

Where Pleasure and Mystery Overcome the Practical: The Paradox of Old South Myth and New South Progress in New Orleans Architecture

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NEW ORLEANS AND THE NEW SOUTH—STANDING BETWEEN TWO WORLDS.

In 1885 the Louisiana Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition closed its gates. It was also the year in which George Washington Cable's *The Silent South* was published. No longer a New Orleans resident, the author, whose stories of "Tite Poulette" and "Sieur George" exposed the harsh realities underlying the glittering surface of Creole society, condemned racial policy and practice in the South.¹ Also in 1885, Walter H. Page abandoned his "mummified" North Carolina home for New York, convinced that if only the South could forget "constitutional questions which have been irrevocably settled," it could have its own golden cities and skyscrapers.² One year later, Henry Hobson Richardson, a native of St. James Parish, Louisiana, died. Although his contributions were widely recognized as seeds of a new and uniquely American architecture, his landmark Trinity Church (1874) stood in Boston's Copley Square, while his precedent-setting Marshall Field Warehouse (1885) was in Chicago.³ Critics of Southern culture have judged the end of the nineteenth century harshly, lamenting that the first generation of the New South made almost no contribution to its own native culture. Resurgent historicism and the embracing of national trends in design suggested that the supposedly *New South* remained a cultural and economic backwater, trapped between dying traditions and burgeoning modernity.⁴ Architecture was a tangible vehicle for mediating this disparity. This was especially true in New Orleans where the very image of the city was a site of cultural conflict, caught between the national popularity of its antiquities and the local promotion of modern American architecture.

Stereotypic Doric columns and pediments of ante-bellum plantations and Garden District mansions rendered the Old South in harmony with established touchstones of Western civilization from Vitruvius to Palladio. But the essence of Western civilization on the precipice of the new century was the realization of the project of modernity. The latter necessarily meant industrialism, which demanded a new kind of city that New South spokesmen saw as the salvation of their region. Already equipped with a revitalized port, established as a center of trade, and blessed with high cultural production in the great houses that extended north along the St. Charles Avenue corridor, turn-of-the-century New Orleans—the South's largest city—was primed to become that urban model. In the years be-

tween the emergence of the New South and the appearance of the New Deal, New Orleans's architecture reveals the complexity of American modernization in a cultural climate shaped by the legacy of French and Spanish colonial history and Old South legends. Cultural contradictions, often manifested in the physical stuff of the city, abounded. Tourists dined at Antoine's, writers who would become literary giants contributed to the *Double Dealer*, and immigrants hung peppers and macaroni from their wrought iron balconies within a few blocks of the Vieux Carré. The city's architects housed its elite in both concrete boxes and Georgian piles. The skyscraper, the slum, and the plantation did not merely coexist. They expressed a complex relationship between the past and the present which irrevocably colored the representation and reading of the city.

"IT DOESN'T LOOK LIKE THE SOUTH."

At the height of pre-Depression prosperity in the South, W.J. Robinson described the region through pointed comparisons:

Skylines that once pictured ancestral trees today bear the outlines of factory stacks and skyscrapers. Hills and meadows that once knew only the deer and the fox and the path of the lonely mountain folk support roadbeds of trunk line railroads and great highway systems.⁵

The characterization well captured New Orleans. During the first quarter of the twentieth century factory stacks punctuated the riverfront, skyscrapers refigured the business sector, and spectacular steel bridges linked the city with the outside world. As early as 1910, *Collier's* praised New Orleans as one of the most interesting and picturesque of Southern cities: "It is growing marvelously...Modern office buildings are being rapidly substituted for the squat architecture of ante-bellum days."⁶ This assessment is all the more telling, for it was reprinted in *Architectural Art and Its Allies*, the organ of the New Orleans Chapter of the American Institute of Architects.

Edited by architect and civic leader Allison Owen (1869-1951),⁷ *Architectural Art and Its Allies*, published from 1906 through 1912, offered a forum for "essays on civic improvement and Southern ar-

chitecture."⁸ Articles documenting the history of New Orleans architecture also appeared occasionally, as did pieces picked up from the national press, including such noteworthy contributions as Louis Sullivan's "What is Architecture. A Study in the American People of Today."⁹ Expressly directed to construction and real estate interests as well as to architects, the journal's rhetoric propounded the values of modernism and progress, but its conceptual bases appeared broad and inclusive. Preserving the city's antiquities could be accomplished while promoting the construction of all buildings that "express the spirit of their age."¹⁰

