans and in other urbanizing American cities. The spatial settlement

patterns in New Orleans of Americans at the edge of the city and Creoles in the old center resemble those of the affluent and impoverished in other cities, respectively. Volumes have been written on the meaning of the term “Creole.” Over the course of history, its use has changed and different groups have offered disparate interpretations. However, for the purposes of this thesis, the term “Creoles” refers to native New Orleanians descended from those who inhabited the region prior to the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. Without any reference to color, it is used in the same way it was in French colonial Saint Domingue during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and later in colonial Louisiana: referencing one’s nativity.⁵ As observed later in this work, the term was particularly contested during the Progressive era.

Scholars have noted that during this period of industrialization, inner cities became exceedingly segregated from the rest of the urban society, and the Creoles of New Orleans experienced parallel isolation. In his piece, “The Progressives and the Urban Question: British and American Responses to Inner City Slums 1880-1920,” David Ward describes the inner-city slum as a “social abyss”.⁶ This expression spoke to the segregation from the rest of the urban society experienced within the city’s center.

While New Orleans’ Creoles may have experienced parallel seclusion, an inverse relationship unfolded between natives and newcomers. In other metropolitan centers, urban

elites strove to protect their cities from the emergent heterogeneity and the potential disruption of existing capitalist institutions. In New Orleans, however, American elites advocated for the expansion of their ideals in order to disrupt the existing economic and social structure of the old city. Because the city was experiencing an influx of American migrants at this time, it was the cultural identity of native groups that was threatened. Whether newcomer or native, American elites pushed for homogeneity and left enduring imprints on urban fabrics through Progressive-era urban reform efforts.

Additional events in the city's unique history influenced its anomalous manifestation of the City Beautiful movement, beginning with the great fires of 1788 and 1794 that devastated the French Quarter. Very few of the original French Colonial frame structures survived the ravages, and Spanish officials opted to rebuild more substantial housing with durable elements such as thick brick walls and wrought iron balconies.⁷ With such high quality housing built long before the Industrial Revolution, the Vieux Carré was never plagued with the substandard tenements, rapid overcrowding and insufficient infrastructure dominant in industrializing cities. While the catastrophic events of the late 1700s played a key role in the Quarter's resistance to demolition and rebuilding, demographic location patterns throughout the nineteenth century were also a significant force.

Although New Orleans was never one of the great industrial cities, interstate slave trade, the cotton market and commercial port activities made it one of the most economically important metropolitan areas in the US during the antebellum era. It was also a key port of entry for immigrants and one of the most ethnically diverse early American cities.⁸ By the turn of the twentieth century, however, the French Quarter was no longer a highly sought-after district, as the American population had settled above Canal Street. Consequently, economic development was focused in the area known today as the Central Business District, where far more Beaux Arts architecture—the style favored by City Beautiful proponents—was erected.⁹ Because of this disinvestment, the Quarter offered affordable housing for the influx of Sicilian immigrants during the early twentieth century. This strong Italian presence accounts for the retention of much of the historic fabric in the Vieux Carré in two ways. First, the high occupancy rates necessitated routine maintenance of the structures, which arrested their deterioration, making demolitions more difficult to justify. In addition, because the Sicilian immigrants during this period were a lower income population, they lacked the resources to make inappropriate modifications through “improvements,” leaving a significant building stock intact and unaltered.¹⁰

Although the Sicilians were a major force in the spatial development of New Orleans, the New Courthouse Building Project involved two dominant ethnic groups: the Creoles and the

Americans. As we have already seen, Canal Street had become a symbol of the rift between native inhabitants and the growing Anglo population. Visitors of nineteenth and early twentieth-century New Orleans consistently noted that Canal had created a seam between the old Creole city and the Progressive American sector.¹¹ Further, expropriation proceedings for the properties occupying the courthouse square confirm that New Orleanians also recognized Canal as a seam between enclaves. When asked what considerations had been taken into account to arrive at “amicable purchases” of the properties, courthouse project proponent, Bernard McCloskey, stated, “An investigation of this square showed us that it was not a square that could be classified in the same position as a square, say, on the upperside of Canal Street.”¹²

Although Canal symbolized the segregation of ethnicities in New Orleans that continued into this period, Exchange Alley transgressed this symbolic boundary (see Figure 4 below). In providing a pedestrian connection between the two sectors, it offered opportunities for diverse civic engagement in a public setting. The removal of an entire block of this historic path in the courthouse square came to symbolize a shift from the segregation of Creoles to their virtual disintegration through the encroachment of American ideals and institutions onto the Old Square.

Figure 4. Structures demolished to make way for the new courthouse building in the 400 block of Exchange Alley, looking towards Canal, c. 1900



Source: Historic New Orleans Collection, *Vieux Carré Survey*

The Decision-makers

On May 23, 1900, New Orleans' *Daily Picayune* reported that "Prof. Gill today gave notice of a bill providing for a new Supreme Court Building in New Orleans" during a state legislative hearing.¹³ In an editorial of the architectural journal, *Architectural Art and Its Allies*, an unknown author opined about why such a project was necessary in the historic center of New Orleans:

A city of the population and importance of New Orleans requires that its public buildings be buildings of the first magnitude, if we may borrow an astronomical term to convey the idea. We have every reason to be proud of what has been left us by previous generations; we have no right to leave behind us buildings of which future generations will be ashamed.¹⁴

Although New Orleans was not the capital of Louisiana at this time, it was clearly the urban center of the state. The population totals of all other parishes pale in comparison with those of New Orleans at 1900. With 287,104 inhabitants, its population was over five times that of the second highest county, St. Landry Parish, with a relatively mere 52,906 residents.¹⁵

The bill provided for a Courthouse Commission of seven members, each appointed by either the governor or mayor, which would be responsible for negotiating the site and constructing the building.¹⁶ By the time the Commission organized, there were only five members, three of whom were attorneys; the secretary was a bookkeeper; and its fifth member, George H. Dunbar, was a manufacturer.¹⁷ With the exception of Dunbar, who resided

in Mid City, all of these men had offices in the Central Business District and homes in New Orleans' uptown neighborhood above Canal Street.¹⁸ In addition, every member of the Courthouse Commission was either born in the North or in Louisiana with Northern-born parents.¹⁹ This board represented the Anglo perspective of a unitary public interest, and engaged those with similar worldviews in the planning process. The inhabitants of the Courthouse Square, however, were predominantly Creole.²⁰ As we have already seen, this cultural interplay parallels the relationships of other Progressive-era urban centers, with American decision-makers imposing their ideals on a culturally disparate group.

According to Peter Hall, the role of the elite in reform was in the creation of visions. In his renowned history of planning, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, he argues that "much if not most of what has happened—for good or for ill—to the world's cities in the years since World War II, can be traced back to the ideas of a few visionaries..."²¹ In his second chapter, "The City of Dreadful Night," Hall argues that urban reform movements during the Progressive era stemmed from fears of elites that the sordid conditions of Victorian slums, and the crime and vice they harbored, would spread beyond city centers. Hall's case is compelling, particularly in his analysis of New York tenements during the period. He points to the work of Jacob Riis to reveal the prevailing anxieties that cities would encroach on the nation, threatening American social order. In his

renowned 1890 book, *How the Other Half Lives*, Riis documents (see Figure 4 below) and

describes this condition:

Beaten men from beaten races; representing the worst failures in the struggle for existence...crowding out all the lower wards, wherever business leaves a foot of ground unclaimed...and filling up Harlem with their restless, pent-up multitudes, they hold within their clutch the wealth and business of New York, hold them at their mercy in the day of mob-rule and wrath.²²

Figure 5. Jacob A. Riis Collection, Museum of the City of New York, "Bandit's Roost," 1887-88



Source: <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=91981589>

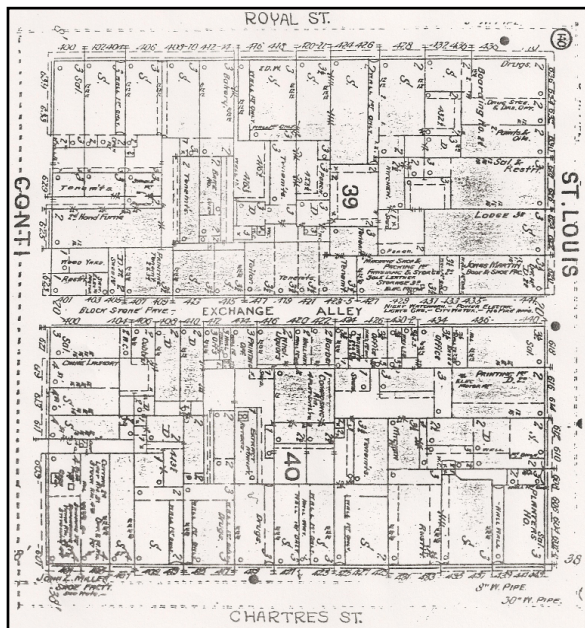
What emerged was not an altruistic endeavor to rescue slum dwellers from their ills, but rather, a venture to protect American ideals by integrating the immigrant into the city.²³

In keeping with much of the scholarly work on the City Beautiful movement, Hall designates Daniel Hudson Burnham (1846-1912) as its founder and his 1909 plan for Chicago as its definitive document. He situates Burnham as the key figure in an emerging middle-class society concerned with the threat of social disorder and Chicago as the exemplary environment in need of such a transformation, citing the riots of the 1880s and the looming insurrectionary atmosphere. For Burnham, the Chicago Plan was a physically deterministic scheme; societal harmony could be brought to the industrial city plagued with immense over-crowding and vast immigration by way of harmonious changes to the built environment. The discordant connection between these social aims and the physical means for achieving them, Hall argues, is the appeal that fostered support among the bourgeoisie in the Progressive movement. Apparently, these reformers neglected to consider the social consequences for the slum dwellers; they dutifully subscribed to the capitalistic philosophy that market forces would correct the situation. The irony, as we have identified, lies in the reality that market forces had created the situation.²⁴

Although the late Victorian-era French Quarter represented a slower pace, European-influenced way of life that was never subject to the immense over-crowding and perilous

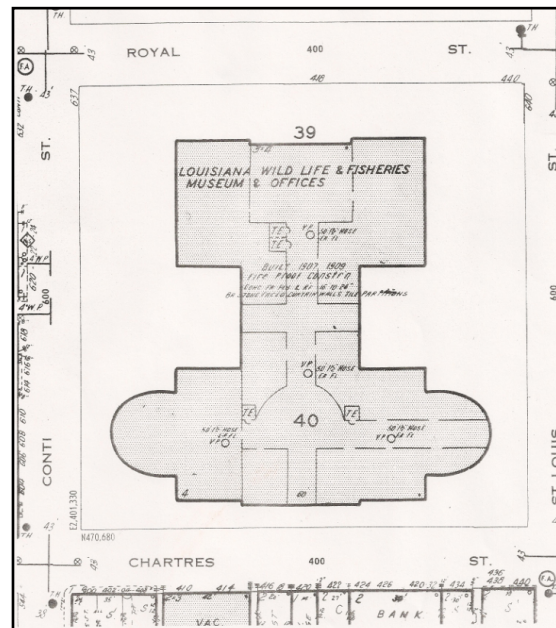
conditions seen in cities such as Chicago and New York, the sentiment described by Peter Hall resounds in the New Courthouse intervention. The massive migration of Americans to New Orleans after the Louisiana Purchase represented their push to implant American social ideals and economic institutions into the city; the imposing Louisiana Supreme Court Building is a physical symbol of this imprint. A before-and-after juxtaposition of the square (Figures 6 & 7 below) illustrates just how unsympathetic and incompatible the physical structure was, but also serves as a metaphor for the disconnect between the perspectives of the Commissioners and the perspectives of the affected inhabitants.