Architectural Arts and Its Allies did not hesitate to express the spirit of its age: "Wonderful progress in sky-line buildings, up-to-date skyscrapers," the buildings that would take the place of the city's "antiquated structures."¹¹ The journal's 1910 essay "Modern New Orleans," a chronicle of the structures that would place New Orleans foremost among world-class modern cities, extolled the technological progress and aesthetic grandeur of the city's contemporary buildings. As an historical document, "Modern New Orleans" provides a succinct portrayal of the rising cityscape's most telling architectural features. On the surface, the article offers a laundry list of those buildings that comprised the swelling central business district north of Canal Street. On a deeper level, it firmly establishes modernity and marketability as concomitants in the New South city. Modernity and its attendant industrial progress are implicit in discussions of lighting, fire-proofing, and ventilating systems; marketability is suggested in head counts of Otis elevators, sunlight in office planning, and elegance of lobby decoration. Discussion of style is conspicuously absent.

In commercial building, New Orleans was far from being out of step in the advent of American turn-of-the-century architecture. Among the earliest examples included in "Modern New Orleans" is the Hennen Building (Thomas Sully, 1894-95), then considered the "first modern office building erected in New Orleans."¹² The essay described it in practical terms, as if scale and cost were the only criteria for great architecture: "Eleven stories high, occupying a 90' x 120' lot, and built at a cost of \$500,000."¹³ The Hennen Building demonstrates Sully's considerable debt to the formulas of the Chicago School in its articulated base of rusticated stone, a soaring vertical shaft enhanced by six stories of bay windows surmounted by a range of Roman-arched windows, and its relatively striped attic story that terminates in an overhanging cornice. A significant counterpoint to the evolution of the American tall building is presented through another example of Sully's work, the Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company (1894, demolished approximately 1919). Its "beauty of construction" and "excellent location," were mentioned in "Modern New Orleans;" so were its airy interiors and their harmonious decorations.¹⁴ As in the Hennen Building, Sully employed the half-hexagonal bay window, engaging cast terra cotta ornament in a Sullivan-esque mode. The brick and terra cotta structure was, however, rare among New Orleans skyscrapers, for its seven stories terminated in a deep Mansard roof, anchored by a pyramidal capped corner tower and punctuated with elegant dormers.

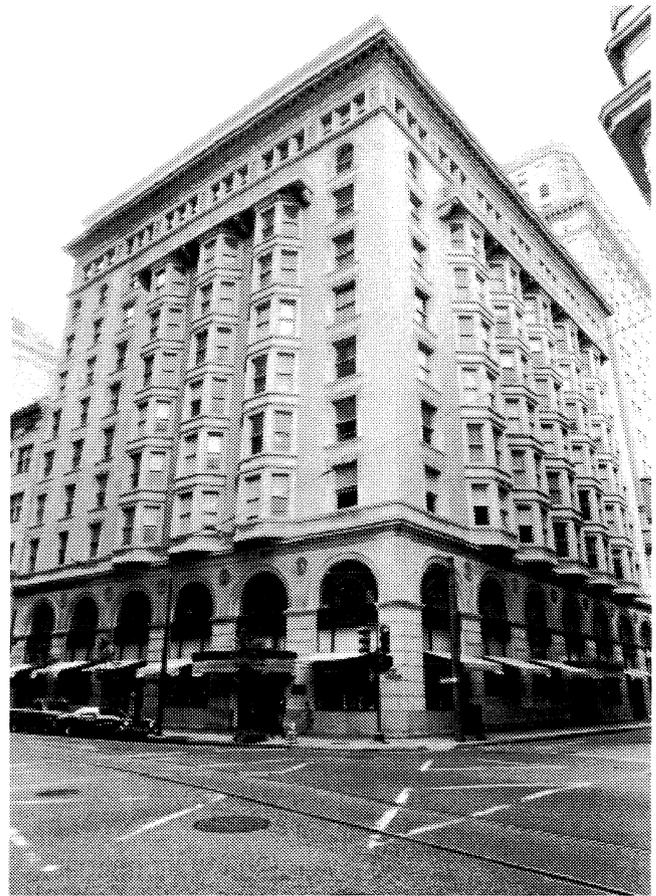


Fig. 1. Thomas Sully. Hennen Building. 1894-95.

Together, the Hennen Building and the Liverpool and London and Globe Building might have suggested that the New Orleans skyscraper, like those of New York, would not follow a single solution.¹⁵ "Modern New Orleans" indicated otherwise. Photographs of an array of high-rise buildings revealed their architects' adherence to a ubiquitous, early-twentieth-century formula, constituted of the square-cut shape of the Sullivan skyscraper, but more heavily clad, invariably evidencing fashionable ornament derivative of the Academic Classical sensibilities that were so influential in American building since the World's Columbian Exposition. Prominent among the newest structures featured was the nine-story Canal-Louisiana Bank Building (1907), a work produced by journal editor Owen and his partner Collins Diboll with Moise Goldstein. *Architectural Art and Its Allies* celebrated the bank building's \$350,000 construction cost, fire-proof concrete and steel structural system, electric lighting, and oak and marble interior fittings. This influential model was iterated in an array of American sector commercial structures: office buildings, including the Perrin Building (Favrot & Livaudais, 1906-07), and the Whitney Central Bank Building (Emile Weil with Clinton & Russell, 1908); department stores, notably the lush glazed terra cotta facade of the Maison Blanche (Stone Brothers, 1907-09), an early mixed use structure incorporating mercantile and office spaces; and hotels, especially the St. Charles (Thomas Sully, 1896, demolished 1974), designed on the model of the Italian Renaissance palazzo but at the great,

exploded scale of twentieth-century commerce.¹⁶ In short, early-twentieth-century New Orleans was beginning to look like other places. The icons of modern New Orleans well fit New South historian W.R. Cash's characterization of the skyscrapers in the South: "Magnificent performers of splendor, testifying to their land and to vindicate it before the world's opinion." Nonetheless, Cash worried that Southern towns had little more use for skyscrapers than "a hog has for a morning coat."¹⁷



Fig. 2. Diboll and Owen with Moise H. Goldstein. Canal-Louisiana Bank Building. 1907.



Fig. 3. Thomas Sully. Third St. Charles Hotel (background, center), 1896 (demolished 1974). View from Canal Street, c. 1910. Courtesy Library of Congress

Members of the Northeastern architectural establishment who traveled south to assess how the Old South's building traditions were faring in the New South's cities reviewed the region's architecture relative to their conception of a normative indigenous style in the manner of Jefferson and Mills—not that of their Louisiana counterparts Gallier and Henry Howard.¹⁸ They were compelled to assimilate Southern progress, a veiled term for conveying architectural parity with the North, on the scale of the skyline rather than through the character of discrete structures. Aymar Embury's introduction to his "Old New Orleans" is thus revealing.

*One's first impression of New Orleans is curious. About a dozen tall modern buildings, ranging from twelve to fourteen stories in height are dotted around the business section, and between and around those are the old brick commercial buildings of fifty years ago, facing on narrow streets its infinitesimal sidewalks and overhead trolleys...the old quarter lies to the south, and the fact that New Orleans is at present interesting to the architects has arisen from the development of the business district, not in its former position, but in a new one.*¹⁹

Russell Whitehead's seminal "The Old and the New South" was more acrid in its early and incisive recognition of the degree to which the skyscraper irrevocably changed traditionally perceived Southern sense of place, characterized in New Orleans's indigenous residential forms.²⁰ New building paled in comparison. With endless repetition and wearisome monotony, the South was producing skyscrapers just like those of the North.

From Whitehead's critique of regional trends and sensibilities emerges a promotion of one proper style, Academic Classicism. Although he disdained the commercialism and vanity he saw in the construction of the high-rise in Southern towns, where "lower and less pretentious erections would be much more to the practical purpose," Whitehead showered praise upon Hale & Rogers' Shelby County Courthouse in Memphis, Yale & Sawyer's Carnegie Library in Montgomery, and the Nashville Parthenon—all Classical piles. His bias served New Orleans well. Hale & Rogers' Post Office and Court House (1906-14, currently the Court of Appeals), steeped in Beaux Arts Classicism, costly, spacious, and the work of a "foreign" firm, was according to Whitehead, "the most important public building of the New South."²¹ Another well-known monument of New Orleans's Academic Classicism, Daniel Burnham's New Orleans Terminal Co. Station (1907, demolished c. 1948) was no architectural asset according to the critic—merely a convenient object lesson in the difference between "style and bloat."²² If Whitehead liked his Classicism, he did so critically and selectively.

RECONCILING OLD SOUTH MYTHS WITH NEW SOUTH METHODS

A Federal building might have been an architectural gem, but is was no signifier of Southern pride of place. A nationally dominant syntax of design alone was not enough to symbolize nascent wealth and power in the New South. Even as New South cities displayed their desired modernity in hegemonic American architectural

clothes, the mystique of the Old South endured, its collective history popularized in place-bound images constructed of visual portraits and narrative description. The Old South was mythologized as an array of stately mansions with Grecian columns while New Orleans was idealized as a place of elegant aristocrats and exotic Creoles.²³ For the first three decades of the twentieth century, the popular press fueled these myths.