Figure 6. 1896 Sanborn map



Source: New Orleans Public Library

Figure 7. 1970 Sanborn map



Source: New Orleans Public Library

The Planning Process

Although notice of the bill was given in 1900, it was not until two years later that it was written into law. The project was drafted by Bernard McCloskey and presented to the House by Hon. J. C. Henriques, where it would meander through a daunting bureaucratic network. Eventually signed into law by Governor William W. Heard, the structure was anticipated to house not only the Supreme Court, but also the Court of Appeals, Civil Courts and State officers, unifying these agencies.²⁵

At the first official meeting of the Courthouse Commission, the men organized their Board, appointing Mr. McCloskey as Chairman and Mr. Ball as Secretary. In addition, it was determined that site location was an important issue that needed further investigation.²⁶ Shortly thereafter, the *Joint Committee on Police and Public Buildings and Streets and Landings* supported an ordinance approving the expropriation and demolition of forty-one early vernacular buildings in the Vieux Carré to become the site for the New Courthouse. A joint effort of the state of Louisiana and the city of New Orleans, the estimated cost of \$750,000 was to be split equally between the two governmental bodies.²⁷

When queried about the site selection process during one of the expropriation proceedings, Commission president, Bernard McCloskey, stated that the property owners themselves, as well as other “people of this downtown district” had petitioned to the

Commission to locate the Courthouse at the selected location.²⁸ Recall Mr. McCloskey's statement previously quoted in this study that "an investigation of this square showed us that it was not a square that could be classified in the same position as a square, say, on the upperside of Canal Street." This provides evidence that the city's existing spatial settlement patterns guided the site selection process. He stated further that the Courthouse Commission had obtained and accepted options from the property owners for the purchase of their buildings at a value of one-third above the assessed value.²⁹

To prove that this widespread acceptance existed, the prosecution submitted a petition signed by these "downtown people" confirming their support.³⁰ The petition teems with signatures of individuals living outside of the courthouse square, with a significant number of addresses in the "American sector" above Canal Street³¹ (see excerpt in Figure 8 below). While the Courthouse Commission may have engaged the property holders, it made no apparent attempt to engage those most affected by their decisions: the displaced rental population. It is no wonder that landlords expressed overwhelming support for the new courthouse; they were the beneficiaries of the sale of the properties above assessed values. And because the overwhelming majority of these supporters lived elsewhere in the city, their entrenched social and economic networks were not disrupted.

Figure 8. Petition of Support, 1903. CDC 71242.

State of Louisiana,
PARISH OF ORLEANS.

City of New Orleans
as.

No. *71242* -
CIVIL DISTRICT COURT,
PARISH OF ORLEANS.

Mrs. Sarah L. L...
widow of Michael
L...

BE IT KNOWN AND REMEMBERED, That on this
day of the Month of *September*, in the year of our Lord, one
thousand nine hundred and three (1903), and of the Independence
of the United States of America, the one hundred and twenty-
eighth, under and by virtue of an order issued in this cause,
on the *7th* day of *August* - A. D. 1903, the undersigned
Civil Sheriff of the Parish of Orleans and Clerk of the Civil
District Court for the Parish of Orleans, did proceed, in ac-
cordance with Sections 700 and 1841, of the Revised Statutes
of Louisiana, to make a list of forty-eight (48) freeholders,
residents of the Parish of Orleans and not interested in the
issue to be tried in this cause, as follows, to-wit:

- 1 *Henry Reggio, 1209 N Dupre St*
- 2 *Louis P. Caines, 707 St Charles*
- 3 *F. Koretke, 922 Magazine*
- 4 *C. Luthern, 1216 Camp*
- 5 *Charles F. H. Strleck, 2043 St. Andrew*
- 6 *John Armand, 273 Le Page*
- 7 *John Thornton, 1012 Josephine*
- 8 *George Becker, 1531 Magazine*
- 9 *Patrick Coyne, 2419 Second*
- 10 *Sebr. Rando, Fort Chalozan*
- 11 *William Crutten, 738 P. Land*
- 12 *George Dietrich, 660 Elysian Fields*
- 13 *William H. Jurgens, 337 Bayou*

Source: New Orleans Public Library, author's photo

Local newspaper articles provide substantial evidence that widespread support for the project existed. This apparent enthusiasm, however, must be considered within the context post-Civil War New South boosterism. During the Reconstruction era, white Southern elites denounced the former economic and social structures of the Old South and zealously glorified Northern institutions. Prominent journalists asserted that the disintegration of the plantation system had inspired a newly found thirst for industrialization and commercialization in the former Confederate states. Historian Paul Gaston has argued that this apparent enthusiasm was in actuality mythical—narratives of prosperity developed as coping mechanisms for the harsh realities of post-bellum southern life.³² It was in this uncertain environment, in the wake of complete restructuring of social and economic systems, that white Southern elites promoted City Beautiful principles in New Orleans. In the 1895 *Daily Picayune* article, “Making a City Beautiful,” the author announces, “Work that has been done so admirably at Washington, might, in a way, be successfully repeated in New Orleans.”³³ Though the article focuses on tree planting and piecemeal civic improvements, the Progressive-era optimism and admiration for Northern ethos parallels the mythical Reconstruction-era buoyancy and zeal for manufacturing and commerce identified by Gaston.

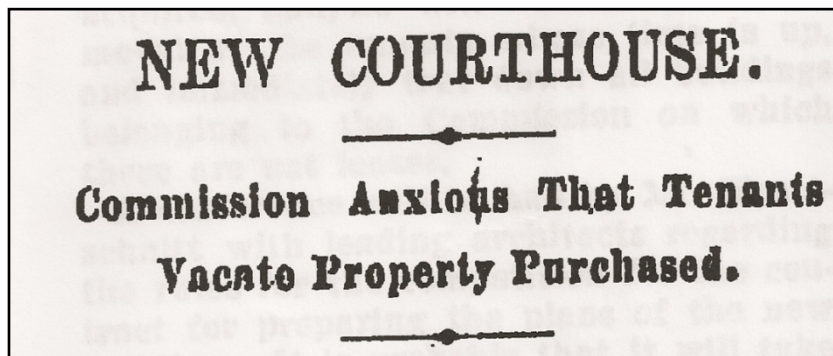
Mythmaking aside, others demonstrated enthusiasm for the New Courthouse Building Project sans the rhetoric. While his role is not entirely clear, another beneficiary, J. A. Mercier,

emerged in the records. To negotiate the site, Mercier and others offered the Commission \$52,000 to select the squares, furnished by neighboring property owners who believed the new courthouse would raise their property values and by profits collected from the sale of building materials salvaged during demolitions.³⁴ Mercier is also referenced several times throughout the expropriation proceedings as having offered “invaluable assistance” to the Commission in obtaining options from property holders.³⁵ 1900 Census records indicate that Joseph A. Mercier was a member of the Mercier family, who immigrated to New Orleans from France in the early nineteenth century.³⁶ By the turn of the century, the Mercier family had substantial holdings in the French Quarter, including the famous Royal Hotel, directly adjacent to the courthouse square. Today, the family still holds a significant amount of property in French Quarter and other parts of the city.

Implementation

While expropriation proceedings were ongoing and while officials were still in the process of purchasing the properties, the Courthouse Commission impatiently rushed the demolition process. Although most of the property owners had vacated, tenants with no other viable alternative housing lingered. In June of 1903, demolitions began, regardless of whether all occupants had been removed (see *Daily Picayune* heading in Figure 9 below). What's more, the architectural competition from which the plans would be selected had not even commenced.³⁷

Figure 9. 1903 *Daily Picayune* heading



Source: NewsBank and/or the American Antiquarian Society

But this was not the only issue to be confronted. In addition to the lengthy legal proceedings with the property owners, funding had not been secured.³⁸ The “Courthouse bonds of the City of New Orleans” were issued through the Board of Liquidation of the City Debt and sanctioned by Section 8 of Act 96 of the 1904 Legislature of Louisiana in the amount

of \$750,000. The bonds were to be advertised in New York and New Orleans newspapers and sold to the highest bidder.³⁹ Note that this legislation was not passed until 1904, the year following the demolitions of the subject properties. Of particular note, it was not until November of 1906 that the Board of Liquidation and Courthouse Commission accepted a bid made by the New Orleans Real Estate, Mortgage and Securities Company for the entire issue of \$750,000.⁴⁰

Interestingly, in the interval between the demolitions of 1903 and the acceptance of this bid in 1906, no local publications addressing the New Courthouse Building Project can be found. In the same article that announces the acceptance of the bid, the author briefly addresses this interim:

The Board of Liquidation has done well in placing it in the power of the Commission to go on with the work, the delays to which have caused a great deal of impatience and dissatisfaction among those who were ousted from their houses so long in advance of any good reason for such premature eviction.⁴¹

This episode would not be the last time public officials hastened to raze historically significant structures and disrupt deeply entrenched communities to make way for unsympathetic public installations. Although New Orleans fared relatively well in its resistance to the ravages of sixties urban renewal projects, it was not unscathed. In 1961, the City obtained the land bounded by Basin-Orleans connection, North Rampart, North Villere and

Saint Philip with urban renewal funds. One of the most culturally and architecturally significant tracts in New Orleans, the area was part of the Faubourg Tremé, just outside of the Vieux Carré. City officials capitalized on the opportunity to clear the perceived “slums” with these federal monies and demolitions commenced. Though the cultural center planned for the site was anticipated to “revive” the neighborhood, the project was completely unfunded at the time of the demolitions.⁴²

While construction for the Center for Performing Arts began in 1971, the remainder of the cleared complex sat vacant until the City Council approved funding to develop the land as a memorial for the late Louis Armstrong in 1974. Undoubtedly, those whose homes were expropriated and razed in the early sixties shared the frustrations of the displaced inhabitants of the courthouse square who were “ousted from their houses” decades before them. Unlike the elite proponents of New Courthouse Project, however, city officials enacted relocation policies to inform and assist residents displaced by the Cultural Center Project. Nonetheless, these policies were largely unsuccessful due to the complicated procedures and inadequate attempts to inform and engage inhabitants.⁴³

When the City Planning Commission authorized the disruption of the Tremé’s street grid and the obliteration of hundreds of structures with significance that paralleled those within the National Register Historic Landmark district of the Vieux Carré, claims of slum clearance and

neighborhood revitalization justified its actions.⁴⁴ It is fascinating that the physically deterministic, positive environmentalist approach that emerged during the Progressive era survived into the sixties and beyond, particularly at a time when the Louisiana Supreme Court Building had recently been abandoned and the preservationist community sought to rid the Vieux Carré of this unsympathetic addition. In 1962, the Vieux Carré Commission stated in a staff report that: ⁱⁱ

The courts building should be demolished and in its place, which is the core of the Vieux Carré, should be a complex that would serve as the tourist center of New Orleans. The square could be developed with structures in keeping with and in scale with the Vieux Carré, surrounding a central plaza, pleasantly treated similar to a large French Quarter patio. The building along Royal Street could be set back thirty to forty feet, allowing space for sidewalk cafes, similar to those in Paris or the Via Veneto in Rome.⁴⁵

Nonetheless, in an attempt to bring order and unity to the Faubourg Tremé, city officials acted as ethical elites by erasing the slums and creating an environment that would commemorate a noble, honest art form deeply rooted in New Orleans black history: jazz.⁴⁶

In *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920*, Paul Boyer analyzes the ideologies of City Beautiful proponents with a lens on their ethical motivations. His book is organized around a strong central thesis: two distinct strategies for achieving moral order in America characterize the evolution of urban reform over the period—the coercive and the

ii. Established by an amendment to the Louisiana State Constitution in 1936, the Vieux Carré Commission is the city's regulatory agency that oversees historic preservation in the French Quarter.

environmentalist—despite the fact that the desired ends were less distinct. According to Boyer, early reformers adopted coercive measures to eradicate vice among the urban poor, an approach that prevailed throughout the nineteenth century. A shift toward a more indirect method of positive environmentalism, in which reformers believed that transformations to the built environment would lead to moral uplift and civic betterment, characterized the subsequent twentieth-century reform movements.⁴⁷

The repressive approach, Boyer argues, had appealed to social reformers as early as the antebellum period, in which anti-prostitution and anti-gambling groups enlisted coercive means in their efforts, and later at the end of the nineteenth century, with the charity organization movement. Although the idea of moral uplift through environmental betterment dates to mid-nineteenth century, it had been overshadowed by the more direct reform strategies until the turn of the century.⁴⁸ Undeniably, the influences of the White City at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 helped to elevate this underlying approach to one of the most influential movements in the history of urban planning: the City Beautiful movement. Jacob Riis was uniquely situated during the transitional period of these reform methods. The influence of the coercive strategies of early reform efforts is evident in his comment on urban reform: "Politics is the weapon. We must learn to use it so as to cut straight and true."⁴⁹ Riis' prevalent

environmentalist sympathies, however, are apparent in his call for parks and model tenements as solutions for urban vice.

Paul Boyer contends that early twentieth-century social thought also triggered this shift from repressive coercion to positive environmentalism. He cites Edward A. Ross' claim in his book, *Social Control*, that effective reform would not enlist "rude force" but rather, "sweet seduction" through "inobvious social suggestions."⁵⁰ For Ross, the elite represented a driving force in the quest for reform. Ross, however, viewed the group as an "ethical elite" exercising benign social control over cities by supplementing "control by sanctions with control through the feelings."⁵¹ Whether exercising control through sanctions or feelings, Boyer hypothesizes that although the strategies were disparate, the motives were consistent.⁵²

While local publications provide evidence of widespread support for the New Courthouse Project, organized opposition did emerge. During the demolitions, the *Daily Picayune* printed the cries of early preservationists in countless editorials. While the articles are largely anonymous, an analysis of the beginnings of the preservation movement in the French Quarter and the angle of the *Daily Picayune* during this period provide a foundation for conjectural arguments about the authors' perspectives.

Often credited with initiating the preservation movement in New Orleans, William Woodward arrived in the city in 1884 and began documenting the architecture and cultural

identity of the Vieux Carré through his picturesque, impressionistic oil paintings (see Figure 10 below). Born in rural Massachusetts, Woodward was fascinated by the dense, mixed-use, urban setting of the French Quarter. At a time when the district had fallen out of favor and much of the architecture was neglected, he grasped the significance of the built environment and the European-inspired way of life it supported. As an instructor of fine art and mechanical and architectural drawing at Tulane University, he instilled a cognizance of this importance in his students, and a movement to protect the Quarter's architectural gems was born.⁵³

Figure 10. "House of Napoleon," William Woodward, 1904. View from the Courthouse Square, looking toward Chartres and St. Louis Streets



Source: http://williamwoodwardbook.com/mediakit/photos/4_1.html

In 1895, Woodward spearheaded local opposition to the proposed demolition and reconstruction of the Cabildo, which at the time, as mentioned earlier, housed the Louisiana Supreme Courts.⁵⁴ As forward thinking as Woodward and his fellow early preservationists may have been, there is no evidence that they opposed the alternative: razing of the forty-one structures bounded by Royal, St. Louis, Conti and Chartres Streets. In fact, a student and follower of Woodward's, General Allison Owen, was a member of a subcommittee appointed by the Courthouse Commission to assist in the design competition.⁵⁵ What's more, Owen was the editor of *Architectural Art and its Allies*, a local architectural journal that emerged as a proponent of the New Courthouse Building Project.⁵⁶ So it seems unlikely that any of the *Daily Picayune* editorials specifically lamenting the destruction of the buildings occupying the courthouse square were associated with William Woodward and his allies.

Outside of this group, very little is known about preservationist efforts in the Quarter during the Progressive era. We do know, however, that romanticized descriptions of the old city by literary figures such as Lafcadio Hearn, William Faulkner, George Washington Cable and Mark Twain frequently appeared in local publications during this period. The predecessor to the *Times Picayune*, the *Picayune* (later renamed the *Daily Picayune*) made its debut in New Orleans on January 25, 1837, in the wake of the emergence of an established American mercantile class. Founders Francis A. Lumsden and George Wilkings Kendall launched the

paper as an inexpensive daily publication teeming with banter and commentary. With this lighter tenor and editorial angle, the *Picayune* appealed to a broad audience and its popularity grew steadily.⁵⁷

By 1870, ownership had transferred from Lumsden and Kendall to Colonel Alva Holbrook, who had been working for the paper for over thirty years. Holbrook then hired his soon-to-be wife, Eliza Jane Poitevent (see Figure 11 below), as the *Picayune's* literary editor. After Holbrook's death in 1875, Poitevent became publisher, a rare position for a woman to hold, particularly given the ethos of Southern Society at this time. In 1878, she married long-term *Picayune* business manager, George Nicholson, who shared ownership with her until their deaths in 1896. Over her twenty years as publisher, Eliza Jane exerted profound influence over the paper. She has been credited with restoring the editorial approach of the paper, arguing for improved accommodations for the mentally ill, in support of educational programs, and against cruelty to animals.⁵⁸

Eliza Jane's legacy of urban commentary resonates in the 1903 *Daily Picayune* article, "Ancient Creole Quarter Falls before Progress." Warning of the endangerment of the Vieux Carré and noting the district's success in resisting "the assaults of modern progress," the author commended its ability to retain so much of its original built environment, cultural traditions and

Figure 11. Eliza J. P. Nicholson



Source: John Smith Kendall, *History of New Orleans*, vol. 2. (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1922), 797.

language. Further, he described the conditions of the “uptown” American influence, in which grand structures had been erected and connected by newly laid streets; modern conveniences of electricity, clean water and sewerage had been employed; and beautifying elements such as parks and gardens had been enjoyed. The improvements described represent the materialization of City Beautiful principles elsewhere in the city, and although the author seemed to recognize the positive influence of such enhancements, he maintained his position

that such endeavors had no place in the Old Square.⁵⁹ Also speaking in the *Daily Picayune*,

others in opposition to the project eloquently voiced their observations:

The hammer of the demolisher is now resounding through the ancient apartments, echoing and re-echoing around the costly granite columns and the hand-worked cherry mantels through the heavy doorways, wide halls and up and down the winding staircase, in every falling brick, every tumbling piece of timber, in every dusty nook and spider-haunted corner and rayless crevice is a story imperishably connected with this city and State.⁶⁰

Despite its typical, early twentieth-century flowery style, such romanticized prose of opposition teeming in local newspapers suggests that the speakers may have created selected memories of place as a method of validation of these places. In his book, *The Creative Destruction of Manhattan, 1900-1940*, Max Page describes how this phenomenon unfolded in Progressive-era New York. He describes the role that the construction of historical images by New York's preservationist bourgeoisie played in the transformations to Manhattan's urban landscape during the early twentieth century. Page identifies this tension between the destruction of places and the selective memories tied to them as the "politics of place."⁶¹

Page focuses exclusively on Manhattan's elite society to build his argument. A diverse group of actors are identified as the story develops, from reformers to preservationists. Like Peter Hall, Page also contends that few previous historical interpretations have elucidated an underlying message in Jacob Riis' reform rhetoric. Although best known for his groundbreaking

photojournalistic accounts of the life of the inhabitants, Riis, he argues, persuasively justified the demolition of tenement housing. Page supports this claim with substantial evidence, citing excerpts of Riis' publications that explicitly express his contempt and racial loathing for slum dwellers. Further, he postulates that Riis' unequivocal condemnation of tenement life and bias toward demolition as a corrective measure had far-reaching effects; these sentiments were echoed for years to come. According to E.R.L. Gould, a contemporary of Riis and social science instructor at John Hopkins University, writing in *New York Times* in 1889, "There is no cure for cancer except the knife. Neither is there any other satisfactory way of dealing with irremediable insanitary premises than to tear them down."⁶²

Max Page, however, goes beyond an analysis of these decision-makers and visionaries by interpreting the perspectives of those who witnessed these transformations. Page contends that preservationist efforts to retain historically significant structures exacerbated the continual reconstruction of the remainder of the island. Here, preservationists shared the belief of City Beautiful proponents that images of New York's romanticized past would inspire civic unity. Page cites other contemporary observations from sources such as *Vanity Fair*, in which the urban elite expressed their dismay for the destruction of Manhattan's urban fabric.

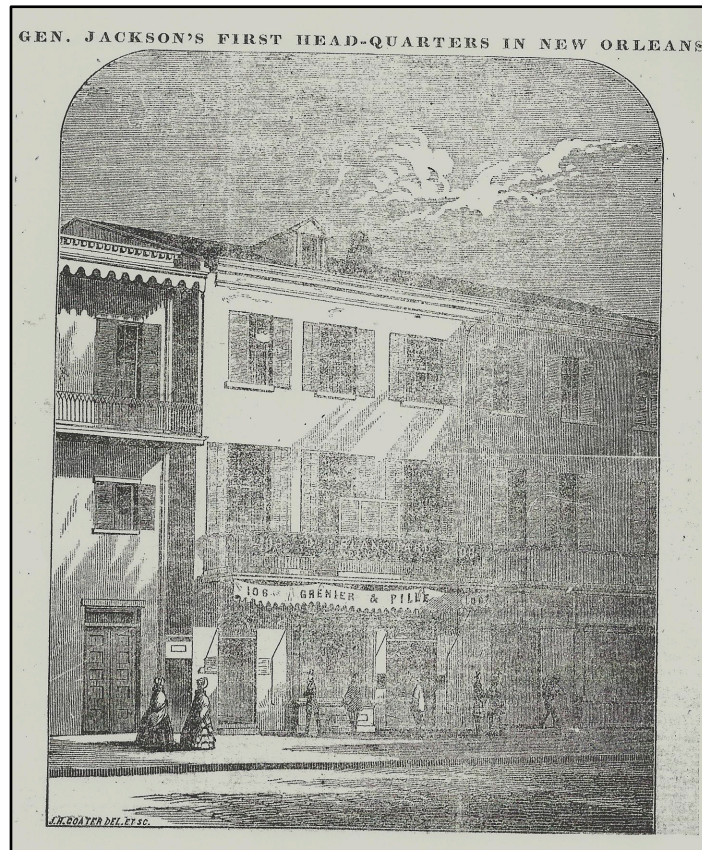
During the demolition of the courthouse square, New Orleans' elites also romanticized the city's past and constructed memories tied to the places that were vanishing before their eyes

via the local media. The *Daily Picayune* reported that “very strong cells” were found in the lower portion of one of the buildings near Royal Street, which, according to “an old colored man”, detained slaves arriving in the city in the 1840s. According to the article, the old man had himself been sold from one of these very cells upon his arrival in New Orleans. The idea that “money and curios” may be found when the structures were razed was also entertained.⁶³

It is said that one man, who is now a leading businessman in the city, when a poor man bought a building on Royal Street, and in tearing it down found \$40,000 in coin in the walls, which formed the basis for his fortune.⁶⁴