Articles seductively titled, “The Romance of Creole New Orleans,” “The Charm of New Orleans,” and “The Charm of Old New Orleans,” placed a retrogressive lens on the city. New Orleans may have been a cosmopolitan Southern capital, but it was also a “city of pleasure, the renewer of youth;” during Mardi Gras, a place where “sojourners from the North seem to catch the intoxicating spirit of abandon most readily.”²⁴ “Latin taste molded the form and decreed the decorations of all the old buildings of the Vieux Carré,” to the degree that one could easily “imagine yourself in Seville, Naples, old Paris or Habana.”²⁵ Photographs of courtyards, the French Market, and Royal Street, much like those illustrations that represented the city for Cotton Centennial revelers, accompanied descriptions ranging from the glamour of wrought-iron railing and patio archways to the romance of masked balls and vivacious women.

The voice of the professional press was no less vigilant in the construction of Old South myths vested in built forms. In a tribute to the cultural meaning and climatic fit of classicism, notably a Greek Revival classicism more prevalent along the River Road than in New Orleans proper,²⁶ *Southern Architectural Review* boasted that “All over the world wherever people know the South they know the traditional Southern house as well as if it were the trademark of that section.”²⁷ In the parlance of the architect, New Orleans’s built heritage could be addressed in terms of the climatic adaptation of balconies or the “extraordinary refinements practiced in the proportioning of openings and disposition of story heights,” but the collective memory of the plantations that once dominated the faubourgs above Canal Street remained strong.²⁸ It was such houses on Bayou St. John—for example the Louis Blanc House (c. 1798), the Evariste Blanc House (c. 1834), and the Pitot House (1796-99) with their principal stories raised on massive columns above the damp ground and severely pitched overhanging roofs—that *Architectural Record*’s critic preferred.²⁹ These relics of the faubourgs that surrounded the old city evoked the plantation myth, but New Orleans urban boosters had another time-tied mystique with which to contend, that of the Vieux Carré.



Fig. 4. Pitot House. 1796-99. View from Bayou St. John.

Long bounded by the commercial buildings of American progress, pitted by trolley tracks, and strung with electrical lines, Canal Street remained a blatant line of demarcation between old myths and new hopes in the twentieth-century city. On the one hand, it was “bustling with energy and ambition, noise and electric lights, shops, movie theaters, banks, tourist offices, skyscrapers, and streetcars.”³⁰ On the other hand, it was the impenetrable fortress that held the world of business at bay, “the strip one crossed to enter an older world where pleasure and darkness and mystery overcame the practical.”³¹ Urban boosters shuttled visitors to the modern American sector, hailing its utter and absolute modernity, as if the history of the Vieux Carré was an obstacle to progress and prosperity:

*She is modern...the old New Orleans is dead. Of course...we regret the passing of so delightful a creature. But you know, she was perverse: she was dreadfully dangerous.*³²

New Orleans’s dilemma was how to have twentieth-century progress and antique enclaves existing at the same time?



Fig. 5. Canal Street. c. 1910. Detroit Publishing Co., Courtesy Library of Congress.

Through its first two centuries, the Vieux Carré, the traditional symbol of the New Orleans preservation ethos, was the site of considerable change in population and economic profile. By the start of the twentieth century, it was falling into a serious decline which has never been entirely reversed. The myths of New Orleans past and the reality of its present were poignantly wedded by Faulkner, who characterized the city as “a courtesan, not old and yet no longer young, who shuns the sunlight that the illusion of her former glory be preserved.”³³ The Vieux Carré was shunned by the majority of New Orleanians to whom it was at best an eccentric appendage to the twentieth-century urban core and at worst a slum. In contrast, it was venerated by a community of artists and writers, “huddle(d) together for some dim communal comfort” and who, compelled by its exoticism, bid to make it a Southern Greenwich Village.³⁴ When Storyville, New Orleans’s legal red light district closed in 1917, many feared that the Vieux Carré would be overrun with brothels and saloons. According to Lyle Saxon, “there was even, at one time, a movement among a group of citizens to tear down the entire Quarter as a rat-infested slum not in keeping with their views as to what a city should be.”³⁵ Images of the depression era French Quarter are equally sobering, revealing a neighborhood ravaged with dereliction and decay.³⁶ As Lafcadio Hearn wrote: “Without roared the iron age, within it one heard the murmurs of a languid fountain.”³⁷ It was a fitting description for a place constructed of paradoxes—progress and tradition, beauty and decadence, and reality and fantasy.



Fig. 6. Exchange Place in the Vieux Carré, c. 1906. Detroit Publishing Co., Courtesy Library of Congress.