As demolitions continued, story after story appeared in a persuasive attempt to romanticize the rich past connected to the built environment. The first building to be demolished, 435-437 Chartres was identified in a *Daily Picayune* article as part of the most historic block in the Vieux Carré. The area was “the center of movement” for Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, the founder of New Orleans. The author went on to opine that no other stretch of land could rival the site of the New Courthouse in both local and national historical associations. One of the subject properties at 406 Royal Street (see Figure 12 below) was believed to be the headquarters of Andrew Jackson, where he planned the Battle of New Orleans. At the time of the article, it was the home of the well-known writer, Mollie Moore Davis.⁶⁵

Figure 12. 406 Royal, c. 1885 Illustration



Source: Historic New Orleans Collection, *Vieux Carré Survey*

Originally written for the Dallas *Morning News* in 1900, Pauline Periwinkle’s article on “a little Paris in America” describes an encounter with Ms. Davis and an experience in her home at 406 Royal. According to the article, Ms. Davis was a native Texan who had relocated to New Orleans, where her work as a writer and artist had flourished. With her was her daughter Pearl who studied art at Tulane’s Newcomb College. Periwinkle then describes a typical Creole townhouse, with a narrow alley leading to a courtyard, a winding staircase, “double balconies” and arched windows.⁶⁶ Reflecting on an apparently well-to-do interior, Periwinkle writes:

...in its furnishings the hangings of Indian red, well-stocked bookcases, rare paintings and etchings covering the wall space in effective irregularity, the cultured liter of late papers and magazines on the table and divan, inviting rockers and the glow of a heaped-up grate.⁶⁷

Other *Daily Picayune* articles romanticized Exchange Alley (see Figures 13 and 14 below). Among other historical associations, one author identified the site of a well-known gambling house subject to demolition that had been frequented by some of the most affluent merchants and slaveholders.⁶⁸ In an interview with Judge William H. Seymour, the “well-known lawyer of Iberville Street” whose office had overlooked Exchange Alley since the 1860s, the famous men associated with the passage were commemorated. After a lengthy enumeration of figures associated with the path, the judge stated:

historic memories connected with the alley are almost numberless. Not until we come to a time when business and traffic moved away from the old French quarter and drifted toward Canal Street does the alley begin to lose its prestige.⁶⁹

Perhaps the preservationists and other elites in New Orleans shared the belief of Progressive-era New Yorkers that images of the city’s history would inspire civic unity.

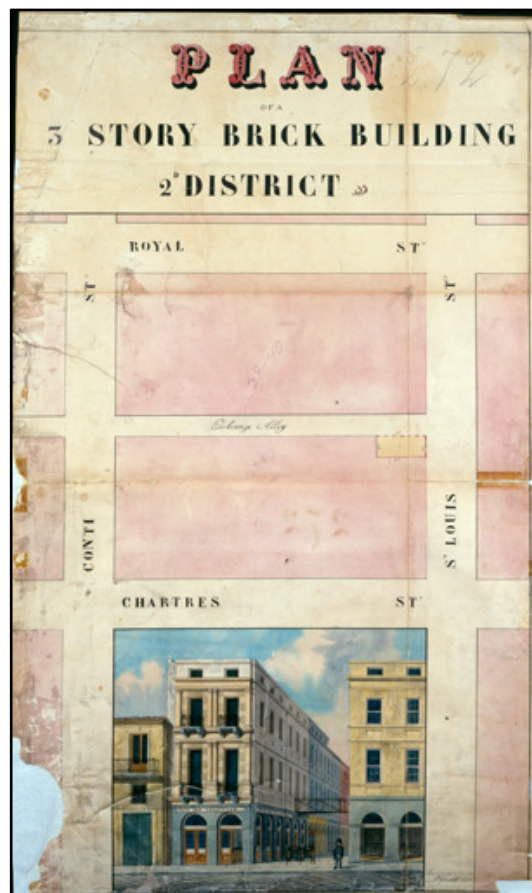
But the construction of historic memories in an effort to protect endangered historic resources was not limited to urban elites during this period. As Louisiana historian Joseph Tregle, Jr. postulates, the original inhabitants of New Orleans constructed a far-reaching Creole mythology in response to perceived threats to their way of life as exponential numbers of Americans moved in after the Louisiana Purchase of 1803.⁷⁰ Tregle identifies this mythology as

Figure 13. Demolished structures, 400 block Exchange Alley, looking toward the now demolished Old St. Louis hotel, c. 1900.



Source: Historic New Orleans Collection, *Vieux Carré Survey*

Figure 14. Plan Book Drawing, 618 St. Louis, Exchange Alley visible, 1855



Source: New Orleans Notarial Archives

the widespread belief that New Orleans' nineteenth-century Creoles were the sophisticated and aristocratic second-generation Louisianans descended from the French or Spanish. Juxtaposed against the inferior Americans—described as uncultured, brutal and avaricious—the mythical Creole justifiably resisted these “assaults of modern progress.”⁷¹

Local publications at the turn of the century reveal the constructs of a romanticized Creole culture. Originally written for Virginia's *Richmond Dispatch*, the newspaper article, “New

Orleans Creoles: Pretty Little Dark-Eyed Women of Spanish and French Descent”, represents an outside perspective of New Orleans’ Creole population during this period.⁷² The author begins with a confession that neither he nor the group with whom he had traveled to New Orleans had a clear understanding of the Creole culture. Further, he states that he had expected to find “a species of female Othellos...women of the oriental cast with dark skin and eyes and white teeth,” and that many in the group had shared the false impression that the Creoles “had negro blood in them.”⁷³ As Tregle argues, faithful believers of the imagined Creole doctrine vehemently refuted the claim that the term referred to individuals with African American blood.⁷⁴

The author then defines the “romantic race” as the descendants of French and/or Spanish colonists, a definition most likely formulated during his visit. In addition, he acknowledges that while the term may have different meanings among different groups, the “proper acceptance” of the word “creole” does not limit the cultural group to those born in the city of New Orleans.⁷⁵ Writing in the *Journal of Southern History* in 1982, historian Joseph Tregle, Jr. states:

... whatever confusion surrounded ‘Creole’ was largely the consequence of post-Civil War and twentieth-century extension into the prewar years of later racial, ethnic, and class prejudices which insisted variously on all-white, all-French, all-Spanish, all-European, mixed French and Spanish, ‘upper class,’ or ‘non- Acadian’ requirements for membership in the ‘Creole’ community.⁷⁶

According to Tregle, the term “Creole” was used in nineteenth-century New Orleans to describe a much broader group than the strictly Latin, eminently cultured, superior race of people of the Creole mythology. Creoles, he argues, were simply those individuals native to Louisiana, regardless of their race or nativity.⁷⁷ By this estimation, it would seem that the misconception of the population exhibited by the author of “New Orleans Creoles” was compounded by his subsequent subscription to the prevalent legends surrounding the culture.

While observing this class of people, the author takes particular note of their physical appearance. Reiterating the fact that many misconceptions about the culture exist, he notes that Creole women live up to their reputation for being attractive, with “very pretty, graceful figures” and “dark and dreamy [eyes].” Further, he notes that the Creoles whom he had encountered had been quite sophisticated, speaking multiple languages as well as being accomplished musicians and conversationalists.⁷⁸

Interestingly, the author limits his investigation to Creole women. The subtitle of the article, “Pretty Little Dark-Eyed Women of Spanish and French Descent,” is a fascinating, if not offensive, choice of words. As previously mentioned, the author’s references to his “ridiculous fancy...[of] a species of female Othellos,” as well as the women’s “tiniest of hands and feet” may indicate a conception of Creole females as simultaneously exotic and pure.⁷⁹ This document also supports other findings regarding popular misinterpretations of New Orleans

Creoles near the end of the nineteenth century. The commonality of the misinterpretations of this culture by outsiders is referred to several times throughout the brief article. In fact, the second sentence reads, “To tell the truth, none of us knew exactly what the Creoles were.”⁸⁰

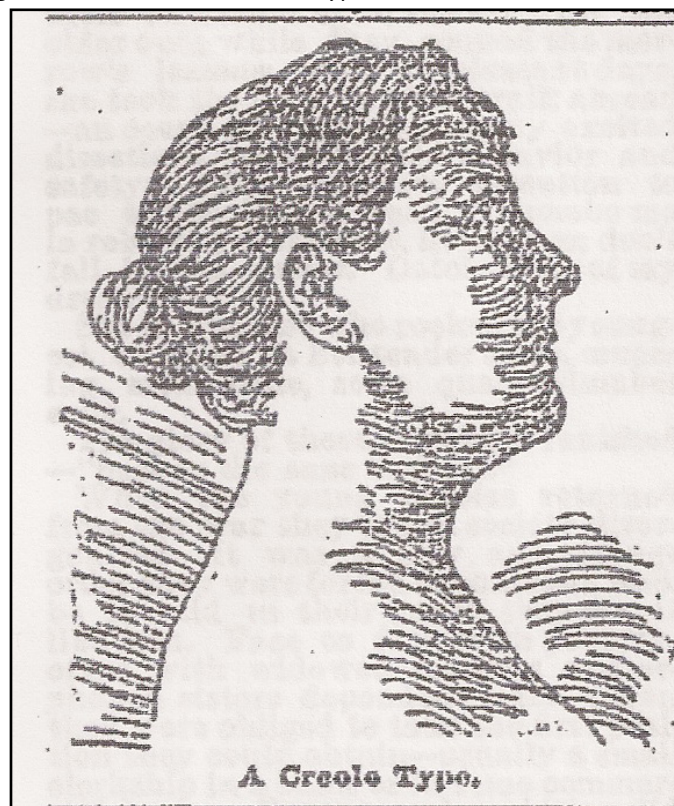
In addition to the notion of the misconception of the Creoles, “New Orleans Creoles” illuminates a sense of their endangerment. Appearing in the *Daily Picayune* in 1891, it represents a period in which much of Creole history and identity was rapidly disintegrating. This endangerment would materialize in the ensuing years, as the built environment would swiftly disappear along with other aspects of Creole cultural identity. In this instance, the author trivializes Creoles to picturesque vestiges of the “old city” of New Orleans.

As Max Page points out, groups often construct idealized memories of endangered places to elevate their perceived importance in an attempt to preserve and protect these spaces. In Progressive-era New Orleans, however, natives created romanticized cultural histories in response to the encroachment of American ideals onto the rapidly vanishing Creole culture. “New Orleans Creoles” provides evidence that this mythology abounded, even in the eyes of visitors.

Other articles of the period speak to the sense of exclusivity of Creoles. While the American population did not refer to them as lower class, they consistently described them as “exclusive” and “different”.⁸¹ One particular *Daily-Picayune* article notes that “the Creole girl is

not allowed as much freedom as her American friends, and in many respects she is more unsophisticated” (see Figure 15 below). According to the author, the Creoles had retained the majority of their cultural traditions. Women were to be protected from outside influences and did not desire the same “mental improvements” as their Anglo counterparts.⁸² These American sentiments seem to trivialize Creoles even further. Just as Jacob Riis had persuasively rationalized the displacement of New York’s immigrants in *How the Other Half Lives*, such biases, though far more gentle, may have also justified the push to absorb Creole culture into the expanding American landscape.

Figure 15. Illustration, *A Creole Type*, from “New Orleans Creoles”



Source: America's Historic Newspapers

The Former Inhabitants of the Courthouse Square

The 1900 United States Census identifies two hundred fifty-one inhabitants in the Courthouse Square. Sixty-two percent of these inhabitants were native Louisianans, and only twenty-two percent were immigrants. Over half of this relatively small foreign-born population had migrated from France, while thirty-six percent were German immigrants. Ninety-nine percent of the inhabitants spoke English, and their occupations varied from bookkeepers, to cigar makers, laborers, schoolteachers and seamstresses. Eighty-two percent of the housing units were renter-occupied, and a quarter of the individuals were listed as “boarders.”

Several of the inhabitants who owned the properties from which they were displaced underwent expropriation proceedings through Criminal District Courts. On August 7, 1903, a petition was filed by the City of New Orleans against Sarah Levy, widow of Michel Lazard, to expropriate a property at 433 Chartres Streetⁱⁱⁱ (see Figure 16 below). Two main themes emerged in the evidence and testimony from these proceedings. First, spatial settlement patterns guided the selection of the site for the courthouse and second, members of the Courthouse Commission placed common value on home ownership.⁸³

iii. Although she is referred to by her maiden name, Levy, throughout the expropriation proceedings, Sarah Levy is listed by her married name, Sarah Lazard, in 1900 Census records, despite the fact that she is also listed as a widow.

Figure 16. 400 block Chartres, looking toward the Cathedral, c. 1900, 433 Chartres visible (double gallery building)



Source: Historic New Orleans Collection, *Vieux Carré Survey*

On October 15, 1903, Bernard McCloskey testified on behalf of the plaintiff in the case of the *City of New Orleans v. Mrs. Sarah Levy, widow of Michel Lazard, et als.* After identifying himself as the Commission president, he then identified its other members: E.B. Kruttschnitt, J. D. Hill, George H. Dunbar, Mr. Aristide Hopkins, and William P Ball. McCloskey attested that, “after a great deal of investigation, first as to the proper location and secondly; as to the expense connected with that location” the Commission had chosen the squares bounded by Royal, Conti, St. Louis and Chartres Streets. He stated further that the property owners themselves, as well as other “people of this downtown district” had petitioned to the

Commission to locate the Courthouse at the selected site and that nearly half of the structures had already been demolished.⁸⁴ Much like the planners behind the Louis Armstrong Park project, proponents believed that the New Courthouse would enliven the district and raise property values in the French Quarter.⁸⁵

McCloskey continued by declaring that, in his opinion as someone who had a great deal of experience dealing with expropriations and real estate values for the New Orleans Levee Board, the Commission had over paid for the square by ten to twenty thousand dollars. He maintained that the Commission had chosen to compensate property holders so liberally to ensure swift acquisition of the land and erection of the Courthouse.⁸⁶ With swiftness in mind, the Courthouse Commission accelerated the demolition process, razing the forty-one buildings several years before the Beaux Arts structure was erected, as we have already seen.

In his cross-examination, Mr. Leopold, attorney for Ms. Lazard, pointed out that Mr. McCloskey had a great deal of experience in assisting quasi-public entities, such as the New Orleans Levee Board, with expropriation proceedings. He noted further that on the same day in which the Courthouse Commission had accepted the majority of the options, including Ms. Lazard's, he had "withdrawn and recanted" the option for 433 Chartres at a meeting of the Courthouse Commission (see Commission meeting notice in Figure 17 below). McCloskey answered, "I don't know what you know by 'recant'; I don't understand that if I have an option

for three months that you can come and take it away from me.” In response, Leopold stated that, “that is a question of law for the court and jury to determine.”⁸⁷

Figure 17. Commission Meeting Notice sent to Mrs. Levy regarding 433 Chartres



Source: New Orleans Public Library, author's own photo

When asked if he believed that the City of New Orleans was progressing in any way, McCloskey replied, “Yes sir, I think it is making great progress; the very fact that we are going to put up a Courthouse shows that.” Later, McCloskey stated that the fact that the owners of the subject building occupied the property “might in a degree enter into the sentimental end of [the property’s value], but from a business standpoint, it should not.” Leopold then pointed out the “inconvenience” the parties would be subjected to.⁸⁸ Much like reformers in New York

and Chicago discussed previously in this study, these elites—regardless of their roles—neglected to consider the overwhelming majority of the displaced population: the tenants.

And again, when questioned regarding the amounts paid to other property holders that exceeded the standard one-third over the assessed value, the “inconveniences” experienced by the rental populations were not discussed. Addressing the “Phillipi case,” regarding a case at 614 St. Louis (see Figure 18 below) in which a property that assessed for two thousand dollars was acquired by the Courthouse Commission for four thousand dollars, McCloskey stated that the property owner, F.C. Phillipi,

had a business there and lived upstairs. He had a printing establishment, probably the best on this side of Canal Street ... it wouldn't be like the case of a residence, because he had the good will attached to the business and would have to move all of his plant to another place.⁸⁹

When compared with Sanborn maps, the 1900 Census provides evidence that the majority of the ground floor shop owners within the courthouse square also lived in the upper floors.⁹⁰ No measures, however, were apparently taken to compensate these proprietors for the “good will” attached to their establishments.

Discussion then shifted to the condition of 433 Chartres. W.A. Kernaghan, of Macon & Kernaghan real estate, attested that the structure was “in good general condition.” He went on further to say that, “It is an old building, and all these old buildings are solidly constructed.”

When questioned about the desirability of properties on Chartres Street, Mr. Kernaghan stated

Figure 18. 614 Conti (center building), c. 1900



Source: Historic New Orleans Collection, *Vieux Carré Survey*

that the absence of a streetcar line at that location was an asset to the property that increased its value. Still, he stated further, that it had been “difficult to dispose of property in that section.”⁹¹

When questioned by Mr. Leopold about Mr. Mercier and Mr. Upshur being the “prime factors” of the agreements, McCloskey responded that they rendered “valuable assistance” and agreed that they owned a considerable amount of property in the Second District. Charles Lob, Ms. Lazard’s son-in-law, then stated that Mr. Mercier and Mr. Upshur had “influenced” him to

offer the option. Mr. Leopold concluded by stating that the owner is satisfied with her home, and desires to continue living there, as she had done for many years.⁹²

The defense began with testimony from local builders and architects verifying the condition of the building and the quality of its construction. Architect Albert Diettel testified, that in his opinion as a professional and a native to the city of New Orleans, “you couldn’t build that house with the present prices of materials just as they are now, with the blue stone, verandah, English slate, marble mantel piece and so on for less than nine thousand dollars.” In his cross-examination, City Attorney Dupre asked Diettel, “as a matter of fact, isn’t this building an old rattle trap? Isn’t it a dirty old building, such as a number of them are in that section? Wouldn’t it be a good riddance to the City?” Mr. Diettel responded, “No. I think it is a good building.”⁹³

Another architect, A.C. Babin, who resided at 2609 Marais Street, in the predominantly Creole section of the seventh ward, also testified that the building was in fine condition. He stated that Ms. Lazard, her daughter and son occupied the second floor, while tenants occupied the third level. In response to Leopold’s questioning about the ground floor, Babin stated that it had formerly been occupied by a cabinetmaker, but appeared vacant during his inspection.⁹⁴

Geo Friederichs, of Friederichs & Redersheiner Real Estate, stated that he too had lived in New Orleans his whole life. Further, he suggested that Chartres Street, as one of the only

streets “not encumbered by rail lines”, was one of the most desirable in the second district.

Mr. Dupre stated to the witness, “None of it is very prosperous looking, among these buildings that have been standing for fifty years?” Mr. Friedrichs responded, “Well, it is a very solidly constructed building, and wants no very considerable repairs.”⁹⁵

Jennie Lazard, daughter of Sarah Lazard, then took the stand. She testified that the cabinetmaker occupying the ground floor had only vacated months before, as demolitions in the area commenced. Referring to an application for abatement submitted by Ms. Lazard, Dupre asked, “Is it true that the property was always vacant, and also the store, and that nobody wanted to rent on Chartres Street and it was a dead street?”⁹⁶ The examination then shifted toward the rental income of the property and additional applications for abatement submitted by the property owner over the years. Never, at any point throughout the proceedings, did either side fully consider the displacement of Ms. Lazard and her children, the disruption of the way of life they had known for at least forty years.^{iv} The rental income from 433 Chartres sustained life for the seventy-five year-old, widowed German immigrant. No price could be placed on the social networks she likely developed. She died shortly thereafter, in 1906.⁹⁷

iv. 1900 Census records indicate that Ms. Lazard’s eldest child, Emile Lazard was born in Louisiana in 1860.

Piecemeal Manifestation of City Beautiful Principles

As previously stated, City Beautiful principles advocated broad, sweeping changes to the design and infrastructure of cities. A fundamental tenet is the order and congruence created by clusters of such structures connected with prominent boulevards, radial axes, grand plazas and parks. This aesthetic unity was intended to inspire civic unity and pride.⁹⁸ Because the Courthouse project was a piecemeal implantation of these tenets, it creates a stark contrast with its surrounding built environment, rather than an aesthetic unity. Among the surrounding squares densely packed with vernacular structures of much older vintage, the courthouse square could be likened to a modern patch on an elaborately woven antique tapestry.

Although it was anything but uniform, the building was expected to inspire civic unity:

Out of such additions as these there is also a gain distinctly civic in influence. Not only does beauty in the town, considered from the spiritual side alone, enrich the life of the toilers, it not only invitingly lays here new realms of aspiration, thought and sentiment, and so becomes an educational influence which in one way or another can be readily turned to definite ends. It creates civic pride, and that is an asset as precious to a city as is patriotism to a nation.⁹⁹

According to the revisionist perspective of historian William H. Wilson, in his book, *The City Beautiful Movement*, the City Beautiful never achieved its loftier goals of comprehensive alterations to the built environment because the ensuing planning movement, the City Practical, overshadowed its efforts.¹⁰⁰ A much-appreciated departure from the ubiquitous

historical interpretations of the City Beautiful in Chicago, New York, Washington or San Francisco, Wilson's book presents a series of case studies of more discreet locales in which civic betterment efforts manifested themselves: Kansas City, Harrisburg, Seattle, Denver and Dallas. His study of Dallas in particular represents another noteworthy deviation from the historical narratives discussed thus far—an analysis of the ways in which City Beautiful principles were actually implemented. More often than not, as was the case in Dallas, these lofty efforts at civic improvement manifested themselves as piecemeal improvements within existing built environments, as was the case with the New Courthouse Building Project in the Vieux Carré.¹⁰¹

But before Wilson introduces his case studies, he traces the foundations and philosophies surrounding the movement. It is these revisionist assessments of the City Beautiful that truly distinguish his work from the prevailing scholarship in the field. Defending the movement against attacks on its fundamentally aesthetic and intrinsically political character, Wilson contends that the City Beautiful was a comprehensive endeavor that merged social, bureaucratic and design-based components. Further, he argues that the participatory processes and democratic institutions so integral to the movement disprove the predominant claim that the City Beautiful was controlled by and crafted for the middle and upper classes.¹⁰²

Wilson also challenges Boyer's contention that the City Beautiful was an exercise in social control by pointing out that his line of reasoning assumes that the "moral control" of the

masses characteristic of the Jacksonian Era continued into the Progressive era.¹⁰³ The problem with this assumption, Wilson argues, is that it does not take into account the very different climate of the period, in which Darwinian theories of man as a malleable product of his environment were profoundly influential among intellectuals. Interestingly, he points to the work of Edward A. Ross, in *Social Control* (1910), to further buttress his argument that City Beautiful strategies were not characterized by coercion. As noted earlier in this work, Boyer also points to *Social Control* to support his counter claim. He argues that, although reform strategies had shifted from coercion to positive environmentalism, the end goal of controlling the masses continued—regardless of the means by which this control was accomplished.¹⁰⁴ In this way, Wilson's contention regarding the influence of Darwinist thought during this period would be more valid as an explanation for the shift from direct to indirect strategies rather than as a critique of Boyer's argument that the City Beautiful was an exercise in social control.