William Faulkner’s acid critiques of the mores of money in the American sector, Saxon’s tales of haunted houses and Creole youth, and the *Double Dealer*’s growing reputation as a literary voice provided evidence for the unique quality of life that thrived in the French Quarter.³⁸ So too were Moise Goldstein’s and Nathaniel Curtis’s pleas for the preservation of the architectural fabric of New Orleans’s past.³⁹ These lucid voices in defense of the old city were not necessarily embraced in the local mainstream, but they were

heard. Historical concerns need not lead to a backward slide into antiquarianism; they could be progressive, an intrinsic part of the evolution of the city. To the New Orleans business community, the Vieux Carré with its singular architectural legacy was no mean reminder of a distant past; it could be harnessed as yet another commercial resource, a device for promoting contemporary agendas.⁴⁰

Building upon established perceptions of the old city, the past was handily partnered with the present in the promotion of New Orleans. Historical architecture and the unique cultural landscape it comprised were the visually accessible vehicles for so doing. As early as 1908, *Architectural New Orleans Illustrated*, a promotional brochure published by the Contractors and Dealers Exchange, featured photo montages of French Quarter monuments—the Cabildo, the Mint, and the Beauregard-Keyes House—were mingled with construction photographs of Favrot & Livaudais’s high-rise Perrin Building, new wharves, and a new plant for the American Sugar Refining Company. In the 1920s, the St. Charles Hotel promoted its modern hostelry with thumb-nail sketches of the 1834 and 1851 structures that constituted its own architectural history. The hotel also published a promotional brochure, provocatively titled *The Paris of North America*, which offered sketches of French Quarter landmarks occupied by figures in period clothing, intended to evoke the antique.⁴¹

Pre-Depression era railway brochures provide some of the most graphic evidence of the manipulation of the past and present conveyed through built-environment imagery and place-bound rhetoric. Missouri-Pacific’s *New Orleans, City of Commerce and Carnival*, presents a complex portrait of place. The tone of the promotion is established in the pamphlet’s cover which depicts a masked woman in Spanish dress posed against the riverfront, the port framed by skyscrapers. St. Louis Cathedral embodies the legacy of the traditional city in the scene. A border design evoking the profile of the port and the central business district skyline frames each page. These establishing images are urban caricatures, representing a place where Mardi Gras offers spectacles that cannot even be imitated elsewhere, and which are as much a part of the city’s life as its ever busy dock and impressive growing skyline...(it is) as full of business as it is full of fun.⁴²

Even in advertisements, placemaking in New Orleans leant itself to contrast and contradiction. Mounting bank deposits, immense tonnage figures, and a teeming waterfront coexisted with quaint restaurants and beautiful patios.

The packaging of New Orleans to attract tourists or investors underscored that it was the visitor to the city, especially from the North, who would have a special appreciation of the unique Vieux Carré. With striking acuity, the national press, usually a willing partner in perpetuating a magnolia-scented New Orleans frozen in time since ante-bellum days, read this blatant commodification of place clearly, and with tacit acceptance. “For better or worse, it’s Lafcadio Hearn versus the Association of Commerce,” declared *Outlook*: “New Orleans has become definitely and cheerfully standardized and

commercialized. It has in measure sold, or is selling, its French-Spanish birthright for a substantial American mess of profitable pottage."⁴³ This was not necessarily a critique: if architecture could sell New Orleans as efficiently as gumbo and pralines, it was simply another signal that modern American culture was the product of nationalization and capitalism, as well as the marketing that powered both enterprises.

By the time that the Depression signaled the beginning of the end of the New South, the modernization of New Orleans architecture had climaxed with the construction of such new landmarks as the Hibernia Bank Tower (Favrot & Livaudais, 1919), which met the street with a Doric colonnade but terminated in a domed cupola twenty-three stories above ground, and the American Bank Building (Nathaniel Curtis for Moise H. Goldstein, 1928-29), which rose to a cathedral-like lantern ornamented with lightening-bolt motives, strictly in the spirit art deco, the newest Northern style tall buildings. Bold and easily recognizable in the skyline, these towers soon rivaled the visual power of St. Louis Cathedral and the Cabildo in the popular imaging of the city. For 1920's arbiters of taste, they were further evidence of the South's obsession with keeping its architectural work abreast with contemporary buildings in the country at large. Fiske Kimball was especially critical of the national tendencies in Southern architecture as opposed to those "scarcely realized" Southern traditions which offered "an individual point of departure."⁴⁴ In the South, there was not one but many local traditions, all of which, Kimball recognized, offered design principles susceptible to modern negotiation and interpretation.