Nonetheless, City Beautiful proponents claimed that their comprehensive transformations of urban landscapes would create an aesthetic unity and cohesion that would inspire a parallel social harmony. Although a more piecemeal element of this lofty vision, the New Courthouse Building Project was promoted with equally progressive and optimistic aspirations.

Also focusing on the ways in which City Beautiful principles were implemented, rather than imagined, Jon A. Peterson also argues that piecemeal manifestations were ubiquitous throughout the Progressive era in his piece, *The City Beautiful Movement: Forgotten Origins and Lost Meanings*. According to Peterson, the local proponents responsible for strengthening the movement frequently engaged in incremental programs with attainable aims. These improvements took the form of singular projects such as the courthouse, but also beautification installations such as public sculpture, murals and decorative additions to existing structures.¹⁰⁵

Recall the *Daily Picayune* article previously cited in this investigation, in which the author described the conditions of the “uptown” American influence, in which grand structures had been erected and connected by newly laid streets; modern conveniences of electricity, clean water and sewerage had been employed; and beautifying elements such as parks and gardens had been enjoyed.¹⁰⁶

Concluding Remarks

Today, the venerable Supreme Court building occupying the square between Royal, Conti, Chartres and St. Louis streets is so far removed from its controversial past that few challenge its local significance. Although not part of the traditional vernacular of the French Quarter, the structure contributes to the living, evolving character of the district. The built environment inevitably undergoes changes over time; these changes are vestiges of the environments in which they manifest themselves. The quality craftsmanship, imposing stature and classically fashioned architecture of the Louisiana Supreme Court building, though anachronistic in its setting, is representative of one of the many chapters in New Orleans' vibrant history.

Three principal themes provide a framework for an analysis of the planning processes surrounding the new courthouse building. Cultural relations between the two dominant ethnic groups, Creoles and Americans, were expressive of an anomalous correlation between decision-maker and displaced compared to other urbanizing cities during the Progressive era. This was largely due to the reversed roles, in which newcomers were the power-holders and established communities were threatened. In other early American cities, elites pushed to protect the social and economic structures of metropolitan areas from the potential expansion of heterogeneous landscapes and the vice they harbored. In New Orleans, however, American

elites pushed for the development of their institutions specifically to disrupt the established networks of old city. The massive migration of Americans at this time meant that the cultural identity of native groups was threatened.

Second, affected groups constructed memories and created myths, whether to value places, validate cultures or cope with failed systems. The tension identified by Max Page between the destruction of places and the selective memories tied to them emerged during the demolition of the structures occupying the courthouse square. Furthermore, these constructs unfolded simultaneously with the development of a mythical Creole history, imagined to elevate an exceedingly endangered culture. And in this uncertain post-Reconstruction environment, Progressive-era optimism and veneration for Northern social and economic systems accounted for yet another form of mythmaking. And finally, though the New Courthouse Building Project was a piecemeal manifestation of far-reaching City Beautiful principles, the lofty visions of its proponents were often realized through such incremental projects.

As previously mentioned, the material condition of the built environment in the Quarter largely protected the structures from the widespread demolitions that would have been necessary to construct such a harmonious cityscape. Environmentally, the success of the project depends upon the scale on which success is measured. As a manifestation of lofty

Progressive-era urban reform ideologies, it fell short in creating a harmonious environment. On a more specific scale, however, the courthouse is a masterful execution of the Beaux Arts style favored by the proponents of City Beautiful. If nothing else, it commands attention; it inspires awe.

The project's economic success, however, is less dependent upon perspectives. The shortcomings of the Courthouse Commission, local and state governments in securing funding for the endeavor must have exacerbated the community's wariness of these decision-makers. Because inspiring civic pride was one of the key goals of the City Beautiful, the project was an economic failure in this respect. In addition, the premature demolitions at the site were damaging to the local economy, as revenues produced from the income-producing operations at these structures were unnecessarily lost for a number of years.

Perhaps the most elusive of the outcomes to evaluate are the social ones. In any case, it is challenging to measure such qualitative data, particularly when one of the dominant groups is not given a voice. There were no Creoles on the Courthouse Commission, and their underrepresentation made it difficult for their sentiments to be expressed publically. Furthermore, the exclusiveness of the culture made it a mystery in the minds of the American counterparts, and subsequently, their understanding of the group was largely based on conjecture.

That being said, the New Courthouse case can be seen as a microcosm of the broader trend of disintegration of Creole history and identity during the period; the Louisiana Supreme Court Building is a physical symbol of the encroachment of American ideologies onto the existing social, cultural and economic fabric of the Old Square. For Creoles, just as for immigrant populations in the great industrial cities during the same period, this episode was a push by those in power to assimilate these groups and create a homogeneous society.

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Appendix 1: 1900 Census data, squares 39 and 40

ENUMERATION DISTRICT 34

LOCATION				NAME	RELATION	PERSONAL DESCRIPTION							NATIVITY			CITIZENSHIP			OCCUPATION		EDUCATION				HOME OWNERSHIP	
Street	house no.	no. of dwelling house in order of visitation	no. of family, in the order of visitation		to head of household	race	sex	age	marital status	years married	children	living children	place of birth	pop father	pop mother	year of imm.	years in US	natural sation	of ea. person > 10 years	mo. Unempl oyed	mo. attend school	read	write	speak Eng.	own or rent	free or mort
Chartres	441	151	165	Heinrich, John	head	white	m	45 m		18			Germany	Germany	Germany	1875	25	na	saloon keeper		0	yes	yes	yes	rent (own)	mort
				Heinrich, Emma	wife	white	f	39 m		18	5	3	Louisiana	Germany	Germany							yes	yes	yes		
				Heinrich, Johannas	son	white	m	15 s					Louisiana	Germany	Louisiana				waggon driver	0	yes	yes	yes			
				Heinrich, Theoder J	son	white	m	11 s					Louisiana	Germany	Louisiana				waiter	0	yes	yes	yes			
	435	152		Heinrich, Nathalie L	daughter	white	f	10 s					Louisiana	Germany	Louisiana				at school	9	yes	yes	yes			
				Boland, Fred	boarder	white	m	48 w					Germany	Germany	Germany	1885	15	na	shoe maker	0	yes	yes	yes			
			166	Alt, Marie	head	white	f	44 s					Louisiana	France	France				furnished room		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Alt, Marie	mother	white	f	75 W			13	4	France	France	France	1846	54				yes	yes	no			
				Alt, Francois	brother	white	m	54 s					France	France	France	1850	50		barber	0	yes	yes	yes			
				Gut, Theodore	boarder	white	m	40 s					Switzerland	Switzerland	Switzerland	1882	18		cabinet maker	0	yes	yes	yes			
				Alexandre, Gustave	boarder	white	m	37 s					Louisiana	Italy	Italy				oyster stand	0	yes	yes	yes			
																			drummer							
				Harling, Laurence	boarder	white	m	53 m			23		Louisiana	Germany	Germany				(grocery) waiter	0	yes	yes	yes			
				Stickner, William	boarder	white	m	40 s					Louisiana	Germany	Germany				(restaurant)	0	yes	yes	yes			
	433	153		Batte, H	boarder	white	m	55 w					Mississippi	Mississippi	Mississippi				solicitor (photo)	0	yes	yes	yes			
			167	Lazard, Sarah	head	white	f	72 w			10	6	Germany	France	Germany	1857	43				yes	yes	yes	own	free	
				Lazard, Emile	son	white	m	40 s					Louisiana	France	Germany					yes	yes	yes				
			168	Malter, William	head	white	m	26 m			0		Louisiana	Germany	France				clerk (rice)		yes	yes	yes	rent		
	437	154		Malter, Gertrude	wife	white	f	32 m			0		Germany	Germany	Germany	1888	12				yes	yes	yes			
			169	McKenna, F?	head	white	m	57 w					Pennsylvania	Ireland	Ireland				music (professional)	0	yes	yes	yes	rent		
				McKenna, Katherine	daughter	white	f	22 s					Ohio	Pennsylvania	Virginia				seamstress	0	yes	yes	yes			
				McKenna, John C	son	white	m	18 s					Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Virginia				clerk (office)	0	yes	yes	yes			
				McKenna, Chr J	son	white	m	16 s					Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Virginia				news boy		yes	yes	yes			
			170	Marte, Frank	head	white	m	47 m			17		Italy	Italy	Italy	1880	20	na	? Stand	5	yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Marte, Kattie	wife	white	f	29 m			17	11	3	Louisiana	Ireland	England										
				Marte, John	son	white	m	14 s					Louisiana	Italy	Louisiana				errand boy	0	yes	yes	yes			
			171	Urso, Mathe	head	white	f	35 w			1	1	France	France	France	1880	20		housekeeper	0	yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Urso, Louise	daughter	white	f	16 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	France				soda water	0	yes	yes	yes			
				Schobel, Jos	boarder	white	m	33 s					Louisiana	Germany	Germany				lithographer	0	yes	yes	yes			
				Beeb, William	boarder	white	m	19 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				mechanic	0	yes	yes	yes			
			172	Denelac, Marie	head	black	f	47 w			12	4	Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				work woman	6	no	no	yes	rent		
				Denelac, Henry	son	black	m	24 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana						yes	yes	yes			
				Denelac, Louis	son	black	m	12 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana						9	yes	yes	yes		
				Denelac, Marie C	daughter	black	f	16 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				at school		yes	yes	yes			
				Denelac, Martine	daughter	black	f	1 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				work woman		yes	yes	yes			
	421	155	173	Sanchez, AJ	head	white	m	51 w					Mexico	Spain	Mexico	1866	34	al	shoe maker	6	yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Sanchez, MC	daughter	white	f	16 s					Louisiana	Mexico	Louisiana				seamstress	0	yes	yes	yes			
				Sanchez, AJ	son	white	m	12 s					Louisiana	Mexico	Louisiana				cash boy	6	yes	yes	yes			
				Sanchez, RP	son	white	m	9 s					Louisiana	Mexico	Louisiana							yes	yes	yes		
419	156	174	Navar, Marcel	head	white	m	64 m			40		Spain	Spain	Spain	1845	55	al	bartender	0	yes	yes	yes	rent			
			Navar, Marie	wife	white	f	61 m			40	0	0	France	France	France	1845	55				yes	yes	yes			
417	157	175	Bouvier, JP	head	white	m	32 m			8		Louisiana	France	France				perfume manufacturer	0	yes	yes	yes	own	free		
			Bouvier, AL	wife	white	f	25 m			8	4	4	Louisiana	France	France						yes	yes	yes			
			Bouvier, Louis	son	white	m	6 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana												
			Bouvier, Aurelie	daughter	white	f	5 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana												
			Bouvier, Fernand	son	white	m	2 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana												
			Bouvier, Laure	daughter	white	f	0 S					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana												
			Richard, Cal	boarder	white	f	54 w			6	2	Germany	Germany	Germany	1870	30					yes	yes	yes			
			Precier, Marie	boarder	white	f	28 s					France	France	France				seamstress	0	yes	yes	no				
			Taylor, Magie	boarder	white	f	29 s					Louisiana	Ireland	England				seamstress	0	yes	yes	yes				
			Lamothe, Camille	boarder	white	f	21 s					Louisiana	France	Louisiana						yes	yes	yes				
		176	Carrey, James	head	white	m	30 m			6		Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				laborer	0	yes	yes	yes	rent			
415	158		Carrey, AL	wife	white	f	23 m			6	1	1	Louisiana	Louisiana	Germany						yes	yes	yes			
			Carrey, BF	son	white	m	5 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana												
			McLearn, Mary	m in law	white	f	49 w			2	2	Germany	Germany	Germany	1870	30					yes	no	yes			
		177	McKanney, Arise	head	white	f	27 w			0	0	0	n carolina	n carolina	n carolina				seamstress	0	yes	yes	yes	rent		
413	159		Winberg, Ella	boarder	white	f	26 w			0	0	Louisiana	US	Georgia				seamstress	0	yes	yes	yes				
			Dyer, Ida	boarder	white	f	23 m			1	1	DC	DC	Maryland				seamstress	0	yes	yes	yes				
																	bookstore manager	0	yes	yes	yes	rent				
			Schuchardt, c	m in law	white	f	73 w			9	3	Germany	Germany	Germany	1856	54					yes	yes	yes			

Appendix 1: 1900 Census data, squares 39 and 40

LOCATION				NAME	RELATION	PERSONAL DESCRIPTION							NATIVITY			CITIZENSHIP			OCCUPATION		EDUCATION					HOME OWNERSHIP		
Street	house no.	no. of dwelling house in order of visitation	no. of family in the order of visitation		to head of household	race	sex	age	marital status	years married	children	living children	place of birth	prob father	prob mother	year of imm.	years in US	naturalization	of ea. person > 10 years	Unempl oyed	mo. attend school	read	write	spea k Eng.	own or rent	free or mort		
Conti	613	161	180	Huye, Isidore	daughter	white	f	13 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				at school		9	yes	yes	yes				
				Huye, Sarah	daughter	white	f	11 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				at school		9	yes	yes	yes				
				Huye, Geo	son	white	f	9 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana													
				Huye, Ger	brother	white	m	30 s					Louisiana	Germany	Germany					box maker	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Muller, Aug	roomer	white	m	52 s					Germany	Germany	Germany	1866	34	na		harness maker	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Chuck, Lum	head	chinese	m	40 m		10			China	China	China							0		yes	yes	yes	rent	
				Chuck, May	wife	white	f	27 m		10	1	1	Louisiana	Germany	Germany	1885	15	al		shrimp factory	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Chuck, Ida May	daughter	white	f	7 s					Louisiana	China	Louisiana									yes	yes	yes		
				181 Girardi, Chaster	head	white	m	70 w					Italy	Italy	Italy	1860	20	al		jeweler	12		no	no	yes	rent		
				Girardi, Berthe	daughter	white	f	25 m		2	1	1	Louisiana	Italy	Louisiana					seamstress	6		yes	yes	yes			
				Gamache, Clemens	s in law	white	m	30 m		2			Louisiana	Germany	Germany					cigar maker	2		yes	yes	yes			
				Gamache, Lillian	g-daughter	white	f	2 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana													
				Hiche, Emily	neice	white	f	16 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana					seamstress	4		yes	yes	yes	yes	own	free
				Aurianne, Peter	head	white	m	82 m		26			France	France	France	1840	60			?my-022			yes	yes	yes	yes		
Exchange	400	163	182	Aurianne, Barbara	wife	white	f	64 m		26	8	5	Germany	Germany	Germany	1850	50					3	yes	yes	yes			
				Aurianne, Clara	daughter	white	f	24 s					Louisiana	France	Germany					school teacher	3	yes	yes	yes				
				Aurianne, Augustine	daughter	white	f	23 s					Louisiana	France	Germany					school teacher	3	yes	yes	yes				
				Aurianne, Adela	daughter	white	f	21 s					Louisiana	France	Germany								yes	yes	yes			
				183 Newton, John	head	white	m	31 m		5			Louisiana	Ireland	Ireland					laborer	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Newton, Mary	wife	white	f	28 m		5	0	0	Louisiana	Cuba	Ireland								yes	yes	yes			
				184 Lipps, John	head	white	m	30 w		4			Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana					salon keeper	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Lipps, John W	son	white	m	8 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana													
				Lipps, Willie	son	white	m	7 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana													
				185 Gippel, Mar	head	white	m	30 m		9			Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana					house painter	6		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Gippel, Barbara	wife	white	f	31 m		9	1	1	Louisiana	Germany	Louisiana								yes	yes	yes			
				Gippel, Dorothy	daughter	white	f	7 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana													
				186 De Monluzun, H	head	white	f	49 w			5	4	Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana					furnished room	0		yes	yes	yes	own	mort	
				St Louis	614	165	186	De Monluzun, Edgar	son	white	m	15 s					Louisiana	France	Louisiana				stenographer	0		yes	yes	yes
Fazende, Anthony	boarder	white	m					37 m		7			Mexico	Louisiana	Louisiana	1865	34			tailor	0		yes	yes	yes			
Fazende, Evellia	boarder	white	f					31 m		7			Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana								yes	yes	yes			
McNaim, Alexandre	boarder	white	m					43 s					Canada Eng	Canada Eng	Canada Eng	1896	4			lineman	4		yes	yes	yes			
Wallace, George F	boarder	white	m					39 s					New York	New York	Greenland					book agent	7		yes	yes	yes			
Gauthier, Seymour	boarder	white	m					26 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana					clerk (office)	0		yes	yes	yes			
Gauthier, Sidney	boarder	white	m					30 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana					lawyer	0		yes	yes	yes			
Harper, Isa D	boarder	white	m					45 m		25			Mississppi	n carolina	s carolina					laborer	4		yes	yes	yes			
Loomis, Charles S	boarder	white	m					51 s					Illinois	Illinois	Illinois					carpenter	0		yes	yes	yes			
Hart, John E	boarder	white	m					29 s					Wisconsin	Ohio	Wisconsin					carpenter	0		yes	yes	yes			
187 Villa, John	head	white	m					28 m		3			Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana					electrician	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
Villa, Lottie	wife	white	f					25 m		3	1	1	Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana								yes	yes	yes			
Villa, Gertie	daughter	white	f					1 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana													
188 Neven, Jno	head	white	m					59 m		29			Canada Fr	Canada Fr	Canada Fr	1865	35			shoe former	6		yes	yes	yes	rent		
St Louis	614	166	188	Neven, Margaret	wife	white	f	49 m		29	0	0	Germany	Germany	Germany	1868	32					yes	yes	yes				
				189 Dubois, Daigo	head	white	m	54 m		7			Louisiana	France	Louisiana					laborer	5		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Dubois, Armantine J	wife	white	f	34 m		7	4	4	Louisiana	France	France							yes	yes	yes				
				Dubois, Beauregard H	son	white	m	7 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana													
				Dubois, Marie	daughter	white	f	6 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana													
				Dubois, Henry	son	white	m	5 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana													
				Dubois, George	son	white	m	3 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana													
				190 Lawrence, Hebert	head	white	m	35 m		5			Louisiana	France	France					laborer	6		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Lawrence, Merced	wife	white	f	34 m		5	5	3	Cuba	Cuba	Cuba	1872	22					yes	yes	yes				
				Lawrence, Mathilda	daughter	white	f	5 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Cuba													
				Lawrence, Adolph	son	white	m	4 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Cuba													
				Lawrence, Josephine	daughter	white	f	3 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Cuba													
				Cossi, L	f in law	white	m	62 w					Cuba	Cuba	Cuba	1869	31			cigar maker	0		yes	yes	yes			
				191 Burkle, George D	head	white	m	47 m		13			Germany	Germany	Germany	1884	16			saloon keeper	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
St Louis	614	168	191	Burkle, Mary	wife	white	f	31 m		13	2	2	Germany	Germany	Germany	1884	16					yes	yes	yes				
				Burkle, Charles	son	white	m	10 s					Louisiana	Germany	Germany					at school	10		yes	yes	yes			
				Burkle, Christopher	son	white	m	7 s					Louisiana	Germany	Germany													
				Ostentag, Louis	boarder	white	m	42 s					Germany	Germany	Germany	1881	19			chemist	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Swanborn, Adolph	boarder	white	m	45 m		14			Sweden	Sweden	Sweden	1872	28			marble worker	4		yes	yes	yes			
				Noel, Mathews	boarder	white	m	44 s					Germany	Germany	Germany	1873	27			sugar refiner	4		yes	yes	yes			
				Herber, Louis	boarder	white	m	40 s					Austria	Austria	Austria	1889	21			cook	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Hoffsham, John	boarder	white	m	41 s					Louisiana	Germany	Ireland					baker	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Benninger, Anton	boarder	white	m	33 s					Austria	Austria	Austria	1893	7			merchant	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Langer, Paul	boarder	white	m	31 s					Germany	Germany	Germany	1893	7			cabinet maker	0		yes	yes	yes			
				192 Philippe, FC	head	white	m	59 m		30			France	France	France	1854	46			painter	0		yes	yes	yes	own	free	
				Philippe, Catherine	wife	white	f	55 m		30	3	2	France	France	France	1854	46						yes	yes	yes			
				Philippe, Clotilde	daughter	white	f	20 s					Louisiana	France	France								yes	yes	yes			
				193 Thompson, Charles H	head	white	m	48 m		15			Mississppi	Mississippi	Mississippi					engineer	6		yes	yes	yes	rent		
Thompson, Annie	wife	white	f	37 m		15	2	2	Italy	Italy	Italy	1880	20						no	no	yes							
Thompson, Edna	daughter	white	f	7 s					Louisiana	Mississippi	Italy																	
Thompson, Stella	daughter	white	f	4 s					Louisiana	Mississippi	Italy																	