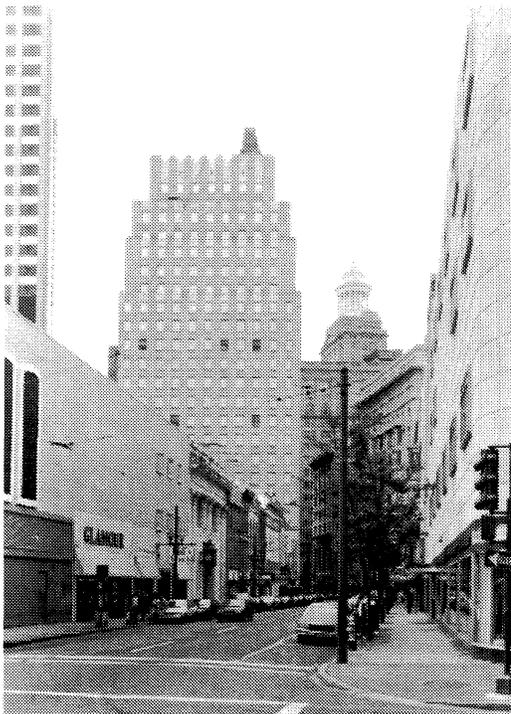


Fig. 7. View of Carondelet Street from Canal Street showing American Bank Building. Nathaniel Curtis for Moise H. Goldstein. 1928-29 (left of center) and Hibernia Bank Tower. Favrot & Livaudais. 1919 (cupola right of center).

SOUTHERN TRADITIONS AND AMERICAN PROGRESS.

The tenacity of old myths, symbols and images in tension with progress did not stop the search for a usable past as a means of fostering the emergence of a new Southern architecture, nor did it inhibit a blending of the opposing ethos of place-bound regional architecture and high modernism. As promotion of the Vieux Carré suggested, Southern identity was as much a matter of the power of the region's historical collective as it was a product of national themes in commerce and culture. Embracing the project of modernity and championing regionalism were not entirely incompatible. Perhaps in response to the derivative nature of Southern building in the first decades of the twentieth century, architects aspired to create a uniquely Southern architecture, "if not a distinctive style, at least a manner of practice...distinctive from other sections."⁴⁵ New building could be colored with the heritage of Southern tradition, yet remain free of the limitations of past styles and expressive of modern tendencies. With nearly religious zeal, *Southern Architectural Review* set forth the challenge of so doing:

*The architects of the South (must be united) in a determination to create that which will express again the philosophy of Southern life as well as meet the now more varied demands of that society and provide for all conditions of climate and topography.*⁴⁶

These sentiments echoed Nathaniel Curtis's observation twenty years earlier: "The old architecture of New Orleans abounds in curious and interesting detail, much of which would undoubtedly be of suggestive value to modern design."⁴⁷

As the agenda of the New Deal outstripped the legacy of the New South, New Orleans had not only retained its privileged position as the largest city in the South, but the image of a culturally and commercially thriving city that had been the subject of popularization and promotion since the turn of the century was just that, an image—a rhetorically and imagistically constructed urban agglomerate. New Orleans, like other New South cities, had become a place where one had to drive by the prosperous suburbs where raised cottages could be moved in and renewed while new regional architecture was poured in place, circumvent the central business district where the hegemony of tower-studded skylines reigned, and chose carefully one's haunts in the Vieux Carré to find art that could not be bought as consumer goods. Together, isolated architectural monuments and romantic national accounts of the glories of the past, promoted uncritically to fuel development in the center city, extended the dialectic of the past and the present in the construction of New Orleans's identity as an American and a Southern cultural text. They still do.

Monuments of American architecture's highest styles, from the turn-of-the-century's Hennen Building to the postmodern Piazza d'Italia render New Orleans and the South one with a national cultural hegemony. Treasured remains of colonial settlement in the Vieux Carré, the relics of industrial vernacular along the riverfront, and the enduring influence of the plantation defy such categorization. The ever-present intertextuality among the architectural fabric of the past and the present, the ancient and the modern, and the regional

and the global is part and parcel of making cultural sense of the city. It is also the essence of modernity—to make ourselves at home in a constantly changing world. The contemporary paradox of the Southern city is no longer merely a matter of unhurried speech spoken in an automobile speeding along a six-lane highway. It is the paradox of intimate collective memory vested in place juxtaposed furiously against mass mediated memory and historiography evoked in words and images.