Appendix 1: 1900 Census data, squares 39 and 40

LOCATION				NAME	RELATION	PERSONAL DESCRIPTION							NATIVITY			CITIZENSHIP			OCCUPATION		EDUCATION					HOME OWNERSHIP	
Street	house no.	no. of dwelling house in order of visitation	no. of family in the order of visitation		to head of household	race	sex	age	marital status	years married	children	living children	place of birth	pop father	pop mother	year of imm.	years in US	naturalization	of ea. person > 10 years	mo. Unempl oyed	mo. attend school	read	write	speak Eng.	own or rent	free or mort	
				Chuvini, Jos	son	white	m	17 s					Louisiana	Italy	Italy				laborer	8		yes	yes	yes			
				Chuvini, Angelo	son	white	m	15 s					Louisiana	Italy	Italy				engineer	8		yes	yes	yes			
				Chuvini, Charles	son	white	m	8 s					Louisiana	Italy	Italy												
				Chuvini, Tony	son	white	m	5 s					Louisiana	Italy	Italy												
				Chuvini, Arthur	son	white	m	5 s					Louisiana	Italy	Italy												
ENUMERATION DISTRICT 35																											
Conti	639	163	477	Schuur, Herman	head	white	m	57 s					Germany	Germany	Germany	1867	33 na		bookkeeper	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Koerner, William	boarder	white	m	50 s					Germany	Germany	Germany	1867	33 na		bar tender	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Smith, Edward	boarder	white	m	33 s					Switzerland	Switzerland	Switzerland		10		laborer			yes	yes	yes			
				Meyers, Augusta	boarder	white	f	41 w			2	2	Germany	Germany	Germany				cook	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Breisacher, George	boarder	white	m	31 s					Germany	Germany	Germany	1894	6		brewer	0		yes	yes	yes			
	625	164	478	Jensen, Charles	head	white	m	34 m		6			Denmark	Denmark	Denmark	10			horse trader	0		yes	yes	yes	own	free	
				Jenson, Bertha	wife	white	f	34 m		6	0	0	France	France	France	19						yes	yes	yes			
	621	165	479	??	head	white	m	35 m		2			France	France	France	1894	6		wood and coal dealer	0		yes	yes	yes	own	free	
				? , Laura	wife	white	f	39 m		2	2	1	Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana							yes	yes	yes			
				? , Cecile	daughter	white	f	6 s					Louisiana	France	Louisiana							yes	yes	yes			
				Miller, John	boarder	white	m	27 s					Germany	Germany	Germany		1		laborer	0		yes	yes	yes			
Exchange	407	166	480	Bartel, Charles	boarder	white	m	65 s					Germany	Germany	Germany	1859			laborer			yes	yes	yes			
	415	167	481	Metzger, Fred	head	white	m	49 s					Germany	Germany	Germany		32					yes	yes	yes			
				Roth, Eugene L	head	white	m	44 w					Louisiana	Louisiana	France				laborer	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Roth, Eugene L, jr	son	white	m	18 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				laborer	0		yes	yes	yes			
				482 Dutell, Eugene L	head	white	m	35 m		16			Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				laborer	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Duteil, Mary	wife	white	f	33 m		16	3	3	Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana							yes	yes	yes			
				Duteil, Loretta	daughter	white	f	15 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				servant	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Duteil, Josph	son	white	m	8 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana												
				483 Thomas, Mollie	head	white	f	42 w			3	3	Arkansas	France	France				work woman	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Parker, James	son	white	m	17 s					Louisiana	New York	Arkansas				glazer	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Thomas, Winnie	daughter	white	f	4 s					Louisiana	New York	Arkansas												
				Thomas, Josephine	daughter	white	f	2 s					Louisiana	New York	Arkansas												
	417	168	484	Porter, Nellie	head	white	f	35 w			1	1	Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				housekeeper	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Porter, William	son	white	m	14 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				laborer	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Sullivan, Katie	boarder	white	f	30 s					Louisiana	Ireland	Ireland							yes	yes	yes			
				Sullivan, Dave	boarder	white	m	20 s					Louisiana	Ireland	Ireland				bed maker	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Sullivan, Frank	boarder	white	m	24 w					Louisiana	Ireland	Ireland				millwright	0		yes	yes	yes			
				485 Trevino, Manuel	head	white	m	37 m		6			Texas	Texas	Texas				candy maker	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Trevino, Lucie	wife	white	f	28 m		6	3	3	Virginia	Tennessee	Tennessee							yes	yes	yes			
				Trevino, Juanita	daughter	white	f	5 s					Louisiana	Texas	Virginia												
				Trevino, Henry	son	white	m	1 s					Louisiana	Texas	Virginia												
				Trevino, Nettie	daughter	white	f	1 s					Louisiana	Texas	Virginia												
	419	169	486	Piton, Hiram	head	white	m	38 m		10			Louisiana	France	France				drug clerk	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Piton, Agathe	wife	white	f	27 m		10	2	2	Louisiana	France	France							yes	yes	yes			
				Piton, Lydia	daughter	white	f	9 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana												
				Piton, Hiramine	daughter	white	f	7 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana												
				486 Dillac, Jean	head	white	m	68 m		30			France	France	France	1860	40		laborer	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				wife	white	f	82 m	30		3	3	3	Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana												
	421	170	487	Richardson, Josephine	head	white	f	50 w			1	1	Louisiana	Spain	Virginia				housekeeper	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Richardson, Louis H	son	white	m	21 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				telegraph operator	0		yes	yes	yes			
				real estate																							
				488 Dorstein, Charles	head	white	m	55 m		11			Holland	Holland	Holland	1870	30		aqent	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Dorstein, Louisa	wife	white	f	35 m		11			Georgia	Georgia	Georgia							yes	yes	yes			
				489 Barel, Pierre	head	white	m	51 w					France	France	France	1876	24		carpenter	0		yes	yes	yes	own	free	
				Leduc, Josephine	neice	white	f	22 s					France	France	France	1896	4					yes	yes	yes			
	425	171	490	Mercier, Marcellin	head	white	m	32 m		1			France	France	France	1889	11		?			yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Mercier, Marie	wife	white	f	28 m		1			Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana							yes	yes	yes			
St Louis	620	172	491	Martin, Jonas	head	white	m	59 w					Fr Canada	France	Fr Canada	1852	48		shoe manufacturer	0		yes	yes	yes	own	free	
				Martin, Jonas, jr	son	white	m	10 s					Louisiana	Fr Canada	Louisiana				at school	8		yes	yes	yes			
				492 Schulz, Charles	head	white	m	62 m		36			Germany	Germany	Germany	1865	35		stencil engraver	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Schulz, Henriette	wife	white	f	64 m		36	3	2	Louisiana	Mexico	Mexico							yes	yes	yes			
				Dellile, Achille	nephew	white	m	30 w					Louisiana	France	Louisiana				laborer	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Boismare, Pauline	daughter	white	f	29 w					Louisiana	Germany	Louisiana				housekeeper	0		yes	yes	yes			
Royal	422	173	493	Goidin, Katie	head	black	f	40 w					Alabama	Virginia	Ireland				housekeeper	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Reis, Bernard	son	black	m	18 s					Texas	Mississippi	Alabama				laborer	0		yes	yes	yes			
	420	174	494	Lee, Tom	head	white	m	40 s					China	China	China	1890	10		laundry	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
	414	175	495	Victor, Charles	head	white	m	56 m		20			Louisiana	France	Louisiana							yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Victor, Palmire	wife	white	f	50 m		20	8	3	Louisiana	France	Louisiana				housekeeper	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Bianche, Baptiste	step son	white	m	27 s					Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				photographer	0		yes	yes	yes			

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LOCATION				NAME	RELATION	PERSONAL DESCRIPTION							NATIVITY			CITIZENSHIP			OCCUPATION			EDUCATION				HOME OWNERSHIP	
Street	house no.	no. of dwelling house in order of visitation	no. of family, in the order of visitation		to head of household	race	sex	age	marital status	years married	children	living children	place of birth	prob father	prob mother	year of imm.	years in US	naturalization	of ea. person > 10 years	mo. Unemployed	mo. attend school	read	write	Eng.	own or rent	free or mort	
	408	176	496	Hepburn, Celestine	head	white	f	52	w		5	3	Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				housekeeper	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Hepburn, Robert	son	white	m	16	s				Louisiana	Virginia	Louisiana				at school		8	yes	yes	yes			
				Baltz, John	s-in-law	white	m	31	m	7			Louisiana	Germany	Germany				engineer	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Baltz, Stella	daughter	white	f	23	m	7	2	1	Louisiana	Virginia	Louisiana							yes	yes	yes			
				Baltz, Jack	grand-son	white	m	1	s				Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana												
				Kirchhoff, Raoul	boarder	white	m	15	s				Louisiana	Germany	Louisiana				at school		8	yes	yes	yes			
				Mather, Eddie	boarder	white	m	18	s				Louisiana	England	Louisiana				laborer railroad	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Rousteau, Gustave	boarder	white	m	54	w				Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				conductor	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Rousteau, Gustave, jr.	boarder	white	m	10	s				Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				at school			yes	yes	yes			
				Baumgartner, Henry	boarder	white	m	40	s				Louisiana	Germany	Germany				? inspector	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Goldenbow, William	boarder	white	m	40	s				Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				laborer	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Williams, Edward	boarder	white	m	45	s				Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				photographer	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Smith, Rachael	boarder	white	f	84	w				Germany	Germany	Germany	1846	54					yes	yes	yes			
				Gluck, Joe	boarder	white	m	36	s				Ohio	Australia	Australia				jeweler	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Gilloly, Thomas	boarder	white	m	23	m	3			Illinois	Louisiana	Louisiana				bookkeeper	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Gilloly, Elaise	boarder	white	f	23	m		3	0	0	Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana						yes	yes	yes			
	406	177	497	Davis, Tom	head	white	m	64	m	20			Virginia	Virginia	Virginia				newspaper editor	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Davis, Molly	wife	white	f	50	m	20	3	1	Alabama	Virginia	Virginia							yes	yes	yes			
				Davis, Mary	daughter	white	f	18	s				Louisiana	Virginia	Alabama				at school			yes	yes	yes			
				Davis, Charles	nephew	white	m	27	s				Louisiana	Virginia	Louisiana				traveling agent			yes	yes	yes			
			498	Lermina, Pauline	head	black	f	50	s				Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				cook			yes	yes	yes			
	404	178	499	Harris, Alfred	head	white	m	55	m	25			Louisiana	s carolina	Louisiana				cigar maker	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Harris, Rose	wife	white	f	50	m	25	2	2	Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana							yes	yes	yes			
				Harris, Lydia	daughter	white	f	24	s				Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				dressmaker			yes	yes	yes			
				Harris, John	son	white	m	22	s				Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				photo engraver			yes	yes	yes			
				Harris, Herminus	mother	white	f	50	w				Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana							yes	yes	yes			
				Harris, Emma	neice	white	f	22	s				Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana							yes	yes	yes			
				Harris, Marie	neice	white	f	21	s				Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana							yes	yes	yes			
				Domingo, Lawrence	boarder	white	m	73	w				Spain	Spain	Spain	1878	22		cigar maker			yes	yes	yes			
	418	179	500	McCord, Marie	head	white	f	40	s				Louisiana	Ireland	Ireland				school teacher	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				McCord, Alice	sister	white	f	22	s				Louisiana	Ireland	Ireland				school teacher	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Evans, Charles	boarder	white	m	50	m	20			Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky				dry goods clerk	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Evans, Annie	boarder	white	f	45	m	20			Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky							yes	yes	yes			
				Cobb, Charles	boarder	white	m	18	s				Louisiana	Maryland	Louisiana				grocery clerk	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Van Gelder, Alvin	boarder	white	m	50	s				New York	New York	New York				bookkeeper	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Johnson, William	boarder	white	m	50	s				Louisiana	Ireland	Ireland				bookkeeper	0		yes	yes	yes			
				?	boarder	white	m	35	s				Louisiana	Germany	Germany				fruit dealer	0		yes	yes	yes			
	426	180	501	Holman, Dosia	head	white	f	41	s				Alabama	Germany	Germany				housekeeper	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Holman, Martha	sister	white	f	37	m	15			Texas	Germany	Germany							yes	yes	yes			
				Cohen, Mose	boarder	white	m	37	m	15			Ohio	Ohio	Ohio				clothing clerk	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Harris, James	boarder	white	m	42	s				Georgia	Georgia	Georgia				insurance agent	0		yes	yes	yes			
			502	Golden, May	head	black	f	60	s				Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				cook	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
	436	181	503	Gandolfo, Marie	head	white	f	60	w		2	2	Switzerland	Switzerland	Switzerland	1860	40		housekeeper	0		yes	yes	yes	rent		
				Gandolfo, Fernun	son	white	m	23	s				Louisiana	Spain	Switzerland				grocery clerk	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Siliceo, Camila	daughter	white	f	30	w				Louisiana	Spain	Switzerland							yes	yes	yes			
				Waddill, Frank	boarder	white	m	34	s				Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				civil engineer	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Levy, Mathis	boarder	white	m	70	s				France	France	France	1860	40					yes	yes	yes			
				Tassin, John S	boarder	white	m	23	s				Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana				school teacher	0		yes	yes	yes			
				Dell, Julia	servant	black	f	50	w		5	5	Louisiana	Tennessee	Tennessee				servant	0		yes	yes	yes			

Vita

Kelly Shutt Cottrell was born in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. After completing her undergraduate degree in Art History from Louisiana State University in 2006, she worked as art historian for an art and antique dealer in her hometown. In 2008, she entered the Master of Science in Urban Studies program at the University of New Orleans. The following semester, she transferred to the Master of Urban and Regional Planning program, concentrating her studies in Historic Preservation. She currently works for the City of New Orleans as a Preservation Planner at the Vieux Carré Commission.