ENDNOTES

- ¹See Alice Hall Perry, "Native Outsider: George Washington Cable," in Richard S. Kennedy, ed., *Literary New Orleans. Essays and Meditations* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 1-7.
- ²Burton J. Hendrik, *The Training of an American. The Early Life and Letters of Walter H. Page. 1855 - 1915* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1928), 146 cited in C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 163.
- ³See Woodward, *Origins*, 452-54. Woodward read Richardson's case as part of a "swelling migration of Southern talent to the northeast." He noted that another great father of American modernism, John Welborn Root, was a native of Georgia. Strictly speaking, Richardson's own works are absent among the buildings of New Orleans and Louisiana. The Howard Memorial Library (1887), finished by the successor firm, Shepley, Retan, and Coolidge—purportedly according to Richardson's design—is often attributed, posthumously, to him. In form, massing, and detail of the exterior, this Romanesque Revival structure, executed in sandstone is strongly reminiscent of Richardson's Crane Memorial Library (Quincy, Massachusetts, 1880-83). For Richardson see especially, Marianna Griswold Van Rensselaer, *Henry Hobson Richardson* (Boston, 1888); Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *The Architecture of H. H. Richardson and His Times* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1936; Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1961); and Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, *H. H. Richardson Complete Architectural Works* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982).
- ⁴See George B. Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South. 1913-1945* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), 787.
- ⁵William J. Robinson, *The Changing South* (New York: Boni and Liverwright, 1927), 14.
- ⁶Excerpt from *Collier's Weekly* cited in "'Ad' For A City," *Architectural Art and Its Allies* 6 (September 1910): 8.
- ⁷Owen was a principal in Dibboll & Owen, one of New Orleans's leading early twentieth-century firms. Among their works in the city are the Baroque influenced Sacred Heart Academy (1899-1900); the Richardsonian Romanesque First Methodist Church (1906, demolished 1950s); the Beaux Arts Classical Old New Orleans Public Library (1907, demolished 1940s), and the Canal Louisiana Bank Building (1907), one of the city's early skyscrapers.
- ⁸See *Architectural Art and Its Allies* 6 (July 1910): 8.
- ⁹Louis Sullivan, "What is Architecture. A Study in the American People of Today," *Architectural Art and Its Allies* 1 (March 1906): 15-20. Prominent among the articles featuring the historic fabric of New Orleans is Moise Goldstein, "The Architecture of Old New Orleans," *Architectural Art and Its Allies* 1 (March 1906): 1-7, 9.
- ¹⁰Goldstein, "Old New Orleans," 7, 9. Goldstein argued for a culturally constructed architectural history of the city. Questioning the rightness of strict chronology in the writing of history, he posits that understanding of evolution of New Orleans's built environment and its sense of place is determined by the respective French and Spanish cultural milieus that fueled its construction.
- ¹¹"Modern New Orleans," *Architectural Art and its Allies* 6 (September 1910): 9. Trained in Austin, Texas and New York, Thomas Sully (1855-1937) is credited with introducing into New Orleans several popular late-nineteenth century architectural styles, particularly the classical modes of Richard Morris Hunt and McKim, Mead and White. After opening his New Orleans office in 1882, Sully enjoyed a successful, if regional, practice. See William Cullison III, *Architecture in Louisiana. A Documentary History* (New Orleans: Southeastern Architecture Archive, Tulane University: 1983) 18-19.
- ¹²See *Architectural New Orleans* (New Orleans, Contractors and Dealers Exchange, 1908), unpaginated, which featured a full-page photograph of the Hennen Building.
- ¹³"Modern New Orleans," 10.
- ¹⁴*Ibid.*
- ¹⁵For a salient discussion of the American skyscraper as an urban form see Vincent Scully, *American Architecture and Urbanism*. 2nd ed. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1988), 107-11, 144-46.
- ¹⁶The St. Charles Hotel offers an interesting subtext in the architectural history of the city. The 1837 structure, a Greek Revival style building capped with a landmarking dome, was the work of James Gallier, Sr. and Alexander Jackson Davis, architects of considerable regional and national renown. The first St. Charles Hotel burned in 1851; the hotel was rebuilt, according to designs that have been attributed to both James Gallier, Jr. and Isiah Rogers. The second St. Charles also was a victim of fire in 1894. From the time of the construction of the first building until the demolition of the third, the St. Charles Hotel occupied the same site.
- ¹⁷W. R. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1941), 224-25.
- ¹⁸See Whitehead, "Old and New South," and Fiske Kimball, "Recent Architecture in the South," *Architectural Record* 55 (March 1924): 209-240.
- ¹⁹Aymar Embury, "Old New Orleans, Picturesque Buildings of the French and Spanish Regimes," *Architectural Record* 30 (1911): 85.
- ²⁰See Whitehead, "Old and New South," 5.
- ²¹*Ibid.*, 13-14. In addition to narrative references, the article featured plans of the first and second floor, and a rendered principal elevations of the building.
- ²²*Ibid.*, 24-25.
- ²³See Cash, *Mind of South*, 5, 18.
- ²⁴Lynn Tew Sprague, "The Romance of Creole New Orleans," *The Outlook*, 23 April 1919, 931.
- ²⁵Edward Larocque Tinker, "The Charm of Old New Orleans," *Scribner's*, May 1919, 540.
- ²⁶Cash, *Mind of South*, 5, 18.
- ²⁷"New Forms from Old Ideas," *Southern Architectural Review* 1 (August 1936): 3. See also "Toward a Distinctive Southern Style," *Southern Architectural Review* 1 (September 1936): 3, and William Spratling, "The Architectural Heritage of New Orleans," *Architectural Forum* 48 (May 1927): 409-413. Spratling's sketches are quick, imagistic line drawing, suggestive of local forms and typologies; included are: "Maison Lemonier, Royal Street," "A Walled Courtyard and Overhanging Balcony in the Vieux Carré," and "Interesting Roofs and Dormers in the French Quarter."
- ²⁸Spratling, "Architectural Heritage," 409.
- ²⁹Embury, "Old New Orleans," 94-96.
- ³⁰Mildred Cram, *Old Seaport Towns of the South* (New York, 1917), 289.
- ³¹Lafcadio Hearn cited in Hephzibah Roskelly, "Cultural Translator: Lafcadio Hearn," in Richard S. Kennedy, ed. *Literary New Orleans* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press), 26-27.
- ³²Cram, *Old Seaport Towns*, 269-70: 273-74.
- ³³William Faulkner, *New Orleans Sketches* (New York, 1968), 13.
- ³⁴Tennessee Williams, *Where I Live: Selected Essays* (New York, 1978), 4.
- ³⁵Lyle Saxon, *The Friends of Joe Gilmore* (New York: Hastings House, 1948), 134. Saxon's articles in the New Orleans Times Picayune provided the initial inducement for writers and artists who sought out New Orleans as a haven for their cultivating creativity.
- ³⁶See especially Janet M. Gwaltney, ed., *The Carnegie Survey of Architecture of the South. 1927-1943: Photographs by Frances Benjamin Johnston*, microform edition (Teaneck, NJ: Chadwyck-Healey, 1985).
- ³⁷Lafcadio Hearn, "A Creole Courtyard," *Creole Sketches* (New York and Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1924), 81.
- ³⁸For Faulkner, see *New Orleans Sketches*, ed. Carvel Collins (New York: Random House, 1958), and Cleanth Brooks, *William Faulkner. Toward Yoknapatawpha and Beyond* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978); for Saxon see especially his "Have A Good Time While You Can," *Century*.

October/November 1928, 84-94, and *Fabulous New Orleans* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1928). The *Double Dealer* was published from January 1921 through May 1926 (New Orleans: Double Dealer Publishing); Walter B. Rideout's "The Most Cultural Town in America: Sherwood Anderson's New Orleans," *Southern Review* 24 (Winter 1938): 79-99, offers an informative glimpse into one author's relationship with the journal. Mencken's contemptuous "The Sahara of the Bozart" appeared in his *Prejudices: Second Series* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1917); see Jack Temple Kirby, *Media-Made Dixie. The South in the American Imagination*, rev. ed. (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1986), Chapter IV, for a useful historical context for this piece.

³⁹See especially Allison Owen, "The Architectural Charm of Old New Orleans," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 1 (1913): 426-35; N. C. Curtis, "The Work of the Louisiana Chapter in urging the preservation of the historic architecture of New Orleans," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 4 (May 1916): 219-33; and N.C. Curtis and William P. Spratling,

"Architectural Tradition in New Orleans," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 13 (August 1925): 279-96.

⁴⁰See Brownell, *Urban Ethos*, 197.

⁴¹*New Orleans. The Paris of North America*, Published by the St. Charles Hotel (New Orleans: Alfred S. Amer & Co., 1926).

⁴²Missouri Pacific Lines, *New Orleans. City of Carnival and Commerce* (St. Louis: Woodward & Tierman Printing Co., 1929), unpaginated.

⁴³George Marvin, "The Mistress of the Mississippi, New Orleans turning from the gracious memories and traditions of old Creole days, works for a constructive commercial future," *The Outlook*, 15 April, 1925, 569.

⁴⁴Kimball, "Recent Architecture," 212.

⁴⁵Harvey Smith, "Towards A Distinctive Southern Style," *Southern Architectural Review* 1 (August 1936): 3.

⁴⁶"New Forms," 3.

⁴⁷N.C. Curtis, "Work of the Louisiana Chapter," 220.